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From Spiš to Royal Prussia — the Creative Development of Johannes Celscher §

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Johannes Celscher is a composer who is absent from modern music lexicons¹, and his work, preserved, with one exception, in incomplete form, has become a subject of research only recently. It seems, however, that this musician, who lived at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and whose career has links with regions such as Spiš, Ducal Prussia, Lithuania and Royal Prussia, deserves a greater degree of attention. He was a composer who, throughout his life, was in search of a permanent position, never tied to any institution for long, composing above all to the orders of current sponsors. There were many such itinerant musicians in the Europe of that time; some of them eventually found employment as court or church kapellmeisters, others had to be satisfied with less profitable appointments. Celscher was among the latter. The reconstruction of his creative development relies above all on the dedications in his works, and some (scant) mentions in archives. Some periods of his life are completely unknown, others can only be the subject of hypotheses.

Johannes Celscherus Cepusius – this name, indicating that the composer's roots should be sought in Spiš, can be found on the title pages of early prints of his compositions (1596, 1600). Other versions of his name can also be found in archival documents. Most probably it was he who was entered as a pupil

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at the Gdańsk [Danzig] Gymnasium under the name of *Johannes Czelischer, Novocomensis, Sepus*². According to this note, he had his origins in Spišská Nová Ves. He was probably born around 1565, as on 13 May 1585 he matriculated at the University in Königsberg. This fact was noted as follows in the university lists: *Johannes Czolscheius, Cepusius, Musicus, ex commendatione M. Christophori Pannonij gratis receptus*³. The description *musicus* indicates that Celscher must have arrived at Königsberg already as an educated artist. Of interest is the person of his patron, owing to whom the entry fee, obligatory for every student, was waived in Celscher's case. Christophorus Preiss, also known as Pannonius (1515–1590), a humanist educated at Wittenberg, came from Bratislava. In 1579 he became a professor at the University of Königsberg; earlier he spent 14 years at Toruń [Thorn]⁴. Pannonius was the author of an epigram in praise of the lute, printed at the beginning of the tablature of Benedict de Drusina from 1556, which may be taken as evidence that his links with musicians were not simply sporadic. He probably supported the candidature of the student, motivated by a feeling of solidarity with a young man from his own homeland. We do not know whether Celscher took the opportunity of being educated at a university which was one of the best in this part of Europe, because only a few weeks after matriculation, in June 1585, he was entered as a pupil at the Gdańsk [Danzig] Gymnasium⁵. This educational establishment was very highly regarded, and in higher years offered courses at university level; many among its pupils had already started studies at some university or had even obtained magister's diplomas⁶. In this context it is worth adding that Wenceslaus Pannonius, son of Christophorus, who earlier studied at Königsberg university, entered the Gdańsk school at the same time as Celscher⁷. It is probable that both young men together took the decision to study at the Gdańsk Gymnasium, and it is also possible that Christophorus Preiss vel Pannonius influenced their choice in some way.

We know nothing about the course Celscher's education took. The next mention of him comes from 1596, when the musician sent to Gdańsk a motet dedicated to its councillors, which has not survived to the present day. City accounts books describe him then as "des Herrn Saphior litauischen Canzlers Musicus"⁸, which means that at that time he must have been in the service of

