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MUSIC AND PATRONAGE IN LIGHT OF LETTERS OF DEDICATION:
WACŁAW OF SZAMOTUŁY, VALENTIN BAKFARK AND KING
SIGISMUND II AUGUSTUS

In contemporary discourses of patronage in art, literature, theatre or music, the motives for becoming involved in patronage are a continuing subject of research interest. Was it merely an ostentatious gesture of snobbery and fashion, or a cultural duty linked to the patron's particular social role, or perhaps simply evidence of the patron's genuine interest in a given artistic area? Employing renowned artists, writers or musicians undoubtedly provided the patron with reasons to be proud, since the brilliance of their activities might reflect on him. However, this mechanism could also work in the opposite direction: an illustrious patron lent his brilliance to the client under his protection. The Kraków professor, philosopher and scientist Jan of Stobnica (Ioannes de Stobnicza, 1470–1519) gave a perceptive account of the situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century in his explanation of the genesis of the letter of dedication (1512): 'They [men of letters] do this to express gratitude for benefactions received and to demonstrate their love. They try to shelter behind someone's authority, since the dignity of the dedicatee flows onto the book'.¹ Although the area of motivation remains unclear today, it is undoubtedly the case that the patrons' initiatives were always linked to using the potential of art for political and propaganda purposes. This applies to music as well.

1 '[Oni] czynią to, aby wyrazić wdzięczność za okazane dobrodziejstwa i okazać miłość. Chcą się zasłonić czyimś autorytetem, godność bowiem osoby, której się dedykuje, sływa na książkę'. Quoted after Anna Czekajewska, 'Kultura umysłowa Polski XVI wieku w świetle listów dedykacyjnych' [Intellectual culture in sixteenth-century Poland in light of letters of dedication], *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej. Seria A 7* (1965), pp. 47–106 at 47.

The arrival of music printing brought new developments in patronage practices. Printed editions enabled works to be distributed on a far greater scale than before, thereby expanding the representation of high-born patrons. The most common way of achieving this consisted of paratexts,² that is, all the elements framing the main body of the print, which ‘escorted’ it and influenced the way in which the recipient interpreted the contents of these editions. The most important type of paratext was the letter of dedication, produced with the intention of introducing a given work into broad social circulation. By dedicating the edition to a given patron, the composer or the printer (or the writer employed by them) indicated or confirmed a direct link between the creator of the work and the dedicatee. Although the structure and function of letters of dedication have long been of interest to researchers, in musicology this subject has gained in importance only quite recently.³ Paratexts included in music prints turn out to be a valuable source of information, not only about the client–patron relationship, but also about the mechanisms behind the functioning of music, the links between musicians and other participants in the life of the courts, and even the intellectual culture or prevailing political climate.

THE KING, AN ‘EVER FAITHFUL SLAVE’ AND AN ‘EVER FAITHFUL CLIENT AND SUBJECT’

Among the few extant Polish music prints from the sixteenth century, the editions of works by Waclaw of Szamotuły (*Quatuor parium vocum Lamentationes*

- 2 A term coined by Gérard Genette; see Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes la littérature au second degré*, Paris 1982, and idem, *Seuils*, Paris 1987; see also idem, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, transl. Janet E. Lewin, Cambridge 1997.
- 3 See e.g. Raimund Redeker, *Lateinische Widmungsvorreden zu Meß- und Motettendruckten der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Eisenach 1995; Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer: 1538–1569*, 3 vols., New York 1988–2005; Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France*, Chicago–London 2000; Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, New York–Oxford 2001; Dagmar Schnell, *In lucem edidit. Der deutsche Notendruck der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts als Kommunikationsmedium. Dargestellt an den Vorreden*, Osnabrück 2003; Nicole Schwindt, ‘Zwischen Musikhandschrift und Notendruck: Paratexte in den ersten deutschen Liederbüchern’, in: *Die Pluralisierung des Paratextes in der Frühen Neuzeit. Theorie, Formen, Funktionen*, eds. Frieder von Ammon, Herfried Vögel, Münster–Berlin 2008, pp. 157–186; Paweł Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku: przemiany w kulturze muzycznej XVI wieku* [Music and the printing revolution: transformations in the musical culture of the sixteenth century], Toruń 2011; Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years’ War*, Farnham 2012; also a separate publication devoted to the issue of dedication ‘*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?*’ *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century: Theory and Practice*, eds. Ignace Bossuyt, Nele Gabriëls, Dirk Sacré, Demmy Verbeke, Leuven 2008. There are also many references to paratexts in three anthologies devoted to German printing, see *NiveauNischeNimbus. Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, ed. Birgit Lodes, Tutzing 2010 (= Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 3); *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, eds. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Grantley McDonald, Elisabeth Giselsbrecht, London–New York 2018; *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*, eds. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Grantley McDonald, London 2021.

Hieremiae Prophetae [...], Kraków 1553) and Valentin Bakfark (*Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testitudinis factarum* [...], Kraków 1565) are of exceptional significance. Although both these prints have been known for a long time, they have not yet been examined in depth from the point of view of patronage practices, and the paratexts which accompany them have not been subjected to detailed analysis. This state of affairs is quite surprising, given that Waclaw of Szamotuły and Bakfark are the greatest musical stars from the court of the last of the Jagiellons; one might say they are emblematic of the musical culture of that period. Waclaw of Szamotuły, under a poem he wrote himself, addresses King Sigismund II Augustus as his ‘ever faithful slave’ (‘Perpetuum et fidele mancipium’), and Bakfark later signs his dedication with the words: ‘ever faithful client and subject’ (‘Perpetuus et fidelis cliens, et subditus’). Although the gap between the appearance of these two editions was more than a dozen years, they share numerous features: (1) the addressee – Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania (1520–72), (2) the author of the epigrams included in both editions – the royal courtier, bilingual Polish-Latin poet and translator Andrzej Trzcieski the Younger (c.1525–after 1584), (3) the printing house – that of Łazarz Andrysowic (c.1551–77), (4) the fact that the letters of dedication were written by the composers themselves.

These convergences are easily explained. Above all, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the royal court still constituted the main cultural centre of the Kingdom of Poland, the focus of Polish musical life. The king monopolised the most important material and symbolic assets, although we need to remember that the magnates and other secular and church dignitaries took on the role of patrons with increasing frequency.⁴ However, the Jagiellons’ patronage of literature and music was not as impressive as their initiatives in the fields of architecture and fine art.⁵ The support shown by Sigismund II

4 See e.g. Joanna Olkiewicz, *Polscy Medyceusze* [The Polish Medicis], Warsaw 1985; Julia Radziszewska, ‘Dwory magnackie (Tarnowskich, Tęczyńskich, Firlejów) w czasach Jana Kochanowskiego’ [Magnatial courts (of the Tarnowskis, Tęczyńskis and Firlejs) during the times of Jan Kochanowski], in: *Cracovia litterarum. Kultura umysłowa i literacka Krakowa i Małopolski w dobie Renesansu. Księga zbiorowa Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowej w czterechsetlecie zgonu Jana Kochanowskiego* [Cracovia litterarum: intellectual and literary culture in Kraków and Lesser Poland during the Renaissance. A collective book of the international conference on the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of Jan Kochanowski], ed. Tadeusz Ulewicz, Wrocław 1991, pp. 145–166; Katarzyna Janicka, ‘Polityczno-społeczne uwarunkowania magnackiego mecenatu artystycznego (XVI–XVII w.)’ [The socio-political conditions behind magnatial artistic patronage (16th–17th c.)], *Quart* 52 (2019) no. 2, pp. 15–32.

5 The latest state of research in this field is presented in the following collective works: *Patronat artystyczny Jagiellonów* [The Jagiellons’ artistic patronage], eds. Marek Wälczak, Piotr Węcowski, Kraków 2015; *Europa Jagellonica 1386–1572. Sztuka, kultura i polityka w Europie Środkowej za panowania Jagiellonów* [Europa Jagellonica 1386–1572: art, culture and politics in Central Europe under the reign of the Jagiellons], eds. Przemysław Mrozowski, Paweł Tyszka, Piotr Węcowski, Warsaw 2015; *Zygmunt II August i kultura jego czasów. W pięćsetlecie urodzin ostatniego Jagiellona na polsko-litewskim tronie* [Sigismund II Augustus and the culture of his times: on the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the last Jagiellon on the Polish-Lithuanian throne], ed. Radosław Rusnak, Warsaw 2022.

