# ARTYKUŁY

## AGNIESZKA LESZCZYŃSKA UNIWERSYTET WARSZAWSKI

## EMANUEL WURSTISEN, HIS TABLATURE AND LINKS TO POLAND LUTE MUSIC WITH MEDICINE IN THE BACKGROUND

The lute tablature CH-Bu F IX 70, known as the Emanuel Wurstisen Lute Book, has been kept at Basel University Library (Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel) since the early nineteenth century, but only became familiar to musicians and musicologists a little more than three decades ago, thanks to John Kmetz's catalogue.<sup>1</sup> A slightly modified and supplemented description of the tablature's contents was soon presented by Christian Meyer.<sup>2</sup> In 2012 Andreas Schlegel created a catalogue compiling data from both Kmetz and Meyer, and made it available online, along with black and white reproductions of the manuscript, in eight volumes corresponding to the internal divisions found in the tablature.<sup>3</sup> Later the entire digitalised source was made available online by Basel University Library.<sup>4</sup> The repertoire contained in the tablature gradually attracted the interest of a growing number of musicologists and lutenists.<sup>5</sup> One of the researchers who began to explore

I John Kmetz, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts: quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung, Basel 1988, pp. 206–229.

<sup>2</sup> François-Pierre Goy, Christian Meyer and Monique Rollin (eds.), Sources manuscrites en tablature, luth et theorbe (c.1500–c.1800): Catalogue descriptif, vol. 1, Confoederatio Helvetica (CH), France (F), Baden-Baden 1991, pp. 1–27.

<sup>3</sup> Andreas Schlegel (ed.), Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, Musiksammlung (CH-Bu), Ms. FIX 70. Lautentabulatur, 1591 bis ca. 1594 in Basel geschrieben von Emanuel Wurstisen (1572–1619?) Bildteil. Buch 1: Preambeln. Stand 25. Dezember 2012, https://accordsnouveaux.ch/images/Downloads/PDF-11-Quellen-Schweiz/ CH-Bu\_F\_IX\_70\_1.pdf, accessed 7 March 2019. Reproductions of the eight sections of the manuscript were published online at separate addresses. The link above concerns only Section I, since Schlegel's description and full catalogue of the manuscript can be found at all the eight addresses in an identical version.

<sup>4</sup> Tänze, Lieder und freie Instrumentalsätze. Basel, 1591. Universitätsbibliothek Basel, F IX 70, http://doi. org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13217, accessed 7 March 2020.

<sup>5</sup> John H. Robinson (ed.), 'Music Ascribed to A.F. in Basel F.IX.70', *Lute News* 60 (2001), Music Supplement, pp. 1–12; Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Studentische Lauten und Claviertabulaturen im Ostseeraum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für die Vermittlung eines europäischen Repertoires', in: *Universität und Musik im Ostseeraum*, eds. Ekkehard Ochs et al., Berlin 2009 (= Greifswalder Beiträge zur



Fig. 1. Manuscript title, CH-Bu F IX 70, title page, http://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13217

the collection already many years ago was Piotr Poźniak (d. 2016). He focused first and foremost on the works of Polish lutenists found in this source; namely, those by Wojciech Długoraj, Kasper Sielicki, and Diomedes Cato, as well as anonymous Polish dances.<sup>6</sup> The aim of the present article is to supplement Poźniak's research into

Musikwissenschaft 17), pp. 117–132; Yavor Genov, 'Emanuel Wurstisen's Manuscript (CH BU Ms. IX.70) as a Source of German Lute Tablature', *Bulgarian Musicology* 16 (2015) no. 4, pp. 3–20; Louis Peter Grijp, 'Psalm for the Lute in the Dutch Republic and Elsewhere', in: *The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht, 30 August 2013*, eds. Jan W. J. Burgers, Tim Crawford and Matthew Spring, Cambridge 2016, p. 26; Katarzyna Milek, 'Lute Music in Sixteenth-Century German Speaking Countries: A Study of the Manuscripts Pl-Lzu M6983, Ch-Bu F.IX.70 and D-Si G.I.4', University of Southampton 2016 (PhD thesis), https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/402939/1/ whole%2520book%25203.pdf, accessed 7 March 2020; Yavor Genov, 'Polythematic Fantasias in Wurstisen Lute Book (CH BU Ms. F.IX. 70)', *Art Studies Readings* 12 (2017) no. 2, pp. 381–389; Yavor Genov, 'Intabulations of Protestant Sacred Songs and Psalms in Wurstisen Lute Book', *Bulgarian Musicology* 19 (2018) no. 1, pp. 3–24. Two dances from Wurstisen's tablature were recorded by Michał Gondko on the CD *Polonica. Lute Music with Polish Connections around 1600* (RAM 1406; 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Piotr Poźniak mentioned works from the Wurstisen tablature as early as 1996 at the Warsaw conference 'Staropolszczyzna muzyczna' [Music in Old Poland]. He later referred to this manuscript in numerous publications, such as Piotr Poźniak, 'Długoraj, Wojciech', in: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM* [PWM music encyclopaedia], ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska, vol. 2, supplement, Kraków 2001, p. 85; Piotr Poźniak, 'Kasper Sielicki, lutnista – kompozytor i jego twórczość' [Kasper Sielicki, lutenist-composer and his output], *Saeculum Christianum: pismo historyczno-społeczne* 9 (2002) no. 2, pp. 131–150; Piotr Poźniak, 'Sielicki, Kasper', in: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM* [PWM music encyclopaedia], vol. 9, Kraków 2007, p. 256; Piotr Poźniak, 'Utwory Wojciecha Długoraja w rękopisach z Bazylei, Genui i Kolonii oraz w druku E. Mertela' [Works by Wojciech Długoraj in manuscripts from Basel, Genoa and Cologne, as well as in E. Mertel's print], in: *Almanach muzykologii krakowskiej: 1911–2011* [Almanac of Kraków musicology: 1911–2011], eds. Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska and Andrzej Sitarz, Kraków 2016, pp. 334–350.

the Polish elements in CH-Bu F IX 70 with new themes and hypotheses, as well as contributing new details to Emanuel Wurstisen's biography.

Wurstisen's name appears on the title page of the tablature, of which he was both the copyist and the owner (Fig. 1):

Lautten Stückh ettlicher feiner Preamblenn, Muttetenn, Fantasienn, Madrigalenn, Teütscher unndt Frantzösicher Stückhenn, Passometzenn, Tänztenn, Galliardenn, Chipasenn, Geistlicher Lieder unndt Psalmenn vonn mir Emanuell Wurstisenn fleyssig zesammenn geläsenn unndt in ein Ordnung gebracht.<sup>7</sup>

The son of Christian Wurstisen (1544–88), a well-known mathematician, chronicler and theologian from Basel, twice vice-chancellor of Basel University and one of the first adherents of Copernicus' theory,<sup>8</sup> Emanuel was born in Basel in 1572. He matriculated at the university at the age of 14, subsequently obtaining bachelor's (1590) and master's (1593) degrees in the liberal arts. Later he studied medicine for a year,9 and in 1596 his name is found among the members of a German students' union at the Academy of Orléans, where Poles and Swiss were also listed as belonging to the 'German nation'.<sup>10</sup> During his stay in France, Wurstisen travelled at least along the Loire, as evidenced by his letter written on 23 November 1596 from Angers to Georg Eckenstein.<sup>11</sup> From 1613 to 1619, that is, until the end of his life, Wurstisen worked as a physician in Biel.<sup>12</sup> He was a close friend ('convictor suavissimus') of Wilhelm Fabricius Hildanus, an eminent German surgeon active in Switzerland, who repeatedly mentioned Emanuel Urstisius (the Latinised version of Wurstisen's surname<sup>13</sup>) in the second and third volumes of his *Observationes*.<sup>14</sup> He usually refers to Wurstisen as 'artium liberal. magister', rather than 'medicus' or 'medicinae doctor', as in the case of other persons. In a note of August 1607, we find the phrase

<sup>7 &#</sup>x27;A lute collection comprising several exquisite preambles, motets, fantasias, madrigals, German and French pieces, passamezzi, dances, galliards, *Chi passa* settings, religious songs and psalms, carefully compiled and ordered by myself, Emanuel Wurstisen'.