Lew Sapieha. The name of Johannes Celscher is not among those of musicians employed at the court of the Chancellor of Lithuania discovered by Irena Bienkowska in the archives of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. However, since the majority of musicians were described there only by name, one can suppose that, for instance, references to the singer Jasiiek, employed during the years 1593–1597 (with an interruption during 1595), relate to Celscher⁹. Assuming that the musical ensemble accompanied Sapieha on his various travels, one could hypothetically reconstruct the places in the Kingdom of Poland which might have been visited by Celscher. The Jasiiek in question received payment two or three times a year: in 1593 he was paid on 12 January, 24 April and 16 July¹⁰. In that year Lew Sapieha carried out his office mainly in Vilnius, but in March he went for a short cure to Sandomierz, and then he attended the Sejm [Polish parliament]. He then returned to Lithuania, where he and his entourage probably stayed for long periods at his estates in Słonim or Mołodeczno¹¹. In 1594 Jasiiek received payment on 4 January and 31 March. In February of that year Lew Sapieha moved to Poland and spent quite a long time there, mainly in Międzyrzec Podlaski¹². Jasiiek's name then disappears from the payroll for the next two years, reappearing only on 24 June 1596 and later on 23 October. In the summer of that year Sapieha stayed alternately in Warszawa or in Kraków, maintaining continuous contact with King Sigismund III and the king's aunt, Anna Jagellon. In November he was present at her funeral at Wawel and earlier, in mid-October, he travelled as the king's delegate to the synod at Brześć¹³. The last references to Jasiiek come from 1597: from 16 January, 6 April and 4 September. With the January payment he, like the other musicians, received additional monies for a fur coat¹⁴ — perhaps the Chancellor's treasury decided on this additional expense because of the desire to enhance the appearance of the Chancellor's court during the sitting of the Sejm, attended by Lew Sapieha at the beginning of that year¹⁵. If Johannes Celscher could really be identified as the Jasiiek mentioned in the accounts, then he probably had the opportunity not only of visiting many cities in the Kingdom of Poland, Kraków and Warszawa among them, but also of encountering royal musicians, such as Krzysztof Klabon.

Sending the motet to Gdańsk in 1596 was the first in a series of Celscher's unsuccessful attempts to find work in that city. Jasiiek was one of the lowest paid among Lew Sapieha's musicians, so it is not surprising that he may have looked for more profitable employment. Gdańsk, which he probably knew from his student days, would attract him because of its affluence and the high standards of its cappellas, but not every musician was lucky enough to find work there. Perhaps Celscher was encouraged in making such attempts by the fact that a year earlier, in 1595, Michael Toltzmann¹⁶, who also came from Spiš, found employment there as a singer in the Marian church¹⁷.

1596 saw the beginning of Celscher's career as a composer, not only because of the motet composed for Gdańsk, but also three other works (*Gesänge*), which have not survived, published in Königsberg by Georg Osterberg: two for six voices and one for seven¹⁸. In the same year, during a visit to Elbląg [Elbing], Celscher was accepted, like Johannes Eccard, as a member of the local St Martin fraternity or marksmen's society¹⁹. Being introduced into the fraternity must have been a mark of distinction for persons who came from outside the city. The composers probably owed this privilege not only to their standing as artists, but also to appropriate shooting skills. Both musicians are likely to have met earlier in Königsberg, where Eccard was employed as deputy kapellmeister, and later as kapellmeister to the Duke, during 1580–1604. Their paths crossed again during a later period.

By 1600 Johannes Celscher was working as a cantor in Kwidzyn [Marienwerder] — we find the description *chori musici Insulomariani moderator* next to his name on the title pages of prints from that period. He probably held this position at the local school²⁰, although there is no mention of him in local documents. The duties of the Kwidzyn cantor included not only teaching singing and theory of music, but also basic mathematics within these lessons. The classes took one hour each day²¹. The cantor was also obliged to act as choir conductor during Masses and funerals; the choir consisted of pupils and adult singers belonging to the elite association Convivium musicum. The Mass was performed either chorally with the addition of a motet, or all of it was sung polyphonically. Sunday vespers also had a more or less elaborate musical framework²². We do not know what the repertory was and whether

Celscher played any part in its creation. However, two prints containing his compositions, but not belonging to the religious repertory, date from that time (1600): *Der erste Theil Kurzweiliger Deutscher Weltlicher Liedlein, mit 4 Stim. lieblich zu singen, und auff Instrum. zu gebrauchen, nach Villanellen art...* published by Osterberg in Königsberg²³, and *Echo in honorem nuptiarum ... Dn. Henrici Strobandi junioris & ... Reginae ... D. Anthonii Trosten, Senatoris olim Insul. relictæ filiae octo vocibus compositæ*, published in Toruń by Andreas Cotenius²⁴. Both these prints, as well as the later editions, provide interesting evidence of the composer's contacts with more or less prominent figures of contemporary Prussian society.

