

The Activity of Tobias Zeutschner (1621–1675) at St. Mary Magdalene Church in Wrocław: a Composing Career in Protestant Breslau

Paulina Halamska

Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences

Since the Reformation, Breslau's Catholic and Protestant communities had coexisted in a state of evenly matched strength and influence. Although the Reformation had successfully exerted its influence over most of the city it failed to gain a hold in the Dominsel district that housed the Episcopal See. Conversely, the Counter-Reformation policies implemented in Silesia by the Habsburgs during the Thirty Years' War and thereafter did not extend to the prosperous burghers of Breslau whose considerable economic muscle must have acted as a strong deterrent to any policies of open conflict or persecution the authorities may have contemplated. This equilibrium of power fostered a mood of cultural competition between the two communities – a rivalry that left behind important material traces in the shape of splendid local music collections, now scattered among different libraries in Wrocław, Warsaw and Berlin.

State of sources and history of research on music in old Breslau

A sizeable majority of 16th- and 17th-century music manuscripts and printed scores, mostly originating in the city's main Protestant churches, were catalogued in 1883 and 1890 by the organist and composer Emil Bohn.¹ During World War II, these collections were partly destroyed and dispersed. The

collections of old prints were divided between the music departments of university libraries in Wrocław (the surviving music holdings of the former City Library and of the former University Library) and Warsaw (the holdings of the pre-war Academic Institute of Sacred Music). For a long time, the fate of the manuscripts catalogued by Bohn (formerly belonging to the City Library) remained unknown. In 1989, it was revealed that the collection had for the most part survived and was being held at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.² The Bohn's catalogue does not include the sources from the city's Catholic churches, St. Anne's and St. James's, which are now held by the Music Department of the University of Warsaw Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie). In addition, there exists another collection, long believed to be lost, comprising the old prints from the former Prussian Library in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin till 1918 and Preußische Staatsbibliothek 1918–1945), currently held at the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków.³

In addition to music manuscripts or printed scores, other types of material play an important role in studying the musical and composing activity of old Breslau. These include all sorts of compendiums, old library catalogues, civic and church records (especially financial documentation), bequests, occasional prints on non-musical issues, etc. Earlier scholarly studies are frequently relied on as source material as many of the documents they cite have been lost or destroyed during World War II.⁴

Studies of musical activity in 17th-century Breslau were initiated by German musicologists at the turn of the 19th century but were discontinued in the wake of the post-1945 territorial changes and political shifts. Over the past two decades, German and Polish musicologists have shown a renewed interest in this subject, especially after crucial source materials were discovered or revealed to exist. Notable among the German scholars recently writing on the subject is Barbara Wiermann, author of a study on the development of German vocal-instrumental pieces by 1650, which was largely based on Breslau material. Her findings on the life and activity in Breslau of Michael Büttner are of particular importance.⁵ Polish scholars studying the Breslau music collections include Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, who became interested in the music life of Breslau's Lutheran community

via her search for pieces by Marcin Mielczewski and other composers connected with the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.⁶ Tomasz Jeż is another scholar currently studying Protestant music written in Silesia in the 16th and the former half of the 17th century,⁷ and Baroque material of Catholic provenance is studied by Remigiusz Pośpiech.⁸ Anna Mańko-Matysiak, a specialist in German Studies at the Wrocław University, has initiated comprehensive studies on hymns in Breslau's Protestant songbooks, including the highly popular *Vollständige Kirchen- und Hauss-Music*, which had gone through numerous editions.⁹

The organization of religious and musical life in Breslau's Protestant community, in which Tobias Zeutschner was active for several decades, was studied (mainly before World War II) by German musicologists.¹⁰ The systematic research project currently under way in the Polish State Archives in Wrocław will hopefully yield some new and more detailed information on this subject.

The main institutions and organisation of Protestant musical life in 17th century Breslau

The religious and musical life of Protestant Breslau centred around three main churches (*Hauptkirchen*): St. Elizabeth's and St. Mary Magdalene's in the Old Town, and St. Bernardine of Siena's in the former monastery complex in the New Town. Other notable centres included the filial churches (St. Barbara's and St. Christopher's) and several lesser churches (*Nebenkirchen*), such as Holy Trinity's, Eleven Thousand Virgins' and Holy Saviour's. Schools were run by the main churches: gymnasiums (St. Elizabeth's and St. Mary Magdalene's) and a Latin school of lesser rank in the New Town, at St. Bernardine's, also known as the *Schola Neapolitana*.¹¹

Music ensembles in all three of Breslau's main churches shared a similar structure. Each ensemble was headed by a cantor and had a main organist, whose status was almost equal to that of the cantor. The cantor had a choir which comprised choir boys or *Chorknaben*, usually twelve to sixteen

