
The Music Ensemble of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760)

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The Radziwiłłs were one of the most prominent Polish aristocratic families of Lithuanian extraction. The family managed to maintain their high profile for over five hundred years, continuously acquiring great wealth and influence until the beginning of World War II. The Radziwiłłs produced many outstanding politicians, military commanders, clergymen, cultural benefactors and entrepreneurs who left their mark on Polish and Lithuanian history and culture. Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760) was Cup-Bearer of Lithuania from 1739, Grand Standard-Bearer of Lithuania from 1750 and *Starost* of Przemyśl and Krzyczew. He married three times. His wives were Teresa Sapieha (whom he married on 9 September 1740), Magdalena Czap-ska (October 1745) and Aniela Międzyńska (1 January 1755).

In 1731, Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł became the owner of the town of Słuck along with some extensive estates in the area, located in today's Belarus. In 1746, he inherited from his mother the castle and lands in Biała (now Biała Podlaska). He also owned several palaces and town-houses in cities such as Danzig, Grodno and Warsaw, as well as a sizeable estate at Vöslau (now Bad Vöslau) near Vienna. The musical activity that flourished in the main residences of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in Słuck and Biała has been seriously under-researched. With this publication I aim to fill the gap by presenting my most recent research,¹ conducted in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych

hereafter abbreviated to AGAD), the State Historical Archives in Minsk (Belarus) and Vilnius (Lithuania).

The music ensembles at the residences of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in Słuck and Biała served both functional and artistic purposes. Ensembles serving a functional purpose included a group of hunting horns used for hunting game, a band of trumpeters that accompanied the Radziwiłł troops during military deployments and march-pasts, and a band of drummers and pipers who performed at lesser occasions. Also included in this category are a janissary music ensemble which often accompanied the Prince's retinue on his travels, and a garrison music band, active from 1740 at the latest. According to the information currently available, the artistic ensembles included the Prince's private musicians, which I refer to in this article as the chamber ensemble (active 1738–1760), his court ensemble (1733–1760), an Italian ensemble (1749–1760), a ballet troupe (1750–1760) and two theatrical troupes, one German and one French (1754–1760).

In artistic terms, the chamber ensemble of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (active from 1738 at the latest) is probably the most interesting to have performed in the Prince's residences in Słuck and Biała (a total of sixty identified musicians are known to have been employed here). A direct reference to a chamber ensemble at the court of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in Słuck does not appear until 1758, when Tobias Hartwig, a violinist and long-time Kapellmeister of the Prince's court ensemble, signed a letter as *Camer Capellmaister* (sic!).² The term 'chamber ensemble', as applied to music groups performing at the residences of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in Słuck and Biała, should be primarily treated as a denotation for a group of the Prince's personal musicians. Those were the musicians the Prince always 'used to have by [his] side', he wrote in 1749.³ At that time, the ensemble comprised four musicians. As time passed, the ensemble was probably expanded, and Tobias Hartwig was hired to head it. The line-up of the chamber ensemble is not identified anywhere except for one harpist who receives a mention in Prince Radziwiłł's diaries. It seems that the Prince's personal musicians consisted primarily of instrumentalists who played only a minor part in the Prince's grand court orchestra. They included harpists, lutenists,



Figure 4.1 Jakub Wessel, Portrait of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł, around 1746, oil on canvas, 215x141 cm, inventory No. MP 2436, holdings of the National Museum in Warsaw

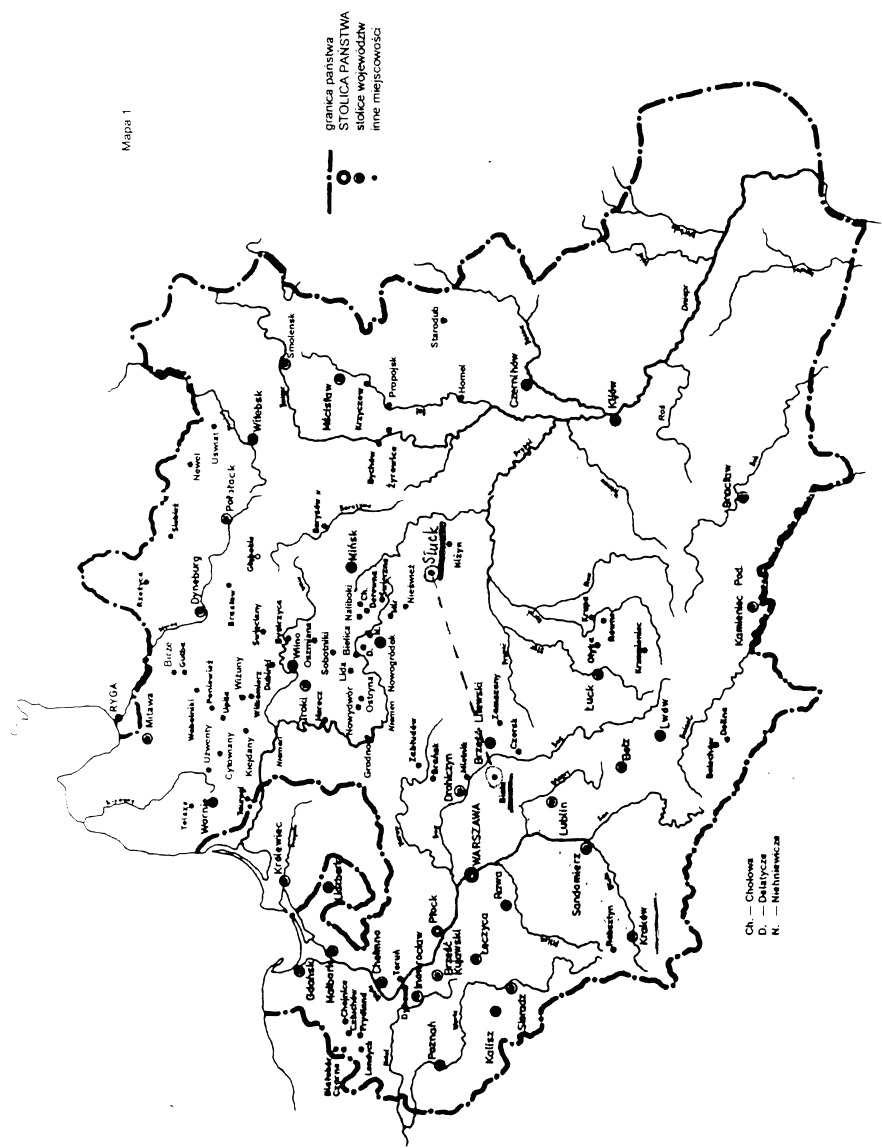


Figure 4.2 Map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century indicating the residences of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in Stuck and Biała

