ABSTRACT: The Music Collection Department of Wroclaw University Library is in possession of an old print that contains the following inscription: ‘Esaias Reusner | fürste Brigischer | Lautenist’. This explicitly indicates the lutenist Esaias Reusner junior (1636–1679), who was born in Lwówek Śląski (Ger. Löwenberg). A comparative analysis of the duct of the handwriting in this inscription and in signatures on letters from 1667 and 1668 shows some convergences between the main elements of the script. However, there are also elements that could exclude the possibility that all the autographs were made by the same person. Consequently, it cannot be confirmed or unequivocally refuted that the inscription is an autograph signature of the lutenist to the court in Brzeg (Ger. Brieg). The old print itself contains a great deal of interesting information, which, in the context of Silesian musical culture of the second half of the seventeenth century and biographical information relating to the lutenist, enable us to become better acquainted with the specific character of this region, including the functioning of music in general, and lute music in particular. The print contains a work by Johann Kessel, a composer and organist from Oleśnica (Ger. Öls), who dedicated it to three brothers of the Piast dynasty: Georg III of Brzeg, Ludwig IV of Legnica and Christian of Legnica. It is a ‘Paean to brotherly unity’, which explains the reference to Psalm 133. Published in Brzeg, for the New Year of 1663, by Christoff Tschorn, the print also includes two poetic texts: a sophisticated elegiac distich in the form of a tautogram and a New Year’s ode. It is beneath these texts that we find the above-mentioned inscription relating to Esaias Reusner Jnr. Regardless of whether the autograph on the print is ascribed to Reusner or not, it does indicate his connection with this print, and probably with Kessel’s composition as well. Consequently, we can discover what kind of repertoire the Silesian lutenist played besides familiar lute pieces by his teachers, his own works, and arrangements of his works for chamber ensemble.

KEYWORDS: lute in Silesia, Esaias Reusner Junior, Reusner autograph, Johann Kessel, music in Oleśnica (Öls), music in Brzeg (Brieg), music at the court of the Brandenburg Elector in Berlin, Piast dynasty of Silesia, tautogram

The musical culture of Silesia has been a topic of research for many decades. Researchers from all over the world have shown in their works that music cultivated in this region has held a special position not only in the local culture, but across Europe.¹ The intense development of musical culture was ensured by music

¹ The music conference ‘The Musical Culture of Silesia Before 1742: New Contexts – New Perspectives’, held in Wroclaw in 2011, provided a great opportunity to present and learn about the latest research into the musical culture of Silesia. The conference materials are in press.
ensembles maintained by churches, monasteries and ducal courts. Silesia was characterised by a relative symbiosis between the Protestant and Catholic faiths, although the region was not spared the destructive effects of the Thirty Years’ War. After 1648, the tension between Protestants and Catholics remained noticeable for quite some time, particularly in the political sphere. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Protestant Piast family of the Silesian line was particularly prominent. The names of three brothers should be mentioned here: Duke Georg III (Herzog) of Brzeg/Brieg (1611–1664), his younger brother Duke Ludwig IV of Legnica/Liegnitz (1616–1663) and the youngest of the three, Duke Christian of Legnica (1618–1672). Their rule over the three duchies is symbolised by the three brothers’ effigy on a coin from 1658.


Extant collections confirm their fondness for music. Many compositions contain dedications for the Silesian Piast dynasty, including the work preserved in our

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5 For a select bibliography, see Unvericht, *De Musica in Silesia*, 137–166. Today, the collections are scattered across several libraries: the Biblioteka Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk in Legnica, Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wrocław and Biblioteka Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego in Lublin.
An unknown source concerning Esaias Reusner Junior from the Music

print, held in the Musical Collection Department of Wroclaw University Library. Its title page reads as follows:


Figure 2. Title page of Christoph Tschorn’s print with music by Johann Kessel, shelf-mark BUWr: 51101Muz.

6 The double slashes are given as they appear in the original text; the single slashes mark the end of lines.
The dedication starts with a eulogy of fraternal unity (‘Lob Brüderlicher Einigkeit’), which appears also in Psalm 133. It is to Georg, Ludwig and Christian that Johann Kessel, an organist and musician at the parish church and the duke’s castle in Oleśnica, dedicated his nine-part work for three voices and three double instrumental parts. The print was published by Christoff Tschorn in 1663, in Brzeg, with the town’s status as a ducal seat emphasised (‘Gedruckt in Fürstliche Stadt Brieg / durch Christoff Tschorn’). From the point of view of the lute music researcher, the most interesting aspect is the handwritten inscription on the last page: ‘Esaias Reusner | fürste Brigischer | Lautenist’ [Esaias Reusner, lutenist of Brzeg court].

