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## Some Remarks About the Provenance of the Lute Tablatures from Grüssau / Krzeszów

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This paper attempts to answer many questions which arise from the present musicological bibliography of the so-called Grüssau lute tablatures attributed to the Cistercian monk Hermann Kniebandl. The complete, modern edited list of the repertoire<sup>1</sup> is very curious as a whole and one must wonder how it was possible that even in the 18th century one Cistercian monk could put together so many wide and diverse musical styles: dances, opera arrangements, instrumental pieces, song intabulations and religious music. Table 7.1 below briefly recapitulates the current state of research of these manuscripts.

After the secularization of the monastery in Silesian Grüssau (1810/11) eleven tablatures were collected in the Library of the former Institute of Music (Musikalisches Institut) at the Breslau University (previously: Königliches Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik [The Royal Academic Institute of Church Music]), kept under the numbers Mf. 2001-2011. After 1945 nine of these were transferred to the University Library in Warsaw, one (Mf. 2002) was left at the University Library in Wrocław and one (Mf. 2007) was thought to have disappeared.<sup>2</sup> This list of eleven tablatures is supplemented by two similar manuscripts, which may have also originated in Grüssau Monastery. One, Muz. 396 Cim., came from the Schaffgotsch family library in Bad Warmbrunn (today Cieplce), where it had call number K 44, now kept in the National Library in Warsaw. Before 1945 it was kept at the Breslau University

Table 7.1 So-called Grüssau / Krzeszów lute tablatures

<b>Present Call No.</b>	<b>Former Call No.</b> in Breslau, Musikwissen- schaftliches Seminar	<b>Provenance</b> <b>testimonies</b>	<b>Writers</b>
1	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4135	Mf. 2001a+b	Grüssau [?]
2	PL-WRu 60019	Mf. 2002	H. Kniebandl
3	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4136	Mf. 2003	Grüssau [?] = Wu Ms. RM 8135
4	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4137	Mf. 2004	Grüssau [?]
5	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4138	Mf. 2005	<i>Vratislaviae 1742</i> Kniebandl in Breslau then?
6	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4139	Mf. 2006	Grüssau [?]
7	[lost]	Mf. 2007	Grüssau [?]
8	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4140	Mf. 2008	Grüssau [?] A copy of 4141 - by Kniebandl?
9	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4141	Mf. 2009	1744. 8 - Kniebandl soon before his death?
10	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4142	Mf. 2010	
11	PL-Wu Ms. RM 4143	Mf. 2011	
12	PL-Wn 396 Cim. [olim: K 44]	[?]	<i>Hernsdorf/Kynast</i> <i>Bad Warmbrunn</i> H. Kniebandl
13	PL-Wu Ms. RM 8135	Mf. 1938.111	<i>Breslau Schuetdnitz</i> 1754 = Wu Ms. RM 4136

as well as in the Archives of Breslau Diocese (it is not known where it was stored before). The other tablature Ms. RM 8135 (olim Ms. Mf 1938.111; olim Inv. 8735) can now be found at the University Library in Warsaw.

Because of paper sheets 'aus der Bibliothek des Klosters Grüssau' pasted in five tablatures (call numbers 2001, 2003, 2004, 2006 and 2008) and two inscriptions by Father Hermann Kniebandl in two other manuscripts (60019 and 396), all 13 tablatures became known in the musicological literature<sup>3</sup> under a common label: the Grüssau Lute Tablatures of Father Hermann Kniebandl. In my opinion, this single term is a typical over-interpretation, which could be justified for some, but not all of these manuscripts. I would like to propose here a deconstruction of this commonly used term, while leaving untouched all that has been proven by source studies. I will also introduce some new suggestions concerning interpretation of the term which at this stage remain hypothesis only.

In fact we know that all these tablatures did not belong to the library of the official chapel of Grüssau abbey (collected there in a specially constructed music bookcase in the organ gallery of the church)<sup>4</sup> and that their dance repertoire was never played during the liturgy (which is by no means surprising!). On the contrary, those manuscripts – or at least five of them – were kept in the monastery's library, testified by the paper sheets. This is why the thesis suggesting that those tablatures 'are the remains of the rich and diverse music life of this abbey in the Baroque time'<sup>5</sup> seems unjustified.

The second link concerns the already-mentioned Father Hermann Kniebandl. Most scholars who have, until now, studied these tablatures regard him as the compiler.<sup>6</sup> His inscriptions appear only in two manuscripts, while all others represent a variety of writing *ductus* by diverse writers. Surely, it could not have been Kniebandl who wrote tablature No. 8135 where fol. 34v reads: 'A mon depart de Schweidnitz au Juin 1754' (On my departure from Schweidnitz/Świdnica in June 1754). Father Hermann Kniebandl died in 1745. According to the script character, we know, that the same scribe wrote tablature 4136, so at least those two form a different group of sources. It is beyond doubt that the tablatures 60019 and 396 were scored by Kniebandl, suggested by the hand-written titles of both volumes which

read: 'Livre du Luth Contenant des pièces les plus exquises [...] pour sa Patrenité très Réligieuse, le Père Hermien Kniebandl: Profé del Ordre Sacre et Excerpt de Cisteaux: À la Maison des Graces à Grissau' (A lute book containing the most exquisite pieces [...] for the most venerable and holy Father Hermien Kniebandl, professed monk in the Cistercian Order, in the House of Grace at Grüssau/Krzeszów).

What do we know about the monk himself? He was born at Silesian Frankenstein (today's Żąbkowice Śląskie) and was baptised there on 24 October 1679 as Franz Karl Kniebandl.<sup>7</sup> His grandfather (born ca. 1619) was Christianus Kniebandl, an immigrant from South Moravia and since 1639 an organist of the St. Anna Church in Frankenstein.<sup>8</sup> But one account of a bishopric visitation of this church in 1722 reveals another Kniebandl – 'Organista Christian Kniebandl aus Frankenstein, 73 Jahre',<sup>9</sup> that is born in 1649 as Christian Kniebandl junior and a son of Christian Kniebandl senior. He was probably the father of our Franz Karl Kniebandl, who was one generation younger. From 1699 Kniebald was a member of the Grüssau convent and in 1700 he became a monk and then a priest in 1705. In 1722 he was a priest in Oppau near Landeshut (today Opawa near Kamienna Góra) and from 1729 *praepositus* in Bad Warmbrunn (today Cieplice), where he held contacts with Schaffgotsch family. Because he organized *Tafelmusik* in monastery buildings, which was forbidden during the religious feasts, he was admonished chapter in 1734. Some years later, on 26 February 1742, he was disciplined and dismissed because of neglecting his order duties, working only as a confession priest. He died from a deadly disease on 11 November 1745 in Bad Warmbrunn.<sup>10</sup>

