



Witold Lutosławski's Radio Bohemica: A Commentary on the Musical Reception of the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* and the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora* in Poland¹

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Abstract

The discovery of the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* and the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora* in the Czech lands at the beginning of the nineteenth century aroused great interest among the Polish intellectual and artistic elite, provoking discussions on the prehistory of Slavonic culture and generating numerous more or less faithful Polish translations of the texts included in manuscripts. This article addresses the problem of the musical reception of both forgeries in Poland, which is far more modest than the Polish literary works inspired by the two Czech forgeries or the historical studies addressing the issues outlined in them.

To the modest list of composers using the texts from the two manuscripts in their musical works – which so far includes only Władysław Żeleński and Ewa Fabiańska-Jelińska – we should add Witold Lutosławski, thanks to recent research on his works for radio theatre. Among the pieces composed by Lutosławski for a radio play *Legenda o Walgierzu Wdałym* (*The Legend of Walgierz Wdały*) with text by Stanisław Nadzin, broadcast on Polish Radio in 1946, a fragment of the *Libussa's Judgement* performed by one of the play's protagonists has recently been found. This article contains the most important information

¹ This article is the result of the research project *Muzyka Witolda Lutosławskiego w "teatrze wyobraźni": jej funkcja i znaczenie w słuchowiskach radiowych* [*Music of Witold Lutosławski in the 'theatre of the imagination': its function and meaning in radio plays*], funded by the National Science Centre in Poland under decision number UMO 2014/15/N/HS2/04049 and carried out between 2015 and 2019 at the Faculty of History at the Jagiellonian University.

about the plot and musical setting of the radio play, as well as analysing the vocal excerpts using the Polish translation of the *Libussa's Judgement*.

Keywords

Manuscript of Dvůr Králové; Manuscript of Zelená Hora; The Legend of Walgierz Wdały; Václav Hanka; Witold Lutosławski; Stanisław Nadzin; radio play

The discovery of what were purportedly the two oldest monuments of Czech literature in the second decade of the nineteenth century – the *Rukopis královédvorský* (*Manuscript of Dvůr Králové*), found in the tower of the Saint John the Baptist Church in Dvůr Králové nad Labem, and the *Rukopis zelenohorský* (*Manuscript of Zelená Hora*), discovered in Zelená Hora Castle near Nepomuk – attracted worldwide attention. Although the two supposedly medieval documents were ultimately proven to be sophisticated fabrications by Václav Hanka and his collaborators, they sparked intense scholarly and artistic interest throughout the nineteenth century before being recognised as among the most famous literary forgeries in history.²

This was also the case in Poland, whose territory remained partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria from 1795 to 1918. For many generations of Polish intellectuals and artists, asserting a distinct national identity – one fundamentally different from that forcibly imposed by the occupying powers – became a matter of utmost importance, both in the public sphere and in scholarly and

² The history of Polish literature and music also includes cases of similar, albeit less spectacular, mystifications to those carried out by Václav Hanka and Josef Linda. The most well-known cases have been described by Janusz Tazbir in the studies *Opowieści prawdziwe i zmyślane* (Interim, 1994) and *Cudzym piórem... Falsyfikaty historyczno-literackie* (Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2002). The most famous music-related Polish forgery is considered to be the fabricated love letters allegedly exchanged between Chopin and Delfina Potocka: see Jerzy Maria Smoter, *Spór o "listy" Chopina do Delfiny Potockiej* (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976); Piotr Szumiński, *Chopin i Potocka. Awantura o miłosną korespondencję* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2005). Meanwhile, Polish-language scholarly literature on Czech literary mystifications is primarily represented by the works of Štěpán Balík, "Czeska tradycja humoru i mistyfikacji," *Teksty Drugie* 21, no. 4 (2010): 247–266; and Krystyna Kardyni-Pelikánová: see "Kaplani czy jokulatorzy. O czeskich mistyfikacjach literackich (cz. 1)," *Twórczość* 64, no. 4 (2008): 129–133; "Reportaż spod szubienicy' – iluzja romantycznego bohatera komunizmu. O czeskich mistyfikacjach literackich (cz. 2)," *Twórczość* 64, no. 6 (2008): 128–133; "Divadlo Járy Cimrmana – přešmievca iluzja czeskiego arcygeniusza. O czeskich mistyfikacjach literackich (cz. 3)," *Twórczość* 64, no. 8 (2008): 130–135; "Mistyfikacje literackie jako czeski sposób przekraczania opresyjnej rzeczywistości," in *Podzwonne dla granic. Polsko-czeskie linie podziałów i miejsca kontaktów w języku, literaturze i kulturze*, ed. Jaroslav Lipowski and Dorota Żygadło-Czopnik (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2009), 81–89.

artistic endeavours. Notably, the two Czech forgeries, which were believed to pre-date the earliest known monuments of the literature of Old Rus, held particular significance for Poles in the face of the increasingly aggressive Pan-Slavic ideas of the nineteenth century. Promoted and propagated by the Russian Empire as part of its broader imperial policy toward neighbouring nations, Pan-Slavicism sought to establish Russia as the spiritual and political leader of all Slavic peoples. The Czech manuscripts, despite their fabricated origins, provided Poles with what they regarded as irrefutable, albeit largely symbolic, evidence that Russia had no legitimate claim to this self-appointed role. The two documents were swiftly translated into Polish – initially in excerpts and later in full – and subsequently published.³ They became the subject of numerous scholarly commentaries,⁴ although they inspired only a handful of artistic adaptations.

