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A NEWLY DISCOVERED PHOTOCOPY OF THE LOST KEYBOARD
TABLATURE MANUSCRIPT FROM THE HOLY SPIRIT MONASTERY IN
KRAKÓW AND THE ALEKSANDER POLIŃSKI COLLECTION

ABSTRACT After the failure of the Warsaw Uprising (1944), German Brandkommando units burned down the most valuable collections of Warsaw libraries. Also destroyed was the manuscript of keyboard tablature from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków (TKD). Access to its content was only possible through microfilm at Harvard Library. As a result of my query at the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, it was found that a copy of TKD was also made in this institution. These are photographs that significantly supplement the existing information about its musical and provenance contents, including its belonging to the Aleksander Poliński collection.

KEYWORDS keyboard tablature, 16th century music in Poland, Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków, Poliński files, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lost cultural heritage

ABSTRAKT *Nowo odkryta fotokopia zaginionego rękopisu tabulatury klawiszowej z klasztoru Św. Ducha w Krakowie oraz z kolekcji Aleksandra Polińskiego.* Po fiasku Powstania Warszawskiego (1944) niemieckie oddziały Brandkommando spaliły najcenniejsze zbiory książnic warszawskich. Zniszczeniu uległ również rękopis tabulatury klawiszowej z klasztoru Świętego Ducha w Krakowie (TKD). Dostęp do jego zawartości był obecnie możliwy wyłącznie dzięki mikrofilmowi w Bibliotece Harvarda. W wyniku kwerendy, którą przeprowadziłem w Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz w Berlinie okazało się, że również w tej instytucji wykonano kopię TKD. Są to fotografie, które w znaczący sposób uzupełniają dotychczasowe informacje o jego zawartości muzycznej i proveniencyjnej, w tym o przynależności do kolekcji Aleksandra Polińskiego.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE tabulatura klawiszowa, muzyka XVI w. w Polsce, klasztor Świętego Ducha w Krakowie, teki Polińskiego, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, utracone dziedzictwo kulturowe

In the rich collection of handwritten ancient Polish music monuments assembled by Professor Aleksander Poliński in Warsaw, pride of place belongs to an organ tablature from the sixteenth century. This is a remarkably well-preserved manuscript, measuring 29 x 20 [centimetres], consisting of 181 leaves, bound in leather-covered wood. On the inside cover, we read the inscription: *Bibl. Crac. Ordinis St. Spiritus*. The only date found in the manuscript is on page 318: AD 1548.¹

With these words, Zdzisław Jachimecki began the descriptive part of the thematic catalogue of the keyboard tablature manuscript from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków (TKD).² The information from this work is particularly significant today, as the manuscript was destroyed in 1944 by German Brandkommando units, just after the collapse of the Warsaw Uprising. Understanding the content of this source is now only possible thanks to a microfilm held in Cambridge (MA) at the Isham Memorial Library of Harvard University.³ Fortunately, this microfilm provides a general orientation in the lost source, but many places are illegible, and at times the notation is barely visible, which hinders or even prevents further scholarly research. During preliminary research at the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (hereafter SIM), I came across a completely different, hitherto

This text was presented in the form of a paper entitled 'An Unknown Photocopy of the Missing Keyboard Tablature Manuscript from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków from Aleksander Poliński's Collection' during the proceedings of the working group 'Tablature in Western Music' affiliated with the International Musicological Society, hosted by Le Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance Université de Tours, on 11–12 October 2019. Some modifications have been made for the present publication.

- 1 Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa z biblioteki klasztoru św. Ducha w Krakowie z r. 1548* [An organ tablature dating from 1548 from the library of the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków], thematic catalogue, Kraków 1913, 1: 'W bogatym zbiorze rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki polskiej Prof. Aleksandra Polińskiego w Warszawie miejsce naczelné należy się Tabulaturze organowej z XVI w. Jest to znakomicie zachowany rękopis, formatu 29x20, liczący kart 181, oprawny w drzewo obciągnięte skórą. Na wewnętrznej stronie okładki czytamy napis: *Bibl. Crac. Ordinis St. Spiritus*. Jedyną w rękopisie datę znajdujemy na str. 318: A.D. 1548'. Shortly afterwards, Jachimecki prepared a communiqué in German, taking into account the concordances with the Jan of Lublin tablature (TJL), which he mentions in the catalogue. See Zdzisław Jachimecki, 'Eine polnische Orgeltabulatur aus dem Jahre 1548', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1919) no. 2, pp. 206–212.
- 2 I will continue to use the abbreviation TKD to refer to the manuscript of the keyboard tablature from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków. This is an abbreviation used in the Polish subject literature, from the Polish name of the monastery: 'Tabulatura z Klasztoru św. Ducha'.
- 3 A duplicate microfilm was sent by Willi Apel to Poland, where it was digitised and is currently available in the National Digital Library Polona: 'Rękopis tabulatury organowej z biblioteki klasztoru św. Ducha w Krakowie', duplicate microfilm, shelf mark Mf. 17088, <https://polona.pl/preview/5225451e-7320-4199-b4bb-97f0d945f07f>, accessed December 2023. A copy of this duplicate microfilm is also held in the Department of Musicology at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (call number Fot. 28). This copy was the basis for comparative research conducted by Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska into the edition of the Tablature of Jan of Lublin. See *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Répertoire*, ed. Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, vol. 2, Warszawa 2023 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia), p. 181.

unknown, copy of the entire TKD manuscript.⁴ However, this copy is not another microfilm. It is a collection of photographs taken in very good quality, which were likely prepared for research purposes, probably even before the outbreak of the Second World War. This collection is housed in the Berlin library under the misleading label 'Nicolas de Cracovie | Orgeltabulatur | Warschau Ms. 564', shelf mark 71,¹⁻³ because TKD was compiled in a monastery in Kraków, not Warsaw (see Fig. 1).

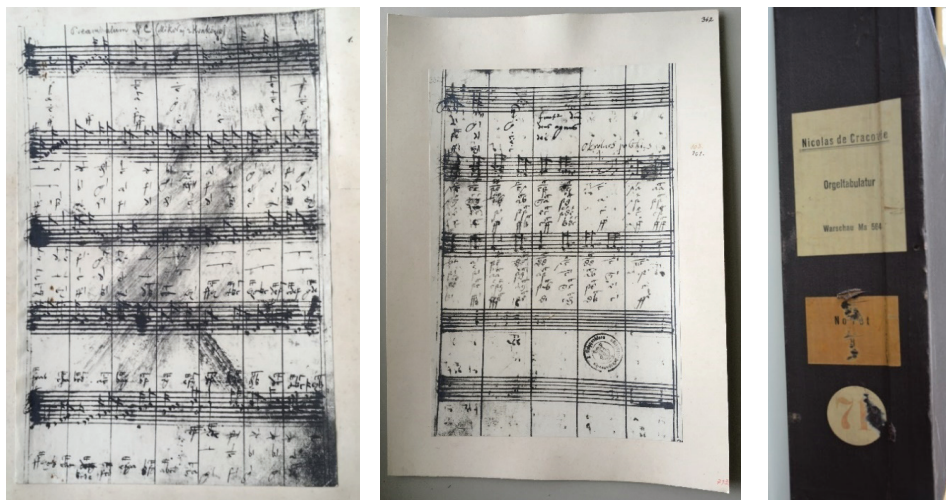


Fig. 1. 'Nicolas de Cracovie, Orgeltabulatur Warschau Ms. 564', p. 1: *Preambulum N.C.* with 'Mikołaj z Krakowa' (left) added in Polish, p. 362; with a stamp of Aleksander Poliński's Collection (centre) and the box with a distinctive label containing the photos. Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin

THE CONTENT OF THE PRESERVED MATERIAL AND THE QUESTION OF PROVENANCE

The photographs containing a copy of the musical notation of TKD are divided into three boxes ('Kasten'), with specially adapted formats and attached labels:

- 1) containing information about the content: 'Nicolas de Cracovie | Orgeltabulatur | Warsaw Ms. 564',
- 2) providing access information and an alphabetical designation corresponding to the order of the boxes (A, B, C),
- 3) indicating the signature in the SIM: 71¹, 71², 71³,
- 4) with numbers affixed to the bottom of the boxes: 662 on box B, 615 on box C.

