

THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF THE WARSAW THEATRE
IN THE YEARS 1788 AND 1797: AN EXPRESSION OF THE
MIGRATION OF EUROPEAN REPERTOIRE

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Abstract

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's first public theatre, operating in Warsaw during the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, numerous stage works were performed in the years 1765-1767 and 1774-1794: Italian, French, German, and Polish operas as well as ballets, while public concerts, organised at the Warsaw theatre from the mid-1770s, featured dozens of instrumental works including symphonies, overtures, concertos, variations as well as vocal-instrumental works - oratorios, opera arias and ensembles, cantatas, and so forth. The author analyses the manuscript catalogues of those scores (sheet music did not survive) held at the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych in Warsaw (Pl-Wagad), in the Archive of Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz-Poniatowska. They were written in French in 1797 and completed by later revisions of the collections, in 1808, 1814 and 1827. Although not all material was entered into the catalogue, the total

number of works is impressive: it included 245 staged Italian, French, German, and Polish operas and a further 61 operas listed in the catalogues, as well as 106 documented ballets and another 47 catalogued ones. Amongst operas, Italian ones were most popular with 102 documented and 20 archived titles (totalling 122 works), followed by Polish (including translations of foreign works) with 58 and 1 titles respectively; French with 44 and 34 (totalling 78 compositions), and German operas with 41 and 6 works, respectively.

Keywords: music library, Warsaw, 18th century, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, musical repertoire, musical theatre, music migration

Ključne riječi: glazbena knjižnica, Varšava, 18. stoljeće, Stanislav August Poniatowski, glazbeni repertoar, glazbeno kazalište, glazbene migracije

In the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth’s first public theatre, operating in Warsaw during the reign of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, Poland’s last elective king, numerous stage works were performed: Italian, French, German, and Polish operas as well as ballets, while public concerts, organised at the Warsaw theatre from the mid-1770s, featured dozens of instrumental works including symphonies, overtures, concertos, variations as well as vocal–instrumental works: oratorios, opera arias and ensembles, cantatas, and so forth. Those works were performed by Italian opera ensembles, which often featured leading vocal virtuosos, but also more modestly staffed French, German, and Polish theatre ensembles that combined spoken drama actors and singers. The Warsaw public greatly appreciated ballets, too, which were particularly favoured by King Stanislaus Augustus; those were often presented by leading European dancers, and from 1785, also by an ensemble financed by the royal treasury which included national dancers educated at the school and theatre of Court Treasurer of Lithuania, Antoni Tyzenhauz in Grodno (now in Belarus). The concerto repertoire was performed by eminent instrumental virtuosos and singers as part of their European artistic tours.¹ In any case, the variety and richness of musical works as well as the stature of performing artists allow us to place Warsaw amongst the most important musical centres of late eighteenth-century Europe.²

The Warsaw scores of those numerous works have not survived, but we do have manuscript catalogues of those scores. They are today held at the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records] in Warsaw in the Archive of Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz-Poniatowska.³ After Stanislaus Augustus’s death on 12 February 1798 in Saint Petersburg, his estate was inherited by his nephew, Prince Joseph Poniatowski (1763–1813, son of Austrian general Prince Andrzej Poniatowski and Maria Theresa née Countess Kinsky von Weichnitz und Tettau) as well as Joseph’s sister, Maria Josepha Countess Tyszkiewicz, née Poniatowska (1760–1834, wife of Grand Referendary of

¹ There exists, of course, an extensive literature on this subject; the crucial information on theatre ensembles, virtuosos, and repertoire is gathered in Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta* [Music at the court and theatre of Stanislaus Augustus], Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Warszawa 1995.

² I have expressed this opinion in: Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: *La Varsavia dei tempi di Stanislao Augusto (1764–95) – uno dei centri europei della vita operistica*, in: Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn (eds.): *Evropski glasbeni klasicizem in njegov odmev na Slovenskem*, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana 1988, 149–59. I have also presented the role of theatre and music in eighteenth-century Warsaw in: Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: *Eighteenth-Century Warsaw as a Musical Centre between Western and Eastern Europe: 1731–1794*, in: Vjera Katalinić (ed.): *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, Zagreb 2016, 177–190.

³ Pl-Wagad Archiwum księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego i Marii Teresy Tyszkiewiczowej (henceforth abbreviated as AJP). This collection is catalogued in *Archiwum księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego i Marii Teresy Tyszkiewiczowej z lat 1516, 1647–1843* [Archive of Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz for the years 1516, 1647–1843], Maria Józefowiczówna (ed.), manuscript, Warsaw, 1973, copy held in Pl-Wagad.

Lithuania Wincenty Tyszkiewicz). Amongst the royal archives they bequeathed, there were theatrical inventories (including scores, dramatic texts, costumes, props, and so on) that belonged to the Warsaw theatre, called the National Theatre, one of the largest such archival collections in Europe.

