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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Promotor:

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ARTISTIC PIECE

1. Cajus Schmiedtlein - *Panthasia Septimj Tonj* (Tab. Gd., nr 15) [2'14"]
2. Cajus Schmiedtlein/Pierre Sandrin – *Dulcis memoria et suavis recordatio* (Tab. Gd., nr 18) [3'11"]
3. Cajus Schmiedtlein/Anonim? - *Vader unse im Hemmelrick* (Tab. Gd., nr 20) [2'18"]

4. Piotr Drusiński – *Preambulum* (Tab. Oli., nr 14)
Anonim/Jacob Apfell? – *Clausula primi toni* (Tab. Oli., nr 19)
Piotr Drusiński – *Preambulum* (Tab. Oli., nr 13) [2'13"]
5. Anonim/Jacob Apfell? – *Melos* (Tab. Oli., nr 165) [2'16"]
6. Anonim – *Coranta* (Tab. Oli., nr 206)
Gregor Lange – *O holdseliges Bild* (Tab. Oli., nr 207) [2'30"]
7. Anonim/Valentin Haussmann - *Chorea* (Tab. Oli., nr 257) [2'18"]

8. Kaspar Förster Starszy – *[Bicinium] XLVII. Ad Dorium*
(Sethus Calvisius: *Biciniorum Libro duo*) [1'16"]
9. Paul Siefert – *Fantasia decima (13 Fantasias)* [2'16"]
10. Paul Siefert – *Puer natus in Bethlehem* [3'22"]
11. Paul Siefert/Orlando di Lasso – *Benedicam Dominum* [10'13"]
12. Martin Gremboszewski *Aria voce sola per un Cornetto*
(arr. M. Zajączkiewicz) [6'14"]

13. Anonim – *Praludium (Ms. 40264: s. 195)* [1'04"]
14. Ieremias Erben – *Allmanda J. E. (Ms. 40264: s. 142-143)* [2'56"]
15. Ieremias Erben – *Couranta I. E. (Ms. 40264: s. 144)* [1'43"]
16. Ieremias Erben – *Sarabanda I. E. (Ms. 40264: s. 146)* [2'34"]
17. Ieremias Erben/M. Zajączkiewicz – *Allemande giguée par M^r Leporinius*
{after: *Allmande J. E. (Ms. 40264: s. 142-143)*} [1'47"]
18. Ieremias Erben – *Aria Jer. Erben (Ms. 40264: s. 140)*
Ieremias Erben/M. Zajączkiewicz – *Double par M^r Leporinius*
{after *Aria Jer. Erben (Ms. 40264: s. 140)*} [0'52"]

19. Anonim – *Preludion (Ms. 40264: s. 20)* [0'47"]
20. Ieremias Erben – *Cuoranta I. E. (Ms. 40264: s. 22)* [1'34"]
21. Ieremias Erben – *Sarabanda J. E. (Ms. 40264: s. 77)* [1'32"]
22. Ieremias Erben – *Sarabanda I. E. [Passacaglia?] (Ms. 40264: s. 49)* [2'00"]

23. Balthasar Erben – *Courante. B. Erben. (Ms. Hintze)* [2'00"]
24. Balthasar Erben – *Sarabande D' Erben. (Ms. Hintze)* [3'03"]

25. Heinrich Döbel – *Gzyga 3 (CZ-KR A 637)* (arr. M. Zajączkiewicz) [1'20"]
26. Anonim – *Praludium. a moll (AP-GD Sign 959/274)* [0'44"]
27. Heinrich Döbel – *Gzyga 2 (CZ-KR A 637)* (arr. M. Zajączkiewicz) [0'57"]

Author: Maksym Zajączkiewicz – harpsichord

Realisation of the recording: Michał Zacharski

Place of the recording: Akademia Muzyczna im. S. Moniuszki w Gdańsku

Date of the recording: 21/22 III 2022r.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ARTISTIC PIECE

**Harpsichord music
in Gdańsk before 1700.
An attempt to reconstruction
of the repertoire
and evaluation of its expressive values**

*In Memoriam of my friend Janusz Głowacki
(11 XII 1994-12 IX 2021).*

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ENGLISH VERSION

Introduction

The state of research into the broadly understood musical culture of Gdańsk still leaves many questions unanswered. The history of the music of Gdańsk is contained in two now anachronistic monographs¹ from the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as in scientific works devoted to narrow aspects of musical culture or to specific artists². The largest group of sources are countless articles of a contributory nature, scattered in journals and collective works published in Poland and abroad. The instrumental music from Gdańsk has so far been the subject of only a few synthetic studies. There is a monographic account of the history of lute music in Prussia³, and studies concerning 18th-century harpsichord music from Gdańsk⁴. The harpsichord repertoire from the period before 1700 has not been in the area of researchers' interest so far. The reason for that was treating harpsichord music from before 1700 automatically as organ repertoire, of lesser value in addition, due to lack of *obligato* pedal part. Until now, the Danzig and Oliva Tabulatures, as well as the music of Paul Siefert, were only a background for virtuoso choral fantasies

1 Döring Gottfried, *Zur Geschichte der Musik in Preussen*, Elbląg 1852; Rauschning Hermann, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig*, Gdańsk 1931.

2 Inter alia: Danuta Popinigis, *Muzyka Andrzeja Hackenbergera*, Gdańsk 1997; Eadem, *Carillon i muzyka carillonowa dawnego Gdańska*, Gdańsk 2014; Andrzej Szadejko, *Styl i interpretacja w utworach organowych Friedricha Christiana Mohrheima (1719?-1780) i Johanna Gottfrieda Muethela*, Gdańsk 2010; Karel Neschke, *Das Leben und Schaffen von J.B.Ch. Freislich (1687– 1764) in seiner Amtszeit als Kapellmeister am Sonderhauser Hof (ca.1720-1730)*, Lipsk 1992; Eadem, *Johann Balthasar Christian Freislich: (1687-1764); Leben, Schaffen und Werküberlieferung; mit einem thematisch-systematischen Verzeichnis seiner Werke*, Tom 1, Lipsk 1996; Michał Kozorys, *Danziger Passion Georga Philippa Telemanna*, Gdańsk 2012.

3 Hans Peter Kosack, *Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen*, Kassel 1935.

4 Alina Ratkowska, *Koncerty klawesynowe Johanna Jeremiasa du Grainia (? - 1756)*, Warszawa 2013; Eadem, *Śladami Goldberga*, Warszawa 2019; Paweł Bogusz, *Muzyka na instrumenty strunowo-klawiszowe w XVIII-wiecznych rękopisach muzycznych proweniencji gdańskiej*, praca magisterska, Akademia Muzyczna im. S. Moniuszki, Gdańsk 2017.

from the Little Tabulature of Pelplin ⁵, music by Andreas Neunaber and the Pomeranian virtuoso organists of the 18th century, in concert programmes appearing just as "curiosities" from the past.

Perhaps the time has come to change this model of thinking. The aim of this work is to collect as much information about harpsichord music in Gdańsk before 1700 as possible.

Already Antoni Sutkowski, the first researcher of the Danzig Tabulature classified its repertoire to the harpsichord idiom. This opinion was downplayed in subsequent works on this subject carried out mainly by organists-musicologists. For the purposes of this work it is necessary to define what part of the musical literature of Gdańsk, hitherto regarded as organ music, can be qualified as harpsichord music. In the author's conception the research should be useful for a contemporary harpsichordist, who would like to construct a recital program dedicated to the music of Gdańsk. For this reason, harpsichord music will include works that can be performed on a standard, most frequently encountered harpsichord model with one or two keyboards, without a pedal keyboard. This does not mean that *pedaliter* music from Gdańsk was not played on pedal harpsichords. Considering how common foot keyboards in keyboard chordophones were in the past, one cannot categorise this repertoire on this basis alone. Especially bearing in mind the commonality of keyboard instrument repertoire that was the norm in the Baltic cultural circle. However, due to the limited access to pedal harpsichords, the author has resigned from the analysis of this kind of repertoire in the conducted research.

The research field is narrowed down to the period preceding 1700, not accidentally. First of all, as the author has already mentioned, harpsichord music from Gdańsk in the 18th century has recently been the subject of several important studies and even a monograph, unfortunately not available to the general public. Secondly, the present work is an attempt at a synthetic approach to the subject of harpsichord music in Gdańsk, and the year 1700 is a cut-off date in the monumental syntheses of the history of harpsichord music

5 Jerzy Erdman, *Utwory Organowe z Tabulatury Pelplińskiej*, Akademia Muzyczna im. F. Chopina, Warszawa 1981.

by Willie Apel⁶ and Alexander Silbiger⁷. Thirdly, the collection of very scattered and perfunctory information on this subject in the literature may be a starting point for further research and specialist studies. In this paper the author has signaled valuable research directions for future generations of harpsichordists, researchers and musicologists.

The catalogue of harpsichord Gdańsk works divided into three categories may prove particularly useful for harpsichordists. Even a cursory analysis of the catalogue will quickly show that there are some gaps in the preserved repertoire. These will become even more evident when one adds to them the knowledge of the names of the most outstanding musicians from Gdańsk and, at the same time, the lack of their surviving works. The solution to this problem will be the complementary repertoire proposed by the author, which, thanks to his research, prior knowledge of the performance practice of the period, and an open approach to the sources, can satisfactorily address these frustrating gaps. The author will briefly discuss the performance measures he has employed, making the supplementary repertoire more idiomatic for the harpsichord.

The artistic work to which this description is appended is a CD of a recorded recital of a selection of harpsichord music enriched by repertoire from complementary sources.

At this point the author would like to thank all those who have contributed to the work. Above all, his closest ones: beloved Bartosz Grzybowski, mother Karolina Klebba, grandmothers Aleksandra Klebba and Irena Zajączkiewicz, grandfather Zdzisław Klebba, stepfather Jerzy Głód for their constant support and steadfast faith, and friends Ewelina Kuc, Maja "Miró" Mirocha, Aleksandra Żebrowska, Amadeusz Ździebło for their kind help, also for Klaudia Rogala, Magdalena Jędrzejewska, Błażej Czechowski and Marcin Adamek for their patience and unwavering certainty that this work will be created. Above all, thanks are due to the thesis supervisor, Professor Małgorzata Skotnicka, for her help, faith, inspiration, and much needed critical

6 Willi Apel, *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1700*, Kassel 2004.

7 Alexander Silbiger, *Keyboar Music before 1700*, „Routledge Studies in Musical Genres”, London 2004.

professionalism. Without these people, Gdańsk would never be so fascinating as it is.

Chapter I. Outline of the history of the harpsichord in Gdańsk up to 1700.

The oldest relic confirming the existence of stringed instruments and their manufactories in the area of Gdańsk are the so-called "goosebumps" dug out in the area of the craftsman settlement near the medieval castle⁸. The instrument, which is in fact a northern European lyre⁹, dates from the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries and has survived in an unfinished form¹⁰. This proves that the place of its making was a manufactory in the area of Gdańsk. The northern European lyre was in its essence a plucked string instrument, which was most probably played using the fingernail technique¹¹. The tradition of stringed instruments production in Gdańsk can therefore be traced back to the 12th-13th century. The earliest mentions of organists in Poland also come from this period¹². During the times of the functioning of the Piast ducal castle, during its prosperity, both in the castle church¹³, as well as at the ducal court, as in other residences of the Piasts, organs may have functioned¹⁴. This would postpone the appearance of the keyboard in Gdańsk to the middle of the 13th century. However, there is no direct evidence for the presence of organs in Gdańsk in that period.

The first information about the existence of keyboard instruments in the Teutonic State concerns the organ in the cathedral of Königsberg. The instrument was already present in the cathedral on 13th September 1333¹⁵. It is the date which opens the period of the vigorous development of organ building in the area, which has continued uninterruptedly until today.

8 Jerzy Morawski, *Historia muzyki polskiej, tom I, part 1. Średniowiecze do roku 1320*, Warsaw 2006, pp. 364-5.

9 Ryszard J. Wieczorek, *Zur Geschichte der Musikinstrumente im Ostseeraum: "Streichleier von Dancz / Gesle von Gdańsk" (13th Jh.)*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen im Ostseeraum*, Sankt Augustin 1996, p. 197.

10 Jerzy Morawski, op. cit., pp. 364-5.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p. 362.

13 Piotr Samól, *Kościół grodowy w Gdańsku. Studium z pogranicza historii i architektury*, [in:] *Pielgrzymi, pogrobowcy, prebendarze. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza nr 15*, Malbork 2009, p. 117.

14 Jerzy Morawski, op. cit., pp. 244, 361.

15 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, *Geschichte der Orgelbau in Ost- und Westpreussen von 1333 bis 1944*, Würzburg 1984, p. 1.

Initially, however, these instruments were a great novelty and aroused the interest not only of the local inhabitants, but also of highly educated decision makers. The presence of an organ and an organist sometimes even caused pilgrimages, as was the case with the organ at the Dominican church in Toruń¹⁶. Two monks built the instrument there during the reign of Grand Master Ludolf König between 1342 and 1345. It was described as a *Wunderwerck*¹⁷ - miracle machine and enjoyed considerable fame, arousing the envy of other church centres. Thanks to this impulse, organs started to appear successively in the cathedral in Kwidzyna in 1364¹⁸, the cathedral in Frombork in 1380¹⁹, then in the church of St. Nicholas in Elblag in 1397²⁰ and in the parish church in Wielawa in 1398²¹. Many times, throughout the 14th century, organ builders are also mentioned in the sources.²²

In this work the most important aspect of organ building is the presence of the keyboard in this instrument. The first information about its shape we find in the context of the organ in Dominican church in Toruń and the organ in Bartoszyce. In the case of the organ in Toruń we can probably even speak about two manuals, at least one of which had the range H-a' without gis'²³. The keyboard of the organ in Bartoszyce had 27 keys and a range from F-a' without Fis and Gis²⁴. The presence of a pedal board²⁵ in an instrument from

16 Ibid, p. 2.

17 Ibid., p. 4.

18 Ibid., p. 3.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 4.

24 Ibid., p. 5.

25 Keyboard chordophones with a suspended or independent pedal keyboard were very common. Paulus Paulirinus (whose treatise, *nota bene*, has survived in the library of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, which brings his opinion even closer to the area described in this work) writes in the 15th century that clavichords may have a pedal keyboard (Josef Reiss, *Pauli Paulirini de Praga Tractatus de musica (etwa 1460)*, in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7, Leipzig 1924-25, pp. 261-64), while Sebastian Virdung in 1511 states that, although the range of clavichord keyboards is being extended, clavichords with pedal keyboards are still (sic!) built (Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht*, Basel 1511, 24r). As a result of researching the Vincentius harpsichord of 1515, Denzil Wright, on the basis of the holes in the lower plate, came to the conclusion that this oldest surviving harpsichord in the world in its original version had a suspended pedal (Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, Bloomington 2003, p. 78). The presence of a pedal in harpsichords was therefore not something unprecedented; on the contrary, it had been a frequent phenomenon since the beginnings of this type of instrument. Although they used to be frequent (Jerzy Gólos,

Frombork (1380), as well as in an organ of St. Nicolas Church in Elbląg (1397) is reported by Michael Praetorius (1571 - 1621) in his treatise *Syntagma Musicum*²⁶.

In the 15th century organs became widespread in the region. In the Gdańsk area the first mention confirming the existence of organs concerns the church of St. Peter and Paul and dates from 1424²⁷. The next certain information concerns the organ in the church of St Bartholomew from 1499²⁸. However, there are reasons to believe that these instruments were not new in Gdańsk. Already in 1385 there was an *organist* active in St. Mary's church²⁹ - which could mean both organist and organ builder. In 1447 Didrik Lange's wife bequeathed 30 marks for the Marian church and the education of the organist's pupil³⁰. The names of organists associated with St Mary's Church are also mentioned. According to Werner Renkwitz and Janca, these were Paul Schuldte, active between 1459 and 1468, and immediately after him *Herr Georg der Orgheliste* active until 1477³¹. Paweł Podejko, on the basis of a search in the Dominican Archives in Kraków, however, identified the latter with his brother Georg Sweythyn, employed from 1450³² in the Dominican church of St Nicolas. This information places him in the place of the earliest known keyboard musician in the history of Gdańsk.

The first mention of keyboard chordophones functioning in the area under discussion dates back to 1408. It was then that Malbork, which already possessed two organs in 1405, was enriched by a portatio and a *clavichordium*³³ for the grand master for the price of 6 marks. Under the name *clavichordium* we can

*Instrumental music in Poland under the vasa kings [in:] Polish - Swedish cultural relations during Vasa dynasty, Warsaw 1996, p. 50), harpsichords of this type are rare today. At present there are two such instruments in Poland - in Katowice there is a copy of a historical instrument with an overhead pedal and in Słupsk there is a contemporary instrument with an independent pedal section. As the standard in contemporary instruments is a maximum of two manuals without pedal, the author had to adopt the criterion of the absence of the *obligato* pedal part in order to be able to describe the work as harpsichord-like. Otherwise the work would be of little use to contemporary Polish harpsichordists and would not contribute to the promotion of the repertoire described.*

26 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, part II, *De Organographia*, Wolfenbutel 1619, p. 100.

27 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit., p. 8.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., p. 3.

30 Paweł Podejko, *Życie muzyczne dawnego Gdańska, Pomorza i Kujaw*, Gdańsk 2001, p. 13.

31 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit., p. 8.

32 Paweł Podejko, op. cit., p. 46.

33 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit., p. 8.

find both clavichord, virginals and *clavicembalum*, as the term implies a combination of keyboard and strings. Taking into account the intensive cultural exchange with Prague and Silesian centres, from where art in the style of beautiful madonnas came to Prussia, displacing the English art which had been favoured earlier in Gdańsk, we may suspect that Hermann Poll's instrument, popular among students of Prague University³⁴, could have been present in Malbork already 11 years after its official invention. Then, the year 1408 could be defined as the beginning of the harpsichord's history in this area.

Information about the keyboard can be found in the descriptions of three instruments. These are the organ in Stary Dzierzgon from around 1500, the music box from Langenau (near Rosenberg) from the 15th century and the organ from Prabuty from the beginning of the 16th century. The keyboards of these instruments had 27, 30 and 33 keys, and the ranges F-a' without F sharp and G sharp, F-c' without F sharp and G sharp, and F-d' without F sharp, G sharp and c' sharp³⁵. Taking into account that organs were a model for instrument builders in a given area, we can assume that the keyboard range of stringed chordophones was subject to expansion similar to the ambitus of organ keyboards in Prussia. Nevertheless, we have no surviving instruments from this region and the next references to them will only be in the 1630s³⁶.

At that time in Gdańsk there was a brotherhood of musicians playing harps, lutes and violins, which in 1532 was transformed into a guild³⁷. This testifies to the rise in the standard of living and education among musicians playing stringed instruments. With time, this oldest musical guild in the city, began to associate also organists, who in 1652 formed their own, independent guild of organists³⁸. Guilds of this type were common in towns, whose organisation grew out of medieval structures. Such guilds were responsible for the training and skill level of their members, held master's examinations, equalized the prices of services, and dealt with assistance to their members

34 Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, Bloomington 2003, pp. 10-24.

35 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit. pp. 16-20.

36 Ibidem, p. 31.

37 Hermann Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig*, Gdańsk 1931, pp. 23-24.

38 Paweł Podejko, op. cit., p. 13.

and their families in case of misfortune, illness or death. As early as 1510, the city employed a lutenist, Petrus Montag, whose task was to play the *Ave Maria* in St Mary's Church and in front of the Madonna in Arthus' Manor³⁹. The performance of polyphonic music on stringed instruments therefore had a long tradition in the city from the early 16th century. This tradition must have provided fertile ground for the development of harpsichord music. However, due to its private character, it is difficult to grasp. For the public job of a musician playing keyboard instruments was always that of an organist. However, when he returned home and became a private person, he had to play on his harpsichord. Such an instrument for practising at home, in the case of the organist of St Mary's Church, was even maintained from the public funds⁴⁰, as the indispensable emolument of the most important instrumentalist in the city, next to the repairer of the town hall clock.

Although in Gdańsk the presence of harpsichords in the 16th century is not well documented, things are quite different in Königsberg, as a court centre. From 1532 until his death Albrecht Buchs (d. 1559) was responsible for the state of instruments at the princely court. In addition to the organ and the music box, he had under his care *virginalen*, *clavicorden* and *cembali*⁴¹. This clearly demonstrates the wealth of various types of keyboard chordophones in the area under discussion, in a centre with which Gdańsk was in constant commercial and cultural contact. For the rest, our understanding of the cultural exchange that took place between Poles, Germans and other nations in the Pomeranian region at that time is burdened by certain post-Romantic stereotypes. An example is the story of Andreas Kamniczanin (d. 1564) active in Königsberg, first as an organist's apprentice and then as organist of the Königsberg Cathedral. While he was still a pupil he was sent to Kraków in order to acquire a repertoire which he brought to Königsberg in the form of organ books⁴². Many organists and the majority of organ-builders in this area bear Polish-sounding surnames. Almost from the very beginnings of organ-building until the 19th century

39 Ibidem, p. 12.

40 Herman Rauschning, op. cit., p. 82.

41 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit., p. 31

42 Ibidem, p. 32.

in the Prussian area we have to deal with. Starting from the organ builder named *Pauwel*, who lived before 1400 in Bartoszyce⁴³, through the famous Nitrowski family, one is struck by the number of talented builders of these complicated musical machines who seem to belong to the Polish cultural idiom⁴⁴.

In the 16th century, the demand for keyboard chordophones starts to grow. Local organ-builders began to profit regularly from the construction and maintenance of these instruments. Apart from the above-mentioned A. Buchs, in 1542 the *clavichord* and the virginal were repaired by the organ builder Peter of Knipawa⁴⁵, 8 years later the organist Michael sold the virginal to Prince Albrecht, and in 1569 the *Clof Zimer* [*clavicymbel?*] and the clavichord were repaired⁴⁶, to buy the *Neue Claue Cimbell* from the organmaster Maulitz in 1572⁴⁷.

However, the most important transaction of 1562 concerns a virginal purchased by Prince Albrecht from Georg Rabe of Gdańsk⁴⁸. In 1586 Daniel Zickermann, organist at St Catherine's Church in Gdańsk, owned, apart from a positive, 12 zithers and 20 lutes, 6 *clavicordia*⁴⁹ - which again may mean keyboard chordophones of various kinds. This clearly confirms the existence of these instruments in the area described, and indeed their popularity. Certificates of numerous transactions involving harpsichords, virgins and clavichords give an insight into the lust for possession which these precious objects must have aroused, also as an investment of wealth.

The archival research carried out by Jerzy Michalak in the years 1592-1699 has revealed 5 names of organ-builders⁵⁰, for whom the construction of harpsichords was an important source of income. These are: the aforementioned G. Rabe⁵¹, Johann Georg Schäfer⁵² described in sources

43 Ibid., p. 7.

44 Beniamin Vogel, *Königsberg as a Center of Musical Instrument Manufacture during 17th-19th Centuries*, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Music-making in Baltic Cities*, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 300-303.

45 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit., p. 36.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., p. 37.

48 Ibid., p. 36.

49 Hermann Rauschninng, op. cit., p. 56.

50 Agnieszka Kostrzewa-Majoch, *Gdańskie chordingofony klawiszowe w latach 1596-1661*, [in:] *Muzyka Fortepianowa XIII, prace specjalne 63*, Gda p. 437.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

as *Instrumentemacher, Orgelbauer* and *Spinettmacher*, and Caspar Koy⁵³ was similarly noted in 1685 and 1693. Peter Kunde⁵⁴ was similarly active between 1685 and 1699, and Dawid Knipffer⁵⁵ between 1688 and 1697. The inventories of wealthy citizens from 1592-1699 list a total of 5 clavichords, 3 harpsichords, one harpsichord with a built-in spinet (2 manuals?), 3 spinets and 2 virgins. In total, sources attest to the existence of 14 keyboard chordophones at that time⁵⁶. One of these harpsichords was a permanent fixture of the Speymanns' suburban residence at New Gardens⁵⁷.

Despite the scarcity of sources, it can be assumed that harpsichords were by no means rare in Gdańsk. In 1630 the activity of guild musicians included playing *basso continuo* on *Portativ* or *Klavier* during festivals, weddings and processions (sic!)⁵⁸. During the passage of Queen Marie Louise in 1646, mention is made of many harpsichords accompanying an opera performance⁵⁹. On the evening of the same day, the Queen enjoyed a concert consisting of lute and harpsichord music⁶⁰.

No original full-sized harpsichord made in Gdańsk has survived to our times. The only exception is a *Steinicht's spinettino* made in the workshop of Paulus Steinicht in Gdańsk in 1661⁶¹. The instrument is signed *Paulus Steinicht / me fecit Gedani / Anno Domini 1661*⁶². It is currently kept as a deposit in the Musikinstrumentenmuseum in Berlin⁶³. A second *spinettino* by the same author from 1657 was also kept there until World War II. We also have no iconographic traces from that time. It has been fortunate to be able to establish some constructional details of the instruments from an analysis of three works of fine art.

The earliest source of this type is the design for the decoration of the lid of a winged harpsichord by Anton Möller (1563 - 1611). It is an iconic figure

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Andrzej Januszajtis, *Złota kamieniczka i jej mieszkańcy*, Gdańsk 2012, p. 42.

58 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., pp. 212-13.

59 Ibid., p. 172.

60 Ibid.

61 Agnieszka Kostrzewa-Majoch, op. cit. p. 441.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

for Gdańsk painting at the turn of the Renaissance and Baroque. The design dates from the end of the 16th century and depicts the *Allegory of the Wrong Way to Marriage* or the *Allegory "The Feast of Venus"*⁶⁴. The work is currently stored in the Kupfertischkabinett in the Staatliche Museum Preussische Kulturbesitz in Berlin under the inventory number Kdz 5577⁶⁵. On the basis of an analysis of the proportions it was determined that, depending on which side of the lid the painting was to decorate, it could be the lid of an Italian instrument case. In the second case the proportions would indicate that the instrument was equipped with an additional 16' register. The second solution is possible, but much less probable⁶⁶.

Another work is a rectangular panel with a painting by A. Möller or Hermann Han (1574 - 1627/8) *Allegory of Marital Virtue*. It has similar proportions to the third monument, namely *View of Gdańsk* from 1620/26 by Johann Krieg (ca. 1590 - 1643/47) or Bartholomäus Milwitz (ca. 1590 - 1655). The proportions of the two paintings are roughly 7:2, which qualifies them as lid covers for both 6' *muselar* virginals from Ruckers' workshop and Antwerp double virginals of the *moeder met kind* type. Of the existing instruments under the centuries in question, Iohannes Ruckers' 5' *spinet* of 1598, and Andreas Ruckers' 5' *muselar* of 1643 would fit. The theory linking both works more to instrument lids than to ordinary chests is, moreover, their slight thickness, which would not have worked as a protective aspect.

Traces of wear and tear on the exterior give an interesting insight into the way the instruments were treated by wealthy people of Gdańsk. Traces of vessels once standing on the lids of these instruments can be seen⁶⁷. It is worth noting that the instruments described were most probably wedding presents⁶⁸. This is evidenced not only by the painting themes, but also by the representative appearance and cost of these paintings by the most important artists of Gdańsk of those times. It is unlikely that Gdańsk musicians, who often struggled for existence, could afford such rich decorations. Imports of valuable

64 Ibid., p. 440.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., p. 442.

68 Ibid., p. 446.

instruments from Ruckers' workshop undoubtedly must have influenced the construction of locally made instruments.

The *spinettino* by P. Steinicht mentioned is a 4' instrument with a trapezoidal shape. The keyboard range is from C/E to c'' and includes a short octave⁶⁹. The instrument is richly decorated with carving and painting decoration. The instrumental and artistic analysis revealed Italian influences in the construction, carving and predominance of cypress wood as a building material, Flemish influences in the form of the main board made of spruce wood and figural-floral painting decoration, and German influences in the form of the painting decoration of the soundboard inspired by a German dagger from 1661⁷⁰.

The popularity of keyboard jugged chordophones in Pomerania is beyond doubt. Unfortunately only one surviving instrument is known today which was made in the workshop of a harpsichord maker from Gdańsk. The parts of virginals preserved in Gdańsk have survived to our times only due to their artistic value and the character of a luxury good. Probably not all instruments were so richly ornamented which must have contributed to their demise at the time when harpsichord lost its popularity in favour of the piano. It remains to be hoped that the future will bring new findings and information about harpsichords in Gdańsk from before 1700. Perhaps unknown instruments from the Gdańsk workshops will be revealed.

69 Ibid., p. 447.

70 Ibid., p. 448.

Chapter II. Harpsichord and complementary repertoire from Gdańsk.

Most of the sources of keyboard music discussed below have so far been considered mainly in the category of organ music. Most of the existing literature on the subject is the work of organists and musicologists such as Jan Janca, Joachim Gudel, Jerzy Erdmann, Jerzy Gołos or Marcin Szelest. These sources have been the subject of several monographs and numerous articles of a contributory nature. The author's aim is to select from the organ repertoire that part of it which can be successfully performed on the harpsichord in its present standard form. From the hitherto known organ repertoire we have therefore excluded works requiring the use of the pedal as well as those using dialogue of organ sections and containing information concerning organ registration. The following catalogue therefore excludes chorale fantasies from the supplement to the Pelplin Tabulature as well as extant works by Andreas Neunhaber (1603 - 1663).

The author has also abandoned the inclusion in the catalogue of a work entitled *Fuga. 2. anti & retro.* preserved in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the form of microfilm manuscript *Ms. Joh. 456-457*. In the first part of the catalogue *Music Collections from Gdańsk*⁷¹ *Fuga* was classified as a keyboard piece. A search showed that this piece is rather a notated part of a short polyphonic piece, a contrapuntal riddle or a Fugue theme for improvisation⁷².

71 Danuta Popinigis, Danuta Szlagowska, Jolanta Woźniak, *Music collections from Gdańsk, vol. I Thematic catalogue of Music in Manuscript at the Polish Academy of Science Gdańsk Library*, Gdańsk 2011.

72 Nevertheless, if this piece is indeed a model for improvisation, it is very interesting in the context of other sources. H. Rauschnig quotes the theme of a 20-voice Fugue, which was noted under the form of a theme in the book of the Malbork bench of the Court of Artus in 1599 (Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 108). The theme is based on the triad in F major, and may be one of the numerous jokes for which Arthus' Manor was famous as a place of entertainment for the local elite. This triad in simple imitation can indeed be played and sung simultaneously, also with rhythmic transformations without giving the impression of disharmony. Even a possible movement in parallel primes or octaves could sound acceptable in such a drunken ensemble improvisation, and the space of the Court would resound with the changing timbres of the F major chord. Of course, more sophisticated performances cannot be ruled out either, given the level of education of those playing at the Manor. In the context of the 517 fug-partimenti of Daniel Magnus Gronau, the above pieces may be a testimony to the practice of polyphonic improvisation in Gdańsk as early as 1599. Considering the high level of

II. 1. Catalogue of surviving harpsichord works.

The catalogue of harpsichord works contains works from Gdańsk sources, as well as those included in sources stored elsewhere, and whose authors are artists connected with Gdańsk. It is divided into three parts, the first of which contains works by Gdańsk authors, the second - anonymous works from Gdańsk sources, and the third - works by foreign authors preserved in sources from Gdańsk.

