

WORKS WITH MUSICAL TOPICS BY 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY CROATIAN AUTHORS PRESERVED IN POLISH LIBRARIES

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Abstract: This paper resulted from research conducted in various libraries of the Republic of Poland within the exchange programme between the Polish and Croatian Academies of Sciences in the period 2008-2013 and during my participation in the international HERA research project MusMig (Music migrations in early Modern Age: the meeting of European East, West and South) from 2013 to 2016.¹ The works under consideration were found in 20 Polish libraries in 11 cities in the form and range of 24 titles written by 10 authors and they exist in several dozens of copies. They form part of a much broader spectrum of all titles written by Croatian authors and published between the 16th and 18th centuries kept in Polish libraries in almost 300 copies in all.² In this paper I will briefly describe the authors and their works containing musical topics as well as the Polish book collections in which they have been preserved, with some remarks on both the possible origins of these titles and on the question of how they came to be purchased.

Keywords: Croatia; Poland; music writers; libraries; 16th century; 17th century.

Authors, works, contents

Bartholomaeus Georgievits³ (in modern Croatian: Bartol Đurđević; Zagreb,

¹ The full title of this HERA project reads: "Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: the Meeting of the European East, West and South" (project leader: Dr. Vjera Katalinić, Department for the History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb), more in: Katalinić, 2016.

² The field work carried out by the author of this article consisted in personal bibliographical research in the following Polish libraries (listed in alphabetical order of the corresponding cities): Gdańsk – Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Kraków – Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Poznań – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Warszawa – Biblioteka Narodowa, Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. Data for all other libraries mentioned in this article were taken from the AGAD (Archivum glowne akt dawnych), i.e. the General Catalogue of Early Prints (books), Special collections, National Library in Warsaw. Thus, data taken from this source, compiled otherwise in earlier times, might not be complete nor accurate in a strict sense of the term.

³ There exists abundant scholarly literature on this Renaissance writer in both Croatian national and international terms. However, the only report on Georgievits' dealing with music topics published as yet is: *Vijesti o tursko-osmanlijskoj glazbi u spisu 'De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis' Bartola Djurdjevića (1506?-1566?)* (Tuksar, 1983, 679-691; Tuksar, 1990, 17-26). The newest

1506 – Rome, 1556) is considered to be one of the three most important writers of the Renaissance period in the European West concerning credibility in his reports on the then contemporary Turkish-Ottoman society. After being held in captivity for 13 years in Asia Minor and the Middle East he escaped to the West where, from 1544 until the second half of the 17th century, his works were published in eight languages (Latin, German, Italian, French, English, Flemish, Czech and Polish) and 77 editions in all. These editions have been preserved in about 350 copies in 90 libraries in 17 countries of Europe and America. In his first work entitled *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, published in 1544 in Antwerp, being later either reprinted or modified and incorporated in several of his other titles, Georgievits included five fragments dealing with music in Ottoman Islamic society: on the place of music in Muslim rituals in mosques; on music in the ritual of circumcision, especially when Christians convert to Islam; on the issue of music in the creation of songs; on the function of chant in Muslim funerals; and on the afterlife of musical instruments (organs and bells) in Christian churches after Ottoman conquests. Nine editions in all of Georgievits' titles in Latin, German and Polish have been preserved in one Polish library (Warsaw).

Among all Croatian Humanists from the period under consideration, Matthias Flacius Illyricus⁴ (in modern Croatian: Matija Vlačić Ilirik; Labin, 1520 – Frankfurt/M., 1575) is the author with the most preserved titles in Polish libraries: his works can be found in more than 220 copies in 24 libraries in 16 towns (Warszawa, Cieczyn, Wrocław, Toruń, Leszno, Kraków, Gdańsk, Kamień, Kórń, Łódź, Szczecin, Olsztyn, Gościkowo-Paradyż, Ossol, Bydgoszcz and Bobol). He was born in the Istrian town of Labin (in Italian: Albona) and was educated in Venice. After converting early 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 there as its first professor of Greek and Hebrew. Because of his theological and doctrinal radicalism, he broke his relations with the Lutheran leadership and ended his life as a refugee. Flacius published more than 140 titles in all. Up to now 15 works have been found to include observations on musical issues, dealing mostly with new Protestant church music. Five titles in six copies of

