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“KYRIE PASCHALE” IN POLISH ORGAN TABLATURES
FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY –
PROBLEMS OF STYLE AND ATTRIBUTION*

My motivation for conducting research into *Kyrie paschale* for the organ in Polish tablatures came from learning about three newly discovered mass cycles by Heinrich Finck¹, and from the desire to fill the acutely felt gap in the only existing monograph about the composer, written by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht². The latter regarded the intabulations of Finck’s works, preserved uniquely in Polish sources (even though it is difficult to decide definitively whether they document the composer’s Polish phase), as marginal items, where the composer’s original style must have become blurred as a result of transforming their originally vocal texture into an instrumental one. The question of the intabulations of *Kyrie paschale* was later taken up by Ryszard Wieczorek³, who attempted to identify the set of Finck’s compositional stylistic features regarded by Hoffmann-Erbrecht as so idiomatic (“non-Netherlandish”) as to make Finck’s works distinguishable from other compositions written during the same period. Wieczorek limited himself to finding in the intabulations the melodic sequences described by Hoffmann-Erbrecht as *redictae*, and used as the basis for his research John White’s

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¹ Martin Horyna and Vladimír Mañas: “Two Mid-16th-century Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music from Brno”. *Early Music* 40 (2012) No. 4 pp. 553–575. The previously unknown masses by Finck are the subject of doctoral research by the author of this article.

² Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht: *Henricus Finck – musicus excellentissimus (1445–1527)*. Köln 1982. Cf. also report by Ryszard Wieczorek in: *Muzyka* 31 (1986) No. 1 pp. 110–115.

³ Ryszard J. Wieczorek: “Nochmals zum Thema «Heinrich Finck in Polen»: aus der polnischen Sicht”. In: *Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten und ihre Wechselwirkung mit den Nachbarn*. Eds. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller and Helmut Loos. Köln 1994 (= *Deutsche Musik im Osten* 6) pp. 197–227.

transcription of *The Tablature of Joannes of Lublin*, which is not free from errors⁴. From among the available variants, Wieczorek selected versions which were not original but transposed and, finally, he based the majority of his analyses on precisely those fragments of the intabulations where Finck's authorship may seem doubtful. In spite of this, Wieczorek's article reached an important conclusion in negating the "uniqueness" (according to Hoffmann-Erbrecht) of the features of Finck's style, since such features can be identified both in Polish compositions from the first half of the sixteenth century, and throughout the whole of German music of that period. Also, the *redictae* in question (described more accurately as *ostinata* and *sequences*) are the basic features of Netherlandish melodics as defined by Agnieszka Leszczyńska⁵ and represented by composers of Finck's generation.

The two organ arrangements of *Kyrie paschale* belong to a group of six⁶ compositions which provide the only trace of Heinrich Finck's compositional activity in Poland (or perhaps rather evidence of its passive or active reception during a later period). They are preserved in the form of intabulations in three of the four Polish organ tablatures from the first half of the sixteenth century known today. The first of them probably originates from the third phase of Finck's life, by which time the musician had been absent from Poland for some ten or more years, while the other two intabulations were written down between ten and twenty years after his death. All three sources are written in old German tablature notation. Their repertory is diverse, ranging from religious compositions (organ masses and other liturgical genres), which form the largest group, to secular works (intabulations of German, French, Italian and Polish songs and madrigals), from arrangements of vocal music to autonomous instrumental genres (*preambulae* and dances). Alongside compositions with clearly identifiable titles and authorship, we find numerous contrafactures, works with uncertain, doubtful or erroneous attribution, as well as works of an unknown origin.

⁴ *Johannes of Lublin. Tablature of Keyboard Music*. Ed. John R. White. Rome 1964–67 (= Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 6).

⁵ Agnieszka Leszczyńska: *Melodyka niderlandzka w polifonii Josquina, Obrechta i La Rue* [Netherlandish melodics in the polyphony of Josquin, Obrecht and La Rue]. Warszawa 1997 pp. 123–133.

⁶ In Polish literature of the subject, alongside the six intabulations mentioned here, one finds another two attributed to Finck, but this attribution is not sufficiently justified. In "Indeks tematyczny" [Thematic index] which preceded the facsimile edition of *The Tablature of Joannes of Lublin (Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina)*. Ed. Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska. Kraków 1964 (= Monumenta Musicae in Polonia) p. 38) Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska placed the composer's name – with a question mark – next to *Magnificat sexti toni super discantum* on f. 190v. Katarzyna Morawska did the same in her monograph on Polish music in the Middle Ages (Katarzyna Morawska: *Średniowiecze – część 2: 1320–1500* [Middle Ages – part 2.: 1320–1500]. Warszawa 1998 (= Historia muzyki polskiej 1) pp. 283–284), attributing to Finck the fragment (only three bars) of the intabulation of *Kyrie fons bonitatis* on f. 7a among the folios of an organ tablature preserved at Biblioteka Publiczna m.st. Warszawy.

The oldest Polish source which transmits the works of Heinrich Finck is the tablature held at Biblioteka Publiczna m.st. Warszawy [Public Library of the City of Warsaw] (PL-Wp 3141, henceforth TBP). It is preserved in fragments consisting of 19 loose paper folios, found and reclaimed in 1964 from bookbinding wastepaper used to bind incunabula blocks. It seems that it may have come from Lviv and was created during the years 1520–30. To date it has not been transcribed or published as a facsimile edition apart from excerpts which appeared in the literature of the subject⁷. The second one, held at Cracow and known as *Tabulatura Jana z Lublina* [*The Tablature of Joannes of Lublin*] (PL-Kp 1716, henceforth TJJ), is held at Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk [Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Science]. It is the most extensive European collection of organ compositions from the first half of the sixteenth century, comprising more than two hundred works, three times as many musical examples, and theoretical texts of which one describes the principles of composing for the organ⁸. Preserved almost in full, it now contains 260 folios (detailed research shows that 10 or more folios are missing) written in the period 1537–48 (dates from this time span appear with 49 compositions or groups of compositions). The most recent codicological analysis⁹ of the manuscript revealed two chronological layers: the older (1537–39) and the more recent one (1540–47). TJJ has been published as a facsimile edition¹⁰ as well as a full sheet music edition, in transcription produced by John White¹¹. The third source of interest to us is the tablature from Canons Regulars monastery of the Holy Spirit in Cracow from c. 1548, numbering 362 pages. Unfortunately it was lost during the Second World War and today is available only in the form of microfilms and photocopies deposited at the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University, Harvard College in Cambridge (Mass.) in the USA (previously PL-Wn 564, now only US-CA s.s., henceforth TKD). The reproductions are poorly legible in places and cannot undergo codicological analysis, but TKD has been published in a transcription by Wyatt Marion Insko¹².

Of the six compositions by Finck referred to earlier, only one has survived to our times both in its original vocal form and in the form of organ intabulations.

⁷ Barbara Frydrychowicz [Brzezińska]: “Nowy polski zabytek muzyki organowej z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku” [A new Polish relic of organ music from the first half of the 16th century]. *Muzyka* 11 (1966) No. 2 pp. 68–83; Barbara Brzezińska: *Repertuar polskich tabulatur organowych z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku* [The repertory of Polish organ tablatures from the first half of the 16th century]. Kraków 1987.

⁸ *Ad faciendum cantum coralem* – compact rules of instrumental counterpoint necessary for polyphonic arrangement of chant melody.

⁹ Paweł Gancarczyk: “Uwagi kodykologiczne o tabulaturze Jana z Lublina (1537–1548)” [Codicological remarks on the tablature of Joannes of Lublin]. *Muzyka* 41 (1996) No. 3 pp. 45–57.

¹⁰ *Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina*, op. cit.

¹¹ *Johannes of Lublin*, op. cit.

¹² *Krakowska Tabulatura Organowa* [Cracow Organ Tablature]. Transcr. and ed. Wyatt Marion Insko. Łódź 1992 (= Dawna muzyka organowa).

This is the two-part five-voice motet *Et valde mane una sabbatorum... Et ingressae mulieres* preserved in its vocal form in three sources (one in Regensburg¹³ and two in manuscripts from Bardejov¹⁴). The first part of this motet is also preserved in three five-voice intabulations which differ from each other (one in TBP¹⁵ and two in TKD¹⁶). Interestingly, the organ tablatures containing the instrumental arrangements of the motet are dated to earlier years than the partbooks in which the original vocal form were entered. *Et valde mane* thus provides an important example which through comparative analysis may provide information about the range of technical means used in intabulation.

Example 1. H. Finck *Et valde mane* –
vocal version and three intabulations (TBP f. 14r and TKD pp. 40 and 232)¹⁷.

¹³ Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, five partbooks D-Rp B. 211–215 from the years c. 1538–43.

¹⁴ Now held at Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest. These are four partbooks H-Bn Ms. Bártfa 8 (a–d), dated to c. 1550 or after 1555 and four partbooks H-Bn Ms. Bártfa 24 (a–d), written partly after 1555 and partly in the period 1584–1616.

¹⁵ TBP f. 14r–18v.

¹⁶ TKD pp. 40–44 and 232–235.

¹⁷ Vocal version following the edition *Heinrich Finck. Ausgewählte Werke. Zweiter Teil*. Eds. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht and Helmut Lomnitzer. Frankfurt 1981 (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* 70) p. 89. The TBP fragment in transcription by Barbara Frydrychowicz [Brzezińska]: op. cit., p. 81. The TKD fragments in this and the later examples come from the transcription by Wyatt Marion Insko (*Krakowska Tabulatura*, op. cit.), with additions and corrections introduced in accordance with the source. In order to improve legibility, the fragments of TBP and TKD p. 40 underwent diminution.

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The image displays four systems of musical notation for an organ piece. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system shows a simple melody in the treble and a bass line. The second system features a treble staff with a bracketed section labeled 'missing part' and a bass line. The third system shows a more complex treble staff with many sixteenth notes and a bass line. The fourth system shows a melody in the treble and a bass line. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines.

Conclusions reached in this process may be used in reverse – to revocalise, i.e., reconstruct the hypothetical original vocal versions of the group of Heinrich Finck’s compositions, which were preserved uniquely in Polish tablatures only in their secondary instrumental versions. It should also be noted that the degree of ornamentation techniques used in the transformation of the motet *Et valde mane* into an organ composition is disproportionately richer than that which appears in the intabulations of the parts of the mass cycle. Perhaps they do not differ to such a significant degree from their vocal originals as does the intabulation of *Et valde mane* from its vocal version. It may be that they are a kind of “organ reductions”, enriched to a degree by instrumental ornamentation, so that they could serve simultaneously the playing of the organ and polyphonic (or monophonic) singing.

