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# THE MANUSCRIPTS OF JÓZEF ELSNER'S MUSICAL WORKS PRESERVED FROM THE PRE-WAR COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY. DESCRIPTION, HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE

The book collection of the Warsaw State Library 3rd Division (Abteilung III Staatsbibliothek Warschau), kept in the Krasieński Library building at Okólnik Street 9, was burned in October 1944. From 1941, this was where special collections were brought from the three libraries incorporated into the Warsaw State Library established by the General Governorate authorities: the National Library, the University Library and the Krasieński Library. Only a few items and collections from the pre-war special holdings of the National Library survived.

The music collections, which formed a part of the special holdings, were all but completely destroyed. What has survived are pieces of the book collection that – either accidentally or due to intentional protective measures and pillages – were separated from the rest of the library holdings. Only a few dozen music manuscripts remained from the pre-war resources, which in 1939 accounted for over five thousand items.<sup>1</sup> The preserved music documents include two collections that are of key

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1 In the case of music collections, losses have been estimated at 95%. M. Prokopowicz, "Zbiory muzyczne" [Music Collections], in *50 lat Biblioteki Narodowej, 1928–1978* [50 Years of the National Library, 1928–1978], Warszawa 1984, p. 178.

importance for the entire history of Polish 19th century music: legacy documents relating to Fryderyk Chopin, purchased from the Breitkopf & Härtel publishing house, and to Józef Elsner, obtained from two different collections.

Józef Elsner's legacy in the pre-war holdings of the National Library and its history have not been discussed in a separate study thus far. Manuscript works by Elsner from various sources were first singled out and put together in a collection in 1940 in order to be taken to the Reich. Although during World War II the collection was displaced on a number of occasions, it has survived almost in its entirety to be restored to its original location in 1951.

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE COLLECTION

The collection of Józef Elsner's manuscripts ("Elsneriana collection") discussed in this paper is not uniform as to its origin – it contains manuscript materials from the music department of the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections and from the opera department of the Music Library of Government Theatres. Both were incorporated into the National Library in the 1930s. No new shelf marks were assigned until 1939; therefore, the Elsner's manuscripts extracted in 1940 kept the following original shelf marks from their previous locations:

- Mr. [number] for manuscripts from the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections;
- Op. [number] for manuscripts from the Music Library of Government Theatres.

These two sub-collections have different characteristics that result, among other things, from the formal status of the institutions to which they belonged and from the way those institutions acquired their materials.

#### 1.1. ELSNERIANA FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR STATE ART COLLECTIONS

In 1935, eighteen manuscript works by Elsner were acquired by the National Library from the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections. The collection is not uniform. It can be divided into two groups according to their place of origin: manuscripts from the collection of Aleksander Poliński and post-Dominican items. The original provenance of the rest of the manuscripts remains unknown.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See Table 1. Scans of all the manuscripts discussed in this paper are available through the National Digital Library Polona (polona.pl).

The Library of Arts was first established in 1919 at the Ministry of Culture and Arts to gather specialised literature and source materials for studies in art history, music, theatre and literature. When the ministry was dissolved in 1922, the holdings were placed under the custody of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, and passed on to the Directorate for State Art Collections as a library.<sup>3</sup> This entity was mainly responsible for the maintenance, cataloguing, description and exhibiting of works of art reclaimed following the Treaty of Riga. A minor part of the holdings consisted of materials acquired through donations and purchases.<sup>4</sup>

In 1926, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education acquired the music collection of Aleksander Poliński (d. 1916) from his estate.<sup>5</sup> It was passed on to the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections and formed the very basis of its music department, later supplemented only by rare purchases. The shelf marks of this collection, starting with “Mr.”, which referred to music manuscripts, were most likely assigned in 1934 by Alicja Simon, head of the music department of the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections, as part of stocktaking.<sup>6</sup> In 1935, the music documents were transferred to the Music Department of the National Library.<sup>7</sup> At that point the collection included 654 manuscripts and 1,387 music prints, and it is likely that it had been handed over together with the documentation prepared by Simon. As soon as in 1935 it was already catalogued, inventoried and organised according to shelf marks, which made it the most structured part of the National Library music collections.<sup>8</sup>

Five manuscripts from the Elsner collection came from the pre-war holdings of Aleksander Poliński, one of the first researchers of Polish music

3 Z. Nykel, “Biblioteka Sztuk na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie i jej zbiory w latach 1919–1939” [The Library of Arts at the Royal Castle in Warsaw and its Holdings in 1919–1939], *Roczniki Biblioteczne* [Library Annals], vol. 24, 1980, fasc. 2, pp. 249–253.

4 W. Wojtyńska, “Działalność Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki” [The Activity of the State Art Collections], *Kronika Zamkowa* [Castle Chronicles] issue 1–2 (49–50), 2005, pp. 193–220, [http://mazowsze.hist.pl/16/Kronika\\_Zamkowa/374/2005/11848/](http://mazowsze.hist.pl/16/Kronika_Zamkowa/374/2005/11848/) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

5 J. Gołos, “Preface”, in *Warszawska tabulatura organowa (XVII w.)* [Warsaw Organ Tablature (17th Century)], ed. J. Gołos, Łódź 1990, p. VI.

6 In the catalogue prepared by Wanda Bogdany-Popielowa, each shelf mark in the Mr. [number] format is considered to be an internal shelf mark of the Poliński collection; however, certain items with such a shelf mark lack Poliński's ex libris inscriptions or stamps, nor are they mentioned in the extant registers of his holdings, which undermines their attribution to this collection; see W. Bogdany-Popielowa, *Rękopisy muzyczne 1. połowy XIX wieku ze zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej: katalog* [Music Manuscripts from the 1st Half of the 19th Century in the National Library Holdings: Catalogue], Warszawa 1997, pp. 67–85.

7 Z. Nykel, op. cit., p. 256.

8 J. Pulikowski, *Dział muzyczny* [Music Department], Warszawa 1935, p. 3 (typescript), National Library Archive.

history and the author of a pioneering monograph in this field.<sup>9</sup> Through many years of work as a researcher and collector, he created the largest private collection of music sources and mementoes in the Polish territory, with a few hundred manuscripts forming the basis for his own historical research.<sup>10</sup> Artefacts of musical culture that belonged to Poliński were displayed during the First Polish Music Exhibition in Warsaw in 1888.<sup>11</sup> The collection was not that significant back then – the exhibition catalogue lists none of the precious holdings that established its value years later. The Poliński collection was used i.a. by musicologists linked with the Jan Kazimierz University of Lviv such as Adolf Chybiński, Maria Szczepańska and Jan Józef Dunicz in their research and editorial work.<sup>12</sup> The complete catalogue of the Poliński collection is unknown, as only two partial manuscript inventories have survived to this day. One of the extant lists, prepared selectively by Chybiński, mentions no Elsner manuscripts at all.<sup>13</sup> The most complete picture of the Poliński collection available has been provided by a record of its music documents and books held at the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław,<sup>14</sup> which lists the following manuscript and printed copies of Elsner's works:

- *Hymnum Ambrosianum* in honour of Alexander I – print with the composer's autograph, 69 pages<sup>15</sup> (currently missing);
- *Veni Creator* – autograph, 2 pages (currently PL-Wn Mus.73);<sup>16</sup>
- *Glück zu neuem Jahr* – autograph of 1844, 6 pages (expropriated, currently missing);
- *Znany światu polak stary* song – autograph, 6 pages (currently PL-Wn Mus.75);
- *Veni Creator* – autograph, 14 pages (currently PL-Wn Mus.72);
- *Polonaise* – manuscript,<sup>17</sup> 4 pages (currently PL-Wn Mus.77);

9 A. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* [History of Polish Music], Lviv 1907, www.pbc.gda.pl/publication/1858 [accessed on 10/10/2014].

10 K. Morawska, "Poliński, Aleksander", in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM* [PWM Music Encyclopedia], biographical section, [vol. 8], P-R, Kraków 2004, pp. 145–146.

11 A. Poliński, *Katalog rozumowany Pierwszej Polskiej Wystawy Muzycznej 1888 r.* [Explanatory Catalogue of the First Polish Music Exhibition 1888], Warszawa 1888.

12 J. Pulikowski, op. cit., pp. 3–4.

13 University Library in Poznań, shelf mark A. Ch. V 4/12 (microfilm copy at the National Library, shelf mark Mf. 35275).

14 Shelf mark 5658A-b (microfilm copy at the National Library, shelf marks Mf. 28565–28566).

15 Information provided according to the source, supplemented with my own findings.

16 Shelf mark format in line with the standards of the International Inventory of Musical Sources (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales).

17 Incorrectly identified in the source as an "autograph" as a result of false handwriting identification by Poliński.

- Chorus and quartet with the accompaniment of an orchestra for the name day of Grabowski – print with the composer's autograph (currently missing);
- *Wybór pięknych dzieł muzycznych i pieśni polskich* [A Selection of Beautiful Polish Musical Works and Chants] – print (currently missing);
- Polish Dance from *Woziwoda* – print (currently missing);
- *Echo w lesie* [Echo in the Forest] – manuscript (currently PL-Wn Mus.78);
- *Rozprawa o metryczności i rytmiczności języka polskiego* [Dissertation on the Metricity and Rhythmicity of the Polish Language] – print (currently missing);
- *Początki muzyki a szczególnie śpiewania* [The Origin of Music and of Singing in Particular] – print (currently missing);
- Biographical notes – autograph (expropriated, currently missing).