The signature appears in the bottom right corner, under the text ‘Neu=Jahrs=Ode’. Next to it, the year 1663 was added in pencil, confirming the date on the first page. The musician in question is the famous lutenist Esaias Reusner, probably the...
An unknown source concerning Esaias Reusner Junior from the Music

younger (his father had the same first name), who was connected with the Silesian Piasts. A whole range of questions may appear at this point. Is the signature the autograph of the lutenist mentioned above? Or perhaps someone else signed the source with his name and current position at the duke’s court in Brzeg? Why is Reusner’s name on Kessel’s print? When was the signature written? The following is an attempt to answer these questions.

Comparative research into the duct of the handwriting made use of sources containing Reusner’s handwritten inscriptions. These comprise signatures on letters to the City Council of Gdańsk/Danzig, which Reusner sent from Brzeg on 2 November 1667 and 27 April 1668. Both of them were written by a scribe, with the lutenist merely signing them.

Figure 4. Esaias Reusner junior’s first letter to Gdańsk City Council, 2 November 1667, Brzeg, shelf-mark of State Archive in Gdańsk (SAG): Akta miasta Gdańska: 300,36/57, pp. 149–150.
In the letter dated 2 November, Reusner mentions the *Musicalischer Lust-Garten*, a collection of ninety-eight Lutheran chorale intavolations written by his father and prepared mainly for ten – and eleven-course lute.\(^7\) The collection was well received in Gdańsk.\(^8\) He also refers to Marie Louise [Ludwika Maria] Gonzaga, Queen of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, who had died almost six months before he wrote this letter. Reusner had the chance to present his skills before the queen during her welcome to Gdańsk on 15 February 1646.\(^9\) In the letter, Reusner gives thanks for all the favour he and his father received from the city councillors. To show his gratitude, he presented them with twenty-four issues of his recently published collection *Delitiae testudinis*. Reusner dedicated this collection to Duke Christian of Legnica, who at the time was the self-titled Duke of Legnica, Brzeg and Wołów. Also mentioned in the dedication is Christian’s wife, Duchess Louise of Anhalt-Dessau.

In the letter dated 27 April 1668, Reusner mentions *Delitiae testudinis* and adds that it was listened to and liked by the emperor (‘mit meiner Laute hochgünstig gehört worden, aus schuldigst devovirtem Gemütte, ein theil meiner, sonder rühm vor der Röm[ische] Kayserl[ische] May[estat] zu allernädigstem gefallen […]'). In the letter, Reusner asks the councillors if they have received the copies of *Delitiae testudinis*, which were supposed to be delivered by Paul Hermling, a trader from Gdańsk.

Reusner’s correspondence from Brzeg with Gdańsk City Council was first mentioned by Richard Münnich, in an article from 1910,\(^10\) then in 1926 by both Georg Sparmann, in his doctoral dissertation,\(^11\) and Adolf Koczirz, in an article in which he included one of Reusner’s letters and referred to Münnich’s text\(^12\). There is no information about Reusner’s letters in Gary Dean Beckman’s 2007 doctoral dissertation about Lutheran chorale intavolations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\(^13\) Only Anna Swoboda, in 2010, included the original letters in her master’s

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\(^7\) Karl Koletschka, ‘Esaias Reusner Vater und Sohn und ihre Choralbearbeitungen für die Laute. Eine Parallele’, in *Festschrift Adolph Koczirz zum 60. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1930), 14–17. Koletschka points out that some works from this collection should be performed on eleven-course, not ten-course lute, as is often thought.

\(^8\) This collection is held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, shelf-mark PL-GD Ee_2596_2.

\(^9\) Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzykce dwory polskich Wazów* [The musical courts of the Polish Vasa kings] (Warsaw, 2007), 79.


\(^13\) Gary Dean Beckman, *The Sacred Lute: Intabulated Chorales from Luther’s Age to the beginnings of Pietism*, diss., University of Texas (Austin, 2007).
thesis. Unfortunately, only Koczirz gave the letters’ current repository and exact shelf-mark, which is slightly different from that established at present. Based on the content of these letters, we may assume that the *terminus post quem* for Reusner’s departure to the imperial court in Vienna was 2 November 1667 – the date of the first letter. This is indicated by the fact that such a journey could not have taken place earlier; otherwise, it would have been mentioned in the first letter, next to the information about Reusner’s performances before Queen Marie Louise Gonzaga.

Figure 5. Esaias Reusner junior’s second letter to Gdańsk City Council, 27 April 1668, Brzeg, shelf-mark of SAG: *Akta miasta Gdańska*: 300,36/57, pp. 153–154.

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16 The information from Reusner’s letters seems to be more reliable than the funeral speech, published in *Ehrengedächtnis*, in 1680, given by the Protestant pastor M. G. Lang, indicating the year 1665, which was included in some publications: Markus Lutz, ‘Die Leichpredigt von Esaias Reusner (1636–1679)’, *Lauten-Info*, 4 (2006), 22; Andreas Schlegel and Joachim Lüdtke, *Die Laute in Europa 2. Lauten, Gitarren, Mandolinen und Cistern* (Basel, 2011), 290, 418.
Autographic inscriptions of Reusner junior also appear on the print *Neue Lauten-Früchte*, on the copy available in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, shelf-mark D-B Mus. ms. 18380.\(^{17}\) The duct of the lutenist’s handwritten comments in that source was used as material for a comparative analysis with the inscription from the source in Wroclaw.

