

Research into

the Resources

of Polish Courts.

*Notes on the Musicians of
Stanisław Ciołek Poniatowski
(1676–1762)*

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For years, Polish musicologists have looked closely at musical activity at the courts of Polish nobility. These efforts have resulted in numerous study papers (which are mostly fragmentary in nature) analysing musical ensembles active in the courts, theatrical centres, and the playing of music by the nobles themselves. The main problem faced by researchers is the fragmented state of collections, or simply their non-existence. The work becomes time-consuming and arduous, and it lies beyond the scope of a typical musicological research, as information sources are quite scattered, incomplete and typically not primary in nature.

Research to date into sources from 18th-century courts has not been carried out in a systematic fashion, and has only looked at individual representatives of major aristocratic families from the Republic of Poland, such as Jan Klemens Branicki (1730–1772), Michał Kazimierz Ogiński (1765–1800), Antoni Tyzenhauz (1765–1785), Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1733–1760) and Jakub Henryk Flemming (1714–1728)¹. The results of these studies are extremely valuable, but still insufficient for the creation of a fully satisfactory map of music-making in 18th-century Poland, and particularly for assessing the level and quality of musical patronage. Musicologists can get greater inspiration from the much more voluminous work of art historians, who have been able to reconstruct the history of art patronage at a much greater scope and for a larger number of artistic centres in the former Republic of Poland² (naturally taking into account

differences in the quantity and quality of stored music, architectural monuments and works of art).

A recent study by the present author of materials collected at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (hereinafter: AGAD) has yielded new findings about music at the court of Stanisław Poniatowski (1676–1762), the governor of the Mazovia Province, and bearer of the Ciołek family coat of arms. The Poniatowski Family Archive (hereinafter: ARP) section of AGAD was investigated with a view to a better understanding of the musical activity at the governor's court³.

Stanisław Poniatowski, who is considered to have brought about the Poniatowski family's rise in power, and who was the father of the future king of the Republic of Poland, came from a noble, but not particularly affluent family. Stanisław's father, Franciszek Poniatowski, significantly improved the family's social and economic status through his ambition and talent, as well as through his connections with the Lubomirski family, and

and valuable works report on the musical life in each centre: Zbigniew Chaniecki, 'Nieznane kapele polskie z XVII i XVIII wieku' ('Unknown Polish Music Bands from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'), *Muzyka* 1972/ 4, pp. 84-96; Jan Prosnak, 'Opera polska w teatrach magnackich XVIII wieku' ('The Polish Opera in Noblemen's Theatres in the Eighteenth Century'), *Muzyka* 1965/ 1, pp. 46-63; Anna Szweykowska, 'Kapele magnackie i szlacheckie w połowie XVIII wieku w Polsce' ('Music Bands at Magnate and Noblemen's Courts in the Mid-Eighteenth Century'), *Muzyka* 1963/ 1-2, pp. 75-96; eadem, 'Mapa muzykowania w Rzeczypospolitej w połowie XVIII wieku' ('Map of Music-Making in Poland in the Mid-Eighteenth Century'), *Muzyka* 1971/ 2, pp. 85-105; Vol'ga Uladzimirauña Dadziemava, *Muzykal'naja kul'tura gorodov Belarussii v XVIII veke* (*The Musical Culture of Belarussian Towns in the 18th Century*), Minsk 1992.

2 Compare: Andrzej Betlej, *Sibi, Deo, Posteritati. Jabłonowscy a sztuka w XVIII wieku* (*The Jabłonowski Family and Art in the Eighteenth Century*), Cracow 2010; Krzysztof Gombin, *Inicjatywy artystyczne Eustachego Potockiego* (*The Artistic Initiatives of Eustachy Potocki*), Lublin 2009; Zofia Gołębiowska, 'Mecenat kulturalny Izabeli i Adama Kazimierza Czartoryskich (sztuki plastyczne, teatr, muzyka, literatura)' ('The Cultural Patronage of Izabela and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski' (visual arts, theatre, music, literature)), in: *Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie. Materiały II sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Muzeum Zamoyskich w Kozłówce 22-24 maja 2002* (*Gentry in the Lublin Region. Papers of the 2nd Symposium organized in the Zamoyski Family Museum in Kozłówka, 22-24 May 2002*), ed. R. Maliszewska, Kozłówka 2003, pp. 31-70; Marianna Banacka, *Biskup Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski i jego inicjatywy artystyczne* (*Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Kostka and His Art Initiatives*), Warsaw 2001.

