

Piotr POŻNIAK (Cracow)

The Kraków Lute Tablature: A Source Analysis*

A document from historic times provides the researcher, on the one hand, with information about the individual case – typical or otherwise – represented by the source itself; and on the other hand, with information of a broader character, concerning the life of a certain community. The paper and binding, handwriting and repertoire analyses presented allow us to draw conclusions from these analyses and construct hypotheses about both of these aspects. Since this is the only surviving lute tablature written in the 16th century within the Polish-Lithuanian state, the number of general conclusions cannot be large, for it is not possible to determine the measure in which the information is typical; nevertheless, some conclusions can be drawn.

The manuscript was purchased in 1937 at an antiquarian bookstore in Vienna, and we do not know what happened to it before then. Since that year, it has been held by the Library at the University of Lvov (now Lviv, a city belonging at the time to Poland, and since World War II, to the Ukraine), under call no.

* This article is a significant expanded version of a paper given at a Polish-Russian conference devoted to problems in source research, organized by the Institute of Art at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw in October 1996.

1400/I. Its content was studied by literary historian J. Krzyżanowski, who in 1938 published and discussed the poems inscribed in the source¹; as well as by musicologist M. Szczepańska, who published an article about the tablature in 1950 on the basis of her notes from before the war². Next, several works were published in three anthologies by Z. M. Szweykowski³, Z. Stęszewska⁴ and P. Poźniak⁵. In 1991, at a congress in Tours, I made public a list of 14 intabulations from the tablature, together with identification of their models. This list, containing numerous corrections relative to M. Szczepańska's version, was published in print in 1995⁶. Simultaneously and independently of my investigations, research on the Kraków tablature was being conducted by Levi Sheptovitsky, who in 1998 published a short description of the source and a list of

¹ Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI 'Nieznane "tańce" z połowy w. XVI' [Unknown "Dances" from the mid-16th Century]. *Pamiętnik Literacki* XXXV, 1938, pp. 28–38.

² Maria SZCZEPAŃSKA 'Nieznana krakowska tabulatura lutniowa z drugiej połowy XVI stulecia' [An Unknown Kraków Lute Tablature from the Second Half of the 16th Century], in: *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Prof. Adolfa Chybińskiego w 70-lecie urodzin* [A Book of Essays in Honor of Prof. Adolf Chybiński on His 70th Birthday]. Kraków 1950, pp. 198–217; the article also contains a transcription of V. Bakfark's entire galliard *Non dite mai*.

³ Four pieces entitled with Polish incipits, as well as *Venus*, in: *Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie* [Music in Old Cracow]. Ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski. Kraków 1964, pp. 71–75 and 307–308.

⁴ Three *passamezzi* (including two entitled with Polish incipits) and two accompanying *saltarelli*, in: *Muzyka staropolska* [Old Polish Music]. Ed. Hieronim Feicht. Kraków 1966, pp. 117–122 and 388.

⁵ Intabulation of a madrigal by J. Berchem and four pieces entitled with Polish incipits, in: *Musica Antiqua Polonica – The Renaissance*. Ed. Piotr Poźniak, vol. 5 (pp. 12–13 and 19–20) and vol. 7 (p. 8–10). Kraków 1994. To complete the bibliography, it is worthwhile to add the publication and discussion of the piece *Venus* in: Krystyna WILKOWSKA-CHOMIŃSKA *Twórczość Mikołaja z Krakowa* [The Œuvre of Mikołaj of Kraków]. Kraków 1967, pp. 143–158, as well as a definitive resolution to the arguments regarding this composition in: Piotr POŻNIAK 'Koniec legendy o polskim madrygale' [The End of the Legend of the Polish Madrigal]. *Muzyka* 1996 no. 3, pp. 59–71. Beyond this, mention of the source and of individual pieces is to be found in various papers concerning the history of Polish music.

⁶ Piotr POŻNIAK 'Le vocal et l'instrumental dans les tablatures manuscrites polonaises du XVI^e siècle', in: *Le concert des voix et des instruments*. Ed. Jean-Michel VACCARO. Paris 1995, pp. 671–688.

the works preserved in it (without musical incipits)⁷. Here, the author repeated correctly almost all of the information about intabulation models and – following Brown’s bibliography – mentioned other lute arrangements; indicated Dowland as the composer of three fantasies, as well as showing concordances to a fourth fantasy and two dances; described the harmonic schemes of several dances, drawing attention for the first time to the fact that the piece entitled with the incipit ‘Surrexit Dominus’ is based on a *romanesca* scheme; he also gave information about new editions of the lute pieces and vocal models. In 1999, another description of the tablature and list of its contents was published in print⁸; it repeats many of Szczepańska’s errors.

The origin of the tablature was easy to determine, for the source contains dates, a place name and scribes’ and owners’ names. Folio 1r is signed by Hans Kernsthok, who describes himself as the manuscript’s scribe, as well as – in two different languages – Andres Schwartz-An[drzej] Czarny, who calls himself a Cracovian, and the owner of the book, with a date of 1555. F. 1v was signed by another owner, Joannes Tratkop, with a date of 1592. Without doubt, Nicolaus Strzeskowski (or rather Strzeszkowski), whose name and coat of arms are embossed on the cover, was also one of the book’s owners.⁹

Paper and binding

The book is composed of two types of paper in 152–156 × 200–203 mm format (the cover – cardboard clothed with leather – 160 × 205 mm). One paper – at the beginning and at the end – is not particularly distinctive; while the second, which takes up most of the volume, is very interesting, because it is printed in

⁷ Levi SHEPTOVITSKY ‘The Cracow Lute Tablature from the Second Half of the 16th Century: Discussion and Catalogue’. *Musica Disciplina* XLVIII, 1994 (volume published in 1998), pp. 69–97.

⁸ *Sources manuscrites en tablature. Luth et theorbe (c. 1500–c. 1800). Catalogue descriptif*, v. III/2: *République Tchèque, Hongrie, Lituanie, Pologne, Fédération de Russie, Slovaquie, Ukraine*. Ed. Christoph Meyer. Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller 1999, pp. 263–265.

⁹ J. KRZYŻANOWSKI (op. cit., p. 28) informs us that Strzeszkowski was the owner of the book in 1553. Perhaps such a date was listed on the cover; however, in the book’s present damaged state, it has not been possible to recover the date.

six-line tablature staves (with vertical lines at the side margins). This fact was not noted by Szczepańska; it is not noticeable on microfilm or photocopies. Only looking at the original allowed me to confirm, about 20 years ago, this observation made by W. Boetticher.¹⁰ The practice of printing 'tablature paper', just as we print music paper today, had been known previously only from Western Europe. There (e. g. in France), it was sold either loose or in the form of a pre-bound volume, and the purchaser could more easily notate lute works in the French or Italian system. The printed paper from the tablature under discussion features fragments of a watermark which has been identified as the mark of the Boner paper works in Balice, near Kraków¹¹. It has been known since M. Perz cited the inventory records of Jakub Frelich's studio that lutes were mass-produced in Kraków¹². It was still possible to assume, however, that Kraków lute owners played mainly from memory, accompanying a song with a few chords (just as guitarists with little training often do today). The fact that it was economically feasible to print tablature paper shows that there existed a significant number of purchasers of this paper in Kraków who were more highly trained, in that they were playing from lute-books and writing tablatures. This confirms the opinion that the survival of only one manuscript tablature from the 16th century is a caprice of history, and not a reflection of the true state of affairs.

In the case of a binding containing two types of paper and two types of content (music and poetry), the question arises: was the content inscribed into a blank book bound in this manner, or were pre-existent manuscripts bound together? Associated with this is another question: when did Strzeszkowski own the book? We shall return to both questions after the handwriting analysis. Here, it is also worth mentioning that the first, unlined, signature contained 8 folios; today, the last folio is missing. The second to thirteenth, lined, signatures contained (and still contain) 8 folios; the fourteenth,

¹⁰ Wolfgang BOETTICHER *Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*. München 1978, *RISM VII*, p. 201.

¹¹ For identification of the watermark, on the basis of small fragments surviving in the source, warm thanks to Dr. Maria Kowalczyk.

¹² Mirosław PERZ 'Z inwentarza Jakuba Frelicha (+1578), krakowskiego budowniczego lutni' [From the Inventory Records of Jakub Frelich (+1578), Kraków Lutemaker]. *Muzyka* 1975 no 1, pp. 99–100.

which is otherwise just like the previous ones, is missing the last three folios. The next signatures are again unlined: the fifteenth contains 8 folios; the sixteenth, originally 6 folios, the last two of which are missing; the seventeenth, 2 folios.

On f. 2r are inscribed the titles *Kowalski taniec*, *Kokoszy taniec*, *Goniony taniec* and *Galarda mała i wielka*, as well as the incipits to 11 poems in Polish and probably one in German; the list as a whole is entitled *Regestr tańców* (*Register of Dances*). These works are not present in the manuscript, and M. Szczepańska, lamenting their absence, maintains that they were on folios at the beginning of the book which were removed. The binding structure presented above does not confirm this view. From the signature to which f. 2 belongs, only one folio – the last – is missing. It could not have contained 17 works. Beyond this, the signature is made from unlined paper, and all of the pages after the *Regestr* (*Register*), i.e. ff. 2v–7v, are completely blank. If these had been lute pieces, they could only have been on the last three lined folios which were cut out – but on them as well, it would have been difficult to fit 17 pieces; and besides, why would they have been placed so far along in the book? Thus, most probably, the author of the *Regestr* had planned to inscribe the texts to the dance songs (without notation) at the beginning of the book, but did not realize this plan.

Handwriting

Distinguishing hands in the case of letters, which form the basis for the French system (used in the tablature under discussion almost exclusively), or even of digits (in the Italian system, used for two pieces) is easier than in the case of notes, but significantly more difficult than in a literary or historic source, for letters written singly can take a somewhat different form than letters linked into words. It is also easier for one person to give various shapes to single letters. Here – without even taking into account the poetry inscribed on the last folios of the book – we have the following items to compare: the shapes of single letters and of letters appearing in titles, in sentences inserted in the margins, and in the inscriptions on the first folio; as well as digits appearing in the tablature and foliation, notation of rhythmic values and, finally, ornaments drawn directly after the notated entries for some pieces, as well as other copyists' customs.

An additional difficulty is that the texts are short and written in different languages: Polish, Latin, Italian, French, German (some in a Gothic hand) and, finally, that Tratkop inscribed a sentence in Latin, but using the Greek alphabet¹³. As a result, the elements being compared are very diverse. The main problem is not, however, to notice different shapes in the same element of a given hand. To do that, a keen observer's eye will suffice. Questions arise in deciding how differently one hand could write the same elements depending, for example, on how hastily the text was written, or how sharp the pen was. The differences seem significant, and their occurrence could also have been contributed to by the character shapes in the different models from which the works were copied. All in all, I am inclined to conclude that the tablature portion of the book, as a whole, was written by five to seven scribes:

Scribe A numbered the folios of the entire lined portion without error, beginning with the second, and also – starting with the first lined folio – labeled the successive folios in printed-sheet style, with letters numbered in groups of four (a–a4, b–b4 etc.). Both forms of foliation, written in red ink (the predominant ink color throughout the manuscript is black), end with the number 100 and signature marking Cc[1] on the last of the lined folios. The same scribe notated the pieces on ff. 9r–30r¹⁴ (on f. 30v, for the first time in this series of pages, one system was left blank – the last – which separates this part of the tablature from the next one).