The handwriting comparison was based mainly on letter signatures that Reusner wrote only five years after the publication of Kessel’s print. In each case, there are noticeable differences in the writing of the first and last letters of the first name and the first letter of the last name. The signatures were written in haste and less carefully than the signature in the Wroclaw source. This difference is visible particularly in the first name. However, a similar duct is noticeable in the letters ‘s’, in second place in the first name, and ‘ß’, in the last name. There is also a similar way of connecting the letter parts in the word ‘fürste’ (especially in the signature from 1668) and ‘Lautenist’, particularly evident where ‘u’ is joined to ‘t’ and ‘s’ to ‘t’. The letters with hooks, the slant of the handwriting, the space between the letters, the pressure applied and many other elements play a very important role in characterising the handwriting.\(^{18}\) A characteristic and similar way of writing the letters ‘f’ and ‘g’ (especially the hook of the ‘g’) is evident in the Wroclaw source and in the signature from 1668. In each of the three signatures, the duct is characterised by a slight slope to the right. The spaces between letters in the specimen from Wroclaw library are much wider than in the other two, particularly in the first name. These comparisons are just a few of the many that were made. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to state unambiguously that the inscription concerning the lutenist from Silesia is his autograph. In the compared ducts, there

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\(^{17}\) The attribution of the handwritten inscriptions from this manuscript to Esaias Reusner Jnr was made on the basis of a comparative analysis of the duct of the handwriting between that manuscript and two signatures by Reusner Jnr from the letters held in the State Archive in Gdańsk; see Koletschka, ‘Esaias Reußner der Jüngerer und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts’, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 15 (1928), 14.

are noticeable differences between the signatures on the letters. All in all, despite the many places where they differ, the signatures on the Wroclaw print and on the letters are sufficiently similar for us to assume that they could have been written by Esaias Reusner junior. As regards the date when the inscription was made, the context of the publication and the content of the source, answers may be provided by bibliographical information relating to Reusner and editions of his works.


Reusner’s biography is usually based on the funeral speech titled ‘Christlichen Leichpredigt’ by M. G. Lang, published in 1680. Wilibald Gurlitt quoted in his article an appropriate part of the text that concerns Reusner. He was using the copy of the speech held in the Fürstliche-Stolber’scher Bibliothek zu Stolberg, now in

the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (shelf-mark 18693). The mistakes in Lang’s work were first corrected by Sparmann, then much of this information was supplemented and expanded by successive authors of works on the Silesian lutenist. On the basis of the above publications, one may conclude that the most important points in the life of Esaias Reusner junior are as follows:

- 29 April 1636. Birth in Lwówek Śląski (Ger. Löwenberg) of Esaias Reusner junior, son of Esaias Reusner senior (the father’s parents were Frantz Reusner, a Lwówek tradesman, and Marta Kelch, née Hohenberger von Lieben) and Blandina Reich (the mother’s father was Johann Reich, a court musician [Hoff-Musicus] at the court of the prince-elector in Brandenburg; nothing is known about her mother)
- 1643. Death of his mother
- 15 February 1646. Journey to Gdańsk and success of the ten-year-old lutenist during the welcome of Marie Louise Gonzaga, Queen of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania
- 1651. A butler at the Polish court of a Radziwill princess [Anna Maria? Lucrezia Maria?]
- 1654. Return to Wrocław
- 1655. Lutenist at the court of Duke (Herzog) Georg III of Brzeg, from the Silesian line of the Piast dynasty
- 30 August 1660. Marriage to Maria Böhme
- **1663. The work by Johann Kessel, an organist from Oleśnica (Brzeg: Christoff Tschorn, 1663):** death of Duke Ludwig IV of Legnica
  - 1664. Death of Duke Georg III; Reusner returns to Wrocław for one year
  - 1665. Lutenist to Duke Christian (Herzog) of Legnica (of Brzeg, Legnica and Wołów)
  - 1667. First edition of *Delitiae testudinis* (Brzeg, 1667) and first letter to Gdańsk City Council
  - 2 November 1667 to 27 April 1668 [?]. Probably journey to the imperial court in Vienna

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20 I would like to thank Markus Lutz of Bad Buchau in Germany for making available the materials from his research in this library, the content of which is much larger than the fragment used by Gurlitt and then also by Sparmann. Cf. Lutz, ‘Die Leichpredigt’, 19–24.


