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Charles Gounod's Musical Gift to Kraków: The Philanthropic Efforts of Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska

Introduction

"Kraków—this mausoleum of the national past—has erupted with ephemeral life. This life lasted two days—the last of January and the first of February. Two days, yet lively and bustling..."[1] So wrote a journalist of *Gazeta Narodowa*, published in Lviv, about a charity event held in the first-floor halls of the Sukiennice (the Kraków Cloth Hall) in 1880. He was impressed by the numerous activities within a philanthropic project aimed at aiding the poor of that part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Emphasizing the organizers' successful efforts to source artistic items for the lottery, he also noted their attention to the aesthetic presentation of the entire cultural, philanthropic, and social enterprise: "no effort was spared in any direction, and as proof, even Gounod was persuaded to write a cantata specifically for the concert organized for this purpose."[2] By 2009, this vocal-instrumental piece from 1880 by the creator of *Faust* had not appeared in any catalogues of his works.

[1] W-an [Karol Widman], *Kronika Krakowska (Bieda w mieście i Alhambra w Sukiennicach),* „Gazeta Narodowa" 1880, No. 27, p. 1.

[2] Ibidem., p. 2.

However, on February 9, 2002, the autograph of Gounod's musical gift appeared at auction in London (South Kensington) and was sold for £1,410 by Christie's Auction House.[3] It was described as follows: "Autograph music manuscript signed ('Ch. Gounod'), Paris, 20 January 1880, a song, 'La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu!', for contralto, chorus, cello and piano, the manuscript inscribed 'Quête pour les Pauvres de Gallicie' and dedicated 'à mon amie la Princesse Suzanna Czartoryska.'" The recipient was associated with one Poland's most prominent aristocratic families, though it was only speculated that she was a relative of Anna Czartoryska,[4] who had resided in Paris since 1832 and was active in the Polish émigré community. Shortly thereafter, the same autograph appeared in the catalogue of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library (part of Yale University Library, New Haven), having been purchased in 2002 from the London antiquarian house, Bernard Quaritch Ltd.[5] The library already held other manuscripts by the French composer,[6] but the catalogue description of this new acquisition added no further information beyond that cited above.

The 2009 monograph on Gounod by Gérard Condé likewise does provide any additional information, while the title "La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu!" appeared for the first time in a list of Gounod's unpublished works (catalogue number CG 490), which was also included in Condé's chronicle of the composer's life.[7] However, neither Condé nor subsequent researchers of Gounod's

[3] http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/gounod-charles-1818–1893–autograph-music-manuscript-signed-3949415–details.aspx [accessed 14. 01. 2014].

[4] Anna Zofia Czartoryska, née Sapieha (1799–1864), was the wife of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861), the leader of the Great Polish Emigration in Paris and head of the political camp known as Hôtel Lambert, which sought the liberation of Poland. In Paris Anna founded, among other institutions, the Institute for Polish Young Ladies and the House of St. Casimir, a shelter for Polish émigrés. f. Chopin dedicated his *Rondo à la Krakowiak in F major*, Op. 14, to her. One of Anna and Adam's sons, Prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894), took over leadership of the aforementioned political camp in Paris after his father's death and founded the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków. Another son, Aleksander Romuald Czartoryski (1811–1886), married Marcelina née Radziwiłł (1817–1894) in 1840.

[5] See http://orbexpress.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=9142029 and Beinecke Digital Collections https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3966455 [accessed 09. 17. 2014].

[6] These are primarily part of the Frederick R. Koch collection.

[7] Gérard Condé, *Charles Gounod*, Paris 2009, pp. 205, 1010. The inclusion of this work in the catalogue of Gounod's compositions did not immediately result in its acknowledgment in later publications about the composer; for example, it is absent from Yves Bruley's *Charles Gounod*, Paris 2015.

work have specified the charity event for which this work was intended, in terms of its location, organizers or the identity of the addressee.[8]

Mentions of Gounod's 1880 gift to the poor of Galicia are likewise absent in Polish publications on Galician culture or on the Czartoryski family, in which their philanthropic and cultural activities are emphasized.[9] In Polish musicological literature, Józef Reiss was the first, in 1939, to mention Gounod's musical gift, composed at the request of Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska, and designated by Reiss as a cantata premiered in Kraków on January 31, 1880 in the Sukiennice, performed by "the beautiful contralto voice of Ms. Matejko," the amateur cellist "Count Cieszkowski," a choir, and harmonium, during a "charity lottery for the poor, afflicted by cold and hunger."[10] In 1999, lacking access to the score of Gounod's mysterious work, I cited Reiss, and in subsequent years other authors, e.g., writing about Teodora Matejko, did not supplement the information provided by him in any way.[11] In 2014, I obtained a scanned image of Gounod's autograph from the Yale University Library entitled "La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu! (Quête pour les Pauvres de Gallicia). (à mon amie la Princesse Suzanne Czartoryska). (Paris, 20 Janvier 1880.)"

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[8] Condé provides only the birth and death dates as well as the maiden name of Marcelina Czartoryska, whom he mentions in connection with the Parisian Mozart Club. Ibid., pp. 272, 1040.

[9] For example, in monographic studies on the Czartoryski family published in 2003 and 2020, references to Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska are few and cursory. Her name does not appear in an article by Marie Cornaz (2006) devoted to the interest in Polish music in the 19th century within Zuzanna's family, the princely family of Chimay. See *Czartoryscy—Polska—Europa: historia i współczesność,* ed. Zbigniew Baran, Kraków 2003, pp. 239, 246, 254, 323; Zofia Wojtkowska, *Saga rodu Czartoryskich*, Warsaw 2020, p. 337; Marie Cornaz, *La musique polonaise chez les princes de Chimay*, "Revue Belge de Musicologie" 60, 2006, pp. 9–19.

[10] Józef Reiss, without providing a source, writes about this in the chapter entitled *Ks. Marcelina Czartoryska. Towarzystwo Muzyczne*, in: idem., *Almanach muzyczny Krakowa: 1780–1914*, Vol. 1, Kraków 1939, p. 94.

[11] Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, *Muzyka francuska w Polsce w II połowie XIX wieku. Analiza dokumentów jako podstawa źródłowa do badań nad recepcją*, Kraków 1999, p. 318; Barbara A. Ostafin, *Z Krakowa do La Scali. Franciszek Mirecki (1791–1862). Monograph*, Kraków 2022, pp. 69–70.

Musical and philanthropic traditions in the family of Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska before 1880

Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska (1844–1918), was the daughter-in-law of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska (1817–1894), who herself had been a pupil of Chopin. Zuzanna was the wife of "Marcelek," about whom Chopin wrote in a letter to Wojciech Grzymała on October 1, 1848: "He grows beautifully (he can sing my compositions and even completes them when they are not quite right),"[12] and who was the subject of a drawing by the Polish poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid.[13] Prince Marceli Czartoryski (1811–1886) was born in Weinhaus near Vienna and primarily educated in Paris. Later described as the "decent, kind, and amiable" owner of Wola Justowska near Kraków, he did not engage in political activities like most male members of his aristocratic family. Together with his mother Marcelina, he acted as a patron of the Towarzystwo Muzyczne w Krakowie (Musical Society in Kraków), notably between 1878 and 1880, during which time his father, Aleksander Romuald Czartoryski (1811–1886), served as president of the society.[14] Marceli was a connoisseur and enthusiast of painting, "skillfully collecting works, and taking care of all manifestations of artistic activity." Between 1870 and 1894, he held the presidency of the Kraków Society of the Friends of Fine Arts, supporting and promoting the local art scene.

Suzanne Marie Anne Caraman de Riquet-Chimay, wife of Marceli Czartoryski, was born on February 20, 1844 in Paris, as the twin sister of Victor Joseph Alphonse Caraman de Riquet-Chimay (1844–1928). They were the younger children, after Louisa (1837–1890), of Alphonse Ferdinand Caraman

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[12] *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina*, collected and edited by Bronisław Edward Sydow, Warsaw 1955, Vol. 2, pp. 276–277 (entire entry pp. 276–278).

[13] Drawings by Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–1883) were once kept in the lost album of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska. Around 1908, they were reproduced in photographs by the Kraków firm of Ignacy Krieger. See Edyta Chlebowska, *Na szklanych kliszach nieznane rysunki Norwida, czyli "Album Marceliny Czartoryskiej"*, in: *Studia Norwidiana*, Vol. 32, 2014, pp. 147–173; reproductions of the drawings depicting Marceli Czartoryski may be found on pp. 159, 168.

