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A NEW HISTORY OF THE GDAŃSK/DANZIG ORGAN TABLATURE

ABSTRACT The article presents new findings concerning the so-called Gdańsk/Danzig Organ Tablature from the late sixteenth century. They include a codicological description of the manuscript in which it was recorded (Gdańsk, State Archive, shelf mark 300,R/Vv,123) and recognition of the manuscript's contents; distinguishing the scribes; identification of the owner of the book and the scribe of the music; a history of the music section of the manuscript; an analysis of groups of works, their function and features of their notation. In the last part, working hypotheses are proposed concerning i.a. the authorship of the compositions, intended to outline the perspectives for future research.

KEYWORDS Gdańsk/Danzig Organ Tablature, Cajus Schmiedtlein, Peter Witzke, intabulations, Church of St. Mary in Gdańsk, Gdańsk occasional poetry

ABSTRAKT *Nowa historia gdańskiej tabulatury organowej.* W artykule przedstawiono nowe ustalenia dotyczące tzw. gdańskiej tabulatury organowej z końca XVI wieku. Obejmują one opis kodykologiczny i rozpoznanie zawartości rękopisu, w którym została utrwalona (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, sygn. 300,R/Vv,123), wyróżnienie rąk skryptorów, identyfikację właściciela książki i skryptora zapisu muzycznego, historię jego powstania oraz analizę poszczególnych grup utworów, ich funkcji i specyfiki użytej do ich zapisania notacji. W części końcowej zaproponowano wstępne hipotezy dotyczące m.in. autorstwa kompozycji, które wyznaczają perspektywy dalszych badań.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE gdańska tabulatura organowa, Cajus Schmiedtlein, Peter Witzke, intawolacje, kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku, gdańska poezja okolicznościowa

The so-called Gdańsk (Danzig) Organ Tablature is the single sixteenth-century source of keyboard music surviving in Gdańsk. It contains 38 folios with music notation, placed in the opening part of a manuscript which also contains many non-musical entries. The manuscript, stored before the Second World War in the Staatsarchiv Danzig, and now in the Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Gdańsk under the unchanged shelf mark 300,R/Vv,123, was first addressed by Hermann Rauschnig.¹ As all the compositions are anonymous – the only attributions entered in their title inscriptions refer to the composers of vocal works intabulated in the manuscript – he made an attempt to connect it to Cajus Schmiedtlein, the organist of the Church of St. Mary (*Marienkirche*) in Gdańsk from 1585 to 1611:

Sie [die Handschrift – M.Sz.] enthält den Vermerk „Excerpta sunt hac ex libris fundorum hujus civitatis Secretarium“ 1571. Der Einband trägt den Vermerk P. W. S. P. und die Jahreszahl 1591. 1585 bzw. 1589 wurde Schmidtlein [sic – M.Sz.] zugleich in der Kanzlei der Stadt angestellt als „Notar“. Da es sich um eine Handschrift, die sich in den Händen eines Kanzleibeamter der Stadt befand, handelte, so ist die Vermutung nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß die Noten von Schmidtlein eingetragen sind. Nachträge in den Listen, abgesehen von späteren, tragen bis 1609 die gleiche Schriftzüge. Schmidtlein starb 1611. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um eine Danziger Handschrift zum Gebrauch im Danziger Gottesdienst.²

Rauschnig's hypothesis has never been seriously undermined. While early research on the source in Poland seems uninfluenced by his work,³ since the late 1980s

- 1 Hermann Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig: von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen*, Danzig 1931, pp. 52–54.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 52, n. 63. The manuscript was also mentioned as being 'aus Schmiedtleins Besitz' in Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Geschichte der Musik in Ost- und Westpreussen*, Königsberg 1931, p. 56.
- 3 Adam Sutkowski, 'Gdańska tabulatura z końca XVI wieku – mało znany zabytek muzyki klawesynowej późnego renesansu' [A Gdańsk tablature from the end of the 16th century – a little known relic of late Renaissance harpsichord music], *Ruch Muzyczny* 8 (1964) no. 3, pp. 5–6; Jerzy Gołos and Adam Sutkowski, 'Preface', in: *Keyboard Music from Polish Manuscripts (17th c.)*, vol. 3, *Fantasias from Ms 300. R. Vv., 123, Archiwum Wojewódzkie, Gdąnsk* [sic], eds. Jerzy Gołos and Adam Sutkowski, [Rome] 1967 (= Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 10), pp. VII–VIII; Jerzy Gołos, *Polskie organy i muzyka organowa* [The Polish organ and organ music], Warsaw 1972, pp. 155–156; Jerzy Erdman, 'Gdańska tabulatura organowa' [The Gdańsk Organ Tablature], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś*, vol. 2, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 93–98; Jerzy Erdman, 'Nota redakcyjna / Note from the Editor', in: *Gdańska Tabulatura Organowa / The Gdańsk Tablature 1591*, ed. Jerzy Erdman, Łódź 1993, pp. III–VI; Jerzy Erdman, 'W kwestii autorstwa i niektórych cech charakterystycznych Gdańskiej Tabulatury Organowej' [To the authorship and some characteristics of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature], in: *Pisma teoretyczne Wydziału Kompozycji, Dyrygentury i Teorii Muzyki* [Theoretical writings of the Faculty of Composition, Conducting and Theory of Music], vol. 2, Warsaw 1995, pp. 7–14; Jerzy Erdman, 'Wydanie utworów z tabulatury gdańskiej' [The edition of works from the Gdańsk tablature], in: *Staropolszczyzna muzyczna. Księga konferencji, Warszawa 18–20 października 1996* [Old Polish music. The conference book, Warsaw 18–20 October 1996], Warsaw 1998, pp. 117–120.

almost all scholars have elaborated on Rauschning's assessment,⁴ sometimes finding new arguments in favour of Schmiedtlein's authorship of the music, but without questioning two basic presumptions: that Schmiedtlein worked as a city secretary ('Notar'),⁵ and that the non-musical entries in the manuscript are city documents. However, the monogram on the manuscript's cover has remained unresolved, although establishing the identity of the book's possessor is crucial for unravelling its origins and purpose. In effect, Cajus Schmiedtlein is universally considered the most likely composer of the works recorded in the tablature. In this study I am going to show that both of Rauschning's presumptions prove false, while it is possible to attribute the manuscript to a concrete person who owned it and wrote parts of it, including the music, which could not be composed by Schmiedtlein.

THE GDAŃSK CONTRACTS OF CAJUS SCHMIEDTLEIN

Cajus Schmiedtlein first appeared in Gdańsk as the organist who inaugurated the new organ in the Church of St. Mary, delivered by the organ builder Julius Anthoni on 18 October 1585. After that, according to Rauschning's report, the church administrators (*Kirchenväter*) proposed the organist position to Schmiedtlein; he was inclined to take it, but demanded, in addition to a high remuneration, that the city council employed him as a *notarius*.⁶ Rauschning based his work on many archival sources that no longer exist, and, although he does not quote any specific document here, the described negotiations could have indeed taken place. However, the

4 Joachim Gudell, 'Uposażenie członków kapeli kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku' [Remuneration of the members of the music ensemble at the Church of St. Mary in Gdańsk in the first half of the 17th century], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś* [Music in Gdańsk yesterday and today], vol. 1, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 83–98; Franz Kessler, 'Zur Geschichte und Praxis der Orgelmusik in Danzig', in: *Danziger Orgel-Musik des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Kessler, Neuhäusen–Stuttgart 1988, pp. XVIII–XXII; Franz Kessler, 'Die Danziger Tabulatur von 1591', in: *Organy i muzyka organowa* [The organ and organ music], vol. 7, Gdańsk 1988, pp. 177–187, and in: *Musik des Ostens: Sammelbände für historische und vergleichende Forschung*, vol. 12, Kassel–Basel 1992, pp. 87–93; Katarzyna Morawska, *Renesans: 1500–1600* [The Renaissance: 1500–1600], Warsaw 1994 (= *Historia Muzyki Polskiej* 2), p. 289; Danuta Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich* [Music repertoire of the seventeenth century Gdańsk manuscripts], Gdańsk 2005, pp. 161–164; Klaus Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule: Orgelmusik im protestantischen Norddeutschland zwischen 1517 und 1755*, vol. 1, *Die Zeit der Gründerväter: 1517–1629*, Mainz 2005, pp. 205–209; Konrad Küster, 'Caj Schmedeke: Ein Dithmarscher Organist des 16. Jahrhunderts zwischen Husum, Helsingør und Danzig', *Beiträge zur Husumer Stadtgeschichte* 12 (2010), pp. 27–40; Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'The Beginnings of Musical Italianità in Gdańsk and Elbląg in the Renaissance Era', *Musicology Today* 10 (2013), pp. 7–9; Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Różne oblicza Zuzanny. O nadbałtyckich losach Orlandowej chanson' [Various contentances of Susanne. On the Balticside fates of Orlando's chanson], in: *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk, Warsaw 2016, p. 290.

5 The term 'notarius', used mainly in the fifteenth century, was equal to 'secretarius' or, in German, 'Stadtschreiber'; see Arthur Methner, 'Die Danziger Stadtschreiber bis 1650', in: *Danziger familiengeschichtliche Beiträge*, vol. 1, Danzig 1929, p. 27.

6 H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 50–51.

historian evidently did not find Schmiedtlein's actual contract from 1585 and did not know whether the organist received what he asked for. Also, the second contract, dated 1589, which Rauschning printed in full, did not include any mention of the organist's duties as a secretary or other kind of a city clerk.⁷ Rauschning then assumed that Schmiedtlein's conditions were met because he did take the organist position that was offered to him; hence the uncertainty in the remark that 'in 1585 or 1589 Schmiedtlein was employed in the city office as a *Notar*'. In fact, it is more likely that this demand was not fulfilled. While Schmiedtlein's initial contract is not extant, its conditions are detailed in a copy of the register of expenditures for producing, installing, tuning and decorating the new Julius Anthoni organ.⁸ On 23 October 1585, five days after the inauguration, the city council and the *Kirchenväter* employed Schmiedtlein as organist of both the new instrument and the small organ, effective as of the *Reminiscere* Sunday (i.e. 2 March) 1586. The contract was made for three years. Incidentally, this information matches Schmiedtlein's second contract perfectly: according to Rauschning, it was signed for lifetime and effective as of the *Reminiscere* Sunday 1589. The clear three-year trial period which emerges from the documents contradicts Rauschning's blunt statement that after 1585 Schmiedtlein 'left his duty for a long time', to return only in 1589.⁹ But, most importantly, there is no mention of any other kind of work concerning his employment in the 1585 entry. There is also no reason to believe that he was appointed a city clerk in 1589. Not only is Schmiedtlein absent from the lists of the city secretaries;¹⁰ no city document signed by him and no reference to his city duties in any document have emerged, and, in any case, he probably lacked the academic education that was expected from candidates for such a position.¹¹ The only preserved document written by Schmiedtlein comes

7 Ibid., pp. 51–52.

8 Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska (Polish Academy of Sciences, Gdańsk Library, hereafter BG PAN), Ms. 489, fol. 173r. Rauschning evidently did not know this document, which I am going to analyse closer in a separate study.

9 H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 51.

10 *Secretarij der Statt Dantzig [1342–1670]*, Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (State Archive in Gdańsk, hereafter APG), 300,R/G,2, pp. 1–3; A. Methner, 'Die Danziger Stadtschreiber', pp. 33–36. Although the existing lists of secretaries are not complete, the period of Schmiedtlein's tenure in Danzig is covered very well and it is not likely that he was accidentally omitted. According to the *Kanzleiordnung* of c.1570, valid until 1612, there were four city secretaries; see: Katarzyna Komsta, 'Danziger Amtsbücher aus den Jahren 1357–1794 und 1807–1814', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 47–48 (2001–02), pp. 298–299.

11 A. Methner, 'Die Danziger Stadtschreiber', p. 27. It may be significant that Schmiedtlein's successor Christoph Vater was variously mentioned after his death in 1624 as a 'Schoppen Schreiber' (in the register of graves: *Todtenbuch zur Pfar*, APG 354/346, fol. 14v, grave no. 59), 'Organista' (in the register of burials: APG 354/351, p. 33), or 'Organist zu Chor' (in the register of charges for bell ringing: *Der Kirchen zu Sanct Maria Glockenbuch*, APG 354/1513, p. 619), whereas Schmiedtlein in such documents is uniformly referred to as 'Organista' (APG 354/346, fol. 31v, grave no. 111; APG 354/351, p. 31; APG 354/1513, p. 467; as well as in the register of charges for burials: *Der Kirchen Begrebnis*, APG 354/408, p. 346). Most of the quoted *Marienkirche* registers are available online: <https://metryki>.

from 1578.¹² According to Konrad Küster, it can be ‘unambiguously excluded’ that he was the scribe of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature;¹³ the same is true of all other sections of the manuscript. Küster proposed instead that the book belonged to someone who had a position in the city administration and was a music amateur; such a person could have known Schmiedtlein and made a copy of his compositions for private use.¹⁴ This hypothesis turns us to the second presumption: that the non-musical entries in the manuscript are documents produced in the city office or by someone who worked there. For its verification, a detailed analysis of their contents, contexts and scribes is necessary, preceded by a description of the manuscript and its structure.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript of upright format and dimensions of *c.*20 × 31.8 cm comprises 188 folios and is bound in parchment. Impressed on the front cover (Fig. 1), besides margin lines and ornaments, are the letters × P × W × S × P × (in the upper part) and the date × I × 5 × 9 × I × (in the lower part). The folios are divided into 24 gatherings (Table 1) made up of two kinds of paper:

1. Gatherings I–III and VII–XXIV: Lihačev no. 1870 = Briquet no. 1862, dated by Lihačev *c.*1567. However, Lihačev’s dating is based on a manuscript of an Orthodox Менаіон (Миняя четья) from 1567, found in the collection of the Imperial Society of Ancient Literature Enthusiasts (Императорское общество любителей древней письменности) in St. Petersburg, to which some sheets were added at an unspecified later point; it is on those sheets that the watermark was present.¹⁵ Tracing the manuscript is now impossible, and the author did not provide further details. In view of his description, the dating should rather be expressed as ‘after 1567’ and considered approximate at best. Another version of the watermark was documented by Laucevičius (Raseiniai, Lithuania, 1602).¹⁶ In fact, the watermark is a simplified version of the Mecklenburg coat of arms. Ole Kongsted reported its presence in two music manuscripts from a collection of compositions dedicated to the authorities of Wismar.¹⁷ I have been able to attest it also in many documents produced between

genbaza.pl/genbaza,list,358904,1, accessed 8 January 2024. For Vater’s work as a secretary, see: H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 126.

12 K. Küster, ‘Caj Schmedeke’, pp. 28–29.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

15 Nikolaj Petrovič Lihačev, *Paleografickoe značenie bumažnyh vodányh znakov*, Saint Petersburg 1899, see: vol. 2, *Predmetnyj i hronologičeskij ukazatel’i*, part 2, *Hronologičeskij ukazatel’ bumažnyh vodányh znakov*, p. 193 and vol. 3, *Al’bom snimkov*, plate CCLXVII. Briquet reprinted the watermark from Lihačev and somewhat misleadingly simplified his description to the information ‘ms. de 1567’; see: Charles M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, vol. 1, Geneva 1907, p. 137.

16 Edmundas Laucevičius, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, Vilnius 1967, no. 1195.

17 Stadtarchiv Wismar, Abt. III. Rep. 1. Aa, Ratsakten 14. Jh.–1945, shelf mark 434 (Dienstverhältnisse der Stadtmusikanten sowie Kompositionen der Bewerber, 1427, 1576–1820, 1844); see: Ole Kongsted,

c.1590 and 1620 and held in the Stadtarchiv Wismar,¹⁸ as well as in books published in Rostock.¹⁹ The watermark existed in several variants, and although its Mecklenburg origin is unquestionable, at present it cannot be connected to any specific paper mill because few details are known about their production at the time. The production was certainly insufficient due to the small number of mills and technical problems they were struggling with.²⁰ It seems unlikely that the local paper was exported outside the duchy on a large scale. Apart from our manuscript, the watermark has not emerged thus far in any document preserved in Gdańsk.

2. Gatherings IV–VI: Briquet nos. 8978–8979, dated between 1582 and 1597 on the basis of documents from Bremen, Hamburg, Helmstedt, Wewelsburg, Jena, and Denmark. It is not known where paper with this watermark was produced, but its use seems to have been fairly widespread. Paper with a larger version of the watermark, close to Briquet no. 8980, was used for a Gdańsk account book of the city office (*Kämmerer*) from the years 1606–08.²¹

¹⁸ 'Die Musikalien im Archiv der Hansestadt Wismar', in: *Studia Musicologica Regionis Balticae I*, ed. Ole Kongsted, Copenhagen 2011, pp. 217–230. The two music manuscripts are autographs of Nicolaus Meier and David Thusius. They share the same pair of watermarks, one of which is the watermark in question. Nothing is known about Meier; his dedication provides no date and place. Thusius's dedication is dated 1608. He describes himself as the former musician of George Frederick of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1539–1603), which indicates that at the time he did not have a permanent position; see: introduction to *David Thusius ex Comitatu Mansefeldico (16.–17. storočie / 16th–17th Century): Magnificat octavi toni (à 5)*, ed. Adriana Grešová, Bratislava 2019 (= *Musicalia Istropolitana* 10), pp. VII–XV. Both Thusius and Meier could have travelled through Wismar, perhaps looking for a position, and copied their composition on local paper. In 1609 Thusius was in Lübeck, where on 26 January he was paid by the *Marienkirche* for 'etzliche Himnos und gesenge Quinque Vocum', see: Archiv der Hansestadt Lubeck, 6.1–1 St. Marien, shelf mark 9: Wochenbuch 1605–1613, 1609: 4. Woche vom neuen Jahr (22 Januarij).

18 Stadtarchiv Wismar, Abt. III. Rep. 1. Aa, Ratsakten 14. Jh.–1945, shelf marks: 77 (Verhandlungen zwischen Rat und Bürgerschaft, 1583–97), 380 (Anstellung der Baumeister, Ratszimmermeister und Ratsmaurermeister, 1556–1714), 394 (Anstellung und Arbeit des Kunstmeisters, 1586–1694), 549/1 (Sammlung von Autographen städtischer Beamter, 1555–1885), 646 (Entwürfe von Handlungsaufträgen für Gesandte des Rates zu Landtagen, 1571–1608), 649 (Landtagsverhandlungen, 1594–99), 740 (Auseinandersetzung mit dem Herzog von Mecklenburg über die Zuständigkeit des Rates über herzogliche Häuser in Wismar, 1570–1611), 1811 (Beziehungen Wismars zur Hanse, 1593–95), 1813 (Beziehungen Wismars zur Hanse, 1596–98), 1815 (Beziehungen Wismars zur Hanse, 1602), 5983 (Besetzung der Organistenstellen an den drei Kirchen, 1531–1694); Abt. VI Rep. 4, Verordnungen des Rates der Stadt Wismar, shelf marks: (1) 1: (2) Ratsverordnungen Vol. I., 1534–1600, Nr. 1–18, and (1) 2: (2) Ratsverordnungen Vol. II., 1603–98, Nr. 19–80.

19 David Chyträus, *Chronologia oder Jar Rechnung von anfang der Welt bisz auff dieses lauffende Jar nach Christi Geburt M. D. XCII...*, Rostock: Stephan Möllemann 1592, consulted copy: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Sondersammlungen, Ta-1010; Nicolaus Gryse, *Historia van der Lere, Leuende vnd Dode M. Joachimi Slüters des ersten Euangelischen Predigers tho Rostock...*, Rostock: Stephan Möllemann 1593, consulted copy: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Sondersammlungen, MK-14810. I am indebted to Annika Bostelmann, Deputy Department Head, Sondersammlungen, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, for selecting the books from the library holdings and generous help in my research.

20 Wilhelm Stieda, 'Mecklenburgische Papiermühlen', *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 80 (1915), pp. 115–184; Alfred Eberlein, 'Papier, Papiermacher, Papiermühlen in Mecklenburg', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 7 (1957–58), pp. 133–147.

21 [*Extractbuch 1606–1608*], APG 300,12/34. There has been no systematic search in Gdańsk archives.



Fig. 1. Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 300,R/Vv,123 (hereafter APG 300,R/Vv,123), the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, front cover

Table 1. Structure of the manuscript

Gathering	Folios ²²
I	pastedown of the front cover, 1–6
II	7–14
III	15–22
IV	23–30
V	31–36
VI	37–44

22 Throughout this study, I refer to the complete modern foliation made with a number stamp. There is also a second, partial foliation, made with a number stamp, going from the back of the book in section (IX) and part of section (VIII), as well as a pencil pagination of section (I).

VII	45–52
VIII	53–62
IX	63–70
X	71–78
XI	79–86
XII	87–94
XIII	95–102
XIV	103–110
XV	111–118
XVI	119–126
XVII	127–134
XVIII	135–142
XIX	143–150
XX	151–158
XXI	159–166
XXII	167–174
XXIII	175–182
XXIV	183–188, pastedown of the back cover

Except for gatherings V and VIII, all other gatherings were made up of eight leaves (provided that in gatherings I and XXIV two outermost leaves were glued together as pastedown). Leaving aside gatherings IV–VI, to which we shall return later, the structure of the book is almost completely regular and uniform. An overview of its contents (Table 2) confirms that all the non-musical entries (from fol. 73 onwards) were written in the book after its binding; many of them are placed inside the gatherings (surrounded by empty folios) or across them.

Table 2. Overview of the contents of the manuscript

Folios	Contents ²³
1r	blank
IV–IIr	prepared for an index
IIv–22v	blank
23r	prepared for music notation
23v–44r	(I) Gdańsk Organ Tablature, pieces no. 1–24 (<i>intavolatura</i>)
45v	blank
46r–63r	(I) Gdańsk Organ Tablature, pieces no. 25–39 (<i>intavolatura</i>)
63v	prepared for music notation

²³ Roman numbers in brackets indicate discernible sections of different kinds of entries within the manuscript.

64v–65r	(I) Gdańsk Organ Tablature, piece no. 40 (<i>intavolatura</i>)
65v–67r	blank
67v–69r	(I) Gdańsk Organ Tablature, pieces no. 41–42 (German tablature)
69v–72v	blank
73r–88v	(II) Danzig law (<i>Willkür</i>) of 1597, part 1
89r–96v	blank
97r–98r	(III) List of the city council members and mayors with their death dates, 1342–1415
98v	blank
99r–108r	(III) List of the lay judges, city council members and mayors with their death dates, 1368–1620
108v–111v	prepared for the continuation of the list
112rv	(IV) List of the royal burgraves in Danzig, 1457–1619
113r–114v	prepared for the continuation of the list
115r–117v	(V) List of the lay judges and city council members of the Old City of Danzig with their death dates, 1450–1619
118r	prepared for the continuation of the list
118v–120v	blank
121r–122v	(VI) Statute of the <i>Lundisch Contor</i> , part 1
122v	(VII) Calculation of the assets of the Kingdom of Poland on villages
123rv	prepared for the continuation of the document
124r–126r	blank
126v–144v	(VIII) Excerpts from the city books of deeds (<i>Erbbücher</i>), 1513–1627
145r	prepared for the continuation of the excerpts
145v–162r	(VIII) Excerpts from the city books of deeds (<i>Erbbücher</i>), continuation
162v–163r	prepared for the continuation of the excerpts
163v–172r	blank
172v–181v	(IX) Accounts of the Church of St. Mary, March–November 1605, written upside down from the back
182r	blank
182v–183r	(IX) Accounts of the Church of St. Mary, January–April 1605, written upside down from the back
183v–184r	blank
184v–186r	(IX) Accounts of the Church of St. Mary, December 1604, written upside down from the back
186v–188v	blank

THE NON-MUSICAL SECTIONS: THEIR CONTENTS, CONTEXTS AND SCRIBES

Before analysing the Gdańsk Organ Tablature itself, let us consider the non-musical items entered into the manuscript, in order to establish their provenance, function, scribes and possible dating. As for the latter, the paradox is that the book is filled with dates – they appear in abundance in sections (III), (IV), (V), (VIII) and (IX) – but they cover a long span of time and it is not always immediately clear if they refer to the past, to the future, or to the actual moment of entering a given record.