<sup>8</sup> It was supposedly thanks to Christian Wurstisen that Galileo Galilei became acquainted with the heliocentric theory; cf. Hans Werthmüller, *Tausend Jahre Literatur in Basel*, Basel 1980, p. 188.

<sup>9</sup> John Kmetz, 'Wurstisen, Emanuel', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 27, London 2001, p. 595.

<sup>10</sup> Alphons Rivier, 'Schweizer als Mitglieder der "deutschen Nation" in Orléans', *Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte* 2 (1874–77), p. 246.

<sup>11</sup> Reproduced by J. Kmetz, Die Handschriften, p. 435.

<sup>12</sup> J. Kmetz, 'Wurstisen, Emanuel'.

<sup>13</sup> Wurstisen usually signed his letters in this way.

Wilhelm Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum & curationum cheirurgicarum centuria secunda, Geneva 1611;
W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum & curationum cheirurgicarum centuria tertia, Oppenheim 1614.

'philosophiae magister & medicinae candidatus' next to Urstisius' surname,<sup>15</sup> which may suggest that in the early years of the seventeenth century Wurstisen still had no qualifications as a physician, though he assisted with operations performed by his senior colleague. While working in Biel, he was already a fully qualified physician. In Hildanus' letter of 6 August 1613, he is called 'apud Biennenses medicus ordinarius'.<sup>16</sup>

The *Observationes* quote Wurstisen's letter of 12 December 1609 concerning the latter's medical observations,<sup>17</sup> which refers to his stay in Paris in 1598. We do not know anything about Wurstisen's other foreign journeys, but Hildanus writes that he maintained contacts with physicians from different parts of Europe, including France, Germany and Silesia.<sup>18</sup> As a medical assistant and later a physician, he had patients from Switzerland and other countries. Most likely in 1610 in Basel he met Prince Janusz Radziwiłł, who was being treated by Hildanus.<sup>19</sup> Emanuel's wide professional and social contacts, and most of all his residence in Basel, which was a destination visited by students and travellers from all over Europe, undoubtedly facilitated the task of collecting repertoire for his tablature.

Wurstisen's interest in music, and in the lute in particular, was sparked already in his youth. He most likely began to compile his tablature in his teens, on 10 July 1591, as indicated by a note on the title page (Fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> The manuscript came into being in Basel, and its repertoire, according to John Kmetz, possibly reflected the musical preferences of Basel University students at that time.<sup>21</sup> Some of them had collected lute pieces also before Wurstisen. Around 1575, two small-scale tablatures, comprising less than 70 works in total, were prepared by the young Ludwig Iselin (CH-Bu F IX 23 and CH-Bu F X II).<sup>22</sup> Those collections may have inspired Emanuel. We do not know how long it took for him to complete the existing manuscript. Andreas Schlegel hypothesises (after Rolf Jarchow) that Wurstisen added new pieces to

<sup>15</sup> W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum... centuria secunda, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum et curationum chirurgicarum centuria quarta, Oppenheim 1619, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum... centuria secunda, pp. 99–108.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, with Conrad Cunradi of Breslau (now Wrocław), ibid., p. 171.

<sup>19</sup> W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum... centuria tertia, pp. 156–157. The Polish prince first stayed in Basel in 1596/7, when he took up studies there, along with his cousin Jerzy Radziwiłł; cf. Marian Chachaj, Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do polowy XVII wieku [The Radziwiłł family's education abroad, from the early sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century], Lublin 1995, pp. 37–40. It is unlikely that Wurstisen could have met the Radziwiłłs during that first stay, since he was living in Orléans at that time.

<sup>20</sup> The date has been crossed out and is not clearly legible; it can also be interpreted as 1597. According to John Kmetz, the choice of 1591 is corroborated not only by the inscription on the title page, but also by the type of paper used. The same type was used for municipal documents in Basel in that year; cf. J. Kmetz, *Die Handschriften*, p. 207. It is also possible, however, that Wurstisen began to use paper from the same batch several years after it was produced.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 84–88, 207, 272–276.

Fig. 2. Manuscript dating, CH-Bu F IX 70, title page, http://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13217

his tablature also after completing his studies in 1594.<sup>23</sup> That hypothesis seems wellgrounded, as we shall see below.

The tablature CH-Bu F IX 70 uses German notation, which was virtually falling out of use at that time.<sup>24</sup> The manuscript opens with a brief theoretical introduction, which discusses lute playing technique, various types of lute tuning, principles of notation and three classifications of music according to different criteria.<sup>25</sup> One of the features of this source, rather typical of handwritten tablatures from the second half of the sixteenth century, is the presence of various sentences, usually placed under the music notation, but also found on pages which contain no music.<sup>26</sup> Most of these are maxims in German and Latin, but several of them are in French. The majority are not very serious, and some could even be called racy. They include quotes from Classical literature, proverbs, and other sentences. Some refer to music (e.g. 'Lauttenschlachenn ist ein kunst / Wer nich uebt, so ist umb sunst'),<sup>27</sup> as well as other unrelated topics (e.g. the proverb 'Vinum Rhenense, decus est et gloria mense').<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Andreas Schlegel, *Accords nouveaux: Quellen mit Bezug zur Schweiz*, https://accordsnouveaux.ch/de/ quellen-schweiz, accessed 7 March 2020.

<sup>24</sup> Y. Genov ('Intabulations', p. 38) points out the presence in this manuscript of works for nine-course lute, whereas German tablature notation was suitable for lutes with no more than six courses.

<sup>25</sup> For an English translation of this introduction, see K. Milek, *Lute Music*, pp. 125–134.

<sup>26</sup> Such sentences can be found in manuscripts not only of lute music, but also of organ music, e.g. PL-GDa R300, Vv 123. For more on the possible functions of the maxims entered in this lute tablature, see Kateryna Schöning, 'Die Lautentabulatur UKR-LVu 1400/I als ein humanistisches Scholarbuch', *Musikforschung* 73 (2020) no. 3, in print. I am very grateful to the author for providing me with the unpublished text.

<sup>27 &#</sup>x27;Playing the lute is an art; he who does not practise, will not succeed.' Similar sentences appeared in lute tablatures already in the mid-16th century. I owe my gratitude to Kateryna Schöning for this information.

<sup>28 &#</sup>x27;Rhenish wine is the embellishment and pride of the kitchen.'

The manuscript comprises 174 leaves and contains approximately 500 pieces of music,<sup>29</sup> preceded by a theoretical introduction (fols. I–III, pp. 1–7), and grouped in eight books (chapters) divided by genre:

- I preambles/preludes (*Das Erste Buch der Lauttenn Stückhenn, Inn welchem ettliche Preambell begriffenn werdenn*), pp. 8–19,
- II motet arrangements (*Das ander Buch der Lauttenn Stückhenn, inn welchem ettliche Mutetenn begriffenn werdenn*), pp. 20–39,
- III fantasias (*Das dritte Buch der Lauttenstückhenn, Inn welchem ettliche/ Fantasienn begriffenn werdenn*), pp. 40–63,
- IV arrangements of secular vocal works (*Das vierte Buch der Lauttennstückhenn*, Inn welchem ettliche Madrigalenn begriffen werdenn), pp. 64–113,
- V passamezzi (*Das Fünffte Buch der Lauttenstückhenn*, *Inn welchem mancherlei Passometzo begriffen werdenn*), pp. 114–235,
- VI various dances (Das Sechste Buch der Lautten Stückhenn, Inn welchem mancherleÿ Täntz begriffen werdenn), pp. 236–295,
- VII galliards and *Chi passa* settings (*Das Siebende Buch der Lauttenn Stückhenn*, *Inn welchem ettliche Galliardenn*, *Chipassenn*, *unnd auch andere Stückh begriffen werdenn*), pp. 296–319,
- VIII sacred songs and psalms (*Das Achte Buch der Lauttenn Stückhenn Inn welchem ettliche Geistliche lieder unnd Psalmenn begriffen werdenn*), pp. 320–342.

