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WORKS BY CROATIAN MUSIC WRITERS OF THE SIXTEENTH TO
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES HELD IN POLISH LIBRARIES.
ON THE MIGRATION OF IDEAS ON MUSIC

This article is among the fruits of the field work carried out as part of two research projects: the exchange programme between the Polish and Croatian Academies of Sciences between 2008 and 2013, and the HERA “MusMig” project, scheduled for 2013–2016.¹ Both projects, covering also other research areas and topics, encompassed a broad time range: the presence in Polish libraries of Croatian humanists and writers active in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their works have been found and identified in 24 Polish libraries, in a total of some 300 copies.² Those authors among them who dealt with musical topics are fewer in number: 26 different titles by 12 authors found in several dozen copies in 20 Polish libraries in 11 cities. I will outline the general features of these particular works and the character of their musical contents and give brief information about some of the Polish libraries where they are held.³

All these works originating from the sixteenth to eighteenth century are kept either among the general resources of the Polish libraries or in their special collections, but none in music departments. That is because there are no texts on music by Croatian authors from the period under consideration

¹ The full title of this HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area) project reads: “Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South” (project leader: Prof. Vjera Katalinić).

² The field work carried out by the author of this article consisted of personal bibliographical research in the following Polish libraries (listed in alphabetical order of city names): Gdańsk – Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska; Kraków – Biblioteka Jagiellońska; Poznań – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika; Warsaw – Biblioteka Narodowa; Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Data for all the other libraries mentioned in this article were taken from the Centralny Katalog Starych Druków (Central Catalogue of Early Prints) of the Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library) in Warsaw. As this source was compiled a long time ago, the data taken from it might not be wholly complete or accurate.

³ Most of the data on particular libraries and their specific features were taken from various official websites in 2016 and are permanently accessible.

who specialised solely in music; the texts on music are scattered around general dictionaries (where music terminology is concerned) and works from other scientific or scholarly fields, such as theology (including popular moralising titles), philosophy, general aesthetics, physics, political science, theory of poetry and theatre, historiography, medicine and Turkish studies.

More research is required into the possible ways in which the above-mentioned titles from the sixteenth to eighteenth century were acquired by the Polish libraries. Both the entries made on particular copies of these books and the library inventories are either completely lacking or very laconic, raising serious doubts about the possibility of discovering the books' provenance. Up to now, research in this area has been closer to speculation than to concrete findings. By following the titles and their copies in libraries, it has proved possible to assemble the data given below (in chronological order of the published titles, followed by the individual collections and/or libraries where some of these titles have been held). The titles are given in their original versions.

Bartholomaeus Georgievits (Bartol Đurđević/Jurjević, 1506–56)

- *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, Antwerp 1544
- *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turce tribute viventium Christianorum*, Antwerp 1544
- *Rozmowa z Turczynem*, Kraków 1548
- *Pro fide Christiana cum Turca disputationis habitae [...] descriptio*, Kraków 1548
- *Prognoma sive praesagium Musulmanorum, de Christianorum calamitatibus et de eorum interitu*, Kraków 1548
- *De origine imperii Turcorum*, Wittenberg 1560
- *Erzelung der Türkischen Keiser Namen, Empter, Leben, Sitten und Tyranny in irem Reich*, Wittenberg 1560
- *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Lyon 1575
- *Türcken Büchlein, darinnen den Türkischen Keyser Namen*, Zerbst 1585.
- ~ Warsaw – Biblioteka Narodowa

The north Croatian author Bartholomaeus Georgievits (in modern Croatian: Bartol Đurđević or Jurjević; Mala Mlaka near Zagreb, 1506–Rome, 1566) is considered to be one of the three most important writers of the Renaissance with regard to his credibility in reporting on the character and peculiarities of Turkish-Ottoman society at that time.⁴ He was captured at the age of twenty after the

⁴ There is abundant Croatian and international scholarly literature on this Renaissance writer. However, the only report on Georgievits's treatment of musical topics published to date is Stanislav Tuksar's "Vijesti o tursko-osmanlijskoj glazbi u spisu 'De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis' Bartola Djurdjevića (1506?–1566?)", *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* [The life and customs

Battle of Mohács, held by the Turks for thirteen years, then sold and resold several times as a slave in Asia Minor and the Middle East. After escaping, in 1535, he wrote about his experiences, and his account was published in a total of 77 editions, published from 1544 until the second half of the seventeenth century in eight languages (Latin, German, Italian, French, English, Flemish, Czech and Polish) throughout Western and Central Europe. These editions have been preserved in about 350 copies in 90 libraries in 17 countries of Europe and America. The first version of his memoirs was published in 1544, in Antwerp, under the title *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, and it was later incorporated, reprinted or modified, in several of his other works. It includes five sections dealing with music in Ottoman Islamic society: on the place of music in Muslim rituals in mosques; music in the ritual of circumcision, especially when Christians converted to Islam; music in the composition of songs; the function of chant in Muslim funerals; the pillaging of musical instruments (organs and bells) from Catholic churches after Ottoman conquests. Georgievits's objective observations helped forge the general perception in the West of the existence, beyond the "iron curtain" of that time, of a well-organised Islamic society with its own developed culture, including musical culture.