In section (IX), written upside down from the back of the manuscript, we find accounts of the Church of St. Mary. They do not have any title inscription and were recorded from 4 December 1604 to 5 November 1605. This section has attracted attention of scholars because it includes payrolls for musicians employed in the church;²⁴ there are four such lists, made, as it was commonly done at that time, four times a year: around Easter (in March), Whit Sunday (in June), the feast of St. Michael (in September), and Christmas (in December). More frequent payrolls were made for other employees of the church who either worked there regularly or were hired for a specific task; they were paid their daily rates on a weekly basis (Fig. 2). Recorded are also day-to-day expenses for materials such as nails. The accounts include incomings as well, and most of them came from the church administrators – the *Kirchenväter*, who made the deposits of large sums of money also on the quarterly basis. Recorded in the accounts are names of all four *Kirchenväter* responsible for the church during the year in question: Paul von Dorne, Sebald Schnitter, Daniel Hübner and Eberhard Bötticher.²⁵

24 They have been analysed by Joachim Gudel, see: J. Gudel, 'Uposażenie członków kapeli', pp. 92–97.

25 Christofer Herrmann, 'Die Kirchenväter der Danziger Marienkirche. Stellung, Aufgaben und Wirken vom 14. bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts' / 'Witrycy kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku. Pozycja, zadania i działalność od XIV do początku XVII w.', in: *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig: Das „Historische Kirchen Register“ von Eberhard Bötticher (1616). Transkription und Auswertung / Kronika kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku: „Historisches Kirchen Register“ Eberharda Böttichera (1616). Transkrypcja i analiza*, eds. Christofer Herrmann and Edmund Kizik, Cologne 2013, pp. 115–204. I am grateful to Krzysztof Urbaniak for calling my attention to this publication and for many fruitful discussions at the early stage of my research.

The image shows two pages of a handwritten manuscript, likely a church account book. The left page is dated 'Am 1605 den 3 September geßchloet' and the right page is dated 'Am 1605 den 21 Jhr. Das Michaelis 4tel'. Both pages list various entries with monetary values and names of individuals, ending with a 'Summa' line. The entries are written in a cursive script typical of the 17th century.

Fig. 2. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, section (IX), fols. 174v–175r, upside down

The system of accounting applied in the *Marienkirche* is described in detail in the church regulations (*Kirchenordnung*) of 1612.²⁶ This document is a revised and expanded version of older regulations, starting from the *alte Kirchenordnung* of 1457, but in general it described the established procedures;²⁷ therefore, it is rather certain that the accountability worked the same way in 1612 as it did seven years earlier. In Article 3, duties are divided between the four *Kirchenväter*. The first two administrators (in order of seniority) were responsible for the church building and all legacies and grounds that belonged to the *Marienkirche*. They charged and paid taxes and inter-

26 *Alte kirchen ordnung der kirchen Sanct Marien, in der Rechten Stadt Dantzic, nach itzigen zustande, und wie es mit allen derselben kirchenofficianten, nach dem gefallene(n) Babsthumb biß dahero gehalten worden und noch gehalten wird. Item Schulordnung der Schulen daselbest, wie sie die itzige kirchenväter vor sich gefunden, und in etzlichen puncten verbeßert. Durch die dazu bestellten kirchen Väter oder Vorsteher; aufs neue revidiret und Artickelweise in eine gewisse Ordnung gebracht. Im Jahre 1612, APG 300,R/Pp,46, pp. 39–124; modern edition: Emil Sehling, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 4, *Das Herzogthum Preussen – Polen – Die ehemals polnischen Landestheile des Königreichs Preussen – Das Herzogthum Pommern*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 198–218.*

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 170–171.

est (called *Grundzinsen* and *Pfennigzinsen* in Gdańsk law), and out of the charged money they made the majority of payments to the church employees, especially the *Quartalgelder* (quarterly payments, such as for the musicians) and *Verbauetes* (construction work in the church). They were also obliged to keep their own books. One of them made all the payments in the first half of the year (from Saturday after Christmas to Saturday after the feast of St. John the Baptist), and the other one in the second half. The third *Kirchenvater* was responsible for the tower with the bells, the choir loft with the organ, and for the drainpipes around the church. He gathered money paid for ringing the bells at funerals, which was collected and given to him by the *Glöckner* (the main bell-ringer, in fact a sacristan), and distributed it to the *Signator* (a church employee responsible for many tasks including care about the tower and collecting money at church services), the *Calcanten* (operators of the organ bellows), and the *Blinden* (operators of the bell ropes, i.e. the actual bell ringers). The fourth *Kirchenvater* took care of the graves and funerals and collected money paid to the *Glöckner* for them; from this money he paid the *Pfarherr* or *Official* (a representative of the Catholic bishop of Kuyavia whose jurisdiction included Gdańsk). He also received the money collected at services from the *Signator* and locked it in a special case in the church sacristy (*Dresskammer*).

It seems clear that section (IX) does not document the incomings and expenditure of any single *Kirchenvater*. The administrators, however, performed their functions with help of three other church employees: the *Glöckner*, the *Kirchenknecht* and the *Signator*. Their duties are described in Articles 38, 39 and 40, respectively. Some of the payments were apparently made by the relevant *Kirchenväter* themselves, while others were distributed by the *Signator*. The incomings from taxes and interest were collected by the *Kirchenknecht* (the church servant); from the ringing of the bells, for funerals and weddings by the *Glöckner*; and from the collection at services by the *Signator*. All these financial operations had to be recorded in more than one way. Apart from the individual bookkeeping of the administrators, there were account sheets of their assistants. The *Glöckner* was obliged to keep the receipts for the money he collected and present them regularly to the relevant *Kirchenvater*: monthly receipts for ringing the bells at funerals and for funeral ceremonies, as well as annual receipts for the small sums that he kept for daily expenses needed for the church and the treasury. The *Glöckner* was also responsible for making a fair copy of all the *Kirchenväter's* bills together in one book once a year, as well as preparing a copy of it. The copy was then presented by the administrators to the *Inspector* – one of the four city mayors in charge of the *Marienkirche*.²⁸ The *Kirchenknecht* was responsible for supervising

28 Eberhard Böttcher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register der grossen Pfarckirchen in der Rechten Stad Dantzig S. Marien oder von alters Unser Lieben Frawen genant, auß allen derselben Kirchen Büchern und anderen Chroniken und alten Schriften zusammen getragen', in: *Chronik der Marienkirche in Danzig*, p. 644.

all the church workers, such as bricklayers and masons, as well as for the graves and gravestones. His was the duty of recording the incomings from the *Zinsen*, noting the working time of all the workers and preparing weekly bills for everything he received and spent for the construction work in the church and for other purposes. The bills were to be presented to one of the two senior *Kirchenväter* responsible for the current *Quartalgelder*.²⁹

The content of section (IX) fits the kind of accountancy that belonged to the *Kirchenknecht*: incomings from the *Kirchenväter*, presumably partly representing the sums collected from taxes and interest, and weekly payrolls for the workers as well as receipts for small purchases. There is no mention of the preparation of quarterly payrolls for the musicians and other employees in the *Kirchenordnung*. It seems that they were also compiled by the *Kirchenknecht*.

The same handwriting appears in four other sections of the manuscript. Three of them (III, IV, V) are lists of the city authorities. Section (III) has no title inscription. It is a list of persons who were members of the city council and mayors, with dates of their election and death; since 1368 the available data included elections for lay judges (*Schöffen*) and they were introduced by a heading 'Hier ist angefang(en) auch Scheffen zu wehlen'. Section (IV), 'Konigliche Burggrafen vom Könige Casimiro anderen kamen vorhanden', is a list of burgraves with the years they performed the function. Section (V), 'Rath und Schewwen der Alten Stadt', is a list of persons who were members of the council and lay judges of the Old City district, with dates of their election and death. Lists such as these, very similar in design, survive in several other copies, continued into the seventeenth or even eighteenth century.³⁰ The existence of these lists in the manuscript that contains the Gdańsk Organ Tablature does not prove they originated in the city office. On the contrary, they must have been written in, or at least for the *Marienkirche*. In all of them, the *Kirchenknecht* who wrote all of section (IX) supplemented the work of earlier scribe(s). In section (III) two earlier hands appear to have been involved; the first hand (scribe B) prepared the table with headings and copied the names and dates on fols. 97r–98r and 99r–103r (fol. 98v was left blank), while the second hand (scribe C) continued from the top of fol. 103v, and entered most of the sections (IV) and (V) as well. The *Kirchenknecht* took over all three lists around 1609 and filled them with information until 1619 or 1620 (Fig. 3). He also evidently compared the lists with other sources available to him and corrected the entries of scribe C or commented on them; it is not impossible that they worked together for some time.

29 See also: Ch. Herrmann, 'Die Kirchenväter der Danziger Marienkirche', pp. 143–145 / 178–180.

30 For instance, APG 300,R/G,23, passim; APG 300,R/G,25, pp. 1–45; APG 300,R/L1,75, fols. 331–348; BG PAN Ms. 907, pp. 1–56.

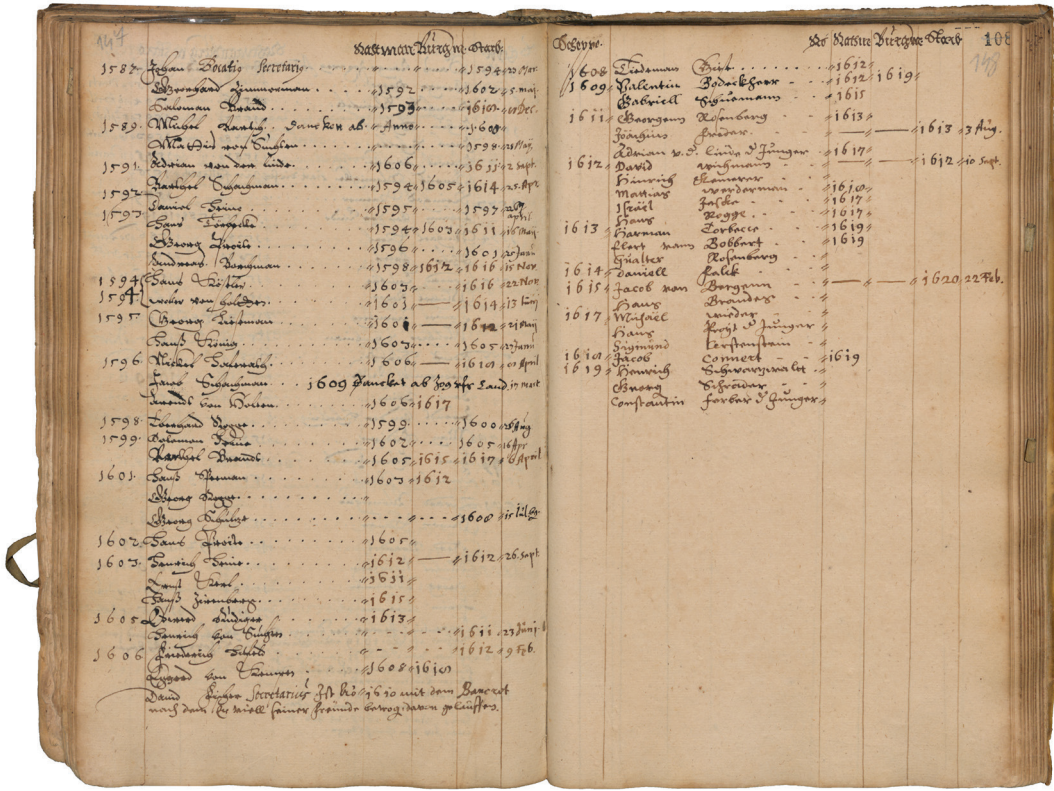


Fig. 3. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, section (III), fols. 107v–108r

The fourth section in which the hand of the *Kirchenknecht* appears with minor additions to the main text is section (VIII). Its nature has not been correctly recognized by previous scholars, who included it among the ‘city documents’ recorded in the manuscript and referred to the section as containing trade regulations³¹ or excerpts of *Spendebücher*,³² or omitted its consideration altogether. The section has an elaborate title inscription, written separately and unusually on the left side of the opening comprising fols. 126v–127r: ‘EXCERPTA SUNT HÆC EX LIBRIS fundorum hujus Civitatis de mandato Dominj Præsidis, per me Martinum Lange hujus Civitatis Secretarium, Anno Salutis humanæ, supra millesimum Quingentesimum Septuagesimo primo’. The ‘libri fundorum hujus civitatis’ are the city books of deeds (*Erbbücher*), very large and heavy parchment manuscripts kept in the city office.³³

31 J. Erdman, ‘Nota redakcyjna’, p. III; D. Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny*, p. 162.

32 F. Kessler, ‘Die Danziger Tabulatur’, p. 87.

33 The two books relevant for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century are APG 300,32/4 and 5.

They served to record all information about the legal position concerning properties, including mortgage charges.³⁴ According to the title, section (VIII) contains excerpts from them. Such excerpts were needed because the church was one of the institutions eligible to grant loans secured by mortgage and to charge due interest, as well as property taxes. Income from this activity was a major part of the *Marienkirche* budget.³⁵ The original *Erbbücher* could be consulted only in the city office. Moreover, all changes concerning a given property were made by erasure on which new information was inscribed, which caused limited legibility of the books over time. To have a ready access to the records concerning the *fabrica ecclesiae*, the *Kirchenväter* were ordering extracts from the *Erbbücher* that reflected the current status of the relevant properties. The *Historisch Kirchen Register*, written by the *Kirchenvater* Eberhard Bötticher in 1615–16, includes several notes about ordering new excerpts. Apparently, the business activity of the church was so complicated that it was difficult to put all the information in order. An attempt was made in 1575, when one of the *Kirchenväter*, Michel Rogge, started a new book in which all *Pfennigzinser* were to be inscribed. According to Bötticher, this work had not been continued until he took it upon himself to straighten the records up. For this purpose, he first tried to supplement the book with current information with help from the city secretary Hermann Freder, who scrutinized the *Erbbücher* paying attention to overlooked *Zinsen*.³⁶ Eventually, in 1612, the *Kirchenväter* asked for completely new excerpts:

Imgleichen ist der Herr Burgermeister und Kircheninspector, dem *Secretario* Hermanno Frederio eine volle Woche vergunnen wolle, auß den Erbebuchern einen neuen Außtzug zu machen, was und wieviel die Kirche auf Erben und Pfennigzinsern itziger Zeit einzunehmen habe, sintemal durch den Todfall der Menschen, Vergessenheit und Absterben, wie auch durch das vielfeltige Umschreyben in der Buchern grosse Verenderung geschiehet.³⁷

While section (VIII) of the manuscript is neither Rogge's book nor the new *Auszug* of 1612, it contains the same kind of information. It is not mentioned in the *Historisch Kirchen Register*, but it may belong to the phase of gathering records scattered throughout other documents. The title inscription refers to the procedure described by Bötticher in 1612: the excerpts were prepared by the city secretary Martinus Lange, mandated by one of the four city mayors in charge of the *Marienkirche*, the *Kircheninspector* ('de mandato Domini Praesidis'), presumably at the request of the *Kirchenväter*. Indeed, all records in this section refer to the church or the *Kirchenväter*, and they concern the loans and interest. It is clear, however, that contrary to

34 Elżbieta Kloss, 'Gdańskie księgi gruntowe' [The Gdańsk books of deeds], *Archeion* 22 (1954), pp. 196–212; K. Komsta, 'Danziger Amtsbücher', pp. 307–308.

35 Ch. Herrmann, 'Die Kirchenväter der Danziger Marienkirche', pp. 126–134 / 162–169.

36 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 447–448.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 643.

the information in the title inscription ('per me Martinum Lange' in the year 1571), they are an extended, much later copy of Lange's excerpts. The title inscription was evidently copied literally from the original document, perhaps as an afterthought – hence its unusual placement. Next to it on the same opening, preceding actual records, appears a copy of the city council's act confirming the church's right to charge interest and taxes, and describing the procedure of selling the properties that could not be paid off (the *Strohwich* law).³⁸ The act is dated 16 January 1573 (Fig. 4). Bötticher mentions it in the *Kirchen Register*,³⁹ and it was also included in the new *Kirchenordnung* of 1612 as Article 4.⁴⁰ Most of the records – ordered, as in the original *Erbbücher*, according to the city streets – document the loans granted before 1571, but they are supplemented by several more recent ones. Moreover, dates of full repayment are added to a lot of records, very often later than 1571. To many of these notes the *Kirchenknecht* added the sums of money, in line with his duty of collecting and recording the incomings from the *Zinsen*. The last records, from fol. 151r, have a slightly different format and are written by the same scribe, but with smaller script. It seems that the main body of the excerpts was copied at one go, probably in 1611. It is the latest date entered with handwriting in the original size, and it appears on fol. 134r in one of the top fields; on the same page the date 1611 is written also in the lowest field with smaller handwriting (Fig. 5). 1611 is also the only date written by the *Kirchenknecht* (fol. 134v) that seems to refer to an actual financial operation that he supervised. The excerpts were continued until 1627. The scribe (D) could not have been Martinus Lange, who died in 1586.⁴¹

38 Friedrich Gotthold Siewert, *Das Pfennigzins- und Strohwichrecht. Ein Beitrag zum deutschen Privatrechte aus den Statuten der Stadt Danzig*, Halle 1802.

39 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 443.

40 E. Sehling, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, p. 200.

41 A. Methner, 'Die Danziger Stadtschreiber', p. 33.

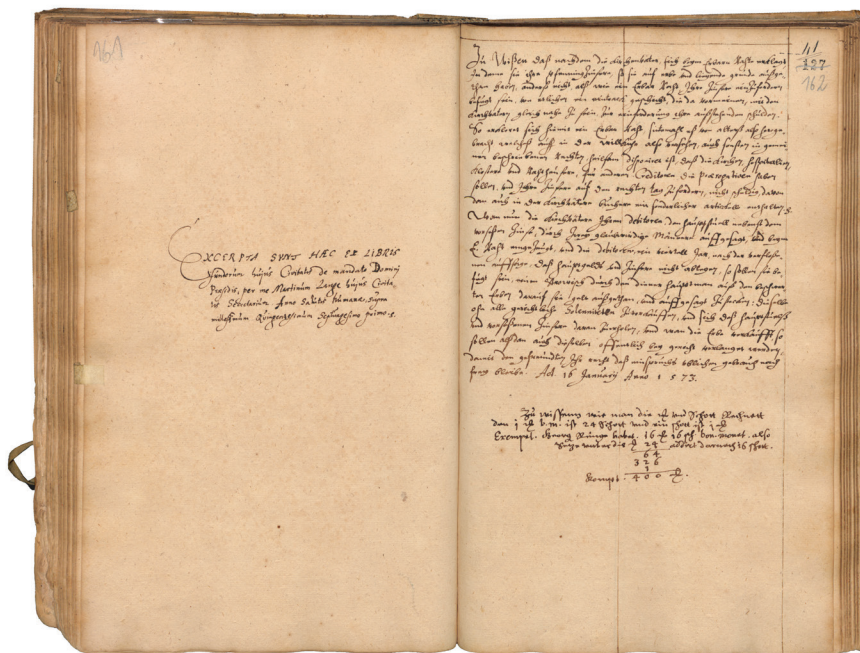


Fig. 4. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, section (VIII), fols. 126v–127r

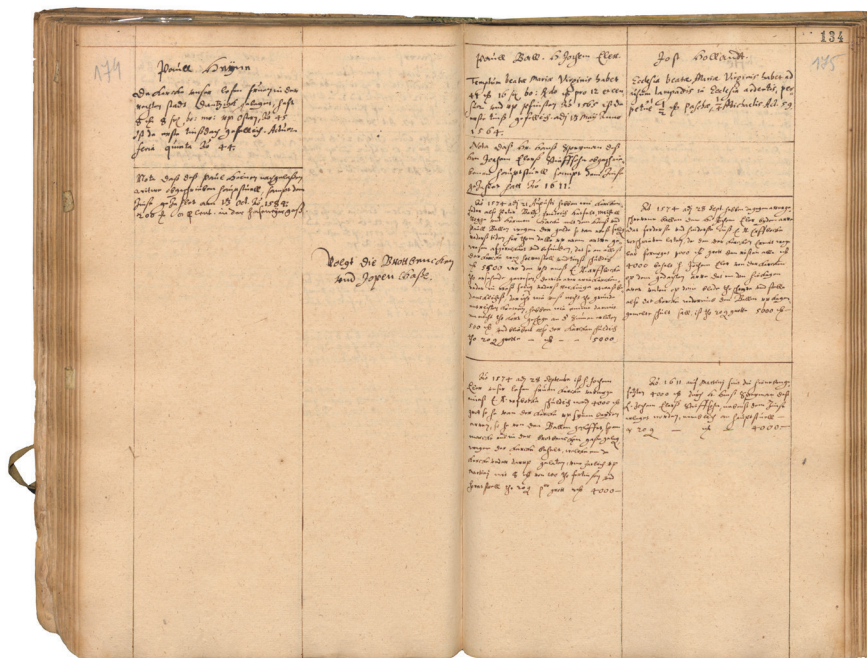


Fig. 5. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, section (VIII), fols. 133v–134r

The three remaining sections, (II), (VI) and (VII), are copies of legal documents. Section (II) contains the first part of the city law (*Willkür*) in its version of 1597. This version was valid, with seventeenth century revisions, until 1761.⁴² Although some minor changes were made as early as 1599, they did not concern the first part, which was left intact; therefore, the text in section (II) cannot help to establish a more precise date of its copying. It was written by two scribes who do not appear in any other section (scribes E and F). The *Willkür* was the most important general act regulating the basic aspects of the city's life. Published only in 1732,⁴³ it had to be extensively copied;⁴⁴ indeed, a lot of its handwritten copies of various provenance are still preserved.⁴⁵ Section (VI), 'Des ersten Theils des Lundischen Contors Ordnung', is a copy of the first part of the statute of the London trade office of the Hanseatic League. Its text is identical to other copies of the 1554 statute preserved in the State Archive in Gdańsk.⁴⁶ At its end, on fol. 122v, another document appears, 'Vormüge des Polnischen Königsreich an Dörfen', that also exists in several other copies. The text in section (VII) breaks off with a note about the number of Gdańsk inhabitants that were victims to the plague of 1564, whereas a similar note concerning the plague of 1602⁴⁷ is not included. Sections (VI) and (VII) were written by scribe C, and since in the manuscript they follow the lists which he compiled in or until 1608, it is likely that they also originated not later than 1608; the lists were taken over by the *Kirchenknecht* in 1609, which indicates that scribe C was apparently no longer available then.

To sum up, sections (VIII) and (IX) are directly connected to the *Marienkirche* and could not have found their origin outside its environment. The other sections have more neutral character, and it may be argued that they could have been at least partly created elsewhere. However, the annotations made by the *Kirchenknecht* in sections (III), (IV) and (V) reflect their use at the *Marienkirche*, or at least by a clerk of its administration. Certainly, then, most of the non-musical sections of the manuscript cannot be considered 'city documents' as far as their function is concerned.

THE POSSESSOR OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The evidence presented thus far shows that although Cajus Schmiedtlein did not write anything in the manuscript, it was in use in the Church of St. Mary during his

42 Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Danziger Willkür*, Danzig 1904, pp. 110–143.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

44 For instance, every new member of the *Wette* court was given 12 thalers to have a copy of the *Willkür* made; see: *ibid.*, p. 116.

45 For a pre-1945 list of the copies, see: *ibid.*, pp. 117–119.

46 APG 300,R/Ii,7; APG 300,R/Ii,8; APG 300,R/Ii,14. For the history of the document, see: Paul Simson, *Danziger Inventar 1531–1591*, Munich–Leipzig 1913, pp. 189 (items 2642, 2648), 199 (items 2775, 2776).

47 APG 300,R/G,25, p. 67; BG PAN Ms. 907, p. 68.

tenure there and following; the established dates of the non-musical sections cover the period 1604–27. Although sections (VI), (VII) and especially (II) cannot be securely dated, a large gap remains between 1604 and 1591, the date impressed on the front cover. It would be tempting to conclude that since the manuscript was used in the *Marienkirche*, it seems more likely than ever that Schmiedtlein could have composed the works from the Gdańsk Organ Tablature; someone from the church staff or an apprentice of the organist could have copied them in 1591, and then, after many years, the free space in the book would have been filled with other records. However, the earlier history of the manuscript was different.