The two most important documents in that collection for us are musical catalogues: *Catalogue de la Musique appartenante au Théâtre de Varsovie. Dressé par F. A. Croisy-Bernard le 14. Avril 1788*,⁴ edited during the preparation stage for Stanislaus Augustus's vital political and social reform, and the *Inwentarz Muzyki Teatralnej J. K. Mci spisany 1797*⁵ [Inventory of H. R. H.'s Theatre Music, written in 1797], edited after the King's abdication (on 25 November 1795 in Grodno) and departure for Saint Petersburg at the »invitation« of Tsar Paul I. Those catalogues are completed by later revisions of the collections, based on the 1797 inventory, undertaken in 1808 and 1814, in the times of the Duchy of Warsaw created and controlled by Napoleon, and in 1827 during the Kingdom of Poland, which was subject to Russia.⁶

It is beyond the scope of this paper to present all conclusions from an analysis of these documents, which have never before been comprehensively studied, although they were occasionally referenced in other research. I shall therefore focus on a general overview of the Warsaw theatre; a discussion of the circumstances in which at least some of the scores were included in the royal collection; and a summary of the 1788 and 1797 inventories as compared to the repertoire of the Warsaw theatre as known from librettos and posters printed at the time.⁷ I shall conclude with a discussion of the collection's later history.

⁴ Pl-Wagad, AJP 283. The unfamiliar F. A. Croisy-Bernard might have been a theatre cashier in 1781, related to royal secretary Michał Ludwik Croisy-Bernard.

⁵ Pl-Wagad, AJP 284, inventory published in Karyna WIERZBICKA: *Źródła do historii teatru warszawskiego od roku 1762 do roku 1833* [Sources for the history of the Warsaw theatre from 1762 to 1833], Part 1, *Czasy stanisławowskie* [The times of Stanislaus Augustus], Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1951, 152–75.

⁶ Pl-Wagad: AJP 285 and 286 – *Catalogue de toute la musique appartenante au Théâtre après la Revision faite en 1808 le 25 Août*; AJP 287 – *Katalog nut stanowiących własność Teatru Narodowego w Warszawie 1814* [Catalogue of scores in the possession of the National Theatre in Warsaw 1814]; AJP 288 – *Table de ce qui est contenu dans le présent Régistre Général de la musique, appartenant à Monsieur de Ryx*; AJP 289 – *(Katalog muzyki teatralnej, kościelnej, koncertowej, symfonicznej, 13 września 1827* [Catalogue of theatre, church, concert and symphony music, 13 September 1827]); AJP 290 and 291 – *Katalog książek teatralnych to iest Komediiów, Dramatów i Oper razem z muzyką do użycia W.u Ludwikowi Osińskiemu oddanych w roku 1814* [Catalogue of theatre books, i.e. comedies, dramas and operas with music given to use by Mr Ludwik Osiński in 1814]; AJP 292 – *(inwentarze i spisy różnego rodzaju rekwizytów teatralnych: garderoba, broń, nuty, książki, afisze, sprzęty, narzędzia itp. oraz raporty o stanie gmachów teatralnych i wykazy rzeczy brakujących, 1784–1827* [Inventories and lists of various theatre props: costumes, arms, scores, books, posters, tools etc. and reports on the state of theatre buildings and lists of missing items, 1784–1827]).

⁷ Posters and libretto prints, now in many cases lost, are reproduced in Ludwik BERNACKI: *Teatr, dramaty i muzyka za Stanisława Augusta* [Theatre, drama and music from the time of Stanislaus Augustus], Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, Lwów 1925, reprinted: Wydawnictwa Ar-

Secular owners of musical collections in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had no ambition of creating catalogues. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century aristocratic archives, we occasionally find lists of books but musical scores were usually included in separate lists, which – being less important to their owners – were subsequently lost. Even when such fragmentary lists survived, their highly amateurish entries often make identification of musical works difficult. Even the musical items used at the royal court of Augustus II and Augustus III were not catalogued; after their respective deaths, those musical scores were passed on to their Saxon heirs and removed to Dresden, where they became diluted in the local collections – which, by the way, were meticulously catalogued.

When in spring 1765, the newly crowned (on 25 November 1764) Stanislaus Augustus opened his royal public theatre, operating in the Operalnia house (Opernhaus) built in 1748 and now rented from the Saxon court, a musical library had to be established from scratch. This was due not only to the removal of Augustus III's musical collections to Dresden, but also to a musical repertoire entirely different from that of the Saxon kings (which exclusively included *opere serie* by the royal chapel master Johann Adolph Hasse), thoroughly modern, based in 1765–67 on Italian and French comic operas, Polish drama (presented publicly for the first time), and the King's beloved ballet. The responsibility of securing librettos was assigned to managers Karol Tomatis and Kazimierz Czempiński, who in a contract signed in December 1764 made the following commitment: »Nous fournissons toute la musique, comme aussi tous les habillements, décorations, et machines nécessaires pour rendre les spectacles brillants. L'on donnera tous les mois un nouvel opéra avec un nouveau ballet.«⁸ An account of expenses between Easter 1765 and Easter 1766 indicates they spent 882 ducats »pour partitions et copies de parties d'orchestre« of eighteen works: six *opere buffe*, two Italian cantatas, and 10 *opéras comiques*; as well as 458 ducats »pour la copiatore de 21 ballets.«⁹ Some expenses related to the ballet were also included in the salary of orchestra cellist Heinrich Megelin, whose duties included the composition and copying of ballet music.¹⁰

Also the subsequent stage of activity of the Warsaw theatre, which between 1774 and 1778 operated in a rented hall of the Radziwiłł Palace before moving in 1779 to a newly constructed theatre building, is poorly documented in terms of musical scores acquisition. When the theatre privilege was owned by Voivode of Gniezno, Prince August Sułkowski (1774–76), who belonged to the opposition hostile to the King, scores were contributed and likely also removed by theatre

tystyczne i Filmowe, Warszawa 1979. The performed repertoire is catalogued in ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze*, 201–64.