Harpsichord pieces are considered to be keyboard pieces that can be performed solo on the currently most common types of harpsichords without a pedal keyboard.

List of abbreviations used in the catalogue:

Tab. Gd. - Danzig Tabulature, 1591.

Tab. Oli. - Oliva Tablature, c. 1619.

Ms. 8 - MS. XIV.714 (olim Ms. 8) - Vienna. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv.

Sign. II. 2.51 - MS. Mus. II. 2. 51 - Leipzig. Städtische Bibliotheken - Musikbibliothek.

Lynar B1 - Mus. Ms. Lynar B1 - Berlin. Staatsbibliothek.

Ms. Hintze - Ma. 21. H 59 - New Haven. Connecticut - Music Library of Yale University.

polyphonic music created in Gdańsk and the enthusiastic attitude of Gdańsk inhabitants towards this art, it is hard to rule out such a degree of improvisational virtuosity.

II. 1. 1. Harpsichord works by composers from Gdańsk.

From the repertoire in question it was possible to identify a total of 65 items whose attribution is certain and almost certain. The order of the catalogue is given by the names of the authors of the compositions (with the specification of items of uncertain attribution), and the alphabetical order of the titles. In the case of a cycle of works by a single author (Danzig Tablature, P. Siefert's cycle of fantasies), the order is determined by the order of the cycle.

L. p.	Name of the creator	Title of the work	Source
1.	Drusinski, Piotr	<i>Deus in adiutorium meum intende</i>	Table Oli., No. 3
2.		<i>Preambulum</i>	Table Oli., No. 13
3.		<i>Preambulum</i>	Table Oli., No. 14
4.		<i>Resonet in laudibus</i>	Table Oli., No. 10
5.		<i>Veni redemptor omnium</i>	Tab. Oli., No. 70
6.	Drusinski, Piotr?	<i>Preambulum ex F</i>	Table Oli., No. 15
7.		<i>Preambulum</i>	Table Oli., No. 16
8.	Erben, Balthasar	<i>Courante. B. Erben</i>	<i>Ms. Hintze</i> , No. 12
9.		<i>Sarabande D'Erben.</i>	<i>Ms. Hintze</i> , No. 13
10.		<i>Passagaglia. Balth: Erben:</i>	<i>Ms. Hintze</i> , No. 6
11.	Schmiedtlein, Cajus	<i>PHANTHASIA PRIMI TONI</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 1
12.		<i>Alia phantasia primi tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 2
13.		<i>Phanthasia secundi tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 3
14.		<i>Phanthasia tertij tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 4
15.		<i>Alia phantasia Toni Tertij</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 5
16.		<i>Alia toni tertij Phantasia</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 6
17.		<i>PHANTHASIA Quartj Tonij</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 7
18.		<i>Phathasia Quinti Tonij</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 8
19.		<i>Alia Phanthasia Quinti Tonij</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 9
20.		<i>Alia Phanthasia Quintj tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 10
21.		<i>Phanthasia Sextij Tonij</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 11
22.		<i>Alia Phanthasia Sextj Tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 12

L. p.	Name of the creator	Title of the work	Source
23.		<i>Alia Phanthasia Sextj Tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 13
24.		<i>Phantasia Aliqua</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 14
25.		<i>Phatnhasia Septimi Tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 15
26.		<i>Phanthasia Octavj Tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 16
27.		<i>Phanthasia Octavj Tonj</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 17
28.		<i>Dulcis memoria et suavis recordatio</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 18
29.		<i>Orlandus a 5 / Susanna se videns [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 19
30.		<i>Vader unse im Hemmelrick</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 20
31.		<i>Allein ahn dich Her</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 21
32.		<i>Godt is myenn Licht [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 22
33.		<i>Bewar mich Herr und sy nicht [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 23
34.		<i>Josep leüer Josep myenn [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 24
35.		<i>Margo laboures / Orlandus Dilassus</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 25
36.		<i>Orcombien aut sic Deus dilexit [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 26
37.		<i>Cessesmes Tonus 2dus</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 27
38.		<i>Iomison aut siginet aut Fera Basso[...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 28
39.		<i>Ardant amour / Orlandus</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 29
40.		<i>Donnes secours / Aut: / Petit Johan[...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 30
41.		<i>Jeprens Engre</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 31
42.		<i>Osi potes</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 32
43.		<i>Veni in hortum meum</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 33
44.		<i>Gaudete filiae Jerusalem</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 34
45.		<i>Pater peccavi in caelum et coram [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 35
46.		<i>2da Pars Quanti mercenarye</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 36
47.		<i>A 5 / Padua / Das Madtleinn</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 37
48.		<i>2da Pars a 5</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 38
49.		<i>Hispanum ad coenam / mercator [...]</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 39
50.		<i>2da Pars</i>	Tab. Gd., no. 40
51.	Siefert, Paul	<i>Benedicamus Dominum [...]</i>	Ms. 8.
52.		<i>Fantasia prima</i>	Sign. II 2,51; Ms. 8.
53.		<i>Fantasia secunda</i>	Sign. II 2.51

L. p.	Name of the creator	Title of the work	Source
54.		<i>Fantasia tertia</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
55.		<i>Fantasia quarta</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
56.		<i>Fantasia quinta</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
57.		<i>Fantasia sexta</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
58.		<i>Fantasia septima</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
59.		<i>Fantasia octava</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
60.		<i>Fantasia nona</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
61.		<i>Fantasia decima</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
62.		<i>Fantasia undecima</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
63.		<i>Fantasia duodecima</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
64.		<i>Fantasia tredecima</i>	<i>Sign. II 2.51</i>
65.		<i>Puer natus in Bethlehem [...]</i>	<i>Lynar B1</i>

II. 1. 2. Anonymous harpsichord works in sources from Gdańsk.

First, the anonymous works, preserved in the Danzig Tablature and the Oliva Tablature, will be presented. In the case of ornamental and clearly characterised by a personal keyboard style intabulations, they will be presented in this part as anonymous works, even if the original author is known. Simple intabulations of the *partitura ad organo* type will be given in the third part of the catalogue, with the exception of those of unknown origin. Suggestions for attribution which may prove fruitful for further research will also be included. These proposals are based on musical stylistic and formal similarities and logical conclusions drawn on the basis of historical knowledge of a given source in analogy to other sources of this type.

The order of this part of the catalogue is given by the order in which the works presented are located in the sources, presented in chronological order.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
1.	Tab. Gd., No. 45	<i>Laura pane / Germano Pallavicino</i>	Martinus Lange?
2.	Tab. Gd., No. 46	Untitled [<i>Preambulum?</i>]	Martinus Lange?
3.	Tab. Oli., No. 1	<i>Lemma</i>	Jaob Apfell?
4.	Tab. Oli., No. 2	<i>Ein Tanz</i>	
5.	Tab. Oli., No. 5	<i>Bon iour mon coeur / Orlando [di Lasso]</i>	
6.	Tab. Oli., No. 6	<i>Galliarda</i>	
7.	Tab. Oli., No. 7	<i>Clausula in G</i>	Jaob Apfell?
8.	Tab. Oli., No. 8	<i>Ardant</i>	Paul Siefert?
9.	Tab. Oli., No. 11	<i>Mentr' io campai / Orazio Vecchi</i>	
10.	Tab. Oli., No. 12	<i>Wohlauff gut Gsell [...] / Jacob Meiland</i>	
11.	Tab. Oli., No. 17	<i>Surrexit Christus hodie</i>	
12.	Tab. Oli., No. 18	<i>Surrexit Christus hodie</i>	
13.	Tab. Oli., No. 19	<i>Clausula primi toni</i>	
14.	Tab. Oli., No. 26	<i>Surrexit pastor bonus / Orlando di Lasso</i>	Paul Siefert?
15.	Tab. Oli., No. 29	<i>In monte oliveti</i> ⁷³	
16.	Tab. Oli., No. 30	<i>[Sicut ovis]</i> ⁷⁴	
17.	Tab. Oli., No. 31	<i>Chorea</i> ⁷⁵	
18.	Tab. Oli., No. 32	<i>Fortuna</i> ⁷⁶	
19.	Tab. Oli., No. 33	<i>Chorea</i> ⁷⁷	
20.	Tab. Oli., No. 34	<i>Alia chorea</i> ⁷⁸	
21.	Tab. Oli., No. 35	<i>Alia chorea</i> ⁷⁹	
22.	Tab. Oli., No. 36	<i>Chorea</i> ⁸⁰	

73 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonization of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*. Perhaps the song is connected with the local cult or with the hill Pachołek called in sources "Oliwa mountain".

74 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

75 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

76 A reduction of the popular song *Fortune my foe* to soprano and bass or a harmonisation of its melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

77 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

78 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

79 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
23.	Tab. Oli., No. 37	<i>Chorea</i> ⁸¹	
24.	Tab. Oli., No. 38	<i>Hor pensat' / [Ivo de Vento].</i>	Paul Siefert?
25.	Tab. Oli., No. 39	<i>Jesus Christus [nostra salus]</i> ⁸²	
26.	Tab. Oli., No. 40	<i>Sit laus honor et gloria</i> ⁸³	
27.	Tab. Oli., No. 43	<i>Fugue [Diomedes Cato].</i> ⁸⁴	
28.	Tab. Oli., No. 44	<i>Maria mater gratiae</i> ⁸⁵	
29.	Tab. Oli., No. 46	<i>Amorosi [pensier' sopspir ardenti]</i> ⁸⁶	
30.	Tab. Oli., No. 47	<i>Dies est laetitiae</i> ⁸⁷	
31.	Tab. Oli., No. 48	<i>Ave Hierarchy</i> ⁸⁸	
32.	Tab. Oli., No. 52	Untitled [<i>Tanz</i>].	
33.	Tab. Oli., No. 59	<i>Galliarda</i> ⁸⁹	
34.	Tab. Oli., No. 60	<i>Paduana</i>	
35.	Tab. Oli., No. 61	<i>Galliarda</i>	
36.	Tab. Oli., No. 63	<i>Fugue</i>	
37.	Tab. Oli., No. 67	<i>Puer natus in Bethleem</i>	Paul Siefert?
38.	Tab. Oli., No. 73	Untitled	
39.	Tab. Oli., No. 74	<i>In natali Domini</i>	
40.	Tab. Oli., No. 76	<i>Petite folle / Orlando di Lasso</i>	Cajus Schmiedtlein?
41.	Tab. Oli., No. 81	<i>Domine Dominus noster</i>	
42.	Tab. Oli., No. 82	<i>Benedicamus [Domino] de Beata M[...]</i> ⁹⁰	
43.	Tab. Oli., No. 85	<i>Percussit Saul mille</i> ⁹¹	

80 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

81 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

82 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

83 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

84 Intabulation of a piece for a consort of instruments.

85 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

86 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

87 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

88 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

89 A reduction of an existing composition to soprano and bass or a harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*. Clearly unrelated to Thomas Morley's *Paduana* which precedes it.

90 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
44.	Tab. Oli., No. 86	<i>Musa</i>	Jacob Apfell?
45.	Tab. Oli., No. 88	<i>Jubilate Deo</i>	Jacob Apfell?
46.	Tab. Oli., No. 89	<i>Domine quid [...] / Orlando di Lasso</i>	Cajus Schmiedtlein?
47.	Tab. Oli., No. 97	Untitled [<i>Tanz</i>].	
48.	Tab. Oli., No. 98	Untitled [<i>Kyrie paschale</i>]	Jacob Apfell?
49.	Tab. Oli., No. 106	Untitled [<i>Clausula?</i>]	Jacob Apfell?
50.	Tab. Oli., No. 108	<i>Kyrie duplex</i> ⁹²	
51.	Tab. Oli., No. 109	<i>Macula</i>	
52.	Tab. Oli., No. 116	<i>Tanz</i>	
53.	Tab. Oli., No. 117	<i>Vulnerasti cor meum</i> ⁹³	
54.	Tab. Oli., No. 131	<i>Fugue</i>	Diomedes Cato?
55.	Tab. Oli., No. 132	<i>Vidi speciosam</i> ⁹⁴	
56.	Tab. Oli., No. 133	<i>Quis maestis - Plangite</i> ⁹⁵	
57.	Tab. Oli., No. 134	<i>Domine Dominus noster</i>	
58.	Tab. Oli., No. 138	<i>Coranta</i>	
59.	Tab. Oli., No. 143	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i> ⁹⁶	
60.	Tab. Oli., No. 144	<i>Coranta</i>	
61.	Tab. Oli., No. 146	<i>Jesu König der Ehren</i> ⁹⁷	Jacob Apfell?
62.	Tab. Oli., No. 147	<i>Sim licet immeritus</i> ⁹⁸	Jacob Apfell?
63.	Tab. Oli., No. 148	<i>Puer nobis nascitur</i> ⁹⁹	Jacob Apfell?
64.	Tab. Oli., No. 152	<i>Tantz</i>	
65.	Tab. Oli., No. 153	<i>Tantz</i>	

91 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

92 Three verses from an [organ?] mass. Original author unknown. No established concordance.

93 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

94 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

95 Two-part work, written in tablature of *partitura ad organo* type original author unknown. No established concordance.

96 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

97 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

98 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

99 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
66.	Tab. Oli., No. 155	<i>Quam bona martitres manet fortuna</i> ¹⁰⁰	
67.	Tab. Oli., No. 157	<i>Largum vesper</i> ¹⁰¹	
68.	Tab. Oli., No. 160	<i>Salve amor</i> ¹⁰²	Jacob Apfell?
69.	Tab. Oli., No. 164	<i>O lux et decus Hispaniae</i> ¹⁰³	
70.	Tab. Oli., No. 165	<i>Melos</i>	Jacob Apfell?
71.	Tab. Oli., no. 167	<i>Omnipotens</i> ¹⁰⁴	
72.	Tab. Oli., No. 182	<i>Kyrie duplex</i>	
73.	Tab. Oli., No. 183	<i>Benedicamus [Domino] de festo Mariae</i> ¹⁰⁵	
74.	Tab. Oli., No. 184	<i>Beatus author saeculi</i> ¹⁰⁶	
75.	Tab. Oli., No. 185	<i>Confitebor</i> ¹⁰⁷	
76.	Tab. Oli., No. 187	<i>Fugue</i>	Diomedes Cato?
77.	Tab. Oli., No. 188	<i>Jesu Fronleichnam schon, [...]</i> ¹⁰⁸	Jacob Apfell?
78.	Tab. Oli., No. 189	<i>Maria mater gratiae / Martine [...]</i> ¹⁰⁹	Jacob Apfell?
79.	Tab. Oli., No. 191	<i>Clausula ex c</i>	Jacob Apfell?
80.	Tab. Oli., No. 193	<i>Quesitus et repertus est</i> ¹¹⁰	
81.	Tab. Oli., No. 194	<i>Tantz</i>	
82.	Tab. Oli., No. 195	<i>Saltus</i>	
83.	Tab. Oli., No. 196	<i>Saltus</i>	
84.	Tab. Oli., No. 197	<i>Saltus</i>	
85.	Tab. Oli., No. 199	<i>[Tantz]</i>	

100 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

101 Harmonization of melody in four voices in the first part and six voices in the second part or notation of *partitura ad organo* type original author unidentified. No established concordance.

102 Simple eight-part harmonisation of the melody in four voices or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

103 *Partitura ad organo* type notation with marked reduction of voices original author unidentified. No established concordance.

104 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

105 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

106 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

107 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

108 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

109 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

110 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
86.	Tab. Oli., No. 204	[Tantz]	
87.	Tab. Oli., No. 205	Passamezzo	
88.	Tab. Oli., No. 206	Coranta	
89.	Tab. Oli., No. 212	Rath lieber Rath ¹¹¹	Jacob Apfell?
90.	Tab. Oli., No. 213	Veni [Creator] Spiritus ¹¹²	Jacob Apfell?
91.	Tab. Oli., No. 216	Parvule salve / O Dorothea ¹¹³	Jacob Apfell?
92.	Tab. Oli., No. 219	Tantz ¹¹⁴	
93.	Tab. Oli., No. 220	Tantz ¹¹⁵	
94.	Tab. Oli., No. 221	Tantz ¹¹⁶	
95.	Tab. Oli., No. 222	Tantz ¹¹⁷	
96.	Tab. Oli., No. 223	Tantz ¹¹⁸	
97.	Tab. Oli., No. 224	Tantz	
98.	Tab. Oli., No. 225	Tantz	
99.	Tab. Oli., No. 226	Tantz	
100.	Tab. Oli., No. 228	Tantz	
101.	Tab. Oli., No. 229	Tantz	
102.	Tab. Oli., No. 230	Tantz	
103.	Tab. Oli., No. 231	Tantz	
104.	Tab. Oli., No. 232	Tantz	
105.	Tab. Oli., No. 233	Tantz	
106.	Tab. Oli., No. 234	Tantz	

111 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

112 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordances. Betrays some features of an individual intabulator's style.

113 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

114 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

115 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

116 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

117 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

118 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
107.	Tab. Oli., No. 235	<i>Saltarello</i>	
108.	Tab. Oli., No. 236	<i>Tantz</i> ¹¹⁹	
109.	Tab. Oli., No. 237	<i>Tantz</i> ¹²⁰	
110.	Tab. Oli., No. 238	<i>Tantz</i> ¹²¹	
111.	Tab. Oli., No. 239	<i>Tantz</i> ¹²²	
112.	Tab. Oli., No. 242	<i>Tantz</i> ¹²³	
113.	Tab. Oli., No. 243	<i>Tantz</i> ¹²⁴	
114.	Tab. Oli., No. 245	<i>Chorea</i> ¹²⁵	
115.	Tab. Oli., No. 246	<i>Chorea</i> ¹²⁶	
116.	Tab. Oli., No. 247	<i>Chorea</i> ¹²⁷	
117.	Tab. Oli., No. 248	<i>Chorea</i> ¹²⁸	
118.	Tab. Oli., No. 249	<i>Chorea</i> ¹²⁹	
119.	Tab. Oli., No. 250	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³⁰	
120.	Tab. Oli., No. 251	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³¹	
121.	Tab. Oli., No. 252	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³²	

119 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

120 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

121 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

122 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

123 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

124 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

125 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

126 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

127 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

128 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

129 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

130 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

131 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

132 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
122.	Tab. Oli., No. 253	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³³	
123.	Tab. Oli., No. 254	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³⁴	
124.	Tab. Oli., No. 255	<i>Galliarda</i> ¹³⁵	
125.	Tab. Oli., No. 256	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³⁶	
126.	Tab. Oli., No. 257	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³⁷	
127.	Tab. Oli., No. 258	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³⁸	
128.	Tab. Oli., No. 259	<i>Chorea</i> ¹³⁹	
129.	Tab. Oli., No. 260	<i>Chorea</i> ¹⁴⁰	
130.	Tab. Oli., No. 261	<i>Alia [chorea]</i> . ¹⁴¹	
131.	Tab. Oli., No. 263	<i>Alia [chorea]</i> . ¹⁴²	
132.	Tab. Oli., No. 264	<i>Alia [chorea]</i> . ¹⁴³	
133.	Tab. Oli., No. 265	<i>Alia [chorea]</i> . ¹⁴⁴	
134.	Tab. Oli., No. 266	<i>Alia [chorea]</i> . ¹⁴⁵	
135.	Tab. Oli., No. 267	<i>Alia [chorea]</i> . ¹⁴⁶	
136.	Tab. Oli., No. 268	<i>Surrexit Christus</i> ¹⁴⁷	

133 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

134 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

135 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

136 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

137 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

138 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

139 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

140 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

141 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

142 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

143 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

144 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

145 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

146 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

L. p.	Source	Title	Attribution proposal
137.	Tab. Oli., No. 269	<i>Tantz</i>	
138.	Tab. Oli., No. 270	<i>Gloria sit superi</i> ¹⁴⁸	
139.	Tab. Oli., No. 277	<i>[Tantz]</i> ¹⁴⁹	
140.	Tab. Oli., No. 279	Untitled <i>[Preambulum]</i> ¹⁵⁰ / <i>[Fantasia]</i> ¹⁵¹	Jacob Apfell?
141.	Tab. Oli., No. 280	<i>In Domino laudabitur anima mea</i>	
142.	Tab. Oli., No. 281	<i>Omnia sidereo</i> ¹⁵²	
143.	Tab. Oli., No. 299	<i>Parce mihi Domine</i> ¹⁵³	
144.	Tab. Oli., No. 310	<i>O dulcissime Jesu</i> ¹⁵⁴	
145.	Tab. Oli., No. 318	<i>Gaudete filiae Jerusalem</i> ¹⁵⁵	
146.	Tab. Oli., No. 319	<i>Vulnerasti cor meum</i> ¹⁵⁶	

II. 1. 3. Works by foreign composers, and intabulations of vocal works by local composers, preserved in sources from Gdańsk.

In this part of the catalogue, transfers of music by foreign authors, preserved in the Oliva Tablature in the form of simple intabulations of the *partitura ad organo* type, and a few vocal works by Gdańsk authors preserved in a similar form, will be given. All items in this part of the catalogue come from the Oliva Tablature. Some of the works in this source require the use of two harpsichords. These items will not be included here, because, in the light of the accepted rules of classification, they are not solo harpsichord works.

147 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

148 Simple harmonisation of the melody in quaver or *partitura ad organo* type notation original author unidentified. No established concordance.

149 Reduction of an existing composition for soprano and bass or harmonisation of an existing melody for soprano and *basso continuo*.

150 According to Marcin Szelest.

151 According to Maciej Babnis.

152 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

153 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

154 Notation of the *partitura ad organo* type with the signed text under the bass voice, as is the case in recent items in the Gdańsk Tablature. Original author unidentified. No established concordance.

155 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

156 Notation of type *partitura ad organo* original author unidentified. No established concordance.

L.p.	Tab. Oli., no.	Author	Title in Tab. Oli.
1.	4	Regnart, Jacob	<i>Maria Virgo assumpta est ad caelos</i>
2.	20	Vecchi, Orazio	<i>Son questi i crespi [crini]</i>
3.	21	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Mein Gemüth ist mir verwirret</i>
4.	22		<i>All Lust und Freud</i>
5.	23		<i>Tantzen und springen</i>
6.	24	Regnart, Jacob	<i>Hertzlich thut mich erfrewen</i>
7.	25	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Junckfraw [dein schöne Gstalt].</i>
8.	27	Handl, Jacobus	<i>Ecce quomodo moritur justus¹⁵⁸</i>
9.	28		<i>Sepulto Domino¹⁵⁹</i>
10.	41	Vecchi, Orazio	<i>Chi mira [gl'occhi tuoi]</i>
11.	42	Merulo, Claudio	<i>Fugue</i>
12.	43	Cato, Diomedes	<i>Fugue</i>
13.	45	Lasso, Orlando di [LV 721]	<i>O decum caeli moderator orbis</i>
14.	49	[LV 290]	<i>Magnificat quarti toni</i>
15.	50	[LV 287]	<i>Magnificat primi toni</i>
16.	51	[LV 288]	<i>Magnificat secundi toni</i>
17.	53	[LV 289]	<i>Magnificat tertii toni</i>
18.	54	[LV 291]	<i>Magnificat quinti toni</i>
19.	55	[LV 292]	<i>Magnificat sexti toni</i>
20.	56	[LV 293]	<i>Magnificat septimi toni</i>
21.	57	[LV 294]	<i>Magnificat octavi toni</i>
22.	58	Morley, Thomas	<i>Paduana</i>
23.	62		<i>My bonny lasse [shee smyleth]</i>
24.	64	Handl, Jacobus	<i>Kyrie (Missa super Im Mayen)</i>
25.	66	Croce, Giovanni	<i>Ingredimini omnes</i>
26.	72	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Verbum caro factum est</i>
27.	77	Amon, Blasius	<i>Kyrie [eleison. In festo Paschae]</i>
28.	78	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Zu dir steht all mein Sinn¹⁶⁰</i>
29.	79		<i>About Pie Pelicane</i>

158 Reduction of the existing original to extreme voices. Two-part motet.

159 Reduction of the existing original to extreme voices. Two-part motet.

160 Reduction of the existing original to extreme voices. Song.

L.p.	Tab. Oli., no.	Author	Title in Tab. Oli.
30.	84	Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	<i>Omnes sitiētes</i>
31.	87	Roy, Bartolomeo	<i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>
32.	90	Gastoldi, Giovanni Giacomo	<i>Missa super Quam suavis</i>
33.	91	Lasso, Orlando di [LV 734].	<i>Deus in adiutorium meum intende</i>
34.	92	Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	<i>Cantabant sancti</i>
35.	93	Lasso, Orlando di [LV 303]	<i>Im Mayen</i> ¹⁶¹
36.	94	Agazzari, Agostino	<i>Veni Sancte spiritus</i>
37.	95	Viadana, Lodovico da	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i>
38.	99	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Expurgate vetus fermentum</i>
39.	100	Viadana, Lodovico da	<i>Exultate justi in Domino</i>
40.	101	Praetorius, Hieronymus	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius</i>
41.	102	Varotto, Michele	<i>Laudate Dominum de caelis</i>
42.	104	Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	<i>Veni dilecte mi</i> ¹⁶²
43.	105	Hassler, Jacob	<i>Magnificat octavi toni</i>
44.	107	Ferretti, Giovanni	<i>O gloriae paternae summe splendor</i>
45.	110	Croce, Giovanni	<i>Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum [...].</i>
46.	111	Cato, Diomedes	<i>Canson</i>
47.	112	Lasso, Orlando di [LV 164]	<i>Fuyons tous d'amour [le jeu]</i>
48.	113	[LV 642]	<i>Si bene perpendi</i>
49.	114	Byrd, William	<i>Laudibus in sanctis</i>
50.	115	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Canite tuba [in Sion]</i>
51.	118	Croce, Giovanni	<i>Cantate Domino canticum novum</i>
52.	119	Roy, Bartolomeo	<i>Annuntiaverunt caeli justitiam ejus</i>
53.	122	Speiser, Kaspar	<i>Veni in hortum meum</i>
54.	123	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Domine Dominus noster</i>
55.	124	Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da	<i>Corona aurea</i>
56.	125	Bianciardi, Francesco	<i>Exlutate Domino adiutori nostro</i>
57.	126	Hassler, Kaspar	<i>Canzon</i> ¹⁶³
58.	127	Gabrieli, Giovanni	<i>Fuga francese</i> ¹⁶⁴

161 Reduction of the existing original to extreme voices. Song.

162 Reduction of the existing original to extreme voices. Motet.

163 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

L.p.	Tab. Oli., no.	Author	Title in Tab. Oli.
59.	128	Aichinger, Gregor	<i>Gratias agimus tibi Domine</i>
60.	129	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Canzon</i> ¹⁶⁵
61.	130	Antegnati, Costanzo	<i>Canson</i>
62.	135	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Ridon di maggio</i>
63.	136		<i>Chiara e lucente stella</i> ¹⁶⁶
64.	137	Ferretti, Giovanni	<i>Donna crudel</i> ¹⁶⁷
65.	139	Croce, Giovanni	<i>Dic nobis Maria</i>
66.	140	Ferretti, Giovanni	<i>[Hor va canzona mia]</i>
67.	141	Vecchi, Orazio	<i>Crudele plaude turba</i>
68.	142	Handl, Jacobus	<i>Maria Magdalena et altera Maria</i> ¹⁶⁸
69.	145	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum</i>
70.	149	Victoria, Thomas Luis de [?]	<i>Virgini laudes canimus Mariae</i>
71.	150	Handl, Jacobus	<i>Resurrectio tua</i>
72.	151	Asola, Giammateo	<i>In stadio dum longo</i>
73.	154	Ruffolo, Lucretio	<i>About Rex Emanuel</i>
74.	156	Zallamella, Pandolfo	<i>Ingrediente Domino</i>
75.	158	Hermann, Johann	<i>Parvulus nobis nascitur</i>
76.	161	Mel, Rinaldo del	<i>Domine non sum dignus</i>
77.	162	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>[A chi creder degg'io]</i>
78.	163		<i>[O Auffenthalt meins Leben]</i>
79.	166	Merulo, Claudio	<i>In Deo speravit</i>
80.	169	Formellis, Wilhelmus	<i>Cantate Domino canticum novum</i>
81.	170	Handl, Jacobus	<i>Isti sunt triumphatores</i> ¹⁶⁹
82.	171	Crequillon, Thomas	<i>Ung gay bergier</i>
83.	172	Bonhomme, Pierre	<i>Praecinite Domino in confessione</i>
84.	173	Merulo, Claudio	<i>Sancti et justi in Domino [gaudete]</i>

164 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

165 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

166 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

167 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

168 Reduction of the existing original to extreme and locally middle voices. A two-part motet in *da capo* form.

169 Local reduction of the original.

L.p.	Tab. Oli., no.	Author	Title in Tab. Oli.
85.	174	Zindelin, Philipp	<i>Popule meus</i>
86.	175	Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	<i>Veni sponsa Christi</i> ¹⁷⁰
87.	186	Lasso, Orlando di [LV 416].	<i>Kyrie (Missa super Pilons lorge)</i>
88.	190	Vecchi, Orazio	<i>Il cor che mi rubasti</i> ¹⁷¹
89.	198	Gabrieli, Andrea	<i>Canson</i>
90.	200	Hassler, Hans Leo	<i>Nun fanget an ein guts Liedlein</i>
91.	201		<i>Feins Kieb du hast mich gfangen</i>
92.	202		<i>Das Hertz thut mir auffspringen</i>
93.	203	Regnart, Jacob	<i>Zu dir Herr Christe</i>
94.	207	Lange, Gregor	<i>O holdseliges Bild</i>
95.	208	Meinland, Jacob/A.N.Q.	<i>Wie schön blüt uns der Meye</i> ¹⁷²
96.	211	Lasso, Orlando di [LVanh 23].	<i>Ein Meidlein jung am Landen stund</i>
97.	214	Handl, Jacobus	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra</i>
98.	215	Wert, Giaches de	<i>On sacrum convivium</i>
99.	217	Aichinger, Gregor	<i>Maria virgo [regia]</i> ¹⁷³
100.	218	Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	<i>Dilectus meus [loquitur] mihi</i> ¹⁷⁴
101.	271	Capilupi, Gemignano	<i>[Mein Hertze was liegt dir an für [...]]</i>
102.	272		<i>[O Schönes Lieblein mein Rosen[...]]</i>
103.	273		<i>[Warumb wendst du dich denn von mir].</i>
104.	274	Vecchi, Orazio	<i>[Was hab. ich für ein Glantz]</i>
105.	275	Capilupi, Gemignano	<i>[O süsse Lieb wie hast du so umbgeben]</i>
106.	274	Lasso, Orlando di [LV 154]. ¹⁵⁷	<i>[Monieur l'Abbe]</i> ¹⁷⁵
107.	278	Cocciola, Giovanni Battista	<i>Gloriosus Deus</i>
108.	282	Lupi II, Didier	<i>Susanna se [videns rapi]</i>
109.	283	Zindelin, Philipp	<i>In illa die [stillabunt montes].</i>
110.	284		<i>Ne timeas [Maria].</i>

157 Intabulation identical to that in *Zwey Bücher. Einer neüen kunstlichen Tabulatur auff Orgel und Instrument* by Bernhard Schmid the elder (1535 - 1592) from 1577.