[14] *Śp. Marceli Czartoryski*, "Czas" 1909, No. 272, p. 4. Marceli Czartoryski died on November 25, 1909, in Switzerland, in Ouchy near Lausanne. On December 2, his body was brought to Kraków. He was buried in the family tomb at the Rakowicki Cemetery, and the funeral service was held on December 7 in St. Barbara's Church. See "Nowa Reforma" 1909, No. 548, p. 1; "Czas" 1909, No. 277, pp. 2–3.

de Riquet-Chimay (1810-1865) and his wife and cousin, Rosalie de Riquet de Caraman (1814–1872). Until 1844, Zuzanna's family lived at the family seat, Chateau de Chimay in Belgium, then moved to Chateau de Beauchamp, while in the winter they lived in Paris in a house on rue Constantine. Members of the extensive Caraman de Riquet-Chimay family held political, diplomatic and social functions, actively engaged in music and promoted its cultivation in Belgium and France, particularly in Paris, as well as during temporary stays in Rome.[15]

The wedding ceremony of Suzanne Caraman-Chimay and Prince Marcel Czartoryski took place on July 31, 1866 in Paris, in the Missions Étrangères church on rue du Bac. The sermon was delivered by the doctor of theology, Fr. Marie-Bernard Bauer (1829–1898).[16] In his wedding oration, delivered in French, he referred to the messianic vision of a heroic Poland, and, addressing Zuzanna, he said, among other things, "Car, ma fille, vous savez que, par le serment que votre coeur a hâte de prononcer, vous allez devenir Polonaise. Dès lors, à partir de cette heure, la cause de la Pologne sera votre cause et ses douleurs seront votre cause et ses douleurs seron vos douleurs. […] Aussi, plus vous vous sentirez Polonaise, plus vous aimerez Jésus-Christ, et plus vous aimerez Jésus-Christ, plus aussi vous aimerez la Pologne."[17]

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[15] Information about this family and its musical activity is drawn from the well-documented and richly illustrated book by Marie Cornaz. However, the author provides no details about Zuzanna Czartoryska other than her date of birth. See M arie Cornaz, *Les Princes de Chimay et la musique: Une famille de mélomanes au cœur de l'histoire, XVIe–XXe siècle*, Tournai 2002, p. 133.

[16] Marie-Bernard Bauer, a preacher and confessor of Jewish origin born in Pest, Hungary, converted to Catholicism in Paris in 1852. He became known in both Paris and Vienna for his sermons, which provoked discussion, as during the 1860s and 1870s he addressed issues concerning the relationship between Judaism and Christianity and described the religious and political aspects of the distinct national identities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Among his sermon-lectures, a particularly notable one was delivered on March 22, 1867, at the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Paris, entitled *La Pologne devant l'histoire et devant Dieu*. The proceeds from the sale of its printed edition were donated to the Society for the Charity of Polish Ladies in Paris.

[17] "My dear daughter, you know that by the vow your heart wishes to pronounce, you will become Polish. From this moment, from this very hour, the cause of Poland will be your cause, her suffering your suffering. […] And the more deeply you feel yourself to be Polish, the more you will love Jesus Christ; and the more you love Jesus Christ, the more you will love Poland." Marie-Bernard Bauer, *Discours prononcé au mariage du prince Marcel Czartoryski avec Mlle Suzanne de Caraman-Chimay le 31 juillet 1866 à l'église des Missions étrangères à Paris*, Paris 1866, pp. 3, 6. Reissued: Hachette BnF, Paris 2013.

Through her marriage to Prince Marceli, Zuzanna entered a Polish family with rich traditions both in patriotism and in the fine arts, particularly in Kraków, where Prince Marceli's mother, Marcelina Czartoryska, was active in music and charitable work. Musical traditions were, however, also well established in the Riquet-Caraman de Chimay family. Zuzanna's grandfather, François-Joseph Caraman de Riquet (1771–1843), was a violinist. In his, his wife's and amateur singer Thérèse Cabarrus' (1773–1835) Parisian salon, as well as at the Château de Chimay, well-known composers and musicians performed alongside the head of the household from 1806 onward; many were under their patronage, as were several local musical institutions.[18] Zuzanna's paternal uncle, Joseph I Caraman de Riquet (1808–1886), who in 1843 moved with his wife Émilie (née Pellapra) into the family castle, continued its musical traditions. In the castle courtyard theatre, comic operas by Donizetti, Auber and Victor Massé were performed, and during the inauguration of the theatre hall, in February 1863, the Violin Concerto in E major, op. 64 by Mendelssohn was performed by Zuzanna's cousin, Joseph II (1836–1892). Zuzanna's mother, Rosalie, being the granddaughter of the music lover Victor-Maurice de Caraman, not only painted but also devoted herself to music. Under the pseudonym "Princesse Alphonse de Chimay," she published several of her compositions, mainly songs, in Brussels in the 1850s; autographs of her other works have also been preserved.[19] Zuzanna's sister, Louisa Marie-Clotilde-Élisabeth (1837–1890), wife of Prince Eugène de Mercy-Argenteau (1838–1888), played the

[18] The musicians included Rodolphe Kreutzer, Pierre Rode, Pierre Baillot, Daniel-François-Esprit Auber, Luigi Cherubini, violinists Charles Bériot and Nicolas-Lambert Wéry, pianist George Alexander Osborne (Zuzanna's grandfather played works by Mozart, Hummel and Beethoven with him), cellists Jean-Henri Levasseur and Nicolas Platel, flautist Jean Louis Tulou, clarinetist Xavier Lefèvre, cornetist Frédéric Nicolas Duvernoy, tenor Pierre Garat, mezzo-soprano Maria Malibran. The achievement of François-Joseph Caraman de Riquet was the founding of the musical society Harmonia in Chimay in 1823, as well as his work for the École de Chant in Brussels, which had existed since 1813 but was officially recognized in 1826 as the École Royale de Musique, and which in February 1832 became the Conservatoire Royal de Musique.

[19] Among others, Princesse Alphonse de Chimay [Rosalie Caraman de Riquet-Chimay] composed "Venez enfants! Cantique" for two sopranos, tenor, and bass with accompaniment for harmonium, organ, or piano, published by Katto, Brussels; "Si je vous disais", a romance for voice and piano, published by Joseph Meyenne, Brussels; and, together with Eugène Amelot, "Caprice" for piano and violin, also published by Joseph Meyenne, Brussels. Zuzanna's father, Alphonse, was likewise a composer, authoring "Marche pour piano", published in Paris by Durand and dedicated to the Société Philharmonique in Chimay.

piano well (including works by Chopin, Liszt, Cui, Liadov), and was a significant figure in the lives of several composers of Tsarist Russia, including Anton Rubinstein, Cesar Cui, and Alexander Borodin. She became friends with Liszt, whom she met in Rome around 1865 through her paternal uncle's son, her cousin Joseph II Riquet-Caraman, who at the time was serving as secretary at the Belgian embassy in Rome.

The salons of Paris and Rome in the 1860s, frequented by aristocrats, writers, composers, virtuoso musicians, and amateurs alike, formed the milieu in which connections were established between the Riquet-Caraman and Czartoryski families and Charles Gounod. Joseph II Riquet-Caraman—a diplomat and violinist—and his first wife, pianist Marie de Montesquiou-Fezensac (1834–1884), a student of Camille O'Meara, the last pupil of Chopin, performed in the Parisian salon of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska at the Hôtel Lambert. Princess Marcelina maintained contact with them during her stays in Rome, where their mutual acquaintances included Franz Liszt. Charles Gounod also frequented her Paris salon, where his works were performed, and the high esteem in which many of the regular guests, besides Gounod and the hostess herself, held both Chopin and Mozart led Princess Marcelina, in the mid-1850's, to found the Parisian Mozart Society. Stanisław Tarnowski, who was a friend of Princess Marcelina in Kraków, even claimed that while composing *Faust*, Gounod submitted passages of the score "for the Princess's judgment."[20] This account, often regarded as legendary since it is not corroborated in any monographs on Gounod, may nevertheless contain a grain of truth. Gounod was also acquainted with Prince Marceli Czartoryski; as Gounod wrote in a letter to a friend residing in Rome, that he spoke with Marceli in Paris on April 14, 1869 while attending lunch at Princess Marcelina's residence.[21]

Gounod first met Suzanne Czartoryska in Rome at the beginning of 1869, while he was on a scholarship at the Villa Medici from December 12, 1868. He left for Paris on February 16, 1869 to attend the rehearsals of *Faust* on February 23 and 25, before the premiere at the Théâtre Lyrique on March 3, 1869. Suzanne came to Gounod's attention through her friend, the renowned Swiss sculptor Adèle d'Affry, Princess de Castiglione-Colonna, known by

[20] Stanisław Tarnowski, *Princess Marcelina Czartoryska*, Kraków 1895, p. 22.