⁸ Pl-Wagad, AJP 444 chap. III nr 1, reprinted in WIERZBICKA: *Źródła do historii teatru warszawskiego*, 7.

⁹ Pl-Wagad, AJP 444 chap. XVI nr 1, reprinted in *ibid.*: 56–59.

¹⁰ Pl-Wagad, AJP 444 chap. II nr 1, entry without any date.

managers. For example, in July 1775, the director of a French ensemble from Lille (which was not employed in Warsaw) offered his services thus: »J'ai un magasin d'habits, de décoration et généralement toute la musique des Opéras.«¹¹ Another French entrepreneur named Hamon came to Warsaw in 1776 with his own theatrical depot and score library and likely left most of his scores in the city.¹² Some scores were still purchased abroad. In April 1775, a captain named Hoese wrote to a German actor who was just hired to come to Warsaw, and wrote: »Die ausgeschriebene Musik *Der Bassa von Tunis* scheint von 6 Louis d'or zu teuer, können Sie aber solche für 4 Louis d'or oder 20 (thllr) mitbringen, so wird Ihnen die Auslage sogleich restituiert werden.«¹³ A few scores were purchased by Karl Hertz, secretary and inspector of the Warsaw theatre, who in September 1775 sojourned in Breslau, whence he wrote: »Die Opera *Orfeo e Euridice* bekomme ich aus Leipzig. Die deutsche Operetten: *Der erndte Kranz*, *Das Rosenfest*, *Die Dorfdeputierten*, *Die treuen Köhler*, *Der Abend im Walde*, habe ich hier gekauft und lasse solchen gegen billigen Contract in die vollständige Music abschreiben.«¹⁴ Apart from Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, none of the listed works appears in the later catalogues of the Warsaw theatre; the scores paid for by Sułkowski must therefore have been removed by him when he left the theatre.

Indeed, on 26 August 1776, the theatre privilege was passed to the Starost of Piaseczno Franciszek Ryx, who enjoyed the King's total support and trust. In 1779, with a significant financial contribution by Stanislaus Augustus, Ryx had a new theatrical building erected. The King continuously supported the activity of the Warsaw theatre, lending his orchestra and ballet ensemble, paying the wages of and offering precious gifts to more expensive artists such as Caterina Bonafini, Brigida Banti, Luigi Marchesi, Gaetano Pugnani, Giovanni Battista Viotti, Ivan Jarnović/ Giovanni Giornovich, Giovanni Paisiello, Domenico Cimarosa, and Vicente Martín y Soler, and purchasing theatre tickets for the court.

Ryx's privilege expired in June 1792 but was soon renewed. Yet the Warsaw theatre's activity was interrupted in the fall of 1794 due to unfortunate political events (the collapse of the Kościuszko uprising and the fall of Warsaw to the Russian army). After the Third Partition of Poland on 24 October 1795, during Prussian rule in Warsaw, Ryx formally passed the privilege and building of the

¹¹ Quoted after Mieczysław RULIKOWSKI and Barbara KRÓL (eds.): *Warszawski teatr Sułkowskich. Dokumenty z lat 1774–1785* [The Warsaw theatre of the Sułkowskis. Documents from the years 1774–85], Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1957, 104–6.

¹² Pl-Wagad, AJP 445 chap. Année 1775 nr 8, reprinted in WIERZBICKA: *Źródła do historii teatru warszawskiego*, 149–51. The inventories of the Warsaw theatre list no fewer than 44 of the 61 operas performed by Hamon in Hanover.

¹³ Quoted after RULIKOWSKI and KRÓL: *Warszawski teatr Sułkowskich*, 78. This work was likely a singspiel with music by Franz Andreas Holly.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*: 129. Those titles are likely singspiels with music by Johann Adam Hiller (*Der Erntekranz*) and Ernst Wilhelm Wolf (remaining works).

theatre to Stanislaus Augustus and signed the inventory of musical collections in 1797. Complex financial negotiations only ended in 1808 with a contract between the heirs of Ryx (who had died on 16 September 1799) and those of Stanislaus Augustus (deceased a year and a half earlier), following which Prince Joseph Poniatowski became the owner of the building and theatrical privilege.¹⁵

Royal court documents from Ryx's time confirm that Stanislaus Augustus purchased music from various individuals, most often travelling artists. For example, in May 1781 someone was paid 37 ducats and a half-florin »pour la musique de neuf grandes messes de Vienne«¹⁶; in July 1786 the King paid someone 24 ducats for six symphonies by Josef Fiala¹⁷; in April 1789, Giuseppe Pellatti, who would become Warsaw's Italian opera manager in the years 1792–93, supplied »5 livres de musique avec les programmes,« likely ballets, for which he was given a snuffing box valued at 60 ducats.¹⁸ In February 1790, the royal treasury reimbursed Domenico Guardasoni, a music manager active in Warsaw between 1789 and 1791, 20 ducats for »the music of the St Helena oratorio from Vienna« (Hasse's *Sant'Elena al calvario*),¹⁹ and in February 1792, the French violinist Dieudonné Pieltain was paid back 12 ducats against the purchase and copying of four symphonies.²⁰ Stanislaus Augustus also received scores directly from composers who sojourned in Warsaw in passing or who maintained fruitful contacts with the Polish court after leaving the city. Those transactions were effectively generous royal sponsorships for established, fashionable artists. Thus 200 ducats were paid in autumn 1780 to Gaetano Pugnani for two works: the opera *Annetta e Lubino* and the ballet *Zémire et Azor*,²¹ while Giovanni Paisiello, who continued sending the King his compositions after returning from Russia to Naples, received a gift worth 515 ducats in December 1780 for his *Te Deum laudamus*, which was performed on 3 May 1792 at a great national ceremony in the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw on the first anniversary of the 1791 Constitution (the first such act in Europe and second in the world). On that occasion, Paisiello received another 235 ducats for his opera *I giuochi d'Agrigento*, which he sent to Warsaw but which likely was never performed there.²²

¹⁵ Entry »Franciszek Ryx,« <http://www.e-teatr.pl/pl/osoby/81043.html> (accessed 13 August 2016).