As in most tablatures of that time, the repertoire is international. This is evidenced by the names of the dances, e.g. Pavana, Gagliarda, Passomezo, Saltarello, Bergamasca, Volte, Pavana Espagniole, Saltus, Dantz, Nachdantz, Sprunck, Chorea Austriaca, Bohemisch stücklin, Allemande, Branle, Courrente, Les bouffons, Proportio, Chorea Gallica, Chorea Anglicana, Gagliarda Anglicana. Among the works of identified attribution, the greatest number are intabulations of motets and secular songs by Orlando di Lasso (approx. 20 items), but there are also chansons by Claudin de Sermisy and Jacobus Clemens non Papa, madrigals by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Orazio Vecchi, a Lied by Heinrich Isaac, and many others.<sup>30</sup>

In none of the books were all the leaves filled; space was left for more music. Blank pages also appear inside Book V, subdividing this book into nine sections, each with a separate numbering of the passamezzi. Such an ordering of the material means that the works in each section of the manuscript need to be dated separately. Compositions entered at the end of one book (or its section) may be considered as notated

<sup>29</sup> According to J. Kmetz (*Die Handschriften*, pp. 206–229), there are 481 pieces in total, while a figure as high as 500 is cited in F.-P. Goy, C. Meyer and M. Rollin (eds.), *Sources manuscrites*, pp. 1–27. This divergence results from different ways of counting multi-part works. NB, some compositions were entered twice.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. Kmetz, *Die Handschriften*, pp. 208–229; A. Schlegel (ed.), *Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek*, pp. [31–43].

later than those which open the next book or section. The division of the tablature into books seems to have been Wurstisen's own original concept. In earlier collections of this type, even those in which compositions were grouped by genre, they were not allotted to separate books. The precision with which the student from Basel planned the scope and dimensions of his manuscript, and organised the repertoire it contains, is truly admirable. One cannot resist the impression that it was his ambition to create a unique tablature, different from those that had been compiled before. He was evidently successful in this task. The division of a tablature into books was also applied several years later by Jean-Baptiste Besard in his *Thesaurus harmonicus*.<sup>31</sup> The *Liber primus* of Besard's tablature, like that of Wurstisen, is devoted to preludes, while the authors of earlier tablatures usually opened their volumes with fantasias. This need not mean that Besard modelled his collection directly on Wurstisen's solutions, but he could have learned about them indirectly from other lutenists.

Most of the pieces were entered in CH-Bu F IX 70 anonymously; only some items include the composers' surnames, first names or, somewhat more frequently, initials. For instance, next to the work entitled Was Gott will, das geschach allezeit (pp. 75-76; SMT 62<sup>32</sup>), we find the name of Amandus Polanus à Polensdorff; the same piece with the composer's name is also to be found on p. 99 (SMT 88). The Moravian Amandus Polanus a Polansdorf was an eminent Calvinist theologian, a professor of Basel University from 1596 and later dean of the faculty of theology (1598–1600 and 1601–09), as well as vice-chancellor of the university (also twice, in 1600/01 and 1609/10).<sup>33</sup> He was well known for his friendly support of Polish students (who reciprocated this friendship).<sup>34</sup> The Polanus family came from Gdańsk/Danzig, where Amandus's father Heinrich was born. The latter studied in Kraków, and subsequently worked as a municipal official in Nysa/Neisse, Olomouc/Olmütz and Opava/Troppau. In 1563 Heinrich Polanus was raised to the ranks of the Bohemian nobility, assuming the appellation 'von Polansdorf'.<sup>35</sup> Born in Opava in 1561, Amandus began his official education at the Gymnasium Elisabethanum in Wrocław/Breslau (1577),<sup>36</sup> where he may also have learnt the fundamentals of music. The then head of that school, Petrus Vincentius, recommended in Der Stadt Breslaw Schul Ordnung that music be taught to students in the top years, including church chant and 'zierliche Musica', a term reffering to ornamental

<sup>31</sup> Jean-Baptiste Besard, Thesaurus harmonicus, Cologne 1603.

<sup>32</sup> The location of a given work is marked in this paper with the page number and catalogue number, cited after F.-P. Goy, C. Meyer and M. Rollin (eds.), *Sources manuscrites* (SMT), on the basis of A. Schlegel (ed.), *Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek.* 

<sup>33</sup> Ernst Stachelin, *Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf*, Basel 1955, *passim*; Maciej Włodarski, *Dwa wieki kulturalnych i literackich powiązań polsko-bazylejskich 1433–1632* [Two centuries of cultural and literary links between Poland and Basel, 1433–1632], Kraków 2001, p. 46.

<sup>34</sup> M. Włodarski, *Dwa wieki*, p. 115, 295.

<sup>35</sup> Konrad Blázek, Der Adel von Österreichisch Schlesien, Nuremberg 1883, p. 148.

<sup>36</sup> Biographical data cited after E. Staehelin, Amandus Polanus, p. 12.

polyphony.<sup>37</sup> Thus Amandus must have come into contact with music practice while still at the gymnasium. He was not the only musically gifted member of the family; his elder brother Georg Polanus von Polansdorff was a choir director in Opava.<sup>38</sup> We may assume, therefore, that Amandus Polanus, although not a professional musician, may have independently arranged the chorale Was mein Gott will, das gschech allzeit to a text by Duke Albert of Prussia, and given his composition the slightly altered title found in the tablature.<sup>39</sup> The chorale melody, borrowed from the chanson *Il me suffit* by Claudin de Sermisy, remains recognisable in Polanus' setting. The chorale Was mein Gott will belonged to the funeral repertoire,4° so Polanus' setting probably commemorated the death of some person important to him, possibly that of his beloved wife Maria, daughter of his friend and master, Johann Jakob Grynaeus. Maria died on 12 September 1605.41 On that occasion, Amandus Polanus published a long, highly emotional text,42 in which he expressed his faith in the causative power of god's will and the conviction that humans must submit to it; this agrees with the message of Was mein Gott will. Incidentally, the original text was written by Duke Albert in 1547, probably as a reaction to the death of the duke's first wife, Dorothea.43 It therefore seems that the circumstances surrounding the writing of the poem and the lute arrangement of the chorale setting the same text may have been similar. If Polanus' composition indeed commemorated the death of his wife, that would mean that the CH-Bu F IX 70 tablature was still in statu nascendi in 1605, nearly a dozen years after its compiler graduated from Basel University. The presence of this composition in the manuscript suggests that Wurstisen maintained contacts with the environment of his *alma mater* and considered it proper to include works by amateurs from that milieu in his collection.

The manuscript CH-Bu F IX 70 is particularly rich in compositions associated with Poland, mostly written by composers born or active there or bearing titles that may indicate Polish origins. Wurstisen's tablature contains two pieces by Wojciech Długoraj: the (anonymously entered) *Fantasia I* (p. 40, SMT 29) and (bearing the composer's name) *Volte Alberti* (p. 295, SMT 394). Both are known from the collection

<sup>37 &#</sup>x27;Der Musica wird allhie auch nicht vergessen [...] Sondern auch / das man neben den Choralisten / bey dem Ehrwirdigen Kirchendienst vnd Ambt / stets ein zierliche Musicam / Gott zu ehren / habe und erhalte.' Petrus Vincentius, *Der Stadt Breslaw Schul Ordnung*, Wrocław 1570, fol. Gv.