³ The authors of the first Polish translations of fragments from the two documents included, among others, Walenty Skorochód-Majewski, “Zabój, Sławóy i Ludiek,” *Pamiętnik Warszawski* 6, vol. 17 (1820): 94–109; Kazimierz Brodziński, “Zbichon. Duma przełożona ze staro-czeskiego ęzyka,” *Pamiętnik Warszawski* 6, vol. 17 (1820): 393–397; Ignacy Benedykt Rakowiecki, “Zabój,” “Sąd Libuszy,” in *Prawda ruska czyli prawda Wielkiego Xięcia Jarosława Władymirowicza*, vol. 1 (Drukarnia Pijarów, 1820), 231–234, 235–241; “Sąd Libuszy,” in *Prawda ruska*..., vol. 2 (Drukarnia Pijarów, 1822), 157–169; Józef Bohdan Zaleski, “Pieśń staro-czeska. Z rękopismu Krółodworskiego,” *Astrea. Pamiętnik Narodowy Polski* 2, vol. 3, no. 4 (1823): 188–189; “Wianek,” in *Obraz literatury powszechnej w streszczeniach i przykładach*, vol. 1: *Czasy nowożytnie*, ed. Piotr Chmielowski and Edward Grabowski (Teodor Paprocki i S-ka, 1896), 554; Stefan Witwicki, “Ludwika i Lubor, albo Turnieje. Wedle „Rękopisu krółodworskiego,” in *Ballady i romanse*, vol. 1 (Antoni Brzezina, 1824), 11–20; Kasper Lasota Cięglewicz, “Kukułka. Przekład z rękopismu Krółodworskiego,” *Rozmaitości* 11, no. 3 (1827): 22; Ludwik Nabelak, “Jarosław,” “Zabój i Sławój a Ludiek,” *Haliczanin* 1, vol. 1 (1830): 202–209, 210–216; “Czestmir a Własław,” “Ludissa i Lubor,” “Udalryk i Bolesław,” “Jeleń,” *Haliczanin* 1, vol. 2 (1830): 93–99, 99–103, 103–105, 105–106; Augustyn Bielowski, “Jeleń,” *Haliczanin* 1, vol. 2 (1830): 106–107; “Sąd Libuszy,” *Pamiętnik Naukowy* 1, vol. 2, no. 4 (1837): 26–31; Józef Bohdan Wagner, “Kukułka,” “Opuszczona,” *Światowid, czyli zbiór najciekawszych powieści i artykułów, tak tłómaczonych [sic!] jak oryginalnych nauce i zabawie poświęconych* 1, vol. 1 (1835): 231, 250–251; Ludwik Norwid, “Zabój, Sławój i Ludiek. Ułamek z czeskiego poematu,” *Biblioteka Warszawska* 3, vol. 3 (1843): 59–63. The first complete translation, accompanied by extensive commentary but quite free in approach, was made by Lucjan Siemiński, *Krółodworski rękopis. Zbiór staroczeskich bohaterzkich i lirycznych śpiewów nalezionych i wydanych przez Wacława Hanke bibliotekarza król[ewskiego] narod[owego] czes[kiego] muzeum, a z czeskiego na polskie przez Lucyana Siemieńskiego przełożonych* (Tłocznia D.E. Friedleina, 1836). A second complete translation, never published, was made by Józef Lipiński in the 1830s – excerpts from this translation, compared with Siemiński's work, were published by Julian Maślanka in “Nieznany polski przekład *Rękopisu Krółodworskiego*,” *Slavia* 29, no. 1 (1960): 115–125.

⁴ The Czech forgeries were widely commented on by, among others, Adam Mickiewicz and provided an impetus for him to reflect on and shape his views on Slavic culture. See, for example, Konrad Górski, “Mickiewicz jako historyk i krytyk czeskiej literatury,” *Pamiętnik Literacki* 22–23 (1925/1926): 286–316; Marian Szykowski, “Mickiewicz jedzie do Pragi,” *Przegląd Zachodni* 5, no. 11 (1949): 427–439.