3 AGAD, ARP, 278-285, 289-305, 307-346, 372-376.

1 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego' ('Music at the Court of Jan Klemens Branicki'), in: *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe* (*Courts of Polish nobility in the Eighteenth century. Their cultural role and importance*), ed. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa and Agata Ročko, Warsaw 2005, pp. 221-245; Andrzej Ciechanowiecki, 'Michał Kazimierz Ogiński und sein Musenhof zu Slonim', Cologne Graz 1961; Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Kapela Antoniego Tyzenhauza w Grodnie' ('The Band of Antoni Tyzenhauz in Grodno'), *Muzyka* 1977/ 2, pp. 3-37; Irena Bieńkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła' ('Music at the Court of Duke Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł'), Warsaw 2013; eadem, 'Notatki o muzykach Jakuba Henryka Flemminga' ('Notes of the Musicians of Jakub Henryk Flemming'), *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka* 1996, III/2 (6), pp. 155-167; Szymon Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)' ('Music at the Court of Jakub Henryk Fleming (1667–1728)'), in: *Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku* (*The Cultural Environments and Cultural Relations of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*), ed. Urszula Augustyniak, Warsaw 2009, pp. 67-82. In addition, a number of very interesting

a financially advantageous marriage. He ensured that his children received a good education. Stanisław was educated initially at home and then in Cracow. In 1690, at the age of thirteen he was sent with his older brother, Józef, for two years to Vienna to see the world, learn German and French, and become a gentleman⁴.

Stanisław Poniatowski's brilliant military and political career began at the side of Michał Sapieha, a General-Major in the imperial army, in the mid-1690s. All of Stanisław's adult life was dedicated to his career, until 1752 when he began to withdraw gradually from active political life. In September 1720, Poniatowski married for the second time, taking a bride who was 20 years his junior. This happy marriage to Konstancja Czartoryska, which lasted almost 40 years, had political consequences for Stanisław, and was also very beneficial financially.

Documents preserved in the ARP of the AGAD cover the period of 1721–1762, and are mostly economic in nature. Notes relating to musical matters date from the period during which Stanisław Poniatowski was most active politically. On the basis of the available documents, it can be concluded that a music band was active in the court of Stanisław Poniatowski 1721–1741. However, files in the ARP of the AGAD make no mention of artistic life at the court during the 1750s and 1760s.

The earliest document referring to music in the court of Stanisław Poniatowski dates back to 1721. It concerns expenses incurred for the purchase of four musical instruments, most likely for the band⁵. We can find more information about the purchase of individual instruments (or their components), such as the viola, violin and French horn, as well as mouthpieces, strings and rosin⁶. Furthermore, a harpsichord was bought in Gdańsk in 1741, but this purchase was for Poniatowski's wife, Duchess Konstancja⁷.

More precise information about the governor's music band comes from the period 1730–1741. A list of musicians belonging to it in 1730 was published as early as 1972 by Zbigniew Chaniecki in the article 'Unknown

Polish Music Bands', which quoted one of the ARP documents stored in the AGAD⁸. The band consisted of seven Polish musicians whose first and second names were given. Tracing through preserved documents, it can be concluded that the group exhibited significant stability, because some of the musicians worked there for nine or even ten years. As well as their musical duties, most of the musicians probably held other positions within the court, usually as servants or valets. This conclusion was reached because at times the names of some musicians were reported as *Capeliste*, and at other times as *Laquei*⁹. This makes it difficult to establish the complete list of musician names from the court, because although some butlers and valets were identified as artists, other names were also mentioned, and these too could have been group members. Individuals include Peter Fris and Mathias Kalwiński, whose names often appear in documents, alongside those of musicians such as Tomasz Tokarzewski, Piotr Bańkowski and others¹⁰.