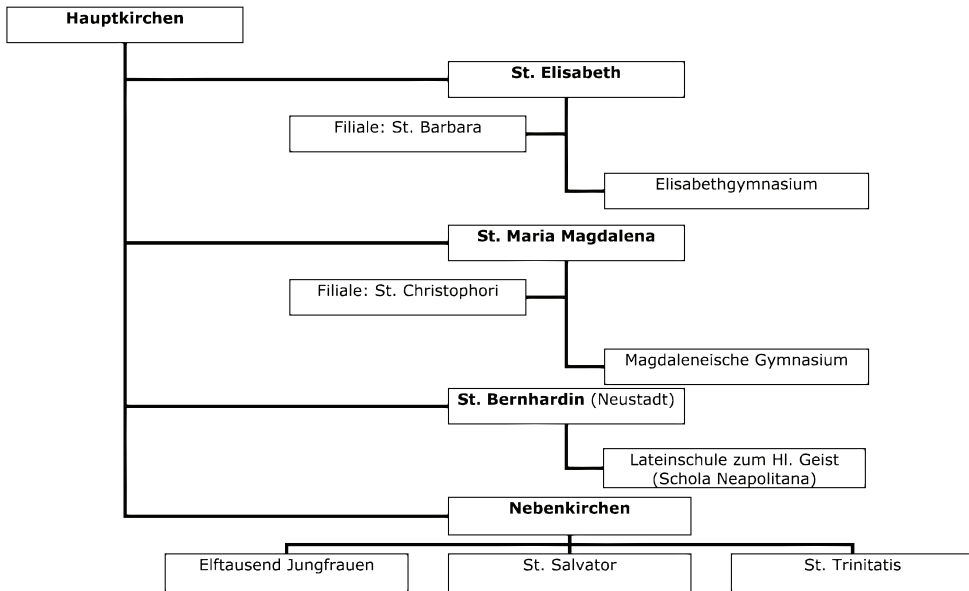


Figure 8.1 Protestant churches and schools in 17th century Breslau

in number and recruited from church schools, choristers (or *Choralisten*, usually seven more experienced singers) and five to seven instrumentalists or *Musicanen*, who always included a second organist or *Positivschläger*, a violone player or *Bassgeiger* (also described in the sources as ‘bey der Orgel’) and a city musician (*Stadtpfeiffer*, *Stadtmusicus*) with one to three companions who were listed by name or described jointly as *Gesellen*. Directly responsible for the preparation of vocal ensembles was the *Signator*. Also, the so-called *Adjuvanten* could perform during devotions. The term *Adjuvanten* is not entirely clear to us, but it probably meant amateur instrumentalists recruited from among gymnasium students and Breslau burghers who would supplement the basic orchestral team as and when needed.

The financial records of the three main parishes are a valuable source for studying the music circles in contemporary Breslau. For instance, my detailed study of selected categories of expenditure at St. Mary Madgalene’s (at

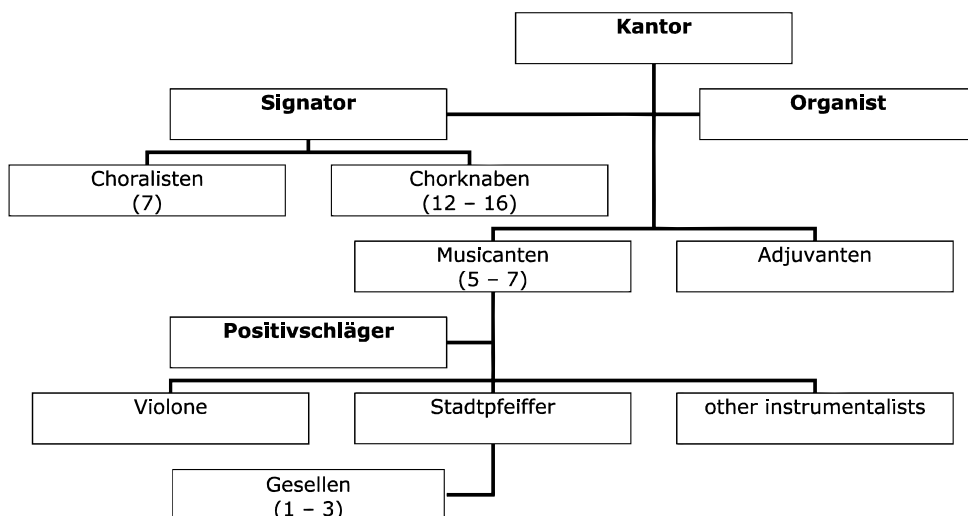


Figure 8.2 Structure of music ensembles in 17th-century Breslau churches

present, this study spans the period 1655-1677) has made it possible to draft a more or less complete list of instrumentalists engaged by the church.¹² The records also contain several lists of musical prints purchased in this period. In 1678, a Breslau merchant named Friedrich Chremitz made a bequest to provide a more sumptuous musical setting of the mass on the Jubilate Sunday - this document has added about a dozen titles to our list of pieces by local composers (sadly, the music itself does not survive).¹³

The surviving documentation of St. Mary Magdalene's also confirm that a network of interconnections existed between Breslau's Protestant churches, with musicians on permanent contracts in one church receiving engagements in others. Such one-off engagements were often the first step leading to a higher position such as cantor, organist or city musician. Advancement was also possible within each professional rung as some church positions were considered more prestigious than others, with St. Elizabeth's as the most prestigious, and St. Bernardine's the least.

Table 8.1 Musicians employed in the ensemble of St. Mary Magdalene's in 1655–1675

- **Positivschläger**
 - **Christian Hilscher** (until 1655)
 - *from 1655 organist at St. Bernardine's*
 - **Gottfried Haupt** (1656–1666)
 - *also organist at St. Barbara's at the same time*
 - **Martin Mayer** (1666–1671)
 - *from 1671 organist at St. Bernardine's*
 - **Daniel Müller** (from 1671)
- **Violone (*Bassgeige*, "bey der Orgel")**
 - **Georg Münch** (1656–1664)
 - **Christoph Willenberg** (1664–1665)
 - **Georg Glettinger** (from 1666)
- **Stadtpeiffer**
 - **Johann Seyfert** (1657, 1659–1674)
 - *in 1646–1649 organist at St. Bernardine's*
 - **Daniel Vincenz** (from 1674)
 - *from 1666 engaged at the ensemble at St. Mary Magdalene's*

Out of the large body of musicians active in the latter half of the 17th century as cantors and organists of Breslau's main Protestant churches, only a few have left traces of composing activity. In three cases (Christian Hilscher, Christophorus Elssner, organist at St. Elisabeth's in 1671–1681, and Johann Julius Schütz) these are single pieces or titles. Ambrosius Profe, organist at St. Elisabeth's in 1633–1649, is better known as an anthologist and publisher of contemporary European repertoire. Pieces by Michael Büttner (five or six original works have been preserved in addition to numerous Büttner's reworkings of music by other composers) and Martin Mayer (59 pieces survive out of the grand total of about 90 as listed in 17th-century

