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Franciszek Lilius' musical output and its dissemination in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*

Biographical context

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the number of Italians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was increasing. In all of the occupational groups – mainly merchants, but also architects, painters, bricklayers and musicians – we can see the influence of Italian culture.¹ King Sigismund III Vasa brought to his royal court in Cracow (and later in Warsaw) the greatest musicians from Western Europe, especially from Italy (mainly from Rome). In the first half of the century, there were many Italians in the royal ensemble, in roles including maestri di cappella and composers (Luca Marenzio, Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Marco Scacchi), instrumentalists (Tarquinio Merula), and virtuoso singers (Baldassare Ferri, Margherita Basile-Cattaneo).²

* This article is based on my book *Franciszek Lilius. Życie i twórczość na tle epoki* [Franciszek Lilius. The Life and Work in the Context of the Era] (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2018). The author would like to express his gratitude to Professor Zofia Fabiańska for her valuable remarks on the draft of this article.

¹ See e.g. Wojciech TYGIELSKI, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację* [Italians in Poland in the 16th–17th century. A lost chance for modernization] (Warszawa: Biblioteka “Więzi”, 2005), esp. 89–96. The book points to further literature.

² See e.g. Anna and Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in Polish Vasa dynasty's band] (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997); Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* [Musical courts of the Vasas] (Warszawa: Semper, 2007).

The transfer of these artists, who were invited and hired independently by different monarchs in Central Europe, occurred primarily between the royal courts of Warsaw, Graz, Munich and Prague.³ An example of the assimilation of Italians into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is provided by the life and musical activity of Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli). He was one of the most prominent composers of the first half of the seventeenth century in Poland: a pedagogue, poet and the director of music at Cracow Cathedral between 1630 and 1657. We do not know much about this composer's life. Unfortunately, to date researchers have not established his exact date nor place of birth. Musicologists generally assume that Franciszek Lilius was born in Poland in the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁴

The first documented date concerning his life however, is 1624, when he is mentioned as a resident of Girolamo Frescobaldi's house in Rome – Frescobaldi, a highly esteemed composer and an organist at St. Peter's Basilica, was Lilius' teacher in 1624–1625.⁵ Lilius' life before 1624 is not well documented.

³ More on the subject of Italian musicians' migration in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century can be found e.g. in a recent joint publication edited by Marina Toffetti, as well as in several articles by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska – see *Studies on the reception of Italian music in central-eastern Europe in the 16th and 17th century*, ed. Marina Toffetti, (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2018); Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Music Repertory in the Seventeenth-Century Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Import, Production, Export", in: *Music Migration in the Early Modern Age: Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*, eds. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak and Aneta Markuszewska, (Warszawa: Liber Pro Arte, 2016), 173–182; eadem, "Music-related contacts between the courts of the Polish King and the Archdukes of Inner Austria and the dissemination of 'musica moderna' in Central and East-Central Europe", *De Musica Dissertanda XIII/1–2* (2017), 223–233.

⁴ This hypothesis was first proposed by Adolf Chybiński in 1927, stating that Lilius "was most probably born in Poland already", as cited in: Adolf CHYBIŃSKI, *Muzycy włoscy w kapelach katedralnych krakowskich 1619–1657. I. Życie – działalność – dzieła* [Italian musicians in cathedral cappelle in Cracow 1619–1657. I. Life – activities – music], a copy of *Przegląd Muzyczny*, (Poznań 1927), 17. Chybiński's hypothesis was frequently repeated in the subsequent literature and remains valid today. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska also supports this statement, pointing out that if Lilius was studying under Frescobaldi in 1625, he would have been born around the year 1600, after Vincenzo Lilius came to Poland. See Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski* [Music under the patronage of the Vasas. Marcin Mielczewski], (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2011), 48.

⁵ Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Santo Stefano del Cacco, *Status animarum*, 1623–1625, no shelf mark, fol. 33r. See also Alberto CAMETTI, "Girolamo Frescobaldi in Roma. 1604–1643", *Rivista Musicale Italiana* no. 15 (1908), 717.

Presumably he spent his childhood and teenage years around the royal musical ensemble at Sigismund III Vasa's court, where his father, Vincenzo, was active as a vocalist⁶. It is assumed that Italian chapel masters and musicians from the royal ensemble in the first half of the seventeenth century were among the future composer's teachers: Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni Valentini, Tarquinio Merula or Giovanni Francesco Anerio are all possibilities. Lilius also spent time in the milieu of the royal chapel after his return from Rome, after 1625. From Warsaw he moved to Cracow Cathedral, where in 1630 he took over the leadership of a vocal-instrumental ensemble, as Annibale Orgas, the previous chapel master, had died one year earlier.⁷ He kept the job until the first half of 1650s.

Realizing that to be successful in the church environment one should become a member of the clergy, Lilius decided to take holy orders quite early in his career. In April 1634 he asked the Cathedral Chapter for permission and within a month he received consent to pursue holy orders. In 1635 he was placed in the Sandomierz canonry, in the years 1636–1640 he was appointed as a deacon and in 1638 he became an altarist in St Nicholas Cathedral in Cracow. The precise date on which he received presbyter orders is not known. We do know however that within several years he was receiving higher remuneration and more prebends which strengthened his position in the cathedral.

⁶ Vincenzo Lilius left Graz in 1595 and moved to Poland to join Sigismund III Vasa's court. The archival documents inform us that he held a position as a royal musician in the years 1596–1639. In 1604 his edited compilation entitled *Melodiae sacrae* was published. It contained twenty motets for 4, 6, 7, 8 and 12 voices written by Italian, Polish and Gdańsk-based artists, including maestri di cappella (Luca Marenzio, Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Annibale Stabile, Asprilio Pacelli), vocalists (Vincenzo Lilius) and instrumentalists. Read more in Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "«Melodiae sacrae» (Cracow 1604) – ślad muzycznych związków dworów Zygmunta III Wazy i arcyksięcia Ferdynanda z Grazu" [Traces of musical relations between Sigismund III Vasa and Duke Ferdinand from Graz courts], *Gazeta Antykwaryczna*, no. 11 (1998), 34–36.

⁷ The records of the Cathedral Chapter of Cracow inform us that Lilius arrived in Cracow in January 1630, leaving the royal court in Warsaw; see Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, *Acta actorum Ven. Capituli Ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis*, 1620–1631, file Aa 12, fol. 283r (olim 295r). In the panegyric written to praise Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski in 1632, Lilius describes himself as a "Magister Capellae Ecclesiae Cathedr. & Servitor S. R. M.", which means he had been granted *serwitoriat* privileges (he was no longer subject to city jurisdiction, but, as an artist, he answered only to the royal court), which means he definitely had a connection with the royal court before 1632.