¹⁶ Pl-Wagad, AJP 363, entry from May 1781.

¹⁷ Pl-Wagad, Archiwum Rodzinne Poniatowskich (henceforth abbreviated as ARP), 419, entry from 16 July 1786.

¹⁸ Pl-Wagad, AJP 393, p. 72.

¹⁹ Pl-Wagad, ARP 423, entry from 8 February 1790.

²⁰ Pl-Wagad, Archiwum Kameralne III/1295, entry from February 1792.

²¹ Pl-Wagad, ARP 413, entries from 12 and 23 October 1780.

²² Pl-Wagad, AJP 392, p. 173; AJP 393, p. 102; ARP 424, entry from 9 December 1791. See also: Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: Legami di Giovanni Paisiello con Varsavia, in: Vjera Katalinić (ed.): *Off-Mozart. Musical Culture and the 'Kleinmeister' of Central Europe 1750–1820*, Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, Zagreb 1995, 213–23.

Guardasoni, in turn, facing financial difficulties with his ensemble in spring 1790, offered to sell the King his musical archive (brought from Prague?), which he valued at 1,500 ducats; Stanislaus Augustus consequently presented him with three watches worth 2,050 ducats.²³ We ignore what happened with those »purchased« scores of Italian operas performed in Warsaw by that excellent ensemble. It is possible, however, that the said amount was merely a form of financial support for Guardasoni; that the scores were deposited in the Royal Castle library (which was dispersed after the death of Stanislaus Augustus); or that after Guardasoni's departure, the King passed the scores on to the manager of the Polish theatre, Wojciech Bogusławski (called the »father of Polish theatre« by historians in appreciation of his achievements). Leaving Warsaw for political reasons in 1794, Bogusławski took his theatrical library and costumes to Lviv. On the way, they almost fell prey to »a dozen armed looters« and even after many years, Bogusławski would reminisce with horror: »for me, losing that collection would have been the greatest disaster, since there was none other of that kind in the country.«²⁴

Given this state of affairs, the professional catalogues of musical items in the Warsaw theatre, prepared in 1788 and 1797, which were subsequently updated in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, are a true scholarly rarity, likely not only by Polish standards.

The *Catalogue de la Musique appartenante au Théâtre de Varsovie. Dressé ... le 14. Avril 1788* must have been completed in the autumn of that year, since it lists a work composed for an important political ceremony organised by Stanislaus Augustus on 14 September 1788 in commemoration of John III Sobieski's victory at Vienna (14 September 1683): the *Cantata for the Inauguration of a Statue of King John III Sobieski*, with music by Maciej Kamieński. The catalogue, written in French, is divided into ten chapters: »Musique d'église,« »Opéras sérieux,« »Opéras bouffons italiens,« »Opéras polonaise,« »Opéras allemands,« »Opéras français,« »Ballets,« »Simphonies,« »Concertos,« and »Différents morceaux de musique.« Within these categories, a numbered though not always consistent alphabetical order by work titles is used, with names of composers added, and in the case of operas, additional information about the type of musical material held: »complet,« »partition,« »partition double,« »défectueux,« »partition d'orchestre,« or »seulement parties d'orchestre.« The catalogue does not list all works today known to

²³ Pl-Wagad: ARP 423, section *Théâtre*, entry from 1 May 1790; Archiwum Kameralne III/1219, p. 1. See also: Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: Domenico Guardasoni a Varsavia: due episodi polacchi dalla sua carriera operistica (1774–1776, 1789–1791), in: Milada Jonášová and Tomislav Volek (eds.): *Böhmische Aspekte des Lebens und des Werkes von W. A. Mozart*, Institut für Ethnologie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik – Mozartgemeinde in der Tschechischen Republik, Praha 2011, 213–38.

²⁴ Wojciech BOGUSŁAWSKI: *Dzieje Teatru Narodowego* [History of the National Theatre], N. Glücksberg, Warszawa 1820, reprinted as: *Dzieje teatru narodowego na trzy części podzielone*, Wydawnictwo Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warszawa 1965, 81.

have been performed at the Warsaw theatre, while it does include works not documented in any other extant sources (and which might not have been performed).

The »Musique d'église« chapter includes 14 numbered entries: nine masses by Michael Haydn, Florian Leopold Gassmann, Leopold Hoffmann, Jan Křitel Vaňhal, and Georg Reutter (likely purchased, as mentioned, in 1781); Joseph Haydn's instrumental music »sopra le ultime sette parole del nostro Redentore in croce« (undoubtedly the orchestral setting of *Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze*); Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*; and the oratorios *L'Isacco figura del Redentore* and *La passione di Gesù Cristo* by Niccolò Jommelli, *L'esaltazione di Salomone al trono* by Girolamo Mango, and *La passione del Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* by Giovanni Paisiello. It is worth mentioning that Paisiello's work was performed in April 1784 at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, conducted by the composer.