Six items from the above list were music prints, which explains why they were not removed from Warsaw in 1940, and were probably burned in 1944 together with the Library on Okólnik Street.<sup>18</sup> Since a part of the Poliński collection was dispersed in the period between his death and its incorporation into the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections as well as during the war, a few remnants of his collection have also survived in the holdings of other libraries.<sup>19</sup>

Three out of the five preserved manuscripts by Elsner from the Poliński collection are autographs. Elsner's handwriting was marked by Poliński with a corresponding inscription on the manuscript (PL-Wn Mus.72, 73, 75). In one case, however, the researcher made a mistake as to the handwriting identification. On the manuscript of a polonaise for violin and harpsichord (PL-Wn Mus.77), he wrote down "Autograf Elsnera | A. Pol[iński]" [Autograph by Elsner | A. Pol[iński]].<sup>20</sup> The source only

18 Only manuscript copies of Elsner's works were meant to be earmarked for requisition. By way of exception, a printed excerpt from the *Wieszczka Urzella* opera for voice and piano was included in the collection, as it was one of the volumes registered under a joint shelf mark together with manuscripts of the same work (Op.995, currently PL-Wn Mus.83).

19 W. Bogdany-Popielowa, op. cit., p. 15. We also know that one manuscript was found after the war in a library in the German territory, as Zofia Lissa reported to the staff of the National Library in 1970, without, however, specifying any details. She studied a microfilm with Poliński's ex libris stamp made available to her in private by a German researcher; see B. Bieńkowska, "Straty bibliotek. Czy wszystkie bezpowrotnie?" [Library Losses. All Irrecoverable?], *Cenne, Bezcenne, Utracone* [Precious, Priceless, Lost], issue 6, 1997 p. 6, [www.nimoz.pl/pl/wydawnictwa/czasopisma/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/1997/nr-61997](http://www.nimoz.pl/pl/wydawnictwa/czasopisma/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/1997/nr-61997) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

20 Poliński's mistake has already been noticed by Bogdany-Popielowa, who wrote "Nie. Odpis! W[anda] B[ogdany]" [No. Copy! W[anda] B[ogdany]] next to his note without, however, challenging Elsner's authorship.

mentions the name of “Sophia Czartoryska”, written in the hand of a copyist. The role of Zofia Zamoyska née Czartoryska in the creation of this work and of the manuscript is hard to establish. What we do know is that the handwriting on the item belonged to neither Elsner nor Zamoyska.<sup>21</sup> Today, there are no arguments left that might defend such an attribution, however, it cannot be excluded that apart from the mistaken handwriting identification, Poliński found other grounds for attributing this composition to Elsner. The manuscript might have been placed inside a dust jacket with Elsner’s name as the composer. This would also explain why the manuscript lacks Poliński’s ex libris stamp, although an extant inventory of his collection confirms that this item actually formed a part of it. Nevertheless, as this work is not mentioned in the Elsner’s *Summary*,<sup>22</sup> it seems that the attribution made by Poliński requires reviewing.

The composition and the manuscript must have been created before 1798, before Zofia Czartoryska married Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski, as she was still using her maiden name. The connections between Elsner and Zamoyska are well known, since in 1814 the latter became president of the Religious and National Music Society set up by the composer.<sup>23</sup> However, the place and form in which her name appears on the manuscript do not suggest that she was a dedication addressee, as it is generally acknowledged in reference literature, but rather that she was simply the person for whom the manuscript had been made. A hypothesis that Czartoryska herself was the author can also be considered, as accounts from that period declare that “she was particularly in love with music and had great achievements in this field, leaving exquisite compositions that depicted her life”.<sup>24</sup> To 19th century lexicographers, she was known as an amateur singer and composer, author for example of the music to the historical song about Jan Zamoyski by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.<sup>25</sup>

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- 21 See facsimile of a fragment of Zamoyska’s manuscript in Z. Zamoyska, *Rady dla córki* [Advice for my Daughter], manuscript edited and prepared for printing by M. Dębowska, Lublin 2002.
- 22 J. Elsner, *Sumariusz moich utworów muzycznych z objaśnieniami o czynnościach i działaniach moich jako artysty muzycznego* [Summary of my Works with Explanations of my Functions and Activities as a Musician], trans. K. Lubomirski, ed. A. Nowak-Romanowicz, Kraków 1957.
- 23 A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Józef Elsner: monografia* [Józef Elsner: a Monograph], Kraków 1957, p. 134.
- 24 *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej* [Chronicles of the Polish Diaspora] vol. 6, 1837, sheet 5, p. 67, <http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/160459> [accessed on 10/10/2014].
- 25 J. U. Niemcewicz, *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami* [Historical Songs with Music and Engravings], Warszawa 1816, pp. 242–264; <http://polona.pl/item/695183/2/> [accessed on 10/10/2014]; R. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, vol. 9, Graz 1959, p. 323.

Aside from the Elsneriana from the Poliński collection, thirteen manuscripts of his religious music from the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections have survived up to this day. Two items bear ex libris notes “from the Church Music Library of the Dominican Order” and one a mere shelf mark indicating the same place of origin (PL-Wn Mus.65, 69, [70]). These notes may suggest that the above music documents were linked to the music activity of the Dominican Monastery and of the St. Hyacinth Church on Freta Street in Warsaw.<sup>26</sup> The monastery was dissolved after the suppression of the January Uprising in 1864, together with fourteen others. Further history of the collection that once belonged to the Dominican music ensemble remains unknown. Its music documents were not found in the Archives of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order in Cracow.<sup>27</sup> If this conjecture regarding the manuscripts’ provenance turned out to be true, they would be the only known music sources of this origin. The ten remaining manuscripts bear no marks of origin at all. These are – apart from one item that is partially an autograph (PL-Wn Mus.63/1-2) – later copies of Elsner’s works, dated predominately to the second half of the 19th century.

## 1.2. ELSNERIANA FROM THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF THE WARSAW GOVERNMENT THEATRES

A part of the extant Elsneriana comes from the Music Library of the Warsaw Government Theatres. The Government Theatre Directorate was established in 1810 pursuant to a decree of Duke Frederick Augustus I of Warsaw. Since then, theatres in the Duchy of Warsaw came under the patronage of the government, and the functioning of the Directorate was subject to a project by Wojciech Bogusławski.<sup>28</sup>

- 26 Their Warsaw origin is corroborated by a note on the title page of manuscript PL-Wn Mus.65 *Offertorium | na | Fagot i Waltornię Obligato | z Towarzystwem | Śpiewu i Orkiestry | przez | Józ. Elsnera | d. 28 Września | 1847 r. | w Warszawie | z Biblioteki Muzyki Kościelnej | XX. Dominikanów* [Offertory | for | Bassoon and French Horn Obligato | with the Accompaniment of | Singing and Orchestra | by | Józ. Elsner | 28 September | 1847 | in Warsaw | from the Church Music Library of | the Dominican Order] and by the origin of the lithographed note paper in *Lit[ografia] T. Kosińskiego przy Kr[akowskim] Przemieściu] Nr 438* [Lithograph by T. Kosiński on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street No. 438]. J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym* [Historical Description of the Roman Catholic Churches in Warsaw] Warszawa 1855, pp. 171–201; [http://polona.pl/item/473631/3/\[10/10/2014\]](http://polona.pl/item/473631/3/[10/10/2014]).
- 27 Z. Mazur, “Preface”, in K. Mrowiec, *Katalog muzykaliów gidelskich: rękopisy muzyczne kapeli klasztoru gidelskiego przechowywane w Archiwum Prowincji Polskiej oo. Dominikanów w Krakowie* [Catalogue of Music Documents from Gidle: music manuscripts from the Gidle monastery music ensemble kept in the Archives of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order in Cracow], Kraków 1986, pp. 5–6.
- 28 M. O. Bieńka, *Warszawskie Teatry Rządowe. Dramat i komedia. 1890–1915* [Warsaw Government Theatres. Drama and Comedy. 1890–1915], Warszawa 2003, pp. 36–40.

There are 15 items with 13 works of theatre music by Józef Elsner that bear ex libris stamps of the “Music Library of the Warsaw Government Theatres” and corresponding shelf marks.<sup>29</sup> On most of the items, older “DYREKC: TEATRÓW” [Theatre Directorate] stamps also appear, signalling that they previously belonged to the Directorate for Government Theatres. A single shelf mark item corresponded to a set of extant performance materials for a particular work, with two exceptions: the *Leszek Biały* opera, for which two types of unrelated materials have been preserved, these being an autograph of the score (PL-Wtm 910) and parts for the overture (PL-Wn Mus.82); and the *Król Łokietek* opera where one shelf mark was assigned to the score and the vocal parts (PL-Wn Mus.91/1-2a-c) and another to the instrumental parts (PL-Wn Mus.91/2b-m).<sup>30</sup>

The manuscripts of theatre music compositions by Elsner were written for the National Theatre in 1797–1821, before the Government Theatre Directorate was renamed “Directorate for Theatres and All Drama & Music Spectacles in the Kingdom” in 1822. Thus, the collection was first stamped and had shelf marks assigned in 1822–1833. In 1833, the institution had its name changed to Warsaw Government Theatres. The only item without the “DYREKC: TEATRÓW” stamp is a manuscript of the *Leszek Biały* opera overture (PL-Wn Mus.82). Its title page bears an inscription referring to its shipment in 1840, which may testify to the date when the item was created and to its external origin with respect to the National Theatre. The second stamp “Biblioteka Muzyczna Teatrów m.st. Warszawy” [Music Library of the Capital City of Warsaw Theatres] was affixed and shelf marks were assigned to each item in 1918–1933, between the moment Warsaw obtained the status of a capital city and the time when the National Library acquired the collection.

