

## The Multicultural Nature of Mountain-Folk Music in Poland

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“What’s New” was a compilation of Polish jokes and aphorisms published in 1650. Its author, most probably a courtier, took on the pen-name of Maurycyusz Trztyprztycki. The second impression of the book was slightly extended and undated. Aleksander Brückner, an expert in Polish culture and literature, theorised that the book might have been published during the reign of king John III Sobieski<sup>1</sup>. The compilation included, among others, a text by an unknown student of Cracow University entitled *Visio macaronica eruditi di Polonia*. The narrative, abounding with Latin insertions, described a philosophers’ feast in which the names of gourmet courses were replaced with scholarly terms. It is in this narrative that we find the following passage:

*“Parva naturalia ludebant the multanki as if somebody was listening to the royal musical ensemble in Warsaw; they also played in mountain-folk fashion et libri de Anima skakaband”*<sup>2</sup>.

According to Adolf Chybiński, the expression “in mountain-folk fashion” proves that already at that time some distinctive stylistic features of mountain-folk music, as well as its performance, were apparent, at least to listeners from the Małopolska region<sup>3</sup>. This prominent musicologist speculates that, as early as the 17th century, itinerant musicians from the mountain region contributed to the popularisation of its music in Poland.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, evidence can be found in old Polish literature to show that the distinctive features of instruments from the mountain region were also widely recognized at the time. For

example in “Wesele” (The Wedding Party), a poem included in the compilation published in 1614 and entitled “Sielanki” (Pastorals), the poet Szymon Szymonowic distinguishes the mountain-folk fiddle from the Italian violin<sup>5</sup>.

It is impossible to say how the distinctiveness of mountain-folk music manifested itself in the 17th century. One might guess that it resulted from the fact that the Tatra and Beskidy regions belonged to the area of Carpathian culture. It is also difficult to establish the time span and the degree to which this distinctiveness was retained. The great Polish folklorist and ethnographer Oskar Kolberg, who spent some summer weeks of 1857 in the Podhale area, concluded that the indigenous inhabitants’ songs were just variations of songs from the lowland areas of Poland<sup>6</sup>.

However, one should not overlook the fact that, as late as the second half of the 19th century, mountain folk considered themselves ethnically distinct from the inhabitants of the lowlands. It seems that the natives of Podhale felt themselves at that time to be closer to their neighbours from over the Tatra Mountains than to their compatriots from the lowlands, both in terms of physical and cultural proximity. Stories about the traditional hostility towards the mountain folk from the Slovakian Liptov are probably exaggerated. Nineteenth-century travellers visiting near-border villages and mountain pastures would often come across Polish and Slovak mountain folk who lived and worked together in harmony. These came from the neighbouring regions of the Tatra Mountains: Podhale, Spisz (Spiš), Liptov and Orawa (Orava). When mountain folk from Podhale consciously chose to identify themselves as a distinct ethnic group, they would rather contrast themselves with Poles from the rest of the country; interestingly enough, they considered themselves to be the only true representatives of the Polish nation, labelling the lowland country inhabitants “Lachy”<sup>7</sup>.

Natives of the mountain region did not think highly of holiday makers coming to the Tatra Mountains from other parts of the country. At first they treated them with suspicion and even made fun of them. The locals could not understand why the holiday makers should go into raptures over everyday things, wander about the mountains, and pay good money for whatever they were offered. That meant they must be rich. The natives’ greed soon prevailed