<sup>38</sup> E. Staehelin, Amandus Polanus, p. 11; Christian Thomas Leitmeir, 'Words for Music, Words about Music. Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal's Epigrams as Source for Music History', in: Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk, Warsaw 2016, p. 374.

<sup>39</sup> E. Staehelin, Amandus Polanus, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Lukas Lorbeer, Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder in deutschen lutherischen Gesangbüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 2012, p. 321.

<sup>41</sup> E. Staehelin, Amandus Polanus, p. 31.

<sup>42</sup> Published in Heinrich Justus, Johann Jakob Grynaeus and Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf, *Ein Christliche Lehr und Trostreiche Leichpredig* [...] *bey der Begrebnuss der* [...] *Frawen Maria Grynaein* [...], Basel 1605, pp. 29–66.

<sup>43</sup> Ruth Engelhardt, 'Albrecht von Preußen', in: Wer ist wer im Gesangbuch?, ed. Wolfgang Herbst, Göttingen 2001, p. 22.

II

by Jean-Baptiste Besard (1603), where they are entered as *Fantasia* and *Villanella* [I] by Długoraj.<sup>44</sup> The handwritten versions of these works differ from the printed ones, including in terms of rhythm.<sup>45</sup> From 1583 to 1586 Długoraj was a lutenist at the court of the Polish King Stephen Báthory. Later he left Poland, and most likely in 1590 he applied for a post at the court of Duke Ludwig III of Württemberg in Stuttgart. His later fate is unknown. It has been hypothesised that *c.*1619 he may have been associated with Leipzig.<sup>46</sup> While residing in Württemberg, he may have come into closer contact with the music circles of Basel. Notably, a Długoraj *Fantasia* opens Book III of Wurstisen's tablature, so it was probably one of the works entered in this manuscript during the first period, possibly in the early 1590s. *Volte Alberti*, on the other hand, is the penultimate number in Book VI, which comprises 180 pieces, and so may have been copied at a later time, perhaps from Besard's print of 1603. If the *Fantasia* found its way into Wurstisen's tablature before 1603, this would be the earliest source of Długoraj's music known to us today.

*Chorea Polonica Diomedis Poloni* (p. 293, SMT 387) has long been known from Besard's print (1603), where it is one of the eight dances by Diomedes Cato bearing this title; Besard refers to Cato as 'Diomedes Veneto'.<sup>47</sup> He was born in 1554 or 1555,<sup>48</sup> probably in Seravalle (now a district of Vittorio Veneto). At the time when Wurstisen was creating his tablature, Diomedes was court composer to the Polish King Sigismund III Vasa – a post he held from 1588 to 1593, and possibly also later.<sup>49</sup> We do not know whether he ever visited Switzerland, but his elder brother, Orestes, studied in Basel in 1578/79, where he obtained a doctorate in medicine,<sup>50</sup> and published his doctoral dissertation.<sup>51</sup> Orestes was persuaded to take up those studies by the Italian humanist Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, marquis of Oria,<sup>52</sup> who, because of his pro-Reformation sympathies, had to leave Italy in 1557 and travelled through Europe. During his 1573/4 stay in Kraków, he met Constantino Cato, father of Orestes and Diomedes, who, like himself, had been forced to flee Italy owing to accusations

<sup>44</sup> J.-B. Besard, Thesaurus, fols. 27r, 43r.

<sup>45</sup> P. Poźniak, 'Utwory Wojciecha Długoraja', pp. 339, 341–342.

<sup>46</sup> P. Poźniak, 'Długoraj, Wojciech', vol. 2, p. 417.

<sup>47</sup> J.-B. Besard, *Thesaurus*, fol. 138v; cf. Zofia Stęszewska, 'Cato, Diomedes', in: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM* [PWM music encyclopaedia], vol. 2, Kraków 1984, p. 50; Piotr Poźniak, 'Cato, Diomedes', in: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM* [PWM music encyclopaedia], vol. 2 supplement, Kraków 2001, p. 15.

<sup>48</sup> His date of birth was established indirectly from the information that he was buried at St Nicholas Church in Gdańsk in 1628; cf. Danuta Popinigis, 'Zur Biographie von Diomedes Cato', in: *Musica Baltica. Gdańsk and European Musical Culture*, ed. Danuta Popinigis, Gdańsk 2000, p. 178.

<sup>49</sup> Z. Stęszewska, 'Cato'.

<sup>50</sup> Hans Georg Wackernagel, Marc Sieber and Hans Sutter, *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, vol. 2, *1532/33–1600/1601*, Basel 1956, p. 261.

<sup>51</sup> Orestes Catus, De animae facultatib. partiumque, quibus insident munere & dignitate, Theses, Basel 1579.

<sup>52</sup> Manfred Edwin Welti, Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese D'Oria, im Exil, 1557–1597: Eine Biographie und ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Philippismus, Geneva 1976, p. 202.

of heresy.<sup>53</sup> Bonifacio had close links to Basel, where he returned many times between 1557 and 1575, and where he had many friends.<sup>54</sup> It should come as no surprise, therefore, that he sent the young Orestes to Basel University, providing him with as many as four letters of recommendation.<sup>55</sup> Thanks to Bonifacio's friendship with the Cato family, and to Orestes' studies in Basel, Diomedes himself may have established some contacts with that city. The version of the *Chorea polonica* contained in Wurstisen's tablature is somewhat different from the printed one,<sup>56</sup> and the composer is referred to in that source as Polonus, not as Venetus, which may suggest that this piece reached Wurstisen not via Besard's edition, but thanks to someone (the composer himself?) who wished to stress Diomedes' links to Poland. The manuscript CH-Bu F IX 70 may well be one of the earliest sources for Diomedes' music.

Based on the initials found in the records of some pieces contained in the tablature, we may formulate hypotheses concerning their attribution. The *Galliard* (p. 299, SMT 403) marked with the letters V.B. has sometimes been attributed to Valentin Bakfark, but his authorship is questionable.<sup>57</sup> There is no dance of that title in the composer's output known from other sources. Besides, the Hungarian lutenist was two generations older than Wurstisen, and it seems that the latter preferred music written by his contemporaries. Bakfark worked as a lutenist at the Polish royal court in 1549–66, under King Sigismund II Augustus. The initials V.B. found in the tablature CH-Bu F IX 70 may designate another musician, or the piece may have been wrongly attributed to Bakfark under the influence of that artist's legendary status.

The initials C.S., found next to three pieces in Wurstisen's tablature, refer, according to Piotr Poźniak, to Kasper Sielicki. Like the three musicians mentioned above, Sielicki was associated with the Polish royal court. His name first appeared in the court accounts in 1583, when the young Kasper was a page to King Stephen Báthory and Queen Anna Jagiellon.<sup>58</sup> From 1588 to 1591, Sielicki was employed at the court of King Sigismund III Vasa as a professional lutenist, with a salary as high as that of the older and much more experienced Diomedes Cato.<sup>59</sup> On the basis of the initials C.S., we may attribute to Sielicki three compositions from Wurstisen's tablature, entitled *II. Passomezzo* (p. 120, SMT 111), *Ach hertziges herz so schmerz* (p. 238, SMT 220), and *XXIII. Galliard* (p. 303, SMT 418).<sup>60</sup>

12

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>54</sup> Manfred Edwin Welti, *Pożegnanie z Giovannim Bernardinem Bonifaciem, markizem d'Oria (1517–1597)* [Farewell to Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis of Oria (1517–1597)], transl. Anna Marx-Vannini, Gdańsk 2013, pp. 21–53.

<sup>55</sup> M.E. Welti, Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, p. 206.