In 1933, the Warsaw city government handed over the library and the archive of the Warsaw Government Theatres,<sup>31</sup> along with early theatre

29 Including a manuscript separated from the collection which is now held at the Library of the Warsaw Music Society, see further in *History of the Collection*.

30 See Table 2.

31 A. Leszyńska, “Cenne, wywiezione i odzyskane. Teatralia ze zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej” [Precious, Expropriated and Retrieved. Theatre documents from the National Library collections], *Cenne Bezcenne Utracone* [Precious, Priceless, Lost] issue 1(46), 2006; [www.nimoz.pl/pl/wydawnictwa/cenne-bezcenne-utracone/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/2006/nr-12006/](http://www.nimoz.pl/pl/wydawnictwa/cenne-bezcenne-utracone/cenne-bezcenne-utracone-archiwum/2006/nr-12006/) [10.10.2014]; A. Kawecka, *Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie* [The National Library in Warsaw], 2nd ed., Warszawa 1934, p. 32; “Biblioteka Narodowa Józefa Piłsudskiego. Sprawozdanie Juliana Pulikowskiego z czerwca 1940 roku” [The Józef Piłsudski National Library. Report by Julian Pulikowski of June 1940], trans. M. Platajs, *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* vol. 35, 2003, p. 92, [www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1245420522.pdf](http://www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1245420522.pdf) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

music documents – a total of 1,165 manuscripts and 169 prints<sup>32</sup> – to the National Library as a temporary deposit. At the moment the collection was transferred, an inventory book of the music library existed, probably held at the administration office of the City Theatre Property, while a detailed catalogue was meant to be prepared by employees of the National Library.<sup>33</sup> Most likely, the opera library was initially allocated to the Theatre Division of the National Library, from where it was removed once the Music Department was set up in 1934. Julian Pulikowski, head of the Music Department, did not record its receipt until 1935.<sup>34</sup> The theatre materials covered the years 1790–1920, while the music documents spanned the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.<sup>35</sup> A characteristic feature of the opera library items was a shelf mark starting with “Op.”. It included 18th century French operas and works in Polish written for the National Theatre. From this extensive collection, which probably contained many unique copies of Polish operas, the works by Elsner are almost the only ones to survive to this day.<sup>36</sup> A selection of 48 items from the Music Library of the Warsaw Government Theatres was displayed at an exhibition of theatre and music documents of the National Library in 1934.<sup>37</sup> The exhibited works by Elsner were:

- Op.1029 – *Siedem Razy Jeden* [Seven Times One] comic opera; orchestral score, autograph (currently PL-Wn Mus.88/1);
- Op.1029 – Polonaise from the *Siedm Razy Jeden* comic opera; piano score, Warsaw (currently PL-Wn Mus.II.18.505 Cim.);
- Op.3064 – *Wyspa Małżeństwa* [Marriage Island], melodrama in three acts; orchestral score autograph,<sup>38</sup> 13 March 1811 (currently PL-Wn Mus.79/1);
- Op.1037 – *Jagiello w Tenczynie* [Jagiello in Tenczyn] (opera); orchestral score autograph, October 1819 (currently PL-Wn Mus.84/1);

32 J. Pulikowski, *Dział muzyczny*, op. cit., p. 3.

33 Acceptance protocol of 22/05/1933, National Library Archive.

34 J. Pulikowski, *Dział muzyczny*, op. cit., p. 1.

35 “Biblioteka Narodowa Józefa Piłsudskiego...”, op. cit., pp. 92, 94.

36 Another extant work is a vocal score from an opera by Jan Dawid Holland entitled *Cudzy majątek nikomu nie służy* (PL-Wn Mus.59 Cim.) which was lent before the war to the University of Poznań for musicology research purposes.

37 *Katalog wystawy zbiorów teatralnych i muzycznych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie* [Catalogue of the Exhibition of Theatre and Music Collections of the National Library in Warsaw], Warszawa 1934, pp. 107–130; <http://polona.pl/item/4932438/4/> [accessed on 10/10/2014].

38 As per the catalogue.

- Op.3306 – *Les Deux Statues. Ballet comique pantomime en 1 acte*; orchestral score autograph 1819 (currently PL-Wn Mus.81/1);
- Op.4225 – *Król Łokietek* [King Władysław the Elbow-high]; opera in two acts; orchestral score autograph (currently PL-Wn Mus.91/1).

All the above materials were included in the Elsner collection at a later date and have survived up to the present.

The documents from the Music Library of the Warsaw Government Theatres document Elsner's activity as a composer and music director of the National Theatre in Warsaw, the office he held in 1799–1824. The 13 extant compositions make up about one third of all his theatre works created in that period,<sup>39</sup> representing the entire range of stage music genres that were popular in the early 19th century: opera, comic opera, melodrama and ballet. Few manuscripts are dated, although it may be presumed that the score autographs formed a performance basis for the premiere showings prepared at that time. Twelve works have been preserved in the author's manuscript in whole or in part,<sup>40</sup> eleven of which are complete.<sup>41</sup> Eleven of them are unique copies of works,<sup>42</sup> with the exception of the *Władysław Łokietek* opera, also known from two other complete copies, one held at the W. Stefanyk Library of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences<sup>43</sup> and another at the library of the Warsaw Music Society,<sup>44</sup> and the *Ofiara Abrahama* [Sacrifice of Abraham] melodrama, also preserved in another full copy held at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow.<sup>45</sup> Due to the high number

39 A. Nowak-Romanowicz, op. cit., pp. 70–192.

40 With the exception of the *Stary Trzpiot i Młody Mędrzec* comic opera, PL-Wn Mus.88/2.

41 That is to say, complete in musical terms. The exceptions are the *Stary Trzpiot i Młody Mędrzec* comic opera, PL-Wn Mus.88/2, for which vocal parts are missing, and the *Leszek Biały* opera, PL-Wtm R 910, which lacks the score for the second act. Works with spoken parts whose librettos have not survived to this day such as the *Sułtan Wampum* opera, PL-Wn Mus.86, are also treated as complete in this paper.

42 That is to say, unique complete exemplars. Fragments (overtures, arias) of many works have been preserved in other manuscript and printed copies.

43 L. Kijanowska-Kamińska, L. Melnyk, "Józef Elsner a kultura muzyczna Lwowa" [Józef Elsner and the Musical Culture of Lviv], in *Józef Elsner (1796–1854). Życie – działalność – epoka* [Józef Elsner (1796–1854). Life – Activity – Times], ed. R. Pośpiech, Opole 2013, p. 108. In the holdings of the National Library, a theatre poster has been preserved from the Count Skarbek Theatre in Lviv announcing a performance of *Król Łokietek* on 27 June 1862, shelf mark DŻS XIXA 6a (inc.: „Ostatnie przedstawienie w kursie letnim [...]” [“The last performance in the summer season (...)”]): <http://polona.pl/item/23317496/0/> [accessed on 10/10/2014].

44 PL-Wtm 912.

45 PL-Kj P.I.53.

of autographs and unique copies, this part of the Elsner collection is of significant historical value.

The manuscripts represent a variety of performance materials: scores, parts, texts of parts, vocal scores, and excerpts for the tutor or prompter. The items bear numerous traces of usage, their form frequently suggesting that they were prepared for a specific performance and for particular performers. Some manuscripts bear inscriptions with names of singers who have also been mentioned in the National Theatre yearbooks<sup>46</sup> and were the first interpreters of the respective parts. The parts prepared for premieres reflect the composition of the chamber orchestra, made up of between 28 and 40 musicians back then.<sup>47</sup> The extant materials are an invaluable record of the performance practice and the functioning of an opera theatre in Elsner's days.

## 2. HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The Music Division of the National Library, later renamed the Music Department, was established in 1934 in order to professionally catalogue and describe the printed and manuscript music from the holdings. It was located in the Tyszkiewicz Palace at 32 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street – handed over to the Library in the same year – together with other departments responsible for the preparation and sharing of special collections: manuscripts, early printed books, as well as cartographic, iconographic and theatre holdings.<sup>48</sup> From the very beginning up to 1944 the Music Department was managed by Julian Pulikowski (1908–1944), born in Germany, a PhD in musicology and graduate of the University of Vienna, who collaborated with staff member Wanda Rudzka throughout this period.<sup>49</sup> For one year from August 1938, Józef Chomiński,<sup>50</sup> a PhD in musicology who graduated from the Jan Kazimierz University of Lviv, also contributed to the Department's works. Pulikowski, who was planning to leave permanently for the Reich, tried to reemploy Chomiński in

46 *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1808–1817* [Yearbook of the Warsaw National Theatre 1808–1817].

47 *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1808*, op cit., p. 9; ibidem 1815, pp. 6–8, <http://ebuw.uw.edu.pl/publication/104731> [accessed on 10/10/2014].

48 A. Kawecka, op. cit., pp. 7–8.

49 P. Dahlig, “Julian Pulikowski (1908–1944) – the Polish Leader in Comparative Musicology and Enthusiast of Folk Song Research”, *Musicology Today* issue 9, 2012, p. 66, [http://musicologytoday.hist.pl/?page\\_id=169](http://musicologytoday.hist.pl/?page_id=169) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

50 *Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej Józefa Piłsudskiego w Warszawie 1938–1939* [Report of the Józef Piłsudski National Library in Warsaw 1938–1939], Warszawa 1939, vol. 2, pp. 9, 36.

