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## Music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in the library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk

### Introduction

The extensive music collections, which are held at present in the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library, include numerous sets of sources, amassed over the centuries by various institutions and private collectors. Among them there are resources of the first Gdańsk library, founded in 1596 as *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* [the City Council Library]<sup>1</sup>, materials acquired from the

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<sup>1</sup> The history of the first Gdańsk library dates back to the year 1591, when the Italian bibliophile and humanist Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio (1517–1597), marquis of Oria, donated his own collection of more than 1100 volumes to the Gdańsk City Council. Five years later the *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* was officially established. In 1817 the library was renamed as Danziger Stadtbibliothek and finally, in 1955, it was incorporated into the network of the libraries affiliated with the Polish Academy of Sciences. For more information on the history of the Gdansk Library see: Marian PELCZAR, “Biblioteka Gdańska. Zarys dziejów” [Gdansk Library. Historical outline], *Nauka Polska* 10/4 (1962): 89–106; Irena FABIANI-MADEYSKA, *Jan Bernard Bonifacio markiz Oria Fundator Biblioteki Gdańskiej 1596* [Jan Bernard Bonifacio marquis of Oria, the founder of the Gdansk Library 1596] (Gdańsk: Marpress, 1995); *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis 1596–1996: dzieje i zbiory* [Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis 1596–1996: its history and collections], eds. Maria Babnis, Zbigniew Nowak (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1998); Maria BABNIS, *The Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences* (Gdańsk: Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, 1999).

libraries of the main Gdańsk churches, as well as those donated by Gdańsk patricians.

This significant set of musical sources has long been a subject of interest of numerous researchers. The first printed catalogue of the musical manuscripts from this collection, compiled by Otto Günther, was published in 1911<sup>2</sup>. The expanded and more detailed thematic catalogue of manuscripts, arranged by Danuta Popinigis, Barbara Długońska, Danuta Szlagowska and Jolanta Woźniak, was brought out a century later, in 2011<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, the music sources (manuscripts and prints) that survived World War II were microfilmed and registered in the catalogue of microfilms of the Polish National Library<sup>4</sup>. When it comes to the issue of repertoire from the 16th and 17th centuries presented in Gdańsk sources, the studies of Danuta Popinigis<sup>5</sup>, Danuta

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<sup>2</sup> Otto GÜNTHER, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek. Theil 4. Die musikalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek und der in ihrer Verwaltung befindlichen Kirchenbibliotheken St. Katharinen und St. Johann in Danzig* (Danzig: Kommissions-Verlag der L. Saunierschen Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1911).

<sup>3</sup> Danuta POPINIGIS, Barbara DŁUGOŃSKA, Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, Jolanta WOŹNIAK, *Music collection from Gdańsk*, vol. 1, *Thematic catalogue of music in manuscript at the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library* (Kraków-Gdańsk: Musica Iagellonica – Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 2011). Earlier, in 1990, the catalogue of music in manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries appeared: Danuta POPINIGIS, Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, *Musicalia Gedanenses. Rękopisy muzyczne z XVI i XVII wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Katalog* [Musicalia Gedanenses. The 16th and 17th century musical manuscripts in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Science. Catalogue] (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 1990) (Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 4).

<sup>4</sup> *Katalog mikrofilmów muzycznych* [Catalogue of music microfilms], vol. 1 (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1956) (Katalog Mikrofilmów – Biblioteka Narodowa. Dział Zbiorów Mikrofilmowych 8); *Katalog mikrofilmów muzycznych* [Catalogue of music microfilms], vol. 2, ed. Maria Prokopowicz (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1962) (Katalog Mikrofilmów – Biblioteka Narodowa. Dział Zbiorów Mikrofilmowych 9).

<sup>5</sup> Danuta POPINIGIS, “Muzyka w kościele św. Bartłomieja w Gdańsku na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku w świetle rękopisu Ms. 4005 Biblioteki Gdańskiej PAN” [Music in St Bartholomew’s church in Gdańsk at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the light of Ms. 4005 from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences], in *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Muzycznej w Gdańsku* (XXI–XXII), ed. Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 1983): 255–284; ead., “Die Musikalien der PAN Bibliothek in Gdańsk”, in *Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa: Symphonik – Musiksammlungen*, Tagungsbericht (Chemnitz 1995), ed. Helmut Loos (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1997) (Deutsche Musik im Osten, 10): 331–336.

Szlagowska<sup>6</sup> and Elżbieta Wojnowska<sup>7</sup> are of particular importance. All these authors draw attention to the international profile of the local repertoire.

Considering the contents of musical sources from Gdańsk, one should realise that in the 16th and early 17th centuries the city represented a vital locus of intercultural exchange and an important conduit for the dissemination of international music repertoire. The intensity of these processes was largely determined by the specific political and socio-economic circumstances. Gdańsk as one of the main cities of Royal Prussia (next to Elbląg and Toruń) since 1569 was under direct administration of the Polish Crown. It enjoyed, however, a considerable degree of local autonomy. Thanks to the various privileges from Polish kings, Gdańsk gained an independent jurisdiction and legislation. Also the religious freedom was guaranteed. In consequence, the city became a major stronghold of Protestant Christianity<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich* [Musical repertoire in the 17th-century manuscripts from Gdańsk] (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 2005) (Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski, 10); EAD., "Gdańsk Music Manuscripts from the 16th to the 19th Century," in RISM. *Wissenschaftliche und technische Herausforderung musikhistorischer Quellenforschung im internationalen Rahmen*, ed. Martina Falletta (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Olms, 2010) (Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 58): 129–148.