Instrumental liturgical compositions which appear in all the Polish organ tablatures provide evidence of the popularity of vocal-instrumental setting of services in this region in the sixteenth century. The origin and development of what is known as the organ mass falls in the fifteenth century (or even earlier) and is linked to the practice of alternating – alternate monodic-polyphonic or vocal-instrumental performance, known also by its Polonised name of “frakt/fraktowanie” (from *cantus fractus*). The instrument would function both as an equal alternating component of the vocal choir, and as accompaniment for the vocal parts. The presence of the *alternatim* practice is indicated in the tablature by the fact that settings were provided for only those fragments of the liturgical text which were entrusted to the organ. The instrument might play the chant melody as a single voice, or perform it with improvised ornamentation and counterpoint, as well as providing polyphonic chant arrangements. Similarly, human

voices might sing monophonic chants or polyphonic compositions *a cappella*, or combine their singing with the playing of the organ in any of the above variants. Prompts with ready-made melodic *formulae* and rules of improvisation are found in numerous textbooks of organ playing and composition. This practice must have been extremely popular, although the number of surviving written relics is disproportionately small. Documented for the first time in the Faenza codex¹⁸ from c. 1400–20, the mass for the organ also has its contemporary “Polish” relics¹⁹ – comments added at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries to two chant *Glorias* in the thirteenth-century gradual from the Cistercian monastery in Paradyż²⁰ and a folio from an early organ tablature from c. 1430 originating from the Augustine monastery in Żagań²¹. Polish organ tablature from the sixteenth century belongs among later examples of organ masses. The surviving relics indicate that organ participation was most frequent during the performance of the *Kyrie*, for which various alternating schemas are possible, for example the simplest, symmetrical one, encountered in vocal masses, alternating monophonic chant and a polyphonic arrangement:

<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>
chant	polyphony	chant	chant	polyphony	chant	chant	polyphony	chant

Or equally simple and equally symmetrical – for alternating chant and organ playing (the principle here was frequently to begin and end the performance with organ playing):

<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Christe eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>
organ	chant	organ	chant	organ	chant	organ	chant	organ

In the organ *Kyrie paschale* in Polish tablatures from the first half of the sixteenth century one never encounters such a complete schema made up of five organ modules (*Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie–Kyrie*). The series are made up of

¹⁸ Biblioteca Comunale in Faenza (I-FZc Ms. 117).

¹⁹ See also Katarzyna Swaryczewska [Morawska]: “Msza organowa w polskich zabytkach średniowiecznych” [Organ mass in Polish medieval relics]. In: *Musica medii aevi II*. Ed. Jerzy Morawski. Kraków 1968 pp. 78–92 and figures 9–15 after p. 116.

²⁰ Now at the Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań, PL-Pe Ms. 69. Alternately written additions “chor” (or “cho”) and “orga” (or “or”), which may mean “organ”, but also “organum” as the chant in improvised simple polyphony.

²¹ Now at the Wrocław University Library, PL-WRu Ms. I Q 438a.

either three (Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie), or four segments (Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie or Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie–Kyrie).

All the organ Kyrie described as “paschale” are based on the chant melody of the first mass schema, the so-called *Kyrie “Lux et origo”*²². The formal shape of the chant Kyrie is here AAA-BBB-CCC₁ (triple repetition of the two-phrase first invocation “Kyrie eleison”: *ab–ab–ab*, triple repetition of “Christe eleison”: *cd–cd–cd*, and triple repetition of “Kyrie eleison” with an added group of notes at the beginning of the last invocation: *ef–ef–gef*).

Example 2. Chant *Kyrie “Lux et origo”*²³.

Individual modules of the organ Kyrie are repeated in tablatures in various configurations, transpositions, variants and versions, sometimes even as many as four times. We will therefore start with making their “inventory”, assigning letter marks to consecutive segments. Thus letters from “A” to “K” will signify modules (sections such as a Kyrie or a Christe) based on the chant melody *Kyrie “Lux et origo”*, while letters “X” and “Y” will indicate segments based on a different *cantus prius factus*. The digit “5” in the top left-hand index before the letter (for

²² For the needs of this article we refer to the universal Solesmes edition of the chant (*Liber usualis missae et officii*). Since it is impossible to link unequivocally the creation of the intabulations under discussion to a particular composer or author of the organ arrangement, or a particular centre, we do not refer to chant repertory specific to any given geographical territory. Moreover, precisely in the case of the melody *Kyrie “Lux et Origo”*, the version from *Liber usualis* does not differ significantly from the Polish versions (cf. comparison of this melody with thirteen Polish manuscript sources from the 13th–18th centuries – Tadeusz Miazga: *Graduał Jana Olbrachta. Studium muzykologiczne* [The Gradual of Jan Olbracht. Musicological study]. Graz 1980 p. 290). For further information on this, see the publication by Alicja Jończyk (*Ordinarium missae najstarszych diecezjalnych graduałów krakowskich i jego znaczenie dla kultury muzycznej w Polsce* [Ordinarium missae of the oldest diocesan graduals from Cracow and its significance for the musical culture in Poland]. Lublin 2015), who – although taking only TJJ into account – has shown not only that all the ordinarium in TJJ are based on the local Cracovian chant repertory, but also that some of them do not have any equivalents in *Liber usualis* (ibid., pp. 201–208).

²³ Version corresponding to *Liber usualis missae et officii*, p. 16.

example, ⁵A) will indicate transposition of the chant melody a fifth lower. In order to keep the picture clear, the variants (i.e., further repetitions of the same module which do not differ from it to a significant degree) will not be additionally differentiated in their markings; thus the initial segments and all their variants will be assigned the same letter “A”. The only additional marking will relate to its versions (i.e., repetitions of the same module which differ from it significantly in terms of structure, e.g., by transformation of individual phases of the form, or shortening or lengthening of the segment): A₁, A₂ etc.

We will start with the genetically younger layer of TJJ (dated to the period 1540–47), in which four sequences of modules of *Kyrie paschale* were entered in the handwriting of one scribe, and on the same kind of paper. The first sequence, notated on f. 155v–157r, titled *Ky[r]ie pasc[h]ale*²⁴ and signed “N.C.” (cf. Figure 1), creates the schema: ABCD (Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie).

Figure 1. TJJ f. 155v–156r – module A and beginning of module B.



²⁴ The reading of the titles in TJJ was adopted most generally following the “Indeks tematyczny” of the facsimile edition (*Tabulatura organowa*, op. cit.), introducing the necessary disambiguations in accordance with the source. On f. 155v–157r the titles of consecutive segments are as follows: f. 155v *Ky[r]ie pasc[h]ale N.C.* (module A), f. 156r no title (B), f. 156v *Cr[ist]e* (C) and further on f. 156v *Ky[r]ie] e[leis]on ultimum* (D).

The second sequence, notated on f. 190v–191r without indication of authorship and titled *Ky[rie] e[leis]on Pasc[h]ale*²⁵, with the date “1543”, represents variants of segments A and B²⁶ (Kyrie–Kyrie) transposed by a fifth – thus ⁵A and ⁵B. The third sequence, entered on f. 207r–208r, signed “phÿnk”, given the title *Kÿrie [e]leÿson pasc[h]ale*²⁷ and dated “1542”, brings new segments: EFG (Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie). Hoffmann-Erbrecht included this sequence in his list of compositions by Finck as item No. 7²⁸. The fourth sequence was entered on f. 238r–240v²⁹ with the attribution “phÿnk” and the title *Ky[rie] e[lei]son pasc[h]ale*³⁰; these are variants of segments A³¹ and B³² transposed by a fifth down, and linked with identically transposed segments F³³ and G³⁴ (Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie), which produces the schema: ⁵A ⁵B ⁵F ⁵G. Hoffmann-Erbrecht presents this last sequence in his list of Finck’s works as item No. 6³⁵. In the above cases of transposition the last harmonic structure of a given module never undergoes a change of pitch, which makes it possible to perform a chant or a polyphonic arrangement with unchanged original pitch after the transposed organ segment. The groups of modules of the organ Kyrie can be presented as follows (cf. Table 1 on p. 12).

In the genetically older layer of TJJL (dated to the years 1537–39) there is one more anonymous *Kirie Paschale* – on f. 81r–82r³⁶. While it is written on an older kind of paper, it is notated in the same scribe’s handwriting as the modules in the more recent layer. It forms the sequence Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie, which cannot be justified by liturgical considerations, since its two initial segments (Kyrie ⁵X and ⁵Y) are based on the chant melody known as *Kyrie „Rex*

²⁵ F. 190v *Ky[rie] e[leis]on Pasc[h]ale 1543* (module ⁵A) and f. 191r *S[e]c[un]d[u]m* (⁵B), the ending of which was added on f. 190v.

²⁶ Segment B is shortened here by a section which in transcription may encompass 2 bars.

²⁷ F. 207r *Kÿrie [e]leÿson phÿnk pasc[h]ale 1542* (segment E), f. 207v *Criste eleison* (F) and f. 208r no title (G).

²⁸ Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht: op. cit., p. 204.

²⁹ Inside this Kyrie, on f. 239v–240r, was entered another composition (*Si deus nobiscum quis contra nos 1545*).

³⁰ F. 238r *Ky[rie] e[leis]on pasc[h]ale phÿnk* (module ⁵A), f. 238v *S[e]c[un]d[u]m Kÿ[rie] e[leis]on* (⁵B), f. 238v *Cr[iste] e[leis]on* (⁵F) and f. 240v no title, but the reference at the end of f. 239r which directs one to the last segment (⁵G) on f. 240v includes the title *Kÿ[rie] [elei]son ulti[mu]m*.

³¹ Segment A was extended here by a section which in transcription may have the length of 5 bars.

³² Segment B was extended here by a section which in transcription may have the length of 2 bars.

³³ Segment F was shortened here by a segment which in transcription may have the length of half a bar (half of bar 10 is missing within the module).

³⁴ Segment G was shortened here by a segment which in transcription may have the length of 4 bars.

³⁵ Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht: op. cit., p. 204. *Nota bene* when indicating the manuscript source of *Kyrie paschale* he made an error in the number of the folio in TJJL (228 instead of the correct 238) and omitted repetitions of the segments on other folios in TJJL and in TKD.

³⁶ F. 81r *Kirie Paschale*, f. 81v *Kirie tercium*, f. 81v *Criste eleison* and f. 82r *Kirie ultimum* (title at the end of f. 81v).

Table 1. Chart of *Kyrie paschale* segments in the newer layer of TJL.

Kyrie “Lux et origo”			Christe “Lux et origo”			Kyrie “Lux et origo”		
<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>gef</i>
organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ
A 155v–156r		B 156r–v		C 156v		D 156v–157r		
⁵ A 190v–191r		⁵ B 191v–190v						
E 207r				F 207v				G 208r
⁵ A 238r		⁵ B 238v		⁵ F 238v–239r				⁵ G 240v

Genitor” (from the sixth mass schema³⁷) transposed a fifth lower, while the final pair of modules (Christe and Kyrie) is based on *Kyrie „Lux et origo”* transposed by the same distance. These segments differ not only in being based on different *cantus prius factus*³⁸, but also in the manner of its arrangement. The melody of *Kyrie „Rex Genitor*” has the formal structure ABA–CDC–EFE₁, a characteristic feature of which is the repetition, in the form of a litany, of the melisma accompanying the word “eleison” (as a result of which the schema obtained is: “Kyrie eleison” *ab–cb–ab*, “Christe eleison” *db–eb–db* and “Kyrie eleison” *fb₁–gb–f₁f₂gb*).

