

EDYTA I PIOTR CHLEBOWSCY

BLADE KŁOSY NA ODŁOGU...
– AN UNKNOWN POEM BY NORWID

Błede kłosy na odłogu
Jak sieroty twarz,
Pójdę powiem Panu Bogu,
Że to zagon nasz!

Deszczu prosząc nieustannie,
Wyprosiłem grad,
Pójdę powiem Maryj Pannie,
Że już dosyć strat!

Ludziom skarżyć się nie mogę
Cudzych nie chcę rad,
Każdy ma swój cel i drogę,
Bóg ma cały świat.

Więc tam pójdę ze lżą w oku
I bez długich słów.
Sierp zawieszę na obłoku
Niby jasny nów!

Skończył, alić czas się zmienia,
A nim przeszedł próg,
Złoty kłos go oprómienia,
Dzwonią sierpy sług.

Nie sług sierpy, lecz aniołów,
Ten ich zdradza śpiew.
Wierz! A cudny wskrzeszę połów
I rozbroję gniew!¹

¹ The stanzaic composition of the text presented here, due to the original publication as a music score (i.e. adjusted to the musical notation): six stanzas of 8-5-8-5 syllable structure, is an interpretational textual-publishing proposition of the paper's authors. The authors decided e.g. to leave

The above published poem by Norwid, unknown until recently, comes from an edition of musical scores for two songs, arranged for voice and piano (pp. 3-7), issued by Kazimierz Lubomirski. The text – quite popular at the turn of the 20th century, as shall later be seen – was functioning as an anonymous one, even though it had been published. Anyway, by a strange and quite surprising coincidence it had so far not been associated with the author of *Promethidion*. The edition concerned, a twelve-page music score (notes and lyrics), was published by the R. Friedlein publishing house in Warsaw. Lubomirski's name is included for understandable reasons, as he was the main author-composer². It was also him to whom the whole publication was rightly attributed in various lists, bibliographies and registers, while authors of the lyrics, hidden under the initials of "C.K.N." and "L.S.", were passed over. Below, the layout and transcript of the title page of the score *Wspomnienia Ostendy*:

Wspomnienia Ostendy.
SMUTNY ROLNIK
i
Barkarola „Na Morze”
Poezye C.K.N.** i L.S.**
z muzyką utworzoną
i
Pannie Taidzie Małachowskiej
PRZYPISANĄ
przez
KAZIMIERZA LUBOMIRSKIEGO.

Dzieło 14. / Warszawa nakładem R. Friedlein (dawniej Fr. Spiess & C-o)

The initials on the title page are practically the only clue leading to Norwid. Thus, how can one know for certain that it actually is a text written by Norwid?

out repetitions characteristic of music and musical notation, related to sound emission and the rules of it, and in no way justified from the point of view of the text alone (its versification and semantics). Thus the elements which have been left out are simply an added value of the musical layer.

² The authors of this paper were able to find the above-mentioned publication in the University Library in Poznań. Fortunately, the name of the author of *Vade-mecum* was placed by an unknown librarian in the computer catalogue with the above mentioned music score. The search in the National Library of Poland, the Jagiellonian Library, the Catholic University of Lublin Library and in the University of Warsaw Library brought no results. It is probable that the above listed libraries do not have the publication in question, and the only known copy is available solely in the collections of the University Library in Poznań.

It might be argued that these be too meagre premises to draw such radical conclusions and distinctions. There are, obviously, far more questions concerning the origin of Lubomirski's publication which is discussed here: it is not only about establishing the circumstances of the creation and issue of the poetic text of *Pro-methidion*'s author – the basic facts and dates – but mainly about the fundamental issue of authorship. Let us thus take a closer look at the whole matter, starting from Duke Kazimierz Lubomirski.

1. DUKE KAZIMIERZ

Kazimierz Lubomirski, a composer well-known and recognised in the 19th century, has currently slipped into obscurity. The author of popular songs for voice and piano is slowly becoming a white card in history, and not only to the general public, but even among contemporary musicologists – suffice it to say that modern Polish music encyclopaedia (*Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*) did not save a place for him. That absence could even be viewed as a small editing scandal, but for the considerations of this article it is mainly an indirect answer to the question, why Norwid's text concerned is missing from lists of subject literature as well as from the awareness of researchers of Norwid and of Romanticism. The dust on Lubomirski's music score has also veiled the poem *Blade kłosy na odłogu*...³

Duke Kazimierz Lubomirski, son of Fryderyk and Franciszka nee Załuska, was born in Chernivtsi in the Podolia region in 1813. The father of the future composer, a governor of Volhynia, was for many years engaged in developing his Rivne estate, although he failed at maintaining his own palace, as the building fell into ruin. His marriage met a similar fate: the active philanthropist and amateur constructor, active in social life, failed rather miserably in that area. The Lubomirskis were practically living in separation: Fryderyk did not leave Volhynia, while Franciszka stayed mainly in Warsaw. A scandal was simply a matter of time – and so it erupted when the mother of the then 3-year-old Kazimierz (cared for by the father) had a romance. The case became famous, for her lover was Antoni Mal-

³ The absence of Kazimierz Lubomirski as a composer and reputed chamber music author in the modern cultural and musical life is not really absolute and unconditional, as proven by the popularity of his most famous song: *O gwiazdeczko, coś błyszczała...* in the media world. Suffice it to say that it appeared quite recently in a well-known feature film, *Chopin. Pragnienie miłości* (2002), directed by Jerzy Antczak. "Gwiazdeczka" is also still popular in the sphere of amateur or half-amateur music performances, although its professional phonographic appearances are also worth noting, such as the version performed by Seweryn Krajewski, guitar player and singer of the popular music band Czerwone Gitary, published in the album *Seweryn Krajewski: Nagrania radiowe z lat 1977-1987* (Polskie Radio 2008, 2CD).

czewski, a well-known poet. In 1816, Franciszka went for a famous romantic tour of Europe with the future author of *Maria*; it was then that Malczewski climbed Mont Blanc as the first Pole in history. To Franciszka, he dedicated *Portrait de la petit Ida*.

