

Bach and Poland in the Eighteenth Century*

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From the year 1736 until his death, Bach held the title of Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Court Composer (*Königlich Polnischer und Churfürstlich Sächsischer Hof-Compositeur*). In spite of this, his travels did not take him to the federal state which comprised the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Governed by the Wettins of Saxony, Augustus II (Augustus the Strong) and his son Augustus III, this state was then called the Commonwealth of Both Nations (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*) and we know next to nothing about Bach's links with it, apart from his official title of artist in the service of its ruler, Augustus III. We also have little idea how well known Bach was in eighteenth-century Poland or whether his work had any kind of reception in the Commonwealth of that time. This article aims to summarise the little that is known about Bach's relationship with Poland, to name the most important documents on the topic, and to demonstrate the potential of this area of research which, simply put, falls under the general heading 'Bach and Poland'.¹

Bach and Sarmatia

Today the only sources of information about Bach's attitude to Poland are his works. The relationship between Bach and Poland² is expressed in his music in two ways:

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¹ The topic of Bach and Poland has previously been explored by Hans-Joachim Schulze in his article 'Johann Sebastian Bach und Polen: Beziehungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 2004, 9–21. This article will not explore those threads that have been exhaustively investigated by Schulze and that cannot be explored further on the basis of our current state of knowledge of the sources (such as deliberations on the subject of Bach's descendants in Poland or the activities of Bach's brother Johann Jacob in the army of Charles XII of Sweden). Instead, it will focus on such issues as references to Poland in Bach's cantatas as well as the activities of some of his pupils in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

² The first attempt at summing up this subject for the needs of musicology was the author's essay from 2000, commissioned by Polish Radio on the occasion of the music festival 'Bach of the Millennium'. Szymon Paczkowski, *Nadworny Kompozytor Króla Polskiego i Elektora Saskiego* [Court Composer of the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony] in the programme of the IV Polish Radio Music Festival 'Bach of the Millennium', 22–26 May 2000, Witold Lutosławski Concert Studio of the Polish Radio in Warsaw, 85–94.

1. literal references to Poland in the texts of his secular cantatas (*drammi per musica*) dedicated to the kings of Poland and electors of Saxony, Augustus II and III, as well as other members of the house of Wettin;
2. the individual treatment of what was known as the Polish musical style, the 'Polish way of composing' and its use in his works.

This paper concentrates on the first point, as the author has published several previous studies on the second point.³

The librettos of Bach's cantatas in praise of Augustus II, Augustus III and members of the royal family invariably refer to Poland as Sarmatia (*Sarmatien*). In the eighteenth century, Sarmatia was depicted in two ways. In Polish literature, it was mainly associated with the allegorical image of a female figure symbolising Poland. The figure wore a golden robe, on its head it had a crown, and in its hands it held the royal insignia – a sceptre and an apple.⁴ The second image of Sarmatia, known in eighteenth-century Saxony and so probably also familiar to the authors who collaborated with Bach, is recorded in the entry for *Sarmatien* in Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*. Sarmatia is described there as a little known country, half-mythical, lying somewhere in the East, somewhat wild, somewhat magical, inhabited by ancient, valiant and gallant peoples. Reading the entry for *Sarmatien* shows that at the time when Zedler's *Lexicon* was written the concept was directly associated with Poland:

Sarmatien, in Latin Sarmatia or Sauromatia, and called Sarmatis by poets; a big and vast land [that] was divided long ago into the Asian, European and German regions of Sarmatien. The Asian region extended from the European and Asian borders and the river Rha or Volga, to the Caucasus mountain[s]; towards the North it bordered [the shores of] the North Sea, towards the South the Curinish or Caspian Sea, towards the East Scythia, and to the West the European region. [...] Now the name is added to the Kingdom of Poland, even though it is only a part of [that region].⁵

³ See Szymon Paczkowski, *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastiana Bacha* [Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach] (Lublin: Polihymnia, 2011). This work is being translated into English to be published by Scarecrow Press in spring 2016.

⁴ See Magdalena Górska, *Polonia – Respublica – Patria: Personifikacja Polski w sztuce XVI–XVIII wieku* [Polonia – Respublica – Patria: The personification of Poland in the art of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005), 125.

⁵ 'Sarmatien, Lateinisch Sarmatia, oder Sauromatia, und bey den Poeten Sarmatis genannt, ein grosses und weitläufftiges Land, wurde vor Zeiten in das Asiatische, Europäische und Deutsche Sarmatien eingetheilet. Das Asiatische erstreckte sich gegen die Europäische und Asiatische Gräntzen und den Fluß Rha oder Volga, bis an den Berg Caucasus, und stieß gegen Norden zu an die Nord-See, gegen Süden an das Curinische oder Caspische Meer, gegen Morgen an Scythien, und gegen Abend an das Europäische Sarmatien. [...] Jetzo wird der Name Sarmatien zuweilen dem Königreiche Pohlen, das doch nur ein Stück davon ist, beygeleget': Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 34 (Leipzig-Halle, 1742), col. 110–12; see also Michael Heinemann, 'Et in Sarmatia ego: Bacha spojrzanie na Polskę' [Et in Sarmatia ego: Bach's view of Poland], *Kronika Zamkowa* [The Royal Castle Chronicle], 2 (2003), 123–9; German version 'Et in Sarmatia ego: Bachs Blick nach Polen', 131–7.

For the inhabitants of civilised, genteel and prudent Protestant Saxony, and probably for Bach as well, Catholic Poland represented a totally different land, geographically distant, with strange governance and alien customs.