³⁷ This interpretation is offered by John R. White (“The Tablature of Johannes of Lublin. Ms 1716 of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow”. *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963) p. 149 and idem: *Johannes of Lublin*, op. cit., vol. I p. 60), as well as Barbara Brzezińska (op. cit., p. 176). Alicja Jończyk (op. cit., p. 205) points here to the melody of the second mass schema – *Kyrie „Fons bonitatis”*. It is not easy to provide an unequivocal solution to this dilemma, since the second and sixth mass schemas have nearly identical melic structure accompanying the first word “Kyrie”, the only fragment of the chant arranged as an organ intabulation.

³⁸ The table on p. 205 of Alicja Jończyk’s text mentioned above might give the erroneous impression that the *Kyrie paschale* series on f. 81r–82r is based on the melody of one mass schema. It is not until p. 206 that the author makes it clear that this Kyrie is based in its last two segments on a different melody from the one indicated in the table as the chant basis for the two initial segments.

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Example 3. Chant *Kyrie* “*Rex Genitor*”³⁹.

7. **K** Yri-e *e- lé-i-son. Ký-ri-e e- lé-i-son. Ký-ri-e e- lé-i-son.

Chri-ste e- lé-i-son. Chri- ste e- lé-i-son. Chri- ste e- lé-i-son.

Ký-ri-e e- lé-i-son. Ký- ri- e e- lé-i-son.

Ký-ri-e * ** e- lé-i-son.

Segments ⁵X and ⁵Y based on the melody of *Kyrie* “*Rex Genitor*” use only the first phrase of “Kyrie eleison” (only phrase a accompanying the word “Kyrie” – without the *b* melisma on the word “eleison”). On the other hand, two further segments (Christe and Kyrie) based on the melody of *Kyrie* “*Lux et origo*” present – as do all those in the more recent layer of TJL above – full two-phrase invocations “Christe eleison” (*cd*) and “Kyrie eleison” (*ef*). What is interesting, the last two segments resemble to a significant degree segments C and D from the younger layer of TJL. Let us thus mark them ⁵C₀ and ⁵D₀, since for chronological reasons they may constitute “proto-versions” of modules C and D. The convergence between modules Christe ⁵C₀ and C results from the identical manner of presenting *cantus prius factus* in the bass part and the high degree of similarity of the harmonic structures used. In the transcription below (Example 4) similar fragments are indicated by a broken line, while the sections which are nearly identical by a continuous line. At the same time segment C is shortened in relation

³⁹ Version corresponding to *Liber usualis missae et officii*, p. 31.

to 5C_0 (by the initial imitation section and the internal cadential section) and lengthened (by a short internal cadence section), as well as being enriched by a canon with a delay of two *semibreves* between the bass and the discant (bars 7–10 in the transcription).

Example 4. Comparison of *Christe* segments in TJL – module 5C_0 (f. 81v) transposed a fourth lower and module C (f. 156v)⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ All the music examples from TJL are based on John R. White's transcriptions (idem: *Johannes of Lublin*, op. cit.), which were supplemented and corrected in accordance with the source (e.g., in bar 5 of segment C a flat was added in the bass part). In order to improve the legibility of this and many following examples, bar lines, absent in TJL, were removed (but the numbering of all the bars). The notation of prolongation of rhythmic values has been restored to that used in TJL, using dots where the transcription employed ties because of the division into bars. The melody of *cantus prius factus* has been marked "+".

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Module 5D_0 is akin to module D in its initial *bicinium* (lengthened in segment D and enriched by an imitation in third voice) and in its identical two-part structure. In both modules the first part closes with a clear cadence, while the second part begins with a perceptible change of mensuration from even to odd, as a result of the imitation of three-note monochronic motifs introduced with a constant delay of three identical rhythmic values (three *minimae* in segment 5D_0 and correspondingly – three *semibreves* in segment D). In the transcription below (Example 5) these motifs are indicated by braces and, moreover, as in the example above, similar fragments are indicated by a broken line, while those which are nearly identical – by a continuous one.

Example 5. Comparison of Kyrie segments from TJL – module 5D_0 (f. 82r) transposed a fifth higher and module D (f. 156v)⁴¹.

⁴¹ In segment D the first system on f. 157r of TJL (bar 10 in the transcription) in the tenor part has a blank space, but in the variant of this segment in TKD the fourth system on p. 46 in the identical place (bar 10 in the transcription) has the expected missing note *c*^l. In Example 5 above the omitted note of the melody of *cantus prius factus* is marked “[+]”.

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Musical score for measures 6-11. The score is written for two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. Measures 6-8 are enclosed in a dashed box. Measure 9 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 10 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 11 contains a '+' sign above the bass line.

Musical score for measures 12-21. The score is written for two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. Measures 12-13 are labeled '[secunda pars]' in the treble clef. Measures 14-16 are labeled '[secunda pars]' in the bass clef. Measure 15 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 16 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 17 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 18 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 19 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 20 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 21 contains a '+' sign above the bass line.

Musical score for measures 17-27. The score is written for two systems, each with a treble and bass clef. Measures 17-18 are enclosed in a dashed box. Measures 19-21 are enclosed in a dashed box. Measures 22-23 are enclosed in a dashed box. Measure 24 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 25 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 26 contains a '+' sign above the bass line. Measure 27 contains a '+' sign above the bass line.

The sequence of the liturgically non-uniform *Kyrie paschale* on f. 81r–82r TJL is thus as follows:

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Table 2. Chart of *Kyrie paschale* segments in the older layer of TJJ.

Kyrie “Rex Genitor”			Christe “Lux et origo”			Kyrie “Lux et origo”		
<i>a[b]</i>	<i>cb</i>	<i>a[b]</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>gef</i>
organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ
⁵ X 81r–v		⁵ Y 81v		⁵ C ₀ 81v		⁵ D ₀ 81v–82r		

TKD records two *Kyrie paschale* sequences. The first of these, on pp. 44–46, with the title *kýrye [e]lęyson pasc[h]ale*⁴² and signed at the end “N. C.rac[ovien-sis] Nicolai” is an almost literal repetition of the ABCD group (Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie) from TJJ – here in the form of variants⁴³. The second sequence, notated on pp. 92–96 in the schema Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie–Kyrie, is marked twice (at the endings of the first and last Kyrie) with an attribution which is as attractive as it is questionable: “Josquin”⁴⁴. However, the final Kyrie here is almost identical to segment G from TJJ (there with Heinrich Finck named as its author), a fact ignored by previous research into the content of the tablatures⁴⁵. The *Kyrie paschale* in TKD, which is attributed to Josquin des Prez, thus forms the group: HJKG, producing a quandary in relation to the work’s attribution. Module G from TJJ and its only slightly different variant G from TKD cannot be the work of both Finck and Josquin. Catalogues of works by Josquin des Prez include as his only *Kyrie paschale* precisely that unique intabulation attributed to the composer in the Polish TKD described above, an intabulation which does not have a known vocal original. In view of its *alternatim* form, typical of German music,

⁴² The reading of the titles in TKD has in general been adopted following the transcription of W.M. Insko (*Krakowska Tabulatura*, op. cit.), introducing the necessary disambiguations in accordance with the source.

⁴³ The extant photocopy of TKD also preserves the pagination of the source (in contrast to the order of foliation of folios in TJJ). The compositions in TKD are also – unlike in TJJ – given a title after the ending of a particular work or its segment (often with the added comment “finis” or “finitur”). Here the first *Kyrie paschale* comprises four modules: on p. 44 without a title (Kyrie A), on p. 45 without a title (Kyrie B), also on p. 45 without a title (Christe C) and finally on p. 46 without a heading but with the comment added after the segment “finit[ur] kýrye [e]lęyson pasc[h]ale N. C.rac[oviensis] Nicolai” (Kyrie D).

⁴⁴ P. 92 without a heading but after the segment the added comment: “finit[ur] Kyrye [e]lęyson pr[imu]m pasc[h]ale Josquin”; p. 93 after the segment: “finit[ur] criste [e]lęyson”; p. 95 after the segment: “finit[ur] 3m kýrye [e]lęyson”, and p. 96 after the segment: “finitur Kyrie [e]lęyson m[a]g[ist]ri Josquin pasc[h]ale”.

⁴⁵ The reason for this omission may perhaps be found in the approach to the transcription of TJJ of its editor, John R. White (*Johannes of Lublin*, op. cit.), who did not include in his edition the G segment from f. 208r, but only its transposed version ⁵G from f. 240v (ibid., pp. 79–80). A similar situation arises in relation to module F from f. 207v, published only in its transposed form ⁵F from f. 238v (ibid., pp. 78–79).

the attitude of Josquin's scholars to this work is clearly one of reserve. They place it in the group of compositions of doubtful authenticity, attributed to him in error⁴⁶. The two *Kyrie paschale* in TKD thus form the following sequence of modules:

Table 3. Comparison of *Kyrie paschale* segments in TKD.

<i>Kyrie "Lux et origo"</i>			<i>Christe "Lux et origo"</i>			<i>Kyrie "Lux et origo"</i>		
<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>gef</i>
organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ
A 44		B 45		C 45–46		D 46–47		
H 92–93				J 93–94		K 95		G 96–97

In summing up this review of all the segments based on the chant melody *Kyrie "Lux et origo"* in the tablatures, we can distinguish three general groups of *Kyrie paschale* (their internal modules are entered in the tablatures sometimes even four times, also in transposed versions) – a simplified schema of which, disregarding all the questions of transposition, variants and versions, can be represented as: "ABCD", "EFG" and "HJKG". All these schemas are linked to the person of Heinrich Finck, two to Josquin des Prez and one to the monogramist N.C.:

Table 4. Chart of attributions of individual *Kyrie paschale*.

Kyrie "ABCD"	N.C.	twice	TJL f. 155v and TKD p. 47
	ph̃nk	once	TJL f. 238r (before ABFG sequence)
Kyrie "EFG"	ph̃nk	twice	TJL f. 207r (EFG) and 238r (ABFG)
	Josquin	once	TKD p. 97 (after module G)
Kyrie "HJKG"	Josquin	twice	TKD p. 93 and 97 (after modules H and G)
	ph̃nk	twice	TJL f. 207r (EFG) and 238r (ABFG)

⁴⁶ For example Patrick Macey, Jeremy Noble, Jeffrey Dean and Gustav Reese: "Josquin (Lebloitte dit) Des Prez". In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second Edition*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. London 2001 vol. XIII pp. 220–266, in particular p. 251. Also Ludwig Finscher: "Josquin des Prez". In: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*. Vol. 9. Kassel 2003 col. 1210–1282, in particular col. 1233.

