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Polish Echoes of the Baroque Flute

A Study of Repertoire and Flute Collection at Podhorce Castle

von

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Abstract

This study focuses on the musical activities at the Podhorce Castle, with a particular emphasis on the baroque flute. Through the exploration of the flute collection, repertoire, and potential rediscovery of musical material, the study sheds light on the rich musical history of the region. The patronage of the Grand Crown Hetman, Wacław Piotr Rzewuski, played a significant role in fostering an environment conducive to the flourishing and advancement of musical practices in the region. The study aims to contribute to the ongoing research of Polish musicologists by consolidating numerous sources into one cohesive repository and offers a link for non-Polish speakers interested in the baroque flute and music scene of the region.

Index

| | |
|---|----|
| Introduction | 4 |
| 1. Historical Background | 6 |
| 1.1. Podhorce Castle and Its Musical Scene..... | 6 |
| 1.2. Waław Rzewuski and His Interest In The Flute | 6 |
| 2. Flute Collection..... | 9 |
| 3. Repertoire..... | 15 |
| 4. Potential Rediscovery of the Musical Material..... | 22 |
| 4.1. Collection in Tarnów | 22 |
| 4.2. Sei Concerti | 24 |
| Conclusion..... | 30 |
| Bibliography..... | 31 |

Introduction

The baroque flute has been an essential element of the European music scene in the eighteenth century. The instrument that used to have its primary purpose as a part of consort music has evolved to the role of a soloist. Among the most important centres of flute music in Europe were undoubtedly the court in Paris during the reign of Louis XVI and Louis XV, shortly followed by the court of Frederick the Great in Berlin. The confirmation of the so-called “golden age”¹ for the baroque flute can manifest through various means, including extant musical compositions, records of court musicians, flute treatises, and, most notably, the preservation of authentic instruments from that era. While there have been numerous historically confirmed studies of flute schools in Western European countries, the exploration of Polish flute activity remains an area in need of further investigation.

The music scene in Poland during the Baroque period remains a subject of ongoing research for many musicologists. Among them are distinguished scholars such as Alina Żórawska-Witkowska and Irena Bieńkowska, both renowned for their expertise in the musical history of the Baroque and Classical periods, particularly within the context of the Polish royal court and magnates’ courts in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska’s extensive scholarly contributions encompass publications on the musical milieu within the courts of the Saxon kings, August II and August III, in Warsaw, as well as the reign of the last king of Poland, Stanisław August Poniatowski. Her seminal works have played a pivotal role in shaping my research focus, providing invaluable insights and inspiration for the formulation of my thesis. Bieńkowska’s significant contributions, such as the publication of “Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiła” (Warsaw 2013) and numerous scholarly papers, add another valuable perspective to the collective understanding of Poland’s rich musical heritage. Thanks to their work, I found helpful information that shed more light on the baroque flute scene in Poland.

The preserved repertoire of baroque music in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth represents works of an international group of composers who operated in royal and magnate courts, as well as churches and monasteries. Unfortunately, many sources endured destruction throughout wars, making it challenging to conduct a complete research. Currently, the available evidence concerning the prominence of the flute within the Polish musical scene is limited. However, considering the rigorous standards upheld by Polish *Hofkapellen* and the

¹ John P. Harthan, “Eighteenth-Century Flute Music.” in *Music & Letters*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1943, p. 35.

rich musical legacy of the Saxon kings in Poland, it is plausible to infer that the flute held a comparable significance to that observed in France and Germany.

A court ruler's patronage and discernment of musical endeavours played a pivotal role in fostering an environment conducive to the flourishing and advancement of musical practices, as evidenced by the notable examples of courts in Paris and Berlin. Continuing this line of inquiry, Waclaw Piotr Rzewuski emerged as a prominent figure, serving as the Polish Grand Crown Hetman in the South-East of Poland during the mid-eighteenth century. What makes him particularly pertinent to this study is not solely his patronage of music but also his affinity for the flute, which he regarded as his favoured instrument.

I encountered many fascinating articles on the topic of Waclaw Rzewuski's court. While some articles focus directly on the flute, others portray Podhorce as a centre of musical activity with European significance. The principal aim of this thesis is to compile the discoveries of Polish musicologists into a consolidated resource and offer translations for non-Polish speakers. Regarding the flute, while other collections may offer more detailed sources, particularly regarding extant instruments, my thesis aims to demonstrate that the flute scene in Poland not only existed but also flourished, contributing meaningfully to the rich tapestry of European musical history.

1. Historical Background

1.1. Podhorce Castle and Its Musical Scene

Podhorce Castle is located near today's city of Lviv, Ukraine, a former South-Eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was built between the years 1637-1641, and it belonged to four significant Polish noble families in the 17th and 18th centuries: Koniecpolski (1637-1682), Sobieski (1682-1725), Rzewuski (1725-1865) and Sanguszko (1865-). The court gained its cultural reputation already during the Sobieski times thanks to Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, who was known for her admiration and dedication to music. Later, especially under the Rzewuski reign, the castle became home to an extensive collection of books, artwork, militaria, and royal souvenirs.²

The Grand Crown Hetman, Stanisław Mateusz (1662-1728) and his son, Waclaw Piotr (1706-1779), shared a profound interest in music. One of the very few precious sources of information about the music life in Podhorce is a correspondence between Giovanni Antonio Riccieri, the court Kapellmeister from 1722 until 1726, and the court musicians, who were present in the same years. The letters can be found in the *Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica* in Bologna³. Drawing from these materials, it is evident that between 1722 and 1728, a vocal-instrumental ensemble, predominantly comprised of Italian and Polish musicians, thrived at the court of Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski.⁴ The musical activities at Podhorce Court are also described in very fragmented inventories and library catalogue entries.⁵ They provide evidence of the presence of formerly remarkable musical collections. Under the governance of Waclaw Piotr Rzewuski, these collections comprised approximately 600 items, predominantly featuring instrumental music written for either the transverse flute or violin.

1.2. Waclaw Rzewuski and His Interest In The Flute

According to the prevailing customs of the time, Waclaw was bestowed with the rank of an ensign in a dragoon regiment while still in his cradle. As an adolescent, he received his

² Benjamin Vogel, "Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach.", in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015): p. 99.

³ Irena Bieńkowska, "Listy muzyków Stanisława Mateusza Rzewuskiego (1662–1728) do Giovanniego Antonia Ricieriego.", in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 15 (2017): p. 148.

⁴ Irena Bieńkowska, "Listy muzyków Stanisława Mateusza Rzewuskiego (1662–1728) do Giovanniego Antonia Ricieriego.", in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 15 (2017): p. 149.