In the context of these biographical dates the inscription 'Vratislaviae 1742' (in Breslau [today Wrocław] 1742) in tablature 4138 could not confirm the theory of its link with Kniebandl. We have no information that he was there at that time. Besides, what could the dismissed Cistercian monk be looking for in Breslau? Quite a similar problem is also posed by a date inscription seen on folio 200v of Mf. 4141, which reads 1744. 8fb [February?], written two years after, or just one year before Kniebandl's death. Was not his disease an obstacle to writing a huge collection of dances? Had he time

for such entertainment? The next tablature (Mf. 4142), which is very close in its content to Mf. 4140, must have been written after the 4141 (as the copy of the 4141) because missing are some items that complete the musical cycles of Mf. 4140. What sense would it make for a dying monk to copy 160-page tablature? The attractive depiction of the terminally ill Cistercian monk performing penance became such an inspiration for the monographer of Grüssau abbey Rudolf Walter that he ascribed to Father Kniebandl (without having any proved sources) the authorship of another tablature 4143. Walter wrote:

It would seem that Volume 11 of the tablature was written at least partly in hospital. [...] The contents could be described as 'Christian consolation in mortal illness.' The Latin opening lines of spiritual songs which start to appear from Volume 8 onwards are cited here as plaintive church songs. [...] Since we know that Fr. Kniebandl [actually] died after a long illness we can assume that those pieces are his personal *exercitia spiritualia* [spiritual exercises]. In the subsequent 20 items there follows a meditation on the stages of the human life as seen *sub specie aeternitatis* [under the aspect of eternity]. The lute - his favourite instrument - inevitably makes an appearance, with the composer using it both in the [instrumental] meditative pieces and in song accompaniments.<sup>11</sup>

The author has also tried to find concordances of German text incipits from the tablature in some lexicons of *Lieder*, but with no success. All three tablatures (4140, 4141 and 4143) have also been put into a similar context by Ewa Bielińska-Galas, who interprets the repertoire as 'dating from this time [= i.e. last years of Kniebandl's life] collections of German and Latin compositions for retrospection and meditation on eternal life'.<sup>12</sup>

## Repertory

Before going further in analysing the source contexts of provenance of our tablatures I would like to show how their repertory works as a whole. Perhaps from such a list we could derive its real correlation and synergies.

Table 7.2 Concordances found inside the studied group of sources

	4135	60019	4136	4137	4138	4139	4140	4141	4142	4143	396	8135
4135	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	-	-	-
60019	-	-	6	2	1	-	<b>10</b>	7	3	-	1	-
4136	-	6	-	<b>9</b>	<b>94</b>	-	3	3	9	-	-	<b>32</b>
4137	-	2	<b>9</b>	-	<b>9</b>	-	7	3	3	-	-	-
4138	-	1	<b>94</b>	9	-	-	1	1	3	1	-	<b>26</b>
4139	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4140	5	<b>10</b>	3	7	1	-	-	<b>194</b>	<b>18</b>	2	2	-
4141	5	7	3	3	1	-	<b>194</b>	-	<b>11</b>	-	1	-
4142	-	3	9	3	3	-	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>	-	-	1	-
4143	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
396	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
8135	-	-	<b>32</b>	-	<b>26</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In the chart above (Table 7.2), we can observe the concordances between the studied tablatures repertory. Both tablatures, attributed with certainty to Father Kniebandl, show very few concordances, and are – as 4135, 4143 and 4139 – isolated from one another. Quite a different group of sources forms in repertoire volumes 4136, 4137, 4138, 4142 and 8135 (all greater numbers of concordances are marked bold). The last (somewhat strange for Cistercians) is a repertory of operatic arias (stored in a different provenance source, i.e. Diocese Archive in Breslau) and this was not written by Kniebandl. Their correlation is additionally confirmed by the mentioned writer of both 4136 and 8135. On the other hand, tablatures 4140 and 4141 contain almost the same music, which means one should have been copied from the other. But why should it have been written by the same monk? Could it be a copy for one of Kniebandl's friends from Schaffgotsch family? One can clearly see

that because of the different correlation grade of the repertory, all tablatures cannot be treated as a whole.

The tablatures have already been studied from the perspective of their attributed repertoire. The musical contents, made by well-known composers of the time (i.e. Silvius Leopold Weiss)<sup>13</sup> were even published in modern editions. Other names including Johann Anton Losy, Johannes Christoph Hobach, Aurius Dix, Pierre Gaultier, Karl Zedlack and Antonio Jose Simba also provide interesting research material. A special value could also be ascribed to the copies of intabulated concertos for chamber ensemble (lute solo, chalumeau, viola d'amore, violin & basso continuo) from the tablature 4139 and transcriptions of operatic arias in 8135. It must be stressed that in the preserved music papers from Grüssau abbey chapel no common names or titles have been discovered with tablatures.<sup>14</sup> This is not surprising as the repertory of the music bookcase at the organ gallery of the Grüssau church has been separated from the private music played *da camera*. The unique trace of possible correlation of both bodies of sources is to be found in the Grüssau manuscript VIII-15 with anonymous *Stations-Arien* for the Corpus Christi Feast.<sup>15</sup> These could be put together in the cycle of German incipits in tablatures 4140 and 4141, although their common title (*Naenia funebris de poenis damnatorum* ([Funereal laments on the torments of the damned]) does not lead to any logical conclusions. On the other hand, the two *Stabat Mater* settings in both of those tablatures (attributed to Anton Menzel) cannot be traced in the monastery chapel library.

But precisely this religious repertory of tablatures 4140, 4141 and 4143, which is quite uncommon for the lute music, that has inspired me to study its provenance. In those three tablatures we find an abundance German and Latin religious text incipits, which in my opinion do not represent an accidental collection of *Lieder*, but a consciously compiled and numbered set of music cycles (see Tables 7.3–4).

These two cycles form very extended dance suites supplemented by some arias or illustrative pieces, related to the topic of *amor Divinus* (first) and Christmas (second). The question now is this what function did these musical cycles of common suites and religious commentaries and supplements

have? Were they an attempt to make sacred this profane music? Was this music to be used for meditation?

Table 7.3 First numbered music cycle from PL-Wu RM 4140 and PL-Wu RM 4141

Title	PL-Wu RM 4140 page:	PL-Wu RM 4141 page:
<b>Music cycle (numbered) No. 1 (I–XI):</b>		
I. Sarabande	110	156
II. Gavotte	110–111	157
III. Menuet	111	158
IV. Bourée	112	159
V. Saint Amour	112–113	160
VI. Sarabande	113	161
VII. Men[uet]	114	162
VIII. Men[uet]	114–115	163
IX. Gigue	115	164
X. Men[uet]	116	165
XI. Gavotte [Pichler]	116–117	166–167

A more elaborate (but not numbered) music cycle emerges from both 4140 and 4141 tablatures, where even the setting from Mf. 4140 (but written later) is not complete. It has its own title – *Naenia funebris de poenis damnatorum* and consists of the list of Latin and German arias and *Lieder*. They form a meditation about the good death, which begins with *vanitas* topics that are later put in the context of the Saviour’s Passion (see Table 7.5).

Since some titles of liturgical origin (*Stabat Mater*, *O vos omnes*) are present, the exact interpretation of this cycle is even more problematic. One of the incipits, *Zu friedenheit mein schatz*, is identified as a song by Sperontes, which has also been mentioned in other music sources of that time.<sup>16</sup> It appears to be a form of meditation cycle or some incidental musical (perhaps dramatic) setting designed for religious occasions (see Figure 7.1).