Table 8.2 Musicians at St. Mary Magdalene’s in the second half of the 17th century

- **Cantors**
 - **Michael Büttner (1634–1662)**
 - **Laurentius Heidenreich (1662–1677)**
 - **Johann Julius Schütz (1678–1699)**
- **Organists**
 - **Bernhard Beyer (1634–1655)**
 - *in 1655–1671 organist at St. Elizabeth’s*
 - **Tobias Zeutschner (1655–1675)**
 - *in 1649–1655 organist at St. Bernardine’s*
 - **Gottfried Reichwitz (1675–1715)**
 - *until 1675 organist at Eleven Thousand Virgins’*
- **Signators**
 - **Tobias Sartorius (1648–1674)**
 - **Martin Reimann (1674–1687)**
 - **Christoph Heinze (1687–1707)**

sources and Emil Bohn’s catalogue) have survived in manuscript versions and their circulation was presumably limited to Breslau.

The Career and Work of Tobias Zeutschner

Tobias Zeutschner, organist at St. Bernardine’s and St. Mary Magdalene’s, stands out conspicuously against this general background. His surviving output comprises some sixty vocal and vocal-instrumental compositions, and over a dozen others are attested in library catalogues and other documents. This means that although his output was smaller than Mayer’s, most of it appeared in print, which was an exception rather than the rule in Silesia in the second half of the 17th century. Zeutschner’s works include no

independent organ pieces, but other than that all the main genres of contemporary sacred music are represented: church concertos for small and large ensembles, biblical Histories (*historiae*), songs (mostly with the composer's own texts), parts of the Mass and Magnificats (which do not survive other than as references in other sources). Most of the compositions date back to Zeutschner's years at Mary Magdalene's, where he was employed as organist from 1655 until his death in 1675.

No large-scale study of the life and works of Tobias Zeutschner exists. There is only one monograph available, written by a Breslau-based scholar named Reinhold Starke in the year 1900.¹⁴ In more recent times, Zeutschner's output has been studied by Werner Braun,¹⁵ Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht and Greta Konradt, but none of those studies has been systematic.¹⁶ There is no summary of existing sources and no thematic catalogue, and Starke's list of pieces is incomplete and occasionally imprecise. Despite this relative neglect, both the composer and his works deserve scholarly interest and closer study.

Tobias Zeutschner was born in Neurode (today Nowa Ruda) in the county of Glatz (today Kłodzko), probably in 1621. Two years later, his family left Neurode to flee from religious persecution and settled down in Bernstadt (today Bierutów) near Oels (today Oleśnica). By a lucky coincidence, one of the more important Silesian composers and poets of the day, Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern, was the *director chori musici* and school principal at Oels from the mid-1620s. Almost certainly, Zeutschner was one of his pupils.

At the age of twenty-two (i.e. around 1643), Zeutschner was offered the position of organist at the castle church in Oels, and became a member of the local town council. The position was far from highly profitable – wartime difficulties (including the town being sacked on several occasions), meant that payments to musicians were in arrears. His financial situation improved in 1649, when changes occurred at St. Bernardine Church in the New Town. One Georgius Seidel, formerly the court preacher at Oels, was appointed as the new pastor. At the same time, the position of organist was vacated as Johann Seifert was promoted to the rank of city musician. Thanks to

this, Zeutschner was elevated to the highest echelons of the city's music scene without a long apprenticeship or any one-off engagements: he took the position of organist at St. Bernardine's and became a teacher at the local Latin school.

Zeutschner's earliest surviving compositions date back to his position in the New Town, and they were all published by the Breslau printing press owned by the heirs of Georg Baumann jr. These are occasional pieces – a dialogue based on a passage from the Song of Songs, written in 1652 to celebrate the wedding of Christoph Brehmer, cantor at St. Christopher's,¹⁷ and *Threnodia*, a composition for four voices composed one year later for the funeral celebrations of Georg Rudolph, Prince of Liegnitz and Brieg.

Also in 1652, the first of Zeutschner's two collections of concertos was published by the heirs of Georg Baumann jr. This was called *Decas Prima* and contained ten pieces for three to seven vocal and instrumental parts (two violins) with basso continuo. In the preface, the composer dedicated the collection to the city councillors and to other important personages in Breslau.¹⁸

As attested by the surviving occasional compositions, in subsequent years Zeutschner strengthened his position in Breslau's musical elite. Also, he stayed in regular touch with Protestant Silesian duchies: Liegnitz, Brieg, Oels and Schweidnitz. At the same time, he explored the career possibilities offered by Habsburg rule, and became an imperial notary in 1654. Finally, in 1655, he was appointed organist in Breslau's second most important Protestant church, St. Mary Magdalene's.