Of all the scribes involved in recording the non-musical sections, the only one whose function can be established is the *Kirchenknecht*. In the two preserved large registers of charges for church functions, *Der Kirchen Begrebnis* (1574–1617)⁴⁸ and *Der Kirchen zu Sanct Maria Glockenbuch* (1575–1663),⁴⁹ names of the key church employees – the *Glöckner*, the *Signator* and the *Kirchenknecht* – are frequently mentioned in connection with payments made to them or through them. Additional information about their periods of activity and burial dates can be found in two other books, the register of graves (*Todtenbuch zur Pfar*, 1600–95)⁵⁰ and the register of burials (1604–85).⁵¹ The *Kirchenknecht* who recorded section (IX) and contributed to other sections of the manuscript was Peter Witzke. He is mentioned four times in Bötticher's *Historisch Kirchen Register*, in the years 1611, 1612 and 1614.⁵² In a copy of the *Register's* continuation an entry with the date of his burial reads: 'Anno 1635. den 26. Decemb. ward Peter Witzke 31. jähriger Kirchen Knecht, zu S. Marien hieselbst begraben' (Fig. 6).⁵³ According to this note, Witzke became the *Kirchenknecht* in 1604, which is confirmed by a record in the *Glockenbuch*: on 19 December 1604, a payment was made for the first time 'durch Petter dem kirchen diener'.⁵⁴ On 31 December, another payment was delivered 'noch durch Tomas', who is mentioned in the entries of 1603 and 1604, often as a *Kirchen Diener*.⁵⁵ This Tomas is identified in the *Begrebnis* register as Thomas Lebbin; on 16 September 1604 the fourth *Kirchenvater*, Eberhard Bötticher, who supervised the burials and graves, passed the incomings from burials through him to Sebald Schnitter, who was one of the two senior *Kirchenväter*. At the end of the year, however, Bötticher sent 'the rest of his income' to Schnitter 'durch dem Kirchen Knecht Peter Witzken' (Fig. 7).⁵⁶ Precisely this sum, 34 Mark, 8 Groschen

48 APG 354/408.

49 APG 354/1513.

50 APG 354/346.

51 APG 354/351.

52 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 636, 658, 659, 670.

53 APG 300,R/Pp,28a, p. 487.

54 APG 354/1513, p. 373.

55 Ibid., pp. 348, 349, 351, 352.

56 APG 354/408, p. 331.

and 3 Schilling, was recorded by Witzke in section (IX) of the manuscript, on the page dated 4 December 1604, but with the individual date 12 Feb[ruary 1605] and note 'vonn H. Eberhartt Bottigkherr Entpfang(en)' (Fig. 8).⁵⁷

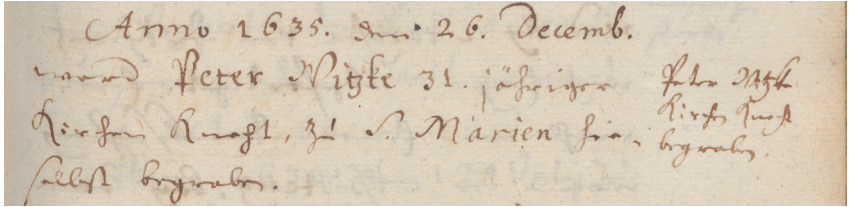


Fig. 6. Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 300,R/Pp,28a, continuation of Eberhard Bötticher's *Historisch Kirchen Register*, p. 487 (fragment): the record of Peter Witzke's burial

A handwritten ledger table with multiple columns. The header row reads "Laut Dec Anno 1604 In Dankig" followed by a column for "fl." and "sch." with the number "55" and "87". The table contains several rows of entries, each with a description of a payment or transaction and corresponding monetary values. The entries include: "13 Markt halt ist auß... 12", "11 Markt halt ist... 10 10", "16 Markt halt ist... 150", "9 Markt halt ist... 101 = 6 = 9", "11 Markt halt ist... 6 =", "12 Markt halt ist... 51 =", "16 Markt halt ist... 16 = 6 = 12", "17 Markt halt ist... 54 = 0 = 3", and "Summa aller außg... 557 = 3 = 6". The handwriting is a cursive script.

Fig. 7. Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 354/408, *Der Kirchen Begrebnis*, p. 331: the sum paid by Bötticher through Witzke appears at the bottom of the list

57 APG 300,R/Vv,123, fol. 186r.

		r	g	s
4. Decemb.	Leistung von H. Sabalt S. Guittorus	12	—	—
18 Decemb.	Neu Leistung von Hans Hacken	50	—	—
	Kost für abur nos 1 r. 19 g.	200	1	—
4. Januarij	Leistung von H. Daniell Hübner	100	—	—
16. Decemb.	Von H. Sabalt S. Guittorus Leistung	150	—	—
10. 5. d. Feb.	Von H. Böttcher von der Böttcher	33	—	—
12. Feb.	Von H. Margart Böttcher Leistung	34	8	3

Fig. 8. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, section (IX), fol. 186r, upside down (fragment): the sum received by Witzke from Böttcher appears at the bottom of the list

It seems that Thomas Lebbin served as a *Kirchenknecht* for a short time. The record of his burial on 20 November 1624 in the *Todtenbuch* reveals that he was 52 years old and *Glöckner* for 21 years⁵⁸ – that is, since 1603. Both the *Todtenbuch* and a large part of the burial register were also filled by Peter Witzke until his death; in the latter he added to Lebbin's entry 'mein Collega'.⁵⁹ The previous *Kirchenknecht* Maternus Hunger, who served from 1581, was buried on 15 March 1603.⁶⁰ His assistant ('adjunctus Materni') since 1597, Stanislaus (Stentzel) Medo, died during the plague and was buried on 30 August 1602.⁶¹ Either in 1603, along with the *Kirchenknecht* duties, or in late 1604, after the employment of Witzke, Lebbin became the *Glöckner* (Table 3).

Table 3. The main employees of the *Marienkirche* during the creation time of the manuscript

Kirchenknecht

1581–1603	Maternus Hunger (1597–1602 with the 'adjunctus' Stanislaus/Stentzel Medo)
1603–1604	Thomas Lebbin
1604–1635	Peter Witzke

58 APG 354/346, fol. 72v (grave no. 234).

59 APG 354/351, p. 209.

60 APG 354/346, fol. 141v (grave no. 438/134C); APG 354/351, p. 155; APG 354/408, p. 315; APG 354/1513, p. 337.

61 APG 354/346, fol. 39v (grave no. 135); APG 354/408, p. 292; APG 354/1513, p. 321. He was the scribe of the register of burials 1597–1602, APG 354/343.

Glöckner

1569–1597	Georg Barckman
1598–1603/4	Hans Lehman
1603/4–1624	Thomas Lebbin

Signator

1580–1600	Baltzar Petzell
1601–1620	Friedrich Schirmer
1620–1644	Andreas Ulrich

Vorsinger

noted in 1604–05	Adam Schnappius
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In any case, the available documents show that Witzke became the *Kirchenknecht* in December 1604,⁶² which means that his accountancy in section (IX) of the manuscript covers the first year of his work. Not only do his records of incomings from the *Kirchenvater* Eberhard Bötticher match the sums that the latter recorded in the *Glockenbuch*, but also his own name appears on the list of quarterly payments, together with the musicians, and next to the *Glöckner* Thomas Lebbin as well as the *Vorsinger* Adam Schnappius (see Fig. 2).⁶³ It is worth considering, however, why he began the accountancy in this book and why he stopped recording it there after a year. As for the latter question, it seems that writing receipts and billings in a book was contrary to custom and proved impractical. In the complicated accounting system of the *Marienkirche*, where sums of money were transferred between the clerks and administrators, often through other clerks, and recorded in each stage, it was customary to write the bills on loose sheets of paper and record them in a book only in the final stage. Both the *Kirchenordnung* and the registers include countless mentions of the sheets (called *Zedel*, ‘Zettel’ in modern German) on which bills were presented to the *Kirchenväter* by the *Glöckner*, the *Kirchenknecht*, or other *Kirchenväter*. When given a loose sheet, the administrator could keep it and copy it into his book at any time, which was impossible with a book needed for continuous use. After November 1605 Witzke most likely conformed to the norm and wrote each

62 Both in the register of burials and in the *Todtenbuch* the records of his burial give the information that he was ‘im Kirchen dienst’ or ‘in Officio d(er) Kirchen’ for 33 years (APG 354/351, p. 183; APG 354/346, fol. 130v – grave no. 404, owned by Witzke since 1607). It is not clear whether his successor made a mistake or he did have another position in the *Marienkirche* administration already in 1602.

63 APG 300,R/Vv,123, fols. 174v and 186v. The other two lists of quarterly payments in section (IX) include only their functions, not names. *Vorsinger* was employed by the *Kirchenväter* to lead the singing of the congregation during services; his duties were described in Article 37 of the *Kirchenordnung*; see: E. Sehling, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, p. 213.

bill on a separate sheet; one such random *Zedel* in his hand, from September 1607, has survived.⁶⁴ The manuscript with the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, however, was still used by him, partly for entries directly connected with his church work, such as section (VIII), and partly for copies of historical documents. Four other scribes who worked on the non-musical sections – B, D, E and F – cannot be identified. Their handwritings do not match any of the *Kirchenväter* active during the period in question, who all contributed to the two registers, the *Begrebnis* book and the *Glockenbuch*. Some of the four scribes might have been hired to copy the documents, while others could be the *Kirchenknecht's* colleagues from the church, e.g. the *Glöckner*, the *Signator*, and/or the *Vorsinger*. However, the nature of the four scribes' contribution to the manuscript cannot be directly connected to the obligations of these clerks, and only one known document written by any of them has survived, a list of people buried during the plague in September 1602.⁶⁵ Such lists were prepared monthly by the *Glöckner*. This particular list was evidently prepared by Hans Lehman, *Glöckner* from 1598, replaced by Thomas Lebbin in 1603 or 1604. Lehman was still alive in 1606 and referred to as 'der alte Glöckner' at that time.⁶⁶ His handwriting is nearly identical to that of scribe C, who seems to have been active until 1608 (Fig. 9). The established dating of section (VIII) excludes both the *Glöckner* Thomas Lebbin and the *Signator* Friedrich Schirmer as possible candidates for its scribe (D) since they died before 1627 (Table 4).

64 APG 300,R/Pp,88, p. 39. Preserved is also one *Zedel* signed by his predecessor Maternus Hunger (12 November, no year given), see: *ibid.*, p. 47. It is also possible that section (IX) was a kind of security copy in which Witzke, as a new *Kirchenknecht*, duplicated for some time the contents of the loose sheets he was giving to the administrators.

65 APG 354/1662.

66 APG 354/408, p. 347. I was unable to find a record of his burial.

Rechnung vom Leichen wegen der Eiden
vom 1 September bis zum 30

1	Jurgenz & Brungen Dan/K.	3	--	--
	= Davidt & Andreas Vogt	3	--	--
2	Jacob & Bismant halben			100 1/2
	- Peter Diercks Rind			100 1/2
	- Jürgen Diercks Rind			100 1/2
3	Jacob & Bismant 2 Rinder	1	--	170
	- Jurgenz & Brungen	3	--	--
	- Davidt & Bismant	3	--	--
	- Niels Jürgen Rind	3	--	--
	- Oalger Jürgen Rind	100	--	--
	- May Diercks halben	3	--	--
4	Christian Diercks	3	--	--
	- David Diercks Vogt	3	--	--
	- David Diercks Rind	3	--	--
	- Andreas Bismant Rind	3	--	100 1/2
	- Julius Diercks Rind	3	--	100 1/2
	- Jürgen May: 2 Rinder Diercks			
5	David Diercks 2 Rinder Dan/K.	3	--	--
	- Jacob Diercks Rind	3	--	100 1/2
	- David Diercks Diercks Rind			100 1/2
	- David Diercks Rind			100 1/2
	- Bartel Diercks & Diercks			
6	David Diercks 2 Rinder Dan/K.			
	- Jacob Diercks halbe Dan/K.	3	--	--
	- Jürgen Diercks halben	3	--	--
	- Christian Diercks Rind	3	--	--
	- Paul Diercks & Diercks	3	--	100 1/2
	- Christian Diercks Rind	3	--	100 1/2
	- Peter Diercks Rind	3	--	100 1/2
	- David Diercks Vogt Rind halben	6	--	--
	- Jürgen Diercks Rind	3	--	100 1/2
	- Diercks Diercks Vogt	3	--	--
	- Jacob Diercks Rind halben Diercks	6	--	--
	- Paul Diercks Rind			100 1/2
	- David Diercks Rind			100 1/2
	- Peter Diercks Rind			100 1/2
	- William Diercks Rind	3	--	100 1/2
Ja Es.		357 - 14 1/2		

Fig. 9. Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 354/1662, list of people buried in September 1602, p. 1: the handwriting of Hans Lehman (cf. Fig. 3, the handwriting of scribe C on the left side of the opening)

Table 4. Scribes and dating of sections (II)–(IX)

Section	Scribes	Dating
(II)	E, F	?
(III)	B, C (= Hans Lehman?); continued by Peter Witzke	until or in 1608–20
(IV)	C (= Hans Lehman?); continued by Peter Witzke	until or in 1608–19
(V)	C (= Hans Lehman?); continued by Peter Witzke	until or in 1608–19
(VI)	C (= Hans Lehman?)	1608?
(VII)	C (= Hans Lehman?)	1608?
(VIII)	D; annotated by Peter Witzke	1611–27
(IX)	Peter Witzke	XII 1604–XI 1605

As for the first question, Peter Witzke began his *Kirchenknecht* accountancy in the manuscript because it was his private book. His initials match the first two letters of the monogram impressed on its front cover. But Witzke was also a poet and writer who published or contributed to at least eighteen occasional prints (see their list in Appendix 1).⁶⁷ In five of them he had his name recorded with the information about his origin in the form ‘Stralsund[ensis] Pom[eranus]’ (items [1], [2], [4], [5], [9]), while in seven other publications it is shortened to the letters ‘S.P.’ (items [6], [7], [10], [12], [13], [15], [16]). In one case, only the familiar initials ‘P.W.S.P.’ appear under his poem in a collective print (item [3]). The identity of Peter Witzke the *Kirchenknecht* and Peter Witzke the poet is confirmed by another signature, ‘*PETRUS* Witzke, *S.P.* Kirchendiener zur Pfarr’ (item [15], see Fig. 15). This evidence shows unambiguously that the monogram on the front cover refers to ‘Peter Witzke Stralsundensis Pomeranus’, who owned the book since 1591 and used it in Gdańsk at least from 1604 to 1627.

The records of Peter Witzke’s burial on 26 December 1635 include information that he was 66 years old.⁶⁸ He was, then, born in Stralsund in 1570 or, less likely, in 1569, which is impossible to confirm because the church registers from that time are not preserved. In 1570, however, a certain Peter Wieszke received the citizenship of Stralsund (Fig. 10); it is possible that he was Peter Witzke’s father.⁶⁹

67 I am indebted to Stefania Sychta, Deputy Head, Special Collections, Polish Academy of Sciences, Gdańsk Library, and Maria Giovanna De Simone, Rare Books Cataloguer, Trinity College Library, Cambridge, for their kind help with tracing the publications of Witzke.

68 APG 354/351, p. 183: ‘Peter Witzke 66 Jar im Kirchen dienst 33’; APG 354/346, fol. 130v: ‘Peter Witzke 66 Jar in Officio d(er) Kirchen 33 Jahr’.

69 *Bürgerbuch 1349–1571*, Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Hs 30, fol. 138v. For this information, as well as for his generous search through other documents, I express my gratitude to Dr. Dirk Schleinert, Director of the Stadtarchiv Stralsund.

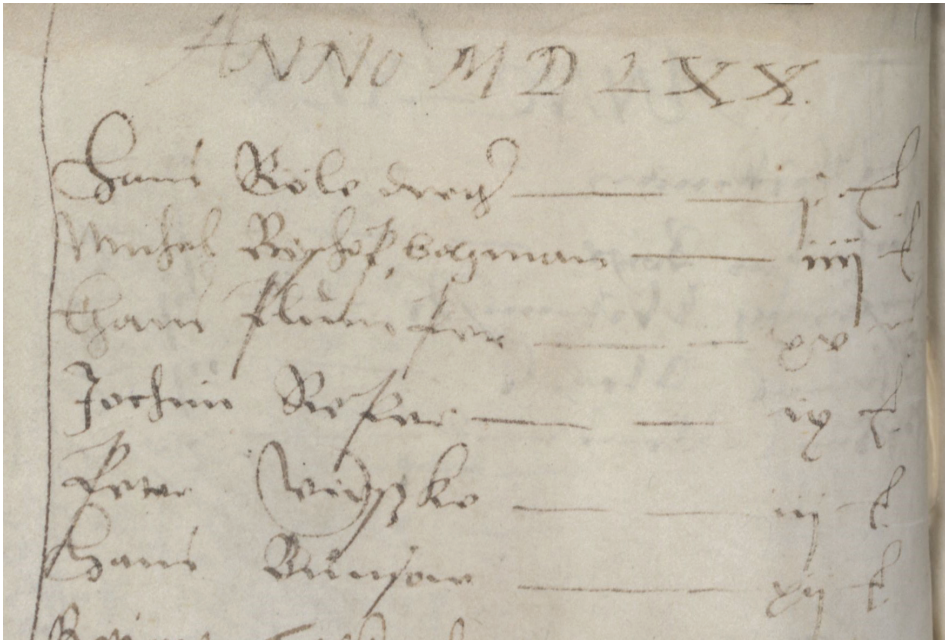


Fig. 10. Stralsund, Stadtarchiv, Hs 30, Bürgerbuch 1349–1571, fol. 138v (fragment): the citizenship record of Peter Wieszke

The earliest trace of Witzke's presence in Gdańsk is the record of his wedding in the *Marienkirche* on 13 October 1598. He married Esther, a daughter of the late Paul Lutken (Lutgen) from Bütow (now Bytów).⁷⁰ On that occasion, a congratulatory print was published in Barth with poems by two of Witzke's 'amici', Johann Philipp Pierius and Bartholomeus Cogelerus.⁷¹ On its title page, Witzke is referred to as a 'humaniorum literarum studiosus' (Fig. 11), which means that he had academic education. Both Pierius and Cogelerus studied at the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk; the former enrolled in November 1597 and the latter in January 1599.⁷² Pierius came from Wetter in Hesse and had studied in Helmstedt (1596)⁷³ before moving to Gdańsk; Cogelerus came from Weimar and enrolled at the Greifswald

70 *Der ander Teil des Trawregisters*, APG 354/328, fol. 57r.

71 *Honori Nuptiarum ORNATISSIMI ET INTEGERRIMI IUVENIS DOMINI PETRI VVITZKEN Stralsundensis humaniorum literarum Studiosi, SPONSI. Nec non HONESTAE AC PVDICÆ VIRGINIS ESTHERÆ Honesti PAVLI LVTKEN, civis Butaviensis viæ memoriae, relictae filiae, SPONSÆ. Dantisci Borussorum celebratum ANNO 1598. Mense. Octob. 13 die. Gratulantur Amici. Bardi Pomeraniae, Ex Officina Ducali. Anno MDXCVIII*, Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [2].

72 *Księga wpisów uczniów Gimnazjum Gdańskiego 1580–1614* [Register of students of the Gdańsk Gymnasium 1580–1614], eds. Zbigniew Nowak and Przemysław Szafran, Warszawa–Poznań 1974, pp. 62–63.

73 *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis*, vol. 1, *Album Academiae Juliae*, part 1, *Studenten, Professoren etc. der Universität Helmstedt von 1574–1636*, ed. Paul Zimmermann, Hannover 1926, p. 124.

University in 1596,⁷⁴ but it is not known how long he stayed there and when exactly he appeared in Gdańsk. It is not clear if Witzke had known any of them before they all met in Gdańsk and belonged to a common circle there, briefly mentioned in one of the poems ('PETRE, sodalitiæ junctæ pars unica nostræ').⁷⁵ Pierius's *Epigramma In Symbolum Sponsi* is devoted to the will; it is headed 'PRO POSSE PROMITTO PRÆSTARE' and the word 'POSSE' is printed in uppercase twice within the poem. The author seems to suggest that the dedicatee has achieved something important that at first appeared beyond the realm of his capabilities, but the context is now elusive. The fact that this occasional print was issued in Witzke's homeland, rather than in Gdańsk, reveals that it was mainly directed to his family and friends in the Stralsund area; it is likely that they would consider Witzke's settlement and marriage in Gdańsk an important achievement, especially as the impression was strengthened by the poetic contributions of his learned colleagues. At the same time, his status in Gdańsk must have still been rather low, since he was probably not allowed to be honoured with such a print in the city; that was reserved for higher strata of the society, city officials, school professors and clergy. Although there might be no official prohibition for others, the fact remains that only the chosen few could actually see their works in print or be their addressees.⁷⁶ These circumstances provide a clue that at least in 1598 Witzke did not have any position within those realms, and one of the reasons to take up the *Kirchenknecht* work could have been his desire to join the privileged group and be able to publish. It might have been beyond his competence to receive a more prestigious position. Wherever he studied, he probably did not get a degree; his command of Latin was certainly sufficient to appreciate his friends' poems, but apparently not high enough to write in the language, since all his known works are in German, even in collective prints in which all other poems appear in Latin.

74 Universität Greifswald, Universitätsmatrikel, Bd. 1, fol. 327r, <https://www.digitale-bibliothek-mv.de/viewer/image/PPN789/659/>, accessed 5 January 2024.

75 *ECHO GRATVLATORIA*, in: *Honori Nuptiarum* (see n. 71), fol. [A₂v].

76 Edmund Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* [Gdańsk occasional poetry of the 17th century], Gdańsk 1993, pp. 13–14, 17–24; Piotr Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry from Danzig', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 66 (1991), p. 293; Edmund Kotarski, *Gdańsk literacki (do końca XVIII wieku)* [The literary Gdańsk (to the end of the 18th century)], Gdańsk 1997, pp. 15, 21, 24–25.

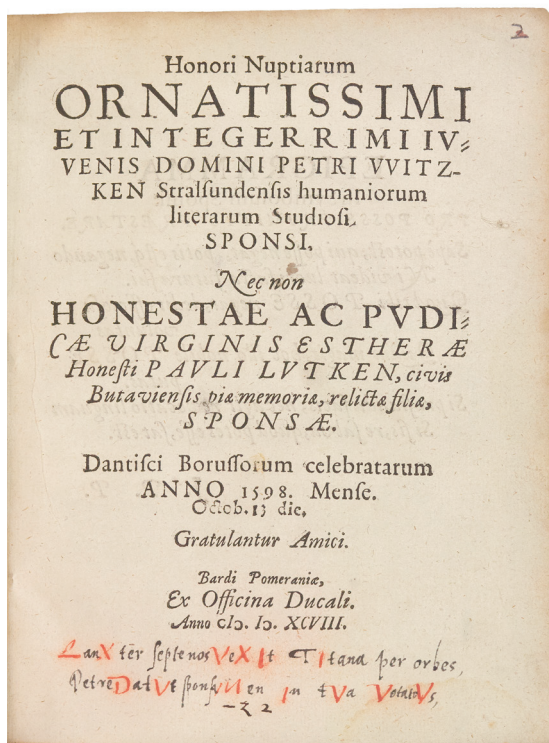


Fig. 11. Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [2], *Honorū Nuptiarum* (see n. 71), fol. [A₁r] (courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)

Apart from the few vague allusions, the congratulatory print for Witzke does not provide any concrete information about his life before Gdańsk. He must have studied elsewhere because his name is absent from the register of the Academic Gymnasium, but there is also no Peter Witzke in the available registers of any university existing by 1598. The only record that may refer to Witzke appears in the register of the Rostock University: one of the students who enrolled there in April 1591 was ‘Petrus Witte Sundensis’ (Fig. 12).⁷⁷ Since the matriculation register is a fair copy, ‘Witzke’ could have been misread for the decidedly more frequent ‘Witte’. Rostock and Greifswald were the most popular universities for students from Western Pomerania, and chances are strong that despite the corrupted reading of the last name, this Peter from Stralsund is identical with Witzke, then twenty-one years old, who had the date 1591 impressed on the front cover of his personal book made up of Mecklenburgian paper.