over the initial distrust and holiday makers gradually became increasingly welcome in the Podhale region<sup>8</sup>. However, this did not affect the locals' low opinion of them. Even during the first years after the Second World War the mountain folk of Bukowina Tatrzańska still used the terms "masters" and "people" to refer to visitors and to themselves respectively. The difference between the two related, above all, to work. The "people" work, and work hard because, as everyone knows, the only real work is that which has to be done in the country. The "masters" in the cities do not work, because brain work is not work — it has no obvious, tangible outcome, and you can do it sitting down, and when you are sitting down, that's rest. Neither do the masters work when they come to Bukowina. They just stroll around, have a nap in their deck-chairs, go for sledge tours or go skiing down the mountain only to climb it again, just like children. Anyone can see that. The masters are simply parasites who would have died of starvation long ago if it hadn't been for the people who work to keep them. They do nothing and still they get lots of money for doing nobody knows what. So, it is only right that they should yield some of that money to the people, just as the forest yields mushrooms and blueberries. And another difference between the masters and the people is that the masters do not know what trouble is. They do not have any troubles. When a horse dies, the oats rot or the barn gets hit by lightning — that's real trouble, but the masters do not care about such things. Their worries are unreal, make-believe, not worth anything. This leads directly to another distinguishing feature of the masters, which is their boundless stupidity. The masters are not just plain stupid, they are utter fools<sup>9</sup>.

The initial clash between the different attitudes towards reality, which later turned into co-existence, exerted a profound influence on the shape of the culture of the mountain folk. No less influential were the abrupt cultural and economic changes resulting from a growing number of holiday makers, visitors to health resorts, tourists and, in time, from settlers (mostly in Zakopane) from other parts of the country. The cultural processes initiated by these changes were both negative and positive. On the one hand, they led to a quick degeneration of some folk traditions and the decomposition of the

social structure, as well as a sudden disruption of ethical norms and the strengthening of local antagonisms<sup>10</sup>. Yet the interest shown in the native folklore by the intellectuals arriving in the Tatra region made the locals value their traditions. This played a part in the traditions being preserved, and to some of their forms being developed further.

What drew the artists, men of letters and scholars to the mountain-folk culture was its distinctiveness. They equated “distinctive” with “ancient” and assumed that the archaic forms of the old Polish traditions, elsewhere extinct, had been preserved in Podhale. This applied to the architecture, beliefs, customs, language and art, including songs and music. And indeed, even as recently as the 19th century, the spiritual culture of the inhabitants of the mountain region still exhibited a relatively large number of ancient elements. As was noted by Ludwik Zejszner<sup>11</sup>, this was true mainly of the mountain folk from the Beskidy area, but also applied to the inhabitants of Podhale. As recently as the first half of the 18th century, the natives of Zakopane were praying for good weather and harvest under “The Holy Spruce”. This practice was brought to an end by the missionary activities of the Jesuit priest Karol Fabiani, which resulted in the tree being ceremonially cut down on April 1, 1759<sup>12</sup>. A hundred years later, when the first church was erected in Zakopane, the mountain folk treated it at first with mocking disrespect, using the altar candles to light their pipes. They regarded marmot’s fat as a much more powerful source of magic than the Catholic Masses and services. The local brigands even threatened the parish priest with one of their “pillaging visits”, but fortunately did not keep their word<sup>13</sup>.

Roman Zawliński, a well known ethnographer and linguist, discovered as early as the 1870’s the effectiveness of gathering information about folk culture with the help of local grammar-school pupils. Bartłomiej Świnka, one of the boys from the grammar-school at Nowy Sącz, told the ethnographer about a number of curious customs and superstitions which were still being practised, or at least were remembered, in his home village of Łąck. Apart from advice on how to spot a witch, find hidden treasure or make a stick with which one could make the sign of the cross and cause a woman to divorce her husband, the ethnographer also learned about a music-related superstition. A fiddler

who wants his fiddle to play well should catch a black hen which is about to lay its first egg. The fiddler should then hide the egg under his armpit and carry it as long as the hen sits on the eggs. During that time he should not wash himself or talk to anybody. When the time is up and the “mełtel” (?) is hatched out of the egg, it should be placed inside the fiddle. Such an instrument has the power to play on its own, according to the fiddler’s liking<sup>14</sup>.