The first print contains 23 secular strophic songs with German texts. Celscher gave this collection the following dedication: *Dem Bestrengen Edelen unnd Ehrenvesten Herrn Hanns Albrecht Borcken auff Fredenaw u. Erbsassen und meinem günstigen Herrn und Patronen*. The addressee of this dedication, probably a gentleman from Frednowy near Itawa, was described by the composer as "kind master and patron", and later as a "friend", which seems to indicate that Celscher might have benefited from his generosity for a while. One of the songs, *Im grünen Wald* (No. 13), was dedicated to *nobili viro Dn. Iohanni a Höhl, Musarum patrono colendo*; it has not been possible to identify this personage, but it was probably another of the composer's benefactors. Another work — *Friedlich wil ich* (No. 17) — was given the inscription *Symbolum vere nobilis ac strenui viri Dn. Friderici à Dobeneck*. The addressee of this dedication was a lawyer practising in Prabuty²⁵. In the text of this song we find the acrostic *FRICH VON DOBNECKER*. This type of device was frequently used in German songs, but was usually limited to the presentation of the first name. It can be found in a few other compositions from this collection, for instance in the song *Von der Fortun* (No. 2) we find the acrostic *VALENTINUS*. Interestingly, the same text was used by Valentinus Hausmann in one of the compositions published in 1602 in *Venusgarten*, a collection which resulted from his travels in Ducal Prussia and Royal Prussia during 1598–99²⁶. One cannot exclude the possibility that both artists may have then met and had opportunity to discuss their experiences. It is not known who was the first to use this text, but Celscher's reason for it

was probably a desire to honour the famous lutenist. The edition *Der erste Theil Kurzweiliger Deutscher Weltlicher Liedlein* starts with two epigrams by Georg Reimann and Balthasar Timaeus. The latter was the rector of the school in Kwidzyn²⁷, while Reimann, who came from Silesia, was a professor of philology at Königsberg University and a friend of Johannes Eccard, who composed music to his texts²⁸. The second of Celscher's prints from 1600 is the composition *Echo in honorem nuptiarum*, written for the wedding of Heinrich Stroband the younger. His father, also Heinrich, was at that time the Mayor of Toruń, highly regarded for his service to this city, while he himself was a councillor²⁹. The bride was Regina, the only daughter of Anton Trost, a councillor of Kwidzyn, by then deceased. It was probably the bride's family who commissioned the composition for the wedding ceremony from the local cantor; the text was written by Adam Volland, corrector of the Kwidzyn school, who came from Szprotawa [Sprottau] in Silesia³⁰. It is more than likely that, when writing a piece for the elite of Toruń patricians, Celscher eagerly took the opportunity to demonstrate his skill as a composer. For the first time he wrote a composition for eight voices and, although only its tenor survives, we can suppose that there was appropriate musical arrangement to emphasize the echo effect used in the text. This is indicated by the distribution of pauses in the extant part. A composition employing such an effect, unlikely to have been known to the local listeners at that time, must have sounded very impressive.

One cannot exclude the possibility that it was partly because of this work that as early as the next year, 1601, Johannes Celscher became a cantor in Toruń (*chori musici Thoruniensis moderator*). During the same year he wrote two further wedding compositions, both printed by the Toruń printer Andreas Cotenius. The first of them was *Votum nuptiale ... Dn. Lucae Krigeri ... et ... Margaretae ... Dn. Alberti Dorpowski, Iudicij terrestres in districtu Culmensi Assessoris ... filiae* for 5 voices³¹. Lucas Kriger probably belonged to a prominent Toruń family, which produced many town councillors³². His bride Margareta was the daughter of Albert Dorpowski, an assessor from Chełmno [Kulm]. Celscher's second composition during 1601 was *Harmonia in honorem nuptiarum ... Dni Johannis Knipkau inclytæ urbis Vratislaviensis*

Pharmacopolae Industrii ... & ... Mariae, ... Dn. Ludovici Guttheteri a Planowitz pie defuncti relictæ filiae for 6 voices³³ The Latin text of this composition was prepared by Matthias Nizolius, a professor at the Toruń Gymnasium and also author of legal dissertations and rhetorical texts³⁴. The addressees of the composition were a Wrocław [Breslau] apothecary, Johannes Knipkau and Maria, daughter of Ludwik Guttheter from Planowitz (it has not been possible to identify this location).

