

MARCIN SZELEST
THE KRZYSZTOF PENDERECKI ACADEMY OF MUSIC IN KRAKÓW
ORCID 0000-0003-2858-9841

AN UNKNOWN LETTER OF PAUL SIEFERT AND HIS ACTIVITIES
UNTIL 1611

ABSTRACT The article presents a hitherto unknown letter of Paul Siefert, written in Amsterdam in December 1608. Based on its contents and other source documentation, a timeline of Siefert's activities up to 1611 has been detailed, including the events surrounding the competition for the post of organist of St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk. The study concludes with hypotheses concerning the composer's education before 1607.

KEYWORDS Paul Siefert, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Cajus Schmiedtlein, the Church of St. Mary in Gdańsk, Gdańsk organists

ABSTRAKT *Nieznany list Paula Sieferta i jego działalność do 1611 roku.* W artykule przedstawiono nieznany dotychczas list Paula Sieferta, napisany w Amsterdamie w grudniu 1608. Na podstawie jego treści oraz pozostałej dokumentacji źródłowej uszczegółowiono kalendarium działalności Sieferta do roku 1611, włącznie z wydarzeniami związanymi z konkursem na stanowisko organisty kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku. W zakończeniu postawiono hipotezy dotyczące edukacji kompozytora przed rokiem 1607.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE Paul Siefert, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Cajus Schmiedtlein, kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku, gdańscy organiści

Paul Siefert (1586–1666) belongs to the most important Gdańsk composers and organists of the seventeenth century. His compositions still await detailed study and full appreciation; of his extant vocal and ensemble works, only a few are available in modern editions,¹ and authenticity of a large part of his keyboard output² has been repeatedly disputed.³ The relatively rich documentation of his tenure as organist of the Church of St. Mary in Gdańsk (1623–66) concerns primarily his heated arguments with the *capellmeister* Kaspar Förster the elder and other musicians;⁴ the most famous of them was undoubtedly the royal *maestro di cappella* Marco Scacchi, with whom Siefert polemicized in print.⁵ In his early twenties, Siefert was a student of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, a fact of which he was proud throughout his life.⁶ However,

- 1 *Danziger Kirchen-Musik: Vokalwerke des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Kessler, Neuhausen–Stuttgart 1973, pp. 157–191; *Danziger Instrumental-Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Kessler, Neuhausen–Stuttgart 1979, pp. 17–28; *Motetten von Paul Siefert*, ed. Herbert Hildebrandt, Munich 2007 (= Chormusik zum Genfer Psalter 2).
- 2 Paul Siefert, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Klaus Beckmann, Mainz 2009 (= Meister der Norddeutschen Orgelschule 20).
- 3 Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (vornehmlich in Deutschland)*, Kassel–Basel 1960 (= Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung Kiel 10), p. 48; Jerzy Erdman, ‘Fantazje organowe Paula Siefert’a’ [Organ fantasias of Paul Siefert], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś* [Music in Gdańsk yesterday and today], vol. 1, Gdańsk 1988 (= Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 3), pp. 73–81; Michael Belotti, ‘Peter Philips and Heinrich Scheidemann, or the Art of Intabulation’, in: *Proceedings of the Göteborg International Organ Academy 1994*, eds. Hans Davidsson and Sverker Jullander, Göteborg 1995, pp. 76–79; Pieter Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence*, Utrecht 1997, p. 548, n. 40; Matthias Schneider, ‘Lassos Motette *Benedicam Dominum* – koloriert von Siefert? Zu Paul Siefert’s Musik für Tasteninstrumente’, in: *Musica Baltica. Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, Gdańsk 2000 (= Prace Specjalne 57), passim.
- 4 Max Seiffert, ‘Paul Siefert (1586–1666). Biographische Skizze’, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891), pp. 400, 404–420; Hermann Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig: Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen*, Danzig 1931 (= Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens 15), pp. 140–150, 156–159; Danuta Popinigis, ‘Sylwetka Pawła Siefert’a w świetle źródeł’ [The profile of Paul Siefert in the light of sources], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś*, vol. 1, Gdańsk 1988 (= Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 3), pp. 63–66.
- 5 Marco Scacchi, *Cribrum musicum ad triticum Siferticum...*, Venice: Alessandro Vincenti 1643; Marco Scacchi, *Lettera per maggiore informatione...*, Warsaw 1644; Paul Siefert, *Anticribratio musica ad avenam Schachianam...*, Gdańsk: Georg Rhete 1645; Marco Scacchi, *Epistola, ad amicum*, Venice [after 1645]; Marco Scacchi, *Cantilena V. Voc. & lachrymae sepulchrales, hoc est: Canones aliquot multipliciter variati honori et memoriae Johannis Stobaei Grudentini Borussi...*, Königsberg: Paschalis Mense 1647, preface (*Ad Studiosum Lectorem*); Hieronymus Ninius [= Marco Scacchi?], *Examen breve...*, Braunsberg: Caspar Weingärtner 1647; Paul Siefert, *Examen musicum*, Breslau 1649 (lost). For an overview of the controversy, see Aleksandra Patalas, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze: Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria* [In church, in the chamber and in the theatre: Marco Scacchi. Life, music, theory], Kraków 2010, pp. 310–350, and the literature referred to there. On Scacchi’s Königsberg print of 1647, see Eric Bianchi, ‘Scholars, Friends, Plagiarists: The Musician as Author in the Seventeenth Century’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70 (2017) no. 1, pp. 76–77, doi.org/10.1525/jams.2017.70.1.61. I am indebted to Aleksandra Patalas for drawing my attention to this source.
- 6 References to Sweelinck as Siefert’s teacher can be found in both poems printed in the Quinta Vox partbook of Siefert’s *Psalmen Davids*, vol. 1, and in the poem accompanying Siefert’s image in the Prima Vox partbook of his *Psalmen Davids*, vol. 2; see Paul Siefert, *Psalmen Davids, nach französischer Melodey*

this formative period and Siefert's whereabouts until 1611 – the year of the contest for the position of the *Marienkirche* organist after the death of Cajus Schmiedtlein – have not received due consideration. The length of Siefert's stay in Amsterdam could only be estimated on the basis of payments recorded in the Gdańsk cash books,⁷ and the documents concerning his return to Gdańsk, now lost, were quoted by Hermann Rauschnig without dates.⁸ In effect, it has largely been accepted that Siefert studied with Sweelinck from 1607 until c.1610, then came back to his native city, where he was appointed assistant to the ageing Schmiedtlein, and, after the latter's death in 1611, unsuccessfully competed to become his successor. While the result of the contest is beyond dispute, both the events that led to it and their context seem to have been much more complex. A recently found letter, written by Siefert in 1608, as well as other new pieces of evidence and reconsideration of previously known documents, allow for a more detailed reconstruction of the early period of his life and career to be undertaken.

SIEFERT IN AMSTERDAM: 1607–09

Paul Siefert probably went to Amsterdam in April 1607; on 11 April, the first 150 Mark payment made to him is documented in the extract of the Gdańsk cash book.⁹ The same sum of money was paid to him again on 23 January 1608.¹⁰ A corresponding act of the city council, dated 22 January 1608 (now lost), was quoted by Arno Werner.¹¹ There it is stated explicitly that the sum is granted for the continuation of Siefert's study of the art of organ playing. The amount is divided into a part for Sweelinck ('seinem Meister Johan Pieterszen, Organisten zu Amsterdam ein stücke goldes von zehn floren ung. mit der Stadt Wappen zur Vorehrung') and the rest for Siefert himself ('und gemelten Paulsen so viel darzu dass es zusammen hundert floren machen'). It seems that 10 florins (equal to 15 Mark) was Sweelinck's fee for teaching, whereas Siefert paid the expenses such as lodging, food and clothes out of his own

oder Weise in Music componirt... Erster Theil, Danzig: Georg Rhete 1640, RISM A/I SS 7267a (RISM ID: 991003973); Paul Siefert, *Psalmorum Davidicorum ad gallicam melodiam arte compositorum musicali... pars secunda*, Danzig: Georg Rhete Witwe 1651, RISM A/I SS 7267c (RISM ID: 991003975). Cf. also P. Siefert, *Anticribratio musica*, p. 1. On Siefert's veneration for Sweelinck, see Pieter Dirksen, 'Vater unser im Himmelreich: On Sweelinck and his German pupils', in: *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, eds. Albert Clement and Eric Jas, Boston 1994, p. 370.

7 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 113; D. Popinigis, 'Sylwetka Pawła Sieferta', p. 59.

8 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 119.

9 'Verehrunge soll Adi. 11. Aprilis: ann Caßa Paull Sieuerdt – 150 [Mk]'; Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (State Archive in Gdańsk, hereafter APG), shelf mark 300,12/34 (Extract from the cash book with index, 1606–08), p. 250.

10 APG 300,12/34, p. 422.

11 Arno Werner, 'Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt. Neue Beiträge zu ihrer Biographie', *Sammelbände der internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 1 (1899–1900), p. 437; Max Seiffert, 'Sweelinckiana IV', *Tijdschrift der Vereniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 6 (1899–1900) no. 4, pp. 250–251.

pocket; a similar division might have applied to the 1607 payment, but such details are not preserved. Another payment of 150 Mark for Siefert was recorded in the cash books on 26 and 28 August 1608;¹² directly below this is written a separate entry of a payment made to Sweelinck, now amounting to 35,30 Mark (Fig. 1).¹³ Even with this increase, Sweelinck appears to have charged remarkably modest fees – perhaps not having acquired the reputation of an internationally recognized master yet – compared to what he received for the tuition of Augustus Brücken in 1613.¹⁴ The pace of the payments for Siefert indicates that each time a period of about eight months was covered (April–November 1607, December 1607 – July 1608, and August 1608 – March 1609). If we were to assume that the interval of payment was in six-month periods (thereby also assuming that Gdańsk was late with the second and third instalments), Siefert's stay would only have lasted until September or October 1608. However, in mid-December of that year he was still in Amsterdam. His hitherto unknown letter, written there on 16 December 1608 and addressed to the city council of Gdańsk (see Fig. 2 and Appendix for its full transcription), has been preserved in the State Archive in Gdańsk, in the file with supplications of students from the years 1601–15.¹⁵ In the letter, Siefert is expressing gratitude to the city council for the support he received to date and asking for its continuation. The reason for his request, he explains, is that 'for my development it would be most important what Master Jan Pieterszoon and other good people advised me, namely, that before I go home, I undertake with consent of the city council a year-long trip to Italy, where the art of music is very flourishing and excellent masters are found'. Siefert's wording makes it clear that the grant he received from Gdańsk was about to finish, which meant that – according to the conditions expressed in the act of January 1608 – he would be expected to fulfil his commitment and 'serve the council and the whole city

12 APG 300,12/36 (Extract from the cash book with index, 1608–09), p. 172: '28 Dito [= Augusti] an Caßa Pauell Sieuertt – 150 [Mk]'; APG 300,12/38 (Cash book, 1608–09), p. 83: 'Ady 26 augusty [...] Paull Siuertt – 150 [Mk]'.

13 APG 300,12/36, p. 172: '– Dito [= 28 Augusti] an Caßa Johan Peterßen – 35,30 [Mk]'; APG 300,12/38, p. 83: 'Ady 26 augusty [...] Johan Petterssen ein porkaleser [= Portugaleser] – 35,30 [Mk]'. These payments, both to Siefert and to Sweelinck, have gone unnoticed by previous scholars.

14 Curt Sachs, *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof*, Berlin 1910, p. 210; Siegbert Rampe, 'Abendmusik oder Gottesdienst? Zur Funktion norddeutscher Orgelkompositionen des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts (Schluss)', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 27 (2005), p. 94.

15 APG 300,36/4 (Supplications of students, 1601–15), pp. 153–156. This letter is Siefert's only surviving autograph, as all his writings quoted in works written up to 1939 have been lost. The manuscript dedication on the Uppsala copy of his *Psalmorum Davidicorum... pars secunda* (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek [S-Uu]; RISM A/I SS 7267d, RISM ID: 991003976), addressed to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie and signed 'Author', cannot be considered an autograph of Siefert; it was calligraphed, presumably at the composer's request, in a manner resembling print; see Rafael Mitjana, *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Upsala*, vol. 1, *Musique religieuse*, Uppsala 1911, pp. 443–446; D. Popinigis, 'Sylwetka Paula Sieferta', pp. 68–69. I express my gratitude to Ole Kongsted for providing me with an image of the dedication.

Item	Amount	Date
Lohn des 1608 in Gdansk	200	1608
Lohn des 1609 in Gdansk	200	1609
Lohn des 1610 in Gdansk	200	1610
Lohn des 1611 in Gdansk	200	1611
Lohn des 1612 in Gdansk	200	1612
Lohn des 1613 in Gdansk	200	1613
Lohn des 1614 in Gdansk	200	1614
Lohn des 1615 in Gdansk	200	1615
Lohn des 1616 in Gdansk	200	1616
Lohn des 1617 in Gdansk	200	1617
Lohn des 1618 in Gdansk	200	1618
Lohn des 1619 in Gdansk	200	1619
Lohn des 1620 in Gdansk	200	1620

Fig. 1. Gdańsk cash book, 1608–09, Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 300,12/38, p. 83 (fragment)

for a modest salary'.¹⁶ The letter was registered in Gdańsk on 16 January 1609, but it is not known whether it was read to the city council or what action was taken (if any). Siefert, however, must have been aware of the amount of time required for the response and most probably wrote the letter at least two months before the expected end of his two-year tuition by Sweelinck, which would fall in February or, more likely, in March 1609.

Sweelinck's suggestion that Siefert should undertake the trip to Italy to complete his music education reveals an unknown aspect of his pedagogical approach. No such information has survived in connection with his other pupils, and almost all of them actually studied with Sweelinck at the very end of their learning period. The sole exception might have been Mattheus Leder (Läder), whom, according to his obituary, 'some men from there [= Gdańsk] sent at their expense to Amsterdam in Holland to Jan Peterson, from whom he also followed to other artists',¹⁷ but it cannot be certain that he did so on Sweelinck's advice. Siefert was one of the first German students of Sweelinck, together with Samuel Scheidt and, possibly, Jacob

16 '[...] einem E. Rathe und gemeiner Stadt um ein billiges *salarium* zu dienen'; see A. Werner, 'Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt', p. 437; M. Seiffert, 'Sweelinckiana IV', pp. 250–251.

17 '[...] haben ihn etliche Herrn von da auf Ihre Unkosten nach Amsterdam in Holland zu Jan Peterson verschicket, von welcher er auch andern Künstlern nachgezogen [...]'], obituary of Mattheus Leder in *Theatrum Defunctorum, das andere Todtenbuch, oder Verzeichnuß der Verstorbenen aus der Christlichen Gemeine der Altenstadt Königsberg...* 1626–37, Evangelisches Zentralarchiv in Berlin 980/2109, fols. 82v–83v (pp. 164–166 of original pagination), quoted also in Georg Küsel, *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Königsberg i. Pr.*, Kassel 1923 (= Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2), p. 79.