[21] Letter from Charles Gounod, Paris, April 18, 1869, to Adèle d'Affry, Princess de Castiglione-Colonna, in: *"De l'âme à la plume". Les lettres de Charles Gounod à la duchesse Colonna, dite Marcello*, ed. Delphine Vincent, Bern-Bruxells-Frankfurt am Main 2017, p. 121.

her pseudonym Marcello (1836–1879), who had lived in Paris from 1859 to 1868 and again from 1872, and and who was in Rome from January 12, 1869. In Paris, Adèle maintained contacts with, among others, Rossini, Liszt and Gounod, to the latter of whom she was particularly close. During their stay in Rome in January 1869, at one of their gatherings in the presence of Ernest Hébert (1817–1908), then director of the Académie de France in Rome and a well-known painter, Suzanne overheard a conversation between Gounod and Hébert. Gounod was reminded of this event by Adèle before 25 February 1869, who informed him that she intended to create a major "study" of the beautiful woman.[22] At that time, the sculptor was preparing or had begun work on a marble sculpture representing Princess Suzanne Czartoryska Caraman de Riquet-Chimay, which now stands in the private gardens of one of the palaces near Freiburg.[23]

Only in the light of the selected facts from the biography of Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska, as well as the musical activity of her family and that of her husband, can we fully understand the phenomenon of the musical gift from Paris to the poor in Galicia. It is therefore unsurprising that in 1880 Charles Gounod fulfilled the request of the then resident of Kraków, inscribing on the autograph score of his new composition the dedication: *à mon amie la Princesse Suzanne Czartoryska*.

It should also be remembered that balls and art lotteries were among the popular philanthropic events of the 19th century, and within the Czartoryski family they were linked to the tradition of the Society for the Charity of Polish Ladies in Paris, founded in 1834 by Princess Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha. One of the statutory forms of raising funds for the poor was the organization of "an annual sale and lottery at the Hôtel Lambert."[24] It should also be emphasized that Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska (1844–1918), who was strongly associated with Paris, had been a well-known figure in Kraków many years prior to the 1880 sale. As early as January and February 1871, Princess Zuzanna collected

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[22] Letter from Charles Gounod, Paris, February 25, 1869, to Adèle d'Affry, Princess de Castiglione-Colonna, in: *"De l'âme à la plume"* ..., op. cit., p. 106. For more information on the stays of Gounod and Adèle in Rome in 1869 and their acquaintance, see: pp. 14–15, 85–96.

[23] See "Polonica Europy" No. 1, March 2008. http://docplayer.pl/3401508–Nr-1–vol-1–marzec-2008–ch-szwajcaria-kanton-fribourg-pomnik-suzanne-czartoryskiej-foto-s-mach.html

[24] Hipolit Błotnicki, *Towarzystwo Dobroczynności Dam Polskich*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu" 1866, p. LVIII (entire article p. LVII-LX).

funds in Kraków to help French prisoners of war held in Prussian captivity.[25] In 1879 alone, she served as one of the hostesses for a fundraising ball for the poor students in Kraków's public schools (January 29), for the 50th anniversary of the literary work of Polish writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (October 5), and for an art sale and lottery to benefit the sick and impoverished (January 30-31 and February 1, 1880).[26] She also initiated private and public musical and museum events. For instance, on March 16, 1879, she hosted Anton Rubinstein at her Kraków residence, Villa Decjusza; on December 29, 1879, she organized a concert in the upper hall of the restored Sukiennice, featuring works by Beethoven, Haydn, Liszt, Schumann, and Weber; and on March 4, 1880, she began efforts to organize an exhibition there in connection with the bicentennial of Jan III Sobieski's victory at Vienna, which would take place in 1883.[27]

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[25] See *Kronika miejscowa i zamiejscowa*, "Czas" 1871, No. 7, p. 2, No. 14, p. 3, No. 27, p. 2.

[26] *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1879, No. 11, p. 4, No. 19, p. 3, No. 23, p. 2, No. 25, p. 2, No. 26, p. 2, No. 28, p. 2, No. 227, p. 2, No. 230, p. 2; "Czas" 1880, No. 15, p. 3. At the ball held in honor of Kraszewski, Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska was the undisputed "queen," outshining Helena Modrzejewska, the then-famous actress celebrated in Kraków. See *Obchód w Krakowie jubileuszu pięćdziesięcioletniej pracy literackiej J. I. Kraszewskiego*, "Czas" 1879, No. 230, p. 2; *Jubileusz J. I. Kraszewskiego w Krakowie*, "Dziennik Poznański" 1879, No. 230, p. 3; No. 232, p. 3; Auguste Dietrich, *Le Jubilé littéraire de Joseph Kraszewskie à Cracovie*, "Bulletin Association littéraire et artistique internationale" 1879, octobre, p. 23; Józef Szczublewski, *Modrzejewska. Życie w odsłonach*, 3rd ed., Warsaw 2009, pp. 268, 401.

[27] A. Rubinstein gave concerts in Kraków on March 15, 1879 and on March 16, followed by a reception at Villa Decjusz after his visit to the Wieliczka salt mine. At a concert on December 29, 1879 local Kraków musicians performed, including Wincenty Singer, Edmund Patzke, Antoni Friedrich, Zygmunt Kątski, Antoni Langer, Stanisław Niedzielski, probably Marcelina Czartoryska, and instrumentalists from 4 military bands. Works performed included Haydn's String Quartet Op. 76 No. 3; Beethoven's Larghetto from the Second Symphony; Schumann's Andante and Variations in B flat major, Op. 46, and "Die beiden Grenadiere" Op. 49 No. 1; and Liszt's Piano Rhapsody. In a letter dated March 4, 1880, to the Kraków City Council, Zuzanna Czartoryska proposed the organization of an exhibition of "objects preserved from the time of John III Sobieski," which was published on March 7, 1880, in the local newspaper, "Czas." The exhibition opened on September 12, 1883, marking the inauguration of the National Museum in Kraków on the first floor of the Sukiennice. See *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1879, nos. 13, 291, 296; "Czas" 1880, nos. 3, 55, 81, 96; *Koncert amatorski w Sukiennicach*, "Czas" 1879, No. 299; *Piękna myśl*, "Gazeta Toruńska" 1880, No. 60, p. 5; Z. P., *Korespondencja zagraniczna. Kraków w maju 1880 r.*, "Bluszcz" 1880, No. 22, p. 174; Victor Champier, *L'Année Artistique: beaux-arts en France et à l'étranger 1880–1881*, p. 269. Cf. Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, *Z wystawy starożytności z czasów Sobieskiego w Sukiennicach. Wrażenia i uwagi*, Kraków 1883, pp. I, V, VIII; [Aleksander Nowolecki], *Na pamiątkę 200-letniej rocznicy odsieczy Wiednia 1683 r.: uroczystości ku uczczeniu pamięci Jana III w dzielnicach polskich i za granicą*, Kraków 1883, pp. 22, 27.

It seems that the successes of these charitable and artistic ventures mentioned above strengthened Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska in her conviction that the charity sale planned in Kraków for early 1880 could be made more appealing by presenting a new musical work during its course, preferably a musical work commissioned from a foreign composer well-known in Kraków. Among such figures was undoubtedly the creator of the opera *Faust,* the Galician premiere of which took place in Lviv on April 13, 1872.[28]

Promotional strategy for Gounod's gift and lottery prizes from Polish painters

Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska decided to hold her charity sale in January 1880 in the upper halls of the Sukiennice, astutely capitalizing on the public's fascination with this building, which had only recently been reopened on October 3, 1879, after an extensive renovation and reconstruction. The gallery of the Kraków Society of Friends of Fine Arts, with its so-called "permanent exhibition" (de facto a rotating display) that also attracted great public interest—had just been transferred there. Memories of the jubilee celebration for Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, held in the Sukiennice in October 1879 (as discussed previously), was still vivid.[29] Even greater significance, however, was attached to the gift made by the Polish painter Henryk Siemiradzki "for the benefit of the nation" and "for the glory of the Polish name," consisting of his donation to the city of Kraków of his painting *Nero's Torches (The Candlesticks of Christianity)*. This act inspired other Polish artists to make similar declarations of intent

[28] For more on the reception of Charles Gounod's works and persona in nineteenth-century Poland, see Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, *Muzyka francuska w Polsce w II połowie XIX wieku. Analiza dokumentów jako podstawa źródłowa do badań nad recepcją* (Kraków, 1999); and eadem, *Recepcja muzyki francuskiej w Polsce w II połowie XIX wieku w kontekście idei estetycznych epoki* (Kraków, 2003).