Augustus to men of letters⁶ or musicians⁷ was somewhat unreliable and indecisive, and his personal initiatives were limited to works of historiography. Although he had received a thorough education in the spirit of Renaissance humanism, the burden of state affairs would not allow him to develop cultural interests, and he preferred to surround himself with politicians rather than men of letters, something that even his contemporaries already noted with irony.⁸ The king did not seem to be aware of the need to use music as a tool for external representation, although it was used as one of the emblems of royal power throughout Europe. In spite of this, the material position of royal musicians was not inadequate, and their economic status among court servants was quite high.⁹ As we know, Sigismund II Augustus valued in particular Wacław of Szamotuły and Bakfark, awarding them, alongside their regular remuneration and other benefits, additional prizes and gratuities.¹⁰ On the other hand, the king did not make any effort to bring renowned foreign musicians to the Polish court. Significantly, throughout his whole reign, only three music prints were dedicated to him: alongside the editions of Wacław of Szamotuły and Bakfark, also Rocco Rodio's anthology of masses published in 1562.¹¹ All this means that we cannot describe the last of the Jagiellons as a music patron on a European scale.

- 6 See e.g. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona: pomnik kultury renesansowej* [The library of the last of the Jagiellons: a monument to Renaissance culture], Wrocław 1988; Leszek Hajdukiewicz, 'Społeczne aspekty mecenatu literackiego w Małopolsce w czasach Jana Kochanowskiego' [Social aspects of literary patronage in Lesser Poland during the times of Jan Kochanowski], in: *Cracovia litterarum*, pp. 117–144; Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, 'Mecenat nad piśmiennictwem i książką w dawnej Polsce' [Patronage over literature and books in old Poland], in: *Z dziejów mecenatu kulturalnego w Polsce* [From the history of cultural patronage in Poland], ed. Janusz Kostecki, Warsaw 1999.
- 7 Elżbieta Głuszcz-Zwolińska, *Muzyka nadworna ostatnich Jagiellonów* [The court music of the last Jagiellons], Kraków 1988; Elżbieta Głuszcz-Zwolińska, 'Studie über Musik am Hofe der letzten Jagiellonen', in: *Florilegium Musicologicum. Helmut Federhofer zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, Tutzing 1988, pp. 501–515; Tomasz M.M. Czepiel, *Music at the Royal Court and Chapel in Poland, c.1543–1600*, New York–London 1996; Piotr Poźniak, *Repertuar polskiej muzyki wokalne w epoce Renesansu. Studium kontekstualno-analityczne* [The repertoire of Polish vocal music in the Renaissance: a contextual-analytical study], Kraków 1999; *The Musical Heritage of the Jagiellonian Era*, eds. Paweł Gancarczyk, Agnieszka Leszczyńska, Warsaw 2012.
- 8 See Wiktor Weintraub, 'Jan Kochanowski a trzech królowie, czyli mecenat królewski' [Jan Kochanowski and the three kings, or royal patronage], in: *Cracovia litterarum*, pp. 65–98.
- 9 It is worth remembering, however, that although Wacław and Bakfark were engaged by the royal court during a similar period (the first in 1547, the second in 1549), their status was significantly different also in respect of remuneration: Wacław received 30–50 florins per year, while Bakfark received 50–150; Bakfark's pay quadrupled during the sixteen years of his employment at the court. See E. Głuszcz-Zwolińska, *Muzyka nadworna*, pp. 41–64.
- 10 Anna Szweykowska and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, 'Wacław z Szamotuły – renesansowy muzyk i poeta. Szkic biograficzny' [Wacław of Szamotuły: a Renaissance musician and poet. A biographical sketch], *Muzyka* 9 (1964) no. 1, pp. 2–28 at 22; Peter Király, 'Działalność Walentego Bakfarka w Polsce. Uzupełnienia i korektury' [Walenty Bakfark's activities in Poland: addenda and corrections], *Muzyka* 34 (1989) no. 3, p. 67.
- 11 *Missarum Decem. Liber Primus Rocchi Rodij Civitatis Barenensis. Cum quatuor, quinque, et sex vocibus*, Rome: Valerio Dorico 1562. See also P. Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku*, p. 149.

The fact that the editions of Wacław of Szamotuły and Bakfark are linked to the person of Andrzej Trzeciecki, the author of the epigrams included in both prints, is also easy to explain. Trzeciecki tirelessly composed occasional verses scattered in many contemporary prints, among them nearly all those produced at the printing house of Andrysowic.¹² The fact that the music prints also carried his laudations undoubtedly raised their significance and added splendour to them. We should also note that Trzeciecki, who for many years moved in courtier circles, knew both musicians personally. Wacław, who was writing music to his poems as early as 1549, was a good friend, and after the composer's death Trzeciecki gave a moving funeral oration, published in 1568.¹³ We do not have any detailed information about the relationship between Trzeciecki and Bakfark, but it seems obvious that they must have collaborated very closely when preparing the edition dedicated to the king. It is worth remembering that the poet was closely associated with the community of Hungarian intellectuals who at that time were living in Kraków.¹⁴

The fact that the editions of Wacław of Szamotuły and Bakfark were published by the printing house of Łazarz Andrysowic provides excellent evidence of the significance attached to the high editorial standard of both these projects. At that time, this printing house was the best in Kraków, famous for the care taken over the quality of the prints being published. For this reason, the royal chancellery entrusted to it the printing of various official acts, city regulations and legal textbooks. Andrysowic also undertook the publishing of native poetry (including the first works of Jan Kochanowski) and political literature. He published the momentous *Commentariorum de Republica emendanda libri quinque* by Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski two years before the appearance of Wacław's *Lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetiae* (1553), and later numerous treatises by Stanisław Orzechowski.¹⁵

Andrysowic was also interested in printing music; in the same year that saw the appearance of *Lamentationes*, he had already published an edition of various cantional-

12 It is worth remembering that this poet, highly regarded at the time, worked closely with the king, who employed him both on diplomatic missions and as his purchaser of books. In spite of this, Trzeciecki did not obtain the longed-for post of royal secretary until after the death of the monarch, from his successor Henri de Valois. See Jerzy Krókowski, *Andrzej Trzeciecki. Poeta-humanista i działacz reformacyjny* [Andrzej Trzeciecki. Poet-humanist and Reformation activist], Warsaw 1954, p. 103.

13 *De obitu Venceslai Samotulini, musicorum in Regno Poloniae Principis. Threnodia*; Andrzej Trzeciecki, *Carmina: wiersze łacińskie* [Carmina: Latin poems], transl. and ed. Jerzy Krókowski, vol. 1, Wrocław 1958. See also J. Krókowski, *Andrzej Trzeciecki*, p. 122; A. Szweykowska, Z.M. Szweykowski, 'Wacław z Szamotuł', p. 6.

14 We find confirmation of this in his poems devoted to Kacper Bekiesz and Andrzej Dudycz, and later also to members of the Batory family. See Jerzy Snopek, 'Nieznane wiersze Andrzeja Trzecieckiego' [Unknown poems by Andrzej Trzeciecki], *Pamiętnik Literacki* 82 (1991) no. 1, p. 160.

15 Maria Ściebora, 'Drukarstwo krakowskie za panowania Zygmunta Augusta i Stefana Batorego (1548–1586)' [Printing in Kraków under the reign of Sigismund Augustus and Stefan Batory (1548–86)], in: *Cracovia litterarum*, pp. 205–212.

-style hymns.¹⁶ However, in the case of Waclaw's monumental work, comprising three Lamentations and Passions for the last three days of Holy Week,¹⁷ the scale of the enterprise was quite exceptional: *Lamentationes* contains as many as 1734 bars (breves), and the Passion settings 832 bars (breves).¹⁸ As we learn from annotations in the print, these compositions were written between 1550 and 1552.¹⁹ As the title page of the print makes clear, the *Lamentationes* were not intended for a full ensemble of voices (*a voce piena*), but for an ensemble of 'equal voices' (*a voci pari*), in this case male voices with a low alto part. While the supposition inevitably comes to mind that the composer was thinking of the male Rorantists ensemble in Kraków,²⁰ it seems more likely that, when composing in such a low register, he was referring to the strongly grounded tradition of Lamentation settings.²¹ Out of the four part-books, each comprising 27 folios (54–55 pages), the only ones to be preserved in full are the superius (in Regensburg) and the tenor (in Munich),²² the latter including the composer's dedication; fragments of the two remaining parts were also discovered recently in Gniezno.²³ Analysis of the extant copies leaves one in no doubt that the