⁵ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Zbiór Czołowskiego, inwentarz podhorecki, Nr 429: "Inwentarz obrazów z 1768": pp. 166-171.

education at the Piarist School in Bełz. He continued his studies in Lublin, attending the Piarist College. As a cavalry captain, he honed his military craft under the guidance of his father. Moreover, in the period between 1723 and 1727, he embarked on a journey across Europe, visiting Germany, France, the Netherlands, England, and Italy. It is said that it was during this very journey that young Waclaw's passion for music became evident.⁶

Waclaw Rzewuski's political career unfolded in the intricate political landscape of 18th-century Poland-Lithuania. The period was marked by internal power struggles, debates over reforms, and external pressures, mainly from Russia. Rzewuski's opposition to Russian interference and subsequent exile during the Repnin Sejm is evidence of the challenges posed by foreign intervention. His role in the conservative magnate camp underscored ideological clashes within Polish politics, as the noble elite resisted centralization efforts.⁷

In 18th-century Poland, the szlachta, or nobility, played a leading role as the predominant social and political class. Their immense wealth was rooted in extensive land ownership, granting them significant economic and political influence. The nobility's affluence was further bolstered by economic privileges, including tax exemption, trade monopolies, and the ability to collect fees from towns on their lands. This economic prosperity, coupled with their military traditions, fortified the szlachta's elite status. However, despite their wealth, internal divisions and the liberum veto, a parliamentary practice allowing any member to veto legislation, contributed to political instability, ultimately impacting the Commonwealth's influence on the European stage.

The Rzewuski family gained prominence for its substantial land holdings and wealth in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As a scion of this prosperous family, Waclaw Rzewuski undoubtedly had access to substantial resources, affording him a privileged standing in that era's societal and political strata.

In addition to his involvement in politics, Rzewuski had a wide range of interests, engaging in poetry and playwriting, displaying a remarkable passion for music, which distinguished him as one of the most ardent music enthusiasts among Polish magnates. He was known for promoting French culture in Poland and supporting the Saxons for the Polish throne. He often visited Dresden. In Podhorce, Waclaw maintained a personal opera theatre, with a substantial troupe that accompanied him to his various estates, extending as far as the Turkish border. Furthermore, he loaned his musicians to perform at the royal court in

⁶ Filip Kucera, "Waclaw „Emir” Rzewuski (1784-1831): podróżnik i żołnierz." (2016): p. 45.

⁷ https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waclaw_Piotr_Rzewuski (access: 10.11.2023).

Warsaw.⁸ Louis-Antoine Caraccioli (1719–1803), a French writer and poet who served as the tutor to Waclaw Rzewuski’s sons – Stanisław Ferdynand and Józef, wrote about Waclaw’s deep appreciation for the flute and music composed for this instrument. In the biography of the hetman, titled *La vie du comte Wenceslas Rzewuski*, Caraccioli reminisced that during leisure moments, the hetman would engage in playing the flute, skillfully performing concerts.⁹

⁸ Szymon Paczkowski, “Bach and Poland in the Eighteenth Century.”, in *Understanding Bach* 10 (2015): p. 131.

⁹ Louis-Antoine Caraccioli, *La Vie du comte Wenceslas Rzewuski, grand-général, & premier sénateur de Pologne*. Liege 1782: p. 81.

2. Flute Collection

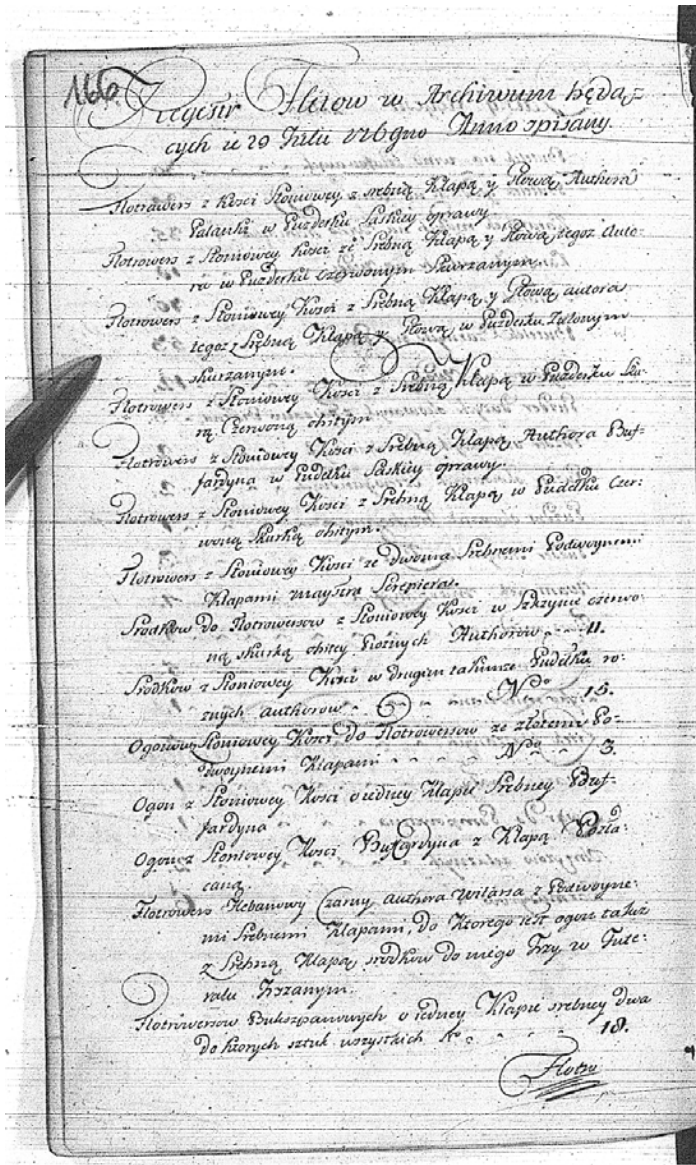
Waclaw Rzewuski was the Grand Crown Hetman residing in Podhorce during the period between 1728 and 1767. The surviving musical inventories from the Podhorce Castle registered, shortly after Waclaw's reign, precisely from 1769, can be found in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. They were already published once before in 1913 in a musical journal, "Kwartalnik Muzyczny", by a historian Jan Wilusz and a musicologist Adolf Chybiński.¹⁰ They are also a topic of a more recent Polish article by Benjamin Vogel, "Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach" (2015)¹¹, in which he transcribes in detail the original list of all the instruments present in the inventory. The document titled "Sanguszeko-Podhorce, Inwentarz obrazów z 1768 r. (eng. "Inventory of paintings from the year 1768") consists of four lists of music-related objects. Starting on page 166, the records include:

- "Regestr Fletow w Archiwum będących ie 29 Julii 1769no Anno spisany"
Record of Flutes in the Archives registered on the 29th of July 1769
- "Regestr wszystkich Instrumentow muzycznych spisany ie 29 Julii 1769"
Record of all musical instruments registered on the 29th of July 1769
- "Regestr Papierow muzykalnych spisany ie 20 Augusti 1769 anno w Podhorcach"
Record of musical papers registered on the 20th of August 1769 in Podhorce
- "Regestr Xiążek Muzykalnych w zultym Pokoiu"
Record of musical books in the yellow room

¹⁰ Jan Wilusz, Adolf Chybiński, "Z inwentarzy muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach", in *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* I (1913), pp. 71–76.

¹¹ Benjamin Vogel, "Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach.", in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015): p. 122.