⁷⁷ Universitätsarchiv Rostock, *Matricula Academiae Rostochiensis: [1419–1760]*, p. [508], http://purl.uni-rostock.de/rosdok/ppn63866263X/phys_0508, accessed 5 January 2024.

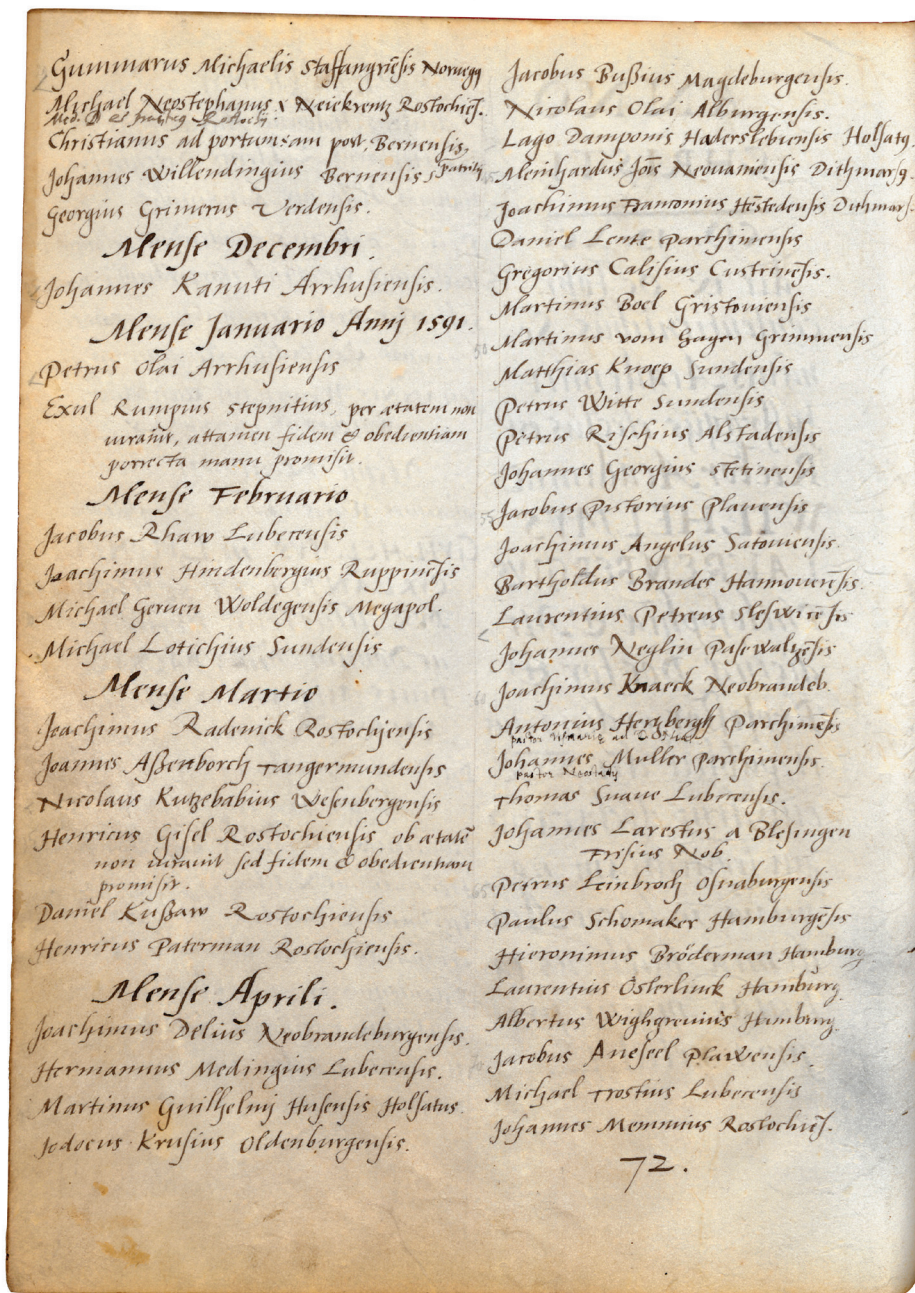


Fig. 12. Universitätsarchiv Rostock, *Matricula Academiae Rostochiensis*: [1419–1760], p. [508]: the matriculation record of 'Petrus Witte Sundensis', April 1591

The length of Witzke's supposed stay in Rostock is unknown. Since he married a daughter of Paul Lutken, a 'civis Butaviensis', in 1598, a certain period spent in Bütow between Rostock and Gdańsk would be likely. Witzke seems to have had more extended family connections there because he wrote one of his 1611 poems for Tobias Gast, his 'beloved brother-in-law' (see Appendix 1, item [7], and below). Gast, who studied in Greifswald, also came from Bütow⁷⁸ and was apparently a relative of Witzke's first wife, by then long deceased. However, no archival documents are preserved from Bütow that would allow verification as to whether Witzke stayed there and had any position.

It is also not known what he did in Gdańsk until 1604, and information about his family is incomplete. He received Gdańsk citizenship on 12 June 1599 (Fig. 13).⁷⁹ On 17 May 1601 his son Peter was recorded in the *Marienkirche* register as baptized at home.⁸⁰ Only one year later, the child fell victim to the plague and was buried on 21 August 1602.⁸¹ Most probably Witzke's wife died around the same time as well. Her burial record is not preserved, but Peter Witzke married again on 20 January 1603. His second wife was Catharina, a daughter of the late Hans Bauersdorff.⁸² In the *Marienkirche* register, two children of the couple are recorded: Catharina, baptized on 2 August 1606,⁸³ and Peter, baptized on 22 December 1608.⁸⁴ One of Peter's godfathers was Adam Schnappius (1577–1644), noted as the *Vorsinger* in 1604–05, a teacher at the St. Mary school since 1602.⁸⁵ It seems, however, that the couple's first-born child was Joachim Witzkuis, who, according to Ephraim Praetorius, became rector of the St. Barbara school in 1634 and died suddenly because of a stroke on 8 April 1644, at the age of 40,⁸⁶ which means he was born in 1604. There is no record of his baptism in the preserved registers from Gdańsk churches. After Peter Witzke's death, but still before his burial, on 22 December 1635, the sum of 5 Mark and 5 Groschen was paid to Joachim and recorded in the *Glockenbuch*: 'Joachim Witzkenn zugestellet, was seinen

78 Universität Greifswald, Universitätsmatrikel, Bd. 2, fol. 12v: '17 Augusti[:] Thobias Gast Butoviensis Pom[eranus] gratis ob paup(er)tate(m)', <https://www.digitale-bibliothek-mv.de/viewer/image/PPNmatrikel2/28/>, accessed 23 December 2023.

79 [*Bürgerbuch 1577–1732*], APG 300,60/5, p. 41: 'Peter Witzke, vonn Straelsund Erbeitsman'.

80 *Taufbuch 1590–1604*, APG 354/311, fol. 82r.

81 APG 354/408, p. 296; APG 354/1513, p. 320.

82 *Traubuch 1590–1609*, APG 354/328, fol. 93v.

83 *Taufbuch 1605–1612*, APG 354/312, fol. 45v.

84 *Ibid.*, fol. 109r.

85 APG 354/346, fol. 40v (grave no. 137); APG 354/351, p. 13.

86 Ephraim Praetorius, *Athenae Gedanenses, sive commentarius historico-chronologicus succinctus, originem & constitutionem Gymnasii Dantiscani Illustris, itemque recensionem superiorum ejus antistitum, seu proto-scholarcharum, nec non vitas et scripta rectorum ac professorum ejusdem, continens: accedit series I. Rectorum scholarum reliquarum publicarum Gedanensium, II. Rectorum gymnasiorum tum Thoruniensis, tum Elbingensis*, Leipzig 1713, pp. 190–191. Joachim Witzkuis was buried on 11 April (register of burials: APG 354,351, p. 130).

Sel[igen] Vater p(er) A^o. 35. inns Glockenn Ampt getzahlet hat, laut Zettel.⁸⁷ It is the only known document that attests to Joachim as being a son of Peter Witzke. Peter's wife outlived him by almost four years and was buried on 26 October 1639.⁸⁸ Interestingly, while no congratulatory print for Peter Witzke has survived except for the epithalamia of 1598, his wife Catharina was the addressee of an anonymous name day poem published in 1610;⁸⁹ it cannot be excluded that the author was her husband.

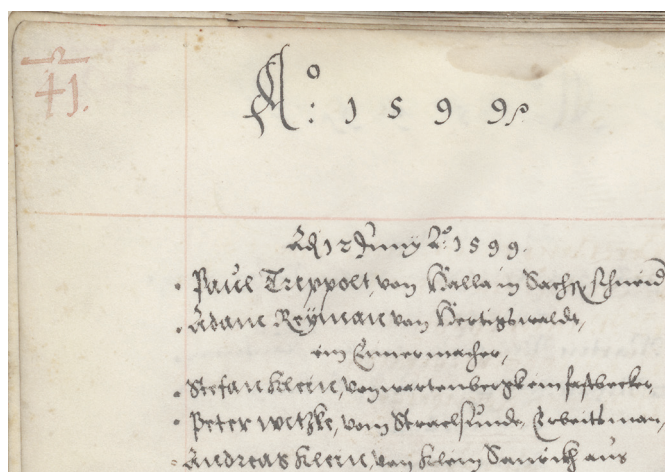


Fig. 13. Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 300,60/5, *Bürgerbuch 1577–1732*, p. 41 (fragment): the citizenship record of Peter Witzke

As a writer, Peter Witzke has long been known to scholars, mainly for his published description of the entry of King Sigismund III Vasa into the city in 1623 (see Appendix 1, item [18]), which seems to be his last literary work.⁹⁰ He has also been recognized as one of the Gdańsk authors of occasional prints,⁹¹ some of them includ-

87 APG 354/1513, p. 775. The record is placed below a record dated '19. Decembris' and mistakenly dated '22. Septembris'.

88 APG 354/351, p. 183.

89 *Anbinds Brieff, Der Ehr und Tugentsamen Frawen CATHARINA, Des Erbarnd und Vornehmen PETRI VVITZKEN Hausfrawen*, [Gdańsk: Martin Rhode, 1610], BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2^o adl. 18.

90 Johannes Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg–Leipzig 1895, pp. 57–58; Tadeusz Witczak, *Teatr i dramaty staropolski w Gdańsku* [Old Polish theatre and drama in Gdańsk], Gdańsk 1959, pp. 26–27; E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa*, pp. 45–46; Edmund Kizik, 'Ratusze wielkich miast Prus Królewskich w publicznych świętach władzy w XVI–XVIII wieku. Uwagi na marginesie projektu badawczego' [Town halls of the Royal Prussia's big cities in public feasts of authority in the 16th to 18th centuries. Side notes of a research project], *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 74 (2014), p. 124.

91 *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, vol. 23–26, *Danzig: Danziger Bibliothek der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abteilung I: Gedanensia*, eds. Stefan Anders, Sabine Beckmann and Klaus Garber, Hildesheim 2009, items 1184, 1185, 2178–2189.

ing visual poetry,⁹² but his output has not been assessed as a whole and research into his biographical data has been lacking.⁹³ Tracing the dedicatees of Witzke's poems allows the determination of a framework of his social environment. Sixteen of his publications or contributions are epithalamia; all except three of the wedding ceremonies took place in the *Marienkirche*. Most of the bridegrooms were his co-workers in the church, clergymen or schoolteachers. Eberhard Bötticher (item [2]) became a *Kirchenvater* in 1602. After his death in 1617, Heinrich Turau was elected (item [14]). Witzke's literary debut in 1606 consisted of a contribution to the collective print for the composer Gregor Schnitzkius (item [1]). The German dedication that precedes Witzke's poem (no. (7)) attests that already at that time Schnitzkius taught at the St. Mary school. The weddings of Andreas Hakenberger, *Kapellmeister* since 1608, probably took place in the Dominican *Nicolaikirche* because he was Catholic; as the registers of the church are lost, their dates, as well as the names of his first two wives, had been unknown. Thanks to Witzke's occasional publication (item [4]), however, we get to know that in 1610 he married Hedwig (Jadwiga), a daughter of Albert Gorzowski, a merchant and citizen of Kraków (Fig. 14); her burial, as Hakenberger's nameless 'Hausfrau', was recorded already on 22 March 1612.⁹⁴ Witzke's only bell-shaped poem (item [17])⁹⁵ was described by Piotr Rypson, but the author missed the true reason for the choice of this particular shape: the addressee was Andreas Ulrich, the *Signator* who supervised the bell ringers.⁹⁶ Georg Zincke (item [6]), probably identical with the brewer whose two wives had already died by 1609,⁹⁷ married a daughter of Michael Coletus, a professor of theology at the Academic Gymnasium and the first Lutheran preacher ordained in Gdańsk who served in the *Marienkirche* since 1585 until his death in 1616.⁹⁸ In January 1618, Johann Corvinus from Stralsund was installed in his place.⁹⁹ He married a daughter of another *Kirchenvater*, Nickel Schmid, in 1621 (item [15], Fig. 15). Michael Blancke, appointed a deacon at the church of St. Catharine in 1614,¹⁰⁰ got married in the *Marienkirche* the same year (item [13]); Witzke presented him with his only rectangular poem.¹⁰¹

92 Dick Higgins, *Pattern Poetry: Guide to an Unknown Literature*, Albany 1987, pp. 142–143; P. Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry'; E. Kotarski, *Gdańsk literacki*, pp. 118–119.

93 P. Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry', p. 290: '[w]e know nothing of [...] Peter Witzke [...]'].

94 Danuta Popinigis, *Muzyka Andrzeja Hakenbergera* [The music of Andreas Hakenberger], Gdańsk 1997, p. 14.

95 Reproduced in E. Kotarski, *Gdańsk literacki*, p. 119.

96 P. Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry', p. 277.

97 *Genealogische Tafeln zu Familien aus Danzig sowie aus Westpreußen und Hinterpommern*, <https://danzigertafeln.vffow.org/index.php>, accessed 3 February 2024, plate 5-301; APG 354/346, fol. 27v (grave no. 98).

98 E. Praetorius, *Athenæ Gedanenses* (see n. 86), pp. 39–40; Ludwig Rhesa, *Kurzgefaßte Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation an den evangelischen Kirchen in Westpreußen angestellten Predigern*, Königsberg 1834, p. 33.

99 L. Rhesa, *Kurzgefaßte Nachrichten*, p. 34.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

101 Reproduced in P. Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry', p. 285.

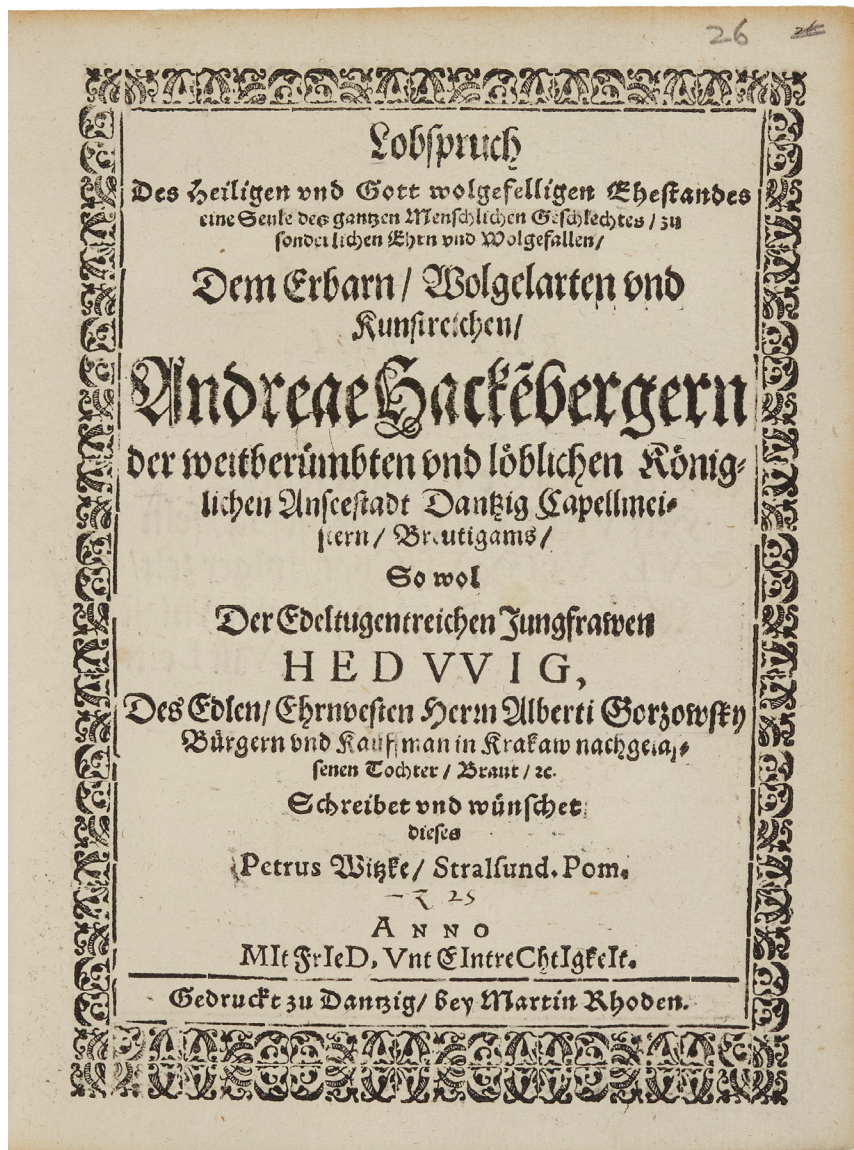


Fig. 14. Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [26]: *Lobspruch Des Heiligen vnd Gott wolgefelligen Ehestandes* (see Appendix 1, item [4]), fol. [A,r] (courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)

Jahr Rechnung /
Durch die Arithmetice species.
Zum Ehrenstuden Tag

Dem Ehrwürdigen/Achtbarn vnd Hochgelahrten Hn.
IOANNI CORVINO
S. S. Th. Doctori / Vnd der Kirchen zu S. Marien
in Danzig Pastor, Dreutigams:
So wol auch der
EhrenTugendreichen Jungfrawen
ELISABETH.
Deß Ehrenvesten/Erbar/vornehmen vnd Wolgeachten Herrn
Nicol Schmidts/ Vorsehern auch derselben Kirchen S.
Martin vielgeliebten Tochter/Drauer.
Zu sonderlichem wolgefällen.

Pl. 127.	<p>Awid seinem Sohn Salomon Im hohen Chor anfengt schon/ Ein dreyfaches Cleblettelein/ Den Welt Ständen ihr Liedelein / Dadurch der Lehr/Wehr vnd Lehr Stand Wachsen in Königreich vnd Land / So lauten / wo der Herr das Haus/ Nicht bauw / so ist vmbsonst durchaus/ Wo Gott die Stadt nicht selbst bewacht/ So ist vmbsonst der Wehrer macht.</p>		
1. Reg. 6.	<p>Tempel/ wenn Salomon das Haus des Herrn/ Thet anfangen/ Bauen/ Aufführen/ Nach aufgang der von Jstraël Aus Egypten Land bis zur Stell.</p>	480	3000
1. Reg. 4.	<p>Wie viel Sprich er gered/ addirt Auch wie viel Lieder/ ferner hört/ Hiervon solt Subtrahiren thun/ Da Gott erscheinet Salomon /</p>	1005	4485
1. Reg. 3.	<p>Zu Gibe wie viele Er Dem Herrn Opffert Brandtopffer</p>	1000	
1. Reg. 10	<p>Auch wie viel Schilde er machen ließ/ Vom besten Golde/ auch ohn verdriess</p>	200	
1. Reg. 7.	<p>Wie lang er an sein Hause bauw/ Wie hoch es Ellen/ auch anschawt/ Wenn diß geschehn / Multiplicirt Mit Ehrne Seuln so vffgeführt Vnd stunden an des Tempels hall/ Was davon kömpt Dividirt all/ Wie lang vnd breit die Stül von Erz/ Ellen/ Sag ich ohn allen scherz/ Zeiget das Jahr dieser Hochzeit/ Gott Bau vnd bewach die Ehleut/ Das Gürt vnd Treu begegnen sich / Gerechtigkeit/ Fried/ Herzlich Sich küssen / das auff Erden Treu Wachse / auch von dem Himmel schaw/ Gerechtigkeit/ das vns der Herr/ Guts thu/ vnd seinen Segen mehr/ Das Gerechtigkeit lange zeit/ Bleibe im schwang in Ewigkeit.</p>	30	3242
Psal. 85.	<p>S. S. PETRUS Wigte/ S.P. Kirchendiener zur Pfarr. H. Ioannes avff Glosian Elisabethen traVVer schon El geVn VnE bLve ihr Eb anfang Mittel VVaChse ihr LebenLang Selig wol Vest sel ihr avßgang.</p>	2	6484
		4444	5484
		1521	

Gedruckt zu Danzig/durch Andream Hünefeldt/im Jahr 1621.

Fig. 15. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 12: *Jahr Rechnung* (see Appendix 1, item [15])

The brothers Adrian (item [10]) and Georg (item [12]) Pauli were professors of the Academic Gymnasium.¹⁰² Georg, a doctor of theology, taught ethics and politics. Adrian was a doctor of medicine, perhaps a colleague of Heinrich Neuhaus (item [5]), who published a pamphlet against Rosicrucians later in his life.¹⁰³ Witzke's goblet-shape epithalamium (item [8])¹⁰⁴ has no title page and one of the chronograms refers only to the first names of the bride and groom, but the exact wedding date, hidden in another chronogram, leaves no doubt that the dedicatee was his colleague Adam Schnappius,¹⁰⁵ who also contributed, along with Witzke, to the booklet offered to Schnitzkius (item [1], nos. (3), (4), (5)). The signature '*Petrus Witzke seinem lieben Gefattern Amoris Ergo F[ieri] F[ecit]*' reveals that the alleged author is Witzke's three-year-old son Peter, for whom Schnappius stood as godfather. Next to the goblet with Witzke's German text, another goblet appears with its Latin version written by Pierius, who had co-authored the wedding print for Witzke.

The idea of a double goblet with the same content in two languages might have been conceived a few months before, on the occasion of the wedding of Tobias Gast, Witzke's brother-in-law. Gast married Judith von Düren, a daughter of Matthias and possibly a sister of the musician Thobias, whose three preserved compositions were dedicated to the city council of Danzig.¹⁰⁶ According to the title, the congratulatory booklet (item [7]) was 'written and dedicated during the short journey from Greifswald to Königsberg', which suggests that its originators were Lorenz Stephani and Johann Bleinagel. The former was a son of Joachim Stephani from Pyritz (now Pyrzyce), a professor and rector of the Greifswald University; Joachim's brother Matthias also taught there.¹⁰⁷ Both Lorenz Stephani and Tobias Gast graduated from Greifswald in 1604, when their dissertations were published, promoted by Matthias Stephani.¹⁰⁸ Bleinagel, born in Wolgast, enrolled at the Rostock University in April

102 E. Praetorius, *Athena Gedanenses* (see n. 86), pp. 59–61.

103 *Pia & vtilissima admonitio de Fratribus Rosæ-Crucis ... conscripta, & publicæ utilitatis causa in lucem emissa ab Henrico Nevhusio Dantiscano, Medicinæ & Philosophiæ Magistro, P. in Mörblich H. Prostat apud Christophorum Vetterum. M. DC. XIII.*

104 Reproduced in P. Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry', p. 275.

105 The dedicatee has not been correctly recognized until now, neither in *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitschrifttums* (see item 2185), nor by Rypson, 'Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry', p. 304.

106 *Thobias von Düren: Ach du herzlichstes Jesulein, Christus meins Herzen Freud und Trost, Freu dich du liebe Christenheit*, eds. Danuta Szlagowska and Danuta Popinigis, Gdańsk 2017 (= *Thesaurus Musicae Gedanensis* 2), 'Introduction', pp. 23–24.

107 August Ritter von Eisenhart, 'Stephani, Joachim', in: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 36, *Steinmetz – Stüvenburg*, Leipzig 1893, p. 93.