<sup>7</sup> Elżbieta WOJNOWSKA, "La raccolta gdańskie di madrigali italiani", in *Sodalium voces, XV Sesja Muzykologiczna Polsko-Włoska „Monodia i polifonia od Średniowiecza do Baroku”* (Warszawa – Radziejowice – Poznań – Czerniejewo, 8–15 października 1983) (Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1984) (Miscellanea Saggi Convegni 24): 105–138; EAD., "Zwischen Druck und Handschrift: Ein 'abschreibender' Danziger Musiker des 16./17. Jahrhunderts", in *Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten und ihre Wechselwirkung mit den Nachbarn: Ostseeraum — Schlesien — Böhmen/Mähren — Donauraum vom 23. bis 26. September 1992 in Köln*, eds. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller – Helmut Loos (Bonn: Schröder, 1994) (Deutsche Musik im Osten 6): 37–60; EAD., "Studien zum Verbindungsnetz der Danziger Handschriften der 1. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Ms. 4006 und Ms. 4012)", in *Musica Baltica: Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen im Ostseeraum*, Konferenzbericht (Greifswald – Gdańsk, 28. November bis 3. Dezember 1993), ed. Ekkehard Ochs (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1996) (Deutsche Musik im Osten 8): 209–228.

<sup>8</sup> The majority of Gdańsk inhabitants were Lutheran, but also the Reformed minority regarded the city as a safe place in the otherwise Catholic-dominated Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For more information on the religious and social situation in Gdańsk see: Maria BOGUĆKA, "Przemiany ustrojowe i społeczne (1570–1655)" [The social and political transformations (1570–1655)], in *Historia Gdańska* [The history of Gdańsk], ed. Edmund Cieślak, vol. 2, 1454–1655 (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1982): 543–578; EAD., "Luter a Gdańsk. Społeczne przesłanki zwycięstwa luteranizmu

In the 16th century, Gdańsk attained the rank of the leading economic centre in the Baltic Sea region, and its status in that time can be compared to Antwerp in Western Europe<sup>9</sup>. The port of Gdańsk has played an important role as the intermediary between East and West. It constituted one of the most significant links in international commerce<sup>10</sup>. Apart from the vibrant maritime trade, the commercial contacts through the land routes, particularly with Cologne and Frankfurt am Main, were dynamically developed<sup>11</sup>. From the mentioned centres hock, Italian textiles, silk, jewellery and other luxury goods, as well as books were being imported<sup>12</sup>. At the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries Gdańsk became a leading manufacturing hub and a major credit and financial centre in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>13</sup>. All these economic features, combined with the skilful political and social management of local authorities, had contributed to the great flourishing of Gdańsk art and culture. Extensive contacts of the local musicians, as well as their patrons, the Gdańsk patricians, with artists throughout Europe provided an excellent opportunity for exchanging the musical repertoire. In Gdańsk sources authors of local significance, as well as the most distinguished composers from the

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w Gdańsku” [Luther and Gdańsk. The social conditions for the victory of lutheranism in Gdańsk], *Rocznik Gdański* 43/1 (1983): 55–63; Katarzyna CIEŚLAK, *Między Rzymem, Wittenbergą a Genewą. Sztuka Gdańska jako miasta podzielonego wyznaniowo* [Between Rome, Wittenberg and Geneva. The art of Gdańsk as a city with religious divisions] (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 2000) (Monografie Fundacji na rzecz Nauki Polskiej. Seria Humanistyczna).

<sup>9</sup> Gertrud Susanna GRAMULLA, *Handelsbeziehungen Kölner Kaufleute zwischen 1500 und 1650* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1972) (Forschungen zur internationalen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 4): 104.

<sup>10</sup> It is also worth to mention the crucial role of the Gdańsk port in grain trade. In that time the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was regarded as the granary of Europe, and all grain exports were going out of Poland through Gdańsk. See: Henryk SAMSONOWICZ, “Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy” [Dynamic trade center], in *Historia Gdańska* [The history of Gdańsk], ed. Edmund Cieślak, vol. 2, 1454–1655 (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1982): 94–97.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> As is well known, in the 16th and the 17th centuries Frankfurt was the main and undisputed European book fair center. Booksellers and merchants from all over Europe came to the city in order to engage in trade.

<sup>13</sup> Maria BOGUĆKA, *Gdańsk jako ośrodek produkcyjny w XIV–XVII wieku* [Gdańsk as a manufacturing center throughout the 14th and 17th centuries] (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962): 165; SAMSONOWICZ, „Dynamiczny ośrodek”: 160–163.

16th and early 17th centuries are represented. In this collection, also music of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli — the most outstanding representatives of the Venetian school of the 2nd half of the 16th century — is preserved.

