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Seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources

ABSTRACT: This article represents an attempt to provide a synthetic presentation of seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources, comprising three groups: 1 - manuscripts and old prints, currently found in Gdańsk or elsewhere, that include works by musicians who were active in Gdańsk; 2 - manuscripts from Gdańsk libraries that include works by composers not active in Gdańsk; 3 - manuscripts of Gdańsk provenance, now held in libraries outside Gdańsk, that include works by composers not active in Gdańsk. Several types of sources have survived that are characteristic of the age in which they were created. These include lute tablatures, keyboard tablatures and manuscripts and old prints with compositions for various forces, including keyboard instruments, solo instruments (violin, cornet) with b.c., a 2 and a 3 type compositions for violin (in one case for cornet and bassoon with b.c.) and also larger ensembles, chiefly strings with b.c. The repertoire of the Gdańsk sources is similar to that of other seventeenthcentury European sources. It includes dances, canzonas, fantasias, preambles, sonatas, suites and, in the earliest manuscripts, intabulations of both religious and secular songs. In total, there are some 800 extant compositions, of which the vast majority (around 700) are found in lute and keyboard tablatures. Some compositions may be considered unique in Old Polish instrumental music. They are works by the composers Marcin Gremboszewski and Heinrich Döbel, who were active in Gdańsk, representing early examples of solo compositions for cornet and violin with b.c., as well as a chamber piece for cornet and bassoon with b.c. Bearing in mind that the number of extant Old Polish instrumental music sources is relatively modest, these Gdańsk sources should be considered a highly valuable supplement.

KEYWORDS: Gdańsk, instrumental works, manuscripts, old prints

The description 'Gdańsk instrumental music sources' may be interpreted in a number of ways. In a very narrow sense, it might refer to music that is irrefutably known to have been written or played in Gdańsk and therefore constitutes an integral part of that city's culture. But there are very few sources of that sort. A far more numerous type of source is one referring to music that only might have been written or performed in Gdańsk, but not with absolute certainty. They may be works by composers who were active in Gdańsk during the seventeenth century, though the lack of dating makes it impossible to ascertain whether they actually wrote particular pieces in this city, or works copied by Gdańsk musicians but written by composers not associated with the city. There are also musical manuscripts or prints associated with Gdańsk in that they were owned by or dedicated to inhabitants of the city. Moreover, some musical documents have for centuries been kept in the musical collections of Gdańsk libraries, though it is not always known how they originally came to be there. But there are also collections of Gdańsk provenance that now belong to the libraries of other cities. One cannot rule out that all of the above-mentioned sources had an influence on the musical culture of seventeenth-century Gdańsk, though of course they may also include compositions that were never performed in the city. Nevertheless, all of them are in one way or another part of the city's history, at least indirectly forming part of its musical heritage.¹ This covers the broadest understanding of the term 'Gdańsk sources', and it can be divided into three groups:

1. manuscripts and old prints containing works by composers who were active in Gdańsk, currently held in the libraries of Gdańsk or other centres,

2. music manuscripts from Gdańsk libraries containing works by composers who were not active in Gdańsk,

3. manuscripts known to have originated from Gdańsk, currently found in libraries outside Gdańsk, containing works by composers who were not active in Gdańsk.

1. Manuscripts and old prints containing works by composers who were active in Gdańsk

This group includes works by composers who held various musical posts in Gdańsk, such as chapel-masters, organists and other instrumentalists or singers. These sources are found in the libraries of Gdańsk² or of other cities, including Berlin, Kroměříž, Leipzig, New Haven, Pelplin, Vienna and Vilnius, but above all in the music collection of the University Library in Uppsala (see Table 1).³

¹ So far, no synthesising studies have been carried out into seventeenth-century Gdańsk instrumental music sources. The subject is only mentioned in Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska's, *The Baroque part 1: 1595–1696* [The History of Music in Poland vol. III], tr. John Comber (Warszawa, 2002), 264, 460–464, 468, 485–487, and Danuta Szlagowska's *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich* [The musical repertoire from seventeenth-century Gdańsk manuscripts] (Gdańsk, 2005), 148–156, 161–165, 283–319. Both these studies concern manuscript music only. Other studies, dealing with single instrumental works, will be cited in this article later.

² Danuta Popinigis et al., Music Collections from Gdańsk, i: Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript at the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library (Kraków and Gdańsk, 2011); Danuta Szlagowska et al., Music Collections from Gdańsk, ii: Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript Kept at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv (Cracow and Gdańsk, 2007); Jolanta Woźniak et al., Music Collections from Gdańsk, iii: Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript at the State Archive in Gdańsk (Cracow and Gdańsk, 2008); Otto Günther, Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek, iv: Die musikalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek und der in ihrer Verwaltung befindlichen Kirchenbibliotheken von St. Katharinen und St. Johann in Danzig (Danzig, 1911); Günther, Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek, v: Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig (Danzig, 1921).

³ According to Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Serie A/II. Musikhandschriften nach 1600. Thematischer Katalog, 12th edn, coll., CD-ROM (K. G. Saur Electronic Pub-

Composer	Composition	MS / print	Forces	Library
Anonymous	Braut Dantz ⁴	print	strings, bc	Gdańsk
		Gdańsk,1646		PL-GD
				Oe 27. 2º adl.177
	Braut Tänze (2)⁵	print	2 vl, bc	Gdańsk
		Gdańsk,1655		PL-GD
				Oe 27. 2° adl. 177
	Ballet ⁶	print 1666	2 vl, bc	Gdańsk
	Serraband			PL-GD
				Oe 6. 2° adl.55
Crato	Courante ⁷	print	2 vl, bc	Gdańsk
Bütner		Gdańsk,1654		PL-GD
				Oe 6. 2° adl.150
Heinrich Döbel	Sonata (5) ⁸	MS	vl, bc	Kromeřiž
	Gzyga (3)	2nd half 17th		CZ-KRa
	Sarabande	с.		A 637
	Couranto			

Table 1.

lishing, 2004); *Repertoire International des Sources Musicales. Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, A/I, ed. Karlheinz Schlager (vols. 1–7), Otto E. Albrecht and Karlheinz Schlager (vols. 8–9) (Kassel, 1971–1981), *Addenda et corrigenda*, ed. Ilse and Jürgen Kindermann (vols. 11–13), Gertraut Haberkamp (vol. 14) (Kassel, 1986–1999); Bruno Grusnick, 'Die Dübensammlung. Ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnungs', *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 46 (1964) and 48 (1966); *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue*, ed. Erik Kjellberg and Kerala Snyder, see http://www. musik.uu.se/Duben.php, (accessed September 2011).

