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THE NEW EDITION OF THE TABLATURE OF JOANNES DE LUBLIN:
TRADITION AND PERSPECTIVES

ABSTRACT The new edition of the tablature of Joannes de Lublin represents the state of the art in editorial practice, combining a critical and practical edition. It is discussed within the contexts of the contemporary corpus of tablatures in Poland and also Central European music, developing a series of current topics: a new ordering and reconstructing of the material taking account of codicological research and functional purposes, the local reworking of the repertoire and compilatory practice of the scribes, unknown concordances or unica, counterpoint and intabulation techniques, syntactic-rhetorical properties, and historical didactics. The edition provides literal, but good, readable transcriptions.

KEYWORDS keyboard tablature, organ tablature, instrumental music, music edition, music editing, Joannes de Lublin, intabulation, Renaissance music

ABSTRAKT *Nowa edycja tabulatury Jana z Lublina: tradycja i perspektywy.* Edycja tabulatury Jana z Lublina reprezentuje najwyższy poziom praktyki edytorskiej, łącząc wydanie krytyczne z praktycznym. Omawiana jest w kontekście współczesnych jej tabulatur w Polsce oraz muzyki środkowoeuropejskiej, rozwijając szereg aktualnych zagadnień: nowe uporządkowanie i rekonstrukcję repertuaru z uwzględnieniem badań kodykologicznych i pełnionych funkcji, lokalne przeróbki utworów i praktykę kompilacyjną kopistów, nieznanne konkordancje lub kompozycje unikatowe, techniki kontrapunktu i intawolacji, właściwości syntaktyczno-retoryczne oraz dawną dydaktykę. Wydanie zapewnia wierne, ale dobre i czytelne transkrypcje.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE tabulatura na instrumenty klawiszowe, tabulatura organowa, muzyka instrumentalna, edycja muzyczna, edytorstwo muzyczne, Jan z Lublina, intawolacja, muzyka renesansu

With the new critical edition of the *Tablature of Joannes de Lublin* (hereafter *Tablature*),¹ the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences offers a new stage in the history of research and performance practice relating to this manuscript.² In Central European music of the first half of the sixteenth century, this manuscript is unique in a way that should not be underestimated, because among the known tablatures notated in keyboard (alphabetical) tablature notation at the time³ and the first music primers for instrumental music,⁴ it contains the richest and largest collection of teaching exercises for organ, performance repertoire and theoretical instructions, all related to one another. Although the history of research into this tablature and of its editions has already included one complete edition in the series *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* (CEKM 6),⁵ and numerous editions of individual repertoire groups or selected pieces, they were characterised by the editorial standards of the 1960s and could not yet take into account subsequent research in the field of codicology and repertoire analysis.⁶ The view of the material in terms of source analysis

- 1 *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Repertuar / Repertoire*, ed. Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, vol. 1, *Utwory liturgiczne i inne religijne / Liturgical and Other Sacred Music*, Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2021 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia), pp. 565; vol. 2, *Utwory świeckie / Secular Music*, Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2023 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia), pp. 239.
- 2 The manuscript of the tablature is located in the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences (Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk) in Kraków under the shelf mark MS 1716. The author of the review would like to thank the library for providing high-quality scans of the manuscript.
- 3 See Leonhard Kleber, *Tabulatur für die Orgel* (1520–24), D-B 40026; Bonifacius Ammerbach tablatures (1513–25): Hans Kotter, *Fundamentum totius artis musicae artificialiter compositum*, CH-Bu F IX 22, Hans Kotter, *Fundamentum für Oswald Holtzsch*, CH-Bu F VI 26c, and *Tänze und Lieder in Tabulatur gesetzt von Hans Kotter*, CH-Bu F IX 58; Hans Buchner *Fundamentum* (before 1550), CH-Bu F I 8a, CH-Zz S 284a und 284b; the tablature D-Lem I. 8° 191 (c.1540). (On the Polish tablatures, see below.)
- 4 See e.g. Arnold Schlick, *Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang und Lidlein uff die Orgeln und Lauten*, Mainz 1512; Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getuschet*, Basel 1511. As music teaching in Poland, especially in Kraków, one of the main centres of learning at the time, was strongly influenced by the German-speaking world, it can be assumed that these textbooks were known in Kraków. There is evidence that local music theorists used such works as Nicolaus Wollick's *Opus aureum* (1505), Udalricus Burchard's *Hortulus musicae* (1518) and Andreas Ornitoparchus' *Micrologus musicae activae* (1519). Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba offers detailed research into Polish music theory of the sixteenth century in *Ars musica w krakowskich traktatach muzycznych XVI wieku*, Kraków 1986; cf. also Renata Buziak, 'Die Lehrbuchtradition des Sebald Heyden: Ein Schülergespräch aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert und seine Krakauer Ausgabe', *Studia Germanica Gedanensia* 16 (2008), pp. 133–146. We also assume that the didactic hand drawings in the Kraków *Tablature* (UKR-LVu 1400/I, 1550s–90s) had their prototypes in the first primers in the German-speaking world (including Hans Judenkünig, *Utilis et compendiaris introductio* and *Ain schone kunstliche vnderweisung*, both Vienna 1523); see Kateryna Schöning, '21 Hands for Playing: On a Puzzle from the Lute *Tablature* LVu Hs.1400/I', *Early Music* 47 (2019) no. 3, pp. 345–360.
- 5 *Johannes of Lublin. Tablature of Keyboard Music*, 6 vols., ed. John R. White, [Rome] 1964–67 (= Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 6).
- 6 The history of research into the tablature of Joannes de Lublin began with the writings of Adolf Chybiński ('*Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina* (1540)', *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1 (1911), pp. 9–35, 2 (1911), pp. 122–141, 3 (1912), pp. 217–52, 4 (1913), pp. 297–336) and has expanded to incorporate other fields