### **The sources of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music<sup>14</sup>**

#### **a) Music prints**

The majority of the Gabrielis' printed music preserved in the Gdańsk Library originated from the private collection of Gdańsk patrician and music lover Georg Knoff (†1605). The entire historical contents of Knoff's music library, as well as the chronological order of the acquisitions and the possible ways of obtaining items have already been described by Martin Morell<sup>15</sup>. As the author indicates, Knoff's collection, which was donated to the Gdańsk City Council Library in 1615 by Georg Knoff's son Raphael, originally consisted of 267 titles printed between 1568 and 1601 (210 titles preserved up to the present time). Knoff, who established himself as an Italian music enthusiast, amassed a large number of madrigal prints. In fact, the most substantial body of Italian secular music published before 1600, housed in Gdańsk Library, originates from Knoff's collection. The vast majority of these editions emanate from the Venetian printing house of Angelo Gardano. The madrigal set covers the authors' editions of such composers as Phillipe de Monte, Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Ferretti and others<sup>16</sup>. Among the authors, there are also Italian composers who occupied the most important musical posts in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth such as Luca Marenzio, Annibale Stabile, and Giulio Cesare Gabussi. Next to numerous single-composer editions, in the collection we can also find a large number of madrigal anthologies. They were issued mainly in Venice and Nuremberg between 1576 and 1598.

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<sup>14</sup> Compositions by Giovanni Gabrieli preserved in the collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library are also listed in the thematic catalogue edited by Richard Charteris, cf. Richard CHARTERIS, *Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612): a thematic catalogue of his music with a guide to the source materials and translations of his vocal texts* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1996) (Thematic Catalogues 20).

<sup>15</sup> Martin MORELL, "Georg Knoff: bibliophile and devotee of Italian music in late sixteenth-century Danzig", in *Music in the German Renaissance. Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 103–126.

<sup>16</sup> For detailed information *ibid.*: 118–124.

Three books of madrigals, published in Venice in 1586 and 1587, and several single works printed in anthologies represent Andrea Gabrieli's secular vocal music. The two books of six-voiced madrigals are bound together with works of other Italian composers, published between 1584 and 1587, whereas the book of five-voiced madrigals was bound together with the editions of works by Italian, German and Flemish composers, printed between 1580 and 1587<sup>17</sup>. There are no dates stamped on these particular bindings. However, as Martin Morell suggests, the most likely year of binding is the year later than the most recent print included therein<sup>18</sup>. This rule applies in the case of 12 dated bound sets from the collection. It is likely, then, that Gabrieli's madrigals were in Knoff's possession from about 1588. In fact, the great majority of madrigal prints found their way to Knoff's collection during the 1580s.

The editions of sacred Latin music written by Italian composers, and those active in Central Europe, especially in German-speaking territories, constitute a smaller, but important portion of Knoff's library. Also in this section the works of the Venetian masters are included. Apart from two authors' editions of Andrea Gabrieli's sacred music, there are several individual pieces of both Venetian composers, published in anthologies.

Table 1. Editions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrielis' music in G. Knoff's collection

	RISM	Title	Andrea Gabrieli	Giovanni Gabrieli	PL-GD Signature
1.	G 51	Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Sacrae cantiones [...] liber primus</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1584			Ee2789/4
2.	G 56	Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Psalmi Davidici [...] sex vocum</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1583			Ee2318/1
3.	G 61	Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1587			Ee2206/3
4.	G 67	Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1587			Ee2628/9

<sup>17</sup> MORELL, "Georg Knoff": 106, 122.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*: 108.

5.	G 73	Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1586			Ee2618/10
6.	1576 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Musica di tredici Autori illustri a cinque voci</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1576	3	–	Ee1720/3
7.	1582 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Il lauro secco. Libro primo de madrigali a cinque voci</i> , Ferrara, V. Baldini, 1582	1	–	Ee2975/5
8.	1583 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Harmoniae miscellae cantionum sacrarum</i> , Nürnberg, K. Gerlach, 1583	2	–	Ee3047/1
9.	1583 <sup>11</sup>	<i>De floridi virtuosi d'Italia il primo libro de madrigali a cinque</i> , Venezia, A. Vincenti, 1583	–	2	Ee1184
10.	1583 <sup>12</sup>	<i>Li amorosi ardori di diversi, libro primo a cinque</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1583	1	–	Ee2273/3
11.	1586 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Musica spirituale composta da diversi</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1586	1	1	Ee1815/3
12.	1586 <sup>7</sup>	<i>Armonia di scelti autori a sei voci</i> , Venezia, G. Scotto, 1586	1	–	Ee1189/11
13.	1586 <sup>8</sup>	<i>De floridi virtuosi d'Italia, il primo libro de madrigali a cinque</i> , Venezia, G. Vincenti, 1586	–	2	Ee1189/5a
14.	1586 <sup>10</sup>	<i>I lieti amanti primo libro de madrigali a cinque</i> , Venezia, G. Vincenti, 1586	1	–	Ee1189/8
15.	1586 <sup>11</sup>	<i>Corona di dodici sonetti di Gio. Battista Zuccharini</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1586	1	–	Ee2456/4
16.	1597 <sup>13</sup>	<i>Fiori del giardino di diversi eccellentissimi autori</i> , Nürnberg, P. Kaufmann, 1597	1	5	Ee20272/6
18.	1600 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio</i> , Nürnberg, P. Kaufmann, 1600	–	9	Ee1370/1 [missing]