While Franciszka was carried away by her romantic *tour de l'Europe*, the little Kazimierz took his first musical steps in Rivne. At first he learned under the careful guidance of J. Schmidberg, bandmaster of the palace orchestra. He went to school in Klevan. On graduating from the Klevan high school, he went to Dresden, where he studied music under the supervision of Friedrich Dotzauer. That was followed by trips across Europe, which resulted in numerous contacts and friendships with musicians, composers, writers and painters, as well as membership in many choir and orchestra associations in Germany and in France. He married Zenaida nee Hołyńska, with whom he had two children: Stanisław (born 1839) and Maria (born 1842). As a popular chamber music composer, in 1852-1858 in Warsaw Kazimierz Lubomirski acted as deputy president of the Society for Support of Impoverished Musical Artists. It was at the same time that he hosted music salons in Warsaw, and after the death of Jerzy Elsner (1854) headed a committee which was to care for the man's legacy. At that time, he translated the diary of that famous teacher of Frederic Chopin from 1839-1848: *Sumariusz moich utworów muzycznych*, from German.⁴ After 1860 Lubomirski settled back in Rivne. Partially paralysed, he could not fully engage in composition and performance of music, so he was translating the works of foreign literature to Polish. He passed away in Lviv, on St Paul and Peter's day, in 1871. *Słownik muzyków polskich, dawnych i nowoczesnych* published by Albert Sowiński in 1874 includes the following description of Lubomirski's works (NB the form of it indicates that the author was unaware that the composer had died three years prior):

[...] a great composer for piano and for singing. Writes with taste and feeling. Numerous works of his have been published in Germany, Poland, Lithuania, and in other Polish cities. Some more prominent of his compositions for voice are as follows: *l'Etoile*, air pour soprano; *l'Automne*, avec accompagnement de piano; *Souvenirs d'Ostende*, quatre morceaux; *Pieśń z wieży*. – Op. 15. *Él Sospeto*, Niepewność; *Pochód kozacki*, Seguidilla et Romance, *la Partenza*, dumka, mazurka sang in opera, *Cyrulik Sewilski*; song: *Dwie rany*; *le Myosotis*, *Marya*, sonnet; *la Consolazione*, *Nie płacz dziewczę*⁵.

⁴ Fragments of that translation were published in the biweekly "Ruch Muzyczny" in 1857, and the entire work was published as late as a full century after that (in 1957).

⁵ A. SOWIŃSKI, *Słownik muzyków polskich, dawnych i nowoczesnych kompozytorów, wirtuozów, śpiewaków, instrumentistów, lutnistów, organistów, poetów lirycznych i miłośników sztuki muzycznej, zawierający krótki rys historii muzyki w Polsce, opisanie obrazów cudownych i dawnych instrumentów, z muzyką i portretem autora*, Paris 1874, pp. 237-239. A similar description is given

The anonymous author of the article *Ród Lubomirskich w muzyce*, published in the late 19th century in the Warsaw weekly “Echo Muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne”, completes that image, with a good touch of anecdote added:

As a composer, he left a considerable number of works, valued at the time in the music world, as proven by the following. In a freshly established music society in Lviv, at a public session in 1858, it was planned to appoint musicians of merit to national art as honorary members. Chosen were Stanisław Moniuszko, Ignacy Dobrzyński and Kazimierz duke Lubomirski. Appointed among such venerable figures, duke Kazimierz accepted the commission, and the distinction was sanctioned by Agenor count Gołuchowski, governor of Galicia at the time⁶.

The author also added important information concerning the publications of Lubomirski's music scores, which supplemented Sowiński's finding to a large extent:

[...] Duke Kazimierz left behind 60 opera of his works. Among these, Op. 10 Trois mazures was published in Dresden with Meser; op. 11 and 12 L'etoile, a song performed by Mrs Kirchberger from Lviv (1852) and L'Automne, both published in Dresden.

Further, some more publications abroad are mentioned, like *Galop du Postillon*, *Mazouze* (score published in Petersburg and in Hamburg), alongside very numerous Warsaw editions. The extensive list of the latter (“vocal works”) includes also the score concerned in this article: “Op. 14. Smutny rolnik i Barkarola »Na morze«”⁷. Let us take a closer look at the circumstances of the birth of that chamber music work in which Norwid was an active participant as the author of lyrics.

in the *Encyklopedia Powszechna* of that time, called *Encyklopedia Orgelbranda*, see vol. XVII, Warszawa 1864, p. 370. Although, as has been mentioned, the modern *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM* does not include an entry for Kazimierz Lubomirski, it should be indicated that some of the modern compendia do not repeat that mistake. These include *Słownik muzyków polskich* edited by J. Chomiński, also issued by PWM (see *ibid.*, vol. I: *A-L*, Kraków 1964, pp. 338-339). It is worth noting that in the short biographical sketch and list of works given in that source one can find *Smutny rolnik* and the barcarole *Na morze* op. 14., although without noting Norwid's authorship, not surprisingly in the light of the discussion in this paper. Noteworthy is also the entry by Tadeusz Przybylski (*Lubomirski Kazimierz*), which has been very helpful in writing this part of the paper, and which was published in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XVIII: *Lubomirski Aleksander – Machowski Walenty*, E. Rostworowski (ed.), Wrocław 1973, p. 30.