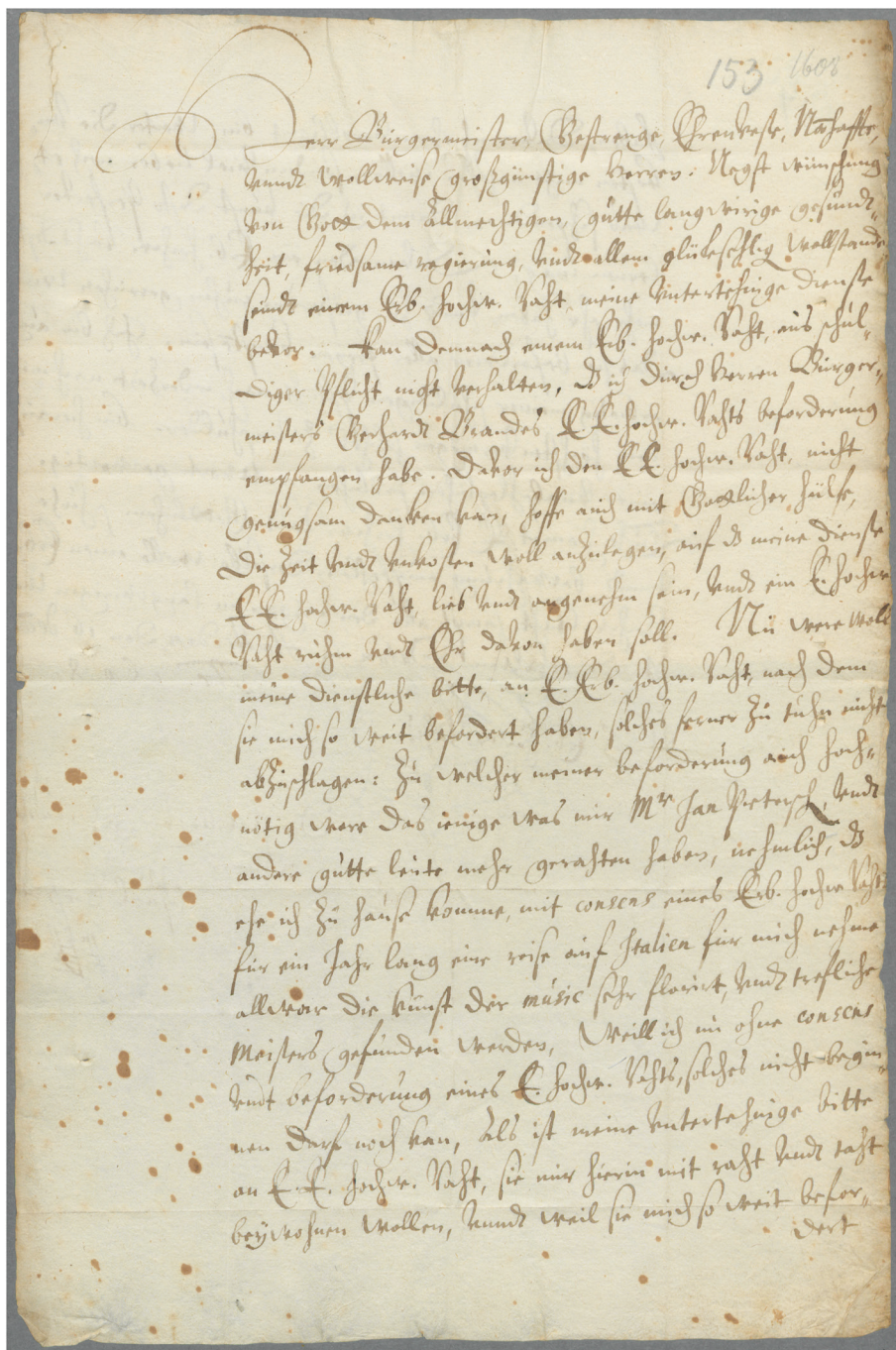


Fig. 2. Letter of Paul Siefert to the city council in Gdańsk (Amsterdam, 16 December 1608), Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 300,36/4, pp. 153, 154 and 156

154

haben, daher ich zum Erbbligist bin, Unter die hie,
kosten nicht ansetzen wollen, sondern viel lieber noch et,
was spendieren, damit ich die künft daffo gesetzet
lassen mag. Daher dan ein E. b. fuder. Kaffdaffo
mehr als haben, und zu größerem eifer gereisen, wird,
das sie besondrer aller freyen künfte sein. Ich bin auch
erbitig meiner pflichtigen pflicht nach, inderzeit auch noch
mehr freyten vornehmen solches z. b. fuder. bin frey
nicht unangenehm freyten antwort gemacht.
Zu se. fuder. E. b. fuder. Kaff. G. d. fuder. fuder
und besondrer angestehen, dasselbe wollen einen E. b.
fuder. Kaff. freyten alle den irigen in langwierigen und
freuden erhalten. Datum in Amsterdam, den 16. dec.
1608.

E. b. fuder. Kaff.

Freundlich und gütlich
Gruß
Paul Siefert
mff

Fig. 2. (cont.)

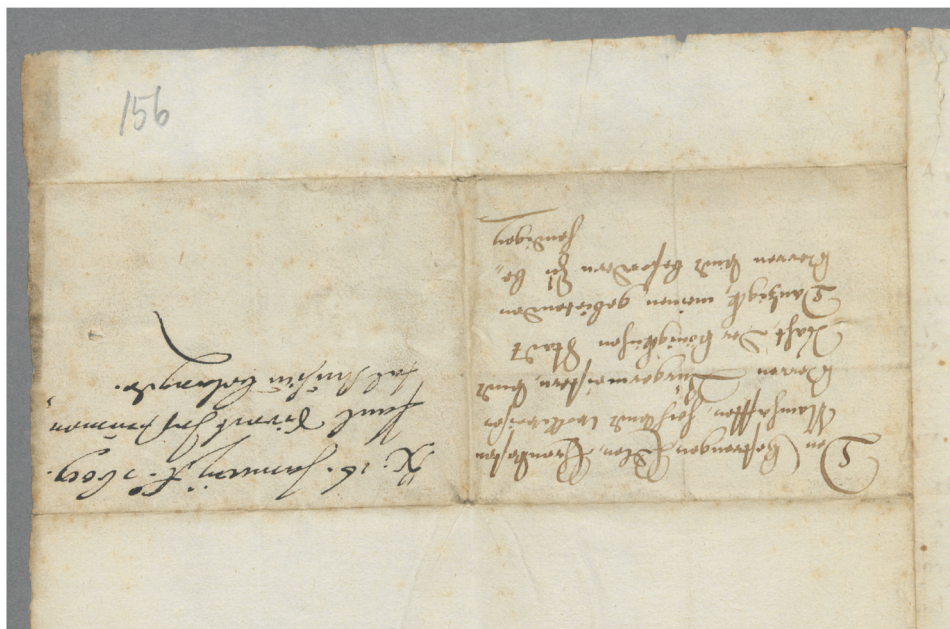


Fig. 2. (cont.)

Praetorius.¹⁸ At that time, Sweelinck was developing his keyboard style,¹⁹ and one of the important sources he drew on was Italian music and theory. He has been shown to have studied toccatas of the Venetian type, especially those collected in Girolamo Diruta's *Il Transilvano*,²⁰ and to have based his own counterpoint teaching on the treatises of Gioseffo Zarlino and Giovanni Maria Artusi.²¹ It is not known whether he was aware of Girolamo Frescobaldi's 1607–08 visit in the Southern Netherlands; in any case, during his stay there, Frescobaldi was only starting to emerge as a composer. But it is virtually certain that in 1593 Sweelinck met Peter Philips,²² who spent the years 1582–85 in Rome and was well acquainted with Italian music.²³ In all, it is entirely possible that the phrases used by Siefert – that in Italy ‘the art of music is very flourishing and excellent masters are found’ – do reflect the convictions of

18 P. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music*, p. 509.

19 Ibid., pp. 505–510, 515.

20 Ibid., pp. 39–41, 72–74.

21 Ulf Grapenthin, ‘The Transmission of Sweelinck’s *Composition Regeln*’, in: *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pieter Dirksen, Utrecht 2002, pp. 182–189.

22 David J. Smith, ‘The Interconnection of Religious, Social and Musical Networks: Creating a Context for the Keyboard Music of Peter Philips and its Dissemination’, in: *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips’s 450th Anniversary*, eds. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor, London–New York 2013, pp. 12, 20–21.

23 P. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music*, p. 101.

Sweelinck, who recommended his student to gain first-hand experience of the style that he had probably not fully integrated into his own system yet. It would hardly be possible to send Scheidt or Praetorius to Italy; both had already been appointed organists in their cities before coming to Amsterdam and were expected to return promptly to their duties. Siefert, however, did not have any position in Gdańsk, and if he was expected to succeed Cajus Schmiedtlein (more on this possibility below), he would not have been urgently needed back in his home city in early 1609.

Later in his life, Siefert disapproved publicly of Italian music and musicians, although his unfavourable opinion on the royal *capellmeister* in Warsaw, Asprilio Pacelli, has only been reported by his long-standing adversary Kaspar Förster the elder,²⁴ and Siefert's attitude may have had more political than artistic background. The lists of pieces (all lost) offered by Siefert to the city council of Gdańsk for performance in 1620 and 1627 reveal that he composed for large ensembles with voices and instruments (such as cornetti, trombones and strings), often divided into as many as three choirs (in one case accompanied by three organs), sometimes with instrumental sinfonias and/or 'concertweiß gesetzt'.²⁵ One may safely assume that those pieces reflected Siefert's experience with polychoral music cultivated at the Warsaw court under the leadership of Pacelli; they could have belonged to the 'many and various works' he presented there.²⁶ On one occasion, probably in 1642, he accused Italian composers of abandoning 'the true and good school of music', as well as of concentration on light genres and inability to create contrapuntal works.²⁷ One wonders, however, whether this harsh judgement was not based on his experience with the kind of Italian repertoire chosen by Förster for festive services in the *Marienkirche*.²⁸ Stylistic preferences of the late 1630s were quite different from what Siefert could possibly have learned in Italy in 1609 if he went there, and even if in his 1645 response to Marco Scacchi he expressed his affiliation to the 'Belgian school', he did refer both to the high standards of royal musicians in Pacelli's ensemble²⁹ and to music of Italian masters – Luca Marenzio, Giovanni Valentini and Giacomo Finetti – as examples to be followed.³⁰ He also cooperated with the virtuoso violinist Carlo Farina during the latter's stay in Gdańsk in 1636–37.³¹ All this evidence shows that Siefert did not condemn Italian music in general.

24 M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', p. 400.

25 Ibid., pp. 401–402; H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 145.

26 P. Siefert, *Anticribratio musica*, dedication. Even if we assume that Siefert overestimated his importance at the court of Sigismund III, there is certainly no evidence that he was not well-integrated there, as Aleksandra Patalas has suggested; see A. Patalas, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze*, p. 119.

27 Ibid., pp. 310–311.

28 M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', p. 413.

29 P. Siefert, *Anticribratio musica*, dedication.

30 Ibid., pp. 4, 6, 7, 21.

31 M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', pp. 411–414; H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 156.

SIEFERT BACK IN GDAŃSK: MARCH–MAY 1610

Before we try to address the question whether Siefert could have spent the year 1609 in Italy, let us first consider the moment of his return to Gdańsk. The two key documents concerning this issue, no longer extant, are quoted in length by Rauschnig. They are petitions to the city council in Gdańsk, one written by the administrators (*Kirchenväter*) of the *Marienkirche*,³² and the other one written by Cajus Schmiedtlein, the organist of the church.³³ Evidently written at about the same time, they contain complaints and accusations against Siefert, called ‘the new organist’ (as opposed to the ‘apprentice’, Michael Weyda, a long-time pupil of Schmiedtlein),³⁴ who then worked at the *Marienkirche* organ as Schmiedtlein’s assistant and prospective successor. Apparently, neither letter was dated. Rauschnig was convinced that Siefert came back to Gdańsk only in 1611 and the petitions originated shortly before Schmiedtlein’s death,³⁵ but his belief is untenable. Schmiedtlein started his letter with reference to the conditions of Siefert’s appointment, which had happened ‘vor 3 Monat’: Siefert was installed by the city council to aid the ageing Schmiedtlein, learn from him, and eventually succeed him; Schmiedtlein’s income remained unreduced, while Siefert was to be paid by the city council. If, as Rauschnig believed, Schmiedtlein wrote the letter just before his death on 15 March 1611,³⁶ Siefert’s appointment as his assistant would have fallen in December 1610. However, the letter of the *Kirchenväter* proves something different. They accused Siefert of breaking the tremulant in the *Marienkirche* organ ‘gegenst das Osterfest’. That could not have happened in 1611, because in that year, Schmiedtlein was already dead around Easter (3 April). 1609 should also be excluded because Schmiedtlein, complaining that Siefert had accused him of causing damages to the organ, maintained that the instrument was as good and ready as twenty-five years before, when he had taken it over.³⁷ That leaves the spring of 1610 as the only possibility. Siefert was installed in the *Marienkirche* at some

32 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 117–118.

33 Ibid., pp. 118–119.

34 In an undated petition to the city council, written in 1612 or early 1613, the *Kirchenväter* asked for reinstating ‘Michel den Organisten, so sich in die 12. Jahr auff diesem großen Werck gebrauchen laßen’, which makes it possible to fix the beginning of Weyda’s apprenticeship at 1600 or 1601; see APG 300,R/Pp,46 (copies of various documents concerning mainly the *Marienkirche*), p. 202.

35 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 113, 118.

36 Eberhard Bötticher, ‘Historisch Kirchen Register der grossen Pfarkirchen 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: 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, p. 637.

37 ‘[...] die gantze neue vnd große Oergel so fertig vnd gutt als Ich sie vor 25 Jahren empfangen [...]’, see H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 119. Schmiedtlein was appointed organist of the *Marienkirche* in October 1585; see Marcin Szelest, ‘A New History of the Gdańsk/Danzig Organ Tablature’, *Muzyka* 69 (2024) no. 4, p. 6, doi.org/10.36744/m.3875.

point before Easter that year (11 April), most likely in early March, at the beginning of a new quarter.³⁸ Since on his return to Gdańsk he was obliged to serve the city, he was certainly not left unemployed for long; the city council had every reason to believe the organist they invested in to be the best qualified person to become Schmiedtlein's assistant and successor. It seems, therefore, that Siefert spent the year 1609 outside Gdańsk and came back in early 1610 – about a year after the end of his study period with Sweelinck. To extend his absence, he had to have at least consent from the city council. The cash books of Gdańsk do not record any payment for Siefert in 1609;³⁹ perhaps he could have received support from an individual patron.