It is clear that the first parish priest of Zakopane (in the years 1848–1893), the Reverend Józef Stolarczyk, had a lot of missionary work to do. He rendered great services to the church in promoting religious zeal among the Podhale folk; however, his attitude towards folk culture seems to have been too strict. Although he was a graduate of the Podolínec Piarist College in Slovakia, a grammar-school which already in the 17th century was known for its great tolerance towards other nations, cultures and beliefs, he clearly opposed certain aspects of the mountain-folk tradition. One of them was pictures painted on glass, originally a Slovak tradition, but well settled in the Podhale region. The priest considered this practice to be an offence against God. He would take the pictures out of the cottages and smash them against the rocks in nearby streams<sup>15</sup>. He also hated the traditional custom of villagers walking the country roads and village streets singing and playing<sup>16</sup>. Instead, every Sunday, after the evening catechism, he would teach the locals ecclesiastical songs<sup>17</sup>. Even as recently as the 1960’s and 1970’s the inhabitants of Beskid Sądecki believed in supernatural powers and magic, especially in relation to animal breeding and the tending of flocks<sup>18</sup>. Elements of magical thinking could also be observed among mountain-folk musicians, especially those from the Beskid region.

However, it seems that the mountain-folk traditions were characterised not so much by the presence of an abundance of preserved ancient features, as by the assimilation of various ethnic influences which interacted in the near-border area. This had its source in the history of settlement in this region. Polish farmers from the Kraków and Sandomierz regions and Germans from Spisz (mainly during the 14th century) had already begun to settle there in the Middle Ages. Migrating shepherds who followed the route from Tran-

sylvania (or even from the Balkans) along the Carpathian Mountains were probably reaching the Podhale and Podbeskidzie regions between the 15th century (if not earlier) and the middle of the 17th century. People called them Wallachians, although they were ethnically differentiated, mostly of Romanian, Hungarian or Ruthenian origin. The Wallachians would give up their nomadic habits and settle down in pasture regions, such as the Żywiec area. At first they constituted a coherent social group, having their own self-government and making their living as shepherds. Gradually, they intermixed with the Polish farming community, switching to an argicultural way of life. They were also gradually deprived of their civic liberties, which manifested itself in the foundation of centralised self-government in the so-called “Sucha estate” towards the end of the 17th century. This was headed by the “wajda” — a Wallachian voyvod appointed by the owners of the lands<sup>19</sup>.

The Beskidy and Podhale cultural traditions, including musical folklore, were created by co-existing ethnic groups. These traditions were further enriched by influences from Slovakia, Moravia and Hungary, where mountain folk would often travel to attend fairs, to seek jobs or to join brigand bands. They would also serve in the army abroad. It must be remembered that already in 1773, a year after the first partition of Poland, men from the Austrian sector were conscripted to military service and sometimes sent to remote parts of the Austrian monarchy<sup>20</sup>. Testimony to the musical unity of the region, as well as some local flavour, can be found in a description of a particular scene provided by Bronisław Rejchman. He often took part in mountain trips organised by Tytus Chałubiński, a well known medical doctor from Warsaw who greatly contributed to the popularisation of the Tatra mountains among Warsaw intellectuals in the 1870's. An indispensable participant of those trips was Jan Krzeptowski nicknamed Sabała, a famous mountain-folk story-teller and musician, who played an instrument called a “złóbcoki”, a folk variation of the fiddle characterised by a narrow resonance box, hollowed from a single piece of wood. During one of those trips in 1879, when the party was crossing the village of Jurgów in the Spisz region, on hearing Sabała play the villagers came out, boys and girls started dancing and the elders tapped out the rhythm with their feet. Everybody gave up their daily chores in order to

listen to the music. Even the carpenters who were assembling a scaffolding around the roof of one of the houses threw down their hatchets and began dancing on the roof<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, *Sabała*'s virtuosity had a totally different effect on city intelligentsia. When *Rejchman* heard his music for the first time, he vividly described it as a steel curry-comb or a sharp rock being rubbed against one's ears<sup>22</sup>.

The Podhale region, northern Orawa and north-western Spisz constituted a cultural unity in terms of language, songs, folk music and literature, as well as in terms of beliefs, customs and dress. This fact was confirmed in the writings of *Józef Kantor*, a teacher, ethnographer and a native of the mountain region of *Czarny Dunajec*<sup>23</sup> himself. However, since he published his text soon after the Great War, when Poland and Czechoslovakia were entangled in border disputes, he yielded to the current needs of national propaganda and coloured his work with strong political undertones. He emphasised the leading role of Polish traits in the cultural traditions of the region which he labelled "The Great Podhale".