170 Partial reduction of the original.

171 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

172 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

173 Reduction of notes in coda.

174 Reduction of the existing original to extreme voices. Motet.

175 It contains elements of the intabulator's inventiveness.

L.p.	Tab. Oli., no.	Author	Title in Tab. Oli.
111.	297	Lasso, Orlando di	<i>Ne timeas [Maria].</i>
112.	298	Clavius, Christophorus	<i>Ego flos campi</i>
113.	300	Vecchi, Orfeo	<i>En dilectus meus loquitur mihi</i>
114.	301		<i>Repleatur os meum</i>
115.	302	Vinci, Pietro / Vecchi, Orfeo	<i>Ad Dominum cum tribularer</i>
116.	304	Giovannelli, Ruggierro	<i>Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat</i>
117.	305	Vecchi, Orfeo	<i>Ave Maria</i>
118.	306	Zucchini, Gregorio	<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>
119.	307		<i>O salutaris Hostia</i>
120.	308		<i>Multiplicati sunt</i>
121.	311		<i>Ave verum corpus</i>
122.	312		<i>Maligni declinate a me</i>
123.	313		<i>Sancte Nicolae</i>
124.	316	Hackenberger, Andreas	<i>Voce mea ad Dominum</i>
125.	317		<i>Ad te Dominum levavi</i>
126.	320	Porta, Costanzo	<i>Dilectus meus mihi</i>
127.	321	Speiser, Kaspar	<i>Veni in hortum meum</i>
128.	322	Meiland, Jacob	<i>Non auferetur sceptrum</i>
129.	323	Agazzari, Agostino	<i>Anima mea [liquefacta est].</i>
130.	324		<i>Ad Dominum [cum tribularer].</i>
131.	326	Zangius, Nikolaus	<i>Tota pulchra es</i>

Gdańsk artists are represented here by two Kapellmeisters: Nikolaus Zangius (1570 - 1619) and Andreas Hackenberger (1574 - 1627), and the lutenist Diomedes Cato (1560/65 - 1627). The original music of the Kapellmeisters are motets, the compositions of the lutenist are works for a consort of instruments.

Pieces from Danzig Tabulature and Oliva Tabulature not included in the above three parts of the catalogue require accompaniment by a second instrument, voice or pedal. These are simply tablature notations of the *partitura ad organo* type. A notation of this type may have been used in various ways: as a partitura helping the organist to create accompaniment, a notation

of ensemble music (especially polychoral motets, in the context of the existence of several instruments in the Oliva church, may have been a source of music for two organs), but this notation is also a form of transmission from which it is possible to reconstruct with high probability the original vocal shape of the work.

Marginally present in the Oliva Tablature are examples for learning transposition, and notations of only bass voices of the *basso seguente* type. Also present is a score exclusively for the first choir from the motet *Tu gloria Hierusalem* by Annibale Stabile (c. 1535 - 1595) [Tab. Oli., no. 65]. Interesting are the intabulations with the signed text under the bass voice, interpreted by some researchers as adaptations of the originals for works with the solo voice. In transmissions of the *partitura ad organo* type, however, the notation of the text underneath each system is quite normal and common, e.g. in the Pelplin Tablature.

II. 2. The surviving sources and the characteristics of the repertoire they contain.

It is fortunate that sources of harpsichord music which originated or were used in Gdańsk and those which preserve the music of Gdańsk composers have survived to our times. These include two extensive keyboard tablatures, and six manuscripts. They are discussed below in chronological order.

II. 2. 1. Danzig Tablature, 1591.

The earliest and most unique source of harpsichord music from Gdańsk is the Danzig Tablature dated 1591. At present the tablature is stored in the State Archive in Gdańsk under the signature *APgd 300, R Vv, 123*¹⁷⁶. Many contradictory and controversial theories have grown up around the manuscript. The manuscript's uniqueness was seen in its secular character¹⁷⁷, or this character was denied¹⁷⁸, analogies were sought with the music of Andrea Gabrieli (1533 - 1585)¹⁷⁹, this theory was later criticised¹⁸⁰, and finally it was disputed whether the tablature was the work of a professional musician¹⁸¹ or an amateur¹⁸². These controversies testify to the absolute uniqueness of this source and the musical phenomena it attests to. In addition, the structure of the manuscript, which consists, among others, of lists of Gdańsk councillors and burgraves, absolutely suggests that the source is an efflorescence of the musical culture of Gdańsk¹⁸³. The use of Italian notation of the *intavolatura* type 30 years before it appeared in the North, according to the accepted scholarly consensus, adds spice to the matter. A total of 42 works from the Danzig

176 Danuta Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich*, Gdańsk 2005, p. 161.

177 Adam Sutkowski, *Gdańsk tablature from the end of the 16th century - a little-known monument of late Renaissance harpsichord music*, "Ruch Muzyczny" 1964 (3), pp. 5-6.

178 Joachim Gudel, *Uposażenie członka kapeli kościoła mariackiego w Gdańsku w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś I*, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 84-85.

179 Willi Apel, *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1700*, Kassel 2004, p. 202.

180 Jerzy Erdman, *Gdańsk Organ Tabulature*, [in:] *Music in Gdańsk Yesterday and Today*, Gdańsk 1992, p. 96.

181 Joachim Gudel, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

182 Adam Sutkowski, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

183 Franz Kessler, *Die Danziger Tabulatur von 1591*, [in:] *Organs and Organ Music VII*, (ed.) Janusz Krassowski, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 178-179.

Tablature are harpsichord works according to the criteria adopted in this work. As many as 40 of them are attributed with high probability to Cajus Schmiedtlein (1555 - 1611). The last two pieces were notated in New German tablature notation by another scribe, probably the tablature's heir after C. Schmiedtlein's death. This may have been the town scribe Martinus Lange¹⁸⁴, author of the notational entries later in the manuscript. Only Jerzy Erdman is sceptical about the authorship of C. Schmiedtlein, other researchers, from Hermann Rauschnig¹⁸⁵ to Dorota Liss¹⁸⁶, allow this attribution with high probability and even accept as certain¹⁸⁷.

The most valuable part of the Danzig Tablature is the 17 original, free pieces placed at the beginning of it and referred to as fantasies. They are arranged according to the following eight modi¹⁸⁸. In terms of texture, Dorota Liss divides the fantasies into homophonic (Tab. Gd., nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14 and 17) and polyphonic (Tab. Gd., nos. 4, 5, 9, 12, 13, 16)¹⁸⁹. In terms of form, the researcher sees elements of periodic construction¹⁹⁰. The majority of fantasies have the form AA₁, although there also occur three-part forms, twice with the scheme ABA (Tab. Gd., nos. 4 and 14), and exceptionally ABB₁ (Tab. Gd., no. 16)¹⁹¹. The melody is based on nineteen motifs appearing in various fantasies, creating a peculiar musical language¹⁹².

The arrangement of the chorale melody *Vater unser* may also be an original work of the author of the tablature. This is contradicted, however, by the similarity of the arrangement to a motet based on the same chorale, which was stored before World War II in Gdańsk. Today only the incipits of the voices of this work are known. The remaining contents of the tablature are intabulations of vocal works by Clemens non Papa, Thomas Crequillon, Petit Jean de Latre, Baldassare Donato, Domenico Ferrabosco, Jaches de Wert, Jachet de Berchem,

184 Joachim Gudel, op. cit., p. 92.

185 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

186 Dorota Liss, *Repertoire of Gdańsk Organ Tablature from 1591 preserved in the State Archive in Gdańsk in the manuscript signed 300R/Vv123*, MA thesis, S. Moniuszko Academy of Music, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 20-22.

187 Klaus Beckmann, *Repertorium Orgelmusik 1150-2000*, vol. 1, Mainz 2001, p. 108.

188 Dorota Liss, op. cit., p. 27.

189 Ibid, p. 117.

190 Ibid.

191 Ibid.

192 Ibid., pp. 118-119.

Orlando di Lasso, Jacob Meiland, Benedetto Pallavicina, Pierre de Sermisy, Alexander Utendal and Johann Walther¹⁹³. These include motets, polyphonic songs, chansons and pavane¹⁹⁴. All the intabulations show a lot of elements of individualisation. Simple, undecorated entries are lacking. The musical language of the coloured intabulations shows many similarities with the musical language of the seventeen fantasies. Thus, it is possible to grasp the features of the author's individual style in the works of the Gdańsk Tablature. The *Freistimmigkeit* technique, very convenient in the system of notation that is *intavolatura*, is also widely used. The number of voices in the composition oscillates between four and even eight locally.

The last two entries were made in a different handwriting, and in standard New German tablature notation. They are probably the entries of another scribe of the manuscript, perhaps his heir after the death of C. Schmiedtlein. Some of the pieces are provided with an additional bass part, under which the verbal text is signed. Perhaps this is evidence of chamber practice? If so, the manuscript would be further enhanced by its unique similarity to the recently found *Manuscript Carlo G*, which revolutionised our notion of performing vocal music to organ accompaniment¹⁹⁵.

The source has received the following source-critical editions¹⁹⁶:

Jerzy Gołos, Adam Sutkowski (ed.), *Keyboard Music from Polish Manuscripts*, vol. III: *Fantasias from Ms. 300. R. Vv. 123, Provincial Archive, Gdańsk*, "Corpus of Early Keyboard Music" 10, Rome 1967 (17 fantasias, Tab. Gd., nos. 1-17).

Franz Kessler (ed.), *Danziger Orgel Musik des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Carus Verlag, Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1988 (Tab. Gd., nos. 1-40).

193 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., pp. 163-164.

194 Ibid.

195 Pierre Devillers, Doron Schleifer ori Harmelin, Elam Rotem, Pamela Nikitassova, Jörg-Andreas Böttischer, *THE CARLO G MANUSCRIPT Virtuoso liturgical music from early 17th century*, GLOSSA, 2017, Elam Rotem (editorial comment), *The Carlo G Manuscript*, pp. 6-8.

196 *Phanthesia primi toni* (Tab. Gd., no. 1) was first published in 1931 in Hermann a Rauschning's transcription. Cf. Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 54.

Jerzy Erdman (ed.), *Gdańsk Organ Tabulature 1591*, Polish Music Institute, Łódź 1993.

(Tab. Gd., nos. 1-41. The omitted untitled work [*Preambulum?*] Tab. Gd., no. 42 was published in an addition 197.)

II. 2. 2. Oliva Tabulature, c. 1619.

Oliva Tabulature, also known as *Tabulatura Braniewska* (Braunsberg Tabulature), is the most extensive surviving source of keyboard music directly connected with Gdańsk. The tablature was created in 1610-1619 in two musical centres - the Jesuit collegium in Braniewo and the Cistercian abbey in Oliva near Gdańsk. Its first scribe and, it seems, author of the concept and supervisor of its composition was Jacob Apfell (d. 1653)¹⁹⁸. He began the process of writing the work while still a student of the Collegium Marianum in Braniewo, and participated in its further stages as a monk of Oliva. In Oliva, the first entries appear to have been made by the hand of another author, possibly a pupil of J. Apfell. The two parts of the tablature, referred to as T1 (326 entries) and the fragmentarily preserved T2 (8 entries, of which 6 are legible), contain a total of 334 entries representing various genres and forms typical of this type of source. Transmissions of works in New German tablature notation, represent varying degrees of originality, elaboration and fidelity to the originals of the intabulated compositions. The 171-card manuscript of T1 has a standing format measuring approximately 32 x 21 cm. T2 is of similar size and is only a twelve-page decompletion. Four pages are missing at the beginning and probably further pages of the manuscript. Both manuscripts T1 and T2 are held in the Wróblewski's Library in Vilnius under refs *F15-284* and *F15-286*¹⁹⁹.

In discussing the repertoire preserved in the Oliva Tablature, one should begin with the instrumental pieces of a free character. These are four preludes (Nos. 13-16), including two by Piotr Drusiński (c. 1560-1611), five canzonas

197 Jerzy Erdman, op. cit., p. 117.

198 Jan Janca, *Oliwa Organ Tabulatures (c.1619). New Sources for the History of Music in Gdańsk and Warmia*, [in:] *Music in Gdańsk Yesterday and Today II*, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 64-65.

199 Marcin Szelest, *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, Part 1, *Fontes Musicae in Polonia C/XXV.1*, Warsaw 2021, pp. 8, 11.

(Nos. 111, 126, 129, 130 and 198), six fugues (Nos. 42, 43, 63, 127, 131 and 187), three *clausulae* (Nos. 7, 19, 191), three untitled pieces (Nos. 73, 106, 279), as well as *Lemma* (No. 1), *Musa* (No. 86), *Macula* (No. 109) and *Melos* (No. 165). A characteristic feature of these works is the alternation of free passages in the style of the Venetian toccata, and imitative fragments of a canzonico character. Similar formal features are present in several pieces whose titles suggest a vocal origin, but whose patterns have not yet been established, and which contain extensive toccata-style passages inside. However, they do not differ significantly from the ornamental versions of the intabulated vocal pieces. Several pieces with a title in the form of a textual incipit may be original arrangements of hymn or chorale melodies. Some degree of originality is also represented by 68 dances for 2 to 6 voices. Some of them come directly or *via* prints by Valentin Haussmann (1560/1670 - 1613/about 1614) from the local folk tradition. A large group consists of vocal pieces notated in the manner of *partitura ad organo*. Some of them are impossible to perform on solo harpsichord or even on organ with pedal keyboard. A further group consists of reductions of vocal works mostly to extreme voices, and single examples of *basso seguente*, and examples for learning transposition.

The tablature has recently undergone a full transcription and an extensive three-volume source-critical edition. Initially, the Gdańsk academic community knew the tablature only fragmentarily, as instead of the ordered microfilm copy, photographs of only a few pages of the manuscript were sent from Vilnius. The full content of T1 was cited only by Jan Janca in 1992²⁰⁰. Currently there are three source-critical editions of the Oliwa Tablature²⁰¹:

Jan Janca (ed.), *Pieces from the Oliwa Organ Tablature*, Part I, ORGANON Publishing House, Gdańsk 1992 (Tab. Oli., nos. 1, 3, 10, 13-15, 70, 111, 131, 165, 187 and 279)

200 Jan Janca, op. cit., pp. 80-89.

201 Previously only isolated transcriptions were published in musicological literature. See: Jan Jana, op. cit., pp. 69-71, 74; Idem, *Zarys historii muzyki w klasztorze Oliliwskim w latach 1224 - 1831*, Gdańsk 1991, pp. 26-27, 30-31.

Jan Janca (ed.), *Pieces from the Oliwa Organ Tablature*, Part II, ORGANON Publishing House, Gdańsk 1997 (Oliwa Tablature, nos. 16, 21, 37, 42, 63, 126, 127, 129, 130, 189, 222, 236, 237, 245, 247-249, 257 and 259)

Marcin Szelest (ed.), *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, Part 1-3, Fontes Musicae in Polonia C/XXV.1-3, Scientific Publishing House Sub Lupa, Warsaw 2021 (Part 1: Introduction, Rules of Editing, Inventory; Part 2: Transcription of T1 and T2; Part 3: Vocal versions of intabulated works)

II. 2. 3. Sources of Paul Siefert's (1586 – 1666) music.

The keyboard music of Paul Siefert (1586 - 1666) is scattered in five sources stored in various parts of northern and central Europe. It is worth noting here that none of them has survived among the Danzig musicals. Here are the following manuscripts containing keyboard music by P. Siefert:

I. *Sign. II 2.51* held in the Staatsbibliothek, Leipzig (13 Fantasia),

II. *Ms. 8* from the Wiener Minoritenkonvent (*Fantasia a 3* by Paul Sivert and a coloured intabulation of the motet *Benedicam Dominum* by Orlando di Lasso),

III. Tablature of *Ms. Lynar B1* held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz (contains variations of *Puer natus / im Bethlehem / a / Paulus Sivert*, and variations attributed to him *Nun kom / der Häy / den: / 3 Vari / atio:*),

IV. *GUSTAV DUEBENS Clavierbuch* held in the Düben Collection at the Uppsala University Library (*Paduana a. Paul Sibern.* - Intavolution with variations of John Dowland's *La Mia Barbara pavane*).

The first of the manuscripts in question contains 13 Fantasias in three voices, held anonymously. The attribution of these works was proposed by Max Seiffert in 1891²⁰². It was based on the identity of *Fantasia prima* from the manuscript with Paul Sivert's *Fantasia a 3 from the Viennese codex Ms. 8*. The musicologist was convinced of the high artistic level of these works²⁰³. Willi Apel did not agree with him²⁰⁴, not considering concordances as sufficient evidence. Additionally, the researcher did not share M. Seiffert's opinion about the high artistic and workshop level of these works²⁰⁵.

The polyphonic fantasies contained in the manuscript of 13 have been analysed in detail by Jerzy Erdmann²⁰⁶. As a result of these analyses, the author finds a surprising lack of clear formal references to the polyphonic fantasies of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562 - 1621), master of P. Siefert²⁰⁷. A common feature of the works of master and pupil is the prominence of one theme more than the others²⁰⁸. The author was able to establish some analogies of the themes of individual fantasies with the works of other authors. The theme of the *Fantasia secunda* may have been taken from the canzona *La spiritata* from Girolamo Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (1554 - 1610)²⁰⁹. The canzona is also contained in the Pelplin Tabulature, which may indicate a general knowledge of the treatise by G. Diruta in Gdańsk. This leads to further conclusions about the way of playing and forms of keyboard music known in Gdańsk at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The formal analysis also yielded interesting conclusions. According to J. Erdman, the introduction of themes with accompanying themes is reminiscent of the ricercary Marc' Antonio Cavazzoni (1490 - 1569)²¹⁰. The sparsity of counterpoint means links P. Siefert's fantasies with the works

202 Max Seiffert, *J. P. Sweelinck und seine direkten deutschen Schüler*. [in:] *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 Jahr, Leipzig 1891, p. 239.

203 Ibid.

204 Willi Apel, *Geschichte der Orgel- und Klaviermusik bis 1700*, Kassel 2004, pp. 364-65.

205 Ibid.

206 Jerzy Erdman, *Paul Siefert's Organ Fantasies* [in:] *Music in Gdańsk Yesterday and Today I*, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 73-81.

207 Ibidem, p. 77.

208 Ibid., p. 78.

209 Ibid., pp. 78-79.

210 Ibid., p. 79.

of Carolus Luython (1557 - 1620), well-known in Poland²¹¹. An interesting treatment is the inversion, applied in the last section of *Fantasia quarta*, not only of the main theme, but also of its accompanying theme²¹². Finally, J. Erdman notes the formal originality of P. Siefert's fantasia²¹³.

It is worth noting the variety of fantasy themes from *ricercar* type (*Fantasia prima*, *Fantasia quinta*, *Fantasia nona*, *Fantasia undecima*, *Fantasia duodecima*) canzon-like (*Fantasia secunda*, *Fantasia tertia*, *Fantasia sexta*), dance-like (*Fantasia octava*, *Fantasia decima*, *Fantasia tredecima*) and decorative ones with fragmented values (*Fantasia tertia* and subsequent themes in *Fantasia quarta*), to those suggesting the use of an *obliqui* (the themes in *Fantasia quarta* and *Fantasia septima* are clearly based on the hexachord, a very popular theme in contrapuntal arrangements in Gdańsk²¹⁴). The extraordinary momentum of the second theme *Fantasia decima* is also worth noting. According to the author, it may be an example of musical painting. The interweaving of undulating, clearly horizontal, but gently rising descending lines is recognisable to anyone who has absorbed the landscapes of the Gdańsk area. The place where P. Siefert grew up and worked certainly had an influence on him. Perhaps, this is a clear testimony to that influence.

Manuscript *Ms. 8* from the Minorite monastery in Vienna contains a transmission of *Fantasia prima* musically identical to that contained in the source discussed above, but under a different title containing the name of the author of *Fantasia a 3 Paul Sivert*. In addition, it also contains a colourisation of O. di Lasso's 5-voice motet *Benedicamus Dominum*. Intabulation of P. Siefert's intabulation has been subjected to a thorough comparative analysis by Ernst Kubitschek²¹⁵, comparing it with the intabulation

211 Ibid., pp. 79-80.

212 Ibid.

213 Ibid.

214 Elaborations of the hexachord were composed by Diomedes Cato, Martin Gremboszewski and Balthasar Erben.

215 Ernst Kubitschek, *Die Motette von Orlando di Lasso "Benedicamus Dominum" und ihre Inrabulierung durch Schmied AE., Scheidemann und Siefert*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Danzig und Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, pp. 121-129.

of the same motet by Heinrich Scheidemann (c. 1595 - 1663), and by Matthias Schneider²¹⁶, who focused on the style of the author of the intabulation.

The diminutive embellishment of motets *a vista*, their reduction in order to be performed with a soloist, their transposition or the performance of individual voices was one of the essential skills that the organist at the great organ of the Marian church had to possess²¹⁷. For a long time, however, the ability to perform *basso continuo* was not required of the principal organist. This was the duty of the choir organists.

The five-voice, two-part motet *Benedicam Dominum* by O. di Lasso has a long tradition as a model for showpiece arrangements by various organists²¹⁸. This motet was already intabulated by Bernard Schmid the elder (1535 - 1592) as early as 1577²¹⁹. It was also very popular among North German organists, resulting in an intabulation by Heinrich Scheidemann (1595 - 1663)²²⁰. P. Siefert's realisation also seems to be a showpiece of this type of skill of its author. It is of particular importance for the present work that P. Siefert's intabulation can be performed *manualiter*²²¹, thus, the richness of its diminution can be fully realized on the harpsichord.

According to the author of this paper, P. Siefert's style of intabulation is very close to that of H. Scheidemann, which has been described as sweet. Indeed, in this music one senses an exceptional sensitivity, indeed tenderness, in dressing the original with well-chosen, fanciful diminutions. The original is clearly a vehicle for P. Siefert's improvisatory fantasy. Typical of this type of works, there is a gradation of the density of movement, followed by a return to the long notes of the original. The form is built rather evolutionarily, avoiding radical contrasts. Characteristically, the friendly beauty of this piece is hard to associate with the negative disposition of P. Siefert, so often conveyed in sources.

216 Matthias Schneider, *Lasso Motette "Benedicam Dominum" - coloriert von Siefert? Zu Paul Siferts Musik für Tasteninstrumente*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Danzig und Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, pp. 130-144.

217 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 121.

218 Ernst Kubitschek, op. cit., p. 129.

219 Ibid., p. 122.

220 Ibid.

221 Matthias Schneider, op. cit., p. 135.

The *Lynar BI* tablature, from Lüneburg, contains two variation cycles, one of which is signed with the author's name, while the other is only attributed to him. Certainly the work of P. Siefert is a variation arrangement of the chorale melody *Puer natus in Bethlehem*. Already the demonstration of the theme is referred to as *Prima Variatio, and 4, Choral in Cantu*. This is a simple four-voice harmonisation with the melody placed in the soprano. In the next variation, *2nd Variatio, [a 3], Choral in Basso*, P. Siefert reduces the number of voices to three, and places the melody in the bass voice. Above this voice, a simple duet reminiscent of the typical violin concerto in the *Kirchentrio* texture is realised. The use of parallel sexts betrays the influence of the English Virginalists. In *Variatio, [a 3], Choral in Tenor[e] et Cantu*, the melody, placed in a Renaissance manner in the tenor voice, is camouflaged between the soprano and bass voices imitating each other freely and exchanging movement. In the soprano voice there appear eighth-note diminutions with a wide ambitus. The last phrase of the verse, on the words *Alleluia, alleluia* the melody is taken over by the soprano voice. The number of voices returns to the original number in *Variatio, [a 4], Choral in Cantu*. The melody is presented in the highest voice, and the compositional priority is to conduct the voices accurately using local imitations. The dominant of the cycle is the *5th Variatio, [a 4; Choral in Cantu]*, followed by an expansion in the *6th Variatio, [a 4], Choral in Basso*. In the *5th Variatio* the four-voice texture is enlivened by an eighth-note movement with which the soprano and bass voices exchange. The following *6. Variatio* is a trio realised above the chorale melody in bass. Diminutions occur only locally, which has the effect of calming the movement and exposing the imitative aspect. In the *7th Variatio, [a 4], Choral in Cantu* the interchangeability of eighth-note and quarter-note movement gives the impression of a reference to concertante technique. The final *8. Variatio, [a 4, Choral in Cantu]* is built alternately from trio texture with fast eighth-note movement (perhaps the organist would use a pedal here), and four- and locally also five-voice texture. The final cadence is extended by a progression containing dissonance. It clearly strengthens the cadence through the use of the rhetorical figure *circulatio*.

The variations *Nun komm den Heiden Heiland* included in *Lynar BI* are only attributed to P. Siefert. The wide distance of the tenor and bass in the first and last variations show a clear demand for the use of the pedal, and the attempt to perform them by *manualiter* forces the use of certain changes in the movement of the bass voice. For this reason, the piece is hard to qualify as a harpsichord piece, taking into account the criterion adopted in this work. Nevertheless, a harpsichord performance is not impossible. The three internal variations in *bicinium* form are also worth noting. The last two in particular are noteworthy for their use of elaborate double counterpoint with the switching of voices and the inclusion of *Vorimitation*. This type of contrapuntal alchemy indicates a good knowledge of counterpoint on the part of the composer, which may be an additional argument in favour of recognising P. Siefert as the author of the variations. *Lynar BI* contains a total of three variation cycles. In the case of ascribing two of them to P. Siefert's authorship, perhaps it is worth considering his authorship of the whole collection in the future?

The last of the sources, *GUSTAV DUEBENS Clavierbuch*, held in Uppsala, has not yet received a professional source-critical edition. It contains John Dowland's (1562/3 - 1626) three-part pavane *La Mia Barbara*, each part of which was accompanied by variations by P. Siefert immediately following the model. This form of variation elaboration was widely used by English virginalists. P. Siefert's variations consist mainly in fragmentation of values, but not only. More interesting is the broadening of the ambitus of the pattern, frequent use of local imitations, not present in the pattern, and often elaboration of the pattern with the use of polyphonic transformations. The motif, which fills the whole space of bar 61, for example, in bar 78 of the variation development, is diminished by P. Siefert and carried out in free imitation over the space of two bars. The tirata, in the form of a descending tetrachord imitated by three voices at the turn of bars 80 and 81, is also deftly woven into the texture of the variation. Typical of English composers is the variation element in the form of parallel progressions of thirds and sixths, used sparingly, however.

Paduana a. Paul Sibern. has received numerous performances on organ, regale, harpsichord and clavichord. It is by far the most popular and most

frequently performed piece by P. Siefert. Its calm, harmonious beauty and the sweetness and openness of the variation arrangements invariably delight the harpsichordists who come across this work. Both performers open to improvisation find in *Paduan* room for action, inspiration, and sometimes even encouragement (the long chords ending the variation movements), but more purist performances, emotionally deepened and focused on beautiful sound quality, are often even more powerful. Again, it is easier to see a parallel here with the style and sensitivity of H. Scheidemann rather than J. P. Sweelinck, although elements of the Amsterdam master's contrapuntal technique and a peculiarly Dutch tendency to collect beautiful objects (in this case ornaments and elaborate variation ideas) are also present.

The keyboard works of P. Siefert included in the above-mentioned sources were published in the following sheet music editions (chronological order):

Seifert, Max (ed.), *Paul Siefert, 13 Fantasien a 3*, Kister & Siegel, Leipzig 1930 (source I. and part II.).

Guilmant, Alexandre (ed.), *Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium*, A. Durand & Fils, Paris 1910, pp. 99-102²²². (motet from source II.)

Moser, Hans Joachim (ed.), *Choralbearbeitung und freie Orgelstücke der deutschen Sweelinck-Schule*, Bärenreiter Vlg., Kassel 1954, pp. 40-46. (Source III.)

Gerdes, Gisela (ed.), *46 Choräle für Orgel von J. P. Sweelinck und seine deutschen Schülern*, Schott Vlg, Mainz 1957, pp. 243-48 (variations of *Puer Natus* from source III. preserving the original rhythm)

²²² *Prima Pars* edition of P. Siefert's colouring of O. di Lasso's motet as *Fantasia*. The version differs considerably from that of the Klaus Beckmann edition.

Silbiger, Alexander (ed.), *17th Century Keyboard Music. Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque* - [Vol.] 24. Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Ms. XIV.714. Introduction by Robert Hill, Garland, London 1988 (facsimile edition of source II.)

Beckmann, Klaus (ed.), *Paul Siefert (1586 - 1666) - Samtliche Orgelwerke*, Schott, Mainz 2009. (Includes an edition of all sources except IV.)

Gouin, Pierre (ed.), *Paduana (Paduana a. Paul. Sibern.)*, Les Éditions Outremontaises, Montréal 2017. (The only available edition of Source IV.)

II. 2. 4. Ms. *Hintze*, after 1653.

The manuscript called the *Hintze Manuscript* is held at the Music Library of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut under the reference *Ma. 21. H 59*. It is the work of a single scribe whom Bruce Gustafson²²³ and Alexander Silbiger²²⁴ identify as Matthias Weckmann (c. 1619 - 1674), Hamburg organist and close friend of J. J. Froberger. Found in Dresden in a file of documents from around the mid-17th century. The inscription *Geo: Bohm* indicates that some subsequent owner of the manuscript may have been Georg Böhm (1661 - 1733).

The contents of the manuscript consist mostly of harpsichord pieces in French style, and a few pieces in Italian toccata style. Inscribed ornaments signed *Pohlmann* are present in many places. Their author remains unknown. *Pohlmann's* inscriptions are important in that they are the only German source from this time containing instructions by a professional musician for harpsichord music in the French style.

Numbered 6, 12 and 13 are the only surviving harpsichord works by Balthasar Erben (1626 - 1686), a Kaplemister and organist from Gdańsk, a pupil of Johann Jakob Froberger (1616 - 1667). These are two movements

223 Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Musik of the 17th Century*, I-III, Michigan 1977-9, vol. 1, p. 39.