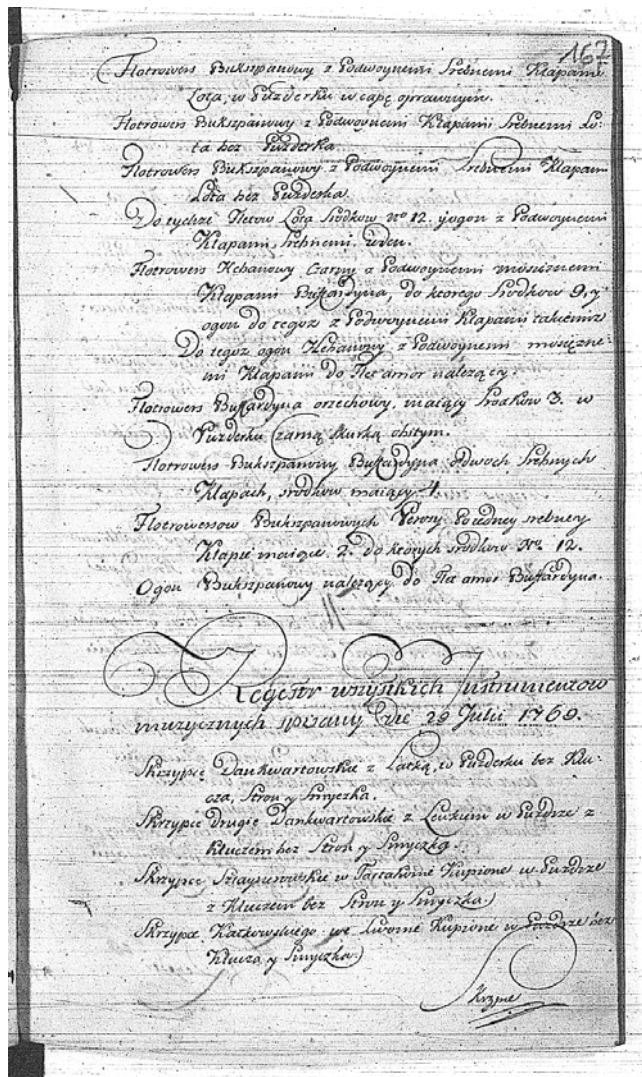
Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw,
 collection of Czołowski, inventory of Podhorce,
 No. 429: "Record of Flutes in the Archives
 Registered on the 29th of July 1769", p. 166 (photo
 by the author).



**Regestr Fletow w Archiwum będących
 [d]nie 29 Julii 1769no Anno spisany.**

- Flotrowers z Kosci Sloniowey z srebną Klapą y Głową Authora Palanki w Puzderku Saskiej oprawy.
- Flotrowers z Sloniowey Kosci ze Srebną Klapą y Głową, tegoż Authora w Puzderku Czerwonym Skurzonym.
- Flotrowers z Sloniowey Kosci z Srebną Klapą y Głową, authora tegoż z Srebną Klapą, w Puzderku Zielonym skurzonym.
- Flotrowers z Sloniowey Kosci z Srebną Klapą w Puzderku Skurką Czerwoną obitym.
- Flotrowers z Sloniowey Kosci z Srebną Klapą Authora Buffardyna w Pudelku Saskiej Oprawy.
- Flotrowers z Sloniowey Kosci z Srebną Klapą w Pudelku Czerwoną Skurką obitym.
- Flotrowers z Sloniowey Kosci ze dwoma Srebnemi Podwoynemi Klapami maystra Serepiera.
- Srodkow do Flotrowersow z Sloniowey Kosci w Skrzynie czerwona skurką obitey Roznych Authorow ... 11.
- Srodkow z Sloniowey Kosci w drugim takiznie Pudelku roznych authorow No. 15.
- Ogonow Sloniowey Kosci do Flotrowersow ze zlotemi Podwoynemi Klapami No. 3.
- Ogon z Sloniowey Kosci o iedney Klapie Srebney Bouffardyna.
- Ogon z Sloniowey Kosci Buffardyna z Klapą Pozlacaną.
- Flotrowers Hebanowy Czarny authora Wilarsa, z Podwoynemi Srebnemi Klapami, do Ktorego iest ogon takiz z Srebną Klapą srodkow do niego Trzy w Futeralu Irszanym.
- Flotrowersow Bukszpanowych o iedney Klapie srebney Dwa do Których sztuk wszystkich No. 18.

Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw,
collection of Czołowski, inventory of Podhorce,
No. 429: "Record of All Musical Instruments
Registered on the 29th of August 1769 in
Podhorce", p. 167 (photo by the author).



Flotrowers Bukszpauowy z Podwoynemi Srebnemi Klapami
Lota, w Puzderku w capę oprawnym.
Flotrowers Bukszpauowy z Podwoynemi Klapami Srebnemi Lo-
ta bez Puzderka
Flotrowers Bukszpauowy z Podwoynemi Srebnemi Klapami
Lota bez Puzderka.
Do tychże Fletów Lota Srodkow no 12. y ogon z Podwoynemi
Klapami Srebnemi ieden.
Flotrowers Hebanowy Czarny z Podwoynemi mosiężnemi
Klapami Buffardyna, do którego Srodkow 9. y
ogon do tegoz z Podwoynemi Klapami takiemiz
Do tegoz ogon Hebanowy z Podwoynemi mosiężne-
mi Klapami do Flet amor należący.
Flotrowers Buffardyna orzechowy, mający Srodkow 3. W
Puzderku Czarną skurką obitym.
Flotrowers Bukszpauowy Buffardyna o dwóch Srebnych
Klapach, srodkow mający 4.
Flotrowersow Bukszpauowych Perosy Po iedney srebney
Klapie mające 2. do których srodkow No 12.
Ogon Bukszpauowy należący do Flet amor Buffardyna.

**Regestr wszystkich Instrumentow
muzycznych spisany die 29 Julii 1769.**

Skrzypce Dankwartowskie z Latką, w Puzderku bez Klucza,
Stron y Smyczka.
Skrzypce drugie Dankwartowskie z Lewkiem w puzdrze z
Kluczem bez Stron y Smyczka.
Skrzypce Staynerowskie w Tartakowie kupione w Puzdrze
z Kluczem bez Strun y Smyczka.
Skrzypce Katkowskiego we Lwowie Kupione w Puzdrze bez
Klucza y Smyczka.