A band composed of several musicians was maintained at least through the period 1730–1740¹¹, though it is difficult to be precise about its line-up. Documents from 1736 and 1737 often refer to two oboists, who were most likely also members of Stanisław Poniatowski's military band. In addition, it has been determined that a long-time musician, Tomasz Tokarzewski – who played there from 1730 to 1740 – was an organist¹², whilst Aleksander Czerkiewski (1730 to 1739) played the bass viola¹³. The specialisms of other musicians were not disclosed. Most likely they were multi-instrumentalists playing the violin, viola, bassoon and French horn.

In total 13 musicians associated with the Mazovian governor's musical group in 1730–1741 were mentioned. They were¹⁴:

⁸ Z. Chaniecki, op. cit., pp. 92-93, based on AGAD, ARP, 375.

⁹ *Ausgabe der Lostgelde und Lohn von Anno 1738 Monath Februarii, Martii und Aprill/ Der Capeliste Żarkiewicz ... Der Capeliste Peter Banikowski and Ausgabe der Lostgelde und Lohn von Anno 1738 Monath May, Juny und July/ Der Laquei Żarkiewicz... Der Laquei Peter Banikowski*, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 301.

¹⁰ AGAD, ARP, 301.

¹¹ See, for example: *Danzig, 2 7br 1737: Vor 7 Capelisten...* 18,6, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 331, fol. 239.

¹² *12 Jun. 1737: Capelisten Thomas...organisten*, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

¹³ *21 Jan. 1737: Ein Musikus auf Basviole...Alexander...* 3, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 331, fol. 179.

¹⁴ Based on AGAD, ARP, 301, 303, 307, 309, 311, 313, 331, 375.

⁴ Based on: Andrzej Link-Lenczowski, entry: 'Stanisław Ciolek Poniatowski', [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Polish Biographical Dictionary)*, vol. 27, pp. 471-481.

⁵ AGAD, ARP, 329, fol. 3.

⁶ See for example: *15 Jun. 1737: vor 2 Waldhoerner vor die Capelle...* 24 and *23 Sept. 1737: 2 Mundstuecker vor dir Cappelisten Waldhorn...* 18, [in:] AGAD, ARP, sygn. 303 or „8 pakietow stron do skrzypcow...31” [8 packages strings for violin ... 31], [in:] AGAD, ARP, 290, fol. 5, or *Ausgabe unterschiedene am Hof von Monate Nov., Dec. 1739, Jan. 1740 in Danzig: Vor dir Capelisten Instrumenten ...* 12,24, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 305.

⁷ AGAD, ARP, 290, fol. 3-5, 21, 23, 30-32.

Tomasz Tokarzewski, organist	1730–1740
Jan Kubajewski	1730
Jan Zarzecki (Zarzycki, Saritsky)	1730–1740
Paweł Olszewski	1730
Filip Paczkowski	1730–1738
Aleksander Czerkiewski, bass viola player	1730–1739
Jan Zarkiewicz (Żarkiewicz)	1730–1739
Piotr Bańkowski (Banikowski, Bajkowski)	1737–1740
Mróz (Moroz, Moros)	1737–1741
Michael	1738–1739
Buplicz, kapellmeister	1739
Krzysztof Nielipowicz	1739–1741
Daniel	1739

These names have not yet been recorded in Polish music dictionaries¹⁵. All indicate the Polish origin of the artists, though maybe some were recruited from the eastern borders of the Republic of Poland, such as the Wołczyn region. For example, the name of the artist Mróz was recorded in the documents as the Polish sounding Mróz, as well as the Russian Moros or Moroz¹⁶. This suggests that the musician may have come from an area in which both languages were used.

The musicians, for whom only the first name is given (Michael and Daniel) are recorded in German language documents. They may well have germanised the Polish name Michał. Similarly, the first name of the organist Tomasz Tokarzewski was given in some documents as Thomas¹⁷, whilst Krzysztof Nielipowicz was often named Christoph¹⁸. One of the younger artists was probably Piotr Bankowski, who in 1737 and 1738 was recorded as Piotruś (Pete, or “little Peter”)¹⁹.