108 Matthias Stephani and Lorenz Stephani, *De iuramento voluntario, iudiciali, necessario, itemque in litem; et calumniae: nec non aliis. De conditionibus ex promutuo. De conditione ex lege, et triticaria. De eo quod certo loco dari oportet. De constituta pecunia; comodato et precario. Pignoratia, exercitoria, institoria et tributoria actionibus. De lege Rhodia de iactu. Quod cum eo, qui in aliena potestate est, negotium gestum esse dicitur; de peculio, de in rem verso, et quod iussu, actionibus. Denique de deposito et compensationibus*, Greifswald: Augustin Ferber, 1604; Matthias Stephani and Tobias Gast, *De publicis iudiciis, nec non aliis materiis ex toto lib. 48. Digest.*, Greifswald: Augustin Ferber, 1604.

1601;¹⁰⁹ on 24 September 1610 he was matriculated in Greifswald, but the university expelled him in the same year, together with three other students, for ‘enormia delicta’.¹¹⁰ Both Lorenz Stephani and Johann Bleinagel appear next to each other in the register of the Königsberg University on 6 September 1611;¹¹¹ to one of the dissertations promoted there by Stephani in 1612, Bleinagel contributed a congratulatory quatrain.¹¹² Their itinerary from Greifswald to Königsberg certainly included a stop in Gdańsk, where they probably visited Gast and got acquainted with his brother-in-law Witzke. The latter might have joined the project of a booklet with epithalamia for Gast’s wedding, scheduled for 24 October. The print contains a double goblet with a Latin poem by Bleinagel and its German version by Witzke.¹¹³

The only other goblet-shaped poem in Witzke’s output was dedicated in 1621 to a public notary whose name appears in the print as Franciscus Adriani (item [16]). However, according to the register of the Church of St. Peter and Paul, on 25 July 1621 Helena von Kappeln was married to Franz von Embden (Enden),¹¹⁴ baptized in the *Marienkirche* on 19 July 1584 as a son of Peter;¹¹⁵ the name ‘Adriani’ seems to be erroneous. Earlier, in the 1611 epithalamium for Hans Graurock (item [9]), the bride was referred to as a daughter of the late Caspar Schröder, whereas in the church register she was recorded as a daughter of the late Friedrich Quenstedt.¹¹⁶ Mistakes such as these indicate that sometimes Witzke was not sufficiently informed about the dedicatees. His relations with the extended Gdańsk families – von Enden, Graurock, or Greveradt (his only name day poem was written for Jacob Greveradt (item [11]), then eight years old)¹¹⁷ – are unclear; perhaps he was just hired to compose the occasional works. But the most intriguing is Witzke’s contribution to the booklet published for the wedding of Daniel Rubenow (item [3]), the preacher of princess Erdmut in Stolp (now Słupsk) since 1602.¹¹⁸ Witzke’s German paraphrase of Psalm 128 (one of five in

109 Universitätsarchiv Rostock, *Matricula Academiae Rostochiensis: [1419–1760]*, p. [556], http://purl.uni-rostock.de/rosdok/ppn63866263X/phys_0556, accessed 17 January 2024.

110 Universität Greifswald, Universitätsmatrikel, Bd. 2, fols. 55v, 59v, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:9-g-5103834/fragment/page=114>, accessed 17 January 2024.

111 *Die Matrikel und die Promotionsverzeichnisse der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr. 1544–1829*, vol. 1, *Die Immatrikulationen von 1544–1656*, ed. Georg Erler, Leipzig 1910, p. 199.

112 Lorenz Stephani and Georg G. Howschildt, *Ad institutiones iuris Iustinianas disputatio nona de exheredatione liberorum et heredibus instituendis*, Königsberg: Johannes Fabricius, 1612, fol. [C₁v], <https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/handle/fub188/42024>, accessed 17 January 2024.

113 Reproduced in E. Kotarski, *Gdańsk literacki*, p. 118, with an erroneous attribution of the Latin poem to Witzke; reproduction of the goblet with Witzke’s German poem also in P. Rypson, ‘Seventeenth-century Visual Poetry’, p. 274.

114 Register of the Church of St. Peter and Paul: weddings 1573–1641 and baptisms 1593–1641, APG 356/2, fol. 132v.

115 *Taufbuch 1580–1589*, APG 354/310, p. 115.

116 APG 354/329, fol. 20r.

117 *Genealogische Tafeln*, plates 1-215 and 1-216; APG 354/312, fol. 28r.

118 Christian Friedrich Wutstrack, *Nachtrag zu der Kurzen historisch-, geographisch-, statistischen Beschreibung des königlich-preussischen Herzogthums Vor- und Hinter-Pommern*, Stettin 1795, p. 251.

his output; they all appeared between 1607 and 1612 in items [2], [3], [4], [5] and [9]) and chronogram (his favourite *locus circumstantiarum temporis*, missing only in items [1], [9] and [17])¹¹⁹ are signed ‘P. W. S. P’, as if he was either very familiar to the addressee or hiding himself (or both). The reason might have been the company in which his works were printed: Johann Gotting, vice-rector and cantor of the school in Stolp, and, first and foremost, the famous Bartholomäus Bilov, *poeta laureatus caesarius* since 1596 and *comes palatinus* since 1600,¹²⁰ who presented his friend Rubenow with a lengthy Latin *elegeia*. Nothing else is known about the relations between Rubenow and Witzke, but it is noteworthy that this concealed contribution is the only trace of Witzke’s contacts beyond the walls of Gdańsk during his stay there.

Apart from his publishing activity, Peter Witzke seems to have had a keen interest in the history and presence of Gdańsk society and of the *Marienkirche*. Many of the burial records that he entered into the church books include additional information about the deceased persons: their family relations, profession, or position and period of service for the city or in the church. Although the register of burials was started in 1604, he made an effort to add two employees of the *Marienkirche* who died earlier: his predecessor Maternus Hunger (died 1603) and Georg Barckman (died 1598), the latter with an annotation ‘Glöckner 30 Jar’.¹²¹ Georg Schröder, *Kirchenvater* in the years 1681–85, copied a document titled ‘Verzeichnüß etzlicher Sachen die sich beÿ der Pfarrkirchen St. Marien in Dantzic begeben und zugetragen’, to which he added a provenance note: ‘MS eines Kirchen Knecht beÿ S. Marien’.¹²² The list of events with their short descriptions begins with the foundation of the church in 1343, but most entries concern the first decades of the seventeenth century until 1622. It is, therefore, more than likely that the *Kirchenknecht* who wrote the original manuscript (now lost) was Peter Witzke. His urge to record what is important and preserve it for the next generations was by no means unique in Gdańsk, and his immediate example might have been the work of Bötticher. The copies of the city’s legal documents and the lists of officials, made for him, and partly by him, as sections (II)–(VII) of his personal book, might also be seen in this light, especially since he made an effort to collate several sources of the data included in sections (III)–(V) to get the most credible version of the history. They contrast with sections (VIII) and (IX), directly related to Witzke’s church duties, and together with them reflect the diverse fields of his activity. The personal, rather than official, character of Witzke’s book determined its fate. The manuscript was not the property of the church, and although it contains

119 On the popularity of chronograms in the seventeenth-century Danzig occasional poetry, see: E. Kotarski, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa*, pp. 265–266.

120 Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, ‘Bilov, Bartholomäus’, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2, Balde – Bode, Leipzig 1875, pp. 641–642.

121 APG 354/351, pp. 155 and 71, respectively.

122 BG PAN, Ms. 486, fols. 251–264. Another copy, without a provenance note: APG 300,R/Pp,46, pp. 173–188.

some church accountancy, after his death it must have been preserved by his family. Then it probably came to the Staatsarchiv Danzig through one of numerous private collections incorporated into the Archive of the City of Gdańsk (and not with the church documents), to become part of the 'Bibliotheca Archivi'.¹²³

From the presented information, a mixed picture of Peter Witzke emerges. He was a humanist with some academic education but did not write in Latin or teach at any school, at least in Gdańsk. He was a rather popular poet, perhaps even occasionally hired to write for people from outside his circle, but apparently considered it to be of worth to work for over thirty years as a church servant with a small remuneration (which, admittedly, was supplemented by free accommodation and probably gave him a possibility to publish). He knew some members of the higher strata in the city, but was far from being rich himself: he received the lowest class of citizenship,¹²⁴ did not marry into a wealthy family, and his brother-in-law was immatriculated at the university free of charge because of his poorness. It is not known what else he did in Gdańsk, but he probably had a profession that allowed him to earn a living. His colleague Friedrich Schirmer, the *Signator*, was a cloth shearer (*Tuchscherer*), and Schirmer's successor, Andreas Ulrich, the dedicatee of Witzke's bell-shaped poem, a hat decorator (*Hutstaffierer*);¹²⁵ even many, if not most of the Gdańsk organists were underpaid and had to have side jobs.¹²⁶ Contrary to what Fabian Dahlström has stated, Witzke certainly did not play the trombone in the *Marienkirche*.¹²⁷ But could he have been an organist in his youth?

THE ORIGINS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

To establish whether Peter Witzke was the scribe of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, we need to consider both the handwriting and the origins of the manuscript. The comparison of handwriting in section (1) with the hand of Witzke is impeded by two problems. First, the tablature was presumably written in or around 1591, whereas all documents written by Witzke as the *Kirchenknecht* come from the years 1604–35. While in the latter period his handwriting is quite stable and clearly recognizable, there can be substantial differences between this mature stage and the formative stage

123 Maria Sławoszewska, 'Gdańska *Bibliotheca Archivi*' [The Gdańsk *Bibliotheca Archivi*], *Archeion* 50 (1964), pp. 131–151.

124 Rolf Walther, 'Die Danziger Burgerschaft im 18. Jahrhundert nach Herkunft und Beruf', *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 73 (1937), p. 68.

125 APG 300,R/Pp,28a, p. 371.

126 H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 50 (n. 57 and 58), 56, and especially 57–58.

127 Fabian Dahlström, *Stadtmusikanten, Organisten und Kantoren im Ostseeraum bis ca. 1850*, <https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/78703>, accessed 23 December 2023, file 'Aabenraa–Ystad', p. 50. The author misread a paragraph of Kaspar Förster's memorial to the city council, quoted by H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 153. The memorial was written in October 1635 (not 1632, as given by Dahlström), shortly before Witzke's death.

of his early twenties. Second, the tablature contains almost exclusively Latin script. All German title inscriptions and adages written at the bottom of several pages are calligraphed and cannot be used for comparison with Witzke's German script. The only inscriptions in everyday German cursive within section (1) appear on fol. 28v, but the scope of this material is very narrow, and most of it is squeezed between the staves and the edge of the page (Fig. 16).¹²⁸ Attested script samples of Witzke, however, are predominantly German, with exception of individual, scattered names or words in Latin script and two copies of Latin gravestone inscriptions¹²⁹ that also make up for a very small sample (Fig. 17). Despite these difficulties, the handwritings seem quite similar in both scripts, in overall picture as well as in details that may constitute the individual style of the scribe. They are straight, sometimes with a tendency to slope to the right. Size of the letters tends to be small; in the tablature some of the title inscriptions are written in larger size letters, but the literary texts below the staves are neatly underlaid with small script. Many letters appear in two or three different shape versions in close neighbourhood. In German script descenders are shorter than ascenders, while in Latin script the descenders are longer. In German script letters are usually connected. Lowercase letters 'b', 'f' and 'l' opening the words are often sloped to the right, while letters immediately following in the word are straight. Upper loops of lowercase letters 'b' and 'l' tend to be large. In double 'l' ('ll'), the loop of the first letter is sloped, and as a result, the loops can overlap. In both double 't' ('tt') and double 'l' ('ll') the baseline of the first letter is usually higher than that of the second one. In Latin script letters are mostly disconnected. Many letters have wedge serifs, especially at the top of the ascenders. The bowl of the lowercase 'b' is often sharp at the bottom, and the lowercase 'v' usually has a loop on top of the right stroke. The ascender of the lowercase 'h' is sometimes curved to the right at the top. The lowercase 'l' connects to the next letter by a straight diagonal stroke at an acute angle to the stem. Besides these similarities there are many small differences in details of the two handwritings; they may be caused by the development of the scribe's style or by the uneven quantity of material available for comparison. These differences could point just as well to two different scribes with similar style, were they not involved in the same manuscript, owned by one of them; such a coincidence would hardly be likely, unless they were close relatives.

128 Disregarded here are also the last two works (no. [41] and [42], see Table 5 below) written in German letter tablature, probably by another scribe (on this matter, see below).

129 APG 354/346, fols. 84r and 135r.



Fig. 16. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, fol. 28v (bottom): inscriptions in German cursive

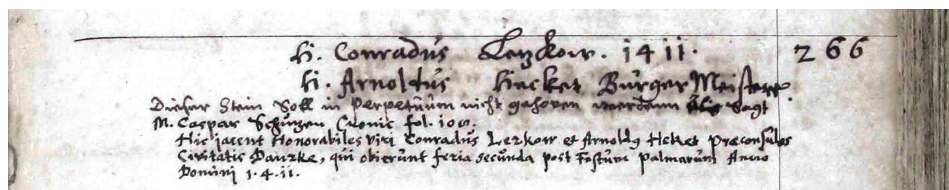


Fig. 17. Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 354/346, *Todtenbuch zur Pfar*, fol. 84r (fragment): Peter Witzke's Latin script, after 1604

The origins of the manuscript are more complicated than recognized until now. The overlooked evidence is the role of gatherings IV–VI and the existence of an (empty) index to the manuscript. Whereas the book was probably put together and bound in 1591, gatherings IV–VI, made of different paper, had existed before, either loosely or sewn together without a cover. In this form they had been filled with music notation, and their outermost pages (fols. 23r and 45v) had been left empty. On both of them, there are only vertical lines that would separate the bars, but the scribe had not drawn the staves. It is not clear when the vertical lines on the two pages were drawn (it could have been done even after incorporating the gatherings into the book), but in any case the music is entered only inside this separate ‘booklet’ of three gatherings. Their paper was originally of larger size and had to be trimmed to fit in the book made of slightly smaller sheets. Although both in these gatherings and in the following, originally smaller-sized gatherings there are a maximum of six systems per page, their distribution on the pages was different because the larger size allowed more space between the staves. When gatherings IV–VI were put into the book and trimmed to its size, on several pages the top staff appeared very close to the top edge. In extreme cases, such as on fols. 24v, 28v, 30r, 31v, 32v and 34r, note stems or beams of the notes on the highest staff are touching the page edge or are cut on top (Fig. 18). Moreover, on fol. 28v the lowest staff was also partly cut off together with the music notated on it; fortunately, it had already been completely crossed out because of a scribal mistake (Fig. 16). The placement of the staves changes from fol. 39v, as if the

scribe was planning to include the loose gatherings in a slightly smaller book at that point already; as a result, top lines on the highest staff are placed far from the page edges, even when very high. The separate existence of gatherings IV–VI before incorporating them into the book is also attested by their original foliation, still partly visible in the lower right corner on some recto pages. The first is number '8' on fol. 30r, which means that fol. 23 was originally fol. 1. Relevant numbers or their parts can be seen on fols. 31r, 37r, 38r, 39r, 41r, 43r and 44r as well.



Fig. 18. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, fol. 32v: note stems and beams cut at the top edge

Gatherings IV–VI could not have been filled with music earlier than in 1582, as indicated by the watermark of their paper. The evidence of adjusted placement of staves from fol. 39v suggests, however, that it probably happened immediately before their incorporation into the book, that is, in 1590 or even in 1591. The three gatherings formed a nucleus of what was most likely intended to be an extensive collection of keyboard music. It seems important that the scribe decided to put together quite a large book. Moreover, he did not place the three gatherings at the very front of it but preceded them with three blank gatherings – altogether 22 folios. It is certain that the book was planned as a music manuscript, not as a manuscript with mixed content. The scribe prepared half of the blank folios (fols. IV–IIIr) for an index: he drew vertical lines for two columns on each page and headed the columns with consecutive letters of the alphabet, devoting a whole page for each letter (Fig. 19). The letters match the handwriting of the main scribe of the tablature. Such a capacious index would be very helpful for finding concrete titles in a music manuscript of 188 folios, but unnecessary if we assume that music was to occupy only a small portion of it; indeed, even though the book was eventually filled with a lot of mixed material, none of it got indexed. In front of the index, fol. 1r was left blank for a title page. We can also speculate what the scribe intended to write on fols. 12–22. He could have originally thought of a larger index, with two pages per letter, or planned to copy some kind of theoretical material there.



Fig. 19. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the manuscript of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, fols. 2v–3r: pages prepared for an index

Both the early history of the manuscript and the similarity of handwriting styles point to the conclusion that it was indeed Peter Witzke who copied the keyboard works, starting with three loose gatherings and then incorporating them into a book prepared for copying a large number of pieces, marked with his monogram as well as the year of binding. The only other possible interpretation of the evidence – that in 1591 Witzke inherited or bought a manuscript book in which the music had already been copied – seems contradicted by the fact that the Mecklenburgian paper used for the main body of the book has not been attested before c.1590. Moreover, it would be hard to explain why Witzke did not use the book until moving to Gdańsk, or possibly even until taking up the *Kirchenknecht* duties in 1604, if he had decided to mark it as his property back in 1591.

THE GDAŃSK ORGAN TABLATURE

Let us now consider the repertoire of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature and the way it was recorded in the manuscript. As no complete and credible list of the works with their location in the source and references to their vocal models has been available, it is presented here in Table 5.

The collection seems well planned, at least to a certain point. It starts with a set of seventeen pieces called ‘phanthasia’. They were clearly intended to appear at the beginning of the collection: the title inscription of the first of them is written in block capitals (Fig. 20). All of them have indications referring to the eight consecutive church modes, except for the *Phanthasia Aliqua* ([14]), inserted between the works in the sixth and seventh mode. This fantasia supplements the set with a piece in the ninth mode, but its division into two repeated sections and faster harmonic pace puts it into sharp relief against the other works. It turned out to be an ornamented intabulation of an anonymous madrigal from the 1562 Roman print *Il terzo libro delle muse a quattro voci*. Ornamented intabulations make up for almost all pieces that follow the fantasias ([18]–[35] and [37]). The only exception may be the setting of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* ([20]), for which no vocal model has emerged. There are six sacred works in the genre of chanson ([18], a Latin sacred contrafact; [19], a Latin contrafact of a French *chanson spirituelle*), canzona ([21], a German sacred contrafact) or *Lied* ([22], [23] and [24]). The next group consists of eight secular pieces: six chansons ([25], [26], [27], [29], [30], [31]) and two madrigals ([28], [32]). One of the chansons has a double title, secular French and sacred Latin, together with a reference to a church mode ([26]), which suggests that it functioned as a contrafact. The meaning of the inscriptions ‘Signet’ and ‘Egidi(us) Lucifer’ that accompany the

intabulation of the Ferrabosco madrigal ([28]) remains elusive.¹³⁰ The last group of ornamented intabulations contains four Latin motets: three sacred works ([33], [34], [35]) and one secular ([37], ornamented only occasionally).



Fig. 20. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, fols. 23v–24r, [1] *Phantasia primi toni*

Table 5. Contents of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature

Number	Folio(s)	Title inscription	Vocal model	First print of the vocal source
[1]	23v–24r	PHANTHASIA PRIMI TONI.		
[2]	24v–25r	Alia Phantasia primi Tonj.		
[3]	25v–26r	Phantasia Secundi Tonj.		
[4]	26v–27r	Phantasia Tertij Tonj.		

¹³⁰ For an attempt of their explanation, see: A. Leszczyńska, ‘The Beginnings of Musical Italianità’, p. 9; see also below.

[5]	27v–28r	Alia Phan- thasia Toni Tertij		
[6]	28v–29r	Alia Tonj tertij phanthasia		
[7]	29v–30r	PHANTha sia Quartj Tonj		
[8]	30v–31r	Phanthasia Quinti Tonj.		
[9]	31v	Alia Phanthasia Quintj Tonj.		
[10]	32r	Alia phanthasia Quintj tonj		
[11]	32v	Phanthasia Sextj Tonj		
[12]	33r	Alia phanthasia Sextj Tonj.		
[13]	33v	Alia Phanthasia Sextj Tonj.		
[14]	34r	Phanthasia Aliqua	Anonymous (‘D’Incerto’): <i>Amor mi strugge’l cor</i>	<i>Il terzo libro delle muse a quattro voci...</i> , Rome: Antoine Barré, 1562, RISM B/I: 1562 ⁷ (RISM ID 993120315), no. 2
[15]	34v–35r	Phanthasia Septimj Tonj.		
[16]	35v–36r	Phanthasia Octauj Tonj		
[17]	36v–37r	Phanthasia Octauj Tonj.		
[18]	37v–38r	Dulcis me moriam et suauis recorda- tio.	Pierre Sandrin: <i>Doulce memoire en plaisir consommée</i>	<i>Second livre contenant xxvii. Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties</i> , Paris: Pierre Attaignant, Hubert Jullet, 1538, RISM B/I: 1538 ¹¹ (RISM ID 993104199), no. 7
[19]	38v–39v	Orland(us). à. 5. Susanna se videns rapi stuprandam.	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Susanne un iour</i> , LV 98	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Tiers livre des chansons a quatre cinq et six parties</i> , Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1560, RISM A/I: L 764 (RISM ID 990036551), no. 21
[20]	39v–40r	Vader vnse ym Hemmel- rick.		

[21]	40v–41r	Allein ahn dich Her	Baldissera Donato: <i>Se pur ti guardo</i>	Baldissera Donato: <i>Il primo libro di canzon villanesche alla napolitana a quatre voci...</i> , Venice: Gerolamo Scotto, 1551, RISM A/I: D 3407, RISM B/I: 1551 ¹³ (RISM ID 990015164), no. 13.
[22]	41v–42r	Godt is mynn Licht vnd mynn Thouorsicht	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: <i>God is myn licht myn salicheyt</i>	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: <i>Souterliedekens. I. Het vierde musyck boexken met dry parthien...</i> , Antwerp: Tilman Susato, 1556, RISM A/I: C 2708 (RISM ID 990010129), no. 26 (original version for 3 voices); <i>Schöner außserleßner deutscher Psalm und anderer künstlicher Moteten und Geistlichen lieder XX...</i> , Nuremberg: [U. Neuber], 1568, RISM B/I: 1568 ¹¹ (RISM ID 993120439), no. 6 (version for 4 voices)
[23]	42v–43r	Bewar mich Herr vnd sy nicht fernn van my	Stephan Zirler: <i>Bewahr mich Herr</i>	<i>Etliche Geistliche und liebliche Gesenge...</i> , Wittenberg, 1570, RISM B/I: 1570 ⁴ (RISM ID 993120529), no. 16
[24]	43v–44r	Josep Leüer Josep mynn help my wege(n) myn kindelin	Johann Walter: <i>Joseph lieber Joseph mein</i> (with changes)	Johann Walter: <i>Wittembergisch deutsch Geislich Gesangbüchlein. Mit vier und fünff stimmen</i> , Wittenberg: Georg Rhau Erben, 1551, RISM A/I: W 173 (RISM ID 990067730), no. 51
	44v	[vacat]		

[25]	45r	Margo laboures Orland(us) Dilass(us)	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Margot labourez les vignes</i> , LV 169	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Le premier livre de chansons à quatre parties...</i> , Antwerp: Jacob Susato, 1564, RISM A/I: L 781 (RISM ID 990036568), no. 20
[26]	45v–46r	Orcombien aut Sic De(us) dilexit mündum. aut Ton(us) 2d(us)	Claudin de Sermisy: <i>O combien est malheureux</i>	<i>Onziesme livre contenant xxviii. Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties</i> , Paris: Pierre Attaignant, Hubert Juliet, 1541, RISM B/I: 1541 ¹⁹ (RISM ID 993104311), no. 8
[27]	46v–47r	Cessesmes Ton(us) 2d(us).	Thomas Crecquillon: <i>Cessez mes yeux de tant vous tormenter</i>	<i>La fleur de chansons et quatriesme liure a quatre parties...</i> , Antwerp: Tilman Susato, [1552], RISM B/I: [1552] ⁹ (RISM ID 993122151), no. 9
[28]	47v–48r	Iomison aut Siginet aut Fera Basso. Egidi(us) Lucifer.	Domenico Ferrabosco: <i>Io mi son giovinetta</i>	<i>Il primo libro d'i madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori...</i> , Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1542, RISM B/I: 1542 ¹⁷ (RISM ID 993104335), no. 26
[29]	48v–49r	Ardant amour Orland(us)	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Ardant amour souvent m'a faict instance</i> , LV 96	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Tiers livre des chansons a quatre cinq et six parties</i> , Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1560, RISM A/I: L 764 (RISM ID 990036551), no. 19
[30]	49v–50v	Donnes secours Aut: Petit Iohan de latre	Jean De Latre: <i>Donnés secours ma doulce amye</i>	<i>Premier livre des chansons a quatre parties...</i> , Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1554, RISM B/I: 1554 ²² (RISM ID 100000544), no. 3

[31]	51r–52r	Ieprens Engre	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: <i>Je prens en gré la dure mort</i>	<i>Sixiesme livre contenant xxvii. Chansons nouvelles a quatre parties</i> , Paris: Pierre Attaignant, Hubert Jullet, 1539, RISM B/I: 1539 ¹⁵ (RISM ID 993104236), no. 11
[32]	52v–53v	Osi potes.	Jaquet de Berchem: <i>O s'io potessi donna dir quel che nel mirar</i>	<i>Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a quatro</i> , Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1539, RISM B/I: 1539 ²² (RISM ID 993104245), no. 20
[33]	54r–55r	Veni in hortum meum:	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Veni in hortum meum</i> , LV 114	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum...</i> , Nuremberg: Johann Berg, Ulrich Neuber, 1562, RISM A/I: L 768 (RISM ID 990036555), no. 7
[34]	55v–56v	Gäüdete filiæ Jerusalem:	Jacob Meiland: <i>Gaudete filiae Jerusalem</i>	Jacob Meiland: <i>Cantiones Sacrae quinque et sex vocum...</i> , Nuremberg: Ulrich Neuber & Johann Vom Berg Erben, 1564, RISM A/I: M 2173 (RISM ID 990040851), no. 17
[35]	56v–57v	Pater peccau in coelum et cora(m) te. Clemens non papa.	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: <i>Pater peccavi in caelum</i>	<i>Liber tertius sacrarum cantionum, quatuor vocum...</i> , Antwerp; Tylman Susato, 1547, RISM B/I: 1547 ⁵ (RISM ID 993104534), no. 11
	58r–59r	2da Pars. Quantj mer- cenarij.		