The photographs were taken separately for each page of the manuscript. In his 1913 description, Jachimecki indicated that there were 181 leaves in TKD. Consider-

⁴ Warm thanks for his assistance and kindness in providing the material go to Mr Carsten Schmidt MA, Wiss. Dok. from the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.

ring that the copy from the SIM uses pagination indicating 362 pages, and this material corresponds to the content mentioned in Jachimecki's catalogue, it can be concluded that the preserved material from the SIM is a copy of the entire manuscript. However, there are no photographs allowing for the examination of the binding. Some pages have multiple paginations. In the upper left corner of the manuscript, pencil markings are visible, and page numbers sometimes appear in the lower right corner in the form of printed numbers. However, the consistently maintained and legible pagination remains only on the boards, placed in the upper right corner. The extensive margins on the boards also allowed for the addition of various pieces of information regarding blank pages in the manuscript.⁵ Each card has a stamp on the reverse side: 'Staatl. Institut für deutsche Musikforschung Berlin' (the word 'Berlin' is separated by swastika symbols, and in the middle is the characteristic eagle of the Third Reich with a swastika at the bottom). The photographic material is accompanied by a list of compositions and an excerpt from Henryk Opieński's article.⁶

What significantly distinguishes the found copy from the SIM from the microfilm from the Isham library is the issue of provenance. In the copy from the Berlin library, there is a characteristic stamp on the last page (p. 362) indicating Aleksander Poliński's ownership: 'Z księgozbioru Aleksandra Polińskiego' ('From the library of Aleksander Poliński'), with a depiction of a harp in the middle.⁷ Furthermore, on the inside of the first box of the collection, a pencil inscription appears in the upper right corner stating: 'Warschau d[en?] | Mr 564'. While the first part of this inscription may suggest that the copy was made in Warsaw, the abbreviation 'Mr' is undoubtedly characteristic of Poliński's collection. Apparently, when the TKD manuscript was inventoried, it was given a signature beginning with 'Mr', indicating 'Muzyczny rękopis' ('Musical manuscript') and a number, as was the case with other manuscripts from this collection.⁸ Additionally, there are inscriptions visible in the SIM copy that were added much later than the time of the tablature's creation, but there is no trace of them on the microfilm copy from Harvard Library. So why are there differences

5 Information about blank pages ('leer') sometimes appears on the back of the cardboard. The blank pages of the manuscripts were not photographed. These are the pages 71–72, 147–177, 269–271, 275, 288–313, 320 and 331.

6 Henryk Opieński, *La Musique Polonaise*, Paris 1929, pp. 43–44.

7 Cf. Marcin Szelest, 'W obronie "Praeludium" Podbielskiego' [In defence of Podbielski's 'Praeludium'], *Muzyka* 62 (2017) no. 1, pp. 3–47; Grzegorz Joachimiak, 'From the Collection of the Polish Musicologist Aleksander Poliński: on the Provenance of Two Lute Tablature Manuscripts Held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris', *Muzyka* 64 (2019) no. 3, pp. 19–34.

8 Cf. Wanda Bogdany-Popielowa, *Rękopisy muzyczne I. połowy XIX wieku ze zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej: katalog* [Music manuscripts from the first half of the nineteenth century from the collection of the National Library], Warszawa 1997; Sonia Wronkowska, 'Elsneriana zachowane z przedwojennego zasobu Biblioteki Narodowej. Charakterystyka, losy i znaczenie kolekcji' [Items linked to Józef Elsner from the pre-war holdings of the National Library. The character, fortunes and significance of the collection], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 45 (2014), pp. 48–49.

between these copies? When were they made? What purposes did they serve? To answer these questions, it is necessary to delve into the history of Aleksander Poliński's collection.

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE MUSIC COLLECTION
OF ALEKSANDER POLIŃSKI (1845–1916)

For the history of Polish musical thought, the period in which Poliński lived and worked was quite significant and even, as Katarzyna Morawska put it, pivotal.⁹ Equally important was the time just after his death, when, at the moment when Poland regained independence, in 1918, new Polish structures were gradually being formed to manage national heritage and culture, including Poliński's preserved collection.¹⁰ Nowadays, we view him as someone who contributed to Polish music journalism and music criticism, an organiser of musical life, and a collector of musical sources, but primarily the author of the first synthesising presentation of Polish music history, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie*, published at a time when Poland was still under the Partitions.¹¹ He belonged to a group of individuals with a Romantic worldview, combined with a spirit of historicism and patriotic commitment. His collecting interests largely focused on Polish items. He amassed manuscripts and printed music, music treatises, documents, musical instruments and other such musical artifacts. It is estimated that there were around 3000 titles in his collection, including 650 manuscripts and 1380 prints of various types, making it one of the largest and most valuable national treasures.¹² Among them was also the TKD manuscript.

However, before Poliński included it in his collection, the source was part of the collection of the Canons Regular of the Holy Spirit de Saxia monastery in Kraków. After the secularisation of the monastery, in 1783 (the last monk died in 1788), Karol Kurpiński (1785–1857), the then director of the Polish opera house in Warsaw, was asked to evaluate the historical value of the TKD manuscript.¹³ Since it was not among his priorities, the manuscript waited a long time for evaluation. In 1815 Kurpiński married Zofia Dorota Brzowska, an actress with the Variety Theatre and singer with the Warsaw Opera, whose brother Józef (1805–88) was a composer, cellist and

9 Katarzyna Morawska, 'Poliński, Aleksander', in: *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska, vol. 8, Kraków 2004, pp. 145–146.

10 Zbigniew Nykiel, 'Biblioteka Sztuk na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie i jej zbiory w latach 1919–1939' [The Art Library at the Royal Castle in Warsaw and its holdings 1919–1939], *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 24 (1980) no. 2, p. 249.

11 Aleksander Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* [An outline history of Polish music], Lwów 1907.

12 Cf. 'Musicalia Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie' [Musicalia from the National Library in Warsaw], *Nowa Książka* (1935) vol. 5, Division 'Kronika' [Chronicle], p. 274; K. Morawska, 'Poliński, Aleksander', p. 145.

13 Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, p. 2.

journalist.¹⁴ Józef Brzowski inherited his brother-in-law's entire archive, including the TKD manuscript, and towards the end of his life (he died on 3 or 4 December 1888), he agreed to transfer the manuscript to Poliński.¹⁵ The manuscript must have been included in his collection slightly earlier, as on 15 February 1888 it was approved for publication in the catalogue of the first Polish music exhibition (under number 321), where it was described as: 'Organ tablature; a manuscript from the sixteenth century, containing masses, fugues, preludes, Polish and Latin songs [...] The property of Mr Aleks[ander] Poliński',¹⁶ which undoubtedly indicates the TKD manuscript. This is also confirmed by the entry in the so-called 'Poliński Files', where the sources 'Na wystawę' ('For the exhibition') are listed. Under no. 2, it is written: 'Tablature | [at the top:] "Praeambulum" | N.C. Mikołaj from Kraków | p[ages] 362', which refers to the TKD manuscript.¹⁷ Further confirmation of the continuous presence of the TKD manuscript in Poliński's collection can be found both in his publication from 1907 and in Jachimecki's thematic catalogue from 1913.¹⁸

After Poliński's death, in 1916, his collection acquired a new repository. At the turn of 1918/19, the Ministry of Art and Culture established the Art Library in Warsaw. After its liquidation, in 1922, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Enlightenment was established, which created the Library of the Directorate of State Art Collections (housed under that official name in the Copper-Roof Palace at the Royal Castle in Warsaw from 1925), run until 1923 by Polish violinist, journalist and

14 Tomasz Fatalski, "Nestor muzyków polskich"? Józef Brzowski i jego rodzina w świetle dokumentów metrykalnych [The "doyen of Polish musicians"? Józef Brzowski and his family in light of civil records], *Muzyka* 67 (2022) no. 3, pp. 151–162.

