

MARCIN SZELEST  
THE KRZYSZTOF PENDERECKI ACADEMY OF MUSIC IN KRAKÓW  
ORCID 0000-0003-2858-9841

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## THE HISTORY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY ANNOTATIONS IN THE LOST KEYBOARD TABLATURE MANUSCRIPT FROM THE HOLY SPIRIT MONASTERY IN KRAKÓW AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF ITS PHOTOCOPIES

**ABSTRACT** This text addresses issues raised by Grzegorz Joachimiak, who announced the discovery of an unknown photocopy of the lost keyboard tablature from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków in *Muzyka* 69 (2024) no. 2. Evidence is presented that the reproduction made for Harvard University was produced in 1938 and that the pencil inscriptions, introduced by Aleksander Poliński probably c.1913, were present in the manuscript at that time. Some faded annotations were then corrected for the photographs ordered by the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung in Berlin, which were taken afterwards.

**KEYWORDS** keyboard tablature, Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków, Aleksander Poliński, Zdzisław Jachimecki

**ABSTRAKT** *Historia dwudziestowiecznych dopisków w zaginionej tabulaturze klawiszowej z klasztoru Świętego Ducha w Krakowie i chronologia jej fotokopii.* Komunikat odnosi się do zagadnień poruszonych przez Grzegorza Joachimiaka, który ogłosił odkrycie nieznannej fotokopii zaginionej tabulatury klawiszowej z klasztoru Świętego Ducha w Krakowie (*Muzyka* 69 (2024) nr 2). Zaprezentowano dowody na to, że reprodukcja wykonana dla Uniwersytetu Harvarda powstała w roku 1938, a ołówkowe inskrypcje, wprowadzone przez Aleksandra Polińskiego prawdopodobnie ok. roku 1913, były wówczas obecne w rękopisie. Niektóre wyblakłe dopiski poprawiono następnie w związku z wykonaniem zdjęć zamówionych przez Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung w Berlinie, które powstały w późniejszym czasie.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE** tabulatura klawiszowa, klasztor Świętego Ducha w Krakowie, Aleksander Poliński, Zdzisław Jachimecki

Grzegorz Joachimiak recently announced the existence of a hitherto unknown, complete set of photographic reproductions of the manuscript keyboard tablature from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków (hereafter TKD).<sup>1</sup> This discovery is very important, as the source was destroyed in 1944, and the photographs, held in the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin,<sup>2</sup> are of much better quality than the reproductions known thus far, housed at the Isham Memorial Library of Harvard University in Cambridge (MA), and will constitute a very solid basis for a long overdue critical edition of the lost manuscript.

The rare case of two independent reproductions of one manuscript invites a comparison between them, and Joachimiak took the opportunity to present it against the background of the tablature's history. A large part of his text is devoted to what is or is not visible on both reproductions, which leads him to questions about their dating and the authorship of the pencil inscriptions that emerged on the Berlin photographs. I would like to address these issues again, because the author seems to have grounded some of his conclusions on incomplete evidence.

While, according to Joachimiak, the Berlin set of photographs was made in or after 1936, he proposed 1932–34 as the likely dating of the American reproductions.<sup>3</sup> But the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of photocopies of European keyboard sources were quite precisely reported by Willi Apel:

Im Jahre 1938, während meiner Lehrtätigkeit an der Harvard University, wurde mir in grosszügiger Weise die Möglichkeit gegeben, eine besondere Bibliothek aufbauen, die aus photographischen Reproduktionen wichtiger Quellen der Orgelmusik, hauptsächlich aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, bestand. Unter den Handschriften, deren Photographien ich bei verschiedenen europäischen Bibliotheken bestellte, befanden sich auch zwei aus Warschau [sic], nämlich eine Tabulatur vom Jahre 1548, die ursprünglich dem Krakauer Orden vom Heiligen Geist gehörte und eine etwa aus Jahre 1580, Eigentum der Musikgesellschaft von Warschau, die häufig als die Tabulatur des Martin Leopolita bezeichnet wird. Ich entsinne mich noch, dass mein Versuch, Mikrofilme dieser beiden Handschriften zu erhalten, zuerst auf Schwierigkeiten stiessen, die aber nach einiger Zeit durch die Bemühungen des amerikanischen Gesandten in Warschau behoben wurden. Ich berichte über diese anscheinend unwichtigen Vorgänge, weil wenige Jahre, nachdem ich die Mikrofilme erhalten hatte, beide Handschriften während des Angriffskriegs von Deutschland gegen Polen vernichtet wurden. So ist es ein grosses Glück, dass sie wenigstens in photographischen Reproduktionen erhalten sind.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Grzegorz Joachimiak, 'A Newly Discovered Photocopy of the Lost Keyboard Tablature Manuscript from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków and the Aleksander Poliński Collection', *Muzyka* 69 (2024) no. 2, pp. 39–60.
- 2 I am indebted to Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Chief Editor of the series *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia*, for kindly allowing me access to digital images of the Berlin photographs, owned by the editorial office.
- 3 G. Joachimiak, 'A Newly Discovered Photocopy', pp. 47–48.
- 4 Willi Apel, 'Orgelmusik in Ost-Europa im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in: *Musica antiqua. Acta scientifica*, vol. 4, Bydgoszcz 1975, pp. 402–403.

So both reproductions were made in roughly the same period, when the manuscript was already housed in the National Library in Warsaw. In fact, I share Joachimiak's opinion that the reproduction made for Apel preceded the photographs taken for Berlin, but for other reasons that will emerge later in this study. In an earlier article, Apel described the reproductions ordered for the Isham Memorial Library in 1938 as 'photostatic reproductions in original, or near original, size', 'bound like the books from which they were photographed'.<sup>5</sup> The machine used to make the copies was, therefore, either a Rectigraph or a Photostat. Both of them were camera-based photocopying machines that made the prints directly on sensitized paper in such a way that the first copy was a 'black' print (the whites in the original were black and the blacks white). An unlimited number of 'positive' prints could be made by further photographing the 'black' print.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, there are three copies of TKD at the Isham Memorial Library: a 'negative' photographic reproduction (shelf mark 2498.5.2), deposited in the library on 3 June 1940 (i.e. the original photostatic reproduction of the manuscript), a photocopy of the same size (shelf mark 2498.5.1) 'reproduced from the negative photographic reproduction' (i.e. from 2498.5.2), and a microfilm (shelf mark 3498.5.1), described as 'negative' and made from one of the two main copies.<sup>7</sup> I was unable to consult the reproductions *in situ*, but it is likely that what is described in the catalogue as a 'negative' copy is in fact a 'black' print from the Photostat machine. In any case, we can be sure that all three items show the same content, because Apel's report leaves no doubt that the source was copied only once.<sup>8</sup>

A duplicate of the Isham Memorial Library microfilm was also sent to the National Library in Warsaw.<sup>9</sup> This Warsaw microfilm became a 'mother copy' for all reproductions of TKD available in Poland, including the photocopy in the Department of Musicology at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (IS PAN, call number fot. 28) and the digital copy in the National Digital Library Polona.<sup>10</sup> It is important to take into account that we are dealing with copies of a secondary reproduction of the original photostatic copy made in 1938, to which their quality

5 Willi Apel, 'The Collection of Photographic Reproductions at the Isham Memorial Library, Harvard University', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946) no. 1, p. 68.

6 Early Office Museum. Antique Copying Machines, [https://www.earlyofficemuseum.com/copy\\_machines.htm](https://www.earlyofficemuseum.com/copy_machines.htm), accessed 21 July 2024.

7 Harvard Library, HOLLIS (online search tool), <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077419400203941/catalog>, accessed 2 August 2024.