[29] It should be noted that the celebration also had a strong musical component: a cantata by Władysław Żeleński, set to words by Adam Asnyk ("Szczęśliwy komu w życiu dano…") and specially composed for the occasion, was performed on the stage in front of the Sukiennice (on the side of Sienna Street). See *Poświęcenie i otwarcie Sukiennic*, "Czas" 1879, No. 228, p. 1; *Obchód w Krakowie jubileuszu pięćdziesięcioletniej pracy literackiej J. I. Kraszewskiego*, "Czas" 1879; *Jubileusz Kraszewskiego w Krakowie*, "Gazeta Narodowa" 1879, No. 230, p. 1; **st.** [Stanisław Tomkowicz], *Kantata jubileuszowa na cześć Kraszewskiego. Muzyka Władysława Żeleńskiego*, "Czas" 1880, No. 228, p. 3; Włodzimierz Spasowski, *Jubileusz Kraszewskiego*, "Ateneum" 1879, Vol. 4, No. 11, p. 386.

and prompted the City Council to adopt a resolution to establish the National Museum in the Sukiennice (on the side facing Bracka Street).[30]

Information about the forthcoming January 1880 charity sale was gradually disseminated in the widely read Kraków daily "Czas." Public interest was skillfully managed and increased step by step—so much so that, following the event, the Warsaw press, surprised by the scale of the undertaking, would later describe the campaign as "excessive publicity."[31] Already in the first announcements (January 13, 18 and 20) of the charity events planned for January 30 and 31, it was reported that, among other things, paintings by well-known Polish painters would be be displayed, and that the city's mayor, Mikołaj Zyblikiewicz (1823–1887), had made the Sukiennice available free of charge. There were also mentions of collecting small donated items directly from the homes of residents of the wealthier districts of Kraków.[32] Significantly, from the outset, the press emphasized that Kraków's citizens could expect "surprises," since the event "was to surpass all that we have thus far seen of its kind."[33] It promised "magical and oriental" elements, meant to attest to the European, even French, flair of the charitable venture. The reports spoke of "real marvels, beginning with the Gardens of Semiramis," of the upper hall of the Sukiennice being "transformed into a winter garden," of instant photographic portraits taken "in a single minute," of "a kiosk with illustrated magazines from all over the world," and of a magic lantern—"in short, the Champs-Élysées adorned in the style of Kraków."[34] Princess Zuzanna even asked Walery Rzewuski—city councilor, renowned photographer, and her portraitist (illustrations No. 1, 2, 3)—for

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[30] *Obchód w Krakowie jubileuszu pięćdziesięcioletniej pracy literackiej J. I. Kraszewskiego*, "Czas" 1879; *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1879, No. 231, p. 2; Stanisław Lewandowski, *Henryk Siemiradzki*, Warsaw 1904, pp. 63, 65–66.

[31] Cf. M. B., *Korespondencja 'Tygodnika Powszechnego'. Kraków d. 3 lutego*, "Tygodnik Powszechny" 1880, No. 7, p. 106; *Korespondencja 'Gazety Warszawskiej'. Kraków d. 2 lutego 1880 r.*, "Gazeta Warszawska" 1880, No. 29, p. 3.

[32] *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1880, nos. 20, p. 2; 24, p. 2.

[33] (Z), ["List z miasta"], in *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna,* "Czas" 1880, No. 14, p. 2; *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1880, No. 15, p. 2. The Temporary Committee of Ladies "to prevent this year's misery" cooperated with the ladies of the Charitable Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and the event in the Sukiennice was to replace the society's traditional annual event.

[34] (Z), ["List z miasta"], in *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna,* "Czas" 1880, No. 14, p. 2; *Loteria fantowa w Sukiennicach,* "Czas" 1880, No. 23, p. 2. The magic lantern (latarnia czarnoksięska) is a name used in the 19th century to describe a simple projection device that projects an image from glass slides.

assistance in arranging the winter garden.[35] Only in the final press announcements (January 29) and on the posters "which appeared [...] in the morning [of January 28] on street corners" was the name of the event revealed: *"Alhambra" w Sukiennicach ("Alhambra" in the Sukiennice.")*[36]

Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska's name first appeared in the Kraków press as the initiator of the charity event on January 13, 1880, in an extensive notice concerning the painter Jan Matejko, who, at her request, donated one of his new works "for the benefit of the poor." The paper cited a letter Matejko had written to the Princess the previous day, on January 12, 1880, in which he explained the subject of his painting, inspired by a news account of a fire in the Wieliczka salt mine in 1510, as recorded by Marcin Bielski in his *Kronika Polska* (2nd ed., 1597). Matejko wrote, among other things:

> I fulfill my promise by sending this oil sketch, whose value let some compassionate Christian heart assess, that it might quickly and most justly dry as many genuine, not feigned, tears of the destitute as possible. The subject of this genre-historical sketch likewise concerns sacrifice and the risking of one's own life for the preservation of the nation's wealth and the livelihood of the Wieliczka miners.[37]

Moreover, the journalist of "Czas" described this sketch in detail, but did not provide its title, as was done in a press note published at the beginning of April 1880.[38] With the "admirers of Master Matejko" in mind, the organizers of the charity event planned to make photographs of his painting and send them to Warsaw and Vienna, so that Princess Zuzanna might receive offers to purchase tickets for the art lottery from there as well. The painting in question was Matejko's *Bachmistrz* (The Mine Overseer), which is now part of the

[35] See the manuscript of an undated letter from Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska (written on the recto and verso of her visiting card) to Walery Rzewuski (1837–1888) in *Korespondencja prywatna Walerego Rzewuskiego, radcy miejskiego z lat 1861–1887*, Vol. 1, BJ Rkp. 4951 II, fol. 89. This volume of correspondence (pp. 96–125) also contains twelve letters from Zuzanna Czartoryska, written between 1880 and 1883, concerning the exhibition of memorabilia from the era of Jan III Sobieski in Kraków.

[36] *Loteria fantowa w Sukiennicach,* "Czas" 1880, No. 23, p. 2.; *Korespondencja „Gazety Warszawskiej"*, op. cit., p. 2.

[37] *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1880, No. 9, p. 2. Cf. Marcin Bielski, *Kronika Polska*, new ed. by Joachim Bielski, Kraków 1997, pp. 516–517.

[38] J. G., *Wystawa szkiców*, "Czas" 1880, No. 81, p. 1.

collection of the Kraków Saltworks Museum in Wieliczka, exhibited in the Russegger V chamber.[39]

In the same press communiqué, it was also reported that Princess Zuzanna had received another charitable artistic gift, this time from Jacek Malczewski, who had been both a protégé and a friend of her husband. Again, the title of the work was not mentioned; however, in later reports from the course of the charity event it was described as "a sketch of the Nativity of Christ […] quite lovely, though only the heads were lightly painted."[40] It was most-likely the now-lost painting titled *Kolęda* (the Carol).[41]

Another painter-donor turned out to be Henryk Siemiradzki (1843–1902). On January 25, 1880, "Czas" published his letter from Rome, dated January 18, in which he wrote to Princess Zuzanna:

> At this very moment I have dispatched to Kraków an oil sketch, made expressly for the art lottery you are organizing for the benefit of the poor, so harshly afflicted by cold and hunger among us. I beg in advance for your indulgence toward a work executed within a few hours, which I would never have dared to present to the public were it

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[39] The commonly cited dating of Matejko's painting to 1879 appears doubtful. Marian Gorzkowski (*O artystycznych czynnościach Jana Matejki począwszy od lat jego najmłodszych to jest od roku 1850 do końca roku 1881 z dodaniem niektórych szczegółów do tegoż okresu odnoszących się*, Kraków 1882, pp. 89–90) writes that in 1880—presumably at the beginning of the year—Matejko "completed an old historical-genre painting: *Seweryn Betman z żupnikiem Andrzejem Kościeleckim*, and that the painting "was photographed by A. Szubert and donated for a charitable cause in Kraków." Neither Gorzkowski in 1882, nor Stanisław Tarnowski in 1897, specified the exact purpose of this charitable action or the persons involved. However, in 1898 Gorzkowski (*Jan Matejko. Epoka lat dalszych, do końca życia artysty, z dziennika prowadzonego w ciągu lat siedemnastu*, Kraków 1898, pp. 238–239) incorrectly stated that Matejko gave the painting to Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, citing a letter by Matejko to the princess without providing further details. Stanisław Tarnowski (*Matejko*, Kraków 1897, p. 518) noted that in 1880 the painting belonged to Prince Marcel Czartoryski. It is known that before 1938 the painting was owned by the Administration of the Salt Mine in Wieliczka, as it was exhibited as their deposit under the title *Seweryn Bethman i Andrzej Kościelecki* at Matejko's jubilee exhibition in Kraków in 1938. See *Katalog dzieł Jana Matejki wystawionych w salach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie w Sukiennicach, podczas uroczystości ku uczczeniu setnej rocznicy jego urodzin*, Kraków 1938, cat. No. 23, p. 8.

[40] *Loteria fantowa w Sukiennicach*, "Czas" 1880, No. 24, pp. 2–3; No. 25, p. 3.

[41] The title of J. Malczewski's painting is mentioned by Dorota Kudelska, who, however, provides no information concerning the charity fair or Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska. She writes about Malczewski's artistic and personal relations with Prince Marcel Czartoryski and Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, also within the activities of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, of which Malczewski was an active member. Dorota Kudelska, *Dukt pisma i pędzla. Biografia intelektualna Jacka Malczewskiego*, Lublin 2008, p. 663; cf. pp. 171, 198, 436, 484, 728.