15 Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, p. 2; Jan Prosnak, 'Kolekcjonerstwo muzyczne w Warszawie w latach 1850–1914' [Music collecting in Warsaw 1850–1914], in: *Kultura muzyczna Warszawy drugiej połowy XIX wieku* [The musical culture of Warsaw in the second half of the nineteenth century], ed. Andrzej Spóz, Warszawa 1980, pp. 305–306. It cannot be ruled out that Poliński acquired a significant amount – if not the entire collection – of documents from Kurpiński, as is suggested by entries in the 'Teki Polińskiego' (hereafter 'Poliński Files') indicating his possession not only of compositions but also of the composer's accounts and correspondence. See *Katalogi zbiorów Aleksandra Polińskiego. Zeszyt I. Musicalia II. Książki* [Catalogues of the collections of Aleksander Poliński: Book I. Musical sources; II. Books], held in the manuscript department of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, shelf mark: 5658a/b, known as the 'Poliński Files', pp. 16–21.

16 Aleksander Poliński, *Katalog rozumowany Pierwszej Polskiej Wystawy Muzycznej 1888 r.* [Descriptive catalogue of the First Polish Music Exhibition 1888], Warszawa 1888, p. 43: 'Tabulatura organowa; rękopis z XVI wieku, zawierający w sobie msze, fugi, preludya, pieśni polskie i łacińskie [...] Własność p. Aleks. Polińskiego'.

17 *Katalogi zbiorów Aleksandra Polińskiego*, p. 100: 'Tabulatura | [u góry:] „Praeambulum” | N.C. Mikołaj z Krakowa | str. 362'.

18 Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*; A. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, pp. 101–103. The author also included there (p. 101) a copy of a fragment from page 47 of the TKD manuscript (most likely still without pagination at that time), with a note from the scribe at the end of the piece: 'finis Kyr̄yelejzon | pascalle | N. Crac[oviensis] | Nicolai' and a caption on the illustration stating 'Tabulatura organowa z XVI w. Koniec "Kyrie" ze mszy Mikołaja z Krakowa (Ze zbiorów A. Polińskiego)' ('Organ tablature from the sixteenth century. End of the Kyrie from a mass by Mikołaj of Kraków (From the collection of A. Poliński)'). This is likely the earliest example of the reproduction of an excerpt from this source.

Chopin scholar Leopold Binental (1886–1944).¹⁹ Already then, Poliński's collection was probably part of those collections, as is indicated by articles published at that time.²⁰ Negotiations with Poliński's heirs probably lasted until 1926.²¹ Although the details of those negotiations are not known, around 1927, the catalogue of Poliński's music sources and books, currently known as the 'Poliński Files', was acquired by the Ossoliński National Institute in Lviv.²² In 1928 Alicja Simon (1879–1957),²³ while serving as a senior lecturer in musicology at the Wolna Wszechnica Polska (Free Polish University in Warsaw), also acted as the curator of Poliński's collection at the Directorate of State Art Collections at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Information from 1930 indicates that she was joined by Professor Adolf Chybiński, from the University of John Casimir in Lviv.²⁴ In 1934 there was already a music department in the Library of the Directorate of State Art Collections, headed by Alicja Simon, which assigned

- 19 Cf. Leopold Binental, 'Biblioteka Sztuki' [The Art Library], *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 63 (1922) no. 46, pp. 740–741; Wanda Wojtyńska, 'Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki' [The work of the State Art Collections], *Kronika Zamkowa* 49–50 (2005), pp. 193–194.
- 20 Z. Nykiel, 'Biblioteka Sztuki', at p. 251: 'Zbiory liczyły w tym okresie około 4000 druków z zakresu plastyki, muzykologii, teatrologii i literatury. Zwłaszcza drugi dział posiadał niezwyklej wartości dokumenty, wśród nich rzadkie rękopisy muzyczne z XVI–XVIII w., przede wszystkim z zbioru Aleksandra Polińskiego. Na uwagę zasługuje w tej grupie tablatura organowa z biblioteki klasztornej św. Ducha w Krakowie z 1548 r.' ('The collections at that time comprised approximately 4000 prints covering the fields of fine arts, musicology, theatre studies and literature. Particularly noteworthy was the second section, which housed documents of exceptional value, including rare musical manuscripts from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, primarily from the collection of Aleksander Poliński. Of particular note in this group is the organ tablature from the library of the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków from 1548').
- 21 Jerzy Gólos, 'Przedmowa' [Foreword], in: *Warszawska tablatura organowa (XVII w.)* [Warsaw organ tablature (seventeenth century)], based on Czesław Sikorski's copy, ed. Stanisław Moryto, Łódź 1990, p. VI.
- 22 The source was entered into the inventory of the Manuscripts Department of the Ossoliński National Institute (Ossolineum) in Lviv as part of the group of objects from 1927. The stamp affixed to the first page may confirm that the Poliński Files could have been in the collections of the Ossolineum in the 1920s. However, the lack of details makes it impossible to understand the broader context of how this source was transferred to that library. I am particularly grateful to the curators of the Manuscripts Department of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, Dr Agata Janiak and Prof. Konrad Rzemieniecki, for conducting research into the Poliński Files.
- 23 There are some discrepancies regarding her dates. Cf. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, 'Simon, Alicja', in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second Edition*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 23, Oxford 2001, pp. 400–401: 13 XI 1879 Warszawa–23 V 1957 Łódź; Adam Mrygoń, 'Simon, Alicja', in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Personenteil, vol. 15, Kassel 2006, col. 817–818: 13 XI 1879 Warszawa–23 V 1958 Łódź; Katarzyna Morawska, 'Simon, Alicja', in: *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska, vol. 9, Kraków 2007, p. 273: 13 XI 1879 Warszawa–23 V 1957 Łódź.
- 24 'List Adolfa Chybińskiego do Ludwika Bronarskiego wysłany ze Lwowa 25 października 1930 r.' [A letter from Adolf Chybiński to Ludwik Bronarski sent from Lviv on 25 October 1930], Adolf Chybiński Archive at Poznań University Library: 'Listy Adolfa Chybińskiego pisane do Ludwika Bronarskiego w latach 1922–1952 ofiarowane Bibliotece UAM przez dr A. Porębowiczową 16 XI 1974' [Letters written by Adolf Chybiński to Ludwik Bronarski between 1922 and 1952 donated to the Library of Adam Mickiewicz University by Dr A. Porębowiczowa on 16 November 1974], fol. 48; cited after *Adolf Chybiński – Ludwik Bronarski: Korespondencja 1922–1952* [Adolf Chybiński – Ludwik Bronarski: correspondence 1922–1952], vol. 1: 1922–1939, part 1: 1922–1933, ed. Małgorzata Sieradz, Warszawa 2020, p. 88.