The poetic texts of Bach's cantatas dedicated to the ruling house of Wettin, in parallel with typical panegyric and erudite elements, have a political and propagandistic theme. One such theme which appears relatively frequently is that of the electors of Saxony being called to the Polish throne, and the reasons for this. Bach's *drammi per musica* make it clear that this happened above all because of the merits, wisdom and greatness of the rulers of Saxony. Hence in the cantata *Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen* (BWV 215), composed by Bach on the occasion of the first anniversary of the election of Augustus III as King of Poland (5 October 1734), in one of the recitatives the lyrical subject poses the following question to the Poles (movement 4, bass recitative):

*Was hat dich sonst, Sarmatien, bewogen
daß du vor deinen Königsthron
den sächsischen Piast,
des großen Augusts würdigen Sohn,
hast allen andern fürgezogen?*

What else hath thee, Sarmatia, persuaded
That thou to fill thy royal throne
This Saxon-born Piast,⁶
The great Augustus' worthy son,
Before all others gave thy preference?⁷

The answer is simple. It is not the royal lineage, or Saxony's military and economic might, but above all else the perfect virtues of Augustus himself:

*Nicht nur der Glanz durchlauchter Ahnen,
Nicht seiner Länder Macht,
Nein! sondern seiner Tugend Pracht
Riß aller deiner Untertanen
Und so verschiedner Völker Sinn
Mehr ihm allein
Als seines Stammes Glanz und angeerbten
Schein fußfällig anzubeten hin.*⁸

Not just the fame of illustrious fathers,
Not just his lands' great might,
No! Rather, his own virtue's splendour
Drew all of thine own loyal subjects
And all thy varied nations' minds
To pray to him alone
Rather than to his clan's fame
And inherited brilliance before his feet.

The librettos of those of Bach's cantatas which were composed to glorify the house of Wettin conclude that the wise rule of both kings, Augustus II and III, was to bestow on Poland the government of law, true peace, and the development of civilisation. In the cantata *Schleicht, spielende Wellen* (BWV 206), generally thought to have been written with the birthday of Augustus III (7 October 1734) in mind, but not completed or performed until two years later,⁹ we encounter allegorical figures representing the rivers of Saxony, Poland and Austria – those countries which had already crowned Augustus as their king, or to whose crowns he

⁶ The dynasty of Polish kings from the Piast family originated with a mythical peasant called Piast, and its historical progenitor was, from 960, Mieszko I. Kings from the Piast dynasty ruled Poland until 1370 (until the death of King Casimir III the Great). The Silesian branch of Piast family died out only on the death of Georg William, Duke of Liegnitz in 1675.

⁷ English translations of the fragments of the librettos of Bach's secular cantatas are taken from the website www.bach-cantatas.com.

⁸ Werner Neumann, *NBA KB I/37* (1961), 61–4.

⁹ *BC I/4*, 1498.

aspired. The action of this *dramma per musica* thus focused on a metaphorical argument between Elbe, Vistula and Danube. It was probably with reference to the successful outcome of the war of Polish succession in June 1736, the consolidation of Wettin's rule in Poland, and the peace which resulted from these events, that Vistula sang in its recitative (movement 2, bass recitative):

<p><i>O glückliche Veränderung! Mein Fluß, der neulich dem Cocytus gliche, Weil er von toten Leichen Und ganz zerstückten Körpern langsam schliche, Wird nun nicht dem Alpheus weichen, Der das gesegnete Arkadien benetzte. Des Rostes mürber Zahn Frißt die verworfnen Waffen an, Die jüngst des Himmels harter Schluß Auf meiner Völker Nacken wetzte. Wer bringt mir aber dieses Glücke?</i></p> <p><i>August, Der Untertanen Lust, Der Schutzgott seiner Lande, Vor dessen Zepter ich mich bücke, Und dessen Huld für mich alleine wacht, Bringt dieses Werk zum Stande.¹⁰</i></p>	<p>O happy transformation! My stream, which the other day was like Cocytus, Flowing slowly because of the lifeless corpses and dismembered bodies it carried, Will not be second to Alpheus Who moistened blessed Arcadia. Who chews on the abandoned weapons Which on my nations' necks were recently sharpened by heaven's cruel will. Who brings to me, though, this good fortune?</p> <p>August, His subjects' joy, His land's divine protector, Before whose sceptre I bow, Whose favour doth alone o'er me keep watch, Hath this work accomplished.</p>
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The personifications of Poland and Saxony together glorifying their monarch are characteristic of the image of the Wettin dynasty promoted in Bach's cantatas. The two countries together should rejoice in the reign of Augustus III, which brings happiness to all, and his name should be praised in a variety of ways.

The libretto of *Abendmusik* by Johann Gottsched, *Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden!* (BWV Anh. 13) was performed in Leipzig on 28 April 1738 on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Maria Amalia (daughter of Augustus III) to the King of Naples, Charles IV; Bach's music has been lost. In the first recitative the lyrical subject turns directly to the Polish monarch:

<p><i>Großmächtigster August! Du Herr der Sachsen und Sarmaten! In Deinen hochbeglückten Staaten Herrscht Fried, und Überfluß, und Lust.¹¹</i></p>	<p>O mightiest August! Thou Lord of Saxons and Sarmatians! Within thy highly-favoured nations Reign peace and affluence and joy.</p>
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The following declaration can be found in one of the fragments of the cantata *Auf schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten* (BWV 207a), thought to have been written for the nameday of Augustus on 3 August 1735 (movement 8, tenor recitative):

¹⁰ Werner Neumann, *NBA KB I/36* (1962), 165.

¹¹ Neumann, *NBA KB I/37*, 97–100.

*Sein allzeit starker Arm stützt teils Sarmatien,
Teils auch der Sachsen Wohlergehn.*¹²

His ever mighty arm in part Sarmatia,
In part the Saxons' welfare guards.