Nine editions of Georgievits's works, in Latin, German and Polish, have been preserved in the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw. Especially interesting among them are the unique preserved copies of the three editions of his works published in Kraków in 1548, including the highly valuable early version of the translation into Polish (*Rozmowa z Turczyńcem*). However, the copy of this Polish version is incomplete and damaged, and it is lacking the sections on musical issues.

There is no evidence of how this many works by Georgievits were acquired by this prestigious library. Their preservation is all the more astonishing if we take into account the catastrophic losses inflicted on this library by the Nazi "librocide" of 1944, and even earlier, in the eighteenth century, when its predecessor, the Załuski Library, was confiscated and partly damaged by the Russian Empress Catherine the Great.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Matija Vlačić Ilirik, 1520–75)⁵

– *Liber de veris et falsis adiaphoris*, Magdeburg 1549–50

~ Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika

~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

of the southern Slavs]. [Zagreb] 1983 pp. 679–691; Eng. tr. "On Early Reports about Turkish Music Culture in the Writings of Some Late-Renaissance Humanists". In: *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*. Ed. Angelo Pompilio. Vol. III Turin 1990 pp. 17–26.

⁵ There is abundant Croatian and international scholarly literature on this Croatian-German theological writer. However, apart from some scarce remarks scattered around various articles, the only short account of Flacius' treatment of musical topics published to date is Stanislav Tuksar's "Hrvatsko-njemački protestantski teolog Matija Vlačić Ilirik (1520–1575) i problem glazbe u Interimima iz 1548. godine" [The Croatian-German Protestant theologian Matija Vlačić Ilirik (1520–75) and the question of music in the Augsburg Interim of 1548]. In: *Glazba, ideje i društvo / Music, Ideas and Society. Essays in Honour of Ivan Supičić*. Ed. Stanislav Tuksar. Zagreb 1993 pp. 249–255.

- *Argumenta psalmodum sexaginta*, Frankfurt am Main 1550
~ Gdańsk – Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska
- *Duo capita Polydori Vergilii de nomine ac autoribus missae*, Magdeburg c.1550
~ Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika
- *Missa latina*, Strasbourg 1557
~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
- *Refutatio missae*, n.p. 1557
~ Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika

Of all the Croatian humanists from the period under consideration, the author with the most titles and copies preserved in Polish libraries is Matthias Flacius Illyricus Sr (in modern Croatian: Matija Vlačić Ilirik st.; Labin, 1520 – Frankfurt am Main, 1575): his works can be found in more than 220 copies in 24 libraries in Warsaw, Cieszyn, Wrocław, Toruń, Leszno, Kraków, Gdańsk, Kamień, Kórnik, Łódź, Szczecin, Olsztyn, Gościkowo-Paradyż and Bydgoszcz. He was born in the Istrian town of Labin (It. Albona) and educated in Venice. After converting to Protestantism, Flacius became a close collaborator of Luther and Melancthon, and was active in Augsburg, Basle, Tübingen, Wittenberg and Jena, where he co-founded the university and taught as its first professor of Greek and Hebrew. Because of his theological and doctrinal radicalism (his compatriot Paulus Scalichius called him “Lutheranus Rigidus”), opposing the compromise with Catholics following the Interim of 1548, he ended his life as a refugee. Flacius published more than 140 titles in all, including the well-known works *Catalogus testium veritatis*, *Clavis scripturae sacrae* and *Ecclesiastica historia*, that is, the famous *Centurae Magdeburgiensis*, in 13 volumes. Thus far, 15 works have been found to include his observations on musical issues, the most important among them being those from the *Liber de veris et falsis adiaphoris*, in which he recommended that the character of the new Protestant church music should be exclusively serious, simple and chaste, and in no respect lascivious. However, in some of his earlier writings, Flacius even advocated a radical ban on music in Lutheran liturgy.

Five titles of Flacius’ works containing musical topics, in six copies, have been identified in three Polish libraries (Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika; Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Gdańsk – Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska). The three copies of his works containing musical issues (*Liber de veris et falsis adiaphoris*; *Refutatio missae*; *Duo capita Polydori Vergilii de nomine ac autoribus missae*) kept in Toruń’s University Library could have been purchased when the Toruń Academic Gymnasium, a catalyst to scientific and cultural life in the region (including the first museum, created in

1594) was founded, in 1568. Regarding the Gdańsk title (*Argumenta psalmorum sexaginta*), the Library of Gdańsk City Council (Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis), founded in 1596, the forerunner to the library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, was based on more than one thousand volumes donated in 1591 by the Italian humanist Jan Bernard (Giovanni Bernardino) Bonifacio. Later it was enriched with the collections of contemporary Gdańsk theologians and lawyers. The Flacius copy may originate from one of the late sixteenth-century donations. For the Wrocław title *Missa latina*, there is no evidence relating to its acquisition.