signatures starting with 'Mr' to the sources.²⁵ A year later, at the request of Julian Pulikowski, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Enlightenment ordered the transfer of Poliński's music collection to the Music Department of the National Library of Poland as part of the State Art Collections.²⁶ It was then fully catalogued and constituted the most thoroughly described and researched part of the National Library's music collections, encompassing 654 manuscripts and 1387 printed musical works.²⁷ Simon managed that department until 1939, although she stayed in Warsaw during the war until 1945, later taking up a position as an assistant professor of musicology at the University of Łódź. Unfortunately, the inventory prepared by Simon did not survive. It can be assumed that the TKD manuscript was listed under the same number 564 assigned to it at the Berlin library. Apart from the preserved Poliński Files at the Ossoliński National Institute, there is also an incomplete catalogue of Poliński's collection made by Chybiński, in which he placed information about the TKD manuscript as no. 6: 'Tabulatura praeambulum NC'.²⁸

During the Second World War, the structure of Warsaw's libraries was transformed. In July 1940, a State Library was established, as the Staatsbibliothek Warschau. It consisted of the combined collections of the University Library and the National Library, and in 1941 the holdings of the Krasieński Library were added to it.²⁹ The most valuable collections (approximately 400,000 items) from these three libraries were housed in the building of the Krasieński Library on Okólnik Street, including the Poliński collection. As a result of German Brandkommando unit operations in October 1944, as part of the plan to demolish Warsaw, the TKD manuscript went up in flames, along with the other resources held on Okólnik Street.³⁰

I would like to turn now to the copies of the TKD manuscript, to determine how many of them exist and when they were made.

HOW MANY COPIES OF THE TKD MANUSCRIPT DO WE CURRENTLY HAVE?

One repository of the TKD manuscript is the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University. Its resources were created gradually, mainly through the initiative of Ralph Isham (1865–1937) and, after his death, his wife. In 1932 he endowed Harvard Uni-

25 Cf. W. Bogdany-Popielowa, *Rękopisy muzyczne*, pp. 67–85; S. Wronkowska, 'Elsneriana', pp. 48–49.

26 Julian Pulikowski, 'Dział muzyczny' [The music department], Warszawa 1935, pp. 1–3 (typescript), National Library Archives in Warsaw; cited after S. Wronkowska, 'Elsneriana', p. 49.

27 Ibid.

28 *Katalog b. zbioru A. Polińskiego* [Catalogue of the A. Poliński collection], University Library in Poznań, shelf mark A. Ch. V 4/12, p. 3 no. 6. A microfilm of this source is available in the collection of the National Library of Poland, shelf mark Mf. 35304.

29 S. Wronkowska, 'Elsneriana', pp. 59–60.

30 Hanna Łaskarzewska, 'Straty Okólnika w czasie powstania warszawskiego i po jego upadku' [The losses incurred on Okólnik Street during and after the Warsaw Uprising], in: *Droga do Okólnika 1844–1944* [The road to Okólnik Street 1844–1944], ed. Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warszawa 2005, pp. 149–181.

versity with an organ for the new Memorial Church and provided funds to buy organ music, as there was a shortage of early European music.³¹ The Isham also possessed a copy of the TKD manuscript, which Willi Apel mentioned in a published list under number 498, with the following description: ‘Krakow Biblioteka. Sixteenth-century MS organ tablature, c. 1550. Known as “Kraków Tablature”’.³² He added a reference to Zdzisław Jachimecki’s thematic catalogue from 1913.³³ Thanks to Archibald T. Davison and the generosity of the Isham family, this library was transformed from a utility library into a scholarly one, as editions and collections of manuscripts of early keyboard music were collected.³⁴ The Harvard library currently holds three copies of the TKD manuscript:

1) Loeb Music Library: shelf mark Isham Lib. 3498.5.1 – one microfilm reel (negative, 35 mm) from around 1939, 362 pages,

2) Loeb Music Library: shelf mark Houghton Library 2498.5.2 – photographic reproduction (from the negative) measuring 27 x 36 cm, from around 1939, 362 unnumbered pages. This copy is kept in a red, four-compartment slipcase with an inserted label ‘Property of Isham Organ Library’ and a title on the spine: ‘Organ tablature from Kraków, 1548’. It was deposited in the Harvard College Library on 3 June 1940,

3) Loeb Music Library: shelf mark Houghton Library 2498.5.1 – photocopy containing a total of 363 pages. It was acquired by Harvard University around 1940, and a positive photographic copy measuring 27 x 36 cm was made from the negative (362 unnumbered pages).³⁵

Taking into account the information provided with the description of these sources, it may be inferred that not all the copies held in the Harvard library come from the same microfilm as the copy later sent to Poland by Willi Apel.³⁶ In two of them, it is noted that the copies of the TKD manuscript have no pagination, while on the microfilm available in Poland, a pagination is visible, though not on every page.³⁷ Each of the descriptions of the Harvard copies shows slightly different content and acquisition date. In the case of the duplicate microfilm available in Poland, the former signature with ‘Mr’, the characteristic stamp and the inscriptions added later are not visible on it. However, if the content of the copies from the Isham Library is similar and the acquisition dates do not reflect differences in their preparation, then one can assume that all these copies were made between 1932 and 1934. So they

31 Willi Apel, ‘The Collection of Photographic Reproductions at the Isham Memorial Library’, *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946) no. 1, pp. 68–69.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

33 Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*; idem, ‘Eine polnische Orgeltabulatur’, pp. 206–212.

34 W. Apel, ‘The Collection of Photographic Reproductions’, p. 147.

35 Harvard Library, online HOLLIS search tool, <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077419400203941/catalog>, accessed 1 March 2024.

36 Wyatt Insko, ‘The Kraków Tablature’, Indiana University 1964 (PhD dissertation), p. 6.

37 Link with online access in n. 3.

would have been made before Alicja Simon's cataloguing work, and they would have been entered into the inventories of the Harvard library with some delay.³⁸ If, however, the content of the copies from the Isham Library differs and the acquisition dates reflect differences in their preparation, then one can speak of a larger number of copies of the entire TKD manuscript.³⁹

As for the acquisition of copies of sources for the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard, it stemmed from a wish to expand performance practice and scholarly research. In contrast, obtaining a copy of TKD for the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin was primarily driven by that institution's editorial projects. To explain this, one must go back to the period of the First World War, when Max Seiffert (1868–1948) initiated the acquisition of musical sources from the Brussels Conservatory at the Prince's Institute for Musicological Research in Bückeburg, founded in 1917. Those sources were to be used to prepare the *Denkmäler-Editionen deutscher Musik*, the so-called 'monument editions'. In 1935 the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung was established in Berlin, with Seiffert also at its helm. The Institute comprised three departments: Historical, Traditional Music, and the Museum of Musical Instruments. One of its initial tasks was to secure musical sources in photographic form, especially the most valuable ones. Photocopies were made from 1936 onwards. That included the TKD manuscript, as well as lute tablatures from the former Cistercian abbey in Grüssau (Pol. Krzeszów).⁴⁰ This collection of photocopies was transpor-

38 It is possible that Alicja Simon helped Apel to obtain a copy of the TKD manuscript for the Isham library. After her tenure as head of the music department at the Library of Congress in Washington (1924–28), she held the same position with the Directorate of State Art Collections in Warsaw (1928–39). See K. Morawska, 'Simon, Alicja', p. 273.

39 Preliminary findings show that all these copies are identical, but this requires detailed on-site research at the library. At this point, I would like to kindly thank Dr Christina Linklater (Keeper of the Isham Memorial Library and Houghton Music Cataloger at Harvard University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Houghton Library) for her help. Together with the author of this article, work continues to reveal more details about copies from European collections in this library, in particular from Poland.

