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**The Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary  
Music, 1956–1961: Its goals, structures, programs, and people**

Bylander, Cynthia E., Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1989

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**THE WARSAW AUTUMN  
INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF CONTEMPORARY MUSIC 1956-1961:  
ITS GOALS, STRUCTURES, PROGRAMS, AND PEOPLE**

**DISSERTATION**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Graduate School of The Ohio State University**

**By**

**Cynthia E. Bylander, B.F.A., M.A.**

• • • • •

**The Ohio State University**

**1989**

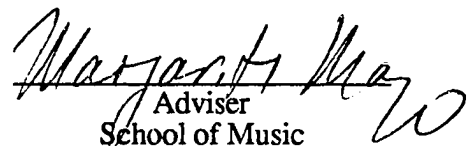
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Major Field: Music History



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## PREFACE

One of the highlights of Polish musical life for more than three decades has been the annual occurrence of the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music.<sup>1</sup> Almost since its inception in 1956, the Festival has been recognized internationally as one of the most successful festivals of contemporary music. Its organizers, primarily representatives of the Polish Composers Union and the Ministry of Culture and Art in Poland, have endeavored to present each year a wide variety of contemporary compositions by composers from many countries. By attending these Festivals, Polish musicians have been able to become acquainted with many compositions by such leading twentieth-century composers as Boulez, Schönberg, and Stockhausen. These compositions are rarely performed in Poland during the remainder of the year. In turn, the Festival has been and still is extremely important in bringing Polish composers to the international limelight. Witold Lutosławski, Krzysztof Penderecki, Grażyna Bacewicz, Kazimierz Serocki, and Henryk Górecki are several such composers whose careers have been greatly advanced by performances of their works at the Festival. In addition, at each Festival participants and observers from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have been able to meet with colleagues from Western Europe, the United States, and other countries. For many years this cultural exchange was unique among contemporary music festivals and hence was one of its most attractive features.

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<sup>1</sup> Festivals were not held in 1957 and 1982. Normally the Festival is held over a 10-day span in late September.

Although many people have acknowledged the successful roles that the Warsaw Autumn Festival has played in contemporary music, no one to date has investigated the circumstances that led to these accomplishments. The goal of this dissertation, therefore, is to analyze the Warsaw Autumn Festival during its first five years, 1956-1961, exploring the factors that played a role in its creation and continuation. By 1961 the Festival had attained a stability both in its organizational methods and in the types of performers and repertoire selected each year. Thus, an examination of the Festival's initial years will also provide an insight into the characteristics of each of its occurrences up to the present day.

As we shall discover, the establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival was not without its problems. To some extent these difficulties might have occurred during the establishment of any music festival, but to a much larger degree the obstacles facing the organizers of the Warsaw Autumn Festival arose because the event took place in post-World War II Eastern Europe. For this reason, critical attention will be paid in this study to the impact on the Festival's programs of political decisions made in Poland and other countries, of personal and professional relations among organizers and participants, and of the expectations of the Festivals' audiences--both actual and potential.

This dissertation consists of three main parts. Part I contains a survey of Polish music in the interwar period (i.e., between the two World Wars) and discusses the relationship of the founding of the Festival to events in Polish musical life from 1939 to 1956. Part II describes the 1956 Festival. The first occurrence of any festival is perhaps more difficult to organize than any other; this Part will consider how that Festival was planned, what occurred at the actual event, and how well it fulfilled the expectations of both the organizers and the Polish musical community. In Part III, the next four Festivals, 1958-1961, are evaluated as a group in order to determine the changes in the organizers' goals for the Festival between 1956 and 1961 and the degree to which these objectives were realized; to



ascertain how and when a permanent organizational structure for the Festival was developed, which necessitated the determination of roles for the Polish Composers Union, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and other Polish institutions involved in the Festival's planning; to appraise the process of selecting performers and compositions for each Festival, which differed according to which geopolitical region the performing artist or the composer came from--Poland, the remainder of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, or the West; to examine the influence of the Festival on the careers of Polish composers; and to assess the reception of each Festival among music critics in Poland and abroad, whose opinions varied according to their geopolitical origin. At the end of the study, conclusions are offered about the first five years of the event, and the relationship of the failures and accomplishments of those years to the Festivals held after 1961 is considered.

The unfolding of the organizational processes of the 1956-1961 Festivals has been reconstructed from primary materials. These documents, in the form of correspondence and minutes of meetings concerning the planning of each of the first five Festivals, have not been discussed in any other sources and, to the present author's knowledge, have not been made available previously to scholars in either East or West. The current study also makes use of information obtained in interviews conducted with composers and other musicians who have helped to organize the Festival during its approximately thirty-year history.

Although unpublished materials formed the basis of the documentation for this study, other references were also consulted. The major published sources of information on the first five years of the Warsaw Autumn Festival are the program books for each of these events; bulletins from the Polish Composers Union and the Ministry of Culture and Art; and press reviews of each Festival from Poland and abroad. Other pertinent books and articles either contain general references to the Festival or analyze compositions performed there each year.

The most comprehensive commentary to date on musical life in post-World War II Poland is that provided by Jan Patrick Lee, who in his dissertation "Musical Life and Sociopolitical Change in Warsaw, Poland 1944-1960," completed in 1979, delineated the history of cultural institutions in Warsaw, described the ideology of socialist realism in music as it was discussed in the contemporary press, and reviewed concert life in the capital city.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the first four Warsaw Autumn Festivals, 1956-1960, Lee mentioned many of the composers and compositions at each event; he discussed the compositional styles of some of these pieces; he also described the reviews published in the weekly Polish newspapers and the Warsaw daily press. Sources of information throughout his dissertation consist predominantly of materials published in Poland during the years in question.

The aforementioned collections of correspondence and minutes for each Festival are located in the Polish Composers Union headquarters in Warsaw. The contents of each collection vary from year to year for the period under discussion here. Most of the correspondence is either directed to or sent from Polish composers who were also organizers of the Festival, although a few letters and memos are transmitted to or from officials in other Polish agencies. Correspondence between the organizers and Western performers is extant for each year from 1956 to 1961. For 1956 and 1960 a few letters to Soviet and Eastern European governmental agencies are also included. In the collection from 1959, messages to and from Polish performing ensembles form the majority of the correspondence. The number of letters concerning the third and fourth Festivals, taken separately, is smaller than that for either of the previous two.

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<sup>2</sup> Jan Patrick Lee, "Musical Life and Sociopolitical Change in Warsaw, Poland 1944-1960," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979).

Minutes of organizational meetings are not available for the 1961 Festival; therefore, in this study's footnotes and bibliography the unpublished documents for that year are referred to as the "Collection of Correspondence," while those for the preceding four Festivals are each given the title "Collection of Correspondence and Minutes." These appellations, which have been assigned by the present author, describe the types of materials contained in each collection more accurately than the term applied by the Polish Composers Union to the same documents: "protokoły," or "minutes." The actual minutes for the 1956, 1959, and 1960 Festivals consist of summaries of the decisions made at organizational meetings. (Minutes are not available for all meetings held any given year; those that exist are usually in typescript.) Minutes for the 1958 Festival are transcriptions of stenography and include complete, undiluted conversations rather than just summaries. The minutes for the October 17, 1958 meeting, contained in the 1959 Collection, also are a stenographic transcription similar in nature to the 1958 materials.

Also included in the Collections are statutes proposed by the organizers for the permanent organizational structure of the Festival, lists of guests, pamphlets sent prior to the Festival to interested individuals and institutions (1960, 1961), informational sheets issued to invited guests (1958, 1961) and press reviews, both foreign and domestic. Since these press reviews are also available outside of these collections, they are not labelled as part of a Collection in this study's bibliography and footnotes, with one exception: If a Collection contained a Polish translation of a foreign review and that translation is the source from which information was taken for this dissertation, then both the Collection and the article are cited in footnotes. Many of the articles taken from the Collections do not have pagination provided; this information will thus be lacking at times in this study. Press reviews other than those contained in these Collections are also examined herein.

Titles of Polish, Soviet, and East European compositions have been translated in English; however, journal titles are given in their original language. The names of Polish cities and composers retain their original spelling, complete with diacritical marks, with one exception: Poland's capital city, Warszawa, is referred to by its English equivalent, Warsaw, since the latter term is the commonly accepted equivalent in our language.

**PART I**  
**POLISH MUSIC FROM 1918 TO 1956**

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The history of musical life in Poland during the interwar period (1918-1939) is one in which both positive and negative influences were exerted on the development of that country's composers. The experiences of some of these composers during these twenty-one years would later be a factor in their decision to establish the Warsaw Autumn Festival.

Poland had been a vital part of the European music scene since the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> However, the almost continual flow of ideas between Poland and other European countries that had contributed to the steady growth of musical accomplishments in that country was severely restricted after the partition of the nation among the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, an act completed in 1795. During the nineteenth century there was little direct exchange of artistic ideas among the three territories into which the country was divided. Few, if any, ensembles of professional quality existed and music schools were periodically shut down by governmental decree. As a result, Polish composers rarely could get their music performed or learn about the latest compositions from other countries. Several music

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<sup>1</sup> The following sources provide information on Polish music history from the Middle Ages to World War II: Ludwik Erhardt, *Music in Poland*, trans. Jan Aleksandrowicz (Warsaw: Interpress, 1975); Stefan Jarociński, ed., *Polish Music* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965); Lee, "Musical Life and Sociopolitical Change," Chapter I; Tadeusz Ochlewski, ed., *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1983); Stefan Śledziński, ed., *Muzyka polska informator* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1968); *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Kraków," "Poland," "Warsaw"; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Poland". Additional references will be given as appropriate.

journals were published at different times, including *Ruch muzyczny* (1857-62), which served as a model for the twentieth-century periodical of the same name.

After World War I, artistic contacts with foreign countries were restored. Some composers aspired to a cosmopolitan musical environment that differed from the provincial atmosphere then prevalent in the country. However, the conservatism of Polish audiences and critics and the inability of newly created musical institutions to function on a world-class scale helped to prevent the performance in Poland of some of the most important works written by contemporary Western European composers, and continued to hinder the growth of a stimulating creative atmosphere for Polish composers. Although many of these composers endeavored to learn about the latest compositional trends in other countries, the knowledge they gained was somewhat limited in scope.

The movement toward a more worldly outlook in musical affairs began at about the turn of the twentieth century with a new generation of composers who comprised the "Young Poland" group.<sup>2</sup> These composers--Karol Szymanowski, Mieczysław Karłowicz, Grzegorz Fitelberg, Apolinary Szeluto, and Ludomir Różycki--wished to pull contemporary Polish music away from its dependence on mid-nineteenth-century styles dating from the eras of Frederic Chopin and Stanisław Moniuszko. At the same time, they wanted to make the public more tolerant of the technical processes found in compositions of certain contemporary European composers. Although the group was formally organized for only a brief time, its ideology continued to be upheld by some of its members, the most prominent of whom was Szymanowski. Today Szymanowski is revered by many Polish people not only for the quality of his compositions, but also for his continual efforts to

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<sup>2</sup> *Muzyka polska a modernizm* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1981). This volume contains the proceedings of a symposium on "Young Poland" that was organized by the Musicology Section of the Polish Composers Union and held in Kraków December 11-12, 1978.

move Polish musical life away from its provincialism. As one Polish critic wrote in 1965, "just as it is impossible to imagine Polish romantic music without Chopin, so Polish music of the first half of the XX century is unimaginable without the great ...Szymanowski."<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, Szymanowski was the most esteemed Polish composer of the first half of the twentieth century. His compositional output spans more than three decades, from 1904 to his death in 1937.<sup>4</sup> Stylistically, it ranges from the late Romanticism of his early works, such as the Concert Overture (1905), to a synthesis of elements from the music of Debussy and Scriabin and an interest in Eastern subjects, seen in Symphony No. 3 "Song of the Night" (1916), and after World War I, to the embodiment of Polish folk music. Although he rarely used authentic folk melodies, he developed a personal style that has often been equated with the larger national one. His *Stabat Mater* (1926), which interweaves elements of Polish folk and religious songs with early church music and dissonant harmonies, is one of his most frequently-performed compositions. Also composed during the interwar period were his highly-regarded opera, *King Roger* (1918-1924), his last two symphonies, other works for voice and orchestra--*Veni Creator* (1930) and *Litany to the Virgin Mary* (1930-1933), and numerous chamber pieces.

### Concert Life and Other Musical Initiatives in Poland

During the independence of the country from 1918-1939, Poland's musicians attempted to reconstruct and improve upon the remnants of concert life, music education, and

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<sup>3</sup> Zofia Lissa, "Karol Szymanowski," in Jarociński, ed., *Polish Music*, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Sources in English on Szymanowski include: Jim Samson, *The Music of Szymanowski* (Thetford, Norfolk: Brydone Printers, 1980); and Zdzisław Sierpiński, ed. and comp., *Karol Szymanowski*, trans. Emma Harris (Warsaw: Interpress, 1986).



publishing activities that had existed before the war.<sup>5</sup> Their efforts were not as successful as some of them might have wished.

At the initiative of Szymanowski, the Polish Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) was founded in 1924.<sup>6</sup> The Section sponsored concerts in Poland and helped to organize the international festival of the Society held in Warsaw in April 1939.<sup>7</sup> At that Festival, eight Polish compositions by Stanisław Wiechowicz, Michał Kondracki, Roman Palester, and Szymanowski were performed. Two additional works by Jerzy Fitelberg and Palester were scheduled, but these and other pieces by foreign composers were withdrawn when several performers cancelled their appearances due to the political crisis in Europe. Between 1923 and 1938, compositions by Szymanowski,

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<sup>5</sup> General sources of information on the interwar period are: Stefan Śledziński, "Polish Music Composition in the Period of the Second Republic 1918-1939," *Polish Music* 14, nos. 1-2 (1979): 3-7; Roman Jasiński, *Koniec epoki. Muzyka w Warszawie (1927-1939)* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1986); Zofia Helman, *Neoklasycyzm w muzyce polskiej XX wieku* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1985); Edward D. Wynot, *Warsaw Between the World Wars: Profile of the Capital City in a Developing Land, 1918-1939* (New York: Columbia University, 1983), Chapter 8.

<sup>6</sup> Dorota Szwarzman, "60 lat Polskiego Towarzystwa Muzyki Współczesnej," *Ruch muzyczny* 29, no. 4 (February 17, 1985): 3-5. An abridged English version of this article is found in: Dorota Szwarzman, "Sixty Years of the Polish Society for Contemporary Music," *Polish Music* 20, no. 1-2 (1985): 3-27 and ds, "Poles at the Contemporary Music Society International Festivals 1923-1984," *Polish Music* 20, nos. 1-2 (1985): 3-11. Szwarzman gives the date of establishment of the Polish Section of the ISCM as 1924, citing *Muzyka*, no. 1 (1924): 46-47, where the unnamed author of the article entitled "Międzynarodowy Tow. Muzyki Współczesnej" discussed the formation of the Polish Section of ISCM. The year 1927 is incorrectly given as the date for the establishment of the Polish Section in "XVII Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej. Warszawa - Kraków 14-21 kwietnia 1939," *Muzyka współczesna* 4, nos. 1-2 (January-February 1939): 1-12, and in *New Grove Dictionary*, s.v. "Warsaw."

<sup>7</sup> The program book for the festival is *Międzynarodowe Towarzystwo Muzyki Współczesnej XVII Festival [sic]. Warszawa - Kraków 14-21 kwietnia 1939* (Warsaw, 1939). It is also printed in "XVII Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej," pp. 1-12. Many changes were made in the program during the festival because of the political situation in Europe at that time: Emilia Elsner, "Troubled Warsaw is Host to the Nations," *Modern Music* 16 (1939): 243-49.

Fitelberg, Palester, Bolesław Woytowicz, Karol Rathaus, Józef Koffler, and Jan Maklakiewicz were presented at the annual ISCM festivals held in other European cities.

The Polish Music Publishing Society was established in 1928. Two years later the Association of Polish Composers was formed; this was the first organization for composers in Poland and the forerunner of the post-World War II Polish Composers Union. The establishment of two instrumental competitions--the International Chopin Piano Competition in 1927 and the Wieniawski Violin Competition in 1935--began a tradition of holding international music events in Warsaw that continued after World War II with the restoration of these competitions and the creation of the Warsaw Autumn Festival.

Warsaw, Kraków, and Lwów (the latter now is in the Soviet Union) were the primary centers of musical activity during the interwar period. Orchestras existed in each city, as did conservatories of music. In Warsaw free concerts performed by amateurs quickly gained popularity with the public, to the detriment of the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra. This professional ensemble, founded in 1901, developed serious financial problems after World War I due in part to poor attendance and inadequate governmental support. In fact, attempts to develop many aspects of Poland's musical life during this time were confronted with immense difficulties. As Ludwik Erhardt later described the situation, "the resources of the state were after over a century of servitude stretched too thin to meet the demand of audiences, so that the development of such things as publishing or artistic training staggered through many crises, music institutions were plagued by financial difficulties and the powers that be failed to appreciate the educational and propaganda importance of the arts, which in the 20th century cannot thrive without public patronage."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Erhardt, *Music in Poland*, p. 65.

Concert life in Poland seems to have been devoid of performances of many pieces from previous eras as well as from the early twentieth century. According to Roman Jasiński,

"Warsaw...at that time [1927-1939] was not acquainted with a large majority of the symphonies of Haydn or Mozart, or Schubert (except for the *Unfinished*)...Performances of a symphony by Schumann, Bruckner, or Mahler, which were extremely rare, became an event. The music of Dvořák, Borodin, Glazunov, Reger, Sibelius, or contemporary French or English composers (other than Debussy and Ravel) fared similarly. A listener at a philharmonic concert...also had a weak idea of contemporary European music. Attempts to refresh the program...usually turned out dismally, with a thoroughly vehement attack by Rytel and Niewiadomski [two Polish music critics]."<sup>9</sup>

Despite the apparently meager offerings of concert programs in Poland, opportunities for hearing twentieth-century music did exist, if in limited amounts. Many of these pieces were programmed by the Warsaw Philharmonic's conductors, most notably Grzegorz Fitelberg.<sup>10</sup> Among the foreign compositions performed in Poland between the two World Wars were Honegger's *Pacific 231* and *King Roger*; Stravinsky's *Firebird*, *Petrushka*, *Soldier's Tale*, *Pulcinella*, *Jeu de Cartes*, and Piano Concerto; Berg's Violin Concerto; Prokofiev's Third and Fifth Piano Concertos and the Suite from *Love of Three Oranges*; and Hindemith's *Concert Music*, op. 48. At least two works by Schönberg were heard--

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<sup>9</sup> "Warszawa...nie znała wówczas ani ogromnej większości Haydna czy Mozarta, ani poza *Niedokończoną* też i Schuberta. Wykonanie, niezmiernie rzadkie, którejs z symfonii Schumanna, Brucknera czy Mahlera stawało się ewenementem. Podobnie rzecz się miała z muzyką Borodina, Glazunowa, Regera, Sibeliusa czy współczesnych kompozytorów francuskich (poza Debussym i Ravelem) czy angielskich. Słuchacz koncertów filharmonicznych...słabe też miał pojęcie o współczesnej muzyce europejskiej. A próby odświeżenia programów...kończyły się zwykle żałośnie, gwałtownym nań atakiem panów Rytla i Niewiadomskiego." Jasiński, *Koniec epoki*, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Fitelberg conducted the Philharmonic from 1923-1934 and the Polish Radio Orchestra in Warsaw from 1934-1939. Mieczysława Hanuszewska and Bogusław Schaeffer, *Almanach polskich kompozytorów współczesnych* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1982), s.v. "Grzegorz Fitelberg."

his Chamber Symphony No. 1 and *Verklärte Nacht*.<sup>11</sup> Contemporary Polish compositions were also performed in Warsaw, either at Philharmonic events, at concerts organized by the Polish section of the ISCM, or at student presentations at the conservatory. The Philharmonic concerts included at least one presentation of Józef Koffler's dodecaphonic *Variations for String Orchestra*. Koffler was the only Polish composer to use dodecaphony during the interwar period.<sup>12</sup>

Despite these performances, younger Polish composers felt that they were unable to obtain adequate amounts of information about the music of their century. As Witold Lutosławski pointed out later in a discussion of the interwar period in Warsaw,

"despite the efforts of that great pioneer Grzegorz Fitelberg, Warsaw stayed outside the main currents of contemporary music...Warsaw audiences did not have the opportunity to attend one single live performance of such masterpieces as Stravinsky's 'The Rite of Spring,' Bartók's last quartets, and Berg's 'Wozzeck.' Young musicians of the time had to accept the sad fact that they lived far from the scene of the most important developments in contemporary music. A stray crumb or two fell our way but they hardly gave us a taste of that mysterious and remote world."<sup>13</sup>

Lutosławski was a student during most of this time, graduating from Warsaw Conservatory in 1937 after attending classes there on and off for ten years.

Similarly, Andrzej Panufnik, a student at Warsaw Conservatory from 1932-1936, complained about the lack of contemporary music in the city at that time:

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<sup>11</sup> Stefan Kisielewski, *Z muzyką przez lata* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957), pp. 156, 175; Jasiński, *Koniec epoki*, passim; "Z ruchu muzycznego w Polsce: Warszawa," *Muzyka polska* 5, no. 1 (January, 1938): 33; Andrzej Panufnik, *Composing Myself* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 41.

<sup>12</sup> Maciej Gołąb, "Józef Koffler. At the Sources of the Polish Avant-Garde in Music," *Polish Music* 22, nos. 1-2 (1987): 3-13; Jasiński, *Koniec epoki*, p. 354.

<sup>13</sup> Witold Lutosławski, "Warsaw Autumn," *Polish Music* 4, nos. 2-3 (1969): 13.

"Most of the scores were not yet published, let alone recorded, or performed in musically-provincial Warsaw. The Polish conductor Fitelberg occasionally conducted the more acclaimed avant garde works of the time; for example, *The Iron Foundry* by the Russian, Mossolov, *Pacific 231* by Honegger and a dazzling piano concerto by Prokofiev. These performances were major events for me, and I remember my even greater excitement the first time I heard some Stravinsky when Klemperer conducted *Petrushka*... These tantalising visions of the world of new music, however, were excruciatingly rare. Warsaw must have been the only important European capital where there was no pre-war performance of *The Rite of Spring*. Stravinsky was hardly heard; Bartók, Schoenberg and Webern were not played at all."<sup>14</sup>

### Opportunities for Foreign Study

During the interwar period many Polish composers were able to travel abroad. Most of them followed Szymanowski's advice and went to Paris to study, where, in 1926, they founded the Association of Young Polish Composers.<sup>15</sup> Those involved with this organization before the outbreak of the Second World War included most of the important Polish composers of the interwar period and the decade immediately following the war: Piotr Perkowski, Stanisław Wiechowicz, Jan Maklakiewicz, Alfred Gradstein, Zygmunt Mycielski, Tadeusz Szeligowski, Antoni Szałowski, Bolesław Woytowicz, Grażyna Bacewicz, Roman Palester, Kazimierz Sikorski, Michał Spisak, Stefan Kisielewski, and Witold Rudziński.<sup>16</sup> Many of them studied with Nadia Boulanger or Paul Dukas, became acquainted with the works of Honegger, Poulenc, Ravel, Bartók, Roussel, Stravinsky, and other French composers, and organized concerts of their own and other composers' works.

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<sup>14</sup> Panufik, *Composing Myself*, p. 41. Panufnik may not have been aware of the Warsaw performance of Schönberg's Chamber Concerto No. 1 in 1929. *Verklärte Nacht* was also performed there in 1938: "Z ruchu muzycznego w Polsce: Warszawa," p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Polish Music and Musicians in Paris Fifty Years Ago," *Polish Music* 12, no. 2 (1977): 11-16.

<sup>16</sup> Grzegorz Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, ed., *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 135; Erhardt, *Polish Music*, p. 66.

Andrzej Panufnik spent time in Vienna and Paris between 1937 and 1939. In his autobiography he has said that while in Vienna, he looked at scores by Schönberg, Berg, and Webern, but did not hear any performances of their music. In Paris, he was able to correct that situation, and also to hear pieces by many of the non-Polish composers named above.<sup>17</sup> Stefan Kisielewski has described his experiences in Paris in 1938-1939 somewhat differently, saying "in Paris at that time the neoclassicism that came in a straight line from Stravinsky reigned indivisibly, therefore music of the so-called Viennese school was almost not known and not played."<sup>18</sup> A commentator on Boulez's early works, Gerald Bennet, also has remarked that in the 1930s the music of Schönberg and his students was heard rarely in France, and only slightly more often in the rest of Europe.<sup>19</sup> In any event, it is clear that those composers who studied in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s were able to acquire knowledge of the major compositional trends of the time, although they may have had heard more pieces by Stravinsky, Bartók, and French composers than by Schönberg, Berg, and Webern.

The influences that permeated many of the compositions written by Polish composers during the interwar period were primarily those of French neoclassicism. Zofia Helman, in her book *Neoclassicism in Twentieth-Century Polish Music* has recognized Palester, Perkowski, Woytowicz, Szałowski, Spisak, Bacewicz, Kisielewski, and Rudziński as

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<sup>17</sup> Andrzej Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 72-73, 85-86.

<sup>18</sup> "wtedy w Paryżu rządził niepodzielnie neoklasycyzm wychodzący w prostej linii od Strawińskiego, zaś muzyka tzw. szkoły wiedeńskiej była prawie nie znana i nie grana." Bronisław Tumiłowicz, "Moje hobby. Rozmowa ze Stefanem Kisielewskim," *Ruch muzyczny* 32, no. 10 (May 8, 1988): 3.

<sup>19</sup> Gerald Bennett, "The Early Works," in *Pierre Boulez. A Symposium*, ed. William Glock (New York: Da Capo Press, 1986), p. 53.

composers of neoclassic music.<sup>20</sup> Grzegorz Michalski, in writing about the interwar period, also named as such composers Malawski, Maklakiewicz, Lutosławski, Panufnik, and Szabelski.<sup>21</sup> These composers comprise nearly all of those active in Poland during the interwar period and into the 1950s.

## Conclusions

Many aspects of musical life in interwar Poland represented an improvement over what had existed during the nineteenth century. However, the institutions of musical life in Poland operative between the two World Wars did not provide composers with sufficient access to information concerning the achievements of contemporary composers in other countries. Polish composers lamented the lack of performances of contemporary music by foreign composers and the scarcity of scores to such music in their own country. However, at least some music by foreign composers of the twentieth century was performed in Poland and international artistic contacts were possible. Both of these activities were soon to be interrupted.

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<sup>20</sup> Helman, *Neoklasycyzm w muzyce polskiej*, pp. 55, 62, 64-65..

<sup>21</sup> Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, ed., *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 138.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **MUSICAL LIFE IN POLAND 1939-1956: THE REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF THE WARSAW AUTUMN FESTIVAL**

The establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival must be viewed within the context of the musical and political events that occurred in Poland in the years preceding the first of these Festivals, which took place in October 1956. Although the history of musical life in Poland has been fraught with difficulties since the end of the eighteenth century, the period beginning from September 1, 1939, the date of the German invasion of Poland that began World War II, is the one that bears direct influence on the formation of the Warsaw Autumn Festival. The isolation from Western culture that Polish musicians were subjected to from 1939 to approximately 1956 as a result of the policies, first, of the German authorities in Poland during World War II, and later, of the post-war Polish government, temporarily severed the close ties that Poland had historically maintained with Western musical traditions. The government-mandated implementation in 1949 of the principles of socialist realism as the basis for contemporary composition resulted in the official rejection by the Polish Composers Union of both current international musical styles and artistic contacts with the West. The desire of certain composers to abolish these restrictions was fulfilled in the mid-1950s, when the government, in a relaxation of their strict controls on cultural activities, permitted the renewal of international artistic contacts and accepted the concept of creative freedom for composers. The establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival was the most significant consequence of these changes.



## World War II: 1939-1945

The enforced isolation of Poland from Western culture began with the German occupation of that country in World War II. Initially the occupying authorities, intent on obliterating all aspects of Polish culture, closed concert halls, libraries, and schools.<sup>1</sup> All concerts in the country were forbidden until March 1940, when the Germans decreed that musical performances could take place if participants were registered with the Generalna Guberna (the German-occupied territory of Poland) and if the programs of these concerts were approved beforehand by the German censor. Works by Chopin, Moniuszko, and Jewish composers were still prohibited, as were compositions of a patriotic nature. Beginning in 1942, however, some compositions by Chopin were officially permitted.<sup>2</sup> Despite these restrictions, an active musical life did exist throughout the war, contributing to a strongly nationalist spirit and the maintenance of a distinct Polish culture. As is typical in many countries under siege, music was a conspicuous component in the struggle to preserve an identifiable culture. Indeed, as Dziębowska stated, "never in the history of Polish music was the contact of composers and performers with their audience so close, direct, and maintained on such a broad scale as in the years of Hitler's terror and the battle with that terror."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, *Warszawa w latach 1939-1945* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984), p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Krystyna Kopeczek-Michalska, "Jawne i tajne życie koncertowe w Warszawie w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Muzyka* 15, no. 3 (1970): 50; Dunin-Wasowicz, *Warszawa*, p. 182; Elżbieta Dziębowska, "Muzyka w Warszawie podczas okupacji Hitlerowskiej," in *Warszawa lat wojny i okupacji 1939-1944*, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1972), p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> "Nigdy w dziejach muzyki polskiej kontakt kompozytora i muzyka-wykonawcy ze słuchaczami nie był tak bliski, bezpośredni i utrzymany na tak szeroką skalę, jak właśnie

Concert life in Poland proceeded along two routes--legal and illegal, or "underground." Legal concerts were those whose programs had been approved by the Germans and whose participants (both performers and composers) were officially registered. (According to a 1941 report by a German official in Warsaw, 1412 composers and performers were registered in Warsaw, which did not include all musical artists in the city).<sup>4</sup> The majority of these concerts took place in local cafés and featured chamber music. Organized by Polish musicians, they quickly became the most important avenue of musical activity in Poland during the war.<sup>5</sup> The popularity with Polish citizens of both chamber and symphonic concerts arose at least partly from the fact that the compositions performed at these events often were not those that had been approved by the German authorities, but were works by Polish composers surreptitiously substituted for those on the official program.<sup>6</sup> Thus, compositions by such 19th-century Polish composers as Moniuszko, Karłowicz, and Chopin were featured, as well as works by contemporary composers--for example, Grażyna Bacewicz, Witold Rudziński, Andrzej Panufnik, Bolesław Woytowicz, and Witold Lutosławski.<sup>7</sup> Although Germans rarely frequented the cafés and other

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w owych latach terroru hitlerowskiego i walki z tymże terrorem." Dziebowska, "Muzyka w Warszawie," p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Kopeczek-Michalska, "Jawne i tajne życie," p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> Witold Lutosławski's *Variations on a Theme by Paganini for Two Pianos* was performed often at the cafe concerts. He and Andrzej Panufnik transcribed and performed approximately 200 classical works for piano duet during the war: Balint András Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, English ed. (London: J. & W. Chester, 1976), p. 7, Hungarian ed. (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1974).

locations where these official concerts were presented, the performances were carried out in secret, since their actual repertoire was never legally sanctioned.<sup>8</sup>

"Underground" concerts were those which took place in private homes. They began in early 1940, and occurred, in the words of Krystyna Michalska, "in every home that had a piano."<sup>9</sup> Michalska estimates that thousands of such concerts occurred from 1940 to the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944.<sup>10</sup> Clearly, music was a vital part of everyday life for many Polish citizens. The repertory of these concerts was similar to that of the "official" concerts; that is, they were composed mainly of chamber music written by Polish composers. Special concerts were organized on the anniversaries of the births and deaths of Chopin and Szymanowski, who were revered by Polish citizens not only for the excellence of their music, but also because of the patriotic qualities associated with their compositions.<sup>11</sup>

The German authorities in Poland allowed only one music school to operate during the war. This was the "Staatliche Musikschule" in Warsaw, which opened in 1940. It was directed by Polish composer Kazimierz Sikorski, who had the support of the Polish musical community in this endeavor. Officially the school was limited to training orchestral musicians, but in reality, classes were also held in conducting, composition, counterpoint, and harmony. The courses were taught by professors from the pre-war Warsaw Conservatory and musicians from other institutions who had come to the capital city after

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<sup>8</sup> Dziębowska, "Muzyka w Warszawie," p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> Krystyna Michalska, "Music During the Nazi Occupation 1939-1945," *Polish Music* 14, nos. 1-2 (1979): 12.

<sup>10</sup> Krystyna Michalska, "O życiu muzycznym w latach okupacji," *Ruch muzyczny* 19, no. 10 (1975): 4.

<sup>11</sup> Dziębowska, "Muzyka w Warszawie," pp. 61-62.

the outbreak of the war. Two diplomas were given: an official one from the Staatliche Musikschule and one from the underground Warsaw Conservatory.<sup>12</sup> Among the graduates of this school were Andrzej Dobrowolski and Kazimierz Serocki, two composers who later were instrumental in establishing the Warsaw Autumn Festival.<sup>13</sup> The only other school to offer conservatory-level music courses in Poland during the war was the Władysław Żeleński Music School (Szkola Muzyczna im. Władysława Żeleńskiego), which operated in Kraków on an illegal basis.<sup>14</sup>

Many of Poland's finest composers and performers participated in both official and unofficial concerts during World War II. Despite the difficult conditions of war, composers were able to write music and have their pieces performed. Some of these compositions were resistance songs written for use by the Polish underground; others were in the traditional media of string quartets, concertos, and even symphonies.<sup>15</sup> Lutosławski, for example, wrote resistance songs, the first movement of his First Symphony, *Two Etudes* for piano, thirty polyphonic pieces for woodwinds, and *Variations on a Theme by Paganini* for two pianos. Panufnik composed *Heroic Overture*, *Five Polish Peasant Songs*, a patriotic song titled "Warsaw Children," Symphony No. 2, and *Tragic Overture*.<sup>16</sup> Many of the chamber pieces were performed during the war, along with at least two of the

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<sup>12</sup> Michalska, "Music During the Nazi Occupation," p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, ed. *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 144.

<sup>14</sup> Michalska, "Music During the Nazi Occupation," p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Dziebowska, "Muzyka w Warszawie," pp. 41-49, 54-62, 67-70.

<sup>16</sup> Steven Stucky, *Lutosławski & His Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 17-19; Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 96, 103-104, 116-17, 119. As will be described further in this chapter, Lutosławski's First Symphony later was banned from performance in Poland and Panufnik's *Heroic Overture* was criticized for its lack of adherence to the precepts of socialist realist in music.

orchestral compositions: Panufnik's Symphony No. 2 and *Tragic Overture*. Unfortunately, scores and parts to compositions by many composers were destroyed during the course of the war. Among the losses were most of Lutosławski's and Panufnik's transcriptions for piano duo and all of Panufnik's other compositions. Similarly, all of Zbigniew Turski's compositions were destroyed, while Bolesław Woytowicz lost twenty-two manuscripts of unpublished works.<sup>17</sup>

By the beginning of 1945 almost every building in Warsaw and many of those in other cities lay in ruins, along with the contents of most libraries and private collections of music and musical instruments. Over 300 musicians from Warsaw alone had lost their lives because of the war.<sup>18</sup> Most of the trappings of an orderly musical life were nonexistent. Polish musicians had no knowledge of what had happened elsewhere in the field of music since 1939. Although this was understandable, given the conditions of war, Polish composers were to fare little better in this regard in the next decade.

#### **Postwar Developments: 1945-1949**

The war officially ended in Poland and the rest of Europe in May 1945 with Germany's surrender, but for inhabitants of Warsaw and most of Poland, the failure of the Warsaw Uprising in October 1944 marked its conclusion.<sup>19</sup> The Soviet-supported Communist

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<sup>17</sup> Stucky, *Lutosławski*, p. 16; Nigel Osborne, "Panufnik at 70," *Tempo*, no. 150 (September, 1984): 2; Bolesław Woytowicz, "Those First Years," *Polish Music* 4, nos. 2-3 (1969): 20; Krzysztof Baculewski, *Polska twórczość kompozytorska 1945-1984* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1987), p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, ed. *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 146.

<sup>19</sup> The Warsaw Uprising was a battle in which the Home Army (the military force in Poland resisting the German occupation of that country) fought against the Germans for control of the capital city from August 1 to October 2, 1944. For more information, see

government, which had been set up in Lublin in July 1944, moved to Warsaw in January 1945 to form the core of the Provisional Government of National Unity. Included in the administrative apparatus of this government was the Ministry of Culture and Art.<sup>20</sup>

By the end of 1945, the organization of musical life in Poland had become centralized, with the formation within the Ministry of Culture and Art of the Union of Professional Musicians in February of that year; the Authors Association "ZAIKS", which collects and distributes royalty fees, in March; the Polish Music Publishers (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne) in April; and the Polish Composers Union in August.<sup>21</sup> All of these groups within the Ministry were based on similar pre-war organizations.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, all are still operating today; the Union of Professional Musicians was absorbed into the Union of Cultural Workers in 1949 and then reorganized into the Association of Polish Musical Artists in June 1956.<sup>23</sup> Polish Radio, which is not part of the Ministry of Culture and Art,

Norman Davi *God's Playground. A History of Poland*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 473-83, 556.

<sup>20</sup> Mieczysław Drobner, *Wspomnienia o początkach życia muzycznego w Polsce Ludowej 1944-1946* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1985), pp. 5, 128.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 127-34.

<sup>22</sup> ZAIKS was also the name of the Authors Association in pre-war Poland; the Union of Professional Musicians also retained its name. The other organizations were discussed in Chapter I. Drobner, *Wspomnienia*, pp. 20, 35; Irena Poniatowska and Zofia Kułakowska, "Dziennik ważniejszych wydarzeń muzycznych w latach 1945-1964," in Elżbieta Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna 1944-1964* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1968), pp. 282, 284; Borys Frydrychowicz, "Radio, telewizja i fonografia muzyczna," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 216-17; Zofia Helman, "Wydawnictwa muzyczne," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 232.

<sup>23</sup> Elżbieta Dziębowska, "Związki, towarzystwa, stowarzyszenia," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 290.

but cooperates closely with it, was founded in August 1944.<sup>24</sup> The first issue of the periodical *Ruch muzyczny*, a product of Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, appeared in September 1945.<sup>25</sup>

### International Contacts

One of the highlights of the first post-war years was the reactivation in 1946 of the Polish section of the International Society of Contemporary Music. Compositions by four Polish composers--Jerzy Fitelberg, Artur Malawski, Roman Palester, and Andrzej Panufnik--were performed at the Society's festivals in London in 1946 and in Amsterdam in 1948. The latter three of these composers were in attendance at those events.<sup>26</sup> According to reports in the published literature, sixteen additional trips to Western Europe, primarily to London and Paris, were made from 1945 to 1949 by these and five other composers--Grażyna Bacewicz, Witold Lutosławski, Kazimierz Serocki, Stanisław Skrowaczewski, and Zbigniew Turski. Panufnik has also stated that he frequently traveled abroad in 1946 and 1947, without specifying all of his destinations.<sup>27</sup> Although these numbers may increase in future years as additional publications about the period appear,

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<sup>24</sup> Frydrychowicz, "Radio, telewizja i fonografia," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 217.

<sup>25</sup> Drobner, *Wspomnienia*, p. 134.

<sup>26</sup> Szwarcman, "60 lat," pp. 3-5. Compositions by Michał Spisak and Antoni Szałowski were also performed at the ISCM festivals. These two composers of Polish nationality had lived in Paris since 1937 and 1931, respectively; it is unclear if their works were selected for performance by the Polish ISCM Section or by the French Section.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.; Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 298-312; Adrian Thomas, *Grażyna Bacewicz. Chamber and Orchestral Music* (Los Angeles: Friends of Polish Music, 1985), p. 18; Stucky, *Lutosławski*, p. 22; Lee, "Musical Life," p. 138; Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 158-85, passim.

they are at this time much lower than those compiled for trips made by Polish composers to Western countries beginning in 1956. They are higher, however, than a comparable tally for the years 1949-1955, the period of strictest isolation in post-war Poland.

Of the nine composers mentioned above, Bacewicz, Palester, and Panufnik had been in Western Europe before the war, and hence already were acquainted with some of the compositions written in the interwar period. During their trips abroad between 1945-1949, each of these composers may have heard pieces by Stravinsky, Messiaen, Schönberg, and Webern, but the works of such composers as Stockhausen and Boulez that extended serialism and electronic music as the avant-garde compositional techniques of the 1950s in Western Europe and the United States had not yet been written. Thus, although some Polish composers were able to travel internationally in the years immediately following the war, they did not have the opportunity to hear the music that would transform the musical world in the 1950s.

### Concert Life in Poland

The possibilities of establishing artistic contacts with foreign musicians and hearing new music performed abroad were available to only a few Polish composers. Although the Polish government was deeply involved in the restoration of musical activities, the desire of many of the country's composers to hear twentieth-century music by foreign composers went largely unfulfilled because such pieces rarely were included on concert programs in Poland. This latter situation was similar to that which existed during the interwar period.

By the end of 1945, twelve professional orchestras, all supported at least partially by state funding, had been established in cities across Poland; by 1948, four more were functioning. The cities maintaining orchestras that latter year were Warsaw, Kraków,



Katowice, Bydgoszcz, Lublin, Poznań, Sopot, and Wrocław.<sup>28</sup> Also by 1948, opera companies had been formed in Poznań, Bytom, Wrocław and Warsaw.<sup>29</sup> During 1945 and 1946 concerts took place irregularly due to a lack of concert halls, appropriate instruments, and money. Beginning in 1947, however, orchestral concerts were held in Warsaw on a regular basis and several operas and ballets were produced there.<sup>30</sup> According to Lee, the repertoire of the first five concert seasons in post-war Warsaw, 1944/45-1948/49, consisted mainly of compositions by nineteenth-century composers such as Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Rossini, and--from Poland--Chopin, Zygmunt Noskowski, Mieczysław Karłowicz, Stanisław Moniuszko, and Henryk Wieniawski. Few works by twentieth-century foreign composers were presented during the same seasons. The most notable cited by Lee in his review of those years were Stravinsky's *Firebird*, Bartók's Violin Concerto, Hindemith's Symphony from *Mathis der Maler*, and Scriabin's *Poem of Ecstasy*. Few, if any, works by Schönberg, Berg, Webern, or other established twentieth-century composers are reported to have been heard in Poland during the same years. Stefan Kisielewski, a noted critic and composer, referred to the danger of this situation in a review of a concert in Kraków: "We must remember that Kraków is at present a cultural center where hundreds of young adepts of musical culture are being educated. How will the

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<sup>28</sup> Ewa Skowrońska, "Ruch koncertowy i operowy," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna*, p. 243; Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," p. 152; Drobner, *Wspomnienia*, pp. 64-69.

<sup>29</sup> Skowrońska, "Ruch koncertowy," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 244; Drobner, *Wspomnienia*, pp. 70-75.

<sup>30</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 89-110, 163-98, 252-64; Poniatońska and Kułakowska, "Dziariusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 298-312. The operas and ballets presented included, according to Lee, Smetana's *The Bartered Bride*, Rudolf Friml's *The Vagabond King*, Mozart's *The Abduction from the Seraglio* and *The Marriage of Figaro*, Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin*, Puccini's *Tosca*, Verdi's *Aida*, Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scherzade*, and by Polish composers, Moniuszko's *The Haunted Manor* and *The Countess*, and Piotr Perkowski's *Swantewit*.

musical culture of these young graduates, for example, of the conducting classes at the conservatories, who have never heard either *Petrushka* or *The Firebird* (not to mention *Le Sacre du Printemps* or *The Symphony of Psalms*) or *Pacific 231*, or even Ravel's *Bolero*, look to others? Provincialism and partial technical paralysis threaten us--we must at all cost 'overtake Europe'.<sup>31</sup> Kisielewski is perhaps a bit impatient, since this statement was published in October 1946, less than two years after the end of the war, but this concern on the part of some Polish critics and musicians about the provincial nature of Poland's concert life continued for most of the next decade.<sup>32</sup>

Twentieth-century Polish works were not totally absent from the 1944/45-1948/49 concert scene, as evidenced by the presentation of works by Szymanowski and living composers such as Bolesław Woytowicz, Zygmunt Mycielski, Roman Palester, and Andrzej Panufnik. In his review of these seasons, Lee took note of performances in Warsaw of twelve compositions that had been written by Polish composers since the beginning of 1945. Skowrońska reports that forty-three premieres of compositions by Polish composers took place between 1945 and 1948, although she does not specify how

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<sup>31</sup> "Pamiętać musimy, że Kraków w tej chwili jest centrum kulturalnym, gdzie kształcą się setki młodych adeptów sztuki muzycznej: jakżeż będzie wyglądać kultura muzyczna absolwenta np. klasy dyrygentów w konserwatorium, który nigdy nie słyszał ani 'Petruszki,' ani 'Ognistego Ptaka,' (nie mówiąc już o 'Suicie Wiosny' czy 'Symfonii Psalmów') ani 'Pacificu,' ani choćby 'Bolera' Ravela? Grozi nam zaściankowość i niedowład techniczny; trzeba za wszelką cenę 'gonić Europę.'" Stefan Kisielewski, "Życie muzyczne," *Tygodnik powszechny* 1, no. 81 (October 6, 1946): 7, translated and quoted in Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 70-71.

<sup>32</sup> The extent to which twentieth-century compositions by foreign composers were heard on radio and available on recordings in Poland cannot be determined. The Polish recording company, Muza, was established in 1947 and issued a small number of 78 rpm pressings; their contents are not known to this author. By the end of 1945 radio stations existed in Lublin, Warsaw, Kraków, and Bydgoszcz. Radio orchestras provided live and taped performances of classical and popular music. For further information, see Frydrychowicz, "Radio, telewizja i fonografia," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 216-31.

many of these were by living composers.<sup>33</sup> This emphasis on Polish compositions can be explained as a well-deserved opportunity for Polish citizens to celebrate the end of German occupation of their country, when compositions by native composers were forbidden from official public performances. Moreover, it was probably easier to obtain Polish scores than foreign ones, although there was a tremendous scarcity of scores of all kinds in the country as a result of the war.

### Compositions by Polish Composers

The course of musical composition in Poland from 1945 to 1949 was marked by the emergence of several composers whose works displayed innovative stylistic techniques, and by the continued influence of the interwar French school on many of their colleagues. The composers of the most novel works during these first five post-war years were Andrzej Panufnik and Witold Lutosławski. Both were members of the younger generation and would be strongly opposed to the enforcement of socialist realism in Polish music that began in 1949. Panufnik's *Lullaby* (1947) for twenty-nine strings and two harps is noted for its chromatic quarter-tone tremolo passages create a shimmering effect under a diatonic folk-like melody.<sup>34</sup> His *Nocturne* (1947) also explores new orchestral sounds while using an arch form. His final composition of the period, *Rustic Symphony* (1948), requires a symmetrical layout of the orchestra, with a string orchestra on each side of the stage, separated by eight wind instruments. Musically, it is based partly on Polish folk melodies.

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<sup>33</sup> Skowrońska, "Ruch koncertowy," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 245.

<sup>34</sup> Andrzej Panufnik, *Lullaby* (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1956).

Tone clusters appear in the third movement; this is the first known use of clusters in Polish music.<sup>35</sup>

Lutosławski's First Symphony (1941-1947) was this composer's first major composition of the post-war period and indeed, the most important one of his career to date.<sup>36</sup> Although based on traditional classical forms, the composition's harmonic structure represents new developments for the composer. Each movement has a clear tonal center, but functional harmonies are displaced by an emphasis on vertical symmetries. The symphony was premiered in 1948 by the Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Grzegorz Fitelberg, and praised by reviewers Roman Haubenstock and Zygmunt Mycielski.<sup>37</sup>

Other Polish composers strove to develop individual styles while adhering to certain precepts from earlier stylistic eras. Zbigniew Turski's Symphony No. 2 (1948), for example, has been cited as a piece that "possesses certain classical characteristics, even apparent in the wide use of polyphonic texture; however, strong emotionalism links it with the symphonic traditions of late romanticism, although of course it is significantly newer with regard to the technical means used."<sup>38</sup> Zofia Lissa further described this symphony as

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<sup>35</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 165, 173; Peter French, "The Music of Andrzej Panufnik," *Tempo*, no. 84 (Spring 1968): 7-8; Osborne, "Panufnik at 70," p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Witold Lutosławski, *I Symfonia* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957).

<sup>37</sup> Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 23-33, 239; Tadeusz Kaczyński, *Conversations with Witold Lutosławski*, trans. Yolanta May (London: Chester Music, 1984), p. 120; Zygmunt Mycielski, "Najlepsza orkiestra w Polsce," *Odrodzenie* (April 11, 1948): 8; Roman Haubenstock, "Życie muzyczne w kraju: Kraków," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 18 (1948): 21.

<sup>38</sup> "posiada pewne cechy klasycystyczne, widoczne choćby w szerokim stosowaniu faktury polifonicznej, jednak silny emocjonalizm wiąże go raczej z tradycjami symfoniki późnego romantyzmu, choć oczywiście jest on znacznie nowszy pod względem stosowanych środków technicznych." Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, ed. *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 155.

being tragic in mood, with dissonant sound effects.<sup>39</sup> The composition was awarded the gold medal at the International Olympic Arts Competition in London in 1948,<sup>40</sup> but both this piece and Lutosławski's First Symphony were withdrawn from the repertory of Polish orchestras a year later when socialist realism principles were officially implemented.

Few, if any, of the compositions by contemporary Polish composers written from 1945 to 1949 displayed dodecaphonic techniques. Poland's lone interwar composer of twelve-tone music, Józef Koffler, had been killed during the war, and no other atonal pieces by Polish composers are known to have been written before the 1950s.<sup>41</sup> According to Erhardt and Michalski, most composers either continued to use the neoclassic and neoromantic styles familiar to them from before 1939 or incorporated Polish folk music into their compositions, the latter occurring at least partially as a result of the pressure exerted by the government as it introduced the principles of socialist realism to the field of music.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Lissa, "Muzyka polska w latach 1945-1956," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna*, p. 17.

<sup>40</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna*, p. 309.

<sup>41</sup> Konstanty Regamey, who by birth was half-Russian and half-Swiss, lived in Warsaw during most of the interwar and World War II years. In 1944 he composed a Quintet for clarinet, bassoon, violin, cello, and piano that approached dodecaphony stylistically, yet retained ties to tonality. Regamey has lived in Switzerland since 1945, and is considered by Polish citizens to be a Swiss composer. For details on the Quintet, see Bogusław Schäffer, *Klasyki dodekafonii* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 130-31.

<sup>42</sup> Erhardt, *Music in Poland*, pp. 66, 80-81; Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, pp. 155-59, 163.

### Development of Socialist Realism

At its first convention in August 1945, the members of the Composers Union agreed that they should cooperate with the Polish government in the rebuilding of culture in their country.<sup>43</sup> In addition to calls for governmental help in developing orchestras and chamber ensembles and providing material assistance to musicians, the Union began to debate the role of music in Polish society. This debate continued for more than the next decade and involved the participation not only of composers and musicologists, but also of music critics and members of the Communist Party hierarchy in Poland. The central issue of the dispute was whether Polish composers should have complete freedom in their choice of compositional styles or whether they should write music that was accessible to everyone, using a musical language based on folk music.<sup>44</sup> Among the direct results of the controversy were the isolation of Poland from the rest of the musical world in the late 1940s and early 1950s and the emergence of the country from that insularity in the mid-1950s. This implementation of socialist realism in music was dictated by the Soviet Union, whose cultural policies were pointedly extended to Poland and other Eastern European countries.

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<sup>43</sup> "Deklaracja zjazdu kompozytorów polskich w Krakowie (29 VIII - 2 IX)," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (October 1, 1945): 11-12; Stanisław Wiechowicz, "Kompozytor w dobie dzisiejszej," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (October 1, 1945): 6-7.

<sup>44</sup> For information on the debate in 1945 and 1946, see Witold Rudziński, "Nowe czasy - nowe zadanie," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (October 1, 1945): 7-9; Włodzimierz Sokorski, "Społeczny aspekt twórczości artystycznej," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, nos. 20-21 (October 15-November 1, 1946): 2-7; Wiechowicz, "Kompozytor w dobie dzisiejszej," pp. 6-7; and the following articles cited in Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 52-53, 68-72: Stefania Łobaczewska, "Zjazd Związek Kompozytorów Polskich," *Odrodzenie* 2, no. 44 (October 30, 1945): 6; Kisielewski, "Życie muzyczne," p. 7; Stefania Łobaczewska, "Obrazoburstwo czy prawo do sądu historii?" *Ruch muzyczny* 3, no. 2 (January 15, 1947): 3-5; Zygmunt Mycielski, "Z głosów prasy," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, nos. 20-21 (October 15-November 1, 1946): 43-46.

After a coalition of Communist parties gained control of the Polish government in January 1947,<sup>45</sup> the ruling authorities called for composers and other artists to be socially responsible. In the field of music, the issue of what types of compositions should be performed in Poland became increasingly important and further politicized. The social role of the artist was described by the President of the Polish People's Republic, Bolesław Bierut, in a speech in November 1947: "The obligation of the creative artist, who is shaping the spiritual life of the country, is to feel the throb of the work of the common people, their desires and needs, to draw the creative inspiration for his own efforts from their emotions and experiences. His main and basic goal should be to raise and ennoble the mass's level of living. Creativeness removed from this goal, art for art's sake, comes from asocial impulses."<sup>46</sup> This declaration is strikingly similar to one made by Lenin in the early twentieth-century, and thus manifests the extent to which Polish artistic life was to be patterned after that of the Soviet Union. Lenin's statement reads: "Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the broad masses of workers...It must be rooted in, and grow with, their feelings, thoughts, and desires. It must arouse and develop the artist in them...So that art may come to the people, and the people to art, we must first of all raise the general level of education and culture."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 2, p. 570.

<sup>46</sup> "Obowiązkiem twórcy, kształtującego duchową dziedzinę życia narodu jest wczuć się w tętno pracy mas ludowych, w ich tęsknotę i potrzeby, z ich wzruszeń i przeżyć czerpać natchnienie twórcze do własnego wysiłku, którego celem głównym i podstawowym winno być podniesienie i uszlachetnienie poziomu życia tych mas. Twórczość oderwana od tego celu, sztuka dla sztuki, wynika z pobudek społecznych." Bolesław Bierut, "Przemówienie wygłoszone w dniu 16 listopada 1947 r. na otwarciu radiostacji we Wrocławiu," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki*, no. 4 (1947): 51-52, translated and quoted in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 124.

<sup>47</sup> Klara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (London, 1929), p. 14, quoted in Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia, enlarged edition, 1917-1981* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 3.

One of the most discernable signs of the shift toward a cultural policy proclaiming that music in Poland was to be accessible to all was the appeal by certain composers and musicologists for all composers to write "mass songs." This term had been coined in the Soviet Union in the years immediately following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to refer to songs that reflected "the belief in a better future under Communism."<sup>48</sup> Zofia Lissa, a musicologist who had been in Moscow during World War II and remained there as a cultural attaché at the Polish Embassy until mid-1947, was a strong proponent of 'music for the masses'. In July 1947, she called for the composition by Polish composers of mass songs, which were to be musically simple, be related to folk-music idioms, express the mood of the people, and satisfy the artistic needs of those who could not understand more complicated music.<sup>49</sup> In September, Zbigniew Turski, a composer, suggested a series of competitions for the writing of lyrics and music for mass songs.<sup>50</sup> The first such competition was organized by the Ministry of Culture and Art and Polish Radio and held in 1948. Four hundred and eight entries were submitted. Zygmunt Mycielski, a composer and critic, described the required style for these songs as follows: "In the conditions it was stated that the songs were to be written in stanza form with a clearly rhythmical and memorable refrain, with a tonal melody adapted to the average musical amateur's performance abilities, and with an accompaniment that was harmonically clear and not too complicated. The point was, moreover, a kind of song that would be accepted in

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<sup>48</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 33.

<sup>49</sup> Zofia Lissa, "O polską pieśń masową," *Odrodzenie* 4, no. 29 (June 20, 1947): 3, cited in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 113.

<sup>50</sup> Zbigniew Turski, "O polską pieśń masową" *Nowiny literackie* 1, no. 26 (September 14, 1947): 7, cited in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 115.



community centers, army detachments, and among the people and workers."<sup>51</sup> However, Mycielski also pointed out the difficulties that confronted the composers of such songs: Should they "suggest the style of Moniuszko, Noskowski, or even Chopin...Should the dance be given greater attention...But what kind of dance?"<sup>52</sup> Lissa's report on the competition stated that most composers did not successfully employ in their pieces all of the proper stylistic characteristics of mass songs.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, some musicians opposed the required composing of such music. One example of such resistance was Stefan Kisielewski's charge in the February 1947 issue of *Ruch Muzyczny* that forcing composers to write 'music for the masses' would cause sterility and a destruction of creativity.<sup>54</sup> The frustrations that were to confront Polish composers frequently after socialist realism was officially installed in 1949 had thus begun to surface by 1947.

Events in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in 1948 sharpened the definition of what types of music would be acceptable for performance in Poland and strengthened the demand in that country that composers write "accessible" music. In February, Vano Muradeli's opera *Great Friendship* ("Velikaya Druzhba") had been sharply criticized by the

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<sup>51</sup> "W warunkach podane było, że pieśń ma być napisana w formie zwrotkowej, z wyraźnym rytmicznie i łatwo wpadającym w ucho refrenem, melodią tonalną, dostosowaną do możliwości wykonawczych przeciętnie muzykalnych amatorów, akompaniamentem zaś przejrzystym harmonicznie i niezbyt skomplikowanym. Chodzi bowiem o rodzaj pieśni, która by się przyjęła w świetlicach, oddziałach wojskowych, wśród ludu i robotników." Zygmunt Mycielski, "Kłopoty jurorów czyli konkurs na pieśń masową." *Odrodzenie* 5, no. 32 (July 8, 1948): 7, translated and quoted in Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 139-40.

<sup>52</sup> "Która jako styl przypomina Moniuszkę, Nowkowskiego, Chopina nawet?...Czy nie należy bardziej uwzględnić tańca...lecz--jakiego tańca?" Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Z. L., "Konkurs na pieśń masową," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 17 (September 1, 1948): 14.

<sup>54</sup> Stefan Kisielewski, "Jaką muzykę upowszechnić?" *Ruch muzyczny* 3, nos. 3-4 (February 1-15, 1947): 1-3; cited in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 112.

Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its historical inaccuracies, which Boris Schwarz suggests were not falsehoods, but "facts displeasing to Stalin."<sup>55</sup> Subsequently the Committee published a resolution condemning the "formalistic" characteristics of the music of Shostakovich, Prokofiev, and others, which were described as the rejection of the principles of classical music and the use of atonality and dissonances.<sup>56</sup> In May, at the Second International Congress of Composers and Musicologists in Prague attended by Zofia Lissa and delegates from the Soviet Union and other countries, a resolution was passed urging composers to become "defenders against the cosmopolitan tendencies of contemporary life," to direct their attention "towards musical forms that are most concrete in their contents, particularly operas, oratorios, cantatas, songs, mass choruses, etc.," and to "write music in which high artistic qualities combine with creative individuality and deep and genuine folk art."<sup>57</sup>

After this Congress, representatives of the Soviet Composers Union went to Poland to meet with members of the Polish Composers Union. Tikhon Khrennikov, the general-secretary of the Soviet Composers Union, stated the basic theories endorsed by the Soviets in a speech subsequently published in *Ruch muzyczny*. Realism, the official standard for Soviet musicians, was the opposite of formalism. This latter attribute was caused by extreme individualism, which in turn was characterized by an unnatural, pathological sense

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<sup>55</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 214.

<sup>56</sup> "Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of 10 February 1948," in Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 1358-62.

<sup>57</sup> "Declaration of the Second International Congress of Composers and Musicologists in Prague, 29 May 1948," *Ibid.*, pp. 1378-79.

of the world and a lack of faith in the strength of power and the ideal of mankind.<sup>58</sup> Music should be understood by millions of people, not a small, elite group, and "possess the ability to supply a valuable esthetic experience."<sup>59</sup> Khrennikov mentioned Mozart, Verdi, Chopin, and Musorgsky as examples of composers of realistic music and cited Schönberg, Messiaen, and Stravinsky as composers of music of negative value.<sup>60</sup>

By the end of 1948, the political situation in Poland had deteriorated. According to Norman Davies, a student of Polish history, Soviet intervention in Polish political affairs resulted in the dismissal of Władysław Gomułka as head of the main Polish Communist party in September of that year. The lone opposition party had been liquidated in 1947; in December 1948, the various Communist parties in the country merged into the Polish United Workers Party. For the next several years, Poland was enveloped in the repressive Stalinist style of Communism that permeated the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.<sup>61</sup>

#### Łagów Lubuski: Conference of Composers and Music Critics

The installation of the principles of socialist realism as the basis for Polish music came at a special conference of composers and music critics held in Łagów Lubuski in August 1949. Organized by Włodzimierz Sokorski, then the vice-minister of the Ministry of Culture and Art, the purpose of the conference was to "attempt to establish concepts and definitions concerning the totality of today's music problems, further--to attempt to apply

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<sup>58</sup> Tichon Chrennikov, "O nowe drogi twórczości muzycznej," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 18 (September 15, 1948): 3.

<sup>59</sup> "posiadać zdolność dostarczania wartościowych przeżyć estetycznych," *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>61</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 2, pp. 570-75.

these definitions in practice within the framework of discussion."<sup>62</sup> Zofia Lissa provided a definition of formalism, which thereafter was to be avoided in composition: "It is music in which the innovation of technical means results from intellectual speculation rather than from the new essence of this music; it is music that abandons the living elements of folklore and that seeks new technical bases speculatively--thus atonality, in the sense of a resignation from permanent relationships and the centralization of pitches; it is music opposed to all substance, and even more so to the realization of substance in programmatic lines. It is music whose abstractness and emotionality cause the neglect of the element of melody and the limitation of itself to more speculative instrumental forms."<sup>63</sup>

This conference included the first of many sessions to be held in the next several years that would be devoted to the performance of contemporary Polish compositions and a critique of those pieces by a review committee. In Łagów this committee consisted of the composers, music critics, and various Communist Party members present at the conference, as well as members of the orchestra that performed the works.<sup>64</sup> These review sessions, closed to the public, were intended to evaluate the works presented for their

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<sup>62</sup> "próba ustalenia pojęć i definicji, dotyczących całokształtu dzisiejszej problematyki muzycznej dalej zaś--próba zastosowania tych definicji w praktyce, w ramach dyskusji." "Konferencja kompozytorów w Łagowie Lubuskim," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 14 (October, 1949): 12, translated in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 216.

<sup>63</sup> "Jest to muzyka, w której nowatorstwo środków jest wynikiem spekulacji intelektualnych, a nie wynika z nowej treści tej muzyki, jest to muzyka rezygnująca z żywych elementów folkloru, szukająca spekulatywnie nowych podstaw technicznych--stąd więc atonalna, w sensie rezygnacji ze stałych stosunków i centralizacji dźwiękowej; muzyka wroga wszelkiej treści, a tym bardziej konkretyzacji treści w programowych wytycznych. Muzyka, której abstrakcyjność i emocjonalność kaze zaniedbać element melosu i ograniczyć się do bardziej spekulatywnych form instrumentalnych." "Konferencja kompozytorów w Łagowie Lubuskim," p. 16 [my translation]. Lissa was the principal philosopher of socialist realism in music; her definition of formalism became the definition used in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

<sup>64</sup> Witold Rudziński, "Zjazd kompozytorów w Łagowie," *Odrodzenie* (July 28, 1949): 2.

appropriateness for public performance. All compositions were to reflect realism. The session in Łagów was the first one held in Poland in which specific pieces were directly attacked for their formalistic content. The only work so labeled by Sokorski at his speech closing the conference was Zbigniew Turski's *Olympic Symphony* (1948). As noted before, this symphony had been awarded the gold medal at the International Olympic Arts Competition in London in 1948. Sokorski described the piece as one utilizing "a language [that is] formalistic through and through."<sup>65</sup> In a further commentary published in *Kultura* (Paris), a Polish emigré journal, Sokorski is reported to have said that the symphony was "incompatible in its contents with the spirit of our epoch...it is the emotion of a lost man...there is a lack of a clearly defined thought."<sup>66</sup> The author of this article, Jerzy Zawadzki, maintained that the pieces criticized at Łagów were those that "the dignitaries present at the conference, who had no musical culture or preparation, could not understand."<sup>67</sup> He also stated that the composers whose pieces were berated were compelled to apologize. As an example of a statement of repentance, Turski declared during the conference that he wished the "winds of the crematorium" had been blowing over the Olympic stage while he was composing the symphony, seemingly expressing his desire that the piece had never been written.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> "językiem na wskroś formalistycznym." "Konferencja kompozytorów w Łagowie Lubuskim," p. 19.

<sup>66</sup> "niezgodny w swej treści z duchem naszej epoki...jest to emocja człowieka zagubionego...brak jest jasno określonej myśli." Jerzy Zawadzki, "Kronika muzyczna," *Kultura* (Paris) nos. 2-3 (February-March, 1950): 207.

<sup>67</sup> "obecni na zjeździe dygnitarze, nie mający żadnej kultury muzycznej ani żadnego przygotowania, nie mogli zrozumieć." Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> "dymy krematoriów." W. Rudziński, "Zjazd kompozytorów," p. 2.

Criticism was also bestowed during the conference upon Andrzej Panufnik's *Nocturne*, Piotr Perkowski's First Violin Concert (1932), and Artur Malawski's Symphonic Variations (1937), the latter of which had been awarded second prize at the Chopin Composers Competition in Warsaw in April 1949.<sup>69</sup> Witold Rudziński explained that the compositions by Perkowski and Malawski reflected "the hopelessness of the [pieces'] point of departure," but he also pointed out that they did not reflect the current state of their composers' creativity, implying that recent works by both men followed the precepts of socialist realism more closely.<sup>70</sup> According to Panufnik, who did not attend the conference, his *Nocturne* was denounced for being "'unsuitable for the broad masses'" and failing to "adequately...express the 'joyful life under socialism'."<sup>71</sup>

In none of the critiques from this conference were specific musical passages or stylistic features cited as examples of formalism, "hopelessness," or other derogatory characteristics. The value judgments inflicted upon the criticized pieces were useless to composers, who were unable to relate the proffered criticisms to substantive aspects of their music. Thus, composers were rendered almost helpless in their attempts to write socialist realist music. This situation did not improve greatly in later years.

### **Socialist Realism: 1949-1955**

The principles of socialist realism were enforced throughout all aspects of Polish intellectual life. The visual arts and literature were to express a simple, optimistic view of

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 2; Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, p. 187; Poniadowska and Kułakowska, "Dziarsz," in Dziebowska, ed. *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 311-12.

<sup>70</sup> "beznadziejności ich punktu wyjściowego." W. Rudziński, "Zjazd kompozytorów," p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, p. 187.

the socialist world. Experimentation was not permitted, and censorship was strict.<sup>72</sup> Film makers and other artists were to depict positive heroes, preferably Communist Party members, whose lives were centered around the activities of the Party in its battle against imperialism.<sup>73</sup>

Education was similarly restricted. Beginning in 1950 all university students were required by the Ministry of Higher Education to take courses in Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Elementary and secondary-school teachers were compelled to pass exams in Marxist ideology. Books and other teaching materials were rarely imported from the West for public use. In essence, all teaching became a "form of organized propaganda."<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, the Polish Academy of Sciences, established in 1951, controlled all academic and scientific research.

### International Contacts

The opportunities that had existed in the immediate post-war years for Polish composers to develop professional contacts and expand their knowledge of contemporary music practically disappeared after the Łagów conference in 1949. Foreign travel for Polish composers was extremely restricted between 1950 and 1955. For example, in 1950 Andrzej Panufnik was elected vice-president of the UNESCO Music Council, but the Polish government did not permit him to travel to meetings or to the Council's Paris

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<sup>72</sup> Jacek Fuksiewicz, *Film and Television in Poland* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1976), p. 15.

<sup>73</sup> Z. Broncel, "The Polish Cinema," *Survey* 29 (July-September, 1959), p. 75.

<sup>74</sup> Richard Hiscocks, *Poland: Bridge for the Abyss* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 159.

headquarters.<sup>75</sup> According to published reports about those years, only eight trips to Western Europe were made by five composers: Grażyna Bacewicz, Witold Lutosławski, Andrzej Panufnik, Stanisław Skrowaczewski, and Bolesław Woytowicz. Half of these had been to the International String Quartet Competitions in Liège, Belgium, where all except Woytowicz had served on the jury.<sup>76</sup>

The activities of the Polish section of the International Society for Contemporary Music were suspended in 1950, not to be resumed until 1957. The only Polish composers whose works were performed at the Society's annual Festivals from 1951-1958 were emigrés living in Western Europe at that time: Roman Haubenstock, Roman Palester, Michał Spisak, Antoni Szałowski, and Aleksander Tansman.<sup>77</sup>

No Western composers are known to have visited Poland during these six years, and only one Western ensemble visited the country: Munich's Stross Chamber Orchestra, which performed in Poland in April 1955.<sup>78</sup> The restrictions on trips to Western Europe by Polish composers and by foreigners to Poland served to limit severely the flow of information into Poland about musical activities in other countries.

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<sup>75</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, p. 194.

<sup>76</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Dziariusz," in Dziębowska, ed. *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 310-34; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 1952-), 1952-1955; Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 186-228, *passim*.

<sup>77</sup> Szwarzman, "60 lat," pp. 4-5.

<sup>78</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Dziariusz," in Dziębowska, ed. *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 332.



### Review Sessions

The Polish Composers Union officially endorsed the ideals of socialist realism at its convention in June 1950. Its newly elected president, Witold Rudziński, called for the education of composers in socialist ideology, the "establishment of the appropriate line of tradition" in Polish music, the composition of mass songs and other pieces for performance by amateurs, and the organization of permanent review sessions for music of all types.<sup>79</sup> He suggested that the Committee on Commissions--which as a joint effort of the Composers Union and the Ministry of Culture and Art did most, if not all, of the commissioning of compositions by Polish composers--should encourage composers to write in suitable genres by underwriting such works.<sup>80</sup>

At the same convention, Rudziński offered a definition of realism as it was to be practiced in Poland. Composers were to create works that were linked to the traditions of progress and revolution in Polish music, could be understood by workers and peasants, and "did not demobilize the listener with their ideological faintness and pessimism."<sup>81</sup> They were to write symphonies, chamber music, oratorios, choral music, and mass songs, with emphasis being placed on the latter genre.<sup>82</sup> Admittedly, Rudziński's definition of realism is not precise. Throughout the period in Poland in which realism was advocated as the proper goal of composition, a detailed explanation of the musical characteristics of such

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<sup>79</sup> "ustalenie linii właściwej tradycji." Witold Rudziński, "Program pracy Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 3-4 (1950): 9-13.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> "nie może demobilizować słuchacza swoją nikłością ideową, pesymizmem." *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 23.

compositions was never offered. They were to be based on such national traditions as Polish folk music and the music of Chopin, evoke positive emotions, and be able to be understood by workers and peasants,<sup>83</sup> but these criteria do not provide specific musical qualities that composers could embody in their compositions. In later years Panufnik and Lutosławski would remark about the vagueness of the meaning of socialist realism as it was applied to music, saying that they never knew what was expected of them.<sup>84</sup>

In practice, the value of a particular composition as an example of socialist realism was defined by those officials present at review sessions and concerts. Typically these sessions consisted of a performance of the piece at a rehearsal followed by a critique of the work by those in attendance: the composer, one or more musicologists and music critics, representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Art or other governmental departments, and the performers. These sessions took place before the piece's scheduled premiere. The composer rarely, if ever, was permitted to defend his or her compositions before the other evaluators. Of the review sessions discussed in *Muzyka*--the only music periodical published in Poland from 1950 to 1956 that was devoted to classical music--most took place from 1950 to 1952, occurred under the auspices of the Polish Composers Union, and were intended as 'educational' sessions for the composers. Some sessions were closed to the public; others were open forums.<sup>85</sup> Reviews of mass songs were also arranged by

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<sup>83</sup> Zofia Lissa, "Próba podsumowania Festiwalu i wyników Zjazdu," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 21-31; "Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 3-4 (1950): 26; "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 7-8 (1950): 84-89.

<sup>84</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, p. 187; Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>85</sup> Information on review sessions can be found in the following sources: "Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres kadencji od listopada 1948 do czerwca 1950 roku," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 3-4 (1950): 32; Witold Rudziński, "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, no. 6 (1950): 64-72; "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, no. 7-8 (1950): 84-89; "Z

"Czytelnik," the state publisher of such compositions. It is difficult to determine the results of many of the reviews because of the scarcity of published commentary on the subject. As noted by more than one critic, not all compositions were subjected to review before they were performed in public. Those reviews that did occur were held after only hearing of the piece.

Of the more than one hundred works whose reviews were discussed in *Muzyka*, only one of them was deemed formalistic by the entire review committee. That work--Jan Krenz's *Quartet on a Folk Tune* (1949)--was characterized as unacceptable for performance "before a large audience."<sup>86</sup> The reviewers at that session, held on September 27, 1950, were Zofia Lissa, Alfred Gradstein, Kazimierz Serocki, Roman Jasiński (an administrator at Polish Radio), Witold Rudziński, Aleksander Jackowski (the director of the Campaign for the Collection of Folklore),<sup>87</sup> and a Citizen Stefański, presumably from the Ministry of

życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, no. 9 (1950): 73; "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 2, no. 1 (1951): 55-57; Alina Sawicka, "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich. Plenum Zarządu ZKP," *Muzyka* 2, no. 2 (1951): 40; "Sprawozdanie z działalności Prezydium: Zarządu Gł. Związku Kompozytorów Polskich za okres od dnia 27 czerwca 1950 do dnia 15 stycznia 1951 r.," *Muzyka* 2, no. 2 (1951): 41; Stefania Łobaczewska, "Z zagadnień współczesnej krytyki muzycznej," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 39-40; Alina Sawicka, "Przesłuchania dyskusyjne," *Muzyka* 4, nos. 3-4 (1953): 75; "Z życia ZKP," *Muzyka* 5, nos. 7-8 (July-August, 1954): 95; Alina Sawicka, "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 5-6 (1955): 86-93; Tadeusz Marek, "Brakoróbstwo muzyczne," *Przegląd kulturalny* 2, no. 19 (May 14-20, 1953): 6, cited in Lee, p. 332; Wiłkomirski, *Wspomnień ciąg dalszy*, pp. 212-13; Andrzej Panufnik, "Życie muzyczne w dzisiejszej Polsce," *Kultura* (Paris), nos. 87-88 (January-February, 1955): 12-13; Andrzej Stankiewicz, "Kronika życia i twórczości," in Bogusław Schäffer, ed., *Artur Malawski. Życie i twórczość* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1969), p. 353; Lissa, "Próba podsumowania," p. 32.

<sup>86</sup> "przed szerokim auditorium." "Z życia Związku," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 7-8 (1950), pp. 84-85.

<sup>87</sup> Jadwiga Sobieska, "Folklor muzyczny w praktyce i nauce," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 169.

Culture and Art. Stefański argued that for the average listener, the composition contained a "chaos of sounds, unconnected fragments of figures, and a mood that snapped after a few measures. The influence of Stravinsky is glimpsed. The polyphonic texture contributes to a large degree to the inaccessibility of the composition."<sup>88</sup> Lissa stated that each of the quartet's variations were divided into two parts, a chorale and a burlesque, that had nothing in common with the transformations of the theme, and that, despite the title, the work did not have a folk character. Gradstein added that the work showed a lack of ideological foundation.<sup>89</sup> Krenz apologized, saying that he "does not feel folklore."<sup>90</sup>

It is difficult to understand how composers could satisfy all potential critics at these review sessions, given the vagueness of the musical attributes of socialist realism. For example, a mass song by Zbigniew Turski titled "The First of May" was judged by reviewers in September 1950 to be easy to remember because of the presence of a transition to its refrain and its differentiation of major and minor tonalities. Another critic, however thought that the song was too difficult to learn because of two complicated fragments of text. Turski promised to rework those passages.<sup>91</sup> A mass song by Jan Maklakiewicz whose text lauded Stalin--"A Song About Stalin"--was attacked by Lissa at the same session for its employment of the rhythm of a nobleman's polonaise; a clash purportedly existed between the music and the spirit of the text. If the rhythm of a peasant's polonaise

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<sup>88</sup> "Chaos dźwięków, niepowiązane szczątki schematu i nastroji, rwącego się po kilku taktach. Dostrzega się wpływ Strawińskiego. Do nieprzystępności kompozycji przyczynia się w dużym stopniu faktura polifoniczna." "Z życia Związku," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 7-8 (1950), p. 84.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp. 84-85.

<sup>90</sup> "nie czuje folkloru." Ibid., p. 84. The present author cannot determine from available materials if the quartet was performed publicly in the early 1950's.

<sup>91</sup> Rudziński, "Z życia Związku," pp. 66-67.

had been used, Lissa asserted that the criticism would have been unnecessary.<sup>92</sup> Although Maklakiewicz probably thought that he was following the precepts of socialist realism in setting a text honoring socialist society to a stylized Polish dance, his piece was still criticized.

In the instrumental field, several compositions that had been received favorably in Poland before the Łagów conference disappeared from the domestic repertoire shortly thereafter. As mentioned earlier, Turski's Symphony No. 2 and Lutosławski's First Symphony were among these pieces.

At the April 1949 Chopin Composers Competition, Panufnik's *Rustic Symphony* had been awarded first prize. Nevertheless, just over a year later, in June 1950, the piece was condemned despite its use of Polish folk themes, purportedly one of the desired qualities of socialist realism in Polish music. The scene at the Composers Union meeting at which the symphony was removed from the repertoire has been described by Panufnik: "In the presence of Sokorski and Soviet delegates--among others, Khrennikov, the general secretary of the Union of Soviet Composers--one of my Polish colleagues made an attack against my music. He confirmed that 'Rustic Symphony' is hostile to the socialist era...That same composer was a member of the jury which, in the preceding year, had given my symphony an award. Seeing that, Sokorski declared at the meeting that my symphony ceased to exist."<sup>93</sup> According to Panufnik, the symphony was not performed

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-66.

<sup>93</sup> "w obecności Sokorskiego i delegatów sowieckich, między innymi Chrennikowa, generalnego sekretarza Związku Kompozytorów Sowieckich, jeden z moich polskich kolegów wystąpił z atakiem zwróconym przeciw mojej muzyce. Twierdził że 'Sinfonia Rustica' jest wroga epoce socjalizmu...Ten sam kompozytor był członkiem jury które w poprzednim roku nagrodziło moją symfonię. Wobec tego Sokorski orzekł, na zebraniu, że moja symfonia przestała istnieć." Panufnik, "Życie muzyczne w dzisiejszej Polsce," p. 13. Panufnik's claims about the *Rustic Symphony* can be substantiated in the contemporary

again in Poland during the period of socialist realism, but it was allowed to be performed abroad in order to show the West that Polish music was not being hindered stylistically. In fact, Panufnik was scheduled to record the piece in Zurich in 1954, but did not because he defected from Poland at the same time the recording was to be made.<sup>94</sup> The composer has asserted that a similar fate awaited his *Lullaby*--it was performed often abroad, but only once in Poland prior to his defection.<sup>95</sup>

Other instrumental works were treated to the same ambiguity in the definition of socialist realism that was demonstrated previously with mass songs. Włodzimierz Kotoński's *Three Mountaineer Dances* for orchestra were praised at a review session in September, 1950 for their richness of melody and rhythm and for the folklore value of the music. Nevertheless, Zofia Lissa, one of the reviewers, chastised the composer for not employing regional stylizations of the folk music.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, Tadeusz Baird's *Sonatina* for piano (1949) received a variety of comments at a 1952 review session. Z. Pawlak (profession unknown) maintained that the piece was "formalistic, uninspiring, and...boring,"<sup>97</sup> while Jerzy Jasieński (an official in the Ministry of Culture and Art) claimed that it fulfilled the criteria of socialist realism. Even Grażyna Bacewicz's *Symphony No. 3* (1952), which was praised at a 1952 review session for having "a large

Polish press: "Sprawozdanie z obrad V Walnego Zgromadzenia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 1, no. 5 (1950): 52, 58.

<sup>94</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, p. 239.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> "Z życia Związku," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 7-8 (1950): 86.

<sup>97</sup> "Formalistyczny, bez polotu i...wywołujący znużenie." Sawicka, "Przesłuchania dyskusyjne," *Muzyka* 4, nos. 3-4 (1953): 80.

range of expression, clarity of form, [and] excellent instrumentation," was criticized by Lissa, who felt that its opening material could have been developed further.<sup>98</sup>

### Concert Life

The repertory of the six concert seasons in Warsaw, 1949/50-1954/55, rarely exhibited any change from the stylistic conservatism that had characterized the concert scene since the end of the war. According to Lee, music written after 1900 by foreign composers was rarely performed, except for compositions by conservative Soviet or Eastern European composers. Only two concerts departed from the usual pattern of socialist realism in music. These two events contained three compositions completed since the end of the Second World War, but displayed none of the avant-garde techniques of Boulez, Stockhausen, and others currently in vogue in Western Europe and the United States. The first one, which occurred during the spring of 1950, included Bartók's Third Piano Concerto (1945) and Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, both of which could have been labelled formalistic and prohibited from performance, but were not. The second concert, held during the 1953/54 season, included Debussy's *Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun*, Bartók's Viola Concerto (sketches 1945, completed posthumously by Tibor Seriy), and Panufnik's *Nocturne* for orchestra

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<sup>98</sup> "Dużą skalę ekspresji, przejrzystość faktury, doskonałą instrumentację." Ibid., p. 78. Panufnik has claimed that his *Heroic Overture*, which had been selected by a committee of Polish composers to be performed at the August 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki, was condemned at a review session later that same year and banned from further performances in Poland: Panufnik, "Życie muzyczne w dzisiejszej Polsce," p. 12; the same story is also told in Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 208-209. However, contemporary citations about a May 1952 review session reveal that *Heroic Overture* was given a positive evaluation: Sawicka, "Przesłuchania dyskusyjne," *Muzyka* 4, nos. 3-4 (1953): 77-78. Both accounts may be true: a second, disparaging review of the piece may have been held after the Olympic Games. However, such a session was not reported in the press, and no evidence of other compositions being evaluated twice has surfaced.

(1947).<sup>99</sup> As discussed previously, Stravinsky's music in general had been ridiculed by Khrennikov during his 1948 speech in Poland, and Panufnik's work had been disparaged at the Łagów conference the next year. Their inclusion on these concert programs may be attributed to two factors. First, as pointed out earlier, the system of review sessions did not ensure that every composition or program was evaluated for its adherence to socialist realism. It is conceivable that each of these twentieth-century works somehow could have 'slipped through the system' to find their way into the repertoire, albeit perhaps only temporarily. Secondly, after Stalin's death in March 1953 the authoritarian program of socialist realism began to be dismantled in Poland, a process that will be discussed in detail below. Although few clear signs of leniency in the field of music appeared until at least the spring of 1954, questions may have been raised privately about the continued feasibility of review sessions and socialist realism in general; these concerns may have led to a decrease in the severity with which concert programs were censored beginning in autumn 1953.

Polish music was performed frequently during these years. Skowrońska reports that an average of twenty-five premieres of compositions by Polish composers took place each year from 1949 to 1955.<sup>100</sup> Mass songs, cantatas, and orchestral music dominated the field of new Polish music. Several commentators on the period have noted that many compositions contained neoclassic features and/or elements of folk and early music. According to Helman, neoclassicism was officially denounced as a formalistic tendency, yet

"with the discretionary use of the labels 'formalist' and 'realist', it is possible to attest to the fact that works representing this same neoclassic trend...were honored from time to time with state awards...It is even

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<sup>99</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 265-389, *passim*.

<sup>100</sup> Skowrońska, "Ruch koncertowy," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 246.



possible to say that neoclassicism was the dominant trend, if not with regard to the number of works in that style, then with regard to their artistic range and permanence...sometimes they were even called 'realist' if they displayed the use of folk motives, they were characterized by clear emotionalism and were not too complicated harmonically."<sup>101</sup>

Contemporary music, in fact, was considered by the Polish government to be an important component of the country's social life. Festivals and competitions were sponsored by the government and annual awards were given to composers for "deserving" compositions. Amateur and professional ensembles were established for the performance of contemporary music. As Erhardt declared, "the abundance and scale of music life soon surpassed the prewar level."<sup>102</sup> While the government was seemingly demonstrating that composers were actively involved in pursuing the ideals of socialist realism in music, it was also attempting--through the same policy of socialist realism--to dictate the types of music that would be permitted to receive performances and rewards. Thus, although there was much activity in the field of music, there was also a great deal of governmental control over the careers of composers.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> O dowolnym stosowaniu etykietek 'formalistyczny' i 'realistyczny' może też świadczyć fakt, iż utwory reprezentujące ten sam kierunek neoklasycyzy...bywały wyróżniane nagrodami państwowymi...Można nawet powiedzieć, iż neoklasycyzm był kierunkiem dominującym, jeśli nie pod względem ilości powstałych utworów, to pod względem ich rangi artystycznej i trwałości...Niekiedy nawet zyskiwały one miano 'realistycznych', jeśli wykazywały zastosowanie motywiki ludowej, odznaczały się wyraźną emocjonalnością i nie nazbyt skomplikowanym językiem harmonicznym." Helman, *Neoklasycyzm w muzyce polskiej*, pp. 74-76. For other references to the range of compositions and styles of the socialist realist years, see Lissa, "Muzyka polska w latach 1945-1956," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 11-60; Erhardt, *Polish Music*, pp. 82-94; Michański, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, pp. 154-65; Tadeusz Marek, *Współczesna muzyka polska (1945-1956). Próba charakterystyki* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956), pp. 21-58.

<sup>102</sup> Erhardt, *Polish Music*, p. 95.

<sup>103</sup> The degree to which the publication of music can be viewed as an extension of the government's emphasis on socialist realism cannot be determined accurately. Many mass songs were published by Czytelnik--Jan Maklakiewicz's "On the First of May," published in 1953, is labelled as no. 682. Instrumental scores were also published, among them

*1951 Festival of Polish Music*

The most important contemporary music event between 1949 and 1954 was the first Festival of Polish Music, held from April 13 to December 15, 1951, and organized by the Polish Composers Union in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and Art, Polish Radio, and the General Administration of Theaters, Operas and Philharmonias.<sup>104</sup> The contemporary commentaries provided about the Festival reveal the extent of the government's interest in music and also the nearly continuous difficulties faced by composers as they attempted to write works that satisfied the same government's precepts of socialist realism. As also seen previously, reviewers of contemporary compositions rarely referred to specific musical features. Nevertheless, in judging the pieces' adherence to socialist realism, the reviewers still often created the government's--and also the public's--perception of the composer.

Włodzimierz Sokorski stated that the purpose of the 1951 Festival was to portray the achievements of all Polish composers, with an emphasis on living ones, in order to demonstrate that an acceptance of the forms and expressions of national music was

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Lutosławski's *Little Suite* and *Silesian Triptych*, Bacewicz's Concerto for String Orchestra, Symphony No. 3, and Violin Concertos Nos. 3 and 4, and Baird's *Sinfonietta* for orchestra, First Symphony, and *Colas Breugnon*. Panufnik's *Rustic Symphony* was published in 1950, his *Heroic Overture* in 1953, and his *Symphony of Peace* in 1952. Some of these pieces will be discussed further below; it is sufficient to state now that both programmatic and abstract orchestral compositions were published, including at least one--*Rustic Symphony*--that was banned from performance in Poland.

<sup>104</sup> St. S., "Przed Festiwalem Muzyki Polskiej," *Muzyka* 2, no. 2 (January-February 1951): 35-37.

necessary for the emergence of socialist realism in the field of composition.<sup>105</sup> Music written before World War II was performed in order to show that "the fight for the music of Socialist Realism was cast on the broad background of the historical development of the Polish tradition of realistic music."<sup>106</sup> Witold Rudziński, the president of the Polish Composers Union, declared that Polish composers were actively participating in the battle for socialist realism, and that the Festival would permit the evaluation of the degree to which Polish composers had advanced in that campaign.<sup>107</sup>

During the Festival one hundred and ten works by thirty-eight living composers were performed throughout Poland by professional and amateur ensembles. These works were selected via review sessions organized by the Festival Office and the Polish Composers Union. Most, if not all, of the compositions were performed more than once during the event.<sup>108</sup> A complete program of the Festival was never published. As Lee has stated, "almost any performance of Polish music" was considered part of the Festival during the second of its three phases, May-October.<sup>109</sup> Thus, it is difficult to ascertain precisely which works were performed, since these concerts took place in many different towns and villages. However, Lee did describe the repertory to the extent that it could be determined: "The folk ensembles presented stylized folklore, while the choirs presented new cantatas

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<sup>105</sup> Włodzimierz Sokorski, "Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej. Cele i zadania," *Muzyka* 2, nos. 3-4 (March-April 1951): 3.

<sup>106</sup> "Walka o muzykę realizmu socjalistycznego została rzucona na szerokie tło historycznego rozwoju polskiej tradycji muzyki realistycznej." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Witold Rudziński, "Na otwarcie Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej," *Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej. Program otwarcia* (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 1951), pp. 3-6.

<sup>108</sup> Tadeusz Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 9-10 (1955): 33; St. S., "Przed Festiwalem," p. 37; Sawicka, "Z życia Związku," *Muzyka* 2, no. 2 (1951): 40; *Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej. Program otwarcia. Kwiecień 1951*, passim.

<sup>109</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," p. 306.

and mass songs...The orchestral concerts programmed only a slight preponderance of postwar music. Most of the postwar music featured folk music and was written in 1948 or later."<sup>110</sup> Prewar music included compositions by Chopin and Moniuszko. Thus, many of the postwar compositions presented had been written after the concept of socialist realism in music had been strongly advanced in Poland.

Certain reviewers of the Festival indicated that the musical style of the compositions presented during the event indicated a renewed interest in the Polish national traditions in music. The turn toward melody, folklore, and emotional effect was applauded.<sup>111</sup> Most frequently praised were Alfred Gradstein's cantata *A Word about Stalin* (1951); Bolesław Woytowicz's *Prophet*, a cantata for bass, two choruses, and orchestra (1950); Bacewicz's Violin Sonata No. 4 (1951) and Second Symphony (1951); Panufnik's *Symphony of Peace* for chorus and orchestra (1951); Lutosławski's *Silesian Triptych* for soprano and orchestra (1951) and *Little Suite* for orchestra (1950), and Mycielski's *Symphonic Pictures* for orchestra (1951).<sup>112</sup> Except for *Little Suite*, *Symphony of Peace*, and Bacewicz's Second Symphony, each of the works received an award at the end of the Festival in recognition of its excellence.<sup>113</sup> Panufnik's *Symphony of Peace* was granted a State Music Award in August 1951. Aleksander Jackowski described the works of Woytowicz,

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 290-92.

<sup>111</sup> Lissa, "Próba podsumowania," pp. 26-27; Aleksander Jackowski, "Po pierwszym etapie Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej," *Muzyka* 2, no. 7 (1951): 3-4; Zygmunt Mycielski, "Na marginesie Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (January-February, 1952): 19-20.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.; "Życie muzyczne w kraju," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 97-103; Henryk Swolkień, "Po pierwszym etapie Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej w Warszawie," *Muzyka* 2, no. 7 (July, 1951): 35-37; Zofia Lissa, "Z perspektywy Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej (Próba oceny)," *Muzyka* 2, no. 12 (December 1951): 3-8.

<sup>113</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 320.

Bacewicz, and Panufnik as examples of a return to the excellent traditions of the past--to melodic, emotional, and "deeply human" music.<sup>114</sup> Gradstein was a member of the Polish United Workers Party (the Communist Party). He, along with Zofia Lissa, may have been the only Party members in the approximately 120-member Polish Composers Union,<sup>115</sup> and consequently attempted to follow the precepts of socialist realism rather closely.

In an article about Gradstein's cantata *A Word about Stalin*, Zygmunt Mycielski contended that the ideological content of a composition was more important than its musical value. In referring to certain unnamed critics who claimed that musically this cantata did nothing new, Mycielski asserted that "the use of musical language can be a matter of secondary importance now and then. What is more important is its adequacy to the expressed content. Above all, it is necessary to discuss Gradstein's work from the point of view of its usefulness and helpfulness, and I submit that it fulfills its role in a positive sense. While filling a political function, it does not distort, but may build up the listeners of every, even the smallest, peasant-worker's center."<sup>116</sup> The cantata's text overtly praises the Soviet Union, Lenin, Marx, and the Communist revolution: "Revolution is the locomotive of history', Marx said, Lenin accomplished...'Peace, peace, peace! With peace the world

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<sup>114</sup> głęboko ludzkiej." Jackowski, "Po pierwszym etapie," p. 4.

<sup>115</sup> Panufnik, "Życie muzyczne w dzisiejszej Polsce," p. 8; idem, *Composing Myself*, pp. 175, 225.

<sup>116</sup> "Użyty język muzyczny może być niekiedy sprawą drugoplanową. Ważniejszą sprawą jest jego adekwatność do wyrażonej treści. Nad utworem Gradsteina należy dyskutować przede wszystkim z punktu widzenia jego przydatności i użyteczności, a twierdzę, że rolę swą spełnia on w sensie dodatnim. I, że spełniając funkcję polityczną, nie paczy, lecz rozwijać może muzycznie słuchaczy każdego, najmniejszego nawet centrum robotniczo-rolniczego." Mycielski, "Na marginesie Festiwalu," p. 16.

breathes. Guard it, o tower of strength, the Union of Soviet Republics."<sup>117</sup> A quotation from the music of *The Internationale* is set to the stanza containing these lines.<sup>118</sup>

Panufnik's *Symphony of Peace*, written in 1951, was applauded by Zofia Lissa for its strong call for peace and its bond with the current issues of the country.<sup>119</sup> The composer has asserted that despite the symphony's use of simple musical language and its wide public acceptance, the authorities contradicted the published approvals of the composition by attacking it after its premiere in May 1951, pronouncing it ideologically weak and a prayer for peace rather than a fight for it.<sup>120</sup> It was not withdrawn from the repertoire, however. In fact, it was given second prize in the State Musical Awards announced in July 1951.<sup>121</sup> After his emigration, Panufnik withdrew this symphony from his catalog of works, for musical reasons that the composer claims were caused at least in part because the piece had been written under pressure from the Polish government.

Comments about Lutosławski's *Little Suite* that were published directly after the Festival referred to the work's freshness, inventiveness, and its use of new and surprising effects.<sup>122</sup> Commissioned by Polish Radio in 1950, the suite uses folk melodies from the Rzeszów region of Poland as the basis of each of its four movements. Lutosławski,

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<sup>117</sup> "Rewolucja--to parowoz historii"--powiedział Marks, zdziałał Lenin'...'Pokój, pokój, pokój! Ty go strzeżesz, opoko, Związku Republik Rad.'" Zygmunt Mycielski, "'Słowo o Stalinie'," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 7-8 (July-August, 1952): 5.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>119</sup> Lissa, "Z perspektywy Festiwalu," p. 5.

<sup>120</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 202-205, 252, 254; *idem*, "Życie muzyczne w dzisiejszej Polsce," p. 13. See footnote no. 98 for another possible case of contradictory statements by the government concerning Panufnik's music.

<sup>121</sup> Poniatowska and Kuławkowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 319.

<sup>122</sup> Jackowski, "Po pierwszym etapie," p. 4; Swolkień, "Po pierwszym etapie," p. 36.

however, does not consider the work to be one of his serious pieces.<sup>123</sup> Bogusław Schäffer, in a 1956 article about folk music in Lutosławski's compositions, stated that the composer's relationship to folklore was "extremely creative,"<sup>124</sup> and described what he considered to be several of the suite's outstanding features. These highlights, which include polymetric effects and hemiolas, may have been those to which the earlier reviewers had been referring in their more ambiguous comments. Although this composition was considered by Polish critics to be innovative and an excellent example of socialist realist music, it most likely would have been regarded by Western composers and critics in the early and mid-1950s as a piece of "light music," not as an exceptionally inventive work.

Discussion in the press about the more abstract works performed at the Festival was limited. Even those pieces that were mentioned--primarily those by Bacewicz named earlier--were given only brief recognition: Bacewicz's Second Symphony and Fourth Violin Sonata were described only as compositions that were skillfully crafted and indicative of a break with the motoric constructions of her previous works.<sup>125</sup> However, the programmatic pieces named above and the mass songs performed throughout the Festival were of much greater concern to the event's reviewers as indicators of the progress made in achieving socialist realism in music; thus the reviewers of the Festival concentrated on these compositions.

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<sup>123</sup> Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, p. 10.

<sup>124</sup> "nadzwyczaj twórczy." Bogusław Schäffer, "Polskie melodie ludowe w twórczości Witolda Lutosławskiego," *Studia muzykologiczne* 5 (1956): 344. The score of *Mała Suita* was published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in Kraków in 1953.

<sup>125</sup> Lissa, "Próba podsumowania," p. 27; Jackowski, "Po pierwszym etapie," p. 4.

Zofia Lissa was perhaps the most critical reviewer of the overall quality of the works presented at the Festival. She stated that the current compositional styles of most composers did not reflect the appropriate qualities of socialist realism, which, hence, was still a goal to strive toward. She also declared, in a partial acknowledgement of the vagueness of the definition of socialist realism in music, that politicians could not be expected to dictate explicit guidelines for music. She defended this vagueness, however, by stating that composers were to decide upon these measures individually, relying on their own experimentations to find a suitable style.<sup>126</sup>

Most specific criticisms of the Festival centered on the existence of naturalism, or primitivism, in many compositions and the need to improve the quality of mass songs. Primitivism was defined by Lissa as the use of earlier musical styles or quotations of folk melodies without their incorporation into new and original compositions. She scorned these mechanical adaptations, calling them "the path of least resistance" for composers.<sup>127</sup> One can see the difficulty that faced Polish composers: they were encouraged to draw on Polish musical traditions, but were criticized for imitating them too closely. Lissa attacked Jan Maklakiewicz's *Golden Duck* and Stanisław Proszyński's *Revolutionary Overture* for their adherence to musical "slogans,"<sup>128</sup> and Stanisław Skrowaczewski's *Classical Overture* for its exclusive employment of late eighteenth-century musical styles.<sup>129</sup> Włodzimierz Sokorski singled out Maklakiewicz for imitating the styles of Moniuszko and Noskowski, two nineteenth-century Polish composers. Sokorski also attacked Jan Krenz for adopting

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<sup>126</sup> Lissa, "Z perspektywy Festiwalu," p. 4.

<sup>127</sup> "droga najmniejszego oporu." Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>129</sup> Lissa, "Próba podsumowania," p. 26.



Szymanowskian harmonies, which were formalistic. (Szymanowski was considered a source of inspiration for his use of folk elements, but was labeled a formalist for his harmonic language.) Sokorski pointed to the music of Maklakiewicz and Krenz as proof that further efforts were needed by composers before formalistic and naturalistic tendencies were conquered.<sup>130</sup> Specific compositions by these two composers were not named by Sokorski; both composers had more than one piece performed during the Festival.<sup>131</sup>

The criticism of mass songs at the Festival was attributed by both Sokorski and Zygmunt Mycielski to the dearth of appropriate texts and the inability of composers to incorporate folklore elements into songs in a suitable manner. Unfortunately, neither of these men discussed what they would consider to be acceptable qualities for such songs.<sup>132</sup> Lissa complained that the better composers of these pieces--Gradstein, Sygietyński, Szpilman, and Swolkień--wrote too few of them, and that Lutosławski also could not be persuaded to write a suitable number.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless Lutosławski was given first prize at the end of the Festival for his mass songs and children's pieces. Such differing opinions held by governmental representatives about specific pieces or composers have been observed before: the lack of a uniform definition of socialist realism in music was the primary cause of this situation.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Sokorski, "Od Łagowa do Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 8-9.

<sup>131</sup> *Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej. Program otwarcie*; Tadeusz Marek, "Życie muzyczne w kraju. Warszawa," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 102.

<sup>132</sup> Sokorski, "Od Łagowa do Festiwalu," pp. 10-11; Mycielski, "Na marginesie Festiwalu," pp. 15-20.

<sup>133</sup> Lissa, "Próba podsumowania," p. 29.

<sup>134</sup> "Kronika," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 115.

### Composers' Dissatisfaction with Socialist Realism

Between 1949 and 1956 Polish composers seemingly complied with the demands for socialist realism in music, if one looks at the variety of names who received State prizes and Festival of Polish Music awards for their compositions. As noted earlier, awards were bestowed upon Bacewicz, Gradstein, Lutosławski, Mycielski, Panufnik, and Woytowicz. Many other composers were also singled out for their achievements--among them Tadeusz Baird, Władysław Górczyński, Tomasz Kiesewetter, Włodzimierz Kotoński, Jan Krenz, Artur Malawski, Edward Olearczyk, Kazimierz Serocki, Kazimierz Sikorski, Stanisław Skrowaczewski, Bolesław Szabelski, Tadeusz Szeligowski, Stanisław Wiechowicz, and Kazimierz Wiłkomirski.<sup>135</sup> However, while writing compositions that were praised for their adherence to the values of socialist realism, certain of these composers strongly disagreed with the government's restrictions on compositional styles. Their reactions ranged from shock and dismay at having limitations placed on the compositional techniques they could use to the awareness that they were being pressured psychologically to compose in a certain, though vaguely defined, manner, and also to the belief that the successful embodiment of socialist realism in music would lead to artistically worthless compositions. For some composers, the desire to continue writing music and the need to make a living were the main reasons for their official, though only partial compliance with the government's wishes. Others proceeded to write certain compositions that they felt would be acceptable to the authorities, while also composing other works using styles such as atonality and dodecaphony, realizing that these pieces would probably not be approved for performance. Still other composers became so dissatisfied with the results of socialist realism that they stopped composing.

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<sup>135</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 315-33.

An example of a composer who officially complied with the dictates of socialist realism without completely agreeing with them is Artur Malawski, a member of the middle generation. His *Symphonic Variations* had been banned from performance in 1949, not to be played again until either 1955 or 1956.<sup>136</sup> Malawski was surprised at the attacks made on his music at Łagów. Although at first he could not be provoked to express opposition to formalism despite pressure put on him by "careerists"--a reference made by Schäffer, his biographer, to composers who unswervingly adhered to the Party's dictates<sup>137</sup>--the composer told Schäffer in 1954 that he purposely had written his Piano Trio (1953) in a realist style to show the authorities that his music was free from formalism. He also indicated that in 1950 he had completely revised another work--the ballet *Mountain Peaks* ("Wierchy")--partly because he realized that some of his earlier works would not be performed due to official intolerance of them.<sup>138</sup> *Mountain Peaks* is based on Polish mountaineers' folk music and was frequently performed in Poland in the early and mid-1950s. According to Michalski, the success of this ballet brought the composer an official pardon from his earlier portrayal as a writer of formalistic music.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> W. Rudziński, "Zjazd kompozytorów," p. 2; Alina Sawicka, "Z życia Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 5-6 (1955): 90; Stankiewicz, "Kronika życia i twórczości," pp. 350-61; Kazimierz Nowacki, "Kalendarium i indeksy," in Tadeusz Kaczyński and Andrzej Zborski, *Warszawska Jesień* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1983), p. 269. Sawicka lists *Symphonic Variations* as one of the pieces performed in Kraków in January as part of the 1955 Festival of Polish Music. Stankiewicz states that Malawski's *Symphonic Etudes* were performed at that time, and that *Symphonic Variations* was premiered at the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival. According to Nowacki, that 1956 performance was not a premiere.

<sup>137</sup> "arywistów." Bogusław Schäffer, "Portret kompozytora," in Schäffer, ed., *Artur Malawski*, p. 24.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 28-29, 353.

<sup>139</sup> Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," in Ochlewski, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, p. 158.

Kazimierz Wiłkomirski, a composer and conductor of the older generation, received an award for his *Wrocław Cantata* after the 1951 Festival of Polish Music, but he was not an avid supporter of socialist realism as it was practiced in Poland. He has said that this cantata was "'realistic' through and through in the meaning of the word at that time," but that he did not wish to prolong its stage life through further performances.<sup>140</sup> According to his account of the review session held to determine if the piece would be played at the Festival, he was told by Zofia Lissa that the music followed the meaning and moods of the text too closely. At the same meeting Bolesław Woytowicz seemingly contradicted Lissa by saying that the piece would certainly be liked by the audience. Wiłkomirski interpreted the latter statement to mean that if a composition appealed to the audience, it did not necessarily have a high artistic value. During the course of the same review session, for which he was also the orchestral conductor, he expressed his indignation about the money wasted for reviewing completely worthless works. He also was unhappy because he was forced to hold the session at a time that had been intended for the rehearsal of other compositions.<sup>141</sup> In other discussions about the Festival, Wiłkomirski challenged the choice of the governmental authorities to present Gradstein's *A Word about Stalin* (discussed previously) with an award, claiming that political influences must have been operative in its selection, since the work itself was of "exceptionally meagre artistic value."<sup>142</sup>

Kazimierz Serocki, who turned thirty years old in 1952, wrote certain pieces in the early 1950s that were highly praised by the press, but he also composed several works that contained sections of atonality. During his stay in Paris from 1947 to 1948 Serocki had

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<sup>140</sup> "na wskroś 'realistycznym' w ówczesnym znaczeniu tego słowa." Wiłkomirski, *Wspomnień ciąg dalszy*, p. 211.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

<sup>142</sup> "wyjątkowo skromnych artystycznych walorach." *Ibid.*, p. 210.

become fascinated with the music of Debussy, early Stravinsky (the pre-1930 works), Bartók, Prokofiev, and Messiaen. According to his biographer, Tadeusz Zieliński, Serocki did not know Schönberg's compositions in the mid-1950s, but he did have René Leibowitz's book *Schoenberg and His School* and had heard other dodecaphonic works.<sup>143</sup> Between 1951 and 1953, Serocki received awards for his cantata *Warsaw Bricklayer*, mass songs, and film music.<sup>144</sup> The cantata, performed during the 1951 Festival of Polish Music, was commended for its freshness, invention, excellent orchestration, and its ties with the current issues of the country.<sup>145</sup>

His *Suite of Preludes* for piano (1952) was also given an award, that of first prize in a January 1953 competition sponsored by the Polish Composers Union and the Polish Committee for the Defense of Peace, even though sections of the piece are atonal.<sup>146</sup> The date of the public premiere of this work is not known to this author; the composition was published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1954.<sup>147</sup> The bestowal of an award on this piece in the midst of a period of conspicuous control over compositional styles, which

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<sup>143</sup> Tadeusz Zieliński, *O twórczości Kazimierza Serockiego* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1985), pp. 7-8, 19.

<sup>144</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 320, 322, 324.

<sup>145</sup> Lissa, "Z perspektywy," p. 5; Tadeusz Marek, "Życie muzyczne w kraju. Warszawa," *Muzyka* 3, nos. 1-2 (1952): 101.

<sup>146</sup> Kazimierz Serocki, *Suita preludiów* for piano (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1954); Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 324; Zieliński, *O twórczości Kazimierza Serockiego*, pp. 18, 41; Schäffer, *Klasyki dodekafonii*, p. 184..

<sup>147</sup> The date of the public premiere is not known to the present author. It may have not been premiered before 1973, since it is not included in Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura* or Irena Poniatowska, "Kronika ważniejszych wydarzeń muzycznych w Polsce 1945-1972," *Forum musicum*, no. 16 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974), both of which provide reliable data on other premieres.

included the explicit rejection of atonality and dodecaphony, certainly appears to be a striking contradiction of this control. The fact that Serocki's First Symphony, which incorporates 11- and 12-tone melodic passages, was premiered in Warsaw in May 1952 provokes similar questions about how strictly the tenets of socialist realism were being followed that year. Zieliński has hypothesized that Serocki's immunity from being designated a formalistic composer because of these two pieces was partly a result of the composer's acquiescence in composing two cantatas in a suitably socialist realist style--*Warsaw Bricklayer* and *Mazowsze*--and his genuine interest in incorporating stylized folklore in his music, such as occurred in *Four Folk Dances* (1949) and *Three Kurpian Melodies* (1949).<sup>148</sup> Another factor for the seemingly permissive atmosphere surrounding the *Suite of Preludes* and the First Symphony may be that those composers whose compositions had been labelled formalistic--Panufnik, Lutosławski, Malawski, Turski, and Krenz--had been castigated initially in 1949 or 1950, a period when Serocki composed nothing that was questionable stylistically. A more lenient attitude may have prevailed in later years, even though the policy of socialist realism in music officially was still being enforced.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Zieliński, *O twórczości Kazimierza Serockiego*, pp. 10, 41.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-18, 31-34, 41-44. According to Zieliński, Serocki also wrote atonal passages in his Concerto for Trombone and Orchestra (1953), whose first performance took place in December 1954, and Piano Sonata (1955). Furthermore, Bogusław Schäffer wrote numerous compositions between 1946 and 1955, at least one of which employs tone clusters, string glissandos, and atonality. This piece--*Music for Strings: Nocturne*--was written in 1953 and premiered in Opole, Poland in March 1961. See *Nokturn* (Wiesbaden: Ahn & Simrock, 1964); *New Grove Dictionary*, s.v. "Bogusław Schäffer"; Bogusław Schäffer, "Composers Workshop," *Polish Music* 4, nos. 1-2 (1969): 22-23. None of Schäffer's pieces were premiered before 1960. According to Erhardt, the composer kept his works away from public view until 1959. It is not known if this was due to the restrictions of socialist realism or to the personal preferences of the composer that might have been unrelated to the political situation: Erhardt, *Polish Music*, p. 127.

Witold Lutosławski disagreed passionately with the strictures of socialist realism and continued his own compositional experiments even after his First Symphony had been banned from performance in 1949. Although he received state prizes and frequent performances of new compositions in the early 1950s, he never felt that he was yielding to the demand for simple, accessible music. Between 1950 and 1955 he completed children's songs and song cycles; pieces for men's chorus, mixed chorus, or female voice with orchestra; and three orchestral pieces: *Little Suite*, *Silesian Triptych* (1951), and *Concerto for Orchestra* (1950-1954).<sup>150</sup> Lutosławski refused a request by Włodzimierz Sokorski to write an composition similar to Shostakovich's *Song of the Forest*,<sup>151</sup> a piece that may have been composed by the latter composer in response to official criticism of his earlier works.

Except for the *Concerto*, the composer considers these aforementioned works to be a continuation of the compositions for educational purposes that he had been writing since the end of World War II. The pieces utilizing folk materials that preceded the completion of the *Concerto* were judged by him to be opportunities for experimentation with techniques such as polymeters and the linkage of diatonic motives to chromatic counterpoint and non-functional harmonies.<sup>152</sup> Lutosławski also worked out of public view on techniques unrelated to his folk music compositions, and has said that his *Funeral Music* for orchestra, written between 1954 and 1958, could not have been composed without "prior studies and

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<sup>150</sup> Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 201-207.

<sup>151</sup> Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, p. 10.

<sup>152</sup> Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, p. 8; Stefan Jarociński, comp., *Witold Lutosławski. Materiały do monografii* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), pp. 44-45.

experiments," a reference to his works based on folk music and his other endeavors of the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>153</sup>

Of all of his compositions written between 1950 and 1955, Lutosławski considers only the Concerto for Orchestra to be of importance, saying "only in the Concerto do I link folkloristic material with some sort of more serious artistic intention."<sup>154</sup> The composer has described this piece as one in which "folk music has...been merely a raw material used to build a large musical form of several movements which does not in the least originate either from folk songs or from folk dances...It seems to me that my possibilities of making use of folk themes have been almost completely exhausted in this score."<sup>155</sup> Stucky has argued that the Concerto, completed in 1954, is "the greatest achievement of those bleak days in Polish music," a reference to the years 1949-1954. In addition to its debt to the composer's earlier folkloristic works, hints of Lutosławski's later musical style also appear in the *Concerto*. These attributes have been described eloquently by Stucky: "the shift of dramatic weight later in the formal cycle; the role of register, timbre, and texture as formal determinants; the strong sense of music as drama; the cultivation of a 'blurred toccata' style...; the utter mastery of the orchestra and acute sensitivity to instrumental and harmonic

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<sup>153</sup> Bohdan Pilarski, "Witold Lutosławski odpowiada na pytania," in Pilarski, *Szkice o muzyce* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1969), p. 98, also in *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 7 (1958) p. 98; Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, p. 9.

<sup>154</sup> "Jedynie w *Koncertcie* na orkiestrę łączę materiał folklorystyczny z jakimś poważniejszym zamierzeniem artystycznym." Pilarski, "Witold Lutosławski odpowiada na pytania," in *Szkice o muzyce*.

<sup>155</sup> Ove Nordwall, ed., *Lutosławski* (Stockholm: Edition Wilhelm Hansen, 1968), pp. 33-34. The Polish version is in Stefan Jarociński, comp., *Witold Lutosławski. Materiały do monografii* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), p. 45.



color as expressive values; and above all the construction of large forms through the accretion of the smallest motivic building-blocks."<sup>156</sup>

Lutosławski described his feelings of turmoil and bewilderment concerning the restrictions of socialist realism in an interview first published in 1974:

"The guiding principles set out by the minister of culture on the formation of the assembly of the Composers' Union did come as a great shock to me. I broke down because I was afraid that the programme, outlined by the minister, would banish all my compositions to the drawer...

I had to make a living, I had to earn money. I never wrote anything that would have complied with the official requirements, but I was not averse to the idea of composing pieces for which there was a social need. (Children's songs, and so on.)

Later on, it was for those functional compositions of mine that the authorities decorated me because they mistakenly believed that I had composed them to obey the guiding principles. That was another shock because I realized that I was not writing innocent, indifferent little pieces, only to make a living, but was carrying on an artistic creative activity in the eyes of the outside world. That depressed me because I strongly opposed the official guidelines and regarded them as absurd...

It has always been mysterious to me what criteria could decide whether a work is formalistic or not."<sup>157</sup>

Lutosławski obviously disagreed with the restrictions placed on Polish composers and continued to compose in a manner that he felt retained his honor and dignity in the face of "absurd," yet vaguely stated restrictions.

At the Congress of Polish Culture held in Warsaw December 11-13, 1981, Lutosławski recalled the atmosphere that had pervaded Polish composers' lives during the first half of the 1950s:

"The return to the simple, open tonal system based on nineteenth-century language [was] the only path to the creation of music [that was] accessible to the broad masses and expressed our times in a realistic manner...

This treacherous, although primitive operation, which was a characteristic form of attack on the truth of art, had pitiful results. The

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<sup>156</sup> Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 48, 58.

<sup>157</sup> Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, pp. 8-9.

necessity of concealing one's most important works in the drawer, of excluding from performance one's output to date, the falseness of the general situation in the musical world, the persecution by critics of the least sign of individuality or stylistic or technical searches, everything was the cause of gloom and depression for many of us. This process of devastation of the social good was achieved on a broad scale...

The gloom, deprivation and lack of hope moreover accompanied the awareness of a complete isolation from the rest of the world, in which, after all, unusually important events for every creative artist were happening. The impossibility of participation in them and the complete ignorance of them became, in particular for the younger generation of composers, the source of complexes."<sup>158</sup>

Lutosławski did not cite any specific composers who relegated certain compositions 'to the drawer', but he likely at least had himself in mind, since he had withheld certain experimental sketches. It is also evident from this quote that not all composers enthusiastically supported the tenets of socialist realism; those who opposed the policy were distressed by the results of its implementation.

One composer whose dissatisfaction with the rigors of socialist realism provoked his emigration in July 1954 was Andrzej Panufnik. His *Rustic Symphony*, *Nocturne*, *Lullaby*, and *Symphony of Peace* had all been denounced and/or banned from performance in Poland. In his autobiography, he includes a vivid account of his attempts to deal with the new standards for composition that had been imposed at Łagów:

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<sup>158</sup> "Powrót do prostego, na systemie tonalnym opartego XIX-wiecznego języka, jest jedyną drogą do stworzenia muzyki,...dostępnej dla szerokich mas i wyrażającej w sposób realistyczny nasze czasy...Ta perfidna, choć prymitywna operacja, która była swoistą formą ataku na prawdziwość sztuki miała skutki opłakane. Konieczność chowania przez kompozytorów do szuflady najważniejszych dzieł, niedopuszczanie ich dotychczasowego dorobku do wykonania, fałszywość ogólnej sytuacji w świecie muzyczny, tępienie przez krytykę najmniejszych objawów indywidualności, czy poszukiwań stylowych i technicznych, wszystko to dla wielu z nas było powodem przygnębienia i psychicznej depresji. Był to dokonany na szeroką skalę proces dewastacji społecznego dobra...Przygnębieniu, zdeprimowaniu i beznadziejności towarzyszyła w dodatku świadomość zupełnego odcięcia się od reszty świata, w którym występowały przecież niezwykle dla każdego twórczego artysty ważne zjawiska. Niemożność uczestniczenia w nich i całkowita ich nieznanomość stawały się, w szczególności u młodszego pokolenia twórców, źródłem kompleksów." *Kongres kultury polskiej* [Proceedings from the Congress of Polish Culture, Warsaw, Poland, December 11-13, 1981] (Warsaw: np, 1982?), pp. 34-35.

"I felt that it would be artistically and morally dishonest to accept the basic principle that music was to be 'national in form and socialist in content'. My musical imagination turned somersaults at the thought of reflecting the 'struggle of the people victoriously marching towards socialism'; and I hardly found myself burning with eagerness to write music celebrating the 'eternal and unshaken Polish-Soviet friendship'!...I was simply not willing to write in the musical language of the nineteenth century, which was supposed to appeal to the ears of the vast majority of uneducated listeners.

However, if I rejected Socialist Realism, and persevered in composing abstract music, searching independently for my own spiritual and poetic inspiration, with my own ideas on structure and means of expression, I would be accused of 'writing for the élite', of 'striving desperately for originality'...I would be branded as a 'formalist', castigated as an 'enemy of the people', and probably accused of 'professing the art of the rotten West'...

At last I worked out a way to avoid either confrontation or capitulation...I decided to get myself to work as a restorer of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish music."<sup>159</sup>

To that end, Panufnik wrote two pieces--*Old Polish Suite* (1950) and *Concerto in Modo Antico* (1951)--that contained reconstructed fragments of early Polish music. Both were performed successfully in Poland; Panufnik says that they were also sent abroad by the Polish government to be performed.<sup>160</sup>

In a Paris speech published in 1955, Panufnik commented on the isolated life that composers in Poland led as a result of the implementation of socialist realism:

"One of the most dangerous sides of the system is the complete isolation of music--and art in general--in Poland. It seems to me sometimes that the slogans of 'socialist realism' are simply a pretext. Mainly [the government] wants the separation of Poland from Western culture. All of the slogans about an art that is 'national in form, socialist in content', while not suiting any reality and extracting only a climate of hypocrisy and depression among composers, are precisely a pretense under which this policy of isolation is

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<sup>159</sup> Panufnik, *Composing Myself*, pp. 190-91.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p. 211. The *Concerto* was published in 1952 in Poland as *Gothic Concerto* ("Koncert gotycki"). The National Philharmonic played *Old Polish Suite* during their tour of Romania in 1952 and *Symphony of Peace* in East Germany in 1951; Marian Cołębiowski, *Filharmonia w Warszawie 1901-1972* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), pp. 295, 298.

conducted. It is tragic for Polish composers. They are greatly interested in Western compositions, but the maintenance of any kind of contacts with them is impossible. Already, our young musicians do not even know the problems that they are ordered to reject. Not only are they ignorant of the dodecaphonists aligned with Schoenberg, but they do not even know the music of Stravinsky or the French 'Groupe des Six'. Of course all new Western experiences...are completely unknown."<sup>161</sup>

Panufnik's disparagement of the situation was repeated almost simultaneously by musicians still in Poland, as will be discussed below.

Tadeusz Baird, one of the young composers to whom Panufnik was probably referring in the above quote, had written a *Sinfonietta* in 1949 that was praised at the Łagów conference for its "charming simplicity and freshness."<sup>162</sup> He continued to compose in a style that proved acceptable for performance, although he later discounted several works written in the years immediately following that conference. For example, in the late 1970s or early 1980s he said of his *Piano Concerto*, written in 1949 after the completion of *Sinfonietta*, that "today I am ashamed of it."<sup>163</sup> His Second Symphony (1952) was condemned after its first performance in 1953 and subsequently withdrawn from performance by the composer, who has said that at that time he felt "offended by the world

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<sup>161</sup> "Jedną z najbardziej niebezpiecznych stron systemu jest całkowita izolacja muzyki - i sztuki w ogóle - w Polsce. Wydaje mi się czasami że hasła 'realizmu socjalistycznego' są po prostu pretekstem. Że chodzi właściwie głównie o odcięcie Polski od kultury zachodniej. Wszelkie slogany o sztuce 'narodowej w formie, socjalistycznej w treści' nie odpowiadające żadnej rzeczywistości i wytwarzające jedynie klimat hipokryzji i przygnębienia wśród twórców są właściwie płaszczykiem pod którym przeprowadza się tę politykę izolacji. Jest to dla twórców polskich tragiczne. Interesują się oni ogromnie twórczością zachodnią, ale utrzymanie jakiegokolwiek kontaktu jest niemożliwe. Nasi młodzi muzycy nie znają nie tylko dodekafonistów z Schoenbergiem, ale nawet muzyki Strawińskiego czy francuskiej 'Groupe des Six'. Oczywiście wszelkie nowe doświadczenia zachodnie...są całkiem nieznanne." Panufnik, "Życie muzyczne w dzisiejszej Polsce," p. 10.