Reaching further conclusions will be aided by analysing the structure of the segments, since the majority of them consists of modifications of three characteristic phases of the form. The first phase – initial, motivically based on the initial notes of *cantus prius factus*, can come in two forms: either imitative (when the voices appear one after the other, with the last entry of the voice functioning as *cantus firmus*, which already begins the next phase of the form), or it is an antiphonal duet (*bicinium* of the lower voices contrasted with a pair of upper voices: tenor–bass and after them discant–alto, or the reverse). The second phase, the central one, is an arrangement of the chant melody as *cantus planus*, basically almost without paraphrasing and with equal rhythmic values (most often these are *semibreves* or *breves*⁴⁷). *Cantus prius factus* is presented either in a complete form or in one voice (exclusively in the tenor, discant or bass, never in the alto), or in strict canon at an octave between the discant and the tenor (in some cases the presentation of the full melody of *cantus prius factus* is followed by modified repetitions of selected earlier sections of the canon). Segment F is the only module where in the second phase the chant melody migrates between the voices. It is divided in accordance with the syntax of the text, and wanders from the bass part (which presents the melisma “Christe”) to the tenor (the “eleison” phrase). Depriving the alto part of the role of carrying the chant melody and ascribing to it in the second phase of the form the function of filling the harmonic structures may primarily result from the rules of polyphonic setting of the chant given in the didactic treatise from TJJL⁴⁸, but may also – if the given module were to be an intabulation of a lost vocal original – indicate a three-part texture of the vocal prototype, which in the organ setting is increased to four voices by adding one part with a supplementary function. The third phase grows directly out of the second and has the character of a coda or a cadence. Most frequently it consists in holding (by a long or repeated rhythmic value) the last note of *cantus prius factus* and ornamenting it with figurations or imitations in the other parts.

The above three-phase model (imitation phase – *cantus firmus* phase – coda phase) shows quite significant modifications in a number of segments. Segments A and B have two phases, without the coda sections (but in the transposition

⁴⁷ On one occasion (module H in TKD p. 92) these are *longae* – arising because of double repetition of nearly every note of the chant melody entrusted to the tenor part in *breves*.

⁴⁸ These rules – which, among others, exclude the possibility of placing *cantus planus* in the alto part – were recently brought to our attention by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (“Kilka uwag na temat traktatu organowego z tabulatury Jana z Lublina (1540). W stulecie edycji *Ad faciendum cantum coralem*” [A few remarks on the organ treatise from the tablature of Johannes of Lublin (1540). On the hundredth anniversary of the edition “*Ad faciendum cantum coralem*”]. *Muzyka* 57 (2012) No. 4 pp. 97–113), and their tonal aspect clarified by Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska (“*Fundamentum* (1538) z *Tabulatury Jana z Lublina* i jego porządek tonalny” [Fundamentum (1538) from the Tablature of Johannes of Lublin and its tonal order]. In: *Ars musica and its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Ed. Paweł Gancarczyk. Warszawa 2016 pp. 131–149). I would like to express my warm gratitude to Professor Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba for making available to me the translation of the treatise before its publication in the source-critical series *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia*.

variant ⁵A on f. 238r in TJL such a section is introduced). Modules E and K begin directly with an arrangement of *cantus prius factus*, not preceded by an initial imitation phase. Initial imitation phase is also absent from segment C, but it does appear in its C₀ version. Segment D has a clear two-part structure. The boundary between the parts is emphasised there by a cadence, as well as the reduction of the number of parts which follow and the perceptible change of the rhythmic pulse from even to odd. Both parts are identical in length and have the same formal structure – both have two phases: imitation and *cantus firmus*. The chant melody is divided in half in accordance with the syntax of the text. The first part of module D provides the setting for the chant melisma of the word “Kyrie”, the second – for the phrase “eleison”. Formally extended are the longest segments G and J – five phases can be distinguished in both. In segment G after the initial duet of the bicinia there are three canonic phases of *cantus firmus* and the final coda phase. Segment J begins with a duet of untypically juxtaposed canonic *bicinia* (the pair alto–bass is contrasted with the pair discant–tenor), followed by two canonic phases of *cantus firmus* which close with coda sections. There is a significant stylistic difference between segments A–K and the modules ⁵X and ⁵Y. These last two are based on a different chant (*Kyrie* “*Rex Genitor*”), providing a setting for only half of it, i.e., the melisma accompanying the word “Kyrie” (without the “eleison” phrase⁴⁹). Moreover module ⁵X (like the sections E and K) begins with the phase which immediately presents *cantus prius factus*, while the extended coda phase of module ⁵Y (which constitutes 25% of its length) represents a characteristic texture close to the *preambulae* from tablatures (against the background of stopped harmonic structures of the three lower parts, the mobile highest voice is presented using scale runs and turn figures) which does not appear in other segments of *Kyrie paschale*.

An examination of the structural models of individual modules reveals clear cohesion and a planned formal solution of the sequence *Kyrie* “ABCD”, in which *cantus prius factus* travels between voices from module to module as *cantus planus* (it travels around a circle – starting with the tenor in segment A, moving to the discant in B, then to the bass in C, and returning to the tenor in D). The chant melody is presented in the *Kyrie* “ABCD” in rhythmic values of two kinds: *semi-breves* (in segments A, C and D) and in augmentation in *breves* (in the internal segment B). Clear structural links also bind modules A and B to module H. The order of entries of the voices imitating each other in segment A (alto–discant–bass–tenor) is rearranged in segment B in such a way that the voices form here an antiphonal duet of lower voices (tenor–bass) and the corresponding higher ones (discant–alto). The dialogue of the *bicinia* in module B is repeated in reverse order in module H (first the pair discant–alto, then tenor–bass) with minor

⁴⁹ The final harmonic structures of modules ⁵X and ⁵Y suggest that in *alternatim* performance the singing of the chant would not be continued from the missing melisma on “eleison”, but would start with “Kyrie”.

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modifications – prolonging the duration of the first note of the tenor and adding alto as counterpoint (often crossing here with the tenor) in bars 6–11. Changing the sequence of the *bicinia* has its consequences in the second phase of the form of modules B and H – in module B the role of the carrier of *cantus firmus* falls to the discant, while in module H – to the tenor. Segments A, B are H also subtly linked to each other in the phases of the presentation of *cantus prius factus*, presented by degrees in augmentation and double augmentation (the rhythmic values of the chant melody are *semibreves* in module A, *breves* in module B, and *longae* in module H).

Example 6. Comparison of initial sections of the modules:

A (TJL f. 155v), B (TJL f. 156r) and H (TKD p. 92)⁵⁰.

We do not find such inner cohesion either in the case of “EFG” or “HJKG” Kyrie, although in the latter we may point to a feature which links together the last three segments: J, K and G (module G appears also in the ending of the “EFG” Kyrie). This is the principle of presenting *cantus prius factus* in strict two-voice canons between discant and tenor (sometimes in reverse order). Creating a two-voice canon on the basis of the chant melody, and variant repetition of

⁵⁰ Instrumental ornamentation has been removed from all the modules in the initial phrases based on the motives of the chant melody in order to achieve greater clarity (on the basis of comparison between the structure of the vocal parts of the motet *Et valde mane* and its organ intabulations referred to in the initial paragraphs of this article and shown in Example 1), leaving only the notes of *cantus prius factus*. In bars 6–11 of module H (TKD p. 92) the alto part has been omitted.

selected sections of the canon after exhausting the material of *cantus prius factus*, are such advanced procedures as to make it unlikely to be improvised *ex promptu*; rather, they required special planning by the composer. The didactic treatise which precedes TJK attempted to equip the organist with the skill of improvising a polyphonic arrangement of a chant melody, but all the instructions concern weaving counterpoints around *cantus firmus* presented in no more than one voice. Nowhere is there any mention of the possibility of constructing a two-voice canon out of a chant.

At this point – although the whole subject of corrections and supplementations in the available transcriptions of Polish tablatures would require a separate article – it is worth suggesting filling in one of the gaps in the available transcription of module J from TKD. This gap unfortunately results in masking the strict canon between the tenor and the discant. The suggested filling in concerns the fourth system on p. 93 in TKD – at this point the seven-line discant voice is clearly defective: the notation comes through from the following page. In spite of this defect in bar 11 there is a clearly visible *brevis* at the level of c^2 (this sign is also copied onto the neighbouring page, and the spreading of its outline may result from the group of small rhythmic values on the reverse p. 94 coming through). The figure below shows the fragment in question on p. 93, with the mirror image of the analogous fragment of p. 94 above it, to make it easier to compare the entries which overlap each other.

Figure 2. Comparison of the mirror image of fragment of p. 94 of TKD (fourth system) and the fragment of the preceding p. 93 which corresponds to it (fourth system).



In the transcription of this fragment of the discant, bar 11 has been left blank, although it should contain the whole note c^2 . The omitted note would be the

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missing beginning of the canonic answer (*comes*) to the entry of the tenor part in bar 9. The strict canon at an octave with a two-bar delay between the tenor and the discant runs here consistently for a few following bars.

Example 7. Transcription of W. M. Insko⁵¹ fragment from Figure 2 (TKD p. 93) with the missing item filled in⁵².

In examining all the A–K modules together one should emphasise that each of them presents a different aspect of organ arrangement of *cantus prius factus* and that none of the segments duplicates mechanically the model of another segment. We may thus regard it as very probable that, if all the modules come from the same source (being written by the same author or based on the same original vocal version), then perhaps they were juxtaposed in a planned manner in such a way as to not only prevent compositional monotony, but also to demonstrate, in a practical-didactic form, either the various possibilities of polyphonic arrangement of a chant melody, or the range of different levels of more superficial or deeper transformation of a vocal texture into an instrumental one. Both tablatures seem to document an open approach to shaping the alternated form of *Kyrie paschale* – out of the four *Kyrie* based on the chant melisma *Kyrie “Lux et Origo” ab* (A, B, E and H), three *Christe* on the basis of the *cd* phrase (C, F and J), two *Kyrie* based on *ef* melisma (D and K) and one *Kyrie* based on the final *gef* phrase (G), by way of various repetitions and transpositions, four various sequences were obtained (ABCD, ABFG, EFG and HJKG), to which one should also add the fifth sequence, arising from combining part of the chant material of *Kyrie “Rex Genitor”* with *Kyrie “Lux et Origo”* (XYCD).

The attempt to reconstruct (from the location of the *Kyrie paschale* in question in the sources) its wider formal or liturgical context did not bring satisfactory results. The *Kyrie* remains an isolated part of the mass, the only one in Polish tablatures from the first half of the sixteenth century based on the material of the first

⁵¹ *Krakowska Tabulatura*, op. cit., vol. I p. 49.

⁵² The whole note *c*² was added in the discant in bar 11 (in square brackets). The rest is as in the published transcription. In the quoted fragment it is worth noting the lost dot next to the quarternote *f* of the alto part in bar 11 and the unconventional half-note rest placed under the line added in bar 12. The imperfections in this edition had already been pointed out in this journal (Piotr Poźniak: “Dawna muzyka organowa w wydaniach Ludowego Instytutu Muzycznego” [Early organ music in the editions of Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny]. *Muzyka* 39 (1994) No. 3 pp. 138–148).