1941 and recommended him as his successor as the head of the Music Department.<sup>51</sup> Pulikowski never managed to leave, as he was killed in the Warsaw uprising.<sup>52</sup>

The 1930s were a time of workflow organisation and of an immense influx of new materials to the National Library, established pursuant to an order of the Polish President in 1928. Elsner's manuscripts were included in two large collections obtained by the National Library at that time: the opera library from the Music Library of the Warsaw Government Theatres in 1933 and the music library from the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections in 1935.<sup>53</sup> The library collections also featured the *Sztambuch Elsnerówny* [Elsnerówna Album] of 1830 – an album prepared by Emilia Elsner, the composer's daughter, known for the musical works introduced to it by Fryderyk Chopin.<sup>54</sup> Even by 1935 the Music Department had not made its materials available to the public, due to the unfinished organisational and cataloguing work, an effort carried out by just two full-time employees.<sup>55</sup> The materials began to be shared with readers and researchers in 1936–1939,<sup>56</sup> but many new music documents

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- 51 J. Grycz, "Wprowadzenie niemieckiego zarządu bibliotek" [Introduction of German Management in Libraries], in *Biblioteki naukowe w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945. Wybór dokumentów źródłowych* [Research Libraries in the General Governorate in 1939–1945. A Selection of Source Materials], ed. A. Meżyński, H. Łaskarzewska, Warszawa 2003, p. 256. When before the war Pulikowski (who planned to dedicate all his efforts to the establishment of the Musicology Institute at the University of Warsaw) considered Chomiński as his possible successor, he issued a negative opinion, see: M. Gołąb, *Józef Michał Chomiński. Biografia i rekonstrukcja metodologii* [Józef Michał Chomiński. A Biography and Methodology Reconstruction], Wrocław 2008, pp. 34–35.
- 52 Also, Chomiński was probably never employed again, as his biography by Gołąb provides no information in this respect; see M. Gołąb, op. cit., pp. 36–39. Chomiński, quoted by Targowski in an article, said he did not have any contact with Pulikowski during the war, which means he neither contributed to the works of the Music Department nor used its resources, see Z. J. Targowski, "Wokół postaci dr. Juliana Pulikowskiego – docenta muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" [On the figure Julian Pulikowski, PhD, Assistant Professor of Musicology at the University of Warsaw], *Kronika Warszawy* [Warsaw Chronicles] issue 1–2 (61–62), 1985, pp. 105–128.
- 53 *Projekt sprawozdania rocznego z czynności Biblioteki Narodowej Józefa Piłsudskiego w r. 1936* [Draft Annual Report of the Józef Piłsudski National Library for 1936], ed. M. Łodyński, Warszawa 1937, p. 51.
- 54 A. Kawecka, op. cit., p. 33; F. Hoesick, *Warszawa. Luźne kartki z przeszłości syreniego grodu* [Warsaw. Loose Pages from the Past of the Mermaid's City], Warszawa 1920, pp. 77–80; <http://polona.pl/item/20550725/8/> [accessed on 10/10/2014]. It is believed that this invaluable album has been lost, but perhaps due to its connection with Elsner and Chopin it might have been removed from Warsaw during the war and survived.
- 55 J. Pulikowski, *Dział muzyczny*, op. cit., passim.
- 56 *Projekt sprawozdania...*, op. cit., p. 58; *Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej Józefa Piłsudskiego w Warszawie 1937–1938* [Report of the Józef Piłsudski National Library in Warsaw for 1937–1938], Warszawa 1938, vol. 1, p. 80; *Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej [...] 1938–1939*, op. cit., p. 83.

obtained in the previous years were not fully organised or catalogued before the outbreak of World War II. The State Art Collections were probably assimilated together with the inventory<sup>57</sup> drawn up in 1934 by Alicja Simon, head of the music department at the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections. The holdings of the Music Library of the Warsaw City Theatres began to be recorded in 1936, a process which has probably never been finished.<sup>58</sup> In 1939, as many as 2,104 out of 5,064 music manuscripts from the National Library holdings were still neither described nor recorded in any list or inventory.<sup>59</sup>

In the summer of 1939, in the face of the imminent military conflict, efforts were made to protect the most valuable items. Besides the oldest exemplars of the Polish language, medieval chronicles and illuminated manuscripts, a briefcase with Chopin's autographs purchased in 1937 from the Breitkopf & Härtel publishing house by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education was deposited in the treasury of the National Economy Bank and evacuated outside the country's territory during the Warsaw siege. The collection eventually reached Canada, to be restored to Poland in 1959.<sup>60</sup> This is the second largest surviving piece of the National Library pre-war music manuscript resources after the Elsneriana collection.

In the first year of the war, the music collections remained in the Tyszkiewicz Palace on Krakowskie Przedmieście street, even though the building had been badly damaged following the bombing of Warsaw in September 1939. By the time the Library closed down in February 1940, efforts were made to organise its book collection. Pulikowski and Rudzka, assisted by several other employees of the special collections department, obtained permits to work there as volunteers, the Library being officially closed.<sup>61</sup>

57 J. Pulikowski, *Dział muzyczny*, op. cit., p. 3.

58 *Projekt sprawozdania...*, op. cit., p. 51.

59 *Sprawozdanie Biblioteki Narodowej [...] 1938–1939*, op. cit., pp. 57, 74. These statistics do not include 546 music manuscripts from the Rapperswil Library that had not been allocated to the Music Department.

60 "Biblioteka Narodowa Józefa Piłsudskiego...", op. cit., p. 99; A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, "Ochrona zbiorów Biblioteki Narodowej" [Protection of the National Library Holdings], *Walka o dobra kultury. Warszawa 1939–1945* [Fight for Cultural Property. Warsaw 1939–1945], vol. 1, ed. S. Lorentz, Warszawa 1970, p. 186; B. S. Kupść, "Powrót skarbów kultury narodowej z Kanady" [Treasures of National Culture Restored from Canada], *Przegląd Biblioteczny* [Library Review] fasc. 1–2, 1959, pp. 136–139, [www.bbc.uw.edu.pl/publication/381](http://www.bbc.uw.edu.pl/publication/381) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

61 "Biblioteka Narodowa Józefa Piłsudskiego...", op. cit., p. 100; A. Mężyński, "Kartka z dziejów Biblioteki Narodowej podczas II wojny światowej" [A Page from the History of the National Library during World War II], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* [National Library Yearbook] vol. 35, 2003, p. 75.

In July 1940, pursuant to a decision of the General Library Administration (Hauptverwaltung der Bibliotheken) managed by Gustav Abb, the State Library in Warsaw (Staatsbibliothek Warschau) was established in the General Governorate, incorporating the holdings of two institutions: the University Library, to form the 1st Division (Abteilung I), and the National Library, to form the 2nd Division (Abteilung II). Wilhelm Witte became the managing commissioner, with Józef Grycz appointed trustee of the 2nd Division. A section for music and theatre collections was created within this division, managed by Pulikowski, while Rudzka became a specialist responsible for music documents.<sup>62</sup>

One year later, after the Krasieński Library was incorporated into the Staatsbibliothek Warschau as its 3rd Division, a restructuring process planned by Witte was launched for the entire Library. The 3rd Division was meant to store special collections of all three institutions in the Krasieński Library building on Okólnik street. From May to October 1941, the holdings were relocated in accordance with the projected profile of each division.<sup>63</sup> The most valuable resources from the three Warsaw libraries, ca. 400,000 items, half of which formed part of the pre-war National Library holdings, were taken to the Krasieński Library building. Three years later they were set on fire by the German Brandkommando troops as they were burning down and demolishing the city after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising.<sup>64</sup> However, the manuscripts by Chopin and Elsner were not there at that time.

The Elsner sources were subject to organised actions planned by Alfred Rosenberg, one of the major NSDAP ideologists. In 1940, he created an organisation called the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg) that, endorsed by Hitler, confiscated valuable books and manuscripts along with Church, Masonic and Jewish property in the countries occupied by the Reich. The materials were gathered for the purposes of the projected Advanced School of the NSDAP (Hohe Schule der NSDAP) where German culture as well as the culture of religious and

62 J. Grycz, "Okólnik Nr 30/40 z dnia 15 sierpnia 1940 r. w sprawie tymczasowej organizacji pracy" [Circular no. 30/40 of 15 August 1940 on interim work organisation], in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 42.

63 A. Mężyński, "Zbiory na Okólniku. Wrzesień 1939–październik 1941" [Holdings on Okólnik Street. September 1939–October 1941], in *Droga do Okólnika 1844–1944* [On the Way to Okólnik 1844–1944], ed. H. Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warszawa 2005, pp. 113–147.