<sup>162</sup> "prostotą wdzięczną świeżością." W. Rudziński, "Zjazd kompozytorów," p. 2.

<sup>163</sup> "Wstydę się go do dzisiaj." Tadeusz Baird and Izabella Grzenkovicz, *Rozmowy, szkice, refleksje* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1982), p. 29.

and people."<sup>164</sup> The composer's other works from the early 1950s, however, were praised--especially *Colas Breugnon*, written in 1951 and premiered the following year.<sup>165</sup> By 1953, Baird felt that he had reached an impasse, and for the next three years he essentially stopped composing, completing only one major work, his cantata *Ballad About a Soldier's Cup* of 1954, which he withdrew in 1956.<sup>166</sup> He later explained the feelings that he had after completing *Concerto for Orchestra* in 1953, for which he received an award from the Ministry of Culture and Art in 1955:<sup>167</sup>

"I composed *Concerto for Orchestra*, in which I tried to exhibit everything that I had managed to learn. I felt that it was not possible to write any further...It was small comfort that in my perplexity, in my hesitation, in my composer's disorientation, I was not alone; on the contrary, I found myself in abundant, though not always well-matched, company.

I began new works that I stopped after several pages...I tried to acquire (it wasn't easy at that time) and study scores of new composers who were already well known in the world, but except for their names were still unknown in Poland...A year and more passed...

I felt suddenly lost, as if closed in a large, empty, dark space, looking for the exit; I knew there must be one somewhere, but I continually could not find it."<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> "Obrażony na świat i ludzi." Ibid. The score of the Second Symphony has never been published in Poland: *Encyklopedia muzyczna* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1979-), s.v. "Tadeusz Baird."

<sup>165</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziebowska, *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 321; Tadeusz Marek, "'Grupa 49'. Próba charakterystyki," *Muzyka* 4, nos. 5-6 (1953): 54-55; Jerzy Broszkiewicz, *Spotkania z muzyką* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1956), pp. 255-56.

<sup>166</sup> Jeremy Lee Carper, "The Interplay of Musical and Dramatic Structures in 'Jutro,' an Opera by Tadeusz Baird," (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1983), p. 57.

<sup>167</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziebowska, *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 332.

<sup>168</sup> "Skomponowałem *Koncert na orkiestrę*, w którym starałem się z różnym skutkiem wystawić na pokaz wszystko, czego się zdążyłem nauczyć. I poczułem, że tak dalej już pisać nie można...Niewielką było pociechą, że w moich rozterkach, wahaniach, kompozytorskiej dezorientacji, nie byłem odosobniony, przeciwnie, znajdowałem się w liczonym choć nie zawsze dobranym towarzystwie. Rozpoczywałem nowe utwory, z których rezygnowałem po kilku stronach...Starałem się zdobywać (nie było to wtedy

Baird was experiencing a sharp reaction to the restrictions of socialist realism and the isolation from foreign artistic contacts in which he and others found themselves.

Włodzimierz Kotoński was another young composer who stopped writing music--in his case, from 1954 to 1957. He turned to pursuing an interest in folklore research as an "escape from composition."<sup>169</sup> He has said that while he was a student and in the years directly after that, Poland was almost entirely separated from what was happening elsewhere in the world in music.

Another critic of cultural policies in Poland was Zygmunt Mycielski, a composer and journalist who had been president of the Composers Union from November 1948-June 1950, the period encompassing the Łagów composers' conference. Although Mycielski may never have been a staunch supporter of socialist realism, for a time he had publicly approved of it.<sup>170</sup> By 1952, however, he had openly denounced the quality of compositions written in Poland since 1945: "Under the slogan of accessibility more than one creator smuggles trash, second-hand art...The needs are so great that many composers fill them hurriedly, according to a pattern in which elements of everything that already is are repeated, and only creative individuality is missing, without which a work is trivial,

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łatwe) i studiować partytury nowych, głośnych już w świecie, ale u nas wciąż jeszcze--poza nazwiskiem--nie znanych kompozytorów...Minał rok i więcej...Czułem się nadal zagubiony, jakby zamknięty w wielkim, pustym, ciemnym pomieszczeniu, szukając wyjścia, o którym wiedziałem, że gdzieś być musi, ale ja wciąż nie mogłem go znaleźć." Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 29.

<sup>169</sup> "ucieczką od kompozycji." Janusz Cegieła, *Szkice do autoportretu polskiej muzyki współczesnej* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), p. 88.

<sup>170</sup> Zygmunt Mycielski, "Przemówienie prezesa Zygmunta Mycielskiego," *Muzyka* 1, nos. 3-4 (1950): 17-24; Mycielski, "Na marginesie Festiwalu," pp. 12-21; Mycielski, "'Słowo o Stalinie'," pp. 5-14.

eclectic, and 'academic'.<sup>171</sup> Mycielski continued his criticisms in 1953. At a meeting of the Council of Culture and Art in January, he referred to what he felt were unnecessary restrictions on the compositions selected for performance in Poland, although he did not advocate totally that Polish composers write pieces in a formalist style: "Falseness will always kill every work. I speak of this to deal with the cowardice in relation to works which are accused of being formalist, cosmopolitan, postimpressionist or other 'isms.' Obviously, we should not propagate them, but--fighting them--we should not fear familiarizing ourselves with these works, since they in any case will disappear."<sup>172</sup> He expressed his dissatisfaction with the restrictions of socialist realism and the vagueness of its definition more emphatically in a speech delivered at a March 1953 meeting of the Polish Composers Union's Executive Board: "quotations [of folk music] do not decide the national character of a work; for in that case, Telemann's sonatas based on Polish themes would be Polish music."<sup>173</sup>

Stefan Kisielewski, a composer and music critic, was openly critical of the precepts of socialist realism throughout the period in which it was enforced in Polish music. In several

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<sup>171</sup> "Pod hasłem przystępności przemycana bywa przez niejednego twórcę makulatura, sztuka wtórna...Potrzeby są tak wielkie, że niejednen kompozytor wykonuje je pospiesznie, na wzorku, w którym powtarzane są elementy wszystkiego, co już było, a brak jest tylko indywidualności twórczej, bez której dzieło jest zdawkowe, eklektyczne i 'akademickie'." Zygmunt Mycielski, "Notatnik kompozytora," *Przegląd kulturalny* 1, no. 1 (September 3-10, 1952): 6, translated and quoted in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 325.

<sup>172</sup> "Kłamstwo zawsze każde dzieło zabije Mówię o tym, żeby uporać się z tchórzostwem w stosunku do dzieł, którym zarzuca się formalizm, kosmopolityzm, postimpresjonizm czy inne 'izmy'. Oczywiście nie powinniśmy ich propagować, lecz--zwalczając je--nie obawiajmy się zapoznawania z tymi dziełami, bo one i tak zginą." Zygmunt Mycielski, "Aktualne zagadnienia życia muzycznego," *Przegląd kulturalny* 2, no. 6 (February 12-18, 1953): 1, translated and quoted in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 327.

<sup>173</sup> "nie cytaty jakieś decydowały o przynależności narodowej dzieła, bo w takim razie sonaty Telemana oparte na polskich tematach byłyby muzyką polską." Zygmunt Mycielski, "O muzyce ludowej i stylu narodowym," *Przegląd kulturalny* 2, no. 12 (March 26-April 1, 1953): 6-7, translated and quoted in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 329.

articles written from 1945-1955 in the periodicals *Ruch muzyczny*, *Muzyka*, and *Twórczość*, as well as the Catholic publications *Znak* and *Tygodnik powszechny*, he attacked the use of the terms 'formalism' and 'realism' in music, saying that they had no right to exist in the musical vocabulary, since they could not be defined.<sup>174</sup> In 1951, he asked--and answered himself--a question about the definition of formalism: "What in music (I am speaking of pure music),...where contents and form determine the entity... do the terms 'formalism' and 'realism' indicate?! That there is a kind of concentrated attention on 'form'?--why, here a musical form is also the content, therefore Mozart, with his many flute concerti, would be a 'formalist'." Perhaps the emotional experiences of the listener are to be the content of a musical work? But after all, as experiences have indicated, each listener will have different feelings for the same work."<sup>175</sup> Kisielewski obviously thought the battle of realism versus formalism could not be fought objectively .

It is clear from the actions and comments of these nine composers and critics--Malawski, Witkomirski, Serocki, Lutosławski, Panufnik, Baird, Kotoński, Mycielski, and Kisielewski--that widespread dissatisfaction with the implementation of socialist realism in Poland existed. Not only were Malawski, Lutosławski, and Panufnik perplexed about the vague reasons given them for the condemnation of their music, but they also felt

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<sup>174</sup> See, for example, Stefan Kisielewski, "Czy w muzyce istnieje formalizm?" *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 22 (1948): 2-6; Kis, "Esperanto," *Tygodnik powszechny* 6, no. 34 (August 20, 1950): 12; and Kisiel, "Stara melodia," *Tygodnik powszechny* 7, no. 47 (November 25, 1951): 8. All are reprinted in Stefan Kisielewski, *Z muzyką przez lata* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957).

<sup>175</sup> "Co w muzyce (mówię o muzyce czystej),...gdzie treść i forma stanowią jedność...oznaczają terminy 'formalizm' i 'realizm'?! Że niby skupienie uwagi na 'formie'?--toć forma dźwiękowa jest tu zarazem treścią, a więc i Mozart z niejednego *Koncertu fletowego* byłby 'formalistą'. A może to przeżycie uczuciowe słuchaczy mają być treścią utworu muzycznego? Ale przecież, jak wykazały doświadczenia, każdy słuchacz doznaje przy tym samym utworze innych uczuć." Kisielewski, "Stara melodia," in *Z muzyką przez lata*, pp. 228-29.



pressured by the government to compose in a certain manner. In order to earn a living, they resorted to creating pieces that they hoped would satisfy the whims of the authorities, yet were of a suitable quality to allow them to retain their dignity as composers. The younger generation of composers--represented by Serocki, Baird, and Kotoński--were also affected by the repressive situation, but reacted differently than their elders. The latter two temporarily ceased their compositional activities, but Serocki aggressively decided to compose several pieces incorporating passages of atonality. He could not have known that they would be performed publicly, but like Lutosławski, he felt the need to continue experimenting with his compositional style.

#### The Polish "Thaw" 1953-1956

The loosening of the precepts of socialist realism that was to permit the establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival began in Poland in 1954. Stalin, whose 'cult of personality' had served as the enforcer of socialist realism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, died in March 1953. When it became evident that the new Soviet regime did not intend to exact the same demands as Stalin had, a gradual relaxation of the strict policies enacted in Poland began. Among the first admissions of defects in the enforced implementation, and indeed, even in the definition of socialist realism as it applied to the arts, was one made by the Minister of Culture and Art, Włodzimierz Sokorski. At the Eleventh Session of the Council of Culture and Art in April 1954<sup>176</sup> Sokorski acknowledged that "the relinquishing of innovations...[was] conducive...to trivial, unaesthetic works...Socialist realism is neither a definite artistic school, nor a definite style, nor a recipe."<sup>177</sup> Peter Raina, in his book

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<sup>176</sup> The Council of Culture and Art is part of the Ministry of Culture and Art.

<sup>177</sup> *Nowa kultura*, no. 17 (1954), quoted in Hiscocks, *Poland*, p. 175.

*Political Opposition in Poland 1954-1977*, has asserted that Sokorski would not have made such an important policy statement without the authorization of members of the Politburo, which indicates that problems with the policy of socialist realism in Poland were recognized at high levels of the Polish government.<sup>178</sup>

Further indictments against the excesses of Stalinism and socialist realism occurred after revelations about the corrupt workings of the Party hierarchy and the tyrannical methods of the secret police in Poland were made in the autumn of 1954 by Józef Światko, the Deputy Chief of the Ministry of Public Security, who had defected to the West in December 1953.<sup>179</sup> In the aftermath of these disclosures, which were broadcast to Poland over Radio Free Europe, even supporters of the Polish government began to criticize the regime publicly. One Communist Party member, Stefan Żółkiewski, wrote in the Party newspaper *Nowe drogi* in June 1955 that "the greatest mistake of our cultural policy has been the use of the easy and vulgar method of issuing orders. A serious mistake was cutting ourselves off from many parts of the world, from the progressive cultural achievements..."<sup>180</sup>

The Twentieth Party Congress in the Soviet Union, held in February 1956, brought Krushchev's speech denouncing the excesses of Stalinism. Bolesław Bierut--the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party--died in Moscow in March, a few days after

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<sup>178</sup> Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland 1954-1977* (London: Poets and Painters Press, 1978), p. 26.

<sup>179</sup> Hiscocks, *Poland*, p. 173.

<sup>180</sup> Quoted in Konrad Syrop, *Spring in October* (New York: Praeger, 1957), p. 27.

news of Krushchev's speech reached the Polish public.<sup>181</sup> The ideological "thaw"<sup>182</sup> that had begun in Poland in 1954 continued after the appointment of Bierut's successor, Edward Ochab. At the 19th Session of the Council of Culture and Art, held in Warsaw in March 1956, Jan Kott declared that for the past 15 years, the truth had been hidden from the public. Sokorski resigned in April 1956, as did Jakub Berman, the member of the Politburo in charge of cultural affairs and the Secret Police.<sup>183</sup> Demonstrations by striking workers in Poznań in late June 1956 turned into a riot. It became clear to the Party that its policies must be liberalized in order to avoid further revolts. The culmination of the struggle of workers and intellectuals came in October at the Eighth Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party in Warsaw. Ochab was removed as Party Chairman, to be replaced by Władysław Gomułka, a moderate who had been jailed during the Stalinist years, and the same man who had been ousted as Party chief in 1948.<sup>184</sup> This change of leadership marked the beginning of a short period of relative freedom for the country. The Plenum took place at the same time as the first Warsaw Autumn Festival.

### *The "Thaw" in Music*

The "thaw" in Polish music began in 1954, accompanying the political changes mentioned above. This liberalization was characterized by public admissions of problems in the implementation of socialist realism in music--some of which were cited in the previous

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid. p. 33.

<sup>182</sup> The term "thaw" is taken from the title of a novel by the Soviet author, Ilya Ehrenburg, published in May 1954: Hiscocks, *Poland*, p. 170. It is generally used by writers on Poland to describe the de-Stalinization of the country that occurred between 1953 and 1956.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 187; Syrop, *Spring*, p. 41.

<sup>184</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 2, p. 584.

section in reference to the arts in general, by criticisms of the quality of music produced in Poland since 1949, by the elimination in 1956 of the review sessions in which a composition's adherence to socialist realism was evaluated, and by the granting of governmental permission to hold an international contemporary music festival--the Warsaw Autumn Festival. Restraints on artistic contacts with the West were not lifted until 1956.

During the same month in which Sokorski acknowledged the presence of problems with the results of socialist realism in Polish arts--April 1954--Zofia Lissa admitted in a speech at the Polish Composers Union General Assembly that there had been "certain attempts at official 'commanding of creativity,' which today are being so strongly criticized by the Party, certain attempts to stress themes and even worse, styles. These attempts tried the patience of so many of our colleagues."<sup>185</sup> In the same speech, however, she still defended the role of socialist realism in Polish society:

"the resistance of our composers to the closing of their path to creative investigation was also understood [by the government], although at the same time the requirements of the Party were understood and necessary...Today the matter already looks differently. The composer's environment of People's Poland to a certain degree has matured to a new attitude, to an understanding of its role in a new society, although composition perhaps still does not fully reflect that understanding...In spite of the investigations of Polish composers, they can no longer go in the direction of 'atomic-electronic' music and the category of musical thought of that environment. Life has decided on other categories of their thoughts and another direction of their investigations."<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> "Pewne próby urzędowego 'komenderowania twórczością' tak mocno dziś przez Partię krytykowane, pewne próby nacisku tematycznego a--co gorsza--stylistycznego, które tak wiele krwi napsuły wielu naszym kolegom." Zofia Lissa, "Z perspektywy dziesięciolecia," *Muzyka* 5, nos. 7-8 (July-August 1954): 7.

<sup>186</sup> "Toteż zrozumiałym był opór naszych kompozytorów przeciw zamknięciu im drogi do poszukiwań twórczych, choć zarazem zrozumiałym i koniecznym był postulat Partii...Dziś sprawa wygląda już inaczej. Środowisko kompozytorskie Polski Ludowej w pewnym stopniu dojrzało do nowej postawy, do zrozumienia swojej roli w nowym społeczeństwie choć może jeszcze nie zawsze twórczość ich w pełni odczwierciedla to zrozumienie...Ale mimo to poszukiwania polskich kompozytorów już nie mogą pójść w stronę 'atomowo-elektronowej' muzyki i kategorii myślenia muzycznego tamtego

Although some of the rhetoric of socialist realism had changed to allow for self-criticism on the part of the authorities, Lissa still maintained that Polish composers should not pursue avant-garde techniques such as electronic music. She believed that socialist realism initially had been met with some resistance on the part of Polish composers, but that in 1954 that governmental policy was still valid and worthy of attainment. She thus upheld the basic tenets of socialist realism even as they were beginning to disintegrate in Poland.

More than a year later, in June 1955, another convention of the Polish Composers Union was held. For the first time since its establishment in 1952, the Union's *Informational Bulletin* noted that a discussion had been held at that convention about the need to increase the number of cultural exchanges of both materials and individuals with foreign countries. At the same event, Zygmunt Mycielski delivered a speech on the achievements of Polish music during the past ten years, 1945-1955, that sharply attacked the current state of music in Poland and showed his opposition to the results of socialist realism in Polish music:

"I must admit emphatically that unfortunately we live in a world that is closed--and practically speaking--isolated from the artistic life surrounding us. Even numerous official visits, congresses or conventions, which only a few, usually the same, artists and virtuosos attend, do not help here. That is not true artistic contact. Artistic contact means a concert life and concert programs on which one can find the best achievements of music from around the world; it means easy access to publications; an exchange of the finest soloists and conductors; trips for youth, who cannot be expected to be experienced critics or professionals if they are separated from what is happening in either the Soviet Union, People's Democracies, or Western countries. We are becoming a provincial land, in which we cannot imagine either how or what is being played or produced in other places. We do not know what the level of an orchestra, violinist, or oboist is, or how a

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środowiska. Życie zdecydowało o innych kategoriach ich myślenia i innym kierunki ich poszukiwań." Lissa, "Z perspektywy dziesięciolecia," *Muzyka* 5, nos. 7-8 (July-August 1954): 9.

conductor interprets a particular work. Here in Poland the majority of musicians are not acquainted with Prokofiev's symphony for cello and orchestra; we do not know all of Shostakovich's symphonies, or even the compositions of Janáček or Bartók, or the current works of Honegger, Stravinsky, Britten, or Messiaen...And what about tape recorders, tapes, and records? Not even the Composers Union has any, while in Czechoslovakia or East Germany they are found in the home of every composer.

Such is the state of things. Ignorance of what is happening in our field elsewhere increases every year; this is more than dangerous."<sup>187</sup>

Information about musical events in Western Europe began filtering into Poland in late 1954 or early 1955. Tadeusz Baird has reported that at about the beginning of 1955, someone brought scores and recordings of Berg's *Wozzeck* and *Lyric Suite* from abroad. After listening to these works at a session held at the Polish Composers Union headquarters in Warsaw, he described himself as "simultaneously delighted and frightened" at hearing music that he had only vaguely dreamed about.<sup>188</sup> He also said that until then, he

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<sup>187</sup> "Muszę z naciskiem tu stwierdzić, że żyjemy niestety w świecie zamkniętym i-- praktycznie rzecz biorąc--izolowanym od otaczającego nas życia artystycznego. Nie pomagają tu dosyć nawet liczne oficjalne podróże, kongresy czy zjazdy, na które wyjeżdża paru, zwykle zawsze tych samych artystów i wirtuozów. To nie jest prawdziwy kontakt artystyczny. Kontaktem artystycznym jest życie koncertowe, koncertowe programy, w których muszą się znajdować najwyższe osiągnięcia muzyki światowej, łatwy dostęp do wydawnictw, wymiana najlepszych solistów i dyrygentów, wyjazdy młodzieży, od której trudno wymagać, by wydawała wytrawnych krytyków i praktyków w swoim zawodzie, gdy jest ona oderwana od tego, co się dzieje w Związku Radzieckim, i w demokracjach ludowych, i w krajach zachodnich. Stajemy się zaściankiem, w którym nie możemy sobie wyobrazić ani jak, ani co się tam gra i produkuje. Nie wiemy, jaki tam jest poziom orkiestry, skrzypka, oboisty, czy jak interpretuje jakieś dzieło dyrygent. A u nas większość muzyków nie zna symfonii na wiolonczelę i orkiestrę Prokofiewa, nie zna wszystkich symfonii Szostakowicza, nie zna nawet twórczości Janacka czy Bartoka, ani aktualnej twórczości Honnegera, Strawieńskiego, Brittena, Messiena (sic)...A jak jest z magnetofonami, taśmami i wolnoobrotowymi płytami?--Nawet w Związku Kompozytorów ich nie ma, podczas gdy w Czechosłowacji czy w NRD znajdują się one w mieszkaniu każdego kompozytora. Taki stan rzeczy i rosnąca z każdym rokiem ignorancja tego, co się w naszej dziedzinie odbywa gdzie indziej, jest więcej niż niebezpiecznym stanem rzeczy." Zygmunt Mycielski, "O twórczości muzycznej dziesięciolecia," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 7-8 (July-August, 1955): 20-21.

<sup>188</sup> "zachwycony i jednocześnie przestraszony." Baird and Grzenkiewicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 30.

had read a little about Berg's *Lulu* and Violin Concerto, but the only score by that composer that he had seen was that of *Concerto for violin, piano and 13 instruments*, which had not proved to be of much interest.<sup>189</sup> Another composer, Witold Lutosławski, who had not been to the West since 1948, has said that he was astonished to discover in 1955, after Western music began to reach Poland, that "everybody was composing in the style of Webern."<sup>190</sup>

### *1955 Festival of Polish Music*

One of the highlights of the 1955 concert year was the second Festival of Polish Music, held from January 17 to May 20. Its purpose was similar, although not identical, to that of the 1951 Festival: to present a review of all types of contemporary Polish composition, with emphasis on pieces written in the past ten years. One of the most notable differences between this Festival and the one held in 1951 was the lack of references to socialist realism or formalism in either the published critiques of the later Festival or in the introductory essay to the concert guide prepared by the Repertoire Committee of the same event. Instead, the author of the essay, Tadeusz Marek, noted the importance of employing uninhibited public opinion to assess the achievements of the past decade, a practice that had been virtually disregarded during that time:

"bringing the musical achievements of the [past] ten years closer to the broad circles of the public will provoke, it is necessary to admit, numerous valuable opinions; it will create an atmosphere in which it will be easier to make critical calculations of the musical output of that period. The resonance

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, p. 10.

of the opinions of society will be one of the most essential and requisite factors of the correctness of the evaluation of the previous phase."<sup>191</sup>

Marek even hinted at the need to reevaluate certain compositions that may have been criticized unfairly in the past:

"There exists a natural and understood fact that every innovation causes particularly lively interest and polemics as well as evaluations that are not always consistent and accurate because of a lack of the necessary perspective. This also explains the phenomenon of return to the concert stage of certain compositions whose value has proven more long-lasting than the accuracy of an overly superficial, hasty evaluation, or the silencing of other works that possess an overly short-lived artistic topicality."<sup>192</sup>

In an article written after the end of the 1955 Festival, Tadeusz Baird described some of the problems encountered by the Polish Composers Union in its efforts to organize the Festival.<sup>193</sup> As will be shown later, many of these problems are similar to those encountered by the Composers Union a year later in their preparations for the first Warsaw Autumn Festival. The Presidium of the Executive Board of the Composers Union that was

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<sup>191</sup> "Zbliżenie osiągnięć muzycznych 10-lecia do szerokich kręgów odbiorców wywoła, jak należy przypuszczać, liczne wartościujące sądy; stworzy atmosferę, w której łatwiej będzie dokonać krytycznego podsumowania dorobku muzycznego tego okresu. Rezonans opinii społeczeństwa będzie jednym z najistotniejszych czynników warunkujących prawidłowość oceny przebytego etapu." Tadeusz Marek, "Na progu II Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej," *Przewodnik koncertowy. Bibliografia twórczości muzycznej 10-lecia*. (Warsaw: Centralna Komisja Repertuarowa II Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej, 1955), p. 8. This book is not a program guide for the second Festival of Polish Music. It contains biographical sketches and explanatory notes about compositions written between 1945 and 1955 by many of the composers of symphonic and chamber music who were represented in the Festival. As such, it contains notes on compositions that were not presented at the Festival—for example, information is included about Lutosławski's First Symphony, which was not performed in Poland between 1949 and 1959.

<sup>192</sup> Zrozumiąłem i naturalnym jest fakt, iż każde nowatorstwo wywołuje szczególnie żywe zainteresowanie, polemiki oraz nie zawsze zgodne i trafne z powodu braku koniecznej perspektywy, oceny. Tym tłumaczy się też zjawisko powrotu do życie koncertowego pewnych utworów, których wartość okazała się trwalszą od trafności zbyt powierzchownej, doraźnej oceny lub zamiknięcie innych, posiadających zbyt krótkotrwałą aktualność artystyczną." *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>193</sup> Tadeusz Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 9-10 (1955): 24-38.



elected in April 1954<sup>194</sup> accepted responsibility for the organization of the Festival and the selection of its repertory, with the understanding that all decisions would be submitted for approval to the full Executive Board. An Organizing Committee was to be appointed by the Ministry of Culture and Art, but Baird claims this committee was never set up. However, other organizations within the Ministry, such as the General Administration of Theatres, Operas and Philharmonias and the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals, did help with the Festival's preparation. Polish Radio broadcast some of the concerts. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs helped to arrange the arrival of guests from abroad, who were invited to observe the May concerts. Six people came from Eastern and Western Europe--specifically, one person each from Finland, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia.<sup>195</sup> Baird reported, however, that many invited guests--among them Nadia Boulanger--were unable to come because their invitations had been delivered too late by Polish diplomatic agencies abroad, a situation that would occur again during the planning of the Warsaw Autumn Festivals.

Repertoire committees were appointed by the Ministry of Culture and Art and the Polish Composers Union to choose the compositions to be performed at the Festival. No mention was made by Baird or other reviewers of the Festival of the existence of review sessions to determine the suitability of the work for performance.

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<sup>194</sup> "Związek Kompozytorów Polskich: Walne zjazdy ZKP," Manuscript, Polish Composers Union headquarters, Warsaw. The Presidium at that time consisted of the president, three vice-presidents, two secretaries, and a treasurer. Baird and Serocki were vice-presidents. Panufnik was the third vice-president, until his defection in July 1954. Before 1957, the Presidium fluctuated between one and three vice-presidents. The Presidium elected in June 1954 is the only one to have had two secretaries. Since 1957, two vice-presidents have always been selected. The Executive Board consists of the Presidium and four to eight other people.

<sup>195</sup> "Sawicka, "Życia Związku," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 7-8 (1955): 62.

The Presidium of the Composers Union had to compromise with the artistic directors and conductors of the philharmonic and radio orchestras that were involved in the Festival in order to finalize the program. The directors and conductors wanted to prepare only a limited number of pieces, which then would be repeated throughout the Festival, while the Composers Union wanted to present as many different works as possible. According to Baird, the Presidium had no authority to impose any of their choices for repertoire on the participating ensembles.

This Festival was similar to the one held in 1951 in that its concerts took place throughout the country, both professional and amateur ensembles from Poland were involved, and compositions by both living and deceased composers were presented. It differed from the first in its length (four months instead of eight), in its inclusion of concerts of dance and light music, and as mentioned earlier, in the presence of six foreign guests during the final month of concerts. Of the approximately 450 compositions performed during the Festival, 320 were written by 80 living Polish composers. Each of these numbers is larger than its counterpart from the 1951 Festival.<sup>196</sup> Many of the composers represented also had had works performed at the earlier Festival: Bacewicz, Baird, Lutosławski, Sikorski, Malawski, Mycielski, Maklakiewicz, Woytowicz, and others.<sup>197</sup> Among the orchestral compositions that received awards at the end of the 1955 Festival were Baird's Concerto for Orchestra, Lutosławski's Concerto for Orchestra, and Serocki's Symphony No. 1 and Trombone Concerto.<sup>198</sup> Serocki's pieces, as discussed

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<sup>196</sup> Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," pp. 24-33.

<sup>197</sup> "Kronika," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 7-8 (1955): 87-88; Sawicka, "Z życia Związku," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 5-6 (1955): 90-91; Jerzy Broszkiewicz, *Spotkania z muzyką* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1956), pp. 241-42.

<sup>198</sup> "Kronika," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 7-8 (1955): 88.

previously, contained atonal passages, which had been forbidden under the strictest interpretation of socialist realism in music.

As Tadeusz Baird pointed out, few reviewers commented specifically on any of the pieces performed at the event. Instead, they criticized, albeit in an indirect manner, the quality of musical life in the country. Most commentators charged that the Festival was too long, too many compositions of little value had been presented, attendance was low, and in general, it had not been an event of major importance.<sup>199</sup> Stefan Jarociński referred to the ideological "thaw" in progress in Poland during the Festival, saying that an uncertain attitude seemed to permeate the public and the composers. He judged that composers felt that their music was lost in this atmosphere, which was neither that of a holiday nor of normal daily life. In his view the Festival had not been an event of weighty significance.<sup>200</sup>

The works presented during the 1955-56 concert season in Poland, that immediately preceding the first Warsaw Autumn Festival, contrasted sharply with the repertoire of previous seasons. The programs of the National Philharmonic in Warsaw were noticeably different, including works by Martinu, Gershwin, Honegger, Hindemith, Britten, and Stravinsky (*Symphony of Psalms* on March 23, 1956), and Berg (*Violin Concerto*).<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Jan Weber, "Warszawska wiosna w Filharmonii," *Życie Warszawy* 12, no. 114 (May 14, 1955): 6, and Stefan Jarociński, "Impresja sceptyczne," *Przegląd kulturalny* 4, no. 22 (June 2-8, 1955): 1, cited in Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 387-88; Broszkiewicz, *Spotkania z muzyką*, p. 265; Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," p. 34; Bohdan Pilarski, "O II Festiwalu Współczesnej Muzyki Polskiej - 1955," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 20 (1955), reprinted in Pilarski, *Szkice o muzyce*, pp. 237-40; "Przegląd prasy," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 9-10 (1955): 94-106.

<sup>200</sup> Jarociński, "Impresje sceptyczne," quoted in "Przegląd prasy," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 9-10 (1955): 96.

<sup>201</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," p. 396; Stefan Kisielewski, "'Symfonia Psalmów' Strawińskiego," reprint of 1956 article in *Z muzyką przez lata*, p. 155; Lucjan Kydryński, "Bilans i perspektywy," *Życie literackie* 6, no. 38 (September 16, 1956): 8.

Although one critic, Lucjan Kydryński, protested that what the Polish public accepted as new repertoire was already considered to be classics abroad,<sup>202</sup> the presentation of these works in Poland marked a radical change in the attitude of the authorities, who were empowered to ban performances that they deemed inappropriate. These concerts thus proved to be among the first tangible steps taken to end the period of socialist realism in Polish music.

No review sessions that evaluated compositions for their adherence to socialist realist guidelines were reported in 1955 or 1956 in the Polish press. As mentioned earlier, none had been held for the 1955 Festival of Polish Music. Travel to non-Socialist countries also increased dramatically in 1956. In January, Lutosławski and Sikorski went to Salzburg for the inauguration of the Mozart Year, and during the remainder of the year, Baird, Serocki, Dobrowolski, Turski, Bacewicz, Skrowaczewski, and Witkomirski traveled to festivals and concerts in France, Switzerland, Scotland, and Israel. Although none of the events attended by these composers were devoted to contemporary music, it is reasonable to assume that they held discussions with foreign musicians about such music during their trips.<sup>203</sup>

It is important to emphasize that the situation in which Polish composers found themselves by the end of 1956 differed from the experiences of Soviet composers during the same period. Criticisms of the Stalinist version of socialist realism in music were made in the Soviet press after 1953 by Shostakovich and Khachaturian, among others, but although the Central Committee of the Communist Party admitted in 1958 that mistakes had been made in implementing that policy, the Soviet authorities have never completely

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<sup>202</sup> Kydryński, "Bilans i perspektywy," p. 8.

<sup>203</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (1956); Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dzieńbowska, *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 335-37.

expunged their opposition to formalism in music.<sup>204</sup> In the Soviet Union, music was considered to be one of the "ideological arts," while in Poland after about 1955 the government did not think that the same field would significantly affect the general public's overall perception of its social condition. Thus, music was treated more leniently in Poland than it was in the Soviet Union.

#### *Establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival*

The initiative to organize an international festival of contemporary music was taken by the members of the Presidium of the Composers Union who were in office from April 1954 to June 1955. Although various Polish composers and music critics have cited dates ranging from the beginning of the 1950s to early 1956 as the time when the idea of the Warsaw Autumn Festival was originally discussed,<sup>205</sup> many of these same people also have stated that the source of the idea lay in the Presidium that consisted of Kazimierz Sikorski as president; Tadeusz Baird and Kazimierz Serocki as vice-presidents; Andrzej Dobrowolski and Włodzimierz Kotoński as secretaries, and Stefan Jarociński as treasurer. This Presidium was elected in April 1954 and held office until June 1955.<sup>206</sup> These men,

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<sup>204</sup> "Declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Amending and Cancelling the Resolution of 10 February 1948 and Restoring the Dignity and Integrity of Soviet Composers Attacked in That Resolution," in Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, pp. 1376-77; Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 271-352, passim. See Chapter VI for additional information on Soviet music in the late 1950s.

<sup>205</sup> Jerzy Młodziejowski, "Warszawska Jesień," *Express Poznański*, no. 297 (December 15, 1955); Zieliński, *O twórczości Kazimierza Serockiego*, p. 45; Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 100; Cegiełka, *Szkice*, pp. 20-22; Monika Kubik, "Prof. Kazimierz Sikorski: Pochłoneła mnie pedagogika," *Express wieczorny*, no. 82 (April 28, 1986): 5; Interview with Kazimierz Sikorski, May 10, 1986, Warsaw; Interview with Józef Patkowski, January 21, 1986, Warsaw; Krzysztof Meyer, "Wokół pierwszych festiwali," *Ruch muzyczny* 31, no. 19 (September 13, 1987): 3.

<sup>206</sup> Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 100; Cegiełka, *Szkice*, pp. 20-22; Anna Kornacka, "Z muzyką od kolebki. Z prof. Kazimierzem Sikorskim rozmawia Anna

together with the remainder of the Executive Board of the Union, had also been responsible for the organization of the 1955 Festival of Polish Music.<sup>207</sup> Four of them--Baird, Dobrowolski, Kotoński, and Serocki--were young composers between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-three in 1954. Three of the four--all but Serocki--had been educated entirely in post-war Poland, and thus had had little opportunity to hear Western twentieth-century music. Baird and Kotoński were also two of the composers whose dissatisfaction with socialist realism was discussed earlier. Moreover, Serocki had not supported the call to reject "Western" compositional techniques, a fact that is proven by his incorporation of atonal passages into some of his pieces from the early 1950s.

Baird and Serocki have often been cited as the members of the Presidium who originally developed the idea for the international festival.<sup>208</sup> This attribution was made in

Kornacka," *Express wieczorny*, no. 218 (November 8-10, 1985): 5; Interview with Patkowski, 1986; Kubik, "Prof. Kazimierz Sikorski," p. 5; Interview with Sikorski, 1986. Sikorski, in his interviews with this author and Kubik, included Bacewicz as part of that Presidium. She was not a member of the Presidium or the Executive Board that included Sikorski, Baird, Serocki, Dobrowolski, Kotoński, and Jarociński: "Związek Kompozytorów Polskich: Walne zjazdy ZKP."

<sup>207</sup> The remaining members of the Executive Board were Henryk Czyż, Hieronim Feicht, Zofia Lissa, Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, and Stanisław Skrowaczewski. Lissa, Feicht, and Jarociński were musicologists; all other members were composers.

<sup>208</sup> Stefan Sledziński, "Dix 'Automnes de Varsovie'," *X Festival de Musique Contemporaine Automne de Varsovie. Varsovie 17-25 septembre 1966* (Warsaw, 1966), p. 5; J. G., "Warsaw Autumn," *Polish Perspectives* 11, nos. 8-9 (1968): 48; Michalski, "Nowa muzyka," p. 165; Stucky, *Lutosławski*, p. 62; Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Twenty-Five Years of the 'Warsaw Autumn' Festival," *Music in Poland* 38, nos. 1-2 (1983): 20; Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Jesień Warszawskie," Typewritten manuscript, Kaczyński's personal collection, Warsaw; Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Warszawska Jesień," Typewritten manuscript, Kaczyński's personal collection, Warsaw; Zieliński, *O twórczości Kazimierza Serockiego*, p. 45; "Kazimierza Serockiego wspominają," *Ruch muzyczny* 25, no. 17 (1981): 3-5; Krzysztof Lisicki, *Szkice o Krzysztofie Pendereckim* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy "PAX", 1973), p. 35; Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 96.

print as early as November 1956, in an article by Witold Rudziński, one of the two vice-presidents of the Composers Union from June 1955 to March 1957.<sup>209</sup> Neither Baird nor Serocki ever took credit for the idea, and Baird has named the Presidium as its source.<sup>210</sup> It is perhaps not as important to identify specifically the person or persons who first thought of developing the festival as it is to discover what purpose the event was to fulfill. Previous quotes by Baird, Lutosławski, Panufnik, and others cited in this study have described the feelings of isolation and despair that some Polish composers experienced during the years of socialist realism in their country. According to additional comments made in recent years by Lutosławski, Baird, Kotoński, and Dobrowolski, the members of the 1954-1955 Presidium realized that because of the years of restricted contact with foreign music--which had begun at the beginning of World War II--Polish music in the mid-1950s was in danger of becoming stagnant. At that time, the Polish public and, most importantly, the younger composers who had been educated in postwar Poland, knew little about the compositions of Schönberg, Berg, Webern, Stravinsky, or Bartók, all of whom had been active before the start of World War II. Of post-war music, their knowledge was equally scanty; they were not acquainted with the works of such composers as Boulez, Messiaen, Stockhausen, or Cage.<sup>211</sup> Dobrowolski perhaps best described the effects of years of isolation in an article published in 1975:

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<sup>209</sup> Witold Rudziński, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 263 (November 2, 1956).

<sup>210</sup> Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," pp. 24, 38; Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 100.

<sup>211</sup> Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, pp. 98-99; Cegiełka, *Szkice* pp. 20-22, 88; Andrzej Dobrowolski, "Wpływ festiwalu 'Warszawska Jesień' na rozwój życia muzycznego w Polsce," *Muzyka* 20, no. 3 (1975): 58; Tadeusz Kaczyński, *Rozmowy z Witoldem Lutosławskim* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1972): 102-103.

"As a result of many years of restricted international contact, of a lack of information about what was presently happening in music in the world, Polish music found itself at an impasse [after the 1955 Festival of Polish Music]. To be sure we had many comprehensively well-educated composers, who had mastered their craft excellently, but who moved, however, in the sphere of stylistic norms that had fallen into oblivion long ago. They used general formulas, falling now and then into stereotypes. In our compositions there was almost nothing new; we were followers, a musical province. It suffices to realize that at the time when Stockhausen wrote his *Kontrapunkt* and *Klavierstücke*, and Boulez his *Le marteau sans maître*, when in the studios of Paris, Cologne, and Milan, electronic music and *musique concrète* was emerging, in Poland new music operated continually with a language from the periphery of tonality. The dodecaphonic technique was known very superficially, and practically only in theory, and a departure from the thematic-motivic manner of thought seemed entirely impossible....Our public hardly knew any works of Schönberg and Webern, and performances of such classics as Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* or *Symphony of Psalms* or Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta* were rarely heard."<sup>212</sup>

As Baird, Patkowski, and Sikorski have explained since, the members of the Composers Union's Presidium, frustrated by the constraints of socialist realism, desired to eliminate this state of isolation and backwardness and to have their music performed for an international audience. These ambitions led to their decision to attempt to organize an international contemporary music festival in Warsaw.<sup>213</sup> Patkowski has stated candidly that

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<sup>212</sup> "Na skutek wieloletniego ograniczenia kontaktów z zagranicą, braku informacji o tym, co się aktualnie na świecie w twórczości muzycznej dzieje, muzyka polska znalazła się w impasie. Mieliśmy co prawda wielu wszechstronnie wykształconych kompozytorów, mających doskonale opanowane rzemiosło, obracali się oni jednakże w kręgu dawno przebrzmiałych norm stylistycznych, operowali utartymi formułkami, popadając nierzadko w szablon. W twórczości naszej nie było prawie nic nowego, byliśmy epigonami, muzyczną prowincją. Wystarczy uświadomić sobie, że w czasie, kiedy Stockhausen tworzył swoje *Kontrapunkt* i *Klavierstücke*, a Boulez *Le marteaux sans maître* [sic], w czasie, gdy w studiach Paryża, Kolonii i Mediolanu powstawały utwory muzyki elektronicznej i konkretnej, w Polsce nowa muzyka operowała ciągle jeszcze językiem z peryferii tonalności, technika dodekafoniczna znana była bardzo pobieżnie, i to prawie wyłącznie w teorii, a odejście od tematyczno-motywicznego sposobu myślenia wydawało się całkowicie niemożliwe...Publiczności naszej nie znane były niemal żadne utwory Schönberga i Weberna, a wykonania takich klasycznych pozycji jak *Święto Wiosny*, *Symfonia psalmów* Strawińskiego czy *Muzyka na instrumenty strunowe, perkusję i celestę* Bartoka należały do rzadkości." Dobrowolski, "Wpływ festiwali," p. 58.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., pp. 58-59; Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, pp. 99-100; Interview with Sikorski, 1986; Interview with Patkowski, 1986.



composers in the mid-1950s wanted to organize the Warsaw Autumn Festival because they were tired of the pompous, propagandistic style of the Festivals of Music in 1951 and 1955, and wished to break the pattern of provincialism in Polish music.<sup>214</sup> Baird asserted in a more formal context that "a continuation of this period of stagnation could have badly threatened Polish music: art can indeed exist (or rather vegetate), but it cannot develop without a flow of information, without new impulses, without mutual influences, without confrontations, otherwise it is threatened by inevitable sterility and decay. Thus, it was an urgent issue, in the name of the very preservation of Polish music, to counteract the existing situation."<sup>215</sup> The goal of the Composers Union, as announced officially in June 1955, was to create a festival through which Polish listeners could become acquainted with the styles of music prevalent in Europe and foreign visitors could hear the current compositions of Polish composers. In this way, Polish composers and the rest of Polish society would be able to break out of the isolation from foreign music in which they had been entrapped.<sup>216</sup> A manuscript version of an informational bulletin about the Warsaw Autumn Festival prepared by the Composers Union in 1959 also verified that the Festival had been officially established at the 1955 Composers Union Convention in June after the Union's membership realized that contemporary Polish music could not become fully developed if the lack of contact with foreign musical activities continued.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Interview with Patkowski, 1986.

<sup>215</sup> Baird and Grzenkowski, *Rozmowy*, pp. 98-99, English translation taken from Tadeusz Baird, "The Beginnings of 'Warsaw Autumn'," *Polish Music* 16, nos. 3-4 (1981): 10.

<sup>216</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September, 1955); Sawicka, "Z Życia Związku," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 7-8 (1955): 65-66.

<sup>217</sup> "Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes of Committee Meetings, International Festival of Contemporary Music, 1959, Polish Composers Union, Warsaw.

According to Baird, the Presidium made the decision to attempt to organize the international festival at the beginning of its term in office--that is, perhaps in the late spring or summer of 1954,<sup>218</sup> a time when the ideological restraints of socialist realism were being criticized publicly, but had not yet been lifted. The Presidium's proposal to hold this international contemporary music festival was made informally at first--that is, it was not presented immediately to the Composers Union for a vote. Eventually, the idea was presented to the Ministry of Culture and Art, whose approval was necessary if the event was to occur. Kazimierz Sikorski, the president of the Composers Union at that time, has explained that after the idea for the festival was proposed, via letters, to the Ministry, the matter "laid there a rather long time."<sup>219</sup> Sikorski was not a member of the Polish United Workers Party; he has stated that he did not personally have good "connections" with anyone who could hasten the decision.<sup>220</sup> The initial response of the Ministry of Culture and Art was that there was no money or time to use in the organization of such a festival. Sikorski, however, was able to use his position as president of the Composers Union to gain the Ministry's approval. He was invited at some unspecified time to a function at Belvedere Palace in Warsaw, the location of the Polish Council of State. At that affair he was able to talk for a few minutes with Bolesław Bierut, the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party. He described to Bierut the concept of holding a permanent contemporary music festival in Warsaw. The Secretary's response, according to Sikorski, was "it is interesting, such a comparison between East and West. They can show what they

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<sup>218</sup> Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 100.

<sup>219</sup> "Dosyć długo tam leżał." Kornacka, "Z muzyką od kolebki," p. 5.

<sup>220</sup> "stosunki." Kubik, "Pochłoneła mnie pedagogika," p. 5.

have, and we can show what we have."<sup>221</sup> The next day, the Minister of Culture and Art, Włodzimierz Sokorski, called Sikorski and told him that the project had been approved. According to Sikorski, the meeting had taken place before the start of the second Festival of Polish Music in January 1955, and "a couple of years passed" before the first Warsaw Autumn Festival took place.<sup>222</sup> This would place the probable time of the meeting in autumn 1954, during the period in Poland in which the tenets of socialist realism had just begun to be relaxed. This date is logical in light of Baird's claim that the original idea was approved by the members of the Presidium at the beginning of their term in office.

Although the precise dates of the origination of the idea for the festival and the approval by the Ministry of Culture and Art cannot be confirmed in other sources, it is true that by June 1955, when the Composers Union officially approved the establishment of the festival, some aspects about the first event, scheduled for 1956, had already been arranged. It is highly unlikely that these details, which will be discussed below, would have been provided if the project had not already been sanctioned by the Ministry. Hence, such approval must have been granted by the spring of 1955.

The informational bulletin on the Warsaw Autumn Festival mentioned earlier also confirms that the Ministry of Culture and Art did not initially approve the project proposed by the Composers Union. In this communiqué, Józef Cyrankiewicz, the Prime Minister of Poland from 1954-1970 and also the president of the Council of Ministers, is credited with supporting the idea and helping to obtain its official approval.<sup>223</sup> After the plenary sessions

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<sup>221</sup> "To ciekawa, taka konfrontacja -- wschód-zachód. One pokażą, co oni mają, a my pokażemy, co my mamy." Interview with Sikorski, 1986.

<sup>222</sup> "Minęło para lat." Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> "Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes of Committee Meetings, 1959.

held by the Executive Board of the Composers Union in June 1955, the plan for the Festival as it was developed at that point in time was sent to Cyrankiewicz. As reported in the Composers Union's *Information Bulletin*, the Presidium of the Council was expected to give their approval in the near future.<sup>224</sup> It is evident from these statements and those by Sikorski that Bierut and Cyrankiewicz, who held the two most powerful positions in Poland's government, were the crucial voices in the government's decision to approve the Composers Union's project.

In his speech given at the June 1955 Composers Union convention, Tadeusz Baird had proposed that the contemporary music festival be held annually, be called the "Warsaw Musical Autumn," last for ten to fourteen days, take place perhaps during the second half of September, encompass compositions written in the past year, and include foreign performers. Most of these details proved to be accurate about the first such festival, held in October 1956. Baird also stated that the idea for such a festival had already been discussed with the Ministry of Culture and Art; the Presidium saw "the possibility of realizing this project."<sup>225</sup> Indeed, the project had already been approved by the Ministry.

Two plenary sessions of the Executive Board of the Composers Union were held immediately following the Union's convention, on June 6 and June 13, 1955. The members of this Executive Board were different than the one that had been in office since April 1954. The Presidium retained only two members from the one that had developed the idea of what would eventually become known as the Warsaw Autumn Festival--Sikorski as president and Dobrowolski as secretary. The new members of the Presidium were Grażyna

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<sup>224</sup> *Biuletyn Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September 1955). This author has no information on the Presidium's decision, but it should be assumed that it approved the project for the Festival, since preparations for it continued to be made.

<sup>225</sup> "możliwości zrealizowania tego projektu." Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," p. 38.

Bacewicz, Witold Rudziński, and Hieronim Feicht, vice-presidents, and Tadeusz Szeligowski, treasurer. The remainder of the Executive Board included Kazimierz Jurdziński, Artur Malawski, Jerzy Młodziejowski, Stanisław Skrowaczewski, Józef Chomiński and Włodzimierz Kotoński.<sup>226</sup>

Surprisingly, Baird and Serocki were not re-elected to the Executive Board, even though, according to Sawicka's report on the 1955 Composers Union's convention, the decision to hold the Festival had been made before the new Board had been elected. As two of the principal organizers of the 1955 Festival of Polish Music and the probable initiators of the concept of the international contemporary music festival, these two composers would seem from today's perspective to have been obvious choices for continued membership on the Board, if only so that they could offer their expertise acquired during the organization of the 1955 Festival.<sup>227</sup> Although the names of these two composers do not appear on any of the available correspondence or reports of committee meetings concerning the 1956 festival, they doubtless were intimately, if informally, involved in its planning. Baird admitted that he had been one of the organizers of the first Warsaw Autumn Festival when he said that "We spent entire days at the headquarters of the [Composers] Union [planning that Festival]."<sup>228</sup> Tadeusz Kaczyński, a music critic and observer of the Polish contemporary music scene since the 1950s, has also affirmed that Serocki was the

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<sup>226</sup> "Związek Kompozytorów Polskich. Walne zjazdy ZKP"; Sawicka, "Z Życia Związku," *Muzyka* 6, nos. 7-8 (1955): 67.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>228</sup> "Spędzaliśmy w siedzibie Związku całe dnie." Baird and Grzenkiewicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 100.

Festival's "'number one' director, faithful to the 'Autumn' from its birth, and even earlier."<sup>229</sup>

It was announced at the end of the June 1955 plenary sessions that three foreign orchestras and two chamber ensembles were expected to participate in the 1956 Festival. Plans had progressed well enough that these groups could be named: the Leningrad Philharmonic, the "Czechoslovakian Philharmonic," either the London Philharmonic or the Vienna Symphony, the Tátrai string quartet from Hungary, and a French chamber ensemble.<sup>230</sup> It is unlikely that the names of specific ensembles expected to participate in the Festival would have been printed in the Polish Composers Union's *Information Bulletin* unless at least preliminary approval for the groups' involvement had been received from the Ministry of Culture and Art.

Three other music festivals that presented an international array of contemporary music existed in Europe in the mid-1950s: the festivals of the International Society of Contemporary Music, the Donaueschingen Days of Contemporary Music, and the Prague Spring Festival. All were held annually. The Prague festival was attended by several Polish composers and Ministry of Culture and Art administrators in 1951, 1953, and 1954. Among these composers were Baird, who had attended the 1951 festival, and Kotoński,

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<sup>229</sup> "Reżyserem 'numer jeden', wiernym 'Jesieni' od samych jej narodzin, a nawet wcześniej." Kaczyński, "Jesienie Warszawskie."

<sup>230</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September 1955). The exact names of the foreign orchestras vary from one citation to another in the *Bulletin* and in correspondence, but it is clear from the context that the same ensemble is being discussed each time. For example, the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic referred to here is actually the State Philharmonic in Brno, Czechoslovakia, which performed at the Festival. There is no indication that the "real" Czechoslovakian Philharmonic was originally anticipated.

who had gone in 1953.<sup>231</sup> This festival, which presents works from the twentieth century and earlier,<sup>232</sup> may have been a factor in the decision by Polish composers to establish the Warsaw Autumn Festival, at least in their choice of a name; indeed, Baird claimed that the Polish festival would be based on principles similar to the Prague Spring, but did not give any details on these similarities.<sup>233</sup> Kaczyński, in his review of the first twenty-five years of the Warsaw Autumn Festival, contended that the idea for the name of the Polish event was taken from the Prague Spring, but that in concept, the two spectacles were dissimilar, since contemporary music was not a major part of the Czechoslovakian festival.<sup>234</sup> Baird's review of the 1951 Festival makes no mention of compositions by twentieth-century Western European composers; information on the programs for the later festivals is not available to this author.

The Donaueschingen festival, which in the 1950s promoted works written in a post-Webernesque style,<sup>235</sup> was known to Polish composers in 1956 and probably earlier, although they did not attend one during the 1950s.<sup>236</sup> They were also aware of the ISCM festivals, but had not observed one since 1948, and have never cited them as being a direct

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<sup>231</sup> Jerzy Jasiński, "Praska Wiosna 1951 r.," *Muzyka* 2, no. 8 (1951): 31-35; Tadeusz Baird, "Wrażenia z 'Praskiej Wiosny 1951'," *Muzyka* 2, no. 8 (1951): 35-38; *Biuletyn Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (1953-1954).

<sup>232</sup> Carol Price Rabin, *Music Festivals in Europe and Britain* (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire Traveller Press, 1980), p. 35.

<sup>233</sup> Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," p. 38.

<sup>234</sup> Kaczyński and Zborski, *Warszawska Jesień*, p. 4. An English translation of this introductory essay is in a loose pamphlet supplied with the book.

<sup>235</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Donaueschingen."

<sup>236</sup> Zygmunt Mycielski, "Kryteria i gusty," *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 45 (November 8-14, 1956): 6; Zdzisław Sierpiński, "Oszczędność - to znaczy także rozsądek," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 264 (November 3, 1956).

influence on their decision to create a contemporary music festival in Poland. The members of the Composers Union's Presidium were interested primarily in improving the opportunities for themselves, other Polish composers and musicians, and the Polish public to learn about contemporary events in music; they believed that the organization of an international festival in Poland would be the best way to provide these possibilities.

### Conclusions

The first Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music, which eventually became the name of the festival proposed by the Composers Union, would not have taken place if the political and ideological "thaw" had not occurred. As Kaczyński has stated, an international contemporary music festival in Warsaw could have been contemplated, but not realized until that "thaw" happened in Poland.<sup>237</sup> If the tenets of socialist realism had still been firmly in place at the end of 1954, it is unlikely that the project would have approved. It is difficult to say whether the Festival would have been cancelled if events had gone differently in Poland during the period between the Ministry of Culture and Art's approval of the project, which came in late 1954 or early 1955, and October 1956. The fact is that the Polish government did agree to incorporate changes in policy which allowed composers to become acquainted with musical trends in other countries. They also agreed to cease the review sessions for which composers were expected to produce ideologically correct compositions. These changes led to the permissible composition of pieces using techniques that once would have been banned from performance in Poland. Such compositions were not heard in large numbers in Poland until after the first Warsaw Autumn Festival.

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<sup>237</sup> Kaczyński, "Jesień Warszawskie," p. 3.



The establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival can be attributed to three things: the loosening of the ideological reins held by the Polish government in the mid-1950s, the opposition of certain Polish composers to the restrictions of socialist realism, and the determination of these composers to amend the inadequacies that they perceived in Polish musical life. The seventeen years before the first Warsaw Autumn Festival for almost all Polish composers constituted a period of isolation from knowledge of musical events in many other countries. The domestic concert scene rarely included compositions by twentieth-century Western composers, and for over six years, from 1949 to approximately 1955, Polish composers were pressured to adhere to a musical language that was radically different from that used by many contemporary composers in Western Europe and the United States. The death of Stalin permitted the voices of critics of these tactics to be heard and their reversal to occur.

The approval granted by the government to hold the first international contemporary music festival marked a major step in the dissolution of the doctrine of socialist realism as it was practiced in Poland. Nevertheless, the installation, preservation, and subsequent relaxation of the dictates of socialist realism in Polish music were dependent to a great degree on events in the Soviet Union. Indeed, permission for the creation of the Warsaw Autumn Festival would not have been granted if an ideological "thaw" had not occurred in the Soviet Union as well as in Poland. But, the first Warsaw Autumn Festival was not a consequence of the changes enacted at the climactic Plenum held in Poland in October 1956--it had been planned earlier than that, during the course of the "thaw," and the first Festival occurred during that Plenum.

The occurrence of the Festivals of Polish Music in 1951 and 1955 helped to establish a tradition of festivals in Poland that has continued to this day. Part of the purpose of those two festivals was to show the most recent achievements of Polish composers to the Polish

public. Although the scope of the Warsaw Autumn Festival is broader than that of the Festivals of Polish Music, that same aim still exists.

The decision to attempt to establish the Festival was strictly a Polish initiative. It was Polish composers who were concerned about the effects on themselves and the rest of Polish society of the isolation from Western artistic contacts and the restrictions on compositional styles. Although in the eyes of the government many Polish composers did comply with the requirements of socialist realism, they did not all approve of that policy. The opposition of these composers to the precepts of socialist realism as well as their conviction that Polish musicians must learn what had happened in the field of music in the past fifteen or more years led them to the desire to create an international festival of contemporary music.

**PART II**  
**THE 1956 WARSAW AUTUMN FESTIVAL**

## CHAPTER III

### PREPARATIONS

Preparations for the first Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music took place in 1955 and 1956, during the course of the Polish "thaw" described in the previous chapter. This first Festival must be considered a pivotal event, first, because its very existence was due to the "thaw" in the Soviet Union and Poland; and second, because none of its organizers--the Polish Composers Union and the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation within the Ministry of Culture and Art, and the Festival's Organizing Committee--had ever produced in post-war Poland an international event whose focus was the music itself.<sup>1</sup>

The two areas of primary concern to the organizers were the determination of the precise goals of the Festival and the selection of performers and repertoire. In both areas, a certain amount of disorder among the organizers led to shortcomings in their achievements.

#### Goals

As described in the previous chapter, the goals of the first International Festival of Contemporary Music had been determined initially by the members of the 1954-1955 Polish Composers Union's Presidium: As a means of rejuvenating artistic life in Poland the Presidium wished to renew contacts with other countries and create an opportunity for

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<sup>1</sup> The specific roles of these three entities will be discussed below.

Polish compositions to be performed in an international setting. However, several parameters needed to be defined more clearly--namely, the range of countries to be represented by composers at the Festival, the age limitations of the term "contemporary," and the restrictions, if any, on the genres or styles of music to be performed.

The earliest declarations of intent about the Festival provided different information regarding its international character than did later statements. As described in the previous chapter, Włodzimierz Sokorski had authorized the establishment of the Festival in part because he favored a comparison of the contemporary music of the East (implying the East Bloc: the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including Poland) with that of the West. According to available information, he did not specify what countries would be considered part of "the West." However, as also noted in Chapter II, the first public statement concerning the Festival--that emanating from the June 4-6, 1955 General Assembly of the Composers Union--noted the establishment of a international contemporary music festival dedicated to a review of European music, which implied that both Eastern and Western sectors of that continent would be represented, but did not refer specifically to a comparison of the two regions.

Whether Baird and Serocki and the remainder of the Presidium had included the comparison of music from East and West in their initial conception of the Festival is unknown, but it certainly was part of the discussion that occurred between Sikorski and Sokorski in 1954 or early 1955. However, no one has ever claimed that the inclusion of music from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was a point that had been forced upon the Presidium by the Polish government as a condition of its approval for the Festival. Thus, it is possible that the Presidium of the Composers Union had consciously included such music in its plans for an international festival, and may have done so in order to improve the chances for the event's approval by the government. A festival that revolved around

only the performance of Polish and Western music would probably not have been sanctioned by the authorities, who in 1955 still officially accepted the policy of socialist realism advanced by the Soviet Union. Alternatively, the members of the Presidium may have considered Poland to be an integral part of Eastern Europe, and hence did not ever think of doing something outside the proposed framework.

Further announcements of the Festival's goals made by the Polish Composers Union continued to ignore the concept of a comparison between East and West, even though that feature would and did make the Warsaw festival unique among contemporary music festivals at that time. These later declarations expanded the international range of the Festival to include the entire world and redefined the comparison as one between contemporary music from Poland and all foreign countries. For instance, the reports of the June 6 and 13, 1955 plenary meetings of the Union's Executive Board described the forthcoming Festival as a review of the outstanding examples of contemporary musical literature in the world.<sup>2</sup> Preliminary drafts of letters sent to invited guests in 1956 stated that the Festival would be a "review of the most outstanding world achievements in contemporary symphonic and chamber music."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps most importantly, the comparison of Polish music with that of an unlimited number of other countries was proclaimed as the central goal of the Festival in the introductory remarks included in the program book for the event: "Thanks to the present Festival, foreign musicians will have the occasion to become acquainted with a broad range of the outstanding works of contemporary Polish music,

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<sup>2</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September, 1955).

<sup>3</sup> "przegląd najwybitniejszych światowych osiągnięć w dziedzinie współczesnej muzyki symfonicznej i kameralnej." "Projekt listu do gości zagranicznych, zaproszonych na I M.F.M.W.," *Collection of Correspondence and Minutes of Committee Meetings, International Festival of Contemporary Music, 1956*. Polish Composers Union, Warsaw. The actual letters to invited guests are not in the Composers Union's archive.

while composers of the 'Polish school,' who can boast of beautiful successes on the international arena, will gain the valuable possibility of a comparison of their achievements with the achievements of composers from other countries."<sup>4</sup> Despite these proclamations, the international flavor of the compositions performed at the 1956 Festival reflected the more restrictive announcement made at the June 1955 General Assembly--all of the pieces performed were by composers from European countries (including the Soviet Union). Furthermore, while the Festival in subsequent years would include several compositions by non-European composers, music from Europe would dominate each year's program.

Virtually all of the statements of the 1956 Festival's aims authorized by the Polish Composers Union or the Ministry of Culture and Art referred to the presentation of contemporary music without offering a definition of the term "contemporary." These statements include those made at the June and December 1955 meetings of the Union's Executive Board, in the Festival's program book, and in correspondence with performers about the Festival's repertoire.<sup>5</sup> Although Tadeusz Baird's report from the June 1955 General Assembly of the Composers Union asserted that the Presidium desired to include at the Festival works written within the past year, this declaration was never repeated in any further statement of the Festival's goals.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Baird's declaration was not conclusive; a broader elaboration of the age limits of acceptable compositions was needed.

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<sup>4</sup> "Dzięki obecnemu Festiwalowi muzycy zagraniczni będą mieli okazję poznania szeregu wybitnych dzieł współczesnej muzyki polskiej, zaś kompozytorzy 'szkoły polskiej', która pochlubić się może pięknymi sukcesami na arenie międzynarodowej, zyskają cenną możliwość konfrontacji swych osiągnięć z osiągnięciami kompozytorów innych krajów." *Program I-go Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej* (Warsaw: Komitet Organizacyjny I-go Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, 1956), pp. 27-28.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (October 1955-January 1956); Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Baird, "II Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej," p. 38.

Two available documents--one of them unpublished--indicate that contemporary music was considered by the organizers to be any composition written in the twentieth century.

Nevertheless, this definition was not provided to most performers or to the general public before the start of the Festival. This lack of communication resulted in a situation in which performers were asked to program contemporary music without being given a definition of that term.

The only public acknowledgement of a parallel between the terms "contemporary" and "twentieth-century" appeared in an interview published in March 1956 with Jerzy Jasiński, the secretary-general of the Festival's Organizing Committee and the director of the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals in the Ministry of Culture and Art. The basic goal of the Festival, according to Jasiński, was to "exhibit the main trends of musical composition of the last fifty years, with particular regard paid to the most recent trends. Furthermore, this event will permit us to have a further comparison of contemporary Polish musical compositions with foreign compositions."<sup>7</sup> A limit of fifty years encompassed music written since 1906, or roughly the entire twentieth century. However, in a second interview published on October 7, three days before the start of the Festival, Jasiński slightly weakened his interpretation of the purpose of the event, limiting it to a review of the "music of recent years" and omitting any reference to a specific age limit.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> "pokazanie głównych kierunków twórczości muzycznej ostatnich 50 lat, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kierunków najnowszych. Poza tym impreza ta pozwoli nam na dalszą konfrontację polskiej współczesnej twórczości muzycznej z twórczością zagraniczną." "Festiwal muzyki współczesnej będzie wielką imprezą o charakterze międzynarodowym," *Echo krakowski*, no. 62 (March 16, 1956).

<sup>8</sup> "twórczością muzyczną ostatnich lat." Artur Ettinger, "W przeddzień Warszawskiego Festiwalu," *Radio i świat*, no. 41 (October 7, 1956).



The second link between the terms "contemporary" and "twentieth century" was made in a preliminary draft of a letter of invitation from Włodzimierz Sokorski to the Parrenin and Tátrai string quartets. The Minister of Culture and Art asserted that the Festival would acquaint listeners "with the most outstanding works of the most important trends in twentieth-century music," while also requesting that each ensemble present a "program dedicated exclusively to contemporary music."<sup>9</sup> The content of the actual letter to the string quartets is unknown, but it is clear from this draft that Sokorski equated the two modifying terms.

Other materials concerning the Festival that were written before the start of the event declared only that contemporary or modern music would be performed, without any demarcations of age. Among these documents were the letters sent to orchestras requesting their participation at the Festival. According to these missives, the Festival would present "modern music," and the Polish Composers Union and Ministry of Culture and Art aimed "to ensure the performance of as many works as possible by various composers."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> "z najwybitniejszymi dziełami najważniejszych kierunków w muzyce XX-go stulecia...programem poświęconym wyłącznie muzyce współczesnej." "Projekt listu do kwartetów," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956. The draft of the letter contains the typewritten appellation "Minister...Włodzimierz Sokorski." Thus, this draft must have been written before Sokorski resigned from his Minister's position in April 1956.

<sup>10</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski (signed in proxy by Grażyna Bacewicz) to Sir Thomas Beecham, The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, London. The same phrase is found in French or German translation in letters from Sikorski to George Georgescu, Philharmonie Nationale, Bucarest, March 12, 1956; from Sikorski to Herr Direktor [Hans Sachs], Wiener Symphoniker, March 8, 1956; and from Sikorski to Herr Direktor, Concertgebouworkest, March 21, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956. In the letter to the Vienna Symphony, the word "zeitgenössische," which is best translated to "contemporary," is used where "modern" is inserted in the letter to Beecham. In the letter to Georgescu, the term "contemporaine" is used for "contemporary." The Polish term most frequently used for "contemporary" is "współczesny," as in "Festival Współczesnej Muzyki" (Festival of Contemporary Music). Hence, "modern" is equivalent in meaning to "contemporary."

Furthermore, in the preliminary draft of a letter to be sent to invited guests, Kazimierz Sikorski indicated that the Festival would be a "review of the most outstanding world achievements in contemporary symphonic and chamber music."<sup>11</sup>

Thus, of the relevant materials published before the start of the Festival, only the interview given by Jasiński in March 1956 provided any definition of "contemporary." Jasiński's view on this matter either was not accepted as the truth by other critics, or his interview, printed in a Kraków daily newspaper, was not read by them. Not until a press conference held on October 21, 1956--the final day of the Festival--did the organizers disclose any further information about their interpretation of "contemporary." At that time, the term was also declared to be synonymous with "twentieth century." Many Polish critics declared that until this meeting they did not know that this International Festival of Contemporary Music had actually been conceived as a review of the finest compositions of the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear from the materials discussed above that the Festival's organizers did not intend to apply stylistic qualifications to the pieces chosen for performance. Nearly all of the statements of goals provided by the organizers cited their desire to present the most outstanding world achievements in contemporary music. Although the selection of "the most outstanding achievements" is a subjective task, all compositional styles and also all genres were to be considered for presentation. This situation could not have occurred in

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<sup>11</sup> "przegląd najwybitniejszych światowych osiągnięć w dziedzinie współczesnej muzyki symfonicznej i kameralnej." "Projekt listu do gości zagranicznych zaproszonych na I. M.F.M.W.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Janusz Cegieła, "O 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' krytycznie i entuzjastycznie," *Kronika 2*, no. 22 (November 16-30, 1956): 6; Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, "Sprawozdania. Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," *Muzyka 1*, no. 3 (1956): 178; (Kr.), "Warszawska Jesień będzie jeszcze jedną na świecie estradą muzyki współczesnej," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 295 (October 22, 1956).

Poland during the years of the strictest application of the principles of socialist realism in music; hence, the organizers' decision to take all styles into consideration served as an example of the new freedoms of expression that they were seeking.

The unpublished information on the 1956 Festival that was presented to the Presidium of the Cultural Council for its discussion on May 10, 1956 provides the most detailed declaration of the organizers' goals available in any format. In addition to the objectives discussed above concerning the presentation of contemporary music from Poland and other countries, the goals listed in this document included the opportunity to become acquainted with the performance levels of the best symphonic and chamber ensembles from Poland and abroad, to provide an educational experience for Polish conductors and musicians, to enable Polish composers to come into contact with their colleagues from other countries in order to exchange opinions about contemporary music, and to create a world center of music in Warsaw.<sup>13</sup> The aim to permit Polish composers to exchange opinions with their foreign counterparts would be reiterated in the introductory remarks in the program book for the first Festival. Although this aspiration was not discussed widely in public by the organizers, encounters with foreign musicians would be for Polish composers one of the most valuable experiences of the Festival, since such meetings created an opportunity for the exchange of scores, recordings, and information on contemporary music.

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<sup>13</sup> "Material na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury w dniu 10.V.1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956. The Cultural Council is an advisory board within the Ministry of Culture and Art, consisting of representatives of various artistic fields: Stefan Sledziński, ed., *Muzyka polska informator* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), p. 175. Members of the Presidium included composers Mycielski and Sikorski, the latter being the president of the Composers Union. Among those present at the May meeting who did not belong to the Presidium were Bacewicz and Dobrowolski, members of the Executive Board of the Union; Wiszniewski, a composer; and Jerzy Jasioński and Wiktor Weinbaum, representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Art.

Another aim of the Warsaw Autumn Festival's organizers that was established as early as the June 1955 General Assembly of the Polish Composers Union was to hold the event regularly. Some early sources, such as the report of that June assembly and the preliminary draft of the letters to invited string quartets, proclaim that the Festival had already been approved as an annual event by the government, but this was not quite true. According to the resolutions adopted by the Cultural Council in May 1956, the second Festival was scheduled for 1958, with future ones to be occur either annually or biennially. A decision on the frequency of these post-1958 festivals was to be made after discussion about the achievements and experiences of the 1956 event.<sup>14</sup> It will be shown in Chapter VII that the decision to hold an annual festival on a permanent basis was not made until 1959.

In summary, the organizers envisioned the first Warsaw Autumn Festival as a review of the most outstanding examples of contemporary music in the world, with the inherent idea of a comparison of Polish music with compositions by composers of other countries. The desire to present the event as a comparison between the music of Eastern and Western Europe was also a deliberate, if publicly unproclaimed aim. Foreign and Polish performers would participate. There was also a desire, although not a concrete plan, that the Festival would be held on a regular basis. Only the meaning of the term "contemporary" remained unclear by the start of the Festival. Unfortunately, this ambiguity contributed to much of the controversy about the success of the Festival that raged in Poland following the event, as will be discussed in Chapter V.

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<sup>14</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Prezydium Rady Kultury i Sztuki odbytego w dniu 10 maja 1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

### **Selection of Performers and Repertoire**

As mentioned in Chapter II, a list of the foreign ensembles that were expected to participate was provided at the plenary meetings of the Executive Board of the Composers Union in June 1955. No information about the specific compositions to be performed was offered at that time. What remained to be completed before the start of the Festival, then, was to finalize the list of participating ensembles and determine the program for each concert. More than twenty years after the first Festival Tadeusz Baird related that when preparations for the event began, Polish composers possessed few, if any, scores and recordings of contemporary compositions by foreign composers and had no information about suitable performers and observers from outside of Poland. Moreover, no specialized secretarial staff or funding for the Festival existed.<sup>15</sup> Solutions for many of the problems that arose were devised without the benefit of experience or advance planning.

### **Division of Responsibilities and the Methods of Communication**

In order to begin the task of selecting the performers and repertoire, the role of each of the institutions involved in the organization of the first Festival had to be determined. To some extent these roles were preordained by the administrative structure of the governments in Poland and other countries. In particular, the methods of communication used throughout the planning period often differed according to the geopolitical region in which the performer resided: A more cumbersome process was required for discussions with musicians from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries than with those from Western Europe due to the control over cultural matters that was exercised by

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<sup>15</sup> Baird and Grzenkiewicz, *Rozmowy*, p. 100.

the Soviet-bloc governments. As a result, although the Composers Union was permitted to control the selection of repertoire, it was not always able to communicate directly with foreign performers about either their participation or the contents of their concerts.

The roles of the Polish Composers Union, the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and the Organizing Committee can be derived from examining the methods of communication that were used in negotiations with performers. On the basis of the materials obtained at the Polish Composers Union's archive, it can be surmised that most, if not all correspondence between Warsaw and orchestras and chamber groups from Western Europe took place directly between the ensemble--most often its artistic director--and Kazimierz Sikorski, the president of the Polish Composers Union. For example, letters of invitation were sent by Sikorski to the Vienna Symphony, the London Philharmonic, the Concertgebouw Orchestra, and the Suisse Romande Orchestra. Of these four orchestras, only the first one performed at the Festival. (The letter of invitation to another orchestra that performed--the French National Radio and Television Orchestra--is not available.) All further extant messages between Poland and the participating Western European ensembles concerning the selection of compositions and the transmission of photographs and biographies were also transmitted between Sikorski and the respective groups.<sup>16</sup> Western governments did not participate in these negotiations.

Communications with the three orchestras from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were directed through the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in Poland. These orchestras--from Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the Soviet Union--participated on the basis of bilateral cultural exchanges in effect between each of these countries and Poland. As a result of these agreements, the costs of the orchestra's stay in Poland, as well as the

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<sup>16</sup> Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956, *passim*.

honoraria paid to the orchestras, conductors, and soloists were not deducted from the budget allotted to the Festival by the Ministry of Culture and Art.<sup>17</sup> The Polish Composers Union normally did not communicate directly with the directors of these orchestras. Instead, the Union wrote either to the Ministry of Culture in the particular country, as happened in correspondence concerning the State Philharmonic in Brno, or was dependent on the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts to relay information to the appropriate cultural institution in the ensemble's home country. The latter route is how most extant communication was transmitted to the Institute of Foreign Cultural Relations in Bucharest concerning the Enescu Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.<sup>18</sup> Only two possible exceptions exist. In March 1956 a letter was sent directly from Sikorski to George Georgescu, the conductor of the Enescu Philharmonic. In the second instance, a letter was directed in May 1956 from Sikorski and Andrzej Dobrowolski--the secretary-general of the Polish Composers Union--to the Moscow State Symphony Orchestra. Both letters discussed the concert requirements to be fulfilled by each orchestra, which will be discussed in detail below.<sup>19</sup> In each case, the letter may still have been transmitted through cultural institutions rather than being sent directly; however, both were addressed to the recipients named above, whereas information to or from other ensembles was communicated through memos from the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation or other governmental institutions.

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<sup>17</sup> Jerzy Jasioński, "Warszawska Jesień," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 281 (October 8, 1956); A. Rowiński, "Wielka konfrontacja," *Głos robotniczy*, no. 233 (October 6-7, 1956). The budget will be discussed further below.

<sup>18</sup> Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski to George Georgescu, March 12, 1956, *Ibid*.

(No letters of invitation to Eastern European or Soviet orchestras exist in the Composers Union archive, possibly because the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation handled most of the arrangements for these orchestras. The archive has relatively few materials generated by this Committee in comparison to those initiated by the Composers Union or Western European orchestras.)

The actions of the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation were regarded by some people to be partly responsible for the low quality of musical life in Poland in the mid-1950s. Jerzy Jasiński cited the Committee in his censure of the quality of foreign advertising of Polish cultural achievements: "It [the Festival] would not be so indispensable if the promotion of our music, of our artistic achievements, was better abroad, was honestly conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KWKZ [the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation], if the people who were cultural attachés understood music, and if its promotion truly and sincerely affected them."<sup>20</sup> Lucjan Kydryński also complained in a September 1956 article that "the Committee always has time, always plans everything at the last moment, always twists something, changes something, adjusts something...it is high time that contracts with foreign soloists and conductors were negotiated directly with the artistic directors of the larger philharmonics. After all, in the end they are responsible for the entire program and cannot be dependent every time on the people at the Committee, who are not always the best informed."<sup>21</sup> Delays or other

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<sup>20</sup> Nie byłby on tak nieodzowny, gdyby propaganda naszej muzyki, naszych osiągnięć artystycznych za granicą, była lepiej, rzetelniej prowadzona przez Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych i KWKZ, gdyby ludzie na stanowiskach attaché kulturalnych znali się na muzyce i gdyby jej propaganda naprawdę serdecznie ich obchodziła." Jasiński, "Warszawska Jesień," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 281 (October 8, 1956).

<sup>21</sup> "KWKZ ma zawsze czas, zawsze planuje wszystko na ostatnią chwilę, zawsze coś przekreśla, zmienia, poprawia...Najwyższy czas, aby umowy z solistami i dyrygentami zagranicznymi zawierali bezpośrednio dyrektorzy artystyczni większych filharmonii. Ostatecznie oni przecież odpowiadają za całość programu i nie mogą być każdorazowo



obstacles in negotiations with the foreign ensembles at the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival cannot be proven to be the fault of the Committee, but evidence does exist that analogous institutions in Eastern European countries were slow in responding to the Committee's requests: in at least one instance, in June 1956, the Committee was forced to remind the Institute of Foreign Cultural Relations in Bucharest that tardiness in providing a list of the proposed pieces to be played by the Bucharest orchestra was hampering the work of the organizers.<sup>22</sup>

Personal visits did occur during the negotiating process with orchestras from both Eastern and Western Europe in order to plan concert programs. Stanisław Wisłocki, a composer and the artistic director of the Poznań Philharmonic, visited Romania to discuss the role of the Enescu Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra at the Festival, and Andrzej Dobrowolski personally discussed the Brno State Philharmonic's concerts with the artistic director of that orchestra, Břetislav Bakala, in June 1956. Michał Spisak, a Polish composer who had resided in France since 1937, helped to arrange the programs of the French National Radio and Television Orchestra. Furthermore, Kazimierz Sikorski told Hans Sachs, the director of the Vienna Symphony, that a personal delegate would travel to Austria to help in finalizing the concert programs of that orchestra. Although there is no

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zależni od niezawsze najlepiej zorientowanych pań i panów z KWKZ." Lucjan Kydryński, "O dziwnych utworach i ciekawym festiwalu," *Przekrój*, no. 599 (September 30, 1956): 14.

<sup>22</sup> E. Tarska, Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations, Warsaw, to Institute of Foreign Cultural Relations, Bucharest, June 7, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

further mention of such an emissary, it is plausible that one was sent.<sup>23</sup> Personal contacts also were made with the orchestras from Czechoslovakia and Romania, but for the most part communications with these two groups were directed through the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation. The extent to which the concert programs of the Eastern European and Soviet ensembles were influenced by decisions made in the Ministry of Culture or a corresponding department in each of these foreign countries is not known for the 1956 Festival.

No archival materials concerning negotiations with Polish performers are extant. It is probable that discussions concerning the participation and concert programs of the orchestras and chamber groups that appeared were conducted primarily via personal contacts, including telephone calls and private conversations.

Details about the Festival's Organizing Committee are elusive. It is referred to only once in the available correspondence and twice in the dozens of Festival reviews printed in the Polish press. Although little evidence of the function of the Committee is made available through these references, it does appear that the Committee was not involved in negotiations with performers or in decisions regarding repertoire. Jerzy Jasieński is the only person ever identified as a member of the Committee.<sup>24</sup> On at least two occasions memos concerning Festival matters were also addressed to Jasieński in his role as the director of the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals. It is conceivable, but not

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<sup>23</sup> Letters concerning the Bucharest orchestra, March-July, 1956; Kazimierz Sikorski to Hans Sachs and vice versa, March-July, 1956; Henri Barraud, Director of National Program of French Radio, to Sikorski, June, 1956; letter to Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, June 16, 1956 concerning Brno orchestra, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>24</sup> Tátrai Vilmes to Jerzy Jasieński, secretary of Organizing Committee, May 25, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956; Ettinger, "W przeddzień Warszawskiego Festiwalu." The second reference to the Committee in the press appeared in Jan Kowalski, "Po festiwalu," *Kierunki* no. 26 (November 12, 1956): 12.

verifiable, that these memos were delivered to the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals because Jasiński was the Organizing Committee's secretary-general.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Jasiński himself stated in published interviews that the organizers of the Festival were the Polish Composers Union and the Ministry of Culture and Art, omitting any mention of an Organizing Committee. Although such a Committee must have existed in some form, available archival material does not delineate the role of that entity, and in fact, shows that the Executive Board and the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation handled most, if not all, of the arrangements for the Festival.

As previously noted, the Polish Composers Union was responsible for negotiating the repertoire for the Festival with each of the participating ensembles, regardless of whether it was from Eastern or Western Europe or from Poland. Because the Union normally did not communicate directly with the conductors or artistic directors of the Eastern orchestras, the decision-making process moved slowly and less intimately than might otherwise have been possible. This flow of information from the Polish Composers Union through the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation or other divisions of the Ministry of Culture and Art to various Eastern European and Soviet orchestras has occurred during the planning of every Warsaw Autumn Festival, and has created a trend of impersonal contacts that, in the view of some of the composers who have helped to organize the Festival, has hindered the organizers' ability to prepare each event in an efficient, timely manner.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Memo from "director" Michał Ochorowicz to Jerzy Jasiński, Department of Artistic Events and Festivals, July 24, 1956; Eugenia Tarska, Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, to Ministry of Culture and Art, Department of Events and Festivals, July 28, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>26</sup> Interviews with Patkowski, January 21, 1986 and May 20, 1987, Warsaw; Interview with Zygmunt Krauze, December 6, 1985, Warsaw; Interview with Augustyn Bloch, May 13, 1986, Warsaw.

It is evident that the Presidium of the Composers Union played a more important part in organizing the first Festival than did the remainder of the Executive Board or the Union as a whole. Not only did the president and secretary-general of the Union, who were members of the Presidium, handle all of the Union's correspondence for the Festival, but it was the Presidium who, at the December 2, 1955 meeting of the Executive Board, presented to the Board for its discussion and approval a list of contemporary Polish works that could be played at the Festival.<sup>27</sup> It was also decided at that December meeting that the Presidium would be responsible for choosing delegates from the Composers Union who would visit each foreign ensemble in order to finalize the concert programs.<sup>28</sup>

It is difficult to determine how often the Presidium may have met on an informal basis, since there are no references to any such meetings in reports about the Festival or in comments made by members of the Composers Union or other organizers of the event. The Executive Board, however, met formally only four times between the 1955 General Assembly and the actual Festival: on June 6 and 13, 1955, December 2, 1955, and sometime during the spring of 1956. (The precise date and agenda of this spring conference are unavailable.) The Board's role in the Festival's organization included the discussion in June of the general plan of the event that had been approved by the General Assembly earlier that month as well as the deliberation and approval in December of the items prepared by the Presidium.<sup>29</sup> The full membership of the Union did not meet between its

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<sup>27</sup> This list will be described fully below.

<sup>28</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (October 1955-January 1956). The list of compositions will be discussed in detail below.

<sup>29</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September 1955, October 1955-January 1956); Jerzy Młodziejowski, "Warsawska Jesień," *Express poznański*, no. 27 (December 15, 1955); Jerzy Młodziejowski, "Warsawska jesień muzyczna," *Ziemia i morze*, no. 25 (November 3, 1956): 4-5.

General Assembly in June 1955 and the start of the Festival. Consequently, its members did not discuss any plans for the first Festival after their initial vote to approve the establishment of the event. They were informed of the project's progress through reports printed in the *Information Bulletin of the Polish Composers Union*.<sup>30</sup>

### Performers

The first priority of the organizers was to determine who the performers would be. Only after ensembles had accepted invitations to participate did negotiations concerning repertoire begin. The inexperience of the organizers is illustrated in the somewhat disorganized manner in which performers were invited.

No references are made in archival materials or published reports to the criteria used by the organizers of the Festival in choosing performers except for the announcement made in June 1955 that foreign ensembles and soloists would be invited, and the assertion made in May 1956 that the participation of the finest chamber and symphonic ensembles was desired.<sup>31</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, at the end of the plenary meetings of the Union's Executive Board on June 6 and 13, 1955 four foreign orchestras were named as expected participants at the Festival: the Leningrad Philharmonic, the Brno State Philharmonic, the London Philharmonic, and the Vienna Symphony. Two chamber groups were also anticipated: Hungary's Tátrai Quartet and an unnamed French ensemble.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September 1955; October 1955-January 1956; February-April 1956). The next issue, which covered May 1955-November 1956, reported on the actual events of the Festival.

<sup>31</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September 1955); "Protokół z posiedzenia Prezydium Rady Kultury i Sztuki odbytego w dniu 10 maja 1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>32</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-September 1955). See Chapter II, footnote no. 230.

Available information does not indicate how much input the Polish Composers Union had in the decision to invite these ensembles or how much consideration had been given to the artistic merits of each group. None of these ensembles specialized in performing contemporary music, although all were noted performers of the "standard repertoire."

At the next plenary session of the Executive Board, in December 1955, a somewhat different list of expected foreign ensembles was disclosed. According to the Union's *Information Bulletin*, only the Brno State Philharmonic, Leningrad Philharmonic, and Tátrai quartet were cited in both June and December. The remaining orchestras named at the end of the year were the Enescu Philharmonic from Bucharest, the London Philharmonic, and from Poland, the National Philharmonic from Warsaw, the Great Polish Radio Orchestra from Stalinogród (today, Katowice), and the Polish Radio Orchestra and Choir from Kraków. The chamber groups were to be two string ensembles: the Parrenin Quartet from France and the Kraków Quartet from Poland.<sup>33</sup>

The anonymous author of the December report in the *Information Bulletin* pointed out that the participation of these aforementioned orchestras and chamber groups was anticipated, but not certain. However, several letters available in the Polish Composers Union archive show that invitations to perform at the Festival were not sent to at least some of these ensembles until after the beginning of 1956--after the December plenary meetings. For example, the letter of invitation to London's "Royal Philharmonic" was not sent until January 25, 1956, even though the *Information Bulletin* had referred to the expected

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<sup>33</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (October 1955-January 1956).

participation of the London Philharmonic in June and December 1955. The London orchestra did not participate in the Festival, for unknown reasons.<sup>34</sup>

Similarly, invitations were sent to the Vienna Symphony on March 8, 1956 and the Concertgebouw Orchestra on March 21, 1956. The Vienna Symphony accepted the invitation in mid-March. The Concertgebouw Orchestra's response at the end of March was that their schedule was already set for the 1956-1957 concert season. They reminded the organizers that it was necessary to arrange foreign tours a year in advance.<sup>35</sup>

An invitation was also extended to the Suisse Romande Orchestra in Geneva, but Konstanty Regamey, a composer and critic living in Switzerland who had been educated in Poland, replied on March 18, 1956 that the Orchestra was unable to attend the Festival because its schedule was already full for October.<sup>36</sup> Neither the Amsterdam nor Geneva orchestras had been mentioned as possible participants in 1955, and may have been considered only after the London ensemble rejected its invitation. This problem of late invitations also developed with regard to guests for the 1956 Festival, and continued to plague the organizers of later Festivals.

In the February-April 1956 *Information Bulletin* the Composers Union stated that invitations had been accepted by the Moscow Philharmonic, the Vienna Symphony, the

<sup>34</sup> The two symphonic orchestras located in London in 1955 were the London Philharmonic and the London Symphony. The letter directed to the "Royal Philharmonic" was intended for the London Philharmonic: Kazimierz Sikorski to Sir Thomas Beecham, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, January 25, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>35</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski to "Herr Direktor," Vienna Symphony, March 8, 1956; Hans Sachs, Vienna Symphony, to Executive Board, Polish Composers Union, March 17, 1956; Dr. H. J. Waage, Manager, Concertgebouw Orchestra, to Kazimierz Sikorski, March 29, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>36</sup> Telegram from Konstanty Regamey to Polish Composers Union, March 18, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

Enescu Philharmonic from Bucharest, and the State Philharmonic from Brno. The Romanian orchestra must have accepted the invitation by mid-March, since at that time they were discussing their concert programs with the Polish Composers Union via the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation. Final negotiations were being held with the French National Radio and Television Orchestra, who was expected to accept the invitation.<sup>37</sup> Of these five orchestras, the Moscow and French ensembles had not been named in previous publications. The switch from the Leningrad Philharmonic to the Moscow orchestra must have been made after mid-March, when the former ensemble was named in letters of invitation to other orchestras. The Composers Union also reported that the Parrenin Quartet planned to come, but that the Tátrai Quartet, which had been mentioned as a possible participant as early as June 1955, had not yet responded to the invitation. The Polish ensembles listed as participants in this *Bulletin* differed from the December publication in the addition of the Silesian State Philharmonic and the deletion of the Kraków Polish Radio Orchestra and Choir and the Kraków Quartet.

By May 10, 1956 the French National Radio and Television Orchestra had accepted via telephone and the Tátrai Quartet had also confirmed its intention to perform.<sup>38</sup> One group that performed at the Festival, but was never mentioned in the available materials concerning its preparations was the Kraków Philharmonic Boys Choir, which appeared with the Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra from the same city. This latter orchestra had been named as a possible participant in December 1955, but not in April. Furthermore,

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<sup>37</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (February-April 1956); Kazimierz Sikorski to George Georgescu, March 12, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>38</sup> "Materiał na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury w dniu 10.V.1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.



although the Kraków Quartet did not perform, a group of Polish soloists and the Polish Radio Choir from Kraków presented a concert of chamber music.

The selection of soloists was left to the discretion of the individual orchestra. Among those chosen were David Oistrakh, the Soviet violinist; Alfred Brendel, the Austrian pianist; and Andrzej Hiolski, the Polish baritone. For the most part, conductors were also chosen by the orchestra. In one instance, however, George Georgescu, the music director of the Enescu Philharmonic Symphony, was asked by the Polish Composers Union to conduct one concert even though he had asked not to do so for reasons of bad health and advanced age. Georgescu did conduct one of the two concerts presented by his orchestra.<sup>39</sup>

Of the seven foreign ensembles who performed at the Festival in 1956, only three--the Czechoslovakian and Austrian orchestras, and the Tátrai Quartet--had been "expected" in June 1955. Invitations had not been extended to at least two ensembles--including the Vienna Symphony--until March 1956. Furthermore, the Czechoslovakian orchestra and several other foreign ensembles did not agree to participate until at least February; the Tátrai Quartet did not accept its invitation until about May. The London and Leningrad ensembles, which in 1955 had been expected to perform at the Festival, did not. In the case of the Leningrad Philharmonic, this discrepancy may have been the result of decisions made in the Soviet Union, over which the Polish organizers had no control. There is no concrete evidence of such a move in part because of a lack of archival materials concerning negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning the 1956 Festival. Nevertheless, evidence of similar actions does exist for subsequent Festivals, as will be discussed in Chapter IX.

Plausible reasons for the inconsistencies between the Composers Union's *Informational Bulletin* and the available correspondence are more difficult to develop. It is

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<sup>39</sup> Draft of a letter to the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in Romania, nd. [May 1956?], Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

possible that a lack of communication existed either within the Union or between the Union and the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, causing erroneous information to be printed in the *Bulletin*. Regardless of the reason, the reality is that most, if not all, of the negotiations with foreign performers took place in 1956, more than six months after the establishment of the Festival had been officially approved. Discussions with performers about repertoire did not begin until March or after, which is rather late to begin arranging programs for an event in October. As will be shown below, however, each ensemble was able to finalize its programs well ahead of time.

### Repertoire

In an effort to achieve their goal of presenting the most outstanding works of contemporary world music, the organizers developed concert guidelines to be followed by each of the participating ensembles. However, because modifications of these guidelines during the course of the planning period included provisions for the performance of what, even in the view of the organizers, were non-contemporary works, the array of compositions approved by these organizers for presentation at the Festival could not and did not fulfill their basic goal in its entirety. Furthermore, the organizers did not enter into extensive negotiations with each participating ensemble before finalizing the Festival's program.

### *Concert Guidelines*

The first version of the guidelines was approved at the December 1955 meeting of the Composers Union's Executive Board. Foreign orchestras were to perform two concerts each, with the combined presentations including a total of at least thirty minutes of contemporary Polish music, two or three works from the ensemble's country, and other

selections of contemporary music. Polish orchestras were required to present one concert consisting of two Polish pieces and works from contemporary musical literature. Foreign chamber ensembles were instructed to perform one Polish composition.<sup>40</sup> The content of concerts by Polish chamber ensembles was not discussed, even though the Kraków Quartet had been mentioned in December as a possible participant.

These guidelines were designed in part to ensure that both the stated aim of presenting contemporary music from Poland and other countries and the unwritten goal of creating a comparison between Eastern and Western music would be fulfilled. They also were devised to guarantee that Polish music would be well represented at the Festival and that foreign ensembles would add Polish compositions to their repertoire for performance during the balance of the concert season, thus disseminating Polish music to foreign countries. The Executive Board members present at the December meeting believed that contemporary Polish music would be propagandized abroad most effectively if it were performed by each foreign ensemble.<sup>41</sup> In the same way, Polish groups would broaden their repertoire through the inclusion of non-Polish contemporary music, which could then be heard again by Polish listeners during the regular concert season. Many of the pieces that the composers hoped would be presented at the Festival had not been heard in Poland since the end of World War II, and some might never have been performed in the country.

The regulations drawn up in December did not guarantee that the "most outstanding" pieces of contemporary music would be chosen, nor did they allude to the maximum age that a "contemporary" composition might be. Recognizing the likelihood that many, if not all, of the invited foreign ensembles had no access to or knowledge of contemporary Polish

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<sup>40</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (October 1955-January 1956).

<sup>41</sup> Młodziejowski, "'Warszawska Jesień'."

music due to the isolation that had engulfed Poland's musical life since 1939, the Presidium of the Composers Union drew up a list of contemporary Polish compositions, scores and tapes of which were to be sent to participating foreign ensembles. After a lengthy discussion, the Executive Board in December approved a revised version of the list.<sup>42</sup>

The thirty pieces on that revised roster, shown in Table 1, were divided among the four orchestras expected to perform at the Festival. This list apparently was used by the Composers Union for several months, since the names of the Leningrad and London Philharmonics are crossed out on the original manuscript and replaced by Moscow and Vienna, respectively. As discussed above, these latter two orchestras were not officially invited to perform at the Festival until 1956.

These compositions were the pieces that, in the view of the Executive Board of the Union, most accurately reflected contemporary Polish music at the end of 1955. The seventeen works written since 1950 had been composed during the period of socialist realism in Poland; at least fifteen of them had received their world premieres in Poland.<sup>43</sup> It is not known if all of these compositions had been evaluated at a review session for their adherence to the principles of socialist realism. Stylistically, the thirty works range from the neoclassicism of Bacewicz's Concerto for Strings and Sikorski's Symphony No. 3 to the folk-inspired music of Lutosławski's *Silesian Triptych* and Concerto for Orchestra and the dodecaphonic leanings of Serocki's First Symphony.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (October 1955-January 1956).

<sup>43</sup> The dates of world premieres were found in Poniątkowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 298-334. Turski's *Overture* was premiered in January 1958; a date for the premiere of Wiechowicz's *Old-Town Concerto* could not be located.

TABLE 1

**List of Polish Works for Foreign Orchestras Participating in the First International Festival of Contemporary Music in Warsaw<sup>44</sup>**

1) Leningrad Philharmonic

- Grażyna Bacewicz - Symphony No. 3 (1952)
- Witold Lutosławski - *Silesian Triptych* (1951)
- Tadeusz Baird - *Colas Breugnon* (1951)\*
- Kazimierz Sikorski - Symphony No. 3 (1953)\*
- Tadeusz Szeligowski - *Epitaph in Memory of Szymanowski* (1937)

2) Czechoslovakian Philharmonic

- Witold Lutosławski - Symphony No. 1 (1947)
- Artur Malawski - Symphonic Variations (1937)\*
- Bolesław Szabelski - Symphony No. 3 (1951)\*
- Bolesław Woytowicz - "Warsaw" Symphony (1945)\*
- Andrzej Dobrowolski - Bassoon Concerto (1953)
- Zbigniew Turski - Overture (1955)
- Stanisław Skrowaczewski - *Festive Overture* (1947)
- Stanisław Skrowaczewski - Symphony for Strings (1948)\*

3) Bucharest Philharmonic

- Kazimierz Serocki - Symphony No. 1 (1952)
- Wojciech Kilar - Overture (1955)\*
- Piotr Perkowski - Overture (1954)\*
- Jan Krenz - Rhapsody (1952)
- Michał Spisak - Suite for Strings (1945)\*
- Stanisław Wiechowicz - *Old-Town Concerto* (1954)
- Stefan Kisielewski - Concerto for Orchestra (1949)\*

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<sup>44</sup> Compositions marked by astericks were performed at the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival. The astericks and dates of composition are not included in the manuscript version of this list: "Lista utworów polskich dla orkiestr zagranicznych biorących udział w I Międzynarodowym Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956. The dates of composition were found in Hanuszewska and Schaeffer, *Almanach*, passim. The names of the orchestras are as indicated in the manuscript.

Table 1 (continued)

4) London Philharmonic

- Zbigniew Turski - Violin Concerto (1951)\*
- Grażyna Bacewicz - Concerto for Strings (1948)\*
- Artur Malawski - Symphonic Etudes (1947)
- Michał Spisak - *Symphonie Concertante* (1947)
- Bolesław Szabelski - Concerto Grosso (1954)\*
- Kazimierz Sikorski - Clarinet Concerto (1947)
- Witold Lutosławski - Concerto for Orchestra (1954)\*
- Stanisław Skrowaczewski - *Night Music* (1952)\*
- Tadeusz Baird - Concerto for Orchestra (1953)
- Jan Krenz - Symphony (1949)

Several compositions are notable for their inclusion on this list. At least two of the compositions had been banned from performance in Poland following the Łagów conference in August 1949: Lutosławski's First Symphony and Malawski's Symphonic Variations. The Executive Board could not have been certain that foreign orchestras, especially the Eastern European one to which these two works were assigned, would agree to perform them. However, the members of the Board must have felt that these pieces were valid examples of contemporary Polish music and thus merited performances in Poland. They may have also wanted to test the degree of "thaw" that was beginning to penetrate the field of music in Poland in 1955. Performances of the pieces by Malawski and Lutosławski at the Festival would indicate that the "thaw" was continuing and even deepening. Indeed, this hypothesis is validated by the fact that the Polish government did not prevent Malawski's piece from being played at the Festival; it was performed by the State Philharmonic from Czechoslovakia, which also stated during negotiations that they would be willing to perform Lutosławski's Symphony.

Michał Spisak was represented on the list given in Table 1 by two pieces written within the past ten years. Despite his emigré status, he was still a member of the Polish Composers Union and was considered by the organizers of the Festival to be a Polish composer, as shown by his placement in this compilation as well as in one naming the

Polish works played at the 1956 Festival.<sup>45</sup> However, compositions by other emigrés from Poland, most notably Andrzej Panufnik, were not included on the list. Panufnik had been excommunicated from the Polish Composers Union following his defection in 1954.<sup>46</sup> He, along with Roman Palester (who had left Poland in the late 1940s) and Tadeusz Kassern (who had emigrated in the 1930s), were termed "rebellious emigrés" in a 1957 *Ruch muzyczny* article.<sup>47</sup>

Twenty-eight of the compositions named by the Executive Board in the list provided in Table 1 had been written within the previous eleven years, or since the end of World War II. Thus, it appears from this list that the Executive Board wished to emphasize the newest Polish works even though the conditions set forth in December by the Board regarding the Festival's compositions did not embrace any age limit beyond a reference to "contemporary" music, which in retrospect is known to have been linked by the organizers to twentieth-century pieces.

Despite the apparent bias of the organizers toward the presentation of some of the most recently-written Polish works, the repertoire guidelines were modified as early as January 1956 to permit the performance of works that were not contemporary. These altered regulations were the ones used in negotiations with participating ensembles. However, since in making this modification the organizers attempted to create a distinction between

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<sup>45</sup> "Spis utworów wykonanych na I Międzynarodowym Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie przez orkiestry krajowe i zagraniczne oraz zespoły kameralne," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956; (SIERP), "'Życie' u Michała Spisaka ambasadora polskiej muzyki we Francji," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 245 (October 13, 1956).

<sup>46</sup> "Komunikat Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Muzyka* 5, nos. 7-8 (1954): 95.

<sup>47</sup> "'emigrantów zbuntowanych,'" Stefan Kisielewski, "Utwory polskie na Międzynarodowym Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (May 1, 1957): 21.

"contemporary" and "non-contemporary" without clearly defining either term, the orchestras could not know precisely what age limits the organizers had in mind. For example, the letters of invitations sent by Kazimierz Sikorski in January to the London Philharmonic and in March to the Vienna Symphony disclosed that one of the two concerts by each orchestra was to consist exclusively of "contemporary" ("zeitgenössische") music, while the second was to have one "modern" work and other compositions of the conductor's choice.<sup>48</sup> In a letter written in March 1956 to George Georgescu, conductor of the Enescu Philharmonic in Bucharest, Sikorski stated that only one of the orchestra's two concerts had to contain exclusively contemporary music. The second concert "should have, in principle, the same modern character. Nevertheless, we will be inclined to agree that the program...[could] also include several less recent works that are considered to be the great successes of your orchestra."<sup>49</sup> The remainder of the stipulations agreed to in December were the same, with the exception that a maximum of two compositions from the orchestra's home country would be accepted, instead of the two or three alluded to in December. According to the material discussed by the Presidium of the Cultural Council at their meeting on May 10, 1956, Polish orchestras--which at that time were also to offer two concerts each at the Festival -were to abide by the same guidelines given above.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski to Sir Thomas Beecham of The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, January 25, 1956; Sikorski to "Herr Direktor" of the Vienna Symphony, March 8, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956. See footnote no. 10, this chapter, for an explanation of the link between the translation of "zeitgenössische" and "modern."

<sup>49</sup> "devrait avoir, en principe, le même caractère moderne. Néanmoins nous serons enclins à consentir, que le programme...contienne aussi quelques oeuvres moins récentes, considérées comme des grandes réussites de votre orchestre." Kazimierz Sikorski to George Georgescu, March 12, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>50</sup> "Material na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury w dniu 10.V.1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956; and "Protokół z posiedzenia Prezydium Rady Kultury i Sztuki odbytego w dniu 10 maja 1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.



The changes incorporated since December 1955 in the concert requirements for each ensemble were not announced publicly until the press conference held at the end of the Festival. At that time, Andrzej Dobrowolski and Jerzy Jasioński disagreed on what the concert requirements were for each orchestra, which indicates that the organizers may never have concurred on this fundamental issue. The differences of opinion at the meeting were not delineated in the press. However, according to the version of the stipulations printed by Janusz Cegiełka, a music critic, after this conference, and other accounts offered after the Festival by Witold Rudziński, a member of the Executive Board of the Composers Union, and Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, another critic, further changes had been made in these guidelines during the planning period. Cegiełka claimed that each orchestra could have played only one composition from the ensemble's regular "non-contemporary" repertoire. A half hour of Polish music had been required on each concert, not over the course of two concerts.<sup>51</sup> Rudziński and Wilkowska-Chomińska also agreed that each orchestra could have played no more than one piece that was not contemporary. They maintained that Polish music was required of each ensemble, but did not cite a minimum amount. Each author equated contemporary music with that written in the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup> However, if these changes actually had been instituted during the negotiating period, they had not been made by May 10: materials prepared by the organizers and presented on that date to the Presidium of the Cultural Council stated that one concert by each orchestra could be freely chosen and that a total of thirty minutes of Polish music was to be presented by each ensemble. No reference was made to the "contemporaneity"

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<sup>51</sup> Cegiełka, "O 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' krytycznie i entuzjastycznie," p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Witold Rudziński, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 263 (November 2, 1956); Wilkowska-Chomińska, "Sprawozdania," p. 178. Another reference to the disagreement between Dobrowolski and Jasioński is found in Zdzisław Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia a efekty," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 255 (October 24, 1956).

of the pieces on the "freely chosen" concert.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, available correspondence with performers does not refer to these newest details. It is possible that they were transmitted to performers via telephone or in letters that are now lost, but in at least one case that seems unlikely: the programs of the Vienna Symphony had been submitted to the Composers Union on May 4, before the meeting of the Cultural Council's Presidium, and were accepted without change by the Union.<sup>54</sup> Hence, the disagreement between Dobrowolski and Jasiński may have pertained directly to the purported changes given in the reports by Cegiełka, Rudziński, and Wilkowska-Chomińska--that is, whether the repertoire guidelines were changed after May 10. It would appear from extant information about the negotiations with performers--to be discussed below--that they were not altered after that date.

Reasons for permitting each ensemble to perform non-contemporary music were offered after the Festival by two Polish composers. Andrzej Dobrowolski asserted that the inclusion on the Festival of three nineteenth-century compositions--Brahms' Fourth Symphony, Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony, and Richard Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche*--had been approved by the organizers, whom he implied were the members of the Executive Board of the Composers Union, because of their fear that the Polish public would resist attending an event that consisted entirely of "new music." Thus, each orchestra had been permitted to present one work from the "so-called safe repertoire."<sup>55</sup> Dobrowolski's claim concerning the possibility of only one non-contemporary work thus is

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<sup>53</sup> "Material na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury w dniu 10.V.1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956; and "Protokół z posiedzenia Prezydium Rady Kultury i Sztuki odbytego w dniu 10 maja 1956 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>54</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski to Hans Sachs and vice-versa, March-July 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>55</sup> "nowej muzyki...tzw. żelaznego repertuaru." Dobrowolski, "Wyplw festiwali," p. 59.

in agreement with the assertions made by Cegiełła, Rudziński, and Wilkowska-Chomińska. Zygmunt Mycielski, who was a member of the Cultural Council's Presidium in addition to being a composer and critic, maintained that it had been difficult for the organizers to insist that foreign groups present specific pieces. These ensembles had created something of a performers' competition among themselves, and they had chosen nineteenth-century pieces because they could exhibit their own skills better with these works than they could with twentieth-century compositions.<sup>56</sup> However, there is no evidence suggesting that the Composers Union or any other organizing body ever proposed specific non-Polish compositions to any of the participating ensembles, which places at least part of Mycielski's claim in doubt.

A third plausible reason for the inclusion of non-contemporary music at the Festival is that officials at departments within the Ministry of Culture and Art may not have concurred with the resolutions passed by the Composers Union in December 1955, which stated that each concert should consist exclusively of contemporary music. If this hypothesis is true, the Union would have had to accept the performance of non-contemporary music in order to assure the Ministry's continued approval for the event. No concrete evidence is available to prove this conjecture. However, given the hierarchical structure of the Ministry of Culture and Art, in which the Minister had final approval of all activities, it is possible that pressure from someone in the Ministry might have led to the modification in the repertoire guidelines. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that critics and composers complained after the Festival that the Composers Union had no power of its own to organize such an event, and that the contents of the programs were overly dependent on the

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<sup>56</sup> Zygmunt Mycielski, *Notatki o muzyce i muzykach* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1961), pp. 79-80. These pages are excerpted from an article from *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 45 (November 8-14, 1956): 6.

wishes of individual ensembles and conductors.<sup>57</sup> In any case, the goal of presenting a festival of contemporary music, which was established by June 1955, reiterated in December of that year, repeated in various letters of invitation to ensembles, and even printed in the program book for the Festival itself, was compromised by the organizers' decision, made in either December 1955 or January 1956, to permit the presentation of nineteenth-century compositions. These works were certainly not among those that the 1954-1955 Presidium of the Polish Composers Union had in mind when they decided to alleviate the effects of years of isolation by creating an international festival of contemporary music.

### *Negotiating Process*

The modifications in the concert requirements known to have been made during 1956 permitted conductors and other individuals connected with specific ensembles to choose their own programs. Correspondence shows that the Composers Union reserved the right to reject pieces suggested by each ensemble, but that they made few changes in the proposals submitted by each orchestra. In fact, the organizers apparently suggested only Polish works, while allowing foreign compositions to be selected by the performers. The Romanian and Viennese orchestras were requested by the Polish Composers Union to send two versions of their proposed programs, one of which would be chosen by the organizers.<sup>58</sup> Other orchestras likely received the same request, although such appeals are

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<sup>57</sup> Michał Spisak, "O Warszawskiej Jesieni Muzycznej," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (May 1, 1957): 26; Interview with Patkowski, 1986; Interview with Sikorski, 1986.

<sup>58</sup> Sikorski to George Georgescu, Philharmonie Nationale, Bucarest, March 12, 1956; Sikorski to Dr. Hans Sachs, March 30, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

not alluded to in available materials.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, apparently only one orchestra, the Brno State Philharmonic, suggested more pieces than were needed to fill two concerts. On June 5, 1956 the Ministry of Culture in Prague sent to the Polish Composers Union a list of four non-Polish works, all of which were performed at the Festival, and five Polish works, of which the Polish Composers Union chose two. On June 16, the Composers Union was notified by telephone of the precise arrangement of the two concert programs.<sup>60</sup>

The artistic director of the French National Radio and Television Orchestra, Henri Barraud, stated in June 1956 that he and Michał Spisak had chosen the contents of the two concerts to be performed by that ensemble. These programs were submitted to Sikorski and the Polish Composers Union for their approval on June 11. The only change between these two programs and those played at the Festival was the exchange of Skrowaczewski's Symphony for String Orchestra (1948) for his Overture (1932). This modification was not mentioned in the extant letters that were transmitted after June 11, but was made before the program book was sent to the printers on August 21, 1956.<sup>61</sup>

On May 4, 1956 Hans Sachs, the director of the Vienna Symphony, submitted two concert programs, one of which proposed the performance of Brahms' Fourth Symphony.

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<sup>59</sup> Little information is available about the negotiations with the Parrenin or Tátrai quartets or with the Moscow State Symphony.

<sup>60</sup> One of the pieces listed in the June 5 letter was Jan Novák's Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra, which was inserted into the Festival program as a result of the cancellation of Ibert's Flute Concerto. The program change was made on September 12, 1956: Ministry of Culture, Prague, to the Executive Board, Polish Composers Union, June 5, 1956; Ministry of Culture, Prague, to Dobrowolski, Polish Composers Union, September 12, 1956; Memo from the Polish Composers Union to the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, Warsaw, June 16, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>61</sup> Letters from either Henri Barraud or the Administrator of Artistic Services at French Radio-Television to Kazimierz Sikorski, June-October 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956; *Program I-go Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*.

Available correspondence contains no mention of additional consultations about repertoire; both programs were played without further change at the Festival.<sup>62</sup>

As of June 7, 1956 the Polish organizers had not yet received a list of works that the Romanian orchestra proposed to play in Warsaw. The content of the orchestra's concerts may not have been arranged until about mid-July--the next known communication from Romania occurred on July 28, when information for program notes was forwarded from the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation to the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals.<sup>63</sup> Undoubtedly discussions had taken place between early June and late July, but information on them is unavailable.

Since invitations were not accepted until March 1956 by the Bucharest and Viennese orchestras, and possibly as late as May for the French National Radio and Television Orchestra, discussions about the content of specific concerts probably did not begin until the spring of 1956. As just shown, concert programs for four of the foreign orchestras (all except the Moscow State Symphony) were finalized between May and July of 1956, three to five months before the start of the Festival. The programs suggested by each of the orchestras were accepted with little or no change by the Polish Composers Union. No non-Polish compositions are known to have been proposed by the Union, the exception being a claim by Witold Rudziński, a member of the Executive Board of the Composers Union, that Polish conductors had refused a request from the organizers to program works by

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<sup>62</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski to Hans Sachs and vice-versa, March-July, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>63</sup> Draft of a letter to the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in Romania, n.d. [May 1956?]; E. Tarska, Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations, Warsaw, to Institute of Foreign Cultural Relations, Bucharest, June 7, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

Hindemith.<sup>64</sup> All but two of the Polish compositions programmed by the foreign ensembles had been included in the December list compiled by the Executive Board of the Union.<sup>65</sup> As far as can be ascertained, the individual ensembles determined the remainder of each program, following the guidelines given in the letters of invitation or in subsequent communications. Since each orchestra's programs were accepted by July 1956, it can be assumed that the stipulations set forth by the organizers had been fulfilled to their satisfaction by that time.

Indeed, most of the concert requirements known to have been given to the London and Viennese orchestras in early 1956 were fulfilled by all participating ensembles. At least thirty minutes of Polish music was provided by each ensemble. Only three compositions that were not "contemporary" in the view of the organizers were performed. However, the requirement limiting the number of works from an ensemble's home country to two was not successfully realized, since the Soviet, French, and Austrian orchestras programmed more than two selections from their own countries over the course of two concerts each.

### Financial Arrangements

The budget for the Festival was discussed as early as the June 1955 meetings of the Composers Union's Executive Board. After those sessions, it was announced in the Union's *Information Bulletin* that the office of the Council of Ministers had asked the Ministry of Culture and Art to come up with a preliminary budget for the newly created

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<sup>64</sup> Rudziński, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'."

<sup>65</sup> The two exceptions were Lutosławski's *Little Suite* (1951) and Bacewicz's *Overture* (1943).

Festival.<sup>66</sup> As Kazimierz Sikorski pointed out years later, the Union in the mid-1950s had no money with which to pay the expenses of the Festival, and was thus dependent on other departments within the Ministry of Culture and Art to provide funds.<sup>67</sup>

At the May 1956 meeting of the Presidium of the Cultural Council, the total cost of the Festival was projected to be 3,415,000 zloties. Part of this sum was expected to be recovered through the sale of admission tickets and tape recordings of the concerts. These tapes were intended to be sold for hard currency, but never appeared on the retail market. Instead, long-playing records were sold during the Festival for zloties, the Polish nonconvertible currency. Immediately preceding the Festival, Jerzy Jasioński claimed that the expenses would amount to almost 2,000,000 zloties.<sup>68</sup> The discrepancy between these two figures is difficult to reconcile, since the ensembles that came to the Festival were the same ones that had been named in May, except for the addition of the Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra from Kraków. The actual cost of the event probably can never be determined accurately, but the separation of expenses among various departments of the Ministry of Culture and Art is visible.

Each of the soloists, conductors, and members of foreign ensembles who performed at the 1956 Festival was guaranteed payment for housing, food, and the costs of travel to and from Poland; an honorarium for their performances; and daily pocket money.<sup>69</sup> Since, as

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<sup>66</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-December, 1955).

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Sikorski, 1986.

<sup>68</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Prezydium Rady Kultury i Sztuki," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956; Jasioński, "'Warszawska Jesień,'" p. 5.

<sup>69</sup> "Projekt listu do kwartetów"; "Projekt pisma do kierowników zespołów symfonicznych Leningradu i Londynu oraz do kierowników kwartetów w Paryżu i Budapeszcie"; "Materiał na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury"; Sikorski to "Herr Direktor" [Hans Sachs], Vienna Symphony, March 8, 1956; Sikorski to "Herr Direktor," Concertgebouw Orchestra, March 21, 1956; Sikorski to Sir Thomas Beecham, Royal



noted earlier, expenses for the orchestras from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Romania were covered by the bilateral cultural exchange agreements in effect between Poland and these three countries, costs connected to these orchestras' performances in Warsaw were not included in the Ministry of Culture and Art's Festival budget. These exchange agreements, administered by the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, provided for reciprocal performances in each country by creative artists. Such presentations would have taken place whether or not an international festival of contemporary music occurred, and thus entailed no additional expenditures by the Polish government. The Polish share of the costs for these visits was paid in zloties, hence placing less of a financial burden on the Polish government, which lacked large amounts of hard currency. The expenses of the Great Symphony Orchestra of the Polish Radio from Stalinogród and the Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra from Kraków were covered by Polish Radio, a entity separate from the Ministry of Culture and Art, and thus also were not part of the actual budget for the Festival. Payment for the remaining Polish orchestras and chamber performers was not included in the Festival's budget, according to Jasiński, Sierpiński, and Rowiński--the only known commentators on the specific financial aspects of the festival.<sup>70</sup>

Costs pertaining to the Western European orchestras and the Parrenin Quartet came directly out of the Festival's budget. According to the agenda printed for the May meeting

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Philharmonic Orchestra, January 25, 1956; Administrateur des Services Artistiques, Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française to Sikorski, June 25, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>70</sup> Jasiński, "Warszawska Jesień"; Rowiński, "Wielka konfrontacja"; Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia a efekty."

of the Presidium of the Cultural Council, the honorarium paid to the ensemble, conductor, and soloists was to be dispersed partly in hard currency. This payment was acknowledged by commentators on the festival, who asserted that such currency was paid to the Austrian and French orchestras, as well as to the Parrenin Quartet.<sup>71</sup> In a June 1956 letter to Kazimierz Sikorski, the Administrator of Artistic Services at the French Radio and Television offices confirmed the financial conditions for the participation of the orchestra: The Festival would send 600,000 francs to Paris in payment for two concerts, and would also provide air transportation to and from Warsaw for the orchestra, 50 zloties daily per person for pocket money, and room and board.<sup>72</sup>

The preliminary draft of the letter of invitation to the quartets claims that each chamber ensemble would receive amenities similar to those described above--room and board, travel to and from Poland, plus 900 zloties daily per person. However, no honorarium was indicated.<sup>73</sup> Such a fee must have been negotiated later, at least for the French quartet. Jasiński maintained that the expenses for Tátrai Quartet from Hungary were also covered by the Festival's budget, but Sierpiński claimed that the Quartet performed under the auspices of a cultural exchange. Since Jasiński was an official in the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals as well as the secretary-general of the Festival Organizing Committee, he would be the most creditable of the two authors in this financial matter.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Jasiński, "Warszawska Jesień"; Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia a efekty"; "Materiał na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>72</sup> Administrateur des Services Artistiques, Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française, to Sikorski, June 25, 1956, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>73</sup> "Projekt listu do kwartetów," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>74</sup> Jasiński, "Warszawska Jesień"; Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia a efekty"; Rowiński, "Wielka konfrontacja."

## Invited Guests

One desire of the Polish Composers Union specifically stated only in unpublished declarations of the Festival's goals was that "outstanding composers, musicologists and others active in the field of music" would be invited to attend the event.<sup>75</sup> These guests would participate in exchanges of opinions on issues in contemporary music and, after attending the Festival, would be able to publicize the virtues of Polish music in their own countries. Invited foreign guests were assured of coverage by the Festival's organizers of their room and board as well as tickets to all concerts.<sup>76</sup> During the preparations for the Festival at least two lists of guests were compiled, both of which contained the names of composers, musicologists, conductors, and music critics from eighteen "capitalist" countries, including such distant or politically sensitive ones as India, Brazil, and Israel; and eight "People's Republics," including the six Eastern European countries, China and the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia was placed with the capitalist countries in both of these pre-Festival lists. Such composers as Milhaud, Messiaen, Britten, Martin, Dallapiccola, Petrassi, Nono, Barber, Piston, Copland, Villa-Lobos, and Carlos Chavez were invited from Western countries. From Eastern European and the Soviet Union Shostakovich, Khachaturian, Farkas Ferenc, and Paul Dessau were asked to attend. Three Polish emigrés were invited: Konstanty Regamey, Roman Haubenstock-Ramati, and Michał Spisak.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> "wybitni kompozytorzy, muzykolodzy i działacze muzyczni." "Materiał na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>76</sup> "Materiał na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury"; "Projekt listu do gości zagranicznych, zaproszonych na I. M.F.M.W.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>77</sup> Two undated typewritten manuscripts, both titled "Lista gości zagranicznych na I Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956. One contains a smaller total number of potential invitees --86--and a handwritten message suggesting that additional names be added, since

None of the "rebellious emigrés" had been invited: Panufnik, Palester, or Kassern. On both extant lists, a specific number of guests were allotted to each country, with indications of whether the person was to be a composer, music critic, musicologist, or conductor. It is thus evident that the organizers intended to invite representatives of different professions to observe the Festival. Specific names of people were not provided for all of the allotted slots on these preliminary lists.