It is likely that Bach's cantatas presented Sarmatia in accordance with the line adopted by the Dresden propagandists who shaped the official image of Augustus III. It is unlikely that the composer or his librettist considered the question of to what extent, if at all, the image of Poland created in their joint works reflected reality. Nevertheless, they unwittingly helped to create the idea that the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania were grateful for the Wettins' rule. In this sense, we do know something of Bach's concept of Poland.

Bach and the Poles

To date, the only known document which confirms Bach's contacts with Poles is a receipt for 115 thalers for a pianoforte sold to the court of Prince Jan Klemens Branicki for delivery to Białystok in Poland,¹³ signed by the composer and dated 6 May 1749. However, it has never been established whether the instrument which was the object of the transaction came from Bach's private collection, or whether the composer just mediated in the purchase. The address at Białystok was not a coincidence. The recipient of the pianoforte, Prince Hetman Branicki, had enormous political ambition and was one of the most powerful magnates of the Commonwealth of that time. The artistic activities which took place in his impressive residence at Białystok demonstrated his status. He maintained at his own court a sizeable ensemble, described in detail by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in his fifth annual *Historisch Kritische Beyträge*.¹⁴ Branicki's palace in Białystok, the destination of the pianoforte sent by Bach, was also a regular staging post for Augustus II and Augustus III as they travelled back and forth between Warsaw

¹² Cited in *NBA KB I/37*, 22–3.

¹³ Document held at Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie: Archiwum (Roskie) Potockich [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw: The Potocki (Roskie) Archive] LXXXIII.7.; facsimiles in: Teresa Zielińska, 'Nieznany autograf Jana Sebastiana Bacha' [An unknown autograph of Johann Sebastian Bach], *Muzyka*, 12/4 (1967), 69; repr. in *BDok III*, 633. English translation in *NBR*, 239. More on the subject of musical patronage of Hetman Branicki, see Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego' [Music at the court of Jan Klemens Branicki], in Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Agata Ročko (eds.), *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku: Rola i znaczenie kulturowe* [Magnates' Courts in the Eighteenth Century: Their Role and Cultural Significance] (Warszawa: Wydawn. DiG, 2005), 221–44.

¹⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik. I. Band. Fünftes Stück* (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schütz, 1755), 447–8. The source of information from which Marpurg drew his knowledge of Branicki's ensemble is unknown. Surviving documents from Polish archives confirm the presence only of some of the musicians mentioned by Marpurg as members of this ensemble. Cf. among others extracts from the documents concerning horn player Bernard Rottengruber (recorded by Marpurg as violinist): Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa w Warszawie (olim: Ośrodek Badań i Dokumentacji Zabytków), Teki Jana Glinki [National Heritage Institute in Warsaw (olim: Centre for Research and Documentation of Historical Relics), Files of Jan Glinka], file 107, p. 124 and file 124, p. 80. The same source also includes extracts from documents dating from 1739 which indicate that Branicki used someone called Valentin (a merchant with offices in Warsaw and Leipzig, probably the same person whose name appears on the said receipt from Bach) as an intermediary in purchasing particularly valuable objects (file 315, p. 166). See also *BDok III*, 634.

and Grodno (in contemporary Lithuania). Both rulers travelled to Grodno to take part in the sessions of the Commonwealth Sejm (parliament), which took place alternately in Poland and Lithuania. Although there are no documents in existence which confirm that Bach and Branicki were personally acquainted, it is highly probable that the composer had the opportunity for direct contact with the magnate, as well as with members of other Polish magnate families, on his home ground in Leipzig. Aristocrats from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth visited the city regularly to participate in its famous fairs.

One circumstance which may have favoured such encounters was the presentation of an electrical machine which was organised periodically in his own house by Johann Heinrich Winkler, co-founder of German experimental physics, professor at the University of Leipzig, philosopher and poet, who was a member of Bach's circle of close acquaintances. Winkler was the author of the libretto to Bach's cantata, now lost, *Froher Tag, verlangte Stunden* (BWV Anh. 18), written for the opening of St Thomas School on 5 June 1732.¹⁵

In the 1744 foreword to his *Gedanken von den Eigenschaften, Wirkungen und Ursachen der Electricität*, Winkler recalls a demonstration of electricity which he gave in his own home during the autumn Leipzig fair (*Michaelismesse*) in 1743.¹⁶ Participants in that event included the Russian ambassador, Count Hermann Carl von Keyserling, Saxon minister and diplomat Count Ernst Christoph von Manteuffel, the poet Johann Christoph Gottsched, and many other personages, most probably including Bach. Two representatives of Polish aristocracy were also at the meeting, Crown Vice-Chancellor Małachowski (*Kron-Unter-Kanzler von Pohlen, Małakowski*) and Lieutenant-General of the Polish army and Chamberlain, Prince Radziwiłł (*Generalmajor der Polnischen Armee, Kammerherr Prinz Radzivil*).¹⁷ Chancellor Jan Małachowski (1698–1762) was the same person who shortly after employed a pupil of Bach, Lorenz Mizler, as a private teacher of music and mathematics at his estate in Końskie (160 km south of Warsaw), while Prince Radziwiłł is most probably Marcin Mikołaj (1705–82), coat-of-arms Trąby (Trumpets), Grand Carver of Lithuania. According to the correspondence of Heinrich Brühl, this Radziwiłł was appointed General of Lithuanian artillery on 12 July 1743. We know that in the autumn of 1743 he was visiting Dresden and Leipzig in connection with the preparations for a session of the Commonwealth parliament. Apparently he was a talented musician and played a number of instruments.¹⁸

¹⁵ On the subject of the circumstances of the composition of this cantata, see BC I/4, 1599.