Easter mass schema “Lux et Origo”⁵³, and it does not link into a cycle with the other segments of the *ordinarium*. Moreover, the tablatures group *Kyrie paschale* together with other compositions on the Easter theme only on a few occasions. The longest series of this kind comprises five segments notated consecutively on f. 80r–83v in the older layer of TJJL: signed “N.C.” *Introitus de Resur[r]eptione do[mi]ni* (setting of *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum*) with *Gloria patri* on f. 80r–81r, *Kirie Paschale* (“XYCD”) on f. 81r–82r, *Cristus iam sur[r]exit* on f. 82r–82v and *Aliud cristus iam sur[r]exit* on f. 82v–83r (both intabulations based on the melody of the Polish hymn *Chrystus Pan zmartwychwstał, zwycięstwo otrzymał*⁵⁴) and two verses of the Marian antiphon: *Regina celi letare* and *Rexur[r]exit sicut dixit* on f. 83r–83v.

Table 5. Location of Easter compositions on f. 80r–83v in TJJL.

fasc. VIII ⁵⁵ f. 73–79	<i>Sequ[un]t[ur] clausul[a]e seu colores [...]</i> f. 73r–79v
fasc. IX f. 80–87	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <i>Introitus de Resur[r]eptione do[mi]ni N.C.... Gloria patri</i> f. 80r–81r <i>Kirie Paschale</i> (“XYCD”) f. 81r–82r <i>Cristus iam sur[r]exit</i> f. 82r–82v <i>Aliud cristus iam sur[r]exit</i> f. 82v–83r <i>Regina celi letare... Rexur[r]exit sicut dixit</i> f. 83r–83v </div> <i>Introitus de spiritu sancto</i> f. 83v–84v <i>Introitus de Corpore cristi</i> f. 84v–85r etc.

A shorter series, made up of three segments, appears on pp. 91–100 in TKD: the intabulation of *cristus iam surrexit* signed “N.Z.” on p. 91 (in spite of the identical title it is based on another Polish hymn, different from the one in TJJL – *Chrystus zmartwychwstał jest*⁵⁶), the *Kyrie [e]leÿson pasc[h]ale* “HJKG” attributed to Josquin on pp. 92–96 and then the setting of the Polish hymn *Nasz Sbawyciel (Nasz Zbawiciel, Pan Bóg wszechmogący)*⁵⁷, again with the monogram “N.Z.”, on pp. 97–100.

⁵³ Cf. Barbara Brzezińska: op. cit., pp. 174 and 176.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 94.

⁵⁵ Fascicles quoted after Paweł Gancarczyk: op. cit., p. 48.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 95.

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Table 6. Location of Easter compositions on pp. 91–100 in TKD.

fuga pp. 82–84

fuga Josquin pp. 84–87

V[i]rgo decus mundi pp. 87–91

cristus iam surrexit N.Z. p. 91

Kyrye [e]lejison pasc[h]ale Josquin (“HJKG”) pp. 92–96

Nasz Sbawycyel N.Z. *crac[ovien]sis* pp. 97–100

versus pp. 100–101

ortus [N.Z.] pp. 102–104

etc.

Easter pairs appear in two other locations. After the *Ky[ri]e pasc[h]ale* „ABCD” signed „N.C.” on f. 155v–157r in the newer layer of TJL, there follows the setting of the Polish hymn *Przez thwe swyathe smartw[y]chwstanie* (*Przez twe święte zmartwychwstanie*⁵⁸):

Table 7. Location of Easter compositions on f. 155v–158r in TJL.

<p>-----</p> <p>fasc. XVI⁵⁹ f. 138–147</p>	<p>[Ludwig Senfl] <i>Ave Rosa sine spinis...</i></p> <p>-----</p> <p><i>Secunda pars dominum tecum miro pacto</i> 1541 f. 147v–151r</p>
<p>fasc. XVII f. 148–155</p>	<p>[Claudin de Sermisy] <i>Deus Miser[e]atur Nostr...</i></p> <p><i>Secunda pars sup[ra]dicti psal[m]i</i> f. 151v–154v</p> <p><i>Sanctus solemne...</i> [Sanctus tertium]... <i>Osanna</i> f. 154v–155v</p>
	<p><i>Ky[ri]e pas[h]cale</i> N.C. (“A”) f. 155v</p> <p>-----</p> <p><i>Ky[ri]e pas[h]cale</i> N.C. (“BCD”) f. 156r–157r</p> <p><i>Przez thwe swyathe smartw[y]chwstanie</i> f. 157v–158r</p>
<p>fasc. XVIII f. 156–165</p>	<p>[Benigne fac Domine] f. 158v</p> <p><i>Justus es domine...</i> <i>Versus</i> f. 159v–160v</p> <p><i>Preambulum in d.</i> N.C. f. 160v–161r</p> <p>[preambulum in g per b] f. 161r</p> <p>etc.</p> <p>-----</p>

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 94.

⁵⁹ See above, n. 55.

On the other hand, the *kýrýe [e]lěyson pasc[h]ale* “ABCD” signed with the monogram “N.C.” on pp. 44–46 in TKD is preceded on pp. 40–44 *et valde mane mane una sabatorum* – by intabulation of the first part of Finck’s antiphon, here without the composer’s name but with the monogram “N.”:

Table 8. Location of Easter compositions on pp. 40–46 in TKD.

[preambulum] p. 36
[preambulum] p. 37
<i>Ecce panis angelorum N.Z.</i> pp. 37–38
<i>aus guthen gronth</i> p. 39
<i>et valde mane una sabatorum N.</i> pp. 40–44
<i>kýrýe [e]lěyson pasc[h]ale N.C.</i> (“ABCD”) pp. 44–46
<i>ortus de Polon[ia]</i> pp. 47–48
<i>Gaude dei genetrix equalit... Sequitur 2 pars</i> pp. 48–52
<i>Nasz Sbawiczyel Pan Bog</i> pp. 53–54
etc.

Both the perceptible kinships, and lack of them, in the segments of *Kyrie paschale* referred to above, could be verified by comparing them to their vocal originals, or – regarding them as autonomous instrumental *ordinaria* (compositions intended directly for the organ, and not vocal works adapted for being played on the organ) – by reference to other contemporary tablatures with a similar repertory. A comparison of the intabulation with vocal versions would allow us to explain the double identity of segment G and to resolve the question of the triple attribution of *Kyrie paschale* (attributed to Finck, Josquin and N.C.). However, comparative material is limited. To date, no mass in vocal form by N.C. – or Nicolaus of Cracow, as this monogram is usually deciphered – has been found (in any case, scholarly enthusiasm surrounding the person of N.C. has been significantly less pronounced recently, and the monogramist is at present regarded as more likely to have been an organist with a talent for improvisation rather than a composer). Also, among Josquin’s masses there is no other arrangement of the melody of *Kyrie “Lux et origo”* than the unique intabulation attributed to him in TKD which has no vocal prototype.

Thus the segments of intabulation discussed here may only be compared to the uniquely preserved tenor part based on the chant melodies of the first mass schema “Lux et origo” of the four-voice mass pair *Kyrie and Gloria (Et in terra)* by Heinrich Finck. It was preserved in the tenor partbook in the group of sources from the

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church of St. Aegidius in Bardejov⁶⁰ referred to earlier. In Hoffmann-Erbrecht’s list of Finck’s works this pair was assigned No. 5⁶¹.

Figure 3. H. Finck *Kyrie [paschale]* – tenor part (H-Bn MS Bártfa 22, f. 7v)⁶².



It is possible to try and compare the surviving tenor part, and the outline of the structure of the three other parts deduced on its basis, with the Polish organ tablatures. Each of the segments of this *Kyrie [paschale]* (Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie) has a two-part structure, in each of these segments the carrier of *cantus firmus* is the tenor part. In the first part of the initial Kyrie and the first part of Christe the chant melody is presented in full (in *breves* and *semibreves*, moreover with the use of diminution in the initial phase of Kyrie: six *breves* are followed – separated by rests – by six *semibreves*). In the second part of both segments there is either a paraphrase of the chant material (in rhythmic values proportionately shorter by half), or free development of the tenor part, particularly in the second part of Christe, where Finck segregates his figurations in an interesting way, ordering the motifs in degrees of a gradually narrowing or expanding range. The characteristic long rests at the beginning of the first Kyrie allow us to guess at an initial imitation in

⁶⁰ Now held at Országos Széchényi Könyvtár in Budapest. The Kyrie and the Gloria are located in the single tenor book H-Bn Ms. Bártfa 22, dated to c. 1550.

⁶¹ Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht: op. cit., p. 204.

⁶² In the illustration the presentation of consecutive sections of the chant melody is indicated by frames.

the three other voices in this fragment. On the other hand, in the final Kyrie the chant melody is formally divided in half: the first half of the chant (the *e* phrase, i.e., the melisma on the word “Kyrie”) is presented in *breves* in the first part of the segment as *cantus planus*, while the second half (the *f* phrase – the melisma on “eleison”) after the change of mensuration from even to odd is presented as a gradually increasingly figured paraphrase in alternating *breves* and *semibreves*.

Comparing this tenor part with the tenor line in Polish intabulations, one does not discern direct, or even variant, melodic references, apart from those fragments where the tenor is the carrier of *cantus firmus* (but these, maintained in equal rhythmic values, could in principle be identical in many tenor masses based on the same chant melody). Even an attempt at reconstructing earlier versions, based on conclusions reached by comparing the motet *Et valde mane* with its three intabulations, is ineffective. It is only when we examine the tenor of the vocal *Kyrie [paschale]* by Finck from the point of view of the creative author of the intabulation that we can see the many connections in the areas of structural ideas (formal and contrapuntal), as well as in direct motivic (in other intabulation parts) and rhythmic references (presenting the chant material in rhythmic values which are consistently ordered and constant for each segment, as well as the already mentioned change of mensuration). What we then see could be a set of ready-to-imitate models of adapting *cantus prius factus*, or even a specific composition, each part of which can be divided into two halves which can then immediately become independent segments of organ intabulation.

Looking at the vocal version of *Kyrie [paschale]* from this point of view, one may assume with a high degree of probability that all its segments found their creative development in the organ modules A–D, F and H. The initial part of the first Kyrie may be the basis of segments A or H, while its second part, in which the tenor part is either a paraphrase of the chant or develops freely, may be hypothetically linked to module B. The first part of *Christe* may have served as the initial material for the first phase of the *bicinia* of segment F (with which it even shows quite clear melodic convergence), while the second part of *Christe* is structurally close to the second phase of that same segment F or – to a lesser degree – to the full segment C. The strongest relationship exists between the full final two-part Kyrie, and the full (also two-part) segment D (after separating out the initial imitation). In both there is a clear change of mensuration from even to odd between the parts. In the vocal version it is apparent, expressed with a mensural sign; in the intabulation it is hidden, perceptible because of the imitation of the material which appears in consecutive parts with a delay of three *semibreves*. The preserved tenor part of Finck’s *Kyrie [paschale]* thus allows one to highlight the stylistic links between segments A, B, C (to a lesser degree), D, F and the “Josquinian” H, and to acknowledge the vocal version if not as its direct original, then certainly as the conceptual model for the segments of intabulation enumerated here. This allows one to identify the incomplete vocal *Kyrie [paschale]* with the

organ Kyrie “ABCD” and to move away from regarding the role of N.C. as the supposed composer of this cycle of segments. According to such a hypothesis, the three different items (Nos. 5, 6 and 7) in the list of Finck’s works in Hoffmann-Erbrecht’s monograph may be three versions of the same composition.