Two letters from invited guests refer to the date of their invitation as May 29, 1956. More significantly for the success of the Festival, the authors of the letters--Serge Nigg and Laszlo Lajtha--stated that they did not receive the invitation until July.<sup>78</sup> For Nigg, a Parisian composer, this was too late to allow a positive response, since his schedule for October was already booked. It is possible that it was also too late for other invited composers and musicians to accept the invitation due to previous commitments. Indeed, one journalist claimed after the Festival that the number of invited guests who did not come was larger than the total of those who did.<sup>79</sup>

The list of guests who actually attended the Festival was quite different from the preliminary slates. The approximately fifty-one guests who came to Warsaw were from eight Western countries (England, Denmark, France, Israel, Switzerland, the United States, West Germany, and Yugoslavia) and seven Communist nations (Bulgaria, China,

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only 60-70% of those invited would probably attend. The other list contains 100 names, many of which are identical to the first slate.

<sup>78</sup> Letters from Laszlo Lajtha, Budapest, to the "President" [Kazimierz Sikorski, president of the Polish Composers Union] July 15, 1956 and from Serge Nigg, Paris, to Kazimierz Sikorski, July 7, 1956. Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>79</sup> M. Józef Michałowski, "Po festiwalu," *Dziennik zachodni*, no. 255 (October 23, 1956).

Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet Union).<sup>80</sup> Thirty-four people were from Communist countries, most of these arriving under the auspices of exchange agreements with Poland.<sup>81</sup> Approximately half of the guests were composers, among whom were Paul Olsen from Denmark, Michał Spisak, Ferenc Farkas from Hungary, Juri Shaporin--a Soviet composer born in 1889, Miloslav Kabeláč from Czechoslovakia, and Nadia Boulanger from France. Music critics included Alois Mooser from *La Suisse*, Paul Moor from *The New York Times*, and Peter Heyworth from the *London Observer*. Teams of recording specialists came from radio stations in East and West Germany, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, England, Finland, and Yugoslavia. An unknown number of additional observers were present; one Polish critic called attention to a group of students who came from Weimar Conservatory. The Polish travel agency ORBIS was also supposed to arrange excursions to Poland for the Festival. More than 100 Polish composers, musicologists and critics attended.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> It is not possible to calculate the exact number of guests due to the deviations between sources. The figure of fifty-one is derived from the information provided in Wilkowka-Chomińska, "Międzynarodowy Festiwal," "Festival Muzyki Współczesnej," *Przekrój*, no. 608 (October 28, 1956); and *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956), which provide the most detailed lists of guests.

<sup>81</sup> Exchange agreements were not in effect with all Eastern European countries at all times. Available information indicates that agreements were in effect in 1956 with Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany; it is possible that other agreements also existed. See *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956); Jasiński, "Warszawska Jesień"; Rowiński, "Wielka konfrontacja"; Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia a efekty."

<sup>82</sup> "Materiał na posiedzenie Prezydium Rady Kultury"; Jan Boehm, "Impresje pofestiwalowe," *Warmia i Mazury* (October 15, 1956): 9; "Festival Muzyki Współczesnej," *Przekrój*, no. 608 (October 28, 1956).

## Conclusions

The actions that occurred during the preparations for the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival had both positive and negative consequences with regard to the spectacle's success. The similarities between the organizational procedures of this Festival and that of the Festival of Polish Music held in 1955 were of negative value. For example, foreign guests were invited to observe both Festivals, but on both occasions, invitations were sent too late to allow some people to attend. In 1956 at least two foreign orchestras also had to turn down a request to perform in Warsaw because of the lateness of the invitation. Furthermore, in both cases the members of the Presidium and Executive Board of the Composers Union either did not or could not require performers to play specific compositions. With regard to the 1955 Festival, Baird complained that the Composers Union had had no authority to impose their choices for compositions on participating ensembles; in 1956, little evidence of extensive negotiation between the Composers Union and foreign ensembles exists. For this latter Festival, the Union established somewhat vague guidelines for the repertoire and specifically suggested only Polish pieces before accepting the concert programs proposed by each ensemble. This latter route seems to have been desired by the members of the Composers Union. Their knowledge of and access to twentieth-century music was limited as a result of their years of isolation. Hence, they entrusted ensembles with the responsibility to select compositions that would fulfill the goal of presenting the most outstanding works of contemporary music. However, a discrepancy existed between the organizers' stated goals for the Festival and the concert guidelines that they developed. These regulations were not designed to produce an event devoted strictly to twentieth-century music, but the organizers did not inform music critics or the general public of that fact until the end of the Festival.

Although Polish composers were the primary instigators in the decision to organize the first Warsaw Autumn Festival, the division of responsibilities within the Ministry of Culture and Art created a situation in which the Union neither controlled the budget for the Festival nor, more importantly, maintained direct lines of communication with each of the participating ensembles. The Union did not have the power to organize the Festival independently of the Ministry; they were dependent on the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation to conduct much of the correspondence with ensembles from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. On the other hand, members of the Composers Union did handle negotiations with Western European ensembles personally, officially extending invitations to participate and conducting all negotiations. They also discussed financial details with each Western ensemble, even though the expenditures for the Festival were controlled not by the Union, but by another division of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The lack of information concerning paths of communication and details of negotiation with Polish ensembles prevents any conclusions to be drawn concerning this segment of the Festival, beyond the fact that these groups were required to adhere to the same concert requirements as foreign participants.

Several positive tasks were accomplished by the Presidium and Executive Board of the Composers Union. Most beneficial was their success in persuading foreign ensembles to agree to present some of the Polish compositions chosen by the Executive Board as being worthy of performance at the Festival. The list of works compiled by the Board and shown in Table 1 was a well-rounded selection of compositions by Polish composers that for the most part had been written since the end of World War II.

Of singular importance to Poland was the fact that the Festival included the performance of contemporary music from other countries. Although the concert requirements did permit the selection of compositions written in the nineteenth century, only three pieces from that

era were performed at the Festival. Compositions from both East and West were heard, marking the first time in many years that such a large number of twentieth-century pieces by foreign composers had been performed in Poland and the first time since at least 1949 that the Polish government had not placed restrictions on the compositional styles and techniques that could be heard by its citizens.

Many of the methods by which performers, repertoire, and guests were selected for the 1956 Festival would remain essentially the same in subsequent years. Although the specific requirements for the contents of each concert would differ for future Festivals, and different committees would be set up to supervise the organizational process, Polish composers continued to direct the selection of repertoire. Furthermore, the different methods of communication that existed in 1956 also were characteristic of future organizational efforts.



## CHAPTER IV

### A COMPARISON OF THE 1956 FESTIVAL TO THE ORGANIZERS' GOALS

Kazimierz Sikorski, the president of the Polish Composers Union, opened the first international contemporary music festival to be held in an Eastern European country with these words: "We are beginning a great holiday of music, of contemporary music that expresses a present-day life full of contradictions but also full of hope. Let the International Festival 'Warsaw Autumn' be a fresh link in the dissemination of contemporary music, a fresh link in the strengthening of friendship between nations."<sup>1</sup> Over twelve days, from October 10-21, 1956, twenty concerts were heard by a total of 8,433 people.<sup>2</sup> Eighty compositions by fifty-three composers from thirteen countries were performed by musicians from seven countries. A list of the compositions and performers at this Festival is provided in Appendix A.<sup>3</sup>

Did the Festival fulfill the basic goals of its organizers? In other words, were comparisons between Polish music and that of other nations as well as between

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<sup>1</sup> "Rozpoczynamy wielkie święto muzyki - muzyki współczesnej wyrażającej obecne życie pełne sprzeczności lecz i pełne nadziei. Niech Międzynarodowy Festiwal - 'Warszawska Jesień' będzie dalszym ogniwem upowszechnienia muzyki współczesnej, dalszym ogniwem umocnienia przyjaźni między narodami." bg. "Wielkie święto muzyki," *Gazeta krakowska*, no. 245 (October 13-14, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> "Wykaz imprez, utworów i słuchaczy od I do XXII Festiwalu 'Warszawska Jesień'," Typewritten manuscript, Warsaw Autumn Festival Office, Warsaw, Poland.

<sup>3</sup> The information in Appendix A is adapted from Nowacki, "Kalendarium," in Kaczyński and Zborski, *Warszawska Jesień*, pp. 269-78.

compositions from East and West successfully achieved, were the most outstanding compositions of the twentieth century performed, and did the organizers' dreams of eliminating the isolation and stagnation of artistic life in Poland begin to be realized through this Festival? Each of these three queries is difficult to answer, given their inherently subjective nature. Nevertheless, by examining the array of compositions performed at the Festival in terms of their distribution among performing ensembles, their relative ages vis-à-vis the geopolitical origins of their composers (i.e., Polish, Western European, or Eastern European/Soviet), and their predominant stylistic trends, substantive responses can be given to each of them. Furthermore, insight into the issue of the rejuvenation of Polish artistic life can be obtained by assessing the value of the activities other than concerts that were planned by the organizers.

### **Performers and Repertoire: The Geopolitical Balance**

Given the sensitive political situation in Poland in 1955 and 1956, the organizers would have had to be concerned with assuring an equal or near equal representation between Eastern and Western performers. Although no references are made in documents referring specifically to the 1956 Festival to the exertion of pressure on or by the organizers to achieve such an equality, one of their aims clearly was to invite performers from both of these sectors as well as from their own country of Poland. Implied in the concert guidelines developed by the Festival's organizers was the fact that the number of compositions by composers from each of the three pertinent geopolitical regions would be related, to some degree, to the number of concerts performed by musicians from each of the same three areas.

The balance of performers at the Festival favored those from Poland, with the East bloc having the next highest number of both ensembles and concerts. The host country was

represented at eight concerts, more than any other individual country presented, and more than the total from either Western Europe--whose ensembles performed five concerts--or Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, whose performers played seven concerts. One chamber concert was given by performers from each of these three geopolitical regions. Thus, the discrepancy in concerts was caused by the number of orchestras from each area: four orchestras from Poland gave seven concerts, three from the East bloc offered six concerts, and two from the West presented four concerts. It is probable, although not verifiable, that financial concerns were among the direct causes of this imbalance. Those from the West had to be paid in hard currency, which was always in short supply in Poland. Those from Poland and the East could be paid in zloties, and thus were more affordable for the Festival's organizers.

In numerical terms, the success of the proposed comparisons between Polish music and that of other countries and between the music of East and West can be seen in Table 2. This Table categorizes each composition according to whether its composer was from Poland, Western Europe, or Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. This data is then subdivided by comparing how the same compositions were distributed among the performers from each of the same three geopolitical regions.<sup>4</sup> For each of the four resulting sections, the compositions from each region are further divided according to their ages.<sup>5</sup>

As shown in the Table, Poland's compositions outnumbered those of any other country, comprising forty-five percent of the pieces performed. The remaining

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<sup>4</sup> Table 2 follows the information provided in Appendix B, which lists composers according to whether they came from Poland, Communist Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union, the West.

<sup>5</sup> The information in parentheses under "Number of Compositions by Composers from" in the Table denotes the number of compositions by emigré composers, who are listed in Appendix B in a subgroup within their native region: (E1) means that one piece by a composer who emigrated from that region was written within the indicated time span.

compositions were equally divided between composers from East and West. Thus, it could be concluded that one proposed comparison was successfully achieved: the ratio of Polish to foreign works was roughly equal, resulting in a balanced presentation of music from these two categories. The comparison between East and West is more difficult to evaluate. When Włodzimierz Sokorski in 1955 gave his support to the idea of a comparison of music from East and West, he implied that Polish compositions would be counted as examples of Eastern music. If this is done, the result be a favorable edge for music from the Communist countries: more than seventy percent of the Festival's compositions would be by composers from that region. However, if the fifteen pieces written by emigré composers from Poland and the East--Bartók, Martinu, Spisak, Stravinsky, and Szałowski--are not counted as compositions from the East, the remaining works from the East bloc would comprise only fifty-five percent of the total (44 of 80), with those by composers native to the West and by the emigrés from the East making up the remainder. Although each of these emigrés was considered by his country of birth to be a native composer, none of them had lived in that country during its period of Communist rule.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, an evaluation of the degree to which a comparison of Eastern to Western music was realized should be taken from the perspective of the organizers, which was that the emigré composers were from the East. Thus, a comparison between East and West did occur, but it was weighted rather heavily in favor of the East.

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<sup>6</sup> In the 1950s, the Hungary government considered Bartók to be a native son. He was portrayed in the Hungarian press as a Communist sympathizer, even though Bartók himself would have denounced that characterization: "Propaganda vs. Facts: Communists Falsify Bartok's Life in America," *Musical America* (October, 1955), pp. 8, 30, 33. Similarly, Stravinsky is considered to be a Russian composer, but the Soviet government refused to allow performances of his music in that country before 1962, as will be discussed further in Chapter VI.

**TABLE 2**  
**Age of Compositions in Comparison to Their**  
**Distribution Among Performing Artists - Warsaw Autumn Festival 1956**

<u>Age of Composition</u> <u>in Years</u>	<u>Number of Compositions by Composers from:</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Polish</u>	<u>W. European</u>	<u>E. European/Soviet</u>	
<b>[All performing artists combined:]</b>				
0-5 (1951-1956)	17	3	2	22
6-10 (1946-1950)	5	6	4	15
11-20 (1936-1945)	9(E3)	5	6(E4)	19
21-30 (1926-1935)	3	4	4(E3)	12
31-56 (1900-1925)	1	2	5(E4)	8
57+ (pre-1900)	0	2	1	3
unknown	1	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>[Polish performing artists:]</b>				
0-5 (1951-1956)	9	0	1	10
6-10 (1946-1950)	2	2	0	4
11-20 (1936-1945)	4(E1)	0	3	7
21-30 (1926-1935)	3	3	2	8
31-56 (1900-1925)	1	2	2	5
57+ (pre-1900)	0	0	0	0
1 unknown				1
<b>SUBTOTAL:</b>	<b>20(E1)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>[Western European performing artists:]</b>				
0-5 (1951-1956)	4	3	0	7
6-10 (1946-1950)	3(E1)	3	0	6
11-20 (1936-45)	0	4	0	4
21-30 (1926-1935)	0	1	0	1
31-56 (1900-1925)	0	0	1(E1)	1
57+ (pre-1900)	0	1	0	1
<b>SUBTOTAL:</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1(E1)</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>[Eastern European and Soviet performing artists:]</b>				
0-5 (1951-1956)	4	0	1	5
6-10 (1946-1950)	1	1	4	6
11-20 (1936-1945)	4(E1)	1	3(E1)	8
21-30 (1926-1935)	0	0	2(E1)	2
31-56 (1900-1925)	0	0	2(E1)	2
57+ (pre-1900)	0	1	1	2
<b>SUBTOTAL:</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13(E3)</b>	<b>25</b>

The comparison of compositions from each geopolitical region can be extended to include the relative ages of the pieces. Information drawn from Table 2 indicates that the Festival offered a comparison between the newest Polish pieces and foreign compositions from throughout the twentieth century. Almost half of the Polish compositions had been written during the five years preceding the Festival; nearly two-thirds of them had originated since 1946, or within the previous ten years. In contrast, the dates of composition for most of the Western European pieces were spread fairly evenly over the thirty years preceding the Festival, while most of the Eastern European and Soviet compositions had been written more than ten years ago, or before the end of the Second World War. This difference in the ages of compositions from different geopolitical regions does not violate the organizers' intentions as stated in either the goals for the Festival or in the regulations concerning the content of each concert program--works from throughout the twentieth century could be performed.

Although the organizers' desire to promote Polish music by incorporating it into the repertoire of foreign ensembles was realized, as mentioned in Chapter III, the spirit of education and dissemination intended and achieved by this requirement was not extended to analogous cases successfully. Ensembles from East and West presented few pieces from each other's regions, even though such actions would have enabled these groups to enrich their repertoires with works that probably had not been heard in their respective countries. To some extent, this lack of an exchange of pieces among performers from each region is the result of the concert guidelines developed by the Festival's organizers, which required each ensemble to play Polish compositions and works from its own country. Moreover, many of the "Eastern" works played by Polish and Western ensembles were by Bartók and Stravinsky, two composers who had lived in the West for part of their lives. However,

because compositions by these two composers had rarely, if ever, been played in Poland during the years of enforced socialist realism, they would have been welcomed to the Festival's program by the organizers.

As can be seen from Table 2 and Appendix A, only one of the three Western European ensembles performed any compositions "from the East"--that being Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, presented by the French National Radio and Television Orchestra. This piece was well-known in France, but it had not been performed in Poland since before World War II.

The response of ensembles from the East was closer to the intent of the organizers than the West's had been; Eastern European performers offered three compositions from the West, all of which had been written before World War II: Honegger's Second and Third Symphonies (1941 and 1946, respectively) and Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel* (1895). The State Symphony Orchestra from Moscow played no pieces from Western Europe. Hence, both Eastern European and Soviet ensembles avoided the opportunity to incorporate newer Western compositions into their repertoires. Nonetheless, as noted in Chapter III, the Czechoslovakian orchestra did perform Malawski's *Symphonic Variations*; it also presented Stravinsky's *Firebird*. Since the rigors of socialist realism had also been experienced in that country in the 1950s, it is unlikely that either of these compositions had been performed there in recent years. Thus, it is admirable that this orchestra chose to incorporate politically sensitive works into its repertoire rather than programming nineteenth-century compositions or "safer" pieces.

Polish ensembles offered the most balanced presentation of works from East and West, performing eight pieces from the East and seven from the West. Only one of the Eastern pieces was by a composer who had lived in a Communist country--that being Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 10*, performed at the inaugural concert by the National

Philharmonic. The Western pieces included pieces that most likely had not been in the repertory of Polish orchestras in recent years: Messiaen's *Les Offrandes oubliées*, Milhaud's *Concertino de printemps*, and Britten's *Spring Symphony*.

### **Stylistic Trends Represented at the Festival**

The desire of Polish composers to hear what types of music had been written during the twentieth century appears to have been fulfilled if only the ages and numbers of compositions are looked at. However, the question of whether the pieces performed at the Festival satisfied the organizers' quest for the most outstanding contemporary compositions remains unanswered; this inquiry can be answered only subjectively at best. However, in responding to this and the equally crucial issue of what changes in the cultural policies of the Polish government can be seen in the array of compositions performed at the Festival, one must look not only at the numbers and percentages discussed in the previous few pages, but also at the compositions themselves. What stylistic trends did they represent? Were the compositions by Soviet and Eastern European composers progressive in style or perhaps examples of socialist realism? How did the Festival as a whole fare in realizing the goal of informing Polish musicians and the general public about the events of world music in the twentieth century ?

From the actual program, one can deduce that the organizers wanted this first Warsaw Autumn Festival to be more a retrospective of twentieth-century music than a review of the newest styles. This aspiration was also shown by the organizers' acceptance of the range of twentieth-century repertoire proposed by each ensemble. Although nearly half of all compositions performed at the Festival had been written within the previous ten years, most of the newer pieces came primarily from Poland, where composers had been greatly limited in permissible compositional styles due to the strictures of socialist realism. Thus,



their pieces did not reflect many of the experimental techniques developed in the twentieth century. Of the nine Western European compositions written in the last decade, only one--Martinet's *Variations for String Quartet* (1946)--uses dodecaphony.<sup>7</sup> Berger's *La Parola* (1954), uses precompositionally determined materials, although not in a serialist manner.<sup>8</sup> The remainder display a more moderate or conservative musical idiom, as seen in Martinon's *String Quartet* and Dutilleux's *Symphony No. 1*. According to Nicolas Slonimsky, Mario Zafred, the lone Italian composer represented at the festival, wrote works in an accessible style in accordance with his ideological adherence to Communism.<sup>9</sup>

The retrospective element of the Festival was dominated by compositions of Stravinsky, Honegger, Bartók, and French composers. Six compositions by Stravinsky were performed, all of which had been written before 1946. All of the most important works of his Russian period were presented--*Fireworks*, *Firebird*, *Petrushka*, and *The Rite of Spring*--plus *Ebony Concerto* (1945) and *Jeux de cartes* (1936). (Concert versions of the ballets were given.) The composer with the second-highest number of compositions performed was Honegger, whose four works at the Festival had all been composed by 1946. Two of them were from the 1920s: *Sonatina for Two Violins* (1920) and the machine-style *Pacific 231* (1923). Bartók was represented by three compositions, the newest being his *Concerto for Orchestra* (1943). The Second Viennese School was represented by Schönberg's *Piano Concerto* (1942) and Berg's *Lyric Suite* (1926). French

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<sup>7</sup> Nicolas Slonimsky, *The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1988), s.v. "Jean-Louis Martinet."

<sup>8</sup> Theodor Berger, *La Parola* (Hamburg: Hans Sikorski, 1955), preface, cited in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 421. Lee and the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival program book give 1955 as the date of composition; *New Grove* indicates 1954.

<sup>9</sup> Slonimsky, *Concise Baker's*, s.v. "Mario Zafred."

compositions dominated the remainder of the non-Polish portion of the program. Overall, ten pieces by ten French composers were performed.

The newest stylistic trends present in Western Europe in the 1950s were thus not heard in large numbers. No examples of electronic music or *musique concrète* were programmed; neither were there any works employing integral serialist techniques. The concert programs submitted to the organizers did not, according to available archival sources, include compositions by Boulez or Stockhausen, two of the most important representatives of the musical avant-garde in Western Europe. Even the French Radio and Television orchestra failed to choose any works by Boulez, but instead selected five compositions in a more conservative style by French composers of the older generation: Georges Auric, André Jolivet, Henri Dutilleux, Henri Barraud, and Pierre Capdevielle.

Although perhaps not all of the most important stylistic techniques developed by the mid-1950s were portrayed on the Festival, it is possible to assert that at least some of the most outstanding compositions written in the twentieth century were presented. Certainly some of the finest pieces written by Stravinsky and Bartók were heard, as well as two exemplary compositions by Shostakovich--his Symphony No. 10 and his Violin Concerto No. 1. Furthermore, the pieces by two of the three leaders of the dodecaphonic school--Schönberg and Berg--are important works in each composer's oeuvre. It might be claimed that compositions written in the 1950s had not stood the test of time, and hence, could not be counted among the most outstanding works of the century. At the same time, however, the performance of three nineteenth-century works negated the restriction, implied in all statements of goals, that the Festival would consist exclusively of contemporary, or twentieth-century, music.

For Polish musicians, the most important accomplishment of the 1956 Festival was its success in filling certain gaps in their knowledge of this century's music. The changes in

cultural policy that had begun in Poland in approximately 1954 were intensified in the field of music by the inclusion in the Festival of works by many composers who had been declared *persona non grata* in Poland beginning in 1949. For example, as mentioned in previous chapters, Stravinsky's *Firebird* and *Petrushka* had been presented in Warsaw during the 1947/48 and 1949/50 concert seasons, respectively, but works by this preeminent composer were not heard again in Poland until the 1955/1956 season, when *Petrushka* was performed. Certain works by Berg, Honegger, and Britten were also presented in Warsaw during the latter concert season. Compositions by these composers, as well as by Schönberg and Messiaen, had rarely, if ever, been performed in Poland since the 1949 Łagów conference, yet at least one work by each of them was offered at the Warsaw Autumn Festival.

The number of premieres at the Festival also reveals how significant its concerts were for the education of Polish musicians and the public. Nearly a third of the pieces (24 of 80) were Polish premieres; one was also a world premiere: Tadeusz Baird's *Cassazione per orchestra*.<sup>10</sup> Except for Baird's piece, all of the premieres were by foreign composers. These included fourteen Western European compositions and nine Eastern European or Soviet works; of these nine, three were by emigrés Stravinsky, Bartók, and Martinu. The Schönberg and Berg compositions cited above were also premieres, as were Britten's

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<sup>10</sup> Polish and world premieres at each Warsaw Autumn Festival are indicated in Appendix A. For the most part, this information has been taken from Nowacki's "Kalendarium." Premieres are identified sporadically in the program book for the 1958 festival, and systematically beginning with the 1960 program book. However, these books do not provide reliable data on premieres, according to Nowacki and several Polish composers. One exception to Nowacki's indication of premieres concerns Shostakovich's Symphonic No. 10. It is cited as a Polish premiere by Nowacki, but had been played at the National Philharmonic in Warsaw on September 30, 1955: Kydryński, "Bilans i perspektywy," p. 8; Zygmunt Mycielski, "X Symfonia Szostakowicza otwiera sezon Filharmonii Narodowej," *Przegląd kulturalny* 4 (October, 1955) and Lee, "Musical Life," p. 396. Accordingly, this symphony is omitted from the present author's tally of premieres.

*Spring Symphony* (1949) and the works of Jolivet, Dutilleux, Messiaen, Milhaud, Barraud, and Auric.

Polish premieres of Soviet compositions included Shostakovich's Violin Concerto No. 1 (1948) and Miaskovsky's Symphony No. 27 (1950). Each of the four Soviet composers whose works were heard at the Festival--Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Miaskovsky--had been censured in February 1948 by their country's Communist Party Central Committee,<sup>11</sup> but had been restored to favorable status by the time of the Warsaw Autumn Festival. In the case of Miaskovsky and Prokofiev, the major part of their rehabilitations came posthumously. Even though the symphonies by Shostakovich and Khachaturian were performed at the Festival by orchestras other than the invited Soviet orchestra, their presence on the program implies that their performances had been approved by the Polish organizers of the festival, by the Soviet government, and in the case of the Khachaturian piece, also by governmental authorities in Romania, whose performers played the work. Despite the liberal spirit of the thaw that was evolving in the field of music in Poland and, to a lesser degree, in the Soviet Union in 1956, it is doubtful that the performance of any composition by a composer who recently had been censured in either country could have been scheduled without prior approval of the governments of both nations as well as that of any Eastern European country involved in the presentation of such pieces.

Miaskovsky's Symphony No. 27 and Shostakovich's Symphony No. 10 were composed after the 1948 censorship. To a certain extent each represents its composer's answer to the charges made against him. According to Boris Schwarz, Miaskovsky's symphony was praised as a "consummate masterpiece" at its premiere in December 1950,

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<sup>11</sup> "Resolution of the Central Committee, in Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, pp. 1359-60. See also Chapter 1.

which took place after the composer's death in August of the same year.<sup>12</sup> The symphony, which employs a traditional musical language, received a posthumous Stalin prize. It also contributed to the composer's return to good favor with the authorities, which had already begun with the official endorsement of his Second Cello Sonata of 1949.<sup>13</sup>

Shostakovich's Symphony No. 10, written and premiered in 1953, prompted numerous published articles and a three-day debate at the Soviet Composers Union in the spring of 1954 that centered on the "right of an artist to express himself, individually rather than collectively,...without bureaucratic interference and tutelage."<sup>14</sup> The symphony was deemed acceptable as far as its musical quality was concerned, but the moods of introspection, violence, and tragedy apparent in its first three movements seemed at odds with the ideals of composition upheld in the Soviet Union before the death of Stalin. Shostakovich was named a "People's Artist of the U.S.S.R." later in 1954, an indication that his symphony had been officially sanctioned and his rehabilitation from the criticisms of 1948 validated.

The same composer's Violin Concerto had been composed in 1948. Its premiere had been withheld by the composer until December 1955, when a more hospitable atmosphere in Soviet culture was evident.<sup>15</sup> Among its features are hints of a Jewish folk dance in the Scherzo, a passacaglia third movement, and a long cadenza that connects that movement to the finale.<sup>16</sup> It received a favorable public opinion only after David Oistrakh, the soloist at

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<sup>12</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 230.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.; Stanley D. Krebs, *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 115-16.

<sup>14</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 278.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 244, 278-79.

<sup>16</sup> For more information, see Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 288-89.

its premiere, published an article in *Sovetskaya Muzyka* in July 1956 praising the work. Oistrakh was also the soloist in the Concerto's performance at Carnegie Hall in December 1955 as well as at the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival.<sup>17</sup> These two compositions by Shostakovich were hailed in the Soviet Union for serving to loosen the bonds of socialist realism in music.

Khachaturian's Second Symphony (1943) was not among those compositions singled out for criticism in 1948, yet it rarely, if ever, was performed in the Soviet Union in the late 1940s and early 1950s.<sup>18</sup> According to the Warsaw Festival's program book, the composition was an excellent example of symphonic composition in the Soviet Union and resounded with the heroism of the Soviets in the Second World War.<sup>19</sup>

Khachaturian had urged publicly in 1953 and 1954 that bureaucratic interference in stylistic matters relating to musical composition be lessened and more creative freedom be permitted. His articles set off a heated debate in the Soviet press on these same matters. Along with Shostakovich, he was designated a "People's Artist of the U.S.S.R" in 1954, signalling his rehabilitation from the censures of 1948.<sup>20</sup>

Prokofiev's second suite from the ballet *Romeo and Juliet* was also presented at the Festival. The ballet was warmly received at its premiere in 1940, and today is regarded as one of his finest lyric works. However, the composer was censured in 1948 for his *Festive*

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 289-90. For further information on both compositions by Shostakovich, see Eric Roseberry, *Shostakovich: His Life and Times* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1982), pp. 125, 131-144.

<sup>18</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 328.

<sup>19</sup> *Program I-go Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 273-75, 278-79, 285-87.

*Poem*, Sixth Symphony, and cantata *Blossom Forth the Mighty Land*, and was fully rehabilitated only after his death in 1953.<sup>21</sup>

The Polish composers whose compositions were performed at the Festival were predominantly those whose works had also been heard at either or both of the earlier Festivals of Polish Music. In fact, twenty-four-year-old Wojciech Kilar was the only Polish composer represented at the 1956 Festival whose name does not appear among the available published reviews of either of these earlier exhibitions. No overtly propagandistic works by Polish composers that extolled the virtues of socialist society--mass songs, for example--were performed at the Festival. However, some compositions had been highly praised during the early 1950s for their meritorious qualities of socialist realism. Three such pieces--Witold Lutosławski's *Little Suite* and Concerto for Orchestra, and Tadeusz Baird's *Colas Breugnon*--were cited in Chapter II.

The Polish segment of the program was dominated by pieces written in a neoclassic style, which, as discussed in Chapter II, was among the prevalent compositional styles in Poland in the early 1950s. In addition to the pieces just named, other neoclassic works included Kazimierz Sikorski's Symphony No. 3 "In the Form of a Concerto Grosso," (1953), Bolesław Szabelski's Symphony No. 3 (1951) and *Concerto grosso* (1954), and Bolesław Woytowicz's String Quartet No. 2 (1953). Grażyna Bacewicz's Concerto for String Orchestra (1948) has been described by Judith Rosen as the most important of the composer's neoclassic works.<sup>22</sup> Adrian Thomas has expanded upon this observation, noting that the composition utilizes features from the Baroque concerto grosso but also

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<sup>21</sup> Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, p. 1365; Harlow Robinson, *Sergei Prokofiev. A Biography* (New York: Viking, 1987), pp. 373, 472-88.

<sup>22</sup> Judith Rosen, *Grażyna Bacewicz. Her Life and Works* (Los Angeles: Friends of Polish Music, University of Southern California, 1984), p. 24.

incorporates unusual key progressions.<sup>23</sup> The same composer's String Quartet No. 4 from 1951, which was awarded first prize at the Liège International String Quartet Competition the same year,<sup>24</sup> is regarded by Thomas as the finest string quartet written in Poland between 1950 and 1954,<sup>25</sup> the period of enforced implementation of socialist realism. The piece uses classical forms, but, again, its key progressions do not adhere to traditional classical models. The quartet utilizes folk song motives.<sup>26</sup>

Two of the three Polish compositions completed in 1956 and performed at the first Warsaw Autumn Festival--Baird's *Cassazione* and Serocki's *Sinfonietta*--used dodecaphonic or atonal techniques.<sup>27</sup> Recent commentators on Polish music as well as the compiler of the program book for the Festival itself, Tadeusz Marek, have noted that Baird's piece contains sections of dodecaphony, although the composition is not fully infused with the rigors of the technique as exemplified in the works of Schönberg or Webern.<sup>28</sup> This composition, which was the first of Baird's works to incorporate aspects of atonality or dodecaphony, may have been inspired by the composer's hearing of Berg's *Wozzeck* and *Lyric Suite* a year or two earlier. As Baird related in an interview in 1971, Berg was "the greatest musical discovery of my life. I admit that to this day nothing has

<sup>23</sup> Thomas, *Bacewicz*, pp. 66, 69.

<sup>24</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," p. 320.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas, *Bacewicz*, p. 36.

<sup>26</sup> Grażyna Bacewicz, *IV Kwartet smyczkowy* (Liège: Edgar Tyssens, 1952; Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1987); Thomas, *Bacewicz*, pp. 70-75.

<sup>27</sup> The third piece was Arthur Malawski's Second Symphony.

<sup>28</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," p. 421; Baculewski, *Polska twórczość kompozytorska*, p. 139; Krystyna Tarnawska-Kaczorowska, "Tradycja romantyczna w twórczości Tadeusza Bairda," in *Spotkania muzyczne w Baranowie. Muzyka w muzyce*, eds. Teresa Malecka and Leszek Polony (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977), p. 174; *Program I-go Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 35.



made an equally sharp, thrilling impression on me as the first contact with his *Wozzeck* and *Lyric Suite*. At that time, it genuinely seemed to me that Alban Berg wrote almost everything that I wanted to write someday, and that he undoubtedly, and without comparison, did it better."<sup>29</sup>

Serocki's *Sinfonietta* was premiered in July 1956 by the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, with conductor Jan Krenz; the same personnel presented the piece at the Warsaw Autumn Festival. In the late 1950s Serocki continued to use the atonal and dodecaphonic techniques that had appeared in several of his earlier compositions, while incorporating new procedures as well.<sup>30</sup> *Sinfonietta*, written for two orchestras, uses a spatial dispersment of sounds that was to become one characteristic of his later compositions. It contains passages of freely treated 12-tone techniques as well as elements of neoclassicism, the latter seen in its use of traditional Baroque and Classical forms.<sup>31</sup>

The prestige accorded by Polish musicians to Szymanowski is reflected in the fact that two of his finest works occupied positions of honor during the Festival. His *Stabat Mater* was the first Polish composition performed at the Festival, while his Symphony No. 3 "Song of the Night" concluded the final concert. In effect, they formed a frame encompassing this first international festival of contemporary music, which had been

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<sup>29</sup> "największe muzyczne odkrycie mojego życia - przyznam się, że do dnia dzisiejszego nic nie zrobiło na mnie równie dojmującego, wstrząsającego wrażenia, jak pierwsze zetknięcie się z jego *Wozzeckiem* czy *Suita liryczną*. Wówczas wydawało mi się wręcz - że Alban Berg napisał prawie wszystko, co ja sam chciałbym kiedyś napisać, i że zrobił to zapewne nieporównanie lepiej." Izabella Grzenkiewicz, "Kompozytorzy mówią: Tadeusz Baird," *Ruch muzyczny* 15, no. 6 (1971): 6.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter II for comments on these earlier works.

<sup>31</sup> Lyn Davies, "Serocki's 'Spatial Sonoristics,'" *Tempo* 145, no. 6 (1983): 29; Ziełiński, *O twórczości Kazimierza Serockiego*, pp. 45-49; Ludwik Erhardt, *Contemporary Music in Poland*, trans. Eugenia Tarska (Warsaw: Polonia, 1966), p. 11; Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziełowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 336.

created by Polish musicians in an attempt to break out of a prolonged period of stagnation and separation from much of the outside world, much as Szymanowski had striven to bring Polish music out of the depths of isolation and provincialism earlier in the century.

### Opportunities for Exchanging Information

In addition to the Festival's daily concerts, which formed the main attraction for both participants and audience, other activities took place that were designed to help realize the goals of renewing artistic contacts and promoting Polish music abroad. These opportunities for exchanges of information, whether officially planned or spontaneously arranged, have contributed towards the international perception of the festival as a unique phenomenon in contemporary music.

One of the most valuable by-products of the Festival came as the result of personal contacts between participants and observers from East and West. In part, discussions between composers, performers, journalists, and musicologists came about through a series of daily meetings held at the Polish Composers Union's headquarters. Each session was attended by members of the Composers Union and a delegation of musicians and other invited guests from a particular country or region.<sup>32</sup> Press reports mentioned meetings with contingents from Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, [East] Germany, England, Finland, France, Hungary, Italy, Korea, Romania, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Projekt listy uczestników spotkań z delegacjami zagranicznymi," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1956.

<sup>33</sup> Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna"; Jerzy Młodziejowski, "Festiwalowe spotkania," *Express Poznański*, no. 248 (October 19, 1956); (zu) "'Warszawski Jesień'. Głos mają goście z Chin i Jugosławii," *Słowo powszechne*, no. 252 (October 20-21, 1956); "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej," *Przekrój*, no. 608 (1956);

Other official encounters came in press conferences and in meetings between members of Polish and foreign orchestras. One press conference was held at the Czechoslovakian Information Center in Warsaw, where the conductor of the Czechoslovakian State Philharmonic, representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Art in Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Poland, and other officials from that country's government met with members of the Warsaw press. At another, arranged by the Festival's Press Bureau, members of the foreign and domestic press questioned the managing director and one of the conductors of the State Symphony Orchestra from Moscow. At least one of the gatherings of orchestral members was planned by SPAM, the union of Polish performers, who invited their colleagues from the Czechoslovakian and Romanian orchestras to meet at the Prymasowski Palace in Warsaw. The Polish press reported that meetings occurred between the Polish symphony orchestras and all of the foreign ensembles. Furthermore, at the request of some of the guests, the Polish recording company hosted several sessions devoted to hearing tapes of contemporary Polish music.<sup>34</sup>

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*Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956). The designation "Germany" was given without any reference to "East" or "West." However, in many documents pertaining to Polish music or post-World War II history, East Germany is labeled "Germany," while West Germany retains its adjectival qualifier.

<sup>34</sup> Z. Czajkowska, "Warszawska Jesień. Rozmowa z czeskimi muzykami," *Słowo powszechne*, no. 249 (October 18, 1956); ZAP, "Spotkanie moskiewskich muzyków z przedstawicielami prasy," *Express wieczorny*, no. 248 (October 16, 1956); ZAP, "Express' rozmawia ze znakomitym dyrygentem George Georgescu," *Express wieczorny*, no. 246 (October 13-14, 1956); "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej," *Przekrój*, no. 608 (1956); ZCZ, "O muzyce Wschodu i Zachoda: rozmowa z delegacją radziecką," *Słowo powszechne*, no. 248 (October 16, 1956); *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956). The Polish recording company was called "Zakład Nagrań Dźwiękowych" (Institute of Sound Recordings) from 1953 until sometime in 1956, when a reorganization brought about the enterprise "Polskie Nagrania" (Polish Recordings): Frydrychowicz, "Radio, telewizja i fonografia," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 230.

Informal contacts between Polish musicians and those from other countries readily occurred in daily encounters at rehearsals, concerts, and other events. The successful exchange of information and opinions achieved by both official and unofficial meetings was of far-reaching significance to participants, visitors, and the Polish public. While providing long-lasting benefits to all concerned, it was especially helpful in signalling a new openness in Polish musical life. Many scores of contemporary music, addresses of composers and other musicians, and information about musical life in other countries were exchanged between Polish musicians and their visitors. The Yugoslavians, for example, brought with them a number of scores. Urusz Krek, a composer and staff member of Lublana Radio's music section, indicated a desire to tape interviews with such Polish composers as Wisłocki, Serocki, Lutosławski, Dobrowolski, and Bacewicz, which would be broadcast on Yugoslavian radio along with selections from their compositions. Dr. Vaclav Smetáček, the director of the Prague Symphonic Orchestra, disclosed that he would be writing articles about the Festival for *Vecerni Praha*, a daily paper in Prague. Leonard Isaac, the director of a BBC program, announced that he would inform British listeners about the Festival's program. He also was planning to be in contact with the Polish music publishers, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, and the state recording firm, Polskie Nagrania, and hoped that he could introduce the most interesting tapes of Polish music to audiences in Great Britain. Isaac did not specify whether he would be receiving tapes from Polish sources or would be allowed to conduct his own taping in Polish studios. It is also not known if this project ever was realized.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Młodziejowski, "Festiwalowe spotkania"; Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna"; zu, "Warszawska Jesień"; Andrzej Wróblewski, "Z Pragi - na Warszawską Jesień." *Życie Warszawy*, no. 229 (September 25, 1956): 4; "'Express' rozmawia z dyrektorem programów 'Home Service' BBC Leonardem Isaacem i kompozytorem duńskim Poulem [sic] Olsenem." *Express wieczorny*, no. 244 (October 11, 1956).

Hans Sachs, the managing director of the Vienna Symphony, revealed during a press conference that until approached about participating in the Warsaw Autumn Festival, he, like most Austrians, knew nothing about events in Polish music after the time of Szymanowski, who died in 1937. (Szymanowski's music was published by Universal Edition in Vienna, and hence, was currently available to Austrians.) While planning his orchestra's programs for the Festival, Sachs stated that he had received a series of scores to contemporary Polish compositions, including Lutosławski's Concerto for Orchestra, which he chose for performance in Warsaw. One Polish critic's retort to hearing about the Austrians' lack of access to scores of contemporary Polish music was "that is characteristic of the work of our cultural attachés abroad!"<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, the sole representative from China, Li-Go-Tzuan, a conductor and member of the Executive Board of the Chinese Composers Union, said that prior to the Festival, he had been acquainted with Polish composition only through the music of Chopin and Moniuszko. However, "thanks to the *Little Suite* of Lutosławski and also Baird's Suite from "Colas Breugnon," I acquired many new and fresh musical impressions. From the Polish Composers Union, I received scores of your [Polish] contemporary works. When I return to China I will strive to popularize them."<sup>37</sup> The idea that foreign guests would return to their respective countries to disseminate Polish music on concerts, broadcasts, and in print had been one of the compelling reasons behind the Festival's establishment.

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<sup>36</sup> "to...charakteryzuje pracę naszych attachatów kulturalnych za granicą!" M. Józef Michałowski, "Po festiwalu," *Ilustrowany Kurier Polski*, no. 251 (October 20, 1956). The same text is found in "Festiwal trwa," *Dziennik zachodni*, no. 255 (October 23, 1956). See also "Koncert 'Wiener Symphoniker'," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 293 (October 20, 1956).

<sup>37</sup> "dzięki Małej Suicie Lutosławskiego czy też Suicie Bairda "Colas Breugnon" - zdobyłem wiele nowych, świeżych wrażeń muzycznych. Od Związku Kompozytorów Polskich otrzymałem nuty i partytury waszych utworów współczesnych, gdy wrócę do Chin będę się starał popularyzować je." zu, "'Warszawska Jesień'."

For Polish composers, especially the younger ones, the Festival represented the first opportunity to hear an array of twentieth-century music. Zygmunt Krauze, who in 1956 was an eighteen-year-old student, has said that the Warsaw Autumn Festival in its early years was the only source of information on contemporary music in Poland and thus constituted the biggest musical event of the year.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps foremost in importance on the list of tangible items serving to foster an exchange of information was the issuance during the Festival of sound recordings of selected compositions performed at its concerts. Three-hundred copies of twenty one-sided long-playing records were issued by the Polish recording firm. These recordings, produced in "slow-speed" (33 1/3) format, contained ten complete compositions and fragments of twenty-six others, and were on sale in the National Philharmonic concert hall as soon as two days after each concert.<sup>39</sup> The issuance of these Festival recordings is especially significant in view of the fact that the first slow-speed record produced in Poland had appeared less than a year earlier.<sup>40</sup> Appendix C lists the compositions on the 1956-1961 recordings.

The purpose of issuing the recordings was to further popularize the Festival's repertoire, and more specifically, to give the foreigners present at the Festival an opportunity to bring them to their home countries, where others might also be able to hear

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<sup>38</sup> Interview with Zygmunt Krauze, December 6, 1985, Warsaw, Poland.

<sup>39</sup> "wolnoobrotowe." *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956). Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna," p. 5. A set of Festival recordings is located at the Polish Composers Union headquarters in Warsaw.

<sup>40</sup> This record consisted of Lutosławski's *Little Suite* and the eighteenth-century composer Jan Stefani's *Suite from Cracowians and Mountaineers* ("Suita z Krakowiaków i górali"): "Przegląd prasy," *Muzyka*, 7, nos. 1-2 (January-February, 1956): 82.

the Warsaw performances.<sup>41</sup> In this manner, Polish music could be widely disseminated; as shown in Appendix C, compositions by fourteen Polish composers constituted fifteen of the thirty-six works in the 1956 set. Wide public interest was shown in these recordings, according to the Composers Union's *Information Bulletin*.<sup>42</sup> At least portions of all six pieces by Stravinsky presented at the Festival were recorded. Honegger and Woytowicz each had two works included in the set; the remaining composers were represented by one piece. The esteem with which Szymanowski was held in the minds of Polish musicians is evident once again by the inclusion of a portion of his Third Symphony.

Another means of disseminating both Polish and foreign music was the broadcast by Polish Radio of at least twelve of the Festival's concerts. Four of the broadcasts were live transmissions: the opening and closing concerts, both performed by the National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra; the October 19th offering by the French National Radio and Television Orchestra; and the performance on October 20th by the State Symphony Orchestra of the Soviet Union. At least eight other concerts were aired on a delayed basis between October 15 and 25; according to the *Information Bulletin* of the Composers Union, all of the Festival concerts were broadcast by domestic and foreign stations. For educational purposes the Polish recording company also taped performances by participating foreign ensembles of a number of compositions not presented at the Festival itself.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> SIERP, "'Warszawska Jesień'," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 239 (October 6, 1956); Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna."

<sup>42</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956).

<sup>43</sup> si, "W poniedziałek przybywają do Warszawy pierwsi uczestnicy Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej," *Głos pracy*, no. 239 (October 6-7, 1956); SIERP, "Warszawska Jesień," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 239 (October 6, 1956); "Tydzień muzyczny w Polskim Radiu. Warszawska Jesień," *Radio i Świat*, no. 42 (October 14, 1956); "Tydzień muzyczny w Polskim Radiu. Z Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej,"

An important supplement for all Festival participants and observers was the program book, printed in Polish and at least one foreign language, the latter of which is unnamed in available sources.<sup>44</sup> The book, written by Tadeusz Marek, a prominent music critic and author who had also penned the concert guide issued on the occasion of the 1955 Festival of Polish Music, contains a brief survey of the history of music in Poland and a statement of the Festival's goals. The publication, which appeared in 2500 copies, was completed in late September 1956.<sup>45</sup>

The book begins with a schedule of concerts and performers. In a separate listing, the compositions to be presented at each concert are named, along with a repetition of the performers' names. The majority of the volume consists of biographies of composers and performers and program notes for the scheduled pieces. No notes were provided for the works of ten composers, including Bartók, Berg, Milhaud, Ravel, and Messiaen. Furthermore, they are provided for only two of Stravinsky's six pieces, *Fireworks* and *The Rite of Spring*, the latter being described only as "one of the most splendid scores in

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*Radio i Świat*, no. 43 (October 22-28, 1956); Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna"; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956). The articles in *Głos pracy* and *Życie Warszawy* relate that all of the concerts not broadcast live would be taped and retransmitted later. The two articles from *Radio i Świat*, plus the preceding issue of that magazine (no. 41, October 7, 1956), do not list broadcasts of any festival concert before October 15. However, personnel at the Polish Composers Union headquarters in Warsaw have told me that Polish Radio has taped all of the concerts at each Warsaw Autumn Festival. The library at the Composers Union headquarters also houses tapes of most, if not all, of the concerts.

<sup>44</sup> Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna." According to the Warsaw Autumn Festival office staff, the first English translation of the program book was prepared for the 1972 Festival.

<sup>45</sup> *Program I-go Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 2.



contemporary music, with a revelational character, and a creative use of folk intonation."<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the notes for other foreign compositions contained little, if any, technical commentary on their musical style, while those written about Polish compositions often discussed form, tempos, and notable orchestrational details. For example, in one of the more modest notes about a Polish composition, Dobrowolski's *Symphony No. 1* (1955), the number of movements is given, along with a description of the tempo and form for each movement. A more elaborate commentary is given for Mycielski's *Polish Symphony*; in addition to the titles and musical forms of each movement, details are provided about certain orchestrational peculiarities as well as about the relationships between different themes in each movement and between certain themes and Polish folk melodies.<sup>47</sup>

In writing the program book, Marek would have been able to rely on information gathered directly from Polish composers about their compositions, and would have had detailed personal knowledge of many of these works. He also should have had access to the biographies and notes about compositions that were sent by foreign ensembles to either the Composers Union or to Jerzy Jasiński at the Department of Artistic Events and Festivals. The desire on the part of the Polish organizers to promote the music of their own composers abroad may have contributed to the increased level of detail about Polish compositions in the program books, since foreign participants and visitors would be

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<sup>46</sup> "Jedna z najgenialniejszych partytur w muzyce współczesnej. Odkrywcze, twórcze zastosowanie intonacji ludowych." *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>47</sup> *Program I-go Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 48, 70. The note on Mycielski's *Polish Symphony* gives the date of composition as 1953, which is incorrect. The work was premiered in September 1951, according to Poniatońska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 319. The precise year of composition is unknown to this author, since other sources also give varying dates: 1949-1950 in Bogusław Schäffer, *Almanach polskich kompozytorów współczesnych* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956), p. 56; 1951 in Hanuszewska and Schaeffer, *Almanach*, p. 159; and 1952 in *New Grove*, s.v. "Zygmunt Mycielski."

returning home with this publication. However, even if some of the foreign ensembles did not provide the requested information about their performers and compositions, it is still difficult to understand, for example, why no information was given for Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, which had been performed in Warsaw during the 1955-1956 concert season,<sup>48</sup> and why neither specific notes nor general information on compositional style were provided for any of the three pieces written between 1931 and 1945 by Bartók, whose creative output was summarily described by the statement "the compositions ... are not only a point of return in contemporary Hungarian music, but constitute one of the greatest achievements of contemporary music."<sup>49</sup> For a country whose musicians and general populace had heard little twentieth-century music by Western European composers since before the start of World War II, more informative annotation would have been beneficial.

## Conclusions

All aspects of the goals established by the organizers of this first Warsaw Autumn Festival were fulfilled to some degree. A comparison of Polish music with that of other nations was created; compositions from Eastern and Western Europe as well as the Soviet Union were presented; outstanding pieces from the twentieth century were played; many works unperformed in Poland in recent years were heard; personal contacts between musicians and other invited guests from many countries were established, and information about contemporary music in Poland and other countries was disseminated.

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<sup>48</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," p. 412.

<sup>49</sup> "Twórczość Bartóka jest nie tylko punktem zwrotnym we współczesnej muzyce węgierskiej, ale stanowi jedno z największych osiągnięć współczesnej muzyki." *Program I-go Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 38.

Compositions by Polish composers were more numerous than those from either the East or the West, due to the requirement that such music be played by each ensemble. However, the number of Polish compositions and foreign pieces was approximately the same, resulting in a balanced comparison between these two categories. The comparison of East to West envisioned by the Minister of Culture and Art in 1955 had included Poland's music within the Eastern sphere, which at the Festival gave a disproportionate edge to Eastern compositions. Nevertheless, the fact that contemporary music from both East and West was performed on the same stage, and sometimes on the same concert, is worthy of acclaim. This feature was the cornerstone of the Festival; as such, it was unique among music festivals at that time.

The Festival can be described as one in which compositions by Stravinsky and the neoclassic branch of twentieth-century music were predominant while the atonal, serialist, and electronic techniques used by many Western European composers were mostly neglected. Nevertheless, the array of twentieth-century compositions by foreign composers at the Festival provided an commendable review of some of the most important works of the century.

Within the Soviet branch of twentieth-century composition, the performance of symphonies by Shostakovich and Khachaturian, who had been censored in 1948, signalled the prolongation of the cultural and political "thaw" in the Soviet Union. The large number of Polish premieres that occurred at the Festival also was an expression of the new hopes of Polish musicians in their endeavor to reduce the effects of isolation that had surrounded them for many years. Performances of previously banned compositions, such as those by Stravinsky, Malawski, Schönberg, Berg, and Messiaen, indicated the loosening of restrictions on the types of musical language that could be heard on the Polish concert stage. Many other pieces heard at the Festival, especially those from Western Europe, had

not been performed in Poland in recent years, and thus, should be treated as landmark performances.

The Festival must be considered a success, particularly when assessed from the point of view of the political conditions under which it was organized. The thaw in Polish politics and culture was still in progress during the Festival; the change in Party leadership occurred on October 21, the final day of the musical gala. When the Polish Composers Union approved the establishment of the Festival in June 1955, no one knew what would happen in the political arena in the intervening months. The Polish government supported the Composers Union and the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation as they planned the Festival. Even though many organizational decisions were made without the aid of either experience or sufficient knowledge of foreign contemporary music, the Composers Union succeeded in realizing its most fundamental aims: to begin to correct the effects of isolation from artistic contacts with other countries, to compare contemporary Polish music with that of foreign composers, and to present the outstanding works of contemporary, or twentieth-century, music. Information about the music of various countries was exchanged. The mantle of socialist realism in music had been cast aside; creative freedom and international contacts were now the axioms of musical life in Poland.

## CHAPTER V

### CONTEMPORARY EVALUATIONS

The first International Festival of Contemporary Music in Warsaw was widely discussed in the press before, during, and after the actual event. As might be expected, a variety of opinions were expressed, both praising and censuring the spectacle. Few writers declared their unconditional support for the Festival as it had unfolded in 1956. In particular, blame was directed towards the organizers for programming what the critics perceived were works inappropriate for a contemporary music festival. The majority of reviews had been written before the press conference on October 21, when the organizers announced their definition of the term "contemporary"; most critics' personal interpretations of that word did not concur with the "twentieth-century" demarcation offered by the organizers at that time. Nevertheless, both Polish and foreign critics acclaimed many of the Festival's attributes, particularly its relevance to the rejuvenation of Polish musical life.

#### **General Criticisms**

Many critics in Poland seemed to link the meaning of "contemporary" to certain stylistic trends from the twentieth-century. In their view, the failure of the organizers to provide a review of the newest musical trends was regrettable. Among the composers whose absence on the program was most frequently deplored were Hindemith, Boulez, Stockhausen, Nono, Dallapiccola, Schönberg, Berg, and Webern. The lack of important trends such as

electronic music and *musique concrète* was also noted frequently.<sup>1</sup> One writer, Edward Drucki, proclaimed that many people, both Polish and foreign, felt that the Festival consisted of "the contemporary classic (Stravinsky, Honegger, Bartók, Britten), the obsolete (Tchaikovsky, Brahms, Strauss) and many eclectic, second-rate Polish and foreign works."<sup>2</sup> According to Michałowski and Cegiełka the lack of suitable stylistic trends was due to the fact that the program had been improvised, or selected by chance.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Michał Spisak charged that the inadequacies of the program, which, in his opinion, were a lack of deserving twentieth-century composers and the presence of nineteenth-century composers, resulted from "the generous hand dealt 'carte-blanche' to the directors of certain ensembles, who were not able to withstand the Brahms-Tchaikovsky-Miaskovsky-Enescu temptation."<sup>4</sup> Most critics were not so malicious in their comments, but they did wonder why works by Miaskovsky and nineteenth-century composers were played rather than selections by Prokofiev, Shostakovich, or Hindemith, which also would

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<sup>1</sup> Kisielewski, "Utwory polskie," p. 20; Bogusław Schäffer, "Utwory obce wykonane na I Międzynarodowym Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (May 1, 1957): 23-25; Kowalski, "Po Festiwalu," p.12; Jarociński, "Spotkanie z muzyką współczesną," *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 41 (October 11-17, 1956): 9; Mycielski, "Kryteria i gusty," *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 45 (November 8-14, 1956): 6; Cegiełka, "O 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' krytycznie i entuzjastycznie"; Wilkowska-Chomińska, "Międzynarodowy Festiwal."

<sup>2</sup> "Klasykę współczesną (Strawiński, Honegger, Bartok, Brittain [sic]) trochę starzyzny (Czajkowski, Brahms, Strauss) oraz wiele eklektycznych, drugorzędnych utworów polskich i obcych." Edward Drucki, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna," *Trybuna wolności*, no. 44 (October 28, 1956): 7.

<sup>3</sup> M. J. Michałowski, "Festiwal trwa," *Dziennik zachodni*, no. 255 (October 23, 1956); Cegiełka, "O 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' krytycznie i entuzjastycznie."

<sup>4</sup> "Szczerą ręką rozdawanych 'cartes blanches' dyrektorom pewnych zespołów, którzy nie potrafili się oprzeć pokusie Brahmsowsko-Czajkowsko-Miaskowsko-Eneskowskiej." Michał Spisak, "O Warszawskiej Jesieni Muzycznej," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (1957): 26.

have fulfilled the requirement that each orchestra present compositions from its home country.

A object of particular criticism was Miaskovsky's Symphony No. 27, which was recognized by several critics as chronologically a contemporary work, having been written in 1950, but stylistically a piece that belonged to the 19th century. According to Witold Rudziński, this particular composition was considered by the Soviet Union to be representative of contemporary music in that country. Similarly, the Romanians were purported to consider Enescu's Symphonic Suite No. 1, completed in 1904, to be an appropriate example of their country's contemporary music.<sup>5</sup> The inclusion on the program of both of these pieces did fulfill the concert requirements set forth by the Festival's organizers, but, as mentioned in Chapter III, these regulations were announced publicly only at the end of the Festival. Rudziński, a member of the Executive Board of the Composers Union, admitted that the foreign compositions were "not always well chosen." He further declared that if the Festival's goals and the requirements for each concert program had been better known, most of the criticism regarding the inclusion of compositions by Brahms and Miaskovsky would have been superfluous.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Rudziński, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'"; Zygmunt Mycielski, "Pierwsze wrażenia z Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej," *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 42 (October 18-24, 1956): 6. See also Cegiełka, "O 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' krytycznie i entuzjastycznie"; Jarociński, "Spotkanie z muzyką współczesną"; M. Józef Michałowski, "Po festiwalu"; Wilkowska-Chomińska, "Międzynarodowy Festiwal," p. 178; Marian Fuks, "Orkiestry: Moskiewska, Śląska i Radiowa," *Żołnierz wolności*, no. 250 (October 18, 1956); Schäffer, "Utwory obce."

<sup>6</sup> "nie zawsze trafnie dobierano." Rudziński, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'."

## Foreign Compositions

The greater part of all of the Polish reviews of the Festival dealt with the foreign compositions presented. The performances of works by Stravinsky, Shostakovich, Berger, Dutilleux, and others were praised, since these pieces had been heard rarely, if ever, by the Polish public. The concerts by the French Radio and Television Orchestra were especially appreciated for their inclusion of works unknown in Poland. In an attempt to mute the criticism over the precise content of each concert, certain critics acknowledged that it would be impossible to include the best pieces by every important composer at one festival.<sup>7</sup>

Two Polish music critics made a distinction between compositions that could be considered the masterpieces of the twentieth-century repertoire and those that represented the recent output of contemporary composers. A writer identified only as "m. t." pointed out a category of compositions that the organizers of this Festival had not treated separately--i.e., "contemporary classics." At the Festival, according to "m.t.," these pieces comprised some, but not all of those written between 1900 and 1939. The author divided the works played at the Festival into three groups: 1) contemporary classics, represented by the pre-World War II compositions of Stravinsky, Schönberg, Berg, Bartók, Prokofiev, Honegger, Janaček, Szymanowski, and Ibert; 2) newer works, which were those written

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<sup>7</sup> Cegiełka, "O 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' krytycznie i entuzjastycznie"; Schäffer, "Utwory obce"; Ludwik Erhardt, "Zaczęło się święto muzyki," *Express wieczorny*, no. 245 (October 12, 1956); k, "Drugi koncert 'Wiener Symphoniker'. Kwartet Jacques Parrenin," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 297 (October 24, 1956); Ludwik Erhardt, "Skończyło się święto muzyki," *Express wieczorny*, no. 254 (October 23, 1956); Kisielewski, "Utwory polskie"; Stefan Jarociński, "Po festiwalu," *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 45 (November 8-14, 1956): 2; Leszek Ludorowski, "Finał 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Sztandar ludu*, no. 258 (October 29, 1956); Mycielski, "Kryteria i gusty"; Wilkowska-Chomińska, "Międzynarodowy Festiwal," pp. 178-79; Mycielski, *Notatki o muzyce*, p. 79. [The last citation by Mycielski is excerpted from an article from *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 43 (October 25, 1956)].



during or after the Second World War, such as Stravinsky's *Ebony Concerto* (1945), Martinu's *Symphony No. 3* (1944), and the compositions by Shostakovich, Britten, Jolivet, Dutilleux, Zafred, Martinet, Lajtha, Apostel, and Martinon; and 3) contemporary Polish pieces, a category in which the author listed nearly all of the Polish composers other than Szymanowski whose pieces were performed at the Festival.<sup>8</sup>

The second critic, Bogusław Schäffer, divided the foreign compositions heard at the Festival into three somewhat different groups: contemporary classics, which in his view were those works by Stravinsky, Bartók, and Schönberg; well-known works by Shostakovich, Honegger, Prokofiev, and Szymanowski, which "constituted the fundamental essence of the repertoire for the public"; and pieces that were either new or relatively unknown in Poland--those by Berger, Dutilleux, Jolivet, Berg, and Martinet.<sup>9</sup> Schäffer provided a narrower interpretation of the the term 'contemporary classic' than did "m. t.," seemingly reserving the category for those composers whom he considered to be the most influential of the twentieth century. In creating a separate cluster of works that rarely, if ever, had been performed in Poland, he touched upon the important criterion of Polish premieres, which has proven useful in assessing the success of the organizers' attempt to rectify the results of isolation in Poland, as discussed in Chapter IV. The six compositions by the composers named by Schäffer in his third group were all performed in Poland for the first time during the Festival. Although five of the six had been written within the past ten years, with Berg's *Lyric Suite* from 1926 being the exception, Schäffer

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<sup>8</sup> m. t., "Dyrygenci i soliści," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 40 (October 4-10, 1956): 7. Ibert's *Concerto for Flute and Orchestra* was cancelled in mid-September 1956.

<sup>9</sup> "Stanowiły zasadniczą treść repertuaru dla publiczności." Schäffer, "Utwory obce," pp. 23-24.

could have included under the umbrella of compositions relatively unknown in Poland many of the foreign works performed at the Festival.

### Polish Compositions

Polish music was discussed separately by most reviewers. Some critics felt that there were simply too many Polish compositions at the Festival.<sup>10</sup> Paul Moor, writing for the *New York Times*, described the Polish pieces as "mostly mediocre," but Spisak, speaking in his role as a Parisian resident, declared that Polish music was the biggest attraction of the Festival for many foreigners, since they were hearing it for the first time.<sup>11</sup> A Polish critic, Jan Kowalski, accurately summed up the status of the Polish representation at the Festival by saying "the works of our composers of the middle and younger generations are separated from current Western musical experiments. Sympathies to neoclassicism, which after all, was officially supported not so long ago, are rather universal."<sup>12</sup> Another Polish critic, Stefan Kisielewski, also concluded that "the contemporary Polish output presented was, as much as possible, comprehensive and accurate." In his opinion, the best Polish compositions were those by Lutosławski and Malawski. Zygmunt Mycielski praised

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<sup>10</sup> Rudziński, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'"; kj, "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej," *Ilustrowany Kurier Polski*, no. 258 (October 28-29, 1956).

<sup>11</sup> Paul Moor, "Warsaw Festival. Poland at Long Last Hears Modern Music," *New York Times* (November 11, 1956): Section 2, p. 7; Spisak, "O Warszawskiej Jesieni Muzycznej," p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> "utwory naszych kompozytorów średniego i młodszego pokolenia - oderwane są od bieżących zachodnich eksperymentów muzycznych. Dość powszechne są sympatie do neoklasycyzmu, co nie tak dawna zresztą oficjalnie popierane." Kowalski, "Po Festiwalu."

Lutosławski's output in general, and favorably rated the pieces by Skrowaczewski, Woytowicz, Bacewicz, and Kilar.<sup>13</sup>

### Significance for Polish Musical Life

At the press conference held on October 21, Polish and foreign musicians and journalists evaluated the achievements of the Festival and proposed guidelines for its future.<sup>14</sup> The deliberations at this session encompassed topics from the appropriateness of the Festival's goals to the specific problems encountered in the attempt to realize those objectives. According to the reviewer in *Głos pracy*, one "A. H.," no one present at the meeting questioned the wisdom of organizing a festival of contemporary music; rather, everyone applauded the outpouring of interest shown in the Festival not only in Poland but also throughout the world. In the words of this same writer, the Festival was deemed to have created "a strong base for a healthy and productive development of Polish contemporary music--our composers acquired a broad audience."<sup>15</sup> Complaints were voiced, however, about the manner in which repertoire was selected and the schedule of concerts arranged. Some people felt that listening to six hours of music each day strained one's ability to concentrate, particularly on unfamiliar contemporary music. Many noted the lack of any compositions by Hindemith, whom they thought had exerted a large influence

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<sup>13</sup> Kisielewski, "Utwory polskie"; Mycielski, "Kryteria i gusty."

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter III for an earlier discussion of other aspects of the press conference.

<sup>15</sup> "mocną podstawę dla zdrowego i płodnego rozwoju naszej własnej, polskiej, współczesnej twórczości muzycznej - nasi kompozytorz uzyskali szerokie audytorium." A. H., "Garść pofestiwalowych refleksji," *Głos pracy*, no. 255 (October 25, 1956).

on the development of European music. The inclusion of "second-rate" works was berated, although the author does not name specific examples of this type.<sup>16</sup>

The source of these programming problems was traced at the conference to the shortcomings of concert life in Poland in recent years, particularly to the one-sidedness of Poland's repertoire during normal concert seasons in the 1950s. While acknowledging that it was not possible to correct the results of the isolation of recent years within the twelve days of the Festival, the participants contended that at least one-third of the compositions heard did not belong on a festival of contemporary music--again, these pieces were not identified by composer or title. Instead, such works should be performed during the traditional concert season, since they were "almost classics." If such programming of classics was done during the year, it then would be possible to shorten the Warsaw Autumn Festival to one week, during which time a review of "contemporary compositions from around the world" could be presented.<sup>17</sup> In order to create a festival more representative of current musical composition, opera and ballet should also be incorporated into the schedule.

The very existence of published criticisms about the unhealthy condition of musical life in Poland reveals the extent to which the Polish press had been liberalized during the political thaw of the past two years. This article in *Głos pracy* was published on October 25, 1956, four days after the close of the Festival, and the same amount of time after the political upheaval in Poland had reached its culminating point. As discussed in Chapter II, commentary on the backwardness of musical life and the restrictions of socialist realism in music had appeared in 1955 in *Muzyka*, the country's only journal devoted exclusively to

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<sup>16</sup> "drugorzędnych." Ibid. As noted in Chapter III, Polish orchestras had refused to perform Hindemith's music at the Festival.

<sup>17</sup> "Niemal klasyka...współczesnej twórczości muzycznej świata." Ibid.

music, but that publication was not widely read by the public at large. In 1956 an outpouring of references to the state of stagnation and isolation in Polish musical life appeared in daily and weekly newspapers throughout the country in reviews welcoming the Warsaw Autumn Festival as an antidote to these problems. For example, Lucjan Kydryński declared that "unfortunately, it [the Festival] must replace these decades of repeated hearings [of twentieth-century music], which we lost and which are not easily recovered...For a long time we were separated from almost all musical trends. We completely forgot what dodecaphony is, and we have not yet managed to learn what *musique concrète* is."<sup>18</sup> The Polish critic "A. H." remarked that while the Festival contained "early music," a reference to compositions by Tchaikovsky, Brahms, Richard Strauss, and even Stravinsky, the latter of whose works were

"presented as contemporary,...we must not forget that the majority of current concert-goers in Poland were separated for a long time from what was happening in the musical world; they did not have the possibility of becoming acquainted with varied, conflicting trends and theories of composition; they could not follow the emergence and development of new styles. To this day the younger generation in general rarely has heard works by such composers as Arnold Schönberg, Arthur Honegger, or even Igor Stravinsky."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "To niestety musi zastąpić te kilkanaście lat osłuchania, które straciliśmy, a które nie łatwo nadrobić...Długi czas byliśmy odcięci od niemal wszelkich muzycznych kierunków. Zapomnieliśmy doszczętnie co to dodekafonizm, a nie zdążyliśmy się jeszcze dowiedzieć co to muzyka konkretna." Lucjan Kydryński, "O dziwnych utworach i ciekawym festiwalu," *Przekrój*, no. 599 (September 30); 3.

<sup>19</sup> "należące do muzyki dawnej...przedstawianych jako 'współczesne'...nie wolno nam zapominać, że większość obecnych słuchaczy koncertowych w Polsce była przez dłuższy czas odcięta od tego, co działo się w muzyce światowej, nie miała możliwości poznania różnorodnych ścierających się prądów i teorii twórczości, nie mogła śledzić powstawania i rozwoju nowych stylów. Młodsze pokolenie w ogóle nie słyszało dotychczas prawie żadnego utworu takich kompozytorów, jak Arnold Schoenberg, Arthur Honneger [sic], czy nawet Igor Strawiński." A. H., "'Warszawska Jesień'," *Głos pracy* no. 251 (October 20-21, 1956). For a similar opinion, see Zygmunt Mycielski, "O Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej," *Przegląd kulturalny* 5, no. 41 (October 11-17, 1956): 10.

This author went on to say "therefore it was appropriate that...the Festival come in contact with this overlooked period...The insertion of yesterday's music in the concert programs creates an essential perspective for the evaluation of today's music."<sup>20</sup>

In spite of the many admonishments about the content of the Festival, most foreign and domestic critics did agree that it had been successful. Favorable opinions by these critics were indispensable to the organizers in promoting the Festival and Polish music at home and abroad. Jerzy Młodziejowski claimed that it had surpassed expectations, with Poland finally finding itself in the center of the musical world.<sup>21</sup> Ludwik Erhardt called it the "greatest event in our musical life, and not only post-war [life]."<sup>22</sup> Paul Moor, despite his criticism of the Polish music at the Festival, said that it "came off successfully, even elegantly, and without a hitch. The important thing is that such a festival now exists, and will continue."<sup>23</sup>

The Festival aroused wide public interest, as denoted in frequent references by the press to crowded concert halls and clamors for encores. Its large audiences provided proof that Poland was favorably suited for the continued exposure to and development of contemporary music.<sup>24</sup> Personal contacts between musicians of different countries were

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<sup>20</sup> "toteż było rzeczą słuszną, by...Festiwalu nawiązać do przepuszczonego okresu...Umieszczenie w programach koncertów festiwalowych muzyki wczorajszej stwarza niezbędną perspektywę dla oceny muzyki dzisiejszej." A. H., "Warszawska Jesień'."

<sup>21</sup> Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna."

<sup>22</sup> "największego zjawiska w naszym życiu muzycznym nie tylko powojennym." Ludwik Erhardt, "Festiwalowe obrachunki," *Express wieczorny*, no. 256 (October 25, 1956).

<sup>23</sup> Paul Moor, "Warsaw Festival."

<sup>24</sup> KJ, "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej"; A. H., "Warszawska Jesień'"; Wilkowska-Chomińska, "Międzynarodowy Festiwal," p. 181; Marian Fuks, "Pierwsze orkiestry

thought to be extremely beneficial. Młodziejowski expressed his feelings about the contacts made at the Festival by saying "everyone felt like citizens of the entire world, with friends everywhere. Yes, indeed, it will be like that when we travel somewhere far away and find musicians with whom we became acquainted in Warsaw."<sup>25</sup> Another Polish music critic, Jan Boehm, depicted the Festival as "a point of return in the neglect that has existed to date in the field of exchanges and musical contacts with foreign countries."<sup>26</sup> Yet another critic noted that the Festival had

"created the conditions for establishing close contacts, which had not existed in Poland to date. The results of this 'opening of an eye on the world', I judge, will be heard before long in our musical life and in the compositions of [our] composers...It was a very interesting and instructive comparison of ideas, opinions and criteria that prevail in different European musical centers...for example the matters of tradition and modernness, the problem of dodecaphony, which according to some is a great achievement and an indication of the future, and to others is, in general, not music."<sup>27</sup>

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zagraniczne," *Żołnierz wolności*, no. 248 (October 16, 1956); J. Piotrowska, "Z 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' - krótko," *Trybuna robotnicza*, no. 256 (October 26, 1956); Leszek Ludorowski, "Festiwal rozkręcił się," *Sztandar ludu*, no. 251 (October 20-21, 1956); Stefan Wysocki, "O Festiwalu z dygresjami," *Sztandar młodych*, no. 252 (October 20-21, 1956).

<sup>25</sup> "Wszyscy czuliśmy się jak obywatele całego świata, mający wszędzie przyjaciół. I tak naprawdę będzie, gdy pojedziemy gdzieś w dalekie strony i znajdziemy poznanych w Warszawie muzyków." Młodziejowski, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna."

<sup>26</sup> "punktem zwrotnym w zaniedbanej dotąd dziedzinie wymiany i kontaktów muzycznych z zagranicą ." Jan Boehm, "Impresje pofestiwalowe," *Warmia i Mazury*, no. 17 (December 15, 1956): 9.

<sup>27</sup> "stworzył warunki do nawiązania ścisłych kontaktów, których tak nam dotąd brakowało. Rezultaty tego 'otwarcia okna na świat', jak sądzę, niedługo dadzą o sobie znać, tak w naszym życiu muzycznym, jak w twórczości kompozytorów...była ciekawa i pouczająca była konfrontacja pojęć, opinii i kryteriów panujących w różnych europejskich ośrodkach muzycznych...np. sprawy tradycji i nowoczesności, problemu dodekafonii, która według jednych jest wielkim osiągnięciem i wskazówką na przyszłość, a według innych - nie jest w ogóle muzyką." Erhardt, "Festiwalowe obrachunki."

Foreign guests generally praised the Festival. However, in doing so, they also referred to the difficulties of acquiring materials and information about Polish music in their home countries. George Georgescu called it "a great, ambitious event that should tighten the bonds of musicians of many countries." He deplored, however, the difficulty of arranging the performance of Polish works in Romania, and suggested that direct exchanges should be set up, since "what is sent through official paths is stuffed somewhere in bureaucrats' drawers."<sup>28</sup> Anosov, the music director of the State Symphony Orchestra in Moscow, claimed that he had problems acquiring scores of Polish music.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Michał Spisak stressed that he was unable to fulfill the many requests he received for Polish scores because neither he nor the Polish embassy in France were able to obtain enough copies of this music. He also emphasized that it was difficult to popularize contemporary Polish music without such scores.<sup>30</sup>

M. K. Bialocerkovsky, the managing director of the Moscow State Symphony, approved of the initiative to organize the Festival, but declared that in the Soviet Union, compositions representing all stylistic trends, including contemporary, were already being performed.<sup>31</sup> This declaration is a bit difficult to believe, since a year earlier, according to Boris Schwarz, the Soviet composer Rodion Shchedrin had said that "young Soviet musicians knew little about the latest vintage', namely Mahler, Debussy, and Ravel, etc.

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<sup>28</sup> "Wielka, ambitna impreza, która powinna zacieśnić więzy między muzykami wielu krajów...Co idzie drogiami oficjalnymi utyką gdzieś w urzędniczych szufladach." *Sierp*, "Na największych estradach," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 250 (October 19, 1956).

<sup>29</sup> *Drucki*, "Warszawska jesień muzyczna."

<sup>30</sup> *SIERP*, "'Życie' u Michała Spisaka ambasadora polskiej muzyki we Francji," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 245 (October 13, 1956).

<sup>31</sup> *ZAP*, "Spotkanie moskiewskich muzyków z przedstawicielami prasy," *Express wieczorny*, no. 248 (October 16, 1956).



(How pathetic it is to realize that these names, dating back to the early twentieth century represented 'the latest' for a Soviet composers in the year 1955!)"<sup>32</sup>

Only two or three critics felt that the Festival should not be held again. One of them, whose by-line was given as "e.," maintained that the money should be spent instead on developing a music journal, which Poland was then lacking, and on purchasing new instruments.<sup>33</sup> Zdzisław Sierpiński and Jerzy Waldorff felt that Polish music could best be publicized abroad by making recordings and scores available for sale to foreign countries, and by allowing Polish musicians and music lovers to travel abroad in order to hear contemporary music from other countries. Sierpiński also contended that two festivals devoted exclusively to contemporary music already existed--the ISCM festivals and the Donaueschingen Days of Contemporary Music.<sup>34</sup> However, at the time of the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival, Poland was not a member of the ISCM, having withdrawn from the Society in 1950. Consequently, Polish compositions were not played at the Society's annual festivals. Polish composers did not attend any of the group's functions, and did not know when or if the Polish section would be permitted by their government to rejoin the international body. Similarly, Polish composers had not attended the Donaueschingen festival in the early and mid-1950s. They were aware of the festival's occurrence in 1956 and knew that its emphasis was on serialist compositions. The basis of the Warsaw Festival, however, was different, since it strove to present works from Eastern as well as Western Europe, and did not limit its compositions to those of a particular musical style.

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<sup>32</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 286, 664.

<sup>33</sup> e., "Warszawska Jesień," *Twórczość*, no. 12 (December, 1956): 194-95.

<sup>34</sup> Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia a efekty"; Waldorff, "Wielka przegrana," *Świat*, no. 45 (November 4, 1956): 22.

A post-Festival meeting of the Presidium of the Cultural Council in Poland was held on November 13, 1956. This conference was devoted to an evaluation of the Festival; Zygmunt Mycielski delivered the main report. Names of the other participants at this session are not known, but they probably included--in addition to the members of the Presidium itself--the members of the Composers Union's Presidium--Kazimierz Sikorski, Andrzej Dobrowoiski, Grażyna Bacewicz, Witold Rudziński, and Hieronim Feicht, as well as representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Art who had been involved in the Festival's organization. All those present agreed that despite certain shortcomings, the event had been a successful, positive undertaking. It was also confirmed at this time that future Festivals would occur, and that the Executive Board of the Composers Union would determine their frequency and profile at meetings scheduled for December 1-2, 1956.<sup>35</sup> It had already been announced at the Festival's final concert that the next gala would be held in 1958.<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusions

The existence of an extensive collection of foreign and domestic reviews of the Festival is indicative of a broad interest in both the event itself and in the state of music in Poland. Despite the belief of many critics that the Festival had not offered a balanced view of twentieth-century music, this criticism was mitigated by the widespread judgment that the spectacle had been a success. Moreover, even if journalists had been properly notified by the Festival's organizers about the concert requirements and the goal of presenting the most outstanding twentieth-century compositions, it is probable that some of them still would

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<sup>35</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-November, 1956).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*; k, "Ostatni koncert Festiwalu," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 299 (October 26, 1956).

have complained about the inclusion of compositions by Brahms and Tchaikovsky and the lack of pieces by composers such as Boulez or Hindemith: after all, criticisms about repertoire are voiced at nearly all music festivals. Fortunately for the organizers, the vast majority of reviewers and guests believed that the Festival was a positive step towards the renewal of artistic contacts, the dissemination of Polish music abroad, and the education of the Polish public about twentieth-century composition. The positive evaluations given by foreign commentators contributed to the perception of the organizers and Polish governmental officials that the Festival had been a success. All that remained for the organizers was to begin work on the second International Festival of Contemporary Music.

**PART III**  
**THE WARSAW AUTUMN FESTIVAL 1958-1961**

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **DEVELOPMENTS IN POLISH MUSICAL LIFE 1956-1961: A SURVEY**

The years immediately following 1956 were euphoric ones for musicians and artists in Poland and for Polish society in general. Although many of the freedoms granted to Polish citizens following the change of Party leadership in October 1956 were gradually withdrawn, Polish musical life was generally unaffected; that is, many of the artistic liberties accorded to musicians in 1956 were maintained even after reforms in other sectors of society were nullified.

A detailed interpretation of events in Polish society or in the narrower field of music composition in Poland during the five years following the first Warsaw Autumn Festival is not the intended objective of this chapter. Rather, its goals are: one, to provide a succinct picture of musical life in Poland during that period, depicting the social conditions that are relevant to the development of the Warsaw Autumn Festival, and two, to point out the inclination of many Polish composers to utilize in their pieces compositional styles that might have been disparaged previously in official circles, but that now were openly permitted.

### **The Aftermath of the Polish October: Changes in the Arts and Education**

The "Polish October," as the events of the Eighth Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party held in October 1956 are called, ushered in a new era of freedom for the entire country. In the months immediately after Gomułka became First Secretary of the Party the jamming of foreign radio broadcasts to Poland was stopped, religious education in public schools was permitted and the political indoctrination of teachers came to an end, censorship of publications was relaxed, study in capitalist countries was allowed, Western newspapers became available in limited quantities, and Western plays were frequently presented in Polish theaters.<sup>1</sup> In Polish creative productions, the principles of socialist realism were no longer strictly enforced. For example, the plays of Stanisław Witkiewicz, an interwar writer, were published and performed after having been banned during most of the postwar period. Avant-garde theater productions also became common, advanced by playwrights Sławomir Mrożek, Tadeusz Różewicz, and Zbigniew Herbert. These same three authors were among those whose novels and poems represented the latest innovations in the prose and poetry of the post-1956 era. The film industry gained a broad degree of autonomy: by 1956 individual film-makers had been given freedom in artistic matters, although the distribution and budgets of films remained centrally controlled.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hiscocks, *Poland: Bridge for the Abyss*, pp. 232-33; Syrop, *Spring in October*, pp. 170-77; Konrad Syrop, *Poland Between the Hammer and the Anvil* (London: Robert Hale, 1968), pp. 171, 184-85; Leopold Labedz, "The Polish Intellectual Climate," *Survey* 35 (January-March, 1965): 5, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Gerould, ed., *Twentieth-Century Polish Avant-Garde Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 77, 84-85; Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 420, 457, 469-70, 511-13; Frank Bren, *World Cinema 1: Poland* (London: Flick Books, 1986), pp. 47-52.

Gomułka's promise to end the era of Stalinist-imposed repression in part by promoting greater freedoms for all citizens was short-lived in many corners of society as the anti-revisionist, or anti-liberalization factions of the government gained strength.<sup>3</sup> By June 1957 the outspoken periodical *Po Prostu*, which had been founded only in 1955, ceased publication after its editors refused to accept more rigid censorship. In October the publication was formally closed by the government, purportedly because of the false statements that it had published. During the same year, approximately thirty journalists were forced to resign from "responsible positions" with the daily newspapers of Warsaw and other cities and with radio and television networks when they were labelled "enemies of socialism."<sup>4</sup> The frank opinions that had appeared in other periodicals in 1956 were replaced by 1961 with "boredom and verbosity" as editors were replaced and censorship regulations were gradually strengthened.<sup>5</sup> Novels that had appeared in print after October 1956 by such authors as Marek Hlasko or Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz were no longer available by 1961. As Z. A. Grabowski noted that same year, "Writers unwilling to write 'for the desk and posterity', and impatient of delays in publishing their books, resort[ed] to trimming their works in a way that enable[d] them to pass the test of censorship."<sup>6</sup> The 1958 film version of Hlasko's book "The Eighth Day of the Week," which portrayed the inability of two lovers to find privacy amidst the crowded realities of post-war Warsaw, was withdrawn from the Cannes Film Festival by the Polish government in 1958 and then

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<sup>3</sup> Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 2, pp. 586-87'; M. K. Dziewanowski, *Poland in the 20th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 186-89.

<sup>4</sup> Raina, *Political Opposition*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>5</sup> Labeledz, "The Polish Intellectual Climate," p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Z. A. Grabowski, "Polish Literature After October," *Survey* 35 (January-March, 1961): 31.

banned in Poland until 1973. Gomułka reportedly ordered the suppression of the film because it "showed 'the weekday in Poland in a bad light'."<sup>7</sup> Hlasko had defected to France in 1958, prior to the removal of the film from Polish theaters.

The partial autonomy that had been granted to universities in September 1956 was reversed in November 1958, when the Minister of Higher Education was given control over virtually all areas of university administration and teaching. By July 1961, religious instruction had been stricken from the public school agenda.<sup>8</sup> Włodzimierz Sokorski and two other members of the Party's Central Committee became the directors of the government's Departments of Culture, Education, Propaganda, and Press, replacing more progressive thinkers.<sup>9</sup> Although in Poland there would not be a full return to the rigors of the socialist realist period, the hope for an open society that existed in October 1956 quickly disappeared in many areas of public life.

### International Contacts in Music

In the field of music, the gradual liberation from the strictures of socialist realism that had begun as early as 1954 was completed in the years following the first Warsaw Autumn Festival. A quick retraction of the gains made in 1956 did not materialize in the field of music, making this sphere of activity different from others in the arts and humanities. One of the most significant improvements in musical life occurred in the area of international

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<sup>7</sup> Bren, *World Cinema 1*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>8</sup> Labedz, "The Polish Intellectual Climate," pp. 9-10; Syrop, *Poland Between the Hammer and the Anvil*, p. 171.

<sup>9</sup> These Departments are entities separate from the Ministries that are discussed elsewhere in this study: Raina, *Political Opposition*, p. 64; Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 2, pp. 610-11.



contacts. Governmental sanctioning of travel by Polish composers to Western countries had been expanded markedly in 1956 and continued unabated during the next five years. Composers were thus able to attend contemporary music festivals and other performances of their works in Western Europe.

Of particular importance to Polish composers as a sign of the loosening political bonds was the reinstatement in 1957 of their country's branch of the International Society of Contemporary Music. One of the benefits of this renewed membership was that compositions by Polish composers could be presented at the Society's annual festivals. Six composers (Andrzej Dobrowolski, Wojciech Kilar, Artur Malawski, Kazimierz Sikorski, Witold Rowicki, and Jan Ekier) visited the 1957 ISCM Festival in Zurich, and Polish compositions have been performed at the Festival each year since 1958. Witold Lutosławski, Grażyna Bacewicz, Tadeusz Baird, Kazimierz Serocki, Krzysztof Penderecki, and Henryk Górecki each attended one or more of the Festivals between 1958 and 1961.<sup>10</sup>

Among the Polish works heard at these Festivals were four by young composers: Baird's *Four Essays* for orchestra in 1958, Kotoński's *Musique en relief* for orchestra in 1960, Schäffer's *Monosonata* for twenty-four solo strings in 1961, and Penderecki's *Dimensions of Time and Silence*, also in 1961. For Baird and Kotoński these compositions represent some of their earliest attempts at employing new compositional techniques after formerly writing--albeit not always willingly, perhaps--in a style more compatible with the ideals of socialist realism. Baird's *Four Essays*, composed in 1958, received its world premiere at that year's Warsaw Autumn Festival. It is based on dodecaphony,

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<sup>10</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (1957-1961), passim; Szwarzman, "Sześćdziesiąt lat," pp. 4-5; Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Dziariusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 337-57, passim.

interchanging strict employment of a twelve-tone row with sections loosely based on that row or with freely atonal passages.<sup>11</sup> Kotoński's *Musique en relief* (1959) was one of the first Polish compositions to incorporate an unusual spatial arrangement of the ensemble. In this particular work six groups of instruments are situated in various parts of the stage. According to the composer, Latin American and traditional percussion instruments are featured in "conversations" with wind instruments.<sup>12</sup>

Other experiences of far-reaching significance for Polish composers were occasioned by their participation in the Holiday Courses for New Music in Darmstadt. These Courses, held annually since 1946, presented Polish composers with the opportunity to meet with and hear music of the most important avant-garde composers of the day. In 1957, when composers from Poland were first permitted by their government to attend the Courses, Kazimierz Serocki, Bogusław Schäffer, Andrzej Dobrowolski, Włodzimierz Kotoński, Henryk Schiller, Andrzej Markowski, and Janusz Zathey heard, among other pieces, Boulez's *Le Marteau sans maître*, Nono's *Il Canto sospeso*, and Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge*, *Klavierstück XI*, and *Zeitmasse*. According to Jan Lee, they also either saw a score or heard excerpts from Stockhausen's *Gruppen*.<sup>13</sup> These pieces had not been performed previously in Poland, according to available information. Except for *Gruppen* all were performed at subsequent Warsaw Autumn Festivals: Boulez's in 1966, Nono's in

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<sup>11</sup> Tadeusz Baird, *Cztery eseje* (Kraków, 1959); Barbara Maria Jazwinski, "Four Compositions by Tadeusz Baird: An Analytic Essay," (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1984), pp. 12-21.

<sup>12</sup> "Rozmowy." *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawska Jesień"* [printed booklet] (Warsaw, 1960), p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> Janusz Zathey, "Darmstadt--Mekka nowej muzyki (I)," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 13 (November 12, 1957): 10-13; and "Darmstadt--Mekka nowej muzyki (II)," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 14 (November 15, 1957): 27, cited in Lee, "Musical Life," p. 450; Zieliński, *O twórczości Serockiego*, p. 58.

1961, the first two by Stockhausen in 1958 and the third in 1960. An attempt to perform *Gruppen* at the 1961 Festival was unsuccessful.<sup>14</sup> Almost certainly, the fact that three of the organizers of these Warsaw Autumn Festivals--Serocki, Dobrowolski, and Kotoński--had heard these works at Darmstadt led to these performances in Warsaw.

While at Darmstadt in 1957 Polish composers extended invitations to attend the 1958 Warsaw Autumn Festival to Stockhausen and Wolfgang Steinecke (the director of the Courses), further demonstrating that international contacts were beneficial in their endeavor to enhance musical life in Poland.<sup>15</sup> Stockhausen presented a lecture-concert of electronic music during the 1958 Warsaw Festival; Steinecke was an invited guest in 1959.<sup>16</sup>

Six Polish musicians--Baird, Kotoński, Serocki, Schiller, Markowski, and Stanisław Lachowicz--attended the 1958 Darmstadt Courses, where the scheduled concerts included music by Berio, Boulez, Cage, Cerha, Dallapiccola, Ligeti, Maderna, Nilsson, Pousseur, Stockhausen, Webern, and others.<sup>17</sup> Again, some of these compositions appeared on later Warsaw Autumn Festivals. Four electronic pieces were among those presented by Stockhausen a month later at the 1958 Festival--Ligeti's *Artikulation*, Pousseur's *Scontri*, Berio's *Perspectives*, and Maderna's *Continuo*. Berio's *Sequenza I* was played at the 1959 Festival by the same performer who performed it at Darmstadt in 1958--flutist Severino Gazzelloni. Similarly, Gilbert Amy's *Mouvements* for seventeen instruments, presented at the 1958 Courses, was performed at the 1959 Warsaw Festival by the Silesian

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<sup>14</sup> Ludwik Erhardt, "Wywiad z Witoldem Rudzińskim, Sekretarzem Generalnym Prezydium Komitetu Organizacyjnego V Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 13 (1961): 4.

<sup>15</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," p. 450.

<sup>16</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-December, 1959).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* (April-November 1958); *Neue Musik Darmstadt 1958* (Darmstadt: Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut, 1958).

Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra, conducted by Andrzej Markowski. Evangelisti's *Incontri* and Nilsson's *Mädchentotenlieder* were both performed at the 1960 Warsaw Autumn Festival after having been presented at Darmstadt in 1958. Other composers whose works possibly were heard by Polish participants for the first time at the 1958 Darmstadt Courses were represented at subsequent Warsaw Autumn Festivals. These composers included Franco Donatoni, Michel Philippot, Mauricio Kagel, Ernst Krenek, Yoritune Matsudaira, Niccolò Castiglioni, Friedrich Cerha, Roland Kayn, and Hans Werner Henze.

The pattern of compositions from Darmstadt being programmed on later Warsaw Autumn Festivals continued. In 1959 Kotoński, Markowski, Schäffer, Serocki, and Józef Patkowski were the Polish participants at Darmstadt.<sup>18</sup> Schäffer named several pieces by Messiaen, Stockhausen, Boulez, Nono, Pousseur, and Maderna that were performed there.<sup>19</sup> Kotoński's *Musique en relief*, discussed earlier, was premiered at the 1959 Courses.<sup>20</sup> At least three of the foreign compositions from that year's Courses appeared on Warsaw Autumn Festivals shortly thereafter. Stockhausen's *Zyklus* and Schönberg's *Pierrot lunaire* were performed in 1961, while Boulez's *Improvisations sur Mallarmé* and Berio's *Thema (Omaggio a Joyce)* were heard in 1960.

In 1960 and 1961 Penderecki, Schäffer, Kotoński, Dobrowolski, Penderecki, Serocki, and possibly other Polish composers attended either or both sessions of the Courses. Kotoński's *Canto* (1961) for chamber ensemble and Penderecki's *Emanations* (1958) for

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<sup>18</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-December 1959); Everett Helm, "Darmstadt Holiday Courses for New Music," *Musical Times* 100, no. 1401 (November 1959): 615.

<sup>19</sup> Bogusław Schäffer, *W kręgu nowej muzyki* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1967), pp. 179-88.

<sup>20</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 348.

two string orchestras were both premiered during the 1961 session.<sup>21</sup> In *Emanations* one of the orchestras is to be tuned a minor second higher than the other. Tone clusters abound and the emphasis is on shifting blocks of sound and texture rather than on more traditional melodies or melodic fragments.<sup>22</sup> This composition, along with the same composer's *Psalms of David*, had been awarded second prize in the 1959 Young Composers Competition held in April in Poland. (The Polish musical community was astonished by the results of this Competition. The compositions were reviewed without the judges' knowledge of who wrote them, but when the results were announced, Penderecki had received all three prizes: *Strophes* was granted first place. Instantly Penderecki became one of the most important composers in Poland.)

The impact of the Darmstadt Courses on composers and musical life in Poland may never be fully measured. Certainly, the selection of performers and repertoire for the Warsaw Autumn Festival was affected by the experiences of its organizers at these Courses. For Polish composers the benefits of the Darmstadt Courses were greater than just the opportunity given them to review compositions for performance at the Warsaw Autumn Festival. An acquaintance with the compositions presented at the Holiday Courses also influenced them as they wrote their own pieces. For example, the experiences that Serocki had at Darmstadt have been directly linked to specific works and compositional styles from his later output. According to Tadeusz Zieliński, the pieces that the composer heard at Darmstadt in 1957 led to the composition of *Musica concertante* (1958), a piece using serial techniques and pointillism that was given its world premiere at the 1958

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 355-56.

<sup>22</sup> Krzysztof Penderecki, *Emanacje* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1978).

Courses.<sup>23</sup> Zieliński has also suggested that Serocki's hearing of Stockhausen's *Gruppen* at Darmstadt influenced the Polish composer's writing in 1959 of *Episodes* for strings and three groups of percussion. This piece is dodecaphonic and utilizes a unusual arrangement of the instruments in an attempt to solve certain spatial-timbral problems, which are denoted by the titles of its four sections: "projections," "movements," "migrations," and "meetings."<sup>24</sup>

At Darmstadt Polish composers were also able to debate issues in contemporary music with some of the leading composers from Western Europe. Among the regular lecturers at the Courses were Boulez, Maderna, Stockhausen, Pousseur, and Nono. Cage attended the 1958 session and possibly others.<sup>25</sup> Kotoński has related that while at Darmstadt he became personally acquainted with Nono, Stockhausen, Boulez, Franco Evangelisti, Aldo Clementi, and Bo Nilsson, and was able to participate in lively discussions about contemporary music with these and other musicians. He declined to acknowledge any influence on his own style of composition from these meetings, other than that he became acquainted with electronic music at Darmstadt.<sup>26</sup> Kotoński's first efforts in this medium appeared in 1958; they will be discussed below.

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<sup>23</sup> Kazimierz Serocki, *Musica concertante* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1960); Zieliński, *O twórczości Serockiego*, pp. 58-60; *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej* (Warsaw, 1958), pp. 104-105.

<sup>24</sup> Kazimierz Serocki, *Epizody* (Warsaw: Przedstawicielstwo Wydawnictw Polskich, 1961); Zieliński, *O twórczości Serockiego*, pp. 60-65; *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawska Jesień"* [Printed Booklet], p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> Wolfram Schwinger, *Penderecki: Begegnungen, Lebensdaten, Werkkommentare* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag-Austalt, 1979), p. 27; Gertraud Cerha, "New Music in Austria Since 1945," *Tempo*, nos. 161-162 (June-September 1987): 4; Nicolas Slonimsky, *The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, s.v. "Bruno Maderna."

<sup>26</sup> Cegiełka, *Szkice*, pp. 88-90.

Other international travel available to Polish composers between 1957 and 1961 included visits to various music festivals in Western Europe, including the Donaueschingen Music Days, where in 1960 the premiere of Penderecki's *Anaklasis* for 42 strings and percussion took place. This composition, commissioned by Heinrich Strobel of Southwest German Radio Orchestra for the Donaueschingen festival,<sup>27</sup> utilizes the graphic tempo notation that was characteristic of the composer's music of the early 1960s. Only three Polish composers are known to have attended that festival before 1962: Świder in 1957, Kotoński in 1959, and Penderecki in 1960.<sup>28</sup>

Lutosławski, Rudziński, Sikorski, Skrowaczewski, and Szeligowski attended the Venice Biennale and the International Festival of Art in Edinburg several times. These and other composers also attended performances of their works in France, West Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Finland. In addition, the Ministry of Culture and Art in 1957 granted stipends for study in Western Europe to several composers, among them Lutosławski, Bacewicz, Baird, Serocki, and Skrowaczewski. From the same Ministry, Penderecki received a one-month stay in a Western European country as his first prize in the Young Composers Competition described above. He chose Italy as his destination, where in 1960 he composed *Anaklasis*.<sup>29</sup>

Among the works presented at the 1959 Venice Biennale was Lutosławski's *Funeral Music*. This piece was also performed in Minneapolis, Boston, and Cleveland in 1959 and

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<sup>27</sup> Schwinger, *Penderecki*, p. 30. See Chapter XII for more information on the genesis of *Anaklasis*.

<sup>28</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (1957-1961), passim; Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziebowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 337-57.

<sup>29</sup> Schwinger, *Penderecki*, p. 30.

in London, Utrecht, Paris, Strasbourg, and other European cities in 1961, reflecting the increased popularity of the composer abroad.<sup>30</sup>

Also important to the dissemination of Polish music abroad was the acceptance of Poland into the Music Council of UNESCO in October 1956. Beginning in 1957, Polish compositions were included in that organization's annual International Tribunal of Composers Competition. Several received special recognition in these Competitions. In 1959, Baird and Lutosławski shared first prize for *Four Essays* and *Funeral Music*, respectively; Serocki placed seventh with his *Sinfonietta*. Bacewicz's *Music for Strings, Trumpets and Percussion* (1958) was awarded third prize at the 1960 Competition, and Penderecki's *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* was granted fourth place in 1961.<sup>31</sup> The Music Council sent tapes of the winning compositions from each year's Competition to various radio stations around the world in order to encourage the broadcast of these pieces. The aforementioned Polish compositions were among those circulated in this manner.

Foreign tours by Polish orchestras also contributed to the advertisement of contemporary Polish music abroad. Beginning in 1958, the National Philharmonic took annual tours to Western Europe or the United States. Compositions by Polish composers were often included in the repertoire of these concerts. Baird's *Four Essays* was the most frequently played of these works, but Bacewicz's *Concerto for String Orchestra* (1948), Lutosławski's *Concerto for Orchestra* (1954), Artur Malawski's *Second Symphony*

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<sup>30</sup> Stucky, *Lutosławski*, p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> Pońiatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 347, 351, 355.



(1956), Bolesław Szabelski's *Toccata* (1938), and Zbigniew Turski's *Overture* (1955) were also performed.<sup>32</sup>

### Domestic Activities

In Poland itself, various activities were initiated that advanced the principal of compositional freedom and contributed to composers' abilities to keep abreast of developments in Western music. Perhaps most significant in terms of its indication of governmental support for creative freedom was the establishment in November 1957 of the Polish Radio Experimental Music Studio, one of the initial electronic music centers in Europe and the first established in Eastern Europe.<sup>33</sup> At its convention in June 1957 the Polish Composers Union had called for the establishment of such a studio. It was brought into existence primarily on the initiative of Józef Patkowski, a musicologist with an active interest in contemporary music, who persuaded the government to support the endeavor. Patkowski has stated that Polish composers became acquainted with electronic music at the Darmstadt Courses in July 1957, and began to produce their first compositions in this medium at approximately the same time. Markowski was one of those who began to write electronic music for films prior to the opening of the Studio. Kotoński became involved with tape music when he composed music to the film "The House" (1958) using generators at the Documentary Film Production Company. The first efforts at the Studio produced

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<sup>32</sup> Marian Gołębiowski, *Filharmonia w Warszawie 1901-1972* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), pp. 289-306.

<sup>33</sup> At that time, the only other studios in Europe were the Northwest-German Radio Studio for Electronic Music in Cologne, the French Radio and Television Studio in Paris, and the Studio de Fonologia at Milan's Radio Audizioni Italiane: Paul Griffiths, *A Guide to Electronic Music* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1979), pp. 12-16.

"illustrative music" by Zbigniew Wiszniewski, also completed in 1958.<sup>34</sup> Independent compositions began to appear in 1959. That year, Kotoński finished his *Study on a Cymbal Stroke*, a piece in which one stroke on a Turkish cymbal was transposed and filtered into twenty-one different sounds, which were then used in the actual composition. In June 1959, a seminar held at the Studio was attended by thirty Polish composers. Dobrowolski presented a lecture on the use of the Studio's equipment, and compositions from other studios were heard and discussed. Work at the Studio in the next few years resulted in the realization of Dobrowolski's *Passacaglia* (1960) and Penderecki's *Psalmus 1961*, among other pieces.<sup>35</sup>

Another area of transformation in the field of Polish music was that of radio programming. In 1957 Bohdan Pilarski, a Polish critic, discussed the changes in this domain that were apparent as soon as six months after the "Polish October." In describing the scheduling of twentieth-century compositions by Western European composers as "a clear tendency toward the rejuvenation of the program," Bohdan Pilarski enumerated the broadcast in the first three months of 1957 of works by Hindemith, Honegger, Milhaud, Messiaen, Stravinsky, Liebermann, Britten, Poulenc, Martin, and Martinu.<sup>36</sup> He restrained himself from expressing too much exuberance about this new trend in programming, stating "however, [that] any sort of comment about this repertoire must be tempered with the reminder of the cultural politics of past years. [Polish] Radio certainly has many difficulties acquiring records and tapes. Nonetheless, it is the only institution able to bring

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<sup>34</sup> Józef Patkowski, "Ten Years of the Polish Radio Experimental Studio," *Polish Music* 2, no. 45 (1967): 26.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-30; Cegiełka, *Szkice*, pp. 92-93; B. P., "Sprawozdanie ze zjazdu Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 3 (June 1, 1957): 17-18.

<sup>36</sup> "Wyraźną tendencję odmłodzenia programu." Bohdan Pilarski, "Słuchamy muzyki i muzyczki," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 3 (June 1, 1957): 19.

us, in a short time, closer to that whirlpool of modern exploration."<sup>37</sup> Pilarski was obviously hopeful, but not ready to forget completely the restrictive policies of the early 1950s.

The regular concert seasons in Warsaw (i.e., excluding the Autumn Festival) from 1956 to 1961 were a continuation and intensification of the pattern first seen in 1955, when twentieth-century compositions--mainly from Western Europe--that had rarely if ever been played in Poland were finally presented. In fact, the emphasis in the Polish press was on these foreign pieces; little mention was made about the Polish works performed. Among the works heard in Warsaw during the 1956/1957 season were Stravinsky's *Les Noces* (1914-23) and Violin Concerto (1931), Bartók's Violin Concerto (1908) and Concerto for Orchestra (1943), Honegger's Symphony No. 5 (1950), Liebermann's *Concerto for Jazz Band and Orchestra* (1954), Milhaud's *Creation of the World* (1923), Martin's oratorio *In terra pax* (1944), Hindemith's *Symphonic Metamorphoses* (1943), Wallingford Riegger's *Music for Orchestra* (1939, rev. 1951), and pieces by Copland, Gershwin, and Grofé. Also of note was the presentation of Zbigniew Turski's *Olympic Symphony*<sup>38</sup>--the composition given a gold medal in London in 1948, but barred from performance in Poland following the Łagów conference in 1949.

Credit for the multitude of twentieth-century pieces on these programs should be given to the artistic director and principle conductor of Warsaw's National Philharmonic, Bohdan Wodiczko. As music critic Bohdan Pocij stressed, "the highest praise goes

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<sup>37</sup> "Jakakolwiek jednak uwaga o tym repertuarze musi być kontrolowana przypomnieniem polityki kulturalnej ubiegłych lat. Radio na pewno ma duże trudności w zdobywaniu materiału płytowego i taśmowego, niemniej, jest ono jedyną instytucją, mogącą w krótkim czasie zbliżyć nas do tego wiru nowatorskich poszukiwań." Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 439-49; B. Pocij, "Życie muzyczne w kraju. Warszawa," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (May 1, 1957): 28-31.

to...Wodiczko. He consistently holds to the line of repertoire laid out last season. All unfed and starving enthusiasts of the present age remember well that sensational season after the period of socialist realism-commercial drought: entrancement and shock with Stravinsky, Honegger, Berg. It is necessary to emphasize here that such a bold, consistent, and remarkably anti-commercial political repertoire is in the 'avant-garde' West an infrequent and rather atypical occurrence."<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, Wodiczko's penchant for programming contemporary music may have led, at least in part, to his dismissal as director of the National Philharmonic in 1958, which will be discussed further in Chapter IX.

During the 1957/1958 season the twentieth-century foreign works performed in Poland included Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta* (1936), Liebermann's Symphony No. 1, Martin's *Field Mass* and oratorio *Golgotha* (1948), Berg's Violin Concerto (1935), and a concert of music using the ondes martinot, which included Messiaen's *Trois petites liturgies de la présence divine* (1945). Jan Lee has reported that many of these pieces received their Polish premieres at that time.<sup>40</sup> Polish compositions performed during the same season included the world premieres of Lutosławski's *Funeral Music* (1958), Malawski's *Hungaria* (1956), Szabelski's *Concertino* (1955), Turski's *Little Overture* (1955), and Sikorski's Flute Concerto (1957).

Perhaps the most important performances from a diplomatic point of view were those of Polish emigré Roman Palester's *Variations for Orchestra*--a world premiere given in

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<sup>39</sup> "Najwyższe pochwały należą się...Wodiczce. Trzyma się on konsekwentnie linii repertuarowej, wytyczonej jeszcze w ubiegłym sezonie. Wszyscy niedokarmieni i wygłodzeni entuzjaści współczesności dobrze socrealistyczno-komercyjnej posuchy, sezon; zachwyty i oszołomienia Strawińskim, Honeggerem, Bergiem. Należy tutaj podkreślić, że taka odważna, konsekwentna i wybitnie antykomercyjna polityka repertuarowa jest i na 'awangardowym' Zachodzie zjawiskiem nie częstym i raczej nietopowym." Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 452-56.

Katowice--and his *Requiem*, a Polish premiere. Together with the performance in 1957 in Bydgoszcz of his cantata *The Vistula* and the presentation at the 1958 Warsaw Autumn Festival of his Fourth Symphony, these were the first performances of Palester's music in Poland since 1950, and may have been the only ones until 1979, when his Viola Concerto was given its world premiere at the Warsaw Autumn Festival.<sup>41</sup> It is possible that a relaxation of the apparent prohibition against performances of compositions by emigré composers had occurred in 1956, but that the same restriction was reinstated after 1958. Such a retraction could have occurred as part of the crackdown on freedom of expression discernible in other parts of society in 1958 and later. It does appear that performances of pieces by the "rebellious emigrés," as Palester and Panufnik had been called in a 1957 article,<sup>42</sup> were banned after 1958: Panufnik's *Tragic Overture* was presented in Poland during the 1958/59 season, but his works are not known to have been performed again in Poland until 1977.<sup>43</sup> However, compositions by emigrés who remained in good favor with the Polish government continued to be heard in Poland: those by Haubenstock-Ramati were performed at five Warsaw Autumn Festivals between 1961 and 1977, and Spisak's compositions were presented at the 1958, 1959, 1961, and 1965 Festivals.

Lee has claimed that the amount of contemporary music performed in Warsaw during the 1958/1959 season was considerably reduced from the two previous seasons. It is difficult to corroborate this assertion. Nevertheless, even if it is true, the range of composers represented that season was still much greater than that in evidence during the

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 452; Poniadowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, pp. 339-41. See Chapter III for other references to Palester and Panufnik after their emigrations.

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter III for the original reference.

<sup>43</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," p. 476.

period of socialist realism, and thus signalled a continuing attempt by artistic institutions to "fill in the gaps" of knowledge about twentieth-century music for Polish society. Among the programmed pieces that season was Lutosławski's First Symphony in its first performance in Poland since 1949. Other twentieth-century works presented were by Britten, Stravinsky, Bartók, Martinu, Prokofiev, Martin, Janaček, and Blacher.<sup>44</sup>

Polish Radio continued to program contemporary music. Specific information about the contents of radio programs is available only for the autumn of 1958. Pieces by Stravinsky, Schönberg, Webern, Bartók, Varèse, and Messiaen were among those heard at that time. Even more adventurous was the programming of several Western compositions written since the end of World War II: Ingvar Lidholm's *Notturmo*, Hans Werner Henze's *Concerto per il Marigny* (1956), Bo Nilsson's *Gesang von der Zeit*, Michel Philippot's *Variation*, Luigi Nono's *Composizione per orchestra* (1951), and John Cage's *Music for Piano* (1956).<sup>45</sup>

The 1959/1960 concert season in Warsaw continued the pattern of contemporary music performances seen in previous years. Among the highlights was a concert of Barber, Bernstein, Piston, Copland, and Gershwin presented by the New York Philharmonic, with Bernstein conducting. Also heard was a concert conducted by Andrzej Markowski that contained three Polish premieres: Stravinsky's arrangement of Bach's *Choral-Variationen über das Weihnachtslied 'Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her'* (1956), Maderna's *Tre pezzi musicale*, and Fortner's *Phantasie über die Tonfolge B-A-C-H* (1950). Other compositions presented during the year were Honegger's *Symphony No. 2* (1941);

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 476-77.

<sup>45</sup> tz, "Polskie Radio frontem do muzyki współczesnej," *Ruch muzyczny* 3, no. 2 (January 15, 1959): 33.

Shostakovich's Symphony No. 6 (1939), Piano Concerto No. 2 (1957), and Violin Concerto No. 1 (1955); and Nono's *Victoire de Guernica* (1954).<sup>46</sup>

During the same year, the amount of contemporary music presented on concerts in Kraków appeared to be comparable to that heard in Warsaw. During the autumn of 1959 performances were given there of Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra, Honegger's *Pacific 231* (1923), Britten's *Les illuminations* (1939) and *Variations on a Theme by Purcell* (a ballet set to the composer's *Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra*, 1945), Prokofiev's Violin Concerto (1917), Shostakovich's First Symphony (1926), Milhaud's *Les Boeuf sur le toit* (1920), and Gershwin's Piano Concerto (1925), and of post-war music--Lutosławski's Concerto for Orchestra and *Funeral Music*, Baird's *Four Essays*, Penderecki's *Psalms of David*, Spisak's *Concerto giocoso* (1957), and Dallapiccola's *Piccola musica notturna* (1954).<sup>47</sup>

### Domestic and Foreign Evaluations of Polish Musical Life

The atmosphere of artistic freedom prevalent in Poland beginning in 1956 was noticed by composers and critics both inside and outside the country. In an eloquent speech at the 1957 General Convention of the Polish Composers Union, Witold Lutosławski commented on the new spirit felt by Polish composers:

"...For our meeting for the first time in a long while takes place in an atmosphere of real creative freedom. No one here will persecute anybody for so-called formalism; no one will try to prevent anybody else from expressing his aesthetic views, regardless of what individual composers may stand for.

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<sup>46</sup> Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 516-18; "Życie muzyczne," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 2 (1960): 25.

<sup>47</sup> "Życie muzyczne," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 2 (1960): 25.

When I look back today--from the perspective of eight and a half years--on the 'famous' conference in Łagów in 1949, when Polish musical creativity was openly attacked, it gives me chills..It is difficult to conceive of a more absurd hypothesis than the idea that the achievements of the past several decades should be abandoned and that one should return to the musical language of the nineteenth century. And yet they tried to convince us of this thesis...Still, our situation [now] is by no means an easy one. Each of us faces the problem of discovering his own place in that chaos which the art of our era represents. The problem is sharply drawn for those of us who, after an interruption of several years, have renewed contact with Western European music. We don't all have here a clear view of what is happening in this music, of where it is leading. But I believe it is only a question of time before we will not only acquire a clear view of the situation but will play a positive and a not inconsiderable role in it.

I can feel optimistic on account of the fact that today we breathe an atmosphere of true creative freedom. And that is the first, the indispensable condition for the development of all art."<sup>48</sup>

By late 1958, Polish and foreign critics were discussing publicly the new situation in Poland. Polish writer Zdzisław Sierpiński noted, albeit in a foreign publication, that

"the fact that music is no longer written (allegedly to meet social demand) by order of a ministerial institution has brought forth during the last few years many valuable works which have aroused interest and discussion. I know many people who have no direct contact with musical circles, but who nevertheless know what the composers are working on. And it was these people who had been impatiently awaiting the publication

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<sup>48</sup> "Oto zjazd nasz po raz pierwszy od dłuższego już czasu odbywa się w atmosferze prawdziwej wolności twórczej. Nikt tu nikogo nie będzie prześladował za tzw. formalizm, nikt nikomu nie przeszkodzi wypowiedzieć swych poglądów estetycznych niezależnie od tego co reprezentują poszczególni kompozytorzy. Gdy dziś z perspektywy 8 i pół lat patrzę na sławetny zjazd w Łagowie w 1949 roku, kiedy to zapoczątkowano frontalny atak na polską twórczość nmuzyczną -- zimno mi... W istocie trudno o bardziej absurdalną tezę niż ta, że należy przekreślić dorobek ostatnich kilkudziesięciu lat i powrócić do języka muzycznego XIX stulecia. A jednak starano się tę tezę nam wmówić...Ale mimo to sytuacja nasza nie jest bynajmniej łatwa. Przed każdym z nas staje problem znalezienia swego miejsca w tym zamęcie, jaki przedstawia sobą sztuka naszej epoki. Szczególnie ostro rysuje się ten problem przed tymi z nas, którzy po kilkuletniej przerwie nawiązali kontakt z muzyką zachodnio-europejską. Nie mamy tu wszyscy jasnego poglądu na to, co się w tej muzyce dzieje, ku czemu ona zmierza. Wierzę jednak, że jest to tylko kwestią czasu, że nie tylko zdobędziemy jasny pogląd na sytuację, ale że odegramy w niej pozytywną i wcale nie najmniej rolę. To optymistyczne uczucie pozwala mi żywić przede wszystkim fakt, że oddychamy dziś atmosferą prawdziwej wolności twórczej. A to jest pierwszym i nieodzownym warunkiem rozwoju wszelkiej sztuki." "Zagajenie dyskusji na walnym zjeździe Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Ruch muzyczny* 1, no. 1 (May 1, 1957): 2-3, translation taken from Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 63-64.



of the scores of *Funeral Music* by Witold Lutosławski, the *Four Essays for Orchestra* by Tadeusz Baird, and inquiring about the date of the first performance of the *Concerto Giocoso* by Michał Spisak, the *Concerto for Flute* by Kazimierz Sikorski or the *Symphonic Variations* by Grażyna Bacewicz. It is an encouraging sign testifying to the existence of a new relationship between music-lovers and contemporary composers; it has undoubtedly a stimulating influence on the latter.<sup>49</sup>

A foreign correspondent, Fred K. Prieberg, also remarked in 1958 upon the fact that

"Polish culture now has strong intellectual ties with the West. Dating from the political changes of October 1956, a surprising liberty in thought and artistic creation has softened the rigid rule of musical policy that prevailed in states east of the Iron Curtain. Today it is possible in Poland to take up abstract painting, play jazz, write 12-tone music, make a surrealist film--in general, to turn against the ideals of Soviet-sponsored 'socialist realism' in art. In addition, Polish artists eagerly try to establish contact with Western colleagues and known Western works of art."<sup>50</sup>

In a second article, published in February 1959, Prieberg appraised the results of this 'softening' in musical policy, stating that

"Transition is the word that describes best the present state of music in Poland, though nobody knows whether it will lead toward the normal creative freedom familiar in the West, or back into the abyss of state-owned and state-dictated 'art' even more gruesome than before 1956...The present state of Polish music still seems to be transitional. By no means has the new musical policy resulted in sudden eruptions of creative temperament everywhere; no political cantatas or mass songs have been written since 1956. But the artists need time to reach a decision about the most suitable course."<sup>51</sup>

These two statements by Prieberg and the one by Lutosławski each noted that the compositional styles evident in Polish music did not change immediately following the pivotal year of 1956; composers needed to study the music written most recently in other

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<sup>49</sup> Z. S., "'Warsaw Autumn' - A Musical Spring," *Polish Perspectives* 1, nos. 7-8 (1958): 104-105.

<sup>50</sup> Fred K. Prieberg, "Warsaw Festival Demonstrates Freedom of Polish Artists," *Musical America* (November 12, 1958): 38.

<sup>51</sup> Fred K. Prieberg, "Poland's Musical Life Today," *Musical America* (February 1959): 29-30.

countries, and many of them also needed to learn about pieces composed decades earlier. Only through this complex process could they begin to determine what they wanted to express in their own compositions. The first Warsaw Autumn Festival had been a first step in helping to educate Polish composers about twentieth-century music. Subsequent Warsaw Autumn Festivals, the international contacts described above, and the strong dose of twentieth-century music on regular orchestral concerts helped to complete that education for currently active composers, and would continue to supply important information about the music of this century for composers at the beginning of their careers.

Despite these unmistakable benefits, musical life in Poland was not completely free of difficulties after the "Polish October," even though that event in effect had ended the period of government-imposed restrictions on compositional styles and techniques. In some respects, the same problems of obtaining permission to travel and working with the Ministry of Culture and Art that had existed in 1956 and earlier were still present. For example, those composers who attended the Darmstadt Summer Courses and the ISCM Festival in Zurich in 1957 missed up to half of each event because passports were not issued in time, this despite the fact that the Ministry of Culture and Art had awarded three of the composers scholarships to attend the Darmstadt session.<sup>52</sup> Artur Malawski, who had been at the ISCM Festival, noted that the passports for that trip were delayed "again, of course through some sort of neglect at the Ministry," an indication that similar incidents had occurred before.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The composers are unnamed in available sources: Lee, "Musical Life," p. 450; Tadeusz Wysocki, "Wywiad z kompozytorem," in Schäffer, ed., *Artur Malawski*, p. 370.

<sup>53</sup> "Oczywiście znowu przez jakieś niedopatrzenie w Ministerstwie." Wysocki, "Wywiad," p. 370. Malawski's reference to the "Ministry" could have been either to the Ministry of Culture and Art or to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Of even more importance in terms of their implications with regard to the organization of the Warsaw Autumn Festival were the complaints voiced at the 1957 General Assembly of the Composers Union about the seeming unwillingness of officials at the Ministry of Culture and Art to act on matters of importance. Andrzej Dobrowolski described these functionaries as saying constantly "give me peace, I don't know anything about this, after all."<sup>54</sup> He emphasized that this situation must change, since most of the business of the Composers Union had to be processed through the Ministry. Piotr Perkowski, a composer of the older generation, remarked that "we cannot consider the Ministry of Culture and Art to be a thinking center, which works sensibly...[ellipsis in original] The Ministry works from accident to accident, from suggestion to suggestion."<sup>55</sup> Hence, dissatisfaction with the Ministry of Culture and Art was deep-rooted among some composers, yet as seen in Chapter III, those composers involved in the preparations for the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival had been dependent on it for many crucial decisions. Although these statements of dissatisfaction were made in 1957, difficulties with the Ministry of Culture and Art were to continue in subsequent years. Examples of such problems will be shown in Chapters VIII and IX in connection with the organization of the 1958-1961 Warsaw Autumn Festivals.

One product of potential use in the dissemination of Polish music failed to play an important role due both to its technical insufficiencies and to unfortunate administrative decisions. As noted in Chapter IV, the first slow-speed records were made in Poland in 1955; these measured 25 centimeter (9 13/16") in diameter. Borys Frydrychowicz

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<sup>54</sup> "Daj mi spokój, ja się przecież na tym nie znam." B. P.," Sprawozdanie ze zjazdu," p. 17.