Paulus Scalichius (Pavao Skalić, 1534–75)⁶

- *Encyclopaediae, seu Orbis disciplinarum, tam sacrarum quàm prophanarum, Epistemon*, Basle 1559
 - ~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
 - ~ Gdańsk – Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska
 - ~ Olsztyn – Muzeum Warmii i Mazur, Biblioteka

Paulus Scalichius (in modern Croatian: Pavao Skalić; Zagreb, 1534–Gdańsk, 1575) was educated mainly in Zagreb, and later studied philosophy and theology at the universities in Vienna and Bologna. The destiny of this restless spirit was shaped by his determination to hide his modest origins and by his claims to descend from the princes of the Croatian region of Lika, from the dukes della Scala of Verona, and even from the royal families of Bosnia, Serbia and Byzantium. Those deceptions forced Scalichius to leave the lucrative positions he held at the court in Vienna and in the royal Prussian administration in Königsberg. He converted to Protestantism and later back to Catholicism, spending his last nine years fearing for his life and wandering around German countries, France and Poland. He published 17 works in all, of which the most important is *Encyclopaediae, seu Orbis disciplinarum tam sacrarum quàm prophanarum, Epistemon* (Basle 1559), which includes three passages and three texts dealing with music. Among these writings on music, special attention is due to the encyclopaedic article “*Discursus harmonicus*”, containing theories of musical effects, along with their ethical connotations, as well as other concepts of an acoustic and psycho-physiological order based on ideas earlier expressed by Plato, Aristotle and Marsilio Ficino. Labelled a traditional neo-Pythagorean and Christian Platonist, Scalichius was known as the first modern thinker to use the word and notion “encyclopaedia”

⁶ Along with abundant Croatian and international bibliography on Scalichius, a new bilingual edition of his *Encyclopaedia* was recently published in Zagreb: *Epistemon*. Ed. Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin. Zagreb 2004. The author of this article has published the most comprehensive article on Scalichius’ treatment of music: Stanislav Tuksar: “Pavao Skalić kao glazbeni pisac i njegov ‘Discursus Harmonicus’ (1559)” [Scalichius as a writer on music and his *Discursus Harmonicus*]. *Arti Musices* 8 (1977) no. 2 pp. 97–122.

for a collection of texts written by various authors on all current knowledge; one fifteenth-century text by Angelo Poliziano on music has been identified among those included in his *Encyclopaediae [...] Epistemon*.

Three copies of Scalichius' *Encyclopaediae [...] Epistemon* have been found in three Polish libraries (in Gdańsk, Olsztyn and Wrocław). With regard to the Gdańsk copy, it may originate from one of the late sixteenth-century donations to the old Library of Gdańsk City Council, along with the above-mentioned work by Flacius. In addition, when Scalichius died, in Gdańsk, he was surely well known in local Protestant humanist circles. The Olsztyn copy, held in the library of the local museum, can reasonably be presumed to have been acquired for some earlier collection belonging to German Protestant circles, probably from institutions associated with the regions of Warmia and Masuria or from the material of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Dobrze Miasto (Ger. Guttstadt) dating from the period 1576–94. As regards the Wrocław copy, there are no clues relating to its acquisition.

Nicolò Vito di Gozze (Nikola Vitov Gučetić, 1549–1610)⁷

- *Dialogo della bellezza*, Venice 1581
~ Łódź – Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego
- *Dello stato delle repubbliche secondo la mente di Aristotele*, Venice 1591
~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

Nicolò Vito di Gozze (in modern Croatian: Nikola Vitov Gučetić; Dubrovnik/Ragusa, 1549–Dubrovnik, 1610) was a Ragusan patrician who spent his whole life in the highest social strata of his tiny homeland. Among other activities, he was a seven-time Rector (Duke) of the Dubrovnik Republic and led the management of the economically and politically most important state salt works and treasury. He published ten works, in which he treated, in a typical Renaissance combination of Platonism and Aristotelianism, various topics in the areas of philosophy, aesthetics, theory of love, political economy and theory of education. Among them, three works contain sections with Gozze's ideas on music: *Dialogo della bellezza, detto Antos* (1581), *Governo della famiglia* (1589) and *Dello stato delle repubbliche secondo la mente di Aristotele con esempi moderni* (1591). In them, he deals with issues relating to the active and passive practising of music, the rejection of professional musical education within the programme of general

⁷ To date, Gozze's oeuvre has been investigated mainly by Croatian philosophy historians. Recently, his most important work, *Dello stato delle repubbliche*, was translated into Croatian: Nikola Vitov Gučetić: *O ustroju država*. Ed. Marinko Šišak. Zagreb 2000. On music issues in Gozze's works, see Stanislav Tuksar: "Nikola Vitov Gučetić (Nicolò Vito di Gozze): Music and Education in Renaissance Dubrovnik". In: *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*. Zagreb 1980 pp. 115–136; Monika Jurić: "Paideia and the Neo-Platonic Ideas on Music Education and Culture in Renaissance Dubrovnik in the Works by Nicolò Vito di Gozze (Nikola Vitov Gučetić, 1549–1610)". *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 44 (2013) no. 1 pp. 3–17.

education, and the selection of harmonies, rhythms and musical instruments in musical education, all in terms of their application in contemporary Ragusan society and his visions of modern *paideia*. Simultaneously, Gozze offers several critical observations concerning Ragusan society from the point of view of an active statesman. Of particular interest are his occasional comments on musical issues and on his performances in some stage works written by the famous Ragusan Renaissance dramatist Marin Držić (Marino Darxa; 1508–67). Gozze's importance lies in the fact that he was a first-hand witness and later probably one of the animators of Dubrovnik musical culture during the late Renaissance.