It is not clear why a wedding composition for a citizen of Wrocław [Breslau], a city with strong musical traditions, should have been commissioned from an artist in Toruń. The reason may lie in Celscher's personal contacts, or perhaps his fame as a specialist in musical epithalamia spread as far as Silesia. In the wedding compositions written in 1600 and 1601 the musician followed the sixteenth-century convention of using Latin poetical texts, usually written by teachers from the gymnasium, and the form of these compositions was similar to that of the motet. Later ones took the form of German strophic songs.

In 1602 it seemed as if a new opportunity opened before Celscher. Nicolaus Zangius, who followed Johannes Wanning as kapellmeister at the Marian church in Gdańsk, ran away to Prague trying to save himself from the plague which was sweeping the city. Hearing of the vacant position, Celscher sent another of his compositions to Gdańsk — a 14-voice motet (now no longer extant)³⁵. Such a cast was a new departure in the compositional practice in the Royal Prussia of that time³⁶, and the composer probably hoped that his work would beat the competition and thus secure him the desired position. His hopes were not realised, but next year he received from the Marian church an honorarium worth 7.8 Marks³⁷. This might have been payment for the motet referred to above, or some other composition.

In 1604 Andreas Cotenius published in Toruń another wedding composition by Celscher — *Hochzeit Lied ... Jacob Koy dem Jüngern und Barbara... Christiani Strobands seligen...Widwe [...]*³⁸. It was addressed to Jacob Koye, who in that year became the Mayor of Toruń and Barbara, widow of Christian Stroband (died in 1601), the brother of the then mayor, Heinrich. It is significant that the title page no longer describes Celscher with the modest appellation of *chori musici moderator*, but refers to him as *bestellter Componist*

in Thorn. This seems to provide evidence that Toruń councillors appointed him as the city's composer.

The last known date from Celscher's life is 1608, when Osterberg's printing works in Königsberg published *Epithalamium zu Hochzeitlichen...Johanni Am Ende Churf. Drbt zu Preussen u. Ambtschreibern auff Marienwerder und...Margarethae...Andreae Schefflers Ertz Priesters und Pfarres der Thumkirchen in Marienwerder...Tochter* for 6 voices³⁹. This time both bride and groom were citizens of Kwidzyn: Johann Am Ende was the town clerk, and Margareta Scheffer was the daughter of the local parson. Celscher's name on the title page is not accompanied by information about his position. This may mean that he was no longer Toruń's composer and that he returned to Kwidzyn, having left the city some years previously. An *Epithalamium* by Johannes Eccard with identical addressees was published at the same time and by the same printer. Both works seem to be not so much the effect of rivalry between the composers, as collaboration based on many years' acquaintance.

Johannes Celscher's output was not limited to printed works. Manuscript 4005 of Biblioteka Gdańska of the Polish Academy of Sciences, written for the church of St Bartholomeaus, contains a Mass *Domine quid multiplicati sunt* for 6 voices, comprising Kyrie and Gloria parts⁴⁰. This is the only work of the composer preserved in full. It is a parody of the 6-voice motet by Orlando di Lasso, published in the collection *Motetta sex vocum...* in Munich in 1582 — a copy of this print was held at the library of the Marian church in Elbląg. The fact is significant in so far as Celscher's second Mass, also a two-part one, entitled *Angelus ad pastores* and preserved in an incomplete state (out of the five voices only the tenor and quintus remain) at Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika in Toruń, also originates from the collection of the same church in Elbląg⁴¹. The attribution of this work is not unquestionable, since it only carries the initials JCC; however, in view of Celscher's links with Elbląg referred to above, and the fact that these initials do not correspond to the initials of any other composer of that time, it seems highly probable that he is the author in question. The Mass *Angelus ad pastores* was based on a motet by Orlando di Lasso from the collection *Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum* (Nürnberg 1562), a print which was also held in the collection of the

Marian library in Elbląg⁴². These facts seem to confirm Celscher's strong ties with this city. Finally one should also mention the song *Kein Elfenbein wie schön* for 5 voices (two are extant) from the manuscript Bártfa 16 held at the Budapest National Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), originated from the church of St Egidus in Bardejov in Spiš⁴³. The collection began to be compiled at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the presence of Celscher's compositions in it may be regarded as evidence that the musician did not totally break off contact with his homeland.