Illustration 1. Zuzanna Czartoryska, Kraków, photo Walery Rzewuski, Zbiory Specjalne, Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie, inventory number BZS.RKPS.7513.k.6



Illustration 2. Zuzanna Czartoryska in a historical costume, Kraków, April 1884, photo Walery Rzewuski, Muzeum Historii Fotografii w Krakowie, call numer MHF 45696/F

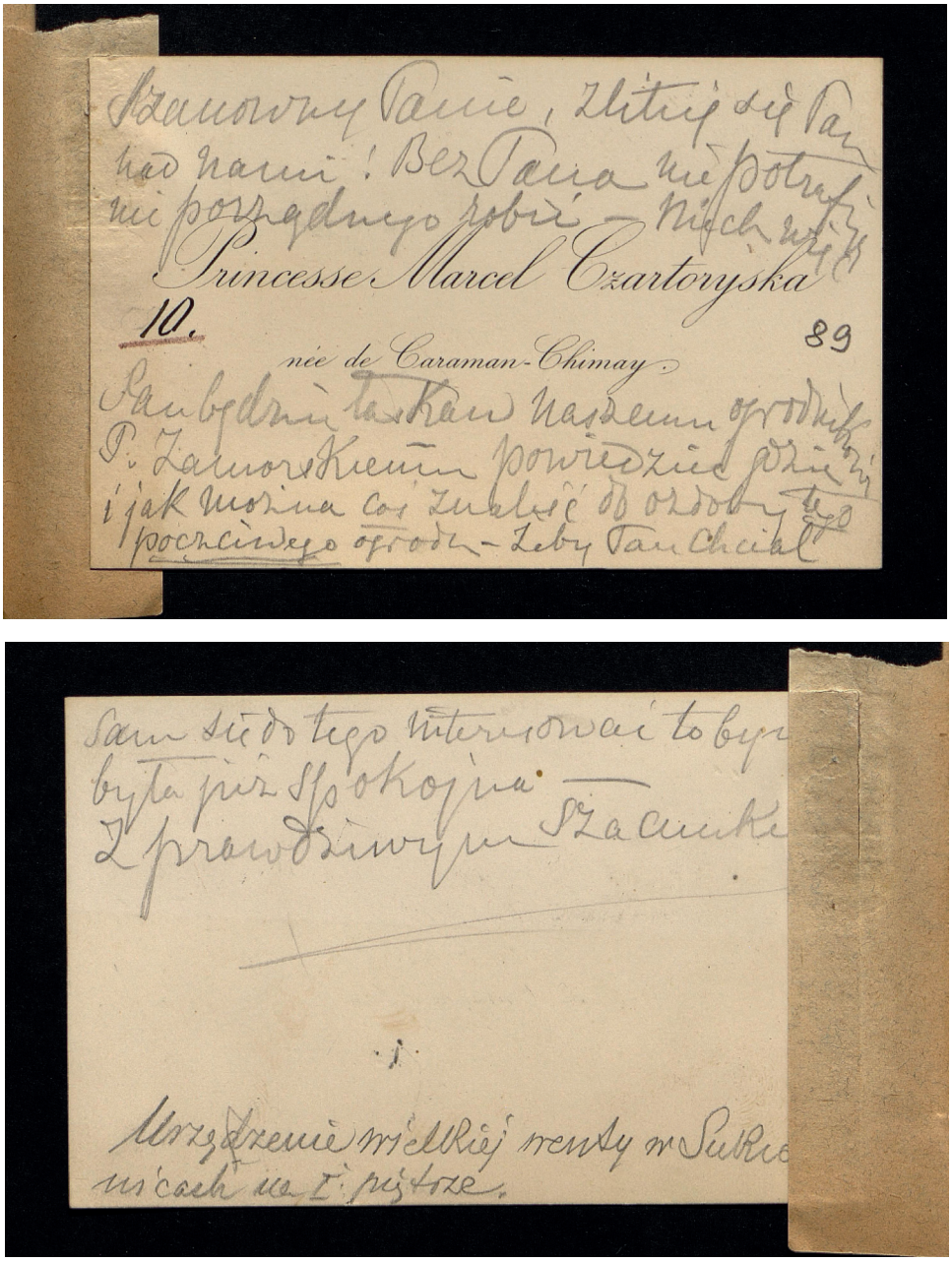


Illustration 3. Letter from Zuzanna Czartoryska to Walery Rzewuski concerning the event in January 1880. *Korespondencja prywatna Walerego Rzewuskiego, radcy miejskiego z lat 1861–1887*, t. 1, Jagiellonian Library, Ms. 4951 II, t. 1, chart 89



Illustration 4. Teodora Matejkowa, née Giebułtowska, Kraków, 1880s, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Dom Matejki

> not for so exceptional a circumstance, obliging me, even against my self-love, to make this offering. […] Allow me, Madam, to express in the warmest terms my gratitude for your gracious inclusion of me in your charitable enterprise.[42]

It was also reported that on January 30, Princess Zuzanna had received Siemiradzki's sketch, which "depicts […] a Greek woman in ancient costume drawing water from a marble fountain. Against a background of trees and mountains fading into the blue of the sky, the figure of the maiden stands out with inexpressible charm; one feels in the entire canvas the warmth of the southern sky under which our distinguished painter now breathes."[43] This oil sketch—then still untitled—is the *Girl at the Well,* now in the collection of the National Museum in Kraków.[44]

Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska obtained still more painted sketches, paintings, and sculptures from 26 artists (including Józef Brandt, Stanisław Chlebowski, Wojciech Gerson, and Juliusz and Wojciech Kossak), whose works remained on display until April 11, 1880, the date of the lottery's conclusion. "The city itself contributed over two thousand items to the lottery, and to these—as reported on February 1, 1880—were added the rarest *articles de Paris*, sent by Countess Jadwiga Branicka and Prince Alfons de Chimay,"[45] the brother of Princess Zuzanna.

The news that Charles Gounod was writing a cantata in Paris especially for Kraków was first made public on January 25, 1880. "Czas" printed the Polish translation of the composer's letter dated January 17, 1880, written in response to Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska's request contained in her letter of around January 14. Gounod expressed concern that he might not complete the commission in time. He was suffering from a cold and was confined to bed. The time available for composition was short, further reduced by the three days needed for the manuscript to travel from Paris to Kraków, and for parts to be copied and for rehearsals. Nonetheless, the French composer promised to fulfill the request, hoping for inspiration to come swiftly:

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[42] *Kronika niedzielna*, "Czas" 1880, No. 20, p. 1.

[43] *Loteria fantowa w Sukiennicach*, "Czas" 1880, No. 25, p. 3.

[44] J. G., *Wystawa szkiców*…, op. cit.; cf. *Katalog wystawy "Sto lat malarstwa polskiego 1800–1900" (Dzieła artystów nieżyjących)*, ed. Franciszek Klein, Kraków 1929, part II, No. 265.

[45] *Otwarcie zabawy w Sukiennicach*, "Czas" 1880, No. 26, p. 4.

> It would take nothing short of a miracle, or electricity (*cela tient du prodige ou l'électricité*). […] For the text I shall take—declares Gounod—the three Italian words I find in your letter: *per l'amor d'Iddio, date ci qualche cosa*. I shall think of you, of your poor, and perhaps God will have mercy on me and not deny me the happiness of bringing them comfort through such merciful hands.[46]

This unexpected musical gift—the very existence of which then seemed almost unbelievable—was commented upon by the author of the *Kronika Niedzielna* (Sunday Chronicle), who alluded to the aspirations and rivalries within Kraków's aristocratic, artistic, and philanthropic circles:

> Such a novelty would make even a Parisian envy us Cracovians! And is it not truly a delight for us to see Gounod—the very one so beloved and admired throughout the world—now concerned for our poor, devising plans for a lottery in the Sukiennice, as if only yesterday he had been strolling with us along line AB?[47]

And since Gounod's letter from Paris appeared side by side with Siemiradzki's from Rome, the Kraków publicist added, with evident emphasis and a touch of irony:

> Thus, with merely two [in fact one] days' difference, on the opposite ends of Europe, two artists of almost equal genius drew inspiration from the same thought—that of bringing relief to the wretched of our poor little town. Was I not right to say that the fate of the Kraków beggar is truly enviable today? To awaken inspiration in composers and painters—that is an honour not granted to everyone, and one which the wealthy often pursue in vain.[48]

Another incentive to participate in the charity event was a press note dated January 27, 1880, reporting that on January 25, Princess Zuzanna received the manuscript of Gounod's cantata:

> Keeping his promise, the maestro dedicated it expressly to the poor of Kraków and gave it the following title: *"La charité" quête pour les pauvres de Cracovie*. The manuscript was immediately sent for copying so that the general rehearsal could begin forthwith.[49]