The »Opéras sérieux« chapter lists 19 works, including *Ariarate* by Angelo Tarchi, *Didone abbandonata* by Pasquale Anfossi, *Giulio Sabino* by Giuseppe Sarti, *Orfeo [ed Euridice]* by Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Pirro* by Paisiello, and *Il re pastore* by Hasse. Some of these operas were clearly brought to Warsaw by singers who wished to show off in their best roles. Thus it was Caterina Bonafini who likely brought Anfossi's *Didone abbandonata*; the castrato Luigi Marchesi who might have brought Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*; and Brigida Banti, Tarchi's *Ariarate*.

The chapter »Opéras bouffons italiens« includes 43 operas, the large majority of which were staged in Warsaw: Niccolò Piccinni's *L'americano*, *La buona figliola*, *Le finte gemelle*; Antonio Salieri's *Il barone di rocca antica*, *La fiera di Venezia*, *Le gelosie villane*, *La locandiera*, *La scuola dei gelosi*; Giovanni Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Le due contesse*, *La frascatana*, *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*, *La serva padrona*; Domenico Cimarosa's *Il convito*, *Il pittor parigino*; as well as works by Baldassare Galuppi, Pasquale Anfossi, Gaetano Pugnani, Floriano Gassmann, Pietro Guglielmi, Antonio Sacchini, and Tommaso Traetta. The theatre's collections also included two scores of operas performed in Warsaw in later years: Vicente Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana* and *Una cosa rara*, likely purchased by Stanislaus Augustus between January and March 1788, when the »célèbre Martini« sojourned in Warsaw on his way to Saint Petersburg. In any case, in January 1788 the King awarded the composer with gifts valued at around 650 ducats.²⁵

The chapter »Opéras polonais« includes no fewer than 34 works, despite the fact that the first opera in the Polish language had been staged at the Warsaw theatre merely a decade earlier – Maciej Kamiński's *Nędza uszczęśliwiona* (Misery made happy) premiered on 11 July 1778. At that time, the term »Polish opera« denoted both original works, i.e. those composed to Polish librettos with music by composers from the Polish milieu, and operas by Italian, French, and German authors translated into Polish and adapted to local customs both in text and music. Original

²⁵ PI-Wagad, ARP 421, entries from 20 January 1788; AJP 393, p. 61.

works from that list included *Agatka* by Alessandro Danesi, an Italian musician employed notably at the Lithuanian court of Prince Karol Radziwiłł in Nieśwież; the operas of Maciej Kamieński, a Slovak settled in Warsaw: *Nędza uszczęśliwiona* [Misery made happy], *Zośka* [Sophie], *Tradycja dowcipem załatwiona* [Tradition defeated by jest], and the above-mentioned *Cantata for the Inauguration of a Statue of King John III Sobieski*; works by Gaitano/Gaetani (Cajetan Maier), a German (Saxon?) musician active at the court of Stanislaus Augustus: a *comédie mêlée de chants* titled *Cyrulik sewilski* [The Barber of Seville], *Diabla wrzawa* [Devillish hustle], *Natura mistrzynią* [Nature as master], *Żołnierz z przypadku czarnoksiężnik* [The soldier as casual sorcerer], *La cérémonie pour la comédie Mieszczanin szlachcic* [Molière's *The Bourgeois Nobleman*]; the first stage work by the Czech Jan Stefani, arrived from Vienna to work in Stanislaus Augustus's orchestra (who later composed one of the pivotal Polish operas, *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiacy i górale* [The Presumed Miracle, or Krakovians and Highlanders]), a *comédie mêlée de chants* under the title *Król w kraju rozkoszy* [The King in the country of bliss]; an opera by a likely German composer named Ertini (Ert-ing?), *Żółta szlafmyca* [Yellow nightcap]. Amongst Polish adaptations of foreign works, the majority were Italian operas, including Sarti's *Dzierżawa* (*Le gelosie villane*) and *Dwaj się kłóca, trzeci zyskuje* (*Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode*); Gassmann's *Miłośćki rzemieślnicze* (*L'amore artigiano*); Guglielmi's *Oblubienica wierna* (*La sposa fedele*); Pergolesi's *Sługa pani* (*La serva padrona*); and Cimarosa's *Włoszka w Londynie* (*L'italiana in Londra*). Nonetheless, a large group was constituted by translations of French operas, including André Ernest Modeste Grétry's *Kochanek zazdrosny* (*Les fausses apparences, ou L'amant jaloux*) and *Lucylla* (*Lucile*); Egidio Romoaldo Duni's *Mleczarka* (*Les deux chasseurs et la laitière*); Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *scène lyrique*, *Pigmalion* (*Pygmalion*); Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny's *Rózia i Jasio* (*Rose et Colas*), *Zbieg* (*Le déserteur*), and *Piękna Arsena* (*La belle Arsène*). Polish adaptations of German singspiels included only two works from Vienna: Ignaz Umlauff's *Górnicy* (*Die Bergknappen / Die Bergleute*) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Porwanie z seraju* (*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*), a work attributed in the catalogue to Gluck but staged at the Warsaw theatre in autumn 1783 under the name of Mozart.

The group of »Opéras allemands« included only six titles, notably two original singspiels: Umlauff's *Die Bergknappen* and Joseph Werttig's *Kora und Alonzo*, as well as German translations of four French works: Gluck's *Die Pilgrimme von Mekka* (*Les Pèlerins de la Mecque, ou La rencontre imprévue*), Grétry's *Die unvermutheten Zufälle* (*Les Évènements imprévus*), Salieri's *Die Rauchfangkehrer* (*Les ramonneurs*), and Umlauff's *Was erhält die Männer treu* (*Le triomphe de la fidélité des hommes*).