Table 7.4 Second numbered music cycle from PL-Wu RM 4140 and PL-Wu RM 4141

Title	PL-Wu RM 4140 page:	PL-Wu RM 4141 page:
<b>Music cycle (numbered) No. 2 (1-26):</b>		
1. Aria	119	172
2. Menuet	120	173
3. Gavotte	120-121	175
4. Passpie	121	175
5. Men[uet; S. L. Weiss]	122	176
6. Men[uet]	122-123	176-177
7. Ouverture	123-124	178-179
8. Gavotte	124	180
9. Men[uet]	125	181
10. Bourée	125	182
11. Gavotte	126	183
12. <b>L'Affligée.</b> Auth[ore] Berger	126-127	184
13. <b>Consolateur</b>	127	185
14. Men[uet]	127	186
15. Aire	128	187
16. Bourée	129	188
17. Gigue	129	188-190
18. Aria	130	190
19. Men[uet]	130	191-192
20. Men[uet] prima. Men[uet] 2	131	192-193
21. Bourée	131	194-195
22. Men[uet]	133	196
23. Amener	133	197
24. Aria	134	198
25. Passpie [D. Kellner]	134-135	199
26. Aria Natalitia. O Allerliebstes Kind - 1744. 8 fb	135-136	200-201

The most elaborated music cycle can be found in the tablature 4143, which consists of 50 small pieces, written in a well-considered sequence together

Table 7.5 Third music (unnumbered) cycle from PL-Wu RM 4140 and  
PL-Wu RM 4141

Title	PL-Wu RM 4140 page:	PL-Wu RM 4141 page:
<b><i>Naenia funebris de poenis damnatorum</i></b>	[-]	216
Aria. Quo me vocas aeternitas?	[-]	216-217
Cur mundus militat?	[-]	[-]
Lieber Gott! Wann wird' ich sterben	[-]	[-]
Geduldt, Vernunft und Zeit	146	219
Zu friedenheit mein schatz	146-147	220
Die Nacht ist vor der Thür	147	221
Alle Völcker	147	222
Wohin Nepomucene	148	222-223
Ihr Söhne kan Eüch nicht	148	223
Verhängnis Ach! Aria	[-]	224-225
O heýlig Zorn Verschwigner Mund	149	225
	149	226
Jesu du wirst jetzt veracht	149	226
Stabat Mater [in A]	150	227
Stabat Mater [in F]	[-]	228-229
O vos omnes	[-]	230-232
Si est dolor	150-151	232-233

with two independent numbering lists, text incipits, names of music genres, tempo and character marks (see Table 7.6).

### Attribution

Before we proceed with proposals of interpretation, it seems very important to review our knowledge of the music practiced in Cistercian order, because this context could be very helpful in the analysis. Our initial scepticism of the Cistercian provenance of at least three studied tablatures (Mf. 4140, 4141

Table 7.6 The music cycle from PL-Wu RM 4143

Page	Title	Form names	Additional marks	Title	Additional marks
1		ord: Praeludium			
2-3	D.m. /	ord: Fuga			
4	Morgen Übung	1.ord: Symphonia	Tardè	<i>Ermuntere dich, mein Geist</i>	Meditative
5	Pietta	Menuet	Ariosa		
6	<i>Demüthige Verehrung der S.S. Dreÿffaltigkeit</i>	Symphonia	Tardè	<i>Wie kan o! grosser Gott</i>	Meditative, Tardissimè
7				<i>Aria Kommt doch ihr sterbliche</i>	[Meditative]
8		Menuet	Ariosa		
9	<i>Erinnerung der Erschaffung</i>	3 ord: Symphonia		<i>Vatter Himmels undt der Erden</i>	Meditative
10-11	Pietta	<i>Largo</i>			
11		ord. Menuet	Ariosa		
12-13	<i>Nützliche betrachtung der Ewigkeit</i>	4 ord: Symphonia	Tardissimè	<i>Kommt doch ihr sterbliche. Aria</i>	Meditative
13		ord: Menuet	Arioso		VS 18
14-15	Pietta				

16	<i>Bekanntnis des Glaubens</i>	5. ord. Symphonia	Tardè	Aria. <i>Ich glaub an Einen Gott</i>	Meditativè
17	Adagio				
18	<i>Trost der Hoffnung</i>	6 ord: Symphonia	Largo	Aria. <i>Was wird mich doch wohl erschrecken?</i>	Meditativè
19		ord: Gigue			
20	<i>Erweckung der Liebe</i>	A moll / 7 ord:	Lentè	<i>Wie soll ich höchstes Guth!</i>	Meditativè
22	<i>Betrachtung der Barmhertzigkeit Gottes</i>	8. ord: Sinfonia	Tardè	<i>Willst du, O Vater, dich.</i>	Meditativè VS 10
24	<i>Betrachtung der Gerechtigkeit Gottes</i>	9. ord: Symphonia	Tardè	Aria. <i>Herr! du bist gerecht</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 9a
26	<i>Erinnerung der Vorsehung Gottes</i>	A-moll / 10 ord: Symphonia	Tardè	Aria. <i>Wie groß bist Du, o Herr!</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 9
28	<i>Ergebung in den Willen Gottes</i>	D-dur / 11 ord.: Simfonia	Tardè	Aria. <i>Lasse mich O Vater Leben</i>	Meditativè VS 8
30	<i>Anbethung des Aller Heiligsten Sacraments</i>	D-dur / 12 ord: Symphonia	Tardissimè	Aria. <i>Ejlet liebste Adams Kinder</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 5
32	<i>Betrachtung des Leidens undt Todes Christi</i>	13 Symphonia	Tardissimè	Aria. <i>Kommet doch, ihr Fromme Herzen</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 6

34	[F] <i>Rejmüthige Gedancken eines Büssenden Sünders</i>	14 Symphonia	Tardissimè	Aria. <i>Darff ich dich, grosser Gott!</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 11
36	<i>Buss=Gedancken</i>	15 ord: Symphonia.	Tardè	Aria. <i>Dreiß Grosser Gott</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 16
38	<i>Tägliche Erforschung des Gewissens</i>	A-dur 16 ord: Symphonia	Tardissimè	Aria. <i>Nun will dich Sonne sich</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 8
40	<i>Betrachtung, wie man das ganze Jahr zugebracht hat</i>	A-dur 17 Symphonia	Tardissimè	Aria. <i>Wie hab ich grosser Gott</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 11
42	<i>Erinnerung des Todes</i>	A-dur 18 Symphonia	Tardissimè	Aria. <i>Es ist nur gahr zu wahr</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 10
44	<i>Bereitung zum Tode</i>	G-dur 19 Symphonia	[ - ]	Aria. <i>So muß ich endlich.</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 19
46	<i>Buß=gedancken. Amen</i>	G-dur 20 Symphonia	[ - ]	Aria. <i>Ich fall! o grosser Gott!</i>	Meditativè V[ersus] 7
48	<i>De Nativitate [sic]</i>	Pastorella			
48-49	Aria. <i>O: Aller Liebstes Kind!</i>				58
50-51	<i>Omni die dic MARIAE / Simfonia</i>	Largo			119
52	<i>Prima JESU Societas in Bethlehem: Pastorem</i>	Simphonia		<i>Dum Sol/ Coelo. Aria</i>	

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top left, it is labeled 'No. 216'. The title 'Naenia funebris de poenis damnatorum' is written across the first few staves. The music is written in a single system with multiple staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and clefs. There are several annotations in red ink, including 'Tardissime' written above and below the staves. The lyrics 'Deo me vocas aeternitas' are written at the bottom of the page. The handwriting is in a historical style, likely from the 17th or 18th century.