224 Alexander Silbiger, *The Autographs of Matthias Weckmann: a Reevaluation*, [in:] *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark zur Zeit Christians IV*, (eds) Ørbeak Jensen and Ole Kongsted, Copenhagen 1989, p. 117.

of a suite (*Courante. B. Erben. and Sarabande D'Erben.*) under Nos. 12 and 13, and a fragment of a *passacaglia* modelled on Girolamo Frescobaldi's *Cento partite sopra passacaglia*. The descending tetrachord c B A G, which forms the ostinato of the *Passagaglia. Balth. Erben.*, is also present in the great *Passacaille* in C major by Louis Couperin (1626 - 1661). B. Erben was able to become acquainted with both great masters during his tour of Europe, during which he visited both Rome and Paris. Works by the Danziger appear in the manuscript alongside works by such masters as Johann Caspar Kerll (1627 - 1693), Pierre de la Barre (ca. 1634 - 1710), Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601/2 - 1672) and J. J. Froberger.

Impressive is the distinctly personal and extremely mature style of B. Erben. His version of the broken style is the most expressive in the entire manuscript and can be compared as strongly distinct from both the style of J. Champion de Chambonnières and J. J. Froberger. Probably the French style was already encountered by B. Erben had already come into contact with it in Gdańsk. There are noticeable similarities between the pieces from *Ms. Hintze* and the lute works from Virginia Renata von Gehem's Lute Tablature *Ms. 40264* attributed to Ieremias Erben. He may have been the first teacher of the French style to the young Balthasar.

Ms. Hintze's manuscript has so far received only one source-critical edition in a supplement to the harpsichord works of M. Weckmann:

Rampe, Siegbert (ed.), *M. Weckmann, Sämtliche Freie Orgel- und Clavierwercke*, Bärenreiter, Kassel 1991, Anhang II *Das Hintze-Manuskript*, pp. 66-90.

II. 3. Non-preserved harpsichord music confirmed in sources.

In the literature of the subject we can come across several references confirming the existence of sources of keyboard music, including probably harpsichord music, which have not been preserved to this day. Direct references can be found in the work of Hermann Rauschning.

Thanks to the supplication quoted by the researcher from the mother of Jakob Schmiedt, organist at St John's Church from 1602 to 1610, we learn of the blind master's tablature growing day by day. He succeeded his master, Jacob Tetz, who taught him free of charge for 10 years. Probably the culmination of this learning was the aforementioned tablature²²⁵.

In 1691 a competition for the position of organist of the same church took place. The chaplain at the time, Johann Valentin Meder (1649 - 1719), sent the city council the *Subjectum Canzone a 4 ad organum Tractandum*²²⁶. It is a three-bar theme in 12/8 metre, Gigue in character, containing an inviting improvisatory progression. This theme, until the competition, was to be kept secret and not copied. According to J. V. Meder, who learned the art of the organist from Dietrich Buxtehude himself (1637 - 1707) in Lübeck, a good organist should be able to perform *ex tempore*, that is, by improvising without preparation, this theme in the form of a four-voice canzona²²⁷. During the competition, this theme had to become the basis for at least several pieces, probably never recorded, of which the best was that of Johann Konrad Elend, who held the post of organist of St John's Day until his death in 1730²²⁸.

North German *Variationscanzone* from this period are multipartite works, interspersed with virtuosic cadences in *stylus phantasticus*. In each successive movement, the theme underwent variation transformations, and the metre also changed. Given the mobility of the theme, these were more often *manualiter* pieces, making rather marginal use of the pedal to strengthen the cadence. In the case of the theme in question, we may therefore assume that works based on it could also be performed on the harpsichord without a pedal.

225 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

226 Ibid, pp. 242-43.

227 Ibid.

228 Ibid.

Although direct accounts of the existence of harpsichord music sources are sparse, it is hard not to expect that their prevalence was once equal to that of instruments. Given that every parochial school graduate possessed basic skills in performing vocal polyphonic pieces, and in playing instruments, it is likely that at least student note-taking during such lessons was also common.

It was also quite normal to collect musical works in the form of entries in a house book. Every house had such a book. Not only important family events, but also musical pieces which accompanied the life of the household were entered there. Unfortunately, they could not survive to our times.

Any organist who had pupils must have had at his disposal a whole set of didactic pieces, and perhaps more ambitious works of his own. Unfortunately, this is already a domain of conjecture and imagination, beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, it is necessary to signal such cultural phenomena in order to be able to fully present the creative potential of the environment described.

II. 4. Complementary sources.

On the basis of the above catalogue and the characteristics of the surviving repertoire, as well as the knowledge of the wealth of musical life in Gdańsk and the uninterrupted relay of successive outstanding organists, the following gaps in the surviving source accounts can be noted:

1. The lack of works for keyboard instrument before 1591, in opposition to the wealth of sources confirming the existence of instruments and instrumentalists from at least the mid-15th century.
2. The lack of works in the form of Italian toccata from the 17th century, despite the sources confirming their improvisation by organists, the strong lobby of *stile moderno* among Gdańsk musicians, the rapid influx of new repertoire through Warsaw musicians and the royal bookseller Kaspar Förster the Elder (1574 - 1652).
3. The lack of preserved works in German *stylus phantasticus*, despite the information about the education of Gdańsk musicians in the great masters of this style, such as Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562 - 1621), Johann Jacob Froberger (1616 - 1667) or Dietrich Buxtehude (1637 - 1707).

Moreover, thanks to the localized concordances between harpsichord works and their vocal or instrumental models, it is possible to establish the *modus operandi* of the Gdańsk harpsichordist, who obtained the repertoire (in a simple, reduced form, or subjected to intavolation in the form of diminution) from the sources available to him. The transfer of repertoire between lutenists and harpsichordists will also be discussed, as well as the widely understood practice of *basso continuo* as a means of acquiring a solo piece.

What information can be drawn from the following repertoire in the context of harpsichord music? As far as the idiom is concerned, little, though not none. More important, however, are those which signify the "paths"

followed by the imagination of the musicians Gdańsk in the field of instrumental music in general. Crossing these "paths" opens a new perspective for understanding and interpreting harpsichord music, and says a lot about the creative potential of the discussed community. The following subsection is not a full study of the sources, but is only meant to point out to harpsichordists the tracks for their own research.

II. 4. 1. Polyphonic works from the period before 1591.

The earliest surviving source of harpsichord music related to Gdańsk is Danzig Tabulatur completed around 1591. This clearly conflicts with the confirmed presence of instruments and instrumentalists in the region and in Gdańsk itself much earlier.

The earliest European sources of keyboard music, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries, show a strong connection between the keyboard music repertoire and Gregorian chant and polyphonic vocal music. Gregorian chant in large values was a tenor over which the organist improvised the right hand part in various forms of counterpoint. The principles of this type of composition were set out in Conrad Paumann's *Fundamentum Organisandi* (c. 1410 - 1473)²²⁹. One of the manuscript copies of this work is still kept in the University Library in Wrocław under the reference *I Qu 42*²³⁰. In the 15th century the artistic contacts between Gdańsk and Silesia were very close, so probably the school of C. Paumann was also known in Gdańsk.

However, composing counterpoints to existing melodies of Gregorian chant requires the inventiveness of an intabulator, which constitutes at least half of the musical material of such a work. It is therefore difficult to treat the sources of religious monody from Gdańsk as fairly reliable for the reconstruction of harpsichord music. The situation is different with the intabulations of polyphonic music. The first examples of this practice can be found in *Codex Faenza*²³¹. Also in C. Paumann's works we can find indications of transforming

229 Willi Apel, op. cit., pp. 45-51.

230 Klaus Beckmann, *Repertorium Orgelmusik 1150-2000*, vol. 1, Mainz 2001, p. 101.

231 Willi Apel, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

vocal polyphony into keyboard music. In this type of transformation the sharp of the intabulator's invention is so much smaller that one could be tempted to attempt such an intabulation on the basis of the preserved sources of vocal polyphony from Gdańsk. Fortunately, recently there have been more sources of this type connected with Gdańsk. It is worth describing them briefly here, as potentially useful for future harpsichord transcriptions.

The earliest of these is *Ms. 2153a*, held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and originating from the library of the Oliwa monastery. The manuscript dates from 1425-1450 and it is not certain whether it is the work of the Oliwa scriptorium or an import from the Silesian region²³². It contains a total of seven items, six of which are de-completions. The fourth work in the manuscript is a three-voice canon in rotulum form to the text *Ex Trinitatis culmine*²³³. So far, it is the earliest source of polyphony from the discussed region, dating back to the times of Teutonic rule. The piece has great potential for keyboard arrangements. In fact, it has already been performed with the participation of keyboard instruments, immortalised on the album of the *La Morra* ensemble²³⁴. The last two melodic lines recorded in the manuscript are two voices of the motet *Salve regina / Recordare virgo / Alma redemptoris*²³⁵. The motet is preserved in its entirety in other Central European sources.

The copy of *Ms. 2315*, not preserved today, from the same Gdańsk bookshop contains two three-voice polyphonic pieces. The first is the motet *Deo gratias papales / Deo gratias fidelis / Deo gratias salvator* also preserved in Nuremberg²³⁶, the second is a *Gloria* in the style of Zacara da Teramo

232 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Polyphonic Music in Fragments: A New Perspective for Polish Musicology?*, "Musicology Today" 2013, no. 10, p. 14.

233 Elżbieta Zwolińska, *Fragmente mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts aus dem Zisterzienserkloster in Oliwa*, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, pp. 57-60.

234 La Morra, Corina Marti & Michal Gondko, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Graudencz 'Fifteenth-century music from Central Europe'*, Glossa, 2016.

235 Paweł Gancarczyk, *'Gdańsk transmission of the polyphonic song "IHESUS CHRISTUS NOSTRA SALUS" from the 15th century and its Central European connections'*, *Music* 2020, no. 2, p. 179.

236 Michael Scott Cuthbert, *The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars Nova*, 'Studi musicali' 2010 (1), No 1, pp. 10-12.

(c. 1350/60 - 1416)²³⁷. In contrast to the typically Central European repertoire of *Ms. 2153a*, the works from *Ms. 2315* express pan-European *ars nova* tendencies²³⁸. This alone testifies to the diversity of the polyphonic repertoire in Gdańsk in the second quarter of the 15th century.

The next source of vocal polyphony from Gdańsk is *Ms. 1965* held in the same library as the above discussed²³⁹. The author of the musical transmission is Johannes Rasoris, probably a teacher at the parish school at the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Gdańsk²⁴⁰. The terminus post quem is 1 August 1473²⁴¹. Two three-voice compositions were recorded after this date. The first is the Tenorlied on the love theme *Eyn frevlyn feyn*, also known from Nuremberg sources²⁴². The second composition, *O illustrator condium*, is unicum²⁴³. The piece is short and maintained in three-voice counterpoint of the nota contra notam type. The notation is imprecise and not free of errors. A particular problem which makes transcription of the work difficult is the choice of the right chiavettes. A fully satisfactory reading of the work has not yet been achieved²⁴⁴, but further attempts are worthwhile. The voices of the composition are written on pages 49v-51r one below the other²⁴⁵. Such a positioning would certainly make it easier to perform the composition on a keyboard instrument. Although it is not a score notation, all the voices are simultaneously in front of the performer's eyes.

The Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences holds yet another source of late medieval polyphonic music. This is *Ms. 2013*, folio 191v of which

237 Ibid.

238 Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Gdańsk transmission of the polyphonic song "IHESUS CHRISTUS NOSTRA SALUS" from the 15th century and its Central European connections', *Music* 2020, no. 2, p. 180.

239 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Manuscript 1965 from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences as a source of polyphony in Poland of the second half of the 15th century*, "Muzyka" 2001, no. 4, p. 65.

240 Ibidem, p. 66.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid., p. 67.

243 Ibid.

244 Ibid.

245 Ibid., pp. 68-69.

records the song *Ihesus Christus nostra salus*²⁴⁶ with a counterpointing voice using numerous imperfect consonances²⁴⁷. The song was hastily and carelessly notated, leading one to think that it is merely a private note²⁴⁸. Again, both voices are notated under each other on one page, which would make it easier to perform on a keyboard instrument. There are errors in the counterpoint, but more problems are caused by reading the rhythm of the song²⁴⁹. The original of the song, associated with Hussitism²⁵⁰, has been completely preserved, the counterpoint voice does not appear in such a shape in any other transmission²⁵¹. This perhaps points to the Gdańsk origin of this original arrangement. *Ms. 2013* is now dated to the second quarter of the 15th century.

The four sources described above may constitute the basis for a harpsichordist who would like to partially reconstruct the shape of the 15th century harpsichord music in Gdańsk. Studies of the history of Gdańsk music mention the contacts of the Prussian prince with Ludwig Senfel (ca 1486 - 1543)²⁵². The correspondence with the eminent organist is supposed to be the evidence linking the discussed region with the southern German school of Paul Hoffheimer (1459 - 1537), which produced such masters as Arnolt Schlick (ca. 1460 - 1521), Sebastian Virdung (1465 - 1511), or the Świdnica-born²⁵³ Thomas Stoltzer (ca. 1480/85 - 1526). The most important representative of P. Hoffheimer's school, from a pedagogical point of view, was Hans Buchner (1483 - 1538). In his *Fundamentum* - organ school, modelled on the work of C. Paumann, he included remarks on which the next generation of organists was brought up²⁵⁴.

246 Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Gdańsk transmission of the polyphonic song "IHESUS CHRISTUS NOSTRA SALUS" from the 15th century and its Central European connections', *Music* 2020, no. 2, p. 180.

247 Ibidem, p. 184.

248 Ibid.

249 Ibid.

250 Ibid., p. 183.

251 Ibid., p. 184.

252 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 25.

253 Klaus Beckmann, *Repertorium Orgelmusik 1150-2000*, vol. 1, Mainz 2001, p. 103.

254 Willi Apel, op. cit., pp. 87-90.

The practice of intabulation in Germany in the 15th century has been extensively studied. The process itself has been analysed by Marc Lewon²⁵⁵. Jon Banks divides instrumental intabulations into three categories, depending on the degree of affinity with the original versus the participation of the intabulator's creative invention²⁵⁶. H. Buchner himself defined this skill as *Ratio transferendi compositas cantiones in forma organistarum, quam tabidaturam vocant*, and places it in second place of the most important skills of the organist, just after the keyboard technique²⁵⁷. S. Virdung understands as *tabidatura* the direct transfer of the voices of a vocal composition onto a keyboard instrument²⁵⁸. A. Schlick, who argued with S. Virdung on this subject, was of a different opinion. According to A. Schlick intabulation is an art that can only be appreciated by professional performers²⁵⁹, who know the original composition and can appreciate the intabulator's inventiveness in playing with the pattern. A suitably experienced harpsichordist, familiar with the keyboard music of the 15th century, may be tempted to follow the thought of A. Schlick. A less experienced harpsichordist could, after solving problems with reading Gdańsk sources, settle for A. Virdung's conception. The latter, although criticised, was present in musical thought and, more importantly, in the daily practice of organists in the 15th century.

The range of surviving sources of polyphonic music from the 16th century is much greater in Gdańsk. Transmissions from that period survived only in the form of voice books, which made it very difficult for musicians able to read tablature to quickly access the full sound of the work. *Ms. 4012* from St Bartholomew's Church, now stored in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, is a kind of *basso seguente*²⁶⁰, which was helpful when accompanying the ensemble. However, in order for the organist to carry out his duties in the form of performing individual voices of a polyphonic composition

255 Marc Lewon, *Transformational Practices in Fifteenth-Century German Music*, PhD thesis, St. Hugh's College in Oxford University, Oxford 2017, pp. 53-102.

256 Ibidem, p. 54.

257 Johannes Ring, *Die Kunst des Intavolierens: Gebundenheit und Freiheit*, 'Anuario Musical' 2003, no. 7, p. 63.

258 Marc Lewon, op. cit., p. 56.

259 Ibid.

260 Danuta Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 80-81.

with soloists or soloists²⁶¹, or to perform *ex tempore* an ornamental diminuendo of a motet²⁶², it was necessary to draw up a score or tablature *partitura ad organo*.

Sixteenth-century sources contain a whole range of compositions by foreign authors²⁶³. The present study should focus on the transmission of compositions by local composers, because while an ornamental intabulation of a composition by a foreign author made by a local musician may be regarded as the efflorescence of the local environment, a simple performance of the same piece is something more general. Even a simple performance of a polyphonic work by a local author can be perceived as a product of local culture. For the same reason, I do not consider here music prints, which in this period contain in the form of voice books exclusively music by foreign authors, mainly Italian and Flemish²⁶⁴. All the manuscripts described below come from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Ms. 4003 appeared in Gdańsk with the arrival of its first Kapellmeister Franciscus de Rivulo (d. 1564)²⁶⁵. His arrival was connected with the installation of a carillon clock automaton on the tower of the Main Town Hall in 1560²⁶⁶. He quickly became the most prominent figure in the musical life of Gdańsk at that time, which is why his entire musical legacy is worth quoting here. A total of 23 polyphonic vocal works by F. de Rivulo have survived in Gdańsk manuscripts *Ms. 4003* and *Ms. 4005*, as well as in the print *Thesaurus Musicus* published in 1564 in Nuremberg²⁶⁷. The Kapellmeister's output consists of German songs, two of which convey the characteristic shouts and sounds of the sonosphere of Gdańsk²⁶⁸, two arrangements of Lutheran chorale in the type of L. Senfla²⁶⁹, *chansons*²⁷⁰, and motets²⁷¹. The number of voices oscillates

261 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., pp. 120-21.

262 Ibid.

263 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 204.

264 Paweł Gancarczyk, *Georf Knoff's Collection in Gdańsk. Remarks on collecting and disseminating printed music*, 'De musica disserenda' XI 2015, no. 1-2, p. 24.

265 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 175.

266 Ibid.

267 Romuald Szyszko, *Twórczość Franciszka de Rivulo zachowowana w XVI-wiecznych rękopisach gdańskich*, [in:] *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś I*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 29.

268 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 176.

269 Romuald Szyszko, op. cit., p. 30.

270 Jadwiga Kadłubowska, *Repertoire of manuscript 4003 from the PAN Library in Gdańsk and its historical significance*, "Muzyka" 1961 (22), no. 3, pp. 75-76.

271 Romuald Szyszko, op. cit., pp. 30-33.

between three and eight voices²⁷². Three eight-voice motets are unlikely to be useful as models for intabulations for solo harpsichord, unless we assume the use of reduction. Nevertheless, three- and four-voice ones could serve as a source for such intabulations. Even a six-voice motet has a lute intabulation in *Ms. 257*, held in the British Museum in London. *Ms. 4003* was the private property of F. de Rivulo. Its contents tell us much about the Kapellmeister's musical taste. In addition to his own work, it contains over a hundred French *chansons* of two, three and four voices²⁷³. The set of composers is fairly standard and consists of the names of French and Flemish composers²⁷⁴. Surprising, however, is the complete absence of music by O. di Lasso, very common in similar sources from this period²⁷⁵. Two pieces by F. de Rivulo were published in a transcription adapted to the keyboard instrument and will be discussed in subsection 4. f. Apart from these, all other transmissions have remained in the form of voice books. So far, only a few works have lived to see source-critical editions freely available on the music market.

Ms. 4005 contains, besides music by F. de Rivulo, works by Nikolaus Zangius (1570 - 1619), and Henricus Lampadius (d. 1594). While N. Zangius fully arrived in Danzig in 1599²⁷⁶, thus already after 1591, while H. Lampadius was associated with Gdańsk at least since 1570²⁷⁷. All his works are preserved in *Ms. 4005* and *Ms. 4006*. They are mainly motets, of which only two, *Agnus redemit oves H. L. a 6.* and *Grates nunc omnes reddamus A 6. H. L.* are certainly complete. H. Lampadius came to Gdańsk from Lüneburg. He worked temporarily as organist of St Bartholomew's church²⁷⁸, to finally take up the post of cantor of St John's church²⁷⁹. *Ms. 4012*, the already mentioned *basso seguente* voice, also contains a part of a motet by H. Lampadius²⁸⁰. As an organist he probably played his compositions on the organ. All of the cantor's compositions are preserved in the voice books; to use them, a score is necessary. Coming back

272 Ibid.

273 Jadwiga Kadłubowska, op. cit., pp. 77-80.

274 Ibid, pp. 75-76.

275 Ibid.

276 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 178.

277 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 422.

278 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 199.

279 Ibid.

280 Ibid., p. 92.

to N. Zangius, his motet is present in the form of a simple intabulation of the *partitura ad organo* type in the Oliva Tablature under No. 326. It is also the piece that closes the first, main part of the tablature. The music of M. Zangius is also preserved in the tablature of *Mus. 264*²⁸¹ stored in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. This is a clear testimony to the performance of the Kapellmeister's music on the organ and can be taken as an argument for making further intabulations. The same also applies to the music of the Kapellmeister Andreas Hackenberger (1574 - 1627), but this goes beyond the assumption made in this section of merely filling a gap in the repertoire in a manner consistent with the practice of the period.

Finally, one cannot fail to mention the Kapellmeister Johannes Wanning (1537 - 1603), successor of F. de Rivulo²⁸². He was famous for his difficult character, his tendency to violence and his abuse of alcohol²⁸³. His gradual decline in health was the reason for hiring N. Zangius, as his lifelong assistant²⁸⁴. In the manuscripts of Gdańsk, J. Wanning's music is unfortunately preserved in a decomposed form, but his fame with a European scope resulted in several editions of collections of his music²⁸⁵. The three collections appeared successively in 1580 in Nuremberg, 1584 in Dresden and 1590 in Venice, together with a reprint of the Dresden collection in the same year and by the same publishing house²⁸⁶. In total, the prints included over a hundred motets of five, six and seven voices. The most important and most monumental publication of the Kapellmeister was *Sequentiae insigniores ex evangeliiis dominicalibus excerptae* published twice in Dresden and in Venice. The composer included 52 motets, one for each Sunday of the liturgical year²⁸⁷. Such publications developed over time into annuals of cantatas, the most popular of which today are the five annuals by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685 - 1750). He was also the author of several epithalami. J. Wanning's compositions became a model

281 Klaus Beckmann, op. cit., p. 120.

282 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., pp. 176-177.

283 Hermann Rauchning, op. cit., p. 47.

284 Ibidem, p. 33.

285 Agnieszka Leszczyńska, '*Sequentiae insigniores ex evangeliiis dominicalibus excerptae*' (1584) by Johannes Wanning, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 114.

286 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 177.

287 Ibid.

for the lute intabulations of Benedictus de Drusin (ca. 1520/25 - 1578/82), father or relative of the Gdańsk organist Piotr Drusiński (ca. 1560 - 1611). Danuta Szlagowska mentions the presence of J. Wanning's works in the mentioned tablature *Ms. 264* from Munich²⁸⁸, but Klaus Beckmann does not mention this, instead of J. Wanning mentioning N. Zangius²⁸⁹.

Probably in this subchapter it would be possible to indicate a few more clues for research, but those listed above seem to be the most promising, supported by evidence of past transformations of these works. The listed sources may prove helpful to harpsichordists looking for sources for reconstruction of the repertoire in Gdańsk before 1591.

II. 4. 2. Lute tablatures.

The lute repertoire of Gdańsk represents the earliest surviving example of keyboard music from this region. Taking into account that many lute works have a considerable history of performance on the harpsichord and that the earliest authors of keyboard music were also often lutenists, one might be tempted to include this repertoire in the category of sources complementing the harpsichord repertoire of Gdańsk up to 1700.

It is worth considering here the Gdańsk lute repertoire in the context of Renaissance lute music, and French lute music of the 17th century. During the Renaissance, the practice of performing lute pieces on the harpsichord is confirmed by the sources themselves. Lute music of that time was almost no different from harpsichord music in its sound effect. Both the lute and the harpsichord were able to realise full polyphony with care in conducting the voices of the composition. The consequence of this analogy was the transfer of repertoire between these instruments. One could say that the harpsichord is exactly halfway between the organ and the lute, so that its repertoire can also serve on strings plucked by the plectron. Of course, there are some limitations and differences. The primary one is the method of notation. Lute tablature is a very idiomatic way of notation. However, reading it was not a problem

288 Ibid., p. 178.

289 Klaus Beckmann, op. cit., p. 120.

for harpsichordists in historical times. Further limitations arise from the obvious differences between the instruments themselves. Nevertheless, with time, when the guitar supplanted the lute, notation for lute music became widely used, which often did not differ from keyboard notation. It is worth mentioning here, for example, Peter Warlock's 1927 edition of J. Dowland's works²⁹⁰. J. Dowland's works were often adapted by keyboard players, including P. Siefert in Gdańsk. Also in editions of the lute music from Gdańsk one can find transcriptions of this kind, which will be discussed later.

The historical practice of repertoire transfer between lute and harpsichord has been most fully explored in the field of 17th-century French music. Whereas during the Renaissance lute works were transferred almost literally to the harpsichord and covered with variations, in France the idioms of the two instruments were sufficiently differentiated to make it possible to study the exact changes that were made during this transfer. Interestingly, much of the research material comes precisely from the area of influence of North German music and comes from centres such as Lüneburg, Copenhagen and Stockholm²⁹¹. Also the *Ms. Hintze* described above contains pieces borrowed from French lute music²⁹². The harpsichord versions of the French lute works differ above all in the continuous leading of the bass voice. It is also not without significance that in musical notation the length of sustain of individual notes is precisely notated, in contrast to lute tablature notation. Nevertheless, in the 17th century and earlier, the differences between lute and harpsichord must have been obvious to instrumentalists. For the rest, the first *clavicymbals* did not have dampers at all²⁹³, and the *Überlegato* technique was one of the basic techniques of the professional harpsichordist to enhance and extend the sound of the instrument. The only certain end of the sound is marked in the lute tablature by the re-use of the sounding string with a simultaneous change of its length.

290 Peter Warlock, *The Lute Music of John Dowland Literally transcribed from original tablature, and edited for Piano or Harpsichord*, CURVEN EDITION, Philadelphia 1927, p. iv.

291 David John Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in seventeenth-century France: An Assessment of the influence of Lute on Keyboard Repertoire*, (PhD thesis), Queen's Collage, Oxford 1984, pp. 139-141.

292 Ibid.

293 David Catalunya, Paul Poletti, *Late Medieval Strung Keyboard Instruments: New Reflections and Attempts at Reconstruction*, *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 2012 (4), no. 1, pp. 141-142.

A harpsichordist experienced in the performance of non-censored preludes will have no problems in combining sounds into appropriate harmonic complexes even without complex arches, and the rhythmic values and character of the dance or correct leading of polyphonic voices effectively suggest proper performance on the harpsichord. The proximity of lute and harpsichord repertoire was so close in France at one point that the publisher Perrine (d. c. 1689) attempted to standardize the notation so that it would be useful to both lutenists and harpsichordists²⁹⁴. However, this idea was not successful.

Gdańsk lute sources can be divided into two categories. The first category consists of works by lutenists from Gdańsk or intabulations of works by composers from Gdańsk in Renaissance lute tablatures. The second category are Gdańsk lute tablatures from the 17th century preserved and now stored in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

The first category consists of works by Diomedes Cato (1555 - 1628) and Jan Dżiki (before 1525 - 1592), as well as individual intabulations of works by Kapellmeisters of Gdańsk. These works are widely dispersed in various sources in Europe. The work of J. Dżiki was discovered in *Tabulatura continens praestantissimas et selectissimas quasque cantiones [...] by Benedictus de Drusina (ca. 1620/25 - 1578/82)*²⁹⁵, a relative of the Gdańsk organist. An intabulation of the four-voice motet *Domine, Miserere*, unknown from other sources, was published under the German version of the lutenist *Hans Wilde's* name, being a direct translation²⁹⁶. The work is the earliest surviving instrumental work by the composer from Gdańsk. The transcription published by Piotr Późniak²⁹⁷ does not differ from the notation used for keyboard instruments today.

294 Perrine, *Pieces de Luth en Musique avec des Regels pour toucher parfaitement sur le Luth, et sur le Clavessin*, Paris 1680, pp. 6-8.

295 Benedictus de Drusina, *Tabulatura continens insignes et selectissimas quasdam fantasias: cantiones Germanicas, Italicas, ac Gallicas: Passemazzo, Choreas, et Mutetas [Tabulatur mit ausgewählten Phantasien: deutschen, italienischen und französischen Liedern]*, Jam primum in lucem aeditas, Frankfurt nad Odrą 1552, pp. 37-40.

296 Piotr Późniak, *Jan Dżiki, lutnista gdański*, [in:] *Muzykolog Wobec Dzieła Muzycznego*, Musica Iagiellonica, Kraków 1999, p. 40.

297 Ibid, pp. 45-47.

The outstanding lute player D. Cato stayed and worked periodically in Gdańsk. Here he was buried in St. Nicholas Church in 1628 at the age of 73²⁹⁸. D. Cato's works were collected and published in the form of facsimiles and transcriptions in two collections by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1970²⁹⁹ and 1973³⁰⁰. The published lute works of the artist consist of 6 preludes, including one in three variants, 18 polyphonic fantasies characterized by an extremely progressive contrapuntal style, 10 galliards, 8 Polish dances, 5 other dance pieces and 3 intabulations of Italian madrigals. All the works sound very satisfactory on the harpsichord. A difficulty is the sometimes wide ambitus between the outer voices of the compositions and the guitar notation on one stave in a cello key sounding an octave lower. The exceptions are *Fantasia IV*, *Fantasia VI* and *Madrigal - Donna Crudel* written on two staves in the keyed manner³⁰¹. D. Cato's music is an example of the highest level of composition. The transfer of his music to keyboard instruments has a long tradition in Gdańsk. Two canzonas for consort of instruments are to be found in the Oliva Tabulature (Tab. Oli., no.). It is therefore possible to extend the harpsichord repertoire of Gdańsk with at least outstanding works by D. Cato without doing any abuse to historical practice.

Compositions by Gdańsk Kapellmeisters preserved in Renaissance lute tablatures have already been mentioned in the previous section. It is still difficult to establish a complete list of these compositions. This topic requires further research. It is also worth exploring the topic of Krzysztof Klabon's stay in Gdańsk (ca. 1550 - 1616). In the State Archive in Gdańsk, a supplication has been preserved, in which the lutenist claims the fees due to him, which he derived from the "pile duty". He mentions that he cannot exceptionally collect it himself in Gdańsk, so he will send a messenger from Kraków. "Pile duty" was a charge levied on ships mooring at the long quay between Crane and Green Bridge. Can we count the master from Königsberg among the lute makers of Gdańsk?

298 Danuta Popinigis, *Zur Biographie von Diomedes Cato*, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 178.

299 Piotr Późniak (ed.), *Diomedes Cato (sixteenth/seventeenth century) Preludes, fantasias, dances and madrigals I*, "Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej" 24, PWM, Warsaw 1970.