[36]	59v	A 5 Padua d(as) Medt leinn		
	60r	2da Pars a 5.		<p>manuscript concordances:</p> <p>Odense, Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek, Musikafdelingen (DK-Ou), R 131–132 (Rara Musik L 43), fols. 32v–33r ([Altus]), fols. 33v–34r ([Bassus]): <i>Medtlein</i> (RISM ID 150202461);</p> <p>DK-Ou, R 134 (Rara Musik L 45), fols. 33v–34r ([Tenor]), with the text <i>O tu virginum pulcherrima</i> (RISM ID 150202135);</p> <p>Västerås, Stadsbibliotek (S-V), Molér 69 (26), with the text <i>O tu virginum pulcherrima</i> (RISM ID 190007449);</p> <p>Växjö, Stadsbibliotek (S-VX), Mus.Ms. 3, fols. 161r–162r, with the text <i>O tu virginum pulcherrima</i> (RISM ID 190012630);</p> <p>Växjö, Stadsbibliotek (S-VX), Mus. Ms. 325–328, with the text <i>O tu virginum pulcherrima</i> (RISM ID 190012629)</p>
[37]	60v–61r	Hispanum ad coena(m) mercator belga vo carat. Regifico luxu mensa parata fuit. Alexander Vtendal.	Alexander Utendal: <i>Hispanum ad coenam</i>	Alexander Utendal: <i>Sacrarum cantionum... liber primus</i> , Nuremberg: Theodor Gerlach, 1571, RISM A/I: U 120 (RISM ID 990065024), no. 19
	61v–62r	2da Pars.		

[38]	62v	Jaches Werth. A.5. Speremus meliora o(mn)es spem nomine sacro dat Gabriel. &t.	Giaches de Wert: <i>Speremus meliora omnes</i>	Giaches de Wert: <i>Motectorum quinque volum, liber primus,</i> Venice: Claudio Correggio & Fausto Bethanio, 1566, RISM A/I: W 849 (RISM ID 990068300), no. 15
[39]	63r	A.6. 2D.2T. Deus in adiutoriu(m) meum in tende.	Orlando di Lasso: <i>Deus in adjutorium meum intende</i> , LV 734	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Motetta, sex volum...</i> , Munich: Adam Berg, 1582, RISM A/I: L 939 (RISM ID 990036725), no. 20
	63v	[vacat]		
[40]	64r	Clemens non papa. A.6. Deus in Adiutori um meum intende.	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: <i>Deus in adjutorium meum intende</i>	<i>Sacrarum cantionum...</i> <i>quinque et sex volum...</i> <i>Liber tertius</i> , Antwerp: Hubert Waelrant, Jean de Laet, 1555, RISM B/I: 1555 ⁷ (RISM ID 1000000550), no. 11
	64v–65r	2da pars. Ecce in tene bris sedeo et Lumen coeli no(n) video.		
	65v–67r	[vacant]		
[41]	67v–68r	Laura soave Germano Pallauicino.	Germano Pallavicino: <i>Laura soave</i>	<i>Liber secundus gemmae musicalis...</i> , Nuremberg: Katharina Gerlach, 1589, RISM B/I: 1589 ⁸ (RISM ID 993120880), no. 61
[42]	68v–69r	[untitled]		

All these thirty-six pieces ([1]–[35] and [37]) have a very uniform style of ornamentation, regardless of whether they are intabulations or not, and must have been a work of one composer. In the Gdańsk Organ Tablature they are consistently written into four pre-drawn ‘bar cells’ (*caselle* in the Italian terminology of the time) per system; the *caselle* are not bars in the modern sense, because, although most of them contain notes with values that add to one breve, some of them exceed the breve length if there is space to fit more notes, or contain only a semibreve if there are a lot of semiquavers in the passagework. The *caselle* were prepared by dividing each page into four fields with vertical lines drawn from top to bottom, and then drawing the staves with the *rastrum* (for the left hand, two lines are added by hand to the five-line staves), as can be seen on fols. 23r and 44v, where the vertical lines appear without staves. This large group of works is recorded as a fair copy with some corrections,

mostly of standard mistakes, like writing a passage a third higher or lower. The most outstanding feature of the source is, however, the use of the Italian *intavolatura*, unique for keyboard manuscripts in the German speaking area of Northern Europe. It is obvious that the scribe copied from the same notation, although he knew German tablature which he used at three spots (on fols. 33r, 54v and 63r) to clarify his corrections; his use of the *intavolatura* is virtually flawless and does not reveal any mistakes or amendments concerning which notes should belong to which hand. The music itself is also tailored to the notation, with its inconsistent number of voices, as well as the carefully designed and idiomatically located ornaments. Yet it is not Italian in style; the shape of the diminutions resembles the South German *Coloraturen*¹³¹ of the tablatures from Neresheim (after 1580?; see Ex. 1)¹³² or, to lesser extent, from Ingolstadt (c.1591).¹³³ Moreover, some of the pieces apparently require the use of the pedalboard. Given the meticulous division of the music between the hands,¹³⁴ there can be no doubt that whenever the notes on the lower staff cannot be reached by the left hand, the lowest line has to be played on the pedal. The manner of notation such as at the beginning of *Pater peccavi in caelum* ([35]) is very suggestive in this respect (Fig. 21). The right hand plays only the highest voice because it is ornamented; the left hand plays more voices than the right hand;¹³⁵ and the bass

131 The term used by sixteenth-century German organists for longer diminutions, as opposed to short ornaments, called *Mordanten*. See: *Zwey Bücher. Einer neuen kunstlichen Tabulatur auff Orgel und Instrument... collegiret und ubesehen durch Bernhart Schmid...*, Strasbourg: Bernhard Jobin, 1577, RISM B/I 1577¹², RISM ID 990058133, foreword: *Kurtzer Bericht an den Günstigen Leser; Ein schön nutz undn gebreichlich Orgel Tabulaturbuch... Von Iacobo Paix Augustano...*, Laugingen: Georg Willer (Leonhard Reinmichel), 1583, RISM B/I 1583²³, RISM ID 990048238, foreword: *An den Käufer*.

132 Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek (D-Rtt), shelf mark F.K.21. See: Eckart Tschuschner, *Die Neresheimer Orgeltabulaturen der Fürstlich Thurn und Taxisschen Hofbibliothek zu Regensburg*, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität zu Erlangen-Nürnberg 1963 (PhD dissertation), Offsetdruck – Fotodruck Josef Hög, Erlangen s.a.; *Orgelmusik in Benediktinerklöstern III: Irsee, Mailand, Neresheim*, ed. Eberhard Kraus (= Cantantibus Organis 9), Regensburg 1962, pp. 1–21.

133 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the collection of Gräfllich Toerring-Jettenbachsche Bibliothek, Winhöring (D-WINtj), shelf mark 78; see: Gertraut Haberkamp and Barbara Zuber, *Die Musikhandschriften Herzog Wilhelms in Bayern, der Grafen zu Toerring-Jettenbach und der Fürsten Fugger von Babenhausen*, Munich 1988 (= Kataloge Bayerischen Musiksammlungen 13), pp. XXI–XXII, 51–59.

134 The only exceptions are the rare instances where the highest voice is placed too low to be situated on the upper staff without clef changes and is therefore written together with lower voices on the lower staff; see e.g. the ‘echo’ passages in *Joseph lieber Joseph mein* ([24]) or *Veni in hortum meum* ([33]), b. 1–3.

135 Both these features were interconnected and belonged to the pan-European norms of keyboard playing well into the seventeenth century. Regarding the distribution of voices between the hands in the *intavolatura*, Girolamo Diruta states that the alto belongs to the lower staff unless it raises more than an octave above the bass, and that the middle voices (alto and tenor) can belong either to the upper or to the lower staff, depending on what is more convenient for playing diminutions; see: Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano...*, Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1609, RISM B/I 1609³³, RISM ID 990014898, *Libro Primo*, p. 2. For performance of a work with two solo bass lines, Francisco Correa de Arauxo advises to take the upper bass line to the right hand (together with three upper voices) whenever possible, in order to play the diminutions (*glosa*) with more liberty, cleanness and good touch; see: Francisco Correa de Arauxo, *Libro de tientos y discursos de musica practica, y theorica*

line is so far away from the middle voices that it must belong to the pedal. The pedal line is also ornamented and therefore quite demanding; virtually no other German source of organ music from the second half of the sixteenth century contains such intricate pedal parts. Interestingly, the works that cannot be played without the pedal are gathered together at the end of the group ([31]–[35], [37]).

Ex. 1a. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, [31] *Je prens en gré la dure mort*, b. 24–34

de organo, intitulado Falcultad organica..., Alcalá: Antonio Arnao, 1626, RISM A/I C 3956, CC 3956, RISM ID 990011332, fol. 146v: the commentary to the *Discurso de medio registro de dos baxones, de quarto tono por elami*. Jacob Paix warns the reader of his tablature that although he took care to place the *Coloraturen* in such a way that three other voices can be played with one hand, sometimes it is necessary to perform one of the accompanying voices with a thumb of the hand that has the diminution; see: *Ein schön nutz unnd gebreüchlich Orgel Tabulaturbuch*, foreword: *An den Käufer*. On the right-hand-oriented distribution of voices in the music of Sweelinck and in the seventeenth-century North German keyboard repertoire, see: Michael Belotti, 'Be-greifen, Er-greifen. Ausführungspraktische Hinweise in den Quellen norddeutscher Orgelmusik. Teil 1', *Organ 4* (2001) no. 2, pp. 16–19.

Ex. 1b. D-Rtt, F.K.21, tablature from Neresheim, *Je prens en gré la dure mort*, b. 13–23

Fig. 21. APG 300/R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, fol. 56v, [35] *Pater peccavi in caelum*, b. 1–7

Another unique feature of the notation stands out in Fig. 21: the use of a dot before a minim, after which there are three quavers (see b. 2, bass; b. 3, 6, soprano; b. 7, soprano and tenor). Although it occurs in several works, both Franz Kessler and Jerzy Erdman leave it without a comment and transcribe it as a crotchet rest and dotted crotchet with three quavers.¹³⁶ But dots placed before the minims are shaped exactly as ordinary dots (see e.g. b. 2, three upper voices) and cannot be mistaken for rests, which always appear as vertical strokes. In the same piece, *Pater peccavi*, both parts of the composition end with an identical fragment of music; its opening figure starts with a minim preceded by a dot in the first part, while in the second part the dot is placed after the minim (Ex. 2). The latter solution is still rhythmically incorrect, although more understandable. The conclusive evidence comes from the beginning of *Veni in hortum meum* ([33]). The opening figure of b. 1, with a dot before the minim, is repeated in the top voice in b. 6–7; here the minim is tied over the bar line to the first of four quavers (Ex. 3).¹³⁷ A dot preceding a minim is therefore a shortcut for a minim tied to a following quaver.

Ex. 2a. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, [35] *Pater peccavi in caelum*, b. 33



Ex. 2b. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, [35] *Pater peccavi in caelum*, b. 94



136 *Danziger Orgel-Musik des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Kessler, Neuhausen–Stuttgart 1988, pp. 3–122; *Gdańska Tabulatura Organowa / The Gdańsk Tablature 1591*, ed. Jerzy Erdman, Łódź 1993. In Kessler's edition rhythmic values are halved.

137 In Ex. 3, worth noticing are also the rests in the lowest voice that indicate precisely the entries of the pedal.

Ex. 3. APG 300,R/Vv,123, the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, [33] *Veni in hortum meum*, b. 1–7

There has been discussion among scholars about whether the works in the Gdańsk Organ Tablature are intended for organ or harpsichord, for liturgical or domestic use.¹³⁸ For the group of thirty-six compositions considered thus far, there is no definite and uniform answer. The fantasia is an abstract genre and can serve many purposes, including a church prelude in a required mode. The intabulations of sacred works or of sacred contrafacts could be performed both in liturgy and at home, and even the intabulations with original, secular title inscriptions are instrumental music independent from the original context.¹³⁹ Some of the compositions require the use of the pedalboard, but stringed keyboard instruments with pedals existed along the organs. In any case, this part of the collection is music for professionals, not for amateurs. It requires a developed technique, an ability to perform extended diminutions and fast ornaments and to play as many as five or six voices, also with intricate obligato pedal lines. Manuscripts of keyboard music from the second half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century that were prepared for or by amateurs usually contained short preludes (if any), simple chorale harmonisations and/

138 A. Sutkowski, 'Gdańska tabulatura'; J. Gołos and A. Sutkowski, 'Preface', p. VII–VIII; F. Kessler, 'Zur Geschichte und Praxis', p. XX; K. Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule*, pp. 206–208.

139 Klaus Beckmann reached a similar conclusion: '[e]ine scharfe Trennung von weltlichem und geistlichem Spielgut, von Kirche und Haus, Orgel und häuslichem Instrument kennt die Lebenswirklichkeit des Reformationszeitalters nicht. Das Vorhandensein der Choralbearbeitung *Vater unser im Himmelreich* lässt durchaus an organistisches Milieu denken, in das die 19 Intavolierungen geistlicher wie weltlicher Vokalwerke ebenso problemlos passen'; see: K. Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule*, p. 207.

or intabulations of uncomplicated, mostly secular compositions (sometimes slightly ornamented), and always a substantial amount of dances.¹⁴⁰ The repertoire profile of this part of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature is quite different, and the presence of the pedal works towards the end of the group may indicate its didactic purpose.

In this context, it may be significant that in the first three gatherings (IV–VI) Witzke wrote Latin, Greek and German adages and sentences at the bottom of several pages.¹⁴¹ Such sentences appear in music sources created by students of institutions that offered education in liberal arts.¹⁴² It is likely that the scribe began copying the music, probably as a part of the instruction received from a professional organist, as a university student.¹⁴³ This observation corresponds with Witzke's academic background suggested in the print published for his wedding, and it is probably not a coincidence that 'Petrus Witte Sundensis' matriculated at the Rostock University in April 1591, the year impressed on the front cover of Witzke's manuscript book made of Mecklenburgian paper. Incorporating the loose gatherings into a large book with a planned index would then be a decisive step towards the professionalization of his music activities and disconnecting them from academic studies; from this moment on, the humanistic inscriptions disappear. Preparing a book that had a potential of comprising around two hundred compositions could only mean that Witzke expected

140 E.g. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek (D-As), 2 Cod 469, RISM ID 1001177747; Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (PL-Kj), Berol. Mus. ms. 40089, tablature of August Nörmiger; PL-Kj, Berol Mus. ms. 40115; PL-Kj, Berol Mus. ms. 40604; Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket (S-Uu), vmhs 132, RISM ID 190004589; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn), Mus. Hs. 18491, tablature of Regina Clara Imhoff, RISM ID 600141912.

141 For their full transcription, see: 'Kritischer Bericht' in: *Danziger Orgel-Musik des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, pp. XLVII–L; J. Erdman, 'Nota redakcyjna', pp. VII–X. Their list in F. Kessler, 'Die Danziger Tabulatur', is incomplete.

142 Among the keyboard sources that contain such sentences and can be connected with environments of concrete institutions are the tablature of students from Wittenberg (S-Uu vmhs 132) and the Braunsberg/Oliva tablature (Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka [LT-Va], F15-284), partly written by Jacobus Apfell during his study at the Jesuit *collegium* in Braunsberg; see: Nicole Schwindt, 'Ein studentisches Vademecum um 1600: die wenig bekannte Wittenberger Claviertabulatur S-Uu, Vok. mus. hs. 132', in: *Im Dienst der Quellen zur Musik. Festschrift Gertraut Haberkamp zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Paul Mai, Tutzing 2002, pp. 229–247; Marcin Szelest, 'Wstęp / Introduction', in: *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, vol. 1, ed. Marcin Szelest, Warsaw 2021, pp. 5–57. Latin sentences appear also on title pages of the incomplete set of partbooks S-Uu vmhs 76g, believed to have been created in an unidentified educational institution in Pomerania; see: Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Co mogli śpiewać renesansowi gimnazjaliści: kilka uwag o rękopisie vok. mus. i hs. 76g z Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali' [What could the Renaissance gymnasium students sing: some remarks on the manuscript vok. mus. i hs. 76g of the University Library in Uppsala], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 9 (2011), pp. 43–58.

143 Klaus Beckmann also considers the Gdańsk Organ Tablature a learning material: '[w]ie es scheint, weist jene Sentenz am unteren Rand gleich auf der ersten Seite – *Discat qui nescit nam sic sapientia crescit* (Lernen möge, wer nicht weiß, denn nur so wächst das Können) – in die richtige Richtung; hier sammelt ein Lernender, ein Schüler, Material für seine Ausbildung im Spiel von Tastenmusik, Übungsstücke, Musterbeispiele für Applikatur und Komposition, also Unterrichts- und Gebrauchsliteratur'; see: K. Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule*, p. 207.

the career of a professional organist who would need to intabulate vocal music in order to accompany ensembles or substitute for them, according to the common practice of the time. Seen in this light, the pieces that he copied could serve as exemplary compositions that show how to construct preludes in all church modes and how to embellish intabulations.

Two more observations appear important. First, the set of thirty-six works may already have been outdated in 1591. The vocal models of the intabulations appeared in print between 1538 and 1571. It may be significant that the youngest piece in this group, *Hispanum ad coenam* by Alexander Utendal, is placed at the very end of the set and considerably less ornamented than the other intabulations. The pieces are likely to have been composed in the 1570s, and the title inscriptions in Low German seem to support this hypothesis. As Konrad Küster has pointed out, they must have been copied along with the music from the scribe's exemplar;¹⁴⁴ they reflect the language spoken by the composer or the previous copyist. The adages and sentences added by Witzke are, however, in High German which was becoming increasingly popular in Pomerania in the second half of the sixteenth century and was apparently his own spoken language.¹⁴⁵ Second, the set of thirty-six pieces could have been copied in a short period of time, more or less a month perhaps. Witzke recorded two thirds of it in the three loose gatherings (IV–VI) that most likely were incorporated into the new book immediately after they had been filled. The style of his handwriting seems very stable, especially as far as the music script is concerned. If he was allowed to copy the master's exemplar, he probably paid for the possibility and had to do it quickly.¹⁴⁶ Three seventeenth-century keyboard sources that bear dates of entering individual pieces attest that the copying pace could vary between one to three substantial works and over twenty short compositions per day.¹⁴⁷

144 K. Küster, 'Caj Schmedeke', p. 35.

145 For instance, the influences of High German in Stralund began in 1540, and at the Rostock University in 1559; see: *Die Inschriften der Stadt Greifswald*, 6. *Die Sprache der Inschriften*, in: *Deutsche Inschriften Online*, <https://www.inschriften.net/greifswald/einleitung/6-die-sprache-der-inschriften.html>, accessed 28 December 2023. In Gdańsk, the change of the language in documents of the city administration occurred in the middle of the 1560s; see: Grażyna Łopuszańska, 'Sprachlichkeit Danzigs', in: *Kontakty językowe i kulturowe w Europie* [Linguistic and cultural contacts in Europe], ed. Andrzej Kałyn, Gdańsk 2008 (= *Studia Germanica Gedanensia* 17), p. 223.

146 Siegbert Rampe, 'Abendmusik oder Gottesdienst? Zur Funktion norddeutscher Orgelkompositionen des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts (Schluss)', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 27 (2005), pp. 107–112.

147 Levoča, Evanjelická a. v. cirkevná knižnica (SK-Le), 13992 (3 A; RISM ID 570004700) and 13993 (4 A), the so-called tablatures of Johann Schimrack; Braşov, Evangelische Kirche A.B. Kronstadt, Archiv und Bibliothek der Honterusgemeinde (RO-BRbn), I F 37, the Breslau/Wittenberg tablature of Daniel Croner. See: Marta Hulková, *Levočská zbierka hudobnín*, vol. 1–2, Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, Bratislava 1985 (PhD dissertation). For the inventory of SK-Le 13993, see also: Cleveland Johnson, *Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures 1550–1650*, New York 1989, part 2, *Catalogue*, pp. 75–83. For the catalogue of RO-BRbn I F 37, see: András Pernye and Dániel Benkő, 'Daniel Croner... Tabulatura... 1681... Wratislavia', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1977) no. 1, pp. 301–307.

The remaining four works ([36], [38], [39], [40]) are unornamented, exact intabulations, for which the scribe divided each system into eight *caselle*. The *Padua 'das Medtleinn'* ([36]) was written on an opening between the last two pieces of the previous group that could have been left blank and copied into the manuscript directly from instrumental partbooks. The entry is unfinished; the scribe managed to record four out of five voices in the first part and only the two outermost voices in the second. It shows that he started with the top and bottom parts and then filled the middle voices; what is lacking in the first part is probably the *quinta vox*, which would be copied last, after the alto and tenor. The composer of the pavane is unknown. An important concordance for the *secunda pars* has recently emerged in one of the manuscripts from the Herlufsholm collection, now housed in Odense. The two partbooks preserved from a larger set, written almost entirely by the famous Danish professor Johannes Stephanius, bear the date 1582 both on the title pages and at the beginning of the section with 'cantiones quinq(ue) et sex vocum', of which the work, called 'Medtlein' (the spelling almost identical to the Gdańsk Organ Tablature), is the second piece. Stephanius, born in 1561, apparently prepared most of the manuscript while he was still an assistant to Tycho Brahe on the Ven island; only the piece no. 13 in the same section, entered by his friend Petrus Stenius in Wittenberg, where they both studied, is dated 1588. Around and after 1600, the *secunda pars* of the paduana was used as a vocal piece with the text *O tu virginum pulcherrima*, as attested by another, single partbook from the Herlufsholm collection¹⁴⁸ and three other manuscripts in Sweden. These concordances suggest that the original pavane, which had already existed by 1582, could have been composed in the western part of the Baltic region and that its second part was often transmitted separately; the unfinished entry in the Gdańsk Organ Tablature remains the single known source of the whole work and of the *prima pars*.