40 After the end of the Second World War, scientific work was also conducted by the Department of Musicology at the University of Wrocław. In 1951 Kazimierz Klink wrote a master's thesis on the lute polonaises of Adam Falckenhagen, Sylvius Leopold Weiss and Johann Christian Hobach as notated in the lute tablature manuscripts from the former Cistercian abbey in Grüssau. In the introduction, he noted that photocopies had been sent to Berlin at the request of Hans Neemann (1901–43), who was preparing an edition of the works of Esaias Reusner the Younger and Sylvius Leopold Weiss in the series *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, which he published in 1939. Klink found information from 22 July 1938 confirming the receipt of three microfilms of lute tablature manuscripts with the former shelf mark Mf. 2003. The form and state of preservation of these photocopies are identical to those of the TKD manuscript copies. Cf. Kazimierz Klink, 'Polonezy Adama Falckenhagena, Sylwiusa Leopolda Weissa, Johanna Christiana Hobacha i jeden anonimowy z tablatur lutniowych z pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku' [Polonaises by Adam Falckenhagen, Sylvius Leopold Weiss and Johann Christian Hobach, as well as one anonymous polonaise, from lute tablatures from the first half of the eighteenth century], *Zakład Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego* 1951 (MA thesis), p. 1; Grzegorz Joachimiak, *Lutnia w klasztorze. Fenomen dworskiego instrumentu w kulturze Śląska XVII i XVIII wieku* [The lute in cloisters: the phenomenon of the court instrument in Silesian culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], Wrocław 2020, pp. 67–69.

ted to the USSR during the Second World War and returned to the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in East Berlin in 1959. Only after the reunification of Germany, in 1990, was the somewhat depleted collection restored to the SIM.⁴¹

Considering the information present on the copies from the SIM, such as Poliński's ownership stamp, the signature 'Mr', pagination and numerous added inscriptions, one can hypothesise that this is a copy made after Alicja Simon's work on the collection, hence after 1936. However, this is not the last photographic copy of the TKD manuscript. A photograph of one of the pages was published in the *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* journal in 1922. What then emerges from a comparison of all these accounts?

COMPARISON OF TKD MANUSCRIPT COPIES

In Leopold Binental's 1922 article, several photographs from Poliński's collection were featured, including one of the TKD manuscript (see Fig. 2).

Binental wrote that 'Page 76 of the tablature (photographed) contains the end of a four-part composition by one of the most eminent composers of the first half of the sixteenth century – Despres Josse, known as Josquin. Professor Jachimecki, in the work cited above, claims that this composition is "unknown from any publication". This page also contains the beginning of a three-part composition, probably Polish, which at the end, on page 100, is signed "Our Saviour N.Z. Crac.", which would indicate a composer from Kraków'.⁴² While the page number in the manuscript was erroneously given as 76 (it is actually 97), the emphasis here was placed on highlighting the prestige of the composers whose works are present in this source. Regarding the composition *Kyrie leyzon m[a]g[ist]ri Josquin pascale*, the attribution situation is complex, as each segment can be attributed more to Heinrich Finck than Josquin, with the former most likely referring to Heinrich Isaac.⁴³ However, the subsequent

41 I would like to thank again Mr Carsten Schmidt from the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin for providing me with the materials and information. Cf. Kurt Rottmann, 'The Resurrection of the Lute in Twentieth Century Germany', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 12 (1979), pp. 69–70; Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, *Fotokopiensammlung*, <https://www.simpk.de/bibliothek/bestaende-und-arbeitsschwerpunkte.html>, accessed February 2024.

42 L. Binental, 'Biblioteka Sztuki', p. 741: 'Str[ona] 76 tabulatury (fotografowana) zawiera koniec kompozycji 4-o głosowej jednego z najznakomitszych twórców muzycznych pierwszej połowy w. XVI-go – Despres'a Josse, znanego pod nazwiskiem Josquin'a. Prof. Jachimecki we wspomnianej pracy twierdzi, że kompozycja ta jest „nieznana z żadnego wydawnictwa”. Str[ona] ta zawiera również początek utworu 3-głosowego, prawdopodobnie polskiego, w którego końcu na str. 100 podpisano: Nasz Zbawyciel N.Z. Crac. – co oznaczałoby kompozytora, pochodzącego z Krakowa'.

43 Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 24–26; Barbara Brzezińska, *Repertuar polskich tabulatur organowych z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku* [The repertoire of Polish organ tablatures from the first half of the sixteenth century], Kraków 1987, pp. 170, 172; *Krakowska Tabulatura Organowa. The Kraków Tablature (ca 1548)*, ed. Wyatt Insko, 2 vols, Łódź 1992, vol. 1 pp. 51–52, vol. 2 pp. 45–48; Grzegorz Kos, "Kyrie paschale" in Polish Organ Tablatures from the First Half of the 16th Century – Problems of Style and Attribution', *Muzyka* 61 (2016) no. 3, pp. 3–44.



Miszal rzymski, ręk. z w. XVI.



Antyfonarz pergaminowy. Rękopis z w. XIV-XV.

ską, którzy z funduszu, pozostawionego im przez ś. p. Stanisława i Janinę Pruszkowskich, przekazali państwu na bibliotekę sztuki kwotą w wysokości 35 milionów marek.

Dzieńmiasty, muzyki i w pewnej mierze sztuki festiwalnego będą mogły być dzięki temu wielkimi, jak na nasze stosunki, zapisowi rozszerzeni i doprowadzone do poziomu prawdziwej użyteczności publicznej.

Mając na uwadze rodzaj tej nowej instytucji, postanowiono dać jej należyte pomieszczenie: znajdować się ona będzie w dawnej bibliotece Stanisława Augusta na Zamku Królewskim. W tym pięknym historycznym lokalu będzie można z całą swobodą zorganizować wszystkie działy i umożliwić artystom jak najbardziej praktyczne korzystanie ze zbiorów.

Między innymi projektowane są urządzenia dla kopijących wzory; muzycy zaś będą mieli do rozporządzenia instrumenty (fortepian i łożet smyczkowy) dla przeglądania na miejscu rękopisów lub zdjęć. Ze względu na zupełny brak w naszych muzeach dawnych instrumentów muzycznych, Departament Sztuki zamierza zgromadzić przedmioty z tej dziedziny najbarziej charakterystyczne z każdej rocznicy instrumentów z w. XVI-XVIII. Poza tem, jako dopełnienie zbiorów bibliotecznych w ścisłym znaczeniu tego słowa, umieszczone mają być na Zamku kolekcje cymbali, które, nie w pełni, powrócą z Rosji.

Obecnie w krótkości pragniemy dać wyjaśnienia, dotyczące niektórych przedmiotów, będących własnością państwa, które rząd zamierza oddać do użytku ogółu z myślą, że korzyść krajowi przyniosą.

Prof. Zdzisław Jachimcki pisze (w pracy zat. „Tabulatur organowa z Biblioteki klasztoru Św. Ducha w Krakowie z roku 1548”) — „obok tabulatury Jana z Lublina z roku 1540, będącej najbogatszym ze znanych nam zbiorów muzyki

organowej do połowy XVI wieku, jest tabulatura z roku 1548 drugimi wysoce cennym pomnikiem praktyki organowej w Polsce, spełniającej zaś w Krakowie drugiem zaszczytnem świadectwem naszej kultury muzycznej w Złoty wiek”.

Str. 76 tabulatury (fotografowana) zawiera kolec kompozycji 4-o głosem jednego z najznakomitszych twórców muzycznych pierwszej po-

N. Z. Crac. — co czmyślałby kompozytora, pochodzącego z Krakowa.

Widzimy również na fotografii kartę tytułową sonaty na dwie skrzypce i organ Szarzyńskiego, najpiękniej bodaj utworu z dotychczas znanych w dziedzinie muzyki instrumentalnej polskiej ubiegłych stuleci (poza wiekiem XIX-ym). Kompozycja ta, mimo, że była już przed kilku

specjalistów opracowana i wielokrotnie wykonywana publicznie, jest dotychczas niewydrukowana. Rękopis ma datę r. 1706.