¹³ This inscription contains characters atypical of the classical Greek alphabet to render the sound *u* (shape of letter *gamma*), as well as *st* blends. For this reason, in presenting my paper, I noted the opinion of W. Boetticher (*op. cit.*, p. 201) that this was a Cyrillic alphabet. In the discussion after the presentation, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, confirming the atypical nature of the characters, advised me to look for them in printed materials from 16th-century Kraków. As it turned out, they did indeed occur here, alongside the classical characters. I will point out, for example, Jerzy Liban's treatise *De musicae laudibus oratio*, Kraków 1540 (facs. ed. *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia. Bibliotheca Antiqua*, VIII. Kraków 1975; transcription in: J. LIBAN *Pisma o muzyce* [Writings About Music], edited and translated by E. Witkowska-Zaremba. Kraków 1984). The *gamma* shape – actually a vertical combination of the ου characters – occurs here, for example, in the word ὕμουσος (f. F5v, transcr. p. 214 l. 41); and the shape of the *st* blend, in the word σύστημα (f. Ev, transcr. p. 194 l. 7). This excludes the presence of a Cyrillic alphabet in the tablature.

¹⁴ I give the real folio numbers in the source, which coincide up to f. 118 with the more recent pencil foliation, inserted probably by the antiquarian bookseller; f. 9 is provided with the red inscription *Foli 1* and signature marking *all*.

Characteristic of this hand are letters of larger dimensions, shadowed with a fairly broad-edged pen, written unslanted, either to the right or the left. The letter *a* is finished on the right side with a thick stroke, normally turning up at the bottom, and with upper end often giving the letter a pointy shape; *b* looks like a flat sign; the stem of *d* is curved to the left (we shall refer to this common letter type hereafter as *d**). The letter *g* is written by the same scribe in two forms: with a pronounced curl to the tail, and without; this is associated basically with the amount of space available (see for example f. 9r system 3 bb. 1 and 2), but not always (cf. f. 19r syst. 3 last bar). The letter *e* also takes two forms in this scribe's rendition, this time independent of the amount of space available (cf. f. 25v, numerous *e*'s on the highest line of the 2nd and 3rd systems, as well as *e* with a lower end brought up very high, in the last two bars¹⁵). The letters in the titles on these pages – always red – show in general a great similarity to the letters in the tablature, though, for example, *d* is always written with a straight, vertical stem.


In the left margins, also in red, Scribe A drew hands pointing to the beginning of almost every work on ff. 9r–30r (with two exceptions), as well as ornaments always occurring here at the end: a symmetrical arrangement of lines comprised of a peculiar chess board which metamorphoses into a set of spiral branches, almost always finished with acorns. This scribe also wrote time signatures in red ink, and even entire works: three on ff. 26v–28v and one on ff. 29v–30r.

Scribe B filled in, definitely independently, the pages from f. 32r to the middle of f. 35v, and inscribed two works on the free first lined folio (8rv), before the beginning of the older foliation. This scribe also wrote numerous sayings in Latin in various places in the book¹⁶, and after the piece on f. 8r – in words, also in Latin – the year 1555.

¹⁵ In the discussion, Z. M. Szweykowski expressed the conviction that such differences in shape – for us today incomprehensible – are nonetheless significant and provided performers with additional information.

¹⁶ The sayings are located (most often in the lower margins) on ff. 8r, 9r, v, 10v, 11v, 13r, 15v, 16v (left margin), 17v, 19r, 20v, 21v, 23v, 24v, 26v, 27v, 28v (above the last system), 29r, 30v, 34r, 35v, 40v; thus, they normally occur on pages where a new piece begins.

Registr kancion Ist par in premaxialn haben horn
 kowalsky tanjecz plántu **P a n o**
 Galarda Wala y wielka **S**
 kokosy tanjecz
 Proszyl go proszyla pientnye obla, yul y *nie cat y ce dnu*
 Conionj tanjecz *o d m m i s b o s t h y m y*
 Prsyechal masurovye Dan boo sarsesjem
 nie trasy nio estowick uladnye wesnyje thobie
 Sebat chlop do mlyna y edschla rufkamny
 nie prasz blotb prasz dylo wamie
 Amoj myto linku acs dny te mysta
 Anienky na zolady
 Dastla dzienka wrony **S Rocz ta orzec**



Folio 2r

Kalasa ka Bala



Folio 9r

Folio 19r

Handwritten musical score on Folio 19r. The page contains four staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "Ich ren vntz klat". The second staff is a lute tablature line with a large blacked-out section. The third staff is another vocal line with lyrics: "Rochofate simis". The bottom staff is a lute tablature line with lyrics: "In audibus non in oculis". The page is decorated with floral motifs on the right side. The word "Folio 11" is written in the top right corner.

Folio 19r

Folio 25v

Handwritten musical score on Folio 25v. The page contains four staves of lute tablature. The notation is dense and fills most of the page.

Folio 25v

Characteristic of this hand – written in small calligraphic characters with a fine-nibbed pen, often with a slight forward slant to the letters – are extended straight stems for *b* and *d*, often finished at the top with a distinctive curve to the right. With this scribe, there are also two types of *g*, similar to those observed in duct A (cf. f. 35r).

On the folios mentioned, there are no drawings of hands pointing to the beginnings of pieces, but at the end of two pieces there are ornaments patterned after those drawn by A, but clearly different. Their color is also different – paler, rather rust brown than red – and both time signatures are inscribed in the same color. The inscription of the third piece is finished with a row of vertical strokes.

Scribes A and B alternated in writing ff. 30v–31v, with **A** most often filling in gaps in **B**'s work. In the first section of the *Passamezzo*, **A** filled in individual letters (among others, the characteristic *d** in the first system of f. 30v, at the beginning of the second system; or in the last bar on that page, or at the end of the piece – f. 31r); it was also no doubt **A** who drew the same ornament as on previous pages at the end of this section of the dance, though its color is brown, just as on subsequent pages. After a few bars, **A** continued the inscription of the piece *Tarzeto* (f. 31rv), after which, in turn, **B** notated the second section of the *Passamezzo* (f. 31v–32v) and subsequent pieces. It seems that it is **B** who, taking **A** as a model, drew time signatures and hands similar to the previous ones, but different, in brown ink at the beginning of two pieces (ff. 30v and 31r), as well as a similar but different ornament after the *Tarzeto* (f. 31v).

The body of material from the middle of **f. 35v** to **f. 47r** has in common the same type of shape for the letter *d**. In continuous handwriting, the difference between *d* and *d** is considered to be one of the most obvious characteristics making it possible to distinguish between ducts. It seems, however, that in writing single letters in a tablature, it is not of primary significance. On the pages mentioned, where a sharp pen and small letters were used, the general hand type is very close to duct B (cf. upper and lower systems of f. 35v); while with a dull pen, the letters are larger and much closer to duct A. Of the characteristic shapes, *e* finished with an upward flourish appears, for example, on f. 25v. The difficulty in identification is also increased by the combination of bars written completely vertically with letters written by the same scribe with a forward



Folio 35r



Folio 30v



Folio 31r



Folio 31v



Folio 35v



Folio 45r

Folio 60v

Folio 62v

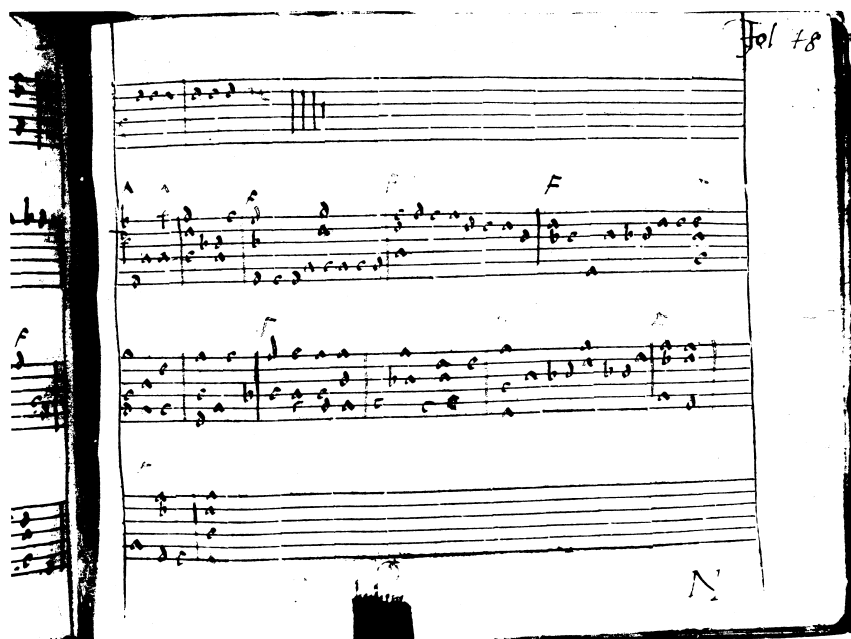
slant (cf. for example the first and subsequent systems of f. 45r). All in all, it is possible to judge that these pages were written by a third scribe or by the second one, whom we designate as **B₁**, as well as by scribe **A**; sometimes one gets the impression that **B₁** is **B** taking **A**'s letter shapes as a model, just as earlier, **B** drew final ornaments and hands also modeled on **A**. Ornaments of this type, moreover, do not appear on ff. 35v–47r even once; however, several vertical strokes, just like those of **B** on f. 8r, occur after the majority of the entries. In the entire portion of the tablature described until now, the titles are inscribed after the pieces.

B₁'s hand also appears on subsequent pages of the tablature: ff. 51v–53r and 108rv. If we assume that it comes from the same lutenist as **B**, then this musician's entries are spread out in various places, from the first to the last page of the tablature.

Scribe C writes all letters completely differently from the previous scribes; he notated four pieces on ff. 47v–51 and 62v–64v, as well as inscribing ff. 59r–62r in Italian notation. The hand used for digits shows many similarities to the one used for letters, and titles in a similar hand type are always placed before the pieces.



Folio 53v



Folio 56r



Folio 105v

Handwritten musical notation on Folio 107v. The page contains six staves of music. The first two staves are filled with notes and stems. The third staff has a few notes and a fermata. Below the staves is a block of Polish text written in a cursive hand:

Tas moria lucasz ubi grzech mioune
c pludni swieczie pros na thobie dzialacz
przechcie tak spota miodolej praprosi...