⁴ Braut Dantz / Auff des WolEdlen und Vesten / Herrn Valentin von der Linde / Und der Edlen VielEhr-und Jugendreichen / Jungf: Catharinae Königin / [...] Herrn Hans Königs [...] Tochter Hochzeit. / So gehalten in Dantzig den 24. Aprilis Anno 1646.

⁵ Zwey Newe Braut Täntze / Auff des / WohlEdlen Vesten Nahmhafften und Wohl-weisen Herren / Herrn George von Boemeln / Wohlverdienten Rahts-Verwandten / der Königlichen Stadt Dantzig / und [...] Frauen / Faustina Gabriels. [...] Herrn Davids Sihlmanns [...] Vornehmen Bürgers alhier / hinterbliebenen Witwen [...] [1655].

⁶ Glückwünschen der Zuruff / Dem / Durchläuchtigsten Chur-Printzen / und Herrn / Herrn Johann Georg / dem Dritten / Herzogen zu Sachsen, Gülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraffen / in Türingen, Marggraffen zu Meissen, auch Ober-und Nieder- / Lautznitz Graffen [...] und Der / Durchläuchtigsten Prinzessinn / und Frauen / Anna Sophia / Gebohrnen Königlichen Erb-Prinzessinn zu Dennmarck und / Norwegen [...] Im Jahr M. DC, LXVI. den Novemb. / nebenst einer geringen Abend-Musick / unterthänigst abgestattet / von [Christoph Behr] Denen / Auff der Universität zu Rostock / Studierenden [1666].

⁷ Crato Bütner, Courante, in Aria Sunamithica, / Das ist / Jnbrünstige Anstimmung [...] Herren / Johannis Eggeberten / Medicinae Doctoris [...] Wie auch [...] Jungfrawen / Elisabethae Dirschawin [...] Herrn Martin Dirschawens / Nachgelassenen Eheleiblichen Tochtern [...] Componiret, / und / Musicae Praesentiret / von / Cratone Büthnern / Musico und Organisten zum / S. Salvator [1654].

⁸ Works by Heinrich Döbel, in *Solo Compositions for Violin and Viola da Gamba with Basso Continuo from the Collection of Prince-Bishop Carl Lichtenstein-Castelcorn in Kroměřiž*, ed. Charles E. Brewer (Madison, 1997).

cont. tab. 1

0	0	MO	E	cont. tab.
Composer	Composition	MS / print	Forces	Library
Piotr Drusiński	Preambulum (2) ⁹	MS	keyboard	Vilnius
	intabulations of	c.1619	instru-	LT-Va
	vocal works (3)		ment	F15-284
Balthasar Erben	Saraband	MS	cembalo	New Haven
	Passacaglia	2nd half 17th		(Conn.)
	Courante	с.		US-NH
				NH/Ma. 21. H59
	Sonata sopra ut	MS	2 vl, bc	Uppsala
	re mi fa sol la / a	2nd half 17th		S-Uu
	2 violini (Basso	c.		Instr. mus. i hs.
	Continuo) di / Sigr			3:4
	Baltasar Erben ¹⁰			
Kaspar Förster	Sonata a 3 / / di /	MS	2 vl, vla da	Uppsala
Jnr	Gasparo Forster.11	1650s-1660s	gamba, bc	S-Uu
	[5 sonatas]			Instr. mus. i hs.
				3:7, 3:7a, 3;9a,
				3:10, 3:11
	Sonata a 3. / 2	MS	2 vl, fag,	Uppsala
	Violini é fagotto /		be	S-Uu
	di / Signr Gasparo			Instr. mus. i hs.
	Förster.			3:6
	Sonata a. 7.	MS	2 vl, vla,	Uppsala
	instrom: / 2		vlne, 2	S-Uu
	Cornettini 2 violini		cornets,	Instr. mus. i hs.
	1 Brazzia / Fagotto		fag, bc	3:8
	é Violono /Di /			
	Gasparo Forster			
Marcin	1. Aria ¹²	MS	1. ento, be	Gdańsk
Gremboszewski	2.Canzoneto	1629	2. cnto,	PL-GDap
	3. Contrapunctum		fag, bc	300, 36/58
	- *		3. 3 voices	

⁹ Works by Piotr Drusiński, in *Utwory z Oliwskiej Tabulatury Organowej (ca 1619) na organy lub klawesyn* [Works for organ or harpsichord from the Oliwa Organ Tablature (c.1619)], part I, ed. Jan Janca (Gdańsk, 1992).

¹⁰ Balthasar Erben, Sonata sopra ut re mi fa sol la a 2 violini, in Danziger Instrumental-Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, ed. Franz Kessler (Neuhausen and Stuttgart, 1979).

¹¹ Förster Kaspar Jnr, 4 sonatas *a* 3, in *Kaspar Förster d.y. och 1600-talets sonata a* 3, ed. Lars Berglund (Uppsala, 1994); *Sonata a* 3 in *G* and *Sonata La Sidon*, ed. Barbara Przybyszew-ska-Jarmińska (Warszawa, 1993 and 1997); *Sonata a* 3 and *Sonata a* 7, in Kessler, *Danziger Instrumental-Musik*.