In the 1640s Lilius became confident enough to threaten the Cathedral Chapter (his then employer) that he would leave to work for another patron, probably Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski, who was the subject of a few odes Lilius had written and published a few years earlier. The threats did not become reality and Lilius, being a respected musician and educationalist – his students were in high demand, sought after for example by the Opalińskis – continued his work as the local chapel master. In the 1650s he reached the peak of his popularity, as confirmed by Szymon Starowolski in 1650: “[Lilius] was known not only in Poland, but the whole of Europe”.⁸

Lilius’ career was interrupted by the Swedish Deluge in 1655. That is when he most probably left the city and found shelter in Gromnik near Tarnów, where he died in August 1657.

Traces of the reception of Lilius’ output in Poland and abroad

The musical output of Franciszek Lilius includes at least ninety-five compositions, but only one third of this survives today. The available sources tell us that his musical works were known and performed not only during the composer’s life, but also after his death, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The goal of this article is to show that Franciszek Lilius’ music was known and used in Cracow musical circles (Cathedral ensembles, the ensemble of the Carmelites at Piasek), as well as in other cities formerly included in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Gdańsk, Sandomierz, Przemyśl, Drohiczyn, Lviv, Vilnius), Silesia (Wrocław), the Duchy of Prussia (Königsberg), and the region now part of Slovakia (Podolínec), as well as the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

The main evidence of the reception of Lilius’ compositions is his handwritten or printed musical works. We have only one print, published when the composer was still alive, containing four hymns related to saints of the Dominican Order. Due to difficulties in the printing market in Poland during Lilius’ lifetime, his works were copied manually. Recent research has shown that Lilius’ music was quite popular among musicians, as the oldest copies found were created in the 1630’s and the latest at the beginning of the 19th century. Unfortunately, due to the turmoil of history, we are currently left with only

⁸ Szymon STAROWOLSKI, *Musices practicae erotemata*, Cracoviae 1650, fol. A2v.

scraps of the sources. Surviving manuscripts are currently stored in libraries and archives in Poland and abroad.⁹ In many cases we are able to point to the provenance of the source or approximate (rarely exact) date of the manuscript's creation, and sometimes also to the scribe who had copied it.

Lilius' music was not only performed among the clergy, but also in secular contexts, such as at magnates' residences or in university environments. Many musical ensembles of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries disappeared from history leaving no trace of their music. Information about them can be drawn, however, from other historical sources, such as music library inventories, in which the entire stock was written down. Other sources testifying to the dissemination of Lilius' music include ensembles' accounting books, or the correspondence exchanged by magnates in which they mention music performed in their homes, naming the composer.

Cracow Cathedral

Franciszek Lilius' music was most frequently performed – at least during his lifetime – in Cracow Cathedral, where he was employed. The composer wrote mostly for the vocal-instrumental ensemble at the cathedral, as well as for the Rorantist chapel, led until the first half of the seventeenth century by Adam Janecki.

We currently do not know of any manuscripts from Cracow Cathedral from the first half of the seventeenth century, belonging to the vocal-instrumental ensemble, where Lilius was chapel master from 1630 on. That is why there is not much we can say about the vocal-instrumental output of its chapel master. Probably the only trace is Lilius' *Missa brevissima* – a musical piece written for two choirs, each one with different vocal scoring: the first one being higher (CCAT) and the second lower (ATTB). The inscriptions found in the manuscripts tell us that the voices belonging to the lower choir were doubled by string instruments.¹⁰

⁹ Marek BEBAK, "Przekazy dzieł Franciszka Liliusa odnalezione w zbiorach polskich i obcych" [Information on Franciszek Lilius' pieces found in Polish and foreign sources], *Muzyka* no. 2 (2017), 21–34.

¹⁰ The manuscript includes the parts entitled "Tenor primus secundi chori | Violino secundo" and "Tenor secundus secundi chori | Violino Tertio"; see PL-Kk I.94.

The *Missa brevissima* could have been performed spatially in Cracow Cathedral, indicated by the bass parts of both choirs, which are nearly identical in the tutti sections. That way it was possible to avoid having a separate instrumental bass for each choir and to enable performance of the basso continuo part on just one instrument. The Cathedral's accounts include information confirming the spatial performance: we know that on the 24th of November 85 florins were paid for "upholstering of the porches and the eastern side, where music [was played]".¹¹

Among the Wawel castle musical documents I have not found any that could be assigned to the repertoire of a vocal-instrumental ensemble. There are however many *a cappella* pieces composed by Lilius, most probably for the Rorantist chapel. The chapel's repertoire included *stile antico* masses and motets written for one choir, such as the *Missa Tempore Paschalis* and the *Missa pro defunctis* – each one supported by five handwritten source files – *Missa a 4*, and *Officium de Conceptione BVM*, as well as *Christus iam surrexit*, *Confitebor tibi Domine*, *Domine Rex Deus*, *Gloria, laus et honor*, *Jesu dulcis memoria*, *O salutaris Hostia*, *Recordare Domine* and *Sacris solemniis*.

Some of the aforementioned pieces have survived to today in a partial form. The requiem mass and the hymn *Gloria, laus et honor* are missing the highest voice. The hymns *Jesu dulcis memoria* and *O salutaris Hostia* are also incomplete – the first one lacks tenor and bass parts, with only cantus and alto present, the second one lacks the alto part. Wawel manuscripts containing *Christus iam surrexit* and *Sacris solemniis* are not complete either. However, thanks to the survival of several other historical sources it was possible to reconstruct the missing voices.¹²

¹¹ Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, *Akta katedry*, file no. A.Cath. 3, fol. 119r. See also fol. 120r and 161v.

¹² In the year 2000 Tomasz Jasiński pointed out that *Christus iam surrexit* is a *contrafactum* to *Patrem* from *Missae Tempore Paschali* written by Lilius; and on the basis of this he recreated the whole piece. See Tomasz JASIŃSKI, "«Christus iam surrexit». Rekonstrukcja zdekompletowanej kontrafaktury Franciszka Liliusa" [The reconstruction of a scattered contrafactum by Franciszek Lilius], *Muzyka* no. 1 (2000), 65–68. The motet *Sacris solemniis* is preserved among the anonymous pieces in the Sandomierz Benedictine's cantional. Both the recreated "Wawel" versions, as well as the original "Sandomierz" version, are included in *Dziela wszystkie* [All works] by Lilius. See Franciszek LILIUS, *Opera omnia II: Motetti, Concerti, Aria e Toccata*, pub. Marek Bebak, «Sub Sole Sarmatiae» 28, ed. Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, Aleksandra Patalas, (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2016), 83–84.