Despite very incomplete data, it can be concluded with certainty that the band was typically baroque, with the string instruments (violin, viola and bass viola) being accompanied by musicians playing oboes (alternating with flutes), bassoons, trumpets and French horns. This theory is confirmed by a list of instruments from 1730,

which mentions four oboes, as many violins, two horns, two trumpets, two bassoons and two flutes²⁰. It is worth noting that popular and fashionable contemporary instruments, such as the harp or the newly emerging piano, were not mentioned in these documents. Furthermore, it seems that the ensemble of Stanisław Poniatowski did not have singers (perhaps this function was entrusted to the musicians). Only one document, dating from 1737, speaks in unclear terms about paying an unknown singer-bassist²¹.

Stanisław Poniatowski's group often traveled, accompanying the governor during trips. For example, in the early December of 1730 the band went to Warsaw²², but the length of the stay was not disclosed. From the end of October 1730 until the beginning of March 1731, King August II the Strong resided in Warsaw. Throughout all of December royal *assemblée* and Italian comedies were held in the capital city, including *commedia dell'arte*²³, and these were probably quite well appreciated by Stanisław Poniatowski. Already, in 1726, the governor had bought in Grodno *Au den Pantalon den vor Italienischen* in a leather case for 55 ducats²⁴. Currently, it is impossible to confirm whether Poniatowski's artists played just for the governor's entertainment whilst in Warsaw, or whether a larger audience was present, such as Poniatowski's guests.

The preserved documents tell us that in July 1736²⁵ Poniatowski's court band was transferred for an extended period to Gdańsk, travelling via Toruń, where it performed from 1736 to 1740. However, the year given for the transfer of the group – 1736 – is puzzling, given that Stanisław Poniatowski and his family were permanently based in Gdansk from the autumn of 1733 to the end of December 1739. The city also saw the birth of his two youngest sons: Andrzej (1734–1773) and Michał Jerzy (1736–1794). Though the couple often left Gdańsk for brief interludes during this period, the city remained

15 Adolf Chybiński, *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800 (Lexicon of the Musicians of Early Poland to 1800)*, Cracow 1949; *Słownik muzyków polskich (Lexicon of Polish Musicians)*, ed. J. Chomiński, Cracow 1964-1967, vol. 1-2.

16 24 Nov. 1737: *Capelisten Mroz* and 27.VIII.1738: *Capelisten Moros ...repariren*, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

17 *Der Capeliste Tomas Tokarzewski*, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 301, *Ausgabe der Lostgelde und Lohn von Anno 1738 Monath Februarii, Martii und April*.

18 See, for example: *Danzig, 24.I.1738: Moros, Alexander, Christoph, Michael...puder, pomade...2,12*, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

19 24 July 1737: *Capelisten Piotrus...2,18*, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

20 See: „Connotacya sztuk, instrumentów kapelli spisana [a list of instruments of the band] 4 Xbris in A 1730”, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 375, fol. 1.

21 AGAD, ARP, 331, fol. 237.

22 „Connotacya rzeczy kapelistow przy wyprawieniu onych do Warszawy spisana [a list of musicians' possessions, drawn during the preparations for their trip to Warsaw] 4 Xbris in A 1730”, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 375, fol. 3.

23 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie (Music at the Court of Augustus II in Warsaw)*, Warsaw 1997, pp. 47, 406.

24 AGAD, ARP, 280, fol. 50, a record in the list of expenditures for 23 Nov. 1726, Grodno.

25 AGAD, ARP, 331, fol. 65, 215.

9/3 Feb. in Christoph alexander ...
Michael paul ...
9/19 Feb. in Capellmeister Buplicz ...
19 Febr. 1739, Gdańsk

Nr 1. Expenditure on Puder und Pomade for the members of the band, and payment to the bandmaster Buplicz, 3 Febr. and 19 Febr. 1739, Gdańsk, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 303.

auß Jahr von der Capellmeister
an Instrumenten, pro Feb Marti
April 1740

	Schup	Zc.
9/17 Marti von 9 Lobs und Bas	1	24
Lars Foppy -		
9 April ein neues Violin	8	
Summa.	9	24

Nr 2. Expenditure on musical instruments, Jan.-April 1740, Gdańsk, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 303.