¹⁶ 'Vorrede' (unpaginated), in Johann Heinrich Winkler (ed.), *Gedanken von den Eigenschaften, Wirkungen und Ursachen der Electricität: nebst einer Beschreibung zwo neuer Electriscen Maschinen* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1744).

¹⁷ *ibid.* See also Myles W. Jackson, "'Elektrisierte' Theologie: Johann Heinrich Winkler und die Elektrizität in Leipzig in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Ulrich Leisinger and Christoph Wolff (eds.), *Musik, Kunst und Wissenschaft im Zeitalter Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach Forschung, 7 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2005), 63–5.

¹⁸ See for a biographical entry of Marcin Mikołaj Radziwiłł authored by Hanna Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], 30/2: issue 125 (Kraków, 1987), 290–1.

Another figure from Polish political life with whom Winkler maintained contact because of the growing interest in electricity should also be mentioned here. In his introduction to *Gedanken von den Eigenschaften der Electricität* Winkler writes that in the spring of 1743 the electrical machine constructed by Professor Johann Friedrich Menz from Leipzig was examined in that city by the then Crown Chancellor of the Commonwealth, Andrzej Stanisław Załuski (1695–1758), the elder of the Załuski brothers and co-founder of their Warsaw library which later became famous. Winkler personally witnessed this event and recalled that Załuski ordered this invention to be sent to him in Warsaw.¹⁹ At least one copy of Winkler's print *Gedanken von den Eigenschaften der Electricität*, the introduction to which describes this event, later found its way into the collection of the Załuski library, although it is not known whether as a purchase or as a gift, and is presently held at the University Library in Warsaw.²⁰

Bach's pupils in Poland

Although Bach never set foot on Polish soil, a number of his pupils and acquaintances found their way there, some accidentally and briefly, others intentionally and for longer. The harpsichordist Johann Gottlieb Goldberg and the lutenist Johann Kropfgans the Younger, musicians from the ensemble of Chancellor Heinrich Brühl, can be numbered in the first group. They travelled with their patron between Poland and Saxony, and while they were in Warsaw not only performed at the Chancellor's reception rooms, but also worked as extras at the royal *Polnische Kapelle*.²¹ Combining musical ensembles in this way made possible the performance of works requiring enormous casts, including the operas of Johann Adolf Hasse. Johann Georg Kreising, who was regarded as Bach's pupil and was a harpsichordist in the ensemble of Field Marshal Jakub Henryk Flemming, First Minister of the Secret Council, during the reign of Augustus II, should also be mentioned here. Kreising travelled with his employer between Dresden and Warsaw during the years 1722–26.²² However, Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–83) and Lorenz Mizler (1711–78) were the only two of Bach's prominent pupils to remain in Poland for a longer period.

¹⁹ 'Vorrede', in Winkler.

²⁰ PL-Wu, St. dr. 12.6.7.17.

²¹ For details of their journeys and stays in Poland, see Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III: Część I* [Music at the Polish Court of Augustus III: Part I] (Lublin: Wydawn. Muzyczne Polihymnia, 2012), 167, 187 and 238–42; cf. also Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755): Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig* (Beeskow: Ortus, 2006), passim.

²² On the subject of Kreising's activities in Flemming's ensemble, see Szymon Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)' [Music at the court of Fieldmarshall Jacob Heinrich von Flemming], in Urszula Augustyniak (ed.), *Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku: Materiały z XVII spotkania Komisji Lituanistycznej zorganizowanego przez Instytut Historii PAN, Instytut Historyczny UW i Instytut Historii Prawa UW w Warszawie 23–24 września 2008* [The culture-forming social circles and cultural contacts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries: Materials from the 17th meeting of the Lithuanist Commission organised by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the History Institute of the University of Warsaw and the Institute of Law History of the University of Warsaw in Warsaw on 23–24 September 2008] (Warszawa: Inst. Historii PAN, 2009), 78–9; cf. Peter Wollny, 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Berliner Kopisten im Umkreis der Amalien-Bibliothek', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung*, 1998, 148–9.

Kirnberger and Poland

Our information about Johann Philipp Kirnberger's stay in Poland today comes mainly from the excerpts from his *Diaries* published by Max Seiffert in 1889.²³ No new facts relating to his sojourn in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth have been established since. However, it should be emphasised that no thorough research into the Polish period of his career has been undertaken in either Germany or Poland. The published fragments of the *Diaries* contain numerous misspellings of both the Polish versions of the place names where the musician stayed and the names of the people with whom he was in contact, and this makes further research difficult. The source of these problems is Kirnberger's text itself, but the errors it contains have been reproduced in musicological literature, causing much misunderstanding.

Kirnberger spent ten years in Poland, from 1741 until 1751. From 1741–42 he stayed in Częstochowa as harpsichordist at the court of the Governor (*starosta*) of Piotrków, Count Józef Poniński (d. 1770), son of Antoni Józef Poniński, Marshal at the session of the Sejm held during the coronation of Augustus III in Kraków on 17 January 1734. At present nothing is known about the musical patronage of this aristocrat.²⁴ From Częstochowa, Kirnberger moved for a short period to Lvov (Lwów) where, according to the *Diaries*, he worked for a few months of the year 1743 as the Capellmeister at the nunnery of the Bernardine sisters there. We do not know precisely what this post involved. It seems that as well as providing musical settings for the services in the church overseen by the nuns, Kirnberger taught music at the school for young ladies of noble descent which belonged to the nunnery. Further information must wait until appropriate archive searches have been carried out. Kirnberger's *Diaries* from 1743 name four musicians with whom he established contact in Lvov at that time: L. Bietski (Biecki?, Bielski?), Sadowsky (Sadowski), Leon Ciecilowicz (Ciechowicz?), and Johann Georg Mallabar,²⁵ but at present these names mean nothing.