contribution on this text by Georgievits is by Monika Jurić Janjik; she presented a paper entitled *Svjedočanstva dvaju hrvatskih autora 16. stoljeća kao izvori podataka o osmanlijskoj glazbi* at the International conference “Odjeci bitke kod Sigeta i mita o Nikoli Šubiću Zrinskom u umjetnosti” (Music, Visual Arts, Literature), held in Zagreb on 2–4 November 2016 (Proceedings to be published in 2018).

⁴ There exists abundant scholarly literature on this Croatian-German theological writer in both Croatian national and international terms. However, apart from some scarce remarks scattered in various articles, the only short account on Flacius' dealing with music topics published as yet is *Hrvatsko-njemački protestantski teolog Matija Vlačić Ilirik (1520-1575) i problem glazbe u Interimima iz 1548. godine* (Tuksar, 1993a, 249-255).

Flacius' works containing musical topics have been identified in three Polish libraries (Toruń, Wrocław, Gdańsk).

Paulus Scalichius⁵ (in modern Croatian: Pavao Skalić; Zagreb, 1534 – Gdańsk, 1575) was primarily schooled in Zagreb, and later studied philosophy and theology at the universities of Vienna and Bologna. However, the destiny of this restless spirit was determined by his fanatical efforts to hide his modest origins (he was an illegitimate son of a female washer!) and to prove his false claims of his elite descent from the princes of the Croatian region of Lika, from the dukes della Scala from Verona, and even from the royal families of Bosnia, Serbia and Byzantium. Being unmasked twice, Scalichius had to renounce the lucrative positions he held at the court in Vienna and in the royal Prussian administration in Königsberg, which he gained owing to his extraordinary intellectual capacities and education. He converted several times to Protestantism and back to Catholicism, spending the last nine years of his existence fearing for his life and wandering around the German countries, France and Poland. He published 17 works in all, of which the most important is *Encyclopediae, seu Orbis disciplinarum tam sacrarum quàm prophanarum, Epistemon* (Basle, 1559; the first mention of the word “encyclopaedia” in modern European history!) where six entries deal with music. Among them, the text entitled *Discursus harmonicus* seems to belong to Scalichius himself. Three copies of Scalichius' *Encyclopaedia ... Epistemon* have been found in three Polish libraries (Gdańsk, Olsztyn, Wrocław).

Nicolò Vito di Gozze⁶ (in modern Croatian: Nikola Vitov Gučetić; Dubrovnik, 1549-1610) was a Ragusan patrician, philosopher and statesman who spent his whole life in his hometown. He exercised high state duties, being seven times elected the Rector (Duke) of the Dubrovnik Republic, and led the state treasury and the management of the economically and politically most important state saltworks etc. He published ten titles in which he treated various topics in the areas of philosophy, aesthetics, theory of love, political economy and theory of education. In three of them – *Dialogo della bellezza, detto Antos* (1581), *Governo della famiglia* (1589) and *Dello stato delle repubbliche secondo la mente di Aristotele con esempi moderni* (1591) – Gozze, from both the point of view of an active statesman and a speculative thinker, also dealt with some musical topics such as the questions of active and passive practising of music in youth and maturity,

⁵ Along with abundant Croatian and international bibliography on Scalichius, a new bilingual edition of his *Encyclopaedia* was recently published in Zagreb: *Epistemon* (Skalić, 2004). The author of this article published the most comprehensive article on Scalichius' dealing with music in the following: Tuksar, 1977, 97-122.

⁶ Gozze's oeuvre has been up to now mostly investigated by Croatian historians of philosophy. Recently his most important work, *Dello stato delle repubbliche* has been translated into Croatian (cf. Šišak, 2000). On musical issues in Gozze's works see: Tuksar, 1980a, 97-116; Jurić, 2013, 3-17.

the selection of harmonies, rhythms and musical instruments in music education etc., all in the typical late-Renaissance mixture of Platonism and Aristotelism with references to the then contemporary Ragusan society and his visions of modern *paideia*. Simultaneously, Gozze offered his evidence on music and his participation in the representation of some stage works written by the famous Ragusan Renaissance dramatist Marin Držić (Marino Darxa; 1508-1567). Two copies of Gozze's works containing discussions of musical issues are kept in two Polish libraries (Łódź, Wrocław).