- 16 Maria Przywecka-Samecka, *Dzieje drukarstwa muzycznego w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* [The history of music printing in Poland up to the end of the eighteenth century], Wrocław 1993, pp. 66–80.
- 17 *Quatuor parium vocum Lamentationes Hieremie Prophetæ, Tempore Quadragesimali in Templis cantari solitæ, numeris Musicis redditæ a Venceslao Samotulino Polono, Serenissimi Regis Poloniae Sigismundi Augusti Musico. Quibus adiunctæ sunt Exclamationes Passionum. Tristium. Tomus Primus. Cracoviae Lazarus Andreae excudebat. M.D.LIII.* (RISM A/I S 7277).
- 18 See comparison of verses in Eugene C. Cramer, 'Związki z muzyką hiszpańską w Lamentacjach Waclawa z Szamotuł' [Links to Spanish music in the Lamentations of Waclaw of Szamotuły], *Muzyka* 24 (1979) no. 3, pp. 35–36.
- 19 Waclaw was an active member of the royal chapel from 1547 to 1555, and during that time his *Lamentationes* were published, and one of his motets (*In te Domine speravi*) appeared in a German anthology (Nuremberg 1554).
- 20 It is worth remembering that the alto part in the Rorantist manuscripts written during Waclaw's lifetime was also notated very low, a consequence of the all-male membership of the Wawel collegium. On the other hand, parts in low registers were not an exception in sixteenth-century lamentations. On the contrary, Pietro Cerone, in his *El Mellopeo* (1613), summing up the practice of sixteenth-century lamentation settings, writes that their style required them to be sung in a low register by male voices 'con gravedad y modestia'. See Frank Carey, 'Composition for Equal Voices in the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Musicology* 11 (1991) no. 2, pp. 300–342 at 311.
- 21 See John Bettley, 'La compositione lacrimosa: Musical Style and Text Selection in North-Italian Lamentations Settings in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118 (1993) no. 2, pp. 167–202.
- 22 See Eugen C. Cramer, 'Nowe spojrzenie na styl muzyczny Waclawa z Szamotuł' [A new look at the musical style of Waclaw of Szamotuły], *Muzyka* 36 (1991) no. 2, pp. 3–90.
- 23 Jakub Łukaszewski, Wiesław Wydra, *Fragmenty „Kota z Lwem” Mikołaja Reja i innych druków z XVI w. odnalezione* [Rediscovered fragments of Mikołaj Rej's 'The cat with the lion' and other prints from the sixteenth century], Poznań 2016; Ryszard J. Wieczorek, Michał Wysocki, 'Lamentationes Waclawa z Szamotuł: fragmenty brakujących głosów odnalezione w Gnieźnie' [Waclaw of Szamotuły's *Lamentationes*: fragments of the missing parts discovered in Gniezno], *Muzyka* 62 (2017) no. 2, pp. 3–20; Marcin Szelest, 'Nowo odkryte fragmenty *Lamentationes* Waclawa z Szamotuł: przyczynek do odczytania źródła' [Newly discovered fragments of Waclaw of Szamotuły's *Lamentationes*: a contribution to the source's interpretation], *Muzyka* 63 (2018) no. 1, pp. 87–99.

Kraków edition, in spite of minor faults, was produced with great care and attention to detail, in both the verbal and the musical layer, and typographically it meets the standards of the best foreign prints.²⁴

The same may be said about Valentin Bakfark's lute book, produced twelve years later.²⁵ It was the first and the only edition of lute music in sixteenth-century Poland.²⁶ The print contains just 24 folios of sheet music, and thus it is far more modest than Bakfark's first tablature, published in 1553 in Lyon by Jacques Moderne (39 folios).²⁷ The other four folios of the Kraków tablature are taken up with Bakfark's long letter of dedication, a short epigram by Andrzej Trzeciecki²⁸ and two coats of arms, those of Sigismund Augustus and of the musician himself, together with a distich also by Trzeciecki. In 1569 the tablature was reprinted in Antwerp – with the same dedication to King Sigismund II Augustus – in an almost unaltered form, except for the original 'in folio' format being changed to the more practical 'in quarto'.²⁹ In spite of its modest dimensions, Bakfark's tablature is a relic of great significance, both historically and musically. Its production was undoubtedly very expensive, and the lutenist himself bore all the financial burden involved.³⁰ It seems likely that prints of this kind, produced with such care and ornamented with coats of arms and epigrams, were intended not as performance copies (even though Trzeciecki addresses 'musicus

24 We do not know how many copies were published or how these two partbooks found their way to Germany.

25 *Valentini Greffi Bakfarki pannonii, harmoniarum Musicarum in usum Testudinis factarum, Tomus Primus. Ad potentissimum totius Sarmatiae Principem, ac Dominum Sigismundum Augustum, Poloniae Regem, et coet. Patrem Patriae, et omnium Musicorum Patronum beneficentissimum Dominum suum clementissimum etc. Cracoviae, Impensis Authoris Lazarus Andreae excudit, anno à virgineo partu, M.D.LXV. Mense Octobri.* (RISM B 724, RISM 1565/22). See the facsimile edition: *Bakfark Valentin: Das Lautenbuch von Krakau, 1565*, ed. Peter Király, Lübeck 2011.

26 We know neither the print run (Király estimates it as 100–300 copies) nor the range of the distribution of this edition, but we do know that before the end of the sixteenth century at least eight copies were still obtainable in Kraków, and a few more in Augsburg, Vienna and Padua. See P. Király, 'Introduction', in: *Bakfark Valentin: Das Lautenbuch von Krakau*, pp. 8–9.

27 *Intabulatura Valentini Bacfarc transilvani coronensis liber primus*, Lyon: Jacques Moderne 1553. The letter of dedication, which Bakfark wrote on 23 January 1553 to Cardinal François Tournon, Archbishop of Lyons, is four times shorter than the dedication from the Kraków print and takes a very stereotypical approach. See an English translation in: Valentin Bakfark, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, *The Lyons Lute-Book*, eds. István Homolya, Dániel Benkő, Budapest 1976, p. XVIII.

28 On this subject, see J. Snopek, 'Nieznane wiersze Andrzeja Trzecieckiego', pp. 158–166.

29 As Király has shown, the tablature was reprinted in Antwerp twice; see Peter Király, 'Des deux variantes de la réédition anversoise du Lautenbuch de Bakfark de Cracovie', *Geluit-Luthinerie – Belgian Lute Academy* 39 (2007), pp. 4–5.

30 Evidence that Bakfark published the tablature at his own expense comes from a note on the title page ('Impensis Authoris') and his letter to the Austrian delegate in which he says that the printing cost a great deal of money. It is not possible to establish today whether the particularly high one-off payment made by Sigismund Augustus to Bakfark in 1564 (100 thalers, i.e. his average annual remuneration) was directly linked to the planned edition. However, since the payment was made 18 months prior to the publication of the tablature, this seems doubtful. See P. Király, 'Introduction', in: *Bakfark Valentin: Das Lautenbuch von Krakau*, p. 7.

sodalis' in his epigram), but more as 'library' volumes addressed to recipients belonging to higher social circles both at home and abroad.³¹

István Homolya and Dániel Benkő³² conclude that Bakfark supervised the production of the tablature personally, citing the unusually careful and almost error-free musical text, as well as the date of the letter of dedication, which agrees with the date on the title page (15 October 1565). According to the available source documentation, however, the musician received his final payment at the Polish court in early May 1565, and presumably hurriedly left Poland immediately after, for reasons which still remain unexplained (suspected of treason?).³³ Therefore, it does not seem possible that as late as October 1565 he should have been able to freely travel to Kraków in order to supervise the printing and make whatever corrections might be necessary. He also would not have had the opportunity to present the tablature personally to his erstwhile patron, Sigismund II Augustus.

Another convergence which links these two prints is the authorship of the letters of dedication they contain. We cannot be quite certain that the texts of Waclaw of Szamotuły and Bakfark were in fact written by them, since at that time the practice of entrusting this task to professional men of letters was quite widespread.³⁴ However, Waclaw's legacy includes some (although not many) poetical works, while the tone of Bakfark's letter is very personal and touches on issues of compositional craft, which allow us to suppose that both letters were indeed written by these musicians. This fact also fits in with the new trend which we observe in European music printing during the mid-sixteenth century. While in the first half of the century it was the printers who tended to be the authors of the letters,³⁵ by the second half it was usually the composers themselves who undertook this task.³⁶

31 Ibid., p. 9.

32 Valentin Bakfark, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, *The Cracow Lute-Book*, eds. István Homolya, Dániel Benkő, Budapest 1979, see 'Introduction', p. XXIII. Such a hypothesis is formulated also by P. Király ('Introduction', in: *Bakfark Valentin: Das Lautenbuch von Krakau*, p. 7).

33 We do not have any documents confirming Bakfark's political machinations, but there is no doubt that the departure from the Polish court of this famous musician admired by the king was not an obvious development; among other things, he did not receive the usual severance payment, nor did the king reward him for the dedication. Bakfark travelled via Poznań and Wrocław to the Habsburg court in Vienna, where in July 1566 he was appointed court lutenist to Emperor Maximilian II (earlier, in January 1566, he instructed his wife to sell their property in Vilnius).

34 See e.g. J.A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music*, p. 105.

35 Carpentras, Manchicourt, Certon, Morales, Sixt Dietrich, Caspar Othmayr, Phinot and Zarlino are significant exceptions here. See R. Redeker, *Lateinische Widmungsvorreden*, pp. 355, 357, 367–370; M.S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 1, p. 13.