8 Other elements of the description in the HOLLIS entry are incorrect or misleading. All three items are described as reproductions of a source held at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków (PAU), instead of the National Library in Warsaw, while the acquisition dates in square brackets ('approximately 1939' for the microfilm and 'approximately 1940' for the positive photocopy) were clearly added at an unknown time and have no value as evidence for dating the reproductions. Equally insignificant may be the information about '362 unnumbered pages' – if, that is, it was provided by a librarian who did not examine the reproductions carefully.

9 Warsaw, National Library (PL-Wn), Mf. 17088. See: W. Apel, 'Orgelmusik in Ost-Europa', p. 403.

10 <http://polona.pl/preview/5225451e-7320-4199-b4bb-97f0d945f07f>, accessed 2 August 2024.

must be inferior. In order to make a reliable comparison of the Berlin and American reproductions, one would need access to the photocopy at the Isham Memorial Library or at least to high resolution images recently made from it. Grzegorz Joachimiak based his research on the scans in the Polona Library, but, as it happens, they are a rather poor copy of the Warsaw microfilm. The photographs at the ISPAN are of far better quality, and on many of them clear traces of the pencil inscriptions are visible, although they mostly cannot be deciphered. Perhaps more can be seen on the original photocopy, but it seems that the photostat machines did not succeed in copying light or faded pencil writing. Such was also the case with the Łowicz organ tablature, the second manuscript photographed for Apel: even the recently published high resolution digital images of the 1938 reproduction show the pencil foliation only on some pages (although on considerably more of them than the microfilm available in Poland).<sup>11</sup> However, at least one of the pencil inscriptions in TKD was clear enough that it can be read even on the Polona copy: ‘Melchisedech p. H. Fink’ at the top of page 180. It is certain, then, that both the pencil inscriptions and the pagination, so clearly visible on the Berlin photographs, were present in the manuscript when the photostatic reproduction was made for the Isham Memorial Library.

The only element present on the Berlin reproduction that is lacking on the American photocopy is Poliński’s stamp. In this case, it is unlikely that the machine did not catch it; the stamp of the Warsaw Music Society is clearly reproduced on the first page of the Łowicz tablature. However, it would be hard to explain how and why anyone other than Poliński himself could have impressed it on the last page of the manuscript. The stamp must have been there in the 1930s, and I believe it likely that it was covered before the photostatic copy was taken, because at that time it provided inaccurate information about the actual ownership of the source, as opposed to the stamp on the Łowicz tablature.

Since both reproductions – the Berlin photographs and the American photostatic copy – show the presence of pencil inscriptions, their authorship must be reconsidered. Unfortunately, early published photographs of selected pages cannot be taken as evidence for their dating. Joachimiak reproduced a photograph of page 97 that appeared in Leopold Binental’s article of 1922.<sup>12</sup> Both the page number that can be seen in the right margin of the American photocopy and the inscription ‘Nasz Zbawiciel’ above the third staff, visible on the Berlin copy (see Joachimiak’s Fig. 3), are lacking there. Leaving aside the inscription, to which I shall return later, it should be noted that – if one can judge from the digital copy of Binental’s article – some other parts

11 Harvard Library, HOLLIS, <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990077369500203941/catalog>, accessed 2 August 2024. The images are available in the Harvard Library Viewer, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:497260146\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:497260146$1i), accessed 2 August 2024.

12 Leopold Binental, ‘Biblioteka Sztuki’ [Art Library], *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 63 (1922) no. 46, p. 741; see G. Joachimiak, ‘A Newly Discovered Photocopy’, pp. 50–51 (Fig. 2 and 3).