Reprodukowane jest również pismo Zygmunta Augusta z roku 1568 z własnoręcznym dopiskiem króla: „chcemy abyście wszystkim tym muzykom naszym popłacili, co im winno, jak wam Jurek Clerica nasz powi, a Marcina organistę wyprawcie też do nas przy drugich, dawszy im pieniądze”.

(Wspominamy Jurek Clerica i tego Jurek Janiszczycie — organista kapeli mądrowiej, ulubieniec królewski).

Na innych fotografiach widzimy: antyfonarz pergaminowy, rękopis z w. XIV-XV-go. Jest to piękny i dobrze zachowany egzemplarz, liczy kart 328; kartę tytuł. znakomitego traktatu kontrapunkcyjnego Jana Józefa Fuksa, tłumaczonego na wszystkie

niemieł języki europejskie. (Egzemplarz ten był własnością Franciszka Lessa, muzyka, przybywającego do roku 1830-go do XX. Cesarzowskich w Puławach).

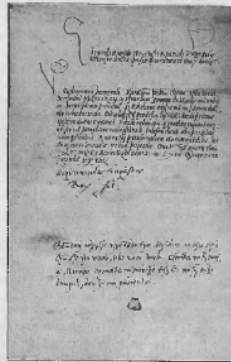
Pisząc ten skromny artykuł, pragniemy, aby szersza publiczność dowiedziała się o zbiorach, będących własnością państwa, które rząd zamierza oddać do użytku ogółu z myślą, że korzyść krajowi przyniosą.

Należy przypuszczać, że z chwilą otwarcia Biblioteki Sztuki na Zamku Królewskim, niedługo instytucja, posiadająca zbiory pokrewne, przyłączy je do wspomnianej biblioteki w formie depozytu lub daru.

Leopold Binental.



Tabulatura organowa, rękopis z r. 1548.



Pismo Zygmunta Augusta z własnoręcznym dopiskiem króla z r. 1568.

lęcy w. XVI-go — Despres'a Josze, znanego pod nazwiskiem Jopoliota.

Prof. Jachimcki w wspomnianej pracy twierdzi, że kompozycja ta jest „nieznana z żadnego wydawnictwa”.

Str. ta zawiera również początek utworu 3-głosowego, prawdopodobnie polskiego, w którego końcu na str. 100 podpisano: Nasz Zbawiciel



Mala lutnia węgierskiej roboty z r. 1731.

Fig. 2. Fragment of Leopold Binental's article 'Biblioteka Sztuki' [The Art Library] with illustrations of musical items from Aleksander Poliński's collection, Tygodnik Ilustrowany 63 (1922) no. 46, p. 741

composition *Nasz Szawyciel* with the annotation *N.Z. crac[ovien]sis* again carries an uncertain attribution associated with Mikołaj z Krakowa, although the vice cantor at the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków in 1550 was ‘Nicolaus Zardeczki’, who is also mentioned as the altarist of St Catherine’s altar in Wawel Cathedral in 1563.⁴⁴ There are also several other differences in the surviving TKD copies, as best presented in the following comparison (see Fig. 3).

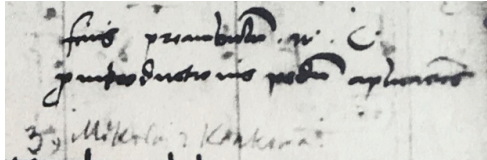
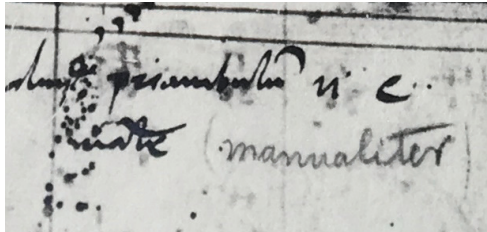
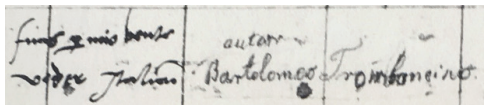
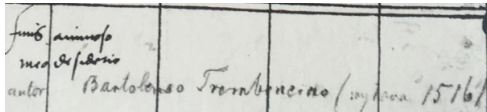


Fig. 3. Copies of the TKD Manuscript, p. 97: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* journal from 1922 (left), a copy from Polona Library’s microfilm (centre), a photograph from the SIM (right)

In this context, attention should be drawn to pagination and inscriptions, which are missing in the 1922 and Polona Library copies but are visible in the SIM copy. It is worth noting that these inscriptions are most often written in Polish and relate to observations regarding attribution, the identification of fragments from other sources or the transcription of illegible portions of the notation. Most of them were based on Jachimecki’s catalogue from 1913 (see Tab. 1 for an example).

⁴⁴ Cf. Piotr Poźniak, ‘N.Z. Cracoviensis’, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 18, Oxford 2001, p. 251; Jan Krukowski, *Nauczyciele szkół parafialnych Krakowa w XVI wieku* [Sixteenth-century parish school teachers in Kraków], Kraków 2007, p. 173; Elżbieta Zwolińska, ‘Pytania o muzykę w kościele Mariackim w Krakowie w pierwszej połowie XVI stulecia i o postać Jana z Lublina’ [Questions relating to music at St Mary’s church in Kraków during the first half of the sixteenth century and the figure of Jan of Lublin], *Muzyka* 63 (2018) no. 3, pp. 3–41, at p. 35.

Tab. 1. Contents of selected pencil inscriptions from the SIM copy of the TKD manuscript

Copy of a fragment from the SIM copy of the TKD manuscript	Content of the inscription added later in the SIM copy of the TKD manuscript	Link to Z. Jachimecki's catalogue
	'Mikołaj z Krakowa'	II, pp. 2–3 <i>Preambulum N. C. Pro introductionis peduum applicare</i> ⁴⁵
	'(manualiter)'	III, p. 3 <i>Aliud Preambulum N. C.</i> [illegible] (<i>manualiter?</i>) ⁴⁶
	'autor Bartolomeo Tromboncino'	XVI, pp. 29–30 <i>Per mio bente Veder Italicum</i> ⁴⁷
	'autor Bartolomeo Tromboncino (wydane [pub.] 1516)'	XIX, pp. 32–33 <i>Animoso meo desiderio</i> ⁴⁸

45 In this case, Jachimecki added a comment under the incipit: 'Wy tłumaczenie monogramu N.C. przy numerze 28' ('Explanation of the N. C. monogram by number 28'). Describing composition 28, *Kyryleyson pascale N. C.*, he noted that 'Obok monogramu, umieszczonego u końca utworu, dopisano przy literze C skrócenie *rac* poniżej zaś imię *Nicolai*. Za Aleksandrem Polińskim przyjęto ogólnie, że monogram ten oznacza kompozytora Mikołaja z Krakowa' ('Next to the monogram placed at the end of the work, the abbreviation *rac* was added by the letter *C*, and the name *Nicolai* was added below. Following Aleksander Poliński, it was generally accepted that this monogram denoted the composer Nicholas of Kraków'). The inscription on the copy of TKD is therefore associated with the attribution of Jachimecki and Poliński. Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 3, 17–18.

46 In this case, the last word is a form of abbreviation, but it is written indistinctly. Jachimecki proposed its development by writing 'manualiter' with a question mark, but whoever added the pencil inscription to the manuscript had no such doubts and did not add a question mark. Interestingly, Wyatt Insko wrote this place as 'nale' with a question mark. Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, p. 3; *Krakowska Tabulatura Organowa. The Kraków Tablature (ca 1548)*, vol. 1, p. 4.

47 In this example, Jachimecki determined the attribution from concordances and music editions. Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 11–12.