<sup>56</sup> P. Poźniak, 'Kasper Sielicki', p. 139.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Péter Király, 'Bakfark, Valentin', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 2, London 2001, p. 506.

<sup>58</sup> P. Poźniak, 'Kasper Sielicki', p. 134.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

13

The pieces signed as F.D.D. (a pair of dances, Passomezo and Saltarello, p. 169, SMT 152) and F.D.D.D. (*Exercitium*, p. 12, SMT 13) have not attracted the attention of scholars so far. These initials can be deciphered as belonging to Fridericus de Drusina Dantiscanus. Born in Gdańsk, Fridericus (alias Fritz) was the son of Benedict de Drusina, a famous lutenist from Elblag/Elbing (or its vicinity), and brother of Petrus de Drusina, a Gdańsk-based organist-composer.<sup>61</sup> Having become a lutenist like his father, Fridericus was active, among others, in Meissen. He studied at the universities of Wittenberg (1580), Jena (1582), and Leipzig (1583).<sup>62</sup> In the documents of Leipzig University, the young musician appears as Fridericus de Drusinos Dantiscan.<sup>63</sup> In the early 1590s he worked as a lutenist in Wolfenbüttel; from 1593 he lived in Hamburg, where he died in 1601.<sup>64</sup> None of his compositions has so far been known to us. Wurstisen's tablature contains two of them, which proves that the son of the famous lutenist was not only a virtuoso, but also a composer. His Passomezo is based on a sequence of chords typical of the passamezzo antico (i-VII-i-V-III-VII-i-V-I), and the Saltarello that follows applies the same scheme (Example 1). Exercitium consists of five sections (comprising descending sequences of simple motifs, which are made up of ever shorter values in each successive segment), as well as a brief chord-based passage (Fig. 3). The piece is a kind of study designed to train the performer's fingers; the technical aspect dominates here over the aesthetic one. Both the title and the genre are an exception in Renaissance lute tablature repertoires. Nevertheless, Fritz de Drusina was not a pioneer of this type of music. The above-mentioned tablature by Ludwig Iselin (CH-Bu F IX 23) opens with a brief anonymous Exercitium (fol. 6r).<sup>65</sup> Emanuel Wurstisen probably knew his older colleague's manuscript, which may have inspired him to include a similar exercise in his collection. It is possible that Drusina made the *Exercitium* available to Emanuel at the latter's special request. It may have been a routine exercise that Fritz would perform before he began to play his programme proper. A professional lutenist would have no need to write such a simple exercise down in a tablature; for an amateur, however, a notated version could be useful. It seems that the only way in which Drusina's music could have reached Wurstisen was through direct contact between the two men, which must have taken place no later than in 1601.

<sup>61</sup> Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'De Drusina – rodzina muzyków z Gdańska' [De Drusina: a Gdańsk-based musical family], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 7 (2009), pp. 91–101.

<sup>62</sup> Horst Kenkel, *Studenten aus Ost- und Westpreußen an außerpreußischen Universitäten vor 1815*, Hamburg 1981, pp. 116, 188, 290.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph Sittard, Geschichte des Musik- und Concertwesens in Hamburg von 14. Jahrhundert bis auf die Gegenwart, Altona–Leipzig 1890, p. 19; Martin Ruhnke, Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der deutsche Hofmusikkollegien im 16. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1963, p. 65.

<sup>65</sup> Tänze, Lieder und ein Lautentraktat. Basel, 1575. Universitätsbibliothek Basel, F IX 23, http://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13856, accessed 7 March 2020.

Passomezo







```
Saltarello
```







Example 1. Fridericus de Drusina, *Passomezo* and *Saltarello* 

Exercitium. FIFT FITT FIFT FIFT FFT FFT CO ### ### 12 F.O.O.O. to ogil us bit sitili in + 5 - 2 5g 36 4 How bog bil ### ### ### ### ### ### ### ### i+=&=i= +=&sisisi+& =&sigs5=is sig 8gi 8g 

Fig. 3. Fridericus de Drusina, *Exercitium*, CH-Bu F IX 70, p. 12, http://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13217

Wurstisen's tablature also includes several anonymous dances titled *chorea polonica*, two of which were signed with the initials A.F. Especially intriguing is the *Chorea polonica Mowi namię sąsiada* A.F. (p. 294, SMT 390) (Fig. 4), the title of which ('My neighbour's maligning me') suggests that it might be an arrangement of some unknown Polish song, or else an allusion to some act of backbiting that affected the work's Polish (?) composer or some Pole from Wurstisen's milieu. The initials A.F., also found next to about a dozen other works in this collection, are usually interpreted as Alfonso Ferrabosco,<sup>66</sup> but an Italian musician could hardly have

<sup>66</sup> J. Kmetz, Die Handschriften, passim; J.H. Robinson (ed.), 'Music Ascribed to A.F.'

F & p 9 12 hs 5 2 2 + 5 5 0 1 = 5 5 Chorea Jolo Mowi namie sasiada p shois BEojizilik

Fig. 4. A.F., *Chorea Polonica Mowi namię sąsiada*, CH-Bu F IX 70, p. 294, http://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13217

composed a piece bearing such a title. It was either written by someone else, or the Polish title was given to it by another person. Wurstisen's correct spelling of the nasal vowels *e* and *q* might suggest that he knew the Polish language. It is, however, more likely that the correct spelling came from some Polish acquaintance of his. If we assume that all the pieces marked as A.F. come from the same composer – and they include *Bariera* (p. 104, SMT 101), *Passomezo Laurenz* (p. 232, SMT 210), *Intrada di mascara* (p. 286, SMT 364), *Galliarda Anglicana* (p. 316, SMT 456), and *Pavana Lachrymarum* (p. 329, SMT 485) – it is highly unlikely that they are the work of an otherwise unknown lutenist from Poland. The subheading *Mowi namię sąsiada* was probably added to the original *Chorea polonica* by Wurstisen's Polish acquaintance, perhaps to commemorate some anecdotal event.

The tablature also includes other dances with titles suggesting a Polish connection: *Polischer Tanz* (p. 237, SMT 217) and two pieces that refer to members of the Polish royalty: *Bathori Tantz* (p. 289, SMT 372), probably related to King Stephen Báthory, and *Potorae Königin Inn Polen Tantz* (p. 268, SMT 302), referring to that king's wife, Queen Anna Jagiellon. All three are based on a similar melodic-harmonic pattern and belong to a large group of related dances, usually referred to as 'Polish', found in various lute and organ tablatures of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>67</sup> The oldest dated version of this piece is *Ein Pollnischer Dantz pator*, printed in Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach's *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulaturbuch* (Nuremberg 1583), where 'pator' is a distorted version of the surname Báthory.<sup>68</sup> Apart from Wurstisen's collection, the only source that quotes the king's surname in the title in an unequivocal form is Jacobides' lute tablature of *c*.1600, which contains

<sup>67</sup> Numerous dances of this group, but not including those from Wurstisen's tablature, are discussed in Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Zur Geschichte eines polnischen Tanzes am Hofe István Báthorys (1533–1586)', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14 (1972) nos. 1–4, pp. 203–213. A list of concordances with their melodic variants can be found in Zofia Stęszewska and Piotr Poźniak (eds.), '*Tańce polskie' z tabulatur klawiszowych / 'Polish Dances' from Keyboard Tablatures*, Warsaw 2017 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia, Series B: Collectanea musicae artis), p. 350. I am grateful to Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska for attracting my attention to this publication.

<sup>68</sup> Zofia Stęszewska and Piotr Poźniak (eds.), 'Tańce polskie', pp. 53, 212.

a *Batori Tantz*.<sup>69</sup> It is not easy to identify the sources of the variants copied into Wurstisen's tablature. The source was most likely different in each of the three cases, since the pieces are scattered in very different locations in the manuscript and bear diverse, partially distorted titles. Emanuel may have written down the variants of this dance performed by three different lutenists as he heard them being played and entered them under titles that were dictated to him by the musicians themselves. We might venture the hypothesis that the dance with a correct titular form (*Bathori Tantz*) was transmitted by some lutenist connected with Poland, possibly with the Kraków royal court, such as Wojciech Długoraj or Kasper Sielicki.