Amongst the 59 titles listed in the »Opéras français« category, other sources confirm the performance in Warsaw of only 24. These include notably Grétry's *L'ami de la maison*, *Le tableau parlant*, *Les deux avarés*, *Lucile*, *La rosière de Salency*, and *Le silvain*; Monsigny's *Le cadí dupé*, *Le déserteur*, *Rose et Colas*, and *Le maître en droit*; François-André Danican Philidor's *Le bucheron*, *Le maréchal ferrant*, *Le sorcier*, and

Le tonnelier; Duni's *La clochette*, *Les deux chasseurs et la laitière*, *L'école de la jeunesse*, *La fille mal gardée*, *Le milicien*, and *Le peintre amoureux de son modèle*; and Rousseau's *Le devin du village*. French scores also included a few translations of foreign works such as Pergolesi's *La servante maîtresse* (*La serva padrona*), Sacchini's *La colonie* (*L'isola d'amore*), and Jiří (Georg) Benda's *Ariadne à Naxos* (*Ariadna auf Naxos*).

The most numerous genre in the catalogue is »Ballets,« with no fewer than 134 listings. Titles are accompanied by names of choreographers, while those of music composers only appear in a few cases: these include the Polish-settled German Johann David Holland's *La Rosière de Salency* and *Orphée aux enfers*; the Italian Francesco Clerico's *Hamlet* (*Amleto*); and the Mannheim composer Georg Joseph Vogler's *Die wonnen Heerde*. Indeed, choreographers were in those times the major authors of ballets works, while the music was commissioned with less renowned authors or derived from existing works. Choreographers listed in our catalogue include those employed at the Warsaw theatre for a shorter or longer period: Daniel Curz, François Gabriel Le Doux, Francesco Caselli, Cosimo Morelli, Domenico Ricciardi, Charles Picque, Antonio Viganò, Vincenzo Rossi, Leopold Frühmann, Giovanni Antonio Sacco, and the only Polish author in that group, Maciej Pręczyński (Prenczyński). Their achievements spanned a wide variety of genres: *ballets d'action*, modelled undoubtedly on the masterly achievements of Jean-Georges Noverre, such as Curz's *Adèle de Ponthieu*, *Cora et Alonzo*, *Les Horaces et Curiaces*, and *Cléopâtre*; Picque's *Alexandre et Campaspe*; Frühmann's *Diane et Endymion* and *Médée et Jason*; Caselli's *Vertumne et Pomone*; and Ricciardi's *Le capitaine Sander sur l'Isle de la Caroline*. Other ballets had their librettos based on popular operas and dramas: Le Doux's *Annette et Lubin*, Caselli's *Don Juan*, Curz's *Didone abandonnée* and *La partie de chasse d'Henry IV*, Picque's *Le déserteur français*. The catalogue also lists ballets that were settings of national dances (Curz's *Les cosaques et hongrois* and *Les cracoviens*) and various types of *divertissements* (Curz's *Le couronnement de Roxelane* and *Le divertissement turc*, Prenczyński's *Le divertissement champêtre*).

The »Simphonies« chapter lists 31 entries, some of them collections of two, four, or six works. These include symphonies or overtures by composers from Vienna such as Joseph Haydn, Vaňhal, Franz Anton Rössler (Rosetti), Václav Pichl, Joseph Fiala, Salieri, Martín y Soler, Ignaz Pleyel, and Vincenc Mašek; from Mannheim such as Giuseppe Cambini and one of the Stamitzs (Jan Václav?); from France such as François-Joseph Gossec and Joseph Boulogne Saint-Georges; from Italy such as Piccinni, Sacchini, Cimarosa, Paisiello, as well as Warsaw-based Pietro Persichini and Stefano Ghinassi.

The group of »Concertos« includes only four works: the Violin Concerto in G major »avec un rondo à la russe« by Ivan Jarnović (Giornovichi)²⁶; »Trois

²⁶ Likely the Concerto no. 7 in: Vjera KATALINIĆ, *Violinski koncerti Ivana Jarnovića. Glazbeni aspekt i društveni kontekst njihova uspjeha u 18. stoljeću*, Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, Zagreb 2006, 207.

grands Concerts pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte de W. A. Mozart, Oeuvre IV« (concertos in C, A, and F major); Leopold Antonín Koželuch's Concerto for harpsichord in G major, op. 9; and royal composer Jan Stefani's Concerto for two violins.

Finally, »Différents morceaux de musique« include 22 numbered entries: works of the then fashionable *Harmoniemusik* genre such as a collection of pieces arranged for two clarinets, two horns and two bassoons by the Parisian composer Étienne Ozi; six »parties« for two clarinets, two horns and bassoon by Stefani; clarinet arrangements of fragments of one of Gluck's *Iphigenias*; transcriptions of arias and ensembles from Italian operas, for example a »suite des 16. airs nouvellement reçûs de Mr. Paisiello«; a polonaise from a cantata by Vogler.