When it comes to the ways of acquiring prints, Morell concludes that Knoff probably ordered items either directly from the publishers or through an intermediary in Venice, and obtained the copies through the overland postal route. Nevertheless, it is also very likely that the prints have been purchased at the fairs at Frankfurt am Main. Another possibility is that the Kraków book-seller Zacheusz Kesner was the one who provided some materials for Knoff's



collection<sup>19</sup>. Kesner's bookshop offered the same type of repertoire that was the sacred and secular vocal music of the best-known composers of the late 16th century. In fact, many titles from Knoff's collection also appear in the inventory drawn up in 1602, after Kesner's passing away<sup>20</sup>.

It is not known for sure whether prints from Knoff's collection came into practical use. However, the numerous handwritten corrections and interpolations that appear in prints throughout the collection allow assuming that at least a part of that library served musical practice<sup>21</sup>. Thus, it is very likely that madrigals were performed in the circle of Gdańsk patricians. Apart from this significant collection of madrigal prints preserved in Gdańsk Library<sup>22</sup>, other evidences of great interest in this music genre in the local cultural milieu exist. Among the secondary sources we can find the account drawn up by the Gdańsk bookseller Kaspar Förster sen. (ca. 1574–1652)<sup>23</sup>. The document, written no earlier than 1617 (it was the year that Förster began his activity in the book market), includes the list of music prints purchased by Johann Rotenborch („Libri Musici pro Dr. D. Joanne Rotenborch, compatri dilecto“).

<sup>19</sup> Kesner set up his bookshop in Kraków shortly after receiving citizenship in 1570. See: Tomasz CZEPIEL, “Zacheus Kesner and the Music Book Trade at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century: an Inventory of 1602”, in: *Musica Iagellonica* 2 (1997): 24. All the above mentioned possibilities of obtaining prints by Knoff were also indicated by Agnieszka Leszczyńska in her paper concerning the presence of Italian music in the main cities of Royal Prussia, cf. Agnieszka LESZCZYŃSKA, “The beginnings of musical italianità in Gdańsk and Elbląg in the Renaissance era”, *Musicology Today* 10 (2013): 7; <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/muso.2013.10.issue--1/muso-2014-0001/muso-2014-0001.xml> (20/10/2014).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. CZEPIEL, “Zacheus Kesner”: 33–69.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. WOJNOWSKA, “La raccolta”: 111–112; MORELL, “Georg Knoff”: 110.

<sup>22</sup> As already said, most of them were offered to the library by Georg Knoff's son, but there is also a certain number of madrigal prints donated by the Gdańsk bookseller coming from Saxony Balthasare Andreae, as well as single sources of different provenance. It should be emphasized, that the Gdańsk collection of madrigal prints is the most extensive and significant in North-Eastern Europe; cf. Tomasz JEŻ, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja — recepcja — przeobrażenia gatunku* [The madrigal in north-eastern europe. Documentation — reception — transformations of the genre] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2003): 26.

<sup>23</sup> Hermann RAUSCHNING, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig. Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen* (Danzig: L. Sauniers Buch- und Kunsthändler, 1931) (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens, 15): 151–152.



Among 44 items, 36 madrigal prints appear. The works of Andrea Gabrieli and his followers (Giovanni Croce, Orazio Angelini and Tiburtio Massaino) are strongly represented. Furthermore, there are also a few examples of madrigals composed in a more modern style (e.g. works by Antonio il Verso, Pietro Pace, Tomaso Pecci, Leone Leoni and Antonio Gualtieri)<sup>24</sup>.

Table 2. Editions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music from the account of Kaspar Förster sen. (after 1617)

	RISM	Title [original form]	Price*
1.	G 67	<i>Madrigali a 6 voci di Andr. Gabrieli lib 1°</i>	1 M 4 Gr
2.	G 73	<i>Ditto Libro secondo</i>	18 Gr
3.	1615 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Reliquiae Gabrielis, Hasleri et aliorum</i>	4 M 10 Gr
4.	G 56	<i>Septem Psalmi Gabrielis a 6</i>	1 M 1 Gr
5.	1583 <sup>12</sup>	<i>Amorosi Ardori de diversi</i>	–
6.	1610 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Fatiche spirituali de diversi 1° e 2° a 6</i>	2 M 2 Gr
7.	1586 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Musica spirituale de diversi a 5</i>	1 M 3 Gr
8.	G 79	<i>Mascherat del Andrea Gabrieli (1601)</i>	17 Gr

\* The currency: M — marca, Gr — grosz (1M = 20 Gr.). Cf. Julian PELC, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku* [The Prices in Gdańsk in the 16th and the 17th centuries], Skł. gł. Kasa im. J. Mianowskiego, Lwów 1937 (Badania z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych 21).