SIEFERT IN PRAGUE: JUNE 1610 – APRIL 1611

Late in his life, in 1665, Siefert asked the city council to pay his grandson and assistant Heinrich Döbel. He referred to an example of 1610, when Schmiedtlein was granted a 'substitute' who received 100 Polish florins per year.⁴⁰ That substitute was undoubtedly Siefert himself. We know from his application letter of 1611 that for the period of assistantship the city council granted him an 'expectation Salario';⁴¹ Rauschning maintained that it amounted to 37,10 Mark quarterly.⁴² The sum should probably read '37,30': one of the standard amounts on the city's quarterly payrolls was 25 florins, equal to 37,30 Mark, whereas the sum of 37,10 Mark does not appear on any list from 1609–11.⁴³ At any rate, 25 florins per quarter gives 100 florins per year, so the two pieces of information seem to be consistent with each other. However, Siefert's name does not appear on any quarterly payrolls in 1610 and 1611. The only relevant entry in the city accounts appears with the date 15 September 1611: 'Paul Siuerdt Organisten p(er) ein Quartall sein warthgeldt gezallet 37,30 [Mk]',⁴⁴ but it concerns the period after Schmiedtlein's death, the 'waiting time' between the organists' audition in July 1611 and the appointment of a new organist in late September (more on that period below).

The 1610 letters of the *Kirchenväter* and of Schmiedtlein end with a request to the city council that Siefert be expelled from the *Marienkirche*. Schmiedtlein proposed

38 The quarterly payment ('Quartall Reminiscere') was recorded in the city cash book with the date 3 March; see APG 300,12/39 (Cash book, 1610–13), p. 20. The employment period usually started from the new quarter to facilitate the calculation of salaries.

39 The extract of the cash book, APG 300,12/36, covers the period until the end of March 1609; day-to-day payments are recorded in the cash book 1608–09 (APG 300,12/38), but the extracts do not survive for the period from April 1609 to March 1611.

40 'So findet sich auf der Kämmerey Ao. 1610 in denen Rechnungen das damahlen Ein Edl. Hochw. Raht dem Caio gewesenem Organisten alhier, einen Substituten verordnet welcher 100 fl. polnisch Jährlich daselbst empfangen'; the lost supplication is quoted by H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 207.

41 Ibid., p. 133; on the letter, see below in this section.

42 Ibid., p. 113; his claim that it happened in 1611 is certainly ungrounded.

43 APG 300,12/38; APG 300,12/39.

44 APG 300,12/41 (Extract from the cash book with index, 1611–12), p. 14.

either to move him to another church or let him go so that he could learn more (his expression 'wandern lassen' clearly referred to the practice of travelling journeymen). In this context, it is hardly a coincidence that on 3 June 1610 Siefert received a payment of 150 Mark from the city,⁴⁵ an amount equal to 100 florins (Fig. 3). At the end of just one quarter, the city council decided to pay Siefert the entire amount he was to have earned for the whole year. At that point, therefore, not only was he dismissed from the *Marienkirche*, but also sent away from Gdańsk with a grant which secured his needs for the coming months. Another letter of Siefert also draws attention here, one dated by Rauschning for 1623 and connected by him with the next vacancy for the organist position in the *Marienkirche* following the alleged death of Michael Weyda.⁴⁶ As already shown by Joachim Steinheuer, this dating is obviously wrong, since Siefert explicitly refers to the death of Schmiedtlein, not of Weyda;⁴⁷ moreover, in 1623 Weyda did not die, but moved to Königsberg.⁴⁸ The letter begins with the information that the message about Schmiedtlein's death reached Siefert in Prague, from where he returned to Gdańsk in order to offer his service to the city council. Undoubtedly, therefore, the letter is identical with the petition mentioned by Eberhard Bötticher, one of the *Kirchenväter* and the author of the *Historisch Kirchen Register*, who noted that on 23 May 1611, over two months after Schmiedtlein's death, Siefert came to Gdańsk and applied for the vacant position by submitting a supplication.⁴⁹

All this evidence allows the conclusion that Siefert returned to Gdańsk in early 1610 and was employed as Schmiedtlein's assistant since March that year. Schmiedtlein wrote his petition in late May and Siefert was paid to leave the city again already at the beginning of June. However, the council evidently regarded Siefert as their 'Stipendiat' and they certainly did not pay him to go into unspecified exile; shortly after his return to Gdańsk, on 2 June 1611, he was given another 75 Mark 'in settlement of his grant'.⁵⁰ There must have been a chosen destination, most probably Prague. Although Siefert's name does not appear among the musicians of Rudolf II⁵¹ and has

45 APG 300,12/39, p. 55: 'Ady 3 ditto [= Junius] Pauwell Siferdt 150 [Mk]'. This entry has gone unnoticed by previous scholars.

46 H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 133–134.

47 Joachim Steinheuer, *Chamäleon und Salamander: Neue Wege der Textvertonung bei Tarquinio Merula*, Kassel–Basel 1999, p. 37, n. 155.

48 Izabela Bogdan, 'Niepokorny protestant Michael Weyda (1581–ok. 1651), organista w Gdańsku i Królewcu, na tle konfliktów konfesyjnych pierwszej połowy XVII wieku' [The rebellious Protestant Michael Weyda (1581–c.1651), organist in Gdańsk and Königsberg, against the background of the confessional conflicts of the first half of the seventeenth century], *Muzyka* 52 (2007) no. 4, pp. 65–66.

49 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 637: 'Mittlerzeit, nemlich 23. Maii, hatt sich Paul Siewert, der Geburt von Dantz, eines E. Rath's *Stipendiat* und Organist, ankommen und durch eine Supplication umb den Dienst angehalten [...]'.
50 APG 300,12/41, p. 289: 'Paul Sifferdt auf Rechnung seines *Stipendij* gezallet 75 [Mk]'.
51 Michaela Žáčková-Rossi, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II: The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576–1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers*, Prague 2017 (= *Clavis Monumentorum Musicorum Regni Bohemiae*, series S 6), pp. 1–193.

Year	Name	Amount
1610	Günst Peter Krüger	230
1611	Ditto Hans Krüger	900
1612	Ditto Hans Krüger	150
1613	Ditto Hans Krüger	2953
1614	Ditto Hans Krüger	273
1615	Ditto Hans Krüger	663
1616	Ditto Hans Krüger	13336

Fig. 3. Gdańsk cash book, 1610–13, Gdańsk, Archiwum Państwowe, shelf mark 300,12/39, p. 55 (fragment)

not emerged in any other documents from Prague,⁵² his presence there would have been likely to remain unrecorded if – as suggested by Schmiedtlein – the city council sent him specifically for the continuation his studies.⁵³ The idea of going to Prague might have originated through contacts with Nicolaus Zangius, the former *capellmeister* in Gdańsk, who left the city because of the plague in 1602,⁵⁴ but returned for a short time at the end of 1605⁵⁵ and again in early 1607,⁵⁶ just before Siefert's leave for Amsterdam. Since October 1602 Zangius was employed at the court in Prague⁵⁷ and, during his visits to Gdańsk, he could have given an account of the high level of the imperial music ensemble, including the organist and composer Carl Luython, who might have attracted Siefert's attention as another all-round master from the Netherlands.

52 Siefert's name is also absent from the 'Gnadengeld' section of the imperial accounting ledgers of 1610 and 1611, not researched by Žáčková-Rossi. For kindly checking the relevant indices, I am very grateful to Dr. Stefan Seitschek, Bestandsgruppenleiter Inneres, Alte Hofkammer, Sammlungen und Selekte bis 1749 at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv in Vienna.

53 In his letter from Königsberg, dated 21 November 1615, lost but quoted by Rauschnig, Siefert expressed gratitude to the city council for all the benefits he received so far. The council, he started, not only let him 'study a perfect art with an excellent master', but also 'most favourably provided' him 'with a good grant for three years' ('[...] den sie mir nicht allein eine perfecte Kunst bey einem trefflichen Meister haben lernen lassen, sondern auch mit einem gutten stipendio 3 Jahr lang großgünstig versehen'); see H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 128. It is significant that Siefert's study with Sweelinck and the grant he received were formulated as two distinct items, which probably corresponds with the fact that the third year (spent in Prague) was separated from the first two years (spent in Amsterdam). Siefert's calculation also confirms that he did not receive financial support from the city council in 1609.

54 E. Böttcher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 588.

55 Ibid., p. 626.

56 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 68. On 17 February 1607 Zangius received Gdańsk citizenship; see APG 300,60/5 (Bürgerbuch 1577–1732), p. 60.

57 M. Žáčková-Rossi, *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II*, pp. 36–37, 188–189.

THE AUDITION OF THE ORGANISTS IN GDAŃSK: MAY–SEPTEMBER 1611

Redating Siefert's application for the position of the *Marienkirche* organist to May 1611 sheds new light on the audition of the candidates that took place on 12 July that year. According to both Bötticher and Rauschning (who quoted an unspecified document related to Bötticher's note), the audition was organized 'at the entreaty of the four suppliant' ('auf inständiges anhalten der vier Supplicanten').⁵⁸ At least initially, however, it was the idea of Siefert expressed explicitly in his application letter to the city council. At that point, Siefert wished for a contest between himself and Michael Weyda, the pupil of Schmiedtlein who played the *Marienkirche* organ after his death.⁵⁹ Siefert thought poorly of Weyda's competence, but was also aware that the *Kirchenväter* had spread it around that he was inept at organ playing himself and therefore not the right person for the post; for that reason he wanted to submit both himself and Weyda to the judgement of experts. He insisted that the *Proba*, as he called it, should be assessed not only by the city council, but also by 'the best musicians who live in the city', because he feared that the organ would be broken on purpose, in order to make his playing sound bad. Interestingly, he suggested that it had happened many times before not only to himself, but also, 'in those past days', to 'Gregorio' – probably the late Gregor Linde the elder, the predecessor of Schmiedtlein. According to Rauschning, upon the appointment of Schmiedtlein, who came to Gdańsk just before the new Julius Anthoni organ was finished in 1585, Linde was moved to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and three years later poverty forced him to sell his harpsichord.⁶⁰ Siefert's remark could echo Linde's resentment, which might have been magnified by unfair conditions concerning access to the new organ compared to Schmiedtlein. Linde's son, also Gregor, born in 1586,⁶¹ was Siefert's peer; since 1610 he was organist of Trinity Church and, eventually, he also competed for the position at the *Marienkirche*. It is possible that Siefert knew about the events of 1585 either from him, or from his father who died in 1600, and wanted to protect himself from what he regarded as manipulation by the church administrators.

The idea of the *Proba* probably resonated with the city council's plans, for at some point a third candidate applied – Christoph Vater from Flensburg. The correspondence on that matter, lost but described by Rauschning, included two letters of recommendation – one from his father-in-law Heinrich Marci (Marcus), organist of the *Marienkirche* in Lübeck, and the second issued by the city council of Lübeck – as well as a favourable reply of the city council of Gdańsk.⁶² Rauschning did not

58 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 638; H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 120.

59 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 637.

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

61 APG 356/1 (the register of baptisms of the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1573–92), f. 135r: 8 [June 1586] 'Gregori(us) nat(us) ex p(at)re Greger Linde, matre Engell'.

62 H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 120.

mention any dates for the letters, but given the amount of time needed to exchange the correspondence and organize the travel, Vater's initial inquiry must have reached Gdańsk before Siefert's return. The city council evidently decided to wait for his arrival. Vater came together with Marci; the latter played the *Marienkirche* organ on 7 July for a special service including the *Te Deum laudamus* after the capture of Smolensk,⁶³ while the former performed solo the following Saturday, 9 July, probably during Vespers, as well as at the main service on Sunday 10 July with the choir and instrumentalists.⁶⁴ Although the Gdańsk documents do not specify the date of their arrival, they probably appeared in the city just before 7 July; as the relevant account book (*Wochenbuch*) of the *Marienkirche* in Lübeck shows, Marci was still there on 28 June (18 June in Lübeck, where the Old Style calendar was still in use), when he received his quarterly payment.⁶⁵

At first glance the timing of the public audition seems tailored to Vater's needs as the candidate who arrived last: it was organized on 12 July, just two or three days after he had been given ample possibility to become familiar with the organ. But the wording of Marci's complaint directed to the city council the day after the audition suggests that it was, in fact, an unpleasant surprise for him and Vater that the contest took place at all, or at least that they could not expect the kind of requirements that were given to the candidates. Marci wrote that the 'gestrige Examen [...] *ex abrupto* geschah', which seems to indicate that the decision to organize the contest was made at the very last moment. Indeed, he could have had reason to believe that Vater had already auditioned while playing for services on the past weekend, and he pointed out in the letter that 'judging reasonably, he passed well, because many of those who heard it, praised it highly'.⁶⁶

Little though we know about choosing and appointing organists in northern Europe during this period, it is evident that presenting one's skills during a service was one of the practiced procedures, next to auditions outside liturgy, when the candidates fulfilled a set of special requirements.⁶⁷ It is possible that Siefert, who at least

63 E. Böttcher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 637–638.

64 Mentioned in Heinrich Marci's letter quoted by H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 121.

65 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, shelf mark 6.1–1 St. Marien, 9: *Wochenbuch* 1605–13, 1611: 13. Woche nach Ostern [16 Juni]. For Charles Ogier, who travelled westwards from Danzig by sea in 1636, the way to Lübeck took as long as ten days due to deviations from the course and an unexpected one-day break caused by storms; see Kurt Schottmüller, 'Reiseindrücke aus Danzig, Lübeck, Hamburg und Holland 1636: Nach dem neuentdeckten II. Teil von Charles Ogiers Gesandtschaftstagebuch', *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 52 (1910), p. 243.

66 '[...] wan vernunftflichen davon judiciret, er woll passiret, immaßen es viele, die es gehöret, sehr gerühmet'; H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 121.

67 A famous example of the latter was the 1655 audition for the organist position at the *Jacobikirche* in Hamburg, described in the so-called 'Organistenchronik' of Johann Kortkamp; see Klaus Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule: Orgelmusik im protestantischen Norddeutschland zwischen 1517 und 1755*, vol. 1, *Die Zeit der Gründerväter: 1517–1629*, Mainz 2005, pp. 280–281. As for Gdańsk, Schmiedtlein seems to have been appointed in 1585 after his performance at the official delivery of the new Julius Anthoni

declaratively wanted to submit himself to a fair assessment, was somehow behind the fact that the contest he had proposed back in May finally took place; it is evident, however, that he influenced the way it proceeded.