Folio 107v

Handwritten musical notation on Folio 108v. The page contains six staves of music. The first two staves are filled with notes and stems. The third staff has a few notes and a fermata. Below the staves is a block of Polish text written in a cursive hand:

Tas moria lucasz ubi grzech mioune
c pludni swieczie pros na thobie dzialacz
przechcie tak spota miodolej praprosi...

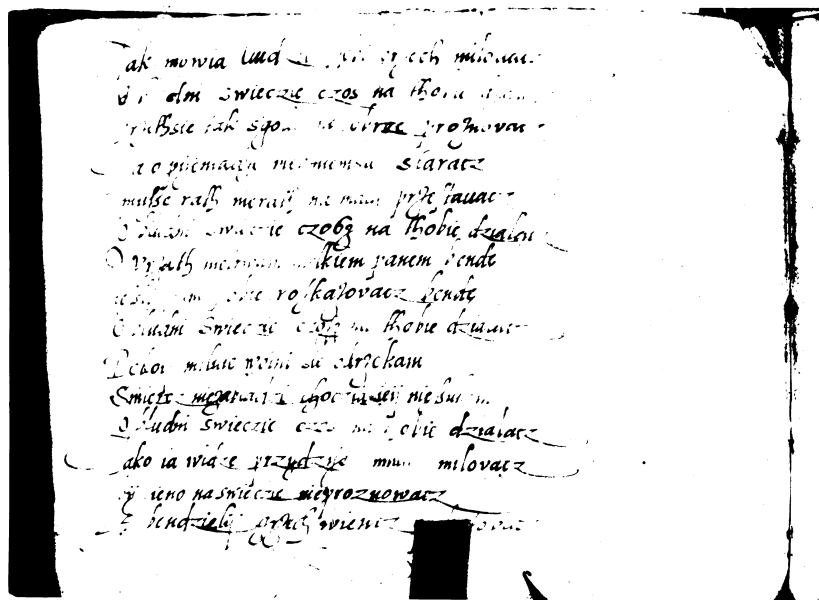
Folio 108v

Scribe D notated only two systems on f. 53v. The general character of this hand is similar to that of C; however, the shape of the letters *a*, *b* and *c* is distinctly different (the most similar, but still different, is the letter *d*^{*}).

Scribe E filled in ff. 55v–58v, 102v–103r and 105v–107r. The shapes of all letters here, including two different *c*'s, are characteristic only of this scribe. The general appearance of the hand and some of the letters (e. g. *d*^{*}) are similar to the hand of A; however the shape of other letters (*a*, *b*, *f*) is distinctly different. E normally placed titles before the pieces, once after, but he often omitted them altogether; and, like scribe B, he normally placed several vertical strokes after entries. Unlike the others, E wrote all entries in an ink whose color can be described as watery brown.

The hand on f. 107v and in the last two systems of f. 108v shows certain differences relative to all the others, but in many respects is close to that of B₁. These entries could therefore be the work of **scribe F**, but could also perhaps come from B₁, who in turn could be identical with B.

Folios 2v–7v, 54r–55r, 65r–102r, 103v–105r, 109r, 114v–122r are blank, and on folios 109v–114r (unlined) are inscribed poems, in a different hand.



Folio 109v

Scribes A, B (+ B₁) and C can be associated with the names on the first folio of the book. The first of them is no doubt Hans Kernstock, who stated on f. 1r: *Hans kernsthok manu propria scripsit. Emendet lector si quid erraverit scriptor.* Some of the letters (*h, e, c*) in this exceptionally carefully-written sentence are almost the same as in the tablature of pieces notated by A, while as a whole it shows great similarity to the titles accompanying these pieces.

The second is probably Schwartz-Czarny, who on the same page added: *Dis Buch gehiret [sic! instead of: gehoeret] dem Andris Schwartz von Krokau des a[nn]o 1555 Jar. An[drzeja] Czarny ty kziąsky są.* Despite the fact that the German text is written in a Gothic hand, the Polish text in Roman capital letters, and the tablature and sayings in ordinary cursive, so that they cannot be compared, his identity is – I think – indicated by repetition of the date 1555 on f. 1r and after the piece on f. 8r.

The bilingual nature of the inscription, in itself, provides general information. It confirms the opinion that there is not much sense in transplanting the sense of nationality in its 19th-century form to the Europe of the 16th century. Schwartz-Czarny clearly considered himself neither a German, nor a Pole, but rather a Cracovian.

Scribes A and B wrote – as I have shown – more or less at the same time; thus, Kernstock, the tablature's first scribe, also began his work in 1555 or a little earlier. He could not have written much earlier, for the watermarks closest in shape to those occurring in the tablature, cited in the works of Siniarska-Czaplicka and Laucevičius, are from documents dated 1551–1565; somewhat less similar watermarks are also cited from 1547¹⁷.

Scribe A introduced to the manuscript the only work in this source intended originally for the Spanish four-string guitar. *Pasamezo hispanicum* (f. 28v–29r) is notated on only four lines, tuned (starting with the lowest string): fourth + major third + fourth. In Spanish publications written at about the same time, A. Mudarra

¹⁷ Jadwiga SINIARSKA-CZAPLICKA *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku* [Watermarks of Paperworks Located within the Polish Republic from the Early 16th to the mid-18th century]. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1969, nos. 49–52 and 54. Edmundas LAUCEVIČIUS *Popierius lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.* Vilnius 1967, nos. 2144, 2158 and 2145.

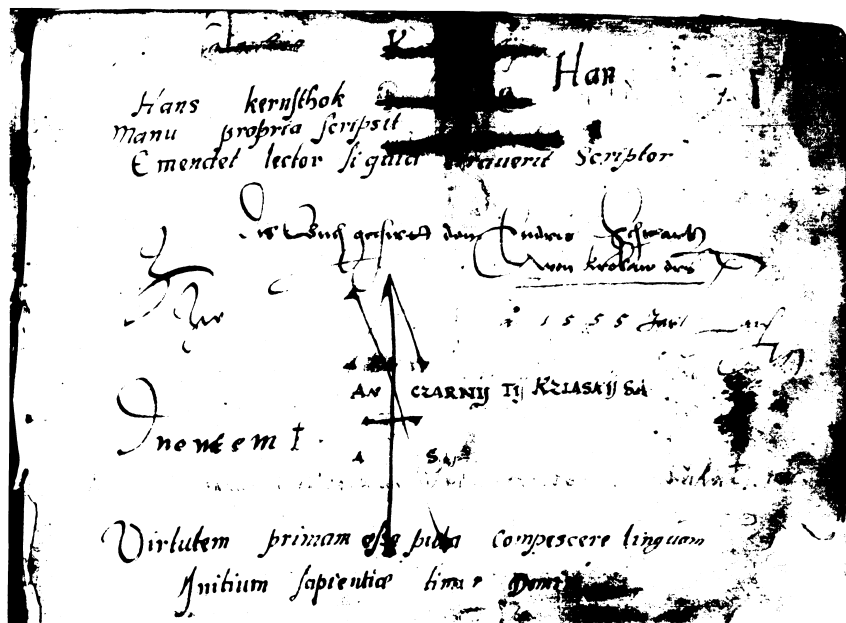
and J. Bermudo call this tuning '*temple nuevo*'¹⁸. Kernstock placed letters on the upper lines, which requires the third choir of the lute to be tuned up a minor second. He did not show any great resourcefulness here, because in omitting the outer lines, he would have achieved the proper effect without having to retune the instrument. The piece in the Kraków tablature is based on a variant of the *passamezzo antico* pattern which consists of beginning with a major triad. In Mudarra's tablature, the *Pavana de Al[e]xandre* for vihuela¹⁹ is based on the same bass-harmonic pattern, also encountered in other sources, which additionally explains the presence of the expression 'hispanicum' in the Polish manuscript.

Among the pieces written by scribe(s) B (and B₁), one can find two whose performance absolutely requires the lute's lowest strings to be retuned. This is a practice known already from the earliest publications for lute. It was, however, rarely used in the 16th century, and for this reason, it is important to note a general conclusion resulting from the source analysis, namely that in Kraków it was used at about mid-century. The intabulation of Janequin's *chanson* 'La guerre' (ff. 37r–39r) calls for only one string to be tuned down – the lowest, by a major second; while in order to perform the *Paduana* notated on ff. 34r–35v, it is necessary to tune the two lowest strings down by this interval. The latter piece is an interesting example of the continuation of a fifty-year tradition, for it turns out that this is a distant variant of the third *Pavana alla ferrarese* from J.-A. Dalza's tablature²⁰; and though in the Kraków manuscript not only the ornaments but many other details are different, the tuning of the lute – *à cordes avalées* – remained the same. It is worth noting, by the way, that the tuning was problematic for both lutenists, as indicated by the mistakes occurring in the bass line in both sources.

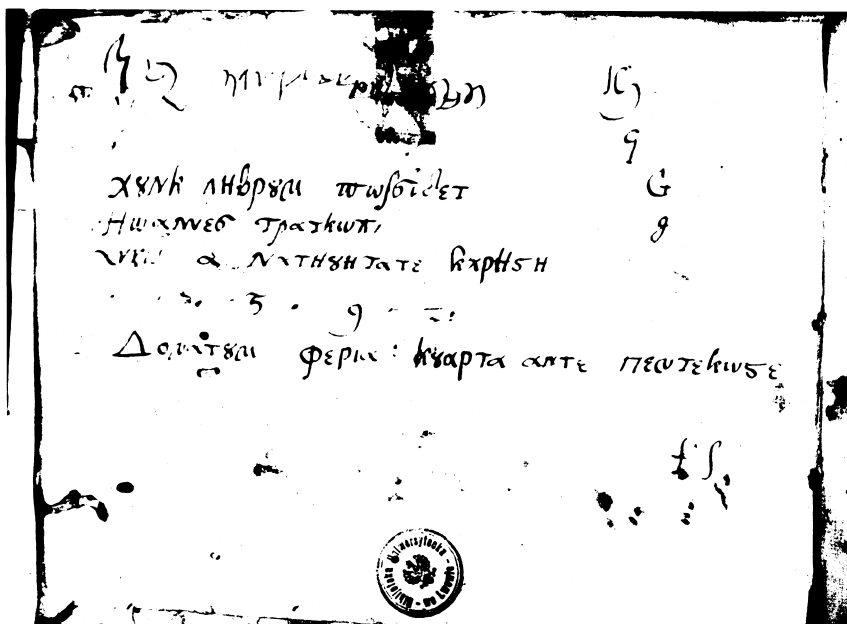
¹⁸ Alonso MUDARRA *Tres libros de musica en cifras*[...]. Seville 1546, *Libro primero*, fol. XXIv–XXIVr (a small portion of the tablature, intended in principle for vihuela, is devoted to guitar works); cf. facsimile edition, J. Tyler, Monaco 1980, pp. 66–71. Juan BERMUDO *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales*[...]. Osuna 1555, *Libro quarto*, fol. XLV; cf. facsimile edition, M. S. Kastner, *Documenta Musicologica* vol. XI, Kassel 1957.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Libro primero*, fol. XIXv–XXr; facsimile pp. 62–63.