Francesco Patrizi⁷ (Franciscus Patritius; in modern Croatian: Frane Petrić; Cres, 1529 – Rome, 1597) was a typical "uomo universale" of broad Renaissance interests and activities. He was primarily schooled in his native township of Cres on the island of the same name in the northern Adriatic, and later studied at universities in Padua and Ingolstadt. He spent his adult life as administrator of Venetian properties on the island of Cyprus, as educator at the court of the viceroy of Catalonia, and also tried unsuccessfully to launch his own trading business. During the last twenty years of his life Patrizi taught at the universities of Ferrara and Rome, being today generally considered as one among the three most important philosophers of nature and Platonists of the Renaissance. He published 27 works in all, dealing with such topics as utopian social theory, the methodology and philosophy of history, rhetoric, poetics, geometry, occultism, military affairs and above all with the philosophy of Nature, which he conveyed in his main work *Nova de universis philosophia* (two editions, in 1591 and in 1593). Patrizi dealt with musical issues in his work *Della poetica* (1586), where he advocated a concept of the unity of poetry, music and stage movement in the performance of ancient Greek theatrical pieces (Patrizi, 1586). By these ideas he quite probably influenced the ideas conveyed by the so-called first *Camerata*, the Florentine humanistic circle gathered around Giovanni de Bardi, active during the 1580s, which lead to the birth of opera. One copy of Patrizi's work *Della poetica* is kept in one Polish library (Kraków).

Faustus Verantius⁸ (in modern Croatian: Faust Vrančić; Šibenik, 1551 – Venice, 1617) was a Šibenik-born Humanist, lexicographer and inventor who was noted in late-Renaissance intellectual circles first of all by his ingenious work

⁷ Patrizi is along with Flacius and Baglivi the most well-known thinker of Croatian origins among all writers mentioned in this article. The bibliography on practically all aspects of his writings is huge and has been mostly published in international terms, among others by outstanding scholars such as Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905–1999), as well as musicologists Leo Schrade (1903–1964), Dragan Plamenac (1895–1983), Claude V. Palisca (1921–2001), etc. The modern edition of *Della poetica* was published by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli (1924–1995), in 4 vols. On Patrizi's dealing with music see: Tuksar, 1978b, 67-87.

⁸ Verantius' dictionary was reprinted as *Rječnik pet najuglednijih evropskih jezika* (Vrančić, 1971). On Verantius' music terminology see: Tuksar, 1978a, 49-66.

Machinae novae (1617), in which he published a series of innovative proposals for new types of machines based on the idea of the water turbine basis and applicable in agriculture and in the regulation of water currents. His version of a parachute, whose prototype he allegedly constructed and successfully tried, received wide attention. Another valuable work by Verantius worth mentioning is his *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum: Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmatiae* (sic) & *Ungaricae*, firstly published in Venice in 1595, while its second edition – prepared by Peter Loderecker (?–1636) – was published in Prague, in 1605, being enlarged with terminology in the Czech and Polish languages. All three Slavic and Hungarian dictionaries are the first of their kind ever published. The first Venetian edition of this general dictionary also contains the rudiments of the first systematized music terminology in Croatian. Among 3581 words, there are 43 musical terms in all, denoting various musical instruments and performers, and even some elementary notions concerning the reception and theory of music. Verantius' *Dictionarium* is kept today in three copies in three Polish libraries (Warsaw, two in Wrocław).