Another researcher convinced of the multicultural nature of mountain-folk music was *Adolf Chybiński*. This outstanding musicologist showed that the variant associations of the Podhale folk melodies stretched predominantly towards the south (Slovakia, Moravia, Lemkivshchyna, Huculshchyna, Romania, Valachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Yugoslavia) and only to a limited extent towards the north, into the lowland regions of the country<sup>24</sup>. If one compares this claim to the observations made by *Kolberg*, it becomes clear that during the 80 years separating the two scholars' studies the Podhale music repertoire must have undergone some changes. It is possible that they were brought about by the activities of the "indigenous" and "foreign" lovers of the mountain-folk music, whose value judgements led to the elevation of the supposed "original" stylistic and repertoire elements, considered to be ancient and indigenous, although in fact they belonged to the Carpathian heritage. This was done at the expense of other songs, which were too close to the traditions of the Polish lowlands. As a result, songs and melodies deemed not to belong to the mountain-folk tradition became extinct. One cannot exclude the possibility that they contained the relics of older cult chants, brought

by the lowland settlers in the Middle Ages or later. When presenting the few Podhale variants of Polish wedding songs, Józef Kantor remarked that they are seldom to be heard<sup>25</sup>. It seems therefore that the unnatural stylistic and formal unity of the Podhale mountain-folk music is a consequence of such artificial selecting and limiting of the repertoire. The pioneers of such activities might have been Tytus Chałubiński himself and the most famous mountain-folk musician Bartłomiej Obrochta “Bartuś”. According to Stanisław Mierczyński<sup>26</sup>, when the weather was bad during their trips to the mountains, the two men would sit in a cabin or a cave and busy themselves with adapting selected mountain-folk melodies for fiddles and a bass-viol (the Podhale music band). They would also compile the choreography for the “brigand” (“zbójnicki”) dance.

The mountain-folk dance repertoire also underwent considerable limitations, modifications and transformations. Even as recently as the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century it was much richer than today, especially in Podhale, where in fact only two dances have been retained: the “mountain folk” (“góralski”) and the “brigand” (“zbójnicki”), although they contain different dance figures. Stefania Ulanowska, who studied Rabka folklore in the 1880’s, testified to the then current knowledge of many local dances forgotten today<sup>27</sup>, as did Józef Kantor for the Podhale traditions<sup>28</sup>. At that time the “mountain folk” and “brigand” dances were also performed, but they were different in style. They were more spontaneous, the figures were largely improvised, and both dances shared some choreo-technical elements. The first attempts to codify the brigands’ dance were made, as mentioned before, by Tytus Chałubiński and Bartłomiej Obrochta. In the first years of the 20th century, members of the Polish Gymnastics Association “Falcon” (Polskie Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne “Sokół”) became interested in the dances. In the years 1907–1910, Wincenty Hałka and Szczęsny Połomski, leaders of the “Falcon” (“Sokół”) sections in Zakopane and Nowy Targ, codified various gymnastic and dance figures, drawing mainly upon the “brigand” dance elements<sup>29</sup>. Similar attempts (which intensified after the Second World War) by regional social activists, mostly local themselves, and leaders of folklore groups, contributed largely to the fact that the Podhale dances

became standardized and lost their original character. Thus it can be said that the Podhale music and dance folklore developed not only by assimilating various features of different ethnic groups, but that its present shape has to a great extent been moulded by the intelligentsia.

Historical sources indicate that, in the 19th century, mountain folk from the Podhale and Beskidy regions used a wider range of instruments than one hundred years later. They knew the bagpipe, the fiddle (also their folk variations i.e. the “oktawka” and the “złóbcoki” — kinds of hollowed fiddles), the bass-viol and the double bass, the kobza, the dulcimer, many kinds of pipes, the ocarina, the shepherd’s horn, the wooden trumpet, the tromba marina, the devil’s violin, the Jew’s harp, the friction drum, the sheep- or cow-bells, the clapper, as well as the ratchet-rattles. Those who had served in the Austro-Hungarian army knew how to play the flute, the clarinet, the trumpet, the trombone, the saxhorn, the guitar, the chromatic accordion and the drums. Brass instruments were predominant in the Beskid Śląski and Beskid Żywiecki regions, although musicians from Podhale, such as Maciej Sieczka (flute) and Józef Froniek (clarinet), mentioned by Leopold Świerż<sup>30</sup>, used to play them too. The standard instrumental framework of the Podhale music band, which included three fiddles and a bass-viol, was not formed until the 1930’s<sup>31</sup>.