Two copies of Gozze's works dealing with music-related issues are held in two Polish libraries (Łódź, Wrocław). Given that the present Łódź University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego) has only existed since 1945, but that it was founded on collections from abandoned former libraries in and around the city and on donations from other institutions and individual private owners, it is highly likely that such an unusual title as Gozze's late sixteenth-century dialogue on beauty (*Dialogo della bellezza*), the only copy preserved in Poland, was a donation from a private source. The same may be true of the copy kept in Wrocław University Library.

Francesco Patrizi (Franciscus Patritius; Frane Petrić, 1529–97)⁸

– *Della poetica*, Ferrara 1586

~ Kraków – Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich

The polymath and universal thinker Francesco Patrizi (in modern Croatian: Frane Petrić; Cres, 1529–Rome, 1597) is generally considered to be among the three most important nature philosophers and Platonists of the Renaissance.⁹ He was primarily schooled in his native town of Cres, on the island of the same name in the northern Adriatic, and later studied at universities in Padua and Ingolstadt. He spent the first part of his adult life as administrator of Venetian properties on the island of Cyprus and as educator at the court of the viceroy of Catalonia, also trying unsuccessfully to launch his own trading business. During the last twenty years of his life, Patrizi taught Platonist philosophy at the universities of Ferrara and Rome. He published twenty-seven works in all, leaving fifteen

⁸ Patrizi, alongside Flacius and Baglivi, is the most well-known thinker of Croatian origin among all the writers mentioned in this article. The bibliography on practically all aspects of his writings is huge and has been mostly published internationally, including by such outstanding scholars as Paul Oskar Kristeller, as well as musicologists Leo Schrade, Dragan Plamenac, Claude V. Palisca and others. The modern edition of *Della poetica* was published by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (Florence 1969–71, 4 vols). On Patrizi's treatment of music, see Stanislav Tuksar: "Franjo Petris: On Deciphering Old Greek Music Notation". In: *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, op. cit., pp. 79–104.

⁹ See e.g. Paul Oskar Kristeller: *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*. Stanford, CA 1970 pp. 110–126.

more in manuscripts, translated several works and left an abundant correspondence. A Renaissance “uomo universale” par excellence, Patrizi was intellectually occupied by topics dealing with utopian social theory, methodology and philosophy of history, rhetoric, poetics, geometry, occultism, military affairs and above all natural philosophy, which he conveyed in his main work *Nova de universis philosophia* (two editions, 1591 and 1593). Patrizi dealt with musical issues in his work *Della poetica* (1586), where he advocated, with strong arguments and abundant bibliographical references, a thesis on the unity of poetry, music and stage movement in the interpretation of theatrical works by writers of Greek Antiquity. He probably thus contributed to the first stage in the deciphering of ancient Greek notation and the concepts of the revival of ancient stage works and the role of music in them, via his contacts with Giovanni de Bardi and the first Florentine Camerata, active during the 1580s.

A single copy of Patrizi’s only work containing musical issues, *Della poetica*, is kept in one Polish library: the Czartoryski Library in Kraków. This library is among the oldest Polish private libraries. The collection was founded at the turn of the nineteenth century by Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski and his wife, Izabela, née Fleming. Patrizi’s title certainly belongs to the oldest layer of the old Czartoryski collection, but details of its acquisition remain unknown.

Faustus Verantius (Faust Vrančić, 1551–1617)¹⁰

- *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum: Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmatiae [sic] & Ungaricae*, Venice 1595
- ~ Warsaw – Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitalnego
- ~ Wrocław – Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich
- ~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

The *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum* by Faustus Verantius (in modern Croatian: Faust Vrančić; Šibenik, 1551–Venice, 1617) was first published in Venice in 1595, and its second edition – prepared by Peter Loderecker – was published in Prague in 1605, enlarged with terminology in Czech and Polish. This general dictionary contains also the rudiments of the first systematised and published music terminology in Croatian and their respective equivalents in up to six other languages. Among the 3581 words, there are 43 musical terms, denoting various musical instruments and performers, and even some elementary notions concerning music reception and theory.

¹⁰ Verantius’ dictionary was reprinted as Faust Vrančić: *Rječnik pet najuglednijih evropskih jezika*. Zagreb 1971. On Verantius’ music terminology, see Stanislav Tuksar: “Faust Vrančić (Faustus Verantius): The Beginnings of Croatian Musical Terminology”. In: *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, op. cit., pp. 59–78; idem: “La terminologia musicale nei dizionari di Faustus Verantius (1595) e di Jacobus Micalia (1649–1651)”. In: *Musica e cultura delle accademie nei centri di Alpe-Adria 1550–1650*. Asolo 1992.

The first Venetian edition of Verantius' dictionary is held in three copies in three Polish libraries. While the provenance of Verantius' *Dictionarium* (first edition from 1595) in the Warsaw Metropolitan Seminary (Seminarium Metropolitalne) and the University Library in Wrocław is not currently known, the origins of the copy in the Ossolineum (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich) in Wrocław appear to be somewhat clearer. The Ossolineum was established in 1817 by the politician, writer and researcher Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński as the second largest library in Poland after the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. The founder's intention was to establish a centre for research into Polish culture during the period when Poland was deprived of its statehood, divided up between Russia, Prussia and Austria. It was opened to the public in 1827, in the then Polish city of Lviv. Given the age of Verantius' print (and also of Ivanovich's work *Poesie*), it is highly likely that it was part of the initial Ossoliński collection. However, it is not currently known from where and/or from whom Ossoliński acquired it.