The association of the above modules with Finck’s *Kyrie [paschale]* still does not explain the puzzle of the attribution of segment G which is repeated in tablatures and which, *nota bene*, is the only arrangement of the final section of the chant melody *Kyrie “Lux et Origo”* (phrase *gef*) among all the organ modules. This is a segment linked in terms of structure with the canonic modules J and K. In view of the absence of any other points of direct reference apart from the tenor part in Finck’s *Kyrie [paschale]*, it became necessary to investigate other Kyrie based on the chant melody of the first mass schema “Lux et origo”. The relevant ones would have been composed during the period defined by the creative lifetime of musicians of Finck’s generation, and the assumption that the work would not have been composed after the writing of TJJ and TKD. An analysis of a large group of *Kyrie paschale* (appearing both in mass cycles and as independent *ordinaria*) by composers both known by name⁶³ and anonymous⁶⁴, revealed a work with a surprisingly high degree of similarity to the organ segments E, G, J and K in Polish tablatures. This is *Missa paschale (II) ad Organum* by Heinrich Isaac, a four-part *alternatim* mass, fortunately preserved in its full vocal form in a number of sources⁶⁵ and – interestingly – also preserved (in fragments – only the Kyrie and the Gloria, without the name of the composer) on f. 14r of the same Bardejov manuscript H-Bn Ms. Bártfa 22 in which a few folios earlier we find the unique *Kyrie [paschale]* by Finck.

The Kyrie of that mass, comprising three short sections intended for *alternatim* performance (Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie), is strikingly similar to, above all, the canonic segments G, J and K, allegedly by Josquin. Moreover, the initial Kyrie is quite similar to segment E in TJJ, both in the manner of presenting *cantus prius factus* by the discant (in *breves*, which are *perfectae* in Isaac’s composition and *imperfectae* in TJJ, shortening the real duration of the chant melody, which may have been the reason for introducing it with a slight delay and dividing it by rests) and almost identical motifs used by the three lower contrapuntal parts. Segment E is enriched in the initial phase (in comparison with Isaac’s version) by a free

⁶³ Alexander Agricola, Jacobus Barbireau (*Kyrie*), Wolfgang Grefinger, Heinrich Isaac (five masses), Pierre de la Rue (mass and *Kyrie*), Ludwig Senfl (two masses), Thomas Stoltzer, Laurentius de Vorda (*Kyrie*).

⁶⁴ Including three *Kyrie paschale* and two masses from the *Nicolaus Leopold’s Codex*, D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 3154 (ca. 1466–1511) and *Kyrie paschale* from *Codex Berlin 40021*, D-B Ms. Mus. 40021 (c. 1485–1500).

⁶⁵ The oldest transmission is the choir book known as the *Occo Codex* from Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er / Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I (B-Br Ms. IV. 922), in which Isaac’s mass is notated in a fascicle dated to March 1516. The work was also printed in volume III of *Choralis Constantinus* (in 1555).

canon with a delay of two *breves* between tenor and discant. In this way the notes of *cantus prius factus*, which in segment E appear first in the tenor and then are repeated in the discant, fall in the same places as the notes of the chant melody in Isaac's discant.

Example 8. Comparison of the initial fragments of the first Kyrie from *Missa paschale (II) ad Organum* by H. Isaac and module E (TJL f. 207r)⁶⁶.

Example 9. Comparison of the final fragments of the first Kyrie from *Missa paschale (II) ad Organum* by H. Isaac and module E (TJL f. 207r).

⁶⁶ This and the following excerpts from *Missa paschale (II) ad Organum* by H. Isaac follow the transcription by Edward R. Lerner (*Henrici Isaac (ca. 1450–1517) opera omnia*. Ed. Edward R. Lerner. Stuttgart 1977 (= *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 65/IV) pp. 16–18). As in the earlier examples, the melody of *cantus prius factus* is indicated by “+”, similar fragments are indicated by a broken line, and the sections which are nearly identical – by a continuous line. The repeated motifs of contrapuntal voices are shown in braces.

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The formal plan of the internal *Christe* was restructured in an interesting way in the related segment J from TKD. In Isaac’s version this module consists of five canons at an octave with a delay of two *breves* – the first one between bass and alto and the four others between tenor and discant. In TKD the first interval of the imitation is different – the canon between bass and alto is presented at the stylistically “more modern” fifth (this canon was extended as a *bicinium* in parallel thirds and sixths). It is followed by three (unlike Isaac’s four) canons at an octave: the first between tenor and discant, and the two next ones in reverse order – between discant and tenor.

Example 10. Comparison of initial canons in *Christe* from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by H. Isaac and module J (TKD p. 93⁶⁷).

The most intriguing aspect is the relationship between the last segment of the Kyrie from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by Isaac and segments K and G from Polish tablatures. The basis of the two canons at an octave with a delay of two *breves* between the descant and the tenor from Isaac’s mass is almost identical to that of the two initial canons of segment K from TKD. Numerous similarities can also be found in a significant portion of the material of the two other parts. In segment K the second canon is repeated in a modified form (becoming the third canon of this module).

⁶⁷ Note *c*² in bar 11 of module J in TKD has been added in accordance with the earlier comments.

Example 11. Comparison of the final Kyrie from
Missa paschale (II) *ad Organum* by H. Isaac
 and the initial fragment of module K (TKD p. 95).

The image shows a musical score for two pieces. The top system is labeled 'Isaac' and the bottom system is labeled '95'. Each system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The top staff of each system contains a vocal line with lyrics and measure numbers 1 through 6 (or 8 in the second system). The bottom staff contains an organ accompaniment with measure numbers 1 through 14. The music is in a medieval style, featuring simple counterpoint and parallel intervals.

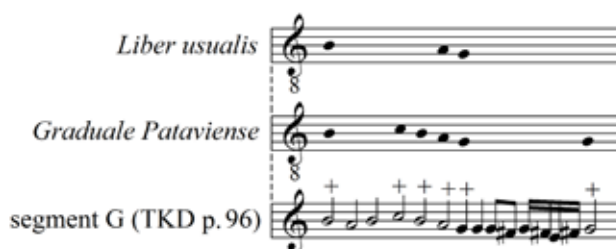
The sequence of three canons in segment K (the initial two present *cantus prius factus* from Kyrie “*Lux et Origo*” following the sequence of phrases and the syntax of the text: the first is *e* – melisma on the word “Kyrie”, the second is *f* – “eleison”, while the third is a modification of the second – *f*₁) is in turn repeated in the problematic segment G with the change in the order of the two last ones and the addition of an initial duet of pairs of voices taking up the initial motif *g* (from the final chant “Kyrie”) enriched by simple counterpoint based on progressions of parallel thirds and sixths. We thus have a configuration here of four canonically led sections of chant melody (one of them is paraphrased): *gef*₁*f* – cf. Example 13. On the other hand, the developed *g* melisma which begins segment G is close to the similarly developed *g* melisma of the melody of Kyrie “*Lux et Origo*” from *Graduale Pataviense*, which provides the chant basis for mass *ordinaria* and *propria* composed by Isaac.

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Figure 4. Chant *Kyrie* “*Lux et Origo*” from *Graduale Pataviense* (f. 184v–185r)⁶⁸.



Example 12. Chant variants of the *g* melisma in the final *Kyrie* “*Lux et Origo*”.



Segment G should thus be regarded as a creative recomposition of segment K (thus as K_1), and since segment K can be referred directly to the mass by Isaac, there is now no longer any need to claim the doubtful simultaneous double authorship by Finck and Josquin in the case of segment K_1 ⁶⁹.

⁶⁸ Vienna 1511. Facsimile in the series *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*. Vol. 87. Ed. Christian Väterlein. Kassel, Basel, London 1982. The characteristic melisma on *g* in the final *Kyrie* is shown in a frame.

⁶⁹ The diligent reader should now cross out the name of segment G in all the earlier paragraphs of this article and replace it with the now more appropriate mark K_1 .

Example 13. Discant-tenor material:
the final Kyrie from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by H. Isaac,
segments K (TKD p. 95) and K₁ (TKD pp. 96-97)

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The first system, labeled 'Isaac', shows measures 1 through 12, with a dynamic marking of **f** and an articulation marking of **e**. The second system, labeled '95', shows measures 1 through 21, with a dynamic marking of **f** and an articulation marking of **f₁**. The third system, labeled '96-97', shows measures 1 through 33, with articulation markings of **e** and **g**, and a dynamic marking of **f**. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and slurs, with measure numbers indicated at the beginning and end of phrases.

The striking convergence between a number of organ segments of *Kyrie paschale* from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by Isaac allows one to put forward a more daring hypothesis. A characteristic feature of both the alternating mass *ordinaria* and the *propria* by this composer was that they were to be alternately sung and played on the organ, a practice typical of the imperial ensemble of Maximilian I Habsburg, at whose court Isaac held the position of court composer. It is for this reason that in one of the sources⁷⁰ Isaac’s *alternatim* masses carry the added remark “ad Organum”. The problem of Isaac’s *alternatim* compositions has for many years been the subject of study by William Peter Mahrt⁷¹, in whose opinion vocal polyphony constitutes only about a half of the musical setting of liturgy. Since there are no known organ segments composed by Isaac, Mahrt looks for the other, complementary half in Hans Buchner’s organ *Fundamentbuch*⁷², which reflects the liturgical customs of the cathedral in Constance during the period when the cathedral chapter commissioned Isaac to compose a cycle of mass *propria* (published after the composer’s death in volume II of the famous *Choralis Constantinus*).

In fact, in Buchner’s *Fundamentbuch* we find one complete set of five segments of the organ *Kyrie paschale*⁷³ (Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie–Kyrie), but stylistically it is different both from the vocal Kyrie from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by Isaac, and from the modules in Polish tablatures (both those which can be linked to Isaac’s mass, and the others). In spite of certain similarities (similar length, analogous range of rhythmic values and ornamental figures) Buchner’s segments are maintained in an uncomplicated three-part texture (which is in any case dominated by two-part sections) and use different techniques for arranging the melody of *cantus prius factus*. The chant material is most often entrusted in a paraphrased form to the discant, but nowhere is it presented in the form of strict two-voice canons. The initial module of the Kyrie is the only one to have four-voice texture, dominated by duets of *bicinia* with material very similar to segments B and H from Polish tablatures which may be linked to Finck, but in spite of this convergence there is a fundamental structural difference here in the manner of presenting *cantus prius factus* – which in Buchner migrates a number of times between the discant and the tenor.

⁷⁰ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, partbooks (DATB) A-Wn Mus.Hs. 18745 Mus (olim A.N. 35.E.127) from c. 1535.