Mateusz Andrzejewski's study on the presence of texts from the two manuscripts in Polish music identified only two composers who incorporated the texts into their work:⁵ that is, Władysław Żeleński (1837–1921) and Ewa Fabiańska-Jelińska (b. 1989). Żeleński was the only Polish composer active in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to be genuinely inspired by the texts fabricated by Hanka. He was likely to have become acquainted with them during his several-year stay in Prague (1859–1866),⁶ where, in 1862, he earned a doctorate in philosophy from Charles University (Univerzita Karlova) and developed his musical skills under the guidance of Alexander Dreyschock and Josef Krejčí, most likely through private studies.

Żeleński composed a cycle of *Five Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové with the Polish text (Pět zpěvů z královského rukopisu s polským textem)*, Op. 10, which included *Cuckoo (Žezbulice – Zazulka)*, *Rose (Růže – Róża)*, *Forsaken (Opuštěná – Opuszczona)*, *Lark (Skřivánek – Skowronek)*, and *Wreath (Kytice – Wianek)*. These songs, with Czech texts and Polish translations by Lucjan Siemiński, were published in 1862 in Prague by Jan Hoffmann as part of the *Golden Songbook (Zlatý zpěvník)* series.⁷

Agnieszka Zwierzycka, a scholar specialising in Żeleński's song repertoire, has pointed out that he began working on the cycle in 1861, the year of Václav Hanka's death. However, in her view, it remains uncertain whether, during his studies in Prague, Żeleński had personal contact with the Czech poet.⁸ What is known is that he was actively involved in the informal association of Poles in Prague, which later became the foundation for the city's first Pan-Slavic society.⁹ Musicologists remain divided on the Slavic character of Żeleński's *Dvůr Králové* songs. For example, Andrzejewski argues that Żeleński, without attempting to archaise the musical material, did not make any effort to imbue it with a distinctly Slavic quality, although he was fully aware of the cultural and historical significance of the literary source.¹⁰ In contrast, in his analysis of the composer's

⁵ Mateusz Andrzejewski, "Rękopis královský i jego rezonans w literaturze muzycznej," *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 13 (2015): 155–171.

⁶ Detailed information on Władysław Żeleński's stay in Prague can be found in Michał Jaczyński, "Władysław Żeleński w Pradze," *Edukacja Muzyczna* 9 (2014): 63–77.

⁷ Władysław Żeleński [Żeleński], *Pět zpěvů z královského rukopisu s polským textem op. 10*, series *Zlatý zpěvník. Sbirka nejoblíbenějších zpěvů českých. Pro jeden hlas s průvodem piana* (J. Hoffmann, 1862).

⁸ Agnieszka Zwierzycka, *Pieśni solowe Władysława Żeleńskiego* (Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego we Wrocławiu, 2016), 72.

⁹ See Jaczyński, "Władysław Żeleński w Pradze," 67.

¹⁰ See Andrzejewski, "Rękopis královský i jego rezonans," 163. A detailed analysis of these works is also included in another text by the same author, "Songs Composed by Władysław Żeleński to the Lyrics of the Manuscripts of Dvůr Králové," *Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities. Musicologica* 4, no. 2 (2015): 5–10.

surviving statements, Michał Jaczyński takes the opposite view – he asserts that Żeleński was deeply invested in capturing the Slavic essence in the musical fabric of the Op. 10 songs.¹¹

In 2014, Ewa Fabiańska-Jelińska composed *Pięć pieśni lirycznych z cyklu Rękopis královdvorski* (*Five Lyrical Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové Cycle*) for female voice and piano. She used the same texts (in Siemieński's translation) as Żeleński but arranged them in a different order: *Wreath* (*Kytice – Wianek*), *Rose* (*Róže – Róża*), *Cuckoo* (*Žezhulice – Zazulka*), *Forsaken* (*Opuštěná – Opuszczona*), and *Lark* (*Skřivánek – Skowronek*). Unlike Żeleński's, her cycle is designed to be performed exclusively in Polish. Fabiańska-Jelińska conceived her song cycle as a dramaturgical whole – *Wreath* serves as a ballad-like introduction to the recitative *Rose*, followed by the climactic *Cuckoo* and *Forsaken*, with the idyllic *Lark* providing a concluding contrast. Andrzejewski sees her cycle as a euphonic synthesis of contemporary music, incorporating a fondness for bi- and polytonality alongside conventionally treated archaicism.¹²

In contrast, music critic Agnieszka Topolska considers *Five Lyrical Songs*... to be rooted in the vocal tradition of Karol Szymanowski, particularly his *Pieśni kurpiowskie* (*Kurpian Songs*), Op. 58, as well as the nationalist tendencies of Young Poland music. Although she describes Fabiańska-Jelińska's songs as "compelling," she also perceives them as somewhat "contrived," yet ultimately interprets them as the composer's "personal commentary on the concept of nationality in Polish music."¹³

This exceedingly modest list of Polish composers for whom the texts preserved in the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* and the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora* served as a source of artistic inspiration must be expanded to include Witold Lutosławski. His input in this context is rather unexpected and is due to a repertoire that is anything but obvious. Given that both Czechoslovakia and Poland remained within the sphere of Soviet influence after World War II, musical exchanges between Polish and Czech artists were frequent and dynamic in the postwar years. It is well documented that Lutosławski visited Prague several times for artistic purposes. He was certainly present at the Prague Spring Festival (*Pražské jaro*) in 1947, although none of his works were performed on that occasion.¹⁴ However, on November 9th, 1949, the premiere of his *Overture*

¹¹ Jaczyński, "Władysław Żeleński w Pradze," 69.