¹² Marcin Gremboszewski, Aria voce sola per un cornetto and Canzoneto a 2 voci, in Danziger Instrumental-Musik.

0	0			T *1
Composer	Composition	MS / print	Forces	Library
Andrzej	intabulations of	MS	organ	Vilnius
Hakenberger	vocal works (15)	c.1619		LT-Va
				F 15-284
	intabulations of	MS	organ	Berlin
	vocal works (6)	1st half		D-Bsb
		17th c.		Ms. mus. 21
	intabulations of	MS	organ	Pelplin
	vocal works (55) ¹³	c.1620-30		PL-PE
				Ms 304–308,
				308a
Johann Valentin	Chaconne / par / J	MS	2 dessus,	Uppsala
Meder	V Meder ¹⁴	1698	bc	S-Uu
				Instr. mus. i hs.
				56:6
	Der Polnische	MS	strings, bc	Gdańsk
	Pracher	1689		PL-GD
				Ms Joh. 194
	Sonata di Battaglia	MS	strings, bc	
Andreas	choral fantasias (2)		organ	
Neunaber			organ	
Samuel Schirm	Capriccio: / Gigue	MS	strings, bc	Uppsala
	/ Gavotta. / A. 6 /	Gdańsk		S-Uu
	Viol: /. Dantisci.	1687		Instr. mus. i hs.
	A. 87. 15. Jun: S.			8:1a, 1b
	Schirm			
	/ Balletto per	MS	strings, bc	Uppsala
	Camera: / Zoppa:	Gdańsk		S-Uu
	/ Gavotta / A. 6 /	1687		Instr. mus. i hs.
	Viol: /. Dantisci.			8:1a, 1b
	A. 87. 15. Jun: S.			
	Schirm			
Nathanael	Pavana /	MS	strings, bc	Uppsala
Schnittelbach	Allamanda /	1660-75		S-Uu
	Saraband / a			Instr. mus. i hs.
	4 violis / di N.			8:23
	Schnittelbach			

¹³ The Pelplin Tablature, ix: Choral Compositions. Transcriptions of Andrzej Hakenberger's Works, ed. Jan Węcowski (Graz and Warsaw, 1970).

cont. tab. 1

¹⁴ Johann Valentin Meder, *Chaconne* and *Der Polnische Pracher*, in *Danziger Instrumental--Musik*.

cont.	tab.	1

Composer	Composition	MS / print	Forces	Library
	Preludium / Allemand / Courant / Saraband / Ex E / a 4. / Nathan: Schnittelbach	MS mid 17th c.	strings, bc	Uppsala S-Uu Instr. mus. i hs. 8:22
Paul Siefert	Canzon a 815	print Gdańsk,1651	strings, bc	Gdańsk PL-GD Ee 2893 8°
	Variations on Lasso's Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore	MS	keyboard instru- ment	Vienna A-Wm
	Fantasia	MS	keyboard instru- ment	Vienna A-Wm
	Fantasias (13)	MS 1624–1631	organ	Leipzig D-LEst II 2,51
	Paduana	MS 1641	keyboard instru- ment	Uppsala S-Uu Instr. mus. i hs. 408
	Variations on Puer natus in Bethlehem		keyboard instru- ment	
Thomas Strutius	Braut Tänze (2) ³⁶	print Gdańsk,1655	2 vl, bc	Gdańsk PL-GD Oe 8. 2° adl.167
	Braut Tänze (2) ¹⁷	print Gdańsk,1659	2 vl, bc	Gdańsk PL-GD Oe 7. 2° adl.77 Oe 46. 4° adl. 27

¹⁵ Paul Siefert, Canzon a 8, in Psalmorum, ad gallicam melodiam arte compositorum musicali. Pars seconda (Danzig, 1651); in Kessler, Danziger Instrumental-Musik; Fantasia a 3, repr. in Danziger Orgel-Musik des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, ed. Franz Kessler (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1988).

¹⁶ Thomas Strutius, Braut Tänze in Musicalisches Freuden-Gedicht / Auff / Des WolEdlen [...] Herrn / Albrecht Rosenbergs / Wolverdieneten Rahtsverwandten / und Krieges / Commissarii dieses Stadt / und [...] Fr: Adelgunda gebohrne Wiederin, [...] Hn. Gabriel Schumans [...] nachgelassenen Frau Wittwen [...] heraus gegeben von Tho.[mas] Str.[utio] Org. [1655].

¹⁷ Thomas Strutius, Braut Tänze, in Hirten-Gespräch / Bey dem berühmten / Hochzeitlichen Ehrenfeste [...] Jungfrau / Florentina von der Linde / Dem / Edlen und Vesten / Herrn Ehlart Friedrichsen [...] Am 29.Tage des Oster Monats im Jahr unsers / Herrn M DC/ LIX / Dienstwillig auffgesetz / von / Ludwig Knausten. As Table 1 shows, these original instrumental or intabulated vocal pieces were the work of a dozen or so musicians who were active in Gdańsk. They included Crato Bütner, Heinrich Döbel, Piotr Drusiński, Balthasar Erben, Kaspar Förster Jnr, Andrzej Hakenberger, Marcin Gremboszewski, Johann Valentin Meder, Andreas Neunaber, Samuel Schirm, Nathanael Schnittelbach, Paul Siefert and Thomas Strutius.¹⁸ There are also several pieces by anonymous composers. These were most probably local musicians, as is suggested by the occasional nature of the works and the fact that they were dedicated to Gdańsk residents.¹⁹