It is difficult to assess the works of Johannes Celscher, since only a tiny proportion has survived. However, a comparison of two compositions — the complete Mass *Domine quid multiplicati sunt* and the nearly complete *Harmonia in honorem nuptiarum Dni Johannis Knipkau*, gives one the impression that the composer felt more comfortable when creating in secular style. *Harmonia* shows greater mobility of voices, has a richer structure, employs imitation, while the Mass is dominated by almost recitative melodic lines, the voices moving in the *nota contra notam* technique. The Mass *Angelus ad pastores* seems more intricate, but this is difficult to ascertain with confidence on the basis of the two extant voices. Songs from the collection *Der erste Theil Kurzweiliger Deutscher Weltlicher Liedlein* belong to the current typical of secular German music of the second half of the sixteenth century. At least 13 out of the 23 texts used in them can also be found in the works of such composers as: Jacob Regnart, Leonhard Lechner, Gregor Lange, Otto Siegfried Harnisch and Valentin Hausmann. Celscher consciously referred here to the villanella form, as did many other composers writing German songs.

The dominance of epithalamia in the composer's output points to his links to the culture of the Baltic basin, where this genre was highly popular. Both these compositions, in view of their addressees, and the other ones, dedicated to specific persons, link Celscher's works to his "little homelands". The relatively small number of sacred compositions does not necessarily indicate that Celscher tried to avoid them. Religious compositions written for the use and the needs of a particular church usually remained in manuscript form, and this meant that their chances of being preserved were lower than those of prints. One should also remember that the composer was probably never

permanently connected with any church; his position as cantor was probably in a school, which might also have influenced the proportions of sacrum to profanum in his output. Had he obtained employment at the Marian church in Gdańsk, the proportions would probably have been different. Celscher was undoubtedly a reasonably accomplished composer, who skillfully employed the devices developed within Western European music, such as the technique of parody. However, he was not one of the prominent composers of his time, his works were predominantly of local significance, and his reputation did not spread beyond the boundaries of Central Europe.

Notes

- 1 Robert Eitner has a short note about him in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1900, p. 390, a one-sentence mention of him is also included in *Slovenský Biografický Slovník*, vol. 1, Martin 1986, p. 36.
- 2 Zbigniew Nowak, Przemysław Szafran (eds.), *Księga wpisów uczniów Gimnazjum Gdańskiego* [*Book of Entries of Gdańsk Gymnasium Students*], Warszawa 1974, p. 46.
- 3 Georg Erler, *Die Matrikel des Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1910, p. 85.
- 4 *Slovenský Biografický Slovník*, vol. 4, Martin 1990, p. 535 .
- 5 Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, op. cit., p. 46.
- 6 Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, op. cit., p. 10–12.
- 7 See Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, op. cit., p. 56, G. Erler, op. cit., p. 68.
- 8 Hermann Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig*, Danzig 1931, p. 67.
- 9 See Irena Bieńkowska, ‘Muzycy Lwa Sapiehy’ [‘Lew Sapieha’s Musicians’], *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka* V/2, 1998, pp. 43, 45. ‘Jasiek’ is the diminutive of the Polish name ‘Jan’ = ‘Johannes’.
- 10 Vilnius, Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, ms. F 17–106 f. 56. Other information given here about the dates of payments is based on the same document.
- 11 See Henryk Lulewicz, ‘Sapieha, Lew’, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [*Polish Biographical Dictionary*], vol. XXXV/1, Warszawa-Kraków 1994, pp. 84, 86, 87.
- 12 H. Lulewicz, op. cit., p. 87.
- 13 H. Lulewicz, op. cit., pp. 87, 88.
- 14 I. Bieńkowska, op. cit., p. 45.
- 15 H. Lulewicz, op. cit., p. 88.
- 16 H. Rauschning, op. cit., p. 60.
- 17 Ms. 477 (f. 17v) of Biblioteka Gdańska of the Polish Academy of Sciences describes him as Michael Tolzmannus Czepusius.
- 18 The only copy of the print, now lost, was held before the Second World War at Elbląg