and possibly a pantaleonist hired in 1758. I would also include singers and harpsichordists in this number, as they were not only in use in the court orchestra but also as personal musicians to play keyboard music, or to provide accompaniment to singers. At a later time, probably in the 1750s, to coincide with a recorded rise in the number of artists currently retained by Radziwiłł, the ensemble might have included other instrumentalists as well, most probably members of the string quartet or of the wind band, such as oboists, French horn players, or trombonists. This development would to an extent have justified the hiring of a head for the ensemble, a position held in 1754–1760 by the above-mentioned violinist Tobias Hartwig.

The harpists

The musicians selected for Radziwiłł's orchestra were handpicked very carefully.⁴ The selection was usually performed by Court Equerry Karol Wendorf or by the Prince himself, an avid follower of European fashions and artistic trends. The permanent presence of harpists in the Prince's residences is one of the signs of his efforts to remain *au courant* with musical fashions, as the instrument was enjoying an increasing popularity in the 18th century.⁵ Radziwiłł hired a harpist in Warsaw as early as 1738, one Johann Cristoph Hochfracker for three (or perhaps even six) years.⁶

So far, at least five harpists have been identified by name among the performers active at Radziwiłł's court in the period 1738–1760. In 1748, Prince Radziwiłł brought a harpist from the imperial court in Vienna,⁷ whom he hired along with his instrument, 'a harp with pedals'.⁸ The harp was probably the improved model developed in the first quarter of the 18th century by Jacob Hochbrucker (born in 1673 in Mindelheim, died on 28 May 1763 in Donauwörth), with pedals that made it possible to simultaneously change the pitch of groups of strings.⁹ The instrument, now referred to as a single-action pedal harp to distinguish it from the modern double-action mechanism, was popularized in Europe by the concerts given in Paris by J. Hochbrucker's son, Simon (born in 1699 at Donauwörth, died in 1750).

The harpist Radziwiłł imported from Vienna was in all likelihood Gietz, who came to Lithuania late in the autumn of 1748. The following year, Gietz died in Lithuania, a sudden death that surprised and saddened the usually cold-hearted Radziwiłł. The Prince noted in his diary: 'All of a sudden he departed from this world. An excellent harpist, unrivalled both now and in times future by any other in the foreign states.'¹⁰ The harpist's skill was highly valued at court: nearly nine years after his death, a new harpist hired in Warsaw was still being compared (unfavourably) to Gietz.¹¹ Gietz was survived by his wife and a daughter, who both lived on Radziwiłł's estate, and several years later the Prince made a match between the daughter and one of his singers, a bass named Tadeus Butz (probably a son of a church music composer at the electoral court in Dresden).¹² In the period 1753–1755, a woman named Samma, probably a singer, is known to have also played the harp in Słuck. In October 1756, she diligently performed a concerto for harp and orchestra, most likely authored by Johannes Baptist Hochbrucker (born at Donauwörth in 1732, died at Saint-Servan in 1812).¹³ Johannes Baptist Hochbrucker was one of the Prince's harpists between 1753 and 1758. A son of Jacob Hochbrucker, the instrument maker, and a younger brother of the harpist Simon Hochbrucker, Johannes Baptist Hochbrucker would prove to be the most famous member of this family. He arrived at the court of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł from Bavaria at the age of twenty-one. During his five-year period of employment by Radziwiłł his annual compensation was 190 ducats,¹⁴ which was paid only after a three-year delay, as attested in a surviving record. Once his stay at the Radziwiłł's court was over, J. B. Hochbrucker left in 1758 for Vienna and later went to Paris, where he became one of the most famous harp teachers, performers and composers on the Parisian scene. Not long after, his wife, the theatre actress Maria Anna Hochbrucker, also left the Radziwiłł's court with her children and went to Vienna (late April to early May 1759) in compliance with a long-standing request from her father.¹⁵

Apparently, Johannes Baptist Hochbrucker's period in the service of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł was not a good character-building experience. We know that Hochbrucker would gain notoriety in Paris and London for his bad

reputation and dissolute ways (which are referred to in a letter written by Leopold Mozart in 1778)¹⁶ but it seems that his moral compass had been broken before. In Słuck, Johannes Baptist Hochbrucker had been reprimanded for drunkenness and his abusive behaviour towards his wife. The composer emerged in Paris around 1760, at which time his pieces were performed at the Concert Spirituel.¹⁷ Hochbrucker performed at the court of Cardinal Louis René Édouard de Rohan and then for Queen Marie Antoinette of France, the Archduchess of Austria. In 1792, Hochbrucker left for London. His works published in Paris and London included harp sonatas, duets for two harps, divertissements, and a harp accompaniment to *ariettes*.¹⁸

With Hochbrucker gone from Słuck, Radziwiłł tried to hire a new harpist in Warsaw.¹⁹ By that time, however, the news of the appalling treatment that musicians tended to receive in Radziwiłł's residences had reached not only Warsaw²⁰ but also Vienna, where the Prince's former musicians, including J. B. Hochbrucker, brought a suit to court. The mistreatment may have been the reason why one Nawert (Nauert), an oboist and harpist, ran away from Warsaw when he was supposed to come to Słuck with Karol Wendorf, Radziwiłł's Court Equerry.²¹