64 H. Łaskarzewska, "Straty Okólnika w czasie powstania warszawskiego i po jego upadku" [Losses of the Library on Okólnik Street during the Warsaw Uprising and Later], in *Droga do Okólnika 1844–1944*, op. cit., pp. 149–181.

ethnic communities identified as hostile towards the Reich were meant to be a particularly important field of study.<sup>65</sup> One of the organisational units of the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce was the Special Music Staff (*Sonderstab Musik*) managed by musicologist Herbert Gerigk. Within NSDAP, Gerigk was responsible for music as a part of intellectual and ideological upbringing, which mainly consisted in eliminating composers of Jewish origin from the performance practice and in persecuting Jewish musicians. On behalf of the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce, he procured valuable music resources for the Advanced School library, including former Jewish collections.<sup>66</sup>

The Rosenberg Taskforce had no right to operate within the General Governorate which, contrary to applicable international policy rules, was considered by the Reich to be a legal state entity, not an occupied territory. Governor-General Hans Frank consistently endeavoured to prevent cultural heritage artefacts from being taken from the General Governorate territory. This led to many conflicts between the civil administration bodies he represented and the police authorities, which were subject to Berlin. On 22 July 1940, Rosenberg requested Frank to hand over the Elsner manuscripts, an organ tablature and 10,000 phonographic rolls held by the 2nd Division of the State Library in Warsaw, along with 20 manuscripts from the Krasiński Library. The materials were destined for the library of the Advanced School of the NSDAP, already established in Berlin. Rosenberg justified this request by claiming that the music manuscripts belonged to German culture, and that such extensive phonographic resources required competent cataloguing and description by German researchers.<sup>67</sup>

On 16 September 1940, Franz Keith, head of the Governor-General's Office, consented to the expropriation of music documents from the Warsaw libraries as requested by Rosenberg.<sup>68</sup> The task of appropriating the

65 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945* [Warsaw Libraries in 1939–1945], Warszawa 2010, p. 80. An invaluable library dedicated to ideological opponents of the Nazis was owned by Heinrich Himmler in his palace located in Sława (Schlawa), Silesia. This collection, partially pillaged and destroyed, was secured and taken to the University Library in Poznań by Ludwik Goceł. This is for example where its extensive collection of Masonic documents comes from. R. Nowicki, *Działalność Aleksandra Birkenmajera na rzecz ochrony zbiorów bibliotecznych. Ziemia zachodniej i północnej Polski w latach 1945–1947* [The Efforts of Aleksander Birkenmajer Aimed at Protecting Library Holdings. Western and Northern Poland in 1945–1947], Poznań 2006, pp. 196–201.

66 W. de Vries, *Sonderstab Musik. Organisierte Plünderungen in Westeuropa 1940–1945*, Köln 1998.

67 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, op. cit., pp. 75–97.

68 F. Keith [to A. Rosenberg], in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., pp. 44–45.

items was assumed by Wolfgang Boetticher, PhD, a German musicologist and collaborator of the Special Music Staff in 1940–1944,<sup>69</sup> together with Gerigk. Boetticher focused his activities on Western European countries occupied by Germany such as France, Belgium and the Netherlands. In July 1940, he also accompanied Gerigk during his visits to Cracow and Warsaw, and in 1941–1944 he went to Warsaw, Gdańsk, Königsberg, Wrocław, Riga, Tallinn, Minsk and Vilnius.<sup>70</sup> In parallel to working for Rosenberg, he collected materials and information for his own research.<sup>71</sup>

On 16 October 1940, Boetticher signed a handover protocol for forty-one items connected with Elsner from the 2nd Division of the State Library in Warsaw.<sup>72</sup> It is certain that he made at least two visits to Warsaw, taking the Elsner collection, probably together with a 17th century organ tablature,<sup>73</sup> from the State Library, a 16th century organ tablature called the “Łowicz Tablature”<sup>74</sup> from the Warsaw Music Society holdings, as well as a 15th century music manuscript with shelf mark *Kras. 52* and probably also twenty 18th century music manuscripts from the Krasieński Library.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, Gerigk confiscated selected items from the State Library, leaving call slips signed with his name. On behalf of Sonderstab Musik, Gerigk and Boetticher also seized materials from the Przeździecki Library<sup>76</sup> and from the Chopin Institute, whose

69 W. de Vries, op. cit., p. 258.

70 Ibid., pp. 165–166.

71 Ibid., pp. 274–278.

72 The extant copy bears a wrong date, 16/09/1940, rectified manually by Witte. Warsaw University Library – Department of Manuscripts, shelf mark 156/IX.

73 Rosenberg demanded “Bubliner [!] Orgeltabulatur” to be handed over arguing that it was “one of the most valuable sources for the history of 17th century German organ music”, see A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, op. cit., p. 93. It is hard to ascertain to which manuscript from the pre-war National Library holdings he was referring, but it might have been *Tabulaturae in quo CLV continentur Motectae et Cantiones... ad organa accomodatae per Wenceslaus Scherffer a Scherffenstein Leobschucencis Silesius* from 1624–1626, now lost; see *Katalog wystawy zbiorów teatralnych i muzycznych Biblioteki Narodowej*, op. cit., p. 105. Neither do we know whether it was actually handed over to Boetticher in the end.

74 As reported by Chomiński, see E. Wojnowska, “‘Kras. 52’ – europejski zabytek polskiej kultury muzycznej z I połowy XV wieku” [“Kras. 52” – Artefact of Early 15th Century European Music Culture], *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* [National Library Information Bulletin] issue 4(163), 2002, p. 40; [www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1246021122.pdf](http://www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1246021122.pdf) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

75 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, op. cit., p. 96. A note by Witte, who was in charge of sending these manuscripts together with the Elsner collection, shows that he did not receive them within the indicated deadline and was unaware of their further fate, *ibid.*, p. 94.

76 This library is believed to have been burned completely in September 1939; it remains unexplained how these collections could have survived, *ibid.*, p. 62.

materials were later incorporated into the 2nd Division of the State Library.<sup>77</sup> The Elsner collection was restored to the National Library in 1951. The famous medieval polyphony specimen from the Krasieński Library, *Kras. 52*, was reclaimed from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in 1948 due to the efforts of Karol Estreicher.<sup>78</sup> The remaining materials requisitioned by Boetticher and Gerigk, whose numbers are likely to be larger than those resulting from this enumeration, are considered to be lost, but this does not exclude that they may be still held in the German territory.

Boetticher was perfectly familiar with the most precious exemplars of musical culture held in the Polish collections. He gathered information on valuable items directly from library employees. For instance, he thanked Pulikowski, Józef Reiss and Zdzisław Jachimecki for their help in obtaining materials for his research on Orlando di Lasso in Polish libraries.<sup>79</sup>

The key document recording the requisition of the Elsner collection by Boetticher lists in detail all forty-one items together with their shelf marks, the composition titles and a description of the materials. Besides manuscript and printed sources, the catalogue of the Music Library of the Warsaw City Theatres was confiscated; moreover, Boetticher demanded further manuscripts from the former Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections (shelf marks Mr.1, 3 and 7), but Witte refused to give them out, as no official order had been issued. The Elsner manuscripts from the 2nd Division of the State Library were extracted and prepared for transportation in five boxes by Pulikowski and Rudzka. Witte, head of the Staatsbibliothek, was responsible for handing the package over, although he disapproved of the Governor-General's decision and tried in many ways to prevent Boetticher from taking the manuscripts.<sup>80</sup>

The only Elsner manuscript known to belong to the pre-war holdings of the National Library that was not included in the set of manuscripts prepared for Boetticher was the score of *Mass for 3 men's voices and organ*, displayed at the exhibition in 1934.<sup>81</sup> The exhibition catalogue does not mention its shelf mark, however, it was certainly not one of the

77 J. Pulikowski, [information on Chopiniana], in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 166.

78 Current shelf mark: 8054 III. E. Wojnowska, op. cit., p. 40.

79 W. Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532–1594. Repertoire – Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, vol. 1, Monographie, Kassel–Bassel 1958, p. VII.

80 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, op. cit., p. 95.

81 *Katalog wystawy zbiorów teatralnych i muzycznych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie*, op. cit., p. 112.

manuscripts from the State Art Collections passed on to the National Library one year after the catalogue was published. The manuscript must have been accidentally omitted, or perhaps was not available within the music holdings at the moment materials were selected for the Elsner collection. Furthermore, according to an account by Pulikowski, the pre-war National Library holdings also reportedly comprised Elsner's autographs that never belonged to the Opera Library or to the State Art Collections, coming from individual donations and purchases.<sup>82</sup> It is difficult to establish which manuscripts he was referring to.

The Elsneriana were sent to the Berlin library at Behrenstrasse 49, established already in early 1939 to gather materials for the projected Advanced School of the NSDAP.<sup>83</sup> In his letter addressed directly to Rosenberg of 29 October 1940, Hans Frank withdrew the decision he issued only two months before accepting the transfer of the Elsner manuscripts to this library. He substantiated it by arguing that artefacts of German culture should stay at their place of origin in the General Governorate, where they would testify to the German affiliation of these territories. Thus, the Governor-General requested prompt return of those materials, allowing Boetticher at the same time to use other documents and photocopies for the purposes of his own research.<sup>84</sup> One of the reasons why Frank made this decision could have been the intervention of Gustav Abb, head of the General Library Administration, as the latter saw his own decisions and competencies clearly undermined by the consent to remove the materials.<sup>85</sup> Rosenberg refrained from executing Frank's order: Abb intervened in this matter in December 1940 in Berlin, but failed to enforce the Governor-General's decision.<sup>86</sup>

When in April 1941 the State Library in Cracow (Staatsbibliothek Krakau) was officially opened, Frank and Abb emphasised the historically leading role of German culture in the General Governorate territory.<sup>87</sup> As Warsaw was earmarked for destruction, Cracow was projected to take over its role as the administrative and cultural centre. Further history of the Elsner collection is also connected with this city.

82 J. Pulikowski, *Dział muzyczny*, op. cit., p. 2.

83 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, op. cit., p. 92.