Lilius' pieces were part of the Wawel ensembles' repertoire from the 1630s (i.e. from the beginning of his career as a maestro di cappella) until at least the second half of the eighteenth century, and possibly as late as the beginning of the 19th century. We can tell this from the manuscripts written by anonymous and named Wawel scribes, including the Rorantist chapel's prefects, such as Maciej Arnulf Miskiewicz¹³ and the eighteenth-century prefect Józef Tadeusz Benedykt Pękalski, who modified Lilius' musical pieces.¹⁴ Pękalski changed the form and parts of compositions, as well as vocal and instrumental scoring – adding basso ripieno and figured bass, changing the vocal scoring from *a voce pari* to *a voce piena* – as well as the melody (mainly in the bass line). That is why we cannot rule out that Lilius' pieces, initially written for male voice choir, were also used by the cathedral ensemble (i.e. mixed choir) during the eighteenth century.

The most recent manuscript containing Lilius' work is a part of the Wawel collection. The manuscript PL-Kk I.95 dates back to the second half of the eighteenth century¹⁵ and includes only the bass part of *Missa pro defunctis*. This proves that Lilius music, written in the first half of the seventeenth century, was performed during the liturgy long after the composer passed away.

Compositions in *stile antico* are mostly based on *cantus firmi*, and their musical language is usually of a post-Palestrina quality: simple, but based on imitation technique. They are also characterized by a concise arrangement and

¹³ Miskiewicz prepared five of Lilius' scores: *Confitebor tibi Domine, Domine Rex Deus, Recordare Domine, Gloria, laus et honor* and *O salutaris Hostia*. To learn more about the life and work of Maciej Arnulf Miskiewicz see: Marek BEBAK, "Życie i działalność skryptorska Macieja A. Miskiewicza. Repertuar kolegium rorantystów wawelskich w latach 1660–1682" [Maciej A. Miskiewicz's life as a scribe. Repertoire of the Rorantists' chapel in Wawel 1660–1682], *Muzyka* no. 2 (2013), 19–40; idem, „Zastosowanie metody graficzno-porównawczej w badaniach muzykologicznych na przykładzie warsztatu skryptorskiego Macieja Arnulfa Miskiewicza” [Using graphic and comparatistic methods in musicology using scripture by Maciej Arnulfo Miskiewicz as an example], *Młoda Muzykologia* (2013), 7–27.

¹⁴ More on Pękalski's changes using the example of *Missa in defectu unius contraaltus* by Bartłomiej Pękiel can be found in: Marek BEBAK, "Nieznany przekaz *Missa in defectu unius contraaltus* Bartłomieja Pękiela ze zbiorów Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej” [An unknown source of *Missa in defectu unius contraaltus* by Bartłomiej Pękiel from the Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapel], *Muzyka* no. 3 (2018), 111–116.

¹⁵ The manuscript was created by an anonymous scribe who also wrote down another manuscript, containing *Missae Quatuor a voce Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso, cappellae Regis Sigismundi* (PL-Kk I.88) by Jakub Gołąbek, a composer active in Cracow during the years 1766 and 1789.

a clear texture. Having the Baroque *varietas* in mind, Lilius cared about diversified scoring: he used diverse compositional techniques, such as imitative polyphony (including strict, canonic and free-form imitation), which he then used in contrast with free counterpoint, in the form of homorhythm or pseudo-homorhythm. His *stile antico* works also included elements of concertato techniques. He would combine high and low voices in a four-voice work and in three-voice arrangements he might use the low voice first, then high voice, followed by tutti, or the other way around: high voices first, then tutti and low voices last (see Examples 1–3).

Example 1 shows a four-voice setting of the text "ces-set iam ma-nus ces-set iam ma-nus ma-nus tu-a". The score is written for four voices: C (Cantus), A (Alto), T (Tenor), and B (Bass). The lyrics are: "ces-set iam ma-nus ces-set iam ma-nus ma-nus tu-a".

Example 1. Franciszek Lilius, *Recordare Domine*, bars 27–33.

Example 2 shows a four-voice setting of the text "- ste. Cum San-cto Spi-ri-tu cum San-cto Spi-ri-tu cum San-cto Spi-ri-tu". The score is written for four voices: [D] (Dobry), [A] (Alto), [T] (Tenor), and [B] (Bass). The lyrics are: "- ste. Cum San-cto Spi-ri-tu cum San-cto Spi-ri-tu cum San-cto Spi-ri-tu".

Exemple 2. Franciszek Lilius, *Missa a 4, Gloria*, bars 179–188.

The print is 19 pages long and contains lyrics of seven songs by Błażej Derey, a Dominican monk, poet, painter of miniatures and composer. Four texts had been set to music by Franciszek Lilius. These are simple, homorhythmic pieces that could be performed during the Rosary Brotherhood meetings. The highest voice is described as “the voice for the common masses” and three others create the harmony for the main melody (in three cases these are alto, tenor and bass, the other is set for canto, alto and bass). The songs praise Dominican saints: Dominic, Hyacinth, Catherine of Siena and seventeenth-century favourite Our Lady of Gidle.

It is quite possible that Lilius was a member of the brotherhood as well, but to date his name has not been found among the registry books. He did however join the Scapular Confraternity of Carmelites at Piasek in 1640.¹⁷ The Carmelites’ temple had maintained a vocal-instrumental ensemble from the first half of seventeenth century (or maybe earlier) and it was one of the most important ensembles in Cracow.¹⁸ The inventory written in the years 1665–1684 tells us that the repertoire of the cappella included as many as forty-one of Lilius’ pieces. Sixteen of them are labeled with a monogram “F.L.,” twenty-five are signed with the composer’s name, usually as “Lily”.¹⁹ They were small and large (some of them with a 20 score) masses, litanies, arias, church concertos, and *stile antico* motets, as well as instrumental pieces.

In the 1670s Lilius’ music was performed by ensembles belonging to the Order of Friars Minor. We know this from the inventories of the monasteries of Przemyśl, Lviv and Drohiczyn.²⁰ These ensembles had masses, motets and

¹⁷ Marek BEBAK, „Muzycy w księdze wpisów do Bractwa Szkaplerza Świętego z Archiwum OO. Karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie” [Musicians registered with the Scapular Confraternity from the archives of the Carmelites in Piasek, Cracow], *Muzyka* no. 4 (2014), 118–120. To read more on the musical activity of the brotherhood see: Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI, „Działalność muzyczna Bractwa Szkaplerznego w kościele OO. Karmelitów Trzewickich w Krakowie na Piasku” [Musical activity of the Scapular Confraternity in the Carmelites’ church in Cracow, Piasek], *Muzyka* no. 2 (1978), 59–71.

¹⁸ The earliest documents about the ensemble date from the 40s, see: AKKr 703 / 295.

¹⁹ Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI, „Inwentarz muzykaliów kapeli karmelickiej w Krakowie na Piasku z lat 1665–1684” [The inventory of the musical documents of the Carmelite chapel in Cracow, Piasek, 1665–1684], *Muzyka* 1976, no. 2, 77–99.