Regardless of any impact Siefert may have had, his request to call the best Gdańsk musicians to participate in the jury does not appear to have been followed. According to Bötticher, the council delegated two ‘inspectors’ to the organ loft: Ernst Kerl, a member of the council, and Johann Czirenberg, his brother-in-law, at the time a member of the *Schöffen* (the court of lay judges).⁶⁸ None of them was, of course, a professional musician, and the scope of their expertise in organ playing is unknown;⁶⁹ they might have only supervised the correctness of the procedure. The rest of the council, along with the *Kirchenväter* and a great number of burghers gathered in the nave. At no point are any names of organists or other musicians mentioned who would have judged the contest and voted for one of the candidates, even during the prolonged waiting time for the council’s final decision. Bötticher only reported that during the audition, the name of the candidate who was playing appeared on a board placed above the organ, ‘so that all listeners could have their own opinion’.⁷⁰ In spite of this, Siefert’s influence on the process is shown by the actual tasks required to be performed.

The assignments given to the candidates, neutral as they look in Bötticher’s description, were either tailored to Siefert’s skills or even formulated by him from scratch. They included: (1) playing on the full organ with loud sound; (2) a ‘fuga’;⁷¹ (3) the 51st Psalm *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott*; (4) a motet transposed by a fourth; (5) playing with a piece of lead placed on the keyboard.⁷² Rauschning interpreted

organ. It is not certain, however, whether there were any further candidates and whether the position was actually open for applications; the church apparently did have an organist, Gregor Linde the elder, who had to be moved to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul to make place for Schmiedtlein; see H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 50. On the unclear circumstances of this decision, see above. There was no audition in 1623, after Weyda’s departure for Königsberg. The *Kirchenväter* initially invited Samuel Scheidt to take up the organist post. Gottfried Scheidt, who came to Gdańsk instead of his brother, played the *Marienkirche* organ a few times, presumably for services, but left after waiting about two months for a decision of the *Kirchenväter*, who in the meantime came to prefer Siefert; see G. Scheidt’s letter quoted in A. Werner, ‘Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt’, pp. 443–444; Klaus-Peter Koch, ‘Scheidt und Danzig: Wäre Samuel Scheidt nach Danzig gegangen? Mit einem Anhang “Biographische Daten zu Gottfried Scheidt”’, in: *Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654): Werk und Wirkung. Bericht über die Internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz am 5. und 6. November 2004 im Rahmen der Scheidt-Ehrung 2004 in der Stadt Halle und über das Symposium in Kreuzburg zum 350. Todesjahr*, 25.–27. März 2004, Halle an der Saale 2006 (= Schriften des Händel-Hauses in Halle 20), pp. 161–168.

68 E. Bötticher, ‘Historisch Kirchen Register’, p. 638.

69 Czirenberg’s daughter Constantia became famous for her music skills in the following decade, but in 1611 she was only six years old, and the role of her father in her artistic upbringing is difficult to assess.

70 ‘[...] damit die Zuhörer sämptlich ihr Judiciren davon mochten’; E. Bötticher, ‘Historisch Kirchen Register’, p. 638. Cf. also H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 120.

71 The original term is retained here, which at the time could refer to an imitative piece of any genre and length, such as a *ricercar* or a *canzona*.

72 E. Bötticher, ‘Historisch Kirchen Register’, p. 638; H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 121.

the last task as testing the strength of the candidates' fingers, but it seems unlikely, since the action of the Julius Anthoni organ was already very heavy;⁷³ more probable is the explanation proposed by Matthias Schneider, who conjectured that the piece of lead was used to block one key with a sounding tone, around which the organist improvised.⁷⁴ The other assignments checked the candidates' ability to improvise in standard genres – a praeludium, a fugue, and a chorale prelude – as well as to play and transpose a motet. Heinrich Marci, however, protested in his letter to the city council that the 'fuga' (2) and chorale (3) were limited to performance on one manual only, and playing upon a given bass was required. He remarked that this way of playing resulted in 'incredible instrumental farces that do not serve the church', and that such 'farces' had already been performed by 'others' in Gdańsk. By the 'others', however, Marci seems to have meant just one other candidate, as the following part of his long sentence makes clear. That candidate, according to Marci, was skilled in producing 'such things', and before the audition he went so far as to have made a statement that 'a bass should be proposed'. In Marci's opinion, the obtained result was biased, and whoever would like to show he can exceed his son-in-law's prowess, should be required to accompany the choir and perform solo, playing 'a fuga, a motet or a psalm' on two and three manuals with pedal, 'as it is appropriate on this beautiful organ', for an hour; all this should happen *ex tempore*, especially the 'fuga', which should not be written out and learned beforehand. In other words, Marci suggested that the candidates should be tested during services or in similar conditions, like he believed Christoph Vater already had been. All that was, in fact, a clear accusation against Siefert. Its reason was not only the difference in background and style between Vater and Siefert, as explained by Rauschnig,⁷⁵ but also Marci's conviction that the rules were formulated to suit Siefert and that Siefert knew them so well in advance that he managed to compose and learn the 'fuga', which should have been improvised. Admittedly, Siefert is not named in Marci's letter; however, he was clearly the candidate preferred by the city council as their protégé, as well as the only rival of Vater who studied outside Gdańsk and could have boasted about possessing skills unknown to others.

It may be risky to draw unequivocal conclusions as to what exactly happened during the audition on the basis of Marci's passionate letter, but several possibilities are worth considering. Taken literally, Marci seems to have complained that the 'fuga'

73 In 1640, Ewald Hintz wrote to the city council about the instrument: 'was vor ein schweres Werck zu spielen die Orgel zur Pfarr ist, dartzu nicht ein ieder dienet'; H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 176.

74 Matthias Schneider, 'Bugenhagens Kirchenordnungen und die liturgische Orgelmusik im Ostseeraum', in: *Reformatio Baltica: Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums*, eds. Heinrich Assel, Johann Anselm Steiger and Axel E. Walter, Berlin 2018 (= *Metropolis: Texte und Studien zu Zentren der Kultur in der europäischen Neuzeit* 2), p. 280.

75 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 121.

and chorale ('psalm') were required to be played on one manual (at a later point he stressed that obligato pedal should be used, which suggests that by 'one manual' he also meant 'without pedal') and upon a given bass line. This reading appears corroborated by his remark at the end of the long sentence that 'such extorted thing, which does not come from a free spirit, cannot be called the right service of God'. However, the 'fuga', in whatever form, would normally be played on one manual, not on more, and Marci's final claim that 'the 'fug' [sic] must be delivered *ex tempore*, and not practised and written out beforehand' clearly referred to Siefert's playing a composed work. Therefore, the complaint about the 'fuga' did not concern performance conditions, but rather the fact that Siefert knew its subject in advance and prepared the piece.

For a setting of the chorale *Erbarm dich mein* (the 'psalm'), restriction to just one manual could have been a major obstacle for Christoph Vater. Marci's view of what was 'appropriate to this beautiful organ' clearly referred to the tradition of playing chorale settings on two and three manuals with obligato pedal, which seems to have prevailed in North German centres such as Hamburg or Gdańsk.⁷⁶ Undoubtedly, Schmiedtlein's pupil Michael Weyda, regardless of his actual competence, was also trained in that tradition. But Siefert, who had never held an organist position in Gdańsk or elsewhere, quite possibly had little experience in it, while as a proud student of Sweelinck he might have considered himself an exponent of another style. His treatment of the chorale melody would probably resemble Sweelinck's variations, rather than an extended motet-like setting of the kind we know from the output of Hieronymus Praetorius or Johann Steffens. Imposing the rule that limited the performance to one manual without pedal was certainly in Siefert's interest and deprived the remaining candidates of the opportunity to use the techniques they knew best. The question remains whether a bass line was indeed given to the candidates for this task. It is not likely that it was just a lowest part of a *Kantionalsatz* kind of harmonization, which would leave only the middle voices to be added; since all the candidates were certainly advanced enough to harmonize a chorale melody, there was no point in providing them with a bass line to it because it would make the task even simpler for all of them, and in that case Marci perhaps would not call it an 'instrumental farce' that 'does not serve the church' or 'Christian community'. Another possibility would be a kind of bass line that implied a contrapuntal structure of the supposed work, which would have to be 'guessed' from it. By 1611, however, the only examples of such bass lines were printed in the treatise *L'Organo Suonarino*

76 Michael Belotti, 'Zur Orgelmusik des Rostocker Marienorganisten Nicolaus Hasse (um 1605–1670)', in: *Orgelbau, Orgelmusik und Organisten des Ostseeraums im 17. und 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Matthias Schneider and Walter Werbeck, Frankfurt am Main 2006 (= Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 14), p. 47.

by Adriano Banchieri,⁷⁷ who apparently invented this method of notation as a guide for organists to improvise versets based on cantus firmi. Banchieri's publication was of no practical use for Protestant organists and is unlikely to have been imported to Gdańsk, unless there was someone who knew it from elsewhere and made an effort to adapt the original idea to serve Lutheran chorale melodies. It is conceivable that Andreas Hakenberger, the *capellmeister* of the *Marienkirche* since 1608, could have been familiar with Banchieri's book if it was known at the court in Warsaw, where he had worked before, but it is not known if he was involved in the audition procedure and he probably would have had no interest in experimenting with such bass lines for the use of Lutheran organists who adhered to a completely different tradition. If anyone had, it was Siefert himself, if he did go to Italy in 1609 and had a chance to acquire Banchieri's book or learn this technique from other musicians he met there.⁷⁸

But let us consider yet another possibility, which obviously does not rule out the one just described. The 'vorgebung eines Basses', protested by Marci, might have happened for the fourth task, the motet. The art of intabulation was marginal, if existing at all, in Sweelinck's instruction, mainly due to his apparent concentration on creating genuine keyboard polyphony, independent of vocal models and their patterns of voice leading.⁷⁹ He was also not required to play intabulations, whereas German organists had to perform motets as their daily bread, either with an ensemble or by themselves, and were used to reading full or short scores of vocal music written in the German letter tablature notation. By the middle of the century, performing motets on the organ from the bass line became an accepted practice in North Germany, as attested by the description of Matthias Weckmann's performance in 1655 at the audition in Hamburg.⁸⁰ It seems likely, however, that if at the Gdańsk audition in 1611, instead of a tablature score, a bass line was given to the candidates, from which they were supposed to 'guess' an imitative motet (and at the same time transpose it down a fourth, which was ordinarily done with vocal pieces notated in *chiavette*), it would be a novelty for most of them – apparently, again, except for Siefert. Marci's wording makes it clear that for him playing from the bass line belonged

77 Adriano Banchieri, *L'Organo Suonarino ... Opera terza decima*, Venice: Ricciardo Amadino 1605, RISM A/I B 841, BB 841 (RISM ID: 990003777); for a modern edition, see Adriano Banchieri, *L'Organo Suonarino (Venezia 1605)*, ed. Edoardo Bellotti, Latina 2014 (= Tastata – Opere d'intavolatura d'organo e cembalo 31).

78 The practice of improvising versets on bass lines is known to have reached Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by 1618, as attested by examples in the organ manuscript from the Jesuit college in Kražiai (Vilnius, Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, muzikos skyrius [LT-Vn], shelf mark F105-67, fols. 38v–40r); for a facsimile edition of the source, see *Liber Organistarum Collegii Crosensis Societatis Jesu*, eds. Laima Budzinauskienė and Rasa Murauskaitė, Warsaw 2017 (= Fontes Musicae in Polonia B/2).

79 P. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music*, pp. 522–539.

80 'Auch musste Er eine Motete des Seel. H[ern] Hieronimo Prætorio auß den Bass tractiren 6 Vocum'; J. Kortkamp's 'Organistenchronik', quoted after: K. Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule*, p. 281.

to the sphere of 'instrumental farces' (e.g. secular music based on bass patterns), and it may be supposed that in his opinion church music required following the tablature score and doubling vocal parts, something that could only be tested during a performance with an ensemble ('zu Chor schlagen').

To all appearances, the practice of organ accompaniment based on bass line(s) was introduced in Gdańsk only after 1611. Although Hakenberger could have been familiar with it, until 1611 he worked in the *Marienkirche* with Schmiedtlein and his apprentice Weyda; both are unlikely to have switched to the new way of playing with the ensemble during the last three years of Schmiedtlein's life. Much less is known about the figural music in other churches, and the available information is insufficient to establish whether continuo accompaniment was practiced in any of them in the first decade of the seventeenth century. However, if we consider the background of the Gdańsk organists of the time, it seems unlikely that any of them would have been familiar with the new practice. The organist of St. Peter and Paul's, Christoph Rabe, who worked there from 1612 to 1614, was considered utterly incompetent;⁸¹ he had played in St. Bartholomew's before (1594–1612).⁸² Jacob Schmidt, the blind organist of St. John's (1602–10), had a 'growing tablature'; he was a pupil of his predecessor, Jacob Tetz (1586–1602), whose son Franz had played in Trinity Church (1607–10) before moving to St. John's as Schmidt's successor (1610–13).⁸³ Gregor Linde the younger, who also competed for the position in the *Marienkirche*, most probably learned his art with his father, Gregor Linde the elder, and after his death with another local organist – perhaps Michael Henning who succeeded him in St. Peter and St. Paul's in 1600; Henning is likely to have been identical to Michael Henlein, active from c.1581 in St. Bartholomew's, St. Elisabeth's and Trinity Church.⁸⁴ The pattern of learning the tablature from a master in order to read model works (as examples for improvisation) and perform intabulations assured constant continuation of the tradition inherited from previous generations. Breaking with the tradition required some kind of external impetus, such as the arrival of an influential musician who would spread the new practice, or the acquisition of music prints that would imply playing upon the bass line. Apart from Siefert, the only organist who could have possibly come to Gdańsk after 1600 with the knowledge of basso continuo was Mattheus Leder, but he appeared in the city only in 1614. As for the music prints, the available information is far from complete, but it may be significant that as late as in 1610 the *Marienkirche* administrators bought from the bass singer and cantor Michael

81 Ibid., pp. 57, 192.

82 Ibid., p. 57. In the appendix, Jeremias Neunaber is listed as organist in St. Bartholomew's from 1605 to 1615; see *ibid.*, p. 422, and M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', p. 417.

83 K. Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule*, pp. 56–57, 421–422.

84 Ibid., pp. 57, 422. Henning was buried on 5 March 1623 at the age of 68; see APG 354/351 (Register of burials 1604–85), p. 159.