Almost all the named composers were musicians at St Mary's church, the only exceptions being Crato Bütner, a cantor at St Catherine's (1660?-1679), Piotr Drusiński, an organist at St Barbara's (from 1586, then from 1590 at St Mary's in Elblag) and Andreas Neunaber, an organist at St Mary's (1635-1637), then at St Catherine's (1640-1663). The musicians from St Mary's church in Gdańsk held various posts: Hakenberger (1608-1627), Förster Jnr (1655-1657), Erben (1658-1686) and Meder (1687-1699) were all chapel-masters, while organists playing great organ included Strutius (1668–1678, previously, from 1642, at the Holy Trinity church), Siefert (1623–1666) and his grandson Heinrich Döbel (1679–1693). The singers and instrumentalists included Gremboszewski, a singer and instrumentalist (from 1632, previously a cornet player at St John's), Schirm, also a singer (alto, tenor and discant; 1671-1694, in 1692 also at St John's) and Schnittelbach, a violinist (1653? 1655). The biographies of these composers show that seventeenthcentury Gdańsk possessed huge potential in terms of talented musicians who were not only highly accomplished and experienced but also knowledgeable with regard to contemporary European musical styles and trends. Before they held their posts in Gdańsk, some of them (Förster Jnr, Döbel, Gremboszewski, Hakenberger, Neunaber and Siefert) had been employed in the Royal Chapel in Warsaw. That ensemble, renowned for the excellence of its written and performed music, at that time included many outstanding Polish and Italian musicians.20 Gdańsk musicians had also been employed in chapels associated with other European courts, including Meder (Eisenach, Gotha, Bremen, Hamburg and Copenhagen), Förster Jnr (royal chapel-master at the court of Frederick III of Denmark, 1652-54 and 1661-67) and Schnittelbach, considered one of the greatest seventeenth-century

¹⁸ Szlagowska, Repertuar muzyczny, 168–203.

¹⁹ These occasional pieces are dedicated to the city's notable residents, such as mayors (George von Boemeln), senators (Albrecht Rosenberg and Valentin von der Linde) and physicians (Johann Eggebert), or to their children (Florentyna von der Linde). Two dances (Oe 6. 2° adl. 55), including congratulatory texts addressed to the royal couple Sophia and Johann George III, were written by the Gdańsk resident George Behr, then studying in Rostock, who later became a teacher at the Gdańsk Gymnasium.

²⁰ Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the royal chapel of the Polish Vasa kings] (Kraków, 1997), 120–123.

violin virtuosos,²¹ who was a member of the orchestra of Queen Christina of Sweden. Another significant factor was contact with musicians from other circles. Erben travelled across Europe for several years, visiting German cities (he met Johannes Jacob Froberger in Regensburg), England, the Netherlands, France and Italy. Döbel also stayed in several German cities, as well as Prague, Vienna, Paris and London. One should also note that some of the Gdańsk musicians had been taught by outstanding composers, for example Siefert by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and Förster Jnr by Giacomo Carissimi.

The repertoire of this group of sources includes not only original instrumental pieces but also intabulations of vocal compositions (motets by Drusiński and Hakenberger). This accorded with the practice of the times these manuscripts were written, since most of the intabulations appear in manuscripts written no earlier than 1619 (Oliwa Tablature²²) and almost certainly between 1620 and 1630 (Pelplin Tablature²³). The remaining manuscripts and prints were produced later, the only exception being Gremboszewski's compositions²⁴ from 1629. We know the exact dates of Siefert's compositions²⁵ (1641, 1651), Schirm's suites (1687, autographed) and also two pieces by Meder: *Der Polnische Pracher* (1689, autographed) and *Chaconne* (1698, autographed). Moreover, we can estimate the approximate composition dates of some of the other works, including Schnittelbach's, copied by Gustaf Düben sometime between 1660 and 1675, as well as Förster's sonatas,²⁶

²³ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, The Baroque part 1, 196.

²⁴ Wacław Kmicic-Mieleszyński, 'Charakterystyka twórczości Marcina Gremboszewskiego, kompozytora gdańskiego, na tle rozwoju muzyki w pierwszej połowie wieku XVII' [The oeuvre of the Gdańsk composer Marcin Gremboszewski against the background of the development of music during the first half of the seventeenth century], *Zeszyty Naukowe PWSM w Gdańsku*, 11 (1972), 27–62.

²⁵ Jerzy Erdmann, 'Europäische Eigenschaften der Orgelmusik im Danziger Kreise (16.-17. Jh.)', in *Musica Baltica. Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, 159–162; Erdmann, 'Fantazje organowe Paula Sieferta' [Organ fantasias by Paul Siefert], in *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś I* [Music in Gdańsk past and present I] [Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polskich, 3] (Gdańsk, 1988), 73–82.

²⁶ Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Sonaty Kaspra Förstera Juniora' [The sonatas of Kaspar Förster Junior], in *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś II* [Music in Gdańsk past and present II], 135–150; Lars Berglund, 'On Style and Tradition in the Sonata by Kaspar Förster', in *Polish-Swedish Cultural Relations During the Vasa Dynasty, Stockholm February 10th-12-th* 1995. Conference papers (Warszawa, 1996), 89–94.

²¹ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, 'Schnittelbach Nathanael', in *Historisch – biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, ii (Leipzig, 1792), 442.

²² Jan Janca, 'Oliwskie tabulatury organowe (ok. 1619). Nowe źródła do historii muzyki w Gdańsku i na Warmii' [The Oliwa organ tablatures (c.1619). New sources for the history of music in Gdańsk and in Warmia], in *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś II* [Music in Gdańsk past and present II] [Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski, 6] (Gdańsk, 1992), 63–92; Janca, 'Konkordanzen zu bisher anonymen Instrumentalstücken in der Olivaer Orgeltabulatur, Vilnius, Sign. F 15–284', in Danuta Popinigis (ed.), *Musica Baltica. Danzig und Musikkultur Europas* [Prace Specjalne, 57] (Gdańsk, 2000), 153–158.

which were probably written in the 1650s or 60s. Therefore, they could have been composed when Förster Jnr was chapel-master in Gdańsk.²⁷ Precisely dated are old prints that include wedding dances, the first of which was published in 1646 and the last in 1659, and so at a time when the composing of epithalamia was particularly popular in Gdańsk. All the remaining sources were produced during the second half of the seventeenth century. Thus, apart from the intabulations of vocal pieces, the decided majority of works originated from the middle or the second half of the seventeenth century.