Over the twenty years Zeutschner spent working here, he reconciled the duties of organist and lecturer at the local gymnasium with his own composing career. I have been unable to identify any contemporary accounts containing direct comments on Zeutschner's activity as organist in this period. He must have been a valued organist – we know that he took part in the official delivery of new instruments at Breslau's St. Elizabeth's church and at the Church of Peace in Schweidnitz.¹⁹ Zeutschner had left no solo compositions, so it is difficult to speculate about his performing style, and

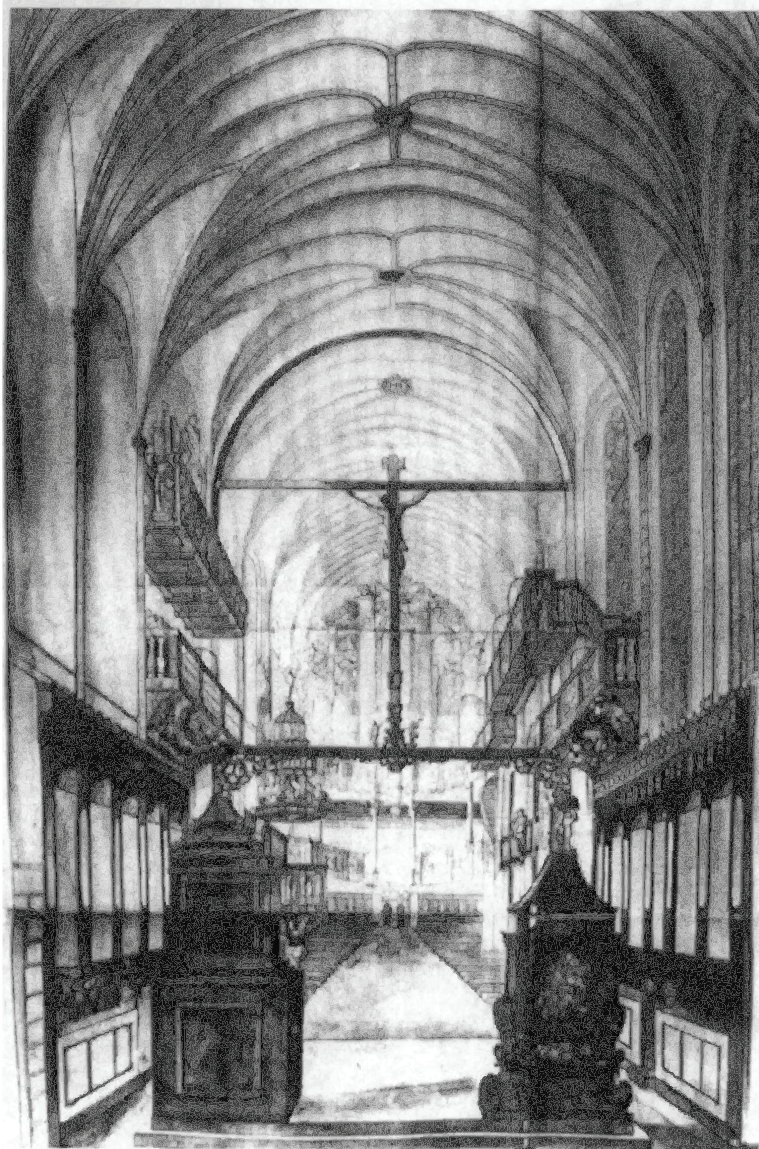
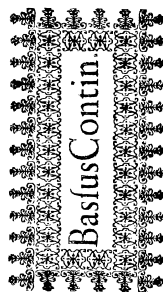


Figure 8.3 Interior of St. Bernardine's (ca. 1710, drawing from the collection of the former City Library in Breslau, lost. Photograph: courtesy of Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Decas Prima
obit
Musicalischen Fleisses
Erster Theil/

Gott zu Ehren/ vnd denen Liebhabern
 der lieben Music zugefallen/
 mit 3. 4. 5. vnd 7. Stimmen
 mit vnd ohne Violinen

auffgesetzt von
Tobias Zeutschnern Organisten
 zu St. Bernhart in Breslaw.



BasusContin.

Breslaw
 in der Dammannischen Druckerey
 beyse Georgine Schaber.
 1 6 f 2.

I. **Cantus solus cum 2. Viol.** **Basf. Cont.**

Die vnae tuft an dem 5. Erren.

Figure 8.4 Tobias Zeutschner: *Decas Prima oder Musicalischen Fleisses Erster Theil*, Breslaw 1652 (BUWr pressmark 51242 Muz.) – title page and first page of the music for the basso continuo voice



Figure 8.5 Interior of St. Mary Magdalene's (Johann Stridbeck jr., drawing, ca. 1691, in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, quoted from: Jan Harasimowicz, 'Der evangelische Kirchenbau in Schlesien unter der Habsburger Regierung,' *Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 81 (2002), pp. 79–89)

the questions of the position and role of organ music in the liturgy at St. Mary Magdalene's at the time sadly goes beyond the already extensive scope of this paper.

As a gymnasium lecturer, Zeutschner was well-liked and enjoyed a considerable authority, as shown by his students' surviving Latin and German panegyrics. We can find those not only in the second collection *Musicaliſche Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude*, but also printed separately to celebrate Zeutschner's name-day on 13 June 1661.²⁰

Zeutschner's composing activity seems to be the most interesting and well-documented aspect of his career. As early as in *Decas Prima*, the last four pieces of that collection provide evidence of his interest in augmented ensembles – the basso continuo carries such markings as *concerto* or *tutti*, suggesting that the basic set of performers must have been augmented with *capellae*. Now, at the more important and economically stronger St. Mary Magdalene's (where some bequests, such as the one by Friedrich Cremitz mentioned above, made it possible to engage up to fifty musicians at one time), Zeutschner gained new artistic possibilities. Also, in his new position he was able to cooperate with Michael Büttner, the church's cantor for more than twenty years, who must have had a wide experience with large ensembles.²¹

As in the case of Büttner's earlier and Mayer's later pieces, Zeutschner's music for large ensembles survives almost solely in manuscripts (see Table 8.3), which was a general rule in the case of this type of 17th-century music. The first dated work from Zeutschner's period at Mary Magdalene's is his 1656 concerto *Der Herr gebe euch vom Taw des Himmels*, dedicated to Michael Büttner on his wedding.²² The manuscript score of another composition, a monumental *Te Deum laudamus*,²³ is undated but I believe that it was composed shortly after the concerto. Its basic material characteristics, such as watermarks or paper size, are identical. Also, the copyist's hand is very similar to Zeutschner's own (which we know from his holographs marked 'manu propria'). And finally (and I believe, conclusively), the undated hymn bears on its title page the Roman numeral 'IV', which would suggest a com-