Polish themes are present in Wurstisen's tablature not only in the music itself. One of the maxims inscribed between the pieces runs as follows: 'Rem tuam custodi, ne aufferant tibi Poloni / Nulla tulit plures, quam terra Polonica fures'.<sup>70</sup> The incipit ('Rem tua custodi') comes from Cato the Elder, but the author of the rest of the sentence remains unknown. It may either reflect the stereotypical view of the Polish nation at that time, or refer to some negatively assessed event in which Poles took part.

A Polish element was also distinguished in one of the two classifications of music presented in the theoretical introduction to the tablature. It is not known whether these classifications were Wurstisen's original concept or were influenced by what he had learned at Basel University. When commencing his work on the manuscript, Emanuel was already a certified bachelor of arts and a student of the artes liberales. He may well have used the knowledge that he had previously acquired, but could also have drawn inspiration from outside the university. *Musicae divisio* (p. 3) is a rather peculiar classification. It concerns instrumental works, and dance music in particular. Polnischer Tantz was assigned here, along with Hessen Tantz, to the category of regional dances (Regionum), which is a subdivision of German dances (Germanicae), which in turn are one group of pieces performed after a feast (Post convivium choreae) inside a house (Domi). The inclusion of a Polish dance among German pieces will appear less strange if we note that the national category of Germanicae is only juxtaposed here with Gallicae (the latter including the allemande and the branle).71 Wurstisen's classification is not only geographically simplified, but also far from complete, since it is lacking galliards and passamezzi (both numerously represented in his manuscript), as well as dances which are less frequent in this source, e.g. bergamasca,

<sup>69</sup> CZ-Pnm XIII.B.237. Cf. Christian Meyer, Tim Crawford, François-Pierre Goy, Peter Király and Monique Rollin (eds.), *Catalogue des sources manuscrites en tablature: luth et théorbe c.1500–c.1800, Catalogue descriptif*, vol. III/2: *République Tcheque (CZ), Hongrie (H), Lituanie (LT), Pologne (PL), Fédération de Russie (RF), Slovaquie (SK), Ukraine (UKR)*, Baden-Baden 1999, (= Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 93), p. 39; Z. Stęszewska and P. Poźniak (eds.), *'Tańce polskie*', p. 350.

<sup>70 &#</sup>x27;Guard your property so that Poles don't steal it from you. No one has stolen more than thieves from the Polish lands'.

<sup>71</sup> Polishness as a subcategory of Germanness was also reflected in the division of student unions operating at the Academy of Orléans, cf. above p. 5.

chorea Anglicana, chorea Austriaca, and volte. In this context, the separate mention of a 'Polish dance' in the *Musicae divisio* in fact elevates it to a major status. On the other hand, the discrepancy between genres listed in the *Musicae divisio* and those actually present in the tablature suggests that the classification was created independently of the repertoire directly known to Wurstisen and may have been borrowed from a different author.

The accumulation of so many Polish elements in the manuscript CH-Bu F IX 70 seems intriguing. Some of the works discussed above may have been copied from printed tablatures, but certainly not all of them. One cannot exclude the possibility that Wojciech Długoraj, Kasper Sielicki or Diomedes Cato visited Basel in person. However, we have no evidence to support such a hypothesis. The most likely source of the imported Polish repertoire are students from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, many of whom enrolled at Basel University, as well as other visitors from Poland. They need not have been professional musicians. Many amateurs played the lute as well. If some of them have gone down in history, it was usually not in a musical context. We should therefore examine which Poles Wurstisen may have maintained contacts with.

One of them was Marcin Chmielecki, from Chmielnik, near Lublin, who arrived in Basel in 1577, aged eighteen, and came under the care of his distant relative, Jan Osmolski, who lived in that city. Osmolski, who was an intellectual and a patron of Polish students, was friends with Basel University professors, including Johann Jakob Grynaeus and Christian Wurstisen, whom he frequently hosted in his house, located close to Basel Minster.<sup>72</sup> Before he left Basel, in 1585, he may also have met young Emanuel. As Osmolski's protégé, from the beginning of his stay in Switzerland, Marcin Chmielecki most likely frequented the same circles as his mentor. He enrolled at Basel University in 1578, when Christian Wurstisen was vice-chancellor. Chmielecki studied philosophy and medicine, graduating with distinction in 1587; two years later he became a professor of logic.73 He lectured in two faculties: philosophy and medicine.<sup>74</sup> He not only taught Emanuel, but was also his mentor, as evidenced by the dedication placed in a student dissertation published in 1600, where Wurstisen calls him 'praeceptor', 'curator', 'studiorum patronus'.75 The last of Chmielecki's three wives, married in 1619, was Ursula Wurstisen, daughter of Christian and sister to Emanuel, both of whom had died by that time.<sup>76</sup> His marriage to a maiden rather

<sup>72</sup> Henryk Barycz, *W blaskach epoki Odrodzenia* [In the splendour of the Renaissance], Warsaw 1968, pp. 148–153.

<sup>73</sup> Józef Kallenbach, 'Polacy w Bazylei w XVI w.' [Poles in sixteenth-century Basel], *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce* 6 (1890), p. 5, 8.

<sup>74</sup> M. Włodarski, Dwa wieki, p. 98.

<sup>75</sup> Johan Niklaus Stupanus and Emanuel Wurstisen, *De humoribus naturalibus corporis humani conclusiones* Basel 1600, fol. [AIV].

<sup>76</sup> J. Kallenbach, 'Polacy w Bazylei', p. 9.

advanced in years may have been the fruit of the Pole's enduring close relations with his bride's family. In earlier years, Chmielecki probably contributed to Emanuel's contacts with visitors from Poland. Some of them might have brought with them works that were included in the latter's tablature.

The Wurstisens also had other likely connections to Poles. Among the 1588 intake of students at Basel University was one Christophorus Wurstisen,<sup>77</sup> who, judging by his rather uncommon surname, most likely belonged to Emanuel's family, and may even have been his brother. The same Christophorus later enrolled at the University of Altdorf, where he is listed as 'famulus eines Polen'.<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, the identity of his Polish lord is not known.

During Emanuel's studies, many Poles attended Basel University; at least as many as twelve of them matriculated between 1588 and 1594.79 One of them, Daniel Naborowski, came from Kraków. He enrolled to study medicine in 1593 and obtained his doctorate the following year.80 Emanuel, who was a medical student during the same period, undoubtedly met that budding Polish poet. In May 1595 Naborowski left Basel for Orléans, where he belonged to the German students' union at the Academy.<sup>81</sup> As we know, Wurstisen became a member of the same body in 1596.<sup>82</sup> This does not look like a coincidence. The Pole may have inspired Emanuel to study in Orléans. Naborowski returned to Basel in the autumn of 1596 as the teacher of Prince Janusz Radziwiłł, who came to study there along with his cousin Jerzy Radziwiłł.<sup>83</sup> Daniel taught the prince German and French. Later he remained in Janusz's service for many years, not only as his preceptor, but also as a confidant, physician and court poet. With Janusz Radziwiłł and his wife Zofia, he returned to Basel in 1608 and stayed there on-and-off until 1610.<sup>84</sup> This certainly provided an opportunity for Naborowski and Wurstisen to meet again, perhaps in the context of operations performed on Janusz Radziwiłł by Wilhelm Hildanus, possibly assisted by Emanuel.<sup>85</sup> The former fellow students probably found a common language, since, apart from their medical practice, they both pursued artistic passions: one poetry, the

80 M. Włodarski, Dwa wieki, p. 100.

<sup>77</sup> H.G. Wackernagel, M. Sieber and H. Sutter (eds.), Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, p. 265.