<sup>55</sup> "Nie możemy Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki uważać za ośrodek myślący, który działa rozsądnie...Ministerstwo działa od przypadku do przypadku, od sugestii do sugestii." Ibid. Similar complaints had been made prior to the 1956 Festival with regard to the Committee for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in the Ministry.

described these recordings in his review of the development of Poland's recording industry: "Noises disturbing the reception often made it impossible to listen to them (this chiefly referred to works of serious music)...The saturation of the market with recordings of serious music was equal in principle to zero. At the same time, it is necessary to take under consideration the fact that the quantity of imported recordings at that time was not large."<sup>56</sup>

Beginning in 1959, recordings in a 30 centimeter (12") format were made in Poland. The country's first stereophonic recordings were also issued the same year. Although the number of recordings of "serious"--i.e., classical--music increased, few compositions by living Polish composers appeared on disc in the next two years other than those on the documentary recordings of each Warsaw Autumn Festival. Of course, the importance of these Festival recordings should not be underestimated, for they provided an invaluable source of information about contemporary Polish music for both foreign guests and Polish citizens. (These recordings will be discussed further in Chapter XI). Nonetheless, Frydrychowicz named only one non-Festival recording of compositions by contemporary composers made between 1959 and 1961: an issue of the pieces by Baird, Lutosławski, and Serocki that had garnered awards at the 1959 UNESCO International Tribunal of Composers Competition.<sup>57</sup> It can be ascertained from another source that one additional

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<sup>56</sup> "Szumy zakłócające odbiór często uniemożliwiały ich odsłuchiwanie (dotyczyło to zwłaszcza utworów z zakresu muzyki poważnej)...Nasycenie rynku płytami z muzyką poważną równało się w zasadzie zero. Trzeba przy tym wziąć pod uwagę i ten fakt, że ilość importowanych płyt była w owym czasie niewielka." Frydrychowicz, "Radio, telewizja i fonografia," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 230.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231. According to Erhardt, Lutosławski's *Funeral Music* and Serocki's *Sinfonietta* were recorded on Polskie Nagrania-Muza XL 0072; Baird's *Four Essays* might have been included on that recording, but neither Erhardt nor Frydrychowicz provide definitive information to that effect: Erhardt, *Music in Poland*, pp. 132-135.

disc was released during those three years--that containing Penderecki's *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* and Bacewicz's *Music for Strings, Trumpets, and Percussion*.<sup>58</sup>

Frydrychowicz also noted that the many difficulties encountered by the Polish state producer of classical music recordings, Polskie Nagrania, resulted from "the abnormally long production cycle and the small quantity of titles printed yearly."<sup>59</sup> These hindrances, whether the result of financial problems or bureaucratic (i.e., governmental) decisions, prevented recordings of compositions by contemporary Polish composers from becoming available to the general public or to foreigners. Recordings by Polskie Nagrania for years have been notoriously difficult, if not impossible to obtain in foreign countries. Even the Warsaw Autumn Festival documentary recordings are made in limited numbers and do not make it to foreign markets.

Ars Polona--the state organization responsible for arranging foreign sales of Polish recordings, scores, and books on music--must accept some of the criticism for the inaccessibility of these items outside of Poland. As discussed in Chapter V, musicians from Eastern and Western Europe deplored the lack of scores of Polish music available in their countries in 1956. These insufficiencies did not abate in the next few years. Jerzy Waldorff complained in 1960 that

"Ars Polona'...is as sluggish as it used to be. On foreign markets there is still a lack of Polish scores, recordings, and books...Polish recordings cannot reach Western markets since they are offered by us for a price two times higher than the recordings delivered there by our brothers the Czechs. Moreover Czechoslovakia sent their freshest catalogs and sample recordings to foreign markets with the utmost efficiency and quickness. Therefore 'Carinia Company' [from Australia] must content themselves to this day with the Ars Polona catalog printed two years ago...Polish books,

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<sup>58</sup> Polskie Nagrania-Muza XL 0171: Erhardt, *Music in Poland*, pp. 132-34.

<sup>59</sup> "Przy nienormalnie długim cyklu produkcyjnym i niewielkiej ilości tytułów wydawanych rocznie." Frydrychowicz, "Radio, telewizja i fonografia," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 231.

recordings, and scores intended for export are treated by other governmental authorities like any commodity that must be sold with as large a profit as possible. Meanwhile, we should be concerned with publicizing Polish art abroad even though there is a material loss."<sup>60</sup>

Because of this lack of recordings and scores of Polish music in foreign countries, a valuable means of dissemination was not utilized; Polish musicians could have benefited greatly from such foreign publicity as they took advantage of new opportunities for travel and education.

### Socialist Realism in the Soviet Union

During the five years following the first Warsaw Autumn Festival, the hitherto closely linked paths of Polish and Soviet music began to diverge. No longer were the ideological policies pursued in the Soviet Union duplicated in Poland. In the Soviet Union, the effects of de-Stalinization also meant new opportunities for composers, but these openings were not as extensive as those that appeared in Poland. Processes of liberalization also were occurring to some degree in other Eastern European countries in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, as the controlling force behind cultural policy in Eastern Europe since World War II, the Soviet Union was the sole country whose activities potentially could affect artistic freedoms in Poland.

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<sup>60</sup> "'Ars Polona'...została tak niemrawa, jak była, na rynkach zagranicznych nadal brak polskich nut, płyt i książek...Polskie płyty nie mogą dostać się na zachodnie rynki, gdyż oferowane są przez nas po cenie dwukrotnie wyższej niż płyty dostarczane tam przez braci Czechów. Ponadto Czechosłowacja z najwyższą sprawnością i szybkością obsyła rynki obce najświeższymi swymi katalogami i próbnymi płytami, zaś 'Carinia Company' do dziś musi kontentować się katalogiem 'Ars Polona' wydanym przed dwoma laty...Przeznaczone na eksport polskie książki, płyty i nuty są traktowane przez inne władze jak każdy towar, który musi być sprzedawany z możliwie dużym zyskiem. Tymczasem powinno chodzić nam przede wszystkim o propagandę sztuki polskiej za granicą, niechby i z materialną stratą." Jerzy Waldorff, "Na koń!" in *Ciach go smykiem* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1972), pp. 50-51.

In May 1958 the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party admitted officially that errors had been made in certain past evaluations of composers. Although it did not totally rescind the policy of realism enunciated in its 1948 Resolution (see Chapter II), the Committee acknowledged that the composers faulted in that document for their formalist musical tendencies--most notably, Shostakovich and Prokofiev--had been criticized in an "unfair and unjustified" manner.<sup>61</sup> Despite this repeal of former condemnations, the policy of socialist realism was not revoked; Soviet composers in the late 1950s were still exhorted to write music in an accessible style. In particular, the composing of dodecaphonic music was discouraged. According to Boris Schwarz, Soviet composers visiting the United States in 1959 insisted that this technique was not liked by composers or audiences in the Soviet Union. (The composers visiting the U.S. were Dmitri Shostakovich, Tikhon Khrennikov, Dmitri Kabalevsky, Konstantin Dankevich, and Fikret Amirov.)<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, an article written by an English critic in 1960 referred to the lack of serial and electronic music on Soviet concerts that he attended during his visit to that country:

"As composers, Soviet musicians are still straight-jacketed by ideology imposed from the top. Radical experiment is frowned on. Concerts...at which such fertilizing agents as serial music and electronic composition are allowed free play, are missing in Moscow. The group of middle-aged-to-elderly composers and musicologists who officially received me at the Composers' Union condemned all such radicalism as 'avant-gardismus'. This is the mythological monster created in Moscow to represent all non-tonal experiments from Schoenberg to Boulez."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> "Declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Amending and Cancelling the Resolution of 10 February 1948 and Restoring the Dignity and Integrity of Soviet Composers Attacked in That Resolution," Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, pp. 1376-77.

<sup>62</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 321.

<sup>63</sup> Arthur Jacobs, "Music and Myth in Moscow," *New Statesman* (May 21, 1960), quoted in Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 324.

In an article published in 1960, Shostakovich cautioned Soviet composers to avoid dodecaphony, which he described as a "'dogmatic and barren system...it has killed the soul of music - melody - Dodecaphony has no future, nay, it has no present.'" He went on to say that "'We reject the right to fruitless formal experimentation, to the advocacy--in our art--of pessimism, scepticism [sic], man-hating ideas'."<sup>64</sup> Although the strength of Shostakovich's rejection of dodecaphony and experimentation is subject to differing opinions due to the ongoing controversy in the 1980s about the composer's status as a "silent" dissident,<sup>65</sup> this public statement still had the weight of support from the Soviet government, and thus can be construed as a reflection of the government's then-current judgments about musical composition.

At the 1960 Plenum of the Soviet Composers Union, Kabalevsky similarly deplored the writing of "tragic" music, since it was not "'adapted to the main features that are characteristic of our country's life and of the spirit of our people'."<sup>66</sup> Such exhortations had not been a part of Polish musical life since approximately 1954.

Despite the continuing public condemnations of dodecaphony the level of repression of compositions in the Soviet Union was moderated in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Works by Khachaturian, Shostakovich, and Prokofiev that had been performed in that country either rarely or not at all for more than a decade were presented between 1956 and 1962. Khachaturian's Second Symphony, Shostakovich's Fourth and Eighth Symphonies, as

<sup>64</sup> Quoted in Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 334-35.

<sup>65</sup> Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich as Related to and Edited by Solomon Volkov*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Harper & Row, 1979); Laurel E. Fay, "Shostakovich versus Volkov: Whose *Testimony*?" *Russian Review* 39, no. 4 (October 1980): 484-93; Frank Peters, "Cross-Examining 'Testimony'," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (March 8, 1981): 5C; Richard Taruskin, "The Opera And The Dictator," *New Republic* (March 20, 1989): 34-40.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.



well as Prokofiev's operas *Semyon Kotko* and *The Story of a Real Man* belong to this category.<sup>67</sup> However, not all compositions were accepted for performance. In January 1958 Gavril Popov's Symphony No. 2 was withdrawn from performance on the night it was scheduled to be presented. The reason for the cancellation was never explained, according to Schwarz. In December 1962, a show of official displeasure resulted in the banning of Shostakovich's Thirteenth Symphony because of objections to sections of its text. The Symphony was returned to the concert stage after acceptable revisions were made.<sup>68</sup> Although the events of 1962 are slightly beyond the scope of this study, the depiction of this temporary banishment of Shostakovich's symphony, together with the denunciations of "pessimistic" music given earlier, serve to emphasize that the Soviet government was not open to the performance of all compositions, although it certainly was more flexible than it had been in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Stravinsky's reputation was not fully rehabilitated by the Soviet government until 1962. Bernstein's expression of admiration for "'two Stravinskys'" during the New York Philharmonic's tour of the Soviet Union in 1959 provoked a sharp response by a Moscow critic: "'The traits of decay and creativity in music are incompatible.'"<sup>69</sup> Bernstein's reference to "two Stravinskys" may have been kindled by the Philharmonic's performance in the Soviet Union of the composer's Piano Concerto (1924, rev. 1950) and *The Rite of Spring*, each of which embodies a different style of composition. Stravinsky's visit to the

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<sup>67</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 309, 328-29.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 329-30.

<sup>69</sup> *Sovetskaya kultura* (August 27, 1959), quoted in Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 314.

Soviet Union in 1962--his first in fifty years--marked the culmination of a period of the "reconsideration of [his] role in Russian music."<sup>70</sup>

One benefit of de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union was the broadening of international contacts. For example, a cultural exchange agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States signed in 1958 contributed to the re-establishment of artistic ties with the West. The Philadelphia Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, the Cleveland Orchestra and the Boston Symphony each toured the Soviet Union within the next few years, while Sviatislav Richter, David Oistrakh, Mstislav Rostropovich and the Moscow State Orchestra were among the Soviet performers to visit the United States.<sup>71</sup> In 1960, the Soviet Union joined the UNESCO Music Council, further expanding their international contacts more than three years after Poland had become a member of the same organization.<sup>72</sup>

Within the closed circles of the Soviet Composers Union, compositions by twentieth-century composers such as Britten, Berg, Honegger, Henze, Bartók, Boulez, and Pierre Schaeffer were heard. As a result of these sessions, Soviet composers became increasingly aware of Western compositional techniques. At the same time, of course, these composers were discouraged from borrowing these methods, and the general public never heard many of the same compositions.<sup>73</sup> As Schwarz reported after a 1960 visit to the country, "the leading critics and composers were well aware of musical trends and events abroad."<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp. 349-50.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 330-31.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 331.

## Conclusions

As seen in this survey, Polish composers from 1956-1961 were able to develop artistic contacts with Western Europe and to choose their own styles of composition without fear of repression or politically-motivated criticism. Perhaps more importantly, they were able to do these things despite the fact that Soviet composers during the same period did not have a comparable amount of latitude, and even though other segments of Polish society experienced a withdrawal of some of the gains that had been made between 1954 and 1958.

Little evidence of censorship or repression of Polish music has surfaced for the period 1956-1961. Potentially there could have been more than has been acknowledged thus far, given the facts that governmental ministries still controlled the amount of foreign travel that was allowed via their issuance of passports to musicians, and that these ministries had demonstrated their ability to control the opinions published in the domestic press by forcing resignations and closing down publications during the same years. However, because the number of composers in Poland was relatively small in comparison to writers or other artists, and also because musical compositions, particularly the instrumental variety, inherently could not be as critical of the State as the "verbal" arts of film or literature, the government may have decided to allow composers greater freedoms than were given to their literary and film colleagues.

Certain problems did exist, of course: governmental policy prevented the performance of compositions of certain emigré composers, and the dissemination of Polish music abroad was hindered by a lack of scores and recordings of Polish compositions in foreign markets. Nonetheless, the passport difficulties that arose in 1957 did not prevent Polish composers from hearing avant-garde compositions at the Darmstadt Courses. Fortunately for Polish musicians, the restrictions imposed on Soviet composers and concert life, as well as the official Soviet disparagement of certain compositional techniques widely used in

Western countries, were not imitated in Poland. As will be shown in later chapters, these restrictions affected the Soviet musicians and compositions that were proposed for the Warsaw Autumn Festival, but they were not applied to all Festival concerts.

The liberation from the dogmatic governmental policy of socialist realism enabled Polish composers to learn about the newest trends in Western music during the entire year, not just during the short span of the Warsaw Autumn Festival. It also permitted them to have their own compositions--written in styles quite different from those permissible in Poland in the early 1950s--performed in Western Europe. Undoubtedly, the loosening of restraints on travel and compositional styles was beneficial for those composers who aided in the organization of the Warsaw Autumn Festival each year. First of all, they were able to continue the event in the years after 1956--a return to Stalinist policies might have signalled the end of the endeavor. These new freedoms also permitted them to evaluate more easily the Western compositions that were eligible for performance at the Festival and to maintain closer personal contacts with the composers and critics that they wished to have participate each year.

## CHAPTER VII

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE FESTIVAL'S PERMANENT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Perhaps the most important task confronting the organizers of the Warsaw Autumn Festival from 1957 to 1960 was to determine how the Festival should be coordinated on a permanent basis. Although a decision to hold a second Festival in 1958 had been made by the end of October 1956, the event had not yet been sanctioned by the Polish government as an annual fixture in the musical life of the country. Nevertheless, beginning in 1957 the Festival's organizers began to develop plans for a permanent organizational structure. In particular, they were concerned with delineating the composition and functions of the committees and institutions that would be involved in the organization of each Festival. These entities would be responsible for determining the goals for the Festival and for selecting its performers, repertoire, and invited guests.

Before a permanent system was approved by the government and put into action for the 1961 Festival, much discussion occurred during the course of meetings attended by the Festival's organizers. Several statute proposals from the Polish Composers Union and a temporary citation from the Ministry of Culture and Art were issued prior to 1961, but the methods by which the 1958-1960 Festivals were actually organized did not always adhere to the principles set out in those documents. Although specific decisions about goals, performers, and repertoire will be discussed in later chapters, the general roles that each committee and institution played in the preparation of each Festival will be reviewed here.

### Principal Organizers

A brief description of the most important agencies involved in the preparation of the 1958-1961 Festivals will facilitate the ensuing discussion. Relevant changes in their roles as they prepared each Festival will be described later in this chapter.

The four pertinent agencies were all part of the Ministry of Culture and Art: the Polish Composers Union, the Central Board for Music Institutions, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and the Polish Artists Agency (PAGART). The Composers Union has already been mentioned frequently. Its Presidium and Executive Board were involved in the Festival's organization each year; individual members of the Union who were not a part of either of these subgroups were also involved in that effort.

The Central Board of Music Institutions was represented most often at organizational meetings by its director, Wiktor Weinbaum. The Board coordinated the activities of nearly all of the musical ensembles in Poland, the exceptions being the Radio Orchestras and Choirs, which were managed by Polish Radio. Another of the Central Board's responsibilities was to act as either the principal organizer or the supervisor of Poland's domestic and international musical festivals and competitions.<sup>1</sup> As such, it was actively involved in the activities of the Warsaw Autumn Festival, although it was not the sole organizer of that event. In effect, however, it acted as the spokesman for the Minister of Culture and Art in Festival matters. The Board announced budget allocations and fielded questions about the feasibility of inviting certain ensembles. As the recipient of the various proposals for the Festival's permanent organization that were submitted by the Composers Union, the Board was responsible for transferring these documents to the proper authorities in the Ministry of Culture and Art. The Board also was obliged to grant official

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<sup>1</sup> "Zarządzenie Nr 125 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 21 lipca 1959 r. w sprawie organizacji i zakresu działania komórek organizacyjnych Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1959), poz. 104.

approval of all ensembles participating in the Festival beginning in 1959, and may have done so in 1958 as well. The name of the Central Board was changed to the Department of Music in 1958 and again to the Music Group (*Zespół do Spraw Muzyki*) in 1959.<sup>2</sup>

The Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation had been called a Committee in 1956. As described in the *Bulletin of the Ministry of Culture and Art* in 1959, part of its function was to coordinate the activities called for in the bilateral cultural exchange agreements with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. These ventures were realized with the consent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Bureau also supervised artistic exchanges with the West and sanctioned other musical events requiring interaction between Poland and Western countries.<sup>3</sup> Whether dealing with Eastern or Western nations, the Bureau could delegate the organization of artistic events to PAGART.<sup>4</sup>

PAGART came into existence in 1957. Its primary purpose was to negotiate contracts with foreign performers coming to Poland and to coordinate the foreign appearances of Polish musical artists (excluding composers) in other countries. Its officials worked closely with those from the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in arranging the concerts by foreign performers that were given at the Warsaw Autumn Festivals.

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<sup>2</sup> The Music Group replaced the Department of Music in May 1959: "Uchwała nr 215/59 Rady Ministrów z dnia 22 maja 1959 r. Statut Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki - Załącznik do uchwały nr 215/59," *Ibid.*, poz. 103.

<sup>3</sup> "Zarządzenie Nr 125 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 21 lipca 1959 r.," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1959).

<sup>4</sup> "Instrukcja Nr 80 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 29 kwietnia 1958 r. w sprawie zasad zawierania umów o finansowanie z budżetu centralnego Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki deficytowych imprez artystycznych, związanych z wymianą kulturalną z zagranicą." *Ibid.*, 1958, nr 8, poz. 85; "Zarządzenie Nr 151 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 10 grudnia 1960 r. w sprawie organizacji finansowej i systemu finansowego przedsiębiorstwa państwowego pod nazwą Polska Agencja Artystyczna 'PAGART'," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1960), nr. 19, poz. 163.

### 1957: Initial Suggestions for a Permanent Organizational Structure

Discussions about the organizational structure of the 1958 Festival began as early as the March 1957 plenary meetings of the Composers Union's newly elected Executive Board. These conversations eventually led to the formation of a Festival Committee that theoretically was to be the organizing body for the second Festival. The Composers Union, however, continued to play an important and separate role in the preparations for that event. Included in the debate about the creation of this Committee was deliberation about the proper role of the Union in the Festival's future.

The new Executive Board was elected at the Union's General Assembly held March 9-10, 1957. Kazimierz Sikorski, Witold Rudziński, and Andrzej Dobrowolski retained the same positions on the Presidium that they had held since June, 1955: respectively, president, vice president, and secretary general. Tadeusz Szeligowski, previously the treasurer, was elected vice president (the Presidium had two vice presidents), and Włodzimierz Kotoński was chosen as treasurer, rounding out the Presidium. Jerzy Młodziejowski was re-elected as a member of the Board; its new members were Henryk Czyż, Tomasz Kiesewetter, Marian Sobieski, Maria Dziewulska, Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, and Bolesław Szabelski. Sobieski was an ethnomusicologist; the others were composers. Czyż and Kiesewetter also conducted in Łódź.<sup>5</sup>

The idea of creating a separate Festival organizing committee was advanced at the Executive Board's meeting on April 5, 1957.<sup>6</sup> This meeting was also attended by composers who were not members of the Board (Kazimierz Serocki, Tadeusz Baird, Piotr

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<sup>5</sup> "Związek Kompozytorów Polskich: Walne zjazdy ZKP."

<sup>6</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January-May, 1957). As indicated in Chapter III, an Organizing Committee existed during at least a portion of the planning period for the 1956 Festival but little information on its activities or membership is available. No explicit references to the activities of this particular Committee in 1957 or later were made in documents available for this study.



Perkowski, Stanisław Skrowaczewski, Jan Ekier, and Bolesław Woytowicz), as well as by H. Wodnicka, a representative of PAGART. The prevailing sentiment expressed by those present was that the members of the Composers Union should retain control over the selection of performers and repertoire for the Festival, but that these composers should belong to a larger organizing committee. As Kotoński said,

"the Presidium of the Composers Union should not be literally the organizer of the Festival. Instead, it should be included in the work of the [Festival] Committee through the intervention of the president of the Executive Board. The Committee should consist of several people from the Presidium and several from outside the Presidium who have experience. It is necessary to have several people go abroad to discuss the program with the invited orchestras. Besides these, the Committee should have: representatives of the Ministry [of Culture and Art], and finally a representative of ORBIS (for housing and advertising)."<sup>7</sup>

Kotoński's implication here was that only composers should handle the negotiations concerning the repertoire for each concert.

Woytowicz supported Kotoński. He declared that the Composers Union should be the "manager" of the Festival, but that other professionals should realize its technical aspects.<sup>8</sup> He also said that only members of the Composers Union should talk with foreigners about the Festival. Presumably, Woytowicz was referring here to negotiations with performers concerning their participation in the Festival and the precise repertoire of the concerts. To Woytowicz's last remark, the representative from PAGART emphasized that cooperation

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<sup>7</sup> "Prezydium ZKP nie powinno być dosłownie organizatorem Festiwalu. Natomiast powinno być włączone w pracy Komisji F. za pośrednictwem prezesa ZG. Komisja powinna się składać z: kilku osób z Prezydium, kilku z poza Prezydium, mających doświadczenie. Konieczny jest wyjazd kilku osób do propowanych orkiestr zagr. dla omówienia programu. Poza tym do Komisji powinni wejść: przedstawiciele Ministerstwa, wreszcie przedstawiciel ORBISu (dla spr. zakwaterowania i reklamy)." "Wyciąg ze stenogramów obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 5 kwietnia 1957 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, International Festival of Contemporary Music, 1958. ORBIS is the Polish travel agency.

<sup>8</sup> "Gospodarzem." Ibid.

between her agency and the Festival's organizers was necessary in order to arrange the non-Festival appearances by those foreign performers who participated in the Warsaw contemporary music gala.<sup>9</sup> She neglected to add that PAGART also was in charge of negotiating contracts with all foreign performers who appeared in Poland.

Dobrowolski agreed in part with the assertions made by Kotoński and Woytowicz. In his opinion the Presidium could not be responsible for all aspects of the Festival's organization. An Organizing Committee consisting in part of the Presidium and other members of the Composers Union should be established to aid in determining the repertoire and conducting negotiations with performers. He disagreed with the other composers, however, in his belief that PAGART and the Ministry of Culture and Art should, as essential components of the Committee, "not only help the Presidium but also take on part of the responsibility" for selecting the repertoire and performers.<sup>10</sup>

These statements by Dobrowolski and Kotoński support the conclusion drawn in Chapter III that the Presidium had been heavily involved in many facets of the 1956 Festival's organization. However, despite this close association of the Presidium and even the Executive Board of the Composers Union to the first Festival's organization, in 1957 the Board did not want to accept full responsibility for all aspects of the Festival, preferring to leave the technical and administrative details to a Festival Committee. Several members of the Board, nonetheless, did want the Composers Union to retain responsibility for shaping the artistic profile of the Festival, which to them included the provision that composers should negotiate with foreign participants.

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<sup>9</sup> Foreign performers at the 1956 Warsaw Autumn Festival had also presented concerts in other cities in Poland after their presentations in Warsaw.

<sup>10</sup> "Nie tylko pomoże Prezydium, ale i weźmie na siebie również część odpowiedzialności." "Wyciąg ze stenogramów obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 5 kwietnia 1957 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Sikorski concluded the April 5 meeting by proposing that the 1958 Festival Committee be composed only of composers. He named as its members the Presidium of the Union plus Tadeusz Baird, Jan Krenz, Witold Lutosławski, Kazimierz Serocki, Stanisław Skrowaczewski, and Bolesław Woytowicz. The Committee's function was not explicitly defined. The five members of the Presidium plus Baird, Serocki, and Skrowaczewski had helped to plan the first Festival.

Although the decision to create a Festival Committee for 1958 did not imply that the event would be held on a permanent basis, other discussions held later in 1957 did point to such a possibility. The Composers Union had been scheduled to decide how often the Festival would be held at a meeting in December 1956 (see Chapter V), but such a decision was not made at that time. Almost a year later the issue of the Festival's frequency was still being deliberated by the members of the Union's Executive Board. Their meeting on October 4, 1957 was also attended by Wiktor Weinbaum and at least two other composers.<sup>11</sup> Of the non-Board composers named as attendees in the minutes, Baird had been appointed to the Festival Committee by Sikorski; Piotr Perkowski had not been. The Festival Committee, if one actually existed at that point, was not mentioned.

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<sup>11</sup> An announcement in the Composers Union's *Informational Bulletin* noted that a decision to hold the Festival annually was reached by the Executive Board of the Composers Union on September 20, 1957. According to the *Bulletin* the Ministry of Culture and Art had agreed to an annual Festival prior to this meeting. If both agencies had already agreed on this issue, it is difficult to understand why the topic was reopened for discussion on October 4. Given that minutes exist for the latter meeting, but not for the September one; that the *Bulletin* does not mention the October session; and that the *Bulletin* summarizes the actual discussion of the October meeting under the guise of the September one, my hypothesis is that an incorrect date was printed in the *Bulletin*--that only one meeting occurred, on October 4. See *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-December, 1957); and "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

At this October meeting, Weinbaum expressed his agency's support for an annual Festival, stating that it would be easier to allocate finances if the Festival were held on a yearly basis rather than biennially. It also would be easier to engage ensembles and soloists two years in advance if the organizers were to determine which genres (i.e., symphonic, chamber, operatic) would be emphasized each year. Furthermore, he declared that the Department of Culture (a part of the Polish United Workers Party apparatus, separate from the Ministry framework) would sanction an annual Festival, but that the final decision about the frequency of the event belonged to the Composers Union.

Sikorski also supported the idea of an annual Festival, declaring that the Composers Union should "assure the department [the Central Board of Music Institutions] of the willingness of the Polish Composers Union to be of every help in the transfer to a system of yearly festivals, with the stipulation of a change in the role of the Polish Composers Union."<sup>12</sup> Baird advocated an annual festival if a separate Festival office were created, although he offered no details on the staffing or role of such an office. In fact, no opinions were voiced against the idea of an annual festival. By the autumn of 1957, then, the Executive Board was willing to advocate a yearly festival, preferably with a change in the function of the Composers Union in the Festival's organization, perhaps effected by the establishment of a separate office to handle some of the administrative matters. Weinbaum, however, believed that the Central Board of Music Institutions was capable of organizing the Festival, since it had arranged the Chopin and Wieniawski competitions in previous years without difficulty. By so speaking, he rejected the idea of creating another office

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<sup>12</sup> "Zapewnić resort o gotowości ZKP, do okazania wszelkiej pomocy przy przejściu na system festiwalu dorocznego, z zastrzeżeniem zmiany roli ZKP." "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

separate from the Composers Union or the Central Board of Music Institutions. The matters of a Festival office, and thus of an annual Festival, were left unresolved.

#### **April 1958 Statute Proposal**

The earliest proposal for a statute creating a permanent organizational structure for the Festival was submitted to Weinbaum on April 22, 1958.<sup>13</sup> It had been drawn up by the Executive Board of the Composers Union and endorsed at a conference on April 19 attended in part by Bogusław Płaza (the director of the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation), an unnamed representative from PAGART, and three composers: Witold Lutosławski, Andrzej Dobrowolski, and Kazimierz Sikorski. Invitations to this meeting had been sent by Dobrowolski, as the secretary general of the Composers Union, to Płaza, Wiktor Weinbaum, Jan Wójcicki (the Central Board of Music Institutions), Szymon Zakrzewski (PAGART), Edward Konopa (PAGART), and Zbigniew Drzewiecki (Association for Polish Musical Artists). The statute proposal had obviously been prepared and debated thoroughly before this meeting, since it was approved that day with only the change of one verbal tense.<sup>14</sup> It is given in its entirety below; the Polish text is provided in Appendix D.

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<sup>13</sup> Dobrowolski, Secretary General, to the Central Board of Music Institutions, "for the hand of Director W. Weinbaum," April 22, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>14</sup> The tense change is from the imperfective "powoływany" to the perfective "powołany." Both are forms of the past tense in Polish: "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' w dniu 19 kwietnia 1958 roku"; and Dobrowolski to W. Weinbaum, April 22, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

## PROPOSAL

### STATUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF CONTEMPORARY MUSIC<sup>15</sup>

- § 1. In order to advance musical composition and develop musical life in Poland an annual International Festival of Contemporary Music (hereafter called "Festival") is established.
- § 2. The primary goal of the Festival is:
- a) to achieve a review of the output of composers and performers in the field of contemporary music in Poland and abroad,
  - b) to make possible an exchange of views and experiences among composers and representatives of musical life of various countries.
- § 3. This goal is realized through:
- a) the organization of concerts performed by domestic and foreign ensembles and soloists during the Festival,
  - b) the participation in the Festival, as performers or invited guests, of outstanding composers and representatives of musical life of various countries.
- § 4. A permanent Organizing Committee will be appointed by the Minister of Culture and Art to decide all matters connected with the organization and realization of the yearly Festivals.
- The Committee will consist of: four representatives from the Polish Composers Union, two representatives from the Association of Polish Musical Artists (selected from lists of candidates provided by these organizations), as well as one representative each from the Central Board of Music Institutions (Department of Music), the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and PAGART.
- § 5. The program of each Festival is established by the Organizing Committee on the suggestion of the Polish Composers Union.
- § 6. The Organizing Committee determines the budget estimate for the Festival each year. Expenses connected with the Festival are covered by a special yearly subsidy from the Ministry of Culture and Art and by receipts from Festival events.

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<sup>15</sup> "Projekt. Regulamin Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej,"  
Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

§ 7. The Organizing Committee assembles a financial account of its activities for the Ministry of Culture and Art.

§ 8. The Organizing Committee selects a chair and deputy chair from its membership.

For the enforcement of resolutions, the presence of at least five members of the Committee is required. Resolutions are passed by the usual majority of votes; in the case of a tie, the vote of the Chair is decisive.

§ 9. The executive organ of the Committee is the permanent Secretary of the Committee, appointed to this position by the Organizing Committee from among active musicians or organizers of musical life.

The conditions of the duties of the Committee's Secretary and the amount of his salary are regulated through a contract with the Committee.

As the need arises, the Secretary of the Committee takes advantage of office help to the degree established in the Festival's budget estimate.

This proposal included references to two issues that had been discussed in 1957: the frequency of the Festival and the creation of a Festival office. The Composers Union still supported the idea of holding the Festival annually. Although this point was not contested after October 1957, it was not sanctioned officially by the Minister of Culture until December 1959. The benefits of an office staff were also recognized in the proposal, although a desire to create a separate Festival office was not stated explicitly therein. Polish composers would argue for the creation of such an office for another year before being granted their wish. An examination of the statement of goals for the Festival will be reserved for Chapter VIII, where a review of all official pronouncements of these objectives will be given.

The majority of the proposal was concerned with the constitution and function of the Festival's Organizing Committee. (The titles "Organizing Committee" and "Festival Committee" have been synonymous throughout the history of the Festival.) All responsibility for decisions concerning the organization of each Festival was to be assigned

to this Committee, whose members would be appointed by the Minister of Culture and Art. Agencies represented on the Committee would be the Composers Union, the Association for Polish Musical Artists (the performing artists' union), the Central Board for Music Institutions, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and PAGART. As such, this Committee was different from the one appointed by Sikorski in April 1957, which comprised only composers. Moreover, the participation of the full Executive Board of the Composers Union would be eliminated, and representatives from other agencies within the Ministry of Culture and Art would be incorporated into the Committee, as had been advocated in 1957 by Kotoński and Dobrowolski. However, the Composers Union would retain a measure of responsibility over the Festival's program, since it would be permitted to suggest performers and repertoire to the Organizing Committee.

One position on the Committee not mentioned in the earlier organizational meetings for which information is available is that of Secretary.<sup>16</sup> According to the proposed statute, the Secretary was to be appointed by the Committee "from among the active composers or organizers of musical life," a group of people that potentially included not only the members of the Committee itself but also other musicians and governmental officials.<sup>17</sup> The Secretary's duties and salary were unspecified, but the person could take advantage of office help. In addition to the Secretary, other positions of authority were to be a chair and deputy chair, who would be chosen from among the members of the Committee.

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<sup>16</sup> These include meetings of the Composer's Union Executive Board on April 5 and October 4, 1957 and the combined session of the Executive Board and the Festival Committee on March 15, 1958: Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>17</sup> "spośród czynnych twórców muzycznych lub organizatorów życia muzycznego." "Projekt. Regulamin Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.



The only specific roles assigned to the Committee were to develop a budget estimate for each year's Festival, compile a financial account of its activities for the Ministry of Culture and Art, and either sanction or revise the program suggested by the Composers Union. The specific duties of the various agencies represented on the Committee were not defined, perhaps because they were already understood by the individuals who put together the proposal; the functions of these groups would be the same as they were normally in Poland's musical life.

This statute proposal was not approved by the Ministry of Culture and Art before the start of the 1958 Festival. Thus, the Organizing Committee delineated in the proposal was never appointed, and the questions put forward in 1957 concerning the responsibilities of the Composers Union in the Festival's organization were not answered.

### **1958 Organizational System**

Although the proposal submitted in April provided considerable detail about the organizational system that should be used for the Warsaw Autumn Festival, the actual process of preparing the 1958 Festival was quite different from what was described in that document. In reality, the proceedings were extremely chaotic. The Festival, held from September 27-October 5, was brought to the brink of disaster several times by political maneuverings and disagreements among organizers, participants, and foreign governments. Although many of the decisions concerning performers and repertoire were made after the statute proposal had been completed in April, most Festival matters were decided almost by chance, without regard for the procedures outlined in that document. As stated earlier, specific decisions concerning the actual concerts will be discussed in Chapters IX and X; only general decision-making processes will be described here.

A Festival Committee did exist during the preparations for this Festival, although its membership differed from that proposed by Sikorski in April 1957 and from that prescribed a year later in the statute proposal. According to available information, the Committee's first meeting occurred on March 15, 1958. This session and most of the organizational meetings held thereafter that year were labelled as meetings of the Composers Union's Executive Board and the Festival Committee, indicating that both groups were separate entities involved in a common cause.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, both the Festival Committee and Executive Board--especially its Presidium--were active in planning the second Festival.

The Festival Committee consisted of the non-Executive Board composers named in April 1957 by Sikorski (Baird, Krenz, Lutosławski, Serocki, Skrowaczewski, and Woytowicz) plus composers Grażyna Bacewicz, Kazimierz Jurdziński, Andrzej Markowski, Zygmunt Mycielski, Piotr Perkowski, Stefan Poradowski, and Witold Rowicki; the director of PAGART, Szymon Zakrzewski; and the director of the Central Board of Music Institutions, Wiktor Weinbaum.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the Committee was composed of members of the Composers Union and officials from two other departments of the Ministry of Culture and Art. The Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, which had played a prominent role in the organization of the 1956 Festival, was not represented. Nevertheless, its officials were present at a conference held on April 19, 1958 to discuss the Festival, and

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<sup>18</sup> The only exceptions to the combined Executive Board/Festival Committee sessions were "conferences" held on April 19 and June 10. Those invited to the earlier meeting were Dobrowolski and representatives from the Central Board of Music Institutions, PAGART, the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and the Association of Polish Musical Artists. The second session was attended by Dobrowolski and officials from PAGART and the Central Board: Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Rowicki and Markowski were also conductors, but were on the Festival Committee by virtue of their membership in the Composers Union.

as will be seen below, were directly involved in negotiations with Soviet and East European performers. Moreover, as described earlier, PAGART always worked in conjunction with the Bureau, which thus always knew of the organizers' activities.

The Presidium of the Composers Union played a larger role in choosing performers and repertoire than did the Executive Board, thus continuing the separation of functions first observed in 1955. At most of the 1957 and 1958 meetings of the Executive Board and Festival Committee, Dobrowolski presented a concise report on the current state of negotiations with performers, the specific repertoire slated to be presented, and the anticipated schedule of the Festival. These items were then discussed by the remaining participants, who either approved them or proposed further action. The fact that a member of the Presidium, Dobrowolski, was the one who presented the latest plans for the Festival to the Executive Board and Festival Committee is one point in favor of the assertion that the Presidium was more active than the full Board. Moreover, the Presidium was frequently asked by the Executive Board and Festival Committee to perform certain duties. For example, during the October 1957 Executive Board meeting Tadeusz Baird explicitly asked if the Presidium had thought about how Polish contemporary music should be represented at the 1958 Festival.<sup>20</sup> At the March 15, 1958 meeting of the Board and Festival Committee, the Presidium was assigned the task of formulating the program for a recital to be performed by Polish musicians at the Festival and also was authorized to discuss the programs to be presented by Polish orchestras with the conductors of these ensembles. At the same time, a suggestion made by Lutosławski that the Presidium of the Composers Union be responsible for making all changes in the "plan of the Festival's concerts" was

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<sup>20</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

accepted.<sup>21</sup> (The reference here was to the actual schedule of the Festival--i.e., the time and place of each concert.) At the same meeting, the Presidium made suggestions about who should conduct the Polish orchestras at the Festival, and presented a list of guests to be invited to the event that was then further revised.<sup>22</sup> These details indicate unmistakably that the Presidium was acting separately and more intimately than the remainder of the Board--albeit with the full support of the Board--in the Festival's organization.

It appears from minutes of the 1957 and 1958 organizational meetings that the selection of performers was not under the direct control of either the Presidium or the Executive Board.<sup>23</sup> The Board and Festival Committee did discuss the merits of certain Polish and foreign performers, but for the most part, the choice of performers announced by Dobrowolski at these meetings was rarely critiqued or altered. Officials from PAGART and the Central Board of Music Institutions must have approved the choice of performers, or perhaps even suggested them to the Presidium before each of these meetings, since the representatives of these two agencies present at the meetings voiced no complaints about the selections. Nevertheless, as will be shown in Chapter IX, even PAGART, the remainder of the Festival Committee, and the Executive Board were not totally free of restrictions in their talks with certain groups. For example, in the cases of the Hamburg Opera and ensembles from East Germany and Bulgaria, governmental agencies from the two latter countries and the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs intervened during the planning process. Thus, while the Composers Union had some influence in the selection of

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<sup>21</sup> "Planu koncertów festiwalowych." "Protokół z zebrania Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 15 marca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958, passim.

performers, their desires in this area were subject to the approval of other agencies, even those outside of the Ministry of Culture and Art.

An examination of the methods of communication with the performers that were invited to participate in the Festival will indicate the specific functions carried out by each agency and demonstrate the role of the Festival Committee as a whole. As in 1956, these methods differed according to whether the performer was from Western countries, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, or Poland. Also as in 1956, negotiations concerning repertoire were conducted with performers, not with composers.

Even though the Festival Committee and Executive Board apparently proposed specific performers only rarely, they frequently did make suggestions about the compositions to be presented by Western ensembles. Negotiations with Western performers were carried out by both PAGART and the Presidium of the Composers Union. PAGART, in addition to arranging the financial terms for each performer, relayed reports about specific compositions being proposed by both the performer and--on the Polish side--the Presidium, Executive Board, and Festival Committee. The Composers Union simultaneously communicated with many of these performers. For example, invitations to perform at the Festival were sent to Heinz Rehfuss, the Swiss baritone, by both PAGART and the Composers Union,<sup>24</sup> which created a potentially confusing situation: two organizations from the same country were communicating with the same person about the same event. Similarly, negotiations with the Hamburg Opera are also known to have been conducted by both PAGART and the Composers Union, although the existing

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<sup>24</sup> Dobrowolski to Heinz Rehfuss, March 3, 1958; and Szymon Zakrzewski (PAGART) to Rehfuss, March 6, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

correspondence with PAGART primarily concerned finances.<sup>25</sup> Complaints about this dual system were not expressed by performers either publicly or privately.

One of the most extensive sets of extant letters that traces the negotiations conducted in 1957 and 1958 between Poland and a specific performer or ensemble is the collection of correspondence between Dobrowolski and Rehfuss. The chronological sequence of these letters--some of which are dated only a few days apart--reveals that decisions were made about the vocalist's Festival programs by Dobrowolski and possibly the Presidium without formally consulting the Executive Board or Festival Committee about each detail. In fact, few details of the negotiations concerning Rehfuss's programs were ever provided at meetings of the Board and Committee. Normally, it would be expected that specific negotiating decisions be discussed in sessions of the Board or Festival Committee; they would not be made by individuals working with single ensembles or soloists.

Although Rehfuss had accepted the invitation to participate in a letter written March 3, 1958, and immediately began to discuss possible repertoire, little discussion about his Festival programs occurred at Board/Committee meetings. Those present at the March 15 session were told only that negotiations were ongoing, even though Rehfuss by that time had already suggested compositions by four composers. At the April 19 meeting his repertoire again was not given, despite the fact that communication between Rehfuss and Dobrowolski since March 15 had yielded different proposals. Finally, at the April 26 session a list of eight pieces was provided, from which the Board/Committee members chose three and requested a fourth that was not part of the original set. Thereafter, the

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<sup>25</sup> Sikorski and Dobrowolski to Heinz Tietjen and Herbert Paris, Directors of the Hamburg State Opera; "the Director of the Hamburg State Opera" to the Polish Composers Union; Herbert Paris to the Polish Composers Union; Paris to PAGART; Szymon Zakrzewski (PAGART) to Herbert Paris; and "the Director of the Hamburg State Opera" to PAGART, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958, passim.

Board and Committee were informed of Rehfuss' latest proposals, but apparently did not question revisions in the program: no discussion of the program announced at the June 6 meeting was mentioned in the minutes from that session, even though a composition by Dallapiccola had been suggested rather than one by Hindemith that had been named previously. Throughout the negotiations with Rehfuss, Dobrowolski had signed each of the extant letters dealing with the selection of repertoire for his two concerts.<sup>26</sup>

Dobrowolski was most likely acting on behalf of the Presidium--it is doubtful that he would make decisions on his own in this matter. However, it appears that he did not notify the Executive Board or the Festival Committee of the exact status of these negotiations until April 26.

Evidence also exists that Dobrowolski and possibly the Presidium may have made decisions about the programs of other Western European performers without first obtaining approval from the Festival Committee or the Executive Board. For example, Dobrowolski noted at the June 6, 1958 meeting of the Board and Committee that the program for the Cologne Radio Quintet had been finalized, but the contents of the program had been discussed previously by the Executive Board only once, at its the October 4, 1957 meeting.<sup>27</sup> Correspondence with this ensemble is not extant.

On the other hand, it was stated explicitly at the same June 6th session that the Juilliard Quartet had sent their program to PAGART; the Composers Union knew via a letter from the ensemble only that the group would play Tadeusz Baird's String Quartet. At a

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<sup>26</sup> Extant letters between Rehfuss and Dobrowolski were dated March 3, March 8, April 4, April 12, April 30, May 16, June 11, and September 13, 1958: Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958, passim.

<sup>27</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r."; and "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

conference held four days later, it was announced that the first version of the programs sent by the Quartet had been accepted and that PAGART would reply to them.<sup>28</sup> Evidently, Dobrowolski and perhaps other members of the Presidium and Executive Board had seen the suggested programs sent to PAGART by the Juilliard Quartet between the June 6 and June 10 meetings, and had chosen one without officially confirming their choice with all of the organizers. Here it is obvious that PAGART was involved in relaying information about repertoire, and was not concerned only with finances.

The members of the Presidium and the Executive Board of the Composers Union do not seem to have been as personally involved in the negotiations for participation or repertoire of Soviet and East European ensembles as they had been with Western performers. Participation by Polish composers in the actual negotiations with the Leningrad Philharmonic, the Avramov Quartet from Bulgaria, and the three East German ensembles that were considered at some point during the preparations--the Berlin Opera, the Leipzig Opera, and the Leipzig Radio Orchestra--seems to have been limited. For instance, although PAGART and the Composers Union each had sent letters to the director of the Hamburg Opera, PAGART was specifically directed by the Central Board of Music Institutions on June 10, 1958 to take over all correspondence with the Leipzig Opera, whose participation had been announced at a Board/Committee meeting only four days earlier.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation on June 10 ordered PAGART to accept responsibility for arranging "concert matters" with the Leningrad Philharmonic, although the Composers Union was still to handle the selection of repertoire

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<sup>28</sup> "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni 58' w dniu 10.6.58," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.



of these concerts, in conjunction with the Bureau.<sup>30</sup> The fact that the available minutes of organizational meetings and correspondence are concerned mainly with decisions about the participation and repertoire of Polish performers and--to a lesser extent--Western ensembles, is confirmation that an agency other than the Festival Committee or the Composers Union was actively involved in negotiations with the Soviets and Eastern Europeans.

Throughout the history of the Festival the methods of communication with Polish performers were inherently different than those employed in negotiations with foreigners simply because the musicians and the Festival's organizers resided in the same country. PAGART and the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation were not involved in discussions with Polish performers, other than to ensure that these musicians were not scheduled for an appearance in a foreign country during the time of the Festival. The organizers, thus, were able to choose which Polish performers to invite without having to wait for PAGART representatives to receive permission from the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation before beginning talks with each ensemble or soloist. Thus, the Festival's organizers had more control over the selection of Polish performers than they did in the case of foreign musicians. The Festival's organizers were able to decide which Polish ensembles to invite and in most cases were able to get a response directly from the conductor or manager of these groups. There is no indication that the Central Board of Music Institutions needed to sanction the participation of Polish ensembles under their jurisdiction. Nonetheless, the Central Board must have wielded some authority in the organization of the Festival, since part of its assignment was to supervise festivals held in

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<sup>30</sup> "w sprawie koncertów." Ibid.

Poland; the presence of its director, Wiktor Weinbaum, at nearly all organizational meetings is partial proof of its importance in the Festival's preparations. The Radio orchestras needed to receive permission from the director of Polish Radio before they could agree to participate in the Festival because the expenses of their performances were paid by that agency. However, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra performed at the Festival each year without any evidence of disapproval from Polish Radio.

The almost total lack of extant written correspondence concerning negotiations with Polish performers indicates that much communication between the organizers and musicians was done either by telephone or in personal encounters. All of the conductors of the Polish orchestras in the 1958 Festival were also members of the Festival Committee: Krenz, Markowski, Rowicki, and Skrowaczewski. For a time Bohdan Wodiczko was scheduled as one of the conductors; he attended several organizational meetings in that capacity. These conductors were thus able to discuss the programs for their concerts directly with the Presidium, Executive Board, and the Festival Committee.

This compilation of evidence indicates that PAGART and the Presidium of the Composers Union were the most important Polish organizers of the 1958 Festival. Even though the desire of at least some of the members of the Executive Board had been to lessen the responsibilities of the Composers Union by creating a Festival Committee, that wish was not fulfilled. The primary purpose of the joint meetings of the Festival Committee and Executive Board seemed to be to provide an opportunity for the agencies charged with different aspects of the Festival's organization to inform one another of each other's latest activities. The members of the Board and Committee were able to discuss proposals made by the Presidium, approve these items, and in some instances--primarily in the area of Western and Polish ensembles and repertoire--recommend further action. However, as described earlier, the Presidium and PAGART often made decisions about repertoire for

Western performers without consulting the Board and Committee. In the case of Soviet and East European ensembles, agencies other than the Composers Union held most of the responsibility for determining the specific performers and repertoire.

### **August 1958-February 1959: Additional Suggestions for a Permanent Organizational Structure**

As the Executive Board and Festival Committee became immersed in the chaotic process that marked the organization of the second Festival, a preoccupation that had occurred by March 1958, their attention was diverted away from the development of long-term strategy for the Festival. The experiences of the Board during the organization of the second Festival did not change the opinions of its members about the need for a permanent organizational structure--indeed, their views were strengthened during that time. However, it was the end of August--a month before the start of the 1958 Festival--before the Board and Committee were able to return to that topic. At that time and in October, these groups re-emphasized the need for the Ministry of Culture and Art to ratify a statute guaranteeing the creation of a separate Festival office and the appointment of a Festival Committee. As in 1957, the role of the Composers Union in the Festival's organization continued to be a topic of concern among composers and representatives from PAGART and the Central Board of Music Institutions. However, differing opinions about the type of organizational system that should be implemented were offered by the participants at the two meetings held in August and October.

Although those present at the August meeting operated under the assumption that the Festival would be a yearly event from that time on, such a decision had yet to be finalized by governmental officials. The Department of Culture and the Minister of Culture and Art were scheduled to make an announcement in the near future concerning the frequency of

the Festival. Weinbaum, the director of the Central Board of Music Institutions, stated clearly that "the idea of festivals every two years did not stand a chance at life,"<sup>31</sup> implying that if the decision came down against yearly Festivals, the event might not occur at all.

In both August and October, many members of the Board and Festival Committee insisted that some change in the current organizational system occur. They were particularly unhappy with the disarray of the 1958 Festival's organization. Part of the blame for this disorder should be laid on the embassies and Ministries of Culture in East Germany and Bulgaria, who resisted making commitments about performers and repertoire. Another portion of the blame was directed by the Board and Committee toward the system used in Poland to prepare the Festival. Zdzisław Śliwiński, the newly appointed managing director of the National Philharmonic who on August 30 was at his first Festival Committee meeting, was appalled at the disorganized state of the 1958 Festival less than a month before its first concert:

"In the state that we are in, even having the best intentions, we are not taking care of the Festival. We can ruin it, but cannot take care of it....If we do not immediately create a discretionary center that will decide about everything, with the excellent advice of every colleague on the subject of the hotel, dinner, etc., we will ruin the Festival, after all...The basic matter is...to say who will answer for the Festival and to whom one turns on the matter of the Festival's execution."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> "Koncepcja festiwalu co 2 lata nie wytrzymała próby życia." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>32</sup> "W tym gronie w jakim jesteśmy, nawet mając najlepsze chęci, nie załatwimy Festiwalu, my możemy go położyć, a nie załatwić....Jeżeli nie stworzymy natychmiast ośrodkim dyspozycyjnego, który będzie decydować o wszystkim, przy wspaniałych poradych wszystkich Kolegów na temat hotelu, kolacji itp., to przecież położymy festiwal...Sprawą zasadniczą jest...powiedzieć sobie kto odpowiada za Festiwal i komu porucza się sprawę wykonania Festiwalu." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

The reference to hotel and dinner pertained to the discussion during the meeting of how to entertain foreign guests during non-concert times. The comment was made somewhat facetiously, since Śliwiński was serious about the need for a command center for the organization of the Festival.

Tadeusz Marek added to the complaints about the Festival's organization:

"In the most painful months in Warsaw, there was no one with whom one could come to an agreement on Festival matters. The entire matter is proof of very bad organization, of a very accidental organization, which ignores time limits and practical possibilities. This entire history should lead precisely to the creation of some sort of organizational group, a Festival commission that functions permanently, has suitable budgetary sources and suitable people, and that coordinates the cooperation of such vital institutions as the Polish Composers Union, the Association for Polish Musical Artists, etc."<sup>33</sup>

Later Marek pointed out that it was necessary to appoint a "commissioner and a very small operating staff [to] coordinate the work of the Composers Union, the Association for Polish Musical Artists, and so forth."<sup>34</sup> He specified that the Composers Union should continue to have responsibility for the selection of repertoire for the Festival, but he felt that other decisions could be made elsewhere. Hence, he advocated the creation of a committee consisting of a commissioner, office staff members, and perhaps representatives from the Composers Union and other agencies involved in the Festival's organization. Most importantly, one person would coordinate the activities of all these groups.

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<sup>33</sup> "W najbardziej newralgicznych miesiącach w Warszawie nie było nikogo, z kim można byłoby porozumieć się w sprawach festiwalowych. Cała sprawa jest dowodem bardzo złej organizacji, bardzo przypadkowej organizacji, nie liczącej się z terminami i realnymi możliwościami. Ta cała historia właściwie powinna doprowadzić do wytworzenia jakiegoś organizacyjnego zespołu, komisariatu festiwalowego, który stale działa, które ma odpowiednie zaplecze budżetowe, ma odpowiednich ludzi i który koordynuje współpracę tak decydujących instytucji, jak ZKP, SPAM itd." Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> "Komisarz festiwalu i bardzo małe, operatywne grono...które...koordynuje pracę ZKP, SPAM itd." Ibid.

Speaking at the October meeting, Piotr Perkowski seemed to concur with the statements made in August by Marek. He felt that a Festival Committee should discuss repertoire with the Composers Union rather than with each ensemble. In other words, the Composers Union would be responsible for choosing the repertoire and perhaps be in charge of discussing it with each performer. However, he also believed that the Union had other things to do and should not spend all of its time on Festival business. Instead, a Festival office with a commissioner should be established separately from the Composers Union.<sup>35</sup>

Włodzimierz Kotoński agreed essentially with Perkowski and Marek. He felt that the Executive Board of the Composers Union should maintain an advisory role in the Festival. Each year, it should have a broad discussion about the general plans for the upcoming Festival. After that a Festival Committee would handle the organizational duties and be in permanent contact with the Ministry of Culture and Art, the dispenser of funds for the Festival. The Board would choose the members of the Festival Committee, which would consist of representatives from PAGART, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, the Polish Composers Union, and Polish Radio. One of the Committee's members would hold the position of Secretary, who would sign letters and contracts and "appear on the outside," a possible reference to duties at press conferences and consultations with the Composers Union or other representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Art.<sup>36</sup> This was to be the only paid position on the Committee. Kotoński favored a composer for the position and nominated Dobrowolski to be the first Secretary. A staff of two to six people would work with the Committee, writing letters and taking care of the Festival's

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<sup>35</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>36</sup> "Występowała na zewnątrz." Ibid.

administrative details. Kotoński felt that the Composers Union had other matters to attend to besides serving as the center for the organization of an international music festival, but neither did he want it to be separated completely from the planning of the event. He did not state clearly whether the Committee or some other group, such as the Composers Union, would select repertoire and performers for the Festival. His ideas, presented in October, were similar to those he had made in April 1957 and also to the statute proposal submitted by the Composers Union in April 1958. In both instances, the Composers Union would retain some control over the direction of the Festival, but would not be totally responsible for its organization. A Festival Committee would consist of composers and representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Art.

Tadeusz Szeligowski supported the proposed appointment of a Festival Committee, saying that it was not necessary to burden the next Executive Board with the organization of the Festival. However, he did want the Composers Union to have the responsibility of selecting repertoire.<sup>37</sup> Kazimierz Sikorski also believed that it was necessary to decrease the Composers Union's responsibilities in the Festival. In particular, he noted that business concerning the participation of ensembles and "program matters" should be dealt with by the Festival Committee, not by the Presidium of the Composers Union.<sup>38</sup>

Dobrowolski, Baird, and Serocki disagreed with Kotoński, Szeligowski, Perkowski, and Sikorski about the separation of the Composers Union from the organization of the Festival. Dobrowolski accepted the idea of a Festival Committee, but he did not want the

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<sup>37</sup> "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.;" and "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>38</sup> "Sprawy programowe." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Festival to be controlled by some person or group from outside the Union. Instead, he preferred that the methods of organization employed in previous years be maintained. In his view, the Union was already experienced in the affairs of the Festival, and if some other institution or person handled its preparations, it might not occur at all. Furthermore, "the idea for the Festival had emerged in the Composers Union, which had already become, for both local and foreign agencies, its manager." He proposed that the election of the new Executive Board, to occur in January 1959, "take place from the point of view of the Festival."<sup>39</sup>

Dobrowolski's opinions seemed to differ from those expressed by the same composer in April 1957. At that time, as discussed earlier, he had advocated the formation of a Committee that would take some of the responsibility of the Festival's organization from the Presidium of the Composers Union. In October 1958, however, he wanted the Union to retain control of the event.

Baird claimed that problems in organizing the 1958 Festival arose because of the fact that "the Presidium of the Executive Board of the Composers Union was permanently absent. Great difficulties arose, but there was no one to make decisions."<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, he believed that the Composers Union was best suited to the task of organizing the Festival, although the "system of the Presidium's work should be changed. I have serious fears that the Festival Committee will organize the Festival differently than the Polish

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<sup>39</sup> "pomysł Festiwalu międzynarodowych powstał w Z.K.P., które stało się już, tak dla czynników miejscowych, jak i zagranicy, gospodarzem ich...odbywały się pod kątem Festiwalu." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>40</sup> "Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. - było stale nieobecni - wynikały duże trudności, a nie było komu podejmować decyzji." Ibid.



Composers Union would do it."<sup>41</sup> In reality, the Presidium had not been "permanently absent" from organizational meetings, but it is also true that no sessions of the Executive Board and Festival Committee were held between June 22 and August 30, 1958--certainly this is not evidence of a well-organized event. Baird did not explain further his thoughts on altering the work of the Presidium to improve the Festival's organization.

In a slightly different opinion, Serocki expressed doubt that the Festival Committee and the Composers Union could cooperate in the future:

"until now, the Executive Boards of the Polish Composers Union, for better or worse, did the Festivals, and it was the most important and best thing that the Union did. I think that for prestigious concerns, it is very important that this matter remain in the hands of the Polish Composers Union...The entire essential side should be in the hands of the Polish Composers Union, and the Central Board of Music Institutions should accept the organizational side. I would be a little afraid of the appointment of a Committee that was named by the Minister [of Culture and Art]. His policies would not always be in agreement with those of the Composers Union. I think that it is not necessary to release these matters from the Composers Union and for other institutions to become accustomed to turn to the Committee and not to the Composers Union. It is an important psychological moment to win."<sup>42</sup>

According to the 1958 statute proposal, the Minister of Culture and Art was to appoint the Organizing Committee; this situation was obviously still anticipated by Serocki. However, the composer did not clarify the difference between "essential" and "organizational" duties.

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<sup>41</sup> "Powinien się zmienić system pracy Prezydium'. Mam poważne obawy, że Komitet Festiwalowy nie zorganizuje festiwalu tak jak mogłoby to zrobić Z.K.P." Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> "Do tej pory, Zarządy Z.K.P lepsze, czy gorsze, ale robiły festiwale i to było najważniejszą i najlepszą rzeczą co Z.K.P. działało. Uważam, że to jest ze względów prestiżowych bardzo ważne, aby sprawa ta została w rękach Z.K.P. ...cała strona merytoryczna powinna być w rękach Z.K.P., a organizacyjną stroną powinni się zająć CZIM. Byłbym się trochę powoływania Komitetu, które mianowany przez Ministra i polityka jego nie zawsze mogłaby być zgodna z polityką Z.K.P. - Uważam, że nie należy wypuszczać tych spraw z Z.K.P. i przyzwyczajając inne instytucje, aby w sprawach Festiwalu zwracały się do Komitetu, a nie do Z.K.P. - to jest ważny moment psychologiczny do wygrania." Ibid.

Possibly he was referring to the selection of performers and repertoire as essential, and the scheduling of concert dates and other administrative matters as organizational.

Wiktor Weinbaum agreed that the Festival should be organized as it had been in previous years. Of course, he had held this opinion as early as October 1957. In his view, however, the Central Board of Music Institutions should coordinate the activities of each of the other agencies, while Dobrowolski and Baird seemed to want the Composers Union to fulfill that role. As Weinbaum explained in August 1958, for the second Festival PAGART had been responsible for arranging the participation of all foreign performers; the National Philharmonic took responsibility for all events that took place in its building; and the Baltic Opera, which was to perform at the 1958 Festival, was taking care of its own arrangements: "All that remains, therefore, is the matter of the guests and the program."<sup>43</sup> The Central Board of Music Institutions, in his view, could coordinate all of the arrangements and technical aspects of the Festival. Of course, he did not mention that other Polish ensembles also made their own arrangements for travel and housing in Warsaw, creating other potential organizational problems, nor did he explain who would select the invited guests and the program. Most importantly, he did not refer to the disorganized state of the 1958 Festival's program as it stood in August of that year, which seemingly indicated a need for a revamping of the organizational system.

At the October meeting, Weinbaum finally admitted that there had been problems with the 1958 Festival. He described its organization as looking "faultless to the public [but] very bad from the side of the kitchen. The greatest difficulty was duplication (the Ministry

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<sup>43</sup> "Pozostaje więc sprawa gości i sprawa programu." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

of Culture, PAGART, and so forth).<sup>44</sup> As a solution he and the Central Board of Music Institutions favored the "concentration of organizational matters in one place, through the emergence of the Festival Committee as an organizational division."<sup>45</sup> The Committee would consist of representatives of the Composers Union, Ministry of Culture and Art, the National Philharmonic, the Association for Polish Musical Artists, PAGART, Polish Radio, and other agencies. He concurred with Serocki about the need for a Festival Committee and a division of responsibilities between the Composers Union and the Central Board: the Composers Union should take care of "the essential side [of the Festival], while on the other hand, the Central Board accepts its organization and realization."<sup>46</sup> It appears that Weinbaum was proposing as a resolution a system similar to the one that had existed for the 1958 Festival. He also was maintaining the position that he had held since 1957, which proposed a division of activities between the Central Board and the Composers Union, with the Festival Committee acting as a place for discussion and an exchange of information. Unlike Śliwiński, Marek, Perkowski, Kotoński, and Szeligowski, he did not advocate the selection of a commissioner or the creation of a separate Festival office. His idea for eliminating the duplication of activities remained unclear, since the Festival Committee he proposed was comparable to the one in operation during 1958, with the addition of a Polish Radio representative.

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<sup>44</sup> "Dla publiczności wyglądał bezbłędnie. Od strony kuchni b. źle. Największym kłopotem była dwutorowość /Min. Kultury, pagart itp/." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>45</sup> "Skoncentrowanie spraw organizacyjnych w jednym ręku - przez powstanie Komitetu Festiwalowego, jako komórki organizacyjnej." Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> "Strona merytoryczna zostaje przy Z.K.P., natomiast organizacją i realizacją zajmuje się CZIM." Ibid.

Each of these speakers at the August and October meetings favored the creation of a Festival Committee that was similar in membership to the version that operated for the 1958 Festival. In reality, this Committee had not included representatives of Polish Radio, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, or, officially, the National Philharmonic-- Rowicki was one of the conductors of that orchestra, but was also a member of the Composers Union. The Festival Committee proposed by Weinbaum would be more inclusive than either the 1958 version or that advocated by Kotoński in its addition of representatives from Association for Polish Musical Artists, the National Philharmonic, and, theoretically, multiple departments within the Ministry of Culture and Art.

The primary difference between the opinions of Marek, Perkowski, Kotoński, Sikorski, and Szeligowski on the one hand, and those of Dobrowolski, Baird, Serocki, and Weinbaum on the other was that the first group wanted to reduce the role of the Composers Union in the Festival's organization, perhaps limiting it to the selection of repertoire. This group also wished to create the position of Festival commissioner and to hire office workers to aid in handling correspondence. In their view, the Central Board had not been effective at resolving certain disputes within its jurisdiction that arose during the course of preparing the 1958 Festival, which probably prompted some of these composers to advocate the establishment of a separate Festival office with one person as commissioner or secretary that would absolve the Central Board of some its responsibility.<sup>47</sup>

The second group mentioned above wished to preserve the system as it was. The composers in this group wanted to keep much of the responsibility for the Festival in the hands of the Composers Union, although Weinbaum wanted the Central Board of Music Institutions to have control over many of the "non-essential organizational" tasks.

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<sup>47</sup> These disputes will be discussed in detail in Chapter IX.

No final decisions were made at these two meetings concerning the structure of a permanent Festival Committee, the establishment of a Festival office, or the relationship between the Composers Union, Festival Committee and Central Board, despite the fact that several distinct proposals about each of these issues had been made. In any case, it is difficult to determine what difference would have been made by the eventual acceptance of any of these proposals. PAGART would always be influential in the Festival's organization by virtue of its responsibility to negotiate contracts with performers. Similarly, the Central Board of Musical Institutions would always retain some leverage over the Composers Union due to its role as supervisor of music festivals in the hierarchy of the Ministry of Culture and Art and the dispenser of the Ministry's funds for the Festival. The proposals made for the permanent organizational structure of the Festival thus may have been a bit unrealistic, since PAGART and the Central Board in the future would retain these advantages with relation to the Composers Union. However, the issue of who would determine the exact repertoire of the Festival was important, since it was conceivable, and even probable, that the Festival Committee--especially one appointed by the Ministry rather than the Composers Union--would choose different compositions than those preferred by the Union.

#### **Administrative Order for the 1959 Warsaw Autumn Festival**

Further discussions among the members of the Festival Committee and Composers Union must have occurred after October 1958, for on February 24, 1959, the Minister of Culture and Art signed an Administrative Order ratifying a statute to deal with the organization of the 1959 Festival. Although this statute pertained only to the third Festival, it was similar to the version for a permanent system that had been provisionally approved by the Executive Board of the Composers Union in April 1958 and discussed in meetings

for at least a year before that. The Order is translated below; the original Polish text is provided in Appendix E:

The two most striking aspects of this statute are its elimination of automatic participation by the Executive Board of the Composers Union and its establishment of a program commission, a group not mentioned previously in available documents concerning the Festival. The Program Commission was intended to replace the role of the Executive Board, particularly its Presidium, in the selection of repertoire and performers for the Festival. The Organizing Committee could approve or negate the Commission's choices, but the Department of Music (formerly the Central Board of Music Institutions) would have the final word on the selection of performers. Although the Commission was to be actively involved in searching for suitable compositions, only five of the its nine members were to be composers, who might be more knowledgeable about contemporary music than other musicians. The other four would be associated with music through their professions as conductors, performers, or officials in the Ministry of Culture of Art. A spokesperson for PAGART was not included on the Program Commission, even though that agency was to secure the participation of foreign performers. This created a potential problem: According to this Order, the Program Commission was not to discuss its choices for compositions directly with foreign performers, but would be dependent on PAGART or the Organizing Committee to do so. Since a PAGART representative was not part of the Program Commission, the communication process could become more time-consuming than it already was. However, the Commission would be able to talk about specific concert programs with the National Philharmonic and Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, since their conductors were part of that organizing body.

**Administrative Order No. 39 of the Minister of Culture and Art,  
February 24, 1959, Concerning the Organization of the  
Third International Festival of Contemporary Music<sup>48</sup>**

On the basis of article 1 of the decree of the Polish Committee for National Liberation from September 15, 1944 concerning the range of activity and organization of the Department of Culture and Art (Dz.U. Nr. 5, poz. 25), the following is ordered:

- § 1. The Third International Festival of Contemporary Music, herein abbreviated "Festival," will be organized in Warsaw from September 12-20, 1959.
- § 2. The goal of the Festival is:
1. to acquaint Polish listeners with the most outstanding achievements of contemporary music in the areas of composition and performance.
  2. to make possible the exchange of opinions and experiences among composers, performers, critics, and organizers of musical life of various countries.
- § 3. To direct the affairs of the Festival, a Organizing Committee of the Festival is appointed, which includes:
1. As Chair, the president of the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union,
  2. As Secretary General, the Director of the Department of Music,
  3. As members:
    - a) the Secretary General of the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union,
    - b) a representative of the Executive Board of the Association of Polish Musical Artists,
    - c) the Editor-in-Chief of Music at Polish Radio,
    - d) the Director of the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation,
    - e) the Director of the Polish Artists Agency "PAGART,"
    - f) the Director of the National Philharmonic in Warsaw, and
    - g) the Director of the State Opera in Warsaw.
- § 4.1. The duties of the Organizing Committee are:
- a) to execute the proposal for the Festival program,
  - b) to execute the proposal for the budget estimate of the Festival,
  - c) to establish the organizational rules of the Festival, as well as to direct the course of the Festival.

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<sup>48</sup> *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1959), nr 5, poz. 48.

2. The Organizing Committee executes the program proposal of the Festival on the basis of the suggestions of the Program Commission, which consists of the following:
  - a) the Chair of the Organizing Committee,
  - b) the Secretary General of the Organizing Committee,
  - c) the Secretary General of the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union,
  - d) a representative of the Executive Board of the Association of Polish Musical Artists, plus
  - e) three composers chosen by the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union,
  - f) the conductor of the National Philharmonic in Warsaw, and
  - g) the conductor of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra

§ 5. The Minister of Culture and Art approves the program of the Festival.

§ 6.1. The Secretary General calls meetings of the Committee at least once a month and sends the agenda of each meeting to Committee members at least three days before the meeting.

2. If the members of the Committee cannot be present at a meeting, they are required to select an empowered representative to attend.
3. In order for resolutions of the Committee to be valid, at least six members of the Committee or their empowered representatives are required to be present. Resolutions of the Committee are passed by the usual majority vote; in the case of a tie, the vote of the Chair decides.
4. The minutes of the meetings of the Committee are drawn up. These include the resolutions of the Committee as well as proposals submitted separately. The chairman of the meeting and the recorder of the minutes sign the minutes.

§ 7. The Chair and Secretary General sign the Committee's letters.

§ 8. On the suggestion of the Committee, the Director of the Department of Music may charge a specialist with working out particular issues. Compensation for the specialist will be defined by a contract between the Director of the Department of Music and the specialist, negotiated on the basis of compulsory regulations.

§ 9.1. The realization of arrivals and performances of foreign ensembles and soloists is handled by the Polish Artists Agency "PAGART," working in consultation with the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation.

2. The realization of performances of domestic ensembles and soloists is handled by the National Philharmonic and the State Opera in Warsaw.
3. Domestic ensembles from state artistic institutions give their performances within the framework of the service plan of the activities, handling the organization of their travel and stay in Warsaw themselves.



4. The Polish Artists Agency "PAGART," the National Philharmonic in Warsaw, the State Opera in Warsaw, and other domestic artistic institutions realize performances, as discussed in preceding passages, on the written instructions of the Department of Music, who will define the conditions for realization.
- § 10. The Organizing Committee may invite outstanding composers, performers, music critics, and foreign organizers of musical life to the Festival as observers. The Ministry will cover hotel costs, food, and ticket costs for Festival events for each foreign observer.
- § 11. The Department of Music manages the office of the Festival Organizing Committee.
- § 12. This statute is effective from the day of its signing.

MINISTER

T. Galiński

The Executive Board was not deprived entirely of participation in planning the Festival. Two of its members were assigned to both the Program Commission and the Organizing Committee, and it was permitted to choose the remaining three composers on the Commission. However, the views voiced by Serocki, Dobrowolski, Baird, and Weinbaum voiced in August 1958 concerning the need for the continued direct participation of the Composers Union in the Festival's organization had been rejected in favor of the opinions of Marek, Kotoński, Perkowski, and Szeligowski, who had advocated the appointment of a secretary and the withdrawal of the Composers Union from direct involvement in the Festival's preparation.

The Organizing Committee described in this Administrative Order was to include representatives of the three divisions of the Ministry of Culture and Art that had been important in the organization of the 1958 Festival: the Department of Music, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and PAGART. The directors of the National Philharmonic and State Opera in Warsaw were also included because of the planned use of their buildings

and staff for concert or theater presentations during the Festival. Polish Radio's Editor-in-Chief of Music was chosen for two reasons: one or more of the Polish Radio ensembles performed at each Festival, and Polish Radio taped each Festival concert for archival purposes as well as for broadcast.

The duties of the Organizing Committee, as described in the Administrative Order, were to effect the realization of the program proposed by the Program Commission, to develop a budget estimate, and to establish the organizational rules for the Festival. These rules were partially clarified in the Order itself, which permitted PAGART and the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation to secure the participation of all foreign ensembles and soloists. Polish performers were to arrange the details of their performance in Warsaw themselves. The Department of Music was to delineate "the conditions for realization," which meant that it was to approve all financial and program conditions for each ensemble or soloist before PAGART, the Bureau, and the Program Commission could conclude negotiations. The Department of Music was thus in control of most, if not all, aspects of the Festival. The Composers Union no longer had the power to make final decisions concerning the repertoire of many Western and Polish performers--a power that they had had in 1956 and 1958. Ultimately the Minister of Culture and Art was to grant final approval of the Festival program. However, although the Minister gave himself the power to approve or disapprove individual performers or compositions--and in doing so created a centralized organizational system--no evidence exists that he ever personally acted in such a manner for any Festival. Instead, this responsibility was handled by his subordinates--officials from the Department of Music, PAGART, and the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation.

Certain aspects of the 1959 Administrative Order were similar to the statute proposal submitted in April 1958. The membership of the Organizing Committee was defined more explicitly in 1959, but both documents called for the inclusion of representatives from the

Composers Union, the Association of Polish Musical Artists, PAGART, the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and the Central Board of Music Institutions (the Department of Music). The role of the Organizing Committee suggested in April 1958 was also similar to that authorized in February 1959. If the earlier document had gone into effect, the Committee also would have prepared a budget estimate, provided a financial accounting of its activities, and approved the program suggested by the Composers Union. However, according to the 1958 proposal PAGART, the National Philharmonic, State Opera, and other artistic groups would not be subordinate to the Central Board in the selection of the program or the performers, in contrast to the role empowered to the Department of Music in the 1959 Order.

### **1959 Organizational System**

The planning period for the 1959 Festival can be divided into two segments: before and after February 24, 1959, the date that the Administrative Order was scheduled to go into effect. Different committees functioned during each period. Prior to February 24, only three organizational meetings concerning the 1959 Festival are known to have been held.<sup>49</sup> The participants at the first meeting, held on October 17, 1958, were the members of the Composers Union's Executive Board and the 1958 Festival Committee, as discussed previously. For the next two meetings, on February 7 and 14, 1959, the Union's Presidium, several other composers--Witold Lutosławski, Witold Rowicki, and Bolesław Woytowicz--and representatives from PAGART and the Department of Music were invited. Due to the election of a new Executive Board in January 1959, the personnel of the

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<sup>49</sup> The October 1958 session was described in the minutes as a meeting of the Executive Board, while the two 1959 gatherings were called "Festival Committee" meetings.

Composers Union's Presidium was changed. From 1959 to December 1960 it consisted of Zbigniew Turski as president, Stanisław Wisłocki and Marian Sobieski as vice presidents, Andrzej Dobrowolski as secretary, and Włodzimierz Kotoński as treasurer.<sup>50</sup> Except for Turski, Wisłocki, and Sobieski, each of the other composers and governmental officials had also participated in the organization of the 1958 Festival. Not invited were representatives of the Association for Polish Musical Artists and Polish Radio, who had participated in meetings of the 1958 Festival Committee.

The two committees called for by the Minister of Culture and Art in his Administrative Order existed after February 1959, but were not composed of the personnel indicated in that document. It appears that the members of the Program Commission, and perhaps the Organizing Committee also, may never have been officially appointed.

The Composers Union and the Association of Polish Musical Artists were responsible for choosing the four members of the Program Commission not specifically identified in the Order. However, after examining the lists of participants at the meetings of this Commission, it is evident that neither organization did so. Nevertheless, a Program Commission was created after the issuance of the Minister's directive and met at least twice before the start of the 1959 Festival. Thus, part of the Administrative Order was followed, but not all of it.

Only five composers and four other officials were to be Program Commission members according to the Administrative Order, yet for the March 20, 1959 Commission meeting, fifteen composers were invited as well as three representatives from PAGART and the Department of Music. Of the composers, Witold Rowicki and Jan Krenz also filled the

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<sup>50</sup> The remainder of the Board included Grażyna Bacewicz, Henryk Czyż, Jan Krenz, Józef Patkowski, Tadeusz Baird, Tomasz Kiesewetter, and Witold Rudziński. Patkowski became treasurer after Kotoński's resignation from that position on June 1, 1959: "Związek Kompozytorów Polskich: Walne zjazdy ZKP."

roles of the conductors of the National Philharmonic and the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, respectively, that were included in the aforementioned total of four officials. The composers invited in March comprised the Composers Union's Presidium plus most of the remainder of its Executive Board: Zbigniew Turski, Andrzej Dobrowolski, Grażyna Bacewicz, Tadeusz Baird, Włodzimierz Kotoński, Jan Krenz, Andrzej Markowski, Zygmunt Mycielski, Witold Rowicki, Kazimierz Serocki, Marian Sobieski, Stanisław Wisłocki, and Bolesław Woytowicz. Witold Lutosławski and Kazimierz Sikorski were also invited. However, four additional members of the Board (Henryk Czyż, Józef Patkowski, Tomasz Kiesewetter, and Witold Rudziński) were not among the scheduled attendees, indicating that the full Executive Board was not expected at the meeting.<sup>51</sup> Janusz Cegieła was to represent PAGART, while Wiktor Weinbaum and Jan Wójcicki were to speak for the Department of Music.<sup>52</sup> The invited participants to this meeting of the new Program Commission, thus, were those named in the February Order--minus a representative of the Executive Board of the Association of Polish Musical Artists--plus several other composers who had been involved in the Festival's organization previously.

At the April 25 meeting of the Commission, the February statute again was not adhered to, as only seven composers attended: Turski, Dobrowolski, Baird, Bacewicz, Kotoński, Lutosławski, and Woytowicz.<sup>53</sup> Undoubtedly, other meetings of the Program Commission took place between April and September, but no information on these meetings is available.

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<sup>51</sup> Patkowski may have participated in Commission meetings after his appointment as Treasurer of the Composers Union in June. However, no information on meetings held after April is available, making it impossible to confirm this supposition.

<sup>52</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Komisji Programowej III Festiwalu 'Warszawska Jesień' 1959 r. z dnia 20 marca 1959 r. (ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>53</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

The personnel of the Organizing Committee is self-evident from the Administrative Order, yet one of the two known meetings of this Committee was not attended by the appropriate individuals. The Organizing Committee met at least twice in March 1959, after the issuance of the Order. The list of people invited to the March 19 meeting via a memo from Wiktor Weinbaum were the representatives of the various institutions of musical life named in the February statute: Turski and Dobrowolski from the Composers Union; Tadeusz Wroński, a representative of the Association of Polish Musical Artists; Roman Jasiński, the Editor-in-Chief of Music at Polish Radio; Eugeniusz Markowski, the Director of the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation; Szymon Zakrzewski, the Director of PAGART; Zdzisław Śliwiński, the Managing Director of the National Philharmonic; and Tadeusz Bursztynowicz, the Director of the State Opera in Warsaw.<sup>54</sup> According to this memo, then, the specifications given in the statute concerning the content of the Organizing Committee were being followed. However, the March 14 meeting of the "Organizing Committee held on the same day that Weinbaum's memo was sent out, was attended only by five composers--Turski, Lutosławski, Bacewicz, Mycielski, and Kotoński; one composer/conductor--Rowicki; a representative from PAGART--Cegiełka; and an unnamed delegate from the Department of Music.<sup>55</sup> The participants at this meeting were among those who had been requested to attend the March 20 meeting of the Program Commission and who had also been expected at February's Festival Committee sessions, held before the Administrative Order was issued.

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<sup>54</sup> Memo from Wiktor Weinbaum, Departament Muzyki, to the above-named people, March 14, 1959," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>55</sup> "Konferencja Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 14/3-59 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

Although the amount of extant documentation dealing with the 1959 Festival is not as comprehensive as in earlier years, it is still possible to determine the roles played by the various agencies involved in the event's organization. Significantly, the duties of the committees and individual agencies mentioned in the Administrative Order seem to have been followed for the most part, even though the membership of each of the committees was different than that foreseen in that document.

The weakening of the Composers Union's presence on the 1959 Organizing Committee in comparison with its active involvement in 1957 and 1958 is reflected in extant correspondence. Rather than Dobrowolski and Sikorski, as members of the Composers Union's Presidium, being the recipients or senders of much of the communication with Western performers that pertained to repertoire and schedules, Wiktor Weinbaum and Zbigniew Turski, as secretary general and chair of the Organizing Committee, were the signers. (All available correspondence originated after the issuance of the Administrative Order.) Nonetheless, the Union's Presidium did participate in the organization of the Festival after the February 1959 Administrative Order was to go into effect: On April 25, 1959 the Program Commission authorized the Presidium to talk with Henryk Czyż, the artistic director of the Łódź Philharmonic, about a change in the proposed repertoire for that orchestra's Festival concert.<sup>56</sup> The reason for asking the Presidium to do something that members of the Commission could do themselves is not immediately understandable.

Available information on the planning of the 1959 Festival shows that the Organizing Committee relegated itself to discussions about which performers were expected to appear at the Festival, rarely proposing specific compositions that these musicians might present.

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<sup>56</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

As in 1958, PAGART was still responsible for arranging the financial contracts with foreign performers. It also served as the primary communicator with foreign performers. Before the Administrative Order was issued, the agency acted as an intermediary in the negotiations between foreign performers and the Festival Committee. For instance, at the February 14 meeting, PAGART was asked by the Committee to invite a Danish singer to present a half-recital and to request a proposed program from the Janigro chamber ensemble in Yugoslavia.<sup>57</sup>

After the Administrative Order purportedly went into effect, PAGART functioned as the intermediary between foreign performers and the Program Commission and also between these performers and the Organizing Committee. Partial evidence of this came from remarks by Janusz Cegiełka from PAGART, who reported on March 14 at a meeting of the Festival Committee that his institution had not received a reply from Pierre Schaeffer, the French composer of *musique concrète*.<sup>58</sup>

PAGART was dependent on receiving approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to invite performers. For instance, PAGART did not contact the Concertgebouw or Suisse Romande orchestras until the Ministry had granted permission to bring them to the 1959 Festival.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation had notified the Department of Music in March that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had no reservations concerning the possible participation of the Cologne Radio Wind Quintet. Szymon

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<sup>57</sup> "Komisje Festiwalowe dn. 14/2.5[9].," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>58</sup> "Konferencja Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 14/3-59 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>59</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.



Zakrzewski from PAGART then asked the Composers Union if his agency should begin negotiating with that ensemble.<sup>60</sup>

Little information is available about negotiations between Poland and the Soviet Union or Eastern European countries, making it difficult to corroborate the paths of communications that existed during the preparations for the 1959 Festival. Nevertheless, it can be ascertained that PAGART and the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation handled most, if not all, of these negotiations. At the Festival Committee's meetings it was PAGART's representatives who reported on the status of talks with foreign performers, including those from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, PAGART on one occasion requested an opinion from the Festival Committee about which Hungarian orchestra it was supposed to invite.<sup>62</sup>

The one extant letter directed from Poland to a Soviet or Eastern European performer was sent from the Organizing Committee to the addressee (Shostakovich) through the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation in Warsaw, with copies sent to PAGART and the Polish Composers Union.<sup>63</sup> Evidently Weinbaum and Turski, the authors of the letter, felt that it was unacceptable diplomatically to send the letter directly to Shostakovich. The Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation may have required that all communication with

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<sup>60</sup> Szymon Zakrzewski, PAGART, to Polish Composers Union, March 13, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> "Protokoł z I-go zebrania Komisji Festiwalowej 'Warszawska Jesień 1959 r' w dniu 7 lutego 1959 r. (lokal ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>63</sup> Wiktor Weinbaum (Secretary General) and Zbigniew Turski (Chair, Organizing Committee) to Dmitri Shostakovich, Moscow, April 6, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

the Soviets go through its agency because of the sensitive nature of Poland's relationship with the Soviet Union.

No evidence of any correspondence transmitted directly between the Program Commission and foreign performers exists. The Commission made suggestions frequently about the concert programs of Polish performers. However, since much of the communication with these latter musicians undoubtedly occurred via personal contacts instead of by letter, documentation of the precise role that the Commission might have played in discussing these proposals with the appropriate conductors or soloists cannot be determined accurately.

In sum, several distinct differences can be observed in the methods of communication with performers used during the preparations for this Festival and those employed in 1958. First, the Composers Union's role in selecting compositions for the Festival was absorbed in 1959 by the Program Commission. However, even though the Composers Union was not as actively involved in the organization of the Festival as it had been previously, it maintained at least some minimal responsibilities, as discussed above. Furthermore, in a manner consistent with the organizational system used in 1958, PAGART also needed to obtain permission from the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before conducting talks with foreign performers. According to the Order, the Department of Music was to grant final approval for all performances. There is no discussion of such action in extant documents, but at the same time, there is no reason to believe that the Department did not fulfill that responsibility.

The separation of duties between the Organizing Committee and Program Commission that was called for in the Administrative Order seems to have been followed. The Commission discussed possible works to be presented, although it apparently dealt primarily with the programs of Western European and Polish performers. The Organizing

Committee limited its talks to a review of the status of expected ensembles, rarely mentioning specific compositions.

The discrepancy between the memberships of the Administrative Order's Organizing Committee and Program Commission and the groups that actually organized the third Festival cannot be explained easily. How did it happen that these groups assumed the roles expected of them if the Committee and Commission were never officially appointed, as suggested above? Perhaps in the interest of utilizing the experience of its members, the Composers Union made a decision to permit more composers to belong to each committee than was called for in the Order? Perhaps the Association of Polish Musical Artists never designated members of their Executive Board for the Committee and Commission? After all, the Association's first Board was elected only in May 1959, rather late in the Festival's planning stage.<sup>64</sup> A lack of evidence makes it impossible to determine exactly what happened in 1959. Either or both of these hypotheses might be true. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that an Order signed by the Minister of Culture and Art would not have been strictly followed.

#### **November-December 1959 Statutes**

If questions about the appointments of the 1959 Organizing and Program committees cannot be answered definitively, similar doubts about the 1960 planning committee can be set aside: The selection of the Festival Committee for that year simply was not completed until March 1960, six months after the previous Festival, and an identical amount of time into the planning period for its next occurrence. On December 22, 1959 an Administrative Order ratifying a statute for the permanent organization of the Festival was issued by the

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<sup>64</sup> Elżbieta Dziębowska, "Związki, towarzystwa, stowarzyszenia," in Dziębowska, ed. *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 290.

Minister of Culture and Art.<sup>65</sup> However, the first meeting of the Festival Committee called for in that document took place only on February 20 and its Presidium and Secretary General were not selected until March 12.<sup>66</sup> No meetings of a Festival Committee are known to have been held between October 1959 and February 1960.

On November 18, 1959 a "Temporary Repertoire Commission" was appointed by the Executive Board of the Composers Union so that planning for the 1960 Festival could begin.<sup>67</sup> At the Festival Committee meeting in February 1960 it was decided that this Commission would continue to function until the Presidium and Secretary General called for in December's Administrative Order were appointed. At least seven meetings of the Commission were held from November 1959 to March 1960.<sup>68</sup>

The members of the Temporary Repertoire Commission were all members of the Composers Union: Tadeusz Baird, Stefan Jarociński, Włodzimierz Kotoński, Witold Lutosławski, Józef Patkowski, Witold Rowicki, Kazimierz Serocki, and Stanisław Wisłocki. All had been involved in the organization of previous Festivals; Baird and Serocki had helped to plan each of them.

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<sup>65</sup> "Zarządzenie nr 214 z dnia 22 grudnia 1959 r. W sprawie międzynarodowych festiwali muzyki współczesnej w Polsce," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1960), nr. 1, poz. 7.

<sup>66</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 12 marca 1960 roku"; and Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r., Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, International Festival of Contemporary Music, 1960.

<sup>67</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-December 1959).

<sup>68</sup> The seven meetings were held on November 23, December 1, 15, and 22, January 5, and March 1 and 2, 1960: Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (May-December 1959).

Another proposal for a permanent statute had been approved by the Executive Board of the Composers Union on November 18, 1959 and submitted to Weinbaum. The proposal is given below; its Polish text is provided in Appendix F.

This proposal contained several important changes from the Order signed by the Minister of Culture and Art in February of the same year. A Program Commission was not envisioned in the November document, even though a provisional one was appointed on the same day the proposal was submitted. The duties of the "Committee" named in this proposal and those of the Festival Committee called for in the February Order, however, were equivalent: to establish a budget estimate, to work out the Festival's program, and to supervise the organization of the Festival.<sup>69</sup> The Committee apparently was either to choose the repertoire and performers itself or assign that task to its Presidium. If the Committee performed this task, it would be the first time in the Festival's history that all of the organizers were involved equally in such a project; a smaller group such as the Presidium of the Composers Union or the Program Commission had always done it previously.

Another change between this proposal and the Administrative Order of February 1959 was that the Minister of Culture and Art would appoint the Festival Committee. The April 1958 proposal also had contained this provision, but it had not appeared in the 1959 Order. As in that Order, the Minister still would wield other distinct powers in the organization of the Festival, particularly in the matter of performers and repertoire. This signifies the extent to which the Minister wished to retain ultimate control of the proceedings, although, as noted earlier, it appears that he never wielded this authority in a negative manner.

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<sup>69</sup> The proposal and the December 1959 Administrative Order call for only one "Committee." However, in extant correspondence and minutes, it is called a "Festival Committee." The latter appellation will be adopted for this study.

**PROPOSAL  
STATUTE OF THE "WARSAW AUTUMN" INTERNATIONAL  
FESTIVAL OF CONTEMPORARY MUSIC<sup>70</sup>**

- § 1. With the goals of advancing composition and developing musical life in Poland, an annual International Festival of Contemporary Music named the "Warsaw Autumn" is established.
- § 2. The primary goals of the Festival are:
- a) to review the output of composers and performers in the field of contemporary music in Poland and abroad;
  - b) to exchange views and experiences between composers and representatives of musical life of various countries.
- § 3. The above goals are realized through:
- a) the organization of concerts and other types of musical events performed by soloists and ensembles, both domestic and foreign, during the Festival;
  - b) the participation in the Festival of outstanding composers, musicians, and other representatives of musical life of various countries as performers or invited guests.
- § 4. To direct Festival matters, a Committee is appointed whose assignment is to work out the Festival's program and the budget estimate, as well as to supervise the organization and progress of the Festival.

The Minister of Culture and Art approves the program and budget estimate of the Festival.

- § 5. The Minister of Culture and Art appoints the members of the Committee. The Committee consists of:
- a) the President of the Polish Composers Union as chair of the Committee,
  - b) the President of the Association of Polish Musical Artists as vice-chair of the Committee,
  - c) the Secretary General of the Committee, who is appointed and recalled at the suggestion of the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union, in agreement with the Executive Board of the Association of Polish Musical Artists,

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<sup>70</sup> "Projekt. Regulamin Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej p.n. 'Warszawska Jesień'," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

d) 10-12 members appointed at the suggestion of the Music Group from lists of candidates presented by the Executive Boards of the Polish Composers Union and the Association of Polish Musical Artists,

e) the director[s] of the National Philharmonic, the State Opera in Warsaw, the Music Section of Polish Radio, the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and PAGART.

§ 6. The Director of the Music Group takes part in the meetings of the Committee in an official capacity.

§ 7. The Committee appoints a Presidium from its own membership and establishes the range of its assignments and authority.

§ 8. At the Polish Composers Union, a permanent office of the Festival is created as an administrative organ of the Committee. The Secretary General of the Committee directs the work of the office.

§ 9. PAGART, working in consultation with the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, handles the realization of arrivals and performances of foreign soloists and ensembles. The National Philharmonic and State Opera in Warsaw handle the organization of performances given by domestic soloists and ensembles. Domestic ensembles from state artistic institutions give their performances during the Festival within the framework of the service plan of their activities and handle the organization of their arrival and stay in Warsaw themselves.

§ 10. Festival performances by PAGART, the National Philharmonic, and the State Opera in Warsaw as well as different domestic artistic institutions are realized on the written instructions of the Festival Committee. These instructions establish the conditions for realization. The costs of these performances are covered by the Committee from the budget estimate of the Festival.

§ 11. The budget estimate of the Festival also covers other expenses connected with the organization of the Festival, such as: the costs of advertising, printing, and services for foreign guests; the personal and business expenses of the office, etc.

§ 12. To cover the expenses foreseen in the Festival's budget estimate, the Ministry will grant an annual subsidy to the Polish Composers Union, which the Committee will account for, through the Polish Composers Union, in agreement with regulations. The Economic Department of the Ministry of Culture and Art preserves yearly in the budget of the Department--at the suggestion of the Music Group--credits and hard currency funds for the organization of the Festival.

The role of the Composers Union would be increased slightly from that seen in February's Order. The Union's president still would serve as the Chair of the Festival Committee, as had been stipulated for the 1959 Festival. In addition, the Union would be

able to choose the Committee's Secretary General and as many as ten to twelve other composers, if the Association of Polish Musical Artists agreed with those selections. This represented an increase from the three composers the Union was supposed to have selected for the 1959 Program Commission, although as many as fifteen had actually participated in its meetings. However, composers would not be explicitly assigned the task of choosing suitable repertoire for the Festival, a task that many of the Union's members in 1958 had wanted to keep within the confines of their institution.

The management of the Festival's office also would be moved from the Department of Music to the Composers Union. The Union would not directly control the activities of the office, but the Secretary General selected by the Union would be in charge of it.

The membership of the Festival Committee proposed by the Composers Union in November would be larger than provided for in the February statute. Provisions for eighteen to twenty people were made in the November version, versus nine in the earlier document. The make-up of this proposed Committee reflected more closely the number of participants at the Festival Committee meetings held during the preparations for the 1958 Festival, especially in the presence of as many as fourteen composers (not including the Executive Board of the Composers Union). A large number of composers had also attended the Program Commission meetings during the planning of the 1959 Festival. The large number of composers called for also suggests that the Composers Union wished to retain a certain measure of influence over the course of the Festival.

The Administrative Order issued by the Ministry of Culture and Art on December 22, 1959 was modeled on November's proposal. The Order is translated below; the original is given in Appendix G.



**Administrative Order No. 214 of the Minister of Culture and Art,  
December 22, 1959, Concerning the  
International Festivals of Contemporary Music in Poland<sup>71</sup>**

With the goal of advancing composition and developing musical life in Poland, the following orders are given:

- §1. An annual International Festival of Contemporary Music named "Warsaw Autumn," herein abbreviated "Festival," is established, and will take place in Warsaw at the beginning of the autumn musical season.
- §2. The goal of the Festival is:
- 1) to acquaint Polish listeners with the output of composers and performers in the field of contemporary music in Poland and abroad,
  - 2) to exchange views and experiences between composers and musicians of various countries.
- §3. A Committee directs Festival affairs. Its main duties include the execution of the program proposal and the budget estimate proposal, the supervision of the progress of the Festival, and the coordination of the activities of the institutions cooperating in the organization of the Festival.
- §4. The Committee consists of:
- 1) the Chair--the President of the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union,
  - 2) the Secretary General--appointed by the Minister of Culture and Art at the suggestion of the Music Group, in agreement with the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union,
  - 3) the members: 10-12 members appointed by the Minister of Culture and Art at the suggestion of the Music Group, in agreement with the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union, as well as a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Director of the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, the Editor-in-Chief of Music at Polish Radio, the Director of the National Philharmonic in Warsaw, the Director of the State Opera in Warsaw, and the Director of the Polish Artists Agency "PAGART."
- §5. The Committee will appoint a Presidium from its own membership and establish the range of its assignments and authority.
- §6. The Director of the Music Group takes part in the meetings of the Committee and its Presidium in an official capacity as a representative of the Minister of Culture and

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<sup>71</sup> "Zarządzenie nr 214 z dnia 22 grudnia 1959 r. w sprawie międzynarodowych festiwałów muzyki współczesnej w Polsce," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1960), nr. 1, poz. 7.

Art. The Director sees that the Committee's work is done in accordance with the rules and in agreement with the cultural policy of the Ministry of Culture and Art.

- §7. The Minister of Culture and Art approves the program and budget estimate of the Festival at the suggestion of the Music Group.
- §8. A Festival office is created at the Polish Composers Union as an administrative organ of the Committee. The Secretary General directs the work of the office.
- §9. The Chair and Secretary General sign the Committee's letters.
- §10. The Chair or his substitute, the Secretary General, calls meetings of the Committee at least once a month and sends the agenda of the meeting to Committee members at least three days before the meeting.
- §11. 1) The Polish Artist Agency "PAGART," working in consultation with the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, handles the realization of arrivals and performances of foreign ensembles and soloists.
- 2) The National Philharmonic and State Opera in Warsaw handle the organization of performances of domestic ensembles and soloists. Domestic ensembles from state artistic institutions give their performances during the Festival within the framework of the service plan of their activities and handle the organization of their arrival and stay in Warsaw themselves.
- 3) The Polish Artist Agency "PAGART," the National Philharmonic, and the State Opera in Warsaw as well as other domestic artistic institutions realize Festival performances, referred to in previous passages, on the written instructions of the Music Group, which also defines the financial conditions of these performances.
- §12. 1) The costs of the performances referred to in §11 will be covered by the Music Group.
- 2) Other expenses connected with the organization of the Festival--such as the costs of advertisements and publications, the costs of services for foreign observers, and the personal and business expenses of the office--will be covered by the Music Group in accordance with the rules included in the budget of the Ministry of Culture and Art.
- 3) At the suggestion of the Music Group the Economic Department annually preserves credits and hard currency funds for the organization of the Festival in the budget of the Ministry.
- §13. The Committee may invited outstanding composers, performers, music critics, as well as foreign organizers of musical life to the Festival as observers. The Minister of Culture and Art approves the proposed list of observers.
- §14. This Order is effective from the day of its signing.      MINISTER T. Galiński

With this decree, the Festival was officially designated as an annual event, something that had been discussed as early as 1957 and had occurred *de facto* since 1958. Overall, this Order is similar to the proposal submitted in November. However, in the Minister's document the Music Group is given responsibilities that were allocated to the Festival Committee or the Polish Composers Union in the proposal, and both the representatives and the duties of the Association of Polish Musical Artists were eliminated in the Order.<sup>72</sup>

As in November's proposal, this Order called for the appointment of the Festival Committee by the Minister of Culture and Art, who also was to approve the program and budget estimate of the Festival. A Presidium would be chosen by the members of the Committee. Other similarities include the announcement that an administrative office would be created at the Polish Composers Union, to be directed by the Secretary General of the Committee. The responsibilities of PAGART, the National Philharmonic, the State Opera, and other Polish performing ensembles remained the same as they had been in the proposal and in the February 1959 Order.

Among the principal differences between the Composers Union's proposal and the Minister's Order were those concerning the authority of the Music Group. This Group now was to be consulted in the selection of the Secretary General and most other members of the Committee; it was to distribute the funds allocated for the Festival by the Ministry of Culture and Art; and it was to furnish the written instructions that outlined the conditions for all of the Festival's performances. The first two of these tasks had been assigned to other agencies in the November 1959 proposal; for the 1959 Festival the Group also had been responsible for providing the "written instructions." The Director of the Music Group

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<sup>72</sup> As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Music Group was the same entity as the Department of Music and the Central Board of Music Institutions; only the agency's name was changed.

was now to participate in the meetings of the Festival Committee's Presidium, in addition to those of the full group. The Director's role at these meetings also was made explicit: He was charged with assuring that the Committee adhered to the Ministry's policy. This responsibility had not been delineated in previous proposals or in the Administrative Order dealing with the 1959 Festival, but nevertheless had been an unspoken duty of the Director in previous years.<sup>73</sup>

Two changes to December's Administrative Order were put into effect by the Minister of Culture and Art on March 7, 1960.<sup>74</sup> First, the provision in §6 of the Order concerning the role of the Director of the Music Group as an overseer of the Ministry's cultural policy was deleted, leaving only the affirmation that the Director was to take part in all meetings of the Presidium and the full Committee as an official representative of the Minister of Culture and Art. Second, §7 was altered to read that the Festival Committee--not the Music Group--would submit the Festival's program and budget estimate to the Minister. The latter point thus reverted to the version contained in the proposal of November 1959. These modifications did not greatly diminish the power granted to the Music Group in the December Order--the Group still controlled the distribution of financial resources and was to approve all performances at the Festival.

The membership of the Committee called for in the Order differed from that listed in the November proposal in the absence of a vice-chair and the addition of a representative from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The June issue of the Composers Union's

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<sup>73</sup> See the discussion earlier in this chapter concerning disagreements in 1957 and 1958 over the amount of authority that should be given to the Music Group.

<sup>74</sup> "Zarządzenie nr 32 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 7 marca 1960 r. zmieniające zarządzenie Nr 214 z dnia 22 grudnia 1959 r. w sprawie międzynarodowych festiwali muzyki współczesnej w Polsce," *Biuletyn Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1960), nr. 6, poz. 50.

*Information Bulletin* lists the individual members of the Committee rather than its constituent institutions.<sup>75</sup> The make-up of this Committee was slightly different from the one mandated in December in that two "deputy," or vice, chairs were among its members. This change was described in the minutes of the Committee meeting held on March 12, 1960, at which time the size of the Presidium also was altered. December's Order had not specified the number of people to be chosen for the Presidium, yet in March the Committee passed an amendment to increase the size of that group from five to seven members, which would include two deputy chairs. This amendment, which apparently was not contingent on the Minister's approval, reads: "The Presidium consists of: the Chair of the Committee, the Secretary [General], and seven members appointed at a plenary meeting of the Committee, from among whose members the Presidium selects two deputy Chairs."<sup>76</sup>

Józef Patkowski and Kazimierz Serocki were elected as deputy chairs at that meeting. At the same time, the remaining five candidates selected for the Presidium by the Executive Board of the Composers Union were approved unanimously by the entire Committee. These people were composers Grażyna Bacewicz, Tadeusz Baird, Andrzej Dobrowolski, and Witold Lutosławski, and Zdzisław Śliwiński, the Managing Director of the National Philharmonic. Zbigniew Turski, as President of the Composers Union, was automatically selected as the Chair of the Committee and Witold Rudziński was named its Secretary General.

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<sup>75</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January-June), 1960.

<sup>76</sup> "W skład Prezydium wchodzi: Przewodniczący Komitetu, Sekretarz oraz 7 członków, wyłonionych na plenarnym posiedzeniu Komitetu z pośród których Prezydium wybiera 2-ch zastępów Przewodniczącego." "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 12 marca 1960 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

The remainder of the Festival Committee consisted of five members of the Composers Union: musicologist Stefan Jarociński and composers Włodzimierz Kotoński, Jan Krenz, Witold Rowicki, and Stanisław Wisłocki, the latter three of whom were also conductors; Tadeusz Wroński, a member of the Executive Board of the Association of Polish Musical Artists; Szymon Zakrzewski, the Director of PAGART; Roman Jasiński, the Editor-in-Chief of the Music Section at Polish Radio; and--left unidentified in available sources--the Director of the State Opera in Warsaw, the Director of the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>77</sup> All of the institutions represented on the Committee had been named in the Administrative Order, and each of the individual members had been involved to some degree in organizing the Festival in previous years. All of the members of the Composers Union named above, with the exception of Bacewicz and Dobrowolski, had also been members of the Temporary Repertoire Commission appointed in November 1959.

#### Selection of a Secretary General

Rudziński's appointment as Secretary General in March came only after a prolonged debate between the Composers Union and the Music Group about who would be a suitable candidate for the position and what role would be played in the Festival's organization by the holder of that post. According to the Administrative Order issued in December, the Minister of Culture and Art was to appoint the Secretary General on the basis of a suggestion by the Music Group made in agreement with the Polish Composers Union. An accord between the Composers Union and the Music Group was not forthcoming

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<sup>77</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r."; and "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 12 marca 1960 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January-June, 1960).

immediately, however. Zbigniew Turski announced at the February meeting of the Festival Committee that the Union's Presidium had advanced Zdzisław Śliwiński as a candidate for the position. Doubts were voiced by Jan Wójcicki, on behalf of the Music Group, concerning Śliwiński's ability to manage this new position adequately in addition to his responsibilities as Managing Director of the National Philharmonic. Although Śliwiński maintained that he could execute both functions satisfactorily, the Music Group nevertheless submitted the name of Andrzej Dobrowolski for Secretary General. Dobrowolski, as a member of the Presidium of the Composers Union, had supported Śliwiński for the position. A vote was taken; Śliwiński was the choice of the majority of Committee members. Turski, as Chair of the Committee, was directed to discuss the matter further with the Minister of Culture and Art, T. Galiński, since the Music Group still did not agree with that choice.

The Minister did not accept the Committee's choice of Śliwiński. Furthermore, it was announced at the Committee's March 8 meeting that Witold Rudziński was the Minister's choice, not Dobrowolski. It was at this session that the reason for the dispute became clear: the Composers Union and the Music Group did not agree on the Secretary's duties. The members of the Composers Union foresaw the position as being primarily administrative, and consequently wanted the person selected to have expertise in that area. According to Patkowski, that person should be able to "create an office on a European level."<sup>78</sup> Serocki emphasized additionally that he did not want to have the Presidium of the Committee be concerned with administrative problems that should be handled by the Festival's Secretary.

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<sup>78</sup> "Stworzyć biuro na europejskim poziomie." "Protokół z zebrania Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 8 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

Weinbaum, speaking for the Music Group, disagreed with the Composers Union's view. He said that the Secretary should be a musician, whose duties would be primarily "organizational-artistic" rather than administrative.<sup>79</sup> In his opinion, the administrative side of the Festival was already being handled adequately by PAGART, the Music Group, and the Polish ensembles that performed at each Festival. As he stated, "there is no Secretary General, and the arrival of ensembles is already being arranged."<sup>80</sup>

The precise meaning of "organizational-artistic" was not offered by Weinbaum. Most likely it included involvement in the selection of performers and compositions. It also is possible that Weinbaum and the Music Group wanted the Secretary General to develop an overall concept for each Festival and perhaps for a series of these events. If this were the case, the Secretary might be involved in determining which compositional trends should be exhibited in a particular year, which media (orchestral, chamber, or theatrical) should be emphasized, and which activities should be take place each year (e.g., which Polish orchestras should perform). Each of these topics had been mentioned in organizational meetings concerning the 1958 and 1959 Festivals. In recommending Rudziński, Weinbaum emphasized that this candidate had been the Director of the Department of Music in the Ministry of Culture and Art (1947-1948) and thus knew the proper procedures for "arranging business."<sup>81</sup> Moreover, Rudziński was fluent in several languages, which would aid him in speaking to foreign musicians about Festival matters.

On March 12, the date of the next meeting of the Festival Committee, the Presidium and Secretary General were finally chosen. The selection of the Presidium was discussed

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<sup>79</sup> "Organizacyjno-artystyczną." Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> "Sekretarza generalnego nie ma, a już zespoły w sensie przyjazdu są załatwione." Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> "Załatwiania spraw." Ibid.



above. Rudziński was nominated for Secretary General by Turski, on behalf of the Presidium of the Committee as well as the Executive Board of the Composers Union, and was elected unanimously.<sup>82</sup> As required in December's Administrative Order, the Minister of Culture and Art had to approve this selection, a task which was done within the next week. The Minister had initially recommended Rudziński, and the Composers Union had eventually been persuaded to support his candidacy also, fulfilling the stipulations of the Order.

Discussion about the position of the Secretary General in the organization of the Festival was not closed with the Rudziński's appointment. During the March 19th Festival Committee meeting, Serocki reported that the Minister of Culture and Art had appropriated a monthly salary of 2,000 zloties for the Secretary, who was to hold the only paid position on the Festival Committee.<sup>83</sup> Serocki commented that the amount was too low. Weinbaum explained that the Minister considered the Secretary's job to be one of minor importance, which would require little time to carry out. The Committee decided to ask Zbigniew Turski, as President of the Composers Union, to speak with the Minister about the salary, the role of the Secretary, and the creation of permanent jobs for the Festival office. Turski had expressed a wish on March 12 that a three-person office be created, which would consist of the Secretary General, a Deputy Secretary General who would be a full-time employee, and a clerical worker.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 12 marca 1960 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>83</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>84</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 12 marca 1960 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

The results of Turski's conversation with the Minister of Culture and Art cannot be fully determined. As far as can be ascertained from existing materials and conversations with past organizers of the Festival, the Secretary General has never been paid, and the position of Deputy Secretary General was never created. A permanent Festival office was established at the Composers Union, directed by the Secretary General, who until March 15, 1962 was Witold Rudziński.

### 1960 Organizational System

As in 1959, the planning period for the 1960 Festival was divided into two sections: in this case, before and after the appointment of the Festival Committee. The function of the Temporary Repertoire Commission, operative from November 1959 to March 1960, was to select the performers and repertoire for the fourth Festival. According to the minutes of its meetings, the Commission spent most of its time screening taped selections of Western contemporary music for possible performance at the Festival and proposing repertoire for Polish ensembles. Programs for foreign performers were proposed at only two of its seven known meetings. Most of the screened works were not assigned to particular ensembles or soloists by the Commission.<sup>85</sup>

The Commission's role in the selection of performers seems to have been limited. It was more active in choosing Polish and Western European performers than Soviet and Eastern European, but even then, its control over which ensembles did or did not come was minimal. It proposed several Western European and Polish performers and formally accepted the appearance of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. Its November 23 session was the only one at which the names of Soviet or Eastern European musicians were proposed, and

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<sup>85</sup> Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960, *passim*.

even then, only Sviatoslav Richter and Mstislav Rostropovich from the Soviet Union were named. According to available information, the Commission did not receive regular reports on the current status of negotiations with foreign performers. No other performers from the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe were cited at its meetings until a provisional schedule of performers was provided on January 5, 1960, when the Moscow Ballet and Czechoslovakian Philharmonic were named as confirmed participants. The lack of references to Soviet and Eastern European performers suggests that the Commission was not responsible for their selection. A similar lack of responsibility or control over these performers had occurred at each of the earlier Festivals.

The Temporary Repertoire Commission was not the only group involved in planning the 1960 Festival prior to the selection of the Festival Committee. PAGART and the Presidium of the Composers Union also participated in the selection of performers and repertoire, even though a role for the Presidium had not even been part of the statute proposal submitted by the Executive Board of the Composers Union in November 1959, and despite the fact that representatives of PAGART neither belonged to the Temporary Repertoire Commission nor attended its meetings.

Evidence of PAGART's role in finalizing financial terms for these performers and in acting as an intermediary between the Commission and each ensemble or soloist appeared in the minutes for the December 15, 1959 Commission meeting. At that time, a decision was made by the Commission to ask PAGART to conclude financial negotiations with the Concertgebouw Orchestra and to arrange for program proposals to be forwarded from that ensemble to the Commission.<sup>86</sup> PAGART must have been involved in talks with other

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<sup>86</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej (1960 r.) w dniu 15 grudnia 1959," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

performers in addition to the Concertgebouw Orchestra, for when the schedule of events was provided at the January 5, 1960 meeting, the performance dates of the several ensembles were already "set": in addition to the two Soviet-bloc groups named above, the other ensembles named were the Tokyo Radio Symphony and the National Philharmonic.<sup>87</sup> Concert dates for the remaining performers were also given, but had not yet been finalized.

The members of the Presidium and Executive Board of the Composers Union must have felt a deep commitment toward the Festival. Many of them had been intensely involved in organizing the first two Festivals and had also played a role--albeit a less extensive one--in preparing the third. Moreover, the Executive Board had drawn up and approved the April 1958 and November 1959 statute proposals for the Festival's permanent organizational structure. For the 1960 Festival evidence of the Presidium's activities is again available. It had been asked by the Temporary Repertoire Commission in December 1959 to intervene in achieving the appointment of an Organizing Committee, Program Commission, and Secretary General. To that effect, a letter was sent on December 5, 1959 from Zbigniew Turski and Andrzej Dobrowolski, respectively the president and secretary-general of the Composers Union, to Wiktor Weinbaum, appealing to the Ministry not to postpone further its confirmation of the Festival statute and its subsequent appointment of a Festival Committee and Program Commission.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> "Zafiks." [abbreviation given in text] "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - dn. 5 stycznia 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>88</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej (1960 r.) w dniu 1 grudnia 1959 r.;" and Dobrowolski and Turski to Director Wiktor Weinbaum, Zespół do Spraw Muzyki, Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki, December 5, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

The Union's Presidium was involved in other activities of the Temporary Repertoire Commission as well. A memo sent on December 30, 1959 from Dobrowolski to Weinbaum was couched in the terms: "the Presidium of the Executive Board of the Polish Composers Union kindly communicates" that at the December 15 meeting of the Temporary Program Commission, the participation of the Concertgebouw Orchestra had been accepted.<sup>89</sup> Dobrowolski was the Composers Union's Secretary General, but was not a member of the Temporary Commission and had not been invited to its December session. If the Presidium was relaying this type of information from the Temporary Commission to the Music Group, it may have been engaged in other similar activities for the Commission--namely, the selection of other Polish and Western performers and perhaps also the repertoire for these musicians.

The Composers Union also was assigned certain tasks by the Festival Committee. The one known request to the Union came on February 20, 1960, when it was asked by the Festival Committee to speak to Włodzimierz Sokorski, then the President of the Department of Radio and Television, about the participation of the Polish Radio Orchestra and Choir in Kraków in the Festival. This evidently was done, since a provisional agreement with the Orchestra was announced at the next meeting of the Festival Committee.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> "Prezydium Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytów Polskich komunikuje uprzejmie." Andrzej Dobrowolski, Secretary General of the Composers Union, to Director Wiktor Weinbaum, Director of the Music Group, December 30, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>90</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r." and "Protokół z zebraniu Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 8 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. The provisional nature of the agreement concerned finances; it will be discussed further in Chapter IX.

Available information about meetings held in 1960 show that the Festival Committee was involved in suggesting specific performers and compositions, but that the Presidium of the Committee may have had more responsibility than the full Committee in these areas. At the three meetings of the entire Committee for which minutes exist--those on February 20, March 8, and March 12--much of the discussion concerned the appointment of its Presidium and Secretary General. At the first two meetings performers and repertoire were also considered. In February the Director of PAGART announced the proposals for performers that his agency "currently ha[d] at its disposal."<sup>91</sup> He provided only the names of ensembles and soloists, not specific compositions they might play. The Committee discussed possible compositions for Richter's recital and the performance to be given by the Kraków Radio Orchestra and Choir, but not for other concerts. It was decided that the Repertoire Commission would establish the program for the National Philharmonic's concerts.

After the appointment of the Presidium and Secretary General minutes for only one meeting are extant. This was a session restricted to the Presidium on March 19.<sup>92</sup> Zakrzewski was also present, reporting on PAGART's negotiations with foreign performers. The Presidium talked at length about the programs to be presented by performers, both Polish and foreign.

Another meeting of the Presidium was scheduled for March 29, when the agenda was scheduled to include deliberation about the calendar of the Festival's events and the Polish compositions that might be played by foreign orchestras. Although information on this and

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<sup>91</sup> "Dysponuje obecnie." "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>92</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

later meetings of both the Presidium and full Committee is unavailable, an assumption nevertheless could be made on the basis of the topics discussed in March that the Presidium was assigned the tasks of selecting the repertoire to be played and negotiating via PAGART with foreign performers about their concert programs. The Temporary Repertoire Commission--and possibly the Composer's Union Presidium--previously had performed these duties; four of the Presidium's composers--Baird, Lutosławski, Patkowski, and Serocki--had been on the Temporary Commission and thus knew the work that already had been done by that group. This assumption is strengthened by a remark made by Włodzimierz Kotoński in 1986 that in the early years of the Festival a program committee had existed as part of the organizing committee. This program committee presented their decisions to the larger body for its approval or revision.<sup>93</sup> Kotoński did not specify particular years during which this system operated, but it can be observed for each of the first four Festivals: in 1956 and 1958 the Composers Union's Presidium fulfilled the function of a program committee; in 1959 a Program Commission existed; in 1960 the Presidium of the Festival Committee seems to have acted as a program commission after the dissolution of the Temporary Commission. Another point in favor of this conjecture is that the Composers Union had been asked by the Temporary Commission in December 1959 to intervene not only in the appointment of an Festival Committee and Secretary General, but also of a Program Commission.<sup>94</sup> For some inexplicable reason, the latter Commission had not been part of the Union's November 1959 statute proposal, but evidently it was still desired by the Union.

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<sup>93</sup> Interview with Włodzimierz Kotoński, March 7, 1986, Warsaw, Poland.

<sup>94</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej (1960 r.) w dniu 1 grudnia 1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

As mentioned above, after the selection of the Festival Committee PAGART continued to conduct negotiations with foreign performers about their participation and repertoire. On February 20 the Committee determined that "PAGART will attempt to coordinate the possibility of the participation of foreign artists as well as to collect information about their repertoire for the next meeting of the Committee," scheduled for March 2.<sup>95</sup> In particular, the Committee's Presidium depended on PAGART to conduct negotiations with "the Soviet side."<sup>96</sup> Moreover, after Szymon Zakrzewski--PAGART's representative--reported on the current state of talks with the Soviets on March 19, Kazimierz Serocki directed his suggestions to Zakrzewski, who would be conducting further negotiations with the Soviet Union. Serocki and the other composers evidently did not communicate with Soviet performers themselves. They might have preferred to deal directly with Soviet musicians, but accepted that for diplomatic reasons it was better to correspond through intermediaries.

Much of the correspondence available for the 1960 Festival is dated after Rudziński's selection as Secretary General. Nearly all of the letters that originated in Poland were signed by Rudziński, which implies that he was performing at least in part in an administrative capacity, matching the wishes expressed by Kotoński in 1958 and the Composers Union in general in early 1960.

Several extant letters confirm that Rudziński communicated with foreign performers or conductors from both Eastern and Western Europe, even though PAGART was

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<sup>95</sup> "PAGART postara się do następnego zebrania Komitetu uzgodnić z artystami zagranicznymi ich możliwość udziału oraz zebrać informacje co ich repertuaru." "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r." See also "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - dn. 5 stycznia 1960 r.;" and "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>96</sup> "Strona radziecka." "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.



simultaneously negotiating with these musicians. The earliest one from Rudziński was an invitation to Messiaen to perform as an organist on a half concert of his own compositions.<sup>97</sup> Since PAGART would also have corresponded with Messiaen, asking that he provide information on his program and financial demands, the policy of a double path of communication from Poland to Western performers that was in evidence in 1958 was being continued in 1960.

### 1961 Organizational System

The fifth Festival was the first one to be planned from the start under the aegis of the government-mandated permanent organizational system. Only two changes were made in this framework between the 1960 and 1961 Festivals. First, the Composers Union accepted responsibility for the organization of the Warsaw Autumn Festival, beginning with the 1961 event. As a result, the Festival Committee was to be appointed by the Union's Executive Board rather than by the Minister of Culture and Art. Secondly, the Presidium of the Committee was to determine the program and budget estimate of the Festival. Both of these items then would be approved by the entire Committee and the Ministry of Culture and Art. As suggested earlier, the Presidium had proposed much of the repertoire for the 1960 Festival; hence, this modification only recognized in writing what already had been occurring. Neither of these changes were ratified officially by the Executive Board of the Composers Union until April 1962, but according to the Union's *Information Bulletin*, they took effect for the 1961 Festival.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Witold Rudziński to Olivier Messiaen, April 9, 1960, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>98</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June 1960-June 1961, January-June 1962).

The shift in responsibility for the appointment of the Festival Committee did not result in major changes in that group's personnel. Only one member of the Presidium of the 1961 Committee had not belonged to that body in 1960; this change was a direct result of the election in December 1960 of new officers for the Composers Union. In December Stefan Śledziński was chosen president of the Union, replacing Zbigniew Turski.<sup>99</sup> As president, Śledziński was also named Chair of the Festival Committee. In another change, the position of Director of the Music Group was merged into the Presidium rather than maintaining a status separate from the Committee, as had been the case in 1960.<sup>100</sup>

No perceptible shift in the functions of the Committee or the other various Polish artistic institutions occurred during the organization of the fifth Festival. The Presidium was supposed to work out the Festival's program. It is not possible to confirm if the foreign compositions used as a basis for negotiations with performers were chosen initially by the Presidium of the Festival Committee or by groups. However, it is apparent that the Presidium selected which Polish compositions might be presented. There are no references to the existence of any other sort of program commission, which leads to the conclusion that the Presidium actually did select the repertoire, in conjunction with suggestions made by performers.

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<sup>99</sup> "Związek Kompozytorów Polskich: Walne zjazdy ZKP."

<sup>100</sup> L. Erhardt, "Wywiad z Witoldem Rudzińskim, Sekretarzem Generalnym Prezydium Komitetu Organizacyjnego V Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 13 (1961): 4; *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej. Warszawa, 16-24 września 1961* (Warsaw, 1961); *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June 1960-June 1961). The first two references list Serocki and Weinbaum, the Director of the Music Group, as members of the Presidium. The *Biuletyn* cites Rudziński as a member of the Committee, but not as part of the Presidium, while Serocki's name is omitted in the same publication, possibly by oversight.