²⁰ Mirosław PERZ, „Inwentarz przemyski (1677)” [The Przemyśl inventory (1677)], *Muzyka* 1974, no. 4, pp. 44–69; Alicja DACEWICZ, „Franciszkańskie inwentarze muzyczne z II połowy XVII wieku” [The musical inventories of the Franciscans from the second half of the 17th century], *WNurcie Franciszkańskim* 2012, no. 19, 139–170.

sonatas in their repertoires, all signed with F.L. – a signature we can now associate with the Cracow-based composer.

In the 1650s Lilius cooperated with the Italian Brotherhood. They held meetings in the Order of Friars Minor's church, as we read in a note by Tomaso Bellami in their account books.²¹ Unfortunately, the great fire that broke out in Cracow in 1850 destroyed most of the Franciscans' archives, so it is not possible to state whether or not their repertoire included the composer's works.²²

We do not know how exactly Lilius' music ended up with the Piarists' ensemble in Podoliniec (in present-day Slovakia). Two inventory documents currently held in the National Archive in Bratislava²³ are our source of knowledge.²⁴ The manuscripts are from the 1680s and the end of the seventeenth century, and record the titles of eleven compositions by Franciszek Lilius, including vocal-instrumental masses (e.g. *Missa super O gloriosa a 14*, *Missa brevissima a 7*), church concertos (such as *Dixit Dominus a 10*, *Magnificat a 10 cum Ripienis super Bataglia*) and instrumental pieces such as arias and sonatas.

It is most probable that an organ tablature from the seventeenth century, containing the signed with F.L. monogram *Toccata*, attributed to Lilius, was used in the Benedictine monastery in Vilnius.²⁵ It is the only piece in the manuscript with a signature, all others are anonymous. The monogram was added after the manuscript was copied. The characteristics of this composition allow us to include it in Lilius' works. Not only is the melody of the *Toccata* almost identical with the first line of the voice "for the common masses" of the *Hymn about St. Dominic* by Lilius, but the harmonies are also very similar, as Tomasz

²¹ W. Stefanyk's National Science Library in Lviv, Ukraine, Manuscripts of Baworowscy section, rkps 204: *Regestr Handlowy kupca Włocha, Tomasza Bellami, osiadłego w Krakowie. 1650 oraz Pisma tyżące się Bractwa Św. Jana Chrzciciela, włoskiego, przy kościele św. Franciszka w Krakowie* [Trade chronicles of Tomaso Bellami, an Italian living in Cracow 1650 as well as notes on the John the Baptist Brotherhood by St Francis' church in Cracow], k. 71b, in National Ossoliński Institute Library in Wrocław.

²² Some documents once belonging to the Franciscans are available in the National Archive in Cracow. These are mostly files from the eighteenth century.

²³ Štátny archív v Bratislave, Modra department.

²⁴ In 2002 Aleksandra Patalas introduced the Slovak inventories to the Polish reader, see Aleksandra PATALAS, "Polonica w inwentarzach słowackich z lat 1581–1718" [Polish repertoire in Slovak inventories from 1581–1718], *Muzyka* 2002, no. 2, 97–107.

²⁵ *Album Sapieżyńskie. Wileńska tabulatura organowa z XVII wieku obrazami żywota św. Franciszka zdobiona* [Sapieżyńskie album. Organ tablature from the 17th century with paintings from St. Francis' life], ed. Piotr Poźniak (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2004).

Jasiński pointed out.²⁶ The scholar reasonably assumes that the organ toccata was written by Lilius and that it was a cadence of the *Hymn about St. Dominic*, and that the organ introduction was necessary for the ordinary people to join in singing from the very first note.

Lilius' music was also performed by female orders. The motet *Sacris solemnibus* is included in one of the cantionals belonging to the Benedictine nuns of Sandomierz currently housed in the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz.²⁷ It is possible the piece was written for the use of the Cracow cathedral ensemble or the Rorantist chapel, as the manuscripts from the Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter contain an older, incomplete version of the piece, with just canto and alto voices (CA[TB]).²⁸ The Benedictines' archives include the complete piece, but with a different voice scoring (CCCB). The cantional scribe adjusted the composition to the nuns' needs, so that the tenor voice is an octave higher and the order of voices is different. Both versions of the piece were published in *Dziela wszystkie* [Complete works].²⁹

Lilius' output in the churches of Gdańsk

Musical life in seventeenth-century Gdańsk revolved around four Lutheran churches: St Mary's, St. Katherine's, St. John's and St. Bartholomew's. Historical sources confirm that Lilius' music was known and performed at least by the ensembles connected to St. Katherine's and St. Bartholomew's churches.

The repertoire of the first included two small-ensemble church concertos – *Haec dies* (for alto, bass and organ) and *Tua Jesu dilectio* (for soprano, bass and organ), which have survived to today thanks to the transcriptions created in the first half of the 20th century by or for Adolf Chybiński. The music collection belonging to this particular church was gathered by Crato Büttner (1616–1679) in the second half of the seventeenth century; in the 19th century, due to the secularization of monasteries and churches, this and other churches' collections were placed in the Stadtbibliothek in Gdańsk. The musical collection

²⁶ Tomasz Jasiński's opinion from the review of my PhD thesis.

²⁷ PL-SA L. 1642.

²⁸ PL-Kk I.13.

²⁹ LILIUS, *Opera omnia II*, 83–84.

was catalogued in 1911 by Otto Günter.³⁰ Unfortunately, it was entirely lost during the war.

The *Haec dies* concerto is an arrangement of psalm texts (a gradual) which could have been performed during Easter Sunday after the reading, immediately before the Hallelujah. The liturgical purpose of *Tua Jesu dilectio*, is still unknown. Its text is a free form text on the theme of pietà. Both compositions have a serial form. The composer adjusted the structure of the musical work to the text.

In *Haec dies* he makes use of the wide range of the bass voice, covering two octaves (C–d¹), and also extensive coloraturas. In all his concertos Lilius tends to build his *passaggi* by putting together ornaments (types of *gruppetti*), ascending and descending, rarely adding the *accento* figure. These coloraturas resemble the figures used by composers of both instrumental and vocal pieces as a result of the sixteenth-century practice of diminution. These figurations can be found in the works of the composers older than Lilius (such as Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Tarquinio Merula or, to a lesser extent, Marco Scacchi). The extant works by Lilius, like the small-ensemble pieces by Marco Scacchi and Marcin Mielczewski, do not include the modern figures eagerly used in the first half of the seventeenth century in Italian vocal music (such as *trillo*, *tremolo* or Lombard rhythm), which makes Lilius' compositions more similar to the small-ensemble concertos by Lodovico Grossi in the *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* collection published in Venice in 1602.