48 Jachimecki pointed out that this composition was 'przeróbka kompozycji Bartolomea Tromboncino, p.t. *Animoso mio desir*, zawartej w wydawnictwie: *Frottole libro secondo* z r. 1516' ('a reworking of a composition by Bartolomeo Tromboncino, entitled *Animoso mio desir*, contained in the publication *Frottole libro secondo*, from 1516'). Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 13.

	<p>‘przepisane z tabulatury lubelskiej’ (‘copied from the Lublin tablature’); below ‘warjant’ (‘variant’)</p>	<p>XXI, pp. 34–35 <i>Aliud preambulum ad d</i>⁴⁹</p>
	<p>‘Warjanty z tabulatury lubelskiej’ (‘Variants from the Lublin tablature’, p. 36)</p>	<p>XXII, pp. 35–36 <i>Preambulum</i>⁵⁰</p>
	<p>‘autor Ludwik Senfl (przerabia z 5 głosów na 4.)’ (‘author Ludwik Senfl (arranges from 5 voices to 4)’), p. 39)</p>	<p>XXVI, p. 39 <i>Aus guthen gronth. (Aus gutem Grund)</i>⁵¹</p>

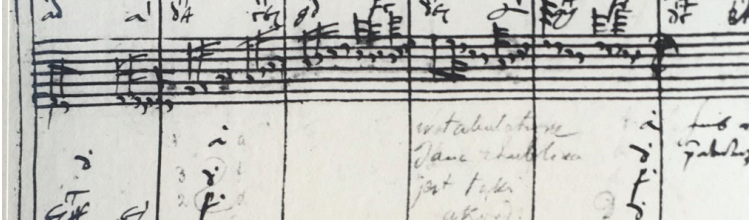

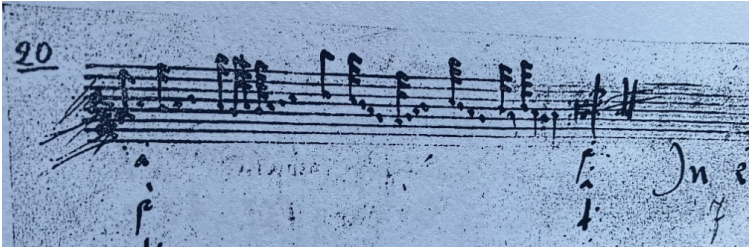
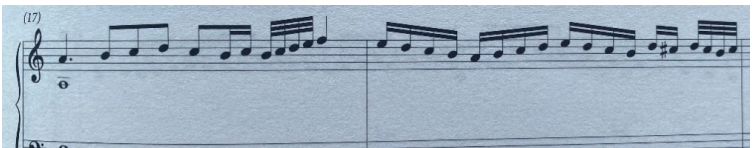
49 In this example, Jachimecki indicated that this composition was copied from the tablature manuscript of Jan of Lublin, then he wrote that ‘w drugim już jednak takcie ma ono odmienną formę’ (‘however, in the second bar, it has a different form’) and gave a fragment of the transcription for comparison. Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 13–14; *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin*, vol. 1 *Repertoire*, ed. Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, p. 411.

50 In his commentary, Jachimecki pointed out that an identical composition could be found in the tablature of Jan of Lublin on f. 19v, which is true. Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, p. 14.

51 Jachimecki pointed out that this piece was ‘a four-part transcription of a five-part song by Ludwik Senfl’. Cf. Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 15–16.

However, not all the information is mechanically transferred from Jachimecki's catalogue. In the case of the composition *Aliud preambulum ad d.*, written before the end of the piece was 'w tabulaturze Jana z Lublina jest taki akord' ('in the Jan of Lublin tablature, there is such a chord').⁵² In this case, Jachimecki only noted that in the tablature of Jan of Lublin, on f. 19r, there is a composition that has a similar beginning to the one in TKD, but the content is different.⁵³

Tab. 2. Comparison of the final fragment of the *Aliud preambulum ad d.* in TKD and TJJL with transcriptions⁵⁴

TKD	
Insko	
TJL	
MMiP	

⁵² TKD, pp. 34–35.

⁵³ Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, pp. 13–14.

⁵⁴ Cf. TKD, p. 35; *Krakowska Tabulatura Organowa. The Kraków Tablature (ca 1548)*, vol. 1, pp. 8–9; TJL, f. 19v 'Preambulum super d'; MMiP: *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Repertoire*, ed. Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, vol. 1, p. 411.

This indicates that the person making these additions in the TKD manuscript compared the composition records with the Jan of Lublin tablature manuscript (TJL), as presented in the following comparison of the final fragment from both manuscripts and their editions (see Tab. 2).

This is also confirmed by the fragment on page 36 of the TKD manuscript. Jachimecki wrote only that an identical *preambulum* could be found in the TJL manuscript.⁵⁵ However, someone who made pencil inscriptions in the TKD manuscript circled the final fragment and added the words: ‘tego brak w tabulaturze lubelskiej’ (‘this is missing in the Lublin tablature’). This confirms that comparative work with the TJL manuscript was already being carried out at that time (see Fig. 4):

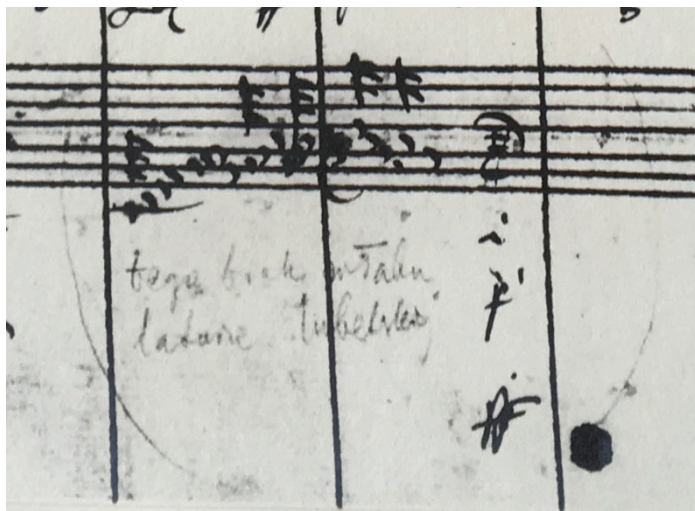


Fig. 4. TKD, p. 36 [Preambulum], the end of the composition with the pencil circling of this fragment

To sum up, it should be stated that most of the inscriptions visible in the photos of the TKD manuscript are written in Polish. They were most likely added in pencil and concern attributions, concordances and observations resulting from comparative research with various sources, including the tablature manuscript of Jan of Lublin. The question therefore arises as to who wrote these pencil inscriptions in the TKD manuscript. It was not Zdzisław Jachimecki, because these inscriptions do not appear on earlier reproductions of the manuscript. Adolf Chybiński also dealt with TKD, but his handwriting is completely different from that which appears in this tablature. Józef Michał Chomiński was also interested in this manuscript, but it is most likely

55 Z. Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa*, p. 14.

not his handwriting either.⁵⁶ The most likely person who could have added these pencil inscriptions to the TKD manuscript was Alicja Simon (see Fig. 5).⁵⁷