According to letters to and from Western performers, PAGART's role continued to entail arranging concert dates and contracts with foreign performers, and relaying information about their repertoire to the Festival Committee. For example, a letter from Italian flutist Severino Gazzelloni to PAGART included suggestions about possible repertoire, and an official from the British Council indicated to Rudziński that he would be communicating with PAGART about the proposed concert by Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears.<sup>101</sup>

As in 1960, Witold Rudziński also corresponded with composers and performers on behalf of the Festival Committee.<sup>102</sup> As an example of his efforts, a letter from Rudziński to Dr. Rudolf Goette, the concert manager of the Kontarsky piano duo, discussed the rehearsal schedule and equipment availability for the concert to be performed by the Kontarskys and two percussionists: Christoph Caskel and Heinz König. Conceivably, PAGART could have transmitted this information to Goette during its own negotiations with the West Germans, but this must not have happened. Another letter indicated that the Festival Committee had sent Friedrich Cerha, the director of Die Reihe, a list of proposed compositions for that ensemble's concert. Cerha replied with a revised slate of pieces.<sup>103</sup>

Although information on the planning of the 1961 Festival is scarce--particularly concerning negotiations with Polish, Soviet, and Eastern European performers--an inference can be made that many of the same processes used from 1958 to 1960 were also

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<sup>101</sup> Severino Gazzelloni to PAGART, April 8, 1961; and C. Robinson, Deputy Representative, The British Council, to Witold Rudziński, Secretary General, February 28, 1961, Collection of Correspondence, International Festival of Contemporary Music, 1961.

<sup>102</sup> Collection of Correspondence, 1961, passim.

<sup>103</sup> Friedrich Cerha to "Sehr geehrte Herren," February 17, 1961, Collection of Correspondence, 1961. Cerha refers to a letter from the Festival Committee. He could have been writing to either the Committee or to PAGART.

employed in 1961. That is, PAGART also negotiated with Soviet and Eastern European performers and their respective Ministries of Culture. The Organizing Committee had little direct communication with these entities, but did deal personally with Polish performers.

### Conclusions

The efforts made by the Polish Composers Union, PAGART, and other agencies of the Ministry of Culture and Art to develop a permanent organizational structure for the Warsaw Autumn Festival persisted for approximately three years--from as early as April 1957 to at least March 1960. The primary issues debated during this time were these: whether the event should be held annually, whether the Composers Union should be able to choose the repertoire each year, and whether there should be a person who was authorized to make binding decisions on a daily basis. The organizers quickly agreed that the Festival should occur on a yearly basis; beginning in 1958 it did occur annually. It was not until late 1959, however, that the event officially was given permanent status in Poland's musical calendar.

In each of the various proposals and Administrative Orders advanced by either the Composers Union or the Ministry, the Union retained some influence in the organization of the Festival, but the extent of that control changed with each document. Concurrently, the role of the Union differed in the actual organization of each Festival, often as a consequence of the most recent Order, although in the case of the 1958 Festival no such mandate was in effect. The Composers Union ultimately did not maintain official control over the selection of repertoire, but most of the people who helped choose these compositions for the Polish side--as members of the Presidium of the Composers Union, a Program Commission, or the Presidium of the Festival Committee--were composers. The Union also drew up the various statute proposals described herein and thereby signalled its

acquiescence in the roles delineated in these documents and in the subsequent Administrative Orders.

Although certain members of the Composers Union also wanted their organization to preserve the power to select and negotiate with foreign performers--a right that they did not keep in the permanent structure created in 1959--in reality they never had and could not ever have absolute control over which musicians would perform at any Festival. From its inception in 1957, PAGART was the only institution empowered to arrange the financial details of these performers' appearances. Even so, PAGART always had to receive the approval of the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation or the Central Board of Music Institutions and its successors before initiating talks or finalizing a contract with a particular ensemble or soloist.

PAGART also often acted as the intermediary between each foreign performer and the group in Poland that determined the repertoire--whether that group was the Composers Union, a Program Commission, or a Festival Committee. The probable purpose of the parallel negotiations conducted with Western European performers by the Presidium of the Union and, later, the Secretary General of the Festival Committee, was to shorten the time needed to get a response from a performer--if the Polish organizers did not need to wait for PAGART to transfer information, decisions about repertoire could be made more rapidly. Also, the personal contact of a Polish composer with a foreign performer was beneficial in establishing lasting relationships with these musicians, and thus was of great importance to the composers involved in the planning of each Festival. Such personal contacts were the sole method of communication with most Polish performers.

The idea of giving one person the authority to coordinate the activities of each Polish agency and to make decisions on behalf of the organizers was never really realized. The Central Board of Music Institutions and especially the Minister of Culture and Art

maintained control over the direction of the Festival through their abilities to sanction both performers and the program as a whole. The position of Secretary General that was established in February 1959 and was continued in the December 1959 Administrative Order was primarily of an administrative nature. That person directed the Festival's office--sending correspondence, setting up meetings, and serving as the primary recipient of incoming information. According to available information, however, he was not able to make final decisions about foreign performers without consulting PAGART and the Music Group (formerly the Central Board of Music Institutions) at some point.

The individuals involved in organizing the first five Festivals remained relatively constant through the years. Six people are known to have participated in planning each of these Festivals--Grażyna Bacewicz, Tadeusz Baird, Andrzej Dobrowolski, Witold Rudziński, Kazimierz Serocki, and Wiktor Weinbaum. Twelve others--Włodzimierz Kotoński, Jan Krenz, Witold Lutosławski, Andrzej Markowski, Zygmunt Mycielski, Piotr Perkowski, Witold Rowicki, Kazimierz Sikorski, Tadeusz Szeligowski, Zdzisław Śliwiński, Stanisław Wisłocki, and Tadeusz Wroński--helped to plan at least two, and often three or four of these Festivals. The support of these people was of great significance to the development of the Festival: their perseverance despite the chaotic situation that reigned in 1958 and the Ministry's apparent delay in approving a permanent statute for the event in 1959 permitted the Festival not merely to continue, but also to mature. The experience and continuity of thought brought by these composers and governmental officials was essential to the organizational process.

The Administrative Orders of December 1959 and March 1960 are the last documents issued by the Ministry of Culture and Art that are known to deal with the organization of the Festival. Although some changes have been made in the nearly thirty years since that time, the essential structure of the organizational system has remained the same. A Festival

Committee consisting of composers and representatives of PAGART, the Music Group (through several more name changes and a few consolidations), the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation, and other artistic institutions in Poland has always existed, and the roles played by each of these agencies have remained the same. The Program Commission was reinstated in 1962<sup>104</sup> and operates today. Even though it officially functioned only one and one-half years out of the first five, the basic concept behind its formation has always been in evidence--a small group mainly comprising composers was responsible for selecting the compositions performed by many of the ensembles at each Festival.

The Festival office established at the Composers Union's headquarters in Warsaw still exists. A Secretary General was not appointed to succeed Witold Rudziński upon his resignation in 1962. Instead, the position was changed to that of a secretary, or manager, of the Festival's office, with duties similar to those of an American secretary. As such, it was not filled by a composer or governmental official. The first secretary, appointed by the Executive Board of the Composers Union, was Leokadia Malinowska.<sup>105</sup>

In sum, the Polish organizers' endeavors from 1957 to 1960 to create a permanent organizational structure proved worthwhile. The system that they created has stood the test of time.

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<sup>104</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January-June 1962).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

## **CHAPTER VIII**

### **GOALS**

As seen in the previous chapter, many aspects of the Festival's permanent organizational structure were refined over a period of several years. The Festival's goals also evolved between 1956 and 1961. Although some of the basic objectives of the 1956 Festival were preserved in subsequent years, the statements of goals provided by the organizers after 1956 reveal subtle shifts in their thoughts about the age and range of compositions to be performed at each Festival. Furthermore, the general statements of the Festival's objectives that were released for public dissemination--those given in program books, advertising pamphlets, published interviews, and the Administrative Orders issued by the Ministry of Culture and Art and translated in Chapter VII--do not reflect all of the detailed decisions made by the organizers in their planning sessions. These refinements often were determined by the organizers not at the beginning of each planning period, but at some point during that process.

#### **Compositions: Their Ages and Stylistic Characteristics**

In lamenting both the lack of compositions by specific twentieth-century composers and the absence of pieces representing certain compositional trends, the critics of the first Festival had raised indirectly the question of which compositional styles should be represented at the Warsaw Autumn Festival. This query was answered publicly in the introductory remarks contained in the 1958 program book. In the words of their author,



Tadeusz Marek, the second Festival was to present

"works by composers who today already represent numerous directions, techniques, and experiments. The concerts of the 'Warsaw Autumn' will undoubtedly permit the listener to become acquainted with the complex picture of contemporary music...The organizers wished...as universally as possible to acquaint our musical circle with the achievements of other circles, and also to acquaint the incoming guests with the compositions of contemporary Polish composers."<sup>1</sup>

Marek's reference to the display of various trends of contemporary music differed from the declarations of intent made in 1956, which proclaimed the presentation of the most outstanding examples of contemporary music rather than works exhibiting a wide spectrum of compositional directions.

This shift in emphasis was reiterated in interviews given by Tadeusz Szeligowski and Tadeusz Baird just before the start of the 1958 Festival. Szeligowski expressed the opinion of the organizers by saying "we hope that the musical Warsaw Autumn... giv[es] the musical achievements of all creative directions"<sup>2</sup>; Baird noted that the Festival concerts "create the possibility of a comparison of all contemporary musical tendencies."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Utwory kompozytorów reprezentujących jakże dziś liczne kierunki, techniki i poszukiwania. Koncerty 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' pozwolą niewątpliwie słuchaczom zapoznać się ze złożonym obrazem współczesnej muzyki...Organizatorzy pragnęli...możliwie wszechstronnie zapoznać nasze środowisko muzyczne z osiągnięciami innych środowisk, jak również zapoznać przybyłych gości z twórczością współczesnych kompozytorów polskich." Tadeusz Marek, "Warszawska Jesień," *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej Warszawa 27.IX-5.X.1958* (Warsaw: Komitet Organizacyjny II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, 1958), pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> "Pragniemy aby Warszawska Jesień muzyczna...dając przegląd osiągnięć muzycznych wszystkich kierunków twórczych." "Uroczysty koncert," *Stolica*, no. 37 (September 14, 1958).

<sup>3</sup> "Stwarzają możliwość konfrontacji wszystkich tendencji muzyki współczesnej." "Dziś pierwsze tony Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Express wieczorny*, no. 227 (September 27-28, 1958).

In the advertising pamphlet distributed in 1958 the organizers presented their rationale for offering a variety of musical styles:

"The Warsaw Festival has no ambition to become a festival of experimental music. It is rather a search for music that claims to become classic one day. Classic not in the proper sense of the word, but in the one that is given sometimes to works that the public acknowledges and likes to hear. It is a discussion and a dialog on the subject of what is truly alive in art that we would like to continue in Warsaw. This problem is much more profound than one of 'traditional' and 'modern.' It is a problem of artistic taste and an aesthetic for all...The Warsaw Festival claims to serve this cause. This is why the works of Schönberg, Jolivet, Shostakovich, Nono, and Frank Martin are [found] next to those of Polish composers...

The Warsaw Festival questions again the ideas of what certain people call 'backward' and 'advanced,' all of whom put works that are quite different from one another in sacks bearing the same labels."<sup>4</sup>

These statements by Marek, Szeligowski, and Baird, as well as the one made anonymously in the advertising pamphlet, do not cite any age limits for the pieces to be presented at the Festival. It would be logical, therefore, to assume that the twentieth century parameter publicized by the organizers in October 1956 would still be in effect. It is apparent from unpublished materials that this was true. However, the decision to retain this limit was not reached without debate among the organizers.

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<sup>4</sup> "Le Festival de Varsovie n'a point d'ambition de devenir un festival de musique expérimentale. C'est plutôt une recherche de musique qui prétend à devenir classique un jour. Classique non dans le propre sens du mot, mais dans celui que l'on donne parfois aux oeuvres que le public admet et aime à entendre. C'est une discussion et un dialogue que nous voudrions continuer à Varsovie, au sujet de ce qui est réellement vivant dans l'art. Ce problème est bien plus profond que celui de 'traditionnel' et du 'moderne'. C'est un problème du goût artistique et de toute une esthétique...Le Festival de Varsovie prétend servir cette cause et c'est pourquoi les oeuvres de Schönberg, Jolivet, Chostakowitch, Nono et Franck Martin voisinent avec celles des compositeurs polonais...Le Festival de Varsovie remet en question les notions de ce que certains nomment 'arriérées' et 'avancés', tout en y mettant des oeuvres bien différentes dans des sacs aux mêmes étiquettes." *Ile Festival International de Musique Contemporaine. Varsovie 27.IX-5.X.1958* [advertising pamphlet] (Warsaw: Le Comité d'Organisation du II-e Festival International de Musique Contemporaine, 1958), pp. 3-4.

The issue of age had been discussed as early as April 1957 at a meeting of the Composers Union's Executive Board and the 1958 Festival Committee. At that time the future personality of the Festival was debated. For the first time, as far as can be ascertained from available materials, the subject of contemporary classics as a separate category of compositions was broached by the Board. As discussed in Chapter V, attention had been directed to this category by at least two reviewers of the 1956 Festival. It is apparent that at meetings in 1957 and later the organizers, in trying to come to agreements on whether contemporary classics should be an integral part of the Festival and what the age limit of compositions should be, were rethinking the entire concept of the Festival as it had existed in 1956. At the same time, it is possible to deduce from the organizers' statements how they may have interpreted the phrase "contemporary classic."

At the meeting in April 1957 Andrzej Dobrowolski forwarded to the Board three ideas for the Festival's repertoire: 1) music of the last ten years 2) music of the same ten years plus contemporary classics that had not been performed in Poland, and 3) music of the last twenty years.<sup>5</sup> Other Board members offered different conceptions. Some rejected the idea that classics be performed at all on the Festival: Skrowaczewski felt that such pieces belonged on concerts presented during the regular season, and that the Festival should be based instead on compositions written during the previous five years. Jan Ekier, in contrast, believed that a certain percentage of classics, Polish works, and music of recent years should be guaranteed on each Festival, although he did not advance specific percentages. Witold Rudziński perceived the Festival as a "panoramic" review of composition; avant-garde works should be performed even if they emerged 20-30 years

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<sup>5</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramów obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w.dn. 5 kwietnia 1957 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

ago."<sup>6</sup> Offering yet another opinion, Bolesław Woytowicz asserted that the age of the repertoire should be restricted, but that contemporary classics could be allowed, "particularly works unperformed [in Poland], on condition that the program of each orchestra would not contain more than one 'classic'."<sup>7</sup>

No agreement on the precise character of the Festival had been reached by the time of the next meeting of the Composers Union's Executive Board, held on October 4, 1957. Again several plans were outlined, some of which proposed a limitation partly based on style, others of which seemed to advocate an age limit other than the twentieth century without naming a specific boundary. As an example of the first option, Tadeusz Szeligowski suggested that the Festival should be an exhibit of either Polish music alone or of Polish music plus "works of an exclusive character (Stockhausen and so forth)."<sup>8</sup> He personally favored the latter option. Włodzimierz Kotoński described two different possibilities. The first called for the performance of contemporary music, but rejected the presentation of contemporary classics; the second emphasized the inclusion of recently-written compositions, both Polish and foreign, but would permit individual works that were contemporary classics. Kotoński supported the latter option, with each ensemble presenting at least one Polish composition and no more than one contemporary classic. Andrzej Dobrowolski, expressing yet another opinion, wanted to show the most varied trends of contemporary music, including Polish music, an opinion with which Piotr Perkowski and Kazimierz Sikorski concurred. No consensus was reached with regard to

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<sup>6</sup> "'Panoramiczny' przekrój twórczości; powinny być wykonane utwory, które były awangardowymi chociaż powstały 20-30 lat temu." Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "Szczególnie utwory niewykonywane, z zastrzeżeniem, by program każdej orkiestry nie zawierał więcej niż 1 utwór 'klasyczny'." Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Utwory o charakterze elitarnym /Stockhausen itp/." "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

the exact character of the Festival, but several composers had made distinction between pieces written in recent years and other compositions that could be called "contemporary classics."

One additional reference to the division of repertoire into recently written works and contemporary classics came in a letter from Sikorski and Dobrowolski to Isaac Stern dated October 17, 1957. Stern was asked to play at the 1958 Festival "the most recent works or those of the 'classics of the twentieth century' (Bartók, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, etc.)"<sup>9</sup> This was the first time in available documents that specific composers had been cited by the organizers as creators of "contemporary classics." Tellingly, specific pieces were not requested by Sikorski and Dobrowolski; they evidently considered any of the pieces for violin by these four composers that could be played in a recital or an orchestral performance to be contemporary classics. In fact, as will be explained further in Chapter X, the organizers of the next four Festivals did seem to equate contemporary classics with composers rather than with specific pieces.

Although no decisions reached about the goals for the 1958 Festival were more restrictive than those calling for a presentation of a wide variety of compositional trends from twentieth century, rulings were made about both age and the inclusion of contemporary classics during the preparations for the 1959 Festival. In February of that year, the organizers agreed at a planning session that compositions older than fifteen years old would be selected for performance at the third Festival only in exceptional cases, and only if they had been written in the twentieth century. Western ensembles could present works that were either the "most avant-garde, most moderate, and so-called 'monuments'" -

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<sup>9</sup> "les oeuvres les plus récentes ou celles des 'classiques du XX-e siècle' (Bartok, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Prokofiev etc.)" Andrzej Dobrowolski and Kazimierz Sikorski to Isaac Stern, October 17, 1957, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

-the latter presumably referring to contemporary classics.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the newest pieces would be emphasized, but all stylistic trends from the twentieth-century could be presented. This was a different emphasis than had been applied to either of the first two Festivals.

The decision to include contemporary classics specifically had been reached only after further discussions on the topic were held after the 1958 Festival. At the meeting of the Executive Board of the Composers Union held on October 17, 1958, Witold Rudziński suggested that a certain number of "works of the contemporary classics, for example, Stravinsky," be included in the program.<sup>11</sup> In response, Andrzej Dobrowolski asked if it was appropriate "with regard to contemporary classics, to perform those works that are known and performed fairly often outside of the Festival? They will take up a large part of the program, which will not leave enough [time] for other contemporary positions unknown to date in Poland."<sup>12</sup> Clearly, not everyone was willing yet to accept the inclusion of contemporary classics at the Festival. Dobrowolski seemed to consider contemporary classics as pieces that were perceived to be reasonably well known in other countries, but neither he nor Rudziński referred to a minimum or maximum age for such a composition.

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<sup>10</sup> "Najbardziej awangardowych, najbardziej umiarkowanych i tzw. 'pomnikowych'." "Protokół z I-go zebrania Komisji Festiwalowej 'Warszawska Jesień 1959 r.' w dniu 7 lutego 1959r. (lokal ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>11</sup> "Utwory klasyków współczesności np. Strawiński." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>12</sup> "Co do klasyki współczesności, to czy wykonać te pozycje, które są znane i wykonywane poza Festiwalem dość często? Zająć one dużo miejsca w programie i nie starczy go na inne pozycje współczesne, w Polsce dotychczas nie znane." Ibid.

Publicized comments about the goals of the 1959 Festival made no references to either age, acceptable styles, or contemporary classics, even though the organizers privately had set certain limits on the compositions to be performed. In his introductory remarks in the 1959 program book, Tadeusz Marek's point of reference once again was the wide spectrum of contemporary styles that would be offered: "It is universally confirmed that the 'Warsaw Autumn' is the only one among world festivals that reflects in the programs of its concerts the factual state of world musical composition, taking into consideration the broadest range of its numerous trends."<sup>13</sup>

In an interview published on July 7, 1959 in *Trybuna ludu*, Zbigniew Turski, the president of the Polish Composers Union, essentially duplicated Marek's remarks, but added that the goals for the 1959 Festival were the same as in previous years: the Festivals "reflect the factual state of musical composition in the world, and give the possibility of a comparison of the achievements of different trends in different countries."<sup>14</sup> These objectives actually differed from 1956, when the aim had been to present the most outstanding contemporary compositions.

The statements of goals officially announced in 1960 and 1961 were no different than those of the previous two years in their affirmation of the Festival as an event in which as broad a view as possible of the various trends of contemporary music could be heard. However, they did acknowledge the existence of contemporary classics, and stated

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<sup>13</sup> ""Powszechnie stwierdzono, iż 'Warszawska Jesień' jest jedynym pośród światowych festiwali odzwierciedlającym w programach swych koncertów faktyczny stan światowej twórczości muzycznej z uwzględnieniem najszerszego wachlarza jej licznych kierunków." Tadeusz Marek, "Warszawska Jesień 1959," *Program III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej* (Warsaw, 1959), p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> "Odzwierciedlają one faktyczny stan światowej twórczości muzycznej i dają możliwość konfrontacji osiągnięć różnych kierunków w różnych krajach." B.D., "Jakie utwory i jakich wykonawców usłyszymy podczas Warszawskiej Jesieni 1959," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 186 (July 7, 1959): 3.

explicitly that the twentieth century was the boundary marker for the selection of compositions. No other age restrictions were made by the organizers in their private meetings. According to the anonymous author of the introduction to the 1960 program book,

"the 'Warsaw Autumn' Festival of Contemporary Music possesses a somewhat different character from other festivals of this type. It is to present, in as comprehensive a manner as possible, the musical creativity of our times, taking into consideration the situation of the Polish listener and of Polish composition. In its programs compositions of recent years and the works of contemporary classics that to date have passed by Polish concert halls appear side by side. Current musical compositions are presented in their large stylistic range, from traditional works of composers of the older generation to the controversial experimental attempts of a group of the youngest composers."<sup>15</sup>

This author also pointed out that the Warsaw Autumn Festival was distinct from other festivals of contemporary music because

"it does not attempt to provide answers about the future path of musical development. The listener has the opportunity to collate his or her own opinions and impressions while reviewing the selected pages from the history of twentieth-century [music]. He or she gains the chance to become acquainted with the new musical worlds on which other countries have built their contemporary culture. He or she becomes acquainted with works already of classical importance today--the milestones of the music of our century that have become the point of departure for younger generations--as well as works exhibiting the various currents pervading the great musical centers of the world today. We believe that these foundations will

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<sup>15</sup> "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej 'Warszawska Jesień' posiada nieco odmienny charakter od innych festiwali tego typu. Ma on zaprezentować w sposób możliwie wszechstronny twórczość muzyczną naszych czasów, biorąc pod uwagę sytuację polskiego słuchacza i polskiej twórczości. W programach pojawiają się więc obok siebie kompozycje ostatnich lat i dzieła klasyki współczesnej, które dotychczas ominęły polskie sale koncertowe. Aktualna twórczość muzyczna prezentowana jest w swej wielkiej rozpiętości stylistycznej, od tradycyjnych dzieł twórców starszego pokolenia do dyskusyjnych prób eksperymentalnych grupy najmłodszych kompozytorów." *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej 'Warszawska Jesień'. Warszawa 17-25 września 1960* (Warsaw: Komitet Organizacyjny IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, 1960), p. 3.



be recognized by listeners and composers as also appropriate for developing an opinion about the situation of Polish composition."<sup>16</sup>

Another source of official comment about the variety of compositional styles to be presented at the Festival was the 1960 advertising pamphlet. Its author, who also remains anonymous, noted that the Festival would permit a

"review of the artistic directions and styles in twentieth-century music. In comparing the pieces of all kinds and forms of the most outstanding contemporary classics with the works representing the newest currents of musical composition, a comparison of that which already has been achieved in modern music with that which only now is being crystallized or created is permitted."<sup>17</sup>

The pamphlet prepared in advance of the 1961 Festival repeated the same words just quoted from 1960.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in the program book for 1961 Józef Patkowski stated that the Festival "was and is an exhibition of as comprehensive as possible a review of the tendencies and currents in contemporary music...We [the organizers] wanted the program

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<sup>16</sup> "Nie usiłuje on dać odpowiedzi co do dalszej drogi rozwoju muzyki. Słuchacz ma okazję skonfrontowania swych sądów i wrażeń przeglądając te wybrane karty historii XX wieku, zyskuje szansę poznania nowych światów muzycznych, na których budowały swą kulturę współczesną inne kraje. Poznaje dzieła o wadze już dzisiaj klasycznej, słupy milowe muzyki naszego wieku, które stanowiły punkt wyjścia dla młodszych pokoleń, oraz dzieła ukazujące różnorodne prądy jakie nurtują dziś wielkie ośrodki muzyczne świata. Sądzimy, że te ramy uznane będą przez słuchaczy i twórców za właściwe także wyrobienia sobie poglądu na sytuację polskiej twórczości." Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> "Przełęcz kierunków i stylów artystycznych w muzyce XX wieku. Zestawiając dzieła wszelkich gatunków i form najwybitniejszych klasyków współczesności z utworami reprezentującymi najnowsze prądy twórczości muzycznej pozwala na konfrontację tego, co się już w muzyce nowoczesnej dokonało, z tym, co się dopiero krystalizuje lub dopiero tworzy." *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej 'Warszawska Jesień'*. Warszawa 17-25 września 1960 [Advertising pamphlet], Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>18</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej 'Warszawska Jesień'*. Warszawa, 16-24 września 1961 [Advertising pamphlet], Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1961.

to be a reflection of the different trends in music of the twentieth century, from the most traditional to the extremely radical."<sup>19</sup>

A distinction between compositions written in recent years and those that were contemporary classics thus was made publicly for the 1960 and 1961 Festivals, although it had been achieved privately before the 1959 Festival. The statements made in 1960 also offered an explanation of why contemporary classics were being included in the Festival's programs. Such pieces would be performed in order to present a point of reference for the audience. If listeners compared these "milestones" with the newer works on the program, they perhaps could better understand how music had evolved in the twentieth century. The Festival's organizers obviously believed that there was a continuity in the history of musical composition--that the newest works were, at least to some degree, related stylistically and technically to the contemporary classics.

Each of the statements of goals contained in the statute proposals and Administrative Orders of 1958 and 1959 were similar to one another. As can be seen by reviewing these documents in Chapter VII, each of these declarations consisted of two parts: the intent to present a review of the output of composers and performers of contemporary music in Poland and other countries and the desire to permit an exchange of views between the composers and other participants or observers. While not referring explicitly to the planned presentation of a wide variety of compositional styles, these proclamations certainly implied such an objective.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> "Było i jest ukazanie jak najwszechstronniejszego przeglądu tendencji i prądów w muzyce współczesnej...Chcieliśmy by program stał się odbiciem różnych poglądów na muzykę XX w., od najbardziej tradycyjnych do skrajnie radykalnych." *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej, Warszawa, 16-24 września 1961* [program book], Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1961.

<sup>20</sup> The Administrative Order issued for the 1959 Festival noted that the most outstanding achievements of contemporary music were to be offered. This statement differs

### Comparisons and Exchanges

Many materials pertaining to the Festival's goals emphasized that one of the event's distinguishing characteristics would be the presentation of music from around the world. In particular, it would provide the opportunity for two comparisons: first, between compositions from "East and West," and second, between works from Poland and all other countries. These same two comparisons had been an aim in 1956. These intentions were proclaimed, for example, in an interview with Tadeusz Szeligowski published in 1958: the composer viewed the Festival as a comparison of Polish and foreign music and also as a "bridge between East and West."<sup>21</sup>

The most detailed statements about the range of countries to be represented by compositions and guests appeared in the advertising pamphlets printed in 1960 and 1961. Each declared that the event would be "a meeting of representatives of different creative centers, a meeting of East with West, of Poland with foreign countries, a meeting of composers, musicologists, music critics and performers from many countries."<sup>22</sup>

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from those provided in the other statutes and Orders, which call for a general review of the output of contemporary music. However, the declarations of intent given at other times during the organization of the third Festival do refer to the presentation of a wide range of stylistic trends.

<sup>21</sup> "Pomost między Wschodem i Zachodem." "Uroczysty koncert," *Stolica*, no. 37 (1958).

<sup>22</sup> "Spotkanie przedstawicieli różnych ośrodków twórczych, spotkanie Wschodu z Zachodem, Polski z Zagranicą, spotkanie kompozytorów, muzykologów, krytyków muzycznych i wykonawców z wielu krajów." *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawska Jesień."* [advertising pamphlet], Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960; [same quote]: *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawska Jesień."* [advertising pamphlet], Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

The opportunity for an exchange of opinions among participants and observers was recognized frequently as a primary objective of the Festival's organizers.<sup>23</sup> All those attending the Festival would be able to discuss contemporary music, hear pieces that were either newly written or previously unperformed in their native countries, and make personal and professional contacts with one another that might otherwise be difficult or impossible to achieve.

The statute proposals of 1958 and 1959 as well as the December 1959 Administrative Order (see Chapter VII) also proclaimed that the Festival was being established in order to advance musical composition and musical life in Poland. At each Festival Polish composers would be able to have their compositions performed in Warsaw before an international audience, which then might lead to additional performances in other countries. Moreover, for these composers and other Polish musicians the presentation at each Festival of a wide variety of compositions from the twentieth century would provide an invaluable educational experience that had been unattainable during the years of socialist realism.

Despite the fact that the Festival's organizers wished to create a meeting place for advocates of contemporary music from all countries, they emphasized that the Festival was not a competition among performers or among composers. Instead, it was intended to be a showcase for the compositions themselves--an exhibit of what had happened in the field of music in the twentieth century. This focus on the music was implied in many of the statements given above, which noted that the most important goal of the organizers was to

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<sup>23</sup> *Program III Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 3; and *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawska Jesień."* [advertising pamphlet], Collection of Correspondence, 1961; hen, "Dziś rozmawiamy z sekretarzem generalnym Związku Kompozytorów Polskich - Andrzejem Dobrowolskim o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Sztandar Młodych*, no. 218 (September 12, 1958); "Uroczysty koncert," *Stolica*, no. 37 (1958); SDr, "Już wiosną myślimy o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Kurier Polski*, no. 99 (April 29, 1958).

present contemporary music. Each year the organizers planned to bring in fine performers from Poland and other countries in order to obtain an accurate presentation of the compositions chosen for the Festival--a fact reiterated in each statute proposal and Administrative Order--but as Tadeusz Marek stated in 1959, "the 'Warsaw Autumn' does not set as its main goal an exhibition of performance. Throughout we judge with a objective neutrality directed toward the arrangement and selection of the repertoire. It is decidedly a festival of problems, which after all results from its [very] foundations." <sup>24</sup>

### Conclusions

Two important shifts in the declarations of intent for the Festival were made between 1956 and 1961. First, as early as 1958 the organizers placed an emphasis on the presentation at each Festival of all, or as many as possible, of the various compositional trends in evidence in contemporary music, rather than on the performance of the most outstanding works of the century. No restrictions on compositional styles were ever made, a fact described by the organizers as unique among contemporary music festivals. Secondly, they seemed to have developed a distinction between contemporary classics and pieces that were newly written. A public admission by the organizers that pieces from both categories would be performed at the Festival was not made until 1960, but such a division had appeared in private materials in 1957. The term "contemporary classic" was not defined clearly by the organizers, but it often was contrasted with "recently-written works," and occasionally was used in reference to "the milestones" of twentieth-century music and the

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<sup>24</sup> "'Warszawska Jesień nie stawia sobie za główny cel pokazu wykonawstwa. Przy całej, jak sądzimy obiektywnej neutralności, którą kierujemy się przy zestawianiu i wyborze repertuaru, jest on zdecydowanie festiwalem problemowym, co zresztą wynika z jego założeń.'" *Program III Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 4.

compositions of Bartók, Hindemith, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev. By calling attention to the "milestones" of this century's music, the organizers implied that they might be more discriminating in choosing contemporary classics than in selecting recently written compositions--that is, while a variety of newer pieces employing different styles might be chosen to fulfill their objective of presenting the current trends in contemporary music, only those compositions that they considered to be the most important or most influential works of the century might be picked. However, the organizers of the Festival did not endorse any particular description of "contemporary classic," and attempts to categorize the pieces played each year as either classics or otherwise prove difficult, regardless of whether the definition is based on age or quality.

According to unpublished documents, an age limit of the twentieth century was placed on all compositions played at the Festival. The organizers discussed various limits ranging from five to thirty years, but only for the 1959 Festival did they put into effect a more restrictive limit than the twentieth century.

The desire expressed in 1956 that the Festival serve as a meeting place for musicians of all countries was retained in subsequent years. Similarly, the intent to compare Polish compositions to those from foreign countries was repeated, as was the plan to compare music from East and West.

## CHAPTER IX

### SELECTION OF PERFORMERS

Although the goals developed for each of the four Festivals under consideration referred primarily to repertoire, the selection of performers was often the organizers' paramount concern. These musicians would influence the character of the Festival not only through the quality of their performances, but also through the range of compositions that they agreed to present. As would be expected, the organizers attempted to select performers that they felt would be most able to offer repertoire appropriate to the fulfillment of the Festival's goals. However, politically-motivated interference by governmental authorities in Poland, the Soviet Union, or other Eastern European countries; limited financial resources in Poland; and delays in extending invitations served to prevent the realization of many of the organizers' choices. Due to these difficulties as well as to the logistics of the organizational systems used from 1958-1961,<sup>1</sup> the selection of performers was the most troublesome task confronted by the organizers each year. Nevertheless, as the organizers became aware of the specific problems that might arise on an annual basis, they were able to develop more realistic plans, and therefore were able to finalize their selections earlier in each planning period.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VII.

## 1958

As alluded to in Chapter VII, the second Festival was the most disorganized of the first five and possibly of any held to date.<sup>2</sup> Serious problems arose during negotiations with performers from all three pertinent geopolitical regions--Poland, Western Europe and the United States, and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The number and magnitude of the predicaments faced by the organizers that year far surpassed those known to have occurred subsequently.

### General Plans

As early as the first Warsaw Autumn Festival, plans and aspirations for its next occurrence were being discussed in the Polish press. Zygmunt Mycielski addressed these plans publicly in November 1956 when he stated that it would be better to invite three foreign orchestras rather than the five that had come that year. However, he then proceeded to name five countries whose orchestras would be coming in 1958: Germany (without further identification as to East or West), Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and America (the United States?)<sup>3</sup> As a member of the Cultural Council and the Composers Union, Mycielski undoubtedly had access to private information about the planning of the second Festival, and hence probably was correct in his identification of countries whose orchestras were being considered as possible participants. He did not state why performers from these

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<sup>2</sup> The organization of the 1968 Warsaw Autumn Festival, which was held jointly with the ISCM annual festival, became chaotic just before its start. Many foreign performers cancelled their planned appearances due to the political upheavals in Czechoslovakia and Poland that year.

<sup>3</sup> Mycielski, "Kryteria i gusty," p. 6.



specific countries had been chosen, but of them, only Hungary had been represented at the first Festival, indicating that different nations might be considered each year.

General plans for the second Festival were discussed further at the plenary meetings of the Composers Union's Executive Board held in 1957. In April of that year Dobrowolski presented two options regarding performers.<sup>4</sup> The first was that five orchestras would come: the Leningrad Philharmonic and two each from Western Europe and Poland. The second was that only three or four orchestras would perform: one Western European orchestra, the Leningrad ensemble, and one or two Polish orchestras. The Hamburg Opera and Suisse Romande Orchestra might participate in exchanges with Polish ensembles. Two or three chamber concerts were foreseen, although no specific performers were named. Two foreign conductors were planned, and the possibility of scheduling solo recitals was also entertained. A final idea presented for discussion was that a concert of electronic music be offered.

In October 1957, Kazimierz Sikorski stressed that a high level of performance should be maintained. Dobrowolski implied that he shared the same opinion when he said that the performance level of Polish chamber ensembles was not sufficiently high enough to warrant their appearance at the 1958 Festival.<sup>5</sup>

If general plans for the number and type of ensembles were discussed again before the start of the second Festival, information about them is unavailable. It appears that no clear consensus was developed by the organizers concerning the number of performers and concerts to schedule.

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<sup>4</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramów obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 5 kwietnia 1957 r. i 4 października 1957 r. Z 5 kwietnia 1957 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>5</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

### Criteria for the Selection of Performers

By the start of the second Festival in September 1958, twenty-two ensembles had been considered by the Composers Union's Executive Board and the Festival Committee. In only a few cases can the reasons for choosing a specific ensemble be surmised. The Cologne Radio Wind Quintet probably was selected because Stockhausen could conduct the ensemble in addition to presenting a lecture-recital of electronic music.<sup>6</sup> (As mentioned in Chapter VI, an invitation to attend the 1958 Festival had been given to Stockhausen at Darmstadt in 1957.) The Festival's organizers might reasonably have believed that the programming of this concert, together with the one containing purely electronic pieces, would help to prevent a repetition of the criticisms made in 1956 about the absence of the newest compositional trends at that year's Festival.

The Juilliard Quartet had been recommended to Kazimierz Sikorski by Isaac Stern in April 1958. The Quartet was described to Sikorski as "an excellent ensemble...Their repertoire includes all the modern classics."<sup>7</sup> Sikorski must have accepted Stern's recommendation, since the Juilliard Quartet was mentioned as a participant at the Festival at the June 6, 1958 organizational meeting.<sup>8</sup>

Stern could not perform at the Festival because of a scheduling conflict. He had been invited in October 1957, but wrote to Sikorski in April 1958, "It is with regret that I declare

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> "Un excellent ensemble...Leur repertoire inclut tous les classiques modernes." Isaac Stern to Kazimierz Sikorski, Polish Composers Union, April 12, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>8</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

that previous obligations cannot be changed, and that as a result it is impossible, unfortunately, to go to Warsaw at the time of your festival."<sup>9</sup> Hence, sending an invitation a year ahead of the event was not sufficiently early to procure the services of some performers.

Some groups were considered and then rejected by the Executive Board or by the Festival Committee because of their inferior quality of performance. The organizers eliminated the Mexico City Orchestra as a possible participant at their March 15, 1958 meeting in part because of Grażyna Bacewicz's appraisal of their inadequate performing abilities. A second reason given by the organizers for this rejection was that the stipulations set forth by the orchestra's conductor were judged to be unacceptable. Neither the conditions nor the conductor were identified in the minutes of the meeting.<sup>10</sup> The organizers also tried but ultimately failed to disallow the Leipzig Opera and the Leipzig Radio Orchestra on the basis of their low levels of playing. In this case, events beyond the control of the Executive Board and the Festival Committee resulted in further discussion of both groups, as will be discussed below.

#### Programming and Diplomatic Concerns: Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

A significant amount of time was spent during organizational meetings in 1958 attempting to devise solutions for the diplomatic conflicts that threatened the proposed participation of several foreign ensembles. These controversies arose in part because the

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<sup>9</sup> "C'est avec regret que je constate que des obligations anterieures ne pouvaient pas être changées et que par consequent, il est malheureusement impossible de me rendre à Varsovie a l'époque de votre festival." Stern to Sikorski, April 12, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>10</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 15 marca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. The nature of Bacewicz's contact with this orchestra is unknown.

Polish organizers desired to present performers and repertoire from the West as well as the East. Although appearances by all performers were subject to the approval of the Central Board of Music Institutions in Poland, governmental agencies in Eastern European countries ultimately controlled the conditions under which performers from their nations would appear at the Festival. These conditions were not artistic in nature, but instead were based on the political concerns of Soviet-bloc countries.

The most flagrant case of political interference occurred as the Polish organizers attempted to invite, first, the Hamburg Opera, and later, the East Berlin Opera. Although other Western performers were also being considered as participants in the Festival, West Germany was the only country targeted by complaints from East Germany, perhaps because of the still precarious governmental relations between the two nations that were a legacy of the geopolitical divisions made following World War II.

Negotiations with the Hamburg Opera had been taking place since at least April 1957. By the end of October the Opera had rejected the possibility of an exchange with the Polish folk dance troupe Mazowsze, but was still interested in performing at the Festival. Final approval on their side was made contingent upon meeting financial conditions and acquiring permission from the Hamburg Senate.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of March 1958, the Opera presented two financial options. One covered performances of Berg's *Wozzeck* (1922), Werner Egk's *Der Revisor* (1957), and Rolf Liebermann's *Die Schule der Frauen* (1955, rev. 1957); the second allowed for

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<sup>11</sup> Sikorski and Dobrowolski to Heinz Tietjen or Herbert Paris, Hamburg Opera, September 1957-March 1958; and "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. The extensive available correspondence (as opposed to minutes of committee meetings) for the 1958 Festival makes no references to the possibility of an exchange between the Hamburg Opera and any Polish ensemble. As early as October 15, the Opera's Director noted that Poland would be responsible for covering all costs, but mentioned that the German Foreign Office might be of assistance.

presentation of only Egk's and Liebermann's operas. The difference in cost between the two options--in other words, the amount needed to present *Wozzeck*--was 81,000 Deutschmarks (233,000 DM vs. 152,000 DM). All expenses were quoted in Deutschmarks, but the Opera was willing to be paid in zloties for housing, board, and daily spending allowances while in Poland. According to the Germans, this substitution would lower the total cost by 10,000 DM if *Wozzeck* were performed, and 6,000 DM otherwise. If a Polish airline were used for travel, zloties also could be used for that expense, lowering the hard-currency amount by at least another 22,000 DM. Furthermore, the Opera was willing to request a subsidy from the German Foreign Office to cover the difference between what the Polish side could afford and the actual cost of bringing the company to Poland.<sup>12</sup>

The financial agreement with the Opera, to be arranged through PAGART, was never completed. At the March 15 organizational meeting, Andrzej Dobrowolski noted that bringing the Hamburg Opera would be extremely expensive, but that it was still being considered. Ostensibly due to the perceived high cost of the Hamburg Opera, the East Berlin Opera was also listed that day as a possible participant. Dobrowolski reported that the expenses of bringing the Berlin troupe were acceptable, and that one of the operas being discussed with them was *Wozzeck* (1921), whose performance was highly desired by the organizers. Indeed, one of the primary reasons for the extension of an invitation to the Berlin Opera, as expressed a month later by Bolesław Woytowicz, was because the company "would present...*Wozzeck* to Festival audiences. This [performance] definitely

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<sup>12</sup> Herbert Paris, Director of the Hamburg Opera, to PAGART, March 30 and April 29, 1958; and Herbert Paris to the Polish Composers Union, December 5, 1957, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

would permit many listeners to acquaint themselves with a new direction in opera."<sup>13</sup> The organizers decided in March that following receipt of an official offer from East Berlin, the same conditions and program proposed by that side were to be presented to the Hamburg Opera.<sup>14</sup>

By the time Woytowicz made the above statement on April 26, 1958, discussions with the Hamburg Opera had been virtually halted. The high cost of bringing the orchestra, singers, and stage equipment had led Poland to balk at the German opera's financial offer in early April. The Opera, which claimed that its proposal had been made initially in January 1958, had repeated the offer on April 16, and in another effort to lower hard-currency expenses also had suggested that a Polish orchestra accompany its productions. PAGART responded in a letter dated April 23 that such an arrangement would not be feasible due to the Polish orchestra's lack of familiarity with the music to be performed. (The orchestra was unnamed in all extant correspondence.) The Hamburg Opera continued its attempts to persuade Szymon Zakrzewski, the director of PAGART, that an agreement could be reached. However, in a June 24 letter from Zakrzewski the suggestions proposed by Hamburg were again rejected and negotiations ceased.<sup>15</sup>

In both Poland and West Germany the publicly stated reason for the decision not to bring the Hamburg Opera to the Festival was that financial difficulties prevented the

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<sup>13</sup> "By przedstawiła słuchaczom festiwalowym... 'Wozzeck'; to właśnie pozwoli wielu słuchaczom zorientować się w nowym kierunku operowym." "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>14</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 15 marca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>15</sup> Szymon Zakrzewski, PAGART, to Herbert Paris, Hamburg Opera, June 24, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

successful conclusion of negotiations.<sup>16</sup> However, other more convincing reasons for the discontinuation of talks can be identified. As mentioned earlier, discussions were being held with the Berlin Opera by mid-March. At the April 19th organizational meeting, discussion had revolved around a suggestion made by the East German Embassy in Warsaw that the Leipzig Radio Orchestra and Choir come instead of the Berlin Opera. The Embassy had been discussing the proposed participation of the Berlin Opera with the Polish Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation. Bogusław Płaza, the director of the Bureau, recommended that representatives from his office and the Composers Union go to Berlin to discuss the matter.<sup>17</sup> On April 26, it became apparent that PAGART and the Polish Embassy in East Berlin also had been involved in the effort to attain the services of the Berlin Opera, but to no avail. The directors of the Berlin Opera purportedly were insulted that negotiations were also being conducted with the Hamburg Opera and therefore had decided not to come to the Festival. The members of the Executive Board and Festival Committee maintained their preference for the Hamburg Opera, saying that the playing quality of the Leipzig Radio Orchestra was not sufficiently high to warrant an invitation.<sup>18</sup> By this point--April 26--PAGART had already informed the West German group that their services would not be needed. If, as is clear, complex negotiations were being held with

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<sup>16</sup> Dobrowolski noted on June 6 that the West German press had cited financial difficulties as the reason for the cessation of negotiations: "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. Similarly, Kotoński, in an interview published in Poland in April, had stated that the Polish organizers lacked the hard currency required to pay for such a large group: (SDr), "Już wiosną myślimy o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Kurier Polski*, no. 99 (April 29, 1958).

<sup>17</sup> "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' w dniu 19 kwietnia 1958 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>18</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

East Germany in April, the decision not to invite the Hamburg Opera must have been made by early April. The assertions given publicly and in letters to the director of that Opera that the West German company could not come due to financial problems or difficulties in providing an orchestra may have been made precisely to cover the fact that a politically-motivated ruling to bring an East German group had already been made. The Hamburg Opera's continued endeavors from April to June to reach an agreement were therefore condemned to failure because of this decision, which representatives of PAGART and other Polish governmental agencies declined to communicate to West Germany.

Further information about Poland's decision to cease talks with the Hamburg Opera came at the meeting of the Composers Union's Executive Board and the Festival Committee in August 1958. As Tadeusz Szeligowski put it: "there is nothing we [the Board and Committee] can do about it--for example, with the Hamburg Opera, that is the business of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."<sup>19</sup> Weinbaum confirmed at this meeting that this Ministry had decided that the Hamburg Opera would not perform, even though negotiations between Poland and West Germany had been progressing smoothly. Weinbaum attributed the Ministry's decision to a problem in international relations. If a shortage of hard currency or the difficulty of the music had been the only reasons for the inability of the Polish government to reach an agreement with Hamburg, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs probably would not have interfered in the case: None of the expenses of the Festival were paid by that agency, and it was not in charge of making purely artistic decisions. The Ministry's precise motive for the cancellation was left undefined and unquestioned at the

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<sup>19</sup> "Na to nie mamy rady - np z operą hamburską to jest sprawa MSZ [Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych]." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958



August meeting, which could mean only that Szeligowski's colleagues already knew what its role in the Hamburg Opera negotiations had been.

The decision by Poland to pursue discussions with East Germany did not guarantee a swift or unimpeded conclusion to the matter of opera productions at the 1958 Festival. A summary of the discussions held in Berlin with that city's Opera and the East German Ministry of Culture and Art was given to the Board and Festival Committee on June 6. At that time Andrzej Dobrowolski stated that "the Germans felt offended that we are talking to them about coming to the Festival so late. The Berlin Opera cannot come, since it is preparing to take part in the Opera Festival."<sup>20</sup> The Germans suggested instead that if certain compositions of East German composers were performed at the Festival--the examples given were Hanns Eisler's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* (1938) and *Septet No. 1* (1940), Paul Dessau's *In memoriam* (1957), and Cilenšek's *Symphony No. 4* (date of compositions unknown)--then the Leipzig Opera would come to Warsaw to perform Dessau's *Condemnation of Lukullus* (1951) and Prokofiev's *Betrothal in a Monastery* (1940). However, later at the same meeting Kazimierz Sikorski noted that six performances by the Leipzig Opera already had been confirmed.

The East German government, through its embassy in Warsaw and its Ministry of Culture and Art in East Berlin, seemed to be acting to ensure that the Berlin Opera would not perform at the Warsaw Festival by falsely claiming that the ensemble was approached only in May or early June 1958. Discussions with the Opera actually had been held as early as March of that year, when there apparently had been no conflicts with the "Opera

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<sup>20</sup> "Niemcy czuli się obrażeni, że tak późno się do nich zwracamy w sprawie przyjazdu na Festiwal. Opera Berlińska nie może przyjechać, gdyż przygotowuje się do wzięcia udziału w Festiwalu Operowym." "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Festival." If the government truly had been concerned about the lateness of invitations, they would not have proposed the Leipzig Opera as a substitute, since this company had not been named as a possible participant previous to the Berlin meeting alluded to by Dobrowolski.<sup>21</sup>

The impetus for the East German government's refusal to sanction the Berlin Opera's appearance in Warsaw may have been the complaint voiced in April--that the Opera's directors and other governmental officials were insulted that negotiations were being held with both them and the Hamburg Opera. Another reason for denying permission to the Berlin Opera may have been that the East German government did not want one of its opera companies to stage *Wozzeck* in Poland. Berg was not an East German composer, and his opera might have been considered by the East German government to be too radical to warrant performance in Poland--this despite the fact that *Wozzeck* must have been in the Berlin Opera's repertoire for the Polish organizers to have requested its presentation by that troupe. Of the composers proposed as substitutes by the East German government, Eisler, Dessau, and Cilenšek were residents of that country and were thought to be suitable adherents to the ideals of socialist realism still in vogue there. Of course, the Polish organizers had stated on both April 19 and 26 that although they preferred that the Berlin Opera present *Wozzeck*, they would also be interested in Dessau's opera as well as in West German composer Werner Egk's *Der Revisor*.<sup>22</sup> This suggestion that the Berlin Opera

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<sup>21</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; hen, "Dziś rozmawiamy z sekretarzem generalnym Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Sztandar młodych*, no. 218 (1958).

<sup>22</sup> "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' w dniu 19 kwietnia 1958 roku"; "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

present Dessau's work apparently was not acceptable to East Germany, since it did not produce that government's acquiescence regarding the ensemble's appearance at the Festival.

The decision to refuse permission to the Berlin Opera was made by the East German government. All known communications regarding this matter took place between officials from Polish and East German governmental agencies other than those from the Polish Composers Union or the Opera. Nonetheless, even the Polish governmental agencies involved in these negotiations were unable to change the minds of the Germans. The Polish composers involved in determining the repertoire of the Festival thus made little or no contribution to that decision-making process.

Nevertheless, the situation vis-à-vis the Leipzig Opera and its appearance at the Festival had changed yet again by August 30. Neither the Opera nor any other East German ensemble was scheduled to appear at the Festival. On the other hand, the Baltic Opera was scheduled for one performance each of *Peter Grimes* and Szeligowski's *Krakatuk* (1955). This troupe's petition to appear had been denied in June by the Executive Board and the Festival Committee because of the expenses of bringing such a large group and because its request had been submitted only that month, rather late in the planning process.<sup>23</sup> At the actual Festival the Baltic Opera appeared; the Leipzig Opera did not perform, but the Leipzig Radio Orchestra and Choir presented one concert. This Orchestra and Choir was not mentioned by the Polish organizers between April and September 1958.

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<sup>23</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r."; and "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

In an article published on August 6, a Polish journalist, one "bd," claimed that the Leipzig Opera had been withdrawn from the Festival because the group was undergoing reorganization; the Baltic Opera was a substitute for that East German group.<sup>24</sup> The validity of the journalist's claim cannot be established, especially since a different Polish writer declared two weeks later that the reorganization effort was occurring at the Berlin Opera, which was why that particular group was unable to come to Poland.<sup>25</sup> No reasons were given by the organizers themselves about the non-appearance of either German group.

The pressures exerted on the Polish organizers by the East German government were typical tactics used by East European governments in their quest to be represented at the Warsaw Autumn Festival. Another example of such pressure being exerted during the preparations for the 1958 Festival occurred during negotiations with the Avramov Quartet. Discussions with Bulgaria about this ensemble's participation were broken intermittently. As with the Hamburg and Berlin Operas, the Composers Union and Festival Committee had no control over decisions to either cut off or resume these negotiations. Instead, they were dependent on the judgments of other governmental departments in Bulgaria whose consideration of the purely musical qualities of either the Quartet or the Festival seemed to have played no role.

The Quartet had been mentioned as a possible participant as early as the October 1957 meeting of the Composers Union's Executive Board. In December of that year the

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<sup>24</sup> bd, "Przed II Festiwalem Muzyki Współczesnej," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 218 (August 6, 1958).

<sup>25</sup> Zbigniew Zapert, "II Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej," *Express wieczorny*, no. 199 (August 20, 1958).

Composers Union announced that the Quartet's participation was assured.<sup>26</sup> By April 1958 negotiations had seemingly broken off, since the group was not named as one with whom negotiations were being conducted. At organizational meetings that month, the Novák Quartet from Czechoslovakia was the only Eastern European chamber ensemble scheduled to appear, presumably substituting for the Bulgarian group.<sup>27</sup> The situation changed again by June, when the Avramov Quartet, but not the Novák group, was included in a list of ensembles expected to play in Warsaw. The Bulgarian ensemble had not yet submitted a proposed program, which the Polish Composers Union was then asked to request via telephone.<sup>28</sup> Once again, however, at some point between the June 10 and August 30 organizational meetings the Quartet's participation was withdrawn. After this last cancellation, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussed the matter with the Bulgarian embassy in Warsaw. On August 30, Andrzej Dobrowolski was told that the Quartet would be coming, but even then, the Bulgarian embassy still had not officially notified the Festival Committee of its impending participation. In his report to the Committee that day, Dobrowolski placed the latest developments within the framework of similar problems then plaguing the organizers:

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<sup>26</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-December 1957).

<sup>27</sup> "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' w dniu 19 kwietnia 1958 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>28</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.;" and "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni 58' w dniu 10.6.58," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

"Colleagues, as you know, the program has been changing constantly. Either changes in the terms of the program occur constantly or the participants continually revoke their agreements to take part. These problems still are not entirely settled. Only yesterday [August 29] I wrote down the schedule of events, but that changed just now. I received news that the Avramov Quartet will come. This news is probably trustworthy, since they [the Quartet] requested that the materials [scores] that they had previously returned be sent back to them. After all, this occurred as a result of the intervention of the Bulgarian embassy. After the Avramov Quartet withdrew, we intervened through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was not a question that they would not come; rather it was emphasized that things were not in order on their side. Tomorrow the Bulgarian embassy is to give a decisive answer about the Avramov Quartet."<sup>29</sup>

Immediately following these remarks by Dobrowolski, Tadeusz Baird related the difficulties surrounding the vacillating decisions concerning the Quartet to a more serious problem that in his view potentially threatened the existence of the Festival. According to Baird, other Eastern European countries were dissatisfied with their level of representation at the Warsaw Festival. Referring to the news that the Bulgarian quartet would be coming to Warsaw, Baird maintained:

"...It seems that we are forgetting to consider what I would call things of a tactical nature. In neighboring countries there are certain signs that a rather serious and brutal attack on the Polish Festival and the like might come next. Actually, the attack already has begun. There is evidence of this--articles have appeared. Undoubtedly, countries such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria are offended. To lessen the severity of possible trouble, I propose to accept this

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<sup>29</sup> "Proszę Kolegów! Jak Koledzy wiedzą, program się stale zmieniał, stale przychodziły bądź zmiany warunków programu, bądź uczestnicy wycofywali swój udział. Te sprawy w dalszym ciągu jeszcze nie są całkowicie załatwione. Nie dalej jak wczoraj pisałem kalendarz imprez, który w tej chwili się zmienił. Dostałem wiadomość, że kwartet Awramowa przyjeżdża. To jest wiadomość podobno pewna, tym bardziej, że oni prosili, żeby zwrócić materiały, które odesłali poprzednio. Zresztą nastąpiło to na skutek interwencji ambasady bułgarskiej. Po zrzeczeniu się Awramowa interweniowaliśmy po przez MSZ. Nie chodziło o to, by przyjechał, ale o zaakcentowanie, że z tymtej [sic] strony nie w porządku są. Jutro ma ambasada bułgarska co do kwartetu Awramowa dać decydującą odpowiedź." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

quartet most hospitably, to insert them into the Festival's program, and in this way to moderate the possible blow that I do not so much fear as expect."<sup>30</sup>

One of the articles to which Baird undoubtedly was referring was Bernhard Rebling's critique of Polish musical life that had appeared in the June 1958 issue of *Musik und Gesellschaft*, an East German periodical. While attacking *Ruch muzyczny*, the Polish biweekly music journal, Rebling was sharply critical of the direction being taken by Polish musicians and the press. He described the editorial policy of the Polish journal in this way: "Under the pretext that music should have nothing to do with politics, 'Ruch Muzyczny' engages in a completely clear-cut example of politics, namely an intentionally antisocialist policy in a land that built up socialism."<sup>31</sup> Rebling denounced the devotion of generous amounts of space in *Ruch muzyczny* to articles on "the avant-garde music of the West," which included discussions on Stravinsky and the Darmstadt courses, while providing only limited coverage of music in the Soviet Union and East Germany.<sup>32</sup> He ended his article by stating "we will hope that the periodical 'Ruch Muzyczny' soon properly brings about a radical change...If the Polish creators of music, who endorse the present policy of the journal 'Ruch Muzyczny', do not carry out a decisive conversion, they will distance themselves more and more from the Polish people and isolate themselves from further

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<sup>30</sup> "Wydaje się, że zapominamy o względach natury, nazwałbym to, taktycznych. W państwach ościennych są pewne oznaki tego, że może nastąpić dość poważny i brutalny atak na Festiwal polski itp. Przy czym atak już rozpoczął się, są tego dowody, pojawiły się artykuły. Niewątpliwie urażone są kraje w rodzaju NRD, Czechosłowacji, Bułgarii. Dla złagodzenia ewent. nieprzyjemności, proponuję jak najbardziej gościnnie przyjąć ten kwartet, umieścić w programie Festiwalu i w ten sposób zmoderować ew. uderzenie, którego się nie tyle obawiam, ile spodziewam." Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> "Unter dem Vorwand, daß Musik nichts mit Politik zu tun haben dürfe, macht 'Ruch Muzyczny' eine ganz eindeutige Politik, nämlich eine bewußt antisozialistische Politik in einem Lande, das den Sozialismus aufbaut." Bernhard Rebling, "Ein offenes Wort an unsere polnischen Freunde," *Musik und Gesellschaft* 7, no. 6 (June 1958): 11.

<sup>32</sup> "Die avantgardistische Musik des Westens." Ibid., p.10.

historical development."<sup>33</sup> Clearly the East German policy-makers were not pleased with the results of Poland's relaxation of the principles of socialist realism in music.

Baird's reference to an "attack" from Czechoslovakia came in the form of a letter in which its anonymous author complained about the lack of performers from that country in the 1958 Festival. Dobrowolski, who had answered the letter on behalf of the Composers Union and the Festival Committee, related the essence of his response at the August organizational meeting: Since Romanian, Czechoslovakian, and Hungarian performers had been included in the first Festival, it was necessary to invite musicians from other countries in 1958. In his opinion, it was impossible to have performers from every country on every Festival.<sup>34</sup>

Baird's misgivings about the hostility of Poland's sister East European countries were echoed by Tadeusz Marek later at the same August meeting:

"...I do not know in whose interest lies the fact--mentioned in the discussion several times today--that a brawl awaits us...This external brawl was avoidable to a large degree...The external brawl was only a matter of a tactical arrangement."<sup>35</sup>

The "external brawl" was an reference to the sporadic cancellations of, or misunderstandings about, the Avramov Quartet's participation by the Bulgarian

<sup>33</sup> "Wir wollen hoffen, daß die Zeitschrift 'Ruch Muzyczny' recht bald eine radikale wendung herbeiführt...Wenn die polnischen Musikschaffenden, die die gegenwärtige Politik der Zeitschrift 'Ruch Muzyczny' unterstützen, nicht eine entscheidende Umkehr vollziehen, werden sie sich immer mehr vom polnischen Volk entfernen und sich von der historischen Weiterentwicklung isolieren." Ibid., p.11.

<sup>34</sup> Dobrowolski did not identify the author of the letter, but he did say that it had come from Czechoslovakia. "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>35</sup> "Nie wiem w czyim interesie leży to, co się obecnie kilkakrotnie sygnalizowało w dyskusji, że czeka nas rozróbka...zewnętrzna rozróbka, uważam, była tylko sprawą ustawienia taktycznego." Ibid.



government and possibly also to the difficulties encountered with the East German government and the Hamburg/Berlin/Leipzig Opera controversy. The Executive Board and Festival Committee had little, if any, control over the decisions made concerning the participation of these groups. The "tactical arrangement" probably referred to the insertion into the Festival's schedule of one concert to be performed by the Avramov Quartet and also the earlier acceptance of the Leipzig Opera following diplomatic maneuvering. The plan for the Avramov concert, devised as a means of appeasing the threatened adverse reaction of Bulgaria and perhaps other East European countries, came to naught in the end, since the Quartet did not come to Warsaw for the Festival due to the illness of one of its members.<sup>36</sup> However, the use of Aesopian language by the organizers is indicative of the fact that they still could not always say exactly what they meant despite the liberalized policies that existed in many areas of Polish culture in the late 1950s.

The frustrations felt by the Polish organizers because of the difficulties encountered in their negotiations with other East European countries carried over into their discussions about other performers. The Toulouse Quintet, invited as a substitute for the Cologne Radio Wind Quintet after the latter ensemble cancelled its Festival appearance in late June, had increased its financial demands from the equivalent of five hundred dollars to one thousand dollars in August.<sup>37</sup> The Quintet had suggested that Poland request a subsidy from the French government to cover some of the increased cost. PAGART officials felt that it was the ensemble's responsibility to make such an appeal. The opinion of the Festival Committee was that since the Quintet originally had agreed to the five-hundred-

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<sup>36</sup> Jerzy Waldorff, "Premier bil brawo!," *Stolica*, no. 41 (October 11, 1958).

<sup>37</sup> "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

dollar figure and had already submitted a list of feasible compositions, it should either accept that amount or abandon its plans to perform at the Festival. A suggestion that an ensemble from East Germany or Czechoslovakia be invited instead was rejected, even though such a group would not require hard-currency payments and thus would be less expensive. The Committee agreed that these countries would only cause delays and would complain about not being invited earlier.<sup>38</sup>

The Toulouse Quintet did play one concert at the Festival, although the terms of its eventual financial agreement between Poland are not known. Since PAGART officials--the handlers of financial negotiations with the Festival's foreign performers--were among those who on August 30 wanted to hold the Quintet to the five-hundred-dollar amount, that figure was probably the one presented as a final offer from the Polish side, and accepted as such by the ensemble.

A notable exception to the negative results caused by bureaucratic delays and shifting decisions during negotiations with the Soviet-bloc can be seen in the case of Sviatoslav Richter. According to Józef Patkowski, discussions with Richter were quite different than those conducted with other Soviet or Eastern European performers because the pianist sincerely wanted to come to Poland and pressed his government to permit him to do so. Traditionally, in Patkowski's view, Festival organizers were forced to deal with institutions rather than individuals in these Eastern countries;<sup>39</sup> this process is evident in the materials on each of the first five Festivals. Richter, however, personally wrote to the Composers Union in June 1958 to explain that he was prepared to play in Warsaw, but that the

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<sup>38</sup> "Kraje te są urażone, będą robiły wstręty, przewlekały i nic z tego nie wyjdzie." Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Patkowski, 1986.

Leningrad Philharmonic refused to accompany him.<sup>40</sup> Richter did prevail in his wish to perform at the Festival, appearing with Poland's National Philharmonic.

Documentation concerning negotiations with other Soviet performers is scarce. Most communications with the Soviet Union were transmitted through embassies and other governmental agencies, who were concerned more with politics and administrative details than with artistic considerations; information about the specific decisions made by these institutions often is unavailable. The Leningrad Philharmonic's performances were cited as early as April 1957; their appearances were never cancelled, nor were there ever any threats to rescind them.

The politicized manipulations of the Soviet and East European governments also affected the selection of invited guests. For instance, in 1958 the organizers requested the attendance of Leonid Entelis, a Soviet Jewish musicologist who promoted contemporary Polish music. On August 30 of that year Soviet officials indicated that Entelis would not be included in their delegation and that they would send the names of those who would be coming. The Polish organizers declined to petition further for Entelis' arrival, realizing that the Soviets would not respond favorably to pressure about whom to send as guests.<sup>41</sup> In the end, nevertheless, Entelis did attend the 1958 Festival.

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<sup>40</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>41</sup> "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

### Difficulties with Polish Musicians and Artistic Agencies

Some Polish artistic agencies proved no easier to deal with than the governments of East Germany and Bulgaria had been. Just as the problems with the Hamburg, Berlin, and Leipzig Operas had taken up much of the organizers' time, especially between March and June, a major disagreement between the Central Board of Music Institutions, the National Philharmonic, and the Composers Union consumed their attention from June to August. The principal issue in this debate was the selection of Polish conductors for the National Philharmonic's concerts at the Festival. In attempting to come to an agreement on this issue, a second argument erupted among the Central Board and the members of the Festival Committee and Executive Board about whether the misunderstanding among the proposed conductors had been caused by the Composers Union or the Central Board.

The Presidium of the Composers Union had proposed on March 15 that Witold Rowicki and Stanisław Skrowaczewski each conduct one concert of the National Philharmonic at the Festival.<sup>42</sup> On June 6, the Executive Board and the Festival Committee learned that Bohdan Wodiczko, who retained the positions of managing director, artistic director, and principal conductor of the National Philharmonic, had not been informed that his orchestra was scheduled to perform twice at the Festival. The Executive Board claimed that it was the responsibility of the Central Board of Music Institutions--as the superior authority to the National Philharmonic--to relay decisions concerning the orchestra to Wodiczko. Therefore, in the Board's opinion, Wodiczko should be upset not with the Composers Union, as he currently was, but with the Central Board. Jan Wójcicki, from the Central Board, said that the misunderstanding had been smoothed over at a conference of

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<sup>42</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 15 marca 1958 r." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Wodiczko and delegates from the Festival Committee, but he did admit any guilt on the part of his agency. As a conciliatory measure a third concert by the National Philharmonic was planned. This concert, to be conducted by Wodiczko, would force the lengthening of the Festival by one day.<sup>43</sup>

At this same June 6 meeting Wodiczko reversed the agreement reached in the aforementioned conference by stating that it would not be possible to prepare three separate programs in the limited amount of rehearsal time available to the Philharmonic. He proposed instead that the Festival Committee decide whether the artistic director of the Philharmonic should always conduct one of that orchestra's concerts on the Festival, or if the Committee should reserve the right to invite particular conductors. During the ensuing discussion, most of the Committee members who offered opinions--including Kazimierz Sikorski, Kazimierz Serocki, Tadeusz Szeligowski, and Jerzy Młodziejowski--agreed that the artistic director should conduct one of the two concerts originally scheduled, and if a third one could be fit into the scenario, then a third conductor could be chosen. Wodiczko's next reaction was to contradict his proffered solution, asserting that as artistic director, he had the right to select the conductors for his orchestra. He then recommended that he and Rowicki direct the two concerts, and refused the Committee's offer to settle the dilemma by having the Philharmonic play three concerts.

Meanwhile, the composers present at the meeting continued to place the responsibility for the misunderstanding with Wodiczko on the Central Board of Music Institutions, and particularly on its director, Wiktor Weinbaum. The director was accused first, of not telling

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<sup>43</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. The conference between Wodiczko and the Committee delegates must have taken place between April 26 and June 6; no other information about it is available.

the Composers Union or the Festival Committee that Wodiczko might refuse to comply with the Committee's previous decision to have Rowicki and Skrowaczewski direct the two National Philharmonic concerts, and, second, of not even notifying Wodiczko of that decision after it was made.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Sikorski claimed that he had been informed by the Central Board at an undisclosed earlier time that since Wodiczko would not be the director of the National Philharmonic during the 1958-1959 concert season, he did not need to be considered in discussions of Festival matters.<sup>45</sup> If true, this information would absolve the Composers Union and the Festival Committee of responsibility for the controversy.

A letter written by Wodiczko to the Executive Board of the Composers Union immediately following the June 6 meeting and read to the Board and Festival Committee on June 22 apparently contained a threat to withdraw the National Philharmonic from the Festival if his demands for the replacement of Skrowaczewski by himself at the Festival were not met.<sup>46</sup> Rowicki and Skrowaczewski then both announced that they would resign from their previous agreement to conduct the Philharmonic during the Festival if Wodiczko was the orchestra's director during the upcoming season.

The feeling of several composers--among them Serocki, Dobrowolski, and Sikorski--was that if Wodiczko would not come to an agreement with the Festival Committee, then the Committee would not continue its efforts to organize the Festival. If that happened, the 1958 Festival would have to be canceled, which, in Serocki's words, "would be an

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego ZG ZKP i Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 22 czerwca 1958 r." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. The exact contents of the letter were not inserted in the minutes, and are unavailable elsewhere.

international scandal!"<sup>47</sup> Serocki and Dobrowolski wanted to ask the Minister of Culture and Art to make the final decision about Wodiczko's participation in the Festival. They also threatened, however, that if the Minister permitted Wodiczko to conduct, the members of the Committee would hand in their resignations.

By the end of the meeting, the Executive Board and Festival Committee had retracted their threats. The resolutions passed at that time decreed that the Philharmonic should perform two concerts at the Festival. In acknowledgment of the resignations by Rowicki and Skrowaczewski, Wodiczko was selected to conduct the first concert, and if Bruno Maderna came to the Festival as currently scheduled, he would direct the second. If Maderna did not come, Stanisław Wisłocki would replace him.

The difficulties with Wodiczko spilled over into the press. Two articles in the Warsaw daily newspaper alluded to the problems at the National Philharmonic. In the first article, published on July 25, Zdzisław Sierpiński announced that "at the threshold between the summer season and the orchestra's vacation, a memorandum to the ministerial authorities came out demanding the return to the National Philharmonic not only of Stanisław Skrowaczewski, but also of Witold Rowicki. Simultaneously, the matter of the appointment of a new director at Jasna Street [the location of the National Philharmonic] is being decided."<sup>48</sup> Sierpiński also asserted that a change at the Philharmonic at that point in time would affect the decisions about the Festival's repertoire and concerts that had been made "in close agreement between the administration of the National Philharmonic and the

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<sup>47</sup> "Byłby skandal międzynarodowy!" Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "Już na samym progu sezonu letniego i przerwy wakacyjnej orkiestra wystąpiło do władz ministerialnych z memoriałem domagającym się powrotu do FN nie tylko Stanisława Skrowaczewskiego, ale również i Witolda Rowickiego. Jednocześnie w tej chwili decyduje się sprawa obsadzenia stanowiska nowego dyrektora na Jasnej." Zdzisław Sierpiński, "Ruch wokół Jasnej," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 177 (July 25, 1958).

Composers Union."<sup>49</sup> Four days later, Tadeusz Baird and Włodzimierz Kotoński publicly rebutted this last claim: "The situation is quite the opposite. Not only was there not a close agreement between the Polish Composers Union and the Administration of the National Philharmonic, but a lack of understanding on the side of the aforementioned administration made the coordination of matters of repertoire and festival concerts impossible."<sup>50</sup>

All of the threats of resignations by both the Festival Committee and the conductors had become a moot point by the August 30 meeting of the Festival Committee. By then, Wodiczko had "resigned" his positions as managing director, artistic director, and principal conductor of the National Philharmonic. Zdzisław Śliwiński was named the managing director, while Rowicki filled the other two positions.<sup>51</sup> Because of that action, Rowicki and Skrowaczewski withdrew their own resignations, and each agreed to conduct one concert with the Philharmonic at the Festival.<sup>52</sup> The hostile relations between the National

<sup>49</sup> "w ścisłym porozumieniu dyrekcji FN ze Zw. Kompozytorów." Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> "Rzecz ma się wprost przeciwnie. Między ZKP a Dyrekcja FN nie tylko nie było ścisłego porozumienia, ale brak zrozumienia ze strony wyżej wspomnianej dyrekcji uniemożliwiał uzgadnianie spraw repertuarowych i osady koncertów festiwalu." Włodzimierz Kotoński and Tadeusz Baird, "Ruch wokół Jasnej," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 180 (July 29, 1958).

<sup>51</sup> "zrzekł się." "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego ZG ZKP i Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 22 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. Śliwiński became director on August 15, 1958; Rowicki assumed his two positions on September 1: Marian Gołębiowski, *Filharmonia w Warszawie 1901-1976* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), p. 270. Skrowaczewski resigned the conductorship of the Philharmonic at the end of 1958: Wiktor Osiatyński, "An Interview with Stanisław Skrowaczewski," *Polish Perspectives* 30, no. 4 (1987): 54. The resignation of Wodiczko was not due totally to his disagreement with the Festival Committee and Composers Union. Lee has intimated that other factors in what he called the "removal" of Wodiczko were the director's propensity for programming twentieth-century music and a disagreement between him and Party officials about the liquidation of the Little Philharmonic in December 1955: Lee, "Musical Life," pp. 392, 398, 407, 449, 473-74.

<sup>52</sup> "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.



Philharmonic and the Executive Board/Festival Committee abated. Nevertheless, valuable time had been taken up in meetings of the Festival's organizers in an attempt to resolve this dispute. This time should have been used to discuss aspects of the event more germane to the actual organization of the event, such as finalizing repertoire plans and concert schedules.

Difficulties with conductors were not limited to those connected with the National Philharmonic's performances. On March 15 the Presidium of the Composers Union had proposed that Jan Krenz and Italian conductor/composer Bruno Maderna each direct one concert of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. During the course of the March meeting, Witold Lutosławski questioned why Stanisław Wisłocki was not selected. He was told that Maderna had asked to conduct the Great Polish Radio Orchestra. That request had been granted because, as Baird explained, "the participation of a foreign conductor on a Polish concert will increase significantly the attractiveness of the Festival."<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, Kotoński explained that not all of the best Polish conductors would be able to appear at each Festival because of the limited number of concerts by Polish orchestras, and that no disrespect was directed at those conductors who were not chosen in any particular year.

By the next meeting of the full Executive Board and Festival Committee, on April 26, Maderna had not replied to further inquiries about his commitment to come to Warsaw. Henryk Czyż, the artistic director of the Łódź State Philharmonic, was chosen by secret

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<sup>53</sup> "Udział zagranicznego dyrygenta w polskim koncercie znacznie wzmoże atrakcyjność Festiwalu." "Protokół z zebrania Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 15 marca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. Wisłocki was the conductor of the Poznań Philharmonic; Krenz was the artistic director and principal conductor of the Radio Orchestra.

ballot (a rare event among the organizers, signalling the delicate nature of the decision) to be the conductor of the Radio Orchestra if Maderna did not respond to a final telegram.<sup>54</sup>

Another problem arose on June 22, when the Executive Board and Festival Committee learned that the Great Polish Radio Orchestra might be scheduled for a foreign trip in October. Kazimierz Sikorski asked the Central Board of Music Institutions to inform the Composers Union by June 25 if the Orchestra would be abroad during the Festival. In the event that assurances were not received that the Orchestra would be in Poland, the Committee suggested that it be replaced by either the Łódź Philharmonic under the direction of Henryk Czyż, or the Kraków Philharmonic, to be conducted by Witold Rowicki if that orchestra's artistic director, Jerzy Gert, agreed to the suggestion. (Rowicki had just resigned from his agreement to conduct the National Philharmonic.)

The precise response of the Central Board of Music Institutions to Sikorski's request is not known, but by August 30, the Great Polish Radio Orchestra was again scheduled to perform two concerts, with Krenz and Maderna as conductors. In the end, however, Maderna did not come to the Festival, purportedly because of passport problems in Italy.<sup>55</sup> Krenz conducted both concerts by that Orchestra.

Acquiring the services of Polish performers was often a demanding task. Perhaps the single most frustrating concert to arrange was the chamber concert to be performed by

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<sup>54</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>55</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959; Waldorff, "Premier bil brawo!"; Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia i efekty," *Życie Warszawy* (October 8, 1958): 3. These references give different reasons for Maderna's absence, blaming it either on visa or passport problems, or, in *Życie Warszawy*, on the Italian government's fear of the infiltration of a Communist "pest."

Polish musicians, which had been placed in the Festival's schedule in mid-March 1958. By June 6, responsibility for determining the performers and repertoire for the concert had been accepted by the Association for Polish Musical Artists, and various Polish musicians had submitted proposals for compositions they would be willing to play. The next news about the concert came on August 30, when Zbigniew Drzewiecki, a member of the Association, announced that "the program...is non-existent"<sup>56</sup> because many performers had reneged on their previous commitments to appear. Among these musicians was Regina Smendzianka, who refused to perform because she needed to prepare a new program for the upcoming concert season. For the Festival she had been asked to perform Bacewicz's Ten Etudes and Mycielski's Songs (exact title and instrumentation not provided) and to accompany Jean Rivier's Sonatina for flute and piano. According to Bacewicz, Smendzianka was the only pianist who had already prepared her Etudes for performance. The difficulty of the piece would prevent anyone else from learning it in the remaining month before the Festival. Mycielski withdrew his songs because of Smendzianka's decision not to appear.

Both Tadeusz Wroński's quartet and the Kraków Quartet refused to participate in the performance of Hanns Eisler's Septet--Wroński's group was going to the United States during the Festival, and the Kraków Quartet claimed that it could not learn the piece in time. The only piece still on the chamber program was Humphrey Searle's Suite for clarinet and piano.

Having been informed of this chaotic situation, the Festival Committee attempted to resurrect the program using different musicians. In doing so, the members of the

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<sup>56</sup> "Program...jest nieistniejący." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Committee displayed an acute awareness of the difficulties involved in dealing with East Germany. At the same time, however, it is clear that they wanted desperately to keep this concert on the schedule.

For diplomatic reasons the Committee felt that it was extremely important to have Eisler's Septet played. As Andrzej Dobrowolski reasoned, "It is one of the works that the Germans showed me during my stay in Berlin. Therefore, we placed emphasis on [the performance of] the Septet...We told them that the one work that will be performed will be Eisler's Septet...It would not be good to withdraw it at the last moment."<sup>57</sup> Szeligowski suggested that a East German ensemble be asked to come and perform the piece. Dobrowolski rejected that notion: "It is risky. It means negotiations again, and again at the last moment something will happen, as it did with the East German Opera."<sup>58</sup> He proposed alternatively either that the Kraków Quartet be asked again or that the Polish Radio quintet in Warsaw be requested to play the piece along with instrumentalists from the National Philharmonic. Although there was some discussion about whether to substitute another piece by Eisler or one by Tielman, the Committee finally agreed that the Composers Union would be in charge of locating performers for the Septet, with musicians from Polish Radio and the National Philharmonic being asked first.

In the Committee's opinion, it was necessary for reasons of prestige and foreign publicity to have Polish compositions performed on this concert. In an effort to have

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<sup>57</sup> "To jest jeden z utworów, który Niemcy mi pokazywali w czasie mego pobytu w Berlinie. Dlatego położyliśmy nacisk na septycie...Powiedzieliśmy, że jedynym utworem, który będzie wykonany, będzie septyt Eislera. Nie byłoby dobrze w ostatniej chwili wycofać się." Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> "To jest ryzykowne, gdyż to znowu oznacza pertraktacje i znowu w ostatniej chwili się okaże tak, jak z Operą Wschodnioniemiecką. Ibid.

Bacewicz's Etudes presented, the organizers decided to ask Smendzianka to reconsider her previous decision.

With regard to the other works on the program, several proposals were made. It was imperative in the opinion of Kazimierz Sikorski that the compositions by Rivier and Searle be performed. Jerzy Młodziejowski, however, thought that Rivier's Sonatina was not a "prestigious piece" and therefore did not deserve to be presented at the Festival.<sup>59</sup> He suggested that Włodzimierz Tomaszczuk--the flutist originally scheduled for the Rivier piece--play a work by either a Yugoslavian, Romanian, or Hungarian composer, and perhaps one by Hindemith. The Committee concurred with Młodziejowski's recommendations.

Lutosławski then noted that the President of the French section of the International Society of Contemporary Music had been invited to the Festival, but that no French works were now scheduled for performance. Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, Tomasz Kiesewetter, and Tadeusz Marek suggested inserting a recital of organ music by Messiaen and other composers, featuring Warsaw organist Feliks Raczkowski. However, Lutosławski asserted that it was too close to the start of the Festival to introduce a completely new concert into the schedule. Dobrowolski permanently suppressed the scheme by stating that it was not possible to have every country represented at the Festival.

To complete the program, a Polish pianist named Kielasińska was to be asked to play either Janaček's *On an Overgrown Path* or *In the Mists*, and perhaps one other work by a different composer. No preference for a particular composer was made. Sikorski said, almost in desperation, that he was partial to any composer, regardless of his or her nationality. The Committee also decided to ask the violin duo of Eugenia Umińska and

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<sup>59</sup> Prestizowa historia." Ibid.

Irena Dubiska if they had any compositions prepared that were suitable for performance at the Festival. No specific pieces were mentioned, another indication that the organizers were, to some extent, "grasping at straws" in their attempt to keep a chamber concert by Polish musicians on the schedule.

The plans made on August 30 for this concert were in large part improvised on the basis of which performers were available and might be willing to play. Except for the conviction that Eisler's Septet had to be played--although not by East German performers--the organizers displayed little regard for the overall conception of the chamber concert's program, mostly hoping only that the event would take place. Not all of their actions were ill-conceived, however, since they were able to restrain themselves from arranging an organ recital, and did so for the proper reasons--that the Festival was to begin in four weeks. The blame for the chaotic situation of the chamber recital was rightly placed by Sikorski, Młodziejowski, and undoubtedly others, on the Association of Polish Musical Artists. Sikorski's comments summed up the attitude of the Committee: "We wasted time from June to today--three months. SPAM [the Association] did not even know how to execute such a thing as one Polish chamber concert."<sup>60</sup> The time restraint placed on the Festival Committee as a result of the Association's inefficiency was largely, and perhaps totally, the cause of so many hurried decisions made concerning the chamber concert.

The results of the last-minute planning of the chamber concert were that Smendzianka did play Bacewicz's *Etudes* and the Searle piece for clarinet and piano, and Eisler's Septet was performed by musicians from the National Philharmonic. Tomaszczuk played pieces by Hindemith and Czechoslovakian composer Miloslav Kabeláč, while Maria Załęska and

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<sup>60</sup> "My zmarnowaliśmy czas od czerwca do dzisiaj, to jest 3 miesiące, na to, by SPAM nie umiał nawet przeprowadzić takiej rzeczy, jak jeden polski koncert kameralny." Ibid.

Zofia Vogtman presented *Cinq Poésies de Charles d'Orléans* for voice and piano by French composer Jean Françaix.

### Financial Allocations

The division of costs among various musical institutions in Poland for the 1958-1961 Festivals was nearly identical to that discussed in Chapter II with regard to the 1956 event. The budget provided by the Ministry of Culture and Art was intended to cover all of the expenses for Western performers, the costs of housing and food in Warsaw for Polish ensembles not associated with Polish Radio, the payments for advertising and printing, and the services for invited guests. Expenses for ensembles and soloists from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were covered by bilateral cultural exchanges between Poland and each of these countries, and hence were not included in the Festival's budget.<sup>61</sup>

Even though the costs of room and board for the Polish performers were payable in zloties, sufficient funds were not always available. When substitutions in Polish performers were being discussed by the organizers, budgetary constraints were occasionally a factor. As mentioned earlier, the Baltic Opera's request to participate in the 1958 Festival initially was turned down partly because of these restrictions. The Opera's eventual appearance at the Festival was subsidized by the Municipal National Council in

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<sup>61</sup> Zdzisław Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia i efekty," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 241 (October 8, 1958): 3; Ludwik Erhardt, "Wywiad z Witoldem Rudzińskim Sekretarzem Generalnym Prezydium Komitetu Organizacyjnego V Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 13 (1961): 4. See also the Administrative Orders translated in Chapter VII. Travel and honoraria were paid by each Polish ensemble out of its own operational funds.

Gdańsk. (A request for a similar subsidy was made by Poznań's Council on behalf of the appearance of that city's Opera at the 1959 Festival).<sup>62</sup>

Polish Radio was scheduled to cover the costs of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra's two concerts in 1958. When it was announced on June 22 that the Orchestra would not perform at the Festival because of a planned trip abroad, concerns were raised by the organizers that bringing a non-Radio ensemble as a substitute might cost too much, since Polish Radio would not be paying for it. Garczyński, from the Central Board of Music Institutions, stated that the expense of bringing the Łódź Philharmonic would not present a problem,<sup>63</sup> implying that the Ministry's budget allotment for the Festival could cover the costs of that orchestra. The Łódź orchestra did not perform at the Festival because the Radio Orchestra remained in Poland, as explained earlier.

For each Western performer, hotel costs, concert tickets for the Festival, and pocket money were paid in zloties, and an honorarium was provided in hard currency. The lack of sufficient amounts of the convertible currency needed to pay these performers significantly hindered the ability of the organizers in Poland to complete negotiations with some musicians from the West. This situation arose despite the fact that some foreign artistic agencies offered to subsidize the appearances of performers from their particular country at the Festival. Discussed previously were the organizers' concerns about the high expenses of the Hamburg Opera and the offer of a subsidy from the German Foreign Office, as well as the difficulties of coming to a financial agreement with the Toulouse Wind Quintet. As another example, negotiations with the Concertgebouw Orchestra were discontinued in

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<sup>62</sup> Zbigniew Turski, Chair of the Organizing Committee, to Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej, Poznań, July 10, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>63</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego ZG ZKP i Komisji Festiwalowego w dniu 22 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.



January 1958 specifically because of "the considerable limitations of the hard-currency budget of the Ministry of Culture and Art."<sup>64</sup>

As in 1956, guests invited by the organizers were provided each year with room and board in Warsaw as well as tickets to the Festival's concerts.<sup>65</sup> In contrast to the first Festival, however, guests in subsequent years were not given funds with which to travel to other Polish cities.<sup>66</sup> Guests from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe continued to come under the aegis of cultural exchanges.

An almost overwhelming number of problems had confronted the organizers during their preparations for the 1958 Festival. The list of anticipated performers changed continually throughout the organizational period. Many crucial decisions about the Festival's performers could not be controlled by the organizers, but were made instead by the governments of East Germany and Bulgaria. Other rulings seem to have been made impulsively by the Executive Board and Festival Committee as they responded to the crisis of the moment. The lack of a standardized organizational system agreed upon by all organizers surely contributed to the inability of the Board and Committee to complete their selection of performers in a timely manner.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> "Znacznego ograniczenia budżetu dewizowego Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki." *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-December 1957).

<sup>65</sup> See the preliminary statutes and Administrative Orders translated in Chapter VII. People not officially invited were welcome to attend the Festival at their own expense.

<sup>66</sup> "Informacja dla zagranicznych gości-obszawatorów II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; "Zarządzenie Nr 39 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 24 lutego 1959 r.," *Biuletyn informacyjny Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1959); "Zarządzenie nr 214 z dnia 2 grudnia 1959 r.," *Biuletyn informacyjny Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki* (1960).

<sup>67</sup> See Chapter VII for a previous discussion of the general organization system in use for the 1958 Festival.

Fortunately, however, the organizers were able to determine the final slate of performers before the program book for the Festival was printed. Most of the changes made after that point were genuinely unavoidable: the Avramov Quartet's concert and Rostropovich's appearance as a soloist with the Leningrad Philharmonic were cancelled because of illnesses; Soviet pianist Jakub Zak performed with the Philharmonic instead of Rostropovich. Nevertheless, Bruno Maderna's passport problems with the Italian government did have political overtones, which, as with all of the politically-motivated decisions made in 1958, conflicted unnecessarily with the artistic purpose of the Festival itself.

## 1959

In comparison to the disorganization of 1958, the planning of the 1959-1961 Festivals proceeded fairly smoothly. Inevitably problems developed each year; some of them were even similar to those that occurred in 1958. In general, however, the roster of performers was established much earlier than in 1958, and politicized manipulations by foreign governments seem to have been less extensive.

As noted in the Preface to this study, the correspondence and minutes of committee meetings for the 1959-1961 Festivals are not as detailed as those for 1958. In particular, reasons for making specific decisions were not always provided. Nevertheless, conclusions about the process of selecting performers can be drawn from the available information.

### General Plans

The 1958 Festival Committee and the Composers Union's Executive Board realized at their August 30 meeting that the selection process for the Festival was in need of

improvement. As discussed in Chapter VII, many of the individual organizers suggested that changes in organization needed to be made. In an attempt to rectify some of these problems quickly, at least with regard to the selection of performers, Kazimierz Sikorski proposed two things: first, that each year the leading Polish instrumentalists plan to be in Poland in October and be willing to perform at the Festival; and second, that all agencies involved in any way in the organization of the Festival meet directly after the 1958 Festival to begin work on the one to be held in 1959. The latter move, in his opinion, would prevent the recurrence of many of the problems of 1958.<sup>68</sup>

Applause greeted Sikorski's recommendations, although not everyone was in complete agreement with his thesis that earlier planning would solve many of the Festival's organizational difficulties. One of the main problems, as Andrzej Dobrowolski pointed out, was that "it is necessary to realize that we live in People's Poland, that we will not know how much money there will be in the fall until the end [of the planning period]."<sup>69</sup>

The strategy session called for by Sikorski in August was held on October 17, twelve days after the end of the second Festival. Although Sikorski had requested the participation of representatives of all Polish music institutions at this meeting, only composers and officials from PAGART and the Central Board of Music Institutions were present. For the first time in the short history of the Festival, decisions were made about which ensembles to invite on the basis of the realities of Poland's place in the geopolitical sphere of Eastern Europe. As all those present understood clearly, in the future it would always be imperative

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<sup>68</sup> "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>69</sup> "Należy wiadomić sobie, że do końca nie wiadomo ile pieniędzy będzie do jesieni." Ibid.

for diplomatic reasons to invite ensembles and soloists from Eastern European countries.

This obligation was explained candidly by Wiktor Weinbaum:

"...We are functioning in a certain geographical, political, and financial situation...

The International Festivals of Contemporary Music must take place annually or not at all, since...the People's Democracies will demand performances of their works...

If in the repertoire of the festival there will not be a suitable amount of works by composers of the People's Democracies, the festival loses its political right to exist...

I see two conceptions for the establishment of yearly festivals: 1) one ensemble from the East or West alternating each year, 2) two ensembles--one from the West and one from the East, but the latter option is rather difficult to realize in terms of both its arrangement in the schedule and its financial effects."<sup>70</sup>

Weinbaum's proposal to bring in only one foreign ensemble each year was not supported by the other participants, who favored inviting a balanced number of performers from both East and West. This balance could be achieved in one of two ways, in their opinions: either an equal number of opera companies, orchestras, chamber ensembles, and soloists from each of these two regions could be solicited; or if one large group from the West was invited, then soloists and smaller ensembles from the East could also be asked, and vice versa.

The need to establish a policy of inviting ensembles from different countries each year was affirmed by the composers. If such a system were in place, complaints similar to those

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<sup>70</sup> "Działamy w pewnej sytuacji geograficznej, politycznej i finansowej ...Międzynarodowe Festiwale Muzyki Współczesnej muszą odbywać się corocznie albo wcale, gdyż...Kraje Demokracji Ludowej będą żądały wykonywania ich utworów...Jeżeli w repertuarze festiwalu nie będzie odpowiedniej ilości utworów kompozytorów Krajów Demokracji ludowej, festiwal traci polityczną rację bytu...Widzę tu 2 koncepcje przy założeniu corocznych festiwali: 1) 1 zespół z Zachodu co roku na zmianę, 2) 2 zespoły - 1 z Zachodu i 1 ze Wschodu, ale to jest dość trudne do realizacji, jeżeli chodzi o rozmieszczenie w programie oraz konsekwencje finansowe." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

made in 1958 by Czechoslovakia about the lack of ensembles from their country in the second Festival would be superfluous.

The frustration of dealing with the shifting political winds of East Germany and Bulgaria in 1958 was echoed in Jerzy Młodziejowski's proposal that the Polish organizers choose which Eastern European country would be represented at a particular Festival, but then to permit that nation's Composers Union to select the performers and repertoire to be heard on those concerts. The Polish organizers would not be responsible for the contents of these programs. While not explicitly concurring with Młodziejowski, Weinbaum reminded those present that agreements about performers and repertoire made with these Composers Unions could not always be binding, since the state authorities of each nation could disallow any arrangement enacted between Poland and the Union. Clearly, any negotiations about performers or repertoire from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would require the cooperation of governmental agencies other than just the Composers Unions in each country.

No decisions were made about the specific number of ensembles to invite from either Western or Eastern Europe for the 1959 Festival, thus triggering the potential for the same kind of difficulty that had existed in 1958, when it had not been feasible financially to bring the number of foreign performers to whom invitations had been extended. However, a vote was passed in October that assured the participation at each Festival of three Polish orchestras: the National Philharmonic, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, and a provincial group.<sup>71</sup> The first two were accepted because they were the "most representative orchestral ensembles in Poland."<sup>72</sup> The idea for the provincial orchestra's appearance was

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> "Najbardziej reprezentatywne zespoły orkiestrowe w Polsce." *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (April-November, 1958).

approved in order both to inspire the regional ensembles to improve their level of playing by allowing them to perform in an international setting and to encourage them to introduce contemporary music into their repertoires. Moreover, as Tadeusz Szeligowski noted, "provincial Polish ensembles must take part in the Festival, since the Festival is for the entire country...Our soloists do not play Polish works...It is an embarrassing matter."<sup>73</sup> The acceptance of a third Polish orchestra probably also was intended as a prudent measure designed to maintain the support of these artistic institutions and to assure the Festival's continued existence. One further decision made in February 1959 was that the organizers would allow the management of each Polish orchestra to delegate the conductors who would direct that ensemble at the Festival,<sup>74</sup> thus averting a repetition of the conflict that had occurred in 1958.

#### Criteria for the Selection of Performers

As in 1958, more performers were considered than actually took part in the Festival. A few had been mentioned in previous years. The Concertgebouw and Suisse Romande orchestras, the Cologne Radio Wind Quintet, the Warsaw Opera, and the Łódź Philharmonic each had been discussed as possible participants for the 1958 Festival.<sup>75</sup> The

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<sup>73</sup> "W festiwalu muszą brać udział zespoły polskie prowincjonalne, gdyż festiwal jest dla całego kraju...Nasi soliści nie grają polskich utworów...jest sprawą żenującą." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959. Polish musicians and writers describe all of the country's orchestras as "provincial" except for the National Philharmonic in Warsaw and the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra in Katowice, which are considered "major."

<sup>74</sup> "Komisje Festiwalowe dn. 14/2.5," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>75</sup> The Warsaw Opera had been mentioned only in June 1958: Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu

Parrenin Quartet from France had performed in 1956, and the National Philharmonic, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, and the Silesian Chamber Orchestra had played in either or both of the first two Festivals.

A few of the ensembles considered were selected for their ability to perform contemporary music. The Zurich Opera was desired because it could present Schönberg's *Moses und Aron*, Berg's *Wozzeck*, and Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*. As Witold Rudziński noted in October 1958, "that would acquaint us with new opera."<sup>76</sup> The Polish opera companies also had contemporary operas in their repertoire, although the works were not identified in available documents.

Witold Lutosławski suggested in October that the *Domaine Musicale* be invited "in order to acquaint the Polish public with the creations of Boulez in a representative performance."<sup>77</sup> Boulez's compositions had not been performed at the first two Festivals and rarely, if ever, had been heard publicly in Poland. Serocki also supported the extension of an invitation to Boulez's group; in his opinion, what would be of interest for the Festival was avant-garde music, which could be presented by the *Domaine Musicale*. Serocki also declared that although the *Concertgebouw* and *Suisse Romande* orchestras played excellently, they did not present music that would be of the most interest to the Festival. However, both orchestras had already been contacted by PAGART.

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Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>76</sup> "Dałoby to nam poznanie nowej opery." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>77</sup> "Aby zapoznać publiczność polską z twórczością Boulez a w reprezentacyjnym wykonaniu." *Ibid.*

Other performers almost certainly invited because of their contemporary music abilities were the Cologne Radio Wind Quintet; Pierre Schäffer, offering a concert of *musique concrète*; and Severino Gazzelloni, who had performed at the Darmstadt Courses.

### Financial Allocations

The presence of a limited budget affected plans for the 1959 Festival, as it had in previous years. Again, the lack of hard currency was the major financial problem. In October 1958 Wiktor Weinbaum already knew that it would not be feasible either financially or politically to invite a Western opera company. He told the rest of the organizers that it would be possible financially to present opera only if the productions were by Polish troupes. He did not elaborate on the political implications of extending an invitation to the Zurich Opera. After his pronouncement, however, discussion about the Zurich Opera ceased.<sup>78</sup>

In another case, the Ministry of Culture and Art had not yet indicated by October if they would pay the \$1,000 fee requested by Isaac Stern, but the PAGART representative at the October 17, 1958 organizational meeting had noted that "no performances of outstanding Western soloists are foreseen for October 1959."<sup>79</sup> (The Festival was actually held in September.) The Ministry did not reach an agreement with Stern, and a Festival appearance by the violinist was not mentioned again that year.

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> "Na October 1959 nie ma przewidzianych występów wybitnych solistów zachodnich." Ibid.



### Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

As described above, political considerations were discussed at the October 1958 organizational meeting. Although the organizers contemplated the option of choosing the Eastern European country or countries to be represented each year but not naming their performers or repertoire, they immediately deviated from that idea by deciding to invite the Hungarian Radio Orchestra. Furthermore, in February Szymon Zakrzewski from PAGART asked the members of the Festival Committee whether they wanted to invite the Radio Orchestra or the Budapest Philharmonic; their response was to request the Philharmonic if János Ferencsik could conduct.<sup>80</sup> Evidently neither of these ensembles had yet been approached about coming to Warsaw in September 1959. By the end of April, the Hungarian Radio Orchestra was named as a participant.<sup>81</sup> The circumstances under which this orchestra rather than the Philharmonic eventually performed on the Festival are unknown, but the exchange of the Philharmonic for the Radio Orchestra between October 1959 and February 1960 and the reversal of that decision again by April could be interpreted as the inability of Ferencsik to conduct. This would have resulted in the choice of the Radio Orchestra, led by György Lehel. If that was not the reason, some move may have been made at the instigation of agencies other than the Polish Composers Union--namely the Hungarian governmental authorities in conjunction with the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and/or the Bureau of Foreign Cultural Cooperation.

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<sup>80</sup> "Protokół z I-go zebrania Komisji Festiwalowej 'Warsawska Jesień' 1959 r. w dniu 7 lutego 1959 r. (lokal ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>81</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (November 1958-April 1959).

East German performers were also invited in 1959, even though another ensemble from that country had performed at the 1958 Festival. In March 1959 it was announced that a chamber ensemble from that country was anticipated; in April, the group was identified as the Berlin Opera Wind Quintet. By July, the Gewandhaus Wind Quintet had been substituted for the Berlin quintet.<sup>82</sup> Available information does not indicate why this change was made. It could have occurred because of political maneuvering within the East German government, or for reasons such as illness or scheduling difficulties. Given the experiences of the Polish organizers with East Germany and Bulgaria in 1958, any hypotheses about shifts in East European and Soviet performers in 1959 and later would have to include the possibility of manipulation by governmental agencies outside of Poland.

Discussions with the Soviet Union seem to have proceeded fairly smoothly in both 1958 and 1959. That is, the frequent substitutions of performers seen with East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria apparently did not occur with Soviet musicians. Still, Tadeusz Baird showed his awareness of potential difficulties with that country when he delivered this warning at the October 1958 organizational meeting: "The Polish Composers Union can count on the possibility of certain attacks and gunfire...It is better to anticipate certain objections than to defend oneself later. For example, the importation of the Hungarian orchestra with the lack of a Soviet group might make many things difficult for us in the future."<sup>83</sup> No Soviet ensembles were discussed at that time, but they were later in the

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<sup>82</sup> Protokół z zebrania Komisji Programowej III Festiwalu 'Warszawska Jesień' 1959 r. z dnia 20 marca 1959 r. (ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (November 1958-April 1959); B.D., "Jakie utwory i jakich wykonawców usłyszemy podczas Warszawskiej Jesieni 1959," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 186 (July 7, 1959): 3.

<sup>83</sup> "Z.K.P. może się liczyć z możliwością pewnych ataków i obstrzałów...lepiej uprzedzić pewne zarzuty niż bronić się potem, np. sprowadzenie orkiestry węgierskiej przy braku zespołu radzieckiego mogłoby nam w przyszłości utrudnić wiele rzeczy." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów

planning process. The Beethoven Quartet, the Oistrakh trio, and Dmitri Shostakovich were among the Soviet performers mentioned as possible participants at the Festival.

Even though information on negotiations with the Soviet Union is scarce, it is apparent that the Soviets controlled the selection of the performers from their country. One instance of this is implied in an April 6, 1959 letter from Wiktor Weinbaum and Zbigniew Turski to Dmitri Shostakovich. The authors indicated that they had been told by the director of GOSKONCERT (the Soviet counterpart of PAGART) that Shostakovich had agreed to perform at the 1960 Festival with the Beethoven Quartet.<sup>84</sup> Despite Shostakovich's stature as a world-renowned composer, he and all other Soviet composers and performers were still subject to travel restrictions imposed by their government, even if the planned trip was to a Soviet-bloc country. Shostakovich's performance was cancelled later because of a hand injury, although the Beethoven Quartet still appeared.<sup>85</sup>

The politicized maneuvers of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries also resulted in a change in the way guests were selected beginning in 1959. Whereas in 1958 and possibly in 1956, the organizers had requested that specific people be permitted to attend, in 1959 they decided to tell the Composers Union in each country only the number of people who could come to the Festival within the limits of that nation's exchange agreement with Poland. These agencies then would decide who would actually attend the

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Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>84</sup> Wiktor Weinbaum--Secretary General, and Zbigniew Turski--Chair, Organizing Committee, to Dmitri Shostakovich, Moscow, April 6, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>85</sup> B.D., "Jakie utwory, p. 3.

Festival.<sup>86</sup> As the Program Commission noted in 1959, "guests from socialist countries will be invited through the intervention of the Ministries of Culture of these countries, to whom invitations will be sent giving only the number of invited people. Therefore, the selection of people to come to our Festival will be left to the disposition of the Ministries of Culture and the Composers Union of these countries."<sup>87</sup> Western guests, in contrast, were always extended personal invitations by the Festival Committee.

### Poland and the West

Specific problems engaging the services of Polish and Western performers for the 1959 Festival also seem to have occurred infrequently, in contrast to 1958. Polish ensembles foreseen as of October 1958 were, as noted previously, the National Philharmonic and the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. The Łódź Philharmonic was chosen at that time to be the third orchestra. The participation of the Poznań and Bytom Operas was also discussed.<sup>88</sup> In February 1959 the provincial group was described as a chamber orchestra--not an accurate label for the Łódź Philharmonic. The only other change

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<sup>86</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959; "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>87</sup> "Goście z krajów socjalistycznych zapraszani będą za pośrednictwem ministerstw kultury tych krajów, do których wysłane będą zaproszenia, podające tylko ilość osób zaproszonych, typowanie zaś osób na przyjazd na nasz festiwal pozostawione będzie do dyspozycji ministerstw kultury i związków kompozytorów tych krajów." "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>88</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959; *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June-December 1957).

that month was that a chamber concert of Polish musicians was planned.<sup>89</sup> By April, the Łódź Philharmonic once again was scheduled, along the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra and opera companies from Warsaw and Poznań. The chamber concert and the performances by the two principal Polish orchestras were still expected.<sup>90</sup> This chamber concert was being arranged by the Program Commission rather than by the Association of Polish Musical Artists, who had been unsuccessful in that venture in 1958. By July the Łódź Philharmonic's concert had been cancelled because the orchestra could not obtain the necessary scores from France and the Soviet Union.<sup>91</sup> The only change in the Polish performers between July and the start of the Festival on September 12 was that the scheduled appearance by the Warsaw Opera did not occur, for unknown reasons. This troupe was listed in the Festival's program book, which probably was printed in August or early September.<sup>92</sup>

Decisions about Western performers also were made as early as October 1958. At that time the organizers resolved to invite Janigro's chamber ensemble from Zagreb, Yugoslavia and the Domaine Musical from Paris. The next known meeting of the Festival Committee was on February 7, 1959, when the Suisse Romande Orchestra was described as a guaranteed participant. Named as possible performers were the Parrenin Quartet, the

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<sup>89</sup> "Protokół z I-go zebrania Komisji Festiwalowej 'Warszawska Jesień' 1959 r. w dniu 7 lutego 1959 r. (lokal ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>90</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (November 1958-April 1959).

<sup>91</sup> B.D., "Jakie utwory, p. 3; Henryk Czyż, Łódź Philharmonic, to the Organizing Committee, June 6, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>92</sup> *Program III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej* (Warsaw: Komitet Organizacyjny, 1959). References to the month of publication are contained in "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

Varnay Quartet, and several recitalists: Severino Gazzelloni on flute; Marcelle Mercenier, a French pianist; a Ms. Dobree, an English clarinetist; and Josephine Nendick, a British vocalist. (The soloists who appeared on orchestral concerts in the 1959 Festival must have been chosen by the respective ensembles. Their names were rarely cited in any discussion of performers, and their appearances were not a subject of debate.) By April, the concert of *musique concrète* to be prepared by Pierre Schäffer had been scheduled.<sup>93</sup> The Suisse Romande Orchestra, the Parrenin Quartet and soloists Gazzelloni, Nendick, and Mercenier also were still expected.<sup>94</sup> Of the cancellations, extended negotiations had been conducted only with the Janigro group, the other performers having been mentioned at only one or two meetings. Josephine Nendick's appearance was eliminated by July.<sup>95</sup> The reasons for the withdrawal of Nendick and Janigro's ensemble are not known. The *Domaine Musical* had not been mentioned since October 1958. In March 1959 the organizers decided to delay consideration of that group's performance until the 1960 Festival.<sup>96</sup>

The program book for the Festival listed the same performers named in July. Two reasons for this comparatively early guarantee of musicians are discernable. First, the Hungarian and East German governments made no changes in their performers after early July. Secondly, no problems in obtaining the services of Polish performers occurred in 1959--a situation much different from that existing in 1958. Thus, the organizers were not

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<sup>93</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Komisji Programowej III Festiwalu 'Warszawska Jesień' 1959r. z dnia 20 marca 1959 r. (ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>94</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>95</sup> B.D., "Jakie utwory, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> "Konferencja Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 14/3-59 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

faced with making extensive changes in the schedule of performers less than a month or less before the start of the Festival.

## 1960

As discussed in Chapter VII, preparations for the 1960 Festival were clouded by the late appointment of the Festival Committee and disagreements over both the role of the Secretary General and the specific individual to be chosen for that position. Moreover, the Soviet Union can now be observed in an attempt to manipulate the selection of performers, much as some Eastern European countries had done successfully in previous years.

### Criteria for the Selection of Performers

The only known guideline that directly affected the choice of performers in 1960 was a decision made by the Temporary Program Commission on November 23, 1959 to have a greater emphasis on theatrical spectacles.<sup>97</sup> The Stockholm Opera and Tomaszewski's Mime Theater from Wrocław were both suggested as a means of realizing this goal. The policy of inviting the National Philharmonic, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, and a provincial orchestra was still in place.

As in the previous two years, several performers discussed as possible participants in 1960 had been considered for earlier Festivals. Among the foreign musicians, the Parrenin Quartet and Sviatoslav Richter had performed at the first and second Festivals, respectively, while presentations by the Concertgebouw Orchestra, Josephine Nendick, and Mstislav Rostropovich had been proposed in earlier years, but had not occurred. Of the

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<sup>97</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej (1960) - w dniu 23.XI.1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

Polish musicians only the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra and the Baltic Opera had been discussed before (excluding the two major orchestras). The relatively small number of repeated names indicates that the organizers were attempting to include a great variety of performers each year rather than inviting the same musicians to each event. Furthermore, the organizers again wanted to invite performers who specialized in contemporary music--Messiaen's music could be performed by the composer and his wife, pianist Yvonne Loriod, and the Stockholm Opera could present *Wozzeck*. Electronic music was planned for the third consecutive year.

#### Financial Allocations

The limited budgets of both the Festival itself and other artistic institutions in Poland affected the selection of Polish performers and repertoire for the 1960 Festival. The Kraków Polish Radio Orchestra and Choir was to be scheduled only if it could perform Roman Maciejewski's *Requiem*. However, the difficulties of fulfilling this condition lay not with the intricacies of the piece, but with the high cost of bringing the ensemble to Warsaw.<sup>98</sup> Because 170 people were required to perform the composition, the total cost was more than Polish Radio could afford. The Festival Committee was asked on March 8 to contribute 150,000 zloties, which would cover the costs of the orchestra's travel as well as its stay in Warsaw. The director of Polish Radio, Jerzy Jasiński, did not want to contribute any money to the project, and asked if the president of the Department of Radio, Włodzimierz Sokorski, could cover the costs of the performance from his discretionary

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<sup>98</sup> Another difficulty may have been linked to Maciejewski's status as a Polish emigré. However, there is no evidence indicating that the piece could not be performed for that reason. Indeed, protracted negotiations about the financial side of the performance took place. This would not have occurred had the composition been banned unequivocally from performance in Poland.



fund.<sup>99</sup> The outcome of this request is unknown. However, by March 19 Polish Radio had agreed to be responsible for the travel costs of the ensemble, although it still wanted the Festival Committee to pay for its stay in Warsaw.<sup>100</sup>

Another problem associated with the performance of the *Requiem* was that Polish Radio could not afford the costs of providing parts for a lengthy composition that also required large instrumental and vocal forces. Kazimierz Serocki recommended on March 19 that the Ministry of Culture and Art ask the state music publishers, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, to attempt to borrow these materials from another country, perhaps in exchange for Polish scores and parts. The final distribution of finances for this concert is unknown, but the *Requiem* was performed, despite the fact that neither the Festival's budget nor that of Polish Radio could cover all of the orchestra's expenses. Some division of costs among the various Polish agencies must have been arranged satisfactorily.

Hard currency shortages may have been a factor in the breakdown of talks with the Concertgebouw Orchestra. In December 1959 the Commission had expressed a desire to have this ensemble participate in the 1960 Festival. The orchestra's "advantageous financial conditions and high level [of performance]" made it an appropriate candidate for an appearance at the Festival. The favorable financial arrangements included the stipulation that the ensemble receive a subsidy from the Dutch government.<sup>101</sup> However, the

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<sup>99</sup> "Protokół z zebraniu Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 8 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>100</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>101</sup> "Korzystne warunki finansowe i wysoki poziom." Andrzej Dobrowolski, Secretary General, to Wiktor Weinbaum, Director, Music Group, December 30, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. See also "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej /1960 r./ w dniu 15. grudnia 1959." Ibid.

Orchestra's participation was not discussed in any subsequent organizational meetings; negotiations with the group must have been broken off early in 1960. Although the precise reason for the cessation of negotiations is unknown, a lack of hard currency forthcoming from the Netherlands may have been the deciding factor.

### Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

Although it is difficult to point out definite instances of politically-motivated interference by Polish, Soviet, or Eastern European governmental agencies in 1959, one episode in 1960 is a clear example of such obstruction. This case also underscores the organizers' attempt to link the selection of performers to the repertoire offered by each ensemble or soloist. On March 19, 1960 the Festival Committee's Presidium was informed by PAGART director Szymon Zakrzewski that the Soviets had withdrawn Rostropovich's name from consideration, even though the Polish organizers had requested his services as a soloist at the Festival and had been assured as recently as March 1 that he would come.<sup>102</sup> The Soviets proposed Daniel Shafran as a substitute cellist, despite the fact that he would not be able to perform the composition requested by the Polish organizers--Shostakovich's Cello Concerto No. 1, written in 1959 and premiered that year by Rostropovich and the Leningrad Philharmonic. Rostropovich had already agreed to perform that piece at the Festival.

As Zakrzewski reported, the Soviet side also "was placing much emphasis" on Arno Babadzhanyan's appearance in place of Sviatoslav Richter, the pianist requested by the Polish organizers. The Soviets' explanation for this proposed change was that

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<sup>102</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej - w dniu 1 marca 1960 r.," and "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

Babadzhanyan, a composer and pianist, was considered "a representative of contemporary Soviet music."<sup>103</sup> Kazimierz Serocki, however, emphasized that Richter had already suggested an acceptable program of compositions by Bartók, Szymanowski, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, and Hindemith.

The Presidium persisted in requesting Rostropovich and Richter because of these performers' abilities to present compositions that the organizers wanted on the Festival. The performers suggested by the Soviets--Shafran and Babadzhanyan--did not know what they would play in Warsaw, and as Serocki stated in discussing the dilemma, "we are interested only in [Soviet] performers with specific works."<sup>104</sup> A decision about Richter was expected in a few days; neither he nor Babadzhanyan performed at the Festival. Instead, Zara Dolukhanova's recital of vocal works was inserted into the schedule in September. Rostropovich, however, did play Shostakovich's Cello Concerto.

The problems with Rostropovich and Richter proved to be the only obstacles to securing performers from either the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. By January, the Moscow Ballet and the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic were mentioned as possible performers; by March the participation of both ensembles was assured. In February, Zakrzewski reported that "PAGART presently [had] at its disposal the proposals" of the Hungarian Opera and the Belgrade Opera.<sup>105</sup> Neither of these troupes was named at later

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<sup>103</sup> "pożyłya duży nacisk...reprezentanta współczesnej muzyki radzieckiej." "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>104</sup> "Interesują nas ich wykonawcy tylko konkretnymi utworami." Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> "Propozycje, jakimi dysponuje obecnie PAGART." "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesien' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

organizational meetings, however. Extended negotiations with them must not have transpired.

### Poland

The most significant complications in the selection of Polish performers centered on the naming of conductors and the appropriateness of scheduling presentations by a Polish opera company. The first extensive discussions about the 1960 Festival occurred in November 1959. In addition to the National Philharmonic and Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestras, other Polish ensembles mentioned at that time were the Kraków Philharmonic Choir and the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra.<sup>106</sup>

By January 1960 the list of Polish artists had changed. Named at the Temporary Repertoire Commission meeting that month were the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra with Andrzej Markowski conducting, the Kraków Polish Radio Orchestra directed by Jerzy Gert, the National Philharmonic under Witold Rowicki and Henryk Czyż, and two concerts by the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Jan Krenz. Still to be filled was a slot for a Polish opera company.<sup>107</sup> In a switch from the policy of the 1959 organizers, the Temporary Program Commission selected at least one of the Polish conductors; Czyż was chosen to direct the second National Philharmonic concert. His participation was formally approved by the Festival Committee at its February 20

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<sup>106</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej (1960) - w dniu 23.XI.1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>107</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - dn. 5 stycznia 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. The Czechoslovakian Philharmonic is not the same orchestra as the State Philharmonic from Brno that performed in 1956. Also, the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra was made up of players from the Kraków Philharmonic; it is not a separate ensemble.

meeting. Presumably in order to avoid a repetition of the 1958 controversy, the current managing director of the Philharmonic, Zdzisław Śliwiński, was asked to officially invite Czyż to be one of the Festival's conductors.<sup>108</sup>

Of the anticipated Polish ensembles on February 20, the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra had been replaced by the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra, with Markowski conducting the latter ensemble. If the Kraków Polish Radio Orchestra could not present Maciejewski's *Requiem*, the Poznań Boys' and Men's Choir would be considered. No Polish opera or ballet troupes were to be scheduled because of a lack of "suitable repertoire."<sup>109</sup> The second concert of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra would comprise only chamber music, thus requiring reduced orchestral forces.

Less than two weeks later, on March 1, the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra was announced once again as the chamber orchestra that Markowski would conduct. The reason for the alternation between the Kraków and Silesian ensembles from January to March was hinted at during that day's meeting of the Repertoire Commission, when a message from the management of the Kraków Philharmonic was read. The note indicated "the willingness of th[at] orchestra to participate in the fourth Warsaw Autumn."<sup>110</sup> Evidently, a conflict had arisen between the Festival's organizers and the Philharmonic's directors concerning the appearance of the orchestra in the Festival. The precise nature of the conflict, if indeed one did exist, was not specified; one possible source of tension was

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<sup>108</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesien' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>109</sup> "Odpowiedniego repertuaru." Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> "Gotowość udziału Orkiestry i Chóru Filharmonii Krakowskiej w IV Warszawskiej Jesieni." "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej - w dniu 1 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

that the Silesian Philharmonic had performed at each of the previous three Festivals either as a full or chamber orchestra, while the Kraków group had yet to appear in the event. Since one decision of the organizers in 1959 had been to invite a provincial orchestra each year, the directors of the Kraków orchestra might have felt that it was time for an ensemble other than the Silesian ensemble to be represented. Furthermore, Markowski had been the conductor of the Silesian Philharmonic from 1956-1959, but in 1960 he was the principal conductor of the Kraków Philharmonic. Since he was widely recognized in Poland for his presentations of contemporary Polish music, his decision to "accept the concert with the State Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra in Kraków"<sup>111</sup> may have been the deciding factor in selecting that ensemble over the Silesian group.

The final set of changes in Polish performers was announced in June. Several new names appeared: the Baltic State Opera; Roman Maciejewski, replacing Jerzy Gert as the conductor of the Kraków Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra; and Stanisław Wiśłocki, directing the second National Philharmonic concert instead of Henryk Czyż.<sup>112</sup> From 1958 to 1961 Rowicki was the only permanent conductor at the Philharmonic, holding the positions of artistic conductor and principal conductor. In the Philharmonic's administrative structure slots also existed for a conductor and assistant conductor; these were unfilled in 1960.<sup>113</sup> Presumably the existence of these vacancies was at least part of the reason for the delay in securing a second conductor for the Philharmonic at the Festival. Czyż in 1960

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<sup>111</sup> "Przygotuje koncert z Orkiestrą Kameralną Państwowej Filharmonii w Krakowie." Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January -June 1960).

<sup>113</sup> Gołębiowski, *Filharmonia w Warszawie*, p. 274.

was one of the conductors of the Łódź Philharmonic; Wisłocki and Rowicki had directed the National Philharmonic during its tour of Great Britain in January of that year.<sup>114</sup>

The inclusion of the Baltic Opera is a surprise, given that it had not been mentioned previously in any available materials referring to the preparations of the 1960 Festival and that the organizers had decided earlier not to invite any Polish opera companies that year. A rationale for the reversal of this decision is difficult to develop. One conjecture may be that the ballets presented by the Opera at the Festival--Szymanowski's *Harnasie* and Bartók's *Miraculous Mandarin*--were sufficiently appealing to the organizers to permit the troupe's appearance. Bartók's piece had been suggested as a possibility for the Hungarian Ballet in February, but negotiations with that ensemble were not concluded successfully. Szymanowski's compositions were frequently suggested by the organizers, as will be seen in the following chapter.

### The West

Western performers proposed in November 1959 included the Stockholm Opera, Messiaen, Loriod, and Jeanne Hericard--a French soprano. Also planned was a presentation of electronic music from the Milan studio prepared by Luciano Berio.<sup>115</sup> By January the list of Western performers provided at a meeting of the Temporary Program Commission had changed significantly. The Tokyo Radio Symphony Orchestra was the only "Western" ensemble expected, while Josephine Nendick and Messiaen were the only

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<sup>114</sup> Poniatowska and Kułakowska, "Diarusz," in Dziębowska, ed., *Polska współczesna kultura*, p. 350.

<sup>115</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej (1960) - w dniu 23.XI.1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

planned recitalists.<sup>116</sup> The Tokyo orchestra was the first ensemble from outside Europe or the United States to be considered for the Festival.

The February 20 meeting of the Festival Committee again brought different suggestions, although one of them--the Stockholm Opera--had been introduced in November.<sup>117</sup> Other proposals included a recital by French pianist Claudio Arrau and a performance by a string quartet--either the Parrenin Quartet, the Italian Quartet, or an unidentified English group.

By the end of March, the Tokyo orchestra had agreed to come to the Festival. No opera companies were mentioned. A slot for a string quartet was still provided, but no specific group was named. Arrau's proposed recital was no longer planned. In a sign of the continually fluctuating Festival plans, the presentation of Messiaen's organ works was to be paired with a half-recital by the Poznań Boys' and Mens' Choir, even though the organizers' had decided a month earlier to invite this vocal ensemble only if the Kraków Radio orchestra did not come. This half-recital by Messiaen was on the schedule, but an official letter of invitation was not sent until April 9.<sup>118</sup> Tadeusz Baird recognized in March the possibility that Messiaen might refuse to come, and suggested that either Irma Thenior-Janecka or another Polish organist present a concert of the French composer's compositions.

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<sup>116</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - dn. 5 stycznia 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>117</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesien' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>118</sup> Witold Rudziński to Olivier Messiaen, Paris, April 9, 1960; "Protokół z zebraniu Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 8 marca 1960 r.," and "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.