The lutenists

Among the chamber ensemble musicians we should also mention lutenists. They were less numerous than the harpists, probably reflecting the lute's dwindling popularity in 18th-century European music.²² Today, we know of only two lutenists performing at Radziwiłł's residence: the first was an unidentified musician imported from a Viennese ensemble in 1748,²³ the other was Joseph Kohaut, who came to Radziwiłł's court early in 1756.²⁴ Joseph Kohaut, who was probably the same person as Wenzel Joseph Tomas Kohaut (born in Saaz-Žatec on 4 May 1738, died in Paris before 16 July 1777), was a Czech lutenist and composer, son of organist Franz Andreas Kohaut. From February 1756 to May 1759, Joseph Kohaut was a lutenist and composer at the court of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. He came to Lithuania at

Table 4.1 Harpists at the Radziwiłł court, 1738–1760

No.	Where the musician came from	Hiring date	Last and first names	Departure from Radziwiłł's residence	Subsequent Destination	Comments
1.	Warsaw	Oct 1738	Hochfracker, Johann Christoph	1741 (1744?)	?	
2.	Vienna, imperial ensemble	Sept 1748	Gietz [Getz]	Died 11 Aug 1749	-	It is not certain if the anonymous harpist arriving from Vienna with a 'harp with pedals' (cf. endnote 7) was actually Gietz; similarly, it is not clear whether the harpist who died in 1749 was Gietz
3.	?	?-1753	Samma	beginning of 1757?	?	A female singer playing the harp: solo concerto with orchestra
4.	Vienna	1753, IX	Hochbrucker, Johannes Baptist	1758, IX	Vienna February 1759	
5.	Warsaw	1758, ran away before going to Lithuania	Nawert (Nauert)	-	-	

the tender age of 18, probably from Vienna, where his brother was living.²⁵ The lutenist arrived at the Prince's court on 1 February 1756, shortly before Prince Radziwiłł set off on a journey to his Vöslau residence near Vienna, where he would spend about two months (February-March 1756). Elisabeth Cook has hypothesized²⁶ that Joseph Kohaut first joined the Austrian army as a trumpet player, then deserted and left for France, but I suspect this surmise is incorrect. The 'Austrian army' might conceivably mean one of Prince Radziwiłł's regiments but there is no evidence of Kohaut being employed by the Prince as a trumpet player. In Słuck, he is already recorded as a lutenist and composer. His pieces were performed both by the Prince's personal musicians and by the Radziwiłł's court ensemble conducted by Franciszek Wittman, who was and implausibly criticized by Kohaut as a drunkard neglectful of his duties, a malicious and dishonest person, and above all a mediocre musician with no talent for composition. Kohaut composed at least several pieces for Słuck: minuets (collections from the beginning of 1757²⁷), symphonies (number unknown), a solo concerto for harp (possibly more than one), solo concertos for lute (at least two), and at least three solo arias for the female voice.²⁸ Moreover, he agreed to compose a symphony or a concerto for a solo instrument each month²⁹ (see Table 4.2). I believe that a collection of six symphonies by Joseph Kohaut published in Paris in the years 1760-1766 may have included pieces previously composed for Prince Radziwiłł. The collection has not survived and we only know it from publishers' catalogues.³⁰ While working in Lithuania, Kohaut described his own composing style as 'German'. He did not start composing in the Italian style until he travelled to Italy, whence he sent some of his new pieces to Radziwiłł (disappointingly, we do not know what kind of pieces these were) so the Prince could form an opinion on the differences between the German and the Italian styles. The pieces were dispatched from Genoa in January 1760 and it is not clear whether they had reached Słuck before Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's sudden death in May 1760.

Kohaut took part in the theatre performances staged at Radziwiłł's court, or at least - according to the sources - he danced some minuets (possibly to his own music).³¹ He also had a hand in the musical education of Morawski

and Orzelski, two young noblemen attending the Prince's court – a routine task given that some teaching responsibilities were included in most musicians' terms of employment at the court of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. Prince Radziwiłł repeatedly delayed payments of Kohaut's salary. He signed a standard three-year contract with the composer for the period between February 1756 and February 1759. Forced by the Prince to sign an extension contract in February 1759, Kohaut is said to have appealed in Vienna to Count Wenceslaus Anthony von Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711–1794), a minister at the court of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, so that 'he might be freed from the contract as he did not want to serve any more.'³² A Belarussian researcher, Olga Dadiomova,³³ is probably mistaken in suggesting that in 1759 Kohaut was also staying at the court of Michał Kazimierz 'Rybeńko' Radziwiłł in Nieśwież³⁴ as I have found no archival evidence to confirm her hypothesis. In early spring (March, April) 1759, Joseph Kohaut left Poland for Vienna. In May, the composer left Vienna for Paris, and from July 1759 until 5 January 1760 (or possibly longer) Kohaut travelled in northern Italy, journeying for part of that time together with a certain Nocl, an Englishman and a pantaleonist of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's in 1758–1759. The two men started their journey in the town of Viens in France, then went to Venice, Padua, Vicenza near Venice, Verona, Mantua, Milan, Turin, Alessandria and Genoa. From there Kohaut most probably set off for Naples (possibly by sea). In Milan, the two travellers met with Giuseppe Torti, a former court composer of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł in the period 1756–1759, and visited his family.³⁵ They toured Italy with concerts, performing in Venice and Milan, where they received high praise, and Kohaut is said to have received many recommendations to the high and mighty families of the day. In Turin, they gave concerts before the royal family, and in December 1759 they found over seven weeks' employment in the *Teatro del Falcone*, a public theatre opera house and one of the oldest opera stages in the city of Genoa, operating since 1640.³⁶ During their journey, the musicians fell out. In an extant letter, Kohaut claims that Nocl was jealous of the favour Kohaut found among wealthy patrons, which triggered tensions between the two.³⁷ Nocl remained in Livorno, and Kohaut went on to Naples, where he tried once again to secure the protec-