The Jesuit missionary Jacobus Micalia⁹ (Giacomo Micaglia; in modern Croatian: Jakov Mikalja; Pescia, 1601 – Loreto, 1654) spent many years in Dalmatia (Dubrovnik), Bosnia and Temisvár (today Timișoara in Romania), collecting the general vocabulary of Slavonic dialects spoken there, later to be used in his Croatian-Italian-Latin dictionary *Blago jezika slovinskoga* (*The Thesaurus of the Slavonic Language*; published in Loreto-Ancona, 1649–1651). Among some 30,000 lexical entries there are 282 musical terms. They denote artefacts and phenomena in the area of music such as names of instruments and their parts, male and female performers, ways of performing, musical-acoustical products, music education, modes of reception, elementary theory of music, and music and dance. Especially richly denotated is the field of vocal music. Micalia's dictionary is kept in Poland in one copy (Biblioteka Tschammera in Cieszyn).

The Rector of the Zagreb Jesuit Collegium, Juraj (erroneously named in Polish as Jurje / sic!) Habelich¹⁰ (in modern Croatian: Juraj Habelić; Staro Čiče, 1609 – Zagreb, 1678) published several works in Graz which contain musical issues: *Pervi otca našega Adama greh* (1674) and the huge moral-didactical *Zerczalo Marianszko* (1667). In the latter Habelich reported on early Baroque music making in the Jesuit and Pauline churches in Zagreb in 1618, pointing at the fact that Jesuits brought the new music of the age to Zagreb – early Baroque, and highlighted the enthusiasm with which this new musical style was acclaimed by local “classy people of both sexes”. Habelich's Croatian-Latin

⁹ On Micalia's music terminology see: Tuksar, 1992a, 15–27.

¹⁰ Habelich's dictionary was reprinted 1989 as *Dikcionar* (*Dictionar ili Réchi Szlovenszke zvezega ukup zebrane, u red posztaulyene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene*). On Habelich's music terminology see: Tuksar, 1992b, 29–35.

dictionary *Dictionar ili Réchi Szlovenske zvexega ukup zebrane, u red postaulylene, i Diachkemi zlahkotene*, which also included musical terminology was published in 1670 on the occasion of the founding of the University of Zagreb.¹¹ Only one among Habelich's published works has been preserved in one Polish library – *Zerczalo Marianzsko* (Wrocław).

The librettist, theatre and political chronicler, and poet Cristoforo Ivanovich¹² (in modern Croatian: Kristofor Ivanović; Budva, 1628 – Venice, 1689) migrated as a young man from the then Venetian small south-Dalmatian town of Budva (now in Montenegro) to Verona and Venice. There he made a name as a man of letters: as a librettist by writing five texts for “dramma per musica” between 1663 and 1674; as a chronicler of the first 50 years (1637– 1687) of Venetian opera repertory and as its first historian; and by his epistolary activities, as a theorist of musical drama and a critical observer of 17th century Venetian musico-theatrical practice in its then avant-garde early capitalist market orientation. Ivanovich's *Poesie* (1675), encompassing his selected correspondence is kept in one copy in one Polish library (Wrocław). His operatic-historical *Minerva al tavolino* (1681) has been found in two copies in two Polish libraries (Szczecin, Warsaw).

Gjuro (Armeno) Baglivi¹³ (Georgius Baglivi; in modern Croatian: Gjuro Baglivi; Dubrovnik, 1668 – Rome, 1707) was an exceptional personality of European 17th century scientific thought. Born into an Armenian-Croatian family in Dubrovnik, he moved in 1683, as a 16-year-old boy, from his native town to Lecce in the southern Italian province of Apulia, where he was adopted and later took over the name of Giorgio Baglivi. After studies of medicine at the universities of Salerno, Padua, Bologna and Naples, he held brief positions as physician in Padua, Venice, Florence, Bologna, as well as in the Netherlands and

¹¹ See footnote 10.