of the reproduction, including the top right corner (where the page number appears in the 1938 copy), are blurred, to the extent that the last tablature letter of the lowest voice in the penultimate 'bar cell' on the page is completely invisible. It must be also remembered that any element considered undesirable on the reproduction could have been either covered in the manuscript or retouched on the plate. A case in point is page 47 of TKD, reproduced twice before 1939. On the photograph of the opening of pages 46–47 published in 1929,<sup>13</sup> there are two large stains on p. 47 around the inscription in the second system of the tablature, visible also both on the reproductions of the 1938 photocopy and on the Berlin photograph. However, the same spot looks absolutely clear on a fragmentary reproduction of the page in Poliński's book of 1907,<sup>14</sup> in which the background, with traces of writing from the reverse of the page, was also removed. A photograph of this particular page was owned by Poliński and listed in his catalogue as 'Organ tablature from the 16th century. Ending of an Easter Kyrie from the Mass of Mikołaj of Krakow (photograph)',<sup>15</sup> but the 1929 reproduction is a print of another photograph, one of a set made for Zdzisław Jachimecki on glass plates, preserved at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.<sup>16</sup> On the digital image made from the original plate, both page numbers 46 and 47 are clearly visible in the margins; however, in the 1929 print the right margin of the opening was trimmed, and the page number in the left margin is completely indiscernible. Therefore, the absence of a pencil inscription on printed reproductions such as these does not prove that it did not exist in the manuscript at the time the photograph was taken. To assess the pencil inscriptions, we have to turn back to their contents and handwriting.

13 Zdzisław Jachimecki, 'Muzyka polska w epoce Piastów i Jagiellonów' [Polish music in the era of the Piasts and Jagiellons], in: *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura od czasów najdawniejszych do chwili obecnej* [Poland, her history and culture from the earliest times to the present], vol. 1, Warsaw 1929, p. 548.

14 Aleksander Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* [An outline history of Polish music], Lviv 1907, p. 101. The photograph was also reproduced, probably from Poliński's book, in *Muzyka polska. Monografia zbiorowa pod redakcją Mateusza Glińskiego* [Polish music. A collective publication edited by Mateusz Gliński], Warsaw 1927, p. 47.

15 'Tabulatura organowa z XVI w. Koniec Kyrie wielkanocnego ze mszy Mikołaja z Krakowa (fotografia)', *Katalogi zbiorów Aleksandra Polińskiego. Zeszyt I. Musicalia* [Catalogues of the collections of Aleksander Poliński. Book I. Musical sources], held in the manuscript department of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, shelf mark: 5658a, p. 12 (File 5, item 17).

16 Photographed were pp. 46–47, 97 (twice), 98–99 (twice) and 100–101 (twice) – shelf marks IMuzUJ 022, 023 and 044, 031 and 043, 024 and 045, respectively. I express my gratitude to Stanisław Hrabia, Director of the Library of the Institute of Musicology, Jagiellonian University, for allowing me access to digital images of the original glass plates, as well as for generously searching for their acquisition date, which unfortunately could not be established on the basis of the preserved accession registers. The identity of the photograph in question is confirmed by the shape of the tool used to hold the manuscript for the camera, visible in the top left corner.

