

Discoveries in St Petersburg: New Perspectives on Bach and Poland*

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Recent discoveries in the holdings of the National Library of Russia have brought to light many original printed texts for vocal works set by Johann Sebastian Bach and his contemporaries.¹ This new material reveals a lot that was previously unknown about the history of German music. It not only adds to our knowledge of such texts, but is also of great value to the study of works by Bach and other German composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To date, more than 900 new sources have been found in St Petersburg. A significant number of these contain handwritten marks made by the greatest figure of the Polish Enlightenment, Józef Andrzej Żółkowski. These new discoveries confirm the richness of German-Polish-Russian cultural connections and show that in the eighteenth century many sources for German music of the time found their way to Poland and then to Russia.

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¹ Tatjana Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg: Neue Quellen zur Leipziger Musikgeschichte sowie zur Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit Johann Sebastian Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 94 (2008), 33–98; Tatjana Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg – Weitere Funde', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 95 (2009), 11–48; Tatiana Shabalina, 'Recent Discoveries in St Petersburg and their Meaning for the Understanding of Bach's Cantatas', *Understanding Bach*, 4 (2009), 77–99; Tatjana Schabalina, 'Textfunde in Sankt Petersburg: Unbekanntes Passionsoratorium von Telemann aus dem Jahr 1731', *Telemann-Gesellschaft e. V. (Internationale Vereinigung), Mitteilungsblatt*, 26 (2012), 25–35. The first findings of the 'Texte zur Music' in the library (those years the State Public Library in Leningrad) were made by Wolf Hobohm in the early 1970s (Wolf Hobohm, 'Neue "Texte zur Leipziger Kirchen-Music"', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 59 (1973), 5–32; Wolf Hobohm, 'Neue Textfunde zur deutschen Musikgeschichte der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts: Ein Bericht über Bibliotheksstudien in Leningrad', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (1973), 263–7).

The Załuski library and its fate

The history of Polish culture and the Polish Enlightenment is closely associated with the Załuski brothers, Andrzej Stanisław Kostka (1695–1758) and Józef Andrzej (1702–1774), the founders of Poland's first public library. In the second half of the eighteenth century, this library was justly deemed one of the best in the world, comparable with only three others – the British Museum Library and the royal libraries in Paris and Munich.²

Both brothers, the counts Załuski, were influential state figures. They were members of a famous noble family which played a crucial role in the political and religious life of Poland. As relatives of King Jan III Sobieski and confidants of King Stanisław Bogusław Leszczyński, the brothers held an important position in the ranks of the Polish nobility during the first half of the eighteenth century. Andrzej Stanisław Kostka, the elder of the two, was bishop of Płock (from 1723), Łuck (1736), Chełmno (1739) and Kraków (Cracow) (1746), and held the post of Great Crown Chancellor (1735–46). The younger brother, Józef Andrzej, was equally prominent as bishop of Kiev (from 1758), Canon of Cracow Cathedral (1723) and Great Crown Referendary (from 1728).³ He was also elected a member of scientific societies and academies in Bologna, Florence, Rome, Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Greifswald, Nancy and St Petersburg.⁴

The Załuski family passion for education and for collecting books passed from generation to generation. Andrzej Olszowski (1621–1677), the brothers' grandfather, collected a great library and presented it to the Academy in Cracow, with the provision that access was granted to it 'ad usum publicum'.⁵ Andrzej Olszowski's action was always remembered by the Załuski family and was apparently influential in the brothers' decision to open their library for public use.

The brothers' collection was founded on the library of their uncle, Andrzej Chrystostom Załuski (1648–1711), who was Crown Chancellor and a bishop of Warmia as well as author of a work entitled 'Epistolae historico-familiares'.⁶ After Chrystostom's death and the subsequent death of his brother, Andrzej Stanisław and Józef Andrzej inherited his library. They began to develop their collection in 1716–1718, while Andrzej Stanisław was studying at the Sapienza University of Rome, where he received the scientific degree of doctor of law in 1717. Józef Andrzej also studied in Italy, continuing his education in France from 1720, first

² Boris Volodin, 'Europejski fenomen biblioteki Załuskich', *Peterburgskaya bibliotechnaya shkola*, 3/4 (1997), 49. In German lands it was also compared with the libraries in Wolfenbüttel and Vienna (Heinz Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski und ihre Beziehungen zu Gelehrten in Deutschland und Danzig: Studien zur Polnischen Frühaufklärung* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), p. 60; Piotr Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, 1959), p. 24).

³ See in more detail Jan Andrzej Daniel Janocki, *Józef Andrzej hrabia na Załuskach Załuski*, z tekstu łacińskiego przeł. Kamil Kankat (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Bibliofilów Polskich, 1928); Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 35–58; Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, pp. 7–35.

⁴ Bartłomiej Szyndler, *Biblioteka Załuskich*, Polska Akademia Nauk. Nauka dla Wszystkich, 362 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1983), p. 41.

⁵ Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, pp. 10–11.

⁶ Szyndler, *Biblioteka Załuskich*, pp. 12, 14.

in a seminary and later at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he was awarded the degree of bachelor of theology. Like his elder brother, he also became a doctor of law, a degree he was awarded in Cracow in 1724.⁷

Known for his charity and patronage, the elder brother invested large sums in acquiring books. When the brothers decided to transform their greatly expanded collection into a public library, Andrzej Stanisław purchased the Daniłowicz Palace in Warsaw (originally built for Mikołaj Daniłowicz of Żurów) and funded its restoration himself. However, as he was Crown Chancellor at the time and consequently extremely preoccupied with public affairs, he did not have time to collect books. Instead, he funded his younger brother to do this and generously supported Józef Andrzej's ideas. It is interesting that before the library opened Andrzej Stanisław, writing to Józef Andrzej, called it the 'brother's library'.⁸ But after it had been opened for public use, he referred to it as 'our library'.⁹

Józef Andrzej's achievement in creating one of the best libraries of the eighteenth century cannot be overestimated. A passionate book-collector, he devoted all his life to finding rare and unique books. According to Piotr Bańkowski, 'in pursuit of a book, a manuscript, documents' he 'spared neither time, nor money, nor health'.¹⁰ There was no library in Poland with valuable holdings that he did not visit or study. During the 1720s–40s he spent a lot of time in Italy, Germany and France.¹¹ He would return to Poland for a short time with great collections of books, engravings and manuscripts which he deposited in Warsaw, before leaving again. By developing contacts and keeping in touch with many of the scientists, writers and poets of western Europe, as well as the booksellers, he tried to purchase every important publication of the time.

Although Józef Andrzej visited many German cities including Wittenberg, Gotha, Frankfurt an der Oder, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Bremen, München, Breslau, Regensburg, Göttingen, Mannheim, Köln, Berlin, Halle, Königsberg, Stettin, Stargard, Leipzig and Dresden were particularly attractive to him. His contacts in Dresden focused on the nobility of the Saxon court and in Leipzig they centred on the University.¹² Surviving letters

⁷ See also Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 35, 45–6; Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, pp. 11–12; Szyndler, *Biblioteka Załuskich*, pp. 11–16.

⁸ Letter from A. S. Załuski to J. A. Załuski, 6 May 1741. See Marian Łodyński, 'Biblioteka Rzplitej—Załuskich zwana na tle ówczesnych bibliotek zagranicznych (jej powstanie, organizacja i wewnętrzne prace porządkowe)', Stanisław Tazbir (ed.), *Z dziejów książki i bibliotek w Warszawie* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1961), p. 33.

⁹ The letter of A. S. Załuski to J. A. Załuski of 12 August 1747. See *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁰ Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, p. 14.

¹¹ J. A. Załuski accompanied the King Stanisław Leszczyński to France to support him in the 1730s. From 1736 until the early 1740s he lived mainly outside Poland in western Europe.

¹² Although it is difficult to trace all the visits of J. A. Załuski to Dresden and Leipzig, his trips to Leipzig in 1720, 1738, 1742, 1754 and 1756, and to Dresden in 1720, 1738, 1742, 1751 and 1756 are well known (see letters of A. S. Załuski to J. A. Załuski from Hubertsburg on 8 October 1742 and 5 December 1751, as well as a letter of J. A. Załuski to J. Boccard from Dresden on 17 May 1751 (Bibl. Nar. shelfmarks 3242, 3251); J. A. Załuski, *Autobiografia, Miejsca pryncypalne, gdzie się znajdował którego roku i ewenta przedniejsze mego życia* (Bibl. Nar. shelfmark ark. 11469); Henryk Barycz, 'Sztambuch J. A. Załuskiego', *Silva Rerum*, 10/12 (1928), 148; Bogumił Stanisław Kupść, 'Nieznana autobiografia Józefa Andrzeja Załuskiego', *Przegląd Biblioteczny*,

show that in Leipzig he acquired rich collections of books, manuscripts and engravings.¹³ At one of the auctions he purchased a significant part of the library of the Leipzig professor of history Christian Gottlieb Jöcher,¹⁴ and he obtained many books from the statesman and historian Heinrich von Büнау, who was also from Leipzig.¹⁵ In Hamburg he bought several thousand volumes at the public sale of the library of the outstanding German philologist and bibliographer Johann Albert Fabricius.¹⁶ In Halle he studied the biggest collection of English books on the continent, which belonged to Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten.¹⁷ In Breslau he purchased the library of the Lutheran theologian and writer Gottfried Balthasar Scharff.¹⁸

For many years Józef Andrzej worked on compiling the national bibliography *Bibliotheca Polona Magna Universalis*, which subsequently filled numerous handwritten volumes. Although his main goal was to collect everything relevant to the history and culture of Poland, the focus of his interests was extremely wide, ranging from early grammars, works on theology, history and philosophy, literature in many European languages, natural science, medicine, mechanics, physics, and mathematics to musical works and, as recent discoveries show, contemporary texts for music. He was especially interested in theological literature and rare early prints. Józef Andrzej collected a lot of material which his contemporaries did not consider valuable. Magnificent volumes in luxurious bindings or plain pamphlets, he collected them all with equal care, love and attention. Thus he saved many sources that would otherwise have vanished completely.