Table 8.3 Zeutschner's pieces for large ensembles

- **Der Herr gebe euch vom Taw des Himmels, 18 o. 23 v. (1656)**
 - **Bohn Ms. mus. 210**
 - Chorus I C.1.2. A. B. - Chorus II C. T.1.2. B. - Vl.1.2., Vla., Crn.1.2., Trbni.1.2.3.4., Vlo. - Capella C.1.2.A.T.B. - 2 B.c.
- **Te Deum laudamus, 15 o. 20 v. (ca. 1656)**
 - **Bohn Ms. mus. 210d**
 - Chorus vocalis: C.1.2. A. T. B. - Chorus Fidicinum: Vl.1.2., C. voc., Vla., Vlo. vel Fag. - Chorus Trombonum: A. voc., A. T.1.2. B. instr. - Capella: C.1.2. A. T. B. - Crn.1.2. - B.c., 2 B. pro Org.
- **Halleluja - Höret an die Geburt, 18 v. (ca. 1660)**
 - **Bohn Ms. mus. 210a**
 - C.1. (Angelus) C.2. A.1.2., T.1.2.(Evangelista), T.1.2. B.1.2. (Pastores). - Vl.1.2., Cl.1.2., Crn. e Fl. 1.2., Trb.1.2.3., Vla.d'gamb.1.2. - 2 B.c. - B. pro Org. cap.
- **Höret an die Auferstehung unsers Herren (after 1655) - attributed by Konradt 1997**
 - **Bohn Ms. mus. 274**
 - T. (Evangelista), C.1.2. A. T.1.2. B. - Vl.1.2., Vla.d'gamb.1.2., Cl.1.2., Tr.1.2.3., Tmp. - B. cap. pro Org. - B.c., B. pro Vlo.
- **Herr, hebe an zu segnen das Haus - Höret an die Heirats-Stiftung des jungen Tobiae und der Sare (1659) - preserved in fragments**
 - Soli C.(Engel), A. (Tobias), T. (Erzähler), B. (Raguel) - Capella C. A. T. B. - Vl.1.2., Trb.1.2.3., Crn.1.2., B.c.
- **In suis Deus profecto fit, 8 v. et 10 instr. (1668)**
 - **Bohn Ms. mus. 210b**
 - C.1.2. A.1.2. T.1.2. B.1.2. - Vl.1.2., Vla.d'brac.1.2., Crn.1.2., Trb.1.2.3. - B. pro Vlo., B.c.

position date not too removed from *Der Herr gebe euch*. . . (whose title page bears the Roman numeral 'III').

Three other pieces come from the late 1650s and early 1660s, and belong to the biblical History genre, then enjoying its popularity in Breslau. The first, a Christmas composition *Halleluja, höret an die Geburt*, has at-

tracted the critical attention of such scholars as Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, Werner Braun and Greta Konrad.²⁴ According to Konrad's hypothesis, Zeutschner's output at the time also includes an anonymous Easter History *Höret an die Auferstehung unsers Herren*, but more research would be needed to corroborate this. Zeutschner certainly did compose the third piece, hitherto unknown and surviving only in fragments. This is a biblical History based on the story of the marriage of Tobias and Sarah, performed during the wedding celebrations of Fridericus Vicci, poet and professor at St. Mary Magdalene's gymnasium.²⁵ The libretto is held in the Old Prints Collection at the Library of Wrocław University. The music does not survive, with the possible exception of the opening chorus, whose texts is identical with one of the compositions published two years later in the collection *Musicalische Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude*. Along with the detailed description of the music published with the libretto, this surviving composition can serve as the basis for reconstructing the vocal and instrumental cast of the piece.²⁶

In 1661, Zeutschner's second printed collection comes out, titled *Musicalische Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude*. It comprises ten pieces for three to twelve vocal and instrumental parts and basso continuo (including another version of the hymn *Te Deum*). Unlike in the previous collection, all pieces but one are preceded by sinfonias, and the violins are now also supplemented with trombones and clarini.

The differences between the two printed collections are not limited to a larger and more varied instrumental cast. The place of publication changes as well, from Breslau to Leipzig. However, we should not jump to conclusions about Zeutschner's spreading fame - the collection was published by the Leipzig printing house of Johann Erich Hahn, but the title page specifies that Hahn printed the run for Veit Jacob Trescher, a notable bookseller from Breslau. In the preface, the composer thanks the Graf of Schweidnitz, Ernst von Gelhorn, and dedicates the collection to him. Based on this evidence, we may surmise that the publication was meant as a local enterprise, and Leipzig was chosen simply because Saxony was the natural printing resource of the Protestant enclaves in Silesia. This is all the more plausible as, according to the Polish print historian Maria Przywecka-Samecka, following the

death in 1650 of Georg Baumann jr., owner of the Breslau printing house which was to publish Zeutschner's first collection, his successors limited their publishing activity to small occasional compositions.²⁷ The publication of *Decas Prima* in 1652 could be an exception from that rule, impossible to repeat ten years later.