• 1668. Second edition of Delitiae testudinis. Oder Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust, ‘zu finden in Breslau bey Veit Jacob Treschern, Buchhändlern’, [1668?]; publication of Musicalische Taffel-Erlustigung (Brzeg: Christoff Tschorn, 1668); second letter to Gdańsk City Council

• 1670. First edition of Musicalische Gesellschafts-Ergötzung bestehend in Sonaten... (Brzeg, 1670)

• 28 February 1672. Death of Duke Christian of Legnica; Reusner in Leipzig

• 1673. Employment in Sebastian Knüpfer’s music ensemble in Leipzig; journey to the court of the Brandenburg elector in Berlin; publication of Musikalischer Blumenstraß (Bremen, 1673), lost; second edition of Musicalische Gesellschafts-Ergötzung bestehend in Sonaten, ‘zu finden in Breslau bey Veit Jacob Treschern, Buchhändlern in Breslau’ (Frankfurt-Leipzig, 1673 [sic] 23)

• 1676. Publication of Neue Lauten-Früchte (Berlin, 1676)

• 1678. Publication of Hundert geistliche Melodien evangelischer Lieder, welche auf die Fest – und andere Tage (Berlin, 1678)

• 1 May 1679. Death of Esaias Reusner junior

• 1697. Publication of posthum. Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust, ‘Zu finden bey Johann Herbord Klossen’ (Leipzig, 1697)

As indicated in the extant sources, Reusner came from a Silesian patrician family and was brought up in a God-fearing home, as can be gauged from the fact that he was baptised two days after his birth.24 Some time after the death of Esaias junior’s mother, and on account of the intensified military activity in the Lwówek area, as part of the Thirty Years’ War, the two lutenists moved to Wrocław between 1643 and 1648. There, the son became a page to the Swedish general Graf Wittenberg (probably Arvid Wittenberg) for a period of two years.25 Later, he was in the service of the emperor’s war commissar – Müller. After Müller’s death, he became a butler at the Polish court of a Radziwiłł princess, in 1651. This may have been Anna Maria Radziwiłł (born Jaśiūnai (Pol. Jaszuny), 1640; died Königsberg, 24 March 1667), wife of her cousin Bogusław Radziwiłł (1620–1669), of the Calvinist line of Biržai, Dubingiai, Slutsk and Kapyl (Pol. Birżė, Dubinki, Sluck and Kopyl).26 Another possibility was that he worked at the court of Princess Lucrezia Maria Radziwiłł, née Strozzi (d. 1694), wife of Prince Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł

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23 There is no information in the RISM about the different dates of this publication, see Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Einzeldrucke vor 1800, ed. Karlheinz Schlager, vii (Kassel, 1978), 156.


26 Cf. Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce [Journal of Polish history], tr. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, iii (Warsaw, 1980); Lat. orig. Memoriale rerum
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(1594–1654), of the Olyka, Nesvizh (Pol. Ołęka, Nieśwież), Mir, Szydłowiec, Kražiai (Pol. Kroże) and Biała line, since the prince died the same year that Reusner returned to Wroclaw, 1654. Further research is needed to discover if Reusner’s employment at the Radziwiłł court could have been influenced by his performance in Gdańsk during the royal welcome of Marie Louise Gonzaga (second wife of King Ladislaus IV Vasa), in 1646. At the Radziwiłł court, Reusner was taught how to play the lute and write music. His teacher was a French lutenist, whose name was probably François Dufault (born before 1604; died before 1671), as Tim Crawford claims. It is worth mentioning here that outstanding lutenists were brought to the courts of the Radziwiłł family.

Lucrezia [Lukrezia] Maria Strozzi [Stroči] was a lady-in-waiting to the Polish queen Cecilia Renata (Habsburg), first wife of King Ladislaus IV Vasa. Engraved portraits of Lucrezia and her husband were made 1746–1758 by Herszek Leybowicz (b. 1700, d. after 1786) and others on the basis of paintings from the Radziwiłł family portrait collection; those engravings are held at Vilnius University Library. They can be viewed at http://atmintis.mb.vu.lt/en/fedora/repository/gluonis%3AVUB06_000001075 and http://atmintis.mb.vu.lt/en/fedora/repository/gluonis%3AVUB06_000001073, accessed 15 July 2012. According to biographical and genealogical information inscribed on the pedestal of the two engravings, they married in 1642, and so theoretically Lucrezia Maria could have heard Reusner play in Gdańsk in 1646, as the wife of Aleksander Lukow Radziwiłł, who was on familiar terms with the Polish king; see Radziwiłł, Pamiętnik, ii:324, 390, 495 and iii:417; Zuzanna Prószyńska, ‘Leybowicz Hirsz’, in Janusz Derwojed (ed.) Słownik Artystów Polskich [Dictionary of Polish artists], v (Warsaw, 1993), 88–89; Hanna Widacka, ‘Działalność Hirsza Leybowicza i innych rytowników na dworze nieświeńskim Michała Kazimierza Radziwiłła ‘Rybeńki’ w świetle badań archiwalnych’ [The work of Hirsz Leybowicz and other engravers at the Nesvizh court of Michel Kazimierz ‘Rybeńko’ Radziwill in light of archive research], Biuletyn historii sztuki, 39 (1977), 62–72.