It is relevant to note here that Józef Andrzej took a special interest in small booklets, loose pamphlets and leaflets. The brothers even had a disagreement over this; the elder reproached the younger for his tendency to collect unstitched sheets and booklets, especially German, which he considered as worthy only as 'bric-a-brac'.¹⁹ We do know that Józef Andrzej longed to collect every printed and

28/4 (1960), 327, 336; Bogumił Stanisław Kupść, 'Materiały autobiograficzne Józefa Andrzeja Załuskiego', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 26/3-4 (1981), 635-6, 638-9; Joanna Jarzęcka and Jan Kozłowski, 'Biblioteka Załuskich w świetle 'Neuer Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen' (1726-1767)', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 23/2 (1978), 303; Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, p. 96; Jan Kozłowski, 'Geografia powiązań Biblioteki Załuskich z zagranicą', unpublished article). One of the earliest sources is 'Bibliographia Zalusciana' by J. D. Janocki (1763-1766; survived incompletely). I am very grateful to Jan Kozłowski for sending his copy to me as well as his unpublished works and valuable information on the contacts of J. A. Załuski.

¹³ See for example a letter of A. M. Trotz to J. A. Załuski of 17 February 1731; see also Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, p. 115; Maria Witt, 'The Strange Life of One of the Greatest European Libraries of the Eighteenth Century: the Załuski Collection in Warsaw', *FYI France ejournal* (2005), § Collections of objects.

¹⁴ Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, p. 99.

¹⁵ See letters of A. M. Trotz to J. A. Załuski of 10 April 1731, 13 April 1731, 2 June 1731, 23 June 1731, 28 July 1731; see also Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁶ Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, p. 20.

¹⁷ Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, p. 54.

¹⁸ Jarzęcka and Kozłowski, 'Biblioteka Załuskich', 312.

¹⁹ 'Projekt do listu' of A. S. Załuski to J. A. Załuski: '...Plurimusque mniej potrzebnych [książek] sans choix skupowanych, w różnych językach osobliwie niemieckim narzuconych, które plus obsunt quam prosunt honorowi i pożytkowi publicznej Biblioteki, bo nie tak jej jako tandety są

handwritten text he could because he apparently believed that only posterity would be able to judge their usefulness.²⁰ In 1745 he asked publishers to send him their books, 'even the most slender, because what won't serve to one, can be useful to another'.²¹ The Załuski library was unusual in containing a lot of small booklets and leaflets; other libraries of the time neglected documents of this kind. Józef Andrzej's interest in such sources is particularly important for us because texts for music, which were as a rule between four and sixteen pages in length, fall into this category. Thus we can only marvel once again at his insight and ability to envisage the value of such sources in the future. As Boris Volodin has rightly noted:

the Załuski library has ... the important characteristic—it developed as a unique scientific library whose holdings were valuable for the whole of Europe, because they reflected the cultural heritage of many countries and nations of eighteenth century Europe, as well as the spiritual wealth of their past.²²

In the 1740s Józef Andrzej and Andrzej Stanisław made the decision to transform their collection into a public library. The grand opening took place in the building of the Daniłowicz Palace on 8 August 1747, in the presence of Polish nobility. One of the first public national libraries in the world, praised in up to eighty works, it was referred to it as 'the pearl of Poland' ('gemma regni Poloniae') and 'a crown of the capital and the universe' ('corona urbis et orbis').²³ The efforts of the Załuski brothers to create it were also greatly praised. Visitors to the library had to obey strict rules: it was open to all visitors two days a week; it was expressly forbidden for visitors to take books from the shelves themselves, they must ask a librarian; readers must treat the books very carefully; before starting to read they should give a silent prayer for the founders of the library.²⁴ From 1750 a scientific canon, Jan Daniel Janocki (1720–1786), was invited to work as chief librarian in the library. His duties included preparing catalogues and bibliographies, and he compiled one of the library's first printed catalogues of manuscripts *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Zaluscianae*, published in Dresden in 1752.

godniejsze' (The Manuscript Department of the National Library of Russia, Archive Załuskikh, *raznye bumagi*, mf. Bibl. Nar. no. 16002); see Jan Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, Polska Akademia Nauk: Instytut Historii Nauki, Oświaty i Techniki, Monografie z dziejów nauki i techniki, 137 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986), p. 33. See also a letter of A. S. Załuski to J. A. Załuski of 31 July 1741 (Bibl. Nar. shelfmark 3241).

²⁰ Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, p. 32.

²¹ 'Kurier Polski' of 12 May 1745: '...choćby też i najszczupleszych, bo co się jednemu na nic nie zda, to drugiemu przydać się może' (see also Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, p. 32).

²² Volodin, 'Europejsky fenomen biblioteki Załuskikh', 40.

²³ See *Corona urbis et orbis, gloria et gemma regni Poloniae... Bibliotheca Załusciana, ab imis fundamentis usque ad culmen sermone ligato erecta, et variis symbolis... ejusdem bibliothecae majestatem, dignitatem... et aestimationem adumbrantibus illustrata a M. Jacobo Paulo Radlinski, ... anno Domini 1748*.

²⁴ Szyndler, *Biblioteka Załuskich*, p. 31.

In 1758 Andrzej Stanisław died, and Józef Andrzej became sole owner of the library. In 1761 he handed control to the Order of Jesuits, in the hope of securing its care and maintenance. Józef Andrzej's life in the 1760s–1770s was a dramatic one. His attitude to the policies of the Russian Imperial government—in particular his strongly state opposition to the policy of the Russian empress Catherine II to allow equal rights to Catholics and to those of other faiths within Poland—led to his exile. On the night of 2 October 1767 he was arrested, together with the bishop of Cracow, Sołtyk, and the brothers Rzewuski, by order of the Russian ambassador in Warsaw Nikolai Repnin.²⁵ He was subsequently exiled to Smolensk and later to Kaluga. Even in exile, he continued to work. When he returned to Warsaw, he brought with him twenty-six handwritten volumes of his own works.²⁶ While he was in Kaluga he compiled his catalogue of Polish books, in blank verse throughout, and initially from memory. It was published later by Józef Muczkowski under the title *Biblioteka historyków, prawników, polityków i innych autorów polskich lub o Polsce piszących ...* (Cracow 1832). Józef Andrzej also wrote other works while in Kaluga, where he stayed until the spring of 1773. He then returned to Warsaw from exile full of plans for his library's development. But on 7 January 1774, Józef Andrzej died.

After his death the library was consigned to the jurisdiction of the Commission of National Education (*Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*). It was given the official status of a state library, the Library of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and named after the Załuski brothers (*Biblioteka Rzeczypospolitej Załuskich zwana*, 1787). In 1780 the prescript of the Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was adopted: in it the Załuski library was granted the right to a mandatory copy of all the works published in the country. By the end of the 1780s the library had not only become the first public library of Poland, it had adopted the functions of the national library.

But although Józef Andrzej Załuski had stated in his will that the library should remain in Warsaw forever, and should not be divided or sold ('bibliothecam meam... dividi, vendi ac dissipari veto'²⁷), this was not to be, and what followed resulted in the loss of many valuable sources. In 1794, after the suppression of the Kościuszko Uprising and the seizure of Warsaw by the Russian army under Alexander Suvorov, Catherine II gave the order to confiscate the Załuski library in its entirety. It was proclaimed a property of the Russian Imperial government and in 1795 was transported to St Petersburg as a military trophy. Despite the requirement to treat the materials 'with all care and extreme caution',²⁸ many books were destroyed during that trip: some became damp while on the dray carts, some soaked during the voyage or captured.²⁹ Parts of

²⁵ Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, p. 46; Lemke, *Die Brüder Zaluski*, p. 52.

²⁶ Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, p. 46.

²⁷ From the will of J. A. Załuski (see *Pamiętki dziejów Biblioteki Załuskich*, opracowanie Joanna Płaza i Bożena Sajna (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1997), p. 181).

²⁸ Tsilia I. Grin and Alina M. Tretyak, *Publichnaya biblioteka glazami sovremennikov (1795–1917): Khrestomatiya* (St Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Rossiyskoy natsionalnoy biblioteki, 1998), p. 39.