The publication of *Musicalische Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude* in Leipzig, probably a technical necessity, did not entail any significantly improved editing quality – there does not seem to be much difference between the editing standards at the two printing houses. However, the decision to publish in Leipzig was to have long-term consequences for the reception of Zeutschner's works in other centres. According to the basic bibliographies (such as Eitner or RISM) and inventories of lost collections, printed or handwritten copies of *Musicalische Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude* found their way into many libraries of Saxony and Prussia, including Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, Weimar, Coburg, Schweinfurt, Königsberg and Lüneburg. They even got as far as Scandinavia: a copy is attested in the musical inventory of the cathedral choir in Christiania (now Oslo) as early as 1665,²⁸ and the collection of Gustav Düben, now at Uppsala, contains tablature copies of several of his concertos, some with Swedish texts.²⁹ This would mean that pieces from Zeutschner's second collection, just as the works of such composers as Wolfgang Carl Briegel, Andreas Hammerschmidt or Samuel Capricornus, became quite quickly part of the standard repertoire in many Protestant cities. Possibly it was this popularity that drew attention to Zeutschner's unpublished pieces. Inventories of manuscripts in the libraries of Freyburg, Löbau and Lüneburg contain titles of his otherwise unattested works.³⁰ The most spectacular example comes from Berlin, where a 1680 copy of Zeutschner's Christmas History *Halleluja - Höret an die Geburt* is held, made by Hermann Koch, cantor at the local St. Nicholas's church.³¹

For the sake of comparison, the reception of the first collection, *Decas Prima*, did not go beyond the Protestant enclaves in Silesia and their counterparts in Ducal Prussia and Zips (now Spiš / Spisz). Apart from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the former Prussian Library in Berlin (now held at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow),³² the only copy of the print outside

of Breslau was held in Königsberg (after World War II, the surviving voice parts are now held at Vilnius), and copies of eight out of the ten concertos have been preserved in two manuscripts from Bardejov (formerly Bartfeld / Bartfa).³³ A copy of one concerto was only attested in the inventory of the music collection left by Johann Nicolaus Eccard, cantor at Schweinfurt in 1682–1688,³⁴ i.e. at a time when Zeutschner's second collection, *Musicalische Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude*, was already widely known.

Also notable among Zeutschner's pieces composed after 1661 is the concerto *Unser Wandel ist im Himmel* (1669). The music was used in a performance of a school drama by Georg Wende at the Mary Magdalene's gymnasium. The piece, copies of which survive in collections in Dresden and Stockholm, testifies to Zeutschner's contacts with the famous academy *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, which was active at the court of Herzog August von Sachsen-Weißenfels.³⁵

In addition to the Breslau printing house of Baumann's heirs and the printing house in Leipzig, Zeutschner also used the services of Christoph Tschorn's good printing press in Brieg. In addition to several occasional pieces, it published in 1667 and 1670 two more collections, much different in nature from the first two. These are small brochures, respectively containing 10 and 11 simple stanzaic songs for a single voice with basso continuo. Some songs are reprints of earlier ones (New Year songs, the Passion song *O Trauerstund* – which is, by the way, one of the most copied and reprinted pieces by Zeutschner), and in one case (penitential song *Ach Herr, ach Herr, meiner Schöne*) the text had been used earlier in a concerto from the collection *Decas Prima*. In the second brochure, the topics of its ten songs correspond to the stages of the liturgical year, and the cycle closes with an Addition (*Zugabe*), the song *Ich bin nunmehr der Welt ganz abgethan*, bearing the subtitle *Abdankung der Welt*.

These songs were published with individual purchasers and private devotions in mind, as attested by the shared title of the two volumes, *Musicalische Hauss-Andacht*. Except for the first two pieces from the first volume, all texts and tunes (which are early Pietist in character) come from Zeutschner. Some scholars, such as Werner Braun, seek formal connections with the 1644 cy-

I.N.J.
Musicalischer
Haus-Andacht
Erstes
Zehen.



Tobias Zeutschners N. C. P.
und Organistens zu St. Mar. Magd.
in Breslau.

Bedruckt zum Brieg /
durch Christoph Eschorn.

Figure 8.7 Tobias Zeutschner: *Musicalischer Hauss-Andacht erstes Zehen*, Brieg 1667 (Wrocław University Library, Old Prints Room, pressmark 320319) - title page

VIII.

Laß Christi Blut und Todt in deinem Herzen schweben
So wirst du deinen Leib den Lasten nicht ergeben.



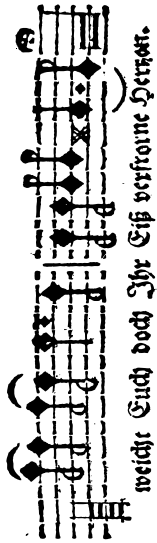
O Trauerstund und stoch dich finstret Tag!



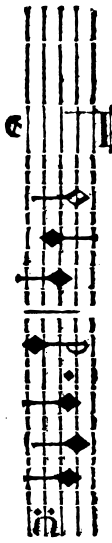
an welchem unser Heyland große Schmerzen



Erquidet hat mit herber bitterer klag/ er



weicht Euch doch Ihr Eiß verkornte Herzen.



2.

O große Noth! Ach Jammerreicher Stand!
O Seelen qual die dein Herz hat gefühlet?
Die Er zu gleich an Leib und Geiße empfand
Vor uns die wir in Lasten tieff verwichlet.

3.

O barren Anseß! o Thüren voller Nöth!
Da dem Erlöser mildes Blut geschwicket/
Erweget dieß im Herzen tausendfach
Die Ihr mit Luft in hundert-Kammern sisset.

4.

Wie köstlich du Errißim den Reich von mir:
Ist möglich Waret? Doch nach deinem Willen
Bin ich bereit ich folgerichtig Die
Durch sterben deinem Dankschluß zu erfüllen.

5.

Des Leibes-pein hast du doch schlech gedacht/
Der Sünden-wußt darinnen wie verstrickt/
Die hat Dir hier viel tausend ängsten bracht/
Dies war die Last so dich zu Todem drückte.

6. 5

Figure 8.8 Tobias Zeutschner: *Musicalischer Hauss-Andacht* erstes Zehen, Brieg 1667 (Wrocław University Library, Old Prints Room, pressmark 320319) - Passion song 'O Trauerstund'

cle *Frühlings-Mayen* by Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern, who was probably Zeutschner's teacher.³⁶

What becomes apparent from any comparisons between the career of Tobias Zeutschner and the artistic paths of other Protestant composers flourishing in Breslau at the same time is the relatively excellent rate of survival of Zeutschner's works, and their relatively considerable range of influence.