<sup>78</sup> Elias von Steinmeyer (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf*, 2 vols., Würzburg 1912, see vol. 1, p. 42 and vol. 2, p. 545.

<sup>79</sup> J. Kallenbach, 'Polacy w Bazylei', p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 100, 174.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. n. 10.

<sup>83</sup> M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna edukacja, pp. 37–40; M. Włodarski, Dwa wieki, p. 100.

<sup>84</sup> M. Włodarski, *Dwa wieki*, p. 115; Tadeusz Wasilewski, 'Radziwiłł Janusz herbu Trąby (1579–1620)' [Janusz Radziwiłł of the Trąby coat-of-arms (1579–1620)], in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary], vol. 30, Wrocław–Kraków 1987, p. 206. Marcin Chmielecki also helped to organise Radziwiłł's stay in Basel; cf. M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna edukacja*, p. 39.

<sup>85</sup> W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum... centuria tertia, pp. 156–157. While in Poland, Naborowski maintained contacts with Hildanus, who called him 'amicus meus singularis'; cf. e.g. W. Fabricius Hildanus, Observationum... centuria quarta, pp. 2–4.

other music. Both had a sense of humour, which is evident in Naborowski's epigrams and the maxims from Wurstisen's tablature. Whether Daniel could play the lute, we cannot be sure, but the instrument was not entirely foreign to him. In one of his late poems, he uses specialist terms related to lute tuning (strings, drone, fifths).<sup>86</sup> Even if he did not himself contribute to Wurstisen's tablature, as a conscious native user of Polish he may have taught his Swiss colleague how to correctly spell the phrase 'Mowi namię sąsiada'.

The large number of Polish elements in Wurstisen's tablature undoubtedly resulted from the exceptionally lively contacts between Poland and Switzerland during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Polish noble families of Calvinist persuasion, such as the Firlejs, Gorajskis, Ostrorógs, Naruszewiczs and Radziwiłłs, frequently sent their sons to study in Basel. Those young people usually travelled with a retinue that included a preceptor, as well as persons referred to as the *famuli*. Those retinues may have included amateur lute players. It could be thanks to them that at least a part of the Polish repertoire reached Basel. Professional lutenists from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are also likely to have visited Basel from time to time. It is probably no coincidence that several of the dances related to Poland are found grouped together towards the end of *Das Sechste Buch*.<sup>87</sup> This may have been the effect of Emanuel Wurstisen's contact with one or more of the Polish lutenists – amateurs or professionals.

Translated by Tomasz Zymer

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barycz, Henryk. *W blaskach epoki Odrodzenia*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1968.
- Blázek, Konrad. Der Adel von Österreichisch Schlesien. Nuremberg: Bauer & Raspe, 1883.
- Chachaj, Marian. *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku.* Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1995.
- Engelhardt, Ruth. 'Albrecht von Preußen.' In: *Wer ist wer im Gesangbuch?*, edited by Wolfgang Herbst, 21–22. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.
- Genov, Yavor. 'Emanuel Wurstisen's Manuscript (CH BU Ms. IX.70) as a Source of German Lute Tablature.' *Bulgarian Musicology* 16, no. 4 (2015): 3–20.

<sup>86 &#</sup>x27;Ty w lutnią, ty w rozliczne obfitujesz strony, / O jednej tylko kwincie nasze brzmią bardony' ('You are rich in lute strings / While our drones use only fifths'); Daniel Naborowski, 'Do księcia Janusza Radziwiłła' [To prince Janusz Radziwiłł], in: *Poezje*, Kraków 2003, p. 90.

<sup>87</sup> Chorea Polonica Diomedis Poloni (p. 293, SMT 387), Chorea Polonica Mowi namię sąsiada A.F. (p. 294, SMT 390), Chorea Polonica (p. 295, SMT 392), Volte Alberti (p. 295, SMT 394), Chor. Pol. A.F. (p. 295, SMT 395).

- Genov, Yavor. 'Polythematic Fantasias in Wurstisen Lute Book.' *Bulgarian Musicology* 18, nos. 3–4 (2017): 5–20.
- Genov, Yavor. 'Imitative Fantasias in Wurstisen Lute Book (CH BU Ms. F.IX. 70).' Art Studies Reading 12, no. 2 (2017): 381–389.
- Genov, Yavor. 'Intabulations of Protestant Sacred Songs and Psalms in Wurstisen Lute Book.' *Bulgarian Musicology* 19, no. 1 (2018): 3–24.
- Goy, François-Pierre, Christian Meyer, and Monique Rollin, Monique, eds. Sources manuscrites en tablature, luth et theorbe (c.1500–c.1800): Catalogue descriptif. Vol. 1, Confoederatio Helvetica (CH), France (F). Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1991.
- Grijp, Louis Peter. 'Psalm for the Lute in the Dutch Republic and Elsewhere.' In: *The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht, 30 August 2013*, edited by Jan W. J. Burgers, Tim Crawford and Matthew Spring, 2–38. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.
- Kallenbach, Józef. 'Polacy w Bazylei w XVI w.' Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce 6 (1890): 1–9.
- Kenkel, Horst. Studenten aus Ost- und Westpreußen an außerpreußischen Universitäten vor 1815, Hamburg: Selbstverlag Verein für Familienforschung in Ost und Westpreußen e. V., 1981.
- Király, Péter. 'Bakfark, Valentin.' In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie. Vol. 2, 504–506. London: Macmillan, 2001.
- Kmetz, John. Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Katalog der Musikhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts: quellenkritische und historische Untersuchung. Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 1988.
- Kmetz, John. 'Wurstisen, Emanuel.' In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie. Vol. 27, 595. London: Macmillan, 2001.
- Koch, Klaus-Peter. 'Zur Geschichte eines polnischen Tanzes am Hofe István Báthorys (1533–1586).' Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 14, nos. 1–4 (1972): 203–213.
- Koch, Klaus-Peter. 'Studentische Lauten und Claviertabulaturen im Ostseeraum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für die Vermittlung eines europäischen Repertoires.' In: *Universität und Musik im Ostseeraum*, edited by Ekkehard Ochs et al., 117–132. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009.
- Leitmeir, Christian Thomas. 'Words for Music, Words about Music. Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal's Epigrams as Source for Music History.' In: *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, edited by Paweł Gancarczyk, 367–394. Warsaw: Liber Pro Arte, 2016.
- Leszczyńska, Agnieszka. 'De Drusina rodzina muzyków z Gdańska.' *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 7 (2009): 91–101.
- Lorbeer, Lukas. *Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder in deutschen lutherischen Gesangbüchern des 17. Jahrhunderst.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012.
- Meyer, Christian, Tim Crawford, François-Pierre Goy, Péter Király, and Monique Rollin (eds.). *Catalogue des sources manuscrites en tablature: luth et théorbe c.1500–c.1800, Catalogue descriptive.* Vol. III/2, *République Tcheque (CZ), Hongrie (H), Lituanie (LT), Pologne* (*PL), Fédération de Russie (RF), Slovaquie (SK), Ukraine (UKR).* Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1999.