tion of Count Kaunitz, who supposedly recommended him to the Viennese ensemble of Empress Maria Theresa (Kaunitz's superior). In Naples, Joseph Kohaut improved his compositional skills in the Italian style, notably in the Neapolitan variety, before returning to Genoa. The journey complete, Kohaut did not find employment in the imperial Viennese court orchestra as he had hoped. Instead, he was acquired as an *ordinaire de la musique* in the court ensemble of Prince Conti in Paris³⁸ – it is difficult to establish whether this was the ensemble of Louis-François I de Bourbon Conti (1717–1776) or of his son Louis-François Joseph de Bourbon-Conti (1734–1814). Kohaut's talent stood out against the other Czech composers in Paris, and he was even compared to Josef Mysliveček (1737–1781). From 1760 he published his works in Paris. He wrote instrumental, chamber, vocal and stage music including five theatrical pieces and six symphonies as well as sonatas and chamber pieces. His works were performed at the Concert Spirituel in Paris, where Kohaut's motets and lute pieces were played (often as arrangements of well known *airs*), boosting the instrument's popularity. Some collections of Kohaut's sonatas and a trio have survived but his six symphonies are only known to us from publishing catalogues. Kohaut composed his *opéras comiques* at the same time as Egidio Romualdo Duni (1709–1775) and Pierre Alexandre Monsigny (1729–1817). Joseph Kohaut's most popular piece for the stage was *Le serrurier* (1764), which was performed on a regular basis for five years and translated into Swedish, Danish and German. However, Kohaut's later works: *Le bergère des Alpes* (1766) and *Sophie* (1768) were less successful, disappearing from opera repertoires after a month. Influenced by English literature, Kohaut composed a *drame bourgeois* that became part of *opéra comique*, a new style practiced in the 1760s.

The keyboard players

The body of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's personal musicians also included harpsichordists. Some of them played not only the harpsichord but also the regal or the fashionable *forte e piano*, a novelty at the time. In 1748,

Table 4.2 List of Joseph Kohaut's works

No.	Siuck 1756–1759 ³⁹ (Probably lost)	Paris 1760–1770 ⁴⁰
1.	Collection of minuets, February 1757	
2.	Solo concerto for harp (at least one)	
3.	Solo concertos for lute (at least two)	
4.	Solo arias for a female singer (at least three)	
5.	Symphonies (unknown number)	
6.		six symphonies published in Paris 1760–66, lost
7.		6 sonatas for harpsichord, cello, and violin, Paris around 1763
8.		<i>Salve Regina</i> , choir, obligatory vc. performed at the Concert Spirituel, 31 March 1763, F-Pc
9.		<i>Dominus regnavit</i> , performed at the Concert Spirituel, 30 June 1764, lost
10.		<i>Le serrurier</i> (opéra comique, 1) libretto A.F. Quétant, staged in Paris by Comédie-Italienne (later Opéra Comique) [PCI] 20 December 1764, published in Paris around 1765
11.		<i>Cantate Domino</i> , performed at the Concert Spirituel, 2 February 1765, lost
12.		<i>Le tonnelier</i> (opéra comique, 1) libretto N.-M. Audinot and A.F. Quétant, after La Fontaine <i>Le cuvier</i> , staged in PCI, 16 March 1765, published in Paris around 1767
13.		<i>Le bergère des Alpes</i> (pastorale mêlée de chant, 3), libretto J.F. Marmontel, staged at PCI, 19 February 1766, published in Paris around 1766
14.		8 trios for harpsichord, harp/lute, cello, and violin, Paris 1767
15.		Ariettes: 1 vocal with orchestral accompaniment, Paris 1767, Nos. 1–2, 4, 7–8, 10
16.		<i>Sophie, ou Le mariage caché</i> (comédie, 3), libretto Mme Riccoboni according to D. Garrick and G. Colman <i>The Clandestine Marriage</i> , staged at PCI, 4 June 1768, published in Paris around 1768
17.		<i>Le closière, ou Le vin nouveau</i> (opéra comique mêlée d'ariettes, 1) libretto A.F.J. Masson de Pezay, staged at Fontainebleau, 10 November 1770 (lost)

a *magister forte e piano* arrived from Vienna accompanying a group of the emperor's musicians.⁴¹ Prince Radziwiłł had made an earlier attempt in 1742 to employ a maker of the new instruments⁴² at his court but we do not know if that was successful. It is certain, however, that before the musician's

arrival from Vienna in 1748, efforts had been made to bring the instrument to Słuck. In August 1748, a *forte piano*⁴³ was ordered and partially paid for. The instrument was placed in the lower suite of rooms in the palace in Biała.⁴⁴ It is highly probable that the instrument was imported from Vienna. If so, the grand piano most likely had a Viennese- or German-type mechanism based on the hammer-keyboard design by Jean Marius (active 1777–1720) or by Christoph Gottlieb Schröter (1699–1782).⁴⁵ A mere four years later the grand piano needed to be repaired,⁴⁶ and in 1754⁴⁷ it was repaired again to restore its decayed bottom board. Besides the *forte e piano* and the regal, other keyboard instruments in the Prince's rooms included a harpsichord, referred to as a *klawicymbał* (Polish for the prevalent term *clavicembalo*) and also a spinet, a smaller variety of harpsichord originating in Italy. The spinet was a present for the Prince from his sister-in-law,⁴⁸ Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł née Wiśniowiecki, given in 1747 so that he could 'undoubtedly profit from music'.⁴⁹ We do not know, however, whether the instrument was intended for the Prince's personal use or, as is much more likely, was used by his harpsichordists.