Among the particularly valuable manuscripts are those that include works by Gremboszewski. Both his *Aria* for cornet with basso continuo and *Canzoneto* for cornet and bassoon with basso continuo are evidence of an early adaptation of the then modern Baroque concertato technique.²⁸ This technique is particularly noticeable in two features: contrast (frequent changes in texture and in melodic and rhythmic styles) and instrumental virtuosity. Gremboszewski, himself an outstanding cornet player, wrote virtuoso pieces with difficult long chains of figurations comprising up to seventy notes or more, as well as technically demanding passages of semiquavers and demisemiquavers. One should note that in old Polish music the aria is a unique example of an early Baroque solo virtuoso composition for a brass instrument, as the canzoneto is an early example of chamber music. Similarly, the sonatas and dances of Döbel²⁹ are unique in the seventeenth-century Polish repertoire as examples of solo violin music.

Examples of music for keyboard instruments include Drusiński's preambles and intabulations of vocal works, Neunaber's choral fantasias, Siefert's fantasias, pavane and variations, and Erben's dances – the last of these with the composer's instructions for them to be played on the cembalo.

The remaining compositions were written for the most typical string ensemble of that period accompanied by basso continuo. There are sonatas, canzona, suites (by Förster Jnr, Meder, Schirm, Schnittelbach and Siefert) and one anonymous wedding dance. Compositions for an *a* 2 or *a* 3 chamber ensemble are represented by Erben's sonata, Förster Jnr's sonatas, Meder's chaconne and wedding dances by Bütner (1), Strutius (4) and anonymous (4). The only exceptions regarding instrumentation are two of Förster's sonatas, one for violin and bassoon, the other for string instruments, cornet and bassoon. All these pieces were composed in a fashion typical of the *musica moderna* trend of those times.

²⁷ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Sonaty Kaspra Forstera Juniora', 146.

²⁸ Szlagowska, Repertuar muzyczny, 303-313.

²⁹ Danuta Popinigis, 'Z Gdańska do Kromieryża, czyli o Heinrichu Döbelu i jego muzyce skrzypcowej' [From Gdańsk to Kromeříž, or On Heinrich Döbel and his violin music], in Elżbieta Wojnowska, Ludwik Bielawski and Katarzyna J. Dadak-Kozicka (eds.), *Europejski repertuar muzyczny na ziemiach polskich* [European musical repertoire in Polish lands] (Warszawa, 2003), 159–172.

As already stated, sources containing works by composers who were active in Gdańsk are held in the libraries of Gdańsk and other places. It might seem surprising that the collections in Gdańsk include only two manuscripts with music by composers who were active in that city. One of these is of an instrumental suite, *Der Polnische Pracher*, by Meder (PAN Library), while the other includes three works by Gremboszewski (State Archive). This modest number of manuscripts may be explained by two significant facts. Firstly, the seventeenth-century manuscripts from the library of St Mary's church are lost. Secondly, most of the music manuscripts that have survived are from church libraries and so are dominated by religious compositions. Occasional instrumental music is represented slightly more copiously in the old prints, including ten dances³⁰ written for the weddings of Gdańsk residents, some anonymous, one written by Bütner and four by Strutius.

The largest number of compositions written by musicians who were active in Gdańsk is now held at Uppsala University Library, as part of the Düben collection,³¹ gathered over several decades and several generations of that family, but chiefly by Gustaf senior (from 1648 a member and 1663–1690 leader of the royal chapel in Stockholm). His passion for collecting led to a great deal of travelling, and he is likely to have visited Gdańsk on one of his journeys. Although there is much to indicate that most of the Gdańsk manuscripts at the Uppsala library are there thanks to the Düben family, one cannot exclude the possibility that they arrived there, along with many other Polish items, thanks to the rule of the Vasa dynasty. We know that Vasa monarchs frequently visited Gdańsk accompanied by their musicians.

The presence of compositions by Döbel at the library in Kroměříž is not particularly unusual, as the composer could have visited that town in connection with his time in Vienna. It is also possible that his solo violin compositions attracted the interest of musicians from the excellent chapel of the Prince Bishop of Olomouc, Charles II of Liechtenstein- Castelcorn, and so were performed in Kroměříž. It is also worth noting that for two years (1668–70) the chapel-master was Heinrich Biber and that this ensemble included many outstanding violinists.

The remaining, individual compositions are held in libraries in Leipzig and Vienna (Siefert), Vilnius (Drusiński), Berlin and Pelplin (Hakenberger), and New Haven (Erben).

³⁰ It is quite possible that more instrumental pieces might be concealed in the very rich collection of non-musical Gdańsk old prints. This certainly requires further research.

³⁴ Anna-Juliane Peetz, 'Musikhandschriften aus Danzig am Stockholmer Hof in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Jolanta Woźniak (ed.), *Musica Baltica. The Music Culture of Baltic Cities in Modern Times* [Prace Specjalne, 80] (Gdańsk, 2010), 267–280; Grusnick, 'Die Dübensammlung', *The Düben Collection Database Catalogue.*

2. Manuscripts from Gdańsk libraries containing works by composers not active in Gdańsk

Manuscripts of this sort are held in the PAN Library,³² the State Archive³³ and what was formerly the Stadtbibliothek Danzig.³⁴ Manuscripts from the last of these repositories now constitute a collection known as the Danziger Bestand at the Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz. This collection includes some 2000 works from the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, over 300 of which are seventeenth-century instrumental pieces. Up to the Second World War, they were in Gdańsk, but they were then taken to the Soviet Union, most probably Moscow, and for many years were considered lost. At the start of the 1990s, they were 'rediscovered'.³⁵ The contents of these collections originating from Gdańsk libraries is presented in Table 2.

