

Grażyna Urban-Godziek

The Amatory *Hejnat* (Bugle Call). An Old Polish Genre of a Morning Love Song*

In 1965 a huge volume¹ entitled *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry* (Hatto 1965) was published in the Hague. Edited by the researcher of German Tagelied, Arthur T. Hatto, it soon became an irreplaceable compendium of knowledge about love poetry, the determinant of which is the lyrical situation of lovers' meeting at the sunrise. This anthology (supplied by the extensive introductory studies) of poetic texts from almost all cultures, languages and epochs, deeply rooted in folklore and primitive rituals, shows how significant this subject was. Unfortunately, the chapter on Polish literature is extremely poor. It should be noted that in addition to the forms typical of European poetry, such as derivatives of *alba* or *aube* (songs of lovers parting at dawn); *aubade* vel *alborada* (songs for meeting at sunrise or greeting in the morning), Old Polish poetry developed a separate genre, called *hejnat* (a bugle call) with its amatory variant. This interesting genre, which has equivalents (and perhaps sources) also in Czech and Hungarian literature, has not been included there at all².

The lack of any mention of Polish *hejnat* is striking in this great anthology of poetry at sunrise, all the more so because in 1961, four years before the publication of Hatto's book, a monograph on the genre entitled *Hejnaty polskie. Studium z historii poezji melicznej*, authored by Czesław Hernas, came out in the *Studia Staropolskie* series (Hernas 1961). Apparently, this fundamental genre-defining and insightful study was unknown to Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, a poet and professor of Polish literature at the University of London, who wrote the chapter on Polish literature. Pietrkiewicz's overview is very cursory and unreliable, focusing mainly on twentieth-century folk poetry. Moreover, he did not associate the genre of *hejnat* with the theme of *Eos*. One can only regret that the Iron Curtain impeded the flow of literature and research to the extent that this Polish variant of the morning

* The article is funded by the National Science Centre in Poland, Research Project *Od paraklausithyronu do serenady* no 2012/07/B/HS2/01297.

¹ 854 pp. in folio.

² It is only mentioned by the author of the Hungarian chapter, G.F. Cushing, also in the context of the acquisition of the term *bajnal* into Polish. (This mention, however, was not linked to the chapter on Polish literature). Of Hungarian bugles, though, he gives only two twentieth-century examples.

song – exceptional especially in its amatory version – did not find its way into international circulation and into the consciousness of European scholars researching the subject. The conception of the volume, in which the poetry of nearly all languages and cultures was almost exclusively discussed by scholars from English universities, was probably also a factor.

This Polish kind of *aube* took on a very specific form, rooted in its own tradition of Polish Renaissance. The new separate genre of the amatory *hejnat* was created at the beginning of the 17th century, on the basis of the religious hymn created by Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569). The composers of *hejnat*, classically trained and familiar with European contemporary poetry and popular musical forms, brought these diverse literary traditions together. The genre of *hejnat* (bugle-call) is a morning wake-up song, referring to the watchman's call "*Hejnat świta*". In addition to the original Rej's religious version (with its variations: Advent and carol), a satirical form of the drunken bugle-call developed, and then the aforementioned amatory and political bugles. The latter was still in use at the beginning of the 20th century (e.g. Maria Konopnicka, Stanisław Wyspiański). References to the Old Polish form of the genre (probably, however, inspired by the monographs on the genre) can also be found in songs from the late twentieth century (Jacek Kaczmarski³).

1. *The Watchman's Bugle Call*

Czesław Hernas tried to reconstruct the origin of *hejnat* and linked it to the watchtower song, as well as the Troubadour's *alba* and the Minnesänger's *Tagelied* – in accordance with the state of knowledge at the time, deriving these genres from the knightly guard song. There is evidence, however, that these trends should be separated⁴ and the Rej prototype of Polish *hejnat* should be associated only with the Latin church hymn, which was combined by the author with a watchman's wake-up call.

The word itself is a borrowing from Hungarian, and means (like *alba* in many Romance languages) the morning aurora. In the Hungarian language, however, no records of old bugle songs have survived. Anyhow, many of them have survived in folk tradition. Ethnomusical research carried out since the mid-20th century has yielded an abundant collection of such songs⁵.

³ This will be expanded in my book *Relikty pieśni kobiet. Polska nowożytna pieśń poranna na tle klasycznym i romańskim*.

⁴ On the origins of the *alba*, nowadays derived from women's song rather than the knight's guard song see Chaguinian 2008: 49–50; Urban-Godziek 2020b: 127–128.

⁵ Hungarian folk songs, which include a large number of amatory and religious bugles, are available on the Hungarian Ethnographic Lexicon (*Magyar néprajzi lexikon*) website, slogan: *hajnalének*: <<http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02115/html/2-919.html>>. See also: <<http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02152/html/05/252.html>> (last access: 20.01.2022). Moreover, two songs (inc. *Kikeletkor, jó Pünkösöd havában* [In spring, in the beautiful month of May] and *Bánja, hogy hajnalban kell az szerelmesétől elmenni* [He regrets that he has to stay with his beloved at dawn]), which can be regarded as court *albas* and which use the term *hajnal*, were created by the most important poet of

At the dawn of modernity *hejnal* songs must have been very popular, as the Hungarian form of the watchman's call *háynal wágiion!* – 'aurora dawns', was picked up in neighbouring languages: Czech (*hyná svitá*), Polish (*hejnal świta*), Slovak (*hajnal svitá*). A similar call existed in German, *es ist zít* or *ez tagt*, next to a short guard song called *Stundenrufe* (Hernas 1961: 20-22). The oldest surviving Czech texts, the incipit of which repeats this call, date from the 16th and 17th centuries, while Polish watchman calls have survived from the 16th to 19th centuries. They probably first developed into a strophic formula whose intonation also gave rise to a melodic line. Then, such a guardian chant served as a model for literary paraphrases. A similar process can be observed in 15th century Germany (Hernas 1961: 22). First, city guards woke up the citizens with such a call in the morning. The responsibility of the town's night watch, which consisted of several guards, was, among other things, to announce the putting out of the fire for the night and to announce the arrival of the day. When clocks appeared on church towers, the guards also called out the hours. The original chant of the morning watch began to take on a religious character, calling on sleepers to get up and start the day with a morning prayer. In the 16th century, bugles played from the tower summoned the citizens to the morning mass. Historical evidence, chronicles of Krakow and city accounts for watchmen performing morning bugle calls on instruments (trumpets, since the 16th century also trombones and flutes) indicate that this tradition started there as early as in the 14th century (Hernas 1961: 22, 38, 40-41; Łepkowski 1861: 167).

As for the term *hejnal* itself, we have no written linguistic testimonies in Polish before Rej. Nevertheless, this word must have been already deeply nested in the language. It was present in proverbial phrases, which can also be attested in Rej's *Żywot człowieka pōcwiwego*: "For here, in his lifetime, such a man will never need blind locks, nor a chained dog, nor a watchman with a *hejnal* on the tower, for virtue is already his guardian"⁶ (Rej 2003: 477, ks. III, kapit. III 2, 910). Sixteenth-century literary testimonies provide evidence on how the genre name *hejnal* functioned and list paraphrases of the watchman's popular call. In Mikołaj z Wilkowiecka's *Historyja o chwalebnyim zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim*:

I będą śpiewać każdy z osobna na notę *Hejnal świta*.