¹² See Andrzejewski, "Rękopis královdvorski i jego rezonans," 170.

¹³ Agnieszka Topolska, "Wokół Rękopisu královdvorskiego," *Meakultura*, accessed January 14, 2025, <https://meakultura.pl/artukul/wokol-rekopisu-krolodvorskiego-946/>.

¹⁴ Stanisław Będkowski, "The Diary of the Life, Works and Activity of Witold Lutosławski," *Witold Lutosławski Studies* 1 (2007): 27.

for Strings (*Uwertura smyczkowa*) took place in Prague in his presence.¹⁵ The piece, dedicated to Mirko Očadlík, was performed by the Symphonic Orchestra of Czech Radio (Symfonický orchestr Českého rozhlasu) under the baton of Grzegorz Fitelberg.¹⁶ A decade later, on November 10th, 1959, the Czech Nonet (České noneto) premiered *Dance Preludes* (*Preludia taneczne*) in its version for nine instruments in Louny, near Prague.¹⁷ Prague also saw performances of Lutosławski's *Mourning Music* (*Muzyka żałobna*) in 1961¹⁸ and *Trois poèmes d'Henri Michaux* (*Trzy poematy Henri Michaux*) in January 1965.¹⁹ In later years, as Lutosławski gained recognition in Western Europe, his ties with the Czech compositional milieu weakened, although they were never entirely severed.

It is unknown whether Lutosławski was familiar with Želeňski's earlier *Five Songs from the Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* or whether he had any knowledge of the historical significance of the two Czech forgeries. However, it is certain that the work of Želeňski, who passed away in 1921 and whose style was deeply rooted in the aesthetics of the late nineteenth century, did not serve as a source of artistic inspiration for Lutosławski. Likewise, the texts collected in the two manuscripts fabricated by Hanka – stylised to resemble early medieval poetry – did not offer a sufficiently compelling formal or thematic model for a composer drawn to French surrealist and avant-garde poetry, or one that could have served as a foundation for his own vocal works.

How, then, did it come about that Lutosławski composed music for a fragment of text from one of the Czech forgeries? The answer lies in his employment at Polish Radio, a position he took up in the final days of World War II and continued, with changing roles and terms of engagement, for nearly fifteen years.²⁰ One of Lutosławski's primary professional responsibilities was composing music for radio dramas. According to the most recent research, his music was featured in at least eighty-five radio plays covering an exceptionally diverse range of themes between 1945 and 1960.²¹ More than half of these recordings – particularly those from the 1940s – have not survived, and only fragments of the

¹⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹⁶ Charles Bodman Rae, *Muzyka Lutosławskiego*, trans. Stanisław Krupowicz (Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1996), 274.

¹⁷ Będkowski, "The Diary of the Life," 36; Bodman Rae, *Muzyka Lutosławskiego*, 279.

¹⁸ Będkowski, "The Diary of the Life," 39.

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

²⁰ Information regarding Lutosławski's collaboration with Polish Radio can be found in Wioleta Muras, *Twórczość użytkowa Witolda Lutosławskiego w świetle jego biografii i w kontekście przemian audiosfery w XX wieku* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2019), 113–114.

²¹ Ibid., 117–122.

scores have been published.²² Most of the surviving sheet music (which in many cases is incomplete), along with typewritten scripts documenting Lutosławski's radio work, are now housed at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel. Among these materials are manuscript sources without library catalogue numbers, as well as a typescript of the radio play *Legenda o Walgierzu Wdałym* (*The Legend of Walgierz Wdały*).²³

The radio play, directed by Bronisław Dardziński, was broadcast on Polish Radio on April 13th, 1946. Either the recording of the production has not survived, or – equally possibly – it was never archived. The script was written by Stanisław Nadzin, a soldier of the Polish Army who fought in the 1943 Battle of Lenino and a writer specialising in Polish military history and World War II.²⁴ He was also an editor, translator of Russian literature and a long-time collaborator with Polish Radio.

Nadzin adapted the *Legend of Walgierz Wdały* and the hero's tragic love for the French princess Heligunda into the format of a radio play. This legend, which originated from Burgundian and Hunnic accounts of Waltharius, was recorded in the *Kronika wielkopolska* (*Wielkopolska Chronicle*) at the end of the thirteenth century. It gained widespread popularity in Poland from the sixteenth century onward, with various reinterpretations and retellings well into the early twentieth century. Notably, it appeared in the opening chapters of Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical novel *Krzyżacy* (*The Teutonic Knights*) 1897–1900 and in Stefan Żeromski's *Powieść o Udałym Walgierzu* (*The Tale of Valiant Walgierz*) 1905.