Totzmann, at the request of Hakenberger, four volumes of masses;⁸⁵ the masses were issued between 1573 and 1592 without organ partbooks. Even Hakenberger himself included a continuo part in his 1617 collection *Harmonia sacra*,⁸⁶ but not in the *Sacri modulorum concentus* of 1615,⁸⁷ as if he acknowledged the practice only around 1616, when Egidius Schubbe built a new positive organ 'aufm Chor' (on the choir balcony in the chancel) of the *Marienkirche*.⁸⁸ The earliest surviving evidence of the continuo practice in Gdańsk comes from the manuscript organ partbook Ms. 4012.⁸⁹ Its first section, beginning on f. 87, starts with two Kyrie–Gloria pairs from double choir masses by Giulio Belli, for which the bass parts of both choirs were recorded. The notation with two bass lines, their figuring, as well as the presence of fragments of the literary text (entered in red ink) indicate that the copy in Ms. 4012 was made directly from the printed organ partbook of Belli's masses, published in Venice in 1608.⁹⁰ No copy of this print survives in Gdańsk and it is not known which church possessed it or when it was acquired. The earliest of the few dates recorded in Ms. 4012 is 1619, entered on fol. 123v next to the title of the fifty-third piece in this section of the manuscript. However, Ms. 4012 could not have been started before 1616, when Jeremias Neunaber, who was most likely its main scribe, was appointed organist of St. John's.⁹¹ In close proximity of Gdańsk, full intabulations notated in German letter tablature were still used for organ accompaniment in the 1620s, as testified by the manuscript

85 APG 354/1513 (*Der Kirchen zu Sanct Maria Glockenbuch*), p. 458: '21. Augusti etzliche Missas Musicales auff bitten und begeren des Capellmeisters von dem Bassisten Michaelē Thutzmanno gekauft, in 6 theile und in graw Papier gebunden. Alß Claudij Meruli Rei pub. Venetiarum Quinq(ue) Vocum. Item. Camilli Ioannoti Quinq(ue) Vocum. Item Missæ Baromeæ Vincentij Ruffi. Quinq(ue) Vocum, Item Constantij Antegnati Sex et Octo Vocum. Dafur getzalt dem Chor zum besten 4 [Mk]'. In February 1611 the six partbooks were bound in leather with the letter 'O' impressed on the cover; see *ibid.*, p. 465. The sole surviving partbook (altus) of the set is preserved in Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska (PL-GD), shelf mark Bibl. Mar. q. 136 (RISM ID: 1001202674).

86 Andreas Hakenberger, *Harmonia sacra*..., Frankfurt: Gottfried Tampach 1617, RISM A/I: H 1898, HH 1898 (RISM ID: 990026133).

87 Andreas Hakenberger, *Sacri modulorum concentus*..., Stettin: Johann Duber 1615, RISM A/I: H 1897 (RISM ID: 990026132).

88 According to Böttcher, the instrument was installed in November 1616 and enlarged in 1618–19; see E. Böttcher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 675. It does not seem likely that the previous organ on the choir balcony, built by Hans Hauck in 1522, was in use until 1616. Its alleged 1582 renovation by Julius Anthoni is mentioned in only one not entirely reliable eighteenth-century source; see Theodor Benjamin Meissner, [*Das kirchenreiche Danzig*], APG 300,R/Pp.52a, p. 94. Cf. Krzysztof Urbaniak, 'Orgeln aus der Hummel-Nitrowski-Brandtner-Schule mit ungesicherter Zuschreibung / Organy o niejasnej atrybucji powstałe w kregu Hummel–Nitrowscy–Brandtnerowie', in: *Die Orgel der Pfarrkirche in Olkusz: Hans Hummel und seine Schule / Organy fary olkuskiej: Hans Hummel i jego szkoła*, ed. Krzysztof Urbaniak, Beeskov 2024 (= *Ortus Studien* 24), p. 518.

89 PL-GD, Ms. 4012 (RISM ID: 305000112).

90 Giulio Belli, *Basso generale per l'organo, delle messe et mottetti a otto voci*, Venice: Ricciardo Amadino 1608, RISM A/I: B 1751 (RISM ID: 990004547).

91 The reasoning behind the identification of the scribe of Ms. 4012 and numerous other manuscripts from PL-GD, as well as its consequences for the provenance of these sources, is too complex to be presented here and will be a subject of a separate study.

tablatures from the Cistercian monasteries in Oliva⁹² and Pelplin⁹³ that contain only isolated examples of single bass lines (still written in tablature) or the use of continuo figuring (between the two outermost parts written in tablature).

All the collected evidence seems to confirm that Siefert was probably the only organist present in Gdańsk in 1611 who could have been familiar with the new continuo practice and the only person who could have set the audition rules that included playing on a given bass line. As a student of Sweelinck, he must have been used to staff notation of keyboard music at least as much as to the traditional tablature. The dissemination of his works may indicate that he preferred staff notation for his own keyboard compositions. Two manuscripts in staff notation transmit his only intabulation, an ornamented setting of the motet *Benedicam Dominum* by Orlando di Lasso;⁹⁴ its free-voiced texture would be entirely unidiomatic for the tablature, and it has been suggested that Siefert could have composed the work in Amsterdam, which would explain its presence in the Liège source.⁹⁵ The Vienna manuscript contains one more composition attributed to Siefert, the *Fantasia a 3*,⁹⁶ which in a slightly different version opens a set of thirteen fantasias for three voices, recorded without attribution by an anonymous scribe in 1646.⁹⁷ Siefert's authorship of the whole set is likely, as all the fantasias were copied from one exemplar in just three days.⁹⁸ Although the copy is in tablature, its exemplar was probably written on two staves; at several spots with one of the voices pausing, the scribe confused the voice leading and wrote the remaining voices in wrong rows of letters, which could have been caused by the absence of rests for the pausing voice on the staff. Siefert's preference for staff notation would obviously facilitate his adoption of the basso continuo practice. However, he could not have learned the practice in Amsterdam, because by 1609 it had

92 The Braunsberg/Oliva tablatures: Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka (LT-Va), shelf marks F15-284 and F15-286; for a modern edition of these manuscripts, see *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 3 vols., ed. Marcin Szelest, Warsaw 2021.

93 The Pelplin tablatures: Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna (PL-PE), shelf marks Ms. 304–308, 308a; for a facsimile edition of these manuscripts, see *The Pelplin Tablature: Facsimile*, 6 vols., eds. Adam Sutkowski and Alina Osostowicz-Sutkowska, Graż–Warsaw 1964–65 (= *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia* 2–7).

94 'Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium' (c.1617), Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque (B-Lu), shelf mark M.S. 153, fols. 50r–51v (first part only, with no attribution, titled 'Fantasia'); for a modern edition, see *Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium*, ed. Jean Ferrard, Bologna 2008. Vienna, Zentralbibliothek der österreichischen Minoritenprovinz (A-Wm), shelf mark XIV.714, fols. 208v–210r; for a facsimile edition, see *Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, MS. XIV.714*, introduction Robert Hill, New York–London 1988 (= *17th Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque* 24).

95 *Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium*, p. 190; S. Rampe, 'Abendmusik oder Gottesdienst?', p. 102, n. 336.

96 A-Wm, XIV.714, fols. 209v–210r.

97 Lepizig, Stadtbibliothek – Musikbibliothek (D-LEm), shelf mark Becker II.2.51 (RISM ID: 225006519), pp. 1–33 of the first section.

98 The inscription in colophon (p. 33) reads: 'Anfang(en) den 19 Martÿ vollendet d(en) 21 hui(us) [unidentified ornamented monogram] 1646'.

not reached the northern Netherlands yet. The only continuo part in all Sweelinck's prints of vocal music appeared in the 1619 *Cantiones sacrae*,⁹⁹ and even then it was probably added by the publisher in Antwerp.¹⁰⁰ The earliest print with basso continuo listed in the auction catalogue of the Leiden organist Cornelis Schuyt's library is the 1609 Frankfurt edition of Viadana's *Concerti ecclesiastici*, and from all available information a picture emerges of conservative musical taste which prevailed there at least in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁰¹ Although the Habsburg court in Prague was much more exposed to Italian influence, Siefert's stay there was immediately before his return to Gdańsk in 1611. His insistence on playing upon a bass line at the audition seems to suggest that it was a skill he had mastered and not a novelty he had encountered shortly before. As mentioned above, Heinrich Marci clearly referred to Siefert when he reported that playing 'mit einhaltung eines Clavires vnd vorgebung eines Basses [...] auch von andern hier beuor elaboriret vnd gehoret worden'; however, he had no chance to listen to Siefert before the audition and could only be aware of this fact from someone else who did. It is unlikely that Siefert had access to the *Marienkirche* organ after his return from Prague (the *Kirchenväter* designated Weyda to play the organ after Schmiedtlein's death and regarded Siefert as incompetent), so the hearsay probably originated during his period of assistantship the year before. In all likelihood, therefore, Siefert learned the new continuo practice between his study period with Sweelinck and his homecoming in early 1610, during the time he wanted to spend in Italy, where the practice was born and already fairly widespread in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

Heinrich Marci's letter was apparently not the only complaint after the audition. Bötticher noted that many people considered the contest suspicious because it had not proceeded correctly and the organ was not in a good condition.¹⁰² While Marci protested against the requirements, it could have been Siefert who reported about the defects of the instrument. Already in May he was afraid of possible problems with the organ, but – more importantly – also earlier, during his assistantship in 1610, he had accused Schmiedtlein of causing damages that could only be repaired at the exorbitant cost of 2000 florins. It was, in fact, the key insult that provoked the letters of the *Kirchenväter* and of Schmiedtlein which resulted in Siefert's dismissal.¹⁰³ Now, according to Bötticher, both the main organ and the smaller instrument above

99 Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Cantiones sacrae cum basso continuo ad organum quinque vocum*, Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse 1619, RISM A/I: S 7252 (RISM ID: 990063519).

100 Rudolf Rasch, 'Sweelinck's place in the musical history of the Dutch Republic', in: *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pieter Dirksen, Utrecht, 2002, pp. 6–7.

101 Rudolf Rasch, Thiemo Wind, 'The music library of Cornelis Schuyt', in: *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, eds. Albert Clement and Eric Jas, Boston 1994, pp. 342, 347; see also: R. Rasch, 'Sweelinck's place in the musical history', pp. 10–11.

102 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 638.

103 H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 117 and 119.

the chapel of St. Reinhold were inspected after the audition as many as three times. For this purpose, Johann Hellwig was enlisted, an organ builder from Toruń who had worked in Gdańsk before.¹⁰⁴ At the first inspection, which probably took place at the initiative of the *Kirchenväter*, he was accompanied by Heinrich Kemerer, one of the church administrators, and Heinrich Marci. Their report submitted to the council has not survived, but the council decided to commission another inspection. It took place on 15 August in the presence of Johann Speimann, delegated by the council, and all the *Kirchenväter*. The experts, apart from Hellwig and Marci, included Michael Zwedorf, the organist of St. Catherine's, Christoph Vater, Tiedemann Neunaber, an instrument maker who is known to have worked on Gdańsk organs, Michael Weyda, and an unidentified Heinrich, referred to as 'another organ builder'. This time all the stops were checked and all defects noted. The report is not preserved, but Bötticher mentioned that Hellwig was asked to estimate the repair of both organs.¹⁰⁵ The same procedure was repeated on 1 October, at the installation of Christoph Vater as the *Marienkirche* organist, and the detailed list of defects found in the Julius Anthoni organ¹⁰⁶ proves that while Siefert might have exaggerated their scope, Schmiedtlein was evidently far from the truth when he claimed in May 1610 that the instrument was in a perfect condition.

In the meantime, on 23 September 1611, the city council finally announced the results of the contest. According to the act quoted by Rauschnig, Christoph Vater was designated to play the *Marienkirche* organ 'ad senatus bene placitum', because the council members could not reach an agreement whether Siefert or Weyda should be appointed.¹⁰⁷ In Bötticher's account, Vater was chosen 'ad tempus aliquod', 'biß ein besserer kommen mochte'.¹⁰⁸ The decision was issued two days after the quarterly payment ('Quartal Michaelis', 21 September).¹⁰⁹ On the same day Heinrich Marci and Christoph Vater were paid 100 and 50 rixdollars, respectively (altogether 315 Mark).¹¹⁰ As with many other acts concerning employment, a date was chosen which

104 Werner Renkewitz, Jan Janca, *Geschichte der Orgelbaukunst in Ost- und Westpreußen von 1333 bis 1944*, vol. 1, Würzburg 1984 (= Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler im östlichen Mitteleuropa 2), pp. 102–107.

105 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 638–639.

106 *Instrumentum publicum wegen Lieferung d(er) Orgel Anno 1611*, APG 300,R/Pp,46, pp. 193–199; it is a later copy of the original document, now lost, but quoted at length by H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 122–123. The content of this document is also summarized in: E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 639–640.

107 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 122. On 20 August Helwig received a payment from the city, presumably for the organ inspection; see APG 300,12/41, p. 83: 'Johan Helwig dem Orgelbauer von Thorn – 40 [Mk]'. Rauschnig erroneously connected this payment with the events described in Schmiedtlein's petition of May 1610, which he dated for early 1611; see H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 119.

108 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', p. 639.

109 APG 300,12/39, pp. 208–210.

110 APG 300,12/41, p. 83: 'Den beiden Organisten so E. E. Rhat anhero Vociret als Heinrich Marci von Lübeck vnd sein Tochterman von Flenßburg nemlich Henricko 100 vnd sein Tochterman 50 Teller

ensured that Vater would work for the full three months before the next quarterly payment. The decision itself, however, must have been made earlier and Siefert was evidently informed about it beforehand. Already on 15 September he was paid his quarterly 'warthgeldt', and less than two weeks later, on 28 September, he wrote to the city council in Gdańsk from Königsberg with a request to free him from his obligations, which was a condition for his employment there as organist of the *Alt-städtische Kirche*.¹¹¹

A CONFESSIONAL CONTROVERSY?

As the act quoted by Rauschnig makes clear, the appointment of Christoph Vater was the result of the prolonged and unresolved controversy within the city council whether to choose Siefert or Weyda. In 1610, the preferences seem to have been clear: the administrators of the church listed their charges against Siefert's incompetence and misbehaviour, and requested to keep Weyda, 'der dan des werks genugsam mechtig vnd kundig', as Schmiedtlein's assistant and successor, while the council evidently installed Siefert in the church to the surprise of its staff and kept investing in his education even after Schmiedtlein forced his dismissal. The charges against Siefert were so numerous, that it seems as though the *Kirchenväter* tried to use every possible argument to get rid of him: his manner of playing was 'unfriendly'; he accused Schmiedtlein of causing damages to the organ; he wanted to have his own key to the organ loft; when he was refused, he broke the staple to get in; he practiced on the organ without wind, even though the organ is too expensive to serve for practice; he left the door open with the heating fire still at the organ; he broke the tremulant; he had no experience with playing on this kind of organ; and if he caused further damages, the cost of repairs would have to be paid by the city, because the church had no financial resources. The last argument was probably intended to be decisive since it was echoed by Schmiedtlein, who went so far as to suggest that Siefert would ruin the organ completely in one year. But even though it is not certain how much actual organ playing (as opposed to harpsichord and composition) was part of Sweelinck's teaching, Siefert must have had a solid background in it before going to Amsterdam, and the city council was probably aware that the *Marienkirche* staff was biased against him mainly for reasons other than professional. For its part, the council acted against the accepted custom both in 1610 and 1611. First, they broke the natural way of succession from a master to

a 42 [Gr] – 315 [Mk]'. On 24 September, Johann Rogge was paid for their board; see *ibid.*, p. 84: 'Hans Rogen gezallet, so die beide Organisten bey Ihm vertzehrret – 190,6 [Mk]'.
 111 H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 126–127. Commenting on the letter, Rauschnig wrote: 'Der Rat erwies sich Siefert gegenüber sehr großzügig, indem er nicht nur die Bitte gewährte, sondern ihm noch einmal 75 Mark "auf Rechnung seines stipendii" auszahlen ließ'; the payment, however, was made almost four months earlier, on 2 June 1611 (see above, n. 50).

his apprentice: Schmiedtlein had taught Weyda at his own cost for a long time and probably did not need any help from outside; imposing Siefert as Schmiedtlein's assistant and successor could have been the primary cause of the protests. Second, the choice of a new organist was a prerogative of the *Kirchenväter*, and although they initially accepted the appointment of Vater (just as they did with the installation of Siefert a year before), they did feel insulted and, later on, protested against the decision. One wonders, then, why the city council was so determined to appoint a new organist while bypassing the church administrators, and why the council members could not reach an agreement among themselves after the 1611 audition, even though they had promoted Siefert in every possible way before.