⁶ [N.N.], *Ród Lubomirskich w muzyce*, “Echo Muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne” 1899, No. 13, p. 146.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

2. INICJAŁY

The title page of *Wspomnienia Ostendy* lists several names: next to the composer, Kazimierz Lubomirski, and Taida Małachowska, to whom the songs were dedicated, there appear the authors of lyrics to both songs, i.e. Cyprian Kamil Norwid and Lucjan Siemieński, although indicated only by initials: C.K.N and L.S. It is worth referring to several sources which shed more light on the circumstances in which the works were created and on the issue of authorship of the musically arranged poems.

On 16th August 1846, Jan Skrzynecki wrote to the Resurrectionists⁸:

Jutro jadę do Ostendy, żona przybędzie tam 20 b.m. – są tam już Małachowska z córkami, Mańkowska, panna Turno, Linowscy, Trębicki jen. z żoną, państwo Mysłowscy z Galicji, Zieliński z Galicji [...]. Będzie w O[stendzie] p. Norwid, sławny malarz, człowiek świątły, religijny i niezmiernie dobry⁹.

[Tomorrow I go to Ostend, where my wife goes on the 20th – there are already Mrs Małachowska with her daughters, Mańkowska, Miss Turno, the Linowskis, gen. Trębicki with his wife, the Mysłowskis from Galicia, Zieliński from Galicia [...]. Mr Norwid, famous painter, wise, religious and extremely good man, will come to O[stend].]

Indeed, Norwid went at that time to Ostend, one of the most fashionable seaside resorts of north-western Europe, where he intended to recuperate and regain his strength after the dramatic Berlin episode. What was more, soon he was to stay “w jednym domu z generałem S[Skrzyneckim], podziwiając gościnność i dobroć tej rodziny [in one house with general S[krzynecki], and admire the hospitality and kindness of the family]”, as he wrote to Cezary Plater in a letter of early September, sent with the correspondence of countess Małachowska (DWsz X, 99-100)¹⁰. The above quoted letter also informs the reader that the wife of Ludwik Małachowski was accompanied in her trip to Ostend by two of her daughters – Hortensja (born 1810) and Taida (born 1820). The third daughter, Stefania, married Cezary Plater in 1843 and was living in London at that time¹¹. On that basis one may conclude

⁸ Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ [translator’s note].

⁹ Z. SUDOLSKI, *Cyprian Norwid w świetle listów Jana i Amelii Skrzyneckich*, “Miesięcznik Literacki” 1968, No. 10, p. 122.

¹⁰ “Korzystam z sposobności, jaką nastęrcza mi łaskawie p. hr. Mał[achowska]. Dziękuję za kilka słów, które w Brukseli mię doszły – byłem wtedy właśnie bardzo słaby, skutkiem czego do Ostende kazano mi się udać, i pławię się tu we wietrze, gdyż kąpeli nie mógłbym wytrzymać. – Mieszkam w jednym domu z generałem S., podziwiając gościnność i dobroć tej rodziny. – Oto wszystkie o mnie wiadomości. –”

¹¹ The Małachowskis had one more daughter, Jadwiga (born 1828), who died soon after birth.

that in late summer 1846 Norwid met his peer Taida Małachowska in Ostend – the same Taida to whom Kazimierz Lubomirski dedicated his musical *Wspomnienia*.

Another text, a fragment of which is quoted below, attests to both poets: Norwid and Siemieński, meeting in one group of holiday makers enjoying the beauty of the seaside. In an anonymous letter published in January 1847 in the “Przyjacieli Ludu” weekly, titled *Kapiele w Ostendzie (Bathing in Ostend)*, which – with eloquence and a large dose of humour – describes the habits of guests coming to the North Sea coast from all over Europe, you can read:

Układamy więc przejazdkę na morzu; mały jacht „Prince Royal” przyjmuje nasze towarzystwo, złożone z kilkunastu osób. Zrazu idzie wesoło; nadymają się żagle; skaczemy z bałwanu na bałwan; zdaje się, żeśmy ptacy lecący w ten przestwór. Wesoły i dowcipny hrabia G. ożywia rozmowę; N. siedzi na boku i rysuje oryginalne fizjonomie majtków; mnie proszą, żebym mój wiersz powiedział:

„Chodź kochanko, chodź na morze! etc.”

Ale darmo! Dowcipy coraz rzadsze, rozmowa coraz mniej ożywiona, mnie się wcale o rymach nie marzy... i oto nagle objawiają się symptomata choroby morskiej...¹²

[Thus we arrange a sea cruissette; the small yacht “Prince Royal” takes our company of a dozen or so. Initially all is joyful; the sails are full; we jump from one billow to another; it feels we are like birds flying into the expanse. The cheerful, witty count G. animates the conversation; N. sits aside and draws original physiognomies of deck-hands; I am asked to say my poem:

“Chodź kochanko, chodź na morze! etc.”

In vain! Jests come ever more seldom, the discussion loses momentum, I feel the least like rhymes... and suddenly sea-sickness grasps with unrelenting symptoms...]

The authors of *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida* only suggest that Siemieński could be the author, and Norwid an actor of the cited genre scene, yet much indicates that their conjectures are very much justified and should shed the note of uncertainty¹³. It is quite certain that Lucjan Siemieński was describing the sea-bathing in Ostend, as undeniably proven by the mention of his own poem, starting with the words “Chodź kochanko, chodź na morze”, published in 1838 and then in 1844. The poem shall be discussed again below. Other sources say that in 1846 Siemieński was expelled from the Poznań region and moved to Brussels with his family¹⁴. The N. mentioned in the text is undoubtedly Norwid, whose habit of sketching likenesses of people around him – friends, acquaintances, or

¹² 23rd January 1847, p. 27.

¹³ Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK, with J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, vol. I: 1821-1860, Poznań 2007, p. 233.