Subsequently (January 29–31, 1880) the performance of the cantata was announced for the first day of the charity event, on Saturday, January 31 at 8:00 p.m., while at 5:00 p.m. there was to be a lecture and demonstration of

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[46] *Kronika niedzielna*, "Czas" 1880, No. 20, p. 1.
[47] Ibidem.
[48] Ibidem.
[49] *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1880, No. 21, p. 2.

the phonograph.[50] It is noteworthy that in the announcements of the event published in Lviv and Poznań newspapers—which were based on information from "Czas"—the name of Zuzanna Czartoryska was either omitted or only mentioned as "Princess Czartoryska".[51] One may assume there was some doubt as to whether anyone other than Princess Marcelina from this well-known family could initiate philanthropic undertakings involving music in Kraków. Only in the "Gazeta Warszawska", in order to avoid possible confusion, was it clearly specified which Princess Czartoryska was meant—"Princess Zuzanna, née Caraman-Chimay"; the article also stated that Gounod had composed the cantata "especially for the Kraków *fête*," and listed the names of eight painters, emphasizing that they were "almost all of our most distinguished artists."[52]

Gounod's cantata and its premiere in Kraków

The title of Gounod's cantata and the composer's dedication, as evidenced by the surviving autograph of the work (unnumbered first leaf), is slightly different than that given in "Czas" on January 27, 1880. It reads *"La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu!" (Quête pour les Pauvres de Gallicia). (à mon amie la Princesse Suzanne Czartoryska)*, not *"La charité" quête pour les pauvres de Cracovie*. The autograph (five leaves, 16–stave music paper) bears the date of completion: *Paris, 20 Janvier 1880*, i.e. three days after Gounod had written the above-quoted letter to Princess Zuzanna. The composition, in D minor, 4/4 meter, at *Andantino* tempo, is scored for contralto solo, choir (without specification of its composition), cello, and piano, and consists of 92 measures. The text is probably Gounod himself, as no other name besides "Suzanne Czartoryska" appears in the autograph. It should be recalled that

[50] The organizers were disappointed by the negative decision of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts regarding the use of electric—rather than gas—lighting during the charity event in the permanent art exhibition. Such practices were already being implemented at galleries in Paris and Vienna. Between January and February 1880, a special committee of the aforementioned society did not grant permission for this experiment. Electric lighting in the Sukiennice gallery was introduced only on certain days of the week toward the end of June 1890. See: *Loteria fantowa w Sukiennicach*, "Czas" 1880, No. 23, p. 2; No. 24, pp. 2–3; No. 25, p. 3; *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1890, No. 145, p. 2; No. 211, p. 2.

[51] *Kronika miejscowa i zamiejscowa*, "Gazeta Narodowa" 1880, No. 10, p. 3, No. 21, p. 3, No. 22, p. 3; *Wiadomości miejscowe i potoczne*, "Dziennik Poznański" 1880, No. 23, p. 3.

[52] *Z Krakowa*, "Gazeta Warszawska" 1880, No. 22, p. 2.

Gounod frequently wrote his own texts both before and after 1880, including the song with piano "L'Absent" (published 1877), the cantata *Gallia. Motett/Lamentation* for soprano, mixed choir and orchestra (1871), the unpublished cantata *Délivrance. Hymne d'action de grâces* for tenor or soprano solo, chorus and orchestra (1874), and the oratorios *La Rédemption* (1882) and *Mors et Vita* (1885).

The text is a brief but highly expressive prayer, appealing to human brotherhood as children of God and love for one's neighbor. It is an intensified litany-like invocation urging mercy for the poor. Its content thus directly relates to the purpose of the Kraków charity event: to assist the poor and engage in acts of mercy according to the proper understanding of the term. The title of the vocal-instrumental work similarly reflects this, directly referencing the few Italian words included by Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska in her letter to Gounod: "per l'amor d'Iddio, date ci qualche cosa." These words align with the Vincentian ideals underpinning the socio-religious and philanthropic activities of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and its subsidiary, the Ladies of Charity, active in Kraków from 1855, in which Princess Zuzanna and other event organizers, particularly Countess Zofia Wodzicka, participated.

According to a musical analysis, the cantata text comprises two quasi-stanzas of seven lines each (prayerful, litany-like invocations) and two quasi-choruses of five lines each (litany-like pleas):

> *O mes frères dans le Bon Dieu! / De mes fils voyez la misère! / Ils n'ont ni pain, ni feu, ni lieu! Pitié pour eux, / Pitié pour eux et pour leur mère! / La Charité! La Charité! /La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu! // La Charité! La Charité! /La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu!/ La Charité! La Charité!/La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu! // Les sanglots étoussent leur voi !/ Le sommeil a fui* [t] *leur paupière !/ Au nom du ciel et de la Croix, / Pitié pour eux, / Pitié pour eux et pour leur mère! / La Charité! La Charité! / La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu! // La Charité! La Charité! / La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu! / La Charité! La Charité! / La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu!*

The cantata is structured in two parts, A and B, with A being an extended introduction to B, which consists of two identical sections, bb, indicated by a repeat sign. Part A (measures 1–33), scored for solo cello and piano, begins with a six-measure piano prelude introducing the incipit of the contralto line from part B (measures 34–35). In Part A, the cello carries the melody with piano accompaniment, and these motifs are later used in the cello part of Part B. The b sections (measures 34–62, repeat sign) form the stanza and chorus,

whose musical setting highlights the structural, semantic, and expressive differentiation of the text and the function of individual lines. Each of the first three lines of the stanza, performed by contralto and piano, is interspersed with a short cello-and-piano phrase, while lines 4–7 are performed by all. This arrangement presents those whom the prayer seeks to aid (lines 1–3), initiates the prayer (lines 4–5), and states the words (lines 6–7) to be repeated by the larger group in the plea for mercy. The final two lines of the stanza are repeated twice as a chorus, first (measures 53–57) in the same musical treatment as the stanza, and second (measures 57–62) forming a coda derived from it, initiated by the contralto and cello and continued by all participants. Part B resembles a sung litany: to the invocation of the leading voice (contralto), all present (choir and contralto) respond with the same pleading formula.

Gounod's composition for Kraków is therefore a simple, chamber religious cantata which, although an incidental piece, conveys a universal and timeless ideological and emotional message. Its two-part structure was typical of religious cantatas from the 18th century, and its scoring reflects the French cantata tradition through the use of a low solo vocal part and a string instrument. The chamber scoring of this 1880 cantata is unusual in the context of Gounod's earlier work in this genre, which favoured larger ensembles, as in the cantatas *Le Temple de l'harmonie* for solo voices, choir and orchestra (1862), *Gallia* for soprano, mixed choir and orchestra (1871), *Jésus sur le lac de Tibériade* for baritone, mixed choir and orchestra (1874).

From the reports on the premiere performance of the cantata "La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu" we learn that the ensemble was suggested to the composer by Princess Zuzanna, who took into account local musicians personally known to her. She reportedly informed Gounod that in Kraków there was "a contralto voice that one rarely hears even in Italy, as well as a cellist of extraordinary talent".[53] During the charity event at the Sukiennice, a harmonium was used instead of a piano; it was played by a pianist or organist whose name was not mentioned in any of the reviews. The mixed choir of the Kraków Music Society performed, joined by amateur vocalists,[54] possibly under the direction of Stanisław Niedzielski, the then-director of the Society. The soloists were the contralto Teodora Matejko (illustration 4), wife of Jan Matejko, and the cellist

[53] *Wielka zabawa w Sukiennicach na rzecz ubogich*, "Czas" 1880, No. 27, p. 2.
[54] *Korespondencja „Gazety Warszawskiej"*, op. cit., p. 3.

Count Zygmunt Cieszkowski, a paternal cousin of the philosopher and social activist Count August Cieszkowski. Zygmunt (1845–ca. 1914) was an amateur musician who performed in Kraków, mainly in the salons of the aristocracy and the intelligentsia (including those of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska and Professor Fryderyk Zoll Sr.) and his own on St. John's St. A music lover, art enthusiast and feature writer (author of works on Matejko), he was engaged in social causes and frequently cooperated with local aristocrats and members of academic circles, for instance, in organizing Kraków's celebrations of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski. He was active in numerous local musical institutions and, in the 1880s and 1890s, served as secretary of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts, during the presidency of Prince Marceli Czartoryski, with whom "Zizi," as Zygmunt Cieszkowski was known, maintained a close friendship.[55]

It is more than probable that Princess Zuzanna and Teodora Matejko (1846–1896) knew each other from gatherings in the salon of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska, which the Matejko couple occasionally attended.[56] They may also have met through joint participation in exhibitions organized by the Society of Friends of Fine Arts, of which Jan Matejko was a member. Matejko was likewise mentioned, alongside Princess Zuzanna, as one of the hostesses of the grand ball held in honor of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, although it is highly doubtful that she actually took part in the event.[57] Furthermore, the two ladies may have collaborated in charitable initiatives organized, among others, by the Ladies of Charity and the Society of Ladies and Gentlewomen Economists (Towarzystwo Pań i Panien Ekonomek) (both operating within the Kraków branch of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul), as well as the Hospital Care Society for Children in Kraków (Towarzystwo Opieki Szpitalnej dla dzieci

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[55] There are no studies devoted specifically to Count Zygmunt Cieszkowski. Scattered information can be found, among others, in *Jubileusz Kraszewskiego w Krakowie*, "Gazeta Narodowa" 1879, No. 230, p. 2; W. Łuszczkiewicz, op. cit., pp. VI–VII; Mieczysław Treter, *Matejko. Osobowość artysty, twórczość, forma i styl*, Lviv-Warsaw 1939, p. 601; Roman Taborski, *Polacy w Wiedniu*, op. cit., p. 149; Krzysztof Morawski, *O Kazimierzu Morawskim: ze wspomnień syna i kronik rodzinnych*, Kraków 1997, pp. 44–48; *Wspomnienia Fryderyka Zolla* (1865–1848), ed. Irena Homola-Skąpska, Kraków 2000, pp. 463–464.