While a definitive answer is not possible because we do not know the proceedings of the council's meetings, the affair could have been a side effect of confessional controversies shaking the society of Gdańsk at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Already since the 1580s, the growing influence of Calvinists among the Gdańsk clergy and higher strata of the society resulted in protests from the Lutherans, who held a majority in the Third Order.¹¹² The Calvinist-dominated city council, however, kept appointing pastors and preachers who officially adhered to the orthodoxy, but in fact promoted the doctrine of the Second Reformation. Openly Calvinist was the influential rector of the Academic Gymnasium in 1580–1629, Jacob Fabricius, since 1585 also pastor of Trinity Church; rectors of the parish schools were gradually nominated from the Calvinist scholars as well. In 1603 the council appointed Johannes Martini rector of St. Mary's school 'contrary to the old custom, behind the back of the *Kirchenväter*',¹¹³ and required them to attend the ceremony of his installation. Martini, known for his Calvinist inclinations, vowed to keep teaching the *Cathechismo Lutheri* and refrain from introducing any innovations to the *normis doctrinae* under penalty of dismissal. Like in the case of clergy, the vow did not prevent him from doing just the opposite without any consequences. Alerted many times by the Third Order, the council pretended to have no means to change the situation and called for calm, while many of its members were seen at Calvinist services. Eberhard Bötticher, a *Kirchenvater* since 1602, was one of the leaders of the Lutheran faction in the Third Order¹¹⁴ and a defender of the administrators' traditional rights. His detailed account of the struggles with the city council¹¹⁵ includes a list of the city council members accused of Calvinism

112 For an overview of the struggles between the Lutherans and Calvinists in Gdańsk at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Kazimierz Bem, *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548–1648: The Churches and the Faithful*, Leiden 2020, pp. 241–246.

113 '[W]ieder den alten Gebrauch ohn Vorwissen der Kirchenväter', E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 588–590.

114 Michael G. Müller, *Zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im königlichen Preussen: Danzig, Elbing und Thorn während der Konfessionalisierung (1557–1660)*, Berlin 1997, pp. 124–136.

115 E. Bötticher, 'Historisch Kirchen Register', pp. 508–632.

by the protesting Lutherans in 1605: eleven out of eighteen councillors, among them three of the four burgomasters.¹¹⁶ Having become the senior *Kirchenvater* on 5 January 1611,¹¹⁷ he was directly involved in the process of choosing a new organist after Schmiedtlein's death. His report stresses the administrators' disagreement with imposing the appointment of Christoph Vater on them, which eventually led to restoration of their rights and change of the initial decision: in 1613, Vater was moved to the Church of St. John, and Michael Weyda finally became the organist of the *Marienkirche*.¹¹⁸ Bötticher carefully noted successive deaths of the Calvinist city council members, and on 8 March 1612, at the meeting with the church supervisor Johann von der Linde, the only Lutheran of the four burgomasters, the *Kirchenväter* raised the confessional issues again. They asked von der Linde to keep his eye on the choice of a new St. Mary's school teacher because the rector Martini was a Calvinist. They also went so far as to suggest that after the deaths of Calvinist members of the city council, care must be taken that votes at the coming election go to Lutheran candidates.¹¹⁹

In this context, it may be significant that in 1607 the city council, still dominated by Calvinists, sent Siefert to the officially Calvinist northern Netherlands. Siefert seems to have been promoted by the burgomaster Gerhard Brandes, one of the key figures in the Calvinist faction. Both in the act of the city council, quoted by Seiffert, and in Siefert's letter from Amsterdam, Brandes is mentioned as the official through whom he received support. Moreover, it was Brandes who in 1610 informed Schmiedtlein about Siefert's appointment as his assistant, whereas normally all matters concerning the *Marienkirche* were passed to the church staff by the burgomaster who supervised the church, in this case Johann von der Linde. It cannot be dismissed that in accordance with the installation of Calvinist clergy and teachers, the city council may have planned to put an organist in the *Marienkirche* who would help establish the Calvinist liturgy in the main parish church of the city; for the same reason, the council could have been unwilling to support his trip to Catholic Italy. Admittedly, nothing is known about Siefert's education and the confessional

116 Ibid., p. 606.

117 Ibid., p. 636.

118 Ibid., pp. 649–654.

119 Ibid., pp. 642–644.

background of his family,¹²⁰ except that his father was buried in Trinity Church,¹²¹ Calvinist at the time. That fact does not imply his doctrinal affiliation, but as a lawyer¹²² he would have been likely to join the reformed Protestants more or less formally. Apart from the declared Calvinists on one side and the defenders of Lutheran orthodoxy on the other side, there was a considerable grey zone of Calvinist-inclined people who still considered themselves Lutheran and would see no contradiction between attending Calvinist services and getting married in their Lutheran parish church. At least in the last decades of the sixteenth century, educated people who objected not so much to the orthodox doctrine as to the almost unchanged Catholic liturgy still celebrated in Latin in Lutheran churches, had no choice but to join the

120 On the basis of surviving documents, it has been possible to establish a number of details about the family of Paul Siefert that were unknown to previous scholars. Paul Siefert does not appear to have been related to the Siefferts from Toruń and Elbląg, as Seiffert conjectured; see M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', p. 398; J. Erdman, 'Fantazje organowe', p. 73. His father, Paul Siefert the elder, received Gdańsk citizenship on 28 February 1565 as 'Paull Seyfartt, ein Procurator vnnd Publicus Notarius von Torga' (i.e. Torgau in Saxony); see APG 300,60/2 (Bürgerbuch 1536–92), p. 149. Under Gdańsk law, he was obliged to marry within a year of acquiring citizenship. His first wife, whose name is unknown, presumably gave birth to several children, including Catharina and Benedictus. It seems likely that the couple also had other children during their approximately fourteen years of marriage, but their names are not preserved and it is not known whether any of them lived to adulthood. Catharina, later married to the goldsmith Melchior Priestel, was the mother of Daniel (baptised on 1 April 1611), who probably died in early childhood, and of Anna, whose legal guardian after the death of her parents in 1624 or 1625 was Paul Siefert. On the Priestel family, see M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', pp. 422–425; the name of Siefert's stepister appears in the record of Daniel's baptism in the *Marienkirche*; see APG 354/312 (*Taufbuch 1605–1612*), fol. 179v. The first wife of Paul Siefert the elder died while giving birth to their son Benedictus on 29 March 1580 and was buried on 31 March; see APG 354/310 (*Taufbuch 1580–1589*), p. 13; APG 354/1513, p. 37. A child of Paul Siefert the elder – probably Benedictus, about whom no information has survived from later years – was buried on 27 August 1589; see APG 354/408 (*Der Kirchen Begrebnis*), p. 169; APG 354/1513, p. 148. Susanna, the second wife of Paul Siefert the elder and the organist's mother, was buried on 3 August 1602 in the Church of St. John; see APG 354/343 (the register of burials 1597–1602), p. 123. One of the graves in the Church of St. John belonged to a certain Jac[ob] Siefert, who died before 1603, when his daughter Catherina was married in the *Marienkirche*; see APG 352/92 (*Kirchen-Rechnungen von St. Johann zu Danzig*, a copy/extract by Alfred Muttray and Friedrich Wilhelm Schwandt, 1915), p. 130, grave no. 21; APG 354/328 (*Traubuch 1590–1609*), fol. 94r. This Jacob Siefert may have been a relative of Paul Siefert the elder (it may be significant that they both christened their daughters with the name Catharina), but it seems equally if not more likely that Susanna Siefert may have been buried in a grave belonging to her family; unfortunately, her family name is not known. All the above information is still not complete enough to ascertain any family relations between the father of Paul Siefert and numerous other Siefferts active in Gdańsk, some of whom are also mentioned in the city's cash books and could have been influential in granting the city council's support to the young organist after the death of his parents; see plates 4-303, 4-304, 4-305, 4-306 on *Genealogische Tafeln zu Familien aus Danzig sowie aus Westpreußen und Hinterpommern*, <https://danzigertafeln.vffow.org>, accessed 10 February 2025.

121 APG 354/351, p. 179, 26 March 1604: 'Paul(us) Sievert procurat[or] – G[rauen] M[önchen]'.

122 Fragmentary information about the activities of Paul Siefert's father survives for the years 1568, 1577 and 1581; see Paul Simson, *Danziger Inventar 1531–1591*, Munich–Leipzig 1913, pp. 409 (item 5331), 586 (item 7437), 677 (item 8577). See also the remarks on his difficult character in: M. Seiffert, 'Paul Siefert', p. 398, n. 4; H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 113.

Calvinists.¹²³ As there was no clear dividing line between the two denominations at the time, it is entirely possible that Siefert was raised in a Calvinist-inclined family, but later on adhered to the Lutheran community, when the Calvinist pressure on Lutheranism lessened in Gdańsk. Holding an organist position in a Lutheran church did not prevent him, however, from composing and publishing two volumes of psalm settings based on the melodies of the Genevan Psalter,¹²⁴ as well as from presenting Trinity Church, still Calvinist at that time, with a copy of the first part.¹²⁵ No other Sweelinck student followed the master in using the Calvinist melodies as *cantus firmi* in his own compositions; apart from Siefert's veneration for his teacher, his early confessional sympathies could also have played a role here. The Genevan Psalter, used in Gdańsk in German translation by the Königsberg professor Ambrosius Lobwasser and therefore referred to as the 'Lobwasser Psalmen', was one of the important elements of Calvinist liturgy. Fabricius in Trinity Church and his allies at the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul changed the liturgy in 1585–90 by establishing a new communion rite, abandoning vestments, candles and individual confession, as well as removing images and statues from the churches. In 1591, Fabricius introduced the singing of the Lobwasser Psalms in Trinity Church; the Church of St. Peter and Paul followed at the end of 1592.¹²⁶ If Siefert's family attended Calvinist services in either of them, he would have been familiar with the melodies since his youth.¹²⁷ He probably also attended one of the parish schools, since his name does not appear in the register of the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk or any university elsewhere. Although both the wording of the 1610 letters of the *Kirchenväter* and Schmiedtlein, and the way Bötticher mentioned him in his *Historisch Kirchen Register*, suggest that he was not known in the *Marienkirche* previously, other documents seem to indicate the opposite. Peter Witzke, the church servant (*Kirchenknecht*), devoted an entry in

123 Theodor Hirsch, *Geschichte der Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig*, vol. 2, *Kirchengeschichte von Danzig seit Einführung der Reformation*, Danzig 1847, pp. 230–234.

124 P. Siefert, *Psalmen Davids*; P. Siefert, *Psalmorum Davidicorum... pars secunda*.

125 K. Bem, *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth*, pp. 244–245; H. Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 190.

126 Reinhold Curicke, [*Historische Beschreibung der Stadt Dantzic*], book 4, chapter 11, manuscript copy, Kórnik, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Kórnicka, shelf mark BK 165, fol. 363rv. The copy contains nine chapters of book 4 that were removed by the Gdańsk censorship from the print of Curicke's book published in 1687. On the history of the chronicle and its publication, see Ernst Bahr, 'Der Stadt Dantzic historische Beschreibung von Reinhold Curicke und ihre Fortsetzer: Zur Einführung', in: Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung: Faksimile-Druck nach der Originalausgabe Amsterdam und Dantzick 1687*, Hamburg 1979, pp. [iii–vii].

127 According to Theodor Hirsch, soon after introducing the Lobwasser Psalms in the Trinity Church, its congregation started to gather an hour before the service to sing them; see T. Hirsch, *Geschichte der Ober-Pfarrkirche*, p. 237. The melodies were also played by the Main Town Hall automatic carillon, although it is not clear when they were introduced; see Jacob Fabricius, *Refutation-Schrift: Das ist Christliche und abgedrungene Widerlegung...*, Oppenheim: Hieronymus Galler 1613, pp. 63–64; cf. Danuta Popinigis, *Carillons and Carillon Music in Old Gdańsk*, Berlin 2019 (= Eastern European Studies in Musicology 13), pp. 211–212.

his short chronicle of the church to the 1611 audition of organists; on that occasion he referred to Paul Siefert with an annotation 'alias der kleine Pauliche'.¹²⁸ Witzke took up his *Kirchenknecht* duties in December 1604. Earlier that year, the same diminutive was used by Daniel Hübener (Höfner), the *Kirchenvater* who kept the *Glockenbuch*, under the date of the funeral of Paul Siefert's father: '26 Martÿ – kleine Paulichenn – G[rauen] M[ö]nchen] – O[sanna] – 3 [Mark] 7 [Groschen] 9 [Schilling]'.¹²⁹ In the entry, 'kleine Paulichenn' is a genitive form and should be understood as 'kleine Paulichenn [Vater]' – Paul Siefert the elder, who was indeed buried that day in Trinity Church; the administration of the *Marienkirche* charged young Paul Siefert for ringing the 'Osanna' bell for the occasion. However, the diminutive must have been coined much earlier, as it is difficult to imagine that an eighteen-year-old young man would have started to be referred to in this way. This would indicate that Siefert may have attended the school at St. Mary's church and taken part in the services there along with other pupils. Evidently, however, he was not a student of Schmiedtlein and did not have access to the *Marienkirche* organ.