Tobias Zeutschner spent most of his adult life at St. Mary Magdalene's. For over twenty years, he was one of the makers of Breslau's contemporary music scene. He owed his success both to the importance and status of his church, and to his own efficiency in handling his affairs outside of his immediate workplace. Zeutschner seems to have felt equally at home when entertaining Protestant courts or Breslau's intellectual or musical elites. He was familiar with, and could skilfully leverage, the realities of the local 'publishing market'. Also important for the reception of Zeutschner's music was the network of contacts between the Protestant enclaves in Silesia and their counterparts in Zips and Prussia, as well as with their natural immediate hinterland in the main cities of Saxony. All those preconditions combine to make a picture of Protestant culture in the Silesia of the Habsburgs after 1648.

It would seem that Zeutschner was able to leverage fully the potential that this specific situation offered. But this is not Zeutschner's only achievement, or even his most important one. While the Breslau musicians of the earlier generation, such as Ambrosius Profe or Michael Büttner, toiled to transplant onto the local soil the repertoire and musical language of foremost Italian and German composers, Zeutschner made dexterous use of their achievements to lead the Breslau repertoire out to the world, and with his Leipzig edition of *Musicalische Kirchen- und Hauss-Freude* he transcended the local dimension of his works.

Translated by Piotr Szymczak

Notes

- 1 Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Academischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Albert Cohn, 1883; reprinted by Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim: 1969); by the same author, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1890; reprinted by Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim: 1970).
- 2 Cf. Elżbieta Wojnowska, 'Rozproszenie i przemieszczenia dawnych źródeł muzycznych (problem polskiego muzykologa i bibliotekarza),' (The Dispersal and Displacement of Old Music Sources (a problem for Polish musicologist and librarian)) in: *Staropolszczyzna muzyczna. Księga Konferencji, Warszawa 18-20 października 1996* (Music and Musical Life in Poland during Former Times. The Book of Conference, Warsaw 18-20 October 1996), eds. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiakowa, Agnieszka Leszczyńska and Mirosław Perz (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 1998), pp. 49-59; Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscripts from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn* (= Musicological Studies & Documents 53) (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler Verlag, 1999).
- 3 In the 19th century, Berlin was able to skim the most interesting items from secularized church collections throughout Germany, including Silesia. Cf. Aleksandra Patalas, *Catalogue of Early Music Prints from the Collections of the Former Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow* (Cracow: Musica Jagellonica, 1999).
- 4 The same role was played by the studies of Hans-Adolf Sander and Johannes Sass. Cf. Hans-Adolf Sander, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lutherischen Gottesdienstes und der Kirchenmusik in Breslau. Die Lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (= Breslauer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1, ed. Arnold Schmitz) (Breslau: Priebatsch, 1937); by the same author, 'Ein Orgelbuch der Breßlauer Magdalenen-Kirche aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zum Aufführungsbrauch des späten 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,' in: *Festschrift Max Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Joachim Zingel (Halle: E. Schneider, 1935), pp. 74-83; Johannes Sass, *Die Kirchenmusikalischen Ämter und Einrichtungen an den 3 evangelischen Haupt- und Pfarr-Kirchen der Stadt Breslau. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der schlesischen Provinzialhauptstadt von der Reformation bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. dissertation, Breslau, 1922, typescript in: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, pressmark MS 22/1656).
- 5 Barbara Wiermann, *Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (= Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte 14) (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005).
- 6 Cf. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Ocalałe źródła do historii muzyki w Polsce XVII stulecia ze zbiorów dawnej Stadtbibliothek we Wrocławiu,' (Extant Sources for the History of Music in Seventeenth Century-Poland from the Collections of the Former Stadtbibliothek in Wrocław) *Muzyka* 39 (1994/2), pp. 3-10; by the same author, 'Z luteranckiego wyboru. Zachowany repertuar wokalnie-instrumentalnej muzyki religijnej kapelistów polskich Wawóz,' (From the Lutheran Selection: The Surviving Repertory of

- Vocal-Instrumental Religious Music of the Composers of the Polish Vasas) *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 1 (2004), pp. 21-32; by the same author, 'Odpisy oraz opracowania kompozycji Marcina Mielczewskiego i innych muzyków polskich Wazów w siedemnastowiecznej kolekcji muzykaliów kościoła św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu,' (Copies and Editions of Compositions by Marcin Mielczewski and other Musicians of the Polish Vasas in the Seventeenth-Century Musical Collection of the Church of St Maria Magdalena in Wrocław) *Muzyka* 51 (2006/1-2), pp. 117-46.
- 7 Cf. Tomasz Jeż, 'Łacińska twórczość muzyczna w ewangelickim Wrocławiu. Kwestia trwałości tradycji w czasach przemian konfesyjnych,' (Latin Musical Works in Evangelistic Wrocław. The Question of Tradition Persistence in Time of Confessional Changes) *Barok. Historia - Literatura - Sztuka* 11 (2004/2), pp. 198-9.
- 8 Remigiusz Pośpiech, *Muzyka wielogłosowa w celebracji eucharystycznej na Śląsku w XVII i XVIII w.* (Polyphonic Music in Eucharistic Celebrations in Silesia in 17th and 18th Centuries) (= *Z dziejów kultury chrześcijańskiej na Śląsku / History of Christian Culture in Silesia* 29) (Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2004).
- 9 Anna Mańko-Matysiak, *Schlesische Gesangbücher 1525-1741: eine hymnologische Quellenstudie* (= *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 2800) (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005), p. 408.
- 10 Cf. note 4.
- 11 Cf. Barbara Wiermann, *Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens*, p. 339 (see note 3). Wiermann connects this name with the fact that Breslau's St. Bernardine's church was established by the Naples-born St. John of Capistrano. However, the name (*Neapolitana*) could just as well have been coined from the hellenized form of the New Town (*Neustadt*, i.e. *Neapolis*). This which was a frequent practice in German humanist circles in the 16th and 17th centuries.
- 12 Cf. *Rechnungsbücher der Kirchenkasse zu St. Maria Magdalena* (Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe [State Archives], Akta Miasta Wrocławia, pressmark 4172-4176, olim P 75, 14-36).
- 13 Cf. *Abschrift der Stiftungen und Obligationen sambt den Dispositionen darüber, welche der Kirche und Schule zu St. Mar. Magd. von einigen Wohlthätern, als ein Beneficium zu genüßen nach und nach Legiret und Constituïret worden. 1642-1758* (Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe, Akta Miasta Wrocławia, pressmark 4382, olim P 79ee). Barbara Wiermann (*Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens*, pp. 352-6) offers a detailed discussion of this bequest.
- 14 Reinhold Starke, 'Tobias Zeutschner,' *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 32 (1900), pp. 195-207 and pp. 213-19.
- 15 Cf. the articles by Werner Braun in the main music encyclopaedias: *Zeutschner, Tobias* [entry], in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume (vol. 14, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968), col. 1251-1253; by the same author, *Zeutschner, Tobias* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 28, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), pp. 797-8.
- 16 For detailed bibliographical details see note 24.