- Milek, Katarzyna. 'Lute Music in Sixteenth-Century German Speaking Countries: a Study of the Manuscripts Pl-Lzu M6983, Ch-Bu F.IX.70 and D-Si G.I.4.' PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2016.
- Naborowski, Daniel. Poezje. Kraków: Universitas, 2003.
- Popinigis, Danuta. 'Zur Biographie von Diomedes Cato.' In: *Musica Baltica. Gdańsk and European Musical Culture*, edited by Danuta Popinigis, 178–182. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej w Gdańsku, 2000.
- Poźniak, Piotr. 'Długoraj, Wojciech.' In: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM*, edited by Elżbieta Dziębowska. Vol. 2, 417. Kraków: PWM, 1984.
- Poźniak, Piotr. 'Długoraj, Wojciech.' In: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM*, edited by Elżbieta Dziębowska. Vol. 2 supplement, 85. Kraków: PWM, 2001.
- Poźniak, Piotr. 'Kasper Sielicki, lutnista kompozytor i jego twórczość.' Saeculum Christianum: pismo historyczno-społeczne 9, no. 2 (2002): 131–150.
- Poźniak, Piotr. 'Sielicki, Kasper.' In: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM*, edited by Elżbieta Dziębowska. Vol. 9, 256. Kraków: PWM, 2007.
- Poźniak, Piotr. 'Utwory Wojciecha Długoraja w rękopisach z Bazylei, Genui i Kolonii oraz w druku E. Mertela.' In: *Almanach muzykologii krakowskiej: 1911–2011*, edited by Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska and Andrzej Sitarz, 334– 350. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2016.
- Rivier, Alphons. 'Schweizer als Mitglieder der "deutschen Nation" in Orléans.' Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte 2 (1874–77): 244–247.
- Robinson, John H., ed. 'Music Ascribed to A.F. in Basel F.IX.70.' *Lute News* 60 (2001), Music Supplement: 1–12.
- Ruhnke, Martin. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der deutsche Hofmusikkollegien im 16. Jahrhundert. Berlin: Merseburger, 1963.
- Schlegel, Andreas. 'Accords nouveaux: Quellen mit Bezug zur Schweiz.' http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Quellen\_CH/Quellen\_CH.html.
- Schlegel, Andreas, ed., Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, Musiksammlung (CH-Bu), Ms. F IX 70. Lautentabulatur, 1591 bis ca. 1594 in Basel geschrieben von Emanuel Wurstisen (1572–1619?) Bildteil. Buch 1, Preambeln. Stand 25. Dezember 2012, http://www. accordsnouveaux.ch/de/DownloadD/files/CH-Bu\_F\_IX\_70\_1.pdf.
- Schöning, Kateryna. 'Die Lautentabulatur UKR-LVu 1400/I als ein humanistisches Scholarbuch.' *Musikforschung* 73, no. 3 (2020), in print.
- Sittard, Joseph. Geschichte des Musik- und Concertwesens in Hamburg von 14. Jahrhundert bis auf die Gegenwart. Altona–Leipzig: Reher, 1890.
- Staehelin, Ernst. Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1955.
- Von Steinmeyer, Elias, ed. Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf. Würzburg: Stürtz, 1912.
- Stęszewska, Zofia. 'Cato, Diomedes.' In: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM*, edited by Elżbieta Dziębowska. Vol. 2, 50–51. Kraków: PWM, 1984.
- Stęszewska, Zofia, and Piotr Poźniak, eds. 'Tańce polskie' z tabulatur klawiszowych / 'Polish Dances' from Keyboard Tablatures. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2017 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia, series B: Collectanea musicae artis).

- Wackernagel, Hans Georg, Marc Sieber and Hans Sutter. *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*. Vol. 2: *1532/33–1600/1601*. Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1956.
- Wasilewski, Tadeusz. 'Radziwiłł Janusz herbu Trąby (1579–1620).' In: *Polski Słownik Bio-graficzny*. Vol. 30, 202–220. Wrocław–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987.
- Welti, Manfred Edwin. *Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese D'Oria, im Exil, 1557–1597: Eine Biographie und ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Philippismus.* Geneva: Droz, 1976.
- Welti, Manfred Edwin. *Pożegnanie z Giovannim Bernardinem Bonifaciem, markizem d'Oria* (1517–1597). Translated by Anna Marx-Vannini. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2013.
- Werthmüller, Hans. Tausend Jahre Literatur in Basel. Basel: Birkhäuser, 1980.
- Włodarski, Maciej. *Dwa wieki kulturalnych i literackich powiązań polsko-bazylejskich 1433–1632*. Kraków: Universitas, 2001.

### EMANUEL WURSTISEN, JEGO TABULATURA I ICH ZWIĄZKI Z POLSKĄ MUZYKA LUTNIOWA Z MEDYCYNĄ W TLE

Tabulature lutniową CH-Bu F IX 70 sporządził Emanuel Wurstisen (1572–1616), student Uniwersytetu w Bazylei, a pod koniec życia lekarz w Biel. Jego życiorys został uzupełniony o nowe dane, m.in. dotyczące współpracy z niemieckim chirurgiem Wilhelmem Fabriciusem Hildanusem w pierwszej dekadzie XVII wieku. Wurstisen, zaczynając w roku 1591 pracę nad tabulaturą, zaplanował jej podział na osiem ksiąg, z których każda poświęcona została utworom pokrewnym pod względem gatunku. Rękopis zawiera prawie pół tysiąca kompozycji, głównie anonimowych, a wśród tych o znanym autorstwie prym wiodą utwory Orlando di Lasso. Do wymienionych z nazwiska twórców należy Amandus Polanus a Polansdorf, profesor teologii na Uniwersytecie w Bazylei, autor Was Gott will. Przypuszczalnie skomponował ten utwór po śmierci żony w roku 1605, co można hipotetycznie uznać za terminus post quem dla momentu ukończenia tabulatury. Rękopis zawiera liczne ślady polskie. Piotr Poźniak zidentyfikował już dawno temu utwory oznaczone inicjałami C.S. jako kompozycje Kaspra Sielickiego. Stwierdził też, że zapisane w CH-Bu F IX 70 dwa utwory Wojciecha Długoraja i Fantazja Diomedesa Cato odmienne są od wersji opublikowanych przez J.B. Besarda (1603). Kompozycje te mogły dotrzeć do Wurstisena nie za pośrednictwem druku. Potencjalne drogi przepływu do Bazylei tego i innego polskiego repertuaru (w tym tańców polskich) są przedmiotem dalszych dociekań autorki. Wśród osób, które mogły się w różny sposób przyczynić do takiego importu wskazani zostali przede wszystkim przybyli z Polski studenci i rezydenci bazylejscy, m.in. profesor miejscowego uniwersytetu, Marcin Chmielecki, jak też studiujący tam medycynę Orestes Cato, brat Diomedesa oraz poeta Daniel Naborowski, wielokrotnie zresztą powracający do Szwajcarii. Do zestawu atrybucji związanych z CH-Bu F IX 70 został dodany autor utworów sygnowanych w tabulaturze inicjałami F.D.D (F.D.D.D.), zidentyfikowany jako wywodzący się z Prus Królewskich lutnista Fridericus de Drusina Dantiscanus, syn Benedicta de Drusina. Kompozycje z rekopisu Wurstisena - Exercitium oraz Passamezo i Saltarello – są jedynymi znanymi jego utworami.

Agnieszka Leszczyńska

Keywords / słowa kluczowe: Basel / Bazylea, Diomedes Cato, Fridericus de Drusina, Amandus Polanus a Polansdorf

Agnieszka Leszczyńska, PhD, is an assistant professor at the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw. She deals with music of the Renaissance. She is the author of the book Melodyka w polifonii Josquina, Obrechta i La Rue [Melodic style in the polyphony of Josquin, Obrecht and La Rue] (1997). Currently, she focuses on research of 16th-century Central European sources, especially from Royal Prussia. She is interested in mechanisms and cultural contexts of their creation. She researches work of Johannes Wanning, Franciscus de Rivulo, Johannes Celscher, Paulus Bucenus.

a.z.leszczynska@uw.edu.pl

Nowe tomy "Monumenta Musicae in Polonia"

Marcin Mielczewski – Opera omnia II Koncerty wokalno-instrumentalne

wyd. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska

iswydawnictwo@,ispan.pl

24