²⁹ There are memoirs of the French abbey Jean-François Georgel who, according to an eyewitness, said that while packing books from the Warsaw library one of the magnificent volumes in rich binding was split in half by Cossacks as it did not fit in a box (Jean François

the collection started to arrive in St Petersburg in June 1795. It is very difficult to know the exact number of books and other materials delivered from Warsaw. In 1796 Vasiliy Popov, who had been appointed trustee of the library, in his report to Catherine II stated the total number as 'more than 200,000 books'.³⁰ The other librarian, Mikhail Antonovsky, who supervised the sorting of the book funds, wrote in his memoirs that the Załuski collection included 389,961 units (books and manuscripts), and also 40,618 engravings.³¹ 'The Guide to the Imperial Public Library' (1860) states that: 'The Załuski library, transported to St Petersburg, comprised 262,000 volumes of printed books and about 10,000 manuscripts ...'.³² Other sources claim that 262,640 volumes of books and 25,000 engravings were delivered to St Petersburg from Warsaw.³³

As a result of damage in transit, many of the books turned out to be defective and were later written off. In May 1811 it was agreed that 5,200 defective books and nine boxes of loose pages would be written off.³⁴

In 1801 the Załuski brothers' collection was moved to a specially constructed building, at the corner of the Nevsky Prospect and Sadovaya Street, where it became available for study – alongside other materials – when the library opened to the public in 1814.³⁵ In 1842, 24,510 books from duplicate copies of this collection were returned to the Warsaw educational district. In 1862, a further 1,962 volumes from the Załuski library were sent to the Vilna museum of

Georgel, *Puteshestvie v Peterburg abbata Georgelya v tsarstvovanie imperatora Pavla I* (Moscow: K. F. Nekrasov, 1913), pp. 202–4; Abbé Georgel, *Voyage à St. Pétersbourg en 1799–1800, fait avec l'ambassade des Chevaliers de l'ordre de St.-Jean de Jérusalem, allant offrir à l'Empereur Paul premier la grande Maîtrise de l'Ordre* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, Delaunay, 1818), pp. 346–8). However, as Vladimir N. Zaytsev noted, 'undoubtedly the value of the library could have been misunderstood by those who executed its removal. It is well known that any movement of book collections over considerable distances inevitably involves grave loss and destruction. Nevertheless, the surviving documents show that the Russian authorities understood the importance of the Załuski library, and that they aspired to deliver and establish the library in St Petersburg without loss or damage and in the shortest possible time' (Vladimir N. Zaytsev, 'Perekrestki istorii natsionalnykh bibliotek Polshi i Rossii', in Maria D. Moricheva, *Biblioteka Załuskikh i Rossiyskaya natsionalnaya biblioteka* (St Petersburg: Rossiyskaya natsionalnaya biblioteka, 2001), pp. 8–9).

³⁰ 'Iz bumag Vasiliya Stepanovicha Popova', *Russkiy arkhiv*, 2 (1865), 217–18.

³¹ 'Zapiski Mikhaila Ivanovicha Antonovskogo', *Russkiy arkhiv*, 2 (1885), 167. The same numbers are given in *Materiały dotyczące zbiorów polskich w Rosji oraz ich rewindykacji na mocy Traktatu Ryskiego*, BN manuscripts akc. 9724 v. 2, I. 135.

³² *Putevoditel' po Imperatorskoy Publichnoy biblioteke* (St Petersburg, 1860), p. 4.

³³ Olga D. Golubeva, A. N. Olenin (St Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Rossiyskoy natsionalnoy biblioteki, 1997), p. 34. Even Polish historians do not know exactly how many books and manuscripts were kept at the Załuski library. For instance, Jan Kozłowski gives different opinions of the scientists on this matter: the data fluctuate from 200,000 to 400,000 units (Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, p. 158). See also Krzysztof Kossarzecki, 'The Załuski Family and their Library', in Olga N. Bleskina and Natalia A. Elagina (eds.), *The Inventory of Manuscripts from the Załuski Library in the Imperial Public Library* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2013), p. 84.

³⁴ Archive of the National Library of Russia, fond 1, opis' 1, delo 10, sheets 1–5; opis' 1a, delo 1, sheet 18.

³⁵ Although the Imperial Library in St Petersburg was founded in 1795, it was opened for public use 19 years later, on 14 January 1814.

antiquity and 17,000 volumes to the main Warsaw library, and in 1915 about 60,000 books were passed to Warsaw University.³⁶

However, the majority of the collection was returned to the Polish government in the 1920s–30s. According to the Treaty of Riga (1921), Russia had to return to Poland works of art, book collections, archives and other valuables taken from its territory since 1722, the period of the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, by order of the Russian Imperial government. The Załuski library naturally came under this provision. Returning the books, manuscripts and engravings from the Leningrad Public Library to Poland turned out to be an extremely difficult process which took more than twelve years. Polish and Russian experts held protracted and emotional discussions about almost every book and manuscript which had belonged to the Załuskis. Materials were transferred to Warsaw in several stages, from 1922 to 1935. Eventually, all the catalogues and inventories of the Załuski library, as well as more than 15,200 manuscripts (including 13,200 manuscripts belonging to Załuski and other Polish libraries and 1,764 manuscripts and 250 units of various handwritten materials as equivalent) had been returned.³⁷ In addition, 1,987 incunabula, 13,433 engravings, seven handwritten maps and 62,609 books in 70,631 volumes were returned in their entirety.³⁸ A large proportion of these went to the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.³⁹

But then in World War II the most valuable part of the returned Załuski treasure was destroyed. After the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts and old prints belonging to the National Library in Warsaw – including those from the Załuski collection – were burned by Nazi troops.⁴⁰

³⁶ The statistics are taken from Moricheva, *Biblioteka Załuskikh*, p. 38.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 152. According Edward Kuntze, a representative of the Special Commission of the Polish side in 1937, 13,405 manuscripts in 14,143 volumes were returned to Poland (see also Olga N. Bleskina, 'The Revival: International Project for the Reconstruction of the Załuski Library Manuscripts. The Załuski Library in St. Petersburg', in Bleskina and Elagina (eds.), *The Inventory of Manuscripts from the Załuski Library*, pp. 11–31, specially pp. 13–14).

³⁸ The statistics are taken from M. Moricheva, *Biblioteka Załuskikh*, p. 152. The statistics include materials from other Polish libraries besides the Załuski Library.

³⁹ Although it originated in the eighteenth century, it was established as the National Library of Poland on 24 February 1928. Other than the National Library, the materials from the Załuski library returned from St Petersburg are kept at different Polish libraries and archives: the Library of Warsaw University, Public Seminary Warsaw, Jagiellonian Library (Cracow), Ossolineum (Library of Wrocław University), AGAD (The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw) etc. See Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ It was part of the planned destruction of Warsaw by SS troops under Himmler. In April 1945 when the National Library in Warsaw resumed its work, it seemed that all the materials from the Załuski library had been destroyed (Bogdan Horodyski, 'Spuścizna działu rękopiśmiennego biblioteki Załuskich', *Przegląd biblioteczny*, 16/1–2 (1948), 44). However, in the post-war years some of the rarities taken out of Polish territory gradually began to be found (Bogumił Stanisław Kupść and Krystyna Muszyńska, 'Wstęp', *Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej*, 2/2: *Rękopisy z Biblioteki Załuskich i innych zbiorów polskich zwrócone z Leningradu w latach 1923–1934* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1980), 7–17). Thanks to this, some of the German sources from the Załuski library have survived and are now kept at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.

Those seventeenth and eighteenth century prints from the Załuski library that remained in St Petersburg in the 1930s were spared this tragedy, and even though they represent only a remnant of the famous and once great Załuski treasure, nonetheless contain a lot of unique sources.

Józef Andrzej Załuski as a collector of the *Texte zur Music*

The collection of German musical sources and mainly original printed texts of seventeenth and eighteenth century German music discovered in the holdings of the National Library of Russia contains many rarities, the provenance of which remains unclear. So the majority of text booklets for J. S. Bach's cantatas and passions have no markings or stamps to reveal their former owners. Many opera libretti and texts for secular and 'occasional' pieces by other composers also lack any marks which could help us to ascertain their provenance. However, there are many reasons to believe that approximately half the newly discovered sources originate from the Załuski library and were collected by the younger brother, Józef Andrzej.

Research is difficult because neither the texts for German Baroque music nor the books from the Załuski collection have been filed in one place or even in the same hall within the St Petersburg National Library. Instead, they are distributed between its different halls and do not have any special catalogue. The easiest way to ascertain that they have come from the Załuski library is when a source contains a stamp 'I·A·ZALVSKI':



As a rule this was stamped on the title-pages of the books. For example, the text booklet kept at the National Library of Russia under the shelfmark 6.35.1.279, 'L'AMORE AMMALATO. Die kranckende Liebe. Oder: ANTIOCHUS Und STRATONICA' (Hamburg 1708) contains this stamp. But the majority of the sources do not have such a stamp and their provenance from the Załuski collection can only be determined from some small handwritten marks. It is fortunate that the library owns J. A. Załuski's personal copy of the 'Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen Dramatischen Dichtkunst...', by Johann Christoph Gottsched.⁴¹ Gottsched dedicated this volume to J. A. Załuski⁴² and its

⁴¹ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen Dramatischen Dichtkunst, oder Verzeichniß aller Deutschen Trauer-Lust- und Sing-Spiele, die im Druck erschienen, von 1450 bis zur Hälfte des jetzigen Jahrhunderts...* (Leipzig: Johann Michael Teubner, 1757).

⁴² On the page following the title-page of this volume is printed: 'Sr. Excellenz und Hochwürdigem Gnaden, Dem Hochgebohrnen Grafen und Herrn, Herrn Joseph Andreas Załuski Kron-Groß-Referendar des Königreichs Pohlen, und Prälaten der ansehnlichsten Stifter in Pohlen und Lothringen, Der Königl. Preussischen und der Bononischen Akademien der Wissenschaften Mitglied; wie auch der Kön. Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Greifswald, und der Gesellschaft der freyen Künste zu Leipzig vornehmen Ehrengliede, Einem großen Beförderer, der Gelehrsamkeit, und der schönen Wissenschaften insonderheit, Seinem besonders gnädigen Grafen und Herrn.'

title-page contains a handwritten inscription 'Dedica[tio] mihi inscripta' ('the dedication inscribed to me'):



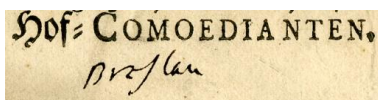
This inscription is undoubtedly in the hand of J. A. Załuski himself.