In Grodno an Hro Excell: gegeben 130 Ducats
In Grodno an den Pantaloni Hundero Stammen
Hro Comedie von ein galden Curie 55. Ducats

Nr 3. Record in the account of expenditures of 23 Nov. 1726, Grodno, regarding the purchase of commedia dell'arte, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 280, fol. 50.

their main place of residence²⁶. As a result it would be a bit surprising for the band to be brought from Wołczyn only after their master had resided elsewhere for three years! This would seem highly unlikely, and it must be assumed that preserved archival materials document only one of the group's trips from Wołczyn to Gdansk during the period (and not the first), and that the musicians were probably taken to the Baltic coast much earlier, maybe at the end of 1733. However, archival materials have not yet provided evidence to confirm this thesis. We can only assume that the band remained in Gdańsk for almost 6 years, even a few months after Poniatowski's departure from the city, until May 1740²⁷.

Great care was taken not only of the instruments, but also of the image of the performers. We know that at Poniatowski's court the artists were dressed in navy blue coats, green robes and in blue trousers and caps²⁸. Many receipts were retained, particularly from the time spent in Gdansk, and these document expenses for creams, powder and barbers' services for the band members²⁹.

The group's repertoire remains largely unknown. The only list of musical pieces that remains is a document from 1730, and is extremely imprecise³⁰. It shows that primarily utilitarian music was performed. These were dances (including minuets), compositions most likely of a military nature (such as 'curants' – on the trumpet, horn, oboe and other instruments), and marches. Concertos using other instruments were also performed. The aforementioned document lists 24 concertos but with no titles and author attributions. Most likely the repertoire was contemporary European. Popular at the time, throughout the continent, were solo concertos and *concerti grossi* by composers such as: Arcangelo Corelli, Antonio Vivaldi and Georg Philipp Telemann. Possibly the musicians also played works by the greatest composers associated with the royal court of Augustus II The Strong in Dresden, i.e. Jan Dismas Zelenka, Johann David Heinichen and Johann Georg Pisendel. Concerts composed by French baroque masters: François Couperin, François Duval and Jean-Baptiste Morin may also have been part of the repertoire. It is known that French culture, and perhaps music too, was dear to the heart of Konstancja

– Poniatowski's wife – who had a brilliant education and was steeped in French culture. She also raised her children in this same spirit³¹.

In addition to his court musical group, the Mazovian governor – an experienced and highly regarded officer – maintained a military band³². It is known that these musicians played trumpets, drums and kettledrums. However, information that might indicate the size of the band has not been preserved. As well as the two bands just cited, Poniatowski had a group of oboists³³. Such bands were usually based at military garrisons, following the example of the *Grands Hautbois du Roi* of King Louis XIV, a band which consisted of 10 oboists and 2 bassoonists³⁴. Contemporary bands of oboists in Poland were maintained by individuals such as Jakub Henryk Flemming (from 1714 to 1728)³⁵ and Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. From 1741 to 1760, the latter's group, initially composed of 2 musicians, grew to 6-9 musicians³⁶. The size of Stanisław Poniatowski's group of oboists has not yet been established.

Stanisław Poniatowski's lifestyle (intense travels, involvement in politics etc.) did not permit him to develop a deep interest in musical matters. However, by the standards of the era, Poniatowski was a relatively active participant in musical and theatrical life, though this was a requirement due to the social status that he had achieved. This conclusion can be backed up by financial documents which have been preserved. It is known that on 25 August 1739, Poniatowski watched an unknown comedy in Gdansk³⁷, while during his journeys through Europe he eagerly visited theatres and took lessons in dance³⁸. However, he didn't take music lessons (training in music, dance and foreign languages was the norm at

26 See: Andrzej Link-Lenczowski, entry: 'Konstancja z Czartoryskich Poniatowska', [in:] 'Polski Słownik Biograficzny' ('Polish Biographical Dictionary'), vol. 27, pp. 409-411.

27 AGAD, ARP, 301.

28 AGAD, ARP, 375, fol. 2.

29 4 Dec. 1737: *Von Capelisten vor puder, pomade...*3, 15, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

30 AGAD, ARP, 375, fol. 1.

31 Andrzej Link-Lenczowski, entry: 'Konstancja z Czartoryskich...', op. cit., p.409. Also the correspondence of the Duchess with her husband and children was in French, as well as children's letters to their mother.