¹⁴ E. KIŚLAK, *Siemiątkowski Antoni – Sieniawski Emil Karol*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XXXVII/1, issue 152, Warszawa–Kraków 1996, p. 26.

simply original “physiognomies” – during social meetings was generally known and is often mentioned by his contemporaries.

It is fortunate that three sketchbooks of Norwid remain from the time he spent in Ostend. He gave them to the daughters of General Skrzynecki, and currently they are in the collections of the National Museum in Kraków. The sketchbooks give insight in a considerable number of drawings by the author of *Muzyk niepotrzebny*¹⁵. Most of the today yellowed sheets are filled with various figures, busts and heads. These include portrayals of individualised features and distinctive portrait features, there are stylised or idealised “types” and “characters”, there are also roughly sketched figures aptly emphasising characteristic features. Here or there among the images of people one can find a solitary sketch of a dog, a cat, or a cow; a few of the portrayed people ride horses. Some drawings have notes or titles; they include a few handmade notes by Norwid, like the name “OSTENDE” accompanying a young fisherman or deckhand walking along the seaside with a pipe in his mouth (*vide* the above quoted correspondence of Siemieński), or “la bellezza e la dolcezza e il gatto bello piccolo”, which is an annotation to the sketch of a sitting cat, titled “Carino”. The above described research, however, draws attention mainly toward the other annotations, written in a different hand and concerning the identification of the people portrayed by Norwid. Those notes, added years later as proven by the biographic details they contain, were most likely made a person from the closest family circle of the Skrzyneckis. Perhaps the author was the General’s daughter Zofia, who had had the sketchbooks in her possession for long years, before they became part of the collection of Adolf Sternschuss, a Kraków collector, in the 1990s. The notes allow to state that the above mentioned sketchbooks included portrayals of all the people listed in the title page of the music scores concerned, and thus: Taida Małachowska¹⁶, Lucjan Siemieński¹⁷ – as has been stated earlier, both has the opportunity to meet Norwid during his stay in Ostend – but also duke Kazimierz Lubomirski¹⁸, who’d composed the musical “memory” of Ostend. Some

¹⁵ E. CHLEBOWSKA, Cyprian Norwid. *Katalog prac plastycznych*, vol. I: *Prace w albumach 1*, Lublin 2014, pp. 308-497, items 104/II – 185/IV (further as Katalog I).

¹⁶ Pencil sketch on a page of *Szkicownik III*, with the note “T. Rzewuska nee M.” (i.e. Taida Rzewuska nee Małachowska; in 1850 Taida married Leon Rzewuski), see Katalog I, item 173/IV (pp. 472-473).

¹⁷ Pencil sketch on a page of *Szkicownik III*, with the note “Lucjan Siemieński”, see Katalog I, item 184/IV (pp. 494-495). Next to it, on the same page, there is Norwid’s self-portrait as he draws in his sketchbook. Another portrait of Siemieński, sketched on the back of a visiting card, was pasted into *Szkicownik I*, also next to Norwid’s self-portrait (currently lost, on the album’s page remains only the title: “Lucjan Siemieński”) – see Katalog I, item 121/II (pp. 350-351).

¹⁸ Pencil sketch on a page of *Szkicownik I*, with the note “Ks. Kazimierz Lubomirski”, see

small traces of the poet's contact with duke Lubomirski at that time are also found in the above mentioned correspondence of General Jan Skrzynecki, who wrote in a bitter tone to Hieronim Kajsiwicz that the reason for Norwid's journey from Belgium to Rome (24th January 1847) was the persuasion of duke Lubomirski:

... nasi panowie zawołali go do Rzymu, aby mu dać komendy, aby malował obrazy, a zostawili bez grosza; na podróż zadłużył się tutaj, czyż to nie największa ohyda dla tych krezusów? Ks. Kazimierz Lubo[mirski] go powołał, a [Ksawery] Branicki miał mu dać polecenia. Raczyński także robił obietnice – otóż to panowie nasi¹⁹.

[... our lords called him to Rome to order him around painting, but left him penniless; he ran up a debt here to go, is that not the greatest abomination for those nabobs? Duke Kazimierz Lubo[mirski] called him, and [Ksawery] Branicki was to give him commissions. Raczyński also made promises – there you have our squires.]

The above listed testimonies and documents allow to enhance the conviction that the lyrics published in *Wspomnienia Ostendy* were written by Norwid (under the initials C.K.N.) and Lucjan Siemieński (under the initials L.S.). Moreover, it can be assumed as highly probable that Lubomirski's idea to compose music to the two poems of the writers he was friends with and to dedicate the entire work to Taida Małachowska, connected with the group (as all were close to General Skrzynecki and his salon), was born in Ostend in the late summer or autumn of 1846.

The publication date of Kazimierz Lubomirski's score can be put around April 1851 (as *terminus ad quem*). The title appears in catalogues of German music publications in the beginning of May 1851. It is noted e.g. by the Cologne "Rheinische Musik-Zeitung", issue of 3rd May 1851²⁰, and by "Neue Berliner Musikzeitung" of 7th May 1851²¹.

Katalog I, item 106/II (pp. 318-319).

¹⁹ Letter of 28th July 1847, quoted after: Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, Z. DAMBEK, with J. CZARNOMORSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, pp. 244-245. In another letter to Kajsiwicz, written two days later, Skrzynecki returns to the topic and adds that Norwid left Brussels, invited to do so by Lubomirski's letter, after: *ibid.*, p. 245.