Figure 7.1 PL-Wu RM 4141, p. 216: *Naenia funebris de poenis damnatorum*

and 4143) is justified from the perspective of the historical practice of this order, where members of the clergy were rigorously prohibited from playing instrumental music. Visitation documents of Grüssau abbey from 1570 testify to the existence of all required liturgical books ('Habeantur gradualia, Antiphonaria, Processionalia et Missali in sufficienti numero ad Cantandum et persolvendum officium' ['They have a sufficient number of graduals, antiphonals, processionals and missals to sing the Divine Office']). At the same time, however, they also indicate that 'Musica vero instrumenta nullo Sacerdoti neve non Sacerdoti permittantur' ('None of the priests or friars are allowed to have instruments'). This command seems to be based on the reality of what was taking place.<sup>17</sup> Over the course of the years this hard rule has not eased, but the new means of artistic expression of the baroque era were still treated more favourably by the subsequent Grüssau abbots. Despite the ban on the practice of instrumental music issued by the order's general

in 1683 ('They should therefore refrain completely from performing figurative music, which is wholly unsuited to be used by the Order. Instead, the daily and nightly music practice should be brought into line with the standards of *The Rite* and with other monastic instructions. If anyone disobeys the instruction he should be penalized by the monastic authority').<sup>18</sup> Abbot Bernard Rosa permitted this kind of performance after the common choral liturgy in the case of major feasts.<sup>19</sup> From this perspective, the repertory of tablatures 4140, 4141 and 4143 seems to be a forerunner of the new aesthetics. But how did the tablatures reach the monastery in Grüssau? Was it just due to the actions of some unruly monk and music lover, or did it represent a more widespread process?

Following Rudolf Walter's suggestions one could put the religious music of these three manuscripts in the context of Kniebandl's private spiritual practice (very common for the whole middle baroque era pursued in the comfort of his cell, accompanied by his beloved lute). Especially the texts from tablature 4143 look similar to poetry of the time, written for instance by Johannes Scheffler. His *Heilige Seelen-Lust oder Geistliche Hirten-Lieder der in ihrem Jesum verliebten Psyche gesungen von Johann Angelo Silesio und von Herren Georgio Josepho mit außbundig Schönen Melodeyen gezieret* (Breslau 1657)<sup>20</sup> was very well-known in Grüssau.<sup>21</sup> Scheffler's poetry became an inspiration for some composers, i.e. Franz Carl Jordan, an Augustine order monk from Sagan (today Żagań), who in 1739 published *Catholischer Christen Angenehme Seelen=Stärke, Oder Catholishes Gesangbuch*.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that the settings of Silesius' poetry were known much earlier.

Further interpretations or possible solutions provide more evidence on the manuscripts, which reveal connections with other towns in Silesia: Hirschberg-Hermsdorf (today Jelenia Góra-Sobieszów), Kynast (Chojnik), Breslau and Schweidnitz (Świdnica). In the first half of 18th century three of those places were flourishing Jesuit centres,<sup>23</sup> which strongly influenced the artistic culture and religious life of the whole region. The bilateral ties between Cistercian and Jesuit monasteries are well-documented. Both orders lived together in a kind of cultural symbiosis.<sup>24</sup> This influenced aspects of musical life. The subsequent abbots of Grüssau monastery were also rectors of

the Jesuit Congregation *Almae Sodalitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis ab Angelo Salutatae* in Schweidnitz.<sup>25</sup> The earlier mentioned Abbot Bernardus Rosa (1660–1696),<sup>26</sup> *vicarius generalis et commissarius per utraque Silesiam* who rebuilt the church (in 1669) and organized three new schools in the abbey, was a patron to famous Michael Willmann (1630–1706) and a friend of Jesuits in Schweidnitz.<sup>27</sup> He was also close to Angelus Silesius, whose *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* was published with his financial support. He was the donor of the *Last Supper*, a painting by Michael Willmann given to College in Schweidnitz<sup>28</sup> and – as a confraternity rector – celebrated the solemn mass at the College (i.e. during the canonization feast of Francesco Borgia on 20 August 1671).<sup>29</sup> It was in his honour that the disciples of Collegium Svidnicensis performed a melodrama *Misteria Domini Passionis*<sup>30</sup> on the Palm Sunday of the same year.

The next abbot of Grüssau, Dominicus Geyer (1696–1726)<sup>31</sup> was a member of the Corpus Christi Congregation in Schweidnitz<sup>32</sup> and at least four times (1703, 1705, 1707, 1727) led the Corpus Christi procession there.<sup>33</sup> His *ingressus* was celebrated in June 1697 in College of Schweidnitz with a *Begrüßungsdrama*.<sup>34</sup> The next abbot, Innozenz Fritsch (1727–34, also a member of the Corpus Christi Congregation in Schweidnitz and rector of the Jesuit Confraternity),<sup>35</sup> had similar links with Schweidnitz. He was welcomed to this city with a special theatrical spectacle.<sup>36</sup> A *perioche* (or printed argument of the storyline) has survived until our day for another spectacle dedicated to him, which got preserved and was first stored in Grüssau. It was a contemplative Passion drama *Frequens amarissimae passionis / Contemplatio / Magnum agendae poenitentiae / Inicitapentum / Seu / COSMOGENIUS / Induratus Peccator / pia Contemplatione / Christi patientis / In copiosas Poenitentiae Lachrymas emollitus*<sup>37</sup> performed on Palm Sunday 1733 (30 March) in Schweidnitz. The storyline of this drama consisting of *Prolusio*, 13 *Inductiones* and *Epilogus*, was based on *Chronicon* by Saint Antoninus.<sup>38</sup>

It presents a story of Cosmogenius, who during his studies in Bologna falls into a bad company, but with help from his friend and guardian angel wins the spiritual battle and all the difficulties and temptations give way to conversion and meditation of the Passion of Christ. The moral of this story is



a sentence borrowed from St. Bernard of Clairvaux (the principal Cistercian Saint and highly venerated in Jesuit order): 'Totius vobis figuratur in corde, qui totus pro vobis fixus est in cruce'.<sup>39</sup>