Three other pieces of this group are Latin motets, including the unattributed *Deus in adiutorium* by Orlando di Lasso ([39]), the youngest work in the manuscript, published in 1582. Here Witzke noted the vocal setting ('A.6. 2D.2T', i.e. for six voices with two discant parts and two tenor parts), while in the two other pieces he only entered the number of voices. These intabulations were evidently based on manuscript copies of the motets, rather than on their prints, as attested by a number of readings that are different from the printed texts or clearly corrupt. In the case of

148 Contrary to the information in the RISM database, the manuscript DK-Ou Rara Musik L 45 is likely to have originated c.1600. I am thankful to Ole Kongsted for providing me with reproductions of the Herlufsholm sources and kindly sharing with me the results of his yet unpublished findings about their origins and scribes. For other instances of instrumental pieces turned into sacred vocal works, see: Marcin Szelest, 'Psalm Dawida i inne intawolacje kontrafaktur wokalnych w rękopisach organowych z przełomu XVI i XVII wieku powstałych na terenach Rzeczypospolitej' [*Psalm Dawida* and other intabulations of vocal contrafacts in organ manuscripts from the turn of the 16th and 17th century created in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], *Muzyka* 68 (2023) no. 1, pp. 119–125.

Deus in adiutorium by Clemens non Papa ([40]), the manuscript transmission goes back not to the earliest edition of the motet, but to the version first printed in 1556, in which the two discant parts were swapped in the *prima pars*, several errors got corrected, and the different text underlay resulted in occasional breaking of longer note values into shorter ones.¹⁴⁹ Unlike the pavane, the three intabulations are copies from another *intavolatura*; mistakes such as skipping individual notes without displacing the next ones, or entering the material of two voices a bar too early, would not happen while transcribing from partbooks. All three motets have the text of the bass line underlaid below the systems, and in *Deus in adiutorium* by Clemens non Papa the bass part is written in red ink, as is the lowest line of the lower staff. It was again Hermann Rauschnig who suggested that the presence of the text reflects the practice of singing the bass part to the organ performance of the motet.¹⁵⁰ Although Jerzy Erdman noted several ties between the red and black notes,¹⁵¹ they do not, contrary to what he inferred, prove such a performance impossible. But the text under the notes does not prove anything either. All three exact intabulations of motets are as multifunctional as intabulations of the ‘Partitur in Tabulatur’ type recorded in letter tablatures.¹⁵² They could be a part of the instruction that the scribe received; they could serve to accompany an ensemble singing and/or playing all the voices or just selected parts; they could also be performed as solo organ pieces, ornamented or not. In an ensemble rendering, singers and instrumentalists would have performed from their own parts, not from the organ part. The text in a keyboard source could not serve for vocal performance, neither in the letter tablatures which the singers did not know, nor in the *intavolatura*, in which the bass line was placed on one staff with other voices. Moreover, in most churches singing from an organ manuscript would force the singer to stand with his back to the nave and bend towards the console to see his part and the small-sized text in the book. In fact, the text of the bass part(s) was included in numerous keyboard sources with vocal music, including basso continuo partbooks, to aid the organist, for whom the lowest line was the foundation of the accompaniment.¹⁵³ When placed directly under the relevant bass notes or letters,

149 *Sextus Tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum sententiarum. Quatuor, sex, et octo vocum*, Nuremberg: Johann Vom Berg & Ulrich Neuber, [1556], RISM B/I 1556⁹, RISM ID 993122160, no. 43.

150 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 53.

151 J. Erdman, ‘W kwestii autorstwa’, p. 13; J. Erdman, ‘Wydanie utworów z tabulatury gdańskiej’, p. 119. The ties, as well as notes erroneously written in red ink or several cases of merging of the two colours, also attest that the entry in the Gdańsk Organ Tablature was copied from a preexisting intabulation.

152 The term was introduced in Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau 1890, reprint Hildesheim–New York 1970, p. VI and passim.

153 German letter tablatures from the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century containing intabulations with text underlay include the Łowicz tablature (*olim* Warsaw, Biblioteka Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Muzycznego, rkp. I/220, lost; photocopy at the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library, Harvard University [US-CAe], shelf mark 2562.5.2); the Braunsberg/Oliva tablatures (LT-Va F15-284 and F15-286), the tablature from the Jesuit *collegium* in Riga (S-Uu vmhs 88); the Pelplin

it would facilitate the correct phrasing and overall understanding of the work's structure. But in some sources the text was written or printed in one block on the side or under the piece, which left its use to the discretion of the player.¹⁵⁴ The use of red ink in [40] is probably caused by the fact that in this work there are two bass parts crossing each other quite often, and marking the second bass with another colour clarifies to which notes the text belongs. The red line could not be intended for the pedal, because it would make some other notes on the lower staff unplayable by the left

tablatures (Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna [PL-PE], Ms. 304, 305, 306, 307, 308); the tablatures from Breslau churches, mainly St. Elisabeth and St. Mary Magdalene (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz [D-B], Bohn Ms. mus. 3, 18, 19, 20, 21, 42, 46, 47); the tablatures of Zacharias Zarewutius from Bartfeld (now Bardejov) in Spiš/Zips (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, the collection of St. Aegidius, Bártfa [H-BA], Bártfa Ms. mus. 25, 26, 28); one of the two tablatures of Samuel Marckfeller (SK-Le, 13991 [6 A]); the so-called tablatures of Johann Schimrack (SK-Le 13992 [3 A] and 13993 [4 A]); the notebook of Samuel Scheidt, known as the Plotz tablature (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [PL-Kj], Berol. Mus. ms. 40056); the tablature of Andreas Pleninger (Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung [D-Rp], C 119, RISM ID 1001176516). For an example of an intabulation in staff notation with text underlay, see: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs), Mus. ms. 4480 (a South German organ book of c.1600, two five-line staves), fol. 2r–v. Several early Italian prints of *partitura per l'organo* included either fragments of the text under consecutive phrases of music or complete text underlay, or a combination of both; see: e.g. Pietro Lappi, *Partitura per l'organo d[e]lle Messe ad otto, et nove voci... libro secondo*, Venice: Alessandro Raverii, 1608, RISM A/I L 683, LL 683, RISM ID 990036473; *Partitura della seconda aggiunta alli concerti... novamente raccolti da Filippo Lomazzo...*, RISM B/I 1617², RISM ID 993121454. A manuscript organ partbook of c.1625 from the Benedictine abbey in Tegernsee (D-Mbs 4^o Mus. pr. 23, Beiband 4) contains works notated in form of the bass lines of two choirs, outermost parts of two choirs, and full scores; all the bass lines are texted. Basso continuo partbooks (called 'Basis Generalis ad Organa Musica accommodata') to both parts of Erhard Bodeschatz collection *Florilegium portense* were printed with texts throughout; see: *Florilegium Portense, continens CXV. selectissimas cantiones 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. vocum... collectum & editum Autore M. Erhardo Bodenschatz...*, Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, Kaspar Klosemann, 1618, RISM B/I 1618¹, RISM ID 993121470; *Florilegii Musici Portensis, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. VIII. X. vocum... pars altera... collectore et editore M. Erhardo Bodenschatzio...*, Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1621, RISM B/I 1621², RISM ID 993121542. Texts were also added by hand (sometimes with phrasing markings) to printed organ partbooks; see: e.g.: Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Partitio Sacrorum Conventuum octonis vocibus modulandorum cum duplici Basso in Organorum usum... liber secundus*, Augsburg: Valentin Schönigk, 1614, RISM A/I G 5143, RISM ID 990023989, copy: PL-Kj; Hieronymus Praetorius, *Bassus Continuus Cantionum variarum V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII. XVI. XX. vocum, quae sunt Operum Musicorum Tomus Quartus*, Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, 1618, RISM A/I P 5341, PP 5341, RISM ID 990052731, copies: Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek – Musikbibliothek (D-LEm), D-Mbs; Hieronymus Praetorius, *Bassus Continuus Cantionum Sacrarum de festis praecipuis totius anni V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII. vocum, quae sunt Operum Musicorum Tomus Primus*, Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622, RISM A/I P 5338, B/I 1622⁸, RISM ID 990052728, copy: Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung (D-LÜh); Hieronymus Praetorius, *Bassus Continuus Cantici B. M. Virginis seu Magnificat... cum additis motectis aliquot VIII. X. XII. vocum, quae sunt Operum Musicorum Tomus Secundus*, Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622, RISM A/I P 5334, PP 5334, RISM ID 990052724, copy: D-LÜh; Hieronymus Praetorius, *Bassus Continuus Missarum Sacrarum V. VI. IIX. vocum, quae sunt Operum Musicorum Tomus Tertius*, Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622, RISM A/I P 5330, RISM ID 990052720, copy: D-LÜh. I am indebted to Michael Fuerst for drawing my attention to the handwritten annotations of Praetorius's prints, especially the Lübeck copies that belonged to the church of St. Peter.

¹⁵⁴ See e.g.: *Nova musices organicae tabulatura... zusam[m]en gesetzt... Durch Johann Woltzen...*, Basel: Johann Jacob Genath, 1617, RISM B/I 1617²⁴, RISM ID 990069254.

hand. Although the use of the pedal in this piece is as necessary as in the other two unembellished motets, the only feasible way to perform it is to play on the pedal the lowest sounding notes, regardless of whether they belong to the first or second bass.

It is not clear if Witzke entered this last group of four compositions together with the fantasias and ornamented intabulations, or at a slightly later stage, perhaps for the practical purpose of accompanying an ensemble as a substitute or an official apprentice of some organist. Whatever the case, it seems that the career project, represented by the large book that was intended to be gradually filled with music, found its end quite soon; despite clear traces that Witzke did study the music he copied, about two thirds of the book remained blank and were eventually filled with other content. It is not known who entered the last two works in the manuscript ([41], [42]) and when it happened. They are written in German letter tablature notation and the handwriting seems different from Witzke's, although this impression may be caused by the lack of sufficient material for comparison. The few tablature letters and rhythmic symbols used by Witzke for corrections are similar to the corresponding letters and symbols in the works written in tablature; especially striking is the use of the Latin (rather than German) 'e' in both samples. On the other hand, the Latin script in the title inscription to the first of them, an exact, unornamented intabulation of Germano Pallavicino's madrigal that appeared in print in 1589, looks quite unlike that of Witzke. The second piece is an untitled praeambulum, very different from the fantasias and, if anything can be certain about this short piece, more typical of the early seventeenth century style. It has not been included in any edition of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, and its first modern edition appears in Appendix 2.¹⁵⁵

It is quite likely that the works copied by Peter Witzke were never played and heard in Gdańsk. It would be tempting to speculate that between 1598 and 1604 he could have been organist in one of the churches for which no information from the period survives, or that in later years he could sometimes substitute for Schmiedtlein as his colleague from the church staff, and to connect the presence of the last two compositions, notated in the manuscript in German letter tablature ([41] and [42]), with one of these activities. Schmiedtlein, however, had an apprentice since c.1600 – Michael Weyda, who knew the *Marienkirche* organ well and was probably his natural substitute in case of leave or illness. If Witzke was considered someone who could play the instrument, it would certainly not go unnoticed in the church documents; he would also be at hand for the periods of vacancy for the organist position in 1611 and 1623, but extant reports and bills indicate that other players filled in on those occasions. It seems, then, that Witzke gave up organ playing before he came to Gdańsk

155 Jerzy Erdman maintained that the piece, skipped by accident in his edition, was published later in a separate appendix; see: J. Erdman, 'Wydanie utworów z tablatury gdańskiej', p. 117. However, I was unable to trace it.

or shortly thereafter at the latest. Nevertheless, his work as a *Kirchenknecht* allowed him to be close to the church and to the organ. In his lost manuscript copied by Georg Schröder, two entries concern the *Marienkirche* organists. Unsurprisingly, the first one records the famous competition that took place after Schmiedtlein's death:

A[nno] 1611. den 12 Juli, ist die Proba der Organisten geschehen, derer vier wie folget.
 Paul Siefert alias der Kleine Pauliche
 Christoff Vater
 Michael Weÿda
 Gregorius Linde.¹⁵⁶

Despite the brief form, it is clearly written by someone who had known Siefert since his youth and remembered the diminutive of his name even though in 1611 he was already twenty-five years old. The second entry records a seemingly unimportant event:

A[nno] 1612. hat Heinrich Marcus und sein Tochterman Christoff Vater zum ersten mahl die Orgel beschlagen nach des Caÿ Todte.¹⁵⁷

Although there is no exact date, and the year is probably also incorrect (Witzke could have written the notes retrospectively),¹⁵⁸ it appears to reflect a personal attitude both to the death of Schmiedtlein and to the fact that someone else played the organ, as if it marked a beginning of a new era in the church everyday life.

CONCLUSION: PERSPECTIVES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

On the basis of the evidence presented in this study, a new history of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature and its manuscript emerges. The central figure of the history is Peter Witzke, born c.1570 in Stralsund. He received some academic education, possibly at the Rostock University, where a 'Petrus Witte Sundensis' matriculated in April 1591. Around the same time Witzke copied most of the works that make up the Gdańsk

156 BG PAN, Ms. 486, fol. 258v. Witzke is certain to have been involved in organizing the competition; on 16 July he was reimbursed 4 Mark and 44 Groschen from the city office (*Kämmerei*) 'p(er) vncosten so in d(er) Kirchen aufgewandt als die *Organiste(n)* Ire Proba gethan', see: *Extract aus dem Cammerbüch Des 1611 Jahres. Bis ultimo Martzij A° 1612*, APG 300,12/41, p. 120 (the date is erroneously recorded as 16 June).

157 BG PAN, Ms. 486, fol. 259r.

158 According to Bötticher, Heinrich Marcus played the *Marienkirche* organ even before the competition, on 7 July 1611, during a special service including the *Te Deum laudamus* after the capture of Smolensk, and Christoph Vater, who was appointed organist on 23 September 1611, signed his contract on 1 October that year; see: E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 637–640.

Organ Tablature. He started in three loose gatherings and very soon incorporated them into a large book made of Mecklenburgian paper. On its front cover he had his monogram P.W.S.P. (= Peter Witzke Stralsundensis Pomeranus) and the year 1591 impressed. He probably received instruction from a professional organist while studying at the university, and the works he copied constituted his learning material, but he planned to fill the book with many more pieces during his own prospective career. That, however, never happened. Witzke could have next spent some time in Bütow, where his first wife Esther Lutken came from. He married her in 1598 in Gdańsk and stayed there for the rest of his life. In 1599 Witzke obtained citizenship of Gdańsk (as 'Arbeitsmann'). It is not known what he did to earn his living, but he seems to never take up an organist position. His wife and son died during the plague in 1602, and Witzke married Catharina Bauersdorff in the following year. The couple had at least three children, including the future rector of the St. Barbara school in Gdańsk, Joachimus Witzkuis. In December 1604 Witzke became the *Kirchenknecht* in the Church of St. Mary and began to write down his part of the church accountancy at the back of his book. Then he used the book for recording copies of important Gdańsk documents as well, including the *Willkür* and lists of city council members, mayors and lay judges, as well as excerpts from the city books of deeds which helped him charge and collect interest from loans granted by the church. Since 1606 Witzke authored or contributed to eighteen occasional prints, mostly epithalamia for his co-workers in the church, clergymen or school teachers; his entire literary output is in German, and his last work was a description of King Sigismund III Vasa's entry into Gdańsk in 1623. Peter Witzke died in 1635 and was buried on 26 December in the *Marienkirche*.

Although it is impossible to prove the identity of the Rostock University student 'Petrus Witte Sundensis' with Peter Witzke, the use of Mecklenburgian paper for the book put together by Witzke in 1591 clearly indicates that he copied the pieces of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature in that area. This fact provokes the question of who might be the composer of the works. There are no clear clues in the music itself apart from its likely dating for the 1570s and the unusual use of Italian keyboard notation. The number of preserved (or described before 1945) pre-1600 keyboard sources from the German speaking area of Northern Europe is very small,¹⁵⁹ but we may safely

159 Only three such manuscripts have been known from the second half of the sixteenth century. Apart from the Gdańsk Organ Tablature, they are an intabulation of G. Domale's motet *Respice in me*, sent in a 1554 letter of Johann Kellner to the Hamburg organist Valentin Pralle (*olim* Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Ms. Hans. III,4, lost), and fragments of a tablature from Lüdingworth from the late 1560s. See: Hugo Leichsenring, *Hamburgische Kirchenmusik im Reformationszeitalter*, mit Nachwort und Bibliographie herausgegeben von Jeffery T. Kite-Powell, Hamburg 1982, pp. 114–116, 153–155; Oliver Huck, 'Die Musikalien des Hamburger Organisten Valentin Pralle († 1565)', *Die Musikforschung* 76 (2023) no. 2, pp. 156–162; *Tabulatur Lüdingworth. Norddeutsche Orgelmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts*, facsimile with introduction and critical edition by Konrad Küster, Kassel–Basel

assume that the use of *intavolatura* must have been an exception rather than the rule. Witzke seems to have been familiar with the German letter tablature which he used for corrections in his copy. The music of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature is far too complicated for a beginner, and Witzke is likely to have studied keyboard playing for some time before, probably in his native Stralsund. The process of creating a copy of the works that formed a nucleus of what was intended to be an ‘organist book’ should be then interpreted as a continuation of his music studies, possibly with a master of more than local renown; and it was probably this master who was versed in Italian notation (though not so much in Italian language, as the title inscriptions prove) and used it to record his compositions that served him as a pedagogic tool. In this context one cannot but think about the famous South Netherlandish Mors family of organists and organ builders, active largely in Mecklenburg. In 1591 Antonius Mors (c.1555–1619), the youngest member of the family, was organist of the *Jacobikirche* in Rostock; he had held the position since 1573. His father Hieronymus (1521–98), born in Antwerp, had served Johann Albrecht I in Schwerin from 1552 until the duke’s death in 1576 and then remained the cathedral organist in the town. During the duke’s reign, Schwerin was a flourishing music centre with the court ensemble consisting of singers and instrumentalists. Although direct Italian influence in North Germany was rather scarce before 1600, in 1562–65 Cesare Bendinelli was employed as a trombone player in the ensemble. Jacob Mors (c.1515–after 1585), the older brother of Hieronymus, was his predecessor at the Schwerin court, but already in 1554 left for Dresden, where he was organist to the court ensemble of Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and three years later moved to Berlin to the court of Joachim II Hector, Elector of Brandenburg. Italians had been active in Dresden since 1549, and Jacob Mors worked with the future *Kapellmeister* Antonio Scandello. Later, in 1579–81, also Jacob’s son Joachim served as organist to the Dresden court.¹⁶⁰ It seems that the extended family connections could have easily allowed both Hieronymus and Antonius to get exposed to Italian music and ways of its notation. Hieronymus Mors would be a perfect ‘candidate’ for the composer of the set of thirty-six ornamented works copied into the Gdańsk Organ Tablature: he knew Bendinelli in person and could receive Italian compositions from his brother Jacob; he is likely to have been familiar with the vocal pieces that served as models for the intabulations since they

2007. Chronologically the next source is the tablature from Celle, dated 1601 (before 1945 in private possession, now lost; photocopy of 1937 in D-B); see: Willi Apel, ‘Die Celler Orgeltablatur von 1601’, *Die Musikforschung* 19 (1966) no. 2, pp. 142–151; *The Tablature of Celle, 1601. A Collection of Early German Organ Chorales*, ed. Willi Apel, [Rome] 1971 (= *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* 17). Among these manuscripts only the Gdańsk Organ Tablature uses notation other than German letter tablature.

160 Hans Klotz, ‘Moors’, in: *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19070>, accessed 30 March 2024; Martin Ruhnke, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der deutschen Hofmusikkollegien im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1963, pp. 188–190, 217, 307–308; O. Kongsted, ‘Die Musikalien’, pp. 224–225.

were all created during his lifetime; and he could have composed the didactic material in the 1570s, at the peak of his career. If Peter Witzke did study in Rostock, he could have known Antonius Mors. Antonius could use his father's music for teaching or recommend Witzke to go to Schwerin and take lessons with Hieronymus. All this, however, is pure conjecture. There are no extant works of Hieronymus Mors, while Antonius's surviving output consists of a double choir motet,¹⁶¹ a collection of *Lieder*¹⁶² and an incompletely preserved set of fantasias for viols,¹⁶³ all composed after 1600.¹⁶⁴ Ascribing the works of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature to either Hieronymus or Antonius in the present state of research, with virtually no appropriate comparative material, would be as insecure as the previously accepted attribution to Cajus Schmiedtlein. Nevertheless, it is certain that in 1591 an organist was active in Mecklenburg who composed the pieces copied by Witzke using the Italian *intavolatura*, and this observation alone changes the picture of pre-1600 keyboard music along the Baltic coast.

If the works did originate in Schwerin, the mysterious title inscription of *Io mi son giovinetta* [28] could indeed include a play of words ('Fera Basso' instead of Fer-rabosco), as Agnieszka Leszczyńska suggested.¹⁶⁵ As it happens, the bass singer of the court ensemble in 1572 was Egidius Turkin (Torquin), who probably came to Schwerin with the *Kapellmeister* Johannes Flamingus,¹⁶⁶ but soon left for Gdańsk, where he was recorded, presumably later that year, as a bass in the *Marienkirche*.¹⁶⁷ One wonders whether his seemingly frequent changes of workplace were caused by his difficult character which could have been referred to in the phrases 'Fera Basso' and 'Egidius Lucifer'.¹⁶⁸

In Peter Witzke's manuscript book there are two additional items that seem to have belonged there since his lifetime. The first of them is a small gathering of four folios with dimensions of 14,7 × 19,5 cm. The outer pages (fols. 190r–v and 193v) are blank, while inside the booklet (fols. 191r–193r) a handwritten set of selected Mass

161 *Dum completeretur dies Pentecostes*, Stadtarchiv Wismar (D-WM), Abt. III. Rep. 1. Aa, shelf mark 434, RISM deest, see: O. Kongsted, 'Die Musikalien', pp. 223–226. Modern edition: *Ars Baltica Musicalis I, vol. 1*, ed. Ole Kongsted, Copenhagen 2007 (= Monumenta Musica Regionis Balticae 8), pp. 50–56.

162 *Auserlesene Teutsche Gesäng mit vier und fünf Stimmen, so gantz lieblich zu singen, und auff allerley Instrument zu gebrauchen*, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Sondersammlungen (D-ROu), Mus. Saec. XVII. 18–32, RISM ID 1001158765.

163 *Etzliche schone und liebliche Fantasien so mit V Stimmen, welche 23 beieinander, und auch Galliarda so man auff allerhandt Instrumentenn zu gebrauchen, in sonderheit uff fiolenn*, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek (DK-Kk), R 160, RISM ID 150201123.

164 O. Kongsted, 'Die Musikalien', pp. 223–226.

165 A. Leszczyńska, 'The Beginnings of Musical Italianità', p. 9.

166 M. Ruhnke, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte*, pp. 190, 305.

167 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 30, 44.

168 He presented himself in Danzig as a musician who 'Fürsten und Herren in Iren Capellen damit bis dahero für einen Bassisten gedienet'. According to Rauschnig, he was soon dismissed, and his later whereabouts are unknown.

chants for the priest use is recorded: the preface dialogue, the preface for Marian feasts, *Pater noster*, and four intonations to the *Gloria*. The origin time and place of the gathering is unknown. It is beyond the scope of this study to establish whether it reflects the Catholic or early Lutheran rite, and whether any variants of the text or music could indicate its provenance. The watermark of the paper shows a fairly popular motif of a hand with a crown; its shape is closest to a watermark attested in Bremen in 1550.¹⁶⁹ If the gathering is indeed so old, it would not be likely to have any connection with Witzke's own activities. The second item consists of two loose folios of the bass partbook of Daniel Friderici's 1632 printed collection *Hilarodicon* (fols. 189–190).¹⁷⁰ It may be a coincidence that the print was published in Rostock, but Witzke could indeed have participated in some domestic music making that included singing drinking songs even late in his life; that would be quite natural for a former organist and a poet who once encrypted a part of the date in his 1613 print inside a distich 'Ja Wein und Bier | gibt guten Zier.'¹⁷¹

The above deliberations are intended to show possible areas of future research on the manuscript that turned out to have originated in Gdańsk only partially. While its non-musical parts reflect the activities of the city's parish church clerk, it should not be considered a 'Gdańsk' music source. We can definitely say that we do not know any compositions of Cajus Schmiedtlein or other Gdańsk organists of the sixteenth century (with a possible exception of the short [*Praeambulum*] no. [42]); instead, the new history of the source points to a hitherto unrecognized keyboard tradition in Mecklenburg. It seems justified to propose that the established name, 'Gdańsk/ Danzig Organ Tablature', should henceforth be put in quotation marks.¹⁷²

APPENDIX I

List of Peter Witzke's publications (in chronological order)

[1] Honoribus nuptiarum ORNATISSIMI, VIRTUTE, ET DOCTRINA PRÆSTANTIS, GREGORII SCHNITZKII, Musici excellentissimi Sponsi: ET AMORIBUS ET PIETATE COMMENDATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS MARLÆ, VALENTINI THIMMEN, quondam Civis Reip: Gedanensium primarij relictæ filie Sponsæ: Gratulantur amici. DANTISCI Ex Officinâ Martini Rhodi ANNO MDCVI – contains: (1) a Latin poem with heading 'TAMHAION', signed

169 Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters, <https://wzma.at/loadRepWmark.php?rep=PPO&refnr=17-6-1764>, accessed 25 February 2024.