[Pilaks] Czuwaj, czuwaj, a nie leży,

Ale grobu pilno strzeży,

chcesz li, byś nie był na wieży!

O głasajże, głasaj, pacholiku miły

[...] O, widzę cię, widzę.

[...] O, widząc was, widzą.

[...] O wara, wara.

(Mikołaj z Wilk. 2004: 24-26)

the Hungarian Renaissance, Bálint Balassi (1554-1544). For the consultation I would like to thank Noémi Petneki PhD and Prof. Péter Kőszeghy.

⁶ Translation of the article's author.

[And they will sing to the tune of “The Bugle Call of Dawn”.

THE SOLDIERS. SING

Oh watch, watch well, and do not sleep,

But o'er the grave a close guard keep.

Were I but far from this tower steep!

Hear how the lonely squaddies weep.

(...) I see you, I see you.

(...) We see you, we see you.

(...) Clear off, clear off]

(Mikołaj z Wilk. 2017: 56-58)

and in nativity play: *Dialog krótki na święto narodzenia Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa* (1601-1650):

Dej
śpiewać będzie jako hejnał
 Czuwaj, czuwaj, a nie leży,
 A tych owiec pilno strzeży,
 Ono już wilk z lasa bieży.

(Okoń 1989: 79)

[Dej sings a hejnał:

Stay vigilant and do not rest / Guard the sheep carefully / Beware of a wolf running from the woods]

2. *The Religious Hejnał*

For the purposes of these considerations, only Rej's song is relevant, or rather those of its features which will allow us to trace the directions of the subsequent development of love songs. Such features include: 1) the quotation of the watchman's call or its paraphrase, which opens the song and determines its metrical structure; 2) a reference to late antique and medieval Latin church hymns; 3) the metric structure – a three-verse stanza with two lines of eight syllables and the third one of seven syllables, connected by a single rhyme (8a8a7a). *Hejnał świta [pieśń] na rane powstanie*, was published by Łazarz Andryśowic as an eight-page print intended for a cantional, with a musical notation for polyphonic singing. The no-date edition appeared before 1559, and the poem was probably written in the years 1540-1545 (Hernas 1961: 51). The sources of Rej's idea could be researched in Czech hymn books, as similar religious wake-up songs with the same call “Hyná svitá” were recorded from 1522 on (17 such songs were found by 1606). These songs were usually arranged in stanzas of 8a8a6a⁷. However, there is no indication that Rej's hymn is a paraphrase of any particular text.

⁷ Although the other metrical variants are known as well, like such single cases: 8a8a6b, or even (the oldest ones, from 1522) 5a6a5b and 6b5c5c5vacat (Hernas 1961:17).

The Rej poem begins with a stanza which is regarded as a kind of quotation or paraphrase of a watchman's call. It stands separate from the subsequent stanzas since the musical notation, written out for four voices, begins with the second stanza. Each stanza (starting from the second one) begins with a successive letter of the acrostic name MIKOŁAJ REJ. The first stanza consists of a watchman's call ("Hejnal świta"), a description of dawn ("już dzień biały") and a call for a prayer⁸:

Hejnal świta, już dzień biały
Każdy człowiek w wierze stały
Powstań do Pańskiej chwały!

(Rej 2006: 227, vv.1-3)

[*Hejnal* is dawning, the day is bright
Every man of steady faith
Rise to the Lord's glory!]

The following stanzas refer to medieval church hymnody (there are no traces of Rej's Protestant thought yet in this early work) and are based on the antithesis of the light of God contra the darkness of sin and death (invocations "Rozmnożycielu Światłości / Oświeć nasze ciemności" 5-6 [*Spreader of Light / Enlighten the darkness*]; "Ej, nasza Wierna Światłości, / Już oświeć nasze ciemności" 29-30 [*Oh, our Faithful Light, / We beg you to enlighten the darkness*]). Patterns in Ambrosian hymns may be taken into account here: *Aeterne rerum conditor*, or *Deus creator omnium*, or Prudentius' *Ales diei nuntius*, likewise in the songs of Lauds as those quoted below that begin with a description of aurora:

Aurora vultu roseo
Nitet splendore phoebeo,
Noctis umbra reconditur
Et lux terris refunditur.

(243. *De sancto Gatiano. In Laudibus*, 1-4)

Polum pingit iam aurora
Luce, lampas aurea,
Ista Christo laudes hora
Testa promat lutea,

⁸ Cfr.: "The foundational themes of the literary bugle call are contained in the morning professional formula. It consists of two elements: the practical call and the *axamentum*, i.e. the prayer motif. [...] In so doing, this form corresponds to foreign versions of the watchman's old morning song. [...] because dawn was simultaneously a signal to start the working day and a signal to pray, as reflected in the phrase of the wake-up call. Bugle songs take up and develop either both elements, or only one of them" (Hernas 1961: 177).

Sacri flatus cor et ora
 Virtus purget ignea.
 (382. *De sancto Olavo. Ad Laudes, 1-6*)⁹

The eight-syllable verse popular in Latin hymns which were performed quite often in churches undoubtedly influenced the metrics of both Czech and Rej's bugles, just as it impacted the eight-syllable verse typical of Polish folk poetry.

Mikołaj Rej's hymn enjoyed immense popularity and was paraphrased in various Protestant and Catholic cantionals (in the appendix to his monograph Hernas published 3 Advent and 2 carol versions). As early as in the 16th century, the *hejnał* became a separate melic genre, soon abandoning exclusively religious themes, as religious parodies and paraphrases were shortly followed by secular ones. Czesław Hernas classified these varieties as the satirical *hejnał*, drunkard's *hejnał* (3 Polish and 1 Slovakian paraphrase); political *hejnał* (3); court *hejnał* (7 versions corresponding, according to current findings, to 3 original texts) and rural *hejnał* (counting texts from the 16th-17th c.). Here we will be interested in the courtly *hejnał*, or the amatory one, which preserves the characteristic bugle-call structure of eight-syllables, arranged here in four-verse stanzas.

3. Amatory Hejnał

Amatory *hejnał* (or courtly as Hernas called it) can be very precisely distinguished from other *aubade* genres, such as "good morning songs", also cultivated by the genre's codifier, Hieronim Morsztyn (c. 1581-c. 1622). Referring to the categories used in French medieval studies (Bec 1977: 38-39) and referred to in my other works on morning songs¹⁰, this genre could be described as simultaneously formal and thematic. The theme is the waking up of successive groups of people and animals, according to the order in which they get up for their daily activities, with the bugler poet's beloved one being woken up at the end. Formal features include the watchman's call "Hejnał świta", reminiscent of Rej, sometimes followed by a description of the morning aurora; a specific order of the callers; and the strophic arrangement: three- or four-verse eight-syllables stanzas, rhyming 8aaa or 8aabb.