The library of Grüssau abbey contained also another drama synopsis, *Die Tochter Jephthes. Als ein Vorbild deß Von ewigen Vatter zum Heil der Welt aufgeopferten Heylands. In einer kunstreichen Music vorgestellt, Im Oratorio der Gesellschaft Jesu zu Brieg am heil. Char=Freitag Nachmittag um 2. Uhr vor und nach der Predig. In gebundene Vers gesetzt von P. Joanne Oppelt Soc. Jesu. In die Music Von Herrn Christian Richter*. It was published in Breslau in 1737,<sup>40</sup> performed in 1737 in Silesian Brieg and probably also in Schweidnitz during the time of the next abbot of its monastery – Benedikt II. Seidel (1734–63). He had celebrated some masses in this city in 1735<sup>41</sup> and was invited that year to see Passionspiel which was dedicated to him, after which he offered 60 florins to the College.<sup>42</sup> In 1741 he gave his sodality 5 guildens, asking them to pray for his success in war<sup>43</sup> and the year after, during the 100th anniversary of Congregation, he participated in their titular feast. The ties between both orders were not one-way: the Jesuits from Schweidnitz used to preach during almost all greater church festivities (i.e. the Feast of St. Bernard and St. Joseph) as well as in Grüssau and Bad Warmbrunn.<sup>44</sup>

When we compare the subjects, structure and above all the spiritual context of those two Jesuit dramas (and also many other performed at this time in Schweidnitz)<sup>45</sup>, one has the impression that music cycles from our tablatures could belong to the same spiritual tradition. It is clear that what has been stored in Grüssau up to now are anonymous oratorios,<sup>46</sup> which were probably imported from one of the Silesian Jesuit Colleges,<sup>47</sup> (*Oratorium de Passione Domini ex c*<sup>48</sup> and *Affectus musici de Passione Domini ex F*<sup>49</sup>). Even more evident is the correlation in the music repertory of the so-called meditative music, cultivated and perfected in all Jesuit music centers and performed especially in Lent.<sup>50</sup> In Grüssau such music with alternating recitatives and arias was also performed, as Rudolf Walter remarks:

A separate category in the Grüssau/Krzeszów collection is the so-called meditative music. This includes cantata-like cycles with Latin texts to be performed on the six Lent Sundays. [...] From the history of the Jesuit Order we know

that such meditations had been introduced gradually since the beginning of the 17th century. [...] The Cistercians of Grüssau/Krzeszów probably borrowed the meditations from the Jesuits, who were providing pastoral care to the Cistercians, though without [the accompanying Jesuit custom of] the tableaux [= quasi-theatrical stage performances]. The same practice was recommended to the Conventual Franciscans in Grüssau/Krzeszów who were studying or receiving [spiritual] formation at the Jesuit university in Breslau/Wrocław. The regular contacts between Cistercian houses and Jesuit colleges are attested in the *Litterae annuae*, which documents the contacts of the Cistercian house in Würben/Wierzbnia with the Jesuit college in Schweidnitz/Świdnica and the Cistercian house of residence in Warmbrunn/Cieplice with the Jesuit house of residence in Hirschberg/Jelenia Góra.<sup>51</sup>

However, the author of these words failed to correlate this interpretation with the music repertory of our tablatures, discussed in his book just a few pages earlier. In my opinion both phenomena are the expression of the same spiritual mentality. This hypothesis becomes still stronger when seen in the context of all meditative texts concerning the worship of the Holy Sacrament (*Anbethung des Aller Heÿligsten Sacraments*), the adoration of Jesus' Wounds (*Betrachtung des Leÿdens undt Todes Christi*), the penance acts (*Freÿmüthige Gedancken Eines büssenden Sünders*) and private practice of spiritual recognition (*Tägliche Erforschung des Gewissens; Betrachtung, wie man das gantze Jahr zugebracht hat*) from tablature Mf. 4143,<sup>52</sup> which represent the key ideas of the spirituality of St. Ignatius. I would like to add such titles of studied manuscripts as *Saint Amour*<sup>53</sup> (linked with Jesuit worship of Divine Love), *Wohin Nepomucene*<sup>54</sup> (one of the most venerated Saints in this order) or *Prima JESU Societas in Bethlehem*.<sup>55</sup> In 1675–77 abbot Bernhard Rosa built in Grüssau the so-called Bethlehem Chapel,<sup>56</sup> but why is it still referred to as 'prima JESU Societas' (see Figure 7.2)?

An important proof for my hypothesis of Jesuit provenance of studied texts seems to be aria *Quo me vocas aeternitas?* from *Naenia funebris de poenis damnatorum* (PL-Wu RM 4141, p. 216), which could be identified with the eschatological meditation written by Johannes Nadası SJ (1614–1679)<sup>57</sup> – one of the most important writer of this time, known very well throughout the Jesuit Province of Bohemia. One obvious piece of evidence of Jesuit inspiration in the spiritual program constructed and promoted by Grüssau

52

*Prima Jesu Natiuitas in Bethleem: Pastores*

Figure 7.2 PL-Wu RM 4143, p. 52

abbot Bernardus Rosa has been already precisely described.<sup>58</sup> Our thesis would of course become stronger if we had access to more biographical or other heuristic evidence. A false trace however is the name of Franciscus Kniebandl, a Jesuit active some years in Silesian cities,<sup>59</sup> who as the teacher of syntax class in the college of Schweidnitz on the occasion of the canonization of St. Aloysius Gonzaga in 1727 performed together with his disciples there *Consilii sapientis Imago [Quintil.] orbi exhibita Divo In Aloysio*.<sup>60</sup> But perhaps somehow related to our Father Hermann was the much earlier Christian Franz Kniebandl, who published in Breslau under the name in a panegyric about St. Catherine of Alexandria, the patron of Jesuit College students. It was performed there on 26 November 1703 as *VIRTUTIS PRODIGIA In Diva Partheno - Martyre CATHARINA / Votiva Panegyri celebrata / coram Alma, Caesarea, / Regiaq; Universitate Leopoldina Societatis Jesu / Wratislaviae, In / Templo Academico SS. Nominis JESU [...] / Perorante Eru-*

*dito Domino / CHRISTIANO FRANCISKO KNIBANDL; / Silesio Mönsterbergensi AA. LL. & Philosophiae, / Baccalaureo, Metaphysices, & Ethices Auditore ex / Convictu Sancti Josephi.*<sup>61</sup> As the city belonged to the Ducatus (or Duchy of) Mönsterbergense, could Christiano Francisko be identified as being our organist Christian from Frankenstein (today Zabkowice Śląskie)? Was he the father of our Franz Karl (Cistercian monk Hermann) Kniebandl, as suggested by the repetition of the name Franz? If one could be related to the other, then Jesuit hints in the tablatures investigated here would become certain.