170 Daniel Friderici, *Hilarodicon, das ist: gantz artige und sehr lustige neue Vinetten, oder Weinliederlein*, Rostock: Johan Richels Erben, 1632, RISM A/I F 1959, FF 1959, RISM ID 990019110. The existence of this incomplete copy is noted in the RISM-OPAC database only in the record of the Gdańsk Organ Tablature (RISM ID 302002314).

171 See Appendix 1, item [11].

172 I am grateful to Michael Fuerst for his generous editorial help in the preparation of this article.

'A Georgio Schalicio Cizensi, Ecclesiolæ Christi, quæ Thebis est Saxon. Diacono F'; (2) a Latin poem with heading 'ALIUD. Tricolon Tetrastrophon', signed 'M. Iohannes Messenius P. L.'; (3) a Latin poem with heading 'ALIVD. Parodia Odæ 21. lib. 1 Carm. Horat.'; (4) a Latin poem with heading 'Alia Odæ 30. ejusdem lib. Horatiani parodia', signed 'Adamus Schnappius Francus Orientalis ludi Mariani σύνεργ(ός)'; (5) a Latin poem, headed 'ALIUD EJUSDEM'; (6) a Latin poem headed 'ALIVD' and signed 'Martinus Elman Lucanus'; (7) a German poem with heading 'Glückwünschung Zu einem Christlichen vnd Gottselligen Ehstande, zu sonderlichen Ehrn vnd wolgefallen, Dem Erbarn vnd wolgelarten Jungen Gesellen *GREGORIO SCHNITZKEN* der Schulen zu Pfarr *Collegen*, Breutigams, so wol der Ehr vnd Tugentsamen Jungfrauen *MARIEN*, Des Erbarn Valentin Timmen, hinderlassenen Tochter, Braut. Den 19. *Septemb.* dieses 1606. Jahrs Christlich vollnzen, etc.', signed 'Petrus Witzke *Stralsundensis Pom.*'
Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [16].

[2] Auff den Hochzeitlichen Ehr vnd Frewden Tag, Des Ehrenvesten, Erbarn, Vornehmen vnd Wolgeachten Herrn Eberhard Bödeckherrs, Vorstehern der Pfarrkirchen zu S. Marien in Dantzigk, Breutigams: So wol Der Ehr und Tugentsame(n) Frawen Anna, des Erbarn Michael Friedlands seligen nachgelaßen Widwen, Braut: den 9 Julii dieses 1607 Jahres Christlich volnzen, etc, Schreibt vnd wünscht dienstw. *Petrus Witzke Stralsund: Pom.* Dantzigk. Gedruckt bey Martino Rhodo.

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [35]; Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 10 8° adl. 177.

[3] *Reverendi & CL. Viri DN. M. DANIELIS RUBENOVII, PASTORIS ECCLESIAE DEI IN ILLUSTRIS AVLA STOLPENSIS POMERANORUM. SPONSI. & Lectissimæ ac pudicissimæ Virginis ERDMUDIS, Domini. PETRI BECKENII, Viri Spectatissimi, olim Illustris. Principis Joannis Friderici, Pomeraniae Ducis, in Oppido Dahm à vectigalibus, ibidemque Senatoris, relictæ Filie SPONSÆ Nuptiis Stolpæ 8. Octobris celebratis. Gratulantur amici. DANTISCI. Excudebat Martinus Rhodus. ANNO M.D.C.IX.* – contains: (1) a Latin poem with heading 'Ad reverendum & Doctissimum Virum Dn. M. DANIELEM RUBENOVIVM AMICUM VETEREM, SPONSUM. ELEGEIA', signed 'Barptolomæus Bilovius à Bilovv. Comes Palatinus, & Poëta Laureatus Cæsarius, amoris & honoris ergò srib. Stolpæ 20. Septemb. Anno [1609]; (2) a Latin quatrain; (3) a Latin poem, headed 'ALIUD' and signed 'Ioannes Göttingus, Conrector Sch: Stolpensis'; (4) a German poem, headed 'Der CXXVIII. Psalm', and 'RHYTMI In sich haltende Tag, Monat vnd Jahr', signed 'P. W. S. P.'
Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [25].

[4] Lobspruch Des Heiligen vnd Gott wolgefälligen Ehestandes eine Seule des gantzen Menschlichen Geschlechtes, zu sonderlichen Ehrn vnd Wolgefallen, Dem Erbern, Wolgelarten vnd Kunstreichen, Andreae Hacke(n)bergern[,] der weitberümbten vnd löblichen Königlich Anseestadt Dantzig Capellmeistern, Breutigams, So wol Der Edeltugentreichen Jungfrauen HEDVVIG, Des Edlen, Ehrnvesten Herrn Alberti Gorzowsky[,] Bürgern vnd Kauffman in Krakaw nachgelassenen Tochter, Braut, &c. Schreibet vnd wünschet dieses *Petrus Witzke, Stralsund. Pom.* ANNO [1610]. Gedruckt zu Dantzig, bey Martin Rhoden.

Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, shelf mark III.9.96 [26].

[5] Der CXXXVIII. Psalm. Zu sonderlichen Ehren vnnd Hochzeitlichen Frewden. Dem Erbarn vnd Vornehmen *HENRICO NEVVHAUS* Breutigams, mit der Tugentsamen Jungfrawen Barbara Des Erbarn vnd Vornehmen *REINHOLDI* Rodesbrüches nachgelassen Tochter Braut, den 7. *Septemb.* dieses 1610. Jahrs Christlich vollnzen, &c. *Petrus Witzke, Strals. Pom.* Dantzig, Bey Martin Rhoden.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 3.

[6] Ein Retzel, Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehefrewden, Des Erbarn vnd Vornehmen Georgen Zincken, Breutigams: Mit der Tugentreichen Jungfraw Christina, des Ehrwürdigen vnd Wolgelarten Herrn *MICHAELIS COLETI*, vielgeliebter Tochter Braut. *Iuxta Arithmeticae Species* zu examiniren. S. S. S. *Pet. VVitzke. S. P.* Gedruckt zu Danzig, Bey Martino Rhodo [27 June 1611]. Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 4.

[7] ΕΠΙΘΑΛΑΜΙΑ *In solennem nuptiarum festivitatem Virtute, Doctrinâ, varioque rerum usu praeantissimi Viri Dn. TOBLÆ GAST POMMERANI, SPONSI DIGNISS. Nec non Lectissimæ, pudicissimæq(ue) Virginis IVDITH VON DVEREN, Sponsæ desiderantiss. ab Amicis, affinibusquë congratulantibus fausti ominis ergò, in succinctu itineris Regiomontani Gryphiswaldia, concinnata & dedicata, ANNO* [1611, 24 October] – contains: (1) a Latin poem signed ‘*Laurentius Stephani LL. Studiosus, Sponsi affinis*’; (2) a Latin poem in a goblet shape, headed ‘*Pocillum metricum ἐπίμυχτον Honoribus nuptiarum intgerrimi viri Dn. TOBLÆ GAST Sponsi, ac honestissime Virginis IUDITH à DVEREN Sponsæ: Consecratum à IOHANNE BLEINAGEL VVolgastensi Pom: SS. Theol. Stud.*’; (3) its German paraphrase, also in a goblet shape, headed ‘*Becher zur EHR Des Erbarn vnd Wolgelarten Jungen gesellen, Tobie Gasten Pomerani Breutigams, So wol der Ehr vnnd viel Tugentreichen Jungfrawen IUDITH, des Erbarn vnd Vorsichtigen MATTHIAS van Düeren, vielgeliebten Tochter Braut*’ and signed ‘*PETRUS WITZKE, S. P.* seinem lieben Schwager zun Ehren *F. F.*’; (4) *ANNAGRAMATISMI* with another poem in German, signed ‘*S. S. S. P. VV. S. P.*’.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 14a and 14.

[8] [Epithalamium for Adam Schnappius and Esther, née Botterbroth, 26 February 1612] – contains: (1) a Latin poem in a goblet shape, signed ‘*Joan: Philippo Pierio P. M.*’; (2) its German paraphrase, also in a goblet shape, signed ‘*Petrus Witzke* seinem lieben Gefattern *Amoris Ergo F. F.*’.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 10.

[9] Des H. Ehestandes Bawliche wesen vnd Baumgarten, Welchen Gott selbst gestiftet vnd gepflantzet, durch den K.P.D. Hoherhaben vnd Gepreiset: Zu sonderlichen Ehren vnd Hochzeitlichen Frewden Des Erbarn vnd Vornehmen Hans Grawrock Breutigams: Mit der Tugentsamen Jungfraw Elisabeth, des Erbarn vnd Vornehmen Casper Schröders vielgeliebten Tochter, Brautt, den 4. Junii 1612. Jahres Christlich volnzen, &c. S. S. *Petrus Witzke Strals. Pom.* Gedruckt zu Dantzigk, durch Martinum Rhodum.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 11.

[10] Jahr Rechnung Durch die *Arithm: Species* zum Ehrenfrewden Tag Deß Achtbarn vnd Hochgelarten Herrn *ADRIANI PAULI, MEDICINÆ DOCTORIS* vnd *PROFESSORIS* deß

Gymnasij der Königl. Stadt Dantzig Brautigams: So wol auch der Ehr vn(d) Tugentreichen Jungfrauen BARBAREN, Deß Erbahren Berent Dreßlers hinterlassenen Tochter, Braut. Zu Sonderlichem Wollgefallen. S. S. Pet. Witzke, S. P. Gedruckt zu Dantzig bey Marten Rhoden. [17 June] 1613.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 6.

[11] Nahmens Erinnerung, Des Ehrnvesten, Erbarvn vnd Vornehmen Jungen Gesellen Jacobi von Greveraden, durch einen Schertz, ihm zu sonderlichem wolgefallen gemacht. E. W. A. Pet: Witzke. [25 July 1613].

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 13.

[12] Jahr Rechnung Durch die *Arithmetica: Species*. Zum Ehrenfrewden Tag Des Ehrwürdigen, Achtbarn vnnd Hochgelahrten Herrn *GEORGIO PAULI*, der H. Schrift *Doctori* vnd *Profesorj* des *Gymnasij* der Königl. Stadt Dantzig, Brautigams[.] So wol auch der Ehren Tugendreichen Jungfrauen *URSULÆ* Des Ehrenvesten Erbarvn vnd Wolgeachten Georgen Schellen viel geliebten Tochter, Braut. Zu Sonderlichem Wolgefallen. S. S. Pet. Witzke, S. P. Dantzig, Druckts A. Hünefeldt. [30 September] 1614.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 7.

[13] *Tetragonismus* Die Jahrzahl in den Vier seiten vnd *Diametris* enthaltende Zum Ehrenfrewdentag Dea Ehrwürdigen vnd Wolgelahrten Herrn *MICHAELIS BLANCKJ Diaconi* zu S. Catharinen, Brautigams[.] So wol auch Der Ehr Tugendreichen Jungfrau *BARBARA* des Erbarvn vnnd vornehmen *Michaëlis Hancken* vielgeliebte Tochter, Braut[.] Zu sonderlichen Wolgefallen[.] S. S. W. Pet. Witzke S. P. [13 November 1614].

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 9.

[14] Lieblicher Reben Oel Säfftlein Deß H. Ehestandes, Zu sonderlichen Ehren vnd Wolgefallen Des Ehrnvesten, Erbarvn, Vornehmen und Wolgeachten Herrn Heinrich Turaw vorstehende Herren der Kirchen S. Marien in Dantzig, Bräutigams. So wol Der Ehren tugentreichen Jungfrauen Catharinen, Deß Gestrengen, Ehrnvesten, Erbarvn, Nahmhafften vnd Hochweisen Herren *ANDREÆ* Borckmans, gewesener BurgerMeisters hinterlassenen vielgeliebten Tochter Braut. Wünschet vnd Schreibet solches *PETRUS* Witzke, Bürger und Kirchendiener zur Pfarr. Gedruckt in Dantzig, Durch Andream Hünefeldt, Im Jahr 1617 [11 December].

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 10 8° adl. 178.

[15] Jahr Rechnung Durch die *Aritmetica: Species*. Zum Ehrenfrewden Tag Dem Ehrwürdigen, Achtbarn vnd Hochgelahrten Hn. *IOANNI CORVINO S.S. Th. Doctori*, Vnd der Kirchen zu S. Marien in Dantzig *Pastori*, Breutigams: So wol auch der Ehren Tugendreichen Jungfrauen *ELISABETH*. Deß Ehrenvesten, Erbarvn, Vornehmen vnd Wolgeachten Herrn Nicol Schmidts, Vorstehern auch derselben Kirchen S. Marien vielgeliebten Tochter, Braut. Zu sonderlichem wolgefallen. S.S. *PETRUS* Witzke, S.P. Kirchendiener zur Pfarr. Gedruckt zu Dantzig, durch Andream Hünefeldt, im Jahr 1621 [4 May].

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 12.

[16] Frewden-Becher Zum Hochzeitlichen Ehrnn Des Ehrnvesten, Erbarnd vnd Wollgelarten Hn. *FRANCISCI ADRIANI Notarii Publici* Breutigams: So wol Der Ehr vnd Tugentsamen Jungfrawen *HELENÆ* Des Ehrnvesten Erbaren Hans von Kappeln Hinterlaßnen Tochter Braut. S.S. *PETRUS WITZKE. S.P.* Gedruckt zu Dantzick durch Georg Rheten, Jm Jahr M. DC. XXj. [25 July 1621].

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 8.

[17] Freuden Glöcklein zun Hochzeitlichen Ehren Des Erbarnd, Vorsichtigen vnd Wolbestelten *ANDREÆ VLRICI Signatoris* zur Pfarr, Breutigams: So wol der Ehren Tugentsamen Jungfrawen *CHRISTINÆ*, Des Erbarnd vnd Kunstreichen Christoph Spiessen vielgeliebten Mödder Braut. Zu sonderlichen Ehren, den 24 *August. Anno 1621.* Christlig volnzogen[.] S.S. Petrus Witzke. Gedruckt zu Danzigk, durch Georg Rheten.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Oe 24 2° adl. 5.

[18] Herrliche Fröhliche vnd lustige Beschreibung So wol deß Einzuges als *preparation* zu demselben welcher allhie in Danzigk von dem Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebohrnen Fürsten vnd Großmächtigsten Herrn, Herrn *SIGISMUNDO III.* König in Polen, Groß Fürst in Littawen, Reussen, Preussen, Massowen, Samoiten, Kioven, Walinien vnd Liefflandt, Wie auch der Schweden, Gothen, vnd Wenden Erbkönige. Geschehen den 1. Julii, Anno 1623. zu Abends vmb 6. Uhr, vnd was sich sonsten begeben vnd zugetragen, den Herren Kriegas *Commissarien*, so wol allen Häuptleuten, Fendrich, Leutenandt, vnd *officirern* zu Ehren. S. S. *PETRUS WITZKE.* Gedruckt zu Danzigk, im Jahr 1623.

Gdańsk, BG PAN, shelf mark Ma 3903 8° adl. 18, Ma 4031 8° adl. 2.

APPENDIX 2

The Gdańsk Organ Tablature, fols. 68v–69r: [42] [*Praeambulum*]

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NOWA HISTORIA GDAŃSKIEJ TABULATORY ORGANOWEJ

W artykule przedstawiono nowe ustalenia dotyczące tzw. gdańskiej tabulatury organowej, jedyne zachowane w Gdańsku rękopisu z muzyką na instrumenty klawiszowe z końca XVI wieku. Od czasu opisanego go przez Hermanna Rauschninga za kompozytora zawartych w nim utworów uważa się Cajusa Schmiedtleina, organistę kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku w l. 1585–1611, który według badacza pełnił również funkcję sekretarza miejskiego, natomiast liczne w rękopisie zapisy nieodnoszące się do muzyki uznawane są za dokumenty związane z kancelarią Rady Miasta Gdańska. Schmiedtlein jednak najprawdopodobniej nie był zatrudniony jako sekretarz, a większość zapisów pozamuzycznych powstała z pewnością w środowisku kościoła Mariackiego.

Do sporządzenia rękopisu użyto dwóch rodzajów papieru, z których pierwszy, obecny w 21 z 24 składek i datowany dotychczas na rok ok. 1567, wytwarzany był w Meklemburgii, gdzie występuje w licznych rękopisach i drukach z lat ok. 1590–1620. Struktura rękopisu wskazuje, iż wszystkie zapisy niezwiązane z muzyką zostały do niego wprowadzone po oprawieniu księgi. Jej zawartość można podzielić na dziewięć sekcji. Ostatnią z nich (IX) stanowią rachunki kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku za okres od grudnia 1604 do listopada 1605 roku. Na podstawie opisu zadań osób pełniących różne funkcje w tej świątyni, zawartego w regulaminie (*Kirchenordnung*) z 1612 r., można stwierdzić, że skrytorem rachunków był służący kościelny (*Kirchenknecht*). Jego ręka pojawia się również w czterech innych sekcjach rękopisu: (III), (IV) i (V), listach członków rady miejskiej, burmistrzów i ławników Głównego Miasta i Starego Miasta oraz burgrabiów królewskich (listy te, rozpoczęte przez skryptorów B i C, *Kirchenknecht* kontynuował od roku 1609 do 1619–20), oraz (VIII), sporządzonej prawdopodobnie w 1611 r. i poszerzanej o nowe wpisy do roku 1627 kopii wyciągu z ksiąg gruntowych z 1571 r., w którym zapisano wysokości należnych kościołowi odsetek z tytułu pożyczek hipotecznych pod zastaw gruntów (kopię tę sporządził skryptor D, zaś *Kirchenknecht* uzupełniał

ją o notatki dotyczące spłat). Sekcje (VI) i (VII), odpowiednio pierwsza część statutu kantoru hanzeatyckiego w Londynie oraz obliczenie majątku Korony Polskiej na wsiach, zapisał ok. 1608 r. skryptor C, którym najprawdopodobniej był Hans Lehman, zakrystian (*Glöckner*) kościoła Mariackiego, natomiast sekcja (II), pierwsza część wilkierza gdańskiego, została utrwalona w nieznanym czasie przez dwóch innych skryptorów (E i F).

Funkcję służącego kościelnego pełnił od grudnia 1604 r. do śmierci w roku 1635 Peter Witzke, znany również jako autor opisu wjazdu Zygmunta III Wazy do Gdańska w 1623 r. oraz zachowanych w siedemnastu innych drukach okolicznościowych wierszy wydanych w Gdańsku w l. 1606–21. W podpisach tych utworów przy jego nazwisku pojawia się często określenie „Stralsundensis Pomeranus”. Inicjały jego imienia i nazwiska oraz miejsca pochodzenia odpowiadają monogramowi „P.W.S.P.” wytłoczonemu wraz z datą 1591 na oprawie rękopisu zawierającego gdańską tabulaturę organową, co pozwala stwierdzić, że był on jego właścicielem. Witzke urodził się w Stralsundzie w 1570 roku. Jego obecność w Gdańsku jest poświadczona od roku 1598; poślubił wówczas w kościele Mariackim Esther Lutken. Z tej okazji wydano w Barth okolicznościowy druk, w którym Witzke został określony jako „humaniorum literarum studiosus”. Jego nazwisko nie pojawia się w zachowanych księgach immatrykulacyjnych żadnego uniwersytetu, ale być może został on błędnie zapisany jako „Petrus Witte Sundensis” na uczelni w Rostocku w kwietniu 1591 roku. W roku 1599 Witzke uzyskał obywatelstwo gdańskie. Jego żona i syn zmarli podczas epidemii dżumy w 1602 r.; w kolejnym roku ożenił się z Cathariną Bauersdorff, z którą miał przynajmniej troje dzieci. Jego synem był późniejszy rektor szkoły św. Barbary w Gdańsku Joachim Witzkius.

Peter Witzke był również skryptorem gdańskiej tabulatury organowej. Zapis muzyczny rozpoczął on na trzech luźnych składkach papieru z własną foliacją. Następnie umieścił je po przycięciu jako składki IV–VI w oprawionej w roku 1591 księdze, w której kontynuował kopiowanie kolejnych utworów. Połowę kart poprzedzających zapis muzyczny przeznaczył na indeks, pozostał on jednak pusty. Rękopis miał zatem służyć jako „księga organisty”, założona z myślą o karierze profesjonalnego muzyka, która z nieznanых przyczyn nie doszła do skutku. Utrwalone w nim kompozycje stanowiły natomiast prawdopodobnie materiał pedagogiczny, skopiowany zapewne w roku 1591 podczas nauki u nieznanego mistrza w Meklemburgii; Witzke pobierał ją częściowo równoległe ze studiami uniwersyteckimi, o czym świadczą sentencje i cytaty z autorów klasycznych umieszczone na niektórych kartach – wyłączenie w najwcześniejszej zapisanych składkach IV–VI.

Podstawową część repertuaru tabulatury stanowi siedemnaście utworów nazwanych „phantasia” (jeden z nich, *Phanthasia aliqua*, okazał się intawolacją madrygału) oraz osiemnaście lub dziewiętnaście zornamentowanych intawolacji wokalnych kompozycji religijnych i świeckich (dotychczas nie odnaleziono ewentualnego pierwowzoru wokального opracowania *Vater unser im Himmelreich*), utrwalonych w postaci czystopisu zanotowanego włoską notacją klawiszową (intawolaturą). Styl ornamentacji, jednolity we wszystkich utworach, jest jednak podobny do południowoniemieckiego, a rozmieszczenie nut na wieloliniach w sześciu kompozycjach wskazuje na konieczność użycia pedału. Rodzaj i stopień trudności utworów w tej grupie świadczy o ich przeznaczeniu dla profesjonalistów, natomiast datowanie kompozycji wokalnych będących podstawą intawolacji sugeruje, że cały zestaw powstał prawdopodobnie w latach siedemdziesiątych XVI wieku. Pozostałe cztery utwory to intawolacje nieozdobione

o uniwersalnym przeznaczeniu; w trzech motetach odpisanych z wcześniejszych intawolacji, dla orientacji organisty dodano tekst słowny, natomiast niekompletnie utrwaloną pawanę *Das Medtleinn* – skopiowano z partesów. Dwie ostatnie kompozycje w źródle, zapisane przy użyciu literowej tabulatury niemieckiej, zanotował prawdopodobnie inny skryptor w nieznanym czasie. Utwory z gdańskiej tabulatury organowej zapewne nigdy nie rozbrzmiewały w Gdańsku, wydaje się bowiem, że Witzke porzucił grę na organach przed osiedleniem się w tym mieście.

Perspektywy dalszych badań obejmują przede wszystkim kwestię autorstwa utrwalonych w rękopisie utworów. W kontekście użytej w nim notacji włoskiej hipotetycznym kompozytorem mógłby być któryś z działających w Meklemburgii członków południowoniderlandzkiej rodziny Morsów, mającej koneksje rodzinne i zawodowe w Dreźnie i Berlinie – Antonius, organista w Rostocku, lub jego ojciec Hieronymus związany z dworem w Schwerinie. Przepuszczenie to jednak na obecnym etapie nie może być traktowane jako próba atrybucji.

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