It was most probably in 1744 that Kirnberger moved and entered the service of the Steward of the Crown, Prince Stanisław Lubomirski, at Równe in Volyn (today part of Ukraine). This Lubomirski (later Voivode of Kiev) is sometimes confused in musicological literature with his cousin General Aleksander Jakub Lubomirski, patron of Johann Joachim Quantz, who settled permanently in

²³ Max Seiffert, 'Aus dem Stammbuche Johann Philipp Kirnberger's', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 5/2 (1889), 367. Seiffert's introduction to these excerpts tells us that the autograph of Kirnberger's diaries was in his private collection. Unfortunately this valuable document escaped the attention of later scholars, and it is presumed lost. Still in the eighteenth century, Kirnberger's stay in Poland was the subject of reminiscences by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (in *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 1 (1754), 85–6), Carl Friedrich Cramer (in *Magazin der Musik*, Hamburg: Musicalische Niederlage, 1783, 947–8) and Ernst Ludwig Gerber (in *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 1, Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1790, col. 726).

²⁴ Józef Poniński's political activity is described by Waclaw Szczygielski in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 27/1: issue 112 (Kraków 1982), 536–7.

²⁵ Seiffert, 'Aus dem Stammbuche', 367.

Dresden. The general financed this famous flautist's journey to study in Italy.²⁶ However, it is not impossible that it was on the recommendation of Aleksander Jakub Lubomirski that Kirnberger found himself at Równe. This was one of the greatest landed estates in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of that time, and was the property of just one owner. Kirnberger's patron was a magnate who was unimaginably rich as well as musical. No expense was spared at Równe where art was concerned. There was an orchestra which included the violinist Antoni Kozłowski (Kossolowski), later a musician at the Warsaw *Polnische Kapelle* of Augustus III.²⁷ He was not an outstanding composer, and Kirnberger had reason to remember him because of a rather amusing argument over a violin concerto, which was described in detail by Marpurg in his *Legende einiger Musikheligen*.²⁸

A year later Kirnberger moved from Równe to the castle of the Voivode of Podole, Count Waclaw Piotr Rzewuski, at Podhorce in Podole (today also in Ukraine), where he worked as a harpsichordist. This was not a coincidence either.²⁹ Rzewuski, another aristocrat and himself a poet and dramatist, was one of the most musical of the Polish magnates. At his castle in Podhorce, Rzewuski maintained a private opera theatre, with a sizeable ensemble which travelled with him through his estates as far as the Turkish border. He also loaned his musicians to the royal court in Warsaw.³⁰ The count was famous for his love of

²⁶ Siegfried Borris, *Kirnbergers Leben und Werk und seine Bedeutung im Berliner Musikkreis um 1750* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1933), 17.

²⁷ Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III*, 181–2.

²⁸ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Legende einiger Musikheligen* (Breslau: Korn, 1786), 63. Kozłowski was to perform a violin concerto composed by himself at the court of Lubomirski. However, the work contained a passage with awkward harmony, which was not to Kirnberger's liking. He therefore offered to help Kozłowski with corrections. When the latter did not avail himself of this offer, Kirnberger employed a trick. He would entice the prince's dog to his room and play to it this unsuccessful fragment, at the same time hitting the animal with a stick. This resulted in the dog whining piteously whenever it heard the familiar sounds on later occasions. On the day when the concerto was to be performed in front of the prince, Kirnberger brought the poor animal to the hall. When Kozłowski came to the unfortunate passage, the dog began to bark loudly, the orchestra made a mistake and the work had to be played again from the beginning. However, the same thing happened and Kirnberger informed Kozłowski in a stage whisper that the composition was useless and had a negative effect even on animals. Apparently the prince made fun of Kozłowski, who never again dared to perform his work in public.

²⁹ Waclaw Rzewuski's musical patronage was the subject of a paper entitled 'J. Ph. Kirnberger and the Musical Patronage of Count Waclaw Rzewuski in Podhorce' presented by the author of this article at the 16th International Conference on Baroque Music, Salzburg Universität Mozarteum, 9–13 of July 2014.

³⁰ We can get a flavour of Kirnberger's experience at the court of Rzewuski in Podhorce in his description of tonality in the folk music of Turks, Tartars and their neighbouring people which he included in the introduction to his *Anleitung zur Singekomposition* (Berlin 1782, 5): 'In Poland, [specifically] in the voivodeship Masuria, Volhynia, Podolia as well as in the Carpathian Mountains one can hear the same [here: Turkish] music; one [person] plays like the other with the similar quarter tones. It is especially wonderful that every single one of these natives uses similar fingerings. I have frequently made an effort to understand this all and write it down...' ('In Pohlen, in der Woywodschaft Masuren, Volhynien, Podolien und den karpathischen Gebirgen kann man dergleichen [türkischen] Musik hören; einer spielt wie der andere mit den ähnlichen Mitteltönen, und das Wunderbarste dabey ist besonders dieses, dass

flute playing. His passion for this instrument must have been great, since the inventory of music manuscripts at the court in Podhorce records an enormous repertory of flute concertos from the eighteenth century. Alongside a rich collection of instruments, the record of castle chattels describes a collection of 20 modern flutes, together with more than 100 changeable parts, built by Carlo Palanca, Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, Paul Villars, Thomas Lot, Domenico Perosa and others.³¹

In 1747 Kirnberger left Podhorce and returned to the post of organist at the Bernardine nunnery in Lvov. His diaries for the years 1747 and 1748 mention the musicians whom he met in Lvov at that time, such as Jan Piotr Habermann, then chapel master of the orchestra of the Jesuit collegium there, and Franz Dussek (Duschek), previously employed at the ensemble of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł at Nieśwież in Lithuania.³²