²⁰ Joanambrosio DALZA *Intabulatura de lauto*. Venice 1508, ff. 27v–29v; facs. ed. Geneva 1980.



Folio 1r



Folio 1v

Another name in the Kraków tablature appears on f. 1v, in an inscription which I cite in re-transcription from the Greek to the Roman alphabet: *Hunc librum possidet Ioannes Tratkop, anno a Nativitate Kchristi 1592. Donatum feria quarta ante Pentecoste[n].* Because this inscription also cannot be compared with the tablature on account of the difference in alphabet, it is necessary to look at the repertoire. Scribe C notated, among other things, three fantasies as anonymous pieces, which – as I determined shortly after the publication of an edition of J. Dowland's works²¹ – are the work of the English lutenist²². These pieces were printed only later, in 1603 and 1615, but they were no doubt already circulating around Europe in manuscript form by the end of the 16th century. Their propagation could have been associated with a tour of Germany and Italy which the virtuoso made from 1594–95, but it could also have happened earlier. At any rate, this date fits well with the year 1592 cited in the inscription. Thus, scribe C is no doubt Joannes Tratkop. It is worth saying that it was only he who notated two pieces in Italian tablature, including the only piece in the source written for 7-choir lute, which also indicates that this entry is later. Tratkop, like his predecessors, did not finish the last of the pieces which he notated (on f. 64v – the next folios are present, but blank).

Also appearing three times at the beginning of the book (f. 1r and inside front cover), each time crossed out, is the name *Katarzyna* (Catherine). In two cases it is accompanied by the following names (also crossed out, thus partially illegible): *Ksyrsky* (?) and *P[.....]ka*; the second is followed perhaps by the word *uxor* (?), and then by yet another. *Katarzyna* was no doubt the muse of one of the tablature's users. It is not completely out of the question, however, that it was she who notated the only piece on f. 53v (scribe D) or several, particularly abounding in errors, on ff. 55v–58v and 102v–107r (scribe E).

The presence of continuous early foliation running through the entire lined portion of the book, the possibility of identifying the persons who wrote the tablature with the persons who signed their names on f. 1, and above all, the presence of a drawing of a hand on the inside front cover, similar to those drawn by scribe A, lead to

²¹ John DOWLAND *The Collected Lute Music*. Ed. Diana Poulton & Basil Lam. London 1974.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 1–15 and 289–291.

the conclusion that all the users were using a ready-made, pre-bound volume. Thus, Strzeszkowski, whose name was embossed on the cover, was its first owner.²³ It is not known, however, if he got rid of it before making the first entries, or whether it was he who commissioned Kernstock to fill in the book. For it is characteristic that Kernstock does not call himself the owner of the tablature, but only its scribe. Just as in the case of Katarzyna, it is not out of the question that Strzeszkowski is scribe D or E. It would be strange, but not impossible, that in making entries as the first scribe or one of the first two, he used only pages further on in the book.

Nothing is known from other sources about the people mentioned as being associated with the tablature.²⁴ The middle-class Kernstock family is known from the 16th century to historians of Kraków, as is the Schwartz-Czarny family (e. g. one of its members was a medical doctor in the 16th century) as well as its *gmerk*, i.e. the middle-class equivalent of the noble coat of arms, whose drawing is also featured²⁵ next to the name on the first folio of the manuscript. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the families' connections with other cities, Polish or German, which could provide some indication as to the origin of the tablature's repertoire. I did manage to find the name Tratkop in Kraków, but from the very beginning of the 16th century – namely, a *magister* Tratkop (title signifies possession of a master's degree) of unknown first name lectured at the Akademia Kazimierzowska (now known as the Jagiellonian University) in 1501.²⁶ This could indicate that by 1592, the family had already been settled in Kraków for several generations. We know of noble lines of the Strzeszkowski family, settled in Wielkopolska and in Małopolska. A representative of one of them accompanied the young prince Jerzy Słucki as a 'senior servant' on

²³ This would be confirmed by the date of 1553, as long as it was embossed on the cover (cf. footnotes 9 and 1).

²⁴ For help in research, as well as for comments concerning distinguishing of hands, I extend my gratitude to Prof. Bożena Wyrzumska, and I thank Dr. Zdzisław Noga for information about Kraków families.

²⁵ W. BOETTICHER (op. cit., p. 201) read this drawing as a sign of the cross and mistakenly associated it with the Kernstock name.

²⁶ See Władysław WISŁOCKI *Liber diligentiarum facultatis artisticae Universitatis Cracoviensis*. Kraków 1886, p. 542.

a trip to Milan in 1580²⁷; a 'do[minus] Strzeskowski' is mentioned in the royal accounting books of the court of Stefan Batory from the 1580s²⁸, but there is no way to connect these figures with Mikołaj, the owner of the tablature in the 1550s.

Repertoire

The article by M. Szczepańska mentioned in the introduction contains a list of pieces from the tablature. However, since the author, in writing it, did not have access either to the original or to the literature which we have available today, it is understandable that the list she prepared contains many errors. For this reason, we are publishing a new table of contents for the manuscript at the end of this article, adding to it the incipits of pieces given in a tablature version and in transcription. Below, on the other hand, we present a few general observations concerning this repertoire.

The list encompasses 54 numbered items; in five cases, an item includes pairs of dances; in one, a cycle comprised of three dances; and three short technical exercises appear, counted as one number. Beyond this, three pieces are inscribed in the source twice, with certain variations, and we also link these pairs with common numbers. Among the pieces are 6 fantasies, 2 preludes, 26 dances (some – as mentioned – linked together), 5 pieces entitled only with the Polish incipits of the texts, 18 intabulations and, finally, 3 pieces difficult to describe. The dances are in general *passamezzi*, *saltarelli*, *pavanes* and *galliardes*, while the pieces provided only with Polish incipits can be either arrangements of monophonic songs, or intabulations of polyphonic songs.

A decided majority of the pieces is entered as anonymous works. In the source, only Bakfark and Giovanni Pacoloni (sp. Pacalono in manuscript) are mentioned; and beyond this, we have succeeded in identifying 3 fantasies by Dowland. It is not odd to find the name of Bakfark, who lived in Poland from 1549 onwards, in the Kraków manuscript; on the contrary, it is rather strange that it

²⁷ Cf. Alojzy SAJKOWSKI *Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI-XVII* [Italian adventures of the Poles: 16th–18th centuries]. Warsaw 1973, pp. 31–37.

²⁸ Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archive of Historic Files], Ms. RK I. 334, f. 33v.

appears here only once. Bakfark is not, furthermore, the author of the galliard *Non dite mai*, known from earlier sources; but he could be the author of this particular version of the piece. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the name of Giovanni Pacoloni appears twice, for it is rarely encountered in sources. In publications from the 16th century, H. M. Brown encountered it only once²⁹, while in his bibliography of manuscript sources³⁰ W. Boetticher only mentions it as being in the Kraków tablature. It only appears once in the volumes published up until now of a newer bibliography encompassing present-day manuscript tablature holdings for lute and theorbo in France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Poland and other countries.³¹ The only surviving published work by this lutenist is a collection for three lutes (Superius, Tenor and Bassus): *Longe elegantissima excellentissimi musici Joannis Pacoloni, chelistae Patavini, tribus testitudinibus ludenda carmina*, Leuven 1564.³² Pacoloni's pieces in the Kraków tablature do not come from this collection³³, and the only excerpts copied from it (the Tenor part, without the composer's name) are known from the remains of a manuscript tablature held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Mus. Ms. 9516.³⁴ F. Bussi informs us³⁵ that Pacoloni came from Piacenza and was active at the court of the Farnese family in Parma. However, the composer described himself on the title page of his publication as a lutenist from Padua, and it was at

²⁹ Howard M. BROWN *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*. Cambridge Mass. 1967, item 15647.

³⁰ W. BOETTICHER *op. cit.*

³¹ *Sources manuscrites en tablature...*, *op. cit.*, vv. I–III/2. Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller 1991, 1994, 1997, 1999. The inscription “Zua Pacalono” appears after the intabulation *O passi sparsi* (cf. vol. II, p. 210).

³² A facsimile was published by Henri Vanhulst (Geneva 1981), who supposes that the original could be a reprint of an Italian edition.

³³ François-Joseph FÉTIS (*Biographie universelle...*, vol. VI. Paris 1875, p. 401) mentions two editions of Pacolini's (sic!) collection for three lutes: Milan 1587 and Anvers 1591; neither of them has survived, so that it is unknown whether they contained other pieces than the 1564 edition.

³⁴ Cf. Elisabeth OTTMANN 'Neue Konkordanze zu einer anonymen Lautentablatur des 16. Jahrhunderts'. *Musik in Bayern XXIX*, 1984, pp. 61–68.

³⁵ Francesco BUSSI 'Piacenza', in: *Enciclopedia de la musica*. Ed. Claudio Sartori, vol. III. Milan 1964, p. 430.

the University of Padua that many Poles studied in the mid-16th century. Thus, no doubt, one of them brought pieces by Pacoloni to Kraków – inscribed by someone in his inner circle, or perhaps even by the lutenist himself – and in this way, the pieces ended up in the tablature under discussion.

A search for the vocal models of the intabulations preserved in the Kraków source has permitted us to identify almost all of these models; the greatest difficulty here was presented by distortions of the incipits in the manuscript. Among these models are 7 *chansons* (two by C. Janequin, one each by Th. Crecquillon, P. Sandrin, C. de Sermisy, O. di Lasso and an anonymous composer, perhaps de Sermisy), 4 madrigals, a *villotta* and a *villanella* (two pieces by J. Arcadelt, one apiece by J. Berchem, Francesco Patavino, Ph. Verdelot and probably O. di Lasso), and only 1 German song (by the little-known Georg Brack). These proportions are rather shocking. What is strange, first of all, is the negligible presence of German pieces in the Kraków source; and secondly, the balance, even predominance of *chansons* over madrigals and other Italian song forms. All the more so that the scribes obviously were least familiar with the French language, for they had the greatest difficulty in inscribing French titles (e. g. ‘Le coeur est bon’ was distorted to ‘Leuer est Bon’, while the popular ‘Doulce memoire’ was ‘Italianized’ to ‘Dulce mia amore’); and beyond this, it is known from elsewhere that Kraków enjoyed a boom in its contacts with Italy in the 16th century.

Another interesting phenomenon is that some intabulations were provided with a dual title: Italian and Polish (pieces by Berchem, Verdelot), or Italian and Latin. In the latter case, the incipit of a religious text, *Ad te, Salvator noster*, was added to the text of Arcadelt’s madrigal *Quando io pensal martire*. This seems to indicate a practice of contrafacture – performance of foreign pieces with a new (sometimes Polish) text.