Jacobus Micalia (Jakov Mikalja, 1601–54)¹¹

– *Blago jezika slovinskoga*, Ancona-Loreto, 1649–51

~ Cieszyn – Biblioteka Tschammera

The Croatian-Italian-Latin dictionary *Blago jezika slovinskoga* [Slavic thesaurus] by Jacobus Micalia (Giacomo Micaglia, in modern Croatian: Jakov Mikalja; Pescia, 1601–Loreto, 1654) was published in Ancona-Loreto in 1649–51. Having collected the general vocabulary of Slavic dialects spoken in Dalmatia (Dubrovnik), Bosnia and Temisvár (today Timișoara, Romania), Micaglia gathered some 30,000 words, including 282 musical terms. They denote instruments and their parts, male and female performers, ways of performing, musical-acoustic products, music education, modes of reception, music theory, and music and dance. Especially richly described is the field of vocal music.

One copy of Micalia's dictionary is held in Poland – in the Biblioteka Tschammera in Cieszyn. The Tschammer Library is the oldest, most important and biggest Evangelical library in Poland, created during the second half of the eighteenth century by the lawyer Bogumil Rudolf Tschammer (1711–87); it also comprises the private collections of German, Polish and Czech Protestant figures, including

¹¹ On Micalia's music terminology, see Stanislav Tuksar: "Hrvatska glazbena terminologija u 'Blagu jezika slovinskoga' (1649–1651) Jakova Mikalje" [Croatian music terminology in the Slavic thesaurus by Jacobus Micalia]. *Arti Musices* 11 (1980) no. 1 pp. 5–35; idem: "Jakov Mikalja: 'Blago jezika slovinskoga'" [Jacobus Micalia's Slavic thesaurus]. In: *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija u razdoblju baroka* [Croatian music terminology in the Baroque]. Zagreb 1992 pp. 15–27; idem: "Croatian, Latin and Italian Musical Terminology in the Dictionary 'Blago jezika slovinskoga' (Loreto-Ancona, 1649–1651) by Jacobus Micalia". In: *Musica, scienze e idee nella Serenissima durante il Seicento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*. Eds. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi. Venice 1996 pp. 269–283.

Georg Greupner (d. 1717) and Jerzy Fryderyk Bludowski (1655–1730). Micalia's dictionary may originate from the private library of Greupner or Bludowski.

Jurje [*sic*] Habelich (Juraj Habelić, 1609–78)¹²

– *Zerczalo Marianszko*, Graz 1667

~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

The rector of Zagreb Jesuit College, Juraj (erroneously named Jurje in Polish) Habelich (in modern Croatian: Juraj Habelić; Staro Čiče, 1609–Zagreb, 1678) published several works which contain musical issues: the *Dictionar ili Réchi Szlovenske zvegega ukup zebrane, u red postaulyene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene* (Graz 1670), with music terminology included, the *Pervi otca našega Adama greh* (Graz 1674) and the moral-didactical *Zerczalo Marianszko* (Graz 1667), in which Habelich reported on early Baroque music making, including Marian songs, in the Jesuit and Pauline churches of Zagreb in 1618, highlighting the enthusiasm with which this new music was acclaimed by local “refined people of both sexes”.

Only one of Habelich's published works has been preserved in a Polish library: *Zerczalo Marianszko*, in the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wrocław. The University of Wrocław (Ger. Breslau) was founded by the Jesuits in the mid seventeenth century, and it was confirmed by the Habsburg ruler Leopold I around the same time as the Jesuit University in the Croatian capital of Zagreb (1669). Its library started to develop as the university grew. Wrocław University Library's department of early prints and books holds the greatest number of works by Croatian authors covering musical topics in Poland – seven in all. The mixed national and religious make-up of the city's population seems to have been reflected in the range of Croatian authors of purchased works, the Protestants Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Paulus Scalichius standing alongside the ardent Catholic writer Habelich, and scholarly authors such as Verantius and Baglivi with Renaissance humanist authors like Gozze.

Concerning, in particular, the seventeenth-century author Juraj Habelich, a link might be established between this Counter-Reformation Zagreb writer and Wrocław: Habelich, rector of the Jesuit College and a person who contributed a great deal to establishing the old Jesuit university of Zagreb, could have been among the most desirable “brotherly” authors – i.e. sharing close interests – when Wrocław university and its library were being established. What is somewhat sur-

¹² Habelich's dictionary was reprinted as *Juraj Habelić, Dikcionar (Dictionar ili Réchi Szlovenszke zvegega ukup zebrane, u red posztaulyene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene)*. Ed. Josip Turčinović. Zagreb 1989. On Habelich's music terminology, see Stanislav Tuksar: “Juraj Habelić: Dictionar ili reči slovenske z vekšega ukup zebrane, u red postavljene i dijačkemi zlahkotene” [Juraj Habelich's dictionary, or collected Slavic words, set in order and designed for pupils]. In: *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija*, op. cit., pp. 29–35.

prising is that his voluminous moral-didactical work *Zerczalo Marianszko* (1667), written in Croatian Kajkavian dialect, was purchased, and not, for example, his well-known Latin-Croatian dictionary.¹³