The comparative material we have is one anonymous work preserved in Ossolineum Library (incipit "Hejnał świta! każdy z swego" [Hejnał is dawning! Let everyone rise from his soft bed], I will call it Ossol.), two pieces by Hieronim Morsztyn: a shorter "Hejnał świta, już i z morza" [*Hejnał is dawning and now from the sea*] and a longer one: "Hejnał świta, już z pokoju" [*Hejnał is dawning, and now from the room*] – both have survived in several different versions, and Zbigniew Morsztyn's "Hejnał, panie serca mego" [*Hejnał, the lord of my heart*]¹¹. Additionally, *Lekcja dziesiąta* "Różane z morza ukazuje włosy" [*Shows rose*

⁹ Drevés 1891: 138, 207.

¹⁰ For the introduction to the series of articles see Urban-Godziek 2020a: 104.

¹¹ Two titles operate here, as discussed below.

hair from the sea] from Kasper Twardowski's *Lekcje Kupidynowe*, which clearly refers to the poetics of the amatory bugle, and the anonymous rural piece "Hejnal świta, gospodarzu" [*Hejnal is dawning, landlord*] may also serve as comparative material. The juxtaposition of these texts allows us to distinguish fixed structures, i.e. genre features, and thus to reflect on their provenance, filiations and mutual influence.

4. *The Sequence of Waking Up the Sleeping People*

A feature that seems to be particularly noteworthy is the sequence of waking up of particular groups of people by the poet-bugler. It should be emphasised that this element appears only in the amatory version. In Rej's hymn we have only a general call: "Každy człowiek w wierze stały / Powstań do Pańskiej chwały!" [*Every man of steady faith / Rise to the Lord's glory!*] (2-3) and other religious versions are similar in this respect¹², e.g. Stanisław Grochowski's "Hejnal świta powstawajmy, / Od Boga dzień zaczynamy" [*Hejnal is dawning, let us arise, / let us begin the day with the Lord*] (v. 1-2 and 22-23), Stanisław Lubieniecki further minimises this wake-up call: "Hejnal Panu zaśpiewajmy, / Powinnę cześć Bogu dajmy" [*Let us sing hejnal to the Lord, / give due honour to God*] (1-2), anonymous song: "Przybliża-ć się już dzień biały, / Každy człowiek w wierze stały: / Powstań do Pańskiej chwały" [*The bright day is already approaching, / Every man of steady faith: / Rise to the Lord's glory*] (1-3); *Hymn poranny*: "Powstań každy ze snu swego" [*Rise from your sleep*] (8). The element of waking up does not appear at all in the Advent versions (still used in the liturgy today) or in the carol "Hejnal! jasna zorza wstała" [*Hejnal! The bright aurora has risen*] – only in the short one: "Bracia mili, hejnal świta" [*Dear brothers, hejnal is dawning*], v. 4: "Wstajmyż ze snu, duchem wstajmy" [*Let us get up, quickly rise*]. Drunken bugles have a similar form: "Hejnal świta, już dzień biały, / Wstańcie starzy, wstańcie mali, / Jużecie się dość naspali!" [*Hejnal is dawning, it's a bright day, / Get up old ones, get up little ones, / You've slept enough!*] (1-3). Strangely enough, there are no wake-up calls in political bugles¹³, which could be associated with the then fashionable form of excitement (*ekscytarz*), wake-up call (*pobudka*), and in general with the practice of waking up soldiers with the sound of a trumpet-signal.

Czesław Hernas connects this feature of court bugles with the practice of changing the watch of camp guards or village watchmen, and this was "the so-called *kolejna* or *kolej* (a turn): the one on whom the duty of guard fell on a given night went round the village"¹⁴. However, he gives rather dubious examples of how this phrase functions: the peasant prov-

¹² In the anthology included in the appendix to Hernas's book, the following numbering of works is used: 2. Grochowski, 3. Lubieniecki, 4. *Der Tag vertreibt die finster Nacht*, 5. *Hymn poranny*, 6-8. Advent, 9. *Dzieciątka*, 10-11. drunken (quote modernizing the spelling).

¹³ Hernas lists 2 anonymous texts (from 1591 and the times of Władysław IV) and 1 by W. Kochowski; from later period: 4 by F.D. Książnin, 2 by T. Olizarowski from the January Uprising period, 3 by M. Konopnicka and 1 by S. Wyspiański. It should be noted that texts entitled *Hejnal*, written in the 18th century and later, lose the typical features of the genre.

¹⁴ Hernas 1961: 9 and (in the context of the Ossolineum manuscript) 141.

erb “Częsta kolej na małej wsi” [*a frequent turn in a small village*], cited by Adam Korczyński as a drunken proverb (Korczyński 2000: 156-157) and the dialog of Maiden II and III from Jan Kochanowski’s *Pieśń Świętojańska o Sobótce* “A ty się czuj, czyja kolej, / Nie masz li mię wydać wolej” [*And you look out, the next in a row, / If you don’t want to fail as we go!*] (Kochanowski 2018: 148)], which, however, refers to the order in the dance procession. Moreover, in *hejnals* we have only one trace of this change of sequence – a fragment from the amatory *hejnał* from the Ossolineum manuscript: “Wstań oraczu, jeśli wolej / Nie masz pościć, pilnuj rolej. / Ba, i do mnie sięga kolej.” [*Be so kind to rise, ploughman, / You are not to fast, watch the field. / Well, it’s my turn now*] (16-18) (Hernas 1961: 240). However, it appears that the formula “do mnie sięga kolej” [*it’s my turn*] may be a proverbial interjection here and may not refer to keeping watch at night, but to fulfilling daytime duties – for the lyrical I, the poet, it is about serving (mainly with his pen) his lady, whom he wakes up in the next stanza. Hernas’s line of reasoning is also untenable because here, it is not the night watchmen who are woken up, but the inhabitants of the farm.

5. *Ovid’s Elegy (Amores I 13) and Catalogues of Persons Being Waked in Polish Hejnals*

Since, as mentioned above, the wake-up call to get out of bed and start work for successive “professional groups” is a feature of the amatory (or courtly) *hejnał* only, its provenance should not be sought in the folklore of the night watchmen. The knowledge of European poetic tradition prompts us to look at one of the basic sources of the image of the morning dawn, combined in addition with erotic themes. It is Ovid’s elegy I 13 (inc. “Iam super Oceanum uenit a seniore marito”) from *Amores* – a text that was a source of images and phraseological clichés for early medieval religious hymns, as well as troubadour and especially Minnesang Tagelied (Müller 2010).