The document confirms, that the madrigal genres attracted wide interest in Gdańsk also in the first decades of the 17th century<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> For more detailed information see: JEŻ, *Madrygał w Europie*: 81–82.

<sup>25</sup> Madrigals were probably performed at the Artushof (King Arthur's court) — the meeting place of merchants and a center of social life in Gdańsk. Among other sources confirming the popularity of the madrigal genres in Gdańsk in the first decades of the 17th century, the manuscript with two madrigals dedicated to the Gdańsk city's councillors, written by the Italian composer Bernardino Borlasca (ca. 1580–after 1638) may be mentioned (*Carco d'honori e nei tuoi pregi ornati, O quante volte in van cor mio ti chiamo*, Ms. Danzig 4034); see: Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, "Bernardino Borlasca's Compositions Dedicated to the Gdańsk Senate", in *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels — von den cori spezzati zum konzertierenden Stil*, ed. Danuta Szlagowska (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 2004) (Prace Specjalne 64): 277–293. The madrigal repertoire also inspired the local musician Andreas Hakenberger. He is the author of the *Neue Deutsche*

Other sources of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music preserved in Gdańsk originally belonged to St Mary's — the main Lutheran church in the city. Unfortunately, the vast majority of musical sources that constituted the repertoire of St Mary's chapel did not survive to the present day. Considering the fact, that the most prominent musicians and composers were associated with this chapel, the lack of musical sources is even more regrettable. Only a small number of prints and even less numerous manuscripts from St Mary's church library were transferred to the Danziger Stadtbibliothek in 1912<sup>26</sup>.



Figure 1. St Mary's church in Gdańsk (P. Willer, 1687)

*Gesänge* (Danzig 1610), the collection of madrigals with German texts; the modern edition: Andreas HAKENBERGER, *Neue Deutsche Gesänge mit Fünff Stimmen und Eins mit Achten nach Art der Welschen Madrigalen Componiert 1610*, ed. Piotr Kociumbas (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polihymnia, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> See: POPINIGIS, DEUGOŃSKA, SZLAGOWSKA, WOŹNIAK, *Music collection from Gdańsk*: 12.

Among the submitted music prints there were four sacred anthologies published in Nuremberg in 1588, 1590, 1598 and 1600 respectively<sup>27</sup>. Each of them contains a certain number of motets intended for four to seven voices, and a copious number of polychoral compositions (for two or three choirs), including the works of both Venetian masters.

Table 3. Editions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music former in St Mary's church library

RISM B/I	Title	Andrea Gabrieli	Giovanni Gabrieli	PL-GD Signature
1588 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Continuatio cantionum sacrarum</i> , Nürnberg, K. Gerlach, 1588	17	2	Bibl. Mar. q. 94-97b/7
1590 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Corollarium cantionum sacrarum</i> , Nürnberg, K. Gerlach, 1590	7	–	Bibl. Mar. q. 94-97b/6
1598 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Sacrae symphoniae diversorum</i> , Nürnberg, P. Kaufmann, 1598	–	14	Bibl. Mar. q. 77, 79-81
1600 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio</i> , Nürnberg, P. Kaufmann, 1600	–	9	Bibl. Mar. q. 82-87

It is very likely, that these compositions were performed in St Mary's church at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. This may be confirmed by the handwritten replacements of missing folios in one of the part-books of *Sacrarum Symphoniarum* (Bibl. Mar. q. 82–87). The replacements occur in the Quinta vox binding and give one composition by Giovanni Croce and two by Giovanni Gabrieli. The crucial fact is, that the copy of this anthology was also in Georg Knoff's possession and that this item probably served as a model for the missing parts. Also Martin Morell indicates the existence of links between the resources of St Mary's church library and Knoff's collection<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, it seems to be very likely, that the Gdańsk patrician had an impact on St Mary's chapel repertoire. Going further, one should assume, that in the last decades of the 16th century in St Mary's church also Venetian polychoral music was

<sup>27</sup> St Mary's church provenance is marked by "Bibl. Mar. q."

<sup>28</sup> MORELL, "Georg Knoff": 116.

performed<sup>29</sup>. Nonetheless, the earliest testimonies of a cultivation of polychoral music at St Mary's church come from the beginning of the 17th century<sup>30</sup>. However, the popularity of this technique increased so significantly over the next two decades, that Gdańsk became a leading centre of polychoral practice in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During this time, the collections containing works in polychoral style edited by Gdańsk publishers had appeared<sup>31</sup>. The Venetian *cori spezzati* style reached its peak in the musical output of Andreas Hakenberger, Kapellmeister at St Mary's church<sup>32</sup>.

Apart from the above-mentioned, the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library also holds anthologies of different provenance, containing the Gabrieli's music.

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<sup>29</sup> There is a large number of prints with polychoral compositions published by the Venetian printing house of Angelo Gardano in Knoff's collection. Most of them were imported to Gdańsk during the 1580s. It is also worth mentioning that polychoral music was transmitted to Gdańsk in large extent through the anthologies published in Germany. These prints contained, apart from music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, works by other representatives of the Venetian school, such as Giovanni Croce, Claudio Merulo, Giovanni Bassano, as well as by German composers such as Hans Leo Hassler, Michael Praetorius and Melchior Vulpus, who were influenced by both — the music by Orlando di Lasso and the Venetian polychoral style. The works of the mentioned composers also appear in Gdańsk manuscripts from the first decades of the 17th century.