also changed radically with the publication in 2015 of the first critical edition of the teaching treatise with examples (the *Fundamentum*) belonging to the *Tablature*.⁷

As expected, this new edition of the *Tablature* represents the state of the art in editorial practice. In addition to the transcription in common music notation ('keyboard system') of the entire repertoire, each of the two volumes (vol. 1, *Liturgical and Other Sacred Music*; vol. 2, *Secular Music*) contains an extensive scholarly review of the history of the tablature and research into it, including codicology (vol. 1, pp. 43–48⁸), notographic analysis (vol. 1, pp. 49–54), musical and textual 'Editing principles' elaborated and formulated for this tablature (vol. 1, pp. 54–57), as well as detailed analysis of the repertoire, which is structured not only according to composition types, but also according to current musicological topoi (vol. 1, pp. 57–77 and vol. 2, pp. 22–36). Each volume also ends with an extensive 'Critical commentary', which, after the 'Lists of abbreviations' ('Sources' and 'Modern editions'), lists comprehensive information on each contribution to the tablature (vol. 1, pp. 501–565; vol. 2, pp. 213–239), namely: a) references to facsimiles (with folios) and to the older edition (CEKM 6); b) concordances from sixteenth-century sources; c) a list of corrections and standardisations; d) references to fragments and variants from the tablature (if available). The entire edition is bilingual (Polish/English) and therefore appeals to a broad international readership.

Conceptually, this monumental edition constitutes a very good combination of a critical and a practical edition, expanding on its content as far as is possible in

of research, from generic-stylistic analysis of individual pieces to the evaluation of all the composition techniques and historical didactics (the *Fundamentum*), from contextualisation of the repertoire in Polish music history to evaluation of all the entries in Central European (concordance) contexts, from research into persons and initials to in-depth codicological research, from generally selective research to the embedding of the entire tablature in the broad cultural-historical and cultural-sociological contexts. For a brief overview of the various aspects to the research, see Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska, 'Tabulatura Jana z Lublina (1540) jako przedmiot badań', *Muzyka* 60 (2015) nr 3, pp. 69–96. The history of the complete edition of the manuscript began in the 1950s, as a result of which a complete facsimile was published, which contains a 'thematic index' of musical incipits transcribed into common music notation in the original order and an alphabetical index of music titles. The indexes also provide initial indications of vocal models for the intabulations; see *Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina*, ed. Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, Warsaw 1964 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia). This first edition of the manuscript has been a useful point of reference when working with the manuscript. The tablature was transcribed into common music notation in the almost simultaneous edition of six volumes published by John R. White in the series *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* (CEKM); see n. 5. For the first time, the repertoire was reorganised typologically according to genre and composition type, but without a detailed critical report. White published some concordance lists in a title index and an index of persons or initials, in John R. White 'The Tablature of Johannes of Lublin: Ms 1716 of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow', *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963), pp. 137–162.

7 *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Ad faciendum cantum choralem; fundamentum; ad faciendam correcturam*, ed. Elzbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Warsaw 2015 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia).