In Nadzin's radio adaptation, Walgierz Wdały is portrayed as a medieval knight and troubadour, the lord of Tyniec near Kraków. While at the French court, he falls in love with Heligunda, the daughter of the French king, and the feeling is mutual. However, their love is forbidden due to their differing social ranks. Defying the will of the king, the lovers flee to Tyniec in Poland, but their

²² Witold Lutosławski, *Trzy fragmenty na flet i harfę (lub fortepian)* (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 2013).

²³ Lutosławski, *Legenda o Walgierzu Wdałym*, autograph, musical materials (manuscript), radio play text (typescript), Witold Lutosławski Sammlungen, Film- und Hörspielmusiken, Archiv und Forschungszentrum für die Musik des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts, Paul Sacher Stiftung, CH-Bps, Basel, no reference no. A detailed analysis of the musical and literary layers of the radio play is included in Małgorzata Sulek, "Stuchowisko *Legenda o Walgierzu Wdałym* Stanisława Nadzina i Witolda Lutosławskiego. Konteksty literackie i problemy źródłowe," in *Muzyka – Media – Prawo – Marketing*, vol. 3, ed. Beata Stróżyńska (Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi, 2024), 89–134.

²⁴ The most important works of Stanisław Nadzin include *Oporowiadania frontowe* (Ministerstwo Informacji i Propagandy, 1945); *Lenino* (Książka i Wiedza, 1949); *Wojsko Polskie* (Towarzystwo Wiedzy Powszechnej, 1952); *Wojsko Polskie – zbrojne ramię narodu* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Wiedzy Powszechnej, 1952); *W rocznicę powstania Ludowego Wojska Polskiego* (Towarzystwo Wiedzy Powszechnej, 1954).

happiness is short-lived, as Walgierz is soon called away by the Polish king on a military campaign. Consumed by anger and sorrow over being left alone, Heligunda resents Walgierz's departure. Upon discovering that his estranged brother, Wiślimir – whom Walgierz had imprisoned due to a past conflict over their inheritance – is being held in the castle dungeons, she orders his release and escapes with him to Wiślica. Upon returning from war, Walgierz learns of Heligunda's betrayal and sets out for his brother's castle. Heligunda pleads with him, claiming she is being held against her will. Deceived, Walgierz is lured into a trap and chained to the wall of Wiślimir and Heligunda's bedchamber. His fate changes when Wiślimir's sister, Rynga, offers to free him in exchange for his promise to marry her. While the treacherous lovers are away, Rynga releases Walgierz, who ambushes them upon their return, killing them both. He then escapes with Rynga back to Tyniec, where he marries her.

Stanisław Nadzin published *The Legend of Walgierz Wdały* along with five other radio plays – that is, *Nicolo Paganini*, *Historia jednej przyjaźni* (*History of a Friendship*), *Trzeci Maja* (*The Third of May*), *Intryga* (*Intrigue*), and *Żołnierz X* (*Soldier X*) – in 1938 through the Warsaw publishers *Księgarnia Ferdynanda Hoesicka* in the collection *Teatr wyobraźni* (*Theatre of Imagination*), several years before it was broadcast on Polish Radio.²⁵ This collection attracted significant critical attention as a publishing rarity – the first anthology on the Polish book market dedicated exclusively to radio drama scripts.²⁶ Before the 1946 radio broadcast, Nadzin introduced minor revisions to the text of *The Legend of Walgierz Wdały*, which came fourth in the collection, although these did not alter the plot in any meaningful way (Fig. 1).

A detailed analysis of the script reveals that, in an effort to capture the medieval atmosphere of the Tyniec-Wiślica legend authentically, Nadzin incorporated three historical texts as a supplement to his original writing. The play's narrator, *Opowiadacz*, uses phrases borrowed from *Klechdy, starożytne podania i powieści ludu polskiego i Rusi* (*Folk Legends, Ancient Tales, and Stories of the Polish and Ruthenian People*) by Kazimierz Władysław Wóycicki²⁷ – a collection of folktales widely circulated in the nineteenth century – both at the beginning and end of the drama. The main characters – Walgierz, Wiślimir, and Heligunda – also recite lines from the medieval German lyric *Das Minnegert* (*The Court of Love*), attributed to the Silesian duke and *Minnesänger*, Henry IV Probus (Jindřich IV.

²⁵ Stanisław Nadzin, *Teatr wyobraźni* (Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1938).

²⁶ See, among others, the following reviews: (b), "Teatr wyobraźni St. Nadzina," *Antena* 5, no. 32 (August 7, 1938): 8; Tadeusz Heller, "Teatr wyobraźni," *Nasz Przegląd* 16, no. 184 (July 3, 1938): 14; Waclaw Kubacki, "Teatr wyobraźni," *Wiadomości Literackie* 15, no. 22 (May 21, 1938): 4.