At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Michelangelo Galilei (1575–1631) was connected with the Radziwiłł court. He probably arrived at the Polish royal court or the Radziwiłł court in Vilnius at the same time as Luca Marenzio (1553/4–1599). The next lutenist was Esaias Reusner junior. Almost a century later, Antoni Joseph Hueber, familiar from the Count Goëss manuscript in the Ebenthal Collection, and Joseph Kohaut (1738–1777) had some kind of contact...
After Reusner’s return to Wroclaw in 1654, he worked at the court of Duke Georg III for the next nine years. Although we cannot conclude from Lang’s description that Reusner’s principal abode was the castle in Brzeg, that is indeed suggested by the inscription ‘Briegischer Lautenist’ in a Wroclaw print from 1663. This inscription also points to Esaias Reusner junior, not senior, because we know that only Reusner junior used the title ‘ducal lutenist of Brzeg’. He used it until 1667, as is shown by the above-mentioned letter. During his service at Georg III’s court, on 30 August 1660 Reusner married Maria Böhme [Böhm?], daughter of Nicolai Böhme (Wroclaw municipal councillor and tanner of the municipal guild).30

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Silesian dukes looked for support among Protestant families in the countries of the German Reich, such as the princely houses of Württemberg and von Anhalt, and the family of the County Palatine of the Rhine. Thus the coalition of non-Catholic dukes against the Habsburgs was becoming stronger, especially among Calvinists, as was confirmed by


30 Although the surname Böhme was known in Silesia, because of the work of the Silesian mystic Jakub Böhme (1575–1624), whose works inspired the doctor and subsequent convert and mystic Johannes Scheffler (1624–1677), who from 1647 to 1652 was present at the court of Duke Silvius I Nimrod of Württemberg-Öls (1622–1664) and his wife Elżbieta Maria Podiebrad (1625–1686), it is not known if there were any family bonds between Nicolai and Jakub Böhme. Cf. Józef Kosian, Mistrzowie duchowości śląskiej. Jakub Boehme, Anioł Ślązak, Daniel Czepko [Masters of Silesian spirituality: Jakub Boehme, Angelus Silesius and Daniel Czepko] (Wroclaw, 2001); Andrzej Koziel, Angelus Silesius, Bernard Rosa i Michael Willmann czyli sztuka i mistyka na Śląsku w czasach baroku [Angelus Silesius, Bernard Rosa and Michael Willmann, or Art and mysticism in Silesia during the Baroque] (Wroclaw, 2006). It is worth mentioning that the composer and kapellmeister Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern (1594–1648) was connected with the court in Oleśnica, with the nearby court of Henryk Waclaw in Bierutów (Ger. Bernstadt) and also with Wroclaw (the city council), his pupil Tobias Zeutschner followed a similar path (though he was not a Wroclaw councillor), and Esaias Reusner senior probably played in the music chapel in Bierutów. It is difficult to establish whether Löwenstern, Reusner senior or junior and Nicolai Böhme knew each other personally, but it cannot be excluded. Cf. Peter Epstein, Apelles von Löwenstern (Wroclaw, 1929); Fritz Koschinsky, Das protestantische Kirchenorchester im 17. Jahrhundert, unter Berücksichtigung des Breslauer Kunstauffen dieser Zeit (Wroclaw, 1931); Paulina Halamska, ‘Działalność Tobiasa Zeutschnera (1621–75) w kościele św. Marii Magdaleny. Kariera kompozytora w protestanckim środowisku dawnego Wrocławia’, Muzyka, 53/2 (2008), 69–90; Eng. version as ‘The Activity of Tobias Zeutschner (1621–1675) at St. Mary Magdalene Church in Wroclaw: a Composing Career in Protestant Breslau’, Musicology Today (2009), 153–177; Swoboda, Esaias Reusner (1636–1679), 17–18.
marriages between Silesian nobility and families of the Reich, including the Piast family, which converted to Calvinism during the seventeenth century.\(^{31}\) One such marriage was between Duke Christian of Legnica and Louise of Anhalt-Dessau (1631–1680).\(^{32}\) Their daughter, Karolina of Legnica-Brzeg-Wola (1652–1707), was brought up in the spirit of Calvinism, but converted to marry a Catholic. Her wedding took place not long after her father’s death, on 14 July 1672, and her husband was Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1651–1724). This marriage caused a huge scandal in noble and royal circles.\(^{33}\) She spent the rest of her life in Wroclaw, in the palace of the dukes of Legnica and Brzeg at 49 Szewska Street, which now houses Wroclaw University’s Institute of History, among other institutions (there is a commemorative plaque). The palace belonged to the Silesian Piast family for a long time. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that Reusner spent some time there while in Wroclaw. That is suggested by his second letter to Gdansk City Council, sent from Brzeg on 27 April 166. There, he mentions his stay at the imperial court in Vienna, where he played before the emperor, to whom he dedicated a collection of music from *Delitiae testudinis*, together with a dedication to the emperor and the modified title *Delitiae testudinis. Oder Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust* (unfortunately, without date and place of publication).\(^{34}\) In the preface, he refers to himself as ‘Subiectissimus Esaias Reusnerus, Vratislav’,\(^{35}\) which must have been deliberate, as he was working at the court in Brzeg at that time. Preserved on the print from Wroclaw library is his signature with the title he used during the reign of Georg III, namely ‘Fürstl Brigischer Lautenist’, as in the letter from 1667. When Reusner was accepted into the duke’s court by Christian, his title changed to ‘Fürstl[iche] Lautenist’, without an indication of the place, whereas in the letter from 1668 there is a signature with the title ‘Fürstl[iche] Brieg[ischer] Hofflautenist’. This means that he must have been promoted. However, it is very difficult to say if the journey to Vienna might have been significant in this matter.