Та	Ы	e	2
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Library shelf-mark	Composers	Composi- tions	MS – when written	Forces	No. of works
Gdańsk	Anonim, Clemens non	intabula-	from	key-	42
PL-GDap	Papa, Crecquillon, De Latre,	tions of vo-	1591	board	
300, R Vv,	Donato, Ferrabosco, Jaches	cal works		instru-	
123 ³⁶	de Wert, Jachet de Berchem,	fantasias		ment	
	Lasso, Meiland, Pallavicino,				
	Sandrin, Sermisy, Utendal,				
	Walther				

³⁶ Fantasias from Ms 300. R.Vv, 123, Archiwum Wojewódzkie, Gdańsk, ed. Jerzy Gołos and Adam Sutkowski, in Corpus of Early Keyboard Music – Keyboard Music from Polish Manuscripts, iii (Dallas, 1967); also in Danziger Orgel-Musik; Gdańska Tabulatura Organowa 1591, ed. Jerzy Erdman (Łódź, 1993).

³² Music Collections from Gdańsk, i.

³³ Music Collections from Gdańsk, iii.

³⁴ Music Collections from Gdańsk, ii.

³⁵ Elżbieta Wojnowska, 'Straty wojenne muzykaliów gdańskich z XVI i XVII wieku' [Wartime losses among Gdańsk musical items from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] in Ludwik Bielawski and Katarzyna J. Dadak-Kozicka (eds.), Źródła muzyczne. Krytyka – analiza – interpretacja [Musical sources. Criticism, analysis and interpretation] (Warszawa, 1999), 45–61; Danuta Popinigis, 'Rękopisy muzyczne gdańskiej proweniencji w berlińskiej Staatsbibliothek – odnalezione uzupełnienia siedemnastowiecznego repertuaru barokowego' [Music manuscripts of Gdańsk provenance at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek – rediscovered additions to the seventeenthcentury Baroque repertoire], *Barok*, 7/1 (2000), 217–228.

cont. tab. 2

Library shelf-mark	Composers	Composi- tions	MS – when written	Forces	No. of works
Berlin	Anonim, Ballard, Barino,	dances	1st half	lute	229
D-Bsb	D.B., Gaultier, Gumprecht,	intabula-	17th c.		
Ms Danzig	Jakub Polak, Mercure, Nani	tions of vo-			
40 22 ³⁷	di Milann, Piccinini, V.B.	cal works			
	Anonim, Dubut, Dupré,	dances	2nd	lutes (2)	92
Berlin	Gaultier, Gaultier E.,	intabula-	half		
D-Bsb	Gaultier J., Mercure, Mou-	tions of vo-	17th c.		
Ms Danzig	ton, Niewerth, Pinel, Pohle,	cal works			
4230	Rasch, Rick L'aine, Strobel,				
	J.S., V.G.				
Berlin	Borlasca	sinfonia	1633	2 vl,	1
D-Bsb		La Vaga		B-vla,	
Ms Danzig		Danzicana		bc	
4034					

The Gdańsk State Archive is in possession of a highly valuable tablature for keyboard instruments, the so-called Gdańsk Tablature.³⁸ Work started on this tablature in 1591, with pages being added in successive years, as is testified by their

³⁷ Bartłomiej Pękiel, *40 utworów na lutnię* [40 works for lute], ed. Maria Szczepańska [Wydawnictwo dawnej muzyki polskiej, 30] (Cracow, 1955); *Tańce polskie z Tabulatury gdańskiej (I poł. XVII w.) na lutnię* [Polish dances from the Gdańsk Tablature (first half of the seventeenth century) for lute] ed. Zofia Stęszewska [Wydawnictwo dawnej muzyki polskiej, 30, 2nd edn] (Kraków, 1965).

³⁸ Adam Sutkowski, 'Gdańska tabulatura z końca XVI wieku – mało znany zabytek muzyki klawesynowej późnego renesansu' [A Gdańsk tablature from the end of the sixteenth century a little-known source of late Renaissance harpsichord music], Ruch Muzyczny, 1964/3, 5-6; Joachim Gudel, 'Uposażenie członków kapeli Kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku w pierwszej polowie XVII wieku' [The remuneration of members of the music chapel of St Mary's church in Gdańsk during the first half of the seventeenth century], in Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś I [Music in Gdańsk past and present I], 83–98; Franz Kessler, 'Die Danziger Tabulatur von 1591', in Organy i muzyka organowa VII [The organ and organ music VII], [Prace Specjalne, 44] (Gdańsk, 1988), 177–188; Jerzy Erdman, 'Gdańska Tabulatura Organowa' [The Gdańsk Organ Tablature], in Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś II [Music in Gdańsk past and present II], 93-98; Jerzy Erdman, 'Wydanie utworów z Tabulatury Gdańskiej' [An edition of works from the Gdańsk Tablature], in Jolanta Guzy-Pasiakowa, Agnieszka Leszczyńska and Mirosław Perz (eds.), Staropolszczyzna muzyczna [Old Polish music] (Warszawa, 1998), 117–122; Dorota Liss, 'Repertuar Gdańskiej Tabulatury Organowej z 1591 roku zachowanej w Archiwum Państwowym w Gdańsku w rekopisie sygnowanym 300 R/Vv 123' [The repertoire of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature of 1591 held in the State Archive in Gdańsk in MS 300 R/Vv 123], unpublished master's diss., Faculty of Composition and Music Theory at the Academy of Music in Gdańsk, 1997; Szlagowska, Repertuar muzyczny, 161–164, 298–303.

dates. Apart from music, this manuscript includes various documents concerning the city of Gdańsk (including lists of City Council members, receipts for such things as the pay of St Mary's church musicians, and commercial orders). The music, most of which is notated in Italian-type keyboard tablature (except the last 2 works), comprises 24 intabulations of vocal pieces, both secular and religious (the majority written by sixteenth-century composers), and 18 anonymous pieces originally written for keyboard instrument (17 fantasias and 1 untitled composition).