Ovid’s elegy is a parody of the cletic hymn in which, instead of invoking the deity to come down to earth, the poet, reluctant to leave the bed in which he was enjoying his lover’s company, tries to drive away Aurora appearing in the sky. He does not spare her reproaches and excuses, and lists a whole catalogue of her offences towards particular groups of people and animals for whom the rising of the sun means returning to their tedious work:

Ante tuos ortus melius sua sidera seruat
 nauita nec media nescius errat aqua;
 te surgit quamuis lassus ueniente uiator
 et miles saeuas aptat ad arma manus;
 prima bidente uidēs oneratos arua colentes,
 prima uocas tardos sub iuga panda boues;
 tu pueros somno fraudas tradisque magistris,
 ut subeant tenerae uerbera saeua manus
 atque eadem sponsum cultos ante Atria mittis,
 unius ut uerbi grandia damna ferant;
 nec tu consulto, nec tu iucunda deserto;
 cogitur ad lites surgere uterque nouas;

tu, cum feminei possint cessare labores,
lanificam reuocas ad sua pensa manum.
Omnia perpeterer; sed surgere mane puellas
quis, nisi cui non est ulla puella, ferat?¹⁵

(Ov. *Am.* 1 13, 11-26; McKeown 1989: 157-158)

The first group of sufferers are those who are at sea, in the middle of a journey and in the fields – the sailor, for whom it is easier to find the way when the stars are shining, the weary traveller, for whom the dawn means further toil on his journey, and the soldier, who gets ready for a battle in the morning. Next, farmers and oxen must wake up to work (here Ovid refers to the praise of Eos waking up people and oxen gathering for the ploughing that provides food in Hesiod's *Works and Days*). Then, woken up before dawn are little boys, for whom a harsh teacher awaits with a rod at school; sleep-deprived lawyers, who may bring losses on their clients; and girls – virtuous spinners have to sit down to spin yarn, while girls of light morals are interrupted in their regenerative sleep after a night's work.

Let us look at these groups in Ovid (cfr. TABLE 1) and in three short anonymous *hejnals*, including the rural bugle (*hejnal wiejski*), which retains a similar structure, though without the erotic plot (cfr. TABLES 2 and 3).

In Ovid's elegy, we can see four main groups: those working in foreign lands (sailor, traveller, soldier); on the land; at the court, along with boys preparing for public service; the fourth group is made up of women of all kinds. These professional groups are also typical of the refusal formulas (*recusatio* motif) of Augustan poetry. They appear in Horace, and especially in the elegiacs, as to contrast their fate to that of the poet himself, who refuses to submit to social dictates and does not want to make his fortune in the army, in the merchant trade, or pursue a career in law. The Roman ethos of the soldier-farmer is also alien to him (the motif of cultivating the land in the family estate appears in Tibullus, but as a bucolic dream). Instead, he wants to indulge in love and love poetry, choosing *inertia* over Roman activism. Here these exempla play the same role. Ovid places himself and his 'professional' category of lovers (*amans*¹⁶) after the girls to whom he has dedicated his various *artes amandi*. He wants to 'serve' them, according to the rule of *servitium amoris*, which also underlies the service of the soldier or lover in the poetry of the European courtly literature.

In the Polish amatory *hejnal*, the catalogues of the woken, although sometimes highly elaborate, roughly maintain these professional groups. We have here soldiers of various ranks, officials from the highest level (in Zbigniew's case, also school children), people living off the land: farmers and their servants, and, next to the oxen that serve

¹⁵ In my analyses I follow the commentary of McKeown 1989: 337-363.

¹⁶ "Cur ego plectar amans, si uir tibi marcet ab annis? / num me nupsisti conciliante seni?" (40-41).

TABLE 1

Ovid:

sailor – sees better before the sun rises
traveller – gets up to go
soldier – grabs a weapon
farmer – carries a hoe
oxen – go under the yoke
boys – go to school under the teacher’s rod
guarantors – exposed to losses
lawyer, speaker – sleepless they curse the dawn
spinners (virtuous) – to wool
girls (not virtuous) – from the bed

TABLE 2

Anonymus (Ossol.) <i>Hejnał świta, każdy z swego</i>	Anonymus – rural <i>Hejnał świta, gospodarzu</i>
everyone – watches the penny (relic of a prayerful <i>examentum</i> : servants to the Lord, like a soldier to the <i>Hetman</i>)	landlord – watches the goods landlady – watches servants wenches – go to the distaff farmhand – goes to a forest shepherd – goes to the cattle
farmer – sharpens the scythe clerk – goes to work	son – has breakfast and feed the pigs daughter – plucks feathers
drunkard	beggar – has dinner crone – goes to pots
a ploughman	
“my Muse”, who should keep watch at the threshold	
a girl – the addressee	

them, the whole world of wildlife, starting with morning birds, including the cockerel, which probably arrived here through the religious dawn hymns. Also from the association with dawn hymns come clerical representatives calling for the morning prayer and church bells. In each of this sub-genre of *hejnał*, a maiden is mentioned at the end, as the target addressee of the song and of the awakening. The maiden is supposed to be the poet’s inspiration, as is especially stressed in Zbigniew’s song, and the one to whom he

TABLE 3

Hieronim Morsztyn <i>Hejnal świta, już i z morza</i>	Hieronim Morsztyn <i>Hejnal świta, już z pokoja</i>	Zbigniew Morsztyn <i>Hejnal, panie serca mego</i>
extensive description of the aurora	extensive description of the aurora	–
wild animals: a bird, a beast in forest, fish; a working ox	any soul	roosters, swallows, cranes, whooper birds
ploughman	animal, bird, fish, dog	pilgrim
craftsman	man – “a lord of all creation” worships the creator	forest animal, bees
sailor-merchant	king, senate, knights, infantry, marshal, hetman, governor, castellan, community elder, gentry	royal court: courtiers, musicians, mounts
priest to the morrow	ploughman, serf, farmer	church bells and chants
<i>betman</i> (commander)	sailor, soldier	<i>betmans</i> , knights, sailors, fishermen, craftsmen, boilermakers
a maiden – the poet offers her services	married man, wife	farmer, journeyman, shepherd, hunter
	a young man – to play the <i>hejnal</i> for a maiden	prisoner
jealousy over a linen that covered her	jealousy over a dog and flea	little schoolboys
		Muses on Parnassus a girl – an addressee

offers his services in the morning. In Hieronims' *hejnals* there were additional motifs of jealousy over objects or animals that touched a girl in bed – but this is another tradition, which I derive from the Ronsardian songs¹⁷.

A variant of the amorous one seems to be the (only surviving) rural *hejnal*, with a similar order of the woken, with the maiden-daughter of the bugler-host at the end. Although a humorous episode is added here with a beggar (*dziad*) who has to wake up to avoid oversleeping for dinner and, less amusingly, with a crone (*baba*) whose job it is to cook.

¹⁷ I develop this topic in my book *Relikty pieśni kobiet. Polska nowożytna pieśń poranna...*

6. *Anonymous Ossol. Hejnał świta! każdy z swego, the Rural Bugle and Chronology*

The predecessor of the amatory version must have been the drunken bugle. It is a parody of a religious hymn, arranged in a goliardian spirit. We can even find a Polish pattern, a parody of the Hour: “Zawitaj trunku święty, dawno pożądany” [*Welcome, the holy drink, long desired*] (Hernas 1961: 99) – whereas in *hejnał* we can read: “Przeto rano, skoro świta, / każdy ją tak niechaj wita, / Salve nostra aqua vita!” [*Therefore, in the morning, when it dawns, / everyone should greet her like this: Salve nostra aqua vita!*]. The sources indicating the influence of the drunken parody on the amatory one are discussed below. A song from the manuscript held in the Ossolineum Library, with the incipit “Hejnał świta! każdy z swego”, is usually regarded as the oldest courtly *hejnał*, possibly still from the 16th century. (Its archaic character manifests itself also in the versification structure 8aaa). In fact, it seems to be an indirect form – from Rej’s religious basis it takes a guardian call, to which it adds a completely secular, even parodic, addition, which may have been inspired by that of a drunken one (cfr. TABLE 4).