32 1 Jan. 1738: *Garnison Capelle...* 6, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

33 1 Jan. 1738: *Hoboisten...*6, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 303.

34 See S.G. Sandmann, 'The Wind Band at Louis XIV's Court', *Early Music*, 1977/5, no. 1, pp. 27-37.

35 Sz. Paczkowski, 'Muzyka na dworze Jakuba...' ('Music at the Court of Jakub...'), op. cit., pp. 70-72.

36 I. Bieńkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze księcia...' ('Music at the Court of Duke...'), op. cit., pp. 234.

37 AGAD, ARP, 305, *Ausgabe unterschiedene am Hof von Monate Aug., Sept., Oct. Anno 1739 in Danzig.*

38 AGAD, ARP, 337, fol. 50, 52, 55, 58, 60.

*Connotacya Sztuk, Instrumentow, kapelli.
Spisana 8 4 Xbris in A 1730.*

<i>Kantyczel na Hoboiach</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>kantyczel kurantow na Trzback</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>kantyczel kurantow na Walbornach</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>kantyczel Tancow</i>	<i>— 3</i>
<i>kantyczel Minisetow</i>	<i>— 3</i>
<i>kantyczel Marsow</i>	<i>— 5</i>
<i>koncertow Sztuk</i>	<i>— 24</i>
<i>Skrypcow</i>	<i>— 4</i>
<i>Hobojow Buchspanowycch</i>	<i>— 4</i>
<i>Waltornow z muplakami z Okragle kami</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>Basonow</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>Trab dwie z muplakami, luterami, z Purderkiem Ho</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>Fletow Buchspanowycch z Purderkiem</i>	<i>— 2</i>
<i>Flet Smofflowy</i>	<i>— 1</i>
<i>Bason Fletow z Esidien</i>	<i>— 1</i>

Nr 4. „Connotacya sztuk, instrumentów kapelli spisana [A list of instruments of the band] 4 Xbris in A 1730” Wolczyn, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 375, fol. 1.

that time among nobles travelling abroad). Preserved receipts from 1741–1742, documenting Poniatoński’s trip to Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfurt and Paris, confirm his regular attendance of theatres in Paris from January to May 1741 and from November 1741 to May 1742³⁹. In the French capital he frequented both the Comédie-Française and the Comédie-Italienne, as well as (though not very often) the Opéra (Théâtre de l’ Académie Royale de Musique). The receipts do not allow a great deal of analytical accuracy because (in most cases) they indicate only the month in which a fee for the box was paid. Only expenditure on individual tickets reveals specific dates. We know, for example, that on 31st January 1741

Poniatoński was present at the Comédie-Française⁴⁰, while during the carnival of 1741 he went to a masquerade ball at the Opéra, wearing a typical *comedia dell’arte* outfit and mask⁴¹. On 7 March 1741, the governor saw the French version of the comedy *L’Echo du public* by J.A. Romagnesi and F. Ricoboni, at the Comédie-Italienne⁴². It can be assumed that from January to May 1741, and

³⁹ 1741, Janvier 31: [...] *Plus Payé une Loge à la Comedie Francaise pour le même jour...*32, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 337, fol. 149.

⁴¹ 1741 Fevrier 10: *Payé pour les Masques, les Dominos, les gand pour le bal de l’opera...*40,10, [in:] AGAD, ARP, 337, fol. 149.

⁴² AGAD, ARP, 337, fol. 149. The repertoire of the theatre in 1741 based on Emanuele de Luca, ‘Il repertorio della Comédie-Italienne di Parigi (1716–1762) / Le répertoire de la Comédie-Italienne (1718–1762)’, Paris-Sorbonne, 2009–2011, pp. 266–268, 270–272.