### Conclusion

Although my hypothesis cannot be sufficiently proven, the arguments presented here are strong. The existence of studied texts, incipits and studies concerning the integrity of the whole music repertoire lead us to the deconstruction of the comfortable label ‘the Grüssau Lute Tablatures of Father Hermann Kniebandl’ and reveal some new aspects of their possible provenance. To sum up: part of those tablatures could have been written in the Baroque climate of the spirituality of the Jesuits who, in those times had a strong influence on and very close ties with the Cistercian order. They also played the leading role in the music culture of most Catholic centres of Europe<sup>62</sup> – not just because of personal contacts, but above all the spiritual relationships between both orders. I hope the future studies will provide more answers to our questions. If my hypothesis is verified, it will become possible to see the Grüssau monastery both as an important centre of music production in Silesia during the Baroque era and a place of great musical significance. It would not only concern former times, but also recent years, when this mountain abbey became the witness of our history and the place of safety for many musical texts from Berlin and Lviv.<sup>63</sup>

### Notes

- 1 Charles Meyer, *Sources manuscrites en tablature. Luth et theorbe (c. 1500 - c. 1800). Catalogue descriptif vol. 3.2 Republique Tcheque (CZ), Hongrie (H), Lituanie (LT), Pologne*

- (PL), *Federation de Russie (RF)*, *Slovaquie (SK)*, *Ukraine (UKR)* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1999), pp. 169-231 and pp. 235-9.
- 2 Rudolf Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau von Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Aufhebung im Jahre 1810* (= Musik des Ostens 15) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), p. 160. Walter is incorrect about Ms. 2007, which is also kept in Warsaw.
- 3 Wilhelm Tappert, 'Die Minuita - kein Menuett!,' *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 33 (1901/6), p. 93; Heribert Ringmann, 'Unbekannte Musikschätze in Schlesien,' *Schlesische Monatshefte* 5 (Breslau 1928), pp. 334-5; Wolfgang Boetticher, *Studien zur solistische Lautenpraxis* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Berlin 1943); Ernst Pohlmann, *Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone. Die Lauteninstrumente, ihre Musik und Literatur von 1599 bis zur Gegenwart* (Lilienthal: Edition Eres, 1975), pp. 156-7; Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Beschreibener Katalog* (= Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B/VII, further abbreviated to RISM B VII) (München: Henle, 1978), pp. 343-4 and pp. 367-70; Adam Mrygoń, 'Dołnośląskie rękopisy muzyczne w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie,' (Lower Silesian Music Manuscripts from the University Library in Warsaw) in: *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Schlesiens. Musikkultur - Orgellandschaft. Tagungsbericht Liegnitz 1991* (= Deutsche Musik im Osten. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Musik im Osten zur Musikgeschichte der Deutschen und ihrer Nachbarn in Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 5), eds. Jarosław Stępowski and Helmut Loos (Bonn: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1994), pp. 285-300, see especially pp. 286-7; Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, pp. 159-65; Ewa Bielińska-Galas, 'Tabulatura lutniowa cysterskiego mnicha Hermanna Kniebandla w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej,' (The Lute Tablature of Cistercian Monk Hermann Kniebandl in the Collections of National Library) *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 36 (2004), p. 131-46.
- 4 Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, p. 160; Elżbieta Wojnowska, 'Muzykalia opactwa krzeszowskiego. Opis i historia badań,' (The Music Papers from Cistercian Monastery. Description and History of Studies) in: *Krzeszów uswięcony łaską* (Krzeszów Blessed with the Grace), eds. Henryk Dziurla and Kazimierz Bobowski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1997), pp. 313-20.
- 5 Bielińska-Galas, 'Tabulatura lutniowa cysterskiego mnicha,' p. 131.
- 6 *ibid.*, p. 133.
- 7 Ambrosius Rose, *Kloster Grüssau OSB 1242-1289. S ORD CIST 1292-1810. OSB seit 1919* (Stuttgart and Aalen: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1974), p. 309.
- 8 In *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, ed. Joseph Jungnitz (vol. 1, Breslau: Aderholz, 1902, p. 533) from the year 1666 in the Pfarrkirche St. Anna in Frankenstein we read: 'Organist Christianus Kniebandl Pfarrorganist ex Moravia, 27 Jahre im Amt'.
- 9 *Visitatio Generalis Archipresbiteratus Frankensteinensis 1722*, Archbishopric Archive in Wrocław, call number II b 163, p. 9.
- 10 Ambrosius Rose, *Professbuch von Grüssau. Leben und Wirken der Zisterzienser 1292-1810* (Köln: Wienand, 1990), p. 66; Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, p. 72 and pp. 160-5; Bielińska-Galas, 'Tabulatura lutniowa cysterskiego mnicha,' p. 133-4.

- 11 'Band 11 scheint mindestens teilweise auf dem Krankenlager entstanden zu sein. Der Inhalt [...] läßt sich überschreiben „Christlicher Trost in der letzten Krankheit“. Geistliche Gesänge, die ab Band 8 in lateinischen Incipits anklagen wurden jetzt als Kirchenlied-Anfänge zitiert. [...] Wenn man weiß, daß P. Kniebandl nach langem Krankenlager gestorben ist, so bringt man Verständnis für diese privaten exercitia spiritualia auf. In 20 Punkten durchmusterte er das menschliche Leben sub specie aeternitatis. Sein geliebtes Instrument, die Laute, wollte er dabei nicht missen. In meditativem Stücken und in der Liedbegleitung ließ er es teilnehmen.' Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, pp. 164–5.
- 12 Bielińska-Galas, 'Tabulatura lutniowa cysterskiego mnicha', p. 133.
- 13 Emil Vogl, 'The Lute Music of Johann Anton Losy,' *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 14 (1981), pp. 5–58; Tim Crawford, 'New Sources of the Music of Count Losy,' *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 15 (1982), pp. 52–83.
- 14 Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, pp. 75–7, pp. 187–350, and the catalogue of the today's collection in Krzeszów (in RISM centre in National Library in Warsaw, available thanks to Mrs. Jolanta Byczkowska-Sztaba).
- 15 Scored for 4 voices, 2 clarinets, 2 clarini, 2 horns, 2 bassoons: 1. *Alle Völker auch ihr Heiden, kommet, seht die Wunderthat*; 2. *Alle werden eingeladen*; 3. *Fort ihr Seelenfeinde weihet*; 4. *Jesu gib uns deinen Segen*.
- 16 Cf. Sperontes (Johann Sigismund Scholze), *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (Leipzig, 1736–45, no. 54), ed. Edward Buhle, in: *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, Folge 1, Band 35/36 (Leipzig, 1910/ Neuaufgabe, ed. Hans Joachim Moser, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verl. Anst., 1958), p. 52.
- 17 Ernst Kirsch, *Die Bibliothek des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis von dem Anteil Schlesiens an der musikalischen Strömungen des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts* (Hunsfeld: Hunsfelder Stadtblatt, 1922), p. 27.
- 18 'Demnach die Figural-Musik nicht Ordens Bräuchlich, soll selbte gänzlich unterlassen, hingegen aber nach Gebrauch des Rituals oder anderer Ordensbücher alle Nacht- und Tagzeiten gesungen werden. So jemand dißhalb ungehorsam befunden würde, wird er zur Straff des Hl. Ordens Verdienst beraubt sein.' Ernst Kirsch, *Die musikhistorische Bedeutung der Sammlung des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik bei der Universität Breslau* (Ph.D. dissertation, Breslau, 1922), p. 32.
- 19 Rudolf Walter, Grüssau [entry], in: *Schlesisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Institut für Deutsche Musik im Osten, Augsburg: Wißner, 2001), p. 232.
- 20 Carl Julius Adolph Hoffmann, *Die Tonkünstler Schlesiens. Ein Beitrag zum Kunstgeschichte Schlesiens von Jahre 960 bis 1830* (Breslau: Aderholz, 1830), p. 231nn.
- 21 Peter Epstein, 'Ein Grüssauer Gesang- und Gebetbuch von 1678,' *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1930), p. 112; Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, p. 52.
- 22 Wilhelm Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen* (vol. 4, Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1911), p. 55.
- 23 Hermann Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz* (= Zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte

- 3) (Schweidnitz: Bergland-Verlag, 1930); Hermann Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Hirschberg* (= Zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte 7) (Breslau: Franke, 1934); Zdzisław Lec, *Jezuici we Wrocławiu (1581-1776)* (The Jesuits in Wrocław (1581-1776)) (= Rozprawy Naukowe / Papieski Fakultet Teologiczny we Wrocławiu 8) (Wrocław: Papieski Fakultet Teologiczny, 1995).
- 24 This also occurred in neighbouring Poland where the monks from the Cistercian cloisters Wagrowiec and Oliwa were educated in Jesuit colleges in Braniewo and Pelplin. Cf. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *The History of Music in Poland, vol. 3: The Baroque, Part 1: 1595-1696* (Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 2002), p. 109.
- 25 Interesting information concerning the musical life of the Schweidnitz College is given in a fragmentary *diarium: Collecta quaedam pro historia Collegij Suidnicensis Societatis Iesu* (1630-1645 only). Today it is kept at the Archbishopric Archive in Wrocław, call number V 46. This source is the topic of a separate study by the author, in preparation.
- 26 Ambrosius Rose, *Abt Bernardus Rosa von Grüssau* (Stuttgart: Brentano-Verlag, 1960); Rose, *Kloster Grüssau*, pp. 84-93;
- 27 Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 48.
- 28 Missing; *ibid.*, p. 63.
- 29 *ibid.*, p. 195.
- 30 *ibid.*, p. 116.
- 31 Rose, *Kloster Grüssau*, pp. 94-108.
- 32 Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 207.
- 33 *ibid.*, p. 186.
- 34 *ibid.*, p. 122.
- 35 Nicolaus von Lutterotti, *Abt Dominicus Frisch, der Erbauer der Grüssauer Abteikirche* (Schweidnitz: Bergland-Verlag, 1935) p. 39; Hermann Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 207.
- 36 Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 125.
- 37 [...] *Recurrentibus sacrae Hebdomadae Feriis / Honori ac Venerationi / Reverendissimi, Perillustris, ac Amplissimi / Domini, Domini Innocentii, Sacri & exempti Ordinis Cisterciensis, Celeberrimi, ac Ducalis Monasterii Grüssoviensis, Abbatis infulati, ejusdemque sacri Ordinis per utramque Silesiam Visitoris, ac Vicarii Generalis Thermarum Hirschbergensium Praepositi perpetui, Sacrae, Caecariae, Regiaque Majestatis Consiliarii. Almae sodalitates Nostrae sub Titulo Beatae Mariae Virginis Ab Archangelo Salutatae Rectoris Dignissimi. Nec non Caeterorum Illustrissimorum, Perillustrium, Prenobilium ac Consultissimorum Dominorum Dominorum Sodalium dramatice propositus & oblatup. Ab ejusdem Congregationis Sodalibus in Caesareo Regiaque Collegio Societatis JESU Schwvidnicii. Anno 1733, die 30 Martii. Schwvidnicii, Literis Joannis Christiani Mulleri.* The *perioche* was published also in German language version: *Eyfrige Betrachtung des bitteren Leidens / Jesu Christi / Ein grosser Trieb zur Buß-Würckung / An / COSMOGENIO / Einem verharteten Sünder / durch so thane Betrachtung in Buß-Zähr erweichtet.* Wrocław, University Library, Gabinet

- Śląsko-Lużycki, call number 369.510 (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, call number 2 F 1226, 2b2). See: Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 126-7.
- 38 St. Antonino, *Divi Antonini Archiepiscopi Florentini Chronicon opus in tres partes divisium* (Lugduni: ex officina Iuntarum, 1587), P. 3 Tract, 23 § 11 (E1. 137 a 139).
- 39 St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vitis Mystica seu tractatus de Passione Domini super Ego sum vitis*, Caput XXXI. *De tribus commodis futurae vitae, quae obtinebunt virgines*, p. 115.
- 40 This story is based upon the story of Jephthah and his daughter, named Seila, who – according to a vow made by Jephthah – should have to be offered to God (*Book of Judges* 11:34–38). Seila will help her father to fulfill his promise, and because of it she is a figure of Jesus, who ‘hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweetsmelling savour’ (*Ephesians* 5:2; after: *The Holy Bible: King James Version*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Wrocław, University Library, call number 358.180 (olim: Breslau Stadtbibliothek, call number 4 F 276/63). See Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, p. 144.
- 41 Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 193.
- 42 *ibid.*, p. 127.
- 43 *ibid.*, p. 143–4.
- 44 For example in Bad Warmbrunn they preached in 1673 (the sermon was published by abbot Bernhard Rosa), 1674, 1675, 1676, 1686, 1690, 1692, 1694, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1708, 1709, 1716, 1717, 1720, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1735. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Hirschberg*, p. 99. In Grüssau they preached in occasion of Fest of St. Bernard at least in years 1673, 1679, 1708, 1714 and 1736. Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 213.
- 45 The following list shows some examples of Passion dramas from Schweidnitz (after Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 124–9):
- 1719 *Medicina ex Vulnere Philocosmo Salubriter ori ejusdem salute a Theandro in medelam applicata. Seu Deus Homo Aeternis Patris Unigenitus, inter flagella, spinas, clavos, et lanceam vulneratus, mortem nostram moriendo destruens* [Prolusio, 10 Inductiones, with choruses and Epilogus];
  - 1722 *Animae amentis et dolentis Paenitentia in pium paenitentium exemplar proposita* [Prolusio, Pars I: 6 Scenae, Chorus, Pars II: 9 Scena. Epilogus];
  - 1726 *Misericordia et pax obviaverunt sibi, justitia et pax osculata sunt* after St. Bernhard from Clairvaux, Sermo 1. de Annunatione;
  - 1739 *Seria trium aeternarum Veritatum consideratio, Trium Nobilium Adoloxentium in bono coepte Conservatio* (*Dreyer ewigen Wahrheiten Ernsthafte Betrachtung dienet dreyen Adelichen Jünglingen auf der einmal auserkohrenen Tugend-Bahn zur unblässigen Verharrung*) [Prolusio, 6 Induction, Chor, 7 Induktionen, Epilogus];
  - 1741 *Crucis Tormentum liquidum Filii Die Erga Filium Hominis amoris argumentum in mentium afflictarum Sodalium solatium. Kreutz und Leyden des Sohn Gottes Ein scheinbahres Kennzeichen der Liebe gegen den Sohn des Menschen zu einem standhaften Trost aller betrübter Gemüther durch ein Trauerspiel in Figur vorgestellt.*
- 46 Such musical works were composed by Johann Franz Otto for the Jesuit College in Glatz (today Klodzko). Perhaps he also wrote the music pieces, which has been played ‘each