²⁰ "Rheinische Musik-Zeitung" 1(1850/1851), No. 44, p. 352 http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10527495_00346.html; "Neue Berliner Musikzeitung" 1851, No. 19, p. 152 http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10527472_00155.html. Publication of book publishing announcements in German music journals shows that the song with Norwid's lyrics was known not only in Poland. The catalogues of the Friedlein company, which issued the score, can be found in the University of Warsaw Library, see *Verzeichniss der deutschen Leihbibliothek von R. Friedlein in Warschau* (1849) and *Nachtrag zum Verzeichniss der deutschen Leihbibliothek von R. Friedlein in Warschau* (1851). The librarian in the University Library in

3. ANONYMOUS AUTHOR

So far, the authors have been able to specify the origins and publication issues of Kazimierz Lubomirski's music score *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, with two songs for piano and voice to the lyrics of Norwid and Siemieński. While the previous chapter identified the two poets hidden under the initials, the authorship of particular texts is still not quite obvious. After all, the publication concerns two songs. The question arises what the basis was for deciding that it was Norwid who wrote the lyrics for the song *Smutny rolnik*, quoted at the very start of this article. One might argue that another possibility to consider could be double authorship of the poems – a published effect of a romantic parlour game. History is replete with examples of not only piano compositions for four hands, but also of creating literary or visual works based on cooperation of a group of people. What comes to the researcher's aid in solving this attributive dilemma is Siemieński's work. As it turns out, the lyrics of the song *Na morze* – in a slightly different version and with a different title: *Żegluga* – were published for the first time in 1838 in "Prace Literackie"²², then reprinted with some changes (mainly in the last stanza) in a volume of his poetry, *Poezje*, issued in 1844 by Księgarnia J. K. Żupańskiego in Poznań, and its incipit – as mentioned above – was referred to in January 1847 in the press account *Bathing in Ostend*. The poem was also published – with the title *Żegluga* and slight changes in punctuation, rhetorical rather than semantic in nature – in the volume *Poezje* (Leipzig 1863) issued by Brockhaus during the poet's lifetime, then reprinted in the same version after Siemieński's death in volume X of *Dziela Lucjana Siemieńskiego* (Warszawa 1882). Both editions took the Poznań issue of 1844 as the basis. However, textual differences, and quite significant at that, may be noticed between Siemieński's text issued in the music score and the above listed editions of 1844, 1863 and 1882. (The changes concern not only inflection or lexis, but even whole stanzas added to Lubomirski's publication.) For the purposes of this article, however, an issue more important than edition matters is the attribution of the song *Na morze*, a.k.a. *Żegluga*, as it allows to recognise Norwid as the author of lyrics for the song *Smutny rolnik* without a shade of doubt. For the record, below juxtaposed are the text of Siemieński's

Poznań, where the authors of this paper were able to find a copy of the published score, stated it had been issued around 1855, likely led by the dating of other music scores by that composer as suggested in the catalogue of the National Library of Poland (most were assigned to that year).

²¹ The authors would like to sincerely thank Elżbieta Lijewska for pointing out the German music journals and dates of publication of Lubomirski's music contained therein.

²² "Prace Literackie" (Wiedeń) 1(1838), pp. 215-216.

poem from the first Poznań edition (as *Żegluga*) and the lyrics from Lubomirski's score (as *Na morze*):

Żegluga

Chodź kochanko, chodź na morze
Wiatr nam w żagle dmie!
Nowe gwiazdy, nowe zorze
Będą witać cię! –
Miniem porty i zatoki
Kotwię rzucim na obłoki;
Precz od lądu, precz!

Kto ma duszę niewolniczą,
Temu światem ląd;
A nam stropy nieb graniczą,
Królem wiatr i prąd.
I bez świadków tu kochanie
Tajemnicze, jak otchłanie;
Precz od lądu, precz!

Nie raz siądzie na maszt mewa
Wieści niosąc z ziem:
Że tam burza łamie drzewa –
Nie smucim się tém.
Co nam ziemie, co nam burze!
Nam tu gwiazdy lśnią w lazurze.
Precz od lądu, precz!²³

Na morze

Chodź kochanko chodź na morze
Wietrzyk w żagle dmie
Nowe gwiazdy, nowe zorze
Będą witać cię
Miniem porty i zatoki
Kotwię rzucim na obłoki
Precz od lądu precz
Precz od lądu precz!

Kto ma duszę niewolnika
Temu światem ląd
A nam stropy nieb graniczą,
Królem wiatr i prąd
I bez świadków tu kochanie
Tajemnicze, jak otchłanie;
Precz od lądu, precz!
Precz od lądu, precz!

Na raz siądzie na maszt mewa
Wieść przynosząc z ziem
Że tam burza łamie drzewa,
Nie smucim się tém.
Co nam ziemie, co nam burze
Nasza gwiazda lśni w lazurze
Chodź na morze, chodź.
Chodź na morze, chodź!

Chodź na morze, bo tam nie ma
Wrogów chciwych krwi,
Grób otwarty przed oczyma,
Wieczność miasto dni,
I Bóg większy w mórż przestworzu,
Jeśli ginąć to na morzu.
Chodź na morze, chodź!
Chodź na morze, chodź!²⁴

²³ L. SIEMIENSKI, *Poezje*, Poznań 1844, pp. 96-97.

²⁴ K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [n.d.], pp. 6-12.

In the context of the above established facts concerning the recognition of the first song as Norwid's work, the only fact which may surprise is that there is not the slightest trace of the poem's existence or even – all the more surprisingly – any trace of collaboration with the composer anywhere in Norwid's writings. Yet the poem, despite being absent from any lists of Norwid's work so far, was generally known. More than that, it was quite popular in the sphere of musical culture; just like other songs composed by Lubomirski, it was often sung in family circles with the accompaniment of a piano. However, it functioned in the recipients' minds as a fully anonymous text. A telling testimony to the universal familiarity with the song starting with the words "Blade kłosy na odłogu" is the genre scene described in the first volume of Stanisław Przybyszewski's memoirs, where it is said:

A w zmroku wylania mi się postać mej matki – tak drobnej i wątłej, że zdawałoby się, iż żadnego trudu nie zniesie, a wąpię czyby zdołała jakaś niewiasta przeżyć do późnego wieku to, co ona przeżyła i zniosła – wylania się jej postać nad odwiecznym klawikordem i śpiewa słabym, dla mnie seraficzną pięknnością przepelnionym głosem:

Blade kłosy na odłogu
Jak sieroty twarz,
Pójdę powiem Panu Bogu,
Że to zagon nasz.