TABLE 4

Rej’s <i>hejnał</i>	drunken <i>hejnał</i>	amatory <i>hejnał</i> (Ossol.)
Hejnał świta, już dzień biały Každy człowiek w wierze stały Powstań do Pańskiej chwały!	Hejnał świta, już dzień biały, Wstańcie starzy, wstańcie [mali, Jużeście się dość naspali, By gorzałka nie skwaśniała [...] <i>Hejnał is dawning, it’s a bright</i> [day, <i>Get up old ones, get up little</i> <i>ones, You’ve slept enough!</i> <i>So that the booze does not go</i> [sour	Hejnał świta! każdy z swego Posłania wstawa miękkiego, Pilnuj grosza zwierzonego. <i>Hejnał is raising! Let everyone</i> <i>rise from his soft bed,</i> <i>and keep watch over the penny</i> [entrusted.

Although later there is a religious motif (*Rise ye servants to the Lord*), we may concern it rather as a kind of a descriptions of manners “Wstawajcie słudzy do Pana, / Łacniejszy więc przystęp z rana / Żołnierzowi do Hetmana” [*Easier access in the morning for the soldier to the Hetman*] (4-6). It is also possible that the soldier came from Ovid. Further on we have a representative of the rural community – “Gospodarzu poostrz kosa” [*Sharpen your scythe, landlord*] (70), a ploughman “Wstań oraczu, jeśli wolej / Nie masz pościć, pilnuj rolęj” (16-17) – and a clerk, who is to get up willingly. Thus we have the same three professional groups as in the elegy from *Amores*. However, the clerk is followed by a drunkard *who has his head covered with a panicle* [“co ma wiechą łeb zakryty”] (14), and this is probably an allusion to an older form of the genre, the drunken *hejnał*. Then, the poet addresses his

own Muse (his poetic vein), urging her to wake up and begin her usual work, that is, to sing vigil at the threshold of his beloved one's house (a reference to the elegiac *paraclausythron* – a lover at locked doors as a synonym for the poet of love). It is therefore like a wake-up call to himself. Finally, there is a turn to the addressee, called here the author's lord (like an elegiac *domina* or even *dominus*), to whom he offers his services as a writer ready to keep the night watch by polishing his pen with descriptions of the girl's charms:

Wstańże i ty, Muzo moja,
niech zwyczajna praca twoja
Pilnuje cnego podwoja.

Wstawaj Panie, hejnał świta!
Twego cię to sługi wita
Chęć i ręka pracowita.

Proste-ć pióro, lecz je ćwicz
Noc bezsenna, kiedy liczy:
Twarz twą, umysł pracowity.

(19-27)

[Arise thou too, my Muse,
let thy ordinary work
Watch over the silent door.

Arise, O Lord, hejnał is dawning!
Thy servant greets thee,
His willing and industrious hand.

A simple pen but exercises it
The sleepless night when it counts:
Thy face, thy mind industrious].

The description of the morning dawn is also worth noting. It is missing at the beginning (which will be characteristic of various versions of Hieronim's bugle calls), but traces of it appear in the subsequent stanzas: "Phebus rozczesuje włosy" [*Phebus is combing his hair*] (8), "Dzień zapala lampę złotą" [*The day lights up a lamp of gold*] (12)¹⁸.

7. Two Hejnals of Hieronim Morsztyn

The originator of the genre, however, seems to have been Hieronim Morsztyn (c. 1581-c. 1622), the first of a family of poets. A proof of the popularity of his amatory bugles is the dozen or so manuscript versions that have survived, some of which are quite different from one another. None of them was published during the poet's lifetime, yet most of

¹⁸ Let us conclude this section by pointing out that, according to Hernas, in traditional guardian bugles the order of awakening people was in accordance with the feudal hierarchy.

them bear his name. Radosław Grześkowiak (Morsztyn H. 2016), who tirelessly excavated from manuscripts, identified and published the texts of popular seventeenth-century poets, established the original text and confirmed the Hieronim attribution of both bugles. In his edition of *Wybór poezji* of the oldest of the Morsztynians, after each of the bugles he published a short erotic which takes up the contents of the final part of the *hejnał* (86. *Po hejnale do jednej* and 90. *Na toż*), and between them three songs of the *aubade* type (89. *Na dobrą noc*, 87. *Dzień dobry*, 88. *Na dobry dzień*¹⁹). In this way, Grześkowiak reconstructed a wake-up cycle consisting of eight pieces. However, since bugle calls and good morning songs belong to different traditions, the latter will not be discussed here.

Let us take a closer look at two Morsztyn's *hejnals* that are variants of the one from the Ossolineum manuscript ("Hejnał świta! każdy z swego"), or similar ones. Certainly there were many more in the circulation, and it cannot be ruled out that Hieronim reworked older versions. It is precisely the clear Ovidian pattern and the structure of the Ossolinean text (quite simple, not necessarily written by an eminent author) that make us wonder whether some earlier pattern might have existed. It would probably be worth supporting these intuitions with an exploration of Czech texts.

Educated at the Jesuit college in Braniewo, Hieronim Morsztyn travelled around Italy and attended lectures at the University of Padua. He was an heir to the masters of Polish Renaissance poetry, headed by Jan Kochanowski, who adapted Polish literary language to classical models and experimented with vernacular Romance lyric forms. Under the pen of the eldest of the Morsztyns, the previously initiated genre of the love bugle of religious and parodic provenance is transformed into a love song, which merges with the strongly influential Romance lyricism of the 17th century.

Hieronim Morsztyn's *hejnals* and aubades begin with an extended description of the sky lit up by the morning dawn (in the song *Na dobrą noc* the moon and stars), what reveals the lyrical school of Jan Kochanowski: what he adds to Rej's call is the image and rhyme (*zorza – morza*) that appear in *Pieśni 8* from Kochanowski's *Fragmenta* and from *Psalterz Dawidów*²⁰.

Kiedy się rane zapalają zorza,
A dzień z wielkiego występuje morza
(Koch., *Fragm.* 8, 1-2)

[When the morning auroras are lit, And the day emerges from the great sea]

¹⁹ In Grześkowiak's edition first there are two songs at "good morrow", then the "good night" one, but an accurate reading of the time at which the beau sings his greetings shows that, in fact, we are not dealing with two aubades and a serenade, as one might infer from the titles, but that they should be performed one after another, in the space of two hours at most. For "good night" is said by the amateur just before aurora, when the stars and moon are fading and the darkness is at its densest.

²⁰ Cfr. a description of aurora in *Pieśni z Fragmentów* 8, 1-2; *Pieśni* I 7, 8-11, and in the paraphrase on the Psalter (*Psalterz Dawidów*, Psalms 5; 14; 107; 139; 133). On this subject more in Hernas 1961: 130-133.

Hejnal świta, już i z morza
Rumiana powstaje zorza
Jutrzenka w swojej jasności
Rozgania nocne ciemności.