84 H. Frank [to A. Rosenberg] in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 46.

85 A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, op. cit., p. 95.

86 *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., p. 225.

87 "Staatsbibliothek Krakau. Feierliche Eröffnung durch den Herrn Generalgouverneur Reichsminister Dr. Frank. Am 4 April 1941", in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., pp. 65–73.

In the 1930s, plans were made to open an exhibition dedicated to Chopin at the Music Department of the National Library, but they were thwarted by the outbreak of war.<sup>88</sup> In 1942, Abb, acting on behalf of the Governor General, began to negotiate with Édouard Ganche with the purpose of purchasing his Chopin collection. In Frank's opinion, the composer's mementoes should be held in his home area, which belonged to the General Governorate. In the meantime, Nazi musicologists searched for Chopin's German family roots, tracing his father's genealogy back to the Alsatian Schopping family. Significantly, one of the main arguments for preserving the memory of Chopin in the General Governorate was the education he received from a German teacher. Hence, Elsner became a key figure in this propaganda, and his influence over Chopin as his student was largely exaggerated.

In July 1942, the manuscripts of Elsner's works were still held in Berlin, while Abb resumed his efforts aimed at getting them back, this time in connection with the planned inauguration of a Chopin Museum in Cracow.<sup>89</sup> Abb's second intervention turned out to be successful – the manuscripts were reclaimed from Berlin within less than two weeks. The collection was first restored to Warsaw, and then sent to Cracow for an exhibition where a part of it was displayed, while the rest was placed in the cellars of the Wawel Castle.<sup>90</sup>

Abb managed to purchase the Ganche collection with funds allocated by Frank in 1942. It was shipped to Cracow in May 1943,<sup>91</sup> but the exhibition was not launched until 27 October 1943. Aside from the Ganche collection, it featured specimens from the State Library in Cracow, the Museum of the Czartoryski Princes and the State Library in Warsaw.<sup>92</sup> Aside from the Elsner manuscripts, a editorial autograph of 24 preludes by Chopin<sup>93</sup> purchased by Witte in 1942<sup>94</sup> was also borrowed from the latter library. At the

88 G. Abb [on the French Chopin Museum], in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., pp. 109–111.

89 G. Abb, *ibid.*, p. 110.

90 W. Witte, [Report on the works of the State Library in Warsaw], in *ibid.*, p. 191.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

92 E. Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką w okresie od 1 września 1939 do 18 stycznia 1945 r." [History of the Jagiellonian Library under German Occupation from 1 September 1939 to 18 January 1945], in *ibid.*, pp. 296–297.

93 Current shelf mark PL-Wn Mus.93 Cim. J. Zathey, "Dział rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie w okresie okupacji" [The Manuscript Department of the National Library in Warsaw during the Occupation] in *ibid.*, p. 326.

94 W. Witte, [Memories] in *ibid.*, pp. 345, 348. J. Pulikowski, [Information on the Chopiniana] in *ibid.*, p. 166.

opening ceremony, Georg Schünemann, head of the Music Department of the Prussian State Library (Musik-Abteilung, Preussische Staatsbibliothek) gave a lecture entitled *Chopin und die deutsche Musik* where he emphasised the influence Elsner had on Chopin and the German nature of the music written by both composers.<sup>95</sup> The character of the museum was described by Abb, who also mentioned the autographs by Elsner.<sup>96</sup>

After the museum shut down in July 1944 as the Eastern Front was approaching, parts of the exhibition originating from the State Library in Warsaw together with the Ganche collection were evacuated to the estate of Dora von Pfeil in Adelin (Adelsdorf).<sup>97</sup> When the military operations were over, the holdings were found and taken to Cracow, later to be transferred to the Jagiellonian Library and to the Jagiellonian University Museum.<sup>98</sup> In 1951, the Jagiellonian Library restored the Elsneriana collection to the National Library in Warsaw,<sup>99</sup> where it was allocated to the Music Department, established that very year.<sup>100</sup>

If we compare the collection handover protocol from 1940 with the list of items restored to the National Library in 1951, we can see that four manuscripts are missing:

- Mr.58 Skizze eines Musiklexikons mit Abschriften aus Gerber, u.a. 1809; 78 + 14 Bll.; Autograph<sup>101</sup> (in the inventory of the Poliński collection qualified as “biographical notes”);
- Mr.177 *Glück zum neuen Jahr*. Im vierstimmigen Männerchor und mit Begleitung einer... 2. Dezember 1844; 3 Bll. Autograph;
- Mr.365 Brief Elsners an F. Chopin *Warszawa dnia 14 września 1834* [Warsaw, 14 September 1834] 2 S. Autograph;
- Op.1003 *Leszek Biały*. Słowa J. Dmuszewskiego [Libretto by J. Dmuszewski]. Partitura zum 1. Akt 107 Bll. Autograph.

195 G. Schünemann, [to G. Abb] in *ibid.*, pp. 167–168.

196 G. Abb, [text of the speech pronounced during the exhibition inauguration at the State Library in Cracow] in *ibid.*, pp. 175–177.

197 E. Kuntze, “Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką...,” *op. cit.*, p. 299.

198 H. Łaskarzewska, “Z Lyonu do Krakowa. Historia kolekcji chopinianów Édouarda Ganche’a” [From Lyon to Cracow. The History of the Édouard Ganche Chopiniana Collection], *Cenne, Bezcenne, Utracone* [Precious, Priceless, Lost] issue 3(68), 2011, pp. 6–12, [www.nimoz.pl/upload/wydawnictwa/cenne\\_bezcenne\\_utracone/2011\\_3/chopin.pdf](http://www.nimoz.pl/upload/wydawnictwa/cenne_bezcenne_utracone/2011_3/chopin.pdf) [accessed on 10.10.2014]; A. Mężyński, *Biblioteki Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–161.

199 National Library Archive, shelf mark no. 9880/IV/51.

100 *Biblioteka Narodowa w latach 1945–1956* [National Library in 1945–1956], ed. B. Horodyski, Warszawa 1958, p. 81.

101 Information quoted in its original wording in accordance with: Warsaw University Library – Manuscript Department, shelf mark 156/IX.

It is not easy to ascertain at which stage of the collection's trajectory the above manuscripts could have gone missing. The whereabouts of the first two items still remain unidentified. What we do know is the current location of manuscript with shelf mark Mr.365: after the war, this letter was given to the National Museum in Warsaw, which in turn handed it over in deposit to the Fryderyk Chopin Society (PL-Wmfc M/220);<sup>102</sup> in 1968, this institution was granted the ownership title to this item as well as to other Chopiniana.<sup>103</sup> The manuscript with the shelf mark Op.1003 was found in the post-war years in the National Opera in Warsaw from where it was passed on to the Library of the Warsaw Music Society in 1953.<sup>104</sup>

The inventory of the Music Library of Government Theatres, confiscated together with the Elsner collection, has also been lost. It may well be held in Germany still – its recovery would significantly improve our knowledge about the pre-war holdings of the National Library Music Department.

## 2.1. THE CASE OF JÓZEF ELSNER

As we can gather from the above overview of the collection's history, during World War II the figure of Józef Elsner turned out to be particularly interesting for the occupiers. This is due to the composer's Silesian origin – he grew up in a German-speaking community that inhabited the area back then. Elsner, who in the early 20th century was best known as Chopin's teacher, was the perfect propaganda tool for the German Nazis. Nazi ideologists completely disregarded the fact that after Elsner moved to Warsaw he became fully assimilated into the Polish community. What made this oversight possible was the fact that the composer's works – and in particular his operas where features of the "Polish national style" were especially recurrent – were not commonly known to the general public.

Another campaign of the Nazi propaganda was to attempt to incorporate Chopin's music into German culture. The Nazis were at pains to prove the German origin of the composer, while searching for features typical of German music in his works. Elements traditionally identified as signs of the "Polish national style" were attributed to a salon convention, nothing but an ornament overwritten on structures deeply ingrained in

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102 RISM registers materials owned by the Fryderyk Chopin Society under a siglum of the Fryderyk Chopin Museum at the Fryderyk Chopin Insititute.

103 Inventory Department of the National Museum in Warsaw, shelf mark III/1/26–68.

104 Inventories of the Warsaw Music Society Library.

German traditions.<sup>105</sup> These manipulations were designed to demonstrate the cultural inferiority of the Poles, who allegedly considered a musician of German origin, both in genealogical and musical terms, as one of the greatest artists of their culture. This was a breakthrough moment in the approach to Chopin's music, previously banned from stage performance in the General Governorate, with the composer's statue being destroyed in 1940 as a symbolic statement. This shift in official policy may be attributed to Hans Frank who fully appreciated the value of Chopin's music and mementoes.

Elsner's work is a great example of how the ideological involvement of researchers can be reflected in the evaluation of cultural artefacts depending on the national affiliation of the artists. In the face of the political conflict, Elsner's ethnic ambivalence encouraged such manipulation, but also contributed to the fact that records of his work have survived to this day.