Two extant tablatures for lute³⁹ are found in the aforementioned 'Danziger Bestand' in the Staatsbibliothek collection. The older of the two, MS 4022, was most probably written during the first half of the seventeenth century, as is indicated above all by the large number of intabulations of songs and Renaissance dances (such as passamezzo, gagliarda, saltarello and combinations of two dances with contrasting tempos), the Renaissance tuning of the lute, and also the names of composers who were active mainly during that period. The other tablature, MS 4033, must have been written during the second half of the seventeenth century. We may assume this primarily on account of the dances, which are characteristic of late Baroque suites (allemande, courante, sarabande and gigue), with only one intabulation of a song. The older tablature, Ms 4022, has long since aroused the interest of Polish musicologists, chiefly on account of forty compositions marked with the letters 'B.P.' These letters were originally interpreted as the monogram of Bartlomiej Pekiel.40 However, later studies into the concordance of MS 4022 with other tablatures have revealed that 'B.P.' stood for 'Balletto Polacho' - Polish dance.⁴¹ Apart from Polish dances, this tablature also includes Italian, English, Spanish and French dances, as well as individual pieces defined as Balletto Ungaro, Haydùcken Tanz and Balletto Dantichano (Gdańsk dance).

Up to the Second World War, the City Library in Gdańsk possessed two additional lute tablatures, which contained a total of 130 compositions, primarily dances.⁴²

Dance was universally popular during the seventeenth century, and so the large number of dances in the Gdańsk tablatures was consistent with the spirit of the age. Moreover, Gdańsk was known as a city of dance, famous throughout the Commonwealth for its wonderful balls. Marton Csombor, a Hungarian who visited Gdańsk in 1616, even tries to prove that the city's name 'Danzk' originated from the German word 'Tanz'. Though etymologically incorrect, it aptly reflects the city's atmosphere.⁴³

³⁹ Szlagowska, Repertuar muzyczny, 148–156, 286–295.

⁴º Bartłomiej Pękiel, 40 utworów na lutnię.

⁴¹ Tańce polskie z Tabulatury gdańskiej (I poł. XVII w.) na lutnię.

⁴² Ms Cath. q. 24 and Ms 4021, according to Otto Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, iv.

⁴³ Martona Csombora podróż po Polsce [Marton Csombor's journey around Poland], tr. Jan Ślaski with Sandor Kovács (Warsaw, 1961), 45, 48.

Apart from the many compositions for lute and those for keyboard instruments, only one work for string ensemble with basso continuo has survived. This is the Sinfonia La Vaga Danzicana by Bernardino Borlasca (currently at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). Borlasca was a composer who in 1633 visited Gdańsk and dedicated five of his works to the city's Senate,44 including the Sinfonia. The lack of documents prevents us from establishing the exact reason for Borlasca's visit to Gdańsk, but given the lavish compliments and expressions of admiration in his dedications to Gdańsk City Council, which at the time was responsible for hiring musicians for the city chapel, he might have been looking for employment. It should be stressed that Borlasca must have been highly valued as a musician, since he had previously been employed in the Munich ensemble of Maximilian I (1611-25, first as vice-chapel-master and later as chapel-master), and from 1629 to 1630 he played in the chapel of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna. Although clearly intended by the composer for specific instruments (two violins, bass viola and basso continuo), which at the time of its notation in the manuscript (1633) was not yet common practice, the Sinfonia still has many features associated with the Renaissance tradition.45

Apart from Borlasca's *Sinfonia*, at the Stadtbibliothek in Gdańsk [Danzig] up to the Second World War were several other pieces for $a \ 2$ or $a \ 3$ chamber ensemble, by Marcin Mielczewski (an aria and a canzona $a \ 3$), Tarquinio Merula (canzona $a \ 3$), Francesco Turini (sonata for two violins) and Vincent (a courante and sonata $a \ 2$), as well as an anonymous canzona $a \ 2.4^{6}$

3. Gdańsk manuscripts now found in libraries outside Gdańsk

This group includes manuscripts that are confirmed to have originated from Gdańsk, in the sense that they belonged to a seventeenth-century resident of Gdańsk or were written in or near this city. These criteria are fully met by the lute tablature belonging to Virginia Renata von Gehema (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Mus. Ms 40264), daughter of the Gdańsk patrician Abraham von Gehema, as well as two tablatures for keyboard instruments that were written in the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa, near Gdańsk (see Table 3). However, there are doubts regarding one of the lute tablatures (Vilnius, Ms F 15–285), which was allegedly

⁴⁴ Szlagowska, 'Bernardino Borlasca's Compositions Dedicated to the Gdańsk Senate', in Szlagowska (ed.), *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels – von den cori spezzati zum konzertierenden Stil* [Prace Specjalne, 64] (Gdańsk, 2004), 277–293.

⁴⁵ Szlagowska, Repertuar muzyczny, 312–313.

⁴⁶ Ms Cath. q. 33, Ms Cath. q. 34, Ms Cath. q. 9, Ms Cath. q. 36, Ms Cath. q. 6, Ms Cath. q. 40, according to Otto Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, iv.

also written at the Oliwa monastery,⁴⁷ but may have actually originated from Königsberg.⁴⁸