Cristoforo Ivanovich (Kristofor Ivanović, 1628–89)¹⁴

– *Poesie*, Venice 1675

~ Wrocław – Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich

– *Minerva al tavolino*, Venice 1681

~ Szczecin – Książnica Pomorska

~ Warsaw – Biblioteka Narodowa

The poet, librettist and chronicler of theatre and politics Cristoforo Ivanovich (in modern Croatian: Kristofor Ivanović; Budva, 1628–Venice 1689) migrated as a young man from the small southern Dalmatian town of Budva (then belonging to Venice, now in Montenegro) to Verona and Venice. There he made his name as a man of letters, dealing with musical issues on three different fronts: 1) as a librettist, writing the texts to five *drammi per musica* between 1663 and 1674, used soon afterwards as librettos for operas; 2) as a chronicler of the first fifty years of Venetian opera (1637–87) and its first historian; 3) in his epistolary activities, as a theorist of musical drama and a critical observer of seventeenth-century Venetian musical-theatrical practice in its avant-garde market orientation.

A single copy of Ivanovich's *Poesie*, which encompasses his interesting and important correspondence concerning musical-critical observations, is held in one Polish library: the Ossolineum in Wrocław. It is highly likely that this work was part of the initial Ossoliński collection, originating from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ivanovich's *Minerva al tavolino* has been found in two Polish libraries: the Pomeranian Library in Szczecin and the National Library in Warsaw.

¹³ See above, n.12.

¹⁴ There is an abundant international and, to a lesser extent, Croatian and other southern Slavic bibliography on Ivanovich, published since the mid nineteenth century. Especially valuable among the more recent articles are the following: Miloš Milošević: "Il contributo di Cristoforo Ivanovich nell'evoluzione del melodramma seicentesco". In: *Atti del convegno Il libro nel bacino adriatico (secc. XV–XVIII)*. Ed. Sante Graciotti. Florence 1992 pp. 111–124; Norbert Dubowy: "Un dalmata al servizio della Serenissima. Cristoforo Ivanovich, primo storico del melodramma". In: *Il teatro musicale del Rinascimento e del Barocco tra Venezia, regione Giulia e Dalmazia: Idee accademiche a confronto*. Ed. Ivano Cavallini. Trieste 1991 pp. 21–31; Ivano Cavallini, "Questioni di stile e struttura del melodramma nelle lettere di Cristoforo Ivanovich". In: *Giovanni Legrenzi e la Cappella Ducale di San Marco. Atti dei convegni internazionali di studi Venezia e Clusone 1990*. Eds. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi. Florence 1994 pp. 185–199. For the latest text on some features of Ivanovich's approach to musical issues, see Stanislav Tuksar: "Cristofor Ivanovich – A Seventeenth-Century Dalmatian Migrant in Serenissima, Revisited". In: *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*. Ed. Vjera Katalinić. Zagreb 2016 pp. 49–63.

The tradition of the Pomeranian Library (Książnica Pomorska) in Szczecin goes back to the City Library (Stadtbibliothek) of German Stettin. As the city was an important Hanseatic port and the capital of Western Pomerania under Swedish administration, from 1630/37 to 1713/20, the copy of Ivanovich's *Minerva al tavolino* may originate from the cultural world of the Hanseatic upper class. On the other hand, there is no apparent trace of the provenance of the copy kept in the National Library in Warsaw.

Georgius Baglivi (Gjuro Baglivi, 1668–1707)¹⁵

- *Opera omnia*, various locations, 1704–88
 - ~ Kraków – Biblioteka Jagiellońska (ed. 1704, 1710, 1745, 1751)
 - ~ Kraków – Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN (ed. 1754)
 - ~ Lublin – Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego (ed. 1734)
 - ~ Lublin – Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej (ed. 1704)
 - ~ Poznań – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Medycznego (ed. 1710)
 - ~ Poznań – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (ed. 1715, 1734)
 - ~ Toruń – Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna – Książnica Kopernikańska (ed. 1714)
 - ~ Warsaw – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (ed. 1754)
 - ~ Warsaw – Główna Biblioteka Lekarska (ed. 1719)
 - ~ Warsaw – Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitalnego (ed. 1788)
 - ~ Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (ed. 1754)

Giorgio Armeno, born in an Armenian-Croatian family, moved in 1683 from his native town of Dubrovnik to Lecce, in Apulia, where he was adopted and later took the name of Giorgio Baglivi (Georgius Baglivus; in modern Croatian: Gjuro Baglivi; Dubrovnik, 1668–Rome, 1707). After studying medicine at the universities of Salerno, Padua, Bologna and Naples and holding brief physician posts in Padua, Venice, Florence, Bologna, the Netherlands and England,

¹⁵ Baglivi seems to have been, along with Patrizi and Flacius, the most well-known thinker of Croatian origins among all the writers mentioned in this article. The bibliography on him and his work encompasses more than two hundred articles and books. The most valuable recent publication is a bilingual Latin-Croatian edition: Gjuro Baglivi: *De fibra motrice et morbosa / O zdravom i bolesnom motoričkom vlaknu*. Ed. Mirko Dražen Grmek. Zagreb 1997. This includes a seminal study on the life, oeuvre and historical importance of Baglivi, written by the editor. The latest text on Baglivi and music was the paper delivered by Stanislav Tuksar at the International Musicological Conference “Music Migration in the Early Modern Age: Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence”, Warsaw, 6–7 May 2016. At the time of writing, the proceedings of this conference are in print.