In 1738–1760, at least five harpsichordists had connections with Radziwiłł's court. One of them, Johann Otto, was connected with the court in the period 1747–1759. In 1755, the Prince made him Deputy Court Equerry. In late 1753, another harpsichordist came to Słuck from Vienna,⁵⁰ and from October 1755 to October 1759, one Wilke played the harpsichord and the regal in Słuck and Biała. None of those harpsichordists have gone down in the history of the musical life of the Radziwiłł's residences in any notable way. The most interesting figure was a man referred to in court records as Mejer, Meyer, Meier or Mëyer – a harpsichordist and composer connected with the court ensemble, active at the Prince's court from October 1750 to July 1756. Mejer was a man of questionable morals but the Prince and Wendorf agreed that he was an excellent organist, unrivalled in his field.⁵¹

At some point in February or March 1758 Radziwiłł imported an Englishman named Noel from Vienna (March 1758–April 1759).⁵² Noel played the pantaleon, the psaltery and the organ (it should be noted that 18th-century pantaleons were trapezoid plucked instruments similar to the dulcimer, not

to be confused with the giraffe piano popular in the first half of the 19th century and known by the same name).⁵³

Singers

Besides the instrumentalists mentioned above, the Prince's personal musicians also included singers who performed opera and sacred music as well as individual songs and arias in the Prince's drawing rooms. The first recorded arrival of singers at court was in 1733. These two singers were the Prince's subjects and they could also play instruments of some kind, probably the oboe and the violin.⁵⁴ The two musicians would later form the core of the music ensemble of the young Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. In 1744 the Prince recorded his satisfaction with the singers,⁵⁵ who, as he put it, 'could sing *omni arte*'. In 1747, the Prince made an attempt to import to Słuck a bassist named Rumfel⁵⁶ from St. John College in Vilnius – it is not known whether or not the attempt was successful. In late 1748, three musicians from Vienna found employment in Słuck, including a descant, a bass 'whose singing shattered windowpanes' and an Italian tenor.⁵⁷ The three probably remained at the court for a period of three years under standard contracts, and we know that the Prince was very pleased with their skills. An entry in his diary dating back to November 1748 says: 'They made an excellent display of their talent, each in his particular art. They made me highly content since I can now proudly say that I have no equal among the Polish lords when it comes to excellent music.'⁵⁸ When going to Warsaw a month later, Radziwiłł took nine musicians with him. As a guest of Heinrich von Brühl, Prime Minister and favourite of King August III, the Prince was invited to select a few of his musicians to put on a display of their skills. Radziwiłł chose the harpist Gietz and the Italian tenor. The mood of the relevant entry in the Prince's diary is similarly complacent: 'Without meaning to appear conceited I must say that they performed better than the royal musicians, to the applause and admiration of all, who wondered that I should have such excellent virtuosos, such as they have never heard before. Nor will they ever

Table 4.3 Keyboard players at the Radziwiłł court, 1748–1760

No.	Where the musician came from	Hiring date	Last and first names	Departure from Radziwiłł's residence	Subsequent Destination	Comments
1.	Vienna, imperial ensemble	September 1748	Magister <i>forte</i> e <i>piano</i>	?		
2.	Rīga?	1746?, 1747	Johann Otto	1758	Vienna	The court's deputy equerry from 1755
3.	?	Oct-Nov 1750	Mejer (Meyer, Meier, Mëyer)	June-July 1756	Warsaw	Excellent organist, clavicembalist, composer
4.	Vienna	1753	Clavicembalist	?		
5.	?	Oct 1753	Wilke	Oct 1759	?	Played the harpsichord and the regal

hear them again, for I fear that they might try and talk them into leaving my employ.⁵⁹

The first attempts made by Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł to hire a female singer seem to have been abortive. In 1750, he attempted to secure some castratos from Franciszek Salezy Potocki (*Voivode* of Kiev and the wealthiest magnate of his time who owned enormous tracts of land in the Ukraine and was popularly dubbed the 'Little King of Russia'), and to get a vocalist who had been worked in Białystok in the employ of Count Jan Klemens Branicki.⁶⁰ It is not known whether or not those artists were successfully hired. In 1751, he made an attempt in Vienna to engage a female singer, Benedetti, but she refused to sign a contract.⁶¹ Instead, the diligent Wendorf brought in a cantata singer 'with an excellent voice, refined manners and a fine command of the Italian language.'⁶² The artist stayed in Lithuania for a year. At the beginning of 1752, an unidentified German or Austrian *prima donna* was hired for a year.⁶³ At the same time, Hieronim Florian employed a new group of male singers: a descant singer called Laurentius Petrus Pomo de Weyerthal (1752–1759),⁶⁴ an unidentified alto and Tadeus Butz (1752–April 1759),⁶⁵ probably a bass and the man whom the Prince would later match with the daughter of the deceased harpist Gietz. In 1753, a new Italian female singer was recruited (1753–?), who was perhaps the same person as the harpist called Samma (1753–January 1757).⁶⁶ A year later, another two female singers, also Italians, were hired (1754–1756[57]) – Maria Massucci and Elisabetta Zambra.⁶⁷ From 1756 onwards, Teresa Torti, wife of composer Giuseppe Torti,⁶⁸ performed at the court as a vocalist (1756–1759). By 1760, when Radziwiłł's bad reputation had become widespread in Vienna, what seems like an abortive attempt to hire someone named Beneventi took place.⁶⁹ Wendorf tried to import a female singer from Vienna; she was willing to come to Poland along with her three daughters but it seems that the ladies did not make it to Lithuania on time in accordance with the terms of their verbal employment contract made in February 1760 in Vienna,⁷⁰ and by May the Prince was dead.

Two of the singers deserve special attention. One was Tadeus Butz, a future royal bas of August III⁷¹ and a descant singer, the other was Laurentius

Pomo, who would animate numerous musical and theatrical events at Radziwiłł's residences.