The ensemble of St. Bartholomew's church in Gdańsk performed two multi-choir masses by Lilius. The masses appear in a manuscript from the seventeenth century currently kept in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. According to Danuta Popingins, who introduced Lilius' masses to the research community at the beginning of the 1990s, the compositions were written down after 1641.³¹ Another scholar, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, formed the hypothesis that the manuscript could have been copied (or transferred to Gdańsk) around the year 1646, when the royal musicians

³⁰ Otto GÜNTER, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, vol. 4, *Die musikalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek und der ihrer Verwaltung befindlichen Kirchenbibliotheken von St. Katherinen und St. Johann in Danzig* (Danzig: Kommissions-Verlag der L. Saunierschen Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1911).

³¹ Danuta POPINIGIS, "Dwie niekompletne msze Franciszka Liliusa zachowane w Bibliotece Gdańskiej PAN" [Two incomplete masses by Franciszek Lilius from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences], *Muzyka* 1992, no. 1, 59–66.

came to the city to welcome Marie Louise Gonzaga.³² This theory is supported by (among other factors) the transcripts of Marco Scacchi's – the royal chapel master – compositions, included in the file, that were most probably derived from the 1643 print *Cribrum musicum*. So Lilius' compositions could have ended up in the area of the Baltic coast through the royal chapel.

The masses in question are eight-voice masses without the organ part. In terms of their scoring, they draw upon the Roman tradition – the composer connected two choirs together, both with homogeneous *a voce piena* scoring (*chiavi naturali*), without any instrumental accompaniment. We cannot rule out the possibility that before the masses were added to the repertoire of St. Bartholomew's church in Gdańsk, where the full cycle of *ordinarium* for Kyrie and Gloria parts was limited, they were performed in Wawel Cathedral. This theory is supported by the scoring used by Wawel ensembles – the repertoire from before 1630 included for example two-choir compositions in *chiavi naturali* by Annibale Orgas and the *Missa Pulchra es* by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, also written for two choirs with the same scoring.

Compositions by Lilius in the churches of Wrocław

Lilius' compositions were also adapted to the musical requirements of seventeenth-century Wrocław, a town then inhabited mostly by Protestants. Pieces composed for the needs of the Catholic liturgy were adjusted by the copyists by, for example, changing the texts, adding or modifying parts of the piece, and adding sinfonias or ritornellos, making them suitable for the Lutheran service. Pieces by Marco Scacchi, Franciszek Lilius and Marcin Mielczewski and others were modified in such ways.³³

³² Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem...*, 93.

³³ See Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, „«Ave florum flos Hyacinthe» Marcina Mielczewskiego. Problemy z rekonstrukcją oryginalnego kształtu kompozycji zachowanej z tekstem niemieckojęzycznej kontrafakturey” [„Ave florum flos Hyacinthe” by Marcin Mielczewski. Problems with reconstruction of an original composition with German contrafactum], *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Sectio L – Artes*, vol. 1 (2003), 109–127; eadem, “From the Lutheran Selection: The Surviving Repertory of Vocal-Instrumental Religious Music of the Composers of the Polish Vasas”, *Musicology Today* vol. 2 (2005), 59–71; eadem, “Odpisy oraz opracowania kompozycji Marcina Mielczewskiego i innych muzyków polskich Wazów w siedemnastowiecznej kolekcji muzykaliów św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu” [Copies and arrangements of compositions by Marcin Mielczewski and other musicians to the Polish Vasas in the seventeenth-century music collections of the Church of St Mary Magda-

There were at least three of Lilius' compositions known in Wrocław, manuscripts of which were owned by the Lutheran church of St. Mary Magdalene and which are now placed in the Bohn collection at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. These are small-ensemble church concertos: *Exultabit cor meum* for two sopranos, bass and organ, *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* for two basses and organ, as well as one large-ensemble concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai solemnia* (for two sopranos, alto, two tenors, bass, three violins, three trombones, violone and basso continuo), which survived to today as a German *contrafactum* with the incipit *Kompt laßt uns betrachten*.³⁴ According to Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, the copies of the concertos were prepared by Bernhard Beyer, who was active as an organ player in St. Mary Magdalene's church (who notated the small-ensemble concertos), and by Michael Büttner, the church's cantor (who created a manuscript containing *Mutetta super Nicolai solemnia*). Both scribes were active in Wrocław from at least the 1630s until the 1650s, so the copies of Lilius's work must have been created when he was still alive, most probably – as Przybyszewska-Jarmińska suggests – during the 1650s.³⁵

Both small-ensemble concertos *Exultabit cor meum* and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* are arrangements of the graduals and have a sectional structure. Originally, they could have been performed during the Liturgy of the Hours.

All small-ensemble concertos by Lilius are stylistically similar to Giovanni Francesco Anerio's work, whose solo or small-scale motets are still influenced by polyphonic ways of thinking, as well as to younger composers' works, such as those of Marcin Mielczewski, whose works are dominated by a fully developed concerto texture. Lilius' pieces are characterized by the imitation technique,

lene in Wrocław], *Muzyka* 2006, no. 1–2, 117–146; Maria JAROSIEWICZ, «Magnificat a 8 voci e 2 violini» Giovanniego Rovetty we wrocławskim kościele św. Marii Magdaleny” [Magnificat a 8 voci e 2 violini by Giovanni Rovetta in St Mary Magdalene church in Wrocław], *De Musica XIV*, Nuove Pagine 3, 2008, available online: http://demusica.pl/cmsimple/images/file/jarosiewicz_nuove_pagine_3%281%29.pdf (as of 7th of March 2017); Aleksandra PATALAS, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze. Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria* [In church, chamber and theatre. Marco Scacchi. Life, music, theory] (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2010).

³⁴ To read more about the reconstruction of the original text of the concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai solemnia* by Lilius see Marek BEBAK, “An Attempt to Reconstruct the Original Lyrics of the Concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* by Franciszek Lilius”, *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ* 2017, no. 2 (33), 4–23. DOI: 10.4467/23537094KMMUJ.17.020.7849.

³⁵ Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem...*, 145–146.

which works well for concerto performance: the phrases and motives jump from one voice to another.

The most characteristic feature that all small-ensemble concertos have is that of presenting the initial phrase in the solo voice (in *Tua Jesu dilectio* not literally) and then repeating it in another voice or voices. The whole phrase or the main motive becomes a theme to be imitated (mostly in a free form, imitating only the first few notes), which over the duration of the piece becomes tighter, until the maximal stretto in the culmination of the part or of the whole piece.