English translation of the flute list:

| | Translation | Flute maker | Type of material | Number of keys |
|-----|--|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Transverse flute made of ivory with a silver key and head by author "Palanka" in a box with Saxon binding | Carlo Palanca (1688/90-1783) | Ivory | 1 |
| 2. | Transverse flute made of ivory with a silver key and head by the same author in a red, leather box | Carlo Palanca | Ivory | 1 |
| 3. | Transverse flute made of ivory with a silver key and head by the same author with a silver key, in a green, leather box | Carlo Palanca | Ivory | 1 |
| 4. | Transverse flute made of ivory with a silver key in a box upholstered with red leather | Unknown | Ivory | 1 |
| 5. | Transverse flute made of ivory with a silver key by author Buffardin in a box with Saxon binding | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin (ca. 1690–1768) | Ivory | 1 |
| 6. | Transverse Flute made of ivory with a silver key in a box upholstered with red leather | Unknown | Ivory | 1 |
| 7. | Transverse Flute made of ivory with two silver double keys by master Serepier | Serspiers | Ivory | 2 |
| 8. | Middle joint for a transverse flute made of ivory in a chest upholstered with red leather by various authors ... 11 | Unknown | Ivory | - |
| 9. | Middle joint made of ivory in a second alike box by various authors ...No 15 | Unknown | Ivory | - |
| 10. | Foot joint made of ivory for a transverse flute with golden, double keys No 3 | Unknown | Ivory | 2 |
| 11. | Foot joint made of ivory with one silver key by Buffardin | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin | Ivory | 1 |
| 12. | Foot joint made of ivory by Buffardin with a gold-plated key | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin | Ivory | 1 |
| 13. | Transverse flute made of ebony, black, by Villars, with two double, silver keys, for which there's a foot joint with a silver key, three middle joints in a chamois-leather case | Paul Villars | Ebony | 2, 1 |
| 14. | Transverse flute made of boxwood with double, silver keys by Lot, in a box upholstered with goatskin | Thomas Lot | Boxwood | 2 |
| 15. | Transverse flute made of boxwood with double, silver keys by Lot, without a box | Thomas Lot | Boxwood | 2 |
| 16. | Transverse flute made of boxwood with double, silver keys by Lot, without a box | Thomas Lot | Boxwood | 2 |

| | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 17. | For these flutes by Lot, middle joints No 12 and a foot joint with double silver key | Thomas Lot | Boxwood | - |
| 18. | Transverse flute made of ebony, black with double brass keys by Buffardin, for which middle joints No 9 and a food joint with double keys | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin | Ebony | 2 |
| 19. | For this a foot joint made of ebony with double brass keys for a flauto d'amore | Unknown | Ebony | 2 |
| 20. | Transverse flute by Buffardin made of walnut, including three middle joints in a box upholstered with black leather | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin | Walnut | - |
| 21. | Transverse flute made of boxwood by Buffardin with two silver keys, including four middle joints | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin | Boxwood | 2 |
| 22. | Two transverse flutes made of boxwood by Perosa, each with one silver key, including middle joints No 12 | Domenico Perosa | Boxwood | 1 |
| 23. | Foot joint for the flauto d'amore by Buffardin | Pierre Gabriel Buffardin | Unspecified material | - |

The inventory comprises a diverse collection of instruments, including flutes, violins, violas, horns, bassoons, clavichords and harpsichords (pol. "Klawicymbały"). However, there is a clear dominance in the quantity of the flute over the other instruments. In total, there were eighteen transverse flutes, one *flauto d'amore* and various flute parts, all accompanied by colourful material cases, leather boxes and ribbons.

The collection showcases a rich assortment of flutes, some imported from renowned instrument makers in France or Italy, and other flutes lacking details about their builder, suggesting the possibility of a local craftsman. Among them are three transverse flutes crafted by Carlo Palanca (1688-1783), a well-known Italian bassoon player and instrument maker who resided in Turin. Another notable contributor to the collection is Pierre Gabriel Buffardin (1693-1768), who hailed as a pioneer of the transverse flute in Germany and served as the flautist in the Dresden Hofkapelle from 1715 to 1749. Buffardin's work is reflected in the five transverse flutes and one flauto d'amore featured in the collection. Additionally, the collection includes three flutes attributed to Lot, most likely Thomas Lot, whose Parisian workshop operated from 1734 until his passing in 1787. Lot's flutes were highly esteemed throughout Europe and were particularly favoured by grand flautists like Michel Blavet or Joseph Bodin de Boismortier¹². Among the collection, there is also a flute crafted by Serpiers, an unknown

¹² <https://berneyflutes.com/the-flutes/baroque-flutes#tlot1740> (access: 19.02.2024).

Dutch flute maker. Another inclusion is a flute by Paul Villars, a French flute maker based in Paris, France, until 1776. The collection also includes a flute crafted by Domenico Perosa, an Italian recorder maker from Venice. The makers of the last six flutes remain unidentified.

Additionally, numerous middle- and foot joints for the flutes are included. The instruments showcase materials such as ivory, boxwood, and ebony, with one example crafted from walnut wood. They exhibit both single and double-key configurations. Unfortunately, as of now, these instruments have not been located, and the archival records provide minimal information.

In 1723 Waclaw embarked on a four-year long, educational journey abroad. He spent the majority of his time in France, where he may have had the opportunity to listen to renowned performers. One of them might have been a French flautist, René Pignon Descoteaux, who was the teacher of Michel de la Barre and a pioneer of the transverse flute in Versailles, France. Jacques Hotteterre assumed Descoteaux's role as a flautist at the court ensemble of Louis XIV in 1717¹³.

Furthermore, as a supporter of the Saxons on the Polish throne, Waclaw often travelled to Dresden. The Dresden Hofkapelle, at the time, was equipped with the virtuoso flautist Pierre Gabriel Buffardin and, until 1741, also with his student Johann Joachim Quantz. It is no surprise that the flute collection of Waclaw included flutes from the finest instrument builders in Europe.

¹³Irena Bienkowska, *Sei concerti a Flauto Traversiere Obligato*, Warszawa 2019: p. 11.

3. Repertoire

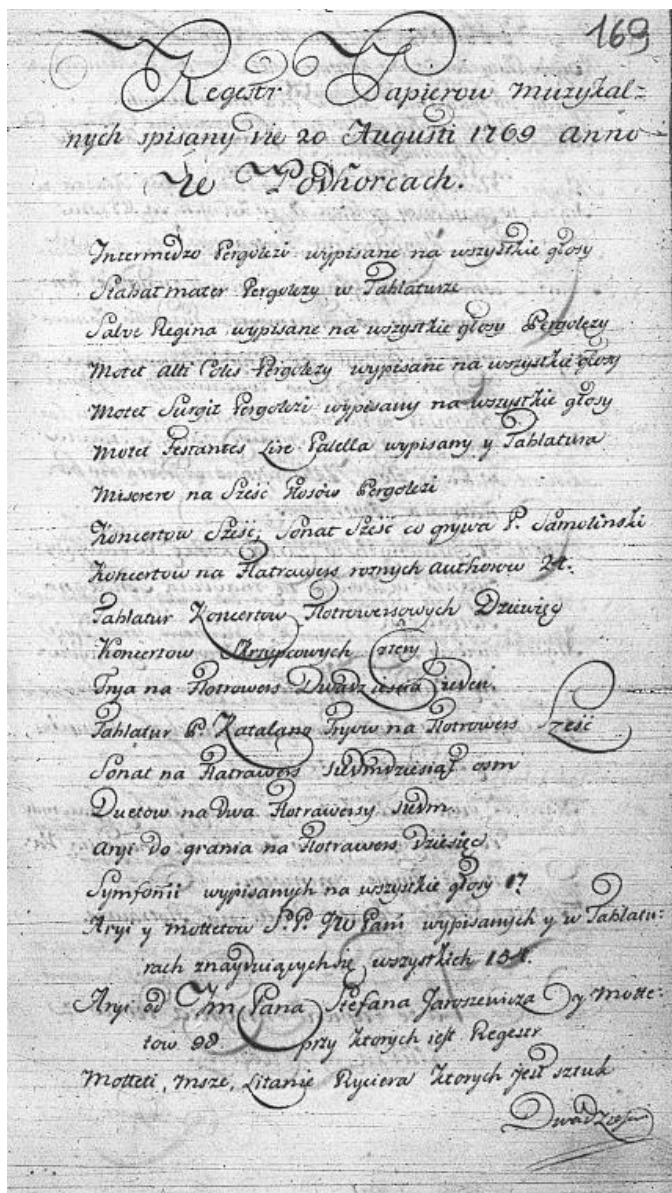
Based on the inventories currently kept at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, it is certain that the court in Podhorce possessed a remarkable array of musical materials. The collection comprised a diverse selection of compositions, such as motets, oratorios, and masses; however, the predominant focus of the assortment lies in the realm of flute music. The exact number of pieces remains unknown, given that specific entries on the list merely refer to “books with flute sonatas.” Nonetheless, the inventory is estimated to include a total of circa two hundred pieces written for the flute.