Several new programs were also suggested during the March meetings. A decision was made by the Festival Committee on March 8 to invite the Danzi Quintet from the Netherlands.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, on March 19 Baird suggested that one concert be devoted either to taped music by Polish composers or alternatively, to an exhibit of music from the Milan electronic studio in combination with a half-recital by Nendick. The first option would consist of two parts: compositions selected by Józef Patkowski and radio operas by Grażyna Bacewicz and Zbigniew Wiszniewski.<sup>120</sup> The review of compositions from the Milan studio had been suggested by the Temporary Repertoire Commission as early as November 1959, but apparently no action had been taken yet in that regard.

The performers listed in the June issue of the Composers Union's *Information Bulletin* were identical to those who actually appeared in the Festival. The only differences between this list and that given in March in the area of Western performers were the confirmed appearances of the Parrenin Quartet and the Danzi Quintet and the substitution of Irma Thenior-Janecka for Messiaen in a half-recital of the composer's organ works. Nendick was also scheduled for a full recital, and would be accompanied by Richard Rodney Bennett on piano and an instrumental ensemble from the National Philharmonic.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> "Protokół z zebraniu Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 8 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. See also "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r." Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>121</sup> Because soloists on orchestral concerts were rarely discussed in the minutes and other materials concerning the preparations for the 1960 Festival, it is impossible to determine what, if any changes were made in the formulation of their participation during the planning process. Also, the list of repertoire was incomplete at this point. *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January-June 1960).

In an article published in April 1960, the Festival was praised as an event whose "organization proceeds more and more efficiently,"<sup>122</sup> since it was possible at that early date to give details about its program. The schedule was not set by that time, but the performers who were named for the first time thereafter were Polish. Musicians in Poland were aware of when the Festival was held, and thus were more likely to have an opening in their schedules at that time, allowing them to perform at the Festival. By April, the schedules of most foreign musicians already were filled for September, precluding a Warsaw appearance. Indeed, all of the Western performers except the Danzi Quintet had been determined by March, although the matters of a full or half-recital for Messiaen and Nendick had not been settled by that time.

## 1961

Extant information about the selection of performers for the 1961 Festival is not as extensive as that available for the first four events. In fact, the only sources providing names of anticipated ensembles and soloists are articles published in the Polish press. The earliest of these reports was also the most complete: a list of performers and repertoire in the early May issue of *Ruch muzyczny* named nearly all the musicians who participated in the Festival.<sup>123</sup> The Western European performers cited were Die Reihe--an Austrian chamber ensemble, the Kontarsky piano duo from West Germany, and recitalists Peter Pears, Benjamin Britten, Severino Gazzelloni, and Cathy Berberian. (Britten was to accompany Pears in a recital that included some of the composer's songs.) From

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<sup>122</sup> "Coraz sprężyciej przebiega...organizacja." zs, "Wiosna o Jesieni," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 7 (April, 1960): 17.

<sup>123</sup> pa, "Warszawska Jesień 1961," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 10 (1961): 5.

Communist countries the anticipated ensembles were the Chinese Central Opera, the Sofia State Philharmonic Symphonic Orchestra from Bulgaria, the Novák Quartet from Czechoslovakia, and the Borodin Quartet from the Soviet Union. Polish ensembles listed were the National Philharmonic, the Silesian State Philharmonic Orchestra, and the Kraków Philharmonic Orchestra.

Witold Rudziński, the Festival's Secretary General, announced in an interview conducted on May 26, 1961 that the program was almost 100% set, which was a sign of "progress in comparison to the previous year."<sup>124</sup> The only names he added to the aforementioned list were the Wrocław Polish Radio Choir, pianist Barbara Hesse-Bukowska, and Luciano Berio, who was scheduled to deliver a lecture and present examples of electronic music from the Milan Studio.

The Kraków Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra was the only group who performed at the Festival that was not cited either by Rudziński or in the May issue of *Ruch muzyczny*. The only foreign musician named who did not appear at the Festival was Berio.

China and Bulgaria were represented for the first time at the Festival in 1961; Bulgaria's Avramov Quartet had been scheduled, but did not come in 1958. Neither performers nor composers from China have appeared since then at any Warsaw Autumn Festival. Gazzelloni made his second appearance in three years, while the organizers' attempt to have Berio come was made for the second time, indicating their strong interest in having composers of electronic music discuss their activities before the Polish public.

The organizers continued to invite performers specializing in contemporary music. Die Reihe had been founded by Friedrich Cerha and Kurt Schwertsik in 1958 and gave its first performance in Vienna in March 1959. The objective of its founders was "to create a

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<sup>124</sup> "Postępem w stosunku do roku ubiegłego." Erhardt, "Wywiad z Witoldem Rudzińskim," p. 4.

permanent forum in which everything unfamiliar and unknown, including much that was of vital importance from the first half of the century, could be comprehensively and regularly presented."<sup>125</sup> Both Cerha and Schwertsik had attended the same Darmstadt Summer Courses that Polish composers had been present at in the late 1950s. Undoubtedly, the stimulus to have Die Reihe participate at the Warsaw Festival came from the acquaintances made by Polish composers at Darmstadt.

The honorarium given to Die Reihe in 1961 was granted in zloties, despite the fact that the group received no subsidy from the Austrian government and therefore was not financially secure. This acceptance by the ensemble of its total payment in non-convertible currency was characterized by Witold Rudziński as an exception for Western performers. In return for that favor, the Festival Committee agreed to pay the rental fees for compositions by Ravel, Schönberg, and Varèse that had been played by the ensemble. These fees were normally the responsibility of the performers.<sup>126</sup>

The Pears/Britten recital was achieved only with the intercession of the British Council. The two musicians initially had rejected the invitation of the Festival Committee because of previous commitments for the week of the Festival. However, less than two weeks after Britten wrote to Stefan Śledziński informing him of this conflict, a C. Robinson from the British Council office in Warsaw sent a letter to Witold Rudziński stating that Britten and Pears would perform at the Festival. In Robinson's words, this change "signifies how much Britten and Pears have wished to take part in your Festival. I also take some

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<sup>125</sup> Cerha, "New Music in Austria," p. 46.

<sup>126</sup> Ruth Vasicek, Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft, to Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, August 22, 1961; and Witold Rudziński, Secretary General of the Festival Committee, to Ruth Vasicek, August 6, 1961, Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

satisfaction in feeling that our intervention may have assisted you in arranging this matter."<sup>127</sup>

## Conclusions

The organizers' attempts to select the finest performers from Poland and other countries for their Festival met with qualified success. Musicians who wished to perform in Warsaw frequently were unable to because of various obstacles that were not of their own making.

In some instances, the financial limitations of the Festival's budget prevented negotiations with Western performers from being completed successfully. The lack of adequate amounts of hard currency was an annual problem. At least one ensemble--Die Reihe in 1961--waived its hard currency honorarium in an effort to help the organizers. Subsidies were sometimes offered by or requested of Western European countries--for example, West Germany in 1958 and the Netherlands in 1960--but these grants did not always assure the presence of performers from these countries. Similarly, although the Polish government occasionally tried to arrange exchanges with Western performers, these did not always take place. Such exchanges might have benefited Polish composers, making their pieces available for performance in Western Europe, but not all of the proposals made by the Polish government would have accomplished such an objective. For example, the proposed exchange of the Polish folk dance company Mazowsze for the Hamburg Opera's presentation of *Wozzeck* and other large-scale pieces in 1958 was certainly not an equal

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<sup>127</sup> C. Robinson, Deputy Representative, The British Council in Warsaw, to W. Rudziński, Secretary General of the "Warsaw Autumn" Committee, February 28, 1961, Collection of Correspondence, 1961. See also the letter from Benjamin Britten to Stefan Sledziński, February 15, 1961, Ibid.

trade artistically. To the West Germans, it may have seemed inappropriate or even a bit absurd, thus resulting in their decision to pursue a strictly monetary contract with Poland.

A problem even larger than finances was the inability of the organizers to maintain control of decisions concerning Soviet and Eastern European performers, and, in some cases, Polish performers. The most persistent difficulties occurred with Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union, whose governments often proposed and even made changes in performers that were not acceptable to the Polish organizers. The maneuverings of East Germany and Bulgaria in 1958 blatantly depict the severity of the situation: The organizers in Poland, including governmental officials from PAGART and the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Cooperation, were unable to thwart the actions of these two nations. In subsequent years, the amount of politically-motivated interference by East European countries seems to have decreased enough to allow the list of performers arranged by about June to remain unaltered. The organizers were aware, nevertheless, that these countries plus the Soviet Union had to be satisfied with their representation at the Festival in order for the event to continue to exist. This potential threat, acknowledged by the organizers by the fall of 1958, undoubtedly affected their decisions concerning which countries and performers to invite in 1959 and in following years.

The organizers were apparently surprised in 1958 both by the inability of the Association of Polish Musical Artists to arrange a chamber concert and by the dispute that arose among the conductors of the National Philharmonic. The organizers prevented the first problem from occurring in future years by retaining control over the chamber concerts performed by Polish musicians. The organizers also allowed Polish orchestras to choose their own conductors, at least in 1959. Nevertheless, the selection of Polish performers does not seem to have proceeded effortlessly after 1958. Difficulties in 1960 concerning the

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selection of the provincial chamber orchestra and the conductors have been discussed in this chapter.

Another difficulty brought about partly as a result of financial and political problems and partly as a result of the individual wishes of the organizers was the tendency at organizational meetings to suggest new performers as late as March. For Western performers, requests sent in March for a performance in September were often impossible to accept. After 1958 Polish performers were encouraged by the organizers to remain available for the Festival, which made it easier to arrange appearances by these musicians late in the planning sequence. Little evidence indicates that detailed plans were made more than a year ahead of time.

One policy of the organizers was that different countries should be represented by performers at each Festival. This strategy was followed by the organizers during each planning period, with the exception that musicians from the Soviet Union and Poland were invited every year--the former as a political necessity and the latter as the host country. Performers from each of the Eastern European nations (except Albania) and from eleven non-Communist countries (Austria, England, France, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States, and West Germany) were invited to at least one of the first five Festivals. Moreover, few foreign ensembles or soloists appeared more than once during those years, although the organizers sometimes strove for two or more years to obtain the services of a particular performer. The fact that such an array of performers could be arranged despite numerous financial, political, and other problems attests to the perseverance of the organizers in their attempts to present fine performances of contemporary music.

## **CHAPTER X**

### **SELECTION OF REPERTOIRE**

The repertoire selected for the 1958-1961 Festivals was intended to reflect the goals established by their organizers. That is, the array of compositions chosen was to be representative of the wide spectrum of compositional styles in contemporary music. Suggestions for repertoire came from both the invited performers, the Festivals' organizers, and, in the case of Soviet-bloc countries, governmental officials. The organizers attempted to base all repertoire decisions on the artistic merits of the compositions, but their achievements in this regard were limited due to financial and political constraints. Some of these limitations were related directly to the selection of performers discussed in Chapter IX; others arose because of biases held by Polish, Soviet, and Eastern European governments towards particular composers.

#### **1958**

As a result of the chaotic organizational process of the 1958 Festival described previously, the scheduled repertoire for the event changed almost constantly. To a great extent, this is because the Composers Union's Executive Board and the Festival Committee either were unable to or chose not to influence the selection of pieces made by performers.



### General Plans

Repertoire plans for each of the Festivals were developed simultaneously with those concerning the choice of performers. At the beginning of their deliberations for each Festival the organizers discussed general requirements for the repertoire to be performed on each concert, but rarely linked compositions to specific performers. In April 1957 the Executive Board of the Composers Union emphasized the importance of having the Festival's foreign performers present Polish music as a means of encouraging its further dissemination. In October of that year, Andrzej Dobrowolski announced that an agreement had been reached by the Executive Board to have each ensemble perform at least one Polish piece.<sup>1</sup> (A similar stipulation had been in place for the 1956 Festival.) Another guideline, noted in June 1958 but possibly made earlier than that, was that only compositions not performed in the first Festival could be performed in the second.<sup>2</sup> As discussed in Chapter VIII, compositions from throughout the twentieth century could be selected. No stipulations regarding the performance of works from the performer's home country were made in 1958 or thereafter.

The negotiation procedures used to determine the Festival's repertoire were also discussed in April 1957. Jan Ekier, a composer present at the Executive Board's meeting even though he was not a member of the Board, maintained that each of the orchestras invited to the Festival should suggest "a more extensive program than is practical for

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<sup>1</sup> "Wyciąg ze stenogramów obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 5 kwietnia 1957 r. i 4 października 1957 r. Z 5 kwietnia 1957 r.;" and "Wyciąg ze stenogramu obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dniu 4.X.57 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

performance...it will then be possible to arrange a concert for which we will be responsible."<sup>3</sup> Kazimierz Serocki voiced a similar opinion when he declared that "the Organizing Committee should exert as much influence as possible on the orchestras' programs. They are to present their repertoire to us, but we are to select from it. [We will] select those works that represent something, that can arouse discussion."<sup>4</sup> These statements are reminiscent of those made during the organization of the 1956 Festival, when the Composers Union requested two versions of each concert program from each ensemble. However, both Ekier and Serocki implied that in their opinions the selection system followed in 1956 had not yielded satisfactory results and that, consequently, the organizers in 1958 should be more insistent in choosing pieces that would help to fulfill the Festival's goals.

### Negotiating Process

An examination of the actual process through which the repertoire for the 1958 Festival was determined not only will indicate the dates when concert programs were finalized, but also will help to depict the subtleties of the negotiating procedure. The reasons for choosing or rejecting specific compositions were rarely provided in available materials, but the nearly continual adjustments in most of the programs are evidence of the complicated nature of the organizers' task. A delineation of some of the many pieces considered during the course of

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<sup>3</sup> "Program obszerniejszy niż realny do wykonania...Wtedy można będzie ułożyć taki koncert, na jakim nam będzie zależało." "Wyciąg ze stenogramów obrad Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 5 kwietnia 1957 r. i 4 października 1957 r. Z 5 kwietnia 1957 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>4</sup> "Komitet Organizacyjny powinien wywierać wpływ 'jak najdalej idący' na programy orkiestr. Te mają nam przedstawić swój repertuar, ale my z niego mamy wybrać. Wybrać te utwory, które coś reprezentują, które mogą wzbudzić dyskusję." Ibid.

the year will also demonstrate the degree to which the organizers and performers adhered to the guidelines set for each Festival.

Specific compositions were mentioned for the first time in October 1957, almost a year before the start of the Festival on September 27, 1958. Suggestions were given by the Composers Union's Executive Board on October 4 only for the Hamburg Opera: Honegger's *Horace Victorieuse*, Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* and *Mavra*, Berg's *Wozzeck*, and Schönberg's *Erwartung*. These choices do not seem to have been transmitted to the Opera, however, for on October 15, its Director proposed *Wozzeck*, Egk's *Der Revisor*, and Liebermann's *Die Schule der Frauen* without supporting or rejecting any other works. By November, the Polish organizers had accepted the Director's proposals.<sup>5</sup> These three pieces formed the basis of the negotiations described in Chapter IX.

More comprehensive deliberation about the Festival's repertoire was underway by the March 15 meeting of the Executive Board and Festival Committee. The emphases that day were on the suggestion of Polish compositions to each participating ensemble and on the discussion of the proposals submitted by the conductors scheduled to direct Polish orchestras at the Festival.

The following Polish compositions were assigned by the Board and Committee to each ensemble:<sup>6</sup>

Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Bruno Maderna  
 Wojciech Kilar, *Ode to the Memory of Béla Bartók* (1957)  
 Bolesław Szabelski, *Symphony No. 4* (1956)  
 Grażyna Bacewicz, *Symphonic Variations* (1957)  
 Stanisław Wiechowicz, *Old Town Concerto* (1954)  
 Artur Malawski, *Hungaria 1956* (1956)

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<sup>5</sup> "Der Direktor," Hamburg Opera, to the Polish Composers Union, October 15, 1957; and Andrzej Dobrowolski and Kazimierz Sikorski to Herbert Paris, Director of the Hamburg Opera, November 25, 1957, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>6</sup> This list is adapted from "Protokół z zebrania Plenum ZG ZKP w dn. 15 marca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz

Witold Lutosławski, *Funeral Music* (1958)  
 Michał Spisak, *Concerto giocoso* (1957)  
 Roman Palester, *Symphonic Variations* (1955)

National Philharmonic. Witold Rowicki

Tadeusz Baird, *Four Essays* (1958)

National Philharmonic. Stanisław Skrowaczewski

Roman Palester, *Symphony No. 4* (1951)

Leningrad Orchestra

Bolesław Szabelski, *Concertino for Piano* (1955)  
 Piotr Perkowski, *Nocturne* (1955)  
 Stanisław Skrowaczewski, *Symphony No. 4* (1956)  
 Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, *Symphony No. 2* (1957)  
 Stefan Poradowski, *Symphony No. 7* (1958)  
 Zbigniew Turski, *Little Overture* (1955)

Avramov and Juilliard Quartets

Grażyna Bacewicz, *String Quartet No. 5* (1955)  
 Tadeusz Baird, *String Quartet No. 1* (1957)  
 Bolesław Szabelski, *String Quartet No. 1* (1956)

The organizers evidently wished to present some of the most recently written compositions by Polish composers: All of the nineteen works named here had been written since 1950; seven had been written in 1956 or later. None had been played at the 1956 Festival. Fourteen composers from all generations were represented, with Kilar (b. 1932) being the youngest and Wiechowicz (b. 1893) the oldest. Palester and Spisak were Polish emigrés, yet the organizers evidently anticipated no problems having their compositions performed in 1958.

As for the remainder of the concerts to be presented by foreign performers, the organizers decided to suggest pieces to some ensembles, while allowing other performers to choose their own programs. In the first case, the Leningrad Orchestra would be requested to play Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 8* (1943) and Prokofiev's *Symphony-*

*Concerto* (1951, rev. 1952). In the second, Maderna would be given the opportunity to complete the foreign portion of his program without specific suggestions from Poland.

The programs submitted by Polish conductors in March included some of the Polish works listed above. The complete programs are as follows:<sup>7</sup>

Rowicki

Konstanty Regamey, *Cinq études* for soprano and orchestra (1956)  
 Alban Berg, *Drei Orchesterstücke*, op. 6 (1915)  
 Arnold Schönberg, *Moderner Psalm* for orchestra and choir (1950)  
 Igor Stravinsky, *Canticum Sacrum* for orchestra, choir, tenor, and baritone (1955)  
 Béla Bartók, *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta* (1936)  
 Tadeusz Baird, *Four Essays*

Skrowaczewski

Arnold Schönberg, *Fünf Orchesterstücke*, op. 16 (1909)  
 André Jolivet, Three Interludes from *La Vérité de Jeanne* (1956)  
 Béla Bartók, Suite from *The Miraculous Mandarin* (1919-1927)  
 Ennio Porrino, *Nuraghi* (1952)  
 Roman Palester, Symphony No. 4

Krenz

Alban Berg, Violin Concerto (1935)  
 Paul Hindemith, *Music for Strings and Brass*, op. 50 (1930)  
 Sergei Prokofiev, *Scythian Suite* (1915)  
 Béla Bartók, Suite from *The Miraculous Mandarin* (1927)  
 Igor Stravinsky, *Symphony in Three Movements* (1945)  
 Witold Lutosławski, *Funeral Music*  
 Michał Spisak, *Concerto giocoso*

In addition, a chamber orchestra concert to be conducted by Andrzej Markowski was approved for insertion into the Festival's schedule. The Executive Board and Festival Committee suggested its program:

Anton Webern, *Das Augenlicht* (1935)  
 Włodzimierz Kotoński, *Chamber Music* (1958)  
 Henryk Górecki, Concerto for 9 Instruments (1957)  
 Webern, *Fünf Stücke für Streichquartett* (1913)  
 Kazimierz Serocki, *Musica concertante* (1958)

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Only five of the foreign pieces suggested by Polish conductors (including those on Markowski's concert) had been completed since the end of World War II, with two of them having been written in 1956 or later. The conductors thus were clearly interested in performing compositions by major composers of the twentieth century--each had selected at least two pieces by Schönberg, Berg, Webern, Bartók, and Stravinsky. Few of the dodecaphonic works of the first three composers had been heard in Poland in recent years. Performances at the 1958 Festival of works by these composers would help to close the gap in the Polish public's knowledge of dodecaphony and would also aid in countering the criticisms about the lack of such music at the first Festival.

The only suggestion that the Executive Board and Festival Committee had about these proposed programs was that the conductors should think about including additional pieces by foreign composers, although not by composers of German or Italian descent; Bruno Maderna, one of the scheduled conductors of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, was expected to select works by composers from those two nations. The Presidium of the Composers Union was asked to discuss the programs of Polish orchestras with their respective conductors (except Maderna). Presumably it did so, and on April 26 the Polish conductors again presented their planned programs to the Executive Board and Festival Committee.<sup>8</sup> Changes between March and April were minimal. Only four pieces not named in March were listed: Frank Martin's *6 Monologe aus Jedermann* (1943, orchestrated 1949), scheduled to be performed by Skrowaczewski and the National Philharmonic, and Paciorkiewicz's Violin Concerto (1955), Bacewicz's Sixth Violin Concerto (1957), and Sikorski's Flute Concerto (1957), all to be considered by Henryk Czyż. (Czyż by then had

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<sup>8</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

been chosen to conduct the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra if Maderna did not come.) The remainder of Skrowaczewski's concert now comprised pieces by Jolivet, Palester, and Malawski, the latter of which formerly had been assigned to Maderna for his consideration. The organizers also proposed that Czyż choose a composition by Hindemith and consider the other four Polish works that had been suggested for Maderna in March.

For Krenz's program with the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, the works by Hindemith and Stravinsky named in March were now omitted, and Prokofiev's *Scythian Suite* was listed as an alternative in the event that the organizers could not obtain the orchestral parts for Bartók's Suite from *The Miraculous Mandarin*. The placement of Lutosławski's *Funeral Music* on the same concert with a piece by Bartók was intentional, since the Polish composer's composition was dedicated to Bartók. The remainder of the concert consisted of the compositions by Spisak and Berg named in March.

Rowicki's concert with the National Philharmonic was conceived as one comprising only Polish premieres: the compositions by Baird, Berg, Stravinsky, and Schönberg named in March were still scheduled. Markowski's chamber orchestra program was unchanged.

Discussion in April of the programs for foreign performers was devoted primarily to the conflict between the Hamburg, Berlin, and Leipzig Operas described in Chapter IX: the organizers still were hoping that the Berlin Opera would perform *Wozzeck*. As described in Chapter VII, Heinz Rehfuss had been corresponding with Dobrowolski about repertoire since early March, but the full Executive Board and Festival Committee apparently was not informed of his proposed repertoire until April 26. Three pieces were chosen by the organizers at that time: selections from Schönberg's Three Songs, op. 48 (1933); one of Liebermann's *Chinese Love Songs* (1945); and Serocki's song cycle *Heart of the Night* (1957). The organizers also requested that Rehfuss choose a piece by Hindemith instead of

the Debussy and Jolivet works that had been suggested by the performer. As the organizers asserted, Debussy's *Fêtes galantes* (Verlaine, set 2, 1904) was "too long-ago" and another piece by Jolivet was already scheduled to be played by the National Philharmonic.<sup>9</sup>

Although other composers--both foreign and Polish--were scheduled to be represented by more than one piece, the organizers did not want multiple compositions by Jolivet at the Festival. In contrast, Baird and Szabelski announced that they did not want to have their string quartets performed because other works by them were already scheduled; the composers did not want two of their pieces played at the same Festival even though the rest of the organizers would have permitted it.

By June 22, the date of the last meeting of the Executive Board and the Festival Committee until the end of August, changes had occurred in nearly all of the concert programs.<sup>10</sup> Some of these shifts were made because of the continuing difficulties with the East German opera companies, the refusal of the Leningrad Orchestra to permit Richter to perform with that ensemble, or the renewed commitment from Maderna to conduct at the Festival, all discussed in Chapter IX. *Wozzeck* was no longer being considered. Paul Dessau's *Die Verurteilung des Lukullus* ("Condemnation of Lukullus") (1951) and Prokofiev's *Betrothal in a Monastery* (1941) were to be performed by the Leipzig Opera, while the Warsaw Opera was to present Tadeusz Szeligowski's ballet *Mazepa*. These three works had not been mentioned at earlier organizational meetings. Furthermore, the East

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<sup>9</sup> "zbyt odległy." "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. oraz Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 26 kwietnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. Reh fuss had suggested Jolivet's *Les trois complaintes du soldat* (1940).

<sup>10</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r.," "Protokół z konferencji w sprawie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni 58' w dniu 10.6.58"; and "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego ZG ZKP i Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 22 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.



German government had stressed that they also wanted to have instrumental compositions by Eisler, Cilenšek, and Dessau performed at the Festival.

Maderna was again expected to conduct the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra's second concert, which was to consist of Berio's *Nones* (1954), Nono's *Composizione per orchestra No. 1* (1951), either Szabelski's Symphony No. 4 or Spisak's Sonata for Violin and Orchestra (1950), and either Sikorski's Flute Concerto or Bacewicz's Symphonic Variations. The pieces by Spisak and Sikorski had not been part of the set of Polish compositions compiled by the organizers in March, and thus probably reflected new suggestions by the organizers. Richter's recital was partially planned: eight of Shostakovich's Preludes and Fugues (1951) and an unnamed work by Szymanowski were scheduled.

Repertoire for several concerts was announced for the first time in June. The Juilliard Quartet was to play Baird's String Quartet, despite the composer's earlier request to remove it from consideration. The program for this concert was the only one announced on June 6 that did not undergo further changes before the Festival. In addition to Baird's piece, it comprised William Schuman's Quartet No. 3 (1939), Webern's *Five Movements for String Quartet* (1909), and Bartók's Quartet No. 4 (1928). The Cologne Radio Quintet was scheduled to present Stockhausen's *Zeitmasse* (1956). The Quintet was to share its concert with pianist Marcelle Mercenier, who was to perform Stockhausen's *Klavierstücke XI* (1956), and Boulez's First and Second Piano Sonatas (1946, 1948). On June 10, the programs for this concert as well as for the performances by the Juilliard Quartet and the Leipzig Opera had been declared set for the Festival.

Part of the Leningrad Philharmonic's programs was known in June: Prokofiev's *Symphony-Concerto for Cello and Orchestra* would be played on one of its two concerts;

the repertoire for the second one was still unknown. The programs for Stockhausen's presentation of electronic music and the Avramov Quartet still were not announced.

Most of the programs for the Polish orchestras were not yet finalized at the end of June. For Rowicki's concert with the National Philharmonic, Richter was now scheduled to perform with them, presenting a piano concerto by either Prokofiev or Hindemith. The concerto would displace Stravinsky's *Canticum sacrum* on the program.<sup>11</sup>

Jan Krenz's concert with the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra differed from that announced in April in the deletion of Prokofiev's *Scythian Suite* in favor of Bartók's Suite from the *Miraculous Mandarin* and the added option of presenting either Spisak's *Concerto giocoso* or Hindemith's *Music for Strings and Brass*. The latter had been eliminated from consideration in April, but again was a possibility. The remaining concert by Polish performers was the chamber orchestra performance directed by Markowski. Its tentative program included the five pieces named in March and April, plus a sixth unspecified work for a *capella* choir by Adam Walaciński.

Rehfuss's program had changed only slightly from that named previously at organizational meetings or in extant correspondence. He now was scheduled to play Dallapiccola's *Cinque canti* for baritone and eight instruments (1956) in addition to the compositions by Schönberg, Serocki, Liebermann, and Berg that had been approved by the organizers in April and the four songs by Honegger that the vocalist had suggested later the same month. Rehfuss had suggested the piece by Dallapiccola in May, telling Dobrowolski that it was representative of the dodecaphonic movement.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Richter did not present a recital at the 1958 Festival, but did appear with the National Philharmonic. As discussed in Chapter IX, he was scheduled to perform at the 1960 Festival, but the Soviet government did not allow him to come.

<sup>12</sup> "Protokół z zebrania rozszerzonego plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich i Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 6 czerwca 1958 r."; and Heinz

In glancing at the repertoire for the entire Festival as it was arranged by the end of June, several differences from the 1956 program can be seen. First, electronic music and opera were planned. Although the organizers' hopes for a presentation of *Wozzeck* had been dashed, they would get in Dessau's *Die Verurteilung des Lukullus* a recently-written opera that probably had not been widely performed internationally and that perhaps deserved to be part of the "comparison of many compositional styles" advocated as the Festival's primary goal. Of course, there is also no evidence that any of the Polish organizers knew this opera, since it had been selected by the East Germans without prior consultation with Poland about its artistic merits.

Secondly, all of the pieces had been written in the twentieth century. Although the range of foreign compositions proposed spanned the century, nearly all of the Polish compositions had been written in the past three years; the only older pieces by Polish composers were Szymanowski's unnamed work and Spisak's Sonata for Violin and Orchestra.

No compositions played at the first Festival were planned or had even been suggested for the second. Moreover, except for the program submitted by the Cologne Radio Wind Quintet and Marcelle Mercenier, all others announced in June contained at least one Polish piece. Thus, nearly all of the programs announced by the end of June fulfilled the organizers' requirements.

The changes in status of performers between June and the end of August were delineated in Chapter IX. Shifts in repertoire inevitably accompanied these substitutions of

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Reh fuss to Andrzej Dobrowolski, April 12, 1958, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

performers. The reconstruction of the chamber concert by Polish musicians was described in that chapter. No operas presented by foreign troupes were now foreseen, but the Baltic Opera was scheduled to present Britten's *Peter Grimes* (1945) and Szeligowski's *Krakatuk* (1955). Dobrowolski had announced on June 22 that Szeligowski's *Mazepa* would not be completed in time for the Festival.<sup>13</sup>

The repertoire for the concert by the Avramov Quartet and Stockhausen's presentation of electronic music was still unknown. In fact, the organizers still did not know if the latter concert would take place. The complete programs for the two Leningrad Philharmonic concerts were finally provided: they included Turski's Overture, Prokofiev's *Symphony-Concerto* (1951, rev. 1952) and Suite No. 2 from *Romeo and Juliet* (1936), Janis Ivanovs' Sixth Symphony (1949), and Shostakovich's Eleventh Symphony (1957).

The repertoire of the Toulouse Quintet's concert was announced for the first time on August 30, even though the ensemble's participation was still questionable, as mentioned in Chapter IX. If presented, the concert would comprise pieces by Hindemith, Poulenc, and Milhaud. The Cologne Radio Quintet and Marcelle Mercenier were no longer on the schedule.

Several programs had merely eliminated the alternative works suggested in June, and thus represented what could be presumed to be a final version of each concert. For instance, Richter was scheduled to perform Prokofiev's Fifth Piano Concerto with the National Philharmonic, eliminating Hindemith's Concerto from consideration. Similarly, Krenz's concert with the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra would include Spisak's *Concerto giocoso*, but not Hindemith's *Music for Strings and Brass*. The second concert by the Radio Symphony, with Maderna scheduled to conduct, had eliminated Szabelski's

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<sup>13</sup> "Protokół z zebrania plenarnego ZG ZKP i Komisji Festiwalowej w dniu 22 czerwca 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

Symphony No. 4 and Spisak's Sonata for Violin and Orchestra as options. Rehfuss's recital would not include Dallapiccola's *Cinque canti* because the eight instrumentalists needed to perform the piece had not been found. Finally, Markowski's concert with the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra contained only four of the six pieces mentioned at earlier meetings; these included the works by Kotoński and Webern cited in March. Górecki's *Epitaph* was substituted for the same composer's Concerto for nine instruments, probably because *Epitaph* could be given its world premiere at the Festival. The Concerto had been premiered in February 1958. Serocki's and Walaciński's compositions were no longer on the schedule.

Problems of a political nature became evident during discussions about Skrowaczewski's National Philharmonic concert. Jolivet's *Three Interludes* was to be given its world premiere during that event. This premiere of a composition by a well-known foreign composer would have raised the Festival's international prestige, and hence was desired by the organizers. In order to have the first performance occur in Warsaw, Jolivet had not permitted the work to be presented in other countries, despite inquiries to that effect.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, by August 30 it was clear that the orchestral parts would not be completed before the Festival and the performance would have to be cancelled. Skrowaczewski called attention to the possibility of programming a Czechoslovakian composition in place of Jolivet's piece, but in his opinion that option was not a good idea because the Czechoslovakians would complain about how late they had been asked.<sup>15</sup> Skrowaczewski at first preferred to keep the program as planned in June, merely omitting

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<sup>14</sup> "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

Jolivet's piece. In his opinion, the French piece would have been relatively easy for the musicians to play, and other works suggested by the organizers were more difficult to prepare. (An unidentified composition by Hindemith had been one of the proposed pieces.) In the end Piotr Perkowski's *Nocturne* was chosen because it was simple enough to learn within a month and, in fact, had already been played by the orchestra during its 1957-58 season. This piece had not been mentioned previously as a possibility for the Festival; its insertion occurred only because of the cancellation of Jolivet's composition. Moreover, it was chosen as a substitute over other works not because it fit into any overall design for the Festival, but because it required little rehearsal time.

An example of both possible interference by a foreign government into a concert program and confusion among the Polish organizers is evident in the accusations made about the scheduling of Manuel Ponce's Violin Concerto, which was performed at the Festival by Henryk Szeryng and the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. According to a Ms. Horodecka, the PAGART representative present at the post-Festival organizers' meeting on October 10, Ponce's concerto had been programmed at the insistence of the Mexican ambassador, who asserted that as a Mexican citizen Szeryng was expected by his government to play Mexican music.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Jan Krenz (the conductor of the Radio Symphony) maintained that Szeryng had not known that he was supposed to play Berg's Violin Concerto at the Festival until about ten days before he came to Poland. (The piece had been mentioned at organizational meetings since at least March 1958.) Having heard nothing from Poland about what he was supposed to play, Szeryng had chosen concertos by Ponce and Prokofiev. When the violinist learned that Bruno Maderna would not be able

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<sup>16</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minute, 1958.

to conduct the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, he sent a telegram to Poland asking for the score to Berg's piece and agreed to play it as a substitute for the pieces by Berio and Nono that had been cancelled because of Maderna's withdrawal.<sup>17</sup> Ultimately, Szeryng played both Ponce's and Prokofiev's concertos on the concert originally scheduled to be conducted by Krenz, and presented Berg's Concerto on that previously assigned to Maderna. The presentation of Ponce's Concerto was announced for the first time only on the opening day of the Festival, September 27.<sup>18</sup>

The conflicting comments made by Horodecka and Krenz about Szeryng's performances reflect to a certain degree the disorganization and chaos of the entire planning of the 1958 Festival. Not only did instances of manipulation of performers and repertoire by foreign governments throughout the organizational period cause numerous changes in the schedule, but the confusion over the exact reasons for the performance of Ponce's concerto as well as the problems with Polish performers and conductors described in Chapter IX demonstrate that the Polish organizers themselves also were partly responsible for these continual shifts.

In fact, the program for the 1958 Festival seems never to have been finalized prior to the start of the event. For example, Hindemith's *Nobilissima Visione* was not played on the September 30th Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra concerts, even though it had been announced earlier as one of the substitutions for the cancelled pieces by Berio and Nono. In place of Hindemith's piece, Szabelski's Etude for orchestra was performed--a work that had not been mentioned previously in available materials concerning the Festival.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. See Chapter IX for a previous discussion of the organizers' communications with Maderna.

<sup>18</sup> "Zmiany w programie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 232 (August 27, 1958): 5.

Furthermore, according to a September 27 article in the Polish press, Malawski's *Hungaria 56* had been cancelled, yet it was played at the Festival on October 2.<sup>19</sup> Several foreign journalists reported that the Hungarian Embassy in Warsaw had protested the planned performance of *Hungaria 56*, but did not explain the reasons for the complaint.<sup>20</sup>

Presumably the Embassy claimed that the composition created an erroneous impression of the popular uprising in Hungary in 1956 that had been crushed by Soviet troops. These events, in fact, had inspired Malawski to compose the piece.<sup>21</sup>

Only Rowicki's and Skrowaczewski's concerts with the National Philharmonic, the Juilliard Quartet's performance, and the second Leningrad Philharmonic concert were presented at the Festival without further changes after August 30. Other alterations in each concert between the August 30 version and what was actually played at the Festival cannot be explained; they may have been inserted either as a compromise between performer and organizer or at the insistence of the performer. Rehfuss, the Toulouse Quintet concert, and the Baltic Opera all presented works that had not been scheduled as of late August. Furthermore, not all of the works offered by these last two ensemble were listed in the Festival's program book. The concert of tape pieces presented by Stockhausen and piano music played by Stockhausen and David Tudor was listed in the program book only as a

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Polish translation of an article from *Politiken* (December 28, 1958), Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; Seppo Nummi, "Polska krew," Polish translation of Nummi's "Puolalaista verta," *Suomen Kuvalehti*, no. 41 (October 10, 1959), Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>21</sup> Bohdan Pocij, "Hungaria," in Schäffer, ed., *Malawski*, p. 109.



presentation of "electronic music" and "piano compositions"; evidently the pieces had not been determined by the time of the book's printing.<sup>22</sup>

Because of the continual program changes, the organizers were unable to provide the public with a reasonably detailed schedule before the Festival's first concert on September 27. The September 15 issue of *Ruch muzyczny*, probably prepared in August, noted that "we still do not know the exact program of all the events of this year's Festival."<sup>23</sup>

At the post-Festival meeting of organizers held in October, Witold Lutosławski presented a harsh assessment of the repertoire performed at the second Festival:

"...If one says that the Festival was a meeting of East with West, that is a huge exaggeration, because it was not at all a reflection of what is happening in the East and West. Instead of the Hamburg Opera we had the Baltic Opera....In the end, from the avant-garde we heard Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI*...The exhibition of electronic music was very primitive. Webern already belongs to the classics...There were also things that should not have had a place at the Festival, for example the scandal with Ponce's Violin Concerto. The works of composers from the East may or may not appeal to us, but Ponce's Concerto represents nothing. The selection of Prokofiev's Second Violin Concerto was also unfortunate...The performance at the Festival of the Toulouse Quintet was a scandal (second-rate French musicians--the pianist was simply horrible)...The dissonance of the Toulouse Quintet's concert was doubled, since its production was to be representative of French music. There also were no works of Messiaen. French music was mishandled. It is necessary to give a counterbalance to that in the third Festival. This Festival also was in no way a representation of the music of Stockhausen, Boulez, and Nono...The 'avant-garde' direction was simply given too little representation."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> "Muzyka elektronowa...utwory fortepianowe." *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> "Nie znamy jeszcze dokładnie programu wszystkich imprez tegorocznego festiwalu." ed., "Witamy 'II Warszawską Jesień'." *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 18 (September 15, 1958): 3.

<sup>24</sup> "Jeżeli się mówi, że Festiwal był spotkaniem Wschodu z Zachodem, to jest to gruba przesada, bo nie był wcale odzwierciedleniem tego co się dzieje na Wschodzie i na Zachodzie. Zamiast opery Hamburgskiej mieliśmy operę Bałtycką...W końcu z awangardy usłyszeliśmy *Klavierstück XI* Stockhausena....Pokaz muzyki elektronowej był bardzo prymitywny. Webern należy już do klasyków...Były też rzeczy które nie powinny mieć miejsca na Festiwalu np. skandal z Koncertem skrzypcowym Ponce'a. Utwory

Lutosławski clearly was dissatisfied with the overall array of compositions performed at the Festival, as well as with the organizational processes that resulted in this particular collection of performances. Indeed, the selection of much of the repertoire that was ultimately played at the 1958 Festival either had not been under the control of the Polish organizers--for example, Ponce's Violin Concerto, the entire concert by the Leipzig Radio Orchestra, and the Avramov Quartet's program--or was accepted by the organizers only because the start of the event was approaching rapidly--for instance, the insertion of Perkowski's *Nocturne* into Skrowaczewski's National Philharmonic concert, the pieces played by the Toulouse Quintet and the contents of the chamber concert presented by Polish musicians. Nevertheless, it appears that several programs had been chosen only after lengthy negotiations between performers and organizers. For instance, Polish conductors had worked closely with the Executive Board and Festival Committee in establishing their programs. The same is true for Heinz Rehfuss' performances as well as the ill-fated Hamburg Opera's plans. Moreover, Maderna had been given the opportunity to plan his own program, and it is probable that the Polish organizers had permitted Stockhausen to

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kompozytorów ze Wschodu mogą nam się podobać lub nie, ale Koncert Ponce'a niczego nie reprezentuje. Nieszczęśliwy był także wybór II Koncertu skrzypcowego Prokofiewa...Skandalem był występ na Festiwalu Kwintetu z Tuluzy /drugorzędni muzycy francuscy - pianistka po prostu straszna/...Dysonans koncertu Kwintetu z Tuluzy był podwójny, gdyż jego produkcja miała być reprezentacją muzyki francuskiej. Nie było utworów Messiaena. W ten sposób muzyka francuska została zaprzepaszczona. Trzeba dać przeciwwagę w III Festiwalu. Ten Festiwal nie był także w żadnym wypadku reprezentacją muzyki Stockhausena, Bouleza i Nono...Właśnie ten kierunek 'awangardowy' był za mało reprezentowany." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minute, 1958.

pick the repertoire for the electronic music concert, since he had been asked to present such a concert at the Festival.

Tadeusz Marek claimed that because of the "connection with propagandist and tactical interests and the like...I...do not see the programmatic line of the Festival...I do not see a great thematic line...This Festival for the second time has no character."<sup>25</sup> The fact that the organizers had not clearly outlined their goals for the 1958 Festival in terms of what composers or countries they would like to have represented may have hindered their attempts to arrange a Festival with a specific character or "thematic line." However, the organizers' goal was to present a variety of compositional styles by composers of many countries; they did not wish to limit the range of styles and composers at the Festival, except to those of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, Marek's involvement in the organizational process had enabled him to see all of the mistakes made during the year, which prevented many of the organizers' original ideas from being carried. The organizers' challenge was to produce a better organized event in the future without sacrificing their overall goal.

## 1959

The process of selecting repertoire for the third Warsaw Autumn Festival was more successful than the previous year's experiences. The number of cancellations and substitutions was much lower than in 1958, and no widespread complaints were made after the Festival by its organizers about the procedures used to choose its repertoire.

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<sup>25</sup> "Powiązania z interesami propagandowymi, taktycznymi itp...Ja...nie widzę linii programowej Festiwalu..Nie widzę wielkiej linii tematycznej...Ten Festiwal po raz drugi nie ma charakteru." "Stenogram z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej, w dniu 30 sierpnia 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

### General Plans

In an effort to prevent the occurrence of frequent repertoire changes during the planning of the 1959 Festival, the Festival Committee and Composers Union's Executive Board in October 1958 expressed their determination to maintain stricter control over the repertoire than they had in the previous year.<sup>26</sup> As Witold Rudziński noted, "in order for the next [Festival] not to be a 'miracle on the Vistula', but to have a reasonably worked out program, it cannot be the result of negotiations between conductors. The program must be established in advance in order for it to be binding."<sup>27</sup> Jerzy Młodziejowski echoed Rudziński's opinion in his own assertion that "the Polish Composers Union, and not performers and conductors, should plan future programs," while Dobrowolski complained that program changes for the 1958 Festival had been made independently of the Festival Committee.<sup>28</sup>

Kazimierz Sikorski interjected his own suggestions for improving the process of selecting repertoire:

"...Program changes introduced by foreign ensembles for their concerts cannot be accepted, since they distort the entire idea of the Festival. It would be desirable to stipulate when inviting ensembles to participate in the Festival that all programs

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<sup>26</sup> As described in Chapter VII, the Administrative Order for the 1959 Festival went into effect on February 24; the Festival Committee prior to that date comprised the Composer's Union's Presidium, several other composers, and representatives from PAGART and the Department of Music.

<sup>27</sup> "Aby następny nie był 'cudem nad Wisłą', lecz miał rozsądnie opracowany program, który nie może być wynikiem targów międz[y] dyrygentami. Program musi być ustalony z góry, aby był obowiązujący." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minute, 1958.

<sup>28</sup> "Przyszłe programy powinno planować Z.K.P., a nie wykonawcy i dyrygenci." Ibid.

changes must be coordinated with the Festival Committee a long time before [the start of the event]...

It is not possible to yield to the pressures of performers--performers want to show themselves, not compositions, at the festival. It is necessary to oppose that. Give up the performer rather than spoil the line of the Festival...

Repertoire matters should be arranged differently. They cannot rest in the hands of conductors, but there must be some sort of general conception for the program. Nominated works then can be given to the particular conductor for adoption. It was discussed widely that a conductor [at the 1958 Festival] may have selected a foreign work of little interest because he had some sort of obligation to the composer. This is not a healthy principle."<sup>29</sup>

Despite this resolve on the part of at least some composers, the organizers seemed to reverse themselves by discussing whether to give the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries the option of choosing the repertoire for the concerts given by their performers. If done, this would avoid a repetition of the animosity that had existed earlier in the year between the Polish organizers and the East Germans. The ramifications of such a decision included the distinct possibility that the compositions chosen by these countries would not be the same ones that the organizers would have selected. That is, the compositions considered by each of these foreign governments to be representative of contemporary music in their country might not be by composers whom the organizers believed were

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<sup>29</sup> "Nie do przyjęcia są zmiany programowe wprowadzane przez zespoły zagraniczne do swoich koncertów, a wypaczające całą ideę festiwalu. Wskazane byłoby, aby przy zaproszeniach zespołów do udziału w Festiwalu zastrzec, iż wszelkie zmiany programowe muszą być uzgadniane na długi czas przedtem z Komitetem Festiwalowym...Nie można ulegać presjom wykonawców - wykonawcy chcą pokazać na festiwalu przede wszystkim siebie, a nie utwory. Temu trzeba się przeciwstawić. Raczej zrezygnować z wykonawcy niż psuć linię festiwalu...Inaczej winny być układane sprawy repertuarowe. Nie mogą one spoczywać w rękach dyrygentów, lecz musi być jakaś ogólna koncepcja programu. Wytypowane utwory można dać wtedy do wyboru poszczególnym dyrygentom. Szeroko dyskutowano o tym dlaczego dyrygent wybrał utwór zagraniczny mało interesujący, bo miał jakieś zobowiązania wobec kompozytora. To nie jest zdrowa zasada." Ibid. The present writer does not know to which foreign composition Sikorski was referring.

among the best in each nation, but by composers who espoused the socialist realism policies still in effect to at least some degree in those countries.

The issue of how much influence conductors and other performers were to have over the choice of repertoire for the 1959 Festival was brought up again at the February 7 meeting of the Festival Committee. Once more, the resolution passed at this meeting contradicted some of the preferences expressed by the organizers in October: "It was determined that the Festival Committee should not select and eliminate foreign works--each country should choose its own representative works and each is responsible for that selection."<sup>30</sup> This resolution was to apply to all foreign performers. Polish compositions were still to be suggested by the organizers. A week later, the Festival Committee proposed a course of action for negotiations with Polish ensembles: the Committee and the conductors of Polish orchestras each would propose compositions, after which the actual program of these concerts would be determined in consultation with the conductors.<sup>31</sup> This latter proposal closely resembled the method employed for the 1958 Festival in determining the repertoire for Polish orchestras and for some foreign performers. A dichotomy was thus created in the methods to be used in the selection of repertoire: the programs by Polish performers would be selected through a process different than that used by foreign ensembles and soloists. If foreign performers were to be allowed to choose their own works--except for Polish compositions--the organizers were permitting the same situation that existed during the preparations for the 1956 Festival and that they claimed had occurred

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<sup>30</sup> "Stwierdzono, że Komisja Festiwalowa nie powinna sama wybierać i eliminować utworów zagranicznych - każdy kraj powinien typować swoje reprezentacyjne utwory i każdy sam za ten wybór odpowiada." "Protokół z I-go zebrania Komisji Festiwalowej 'Warszawska Jesień 1959 r.' w dniu 7 lutego 1959 r. (lokal ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>31</sup> "Komisja Festiwalowa dn. 14/2.5," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

for the 1958 Festival; however, if the organizers did not control the final selection of repertoire, they would not be able to enforce any sort of concept for the Festival.

Other decisions concerning the selection of repertoire for the Festival included the provision that at least one composition by Karol Szymanowski should be performed at each Festival in order to symbolize his stature in twentieth-century Polish music. As mentioned in Chapter VIII, an age limit of fifteen years was to be used as a basis for the selection of compositions in 1959. Only in exceptional cases could pieces older than that be performed, and only if they had been written in the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> The "monuments" of twentieth-century music could be included along with avant-garde and moderate works. Moreover, at the February 7 meeting of the Festival Committee May 1 was set as the date when all details of the repertoire were to be determined. By May 15 the entire calendar of events was to be completely settled.<sup>33</sup>

### Negotiating Process

Each of the above decisions was made prior to the issuance of the Administrative Order in February 1959, which created a Program Commission and a new Organizing Committee. While the various resolutions and guidelines developed before these two groups began to operate were not officially overturned or revised after that point, it appears that some of them may not have been followed. According to extant correspondence and minutes of organizational meetings, the Program Commission suggested compositions to each conductor of a Polish ensemble and made changes in the programs submitted by these

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<sup>32</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r."; and "Protokół z I-go zebrania Komisji Festiwalowej 'Warszawska Jesień 1959 r.' w dniu 7 lutego 1959 r. (lokal ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

directors. In the case of foreign performers, available information is not detailed enough to determine if they chose their own programs with little or no consultation with Poland or if extensive negotiations with the host country occurred after the last known meeting of the organizers in April. While the Festival Committee that functioned prior to the issuance of the Administrative Order compiled a list of Polish compositions for some of these groups and requested that others send suggestions for potential concerts, the Program Commission operative after February did not discuss the programs to be presented by foreign performers until late April. This situation occurred even though the Commission was charged with arranging all of the repertoire for the Festival for submission to the Organizing Committee, as described in Chapter VII. The Commission made a few recommendations in April for changes in the concerts to be given by foreign performers. The fact that the Commission made even a small number of suggestions for these concerts contravenes the decision made by the Festival Committee in February that foreign ensembles would be allowed to choose the non-Polish portion of their programs without consulting with the organizers in Poland.

The participants at the three organizational meetings known to have been held before the issuance of the Administrative Order in late February discussed repertoire for both foreign and domestic performers. At the October meeting of the Composers Union's Executive Board and the Festival Committee, only a few compositions were mentioned. As mentioned in Chapter IX, the *Domaine Musical* was to be asked to perform compositions by Boulez and the organizers' wish to have the Zurich Opera present *Moses und Aron*, *Wozzeck*, and *Mathis der Maler* was defeated immediately by the Central Board of Music



Institutions. Shostakovich's "Jewish Songs"<sup>34</sup> and Bartók's *Sonata for two pianos and percussion* were proposed for a chamber concert performed by Polish musicians, and a concert of electronic music from the Polish Radio experimental studio also was suggested. If realized, this latter concert would be the first exhibit at the Festival of electronic music by Polish composers. The organizers had not yet made their decision to allow foreign performers to choose their own non-Polish compositions; thus the suggestion of such works here does not invalidate that resolution.

On February 14, 1959 the Festival Committee proposed a set of Polish works to be sent to Ernest Ansermet, the conductor of the Suisse Romande orchestra: Bolesław Szabelski's *Sonatas for Orchestra* (1958), Zbigniew Turski's Symphony No. 2 "Olympic" (1948), Jan Krenz's Symphony No. 1 (1949) and Michał Spisak's Symphony No. 2 (1955). (Spisak's "symphony" was actually titled *Symphonie concertante No. 2.*) They also suggested a piece to be played by an unidentified string quartet: Grażyna Bacewicz's String Quartet No. 5, which had been scheduled to be performed by the Avramov Quartet in 1958.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, the Committee requested that the Janigro chamber ensemble and the Poznań Opera send suggestions for potential concerts.<sup>36</sup>

Not until March 20 was further information provided at organizational meetings about the repertoire for the third Festival. At that time, compositions for three of the five scheduled concerts by Polish orchestras were listed by the Program Commission:

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<sup>34</sup> "Pieśni żydowskie." "Protokół z posiedzenia rozszerzonego Plenum Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich w dniu 17 października 1958 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959. The "Jewish Songs" were probably a reference to Shostakovich's *From Jewish Folk Poetry* for soprano, alto, tenor, and piano (1948, premiered in the Soviet Union in 1955).

<sup>35</sup> *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> "Komisja Festiwalowa dn. 14/2.5," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

National Philharmonic. Witold Rowicki

Prokofiev, Second or Third Symphony (1908; 1935, rev. 1938)  
 Baird, *Improvisations for violin and orchestra* (1959)  
 Serocki, *Music for Strings and Percussion* (1959)  
 Schönberg, Fragments from *Moses und Aron* (1932)

Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Wisłocki

An unnamed Romanian work  
 Hindemith, *Music for Quintet and Brass*  
 Regamey, Songs

Chamber orchestra. Markowski

Webern, Variations, op. 30 (1940)  
 Górecki, *Small Concerto* (1957)  
 Szalonek, Nocturne for instrumental group and choir (1959)  
 Penderecki, *Strophes* (1959)  
 Nilsson, *Mädchentotenlieder* (1960-61)  
 Varèse, *Octandre* (1923)  
 possibly Kilar's Concerto for two pianos and percussion orchestra (1958)  
 and pieces by Henze, Eck, and Dallapiccola<sup>37</sup>

Several of the composers named above were being considered for the first time in the Festival's short history. Among them were two from Poland--Penderecki and Szalonek--and two from abroad: Nilsson and Varèse. Górecki's *Small Concerto* is the same piece discussed in 1958--the Concerto for five instruments and string quartet. Penderecki had composed *Strophes* after Andrzej Markowski had promised him to try to program one of

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<sup>37</sup> Adapted from "Protokół z zebrania Komisji Programowej III Festiwalu 'Warszawska Jesień' 1959 r. z dnia 20 marca 1959 r. (ZKP)," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959. Several explanations are needed: 1) Baird must have been changed the title *Improvisations* to *Expressions* by the time the work was completed--*Expressions* was completed in 1959 and is written for violin and orchestra; 2) Serocki's *Music for Strings and Percussion* became *Episodes* by the time of its completion; 3) Regamey's songs were likely the *Five Études* proposed but not chosen for the 1958 Festival; 4) Hindemith's piece cannot be identified further, the title and instrumentation given in "Protokół" does not correspond to any of the composer's actual compositions; 5) Szalonek's *Nocturne* probably became his *Confessions for reciter, choir, and chamber orchestra*; 6) Nilsson's piece was not completed until after the 1959 Festival.

his new pieces on the Warsaw Autumn Festival if the work were for a small ensemble.<sup>38</sup> *Strophes* is for soprano, reciter, and 10 instrumentalists.

Other works named in March were theatrical presentations. The Warsaw Opera was scheduled to perform Tadeusz Szeligowski's *Mazepa*, while the Poznań Opera was to present Czechoslovakian composer Eugen Suchoň's *Krútnava* (1949) and East German composer Viktor Bruns' ballet *The New Odyssey* (date of composition not known). The productions by the Poznań Opera had been suggested to Zbigniew Turski, the chair of the Organizing Committee and a member of the Program Commission, by the Opera's director, Zdzisław Gorzyński. Both works had been presented previously by the Berlin Opera; *Krútnava* was soon to be performed in Budapest and Kiev, while *The New Odyssey* had already been seen at La Scala.<sup>39</sup> The organizers must have accepted Gorzyński's endorsements, for both productions were presented at the Festival.

On April 25, less than a week before the deadline imposed in February for the program's completion, the Program Commission outlined the Festival's program as it stood at that point. The most detailed information available was for the concerts by Polish performers. The repertoire for Markowski's concert with the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra was the same as had been announced in March, minus the alternatives provided at that earlier meeting. (This concert looked quite different on April 27. A document prepared in Warsaw on that day listed several pieces not mentioned previously. In addition to the pieces by Górecki, Penderecki, Varèse, and Szalonek named on the 25th, also scheduled for performance were Gilbert Amy's *Mouvements* (1958), Stravinsky's

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<sup>38</sup> Ludwik Erhardt, *Spotkania z Krzysztofem Pendereckim* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975), p. 15.

<sup>39</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

*Dumberton Oaks Concerto* (1938), Dallapiccola's *Piccola musica notturna* (1954), possibly a work by Szabelski or Kotoński, and Webern's Symphony, op. 21 (1928) instead of his op. 30.<sup>40</sup> Nilsson's *Mädchentotenlieder* had been cancelled. Evidently discussions that occurred after the April 25th meeting led to these substitutions, all of which concerned compositions by Western composers.)

Changes had been made by April 25 in each of the other concerts by Polish performers. Rowicki's concert differed from the version given in March in its deletion of Schönberg's *Moses und Aron*, its programming of Prokofiev's Third Symphony rather than his Second, and its addition of Szymanowski's Symphony No. 3 (1916), the latter satisfying the requirement that a piece by that composer be performed at the Festival.<sup>41</sup> Wisłocki had been assigned to direct the second National Philharmonic concert. The compositions previously linked to him and the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra were now associated with the National Philharmonic, with the following changes: in addition to the piece by Regamey scheduled in March, Hindemith's composition was now identified as the Symphony "Die Harmonie der Welt" (1951) and two other works were listed: *Prelude et Fugue* by Constantin Silvestri, who had emigrated from Romania to Paris in 1956, and a Piano Concerto by Shostakovich. (By 1959, Shostakovich had written two piano concertos, but in the minutes to this meeting the piece is not identified by number or date of composition.) Since no Polish works were planned for this concert, the organizers attempted to choose a short composition by a native composer. Malawski's Overture and

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<sup>40</sup> "'Jesień Warszawska'. Program Koncertu Orkiestry Kameralnej Filharmonii Śląskiej, Chóru Kameralnego Filharmonii Narodowej oraz solistów," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>41</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

Lutosławski's Overture for Strings were suggested, but not accepted. At Lutosławski's request, his Overture was not considered further.

The Program Commission indicated that the programs for all of the other concerts were still being discussed with their respective performers. In some cases, the Commission suggested changes in the programs submitted by the conductors and soloists. Henryk Czyż, scheduled to conduct the Łódź Philharmonic, had proposed Honegger's *Judith* (1925), Soviet composer Ovanes Ter-Tat'evosjan's Symphony No. 1 (1957), and an unidentified Bulgarian piece. The Commission rejected *Judith* as a "weak work," and suggested Honegger's *Joan of Arc* (1935, concert version 1938) as a substitute. This piece would fill the entire program, thus also resulting in the cancellation of the other two pieces. If Czyż rejected this idea, the Commission's alternative solution was to have the orchestra present Shostakovich's Sixth or Eighth Symphony (1939, 1943) in place of Ter-Tat'evosjan's Symphony.

The proposed repertoire for the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra's single concert--now scheduled to be directed by Jan Krenz--contained pieces not mentioned previously during the preparations for the 1959 Festival: Webern's *Six Pieces for Orchestra* (1909, arr. reduced orchestra 1928), Nono's *Composizione per orchestra* (1951)--originally scheduled to be played at the 1958 Festival, Szymanowski's Symphony No. 4 (1932), and either Szabelski's *Sonatas for Orchestra* or Bacewicz's *Music for Strings, Trumpets, and Percussion* (1958). The Program Commission suggested that Szymanowski's symphony be deleted. If Szabelski's piece was chosen by the Suisse Romande Orchestra (as had been proposed in February), the Radio Symphony could then play Górecki's Symphony No. 1 "1959." However, the Commission also decided that only one piece by Górecki could be presented at the Festival, and Markowski was currently

slated to present the composer's Concerto for five instruments and string quartet. Further changes in this program were thus a distinct possibility.

Of the pieces to be played at the Polish musicians' chamber concert, only two pieces were named on April 25: Górecki's *Clashes for Two Pianos* ("Uderzenia na 2 fortepiany") and Bulgarian composer Konstantin Iliev's String Quartet.<sup>42</sup> The compositions by Shostakovich and Bartók cited in October were no longer under consideration. The violin duo of Irena Dubiska and Eugenia Umińska had submitted a list of possible works on March 7, but its repertoire was not mentioned at the April 25th meeting. The pieces the violinists had suggested were Michał Spisak's Suite for Two Violins (1958), Alan Rawsthorne's Theme and Variations (1937), and Roman Palester's Sonata for two violins and piano (1939). According to Dubiska, Spisak had written his Suite specifically for her duo.<sup>43</sup> The final group scheduled to perform on this concert--the Warsaw Reed Trio--was to discuss its repertoire with Lutosławski.<sup>44</sup>

The Program Commission also decided that Bartók's Third Piano Concerto, proposed by the Hungarian Radio Orchestra, should not be performed at the Festival because it was played elsewhere frequently. (It cannot be determined if performances in Poland had

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<sup>42</sup> Górecki is known to have written two pieces for piano duo by the end of 1959: *Toccata* (1955) and *Five Pieces* (1959) [*Encyklopedia muzyczna* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne: 1979-), vol. 3, s.v. "Henryk Górecki"]. *Uderzenia for two pianos* may have been an early, unfinished version of *Zderzenia* for orchestra, completed in 1960. The organizers of the 1960 Festival considered a piece for orchestra by Górecki that was titled *Uderzenia*, new version. This orchestral composition was eventually titled *Zderzenia*, which translates to "Clashes." The piece is more commonly known in Poland and elsewhere as *Scontri*.

<sup>43</sup> Irena Dubiska, Warsaw, to the Polish Composers Union, March 7, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>44</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Programowej II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 25 kwietnia 1959 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

occurred in recent years.) The Commission suggested that one of its members talk with the Orchestra's conductor who would be in Katowice in early May--Imre Kun--about the possibility of performing Bartók's Second Piano Concerto instead of the Third. If that proposal was not accepted, Malawski's *Toccata and Fugue in the Form of Variations* (1949) would be offered as an alternative. The remaining repertoire for this concert was not mentioned.

Only a few pieces to be played by Western performers were identified in April. The single work mentioned as a possibility for the Parrenin Quartet's concert was a quartet by Iliev--the same piece suggested by the Commission for the Polish musicians' chamber concert. The program announced for the Suisse Romande orchestra included only the designations "a work by Stravinsky, a Polish work (Krenz or Szabelski or Spisak or Turski), a Swiss work."<sup>45</sup> The Polish composers cited here were the same ones named in February.

The repertoire to be performed at a recital by soloists Severino Gazzelloni and Josephine Nendick was still being negotiated. The Commission proposed two pieces for Gazzelloni's portion of the concert: Varèse's "work for flute solo" and Berio's "work for flute solo and magnetic tape."<sup>46</sup> Varèse's piece was undoubtedly *Density 21.5*; the title of Berio's composition was probably *Sequenza* No. 1 for solo flute, which does not require a tape.

The repertoire to be performed by the Soviet Union's Beethoven Quartet was not known in April by the members of the Commission, who noted at their meeting only that it was necessary to send the group a score for a Polish string quartet. Similarly, the

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<sup>45</sup> "Utwór Strawińskiego, utwór polski /Krenz lub Szabelski, lub Spisak lub Turski/, utwór szwajcarski." Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> "Utwór na flet solo...utwór na flet solo i taśmę magnet.[abbreviation in text]," Ibid.

Commission made no references to the program to be played by the Berlin Opera Wind Quintet, except that the ensemble should play only a half-concert. Not mentioned at all were the presentations by the Baltic and Poznań Operas or the contents of the electronic music concert to be arranged by Pierre Schaeffer, which had supplanted the concert of Polish electronic music originally proposed.

In some respects, the version of the Festival's program in place by the end of April did adhere to the general plans laid out in October 1958 and February 1959. First, the performance of one piece by Szymanowski called for in February was foreseen, since the National Philharmonic had agreed to perform his Third Symphony. Secondly, most of the pieces named in April had been composed within the fifteen year limit prescribed in February; in fact, many of the Polish pieces had been composed within the past two years.<sup>47</sup>

Although the organizers in February 1959 had decided that Western ensembles could choose works that were avant-garde, moderate, or "monuments," it is impossible to categorize the compositions selected by them, since the organizers themselves did not attempt to classify any of the proposed works according to strict demarcations of style or quality--with the exception of Honegger's *Judith*. Still, the organizers in 1958 had called Bartók, Hindemith, Prokofiev, and Stravinsky composers of contemporary classics; works by these four composers also had been proposed for the 1959 Festival, leading to the assumption that at least these pieces could be called classics, or monuments. Compositions by other important composers of the twentieth century--Honegger, Schönberg,

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<sup>47</sup> The Polish composition older than two years were those by Turcki, Krenz, and Spisak that had been proposed for the Suisse Romande orchestra, and Malawski's *Toccata*, suggested for the Hungarian Radio Orchestra.



Shostakovich, Varèse, and Webern--also were suggested in 1959, and might deserve the label of "classic" or "monument," but the organizers did not define them explicitly as such.

Other provisions called for by the organizers in October and February were not followed. For example, not all of the concerts whose programs had been announced in April included at least one Polish composition. The concert by the Łódź Philharmonic was one such case. Also, the chamber concert to be presented by Severino Gazzelloni and Josephine Nendick currently did not have a Polish composition scheduled, although the complete program for that event was not provided.

Another guideline not followed by the organizers concerned the Program Commission's decree that it would not select or eliminate non-Polish works performed by foreign musicians. In fact, the Commission had already suggested several pieces for foreign ensembles.

These criticisms should not be applied too strongly to the version of the repertoire announced in April 1959, for at that time many of the pieces to be presented by foreign performers remained unidentified. It is particularly important to point out that no works had been named yet for the Beethoven Quartet's concert and Pierre Schäffer's exhibit of *musique concrète*, and that only one composition had been suggested for the Parrenin Quartet's program. The organizers may have left the choice of works for these concerts up to the performers, since they had not proposed any specific works for these events by the end of April. Alternatively, they may not have been certain if two of the concerts would actually occur; the Beethoven Quartet was mentioned as a participant for the first time only in April, while Pierre Schäffer's exhibition was cited in March, but not a month later. The programs for these concerts may have negotiated in late spring and summer, but information on organizational meetings held during that time is lacking.

The organizers' May 1st deadline for establishing the 1959 Festival's repertoire was not met. Numerous changes in the programs of Polish and foreign performers were made between May and the time that the program book was printed about mid to late August. The earliest evidence of these changes came in the form of a June 5 letter from Andrzej Markowski and L. Świątkowski, respectively the conductor and director of the Silesian Philharmonic, to the Executive Board of the Composers Union.<sup>48</sup> This letter confirms that the program for the Philharmonic's chamber concert at the Festival was still being negotiated. Markowski indicated that Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, the Polish music publisher, would not forward the orchestral parts for his concert to the Philharmonic until the organizers made a final decision about the concert's repertoire and notified the publisher of the selections. At the same time, Markowski submitted his latest program proposal and noted that the inclusion of Szabelski's *Improvisations* (1959) was subject to the approval of the Festival Committee. He also stated that he did not wish to perform the piece by Stravinsky--probably the *Dumbarton Oaks Concerto* cited in the aforementioned April 27 document. Górecki's *Concerto* and Webern's *Symphony, op. 21* were no longer under discussion, indicating that further negotiations had taken place between the end of April and the beginning of June.

Several additional compositions to be performed at the Festival were named by Zbigniew Turski in a July interview: Jolivet's *Flute Concerto No. 1* (1949), with Severino Gazzelloni as the soloist; Boulez's *Piano Sonata No. 2* (1948), performed by Marcelle Mercenier; Frank Martin's *Violin Concerto* (1951), to be presented by the Suisse Romande Orchestra and soloist Hansheinz Schneeberger; Stravinsky's *Symphony in Three Movements* (1945); and Szabelski's *Improvisations* (performers for the last two pieces were

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<sup>48</sup> Andrzej Markowski and L. Świątkowski, Silesian State Philharmonic, to the Polish Composers Union, June 5, 1959, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

not named).<sup>49</sup> Szymanowski's Fourth Symphony was also included in Turski's list. This piece evidently had remained on the program of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra, despite the Program Commission's earlier recommendation that it be cut. (It was played by that orchestra at the Festival.) Similarly, Malawski's Overture, taken out of consideration in April, was again on the program, although the ensemble scheduled to play it was not identified by Turski.

The pieces cited by Turski did not comprise the entire repertoire of the Festival, but the omissions in his announcement do yield information on the state of its preparations as of July. For instance, no compositions for string quartet were named by Turski, even though he stated in the interview that both the Parrenin and Beethoven Quartets would appear at the Festival. The omission by Turski of the repertoire for these two chamber concerts suggests, but does not prove that the Polish organizers did not yet know what those programs would contain. Turski also announced that "each of the People's Democracies will be represented with some larger work."<sup>50</sup> However, he proceeded to cite only the theatrical pieces by Czechoslovakian composer Suchoň and East German composer Bruns, neglecting to name compositions by composers from Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. Bulgarian composer Liev at least had been mentioned in April. As mentioned earlier, Silvestri was a 1956 emigré from Romania to Western Europe; his *Prelude et Fugue* was probably regarded by Turski as a Romanian composition. Similarly, Bartók was the only composer of Hungarian descent who had pieces scheduled on the Festival.

Negotiations continued throughout the summer. All of the pieces named in July by Turski were listed in the program book, but other pieces not named previously were also

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<sup>49</sup> B.D., "Jakie utwory," p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> "Każdy z krajów demokracji ludowej będzie reprezentowany jakimś większym utworem." Ibid.

scheduled. Rowicki's concert with the National Philharmonic now looked quite different: Serocki's *Music for strings and percussion* (a.k.a. *Episodes*) was deleted, but Szabelski's Toccata (1938), Shostakovich's First Piano Concerto, and Webern's *Six Pieces for Orchestra*, op. 6 were added. Shostakovich's Concerto had been scheduled previously for the National Philharmonic concert to be conducted by Wisłocki, while Webern's composition had been planned for the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra.

Krenz's concert with the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra had been altered since April because of the shift of Webern's *Six Pieces* to the National Philharmonic, the decision to keep Szymanowski's Symphony No. 4, and the conductor's acceptance of the Program Commission's suggestion to play Górecki's Symphony No. 1. Britten's Passacaglia from *Peter Grimes* was added to the Suisse Romande's concert. Markowski's program with the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra was the same one proposed by the conductor in June. It included Szabelski's *Improvisations*, which evidently had been approved by the Festival Committee.

The programs for several concerts were provided for the first time only in the program book. The Program Commission's April recommendation that the Parrenin Quartet present Iliev's quartet was not followed, but four other quartets by Roussel, Honegger, Schönberg, and Boulez were scheduled. The complete program for the chamber concert by Gazzelloni and Mercenier included the pieces by Varèse and Berio suggested by the Program Commission in April. (Here Berio's piece was identified as his *Sequenza No. 1* for flute. In addition, the program book listed Varèse's *Le Merle Noir*, which is actually by Messiaen. *Density 21.5* was performed at the Festival.) Boulez's Piano Sonata No. 2 was still on the program. The remainder of the concert was to consist of compositions not cited previously, by composers Henze, Pousseur, and Boulez.

Other compositions named only in the program book were those to be played by the Gewandhaus Wind Quintet and the Hungarian Radio Orchestra, those to be presented on the Polish musicians' chamber concert, and those to be offered by Pierre Schäffer. For the orchestra's concert, Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra was scheduled in place of the composer's Piano Concertos discussed in April.

Perhaps most significantly, the Beethoven Quartet's repertoire was not given in the program book. This was the only concert for which no compositions were named. Available information suggests that few discussions about this concert took place between the Polish organizers and the Soviets. The only extant evidence of any discussion of the program on the Polish side was the reminder at a Program Commission meeting to send a Polish quartet to the Soviets. It is thus probable that the program was decided by the Soviets with little or no input from Poland. The lateness with which the Quartet's program was provided points to the conclusion that the Soviets balked at making a decision about the contents of this concert either because of some disagreement with the Polish organizers or because they simply did not want to make a decision until absolutely necessary.

Few differences existed between the repertoire given in the program book and the works actually performed at the Festival. The most unexpected one was the cancellation of the Warsaw Opera's performance of *Mazepa*, the ballet by Szeligowski that had been scheduled since March. The two remaining changes were the cancellation of Varèse's *Octandre* on the Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra's concert and the substitution of Fidelio Finke's Sonata for Horn and Piano for the same composer's Wind Quintet on the Gewandhaus Quintet's program.

In general, the process of selecting repertoire for the 1959 Festival does not seem to have been so chaotic as the situation a year earlier. Sweeping changes similar to those that occurred with the Polish musicians' chamber concert in August 1958 did not occur in

1959. Nevertheless, shifts in repertoire were still made until the start of the Festival; the organizers' self-imposed deadlines of May 1 and May 15 were not met.

Although the organizers' declared policy of permitting foreign performers to choose the non-Polish portions of their concerts was not strictly complied with, it does seem that these musicians either selected at least some of their compositions without consulting the organizers or conducted most of their negotiations with Poland after April. The slate of performers from Western Europe was set by July, as described in Chapter IX, but some of the repertoire was not known until the program book went to the publishers about a month later. The pieces to be played by Polish performers underwent changes even after the printing of the program book, despite the fact that these concerts had been under discussion with the organizers since at least March.

The Hungarians seem to have been more accessible to personal contacts and recommendations from the Polish side than were the East Germans and the Soviets. The Program Commission and the Hungarian Radio Orchestra had exchanged suggestions about specific pieces and the Commission had suggested that someone from Poland speak with one of the conductors of the Hungarian Radio Orchestra about the program. Moreover, these discussions had begun as early as April; East Germany and the Soviet Union did not notify Poland of the contents of their ensembles' concerts until late in the planning year.

According to the Administrative Order issued in February 1959, which governed the organization of the third Festival, the Program Commission was to suggest the program for the entire Festival. Available evidence has shown, however, that the program proposed to the Organizing Committee by the Program Commission was one that probably had been developed only partly through negotiations; the remainder was determined by decisions made independently by performers and officials in other countries. In this latter situation

the Program Commission may have been able only to ensure that no compositions were played more than once at the Festival and that no pieces performed at the first two events were presented in 1959.

## 1960

As discussed in Chapter VII, the organizing bodies of the 1960 Festival were the Temporary Repertoire Commission, which functioned until mid-March, and the Festival Committee, which first met in late February, but was not fully operative until the appointment of its Presidium and Secretary General the next month. Several members of the Temporary Repertoire Commission were appointed to the Festival Committee and its Presidium, thus contributing a sense of continuity to the organizational process. The Commission and the Presidium were the groups most involved in making decisions about the pieces to be played at the Festival.

### General plans

The Temporary Repertoire Commission appointed by the Executive Board of the Composers Union in November 1959 met for the first time on the 23rd of that month. At that time the Commission determined that one of its goals for the 1960 Festival would be the inclusion of avant-garde, moderate, and conservative compositions as well as contemporary classics. As discussed in Chapter VIII, the public announcement of this goal, found in the 1960 program book, separated contemporary classics from works of recent years, which were either traditional or experimental in style. The fifteen-year age limit imposed for the 1959 Festival was not repeated for the 1960 event, leaving the twentieth

century as the demarcation. The rule that each ensemble perform at least one Polish composition at the Festival was upheld for the fourth year.<sup>51</sup>

The organizers made no formal decisions about whether foreign performers should participate in negotiations about repertoire or should be permitted to choose their own programs without interference from the Polish side. As in 1959, it is not possible to determine if all invited foreign performers participated in negotiations with the Polish organizers concerning their repertoire, but evidence does indicate that some ensembles from both East and West did conduct such talks. The Temporary Repertoire Commission and later the Presidium of the Festival Committee suggested compositions for Polish performers and accepted their proposals as well.

To aid in making decisions the organizers asked several Western publishers to send scores of compositions that were being considered for the Festival. Extant evidence from previous years does not betray such requests. Possibly, before the 1959 Festival either pieces unknown to the organizers were accepted on the recommendation of the performers and other colleagues, or scores of these works were submitted by the performers or composers themselves; again, no proof of either action exists.

### Negotiating Process

One of the first actions taken by the Temporary Repertoire Commission was to compile a list of compositions divided into four groups--contemporary classics, moderate works, avant-garde pieces, and Polish compositions.<sup>52</sup> Such a separation had not been made so

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<sup>51</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>52</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej /1960/ - w dniu 23.XI.1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.



explicitly in previous years. The list of compositions, found in Table 3, includes those pieces that the Commission was interested in considering for the Festival, not works that it had already approved for performance.

A variety of media is represented by the compositions listed, from music for traditional instruments to electronic music and compositions using prepared piano, from symphonies and chamber music to opera. This embracing of different composers and media points to the organizers' intent to offer a wide selection of contemporary music. Similarly, a variety of compositional techniques are included in the range of compositions named. The dodecaphony of Schönberg's *Variations for Orchestra*, the neoclassicism of Stravinsky's *The Soldier's Tale*, the integral serialism of Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte* and the graphic notation and tape loops of Kagel's *Transitions II* are a few of these techniques.

Most of the Polish composers named are grouped apart from the avant-garde, moderate, and classics categories. This separation emphasizes the importance that the organizers placed on the performance of Polish music at the Festival. Although for the most part only Polish composers were named, not compositions, three of the four pieces identified had been written in the past year. Moreover, except for Lutosławski and Turiski, each of the composers belonged to the youngest generation of Polish musicians. The presentation of recently written Polish compositions to an international audience had been one of the primary reasons for the establishment of the Festival and, as seen here, continued to be a major reason for its existence.

TABLE 3

**List of Compositions Selected by the Temporary Repertoire Commission  
November 23, 1959<sup>53</sup>**

**I. Contemporary Classics****Béla Bartók**

Sonata for two pianos and percussion  
(1937)  
*Contrasts* (1938)  
*Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta*  
(1936)  
Piano Concerto No. 2 (1931)

**Anton Webern**

Variations, op. 30 (1940)  
Concerto for Nine Instruments  
(1934)  
Songs, opp. 14, 15, 19 (1923,  
1923, 1926)

**Leoš Janáček**

*Rikadla* ("Nursery Rhyme") (1927)

**Arthur Honegger**

*Joan of Arc* (1935)

**Igor Stravinsky**

*The Soldier's Tale* (1918)  
*In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* (1954)  
*Canticum sacrum* (1955)  
*Agon* (1957)

**Alban Berg**

*Lulu* (1935)  
*Wozzeck* (1922)  
*Chamber Concerto* (1925)

**Manuel De Falla**

*El Retablo de Maese Pedro* (1927)

**Józef Koffler**

String Trio (1929)  
Songs

**Arnold Schönberg**

*Pierrot lunaire* (1912)  
*Fünf Orchesterstücke*, op. 16 (1909)  
Suite for Piano, op. 29 (1923)  
*Erwartung* (1909)  
Variations, op. 31 (1928)  
"Dance of the Golden Calf" from  
*Moses und Aron* (1932)

**Karol Szymanowski**

Piano Sonata No. 3 (1917)  
String Quartet No. 2 (1927)  
*Litany to the Virgin Mary* (1933)  
*Songs of a Fairy-Tale Princess*  
(1915)  
*Metopes* (1915)  
*King Roger* (1924)

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<sup>53</sup> This table is adapted from "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej /1960/ - w dniu 23.XI.1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. The dates of compositions have been added. The name Iliov could not be found in reference books; it might be a misspelling of Iliev, but the latter composer did not write a *Sinfonia breve*, according to *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

## Table 3 (continued)

Sergei Prokofiev  
 Quintet (1924)  
*Visions fugitives* (1917)  
*Sarcasms* (1914)

**II. Moderate Works**

Olivier Messiaen  
*Le réveil des oiseaux* (1953)  
*Vingt Regards sur l'Enfant Jésus* (1944)

Luigi Dallapiccola  
*Cinque canti* (1956)

Iliov  
*Sinfonia breve* (?)

Dmitri Shostakovich  
 Cello Concerto No. 1 (1959)

Karl Hartmann  
 Symphony No. 6 (1953)

Jean-Louis Martinet  
*Prometheus Trilogy* (1947)

Alberto Ginastera

Hilding Rosenberg

Michael Tippett

Hans Werner Henze  
*Five Neapolitan Songs* (1956)  
*Four Nocturnes and Arias* (1957)

Carlos Chavez  
 Toccata for percussion (1942)

Goffredo Petrassi  
*Serenata* (1958)

Boris Blacher  
*Orchester-Ornament* (1953)

Carl Orff  
*Trionfo de Afrodite* (1953)

Ingvar Lidholm  
*Ritornello* (1955)

Heitor Villa-Lobos

Humphrey Searle

**III. Avant-garde Works**

Karlheinz Stockhausen  
*Gruppen* (1957)  
*Zyklus* (1959)  
*Kontra-punkte* (1952, rev. 1953)

Bo Nilsson  
*Mädchentotenlieder* (1960-61)  
*Ein ihrender Sohn* (1960-61)

Pierre Boulez  
*Improvisation sur Mallarmé* (1958)  
*Le soleil des eaux* (1948, rev. 1958)

Luciano Berio  
*Alleluja II* (1958)  
*Nones* (1954)

Table 3 (continued)

<u>Luigi Nono</u> <i>Cori di Didone</i> (1958)	<u>Henri Pousseur</u> <i>Rimes pour différentes sources sonores, 3 orchestral groups, and 2-track tape</i> (1959)
<u>Roman Haubenstock-Ramati</u> <i>Serenade</i> (1958)	<u>Mauricio Kagel</u> <i>Transitions II for piano, percussion, and tape</i> (1959)
<u>John Cage</u> Concerto for Prepared Piano (1951)	<u>Roland Kayn</u> <i>Aggregate</i>
<u>Henry Brant</u> <i>Galaxy 2</i> (1954)	<u>Sven-Erik Bäck</u> <i>A Game Around a Game</i> (1959)
<u>Yoritsune Matsudaira</u> <i>Figures sonores</i> (1956)	<u>Dieter Schönbach</u> <i>Canticum Psalmi Resurrectionis</i> (1957)
<u>Iannis Xenakis</u> <i>Achorripsis for 21 Instruments</i> (1957)	<u>Niccolò Castiglioni</u>
<u>Sylvano Bussotti</u>	
<b><u>IV. Polish Works</u></b>	
<u>Kazimierz Serocki</u> <i>Episodes</i> (1959)	<u>Tadeusz Baird</u> <i>Exhortation</i> (1960)
<u>Włodzimierz Kotoński</u> <i>Musique en relief</i> (1959)	<u>Zbigniew Turcki</u> <i>Sinfonia da camera</i> (1947)
<u>Witold Szalonek</u>	<u>Krzysztof Penderecki</u>
<u>Witold Lutosławski</u>	<u>Jan Krenz</u>
<u>Henryk Górecki</u>	<u>Bogusław Schäffer</u>
<u>Wojciech Kilar</u>	

Even though the organizers had implied in their publicized statements of goals that there was a distinction between recently-written works and those that could be called

contemporary classics, the range of compositions provided by the organizers and listed in Table 3 belies such an absolute division. Although nearly all of the compositions listed as classics had been written before the start of World War II, three of those by Stravinsky had been completed in the 1950s. The oldest of the avant-garde, moderate, and Polish pieces--Chavez's *Toccata*--had been written in 1942. All of the compositions in the non-classic categories were thus less than twenty years old. However, the classics were as new as two years old (Stravinsky's *Agon*). A strict demarcation based on the ages of classics and other compositions was not enforced, at least for the 1960 Festival.

An objective determination of which twentieth-century compositions deserve the label of contemporary classic cannot be made by comparing the specific compositions named as classics in the organizers' list to the definition of that term provided by the anonymous author of the introduction to the 1960 program book: one of the "milestones of the music of our century that ha[s] become the point of departure for younger generations."<sup>54</sup> Even if the number of pieces to be compared is increased by including all those written by the composers listed in Table 3 as creators of contemporary classics, the same problem remains. That is, if a contemporary classic is defined as any composition written by one of the most important composers of the twentieth century or by a composer whose output as a whole exerted an influence on music written later in the century, questions about the contents of the organizers' list still arise almost immediately. One of the most debatable figures is Koffler, the first Polish dodecaphonist. Koffler was known in Europe during the interwar period and undoubtedly was talented, but he is not considered, even in Poland, as one of the most influential composers of that period. His inclusion on this compilation as a composer of classics may have been due to the fact that he was a Polish composer who

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<sup>54</sup> See Chapter VIII and IV *Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej 'Warszawska Jesień'*, p. 3.

employed an influential compositional technique of the twentieth century--dodecaphony. The members of the Commission therefore may have wished to disseminate his music more widely, since it had not been performed in Poland or other countries for many years. Here the age of his compositions may have prompted his inclusion by the Commission as a composer of classics; all of the composers listed in the "Polish" category were still alive and had produced compositions in the post-war period.

The choices made by the Commission for the second two categories--moderate and avant-garde works--also may be questioned. For instance, Dallapiccola is named in the former group, even though many musicians in the late 1950s might have considered him to be a member of the avant-garde, equal in importance to Nono and Berio. However, because an explanation of the qualities of avant-garde or "moderate" music was not provided by the Commission, the information provided in Table 3 must be taken at face value. The organizers wanted to present compositions that were avant-garde, moderate, and classic, and they developed this list to aid in their selection of repertoire for the fourth Festival.

None of the compositions in this list had been presented previously at the Warsaw Autumn Festival, in keeping with the organizers' desire to present different pieces each year. Several of the works had been proposed for earlier Festivals, but had not been chosen for performance. Among such works were Nilsson's *Mädchentotenlieder*, Schönberg's Variations, op. 31, Bartók's Second Piano Concerto, and Berg's *Wozzeck*. It should be emphasized additionally that no composers are named in more than one category, and that compositions are not listed for some composers. Hence, the organizers were implying that certain composers were writers of avant-garde music, of the classics, etc., and that in putting together their list, they selected some of the pieces by these composers that had not yet been performed at the Festival. This implication differs from that which would declare

that certain pieces by one composer are contemporary classics, for example, while others by the same composer are not worthy of that designation.

Significantly, few Soviet or East European composers are named in the compilation given in the Table. Except for Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Janáček, Iliov (?), and Bartók, the remaining composers are from Poland or the West (including Japan). Since this list was compiled for the use of the Temporary Repertoire Commission as it considered compositions to be performed at the 1960 Festival, the omission of significant numbers of Soviet or East European composers indicates that the Commission did not expect to be intimately involved in choosing compositions or composers from these countries.

The members of the Temporary Repertoire Commission initially linked only a few of the works in their list to specific performers. For instance, in November 1959 they suggested that French pianist Yvonne Loriod be asked to present Messiaen's *Vingt Regards sur l'Enfant Jésus*, as well as pieces by Webern and Boulez; that Mstislav Rostropovich perform Shostakovich's Cello Concerto No. 1; that Richter be requested to present Szymanowski's Third Piano Sonata and Bartók's Second Piano Concerto; and that the Stockholm Opera present *Wozzeck*. The Kraków Philharmonic Choir would be asked to present unidentified pieces by Janáček, Nono, Lidholm, Martinet, and Dallapiccola. Other repertoire envisioned in November for the 1960 Festival had not been specifically named in the organizers' list: electronic music from Milan and compositions by Varèse were among these selections.<sup>55</sup>

Between November and February the Commission listened to tapes of some of the works named in its list as well as others not included therein, and selected compositions by

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<sup>55</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej /1960/ - w dniu 23.XI.1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

Western composers for possible performance by Polish ensembles. Among the works evaluated by the Commission were several "avant-garde" pieces from Table 3 by Nilsson, Pousseur, Brant, Bäck, Berio, and Kayn; Chavez's *Toccata*. from the "moderate" category; Koffler's music; and several compositions by Varèse and Stefan Behr (a Polish composer), neither of whom had been included in the Table. The Commission decided to send for scores to pieces by Brant, Pousseur, Dallapiccola, Matsudaira, Messiaen, and Varèse.<sup>56</sup> These pieces and composers were certainly not the only ones considered by the Festival's organizers; they are the only ones mentioned specifically in the available minutes of organizational meetings as having been auditioned through tape or score. Each of the organizers would have been acquainted with some of the other pieces named in the Table as well as others proposed during the year, and would have been able to discuss these works with colleagues on the Commission. For example, in February 1960 the Festival Committee accepted the performance of Roman Maciejewski's *Requiem* on the recommendation of several composers who knew the piece either through its score or an aural presentation. (These composers were Zbigniew Turski, Witold Rowicki, Grażyna Bacewicz, Witold Lutosławski, Andrzej Dobrowolski, Zygmunt Mycielski, and Witold Rudziński.)<sup>57</sup> The Committee as a whole apparently did not listen to a tape or look at a score of the composition before approving its performance at the Festival.

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<sup>56</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej /1960 r/ w dniu 1 grudnia 1959 r."; "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV. Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 22 grudnia 1959 r."; "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV. Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - dn. 5 stycznia 1960 r."; and Letters to Edition Suvine Zerboni, Milan, January 28, 1960, to Maison Carisch, Milan, April 11, 1960, and to G. Ricordi & Co., New York, April 11, 1960, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>57</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.



By December 22, the Temporary Repertoire Commission had chosen four of the compositions listed as contemporary classics in Table 3 for possible performance on Polish symphonic concerts: Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta*, a selection from Schönberg's *Moses und Aron* (presumably "The Dance of the Golden Calf"), Stravinsky's *Agon*, and Webern's *Variations*, op.30.<sup>58</sup> Specific performers still were not linked to any of these four pieces. Other compositions, however, were proposed for particular conductors or orchestras: Jan Krenz was asked to conduct Nono's *Composizione per orchestra No. 2: Diario Polacco* (1959), Markowski was requested to direct Petrassi's *Serenata*, and the National Philharmonic was asked to play Boulez's *Le soleil des eaux*. Henryk Czyż was asked by the Temporary Commission on January 5, 1960 to direct three works with the National Philharmonic: Schönberg's "The Dance of the Golden Calf," Stravinsky's *Agon*, and Shostakovich's Cello Concerto. The Commission planned to ask Czyż to submit his own program suggestions as well.<sup>59</sup>

Specific pieces for foreign performers were not suggested again until the February 20, 1960 meeting of the Festival Committee.<sup>60</sup> At that time, the members of the Committee reiterated some of the same recommendations made in November. The members of the Committee also suggested pieces for Richter's recital, which at that time was still scheduled. (As discussed in Chapter IX, it was cancelled later by the Soviets.) Decisions

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<sup>58</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV. Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 22 grudnia 1959 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>59</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia tymczasowej Komisji Repertuarowej IV. Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - dn. 5 stycznia 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>60</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego 'Warszawska Jesień' 1960 r. (IV MFMW) z dnia 20 lutego 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

about which Polish compositions should be played by foreign ensembles were not made until at least March 29, 1960.<sup>61</sup>

The four Polish conductors scheduled to conduct at the 1960 Festival were requested to attend the meeting of the Program Commission on March 1 in order to discuss their programs with the organizers.<sup>62</sup> Of these four--Czyż, Krenz, Markowski, and Rowicki--only the latter two were present at the meeting. The following pieces were confirmed by the Commission for the concerts to be directed by these two conductors; the list of works under Czyż's name represented proposals made by the Commission that would be discussed later with the conductor.<sup>63</sup> No decisions were made about Krenz's programs in his absence.

Markowski. Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra and Choir

Varèse, *Octandre* (1923) or *Intégrale* (1925)  
 Prokofiev, *American Overture* (1926, reorch. 1928)  
 Stravinsky, *In memoriam Dylan Thomas* (1954)  
 Schönberg, *Three Pieces for Chamber Ensemble* (1910)  
 Webern, *Four Songs, op.13* (1915-1917)  
 Petrassi, *Serenata* (1958)  
 B. Schäffer, *Piece for Harpsichord and Chamber Ensemble* (1958)  
 Nilsson, *Mädchentotenlieder* (1960-61)  
 Penderecki, *Dimensions of Time and Silence* (1960)

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<sup>61</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. Minutes for the March 29 meeting are not available; the agenda for that session included the above information.

<sup>62</sup> The Program Commission was not described as a "Temporary" one at this meeting or on March 1, but it still was functioning in that capacity; on February 20 it had been authorized to work only until the appointment of the Secretary General and the Presidium of the Festival Committee.

<sup>63</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej - w dniu 1 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960. The actual title of Schäffer's piece was *Tertium datur*.

## In reserve:

Matsudaira, *Koromogae* for soprano and 19 instruments (1954)  
 Pousseur, *Rhymes* (date of composition unknown)  
 Berio, *Differences* for 5 instruments and tape (1959)

Rowicki, National Philharmonic

Jolivet, *Andante* for strings (1935) or  
 Roussel, *Sinfonietta* for strings (1934)  
 Bartók, Piano Concerto No. 2 (1931) or *Music for Strings, Percussion, and  
 Celesta* (1936)  
 Serocki, *Episodes* (1959)  
 Boulez, *Le soleil des eaux* (1958)  
 Baird, *Exhortation* (1960)

Czyż, National Philharmonic

Honegger, Prelude and Fugue [from *Amphion*] (1929)  
 Shostakovich, Cello Concerto No. 1 (1959)  
 Schönberg, "Dance of the Golden Calf" (1932)  
 Stravinsky, *Agon* (1957)  
 Kotoński, *Musique en relief* (1959)

The programs for the two concerts to be performed by the Great Polish Radio

Symphony Orchestra with conductor Jan Krenz were determined the next day, March 2:<sup>64</sup>

First Concert

Turski, *Sinfonia da camera* (1947)  
 Hindemith, *Kammermusik No. 1* (1922)  
 Milhaud, *Creation of the World* (1923)  
 Lutosławski, *Five Songs on Texts of Kazimiera Iłkiewicz* (1958)  
 Webern, Concerto for Nine Instruments, op. 24 (1934)  
 Górecki, *Songs of Joy and Rhythm* (new version) (1956?) or *Uderzenie  
 [Scontri]* (new version) (1960)  
 Messiaen, *Oiseaux exotiques* (1956)

Second Concert

Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex* (1927)  
 Bartók, Piano Concerto No. 2 (1931)

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<sup>64</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komisji Repertuarowej IV Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie - w dniu 2 marca 1960." Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

Most of the composers named for the Polish ensembles' concerts had been under consideration since at least November, when the list of works given in Table 3 was compiled, although in some cases compositions different from those listed in the Table were now suggested. The recommendations of foreign works made by the Commission on December 22 and January 5 had been upheld, except for Webern's *Variations*, op.30, which was no longer mentioned. Milhaud, Jolivet and Roussel were the only composers suggested in March who had not been named in November.

On March 19 the Festival Committee's Presidium introduced several new ideas for the concerts by Polish performers.<sup>65</sup> The presentation of taped radio operas by Bacewicz and Wiszniewski was mentioned, as was the possibility of having one or more Festival concerts in Kraków, where Maciejewski's *Requiem* and Szymanowski's *King Roger* could be performed. Also, the repertoire for the concert of the Poznań Boys' and Men's Choir was discussed for the first time--Lidholm, Janáček, Martinet, Dallapiccola, Nono, Wiechowicz, and an unnamed composer from Poznań were listed, although no compositions were mentioned. These composers had been cited previously as possible composers for the Kraków Philharmonic Choir's concert, which was no longer scheduled. On Rowicki's concert with the National Philharmonic, the compositions by Jolivet and Roussel were cancelled, and Schönberg's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* was added as a possible alternative to Boulez's *Le soleil des eaux*.

On March 1, the Program Commission had decided to ask for a performance of Shostakovich's Cello Concerto No. 1 by Rostropovich and the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic. By March 19, as discussed in Chapter IX, Soviet pressures to substitute Daniel Shafran and Arno Babadzhanian for Rostropovich and Richter, respectively, came

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<sup>65</sup> "Protokół z zebrania Prezydium Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 19 marca 1960 r.," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

under the scrutiny of the Festival Committee's Presidium. By insisting that Rostropovich and Richter come because they had already submitted programs desired by the organizers, these organizers were stating clearly that the music itself was now the most important facet of the Festival and that they would not accept the Soviets' suggestions without arguing that point.

Other discussions about the repertoire to be presented by foreign performers also took place on March 19. The proposed program sent by the Tokyo Radio Symphony Orchestra was rejected by the Festival Committee's Presidium, although the reasons for doing so were not stated. Only the composers named by the orchestra--Bartók, Ravel, and de Falla--were provided in the minutes for this meeting. The orchestra had not programmed a piece by a Polish composer; Rudziński was asked about sending such a composition to Tokyo as soon as possible. The members of the Presidium made no suggestions about the foreign works to be chosen as replacements by the orchestra.

Repertoire for the other foreign ensembles cited as participants in March was not mentioned. The Czechoslovakian Philharmonic and Moscow Ballet were among such groups. Shostakovich's Cello Concerto No. 1 had been proposed for the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic, but no response from that ensemble had yet been received. The contents of Josephine Nendick's vocal recital and the electronic music concert also were not known.

Details about organizational meetings held after March 19 were unavailable for this study. It is difficult to characterize the Festival's program as envisioned by the organizers by this date because much of the repertoire for the concerts by foreign performers had yet to be announced. The Polish performers' concerts discussed above consisted of a mixture of works from the four categories named in November by the organizers and cited in Table 3 as well as composers and compositions considered after that time.

As mentioned in Chapter IX, the author of an article published in *Ruch muzyczny* in April noted that the 1960 Festival was better organized than it had been in the past and that it was possible to provide detailed information about the Festival's program.<sup>66</sup> While the author does not claim to give a complete listing of the Festival's repertoire, he nevertheless named only one composition that had not been cited at the March organizational meetings--Bacewicz's String Quartet No. 6--and provided no hint of the pieces that still were to be scheduled. Moreover, it is apparent that by June the repertoire still was not set. In that month's issue of the Composer's Union *Information Bulletin* specific compositions were not named for the Tokyo Radio Orchestra's performance, Zara Dolukhanova's recital of "songs of Soviet composers," "the concert of experimental music on tape," Nendick's recital of "songs of English composers," or the half-recital of Messiaen's organ works.<sup>67</sup> However, the compositions to be performed by the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic, the Moscow Ballet, the Danzi Quintet and the Parrenin Quartet were finally specified, with the exception of the listing of a "Polish work" for the Danzi Quintet's concert and a "choral work" by Tadeusz Szeligowski (March's unnamed Poznań composer) on the Poznań Choir's presentation.<sup>68</sup>

It is clear, however, that many changes had occurred in the programs of Polish ensembles between March and June. First, productions of Szymanowski's *Harnasie* and Bartók's *The Miraculous Mandarin* by the Baltic Opera had been added to the schedule. The half-recital by the Poznań Boys' and Men's Choir did not contain pieces by

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<sup>66</sup> zs, "Wiosna o Jesieni," p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> "Pieśni kompozytorów radzieckich...Koncert muzyki eksperymentalnej z taśm...Pieśni kompozytorów angielskich." *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (January-June 1960).

<sup>68</sup> "Utwór polski...Utwór choralny." Ibid.

Dallapiccola, Janáček, and Nono, as had been proposed in March, but instead included compositions by Jean Louis Martinet and Anthony Hopkins. Turski's *Sinfonia da camera* and Górecki's *Songs of Joy and Rhythm* had been cut from the concerts of the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Markowski's concert with the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Ensemble contained all of the pieces named in March except for Prokofiev's *American Overture*, Webern's Four Songs, op. 13, and the three "reserved" compositions; Webern's Three Songs from *Viae inviae*, op. 23 (1934) and Three Songs, op. 25 (1934) were added. On the two National Philharmonic concerts, the second of which now was to be conducted by Wisłocki instead of Czyż, the compositions by Boulez, Honegger, Stravinsky, and Schönberg named previously were cancelled, and Alexander Tansman's Concerto for Orchestra (1955) and Luigi Dallapiccola's *Canti di prigionia* (1941) were added.

By the time the program book for the Festival was printed in late August or early September the repertoire for all of the performers could be announced.<sup>69</sup> Only one change had been made in the programs of Polish ensembles since June: the Poznań Choir's performance of Lidholm's *Canto LXXXI* had been cancelled. The Tokyo orchestra was scheduled to play one piece by Polish composer Bolesław Szabelski and five pieces by Japanese composers Mayuzimi, Yashiro, Mamiya, and Toyama. The electronic pieces from the Polish Radio Experimental Studio and the compositions to be performed by Dolukhanova, Nendick, and Thenior-Janecka (the presenter of Messiaen's organ pieces) were named for the first time. Considering that in April a Polish music critic had noted that the Festival was better organized in 1960, it is significant that only in August could the full program be announced. In the case of foreign performers, some of whose repertoire was

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<sup>69</sup> The Festival was held September 17-25. *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej 'Warszawska Jesień'* [printed booklet].

not finalized until sometime between June and the printing of the program book, this situation produced a result no better than that in 1959.

Even more startling, several changes were made in the repertoire after the program book was printed: André Zumbach's *Étude* was added to the presentation of experimental music prepared by Patkowski; Webern's *Fünf Kanons*, op. 16 was substituted for his *Three Songs*, op. 25 on Nendick's recital; and Schönberg's *Wind Quintet*, op. 26 was added to the Danzi Quintet's concert. These alterations cannot be attributed to illness on the part of the performers, but instead should be attributed to the inability of the Polish organizers to finalize negotiations on time.

## 1961

The amount of information available about the process of selecting repertoire for the 1961 Festival is limited, as it was for the procurement of performers. Despite this relative paucity of material in comparison to previous years, two new components of the selection process can be discerned. For the first time according to available documents, the Festival Committee wrote to a large number of music publishers soliciting scores of contemporary music to be considered for presentation in Warsaw. Second, the General Assembly of the Composers Union in December 1960 passed a formal resolution establishing the manner in which Polish music was to be chosen for each year's Festival.<sup>70</sup>

### General Plans

The most important guideline established for the 1961 Festival was this resolution, which was to be in effect for the 1961 Festival as well as for subsequent ones. A proposal

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<sup>70</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June 1960-June 1961).



for the resolution is located in the Polish Composers Union archives; the whereabouts of the final version is not known. The proposal is translated below; its Polish text can be found in Appendix H.

This proposal sets down in writing much of what had already been occurring in the process of selecting Polish music for each Festival. Although the double elimination sequence described in pt. 5 was not referred to in materials concerning the previous four Festivals, a similar procedure may have been employed during those years. The proposal affirms the active participation of a small group of composers and conductors--the Presidium of the Festival Committee--in the selection of repertoire, a situation that was discussed previously in Chapter VII. The remainder of the Festival Committee was to play only a minor role in this process, submitting compositions for consideration and confirming the selections made by the Presidium. The proposal also confirms that all decisions were made collectively rather than individually. This collective process that had occurred in previous years as well.<sup>71</sup>

A similar resolution for the selection of foreign compositions at the Festival was not developed. There is no evidence the Festival Committee set any age limit other than the twentieth century for such works. Since it appears that the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries chose at least some of the works played by their performers at previous Festivals after little or no consultation with the Polish organizers, the imposition of deadlines and age limits would have been impossible for Poland to enforce.

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<sup>71</sup> This affirmation of a collective decision-making process in 1961 also supports the conclusion drawn in Chapter VII concerning the 1958 organization system, when it appeared from available evidence that Andrzej Dobrowolski probably consulted the Presidium of the Composers Union, but not the full Executive Board and Festival Committee, during negotiations with Heinz Rehfuss.

## PROPOSAL

### RESOLUTION OF THE FESTIVAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE METHOD OF SELECTING POLISH COMPOSITIONS FOR THE 'WARSAW AUTUMN' PROGRAM<sup>72</sup>

1. The compositions of Polish composers written in the last three years before the year of the next Festival (five year for staged works) will be investigated in the manner established below.
2. Either composers or the Festival Committee submit compositions, giving exhaustive data about the work (name, instrumentation, possibly performers, recordings, publications, and the like, and also the place where the score and parts can be found).
3. The Festival Committee does not guarantee the consideration of works submitted after January 1 each year or not completed by that time. (In 1961 [a deadline of] March 1 will be honored in exceptional cases.)
4. The Festival Committee will not consider more than three works by the same composer. If additional works are submitted, the Committee will ask the author to determine which works are to be considered.
5. After confirmation by the Secretariat [the Festival office] that the submitted works conform to the above conditions, the Presidium of the Committee will make the first elimination collectively by a majority vote of its composers and musicologists. For the next elimination the Presidium will appoint referees who will present their own opinions at a special session of the Presidium. The Presidium, by a majority of experts' votes, will determine the final list of compositions for use for the Festival's program.
6. After establishing which compositions can be taken under consideration in the arrangement of the program, the Presidium will establish the definitive list of compositions intended for performance at the next Festival. However, it should not include more than two works by the same composer if they are works of the same type (for example, two symphonic works). The remaining compositions can be directed by the Presidium to be considered for the program of the next Festival.
7. Authors will be told of the decisions made in pts. 5 and 6.

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<sup>72</sup> "Projekt. Uchwała Komitetu Festiwalowego w sprawie sposobu wyboru utworów polskich do programu 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

8. The plenum of the Committee confirms the program proposal and presents it for confirmation to the Minister of Culture and Art, in accordance with paragraph 7 of Administrative Order No. 214 of the Minister of Culture and Art from December 22, 1959.
9. The Presidium of the Committee may include in the program a composition still in preparation or also may commission a composition for the Festival. In these instances a resolution accepted by the majority of the Presidium is needed.
10. Compositions introduced into the program on the basis of pt. 9 should not exceed one-third of the Polish pieces qualified for performance.
11. The present resolution does not refer to contemporary Polish works written earlier than the period indicated in pt. 3 (for example, the works of Szymanowski, the interwar and postwar [periods], Polish compositions in the [general] repertoire), which are included in the program on the basis of a decision by the Festival Committee.
12. Changes in the present regulations can be made on the basis of a legally valid resolution of the Committee (usually a majority vote with the presence of at least half of the Committee's members, including the Chair or in his absence the Secretary General - §10 of Administrative Order No. 214).

It is impossible to know what changes were made between the above proposal and the final resolution approved in December 1960, or if all of the details described in the proposal--and thus perhaps in the resolution--were adhered to during the actual selection process. It is doubtful, however, that this process differed radically from that used in 1959 and 1960, when the Polish organizers worked closely with Polish ensembles in choosing their repertoire and suggested at least a few pieces to foreign performers.

Information on other general plans made for the 1961 Festival is not available. In particular, it is not known whether the requirement that each concert should contain at least one Polish composition was enforced for the fifth Festival.

### Negotiating Process

The Polish organizers began their preparations for the 1961 Festival earlier than has been observed for the previous three events. Many of the letters asking for scores of

contemporary music were sent by the organizers to Western music publishers in May 1960, before the repertoire for the 1960 Festival was even finalized. The one sent from Witold Rudziński to Helios Music Edition in Los Angeles is similar to most if not all of the others:

"...The organizers of the event [the Warsaw Autumn Festival] encounter some difficulties in fixing the repertoire, as the newest publications of music reach us much too late for the performing musicians taking part in the Festival to become familiar with such novelties.

...May we suggest that you kindly send us a complimentary copy of all your publications of contemporary music. This will certainly make it possible for us to introduce into our repertoire a much wider range of contemporary works than we have been able to do so far.

We should like to add that the complimentary copies you may be willing to send us will be kept in the library of the Polish Composers' Union and the scores will be available to all performing musicians, composers, musicologists, and music critics whose interest lies in contemporary music."<sup>73</sup>

At least fifty-three publishers from the United States and Western Europe responded with scores or catalogs. Most noticeably, thirty-six of the replies came from the United States, indicating not only the interest of these American publishers in the Warsaw Festival, but also the organizers' intent to present more American music on the Festival. The only American works performed in the first four Festivals had been two pieces by John Cage and one by William Schuman.<sup>74</sup>

The Festival Committee also benefited from the personal contacts made abroad in recent years by asking some of their foreign colleagues to suggest compositions for the Festival. Among those to whom this question was directed were Ole Henrik Bruun, who was asked to provide information on Dutch composers, and Pozzi Escot, a Peruvian living in

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<sup>73</sup> Witold Rudziński, Secretary General, Festival Committee, to Helios Music Edition, Los Angeles, California, May 25, 1960, Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

<sup>74</sup> Collection of Correspondence, 1961, passim.

Hamburg.<sup>75</sup> Foreign composers also requested that their works be performed at the Festival. One Gunther Bönigk had asked in a letter of August 25, 1960 that his compositions be performed at the 1960 Festival. Rudziński's response was that it was too late for his pieces to be presented that year, but that they would be considered for the following year.<sup>76</sup> Other contacts had of course been made through the Polish composers' visits to Darmstadt and other music festivals in Europe in the late 1950s; these also had been used in preparing for earlier Festivals, as discussed in Chapter VI. According to Witold Rudziński, by 1961 the Festival Committee had compiled 5,000 addresses of institutions and individuals who were interested in the Festival.<sup>77</sup>

The earliest list of works to be performed at the 1961 Festival was given in the Festival's advertising pamphlet. Four thousand of these pamphlets had been sent by the end of May 1961.<sup>78</sup> Only a partial compilation of pieces was provided therein; of those named, ten were not performed on the final program.

All but one of the cancellations were foreign compositions. The exception was Penderecki's *Fonogrammi* for flute and chamber orchestra, which was written for the Venice Biennale and premiered there on September 24, 1961. The need to have the premiere in Venice may have precluded the piece's performance in Warsaw, since the Warsaw Autumn Festival ended on September 24. (A note in the advertising pamphlet

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<sup>75</sup> Ole Henrik Bruun, July 12, 1960; and Letters to Pozzi Escot, n.d., Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>76</sup> Gunther Bönigk to the Warsaw Autumn Festival, August 25, 1960; and Witold Rudziński to Bönigk, August 1960, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960.

<sup>77</sup> Erhardt, "Wywiad z Witoldem Rudzińskim," p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

stated that the Warsaw Festival's performance of the piece would be its world premiere; still, the Venice presentation may have received priority ultimately.)<sup>79</sup>

The reason for the cancellation of only one other composition is known: Berio's *Circles* was dropped from consideration after both its composer and Cathy Berberian, the vocal soloist asked to perform it, emphasized that many rehearsals and outstanding musicians on harp and percussion would be required to perform it well.<sup>80</sup> One string quartet that was cancelled--Weinberg's Eighth Quartet--probably had been slated to be presented by the Borodin Quartet; both the performers and composer are Soviet. Weinberg was not well known enough in other countries to prompt ensembles from outside of the Soviet Union to propose a performance of one of his compositions without such a suggestion from Poland.

The interview given by Witold Rudziński in May 1961 mentioned some of the repertoire selected for that year's Festival.<sup>81</sup> Concert versions of Szymanowski's *King Roger*, Berg's *Lulu*; and Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle* were anticipated, as were four contemporary Chinese ballets, Schönberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, and a concert consisting in part of several pieces by Varèse. Rudziński lamented the "technico-economic difficulties" of offering *Wozzeck*, which the organizers had failed to arrange once again.<sup>82</sup> He also mentioned that Stockhausen's *Gruppen* had been planned initially, but that it had been cancelled because of problems with its performers.

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<sup>79</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej, Warszawa 16-24 września 1961*. [advertising pamphlet], Collection of Correspondence, 1961; Ray Robinson, *Krzysztof Penderecki. A Guide to His Works* (Princeton: Prestige Publications, 1983), pp. 13, 16.

<sup>80</sup> Cathy Berberian to "Mr. Rudziński," March 23, 1961; and Luciano Berio to "Cher Monsieur," March 30, 1961, Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

<sup>81</sup> This same interview was discussed in Chapter IX with reference to performers: Erhardt, "Wywiad z Witoldem Rudzińskim," p. 4.

<sup>82</sup> "Trudności techniczno-ekonomicznych." *Ibid.*

Rudziński also announced the programs for the concerts of Czechoslovakia's Novák Quartet and the Soviet Union's Borodin Quartet. For the Novák Quartet only composers' names were given (Martinu, Berio, Stravinsky, Webern, and Janáček). However, no changes were made before the Festival in these names or in the specific works planned by the Borodin Quartet (Prokofiev's Second Quartet, Szymanowski's Second Quartet, and Shostakovich's Seventh and Eighth Quartets). The relatively early knowledge of these programs differed from previous years, when the repertoire for most Soviet and East European performers often was not announced until June or later.

The only change made before the Festival in the pieces announced by Rudziński was that one Chinese ballet was offered instead of four. Rudziński's assertion first mentioned in Chapter IX that the program was nearly set by the end of May seems to have been true. The next known listing of the program, given in the mid-August issue of *Ruch muzyczny*,<sup>83</sup> repeated the data given by Rudziński, and named two of the Chinese operas. In fact, the compositions cited in this issue were nearly identical to those given in the program book as well as to those performed at the Festival. Only three pieces listed in *Ruch muzyczny* were not given in the program book: the Chinese opera *The Magic Lantern*, Messiaen's *Cinq rechants*, and Varèse's *Deserts*.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, only two changes were made in the repertoire after the program book was printed: Haubenstock-Ramati's *Interpolation* was added to Severino Gazzelloni's recital, and Varèse's *Octandre* was added to one of Die Reihe's concerts. (*Octandre* had been proposed by the Festival Committee as early as January 31 and accepted by Die Reihe on February 17).<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> "Warszawska Jesień 1961," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 17 (1961): 1.

<sup>84</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*.

<sup>85</sup> Friedrich Cerha, Die Reihe, to "Sehr geehrte Herren," February 17, 1961, Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

At least two pieces played on the 1961 Festival had been considered in earlier years. Lidholm's *Canto LXXXI*, Turski's *Sinfonia da camera* and Kilar's *Herbsttag* had each been scheduled for the 1960 Festival, but had been cancelled before the event began.<sup>86</sup>

The possibility of commissioning Polish pieces for the Festival had been granted in the proposal discussed earlier. According to available information, no commissions were granted for any of the first five Festivals. However, several of the pieces selected to be performed at the 1961 event either had been commissioned by or had been "written for" the same performers who played them at the Festival. Kotoński's *Trio for flute, guitar, and percussion* had been commissioned and performed by Severino Gazzelloni, while the same composer's *Concerto per quattro* and Krešimir Fribec's *Mouvements cosmiques* were both written for the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra.<sup>87</sup>

The ages of some of the Polish compositions suggested for performance can be checked for adherence to the three year limit suggested in the proposal given above. Although a list of the Polish pieces that were included in the set compiled by the Presidium per the requirements of the December resolution--if a set actually was compiled--is not extant, all but four of the compositions by Polish composers named in the advertising pamphlet and the various articles about the 1961 Festival had been written since 1958, or within three years of the event. Two of the exceptions were by Szymanowski; the others were Spisak's *Allegro de voiron* (1957) and Turski's *Sinfonia da camera* (1947).

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<sup>86</sup> *Herbsttag* was listed in the 1960 advertising pamphlet.

<sup>87</sup> See Chapter VI for information on the relation between Penderecki's *Strophes* and the 1961 Festival.



## Conclusions

The methods of selecting repertoire for the 1958-1961 Festivals followed similar patterns each year despite the changes made annually in the formal organizational structure of the Festival. During each of the four years in question, the organizers worked closely with the conductors of Polish ensembles to establish their concert programs. Polish and foreign compositions were suggested by both sides, and a program was gradually worked out between the conductor and the organizers.

For the concerts to be presented by foreign performers, the process was more complex. The organizers suggested Polish and foreign compositions to performers from both East and West. In some cases, these performers proceeded to communicate with the organizers in order to establish a mutual understanding about their programs. In other instances, the organizers permitted performers to determine their own programs without interference from Poland; Bruno Maderna and Karlheinz Stockhausen were permitted to do so in 1958.<sup>88</sup> In the remaining cases, the organizers made repertoire proposals, but were unable to come to an agreement with the performer about the program. This last situation occurred primarily with ensembles from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Even though performers from these countries were sometimes chosen by early spring, the organizers in Poland often were unable to announce which compositions would be presented by these musicians until late summer. As discussed in Chapter IX, performers from these countries often had little or no control over whether they would be coming to Warsaw. Similarly, they seemed to have had little choice about what they would play if they did come. Some soloists--Rostropovich, for example--were able to present the pieces requested by the Polish

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<sup>88</sup> As discussed earlier, Maderna failed to come to the 1958 Festival.

organizers, but the programs of the larger ensembles probably were subject to the wishes of governmental officials. The organizers in Poland were not in a position to insist that these ensembles play certain compositions in order to appear at the Festival.

Although the programs of some Western performers also were announced only in late summer, the reason for these delays can frequently be attributed to the lateness with which their appearances were arranged. Apart from the situation with Henryk Szeryng and the Mexican government, there is no evidence suggesting that Western nations pressured their performers to present certain works. Even though a few performers were linked early in each planning period to the presentation of specific compositions, for the most part, performers from the West began to discuss the contents of their programs only after agreeing to participate in the Festival. In other words, their appearances usually were not contingent on the performance of specific pieces.

The negotiating requirements developed by the organizers were not always followed by the people who established them. For the 1958 Festival, the organizers had stated that they would not allow performers to perform works not approved by the Festival Committee. However, the chaotic situation that existed with regard to the selection of performers also affected the manner in which repertoire was chosen. In the weeks preceding the Festival, some compositions were selected more because they were relatively easy to perform and because someone was willing to perform them than because they helped to fulfill the goal of presenting a variety of styles of twentieth-century music.

In 1959 the organizers' decision to allow foreign performers to choose the non-Polish portions of their programs was not followed strictly. Thereafter, the organizers apparently did not state formally whether foreign performers would be allowed to select compositions without interference from Poland. The procedures for negotiations continued in the manner

that had actually occurred in previous years--Polish and foreign compositions were suggested to many, if not all performers.

Other guidelines established by the organizers that were to be observed during the organizational process were followed more closely. According to available documents, the age limits agreed upon by the organizers, although more restrictive in 1959 and 1961 than they were in 1958 and 1960, were observed during negotiations. Compositions performed at one Festival were not considered for subsequent ones, although pieces suggested but not presented at a particular Festival sometimes were discussed again in future years.

As described in Chapter VII, the pieces chosen for performance at each Festival were subject to the approval of the Minister of Culture and Art. Proof of the Minister's direct dealings in this matter is unavailable. With regard to the repertoire chosen each year, the Central Board of Music Institutions usually did not oppose the selection of specific compositions unless its performance was financially unfeasible. For example, budgetary constraints in part prevented the performance of *Wozzeck*, which was suggested by the organizing committees each year from 1958 to 1961. Nonetheless, some limitations were in effect: the most notable one was that not all emigré composers were allowed to be represented by performances of their music at the Festival. The compositions of one emigré from Poland, Andrzej Panufnik, were not performed in that country until 1977, even though works by other emigrés from Poland and abroad were permitted during the Festival's first five years and even thereafter. Among such emigrés were Roman Haubenstock-Ramati, Roman Maciejewski, Michał Spisak, Roman Palester, Aleksander Tansman, and Constantin Silvestri. According to interviews held with organizers of Festivals from the 1960s on, the Ministry of Culture and Art was responsible for banning the performance of Panufnik's works until 1977. The organizers of the 1958-1961

Festivals apparently knew of this proscription since they did not consider any compositions by Panufnik for performance.

It is clear that the organizers were interesting in presenting specific works, even though many obstacles obstructed the path to the actual presentation of such pieces at the Festival. The fact that the organizers compiled a list of compositions to be considered for the 1960 Festival is a clear indication of the organizers' attempt to assure that certain pieces were presented at the Festival. The larger number of composers and compositions named in that list (Table 3) in comparison to the number suggested by the organizers in previous years is evidence not of a further loosening of governmental restrictions after 1959, but of the increased knowledge of contemporary music that the organizers had acquired as a result of the dismantling of socialist realism in Polish music. Many of the compositions cited in that list would have been banned in Poland in the early 1950s and still were restricted from performance in other Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union.

The many problems encountered by the Polish organizers during their organization of the 1958 Festival resulted in nearly continual changes of repertoire up to the start of the event. Although in subsequent years, the programs of both Eastern and Western ensembles often were not announced until fairly late in the organizing period, the number of last-minute changes was reduced drastically. Only in 1961, the first year that the Administrative Order governing the permanent organizational structure of the Festival was in effect for the entire planning period, was the program announced in the spring maintained almost without alteration until the Festival. The enactment of this Order allowed the organizers to spend time discussing the contents of the Festival rather than the logistics of its organization, and resulted in an improved event from the organizational point of view.

**CHAPTER XI**  
**GEOPOLITICAL DIVISIONS: A COMPARISON OF THE 1958-1961**  
**FESTIVALS TO THE ORGANIZERS' GOALS**

Many audience members were able to judge the merits of each Festival only on the basis of the activities that occurred within the timespan of each gala. However, having considered the processes of planning the 1958-1961 Festivals in previous chapters, it is now possible to look at the accomplishments of each Festival from a different perspective. The contents of each gala can be evaluated in terms of their relationship not only to the organizers' publicized goals of presenting a panorama of twentieth-century compositional styles and encouraging an exchange of views among participants and observers, but also to the difficulties and successes encountered by the organizers each year. Since the methods of realizing the goals of the Festival differed according to what geopolitical region an ensemble or soloist was from, it is appropriate to view the activities of each Festival from a geopolitical point of view.