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\(^{31}\) Czapliński et al., *Historia Śląska*, 158.

\(^{32}\) Ibid. 175, 177, 221.

\(^{33}\) However, this marriage ended after eight years. After the death, on 21 November 1675, of her brother, Georg IV Wilhelm, the last of the Silesian line of the Piast dynasty, she tried to take power in the duchies, but although she was Catholic, Emperor Leopold I did not allow it. Cf. Gotthard Münch, ‘Charlotte von Liegnitz, Brig und Wohllau, die Schwester der letzten Piasten’, *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, 10 (1952), 148–188, 11 (1953), 127–168, 12 (1954), 112–169; Norbert Conrads and Joachim Bahlcke, Preface, in *Schlesien in der Frühmoderne: zur politischen und geistigen Kultur eines habsburgischen Landes* (Cologne, 2009), 80–101.

\(^{34}\) The aforementioned letters and E. G. Baron’s mention that Reusner’s lute music collection was published in 1668 allow us to assume that the collection with dedication to Emperor Leopold I was probably made in 1668. See Baron, *Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, 72. The problems with dating *Delitiae testudinis. Oder Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust* are also mentioned by some pre-war scholars; see Koczirz, ‘Eine Titelauflage’, 640; Sparmann, *Esaias Reusner*, 12; Koletschka, ‘Esaias Reußner der Jüngerer’, 7.

\(^{35}\) A transcription of this dedication appears in Koletschka, ‘Esaias Reußner der Jüngerer’, 9.
That journey may have taken place in the six-month period between his letters from Brzeg: 2 November 1667 to 27 April 1668. On his return, he could have been unsure of his post, but he probably counted on getting a position at the imperial court in Vienna, as he had made a very good impression on Emperor Leopold I while playing for him, as did other virtuosos. Information in Delitiae testudinis. Oder Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust concerning the print’s availability in the shop of the Wroclaw bookseller Jacob Trescher also indicates that Reusner maintained continuous contact with the capital of Lower Silesia.

In 1668, Reusner published Musikalsiche Taffel-Erlustigung, through Christoff Tschorn’s publishing firm in Brzeg. This consists of ten lute suites, from which Johann Georg Stanley (no dates known), a musician with the Brzeg music chapel, produced arrangements for four-part chamber ensemble (violin, two violas and b.c.). Preserved in the University Library in Uppsala are all the parts of the arrangement, in the form of five part-books, of which the Bassus and b.c. parts are identical. None of the parts in that edition have bar lines. Before the second part in this edition, we find the author’s remarks concerning performance, whilst the first violin part carries the dedication for ‘Prince and Bishop Sebastian of Wroclaw’ (‘Fürst und Herr Sebastian Bischof in Breslau zugeeignet’); this is surely Bishop Sebastian Rostock (1607–1671), born in Grodków (Ger. Grottkau), in Silesia, patron and founder of the vocal-instrumental cathedral chapel in Wroclaw.36 It cannot be precluded, then, that when he was founding the chapel, in 1668, Rostock was trying to obtain the latest compositions for his musicians. Did he play violin himself, given that Reusner’s dedication appears in the first violin part? Perhaps Reusner was a member of that chapel, given that he signed himself in Delitiae testudinis. Oder Erfreuliche Lauten-Lust as ‘Subjectissimus Esaias Reusnerus, Vratislav’? Finally, were Reusner’s compositions played in Wroclaw cathedral? For the time being, all these questions must remain unanswered, just like the question of Reusner junior’s dormitory in the palace of the Legnica and Brzeg Piasts in Wroclaw.

A breakthrough in the court lutenist’s career occurred after Duke Christian’s death, on 28 February 1672. In the autumn of that year, Reusner went to Leipzig, where he was taken on as a teacher of lute at the University.37 He also found employment in the music chapel of Sebastian Knüpfer, cantor of the Church of St Thomas, where he played the basso continuo part.38 Despite this, Reusner continued to look for work, seeking a post at the Brandenburg duke’s court in Berlin.