8 The page references here follow the English translation of the text sections in the edition. The references in the edition are detailed and differentiated for each question. The review mostly only refers to the pages of the edition, without duplicating the references to the secondary literature.

a printed form (without digital elements). One of the challenges of working with the manuscript tablature lies in its non-homogeneous structure. As in several organ and lute manuscripts of this period (excellent examples are PL-WRk 352, 1530s–40s and the Kraków Tablature, UKR-LVu 1400/I, c.1550s–90s), the manuscripts show a fascinating collaboration between different scribes (there are four hands evident in the *Tablature*; vol. 1, p. 46), entering, playing, teaching, correcting, commenting on, censoring (as in *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, 1610–c.1630⁹) and notating the music. The earlier layer of the *Tablature* (fols. 49r–IIIV) was prepared in Kraków between 1537 and 1539, the newer layer (fols. 1r–48v, 112r–260v) in Kraśnik between 1540 and 1547 (vol. 1, p. 46).¹⁰ Additions were entered in the older part between 1540 and 1548, and the binding was not completed until around 1540, in spite of which the order of the repertoire can only be reconstructed in the older part in terms of its obvious correspondence with the sequence of the liturgy and the church calendar.¹¹ At the same time, the manuscript forms a collection of both sacred and secular compositions, which reveals the connection of this material to practice outside the liturgical space. Musicology is thus concerned with the reproduction of practice that goes far beyond this tablature and has to be contextualised in depth and largely reconstructed.

The editor therefore shows her research into the *Tablature's* connections with the entire contemporary corpus of tablatures in Poland, above all with the aforementioned theoretical-practical textbook (*Fundamentum*) to which the scribes of the *Tablature* explicitly refer (vol. 1, pp. 45–46, 63–65, 67, etc.) and which is characterised by the same date of origin (beginning in 1538), the same scribes, didactic (successive and partly fragmentary) writing and the same connection to the places Kraków and Kraśnik. For this reason, the present edition is intended as a continuation of the first critical edition of the *Fundamentum*, also prepared by the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences.¹² Furthermore, close crossovers with the tablature from the monastery of the Holy Spirit in Kraków (c.1548, now lost) and entries from the Augustine monastery in the Kazimierz district of Kraków (before 1528, PL-Wn Mus. 2081) are shown (vol. 1, p. 74). The *Tablature* is thus located in the context of the local network of scribes, including N[icolai] C[racoviensis] and N. Z. (vol. 1, pp. 45, 59). Accordingly, the editor takes up the topic of the local reworking of repertoire that was widespread throughout Central Europe, such as motets by Antoine Brumel, Heinrich Fink, Josquin des Prez, Ludwig Senfl and Claudin de Sermisy, madrigals,

9 *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, ed. Marcin Szelest, 3 vols., Warsaw 2021 (= Fontes Musicae in Polonia C/XXV.1–3).

10 The codicological analysis in the edition is based on Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Uwagi kodykologiczne o tabulaturze Jana z Lublina (1537–1548)', *Muzyka* 41 (1996) no. 3, pp. 45–58.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

12 *Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Ad faciendum cantum choralem* (see n. 7). On the problem of entries added over time and successive writing, see p. 29 and the literature cited there.

frottolas and a villotta by Sebastiano Festa, Francesco Patavino and Philippe Verdelot, canzonas or chansons by Girolamo Cavazzoni and Clément Janequin, and Lieder by Georg Brack, Thomas Stoltzer, Martin Wolff and Paul Wüst. The lists of concordances – compiled from the entire Central European context – are finely elaborated in the edition and specifically selected from the 1530s–50s. This approach is very conducive to the scholarly use of the edition, as it makes it easier to trace the overlaps in the repertoire from sources across Europe and to research them further. The edition refers to previously unknown concordances or *unica* (vol. 1, pp. 67, 68).

As a result of this re-evaluation, the edition offers some reconstructions of practice by bringing together entries that were separated in the manuscript: the mass cycles have been reorganised; the place of some fragments has been clarified (vol. 1, pp. 57–58). The references to older and newer fascicles are always present in the scholarly text of the edition, so that the reader can visualise the original paper layers and origins. The original connection to the liturgy or the topoi of the church calendar underlie the reconstructed reordering of the corresponding repertoire (*ordinarium* and *proprium missae*, *ordinarium* and *proprium officii*, sacred motets and songs). The edition also focusses on one under-researched topic: *alternatim* practice and its variant representation in the tablature. Some new identifications of the models are compiled, again interwoven with the traditions of the organ mass in Poland in the sixteenth century (vol. 1, pp. 60–62).