In the collections of the Podhorce library in the 18th century, alongside numerous musical scores, inventories also recorded several textbooks, encyclopedias, and theoretical treatises from the times of Stanisław Mateusz and Wacław Piotr Rzewuski.¹⁴

When assessing the musical ensemble of Podhorce, scholars confront unresolved inquiries regarding its years of activity, size, and composition. Despite these challenges, archival data about instrument inventories and several orchestral stands suggest an ensemble exceeding twenty members, with a mix of local and international musicians.

¹⁴ Bieńkowska, Irena: “Osiemnastowieczna twórczość instrumentalna z dawnej kolekcji muzykaliów w Podhorcach”, in: *Barok. Historia–Literatura–Sztuka* XXVI/1 (2019): p.170.

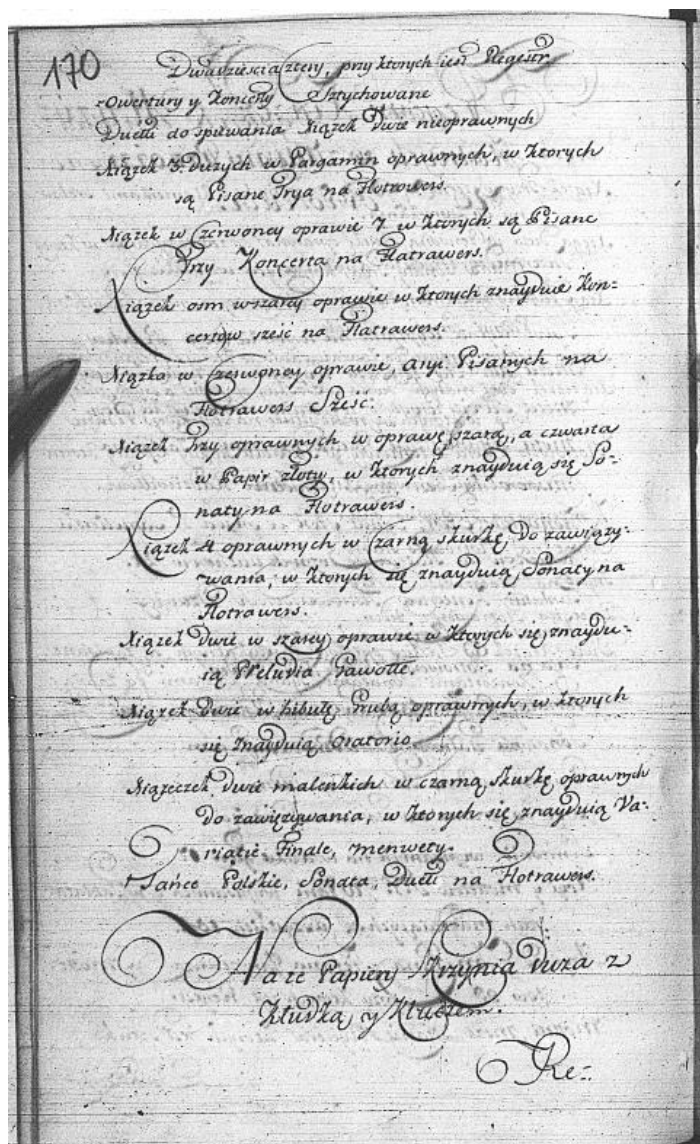
Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw,
 collection of Czołowski, inventory of Podhorce,
 No. 429: "Record of All Musical Papers Registered
 on the 29th of August 1769 in Podhorce", p. 169
 (photo by the author)



Regestr Papierow Muzykal-
 nych spisany die 20 Augusti 1769 Anno
 w Podhorcach

Intermedzo Pergolezi wypisane na wszystkie glosy
 Stabat Mater Pergolezy w Tablaturze
 Salve Regina wypisane na wszystkie glosy Pergolezy
 Motet alti Coles Pergolezy wypisane na wszystkie glosy
 Motet Surgit Pergolezi wypisany na wszystkie glosy
 motet Festantes Lire Palella wypisany y Tablatura
 Miserere na Sześć Głosów Pergolezi
 Koncertow Sześć, Sonat Sześć co grywa P. Samolinski
 Koncertow na Flotrawers roznych authorow 24.
 Tablatur Koncertow Flotrawersowych Dziewięć
 Koncertow Skrzypcowych cztery
 Trya na Flotrawers Dwadziesta jeden.
 Tablatur P. Katalano Tryow na Flotowers Sześć
 Sonat na Flotrawers Siedemdziesiąt osiem
 Duetow na dwa Flotrawersy siedm.
 Aryi do grania na Flotrawers Dziesięć
 Symfonii wypisanych na wszystkie glosy 17
 Aryi y mottetow S.P. JW. Pani grupami wypisanych w
 Tablaturach znajdujących się wszystkich 154
 Aryi od Im Pana Stefana Jaroszewicza y mottetow 98
 przy których jest Regestr
 Motteti, msze, liranie Ryciera Których jest sztuk
 Dwadziesta