Prosząc o deszcz nieustannie
Wyprosiłam grad,
Pójdę powiem Marii Pannie,
Że już dosyć strat...

A po szybach zlewał się strumieniami deszcz, na dwór wyjść nie było można, bo tonęło się w błocie, a wichur nadgoplański targał zaciekle wierzchołkami topoli i żywopłotem z „nygusu”, osłaniającym pasiekę mego ojca.

Oj! rozhułała się dusza dziecka w tej roztoczy bólu, żalu, smutku i tęsknoty!...

De la musique! de la musique!

Dosyć było tej muzyki w najróżniejszych tonacjach – ale nie pomnę ani jednej wesołej nuty – a! dziwne: jak nie licują sprośne słowa kujawiaków z ich nieskończenie smutną i rozżaloną muzyką!²⁵

The memory of the writer's childhood days – which would be the 1880s – proves that the work's position was established in the canon of songs generally known to the public in that period. The song's popularity is confirmed just as definitely by its

²⁵ S. PRZYBYSZEWSKI, *Moi współcześni. Wśród obcych*, Warszawa 1926, pp. 10-11.

appearance in the folk songbook titled *Nowy śpiewnik polski z melodiami przeznaczony w pierwszym rządzie dla towarzystw ludowych w Prusach Zachodnich*, prepared by two priests: Antoni Wolszlegier and Leon Kurowski, issued around 1900 in Pieniążków and popular throughout the Prussian Partition²⁶. The songbook holds a selection of 102 religious, folk, patriotic, sailor songs, often such as are still known and sung nowadays. It provides the musical notation and lyrics of the song concerned, titled with the incipit (pp. 8-9), but does not give any information about the authors of the lyrics or the music, although some other songs have that kind of annotations. As Norwid's text was quite significantly altered here, below given is the full transcript:

Blade kłosy na odłogu
Jak sieroca twarz;
Pójdę powiem Panu Bogu,
Że to zagon nasz.

Siedząc na praajców niwie,
Zastałem tam głóg,
Pracowałem nieleniwie,
Świadkiem tego Bóg.

Prosząc o deszcz nieustannie,
Wyprosiłem grad.
Pójdę, powiem Maryi Pannie,
Że już dosyć strat.

Ludziom skarżyć się nie będę,
Nie chcę cudzych rad;
Wezmę z sobą krzyż na drogę,
Bóg ma wielki świat.

The lyrics of the song were published in an identical form as above by Józef Gallus, national activist, folk writer and printer, in the songbook *Najnowszy śpiewnik polski*²⁷ issued around 1914 (publication date according to the catalogue of the National Library of Poland) in Bytom.

²⁶ Former territories of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth acquired during the partitions of Poland by the Kingdom of Prussia. The first partitioning led by imperial Russia with Austrian and Prussian participation took place in 1772; the next one in 1793, and the final one in 1795, resulting in Poland losing its independence as a state for the next 123 years [translator's note].

²⁷ Full title of the songbook: *Najnowszy śpiewnik polski: wybór najulubieńszych pieśni i śpiewów religijnych, narodowych, ludowych itd. używanych w towarzystwach polskich*, Bytom (1914).

The many years in which Norwid's poem was present in popular culture, where it functioned as an anonymous work, explain its susceptibility to transformations it was subjected to as the years went on. Not knowing the author of the lyrics of the song, the recipients of the work – in this case, music lovers – did not feel obliged to maintain its original form and had no qualms about interfering with the shape of the work, going as far as to add their own stanzas. Such practice was quite widespread in the 19th century in musical life connected with the manor and the parlour. Consolidation of popular chamber music works with the accompanying changes of the original forms (particularly with respect to lyrics) is even today a natural phenomenon of a complex process which makes up the wealth of tradition.

4. TITLE

The last issue is the matter of the title of the poem concerned. The authors actually have serious doubts as to its attribution: is *Smutny rolnik* a phrase coming from Norwid, or is it rather a creation or result of interference of the composer, Kazimierz Lubomirski? That serious difficulty is based on two issues. One is again related to the lyrics by Siemieński, while the other refers to the features of the language of the author of *Promethidion*.

Considering the first issue, it must be noted that the title *Na morze*, or more exactly: *Barkarola "Na morze"*, is an amended version of the original title: *Żegluga*, with which the poem was published, as said above, in the volume *Poezje* issued by Siemieński in 1844 (and earlier, in the anthology "Prace Literackie" of 1838). The question is, did that change – coupled with publishing changes, including the addition of a full stanza in the music score – take place with the poet's consent. Obviously, the matter is not easily discerned in a satisfactory manner, although Brockhaus's edition of *Poezje* in 1863 restores *Żegluga* of 1844, which would be a strong argument to support the theory that the title *Na morze* does not come from the author. The above mentioned Leipzig edition, prepared during the author's lifetime (undoubtedly under his supervision, as was practiced by that publisher), not only restores the poem's original title, but also leaves out the last (additional) stanza contained in *Wspomnienia Ostendy*. In comparison to the first three stanzas contained in all the other editions of Siemieński's poem, the poetic shape of that last stanza betrays technical awkwardness (mainly as concerns rhythm and imaging). When viewed together with the publishing practice establishing a three-stanza form of *Żegluga*, that awkwardness arouses serious suspicion of a foreign hand interfering in the creation of that part of the poem. If the most likely 'sus-

pect' were to be indicated, it would undoubtedly be Kazimierz Lubomirski again. The practice of interfering in an original poetic text due to the need for sound synergy between the music and the word is not and never has been a rare occurrence in music. Adding, reshaping, shortening and similar processes are in such cases motivated with the need for the musical message to be coherent. While that indirect evidence allows to draw similar conclusions concerning the title *Smutny rolnik*, it does not allow to formulate a similar controversy as to the last stanza of Norwid's poem, for lack of a publishing context of other editions of the work (as was possible to find with Siemieński). However, there is a very similar mechanism of poetic awkwardness present in it as compared to the preceding stanzas as there was with *Żegluga*.