36 Although we do not have the statistics for the whole of the sixteenth century, research by Verbeke shows that in the second half of that century the number of dedications by composers decidedly exceeds other kinds. See Demmy Verbeke, 'Ergo cape et canta sanctos quos fecimus hymnos: Preliminaries in 16th-century Motet Editions by Composers from the Low Countries', in: 'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?', p. 59.

WACŁAW OF SZAMOTUŁY: *LAMENTATIONES HIEREMIAE PROPHETAE* (1553)

Wacław's versified dedication (*Carmen nuncupatorium*), of considerable length, is not an *encomium* and does not have the form established by a tradition stretching back many centuries, since it treats of the spectre of war hanging over Europe and the threat of the Ottoman Empire (see Appendix 1 for the text).³⁷ In order to demonstrate the threat of invasion and Turkish oppression, the composer chooses the text of the biblical Lamentations, in which Jeremiah laments the conquest of Judea, the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians and the sufferings which befell the people of Israel as a consequence of those tragedies. The Turkish invasion of Hungary was perceived in the Polish Crown in an analogous way. As a result of losing the battle of Mohács in 1526, during which Louis II Jagiellon and the flower of the Hungarian knighthood, aristocracy and clergy lost their lives, a large part of Hungarian territory was annexed by the Ottoman Empire (the Czech lands and north-western Hungary came under the rule of the Habsburgs). After the Turks took Buda in 1541, Poland reacted with national mourning, and the royal chancellery wrote: 'Hungary must not fall, so that our kingdom, shaken by that blow, should not fall as well, if we are unable to meet its urgent needs at the proper time';³⁸ these words demonstrate the psychological climate and the general fear of the Turks at that time. The growing sense of threat was given expression in intensifying anti-Turkish discourse, and it shaped a negative image of the Turk ('Imago Turci') within Polish society and throughout Europe.³⁹ Publications of this kind entered into almost every literary genre and appeared also in printed Polish songs. The best example of this is *Pieśń o posiedzeniu i o zniewoleniu żalonym ziemie węgierskiej* ('Song of the capture and woeful enslavement of the state of Hungary') published by Siebeneicher in 1557, but probably written in 1541–42, immediately

37 The text of the dedication, different in numerous details from the Kraków edition, was published by Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* [Italian influences in Polish music], part 1, 1540–1640, Kraków 1911, pp. 48–50.

38 Quoted after Claude Backvis, 'Trudne współistnienie pokojowe Polaków i Turków w XVI wieku' [The difficult peaceful co-existence between Poles and Turks in the sixteenth century], in: C. Backvis, *Renesans i barok w Polsce. Studia o kulturze* [The Renaissance and Baroque in Poland: studies on culture], eds. Hanna Dziechcińska, Ewa Jolanta Głębińska, Warsaw 1993, p. 335.

39 A detailed discussion of this literature is to be found in Janusz Tazbir, 'Węgry jako symbol i przestroga w literaturze staropolskiej' [Hungary as a symbol and warning in old Polish literature], in: J. Tazbir, *Sarmaci i świat* [The Sarmatians and the world], Kraków 2001, pp. 433–453; Piotr Tafiłowski, *Imago Turci. Studium z dziejów komunikacji społecznej w dawnej Polsce (1453–1572)* [Imago Turci: a study on the history of social communication in old Poland (1453–1572)], Lublin 2013; also Wołodymyr Pylypenko, *W obliczu wroga. Polska literatura antytyrecka od połowy XVI do połowy XVII wieku* [In the face of the enemy: Polish anti-Turkish literature from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century], transl. Piotr Tafiłowski, Oświęcim 2016.

after the Turkish conquest of Buda.⁴⁰ The spectre of Turkish invasion was particularly vivid at that time, in view of the territorial proximity of enslaved Hungary, and the conquest of that country marked the symbolic end of the Jagiellons' power, ending the reign of the Polish dynasty in that region.

It is in that political context and psychological climate in Poland-Lithuania at that time that Waclaw's poem should perhaps be read. Of particular significance here is the fact that the sister of Sigismund II Augustus, Isabella Jagiellon (queen-regent of Hungary and widow of King Jan Zápolya), had been living at the Polish court from 1551, forced to seek refuge there as a result of the increasingly dangerous situation in Hungary.⁴¹ It is also worth adding that Waclaw of Szamotuły had devoted to Isabella Jagiellon two (no longer extant) congratulatory poems, published in Kraków in 1539 and 1540: on the occasion of her marriage to Jan Zápolya,⁴² and of the birth of their son, Prince Jan Zygmunt.⁴³ In the same year as the *Lamentationes* appeared in print (1553), Sigismund Augustus entered into his third marriage, with Catherine of Habsburg, daughter of Ferdinand I Habsburg and Anna Jagiellon; thus the relationship between Poland and Hungary became even more closely dependent on the links between Poland and Austria. The constant threat of the Ottoman Empire, combined with the political machinations of the Habsburgs, must have given strong cause for concern, particularly within the court environment to which the composer belonged.

Waclaw of Szamotuły, explaining the genesis of his composition and its doom-laden character, starts by referring to the tragedy of war. Presenting his vision of the threat of war, also felt in Germany, France and Italy (lines 8–12, 14–16, 18–20, 30–35),⁴⁴ he draws a poetic description of the Turkish invasion of Hungary ('Pannonia'), with a harrowing image of destruction and a gloomy vision of that country where, due to endless betrayals, quarrels and conflicts, much innocent blood had already been

40 See Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Printed Polyphonic Songs and the Politics of 16th-century Poland', in: *Musicologie sans frontières / Muzikologija bez granica / Musicology without Frontiers. Svečani zbornik za Stanislava Tuksara / Essays in Honour of Stanislav Tuksar*, eds. Ivano Cavallini, Harry White, Zagreb 2010, pp. 59–65; also P. Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku*, pp. 220–222.

41 On this subject, see Janusz Pajewski, *Węgierska polityka Polski w połowie XVI wieku (1540–1571)* [Poland's Hungarian policy in the mid-sixteenth century (1540–71)], Kraków 1932, pp. 77–166.

42 *In nuptiis sereniss. et potentiss. principis Domini Ioannis, Hungariae Regis et sereniss. virginis Isabellae, sereniss. et invictiss. principis, Domini Sigismundi Primi Poloniae regis filiae, poema gratulatorium [...]*, Kraków: Ungler, 1539.

43 *In nativitate illustrissimi Domini Ioannis Sigismundi, principia Hungariae et Transilvaniae [...] filii serenissimorum principum D. Ioannis regis et D. Isabellae reginae Hungariae. Poema gratulatorium*, Kraków: Vietor, 1540; see A. Szweykowska, Z.M. Szweykowski, 'Waclaw z Szamotuł', pp. 12–13.

44 Waclaw of Szamotuły, *Carmen nuncupatorium*: 'I do not doubt, noble Prince, that when you learn the reasons, you will accept our intention and this work. It is at this time, as it was with the holy prophet, that we bring into the light and dedicate to you a plaintive and painful song [...]. You see how uncertain the whole world is and how it is burdened with old age. [...], it moves towards a disaster I warn against, which was earlier foretold by the Prophets [...]. You will not find any corner of the Earth left untouched by terrifying wars and the cruel Moor in his anger. Germany already feels this tumult, it is felt by the Gaul and by the Highest Priest who stands at the head of Italy'.

spilt (lines 38–46).⁴⁵ He then describes the tragic situation in Moldova, engulfed in political chaos.⁴⁶ This vassal state bordering Poland and Transylvania caused great concern at the Polish court.⁴⁷ Waclaw, condemning the constant conspiracies, breaking of treaties, intrigues and bloody score-settling, calls on the people of the region to be faithful to their Polish king and grateful for the protection extended to them to date (lines 47–57).⁴⁸ The poem is enclosed within a kind of bracket, in which the composer explains again the reasons for composing his *Lamentationes*. Turning to God with a supplicatory plea for support for the Polish monarch and his ultimate victory, the composer promises to celebrate that victory with music that is no longer doleful but joyful (lines 58–72).⁴⁹

45 Waclaw of Szamotuły, *Carmen nuncupatorium*: 'And who could describe the events from nearby Pannonia without sobbing? How much blood of its men has that land swallowed? How many funerals, do you think, has it seen on the open plain, and how many next to the very walls of the homes? Oh, to think where disharmony and perfidy of the heart have led! What the future holds knows only the one who can see all of the future'.