The first publications of the vocal models appeared between 1526 and 1555, and in the case of the intabulation notated by scribe C, in 1560 as well. Forasmuch as the year of composition of the oldest model (an intabulation notated by scribe E) indicates conservative tastes, the year 1555 given in the vicinity of the intabulation of *Vorria che tu cantassi*, and coinciding with the year of the model’s first publication, shows that Kraków musicians were familiar with the latest Italian novelties and eager to include them in their repertoire.

Many of the vocal models mentioned were given various intabulations in Europe. And here we come to another interesting characteristic of the source: while we very frequently encounter copies of printed versions in manuscripts, comparison of the intabulations contained in the source under discussion with all versions printed in the 16th century³⁶ allows us to determine that only one intabulation in the Kraków tablature was copied from a printed version (published ten years earlier).³⁷ This does not have to mean that all of the other Kraków intabulations were the work of local lutenists; it does, however, bespeak the existence of a distinctive tradition. The same is indicated by the fact that one of the Latin intabulation titles, *Non mortui laudabunt te, Domine*, is not in any printed tablature, nor is any motet with such an incipit mentioned in Lincoln's catalog³⁸; however, an organ version of the same piece is recorded in the Tablature of Jan of Lublin. Similarly, intabulations of Francesco Patavino's *villotta* are known only from the tablature under discussion and from that of Jan of Lublin.³⁹

Two pieces with unidentified vocal models indicate, in turn, a direct musical relationship between Kraków and so-called Royal Prussia, for they are known only from our source and from a tablature from Schlobitten (present-day Słobity, near Elbląg)⁴⁰, written at the same time, namely between 1550 and 1552. The Prussian source disappeared during the last war; however, its titles and musical incipits were preserved in the work of H.-P. Kosack⁴¹. Thus, it is possible to determine that the piece *Smutne serce żałością* ('The sad heart with sorrow') is identical in both tablatures, as is

³⁶ H. M. BROWN's bibliography (op. cit.) mentions over 110 items containing intabulations of the models which interest us. Upon investigation, it turned out that there are over 60 different intabulations among them.

³⁷ Intabulation of the anonymous *Le coeur est bon* in *Des chansons reduictz en tablature de lut [...] Livre premier*. Louvain 1545, P. Phalèse, f. 17r. It is interesting that in the two editions of this anthology from 1547, details of the intabulation were changed; and in the next, from 1549, it was completely omitted.

³⁸ Harry B. LINCOLN *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500–1600*. *Musicological Studies* vol. LIX. Ottawa 1993.

³⁹ Cf. P. POŹNIAK 'Koniec legendy...' op. cit.

⁴⁰ Lute album of Count Achatius zu Dohna.

⁴¹ Hans-Peter KOSACK *Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen*. Kassel 1935, pp. 97–99.

a second piece, entitled in Kraków *La bella. Prawdęś istą nasz Panie napisać raczył*, and in the Prussian source *La bella del noble roi de Français*. Another source confirming the relationship between Kraków and the northern regions of present-day Poland is the collection of Benedictus de Drusina, who was active in Pomerania, published in Frankfurt a. d. Oder in 1556.⁴² It contains the only concordance discovered to the *Fantasia* on f. 44rv of the manuscript; among 18 intabulations in the manuscript and 19 in print, there are as many as 5 common models (in which the Italian incipit is always distorted the same way: 'Quanto o madonna' instead of 'Quant'è madonna mia'). In both sources, arrangements of *Non dite mai* as well as *La roch'al fusa* have survived.

The search for concordances to those versions of the dances which are in the Kraków tablature has not been conducted on such a broad scale as the search for concordances to the intabulations. In any case, it can be stated that none was found in the complete set of incipits to dances from Italian publications included in an unpublished dissertation by L. H. Moe⁴³, nor in the many French and German tablatures which have been studied unsystematically. Obviously, the harmonic-bass patterns of some of the Polish versions are repeated in numerous sources; however, each time their musical realization is different. All in all, the repertoire of the Kraków lute tablature shows numerous community connections with the music of various countries in Europe; but at the same time, it indicates the existence of a strong and independent local tradition in the city.

⁴² BENEDICTUS DE DRUSINA *Tabulatura continens [...] fantasias; cantiones...*

⁴³ Lawrence H. MOE *Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611*. Harvard University 1956.

Catalog

Column 1:

Titles are spelled according to original (numers are added). NB. Missing letters are given in [], while abbreviations (e.g. Dñi) are resolved: D^{omi}ni. Editorial notes describe situation in source. Subscript numbers (e.g. c₃) indicate strings, always counting from the uppermost string down. 'Verticals' = chords or single notes appearing successively in the course of the music.


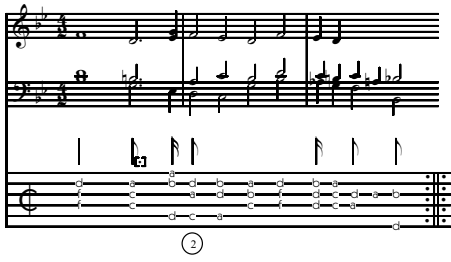
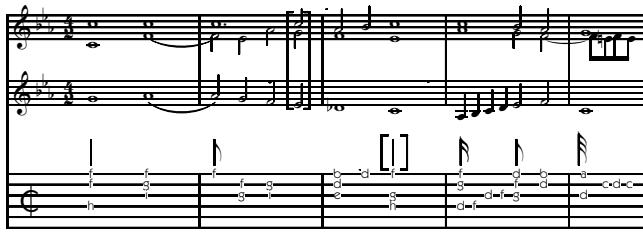
Column 2:

- r** – real number
- p** – foliation in pencil (20th century)
- o** – original foliation, in ink
- s** – original numeration of signatures

Column 5:

Abbreviations:

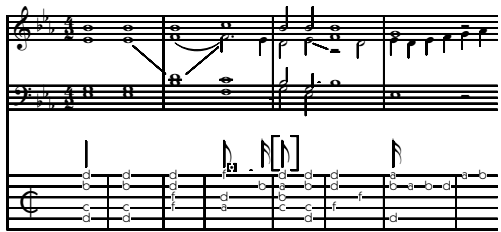
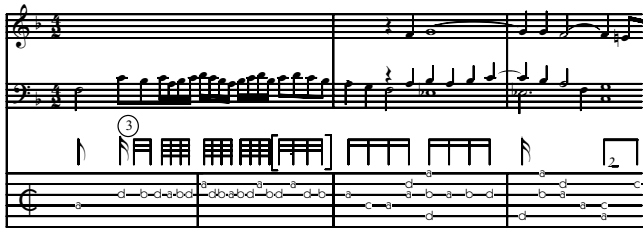

- Bakfark** – *Valentini Bakfark opera omnia*, ed. I. Homolya, D. Benkő, Budapest, v. 1: *Das Lautenbuch von Lyon (1553)*, 1976, v. 3: *Einzelne Werke*, 1981
- Brown** – H.M. Brown: *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1967
- Dowland** – *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland*, ed. D. Poulton, B. Lam, Kassel 1974
- Kosack** – H.-P. Kosack: *Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen*, Kassel 1935
- MAP** – *Musica Antiqua Polonica – The Renaissance*, ed. P. Poźniak, v. 5: *Lute Music*, v. 7: *Dances*, Kraków 1994
- MDK** – *Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie*, ed. Z.M. Szweykowski, Kraków 1964
- Moe** – L.H. Moe: *Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611*, dissertation, Harvard University 1956
- MSt** – *Muzyka staropolska*, ed. H. Feicht, Kraków 1966
- Poźniak** – P. Poźniak: "Koniec legendy o polskim madrygale", *Muzyka* 1996 No. 3
- RISM** – *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales – Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e siècles*, ed. F. Lesure, München-Duisburg 1960
- TJL** – *Tabulatura Jana z Lublina*, Kraków, PAU & PAN Library, ms. 1716, facsimile, ed. K. Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia*, series B, v. I, Kraków 1964

1	2		
Title and incipit	Folio		
	r/p	o	s
<p>– – –</p>	<p>1rv 2r 2v–7v</p>	<p>– – –</p>	<p>– – –</p>
<p>1. Saltarello</p> 	<p>8r</p>	<p>–</p>	<p>ar</p>
<p>2. Vorria che tu cantessi una canzone 2'. Without title</p> 	<p>8v 108v</p>	<p>– 100v</p>	<p>av Ccv</p>
<p>3. Quanto o madona</p> 	<p>9rv</p>	<p>1rv</p>	<p>a[2]rv</p>

¹ Deletions and corrections in these verticals


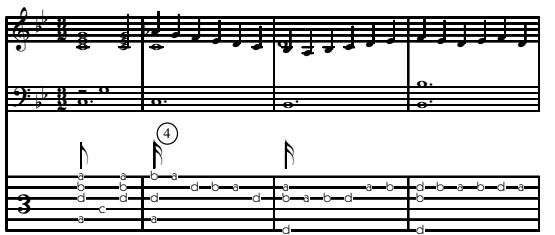
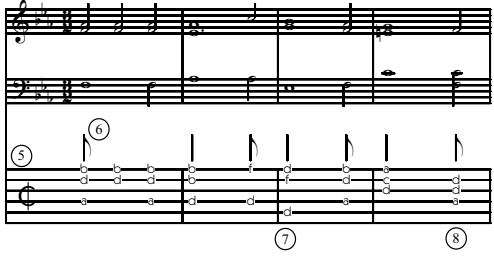
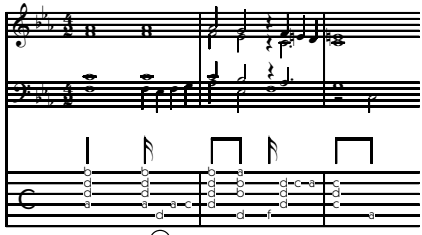
² No. 2': c₃ (b) instead of a₃ (a)




3	4	5
Scribe	Vocal model or instrumental work Earliest source of model or work	Comments
A-F? X -		Inscriptions (containing names). Register of dances and other inscriptions. Vacant (paper without the tablature staves).
B		
B F?B ₁ ?	O. di Lasso? <i>Voria che tu cantas' una canzona</i> <i>Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri [...] Libro secondo, Roma 1555 (three-voices version)</i>	Four-voices version: RISM ¹⁸ . 2' – Inscription incomplete and crossed out.
A	J. Arcadelt <i>Quant'e madonna mia</i> <i>Il primo libro di madrigali d'Arcadelt...</i> , Venezia 1539	Other intabulations, according to Brown, only in two publications from Frankfurt a.d. Oder: 1556 ₂ (B. de Drusina) and 1573 ₃ (M. Waissel).