²⁷ Kazimierz Władysław Wóycicki, *Klechdy, starożytne podania i powieści ludu polskiego i Rusi*, vol. 1 (Drukarnia Piotra Baryckiego, 1837), 28–39.

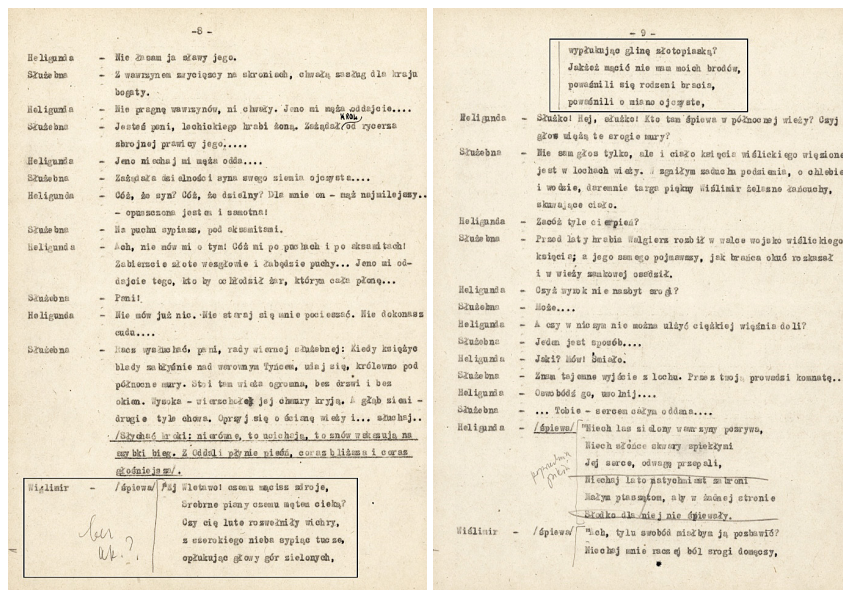


Fig. 1 Stanisław Nadzin, *The Legend of Walgierz Wdady*, typescript, pages 8–9, Wiślimir’s first song (*Libussa’s Judgement*), Paul Sacher Stiftung

Probus) (1257 or 1259–1290). The poem was translated into Polish in the nineteenth century by Kazimierz Stronczyński.²⁸ Furthermore, while imprisoned in the dungeons of Tyniec Castle, Wiślimir sings a nine-line excerpt from *Sąd Libuszy* (*Libussa’s Judgement*), which is part of the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora*. Nadzin used the 1836 Polish translation by Lucjan Siemiński²⁹ for this passage (Table 1).

²⁸ K. S. [Kazimierz Stronczyński], “Grobowiec Henryka Łagodnego (Probus) we Wrocławiu,” *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1, vol. 4 (1841): 1–37. The Old High German poem was recorded in the *Manesse Codex*.

²⁹ Siemiński, *Króldowski rękopis*, 123–124.

Table 1 Comparison of the Czech original fragment of *Libussa's Judgement* with the translations by Albert Henry Wratislaw and Lucjan Siemieński, as well as the version included in the anthology and radio play by Stanisław Nadzin.

Václav Hanka, <i>Lubušin Súd</i> ³⁰	<i>Libussa's Judgement</i> (trans. Albert Henry Wratislaw) ³¹
<i>Aj Vletavo, če mútiši vodu, če mútiši vodu strěbropěnu? za tě lutá rozvlajáše búra sesypavši tuču šíra neba, oplakavši glavy gor zelených, vyplakavši zlatopieskú glínu? "Kakobych jáz vody nemútila, Kegdy sě vadita rodná bratry, rodná bratry o dědiny otnie.</i>	<i>Why, Veltava, troublest thou thy water? Troublest thou thy silver-foamy water? Hath a tempest wild disquieted thee, In the wide sky scatt'ring streaming storm clouds, Washing o'er the tops of the green mountains, Washing out the loam, whose sand is golden? How could I not trouble thus my water, When own brothers have engaged in quarrel For the heritage that was their fathers?</i>
Sqd Libuszy (transl. by Lucjan Siemieński)³²	
<i>Ej Wletawo, czemu męcisz zdroje, śrebrne piany czemu mętem cieką? czy cię lute rozwełniły wichry, z szerokiego nieba sypiąc tucze, opłukując głowy gór zielonych, wypłukując glinę złoto-piaską? Jakżeż męcic nie mam moich brodów, kiedy rodni zwadzili się bracia, rodni bracia o miano ojczyste (...)</i>	
Stanisław Nadzin, <i>Legenda o Walgierzu Wdałym</i> , published by Księgarnia F. Hoësicka, Kraków 1938, p. 124.	Stanisław Nadzin, <i>Legenda o Walgierzu Wdałym</i> , typescript, Paul Sacher Stiftung, fol. 8–9 recto.
<i>Ej Wletawo! Czemu męcisz zdroje, Srebrne piany czemu mętem cieką? Czy cię lute rozwełniły wichry, z szerokiego nieba sypiąc tucze, opłukując głowy gór zielonych, wypłukując glinę złotopiaską? Jakżeż męcic nie mam moich brodów, kiedy rodni zwadzili się bracia, rodni bracia o miano ojczyste (...)</i>	<i>Ej, Wletawo! czemu męcisz zdroje, Srebrne piany czemu mętem cieką? Czy cię lute rozwełniły wichry, z szerokiego nieba sypiąc tucze, opłukując głowy gór zielonych, wypłukując glinę złotopiaską? Jakżeż męcic nie mam moich brodów, powaśnili się rodzeni bracia, powaśnili o miano ojczyste (...)</i>