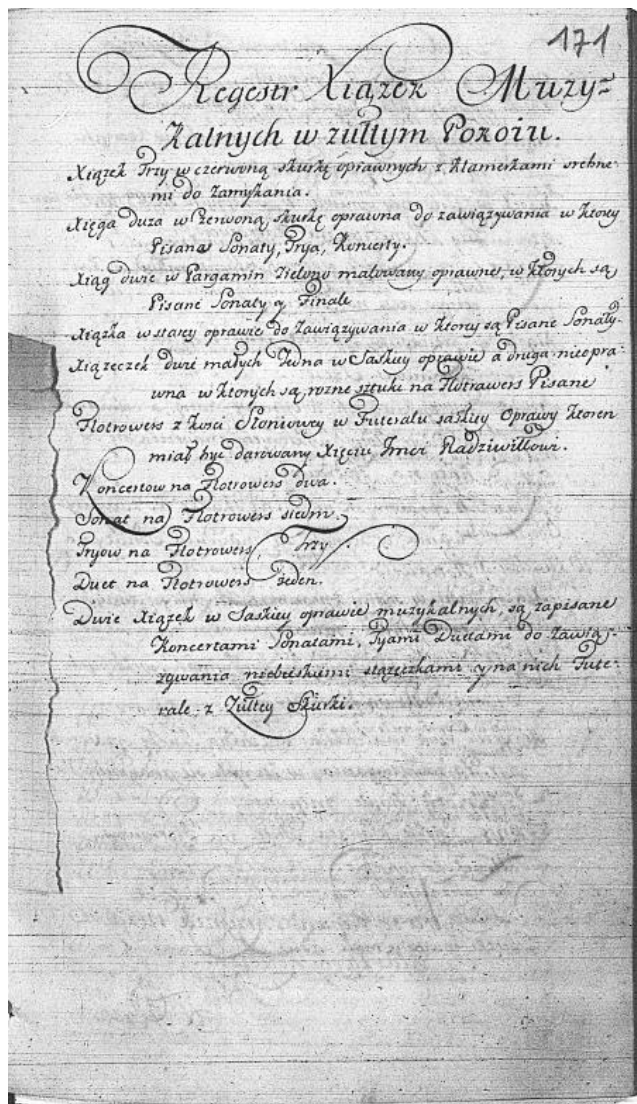
Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw,
 collection of Czołowski, inventory of Podhorce,
 No. 429: "Record of All Musical Papers Registered
 on the 29th of August 1769 in Podhorce", p. 170
 (photo by the author).



Dwadzieścia cztery, przy których jest Registr
 Owertury y Koncerty Sztychowane
 Duetti do spiewania xiązek dwie nieoprawnych
 Xsiążek 3. Duzych w Pergamin oprawnych, w których
 Są Pisane Trya na Flotowers.
 Xiązek w Czerwonej oprawie 7. w których są pisane
 Trzy Koncerty na Flotowers.
 Xiązek osm wszarej oprawie w których znajduje Kon:
 Certow sześć na Flotowers.
 Xiązka w Czerwonej oprawie, arii Pisanych na
 Flotowers Sześć
 Xiązek Trzy oprawnych w oprawę szarą, a czwarta
 W papier złoty, w których znajdują się So:
 Naty na Flotowers
 Xiązek 4 oprawnych w Czarną skurkę Do zawiązy:
 wania, w których się znajdują Sonaty na
 Flotowers
 Xiązek Dwie w szarej oprawie w których się znajdu:
 ją Preludia Gawotte
 Xiązek Dwie w bibule Grubą oprawnych, których
 się znajdują oratorio
 Xiązeczki dwie maleńkich w czarną skurkę oprawnych
 do zawiązywania, w których się znajdują Va:
 riatie Finale, menuety
 Tańce Polskie, Sonata, Duetti na Flotowers

Na te Papiery Skrzynia duza z
 kłudką y Kluczem

Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw,
 collection of Czołowski, inventory of Podhorce,
 No. 429: "Record of Musical Books in the
 Yellow Room", p. 171 (photo by the author).



Regestr Xiążek Muzykalnych w zultym Pokoju

Xiążek Trzy w czerwona skurkę oprawnych z klamerkami srebrnymi do Zamykania
 Xiążka duza w czerwona skurkę oprawna do zawiązywania w ktorej Pisano Sonaty, Trya, Koncerty
 Xiąg dwie w Pargamin zielono malowany oprawne, w których sa Pisane sonaty y Finale
 Xiążka w starej oprawie do zawiązywania w ktorej sa pisane Sonaty
 Xiążeczek dwie małych jedna w saskiej oprawie a druga nieoprawna w których sa rozne sztuki na Flotrawers Pisane
 Flotrawers z kosci Sloniowej w Futeralu saskiej Oprawy Ktoren Miał by darowany Xieciu Imci Radziwillowi
 Koncertow na Flotrawers dwa
 Sonat na Flotrawers siedem
 Tryow na Flotrawers Trzy
 Duet na Flotrawers jeden
 Dwie Xiążek w Saskiej oprawie muzycznych, są zapisane Koncertami, Sonatami, Tryami Duetami do zawiązywania niebieskimi stążkami y na nich Futerales z zultej skurki

English translation of the records:

“Record of musical papers registered on the 20th of August 1769 in Podhorce”

| | Translation |
|-----|---|
| 1. | Intermezzo by Pergolesi written for all voices |
| 2. | Stabat Mater by Pergolesi in tablature |
| 3. | Salve Regina by Pergolesi written for all voices |
| 4. | Motet Alti Coles by Pergolesi written for all voices |
| 5. | Motet Surgit by Pergolesi written for all voices |
| 6. | Motet Festantes Lire Palella written out and in tablature |
| 7. | Miserere by Pergolesi for 6 voices |
| 8. | 6 concerts and 6 sonates played by Mr. Samolinski |
| 9. | 24 flute concerts by various authors |
| 10. | 9 tablatures of flute concerts |
| 11. | 4 violin concerts |
| 12. | 21 trios for flute |
| 13. | 6 Tablatures by Mr. Katalano for flute |
| 14. | 78 sonates for flute |
| 15. | 7 duets for flute |
| 16. | 10 aryas for flute |
| 17. | 7 symphonies written for all voices |
| 18. | 154 arias and motets written in groups in tablatures |
| 19. | 98 arras and motets from Mr. Stefan Jaroszewicz, including a record |
| 20. | 20 motets, masses and litanies of Rycieri ¹⁵ |
| 21. | 24 overtures and concerts with a record, stencilled |
| 22. | 2 books with duets for singing, unbound |
| 23. | 3 big books, bound in parchment with flute trios |
| 24. | 7 books in red cover with 3 flute concerts |

¹⁵ Polish notation of the name of the Italian singer and the Kapellmeister in Podhorce, Giovanni Antonio Riccieri.

| | |
|-----|--|
| 25. | 8 books in grey cover with concerts written for flute |
| 26. | Book in a red cover, 6 arias written for the flute |
| 27. | 3 books in grey cover, 4 th in a golden paper with flute sonatas |
| 28. | 4 books bound in black binding leather with flute sonatas |
| 29. | 2 books in grey cover with preludes and gavottes |
| 30. | 2 books bound in thick blotting paper with oratorios |
| 31. | 2 small books bound in black binding leather with variations, finales, menuets |
| 32. | Polish dances, sonata, duets for flute |
| 33. | For these materials: a chest with a lock and a key |

“Record of musical books in the yellow room”

| | Translation |
|-----|--|
| 1. | 3 books bound in red leather with silver locks |
| 2. | Big book bound in red binding leather with sonatas, trios, concerts |
| 3. | 2 books bound in green painted parchment with sonatas and finales |
| 4. | Book in an old binding cover with sonatas |
| 5. | Ivory transverse flute in a Saxon case, supposed to be gifted to Prince Radziwiłł |
| 6. | 2 concerts for flute |
| 7. | 7 sonatas for flute |
| 8. | 3 trios for flute |
| 9. | 1 duo for flute |
| 10. | 2 musical books in Saxon cover, written with concerts, sonatas, trios, duets, bound with blue ribbons and for them a yellow leather case |