His inscriptions can also be found on another book presented by Gottsched to Józef Andrzej⁴³ (here we can see even Załuski's signature):



These annotations proved to be an important clue for the research. They made it possible to identify Załuski's hand on many sources at the National Library of Russia.⁴⁴

The extensive literature dedicated to the Załuski brothers and their library emphasises that Józef Andrzej was an outstanding bibliographer and a remarkable specialist on rare books. Despite the huge quantity of materials he acquired, he looked through the books himself and systematised them, putting the corresponding marks on their title-pages. Sometimes he identified a place of publication. So the libretto kept at the National Library of Russia under the shelfmark 6.44.2.107 'Die mit Der Wissenschaft und Klugheit vereinigte Tapfferkeit/ Vorgestellet in einem Musicalischen Prologo ... den 28 Novembr. 1721. gehorsamst *dedicirt* und aufgeführt von ... Königl. Pohln. und Churfl. Sächßischen *privilegirten* Hof-COMOEDIANTEN' contains the handwritten annotation 'Breslau' in J. A. Załuski's hand:



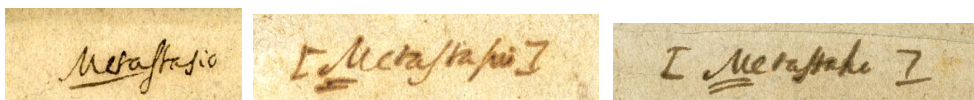
This is an essential mark because the original print contains no indications of a place of publication or performance.

Józef Andrzej more frequently identified the authors' names, if they did not appear on the title-pages of the sources. For example, he wrote the name Pietro Metastasio on many libretti ('ADRIANO in Siria', Berlin 1745, kept under

⁴³ *Sammlung einiger Ausgesuchten Stücke, der Gesellschaft der freyen Künste zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1754).

⁴⁴ Letters of J. A. Załuski kept at the National Library of Poland as well as other samples of his handwriting prove that the inscriptions discussed are in his hand. See also Halina Juszczakowska, 'Z badań nad załuscianami w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego', *Z badań nad Polskimi Księgozbiorami Historycznymi*, 2 (1976), 35–76.

shelfmark 6.17.7.139, 'LA CLEMENZA DI TITO', Dresden 1738, under shelfmark 6.17.10.361 and others):

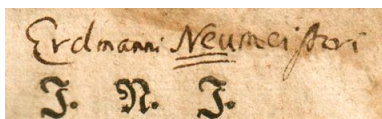


It is obvious that the work of this poet, one of the most famous librettists of the eighteenth century, was well-known to Józef Andrzej. He translated a number of Metastasio's libretti into Polish (among them 'Święta Helena na Kalwaryi', 'Męka Chrystusa Pana', 'Temistokles', 'Łaskawość Tytusa', 'Cato Utyceński', 'Demofontes', and 'Wyspa bezludna').⁴⁵

On the title-pages of the libretti 'CAJO FABRICIO' (Berlin 1746, shelfmark 6.19.10.38), 'LI VAGHI ACCIDENTI FRA AMORE, E GELOSIA' (Leipzig 1756, shelfmark 6.19.10.43) and 'IL PAZZO GLORIOSO' (Leipzig 1756, shelfmark 6.17.6.21) Józef Andrzej identified a name of Apostolo Zeno:⁴⁶



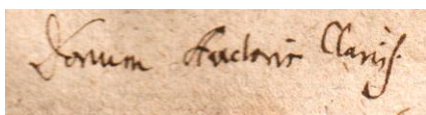
Sometimes he added an author's name, for example when it was missing from the title-pages but appeared further down, at the end of the preface or dedication. He wrote the name of Erdmann Neumeister in this way on a cantata cycle published in 1702 and now kept at the National Library of Russia under the shelfmark 16.135.5.41:



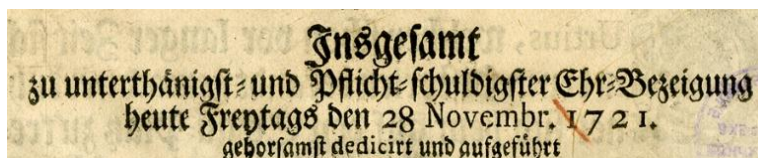
The works of Neumeister, an outstanding reformer of the German sacred cantata, were well-known to Józef Andrzej, who knew Neumeister personally. The National Library of Russia has a copy of Neumeister's cantata cycle presented to Józef Andrzej by the author (the same copy, shelfmark 16.135.5.41; on its title-page, besides the name of Neumeister, there is Załuski's inscription 'Donum Auctoris Clariss.'):

⁴⁵ Lucio Gambacorta, *Il Dramma Metastasio nella Polonia di Augusto III (1733–1763)* (Napoli: Editrice Libreria L'ateneo Pironti, 1990), pp. 149–99; Józef Andrzej Załuski, *Tragedie duchowne*, zestawił, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył Julian Lewański (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2000). These translations played a significant role in reception of Metastasio's musical dramas in Polish culture in the eighteenth century (Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'O recepcji drammi per musica Pietra Metastasia w kulturze polskiej XVIII wieku', in Szymon Paczkowski (ed.), *Muzyka wobec tradycji: Idee, Dzieło, Recepcja*, Studia et Dissertationes Instituti Musicologiae Universitatis Varsoviensis, B/14 (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2004), 569–86).

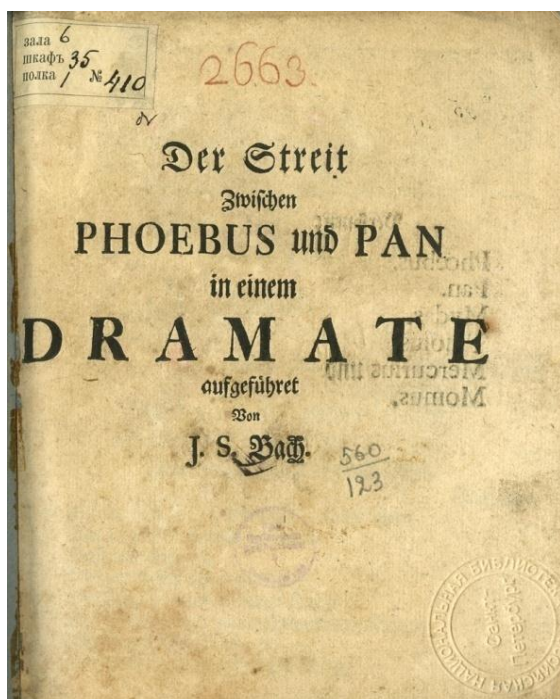
⁴⁶ However, the last two examples represent his wrong attributions because the author of these texts was Carlo Goldoni (I thank Manuel Bärwald for indicating this in our private correspondence).



One more—and much less noticeable—feature of the books from the Załuski library is the marking of a publication's year or an author's name with a diagonal stroke in red crayon:⁴⁷



Sometimes Józef Andrzej emphasised a big letter of the author's name with two short lines, as can be seen on a libretto of J. S. Bach's cantata 'Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan' (BWV 201, shelfmark 6.35.1.410):⁴⁸



⁴⁷ Certainly, these markings cannot be identified with the same accuracy, as the handwritten annotations given above. However, their presence in those books which contain inscriptions in J. A. Załuski's hand is convincing evidence that they belong to markings of his collection. Sources also testify that Józef Andrzej made similar marks on the title-pages of the books himself. See among others Kossarzecki, 'The Załuski Family and their Library', p. 82.

⁴⁸ As is visible in this sample, the signs are identical to those represented in the examples of handwritten annotations with Metastasio's name given above, which undoubtedly belong to J. A. Załuski.

But the most peculiar feature of Józef Andrzej's markings was his system of stars, which he used to indicate a book's rarity. A rare book was given one star, a rarer one two or three stars, and the most rare or unique were given five stars:⁴⁹



These handwritten marks thus make it possible to identify the books and booklets which belonged to Załuski and are now kept in St Petersburg.

The many losses from the Załuski library mean that we do not know the extent of its collection of texts for German music. But judging by Józef Andrzej's handwritten annotations, it had a number of subsections. Using these, it is to an extent possible to reconstruct a description of the subcategories of such sources within this library: apparently there were such subsections as 'Operas', 'Serenaten', 'Hamburgische Serenaten', 'Cantica' (Józef Andrzej generally signed various cantata cycles and *Gesangbücher*). Supposedly there were also sections according to the authors' names: Dedekind, Neumeister, Metastasio, Zeno and others. To date the group of German *Gesangbücher* from the Załuski collection found at the National Library of Russia is the largest, and apparently it has survived much better than the texts for music. However, it is not surprising that so many *Gesangbücher* from the Załuski collection have survived, as they are generally large, expansive volumes in hard covers. The small booklets in which texts for music were published had a much less successful destiny.

It is astonishing that, although he was a Catholic, Józef Andrzej used to compile printed texts from Protestant churches in many large and small cities in Germany. In the library there are many sermons by Protestant clergymen from Lübeck, Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg and many other German cities, annotated with his handwritten marks.⁵⁰ Apparently, the texts for German Protestant music were a part of this interest.