The repertoire

The ensemble's repertoire is the most difficult aspect to identify and study. Generally speaking, the repertoire primarily included works composed specifically for and by Radziwiłł's musicians. Also performed were imported pieces (mainly from Vienna⁷² but also from other places such as Warsaw,⁷³ Dresden,⁷⁴ Wołczyn,⁷⁵ and Żółkiew),⁷⁶ and finally there were pieces brought in from various places in Europe⁷⁷ by musicians employed at the court.

The more notable of Radziwiłł's composers included primarily Mejer, Joseph Kohaut, Giuseppe Torti and Johann Baptist Hochbrucker. We have so far discovered no scores or other evidence of works actually performed at the court of Radziwiłł. Based on the extant letters written by the local musicians we may assume that dances were played: mostly minuets (composed by J. Kohaut), but also contra-dances⁷⁸ and what one letter describes cryptically as 'Polish dances starting with the letter C' (presumably meaning 'cracoviennes' or *krakowiaks*).⁷⁹ Instrumental music was also played, including sonatas for solo instruments such as the harp (by J. B. Hochbrucker), the lute (by J. Kohaut), and for the harpsichord, the latter composed by Mejer or by Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–1777),⁸⁰ a court composer and harpsichord teacher to the imperial family in Vienna, whose compositions included sonatas with fairly lively minuets in the final movement. Other pieces performed at court might have also included duets (such as duets for two harps by J. B. Hochbrucker) or trios (in 1767, J. Kohaut published eight trios for harpsichord, harp/lute, cello, and violin in Paris; he may have composed trios for the Radziwiłł's ensemble); divertissements for various instruments, e.g. harp divertissements by J. B. Hochbrucker or harpsichord divertissements by Wagenseil, who published his divertimenti in 1753 and 1761, but also instrumental songs (French *aries* – such instrumental pieces are recorded in the list of works of Joseph Kohaut) as well as songs or

Table 4.4 Singers at the Radziwiłł court, 1733–1760

No.	Where the musician came from	Years of activity	Men	Women	Subsequent destination
1.	?	1733	Two singers also playing the violin and the oboe		?
2.	?	1744	Singers capable of performing <i>omni arte</i>		?
3.	Vilnius	1747, May	Rumfel (a bass)		-
4.	Vienna	Sept 1748-? Sept 1751.	Descant		Vienna?
5.	Vienna	Sept 1748-? Sept 1751	Italian tenor		Vienna?
6.	Vienna	Sept 1748-? Sept 1751	the bass whose singing shattered windowpanes		Vienna?
7.	Białystok, Włoczyń	1750	Potocki's castratos	A singer from J. K. Branicki	-
8.	Vienna	1751		Benedetti	-
9.	Vienna	Jan-Feb 1751-Feb 1752?		An Austrian singer very good at Italian	
10.	Vienna	Feb 1752-Feb 1753		German singer	?
11.	Vienna	1752-1759	Descant L.P.Pomo de Weyerthal		Vienna
12.	Vienna	1752-?	Alto		?
13.	Vienna	1752?-1755-1759	Bass - Tadeus Butz		Warsaw
14.	Vienna	1753-1757, Jan		Italian singer (Samma)	Ruthenia
15.	Vienna	1754-1756 (57)		Maria Massucci Elisabetta Zambra	?
16.	Vienna	1756-1759		Teresa Torti	Milan
17.	Vienna	1760, Feb.		Beneventi	-
18.	Vienna	1760, Feb.		the singer with three daughters	-

arias performed by singers accompanied by harpists (harp accompaniments for *ariettes* composed by J. B. Hochbrucker), lutenists or harpsichordists (Giuseppe Torti).

Conclusion

Regardless of their nationality, most musicians were brought to Lithuania from Vienna, where they usually returned when their contracts expired. This geographical pattern emerging from the Prince's hiring decisions can be explained by his close ties with the area. Since Radziwiłł intended to move permanently to his residence at Vöslau near Vienna, his trusted administrators travelled frequently between Słuck and Vöslau – an excellent opportunity to poach musicians from Vienna's overcrowded music market. The Prince was interested in securing high quality performers, and was greatly satisfied with his hires. To an extent, research into the subsequent careers of some of his musicians would seem to corroborate his judgment – it is enough to mention such figures as Johann Baptist Hochbrucker, Joseph Kohaut or Tadeus Butz, all of whom mastered their skills in Radziwiłł's employ as emerging talents. This suggests that Radziwiłł's residences were noteworthy centres of musical life in the 18th-century Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Translated by Aneta Dylewska

Notes

- 1 Cf. Irena Bieńkowska, 'Zespoły muzyczno-teatralne Białej i Słucka w korespondencji Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła (1715-1760),' (Music and Theatre Ensembles in Biała and Słuck in the Correspondence of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł) *Barok. Historia - Literatura - Sztuka* 12 (2005/1), pp. 61-75; also by the same author, 'Organizacja życia teatralno-muzycznego w Słucku w latach 1752-1760,' (The Structures of Theatrical and Musical Activity in Słuck, 1752-1760) *Przegląd muzykologiczny* 6 (2006), pp. 65-85; by the same author, 'Słuck: teatr i muzyka w rezydencji Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła,' (Słuck: Theatre and Music in the Residence of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł) in: *Dwór polski, zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe* (Polish Manor House: a Historical and Cultural Phenomenon), (Kielce: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 2006), pp. 281-95.
- 2 Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (hereafter abbreviated to AGAD),