The ancient “złóbcoki” or “oktawki” were already losing popularity in the second half of the 19th century, as they could hardly match the sound range of the fiddle. However, although one of the “złóbcoki” types bore a disturbing resemblance to the so-called dancing-master’s fiddle, it was precisely this instrument which came to be regarded as the symbol of the ancient music traditions of Podhale. After all, this was the attribute of Sabała, who carried it hidden in the sleeve of his traditional mountain-folk attire. The Sabała tradition was carried on by one of the most popular folk virtuosos, Andrzej Knapczyk Duch, who performed together with his family. Another musician who continued this tradition was Prokop Magdziarz from Ratułów. During the inter-war period attempts were made to reintroduce the “złóbcoki” into mountain-folk music. On October 15, 1927, “The Podhale Daily” (*Gazeta Podhalańska*) announced the inauguration of “a course in the manufacture of

wooden instruments” in Zakopane (no. 52, p. 9). The idea was initiated by the “Folk School Association of Zakopane” (Zakopiańskie Koło Towarzystwa Szkoły Ludowej) which emphasised the point that the “złóbcoki” manufacturing would be supervised by Andrzej Bednarz, the first professional manufacturer of string instruments in Podhale and a teacher at the “Wood Industry School” (Szkoła Przemysłu Drzewnego).

When politicians and local social activists artificially expanded Podhale, incorporating into the region the Beskidy and Nowy Sącz areas, the latter became the capital of the region. It was there that Józef Zbozień manufactured his richly ornamented “złóbcoki” (altogether he made about 150 instruments). These had a chin-rest and four strings — innovations ascribed to Zbozień<sup>32</sup>. Zbozień’s “złóbcoki” were used by members of the folk music band founded in the mid- 1930’s by Mieczysław Cholewa and Mieczysław Szurmiak, well-known social activists from Nowy Sącz. The band, which continued to perform after the Second World War, took the name of “Wandering Mountain Folk of the “Village of Creation”” (“Wędrowny Zespół Góralski “Wsi Tworzącej””). The group was made up of musicians and dancers of the Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ, Żywiec and Limanowa districts. In the 1950’s the Styrczule-Maśniacy family music band of Kościelisko also began playing the “złóbcoki”.

And what about bagpipes? This remains a difficult issue to explain. It is not known whether the quotation from *Visio macaronica* — “they played in mountain-folk fashion” — refers to the “multanki” as well. It is also uncertain which instrument exactly was then called “multanki”. It may have been the bagpipes, although the name “multanki” was not applied to pipe instruments in Poland until the end of the 17th century. Before then the name referred mainly to a number of interconnected pipes of different length whose prototype was the antique syrinx also called the panpipes<sup>33</sup>. Adolf Chybiński speculated that ancient mountain-folk music was pipe-based and that every larger village in Podhale and the surrounding area had its own bagpiper who regarded himself a professional<sup>34</sup>. Stanisław Mierczyński held the same opinion<sup>35</sup>. However, historical sources, mainly fiscal documents of all kinds (such as tax records), do not mention any pipers in the moun-

tain region, although at the same time they confirm a vivid pipe tradition in Małopolska. For example, the tax register for 1581 does not mention any pipers living in the Żywiec region, and only one living in Podhale, who, moreover, at that time had been absent for two years. One may speculate that the clerks responsible for completing the register were sympathetic towards musicians and protected them from paying taxes by omitting their names in the draft registers<sup>36</sup>. But there is another hypothesis which cannot be ignored when discussing the virtual absence of pipers from the region. At least since the second half of the 16th century pipers had been professional musicians. They paid their taxes and made their living by playing in the inns located along popular trade routes.