³⁰ Váceslav [Václav] Hanka, *Rukopis Kralodvorský, i Zelenohorský. Zpěvopravné básně. Slovně i věrně v původním starém jazyku* (Bohumil Hasse, 1861), 60.

³¹ *The Queen Court Manuscript, with Other Ancient Bohemian Poems, Translated from the Original Slavonic into English Verse by A[lbert]. H[enry]. Wratislaw* (John Deighton – George Bell, 1852), 96.

³² Siemieński, *Króldowski rękopis*, 123–124.

Nadzin did not make a note anywhere that these old texts were used in *The Legend of Walgierz Wdady*. Therefore, it remains unknown whether Lutosławski, when composing the musical setting for the radio play in 1946, was even aware of the literary significance of the material with which he was working. However, he was certainly aware of the distinct nature of the texts by Probus and Hanka that were incorporated into the play. Unlike Nadzin's original text and excerpts from Wóycicki's work, the fragments of *Libussa's Judgement* and *The Judgement of Love* were written in verse. For this reason, they were the only musical numbers in the entire score prepared by Lutosławski for the radio play³³ that were set for an *a cappella* voice, serving as Wiślimir's first and second songs, respectively.³⁴

Nadzin's use of excerpts from *The Judgement of Love* and *Libussa's Judgement* in the dialogues of Walgierz and Wiślimir was likely driven by their similarities in three key aspects. First, both texts were written in verse, which made them suitable for characters who are troubadours. The poetic nature of *The Judgement of Love* and *Libussa's Judgement* also facilitated their musical adaptation. Second, both texts were stylistically aligned – *The Judgement of Love* was a nineteenth-century translation of a medieval text, while *Libussa's Judgement*, written in the nineteenth century, was deliberately styled by Václav Hanka to resemble a medieval text. Finally, both texts depict an imagined courtroom scene, in which the protagonists present their grievances before a tribunal, hoping for a favourable resolution.

The inclusion of the nine-line excerpt from *Libussa's Judgement* as spoken by Wiślimir had unintended consequences, however, as it introduced geographical and genealogical inconsistencies into Nadzin's story. Although the narrative concerns a legendary hero, it is set in real locations (the vaguely defined lands of the King of France, managed by Walgierz and Wiślimir, and the Polish towns of Tyniec and Wiślica). Because the opening apostrophe in *Libussa's Judgement* addresses the Vltava River, which is mentioned in the first words spoken by Wiślimir, imprisoned in the Tyniec tower, radio listeners are transported unawares to Czech lands – although none of the characters have any connection to them, and the Czech river does not flow through any of the locations specified in the play's action. In fact, Tyniec is situated on a slope by the Vistula River,

³³ The composer wrote seven musical numbers numbered 1, 2, 3, 3a, 4, 5 and 6, intended for horn in F, string quartet and a small percussion ensemble consisting of timpani, tam-tam, cymbals and gong.

³⁴ Adding instrumental accompaniment to Wiślimir's first song was indeed considered, as a pencil annotation "without accomp[animent]?" is included in the typescript of the radio play. The question mark next to it confirms such plans, although there are no traces of any potential instrumental parts that might have accompanied the melody sung by Wiślimir in the surviving musical materials at the Paul Sacher Stiftung.

and Wiślica lies in the Nida River basin. Additionally, the mention of a quarrel between two brothers over their inheritance at the end of the excerpt from *Libussa's Judgement* causes the audience to perceive Walgierz and Wiślimir as brothers, even though this is the only part of the text that suggests a familial connection between the two. This gives their conflict a dramatic depth, but also unintentionally introduces an incestuous undertone to their relationship. Rynga, Wiślimir's sister who frees Walgierz from his chains, is also – if we accept that the lines of *Libussa's Judgement* imply a familial relationship – Walgierz's sister. Therefore, by marrying Rynga, Walgierz would be marrying his own sister. It seems that Nadzin, relying on the text of *Libussa's Judgement* from the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora*, focused more on the formal similarity between *Libussa's Judgement* and *The Judgement of Love* than on any logical connections between their themes and the facts presented in the play. This led to the inconsistencies in the otherwise clear structure of the story. It is worth noting that similar problems do not arise from Nadzin's use of *The Judgement of Love* by Henry IV Probus, as the erotic text does not contain problematic references to real geographical details.