1	2		
<p>4. Dona lessiadra. W dobrim się czas s swą mylą poznał</p> 	9v-10v	1v-2v	a[2]v-3v
<p>5. La bella. Prawdesz ystha nasz panie napisacz raczil</p> 	10v-11v	2v-3v	a3v-4v
<p>6. O s io potesi. O okruthna a nyesbedna milosci davno narzekaia</p> 	11v-13r	3v-5r	a4v-b2r




³ Sic! Seven rhythm values for six letters. Transcription made with regard to the original bar line and to the Kosack's version

3	4	5
A	Ph. Verdelot <i>Donna leggiadra e bella</i> <i>Il primo libro de madrigali di Verdelotto...</i> , Venezia 1533	Version for solo voice with the lute (A. Willaert): Brown 1536 _g .
A		Concordance in lost album of Achatius zu Dohna (Kosack, p. 98): <i>Labella Del noble roy de Francoys</i> .
A	G. Berchem <i>O s'io potessi, donna</i> <i>Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt...</i> , Venezia 1539	Ed. in MAP 5, no. 122.

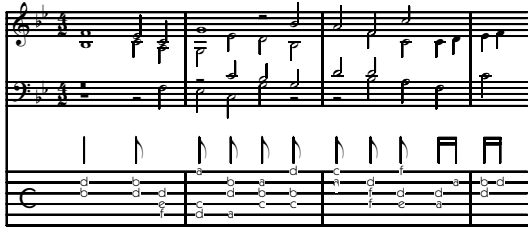
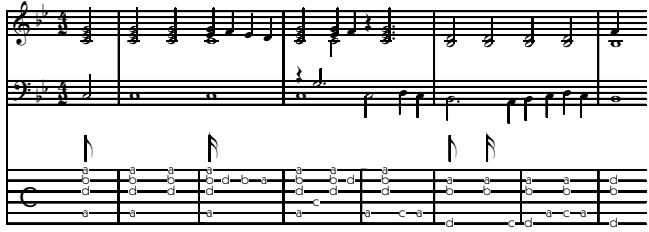


1	2		
<p>7a. Pasomeso</p> 	13r-14r	5r-6r	b2r-b3r
<p>7b. Tripla</p> 	14v-15v	6v-7v	b3v-4v
<p>8. Non dito mai che io habui torto. Valentius Bekwark 8'. Without title</p> 	15v-16r 39v-40r	7v-8r 31v-32r	b4v-c1r H4v-I1r
<p>9. Dulce mia amore</p> 	16v-17v	8v-9v	c1v-C2v

⁴  instead of  ⁵ No. 8': no time signature (No. 8 sic!) ⁶ No. 8': 
⁷ No. 8: no bar line ⁸ No. 8': no d₃ (c') ⁹ d₄ a₃ c₃ (a-flat a b)


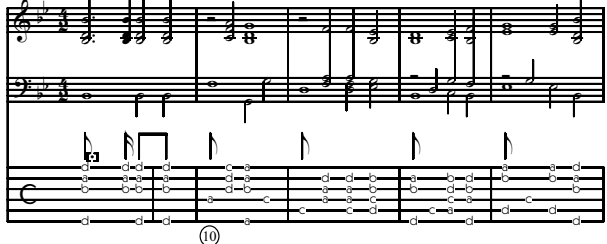
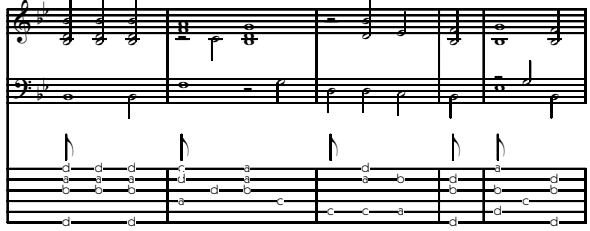
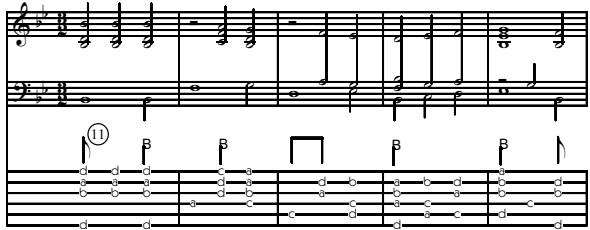
3	4	5
A		Variant of the <i>passamezzo antico</i> harmonic pattern; 3 + 4 sections.
A		
A B ₁	<p>P.P. Borrono <i>Saltarello secondo novissimo detto Non dite mai ch'io habbia torto</i></p> <p><i>Intabulatura del lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et [...] Borrono [...] Libro secondo, Venetia 1546</i></p>	<p>Ed. in Bakfark 3, no. 42; other versions, according to Brown and Moe, only in two publications from Frankfurt a.d. Oder: 1556₂ (B. de Drusina) and 1573₃ (M. Waissel, with the description <i>gagliarda</i>).</p>
A	<p>P. Sandrin <i>Doulce memoire</i></p> <p><i>Second livre contenant XXVII chansons...</i>, Paris 1538</p>	<p>Other lute intabulation: inter alia V. Bakfark (cf. Bakfark 3, no. 41); organ intabulation: inter alia TJL.</p>

1	2		
<p data-bbox="408 555 833 587">10. Non mortui laudabu^{nt} te d^{omi}ne</p> 	17v-18r	9v-10r	C2v-3r
<p data-bbox="408 1147 575 1179">11. Rochalfaza</p> 	18r-19r	10r-11r	C3r-4r
<p data-bbox="408 1507 677 1539">12. Ich rew unth klak</p> 	19r-20r	11r-12r	C4r-D1r

3	4	5
A		Organ intabulations in TJL: fol. 27v – <i>Carmen in F</i> , fol. 243v – <i>Non mortui...</i>
A	A. Rotta <i>La Rocha'l fuso</i> <i>Intabolatura di lauto di [...] Rotta [...]</i> <i>Libro primo, Venetia 1546</i>	
A	G. Brack <i>Ich rew und klag</i> <i>Ein Auszug guter alter und newer deutscher Liedlein...</i> , Nuernberg 1539	Other lute intabulations, according to Brown, only in two publications: 1556 ₂ (B. de Drusina) and 1574 ₅ (M. Newsidler); organ intabulation: TJL fol. 101v.

1	2		
<p>13. Lever est Bon</p> 	20v-21r	12v-13r	D1v-2r
<p>14a. Pasomeza</p> 	21r-22v	13r-14v	D2r-3v
<p>14b. Tripla</p> 	22v-23v	14v-15v	D3v-4v
<p>15. Fantasia</p> 	23v-24v	15v-16v	D4v-E1v

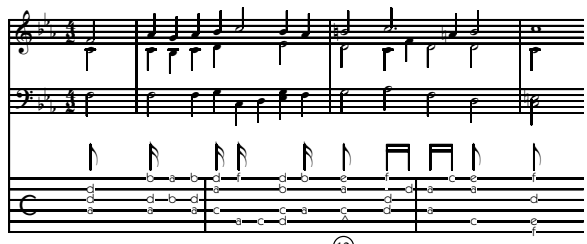
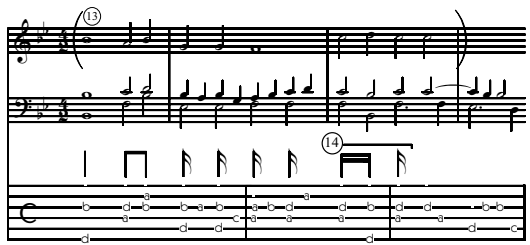


3	4	5
A	<p>model: <i>Le cueur est bon</i> (anonymous)</p> <p><i>Trente et sept chansons musicales...</i>, Paris [ca. 1528]</p> <p>intabulation: <i>Des chansons reduictz en tabulature de lut [...] Livre premier</i>, Louvain 1545</p>	<p>The only strict concordance to the printed version (occurring only once) in the Kraków manuscript.</p>
A		<p><i>Passamezzo antico</i> harmonic pattern; 2 + 2 sections.</p>
A		
A		

1	2		
16. Quando io pens al martire. Ad te salvator noster 	24v-26v	16v-18v	E1v-3v
17a. Pasomezo. Nygdym themu vyerzicz nye chcial 	26v-27v	18v-19v	E3v-4v
17a'. Passemezo. Nigdy bich ia wierzicz nie chcial 	106v	98v	Bb3v
17b. Without title 	107r	99r	Bb4r


¹⁰ a₄ (*f*) and a₅ (*c*)

¹¹ Realization of the rhythmic values inscribed in the source yields a bad result; these signs have been ignored in the transcription (while citing them precisely in the tablature incipit)





3	4	5
A	<p>J. Arcadelt <i>Quand'io pens'al martire</i></p> <p><i>Il primo libro de i madrigali d'Arcadelt...</i>, Venezia 1541</p>	
A		<p>Piece with regular structure AA'BB'CC'; none of the sections is based on <i>passamezzo</i> harmonic patterns, while the patterns for all three sections represent the basis for a piece in Brown 1556₂ (B. de Drusina) entitled <i>Tantz</i> (no. 3) + <i>Sprunck</i>. Ed. in MSt, p. 117 & MAP 7, no. 152</p>
E		<p>Piece notated with such a large number of errors that the reading of the meter is doubtful; nonetheless, it is a distorted repetition of number 17a in : A : : B : : C : form. Ed. in MSt, p. 118.</p>
E		<p>This is without doubt a transformation of number 17a into triple meter, in : A : : B : : C : form. Ed in MSt, p. 119 & MAP 7, no. 152.</p>

1	2		
<p>18. Praviem doznal przyjacielia swego</p> 	27v-28r	19v-20r	E4v-F1r
<p>19. Smuthne sercze zalosczią</p> 	28v	20v	F1v
<p>20. Pasamezo hispanicum^m</p> 	28v-29r	20v-21r	F1v-2r
<p>21. Le content</p> 	29r-30r	21r-22r	F2r-3r

¹² Beneath the letter c, a sign lowering it by one string, which we consider to be an error (perhaps it should be beneath c₅ after the bar line)

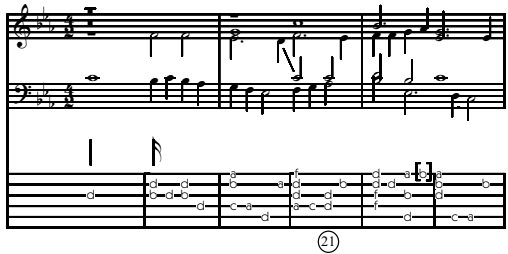
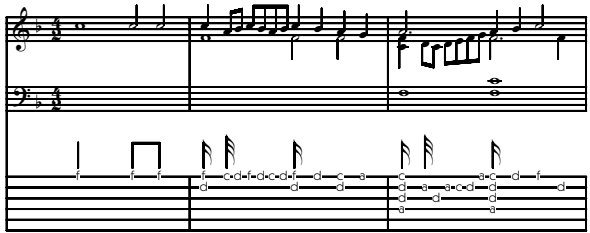


¹³ In parentheses, according to Kosack, we cite a third voice not present in the Kraków tablature ¹⁴ Sic! ¹⁵  over the first vertical instead of over the second

3	4	5
A		Ed. in MDK, p. 72 & MAP 5, no. 130.
A		Concordance in lost album of Achatius zu Dohna (Kosack, p. 99): <i>Smutt se Szerce</i> .
A		Piece originally intended for Spanish guitar; variant of the <i>passamezzo antico</i> harmonic pattern, consisting of beginning with a major triad; one section.
A	C. de Sermisy <i>Le content est riche Trente et sept chansons musicales...</i> , Paris [ca. 1528]	Other lute intabulation: inter alia Brown 1556 ₂ (B. de Drusina); organ intabulation: inter alia TJL.