It seems that liturgical practices determined the requirements for organists and the style of their playing to a great extent. In 1616, when Christoph Vater resigned from his organist position at St. John's to become a *Gerichtsschreiber* (a secretary to the court), he was replaced by Jeremias Neunaber, who had played at the Calvinist Church of St. Bartholomew before. Vater, however, was paid for another year to come every Sunday and teach the new organist to play the Lutheran chorales ('Psalmen Lutheri').¹³⁰ Undoubtedly, that remark referred to an established way of improvising chorale settings, not to the accompaniment for the singing congregation, which had not been introduced yet in Gdańsk's Lutheran churches at the time. Both in Trinity Church and at St. Peter and St. Paul's, though, the organ was used for accompanying the Lobwasser Psalms.¹³¹ According to Fabricius, in Trinity Church Lutheran chorales were sung as well, but his condemnation of the Latin motets as music that 'does not serve teaching, comforting or admonishing people' suggests that elaborate organ music probably had no place in the Calvinist liturgy in Gdańsk either.¹³² In the *Marienkirche*, singing of the Lobwasser Psalms was mentioned by Bötticher as one of the Calvinist 'novelties'

128 *Verzeichnüß etzlicher Sachen die sich bey der Pfarrkirchen St. Marien in Dantzic begeben und zugetragen*, Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, Ms. 486, fols. 251–264; and APG 300,R/Pp,46, pp. 173–188. For more information on this document, see M. Szelest, 'A New History', pp. 39 and 64.

129 APG 354/1513, p. 359.

130 APG 352/92, p. 149.

131 A 1614 complaint (now lost) of the *Kirchenväter* at St. Peter and St. Paul's against the incompetent organist Christoph Rabe concerned his faulty accompaniment to both the choir and the congregation; see H. Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik*, p. 192.

132 J. Fabricius, *Refutation-Schrifft*, pp. 59–60. There is no source information whether organ improvisations based on the psalm tunes were allowed that could help the congregation assimilate the unknown melodies (such practice was established in the northern Netherlands before and after the services; see P. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music*, pp. 146–147); surely, performing the Lobwasser Psalms set for

to be condemned.¹³³ On the installation of Christoph Vater as the new organist, the *Kirchenväter* warned him ‘not to introduce any novelties, such as playing of the Lobwasser Psalms or other songs not customary in this church’,¹³⁴ and a very similar statement was included in the revised church regulations (*Kirchenordnung*) of 1612.¹³⁵ This attitude resulted from the teaching of the pastor of the *Marienkirche* and senior of the *Geistliche Ministerium*, Michael Coletus, who prohibited cantors and organists from performing the Lobwasser Psalms under threat of losing their posts.¹³⁶ Calvinist inclinations of Siefert’s family would explain why before 1607 he did not study with Schmiedtlein – the most prominent organist in Gdańsk – if he was considered so gifted as to be sent to Sweelinck, and why in 1610–11 he was familiar neither with the *Marienkirche* organ nor with the Lutheran practice of playing chorale settings on two or three manuals with pedal. Perhaps he took lessons with the organists of St. Peter and St. Paul’s – Gregor Linde the elder and Michael Henning (as mentioned above, probably identical to Michael Henlein, active earlier in other Calvinist churches). The former played in the *Marienkirche* until 1585 and might have been acquainted with Siefert’s father, who belonged to the parish of St. Mary. If Siefert had begun his education with Linde, he may have learned first-hand about the events of 1585, to which he alluded in his 1611 letter to the city council. At the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Linde was the organist who participated in the introduction of Lobwasser Psalms in 1592; he paved the way for the new liturgical practice of Calvinist organists, which may have influenced Siefert at the earliest stage of his musical education.

Siefert could even have been unaware of the confessional background to the support he received from the city, especially if his family helped bring him to the attention of the city council. However, in 1610–11 the Calvinist members of the city council might have assumed that if Siefert became the *Marienkirche* organist, he would feel more obedient to them than to the orthodox *Kirchenväter*, and that alone would have facilitated further infiltration of Calvinism into the Lutheran environment.

four voices with organ accompaniment could have served the purpose, apart from the artistic quality mentioned by Fabricius; see J. Fabricius, *Refutation-Schrift*, p. 60.

133 E. Böttcher, ‘Historisch Kirchen Register’, pp. 592 and 608.

134 *Ibid.*, pp. 640: ‘keine Newerungen mitt Spielung der Lobwasser Psalme, oder anderer in dieser Kirchen unüblichen Gesengen einzuführen’.

135 *Alte kirchen ordnung der kirchen Sanct Marien, in der Rechten Stadt Dantzig, 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 bestellete 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, at p. 212: *Articulus 34. Von des organisten ampt und besoldung.*

136 J. Fabricius, *Refutation-Schrift*, p. 63.

Why, then, was he not appointed? The Lutheran councillors most probably voted for Weyda, the preferred candidate of the *Kirchenväter*, and the Calvinist majority was expected to choose Siefert. But then the council received the complaint of Heinrich Marci about Siefert's manipulation of the audition rules; while some of the members must have been aware of the fact already, for others, even from the Calvinist faction, it was likely to have been an unpleasant surprise. Given the complicated politics behind the contest, it is doubtful if artistic reasons played a significant role in the decision made by the city authorities, not by experts. By choosing Vater, the council would still show their power over the church administrators without supporting Siefert's dishonest conduct.

CONCLUSION

Even though Paul Siefert's early life and career cannot be reconstructed in full, the evidence presented in this study make possible the establishment of a more precise chronology of his activities between 1607 and 1611 and hypotheses on both the profile of his education in Gdańsk and on the course of the 'war of succession' for the organist position of the *Marienkirche* in Gdańsk after Cajus Schmiedtlein's death in 1611. The recently found letter, written by Siefert from Amsterdam to the city council in Gdańsk on 16 December 1608, helps pinpoint the dates of his study period with Sweelinck. It lasted two years, most probably from April 1607, when Siefert was paid his grant for the first time, to March 1609. This period is also confirmed by the pace of payments made every eight months to Siefert and Sweelinck by the Gdańsk administration, the last time in August 1608. Siefert's request for further support that would allow him to spend the coming year in Italy at the advice of Sweelinck probably remained unanswered by the city council, and no payment was made to him in 1609. However, he did not return to his native city until early 1610 and no documents have surfaced that would shed light on his whereabouts during that year. It seems likely that he did go to Italy, perhaps having found a private patron who financed the trip; that was his initial plan suggested by Sweelinck, whom he admired, and to all appearances, he was familiar with basso continuo practice already in 1610, a novelty he could not have learned in Amsterdam. A close reading of the letters concerning Siefert's period of assistantship in the *Marienkirche* in Gdańsk, written by the administrators and by Schmiedtlein, proves that Rauschnig erred in dating them for 1611. The two petitions were written most likely in May 1610 and indicate that Siefert was appointed Schmiedtlein's assistant in March 1610. The city council probably followed Schmiedtlein's suggestion that Siefert should be sent away for further studies, and paid him 150 Mark, the total amount he was supposed to earn annually, in June 1610. Siefert probably went to Prague, then the residence of the Habsburg court, perhaps at the recommendation of the former Gdańsk *capellmeister* Nicolaus

Zangius. In March 1611 he learned there about Schmiedtlein's death. On his return to Gdańsk in May 1611, Siefert requested a contest between him and Schmiedtlein's apprentice Michael Weyda, who was preferred by the *Kirchenväter*; he was also paid 75 Mark in settlement of his grant. The public audition happened only in July 1611, when another candidate, Christoph Vater from Flensburg, arrived in Gdańsk with his father-in-law Heinrich Marci, organist of the *Marienkirche* in Lübeck. From the latter's complaint to the city council, it may be inferred that Siefert either set the audition rules himself or was at least instrumental in their formulation, so that they included playing on a given bass line, on one manual and without pedal; he also knew the subject of the fugue in advance and prepared the piece instead of improvising it. Neither Siefert nor Weyda won the contest, and after two months of deliberation, the city council appointed Vater the new organist. The council's endeavours to install Siefert in the *Marienkirche* bypassing the *Kirchenväter* might have been part of the Calvinists' pressure on the orthodox Lutherans in Gdańsk, which reached its peak around 1605 but lasted until 1612. The Calvinist-dominated city council might have sent Siefert to Amsterdam primarily because it was officially a Calvinist city, in hope that he would advance as a Calvinist organist who would then help reshape the liturgy in the main parish church of Gdańsk, a bastion of Lutherans. Siefert could have been raised in a Calvinist-inclined family, which would explain both the fact that he did not study with Schmiedtlein in Gdańsk before going to Sweelinck and his apparent lack of experience in the Lutheran tradition of improvising chorale settings on two or three manuals with pedal.

Despite the unfortunate loss of a great number of documents concerning the organists active in Gdańsk, it appears that the city archives still have a potential for research aimed at unravelling puzzles of the city's music history. An important conclusion of the present study, known before but revealed here particularly vividly, is that the narrative of the Hermann Rauschnig's pivotal work must be read with great caution. While it is hard to overstate the importance of his quotations of original documents that have not survived, it is also obvious that he did not shrink from manipulating their dating, order and interpretation to adjust the source data to his own convictions and theses. Only a careful examination of the preserved documents he cited and adding evidence from the sources he did not know makes it possible to separate facts from hypotheses and to propose a more plausible version of historical events. Hopefully, the new picture of Siefert's early life and career that has emerged from this study can be completed with further information in the future.¹³⁷

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

APPENDIX

Transcription of the letter of Paul Siefert to the city council in Gdańsk (Amsterdam, 16 December 1608). Gdańsk, State Archive (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku), shelf mark 300,36/4, pp. 153–156

[p. 156, address]

Den Gestrengen Edlen, Ehrenvesten Namhafften, hoch undt wollweisen Herren Burgermeistern, undt Raht der königlichen Stadt Dantzick, meinen gebietenden Herren undt befordern zu beheidigen

[p. 153]

Herr Burgermeister, Gestrenge, Ehrenveste, Na(m)haffte, und wollweise großgünstige Herren. Negst wünschung von Gott dem Allmechtigen, gutte langwirige gesundtheit, friedsame regierung, undt allem glücksehligh(en) wollstande seindt einem Erb. hoher. Raht, meine untertehnige Dienste bevor. Kan demnach einem Erb. hoher. Raht, aus schuldiger Pflicht nicht verhalten, d(as) ich durch Herren Burgermeisters Gerhardt Brandes E. E. hoher. Rahts beforderung empfangen habe. Davor ich den E. E. hoher. Raht, nicht genugsam dancken kan, hoffe auch mit Gottlicher hülfe, die Zeit undt Unkosten woll anzulegen, auf d(as) meine dienste E. E. hoher. Raht, lieb undt angenehm sein, undt ein E. hoher[.] Raht ruhm undt Ehr davon haben soll. Nu were woll meine dienstliche bitte, an E. Erb. hoher. Raht, nach dem sie mich so weit befördert haben, solches ferner zu tuhn nicht abzuschlagen: Zu welcher meiner beforderung auch hochnötig were das ienige was mir M^r Jan Petersch(en), undt andere gutte leute mehr gerahten haben, nehmlich, d(as) ehe ich zu hause komme, mit *consens* eines Erb. hoher[.] Rahts für ein Jahr lang eine reise auf *Italien* für mich nehme allwar die kunst der *music* sehr florirt, undt trefliche Meisters gefunden werden, Weill ich nu ohne *consens* undt beforderung eines E. hoher. Rahts, solches nicht beginnen darf noch kan, als ist meine untertehnige bitte an E. E. hoher. Raht, sie mir hierin mit raht undt taht beýwohnen wollen, undt weil sie mich so weit befördert

[p. 154]

haben, davor ich ihnen verobligiert bin, weiter die Unkosten nicht ansehen wollen, sondern viel lieber noch etwas schpendiren, damit ich die kunst desto perfecter lernen mag. Davon den ein Erb. hoher. Raht desto mehr ehr haben, undt zu größerem ruhm gereichen wirdt, das sie beförderer aller freýen künste(n) sein. Ich bin auch erbietig meiner schuldigen Pflicht nach, iederzeit nach meinem höchsten Vermögen solches zuverschulden, bin herauf einer unabsehleglichen frölichen antwort gewertig. Tuhe hiemit E. Erb. hoher. Raht Gottlichem schutze undt bewahrung empfehlen, derselbe wolle einen Erb. hoher. Raht, sampt alle den inigen in langwirigen wolstande erhalten. *Datum* in *Amsterdam*, den 16 dece(m)b: A(nn)o 1608.

Eines Erb. hoher. Rahts
dienstwillig(er) und gehorsamer diener
Paul Siefert
mpp.

[p. 155: vacat]

[p. 156, acknowledgement of receipt] R. 16. Januarij A. 1609. Paul Sivert Instrumental Musicu(m) belang(en)de.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bahr, Ernst. 'Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung von Reinhold Curicke und ihre Fortsetzer: Zur Einführung.' In: Reinhold Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig historische Beschreibung: Faksimile-Druck nach der Originalausgabe Amsterdam und Dantzick 1687*, [iii–vii]. Hamburg: Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft Paul Rosenberg, 1979.
- Banchieri, Adriano. *L'Organo Suonarino (Venezia 1605)*, ed. Edoardo Bellotti. Latina: Levante, 2014 (= Tastata – Opere d'intavolatura d'organo e cembalo 31).
- Beckmann, Klaus. *Die Norddeutsche Schule: Orgelmusik im protestantischen Norddeutschland zwischen 1517 und 1755*. Vol. 1, *Die Zeit der Gründerväter: 1517–1629*. Mainz: Schott, 2005.
- Belotti, Michael. 'Peter Philips and Heinrich Scheidemann, or the Art of Intabulation'. In: *Proceedings of the Göteborg International Organ Academy 1994*, eds. Hans Davidsson and Sverker Jullander, 75–84. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1995.
- Belotti, Michael. 'Zur Orgelmusik des Rostocker Marienorganisten Nicolaus Hasse (um 1605–1670)'. In: *Orgelbau, Orgelmusik und Organisten des Ostseeraums im 17. und 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Matthias Schneider and Walter Werbeck, 41–54. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006 (= Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 14).
- Bem, Kazimierz. *Calvinism in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth 1548–1648: The Churches and the Faithful*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Bianchi, Eric. 'Scholars, Friends, Plagiarists: The Musician as Author in the Seventeenth Century.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, no. 1 (2017): 61–128. doi.org/10.1525/jams.2017.70.1.61.
- Bogdan, Izabela. 'Niepokorny protestant Michael Weyda (1581–ok. 1651), organista w Gdańsku i Królewcu, na tle konfliktów konfesyjnych pierwszej połowy XVII wieku.' *Muzyka* 52, no. 4 (2007): 59–73.
- Bötticher, Eberhard. 'Historisch Kirchen Register der grossen Pfarkirchen 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: 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. Christof Herrmann and Edmund Kizik, 341–714. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2013.
- Danziger Instrumental-Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Kessler. Neuhausen–Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1979.
- Danziger Kirchen-Musik. Vokalwerke des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Franz Kessler. Neuhausen–Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1973.
- Dirksen, Pieter. *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence*. Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1997.