It is also worth noticing the emerging rhetorical-musical figures in these pieces. It seems that the psalm *Laudate Dominum* is the most interesting when it comes to this – the main expressive device here is the use of onomatopoeia. For the words “in sono tubae laudate eum” [praise Him with the sound of the trumpet] the composer used *imitatio tubarum*, a figure imitating the trumpet through a melody based on a divided triad. Later in the piece other instruments are imitated by the voices through onomatopoeia: at the words “in tympano” [on timpani] a repetitive tone is used along with a dotted rhythm, and on the words “in chordis et organo” [on strings and organ] there is polyphonic arrangement alluding to instrumental forms and a unison canon, strongly suggesting string instruments.³⁶

In the concertos for small ensemble we can also detect the use of various repetitive figures, for example: *epizeuxis*, repeating the same phrase in the same voice, but at a different pitch, mostly with the same words (used for example in *Tua Jesu dilectio*, *Exultabit cor meum* and *Haec dies*); *climax*, similarly constructed, but with a shorter melodic-rhythmical model repeated on each step of the scale to create a progressive phrase (for instance in *Haec dies* and *Tua Jesu dilectio*); and *polyptoton*, a technique of repeating the same musical period at a different pitch, register or voice, keeping the beginning as it was, but changing the following phrase. A good example of this figure in Lilius’ works appears in the *Tua Jesu dilectio* concerto, in which the composer arranged the fragment “dans famem desiderio” twice in the bass section, but further developed the phrase in the second instance.

³⁶ Luca Marenzio developed the same text in a similar style.

Lilius' music in Königsberg

Another centre in which we find Lilius' music is Königsberg, a Prussian city that – after the secularisation of the Teutonic Order and the Prussian Homage of 1525 – became the capital of the first ever Lutheran secular state: the Duchy of Prussia. Königsberg practically consisted of three cities: the Old Town (Altstadt), Knipawa (Kneiphof) and Lipnik (Löbenicht). In the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century the area was extended by including the surrounding countryside in the city's administration. It was also surrounded by a new fortification system, which made the three inner cities integrate at a quicker pace.

Königsberg's musical culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is still lacking a monographic study, but the research suggests that music flourished in all of the most important public institutions (city halls), in the court ballrooms, schools, city houses and churches, and especially in Kneiphof cathedral (which became St. Mary's church after the Reformation).³⁷ In addition to the Protestant churches, i.e. the Old Town church of St. Nicolas or the main church of St. Barbara and St. John in Löbenicht, there was (from the half of the 1620s) a Catholic church in the Sackheim district, built at the command of the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa. A major role in promoting Catholicism in Königsberg in the 1630s and 40s was played by Mikołaj Szyszkowski, a Warmian bishop, who was very persistent in his attempts to stop Protestantism from spreading in Prussia; besides which, he was also trying to stop the university in Königsberg being transformed into an Evangelical school.

During the second half of the seventeenth century the Königsberg royal ensemble's repertoire included two large-ensemble concertos by Lilius: *Dextera Domini fecit virtutem* (for two sopranos, alto, tenor, bass and five instruments) and *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (for two sopranos, alto, tenor, bass, two violins, viola, two trombones, bassoon and organ). The manuscripts containing these compositions were part of Friedrich Augusta Gotthold's collection, and then, in the nineteenth century, became a part of the University Library and were

³⁷ For a summary of the Polish and foreign literature about musical culture in Königsberg, see Izabela BOGDAN, *Niemiecka pieśń polifoniczna w XVI-wiecznym Królewcu* [German polyphonic hymns in sixteenth-century Königsberg], (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002); eadem, *Ceremonie ślubne i renesansowa muzyka weselna w Królewcu w latach 1585–1645* [Wedding ceremonies and music in Königsberg 1585–1645] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2009).

catalogued by Joseph Müller.³⁸ The concerto *Dextera Domini* was included in the handwritten collection entitled *Psalmen Heinrich Schuetzen Anno 1652* (file Rc α 22) that included 42 compositions for 4 to 14 voices by Heinrich Schütz, Giovanni Gabrieli, Heinrich Grimm, Giovanni Rovetta, Giovanni Priuli, Claudio Monteverdi and others. The *Jubilate Deo* concerto was registered in the Königsberg library in 1673 (with a shelf mark Ms. 24815 Gh). Both manuscripts were lost during the Second World War and the compositions were preserved thanks to the transcriptions made by Adolf Chybiński during the interwar period.³⁹

Due to the complicated history of both the city and its library archives, it is impossible to point to the institution in which Lilius' works were performed – it could have been a court chapel, a Catholic church or one of the Protestant churches.⁴⁰ It is possible that Lilius' music was transmitted to Königsberg through the aforementioned Mikołaj Szyszkowski, who was one of Lilius' patrons. This issue needs further study.

The residences of Polish magnates

Lilius' music was certainly performed in magnates' palaces, as confirmed by archival accounting books and correspondence. Secular and clerical magnates, especially Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski and Mikołaj Szyszkowski (Warmian bishop from 1633 to 1643) were, after the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, one of the most important patrons for Lilius.⁴¹ The composer dedi-

³⁸ Joseph MÜLLER, *Die musikalischen Schätze der Koeniglichen- und Universitaets-Bibliothek zu Koenigsberg in Pr.* (Bonn: Bei Adolph Marcus, 1870), 47, 246; available online: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10528110_00001.html (as of 6th of September 2018).

³⁹ Currently the copies are kept in the University Library in Poznań as part of Adolf Chybiński's legacy, shelf mark Rkp 795/4–5 (olim II 14/4–5).

⁴⁰ During the Second World War part of the files in the library were damaged, part scattered around and Königsberg became Kaliningrad. Some of the documents from the city were found in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, see Janusz TONDEL, *Książka w dawnym Królestwu Pruskim* [Books in the old Prussian Königsberg] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2001).

⁴¹ My work titled *Between the court and the church. Franciszek Lilius' attempts to gain protection*, which I wrote as a lecture for the Musicology Conference in Wrocław titled *The Culture-Making Role of Musical Patronage. Contexts – Meanings – Perspectives* (Wrocław, 22nd–24th May 2019) is currently awaiting publication.

cated his poetic works (the odes) published at the beginning of the 30s by the Cracow printing house belonging to Franciszek Cezary Starszy to them.