Once again, similarly to the instrument records, there is an undeniable dominance of the flute repertoire in the records of musical materials in Podhorce. The initial catalogue entries showcase six compositions by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736), likely tied to the deeply ingrained religious practices observed in Polish courts during that era. Particularly noteworthy is the eminent vocal masterpiece *Stabat Mater*, which maintains enduring popularity in Poland to this day. Following the compositions of Pergolesi, figures a motet

titled “Festante Lira” by the Italian composer and harpsichordist Antonio Palella (1692-1761). “6 concerts and 6 sonatas played by Mr. Samolinski” refers to one of the court musicians in Podhorce, the primary correspondent with Kapellmeister Giovanni Antonio Riccieri. The archives also note two unfamiliar composers, Mr. Katalano and Mr. Stefan Jaroszewicz. “20 motets, masses and litanies of Rycieri” confirm that Riccieri also engaged in composition, potentially as one of his responsibilities while serving as a Kapellmeister in Podhorce. Another noteworthy inclusion is a piece titled “Polish *Symfonia*,” which alludes to a musical form resembling an oratorio. A standout item on the list of musical pieces is a flute intended as a present for prince Radziwill, Probably a reference to the prince Karol Stanislaw Radziwill, who in 1764 married Waclaw’s daughter, Teresa Karolina.¹⁶

The flute repertoire includes sonatas, concertos, duets and trios, but none of them mention the names of their authors. Many flute compositions are presented in tablatures, emphasising their role as instructional material for study and practice. Unfortunately, there is no evidence related to the music teachers at the court or his flute teachers. The name of the court flautist in Podhorce has also been lost to time.

¹⁶ Benjamin Vogel, “Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach.”, in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015): p. 121.

4. Potential Rediscovery of the Musical Material

4.1. Collection in Tarnów

According to the Polish musicologist, Irena Bieńkowska, a potential part of the musical material from Waclaw's collection might have been rediscovered in the Municipal Public Library in Tarnów. In her article titled "Eighteenth-century Instrumental Works from the Former Collection of Musical Material in Podhorce" (pol: "Osiemnastowieczna Twórczość Instrumentalna z Dawnej Kolekcji Muzykaliów w Podhorcach") Bieńkowska writes:

The (music) collection itself, similarly to other collections from the Podhorce Castle (including the painting collection), have been dispersed and likely suffered considerable damage. Thus far, there have been no traces found of the former musical collection from Podhorce. However, musical items recently discovered by me in the collections of the City Public Library in Tarnów (in the section of Old Prints and 19th-century Books) may be a part of that collection. Three sets of manuscripts from the mid-18th century have been preserved there. (...) These manuscripts share common physical characteristics and a similar repertoire profile, suggesting that they might originate from a single musical collection.

The musical artefacts stored in Tarnów were brought to the library¹⁷ in 1949 from several residences of noble families. The majority of the collection originates from Gumniska – today's district in the city of Tarnów, a place of former residence of the Sanguszko family in the years 1720-1939¹⁸.

Furthermore, Bieńkowska writes that the collection housed in Tarnów primarily comprises sheet music that was once owned by various members of the Sanguszko family throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, alongside these materials, there are additional items that appear to originate from the 18th century, meaning that they do not align with the collection's timeline. These older manuscripts likely found their way into the Gumniska collection from other family libraries, possibly originating from locations like Podhorce, or similar. In 1865, the Sanguszkos obtained Podhorce, along with its vast library collections. The turbulent events at the property during the 20th century led to substantial damage to both the castle and its collections. By 1914, a portion of the library, which included

¹⁷ Municipal Public Library in Tarnów.

¹⁸ <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarn%C3%B3w> (access: 19.02.2024).

valuable artworks and historical artefacts, had been transferred to the Sanguszko residence in Gumniska.

Bienkowska suggests in her article that the manuscripts found in Tarnów were once part of the rich music collection of the Rzewuski family. These documents date back to Waclaw Piotr Rzewuski's time in the mid-18th century, focusing on music for his favourite instrument, the transverse flute. The paper of the manuscripts originates from various Dutch printing houses, predominantly from the latter half of the 18th century, indicating the period of transcription. Apart from the viola, all part books bear the "Strasbourg Lily" watermark with initials "VDL" underneath, indicating the paper manufacturer Van der Leya¹⁹. The paper of the viola score came from the mill of the Honig family, operating from 1709 to 1879 in Zaandijk, northern Holland. It was one of Holland's leading white paper companies and supplied high-quality products to domestic and foreign markets. In the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, paper imported from Holland constituted the majority of that kind of material imported into the country, so the presence of Dutch paper in a music manuscript from the collections of a magnate is not surprising.²⁰

¹⁹ <http://zaansepapiergeschiedenis.nl/historie/familiebedrijven/ley-van-der-2/> (access: 19.02.2024).

²⁰ Irena Bieńkowska, *Sei concerti a Flauto Traversiere Obligato*, Warszawa 2019: p. 22.

4.2 Sei Concerti



Title page of the flute part book (photo by Katarzyna Krużel)²¹.

²¹ Irena Bieńkowska, *Sei concerti a Flauto Traversiere Obligato*, Warszawa 2019: p. 25.

The documents in the Tarnów Library include a set of six handwritten part books for the following instruments: flauto traversiere, violino primo, violino secondo, viola and basso continuo. The part of the violino primo has a duplicate, which could mean that the piece used to be performed by a larger ensemble. The entire collection of manuscripts was penned by a single hand. In the flute part book, pencil annotations adorn the outset of each piece, providing evaluative remarks on its quality - ranging from “good” to “poor” or “already old”. There are also a few ambiguous markings: underlined melodic passages or occasional trills, typically noted in the form of a cross or the letter “x”.

The set of part books contains six concertos for solo transverse flute, featuring an ensemble of two violins, viola, and basso continuo. The origins of these compositions remain anonymous. They were written by different composers but share several common characteristics. Concerto Primo, Quarto and Sesto are of unknown authorship. Concerto Terzo has been identified by Irena Bieńkowska as the “Concerto for Flute in E minor, QV 4:3” by Johann Joachim Quantz. The other two concerts - Concerto Secondo and Concerto Quinto - consist of sections from compositions by various authors, arranged in a manner reminiscent of a *pasticcio*. Some movements have been recognized by Bieńkowska as segments from concertos by Quantz and one of the Graun brothers, Johann Gottlieb (1702/1703–1771) or Carl Heinrich (1703/1704–1759)²². Specifically, the first movement of the Concerto Secondo is a *pasticcio* of the opening section of Quantz’s “Concerto for Flute in G major, QV 4:4”. Similarly, in Concerto Quinto, movements two and three are respectively the central and the last sections of the “Concerto in D major, GraunWV Cv:XIII:101”. The remaining movements are by anonymous composers.