Grzegorz Joachimiak noted the close affinity of the pencil inscriptions in TKD to Zdzisław Jachimecki's remarks in his 1913 catalogue.<sup>17</sup> Some of the inscriptions are quite extensive and seem to exceed the amount of information any professional librarian or musicologist would dare to enter in a sixteenth-century manuscript. Indeed, most of the samples published by Joachimiak show the handwriting of Aleksander Poliński, who apparently was in the habit of annotating in pencil the manuscripts in his possession. The inscription in Fig. 1a, followed by Poliński's signature, was written on the title page of the Łowicz Tablature; note the shape of the capital 'T', very close to that in the name 'Tromboncino' in Joachimiak's Tab. 1 (no. XIX). Fig. 1b shows an extensive inscription on a tablature fragment from Poliński's collection, known as the 'Poliński Tablature' or 'Castle Tablature', now lost; compare the capital 'M' in the word 'Marcina' with the same letter in the name 'Mikołaj' in Joachimiak's Tab. 1 (no. II), as well as the shape of the numerals with the date next to 'Tromboncino'. Poliński's handwriting in his catalogues is more calligraphic, but on Fig. 1c the shape of the capital 'B' matches that in the name 'Bartolomeo' in Joachimiak's Tab. 1 (no. XIX). Compare also the phrase 'z tabulatury lubelskiej' ('from the Lublin tablature') with the same phrase in Joachimiak's Tab. 1 (no. XXII); it seems that this particular expression was coined by Poliński, whereas Jachimecki always used the phrase 'w tabulaturze Jana z Lublina' ('in the tablature of Jan of Lublin').<sup>18</sup> Jachimecki reported that Poliński not only gave him access to TKD,<sup>19</sup> then in his possession, but also allowed him to consult the manuscript briefly for a second time,<sup>20</sup> and, when his study was ready for printing, collated his catalogue with the original, correcting mistakes in Jachimecki's transcriptions and giving him 'precious tips'.<sup>21</sup> To ascertain concordances with the tablature of Jan of Lublin and compare the relevant compositions, Jachimecki would have had to make transcriptions of them from the manuscript of the tablature to which he had access in Kraków and bring them to Poliński when he paid him the second visit. On that occasion, Poliński could have noted the alternative readings from the tablature of Jan of Lublin in the manuscript of TKD, even though not all such details found their way into Jachimecki's study.

17 Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Tabulatura organowa z biblioteki klasztoru św. Ducha w Krakowie z r. 1548* [An organ tablature of 1548 from the library of the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków], Kraków 1913.

18 *Ibid.*, passim.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

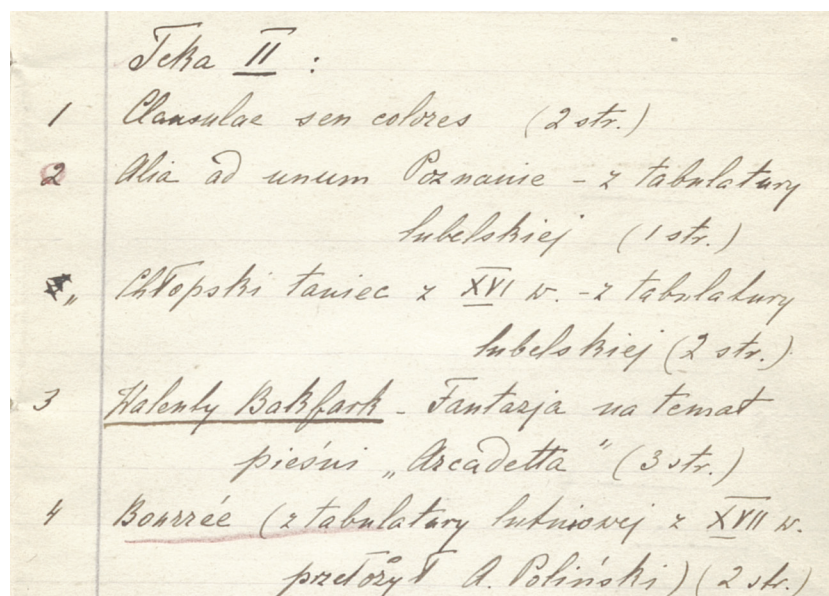
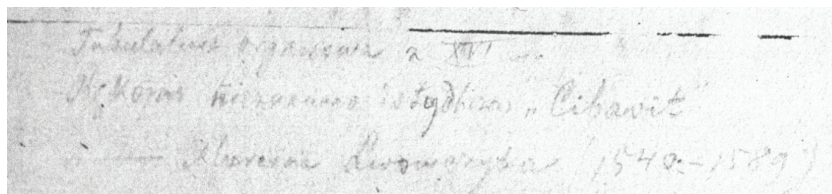
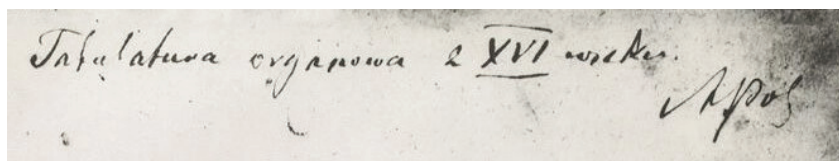