The sources in St Petersburg testify that German Protestant cantatas and oratorios were constantly the focus of Józef Andrzej's attention. His collection has given us the text of an unknown Passions-oratorio by Telemann from 1731,⁵¹ as well as seventeen text booklets of his Hamburg church cantatas from 1721–27. The set of original texts for Dresden Protestant music which has been discovered is unique and particularly valuable because, for the first time in musicology, it gives a new perspective on compositions performed in the 1710s–1740s at the *Kreuzkirche*, *Frauenkirche* and St Sophia church. Many text booklets for cantata

⁴⁹ The same ink used by Załuski in the stars and such inscriptions confirms that they are in his hand. Also, as the examples show, the stars were usually written by him as part of his annotations.

⁵⁰ See, for example, convolutes kept at the National Library of Russia under the shelfmarks 15.3.3.348a–368u, 15.16.1.1a–223d and others. This testifies again that the breadth of J. A. Załuski's interests was not restricted by his Catholicism. Although researchers noted more than once his religious fanaticism (see Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, p. 53), Załuski's interest in Voltaire and even his translations of works by the famous philosopher are known.

⁵¹ Schabalina, 'Textfunde in Sankt Petersburg: Unbekanntes Passionsoratorium von Telemann aus dem Jahr 1731'.

cycles from the Załuski collection covering the period 1696–1749 can be found in the St Petersburg library. The overwhelming majority of these are the only copies in the world. Similarly, many texts for secular and ‘occasional’ pieces are also rarities.⁵²

Thus, the findings at the National Library of Russia not only confirm Józef Andrzej’s interest in German poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also shed light on his collecting of original printed texts for German music of that time.⁵³ Although the majority of musical autographs and other contemporary manuscripts of musical works do not include dates of origin, the text booklets, which were printed for a performance, generally included an exact date and place. This makes them particularly important primary sources of vocal compositions by J. S. Bach and his contemporaries. In the context of modern musicology, Józef Andrzej’s attention to such sources has proved extremely valuable.

Bach and Leipzig sources from the Załuski library

In addition to many sources from Hamburg, Dresden, Breslau, Weissenfels, Naumburg and other German cities, a considerable part of the Załuski collection in St Petersburg consists of Leipzig prints dating from the end of the seventeenth century until the middle of the eighteenth. Among them are the collections of miscellaneous sermons by Leipzig priests, including Salomon Deyling (1677–1755), Johann Benedict Carpzov (1639–1699), Roman Teller (1703–1750) and others. Some of these include musical pieces by Leipzig composers. For example, the miscellany under the shelfmark 17.92.1.264a–273j contains the motet by Sebastian Knüpfer (1633–1676) ‘Erforsche mich Gott und erfahre mein Hertz’ printed in performance parts (*Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Bassus Contin.*) for two choirs. There are also various jubilee editions; for instance, a volume for the third jubilee festival of Leipzig University in 1709 (published in 1710):

Das | Dritte | Jubel-Fest | Der | Berühmten Universität | Leipzig/ | Mit
historischer Feder entworffen/ | Nebst | Darzu gehörigen Kupffern und
andern | merckwürdigen Dingen/ welche in denen bißhero | von diesem
Jubilæo gedruckten Schrifftten | nicht zu befinden. || Leipzig/ Bey Johann
Theodor Boetio.

This contains the texts for ‘Der Herr hat Zion erwehlet’ by Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722) and other cantatas including ‘Erlaube, werthe Schaar’ and ‘Schweiget nur, ihr raschen Saiten!’. Another sample is:

Gepriesenes Andencken | von | Erfindung | der | Buchdruckerey | wie
solches in Leipzig | bey dem Schluß des dritten Jahrhunderts | von den |

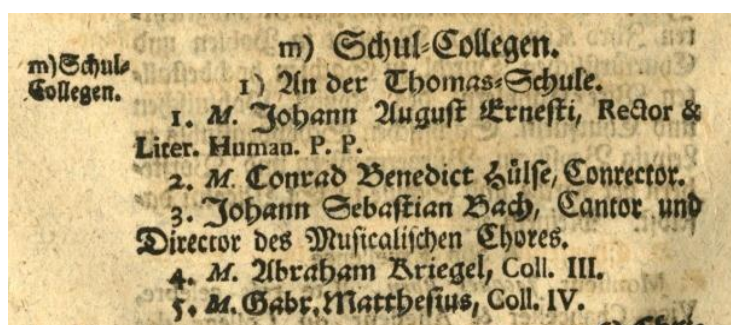
⁵² The book which the author is currently preparing will describe the discovered sources in detail, and will specially show which of them can be considered as originating from the Załuski library.

⁵³ As far as the author knows, this has not been discussed in the rich literature devoted to Józef Andrzej Załuski and his library.

gesamnten Buchdruckern daselbst | gefeyert worden. || In den
Buchdruckerey in Leipzig | 1740.

This volume includes the texts by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) for cantata ‘Geist der Weisheit! Licht der Sinnen!’ which Johann Gottlieb Görner (1697–1778) set in two parts, the second part beginning ‘Ihr Pierinnen an der Pleiße’. All these examples contain the handwritten marks so typical of the Załuski library.

Apparently Józef Andrzej also acquired the ‘Titular-Bücher’ published in Leipzig at that period. One of the copies which has been discovered, ‘Gantz neue Zusätze zu dem Lünigischen Staats-Titular-Buche ... Herausgegeben von D. Gottlob August Jenichen’ published in Leipzig 1744, mentions J. S. Bach by name. Page 208 of the ‘Schul-Collegen an der Thomas-Schule’ says: ‘3. Johann Sebastian Bach, Cantor und Director des Musicalischen Chores’:



Another valuable copy from the Załuski collection also states:

Das | Frohlockende Leipzig/ | Oder | SOLENNIA | So bey | Sr. Königl.
Maj. in Pohlen, und | Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen etc. etc. | Hohen
Anwesen | Und | Höchst-vergnügt gefeyerten | Königl. Geburtst-Tage |
Auf der Universität daselbst | ergangen; | Gesammlet und beschrieben |
Von | Dem Autore des Leipziger Jahr-Buchs/ | Christoph Ernst Siculn. | Zu
finden Autore 1727.

The text of Bach’s cantata for the birthday of Friedrich August I ‘Entfernet euch, ihr heitern Sterne!’ BWV Anh. 9 is printed here.⁵⁴

Judging by the examples kept at the National Library of Russia, Józef Andrzej collected various dissertations published in Leipzig at that time, as well as numerous issues of ‘Rector Academia Lipsiensis’, ‘Acta ecclesiastica: in welchen unterschiedliche bey dem Predigt-Amt vorgegangene Fälle erörtert werden ...’, ‘Homiliarium Evangelicum ...’, ‘Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen ...’ and other Leipzig periodicals. The library also has a rich collection of Leipzig engravings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although many engravings from the Załuski library were returned to Poland in the 1920s and 1930s, a number of them are now kept in St Petersburg.

⁵⁴ The National Library of Russia also has the separate original text for this cantata (see Schabalina, ‘Texte zur Music in St Petersburg’ (2008), 85). However, its provenance remains unknown.

The following Leipzig texts for music and cantata cycles originating from the Załuski collection are held in the National Library of Russia:

- *Mane Jesu Nobiscum!* | Biblische Geschichte/ | An denen heiligen drey Pfingst-Ferien 1699. | In beyden Haupt-Kirchen zu Leipzig musiciret.
- Im Nahmen JEsu. | Evangelische | Hertz-Ermunterung/ | das ist/ | Musicalische Texte | auff | Alle Sonn- und Fest-Tage | durchs gantze Jahr/ | da jedesmahl | Mit einem Biblischen Spruche | der Anfang gemacht/ | So dann ein Theil des Evangelii | Mit untermengten Arien durchgeführt/ | und endlich | Mit einem Vers | aus einem Kirchen-Gesange | beschlossen wird/ | verfertiget von | M. Johann Neunhertz/ | und | Zu Leipzig *musiciret* durch | Johann Schellen/ | *Anno Chr.* 1701. || LEIPZIG/ | Gedruckt bey Johann Georgen.
- Evangelisches | HONIG/ | oder | Himmlischer | und Hertzzerqvickender | TROST | Vor allerhand bekümmert | und Noth-leidende Seelen/ | Aus den ordentlichen Sonn- und | fürnehmsten Fest-Tags- | *EVANGELIIS*, | durchs gantze Jahr | zusammen getragen/ | Und bey dieser vierdten *Edition* | mit etlichen Oden vermehret | von | M. Gottfried Erdmannen/ | bey der Kirchen zu St. *Nicolai* | in Eilenburg *Diac.* || Leipzig/ gedruckt und verlegt | von | Andreas Zeidlern/ | Im Jahr 1703.
- Gottliebender Seelen | Geistliche | Nachlese | Des an denen | Sonn-Fest- und Apo- | stel-Tagen | Bey öffentlicher Gemeine eingeernd- | teten Göttlichen Worts, | In | ungezwungenen Teutschen | Versen | abgefasset | von | Johann Neumann, | *S. S. Theol. Stud.* || Leipzig, 1715. | Zu finden bey Johann Christian Martini; | in der Nicolai-Strasse.
- Texte | zur Leipziger | Kirchen-Music, | Auf die Heiligen | Pfingst-Feyertage, | Und das Fest | Der | Heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit. | 1721. || Leipzig, | gedruckt bey Immanuel Tietzen.
- [Texte zur Kirchen-Music, auf die Himmelfahrt-Feyertage, Pfingst-Feyertage, und das Fest der Heil. Dreyeinigkeit. || Leipzig, | 1721].
- Texte | zur Leipziger | Kirchen-Music, | Auf die Heiligen | Weyhnachts-Feyertage, | und den Sonntag darauf, | 1721. | Ingleichen auf das Fest | Der Beschneidung Christi, | den drauf folgenden Sonntag, | Das Fest der Offenbahrung, | und den Sonntag darauf, | des 1722sten Jahres. || Leipzig, | gedruckt bey Immanuel Tietzen.
- [Cantaten | Auf die Sonn- | und | Fest-Tage | durch | das gantze Jahr, | verfertiget | durch | Picandern. | Leipzig, 1728.]
- Christianen Marianen | von Ziegler | Versuch | In | Gebundener | Schreib-Art. || Leipzig, | Bey Joh. Friedrich Brauns sel. Erben, 1728.
- Christianen Marianen | von Ziegler | In | Gebundener | Schreib-Art | Anderer und letzter Theil || Leipzig, | Bey Johann Friedrich Brauns sel. Erben 1729.
- Der | Für die Sünde der Welt | [gem]arterte und sterbende | JESUS, | Aus denen | IV Evangelisten | Am Char-Freytage des 1729sten | Jahres, | In der Neuen-Kirche | zu | Leipzig | [*Musica*]lich aufgeführt.
- Der Streit | Zwischen | *PHOEBUS* und *PAN* | in einem | *DRAMATE* | aufgeführt | Von | J. S. Bach.