⁷¹ William Peter Mahrt: *The “Missae ad Organum” of Heinrich Isaac*. Stanford University 1969 (unpublished dissertation), particularly pp. 13–35; idem: “The *Choralis Constantinus* and the Organ”. In: *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Ed. David J. Burn and Stefan Gasch. Turnhout 2011 (= Épitome musical) pp. 141–156. The issue of *alternatim* Kyrie from Isaac’s *ordinaria* is also taken up by Martin Staehelin in *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*. Bern 1977 (= Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft. Series II vol. 28), particularly vol. III pp. 15–16 and 116–117.

⁷² Hans Buchner: *Sämtliche Orgelwerke I. Fundamentum und Kompositionen der Handschrift Basel F I 8a*. Ed. Jost Harro Schmidt. Frankfurt am Main 1974 (= Das Erbe deutscher Musik 54).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 196–200.

Perhaps then the organ segments E, J, K and K₁ from Polish tablatures are not secondary intabulations, but specially composed instrumental *ordinaria*, intended to provide *alternatim* complement to the vocal polyphony of a specific work, which is *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by Isaac? Perhaps they were even composed or intabulated by Isaac himself, and if not by him, then with his approval or authorisation? A quite plausible reconstruction of the sequence of organ-vocal polyphony might go as follows:

Table 9. Hypothetical sequence of the organ-vocal Kyrie from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by H. Isaac.

<i>Kyrie</i> “ <i>Lux et Origo</i> ”	<i>ab</i> organ	segment E (TJL)
	<i>ab</i> vocal polyphony	Isaac – Kyrie from <i>Missa paschale</i> (...)
	<i>ab</i> organ	segment E (TJL)
<i>Christe</i> “ <i>Lux et Origo</i> ”	<i>cd</i> vocal polyphony	Isaac – Christe from <i>Missa paschale</i> (...)
	<i>cd</i> organ	segment J (TKD)
	<i>cd</i> vocal polyphony	Isaac – Christe from <i>Missa paschale</i> (...) (repeated)
<i>Kyrie</i> “ <i>Lux et Origo</i> ”	<i>ef</i> organ	segment K (TKD)
	<i>ef</i> vocal polyphony	Isaac – Kyrie from <i>Missa paschale</i> (...)
	<i>gef</i> organ	segment K ₁ (TJL and TKD)

Heinrich Isaac was court composer to Emperor Maximilian I in Vienna during the years 1497–1515. During the period between March 1514 and October 1516 Heinrich Finck was also associated with the imperial ensemble, presumably as a composer. Isaac died in 1517, Emperor Maximilian I died two years later, and his successor, Charles V, dissolved the imperial ensemble in 1520. Towards the end of 1526 Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg (later Emperor Ferdinand I) asked the aged Finck to establish and direct a court ensemble at his court. The composer succeeded in this enterprise and, as the head of the ensemble, probably prepared a rich musical setting for the coronation of Ferdinand on 24 February 1527 in Prague. However, Finck did not have long to enjoy his illustrious post, since he died on 9 June of the same year, 1527. He would not have been a stranger to organ-vocal *alternatim* compositions, and their role in adding splendour to the music of the liturgy and thus to the imperial ensemble; such compositions would involve not only the repertory and performance of the imperial ensemble, but probably other prestigious ensembles with which he was associated after leaving the Kingdom of Poland: at the court of Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg in Stuttgart during the years 1510–14, or later, from 1517 until 1525 or 1526, in the service

of Matthäus Lang (the latter was originally an influential secretary and adviser to Emperor Maximilian I, and later became Archbishop and Duke of Salzburg).

At this point let us consult the descriptions of the magnificent celebrations of the wedding of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and Sabina Wittelsbach in March 1511. At that time Finck headed the Duke’s ensemble, and especially for this occasion he composed the six-voice (and even seven-voice in the Credo) *Missa in Summis*. Eyewitnesses at the wedding recalled that at the church:

“ist der Bischoff von Costentz ubertretten und hat das ambt der heyligen meß vom heiligen geist gehalten, das von der württembergischen Capelln gesungen, und ist ain laut gut wolgestimbt Regal darzow geschlagen wordenn. Unnder dem Kirieleyson ist dy Braut durch Hertzog Fridrich von Sachssen Churfürsten und Hertzog Wilhelm von Baiern zum opffer gefurt”⁷⁴,

and after the marriage ceremony could be heard the pleasant and concordant singing of the cantors of the choir, alternately with loud playing of the organ⁷⁵.

Hoffmann-Erbrecht rejected categorically the possibility that *Missa in Summis* composed for this occasion might have been presented as *alternatim*, reminding us that it was not composed as an *alternatim* piece (i.e., leaving some sections of the liturgical text without a polyphonic setting, with the intention of filling them with the organ). However, it should be noted that the fact that the mass was not given the *alternatim* form does not preclude the possibility of it being adapted for *alternatim* performance, by replacing some closed sections of vocal polyphony by its organ equivalents, or introducing organ interludes (composed or improvised) between these sections. This practice is particularly applicable to masses where the individual ordinaria are made up of smaller parts, made independent by cadences (as in *Missa in Summis*), or which are of small dimensions (such as Finck’s *Kyrie [paschale]* and *Et in terra [paschale]* from the Bardejov manuscript). In any case, *alternatim* does not relate exclusively to the mass *ordinarium*, it may also mean entrusting a whole segment of the mass *plenarium* to the organ (usually a gradual or an offertory from the *propria* group)⁷⁶.

It is worth reading carefully again the description of Duke Ulrich’s wedding: “During *Kyrie eleison* the bride was led to the altar [...]”. If such “leading” – unless the witness got carried away by his imagination or mistook the liturgical moment – was really accompanied by the *Kyrie*, an alternating setting of this part of the *ordinarium*, by its litany-like repeatability, would easily accommodate adjusting its duration to such a ceremony. We should also note that the appearance

⁷⁴ “The bishop of Constance entered and celebrated Holy Mass about the Holy Spirit, during which the Württemberg ensemble sang and a well-tuned regal played. During *Kyrie eleison* the bride was led to the altar by the Elector of Saxony, Duke Frederick, and Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria”. Quoted after Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht: op. cit., p. 43.

⁷⁵ “Cantorem chori suave concinunt, organa vicissim suo concrepare modulo”. Quoted after *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷⁶ William P. Mahrt: „The *Choralis Constantinus* and the Organ”, op. cit., particularly p. 156.

in Polish organ tablatures of arrangements of native religious hymns (and not only those recalled here which are next to segments of *Kyrie paschale*) allows us to claim that *cantus fractus* was a common practice also in Poland.

These facts in the composer's biography encourage one to put forward another hypothesis. One can imagine, with a high degree of probability, his vocal *Kyrie [paschale]* being adapted for such performance practice. While it is not an *ordinarium* composed as *alternatim*, its segments are small enough (with the final Kyrie being particularly compact) to be successfully adapted in this way. If that were the case, perhaps the organ modules A, B, C, D, F and H from the Polish tablatures might be related to this vocal *Kyrie [paschale]* and thus could be regarded (as is the case with the modules which can be associated with Isaac) not as secondary intabulations, but as intentionally planned instrumental segments complementary to the vocal ones? Perhaps also in this case Finck himself, aware of the compositional structure of his own vocal *Kyrie [paschale]*, might have composed or authorised organ segments based on it and integrated with it? The hypothetical order of such an arrangement may not be as easy to plan (it is difficult to decide which of the segments: A, B or H, would be best to choose for the initial Kyrie) as Isaac's organ-vocal *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum*, but it would not be impossible:

Table 10. Hypothetical sequence of Finck's organ-vocal *Kyrie [paschale]*.

<i>Kyrie</i> "Lux et Origo"	<i>ab</i> organ	segment A or H
	<i>ab</i> vocal polyphony	Finck – first Kyrie from <i>Kyrie [paschale]</i>
	<i>ab</i> organ	segment B
<i>Christe</i> "Lux et Origo"	<i>cd</i> vocal polyphony	Finck – Christe from <i>Kyrie [paschale]</i>
	<i>cd</i> organ	segment F or C
	<i>cd</i> vocal polyphony	Finck – Christe from <i>Kyrie [paschale]</i> (repeated)
<i>Kyrie</i> "Lux et Origo"	<i>ef</i> organ	segment D
	<i>ef</i> vocal polyphony	Finck – last Kyrie from <i>Kyrie [paschale]</i>
	<i>[g]ef</i> organ	segment D

In order to present more fully the fate of the intabulation of *Kyrie paschale*, one should also mention a later source – the organ tablature belonging to Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne [Warsaw Musical Society] (also known as *Tabulatura łowicka*, henceforth TWTM) from c. 1580. It is the first Polish relic notated in new German notation, unfortunately also one of the sources lost

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during the Second World War and now available only in the form of pre-war photocopies⁷⁷ deposited at the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University, Harvard College in Cambridge (Mass.) in the USA (the transcription was made possible by the photographs⁷⁸). We quote TWTM here as an example of the permanent presence in Polish organ repertory of the above-mentioned segments of *Kyrie paschale* from TJJ and TKD in the second half of the sixteenth century. In TWTM there are four *Kyrie* based on the melody *Kyrie “Lux et origo”*, three of which are convergent with the material from TJJ and TKD. The first (f. 2v–3r), five-part one, is a repetition of segment H and the initial four bars of module J with the added fifth part (register between alto and tenor). The second *Kyrie* (f. 13v–14r), also a five-part one, signed with the letters “J.S.” (or “S.J.”) written into each other, refers to segment H and further on to B or perhaps more to E. The anonymous composer or “J.S.” added here under the bass the fifth part, with an abundance of leaps of fifths-fourths. The fourth *Kyrie paschale* in TWTM (f. 15v–17r, we omit the third as stylistically different), a four-part one, with the most complete arrangement of five segments (*Kyrie–Kyrie–Christe–Kyrie–Kyrie*), in the first half of the final *Kyrie* clearly refers to the initial duet of the *bicinia* of the parts from segment K₁. The anonymous author added a new counterpoint under each *bicinium* without increasing the combined number of voices, thus achieving a seemingly six-part texture: juxtaposing the *bicinia* of discant–alto and tenor–bass becomes here the juxtaposition of *tricinia* of discant–alto–tenor and alto–tenor–bass. Thus the fourth *Kyrie paschale* in TWTM has the sequence PRSTK₂:

Table 11. Chart of segments of *Kyrie paschale* in TWTM linked to TJJ and TKD.

<i>Kyrie “Lux et origo”</i>			<i>Christe “Lux et origo”</i>			<i>Kyrie “Lux et origo”</i>		
<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>cd</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>gef</i>
organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ	[chant]	organ
H ₁ 2v–3r				J ₁ 2v–3r				
H ₂ /E ₁ 13v–14r								
P 15v–16r		R 15v–16r		S 15v–16r		T 16v–17r		K ₂ 16v–17r

⁷⁷ US-CA s.s. The tablature comprised 98 folios (with one or more folios missing).

⁷⁸ Transcription by Jerzy Gólos: *The Organ Tablature of Warsaw Musical Society*. Graz, Warszawa 1968 (= *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia* 15). Later edition, revised and corrected on the basis of a better photocopy and published reviews: *Łowicka tabulatura organowa (d. rps WTM 1/220)*. Ed. Jerzy Gólos. Warszawa 1993.