- 17 Werner Braun incorrectly describes this and the next print as lost. It has survived incomplete in the Music Collections Room at the Wrocław University Library (pressmark 50908 Muz.). Cf. Braun, *Zeutschner, Tobias*.
- 18 Held in the Old Prints Room, Wrocław University Library (pressmark 429353).
- 19 Fritz Hamann, 'Dokumente zur Musikpflege in Schweidnitz (Schlesien) um 1700,' *Die Musikforschung* 3 (1950), pp. 72-4.
- 20 Preserved in the Old Prints Room, Wrocław University Library, pressmark 550122.
- 21 According to Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska's findings, Zeutschner was one of the copyists who prepared under Büttner's supervision the performance scores for the musicians performing at St. Mary Magdalene's. Taken together, those copies comprise a collection of over 300 pieces. Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Odписy oraz opracowania', p. 125.
- 22 Held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz (pressmark Bohn Ms. mus. 210).
- 23 In the same collection (pressmark Bohn Ms. mus. 210d).
- 24 Cf. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Die Weihnachtshistorie von Tobias Zeutschner (Breslau um 1660),' *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 29 (1988), pp. 111-20; Werner Braun, 'Berliner Kirchenmusik im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts. Zur Sammelhandschrift Koch aus der ehemaligen Sing-Akademie,' *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1996), pp. 166-93 and (1997), pp. 391-405; Greta Konradt, 'Die Instrumentalbegleitung in Historien-Kompositionen der Schützzeit,' *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 19 (1997), pp. 21-36. It should be noted that Konradt was the first to be able to use for her research the Breslau manuscript, which is held in Berlin (pressmark Bohn Ms. mus. 210a).
- 25 Several copies of the libretto survive in the old prints collection at the Wrocław University Library (pressmarks 534886, 550015 and 550016).
- 26 The last piece preserved in manuscript (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, pressmark Bohn Ms. mus. 210b), a panegyric concerto *In suis Deus profecto fit*, was composed in 1668 to celebrate the 75th birthday and the 50th anniversary of the ordination of Michael Hermann, minister at St. Elizabeth's.
- 27 Cf. Maria Przywecka-Samecka, *Drukarstwo muzyczne w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* (Music Printing in Poland to the End of the Eighteenth Century), (Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1969), p. 135, by the same author: *Dzieje drukarstwa muzycznego w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* (The History of Music Printing in Poland to the End of the Eighteenth Century) (= Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 1454) (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1993) p. 170.
- 28 Hampus Huld-Nystrom, 'Hva sang disciplene ved Christiania Kathedralskole i 1600-arene?,' *Studia musicologica norvegica* 5 (1979), p. 27-48.
- 29 E.g. the concerto *Gott sei mir gnädig*, recorded as *Gudh war migh nadeligh*; cf. Bruno Grusnick, 'Die Dübensammlung: ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnung,' *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* 46 (1964), pp. 27-82 (43, 51, 53, 79) and 48 (1966), pp. 63-186.
- 30 Werner Braun, 'Die alten Musikbibliotheken der Stadt Freyburg (Unstrut),' *Die*

Musikforschung 15 (1962), pp. 123–45; Wolfram Steude, *Die Musiksammlunghandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974); Max Seiffert, 'Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit,' *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 9 (1907–1908), pp. 593–621.

31 Braun, *Berliner Kirchenmusik*, passim.

32 Cf. Patalas, *Catalogue of Early Music Prints* (see note 3), pp. 386–7, entries no. 2212 and 2213.

33 Cf. Robert Arpad Muranyi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musiksammlung von Bartfeld (Bártfa)* (Bonn: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 1991), entries no. 371, 401–405, 410, 1456–1460

34 Cf. Peter Wollny, 'Materialien zu Schweinfurter Musikpflege im 17. Jahrhundert: Von 1592 bis zum Tod Georg Christoph Bachs,' *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 19 (1997), pp. 113–63.

35 Cf. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Tobias Zeutschners kleines geistliches Konzert „Unser Wandel ist im Himmel”,' in: *Briefe der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft und Beilagen: die Zeit Herzog Augusts von Sachsen-Weissenfels, 1667–1680*, ed. Martin Bircher (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 227–32; this volume also contains a facsimile of the original printed edition.

36 Cf. note 15.