<sup>30</sup> See: Danuta POPINIGIS, „Die mehrchörige Musik in Danzig um die Wende des 16./17. Jahrhunderts“, in *Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten und ihre Wechselwirkung mit den Nachbarn: Ostseeraum — Schlesien — Böhmen/Mähren — Donaauraum vom 23. bis 26. September 1992 in Köln*, eds. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, Helmut Loos (Bonn: Schröder, 1994) (Deutsche Musik im Osten 6): 28.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Gregor SCHNITZKIUS, *Sacrarum cantionum quatuor. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. et 12. vocum, quibus addita est missa super Perchè non debbo, 8 voc.* (Danzig: Martin Rhode, 1607).

<sup>32</sup> Andreas Hakenberger (ca. 1574–1627) — a singer and lutenist associated with the Royal Chapel in Warsaw (since 1602) and Kapellmeister at St Mary's church in Gdańsk (between 1608–1627). During his sojourn at Warsaw he was in contact with Asprilio Pacelli (Kapellmeister of the Royal Chapel from 1603 to 1623) and other Italian musicians who were active there. Thus, he was familiar with Italian polychoral music performed at the royal court. Hakenberger's polychoral motets were published in *Sacri modulorum concentus* (Stetini: Johann Duber, 1615) and *Harmonia sacra* (Francofurti: Gottfried Tampach, 1617); see: Danuta POPINIGIS, *Muzyka Andrzeja Hakenbergera* [The Music of Andrzej Hakenberger] (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 1997) (Kultura Muzyczna Północnych Ziem Polski 7).

Table 4. Anthologies with Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music in the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library collections

	RISM B/I	Title	Andrea Gabrieli	Giovanni Gabrieli	PL-GD Signature
1.	1588 <sup>21</sup>	<i>Gemma musicalis: selectissimas [...] cantiones [...] liber primus</i> , Nürnberg, K. Gerlach, 1588	7	3	Ee 1194
2.	1589 <sup>8</sup>	<i>Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis</i> , Nürnberg, K. Gerlach, 1589	11	1	Ee 1194
3.	1589 <sup>12</sup>	<i>Musicale essercitio di Ludovico Balbi</i> , Venezia, A. Gardano, 1589	1	–	Ee 1982
4.	1600 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Sacrarum symphoniarum continuation</i> , Nürnberg, P. Kauffmann, 1600	–	9	Ee 1370
5.	1610 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Fatiche spirituali di Simone Molinaro [...] Libro primo</i> , Venezia, R. Amadino 1610	7	–	Ee 2859
6.	1611 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias [...] pars prima</i> , Strasbourg, K. Kieffer, 1611	–	3	Ee 1385
7.	1612 <sup>3</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias [...] pars altera</i> , Strasbourg, K. Kieffer, 1612	–	3	Ee 1385
8.	1613 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias [...] pars tertia</i> , Strasbourg, K. Kieffer, 1613	1	2	Ee 1385
9.	1615 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Reliquiae sacrorum concentuum Giovan Gabrielis</i> , Nürnberg, P. Kaufmann, 1615	–	19	Ee 1909
10.	1617 <sup>1</sup>	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias [...] pars quarta</i> , Strasbourg, B. Bertram, 1617	2	7	Ee 1385

## b) Manuscript copies

Apart from the printed music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, in the Gdańsk Library there are also four collective manuscripts, which contain motets by both Venetian masters (Ms. 4005, Ms. 4006, Ms. 4010 and Ms. 4012). All these sources, originating from the church of St Bartholomew<sup>33</sup>, were handed over to the Danziger Stadtbibliothek in 1868<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Only in Ms. 4005 and Ms. 4010 the provenance is described, however earlier inventories as well as the detailed researches into the manuscripts indicate that also Ms. 4006 and Ms. 4012 originate from St Bartholomew's church.

<sup>34</sup> SZLAGOWSKA, *Repertuar muzyczny*: 47.

Table 5. Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music in manuscripts originating from St Bartholomew's church

Signature	Composer	Incipit	Position in the ms.
Ms. 4005	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Beati omnes</i>	32
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Ego rogabo patrem</i>	35
Ms. 4006	Andrea Gabrieli [!]	<i>Exurgat Deus</i>	7
	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Quem vidistis pastores</i>	92
	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i>	95
	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Angelus ad Pastores ait</i>	96
	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Nativitas tua</i>	97
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Jubilemus singuli</i>	93
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	94
Ms. 4010	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>	5
Ms. 4012	Andrea Gabrieli [!]	<i>Exurgat Deus</i>	150
	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Quem vidistis pastores</i>	234
	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Expurgate vetus fermentum</i>	242
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Quis est iste</i>	34
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	41
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>	54
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Jubilemus singuli</i>	131
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	237
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i> (a 8)	254
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Buccinate in Neomenia tuba</i>	261
	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i> (a 10)	270