The linking of Isaac's *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum*, segments E, J, K and the until now problematic "Josquinian" G, which turned out to be K₁, allows us not only to reconsider the authorship of the intabulations in question, but also increases the number of concordances between the manuscripts from Bardejov and Polish organ tablatures from the same period. As a result of the analyses above, it is possible to describe the role played in the creation of organ intabulations by the small number of persons whose names or monograms were entered in the tablatures in the set of organ segments of the mass *Kyrie paschale*. The list opens with the names of two composers – Heinrich Finck and Heinrich Isaac – authors of the masses the musical material of which is very likely to have served as the material or inspiration for organ intabulations. At this point one might also risk putting forward the hypothesis that Isaac and Finck could be recognised not only as the composers of the vocal prototypes of the organ intabulations, but also as the direct creators of those organ *ordinaria* which need not have had vocal originals at all. To Finck might be attributed segments A, B, C, D (linked together in quite a consistent manner, copied in constant sequence, and showing evidence of having a thought-out formal plan behind them) and F, H (scattered among the sources) – linked more or less closely to his incompletely preserved *Kyrie [paschale]*. Approached in this way, the three separate *Kyrie paschale* listed in the catalogue of the composer's works would be either three versions of one work, or one complementary set of a vocal-organ *alternatim* mass. The kinship between segments E, J, K and K₁ from the *Kyrie* from *Missa paschale* (II) *ad Organum* by Heinrich Isaac is much clearer, and thus the attribution should pass from Josquin to Isaac. It appears as if the writer of TKD, if not totally unfamiliar with the name of Heinrich Isaac, at least confused it with the person of Josquin des Prez. Intabulations of Isaac's works appear in TKD on three occasions (if we agree with the hypothesis that Isaac was the author of modules J, K and K₁ in TKD, then the number of his intabulations doubles), without his name being mentioned in relation to them even once (although one is confusingly signed "Josquin nith Ganczer"⁷⁹), and twice even without the titles.

The second group of persons associated with the organ intabulations of *Kyrie paschale* is the group of four or more "intabulators". This includes composers active in the first half of the sixteenth century – the monogramist N.C. (perhaps Nicolaus of Cracow) and the anonymous "intabulator" (one or more) from TJL and TKD. These are imaginative, creative authors of instrumental adaptations of polyphonic vocal originals. Like composers writing vocal parody masses they skillfully modified the form of intabulation (by extending or reducing individual phases

⁷⁹ The composition in question is without a title (TKD pp. 240–243), rounded off with the information "finitur Josquin nith Ganczer" (although this is an intabulation of the first part of Isaac's song *En l'ombre d'un buissonnet*). The second composition (TKD pp. 21–24) is described as *Capellae Leonis papae* and is an intabulation of Isaac's secular composition *Palle, palle*. The third work has the brief title *benedictus* and no other information (TKD pp. 244–246). It has been identified as a fragment of Isaac's Sanctus from *Missa Quant j'ay au cueur*.

of the form and by transposition), confidently intervened in their polyphonic tissue (by changing voice configurations, adding or removing counterpoints, reversing the sequence of voice entries in the canons, correcting parallel octaves and fifths) and created an instrumental melodic shape that was new in spirit (figuring of voices, diminution and ornamentation). It is this quite ambitious role which needs to be assigned to N.C.; identified as Nicolaus of Cracow, a few decades ago he was promoted as the leading native composer of the first half of the sixteenth century and proclaimed “the father of the first Polish motet with syntactic imitation” and “composer of the first Polish madrigal”, in disregard of historical truth and source information. At a later period attempts were made to withdraw from these claims⁸⁰.

A somewhat different contribution to the organ *Kyrie paschale* was made by the third group, the anonymous “intabulators” (one or more) and the monogramist J.S. (perhaps Jakub Sowa or Sówka) from TWTM. This tablature, dated to some 30 years later, documents the challenge of adapting the older four-voice texture to the more modern, five-voice one. The decision to take up these old *Kyrie paschale* and give them a new arrangement may mean that they were popular and willingly performed. Some of the segments transferred to TWTM were adapted in full, in the case of others only the initial *bicinia* were used. Perhaps the influence of Josquin’s name played a part here. In the absence of any direct concordances with any of Josquin’s *Kyrie paschale*, and in fact any equivalents of *alternatim* or organ masses among his works, one might suspect that his role in this confusing situation – of which most probably he was quite ignorant – was to act as a recognisable logotype, whose “brand” on the product made it externally more attractive. Perhaps it was for this reason that the anonymous composers (and J.S.) from TWTM undertook the adaptation of the segments of *Kyrie paschale* signed with Josquin’s name in TKD. It may have been the effect of the magic of the brand.

The most appropriate conclusion to the above considerations is to postulate the creation of modern, source-critical editions (facsimile and transcription) of all Polish organ tablatures from the first half of the sixteenth century. If we add to this postulate a call to renew research into the contents of these tablatures, the network of links proposed here between minor segments of *Kyrie paschale* allows us to expect the discovery of many new relationships between repertories, and new attributions in these collections of early modern keyboard music – collections which are the most extensive in the whole of Europe.

⁸⁰ This motet was supposed to be *Date siceram merentibus N.C. 1542* from TJJ, which turned out to be a contrafacture of Josquin’s chanson *Je ne me puis tenir d’aimer* taken from Claudin de Sermisy. The madrigal was supposed to be *Aljec Nademna Venus* (the organ intabulation from TJJ was patched together with the text from a lute tablature) – but this work turned out to be an intabulation of Francesco Patavino’s villotta *De là da l’acqua sta la mia amorosa*. See also Barbara Brzezińska: “W kwestii autorstwa motetu *Date siceram moerentibus*” [On the question of the authorship of the motet *Date siceram moerentibus*]. *Muzyka* 21 (1976) No. 2 pp. 53–65. Also Piotr Poźniak: „Koniec legendy o polskim madrygale” [The end of a legend about a Polish madrigal]. *Muzyka* 41 (1996) No. 3 pp. 59–71.

Table 12. Chart of related *Kyrie paschale* segments in TJL, TKD and TWTM.

	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>			<i>Christe eleison</i>			<i>Kyrie eleison</i>		
	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Christe</i>	<i>Christe</i>	<i>Christe</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>
TJL (1537–39)	⁵ X 81r		⁵ Y 81v		⁵ C ₀ 81v		⁵ D ₀ 81v		
TJL (1540–47)	A 155v		B 156r		C 156v		D 156v		
	⁵ A 190v		⁵ B 191v						
	E 207r				F 207v				K ₁ 208r
	⁵ A 238r		⁵ B 238v		⁵ F 238v				⁵ K ₁ 240v
TKD (c. 1548)	A 44		B 45		C 45		D 46-47		
	H 92				J 93		K 95		K ₁ 96
TWTM (c. 1580)	H ₁ 2v				J ₁ 2v				
	H ₂ /E ₁ 13v								
	P 15v		R 15v		S 15v		T 16v		K ₂ 16v

“KYRIE PASCHALE” IN POLISH ORGAN TABLATURES

Table 13. Chart showing possible roles and attributions in the writing of TJL, TKD and TWTM.

<i>cantus prius factus</i>	<i>Kyrie “Lux et Origo”</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>	<i>Christe</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>
composers	Heinrich Finck <i>Kyrie [paschale]?</i>	A, B, H	C, F	D
	Heinrich Isaac <i>Missa (...) ad Organum</i>	E	J	K, K ₁
guest authorship	Josquin des Prez	logotype of segments H, J, K, K ₁		
authors of intabulation	Heinrich Finck? Heinrich Isaac?	extensions/reductions of phases of form new juxtapositions of segments transpositions changes in voice schema adding/removing counterpoint figuring/paraphrasing diminution ornamentation		
copyists? or authors of intabulation	N.C. anonym(s) in TJL anonym(s) in TKD			
authors of updating	anonym(s) in TWTM	adding fifth voice to <i>bicinia</i> H, J, K ₁		
	J.S. or S.J.	adding fifth voice (bass) to segment H		

Translated by Zofia Weaver

W artykule poddano analizie zachowane w tzw. *Tabulaturze Jana z Lublina* oraz tabulaturze organowej z klasztoru kanoników regularnych Ducha św. w Krakowie intabulacje *Kyrie paschale*. Są one opracowaniami kolejnych odcinków melodii chorałowej *Kyrie „Lux et origo”* i tworzą szeregi segmentów (względnie modułów) alternacyjnej mszy organowej. W obu tabulaturach występuje łącznie ponad dwadzieścia segmentów organowego *Kyrie paschale* – sumę tę tworzy o połowę mniejsza liczba modułów powtarzających się w transpozycjach oraz w postaci wariantów, które po zestawieniu w różne szeregi sygnowane są trzema niekonsekwentnie przypisywanymi atrybucjami: „N.C.” (Mikołaj z Krakowa?), „phÿnk” (Heinrich Finck) i „Josquin” (Josquin des Prez).

Na podstawie analizy źródeł, badań struktury kontrapunktyczno-formalnej segmentów oraz porównań z analogicznym repertuarem innych tabulatur organowych oraz z wokalnymi *Kyrie paschale* (samodzielnymi *ordinariów* i należących do cyklów mszalnych) znanych z nazwiska i anonimowych kompozytorów, autor artykułu wskazał nowe pokrewieństwa pomiędzy intabulacjami i na nowo zdefiniował role, jakie w ich powstaniu odegrały postaci, których nazwiska bądź monogramy zostały częściowo wpisane do tabulatur. Po uzasadnionym wykluczeniu „Josquina” (atrybucji po wielokroć podważanej) główne role przypadły dwóm twórcom mszy, które z dużym prawdopodobieństwem posłużyły jako podstawa materiałowa lub inspiracja dla organowych intabulacji – Heinrichowi Finckowi i nowo przypisanemu Heinrichowi Isaacowi. Dalsze role w procesie powstania i transmisji segmentów *Kyrie paschale* przypadły działającym w I poł. XVI w., nieznanym z nazwisk (wśród nich monogramiście N.C.) kopytom i kreatywnym twórcom organowych adaptacji, sprawnie modyfikującym formę wyjściowego modelu wokalnego i jego późniejszych opracowań, pewną ręką ingerującym w ich strukturę polifoniczną i kształtującym nową z ducha instrumentalną melodykę.

Wydaje się jednak, że organowe moduły nie musiały być wtórnymi aranżacjami, lecz zostały specjalnie skomponowane jako *ordinaria* instrumentalne z przeznaczeniem do alternującego uzupełnienia wokalnej polifonii konkretnych mszy. Stąd może Finck i Isaac nie tylko stworzyli wokalne prototypy, lecz także albo uczestniczyli w powstawaniu ich organowych opracowań (aprobując je lub autoryzując), albo nawet sami skomponowali instrumentalne *Kyrie paschale*. W artykule zaproponowano rekonstrukcję hipotetycznej sekwencji organowo-wokalnej polifonii, łączącej organowe moduły z polskich tabulatur z wokalnymi segmentami mszy Fincka i Isaaca.

Grzegorz Kos

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