The 1788 catalogue thus includes a total of 366 numbered items, sometimes, as mentioned, composed of a larger number of compositions. The works listed in that catalogue became the basis for the theatrical inventory of 1797, itself subsequently revised several times in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The *Inwentarz Muzyki Teatralney J.K.Mci spisana 1797* [Inventory of Theatrical Music of H.R.H. written in 1797], too, was written in French. It is based on nearly the same division into genres as the 1788 inventory: »Opéras sérieux,« »Opéras italiens comiques,« »Opéras polonais,« »Opéras allemans,« »Opéras François,« and »Ballets,« while also including a joint section with works belonging to »Musique d'église, concertos, symphonies et différents morceaux,« with a note in broken Polish stating: »Simphonie się z nayduia nie komplet, a to przez częste używanie są z poniewierane« (Symphonies are incomplete, as [the scores] are depleted through frequent use). In fact, the incomplete works include not only symphonies but also operas, with the missing parts meticulously listed. The number of items in this catalogue increased to 488 from 366 in the 1788 document, i.e. by a quarter, which still, however, did not fully reflect the repertoire performed at the Warsaw theatre. In this inventory, however, the description of musical items is extended with data on the number of orchestral voices held, and in the case of stage works, the number of acts and materials for the prompter.

The »Opéras sérieux« category grew by only two works: Cimarosa's *La vergine del sole* and likely Guglielmi's *dramma sacro* named *Debora e Sisara*, both works presented at the Warsaw theatre by the opera company of Domenico Guardasoni.

The number of »Opéras bouffons italiens,« on the other hand, increased from 43 to 56 compositions, with new titles including *Il Don Giovanni* to music by Gioacchino Albertini (an Italian operating in the Commonwealth); Anfossi's *I viaggiatori felici* and likely also *Matilde ritrovata*; likely Guglielmi's *La sposa fedele*; and Salieri's *dramma tragicomico* *Axur, re d'Ormus*, registered under the French title *Tarare*.

The chapter on German operas remained stable at six items, though Umlauff's *Die Bergknappen* disappeared from the list while *Adelheit von Veltheim* appeared on it, with music by an unknown composer (Jiří / Georg Benda?, Christian Gottlob Neefe?).

The number of »Ballets,« on the other hand, increased significantly from 134 to 175 entries, with three titles repeated from 1788 now also listed with the name of the music composer: Vittorio Trento for *Le capitaine Sander sur l'Isle de la Caroline* and Antoni Hart, violinist of Stanislaus Augustus' orchestra, for *Incle et Jarico* and *Les cosaques et hongrois*.

There is a significant increase of musical scores also in the joint category of church music, symphonies, concertos, and miscellaneous works: from 71 to 128 entries. New listings include further symphonies by Joseph Haydn and three programmatic symphonies by Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf after Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: »exprimant les quatre ages du monde,« »exprimant la chute de Phaéton,« »expriment la fable d'Actéon changé en cerf« (this was undoubtedly the Viennese edition of 1785). A more detailed description is given for the concerto of Jarnović, present in the catalogue as 13 orchestral voices: »en G. [majeur] dans un étui de cuir ord. avec les armes du Roy dorées,« referring to an elegant presentation copy for Stanislaus Augustus. Also listed is Mozin's *Pot-pourri national* for harpsichord, »reçu du Roy pour le magasin de musique le 8 9bre [novembre] 1791,« as well as Hasse's oratorio *Sant'Elena al Calvario*, likely purchased from Guardasoni.

In summary, in the Warsaw theatre, then called the National Theatre, which was the most important stage of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the performance of over 450 musical works is documented in the years 1765–67, 1774–78, and 1779–94. The actual repertoire must have been far richer, especially with regard to concert works. Not all scores were included in the library collection, which nonetheless featured 100 works whose performance cannot be documented today. In any case, the total number of around 560 stage works is impressive: it included 245 staged Italian, French, German, and Polish operas and a further 61 operas listed in the catalogues as well as 106 documented ballets and another 47 catalogued ones. Amongst operas, Italian ones were most popular with 102 documented and 20 archived titles (totalling 122 works), followed by Polish (including translations of foreign works) with 58 and 1 titles respectively; French with 44 and 34 (totalling 78 compositions), and German operas with 41 and 6 works, respectively. The performance at the Warsaw theatre of the German operas mentioned in both catalogues is not documented although German ensembles nonetheless staged 40 other operas there, including the singspiels of Mozart: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1783) and *Die Zauberflöte* (1793).

It can thus be stated that the Warsaw theatre library at the time of Stanislaus Augustus was supplied in what seems to have been an erratic way, not reflecting the actual repertoire staged at that theatre. Nonetheless, that collection was vast and varied, including the output of Italian, French, and German/Austrian composers but also authors belonging to the history of Polish music. Some of the material gathered in that period was still used in Warsaw in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There exist notably—likely randomly extant—request slips for opera scores from the »library of H. H. Prince Poniatowski.« These scores continued to be used by

Wojciech Bogusławski, who on 8 May 1809 rented the score of Domenico Cimarosa's *La vergine del sole*, and on 14 July 1813 that of Guglielmi's *La virtuosa bizzarra*.²⁷ On 15 June 1811, the eminent singer Jacek Szczurowski rented on behalf of Bogusławski the score and instrumental parts of *Zazdrości wieśniacze*, the Polish translation of Sarti's opera *Le gelosie villane* (1776), and on 6 February 1813, the music for Gaitano's opera *Nie zawsze śpi ten co chrapi*.²⁸ The theatre library collection was also used by the director of the Warsaw opera and composer (future teacher of Fryderyk Chopin) Józef Elsner, who on 22 September 1811 rented the material of Paisiello's *Il re Teodoro*.²⁹ Rented material was not always returned, as shown by the missing items documented in subsequent revisions of the catalogue. For example, an undated nineteenth-century specification of missing items³⁰ confirmed the loss of eight Italian operas (notably *La vergine del sole* and *Le gelosie villane*), eight Polish operas (including translations such as Mozart's *Porwanie z seraiu* and Umlauff's *Górnicy*), five French operas (notably Grétry's *Zémire et Azor*), sixteen ballets (notably *Le jugement de Paris* with Caselli's choreography, Picque's *La pupille espagnole*, and Curz's *Les Cosaques et Hongrois*) as well as a large number of church works (Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, Jommelli's oratorio *L'Isacco figura del Redentore*) and instrumental compositions (symphonies by Haydn, Albertini, Persichini, the three Piano Concertos op. 4 of Mozart). Subsequent lists of missing items evolved: some scores were returned or found again in the archive while others went missing.