¹² There exists abundant international and to a lesser extent Croatian and other South-Slavic bibliography on Ivanovich, which started to be published since the mid-19th century. Especially valuable recent articles are: *Il contributo di Cristoforo Ivanovich nell'evoluzione del melodramma Seicentesco* (Milošević, 1992, 111-124); *Un dalmata al servizio della Serenissima. Cristoforo Ivanovich, primo storico del melodramma* (Dubowy, 1992a, 21-31); *Jedan Dalmatinac u službi Serenissime: Kristofor Ivanović, prvi povjesničar melodrame* (Dubowy, 1992b, 35-44); *Questioni di stile e struttura del melodramma nelle lettere di Cristoforo Ivanovich* (Cavallini, 1994, 185-199). For the newest text on some features of Ivanovich's relationship to musical issues see: *Cristofor Ivanovich – A Seventeenth-Century Dalmatian Migrant in Serenissima, Revisited* (Tuksar, 2016a, 49-63).

¹³ Baglivi seems to be, along with Patrizi and Flacius, the most well-known thinker of Croatian origins among all writers mentioned in this article. The bibliography on him and his work encompasses more than 200 articles and books. The most valuable recent publication is: Gjuro Baglivi, *De fibra matrice et morbosa / O zdravom i bolesnom motoričkom vlaknu*, 1997; bi-lingual Latin-Croatian edition by Mirko Dražen Grmek. It contains a seminal study on the life, oeuvre and the historical importance of Baglivi, written by the editor (Grmek, 1997). The newest text on the Baglivi and music issue is: Tuksar, 2016b, 295-312.

England. Baglivi moved to Rome in 1692, where he made a spectacular Italian and international career, becoming professor of theoretical medicine at La Sapienza University at the early age of 24 and the personal second physician of Popes Innocent XIII and Clement XI. His international reputation and fame eventually led to his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society in England, as a member of the Holy Roman Empire's *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* (Academy of Sciences Leopoldina) in Germany, and as "membre d'honneur" of the French Academy. His *Opera omnia medico-practica et anatomica* were published as early as in 1704 (at his age of 36!) in Latin, subsequently ran through some 20 editions up to the very end of the 18th century, and were translated into Italian, French, German and English. Known as an outstanding iatrophysicist, i.e. an advocate of the medical application of physics, Baglivi tended to explain physiological processes in the human body as being governed by laws and procedures of mechanics. Baglivi dealt with music topics only in his text *Dissertatio VI. De Anatome, Morsu, & Effectibus Tarantulae*, written in September of 1695 and forming part of his *Opera Omnia*. There he tried to explain theoretically the healing of the intoxicated human body resulting from the bite of the tarantula spider, as practiced in days of music and dancing in the centuries – long tradition of common people in the province of Apulia. Baglivi's collected works (*Opera omnia*, including the text on music in *Dissertatio VI*) have been found in 15 copies (consisting of 10 editions from, respectively, 1704, 1710, 1714, 1715, 1719, 1734, 1745, 1751, 1754, and 1788!) kept in 11 Polish libraries in 6 cities in all (Kraków, Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław).

Libraries in the Republic of Poland¹⁴

The above-mentioned printed titles by Croatian authors of the 16th and 17th centuries are kept in the corresponding Polish libraries either in their general collections or in some special collections and not in their respective music departments. The reason for such a state of affairs lies in the fact that they are not specialised texts on music with specified music titles, but are found scattered either in general dictionaries (if music terminology is concerned) or in works dealing with some other scientific or scholarly field such as theology, philosophy, general aesthetics, physics, political sciences, theories of poetics and theatre, historiography, medicine and Turkology.

Owing to the fact that the didascalia on single copies of these books are scarce or even do not exist at all, and that library inventories are often incomplete, the possibility of precisely tracing how single copies found their way into specific

¹⁴ Most of the data on particular libraries and their specific features have been taken from various official internet sites during 2016 and are permanently accessible.

Polish libraries are mostly reduced to issues of probability or more or less plausible speculations. However, some titles offer more certainty in this aspect of research.

1) Cieczyn – Biblioteka Tschammera

The Tschammer library is the oldest, the most important and the largest Evangelical library in Poland and was created in the second half of the 18th century by the lawyer Bogumil Rudolf Tschammer (1711–1787). It also contains private collections of other Protestant personalities of German, Polish and Czech nationalities, but it seems that Micalia's dictionary might have belonged to the initial fund of Tschammer's library.