And then there is the above-mentioned other issue to undermine the theory that the title *Smutny rolnik* be given by the author. In this case, the initial doubts concerning the not-quite-Norwid character of the whole phrase are supported with the poet's vocabulary range. Naturally, it would be difficult to clearly prove any phraseological non-compatibility of *Smutny rolnik* with the style of the author of *Promethidion*, but the absence of the noun "rolnik" (farmer) in Norwid's linguistic index works as a strong argument in favour of the theory presented here. That particular lexeme appears only once²⁸: in song XII of *Rzecz o wolności słowa*, where the revolutionary-volcanic image of history is presented, viewed through the prism of Mickiewicz's *Księgi narodu i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* and shaped by a "volcano's inspiration", the element of revolutionary changes. The farmer here is part of a sequence of images picturing the apocalyptic panorama:

Że zaiste jest wielkim natchnienie wulkanu:
Ptak je wietrzy, drży jemu grzywą kark kurhanu,
Firmament się zanosi łkaniami Sodomy,
Coś dzieje się – wracają niedopękle gromy
We chmur wnętrza, jak poród, co uląkł się siebie –
Coś się na ziemi dzieje, stało się na niebie.
Miasta jako ich mury poblądły wapienne,
Bruki placów jak piersi podnoszą się senne,
Gmin szemrze... potem naraz czerwony słup łuny
Przekreśliwszy firmament rozdeszcza pioruny.
Rolnik pług załamuje w skibę rozżarzoną
Jak krzyż w zachodu blaskach – król chwiejną koroną
Maca po drżącej ziemi, gdzie państwa granice?
(DWsz IV, 261-262)

²⁸ The authors used the resources of *Internetowy Słownik Języka Cypriana Norwida* (at: sloownikjezykanorwida.uw.edu.pl).

That very specific negative use of “farmer” – NB nearly a quarter of a century after the creation of *Blade kłosy na odlogu...* – indicates that the supposition may be true. The meaning here is also noteworthy. *Słownik warszawski* broadens a farmer’s competence as compared to the modern usage: currently, farmer means simply a peasant, while in Norwid’s time it was “a man pursuing agriculture, homesteader, country gentleman, peasant” (*Słownik warszawski* V, 558).

Both the discussed issues allow to draw the important publishing conclusion that the title *Smutny rolnik* is not an actual title given by Norwid. Hence this article and the resulting first publication of the so far unknown poem within it bear the incipit title *Blade kłosy na odlogu...*, which in the author’s opinion should hold for future publications of the poem. Already after the publication of Lubomirski’s scores, the poem was marked with undeserved anonymity, which was further established in popular songbooks, but also with a lack of title, which in this particular case seems fully deserved, or better said: consistent with the wishes of the author of the poem.

Translated by Agnieszka Gernand

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BLADE KŁOSY NA ODŁOGU... [PALE EARS ON THE FALLOW...]
– AN UNKNOWN POEM BY NORWID

S u m m a r y

This article is a republication of an unknown poem by Norwid, entitled *Blade kłosy na odłogu* [Pale ears on the fallow...]. The text is taken from the sheet music edition of two songs published by Kazimierz Lubomirski (the latter song is authored by Lucjan Siemieński), developed for voice and piano. Most probably, the score was published in the spring of 1851. The article attempts to unveil the circumstances of how the work came into being and it settles the problem of its unclear authorship and roots. Moreover, it shows a story of a musical piece that has for long remained unknown, and which was well-recognized in the realm of household musical culture at the turn of the 20th century.