1	2		
<p>22a. (fol. 31r:) Passo e mezzo; (fol. 32v:) Passo e' mezo d' l' baroncina</p> 	<p>30v-31r contd: 31v-32v</p>	<p>22v-23r contd: 23v-24v</p>	<p>F3v-4r contd: F4v-G1v</p>
<p>22b. Sartarello [sic!] pyrwise¹⁶ Pass' e mezza</p> 	<p>32v-34r</p>	<p>24v-26r</p>	<p>G1v-3r</p>
<p>23. Tarzeto</p> 	<p>31rv</p>	<p>23rv</p>	<p>F4rv</p>
<p>24. Paduana</p> 	<p>34r-35v</p>	<p>26r-27v</p>	<p>G3r-4v</p>

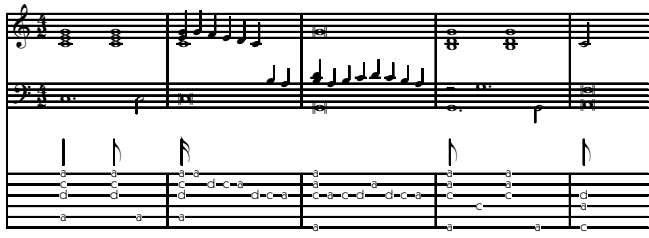
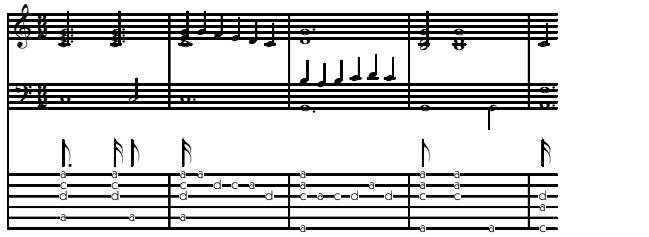


¹⁶ d₄ (a-flat) instead of c₄ (g) or instead of d₅ (e-flat) ¹⁷ Time signature sic!
¹⁸ Additionally, a₅ (B-flat)—without retuning the string, it would be a c)
¹⁹ d₄ (a-flat) in ms. corrected to c₄ ²⁰ d₄ (a-flat) in ms. not corrected to c₄

3	4	5
B&A B	P.P. Borrono <i>Pavana detta la Borroncina</i> <i>Intabulatura del lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et [...] Borrono [...] Libro secondo, Venetia 1546</i>	Borronos <i>pavane</i> (also in the Kraków manuscript, in which there are minor differences relative to the original) is in double variation form: AA'BB'CC' and repetition of the entire A''A'''B''B'''C''C''' pattern; none of the sections is based on <i>passamezzo</i> harmonic patterns; in the Kraków source, piece no. 23 is inscribed before the repetition. Variant in Pacolonis collection (see p. 51), book Tenor, fol. 21v, entitled <i>Passem[e]zo della Duchessa</i> .
B	P.P. Borrono <i>Saltarello primo</i> (after <i>la Borroncina</i>) <i>Intabulatura...</i> (as above)	Piece (also in the Kraków manuscript, in which there are minor differences relative to the original) is based on the same harmonic pattern and maintained in the same form as the pavan <i>La Borroncina</i> ; in P. Phalèse's edition from the same year (Brown 1546 ₂₀), it is called a galliard.
B&A		
B		Distant variant of the third <i>Pavana alla ferrarese</i> from J.-A. Dalza's <i>Intabulatura de lauto[...]</i> . Venice 1508, implementing the same <i>scordatura</i> : <i>F B-flat f a d g'</i> .

1	2		
<p>25. Or niens</p> 	35v-36v	27v-28v	G4v-H1v
<p>26. Bellum franciae</p> 	37r-39r	29r-31r	H2r-4r
<p>27. Nie mogę ia ktei radzie prziszc</p> 	39v	31v	H4v
<p>- see No. 8'</p>	39v-40r	31v-32r	H4v-I1r
<p>28. Fantasia bellissima Gioane Pacalono</p> 	40v-42r	32v-34r	I1v-3r





²¹ d₃ d₂ (c' f) instead of d₄ d₃

3	4	5
B ₁	<p>C. Janequin <i>Or vien ça, vien, m'amy Perrette</i></p> <p><i>Chansons musicales a 4 parties...</i>, Paris 1533</p>	<p>Other intabulation: V. Bakfark (cf. Bakfark 1, no. 10).</p>
B ₁	<p>C. Janequin <i>La guerre</i> (prima pars)</p> <p><i>Chansons de maistre C. Janequin...</i>, Paris [ca. 1528]</p>	<p>Tuning: <i>F c f a d g</i>.</p>
B ₁		<p>Ed. in MDK p. 72 & MAP 5, no. 130.</p>
B ₁		
B ₁ ? A?		

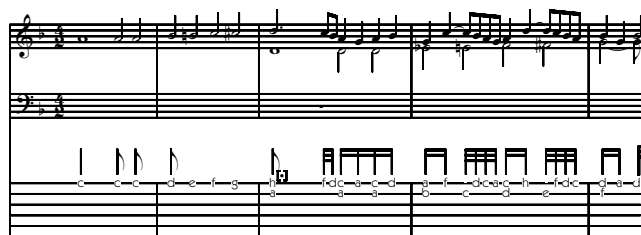
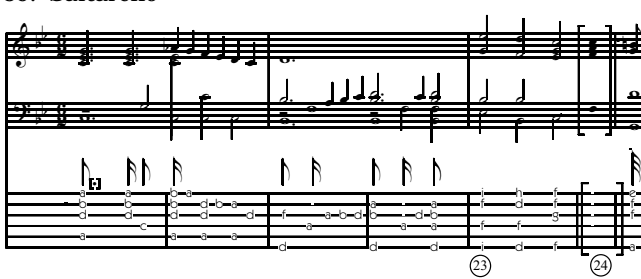


1	2		
<p>29a. Passo e mezzo</p> 	42v	34v	I3v
<p>29b. Saltarello</p> 	42v-43r	34v-35r	I3v-4r
<p>30. Dzywuyę sie miła thobie</p> 	43v	35v	I4v
<p>31. Fantasia</p> 	44rv	36rv	K1rv

²² ♯ instead of ♮

3	4	5
B ₁		Two dances based on the same distinctive harmonic pattern; 1 + 2 sections. Ed. in MSt, p. 120.
B ₁		
B ₁		Ed. in MDK, p. 71 & MAP 5, no. 129.
B ₁ ? A?		Concordance only in two publications from Frankfurt a.d. Oder: Brown 1556 ₂ (B. de Drusina) and 1592 ₁₂ (M. Waissel).

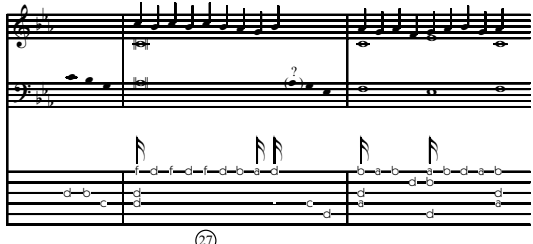
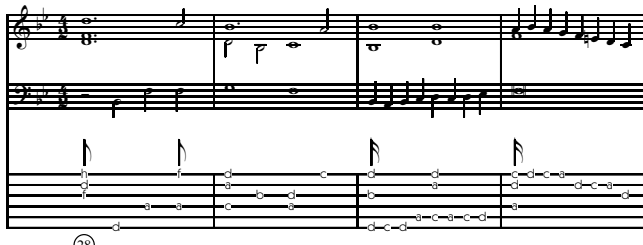

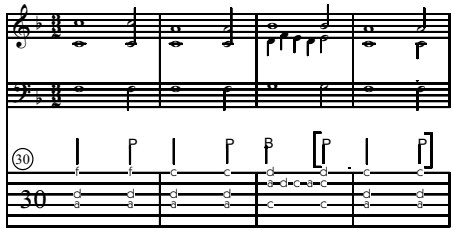
1	2		
<p>32a. Pass' e meze de la verлата G. Pacalono</p> 	45rv	37rv	K2rv
<p>32b. La Pado[va]na Verлата</p> 	46rv	38rv	K3rv
<p>32c. Saltarello</p> 	46v-47r	38v-39r	K3v-4r
<p>33. Fantasia</p> 	47v-49r	39v-41r	K4v-L2r

3	4	5
A?		Three dances based on the same distinctive harmonic pattern, all of identical form: AA'BB'A''A'''CC'.
A?		
A?		Saltarello unfinished, second bar of section A''' notated on f. 47v and crossed out (despite being correct).
C	J. Dowland <i>A Fancy</i> manuscripts 16th/17th century	33. Ed. in Dowland, no. 6.

1	2		
<p>34. Fantasia</p> 	49v-51r	41v-43r	L2v-4r
<p>35. Saltarello</p> 	51v-53r	43v-45r	L4v-M2r
<p>36. Saltarello bello</p> 	53v	45v	M2v
-	54r-55r	46r-47r	M3r-4r
<p>37. Surexit dominus</p> 	55v	47v	M4v

²³ Additionally, f_3 (*d*) ²⁴ No bar; probable harmony given in transcription according to the next section ²⁵ Bar-line sic! ²⁶ a_1 inscribed before remaining letters

3	4	5
C	J. Dowland <i>Farewell</i> manuscripts 16th/17th century	Ed. in Dowland, no. 3.
B ₁		Piece based on a <i>passamezzo antico</i> pattern; three sections with coda.
D		The piece is based on a variant of 'La cara cosa' (or 'La gamba'), a harmonic pattern from the <i>folia</i> family; structure: AA'BB'.
-		vacant (paper with the tablature staves).
E		As Sheptovitsky observed, the piece is based on a <i>romanesca</i> pattern.