- Iphigenia in Aulis. | Ein | Sing-Gedicht. | Wurde nach | Herrn Johann Gottlieb Görners | Musicalischer Ausführung | in dem | *COLLEGIO MVSICO* | aufgeführt. || Leipzig, mit Breitkopfschen Schrifften, 1734.
- Die | in den Lorbeer-Baum | verwandelte Nympe | Daphne, | Von dem Görnerischen | *COLLEGIO MUSICO* | Zu Leipzig | In einem | *DRAMA* | aufgeführt. || LEIPZIG, | Johann Heinrich König.
- *IL TRIONFO | DEL TEMPO. | POESIA PER MUSICA | DA CANTARSI | NEL GIARDINO DI ENOCHE RICHTER.* || Oder | Triumph | Der Zeit. | Ein musikalisches Stück, | Welches | in dem Richterischen Garten | den Sonntag in der Zahlwoche | aufgeführt werden soll. || Leipzig, | Gedruckt bey Gottlob Friedrich Rumpff.
- Musikalisches | *DRAMMA*, | von | Herrn Johann Trier, | welches den 1. May, 1746. | in dem Enoch Richterischen Garten | aufgeführt worden. || Leipzig, | gedruckt bey Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf.
- Text zur Musik, | welche vor und nach der feyerlichen Rede zu dem | Evangelischen Jubel- und Dankfeste, wegen des am 25. | Sept. 1555. im heil. Römischen Reiche geschlossenen Religionsfriedens | am 30 Sept. 1755. in der Universitätskirche zu Leipzig | aufgeführt worden.

It must be emphasised that the sources listed above do not present the full richness of the Leipzig texts for music of that time currently held at the National Library of Russia. However, as many of them contain no marks or stamps from their former owners, their origins remain unknown.⁵⁵ Of all the texts for Bach's

⁵⁵ We cannot exclude, of course, their origin from the Załuski library. As all the other original texts for Bach's church cantatas and passions kept at the National Library of Russia are separate small booklets, they could have been purchased by J. A. Załuski, whose interest in such booklets and leaflets has been shown. Apparently not all such sources were marked by him. For example, seventeen text booklets for Hamburg church cantatas by Telemann do not have any such marks on their title-pages (they constitute a convolute compiled by J. A. Załuski and only the first unite in it contains his handwritten annotation '1717=27'). Similarly three text booklets for Leipzig church music of 1721/22 listed above have no handwritten marks, although other unites of this convolute contain typical markings by J. A. Załuski. A few years ago the author suggested that some texts for music could have been bought by him at the sale of the Gottsched's library in 1767 (Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg' (2008), 34). Shortly after, this theory was considered and developed further by Michael Maul (Michael Maul, *Barockoper in Leipzig (1693–1720), Textband* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2009), pp. 828–830). However, the provenance of such texts at the National Library of Russia remains unclear. It is peculiar that the books kept at the library and containing exlibris 'Bibliotheca Gottschediana' have no handwritten marks or stamps from the Załuski library. Those books which do have such marks and stamps do not contain exlibris 'Bibliotheca Gottschediana'. It can be assumed, of course, that if Załuski acquired a part of the Gottsched's library at the auction in July 1767, he might not have had enough time to look through all of it and mark it, as he did in the majority of other cases. Several months after the auction Załuski was arrested and exiled to Kaluga. Or the books from the Gottsched library could have found their way into the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg via other persons; it is known that many Germans not only visited, but lived and worked in St Petersburg during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They brought and presented various German books to the Imperial Library. Despite the uncertain origin of many similar sources found in the library, the author has found documents testifying that besides the Załuski library the German texts for music of the seventeenth and

works discovered in the National Library of Russia, the Picander-Jahrgang 1728 and the libretto of BWV 201 certainly came from the Załuski library.⁵⁶ The title-page of the original libretto 'Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan' BWV 201 is shown on p. 36 above with marks typical of Józef Andrzej.⁵⁷ The cantata cycle by Christian Friedrich Henrici (Picander) found at the National Library of Russia in 2008 even has several annotations in Józef Andrzej's hand. Unfortunately, this copy of the Picander-Jahrgang, published in Leipzig in 1728, is incomplete.⁵⁸ The text begins with page 13, and the Józef Andrzej's inscriptions can be seen immediately on the verso side of the cover – 'Cantica def[.] init[.]', and on the first page – 'Arien auf die Son- und Fest-tage des Jahrs' and once again 'Cantica':



It is clear from these annotations that the book was already incomplete when Załuski owned it. It is hard to say whether Józef Andrzej knew the authors' names as well as the place and year of publication; if he did, he would have been likely to include them in his inscriptions. But in spite of its defective state, Józef Andrzej must have appreciated this very rare example as he purchased it and included it in his collection. It is worth remembering that a number of J. S. Bach's cantatas (BWV 145, 149, 156, 159, 171, 174, 188, 197a) and cantatas written by C. P. E. Bach under his father's supervision⁵⁹ were composed on the texts of this cycle. In view of the loss of the Dresden full copy of this Jahrgang,⁶⁰ the St Petersburg copy is the only one known and therefore particularly valuable.

The National Library of Russia also has numerous libretti for Leipzig operas of that time. A number of them contain the handwritten marks typical of the Załuski library and can be considered as having originated from this collection:

eighteenth centuries reached the Imperial Public (later the State Public) Library in St Petersburg (Leningrad) via various persons and organisations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Tatjana Schabalina, *'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg: Gedruckte Quellen zu Werken von J. S. Bach und anderen deutschen Komponisten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, [2015] forthcoming).

⁵⁶ Among the Leipzig sources listed above there is one more cantata performed on the first day of Pentecost of 1721 ('Texte | zur Leipziger | Kirchen-Music, | Auf die Heiligen | Pfingst-Feyertage, | Und das Fest | Der | Heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit. | 1721'). It completely coincides with the text of J. S. Bach's cantata BWV 172 and there is some evidence that exactly this piece sounded in Leipzig that day (Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg' (2008), 57–8; Gottfried Simpfendörfer, 'Die Leipziger Pfingstkantate von 1721 – ein Werk von Johann Sebastian Bach?', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 96 (2010), 275–9). However, until new sources are found, this can be considered only as a suggestion.

⁵⁷ See also Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg' (2008), 86–7.

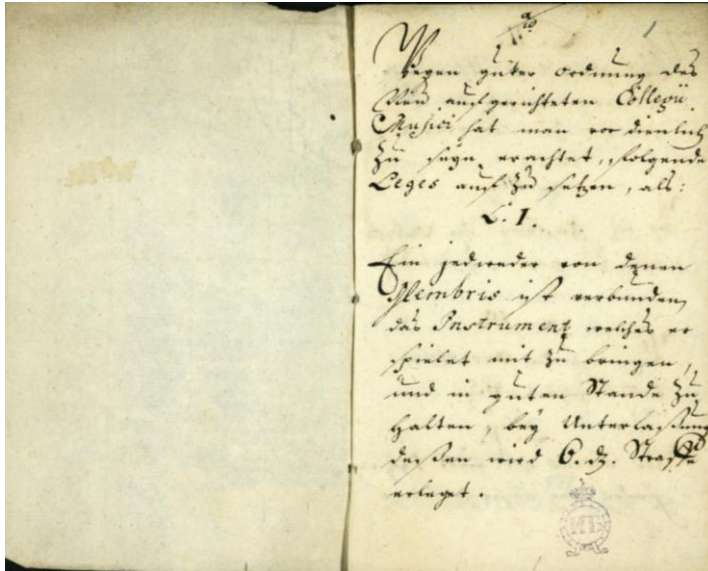
⁵⁸ For more detailed discussion of this copy see Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg' (2009), 20–30; Shabalina, 'Recent Discoveries in St Petersburg', 87–92.

⁵⁹ Peter Wollny, 'Zwei Bach-Funde in Mügeln. C. P. E. Bach, Picander und die Leipziger Kirchenmusik in den 1730er Jahren', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 96 (2010), 111–51.