When Kirnberger settled in Berlin in 1751, his willingness to share his views on the state of music in Poland led to him becoming perhaps the most important source of information on the subject for the whole musical community there. He was also one of the main proponents of the so-called Polish musical style. Wilhelm Friedrich Marpurg and other theorists later included much information on the subject, obtained from Kirnberger himself, in their writings.³³ Kirnberger's contacts with Poland must have continued after he returned to Germany, as it was on his recommendation that Johann Abraham Peter Schulz became private music teacher to Princess Joanna Sapięha (née Sułkowska, the wife of the Voivode of Smolensk) during the years 1768–73.³⁴

Mizler and Poland

The Polish period in the life and work of another pupil of Bach, Lorenz Mizler, whose services to Poland's intellectual life in the second half of the eighteenth

ein jeder von den Landsleuten auf ähnliche Art fingert. Ich habe mir oft Mühe gegeben, dieses alles zu verstehen und zu Papiere zu bringen...'). My special thanks to Barbara Reul for help in English translation of texts from German sources.

³¹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Podhorce, dobra, zamek. 1768 [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Podhorce, estates, castle. 1768] (PL-Wagad, 388, shelfmark 429); Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (oddział na Wawelu), Inwentarz Pałacu w Podhorcach 1768–69 (Archiwum Sanguszków) [State Archive in Kraków (Wawel Section), Inventory of the castle in Podhorce 1768–69 (Sanguszko Archive)] (shelfmark Podh. II 65), also there, Spis biblioteki podhoreckiej z r. 1767 [Catalogue of the Podhorce library from 1767] (shelfmark Podh. II 4). These documents are currently being investigated further.

³² Seiffert, 'Aus dem Stammbuche', 368. Information on Habermann and Dussek is based on Irena Bieńkowska, *Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła* [Music at the Court of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2013), 338–40. At present we have no information about the other figures from the musical life of Lvov who are mentioned by Kirnberger such as Adalbertus Wiczorkowski, Stephanus Potaciewicz and Augustinus Stephan.

³³ See Paczkowski, *Styl polski*, 68–96.

³⁴ Boriss, *Kirnbergers Leben*, 99; cf. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 'Biographische Nachrichten: I. A. P. Schulz', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 3/11 (10 December 1800), col. 174. Schulz also accompanied the princess on her travels in Europe and he was accompanying her when she visited the seat of the Esterhazy princes in 1770 where he met Joseph Haydn.

century were of great importance, has been investigated relatively thoroughly by Polish scholars.³⁵ However, this stage of Mizler's life was for a long time ignored by German musicology, perhaps because it does not relate directly to musical activity. The most recent monograph by Lutz Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof: Schüler Bachs und Pythagoreischer 'Apostel der Wolfffischen Philosophie'* (Hildesheim 2012),³⁶ which examines both the German (earlier) and Polish (later) phases of Mizler's biography together, allows us to view his life as a continuous and cohesive whole. Felbick appears to be the first writer to look at the author of *Musicalische Bibliothek* from the perspective of his whole life, without the artificial caesura which his settling in Poland is supposed to have created.

Mizler arrived in Poland in 1743 and entered the service of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Małachowski (referred to earlier with regard to the demonstration of Winkler's electrical machine), at his estate in Końskie. He later travelled between Końskie, Leipzig, Halle, Erfurt and Warsaw. In 1753, generously endowed by Małachowski, Mizler settled permanently in Warsaw as court physician to Augustus III. He made his home in a house in Podwale Street 1 (a street outside the old city walls). He spent the rest of his life there, learnt to speak fluent Polish, established the first secular printing house in Warsaw, and finally got married. He also founded a journal devoted to literature, modelled on *Musicalische Bibliothek* and entitled *Warschauer Bibliothek*. After his death in 1778 he was buried at the Evangelical Cemetery of the Augsburg Confession at Karmelicka Street in Warsaw. In 1792 his remains were moved to the catacombs at the new evangelical cemetery, now in the Warsaw district of Wola. Unfortunately Mizler's widow, Anna Barbara Dorota Bezin, became an alcoholic after her husband's death and squandered part of his legacy, selling at random both his private library and his writings. Even though many of Mizler's documents are held today by such institutions as Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [The Central Archives of Historical Records] in Warsaw and the National Library in Warsaw, so far it has not been possible to locate any music from his collection.

After moving to Poland, Mizler's interests turned to medicine and then towards literature and social-political activism, but he continued with the musical projects he had initiated while still in Leipzig. However, he increasingly came to regard music as a sideline.³⁷ The foreword to the second volume of *Musikalische Bibliothek*, written on 20 May 1743 in Końskie, shows that from that time on he looked after the affairs of *Korrespondierende Sozietät der musikalischen Wissenschaften*, which he had established, from Poland. In Końskie, and later in Warsaw, he was in charge of the secretariat of this famous society. It was from

³⁵ See, for example, Joanna Falenciak, 'Lorenz Christoph Mizler a polska kultura muzyczna w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku' [Lorenz Christoph Mizler and Polish musical culture in the second half of the eighteenth century], *Muzyka*, 20/4 (1975), 95–103. Cf. Mizler's biographical entry by Elżbieta Aleksandrowska in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 21 (Wrocław 1976), 389–92.

³⁶ Lutz Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof: Schüler Bachs und Pythagoreischer 'Apostel der Wolfffischen Philosophie'* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2012).

³⁷ He had already expressed such an attitude to music as early as 1736 in his *Dissertatio quod musica Scientia sit et pars eruditionis Philosophicae* (Leipzig-Wittenberg: Hake, 1736) and in the fourth part of the third volume of *Musikalische Bibliothek* (1752).