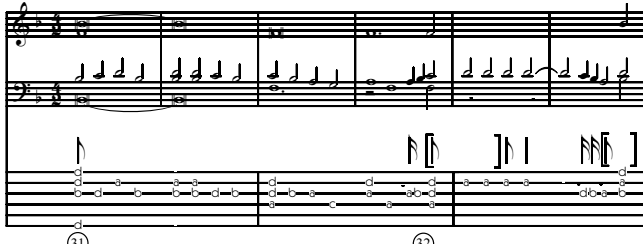

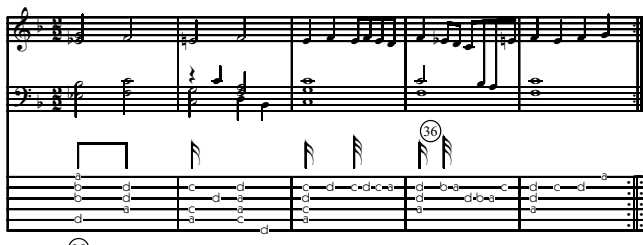
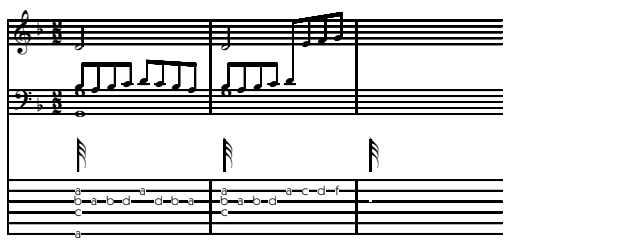
1	2		
<p>38. Without title</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">27</p>	55v-56r	47v-48r	M4v-N1r
<p>39. Praeambulum</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">28</p>	56r	48r	N1r
<p>40a. Tantum ergo sacramentum taniecz s te⁸⁰</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">29</p>	56v	48v	N1v
<p>40b. Without title</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">30</p>			

²⁷ b₁ (*a-flat*) in ms. corrected to f₁ ²⁸ b₁ (*a-flat*) instead of h₁

²⁹ Realization of the rhythmic values inscribed in the source yields a bad result; these signs have been ignored in the transcription (while citing them precisely in the tablature incipit)

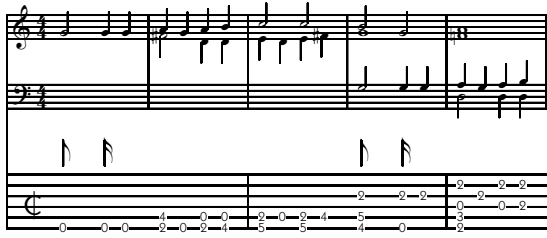
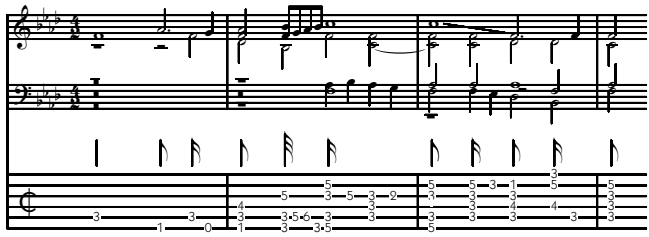
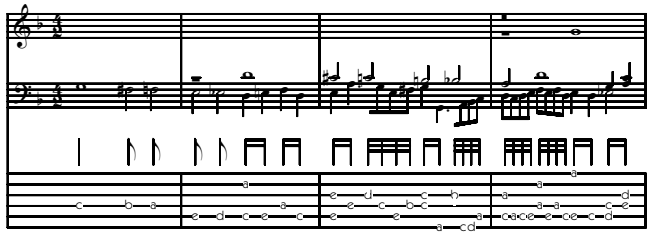
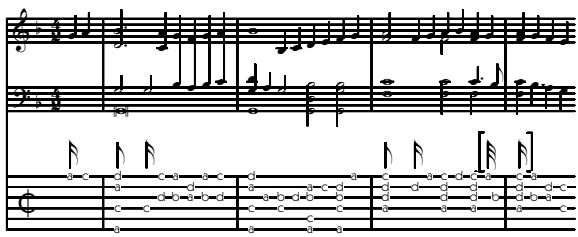
³⁰ After the number 3, the shape of a zero or capital "O", probably tempus perfectum sign

3	4	5
E		Fragment without beginning(?) and – despite graphic finish – without ending. Sheptovitsky considers this fragment to be a continuation of the previous work; despite the fact that they are clearly separated in the manuscript, this conception cannot be excluded.
E		Piece without ending.
E		Dance in duple time with <i>proportio</i> ; does not display any relationship with the melody mentioned in the title.

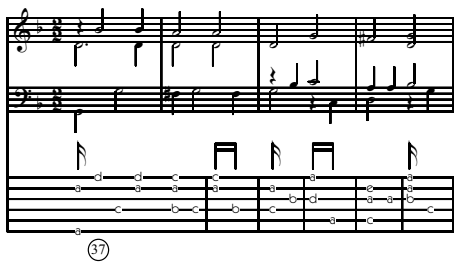



1	2		
<p>41. Venus</p> 	57rv	49rv	N2rv
<p>42a. Without title</p> 	57v-58r	49v-50r	N2v-3r
<p>42b. Without title</p> 	58rv	50rv	N3rv
<p>43. Taniecz</p> 	58v	50v	N3v

³¹ d₁ inscribed before remaining letters ³² Bar-line sic! ³³ ♯
³⁴ ♯ ; a₁ written down in the first vertical instead of as the second vertical
³⁵ d₆ (*B-flat*) instead of d₅ ³⁶ ♯ instead of ♯

3	4	5
E	<p>F[rancesco] P[atavino] (Francesco Santa Croce) <i>De là da l'acqua</i></p> <p><i>Canzoni, frottole et capitoli [...] Libro primo de la Croce, Roma 1526</i></p>	<p>Other (organ) intabulation only in TJJ. Ed. in MDK, p. 74 & Poźniak (vocal model and both intabulations).</p>
E		<p>Perhaps one, perhaps two dances of <i>pavane</i> character, recorded with many errors.</p>
E		
E		<p>43. Only two bars are notated; the subsequent portion of this system and the next are empty.</p>



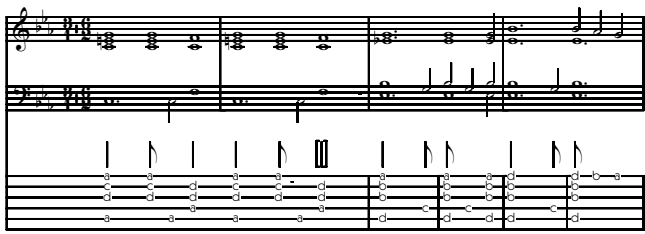
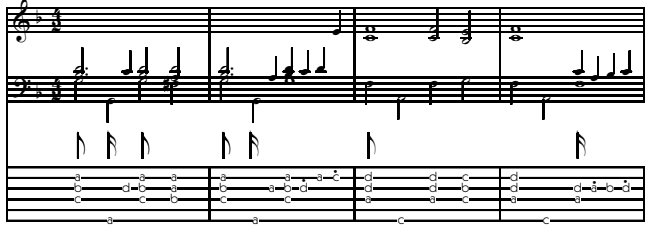
1	2		
<p>44. Un gai bergier</p> 	59r-60r	51r-52r	N4r-O1r
<p>45. Susana Un Jori</p> 	60v-62r	52v-54r	O1v-3r
<p>46. Fantasia</p> 	62v-64r	54v-56r	O3v-P1r
<p>47. Passamezo</p> 	64v	56v	P1v

3	4	5
C	<p>Th. Crecquillon <i>Ung gay bergier</i></p> <p><i>Premier livre des chansons a quatre parties...</i>, Anvers 1543</p>	
C	<p>Orlando di Lasso <i>Susanne un jour</i></p> <p><i>Livre de meslanges, contenant six vingtz chansons, des plus rares, et plus industrieuses qui se trouvent, soit des auteurs antiques, soit des plus memorables de nostre temps...</i>, Paris 1560</p>	
C	<p>J. Dowland <i>Forlorne Hope. Fancye</i></p> <p>manuscript, end of the 16th century</p>	Ed. in Dowland, no. 2.
C		<p><i>Passamezzo antico</i>, one section, last two bars missing.</p>

1	2		
-	65r-102r	57r-94r	P2r-Aa3r
<p>48. Without title</p> 	102v	94v	Aa3v
<p>49a. Without title</p> 	103r	95r	Aa4r
<p>49b. Without title</p> 			
<p>49c. Without title</p> 			

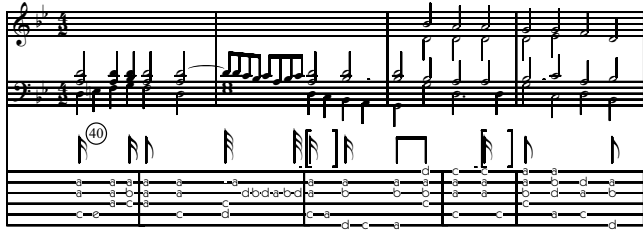
³⁷ c₁ (a) instead of d₁, maybe there is d₁ in the first vertical

3	4	5
		vacant (paper with the tablature staves).
E		
E		<p>We cite the three exercises in their entirety; after them, on the same page: the title <i>Galarda</i> and first chord, then the notation of an exercise on open strings.</p>

1	2		
–	103v–105r	95v–96r	Aa4v–Bb2r
50. Ferdinanth 	105v–6r	97v–98r	Bb2v–3r
– see No. 17.a' & 17.b	106v–107r	98v–99r	Bb3v–4r
51. Without title 	107r	99r	Bb4r
52. Without title 	107v	99v	Bb4v
53. Without title 	108rv	100rv	Cc1rv

³⁸ ♯ instead of ♮ ³⁹ a₅ (c) instead of a₄

3	4	5
–		vacant (paper with the tablature staves).
E		Dance with AA'BB'CDD' structure; melody in DD' links the piece in a certain measure with the <i>Königs Ferdinandus Tantz</i> in H. Newsidler's tablature (Brown 1549 ₆) and with [<i>Chorea</i>] <i>Ferdinandi</i> in T.JL.
E		
E		
F?		Untitled piece. At the bottom of the page, a three-line strophe of a poem inscribed in its entirety on f. 109v. Z. M. Szweykowski (ed. in MDK, p. 73) entitled the piece with the incipit of the poem: Tak mówią ludzie, despite the fact that the text cannot be correlated with the music (see also comment on no. 53).
B ₁		Untitled piece, based on a <i>passamezzo antico</i> harmonic pattern; one section with coda. Z. Stęszewska (ed.: MSt, p. 121) correlated the music (not very convincingly) with the verse inscribed on the preceding page and entitled <i>this</i> piece with the incipit: Tak movia ludzie żebi grzech milowacz (see comment on No. 52). It seems that the text was inscribed without any relationship to either of the two pieces.

1	2		
- see No. 2'	108v	100v	Cc1v
54. Without title 	108v	100v	Cc1v
-	109r	-	-
-	109v-114r	-	-
-	114v-118v	-	-
	r	p	
-	119r-120v	120r-121v	
-	121r-122r	123r-124r	
-	122v	124v	

⁴⁰ \flat instead of \natural

3	4	5
F?B ₁ ?		
F?		
		vacat (paper without the tablature staves).
		Poems.
		vacant (paper without the tablature staves).
		vacant (paper without the tablature staves).
		vacant (paper without the tablature staves).
		Latin sayings and pen scratchings.