### 3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COLLECTION

The sources relating to Józef Elsner's work held at the National Library are the largest extant collection of the composer's autographs, and one of the two most extensive sets of manuscriptal Elsneriana generally. 35 manuscripts by the composer have been preserved in the Library of the Pauline Fathers at the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa.<sup>106</sup> For the most part, these are copies of religious compositions, like most of the surviving Elsneriana in Poland and abroad, especially in Germany and in the Czech Republic.<sup>107</sup> This category of the composer's work found broad reception throughout almost all the 19th century. This was also the repertoire most valued by pre-war historians and researchers of his work such as Poliński or Tadeusz Joteyko.<sup>108</sup>

The reception of his theatre works was shaped in a completely different manner, as these were limited in their reach to the rare 19th century opera theatres that staged performances in Polish. The compositions tended to become quickly outdated and disappeared from the theatres and

105 G. Schünemann, [to G. Abb] in *Biblioteki naukowe...*, op. cit., pp. 167–168.

106 P. Podejko, "Katalog tematyczny rękopisów i druków muzycznych kapeli wokalnoinstrumentalnej na Jasnej Górze" [Thematic Catalogue of Music Manuscripts and Prints of the Vocal and Instrumental Ensemble of the Jasna Góra Monastery], *Studia Claramontana*, issue 12, 1992, pp. 142–160.

107 As provided by the RISM database.

108 A. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, op. cit., p. 189; T. Joteyko, *Józef Elsner*, Warszawa [non ante 1928], p. 51, <http://polona.pl/item/23101682/8/> [accessed on 10/10/2014].

repertoires after only a few seasons.<sup>109</sup> The manuscripts from the Music Library of Government Theatres form the most valuable part of the Elsner collection due to their uniqueness and originality. They are particularly important for the history of Polish music, since they document Elsner's most productive creative period, which was also the first time opera was written in the Polish language for the national theatre.

The preserved Elsneriana collection is also valuable from the perspective of studies regarding pre-war holdings of the National Library, since the manuscripts discussed here represent nearly half of their extant manuscript music documents. Detailed analyses of the origin of particular items may help to determine the contents of the pre-war National Library Music Department holdings. This research can be based on the sources mentioned in this paper: the catalogues, reports and extant library records as well as accounts by its employees and researchers.<sup>110</sup>

In the wartime trajectory of the Elsner collection, we can point out two relocations that saved it from destruction. The first one was its extraction and transport to the Reich in 1940, prior to the transfer of the special collections from the 2nd to the 3rd Division of the State Library in Warsaw. The second one was its shipment to Cracow for the Chopin exhibition upon return from Berlin in 1942. The Elsneriana from the former National Library collection were highly valued during the war, being utilized as both research materials and a tool of cultural propaganda, causing political disputes. The collection is an invaluable document of early 19th century musical culture, and the political implications of its wartime fate – an extraordinary example of survival from one of the most tragic conflagrations in the history of Polish culture.<sup>111</sup>

109 Only fragments of operas, usually arranged for voice and piano, published by the composer for example in the monthly publication *Wybór pięknych dzieł muzycznych i pieśni polskich* [A Selection of Beautiful Polish Music Works and Chants], had a wider reception.

110 Much valuable information can be found in a manuscript note held at the Adolf Chybiński Archive of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, see A. Jazdon, "Raport o stratach Biblioteki Narodowej z notatek Adolfa Chybińskiego" [Report on the Losses of the National Library from Notes by Adolf Chybiński], *Biblioteka* [Library] issue 3(12), 1999, pp. 57–59; [www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/14118](http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/publication/14118) [accessed on 10/10/2014].

111 All the items of the collection currently held by the National Library have been catalogued and described for the purposes of the National Library catalogues and the RISM database. The collection has been digitized and made available through the National Digital Library Polona in its entirety: <http://polona.pl/search/collection/23228809/> [accessed on 10/10/2014].

**TABLE 1. ITEMS FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR STATE ART COLLECTIONS (LDSAC)<sup>112</sup>**

Title	Opus, item no. in the Summary and in the catalogues	Current shelf mark	LDSAC shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Form of the source	Manuscript creation date	Notes
<i>Missa</i>	Op. [75] <sup>113</sup> Sum 75, p. 39 <sup>114</sup> ANR 25, pp. 270–271 <sup>115</sup> WBP 51, pp. 74–75 <sup>116</sup>	PL-Wn Mus.66	Mr.170	–	Score	[post 1842] <sup>117</sup> work dated to 1842	Text by K. Brodziński, dedicated to the Werner family
<i>2 Veni Creator</i>	Op. 73?/74? Sum 73, p. 39 ANR 64, p. 285 WBP 67, pp. 82–83	PL-Wn Mus.72	Mr.171	From the book collection of A. Poliński	Score	1842	Autograph, unclear opus in the headline
<i>Missa</i>	Op. [76] Sum 76, p. 39 ANR 26, p. 271 WBP 52, p. 75	PL-Wn Mus.67	Mr.172	–	Score	[post 1842] work dated to 1842	Autograph, text by K. Brodziński
<i>Znany Światu Polak stary [The Old Pole Known to the World]</i>	Sum deest ANR 78, p. 311 WBP 71, p. 85	PL-Wn Mus.75	Mr.173	From the A. Poliński book collection	Score	[ca. 1830] work dated to ca. 1830	Autograph, text by K. Brodziński
<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	Sum deest ANR deest WBP 42, p. 70	PL-Wn Mus.71	Mr.174	–	Score	[post 1850] work dated to ca. 1850	

112 Table 1 follows the order of the former shelf mark numbers, while Table 2 has been arranged in chronological order according to the dates when the works were created.

113 Opus numbers assigned by Elsner to religious works.

114 J. Elsner, op. cit.

115 A. Nowak-Romanowicz, op. cit.

116 W. Bogdany-Popielowa, op. cit.

117 Dated on the basis of A. Nowak-Romanowicz, op. cit., W. Bogdany-Popielowa, op. cit., and the author's own findings.

TABLE 1. ITEMS FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR STATE ART COLLECTIONS (LDSAC)

Title	Opus, item no. in the Summary and in the catalogues	Current shelf mark	LDSAC shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Form of the source	Manuscript creation date	Notes
<i>Echo w lesie</i> [Echo in the Forest]	Sum 19, p. 46 ANR 24, p. 292 WBP 45, p. 71 KM, s. 51 <sup>118</sup>	PL-Wn Mus.78	Mr.175	From the A. Poliński book collection	Score	post 1835 watermark [18]35	Libretto by W. Pękalski
<i>Dies irae</i>	Op. 91 Sum 91, p. 41 ANR 73, pp. 286–287 WBP 43, p. 70	PL-Wn Mus.74	Mr.176	-	Score	[post 1847] work dated to 1847	Text by and dedicated to F.K. Kurowski
<i>Ave Maria</i>	Op. [68] Sum 68, p. 39 ANR 60, p. 284 WBP 41, pp. 69–70	PL-Wn Mus.76	Mr.178	-	Parts	[post 1840] work dated to 1840	
<i>Missa</i>	Op. 87 Sum 87, p. 40 ANR 32, p. 272 WBP 54, p. 76	PL-Wn Mus. 69/1-2	Mr.179	From the Church Music Library of the Dominican Order, No. 26	Score & parts	1847	Text by F. Morawski, wrong op. no. (85) in the heading
<i>Polonaise</i>	Sum deest ANR 4, p. 317 WBP 61, pp. 79–80 SB 609, p. 163 <sup>119</sup>	PL-Wn Mus.77	Mr.180	[From the A. Poliński book collection]	Score	[ante 1798] inscription “Sophia Czartoryska”	Dubious attribution
<i>Missa</i>	Op. [62] Sum 62, p. 38 ANR 22, p. 270 WBP 50, p. 74	PL-Wn Mus.70	Mr.181	[From the Church Music Library of the Dominican Order], no. 7	Parts	[post 1838] work dated to ca. 1838	

118 K. Michałowski, *Opery polskie* [Polish Operas], Kraków 1954.119 S. Burhardt, *Polonez: katalog tematyczny* [The Polonaise: Thematic Catalogue], Kraków 1974.

**TABLE 1. ITEMS FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE DIRECTORATE FOR STATE ART COLLECTIONS (LDSAC)**

Title	Opus, item no. in the Summary and in the catalogues	Current shelf mark	LDSAC shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Form of the source	Manuscript creation date	Notes
<i>Espectans expectavi</i>	Op. [31] Sum 31, p. 35 ANR 27, pp. 277–278 WBP 55, p. 76	PL-Wn Mus.65	Mr.182	From the Church Music Library of the Dominican Order, no. 22	Parts	1847	
<i>Nativitatem hodiernam</i>	Op. [45?] Sum 45, p. 37 ANR 40, p. 281 WBP 56, p. 77	PL-Wn Mus. 63/1-2	Mr.183	No. 14	Score & parts	[post 1829] work dated to ca. 1829	Score autograph
<i>Tui sunt caeli</i>	Op. [70] Sum 71, p. 39 ANR 61, pp. 284–285 WBP 58, p. 78	PL-Wn Mus.64	Mr. 184	-	Parts	[post 1840] work dated to 1840	
<i>Usquequo exaltabitur</i>	Op. [65] Sum 65, p. 38 ANR 2, p. 273 WBP deest	PL-Wn Mus.61	Mr.226	-	Score & parts	[post 1837] work dated to 1837	Fragment of <i>Passio Domini Nostri</i>
<i>Beatus vir</i>	Op. [56] Sum 56, p. 38 ANR 49, p. 282 WBP 57, pp. 77–78	PL-Wn Mus.60	[Mr.227]	-	Parts	[post 1835] work dated to 1835	
<i>Missa</i>	Op. 77 Sum 77, p. 39 ANR 27, p. 271 WBP 53, p. 75	PL-Wn Mus.68	Mr.229	-	Parts	[post 1843] work dated to 1843	Text by A. Feliński, incomplete
<i>Veni Creator</i>	Op. [73?] Sum 73, p. 39 ANR 64, p. 285 WBP 68, p. 84	PL-Wn Mus.73	Mr.227	From the A. Poliński book collection	Score	[1842] work dated to 1842	Autograph