- year for all Lent time sundays by the pupils of Jesuit Academy'. Rudolf Walter, 'Johann Franz Otto, ein Komponist der Grafschaft Glatz,' *Musik des Ostens* 12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), p. 246ff; Hoffmann, *Die Tonkünstler Schlesiens*, p. 455f.
- 47 Suggested by Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, pp. 149–50.
- 48 For 4 solo voices (soli & ripieni), 2vn, vla, 2ob, 2cor, org; (with the watermark 'W' with clone, which is Breslau).
- 49 For 4 solo voices (soli & ripieni), 2vn, vla, 2fl/ob, 2cor, fg, vlne, fundamento; a set of 12 arias (for S, A, T, & all combinations), alternating with recitatives (with the watermark from Groß-Wartenberg which, by the way, was another Jesuit centre in Silesia).
- 50 There were dramas by Congregatio Latina Major in Breslau, performed in all Quadragesima Sundays at 4 p.m.; we possess today 67 *perioches* of those summaries (in Wrocław, University Library; its author was possibly Johannes Thamm S.J., chair of Congregatio Latina Major in Breslau, which published a booklet *Passio D. N. J. C., Vratislaviae 1775*, stored in Archbishopric Archive in Wrocław). We also know that of the texts to the dramas from the years 1718, 1720, 1723, 1726, 1764–1801, the first had already been taken to Breslau in 1642. The usage of music in all those dramas is evident; see: Max Wittwer, *Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Länder deutscher Zunge* (Ph. D. dissertation, Greifswald, 1934), p. 117nn; Józef Budzyński, *Dramat i teatr szkolny na Śląsku (XVI–XVIII wiek)* (Drama and School Theatre in Silesia (16th–18th centuries)), (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 1996); Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, p. 149.
- 51 'Eine eigene Gattung des Grüssauer Bestandes bilden die Meditations-Musiken. Das sind kantatenartige Zyklen auf lateinische Texte, die auf die 6 Fastensonntage verteilt wurden. [...] Aus der Geschichte des Jesuitenordens ist bekannt, daß Meditationen Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts allmählich eingerichtet wurden. [...] Die Grüssauer Zisterzienser dürften diese Meditationen (ohne die lebenden Bilder) von der Jesuiten übernommen haben, weil sich diese seelsorglich bewährten. Grüssauer Konventualen, die an der Breslauer Jesuiten-Universität studierten oder ihre Ausbildung erhalten hatten, werden diese Einrichtung beschrieben und empfohlen haben. Ständige Kontakte mit Jesuitenkollegien hatten nach den 'Litterae annuae' der Jesuiten die Propsteien Würben (Jesuitenkolleg Schweidnitz) und Warmbrunn (Jesuitenresidenz Hirschberg).' *ibid.*, pp. 148–50. Until 1787 the texts of the meditations were written in Latin. Concerning the Prague Passion spectacles, see Emilian Troida, 'P. Gunther Jacob,' *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 53 (1915), p. 285.
- 52 Mf. 4143, pp. 32, 34, 38, 40.
- 53 Mf. 4140, pp. 112–3; Mf. 4141, p. 160.
- 54 Mf. 4140, p. 148; Mf. 4141, pp. 222–3.
- 55 Mf. 4143, p. 52.
- 56 Nicolaus von Lutterotti, *Vom unbekanntem Grüssau* (= Heilige Zeiten und Orte 1) (Grüssau: Verlag für Liturgik Grüssau i. Schlesien, 1929), pp. 22–9.
- 57 In his print *Hebdomada meditandae aeternitatis... Opera, et studio Joannis Nadasi Societatis Jesu [...]* Viennae [...] M.DC.LXXXVIII, pp. 114–5. The text incipit has been identified by Jan Linka in his paper *Logica coelestis aneb Setkáni Fridricha Bridelia s*

*Johannem Nadasim (Logica coelestis or the Meeting of Friedich Bridelius with Johannes Nadasim)*, [in:] *Friedrich Bridelius SJ - stále nový a neznámý (Friedrich Bridelius SJ - Still New and Unknown)*. *Mezioborová konference k 350. výročí vydání Brideliova kancionálu Jesličky* (Conference Acts in Kutna Hora, November 2008), in print.

- 58 See Andrzej Kozieł, *Angelus Silesius, Bernhard Rosa i Michael Willmann czyli sztuka i mistyka na Śląsku w czasach baroku (Angelus Silesius, Bernhard Rosa and Michael Willmann or the Art and Mysticism in the Baroque Silesia)* (= Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2872, *Historia Sztuki XXIII*) (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006), esp. p. 17, 72, 89, 197 and 391-2.
- 59 According to the archivals from the Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu in Rome (Boh. 51, fol. 160r) and each year printed *Catalogi personarum ac officiorum Provinciae Bohemiae*, Franciscus Kniebandl was born 1.10.1701 in Moravian Brno, and entered into Society of Jesus 27.9.1719. After his novitiate in Brno (1720-1) and scholastic studies in Olomouc (1722-4), he worked as a teacher in gymnasia of Liegnitz (today Legnica, 1725), Sagan (today Żagań, 1726) and Schweidnitz (today Świdnica, 1727). After his theological studies (1728-1731 in Olomouc and third probation (Chomutov, 1733), he was active in many centres of the Bohemian Jesuit Province, also in Silesia: he was a missionary in Glumpenau (today Głębinowo) near Neisse (today Nysa, 1738), then, in 1742-3 was a preacher in Opava.
- 60 Hoffmann, *Die Jesuiten in Schweidnitz*, p. 104 and p. 125. In 1730 the print was held in the Archive of Parish in Schweidnitz (prelude, 3 acts, each with 4 scenes and final choir).
- 61 WRu Yu 50, 184. Carsten Rabe, *Alma Mater Leopoldina: Kolegium i Uniwersytet Jezuicki we Wrocławiu 1638-1811* (*Alma Mater Leopoldina: The Jesuit College and University in Wrocław 1638-1811*) (= Beihefte zum Orbis Linguarum 22), Polish translation by Lidia Wiśniewska (Wrocław: 'Atut' - Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, 2003), p. 378. The advise of Mr Waclaw Sobociński from the University Library in Wrocław is gratefully acknowledged.
- 62 See for example: Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music: A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome: Jesuit History Institute, 1970); Pierre Guillot, *Les Jésuites et la musique: le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon, 1565-1762* (Liège: Mardaga, 1991); Jiří Sehnal, 'Hudba u jezuitů české provincie v 17. a 18. století,' in: *Morava a Brno na sklonku Třetileté Války*, ed. Jan Skutil (Praha and Brno: Societas Praha, 1995), pp. 238-45; Jerzy Kochanowicz, *Geneza, organizacja i działalność jezuickich burs muzycznych* (The Origin, Organisation and Activity of the Jesuit Convent Music Schools), vol. 1: *Jezuickie bursy muzyczne w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII i XVIII wieku* (The Jesuit Convent Music Schools in Poland and Lithuania in 17. and 18. Centuries) (= *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Jezuitów Polskich 1 / Studies and Papers on the Polish Jesuit History 1*) (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna 'Ignatianum', 2002).
- 63 Wojnowska, 'Muzykalia opactwa krzeszowskiego', p. 313.