³⁹ AGAD, ARP, 337, fol. 38, 50, 52, 55, 58–60, 149. Stanisław August was the messenger of Augustus III in Paris, and his position undoubtedly required participation in the theatrical life of the city.

from November 1741 to May 1742, the governor saw the most interesting spectacles played in Paris, and that the works of French playwrights were close to his heart. In addition, in April of 1742 he bought works by Néricault Destouches, Jean-François Regnard and Pierre-Claude Nivelles de La Chaussée and others⁴³, some of which he had the opportunity to see during his stay in Paris⁴⁴.

The group of musicians maintained by Stanisław Poniąkowski was typical of Poland in the 1730s and 40s, both in terms of the number and profile of the personnel. The governor didn't squander money on musicians from abroad, or on musical novelties. Bands with similar capabilities operated in the 1730s and 40s at other Polish courts. For example, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł "Rybeńko" in Nieśwież held 7 Polish musicians (1730)⁴⁵ and Jan Klemens Branicki's band in the city of Białystok had 9 Polish artists (1742)⁴⁶. The band which played in Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's court had 8 to 10 members, both Poles and non-Poles (1738–1740)⁴⁷. Michał Antoni Sapieha in Słonim had 6 to 8 musicians of mainly German and Polish origin (1746–1750)⁴⁸, while the court band of Paweł Karol Sanguszko in Lubartów and Dubno was a much more powerful team with more than 20 instrumentalists and singers of different nationalities (1729–1732)⁴⁹.

The absence of documents regarding the music played at the Mazovian governor's court in the 1750s and 60s is striking. By the early 1750s he was over 70 years of age, and had withdrawn from political life. Perhaps for these reasons he no longer felt any social pressure – or personal desire – to keep such a band. In addition, his adult children had left the family home by that point, so removing the educational need of maintaining

a band of musicians. We cannot exclude the possibility that documentation from this period has simply been lost. However this would seem unlikely since the family archives have generally been kept in good order. Based on our current knowledge, it is difficult to assess more accurately the level of the governor's involvement in musical matters at the court. It can be assumed though that his many duties and frequent absences from home resulted in his wife – Duchess Konstancja Czartoryska⁵⁰ – taking over the management of these issues from the governor himself.

I hope that this preliminary examination will encourage researchers to carry out further musicological studies, and that this will eventually make clearer the currently rather incomplete picture of musical life at the court of one of the most interesting individuals of the first half of the eighteenth century in Poland.

Illustrations:

1. Expenditure on *Puder und Pomade* for the members of the band, and payment to the bandmaster Buplicz, 3 and 19 Feb. 1739, Gdańsk, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 303.

2. Expenditure on musical instruments, I I-IV.1740, Gdańsk, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 303.

3. Record in the account of expenditures from 23 Nov. 1726, Grodno, regarding the purchase of *commedia dell'arte*, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 280, fol. 50.

4. "Connotacya sztuk, instrumentów kapelli spisana [A list of instruments of the band] 4 Xbris in A 1730" Wołczyn, [in]: AGAD, ARP, 375, fol. 1.

43 AGAD, ARP, 337, fol. 59.

44 During his stay in Paris, Poniąkowski had a chance to see in Comédie-Française, among others: *Mélanide* (12 May 1741) and *Amour pour amour* (Jan. 1742) P.-C. N. de La Chaussée; in the Opéra: *Les Amours de Ragonde* N. Destouches, music by Jean-Joseph Mouret, and others.

45 National Historical Archives of Belarus, Minsk (Nacjonalny Gistaryčny Archiu Belarusi, (NGAB), 694, op. 7, 463, fol. 35v.

46 A. Źórawska-Witkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego...' ('Music at the Court of Jan Klemens Branicki...'), op. cit., pp. 228.

47 Irena Bieńkowska, 'Muzyka na dworze księcia...' ('Music at the Court of Duke...'), op. cit., pp. 175, 176.

48 Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius (Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, (LMAB), F17-34, fol. 54, 94, 273, 276.

49 The State Archive in Cracow (APK), The Sanguszko Family Archive (ASang), manuscripts 484, mkr. J-10.

50 It is worth remembering that the Duchess, an intelligent and energetic woman, apart from maternal care was very actively involved in politics until 1752 and she was considered one of the most influential women of the time. See: Andrzej Link-Lenczowski, entry: 'Konstancja z Czartoryskich..', op. cit., p. 410.