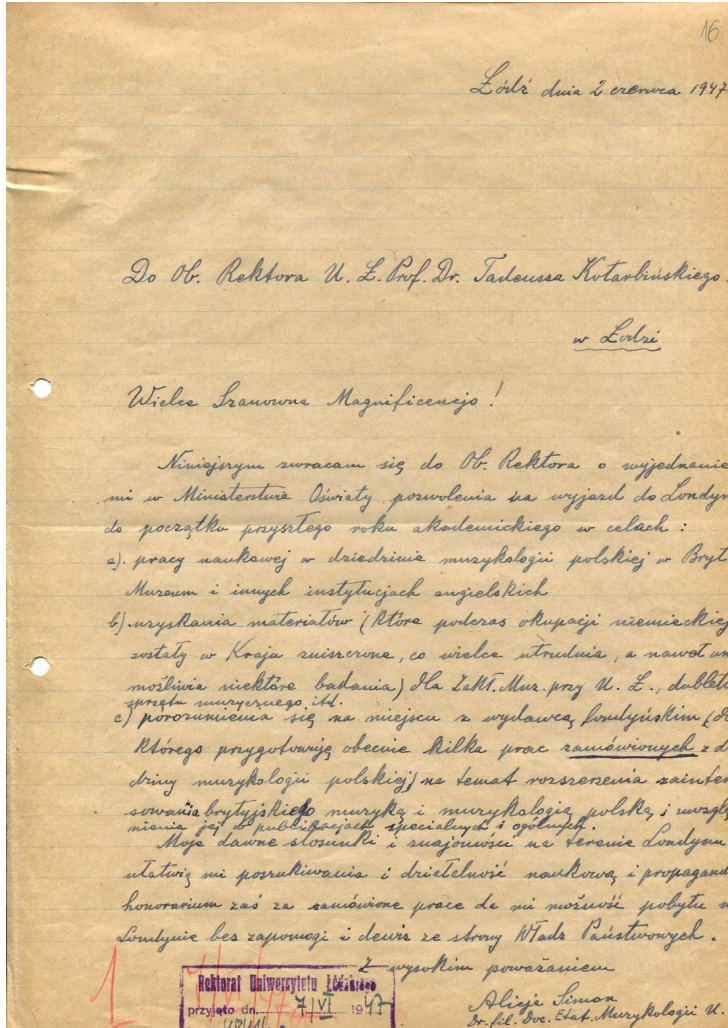


Fig. 5. Letter to His Magnificence the Rector of the University of Łódź, Professor Tadeusz Kotarbiński, asking for help in securing permission to go on a research trip to London, Łódź, 2 June 1947, Archives of the University of Łódź, call number 2552

56 I would like to thank Dr Małgorzata Sieradz of the Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences for providing me with copies of manuscript materials for comparative research on the writings of Chybiński and Chomiński.

57 I would like to thank the staff of the University of Łódź for helping me obtain these materials, in particular Mr Mariusz Raczyński from the Department of Special Collections – Music Collection and Dr Dariusz Klemantowicz from the Archives and Museum at the University of Łódź.

The preserved comparative material with her handwriting is relatively modest, dates from the later post-war period and does not allow for extensive comparative research. Therefore the attribution of these inscriptions to Alicja Simon should be treated as an assumption requiring further comparative research.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

The common features of the keyboard tablature from the Holy Spirit Monastery and Jan of Lublin tablature have been repeatedly emphasised.⁵⁹ Both sources were produced in Canons Regular monasteries: the first in the Holy Spirit monastery in Kraków, the second in St Augustine's (Canons Regular of the Lateran) in Kraśnik. One characteristic they shared was a passion for and nurturing of musical traditions.⁶⁰ The discovered photocopy in Berlin primarily affords new opportunities for analytical, editorial and performance-related work. Access to these materials today fulfils the same intention as a hundred years ago, when these copies were made and collected for similar purposes, clearly indicating an ongoing need to understand the TKD manuscript, its repertoire and the cultural heritage it conveys. The differences between all the microfilm copies primarily concern readability and the content of inscriptions made during research activities. By delving into the histories of various libraries and collections, it has been possible to establish that both the microfilms, from the Harvard and Polona libraries, as well as the photographs from Berlin, were made in the 1930s. Among the many collections lost during and after the Second World War, Aleksander Poliński's music collection was exceptional, not least because of the vast number of Polish works and sources of the highest cultural value it contained. The TKD manuscript was undoubtedly an item of European importance, as evidenced by the Ishams' desire to have music from this manuscript. One may still hope that copies of other sources from Poliński's collection were made and will be found in the future. Perhaps the experiences of a hundred years ago will now speak to us more clearly and inspire us to protect our native cultural heritage in the uncertain times of war in which we currently live.

58 Further research into acquiring comparative material and Alicja Simon's endeavours in the realm of early music investigation fall within my research interests.

59 The latest publications in this area include *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Repertoire*, ed. Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, 2 vols, which cites additional literature on this subject.

60 Cf. Mirosław Daniluk, 'Kanonicy regularni' [Canons Regular], in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, ed. Bogusław Migut, vol. 8, Lublin 2000, col. 590–595; Czesław Grajewski, 'Kanonik Jan z Lublina i jego tabulatura' [Canon Jan of Lublin and his tablature], *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 108 (2017), pp. 111–121.

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NOWO ODKRYTA FOTOKOPIA ZAGINIONEGO RĘKOPISU TABULATORY KŁAWISZOWEJ
Z KLASZTORU ŚW. DUCHA W KRAKOWIE ORAZ Z KOLEKCJI ALEKSANDRA
POLIŃSKIEGO

Tabulatura klawiszowa z klasztoru Świętego Ducha w Krakowie (TKD) to rękopis z ok. 1548 r., który ze względu na zawartość, czas i miejsce powstania oraz notację muzyczną porównywany jest z rękopisem tabulatury organowej Jana z Lublina. W wyniku sekularyzacji klasztoru TKD znajdowała się kolejno w rękach Karola Kurpińskiego, Józefa Brzowskiego i Aleksandra Polińskiego. Po śmierci Polińskiego w 1916 r. kolekcję nabyło państwo polskie, a zbiorami zarządzały ministerialne instytucje odrodzonej Polski. Były to zasoby związane z kolekcjami w Pałacu Pod Blachą przy Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie. Już w 1922 r. Leopold Binental napisał na ten temat artykuł, publikując w *Tygodniku Ilustrowanym* fotokopie jednej ze stron TKD oraz innych źródeł nabytych z kolekcji Polińskiego do zbiorów państwowej Biblioteki Sztuki (późniejszej Biblioteki Dyrekcji Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki). Zbiór po Polińskim z czasem stał się najlepiej opracowaną kolekcją muzyczną, którą zajmowała się głównie Alicja Simon, ale i Adolf Chybiński. W 1940 r. w pomieszczeniach Biblioteki Ordynacji Krasieńskich na ul. Okólnik utworzono Staatsbibliothek Warschau, gdzie zebrano najcenniejsze źródła o randze zbiorów specjalnych, w tym dawną kolekcję Polińskiego i rękopis TKD. Po fiasku Powstania Warszawskiego niemieckie oddziały Brandkommando spaliły zbiory na ul. Okólnik. Dzięki rodzinie Isham z USA zachował się mikrofilm z rękopisu TKD, który znalazł się w zbiorach Biblioteki Harvarda przed wybuchem II wojny. Po spaleniu zbiorów specjalnych w Warszawie w 1944 r. kopia tego mikrofilmu stanowiła jednocześnie jedyną możliwość wglądu w faksymile rękopisu TKD. W wyniku kwerendy, którą przeprowadziłem w Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz w Berlinie okazało się, że również w tej instytucji wykonano przed wybuchem II wojny kopię rękopisu TKD i w formie fotokopii jest tam do dzisiaj przechowywana. Są to fotografie całości rękopisu TKD bliskie formatowi oryginału, zawierające informacje, których na mikrofilmie z biblioteki harwardzkiej brakuje, w tym m.in. stempla proveniencyjnego potwierdzającego przynależność do kolekcji Aleksandra Polińskiego. Berlińska kopia TKD została wykonana w bardzo dobrej jakości, co umożliwia weryfikację i uzupełnienie dotychczasowych ustaleń badaczy w odniesieniu do zawartości rękopisu TKD.

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