- Dirksen, Pieter. 'Vater unser im Himmelreich: On Sweelinck and his German pupils.' In: *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, eds. Albert Clement and Eric Jas, 369–385. Boston: Brill, 1994.
- Erdman, Jerzy. 'Fantazje organowe Paula Sieferta.' In: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś*. Vol. 1, 73–81. Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 1988 (= Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 3).
- Genealogische Tafeln zu Familien aus Danzig sowie aus Westpreußen und Hinterpommern. <https://danzigertafeln.vffow.org>, accessed 10 February 2025.
- Grapenthin, Ulf. 'The Transmission of Sweelinck's *Composition Regeln*.' In: *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pieter Dirksen, 171–196. Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 2002.
- Hirsch, Theodor. *Geschichte der Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig*. Vol. 2, *Kirchengeschichte von Danzig seit Einführung der Reformation*. Danzig: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1847.
- Koch, Klaus-Peter. 'Scheidt und Danzig: Wäre Samuel Scheidt nach Danzig gegangen? Mit einem Anhang "Biographische Daten zu Gottfried Scheidt."' In: *Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654): Werk und Wirkung. Bericht über die Internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz am 5. und 6. November 2004 im Rahmen der Scheidt-Ehrung 2004 in der Stadt Halle und über das Symposium in Creuzburg zum 350. Todesjahr, 25.–27. März 2004*, 161–182. Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 2006 (= Schriften des Händel-Hauses in Halle 20).
- Küsel, Georg. *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Königsberg i. Pr.* Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1923 (= Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2).
- Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium*, ed. Jean Ferrard. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2008.
- Liber Organistarum Collegii Crosensis Societatis Jesu*, eds. Laima Budzinauskienė and Rasa Murauskaitė. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2017 (= Fontes Musicae in Polonia B/2).
- Mitjana, Rafael. *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Upsala*. Vol. 1, *Musique religieuse*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1911.
- Motetten von Paul Siefert*, ed. Herbert Hildebrandt. Munich: Strube, 2007 (= Chormusik zum Genfer Psalter 2).
- Müller, Michael G. *Zweite Reformation und städtische Autonomie im königlichen Preussen: Danzig, Elbing und Thorn während der Konfessionalisierung (1557–1660)*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997.
- Patalas, Aleksandra. *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze: Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria*. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2010.
- The Pelplin Tablature: Facsimile*, eds. Adam Sutkowski and Alina Osostowicz-Sutkowska. 6 vols. Graz–Warsaw: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, PWN – Polish Scientific Publishers, 1964–1965 (= Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 2–7).
- Popinigis, Danuta. *Carillons and Carillon Music in Old Gdańsk*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019 (= Eastern European Studies in Musicology 13).
- Popinigis, Danuta. 'Sylwetka Pawła Sieferta w świetle źródeł.' In: *Muzyka w Gdańsku wczoraj i dziś*. Vol. 1, 57–71. Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 1988 (= Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 3).
- Rampe, Siegbert. 'Abendmusik oder Gottesdienst? Zur Funktion norddeutscher Orgelkompositionen des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts (Schluss).' *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 27 (2005): 53–127.

- Rasch, Rudolf. 'Sweelinck's Place in the Musical History of the Dutch Republic.' In: *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium Utrecht 1999*, ed. Pieter Dirksen, 3–25. Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 2002.
- Rasch, Rudolf, and Thiemo Wind. 'The Music Library of Cornelis Schuyt.' In: *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, eds. Albert Clement and Eric Jas, 327–353. Boston: Brill, 1994.
- Rauschning, Hermann. *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig: Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen*. Danzig: Paul Rosenberg, 1931 (= Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens 15).
- Renkewitz, Werner, and Jan Janca. *Geschichte der Orgelbaukunst in Ost- und Westpreußen von 1333 bis 1944*. Vol. 1. Würzburg: Verlag Weidlich, 1984 (= Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler im östlichen Mitteleuropa 2).
- Riedel, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (vornehmlich in Deutschland)*. Kassel–Basel: Bärenreiter, 1960 (= Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung Kiel 10).
- Sachs, Curt. *Musik und Oper am kurbrandenburgischen Hof*. Berlin: Julius Bard, 1910.
- Schneider, Matthias. 'Bughagens Kirchenordnungen und die liturgische Orgelmusik im Ostseeraum.' In: *Reformatio Baltica: Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums*, eds. Heinrich Assel, Johann Anselm Steiger and Axel E. Walter, 275–290. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018 (= Metropolis: Texte und Studien zu Zentren der Kultur in der europäischen Neuzeit 2).
- Schneider, Matthias. 'Lasso's Motette *Benedicam Dominum* – koloriert von Siefert? Zu Paul Siefert's Musik für Tasteninstrumente.' In: *Musica Baltica: Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas*, 130–144. Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 2000 (= Prace Specjalne 57).
- Schottmüller, Kurt. 'Reiseeindrücke aus Danzig, Lübeck, Hamburg und Holland 1636: Nach dem neuentdeckten II. Teil von Charles Ogiers Gesandtschaftstagebuch.' *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 52 (1910): 199–273.
- Sehling, Emil. *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 4, *Das Herzogthum Preussen – Polen – Die ehemals polnischen Landestheile des Königreichs Preussen – Das Herzogthum Pommern*. Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1911.
- Seiffert, Max. 'Paul Siefert (1586–1666): Biographische Skizze.' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891): 397–428.
- Seiffert, Max. 'Sweelinckiana IV.' *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 6, no. 4 (1899–1900): 250–252.
- Siefert, Paul. *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Klaus Beckmann. Mainz: Schott, 2009 (= Meister der Norddeutschen Orgelschule 20).
- Simson, Paul. *Danziger Inventar 1531–1591*. Munich–Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1913 (= Inventare Hansischer Archive des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts 3).
- Smith, David J. 'The Interconnection of Religious, Social and Musical Networks: Creating a Context for the Keyboard Music of Peter Philips and its Dissemination.' In: *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary*, eds. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor, 11–30. London–New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Steinheuer, Joachim. *Chamäleon und Salamander: Neue Wege der Textvertonung bei Tarquinio Merula*. Kassel–Basel: Bärenreiter, 1999.
- Szelest, Marcin. 'A New History of the Gdańsk/Danzig Organ Tablature.' *Muzyka* 69, no. 4 (2024): 3–80. doi.org/10.36744/m.3875.

- Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, ed. Marcin Szelest. 3 vols. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021 (= *Fontes Musicae in Polonia C/XXV*).
- Urbaniak, Krzysztof. 'Orgeln aus der Hummel-Nitrowski-Brandtner-Schule mit ungesicherter Zuschreibung / Organy o niejasnej atrybucji powstałe w kręgu Hummel-Nitrowscy-Brandtnerowie.' In: *Die Orgel der Pfarrkirche in Olkusz: Hans Hummel und seine Schule / Organy fary olkuskiej: Hans Hummel i jego szkoła*, ed. Krzysztof Urbaniak, 475–524. Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2024 (= *Ortus Studien* 24).
- Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, MS. XIV.714*, introduction by Robert Hill. New York–London: Garland, 1988 (= *17th Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque* 24).
- Werner, Arno. 'Samuel und Gottfried Scheidt: Neue Beiträge zu ihrer Biographie.' *Sammelbände der internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 1 (1899–1900): 401–445.
- Žáčková-Rossi, Michaela. *The Musicians at the Court of Rudolf II: The Musical Entourage of Rudolf II (1576–1612) Reconstructed from the Imperial Accounting Ledgers*. Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2017 (= *Clavis Monumentorum Musicorum Regni Bohemiae*, series S 6).

NIEZNANY LIST PAULA SIEFERTA I JEGO DZIAŁALNOŚĆ DO 1611 ROKU

W artykule przedstawiono nowe ustalenia dotyczące działalności Paula Sieferta do roku 1611. Dokumentacja okresu studiów Sieferta u Jana Pieterszoona Sweelincka w ramach stypendium opłacanego przez radę miejską Gdańska została uzupełniona o wpisy w księgach kamlarskich Gdańska z sierpnia 1608 r., poświadczające wypłaty dla Sieferta i Sweelincka, oraz o nieznaną wcześniej list Sieferta do rady miejskiej Gdańska, napisany w Amsterdamie 16 XII 1608 roku. W liście tym Siefert prosi o dalsze wsparcie finansowe, które pozwoliłoby mu, zgodnie z sugestią Sweelincka, udać się przed powrotem do Gdańska w roczną podróż do Włoch. Suplikę zarejestrowano w kancelarii miejskiej 16 I 1609 r., jednak decyzja rady nie jest znana, a Siefert w roku 1609 nie otrzymał żadnej wypłaty z kasy miejskiej.

Siefert powrócił do Gdańska prawdopodobnie na początku roku 1610. Analiza cytowanych przez Hermanna Rauschninga petycji skierowanych przez wityryków kościoła Mariackiego oraz organistę tej świątyni Cajusa Schmiedtleina pozwala sprecyzować, że okres zatrudnienia Sieferta jako asystenta Schmiedtleina i jego potencjalnego następcy trwał ok. trzech miesięcy, od początku marca do końca maja 1610. Na tym stanowisku Siefert miał otrzymywać 100 florenów rocznie z kasy miejskiej, jednak w wyniku protestów wyrażonych we wspomnianych petycjach zwolniono go z obowiązków i 3 VI wypłacono mu roczną sumę wynagrodzenia. Była ona najprawdopodobniej kolejnym stypendium na kontynuację nauki, tym razem przypuszczalnie w Pradze, gdzie do Sieferta dotarła wiadomość o śmierci Schmiedtleina w marcu 1611 roku.

Zgodnie z notatką zachowaną w kronice kościoła Mariackiego autorstwa Eberharda Bötichera, Siefert pojawił się w Gdańsku 23 V 1611 r.; 2 VI wypłacono mu również pozostałą część stypendium w wysokości 75 marek. W skierowanej do rady miejskiej suplice, błędnie datowanej przez Rauschninga na rok 1623, muzyk przedstawił swoją kandydaturę na stanowisko organisty kościoła Mariackiego, krytykując jednocześnie kompetencje Michaela Weydy, ucznia i czeladnika Schmiedtleina oraz faworyta wityryków, któremu tymczasowo powierzono obowiązki organisty. Poprosił również o zorganizowanie konkursu pomiędzy nim a Weydą; konkurs ten miałby

zostać rozstrzygnięty przez radę i ekspertów wybranych spośród najlepszych muzyków w mieście. Na wakujące stanowisko zgłosił się jednak również Christoph Vater z Flensburga, którego zarekomendował jego teść Heinrich Marci, organista kościoła Mariackiego w Lubece. Obydwaj pojawili się w Gdańsku na początku lipca 1611 r.; Vater grał na organach kościoła Mariackiego podczas nabożeństw 9 i 10 VII. Dn. 12 VII odbyło się publiczne przesłuchanie kandydatów (oprócz Sieferta, Weydy i Vatera wziął w nim udział Gregor Linde junior, syn poprzednika Schmiedtleina), a następnego dnia Marci skierował do rady miejskiej list, w którym wyraził zaskoczenie z powodu nagle zorganizowanego konkursu oraz protest przeciwko jego zasadom.

Analiza treści tego listu prowadzi do wniosku, że konkurs mógł odbyć się w wyniku nacisków Sieferta; brał on natomiast na pewno aktywny udział w sformułowaniu zasad przesłuchania. Marci oskarżył go o wcześniejsze przygotowanie fugi, którą kandydaci powinni byli zaimprovizować. Zaprotestował też przeciwko wprowadzonemu ograniczeniu do gry na jednym manuale oraz wymaganiu improwizacji na podstawie linii basowej, sugerując, że jeden z kandydatów prezentował już wcześniej takie umiejętności, według niego nieadekwatne do instrumentu i zadań organisty. Użycie jednego manualu zamiast tradycyjnej w obszarze północnoniemieckim gry na dwóch lub trzech manualach z pedałem było z pewnością przejawem wpływu Sweelincka. Siefert był też jedynym kandydatem, który mógł opanować praktykę gry na podstawie basu, nieznaną w Gdańsku w pierwszej dekadzie XVII w.; nie nauczył się jej jednak ani w Amsterdamie, dokąd również w tym czasie jeszcze nie dotarła, ani w Pradze, ponieważ prezentował ją w Gdańsku prawdopodobnie już w roku 1610. Stanowi to argument przemawiający za tym, że po zakończeniu studiów u Sweelincka, co przypuszczalnie nastąpiło w marcu 1609 r., pozostałą część roku istotnie spędził we Włoszech (być może na koszt nieznanego prywatnego patrona), które były kolebką praktyki basso continuo.

Dopiero pod koniec września 1611 r. rada miejska wydała decyzję, zgodnie z którą stanowisko organisty otrzymał Christoph Vater. Siefert, dotychczas popierany w tym gremium, nie uzyskał jego akceptacji – być może z powodu nieuczciwej ingerencji w przebieg konkursu. Odrzucono też popieranego przez wityrków Weydę, co było kolejną z serii narzuconych przez radę decyzji w sprawach należących tradycyjnie do ich kompetencji. Wydaje się prawdopodobne, że wysłanie Sieferta na studia do kalwińskiego Amsterdamu, a następnie umieszczenie go jako organisty w ortodoksyjnie luteranśkim kościele Mariackim mogło być częścią szerszej strategii opanowanej przez kalwinistów rady miejskiej, która dążyła do rozbicia luteranśkiej opozycji skupionej w Trzecim Ordynku. Poglębiające się w ostatniej dekadzie szesnastego stulecia rozbieżności pomiędzy liturgią luteranśką a kalwińską skutkowały zróżnicowaniem wykształcenia i praktyki organistów w kościołach tych wyznań. Hipotetyczne pochodzenie Sieferta z rodziny o inklinacjach kalwińskich tłumaczyłoby, dlaczego przed wyjazdem na studia do Sweelincka nie uczył się on u Schmiedtleina – najwybitniejszego organisty w Gdańsku – i nie znał organów kościoła Mariackiego, a tradycja improwizowania opracowań chorałowych na dwóch lub trzech manualach z pedałem była mu najwyraźniej obca. Echem kalwińskiej młodzieży Siefert mógł być również fakt, że jako jedyny z uczniów Sweelincka skomponował on za przykładem mistrza utwory oparte na melodiach Psalterza Genewskiego – dwa tomy *Psalmen Davids*, wydane drukiem w Gdańsku odpowiednio w latach 1640 i 1651.

Marcin Szelest

Prof. Dr Marcin Szelest teaches organ at the Krzysztof Penderecki Academy of Music in Kraków. He has performed as a soloist and with period instrument ensembles (including Weser Renaissance Bremen, Wrocław Baroque Orchestra, The Bach Ensemble) and is artistic director of the Omnia Beneficia Festival in Stary Sącz. His editions of collected works of Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński (2016) and Adam Jarzębski (2021), as well as of the 'Warsaw Organ Tablature' (2024) appeared in the series *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia*, and his complete edition of the Braunsberg/Oliva organ tablatures (2021) was published in the series *Fontes Musicae in Polonia*.
marcin.szelest@amuz.krakow.pl