- St. Marienbibliothek, see R. Eitner, op. cit., Theodor Carstenn, 'Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek in Elbing', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XI (1896), p. 42.
- 19 George Grunau, Axel Grunau, *Die St. Georgen-Brüderschaft zu Elbing*, Marburg – Lahn 1955, pp. 12, 250–251.
- 20 The annual salary of the Toruń cantor in 1585 amounted to 80 marks, while the teacher was paid 90, and the organist 60. See Hans Dühling, *Das Gymnasium Marienwerder*, Würzburg 1964, pp. 20–21.
- 21 H. Dühling, op. cit., pp. 23–28.
- 22 Erich Wernicke, *Marienwerder. Geschichte der ältesten Stadt der Reichsdeutschen Ostmark*, Marienwerder 1933, p. 189.
- 23 From a copy which came from the University Library in Königsberg only the alto part is extant at the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. My grateful thanks go to Elżbieta Wojnowska, who drew my attention to the presence of this and other prints of J. Celscher's work in Vilnius.
- 24 Only the tenor is preserved at Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek at Göttingen.
- 25 Erich Wernicke, *Kreis Marienwerder*, Hamburg 1979, p. 68.
- 26 *Valentin Hausmann (1565/70-ca. 1614): A Thematic-Documentary Catalogue of His Works With a Documentary Biography*, ed. by Robert B. Lynn, Klaus-Peter Koch, Stuyvesant, NY 1997, pp. 10–11, 126.
- 27 H. Dühling, op. cit., p. 57.
- 28 *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 27, Leipzig 1888, pp. 701–702.
- 29 Henryk Rietz, 'Stroband, Henryk', in: *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego [Biographical Dictionary of Vistula Pomerania Region]*, vol. IV, ed. by Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańsk 1997, p. 283.
- 30 H. Dühling, op. cit., p. 57. To celebrate the same event there also appeared the print *Amores Henrici Strobandi [...] et Reginae* with poems by Toruń authors, published by Cotenius.
- 31 The only surviving ones now are the alto and quinta vox at the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. They come from a copy which belonged to the University Library at Königsberg before the Second World War.
- 32 See Marian Gumowski, *Herbarz patrycjatu toruńskiego [The Armorial of Toruń Patriariate]*, Toruń 1970, pp. 101, 102.
- 33 A nearly complete set (without sexta vox) is held at the Jagellonian Library, four voices from the second copy are distributed among the libraries of the Catholic University in Lublin, The Society of the Friends of Science in Legnica, and National Library.
- 34 Stanisław Salmonowicz: 'Kultura umysłowa Torunia' ['Intellectual Culture of Toruń'], in: *Historia Torunia [History of Toruń]*, vol. II, part. 2: *W czasach renesansu, reformacji i wczesnego baroku (1548–1660) [In the Times of Renaissance, Reformation and Early Baroque (1548–1660)]*, ed. by Marian Biskup, Toruń 1994, p. 228.
- 35 H. Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 67.
- 36 But, for instance, a compatriot of Celscher, Adam Plintovitz from Žilina, composed during more or less the same period a Mass for 14 voices, which has also not survived. See Richard Ribarič, 'Hudba', in: *Slovensko*, vol. IV: *Kultúra*, Bratislava 1979, p. 524.
- 37 H. Rauschnig, op. cit., p. 67.

- 38 Only the alto voice survives from the copy held at the University Library in Königsberg before the Second World War; it is now held at the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.
- 39 As in footnote 38.
- 40 See Danuta Popinigis, Danuta Szlagowska, *Musicalia gedanenses. Rękopisy muzyczne z XVI i XVII wieku w zbiorach Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Katalog* [*Musicalia Gedanenses. Musical Manuscripts from the 16th and 17th century in Collection of Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Gdańsk. Catalogue*], Gdańsk 1990, p. 55.
- 41 See Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Późnorenesansowe fragmenty mszalne z dawnej biblioteki elbląskiego kościoła Mariackiego' ['Late Renaissance Mass Fragments from the Former Library of Marian Church in Elbląg'], in: *Źródła muzyczne. Krytyka — analiza — interpretacja* [*Musical Sources. Critics — Analysis — Interpretation*], eds. Ludwik Bielawski, J. Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka, Warszawa 1999, pp. 194–195.
- 42 More details about these Masses are given in my article 'Technika parodii w twórczości renesansowych kompozytorów kręgu gdańskiego' ['The Technique of Parody in the Oeuvre of Renaissance Composers from the Gdańsk Circle'], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 4, 2005 (in press).
- 43 Róbert Árpád Murányi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)*, Bonn 1991, pp. 59, 366.