Warsaw that Mizler sent the last known letter relating to the activities of *Musikalische Sozietät*, addressed to Meinrad Spiess (1683–1761), on 16 February 1761.³⁸ It was also from Poland that Mizler had to write on the Society's business to Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann, George Frideric Handel, Leopold Mozart and others. Later he corresponded from Warsaw with Carl Philipp Emanuel and Johann Agricola when together they were preparing the publication of *Obituary* in the fourth volume of his *Musikalische Bibliothek*.³⁹

The Załuski Library

A particularly important aspect of Mizler's activities in Poland with regard to the transfer of Bach sources to Poland and further into eastern Europe seems to involve his contacts with the Załuski brothers: the bishop of Kiev, Józef Andrzej, and his elder brother Stanisław Andrzej, bishop of Kraków. In 1747 they transformed their private library into a public library, the first in Warsaw and in Poland as a whole. This institution soon grew to be one of the most important and the largest of its kind in contemporary Europe. It is not clear exactly how many volumes were collected in it, but estimates place it around 250,000 books and 20,000 manuscripts. This made Warsaw one of the largest book centres in Europe of that time, alongside Vienna and Wolfenbüttel.⁴⁰

Mizler made a significant contribution to the development of this institution. As one of Józef Andrzej Załuski's close collaborators, he advised on appropriate trading contacts and the choice of books to be purchased. Mizler was an enthusiastic supporter of the library and promoted its activities in his essays. He also made use of the collection himself, and expressed his gratitude as follows:

This library is the one which gave birth to our present *Warschauer Bibliothek* and without it nothing could have been created, without the help of this extraordinarily rich, valuable and excellent Załuski library, which can give specialists and scholars so much that is good and rare that one would hardly expect in Poland.⁴¹

³⁸ See, for example, Hans Rudolf Jung and Hans-Eberhard Dentler, 'Briefe von Lorenz Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Meinrad Spiess', *Studi Musicali*, 32/1 (2003), 73–196, and Hans Große and Hans Rudolf Jung (eds.), *Georg Philipp Telemann: Briefwechsel: Sämtliche erreichbare Briefe von und an Telemann* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972), passim.

³⁹ Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof*, 324–40.

⁴⁰ On the music collection of the Załuski library, esp. the printed libretti of Bach's cantatas, see the following articles by Tatiana Shabalina: "'Texte zur Music'" in Sankt Petersburg: Neue Quellen zur Leipziger Musikgeschichte sowie zur Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit Johann Sebastian Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 94 (2008), 33–98; "'Texte zur Music'" in Sankt Petersburg: Weitere Funde', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 95 (2009), 11–48; 'Recent Discoveries in St Petersburg and their Meaning for the Understanding of Bach's Cantatas', *Understanding Bach*, 4 (2009), 77–99; 'Discoveries in St Petersburg: New Perspectives on Bach and Poland', *Understanding Bach*, 9 (2014), 25–48, esp. 38–47 on Bach and Leipzig sources from the Załuski library.

⁴¹ 'Diese Bibliothek ist es eben, welche unsere gegenwärtige Warschauer Bibliothek erzeuget, und ohne sie würden wir gar nichts ausrichten können, da wir hingegen durch Hülfe der so ungemein zahlreichen, kostbaren und vortrefflichen Załuskischen Bibliothek, denen Kennern der Wissenschaften so viel gutes, merkwürdiges und seltenes vorlegen werden, so vielleicht

The dramatic nature of the later fate of the Załuski library means that our knowledge of it is still not complete. In 1795 the whole library was seized by the Russian army under the leadership of General Suvorov and transported to St Petersburg, where it became the foundation of the Imperial Russian Library. In the nineteenth century a small part of the collection (mainly duplicates) was returned to Warsaw and found its way to the University Library. However, during the years 1922–34, as a result of the 1921 peace treaty signed in Riga between Poland and the Soviet Union, about one-fifth of the collection of the Załuski library which still remained in St Petersburg was returned to Poland and entrusted to the National Library in Warsaw. This part was destroyed with the rest of the National Library in October 1944, when it was almost totally burnt down by the Nazis in their attempt to raze Warsaw to the ground after the failure of the Warsaw Uprising. Consequently little is known today about the collection of music items held at the Załuski library. Only single manuscripts from that collection are recorded in Polish libraries.

The situation is better with regard to prints, and it is estimated that the University Library in Warsaw holds more than 10,000 of them. The library staff have recently begun an attempt to separate the Załuski library prints from the rest of the collection—a tedious and time-consuming task. To date, the search has not identified any manuscripts or prints originating from the old Załuski library that are as significant as those identified by Tatiana Shabalina in the remainder of the Załuski collection held at the Russian National Library in St Petersburg.

Warsaw music collections containing Bach's works

Works by Johann Sebastian Bach, his sons or his more distant cousins, have been recorded in other music collections in Warsaw dating from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The archive of the Church of the Evangelical-Augsburg Confession in Warsaw includes the files of the choir and amateur orchestra which took part in the services. Sheet 68 of the list of musical items dated 17 October 1825 contains the following items ascribed to the name of Bach:

- No 13/ unidentified composition by a Bach,
- No 26/ *Neun Motetten für Sing-Chören von J.C. Bach und J.M. Bach.*

while sheet 81 lists:

- No 95/ *Himmelfahrt von Bach.*⁴²

This is clearly a modest set, in which only the entry of *Himmelfahrt* by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, probably an abbreviated title of his oratorio, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (Wq 240), is not in doubt. Given that from 1821 the organist at the Evangelical Church of the Holy Trinity in Warsaw was Karl

von Pohlen nicht vermuthet hätten.' Cf. Lorenz Mizler, *Warschauer Bibliothek oder gründliche Nachrichten von verschiedenen Bücher und Schriften* (Warsaw, 1755), 13.

⁴² Warszawa, Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records], shelfmark ZEA nr 289.