300 Piotr Późniak (ed.), *Diomedes Cato (16th/17th centuries) Preludes, fantasias, dances and madrigals II*, "Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej" 64, PWM, Warsaw 1973.

301 Piotr Późniak (ed.), *Diomedes Cato (sixteenth/seventeenth century) Preludes, fantasias, dances and madrigals I*, "Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej" 24, PWM, Warsaw 1970, pp. 34, 35, 38-42, 74, 75.

The second category includes lute tablatures which were written in Gdańsk in the 17th century. Today they are stored in Berlin. Two of the three surviving tablatures are complete. Tablature *Ms. 4230* contained works for two lutes, of which only the voice of one survived. The other two *Ms. 4022* and *Ms. 40264* are complete and contain works for solo lute.

Ms. 4022 has lived to see a facsimile edition with extensive commentary and editing by Magdalena Tosińska³⁰², and published transcriptions of selected works³⁰³. The tablature is dated to the 1720s. The repertoire conveyed by the source is extremely cosmopolitan. A total of 222 pieces represent influences from French, English, German, Dutch, Italian, Hungarian, Spanish and Ruthenian cultures³⁰⁴. The largest group, however, consists of 41 Polish dances. Each of them ends with a simplified version, which may be the blueprint on which further improvisational variations were constructed³⁰⁵. The dances were published by Zofia Stęszewska in a form adapted for performance on keyboard instruments³⁰⁶. Interesting, apart from the international repertoire, is the functioning alongside anachronistic (diminutions) and progressive (broken style) styles of playing³⁰⁷. The influence of Polish folk culture is also clearly visible.

Dated ca. 1640³⁰⁸, Virginia Renata von Gehem's Tablature *Ms. 40264* already contains only the more subtle and refined French repertoire. The majority of the repertoire included in the tablature consists of French dances typical of the already clarified suite cycle *Allemande-Courante-Sarabande*, excluding the *Gigue*. These dances also appear individually, alongside works such as *Preludes*, *Rosamund*, *Bergamasco*, *Fantasia*, *Sinfonia ad Fuga ex G*, *Dance Russky*, *Dances Polskye*, *Chorea Polonia*, *Aria*, *Chacona* and *Variation*, as well as German and Polish psalms and songs. French authors represented

302 Magdalena Tomsinska (ed.), *The Danzig Lutebook D-B Danzig 4022 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK*, TREE EDITION, Sharnbrook 2013, (afterword) Eadem, *Gdańsk Lute Tablature D-B Danzig 4022*.

303 Zofia Stęszewska (ed.), *Tańce Polskie z Tabulatury gdańskiej*, "Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej" 30, PWM, Kraków 1965.

304 Magdalena Tosińska, op. cit., pp. 7-8

305 Ibidem, p. 14.

306 Zofia Stęszewska, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

307 Magdalena Tosińska, op. cit., p. 20.

308 Danuta Szlagowska, *Seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources*, "Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology" 2012, no. 11, pp. 137-138.

in the source are François Dudault (1604- 1672), Ennemond Gaultier *le Vieux* (c. 1575 - 1651), Denis Gaultier (1603? - 1672), Nicolas de Merville (1600 - 1644) and Germain Pinel (c. 1600 - 1661), and local authors Ieremias Erben (17th century) and perhaps Balthasar Erben (1626 - 1686) as monogrammer *B. E*³⁰⁹. Among the works in the French style can be found the only fully preserved suite by a composer from Gdańsk. It is a suite with the arrangement *Allemande-Courante-Sarabande* signed with the name and initials of I. Erben. The frequent absence of *Gigue* in suite cycles may be due to the practice of French lutenists of repeating at the end of the suite an *Allemande* played in *Gigue*, the so-called *Allemande giguee*. It is also worth mentioning the anonymously preserved non-mensurated and partially mensurated preludes, of which five have survived in the tablature. Tablature *Ms. 40264* may significantly enrich the harpsichord repertoire of Gdańsk from the second half of the 17th century. So far only Polish dances have received a source-critical edition and transcription.

It should be added that contemporary harpsichordists make abundant use of the lute repertoire by including it in the programmes of their recitals and recordings³¹⁰. In the German cultural circle, the interest of harpsichordists into

309 Zofia Stęszewska (ed.), *Tańce Polskie z tabulatur lutniowych II*, "Źródła Do Historii Muzyki Polskiej" Zeszyt IX, Warsaw 1966, (editorial commentary) Eadem, *Objaśnienia*, p. 38.

310 Cf. harpsichord recordings of music for vihuela, lute and guitar: Catalina Vicens, *Il Cembalo di Partenope A Renaissance harpsichord tale*, Carpe Diem Records CD-16312, 2017 (Vincenzo Capirola: *La villanella*, Joan Ambrosio Dalza: *Calata ala spagnola, Pavana alla ferrarese*, Fabrizio Dentice: *Volta de spagna*); Paola Erdas, *Antonio Valente Intavolatura de Cimbalo Napoli 1576*, Hitasura HSP 005, 2020 (Luis Venegas de Henestrosa: *Cinco diferencias sobre Conde Claros*, Alonso Mudarra: *Conde Claros en doza manera*); Andreas E. Beurmann, *Historisches Spinett & Cembalo*, Die Klassikserie vol. 35 74321 29052 2 PC 208 (Hans Neusiedler: *Zigeunentantz*, Alonso Mudarra: *Tiento*, Joan Ambrosio Dalza: *Pavana Alla Venetiana*, Tilman Susato: *Rondo e Saltarello*); Wanda Landowska, *Testament*, BMG Music SBT 1380, 2005 (Jakub Polak: *Gagliardi*, Diomedes Cato: *Chorea Polonica*); Urszula Bartkiewicz, *Polish harpsichord music*, DUX 0243, 1995 (Bartłomiej Pękiel: *Fantasia*); Marie Nishiyama, *Taner Fantasia*, Enchiriadis EN 2007, 2003 (Luis de Milan: *Fantasia X de premier y segundo tono, Fantasia XXVII de tercero tono, Fantasia XV de quinto y sexto tono*); Wladyslaw Klosiewicz, *Muscia Polonica*, limited edition, KMM Wien 1996, Foundation Pro Academia Narolense, 2018 (Jakub Polak: *Coutante*); Pierre Gallon, *Blancrocher - L'Offrande*, L'Encelade ECL 1901, 2019 (Francois Dufaut: *Tombeau de M^r Blanrocher-Courante-Sarabande&Double-Gigue-Gavotte*, Denis Goultier: *Lais larmes de Goultier ou Le Tombeau de Blanrocher, Prelude-Sarabande-Fantaisies-Gigue*); Zuzanna Ruzickova, *Czech Baroque Harpsichord Music*, Supraphon 1111 33330, 1986 (Jan Antonin Losy: *Suite in G Major, Suite in C Major*); Joseph Gascho, *Joseph Gascho Harpsichord*, 2012 (Santiago de Murcia: *Marizapalos, Sonata: Allegro-Grave- Allegro, Menuet amoroso*); Olga Martynova, *The Great Transcriptions*, Caro Mitis CM 0072004, 2005 (Silvius Leopold Weiss: *Prelude-Allegro-Allemande-Courante-Gavotte-Sarabande-Bourree-Gigue*); Wolfgang Rübsam, *Weiss Sonatas*, Brilliant Classics 95509, 2019 (Silvius Leopold Weiss: *Sonatas: WeissSV.61, WeissSV.97*,

the lute repertoire influenced instrument builders. They, wanting to respond to this demand, began to produce lute-harpsichords called *Lautenwerck*³¹¹.

II. 4. 3. Contrapuntal pieces of indeterminate instrumentation.

The creative community of Gdańsk has left behind two examples of abstract creativity in the form of contrapuntal pieces, not intended for any particular performance composition. These are the four bicinia of Kapellmeister Kaspar Förster senior (c. 1574 - 1652) and a three-voice counterpoint with a hexachordal *cantus firmus* in soprano by Martin Gremboszewski (c. 1600 - 1655). Perhaps the aforementioned *Fugue* should be included here. 2. *anti & retro* from *Ms. Joh. 456-457*. It is very likely that the terms *retro*, meaning "backwards", and the not-so-ambiguous *anti*, are clues intended to help solve the "counterpoint puzzle". This one, however, has not yet been solved. As an aside to this subsection, it is worth mentioning the examples³¹² by Christoph Bernhard (1628 - 1692) included in his *Tractatus Compositionis Augumentatus* of around 1660. These are mostly several-bar bicinia illustrating various genres of counterpoint, and three- and four-voice canons.

Bicinia K. Förster sen. are the only works by the Kapellmeister which testify to his skills as a composer. The musician was a royal bookseller, supplying the Warsaw court with music prints imported from various European publishing houses, so he was not obliged to compose in order to provide, in accordance with his duties, a new repertoire for the city's band. Four biciniums were published in print in Leipzig in Sethus Calvisius' (1556 - 1615) collection *Biciniorum / Libri duo [...] of 1607*³¹³ as two voice books. These are [*Bicinium*] *XLVII. Casparus*

WeissSV.93, WeissSV.95, WeissSV.96); Skip Sempe, *BACH Tradition & Transcription*, Paradizo PA0018, 2021 (Silvius Leopold Weiss: *Allemande*).

311 Edward L. Kottick, op. cit., p. 303.

312 Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus Compositionis Augumentatus*, (compiled and translated) Magdalena Walter Mazur, PRACTICA MUSICA volume VI, (ed.) Zygmunt Szwejkowski, Krakow 2004, pp. 64, 72, 75, 76, 81-84, 126-135, 147-151, 153-155, 157-163, 165-167, 169-171, 173, 175-177.

313 Sethus Calvisius, *Biciniorum / Libri duo: / quorum prior septuaginta / numero continet ad Sententias / Evangeliorum anniversariorum / à / Setho Calvisio musico / decantata. / Posterior verò Nonaginta, tàm cum textu quàm sine te- / xtu, à praestantiffimis Musicis*

Försterus. Ad Dorium, [Bicinium] LXXX. Casparus Försterus. Ad Mixolydium, [Bicinium] LXXXIII. Casparus Försterus. Ad Hypoaeolium and [Bicinium] LXXXIV. Casparus Försterus. Ad Dorium. Variato fine. All the biciniums are imitative works, representing various styles of counterpoint representative of the *modi* chosen by the composer. The first of them has the character of a variation canzona with a typical repetitive motif in the theme and a change of metre to *perfectus* in the composition's finale. The next is more tuneful in expression, as is the second, clearly alluding to an imitative ricercar in a serious character. The final bicinium by C. Förster sen. is enlivened by a rapid exchange of short motives between the voices. Biciniums were didactic in character and constituted one of the initial stages in the training of professional musicians in the period of the domination of polyphonic music³¹⁴.

The next step in the education of a young musician at that time was learning to create counterpoints to *cantus firmus*. Naturally, with time, the number of voices was also increased. The three-voice *Contrapunctum super ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* by M. Gremboszewski³¹⁵ is a display of such skills. The piece lasts 25 bars, during which the two lower voices perform calm but richly rhythmical counterpoints, effectively avoiding the mark of imitation, like the earliest examples of instrumental counterpoint. Despite the frequent crossing of voices, the work for harpsichord sounds very interesting and clear.

The contrapuntal sources testify a very important aspect of musical creativity of Gdańsk - the scientific and research aspect. These learned miniatures can bring a lot of joy to the performer and at the same time develop the contrapuntal sense and musical imagination in the field of polyphony and imitation and the skills of their realisation on an instrument. The art of counterpoint was treated as a kind of hermetic knowledge, even described as musical alchemy³¹⁶. It was directly connected with mathematics, astronomy, numerology and theology. Knowing the importance of Gdańsk

concinna. / Omnia ad usum Studiosorum sese in hac arte exercentium & oble- / ctantium accomodata & edita. Studio & opera ejusdem Autoris, Leipzig 1607.

314 *The Inventions* of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685 - 1750) are a relic of this mode of education.

315 State Archive in Gdańsk Ref. 300, 36/58.

316 Karel J. Snyder, *Dietrich Buxtehude. Życie – twórczość – praktyka wykonawcza*, (translation) Marcin Szelest, Kraków 2009, p. 155.

as a centre of scientific development, it is hardly surprising to find interest in such works, especially as they had an additional didactic aspect. Access to the music contained in these sources facilitates the ability to read scores, and bicinia require the performance of a score.

II. 4. 4. Music for solo instrument and *basso continuo*.

While the practical ability to perform *basso continuo* in the first quarter of the 17th century was a reason for the haughty demeanour of Gdańsk musicians possessing this skill³¹⁷, by the middle of the same century it was already a completely common skill³¹⁸. This is evidenced not only by numerous prints of solo songs, or preserved choral chants, but above all by the ubiquity of the *basso continuo*, which was typical of the era. The notation of music for solo instrument and *basso continuo* was very friendly for the performer. It is enough to fill in the missing voices to transform such a work into a harpsichord piece³¹⁹. Numerous Italian sources from the 18th century bear witness to this practice. Numerous works by Arcangelo Corelli (1653 - 1713), Antonio Vivaldi (1678 - 1741) and Francesco Mancini (1672 - 1737) are included in Italian collections in unaltered form³²⁰.

The various forms of *partimento* used in the education of Italian musicians often took the form of a Fugue for solo voice and figured bass, while the completion of the middle voices was at the discretion of the performer. Fifteen such *Fughe a Due* were left by Alessandro Scarlatti (1660 - 1725)³²¹. Harpists playing on historical instruments source a large part of their repertoire from 17th-18th century Italian violinists, as it is much more idiomatic for the harp

317 Waław Kmicic-Mieleszyński, *Charakterystyka twórczości Marcina Gremboszewski, kompozytor gdańskiego, na tle muzyki, w pierwszej połowie wieku XVII*, [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe XI*, Gdańsk 1972, p. 34.

318 Gottfried Döring, *Zur Geschichte der Musik in Preussen*, Elbląg 1852, pp. 164-165.

319 Francesca Lanfranco, *Geminiani Pieces de clavecin (1743)*, Newton Classics B. V., 2012, Andrew Woolley (editorial comment), p. 2.

320 Ibid.

321 Francesco Tasini, *Alessandro Scarlatti Opere omnia per tastiera vol. II*, TACTUS, 2021, Ibid (editorial comment), pp. 9-12.

than harpsichord music, which requires a reduction on the harp³²². It was therefore a common practice in the south.

In German Protestant music the realisation of the chorale written in the form of melody and *basso continuo* was a common skill, at least among organists, harpsichordists and lutenists³²³. A number of sources dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century attest to the practice of this type in Gdańsk. These are the so-called organ songbooks. The oldest preserved one belonged to B. Erbern. Erbern. It is *Ms. 40186*, which is stored in Staatsbibliothek in Berlin under the number PPN 766137619. It contains in total 150 chorales with *basso continuo* and literary text. From the realisation of this type of chorale, to the performance of a virtuoso sonata for solo instrument and *basso continuo* is not far off.

In the case of Gdańsk, the admission of this repertoire fills the repertoire gaps of the II. Half of the 17th century, and is supported by the skills common at that time³²⁴. Probably the best example of performance of showpieces written in the form of solo voice and *basso continuo* on the harpsichord is *Sonata IV. a Cimbalo solo Op. 4* by Sybrandus von Noordt (1659 - 1705), published in Amsterdam at the turn of the century³²⁵. This practice gives the harpsichordist seeking repertoire entirely new possibilities. Caution and good taste are of course necessary. Certain elements of the violin idiom demand too much from the harpsichordist's right hand. Fortunately, this problem does not occur in the sources from Gdańsk, although some of the pieces are indeed quite difficult to perform. The realisation of trio texture works much better on two harpsichords performed in the same way in an ensemble. Most of the surviving seventeenth-century sources of instrumental music from Gdańsk are trios³²⁶. This subchapter

322 Flora Papadopoulos, *UNWRITTEN Bach Bieber Corelli Marini from violin to harp*, ARCANA, 2014, Eadem (editorial comment), pp. 4-5.

323 Derek Remes, *Thoroughbass, Chorale, and Fuge: Teaching the Craft of Composition in J. S. Bach's Circle*, PhD thesis, Hochschule für Musik, Freiburg im Breisgau 2020, p. 53.

324 Joanna Solecka, *Partimento – praktyka czy sztuka?*, "Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ" 2019 (2), no. 41, pp. 25-26.

325 Henric Anders (publisher), *Sonate per il Cimbalo appropriate al Flauto & Violino Composta dal Sig^r. Sibrando van Noordt. Opera Prima*, Amsterdam c. 1700, pp. 15-21.

326 Danuta Szlagowska, *Seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources*, "Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology" 2012, no. 11, pp. 125-128.

will discuss works for solo instrument and *basso continuo* which are connected with Gdańsk or the musicians of Gdańsk.

The earliest works of this type related to Gdańsk were published in Dresden between 1626-28 by Carlo Farina (c. 1600 - c. 1640), shortly before his arrival in the city³²⁷. In Gdańsk C. Farina stayed for two years as successor to the city violinist Valentin Floode (before 1616 - 1636)³²⁸. The fiddler lived near the harbour, possibly in the Crane itself. This location, and growing disputes between musicians, led him to leave Gdańsk. The harpsichord repertoire may be enriched by *Sonata Quarta detta la Franzosina a 2*, *Sonata Quinta detta la Farina a 2* and *Canzon detta la Marina a 2* from *Libro delle Pavane, Gagliarde, Brandi [...]*, and *Sonata detta la fiamma a 2*, *Canzon detta la Bolognesa a 2* and *Sonata seconda detta la disperata a 2* from *Quarto [...]* and *Quinto Libro delle Pavane [...]*. In total 4 sonatas and two canzonas for violin and *basso continuo*. The sonatas, thanks to the standing bass and virtuoso violin figurations, can be realised in a form similar to the Venetian toccata. Canzonas require in part a more polyphonic treatment. These pieces may be successfully used by a harpsichordist who would like to diversify the recital programme with a piece resembling a toccata.

A similar function can be fulfilled by the compositions of Heinrich Döbel (1651 - 1693), recently found in the Collection of Musicals of Prince-Bishop Carl Lichtenstein-Castelcorn in Kroměříž under the reference *A 637*³²⁹. Born as a grandson of P. Siefert, after numerous voyages he returned to Gdańsk to take over the position of St Mary's organist from his grandfather. His violin music consists of 5 sonatas, 3 *Gzygas*, as well as *Couranto* and *Sarabande*. These pieces make extensive use of chordal playing, which greatly facilitates the construction of texture for the harpsichordist who performs them, but is also a kind of trap. This is because the violin often doubles the bass line in the lowest voice. When performing these works solo,

327 Agnieszka Wolińska, *The Violin Idiom In Carlo Farina's Music*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen in Ostseeraum*, Sankt Augustin 1996, p. 475.

328 Ewan West, *England and the Baltic Region: Musical Connections in the 17th and 18th Centuries and the Case of Valentin Flood*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen in Ostseeraum*, Sankt Augustin 1996, p. 458.

329 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 125.

these moments must be artfully masked. The music of H. Döbel was influenced by the composers of the First Viennese School, and by Italian virtuosos³³⁰. The sonatas are in ABC form, with an ostinato part inside, following the model of Giovanni Antonio Pandolfi Meali (1630 - 1670). The most interesting are the *Gzygas*, which do not even require the middle voices to be completed due to the dense polyphonic violin texture. The familiarity of J. J. Froberger's partitas is noticeable in *Gzygas*. The specific articulation in *Gzyga 2* noted by H. Döbel, which divides the quarter note with a dot once into 2 (an eighth note with a dot and three sixteenths under the bow), and once into 3 parts (three eighth notes), also brings to mind J. J. Froberger's way of performing Gigs, oscillating between the *perfectus* and *imperfectus* division³³¹. The other two dances are simple, chord-based binary pieces with equal harmonic and melodic progression, which makes us think of them as parts of a partita.

Three more works are worth mentioning: *Canzonetta voce sola* by Martin Gremboszewski (c. 1600 - 1655), *Suite in D major for violin and viola da gamba* by Christoph Bernhard (1628 - 1692), and *Sonata Violino Solo* by Nathanael Schnittelbach (1633 - 1667). *Canzonetta* is a multi-movement work for cornet and *basso continuo*, typical of Italian instrumental music of the first decades of the 17th century. It will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III. 2 Chr. Bernhard's *suite* was written in Hamburg, but the author himself was born in Gdańsk, just like N. Schnittelbach. Chr. Bernhardt's piece requires only the addition of the middle voices to make it fully satisfactory on the harpsichord. It has the form of a suite in movements A-C-S, each developed with a figurative *double*. N. Schnittelbach's *Sonata*, on the other hand, has the form of a passacalla based on a descending tetrachord in the bass, and was probably written in Lübeck. Both works are preserved in the *PartiturBuch Ludwig* of 1662, copied and dedicated by Jacob Ludwig (1623 - 1698) to Prince August II von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel on the occasion of his 83rd birthday.

330 Danuta Popinigis, *From Gdańsk to Kromieriz or: the Story of Heinrich Döbel and His Music for the Violin*, "Musicology Today" 2006, no. 3, pp. 10-14.

331 David Ledbetter, *Froberger and the Lute*, [in:] *Rethinking Froberger 'Avec discretion'*, (eds.) Andreas Vejvar, Markus Grassl, Vienna 2018, p. 255.

Pieces for solo instrument and *basso continuo* associated with the Gdańsk environment work perfectly well as solo pieces for harpsichord. They obviously require certain abilities, experience and imagination in the field of *basso continuo* realization, composition, counterpoint, accompaniment and interpretation. But these are qualities to which every harpsichordist should aspire, and which were once the norm among professional musicians. The sonatas, canzonas and dances perfectly fill the repertoire gaps which are particularly acute in the case of the sources of Gdańsk harpsichord music from the second half of the 17th century.

II. 4. 5. Preludes from the manuscript APG 959/294.

Joachim Gudel, in the State Archive in Gdańsk, in a block of documents from St George's Church in Malbork, found a hitherto unknown manuscript with keyboard music³³². He announced this discovery in a publication from 1998. Since then, the manuscript has had its own signature and several scientific studies³³³, and, unfortunately, an unpublished transcription in Paweł Bogusz's MA thesis.³³⁴

The anonymous notebook contains 29 works³³⁵, notated successively by three scribes³³⁶. The manuscript is written carelessly and full of errors. It gives the impression of a private notebook, perhaps of an organist's pupil. The authors were probably amateurs, as evidenced by numerous compositional errors. Nevertheless, the repertoire bears features of virtuosity. The manuscript was probably written around the middle of the 18th century³³⁷, which is indicated by the stylistic analysis and the repertoire typical for that period.

332 Joachim Gudel, *Unknown manuscript of harpsichord works from the State Archive in Gdańsk*, [in:] *Piano Music XI*, S. Moniuszko Academy of Music, special works 56, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 471-75.

333 Paweł Bogusz, *Music for string and keyboard instruments in 18th-century musical manuscripts of Gdańsk provenance*, MA thesis, S. Moniuszko Academy of Music, Gdańsk 2017, p. 92.

334 Ibid, supplement.

335 Joachim Gudel, op. cit., pp. 474-75.

336 Ibid.

337 Paweł Bogusz, op. cit., p. 96.

In view of the problem of the lack of extant works in *stylus phanthasticus* in Gdańsk sources, it is worth drawing attention to this monument. It contains 9 preludes which, although written in the 18th century in the province of Gdańsk, may shed some light on the history of this style in the region. Two of the surviving preludes are particularly significant due to a certain stylistic archaicism.

Praludium. C. from pages 10-11 of *Ms. 959/274* exhibits some features of the style of the North German organists. It begins with a characteristic apostrophe, and also the last chord of the prelude is replaced by a motif describing its notes by a motif referring to the beginning. The inner part of the piece is a *toccata-perpetuum mobile*, typical for Italian composers of the II p. XVII century interspersed with numerous tirades. The most prominent element typical of the 18th century is a passage using a *murky bass*, which is, incidentally, widely represented in the manuscript.

The *Praludium in A minor* is inscribed on pages 14-15. Formally, it is very similar to the one described above. It begins with an apostrophe, is developed as a *toccata-perpetuum mobile*, and ends with a cadenza on a pedal note and, this time, a full A minor chord.

Both pieces were notated by the first scribe. They are based on standard harmonic phrases, progressions and uniform motion. The special feature of the preludes is their distinctly virtuosic character (*Prelude. C.* is most easily performed using the *glissando* technique) and certain formal elements, archaic for the 18th century, which refer to the North German school. This leads to the conclusion of the extraordinary vitality of North German elements in improvisational forms in Malbork, and thus in the Gdańsk region. It should be added here that Malbork was a provincial city at the time, and St George's Church, as a Lutheran church, was outside the city walls themselves. Taking into account the place of its origin, and probably the lack of professional education of the author, one must admit that it gives some information about the level of previous generations of organists, who instilled such a tradition in the region.

Finally, it should be added that the preludes from *Ms. 959/274* are in many respects very close to the *Prelude* by Jan Podbielski. In connection

with the virtuoso aspect of the preludes from Malbork, and taking into account the whole context of their composition, it is necessary to refute several arguments put forward by sceptics regarding the authenticity of J. Podbielski's work³³⁸. There is no imitative part in the Malbork preludes either, and the virtuoso means employed far exceed those used by J. Podbielski. This fact should be taken into account in polemics with sceptics. It would certainly shed new light on this work, although certainly not as media-savvy as attempts to diminish its value.

The works described here to some extent solve the problem of the harpsichordist, who struggles with the lack of source accounts of music in *stylus phantasticus* from Gdańsk of the discussed period.

II. 4. 6. Music for ensembles transcriptions published in the 20th century literature of the subject.

Materials useful for expanding the harpsichord repertoire of Gdańsk can also be found in the literature. So far there is only one synthetic account of the history of music in Gdańsk. It is Hermann Rauschnig's monograph from 1931, quoted many times in this work. In musicological literature of the turn of the 19th and 20th century it was a norm to place examples of the music discussed in a form possible and easy to perform on the piano. As these examples must faithfully reflect the musical work described, these examples are limited to the creation of a sort of urtext piano extract.

The author came across examples of this kind only in Hermann Rauschnig's monograph. They are mostly fragments of works, but there are also larger wholes or even whole works. The examples that will be listed here reflect the full shape of the work, or some closed part of it. These are transcription of vocal and vocal-instrumental works. An exception is the first fantasia from the Danzig Tablature by Hermann Rauschnig, quoted in full, which author will omit because it is described in the chapter devoted to this source.

338 Rostislav Vygranenko, *Jan Podbielski. Kolejna mistyfikacja?*, "Muzyka24" 2008 (7-8), no. 96-97, pp. 57-58.

On pages 29-30³³⁹ there are two transcriptions of works by F. de Rivulo. These are the two pieces already mentioned, considered to be the earliest examples of works associated with Protestantism in Gdańsk. The simple four-voice harmonisation of the chorale *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* comes from *Ms. 4003*, while the five-voice motet *Jubilate Deo* is preserved in *Ms. 4005*. Both transcriptions are perfectly suitable for performance on the harpsichord.

The song *Ein Musikus wollt frölich sein* by A. Hackenberger is quoted on pages 108-109³⁴⁰. It is a five-voice social song with German text, beginning with a *fuga realis* with a typically canzonico, repetitive theme. The later phases of the piece employ measures typical of the Venetian concertante style. In the final part, the crossing voices are based on a falling bass. Interestingly, in each successive bar a chord without a break sounds, whose basis is a bass note. This gives the impression of breaking the rules of counterpoint and is probably an allusion to the drunken musician, the lyrical subject of the song's text.

On pages 162-163 and 168-169 Hermann Rauschning quotes two psalms by P. Siefert. One from the first and second part of *Psalmen Davidis* published in Gdańsk for the Calvinist community in 1640 and 1650 respectively³⁴¹. In these works P. Siefert seeks new means of expression in the *stile antico*, with which he exposed himself to criticism and a long-standing dispute with M. Scacchi, described below in the biographical section. Both transcriptions are interesting polyphonic works in which numerous means of sound painting and musical rhetoric are employed.

The description of the musical and poetic circles of Gdańsk in the 17th century is accompanied by examples of short strophic songs on pages 182, and 184-187³⁴². Three of them are in quadraphonic and binary form, and the same number for solo voice and b. c, including one recomposed. Two songs were from the pen of Christoph Werner (c. 1618 - 1650), and as many by Crato Büthner (1616 - 1679) and Thomas Strutius (1621 - 1678).

339 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

340 Ibidem, pp. 108-109.

341 Ibid, pp. 162-163; 168-169.

342 Ibid., pp. 182-187

The verse from the chorale cantata *Sey Getreu* by Balthasar Erban (1626 - 1686) is difficult to perform due to the crossing of figured voices and the concertante form with as many as six voices in total. It is quoted in full on pages 233-244.³⁴³ Instead, the quotation of a short ritornello by C. Büthner from page 248 may be useful³⁴⁴. The trio texture, which can be supplemented by the realisation of b. c. sounds like a short toccata of the *durezza e ligature* type, and in this form it can be used as a short prelude to a work in A minor.

In the context of the description of Th. Strutius' collaboration with the rector of the Academic Gymnasium, six short songs published between 1656 and 1658 are quoted³⁴⁵. Four of them are four- and five-voice arrangements, and two are limited to voice and b. c. Interestingly one of the songs was published by Th. Strutius in both forms.

Other examples are fragmentary, impossible to perform solo or concern music of the 18th and 19th centuries. Nevertheless, the examples quoted above may significantly diversify the repertoire of a harpsichord recital with Gdańsk music of the described period.

343 Ibid., pp. 233-234.

344 Ibid., p. 248.

345 Ibid., pp. 255-256; 258.

Chapter III. Profiles of artists.

This chapter will present the profiles of the most outstanding composers of harpsichord music whose works have survived to our times. Other composers connected with Gdańsk will also be mentioned, whose activity as organists and harpsichordists is confirmed in the sources. It will also suggest some leads for further research which may bring new information about the harpsichordists and harpsichord music in Gdańsk before 1700.

III. 1. Cajus Schmiedtlein (1555 - 1611).

The arrival of C. Schmiedtlein to Gdańsk is closely connected with the construction of the new great organ in St Mary's Church by Julius Antoni Friese (active 1583-85) in 1585.

He was born in Husum in 1555.³⁴⁶ His first job was as organist of the church in Helsingør³⁴⁷. Before 1585 he was highly regarded as an organist in Hamburg, where he probably met the organmaster J. A. Friese³⁴⁸. It was probably also due to this acquaintance that he was invited to Gdańsk to perform the Europe-wide famous *Orgelprobe* on 18th of October 1585.