(H. Morsz. 85, 1-4)

[Hejnal dawns, and already from the sea / The rosy aurora arises / The dawn in its brightness / Tears away the night's darkness]

Hejnal świta, już z pokoju
W złotopromiennym zawoju
Od Neptuna śliczna zorza
Z głębokiego wstaje morza.

(H. Morsz. 91, 1-42)

[Hejnal is dawning, the lovely aurora rises from the room, in a golden wrap, from Neptune's depth].

This rhyme was used by many poets – while the Eos motif is strictly epic, in Polish literature it became a lyrical one thanks to Kochanowski, and especially this very song. In Baroque poetry, however, there is a tendency to diversify motifs and descriptions of the aurora.

The shorter variant (85. *Hejnal świta, już i z morza*) seems to be the model for later texts. The description of the rising dawn is preceded by a presentation of waking creatures, extending the original Ovidian scheme: birds, wild animals, fish and a working ox, followed by calls to wake up and work addressed to the ploughman, craftsman, sailor, priest, and chief. (Subsequent 'users' of the song expanded it, adding stanzas that departed from the original scheme and disrupting the order). And all this presentation was intended to precede the address to the maiden, to whom the faithful admirer pays morning tribute, expresses his joy at seeing her healthy, praises God for her good night sleep, and wishes her always equally good mornings. This courtly greeting is followed by a longing sigh for the bed and the linen in which she slept, and a final request to remember her servant. Czesław Hernas (Hernas 1961: 134) sees in this structure a reference to the patterns of medieval epistolography: the first stanza is a morning greeting – *salutatio*, the lyrical description of the bed in the second one has the function of a *captatio benevolentiae*, the third one is a *conclusio*, which included a prayer for success or a request for remembrance. The piece thus closed finds a complement in quatrain 86. *Po hejnale do jednej*, where the amateur expresses the hope of receiving a reward for his sleepless nights as he kept vigil so that he could greet his lady at dawn.

In the long variant of the bugle-call, recognised by Grzeškowiak as canonical (in his collection no 91. *Hejnal świta już w pokoju*), the structure is similar, although the whole piece is more elaborate both in the initial part with the number of professions mentioned and the description of works, as well as in the final lyrical part. As in the previous one, the erotic ending is rather elaborate. The admirer who wakes the girl, indiscreetly looks into

the maiden's alcove, inspects the crumpled bedclothes, wants to kiss the places where she has been lying, and even expresses jealousy over the dog that sleeps with her and the flea that has access to her intimate places²¹. This theme is repeated in the next three-syllable poem 92. *Na toż*, where the indiscretion is even greater – the lover bursts into the sleeping lady's room and sets his lustful gaze on the place where the embroidered blanket covered her joined knees. The aubade type, combined with the hymn, could thus have served as fairly unsophisticated erotic poetry – here, however, finely and beautifully described.

The popularity of Hieronim Morsztyn's bugles is attested not only by the numerous versions, reworked by subsequent readers or users. As an interesting testimony to the reception of the genre and its canonicity, we may consider *Lekcja dziesiąta* from the elegiac *Lekcje Kupidynowe* (c. 1617) by Kasper Twardowski (Buszewicz 2008). Twardowski (1593-1641) seems to treat the bugle call elements as recognisable clichés and attaches to them the motif of a game of green, where a maiden awakened at dawn and caught by surprise without a green leaf, is to be given a kiss or something more as an offer. Thus, we have here the description of the rising aurora, the singing of first birds and the housekeeper, who wakes up the servants for work. This beginning, as well as the privilege granted to the young girl, who is allowed to sleep longer, is also reminiscent of rural *hejnał*, whereas the frivolous description of games in bed was probably taken from Hieronim Morsztyn. However, these games are interrupted by the arrival of an "awful hag" ("*przemierzła baba*" perhaps this housekeeper overseeing order, or perhaps another "resident" of the manor).

Różane z morza ukazuje włosy
 Jutrzenka rana, wesołymi głosy
 dzień słowiczek w gęstwinie witają,
 tam się pod strzechą wróble ozywają.
 Szła czeladź budzić pilna gospodyni,
 każdy powinność chętnie swoją czyni.
 Zosieńce samej, młodziuchnej dziewczynie,
 wolno się wyspać na miękkiej pierzynie.

(Twardowski 1997, *Lekcje Kupid.* x 1-8)

[The morning dawn [rising] from the sea shows rose-coloured hair, nightingales in the thicket greet the day with merry voices, and sparrows call under the thatch. The diligent housekeeper went to wake up the servants, everyone eager to do their duty. Only Zosieńka, a young girl, is allowed to sleep on a soft feather]

The combination of the motif of surprising a maiden in bed and waking her up at dawn with the request to produce a green leaf seems to be adopted by Wespazjan Kochowski (1633-1700):

²¹ On the erotic meaning of the motif of a pet dog in a lady's bed, as well as a flea – with numerous examples from Polish seventeenth-century poetry see: Grześkowiak 2013.

Gdy już długo na nią schodzę
 I podeść ją we grze godzę,
 Aż mi się trafiło wcześniej,
 Napaść na nią z rana we śnie.
 “Dobry dzień, panno zielone?”
 Ta trze snem oczy zmorzone.
 Że się ledwo zorza bieli,
 Maca wszędzie po pościeli.
 Ja znowu: “Maryś, zielone?”
 Darmo się przysz, bo stracone!”
 Potem się sama przyznała,
 A w zakładzie fawor dała.
 (Kochowski 1991: 177, *Zielone* 45-56)

[When I have long approached her
 And I'm trying to pick her up in the game,
 Finally, it happens early,
 I attack her in her sleep in the morning.
 “Good day, Miss, green?”
 She rubs her sleep-swept eyes.
 For the aurora is barely white,
 She's searching in the dark all over the sheets.
 Me again: “Mary, green?”
 Free to come, for it is lost!”
 Then she herself admits,
 That in the bet she let me win]

8. Zbigniew Morsztyn's Good Morning Bugle Call

The next phase in the development of the genre is marked by the work of Hieronim's younger relative, Zbigniew Morsztyn (c. 1625-1689). He also arranged his wake-up texts into a mini cycle of three poems. Preserved in two manuscript versions, the poems, which can be described as bugle calls, bedtime serenade and valedictory²², differ both in content and style. The version from *Wiryardz poetycki* collected by Jakub Teodor Trembecki presents the title of the first one as *Hejnal na dobry dzień Jej Mci Pannie Zofijej z Szpanowa Czaplíčównie od Imci Pana Zbigniewa z Raciborska Morstyna, miecznika mozyrskiego*, so it is a song accompanied by titles and honorifics, which the poet offered to his fiancée, whereas in Morsztyn's manuscript volume entitled *Muza domowa*, the poem has a more universal title, i.e. *Komendy in gratiam jednego kawalera na dzień dobry*. As Czesław Hernas mentions (Hernas 1961: 142), Zbigniew's bugle call diverges from the traditional scheme: there is no ordinary introduction with a description of aurora, nor a cycle of exhortations addressed to representatives of partic-

²² For more on the valedictory *Na pożegnanie*, see: Pelc 1973: 167-172.