2) Gdańsk – Biblioteka Gdańska PAN

The Gdańsk Polish Academy of Sciences library has as its forerunner the "Library of the City Council" (*Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis*), founded in 1596 and based on more than one thousand volumes donated in 1591 by the Italian Humanist Jan Bernard Bonifacio (1517–1597). In subsequent centuries it was enriched with collections of then contemporary Gdansk theologians and lawyers, and again in the 19th century with the collection of the West-Prussian Historical Society (*Westpreussischer Geschichtsverein*). After the Second World War c. 80,000 volumes of incunabulas, manuscripts and early prints were also returned (PAN Biblioteka Gdańska, 2012). Two titles by the Croatian Protestant writers Flacius and Scalichius belonged with great probability to the earliest 16th century collection, the more so as Scalichius himself lived for a while and finally died in Gdańsk.

3) Kraków – Biblioteka Jagiellonska; Biblioteka Narodowa; Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie

The Jagiellonian (Royal) Library in Kraków (Biblioteka Jagiellońska Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, n.d) is one of the greatest and oldest in Poland. It was founded in 1364 and opened to the public in 1812. In this library four among Baglivi's earlier *Opera omnia* editions (from 1704, 1710, 1745, 1751) have been found (including the text on music in *Dissertatio VI*), being almost surely purchased for the local special collection of medical literature, kept today in the Collegium Medicum – Biblioteka Medyczna. Otherwise, Baglivi's collected works have turned out to be a real hit in the research of this topic in Poland: they have been found in 15 copies kept in 11 libraries in 6 cities in all (Kraków, Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław), consisting of 10 editions published in, respectively, 1704, 1710, 1714, 1715, 1719, 1734, 1745, 1751, 1754, and 1788! Of course, it is reasonable to presume that the purchasing of all these editions was

done almost exclusively for medical purposes, and not because of any specific interest in Baglivi's *Dissertatio VI* and its musical aspect, especially when taking into account that no such indications on motives and ways of ordering of this bestseller exist for copies found in the libraries of Lublin, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw and Wrocław.

The only work by Patrizi which addresses musical issues, *Della poetica*, is kept in one copy in one Polish library: in Kraków – Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (The Princes Czartoryski Library, in: Muzeum narodowe w Krakowie) (Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich, 2018). The collection was founded at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries by Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734–1823) and Izabela Czartoryska (1746–1835) of the Fleming family. Patrizi's title certainly belongs to the oldest layer of the old Czartoryski collection, but it remains as yet unknown as to where and by whom the book was purchased.

4) Łódź – Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego¹⁵

Taking into account that the present University Library at Łódź (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego) exists only since 1945, but that its initial collection originates both from the abandoned former libraries in the city itself and its vicinity and from donations from other institutions and individual private owners, it is highly probable that such an atypical title as Gozze's late 16th century dialogue on beauty (*Dialogo della bellezza*, published in 1581) entered the library collection via a donation from a private source. [The same might be true for another copy of this work kept in the Wrocław University library.]

5) Lublin – Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego; Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej

Both libraries in Lublin – The City of Lublin Public Library (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego, n.d.) and the University Library (*Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej*, 2013) – keep one copy each of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* from 1704 and 1734, respectively. Of special interest is the fact that the first edition from 1704 in the University Library forms part of today's Medical faculty collection as one of the four oldest in this University. It was very probably taken over from some older local collection gathered during the 18th century.

¹⁵ Although often unreliable, but lacking any other source of information, we have consulted for this occasion the following site: https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biblioteka_Uniwersytetu_%C5%81%C3%B3dzkiego.

6) Olsztyn – Muzeum, Biblioteka

The local Museum Library (Olsztyn – Muzeum, Biblioteka) (Muzeum Warmii i Mazur w Olsztynie, n.d.) was created after the Second World War following the gathering together of the book collections which originally belonged to various German institutions and abandoned private libraries. It now houses several incunabulas with works by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), the material of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Dobre Miasto (in German: Guttstadt) dating from the 1576–1594 period, and manuscripts and early prints from the 17th and 18th centuries from the former Jesuit Collegium in Braniew. It is reasonable to presume that the copy of Scalichius' *Encyclopaedia ... Epistemon* entered the collection via some earlier collection belonging to some ancient German Protestant circle.