Manuscript 4005, drawn up between 1589 and 1616, originally belonged to the local musician Heinrich Lampadius<sup>35</sup> and after his death became a part

<sup>35</sup> Heinrich Lampadius (†1594) was a cantor at St John's and probably an organist at St Bartholomew's church for a short period of time (1575–1577); cf. POPINIGIS, "Muzyka w kościele": 256.



of the property of St Bartholomew's church. However, a large number of the pieces has been copied after Lampadius' death. The manuscript includes copies of 59 sacred compositions of German, Franco-Flemish, Italian, Slovenian, Spanish as well as local composers. The majority of the works represent the great European renaissance repertoire. There are complete copies of two motets (*Beati omnes* and *Ego rogabo patrem*) by Giovanni Gabrieli among them. Gabrieli's pieces appear in the manuscript under the numbers 32 and 35 and were probably written down after 1600. The same motets also occur in the anthology *Sacrarum Symphoniarum*, the copies of which were stored in both — St Mary's church library and Knoff's collection. Thus, it is very likely that this anthology served as original model for the discussed manuscript.

The next source containing Gabrielis' music — Ms. 4006 — is unfortunately incomplete due to the lack of two part-books. It is worth emphasizing that the manuscript, dating from the first decades of the 17th century, is composed almost exclusively of eight-voice compositions<sup>36</sup>, predominantly polychoral. It includes 97 sacred pieces written by Italian, German, Dutch, Franco-Flemish, and local composers. Among the compositions there are two motets by Giovanni Gabrieli, whereas five are ascribed to his uncle (one of them will be discussed in more detail further on). Many compositions from this source have found their counterparts in the anthology *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum*, originating from St Mary's church library.

Ms. 4010, created within the first decades of the 17th century, includes seven sacred compositions intended mostly for eight voices, written by Italian, German and anonymous composers. Only three part-books from this manuscript have been preserved to the present days. In this source the motet *O Domine Jesu Christe* by Giovanni Gabrieli appears.

Ms. 4012 is a source of particular importance. It is the example of *basso pro organo* book which includes organ parts of 273 sacred vocal compositions performed in St Bartholomew's church from the first decades of the 17th century. It is not surprising then, that there exists a large number of concordances between the previously mentioned manuscripts and Ms. 4012. Works by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli known from the manuscripts 4006 and 4010 are represented here, too. The remaining compositions by Giovanni Gabrieli also

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<sup>36</sup> There are only six compositions intended for seven voices and two works intended for nine voices in Ms. 4006.



appear in Georg Gruber's anthology of motets by Hans Leo Hassler and Giovanni Gabrieli — *Reliquae sacrorum concentuum* (Nürnberg 1615) [PL-GD Ee1909].

Table 6. Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's music in the manuscripts originating from St Bartholomew's church — concordances with prints

	Composer	Incipit	Manuscripts	Prints
1.	Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Angelus ad Pastores ait</i>	Ms. 4006	Bibl. Mar. q. 94–97/7
2.		<i>Expurgate vetus fermentum</i>	Ms. 4012	
3.		<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i>	Ms. 4006	Bibl. Mar. q. 94–97/7
4.		<i>Nativitas tua</i>	Ms. 4006	
5.		<i>Quem vidistis pastores</i>	Ms. 4006 / Ms. 4012	Bibl. Mar. q. 94–97/7
6.	Andrea Gabrieli [!]	<i>Exurgat Deus</i>	Ms. 4006 / Ms. 4012	

1.	Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Beati omnes</i>	Ms. 4005	Bibl. Mar. q. 82–87 / Ee1370/1 [missing]
2.		<i>Buccinate in Neomenia tuba</i>	Ms. 4012	Ee1909
3.		<i>Ego rogabo patrem</i>	Ms. 4005	Bibl. Mar. q. 82–87 / Ee1370/1 [missing]
4.		<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i> (a 8)	Ms. 4012	
5.		<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i> (a 10)	Ms. 4012	Ee1909
6.		<i>Jubilemus singuli</i>	Ms. 4006 / Ms. 4012	Bibl. Mar. q. 77, 79–81 / Ee1370 [missing]
7.		<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>	Ms. 4010 / Ms. 4012	
8.		<i>O magnum mysterium</i>	Ms. 4006 / Ms. 4012	Bibl. Mar. q. 94–97/7
9.		<i>Quis est iste</i>	Ms. 4012	
10.		<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	Ms. 4012	Ee1909

The detailed comparison of Gabrielis' concordant works from handwritten and printed sources preserved in Gdańsk library results in one important question. In most cases we are dealing with quite literal copies. The occasionally occurring differences include the note values or pitches, omitted or added accidentals (as a reminder for performers), as well as inaccuracies of the placement of the text. All of these are rather typical scribal errors or omissions. Only regarding the motet *Exurgat Deus* recorded in both Ms. 4006 and Ms. 4012 some serious doubts are revealed. One of them concerns the ascriptions that appear in both manuscripts. In Ms. 4006 the inscription "Andreae Gabrielis" occurs in the five part-books (Ch I: A, T, B; Ch II: C, B), also in Ms. 4012, in the caption of *Exurgat Deus* (fol. 96r) there is a note "a 8 Andr: Gabriel:" whereas in the alphabetical register (fol. 159v) the following note appears "Joh. Gabr. a 8".