46 Although Waclaw uses here the name 'Valachia', in sixteenth-century Poland that included both Wallachia and Moldova; on this subject, see C. Backvis, *Trudne współistnienie pokojowe*, p. 331. In Polish political discussions at that time, the ever-changing governments in Moldova were regarded as an extreme example of perfidious, immoral rule, with no scruples over breaking earlier agreements. On the complex situation in Moldova, see Mieczysław Jaworowski, *Historia narodu rumuńskiego* [History of the Romanian nation], Warsaw 1970, pp. 160–201, Juliusz Demel, *Historia Rumunii* [History of Romania], Wrocław 1986, pp. 139–151, Ilona Czamańska, 'Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna w stosunkach polsko-tureckich XVI–XVII wieku' [Moldova and Wallachia in Polish-Turkish relations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], *Balkanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia* 4 (1989), pp. 301–312, Bartosz Szutkiewicz, 'Polska a Mołdawia w latach 1551–1572' [Poland and Moldova 1551–72], *Białostockie Teki Historyczne* 7 (2009), pp. 11–24. An illuminating account of the origin of these conflicts is given by Ilona Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* [Moldova and Wallachia in respect to Poland, Hungary and Turkey in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries], Poznań 1996.

47 At that time, Poland was interested in maintaining friendly relations with Turkey, while diplomacy attempted to stifle all military activities by the Moldavian rulers. The anarchy and factional fighting in that region had already caused Sigismund Augustus much anxiety, since he wanted to avoid any disputes with Turkey, even though secretly supporting Jan Zápolya; see Ilona Czamańska, 'Poland and Turkey in the 1st Half of the 16th Century – Turning Points', in: *Fight against the Turk in Central-Europe, in the First Half of the 16th Century*, ed. István Zombori, Budapest 2004, pp. 91–102; Andrzej Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* [Polish-Turkish diplomatic relations 1500–72 in the international context], Wrocław 2005.

48 Waclaw of Szamotuły, *Carmen nuncupatorium*: 'And you, Wallachian, do you understand the threat? Will you keep the faith broken so often, lightly bearing the yoke of the Polish king? You know well from experience what it is to serve a tyrant. Will you still, you fool, not keep your oaths and trust? What a good thing it is to obey a master who leads in such a way, who justly defends you and your borders, who directs and governs, providing abundant relief in misfortune, and the gift of peace to your loved ones'.

49 Waclaw of Szamotuły, *Carmen nuncupatorium*: 'This, oh gracious Prince, became the reason we dedicated the mournful songs of the holy prophet to you, and our own modest fate as well. May God favour that for which we plead with all our heart. May He lay the too-proud enemy under your feet as a footstool. Since it is to you alone that the land of the Sarmatians bows its weary back. It is you on whom it fixes its motionless gaze, pleading for salvation. If you offer it by the grace of God, who does not ignore noble pleas, we shall sing joyful melodies. And we shall thank Christ with our song and glorify our great victories'.

Wacław's poem is exceptional against the background of music publishing not only in Polish but across Europe. While foreign prints carried many dedications with a political tone, few of them referred to the Turkish threat. Among them is an anthology of motets published by Melchior Kriesstein in 1545, in Augsburg, which includes a letter of dedication by the local writer Georg Frölich. The author depicts Germany's uncertain political situation and the dangers lurking on various sides, including the Turks.⁵⁰ The fact that Frölich includes Augsburg among the cities threatened with invasion is quite understandable, bearing in mind that he addresses his dedication to a rich Augsburg banker, Johann Jacob Fugger.⁵¹

In contrast to Frölich's letter, Wacław's poem does not contain a request for financial support, but is a statement by someone deeply concerned about the fate of his homeland. Together with the composer's other (no longer surviving) poems⁵² it shows him to be closely linked to the royal court and involved in the political life of the country. One might say, therefore, that Wacław's text constituted an extension of diplomacy, introducing important accents into the policies of Sigismund Augustus. The short verse by Trzeciecki⁵³ which accompanies this poem is fully in tune with it. There the poet, recommending the composition being published to young students, deplors the fracturing of the Christian world; the Turks cunningly make use of these conflicts, constantly laying waste to the Hungarian lands. In the face of these misfortunes, says the poet, the words of the prophet Jeremiah, set to music by Wacław, should be regarded by all as the final warning.

VALENTIN BAKFARK, *HARMONLARUM MUSICARUM* (1565)

Bakfark's long letter of dedication, written in prose, has a totally different character (see Appendix 2 for the text).⁵⁴ As is typical of *encomia*, it is full of metaphors praising the erudition, culture and generosity of Sigismund II Augustus. The content

50 The poet sees the greatest danger in the activities of the Ottoman Empire, something that the whole Christian world should be afraid of ('Turcae diutissimas in Agrum Christianum incursionses et Bella'), since much Christian blood has been spilt there ('Christianorum sanguine, ultra modum, truculentissime delibutus'). Quoted after R. Redeker, *Lateinische Widmungsvorreden*, p. 36.

51 On this subject, see Stefanie Bilmayer-Frank, *Illustri ac Generoso Domino: Gedruckte Musikalienwidmungen an die Familie Fugger im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, Augsburg 2016.

52 Alongside *In nuptiis sereniss. et potentiss. principis Domini Ioannis*, quoted earlier, these are *In nuptiis Serenissimi Poloniae regis magnique Lituaniae ducis, Sigismundi secundi Augusti* [...] (Kraków: Ungler 1543) and *In funebre Sereniss. Principis et D.D. Elisabethae* [...] (Kraków: Ungler 1545); see A. Szweykowska, Z.M. Szweykowski, 'Wacław z Szamotuł', pp. 12–13.

53 *De harmonii musicis lamentationum Hieromiae, a Venceslao Samotulino compositis* [...], see J. Krókowski, *Andrzej Trzeciecki*, p. 93; A. Szweykowska, Z.M. Szweykowski, 'Wacław z Szamotuł', p. 25.

54 The text of the dedication, differing in several details from the Kraków edition, was published by Ottó Gombosi, *Bakfark Bálint élete és művei (1507–1576) / Der Lautenist Valentin Bakfark: Leben und Werke (1507–1576)*, Budapest 1935, reprint 1967, pp. 30–32.

and form of the letter follow the convention established over many years by literary tradition;⁵⁵ it strikes the reader not only with its refined phraseology but also with the plethora of allusions from antique literature and the Bible. In the *salutatio*, in accordance with the poetics of the letter of dedication, Bakfark employs panegyric phrases addressed to Sigismund II Augustus, ‘the greatest ruler in all of Sarmatia’ and ‘benevolent guardian of all musicians’. The *captatio benevolentiae* is virtually omitted, since we do not find here the topics of the author’s modesty and gesture of submission, accompanied by reasons for the deficiencies of the work of art, typical of the rhetorical principles of ancient epistolography. However, this topos, intended to ensure the recipient’s favour, will appear in a remnant form towards the end of the next section.

The body of the letter (*narratio*) contains a number of strands. The first of them is an erudite argument concerning the significance of the art of music, based on *laus musices*, which had been widely used for centuries.⁵⁶ Bakfark, referring to the writings of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato, as well as the Bible, stresses here the ancient origins of poetry and music, emphasising with ostentatious exaggeration their value and significance. The question of the influence of music, illustrated with the figures of ancient and biblical poets-prophets (Moses, Orpheus, Amphion and Timotheus), is raised in order to bring out the importance of lute music and its ethical and therapeutic effect on the human soul. A significant feature here is the recollection of barbaric times (‘in hac quoque parte barbarie grassata fuisset’), fully accommodated within the humanistic topics of that time.⁵⁷

The most interesting aspect of this part of the letter is the reference to the figure of Leo X. Although the Medici pope had already been dead for over forty years (he died in 1521), the fame of his patronage remained alive in the second half of the sixteenth century and must have had a powerful effect on readers’ imagination. Bakfark sees Pope Leo X as the perfect model of a Renaissance patron, to whom the world owed the development of art on a scale previously unknown and the creation of works of

55 According to the ancient principles of *ars epistolandi*, a letter of dedication should consist of a *salutatio* (initial greeting), *captatio benevolentiae* (winning the addressee’s favour), *narratio* (exposition of the matter), *petitio* (request to accept the gift) and *conclusio* (conclusion). See Emil J. Polak, *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters. A Census of Manuscripts Found in Eastern Europe and the Former U.S.S.R.*, Leiden 1993; R. Redeker, *Lateinische Widmungsvorreden*, p. 48.

56 A good account of the *laus musicae* as a topic is that of James Hutton, ‘Some English Poems in Praise of Music’, *English Miscellany* 2 (1951), pp. 1–63.