- Radziwiłł's Archives (hereafter abbreviated to AR) V, 5046 (letter of Tobiasz Hartwig to Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł dated 4 February 1758).
- 3 'Których zawsze zwykł mieć przy sobie' AGAD, AR II-81, fol. 80r-v (the Prince's diary, note dated 11 August 1749).
 - 4 AGAD, AR IV, file 14, cover 158, fol. 31r (letter of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł to Karol Wendorf, date and place not stated).
 - 5 Ludwig Wolf, 'Johann Baptist Hochbrucker (1732-1812) und die Harfenmode in Paris,' *Musik in Bayern* 31 (1985/2), pp. 95-114.
 - 6 AGAD, AR IV, file 6, no 2, fol. 17r; cf. also: AGAD, AR IV, file 6, no 2, fol. 17v (contract of J. C. Hochfracker).
 - 7 AGAD, AR IV, file 7, No. 12, fol. 262v-263r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł, 25 September 1748, written in Biała).
 - 8 Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu (Polish Library in Paris), file 25, *Diariusz zacząty roku pańskiego 1748* (Diary beginning AD 1748), entry for 26 September 1748; see also: *Hieronima Florianiana Radziwiłła Diariusze i pisma różne* (The Diaries and Other Works of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł), ed. Maria Brzezina (Warsaw: Energeia, 1998), pp. 62-90.
 - 9 Cf. Hans J. Zingel and Ludwig Wolf, *Hochbrucker, Johann Baptist* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 11, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), p. 566.
 - 10 'Nagle zszedł z tego świata. Przedni Arfista któremu równego całe Państwo cudzoziemskie nie mieli ni tesz będą;' AGAD, AR II-81, fol. 80r-v (Diary of H. Fl. Radziwiłł, entry dated 11 August 1749).
 - 11 AGAD, AR V, 17123/VI, fol. 116-119r (letter of Karol Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 13 September 1758, Warsaw).
 - 12 AGAD, AR IV, file 14, cover 158, fol. 79r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to K. Wendorf, date and place not stated).
 - 13 Irena Bieńkowska, 'Relacja patron - artysta. Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715-1760) i jego muzycy,' (The Relationship between the Patron and His Artists. Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715-1760) and His Musicians) *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 1 (2004), pp. 33-46; see also: Zingel, Wolf, *Hochbrucker*, p. 566.
 - 14 AGAD, AR XXI, file T12, H55 (employment contract of J. B. Hochbrucker).
 - 15 AGAD, AR V, 17123/VI, fol. 37-40r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 19 April 1759 [Stuck]).
 - 16 *ibid.*, see also: Zingel, Wolf, *Hochbrucker*, p. 566.
 - 17 *ibid.* (see note 4).
 - 18 Wolf, 'Johann Baptist Hochbrucker', pp. 95-114.
 - 19 AGAD, AR V, 17123/VI, fol. 29r-31r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 17 September 1758, Warsaw[?]).
 - 20 AGAD, AR V, 17123/VI, fol. 176-178r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 20 November 1758, Warsaw).
 - 21 *ibid.*

- 22 We know that the lute music of Silvius Leopold Weiss (born in Breslau on 12 October 1686, died in Dresden on 16 October 1750) and the excellent lute works by J. S. Bach enjoyed considerable popularity, as did the lutenists at the Dresden court of August II. However, lute music could not compete in terms of popularity with the harp or the fashionable new invention of the *forte e piano* at the time. I suppose that H. Fl. Radziwiłł tried to stay abreast with recent musical developments and preferred harpists to lutenists at his court.
- 23 AGAD, AR IV, file 7, no 12, fol. 262v–263r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł, 25 September 1748, Biała).
- 24 AGAD, AR V, file 85, no 3815 (letter of Königseck to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 1 February 1756, Słuck).
- 25 AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 4r–10r (letter of J. Kohaut to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 5 January 1760, Genoa).
- 26 Elizabeth Cook (text), Michel Noiray (worklist), *Kohaut, (Wenzel) Josef (Thomas)* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 13, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), pp. 739–40.
- 27 AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 1r and AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 14r (letters of J. Kohaut to H. Fl. Radziwiłł: the former is dated 9 February 1757 with place not stated and the latter is undated and the place is not stated).
- 28 AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 17r–20r (letter of J. Kohaut to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, date and place not stated).
- 29 *ibid.*
- 30 Zingel, Wolf, *Hochbrucker*, p. 566.
- 31 AGAD, AR V, file 85, no 3815 (letter of Königseck to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 1 February 1756, Słuck).
- 32 'Mógł być rapellowany, bo służyć dalej nie chce;' AGAD, AR V, 15984/IX, fol. 98r–109r (letter of Ludwik Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 27 February 1759, Vienna).
- 33 Olga Dadiomowa, *Muzykalnaja kultura gorodov Belorussii v XVIII veke* (The Musical Culture in Belorussian Towns in the 18th Century) (Minsk: Navuka i technika, 1992), pp. 190–7.
- 34 Michał Kazimierz dubbed 'Rybeńko' (1702–1762), the 9th Ordynat of Nieśwież, the 7th Ordynat of Ołyka, Pallatin of Vilnius. In his early adulthood he became the chief of the family and as such took great care in assisting his relatives in maintaining their public status. He was the elder brother of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł.
- 35 AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 4r–10r (letter of J. Kohaut to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 5 January 1760, Genoa); AGAD, AR XXI, T65, fol. 1–4 (the employment contract of T. and G. Torti).
- 36 Cf. Maria Rosa Moretti, *Genoa* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 9, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), pp. 655–7.
- 37 AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 4r–10r (letter of J. Kohaut to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 5 January 1760, Genoa).
- 38 Cook (text), *Kohaut*, p.739–40.