Figure 2. *Exurgat Deus* ascribed to Andrea Gabrieli (Ch I: Alto), Ms. 4006, fol. 7v.

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of the Polish Academy of Sciences Gdańsk Library



Figure 3. *Exurgat Deus* ascribed to Andrea Gabrieli (*basso pro organo*), Ms. 4012, fol. 96r.  
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of the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Gdansk

Although this information has been included in the catalogues, the researchers constantly attributed this particular composition to Andrea Gabrieli. Nevertheless, the comparison of this work with Andrea Gabrieli's *Exurgat Deus* published in *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio: Gabrieli* (Venezia 1587) has revealed inconsistency and the question about the authorship of the work preserved in Gdańsk manuscripts returned. Fortunately, further research brought positive identification of the work. *Exurgat Deus* from the Gdańsk library,

falsely attributed to Andrea Gabrieli, is a composition of Asprilio Pacelli<sup>37</sup>. It is highly probable that *Exurgat Deus* is the earliest evidence for the reception of Pacelli's first collection of motets *Motectorum et psalmorum [...] liber primus* (Romae 1597)<sup>38</sup> and in general for the reception of polychoral works by Italian composers associated with the chapel of King Sigismund III Vasa in Gdańsk<sup>39</sup>.

Naturally, the Gdańsk manuscripts are considered as a source of great importance for the knowledge of the repertoire performed in the city. The existence of the *basso pro organo* book, as well as the corrections occurring in the sources, clearly testify that the works contained therein were actually performed in St Bartholomew's church. Although we have no information about any prominent musicians associated with St Bartholomew's church, we cannot be even certain if the professional chapel was active there. It is known, however, that musically well-educated students of the parish school participated in polychoral singing. Additional musicians — singers and instrumentalists — were engaged in the celebration of the most important annual festivities<sup>40</sup>. A concentration of polychoral works in the manuscripts originating from St Bartholomew's church testify not only to a local interest for the *cori spezzati* style, but also to the existence of suitable performance possibilities.

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<sup>37</sup> Another handwritten copy of *Exurgat Deus* by A. Pacelli is preserved (as anonymous work) in Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek in Odense under the signature R567.

<sup>38</sup> The complete copy of this edition is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, in a collection that formerly belonged to the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, under the signature Mus. ant. pract. P 24. The motet *Exurgat Deus* by A. Pacelli was also published in the anthology *Florilegii musici Portensis sacras harmonias* (Lipsiae: Abraham Lamberg & Caspar Klosemann, 1621). A copy of this print is also preserved in the Jagiellonian Library under the signature Mus. ant. pract. B 657 [2]; see: *Catalogue of early music prints from the collections of the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Crakow*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999): 257, 442–443.

<sup>39</sup> What is interesting is that in Ms. 4006 there is only one composition ascribed to A. Pacelli. The eight-part motet for two choirs *Vulnerasti cor meum* (No. 6) precedes *Exurgat Deus* in the manuscript. The composition has not appeared in the printed editions of Pacelli's music. Furthermore, there is no information about other handwritten copies of this work. It is worth, however, to pay more attention to the composition. A superficial analysis of *Vulnerasti cor meum* reveals certain limitations of creative invention and brings the question of the authorship of the composition (one cannot exclude that composer's name was wrongly placed in the manuscript). Due to lack of other copies of *Vulnerasti cor meum*, a deep stylistic-comparative analysis of the work with Pacelli's motets should be done.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. POPINIGIS, "Muzyka w kościele": 256–257.





Figure 4. Asprilio Pacelli, *Motectorum et psalmorum* [...] *Liber primus* (Romae: Nicolò Mutii, 1597), Mus. ant. pract. P 40.

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The presence of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli's works in the Gdańsk sources can be regarded as a consequence of immense popularity of their music in the Protestant strongholds in Germany, as well as the result of a strong interest in Italian music, particularly in the madrigal repertoire among Gdańsk patricians.

The question of transmission of music is closely related to that of its influence. Without a doubt, in the first decades of the 17th century the *cori spezzati* style as well as the Italian madrigal repertoire had a great impact for the process of shaping the musical tastes and creating the musical culture of Gdańsk. However, the question of the influence of the Gabrielis' music on the local musical output requires further detailed investigation.

### **Summary**

The library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk holds a wealth of materials that give insight into the reception of Italian music in northern Europe. Sources from the last decades of the 16th and early 17th century that constitute the evidences of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrielis reception in Gdańsk are presented. The sources in question originated from St Bartholomew's and St Mary's church libraries, and also from the private music collection of the Gdańsk patrician Georg Knoff. Among music prints there are examples of secular and sacred vocal music, while the repertoire of the manuscripts is limited to religious compositions. The article presents past research conducted by different scholars and published in a variety of places, as well as makes a number of small contributions to the research in its field.

**Keywords:** Library collections, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Andrea Gabrieli, Giovanni Gabrieli, music manuscripts, vocal music