in 1692, Baglivi moved to Rome, where he embarked on a spectacular international career, becoming professor of theoretical medicine at La Sapienza University at the age of twenty-four and personal second physician to popes Innocent XIII and Clement XI. His international reputation eventually led to his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society in England, a member of the Holy Roman Empire's Academia Naturae Curiosorum (Leopoldina Academy of Sciences) in Germany, and a *membre d'honneur* of the French Academy. He was just thirty-six when his *Opera omnia medico-practica et anatomica* were published, in 1704, in Latin. That work enjoyed twenty editions, up to the end of the eighteenth century, and was translated into Italian, French, German and English. Known as an outstanding iatrophysicist, that is, an advocate of the medical application of physics, Baglivi tended to explain physiological processes in the human body as being subject to the laws and procedures of mechanics.

Baglivi's treatment of musical topics is limited to his text *Dissertatio VI. De Anatome, Morsu, & Effectibus Tarantulae*, written in September 1695, which forms part of his *Opera omnia*. There he presented a theoretical explanation of the healing through music and dancing of a human body poisoned by a tarantula bite, as practised for centuries by common folk in the southern Italian province of Apulia. Baglivi also mentioned similar effects of music that he had observed during his travels in his native province of Dalmatia.

Baglivi's collected works (*Opera omnia*, including the text on music in *Dissertatio VI*), have proved to be a real "hit" in research into this topic in Poland: they have been found in at least 15 copies kept in 11 libraries in 6 cities (Kraków, Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław), consisting of 10 editions published in 1704, 1710, 1714, 1715, 1719, 1734, 1745, 1751, 1754, and 1788. Four editions of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* (from 1704, 1710, 1745, 1751) found in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, one of the greatest and oldest libraries in Poland, were almost certainly purchased for the local special collection of medical literature, today Collegium Medicum. Baglivi's two early editions from 1715 and 1734 from the University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka) in Poznań might have come from some earlier German school or court library, given that this library was created in 1919 from the old Kaiser-Wilhelm-Bibliothek (1898), which in turn was formed by gifts from the Royal Library in Berlin and many institutional and private donations. Furthermore, it is reasonable to presume that the purchase of Baglivi's 1754 edition of *Opera omnia*, held today in the University Library in Warsaw, occurred during the late 1850s or 1860s for the needs of the Medical-Surgical Academy (that was the name of the reopened Royal University of Warsaw from 1857 to 1869) or the Medical Department of the Warsaw Main School. Baglivi's late 1788 edition, preserved in the Warsaw Metropolitan Seminary, formally founded in 1678 and operative from 1682, was probably bought directly for the Seminary's research and educational needs.

No information is currently known relating to the provenance of any other single copy of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* kept in any of the other Polish libraries mentioned above (in Kraków, Lublin, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław). It is reasonable to assume, however, that all these editions were purchased almost solely on the basis of Baglivi's medical reputation and not because of his musical interests.

Ardelio Della Bella (1655–1737)¹⁶

– *Dizionario italiano, latino, illirico*, Venice 1728

~ Lublin – Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego

Ardelio Della Bella (Foggia, 1655–Split, 1737) was a Jesuit missionary of Florentine origins. After completing studies in law and philosophy in Naples, in 1681 he travelled to Dalmatia, where he worked as a missionary and preacher for almost six decades, until his death. He was remembered, celebrated and loved as a man of letters and a peerless orator who learned the Slavic language (that is, the Dalmatian dialect of Croatian) so well that as late as in 1805 a collection of his sermons was published in Dubrovnik (*Razgovori i pripovijdanja* [Conversations and stories]), as a model of rhetorical skills in Croatian. However, his life's work was undoubtedly his Italian-Latin-Croatian dictionary, the *Dizionario italiano, latino, illirico* (Venice 1728, Dubrovnik 1785), in which terms were contextualised for the first time in a Croatian historical dictionary by citing their usage in more than 40 works written by Dalmatian and Ragusan writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The music terminology encompasses more than 200 words denoting mostly musical instruments. Of special value is Della Bella's citing of numerous works by old Ragusan writers, in order to show how the terms were used in everyday practice and as such entered the literary output of the cultural elite.

Della Bella's *Dizionario*, along with Andreas Jambressich's *Lexicon Latinum*, was found in the Voivodeship Public Library (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna) in Lublin. This library was formally founded in 1907 and was opened for public use in 1908. Its initial stock came from the Łopaciński collection, which was enriched by the collections of the Institute of Lublin (in 1939) and the former City Library (in 1948). The acquisition of these two Croatian general dictionaries (the only copies known to be held in Poland) is quite surprising. It strongly suggests that they formed part of the collection of the initial owner, the linguist, historian and ethnographer Hieronim Łopaciński (1860–1906), who showed specific interest in lexicography and matters relating to southern Slavic linguistic and literary production, and also in folk customs, bibliology, translation and slang, as well as Latin studies, as is reflected in his more than 160 published articles (for example,

¹⁶ On Della Bella's music terminology, see Stanislav Tuksar: "Ardelio Della Bella: 'Dizionario italiano, latino, illirico', Mleci 1728 (1. izd.)". In: *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija*, op. cit., pp. 37–53.

“Najdawniejsze słowniki polskie drukowane” [The earliest Polish dictionaries], from 1897).