[56] Stanisława Serafińska, *Jan Matejko. Wspomnienia rodzinne*, ed. Jan Gintel and Edward Łepkowski, 2nd ed., Kraków 1958, pp. 357, 361, 363.

[57] *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, "Czas" 1879, No. 227, p. 2; "Gazeta Narodowa" 1879, No. 228, p. 2. Matejko's wife may not have been present at the ball itself. Jan Matejko did not take part in Kraszewski's jubilee celebrations, as he had deliberately gone to Krzesławice for those days. See M. Gorzkowski, *Jan Matejko. Epoka lat dalszych…*, op. cit., pp. 222, 235.

w Krakowie).[58] It can also be assumed that one of the reasons for inviting Teodora to participate in the concert was the original purpose for which the funds raised from the sale of lottery tickets were to be allocated—namely "to establish a permanent scholarship for a student of the School of Fine Arts in Kraków for the purpose of studying abroad."[59] The school had been directed by Jan Matejko since 1873.

No synthetic or comprehensive information regarding the musical education and public performances of Teodora Matejko can be found in studies devoted to the Matejko family. Based on accounts from those close to them, we know that in her childhood Teodora received piano lessons from Franciszek Matejko, Jan Matejko's father, who taught music at a boarding school for students run in Kraków by her parents, Paulina née Sikorska and Aleksander Giebułowski.[60] She also studied singing, among others, with Stanisław Niedzielski[61] and around 1860 at the school of Franciszek Mirecki.[62] The Matejkos played four-handed on the piano at the home of Teodora's relative, Leonard Serafiński, at Koryznówka in Wiśnicz.[63] Musical gatherings also took place at the Matejkos' residence in Kraków, where the hostess organized musical evenings in the 1870s and 1880s. For example, during the carnival of 1876, Princess Marcelina Czartoryska performed (she had been painted by Matejko

[58] The literature is silent on Teodora's philanthropic activity, as Matejko's secretary, M. Gorzkowski—who was unsympathetic toward her—did not record this public appearance by the painter's wife. He mentioned only once that in 1876 Teodora donated, "for a charitable cause, to provide a bed for a child at St. Louis Hospital," a "sketch for Krasiński's Hymns (Hymny Krasińskiego)", completed that same year by Matejko and belonging to her. Later, at the auction of this sketch, Teodora herself bought it back for 700 złoty. See M. Gorzkowski, *O artystycznych czynnościach…*, op. cit., pp. 72–73, 85; M. Treter, op. cit., pp. 260, 611–612. The mentioned hospital was the first in Kraków intended for children; it was opened on May 1, 1876 thanks to financial support from a committee chaired by Princess Marcelina Czartoryska.

[59] See *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna*, „Czas" 1880, No. 84, p. 2.

[60] M. Gorzkowski, *Jan Matejko. Epoka lat dalszych…*, op. cit., p. 23. Attending Zuzanna Szarłowska's boarding school from around 1858, Teodora may also have studied piano there, as such lessons were very popular. See Maria z Mohorów Kietlińska, *Wspomnienia*, ed. Irena Homola-Skąpska, Kraków 1986, pp. 323, 328.

[61] *Korespondencja „Gazety Warszawskiej"…*, op. cit., p. 3; Z. P., *Korespondencja zagraniczna…*, op. cit., p. 31.

[62] B. A. Ostafin, op. cit., p. 69.

[63] See M. Gorzkowski, *Jan Matejko. Epoka lat dalszych…*, op. cit., pp. 228–229. Cf. *Jan Matejko. Wypisy biograficzne*, ed. Jan Gintel, Kraków 1955, p. 268.

in 1873–1874), and Władysław Żeleński was frequently a guest (including in 1870 and 1879).[64]

Gounod's cantata was presented at the dress rehearsal on Friday, January 30, 1880, and the reporter from "Czas" who attended, impressed by the interpretation of the Kraków musicians and anticipating their success at the premiere on Saturday, January 31, suggested that the cantata be repeated on Sunday, February 1. He also alluded to those words in Gounod's letter regarding inspiration, described as an electric spark (the so-called "divine spark") stimulating creative activity:

"*'Cela tien du prodige ou de l'électricité,'* Gounod wrote a week earlier to Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska when asked to compose the cantata. Today, we see that he has indeed accomplished this miracle, keeping his word, while our ladies have organized the present event; we see that a great reserve of this electricity exists even in the Slavic nature, provided a true spark sets it in motion. [...] Gounod's cantata, which delighted those present at yesterday's rehearsal, is officially performed only today, but perhaps it could still be repeated tomorrow. The marvelous coloratura singing accompanied by the harmonium, cello, and choruses will create an indescribable effect in the large hall, which would be a shame to deny to a larger audience."[65]

The reviewers did not analyze the compositional features of Gounod's work, noting that they were not competent in this regard. One reviewer described the character of the cantata as serious and religious, reminiscent of the church scene in Act IV of *Faust*, which, in the reviewer's opinion, was reason enough for Gounod's new cantata to be admired "by listeners and connoisseurs alike."[66] Particular attention was drawn to the "beautiful cello solo" that opens

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[64] See M. Gorzkowski, ibidem, pp. 69, 72, 79, 176, 237–238, 278; *Listy Matejki do żony Teodory 1863–1881*, Kraków 1927, pp. 60, 149–150; S. Serafińska, op. cit., pp. 278, 354, 413; Stanisław Tarnowski, *Matejko*, op. cit., pp. 508–509, 512. The Czartoryski family supported Matejko, among other occasions, during his stays in Paris and exhibitions of his paintings. See Marek Zgórniak, *Matejko w Paryżu. Opinie krytyków francuskich z lat 1865–1870*, Kraków 1998, pp. 79, 89–98. The Matejkos frequented the musical salon of Alfred and Maria Stojowski, where, until the charity fair, performers included Stanisław Niedzielski, Franciszek Bylicki, and Władysław Żeleński. See Maria z Mohorów Kietlińska, op. cit., p. 265. Maria Stojowska was mentioned among the ladies assisting in the organization of Princess Zuzanna's charity event. See *Wielka zabawa w Sukiennicach…*, op. cit., p. 2.

[65] *Otwarcie zabawy w Sukiennicach*, op. cit., p. 4.

[66] *Wielka zabawa w Sukiennicach…*, op. cit.

the cantata, which Count Cieszkowski "performed with genuine feeling."[67] The piece was well-received, and Mrs. Matejko's singing elicited applause and admiration.[68] According to "experts," as the "Czas" reviewer wrote, "Mrs. Matejko's voice almost unbelievably resembled the singing of the famous [Emma] Albani."[69]

The success of the premiere of Gounod's gift led to an announcement that the cantata would be performed again on Sunday, February 1, 1880. However, just before the concert, "news suddenly spread that Mrs. Matejko had fainted," while "the cantata, advertised on posters for 7 o'clock, had already drawn every Cracovian of the highest birth or distinction. Bishop [Albin] Dunajewski attended, as did members of the Archducal family [Friedrich Maria Albrecht Wilhelm Karl Habsburg and his wife Isabella, members of the imperial family residing in Kraków]."[70] Nevertheless, Teodora Matejko's public performance on January 31 was a success; her "strong [...] contralto voice made a good impression."[71] Some reviewers even suggested that Mrs. Matejko's singing (or perhaps Gounod's cantata?) was not only the climax and "a splendid culmination of the festivities," but even the "crown."[72] The "Dziennik Poznański" noted that in Kraków "one does not know now what is talked about more […] the entire grand festivity, or this singing."[73] In February 1880,

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[67] Ibidem.