Library shelf-mark	Composers	Compositions	Date of MS	Forces	No. of works
Berlin	Dufaut, Erben Jeremias,	dances	c.1640	lute	197
D-Bsb	Gaultier, Merville,	Fantasia			
Mus. Ms	A. Pinel, B. E, J. E.	Sinphonia et			
40264	[Jeremias Erben?], V. S.,	fuga			
	M., V. C. ⁴⁹	intabulations			
		of vocal works			
Vilnius	Anonim, Agazzari,	intabula-	<i>c</i> .1619	key-	329
LT-Va	Aichinger, Asola,	tions of vocal		board	
F 15–284	Bianciardi, Byrd, Cato,	works,		instru-	
	Croce, Cocciola, Del Mel,	dances, can-		ment	
	Drusinski, Felis, Ferreti,	zonas, fanta-			
	Gero, Handl, H.L. Hassler,	sias, fugues,			
	Hakenberger, Lasso,	preambles			
	Le Roy, Lupi, Mailand,				
	H.Praetorius, Ruffulo,				
	Orazio Vecchi, Viadana,				
	Zalamella, Zucchini				
Vilnius	Anonim, Ballard,	intabula-	1st half	lute	275
LT-Va	Długoraj, Domenicho,	tions of vocal	17th c.		, -
F 15-285 50	Dowland, Fabritius,	works,	-		
	H.L.Hassler, Haussmann,	dances, fanta-			
	Hoskins, Johnson,	sias, intrades,			
	Lasso, Morley, Philips,	preludes			
	H.Praetorius, Rasch,	1			
	Schellower, Stobaeus			1	
Vilnius	Anonim, G.Marino,	intabulations	1st half	key-	8
LT-Va	Suriano, Viadana	of vocal works	17th c.	board	
F15-286				instru-	
				ment	

Table	3.
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⁴⁷ Hans Peter Kossack, *Geschichte des Laute und der Lautenmusik in Preussen* (Würzburg, 1935), 80ff.

⁴⁸ Arthur J. Ness and John M. Ward, *The Königsberg Manuscript, A Facsimile of Manuscript 285-MF-LXXIX (olim Preußisches Staatsatchiv, Msc. A 116. fol.) Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, Vilnius* (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), 17.

⁴⁹ *Tańce polskie z tabulatur lutniowych* [Polish dances from lute tablatures], part II, ed. Zofia Stęszewska [Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej, 9] (Kraków, 1966).

⁵⁰ Ness and Ward, *The Königsberg Manuscript*.

The lute tablature of Renata von Gehema, written c.1640, comprises mainly dances, some of which are entitled 'taniec polsky' or 'chorea Polonia' [Polish dance],⁵¹ as well as three other pieces: *Variatio, Fantasia* and *Sinphonia ad Fuga*. The remaining compositions, approximately twenty in number, are intabulations of vocal pieces.

The tablatures for keyboard instruments contain a similar repertoire, though with a greater proportion of intabulations of vocal music. This predominance is apparent in tablature F 15–284, and also in the incomplete tablature F 15–286, in which all eight extant compositions are intabulations. The first of the tablatures includes a large number of dances, as well as single examples of the preamble, fantasia, canzona and fugue.⁵²

The rich sources of music for lute confirm the popularity of that instrument in Gdańsk during the period in question.53 The music chapel of Gdańsk City Council included a lutenist; for example, the exceptionally talented Gdańsk resident Pawel Roszkowicz (d. 1673), who had previously worked in Italy and in the Royal Chapel in Warsaw. Gdańsk also hosted lutenists as renowned as Esaias Reusner Jnr and Diomedes Cato. It is possible that Cato even lived in Gdańsk for a while, as is suggested by the fact that he was buried in St Nicholas's cemetery (1627).54 Keyboard instruments also held a special place in the musical culture of Gdańsk, as is confirmed by the fact that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the city was famous as a centre for the production of harpsichords and clavichords.55 We also know that Gdańsk was a city of church organs: each church had at least one of these instruments, others had two or three, while St Mary's, for example, had as many as four. Also at the Artus Court, in 1620, an organ was installed in the musicians' gallery. At the time, there were many masters of this instrument, partly because the post of organist was highly prestigious, particularly in the case of St Mary's great organ. Many excellent organists vied for this post in specially organised competitions; as a result, only the very best played the instrument, including organists of international renown.56

⁵¹ Tańce polskie z tabulatur lutniowych, part II, 16–27.

⁵² Janca, Zarys historii muzyki w klasztorze oliwskim, 23–31; Janca, 'Oliwskie tabulatury organowe', 63–92; Utwory z tabulatury oliwskiej (ca 1619) na organy lub klawesyn [Works from the Oliwa Tablature (c.1619) for organ or harpsichord] 2 vols, ed. Janca (Gdańsk 1992, 1997).

⁵³ Hermann Rauschning, Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig. Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapelle [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens, 15] (Danzig, 1931).

⁵⁴ Danuta Popinigis, 'Zur Biographie von Diomedes Cato', in *Musica Baltica*. *Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, 178–182.

⁵⁵ Benjamin Vogel, 'Gdańskie klawikordy i klawesyny w XVII i XVIII wieku' [Gdańsk clavichords and harpsichords during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], *Muzyka*, 2004/1, 79–91; Vogel, 'Gdańsk Musical Instruments from the 17th and 18th Centuries in Scandinavia', in *Musica Baltica*. *Danzig und Musikkultur Europas*, 82–88.

⁵⁶ Rauschning, Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig.

Compared to works for lute and keyboard instruments, relatively few pieces for other solo instruments and larger ensembles with basso continuo have been preserved in Gdańsk sources. Nevertheless, this type of music must have been very popular, given the high quality of the City Council's music chapel, which employed musicians as renowned as Valentin Flood and Nathanael Schnittelbach, as well as Carlo Farina, a virtuoso violinist and also one of the most avant-garde violin composers of his day. Though notably less numerous in comparison with the tablatures (around fifty works as opposed to approximately 700), pieces for solo instruments and ensembles constitute an important part of Gdańsk musical sources. They bear testimony to the early adoption and adaptation of the Italian concertato style, as well as formal and tonal-harmonic principles⁵⁷ being established at that time. Moreover, these compositions form a significant complement to the rather modest number of Old Polish instrumental music sources.

⁵⁷ Marta Staszewska, 'Przemiany tonalne i harmoniczne w muzyce XVII wieku na przykładzie wybranych muzykaliów gdańskich' [Tonal and harmonic changes in seventeenth-century music, on the example of selected Gdańsk music sources], unpublished master's diss., Faculty of Composition and Music Theory of the Stanisław Moniuszko Academy of Music in Gdańsk (Gdańsk, 2003).