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From 1673 until his death, Reusner junior remained at the court of the Brandenburg Elector Friedrich William Hohenzollern, the so-called ‘Great Elector’. It was probably there that he met Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłł, daughter of Bogusław Radziwiłł and Anna Maria Radziwiłł, who was probably the young lutenist’s patron. During his time at the elector’s court, Esaias junior published four more collections of his music. The first two were published in 1673: the lost collection Musikalischer Blumenstraß, published in Bremen, and the re-edition of Musicalische Gesellschafts-Ergötzung, from 1670 (from Brzeg), now published in Frankfurt and Leipzig and also given for sale to the Wroclaw bookseller Jacob Trescher.39 This collection of sixty works, for similar forces as in the earlier edition, has been preserved in five part-books at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.40 Similarly to Musicalische Taffel-Erlustigung, the musical text of this edition is devoid of bar lines, and the b.c. part was written in the same mensural staff notation as the other parts. Reusner’s next publication from the Berlin period is the collection of Neue Lauten-Früchte, published in Berlin in 1676. These are works for solo lute, although in the copy held in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin, the composer placed inscriptions that may attest plans for arranging them for chamber forces, including spinet, violin, viola da gamba and lute. The last collection published in Berlin, also Reusner’s last, was a collection of Lutheran chorale melodies arranged for solo lute, entitled Hundert geistliche Melodien evangelischer Lieder, published probably in 1678.41 From Ehrengedächtnis, we learn that Esaias Reusner junior died on 1 May 1679, having lived 43 years and 11 days. He left a wife and three sons: Ernest, Christian Sigmund and Esaia Gottlieb, the youngest of whom died four weeks after his father.42 An inscription with the name E. Reusner Jnr on an old print published in 1663 comes from the time before Reusner had published any


41 For literature containing information about editions of these collections, see above, nn. 9–13, 31; also Gerber, ‘Reusner Esaias’, col. 273; Hoffmann, ‘Reusner Esaias’, 362; Eitner, ‘Reusner Esaias’, 195–196.

42 The baptism book of St Peter’s in Berlin contains a record of the baptism of someone by the name of Reusner. This may have been the youngest of the above-mentioned sons or possibly the fourth son, whose name is not known. As for the date of Reusner’s death given by M. G. Lang in his funeral oration, according to Koletschka it cannot be confirmed, since the book of deaths
of his music. What role might have been played by the Silesian lutenist performing the work by Johann Kessel in the court ensemble? Surely it is worth devoting some attention to this composition.

The print from Wroclaw library was published at a time when Oleśnica/Öls was in the hands of the Württembergs. On 1 May 1647, Duke Silvius I Nimrod of Württemberg-Öls married Elisabeth Maria, daughter of Duke Charles Frederick I of Oleśnica, of the Poděbrady family. Thanks to the efforts of Duke Silvius, the newly-established duchy of Oleśnica began to recover from the destruction of the Thirty Years’ War. He also took care to ensure a suitable standard of music. Tobias Zeutschner was succeeded as court musician in Oleśnica by Florian Ritter (1625–1685), who, like Reusner junior, hailed from Lwówek Śląski. Ritter entered the court of Duke Silvius I Nimrod in 1649 and kept his position until 1657. The reign of Silvius I’s son, Duke Frederick Silvius II of Wurttemberg-Öls (1651–1697), coincided with Johann Kessel’s time at the ducal court in Oleśnica, when he was also organist of the local church of St John the Evangelist. Music was very important to the duke, who himself played the viol. It is not impossible, therefore, that he took part in performances of Kessel’s nine-part work, since it is scored for Cantus primus, Cantus secundus, Altus, Bassus, two Viola di braccios, three Trombones, Violon and Bassus Generalis, with some of the parts doubled. The first page (see Figure 2) bears the date 1663, and the further content of the print indicates that the work was performed during the New Year period. So the date refers rather to the year 1663, since at the beginning of that year all the brothers listed on the title page were still alive. Regardless of whether we assume the signature on the last page to be Reusner’s autograph or not, that inscription is undoubtedly connected directly to Esaias Reusner junior. It may be assumed, then, that he performed the basso continuo part. The Bassus Generalis part was written in staff notation on a staff in the F bass clef and not in the tablature notation that is characteristic of lute music. The same situation can be seen in his later prints Musicalische Taffel-Erlustigung and Musicalische Gesellschafts-Ergötzung, referred to above. However, that does not mean that the lutenist could not have performed the part on an instrument of the right pitch and construction (lute or theorbo). The basso continuo part ranges from C to d'.