57 It is difficult to establish whether Bakfark took these strands from the works of Renaissance music theorists (Gaffurius, Zarlino and others), or from other letters of dedication. They were part of the regular repertory of motifs, having already been used, for example, in the preface to an anthology published by Pierre Attaignant (*Primus liber viginti missarum*, 1532), as well as in numerous letters of dedication written by Polish men of letters at that time. Trzeciecki himself makes use of them in the epigram accompanying Bakfark’s letter, describing the lutenist as a ‘Hungarian Orpheus’ (‘Orpheus Pannoniae’).

art of epoch-making significance (lines 64–71).⁵⁸ The next part of the *narratio* consists of what might be described as Bakfark's 'self-presentation'. It contains both the elements of the *captatio benevolentiae*: the author's modesty and the greatness of the dedicatee. He describes here the whole of his creative development, seeing its crowning glory in his presence at the court of Sigismund II Augustus. In the words of the lutenist, it was the constant support of the Polish king which made it possible for him to reach the heights of compositional craft. And even if he has not achieved this aim in full, as he modestly remarks, at least he has shown the way to his successors (lines 72–78).⁵⁹ Bakfark then points to certain circumstances surrounding the decision to publish his works. This also echoes with aspects of the *captatio benevolentiae*. In a manner characteristic of that topos, the lutenist explains to the reader that he dared to make his works public only because that was the wish of his patron (lines 78–82).⁶⁰

The next fragment of the letter contains Bakfark's commentary on the style of his works and the characteristics of his compositional craft. His reflections take the form of rhetorical questions concerning the nature and aesthetic attributes of his music, the numerical relations (which are not given a detailed description) and, finally, the abundance of modulations employed (lines 85–88).⁶¹ While addressing the monarch with a humble plea to accept these compositions, Bakfark is also aware that they might meet with hostile opinions from malicious or envious critic; he refers here to the figure of Zoilus, the envious poet, so often recalled by Renaissance men of letters.⁶² However, he does not develop this thought, and limits himself to

58 Bakfark, *Praefatio*: 'Under Leo X, the art of music gained in richness and ornamentation to such an extent that we can say it was he who exalted music to the highest level. He made every effort to encourage musicians, he supplied their needs and showed them favour and – since he was a generous man – he bestowed all kinds of gifts on the teachers of music, as a result of which this art flourished as it had never done before. Thus the age produced numerous excellent men who left behind them glorious works, obliging posterity to do the same'. Quoted (with minor alterations) after V. Bakfark, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, *The Cracow Lute-Book*, p. XXI.

59 Bakfark, *Praefatio*: 'I myself, who have grown up in their hands and followed in their footsteps, have devoted my whole life to cultivating and developing this art – to which, gracious King, you yourself are witness. Through diligent work, and above all through your favour, I think I have reached a stage where my works are on the highest level of this art (that is, lute music). And if I have not reached that stage, although I have endeavoured with hard labour to achieve it, I have at least shown the way for others to achieve it in the future'. *Ibid.*

60 Bakfark, *Praefatio*: 'When to this end I composed some songs, melodies and other lute works, you yourself, my most gracious King, encouraged – although you might well have commanded – me to publish them. Not to obey such a wish would have been an insult to your Highness, not to say impudent'. *Ibid.*

61 Bakfark, *Praefatio*: 'What are these melodies like? With what artistry are they created? With what accomplishment? How glorious and how sweet are they? How much enjoyment is within them? What numerical sequences and relations are used in their construction? How varied and flexible are the modulations? It does not lie in my power to decide'. *Ibid.*

62 On this subject, see Tadeusz Mikulski, *Ród Zoilów. Rzecz z dziejów staropolskiej krytyki literackiej* [The house of Zoilus: on the history of old Polish literary criticism], Kraków 1933.

stating that it is not the author's task to decide on the quality of his work, and its evaluation is always a task for subsequent generations (lines 89–91).⁶³ The *narratio* ends with high-flown praise of royal patronage, full of words of admiration for the music-loving monarch, his generosity and his patronage of musicians. The final part of the letter is a classic *petitio* – a very humble plea for this gift to be accepted. Bakfark expresses here his hope that the dedication to the Polish king will mean that his tablature reaches a wide circle of recipients. He also announces the preparation of the next anthology of his works,⁶⁴ making a direct request for the king's continued support (lines 99–105).⁶⁵ In this context, the question arises whether including the intabulation of the famous chanson *Faulte d'argent* by Josquin des Prez, with words which give voice to concerns over finances ('The lack of money is a pain like no other'), might not be Bakfark's jocular comment aimed at strengthening his appeal for financial backing.⁶⁶ Bearing in mind that this is the only secular composition in the whole tablature, and that it closes the whole anthology, such a supposition seems very probable.

CLOSING REMARKS

As Oleksii Rudenko recently noted in an article on the sixteenth-century strategies of royal representations, 'the image of the last Jagiellon as an educated and successful king had been constructed for a long time to fit the expectations of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility of the era and to be in line with the early modern humanist discourses about an ideal ruler'.⁶⁷ Various actors involved in forging the royal image contributed to different dimensions of Sigismund Augustus' representation, and the musicians employed by him, although not as numerous as at other European courts, were part of the strategy.

63 Bakfark, *Praefatio*: 'As to what I should like to have achieved and to what extent I have succeeded, let my peers adjudge, and if there is no shortage among them of envious individuals, then let posterity pass judgement; I myself will remain silent.' Ibid.

64 An indication that Bakfark was planning to publish another tablature can be seen from the fact that the edition discussed here is described as the 'first' on its title page, even though in reality his first print was the tablature published in 1553 in Lyon.

65 Bakfark, *Praefatio*: 'Take all these works, therefore, which now are published as the preludes to my work – and from your blessed power may they reach everyone's hand. Enjoy this life – in itself lacking in sweetness and magnificence – may it continue sweetly and cheerfully for you. Live in happiness, most respected and gracious King, and take me – who have been for so many years enfolded in your favour in unequalled fashion – all the more into your favour and make me partake of your extraordinary goodness'. Quoted after V. Bakfark, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, *The Cracow Lute-Book*, p. XXI.

66 Chybiński drew attention to this correlation as early as 1918; see Adolf Chybiński, 'Bekwarek. Lutnia i polityka. Capriccio historyczne' [Bakfark, the lute and politics: an historical capriccio], *Przegląd Muzyczny* 6 (1918), p. 2.

67 Oleksii Rudenko, 'Strategies of Early Modern Royal Representation. Sigismund II Augustus and his Public Image in 1520–1548', in: *Zygmunt II August i kultura jego czasów*, pp. 13–32 at 13.

The two case studies presented in this essay demonstrate that the dedications included in music prints, even though so few are extant, may provide an important source of knowledge about patronage practice in early modern Poland-Lithuania. Regardless of the differences in their character, structure and content, they provide valuable information about their authors, the dedicatees, and their mutual relations. Even though both texts are highly conventionalised creations, written in language typical of sixteenth-century humanist-inspired dedications, they allow us to discern contexts that would otherwise remain concealed.

Since there are no other surviving Polish music prints dedicated to Sigismund Augustus, we cannot present the paratexts analysed here against a comparative background. Undoubtedly it would be worthwhile – but impossible within the framework of the brief sketch presented here – to examine these dedications through the prism of the whole body of dedications in prints of a non-musical character that we know belonged to the royal library. To date, research in this area has been fragmentary and selective, without providing a comprehensive answer to the question of how these dedications created the king's image and how they related to his political activity.⁶⁸ The next step might be to analyse both dedications in the wider context of analogous European prints of this kind, that is, editions of *Lamentationes* and prints of lute tablatures, numerous in the sixteenth century.

When undertaking research in this area, one needs to remember that the dedications accompanying the print – whether in the form of a poem in verse, as in the case of Waclaw of Szamotuły, or a letter in prose, as with Bakfark – always had the character of an 'open letter', intended to draw the attention of a wider audience.⁶⁹ They were a place where the author could reveal himself, describe his creative intentions and put forward his own arguments. They were thus situated in the midst of the triangle formed by composer, dedicatee and buying public, demonstrating not only the nature of the relationship between the musician and the patron, but also the reasons and the circumstances for which and under which the work was created, their intentions and their message. This is precisely the situation we find in the case of the dedications by the two royal composers. Almost every sentence is meant both for the dedicatee and for the general reader as well. Bakfark, declaring that he makes his works public purely because his patron requested it, creates a linguistic tension between humility and self-promotion, so characteristic of the early modern

68 See Hanna Błazińska, 'Listy dedykacyjne do Zygmunta II Augusta' [Letters of dedication to Sigismund II Augustus], *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 34 (1986) no. 3, pp. 105–112, A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona*, especially the list of dedications and works dedicated to Sigismund Augustus (pp. 301–308), which, however, does not include *Carmen nuncupatorium* by Waclaw of Szamotuły; also Marta Wojtkowska-Maksymik, 'Wizerunek Zygmunta Augusta w listach dedykacyjnych (na wybranych przykładach)' [The image of Sigismund Augustus in selected letters of dedication], in: *Zygmunt II August i kultura jego czasów*, pp. 192–206.

69 G. Genette, *Paratexts*, p. 3 and *passim*.

era. His letter, expressing humility and self-depreciation on the surface, is formulated in a highly sophisticated and stylised language that is meant to transmit the opposite message: high education, cultural independence and readiness to serve all in one. The dedication thus becomes at the same time a form of advertisement, linking the name of the musician with the person of the king, the authority of whose position testifies to the aesthetic value of the printed work and helps the composer gain the recognition of his audience. The reverse is also true; having a printed collection dedicated to the patron shapes the patron's positive image, persuading the readers that he has made a significant contribution to the creation of works of artistic value. In this way, the patron is forever linked to the work.