In general, the editor offers an analytical section for each type of composition, which varies in its focus depending on the repertoire. In *ordinaria* and *propria*, contrapuntal techniques and approaches to the instrumental setting of plainchant melodies are systematised and in turn referred to the *Fundamentum*, i.e. to historical didactics. The plainchant techniques in specifically instrumental arrangements of psalm tones and formulaic contrapuntal patterns *concordantiae* and *conclusiones* are particularly exciting because these techniques had not yet been systematised in the research literature (vol. 1, p. 66). In ‘Motets’, as in other intabulations, questions are asked about vocal models, their origin and chronology, possible scribes, concordances, including variants in other Polish tablatures, chronological layers and possible functions – in this case, their use in the liturgy (vol. 1, pp. 67–70). Under intabulations with *cantus firmus*, the editor defines two types of intabulations: those with continuous reference to a *cantus firmus* in various parts and those in free counterpoint (vol. 1, pp. 71–72). In conjunction with syntactic-rhetorical rules (see below), this analysis opens up a perspective for a more precise consideration of intabulation techniques, since intabulations are based not so much on which ornaments were used, but primarily on whether and how the vocal models were recognised and heard. The determining role of the text – both semantically (in the edition, only the models are mentioned) and structurally (the form of texts is analysed) – is particularly highlighted in secular intabulations.

The analysis of the texts thus brings up aspects largely overlooked hitherto, which the editor brings to the fore: how the scribes deal with the syntactic-rhetorical properties of the material, the ‘construing’ of *compositio*, the ‘divisions determined by the syntax of the verbal text’, and ‘the principle of syntactic imitation’ or literal adoptions of textual forms (vol. 1, pp. 64–65, 71, 74; vol. 2, p. 26f.), as was taught and practised in the *Fundamentum*.¹³ The edition also provides rich material for the topic of (inter-)confessional interpretation in Poland of the repertoire which, like the motets and songs, was printed in Protestant songbooks outside Poland (vol. 1, p. 67). In the ‘Preambula’ section (vol. 1, pp. 74–77), the ‘open character’ of the manuscript’s structure and the compulsory practice of the scribes is particularly obvious. Although the transcriptions of preambula are printed in one section (vol. 1, pp. 410–426), the editor emphasises the possibility of performing such pieces in other places. In this context, the correspondences to the *Fundamentum* and the tablature from the monastery of the Holy Spirit are decisive (vol. 1, pp. 74–75). We are also familiar with this form of preamble from other lute and keyboard collections, as a compact practice pattern for various textures and cadences of all common tones – such as *c*, *d/D*, *e*, *f/F*, *g/G*, *a* in the *Tablature* – with the possibility of further transposition, fragmentation and compilation.¹⁴ This allows us to see additional parallels with tablatures from the 1520s–30s in the German-speaking world and to research them further. This topic is linked to another aspect, which is rather addressed in the second volume of the edition: the instrumental pluralism in the use of secular repertoire, originally known as lute repertoire. This applies in particular to the dances (vol. 2, pp. 31, 34). One must also mention the question of practices that are not notated or not described. In this much-debated area, the present edition indeed inspires further research.

Parallel to its scholarly claim, the edition is also orientated towards performance practice and is designed (as far as possible) for practical use. The order of the entries has been left as per the original only in smaller repertoire groups (vol. 1, p. 49). Otherwise, the repertoire has been strictly reordered according to genre, form or country

13 In specified in the *Fundamentum*, every piece is based on grammatical rules, which every organist should observe (*Tabulatura Joannis de Lublin. Ad faciendum cantum chorale*, p. 109). This seems to be a general phenomenon for the 1540s, as the core passage of this instruction – the correspondence of the clause disposition in the music with verbal syntax – corresponds with a similar passage by Hans Buchner, who requested a precise analysis of the vocal original, including the syntax of the text (*Fundamentum*, CH-Bu F I 8a, before 1550, p. 22).

14 Written evidence of the practice of preambula in all the tones is known from the fifteenth century (Conrad Paumann, Adam Ileborgh). However, the theoretical instruction or description of this practice only comes before the preparation of the Joannes de Lublin *Tablature*. Hans Gerle described the elaborate playing of preambula by Adolf Blindhamer in the introduction to his primer *Tabulatur auff die Laudten* (Nuremberg 1533). As an example of this, we have the *Preambulum* at the beginning of the *Lautentabulatur des Adolf Blindhamer*, c.1525 (A-Wn Mus.Hs. 41950). Gerle provided one of his preambles with corresponding teaching instructions in the book just mentioned (Bg. [Aiiiv]). See as well Leonhard Kleber, *Tabulatur für die Orgel* (1520–24).