A brief description of the basic concert schedule for each Festival will permit a better understanding of the following discussion. Since 1959 each Festival has lasted eight or nine days, encompassing the third week of September. In 1958 the Festival was held about two weeks later: September 27-October 5. Each year two concerts were usually held daily; on occasion either one or three occurred. Chamber concerts took place in late afternoon,

while orchestral and theatrical performances occurred in the evening.<sup>1</sup> If three concerts were held in one day, one was an opera or ballet performance that would be repeated one or more times during the Festival. If a noon performance took place, which occurred twice in 1961 and once in each of the preceding three years, the late afternoon concert was omitted. The number of compositions presented each year ranged from a low of sixty-four in 1959 to a high of seventy-nine in 1960. Appendix A lists the works and performers at each Festival concert.<sup>2</sup>

### **Performers and Repertoire: The Geopolitical Balance**

The determination of whether a geopolitical balance was maintained in the number of performers and compositions from the three geopolitical regions of concern in this study is necessary for developing a detailed picture of the Festival. As has been discussed in Chapters IX and X, these were matters of concern to the organizers in Poland and to at least some Eastern European governments each year.

Perhaps the most important policy developed by the Festival's organizers that concerned the selection of performers called for a balance between the number of ensembles and soloists from East and West each year. Although no specific guidelines were established to aid in the fulfillment of this plan, the general strategy advocated by the organizers was that either an equal number of large and small ensembles from East and West should appear each year, or that for each larger ensemble from one of these regions, several chamber groups or soloists should come from the other area. However, the

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<sup>1</sup> The one exception to this schedule occurred in 1959, when an evening performance by the Parrenin Quartet was held.

<sup>2</sup> The schedule in Appendix A is adapted from Nowacki, "Kalendarium," in Kaczyński and Zborski, *Warszawska Jesień*, pp. 269-78.

organizers did not specify how many chamber groups would be necessary to balance the appearance of one orchestra or theatrical company. Furthermore, the number of concerts presented by performers from each region should be considered when evaluating the balance of performers, since an inequality in the total number of appearances between performers from East and West was a potential target of criticism from Soviet and Eastern European governments, including the one in Poland. As a practical matter, the number of concerts by foreign performers and the size of each ensemble were also of concern to the organizers because of the expenses involved in housing and feeding each person during his or her stay in Poland. At each Festival foreign ensembles presented one concert (except for Die Reihe in 1961, which performed twice). Of the Polish orchestras, the National Philharmonic gave two concerts each year except 1960, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra performed twice in 1958, and both chamber and full orchestras of the Kraków Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra and the Kraków Philharmonic Orchestra appeared in 1960 and 1961, respectively. Each of the other Polish orchestras presented one concert.

The most concise method of evaluating the balance of performers is to examine the number of concerts given by performing artists from each geopolitical area, as shown in Table 4. The "mixed" concerts always consisted of foreign soloists appearing with Polish orchestras or chamber musicians.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A list of the various concerts is provided in Appendix A. For ease of interpretation, the "mixed" concerts are as follows: 1958 - the National Philharmonic and Richter, the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra and Szeryng in two concerts; the National Philharmonic and Rehfuss; 1959 - the National Philharmonic and Gazzelloni; 1960 - the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra and Nendick; the National Philharmonic and Rostropovich; the Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra and Pintor; the Polish Radio Chamber Orchestra and Pinter; and the National Philharmonic Instrumental Group, Nendick, and Bennett; 1961 - the National Philharmonic, Catherine Gayer, and Erik Tappy; the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra, Berberian, and Bussotti; the National Philharmonic and Gazzelloni; and Gazzelloni with miscellaneous Polish chamber musicians in a half concert. The other half of this last concert was performed by the Wrocław Polish Radio Choir.

**TABLE 4**  
**NUMBER OF CONCERTS PER REGION**

**I. Totals**

<u>Poland</u>	<u>Western Europe</u>	<u>USSR/Eastern Europe</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1958:</u>				
7	4	3	4 (1-Polish/Soviet, 3-Polish/Western)	18
<u>1959:</u>				
10	4	3	1 (Polish/Western)	18
<u>1960:</u>				
6	3	3	5 (1-Polish/Soviet, 4-Polish/Western/)	17
<u>1961:</u>				
3 1/2	5	4	3 1/2 (Polish/Western)	16

In the 1961 Festival program book *Die Reihe* is described as a chamber orchestra. Performances by all chamber orchestras are included in the tally of orchestras, since the organizers considered them to be orchestras rather than chamber ensembles. Choirs are enumerated only if they performed alone, not in a piece also requiring an orchestra or chamber ensemble. Recitals are included as chamber events. The concert of electronic music in 1960 is included as a Polish event because it was prepared by Józef Patkowski, even though the event contained only one Polish composition; the other concert counted as an electronic event the same year is the presentation of taped radio operas by Polish composers. In 1958 the Baltic Opera gave five presentations of three different operas and ballets. In 1959 the Poznań Opera gave six presentations of two productions. Each presentation is counted as one concert. In 1960 the Tokyo orchestra's performance is included in the Western count, and in 1961 the Chinese ballet production is included in the Soviet/Eastern Europe tally.



Table 4 (continued)

**II. Subdivision into type of performing media (O: orchestral; C: chamber; T: theatrical [opera or ballet]; E: electronic or electro-acoustic; Ch: choir )**

	<u>Poland</u>	<u>Western Europe</u>	<u>USSR/Eastern Europe</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1958:</u>					
O:	1	0	3	4	8
C:	1	3 1/2	0	0	4 1/2
T:	5	0	0	0	5
E:	0	1/2	0	0	1/2
Ch:	0	0	0	0	0
<u>1959:</u>					
O:	3	1	1	1	6
C:	1	2	2	0	5
T:	6	0	0	0	6
E:	0	1	0	0	1
Ch:	0	0	0	0	0
<u>1960:</u>					
O:	2	1	1	4	8
C:	1/2	2	1	1	4 1/2
T:	1	0	1	0	2
E:	2	0	0	0	2
Ch:	1/2	0	0	0	1/2

Table 4 (continued)

	<u>Poland</u>	<u>Western Europe</u>	<u>USSR/Eastern Europe</u>	<u>Mixed</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>1961:</u>					
O:	3	2	1	3	9
C:	0	2 1/2	2	1/2	5
T:	0	0	1	0	1
E:	0	1/2	0	0	1/2
Ch:	1/2	0	0	0	1/2

As indicated in this Table, appearances by Western performers outnumbered presentations by Soviet and Eastern European artists every year except 1960; they also did in 1960 if one considers that Polish musicians performed on only two of seven pieces on Josephine Nendick's "mixed" recital, thus enabling this concert to be counted as a Western event. Moreover, more concerts by Polish artists were given each year than by either Eastern and Western ensembles, if the three "mixed" concerts in which Western soloists performed with Polish orchestras are included in the Polish count for 1961. A similar emphasis on Polish performers had also occurred in 1956, when the number of concerts by Polish musicians was greater than that presented by either Eastern/Soviet or Western performers (eight Polish, seven Eastern/Soviet, and five Western; see Chapter IV).

It is also apparent from this Table that most of the Western performers from 1958-1961 were of the chamber variety, while larger groups (orchestras and theatrical troupes) came from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Only in 1959 did an equal number of chamber and orchestral groups from East and West appear. No standard ratio of Western chamber ensembles to Eastern and Soviet orchestras and opera or ballet companies can be derived

from this information; if the organizers did have such a ratio in mind, they were either unable to achieve it every year or changed it between 1958 and 1961. The emphasis on Polish orchestras and theatrical troupes at each Festival from 1958 to 1961 (and also 1956) points out the lack of established chamber ensembles in Poland at that time.

Differences in the typical ages of works from East and West signify the degree to which the Polish organizers and the performers in each region (and national governments, in the East) were interested in presenting recently-written pieces as opposed to those from earlier in the twentieth century. Table 5 shows the ages of the compositions played at the 1958-1961 Festivals and the distribution of these pieces among the performers from each of the three pertinent geographical regions: Poland, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (plus China in 1961), or Western countries (including Japan in 1960).<sup>4</sup> The compositions themselves are categorized according to whether they are by composers from each of these three areas.<sup>5</sup> A list of composers from each region is given in Appendix B.

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<sup>4</sup> This Table is analogous to Table 2, which provides similar information for the 1956 Festival.

<sup>5</sup> The information in parentheses under "Number of Compositions by Composers" in the Table denotes the number of compositions by emigré composers, who are listed in Appendix B in a subgroup within their native region: (E1) means that one piece by a composer who emigrated from that region was written within the indicated time span.

Yugoslavia is counted as an Eastern European country in 1961, when a composition by Kresimir Fribec was performed. The Yugoslavian Composers Union was treated in a manner equal to other Composers Unions from Eastern Europe in the selection of guests for the 1959-1961 Festivals. This marks a change from the organizers' classification of Yugoslavia as a capitalist country in 1956 (see Chapter V).

TABLE 5

**Age of Compositions in Comparison to Their  
Distribution Among Performing Artists:  
Warsaw Autumn Festivals 1958-1961**

Festival Year	Age of Composition in Years	Number of Compositions by Composers from			Totals
		Poland	W. Europe	E. Europe/USSR	
<b>[All performing artists:]</b>					
1958	0-1 (1957-58)	10(E1)	5	3(E1)	19
	2-3 (1955-56)	5	3	0	7
	4-5 (1953-54)	0	0	0	0
	6-10 (1948-52)	1(E1)	2	3	6
	11-15 (1943-47)	0	9	0	9
	16-20 (1938-42)	1	3	1	4
	21-30 (1928-37)	0	7	4(E1)	11
	31-58 (1900-27)	0	8	1(E1)	9
	unknown	0	2	1	4
	TOTAL:	17	39	13	69
1959	0-1 (1958-59)	8(E1)	7	1	16
	2-3 (1956-57)	0	2	3	5
	4-5 (1954-55)	1(E1)	1	0	2
	6-10 (1949-53)	1	9	2	12
	11-15 (1944-48)	2(E1)	4	3(E1)	9
	16-20 (1939-43)	0	1	1(E1)	2
	21-30 (1929-38)	3(E1)	4	2(E1)	9
	31-59 (1900-28)	1	3	1	5
	unknown	0	0	4	4
	TOTAL:	16	31	17	64
1960	0-1 (1959-60)	11(E1)	7	2	20
	2-3 (1957-58)	5	7	2	14
	4-5 (1955-56)	2(E1)	2	0	4
	6-10 (1950-54)	0	3	2(E2)	5
	11-15 (1945-49)	1	2	0	3
	16-20 (1940-44)	0	1	1	2
	21-30 (1930-39)	1	4	4(E2)	9
	31-60 (1900-29)	0	10	6(E2)	19
	unknown	0	4	2	9
	TOTAL:	20	40	19	79
1961	0-1 (1960-61)	13	8	4	25
	2-3 (1958-59)	5(E1)	6	1	12
	4-5 (1956-57)	1(E1)	4	0	5
	6-10 (1951-55)	0	0	0	0
	11-15 (1946-50)	1	0	0	1
	16-20 (1941-45)	0	1	3	4
	21-30 (1931-40)	0	4	2(E2)	6
	31-61 (1900-30)	2	9	4(E3)	15
	unknown	0	1	3	4
	TOTAL:	22	33	17	72

Table 5 (continued)

Festival Year	Age of Composition in Years	Number of Compositions by Composers from			Totals
		Poland	W. Europe	E. Europe/USSR	
<b>[Polish performing artists:]</b>					
1958	0-1 (1957-58)	9(E1)	1	0	10
	2-3 (1955-56)	3	0	0	3
	4-10 (1948-54)	1(E1)	1	0	2
	11-15 (1943-47)	0	4	0	4
	16-20 (1938-42)	1	0	1	2
	21-30 (1928-37)	0	3	2	5
	31-58 (1900-27)	0	3	1(E1)	4
	unknown	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL:	14	12	5	31
1959	0-1 (1958-59)	8(E1)	1	0	9
	2-3 (1956-57)	0	1	0	1
	4-10 (1949-55)	0	4	1	5
	11-15 (1944-48)	1	0	0	1
	16-20 (1939-43)	0	1	0	1
	21-30 (1929-38)	3(E1)	1	2(E1)	6
	31-59 (1900-28)	1	2	0	3
	unknown	0	0	2(E1)	2
	TOTAL:	13	10	5	28
1960	0-1 (1959-60)	11	3	1	15
	2-3 (1957-58)	2	4	0	6
	4-10 (1950-56)	1(E1)	2	1(E1)	4
	11-15 (1945-49)	0	1	0	1
	16-20 (1940-44)	0	1	0	1
	21-30 (1930-39)	1	3	2(E2)	6
	31-60 (1900-29)	0	7	2(E2)	9
	unknown	0	1	0	1
	TOTAL:	15	22	6	43
1961	0-1 (1960-61)	11	4	2	17
	2-3 (1958-59)	4	0	1	5
	4-10 (1951-57)	0	2	0	2
	11-15 (1946-50)	1	0	0	1
	16-20 (1941-45)	0	0	0	0
	21-30 (1931-40)	0	1	0	1
	31-61 (1900-30)	1	1	1(E1)	3
	unknown	0	1	0	1
	TOTAL:	17	9	4	30

Table 5 (continued)

Festival Year	Age of Composition in Years	Number of Compositions by Composers from			Totals
		Poland	W. Europe	E. Europe/USSR	
<b>[Western performing artists:]</b>					
1958	0-1 (1957-58)	1	4	1	6
	2-3 (1955-56)	1	3	0	4
	4-10 (1948-54)	0	2	0	2
	11-15 (1943-47)	0	3	0	3
	16-20 (1938-42)	0	3	0	2
	21-30 (1928-37)	0	4	1	5
	31-58 (1900-27)	0	5	0	5
	unknown	0	2	0	3
	TOTAL:	2	26	2	30
1959	0-1 (1958-59)	0	6	0	6
	2-3 (1956-57)	0	1	0	1
	4-10 (1949-55)	1	6	0	7
	11-15 (1944-48)	0	4	1(E1)	5
	16-20 (1939-43)	0	0	0	0
	21-30 (1929-38)	0	3	0	3
	31-59 (1900-28)	0	1	0	1
	unknown	1	0	0	23
TOTAL:	1	21	1	23	
1960	0-1 (1959-60)	1	2	0	3
	2-3 (1957-58)	2	2	0	4
	4-10 (1950-56)	1	2	0	3
	11-15 (1945-49)	0	1	0	1
	16-20 (1940-44)	0	0	0	0
	21-30 (1930-39)	0	1	0	1
	31-60 (1900-29)	0	3	0	3
	unknown	0	7	0	7
TOTAL:	4	18	0	22	
1961	0-1 (1960-61)	1	4	0	5
	2-3 (1958-59)	2	6	0	8
	4-10 (1951-57)	0	1	0	1
	11-15 (1946-50)	0	0	0	0
	16-20 (1941-45)	0	1	0	1
	21-30 (1931-40)	0	2	1(E1)	3
	31-61 (1900-30)	0	8	1(E1)	9
	unknown	0	0	0	0
TOTAL:	3	22	2	27	

Table 5 (continued)

Festival Year	Age of Composition in Years	Number of Compositions by Composers from			Totals
		Poland	W. Europe	E. Europe/USSR	
<b>[Soviet/Eastern European performing artists:]</b>					
1958	0-1 (1957-58)	0	0	2	2
	2-3 (1955-56)	1	0	0	1
	4-10 (1948-54)	0	0	3	3
	11-15 (1943-47)	0	1	0	1
	16-20 (1938-42)	0	0	0	0
	21-30 (1928-37)	0	0	1	1
	31-58 (1900-27)	0	0	0	0
	unknown	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL:	1	1	6	8
1959	0-1 (1958-59)	0	0	1	1
	2-3 (1956-57)	0	0	3	3
	4-10 (1949-55)	0	0	1	1
	11-15 (1944-48)	2(E2)	0	2	4
	16-20 (1939-43)	0	0	1(E1)	1
	21-30 (1929-38)	0	0	0	0
	31-59 (1900-28)	0	0	1	1
	unknown	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL:	2	0	11	13
1960	0-1 (1959-60)	0	0	0	0
	2-3 (1957-58)	0	0	2	2
	4-10 (1950-56)	0	0	1(E1)	1
	11-15 (1945-49)	1	0	0	1
	16-20 (1940-44)	0	0	1	1
	21-30 (1930-39)	0	0	2	2
	31-60 (1900-29)	0	0	4	7
	unknown	0	0	3	6
	TOTAL:	1	0	13	14
1961	0-1 (1960-61)	0	0	2	2
	2-3 (1958-59)	0	0	0	0
	4-10 (1951-57)	1(E1)	1	0	2
	11-15 (1946-50)	0	0	0	0
	16-20 (1941-45)	0	0	3	3
	21-30 (1931-40)	0	1	1(E1)	2
	31-61 (1900-30)	1	0	2(E1)	3
	unknown	0	0	3	3
	TOTAL:	2	2	11	15

As shown in Table 5, pieces by Western European composers comprised approximately half of the total presented each year, while the percentage of Polish pieces at each Festival ranged from a quarter of the works (1958 to 1960) to nearly a third (1961). Works by Eastern European composers ranged from about twenty to thirty percent of the total each year (the lowest being 19% in 1958 and the highest 27% in 1959). Each of these ratios differed from those for the 1956 Festival (Table 2, Chapter IV), when Polish compositions comprised nearly half of the pieces and equal numbers of Western and Eastern compositions constituted the remainder of the program.

Other information gleaned from Table 5 supports the information given in Chapter X concerning the age limits of fifteen and three years imposed by the organizers in 1959 and 1961, respectively (the latter applying only to Polish compositions). More than two thirds of the compositions played at the 1959 Festival had been written within the prescribed fifteen years, and in 1961 all but three of the seventeen Polish compositions had been composed within the past previous three years. Hence, not only were the age limits followed according to the incomplete information available about the process of selecting repertoire, but they were also adhered to if the full range of compositions played at each of these Festivals is taken into account.

If these age limits are extended for the purpose of comparison to the remaining Festivals represented in Table 5, several additional patterns are revealed. In 1958 and 1960 over eighty-five percent of the Polish compositions were composed within three years of the Festival in question; in 1959, the figure was over sixty percent.<sup>6</sup> Even more noteworthy, many of these pieces had been written during the year preceding each Festival.

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<sup>6</sup> Compositions whose dates of origin are unknown were excluded when computing these percentages.



In contrast, the percentage of Western compositions not more than fifteen years old remained approximately the same in 1958, 1960, and 1961--a little more than half each year had been written within that period. Compositions from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were divided equally above the fifteen-year marker in 1958, half being older and half being newer, but by 1960 and 1961 the ratio of pieces more than fifteen years old had increased to seventy percent. This for the most part was not the result of the endeavors of the organizers in Poland. It is apparent that those officials in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who selected the pieces to be presented by their country's performers at the 1960 and 1961 Festivals chose not to present the most recently written works by their composers. Certainly, the effort undertaken by the organizers to present the most recently-written Polish compositions did not need to be extended to foreign works, since their goal was to present a variety of styles of music from the entire century. The result of the repertoire selection procedures for the 1958-1961 Festivals was, therefore, that each of these events offered a comparison of the newest Polish pieces with foreign compositions from throughout the twentieth century.

Despite the fact that the pieces presented at the Festivals had been written over a span of approximately sixty years, many of them were heard for the first time in Poland on the occasion of the Festival. Although the organizers apparently never decreed that compositions receiving their Polish or world premieres at the Festival would be selected before other works, approximately three-quarters of the pieces played at the 1958, 1960, and 1961 Festivals and over half of those heard in 1959 were premieres.<sup>7</sup> Many of the

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<sup>7</sup> Information on premieres was obtained from Nowacki, "Kalendarium," in Kaczyński and Zborski, *Warszawska Jesień*, and the Festival's program books. Discrepancies among these sources were resolved either through discussions with Nowacki or by a check of pertinent articles in the *New Grove Dictionary for Music and Musicians*. Polish premieres are denoted in Appendix A by a single asterisk; a world premiere by two asterisks.

Polish premieres were of foreign compositions, signifying that a vast number of pieces had not been heard previously by the Polish public. Six to ten works--most of them by Polish composers--were given their world premieres each year.

The manner in which compositions from each region were distributed among performers was the result of decisions made by the organizers, foreign musicians and occasionally, foreign governments, as described in Chapters IX and X. Specifically, the data provided in Table 5 shows that performers from East and West presented few compositions from each other's region, and that Polish ensembles and soloists likewise offered few pieces from the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. In part, these characteristics resulted from the process of selecting repertoire used for the Festival and therefore perhaps should not be disparaged. Although the organizers emphasized the need for each performer to present Polish compositions, they rarely suggested--nor did they ever intend to suggest--pieces from Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union to Western performers, or vice versa, proposed compositions from Western countries to Eastern musicians. In fact, to achieve their objective of having pieces from many countries played at each Festival, the organizers permitted and in some cases asked foreign performers to present works primarily from their own country. Performers and governmental officials from East and West rarely, if ever, requested information about pieces by composers from "the other side," although a few compositions from each region were played at the Festival by performers from the opposite area. However, the differences in cultural policy between the East and West suggests that even if officials in the East had been asked to recommend compositions for performance by either Polish or Western musicians, they probably would have proposed works that either the performers or the Polish organizers did not deem worthy of presentation in an international forum of contemporary music. For instance, the 1958 proposal from East

Germany that a piece by Čilenšek be presented as well as the 1960 attempt by the Soviet Union to insert composer/pianist Babadzhanyan into the program probably would have been viewed negatively by Western countries, much as they had been by Poland. Similarly, it is unlikely that performers from the East would have been permitted by their governments to perform avant-garde Western compositions.

The relatively high percentage of Western compositions each year in comparison to those from Poland and Eastern European countries results from the fact that performers from both Poland and Western countries presented Western works. As shown in Table 5, at least eighty percent of the compositions presented by Western performers each year were by composers from that region. Approximately a third of the pieces played by Polish performers in 1958, 1959, and 1961 were by Western composers, and more than half of those in 1960 were by such composers. In comparison, Soviet and East European countries played no Western pieces in 1959 and 1960, and a total of only three in 1958 and 1961. Moreover, as can be seen in Appendix A, these three pieces--by Schönberg, Webern, and Berio--were performed by Eastern European ensembles; Soviet musicians presented no Western compositions at any of these four Festivals, nor had they in 1956.

Relatively few compositions by Polish and Eastern European/Soviet composers were performed by musicians outside of their home regions. For example, more than seventy percent of the compositions played at each Festival by Eastern European and Soviet performers were by composers from their home region. Soviet musicians presented Soviet compositions, and Eastern European performers offered works from their specific countries. Political factors were still in play in the selection of works by some performers from the East: musicians from the Soviet Union did not present any pieces by Stravinsky, who was still in disfavor in that country. In contrast, Hungarian performers presented Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra in 1959, despite the fact that the composer's compositions

had been banned from performance in that country for many years after his emigration to the United States.

Meanwhile, from 1958 to 1961 Western performers presented a total of only five pieces by composers from Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union; in 1960 they played no such works. Two of these five pieces were by Stravinsky, two were by Bartók, and one was by Ligeti, who had emigrated from Hungary to the West in 1956. Except for Ligeti's tape piece *Artikulation*, written in 1958, all of these compositions were known in the West, although they may not have been in the repertoire of the ensembles who presented them at the Festival.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, only two of the pieces had not been heard previously in Poland: Stravinsky's *Symphony in Three Movements*, played by the Suisse Romande Orchestra in 1959, and Ligeti's piece, presented at the 1958 Festival. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the other three pieces had been performed frequently in Poland in recent years; thus they probably were welcome additions to the Festivals' programs.

Poland's performers presented more Eastern European or Soviet compositions than did their Western counterparts; they offered a total of five or six such works each year from 1958 to 1960, plus three in 1961. These pieces, comprising between ten and twenty percent of the compositions played each year by Polish performers, were by Prokofiev and Shostakovich; emigré composers Martinu, Bartók, Stravinsky, and Constantin Silvestri; and by composers lesser known in Poland and the West: Veljo Tormis from the Soviet Union; Hanns Eisler and Viktor Bruns from East Germany; and Jan Klusák, Miloslav Kabeláč, and Eugen Suchoň from Czechoslovakia. Most of these pieces also received their Polish premieres at the Festival, and thus contributed to the education of the Polish public, guests, and other participants.

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<sup>8</sup> The other pieces were Bartók's String Quartet No. 4 and Sonata for two Pianos and Percussion, and Stravinsky's *Trois Poésies de la Lyrique Japonaise*.

The low number of Polish pieces performed by foreign musicians occurred because the requirement that at least one Polish composition be performed at each of these concerts was not completely adhered to in any of the Festivals for which it is known to have been in effect--that is, for those from 1958 to 1960.<sup>9</sup> Thus, although the immediate incorporation of Polish music into the repertoire of foreign ensembles at the Festival did occur to some extent, it may not have been as extensive as the organizers had hoped. The repertoire for each of the concerts at the 1958-1960 Festivals that omitted a Polish composition was not known until late in the planning process--often not until the program book was printed. Thus, it is possible that Polish pieces were omitted either because the performers were unable to prepare a Polish composition in a short time or because the organizers for some reason did not insist on the presentation of such a piece. For example, the contents of one of these concerts in 1958--that containing electronic music and solo piano works--was not announced until the actual Festival. Few, if any electronic compositions by Polish composers had been written by 1958, making the absence of such works on that portion of the concert understandable. However, Polish piano pieces were available and might have been presented by David Tudor, the soloist, but were not. Górecki's Piano Sonata No. 1 (1956) and *Lullaby for piano* (1956) were both possible works. Either the organizers neglected the requirement for that concert, or Tudor did not have time to learn a Polish work; his repertoire was determined just before the Festival.

Similarly, a lack of Polish compositions occurred in other programs that were announced late: in 1958 in the programs of the Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra, the Toulouse Quintet, and one concert by the Leningrad Philharmonic; in 1959 in the concerts by the Parrenin Quartet, Severino Gazzelloni, the Beethoven Quartet, as well as in Pierre

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<sup>9</sup> Excluded from consideration here are opera and ballet presentations, which offered only one work per event.

Schaeffer's presentation of *musique concrète*; and in 1960 in the recital given by Zara Dolukhanova. Except for Schaeffer's event, Polish compositions could have been programmed for each of these concerts, but were not. Since Schaeffer had been asked to present pieces from his Groupe de Recherches Musicales in Paris, the organizers would not have expected Polish works to be included.

The difficulties of negotiating with the Soviet Union and East Germany may have been the reason for the omission of the required Polish pieces from Poland in the concerts by performers from these countries. As noted in Chapter X, the organizers in Poland had been negotiating with these countries for several months and had even pointed out in April 1959 that a Polish composition needed to be sent to the Beethoven Quartet. Since it seems that the programs for these ensembles were decided by the Soviets and the East Germans after little, if any, consultation with the organizers in Poland, it is perceivable either that the requirement concerning the insertion of a Polish composition into the program was not taken seriously by these foreign governments, or that the organizers did not insist upon the fulfillment of that guideline.

Since the compositions at each Festival were distributed for the most part along geopolitical lines--i.e., Eastern performers presented Eastern works, Western performers presented Western works, etc.--two of the organizers' goals were achieved simultaneously: The presentation of compositions by composers from many countries was realized through the creation of a meeting place for participants and observers from East and West. In effect, an international exhibit of music resulted from the type of distribution of works described above.

### Stylistic Trends at the Festivals

The success or failure of the organizers' goal of presenting a wide variety of compositional trends at each Festival must be evaluated at least in part by examining the specific compositions presented at each Festival. A lack of scores and data for some of the pieces performed each year makes it impossible to discuss certain works, although in most cases it is still possible to describe the general compositional styles employed by each composer. The compositions at the four Festivals held from 1958 to 1961 can be characterized in terms of a pattern of styles and techniques that differed according to the geopolitical region in which their composers lived.

#### 1958

The 1958 Festival was marked by the introduction of several media not in evidence at the first Festival and the presentation of pieces utilizing stylistic techniques that previously had been heard rarely, if at all, in Poland. As occurred each year from 1958 to 1961, several of the compositions by Soviet and Eastern European composers seemed to adhere to the socialist realism principles of music that had been discarded recently in Poland.

As noted in previous chapters, one medium new to the Warsaw Autumn Festival in 1958 was electronic music. Six tape pieces were presented, all of which had been composed within the previous two years: Herbert Eimert's *Fünf Stücke* (nos. 4 and 5), Luciano Berio's *Perspectives*, Henri Pousseur's *Scambi*, Bruno Maderna's *Continuo*, Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge*, and György Ligeti's *Artikulation*.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> As discussed in Chapter VI, the pieces by Pousseur, Maderna, Berio, Stockhausen and Ligeti had been heard by Polish composers at the Darmstadt courses in either 1957 or 1958.

These pieces were preceded on the concert by Stockhausen's lecture about electronic music, and followed by David Tudor's performance of four experimental piano works. These latter pieces included Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI*, in which nineteen "groups," or musical passages, could be played in any order; Cage's *Music of Changes*, composed using I Ching; and the world premiere of Christian Wolff's *For Piano with Preparation*. The compositional innovations in these three pieces had not been heard in compositions played previously at the Festival or during regular concert seasons in Poland.

The other two media not heard at the 1956 Festival were opera and ballet. In 1958 the Baltic Opera presented Britten's *Peter Grimes*, Szeligowski's opera *Krakatuk*, and Ravel's ballet *Daphnis et Chloé*. Szeligowski's work is an opera for children based on a tale by E. T. A. Hoffman. In the Baltic Opera's production at the Festival the opera's action takes place in Warsaw.<sup>11</sup>

Among the predominant compositional techniques featured at the 1958 Festival were the atonality and dodecaphony of the Second Viennese School. Schönberg, Berg, and Webern were each represented by three compositions; of these, only Webern's *Das Augenlicht* had been heard previously in Poland. Schönberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw*, with its evocation of World War II concentration camps, was received tumultuously by the Warsaw audiences; by audience demand it was played twice.<sup>12</sup> Notably, the piece was performed by the Leipzig Radio Orchestra and Choir from East Germany. As such, it was the only atonal piece presented by an Eastern European ensemble at the Festival until 1960. Everett Helm reported that the Leipzig Orchestra had not performed *A Survivor from*

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<sup>11</sup> *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 109.

<sup>12</sup> Zygmunt Mycielski, "Podczas drugiej jesieni muzycznej," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 41 (October 9, 1958).



*Warsaw* in East Germany and was not scheduled to do so in the future.<sup>13</sup> It seems, therefore, that the compositional style of the piece, possibly in combination with its inclusion of a prayer setting, served as a catalyst for the East German government's refusal to allow the Leipzig ensemble to perform the piece in its own country. At the same time, however, the orchestra was permitted to present it abroad, perhaps because the same government wished to portray itself to the world as being lenient in its views regarding twentieth-century music. This ploy was also used frequently in other Eastern European countries; Andrzej Panufnik claimed that his *Rustic Symphony* and *Lullaby* received a similar treatment from the Polish government in the early 1950s (see Chapter II).

Western compositions employing less radical techniques than those described above included the first American work at the Festival--William Schuman's String Quartet No. 3 (1939)--performed by the Juilliard Quartet, and the eight compositions presented by the Toulouse Quintet: Hindemith's *Kleine Kammermusik*, op. 24, no. 2 (1922); Poulenc's Trio for Oboe, Bassoon, and Piano (1926) and *Trois Improvisations* (1932); Ibert's *Trois pièces brèves* (1930) and *Cinq pièces en trio* for oboe, clarinet, and bassoon (1935); Milhaud's *La Cheminée du Roi René* (1939); Gausec's *Quatre pièces pour instruments à vents*; and Bozza's Scherzo for piano (composition dates for the last two pieces are unknown).

Three of the four composers characterized by the organizers as writers of classics--Bartók, Hindemith, and Prokofiev<sup>14</sup>--were represented by a total of seven compositions. The performances of Hindemith's Sonata for Flute and Piano (1936) and *Kleine*

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<sup>13</sup> "Everett Helm, "Polens Musik hat Tauwetter," *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* (October 14, 1958).

<sup>14</sup> No compositions by the fourth composer, Stravinsky, were played at the second Festival. See Chapter VI for a discussion of contemporary classics and the 1958 Festival.

*Kammermusik* served to satisfy the concerns voiced at the August 30, 1958 organizational meeting about the lack of this composer's music at the Festival. The two pieces by Prokofiev were his Fifth Piano Concerto (1932) and Suite No. 2 from *Romeo and Juliet* (1936). Sviatoslav Richter performed the Concerto at the Festival, even though Prokofiev himself had been displeased with the piece.<sup>15</sup> It employs traditional classical forms and is more diatonically oriented than some of the composer's earlier pieces.

The Eleventh Symphony of Shostakovich was presented in Poland for the first time during the 1958 Festival. Subtitled "The Year 1905," it is a programmatic work describing the sacrifices made by Russian citizens during that year's revolution in their country. It was composed in 1957 for the fortieth anniversary of Russia's October Revolution. Schwarz has characterized this symphony and the composer's Twelfth as "true monuments to Socialist Realism."<sup>16</sup> The Eleventh Symphony is not, however, a banal or pedantic rendition of socialist realism ideas. Shostakovich incorporated into it pre-existing songs from both the nineteenth century and the 1905 revolution. These themes are not quoted "verbatim," but are assimilated ingeniously into the fabric of the symphony. The piece was well received officially in the Soviet Union. In an article in the Soviet daily *Pravda*, the symphony was described as one in which "the main ideas - the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and the invincible might of a nation justly struggling for its freedom and happiness - are expressed by the composer with such

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<sup>15</sup> Harlow Robinson, *Sergei Prokofiev* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), pp. 266-67.

<sup>16</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p. 337.

exceptional persuasiveness as is feasible only in an artist of great talent and mastery, who deeply loves his own people and believes in their inexhaustible strength'.<sup>17</sup>

Among the remaining Soviet compositions heard at the Festival were two by composers probably not known widely in Poland or the West. Otar Taktakishvili's Piano Concerto was inserted into the program after the cancellation of Prokofiev's *Symphony-Concerto*.<sup>18</sup> Taktakishvili rejected the modernist tendencies exhibited by the younger generation of Soviet composers during the post-Stalinist era of the late 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>19</sup> According to a program note submitted to the Polish Composers Union, Taktakishvili depicted in this Concerto "the formation of a contemporary young man's character in the battle to strengthen his noble ideas and feeling, his enthusiasm and energy, his subtle lyricism, light jocularly, and irrepressible joy."<sup>20</sup>

Latvian composer Janis Ivanovs' Sixth Symphony (1940) was described in the Festival's program book as a representation of "the life and the battle of the Latvian people under the capitalist yoke and the liberation of the country with the help of the fraternal Russian nation."<sup>21</sup> Traditional classical forms are employed, as are elements of folk dances

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted in *Dmitry Shostakovich. About Himself and His Times*, comp. L. Grigoryev, trans. Angus and Neilan Roxburgh (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981), p. 185.

<sup>18</sup> The soloist for the *Symphony-Concerto*, Rostropovich, cancelled his appearance because of illness: see Chapter IX.

<sup>19</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, p.346.

<sup>20</sup> "Kształtowanie charakteru młodego człowieka naszej doby w walce o umocnienie szlachetnych idei i uczuć, jego zapał i energia, subtelny liryzm, lekka żartobliwość, niepowstrzymana radość." "O.W. Taktakiszwili - Koncert na fortepian i orkiestrę," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>21</sup> "Życie i walka ludu łotewskiego w jarzmie ucisku kapitalistycznego i wyzwolenie kraju przy pomocy bratniego narodu rosyjskiego." *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 119.

and songs. According to this description, the symphony certainly seems to have been composed under the aegis of the principles of socialist realism. The piece received a Soviet State Prize in 1950.<sup>22</sup>

The Leipzig Radio Orchestra presented two of the three pieces by East German composers on the Festival's program. (Musicians from the National Philharmonic played Hanns Eisler's Septet No. 1.) The available information on Johann Cilenšek, whose Fourth Symphony (1958) was performed at the Festival, reveals only that the composer was a professor at the Weimar Higher School of Music and that by 1958 he had written several concertos in addition to four symphonies.<sup>23</sup>

Paul Dessau lived in the United States for about nine years during and after the Second World War, returning to East Germany in 1949 to champion the values of socialist realism in music.<sup>24</sup> His cantata *Die Erziehung der Hirse* for baritone, reciter, choir, and orchestra (1952, reorch. 1954), uses a text by Bertold Brecht about members of a Kazakhstani collective farm who come to the assistance of Soviet soldiers fighting Hitler.<sup>25</sup>

Five of the fourteen Polish compositions heard at the Festival were world premieres: Baird's *Four Essays* for orchestra, Kotoński's *Chamber Music* for 21 instruments, Górecki's *Epitaph* for choir and instruments, Serocki's *Heart of the Night* for baritone and piano, and Bacewicz's *Symphonic Variations*. Except for Bacewicz, these composers were among the youngest represented at the Festival. For Górecki and Kotoński, the performances of these pieces marked their introduction as composers at the Festival.

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<sup>22</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Janis Ivanovs."

<sup>23</sup> *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> *The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, s.v. "Paul Dessau."

<sup>25</sup> No information on the musical characteristics of the cantata is available. *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 38.

Except for Bacewicz's piece, each of the aforementioned works continues the pattern seen in the compositions of Baird and Serocki at the 1956 Festival, which embraced avant-garde techniques not permissible in Poland in the early 1950s. Baird's *Four Essays* was described briefly in Chapter VI. Górecki's *Epitaph* deploys three cymbals and two drums, piccolo, trumpet, and viola in addition to the choir. Incorporated into its sparse pointillist textures are *sprechstimme* and dynamic indications ranging from *pppp* to *ffff*.

Dodecaphonic techniques are also used.<sup>26</sup>

Kotoński's *Chamber Music* is similar to Górecki's in its utilization of pointillism and dodecaphony and the treatment of percussion as an integral part of its sound world.<sup>27</sup> Serocki's *Heart of the Night*, composed in 1956 for voice and orchestra and rescored in 1957 for voice and piano, consists of five songs to texts by Polish poet Konstanty Gałczyński. Pointillism prevails in the instrumental part, while the vocal line evokes more lyricism. *Sprechstimme* is occasionally used, and twelve-tone techniques are employed throughout.<sup>28</sup>

Bacewicz's *Symphonic Variations*, written in 1957, consists of a theme and eight variations. This piece is one of several completed by Bacewicz in the mid-1950s that displays the composer's increased observance of timbral distinctions and a greater tendency to use non-tonal harmonies. Some of the harmonic formations used in the *Variations*

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<sup>26</sup> Henryk Górecki, *Epitafium* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1960).

<sup>27</sup> *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>28</sup> These observations are based on an examination of the score to the orchestral version: Kazimierz Serocki, *Serce nocy na baryton i orkiestrę* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974). The date of the world premiere of the orchestral version is not known, but it did not occur before the 1958 Warsaw Autumn Festival.

foreshadow the composer's compositions of the 1960s, particularly the third variation's use of motives set impressionistically.<sup>29</sup>

Lutosławski's *Funeral Music* for string orchestra (1958), premiered in March of that year, is arguably the most significant work in the composer's output to that point. Written over the course of four years from 1954 to 1958, the piece was the outgrowth of the many public and private experiments undertaken by the composer in the early 1950s. It is innovative in many respects, and is considered by the composer to be an important work in his oeuvre. He characterized it in 1958 as follows:

"For me it marks the beginning of a new period, it is the result of long experimentation. I strove to create a group of means that will become my property...

What I worked out in this work is rather a group of methods that permit me in some sense to move within the limits of twelve tones, of course outside of the tonal system and outside of dodecaphony."<sup>30</sup>

Another description provided about fifteen years later by the composer noted that

"there is a row in it which serves as the basis of the *Prologue* and the *Epilogue* and even of the *Metamorphosis* [three of the four sections in the one-movement work]--but it has completely different purposes as with Schönberg and his followers...The goal was to create some kind of thirdless harmony...The only intervals to appear are seconds, fourths, fifths, fifths, tritones and their variants...The use of a row had to serve a different purpose [from Schönberg's]: to create a special kind of harmony...*Funeral Music* has very little to do with twelve-tone music."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> For an extended discussion of the piece, see Thomas, *Bacewicz*, pp. 81-86.

<sup>30</sup> "Stanowi on u mnie początek nowego okresu, jest rezultatem długich doświadczeń. Usiłowałem stworzyć zespół środków, który stanie się moją własnością...To, co wypracowałem w tym utworze, to raczej zespół sposobów, które pozwalają mi w jakimś sensie poruszać się w obrębie dwunastu tonów, oczywiście poza systemem tonalnym i poza dodekafonią." Pilarski, *Szkice o muzyce*, pp. 99-100. These pages are excerpted from *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 7 (1958).

<sup>31</sup> Varga, *Lutosławski Profile*, p. 11. The score was published in Kraków by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958. For a detailed analysis of this piece that also confirms the composer's assertions, see Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 70-77. See Chapter II for a previous discussion on the composer's activities in the early 1950s.

Many of the remaining Polish compositions presented at the Festival were more conservative in style than the works just described. Zbigniew Turski's *Little Overture*, Piotr Perkowski's *Nocturne*, and Kazimierz Sikorski's Flute Concerto, for instance, are oriented toward neoclassic procedures; the latter also contains a few twelve-tone passages.<sup>32</sup> As mentioned in Chapter VI, the pieces by Turski and Sikorski had been premiered in Poland during the 1957-1958 concert season. Their inclusion on the 1958 Festival's program underscores the desire of its organizers to offer the newest Polish compositions.

### 1959

Compositions employing techniques not heard previously at the Festival were among the highlights in 1959. Compositions by Eastern European composers displayed a wider variety of styles than they had in 1958, although many of them were still relatively conservative.

Among the newest pieces presented at the Festival were the eight engineered by the members of the Groupe de Recherches Musicales at the electronic studio of French Radio and Television. All are examples of *musique concrète*; among them are three works completed in 1959: Pierre Schaeffer's *Étude aux objets*, François-Bernard Mâche's *Prélude*, and Luc Ferrari's *Visage 5*, and what has been acknowledged as the medium's "first major work"--*Symphonie pour un homme seul* (1950) by Schaeffer and Pierre

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<sup>32</sup> Baculewski, *Polska twórczość kompozytorska*, pp. 75, 133; *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 63-64.

Henry.<sup>33</sup> Schaeffer also delivered a lecture on *musique concrète* and presented a film about the activities of the Paris studio.<sup>34</sup>

For the first time at the Festival, compositions by Pierre Boulez were programmed. Three of his pieces were featured: *Sonatine for flute and piano* (1946), *Livre pour quatuor* (1949) and *Sonata No. 2 for piano* (1948). All of these works are rhythmically complex and presage the composer's works using integral serialism. The six movements of *Livre* can be performed in any order (the fourth has never been performed or published), granting an aleatoric character to the piece.

Another composer employing new compositional techniques was Luciano Berio, who in his *Sequenza I* gives an element of freedom to the performer by using proportional notation. Flutter tonguing, double stops, and key clicks are all featured in this virtuosic vehicle. At the Festival the soloist was Severino Gazzelloni, for whom the piece was composed.<sup>35</sup>

Western compositions less experimental in character, at least for the 1959 compositional world, included the *First String Quartets* by Roussel and Honegger (composed in 1937 and 1917, respectively), *Martin's Violin Concerto* (1951), and *Jolivet's Flute Concerto* (1949). The neoclassic tendencies of these French and Swiss composers had been demonstrated at previous Festivals, but these specific pieces received their Polish premieres at the 1959 Festival.

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<sup>33</sup> Griffiths, *A Guide to Electronic Music*, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Bohdan Pilarski, "Orfeusz na nowej drodze. 'Warszawska jesień 1959'," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 43 (October 22, 1959): 7.

<sup>35</sup> David Osmond-Smith, ed. and trans., *Luciano Berio. Two Interviews* (New York: Marion Boyars, 1985), p. 90.



Since the organizers did not specify individual composers of contemporary classics during the organization of the 1959 Festival, the same names cited in 1958 should perhaps be the only ones so labelled in 1959. If that is done, the number of classics presented in 1959 is smaller than that in 1958: the four examples performed at the third Festival were Hindemith's Symphony "Die Harmonie der Welt" and Sonata for Two Pianos, plus Stravinsky's *Symphony in Three Movements* and Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra. Moreover, fewer compositions by the members of the Second Viennese School were presented in 1959 in comparison with the previous year. Schönberg's String Quartet No. 4 and Webern's Six Pieces for Orchestra, op. 6 and Symphony, op. 21 were the only such pieces.

The Gewandhaus Wind Quintet and Hungarian Radio Orchestra each presented compositions by composers from East Germany and Hungary, respectively, who previously were unknown to Festival audiences. These composers represented several generations of creative activity and different spheres of compositional technique. Of the East German composers, Paul Dessau, Ottmar Gerster, and Fidelio Finke were members of the older generation. In general, Gerster's compositions were in a neoclassical style.<sup>36</sup> Finke had adopted the dissonant techniques of the Second Viennese School in his early years of creativity, which had been spent in Prague. About 1930 he turned to neoclassicism as his primary compositional style. Following his move to Dresden at the end of World War II, his music changed again, becoming more accessible and "popular in appeal."<sup>37</sup> His contribution to the Festival, the Sonata for Horn and Piano (1946), was composed during this latter period.

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<sup>36</sup> *The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, s.v. "Ottmar Gerster"; *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Ottmar Gerster."

<sup>37</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Fidelio Friedrich Finke."

Information on most of the other Eastern European composers whose works were performed at the Festival is limited primarily to biographical data. Fritz Geissler and Günter Kochan belonged to the middle generation of East German composers. Geissler did not complete his formal studies in composition until 1953, although he had been composing since before World War II. Kochan was a teacher at the Berlin Musikhochschule.<sup>38</sup> Sándor Szokolay was the youngest of the Hungarian composers heard at the Festival, having been born in 1931. He had graduated from the Budapest Academy of Music in 1958.<sup>39</sup>

The *Ricercare* (1959) of Hungarian composer Rudolf Maros was probably the most experimental of the Eastern European compositions played at the 1959 Festival. Until the late 1950s Maros had been a proponent of diatonic harmonies and a folk-inspired style. The *Ricercare* was his first dodecaphonic composition.<sup>40</sup>

The two operas presented at the Festival were both by Eastern European composers. The plot of Viktor Bruns' *New Odyssey* revolves around the story of a soldier who is looking for his wife after completing his tour of duty. Bruns, born in 1904 and educated in Leningrad, made his living as a bassoonist with the Deutsche Staatsoper in Berlin.<sup>41</sup> Slovak composer Eugen Suchoň's *Kružňava* ("The Whirlpool"), written and premiered in 1949, tells the story of the search for the murderer of a young mountaineer.<sup>42</sup> The compositions he wrote between 1934 and 1952 are said by Ladislav Burlas in *The New*

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<sup>38</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Fritz Geissler" and "Günter Kochan."

<sup>39</sup> *Program II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 114.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "Rudolf Maros."

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100. No information on the compositional style of this piece was available for this study.

<sup>42</sup> *Program. III Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 86–88.

*Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* to have "established a new Slovak national style on the basis of extended tonality (e.g. chords including 11ths and 13ths) with markedly folk-based themes and social-critical positions. His large-scale treatment of folk music reached its culmination in the national opera *Krútnava*."<sup>43</sup> Suchoň has also been called the "most strikingly individual personality of his generation"--the older generation.<sup>44</sup>

The burgeoning use of avant-garde stylistic techniques by Polish composers is apparent in the seven Polish compositions premiered at the 1959 Festival. Three composers made their Festival debuts with these premieres: Jan Krenz with his *Music for Clarinet Solo* (1958), Krzysztof Penderecki with *Strophes* for soprano, reciter and ten instruments (1959), and Witold Szalonek with *Confessions* for reciter, mixed choir, and chamber orchestra (1959).<sup>45</sup> In *Confessions* the reciter is allowed complete freedom of rhythm and tempo in realizing the *sprechstimme* melody. The work is atonal, with pointillist textures.<sup>46</sup>

Penderecki, it may be recalled from Chapter VI, had been awarded all three prizes at the Young Composers Competition in Poland in April 1959. His *Strophes*, which received first prize, uses such innovative notational devices as a three-line tempo graph, semi-pitched recitation parts, indications for plucking the strings of the piano, and gradual tempo changes to be determined by the performers. The atonal work is sung to Greek, Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic texts.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Eugen Suchoň."

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "Czechoslovakia."

<sup>45</sup> The other world premieres are the pieces by Baird, Górecki, Szabelski, and Bacewicz discussed below.

<sup>46</sup> Witold Szalonek, *Geständnisse* (Celle: Herman Moeck, 1960).

<sup>47</sup> Krzysztof Penderecki, *Strofy* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977); Ates Orga, "Penderecki, Composer of Martyrdom," *Music and Musicians* 18, no. 1 (September, 1969): 36.

Baird's *Espressioni varianti* (1959) continued the line of Polish dodecaphonic works produced since about 1956. The piece utilizes 12-tone techniques while retaining the melodic expressiveness characteristic of much of the composer's output. Muted instruments, glissandos, and soft dynamic levels contribute to the composition's lyrical atmosphere.<sup>48</sup>

Twelve-tone chords pervade the first movement of Górecki's First Symphony "1959." Integral serialist constructions are used in the second movement, which was not performed at the Festival because of performance difficulties.<sup>49</sup> Irrational metric markers (e.g., a 5:4 grouping occurring over the space of 2 1/2 beats), pointillism, and extreme dynamic ranges characterize the third and fourth movements.<sup>50</sup>

Szabelski's *Improvisations* (1959) proved to be one of the biggest surprises of the Festival, at least as far as Polish audiences were concerned, because its performance there publicly marked the sixty-three year old composer's abrupt reversal of styles. Formerly a composer of neoclassic music (including his Sixth Symphony of 1958), *Improvisations* has pointillist textures, as does his Sonatas for orchestra (1958), which had not been premiered as of the 1959 Festival. The latter two compositions also employ elements of dodecaphony.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Tadeusz Baird, *Ekspresje* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1961).

<sup>49</sup> Baculewski, *Polska twórczość kompozytorska*, p. 197.

<sup>50</sup> Henryk Górecki, First Symphony "1959" (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1961).

<sup>51</sup> Bohdan Pocij, "Świt awangardy. Na marginesie III Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 1 (1960): 10; Ludwik Erhardt, *Contemporary Music in Poland*, trans. Eugenia Tarska (Warsaw: Polonia, 1966), p. 14.

*Music for Strings, Trumpets, and Percussion* is regarded as one of Bacewicz's finest works.<sup>52</sup> Although not as radical in style as the other Polish works discussed above, it nevertheless contains ideas not often seen in the composer's music. Dissonant harmonies are heard throughout and an open form is used in the second movement. The driving rhythms and sonata-rondo form of the third movement evoke the composer's neobaroque and neoclassic background.<sup>53</sup>

### 1960

The fourth Festival differed from the previous two in its presentation of more large-scale works (Roman Maciejewski's *Requiem* and three ballets--Szymanowski's *Harnasie*, Bartók's *Miraculous Mandarin*, and Kara Karajev's *Path of Thunder*), a half-concert devoted to Messiaen's organ works, and the performance of five Japanese compositions by the Tokyo Radio Symphony Orchestra. Similar features included an electronic music concert and an emphasis on avant-garde techniques in Polish compositions. The compilation by the Festival's organizers of what has been labelled in this study as Table 4 (Chapter X) permits a reliable comparison to be made between the stylistic classifications agreed upon by those organizers and the actual composers and pieces selected for the Festival.

Of the seventy pieces named by the organizers and provided in Table 4 as potential selections for the 1960 Festival, only ten were performed at the event. However, compositions by twenty-two of the fifty-six composers listed there were played. Among the composers represented at the Festival and designated by the organizers as creators of

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<sup>52</sup> Grażyna Bacewicz, *Muzyka na smyczki, trąbki i perkusję* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1984).

<sup>53</sup> For an analysis of the piece, see Thomas, *Bacewicz*, pp. 87-93.

avant-garde music were Bo Nilsson, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez, Luciano Berio, and John Cage. Experimental techniques appeared in each of the pieces by these five composers. Stockhausen's *Zeitmasse* (1956), for example, uses serialized pitch, rhythms, and metric markings. Each of its five performers are given the liberty to choose their own tempo for certain passages, thereby lending an element of aleatorism to the performance. Boulez's *Improvisation sur Mallarmé I* (1957) employs aleatoric techniques as well as loosely constructed dodecaphony.

Cage's *Fontana Mix* (1958) and Berio *Tema (Omaggio a Joyce)* (1958) were heard in the Festival's electronic music concert. Also included in this event was the first independent electronic composition (that is, not written for film or theater) by a Polish composer: Kotoński's *Study on a Cymbal Stroke*.<sup>54</sup> Józef Patkowski lectured at the concert.

Pieces by Dallapiccola, Martinet, Messiaen, Petrassi, and Shostakovich--five of the "moderate" composers named by the organizers and listed in Table 4--also were heard at the Festival. The difficulties of comprehending what, if any, distinctions in the stylistic techniques were made by the organizers when they compiled the list of works seen in Table 4 can be observed here: Dodecaphony appears in some of these moderate works as well as in the avant-garde pieces mentioned above and in the classics. One example of dodecaphonic music written by a "moderate" composer was Dallapiccola's *Canti di prigionia* (Songs of Bondage) (1941).<sup>55</sup>

The fact that dodecaphony was no longer considered by the Festival's organizers to be exclusively an avant-garde technique shows a shift in the perceptions held by many Polish composers. In the early 1950s dodecaphony had been rejected by the Polish government as

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<sup>54</sup> See Chapter VI for a brief description of this work.

<sup>55</sup> *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawka Jesień"* [printed booklet], pp. 26-27.

being characteristic of formalistic music; later that decade, many Polish composers became acquainted with dodecaphony for the first time, and viewed it as a radical technique. By 1960, it was merely one of many compositional methods used in the twentieth century.

From the list of composers of contemporary classics seen in Table 4, seventeen works by Bartók, Prokofiev, Schönberg, Webern, Stravinsky, and Szymanowski were performed at the 1960 Festival. This number represented a substantial increase over the total played in either of the two previous Festivals, largely due to the fact that more composers are now known to have been acknowledged by the Festival's organizers as writers of classics. The seven pieces by Schönberg and Webern also marked a greater emphasis on the Second Viennese School than had occurred in 1959. Included among these pieces were some of the composers' lesser known works such as Schönberg's *Bläserquintett*, op. 26 (1924) and Webern's *Fünf Kanons* for soprano and bass clarinet, op. 16 (1924).

The Festival's emphasis on Stravinsky had waned since 1956. None of his compositions had been performed in 1958, only one in 1959 (*Symphony in Three Movements*), and two in 1960: *In memoriam Dylan Thomas* (1954) and *Oedipus Rex* (1927, rev. 1948). Nevertheless, these three pieces showed a different side of the composer than had been apparent in his Russian-period works offered at the 1956 Festival. Dodecaphonic techniques form the basis of *In memoriam Dylan Thomas*, while *Oedipus Rex* is an opera-oratorio from the composer's neoclassic period.

Zara Dolukhanova's recital included songs by Prokofiev, Miaskovsky, Iury Kochurov, Aleksander Dolukhanian, and Grigorij Frid. The contributions from Prokofiev's output included an excerpt from *Alexander Nevsky*, adaptations of four Russian folk songs, and a setting of *The Ugly Duckling*. The remainder of the pieces performed by Dolukhanova

were among the lesser known works of the Soviet composers and were more conservative in style than many of the Western pieces presented. The latter three composers were not widely recognized in international musical circles; in fact, their works were not performed frequently even in their own country. The Festival's program book notes that Frid's pieces--selections from *Five Shakespeare Sonnets*--had been written in 1959, the year before the Festival. Dolukhanian's songs--"An Armenian Song," "The Crane," and "Talisman"--were set to Armenian poetry; the latter two were said to be among the composer's most popular.<sup>56</sup> Kochurov, a professor at Leningrad Conservatory from 1947 until his death in 1952, was noted as an excellent composer of vocal music.<sup>57</sup>

The scenario of Karajev's ballet *The Path of Thunder*, written in 1957, is taken from a novel about racial problems in South Africa. The ballet is considered by Boris Schwarz to be one of the most successful Soviet ballets written between 1953 and 1964 as well as one of the best compositions written in the entire country between 1957 and 1962.<sup>58</sup> According to Schwarz, the Azerbaijani composer's study of African music prior to the composing of the ballet resulted in an emphasis in the piece on "strong rhythms and ostinato basses...developed in an almost symphonic manner."<sup>59</sup>

As in previous years, some of the compositions presented by the Eastern European performers were by composers little known in Poland or the West. In 1960, the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic offered two pieces by native composers: Pavel Bořkovec's Piano Concerto No. 1 (1931) and Milos Sokola's *Variations on a Theme by Kaprálová*

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> *Muzykalnaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1976), s.v. "Iury Kochurov."

<sup>58</sup> Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, pp. 293, 347.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 293.



(1957?). Sokola's composition is based on a melody by a Czechoslovakian composer who died during the Second World War.<sup>60</sup> According to the note provided by Bořkovec in the program book, the composer had expected his Second Piano Concerto to be presented; the list of works given at the beginning of the book named his First Concerto, the work actually played. Bořkovec did mention that the First Concerto is dodecaphonic and used motoric rhythms.<sup>61</sup> The presentation at the Festival of a dodecaphonic work by a Czechoslovakian composer is noteworthy, since the previous appearance of a Czechoslovakian ensemble at the Festival, in 1956, brought only conservative pieces by Martinu, Janáček, and Novák as examples of native music.

In several of the Polish compositions heard of the Festival, a new compositional trend can be traced, one in which sonorities themselves are emphasized as an important element. These pieces also portray a shift by their composers away from the pointillist, serialist constructions of their previous works and towards a more individualized style that would propel them into the forefront of international musical composition. In Baird's *Exhortation* for reciter, choir, and orchestra, for example, texture and timbre are treated as major structural elements alongside melody, dynamics, and articulation.<sup>62</sup>

Although more violent sounding than Baird's piece, Górecki's *Scontri* also emphasizes texture and timbre.<sup>63</sup> The element of melody in the latter work is diminished almost to the

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<sup>60</sup> *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawka Jesień"* [printed booklet], p. 34.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>62</sup> Barbara Maria Jazwinski, "Four Compositions by Tadeusz Baird: An Analytic Essay," (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1984), p. 103.

<sup>63</sup> Henryk Górecki, *Scontri* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976); Adrian Thomas, "The Music of Henryk Mikołaj Górecki: the First Decade," *Contact*, no. 27 (Autumn 1983), p. 17.

point of non-existence. Conventional metrical pulses are replaced by an emphasis on shifting masses of sound that are controlled through a combination of traditional metronomic indications and durations given in seconds. Tone clusters abound, as do unusual string techniques. Pitch and dynamics are serialized. The piece is scored for twelve woodwinds, twelve brasses, thirty strings, two pianos, two harps, and eight percussionists playing forty-eight instruments.

Penderecki's *Dimensions of Time and Silence* for forty-part mixed chorus, percussion, and strings, is similar to Górecki's *Scontri* in its use of tone clusters, innovative string techniques, blocks of sound, and durations indicated by clock time. Penderecki also assigns unpitched parts to the voices, who sing consonants rather than words, and expands the playing techniques called for in the percussion parts.<sup>64</sup>

Bogusław Schäffer made his Festival debut with *Tertium datur* for harpsichord and instruments (1958).<sup>65</sup> The composer has stated that the following problems are either solved or touched upon in the piece: "aleatorism; the equivalence of musical methods; the transference of elements to date of primary importance to a place of secondary matter, with the simultaneous...in [the composer's] opinion necessary--rehabilitation of harmony; the attempt to write music in which what is defined is precisely that which is musically indeterminate (for example, percussion phrases used as main material are contrasted with pitch, used as secondary material); the elimination of accompaniment (both structurally and formally: *Tertium datur* is not a solo concerto)."<sup>66</sup> *Tertium datur* employs both traditional,

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<sup>64</sup> Krzysztof Penderecki, *Wymiary czasu i ciszy* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1982).

<sup>65</sup> Bogusław Schäffer, *Tertium datur* (Warsaw: Przedstawicielstwo Wydawnictw Polskich, 1962).

<sup>66</sup> "Aleatoryzm; ekwiwalentność środków muzycznych; przesunięcia punktów ciężkości z elementów dotąd nadrzędnych na wtórne przy jednoczesnej - zdaniem moim

aleatoric, and graphic notation (diagrammatic rather than musical symbols), the two latter types being recent developments in the West.<sup>67</sup> Throughout his career, Schäffer has advanced radical ideas in both his compositions and his writings. While it is difficult to judge whether each of Schäffer's aforementioned ideas is manifest in *Tertium datur*, it is clear nevertheless that the composer's thoughts about music parallel the experimental nature of the piece.

The pieces by Lutosławski and Bacewicz heard on the Festival, while intentionally avoiding the avant-garde techniques described above, did represent innovations in the personal compositional style of each composer. Lutosławski's *Five Songs on Texts of Kazimiera Iłłakowicz*, presented at the Festival in its version for woman's voice and thirty solo instruments, is an continuation of the composer's search for an individual language and manner of expression. The original score for voice and piano was written in 1956-1957; its orchestral version was completed in 1958. Thus, Lutosławski was working on this composition at the same time as *Funeral Music*, performed at the 1958 Festival. As the composer pointed out in his note about *Five Songs* in the 1960 Festival's program book,

"I greet skeptically the assertion that harmony as an element of musical creation has disappeared; what is more, I believe that it is only now that we are liberating ourselves from the conventions of the tonal system that we can comprehend all the wealth of harmonic possibilities available in the chromatic scale. These

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koniecznej - rehabilitacji harmoniki; próba muzyki, w której jest określone bliżej to, co muzycznie jest nieokreślone (np. frazy perkusyjne jako materiał główny przeciwstawione wysokościami dźwiękowym jako materiałowi pobocznemu); eliminacja towarzyszenia (zarówno fakturalnego, jak i formalnego: *Tertium Datur* nie jest koncertem solowym)." *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawka Jesień"* [printed booklet], p. 33. See also Bogusław Schäffer, *Klasyki dodekafonii*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1964), pp. 268-69.

<sup>67</sup> Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music. Cage and Beyond* (New York: Schirmer, 1974), pp. 44-59.

problems...preoccupied me particularly while I was writing the Five Songs...I put aside everything else in this work to concentrate solely on the expressive and coloristic possibilities of twelve-tone chords in their manifold variations - whence the homophonic texture, the traditional, static rhythm, and finally the choice of 'infantile' texts calling for a simplified, lapidary musical interpretation."<sup>68</sup>

All the musical features mentioned by Lutosławski are present in the piece. Several types of twelve-note constructions are exhibited in the piece. Primarily, these include structures built of limited intervals such as symmetrical chords, tetrachordal divisions, and hexachords.<sup>69</sup>

Bacewicz's Sixth String Quartet, written in 1960, utilizes atonality and dodecaphony to a greater extent than apparent in the composer's previous works. Bacewicz has explained that she was uncomfortable in using these techniques in this piece, stating that "I transformed [serialism]...in a free manner in order to protect my music from the stamp that marks works written with this technique, and also to maintain certain characteristics of my own style."<sup>70</sup> Her tendencies toward neoclassicism are alluded to in her employment in the work's outer movements of formal structures resembling a theme and variations and a rondo, respectively.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Translated in Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 65-66. The Polish text is in *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawka Jesień"* [printed booklet], p. 29.

<sup>69</sup> Stucky, *Lutosławski*, pp. 65-70.

<sup>70</sup> "Przetworzyłam ją jednak w swoisty sposób, aby uchronić swą muzykę od piętna, jakie noszą utwory pisane tą techniką, a także, aby zachować pewne cechy charakterystyczne dla mojego stylu." *IV Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej "Warszawka Jesień"* [printed booklet], p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas, *Bacewicz*, pp. 93-95.

1961

Featured at the 1961 Festival were concert productions of three operas (Berg's *Lulu*, Szymanowski's *King Roger*, and Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle*), a concert partially devoted to the music of Varèse, a recital by Peter Pears and Benjamin Britten of predominantly British music, and compositions by six Polish composers making their Festival debuts.

Avant-garde composers listed in the organizers' 1960 categorization (Table 3, Chapter X) whose works were also heard at the 1961 Festival include Karlheinz Stockhausen, Luigi Nono, Pierre Boulez, Mauricio Kagel, Luciano Berio, John Cage, Yoritsune Matsudaira, Roland Kayn, Niccolò Castiglioni, and Sylvano Bussotti. Nono's *Il canto sospeso* led off the inaugural concert. Its text is based on letters by members of World War II's Resistance movement who were sentenced to death. The composer decomposed the letters so that individual words and syllables, rather than complete phrases or sentences, are given to the choir and soloists. Serialized pitches, durations, and dynamics are employed.<sup>72</sup>

One concert was composed almost entirely of compositions by these "avant-garde" composers: pieces by Castiglioni, Evangelisti, Matsudaira, and Górecki were played by Severino Gazzelloni on the first half of the concert, while electro-acoustic pieces by Cage, Maderna, Berio, and Haubenstock-Ramati concluded the presentation.

Other Western compositions by "avant-garde" composers were Boulez's *Structures II - Chapitre I* and Stockhausen's *Zyklus* for percussion. In the latter piece, sixteen "events" are displayed in a spiral; the performer may begin with any one of the events, after which he must proceed in order. Within each event varying degrees of freedom are given to the

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<sup>72</sup> V *Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 12-14; Brindle, *The New Music*, pp. 38-40.

performer; the notation is non-traditional in that definite pitches, dynamics, and durations are rarely provided.

Composers earning the organizers' "moderate" label were Shostakovich, Petrassi, and Lidholm. Two of Shostakovich's most recent compositions were played by the Borodin Quartet; the composer's Seventh and Eighth Quartets were both composed in 1960 and were heard in Poland for the first time at this Festival. The Eighth employs the D-S-C-H motive present in several other of the composer's pieces as well as quotations from his earlier compositions. With its profound expressiveness and skillful treatment of the musical material, it is also one of the composer's finest works.

Petrassi's Flute Concerto, composed in 1960, is marked by twelve-tone constructions, pointillism, irregular rhythms, and changing meters. At least one section is to be performed in an aleatoric manner by several instrumentalists.<sup>73</sup> Lidholm's *Canto LXXXI* is, according to the composer, part of a collection of songs that attempts to confront serialism "from the point of view of the difficulty of the vocal parts."<sup>74</sup>

From the category of classics compiled by the Festival's organizers and provided in Table IV, twelve compositions by Bartók, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, Schönberg, Berg, Webern, and Szymanowski were performed. Works by each of these composers had been performed in at least two of the previous four Festivals; those by Bartók had been heard at each of them. Five pieces by composers of the Second Viennese School were heard, including one by Berg (*Sieben frühe Lieder*, nos. 1, 3, 5), a composer who had not been heard at the Festival since 1958. Other composers almost certainly deserving of the "classic" label at this Festival were Debussy and Ravel, two of whose compositions--

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<sup>73</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 97.

<sup>74</sup> "Od strony problemów wokalistyki." *Ibid.*, p. 92.

respectively, *En blanc et noir* for two pianos (1915) and *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé* (1913)--were performed.

Compositions by Eastern composers included four Bulgarian pieces performed by the Sofia State Philharmonic Orchestra. Alexander Raichev was the youngest of the four composers, having been born in 1922; Pietro Stainov, born in 1896, was the oldest. Information available in the program book about these pieces reveals that each carries nationalist overtones. No mention about compositional techniques is made, although it is unlikely that atonality or avant-garde measures were used widely in Bulgaria, given that socialist realism was still in force in that country. Stainov's Symphonic Scherzo "is strongly distinguished by an emphasis on national character,"<sup>75</sup> Pancho Vladigerov's *Improvisation and Toccata* employs "original Bulgarian colors,"<sup>76</sup> and Raichev's Second Symphony "The New Prometheus" expresses "the idea of the struggle for contemporary man, for a bright future and a just life."<sup>77</sup> Marin Goleminov's *Variations on a Theme of Dobri Khristov* (1942) has been described as "one of the most interesting and the most popular orchestral works of the composer."<sup>78</sup> Goleminov's pieces are frequently influenced by Bulgarian folk music.<sup>79</sup>

The youngest of the Polish composers making their introduction at the Festival was Augustyn Bloch, whose *Espressioni* for soprano and orchestra (1959) was performed by

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<sup>75</sup> "Się wyróżnia silnie zaakcentowanym charakterem narodowym." Ibid., p.25.

<sup>76</sup> "Oryginalnym kolorytem bułgarskim." Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>77</sup> "Idea walki o współczesnego człowieka, o świetlaną przyszłość i sprawiedliwe życie." Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> "Jeden z najbardziej interesujących i równocześnie najbardziej popularnych utworów orkiestrowych kompozytora." Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>79</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Marin Goleminov."

the Silesian State Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. The orchestral accompaniment in this piece is at times sparse and pointillistic, but that approach does not pervade the entire work. The composer has stated that he used serial techniques in the piece.<sup>80</sup>

Three other first-time Polish composers at the Festival were represented by chamber pieces. Juliusz Luciuk's *Flowery Dream*, awarded a silver medal at the 1960 International Composers Competition in Vercelli, Italy, utilizes "dodecaphonic and serial techniques."<sup>81</sup> Andrzej Koszewski's *Fa-re-mi-do-si Music* for choir uses the five syllables of the title for its text and the five analogous pitches (f-d-e-c-b) for its musical content.<sup>82</sup> Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz's *The Weight of the Earth*, a song cycle for soprano and piano, received its world premiere at the Festival. Information about its stylistic characteristics is unavailable; his compositions in general have been described as having an emphasis on harmonic simplicity and melody.<sup>83</sup>

Other Polish works heard at the Festival were distinguished by innovative stylistic techniques. Kilar's *Herbsttag* for woman's voice and string quartet is based on a twelve-tone row and incorporates elements of jazz riffs in its rhythm, dynamics, articulation, and texture.<sup>84</sup> Lutosławski's *Venetian Games* for twenty-nine solo instruments must be characterized as a watershed in the composer's career. In it the composer introduced his technique of limited aleatorism. The technique is one in which performers are given certain

<sup>80</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 57; Augustyn Bloch, *Espressioni per soprano ed orchestra* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne), 1962.

<sup>81</sup> "techniki dodekafonicznej i serialnej." *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 88.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>83</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz."

<sup>84</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 87.



rhythmic freedoms, but other parameters such as pitch and form are controlled by the composer. In *Venetian Games* and in Lutosławski's later pieces, passages of limited aleatorism are juxtaposed with traditionally notated sections. As the composer explained in 1961, limited aleatorism offered "the possibility of a tremendous enrichment of the rhythmic side of the work without increasing the performers' difficulties, and admitted a free, full, individualized instrumental game within the framework of the orchestral ensemble."<sup>85</sup>

Penderecki's *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* marked the continuation of the composer's earlier practice of making use of non-traditional notation, unpitched parts, tone clusters, and innovative string techniques.<sup>86</sup> Bacewicz's *Pensieri notturni* for chamber orchestra has been compared to Bartók's "night music."<sup>87</sup> Its quiet, shimmering background and an emphasis on melodic fragments rather than extended lines are features of the piece.<sup>88</sup>

One of the few conservative Polish works at the 1959-1961 Festivals was Turski's *Sinfonia da camera* from 1947, performed in 1961. This composition uses classical forms and is based on a theme from a string quartet by the same composer that was lost during World War II.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> "Możliwość ogromnego wzbogacenia strony rytmicznej utworu bez zwiększania trudności wykonawczych, jak i dopuszczenie swobodnej, pełnej, indywidualizowanej gry na instrumentach w ramach zespołu orkiestrowego." *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Krzysztof Penderecki, *Tren* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1983).

<sup>87</sup> Thomas, *Bacewicz*, p. 98.

<sup>88</sup> Grażyna Bacewicz, *Pensieri notturni* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1984).

<sup>89</sup> *V Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, p. 96.

### Exchanges of Information

As an additional means of encouraging an exchange of diverse opinions about contemporary music and promoting the dissemination of Polish music abroad, the organizers offered many of the same amenities that had been shown to guests and participants at the first Festival.

Approximately 55 to 65 invited guests from East and West attended each of the 1958-1961 Festivals.<sup>90</sup> Numerous opportunities for contacts among all Festival observers and participants were arranged outside of the normal concert settings. Beginning in 1958 a Festival Club was established, located in the Booksellers Club in the Old Town section of Warsaw. All performers, guests, and other interested people were invited to stop in during the day to converse with old friends or make new acquaintances. In 1961 and perhaps in other years as well, press conferences were held daily at the Club.<sup>91</sup>

Events organized outside the framework of the scheduled concerts and the Festival Club included annual tours to Chopin's birthplace in Żelazowa Wola and, in some years, additional opportunities to hear contemporary music and attend other press conferences. In 1958 all guests and participants were invited to hear tapes of new Polish music at the Polish recording company, Polskie Nagrania. Luigi Nono played tapes of several of his works,

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<sup>90</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (April-November 1958, May-December 1959, June 1960-June 1961); "Goście Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): 2; "Goście, obserwatorzy 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 21 (1961): 17.

<sup>91</sup> "Informacje dla zagranicznych obserwatorów..." [An information sheet distributed to guests each year], Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958-61; Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

among them *Il canto sospeso*, *Cori di Didone*, and *Composizione per orchestra*.<sup>92</sup> In 1959 an exhibition of short Polish films was offered, some of which feature *musique concrète* and electronic music by Włodzimierz Kotoński, Zbigniew Turski, and Andrzej Markowski.<sup>93</sup> In 1961 a concert of early Polish music was given, as were ballet performances of Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* and Baird's *Four Essays*, (the latter of which was not originally intended as a ballet piece).<sup>94</sup> Press conferences were held in 1958 with members of the Leningrad Philharmonic, in 1959 with Czechoslovakian musicians, and in 1960 with members of the Warsaw Opera, the Polish folk troupe Mazowsze, and officials of the ballet company from Moscow's Grand Theater.<sup>95</sup>

Recordings of selected compositions from each Festival were made available for public sale within a few days after they were performed. The number of recordings made each year was, however, significantly smaller than the twenty of 1956: in 1958, 1959, and 1960 only four one-side recordings were prepared, while in 1961 five were made. The number of pieces recorded each year varied from a low of six in 1959 (two complete works and

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<sup>92</sup> "Informacje dla zagranicznych gości-obszawatorów II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; Krystyna Wilkomowska-Chomińska, "Warszawska Jesień 1958. II Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie (27.IX-5.X)," *Muzyka* 3, no. 4 (1958): 128; ZU, "Zagraniczni obserwatorzy o Festiwalu 'Warszawskiej Jesień'," *Słowo powszechne*, no. 234 (October 1, 1958).

<sup>93</sup> "Informacje dla zagranicznych obserwatorów III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959; Z. Sierp. "Hałas miły uchu..." *Życie Warszawy* no. 224 (September 18, 1959). Z. Sierp. [Zdisław Sierpiński] complained that even some of the Festival's organizers did not know the date and location of the film exhibition in 1959.

<sup>94</sup> "Informacje dla zagranicznych obserwatorów V Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Collection of Correspondence, 1961.

<sup>95</sup> s, "Spotkanie z 'Leningradczykami'," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 238 (October 4, 1958); Z. Sierp. "Hałas miły uchu..." *Życie Warszawy*, no. 224 (September 18, 1959); PAP, "Spotkanie z zespołem Teatru Wielkiego," *Życie Warszawy* (September 27, 1960).

fragments of four others) to a high of twelve in 1961 (four complete works and fragments of eight). The compositions and their performers are listed in Appendix B. No pieces were recorded from the last six concerts in 1960 and 1961, from the last eight concerts in 1959, or from the last nine in 1958. This latter situation may have been planned so that all recordings were made available before the end of the Festival. Nevertheless, it meant that deserving compositions played at the end of each Festival were not recorded. While budgetary constraints in Poland restricted the total number of recordings possible in a given year,<sup>96</sup> they did not directly cause the lack of recordings from concerts at the end of the Festival. Another possible reason for the lack of recordings from certain concerts was that permission needed to be granted by both performer and composer (or publisher) in order for a particular piece to be put on record. However, examples of refusals from either performers or composers are not available.

Most of the non-Polish composers represented on the recordings were those who by 1960 were considered by the Polish organizers to be creators of contemporary classics, including Schönberg, Berg, Webern, Bartók, Prokofiev, and Stravinsky. Since, as discussed in Chapter VI, other recordings of twentieth-century classics rarely were available in Poland, these documentary pressings were a valued commodity in that country.

These recordings included world and Polish premieres. According to available information the organizers did not formulate a policy specifically calling for only premieres to be recorded. Indeed, not all of the world premieres were provided on the records, mostly because pieces performed toward the end of the Festival apparently were omitted from consideration. For example, in 1958 Baird's *Four Essays* and Serocki's *Heart of the Night*

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<sup>96</sup> Interviews with Marek Stachowski in Warsaw, January 15, 1986; with Krystyna Moszumańska-Nazar in Kraków, January 29, 1986; and with Józef Patkowski in Warsaw, May 20, 1987.

were recorded, but Kotoński's *Chamber Music* and Górecki's *Epitaph* were not; all four were world premiere performances. Similar situations occurred at each of the next three Festivals.

The program books available at each Festival were intended to provide all audience members with information about the contents of each concert as well as biographical data on the composers and performers. Polish and French versions of the books were prepared.

In 1958 program notes about most of the compositions to be performed were provided; they were not furnished for some of the foreign compositions--for instance, the works by Cilenšek, Hindemith, Nono, Liebermann, Honegger, Milhaud, and Stockhausen. In 1959 the only notes given were plot summaries of the opera productions of Szeligowski's *Mazepa* (which was cancelled) and Suchoň's *Krútnava*. Tadeusz Marek prepared both books, using information supplied to him by composers and other sources. Excerpts from Polish and foreign press reviews of the 1958 Festival were included at the end of the 1959 volume.

A shift in the book's format in 1960 resulted from charges made by some of the Festival's organizers and by music critics in Poland and abroad that the books in previous years had been superficial in content and carelessly put together.<sup>97</sup> In 1960, for the first time in the Festival's history, composers were asked to write their own program notes for direct insertion into the program book. For those compositions for which information was not submitted, several Polish musicologists and other musicians authored the notes. In

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<sup>97</sup> "Protokół z posiedzenia Komitetu Festiwalowego w dniu 12 marca 1960 roku," Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1960; Zdzisław Sierpiński, "Zamierzenia i efekty," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 227 (September 22, 1959): 3; Maciej Winiarski, "W Anglii o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Kontynenty-Nowy Merkuriusz* (London) 1, no. 12 (December 1959): 12-14; Stefan Kisielewski, "Warszawska Jesień' po raz trzeci," *Tygodnik powszechny*, no. 40 (October 4, 1959): 7.

1960 two booklets were issued instead of the usual one; both were edited by Józef Patkowski. One was a printed edition containing program notes for most of the scheduled pieces. The second booklet, in typescript, contained plot summaries for the two radio operas by Bacewicz and Wiszniewski, Szymanowski's *Harnasie* and Bartók's *The Miraculous Mandarin*; texts to the songs scheduled to be performed; and biographies of performers, conductors, and most composers. At the end of this second booklet was a compilation of performers and composers from the first three Festivals.

The 1961 program book, in one volume edited by Patkowski, again included notes that were furnished either by the composers of each work or by other Polish writers. A list of performers and composers from the first four Festivals was included at the end of the book.

As in 1956, all of the Festivals' concerts were taped by Polish Radio or Polskie Nagrania. Some were broadcast live during the Festival, while others were transmitted later.<sup>98</sup>

## Conclusions

The general characteristics of the Warsaw Autumn Festival were established by 1958. Annual features each year were the presentations of electronic music and theatrical spectacles, contemporary classics, and the newest Polish compositions; the extension of invitations to musicians from East and West; and the issuance of documentary recordings. Many, but not all of these attributes had also been observed in the first Festival. Moreover,

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<sup>98</sup> The Polish Composers Union headquarters has tapes of most, if not all of the Polish compositions played at each Festival. The present author does not know if tapes of foreign compositions from the Festival are available at the Union. Polish Radio and Polskie Nagrania have tapes of all Festival concerts.

despite the many difficulties encountered by the organizers during their preparations for the 1958 Festival, the model of performers and repertoire established that year proved worthy of replication in succeeding years.

Compositions by Western composers spanned the twentieth century and were representative of perhaps the widest range of techniques at each Festival, from the dodecaphony of Schönberg, Berg, and Webern and the neoclassicism of French composers such as Ibert and Poulenc to the integral serialism of Stockhausen, the aleatorism of Cage and Boulez, and the electronic music of Pierre Schaeffer, Luciano Berio and others. Since Western pieces dominated the Festivals numerically, these latter innovative approaches to composition also became characteristic of each event. Polish contributions were highlighted by the emergence of the younger generation, who quickly assimilated various methods of using atonality into their own compositions and by 1961 had begun to develop their own musical languages.

Many of the pieces by Eastern European and Soviet composers were more conservative than those presented from the West and Poland. These pieces and their composers were often unknown in Poland and other countries. The performances of these works at the Festivals thus contributed to the audiences' knowledge of music in Eastern Europe, despite the fact that the organizers in Poland may have preferred occasionally that different compositions from these countries be played. However, the pieces by Eastern European and Soviet composers performed at the Festival cannot be characterized as inferior works simply because they may have retained elements of the socialist realism tenets of musical composition. Certainly those by Shostakovich and Prokofiev were of high quality. Undoubtedly others were also, although opportunities for Westerners to evaluate them have been limited.

As a result of the organizers' attempts to fill in the gaps in the musical knowledge of the Polish public and broaden its awareness of recently-written music, many Polish and world premieres were presented each year. These included compositions from earlier in the twentieth century, avant-garde Western works, and more conservative pieces from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The organizers must also be credited for giving Polish composers a prominent place in each program; each year they not only programmed new works by Polish composers, but also introduced different Polish composers to Festival audiences. The primary reasons for establishing the Festival--to acquaint Polish citizens with the music of the twentieth century and to help in the dissemination of Polish music internationally--were thus achieved.



## CHAPTER XII

### CONTEMPORARY EVALUATIONS

A vital asset in the evaluation of the Warsaw Autumn Festival was the abundance of published comments made each year by both Polish and foreign participants and observers. The assessments of the Festival made by foreign critics in effect created its reputation abroad, at least for the general public. At the same time, the significance of the Festival for Polish composers can be gauged.

#### **Press Reviews**

Contrasting evaluations of the Festival were given by reviewers from the West and Poland on one hand and by critics from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on the other. A comparison of the opinions offered annually by writers from each region offers a fascinating account of the significance of the role of geopolitical considerations in the Festival.

#### 1958

The welcome accorded to the Festival by the Western press in 1956 was extended again in 1958. Commentators from both Poland and the West agreed on the intent of the Festival and the fulfillment of the Festival's goals. For example, according to Everett Helm,

"the stated purpose of the festival was to present a broad picture of musical creation in today's world; or, better perhaps, in today's two worlds, the Eastern and the Western. To that extent, and in others as well, Warsaw represents one of

the few meeting points of the Communist and capitalist countries. This fact was expressed clearly in the program, which included works from the United States, the Soviet Union, both parts of Germany and various other countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain."<sup>1</sup>

Karl Wörner stated even more forcefully than Helm the international importance of the Festival:

"The 'Warsaw Autumn' Festival, thanks to its character, stands alone among world music festivals. Here in Warsaw compositions representing the East and the West are performed in an impartial manner that yields itself to discussion. Speaking in musical terms: there are tonal and non-tonal works here. Beyond that the festival is a source of information and orientation. It also creates the opportunity for unrestrained discussion and exchanges of opinions with people representing both of these worlds...

Thanks to the arrangement of the compositions of different composers and of different schools, directions, and styles, thanks to the neutrality and impartiality with which the program is offered, the Warsaw, the Polish Festival--in the situation in which contemporary music finds itself--is distinguishable as a center, as an intellectual center...

Here in Warsaw, precisely on the occasion of this Festival, it became possible for the first time for me, as a representative of the Western musical world, to hear works representing contemporary Polish composition as well as to obtain an insight into [Poland's] state of performance, orchestras, conductors, and choirs."<sup>2</sup>

Additional evidence of the significance of the Festival for foreign observers was given by Michał Spisak, the Polish composer who had lived in France for many years:

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<sup>1</sup> Everett Helm, "Warsaw Autumn. East and West Meet At Polish Festival," *The New York Times* (October 19, 1958): Section 2, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Festiwal 'Warszawska Jesień' dzięki swemu charakterowi jest jedynym pośród światowych festiwałów muzycznych. Tu w Warszawie wykonuje się kompozycje reprezentujące świat wschodni i zachodni i w sposób bezstronny poddaje się je dyskusji. Mówiąc językiem muzycznym: chodzi tu o dzieła o charakterze tonalnym i nietonalnym. Poza tym festiwal ten jest źródłem informacji i orientacji oraz stwarza okazję swobodnej dyskusji i wymiany poglądów ludzi reprezentujących oba te światy...Dzięki zestawieniu w programie dzieł różnych kompozytorów, różnych szkół, kierunków i stylów, dzięki neutralności i bezstronności, z jaką ten program jest podany - warszawski, polski Festiwal - w sytuacji, w jakiej znajduje się muzyka współczesna - wyróżnia się jako centrum, jako duchowy ośrodek...Tu w Warszawie, właśnie z okazji tego Festiwału, po raz pierwszy stało się dla mnie możliwym, jako dla przedstawiciela zachodniego świata muzycznego - usłyszenia utworów reprezentujących współczesną polską twórczość oraz uzyskanie wglądu w stan wykonawstwa, orkiestr, dyrygentów i chórów." "Fragmenty wywiadu z Dr. K. H. Wörnerem (NRF), przeprowadzonego w Polskim Radio przez T. Marka," *Program III Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 147-48.

"many foreigners...attach great significance to international festivals in general and in particular to the Warsaw Autumn, which after only its second event, already has given Poland the name that it has deserved for a long time. Foreign interest in Polish composition increases and will increase more and more if our musical manifestations take place each year."<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, Spisak considered

"the event to be exceptionally successful, above all from its view on a range of works representing different musical trends...For me and for many foreign guests the world premieres of contemporary Polish compositions were particularly valuable...It made possible meetings between many musical people from East and West, [and] permitted a personal exchange of opinions that certainly will have a substantial significance on the further development of contemporary art."<sup>4</sup>

Neither Helm, Wörner, nor Spisak remarked upon the disorganized state of the Festival that had existed just prior to its start. Most Polish critics similarly feigned ignorance of the organizers' difficulties, concentrating instead on the achievements of the event and its new-found place in the international musical world. Henryk Schiller, for example, opened his review of the Festival by saying "in the enormous family of international music festivals that take place each year in many European cities, the Polish 'two-year-old', the 'Warsaw Autumn', has already taken its rightful, prominent place,"<sup>5</sup> and concluded by asserting

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<sup>3</sup> "Wielu zagraniczników...przywiązuje olbrzymią wagę do festiwalu międzynarodowych w ogóle, a w szczególności do 'Warszawskich Jesieni', które już dzisiaj, po drugiej dopiero imprezie dały Polsce imię, na które już od dawna sobie zasłużyła. Zainteresowanie twórczością polską w świecie wzrasta i będzie zwiększało się coraz bardziej." "Z listów do redakcji," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 24 (1958): 40.

<sup>4</sup> "Wyjątkowo udaną, przede wszystkim ze względu na szeroki wachlarz utworów reprezentujących różne kierunki muzyczne...Dla mnie i dla wielu gości zagranicznych szczególnie cenne były prawykonania współczesnych kompozycji polskich...Umożliwił on spotkania między wielu ludźmi muzyki Wschodu i Zachodu, pozwolił na osobistą wymianę poglądów, co na pewno będzie miało niemałe znaczenie dla dalszego rozwoju współczesnej sztuki." Teresa Grabowska, "Rozmowa z Michałem Spisakiem," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 281 (October 8, 1958).

<sup>5</sup> "W ogromnej rodzinie międzynarodowych festiwalu muzycznych odbywających się corocznie w wielu miastach Europy, polska 'dwulotka' - 'Warszawska Jesień', zajęła już

"...No one should be misled about the essential value and significance of this excellent event. The second 'Warsaw Autumn'--as an excellently formulated anthology--gave to the frequenters of its concerts a concise and interesting picture of the contribution of twentieth-century composers: their struggles and their searches, their stumbles, and their discoveries of enormous consequence. Among other things, the organizers of the festival wished 'to acquaint our musical environment with the achievements of other environments as comprehensively as possible'...In sum, an artistic and organizational success of fully extraordinary measure."<sup>6</sup>

At least a few Polish critics were aware of the problems that had confronted the 1958 Festival's organizers. Nevertheless, their praise for the Festival's achievements was not diminished. As Ludwik Erhardt remarked,

"The second Warsaw Autumn in comparison with the first had many pluses; it was to a significantly greater degree a festival of contemporary music. A decidedly higher level was achieved on the performance side; there was no lack of disappointments, however...The final program of the festival was only a fraction of the intended one that was whispered in the spring. That unexpected loss was not the fault of the organizers of the festival; it is necessary to give them a word of recognition for the progress and level of the event".<sup>7</sup>

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należne jej, poczesne miejsce." Henryk Schiller, "Utwory kompozytorów obcych na Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 22 (1958): 14.

<sup>6</sup> "Nie powinny nikogo omylić co do istotnej wartości i znaczenia tej wspaniałej imprezy. II 'Warszawska Jesień' - jak doskonale zredagowana antologia - dała bywalcom jej koncertów zwięzły i ciekawy obraz zmagani i poszukiwań, potknięć i brzemiennych w skutki odkryć, które są udziałem kompozytorów XX wieku. Tego też m. in. pragnęli organizatorzy festiwalu, aby 'możliwie wszechstronnie zapoznać nasze środowisko muzyczne z osiągnięciami innych środowisk'...W sumie - sukces artystyczny i organizacyjny zupełnie niezwykłej miary." *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> "Druga Warszawska Jesień w porównaniu z pierwszą miała wiele plusów; był w znacznie większym stopniu festiwalem muzyki współczesnej. Zdecydowanie wyższy poziom osiągnęła strona wykonawcza; nie brakło jednak rozczarowań...Ostateczny program festiwalu był jedynie ułamkiem zamierzeń, o których szeptano na wiosnę. Za ów niespodziany ubytek nie można winić organizatorów festiwalu; za przebieg i poziom imprez należą im się słowa uznania." Ludwik Erhardt, "Dwie Jesienie," *Express wieczorny*, no. 242 (October 9, 1958).

Western and Polish writers thought more highly of the compositions from their two regions than of those from the East and noted that audiences also favored these same works. These critics also preferred the more avant-garde compositions over those utilizing traditional techniques. Helm noted accurately that

"the balance [of compositions]...was weighted heavily on the Western side, and it was the Western music that stimulated the most interest and enthusiasm. There were, in fact, only two outspokenly 'socialistic' pieces on the entire program. One was Paul Dessau's 'The Cultivation of the Millet'...The artistic sensation of the festival was provided by the Juilliard Quartet...It was the advanced music of Webern that brought forth the greatest ovation."<sup>8</sup>

The highlights of the Festival, in the opinion of Fred K. Prieberg,

"were several works by younger Polish composers, nearly all of whom showed traces of Western influence. Witold Lutosławski's 'Mourning Music'...Artur Malawski's 'Hungaria'...A work for 12 instruments by Włodzimierz Kotoński...and an 'Epitaph' for choir and eight instruments by Henryk Górecki...seemed comparable to the best and most advanced compositions in their proportion, conciseness, and striking density."<sup>9</sup>

In discussing David Tudor's performance on prepared piano, Prieberg noted "no matter what the artistic value of the music, it was all valuable to the Polish artists and public through its very existence; it underlined the West's absolute freedom for art and artist."<sup>10</sup> The compositions of lowest quality, in Prieberg's opinion, were "a lengthy and tedious symphony by Johann Cilensek...[and the] banal harmonies and melodies [of Dessau's *Die Erziehung der Hirse*] A good half of the audience did not return after intermission to hear this work [Dessau's], in the first place. During the performance dozens left."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Everett Helm, "Warsaw Autumn. East and West."

<sup>9</sup> Fred K. Prieberg, "Warsaw Festival Demonstrates Freedoms," p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Dessau's *Die Erziehung der Hirse* was also scorned by Polish critics. Wilczek, for example, characterized it as "an artistic mistake..the piece is in the style of a mass song unnaturally forced into a symphonic work."<sup>12</sup>

Among Polish journalists, Henryk Schiller offered a lengthy review of the foreign works at the 1958 Festival. In his opinion,

"what aroused the strongest audience reaction, the greatest enthusiasm and the most vehement opposition [was]: the avant-garde (in which I also include representatives of the dodecaphonic classics due to the low acquaintance of their works in Poland)...*Klavierstück XI*...is...a work that considerably enriches the palette of musical means of expression with new, interesting, and fertile possibilities...Unquestionably the best [electronic] works...were Luciano Berio's *Perspectives*,...Bruno Maderna's *Continuo*, and above all, the already famous cantata *Gesang der Jünglinge*...by Stockhausen."<sup>13</sup>

As examples of traditional works, Schiller included some of the Soviet compositions presented as well as those by several other composers from East and West:

"Inasmuch as the performance of Shostakovich's Symphony No. 11 was accepted enthusiastically by the so-called general public, the Sixth Symphony of Janis Ivanov as well as the Piano Concerto in C Major...[those of] of Otar Taktakishvili passed without leaving a major impression...Of the other works by composers less well known in Poland, J. Cilenšek's *Symphony No. 4 for Strings* distinguished itself, M. Kabeláč's *Improvisation* for solo flute discovered no new horizons, and M. Ponce's Violin Concerto has fallen into oblivion stylistically...Unfortunately there were [works]...whose 'contemporaneity' and even general artistic value were cause for doubts. Among such works were...the musical epic of Paul Dessau...the shockingly banal *Two Works* for piano of F. Poulenc,

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<sup>12</sup> "Pomyłka artystyczna..utwór jest czymś w rodzaju pieśni masowej nienaturalnie włożonej w ramy utworu symfonicznego." Krzysztof Biegański, "Przegląd prasy. Październik 1958," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 23 (1958): 23.

<sup>13</sup> "To co wzbudziło najsilniejsze reakcje słuchaczy, największy entuzjazm i najgwałtowniejsze sprzeciwy: awangarde (do której także zaliczam reprezentantów dodekafonicznej klasyki wobec znikomej w Polsce znajomości ich dzieł)...*Klavierstück XI*...jest...dzieł poważnie wzbogacające paletę muzycznych środków wypowiedzi o nowe, ciekawe i płodne możliwości...Pracami bezwzględnie najlepszymi...były *Perspectives* (1957) Luciano Berio,...*Continuo* (Mediolan 1958) Bruno Maderna oraz przede wszystkim sławna już dziś kantata - *Gesang der Jünglinge*...Stockhausena." Schiller, "Utwory kompozytorów," pp. 14-15.

the *Quintet and Trio* of J. Ibert and the *Four Works* for wind instruments of A. Gausec."<sup>14</sup>

Lutosławski's *Funeral Music* was regarded by many Western and Polish critics as the best Polish composition presented at the Festival. Łobaczewska considered it to have made one of "the most powerful impressions of the festival."<sup>15</sup> Many other Polish pieces were also praised, particularly by Polish critics, with the most attention being paid to the compositions by Baird and Malawski.<sup>16</sup>

A socialist realism viewpoint was apparent in the reviews of the 1958 Festival from the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe. The most derogatory opinions were expressed by the Soviet Union. Yuri Keldysh conceded in his reviews of the Festival in *Sovetskaya muzyka* that the event had already achieved an international notoriety and that its goal of presenting an anthology of twentieth-century music was praiseworthy. In his opinion,

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<sup>14</sup> "O ile wykonanie *XI Symfonii* Szostakowicza przyjęte zostało przez tzw. szeroką publiczność entuzjastycznie, o tyle bez większych wrażeń minęła *VI Symfonia*...Janisa Iwanowa oraz *Koncert fortepianowy D-dur*...Otara Taktakiszwili. Z innych dzieł mniej znanych w Polsce kompozytorów wyróżniła się *IV Symfonia na smyczki* - J. Cilenšeka, nie odkrywająca żadnych nowych horyzontów *Improwizacja* na flet solo - M. Kabelač oraz przebrzmiały stylistycznie *Koncert skrzypcowy* - M. Ponce'a...Niestety były...których 'współczesność', a nawet wartości ogólnoartystyczne zdawały się budzić poważne wątpliwości. Do takich należał...epos muzyczny Paula Dessaua...szokująco banalne *Dwa utwory* na fortepian F. Poulenca, *Kwintet i Trio* - J.Iberta oraz *Cztery utwory* na zespół instrumentów dętych - A. Gausaca." *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> "Najmocniejszych wrażeń festiwal." Stefania Łobaczewska, "'Warszawska Jesień' 1958," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 22 (1958): 4.

<sup>16</sup> Fred K. Preiberg, "Schaufenster des Westens," *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (October 15, 1958); Klaus Geitel, "Polen öffnet die Tore für die moderne Musik," *Die Welt* (October 28, 1958); Vagn Jensen, "Jerntæppet op for kultur-kampen Musik-fester i Prag og Warszawa," *Aktuelt* (Copenhagen) (June 10, 1959), in typescript Polish translation, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958; Lucjan Kydryński, "'Jesień' w Warszawie," *Dziennik polski*, no. 234 (October 2, 1958); M. Józef Michałowski, "II Warszawska Jesień," *Dziennik zachodni*, no. 242 (October 12-13, 1958); Krzysztof Antoni Mazur, "Warszawska jesień," *Od Głosy*, no. 35 (October 26, 1958): 8.

however, this objective had not been achieved; instead of the Festival acting as "a counterweight to existing Western festivals, which generally follow extremely modernist tendencies," it had exhibited "a very one-sided picture that was far from the objective state of things."<sup>17</sup> According to Keldysh, the compositions presented at the Festival portrayed an unfavorable picture of contemporary music. As examples of the Festival's negative highlights, he called attention to Schönberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw* and *Modern Psalm*, asserting that neither work presented a realistic version of man's feelings. He also singled out Webern as the father of the avant-garde, claiming that the mathematical bases of this composer's music were an ineffective substitute for melody and harmony. Furthermore, he derided the aesthetic values of electronic music as being those "of chaos," and claimed that the solo piano works by Cage, Nilsson, Wolff, and Stockhausen required "strange manipulations."<sup>18</sup>

Keldysh characterized the Polish works based on dodecaphony as being similar to one another and to Webern's compositions. Among such dodecaphonic works he named those by Baird, Kotoński, Górecki, Serocki, and Sikorski. Lutosławski's *Funeral Music* was described as being devoid of emotion and excessively ascetic. Moreover, not one Polish composition reflected "the themes dedicated to contemporary life in the Polish People's

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<sup>17</sup> "Przeciw wagą istniejących na Zachodzie festiwali muzycznych, które przebiegają zazwyczaj pod znakiem skrajnie modernistycznych tendencji...obraz bardzo jednostronny i daleki od obiektywnego stanu rzeczy." Typescript Polish translations of Yuri Keldysh's articles on the 1958 Warsaw Autumn Festival from *Sovetskaya muzyka*, nos. 1 & 2 (1959) in Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. Excerpts of the translations are also printed in *Program II Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 135-38.

<sup>18</sup> "Chaosu...dziwnymi manipulacjami." Typescript Polish translations of Keldysh's articles on the 1958 Warsaw Autumn Festival from *Sovetskaya muzyka*, nos. 1 & 2 (1959), Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.



Republic and to the building of socialism in the country by the broad working masses."<sup>19</sup> These insufficiencies were attributed by Keldysh to the Polish organizers' one-sided selection of works. Conspicuously, he never mentioned that the Soviet Union had had a significant role in choosing the Leningrad Philharmonic's repertoire for the Festival or that this repertoire seems to have been submitted to the Polish organizers rather late in the planning process.

Keldysh approved of the pieces that he characterized as "modern classics"--those by Hindemith, Honegger, Milhaud, and Poulenc--but criticized the selection of works by Bartók, since they (the Fourth String Quartet and the Suite from *The Miraculous Mandarin*) were demonstrations of the composer's expressionistic tendencies rather than his folkloristic leanings.<sup>20</sup> Among the composers whose absence from the program the reviewer regretted were Rakhmaninov, Ravel, Janáček, Novák, and Richard Strauss--all of whom, in his view, were eminent twentieth-century composers. Moreover, no Hungarian and Romanian compositions were performed; Eastern European music, for him, was thus insufficiently represented. However, he did admit that Dessau's *Die Erziehung der Hirse* was unsuccessful, since "the composer's desire to have an exact musical illustration of all details of the text led to the disintegration and porosity of the piece's structure."<sup>21</sup>

Many reviews from Eastern Europe were similar to Keldysh's in their condemnation of Western and Polish compositions. In contrast to the Soviet critic, however, Eastern European writers did not consider the Festival to have been one-sided, and they believed

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<sup>19</sup> "Tematyce poświęconej współczesnemu życiu Polskiej Republiki Ludowej i zwróconej ku szerokim masom pracującym kraju budującego socjalizm." Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> "Klasyków modernizmu." Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> "Dążenie kompozytora do dokładnego zilustrowania muzyką wszystkich szczegółów tekstu doprowadziło do rozkawałkowania i porowatości struktury utworu." Ibid.

that the comparison of the different styles of music had been worthwhile. I. Grigorescu, a Romanian critic, believed that the Festival had been well organized; he and Jaroslav Jiranek, a Czechoslovakian reviewer, acknowledged that many genres and compositional styles had been presented at the Festival.<sup>22</sup>

Grigorescu characterized the compositions by Schönberg that were performed at the Festival as "tragic, full of hopelessness and humility": *Modern Psalm* "had an incorrect concept of life," while *A Survivor from Warsaw* was "a slave to formalism."<sup>23</sup> He also claimed that the concert of electronic music had been met "with a general chilliness,"<sup>24</sup> which was a different report than that offered by Western and Polish critics. While praising the Festival for its presentation of contrasting styles of music, he nevertheless felt that its "no. 1 problem remained...the problem of the melody of our era,"<sup>25</sup> an apparent reference to the lack of melody in many of the compositions offered from Poland and the West.

Although Grigorescu did not evaluate specific Polish compositions, Jiranek did. Compositions by Lutosławski and Baird earned his appreciation as examples of "the healthy development of Polish contemporary music."<sup>26</sup> Younger Polish composers,

<sup>22</sup> I. Grigorescu, "Warszawa pod znakiem muzyki i jesieni," Typescript Polish translation of Grigorescu's article in *Contemporanul* (Romania) (October 24, 1958); and Jaroslav Jiranek, "Warszawskie medytacje nad współczesnością," Typescript Polish translation of Jiranek's "Varšavské meditace nad soudobostí," *Hudebni rozhledy* 11 (1958), Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958. Excerpts from each article are also printed in *Program II Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej*, pp. 138-47.

<sup>23</sup> "Tragiczna, pełna beznadziejności i pokory...miał błędną koncepcją o życiu...niewolnikiem formalizmu." " Grigorescu, "Warszawa pod znakiem muzyki i jesieni," in Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>24</sup> "Z ogólnym chłodem." Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> "Problem Nr.1 pozostał...problem melodii naszej epoki." Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> "Zdrowego rozwoju polskiej muzyki współczesnej." Jiranek, "Warszawskie medytacje nad współczesnością," in Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

however, were in danger of entering the world of chaos. For them, whose names were not given by Jiranek, "the ideas of 'experiment' and 'system' had become nearly magical words."<sup>27</sup>

In his discussion of Western compositions, Jiranek described Webern's music in general as being "absolutely not functional either socially or psychologically; it is formalist in the entire meaning of that word."<sup>28</sup> Schönberg, however, "did not break all ties that link his compositions with the logic of objective need," which is an obscure way of stating that Schönberg's dodecaphony was not as displeasing as Webern's pointillism and mathematical inclinations. Nevertheless, Jiranek conceded that "the Warsaw Festival had supplied...a stimulus. I think that a certain West German music journalist expressed a profound truth when he replied to my question about his strongest impression of the Festival: 'the comparison of the world of Schönberg, Berg, and Webern with the world of Prokofiev and Shostakovich'."<sup>29</sup>

Hungarian critics were even more supportive of the Festival than their other Eastern European counterparts. Not only did they agree that its goals had been fulfilled, but they also refrained from condemning dodecaphony, pointillism, and electronic music as social evils.<sup>30</sup> Electronic music, in fact, was welcomed by Láng István as "an 'instrument' [that]

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<sup>27</sup> "Pojęcia 'eksperyment' i 'system' stały się niemal czarodziejskim słówkiem." Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> "Absolutnie socjalnie i psychologicznie nie funkcyjna, formalizm w całym tego słowa znaczeniu." Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> "Warszawski Festiwal dostarczył...podniecie. Myślę, że głęboką prawdę wyraził pewien zachodnio-niemiecki publicysta muzyczny, który na moje pytanie jakie było jego najsilniejsze wrażenie z Festiwalu odparł: 'Konfrontacja świata Schönberga, Berga, Weberna ze światem Prokofiewa i Szostakowicza'." Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Láng István, "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," Typescript Polish translation of István's article in *Film, Színház, Muzsika* (Hungary) (October 17, 1958); and "Warszawska Jesień," Typescript Polish translation from *Muzsika* (December 1958), Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

faces a great future"--one that Hungarian composers should use to their advantage.<sup>31</sup> István characterized pointillism as a technique that had encountered "a blind alley," but at the same time, he declared that the "the free atmosphere of the Festival is evidence that it is necessary to perform experimental works that are composed in good faith."<sup>32</sup>

Several invited guests from Eastern Europe were also impressed with the Festival. For example, Peter Várnai, a Hungarian musicologist and music critic, felt that "meetings with outstanding musicians, musicologists, and critics were very valuable. We exchanged opinions under conditions of true coexistence."<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the artistic director of the Leningrad Philharmonic, Onik Sarkisov, voiced an opinion conspicuously different from that of *Sovetskaya muzyka* when he declared in an interview conducted in Poland that "I can only warmly applaud the idea of organizing festivals of contemporary music. They make possible first, the acquaintance of music compositions from various countries, and second, they facilitate numerous contacts between musicians...The program did not lack experiments. That is good. Experiments are certainly needed....I succeeded in acquiring some contemporary Polish music [scores], which, after consultation with our Composers Union, I want to include in [our] program."<sup>34</sup> The optimism of Sarkisov's comments

<sup>31</sup> "'instrument' ten ma przed sobą wielką przyszłość." Láng István, "Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej w Warszawie," in Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1958.

<sup>32</sup> "Swobodna atmosfera Festiwalu świadczy o tym, że utwory eksperymentalne, skomponowane w dobrej wierze, należy wykonywać." Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> "Bardzo cenne były spotkania z wybitnymi muzykami, muzykologami i krytykami. Wymienialiśmy poglądy w warunkach prawdziwej koegzystencji." pił, "Goście mówią o Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 22 (1958): 7.

<sup>34</sup> "Ideji organizowania festiwalu muzyki współczesnej mogę tylko gorąco przyklasnąć. Umożliwiają one bowiem z jednej strony poznanie twórczości muzycznej różnych narodów, z drugiej ułatwiają liczne kontakty muzyków...O układzie programu...nie brakowało eksperymentów. To dobrze. Eksperymenty są na pewno potrzebne...Udało mi się zdobyć niektóre utwory polskiej muzyki współczesnej, które - po konsultacji z naszym Związkiem Kompozytorów chcę włączyć do programu." Zbigniew Zapert, "Warszawska

possibly was due to the fact that they were spoken and printed in Poland; they probably were not repeated publicly in the Soviet Union, where the official view of the Festival was much harsher.

### 1959

The praise given the Festival by Western critics in 1958 continued in 1959. For example, Diether de la Motte from West Germany noted that the Festival provided an opportunity for "unrestricted conversations between musicologists, critics, musicians and composers of all countries, East and West."<sup>35</sup> David Cairns also paid tribute to the Festival for keeping

"that atmosphere of uniqueness, of emotional exultation and intellectual ferment...a programme of works which piquantly juxtaposes in Warsaw, as nowhere else, the rival products of two worlds.

It is this that gives the festival its unequalled fascination. One may object: should not a piece of music be heard and judged simply as a piece of music? But what in the West is a bland axiom, which few feel either the need or the energy to question, is a live issue in Eastern Europe--thanks to Warsaw, a liver issue than ever before...The Warsaw Festival has established itself as protagonist of musical 'co-existence', as an agreed field of 'peaceful competition' between conflicting systems."<sup>36</sup>

One of the many acclamations from Polish writers came from Józef Kański, who noted that

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Jesień' i Leningradzka Filharmonia. Rozmowa 'Expressu' z Onikiem Sarkisowem," *Express wieczorny*, no. 249 (October 17, 1958). The present author cannot ascertain which scores Sarkisov had obtained.

<sup>35</sup> "Niczym nie skrępowanych rozmów między muzykologami, krytykami, muzykami i kompozytorami wszystkich krajów Wschodu i Zachodu." *mc.*, z., "Alois Mooser o III Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 2 (1960): 18, quoted from *Rheinische Post* (September 30, 1959).

<sup>36</sup> David Cairns, "Warsaw's Two Worlds," *The Spectator* (October 2, 1959)

"the organizers of this event can be truly proud...extremely rarely does it happen that some international festival or competition acquires such great popularity or recognition on an international scale in such a short time...Proof of the continually increasing interest in the Polish festival in different countries is the increase in the number of foreign guests each year...We hear from them repeatedly that there is not a second festival in the world that would permit a comparison of the most varied trends and current directions in the music of our times on such a broad scale."<sup>37</sup>

Western critics described the different responses of the Festival's audiences towards Western and Eastern European pieces. Humphrey Searle noted that "the reaction of the audience to the more experimental works was extremely enthusiastic," naming as some of the avant-garde pieces the compositions by Boulez, Berio, Nono, and Varèse. However, "at the other end of the stylistic scale was a concert of East German chamber works, some of them written in a style resembling early Brahms, and a full-length ballet, *New Odyssey* [by Viktor Bruns]...these were tepidly received by the audience."<sup>38</sup> The two pieces by East German composers Gerster and Finke were disparaged by another London correspondent, who portrayed Gerster's composition as something that "could have been a first year student's exercise, and Finke's sonata...was not much better."<sup>39</sup>

Western reviewers did give some of the Hungarian compositions a few words of credit. For example, an anonymous writer for *The Times* (London) described Szokolay's Violin

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<sup>37</sup> "Organizatorzy tej imprezy mogą być naprawdę dumni...Nadzwyczaj rzadko zdarza się, aby jakiś międzynarodowy festiwal czy konkurs w tak krótkim przeciągu czasu zdobył sobie tak wielką popularność i uznanie w skali światowej...Dowodem wciąż rosnącego zainteresowania polskimi festiwalami w różnych krajach jest z każdym rokiem większa ilość zagranicznych gości...Zdarza się nam niejednokrotnie słyszeć od nich, iż nie ma w świecie drugiego festiwalu, który by w tak szerokim zakresie pozwalał na konfrontację najróżnorodniejszych prądów i kierunków nurtujących w muzyce naszych czasów." Józef Kański, "Ostatnie koncerty i ogólne refleksje," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 265 (September 24, 1959).

<sup>38</sup> Humphrey Searle, "Warsaw Contemporary Music Festival," *The Musical Times* 100, no. 1401 (November 1959): 614.

<sup>39</sup> "Controversial Chamber Music in Warsaw," *The Times* (London) (September 23, 1959).

Concerto as "imaginatively eager but congested" and Maros' *Ricercare* as "vividly scored and direct (even if not profound)."<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, in a comment about Polish composers, the same author maintained that "the Poles themselves have once again affirmed their strong cultural ties with western Europe...The younger composers...are indistinguishable in outlook from the vanguard of our English progressivists."<sup>41</sup>

From West Germany, Wolfgang Steinecke described the 1959 Festival's program as one that "extends from the *musique concrète* of Paris to the People's Democracy's realism of a ballet from East Berlin."<sup>42</sup> He also described the reaction of Polish audiences and the stylistic inclinations of some Polish composers: "The same public, which after the quartets of Boulez, Schönberg, and Shostakovich did not become quiet until an encore followed, became relatively chilly when the winds of the Leipzig Gewandhaus performed socialist arts and crafts from the middle German composer's gazebo. But, the effect of a independent survey in the area of new music is interesting not only with regard to the public, but just as much with regard to Polish composers and interpreters...Young Polish composers are completely spellbound by the Viennese School."<sup>43</sup> Steinecke went on to mention Baird, Szalonek, Penderecki, and Górecki as some of these young composers,

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<sup>40</sup> "Warsaw Festival's High Standards," *The Times* (London) (September 24, 1959): 5E.

<sup>41</sup> "Controversial Chamber Music in Warsaw."

<sup>42</sup> "Reicht von der *Musique concrète* aus Paris bis zum volksdemokratischen Realismus eines Balletts aus Ostberlin." Wolfgang Steinecke, "West-östliches Musikfest," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (October 30, 1959).

<sup>43</sup> "Dasselbe Publikum, das nach Quartetten von Boulez, Schönberg und Schostakowitsch nicht Ruhe gab, bis nicht eine Zugabe folgte, verhielt sich relativ kühl, als die Bläser des Leipziger Gewandhauses sozialistische Heimarbeit aus der mitteldeutschen Komponier-Gartenlaube vorführten. Interessant sind aber die Auswirkungen einer freien Umschau im Bereich der Neuen Musik nicht nur im Hinblick auf die polnischen Komponisten und Interpreten...Ganz im Bann der Wiener Schule stehen die jungen Komponisten Polens." *Ibid.*

and concluded, with implied references to socialist realism and creative freedom, "the young generation in Poland has decided between two cultural possibilities that offer such opposite worlds."<sup>44</sup>

Polish critics were more critical of the compositions presented at the Festival in 1959 than they had been in similar circumstances the previous year. In particular, they began to distinguish between levels of quality in pieces by avant-garde composers rather than praising all of them almost indiscriminately. No longer was the gala a "political" event that should be praised publicly as a sign of opposition to the principles of socialist realism. By the end of the 1950s it had become a musical spectacle that provoked disagreements according to one's artistic tastes. For Norbert Karaśkiewicz, the compositions by Pierre Schaeffer, Boulez, and Stockhausen opened "new perspectives of development for contemporary composers...The public also indicated a large interest for the newest techniques. Attendance at these concerts was astounding."<sup>45</sup> However, Boulez's Second Piano Sonata particularly displeased other Polish critics. Zygmunt Mycielski characterized the French composer as an imitator of Webern and denounced compositions employing pointillism: "It is easier to write in a new style than to compose a new melody, theme and rhythmic form that would bring new musical values using previously developed means."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> "Die junge Generation Polens zwischen den kulturellen Möglichkeiten, die die beiden sich so gegensätzlich darstellenden Welten ihr eröffnen, ihre Entscheidung getroffen hat." Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Przed współczesnymi kompozytorami nowe perspektywy rozwoju...Duże zainteresowanie dla najnowszych technik wykazała również publiczność. Frekwencja na tych koncertach była zdumiewająca." Norbert Karaśkiewicz, "III Warszawska Jesień. Technizacja muzyki," *Tygodnik zachodni* (October 3, 1959): 7.

<sup>46</sup> "Łatwiej jest napisać utwór w tym stylu, niż dotychczasowymi środkami skomponować nową melodię, temat i kształt rytmiczny, który by wniósł nowe wartości muzyczne." Zygmunt Mycielski, "Warszawska Jesień," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 41 (October 8, 1959): 10.



He included among "neoWebernist" composers Henze, Varèse, Pousseur, Berio, Amy, Nono, Górecki, Szalonek, Penderecki, and Szabelski.<sup>47</sup> However, Mycielski did maintain that the controversy provoked among Polish audiences at the Festival by the performance of pieces by these composers was beneficial for musicians, since they would then be forced to decide for themselves what the proper direction of composition should be in the future.

Mycielski and others disliked both the selection of East German pieces played by the Gewandhaus Quintet and some of the Soviet works presented by the Beethoven Quartet. These pieces were attacked because of their qualities of socialist realism. Shostakovich's quartets were generally praised, but Cincadze's piece and the works on the Quintet's program (by Gerster, Finke, Geissler, Dessau, and Kochan) were described by Mycielski as "academic," with those by the East Germans being particular uninteresting.<sup>48</sup> Stefan Kisielewski called the same East German pieces "totally unsatisfactory,"<sup>49</sup> while Jerzy Stażelski claimed that the compositions by Dessau, Geissler, and Gerster contained "perfectly straightforward, practically Haydnesque melodic phrases; forceful emphases on a major-minor harmonic function; and dance rhythms--they made generally grotesque impressions."<sup>50</sup> In contrast, the two pieces by Hungarian composers--Szokolay's Violin Concerto and Maros' *Ricercare*--were described by Stażelski as having been accepted with great public interest and approval. Similarly, Jerzy Waldorff felt Maros' piece was "short,

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<sup>47</sup> "Neowebernistów." Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "Akademickie." Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> "Całkiem złych." Stefan Kisielewski, "'Warszawska Jesień' po raz trzeci," *Tygodnik powszechny*, no. 40 (October 4, 1959): 7.

<sup>50</sup> "Prościutkie, nieomalże haydnowski frazymelodyczne, dosadne podkreślenia i tenczność rytmów - czyniły wrażenie zwykłej groteski." Jerzy Stażelski, "Blaski i cienie 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Kierunki*, no. 40 (October 4, 1959): 9.

robust, modern in the best sense of the word. The audience was so stimulated that at the end the orchestra had to give two encores."<sup>51</sup>

Among the Polish compositions performed at the Festival, Baird's *Expressions*, Górecki's Symphony No. 1 "1959," Penderecki's *Strophes*, Szalonek's *Confessions*, and Bacewicz's *Music for strings, trumpets, and percussion* made the most favorable impressions among domestic critics, although not all of them were equally enthusiastic about these pieces. Nevertheless, in an echo of the comment made by the aforementioned British "special correspondent," at least one writer proclaimed that "Polish contemporary music is presently making a serious contribution to European culture."<sup>52</sup>

Reviewers from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia spoke with a common voice in condemning certain styles and techniques widely represented at the Festival.<sup>53</sup> The Festival's reviewers from *Sovetskaya muzyka*, H. Grosheva and K. Sakva, noted that the Festival was well-organized and attracted much attention among Polish society, but claimed that it had not fulfilled its objectives. They felt that the Festival had concentrated on "the eccentric experiences of dodecaphony, pointillism and 'musique concrète'" instead of being an anthology of twentieth-century music.<sup>54</sup> Schönberg's String Quartet No. 4 was labelled

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<sup>51</sup> "Krótki, jedyny, w najlepszym tego słowa znaczeniu nowoczesny utwór - rozgrzał słuchaczy tak, że na końcu orkiestra dać musiała aż dwa bisy." Jerzy Waldorff, "Król jest nagi!" *Świat*, no. 40 (October 4, 1959): 8.

<sup>52</sup> "Polska muzyka współczesna stanowi obecnie poważny w kulturę europejską." Stażelski, "Blaski i cienie," p. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Reviews from these two countries were the only ones available for this summary of the 1959 critiques. An attempt to locate an East German review in order to describe that country's official response to the sharp criticisms directed by Western and Polish critics at the pieces performed by the Gewandhaus Quintet was unsuccessful.

<sup>54</sup> "na ekscentrycznych doświadczeniach w dodekafonii, punktualizmie i muzyce 'konkretnej'." E. Grosheva and K. Sakva, "Wrażenia z 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' 1959

"an exercise in technique and nothing more," while Boulez was characterized as "one of the most convincing and aggressive destroyers of music."<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, they asserted, "that which is called concrete or electronic music is nothing more than a tragic misunderstanding based on the most unnatural speculation."<sup>56</sup> In their opinions, the best compositions heard at the Festival were the more conservative works by Szymanowski, Miaskovsky, Shostakovich, Bartók, Hindemith, Silvestri, and Suchoň.

Grosheva and Sakva did agree with Western and Polish critics in stating that the Gewandhaus Quintet should have picked better pieces, but thought that choosing alternate works by the same composers--Finke, Gerster, and Dessau--would have been sufficient. The works of Polish composers Baird, Górecki, Krenz, Penderecki, and Szabelski (his *Improvisations*, not *Toccata*) were deemed problematic because of their employment of avant-garde techniques. The Soviet critics were disturbed to see these attempts at "aimless searches and fruitless experiments,"<sup>57</sup> which to their dismay had been supported by Polish critics. They proceeded to lambast the Polish periodical *Ruch muzyczny* for printing articles that endorsed dodecaphony and the experimental techniques of Western music. The Polish

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roku," Typescript Polish translation of Grosheva and Sakva's article in *Sovetskaya muzyka* no. 12 (December 1959): 158-64, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959. Excerpts are also printed in *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no.1 (1960): 6-7.