Friedrich Einert, pupil of Johann Gottfried Schicht and graduate of the St Thomas School in Leipzig, the item 'Neun Motetten' might be expected to refer to motets by Bach and his uncles Johann Christoph and Johann Michael Bach, published in three volumes by Friedrich Hofmeister in Leipzig c.1821–23.⁴³ Could it be that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, motets by the 'old' Bachs were being sung at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Warsaw?

One of the more important centres of religious music in Warsaw at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the church of St Benon in the district of New Town, built as early as the seventeenth century by what was known as the German Brotherhood. From 1787 the Redemptorists, who were mainly from Saxony and Silesia, were in charge of this church as well as the school, which had an orphanage attached to it. Two of them, Karl Jestershein born in Gera and Clement Hofbauer born in Tasovice (Bohemia), established a tradition of daily services with a rich musical setting at this church. Since the orchestra and choir associated with the church participated in these, the services became something in the nature of religious concerts, popular among the residents of Warsaw. The phenomenon of these concerts has already been partially explored by Warsaw musicologists,⁴⁴ but the presence in the church of St Benon of an excellent organ produced by the Potsdam constructor, Joachim Wagner, should be mentioned. This organ was dismantled in 1808 after the dissolution of the order, and is now installed at the Diocesan Museum in Siedlce (100 km east of Warsaw).⁴⁵ However, in the alphabetical inventory of musical papers made in 1808 on the closure of the church, the following items are listed under the name Bach:

- 1/ *Offertorium* handwritten 1 [BWV 125/1?]
- 2/ *Overture* in F handwritten
- 3/ *Messa* in C-major engraved in score 1 [BWV Anh. II 25?]
- 4/ *Motetten* engraved score, parts 2
- 5/ *Heilig*, engraved music
- 6/ *Aria Serio* incomplete.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Neun Motetten für Singchöre, Kirchenmusik verschiedener Zeiten und Völker, gesammelt von F. Naue* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, c.1821–23), 3 vols, Pl.-Nr. 785, 834 and 906. Each volume contains three pieces, as follows: Vol. 1: No. 1. Der Gerechte, ob er gleich zu zeitig stirbt / Joh. Christoph Bach; No. 2. Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöser lebt / Joh. Michael Bach; No. 3. Sey nun wieder zufrieden / J. M. Bach; Vol. 2: No. 4. Lieber Herr Gott, wecke uns auf / J. Chr. Bach; No. 5. Das Blut Jesu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes / J. M. Bach; No. 6. Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe / J. M. Bach; Vol. 3: No. 7. Unser Leben ist ein Schatten / J. M. Bach; No. 8. Nun hab ich überwunden / J. M. Bach; No. 9. Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn [BWV Anh. 159] / J. Chr. Bach.

⁴⁴ Ryszard Mączyński, 'Koncerty u Benonitów: Z dziejów życia muzycznego Warszawy na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku' [The concerts at St Benon's: On the musical life of Warsaw at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries], *Muzyka*, 34/4 (1989), 65–102 (list of musical items: 94).

⁴⁵ Piotr Woźniak, 'Organy Joachima Wagnera (1745) w Siedlcach: Niezwykłe dzieje, zniszczenie i odbudowa' [Joachim Wagner's organ (1745) in Siedlce: Its curious story, destruction and restoration], *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny* [Eastern Humanistic Yearbook], 8 (2012), 265–77.

⁴⁶ Mączyński, 'Koncerty u Benonitów', 94.

The only items on this list which do not raise doubts are the *Heilig* prints by Carl Philipp Emanuel, probably the composition *Heilig mit zwey Chören und einer Arie zur Einleitung* (Wq 217) published in Hamburg and Leipzig in 1779, and two volumes of Bach's motets, probably Schicht's two-part edition from 1802–3.⁴⁷

Clearly, the two lists described here are not of particular interest as documents relating to Bach. However, given that to date there has been virtually no source documentation on the subject of Bach's reception in Poland in the eighteenth century, these lists should be regarded as a promising start to future archival work aimed at researching this subject.

Conclusion

This paper is a preface to future works planned by the author on the subject of the Polish reception of the works of Johann Sebastian Bach in the eighteenth century. Much that has not been mentioned here will undoubtedly be developed in the course of further research, such as the activities of Bach's pupils in Gdansk, or the reception of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* in the area of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Creating a complete list of Polish subscribers to the works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach would be another interesting research project.

Everything points to the conclusion that the topic 'Bach and Poland in the eighteenth century' has significant research potential. Sensational discoveries should not be anticipated, but rather a gradual filling in of the gaps in our knowledge of the reception of Bach's music in the eighteenth century in Poland and further east in Europe. It could also be worthwhile carrying out similar research into musical life in Poland outside Warsaw, with the aim of discovering unknown sources on the subject of musical patronage by the Polish aristocracy, or new documents relating to the transfer of musicians, music accessories and repertory between Poland and Saxony, and, more widely, Germany, in the eighteenth century. But whatever the approach, Bach will always remain the best possible point of reference.

Translated by Zofia Weaver

⁴⁷ *Joh. Seb. Bach's MOTETTEN in Partitur Erster Heft enthaltend drey achtstimmige Motetten Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied, etc. Fürchte dich nicht, ich bin bey dir, etc. Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich etc.* [edited by J. G. Schicht] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1802), containing BWV 225, 228, Anh. 159, and *Joh. Seb. Bach's MOTETTEN in Partitur Zweites Heft enthaltend eine fünf- und zwei achtstimmige Motetten Komm, Jesu, komm, mein Leib etc. Jesu! Meine Freude, meines etc. Der Geist hilft unsrer Schwachheit etc.* [edited by J. G. Schicht] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803), containing BWV 229, 227, 226.