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44 He was later employed in Żytawa (Ger. Zittau), where he remained until his death; see Hoffman-Erbrecht, Schlesisches Musiklexikon, 622.
On the obverse of the title page, under the text of a sonnet, there is a seal (Figure 7), which shows that the source was stored in the collection of St Bernard’s church in Wroclaw, where the works of Tobias Zeutschner may be found as well.47

The above-mentioned sonnet serves as New Year wishes, and a special Neu=Jahrs=Ode was also enclosed at the end of the print. Under the sonnet, there is no signature, which may suggest that Kessel was the author, but under the forty-seven stanzas of the New Year’s ode, we find the signature of Elias Tesaraszky and the abbreviation ‘L.L.Cult.’ (see Figure 3), short for ‘Legum Cultor’, meaning a devotee or student of law.48 Unfortunately, despite research in lexicons and encyclopaedias of pseudonyms, the identity of the ode’s author has not been established. Between the music and the New Year’s ode, there is one more poem, entitled Palladium Poeticum, written in the sophisticated form of a tautogram – a poem in which every word begins with the same letter, in this case the letter ‘p’. The composition is written as an elegiac distich: hexameter alternates with pentameter. Palladium or palladion (Lat. Palladium, Gr. παλλάδιον) should be understood as ‘holiness protecting against danger’.49

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47 For drawing my attention to this fact, I am grateful to Paulina Halamska, of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, who has conducted research into the life and work of Tobias Zeutschner.

48 Cf. Paul Arnold Grun, Schlüssel zu Alten und Neuen Abkürzungen (Limburg an der Lahn, 1966), 86; Rudolf Lenz et al., Abkürzungen aus Personalschriften des XVI. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts (Franz Steiner, 2002), 114.

49 I would like to say thank you to Marta Otlewska for help in translating the text.

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Sonnet.

Vom Herren / Ihnen jetzt viel tausend wünsche schallen / Da sich ein neues Jahr dringt in die Welt herein / So stell ich billich mich zu gleich mit ihnen ein / Die vor des Höchsten Thron mit frohem Herzen wallen; / Da laß diese Wort auss meinen Munde fallen: / Es müsse dieses Jahr durchaus gesegnet sein / Von seiner Kindheit / bis auf des Alters schein; / Nehmt / Herren / Gnädig an die wol gemeinte fallen. / Und / wie Sie anderwerts der Sonne gleich gethan / Die mit den Strahlen auch in kleine Hütten dringet / So sehen Sie auch hier in allen gnaden an / Was Ihne meine Pflicht in tieffster Demut bringet. / Zu mal / weil dieses wird mit aller Krafft gepriesen / Was Sie schon längst der Welt höchst rühmlichen gewiesen.
An unknown source concerning Esaias Reusner Junior from the Music

I will make a grateful paean in honour of our kind Patron
Before the Fathers on a lively little lute
I will play grateful praise for the kind Patrons
Before the host of Fathers, in presence of the crowd
Through pilgrims and nearby squares

Think, o Creator about beautiful prizes for the city.
And consider, people, the ghost of the dead, the counterfeit suns
When the sky will be auguring danger
Think frankly about the preludes on the open sea
Consider sincerely about advancing to punishment

Father Phœbe, come, show us the plants of peace
With the help of the plectrum, fathoming hearts, come in peace
To the tried fair people, as the powerful and as the first
Peace comes in rain from the olive tree in pleasant prosperity
I ask the Land’s Emperors for peace and for bread,
For constant care of the people when the bridge is mighty.

In the opening part of the work, the author enumerates every person to whom it is dedicated. In the context of the print as a whole, we may assume this text to be a sophisticated form of New Year’s wishes to the brothers Georg, Ludwig and Christian and their joint political activities. The author of the text mentions problems experienced by society in Silesia and asks for understanding of the difficult living conditions of people in poverty and without medicines, that they might live in a sufficiently normal way to be able to start thinking about poetry and develop themselves spiritually. It has not yet been established whether the author himself was from Silesia, for example Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein, Christian Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau, Hans Aßmann Freiherr von Abschatz or perhaps Andreas Gryphius.
Conclusion

The presented source from the University Library in Wrocław has not previously been mentioned in research into the Reusner family. The questions outlined here need more extensive study and interdisciplinary research, especially in the context of the poetry. The results of the handwriting analysis of the inscription on this print are inconclusive and do not allow us to state whether the signature is Reusner’s autograph or not. The work by the Oleśnica composer Johann Kessel, published in Brzeg, a copy of which, with a signature of a ‘ducal lutenist of Brzeg’, found its way into the collection of St Bernard’s church in Wrocław, indicates the close relations between those environments, especially the Lutheran and Calvinist circles, as is borne out by the lutenist’s biography. We do not know if Reusner performed this work with the music ensemble in Oleśnica or in Brzeg. However, this source provides us with some information not just about the repertoire of one of those ensembles, but also about compositions which Esaias Reusner junior probably performed, besides his own works, those of his teachers and arrangements of works for chamber ensemble. So this appears to be the only source that acquaints us with a work not written strictly for lute which Esaias Reusner junior, one of the leading European lutenists of the second half of the seventeenth century, certainly came across.