The melody composed by Lutosławski for male voice, set to the first nine verses of *Libussa's Judgement* and referred to as Wiślimir's first song, is in 4/4 time and consists of 10 measures. Verses 1–4 and 5–8 correspond to measures 1–8, while the words in verse 9, which describe the dispute between the two brothers, are sung in measures 9–10. Hanka's text is treated predominantly syllabically. The melodic range is fairly broad, spanning from B to C \sharp^2 , and its contour is rather capricious and variable – the melody alternates almost measure by measure, first descending and then again ascending in the measures to follow. It frequently moves either by third- and fourth-based steps or through arpeggiated chords. To impart an archaic quality to Wiślimir's song, Lutosławski employed the E Dorian scale.³⁵ Devoid of the tensions typical of tonal structures, the melody thus acquires a nostalgic and plaintive character, further emphasised by its steady rhythmic structure, dominated by eighth-note groupings that are occasionally concluded with longer rhythmic values at the end of individual phrases (Fig. 2).

In the absence of documents providing further insight into the professional and personal relationship between Lutosławski and Nadzin, any assessment of the extent of their collaboration on the *Legend of Walgierz Wdały* remains speculative. The fact that Nadzin published the script in a book anthology nearly a decade before its radio broadcast, modifying it only slightly for publication, strongly suggests that he did not consult Lutosławski on its final form. It also remains

³⁵ Wiślimir's second song, which uses selected verses from *The Judgement of Love* by Henry IV Probus, uses the C-Phrygian scale.

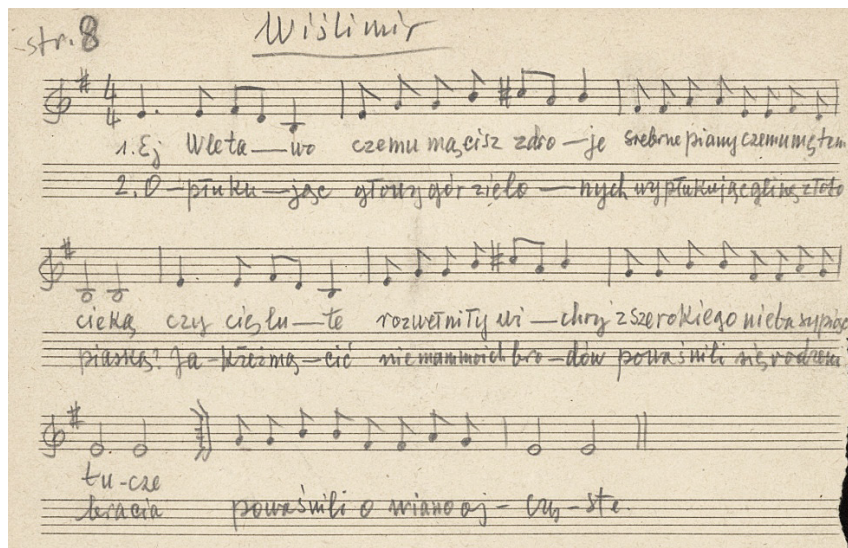


Fig. 2 Witold Lutosławski, *The Legend of Walgierz Wdaly*, *Wiślimir*'s first song, autograph, Paul Sacher Stiftung

uncertain whether the composer was aware that the author of the radio play had incorporated borrowed texts and what his stance on doing so might have been.

Notably, however, the practice of constructing radio play scripts hastily, based on available literary sources – or supplementing original texts with such materials – was quite common at Polish Radio both before and after World War II. Programmers worked under time constraints, with limited resources and few staff, and they were tasked with creating radio content for an ever-growing audience. The originality of the radio play as an emerging artistic form was only beginning to be the subject of heated debate among literary and theatre critics in Poland's leading opinion-forming periodicals.

With this in mind, it would be unwarranted to accuse Nadzin of attempting to claim authorship of *Libussa's Judgement* or *The Judgement of Love* by Henry IV Probus, as well as the passages drawn from *Klechdy, starożytne podania i powieści...* by Kazimierz Władysław Wóycicki. Nevertheless, it is tempting – although unjustified in light of current knowledge about early Polish radio drama practices – to draw a parallel between Hanka and Nadzin in the opposite direction. Just as Václav Hanka concealed his poetic identity when fabricating his famous forgeries, so too did Stanisław Nadzin, in composing his radio play, obscure the origins of certain passages, effectively appropriating their authorship to himself.

The brief, unaccompanied melody composed by Lutosławski for the mere nine verses of *Libussa's Judgement*, introduced to the musical setting of a radio play, was neither intended nor able to become a significant or even widely recognised composition within the legacy of the author of *Venetian Games* due to its modest scale and functional purpose. Nevertheless, it complements our limited knowledge of the musical reception in Poland of the texts found in the Czech forgeries by Hanka.

Translated by Marta Robson

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