7) Poznań – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Akademia medyczna

Both libraries in Poznań – the Adam Mickiewicz University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu, n.d.) and the Medical Library (Uniwersytet Medyczny im. Karola Marcinkowskiego w Poznaniu, 2015) – keep three copies in all of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* from 1710, 1715 and 1734, respectively. Although both were founded after the First World War, the University Library has an older prehistory. It was officially formed in 1919 on the foundation of the older Kaiser-Wilhelm-Bibliothek (1898), which in turn was formed by gifts of the Royal Library in Berlin and of many institutional and private donations. However, it was not possible to trace how and from which older German collections these Baglivi editions made their way to the present Poznań institutions.

8) Szczecin – Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna

The tradition of the Voivodship and City Public Library (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Szczecinie, 2016) in Szczecin goes back to the old Pomeranian library (Książnica Pomorska), which in turn originates from the older Stadtbibliothek Stettin. As the city was one among important Hanseatic ports and the capital of Western Pomerania under Swedish administration from 1630/37 to 1713/20, it seems that the copy of Ivanovich's book *Minerva al tavolino* might originate from this cultural circle and points toward the interest in operatic issues of the local higher social strata (the so-called Hanseatic people or upper-class people).

9) Toruń – Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika; Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna

The first higher school institution in Toruń was the local Academic Gymnasium founded in 1568, as one of the first universities in today's northern Poland. Its professors in the 17th and 18th centuries were outstanding scholars in the fields of Polish and Prussian history. Concerning the three copies of Flacius' works containing musical issues (*Liber de veris et falsis adiaphoris*; *Refutatio missae*; *Duo capita Polydori Vergilii de nomine ac autoribus missae*) kept in today's Toruń's University Library (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, n.d.), the origins of their purchasing might go as far back as to the initial 16th century collection of the Toruń Academic Gymnasium. In addition, it is not known when and how the 1714 edition of Baglivi's *Opera omnia* entered the collection of the Toruń Voivodian Public Library (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna - Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu, n.d.).

10) Warszawa – Biblioteka Narodowa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Seminarium Metropolitalne; Główna Biblioteka Lekarska, Biblioteka Medyczna

Three libraries in Warsaw keep 13 copies of works with musical topics by Croatian authors. The greatest concentration is in the National Library (Kłossowski, 1990; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, 2016) with ten titles in all, among which are nine editions of Georgievits' titles in Latin, German and Polish. Especially interesting among them are the unique preserved copies of the three editions (two of them in Latin) of Georgievits' works published in Kraków in 1548, including the very valuable early version of the translation into Polish (*Rozmowa z Turczynem*; however, the copy of this version in Polish is incomplete and damaged, and does not include passages on musical issues). There are no traces of how the series of this respectable number of Georgievits' titles entered the collections of this prestigious library. Their preservation is all the more astonishing if we take into account the catastrophic losses which this library suffered through German WWII "librocide" from 1944, when the Nazis destroyed c. 80,000 early prints, 2,500 incunabulas, 26,000 manuscripts, 100,000 drawings and 50,000 musical and theatrical materials. This cataclysmical disaster was preceded by an earlier one, when in the 18th century its predecessor, the Żałuski library, was confiscated and partly damaged by the Russian Tzarina Catherine the Great. The National Library also houses the second preserved copy in Poland of Ivanovich's *Minerva al tavolino* and the 1754 edition of Baglivi's *Opera Omnia*, the purchase of which might have occurred during the late 1850s or 1860s for the needs of the Medical-Surgical Academy or the Medical Department of the Warsaw Main School. Baglivi's late 1788 edition of *Opera Omnia*, preserved in the Warsaw Seminarium Metropolitalne (*Wyższe Metropolitalne Seminarium*

Duchowne w Warszawie, 2016), was probably purchased directly for the Seminary's research and educational needs. This Seminarium also keeps a copy of Verantius' *Dictionarium*, and the Main Medical Library (Główna Biblioteka Lekarska im. Stanisława Konopki, n.d.) keeps another copy of the late edition of Baglivi's *Opera omnia*.