In 1632 Lilius published an ode dedicated to Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski.⁴² The patron-client relationship between the magnate and the cathedral chapel master started in 1632 at the latest and lasted until Zasławski-Ostrogski's death in 1656. Zasławski-Ostrogski was known for his love of music; in the 1640s he owned a music ensemble that amounted to 40 members, eleven students and a separate military music section.⁴³ Furthermore, the magnate borrowed musicians from other ensembles, and kept inviting the royal ensemble to his palace, as well as a Cracow choir – maybe that of the cathedral led by Lilius.⁴⁴ The account books tell us that he frequently tried to enlarge his ensemble.⁴⁵ Archival sources confirm that on the 15th of March 1637 60 florins were paid from the coffers of the Ostroh and Iziaslav lord to “the musician who dedicated a book to father J.M.; 20 thalers”⁴⁶, and in July of the same year 150 florins were paid to the “Cracow's master of chapel; 50 thalers”.⁴⁷ We also know that, thanks to the patronage of Zasławski-Ostrogski, Lilius received a parish in Żębocin in 1648, as well as a canonry in Tarnów in 1652.⁴⁸

⁴² *Illustrissimo D[omi]no Vladislao Dominico, Duci in Ostrog et Zasław. Cum in Russiam proficisceretur*, a print kept currently in the Russian National Library in Petersburg, “Rossica” section, shelf mark 13.8.2.1065.

⁴³ Władysław CZAPLIŃSKI, Józef DĘGOSZ, *Życie codzienne magnaterii polskiej w XVII wieku* [The everyday life of Polish magnates in the 17th century] (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1976), 143–144.

⁴⁴ On the 15th November 1636 150 florins were paid from Duke Ostrogski “To Cracow, for getting the music, I sent money to Mr Czachowski”, quote: Józef DĘGOSZ, “Rachunki kapeli nadwornej księcia Władysława Dominika Ostrogskiego w latach 1635–1642” [Bills of the royal ensemble of the duke Władysław Dominik Ostrogski 1635–1642], *Muzyka* 1970, no. 1, 65. On the 30th January 1637 70 florins was paid to “a musician from Cracow brought in by Mr Czachowski, who got money in Cracow for future time; returned”; see *ibidem*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ This might refer to a panegyric print published in 1632; see *ibidem*, 69.

⁴⁷ Quote: *ibidem*, 71.

⁴⁸ In 2011 Barbara Przybyszewska researched Skokloster Castle in Stockholm and found, among other Polish materials, a letter from Jan Sobiepan Zamoyski to Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski dated 24th September 1649, in which the sender was pitching Lilius to take over the canonry of St Mary in Tarnów castle, see Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, “Źródła do dziejów muzyki na dworach polskich Wazów ze zbiorów Zamku Skokloster (Szwecja)” [Sources on music at the courts of the Polish Vasas from Skokloster castle (Sweden)], *Muzyka* 2011, no. 2, 12–13.

A year after the ode for Zasławski-Ostrogski, Lilius published another print containing two odes dedicated to Mikołaj Szyszkowski, who, after being in charge of the Cracow dioceses, was appointed a bishop in Warmia.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, we do not have any detailed information about musical life at Szyszkowski's residence. We only know that the bishop was considered a wealthy church official, who gladly spent money to support artists, a fact which is apparently confirmed by a report made by a papal nuncio, Visconti, in 1636, which reads: "[he] was very generous when it comes to churches, building some, reconstructing and ornamenting the others from the *in minoribus* funds, and he is also rich himself which was needed for the Warmia cathedral, destroyed by the Swedes, having no support from the previously ruling Polish duke and cardinal".⁵⁰

The correspondence of the magnates Łukasz and Krzysztof Opalińscy informs us that they sought Lilius' compositions in *stile moderno* (unfortunately we do not know which ones), as well as musicians he had educated. Poznań *voivode* Krzysztof Opaliński wrote thus to his brother Łukasz on 8th September 1642: "I am asking for Mr Franciszek's compositions for my ensemble, for two, one and three voices"⁵¹, and on 4th April 1644: "Please ask Mr Franciszek for some boy sopranos, as he educates them *eo fine* and I am more than willing to pay so that others do not get there before me".⁵² It is worth mentioning that Lilius was Łukasz Opaliński's neighbour from the year 1650, when he moved to a town house at no. 20 Poselska street, directly opposite Opaliński's residence at no. 21 Poselska street. From that date the exchange of repertoire had to have been quite easy.

⁴⁹ *Illustrissimo: ac Reuerendissimo D[omi]no. D. Nicolao Szyszkowski, Episcopo Varmien-si Nominato. [...] Concinentis Musae Symphoniam Demissae venerationis ergo Franciscvs Lilius Ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracouien: Magister Capellae. [...]*, Cracoviae 1633. The print is preserved in a set with special editions, now in Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, file no. NL 51, 35th position.

⁵⁰ As cited in *Relacje nuncjusów i innych osób o Polsce* [The reports of nuncios and other people about Poland] (Berlin–Poznań, 1864), vol. 2, 241–242.

⁵¹ As cited in *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza 1641–1653* [Letters from Krzysztof Opaliński to his brother Łukasz 1641–1653], ed. Roman Pollak (Wrocław: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1957), 89.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 203.

The Cracow university environment

Some sources have survived confirming Franciszek Lilius' cooperation with academic circles in Cracow. The composer would create music to special lyrics written to celebrate graduation. This type of panegyric work was quite popular at that time. In Franciszek Cezary Starszy's (1616–1651) printing house alone no less than 317 prints of this kind were published, including those celebrating conferring of degrees and other ceremonies of the Academy.⁵³

The first piece of this kind is the *Ode In laudem Artis Apollineae* by Jan Czechowicz, the music to which was composed by Lilius. It was most probably added to the print prepared by Andrzej (Jędrzej) Jacek Wolfowicz for his brother's (Marcin Stanisław Wolfowicz) graduation from Cracow Academy.⁵⁴ It is assumed the print was published in the 1630s or 1640s.

Lilius composed music for Jan Racki's *Ode in laudem Musicae*, which was included in Jan Ratułowski's *Epos Spectabili* published in Cracow in 1647.⁵⁵ Both Jan Racki (1610–1682) and Jan Ratułowski (precise dates of his life unknown) were connected to the university environment in Cracow. Racki was a professor and a historiographer of Cracow University, as well as a cathedral canon. After his studies he worked in Nowodworski college, teaching poetics and, later, rhetoric. He was also involved with the court of Stanisław Lubomirski, the *voivode* of Cracow. Jan Ratułowski was a professor of art and philosophy at Cracow Academy. It would seem then that Racki's ode set to Lilius'

⁵³ Marian MALICKI, *Repertuar wydawniczy drukarni Franciszka Cezarego Starszego. 1616–1651. Część 1: Bibliografia druków Franciszka Cezarego starszego 1616–1651* [Works published in Franciszek Cezary Starszy's printing house, 1616–165, part 1: the inventory 1616–1651] (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2010), 27.

⁵⁴ *10 Gratulatorium, quod Venerabili Domino, Martino Stanislaeo Wolfowicz: Clarissimi et Doctissimi Viri, Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctoris Filio. Cum In Alma Crac. Prima Artium Liberalium ac Philosophiae Laurea insigniretur. Andreas Hyacinthus Wolfowicz, Fratri suo optatissimo. Nec non Nobilis et praeclara Iuventus Acad. Lusit et Dedicavit.* Two copies have survived to today: one containing the ode for Czechowicz in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, shelf mark 17300 I,, and the other without the aforementioned ode in the National Ossoliński Institute Library, shelf mark 8025.