In this context, the dedication by Waław of Szamotuły strikes us as quite remarkable. The reader learns not only that the composer is under the king's continuous patronage, but that he is an active and committed participant in political life. Waław does not try to gain favour with his patron by flattery, but places the good of the country above his own. Driven by this concern, he sends into the world a work, the message and overall appeal of which is meant as a warning against impending threats. However, this is only one of the possible interpretations of his words. If we agree that the dedication had the character of an 'open letter', and that its aim was to negotiate the relationship between author, text and reader, could we not interpret Waław's expression of concern as a 'public appeal' by the court elite and the king's political advisers – and even perhaps by Sigismund Augustus himself – to the potential purchasers of the print of *Lamentations*? Regardless of which interpretation we favour, the dedications in the two prints analysed here demonstrate fully the diversity of Renaissance patronage practices. They served the interests of both sides, indicating the importance of the achievements and activities of clients, while at the same time enhancing the prestige of the patron. Above all, however, these dedications demonstrate different ways of exploiting the potential of art: in Waław's case, serving the aims of politics and propaganda; in the case of Bakfark, serving to create an image of the monarch as someone enlightened, sensitive and supportive of the art of music.

Translated by Zofia Weaver

APPENDICES

The appendices contain diplomatic transcriptions of the main paratexts. The original spelling, lines, syllabification and punctuation have been retained. Abbreviations have been tacitly resolved for better legibility.

APPENDIX 1

Wacław of Szamotuły, *Lamentationes Hieremiae prophetae* [...]. Tenor book. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 145, f. 2r–4v. <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/00087592> (public domain), accessed 30 November 2022.

AD SERENISSIMUM

PRINCIPEM ET DOMINUM D. SIGIS-
mundum Augustum, Dei gratia Regem Poloniae, magnum
Ducem Lituaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Mazoviae, Sama-
githiae, &c. Dominum ac haeredem,
Dominum Clementissimum.

CARMEN NVNCVPATORIVM

1 REX ter maxime; si fidem meretur
(Vt omni dubio procul meretur)
Id quod prottulit Israelitarum
Prudentissimus: In domum putauit
5 Lugentum potius pedem tulisse,
Quam quae magnifico apparata luxu
Vanis gaudia plausibus frequentat.
Nil certe dubito, benigne Princeps,
Quod causas ubi noueris, probabis
10 Nostrum consilium hoc & institutum,
Isto tempore, quod sacri prophetae
Lamentabile carmen atque planctus
In lucem damus, & tibi sacramus.
Cernis quam titubat, grauis senecta
15 Totus, iamque fere labascit orbis,
Uno uix pede sustinens minantem
Molem, quae cito fors dabit ruinam:
Olim fatidico, quod ore Vates
Praedixere, sed & Magister ille
20 Vatum maximus. En frequente uultus
Sol caligine contegit coruscos:
Luna saepe sua sit orba luce.
Nec seruare uices, suosque cursus
Norunt tempora: saeuit undiquaque
25 Morborum omne genus, lues per artus
Grassatur noua, perfuritque, tristi
Multos ante diem opprimendo morte.
Et contagio pestilentialis,
Et famis ualida atque dira clades.

30 Vllum nec dabis angulum per orbem,
 Quem Mauros⁷⁰ ferus, horrida atque bella
 Intactum fremitus suo relinquat.
 Iam Germania sensit hus tumultus,
 Sensit Gallia, Pontifexque summus
 35 Praeses Italiae: fuitne tanti
 Quaeso Parma? Neces uirum cruentes
 Quis siccis poterat genis uidere?
 Et quis non lachrymans, propinquioris
 Casus Pannoniae potest referre?
 40 Quantum sanguinis haec humus uirorum
 Hausit, funera quot putas aperto
 Vidit aequore, quot domi sub ipsis
 Vidit moenibus: heu nimis misellos
 Quo discordia, perfidumque pectus
 45 Perduxere, quid inde sit futurum,
 Scit ille, omnia cui patent futura.
 At tu quid Valache? An capis periclo?
 An fractam toties fidem tenebis,
 Regis mite ferens iugum Poloni?
 50 Seruitus bene quid sit & tyrannis
 Scis expertus: adhuc ne stulte parui
 Iusiurandum erit, & fides apud te?
 Quam praestat Domino subesse tali,
 Qui te iustitia, tuosque fines
 55 Defendat, moderetur, & gubernet:
 Afflictis nimium parans salutem
 Rebus, pace tuos beans nepotes.
 Id causae fuerant, benigne Princeps,
 Lugubres tibi naenias prophetae
 60 Quod sacri offerimus, simulque nostras
 Fortunas tenues. DEVS secundet,
 Toto pectore quod rogamus omnes,
 Vt ponat nimium superbientem
 Hostem sub pedibus tuis scabellum.
 65 In te namque humeros reclinat unum
 Fessos Sarmatis ora, te tuetur
 Defixis oculis, petens salutem.
 Quam si tu dederis, Deo fauente,
 Qui conatibus haud deest honestis:
 70 Tum laetos modulos canemus, atque
 CHRISTO carmine gratias agemus,
 Et magnos celebrabimus triumphos.

Perpetuum & fidele mancipium

Venceslaus Samotulinus.

70 'Mauors' in original.

APPENDIX 2

Valentin Bakfark, *Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testudinis factarum* [...]. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Mus.pr. 95, f. 2r–3v (a ij recto–a iij verso). <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb000312> (public domain), accessed 30 November 2022.

SERENNISSIMO AC POTENTISSIMO PRINCIPI, AC DOMINO, DOMINO SIGISMVNDIO AVGVSTO, DEI GRATIA REGI POLONIAE, MAGNO DUCI LITWANIAE, RUSSIAE, PRUSSIAE, MAZOVIAE, SAMOGITIAE, LIVONIAE
& caet.
DOMINO AC HAEREDI,
DOMINO CLEMEN-
TISSIMO.

I Quanta sit inter animum nostrum, & Harmonicam Musicam conuenientia, REX POTENTISSIME, quantaque proportio, nemo est qui ignoret: Quisque enim in seipso experitur, nulla re alia animos nostros magis affici, magisque oblectari, quam Musices concentu. Adeo enim
5 rapiantur animi, & quocunque volueris flectuntur: vt illam authorem ac effectricem laetitia, in qua hominis vita fere tota, ac melior etiam vitae pars consistit: veteres singulari sapientia ornati tradidere: nempe grauissimus Socrates, diuinus Plato, & sapiens Pithagoras: qui adeo Musicam celebrarunt, vt illam cum diuinarum rerum cognitione coniunctam censerent, summamque etiam eruditionem in neruorum vocatione contentibus
10 sitam esse testarentur: adeo vt dixerint, quod simul atque mentem nostram, divinae Musices vis, ac virtus penetrarit, illam mox diuinae sapientiae splendore fore irradiatam: Imo affirmarunt animum nostrum, nihil aliud esse,
15 quam Musicum instrumentum, numeris ipsis confectum, ex quibus oritur illa concinnitas, & disparium vnitas, quae incredibilem parit oblectationem: Vnde antiquissimam hac ratione Musicam ipsam duxerunt: quod cum animorum creatione suam quoque originem traheret: & ab ipso mundi exordio fuisse permultos, qui Musica sese oblectarent, sacrae
20 testantur Literae, fuisseque magno in precio habitam, a praeclaris in omni saeculo viris, & prophana ipsa antiquorum scripta, nedum sacra tradunt. Qui sane cum experirentur, quod vi Musices mentes eorum ad Deum, quem omnium Conditorem, & bonorum omnium fontem agnoscebant, altius raperentur, & gratiores fore laudes, & Hymnos ac Cationes eorum,
25 quae alacriori mentis agitatione (quae quidem Musices virtute fiebat) arbitrarentur, hoc laudum genere diuinum numen est celebratum: Vt hac ratione adductus inclytus populi Dei imperator MOSES, pro insigni eius in Aegyptium Regem victoria Paena laetissimum praepotenti Deo decantaret. Et Rex ipse inuictissimus DAVID, diuinas celebrari laudes instituerit, varijs ad illis quidem elegantibus Musices instru-