Andrea Jambressich (Andrija Jambrešić; 1706–58)¹⁷

– *Lexicon Latinum Interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica, et Hungarica*, Zagreb 1742
 ~ Lublin – Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego

The Zagreb Jesuit lexicographer Andrea Jambressich (in modern Croatian: Andrija Jambrešić; Cesargrad, 1706–Varaždin?, 1758) was the man who revised and completed the work on a dictionary started by another Jesuit from northern Croatia, Franjo Sušnik (1686–1739). Jambressich’s name appears as the author of *Lexicon Latinum Interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica, et Hungarica*, a Latin-Croatian-German-Hungarian dictionary published in Zagreb in 1742. Both lexicographers, Jambressich and Sušnik, were members of the Jesuit College in Zagreb and held various teaching and missionary posts throughout northern Croatia (Zagreb, Varaždin, Osijek) and south-east Hungary (Pécs, Temesvár, today Timișoara, Romania). What is especially intriguing is the fact that Jambressich’s *Lexicon* appeared only two years after the greatest early dictionary of the Croatian language, the encyclopaedic *Gazophylacium*, compiled by the Pauline monk Ivan Belostenec (Zagreb 1740), in what seemed to be an unusual rivalry between two ecclesiastical orders (Jesuit and Pauline) to conquer the lexicographical market in the learned circles of northern Croatia and its academic strata. The music terminology in Jambressich’s *Lexicon* encompasses approximately the same number of terms as Della Bella’s, i.e. more than 200 words denoting mostly musical instruments.

Jambressich’s *Lexicon* was found in one copy in one Polish library: Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna in Lublin (on its possible provenance from Łopaciński’s initial collection, see the above text on Della Bella).

General Conclusions

1) As already stated, 26 printed works from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century by authors of Croatian origins dealing with musical topics have been found in several dozen copies in 20 Polish libraries; they form part of a much larger store of general humanistic literature, comprising some 300 copies held in 24 Polish libraries.

¹⁷ On Jambressich’s music terminology see Stanislav Tuksar: “Andrija Jambrešić: ‘Lexicon latinum interpretatione illyrica, germanica, et hungarica’, Zagreb 1742”. In: *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija*, op. cit., pp. 87–109. Jambressich’s *lexicon* was reprinted in Zagreb in 1992 by the Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje (Institute for Croatian Language and Linguistics).

2) By the far the most numerous group comprises 19 works by six authors printed during the sixteenth century; printed during the seventeenth century were six works by five authors, one of which, Baglivi's *Opera omnia* (with *Dissertatio VI*), was a real bestseller, found in 15 copies in 11 libraries; only two works by two authors were printed during the eighteenth century.

3) Statistically, the number of authors and works declines from the Renaissance to the late Baroque. One possible explanation for this is that the number of Croatian authors and the topics they addressed became increasingly less relevant in broader European terms (eighteenth-century authors being more or less reduced to the role of mere lexicographers).

4) Works by Croatian authors dealing with musical issues are all kept in general or specialised non-musical collections; we may conclude, therefore, that readers interested in musical issues might not have used them extensively as musically relevant sources, being unaware of the existence of such topics in works from other disciplines.

5) Some authors were certainly not recognised as being of Croatian origins. That is particularly true for Patrizi, Micalia and Baglivi, treated in international scholarship prevalently as Italian authors (although this might be true for Micalia); a special case is the Italian-born Della Bella, largely belonging to Dalmatian culture.

6) The works of these authors were not purchased because they were of Croatian/Slavic origins, but because of the relevance of the subjects and specific contents they treated; the author's nationality was not relevant in the sense that it became so during the nineteenth century – an age of revived modern nationalism.

7) The copies found in Polish libraries are well distributed throughout the country (in geographically dispersed cities and towns such as Cieszyn, Gdańsk, Kraków, Łódź, Lublin, Olsztyn, Poznań, Szczecin, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław). This points to a good book trading network in Europe during the period under consideration. Books by Croatian authors were published throughout Europe (mostly in Italy, Austria and Germany), and the Latin or Italian language used by the authors, representing universal *linguae communaes*, made the books widely accessible.

8) The great variety displayed by the works written by Croatian authors found in Polish libraries and by the topics they address is certainly due in part to the varying interests of the individuals and institutions that purchased them, with regard to religious options and socio-cultural needs.

9) The migration of musical topics in the form of various theoretical discourses in printed editions has been well documented throughout Poland; it is a matter of some consequence that works by Croatian humanist authors from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century dealing with musical topics were even better disseminated during their lifetimes than the works of their fellow authors of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

STRESZCZENIE

Autor artykułu odnalazł i zidentyfikował w dwudziestu czterech bibliotekach polskich około trzysta prac autorów chorwackich działających od XVI do XVIII wieku. Wśród tych zabytków teksty o muzyce stanowią mniej niż dziesięć procent – dwadzieścia sześć tekstów napisanych przez dwunastu autorów, z których większość została opublikowana na początku wspomnianego okresu. Współcześnie są przeważnie mało znane i nawet nietraktowane jako prace chorwackie, ze względu na włoskie nazwiska teoretyków (np. Patrizi, Micalia czy Baglivi). W artykule wszystkie prace teoretycznomuzyczne zostały opisane wraz z krótkim omówieniem ich zawartości.

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