Fig. 1. Samples of Aleksander Poliński's handwriting:

a) Łowicz Tablature, title page (fragment), photocopy, Harvard University, Loeb Music Library, 2562.5.1 Merritt digital copy; b) 'Castle Tablature', fol. 3v (fragment), photograph, Jagiellonian University, Institute of Musicology, IMuzUJ 015; c) Catalogues of the collections of Aleksander Poliński. Book I. Musical sources, p. 3 (fragment)

It is also certain that pagination was present in the manuscript by 1929. Both the placement of the page numbers and the shape of the numerals visible on the available reproductions match Poliński's handwriting. Poliński introduced pagination or foliation also in other manuscripts he owned, including the so-called 'Warsaw Organ

Tablature'<sup>22</sup> and the fragmentary 'Castle Tablature'.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Jachimecki refers to page numbers in the manuscript throughout his study, which would hardly be possible (or at least highly inconvenient) if they were not there.

All the evidence presented thus far points to the conclusion that the pencil inscriptions in TKD were added by Aleksander Poliński in 1913 at the latest, the year Jachimecki's study was published; more precise dating is impossible, because it is not known when exactly Jachimecki consulted the manuscript of TKD. However, some of the samples published by Joachimiak raise doubts about their authorship; they look as if they were overwritten on preexisting inscriptions (see his Tab. 1, nos. III, XVI and XXI), sometimes not very precisely in the same tracks. In fact, there is one strong piece of evidence that a pencil inscription changed its place and content in the 1930s. Let us return to Joachimiak's Fig. 3, showing three reproductions of p. 97. The inscription 'Nasz Zbawiciel', very clear on the Berlin photograph above the first 'bar cell' of the third system, is absent from the two other copies. One cannot see it on the good quality photograph at the IS PAN either, as if the photostat machine could not catch it for some reason. The reason becomes clear, though, when we look at the image of the glass plate photograph made for Jachimecki (see Fig. 2): the inscription is longer ('Nasz Zbawiciel N.Z.') and expanded over three 'bar cells'. This original inscription was undoubtedly written by Poliński; compare, for instance, the characteristic curved shape of the top horizontal bar of the capital letter 'Z' with the same letter in Fig. 1a and 1b. But already by 1929 the inscription was quite faded, and if it did not get corrected by 1938, it would indeed have been too faint for the photostat camera.



Fig. 2. TKD, p. 97 (fragment), photograph, Jagiellonian University, Institute of Musicology, IMuz UJ 023

22 See the reproduction of p. 37 in A. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 145.

23 The foliation is visible on photographs preserved at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, IMuzUJ 014, 015, 016, 019 and 042.

It seems, then, that in 1938, when the photostatic copy was made for Willi Apel, Poliński's original annotations in the manuscript of TKD were still untouched. Some of them were more legible than others and can be seen (or partly seen) on the good quality images made from the microfilm of the original photocopy. Since Apel's aim was to collect copies of European keyboard sources for the Isham Memorial Library, modern inscriptions in the manuscripts were considered unimportant. Apel appears not to have been personally involved in the process of making the photocopies at the libraries and could not take decisions concerning such details. However, Poliński's inscriptions in the manuscript of TKD apparently seemed useful for the (editorial?) purposes of the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, and someone who selected the source to have it completely photographed probably ordered that any faded annotations be 'improved'. In all, there are at least thirty inscriptions visible on the Berlin photographs that appear to have been corrected. In most cases they were overwritten on Poliński's annotations; sometimes their background looks dirty, as if an eraser was used to eliminate traces of the original inscription (see Fig. 3). Several people might have been involved in the process: many corrections were entered in the tracks of Poliński's inscriptions, or very close to them, while others show a distinct, fine handwriting that does not pretend to imitate the original (Fig. 3). The titles 'Ich stund an einem Morgen' on p. 76 (see Fig. 4), as well as 'Ich stund' on p. 73, are likely to have been written by a German-speaking person who chose to use German cursive over Poliński's Latin script, still partly visible on p. 76. Mistakes in the corrected annotations, such as 'Ludowik' (instead of 'Ludwik') on p. 39 (see Joachimiak's Tab. 1, no. XXVI), or 'Soryczer' (probably instead of 'Sveijczer' – a reading provided by Jachimecki) on p. 274, indicate that some of the original inscriptions must have been barely legible, but also that at least the scribe who tried to imitate Poliński's hand was probably not a scholar and did not make an effort to eliminate spurious readings by consulting Jachimecki's catalogue.