mentis permixtas, vt & canentium, ac psallentium corda magis affice-
 rentur, & Dei ipsius naturam altius penetrarent. Quo sit vt si re ipsa
 sentiamus Maiestatem Dei in laudibus sese Musica oblectasse, mirum
 nobis videri non debet, homines ipsos adeo rapi, adeo extra se ferri, vt
 35 prae hac vna reliquas omnes voluptates pro nihilo ducant, & cantem-
 nant. Notissimum est illud ac singulare, quod de Alexandri Magni
 erga Musicam affectu, dicitur, qui licet superbus orbis domitor videri
 vellet, ac seuerus, tamen ad arma nunquam nisi Musico suo melodiam
 resonante sese accingebat, & vim animi innatam excitabat, & illo remit-
 40 tente, residebat: sed quid homines dico, mali etiam spiritus dicuntur so-
 no Cytharae mitiores facti, vt de Saulis spiritu legitur: quoties Cytharam
 tetigisset adolescens Cytharoedus, quod ille quisceret. Quibus de causis
 adducti veteres Poetae finxerunt Orphea lyrae modulatione montes ipsos,
 arboresque proceras post se traxisse: & Anphiona ferunt, in Thebarum
 45 vrbis structura saxa testitudinis sono flexisse: Vt non difficile sit perspi-
 cere, REX CLEMENTISSIME, quo Poetarum fictiones tenderent: nem-
 pe vt quanta sit, in capiendis hominibus, & flectendis, vis & efficacia Mu-
 sices ostenderent, fabularum inuolucris id tradidere. Nam haec sola pecto-
 ra agrestia mollire, & humaniora reddere potuit, & saxea corda in mol-
 50 lia, & mitia vertere, tristia & moerore opressa, laeta atque iucunda effi-
 cere: Nam quae vlla ars alia animos persaepe varijs ac permolestis occu-
 pationibus, iamque nubibus opertos ac confectos recreare potest, hac vna
 excepta: haec inquam sola, tristes animi cogitationes fugat, & expellit,
 mentes exhilarat, animos recreat, laeticiam affert, vitam denique iucundis-
 55 simam affecit. Ad huius solatium confugiunt Principes ac Reges, nedum
 priuati Ciues. Hac etiam oblectatos fuisse ipsos Deos, Poetae antiquissimi
 comemorant: vt plane perspiciamus, nullum esse hominum genus, quod non
 hoc oblectationis genere, modo facultas adfuerit, libentissime vti vellet.
 Quae sane cum superioribus saeculis esset fere deperdita, & in hoc
 60 quoque parte barbaries grassata fuisset, vt nihil nisi insuauae & incultum canerent,
 & fidibus tangerent huiusmodi artifices, hac nostra aetate effectatum est,
 vt etiam ars Musica fere ab inferis reuocata, & suauior, ac etiam iucun-
 dior nobis moduletur, quam sane Musices excitationem, & industriam,
 Principum fauori acceptam ferri par est. Nam Leone decimo tantum
 65 & accesionis, & ornamenti accepit haec Musices ars, vt eam ad summum
 ille fastigium perduxerit. Summopere enim Musicos ornauit, & com-
 plexus est, illis fuit, & omni liberalitatis genere (vt erat Vir ad largi-
 endum propensissimus) Musices professors ita est prosecutus, vt nullo
 vnquam tempore, ars haec magis floruerit: vt multos illa aetas praestan-
 70 tissimos protulerit, qui praeclara etiam artis monumenta post se reli-
 querunt, & etiam amplissima sunt munera consecuti.

Horum ego tum adolescens vestigijs adhaerens, omne aetatis meae tem-
 pus in excoleda, & exornanda hac arte (vt tu SERENISSIME REX
 mihi es testis) contriui, & frequenti studio ac labore, praesertimque tuo
 75 fauore, videor mihi consecutus, vt quid in hac arte (quoad conceptum
 testitudinis attinet) praestantissimi sit, si non sum consecutus, (quod certe
 plurimo sudore conatus sum) at saltem modum ac viam, vt alij conseque-
 rentur sedulo praemostrauit. Et cum hac de causa aliquas cantiones, me-

80 lodias, & alia testitudinis sono exprimenda composuerim, Tu REX CLEMENTISSIME me persaepe, cum iubere posses, hortari maluisti, vt eas in lucem ederem, cui sane voto non obtemperare, impium, ne dicam pro-
tueruum esset. Decreui, & tuae inprimis voluntati, quae mihi oraculi vice semper fuit, satisfacere: & eadem opera compluribus ornatissimis
Viris, qui hoc ipsum a me persaepe contenderunt obsequi.

85 Quales sunt huiusmodi melodiae, quo artificij genere modulatae, qua difficultate expressae, quae venustate, & dulcedine conditae, qua oblectationis copia refertae, qua numerorum serie, & nexu sint astrictae, & vario, ac flexuoso modulationis genere floeant, non est mei, iudicium ferre.

90 Quid conatus fuerim, quid effecerim, quid attulerim, praesens haec aetas (& si suis inuidis non careat) sed multo etiam magis ipsa posteritas, me tante, iudicium ferret. Quae cum iussu tuo, atque etiam sub eodem tuo augustissimo, ac foelicissimo nomine dicanda esse proposuerim, MAIESTATEM tuam praecor vt ea benigno, ac hilari, vt soles, vultu accipias.

95 Nan tu PRINCEPS INCLYTE, & Musica ipsa plurimum oblectaris, & a Musicis concentu non modicum solatij, & iucunditatis percipere soles, & Musicos amplecteris, ipsis faues, prospicis, eos tueris, muneribusque amplissimis exornas, vt perspicuum sit te nulla arte alia magis oblectari, ac recreari, quam Musica omnium praestantissima.

100 Accipe igitur haec, quae nunc a me eduntur, quasi laborum meorum praeludia, vt tuo foelici auspicio, in omnium manus peruenire possint, & laetus ac iucundus, vita hac, quae per se insuanis & iniucunda est, diutissime frueri. Vale REX SERENISSIME AC CLEMENTISSIME, & me, quem tot annos, non mediocri gratia, imo singulari es complexus, posthac etiam maiore complectare, & praecipua
105 clementia prosequere.

CRACOVIAE, die XV Octobris. Anno a restituta salute humano generi, post sesquimillesimum sexagesimo quinto.

SERENISSIMAE MAIESTATIS VESTRAE

Perpetuus & fidelis
Cliens, & subditus

VALENTINUS
BAKFARK
PANNONIUS.

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MUZYKA I PATRONAT W ŚWIETLE LISTÓW DEDYKACYJNYCH: WACŁAW Z SZAMOTUŁ,
VALENTIN BAKFARK I KRÓL ZYGMUNT II AUGUST

Spośród nielicznie zachowanych polskich druków muzycznych z XVI w. wyjątkowe znaczenie mają dwie krakowskie edycje: *Lamentationes Hieremiae prophetae* (1553) Wacława z Szamotuł oraz *Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testudinis factarum* (1565) Valentina Bakwaraka. Zawarte w nich listy dedykacyjne, mimo różnic co do charakteru, struktury i treści, są ważnym źródłem informacji o renesansowych praktykach patronackich. Poemat Wacława z Szamotuł (*Carmen nuncupatorium*) ma wyjątkowy charakter, gdyż wbrew humanistycznej tradycji mody pochwalnej (*encomium*) nie zawiera prośby o finansowe wsparcie, lecz odnosi się

do zagrożenia ze strony Imperium Osmańskiego. Kompozytor, wyjaśniając genezę i posępny charakter swojego dzieła, daje wstrząsający opis inwazji tureckiej na Węgry i przestrzega przed podobnym losem mieszkańców Mołdawii – graniczącego z Polską i Turcją państwa buforowego, w tym czasie całkowicie pogrążonego w chaosie. Ponieważ Zygmunt II August starał się tam odbudować swoje wpływy, poemat Wacława można traktować jako przedłużenie dyplomacji – jako apel o wierność polskiemu królowi.

Odmienny charakter ma list dedykacyjny Bakwarka, stanowiący typowe *encomium*. Choć przepełniony jest metaforami wychwalającymi erudycję, kulturę i wspaniałomyślność Zygmunta II Augusta, to wyjaśnia zarazem okoliczności opublikowania antologii i daje ogólną charakterystykę zawartych w niej kompozycji. Obie dedykacje stanowią ważne źródło informacji o relacjach obu muzyków z ich patronem i pozwalają na dostrzeżenie kontekstów, które w innym przypadku nie byłyby czytelne. Są zarazem świadectwem wykorzystania potencjału sztuki, służącej, w przypadku Wacława, celom polityczno-propagandowym, a w przypadku Bakwarka – kreowaniu wizerunku monarchy jako osoby światłej i wrażliwej. Ilustrują wreszcie wielorakie funkcje drukowanego paratekstu – jako przyciągającego publiczną uwagę „listu otwartego”, potwierdzającego istnienie trwałych relacji patronackich i ukazującego okoliczności wydania dzieł oraz ich przesłanie.

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Keywords / słowa kluczowe: patronage practices / praktyki patronackie, dedication letters / listy dedykacyjne, paratexts / parateksty, propaganda, Lamentations / lamentacje, lute book / tabulatura lutniowa, Kraków, Sigismund II Augustus / Zygmunt II August, Wacław of Szamotuły / Wacław z Szamotuł, Valentin Bakwark

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