11) Wrocław – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka; Zakład narodowy im Ossolińskich

The University of Wrocław (in German: Breslau) was founded by the Jesuits in the mid-17th century and was confirmed by the Habsburg ruler Leopold I almost simultaneously with his confirmation of the Jesuit University in the Croatian capital of Zagreb (1669). The department for early prints and books of the Wrocław University Library (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna we Wrocławiu, n.d.) keeps the most diverse number of titles with music topics in Poland written by Croatian authors – seven in all by six authors. It seems that the city's earlier population, mixed both in national and religious affairs, was reflected in the variety of purchased Croatian authors: the works by Croatian Protestants Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Paulus Scalichius coexist in parallel with the ardent Catholic writer Habelich, and scholarly authors such as Verantius and Baglivi stand along with the Renaissance Humanist author Gozze.

Concerning in particular the 17th century author Juraj Habelich, a potential link might be established connecting this Counter-Reformation Zagreb writer with Wrocław: Habelich, Rector of the Zagreb Jesuit Collegium and a person of great merits in the process of establishing the old Zagreb Jesuit university, could have been among the most ideologically desirable authors for the newly established Wrocław Jesuit university and its library.

Regarding Ossolineum and the two titles by Verantius and Ivanovich kept in its library (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2013) established in 1817 as the then second largest in Poland, it is very probable that the two above-mentioned titles dating from the 16th and 17th centuries belong to the oldest layer of this collection, i.e. the initial collection of its founder – the politician, writer and scientist Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748–1826).

General Conclusions

- 1) The migrations of musical topics and contents in the form of various theoretical discourses in printed publications by Croatian authors are well documented throughout Poland;
- 2) Titles written by Croatian authors and printed in the 16th century encompass works by six writers with 19 titles in all, forming the larger group;

- 3) Titles printed in the 17th century belong to five authors with six works in all and form a smaller group; among them only one title (Baglivi's *Opera Omnia* with *Dissertatio VI*) was a bestseller found in 15 copies in 11 libraries in all;
- 4) Statistically speaking, it can be perceived that the number of authors and titles declines from Renaissance to Baroque times (the trend was continued also in the 18th century). The reasons might lie in the gradually diminishing number of Croatian authors relevant in European terms;
- 5) Works by Croatian authors containing musical issues are all kept in general funds or in specialized non-musical collections bearing no musically explicit titles; the conclusion follows that readers interested in music – not being aware of the existence of such topics within titles covering other disciplines – did not extensively consult them as musically relevant sources;
- 6) Some others were certainly not at all recognized to be of Croatian origins; that is particularly true for Patrizi, Micalia and Baglivi who have been perceived in international scholarship prevalently as Italian authors;
- 7) These titles were indeed not purchased because their authors were of Croatian or Slavic origins, but because of the relevance of their main contents; the nationality of the author was of no greater relevance during the period under consideration in the sense it had become important in the 19th century of revived modern nationalism;
- 8) Copies of these books found in Polish libraries are today well distributed throughout the country (in widely dispersed cities and towns such as Cieszyn, Gdańsk, Kraków, Łódź, Lublin, Olsztyn, Poznań, Szczecin, Toruń, Warszawa and Wrocław), pointing at a good network of book trading both in Europe and in Poland in the period under consideration; books by Croatian authors were published throughout Europe (mostly in Italy, Austria and Germany) and were available because of the use Latin or Italian (in which they were written) as the then universal *linguae communaes*;
- 9) The great variety of titles and topics elaborated by Croatian authors and found in Polish libraries is certainly the reflexion of historical circumstances concerning individual buyers or specific institutions in regard to their nationality, religious options and concrete socio-cultural needs;
- 10) It is a matter of far-reaching and even paradoxical implications, which this research has shown, that works by Croatian Humanist authors from the period of the 16th- and 17th centuries have been more often purchased and better disseminated during their lifetimes than those produced by our contemporaries in this allegedly so more informatically developed period as are supposed to be the 20th and the 21st centuries.

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