[68] Ibidem; *Korespondencja "Gazety Warszawskiej"…*, op. cit., p. 3; Z. P., *Korespondencja zagraniczna. Kraków w lutym 1880 r.*, "Bluszcz" 1880, No. 7, p. 52.

[69] *Wielka zabawa w Sukiennicach…*, op. cit. This praise, however, reflects the ignorance of the supposed "experts" and the reviewer himself, as the opera singer Emma Albani (1874–1930) was a lyric soprano. Moreover, the simple contralto part in Gounod's cantata does not provide a technical field for the display of virtuosic skills associated with Albani, known for her roles in Bellini's *La Sonnambula* and Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*.

[70] *Wielka zabawa w Sukiennicach…*, op. cit.

[71] *Korespondencja "Gazety Warszawskiej"…*, op. cit.

[72] *Wielka zabawa w Sukiennicach…*, op. cit.; Z. P., *Korespondencja zagraniczna…*, op. cit., p. 52.

[73] (i. d.), *Krakowskie zapusty*, "Dziennik Poznański" 1880, No. 3, p. 2. Other musical elements of the charity event included military orchestras performing in a "delightful arbor with birch benches" and a phonograph being demonstrated, though it's unclear whether the machine was ever started. Opinions differed: a Warsaw reporter wrote that the phonograph did not work, whereas a Lviv correspondent claimed that "experiments with the phonograph took place under the direction of Professor J. Grabowski." See *Korespondencja „Gazety Warszawskiej"…*, op. cit.; W-an, *Kronika Krakowska…*, op. cit., p. 3, cf. p. 2. Julian Grabowski (1848–1882) was employed from 1877 at the Technical-Industrial Institute in Kraków.

the Viennese "Neue freie Presse" reported on the success of the Kraków event, mentioning Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska and Gounod, though without describing his cantata.[74]

Conclusion

Gounod's biographers did not search for the autograph of the cantata described in the article from 1880. They overlooked the information about such a work being donated to charity in Kraków for "Suzanne Czartoryska (née de Caraman-Chimay), une Parsienne devenue Polonaise par le mariage," which was reported in the Parisian "Le Monde Illustré" on March 20, 1880. This notice appeared in detailed commentary accompanying a reproduction of an engraving by the magazine's "special correspondent from Kraków," the Polish painter and draftsman Juliusz Kossak (1824–1899). The illustration, titled *La fin de Carnaval à Cracovie* and comprising six labeled panels, depicted, among other things, the Sukiennice building and people waiting in line to enter the "charity event and lottery for the poor," as well as the "flower sale," which, as is known, was conducted at the event by Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska herself.[75] In the Polish press, an announcement of the French publication of Kossak's lithograph and its description appeared in "Czas" on 28 March 1880, while the engraving itself, drawn "from nature" and titled *Zapusty w Krakowie: Wenta* and *Kulig*, was published on 6 April of the same year in "Tygodnik Powszechny."[76] In 1893, the year of Gounod's death, the first issue of the new Kraków newspaper "Głos Narodu," dated November 28, recalled a cantata that Gounod had once composed specifically for Kraków at the request of Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska, which had performed at the Sukiennice *fête*, but had not yet been published.[77] As of 2025, to my knowledge, this situation remains unchanged;

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[74] *Kleine Kronik* [Wien, 4 Februar], *Karnaval in Krakau*, "Neue freie Presse" 1880, No. 5545, p. 5; cf. "Czas" 1880, No. 33, p. 2.

[75] *Nos Gravures. Une fin de carnaval à Cracovie*, "Le Monde Illustrée" 1880, No. 1199, pp. 179–180.

[76] *Kronika*, "Czas" 1880, No. 73, p. 2; [Illustration by J. Kossak], "Tygodnik Powszechny" 1880, No. 16, p. 248.

[77] *Z Muzyki*, "Głos Narodu" 1893, nr 1, s. 9. News of Gounod's death in Paris on October 8, 1893, was reported by "Czas" as early as October 9. See *Telegramy biura koresp. Paryż,* "Czas" 1893, No. 239, p. 4.

however, since around 2021, the digitized autograph of Gounod's "La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu! Quête pour les pauvres de Gallicia" has been available in the Yale University Library Digital Collections.[78]

Beyond commissioning and acquiring Gounod's new work and bringing about its premiere in Kraków on 31 January 1880, Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska gathered numerous works by renowned Polish painters for the charity lottery during the Sukiennice event. Between 1896 and 1913, she personally donated additional artworks to Kraków institutions, including to the Jagiellonian University and the National Museum.[79] Following the death of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska in 1894, Zuzanna continued the "unforgettable" musical social gatherings.[80] Her public activity in Kraków diminished somewhat

[78] https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/11866224. Based on the performance edition of this autograph—but under a title omitting the dedication to Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska, without the choral part, and without taking Gounod's performance indications into account—"La Charité, pour l'amour de Dieu!" was performed (by Jerzy Kukla, organ; Magdalena Wachowska, mezzo-soprano; Maciej Łacny, cello) at St. Joseph's Church in Puławy on September 11, 2022, as part of the 7th Franciszek and Wincenty Lessel Festival. These Polish composers had been connected with the Czartoryski family and with Puławy. Since the 1730s, Puławy had been the seat of the Czartoryski family. In 1801, Princess Izabela Czartoryska, née Fleming (1745–1835), founded, in the park by the palace, in a rotunda known as the Temple of the Sibyl, the first museum in Poland dedicated to national memorabilia, which became the foundation of the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków, opened in 1878. See https://www.pulawy.powiat.pl/aktualnosci/n,331046,vii-festiwal-im-wincentego-i-franciszka-lesslow-w-pulawach.html (accessed 16 July 2025). I would like to thank the President of the Franciszek and Wincenty Lessel Society, Mr. Tomasz Mazur, and Mr. Jerzy Kukla for providing information about the performance materials.

[79] Among others: *Hojny dar*, "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny" 1913, No. 1, p. 5; *Cenny dar*, "Głos Narodu" 1913, No. 17, p. 2; *Dar dla Muzeum Narodowego*, "Głos Śląski" 1913, No. 10, p. 3; *Ofiara dla Muzeum Narodowego*, "Goniec Częstochowski" 1913, No. 22, p. 2; *Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie za rok 1913*, Kraków 1915, p. 15; *Katalog galerii współczesnej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*, Kraków 1918; Joachim Śliwa, *Egipt, Grecja, Italia… Zabytki starożytne z dawnej kolekcji Gabinetu Archeologicznego UJ*, Kraków 2007.

[80] *Śp. Zuzanna księżna Czartoryska*, "Gazeta Lwowska" 1918, No. 196, p. 4. Cf. "Nekrologia," "Głos Narodu" 1918, No. 193, p. 2; "Czas" 1918, No. 384, p. 3. Princess Zuzanna died on August 6, 1918, in Vevey, Switzerland; the funeral service in Kraków took place on September 4, 1918, at the Piarist Church.

after the death of her only daughter, Rozalia, in 1891,[81] and nearly ceased after the death of her husband, Marceli, in 1909. The last joint visit of Princess Zuzanna and Marceli Czartoryski to the former capital of Poland took place in late summer 1908.[82]

Summary

This article is devoted to the genesis and premiere of an unknown composition by Charles Gounod for contralto, chorus, cello, and piano, dated January 20, 1880, in Paris, related to the charitable event held at the Kraków Cloth Hall that same year. It describes the role of Princess Zuzanna Czartoryska, daughter-in-law of Princess Marcelina Czartoryska née Radziwiłł, a pupil of Chopin, in obtaining a new composition from Gounod and acquiring works by Polish painters (Jan Matjko, Henryk Siemiradzki, Wojciech Gerson, Juliusz and Wojciech Kossak, and others) for this event. Princess Zuzanna's activities in Kraków are shown in the context of the artistic, musical and charitable traditions of her family, the Caraman de Riquet-Chimay, and the family of her husband, Prince Marcel Czartoryski.

Keywords: Charles Gounod, Zuzanna Czartoryska, Marcelina Czartoryska, Marceli Czartoryski, Caraman de Riquet-Chimay family, Adèle d'Affry Princess de Castiglione-Colonna, Jan Matejko, Teodora Matejko, Henryk Siemiradzki, Zygmunt Cieszkowski, Stanisław Niedzielski, Kraków, Rome, Paris, Sukiennice/Cloth Hall, Kraków Musical Society, Kraków Society of the Friends of Fine Arts.

[81] Maria Anna Rozalia, born September 19, 1871, in Wola Justowska, died February 15, 1891 in Kraków. The funeral ceremony was held on February 17 at St. Salvator Church, after which her remains were transferred to the family tomb in Sieniawa. See *Pogrzeb księżniczki Rozalii Czartoryskiej*, "Czas" 1891, No. 39, p. 2; "Gazeta Lwowska" 1891, No. 39, p. 3.

[82] *Śp. ks. Marceli Czartoryski*, „Nowa Reforma" 1909, No. 548, p. 1.