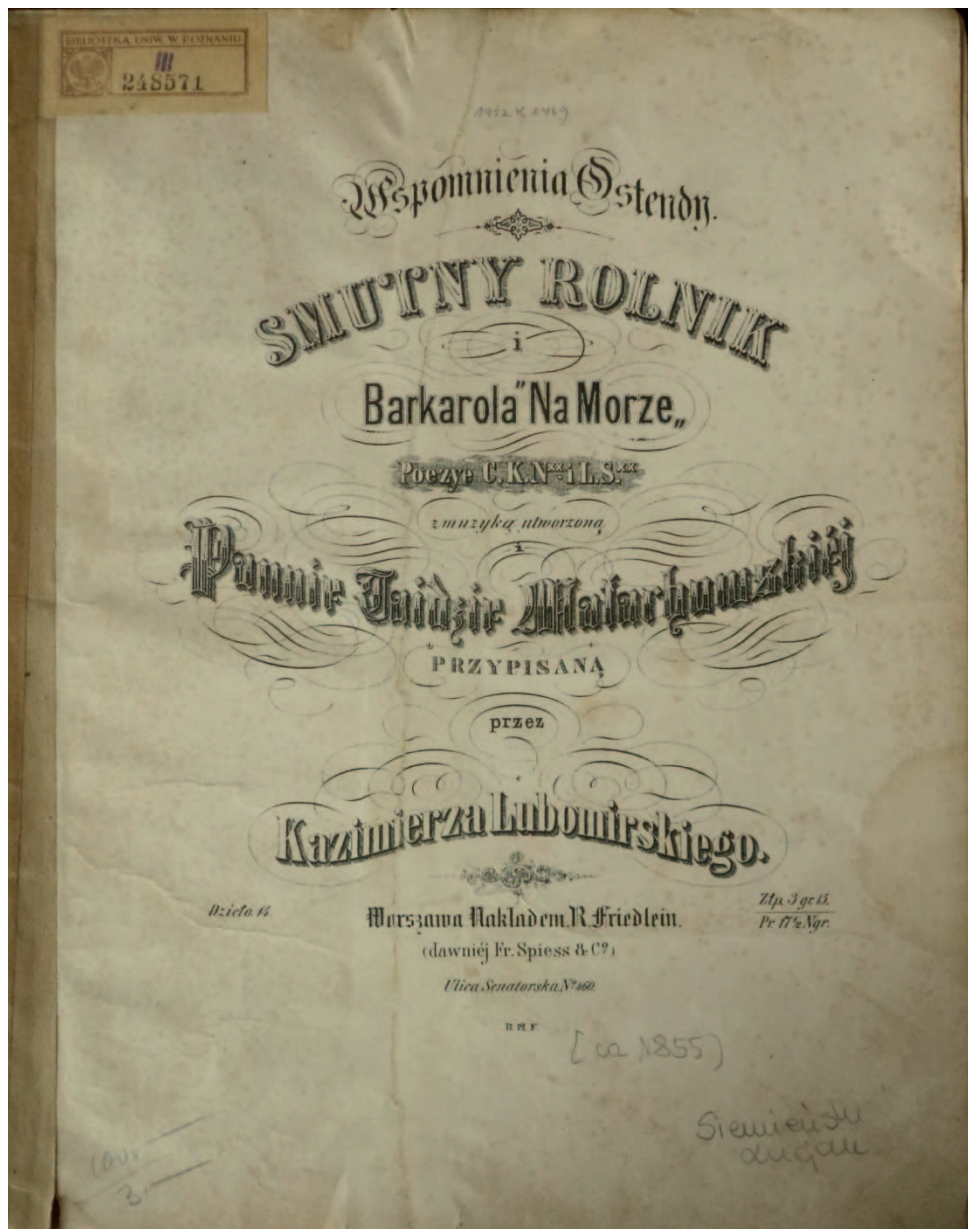
Key words: song; Norwid; Kazimierz Lubomirski; Ostend; Taida Małachowska; *Blade kłosy* [Pale ears...]; songbook; notation; score; piano; Lucjan Siemieński.

Słowa kluczowe: pieśń; Norwid; Kazimierz Lubomirski; Ostenda; Taida Małachowska; *Blade kłosy*; śpiewnik; nuty; partytura; fortepian; Lucjan Siemieński.

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1. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [1851]. Title page

The image shows a page from a musical score. At the top, the title "SMUTNY ROLNIK" is written in a decorative, outlined font. Below it, the composer's name "KAZIMIERZA LUBOMIRSKIEGO" is also in a similar decorative font. The text "przez" (by) is placed between the title and the composer's name. Below the composer's name, it says "Dzieło 14." (Work 14). The tempo marking "Andantino." is written above the first staff. The first staff is labeled "GLOS." (Vocal) and the second is labeled "PIANO." (Piano). The piano part begins with a piano dynamic marking "p". The vocal part begins with a "semplice" marking. The lyrics are in Polish: "Bla . de kło - sy na od - ło - gu jak sie - ro - ty twarz .
pój - de po - wiew Pa - ni Bo - gu ze to za - gon nasz!". The piano part continues with a "pp" marking. At the bottom left, it says "Sich und Druck von C.G. Richter in Leipzig." and at the bottom center, the number "12" is printed.

2. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [1851], p. 3 [C. Norwid's lyrics]

De - szę pro - szę nie - u - stan - nie wy - pro - si - lem, grad,
pój - dę po - wiem Ma - ryj Pan - nie że już do - syc' strat!
riten. pój - dę po - wiem Ma - ryj Pan - nie że już do - syc' strat.
riten.
a tempo.

12

3. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [ca. 1851], p. 4 [C. Norwid's lyrics]

5

poco più animato

Lu - dziom ską - rzyć się nie mo - gę, cu - dzych nie - chcę rad,

p

riten.

każ - dy ma swój cel i dro - gę, Bóg ma ca - ły świat

a tempo.

Wiec tam pój - de ze łz. wo - ku i bez dłu - gich słów

p

4. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [1851], p. 5 [C. Norwid's lyrics]

6

Sierp za - wie - szyć na o - blo - ku ni - by ja - sny nów.

Sierp za - wie - szyć na o - blo - ku ni - by ja - sny now! *riten.*

Tempo 1º

Skoń - czył, skoń - czył, a - lić czas - się

zmie - nia, a - lić czas się zmie - nia, a nim prze - szedł

12

5. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [1851], p. 6 [C. Norwid's lyrics]

poco più animato

prog. zło - ty kłos go o - pro - mie - nia dzwo - nia sier - py

ślug, nie ślug sier - py. lecz A - nio - łów, ten jch zdra - dza

Grave.

śpiew. Wierz! Wierz!

leggiero *leggiero*

cu - dny wskrze - sze pu - łow i roz - bro - je gniew!

Fine.

6. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [1851], p. 7 [C. Norwid's lyrics]

NA MORZE
przez
KAZIMIERZA LUBOMIRSKIEGO
Dzielo 14.

Allegretto.

GLOS.

PIANO.

p riten.

12

7. K. Lubomirski, *Wspomnienia Ostendy*, Warszawa [1851], p. 8 [to L. Siemieński's lyrics]