The authorities of Gdańsk made efforts to keep the musician in his place. In Gdańsk he received a flat and a high salary. He was officially appointed organist of the St Mary's Church in 1589³⁴⁹. The appointment letter specified the duties of the organist of the great organ, which included not only solo playing but also accompanying soloists during great feasts³⁵⁰. Interestingly, C. Schmiedtlein was not required to accompany the singing of the community, but only to intersperse it with figurative verses³⁵¹. He had to remain on good terms with the band and the Kapellmeister under threat of punishment³⁵².

346 Konrad Kuester, *Caj Schmedeke: ein Dithmarscher Organist des 16. Jahrhunderts zwischen Husum, Helsingør und Danzig*, "Beiträge zur Husumer Stadtgeschichte" 2010, no. 12, p. 30.

347 Ibid, p. 27. Later the young Dietrich Buxtehude (1637 - 1707) was active in this church.

348 Ibid., p. 31.

349 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

350 Ibid.

351 Ibid., p. 52.

352 Ibid.

With his arrival in Gdańsk, the spelling of his name changes in an interesting way. From the original *Caj/Kay Schmedeke(s)* he transforms into *Cajus Schmiedtlein*. The particular significance of this change can be properly understood when compared to the situation that occurred when the Deventer organist *Johann Adam Reinecke* (1621/43 - 1722), after taking up a post in Hamburg after Heinrich Scheidemann (1595 - 1663), adopted the form of the surname *Reincken*. Following this pattern, it would have been natural to transform *Schmedeke* into *Schmedecken*, *Schmedke* or into *Schmidke* (*Szmidke*), popular in the Gdańsk region until today. However, the musician's surname was softened, which in Low German consists in combining the surname with the word *-klein*. In this way, the form *Schmiedtlein* was created, which seems to be an indication of the almost affectionate way in which the artist was treated in Gdańsk. This is reminiscent of the situation of Italian artists, who became known under pseudonyms that defined them in some way. This was the case with such musicians as Baldassare Galuppi (1706 - 1785), known as *Il Buranello*³⁵³, and a whole pleiade of outstanding Italian singers in the 18th century headed by *Farinelli* (1705 - 1782), *Senesino* (1686 - 1658) and *Cafarelli* (1710 – 1783).

The great organ built by J. A. Friesen in the Marienkirche was famous for its very heavy traction, which greatly strained the organist's body. Traditionally, one of the elements of the examination for the post of the organist of St Mary's was a test of physical strength in playing the *organo pleno*, often with an additional load of lead on the keys³⁵⁴. These conditions resulted in the fact that already in 1590-91 C. Schmiedtlein goes on holiday to Hamburg and Baden-Baden³⁵⁵. This period is connected with the completion of the Danzig Tablature attributed to the organist.

In 1596 he was invited to Gröningen to test the newly built organ in the castle church together with 52 of the most eminent organists of his time. It was a very important moment because such eminent artists as Caspar Hassler

353 Kapellmeister in Venice and St Petersburg. He was born in Burano, a district of Venice. He passed through Gdańsk in 1765 performing and presenting his operas (cf: Jerzy Marian Michalak, *Od Förster do Friling. Przyczynki do dziejów życia muzycznego i teatralnego dawnego Gdańska*, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 154-155).

354 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 121.

355 Ibidem, p. 55.

(1562 - 1618) from Nuremberg, Johannes Steffens (1560 - 1616) from Lüneburg, Hieronymus Praetorius (1560 - 1629) from Hamburg, Michael Praetorius (1571 - 1621) from Wolfenbüttel or Hans Leo Hassler (1564 - 1612) from Augsburg gathered in one place. The organist from Gdańsk was the oldest of them. It is possible that contacts were established at that time which resulted in the reception of music of M. Praetorius and H. L. Hassler in Gdańsk.

Again in 1598 C. Schmiedtlein asks for a four-month leave to go to Baden-Baden for bathing. He mentions his stay in hospital and the helplessness of the Danzig medics for his ailments. He takes the opportunity to visit the grave of his recently deceased mother.

From 1601 he was assisted in his work by the young Paul Siefert (1586 - 1666)³⁵⁶, in some sources even referred to as his grandson. C. Schmiedtlein did not have a good opinion about P. Siefert and warned the councillors to choose another organist as his successor. He cited the difficult character of the young musician as an argument.

He dies in 1611 and is buried in St Mary's Church, where he worked.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 113.

III. 2. Piotr Drusiński (c. 1560 - 1611).

He was born in the 1560s as a son or relative of the Prussian lute player of Polish origin Benedict de Drusina³⁵⁷ (ca. 1520/25 - between 1578/1582), author of several lute tablatures. His family name indicates his origins in the area of Lake Družno near Elbląg. He was probably a pupil of Antonio Scandelli³⁵⁸ (1517 - 1580) in Dresden.

From 1586 to 1592 he was organist of St Barbara's Church in Gdańsk. He then moved to Elbląg, where he took up the post of organist at St Mary's Church³⁵⁹.

Five of his works are preserved in the Oliva Tablature³⁶⁰ under the anagram *A. P. D.* deciphered as *Authore Petrus Drusinsky* and *P. D. D. - Petrus de Drusina*. These include two *Preambula*, one of which is based on the *Magnificat* incipit

as a *cantus firmus*, and three intabulations of polyphonic motets. Interesting in his music is the tendency to place the diminution in the bass voice. This is a feature of the keyboard works of the Oliva Tablature in general.

Probably P. Drusiński was one of the first promoters of O. di. Lasso in the region³⁶¹. He was also a skilled composer of vocal works³⁶².

357 Paweł Podejko, op. cit., p. 15.

358 Ibid.

359 Agnieszka Leszczyńska, *Vocal Repertoire in Late Renaissance Gdańsk and Elbląg*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Music-making in Baltic Cities*, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 124-25.

360 Marcin Szelest, *Tabulaturae Braunsbergnes-Olivenses, Part 1*, Warsaw 2021 p. 43.

361 Agnieszka Leszczyńska, op. cit. p. 130.

362 Ibid.

III. 3. Paul Siefert (1586 - 1666).

Paul Siefert was an extremely distinctive figure and by far the most important organist in Danzig of his time. The name Siefert in different forms appears very often in archival sources. Important musical functions in the city were fulfilled by Erazm Siefert, singer of the city council band in 1649 - 1656, master of the musicians guild in 1679 Daniel Siefert, and Erazm Sewer (Siefert?), organist at the small organ of St Mary's church from 1677. However, the family connections with P. Siefert are not certain³⁶³.

Baptised in the Marienkirche on 23 May 1586, P. Siefert was born as the son of the prosecutor Paul Siefert the elder and his second wife Susanna. In 1607, thanks to a scholarship from the city council, he was sent to study with Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562 - 1621) in Amsterdam. There his companions were Samuel Scheidt (1587 - 1654) and Heinrich Scheidemann (1595 - 1663) - later prominent North German organists. He returned to Gdańsk in 1611 to apply for the post of organist of the Marian after C. Schmiedtlein, described in some sources as his grandfather. He did not succeed to the post. Even before his death C. Schmiedtlein warned against the appointment of P. Siefert because of his difficult character. Apparently also the modern style of playing, which the organist brought with him from Amsterdam, was not to the liking of the Gdańsk community³⁶⁴. P. Siefert left for Königsberg, where he took up the post of organist in the old town church. He remained there until 1616, marrying Maria Schwiris in 1613. According to various sources, the couple had five or seven children, probably only daughters.

Siefert's next post was that of organist at the royal court in Warsaw. His stay there coincided with the tenure of two Kapellmeisters, Asprillo Pacelli (1589 - 1623) and then Marco Scacchi (c.1600 - 1662). Already under A. Pacelli the difficult character of P. Siefert became apparent. The organist was dissatisfied with the way his works were performed by the band under A. Pacelli, eventually

363 Danuta Popinigis, *Sylwetka Pawła Sieferta w świetle źródeł*, [in:] *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś I*, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 57-58.

364 Ibid, p. 60.

going so far as to call the Kapellmeister *katzgrauen Schelm*³⁶⁵. P. Siefert's pupil at the time was Andreas Neunhaber (1603 - 1663) from Gdańsk.

The organist returned to Gdańsk with the desire to take over the post of organist of St Mary's after Michael Weyd (1581 - c. 1651), who left Gdańsk in 1623³⁶⁶. He was proteged by members of the city council, but the council of the Marian church promoted S. Scheidt. The latter, however, did not appear at the competition, sending his brother. P. Siefert eventually won the competition, and from then on he held the position until his death. He also competed for the post of Kapellmeister after the death of Andreas Hackenberger (1574 - 1627). His rival was the royal bookseller Kaspar Förster senior (1574 - 1652), for whom the competition was a success³⁶⁷. The failure was the cause of many years of disputes between P. Siefert and the new Kapellmeister. The dispute grew to enormous proportions when it entered the question of music theory and the dispute about the superiority of *prima* over *seconda practica*. P. Siefert represented the conservative side in this dispute, which made his music the subject of severe criticism by M. Scacchi³⁶⁸. The Warsaw Kapellmeister described P. Siefert's *Psalmen Davidis* as an example of their author's ignorance of counterpoint. Underlying this opinion, however, is some misunderstanding, and perhaps even deliberate ignorance on the part of M. Scacchi. In fact, the *Psalmen Davidis* were supposed to be an example of progressive polyphony, in which the author consciously abandons certain principles of counterpoint in order to find new means that would allow *prima practica* music to acquire the expressive power of new Italian music. Due to this behaviour of M. Scacchi the most important musicians of the time got involved in the dispute, taking the side of the new music and unjustly considering P. Siefert as incompetent even in the style of music preferred by him. The only person

365 Ibid., p. 63.

366 Izabela Bogdan, *Michael Weyda (1581- ca. 1651), the rebellious Protestant organist from Gdańsk and Königsberg in the context of the religious conflicts in the first half of the seventeenth century*, "Muzyka" 2007 (4), no. 52, pp. 59-73.

367 Danuta Popinigis, *Sylwetka Pawła Sieferta w świetle źródeł*, [in:] *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś I*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 63.

368 Ibidem, pp. 64-67.

to take the side of the Gdańsk organist was Carlo Farina (ca. 1600 - ca. 1640)³⁶⁹, who cannot be regarded as a conservative in any way.

After eighty years of a turbulent life, P. Siefert was buried in St. Mary's Church on 10 May 1666³⁷⁰. He educated many artists important to European musical culture, such as A. Neunhaber, Christoph Bernhard (1628 - 1692) and Heinrich Döbel (1651 - 1693)³⁷¹. It is very likely that his pupil was the famous Constantia Czirenberg (1605 - 1653). The extremely colourful and expressive figure of the organist of St Mary's has permanently inscribed in the history of music of old Gdańsk. Some of P. Siefert's compositions, including the organ music, fortunately survived to our times, constituting an interesting source of research, in which the underlined features of the master's character, seem to be absent. This sheds additional light on the complexity of the artist's personality.

369 Ibid.

370 Ibid., p. 69.

371 Ibid.

III. 4. Balthasar Erben (1626 - 1686).

Son of David Erben, holder of a fief for coal and loading stone. Born in 1626 in Gdańsk³⁷². In 1653 the city council awarded him a scholarship to study abroad, in recognition of his musical talents. He was promoted to this by Kapellmeister Kaspar Förster the younger (1616 - 1673)³⁷³.

From his *grand tour*, B. Erben sent the Gdańsk council letter by letter confirming his experience and skills. Further letters sent from Regensburg and Paris inform that Johann Jakob Froberger (1616 - 1667) took care of him. At his side, B. Erben travelled through Nuremberg, Würzburg, Heydelberg, Frankfurt, Bonn, Cöllen, Düsseldorf, Zeeland, Flanders, England, France to Italy³⁷⁴. In Paris he became acquainted with a circle of lutenists and harpsichordists, including Denis Gaultier (1603 - 1672) and Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601/2 - 1672). The music of the French lutenists was known in Gdańsk, which is confirmed by the repertoire of lute tablatures *Ms. 4022* and *Ms. 4230*, and the Lute Tablature of Virginia Renata von Gehem *Ms. 40264* from the Danziger-Bestand in Berlin. It seems that Ieremias Erben, author of French lute dances, was closely related to B. Erben³⁷⁵. Perhaps it was I. Erben was the young Balthasar's first teacher of the *brisé* style, which would explain the musician's advancement in composition in this style.

He may have accompanied J. J. Froberger during his duel with Matthias Weckmann (c. 1619 - 1674) in Dresden³⁷⁶. Which would explain the presence of his three surviving harpsichord pieces in *Ms. Hintze*. This was M. Weckmann's private manuscript, in which he noted his harpsichord works, and works by other masters given to him as a sign of friendship by J. J. Froberger³⁷⁷. *Courante*, *Sarabande* and *Passacalia* by B. Erben may have reached

372 Małgorzata Sobieraj, *Balthasar Johann Erben (1626 - 1686) compositional output against the background of the music of the second half of seventeenth-century Gdańsk*, MA thesis, S.

Moniuszko Academy of Music, Gdańsk 2014, p. 13.

373 Ibid.

374 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 228.

375 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., p. 286.

376 Małgorzata Sobieraj, op. cit., p. 17.

377 Bo Ortiges, *Ze 1-An Autograph by Matthias Weckmann?*, [in:] *Proceedings of the Götheborg International Organ Academy 1994*, Hans Davidsson (ed.); Sverker Jullander (ed.), Götheborg 1995, p. 159.

M. Weckmann by letter. Nevertheless, their presence in the relationship between the two masters testifies to the value they both attached to the Gdańsk artist's works in this genre.

In Rome, the composer came into contact with Giacomo Carissimi (1605 - 1674), following the path already blazed by Kapellmeister K. Förster the younger. It was there that B. Erben was informed of the resignation of the said Kapellmeister in 1657. The city council waited for the musician's return and in 1658 he took over the Kapellmeisterhood of his native Gdańsk, which he held until his death in 1686³⁷⁸. He also worked periodically as organist of both the great and small organs of the St. Mary's church³⁷⁹. He must have been greatly influenced as an organist by J. J. Froberger, as a master of keyboard music.

The catalogue of preserved compositions by B. Erben contains 27 items³⁸⁰. These are mainly church concertos for various ensembles and one trio sonata based on a hexachordal *ostinato* in the bass part. The composer's vocal-instrumental music is particularly expressive of the wide range of rhetorical figures used, and of the concertante aspect³⁸¹. Most interesting in the context of the subject of this paper are the above-mentioned three harpsichord works in the French style. Perhaps the *Taniec Pols.:[ky] B. E.* from pages 87-77 of Virginia Renata von Gehem's Lute Tablature *Ms. 40264*³⁸².

378 Małgorzata Sobieraj, op. cit., p. 14.

379 Katarzyna Gugnowska, *Johann Valentin Meder (1649 - 1719) – muzyk wędrujący*, 'Ars inter Culturas' 2014, no. 3, p. 19.

380 Małgorzata Sobieraj, op. cit., pp. 16-21.

381 Ibidem, pp. 91-92.

382 Zofia Stężewska (opr.), *Tańce Polskie z tabulatur lutniowych II*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Warszawa 1966 (explanations), p. 38.

III. 5. Another musicians.

Numerous historical sources have recorded the names of composers whose works have not survived to our times and report on events in which outstanding city musicians performed as harpsichordists. The Gdańsk sources partly deal with a problem signalled by many researchers of Polish musical culture, namely the disproportion between the amount of information about keyboard music and the musicians who created it, and the small number of preserved musical sources.

The most important positions taken by keyboard musicians were those of organist in the main churches of the city. Also smaller churches sometimes had several organs. Also in the Arthus' Manor³⁸³ and the hallway of the Speymann's house³⁸⁴ (popularly known as the golden house) were equipped with a music box. These instruments were played by organists, among whom we can also find talented harpsichordists, whose work has unfortunately not been preserved.

The first and most important organist in Gdańsk was the organist at the great organ of St Mary's church³⁸⁵. Below I quote after Hermann Rauschning³⁸⁶ a list of organists at the great organ of St. Mary's, omitting the *magister organista* mentioned in 1380³⁸⁷. They were, in turn:

1459 - 1468 **Paul Schuldte**

1468 - 1477 **Herr Georg?**³⁸⁸

from 1508 **Meister Anthonius von Lübeck**

1514 - 1523 **Urlich Burger**

1524 **Hans Gast**

1532 **Andreas Zoband**

1542 **Martin Rüdiger**

1545 **Heinrich Rabe**

383 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 212.

384 Andrzej Januszajtis, op. cit., p. 41.

385 Paweł Podejko, op. cit., p. 19.

386 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., pp. 420-21.

387 Werner Renkwitz, Jan Janca, op. cit., p. 3.

388 Paweł Podejko links him with the organist of the church of St. Nicolas. See: Paweł Podejko, op. cit., p. 46.

1545 - 1569 **Georg Maus** and his son **Balthasar**

1571 - 1585 **Gregorius Linde**

1586 **Cajus Schmiedtlein**

1611 **Christoph Vater**

1613 **Michael Weyda**

1623 **Paul Siefert**

1666 **Ewald Hintz**

1668 **Thomas Strutius**

1679 **Heinich Döbel**

1693 **Christian Spahn**

Gregorius Linde the elder was one of the most important musicians in the city. Initially he worked as an organist in the church of Saints Peter and Paul³⁸⁹. In 1571, he became organist at St Mary's Church, and it was during his tenure that the new great organ was built. At that time it was the third largest instrument in Europe, after the organs in Strasbourg and Ulm³⁹⁰. He took part in a great feast for the members of the council combined with a rehearsal of the new great organ in St Mary's church, which took place on 18th of October 1585³⁹¹. The event had great echoes throughout Europe. In the St Mary's Church, for the feasting councillors, he played next to Georg and Balthasar Maus from Gdańsk and Cajus Schmiedtlein from Hamburg³⁹². The position of organist at the great organ was eventually given to C. Schmiedtlein³⁹³.

Christoph Vater became the organist of St. Mary's directly after C. Schmiedtlein. He came from Lübeck. From the letter of recommendation he brought with him, we learn that Chr. Vater is a consummate organist who has a good hand for composition. He has also proven himself very well in these positions around Lübeck³⁹⁴. The administrators of St. Mary's Church, however, were opposed to his acceptance for this position and attacked him in letters

389 Herman Rauschning, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

390 Paweł Podejko, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

391 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 51.

392 Ibidem, p. 50.

393 Ibid., p. 51.

394 Ibid., p. 120.

to the city council³⁹⁵. They condescended to Michael Weyda, nevertheless, the function of the organist of the Marián was out of the jurisdiction of the church authorities, and was a representative office of state importance. These attacks concerned incompetence in the care of the instrument and ignorance of counterpoint. Vater was forced to defend himself, and composed a motet for this purpose sent to the councilors in 1613³⁹⁶. As a result of these conflicts, M. Weyda was appointed as organist of the Marienkirche, while Vater was offered a position in St John's Church.

The above-mentioned **Michael Weyda** was born into a family of musicians in Gdańsk. Many of its members rose to prominent musical positions in the city and boasted considerable respect from local music consumers and sponsors. It also seems to have had considerable influence. The name of M. Weyda, as a composer, is mentioned in one breath with Johannes Eccard and Johannes Ströbaus - significant composers of the region at that time³⁹⁷. Before he became organist at St Mary's Church in 1613, he applied unsuccessfully for the post of organist at St John's Church³⁹⁸. In 1623 he left Gdańsk and took a job at the cathedral in Königsberg³⁹⁹. There he got into a dispute with the local pastor. He died around 1651⁴⁰⁰.

Ewald Hintz was an outstanding figure by all means. He came from a multi-generational musical family from Gdańsk. Unfortunately only one work remains of him - organ choral fantasia *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* for three manuals, pedal and 4 voices⁴⁰¹. The piece has been preserved in a supplement to the Pelplin Tabulature alongside the greatest North German masters of the genre. E. Hintz was a pupil of J. J. Froberger⁴⁰². His studies were made possible by a scholarship granted by the city council. On his return he took up a position at the new organ in St. John's Church, which was at the expense

395 Ibid., pp. 124-25.

396 Ibid., pp. 125-26.

397 Ibid., p. 120.

398 Ibid., 126

399 Izabela Bogdan, op. cit.

400 Ibid.

401 Andreas Neunhaber, Ewald Hinz, (and another), 20 Choral Settings of the Nord German Organ School, Klaus Beckmann (ed.), ED 21677, Shott Edition, Mainz 2013.

402 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 176.

of the demotion of Jeremias Neunhaber to second organist⁴⁰³. He may have been the author of the Passion written in 1666, which has not survived⁴⁰⁴. He also performed in other churches of the city, e.g. in 1661 he and Thomas Strutius gave concerts in St Bartholomew's Church testing a new choir instrument⁴⁰⁵. His performances with Kaspar Förster the younger, were mentioned in a poetic elegy after the death of the Kapellmeister in 1673⁴⁰⁶. This took place 5 years after the organist's death in 1668. E. Hintz, as a pupil of J. J. Froberger, introduced a new style into the musical environment of Gdańsk. Until then organists from Gdańsk went to study mainly in Amsterdam to J. P. Sweelinck. Since the time of E. Hintz and B. Erben a new style appeared in instrumental music, closer to the one introduced in the field of vocal-instrumental music by K. Förster the younger, Cato Büthner and Georg Werner.

Thomas Strutius was a very versatile and progressive musician. Initially he served as organist at the Holy Trinity Church. He then established a fruitful cooperation with the rector of the Academic Gymnasium adjacent to the church, Johann Maukisch⁴⁰⁷. Their cooperation resulted in a total of four collections of songs published in Gdańsk in 1655-56. The text was written by the rector J. Maukisch, the music was composed by T. Strutius. The musical form of the songs is very diverse. In the collection we can find both stanza songs, recomposed and dialogue songs. Their characteristic feature is simplicity, and the cast oscillates from one voice and *basso continuo*, four-voice polyphony⁴⁰⁸. In addition, he composed numerous oratorios and vocal-instrumental concertos in *stile moderno*⁴⁰⁹.

Although no keyboard work by T. Strutius has survived to the present day, it is worth looking at the song *Gott ist dein Behüter* reproduced by H. Rauschnig

403 Ibid, pp. 240-41.

404 Ibid.

405 Ibid., p. 253.

406 Ibid., p. 207.

407 Danuta Szlagowska, *Repertuar z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 193-95.

408 Danuta Popinigis, *Gimnazjum gdańskie i muzyka [in:] Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie, Volume IV, W progach muz i Minerwy*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 278-286.

409 Danuta Szlagowska, *Repertuar z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 193-95.

in two versions⁴¹⁰. The two versions of the song differ in casting, in one case in one voice with *basso continuo*, in the other in a four-voice polyphonic arrangement. It may be worth considering this work as an aid to researching the historical practice of *basso continuo* performance in the future. These songs could also serve as a source for a harpsichordist who can read scores or realise *basso continuo*, in order to add variety to a concert programme. Four *Braut Tänze* have also survived, published in Gdańsk in two printings in 1655 and 1695 respectively⁴¹¹. Because of their trio-like texture, however, they are unsuitable for use as solo works. A vocal *Canon a tre in epidiapente et unisono post tactum* to words by J. Maukisch has also been published⁴¹², which can, in the opinion of the author of this paper, be played successfully in *manualiter* despite the crossing of voices. H. Rauschning also mentions *Sinfonia* for two violins in canon and *basso ostinato* repeated 17 times, as well as three contrapuntal works based on chorale melodies stored at that time⁴¹³.

Heinrich Döbel was born in Gdańsk as the grandson of P. Siefert⁴¹⁴. He received his first music lessons from his grandfather at the age of 14, when he replaced him at the organ when the latter was ailing⁴¹⁵. From his application for the post of organist at St Mary's Church, sent to the city council in 1679, we can learn further information about his education. Initially he was in the service of King John Casimir. After his death he travelled to Italy, and then to northern Europe, where he studied and gave concerts. After 12 years he returned to Gdańsk and took up the post of organist at the Marienkirche, for which he had applied. He died prematurely at the age of only 42⁴¹⁶.

410 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., pp. 255, 258.

411 Danuta Szlagowska, *Seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources*, "Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology" 2012, no. 11, p. 128.

412 Piotr Kociumbas, *Hymnologische Quellen als Wissenschaft zur Musizierkunst im Danzig des 17. Jahrhunderts* [in:] *Musica Baltica, Music-making in Baltic Cities*, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 120-122.

413 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 269.

414 Danuta Popinigis, *From Gdańsk to Kromieriz or: the Story of Heinrich Döbel and His Music for the Violin*, "Musicology Today" 2006, no. 3, pp. 5-21.

415 Andrzej Januszajtis, *Suplika Henryka Döbelius*, [in:] *Gdański Król Żurawi*, Gdańsk 2010, pp. 85-86.

416 Ibid.

In the Bishop's library in Kroměříž, Bohemia, 10 compositions for violin and *basso continuo* have been fortunately preserved. These compositions have already been discussed in Chapter II. 4. d. of the present work.

Also at the choir organ of St Mary's Church sat outstanding musicians. Their task was mainly to accompany the band and the musicians, and thus to realise the *basso continuo*. Below is a list of St. Mary's choir organists after H. Rauschning⁴¹⁷:

1620 **Christoph Vater**

1626 **David**⁴¹⁸ **Cracovita**

1635 **Andreas Neunhaber**

1637 **Daniel Jacobi**

1677 **Erasmus Sewer**

David Cracovita was by far one of the most prominent figures associated with keyboard music in Gdańsk. Around 1620 he worked as an organist in the church of All God's Angels in Aniołki, between Gdańsk and Wrzeszcz. This was until the 19th century the favourite place for outings of musicians from Gdańsk, because of the natural and sightseeing conditions, the beautiful view of the bend of the Vistula, the Vistula Bay of Gdańsk on one side, and the wooded hills of the Gdańsk Upland on the other. He came to Gdańsk from Toruń. During the Siefert-Scacchi dispute he advocated the superiority of the new style in music. In 1634 he went on holiday to Denmark⁴¹⁹, where he served as court harpsichordist to the Danish king⁴²⁰. He did not return from his holiday. He died in 1657⁴²¹.

417 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 420.

418 H. Rauschning mistakenly gives "Michael", see Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 420, cf: Ibid, p. 141.

419 Herman Rauschning, op. cit., p. 192.

420 Ibidem, p. 141.

421 Ole Kongsted, *Polnisch-Dänische Musikbeziehungen im späten 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, pp. 100-101.

Andreas Neunhaber is the author of the extant chorale fantasia *Ich ruff zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*⁴²². The piece makes use of dialogue between the organ sections and the pedal section, which is why it has not been classified as a harpsichord piece; nevertheless, A. Neunhaber was valued as a *basso continuo* performer, so he probably also played on harpsichords. He learned his craft from P. Siefert⁴²³ and Tarquionio Meruli (1590/95 - 1665) in Warsaw⁴²⁴. In 1640 he became the first organist of St Catherine's Church in Gdańsk⁴²⁵.

Daniel Jacobi was born in Silesia in 1605⁴²⁶. From 1637 until his death in 1676 he was organist of the choir organ of St Mary's Church⁴²⁷. He is the author of three preserved vocal-instrumental concertos and a musical arrangement of the complete Mass cycle⁴²⁸. His work is part of the *stile moderno* current, unfortunately it went unnoticed due to the high competition⁴²⁹. As choir organist at St Mary's Church, he must have been very proficient in *basso continuo*.

The second parish church of the main town, St John's Church, also had two organs in operation in the 17th century. At the great instrument sat⁴³⁰:

1554 **Dominik Hartmann**

1563 **Johannes Retzmann**

1568 **Lux Schultze**

1586 **Jakobus Tetzius**

1602 **Jacob Schmidt**

1610 **Franz Tetz**

1613 **Christoph Vater**

1615 **Jeremias Neunhaber**

1643 **Ewald Hintz**

422 Andreas Neunhaber, Ewald Hinz, (et al), *20 Choral Settings of the Nord German Organ School*, Klaus Beckmann (ed.), ED 21677, Shott Edition, Mainz 2013.

423 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 141.

424 Ibid, pp. 244-45.

425 Ibid., p. 421.

426 Danuta Popinigis, *Twórczość Daniela Jacobie*, [in:] *Complexum Effectuum Musicologiae Studia Mirosłao Perz Spetuagenario Dedicata*, Kraków 2003, p. 107.

427 Ibid.

428 Ibid., pp. 108-113.

429 Ibid., p. 111.

430 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., pp. 420-21.

1666 **Salomon Klapper**

1691 **Johann Konrad Elend**

Jakobus Tetzius, before becoming organist of St John's Church in 1586, was associated with St Barbara's Church⁴³¹. He complained about the housing conditions (he lived with his wife and children in one room in the building of the parish school of St. John)⁴³². He died in 1602⁴³³.

J. Tetzius was succeeded by **Jakobus Schmidt**. He was blind from birth. It is known that he was the author of an extant tablature⁴³⁴.

At the small organ of St. John's Church sat⁴³⁵:

1643 **Jeremias Neunhaber**

1651 **Johann Vogt**

1693 **Michael Eichhorst**

The parish church of the Old Town was St Catherine's Church. In the 17th century it was the centre of music practice in the *stile moderno* in Gdańsk. The organists there were⁴³⁶:

ca. 1560 **Georg Linde the elder**

from 1571 **Balthasar Maus**

to 1578 **Michael Colrepus**

1578 - 1591 **Daniel Zickermann**

1597 - 1640 **Michael Zwedorf**

1640 - 1663 **Andreas Neunhaber**

1663 - 1682 **Dietrich Unstädt** - after him the list stops and the next names come from the 18th century.

431 Ibid., pp. 56-57.

432 Ibid.

433 Ibid.

434 Ibid.

435 Ibid., p. 421.

436 Ibid., pp. 421-22.

The **Maus** family produced many organists and musicians active in Gdańsk.

St Bartholomew's Church was the parish church of the Young Town, which had been degraded after the Teutonic yoke was thrown off. At the organ sat⁴³⁷:

1570 **Lampertus** - identified with Henricus Lampadius (d. 1594), author of several polyphonic works preserved in *Ms. 4005, 4006* and *4012* held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences⁴³⁸.

1577 **Jochen Schultz**

1581 **Michael Henlein**

1594 **Christoph Rabe**

1605 - 1615 **Jeremias Neunhaber**

ca. 1617 - 1627 **Lorenz Oloff**

1627 **Daniel Mensig**

1668 **Caspar Koya** - also known as *Spinettmacher*

from 1685 **Daniel Biehn**

Worth mentioning here is the **Biehn** family, which has produced many organists in Danzig over the centuries.