These ancient routes connecting the Upper Vistula valley with the valley of the Danube stretched along the valley of the Dunajec, the lands of Brzesko, Nowy Sącz and Nowy Targ, and further on, along the valley of the Poprad and the Upper Wag or across Orawa, towards the valley of the Nitra<sup>37</sup>. However, neither the main routes nor the minor roads leading to them were used often. The reasons for this were scarce population, lack of inns, dense afforestation, poor quality roads, and above all the plague of brigandage. Local tax offices rendered such low revenues that leasing them was totally unprofitable. It seems then that the low number of pipers in the southern border region of the first Republic of Poland was caused by very limited opportunities for making a living.

The type of bagpipes which have been used in the Tatra region at least since the second half of the 19th century is not shown in any illustrations of the time. The Podhale type of four-voice bagpipes (with four pipes), is considered to be of foreign origin, akin to the south-eastern Carpathians and Balkans bagpipes<sup>38</sup>. This suggests that they came to the northern slopes of the Tatra Mountains along the Wallachian migration routes, although Włodzimierz Kotoński speculates that they were brought from the south as recently as the 19th century<sup>39</sup>. Four-voice bagpipes, similar to the Podhale type yet much different in construction details, are to be found (although very rarely) in Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Romania. However, they do not occur on the southern side of the Tatra Mountains which is the region immediately neigh-

bouring Podhale. The studies of Bernard Garaj show that, both before 1945 and 1918, Slovak mountain musicians mainly played two-voice bagpipes, and three-voice bagpipes were used only to a limited extent<sup>40</sup>. Four-voice bagpipes were to be found in south-western Slovakia before World War II and, to a more limited extent, before World War I. The three-channel melodic-bourdon pipe found in the “gajdy” manufactured by Ján Hud’an from Zvolenska Slatina was almost identical to the one used in the Podhale bagpipes. However it was only a single and experimental instrument. Huda’n also manufactured five-voice bagpipes<sup>41</sup>.

Those mountain-folk musicians who went beyond the agreed “canon” of the Podhale repertoire were not always welcome. Juliusz Zborowski, long-standing manager of the Tatra Museum (Muzeum Tatrzańskie) in Zakopane, reminisced in 1950 that in the Museum’s guest rooms, called jokingly “The Grand Hotel” there was a so-called “beast corner”. A musicologist put an impressive example of a folk beast-mask by one of the beds. Its furry head and dreadfully open jaws were to scare away the “evil spirits” of mountain-folk music<sup>42</sup>. One might guess that the musicologist in question was professor Chybiński, one the first guests of the “Grand Hotel” opened in 1921, and one of the “evil spirits” of mountain-folk music was Andrzej Knapczyk Duch (“duch” = “spirit”). However, the latter came from a family which boasted rich traditions in folk song and music. Already as a young boy, he played at wedding parties together with his father. He played a fiddle which, according to the family legend, had been owned by a music-loving brigand named Mateja and then by Sabała himself<sup>43</sup>. Knapczyk Duch can be regarded a pioneer of what we call today “the new mountain-folk music”. His inventive approach to the tradition was apparent in the fact that he would play the “złóbcoki” in positions and perform both traditional, adapted and newly composed mountain-folk songs and melodies. It needs to be emphasised that the older repertoire of mountain-folk music performed by Knapczyk Duch was much broader. In his native village of Ciche Wielkie (presently Ciche), in Międzyrzeczerwienne (presently Czerwienne) and in Murzasichle where Knapczyk Duch lived and worked as a teacher, the attempts to unify the mountain-folk music traditions were not so obvious, because the villages were relatively distant from

Zakopane. Even today, musicians from Chochołów, Czarny Dunajec and the adjoining areas regard a greater number of songs as “truly mountain-folk” than do their counterparts from Zakopane. Among these songs are of course the “spiritual melodies” — as in the name “Duch” (Spirit).