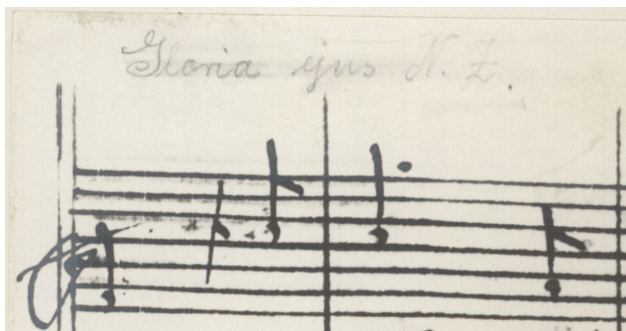


Fig. 3. TKD, p. 353 (fragment), photograph, Berlin, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 71<sup>3</sup>

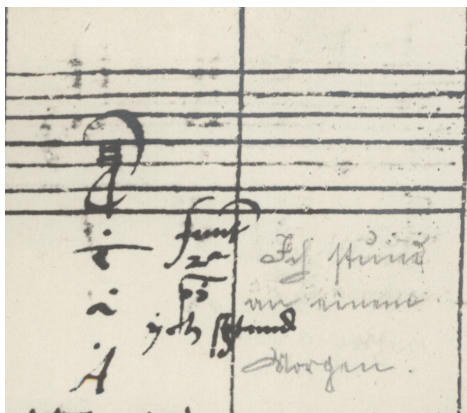


Fig. 4. TKD, p. 76 (fragment), photograph, Berlin, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 71<sup>1</sup>

Who initiated the ‘improvements’ of Poliński’s inscriptions, and who entered the corrections into the manuscript of TKD, requires further investigation, but the presented evidence shows that the Berlin photographs were made after the American photocopy, that is, not earlier than in 1938. To all appearances, no new inscriptions were produced on the occasion; at least none of the annotations contains information unavailable to Jachimecki and Poliński in 1913. This observation is not surprising, since no study was published on the repertoire of TKD or the relationship between TKD and the tablature of Jan of Lublin after Jachimecki’s 1913 catalogue and, as far as we know, no work of this kind was planned or announced in any way until 1939.

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HISTORIA DWUDZIESTOWIECZNYCH DOPISKÓW W ZAGINIONEJ TABULATURZE  
KLAWISZOWEJ Z KLASZTORU ŚWIĘTEGO DUCHA W KRAKOWIE  
I CHRONOLOGIA JEJ FOTOKOPII

Grzegorz Joachimiak ogłosił niedawno odkrycie nieznanej dotąd fotokopii tabulatury klawiszowej z klasztoru Świętego Ducha w Krakowie („A Newly Discovered Photocopy of the Lost Keyboard Tablature Manuscript from the Holy Spirit Monastery in Kraków and the Aleksander Poliński Collection”, *Muzyka* 69 (2024) nr 2, s. 39–60). Przy tej okazji przeprowadził porównanie fotografii odnalezionych w Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz w Berlinie z reprodukcjami znanej dotychczas fotokopii znajdującej się w Isham Memorial Library na Uniwersytecie Harvarda w Cambridge (MA) na tle historii rękopisu tabulatury. W niniejszym komunikacie odnoszę się do rozważanych przez autora kwestii datowania obydwu reprodukcji oraz autorstwa ołówkowych inskrypcji w rękopisie.