ular classes. Even though the eight-line structure typical of bugle calls is preserved, the length of the composition, the sentence size and the free flow of enjambements put *Komendy* at a distance from melodic poetry. It should be added that at that time the folklore of the watchman must have belonged to the past, and probably the *hejnał* itself was becoming increasingly less intelligible to the artists and audience of the late 17th century. The watchman calling the day is replaced by a courtly gentleman keeping vigil at the maiden's window, and he has no obligation to wake others apart from his lady. And he begins from that:

Hejnał, panie serca mego,
 Ockni się ze snu wdzięcznego,
 Już twój sługa nieospały
 Zaczyna-ć nowe hejnały.
 (Morsztyn Z. 1975: 133-147, *Komendy...*, 1-4)

[Hejnał, lord of my heart,
 Awake from a grateful sleep,
 Thy servant is already sleepless
 To begin new bugles]

His lingering at the door of the still dormant maiden does not prevent him from astutely observing the natural world and people waking up to life. As in the traditional alba, the day is heralded by birds – the description of the customs and the way of singing of the particular species runs through the whole poem. This motif seems to replace the traditional description of the morning aurora. The attention of the waiting young man, or rather his imagination stimulated by the sounds coming from afar, moves from the window of the manor house to further regions and we are presented with cheerful, colourful scenes from city life and the countryside: starting from the pilgrim's wake, accompanied by birds, wild animals and insects, through the morning rush of royal courtiers, musicians, court horses, monks ringing bells to pray, soldiers, sailors, craftsmen, farmers, country folk, shepherds, hunters, to prisoners going to work and small pupils, who immediately after waking up loudly demand to have breakfast before going to school.

Finally, the poet's thoughts return to his own role of his mistress' singer and the Polish bugle-call begins to take on Classical and Petrarchan colours. The evoked image of the Muses, who begin a dance procession at the top of Parnassus, allows us to introduce a courtly element – the Muses lack the company of the maiden, who should start their dance and hold the notes for the singer: a metaphorical indication of her role in inspiring the poet as his muse. (It is worth noting the repetition of the order: Muses, then maiden, form the Ossol. bugle). So once again he wakes her up: "Ockni się" – wake up, as a nightingale sings – but it is a nightingale taken directly from the *Metamorphoses* (a reference to the myth of Procne and Philomela). Another of Ovid's stories, this time of Phaethon, is also referred to in the conventional comparison of a girl's eyes to the sun. Here, however, we see only the effect of their influence – the unkind glances of the maiden burn and incinerate the poor lover's heart,

like in the past the chariot driven by an unskilled Apollo's son. This final amorous part of the poem is maintained in the elegiac convention and topics, filtered through the Petrarchan tradition. Although Hernas (1961: 143) sees here a medieval "code of chivalric service" to a lady of heart, reduced to the tasks of serving, loving, silence, and suffering, enriched by the task of awakening the lady, it should be noted that the terms used refer directly to elegiac topics.

The addressee is a *domina*, or even *dominus* (see incipit "Hejnal, panie serca mego"), on whose will depends the fate of his slave (*servitium amoris* theme). The term (in the masculine form) is repeated: "gdy cię nie dobrego pana, / Lecz srogiego znam tyrańa" [*When I know thee not as a good lord, / But as a harsh tyrant*] (133-134), so that is a severe, tough girl (*dura puella*). The most elegiac-like lines are those alluding to the topics of *amator exclusus* – the amateur locked outside and spending the whole night on the threshold where he finally falls asleep:

Wami, o progi kochane,
 Świadczę, na was skłopotane
 Moje się skronie skłoniły,
 Wyście je snem posiliły,
 Jeśli słusznie snem mienię
 Zdumiałych zmysłów strętwinie.
 (141-146)

[Oh dear thresholds,
 I testify that upon you my troubled
 temples have bowed,
 You have made them sleep,
 If I rightly call a dream
 the bewilderment of my senses]

I take the liberty of transferring this beautiful, Baroque-style reflection on the nature of sleep (v. 145-146) to the preceding sentence, which speaks of a dream on the threshold (in Pelc's edition the full stop is placed after "posiliły", and the sentence on sleep has been added to the next one). This is because in the next sentence we already have a different idea, although also nested in the elegiac tradition, and previously taken over from the bucolic, that is, the final death threat of the scorned lover, which is intended to arouse the girl's grief and pity:

I wierz mi, jeśli się dali
 Serce twe mnie nie użali,
 Że co ja dzisiaj hejnały
 Śpiewam ci, to za czas mały
 Ty, sroga, na mym pogrzebie,
 Gdy pochodzące od ciebie
 Zabiją mnie te kłopoty,
 Usłyszysz feralne noty.
 (147-154)

[And believe me, if still thy heart does not pity me, just as I sing the bugles to you today, soon you, harsh lady, will hear the dirge notes at my funeral, when trouble coming from you kills me]

Complementary to this text is the following song for a good night (*Na dobrą noc*). Interestingly, unlike in the bugle call, here we have a description of the colours of the sun, which is now setting,

Dobra noc, moje kochanie,
 Śpiewałem ci na zaranie,
 Lecz i teraz, kiedy cienie
 Nocne już okryły ziemię,
 [...]
 Gdy się wszystko uciszyło,
 I tobie by się godziło,
 Ulubiona dziewczko moja,
 Brać się na wczas do pokoja.
 (1-4, 26-30)

[Good night, my love,
 I sang to you in the dawn,
 But now, when the night shadows
 Have covered the earth,
 When all is quiet,
 You should,
 My favourite girl,
 Get to your room on time]

The beau recalls his morning bugle call and goes on with a reversed picture, presenting the world as it lies down to sleep in parallel, albeit shorter, images. This is followed by a hymn, rooted in the Classical (Ovid. *Met.* XI 623-5; Stat. v 4) and Neo-Latin literature, to the Dream, summoned to make the girl fall asleep so that the lover keeps watch at her door. Here, in turn, the amateur takes on bucolic tones and is transformed into Daphnis, watching over the sleep of the shepherdess Amaryllis from the Theocritus' idyll III *Komos* (which is a parody of paraclausithyron), paraphrased beautifully into Polish by Szymon Szymonowic in his *sielanka XIII Zalotnicy*. In Theocritus' idyll as well as in Szymonowic's *sielanka* the shepherd silences his flock, the wind and insects so that they do not wake the sleeping one. Morsztyn expands this catalogue of silenced animals and when the time comes for insects, he moves from Theocritus' mosquito and fly to the flea known from the bugle call of his relative Hieronim, and then to other elements of the bedding which is also supposed to support the maiden's sleep by covering her beautiful body. Through this allusion, the elegant courtly serenade acquires a slight erotic flavour, but there is no place here

for Hieronim's obscenities. The whole ends with an image, again taken from Paraclausithyron, of a lover standing guard at the door:

Jużże śpij, kochanku moja,
A – co u twego podwoja
Stoi (jeśli godzien tego) –
Wspomni też na stróża twego!
(111-114)

[Sleep now, my beloved, and remember thy guardian (if he is worthy), who stands at thy door]

What is striking in Zbigniew's *hejnal* and what influenced the poetic imagination of later poets is the ability, characteristic of the author of *Muza domowa*, to render the details of everyday life. As Janusz Pelc writes: "A look at the everyday fact was the starting point for reflections on more general matters. This tendency was initially marked in his soldier lyric, in some epigrams, and later triumphed also in the erotic" (Pelc 1966: 145). The poet's monographer also points to the evolution of his erotic from the conceptualist court lyric to the poetry of everyday life, to the domestic perspective, which he even emphasizes with the title of his collection. He thus turns back to the patronage of Jan Kochanowski, as from the two possible schemes of a bugle stanza: 8aaa or 8aabb, he chose the latter, which, as Pelc notes, is the stanza of Kochanowski's *Pieśń świętojańska o Sobótce*.