TABLE 2. ITEMS FROM THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF THE GOVERNMENT THEATRES

Title, genre, date and place of premiere	Libretto author	Position in the Summary and in the catalogues	Form of the source	Current shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Date and place of manuscript creation	Manuscript by
<i>Amazonki czyli Herminia</i> [Amazons, or Herminia], opera in two acts (1797 Lviv / 1800 Warsaw)	W. Boguslawski	Sum 6, p. 45 ANR 7, p. 289 WBP 40, pp. 67–69 KM, pp. 34–35	Score (2 vol.)	PL-Wn Mus.90/1-2	Music Library of the Capital City of Warsaw Theatres ("MLWT") – Op.4521, Directorate for Theatres ("DT") 1385	[1797 Lviv]	unknown J. Elsner (music), W. Boguslawski (lyrics)
			Vocal score (2 vol.)	PL-Wn Mus.89/1-2		1797 Lviv	J. Elsner (remarks on performance), W. Boguslawski (names of the performers)
<i>Sultan Wampun czyli Nieroztropne Życzenie</i> [Sultan Wampun, or Imprudent Wishe], opera in two acts (1800 Warsaw)	A. F. von Kotzebue, translated by A. Gliński	Sum 8, p. 45 ANR 9, p. 289 WBP 65, pp. 81–82 KM, p. 114	Score (2 vol.)	PL-Wn Mus.86/1-3	MLWT – Op.998, DT 1540	[1800 Warsaw] "performed for the first time" inscription	unknown
			Vocal parts and a spoken part of Hussein; Nuradin's aria added			[1800 Warsaw]	unknown, J. Elsner (music for the added aria), W. Boguslawski (lyrics of the added aria)
<i>Siedem razy jeden</i> [Seven Times One], comic opera in one act (1804 Warsaw)	L. Dmuszewski	Sum 9, p. 45 ANR 12, p. 290 WBP 62, p. 80 KM, pp. 109–110	Score	PL-Wn Mus.88/1	MLWT – Op.1029, DT 680	[1804 Warsaw]	J. Elsner
			Print, excerpts of vocal and piano parts (compilation)	PL-Wn Mus.II.18.505 Cim.		[1805] Warsaw	(engraved at J. Elsner's)
<i>Stary Trzypiot i Młody Mędrzec</i> [The Frivolous Old Man and the Young Sage], comic opera in one act (1805 Warsaw)	E. T. A. Hoffmann, translated by W. Matuszewski	Sum 22, p. 46 ANR 13, p. 290 WBP 64, p. 81 KM, p. 112	Instrumental parts for two works: <i>Siedem razy jeden</i> and <i>Stary Trzypiot i Młody Mędrzec</i>	PL-Wn Mus.88/2	MLWT – Op.1027, DT 680	[post 1805 Warsaw]	unknown

TABLE 2. ITEMS FROM THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF THE GOVERNMENT THEATRES

Title, genre, date and place of premiere	Libretto author	Position in the Summary and in the catalogues	Form of the source	Current shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Date and place of manuscript creation	Manuscript by
<i>Wieszczka Urzella czyli to co się Damom Podoba</i> [Urzella the Soothsayer, or What the Ladies Like], opera in 3 acts (1805/1806 Warsaw)	Ch.-S. Favart, translated by J. Baudouin de Courtenay	Sum 12, p. 45 ANR 15, p. 290 WBP 69, pp. 84–85 KM, p. 129	Score (3 vol.)  Prompter's copy, partially printed (compilation)	PL-Wn Mus. 83/1-4	MLWT – Op.995, DT 1561	[1806 Warsaw]  [post 1806 Warsaw]	J. Elsner  J. Elsner (engraved at J. Elsner's)
<i>Chimère et Réalité</i> , opera in one act (1805/1806 Warsaw)	unknown	Sum 20, p. 46 ANR 23, p. 292 WBP 66, p. 82 KM, p. 122	Score  Instrumental parts	PL-Wn Mus.85/1-2	MLWT – Op.1001, DT 1559	[1805/1806 Warsaw]	J. Elsner  unknown
<i>Leszek Biały czyli Czarownica z Łysej Góry</i> [Leszek the White or the Witch of Łysa Góra], opera in two acts (1809 Warsaw)	L. Dmuszewski	Sum 23, p. 46 ANR 28, pp. 292–293 WBP 49, p. 74 KM, p. 74	Score for the 1st act (1 vol., other vol. missing)  Overture parts	PL-Wtm R 910  PL-Wn Mus.82/a-y	MLWT – Op.1003  MLWT – Op.5939	[1809 Warsaw]  [1840 ?] inscription “I'm sending 21 parts and one score. 173[18]40.”	J. Elsner  unknown
<i>Wyspa małżeństwa czyli Żony przez los wybrane</i> [Marriage Island or Wives Chosen by Fate], melodrama in three acts (1811 Warsaw)	A. de Pujola & Ch. Desnoyers, translated by L. Dmuszewski	Sum deest ANR 33, p. 293 WBP 70, p. 85 KM, p. 130	Score  Parts	PL-Wn Mus. 79/1-2	MLWT – Op.3064, DT 1010	1811 [Warsaw]  [1811 Warsaw]	J. Elsner  unknown

TABLE 2. ITEMS FROM THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF THE GOVERNMENT THEATRES

Title, genre, date and place of premiere	Libretto author	Position in the Summary and in the catalogues	Form of the source	Current shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Date and place of manuscript creation	Manuscript by
<i>Kabalista</i> [The Cabbalist], opera in 2 acts (1813 Warsaw)	F. Wężyk	Sum 29, p. 47 ANR 37, p. 284 WBP 47, p. 72 KM, p. 63	Score (2 vol.)	PL-Wn Mus. 87/1-2	MLWT – Op.1004, DT 1464	[1813 Warsaw]	J. Elsner
<i>Król Lokietek czyli Wiśliczanki</i> [King Władysław the Elbow-high, or Women of Wiślica] opera in two acts (1818 Warsaw)	L. Dmuszewski	Sum 30, p. 47 ANR 40, p. 294 WBP 48, pp. 72–74 KM, p. 69	Score  Vocal parts  Instrumental parts	PL-Wn Mus.91/1-2a-c  PL-Wn Mus.91/2d-m	MLWT – Op.4225, DT 1462  MLWT– Op.1005	[1818 Warsaw]	J. Elsner  unknown  unknown
<i>Dwa posągi</i> [Two Statues], ballet in one act (1818 Warsaw)	(choreography by L. Thierry)	Sum 32, p. 47 ANR 41, p. 294 WBP 44, p. 70	Score  <i>Violino repetitore</i> part	PL-Wn Mus.81/1-2	MLWT– Op.3306, DT 1687	1819 [Warsaw]  1819 [Warsaw]	J. Elsner  unknown
<i>Jagiello w Tenczynie</i> [Jagiello in Tenczyn], opera in three acts (1820 Warsaw)	A. Chodkiewicz	Sum 31, p. 47 ANR 42, pp. 294–295 WBP 46, pp. 71–72 KM, pp. 60–61	Score  Parts and spoken parts	PL-Wn Mus. 84/1-2	MLWT – Op.1037, DT 1453	1819 [Warsaw]  1819–1820 [Warsaw]	J. Elsner  J. Witkowski

TABLE 2. ITEMS FROM THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF THE GOVERNMENT THEATRES

Title, genre, date and place of premiere	Libretto author	Position in the Summary and in the catalogues	Form of the source	Current shelf mark	Former provenance and shelf marks	Date and place of manuscript creation	Manuscript by
<i>Ofiara Abrahama</i> [Sacrifice of Abraham], melodrama in four acts (1821 Warsaw)	J.- G.- A. Cuvelier de Trie, L. Chandezon, translated by B. Kudlicz	Sum 33, p. 47 ANR 43, p. 295 WBP 59, pp. 78-79 KM, p. 92	Score (1 vol.), additional fragments	PL-Wn Mus.80/1-4	MLWT – Op.568, DT 939	1821, 1822 [Warsaw]	J. Elsner
			Parts (including <i>violino repetitore</i> )			1821 [Warsaw]	Unknow, J. Elsner (fragment)
			Parts to the added ballet			[post 1806 Warsaw] ballet from the <i>Sqd Salomona</i> [Judgment of Solomon] melodrama dated to 1806	Unknown

## SUMMARY

One of the most important music collections in the National Library is a set of 19th-century manuscripts of Elsner's works. The collection currently consists of 33 pieces signed by the composer's name. The manuscripts transmitting repertory consisting mainly of religious pieces and music for the stage, once belonged to the Library of the Directorate for State Art Collections and to the Music Library of Government Theatres – both of which found their way into the National Library in the 1930s. In 1940, Elsneriana manuscripts were requisitioned by German musicologists and transported to Berlin to the library of the Advanced School of the NSDAP, and then in 1942 to Cracow for an exhibition dedicated to Fryderyk Chopin. The collection survived, and in 1951 was returned to the National Library. This collection of manuscripts of works by Elsner has great historical value due to the large number of autographs and unique copies, especially among the manuscripts of operas that constitutes documentation of Elsner's activities as a composer and music director of the National Theatre in Warsaw in the early 19th century.