The Calvinist church of Saints Peter and Paul served as the parish church of the Old Suburb. The organists working for this church on the great organ were⁴³⁹:

1550 **Stephan Rabanne**

to 1564 **Mathias Boloyer**

from 1564 **Mathias Boloyer the younger**

1586 **Gregor Linde**

1600 **Michael Henning**

437 Ibid., p. 422.

438 Danuta Szlagowska, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

439 Hermann Rauschnig, p. 422.

1612 **Christoph Rabe**
1614 **Matthias Läder**
1621 **Dirk von Schwollen senior**
1648 **Dirk von Schwollen the younger**
1664 **Gerhard Brock**
1695 **Christian Götze**

The small organ was temporarily worked by⁴⁴⁰:

1564 **Balthasar Maus**
1570 **Matthias Thiff**

The **Maus** family, whose members have already been mentioned above, produced many musicians of various professions who were active in Gdańsk.

A very important musical centre was the post-Franciscan Church of the Holy Trinity - the second largest church within the historical ramparts. It was a place of prayer and music for the students of the Academic Grammar School. The music was led by both organists and temporary independent Kapellmeisters. Also many professors were composing musicians. At the organ in the Holy Trinity Church sat⁴⁴¹:

from 1581 **Michael Henlein**
1607 - 1610 **Franz Tetz**
1610 **Gregorius Linde the younger**
1642 **Thomas Strutius**
1668 **Johannes Fabritius**
1693 **Nathanael Reinhardt Elend**

A significant shortcoming of H. Rauschnig's work is the ignoring of sources related to music in Catholic churches. The most important Catholic churches in the city and region were: the Carmelite church of St Joseph,

440 Ibid.

441 Ibid.

the Abbey church in Oliva (today's cathedral), and the church of St Ignatius in Stare Szkoty. A compiled list of organists of the Carmelite church is unfortunately not available to us. With the exception of Johann Hanck, we have to content ourselves with references to the excellent sound of this instrument and the virtuosity of its organists⁴⁴².

The list of organists and musicians of the Abbey Church in Oliva is quoted by Jan Janca⁴⁴³. From this list candidates for good harpsichordists are:

From 1596 **Matthias Schultz** - organist, d. 1624.
until 1608 **Martin Rautenberg** - cantor
from 1608 **Simon Henning** - cantor
to 1612 **Andrew Syberus** - organist
from 1624 **Jacob Apfell** - organist
1637 - 1644 **Fabian Thiel** - cantor
1644 - 1653 **Mattheus Hänigk**
1653 - 1656 **Thomas Rex** - organist
until 1673 **Adam Falionowicz** - cantor
earliest from 1657 **Jan Rittel** - cantor
1671 **Johann Hanck** - organist
1679 - 1687 **Alexius Biermann** - cantor
until 1684 **Johann Wuddig** - organist
1683 - 1708 **Michał Antoni Hacki** - abbot and composer

Jacob Apfell has already been mentioned as the scribe of the Oliva Tablature under discussion. A significant feature of his style is his fondness for using virtuoso diminutions in the left hand part. A native of Orneta, he completed his studies (like most Catholic clergy in the region) at the Jesuit college in Braniewo. It was probably already there that he started writing down

442 Andrzej Januszajtis, *Kościół świętego Józefa w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 2020, pp. 36-40.

443 Jan Janca, *Zarys historii muzyki w klasztorze oliwskim w latach 1224 - 1831*, Gdańsk 1991, pp. 94-106.

his tablature. He joined the Oliwa monastery before 1619⁴⁴⁴. He died as a result of a plague in 1653.

If he can be identified with the author of several pieces from the Oliwa Tablature, a feature of his style would be the scattered lower mordents in dyminated cadences.

Johann Hanck, described as a *bonus musicus et organist* came from Hungary. In 1671 he fled Oliwa just before taking his monastic vows. A year later, under a false identity he applied for admission to the monastic order in Pelplin. The deception was revealed and Hanck was expelled from the monastery. He eventually served as organist in the aforementioned St Joseph's Church in Gdańsk⁴⁴⁵.

Another person who should be mentioned in more detail was Abbot **Michał Antoni Hacki** (c. 1630 - 1706). He maintained close relations with J. V. Meder, who visited the abbot in Oliwa. M. A. Hacki studied composition with Marc' Antonio Cesti (1623 - 1669) in Rome or Insbruck⁴⁴⁶. Both musicians were admirers of this composer's music (Meder's predecessors as Kapellmeister of Gdańsk were followers of the style of Giacomo Carissimi (1605 - 1674) - some of them were his pupils)⁴⁴⁷, which gave rise to an anecdote. Hacki, wanting to please Meder, gave him as a gift the autograph of a cantata by M. A. Cesti, which he treated as his treasure, convinced that he was one of the few who knew this work. He was wrong, however, as Meder was already familiar with the piece and was not surprised by it⁴⁴⁸. As a well-educated and progressive composer, Hacki must also have been a good instrumentalist on the harpsichord.

Apart from the musicians sitting at the largest organs in Gdańsk, great harpsichordists can also be found in the townsfolk, city musicians and Kapellmeisters such as:

444 Ibidem, p. 96.

445 Ibid., p. 98.

446 Ibid.

447 Katarzyna Gugnowska, *Johann Valentin Meder (1649 - 1719) – muzyk wędrujący*, 'Ars inter Culturas' 2014, no. 3, p. 16.

448 Ibid, pp. 20-21.

Georg Schnitzkius was a teacher at the parish school at St Mary's Church⁴⁴⁹. He was the author of a textbook on music teaching published in 1619. This handbook, under the title *Musices praecepta*⁴⁵⁰ was widely used in musical education in Gdańsk. G. Schnitzkius pays special attention to the quality of sound when playing instruments⁴⁵¹. Also on the harpsichord.

Constantia Czirenberg, known as the *Siren of the Baltic*, was the daughter of the mayor. She was born in 1605 into one of the most influential Calvinist families in the city. She was comprehensively educated. However, her musical skills were overshadowed by her artistic talents and polyglot abilities. The fame of C. Czirenberg resulted in numerous dedications of both old music prints published by Philippo Lomazzo in Venice and poetic elegies by Johannes Nareanus (1608 - 1679). The artist's vocal skills were particularly appreciated. Nevertheless, her skills in playing the positivo, harpsichord and lute invariably aroused the enthusiasm of her audience, which included Polish kings. Her masters were probably organists from Gdańsk. Perhaps P. Siefert. She died in 1657. More about her extraordinary personality can be read in the accounts of Charles Ogier (1595 - 1654), French deputy during the negotiations in Sztumska Wieś in 1636.

The same source mentions the extraordinary musical skills of **Elisabeth Hoveradt** (b. c. 1615), but does not specify which instruments she was supposed to have played. She amazed us with her ability to play pieces from memory after a single hearing, and then developed them in a varied manner⁴⁵². In winter she played music at 18 Chlebnicka Street, and in summer at her parents' manor house near the Silver Mills Valley on the Strzyża River⁴⁵³.

There is an interesting reference to a harpsichord improvisation by the Kapellmeister of Gdańsk **Kaspar Förster the younger** (1616 - 1673). He performed it in *Stylus phanthasticus* when accompanying his trio sonata

449 Paweł Podejko, op. cit., p. 22.

450 Ibid.

451 Ibid.

452 Waław Kmicic-Mieleczyński, *Charakterystyka twórczości Marcina Gremboszewski, kompozytor gdańskiego, na tle muzyki, w pierwszej połowie wieku XVII*, [in:] *Zeszyty Naukowe XI*, Gdańsk 1972, p. 36.

453 Ibidem, p. 58.

on the harpsichord at a concert in Hamburg⁴⁵⁴. This information is important, as it not only confirms the practice of improvisation in *Stylus phantasticus* among Gdańsk musicians (confirmed much earlier by ordinances defining the duties of organists), but also links it directly to the harpsichord.

Martin Gremboszewski, born around 1600, was an outstanding instrumentalist on zinc and flutes. Apart from his musical activity, he was also the only poet in Gdańsk at that time who wrote in Polish⁴⁵⁵. For a time he enjoyed the esteem of the vice-chaplain of the city. He also played the harp and the lute superbly. He was one of the first outstanding *basso continuo* performers in Gdańsk⁴⁵⁶. It can be assumed that he was also an excellent harpsichordist.

Three works by M. Gremboszewski have survived in the State Archive in Gdańsk: *Aria voce sola per un Cornetto*, *Canzonetto a 2 voci per organo* and a three-voice counterpoint with *cantus firmus* in the form of an ascending hexachord⁴⁵⁷. The pieces, with the exception of the *Canzonetto*, which has a trio texture, are suitable for performance on the harpsichord and are discussed in Chapter II. 4. d. The problems of *basso continuo* interpretation and performance in the *Aria* will be discussed in Chapter III. 2 He died in 1655 and was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas in Gdańsk⁴⁵⁸.

Crato Büthner, a Thuringian-born cantor of St Catherine's Church, began his career as an organist at St Salvator's Church in Zaroślak⁴⁵⁹. His activity as an organist in the years 1650-1652 and his outstanding achievements in composition in *stile moderno*⁴⁶⁰ make us assume that he must also have been an excellent harpsichordist.

Like C. Büthner, **Johann Valentin Meder** was born in Thuringia in 1649⁴⁶¹. Before coming to Gdańsk in 1687 he worked in Eisenach, Gotha, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck (where he came into contact with D. Buxtehude)⁴⁶², Copenhagen (where his brother David Bernhard Meder became organist

454 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 205.

455 Waclaw Kmicic-Mieleszyński, op. cit., s. 27-29.

456 Ibid, pp. 33-34.

457 Ibid., pp. 37-54.

458 Ibid., p. 30.

459 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 245.

460 Ibid, pp. 250-256.

461 Katarzyna Gugnowska, op. cit., p. 13.

462 Kerala J. Snyder, op. cit. p. 154.

at the cathedral⁴⁶³) and Riga. Everywhere he became known as an excellent musician, gaining recognition and fame. He became Kapellmeister of Gdańsk after the death of B. Erben. He tried to use his experience in Hamburg opera in the field of Gdańsk. Unfortunately the failures of his subsequent operas put him into debt, which forced him to flee the city in 1699⁴⁶⁴. In 1701 he became organist of the cathedral in Riga. From this period comes a reference in which J. V. Meder complained about a mannerism that made it difficult for him to play the organ. However, he did not specify which mannerism he was referring to, except that he did not manage to get rid of it until 1708⁴⁶⁵. In Riga he also made an adaptation of J. J. Froberger's *Tombeau de M' de Blancherocher* for strings and *basso continuo*⁴⁶⁶. He died in 1719, until the end bearing the honorary title of "the famous Kapellmeister from Gdańsk". His music is characterised by a deep emotionality, testifying to the incredible sensitivity of the composer. In his vocal and instrumental music there are deep word-music relations⁴⁶⁷.

The names of other organists, harpists and lute players from Gdańsk which the author came across in various sources will be quoted here. They may prove fruitful for further research in the subject undertaken in this work. These are the organists (name and date of mention):

Mauritz Krätmer - organist and organmaster from Gdańsk. He worked at the Swedish court in 1546⁴⁶⁸.

Jörgen Maus 1560⁴⁶⁹

Paulus Valentin 1590⁴⁷⁰

Anton Thill - organist from Gdańsk, present at the Jesuit celebrations in Braniewo in 1590⁴⁷¹.

463 Katarzyna Gugnowska, op. cit., p. 15.

464 Ibid, p. 22

465 Ibid.

466 Ibid., p. 24.

467 Katarzyna Gugnowska, *Johann Valentin Meder - "musicus poeticus". A rhetorical and musical analysis of the psalm concert "Ach Herr, strafe mich nicht in deinem Zorn"*, "Aspects of Music" 2013, vol. 3, pp. 111-133.

468 Kia Hagdal, *Polish musicians at the Royal Court of King Gustav Vasa of Sweden*, [in:] *Polish-Swedish cultural relations during the Vasa dynasty*, Warsaw 1996, pp. 21-24.

469 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit. s. 11.

470 Ibidem, p. 58.

Lorenz Wagner 1591⁴⁷²

Andreas Grabau [Grabow?] - organist of St Barbara's church in 1592⁴⁷³.

Michael Hundorf 1597⁴⁷⁴

Johann Bahr - organist of St Mary's Cathedral in Visby. Born around 1610 in Schleswig. A pupil of Jacob Praetorius the younger (1586 - 1651) in Hamburg. Author of the organ verses of the *Magnificat Octavi Toni a 4 voc. im Basso* and the arrangement of the hymn *O Lux Beata Trinitas auf zwei Clavier* preserved in the Visby Tablature. He died in 1670. It may be worth investigating his connections with the patrician family of Bahr in Gdańsk. Their monumental tombstone is located in the transept of St Mary's Church.

Martinus Lange - heir to the Danzig Tablature since 1611. He may have been the author of the last entries in the New German tablature⁴⁷⁵.

Johann Marcus (1598 - 1624) was a native of Lübeck. In 1611 he took part in the competition for the post of St. Mary's organist after C. Schmiedtlein. He died prematurely in Gdańsk at the age of only 28⁴⁷⁶.

Jakob von Gehr - organist of St James' Church in 1613⁴⁷⁷.

Steffen Hartel - organist at St Barbara's Church in 1613.

Stanisław Karnicki (1613 - 1691) - supervisor of the music school of the Gdańsk Jesuit Collegium in Stare Szkoty⁴⁷⁸.

Gottfried Scheidt (1593 - 1661) - brother of Samuel Scheidt, the most prominent pupil of J. P. Sweelinck. S. Scheidt was protégé to the post of organist at St Mary's Church in 1623. Because of a post in Halle he sent his brother Gottfried to take part in a competition in Gdańsk. The competition was won by P. Siefert⁴⁷⁹. In 1623 S. Scheidt was paid travel expenses⁴⁸⁰. Whether he was in Gdańsk

471 Tomasz Jeż, *The Musical Culture of Jesuits on Baltic Sea Coast*, [in:] *Musica Baltica. Music-making in Baltic Cities*, Gdańsk 2015, p. 98.

472 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 56.

473 Ibidem, p. 57.

474 Ibid., p. 56.

475 Jerzy Erdman, *Wydanie utworów z Tabulatury Gdańskiej*, [in:] *Staropolszczyzna muzyczna*, (eds) Jolanta Guza-Pasiakowa, Agnieszka Leszczyńska, Mirosław Perz, Warsaw 1998, p. 119.

476 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 112.

477 Adam Szarzewski, *Szpital i kościół św. Jakuba w Gdańsku*, Toruń 2000, p. 94.

478 Jolanta Woźniak, *The Jesuit College in Gdańsk*, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 175.

479 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., pp. 135-36.

480 Ibidem, p. 152.

or the expenses were for his brother's arrival is not known. The author of the surviving variations *Allein Gott in der Höh się Ehr*⁴⁸¹.

Martin Caldenbach - organist of St Anne's Chapel in 1624⁴⁸².

Hinrich Krusebecker - organist of the Holy Spirit Church in 1624⁴⁸³.

Johann Weichmann - organist at St Salvator's Church on Zaroślak in 1636⁴⁸⁴.

In 1658 he composed the six-voice motet *Ich danke dir Herr* for St John's School⁴⁸⁵.

Elias Grim - organist of St Anne's Chapel in 1637⁴⁸⁶.

Simon König - organist at St Salvator's Church on Zaroślak in 1641⁴⁸⁷.

Heinrich Wolff from Lübeck could be heard on the organ on Sunday 7th of December 1641⁴⁸⁸.

Kristian Plagmann - merchant from Gdańsk. From 1647 active as organist in Åbo⁴⁸⁹.

Heinrich Elend - organist of St Anne's Chapel from 1648⁴⁹⁰.

Michel Korts - identified as organist in the town books in 1651⁴⁹¹.

Christian Scheffler 1652⁴⁹²

Daniel Vogt 1652⁴⁹³

Caspar Wecker is a subscriber to the supplication for the formation of the organists' guild in 1652⁴⁹⁴. Does he have anything in common with Georg Caspar Wecker (1632 - 1695) of Nuremberg?

Albertus Nowogorski [Nowogórski?] 1652⁴⁹⁵

Gergen Unstedt 1652⁴⁹⁶

481 Klaus Beckmann, op. cit., p. 118.

482 Hermann Rauchning, op. cit., p. 191.

483 Ibid, p. 213.

484 Ibid., p.191.

485 Ibid.

486 Ibid.

487 Ibid.

488 Ibid., p. 153.

489 Fabian Dahlström, *Die Bedeutung des Baltikums für das Musikleben in Åbo und Viborg (Finnland) im 17. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Musica Baltica, Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000, p. 203.

490 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 191.

491 Ibid, p. 213.

492 Ibid.

493 Ibid.

494 Ibid.

495 Ibid.

Michael Borsingk 1652⁴⁹⁷

Jacob Neunhaber 1652⁴⁹⁸

Hans Schnittelbach - organist of St. James Church, born in 1577⁴⁹⁹. Father of **Nathanael Schnittelbach** (1633 - 1667)⁵⁰⁰, violinist who worked with D. Buxtehude in Lübeck⁵⁰¹. N. Schnittelbach had previously applied for a position in Danzig. To this end he gave concerts from the organ in St. Mary's Church, but no position he could take was free⁵⁰². Two suites for string instruments and *basso continuo*⁵⁰³ by N. Schnittelbach have been preserved in Uppsala. His Sonata in A major for violin and *basso continuo* is also preserved in the manuscript *Partiturbuch Ludwig* of 1662. The sonata has the form of an ostinato based on a falling tetrachord repeated in the bass. H. Schnittelbach at the age of 75⁵⁰⁴ signed a supplication for the establishment of the organists' guild in 1652⁵⁰⁵.

Peter Novogorsky [Peter Novogorsky?] - described by J. V. Meder as former organist in 1679⁵⁰⁶.

Johann Glettinger - from 1690 organist at St Elisabeth's Church in Wrocław. In 1685 he was one of the city writers in Gdańsk⁵⁰⁷.

Johann Preissler was organist in Dorpat from 1693. He learned his trade in Gdańsk⁵⁰⁸.

and hafists and lutenists:

Peter Mandag 1510⁵⁰⁹

496 Ibid.

497 Ibid.

498 Ibid.

499 Adam Szarzewski, op. cit., Toruń 2000, p. 95.

500 Ibid.

501 Karel J. Snyder, *Dietrich Buxtehude. Życie - twórczość – praktyka wykonawcza*, (translation) Marcin Szelest, Kraków 2009, p. 76.

502 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 222.

503 Danuta Szlagowska, *Seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources*, "Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology" 2012, no. 11, p. 127.

504 Adam Szarzewski, op. cit. p. 95. Hermann Rauschnig claims that he was 55 years old at the time (see, Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit. p. 213).

505 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 213

506 Ibidem, p. 280.

507 Ibid., p. 222.

508 Fabian Dahlström, op. cit., pp. 204-5.

Jeronimus Hoffman - a lute player from Gdańsk. He worked at the Swedish court from 1532 to 1547⁵¹⁰.

Cornelius [Hoffman] was a lute player from Gdańsk. He worked at the Swedish court from 1537-1544⁵¹¹.

Nicholaus Hoffman - a lute and harp player from Gdańsk. He worked at the Swedish court in 1542 and 1544⁵¹².

Baltzer Hoffman - harpist from Gdańsk. He worked at the Swedish court from 1544-1545⁵¹³.

Caspar Hoffman - a lute player from Gdańsk. He worked at the Swedish court from 1544 to 1546⁵¹⁴.

Stanislaus [Stanisław] 1554⁵¹⁵

Stenzel Lowicz [Łowicz?] 1549⁵¹⁶

In 1552 **Valentin Bakfark** (1506 - 1576) passed through Gdańsk⁵¹⁷.

Urban Campanian 1557

Michel Kersten (harpist from Slupsk) 1570⁵¹⁸

Bartholomeaus Bian 1593

William Corkine - a lute player from England. In 1617 he accompanied performances of Elizabethan theatre. It was probably thanks to him that a group of English pieces was included in the lute tablature *Ms. 4022*⁵¹⁹.

Charles Lespine - a lute player from France. Active in Gdańsk in 1619-1620. Probable author of *Corente* from f. 41/1 of lute tablature *Ms. 4022*⁵²⁰.

Varenes - a lute player from France. He was in Gdańsk as a member of the French envoy in 1634-35⁵²¹.

509 Hermann Reuschning, op. cit., p. 19.

510 Kia Hagdal, op. cit., s. 21-24.

511 Ibid.

512 Ibid.

513 Ibid.

514 Ibid.

515 Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., p. 21.

516 Ibidem, p. 24.

517 Piotr Późniak, *Jan Dziki, lutnista gdański*, [in:] *Muzykolog Wobec Dzieła Muzycznego*, Musica Iagiellonica, Kraków 1999, p. 38.

518 Ibid., p. 112.

519 Magdalena Tomsinska, *The Danzig Lutebook D-B Danzig 4022 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK, TREE EDITION*, Sharnbrook 2013, (afterword) Eadem, *Gdańsk Lute Tablature D-B Danzig 4022*, p. 18.

520 Ibidem, p. 19.

Paweł Roszkowicz - an outstanding lute player born in Gdańsk. Member of the city council band in 1646⁵²².

Virginia Renata von Gehema - lutenist, owner (and co-author?) of the lute tablature *Ms. 40264* from about 1660.

Kempe Jochem - harpist from Słupsk. He was a guild master in Gdańsk in 1673⁵²³.

The author hopes that the above list of names of Gdańsk musicians whose activity could have included playing the harpsichord will be helpful in future research, will suggest clues worth investigating, will inspire queries, and will result in new information about the harpsichord and harpsichordists in Gdańsk before 1700. Considering the results of the research of the Düben collection in Uppsala⁵²⁴, and the surprising finds that take place in various places around the world, perhaps the future will bring even further attributions, and perhaps even the discovery of lost or unknown works by harpsichordists in Gdańsk.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the names of eminent harpsichordists or authors of harpsichord music whose vocal music has been preserved in manuscripts and old prints from Gdańsk. These monuments have survived to our times thanks to the fact that they contain music performed by ensembles in St Bartholomew's, St John's and St Mary's churches in Gdańsk. They were helped to survive by the fact that they served the community and were therefore public property, not private. The harpsichord works of those composers may have been such, but they did not survive to our times as the private property of Gdańsk organists, harpsichordists, enthusiasts and harpsichord owners. On the basis of the catalogues of the preserved vocal repertoire from libraries in Gdańsk, the following authors, known also as harpsichordists and authors of harpsichord music, can be mentioned: Annibale Padovano (1527 - 1575), Costanzo Antegnati (1549 - 1624), Andrea Gabrieli (1510 - 1585), Giovanni Gabrieli (1554/7 -

521 Charles Ogier, op. cit., s. 185.

522 Hermann Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 200. In the same year the teenage Esaias Reusner the younger (1636 – 1679), one of the most outstanding lute players in history, performed in Gdańsk. However, no works by E. Reusner dated to this period of his artistic development have survived. Cf. Magdalena Tomsńska, op. cit., p. 19.

523 Ibid., p. 225.

524 Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, *Present state of research of Polish musical sources in Swedish libraries*, [in:] *Polish-Swedish cultural relations during the Vasa dynasty*, Warsaw 1996, pp. 25-47.

1612)⁵²⁵, Claudio Merulo⁵²⁶ (1533 - 1604), Adriano Banchieri (1568 - 1634), Giovanni Bassano (ca. 1561 - 1617) and Paolo Quagliati (1555 - 1628) from Italy, Hiernymus Praetorius (1560 - 1629), Michael Praetorius (1571 - 1621), Jacobus de Kerle (1531/2 - 1591) and Heinrich Grimm (1592/3 - 1637) from Germany, Johann Strobeaus (1580 - 1646), Tarquinio Merula⁵²⁷ (1590/95 - 1665) and Francis Lilius⁵²⁸ (1600 - 1657) from Poland, and Charles Mouton (1617 - before 1699) and Germain Pinel (ca. 1600 - 1661) from France. Danzigers corresponded with such theorists and creators of harpsichord music as Marin Mersenne (1588 - 1648)⁵²⁹, Athanasius Kircher (1602 - 1680)⁵³⁰, or Christiaan (1629 - 1695)⁵³¹ and Filip Huygens (1633 - 1696)⁵³², sons of Constantijn Huygens (1596 - 1687).

525 Both Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music is preserved in the Oliva Tablature. Printed collections of motets can testify to the knowledge of prints with keyboard music by both authors as well.

526 It is also possible that prints with keyboard music by this author were known in Gdańsk.

527 Although he stayed in Warsaw for only two years, he shared A. Neunhaber's pupilage with P. Siefert. He may have visited Gdańsk, given how frequent contacts between the capital and the port were at that time.

528 It is very likely that he was in Gdańsk. Author of a short *toccata* preserved in the Albumy Sapieryńskie.

529 Daria Keiss-Dolańska, *Gdańsk w republice listów - modern correspondence in Gdańsk from the 16th to the 18th century on the basis of the international online database EMLO*, [in:] *History of books and press. Review of research for 2013-2015*, (eds.) Bernardeta Iwańska-Cieślak, Elżbieta Pokrzywińska, Bydgoszcz 2017, pp. 117-124.

530 Ibid.

531 Ibid.

532 Ibid.

Chapter IV. The conception of the recording.

An integral part of this work is the recording of selected works from both the catalogue of harpsichord works and the complementary repertoire. The content of the CD attached to the work is as follows:

I.

1. Cajus Schmiedtlein (1555 - 1611) - *Panthisia Septimj Tonj* (Tab. Gd., no. 15)
[cat. no. 1. a. 25],

2. Cajus Schmiedtlein/Pierre Sandrin (c. 1490 - after 1561) - *Dulcis memoria et suavis recordatio* (Tab. Gd., no. 18) [cat. no. 1. a. 28],

3. Cajus Schmiedtlein/Anonym? - *Vader unse im Hemmelrick* (Tab. Gd., no. 20)
[cat. no. 1. a. 30],

4. Piotr Drusinski (ca. 1560 - 1611) - *Preambulum* (Tab. Oli., no. 14)
[cat. no. 1. a. 3],

Anonymous/Jacob Apfell? (d. 1653) - *Clausula primi toni* (Tab. Oli., no. 19)
[cat. no. 1. b. 13],

Piotr Drusinski - *Preambulum* (Tab. Oli., no. 13) [cat. no. 1. a. 2].

5. Anonymous/Jacob Apfell? - *Melos* (Tab. Oli., no. 165) [cat. no. 1. b. 24],

6. Anonymous - *Coranta* (Tab. Oli., no. 206) [cat. no. 1. b. 77],

Gregor Lange (c. 1540 - 1587) - *O holdseliges Bild* (Tab. Oli., no. 207)
[cat. no. 1. c. 94],

7. Anonymous/Valentin Haussmann (1560/70 - 1613/14) - *Chorea* (Tab. Oli., no. 257) [cat. no. 1. b. 109].

II.

8. Kaspar Förster the Elder (c. 1574 - 1652) - *[Bicinium] XLVII. Ad Dorium* (Sethus Calvisius, *Biciniorum Libro duo : Quorum Prior [...]*, Leipzig 1607)

9. Paul Siefert (1586 - 1666) - *Fantasia decima* (Sign. II 2.51) [catalogue no. 1. a. 61].

10. Paul Siefert - *Puer natus in Bethlehem* (Lynar B1) [cat. no. 1. a. 65].

11. Paul Siefert/Orlando di Lasso (1532 - 1594) - *Benedicam Dominum* (Ms. 8) [cat. no. 1. a. 51].

12. Martin Gremboszewski (c. 1600 - 1655) *Aria voce sola per un Cornetto*.

III.

[Pieces in d]

13. Anonymous - *Praludium* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: s, 195),

14. Ieremias Erben (17th century) - *Allmanda J. E.* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: pp. 142-143),

15. Ieremias Erben - *Courant I. E.* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 144),

16. Ieremias Erben - *Sarabanda I. E.* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 146),

17. Ieremias Erben/Maksym Zajączkiewicz - *Allemande giguée par Mr Leporinius*, after *Allmande J. E.* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: pp. 142-143),

18. Ieremias Erben - *Aria Jer. Erben* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 140),

Ieremias Erben/Maksym Zajączkiewicz - *Double par Mr Leporinius*, after *Aria Jer. Erben* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 140).

[*Pieces in g*]

19. Anonymous - *Preludion* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 20),

20. Ieremias Erben - *Cuoranta I. E.* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 22),

21. Ieremias Erben - *Sarabanda J. E.* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 77),

22. Ieremias Erben - *Sarabanda I. E. [Passacaglia?]* (Tabulatura V. R. von Gehema Ms. 40264: p. 49).

[*Pieces in a*]

23 Balthasar Erben (1626 - 1686) - *Courante. B. Erben.* (Ms. Hintze, no. 12) [cat. no. 1. a. 8].

24 - Balthasar Erben - *Sarabande D' Erben.* (Ms. Hintze, no. 13) [cat. no. 1. a. 9].

25. Heinrich Döbel (1651 - 1693) - *Gzyga 3* (CZ-KR A 637),

26. Anonymous (Malbork, 18th century) - *Praludium. a moll* (AP-GD Sign 959/274),

27. Heinrich Döbel - *Gzyga 2* (CZ-KR A 637).

The recording was made on two harpsichords owned by the S. Moniuszko Academy of Music in Gdańsk. Pieces 1-4 were performed on a copy of an Italian harpsichord by G. B. Giusti, made in the workshop of J. Klinkhammer. The remaining pieces were performed on a copy of a French harpsichord by P. Taskin, made by the workshop of F. Hubbard and K. Kaczmarek.

The recorded works represent a cross-section of the repertoire described in this work. The author's idea was to make a recording devoid of cuts and corrections that would reduce the authenticity of the recording. All tracks and suite cycles were recorded at one time.

In the author's conception the recorded repertoire can be divided into three parts. The first part constitutes the heritage of musical culture of the second half of 16th century and the beginning of 17th century. The basis are the works of the earliest Gdańsk masters Cajus Schmiedtlein and Piotr Drusiński preserved in Danzig and Oliva Tabulature. The second part represents the first half of the 17th century. The architecture of this part is inspired by the 16th and 17th century collections with didactic music for organists, especially on the school of Antonio de Cabezón (1510 - 1566) and the like. These usually began with free or based on existing vocal patterns of *bicini* and *tricini*. Then, harmonisation of Gregorian chant and variations were taught, crowning the educational process with virtuoso adaptations of entire motets. In the Italian school of Girolamo Diruta (1550/61? - 1610), *toccata* was also taught, while in the North German school, *chorale fantasia* was taught. The marriage of the latter two forms is represented

by a harpsichord interpretation of *Aria voce sola per un Cornetto* by Martin Gremboszewski. The third movement represents the second half of the 17th century. Harpsichord sources from that period are scarce, so the author supported himself with lute and violin music, as well as eighteenth-century music,

anachronistic in style. At that time the French style was gaining popularity in Gdańsk, becoming, apart from the influences of music from the Habsburg-Empery and North German circles, a constantly present idiom in local and imported music, as well as in the musical life of the city in general.