In recent years, one can observe a kind of revival of the old multicultural tradition within mountain-folk music. This includes not only the attempts to combine the Podhale or Beskidy folklore with foreign folk traditions, even reaching beyond Europe, but also with other kinds of music like jazz or even rock. One of the groups which represents this style is the vocal-instrumental rock-mountain-folk band “Rzoz”. Its members, who come from Bukowina Tatrzańska, Gorlice and Biecz play the fiddle, both the classical and electric guitar, the drums and the so-called shepherds’ instruments. Their rock music accompanies the lyrics of Podhale poets, such as Stanisław Nędza-Kubieniec, Józef Pitorak or Jozef Koszarek.

The return to an ethnically varied repertoire is also important for practical reasons. Any mountain-folk musician who wants to be employed in a local, stylized or traditional restaurant has to know the Carpathian-Balkan “popular” folk music. As a rule, a genuine Podhale band, in traditional mountain-folk dress, begin with traditional mountain-folk music in their first “number”, and then switch to an entirely international repertoire. As a consequence, the bass-viol is being gradually replaced with the contrabass along with the return of the accordion, the introduction of the viola, the Hungarian table dulcimer and sometimes the guitar. When playing the contrabass, the musician uses the bow or the pizzicato technique (for example in polkas) while the accordionist enriches the fiddle part with a harmonic backup. Another “revival” of a tradition, though not necessarily a folk one, is the emerging hierarchy of local restaurants’ employees in which, according to some musicians, they come at the very bottom.

### Notes

- 1 Aleksander Brückner, *Co nowego. Zbiór anegdot polskich z r. 1650*, Kraków 1903, p. 6
- 2 Ibidem, p. 106.
- 3 Adolf Chybiński, ‘Przegląd dotychczasowych badań nad muzyką ludową na Podhalu’,

- in *O polskiej muzyce ludowej. Wybór prac etnograficznych*, ed. Ludwik Bielawski, Kraków 1961, p. 166.
- 4 A. Chybiński, 'Z dawnej pasterskiej poezji i muzyki górali podhalańskich', *Wierchy* I, 1923, p. 111.
  - 5 Szymon Szymonowicz, *Sielanki i pozostałe wiersze polskie*, ed. Janusz Pelc, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 2000, p. 15.
  - 6 Oskar Kolberg, 'Korrespondencya', *Ruch Muzyczny* 26 (1857), p. 204.
  - 7 Stanisław Witkiewicz, *Na przełęczy. Wrażenia i obrazy z Tatr*, Warszawa 1891, p. 198.
  - 8 Kazimierz Sajsse-Tobiczyk, *Pod wierchami Tatr*, Warszawa 1977, p. 39.
  - 9 Antoni Kroh, *Sklep potrzeb kulturalnych*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 222–223.
  - 10 Jan Majda, *Góralczyzna w twórczości Stanisława Witkiewicza*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979, pp. 27–28.
  - 11 'Podróże po Bieskidach, czyli opisanie części gór Karpackich zawartych pomiędzy źródłami Wisły i Sanu', *Biblioteka Warszawska* XXXIII (impression), p. 133.
  - 12 Lidia Długolecka; Maciej Pinkwart, *Zakopane. Przewodnik historyczny*, Warszawa 1988, p. 286.
  - 13 S. Witkiewicz, *Na przełęczy...*, op. cit., pp. 178–179; Ferdynand Hoesick, *Legendowe postacie zakopiańskie*, Warszawa 2001, p. 123.
  - 14 Roman Zawiliński, 'Z etnografii krajowej', *Przegląd Literacki i Artystyczny* 12 (1882), pp. 7–8.
  - 15 A. Kroh, *Tatry i Podhale*, Wrocław 2002, p. 98.
  - 16 Tytus Chałubiński, *Sześć dni w Tatrach. Wycieczka bez programu*, eds. Jacek Kolbuszewski, Roman Hennel and Wiesław A. Wójcik, Kraków 1988, p. 41.
  - 17 Maria Steczkowska, *Obrazki z podróży do Tatrów i Pienin*, Kraków 1858, p. 52.
  - 18 Anna Kowalska-Lewicka, *Hodowla i pasterstwo w Beskidzie Sądeckim*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1980, p. 126.
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