Okoliczności wykonania reprodukcji dla Isham Memorial Library opisał Willi Apel, pomysłodawca stworzenia w roku 1938 kolekcji fotokopii europejskich źródeł muzyki klawiszowej. Reprodukcje te wykonywano techniką fotostatyczną, umożliwiającą bezpośredni wydruk zdjęć na papierze światłoczułym; pierwszy wydruk był negatywem, z którego następnie sporządzano pozytyw. Oprócz tych dwóch form w Isham Memorial Library przechowywany jest ponadto wykonany z jednej z nich mikrofilm, którego duplikat przekazano do Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie. Ów duplikat jest podstawą wszystkich reprodukcji tabulatury dostępnych w Polsce, w tym skanów dostępnych w Cyfrowej Bibliotece Narodowej Polona oraz fotografii przechowywanych w Zakładzie Muzykologii Instytutu Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Na fotografiach tych ślady ołówkowych inskrypcji są wyraźnie widoczne, chociaż wielu z nich nie można odcyfrować; ewidentnie jednak były one obecne w rękopisie w roku 1938. Kopie lub wydruki przedwojennych reprodukcji nie dostarczają dowodów na obecność w rękopisie ołówkowych dopisków bądź ich brak, ponieważ jakość takich materiałów jest znacząco gorsza od oryginalnych fotografii, a elementy niepożądane mogły zostać zasłonięte lub wyretuszowane na kliszy (jak np. pieczęć własnościowa Polińskiego, prawdopodobnie zasłonięta podczas sporządzania fotokopii dla Uniwersytetu Harvarda, ponieważ zawierała nieaktualną informację dotyczącą własności źródła).

Inskrypcje w rękopisie, ujawnione na berlińskich fotografiach, zostały wykonane przez Aleksandra Polińskiego, ówczesnego właściciela źródła, najprawdopodobniej podczas przygotowywania przez Zdzisława Jachimeckiego opublikowanego w roku 1913 katalogu zawartości tabulatury; również Poliński wprowadził do rękopisu paginację, widoczną m.in. na zdjęciach wykonanych przed rokiem 1929 dla Jachimeckiego. Jednak niektóre ołówkowe inskrypcje widoczne na ilustracjach w artykule Joachimiaka wydają się nadpisane na adnotacjach istnie-

jących wcześniej, nie zawsze precyzyjnie po ich widocznych śladach. Na jednym ze zdjęć wykonanych dla Jachimeckiego wyblakła inskrypcja Polińskiego jest dłuższa i rozmieszczona szerzej niż wyraźnie widoczna inskrypcja na fotografii z Berlina. Wydaje się, że niektóre dopiski Polińskiego poprawiano tak, aby znalazły się na fotokopii zamówionej przez Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, natomiast na reprodukcji sporządzonej dla Uniwersytetu Harvarda widoczne są wyłącznie oryginalne inskrypcje, w wielu wypadkach słabo czytelne, lub tylko ich ślady. Prowadzi to do wniosku, że fotokopia berlińska powstała po amerykańskiej, a zatem w (lub po) roku 1938.

*Marcin Szelest*

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**Prof. Dr Marcin Szelest** teaches organ at the Krzysztof Penderecki Academy of Music in Kraków. He has performed as a soloist and with period instrument ensembles (incl. Weser Renaissance Bremen, Wrocław Baroque Orchestra, The Bach Ensemble), and is artistic director of the Omnia Beneficia Festival in Stary Sącz. His editions of the collected works of Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński (2016) and Adam Jarzębski (2021), as well as of the Warsaw Organ Tablature (2024), appeared in the series Monumenta Musicae in Polonia, and his complete edition of the Braunsberg/Oliva organ tablatures (2021) was published in the series Fontes Musicae in Polonia.  
marcin.szelest@amuz.krakow.pl

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