- 39 AGAD, AR V, 6987 (letters from J. Kohaut to H. Fl. Radziwiłł).
- 40 Noiray (worklist), *Kohaut*, p. 740 (see note 26).
- 41 AGAD, AR IV, file 7, no 12, fol. 262v–263r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł, 25 September 1748, Biała).
- 42 AGAD, AR IV, file 9, no 2, fol. 299r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to an unknown correspondent in Vienna [1742], place not stated).
- 43 AGAD, AR V, 17123/II, fol. 15r–16r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 28 August 1748, Biała).
- 44 AGAD, AR IV, file 13, cover 157, fol. 59r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to L. Szyling, date and place not stated).
- 45 Cf. Ryszard Wieczorek, *Marius, Jean* [entry], in: *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM, Część biograficzna*, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska (vol. 5, Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 2000), p. 95.
- 46 AGAD, AR V, 15984/III, fol. 85–88r (letter of L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 4 December 1752, Biała).
- 47 AGAD, AR V, 15984/V, fol. 49–51 r (letter of L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 1 April 1754, Biała).
- 48 AGAD, AR IV, book 20, fol. 249r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł, 18 January 1747, Jeremicze).
- 49 ‘Profitować nieomylnie’; *ibid.*
- 50 AGAD, AR V, 17123/IV, fol. 10r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 26 October 1753, Słuck).
- 51 AGAD, AR V, 11314, fol. 5r–7r (letter from J. M. Pantzner to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 3 October 1756, Biała); AGAD, AR V, 17572, fol. 4r–5r (letter from Fr. Wittmann to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 3 November 1756, Słuck); AGAD, AR V, 15984/IV, fol. 117–120r (letter from L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 2 November 1753, Biała).
- 52 The same person as the Nocl who travelled with Kohaut, see note 38.
- 53 Cf. *Pantaleon* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 19, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), p. 42. See also: Sarah E. Hanks, ‘Pantaleon’s Pantalon: An 18th-Century Musical Fashion,’ *The Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969/2), pp. 215–27. Pantaleon was invented by Pantaleon Hebenstreit, a valued member of the court ensemble in Dresden who lent his name to his invention. Reportedly, Hebenstreit was a virtuoso pantaleon player, and the Dresden court would send him to European courts to display his skills.
- 54 AGAD, AR IV (letter of Anna Radziwiłł née Sanguszko to Mogilnicki, 23 October 1733, Biała).
- 55 AGAD, AR IV, book 20, fol. 58r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to an unknown correspondent, 15 April 1744, Pokrzywna).
- 56 AGAD, AR IV, book 20, fol. 335r–336r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Mr. Rociszewski, Rector of St. John College in Vilnius [May 1747, Lipiczna?]).
- 57 ‘Od śpiewu którego szyby pękają;’ AGAD, AR IV, file 7, no 12, fol. 262v–263r (letter of

- H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł, probably written in Biała around 25 September 1748).
- 58 'Doskonale się popisali każdy w swej sztuce muzyk, z których srodzem kontent, mogąc się już teraz pochwalić, że równego w muzyce tak przedniej sobie nie mam pana, ile tu w Polsce całej.' Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu (Polish Library in Paris), *Diariusz zaczęty roku pańskiego 1748*, file 25, entry dated 16 September 1748.
- 59 'Nie chwałąc się nad spodziw lepiej popisali od królewskich, z aprobatą i podziwem wszystkich, że tak przednich mam wirtuozów, lubo jeszcze doskonalszych nie słyszeli i nie będą, bojąc się, by mi którego z nich nie odmówili.' *ibid.*, file 25, entry dated 25 December 1748.
- 60 AGAD, AR IV, file 7, no 14, fol. 338v (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Father Riaccour, 13 September 1750, place not stated).
- 61 AGAD, AR V, 17123/II, fol. 61r-65r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 1[?] or 4[?] January 1751, Vienna).
- 62 'We włoskim języku jako głosu i manier doskonałych.' *ibid.*
- 63 AGAD, AR V, 17123/II, fol. 117r-119r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 27 January 1752, place not stated).
- 64 AGAD, AR V, 17123/III, fol. 14r-15r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 29 June 1752, Słuck).
- 65 AGAD, AR V, 17123/II, fol. 151r-153r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 21 April 1752, Słuck).
- 66 AGAD, AR V, 17123/IV, fol. 10r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 26 October 1753, Słuck); for Samma, cf. Table 4.1.
- 67 AGAD, AR V, 15984/V, fol. 58r-61r (letter of L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 16 April 1754, Biała).
- 68 AGAD, AR V, 17810, fol. 86r (letter of Jan Wolski to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 13 May 1756, Biała).
- 69 AGAD, AR V, 17123/VIII, fol. 118-121r (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 4 February 1760, Vienna).
- 70 *ibid.*
- 71 Probably one and the same as Tobias Butz. Cf. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Repertuar muzyczny-teatralny na warszawskim dworze Augusta III (w świetle nowych badań),' (Musical and Theatre Repertoire at the Warsaw Court of August III (in the Light of New Research)) in: *Europejski repertuar muzyczny na ziemiach polskich* (European Musical Repertoire in Poland), ed. Elżbieta Wojnowska (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, Biblioteka Narodowa, 2003), pp. 209-25.
- 72 AGAD, AR V, 15984/VIII, fol. 65r-68r (letter of L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 5 December 1756, Słuck); see also: AGAD, AR V, 15984/IX, fol. 158-160 (letter of L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 26 September 1759, Vöslau).
- 73 AGAD, AR IV, file 8, no 23, fol. 209v (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to Kaszyc, Junior Royal Chamberlain (*Kamerjunker*), 30 January 1759, Biała).
- 74 AGAD, AR IV, file 13, cover 157, fol. 42r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to L. Szyling, date and place not stated).

- 75 AGAD, AR V, 17572, fol. 10r (letter of Fr. Wittmann to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 17 February 1758, Słuck).
- 76 AGAD, AR IV, file 13, cover 157, fol. 42r (letter of H. Fl. Radziwiłł to L. Szyling, date and place not stated).
- 77 AGAD, AR V, 6987, fol. 17r-20r (letter of J. Kohaut's to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, dated between 1756-59).
- 78 AGAD, AR V, 17123/V, fol. 136 (letter of K. Wendorf to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 2 October 1756, Słuck).
- 79 AGAD, AR V, 15984/III, fol. 85r-88r (letter of L. Szyling to H. Fl. Radziwiłł, 4 December 1752, Biała).
- 80 This is only a hypothesis of mine since hard evidence is missing, but most of Radziwiłł's musicians came from the Viennese court, which is also where most of the music was imported from, and where Wagenseil enjoyed popularity.