The theatre music items belonging to the heirs of Stanislaus Augustus became government property on the latter's deaths and were included in the Warsaw Biblioteka Teatrów Miejskich (City Theatres Library). After Polish independence in 1918, in 1933 those collections became a deposit of the National Library. By that time, they must have been significantly defective, although a full inventory was not undertaken. They were totally destroyed during World War II. This was a major loss, since we are now unable to reconstruct the musical content of many scores that were performed under Stanislaus Augustus in modified versions. As indicated by a comparative analysis of the librettos of the Prague premiere (1787) and Warsaw version (1789) of Mozart's masterpiece *Il Don Giovanni*, performed in the Polish capital by the Italian ensemble of Guardasoni (largely composed of musicians who premiered the work under Mozart), the Warsaw score differed significantly not only from the original but also from a version presented in Vienna.³¹

²⁷ Pl-Wagad, AJP 292, pp. 32, 33.

²⁸ Pl-Wagad, AJP 292, pp. 26, 30.

²⁹ Pl-Wagad, AJP 292, p. 31.

³⁰ Pl-Wagad, AJP 292, pp. 98–99.

³¹ See Alina ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA: Wokół polskiej prapremiery *Il Dissoluto punito*, o sia *Il Don Giovanni* W. A. Mozarta (Warszawa, 14 października 1789) [On the Polish premiere of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*], in: Zbigniew Skowron (ed.): *Karol Szymanowski w perspektywie kultury muzycznej przeszłości i współczesności* [Karol Szymanowski from the perspective of musical culture of the past and present], *Musica Iagellonica* – Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Kraków: 2007.

It would have been greatly interesting to analyse scores of Polish adaptations of Italian operas (where recitatives were replaced with spoken text) as well as French and German ones, such as Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.

Sažetak

GLAZBENA KNJIŽNICA KAZALIŠTA U VARŠAVI U GODINAMA 1788. i 1797: ODRAZ MIGRACIJE EUROPSKOG REPERTOARA

U poljsko-litavskoj konfederaciji (na poljskome: *Królestwo Polskie i Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, na litvanskome: *Lenkijos Karalystė ir Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė*) u prvom javnom kazalištu, koje je djelovalo u Varšavi za vrijeme vladavine Stanislava Augusta Poniatowskog, bila su izvedena brojna scenska djela u razdobljima 1765-1767. i 1774-1794. Bile su to talijanske, francuske, njemačke i poljske opere te baleti, dok je na javnim koncertima, organiziranim u varšavskom kazalištu od sredine 1770-ih, bilo izvedeno na desetke instrumentalnih djela uključujući simfonije, uvertire, koncerte, varijacije, ali i vokalno-instrumentalna djela kao što su oratoriji, operne arije i ansambli, kantate, itd. U članku se analiziraju rukopisni katalozi tih partitura (dionice nisu sačuvane), što se čuvaju u Glavnom arhivu starih dokumenata (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) u Varšavi (Pl-Wagad) te u Arhivu princa Josepha Poniatowskog i Marije Terese Tyszkiewicz-Poniatowske.

Catalogue de la Musique [...] Dressé [...] 1788, napisan na francuskome jeziku, podijeljen je na deset poglavlja: »Musique d'église« (Crkvena glazba; 14 natuknica), »Opéras sérieux« (Opere serie; 19 djela), »Opéras bouffons italiens« (Talijanske komične opere; 43), »Opéras polonaise« (Poljske opere; 34), »Opéras allemands« (Njemačke opere; 2), »Opéras français« (Francuske opere; 59), »Ballets« (baleti; 134), »Simphonies« (Simfonije; 31), »Concertos« (Koncerti; 6) i »Différents morceaux de musique« (Razni glazbeni komadi; 22). Unutar tih kategorija upotrijebljen je brojevima opskrbljen abecedni poredak, koji nije uvijek dosljedno proveden, dodana su imena skladatelja, a u slučajevima opera pridodane su i informacije o tipovima glazbenog materijala. Katalog ne donosi popis svih djela za koja znamo da su bila izvedena u varšavskome kazalištu, ali uključuje djela koja se ne navode ni u kojem drugome postojećem izvoru (a koja možda i nisu bila izvedena).

Može se ustanoviti da je knjižnica varšavskog kazališta u vrijeme Stanislava Augusta Poniatowskog bila stvarana i nadopunjavana na naoko nesustavan način koji ne odražava stvarni repertoar što je bio uprizoren u tom kazalištu. Usprkos tomu, ova je zbirka bila ogromna i raznolika, a sadržavala je ne samo skladbe talijanskih, francuskih i njemačko-austrijskih skladatelja, nego i autora što pripadaju povijesti poljske glazbe.