All pieces are composed in the style galant, featuring numerous repetitions and imitations. The form of each work is in the style of an Italian concerto and follows the pattern of three movements “fast-slow-fast” with their names accordingly: *Allegro-Adagio-Allegro* for every concert. In Concerto Primo and Quarto there is no change from major to minor mode in the central movements, but instead they were composed in the subdominant or dominant keys. In Concerti Secondo and Sesto the key is transposed to the 6th degree of the scale, and in Concerto Quinto – to the parallel key (D major to d minor). These sequences correspond to the rules of Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) on the Adagio, which he

²² Irena Bieńkowska, *Sei concerti a Flauto Traversiere Obligato*, Warszawa 2019: p. 19: (“Christoph Henzel, Graun-Werkverzeichnis (GraunWV): Verzeichnis der Werke der Brüder Johann Gottlieb und Carl Heinrich Graun, Vols 1–2, Beeskow 2006, pp. 745–746. Henzel does not point specifically to either of the two brothers, and in the known sources this composition is only signed with the surname. The D Major Concerto has no contemporary editions.”)

described in the “Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen”. In the chapter XVIII, paragraph 35 Quantz wrote:

In general the Adagio must be distinguished from the first Allegro by its rhythmic structure, metre, and tonality. If the Allegro is written in a major tonality, for example, in C major, the Adagio may be set, at one’s discretion, in C minor, E minor, A minor, F major, G major or G minor. If, however, the first Allegro is written in a minor key, for example, C minor, the Adagio may be set in E flat major, F minor, G minor or A flat major. These sequences of keys are the most natural ones. The ear will never be offended by them, and the relationships are acceptable for all keys, whatever their names. Anybody who wishes to surprise his listeners in a rude and disagreeable manner is free to choose other keys; but since they may be pleasing only to him, he should at least proceed with great circumspection.²³

²³ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen, mit verschiedenen, zur Beförderung des guten Geschmacks in der praktischen Musik dienlichen Anmerkungen begleitet, und mit Exempeln erläutert*, Nebst XXIV, Kupfertafeln, Berlin, 1752. Translation: Edward R. Reilly, Faber and Faber, (2001): p. 313.

Allegro. Concerto Terzo.

Concerto Terzo, Movement One, the part book of flute (photo by Katarzyna Krużel)²⁴.

²⁴ Irena Bieńkowska, *Sei concerti a Flauto Traversiere Obligato*, Warszawa 2019: p. 27.

To deepen the understanding of the character of the concertos and simultaneously broaden the perception of the repertoire, I briefly analyse one of the pieces.

Concerto Terzo is one of the two most extensive compositions in the collection. Composed with considerable freedom and skill, it stands out for its graceful melodies. Bieńkowska attributed this work to Johann Joachim Quantz - Concerto in E Minor, QV 4:3, the original of which is found in the Berlin collections²⁵. Compared to the Berlin version, the version from Tarnów lacks the basso ripieno book and figured bass notation. However, an additional viola part has been added. All three movements of this composition have a ritornello form. The first *Allegro* starts with a melodic motive in E minor in unison between the flute and the first violin, and it is imitated successively by the second violin in the second bar and viola and basso continuo in bar three, creating a canon. Shortly after, harmonically, one observes a chain of dominants and resolutions to different degrees of the E minor scale. Once the sequence completes the cycle of fourths, it repeats the harmonic movement of V – I (B major to E minor). Further in the composition, there are numerous sequences and imitations similar to the ones described above. The flute part includes extensive solo passages, primarily against a backdrop of violins, but also with the viola and basso continuo. The melodic development of the composition revolves around a dialogue involving the flute, frequently accompanied in unison by the first violin and the second violin. For most of the piece, the first violin assumes a supporting role to the flute, while the second violin remains independent in its imitations. The movement ends with a cadenza. The *Adagio*'s structure is highly homogenous, relying on the repetition of fragments from the initial musical idea. The movement begins in G major and shortly touches the keys of D major and A major. As in the first movement, the first violin provides unison support to the flute. Brief imitations of the initial melody define this movement. Additionally, the flute showcases exceedingly lengthy and ornamented solos. The third movement, *Allegro*, is characterised by rhythmic unisons and imitations in the bass. The second violin joins the unisons between the flute and the first violin. Following another flute solo, the piece ends with a ritornello featuring the whole orchestra in unison.

This concerto requires the participation of the viola, distinguishing it from other concertos by Quantz. Notable is the more independent role of the viola part, particularly in the first and third parts. This feature may suggest a local adaptation of the work, although it has yet to be conclusively confirmed. According to Bieńkowska, the time of its composition can

²⁵ Irena Bieńkowska, *Sei concerti a Flauto Traversiere Obligato*, Warszawa 2019: p. 17: (“D-B KH M. 3556 (a copy in Potsdam) and D-B KH M. 3557 (a copy in Schloss Charlottenburg)”).

be estimated to be between 1728 and 1741, although the exact date remains uncertain. The first parts of a homophonic texture dominate Concerto Secondo and Concerto Terzo and could have been composed in the early 1740s or later. It is also worth mentioning Quantz's earlier connections with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where he served as a flautist in the court orchestra of Augustus II between 1718 and 1724. The inclusion of music composed by highly skilled composers in the repertoire of musicians from Podhorce, and perhaps even by the hetman himself, serves as further evidence of the exceptional standards of musical performance within that cultural hub.

Conclusion

In closing remarks, this study has delved into the musical activities rooted in Podhorce Castle, explicitly emphasising the baroque flute, uncovering a lesser-explored facet of Polish musical history. The abundant musical legacy of Podhorce presents researchers with a formidable challenge due to the scarcity of primary sources. Nevertheless, its remarkable artistic merit warrants significant scholarly interest.

The systematic analysis of the patronage provided by Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski and Waclaw Piotr Rzewuski, alongside the scrutiny of the flute collection, music inventories, and repertoire, collectively sought to offer an encompassing depiction of the musical landscape in Podhorce and its place within the broader context of European music history.

Both father and son, Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski and Waclaw Rzewuski, nurtured the blossoming of artistry at their court. It is documented that Stanisław had established an exceptional ensemble of Italian vocalists and instrumentalists, while Waclaw, in addition to maintaining a personal opera theatre, took delight in performing flute concertos during his leisure hours. Their legacy of father-son patronage underscores the profound impact on the development of music within their courtly realm. As for the flute inventories, they stand as the sole documented evidence of the prevalence of flute-related interests in southeastern Poland during the 18th century. In the materials from the Municipal Library in Tarnów, in addition to renowned European compositions, there are pieces of unknown authorship, potentially originating from local talents yet boasting comparable artistic significance. These revelations serve as compelling evidence of the thriving musical culture within the Podhorce environment.

Despite the limited availability of historical records, diligent efforts by Polish musicologists have greatly enhanced our understanding of the musical scene within the castle. The ongoing discovery of archival documents, artefacts, or scholarly investigations may yield further clarification on the musical heritage of Podhorce. I hope to contribute to the continuing efforts to unravel the intricacies of Poland's musical heritage by bringing these materials to a unified context.

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