9. Conclusion

In the 17th c. Poland arose an original genre called amatory *hejnal* (love bugle), in which the adorer wishes to greet his beloved at the morning aurora, waking her with a song, conveying wishes for a good day and offering his services. This lyrical genre (originally melodic) was created as an adaptation of a religious *Hejnal* by Mikołaj Rej. Probably an intermediate link was a parody of the original religious version in the form of a mocking drunkard's bugle-call (other parodic forms are the rural and political ones). The distinguishing feature of the genre is an initial watchman's formula "Hejnal świta", followed by the description of the aurora, which wakes up successive groups of working people, and hence the transition to the theme of the girl's wake-up call – these features demonstrate the inspiration of Ovid's elegy *Amores* I 13 (the characteristic order of waking up according to professional groups). Rej's bugle-call referred to the chants of night watchmen, and the metrical pattern derived from this (887aaa) also permeated parodies, though some changes in stanzas' scheme occurred (8aaa or 88aabb). The amatory *hejnal* is represented by: the anonymous text from the Ossolineum Library's manuscript; two poems by Hieronim Morsztyn (reworked many times by users and survived in several different versions); and one by Zbigniew Morsztyn. Amatory *hejnal* also absorbed features of the *aubade*, popular in Europe, sometimes including motifs of jealousy over a dog or flea in bed and objects that touched the girl's body. Elements of the serenade could also be deployed.

Literature

- Bec 1977: P. Bec, *La lyrique française au Moyen-Âge (XII^e-XIII^e siècles). Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux. Études et textes, 1 (Études)*, Paris 1977.
- Buszewicz 2008: E. Buszewicz, *Ucieczka ze szkoły Kupidyna. Język miłości i jego metamorfozy w poezji Kaspra Twardowskiego*, in: R. Krzywy (ed.), *Amor vincit omnia. Erotyzm w literaturze staropolskiej*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 101-117.
- Chaguinian 2008: Ch. Chaguinian (éd.), *Les albas occitanes*, transcription musicale et étude des mélodies par J. Haines, Paris 2008.
- Dreves 1891: G.M. Dreves (hrsg.), *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi, XI (Hymni inediti. Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters)*, Leipzig 1891.
- Grześkowiak 2013: R. Grześkowiak, *Amor curiosus. Studia o osobliwych tematach dawnej poezji erotycznej*, Warszawa 2013.
- Hatto 1965: A.T. Hatto (ed.), *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, The Hague 1965.
- Hernas 1961: Cz. Hernas, *Hejnaty polskie. Studium z historii poezji melicznej*, Wrocław 1961.
- Kochanowski 2018: J. Kochanowski, *Trifles, Songs, and Saint John's Eve Song*, translation, notes and introduction by M.J. Mikoś, edited and with a foreword of M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, Lublin 2018.
- Kochowski 1991: W. Kochowski, *Utwory poetyckie. Wybór*, ed. by M. Eustachiewicz, Wrocław 1991.
- Korczyński 2000: A. Korczyński, *Wizerunk złocistej przyjaźnią zdrady*, ed. by R. Grześkowiak, Warszawa 2000.
- Łepkowski 1861: J. Łepkowski, *O hejnatach krakowskich*, "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", 1861, 84, pp. 167-169
- McKeown 1989: J.C. McKeown, *Ovid, Amores: A Commentary on Book one*, Liverpool 1989.
- Mikołaj z Wilk. 2004: Mikołaj z Wilkowiecka, *Historyja o chwalebnyim Zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim*, ed by J. Okoń, Wrocław 2004.
- Mikołaj z Wilk. 2017: Mikołaj z Wilkowiecka / Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko, *Historyja o chwalebnyim Zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim / The History of Lord's Glorious Resurrections*, adapted by P. Tomaszuk, transl. by D. Malcolm, ed. by T. Wiśniewski, Supraśl 2017.
- Morsztyn H. 2016: H. Morsztyn, *Wybór poezji*, wstęp i opr. R. Grześkowiak, Wrocław 2016.
- Morsztyn Z. 1975: Z. Morsztyn, *Wybór wierszy*, ed. by J. Pelc, Wrocław 1975.

- Müller 1971: U. Müller, *Ovid 'Amores' – alba – tageliet. Typ und Gegendertyp des 'Tage-liches' in der Liebesdichtung der Antike und des Mittelalters*, "Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte", 1971, 45, pp. 451-480.
- Okoń 1989: J. Okoń (ed.), *Staropolskie pastoralki dramatyczne. Antologia*, Wrocław 1989.
- Pelc 1966: J. Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn, arianin i poeta*, Wrocław 1966.
- Pelc 1973: J. Pelc, *Zbigniew Morsztyn na tle poezji polskiej XVII w.*, Warszawa 1973.
- Rej 2003: M. Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego*, II, ed. by J. Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 2003.
- Rej 2006: M. Rej, *Wybór pism*, ed. by A. Kochan, Wrocław 2006.
- Twardowski 1997: K. Twardowski, *Lekcje Kupidynowe*, ed. by R. Grześkowiak, Warszawa 1997.
- Urban-Godziek 2020a: G. Urban-Godziek, *Alba dworska trubadurów (rozstanie o świcie)*, "Terminus", 2020, 2, pp. 123-141.
- Urban-Godziek 2020b: G. Urban-Godziek, *Romańska alba tradycyjna – między pieśnią ludową a dworską*, "Terminus", 2020, 2, pp. 103-122.

Abstract

Grażyna Urban-Godziek

The Amatory Hejnal (Bugle Call). An Old Polish Genre of a Morning Love Song

The article presents the genre of the Polish amatory *hejnal*, defined in C. Hernas' *Hejnal polski. Studium z historii poezji melicznej* (1961). This original genre, as well as other Polish poems which could be classified as aubade, was not included in A.T. Hatto's collection *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry* (1965). The author of this article, focusing much of her research on medieval and early modern morning love poems, enumerates the features of amatory *hejnal*, showing its literary sources, in particular the scheme taken from Ovid's *Amores* 1.13. Although the amatory *hejnal* derived from a parody of M. Rej's religious hymn (drunken, rural, or a political variation, among others), it then combined the features of aubade, serenade and Latin elegy and entered the group of European songs of lovers meeting at dawn. The main authors discussed here are the 17th-century poets, Hieronim and Zbigniew Morsztyn.

Keywords

Amatory *Hejnal*; Aubade; Hieronim Morsztyn; Zbigniew Morsztyn.