– a practice appreciated by performers, which facilitates their orientation within the large collection:¹⁵ vol. 1: 1. ‘Polyphonic arrangements of plainchant melodies’, 2. ‘Motets’, 3. ‘Songs with Latin and Polish incipits’, 4. ‘Preambula’; vol. 2: 1. ‘Intabulations of madrigals, frottolas, a villotta and canzona, and compositions with titles suggesting Italian origin’, 2. ‘Intabulations of chansons and compositions with titles suggesting French origin’, 3. ‘Intabulations / arrangements of Lieder’, 4. ‘Arrangements of songs with Polish incipits’, 5. ‘Dances’, 6. ‘Varia’. The editorial approach generally follows the principle ‘as close as possible to the original’, but at the same time allows for the normalisation and simplification of the originally non-homogeneous and non-uniform tablature notation in line with broad usability requirements. The musical text allows an ‘unencumbered’ reading of the musical text, as only a minimum of necessary editorial additions are given in square brackets (originally missing mensural signatures, rests, accidentals, the names of the composers for the vocal models, etc.); obvious spelling mistakes are corrected; ornaments are standardised and printed in small font.

All in all, the edition is an excellent work in the field of printed editions, which will certainly become a standard edition. Nevertheless, it would be desirable if this edition could be regarded as a preliminary work for the next step, namely, the preparation of a digital edition of the *Tablature*. In the case of such extensive collections, which involve an enormous amount of work and an almost unmanageable amount of material (including transnational concordances, historical and practical performance contexts), a digital edition is unavoidable and leads to a fascinating combination of possibilities that the multi-volume printed editions prepared over the years can usually only hint at, but not realise. For example, the connection to the facsimile through references to the original folios or fascicles would be possible directly in the edition of the musical text, as they are necessary for direct comparisons with the original. In the present print, they can only be read in the ‘Critical commentary’. All fragments and variants would have been edited and shown both in the original order (corresponding to the original sequence of folios) and in the ‘related’ compositions (contrary to the original sequence of folios). In the present print, the editor had to make a choice: only variants with minimal differences and, if several variants are present, only larger variants or the largest fragments were edited. In print, it must be decided where to place information. For example, the extent to which the reworking of secular and sacred repertoire was originally interconnected can only be established from the original order of folios. This can be illustrated by three fragments, fol. 97v, lines 6, 7 of the *Tablature*: 1) an alternative variant of the imitative opening of the motet *Sicut lilium inter spinas* by Antoine Brumel, which follows on fol. 98r, 2)

15 As noted above, in comparison to the edition *Johannes of Lublin. Tablature of Keyboard Music* (see n. 5), this arrangement of the organ repertoire is significantly altered and more detailed. However, the principle of this edition has been essentially adopted.

a passage playing out the main tone *F*, and 3) a dance-like pattern, which is probably a variant of the preceding dance *Ferdinandi*, fol. 97v.

An alphabetical index of the entries, as well as a complete index of the musical content of the two volumes with consecutive numbering, would also be an advantage. The massive critical apparatus could be simplified in its digital presentation and made searchable, the textual description of unedited music fragments could be avoided (as in vol. 1, p. 547, no. 8), and the extensive references to research literature (in the footnotes of the edition) could be organised more efficiently. The interconnection of projects by digital means could help to prevent the loss of information, to supplement it continuously and to correct it where necessary.¹⁶

However, these future perspectives can only be realised based on a standard work such as the present edition and the work made possible by these two volumes. Organist practitioners should not be underestimated either, for whom the printed versions presented here provide a formidable solution and are hereby highly recommended.

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16 This concerns, for example, the absent references to the vocal model for the intabulation of one of the best-known songs of the sixteenth century, *Ach hilf mich Leid = Ach hilf mich leid* (vol. 2, pp. 23, 225 in the critical report and pp. 107–110 in the musical text). This song is primarily known from the *Liedbuch des Johannes Heer* (CH-SGs Cod. Sang. 462), in four settings from 1510 and 1516 (see Nicole Schwindt, *Maximilian's Lieder. Weltliche Musik in deutschen Landen um 1500*, Kassel 2018, pp. 183–187). The four-part intabulation in the *Tablature* is based on the arrangement of the tenor from the song in the discantus of the intabulation, beginning from bar 7. The scribe took the tenor in extenso and almost exactly true to the original.

An obvious error has been made in the edition in the dating of the *Lautentabulatur des Stephan Craus* (A-Wn Mus.Hs. 18688), see vol. 2, p. 32, n. 68. The tablature belongs to the 1530s–40s and not to the second half of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the piece *Hajducki* does not exist in this tablature. The Kraków *Tablature* mentioned in the edition (UKR-LVu 1400/I) is not dated c.1555 (vol. 2, p. 25), but 1550s–90s; see Kateryna Schöning, 'Die Lautentabulatur UKR-LVu 1400/I als ein humanistisches Scholarbuch', *Die Musikforschung* 73 (2020) no. 3, pp. 201–233.

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