⁵⁵ Jan RATUŁOWSKI, *Epos Spectabili Ac Magnifico Domino, D. Andreae Patoc' ai de Patoca Libero Baroni In Wodziszlaw et Fridman Domino Ac Haeredi Die Natalivm Sev D. Andreae Apostoli Patroni Eiusdem. In vim grati animi ergo suum Patronum ac Munificum Benefactorem per Emblematum Anagramaticorum Expositione a M. Joanne Ratułowski Philos: Doctore: Eccle: Fridman: Directore cum Parergis factum oblatumque. Chronostichon Ter Deno Phaebo botros portante noVeMbre ArgVtas nerVIIs tangIt ApoLLo Lyras*, In Officina Valeriani Piątkowski, Cracoviae 1647. The print is now kept in the National Ossoliński Institute Library, shelf mark XVII-3745.

music could have been performed during some important academic celebration for example in the Collegium Novodvorscianum in Cracow.

It is not possible to judge the character of Lilius' music written for the odes – whether it was improvised, noted, instrumental only, vocal-instrumental, whether it accompanied the recitation from the beginning to end or whether it was only an instrumental introduction and ending; nor is it possible to ascertain whether the music took the form of instrumental intermissions or whether the whole text was actually sung.

Nowadays, apart from the texts set to music by Lilius, we know other examples of the *inter declamationem* work, such as some musical arrangements by Annibale Orgas and Domenico Mazzocchi.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, attempts to find prints containing information about the musicalization of the text were fruitless.

Lilius' music in the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Lilius' music appeared in the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg in the second half of the seventeenth century at the latest, as we can conclude from a handwritten book of instrumental sheet music containing Lilius' *Aria a 3* – the manuscript, dated to the 1660s, was a birthday gift for Duke August and his wife, Sophia Elizabeth⁵⁷ – as well as from the inventory of the church school named after St. Michael in Lüneburg from the period when Johann Sebastian Bach studied there (around 1700).⁵⁸

Lilius' *Aria a 3* for two violins and a viola da gamba was written among compositions for 1–8 instruments and basso continuo by various composers,

⁵⁶ Anna SZWEYKOWSKA, “Dwie kompozycje okolicznościowe. Annibale Orgas, Virgilio Mazzocchi” [Two compositions for special occasions. Annibale Orgas, Virgilio Mazzocchi], *Muzyka* 1992, no. 1, 53–58.

⁵⁷ Lilius' composition was found and introduced to Polish musicological historiography by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, see Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, “Rękopiśmienna księga partytur D-W. Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug. 2^o jako źródło muzyki instrumentalnej Franciszka Liliusa oraz innych twórców związanych w XVII wieku z Rzeczpospolitą” [Handwritten sheet music of D-W. Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug. 2^o as a source of Franciszek Lilius' instrumental music and other artists connected to 17th-century Poland], *Muzyka* 2008, no. 4, 139–149.

⁵⁸ Max SEIFFERT, “Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaeliskirche zu Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1907–1908), 593–621.

mainly from German-Austrian backgrounds (for example, Andreas Oswald, Antonio Bertali, Nathanael Schnittelbach, Johann Jakob Froberger, Christoph Bernhard, Samuela Capricornus, Adam Drese, Johann Heinrich Schmeltzer and Giovanni Valentini). Lilius' *Aria* has a ritornello-based structure. The piece represents the phase of instrumental music development when the *ricercar* technique has been abandoned in favour of a varied texture with homorhythmic parts and independent voices. Diminutions also play an important role, built just like vocal ones.

Large-score compositions by Lilius were included in St Michael's church's repertoire in Lüneburg as well. The musical life of the city centred around churches and church schools (St. Michael's, St. John's, St. Nicholas'), in which cantors and organists worked alongside school choirs, perfecting music for both religious and secular celebrations. The city council also hired a couple of instrumentalists (*Ratsmusikanten*), who were involved in musical performances for religious holidays during both school and city festivities.

In the inventory of St. Michael's school there is information about the students using music written by artists connected to Poland, for example, Franciszek Lilius' *Magnificat a 18. 8 strom. C, C, A, T, B con Rip. A 5 (Cb)* and *Vic-time paschali laudes immolant Christiani, Motett a 10 (D)*.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can conclude that Lilius' works were known mostly in Poland and in the neighbouring countries: Silesia (Wrocław), the Duchy of Prussia (Königsberg), Moravia (Podolínec) and Saxony (Lüneburg). His music was not forgotten after his death, but entered the repertoires of various city ensembles, such as the Cracow Cathedral ensemble, the ensemble of the Rorantist chapel or the ensemble of the Carmelites in Piasek. Still performed in the second half of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, Lilius' music was heard in many cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such as Gdańsk, Sandomierz, Przemyśl, Drohiczyn, Lviv and Vilnius, however our knowledge of them is only based on the extant inventories of musical documents. Compositions that have survived to today testify to the nature of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music and provide proof of how repertoire was travelling between Catholic and Protestant circles, but they also show the stylistic changes of the eighteenth century. Lilius's music was

frequently modified and adjusted to certain performers in particular centres through, for example, changes in the voice scoring (*Sacris solemniss* from Sandomierz collection), lyrics (*Mutetta super Nicolai solemniss*) or additional *ripieni* voices (*Jubilate Deo*, *Mutetta super Nicolai solemniss*).

In conclusion Franciszek Lilius can be considered an important figure in Polish history of music. He was a well-educated musician, who introduced what was considered the most modern and interesting Italian-style compositions to the local repertoire.

Translation: Magda Rýdová

Summary

Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli) was one of the most prominent composers of the 17th century Poland, a pedagogue, poet and the director of music in Cracow's Cathedral between 1630–1657. Having being raised in an Italian family which cherished a musical tradition and also having being a student of Girolamo Frescobaldi between 1624–1625 in Rome, Lilius quickly became a valued figure in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The musical output of Franciszek Lilius includes at least ninety-five compositions, but only one third of it survived today. The available sources tell us the musical pieces were known and performed not only during the composer's life but also after his death, during the 17th and 18th century. The goal of this article is to show that Franciszek Lilius' music did exist in the Cracow musical circles (Wawel castle bands, the band belonging to Carmelites at Piasek), as well as other cities in former Poland (Gdańsk, Sandomierz, Przemyśl, Drohiczyn, Lviv, Vilnius), Silesia (Wrocław), Duchy of Prussia (Königsberg), in the area now belonging to Slovakia (Podolinec), as well as the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

Keywords

Lilius, reception, early music, Polish music