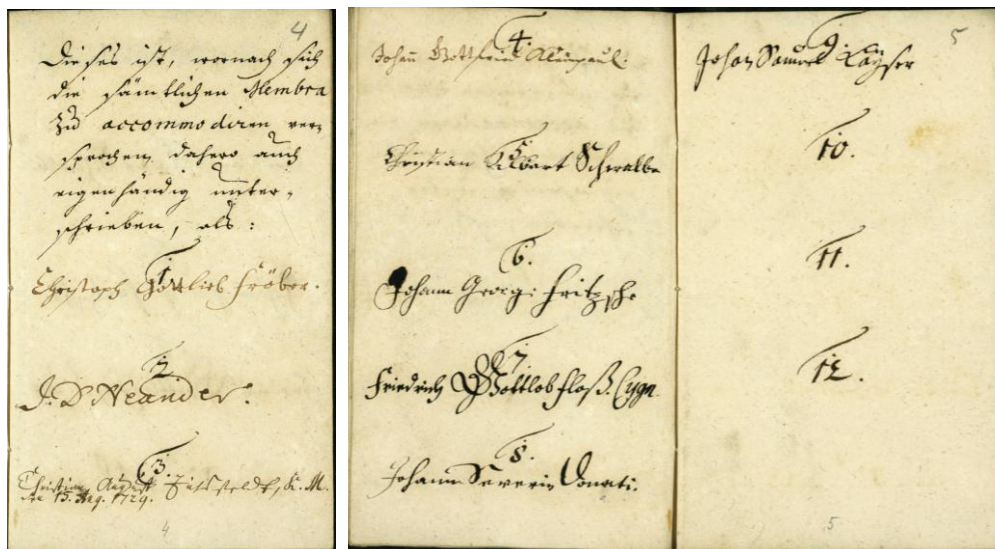
⁶⁰ Before World War II it had been kept at the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden* under the shelfmark *Lit. Germ. rec. B. 1126*. It was lost in 1945 and its location today is not known.

- *ACESTE* | Wurde | Mit Kön. Majestät | in Pohlen | [Und | Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen] | Allergnädigster Verwilligung. | Auf dem Leipziger Schau-Platze | In der Michaelis-Messe | *Anno M. DCC. II.* | vorgestellt | In einer | *OPERA*.
- *GERMANICUS* | wurde | [Mit | Königl. Majestät | in Pohlen | und | Churfürstl. Durchl. | zu Sachsen] | Allergnädigster Verwilligung | auf | dem Leipziger *THEATRO* | *Anno 1704.* | in der Michaelis-Messe | vorgestellt | in einer | *OPERA*.
- *ADONIS* | Wurde | Mit | Ihro Königl. Majestät | und | Churfürstl. Durchl. | zu Sachsen | allergnädigster Verwilligung | auf dem Leipziger Schau-Platze | in der Oster-Messe 1708. | vorgestellt, | in einer | *OPERA*.
- *ISMENIE* | und | *MONTALDO* | Wurden mit | Ihro Königl. Majestät in | Pohlen und Chur-Fürstl. | Durchl. zu Sachsen | Allergnädigster Verwilligung | auf dem | Leipziger Schau-Platze | In der Neu Jahrs-Messe 1713. | aufgeführt | in einer | *OPERA*.
- Die | Königliche Schäferin | *MARGENIS* | Wurde mit | Ihro Königl. Majest. | in Pohlen | und | Chur-Fürstl. Durchl. zu | Sachsen | Allergnädigster Verwilligung | Auf dem | Leipziger Schau-Platze | aufgeführt | In einem | *Musicalischen* | Schäfer-Spiele.
- Die | Satyren | in | Arcadien | Wurden mit | Ihro Kön. Maj. in Pohlen | und Chur-Fürstl. Durchl. | zu Sachsen, etc. etc. | Allergnädigster Verwilligung | Auf dem | Leipziger Schau-Platze | vorgestellt | in einer | *OPERA*.
- *SIROE*, | König aus Persien. | *Musicalisches* | Schau-Spiel, | Welches | auf dem neuen *THEATRO*, | Im Reit-Hause zu Leipzig, diese jetzige Jubilate-| Messe 1744. aufgeführt wird.
- *LA* | *SEMIRAMIDE* | *RICONNOSCIUTA*, | *DRAMA* | *IN MUSICA* | *DA RAPPRESENTARSI* | *NEL NUOVO TEATRO* | *ALLA CAVALLERIZZA* | *NELLA FIERA DI JUBILATE* | *DELL' ANNO 1746. IN LIPSIA.* || Die | Erkannte Semiramis | Das ist: | Ein *Musicalisches Drama*, | Welches | Auf dem neuen *Theatro*, im Reit-| Hause, diese Leipziger Jubilate-Messe | aufgeführt wird. | In Jahr 1746.
- *LA* | *FINTA SCHIAVA*, | *DRAMMA* | *PER MUSICA*, | *DA RAPPRESENTARSI* | *NEL NUOVO TEATRO* | *ALLA CAVALLERIZZA* | *NELLA FIERA DI JUBILATE* | *DELL' ANNO MDCCXLVI.* | *IN LIPSIA.*
- *IL* | *PAZZO GLORIOSO.* | *DRAMMA GIOCOSO* | *PER MUSICA*, | *DA RAPPRESENTARSI* | *NEL NUOVO TEATRO* | *ALLA CAVALLERIZZA* | *NELLA FIERA DI GIUBILATE* | *Dell' Anno MDCCLVI.* | *In Lipsia.* || Der | Ehrgeitzige Thor. | Ein | *Musicalisches Lustspiel/* | Welches | Auf dem neuerrichteten Theater | Im allhiesigen Reuthause | Zur Jubilate Messe | In Leipzig | aufgeführt wird | Im Jahr 1756. || Gedruckt bey Ignatz Pruscha.
- *LI* | *VAGHI ACCIDENTI* | *FRA* | *AMORE, E GELOSIA.* | *DRAMMA GIOCOSO* | *PER MUSICA*, | *DA RAPPRESENTARSI* | *NEL NUOVO TEATRO* | *ALLA CAVALLERIZZA* | *NELLA FIERA DI GIUBILATE* | *Dell' Anno MDCCLVI.* | *In Lipsia.* || Die | Artigen Zufälle | Zwischen | Liebe und Eifersucht. | Ein *Musicalisches Lustspiel*, | Welches | Auf dem neuerrichteten Theater | Im allhiesigen Reuthause | Zur Jubilate Messe | In Leipzig | aufgeführt wird | Im Jahr 1756.

The Załuski library also contained some curious manuscripts connected with Leipzig musical life of Bach's time. Among various manuscripts of musical treatises and handwritten texts for arias and cantatas, the author has recently discovered a document with the rules of the *Collegium musicum* 1729 (The National Library of Russia, the Manuscript Department, shelfmark *HeM. O. XII. 1*):



It appears to be the Leipzig document because all the signatures at the end belong to the students of Leipzig University at the time:⁶¹



⁶¹ These are: 1) Christoph Gottlieb Fröber, entered Leipzig University on 21 September 1726; 2) Johann David Neander, entered the University on 29 June 1726; 3) Christian August Eichsfeldt, entered the University on 14 June 1726; 4) Johann Gottfried Kleinpaul entered the University on 23 April 1725; 5) Christian Albert Schwalbe, entered the University on 27 September 1729; 6) Johann Georg Fritzsche, entered the University on 12 June 1727; 7) Friedrich Gottlob Floß, entered the University on 3 May 1728; 8) Johann Severin Donati, entered the University on 14 May 1728; 9) Johann Samuel Kayser, entered the University on 8 May 1728 (see in more details: Tatjana Schabalina, 'Die "Leges" des "Neu aufgerichteten Collegium musicum" (1729) – Ein unbekanntes Dokument zur Leipziger Musikgeschichte', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 98 (2012), 107–19).

The manuscript comprises eleven paragraphs which state that every member must come to the concerts on time ('Wird *punct* 8. Uhr angefangen, welches der *Director* zu *observiren*'), bring the instrument which he plays and keep it in order ('L. I. Ein jedweder von denen *Membris* ist verbunden das *Instrument* welches er spielet mit zu bringen, und in guten Stande zu halten...'). Anyone who was late for the beginning of the *ouverture* had to pay 3 pfennigs as a forfeit ('L. III. Wer bey Anfang der *Ouvert*: nicht zu gegen, zahlet 3 pf. '); anyone who arrived after the end of the *ouverture* paid 6 pfennigs ('L. IV. Wer nach der *Ouverture* kommt zahlet 6 pf. '); and anyone who was absent without a good reason had to pay 1 groschen ('L. V. Wer *absens* ist giebt 1 gr. Jedoch bey vorher gethaner Entschuldigung, *excusant morbus et iter*, nicht aber eine Spatzierfarth oder Gang, auch nicht bloßes Kopffweh'). We can suppose that the students had not been too disciplined (they were late, or absent without a good reason, or forgot instruments) and the ensemble's director decided to fix the problem by introducing a whole system of rules, with appropriate punishments for their infringement. There are also other curious details of the inner organisation of this *Collegium*. Although each member was obliged to pay a weekly fee for 'Gemüths Ergötzung' ('L. VIII. Werden alle Wochen 6 pf. zu einer Gemüths Ergötzung von jeden *Membro collationiret*'), the ensemble was run quite democratically, and at the request of the members the director had to present some kind of 'financial report' ('L. XI. Auf Erfordern ist der *Director* gehalten, das Geld alle Monathe dem *Collegio* richtig zu zeigen').