From the point of view of performance practice, this repertoire can be divided into two groups. The first is represented by original harpsichord pieces, the second by pieces borrowed from the repertoire of other instruments, which, according to historical practice, could have been the source of harpsichord music. Both groups of pieces will be discussed in the following subsections, taking into account the author's personal reflections and the description of solutions applied by the author in performing pieces from the second group.

IV. 1. Selected harpsichord works from the performer's point of view.

The original harpsichord pieces were recorded on tracks 1.-7, 9.-11, and 23, 24 and 26. What draws attention in the works of Cajus Schmiedtlein is the homogeneity of the musical language. The same melodic and polyphonic phrases appear in both free pieces and ornamental intabulations. It is easy to notice recurring toposes in the sound layer of C. Schmiedtlein toposes. These are characteristic cadenza phrases, whole, intricately woven contrapuntal structures in a double canon, solo apostrophes in the highest voice and structures imitating polychoral concertation. A similar phenomenon of 'self-quotation' can be found in the works of Louis Couperin (c. 1626 - 1661) and Johann Jacob Froberger (1616 - 1667), among others - musical languages that are among the most original, personal and full of meaning in harpsichord literature. Considering the situation described by the composer of Danzig Tablature in his supplication of 1592 (mother's death and health problems), structures of the *fauxbourdon* type, associated in Renaissance musical rhetoric with suffering and vanitas, acquire particular expression. Interestingly, this structure, so anachronistic in the first half of the 17th century, is clearly exposed by P. Siefert in the *Secunda Pars* of his colouring of O. di Lasso's motet *Benedicam Dominum*. Is it a reference to the work of the grandfather, or perhaps

a tribute to the work of the musical language of the past? Such a vividness of the *fauxbourdon* technique, associated with the music of the Middle Ages, on the territory of Gdańsk resembles certain phenomena in the field of visual arts characteristic for the Gdańsk environment. It is a very durable predilection for gothic crystal vaults of Henryk Hätzels' (15th-16th century) type present in Gdańsk art throughout the Renaissance and early Baroque, despite changing artistic taste. A similar phenomenon is the "post-gothic" style of work of some Gdańsk architects of the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as Barthel Ranisch (d. 1708), who at that time still designed almost gothic brick churches.

The fantasies of C. Schmiedtlein, clearly underestimated by harpsichordists, should be given a special place here. Many researchers have unsuccessfully sought analogies to these works in world literature. According to the author, the closest analogy is Antonio Valente's (c. 1565 - 1580) *Fantasia del primo tono* and the fantasies created by vihuelists in the 16th century. However, it would be difficult to explain the path of this type of work to the field of northern Europe, although it is not impossible, e.g. *via* Brussels. Nevertheless, the analogies I have proposed are probably as remote as those suggested by other scholars. The fantasies of C. Schmiedtlein are an absolutely original phenomenon. Their rhapsodicity, freedom, digressions to polyphonic genres undertaken only for a moment, toccata style elements, strongly affected homophonic and objectively polyphonic fragments, and *Freistimmigkeit* providing numerous contrasts are most fully enclosed in the meaning of the word "fantasy" among the works of that epoch known to me. Each of them is a journey through the world of things, events, feelings and phenomena which is made with senses oversensitised by strong contrasts with almost childish joy and curiosity. It is noticeable that each time the pieces are played differently, as if "improvising with the text before one's eyes", always finding something new and attaching importance to another element. This is the feature of free works that makes it "the work discovers the harpsichordist", that, through the unique perception of the moment, a different part of his soul resonates in the harpsichordist. It should also be added that the repertoire of *Tabulatura Gdańska* is very idiomatic for the instrument, and comfortable in performance.

Piotr Drusiński's works belong to the most idiomatic parts of the Oliwa Tablature. These pieces are written very comfortably, while at the same time placing emphasis on the virtuoso aspect of the left hand part. It is hard to say whether this is an element of P. Drusiński's style or of the work's scriptwriter, as many pieces from the Oliwa Tablature share a similar feature. The music gives the impression of Mediterranean stylistic orientation, which clearly distinguishes the style of its author from the cooler and deeper atmosphere of the music of C. Schmiedtlein. The anonymous piece *Melos*, has similar characteristics, in contrast to *Corente* and the unadorned intabulation of Gregor Lange's songs, which provide many problems for the performer, probably due to their origin in chamber music. The suite-closing piece *Chorea* has a concordance in a print by Valentin Haussmann. In the tablature, the texture of the dance is heavily reduced to two voices, the lower of which actually expresses *bourdon* tones. V. Haussmann noted down this dance, probably originating from the folk culture of Prussia and Pomerania, in the key of D major, in the tablature version, however, there are no chromatic signs at the f sound. The above observations led me to an improvisational performance beginning and ending with a nostalgic reduction to a melody played solo. Inside I repeat individual parts of the dance in different registers of the instrument, filling the middle voices with *bourdon* sounds and applying diminutions in the solo voice. This type of interpretation in the minor version of the piece emphasises its folk, perhaps Slavic character.

P. Siefert's Fantasias were certainly didactic works. They could have had a similar function in the didactic process as J. S. Bach's three-voice invention. They could also be used today in a similar role, but their level of difficulty is often higher.

The constructional priority and fantasy based mainly on creating, interweaving, combining, transforming structures, as well as ornamentation emphasizing mainly structurally important moments, are clearly associated with the art of Hans Vredemann de Vries (1527-1607). His art, and especially his design, had an indelible influence on the shape of Mannerist Gdańsk and the imagination of its inhabitants. The architectural fantasies of H. V. de Vries

are based on the same approach in terms of directing the imagination towards construction and ornamentation emphasizing it, creating beautiful spaces for life and "happening", instead of going deep into the psychology of the characters and depicting action. The pleasure of constructing space and "equipping it" is clearly perceptible in all of P. Siefert's keyboard work.

Also his variations do not transform the theme, but rather place it in new, contrapuntal situations. Some virtuosic aspects, typical of English virginalists, are present, namely parallel sixths in fast values, and fiery diminutions, tiratas and groppi, but they do not overshadow the polyphonic structure of the work.

Intabulation of the motet *Benedicam Dominum* by O. di Lasso appears as the *opus magnum* of keyboard music of Gdańsk in the first half of the 17th century. It seems to contain a catalogue of various forms used in this music, which are supported by the counterpoint architecture of O. di Lasso. One can find here not only treatments typical of organists, but also elements of French lute music, such as double *port de voix*, or chords in *brisé* style. All these elements can be deciphered from the precise notation used in the *Secunda Pars* intabulation. There are many threads in the piece that suggest a change of registers, but this is not necessary to bring out the full richness of this kaleidoscope of forms. The work is a testimony to the great imagination, and cosmopolitan orientation of the circle of musicians from Gdańsk. The music of P. Siefert poses many challenges to the performer. The constructional aspect definitely dominates over the comfort of the performer, however, he does not give it up as in the case of intabulations from Tabulatury Oliwa, but only establishes the right proportions between the conceptual requirements and the performance aspect.

The masterpieces of the *brisé* style are the dances of Balthasar Erben. Their style is very close to the style of lute music of Ieremias Erben, which is noticeably different from the style of both the French harpsichordists and J. J. Froberger. It displays distinctly personal features. Did the style of B. Erben's style had already been developed in Gdańsk under the tutelage of a close relative before he started his European tour at the side of J. J. Froberger? Or are the pieces from *Ms. Hintze* adaptations of the Kapellmeister's lute works in general? In any case, the miniatures of B. Erben are the most

idiomatic pieces for the harpsichord coming from the Gdańsk environment since the times of the Danzig Tablature. They bring to mind the in-depth, introspective, engaging and elegant portraits of Daniel Schultz (1615 - 1683) and Andreas Stech (1635 - 1697).

The lack of works in *stylus phantasticus* in Gdańsk sources from the second half of the 17th century is particularly acute. In response to this shortage I have admitted stylistically anachronistic preludes from manuscript AP-GD 959/274 as supplementary repertoire. The preludes and the source, as well as the rationale for using them, are discussed in detail in the sub-chapter devoted to it.

IV. 2. Performance and interpretation problems in the works selected from the complementary repertoire.

The tracks numbered 8, 12-22, 25 and 27 contain works selected from the discussed supplementary repertoire. They are the answer to repertoire shortages in various periods of Gdańsk harpsichord music history.

The first work of this type is a bicinium of unspecified cast by the Gdańsk Kapellmeister Kaspar Förster the Elder. This imitative polyphonic piece with a triplet in the finale is perfectly suited for learning to perform polyphony in the early years of education. This was probably the function of the bicinia at the time. The piece was published as two voice books. These partessays need to be united in one system in order to be performed on the harpsichord. Problems are caused by numerous publishing errors in old prints. A compass for the reconstructor is provided by the characteristic cadences occurring simultaneously in both voices. The two independent and locally crossing voices are well suited for performance on the two keyboards of the *séparée* harpsichord. Bicinia K. Förster st. are discussed in more detail in the subchapter devoted to them. These works provide an opportunity to use the colourful registers of the harpsichord to make the independent voices of the composition more legible and distinctive. I chose a 4' registration on one keyboard, and a lute played an octave higher in the 4' register on the other. A similar registration was possible

on two-manual Flemish instruments, whose functioning in Gdańsk as is described in Chapter I.

Martin Gremboszewski's *Aria voce sola per un Cornetto* requires further discussion. The piece belongs to the category of repertoire for a solo instrument and *basso continuo*. The literature emphasises the precision of this composer's instrumentation. However, mention is also made of his progressiveness and virtuosity in playing the harp, which often drew its repertoire from chamber compositions of this kind. The cornet, which is the solo instrument in the *Aria*, was imitated by one of the many solo organ voices that were widely used by North German organists. The concept of performing this work on the harpsichord was inspired on the one hand by the Italian toccata style of Neapolitan composers closely associated with the harp, and by the North German chorale fantasies of composers such as Ewald Hinz, Andreas Neunhaber, Franz Tunder (1614 - 1667), and Delphin Strungk (1600/01 - 1694). Especially the latter's *Toccata ad manuale duplex*, which employs measures typical of chorale fantasia, such as echo effects, solo voices and concerting organ sections inspired this performance. Also the *tiento medio registro* in the works of Spanish organists provided author with sources of inspiration. These sources suggested appropriate solutions to the problem of the *basso continuo* part realized in a way typical for instruments performing simultaneously a solo part and an accompaniment for it. Interestingly, many more solutions of this type can be found, thanks to which every performer can create his own conception of the performance of this piece. Below we will quote some of the solutions used by the author of the recording for the realization of *Aria* by M. Gremboszewski on the harpsichord.

The initial registration distinguishes the solo voice on the main manuale with 8' + 4' registration, and the accompaniment on *petit clavier 8' séparée*. Although the work begins with the solo zinc presenting the theme in the manner typical of a canzona, until the introduction of figurations typical of cornet in bar 14, the accompaniment itself begins. On the basis of the free octave canon realised by the cornet and *basso continuo*, it is possible to create a beginning imitating the exposition of an octave Fugue, in a manner close to the above-mentioned organ works.

The image displays a musical score for piano, consisting of four systems of music. Each system is written for a grand piano with a treble and bass clef. The notes are color-coded: red notes are attributed to Martin Gremboszewski, and black notes are attributed to Maksym Zajaczkiewicz. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. The first system (bars 1-4) shows a simple harmonic structure. The second system (bars 5-8) introduces more complex rhythmic patterns. The third system (bars 9-12) features a more active melodic line in the right hand. The fourth system (bars 13-14) shows a solo entry in the right hand.

Figura 1: red notes by Martin Gremboszewski, black notes by Maksym Zajaczkiewicz.

The structure of the *Aria* indirectly resembles the sectional structure of Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583 - 1643)⁵³³, and directly present in his canzonas for solo instrument and *basso continuo*. In bar 13, the next episode is initiated by a solo entry on a *Reperkussionsmotiv* and rhetorically oriented *tirates* and *esclamazioni*. The accompaniment is limited to a simple chordal accompaniment, only to enter an expressive dialogue with the solo voice in the next section from bar 21 onwards. From bar 30 the frequency of the dialogue slows down, and rapid gestures of the solo voice are interspersed with long notes, against which the accompaniment is enlivened by free imitation

⁵³³ About form and structure of G. Frescobaldi *Toccatas* look at: Anthony Newcomb, *Frescobaldi's Toccatas and their Stylistic Ancestry*, "Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association" 1984, nr 111.

emphasising harmonic pursuits. In bar 36 the situation returns to the starting point, and the expressive diminutions of the solo voice are again accompanied by simple chordal risers, until a strong cadence in bar 41.

The next section after the cadence signals a two-bar solo of the bass voice, introducing the solo entry in bar 44. The solo entry section can be realized by taking up the leading motive of the solo as shown below.

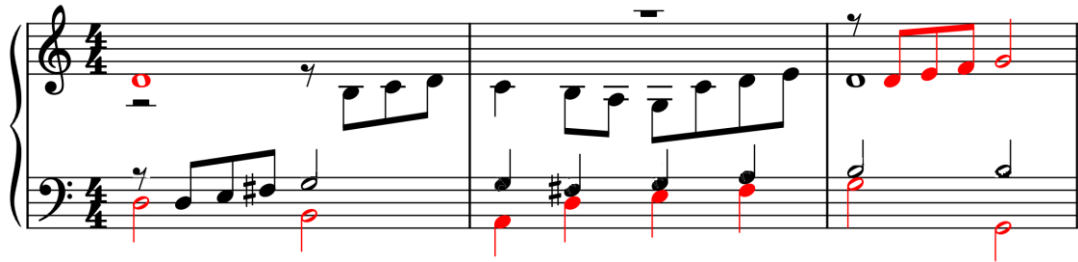


Figura 2: red notes by Martin Gremboszewski, black notes by Maksym Zajaczkiewicz: bars 42-44.

The leading motive is followed by a long note in the solo voice and a full-bar *groppo* adorning the cadence. This phrase occurs twice, establishing first the key of G major and then C major, before moving immediately to E minor continuing the dialogue-inviting "gesture-passive" arrangement. This kind of procedure leads to a suspended cadence in G major, after which the *Reperkussionsmotiv* in the solo voice returns, leading to a strong cadence in D major.

In bar 63 the next section opens with a *ricercar* theme initiated by the bass and imitated freely by the solo voice. This is an opportunity to develop the passage into a free kind of *fuga realis* in the accompaniment. The solo voice returns only in bar 69 with an agitated affect imitating the motif from bars 29-35, yet developed with cadence phrases, taking away the opportunity for the accompaniment to respond. After a suspended cadence in B major, *basso andante* introduces a solo in the form of imitated diminutions in various registers, to calm down in bars 81-83 on long notes of *clausula cantisans* against the background of which the bass movement is imitated in parallel thirds, leading to an ornamental, powerful cadence in bars 85-87 in D major.

The section following the general pause is perhaps one of the most interesting in the entire work. Again, it is the solo voice that initiates a free canon imitated by the *basso continuo*, this time in fifths. The whole fragment up to a strong cadence in bar 102 is realised by the accompaniment part. The inspiration came from a reimitated fragment (bars 34-39; 62-64) of *Capriccio sopra Re-fa-mi-sol* by Giovanni de Macque (1548/50 - 1614). The reimitated fragment was realised as follows.



Figura 3: red notes by Martin Gremboszewski, black notes by Maksym Zajęczkiewicz: bars 88-93.

The contrapuntal equilibrium of the previous fragment is interrupted by another general pause with a change of metre to triple meter in bar 103. The contrast is intensified by the lack of harmonic connection between the A major chord that ends the previous section and the C major chord that follows after the pause, which in any case is only a pre-touch to G major in the strong part of bar 104. At this point, the harpsichord manuals are joined together to intensify the contrast and to emphasise the affect. This is greatly encouraged by the isorhythm of the two parts. In bar 113, the accompaniment initiates a punctuated motif that is then exchanged every bar with the solo voice in metre *alla breve*. The solo cadence in bars 121-123 in triple meter is also followed by a three-bar cadence in *alla breve* on long notes with *clausula cantisans* in solo voice establishing the key of D minor. In order to maintain the movement initiated by the soloist, tirates are placed in the middle voices

in a manner typical of toccatas by Claudio Merulo (1533 - 1604) and G. Frescobaldi.

The section of bars 128-140 begins with a bicinium of solo and bass voice, which in bar 135 changes into a tricinium through the introduction of the middle voice, in the form of a leading canon, whose solo voice coming from the composer is the voice imitating the pattern in the octave and quarter note delay. In the middle of bar 138 the solo voice calms down the movement, which creates an opportunity to introduce an imitative alto voice and to achieve a 4 texture in a suspended plagal cadence in bar 140. This type of procedure of increasing the number of voices in their fantasies was used by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562 - 1621), John Bull (1662/3 - 1628) and Thomas Mancinius (1550 - 1615).

This is again followed by an isorhythmic passage, whose clearly aggressive character works best on the *grand clavier* 8' + 8' + 4' as expressive, provocative exclamations followed by rapid movement of the solo voice calmed only in bar 149. To maintain the movement before the final cadence, the technique of C. Merula and F. Frescobaldi by sustaining the movement in the middle voices as follows.

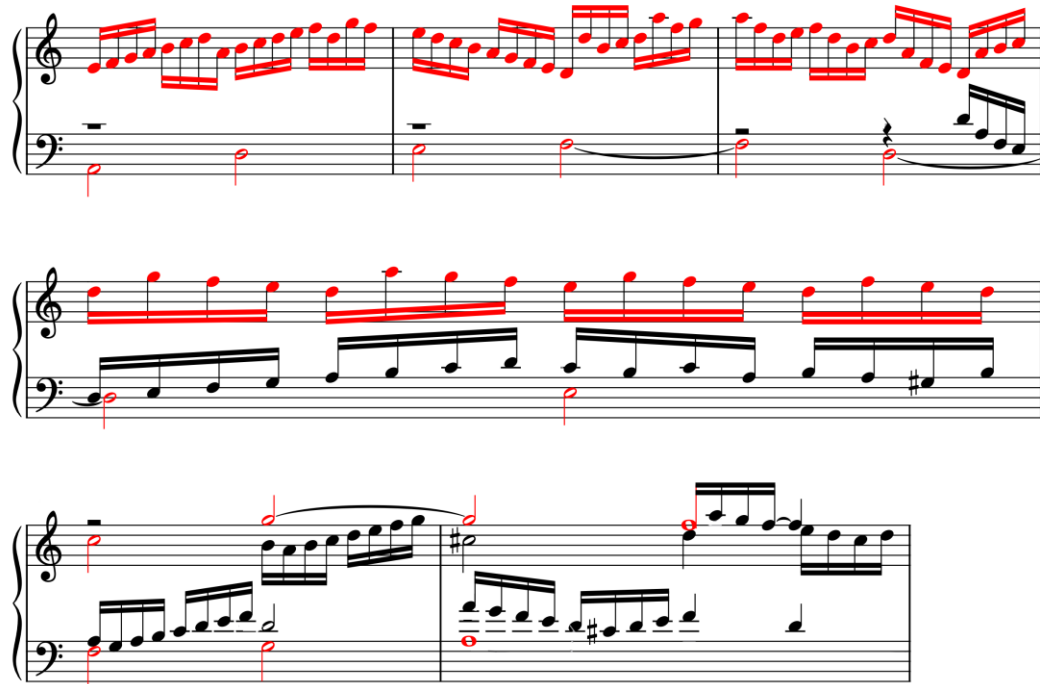


Figura 4: red notes by Martin Gremboszewski, black notes by Maksym Zajczkiewicz: bars 145-150.

In the finale of the composition, cornet performs an inviting diminution on the *clausula cantisans* in long values. In the middle of this cadence, a short tirata is added, after which the cadence continues with only the *petit clavier*. A similar effect was sown by D. Strungk in the toccata of the chorale fantasia type mentioned at the beginning.

The *Aria Voce Sola* can provide the harpsichordist with much inspiration in creating his own shape of its realisation on the harpsichord. There are many possibilities, and the piece perfectly answers the lack of works in toccata style by Gdańsk masters. It allows to create a virtuoso piece, displaying its character, which can significantly enrich the harpsichord recital with Gdańsk music from the period before 1700.

Suites of works by Ieremias Erben have been immortalised on disc for the first time ever. The extraordinary depth and power of these works significantly enriches the harpsichord repertoire, just as lute music has done throughout history. The first impediment to accessing this repertoire is the need to learn to read French lute tablature, for this is manuscript. Secondly

is the correction of the scribe's errors common in private manuscript sources. As mentioned earlier, it is necessary to understand the nature of the lute tablature and the instrument. This understanding deepened by the experience of performing French music and comparative studies of lute and harpsichord versions of existing works (made possible by the work of David John Ledbetter⁵³⁴) gives the harpsichordist access to a vast number of musical sources, also in the field of Gdańsk.

The author's contribution is limited to filling in empty, unclear chords and to developing the bass line, the continuity of which is impossible on the lute, but indispensable on the harpsichord. All these procedures can be subsumed under the historical manner of playing *avec discretion*. A certain interference was required in bar 18 of *Sarabande I. E.* from [*Pieces in d*]. This bar contains a plagal cadence in two voices. The lack of a clear tonal centre in the space of a few made it necessary to support the cadence with a subdominant pryme by adding one note. The same lack of tonal centre necessitated the filling of a chord on the strong part of bar 17, which I interpreted as D major, which is more logical than D minor due to the increased frequency of modulation in this passage.



The addition of one note was necessary in the last cadence of the *Praludium* from the same suite. A different treatment was applied in the fifth variation of *Sarabande I. E. [Passacaglia?]* from [*Pieces in g*]. Variations of this sarabande, which is actually a passacaglia, appear clearly in pairs in the form of a grave variation and its version in lute double style. An exception is the fifth variation, which is immediately followed by a closing variation based on the bass transformed in the form of an inversion, also preceding its own variation in lute style, which required a reconstruction of the last two bars. In the case of the fifth

534 David John Ledbetter, op. cit.

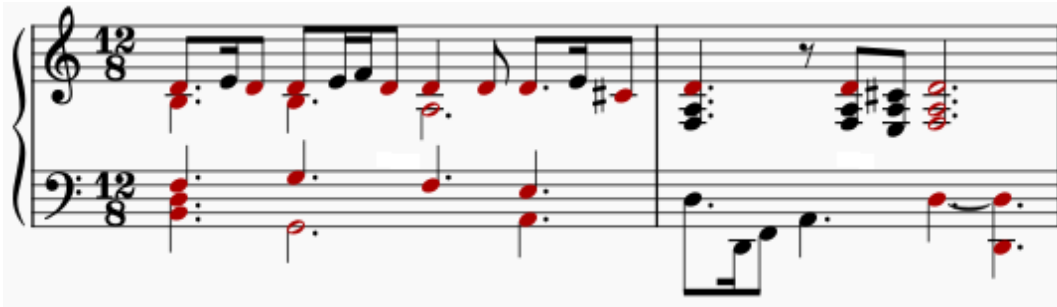
variation, the author decided to break this pattern and performed the fifth variation a second time, enlivening it with an eighth-note movement in the middle voice, in a manner typical of French works in this genre.



The author's contribution is also present in two improvised doubles. The first is based on *Allmand I. E.* realised in the character of a Gigue.



The practice of this type was common among French lutenists. All the allemands from Virginia Renata von Gehem's Tabulature *Ms. 40264* are based on punctuated rhythm, which not only adds to their solemnity, but also facilitates their transformation into a lively Gigue. Additionally, the knowledge of such practice in Gdańsk is confirmed by the existence of its flagship example in *Ms. 40264* next to suites of I. Erben. We are talking about *La Poste* by Ennemond Goultier, known both as an allemande and as a Gigue, and as such a *Gigue Gottier* we can find it on page 179 of the manuscript.



The author added a second double to the Aria Jer. Erben. It is based on the standard variation development of the formula.



At this point, it is worth mentioning the cadence characteristic of the works of both I. and B. Erben. In this cadence, the dominant with a delay of 4-3 is preceded by a strongly dissonant subdominant in the sounding, or resulting from the harmonic context, minor mode. The dissonance of the chord is often enhanced

by the component of a minor seventh in the upper extreme voice, and sometimes also by a ninth in the middle voice. This type of cadence in German music of the discussed period was a carrier of particularly deep emotional states. It can be associated with the motif of vanitas and melancholy. One of the clearest examples of its use in this context is the aria *Ach, dass ich Wassers gnug hätte* by Johann Christoph Bach (1642 – 1703). In this piece, the chord $Sm^{7>}$ paints spaces of sadness, hopelessness and regret with an almost mystical expression. In harpsichord music, it can be found in the works of J. J. Frobergerea and his followers, e.g. Johann Pachelbel (1653 – 1706). In the context of the major key, it is particularly exposed in the *Chaconne in G major* and *Suite in E flat major* by Georg Böhm (1661 – 1733). A particularly frequent use of cadences of this type, not only in main cadences, but also in internal cadences, seems to be a feature of the musical style of both I. and B. Erben.





It is worth remembering about this when supplementing the harmonic plan of I. Erben's lute works with additional components in cadenzas.

The frequent use of this type of cadence throughout the entire tablature of *Ms. 40264*. Is this just evidence of the scribe's preference for that source? Is it possible to treat this fact as a premise for the future attribution of anonymous works from Virginia Renata von Gehem's Tablature? Below are some interesting examples of the use of cadence in anonymous polonica from this source.



The texture of Heinrich Döbel's *Gzygas* is an example of virtuosic polyphonic violin technique. At most, it requires the harpsichordist to locally supplement the harmony with one or two components, which poses no problems thanks to the fairly accurate decipherment and virtually complete representation of the work's harmonic shape in the violin part. Locally, the wide ambitus of the chords may pose a problem, requiring the attacked component to be let go in an *arpeggio*. These unusual works are evidence of a lively interest in folk music also among composers from Gdańsk. The music of H. Döbel can be an excellent model for harpsichord adaptations, largely filling the repertoire gaps enumerated earlier.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the spaces in which harpsichord music resounded in Gdańsk. These could have been, and probably were, public spaces, especially secular, such as fraternity houses, especially Arthus' Manor, or town hall spaces. More interesting, however, as well as the private manuscripts, are the private spaces of the people of Gdańsk. These have not survived to our times, but have been happily immortalised by artists. The places where music was played were probably the private chambers of the inhabitants of Gdańsk, but the most important rooms were those where music was not only enjoyed but also shared. Images of several such private hallways of Gdańsk tenement houses have survived to our times and will be presented below. (look at the POLISH VERSION)

Images of Gdańsk hallways are an immortal source of inspiration for harpsichordists. Without exception they depict a safe, beautiful, sophisticated, inspiring space, capable of arousing curiosity, inviting to warm up and give in to dreams. Nevertheless, we must not forget the love the people of Gdańsk had for nature, which was exceptionally beautiful in the vicinity of the city. It was also a place for concerts, as described by the already quoted Charles Ogier. In the warmer months music was played in suburban manors, gardens and other natural settings, only to return to the warm and safe hallway for the winter. Music was one of the most important activities of the sensitive and learned man from Gdańsk. It was therefore present wherever he managed to carry it. Taking into account that music boxes, commonly used today to accompany vocal music,

in Gdańsk were used to play during processions, it is easy to imagine that a summer journey to Gdańsk was accompanied not only by a lute, but also by some kind of keyboard chordophone, perhaps a harpsichord?

Conclusion

Harpsichord music in Gdańsk before 1700 represents a wide range of genres and styles typical of the following epochs. The field for harpsichord creation development was created by developed harpsichord builders activity in the region and import, facilitated by harbour character of the Gdańsk centre. The harpsichord art of Gdańsk is not as easy to grasp as in the case of court centres, hence it is easier to find references to this instrument in Malbork and Königsberg, the most important centres of power in the region in various periods of history. In the free trade republic, the most important office for a musician playing on keyboard instruments was that of organist of one of the main churches. Harpsichord music, on the other hand, was the domain of the private sphere, which significantly hinders the study of this field. This is not a problem unique to trading towns, especially the Hanseatic ones. Numerous accounts, indications and analogies to other centres of harpsichord music development enable at least a fragmentary reconstruction of the situation of this field of art in Gdańsk.

The works of the Gdańsk musicians reflect all phenomena and transformations that have taken place in European music throughout the ages. The musicians from Gdańsk had contacts, often very close, with the leading harpsichordists working in the most important centres of the contemporary world for the development of harpsichord music. The musicians from Gdańsk found recognition and patronage of the great masters, which allowed them to develop in the avant-garde directions of creativity. The direct sources of harpsichord music from the discussed period are two extensive tablatures created or completed in Gdańsk and several smaller European sources containing compositions by musicians connected with Gdańsk. The preserved sources certainly constitute only a small part of the full resource of this type of sources which have not survived to our times. Particularly acute is the lack of music from the second half of the 17th century, when many outstanding harpsichordists worked in Gdańsk and were educated by the most eminent figures in the field at that time. These deficiencies can be filled by making use of other musical sources,

which could have been used by musicians from Gdańsk and which have survived to the present day. Such an open attitude to sources is supported by historically confirmed musical practice, common among harpsichordists throughout history.

Stylistic variety is particularly important in harpsichord music of the discussed period in Gdańsk. Various types of art found their audience in the multicultural city, mixing as if in a melting pot. Polish, North and South German and English influences are present alongside new currents in instrumental music from Italy and France. The continuous presence of direct Italian influence throughout the 16th and 17th centuries is particularly surprising in the context of other musical centres of northern Europe. Also, the presence of a pure French style among local makers of lute and harpsichord music is an extraordinary phenomenon in this part of the continent.

The ability to play the harpsichord was an element of the basic education of a person aspiring to become a member of higher social classes. On this basis, we may state that it was a very common skill, which fostered the development of musical passion among the inhabitants of Gdańsk and often led to the discovery of outstanding virtuoso talents. From the second quarter of the 17th century the ability to play *basso continuo* became common among professional musicians of Gdańsk, which forced at least the basic knowledge of the instrument among the musicians educated by the city guild. Young musicians were also educated by eminent organists, who probably received more lessons at the music box or harpsichord in the master's house than at the great church organ, which was incomparably more expensive.

The present work proves that by using only the exemplars of the harpsichordist community in Gdańsk before 1700, it is possible to compile a harpsichord recital showing a wide range of styles, techniques and genres used and created by harpsichordists since the Middle Ages. The catalogue of preserved harpsichord pieces and the proposed supplementary sources, including the techniques of their realization, may help to prepare many harpsichord recitals exploring the local creativity of Gdańsk. Gathering the scattered information on Gdańsk musicians, musical and harpsichord music, and on the harpsichord construction in Gdańsk may help to explore the past

of this field in the city. The indicated directions for further research may open the way to researchers and harpsichordists interested in conducting their own research in this subject. These directions are very numerous. Certainly the future will bring many more discoveries related to this topic.

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