The document also includes significant information about the programmes of the *Collegium musicum* performances. As several 'Leges' mention 'Overture' and 'Concert' ('L. VI. Wird ein ieder bey der *Ouverture* und *Concert* zu seiner *denominirten* Stimme ohne Verweigerung treten, und mit spielen ...' see also 'L. III.' and 'L. IV.' above), it would appear that these pieces were the obligatory opening movements of the *Collegium*'s regular performances. This accords with the facts that around 1729/30 many performance parts of the concertos and overtures were prepared in Leipzig—among them the performance parts of the Overtures by Johann Bernhard Bach, the Overture BWV 1068 (*St* 153), the Concerto for violin and strings BWV 1041 (*St* 145), the Concerto for two violins BWV 1043 (PL-Kj, *St* 148) and the Concerto for four harpsichords BWV 1065 (*St* 378) by J. S. Bach. Concerto compositions by C. P. E. Bach and W. F. Bach can be also considered in relation to this.⁶² It should be remembered that precisely these pieces—*Ouverture* and *Concerto*—compiled the second part of J. S. Bach's *Clavierübung* published in 1735.

Unfortunately the document does not include the director's name. He is mentioned in all the rules only as 'der Director'.⁶³ But even if this source did not

⁶² Ibid., pp. 117–18.

⁶³ The question of which *Collegium musicum* this document belongs to is not a simple one. By 1729/30 two such ensembles existed in Leipzig, Görner's and Bach's. Görner's *Collegium* can hardly be considered in this respect; it existed from at least 1723 and the definition 'neu aufgerichtetes' is not suitable in this case. Bach's leadership which began in 1729 can be seen as much more probable with regard to the 'rules'. But as we know from Bach's letter to C. G. Wecker in March 1729, he was willing to take leadership of the *Collegium musicum* after the

belong to J. S. Bach's *Collegium musicum*, its acquisition by Józef Andrzej bears witness to the interest in similar musical organisations in Leipzig. This newly discovered manuscript is surely very significant; for the first time it reveals how such ensembles in Leipzig were organised, and it contains quite curious and previously unknown information about their activities.

Józef Andrzej's interest in the Leipzig musical life of Bach's time is suggested by these discoveries in the remnants of his library. Although to date sources by Bach from the Załuski library are not as numerous as those by G. P. Telemann, C. H. Graun, J. A. Hasse and other German composers, the evidence indicates that Józef Andrzej may have been acquainted with Bach's work. It is significant that for many years he dealt with such outstanding Leipzig figures as Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof (1711–1778), Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–1794) and others.

Józef Andrzej's surviving correspondence with professor of poetics, logic, and metaphysics of Leipzig University and head of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* Johann Christoph Gottsched testifies to their long and intense communication.⁶⁴ Certainly it is no coincidence that Gottsched dedicated the first volume of his 'Nöthiger Vorrath' to J. A. Załuski, where the texts for German dramatic and musical pieces had been systematised for several centuries.⁶⁵ Gottsched was the librettist of a number of J. S. Bach's vocal pieces: including the Trauerode BWV 198 for the academic memorial service for the Electress of Saxony Christiane Eberhardine on 17 October 1727, as well as the cantatas 'Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden' BWV Anh. 13 (performed on 28 April 1738) and 'Auf, süß entzückende Gewalt' BWV Anh. 196 (performed on 27 November 1725). In 1728 Gottsched named J. S. Bach as the most famous German composer, together with G. P. Telemann and G. F. Händel.⁶⁶ By 1732 he had sent the newly published part I of Bach's *Clavierübung* to his bride Louise Adelgunde Victorie Kulmus.⁶⁷

Józef Andrzej's correspondence with the other outstanding Leipzig figure, founder of the 'Society of Musical Science', physician, mathematician, historian,

departure of Georg Balthasar Schott from Leipzig (*BDok* I, no. 20; *NBR*, no. 130). By that time this ensemble had already existed in Leipzig for 28 years (it was organised by Telemann in 1701 and then directed by Schott). However, we do not know yet when Bach began to direct this organisation. It apparently existed for some time after Schott had left without any leadership or even did not perform at all. The first documentary evidence of its performance under J. S. Bach dates to 12 June 1729 (*BDok* V, no. B 262b). By that time Bach could have chosen new members of the ensemble and elaborated new rules, which could have been enough reason to call it 'neu aufgerichtetes' in summer 1729. For other theories see Schabalina, 'Die "Leges" des "Neu aufgerichteten Collegium musicum"', 114–17.

⁶⁴ Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 90–107.

⁶⁵ The topic of the theatre was one where Załuski's and Gottsched's interests happened to be especially close. J. A. Załuski visited Gottsched's house during his visit to Leipzig in 1756 and was staggered by the richness of his collection of books, in particular texts of dramatic and musical works. See also Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 96–7; Maul, *Barockoper in Leipzig, Textband*, pp. 828–9. Gottsched frequently sent various books to J. A. Załuski and advised him what to purchase (Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 98–102).

⁶⁶ *BDok* II, no. 249. See also: *BDok* II, no. 483.

⁶⁷ *BDok* II, no. 309.

music theorist and composer Lorenz Christoph Mizler represents another important and special theme.⁶⁸ In 1743 Mizler moved to Poland and from that time his relations with the Crown Referendary were not restricted to private correspondence and occasional meetings. Their joint activity led to publication of Poland's first scientific newspaper *Warschauer Bibliothek*, as well as the foundation of the 'Towarzystwo Literatów w Polsce' and a number of other projects.⁶⁹ In Leipzig, Mizler was a student on J. S. Bach's 'musica practica' and he dedicated his thesis 'Dissertatio quod Musica ars sit pars eruditionis philosophicae' to Bach among others. In the preface, dated 28 June 1734, he wrote: 'Likewise your instruction in practical music [*musica practica*], most celebrated Bach, have I used with great profit, and I regret that it is not possible for me to enjoy it further'.⁷⁰ An important link between J. A. Załuski and J. S. Bach is Lorenz Mizler von Kolof, who in his published writings named Bach among the most celebrated German 'Clavieristen' and composers,⁷¹ and of whose 'Society of Musical Science' Bach became a member in June 1747.⁷²

There is evidence of Józef Andrzej's intensive correspondence with Abraham Michael Trotz, who was the Załuski library's Leipzig agent for many years.⁷³ There is also information about his contacts with members of the Breitkopf family⁷⁴ and other Leipzig figures of that time.⁷⁵ All of this, together with the sources presented above, shows that Józef Andrzej must have known J. S. Bach's work and collected original printed texts for his compositions. It is probable that the Załuski library also owned other original printed texts for Bach's vocal pieces, and that, in view of the tragic fate of the collection, these were lost.

⁶⁸ Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 134–49; Szyndler, *Biblioteka Załuskich*, pp. 36–8; Lutz Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof. Schüler Bachs und pythagoreischer 'Apostel der Wolffischen Philosophie'* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2012).

⁶⁹ In more details concerning the communication of J. A. Załuski and L. Mizler see Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 134–49. Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof*, pp. 310–424.

⁷⁰ *NBR*, no. 169, p. 163; *BDok II*, no. 349.

⁷¹ *BDok II*, no. 404, 419, 420, 421, 431, 436, 470, 481, 564, 565 and 566. See also *BDok II*, no. 361, 387, 482, 557, 559 and 580. In the polemic of the 1730s around Bach's works Mizler defended J. S. Bach (*BDok II*, no. 420, 436). It is hard to imagine that Mizler has not talked to J. A. Załuski about his teacher on *musica practica* and one of the most famous German composers.

⁷² In 1754 Mizler published in his *Musikalische Bibliothek* J. S. Bach's obituary written by C. P. E. Bach and J. F. Agricola (*BDok III*, no. 666; *NBR* no. 306).

⁷³ Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 107–118; Szyndler, *Biblioteka Załuskich*, pp. 18–19; Aleksandra Iwanowska, 'Michał Abraham Troc i Bracia Załuscy', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 34/2 (1989), 237–60; Aleksandra Iwanowska, 'Michał Abraham Troc a początki Biblioteki Załuskich', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 34/4 (1989), 870–88.

⁷⁴ Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, p. 102.

⁷⁵ Among them are Johann Gottlob Böhme, Friedrich Otto and Johann Burckhardt Mencke, Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, Ernst Christoph Manteuffel, Johann Erhard Kapp, Johann Jacob Mascov, Johann Gottlieb Krause, Carl Otto Rechenberg and others (Kozłowski, 'Geografia powiązań Biblioteki Załuskich z zagranicą'). It is peculiar that the majority of the figures whom H. Lemke considered in his book concerning contacts of J. A. Załuski were the Leipzig ones (Lemke, *Die Brüder Załuski*, pp. 90–149).

Conclusion

Although the importance of Józef Andrzej in different spheres of literature and art is well known, his role in preserving *Texte zur Music* has not previously been appreciated. The recent discoveries in St Petersburg demonstrate that many sources of German music and Bach's works in particular have survived and become known because of his collection. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he was able to appreciate their future significance to the history of music. As for the theme 'Bach and Poland in the eighteenth century', the St Petersburg discoveries provide new and important material. It is very probable that by the middle of the eighteenth century Poland was the only country other than Germany where the original printed texts of Bach's compositions were preserved. It seems that other musical manuscripts similar to that used by the *Collegium musicum* reached Warsaw at the time. Despite the tragic fate of the Załuski library as a whole (as much was damaged or split up and removed from Poland, the country to which Józef Andrzej left his collection), the part which has survived is an invaluable world's heritage. It is our duty to preserve those sources we still have, to study them and bring them into our modern discourse. The discoveries at the National Library of Russia not only contribute to our knowledge of original texts for works by Bach and other German composers, they are also a tribute to the remarkable work of Józef Andrzej Załuski, who saved many unique sources of Baroque music from vanishing and so revealed to us important new facts about its history.