<sup>55</sup> "ćwiczenia w technice dodefonicznej - i nic więcej...Jednego z najbardziej przekonanych i wojowniczych burzycieli muzyki." E. Grosheva and K. Sakva, "Wrażenia z 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' 1959 roku," in Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>56</sup> "To, że je nazywają konkretną albo elektronową muzyką, nie jest niczym innym, niż tragicznym nieporozumieniem, opartym na zasadach najbardziej antynaturalnej spekulacji." Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> "Poszukiwaniom bez celu i bezpłodnym eksperymentom." E. Grosheva and K. Sakva, "Jeszcze o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' 1959 roku," Typescript Polish translation of Grosheva and Sakva's article in *Sovetskaya muzyka* no. 1 (1960): 155-162, Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

Composers Union was also denounced for not maintaining sufficient contact with other socialist countries and for not properly educating its members.<sup>58</sup>

Václav Felix, who reviewed the Festival for the Czechoslovakian journal *Hudební rozhledy*, complemented the opinions of Grosheva and Sakva in his statement that the music of Boulez and other composers he characterized as pointillist was "boring and unbearable."<sup>59</sup> In his opinion, the best works at the Festival were those by Honegger, Bartók, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Roussel, and Britten--all of which had been written by 1945 and avoided dodecaphonic procedures. Successful "realist music" was embodied in the works of Eugen Suchoň and Viktor Bruns; the compositions by Hungarians Maros and Szokolay were also impressive.<sup>60</sup> However, those of the East Germans (other than Bruns) were not of high quality.

Recently-written Polish compositions were disparaged by Felix for their adherence to the "extremely individualized directions" of the West, which had become fashionable in Poland under the names of "contemporaneity" and "free creativity."<sup>61</sup> Henryk Górecki's Symphony No. 1, for example, was characterized as an unskilled twisting of twelve notes that incorporated bizarre noises from the percussion instruments. Bolesław Szabelski's shift from the conservatism of his *Toccata* to the pointillism of his *Improvisations* was also deplored. Most depressing for Felix were his discoveries that

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid. These attacks were reminiscent of those made by East German Eberhard Rebling in 1958: see Chapter IX.

<sup>59</sup> "nudna i nie do wytrzymania." Václav Felix, "Warszawskie medytacje nad twórczą swobodą," Typescript Polish summary of Felix's "Varšavské meditace nad tvůrčí svobodou," *Hudební rozhledy*, no. 19 (1959), Collection of Correspondence and Minutes, 1959.

<sup>60</sup> "Muzyki realistycznej." Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> "Krańcowo indywidualistyczne kierunki...współczesności...twórczej swobody." Ibid.

Tadeusz Baird and Witold Szalonek, who previously had written compositions successfully expressing realism, were now using dodecaphonic techniques.

### 1960

New developments are apparent in the press reviews of the 1960 Festival. First, Polish critics concentrated to a much greater extent than in previous years on descriptions of the Polish compositions presented, and paid little attention to evaluations of the foreign works at the Festival. In perhaps the most noticeable change in this regard, separate articles in *Ruch muzyczny* were devoted to discussions of individual performers and Polish compositions played at the Festival.<sup>62</sup> Second, the press in the Soviet Union presented a slightly more favorable view of the Festival than it had in previous years, while many Eastern European correspondents continued to denounce it.

The Festival was still regarded by Western and Polish critics as a special event in the world. In the opinion of Jan Weber, a Polish writer, "the Warsaw Festivals differ from other events of their type in that...they are dedicated in their entirety to music of the twentieth century, not promoting any specific artistic tendency."<sup>63</sup> Bogdan Ciszewski maintained that the 1960 Festival successfully fulfilled its goal of presenting an objective view of the various trends of contemporary music and that it was the most interesting of the four held to date.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): passim.

<sup>63</sup> "Festiwale Warszawskie tym się różnią od innych tego rodzaju imprez, że...poświęcone są w całości muzyce XX wieku." Jan Weber, "Wykonawcy Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): 20.

<sup>64</sup> Bogdan Ciszewski, "O programach Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 23 (1960): 13.

Hansjakob Stehle from West Germany, described the event as "a musical meeting of East and West," and noted that "experimental music, which is normally prohibited in the East bloc, was represented by works from Evangelisti, Maderna, Badings and the Pole Kotonski. An almost devout public was found in an overflowing concert hall--a phenomenon that surprised Western guests, but that, however, is connected with the late reception of 'the West' in Poland."<sup>65</sup>

Among the compositions performed at the 1960 Festival that were reviewed most favorably in the West and in Poland were those by Dallapiccola, Baird, Schäffer, Penderecki, Bacewicz, Górecki, Serocki, Kotoński, Lutosławski and Japanese composers Mayazumi and Yashiro.<sup>66</sup> Some Polish critics called for a limitation on the number of avant-garde works presented each year. Wiesław Kiser, for example, claimed that the Festival's audiences were "convinced that the trend [pointillism] has no chance of success in society."<sup>67</sup> Another writer, Stefan Sutkowski, disparaged Stockhausen's *Zeitmasse* as a "complete misfire," and criticized Krenek's *Pentagram* by saying that it had a good

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<sup>65</sup> "Einer musikalischen Begegnung von Ost und West...Die experimentelle Musik, die im Ostblock sonst verpönt ist, war mit Werken von Evangelisti, Maderna, Badings und dem Polen Kotonski vertreten und fand einfast andächtiges Publikum im überfüllten Konzertsaal--ein Phänomen, das westliche Gäste überraschte, das aber mit der späten Rezeption des 'Westlichen' in Polen zusammenhängt." Hansjakob Stehle, "Warschauer Herbst," *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1960), quoted in *Melos* 27, no. 11 (November, 1960): 353.

<sup>66</sup> Hansjakob Stehle, "Warschauer Herbst" p. 353; Józef Kański, "Pierwsze imprezy Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Trybuna ludu* (September 21, 1960); J. K., "Koncerty Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Trybuna ludu* (September 22, 1960); Tadeusz Andrzej Zieliński, "Polska muzyka na 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Przegląd kulturalny* (October 6, 1960): 7; Lucjan Kydryński, "Muzyczna jesień jest potrzebna!" *Przekrój*, no. 808 (October 2, 1960): 7.

<sup>67</sup> Wiesław Kiser, "Już na marginesie," *Gazeta Poznańska*, no. 232 (September 28, 1960).

beginning, but failed to treat the instruments interestingly or to "maintain a suitable plan of tension."<sup>68</sup>

As noted earlier, Polish music was much discussed in the domestic press. One noted Polish critic, Tadeusz Zieliński, announced with pride that "this year's festival became the final argument [confirming] that the change in Polish music is an accomplished fact."<sup>69</sup> Witold Lutosławski also emphasized that "as a Polish composer I above all feel joy and even a certain pride with the output of our young generation [of composers] during the last year...Today we can already talk of the Polish 'musical avant-garde', whose face is becoming clearer and clearer."<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, contradictory opinions about contemporary Polish music were held by Polish critics. For example, Zieliński maintained that Górecki's *Scontri* was the "greatest revelation of the festival...It has a powerful, unrestrained, explosive emotion. [The composer] created music loaded with dynamite, able to keep the listener extremely tense,"<sup>71</sup> but another reviewer, Joachim Olkuśnik, claimed that the "effect of the [same piece's] construction...was not presented interestingly. It is possible to

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<sup>68</sup> "Całkowite niewypałem...utrzymać...odpowiedniego rozplanowanie napięć." Stefan Sutkowski, "Kwintet Danzi," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): 25.

<sup>69</sup> "Tegoroczny festiwal stał się ostatecznym argumentem na to, że przełom w polskiej muzyce jest faktem dokonany." Tadeusz Andrzej Zieliński, "Polska muzyka na 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 41 (October 6, 1960): 7.

<sup>70</sup> "Jako kompozytor polski przede wszystkim odczuwam radość, a nawet pewną dumę z dorobku naszego młodego pokolenia w ciągu ostatniego roku...Dziś możemy już mówić o polskiej 'awangardzie muzycznej'." Krystyna Nastulanka, "O potrzebie i torturze słuchania muzyki. O Warszawskiej Jesieni oraz o wielu innych sprawach mówi Witold Lutosławski wysłannicze redakcji 'Polityki' Krystynie Nastulance," *Polityka*, no. 46 (November 12, 1960): 6.

<sup>71</sup> "Największą rewelacją festiwalu...Jest to emocja potężna, ekspansywna, wybuchowa. Stworzył muzykę naładowaną dynamitem, zdolną do końca utrzymać słuchacza w bardzo wysokim napięciu." Zieliński, "Polska muzyka na 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 41 (October 6, 1960): 7.

define the entire work with terse words. It is much noise about nothing."<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Henryk Schiller described Penderecki's *Dimensions of Time and Silence* as a sign of progress in the composer's output, containing "a tremendous amount of inventiveness, even more, skillful innovation that is filled completely with the composer's intentions concerning the creation of new emotional values."<sup>73</sup> In contrast, Lech Terpiłowski criticized the same piece, along with Schäffer's *Tertium datur*, as being "probably attempts, propositions, sketches from the composers' workshop[s]. They are devoid of a precise form...As studies...[they] can be very successful. But probably only so much."<sup>74</sup>

One of the few references in the Polish press to pieces by Soviet and Eastern European composers was made by Jan Weber, who described the contents of Zara Dolukhanova's recital as one-sided, particularly since "some of the songs (Miaskovsky) were close to that type of music that have been called for years (mainly in Russia) 'the Gypsy romance.'"<sup>75</sup> Weber was evidently not an expert on Miaskovsky, since his characterization of the composer's songs is incorrect. Weber suggested that the concert could have been improved if Dolukhanova had also presented the songs by Stravinsky and Poulenc that she had

<sup>72</sup> "Konsekwencję konstrukcją...nie przedstawia się ciekawie. A cały utwór określić można zwięzłymi słowami i wiele hałasu o nic." Joachim Olkuśnik, "O IV Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej i nowej muzyce polskiej," *Współczesność*, no. 21 (November 1-15, 1960).

<sup>73</sup> "Ogromny ładunek wynalazczości, więcej - nowatorstwa warsztatowego, pokrywającego się w pełni z intencjami twórcy w dziedzinie kreowania nowych wartości emocjonalnych." Henryk Schiller, "Po prawykonaniu Wymiarów czasu i ciszy Krzysztofa Pendereckiego," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): 5.

<sup>74</sup> "Chyba próby, propozycje, szkice z warsztatu kompozytorskiego. Pozbawione precyzyjnej formy...Jako studium...być może bardzo udatne. Ale i chyba tyle tylko." Lech Terpiłowski, "Z 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' pierwsze wrażenia," *Głos pracy* (September 20, 1960).

<sup>75</sup> "Niektóre pieśni (Miaskowski) bliskie były tego gatunku muzycznego, które świe się (zwłaszcza w Rosji) od lat 'romansem cygańskim'." Jan Weber, "Wykonawcy Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): 21.



included in her pre-Festival recital. Similarly, Weber claimed that the Czechoslovakian Philharmonic's program "was boring with its monotony, having nothing more interesting to present than Martinu's *Symphonic Fantasies* [Symphony No. 6]."<sup>76</sup>

Leonid Entelis's review in *Sovetskaya muzyka* was more appreciative of the Festival, and particularly of Bartók, Lutosławski, and Schönberg, than previous commentaries from the Soviet Union had been. These expressions of at least a limited acceptance of both the Festival and these composers seemed to demonstrate a change in attitude on the part of the official Soviet government, and hence the Soviet press, towards contemporary music. In a reversal of the criticisms of Bartók's String Quartet No. 4 and the Suite from *The Miraculous Mandarin* printed in *Sovetskaya muzyka* in 1958 (see above), Entelis labelled the quartet as one of the composer's masterpieces and the suite as a piece that still had tendencies toward realism even though it had been written during the period when Bartók was pursuing the "illusory temptations of modernism."<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Entelis praised Lutosławski's *Five Songs* as having "the precision of each melodic turn, a practically joyful vividness, and a clarity of colors."<sup>78</sup> Schönberg's *Five Pieces for Orchestra* were described as part of "an interesting stage in the evolution of [the composer's] compositions...Much [of the piece] is still from *Tristan*, much resembles the neoromantic

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<sup>76</sup> "Znużył swoją jednostajnością; nie mając nic ciekawszego do zaprezentowania oprócz *Fantazji Symfonicznych* Martinu." Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> "Chimeryczne pokusy modernizmu." "'Sowietskaja muzyka' o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' (II)," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 8 (1961): 19.

<sup>78</sup> "Precyzyjność każdego zwrotu melodycznego, życiowo-radosna jaskrawość i czystość barw dźwiękowych." tz, "'Sowietskaja muzyka' o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni,'" *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 7 (1961): 18, excerpted from Leonid Entelis's review in *Sovetskaya muzyka*, no. 12 (1960).

esthetic of *Gurre-Lieder*...Simultaneously, however, new tendencies that in the future will become the cornerstones of dodecaphony are heard here."<sup>79</sup>

Dodecaphony, in fact, was still disparaged. Entelis characterized Stravinsky's *In memoriam Dylan Thomas* as "dry, terse, and gloomy, which after all is typical for the majority of works of dodecaphonist composers."<sup>80</sup> In general, however, he remarked that "while comparing the general character of the 1960 'Warsaw Autumn' to what I heard in Warsaw two years ago, this year's program seems significantly more 'rich' and varied."<sup>81</sup>

The East German view of the 1960 Festival, as depicted in *Musik und Gesellschaft*, differed from Entelis' opinion in its denunciation of the event as a one-sided affair that failed to fulfill its announced goal of presenting a review of contemporary music. Instead, it was weighted in favor of new forms and techniques and lacked a sufficient number of compositions that evoked "the new spirits serving the progress of man."<sup>82</sup> The author of the review, Werner Wolf, condemned the compositions of Górecki, Penderecki, Schäffer, and Kotoński for demonstrating new techniques without being musically interesting. Baird

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<sup>79</sup> "Interesujący etap ewolucyjny twórczości Schönberga...Wiele jest jeszcze z *Tristana*, wiele przypomina neoromantyczną estetykę *Gurre-Lieder*. Równocześnie jednak dochodzą tu do głosu nowe tendencje, które staną się w przyszłości kamieniami węgielnymi dodekafonii." "'Sowietskaja muzyka' o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' (II)," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 8 (1961): 19, excerpted from Leonid Entelis's review in *Sovetskaya muzyka*, no. 12 (1960).

<sup>80</sup> "Suche, lapidarne i posępne, co zresztą jest typowe dla większości dzieł kompozytorów - dodekafonistów." Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> "Porównując ogólny charakter 'Warszawskiej Jesieni' 1960 z tym, co słyszałem dwa lata temu, programy tegoroczne wydają się znacznie bardziej 'treściwe' i zróżnicowane." Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> "Nowych postępowi ludzkości służących treści." ksi, "'Musik und Gesellschaft' o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 3 (1961): 6, quoted from Werner Wolf's review in *Musik und Gesellschaft* (December 1960).

and Lutosławski were given qualified approvals, but were cautioned against employing the aforementioned new techniques.

Other Eastern European reviewers also were contemptuous of many of the compositional techniques in evidence at the Festival. Bogumil Styrshenov from Bulgaria noted that it was interesting to become acquainted with the extreme trends of music of which he and other Bulgarians had little previous knowledge. However, he lamented that no dodecaphonic works were optimistic in mood and that Polish composers used themes from ancient civilization (as Penderecki, Baird, and Wiszniewski had) rather than from contemporary Poland.<sup>83</sup> A Czechoslovakian reviewer, Zdenek Bokesova, deplored the fact that Polish composers "ruled out all principles of previously developed musical thought, excluded the melodic idea from [their] music, and substituted speculative combinations."<sup>84</sup> The works of Penderecki, Baird, Bacewicz, and Szabelski were singled out as examples of speculative music. Overall, the Festival was criticized by Bokesova as being one-sided; the experimentalism in many of its compositions had no future.

### 1961

Critics' attitudes about the Warsaw Autumn Festival continued to change in 1961. Most noticeable were the more favorable evaluations of the event given by the Soviet and some Eastern European reviewers, and the admission by Western critics that the works of some Polish composers ranked in importance with those from Western Europe.

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<sup>83</sup> "'Bułgarska Muzyka' o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 7 (1961): 8, quoted from Bogumil Styrshenov's review in *Bulgarian Music* (January 1961).

<sup>84</sup> "Przekreśliła wszystkie zasady dotychczasowego rozwoju myślenia muzycznego, wyłączyła z muzyki myślenie melodyczne i zastąpiła go spekulacyjnymi kombinacjami." "Kronika. Slovenska Hudba o 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 3 (1961): 22, excerpted from Zdenek Bokesova's review in *Slovenska Hudba* (December 1960).

The Festival continued to be lauded in the West as a unique event. According to Everett Helm, "the Warsaw Autumn occupies a very special position in the European musical scene, for it is one of the few places in the world where art and artists of all political and esthetic persuasions can meet on neutral ground and on equal footing."<sup>85</sup> It "presents one of the few occasions--perhaps the only one at the present time--at which not only the music but also the musicians of East and West can meet in an impartial and relaxed atmosphere...Young composers such as Henryk Gorecki and Krzysztof Penderecki...have won a place for themselves in the front rank of the European avant-garde."<sup>86</sup> Similarly, Karl Wörner described the Festival as having "a quite special history among European music festivals. The basic idea, to present to Polish listeners an anthology of contemporary composition, leads to a program in which works of the Western European world stand directly next to those of the East. Therefore Schönberg is next to Shostakovich, Stockhausen next to Prokofiev...The 'Warsaw Autumn' is a connecting link to the music of the world."<sup>87</sup>

In 1961 the Western press described many Polish composers as being among the leading composers in Europe. Penderecki, Lutosławski, Górecki, and Serocki were the most frequently mentioned composers to earn such recognition.<sup>88</sup> Helm, for instance,

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<sup>85</sup> Everett Helm, "Autumn Music," *Musical America* (November, 1961): 24.

<sup>86</sup> Idem, "Nine-Day Festival," *The New York Times* (October 8, 1961): Section 2, p. 13.

<sup>87</sup> "Unter den europäischen Musikfestivals ein völlig eigenes Gesicht. Der Leitgedanke, eine Anthologie des zeitgenössischen Musikschaffens den polnischen Zuhören klingend vorzustellen, führt zu programmen, bei denen unmittelbar Werke der westlichen europäischen Welt neben solchen der östlichen stehen. Also Schönberg neben Schostakowitsch, Stockhausen neben Prokofieff...Ist der 'Warschauer Herbst' ein Bindeglied zur Musik der Welt." Karl H. Wörner, "Musikalisches Panorama von Ost und West," *Musica* 15, no. 11 (November, 1961): 604-605.

<sup>88</sup> Helm, "Nine-Day Festival"; Wörner, "Musikalisches Panorama von Ost und West."

proclaimed that "Henryk Gorecki and Krzysztof Penderecki...have won a place for themselves in the front rank of the European avant-garde. The leader and guiding spirit of the postwar Polish school is Witold Lutoslawski."<sup>89</sup>

The Festival was still considered the premier musical event in Poland both for its display of the most recently-written Polish compositions and for its review of contemporary music in the world. In Bohdan Pocij's view, "We receive each time a small anthology, a review, a set that is a certain reflection of the present state, a reflection of the general situation of music in our European cultural corner."<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the author of an editorial in *Ruch muzyczny* stated that "it would be difficult today to imagine the normal development of Polish music without that annual general survey of our newest achievements."<sup>91</sup>

In Poland, however, a controversy had erupted during the Composers Union General Assembly in December 1960 that was continued in the press in the following months. Several composers, particularly those of the older generation such as Piotr Perkowski and Tadeusz Szeligowski, condemned the avant-garde tendencies of many of the younger Polish composers and called for all Polish composers to pay attention to the needs of society and to refrain from employing the experimental techniques of current Western music. Other members of the Composers Union ardently disagreed with this idea, saying that Polish music should not return to the isolated state that had existed during the first

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<sup>89</sup> Helm, "Nine-Day Festival."

<sup>90</sup> "Otrzymujemy każdorazowo małą antologię, przekrój, zestaw będący pewnym odbiciem aktualnego stanu, odzwierciedleniem ogólnej sytuacji muzycznej w naszym, europejskim kręgu kulturowym." Bohdan Pocij, "Nowa muzyka na Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 22 (1961): 3.

<sup>91</sup> "Trudno byłoby sobie bowiem dziś już wyobrazić normalny rozwój muzyki polskiej bez owego corocznego generalnego przeglądu naszych najnowszych osiągnięć muzycznych." "[Editorial]," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 17 (1961): 2.

post-World War II decade, and that talented younger Polish composers such as Penderecki, Górecki, Schäffer, and Serocki should be permitted to continue to write in whatever style they wished. Contributing to this debate were Polish music critics, whose disagreements about the value of avant-garde music had surfaced as early as 1959 in their reviews of the Festival.<sup>92</sup>

As in 1960 one issue of *Ruch muzyczny* was devoted primarily to articles about either specific Polish compositions or the Festival's performers. Other articles contained transcriptions of interviews with performers and guests; one review focused on a discussion of foreign compositions.<sup>93</sup> Other Polish publications concentrated on evaluations of Western and Polish works, for the most part disregarding the Eastern European and Soviet pieces performed.

Many Polish critics agreed that the "true discovery of the Festival" for Polish audiences had been Varèse's compositions,<sup>94</sup> but that compositions utilizing experimental techniques had provoked the most controversy among the public. Lucjan Kydryński noted that "the avant-garde concerts brought a lively reaction: admiration was on an equal footing with indignation and protests."<sup>95</sup> In particular, according to Bohdan Pociąg, the works of Cage,

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<sup>92</sup> For more information on the controversy, see Z. Mycielski, "Walne Zgromadzenie Związku Kompozytorów Polskich," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 1 (1961): 3; Tadeusz Szeligowski, "Niebezpieczeństwa estetyzmu," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 2 (1961): 1; Józef Patkowski, "Program czy ambicja," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 2 (1961): 2; T.A. Zieliński, "Nowa sytuacja polskiej muzyki współczesnej," *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 2 (1961): 2-4; Jerzy Waldorff, "Dekonspiracja," *Świat* (1961), in *Ciach go smykiem!* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1972): 73-79.

<sup>93</sup> *Ruch muzyczny* 5, no. 21 (1961), *passim*.

<sup>94</sup> "Prawdziwym odkryciem festiwalu." Stefan Kisielewski, "Dyskusja ze wszystkim," *Życie Warszawy* (September 23, 1961); Tadeusz Kaczyński, "Piąta 'Warszawska Jesień,'" *Tygodnik powszechny*, no. 44 (October 29, 1961): 6.

<sup>95</sup> Lucjan Kydryński, "Słuszność Warszawskiej Jesieni," *Przekrój*, no. 860 (October 1, 1961): 3.

Boulez, and Kagel were greeted with whistles and protests as well as applause.<sup>96</sup> Pocij himself felt that Boulez's *Structures II* was the "finest and most extreme example" of integral serialism,...A highly original and fresh example of constructivism not based on serialization...was Roland Kayn's *Vectors I*.<sup>97</sup> Stefan Kisielewski, however, declared that "experiments with musique concrète and 'prepared' piano...are chaotic and boring...Personally I do not like Boulez, but after listening to him, I cannot listen to anything else for a long time. There is some sort of destructive success in that...However, maybe Boulez is simply an innovator without talent."<sup>98</sup>

The Polish compositions at the Festival were not universally admired by that country's reviewers. Pocij remarked that "the broad range of Polish chamber compositions performed at the [last] afternoon concert [those by Kilar, Kotoński, Paciorkiewicz, Dobrowolski, Łuciuk, and Koszewski]...exhibited music that had little originality,...at best [they reflected] the influence of Webern and Boulez."<sup>99</sup> The compositions by Penderecki, Lutosławski, and Baird were admired by most critics.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Bohdan Pocij, "Z sali koncertowej. Szabelski, Penderecki, Bartók. Ostatnie dni Festiwalu," *Express wieczorny* (September 25, 1961).

<sup>97</sup> "Przykład najwybitniejszy i najbardziej krańcowy...Wysoce oryginalnym, świeżym przykładem konstruktywizmu nie opartego o serializację...*Vectors I* Rolanda Kayna." Pocij, "Nowa muzyka na Festiwalu," p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> "Eksperymenty z muzyką konkretną i 'preparowanym fortepianem'...są chaotyczne i nudnawe...Osobiście nie lubię słuchać Bouleza, ale po wysłuchaniu go, przez długi czas nie mogę słuchać niczego innego. Jest w tym jakiś destrukcyjny sukces... Może jednak Boulez to po prostu nowator bez talentu." Stefan Kisielewski, "Muzyka atomowa i pierożki," *Życie Warszawy*, no. 232 (September 30, 1961): 3.

<sup>99</sup> "Szereg kameralnych kompozycji polskich wykonanych na koncercie południowym...ukazał muzykę mało oryginalną,...w najlepszym wypadku wpływy Weberna i Boulez." Pocij, "Z sali koncertowej. Szabelski, Penderecki, Bartók."

<sup>100</sup> Bohdan Pilarski, "Plon jesiennej fali," *Współczesność*, no. 1 (January 1-15, 1962): 11; Kisielewski, "Dyskusja ze wszystkim"; Kisielewski, "Muzyka atomowa i pierożki," p. 3.

Of the Bulgarian pieces mentioned in the Polish press, Stainov's *Symphonic Scherzo* was said to have "many interesting elements of Bulgarian folklore"<sup>101</sup> while Vladigerov's and Raichev's pieces were characterized as conservative.<sup>102</sup> Comments about the Soviet compositions included those stating that Prokofiev's String Quartet was "very interesting," and Shostakovich's two quartets were, respectively, "based on a clearly expressed construction" and "full of drama."<sup>103</sup>

The commentator in *Sovetskaya muzyka*, Sergei Aksiuk, was even more positive in his attitude towards the Festival than Entelis had been in 1960. Although in Aksiuk's opinion avant-garde music was boring and exerted a disastrous influence on the human soul, he did admit that it was necessary to learn about the ideas and aesthetics of new music and that it was possible to do so at the Warsaw Festival. Similarly, although he criticized the "sad and vague world of dodecaphony" and questioned the goal of pointillism, he maintained that "international festivals become extremely important in as much as the ability to genuinely exchange cultural values stimulates the development of national musical cultures...More and more, progressive musicians from different countries will have at international festivals a large place that will provide a base for friendly discussions about the complicated paths of contemporary music."<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> "Wiele ciekawych elementów bułgarskiego folkloru." ks, "Muzyczna obfitość 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'," *Życie Warszawy* (September 20, 1961).

<sup>102</sup> Kydryński, "Słuszność Warszawskiej Jesieni."

<sup>103</sup> "Zwarty o jasnej wyrazistej konstrukcji...pełen dramatyzmu." Józef Kański, "Koncert inauguracyjny. Kwartet im. Borodina. Bułgarska orkiestra," *Trybuna ludu* (September 19, 1961).

<sup>104</sup> "Les festivals internationaux gagnent une extrême importance en tant que moyen de l'échange réel des valeurs culturelles stimulant le développement des cultures musicales nationales...Les musiciens progressistes de divers pays auront aux festivals internationaux



Some Eastern European reviewers were kinder in their comments about the 1961 Festival than they had been about previous versions of the Festival. Compositions by Polish composers such as Lutosławski, Penderecki, Górecki, and Baird were praised in the Romanian journal *Musica*, as was Nono's *Il canto sospeso*. However, Czechoslovakian composer Jan Klusak and Yugoslavian Kresimir Fribec were criticized in the same review for their imitations of modernist tendencies, while Raichev's symphony was lauded for its illustration of "man's struggle for a better future and a just life."<sup>105</sup>

The East German and Bulgarian reviews of the Festival continued the line developed in previous years of denouncing avant-garde techniques. Kurt Olivier, writing for *Die Weltbühne*, declared that Lutosławski, whose *Venetian Games* had been heard at the Festival, was proceeding down "the wrong path" along with Penderecki, Kotoński, Schäffer, Górecki, Baird, and Szabelski.<sup>106</sup> In his opinion, the best works of the Festival were those by Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, Michał Spisak, Witold Rudziński, and Benjamin Britten. According to Bulgarian Stojan Stojanov, pointillism, serialism, and electronic compositions were examples of formalistic tendencies. In effect, the Festival had become a

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un milieu de plus en plus large qui donnera la base aux discussions amicales sur les voies compliquées de la musique contemporaine." S. Aksiuk, "V-e 'Automne de Varsovie,'" *Ve Internationale de Musique Contemporaine 'Automne de Varsovie 1961'. Dans la Presse (fragments de critiques). Bulletin d'information*. (Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 1962), pp. 42-43, quoted from Aksiuk's article in *Sovetskaya muzyka*, no. 2 (1962).

<sup>105</sup> La lutte de l'homme de notre époque pour un avenir meilleur et pour une vie juste." Hilda Jerea and Adrian Ratiu, "Automne de Varsovie," *Ve Internationale de Musique Contemporaine 'Automne de Varsovie 1961'*, pp. 29-32, quoted from Jerea and Ratiu's article in *Musica*, no. 1 (1962).

<sup>106</sup> "Le faux chemin." Kurt Olivier, "Automne de Varsovie," *Ve Internationale de Musique Contemporaine 'Automne de Varsovie 1961'*, p. 3, quoted from Olivier's article in *Die Weltbühne*, no. 43 (1961).

showcase for "the militant avant-garde."<sup>107</sup> Fortunately, in his opinion, bright spots remained, such as the works of Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Janaček, Szymanowski, Bartók, and Wiechowicz.

### **The Importance of the Festival for the Dissemination of Polish Music**

Although the Warsaw Autumn Festival was not the only event that led to the revitalization of Polish music and the gaining of world recognition for Poland's composers, it undoubtedly was the most important element in Poland's rapid turnaround in the field of music. This point was stressed by Bohdan Pilarski as early as 1959: "the festivals...caused a spontaneous revival of Polish music. They became in a certain sense an inspirational institution, while in many instances giving to young composers the only possibility of a performance."<sup>108</sup>

Although few details about the Festival's direct influence on the dissemination of Polish contemporary music or on the career development of Polish composers are available, several examples may suffice as indications of the broader activities that undoubtedly were occurring. In 1958, Guillaume Landré, a Dutch composer and official Festival guest, remarked that "it is necessary for the Dutch public to become acquainted with Polish music. I [am] convinced that this music is fully worthy of being publicized abroad. I will do this through personal contacts as well as through our International Institute for Cultural

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<sup>107</sup> "'l'avant-gardism militant'." Stojan Stojanow, "Automne de Varsovie," *Ve International de Musique Contemporaine 'Automne de Varsovie 1961'*, p. 12, quoted from Stojanov's article in *Bulgarian Music*, no. 9 (1962).

<sup>108</sup> "Festiwali...przyczniły się one do spontanicznego odrodzenia muzyki polskiej. Stały się instytucją w pewnym sensie inspirującą i - w wielu wypadkach - dającą młodym kompozytorom jedyną możliwość wykonania." Bohdan Pilarski, "Orfeusz na nowej drodze," *Przegląd kulturalny*, no. 43 (October 22, 1959): 6.

Relations. By being a special correspondent I will be able to inform the readers of *Ruch muzyczny* about Dutch music."<sup>109</sup>

Heinz Rehfuss also indicated in 1958 that Serocki's *Heart of the Night*, which he had sung at that year's Festival, would remain in his repertoire; the only other Polish piece he had ever performed was Szymanowski's *Stabat mater*.<sup>110</sup> In February 1961, Radio Oslo broadcast selections from the 1960 Warsaw Autumn Festival. In January and February of the same year, two concerts of music from the same Festival were presented at the Leningrad Section of the Soviet Composers Union.<sup>111</sup>

In 1960 Czesław Halski, who worked for the British Broadcasting Company in London, announced during the Festival that arrangements had been made that made available to the BBC all tapes of Polish music held by Polish Radio. Moreover, Halski had talked with the directors of Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Tadeusz Ochlewski and Mieczysław Tomaszewski, and had been assured that scores of new Polish compositions would be sent to London on request for performance by English radio ensembles.<sup>112</sup>

The performance of Penderecki's *Strophes* at the 1959 Festival resulted almost directly in a commission for the composer to write a piece for the 1960 Donaueschingen Days of Contemporary Music. At the 1959 Festival Józef Patkowski had introduced the composer to German publisher Herman Moeck. After hearing *Strophes*, Moeck brought a score of the

<sup>109</sup> "Jest rzeczą konieczną, aby publiczność holenderska poznała muzykę polską. Przekonałem się o tym, że muzyka ta jest w pełni godna, aby ją propagować w świecie. Ja będę to robił poprzez swe osobiste kontakty oraz przez nasz Instytut Międzynarodowej Łączności Kulturalnej. Zaś o życiu muzycznym Holandii będę informował czytelników 'Ruchu Muzycznego' drogą specjalnych korespondencji." pil, "Goście zagraniczni mówią o Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 2, no. 22 (1958): 22.

<sup>110</sup> Kazimierz Czekaj, "Heinz Rehfuss," *Trybuna ludu*, no. 291 (October 18, 1958).

<sup>111</sup> *Biuletyn informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* (June 1960-June 1961).

<sup>112</sup> tg, "Czesław Halski o Festiwalu," *Ruch muzyczny* 4, no. 21 (1960): 17.

piece to Heinrich Strobel, the director of the Donaueschingen festival. Strobel responded with the commission; *Anaklasis* was premiered at Donaueschingen in 1960. Penderecki's international recognition began to blossom after that premiere. By deciding to have his Western European company publish Penderecki's compositions, Moeck created what Ludwik Erhardt later described as "an unprecedented step in the post-war history of Polish music."<sup>113</sup> Strobel commissioned another piece to be performed at the 1962 Donaueschingen festival; that work was *Fluorescences*. Moreover, while in West Germany in the fall of 1960, Penderecki received a commission from Herbert Hübner, the director of the contemporary music department at Norddeutsche Rundfunks in Hamburg; *Polymorphia* was the result. *Anaklasis* was recorded in the fall of 1960. In 1961, *Emanations* was performed at the Darmstadt Summer Courses, *Psalmus* was premiered in Stockholm, *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* was presented in the same city, *Fonogrammi* was performed for the first time in Venice, and *Anaklasis* was presented in Paris and Palermo.<sup>114</sup>

Several Polish composers have spoken of the importance of the Festival on their careers. Zygmunt Krauze's comments were cited in Chapter V. Marek Stachowski has indicated that during his student days--that is, in the late 1950s and early 1960s--the Warsaw Autumn Festival was almost the only source of information available in Poland on foreign contemporary music.<sup>115</sup> In 1981 Tadeusz Baird eloquently summed up the importance of the Festival since its inception: "The 'Warsaw Autumn' long ago became the

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<sup>113</sup> "Posunięciem bez precedensu w powojennych dziejach polskiej muzyki." Ludwik Erhardt, *Spotkania z Krzysztofem Pendereckim* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975), p. 19.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 30-31; Schwinger, *Penderecki*, p. 32.

<sup>115</sup> Interviews in Warsaw with Zygmunt Krauze, December 6, 1985 and with Marek Stachowski, January 15, 1986.

most important and most famous Polish festival, having considerable significance in international musical life. It is difficult to overestimate its importance for our musical culture. It is difficult also not to appreciate the role it has played in the development of composition in many countries, particularly Central and Eastern Europe. For contemporary and Polish music and for many Polish performers it was for many years the starting point for foreign careers. It was and still is a respected forum for the exchange of opinions and artistic ideas, a place for the comparison of creative attitudes, a platform for international discussion."<sup>116</sup>

## Conclusions

The diverse opinions expressed about the 1958-1961 Festivals can be related directly to the attitudes about creative freedom that were operative in Poland, Western Europe and the United States, and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe during those years. Composers from Poland and the West had no restrictions on the styles of music they could write, and many critics from those areas hailed the resulting compositions. The governments of the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe did not openly encourage the use of the avant-garde techniques that had been developed in Western Europe. Hence, critics from these countries could not endorse composers who incorporated such techniques into their compositions. Similarly, reviewers from the East bloc praised works by their composers

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<sup>116</sup> "Od dawna stała się 'Warszawska Jesień' najważniejszym i najświetniejszym polskim festiwalem, znaczącym niemało w światowym życiu muzycznym. Trudno przecenić jej wagę dla naszej kultury muzycznej, trudno też nie docenić roli, jaką odegrała w swoim czasie w rozwoju twórczości kompozytorskiej w wielu krajach, szczególnie Środkowej i Wschodniej Europy. Dla współczesnej muzyki polskiej i dla wielu polskich wykonawców była przez lata całe punktem startu do zagranicznej kariery, była i jest nadal liczącym się forum wymiany poglądów i artystycznych idei, miejscem konfrontacji twórczych postaw, platformą międzynarodowej dyskusji." Baird and Grzenkowicz, *Rozmowy, szkice, refleksje*, p. 101.

while Western and Polish critics gave little tribute to these same pieces and sometimes criticized their socialist realism underpinnings.

Nevertheless, the evaluations of the Festival given by Soviet and Eastern European critics frequently contained positive comments; those from the Soviet Union became more favorable as the years progressed. The Festival was considered a worthwhile event and also was perceived by some of these critics to have met its goals. The shifts in the tone of the reviews in *Sovetskaya muzyka* reflected the changes in cultural policy that were occurring simultaneously in the Soviet Union, as compositions previously banned from performance in that country were being heard there, at least in restricted settings.

The appearance in Polish reviews of criticisms of avant-garde techniques can be interpreted as a sign of the increased knowledge of contemporary music in Poland and the stabilization of that country's political situation vis-à-vis the field of music. After frequently being delighted and amazed at the Western music heard in Poland in the mid-1950s, critics in Poland began to appraise the value of the different styles and aesthetics of these and newer compositions. As in nearly every country, voices can be heard both for and against certain styles and techniques of music; in Poland, the voices against experimental techniques began to be heard more often by about 1959. The presence of such criticisms does not mean that such compositional techniques were being prohibited by the Polish government--they were not. It does signify, however, that Polish critics, as well as musicians and the general public, had begun to exercise their right--and their freedom--to judge specific examples of contemporary music in terms of their aesthetics and their quality. No longer were Polish citizens fascinated with Western music merely because it had been a "forbidden fruit" in their country for many years. Nevertheless, the importance of the Festival for musical life in Poland was never questioned publicly or privately. In

fact, its international acclaim, attained as early as 1958, was a source of immense pride for all Polish musicians and critics.

For all participants at each Festival, the opportunity to develop a better awareness of the compositions written in each area was invaluable. In addition, participants were able not only to discuss issues in music with colleagues from both East and West, but they also welcomed the opportunity to arrange for performances of these pieces in countries other than Poland. Finally, the importance of the Festival for Polish composers cannot be overestimated. Although all composers were influenced to some degree by the contacts made and compositions heard at each Festival, it was Polish composers for whom the Festival was created in the first place, and it was these same composers who reaped the largest benefits.

**CONCLUSIONS:  
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WARSAW AUTUMN  
INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF CONTEMPORARY MUSIC 1956-1961  
IN POLAND AND ABROAD**

The Warsaw Autumn Festival was an invaluable component of cultural life in Poland during its first five years of existence. Although the program of each Festival was influenced to a large degree by extra-musical considerations that limited the actions of the Festival's organizers, these difficulties were offset by the successful achievement of many of the organizers' objectives and by broad public approval of the Festival both in Poland and in much of the remainder of Europe. The Festival was acclaimed almost immediately in many countries for its unique ability to present annually the prevailing styles of music from Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States, the latest works by Polish composers, and pieces by those composers considered to be the masters of the twentieth century.

The historic breakthrough accomplished by the first Festival in 1956 signalled the end of the era of socialist realism in Polish music. The presentation of an array of twentieth-century compositions in an event initiated by composers and supported by the Polish government provided immense visibility to the field of contemporary music in that country. The fact that some of the compositions heard during the 1956 Festival would have been banned from performance in Poland as recently as a year or two earlier gave even more prominence to the event and brought commendations in the Western and Polish press.

Poland's continuing independence from the dictates of the Soviet Union was exemplified in the successful establishment of the Warsaw Autumn Festival. Through the Festival, Poland played the leading role in bringing the removal of restrictions on



permissible compositional styles and the freedom to pursue international artistic contacts to Eastern Europe. Historically Poland's musicians and other artists had been an integral part of the European cultural scene. The desire of its composers and other musicians in the 1950s to reestablish their country's traditional ties with Western Europe brought forth the first concrete actions towards that goal to occur in either the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. The dissatisfaction expressed by many Polish composers, musicologists, and music critics about the restrictions of socialist realism in music and the continued experiments with compositional styles by composers such as Lutosławski and Serocki throughout the early 1950s are proof that these and other musicians were ready and waiting for the opening that occurred in the mid-1950s. After Stalin's death and the subsequent signs of flexibility on the part of the Soviet government, musicians in Poland were the first in either Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union to resurrect the bonds that had been broken during World War II and again in the late 1940s.

The Festival also occupies a special place in the Polish cultural scene. This annual gala and, indeed, most aspects of the field of music composition in Poland, have been strikingly conspicuous in that country and abroad for their ability to withstand many of the shifting restrictions observed in other areas of Polish arts and literature. Music was the only one of the arts in Poland in which the freedoms first permitted in 1955 and 1956 were allowed to continue in the late 1950s and in subsequent decades with full governmental recognition and financial support. Although the Stalinist-style socialist realism did not return in full force to any of the Polish arts, the crackdowns that occurred in film and literature beginning in 1957 did serve to suppress public expressions of creativity in those fields. In the areas of theater and the fine arts, experimentation continued in the late 1950s and into the 1960s--for example, in student theatrical productions and Grotowski's Theater of 13 Rows in Opole as

well as among small groups of artists located in Warsaw, Kraków, and other cities.<sup>1</sup> However, these endeavors were not met without interference from the government in the form of antagonistic press reviews, attempts to liquidate Grotowski's Theater, and limits placed on the numbers and types of art works that could be exhibited publicly. These fields also were burdened with further restrictions imposed by the Polish government in the late 1960s. Perhaps most importantly, only in music did the explosion of new activities that occurred beginning in about 1956 immediately bring international recognition for the resulting products, in this case, for the Warsaw Autumn Festival and for composition in general. Such acclaim was not granted to theater and other arts in Poland until the 1960s.

The Warsaw Autumn Festival and the related liberalization of the field of music in Poland were not subjected to the anti-revisionist sentiments that adversely affected other areas of Polish intellectual life beginning in late 1957. The reasons for this are multifold. First, the Polish government must have believed that because music was primarily a non-verbal and non-visual art, it could not express anti-Communist ideas or any other views that could be construed as affecting the political stability of the country. Second, the Festival probably was being used as a propaganda tool by the government. Its success was already recognized throughout Europe by 1958 and in many countries as early as 1956; hence, its continuation can be seen as an effort by the Polish government to portray itself to the Western world as being liberal in artistic matters, even though it simultaneously was undertaking repressive actions in Polish literature and other arts. If the Festival had been cancelled after 1958, that action might have created an international scandal, which the

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<sup>1</sup> Zbigniew Osiński, *Grotowski and His Laboratory*, trans. and abridged by Lillian Vallee and Robert Findlay (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986), pp. 21-53, passim; Daniel Gerould, ed., *Twentieth-Century Polish Avant-Garde Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 67-73, 84-88; Bożena Kowalska, *Polska awangarda malerska 1945-1970. Szanse i mity* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), pp. 66-109, passim; Alicja Kepińska, *Nowa sztuka. Sztuka polska w latach 1945-1978* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1981), pp. 33-35.

government wanted to avoid. Third, the number of composers in Poland was relatively small. To permit this small, and therefore somewhat elite group to pursue international contacts and other liberties was not equivalent to granting these freedoms to broad sections of society. Hence, these actions were permissible for Polish musicians.

Although the efforts of the Polish Composers Union, and particularly its Presidium, in developing the idea for the Festival and in persevering until the event was a reality were unquestionably praiseworthy, they were also filled with unforeseen difficulties. Of utmost importance was the fact that an international festival whose focus was to be the music rather than the performers had not been organized previously in Poland. (In 1939 the ISCM had held its Festival in Warsaw, but the international organization had been responsible for the selection of repertoire and performers.) Moreover, not all of the experiences gained by the Composers Union and the Ministry of Culture and Art in organizing the 1951 and 1955 Festivals of Polish Music were beneficial to the organizers of the first Warsaw Autumn Festival. For example, delays in extending invitations to performers and foreign guests prevented some of these people from coming in both 1955 and 1956. Furthermore, in both of these years the Presidium of the Composers Union either was reluctant or unable to impose its own choices for repertoire upon performers. The members of the Polish Composers Union rarely, if ever, had had to select contemporary pieces by Western composers for public performance in post-war Poland. Their lack of acquaintance with a broad range of such pieces probably contributed to their acquiescence to performers' suggestions in 1956. The organizers of the 1956 Festival also could not have been sure how the Polish and Soviet governments would react to the presentation of works embracing dodecaphony and other techniques still officially prohibited in both countries.

Most of the complications encountered in the organization of each Festival can be attributed to the fact that the Festival was located in a Communist country. Although the program of any music festival is always a compromise between what its organizers would like to present and what it is possible to offer given financial and other societal constraints, the contents of the Warsaw Autumn Festivals' programs were subject to maneuverings and restrictions that would not have occurred had the Festival not been situated in post-World War II Eastern Europe. Some of the decisions about the program each year were made by institutions and countries that were not part of the formal organizational apparatus of the Festival. Furthermore, the types of dilemmas faced by the organizers varied according to the geopolitical region in which the performer and composer resided.

Despite the organizers' declaration that contemporary music was to be the "star" of each Festival, obtaining the services of performers became their first priority and also their primary source of difficulties each year. Decisions about the repertoire for each concert could be made, as might be expected, only after assuring the participation of a certain ensemble or soloist. However, because of circumstances that often could not be controlled by the organizers, changes in performers--and thus in repertoire--habitually were made late in each Festival's planning period.

Although at times the organizers were able to select performers based on the ability of the artists to present contemporary music, their initial choices of ensembles and soloists were often not able to come. Insufficient amounts of hard currency for paying Western performers and the late extension of invitations to these musicians prevented many of them from coming to Warsaw. Moreover, the methods of communications with performers from the West that were required because of the administrative structure of the Polish government presented additional difficulties in negotiations with that region. In 1956 and probably frequently thereafter, members of the Polish Composers Union, the Festival

Committee, or the Repertoire Commission communicated directly with Western musicians. Beginning with the preparations for the 1958 Festival, however, communications concerning finances and program requests also were always sent through PAGART, the Polish Artists Agency. The performer was thus required to forward the same information to two sources in Poland. If it were sent to only one, the news would have to be forwarded to the second agency--either PAGART or one of the organizing committees. If messages about repertoire were sent to PAGART, those committee members responsible for approving the pieces to be presented at a particular Festival--primarily composers and conductors--would have to wait for that information to be forwarded to them, thus delaying the decision-making process.

Despite these aforementioned difficulties, Western performers, along with composers from that region, strongly supported the Warsaw Autumn Festival, viewing it not only as an opportunity to perform or be performed abroad, but also as an event unparalleled in twentieth-century music in its comprehensive presentation of music from throughout Europe and the Soviet Union. In order to show their approval and also to encourage the continuance of the Festival, some Western performers waived the hard currency option of their contracts with the Polish organizers. These performers--for instance, Die Reihe in 1961--genuinely wished to perform at the Festival and realized that the organizers did not have sufficient amounts of hard currency. For the same reasons, Western European governments or artistic organizations occasionally offered to subsidize the appearances of their ensembles at the Festival. West Germany, for example, had been willing to pay for some of the Hamburg Opera's expenses in 1958, although that ensemble ultimately did not come to the Festival because of interference from East Germany. In another sign of support, at least one composer--Jolivet--delayed the first performance of a composition to

allow it to be premiered at the Festival. Unfortunately, difficulties in obtaining orchestral parts also prevented that performance from occurring.

The Soviet Union and Eastern European countries were not nearly so willing to assist the Festival's organizers. Binding decisions concerning repertoire and performers frequently were made by governmental agencies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe rather than by the Festival's Polish organizers. Such problems did not arise in the selection of Western performers and their repertoire. With the exception of Italy's refusal of a passport to Bruno Maderna in 1958, Western European governments did not prohibit performers in their countries from accepting invitations to the Festival.

The organizers' decisions about Eastern European ensembles often were made on the basis of which country from that region should be represented in a given year, an acquiescence to the complaints registered by Eastern European countries about the insufficient amount of representation that each received at the Festival. Direct communications between Polish organizers and Soviet and Eastern European performers rarely took place. PAGART played the same role of intermediary as it had with Western musicians, but at least one more layer of communications was always added. Either PAGART or another governmental agency in Poland (the Bureau for Foreign Cultural Communications or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for example) communicated with the Ministry of Culture or an analogous institution in the particular country, who then discussed matters with the ensemble or soloist. Rarely was the Polish Repertoire Commission or its equivalent able to discuss repertoire directly with a performer from one of these countries. These impersonal communications offered little chance for the organizers in Poland to discuss Festival matters with musicians; they also slowed down the decision-making process considerably. Furthermore, the programs to be presented by Eastern ensembles and soloists seem to have been decided by the performer's home

country with little regard on the part of that nation's government to specific requests made by Poland, and seemingly with little, if any, attention paid to the artistic merits of these proposals. Moreover, although the fact that these countries wished to be represented equally at the Festival was a legitimate request, at least in the first two or three years of the Festival their insistence that such representation occur almost immediately was interpreted justifiably by some of the organizers in Poland as a threat to the existence of the event. In reality, the yearly clashes with the Soviet Union and/or Eastern European countries unnecessarily impeded the efforts of the organizers in Poland. The politicized nature of these conflicts were inappropriate reactions to the unbiased attempts by the Festival's organizers to offer an artistically and geographically balanced view of twentieth-century music.

Despite the persistent difficulties that arose in the planning of each Festival, much progress occurred in the area of the Festival's organization between 1955, when the event was officially approved by the Polish Composers Union, and 1961, when the fifth occurrence of the spectacle took place. Although the organizers of the first Festival had little experience in such an undertaking, the guidelines they established were fulfilled. The second Festival, held in 1958, was by far the most disorganized of the first five. No set organizational structure existed and little cooperation was exhibited by Polish and foreign musicians or by the governments of East Germany and Bulgaria. Disarray existed in almost all levels of planning. The chaotic state of the Festival's preparations brought about many last-minute changes in the program. Nevertheless, most foreign and domestic critics felt that the event was a success: In their perception its array of compositions fulfilled the organizers' goals and an excellent comparison of music from East and West had been arranged. In fact, many new ideas had been introduced during the organization of this

Festival. Although not all were realized in 1958, they were to serve as the basis of the organizers' plans in future years.

The organization of the 1959-1961 Festivals was greatly improved over that of the first two. Although the same system of impersonal contacts and double lines of communication outlined above existed each year, the organizers did come to an agreement on a permanent system of organization, outlined in the Ministry of Culture and Art's Administrative Order of November 1959. In this document, which was partially revised in 1960, the roles of each of the various divisions of the Ministry of Culture and Art were defined, thus ending the disagreements that had existed earlier within the Ministry--particularly between the Polish Composers Union and the Central Board of Musical Institutions (and the Board's successors)--over who would select the repertoire, distribute the funds allotted for the Festival, handle administrative chores, and approve the event's overall program. The first Festival organized entirely under the aegis of this Order and its 1960 revisions was held in 1961. As a result of the stability of the organizational system that year, the program was determined earlier than for any of the previous four events.

Many of the organizers' objectives, particularly those in the area of repertoire, were achieved each year. The stipulations placed on performers regarding repertoire were nearly always observed; the only requirement not fully complied with stipulated that at least one Polish composition be presented on each concert. Other guidelines regarding the age of compositions and, in 1956, the scheduling of works from each ensemble's home country were followed. Similarly, although the organizers' goal of presenting the most outstanding contemporary compositions may not have been fulfilled in 1956, depending on one's interpretation of which works are "outstanding," their revised objective of offering a wide array of compositional styles, which went into effect for the 1958 Festival, was accomplished each year. Compositions were rarely repeated from year to year, which



resulted in the performance of more than three hundred and fifty pieces during the first five Festivals. By 1958 the model of presenting the newest works by Polish composers, contemporary classics, and pieces representing a range of twentieth-century compositional styles from East and West was in place. The only compositions prohibited from performance by the Polish government during the first five Festivals were those by certain Polish emigrés; in particular, those by Andrzej Panufnik were banned, even though other emigrés' pieces were presented from time to time. Otherwise, there is no evidence of political leverage being exercised by the Polish government in the area of repertoire between 1956 and 1961.

This annual panorama of compositions was presented to large, enthusiastic audiences of Polish and foreign citizens, including musicians, governmental representatives, officials of artistic institutions, and the general public. These gatherings offered musicians and others from East and West an opportunity unprecedented in post-World War II history--to discuss issues of contemporary music and cultural policy on a person-to-person basis with colleagues from countries having varying political and artistic philosophies. All audience members could hear the newest Polish compositions and a wide spectrum of other twentieth-century compositions. The development of personal contacts and the hearing of contemporary music were beneficial to all participants and observers at each Festival. For those from Poland, the rest of Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, the Festival helped to close the "information gap" about Western music, even though some of this music could not yet be officially performed in some of these countries. For those from the West, the Festival offered opportunities to learn about music from the East that they probably had not heard previously and to acquire new information about musical life in the countries of that area.

The Festival was of extreme importance to Polish musicians. Performers were able to compare their skills with musicians from other countries; at the same time they could become aware of some of the performance problems unique to twentieth-century music. Although some Polish ensembles and soloists had been unwilling or unable to perform at the 1958 Festival, in subsequent years they overcame whatever doubts they had about the merits of the Festival; some asked if they could perform and a few appeared almost every year.

Polish composers were the greatest beneficiaries of the Festival. In fact, it is difficult to imagine that the shift in compositional styles apparent in the output of many of these composers between 1956 and 1961 would have occurred without the existence of the Warsaw Autumn Festival. Within the span of five years they were able to learn much about the music of this century that they otherwise might not have acquired in a country that continually lacked supplies of scores and recordings of much contemporary music. Although the amount of influence that the Festival had on their own careers is impossible to measure definitively, one need only to look at a score of or hear a piece written between 1958 and 1961 by Grażyna Bacewicz, Tadeusz Baird, Henryk Górecki, Wojciech Kilar, Włodzimierz Kotoński, Witold Lutosławski, Krzysztof Penderecki, Kazimierz Serocki, Bolesław Szabelski, and numerous other composers to realize that Polish compositions written during that time were comparable in quality to some of the finest pieces recently composed by foreigners. The stylistic techniques utilized in these Polish compositions had been developed after their composers had attended and, in some cases, helped to organize the Warsaw Autumn Festival. At the same time, however, the compositional style developed by each composer in the late 1950s and early 1960s has roots in his or her earlier works, many of which were written during the period of enforced socialist realism. Compositions of high quality were written by Polish composers during that time and even

earlier--those by Lutosławski, Bacewicz, and Serocki are examples of such pieces. Nevertheless, only after the abolishment of socialist realism in music were these composers able to fully explore their talents and ideas in music without fear of harassment and repression.

The Warsaw Autumn Festival was not the only place where Polish composers beginning in 1956 were able to hear new music from other countries. However, many of these composers, in acknowledging the debt owed by them to the Warsaw Festival, have described it as the most important event in Poland for learning about the latest achievements in contemporary music. Furthermore, contacts made at the Warsaw Autumn Festival helped to advance the careers of these composers. Foreign performances were arranged, commissions were offered, and in Penderecki's case at least, a publishing contract with a Western firm resulted after his pieces were performed at the Festival. The incorporation of Polish compositions into the repertoire of foreign performers also aided in the dissemination of this music to other countries. The international fame accorded to Bacewicz, Lutosławski, and Penderecki must be attributed to a large degree to the Warsaw Autumn Festival.

The successes of the Festival's first five years have been continued to the present day. It has retained its position as the most prestigious event in Polish culture. More specifically, the Festival's achievements since 1961 have come despite the continued presence of many of the same difficulties that existed during its first five years, and despite the fact that Poland has had, until the summer of 1989, a Communist government whose actions were subject to the approval of the Soviet Union, a country that has never officially renounced the ideals of socialist realism in music.

The 1961 Warsaw Autumn Festival can be seen as the prototype for all subsequent occurrences of the event. The organizational methods sanctioned by the Ministry of Culture and Art that were put in place fully for the first time that year have remained basically intact since then. The organizers' goal of presenting a wide spectrum of compositional styles from East and West and their traditions of having invited guests, documentary recordings, program books, the Festival Club, and radio (and since then, television) broadcasts have also remained unchanged.

The familiar but critical problems of a lack of hard currency for Western performers and extra-musical manipulations by Polish, Soviet and Eastern European governments have persisted during the more than two decades that have passed since 1961. For example, the organizers' attempt to bring an Israeli orchestra in 1987 was rebuffed by the Polish government because the same ensemble was already scheduled to perform at the Wratistavia Cantans oratorio and cantata festival in Wrocław just before the start of the Warsaw Autumn Festival; appearances of an Israel ensemble at two different events within the same year was not permitted. (The name of the orchestra was not given to the present author; no Israeli group played at Wratistavia Cantans in 1987, but the Israel Philharmonic gave several concerts in Poland in November of that year.) Privately, the Festival's organizers have criticized the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries for their continual attempts to force the Festival's organizers to schedule certain performers and compositions that otherwise would not be selected, if their artistic merits were taken into consideration. For approximately twenty years the Festival's organizers had attempted to arrange a program of compositions from the Bratislava Radio Electronic Music Studio in Czechoslovakia. Only in 1989 did they succeed in acquiring permission from the Czechoslovakian government for this concert, although other composers from that country had been heard at Festivals in the interim.

Performances of compositions by emigré composers from Poland, the Soviet Union, or other Eastern European countries also have frequently been prohibited or restricted in some manner. Panufnik's works were not performed at the Festival until 1977; from then until 1989, they could not be performed on the opening concert. Finally, at the 1989 Festival, held September 15-24, Panufnik's music was heard at the inaugural concert; his *Sinfonia mistica* (1977) received its Polish premiere at that time. Similarly, compositions by Arvo Pärt, who emigrated from the Soviet Union to the West in 1980, could not be performed at the Festival until 1987. His *Fratres* had been scheduled for the 1985 Festival, but was cancelled by the Ministry of Culture and Art, apparently after protest from the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw. At the 1989 Festival, an entire concert of Pärt's music was given by the Hilliard Ensemble.

Western artistic organizations also still occasionally subsidize the appearances of performers from their respective countries: the British Council and the Goethe Institute are two organizations who have done so in the past two decades. Moreover, Western performers have continued to offer their services for a reduced fee in order to ease the financial burden of the Festival. Western composers also have accepted payments in zloties for commissions from the Festival Committee; Ligeti is one such composer. Members of the Polish Composers Union involved in the organization of recent Warsaw Autumn Festivals have paid tribute to the many "friends" that the Festival has in both the East and the West, claiming that it would not have been possible to achieve as much as they have without the help of the musicians and friends of the arts devoted to the cause of the Polish Festival.

Although the Festival's organizers continue to wish for improvement in the area of finances and extra-musical politicized actions, in recent years they have achieved some feats that had eluded them from 1956 to 1961. They have also introduced innovations in their

programming. *Wozzeck* was finally presented in a stage production in 1967; *Lulu* was staged in 1971. Other operas are staged periodically. Since 1968 late evening concerts of electronic or other experimental music have been held each year. Concerts dedicated to the works of one composer have been featured at some Festivals; György Ligeti in 1985 and Elliott Carter in 1986 have been recent honorees. The aforementioned activities at the 1989 Festival bring the hope that the political and economic reforms currently taking place in Poland will continue to reap benefits for the Festival's organizers and audiences.

The Festival has been both praised and criticized throughout its thirty years of existence. It has always been regarded as the premier event in contemporary music in the country--indeed in the field of Polish culture--and a vitally important component in the education of Poland's musicians. It has been the only contemporary music festival in either the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe to present compositions from East and West on an annual basis. Soviet International Festivals of Contemporary Music organized in the 1980s, which have presented music from around the globe, have been influenced by the international scope of the Warsaw Festival as well as by details of its structures and goals. Moreover, the Warsaw Autumn Festival for more than three decades has served as a focal point of contemporary music in Eastern and Western countries. Indeed, it has been recognized as the standard-bearer of contemporary music festivals for many years for its ability to present music from the world over; it is still widely considered to be an event unequalled in the international music scene.

## APPENDIX A

### Schedule of Concerts, Warsaw Autumn Festivals 1956-1961

#### 1956

##### September 10, 8:30 pm

Messiaen. *Les Offrandes oubliées* \*  
Szymanowski. *Stabat Mater*  
Shostakovich. Symphony No. 10 \*

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
Orchestra and Choir,  
Warsaw/Wodiczko, conductor;  
Kunińska, soprano; Szczepańska,  
alto; Hiolski, baritone

##### September 11, 8:30 pm

Enescu. Symphonic Suite No. 1  
Lutosławski. *Little Suite*  
Strauss, R. *Till Eulenspiegels lustige  
Streiche*  
Khachaturian, A. Symphony No. 2

George Enescu Philharmonic  
Symphony Orchestra,  
Bucharest/Georgescu, conductor

##### September 12, 8:30 pm

Dobrowolski. Symphony No. 1  
Milhaud. *Concertino de printemps* \*  
Szabelski. Symphony No. 3  
Kilar. *Little Overture*

Silesian State Philharmonic Symphony  
Orchestra, Katowice/Stryja,  
conductor; Wroński, violin

\* Polish premiere  
\*\* World premiere

##### September 13, 5:15 pm

Perkowski. *Warsaw Overture*  
Wiśłocki. Piano Concerto  
Zafred. Symphony No. 4 \*  
Stravinsky. Suite from *The Firebird*

Silesian State Philharmonic Symphony  
Orchestra/Stryja, conductor; Kędra,  
piano

##### September 13, 8:30 pm

Honegger. Symphony No. 2  
Malawski. Symphonic Variations  
Martinu. Symphony No. 3 \*

State Philharmonic, Brno/Bakala,  
conductor

##### September 14, 5:15 pm

Baird. Suite from *Colas Breugnon*  
Miaskovsky. Symphony No. 27 \*  
Tchaikovsky. Symphony No. 5

Moscow State Symphony  
Orchestra/Ivanov, conductor

##### September 14, 8:30 pm

Bartók. Concerto for Orchestra  
Serocki. Sinfonietta for two string  
orchestras  
Stravinsky. *Ebony Concerto* \*  
Honegger. *Pacific 231*

Great Polish Radio Symphony  
Orchestra, Katowice/Krenz,  
conductor

September 15, 5:15 pm

Szałowski. Overture  
 Szeligowski. *Epitaph in Memory of  
 Karol Szymanowski*  
 Skrowaczewski. *Night Music*  
 Stravinsky. Suite from *Petrushka*

Great Polish Radio Symphony  
 Orchestra, Katowice/Wisłocki,  
 conductor

September 15, 8:30 pm

Bartók. String Quartet No. 5 \*  
 Lajtha. String Quartet No. 7 \*  
 Woytowicz. String Quartet No. 2

Tátrai Quartet, Budapest

September 16, 5:15 pm

Honegger. *Sonatine* for two violins  
 Bartók. 44 Duets for two violins: nos.  
 37, 28, 44, 33, 39, 29, 41  
 Martinu. *Sonatina* for two violins and  
 piano  
 Ravel. *Chansons madécasses* for voice  
 and instruments  
 Szymanowski. *Six Kurpian Songs* for  
 mixed choir  
 Wiechowicz. *Harvest Cantata* for mixed  
 choir  
 Szeligowski. *Sailor's Song* for mixed  
 choir  
 Szeligowski. *The Angels Sang Sweetly*  
 for mixed choir  
 Wiechowicz. *The Little Eyes Want* for  
 mixed choir  
 Wiechowicz. *From the Other Side of  
 the River* for mixed choir

Dubiska and Umińska, violin;  
 Nadgryzowski, piano; Załęska,  
 mezzo-soprano; Ciechański, cello;  
 Peresada, flute; Polish Radio Choir,  
 Kraków/Dobrzański and Kluczniok,  
 conductors

September 16, 8:30 pm

Berger. *La Parola* \*  
 Schönberg. Concerto for Piano and  
 Orchestra \*  
 Lutosławski. Concerto for Orchestra

Vienna Symphony/Gielen, conductor;  
 Brendel, piano

September 17, 5:15 pm

Woytowicz. Symphony No. 2  
 "Warsaw"  
 Novák, J. Concerto for Two Pianos  
 and Orchestra \*  
 Janáček. *Sinfonietta*

State Philharmonic, Brno/Bakala,  
 conductor; Nováková and Novák,  
 pianos

September 17, 8:30 pm

Stravinsky. Suite from *Jeux de cartes*  
 Mycielski. *Polish Symphony*  
 Britten. *Spring Symphony* for solo  
 voices, choirs, and orchestra, op. 44\*

Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra and  
 Choir, Kraków/Gert, conductor;  
 Kraków Philharmonic Boys Choir;  
 Stachurska, soprano; Winiarska, alto;  
 Bachleda, tenor

September 18, 5:15 pm

Apostel. *Variations on a Theme by  
 Joseph Haydn* \*  
 Turски. Violin Concerto  
 Brahms. Symphony No. 4

Vienna Symphony/Gielen, conductor;  
 Topolski, violin

September 18, 8:30 pm

Martinon. String Quartet, op. 43 \*  
 Martinet. Variations for String Quartet \*  
 Bacewicz. String Quartet No. 4  
 Berg. *Lyric Suite* \*

Parrenin Quartet, Paris



September 19, 5:15 pm

Spisak. Suite for String Orchestra  
 Rogalski. *Three Romanian Dances* \*  
 Kisielewski. Concerto for Chamber  
 Orchestra  
 Honegger. Symphony No. 3  
 "Liturgical"

George Enescu Philharmonic  
 Symphony Orchestra,  
 Bucharest/Basarab, conductor

September 19, 8:30 pm

Auric. Overture \*  
 Jolivet. Symphony No. 1 \*  
 Spisak. Concerto for Bassoon and  
 Orchestra  
 Bacewicz. Concerto for String  
 Orchestra  
 Dutilleux. Symphony No. 1 \*

French National Radio and Television  
 Orchestra, Paris/Martinon, conductor;  
 Plessier, bassoon

September 20, 5:15 pm

Skrowaczewski. Symphony for String  
 Orchestra  
 Barraud. *Offrande à une ombre* \*  
 Szabelski. *Concerto grosso*  
 Capdevielle. Overture from *Le Pédant  
 joué* \*  
 Stravinsky. *The Rite of Spring*

Orchestre National de la R.T.F.,  
 Paris/Martinon, conductor

September 20, 8:30 pm

Bacewicz. Overture for Orchestra  
 Sikorski, K. Symphony No. 3 "In the  
 Form of a Concerto Grosso"  
 Prokofiev. Suite No. 2 from *Romeo  
 and Juliet*  
 Shostakovich. Violin Concerto No. 1 \*

Soviet State Symphony Orchestra,  
 Moscow/Anosov, conductor;  
 Oistrakh, violin

September 21, 8:30 pm

Malawski. Symphony No. 2  
 Raird. *Cassazione per orchestra* \*\*  
 Szymanowski. Symphony No. 3  
 "Song of the Night" for tenor, choir,  
 and orchestra

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
 Orchestra and Choir,  
 Warsaw/Rowicki, conductor;  
 Woytowicz, soprano

**1958**September 27, 7:30 pm

Berg. *Drei Orchesterstücke*, op. 6 \*  
 Prokofiev. Piano Concerto No. 5, op.  
 55 \*  
 Baird. *Four Essays* for orchestra \*\*  
 Schönberg. *Moderner Psalm* for reciter,  
 choir, and orchestra, op. 50c \*

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
 Orchestra and Choir,  
 Warsaw/Rowicki, conductor; Richter,  
 piano; Bardini, reciter

September 28, 4:30 pm

Schuman. String Quartet No. 3 \*  
 Baird. String Quartet  
 Webern. *Fünf Sätze für Streichquartett*,  
 op. 5 \*  
 Bartók. String Quartet No. 4

Juilliard String Quartet, New York

September 28, 7:30 pm

Cilenšek. Symphony No. 4 for strings\*  
 Dessau. *Die Erziehung der Hirse* for  
 reciter, baritone, choir, and  
 orchestra\*  
 Schönberg. *A Survivor from Warsaw* \*

Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra and  
 Choir/Kegel, conductor;  
 Schellenberg, baritone; Lidecke,  
 reciter

September 29, 4:30 pm

Eisler. Suite for Septet No. 1, op. 92a\*  
 Françaix. *Cinq Poésies de Charles d'Orléans* for voice and piano \*  
 Searle. Suite for clarinet and piano \*  
 Hindemith. Sonata for flute and piano  
 Kabeláč. *Improvisation* for flute solo \*  
 Bacewicz. Ten Etudes for piano

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
 Orchestra Septet, Warsaw;  
 Kurkiewicz, clarinet; Szamotulska,  
 piano (Searle); Tomaszczuk, flute;  
 Wyrzykowska, piano (Hindemith);  
 Smendzianka, piano (Bacewicz)

September 29, 7:30 pm

Spisak. *Concerto giocoso* \*  
 Ponce. Violin Concerto \*  
 Prokofiev. Violin Concerto No. 2, op.  
 63  
 Lutosławski. *Funeral Music* for string  
 orchestra  
 Bartók. Suite from *The Miraculous  
 Mandarin* \*

Great Polish Radio Symphony  
 Orchestra, Katowice/Krenz,  
 conductor; Szeryng, violin

September 30, 7:30 pm

Bacewicz. Symphonic Variations \*\*  
 Sikorski. Flute Concerto  
 Szabelski. Etude  
 Berg. Violin Concerto

Great Polish Radio Symphony  
 Orchestra, Katowice/Krenz,  
 conductor; Tomaszczuk, flute;  
 Szeryng, violin

October 1, 4:30 pm

Berg. *Vier lieder*, op. 2: No. 2,  
 "Schlafend trägt man mich in mein  
 Heimatland," No. 3, "Nun ich der  
 Riesen stärksten überwand," No. 4,  
 "Warm die Lüfte" \*  
 Schönberg. *Drei Lieder*, op. 48: No. 2,  
 "Sommermüd," No. 3, "Tot" \*  
 Liebermann. *Chinesische Liebeslieder* \*  
 Burkhard. *Frage*, op. 9: No. 1,  
 "Frage", No. 2, "Frage nicht," No.  
 8, "Trost" \*  
 Burkhard. *Neun Lieder*, op. 70: No. 2,  
 "Wandernde Stille," No. 8, "Auf  
 leichten Füßen" \*  
 Serocki. *Heart of the Night* \*\*  
 Honegger. *Quatre chansons pour voix  
 grave* \*  
 Honegger. *Petit cours de morale* \*

Rehfuss, baritone; Nadgryzowski,  
 piano

October 1, 7:30 pm (repeated Oct. 5, 7:00 pm)

Britten. *Peter Grimes* \*

Baltic Opera, Gdańsk/Latoszewski,  
 conductor; Brégy, director;  
 Jarzynówna-Sobczak, choreography;  
 Bubiec, staging; Snarski, choir  
 preparation; Cejrowski, tenor;  
 Konrad, soprano; Sandurski,  
 baritone; Kusiewicz, tenor;  
 Szymański, bass; Borowska-  
 Podsiadły, soprano

October 2, 4:30 pm

Ibert. *Trois pièces brèves* for wind quintet \*

Ibert. *Cinque pièces en trio* for oboe, clarinet, and bassoon \*

Gausec. *Quatre pièces pour instruments à vent* \*

Hindemith. *Kleine Kammermusik* for five wind instruments, op. 24, no. 2\*

Poulenc. *Trio pour hautbois, basson et piano*

Milhaud. *La Cheminée du Roi René* for wind quintet \*

Bozza. Scherzo for piano \*

Poulenc. *Trois Improvisations* for piano

Toulouse Wind Quintet; Sabatier, piano

October 2, 7:30 pm

Palester. Symphony No. 4 \*

Martin. *Sechs Jedermann monologe* for baritone and orchestra \*

Perkowski. Nocturne

Malawski. *Hungaria*

National Philharmonic Symphonic Orchestra, Warsaw/Skrowaczewski, conductor; Rehfuss, baritone

October 3, 4:30 pm

Electronic Music:

Eimert. *Fünf Stücke*, nos. 4 and 5 \*

Berio. *Perspectives* \*

Pousseur. *Scambi* \*

Maderna. *Continuo* \*

Stockhausen. *Gesang der Jünglinge* \*

Ligeti. *Artikulation* \*

Piano Compositions:

Nilsson. *Quantitäten* \*

Christian Wolff. *For Piano with Preparation* \*\*

Cage. *Music of Changes* \*

Stockhausen. *Klavierstück XI* \*

Stockhausen, lecturer; Tudor, piano

October 3, 7:00 (repeated Oct. 4, 4:30 pm)

Szeligowski. *Krakatuk*, opera in 3 acts

Baltic Opera, Gdańsk/Latoszewski, conductor; Brégy, director; Jarzynówna-Sobczak, choreography; Bubiec, staging; Snarski, choir preparation; Mołoń, soprano; Babiński, baritone; Szykarski, tenor; Gdaniec, baritone; Konrad, soprano; Zimna, soprano; Majgier, bass

October 3, 7:30 pm

Kotoński. *Chamber Music* for 21 instruments \*\*

Górecki. *Epitaph* for choir and instrumental group \*\*

Webern. *Das Augenlicht*, cantata for choir and orchestra, op. 26

Serocki. *Musica concertante* for chamber orchestra \*

Webern. *Fünf Stücke* for orchestra, op. 10\*

Silesian State Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra, Katowice, and National Philharmonic Symphonic Orchestra Chamber Choir, Warsaw/Markowski, conductor

October 4, 7:30 pm

Turski. *Little Overture*  
 Taktakishvili. Piano Concerto \*  
 Ivanovs. Symphony No. 6 "Latvian"

Leningrad Philharmonic Symphony  
 Orchestra/Sanderling, conductor;  
 Zak, piano

October 5, 12:00 pm

Ravel. *Daphnis et Chloé*

Baltic Opera, Gdańsk/Latoszewski,  
 conductor; Jarzynówna-Sobczak,  
 director and choreographer; Bubic, staging;  
 Snarski, choir preparation

October 5, 7:30 pm

Prokofiev. Suite No. 2 from *Romeo and Juliet*  
 Shostakovich. Symphony No. 11  
 "1905" \*

Leningrad Philharmonic Symphony  
 Orchestra/Mravinsky, conductor

1959September 12, 7:30 pm

Szabelski. Toccata  
 Baird. *Espressioni varianti per violino e orchestra* \*\*  
 Webern. *Sechs Stücke*, op. 6 \*  
 Shostakovich. Piano Concerto No. 1  
 Szymanowski. Symphony No. 3  
 "Song of the Night" for tenor, choir,  
 and orchestra

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
 Orchestra, Warsaw/Rowicki,  
 conductor; Wiłkomirska, violin;  
 Szymonowicz, piano; Woytowicz,  
 soprano

September 13, 7:30 pm

Roussel. String Quartet \*  
 Honegger. String Quartet No. 1 \*  
 Schönberg. String Quartet No. 4 \*  
 Boulez. *Livre pour quatuor: Ia and Ib* \*

Parrenin Quartet, Paris

September 14, 4:30 pm

Henze. Sonatine for flute and piano \*  
 Messiaen. *Le Merle Noir* for flute and  
 piano\*  
 Pousseur. *Exercices pour piano:*  
*Impromptu et Variations II* \*  
 Varèse. *Density 21.5* for flute solo \*  
 Boulez. *Sonate II pour piano* \*  
 Berio. *Sequenza I per flauto solo* \*  
 Boulez. *Sonatine pour flûte et piano* \*

Gazzelloni, flute; Mercenier, piano

September 14, 7:30 pm

Bacewicz. *Music for Strings, Trumpets  
 and Percussion* \*\*  
 Szymanowski. Symphony No. 4  
 "Sinfonia concertante" for piano and  
 orchestra  
 Górecki. Symphony No. 1 "1959" for  
 string orchestra and percussion \*\*  
 Nono. *Composizione per orchestra No.  
 1* \*

Great Polish Radio Symphony  
 Orchestra, Katowice/Krenz,  
 conductor; Zmudziński, piano

September 15, 4:30 pm

Spisak. Suite for two violins  
 Rawsthorne. Theme and Variations for two violins  
 Martinu. *Quatre madrigaux* for oboe, clarinet and bassoon \*  
 Szałowski. Trio for oboe, clarinet and bassoon  
 Krenz. *Music for Clarinet Solo* \*\*  
 Hindemith. Sonata for two pianos  
 Dubiska and Umińska, violins; Warsaw Reed Trio; Roczek, cl; Baster and Dolny, pianos

September 15, 7:30 pm

Britten. Passacaglia from *Peter Grimes*  
 Martin. Violin Concerto \*  
 Krenz. Symphony No. 1  
 Stravinsky. *Symphony in Three Movements* \*

Suisse Romande Orchestra/Ansermet, conductor; Schneeberger, violin

September 16, 7:30 pm (repeated Sept. 18 and 20, 7:00 pm)

Suchoň. *Krúňava*, opera in 6 acts

Moniuszko State Opera,  
 Poznań/Górzyński, conductor;  
 Horowicz, director; Kaja, scenery;  
 Wojciechowska, costumes

September 17, 4:30 pm

*Musique concrète:*

Schaeffer, P. *Bidule en ut* \*  
 Schaeffer, P. *Variations sur une flûte mexicaine* \*  
 Schaeffer, P. and Henry. *Symphonie pour un homme seul* \*  
 Philippet. *Ambiance I* \*  
 Xenakis. *Diamorphoses* \*  
 Mâche. *Prélude* \*  
 Schaeffer, P. *Étude aux objets* \*  
 Ferrari. *Visage 5* \*\*

Groupé de Recherches Musicales de l'O.R.T.F., Paris; P. Schaeffer, lecturer

September 17, 7:30 pm

Webern. *Symphonie*, op. 21 \*  
 Szabelski. *Improvisations* for choir and orchestra \*\*  
 Penderecki. *Strophes* for soprano, reciter, and ten instruments \*\*  
 Amy. *Mouvements pour 17 instruments solistes* \*  
 Szalonek. *Confessions* for reciter, choir and chamber orchestra \*\*  
 Dallapiccola. *Piccola musica notturna per complesso da camera* \*

Silesian Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra, Katowice, and National Philharmonic Symphonic Orchestra Choir, Warsaw/Markowski, conductor; Stachurska, soprano; Delekta, reciter

September 17, 7:00 pm (repeated Sept. 19, 7:00, Sept. 20, 12:00 pm)

Bruns. *New Odyssey*, ballet in 5 scenes

Moniuszko State Opera,  
Poznań/Górzyński; Gruber, director,  
choreographer; Kaja, scenery,  
costumes

September 18, 4:30 pm

Gerster. *Heitere Musik* for five wind instruments \*

Spisak. Sonatina for oboe, clarinet and bassoon

Finke. Sonata for horn and piano \*

Dessau. *Lustige Variationen on the folk song "Hab' mein' Wagen vollgeladen"* for clarinet, bassoon and piano \*

Kochan. Divertimento for flute, clarinet, and bassoon, op.12 \*

Geissler. *Heitere Suite* for wind quintet\*

Gewandhaus Wind Quintet, Leipzig

September 18, 7:30 pm

Spisak. *Symphonie concertante No. 2*

Szokolay. Violin Concerto \*

Maros. *Ricercare (in memoriam 1918)* \*

Bartók. Concerto for Orchestra

Hungarian Radio Symphony Orchestra,  
Budapest/Lehel, conductor; Simor,  
violin

September 19, 7:30 pm

Cincadze. String Quartet No. 2 \*

Miaskovsky. String Quartet No. 13 \*

Shostakovich. String Quartet No. 6 \*

Beethoven Quartet, Moscow

September 20, 7:30 pm

Malawski. Overture

Regamey. *Cinq Études pour soprano et orchestre* \*

Silvestri. *Prélude et Fugue* \*

Jolivet. *Concerto pour flûte et orchestre à cordes* \*

Hindemith. Symphony "Die Harmonie der Welt" \*

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
Orchestra, Warsaw/Wisłocki,  
conductor; Retchitzka, soprano;  
Gazzelloni, flute

1960September 17, 7:00 pm

Szymanowski. *Harnasie*

Bartók. *The Miraculous Mandarin*

Baltic State Opera,  
Gdańsk/Latoszewski, conductor;  
Jarzynówna-Sobczak and  
Dobraczyński, choreography;  
Bieliński, staging

September 18, 12:00 pm

Varèse. *Octandre* \*

Stravinsky. *In memoriam Dylan Thomas* \*

Schäffer, B. *Tertium datur* for  
harpichord and instruments\*\*

Nilsson. *Mädchenliedchen* for  
soprano and instruments\*

Petrassi. *Serenata per 5 strumenti* \*

Schönberg. *Drei kleine Stücke für  
Kammerorchester* \*

Webern. *Vier Lieder*, op. 13

Penderecki. *Dimensions of Time and  
Silence* for choir, percussion groups  
and strings \*\*

Kraków Philharmonic Chamber  
Orchestra and Choir/Markowski,  
conductor; Chmielecka, harpsichord;  
Nendick, soprano; Bachleda, tenor

September 18, 7:30 pm

Schönberg. *Fünf Orchesterstücke*,  
op.16  
Shostakovich. Cello Concerto No.1 in  
Eb Major, op. 107 \*  
Bartók. *Music for Strings, Percussion  
and Celesta*  
Baird. *Exhortation* for reciter, choir and  
orchestra \*\*

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
Orchestra and Choir,  
Warsaw/Rowicki, conductor;  
Rostropovich, cello; Bardini, reciter

September 19, 5:00 pm

Milhaud. String Quartet No. 13 \*  
Bacewicz. String Quartet No. 6 \*\*  
Carter. String Quartet No. 1 \*

Parrenin Quartet, Paris

September 19, 7:30 pm

Mayuzumi. *Mandala* \*  
Yashiro. Violin Concerto \*  
Szabelski. *Sonnets*  
Mamiya. *Enburi* \*  
Toyama. *Berceuse Itsugi* \*  
Toyama. *Japanese Rhapsody* \*

NHK Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo/  
Iwaki, conductor; Tsutsumi, cello

September 20, 5:00 pm

Miaskovsky. *Meditations*, op. 1:  
"Sometimes When a Boy with a  
Resounding Cry...," "A Song Cures a  
Suffering Soul," "You Have the  
Charm of Beauty"

Miaskovsky. *Six Romances*, op. 20:  
"A Full Moon Shone Over the  
Meadow," "I Will Rise in the Misty  
Morning"

Kotchurov. "Spring," "Mary"

Frid. *Five Shakespeare Sonnets*: Nos.  
12, 29, 50

Dolukhanian. "The Crane," "An  
Armenian Folk Song," "The  
Talisman"

Prokofiev. "The Dead Field" from  
*Alexander Nevsky*, op. 78

Prokofiev. *Five Songs Without Words*,  
op. 35: nos. 1, 4

Prokofiev. *Russian Folk Songs*, op.  
104

Prokofiev. *The Ugly Duckling*, op.18

Zara Dolukhanova, mezzo-soprano;  
Aleksander Jerochin, piano

September 20, 7:30 pm

Maciejewski. *Requiem* for solo voices,  
choir and orchestra \*\*

Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra and  
Choir, Kraków/Maciejewski,  
conductor; Łukomska, soprano;  
Szostek-Radkowa, mezzo-soprano;  
Pustelak, tenor; Pawlak, bass

September 21, 5:00 pm

Electronic Music:

Kotoński. *Study on a Cymbal Stroke*  
 Schaeffer, P. *Étude aux objets*  
 Evangelisti. *Incontri de fasce sonore* \*  
 Badings. *Electromagnetic Sound*  
*Figures* \*  
 Cage. *Fontana Mix* \*  
 Berio. *Tema (Omaggio a Joyce)* \*  
 Zumbach. *Étude* \*

Patkowski, lecturer.

September 21, 7:30 pm

Bartók. Piano Concerto No. 2  
 Górecki. *Scontri* \*\*  
 Stravinsky. *Oedipus Rex*

Great Polish Radio Symphony  
 Orchestra, Katowice, and Kraków  
 Philharmonic Choir/Krenz,  
 conductor; Pinter, piano; Pustelak,  
 tenor; Szostek-Radkowa, mezzo-  
 soprano; Hiolski, baritone; Ładysz,  
 bass; Bachleda, tenor; Kaliszewski,  
 reciter

September 22, 5:00 pm

Webern. *Fünf Kanons* for soprano,  
 clarinet and bass clarinet, op. 16 \*  
 Webern. *Drei Gesänge*, op. 23 \*  
 Serocki. *Eyes of the Air*  
 Cardew. *Why cannot Car be Closed* \*  
 Maw. *Six Chinese Songs: No. 2 - "I*  
*will gather up my skirt"*  
 Goehr. *Narration* \*  
 Bennett. *This World's Joy* \*\*  
 Boulez. *Improvisation sur Mallarmé I*  
 for soprano and 7 instrumentalists \*

Nendick, soprano; Bennett; piano;  
 National Philharmonic Symphonic  
 Orchestra Instrumental Group,  
 Warsaw/Markowski, conductor

September 22, 5:00 pm

Hindemith. *Kammermusik Nr. 1*, op.  
 24, no. 1 \*  
 Lutosławski. *Five Songs on Texts of*  
*Kazimiera Iłkiewicz* for woman's  
 voice and 30 solo instruments  
 Webern. *Konzert für neun Instrumente*,  
 op. 24 \*  
 Messiaen. *Oiseaux exotiques* \*  
 Milhaud. *La Création du monde*

Polish Radio Chamber Orchestra,  
 Katowice/Krenz, conductor; Szostek-  
 Radkowa, mezzo-soprano; Pinter,  
 piano

September 22, 7:30 pm

Radio Opera:

Bacewicz. *The Adventures of King*  
*Arthur*  
 Wiszniewski. *Neffru*

September 23, 7:30 pm

Sokola. *Variations on a Theme by*  
*Kaprálová* \*  
 Bořkovec. Piano Concerto \*  
 Malawski. Toccata for orchestra  
 Martinu. Symphony No. 6 "Symphonic  
 Fantasies" \*

Czechoslovakian Philharmonic,  
 Prague/Ančerl, conductor; Jemelik,  
 piano

September 24, 5:00 pm

Pijper. Quintet for Wind Instruments \*  
 Baird. Divertimento for flute, oboe,  
 clarinet, and bassoon  
 Křenek. *Pentagram* for five wind  
 instruments \*  
 Stockhausen. *Zeitmasse* for five  
 woodwinds \*  
 Schönberg. *Bläserquintett*, op. 26

Danzi Quintet, Amsterdam



September 24, 7:30 pmKarajev. *Path of Thunder*

Ballet Ensemble of the Great Theater,  
Moscow, and Warsaw Opera  
Orchestra/Svetlanov, conductor;  
Sergejev, choreography; Dorrer,  
scenery

September 25, 12:00 pm

Messiaen. *Diptyque* for organ  
Messiaen. *Le Banquet céleste* for organ  
Messiaen. *Les Corps glorieux*: no. 4 -  
"Combat de la Mort et de la Vie" for  
organ  
Wiechowicz. *Passacaglia i Fuga* for  
choir \*\*  
Szeligowski. *Psalm CXVI - Laudate  
Dominum omnes gentes* for choir \*\*  
Hopkins. *Carillon* for choir \*  
Martinet. *Trois textes du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*  
for choir \*

Thenior-Janecka, organ; Poznań  
Philharmonic Mens' and Boys'  
Choir/Stuligrosz, conductor

September 25, 7:30 pm

Tansman. Concerto for Orchestra \*  
Kotoński. *Musique en relief*, five  
miniatures for 6 orchestral groups \*  
Serocki. *Episodes* for strings and three  
percussions groups \*\*  
Dallapiccola. *Canti di prigionia* for  
choir and orchestra \*

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
Orchestra and Choir,  
Warsaw/Wisłocki, conductor

1961September 16, 8:00 pm

Nono. *Il Canto sospeso* for soprano,  
alto, tenor, choir, and orchestra \*  
Baird. *Love Songs* for soprano and  
orchestra \*\*  
Lutosławski. *Venetian Games*, new  
version \*\*

National Philharmonic Symphonic  
Orchestra and Choir,  
Warsaw/Rowicki, conductor; Gayer,  
soprano (Nono); Ogłaza, alto; Tappy,  
tenor; Woytowicz; soprano (Baird)

September 17, 12:00 pm

Prokofiev. String Quartet No. 2, op. 92  
Szymanowski. String Quartet No. 2,  
op. 56  
Shostakovich. String Quartet No. 7,  
op. 108 \*  
Shostakovich. String Quartet No. 8,  
op. 110 \*

Borodin String Quartet, Moscow

September 17, 8:00 pm

Vladigerov. *Improvisation and  
Toccata* \*  
Stainov. Symphonic Scherzo \*  
Spisak. *Allegro de Voiron* \*  
Goleminov. *Variations on a Theme of  
Dobri Khristov* \*  
Raichev. Symphony No. 2 "The New  
Prometheus" \*

Sofia State Philharmonic Symphony  
Orchestra/Iliev, conductor

September 18, 5:00 pm

Martinu. String Quartet No. 5 \*  
 Stravinsky. Three Pieces for string  
 quartet  
 Janaček. String Quartet No. 2  
 Webern. *Streichquartett*, op. 28  
 Berio. *Quartetto d'archi* \*

Novák Quartet, Prague

September 18, 8:00 pm

Szymanowski. *King Roger*, concert  
 production

Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra and  
 Choir, Kraków, and Kraków  
 Philharmonic Boys' Choir/Gert;  
 Łukomska, soprano; Szczepańska,  
 alto; Bachleda, tenor; Pustelak, tenor;  
 Hiolski, baritone; Ładysz, bass

September 19, 5:00 pm

Poulenc. *Tel jour, telle nuit* \*  
 Britten. *Seven Sonnets of  
 Michelangelo* \*  
 Tippett. *Boyhood's End* \*  
 Berg. *Siebenfrühe Lieder*: no. 1,  
 "Nacht," no. 5, "Im Zimmer," no. 3,  
 "Die Nachtigall"  
 Britten. *Six Hoelderlin Fragments* \*

Pears, tenor; Britten, piano

September 19, 8:00 pm

Cerha. *Relazioni fragili* for harpsichord  
 and chamber orchestra \*  
 Schäffer, B. *Codes* for chamber  
 orchestra \*\*  
 Varèse. *Hyperprisme* for wind  
 instruments and percussion. \*  
 Varèse. *Octandre* for wind instruments  
 and contrabass  
 Varèse. *Offrandes* for soprano and  
 chamber orchestra \*  
 Varèse. *Integrales* for wind  
 instruments and percussion \*

Die Reihe, Vienna/Friedrich Cerha,  
 conductor; Gertraud Cerha,  
 harpsichord; Escribano, soprano

September 20, 5:00 pm

Stravinsky. *Trois Poésies de la Lyrique  
 Japonaise* for voice and instruments  
 Ravel. *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane  
 Mallarmé* for voice, piano, string  
 quartet, two flutes, and two clarinets  
 Schönberg. *Pierrot lunaire* for voice  
 and eight instruments, op. 21

Die Reihe, Vienna/F. Cerha, conductor;  
 Escribano, soprano

September 20, 8:00 pm

Tormis. Overture No. 2 \*  
 Rudziński, W. *Musique  
 concertante* for piano and small  
 orchestra \*\*  
 Bloch. *Espressioni per soprano e  
 orchestra*  
 Berg. Suite from *Lulu*

Silesian State Philharmonic Symphonic  
 Orchestra, Katowice/Stryja,  
 conductor; Hesse-Bukowska, piano;  
 Łukomska, soprano (Bloch);  
 Marciniak, soprano (Berg)

September 21, 5:00 pm

Castiglioni. *Gymel* for flute and piano \*  
 Matsudaira. *Piece* for flute solo \*  
 Evangelisti. *Proporzioni* for flute solo \*  
 Górecki. *Three Diagrams* for flute solo\*\*  
 Berio. *Tema (Omaggio a Joyce)*, electronic music and voice  
 Haubenstock-Ramati. *Interpolation-Mobile für Flöte und Tonbandaufnahmen* \*  
 Maderna. *Dimensioni II*, electronic music and woman's voice \*  
 Cage. *Fontana Mix* for tape and *Aria* for voice \*

Gazzelloni, flute; Krauze, piano;  
 Berberian, mezzo-soprano

September 21, 8:00 pm

Liang Ke-Siang. *Pagoda Lei Fung*

Chinese Central Theater Opera and Ballet, Peking, and Warsaw Opera Orchestra/ Liang Ke-Siang and Czen Szy-Czuen, instrumentation; Li Kuo-Tsiuan, main conductor; Li Cze-Kun, conductor, Wang Pin, Wang Si-Sien and others, staging and direction; Tsi Mo-Tung, Lian Szen, Czuang Cium, scenery

September 22, 5:00 pm

Debussy. *En blanc et noir* for two pianos  
 Boulez. *Structures II: Chapitre I* for two pianos \*  
 Stockhausen. *Zyklus* for one percussionist \*  
 Kagel. *Transición II* for piano, percussion and two tapes \*  
 Bartók. Sonata for two pianos and percussion

Aloys and Alfons Kontarsky, pianos;  
 Caskel and König, percussion

September 22, 8:00 pm

Schönberg. *Begleitungsmusik zu einer Lichtspielszene*, op. 34 \*  
 Szabelski. *Poems* for piano and orchestra \*\*  
 Penderecki. *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* for 52 strings  
 Bartók. *Bluebeard's Castle*, concert production

Kraków Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra/Markowski, conductor;  
 Żmudziński, piano; Szoenyi, mezzo-soprano; Farago, bass

September 23, 8:00 pm

Fribec. *Mouvements cosmiques* for chamber orchestra \*\*

Kotoński. *Concerto per quattro* for harp, harpsichord, piano, and chamber orchestra \*

Klusák. *Studies according to Kafka* for reciter and chamber orchestra \*

Bacewicz. *Pensieri notturni* for chamber orchestra \*

Kayn. *Vectors I* for chamber orchestra

Macchi. *Composizione III* for 12 instruments \*

Bussotti. *Torso* for mezzosoprano, reciter, and instrumental groups \*

Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra/Markowski, conductor; Michałowska, reciter (Klusák); Berberian, mezzo-soprano; Bussotti, reciter (Bussotti)

September 24, 12:00 pm

Kilar. *Herbsttag* for woman's voice and string quartet \*\*

Kotoński. Trio for flute, guitar, and percussion \*

Paciorkiewicz. *The Weight of the Earth* for soprano and piano \*\*

Dobrowolski. Eight Studies for oboe, bassoon, trumpet, and contrabass

Łuciuk. *Flowery Dream* for voice and 12 instruments \*

Lidholm. *Motto* for mixed choir \*

Lidholm. *Canto LXXXI* for mixed choir \*

Koszewski. *Fa-re-mi-do-si Music* for mixed choir \*\*

Szostek-Radkowa, mezzo-soprano; Gazzelloni, flute; Malik, guitar; Woźniak, percussion; Skowron, soprano (Paciorkiewicz); K. Bacewicz, piano; Stachurska, soprano (Łuciuk); Silesian State Philharmonic Chamber Ensemble/Stryja, conductor (Kilar, Dobrowolski, Łuciuk); Polish Radio Choir, Wrocław/Kajdasz, conductor

September 24, 8:00

Turski. *Sinfonia da camera*

Petrassi. *Concerto per flauto e orchestra* \*

Wiechowicz. *A Letter to Marc Chagall* for two solo voices, two reciting voices, choir, and orchestra

National Philharmonic Symphonic Orchestra and Choir/Wisłocki, conductor; Gazzelloni, flute; Łukomska, soprano; Szostek-Radkowa, mezzo-soprano; Mikołajaska and Holoubek, reciting voices

## APPENDIX B

### Regional Affiliations of Composers<sup>1</sup>

#### 1956 Festival

<u>Polish</u>	<u>W. European</u>	<u>E. European/Soviet</u>
Bacewicz, Grażyna	Apostel, Hanns	Enescu, George
Baird, Tadeusz	Auric, Georges	Khachaturian, Aram
Dobrowolski, Andrzej	Barraud, Henri	Janáček, Leoš
Kilar, Wojciech	Berg, Alban	Lajtha, László
Kisielewski, Stefan	Berger, Theodor	Miaskovsky, Nikolai
Lutosławski, Witold	Brahms, Johannes	Novák, Jan
Malawski, Artur	Britten, Benjamin	Prokofiev, Sergei
Mycielski, Zygmunt	Capdevielle, Pierre	Rogalski, Teodor
Perkowski, Piotr	Dutilleux, Henri	Shostakovich, Dmitri
Serocki, Kazimierz	Honegger, Arthur	Tchaikovsky, Piotr
Skrowaczewski, Stanisław	Jolivet, André	
Sikorski, Kazimierz	Martinet, Jean-Louis	Bartók, Béla
Szabelski, Bolesław	Martinon, Jean	Martinu, Bohuslav
Szeligowski, Tadeusz	Messiaen, Olivier	Stravinsky, Igor
Szymanowski, Karol	Milhaud, Darius	
Turski, Zbigniew	Ravel, Maurice	
Wiechowicz, Stanisław	Schönberg, Arnold	
Wiśłocki, Stanisław	Strauss, Richard	
Woytowicz, Bolesław	Zafred, Mario	
Spisak, Michał		
Szałowski, Antoni		

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<sup>1</sup> The names set apart at the bottom of the Polish and Eastern European categories for each Festival are those of the emigrés from these two regions. Since it is these composers whose compositions and participation at Warsaw Autumn Festivals were, for political reasons, subject to special scrutiny and possible rejection by the governments of Poland and their native countries, they are listed separately from their countrymen. As necessary they will be discussed separately in the text of this study.

**1958 Festival**Polish

Bacewicz, Grażyna  
 Baird, Tadeusz  
 Górecki, Henryk  
 Kotoński, Włodzimierz  
 Lutosławski, Witold  
 Malawski, Artur  
 Perkowski, Piotr  
 Serocki, Kazimierz  
 Sikorski, Kazimierz  
 Szabelski, Bolesław  
 Szeiigowski, Tadeusz  
 Turski, Zbigniew

Palester, Roman  
 Spisak, Michał

West European

Berg, Alban  
 Berio, Luciano  
 Bozza, Eugène  
 Britten, Benjamin  
 Burkhard, Willy  
 Cage, John  
 Eimert, Herbert  
 Françaix, Jean  
 Gausec, Adrian  
 Hindemith, Paul  
 Honegger, Arthur  
 Ibert, Jacques  
 Liebermann, Rolf  
 Maderna, Bruno  
 Martin, Frank  
 Milhaud, Darius  
 Nilsson, Bo  
 Ponce, Manuel  
 Poulenc, Francis  
 Pousseur, Henri  
 Ravel, Maurice  
 Schönberg, Arnold  
 Schuman, William  
 Searle, Humphrey  
 Stockhausen, Karlheinz  
 Webern, Anton  
 Wolff, Christian

East European/Soviet

Cilenšek, Johann  
 Dessau, Paul  
 Eisler, Hanns  
 Ivanovs, Janis  
 Kabeláč, Miloslav  
 Prokofiev, Sergei  
 Shostakovich, Dmitri  
 Taktakishvili, Otar

Bartók, Béla  
 Ligeti, György

**1959 Festival**Polish

Bacewicz, Grażyna  
 Baird, Tadeusz  
 Górecki, Henryk  
 Krenz, Jan  
 Malawski, Artur  
 Penderecki, Krzysztof  
 Szabelski, Bolesław  
 Szalonek, Witold  
 Szymanowski, Karol

Spisak, Michał  
 Szałowski, Antoni

West European

Amy, Gilbert  
 Berio, Luciano  
 Boulez, Pierre  
 Britten, Benjamin  
 Dallapiccola, Luigi  
 Ferrari, Luc  
 Henze, Hans Werner  
 Hindemith, Paul  
 Honegger, Arthur  
 Jolivet, André  
 Mâche, François Bernard  
 Martin, Frank  
 Messaien, Olivier  
 Nono, Luigi  
 Philippot, Michel  
 Pousseur, Henri  
 Rawsthorne, Alan  
 Regamey, Constantin  
 Roussel, Albert  
 Schaeffer, Pierre  
 Schönberg, Arnold  
 Varèse, Edgard  
 Webern, Anton  
 Xenakis, Iannis

East European/Soviet

Bruns, Victor  
 Cincadze, Sulkhan  
 Dessau, Paul  
 Finke, Fidelio  
 Geissler, Fritz  
 Gerster, Ottmar  
 Kochan, Günter  
 Maros, Rudolf  
 Miaskovsky, Nikolai  
 Shostakovich, Dmitri  
 Silvestri, Constantin  
 Suchoň, Eugen  
 Szokolay, Sándor

Bartók, Béla  
 Martinu, Bohuslav  
 Stravinsky, Igor

**1960 Festival**Polish

Bacewicz, Grażyna  
 Baird, Tadeusz  
 Górecki, Henryk  
 Kotoński, Włodzimierz  
 Krenz, Jan  
 Lutosławski, Witold  
 Malawski, Artur  
 Penderecki, Krzysztof  
 Schäffer, Bogusław  
 Serocki, Kazimierz  
 Szabelski, Bolesław  
 Szymanowski, Karol  
 Wiechowicz, Stanisław  
 Wiszniewski, Zbigniew

Maciejewski, Roman  
 Tansman, Aleksander

West European

Badings, Hank  
 Bennett, Richard Rodney  
 Berio, Luciano  
 Boulez, Pierre  
 Cage, John  
 Cardew, Cornelius  
 Carter, Elliott  
 Dallapiccola, Luigi  
 Evangelisti, Franco  
 Goehr, Alexander  
 Hindemith, Paul  
 Hopkins, Anthony  
 Křenek, Ernst  
 Martinet, Jean-Louis  
 Mamiya, Michio  
 Maw, Nicolas  
 Mayuzumi, Toshiro  
 Messaien, Olivier  
 Milhaud, Darius  
 Nilsson, Bo  
 Petrassi, Goffredo  
 Pijper, Willem  
 Schaeffer, Pierre  
 Schönberg, Arnold  
 Stockhausen, Karlheinz  
 Toyama, Yuzo  
 Varèse, Edgard  
 Webern, Anton  
 Yashiro, Akio  
 Zumbach, André

East European/Soviet

Bořkovec, Pavel  
 Dolukhanian, Alexander  
 Frid, Grigorij  
 Karajev, Kara  
 Kochurov, Iury  
 Miaskovsky, Nikolai  
 Prokofiev, Sergei  
 Shostakovich, Dmitri  
 Sokola, Miloš

Bartók, Béla  
 Martinu, Bohuslav  
 Stravinsky, Igor



**1961 Festival**Polish

Bacewicz, Grażyna  
 Baird, Tadeusz  
 Bloch, Angustyn  
 Dobrowolski, Andrzej  
 Górecki, Henryk  
 Kilar, Wojciech  
 Koszewski, Andrzej  
 Kotoński, Włodzimierz  
 Lutosławski, Witold  
 Łuciuk, Juliusz  
 Paciorkiewicz, Tadeusz  
 Penderecki, Krzysztof  
 Rudziński, Witold  
 Schäffer, Bogusław  
 Szabelski, Bolesław  
 Szymanowski, Karol  
 Turski, Zbigniew  
 Wiechowicz, Stanisław  
 Haubenstock-Ramati, Roman  
 Spisak, Michał

West European

Berg, Alban  
 Berio, Luciano  
 Boulez, Pierre  
 Britten, Benjamin  
 Bussotti, Sylvano  
 Cage, John  
 Castiglioni, Niccolò  
 Cerha, Friedrich  
 Debussy, Claude  
 Evangelisti, Franco  
 Friebec, Kresimir  
 Kagel, Mauricio  
 Kayn, Roland  
 Lidholm, Ingvar  
 Macchi, Egisto  
 Maderna, Bruno  
 Matsudaira, Yoritsune  
 Nono, Luigi  
 Petrassi, Goffredo  
 Poulenc, Francis  
 Ravel, Maurice  
 Schönberg, Arnold  
 Stockhausen, Karlheinz  
 Tippett, Michael  
 Varèse, Edgard  
 Webern, Anton

East European/Soviet

Goleminow, Marin  
 Janáček, Leoš  
 Klusák, Jan  
 Liang, Ke-Siang  
 Prokofiev, Sergei  
 Raichev, Alexander  
 Shostakovich, Dmitri  
 Stainov, Petko  
 Tormis, Veljo  
 Vladigerov, Pancho  
 Bartók, Béla  
 Martinu, Bohuslav  
 Stravinsky, Igor

## APPENDIX C

### Sound Recordings of the Warsaw Autumn Festival 1956-1961<sup>1</sup>

#### **1956**

- W-167, Archive No. 164, No. 1  
Olivier Messiaen. Fragment from *Les Offrandes oubliées*.  
National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Bohdan Wodiczko, conductor.
- W-168, Archive No. 165, No. 2  
Georges Enesco. Symphonic Suite No. 1: "Prelude" and "Finale."  
George Enesco State Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, Bucharest. George Georgescu, conductor.
- W-169, Archive No. 166, No. 3  
Darius Milhaud. *Concertino de printemps*. Tadeusz Wroński, violin.  
Wojciech Kilar. Overture.  
Silesian State Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Karol Stryja, conductor.
- W-170, Archive No. 167, No. 4  
Piotr Perkowski. Overture.  
Igor Stravinsky. *Firebird*: "Lullaby" and "Finale."  
Silesian State Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Stanisław Skrowaczewski, conductor.
- W-171, Archive No. 168, No. 5  
Arthur Honegger. Symphony No. 2: Movements 2 and 3.  
Igor Stravinsky. *Fireworks*.  
State Philharmonic, Brno. Břetislav Bakala, conductor.
- W-172, Archive No. 169, No. 6  
Tadeusz Baird. *Colas Breugnon*.  
State Symphony Orchestra of the USSR, Moscow. Constantin Ivanov, conductor.
- W-173, Archive No. 170, No. 7  
Kazimierz Serocki. *Sinfonietta* for two string orchestras.  
Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz, conductor.

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<sup>1</sup> The information given in this appendix is taken from the actual recordings, located at the Polish Composers Union headquarters, Warsaw, Poland, with the exception of those from 1959, a list of whose contents was provided to me by Kazimierz Nowacki. Each recording was issued by Polskie Nagrania.

- W-174, Archive 171, No. 8  
 Igor Stravinsky. *Petrouchka*: "Carnival Game."  
 Stanisław Skrowaczewski. Fragment from *Night Music*.  
 Antoni Szałowski, Overture.  
 Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Stanisław Wiślocki, conductor.
- W-175, Archive No. 172, No. 9  
 László Lajtha. String Quartet No. 7: Movements 1 and 2.  
 Bolesław Woytowicz. String Quartet No. 2: Movement 2.  
 Tátrai Quartet, Budapest.
- W-176, Archive No. 173, No. 10  
 Witold Lutosławski. Concerto for Orchestra: Movements 1 and 2.  
 Vienna Symphony. Michael Gielen, conductor.
- W-177, Archive No. 174, No. 11  
 Bolesław Woytowicz. Symphony No. 2 "Warsaw": Movement 2.  
 Jan Novák. Concerto for two pianos and orchestra: Movement 1.  
 State Philharmonic, Brno. Břetislav Bakala, conductor.
- W-178, Archive No. 175, No. 12  
 Zygmunt Mycielski. *Polish Symphony*: Movement 1.  
 Igor Stravinsky. *Jeux de cartes*: "Finale."  
 Kraków Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jerzy Gert, conductor.
- W-179, Archive 1876, No. 13  
 Zbigniew Turski. Violin Concerto: Movement 1.  
 Vienna Symphony. Michael Gielen, conductor. Zlatko Topolski, violin.
- W-180, Archive 177, No. 14  
 Jean Martinon. String Quartet, op. 43: Movement 2.  
 Alban Berg. *Lyric Suite*: Movement 1.  
 Grażyna Bacewicz. String Quartet No. 4: Movement 3.  
 Parrenin Quartet, Paris.
- W-181, Archive No. 178, No. 15  
 Igor Stravinsky. *Ebony Concerto*.  
 Arthur Honegger. *Pacific 231*.  
 Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz, conductor.
- W-182, Archive No. 179, No. 16  
 Stefan Kisielewski. Concerto for chamber orchestra: Movement 3.  
 Michał Spisak. Suite for string orchestra: Movement 3.  
 Teodor Rogalski. *Three Rumanian Dances*: Dance No. 3.  
 George Enesco State Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, Bucharest. Mircea Basarab, conductor.

- W-183, Archive No. 180, No. 17  
 Michał Spisak. Concerto for Bassoon and Orchestra. René Plessier, bassoon.  
 Henri Dutilleux. Symphony No. 1: Movement 2.  
 French Radio and Television National Orchestra, Paris. Jean Martinon, conductor.
- W-184, Archive No. 181, No. 18  
 Igor Stravinsky. *The Rite of Spring*: Part 1 ("The Adoration of the Earth").  
 French Radio and Television National Orchestra, Paris. Jean Martinon, conductor.
- W-185, Archive No. 182, No. 19  
 Kazimierz Sikorski. Symphony No. 3: Movement 3.  
 Dmitri Shostakovich. Violin Concerto No. 1: Movement 1. David Oistrakh, violin.  
 State Symphony Orchestra of the USSR, Moscow. Nikolai Anosov, conductor.
- W-186, Archive No. 183, No. 20  
 Artur Malawski. Symphony No. 2: Movement 5.  
 Karol Szymanowski. Fragment from Symphony No. 3 "Song of Night". Stefania  
 Woytowicz, soprano.  
 National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Witold Rowicki, conductor.

## **1958**

- W-512, Archive No. 184, No. 1  
 Serge Prokofiev. Piano Concerto No. 5: Movements 4 and 5. Stanisław Richter,  
 piano.  
 Tadeusz Baird. *Four Essays for Orchestra*: Essay 1.  
 National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Witold Rowicki, conductor.
- W-513, Archive No. 185, No. 2  
 Arnold Schönberg. *Survivor from Warsaw*. Rainer Lidecke, narrator.  
 Leipzig Radio Symphony Orchestra and Choir.  
 Anton Webern. *Five Pieces for String Quartet, op. 5*: Movement 1.  
 Béla Bartók. String Quartet No. 4: Movement 2.  
 Juilliard String Quartet.
- W-514, Archive No. 186, No. 3  
 Witold Lutosławski. *Funeral Music*.  
 Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz, conductor.
- W-515, Archive No. 187, No. 4  
 Arthur Honegger. Two songs from *Petit cours de morale*.  
 Kazimierz Serocki. *Sercy nocy*: "Księżyc."  
 Heinz Rehfuss, baritone. Sergiusz Nadgryzowski, piano.  
 Kazimierz Sikorski. Concerto for Flute and Orchestra: Movement 2.  
 Włodzimierz Tomaszczuk, flute.  
 Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz, conductor.

**1959**

## W-612, No. 1

Dmitri Shostakovich. Piano Concerto No. 1: Movements 3 and 4. Zbigniew Szymonowicz, piano.

Anton Webern. *Six Pieces for Orchestra*, op. 6.

National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Witold Rowicki, conductor.

## W-613, No. 2

Arnold Schönberg. String Quartet No. 4, op. 37: Movements 3 and 4.

Parrenin Quartet

## W-614, No. 3

Grażyna Bacewicz. *Music for Strings, Trumpets, and Percussion*.

Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz, conductor.

## W-615, No. 4

Igor Stravinsky. *Symphony in Three Movements: Movements 2 and 3*.

Igor Stravinsky. *Firebird: "Lullaby" and "Finale."* [Performed as encore.]

Orchestra de la Suisse Romande. Ernest Ansermet, conductor.

**1960**

## W-678, Archive No. 198, No. 1

Krzysztof Penderecki. *Dimensions of Time and Silence*.

Choir and Chamber Ensemble of the National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.

Andrzej Markowski, conductor.<sup>2</sup>

Tadeusz Baird. *Exhortation*. Alexander Bardini, narrator.

National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra and Choir. Witold Rowicki, conductor.

## W-679, Archive No. 199, No. 2

Toshiro Mayuzumi. *Mandala: Movement 1*.

NHK Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo. Hiroyuki Iwaki, conductor.

Grażyna Bacewicz. String Quartet No. 6: Movement 1.

Parrenin Quartet

Dmitri Shostakovich. Cello Concerto, op. 107: Movement 3. Mstislav Rostropovich, cello.

National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Witold Rowicki, conductor.

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<sup>2</sup> The ensembles listed here, taken from the recording, are incorrect. The actual performers were the Kraków Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra and Choir, Andrzej Markowski conducting.

W-680, Archive No. 200, No. 3

Włodzimierz Kotoński. *Concrète Etude [Etude for One Cymbal Stroke]*.

Realized at Polish Radio Experimental Studio, Warsaw.

Henryk Górecki. *Scontri*.

Great Polish Radio Symphony Orchestra. Jan Krenz, conductor.

W-681, Archive No. 201, No. 4

Witold Lutosławski. *Five Songs to Words by Kazimierz Iłkiewicz*: "Winter,"

"Knights," "Church Bells." Krystyna Szostek-Radkowa, soprano.

Polish Radio Chamber Orchestra, Katowice. Jan Krenz, conductor.

Bogusław Schäffer. Fragment from *Tertium datur* for harpsichord and instruments.

Danuta Chmielecka, harpsichord.

Igor Stravinsky. *In memoriam Dylan Thomas*. Andrzej Bachleda, tenor.

Anton Webern. *Four Songs, op. 13*: "In der Frende," "Ein Winterabend." Josephine

Nendick, soprano.

Chamber Orchestra of the Kraków Philharmonic. Andrzej Markowski, conductor.

## 1961

W-770, Archive No. 202, No. 1

Luigi Nono. *Il canto sospeso*: Movements 5 and 6. Erik Tappy, tenor.

Tadeusz Baird. *Love Songs*: Nos. 3, 4, and 5. Stefania Woytowicz, soprano.

Witold Lutosławski. *Jeux vénetiens*: Movement 1.

National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Witold Rowicki, conductor.

W-771, Archive No. 203, No. 2

Dmitri Shostakovich. String Quartet No. 7.

Karol Szymanowski. String Quartet No. 2, op. 56: Movement 2.

Borodin Quartet, Moscow.

W-772, Archive No. 204, No. 3

Benjamin Britten. *Six Hoelderlin Fragments*.

Alban Berg. *Sieben frühe Lieder*: "Im Zimmer," "Die Nachtigall."

Peter Pears, tenor. Benjamin Britten, piano.

W-773, Archive No. 205, No. 4

Veljo Tormis. Overture No. 2.

Witold Rudziński. *Musique concertante*: Movement 2. Barbara Hesse-Bukowska,

piano.

Silesian State Symphony Orchestra. Karol Stryja, conductor.

W-774, Archive No. 206, No. 5

Arnold Schönberg. *Pierrot Lunaire*, op. 21: Five poems. Marie Therese Escribano,

soprano.

Die Reihe. Friedrich Cerha, conductor.

Igor Stravinsky. *Three Pieces for String Quartet*: Movements 1 and 2.

Novák Quartet, Prague.

Henryk Górecki. *Three Diagrams*, op. 15.

Severino Gazzelloni, flute.

## APPENDIX D

### Projekt. Regulamin Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej

- § 1. Dla popierania twórczości muzycznej i rozwoju życia muzycznego w Polsce - ustanawia się doroczny Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej /zwany w dalszym ciągu niniejszego regulaminu w skróceniu "Festiwal"/
- § 2. Zasadniczym celem Festiwalu jest:
- a) dokonywanie przeglądu dorobku kompozytorskiego i wykonawczego w zakresie muzyki współczesnej - w Polsce i zagranicą,
  - b) umożliwienie wymiany poglądów i doświadczeń między twórcami i przedstawicielami życia muzycznego różnych krajów .
- § 3. Cel ten realizowany jest przez:
- a) organizowanie w okresie Festiwalu koncertów w wykonaniu zespołów i solistów krajowych i zagranicznych,
  - b) udział w Festiwalu w charakterze wykonawców lub zaproszonych gości wybitnych twórców oraz przedstawicieli życia muzycznego różnych krajów .
- § 4. Dla decydowania we wszelkich sprawach związanych z organizowaniem i realizowaniem dorocznych Festiwali powołany zostaje przez Ministra Kultury i Sztuki - stały Komitet Organizacyjny.
- W skład Komitetu wchodzi: 4-ch przedstawicieli Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, 2-ch przedstawicieli Stowarzyszenia Polskich Artystów Muzyków /z list kandydatów przedstawionych przez te organizacje/, oraz po jednym przedstawicielu Centralnego Zarządu Instytucji Muzycznych /Departament Muzyki/, Biura Współpracy Kulturalnej z Zagranicą i PAGARTu.
- § 5. Program każdego Festiwalu ustalany jest przez Komitet Organizacyjny na wniosek Związku Kompozytorów Polskich.
- § 6. Komitet Organizacyjny uchwala co roku preliminarz budżetowy Festiwalu. Wydatki związane z Festiwalem pokrywane są z corocznej specjalnej dotacji Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki oraz z wpływów z imprez festiwalowych.
- § 7. Komitet organizacyjny składa sprawozdania finansowe ze swej działalności Ministerstwu Kultury i Sztuki.

§ 8. Komitet Organizacyjny wybiera ze swego grona Przewodniczącego i jego zastępcę.

Do ważności uchwał Komitetu wymagana jest obecność conajmniej 5-ciu członków. Uchwały zapadają zwykłą większością głosów; w przypadku równości głosów decyduje głos Przewodniczącego.

§ 9. Organem wykonawczym Komitetu jest stały Sekretarz Komitetu, powołany na to stanowisko przez Komitet Organizacyjny spośród czynnych twórców lub organizatorów życia muzycznego.

Warunki pracy Sekretarza Komitetu i wysokość jego uposażenia reguluje jego umowa z Komitetem.

W miarę potrzeby Sekretarz Komitetu korzysta z pomocy biurowej w zakresie ustalonym w preliminarzu budżetowym Festiwalu.



## APPENDIX E

### Zarządzenie Nr 39 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 24 lutego 1959 r. w sprawie zorganizowania III Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej

Na podstawie art. 1 dekretu Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego z dnia 15 września 1944 r. o zadresie działania i organizacji Resortu Kultury i Sztuki (Dz. U. Nr. 5, poz. 25) - zarządza się, co następuje:

§ 1. III Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej, zwany dalej w skrócie "Festiwałem", zostanie zorganizowany w Warszawie w okresie 12.IX-20.IX.1959 r.

§ 2. Celem Festiwalu jest:

1. zaznajamianie polskich słuchaczy z najwybitniejszymi osiągnięciami muzyki współczesnej, tak w dziedzinie twórczości, jak i wykonawstwa.
2. umożliwienie wymiany poglądów i doświadczeń między kompozytorami, wykonawcami, krytykami i organizatorami życia muzycznego różnych krajów.

§ 3. Do kierowania sprawami Festiwalu powołuje się Komitet Organizacyjny Festiwalu w składzie:

1. jako Przewodniczący - Prezes Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich,
2. jako Sekretarz Generalny - Dyrektor Departamentu Muzyki,
3. jako członkowie:
  - a) Sekretarz Generalny Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich,
  - b) przedstawiciel Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Polskich Artystów Muzyków,
  - c) Naczelny Redaktor Muzyczny Polskiego Radia,
  - d) Dyrektor Biura Współpracy Kulturalnej z Zagranicą,
  - e) Dyrektor Polskiej Agencji Artystycznej "Pagart",
  - f) Dyrektor Filharmonii Narodowej w Warszawie, oraz
  - g) Dyrektor Państwowej Opery w Warszawie.

§ 4.1. Do zadań Komitetu Organizacyjnego należy:

- a) opracowanie projektu programu Festiwalu,
- b) opracowanie projektu preliminarza kosztów Festiwalu,
- c) ustalenie zasad organizacyjnych Festiwalu oraz kierowanie przebiegiem Festiwalu.

2. Komitet Organizacyjny opracowuje projekt programu Festiwalu na podstawie wniosków Komisji Programowej, skład której tworzą:
- a) Przewodniczący Komitetu Organizacyjnego,
  - b) Sekretarz Generalny Komitetu Organizacyjnego,
  - c) Sekretarz Generalny Zarządu Głównego ZKP,
  - d) Przedstawiciel Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Polskich Artystów Muzyków, oraz
  - e) 3 kompozytorów delegowanych przez Zarząd Główny ZKP,
  - f) dyrygent Filharmonii Narodowej w Warszawie,
  - g) dyrygent Wielkiej Orkiestry Symfonicznej Polskiego Radia.

§ 5. Program Festiwalu zatwierdza Minister Kultury i Sztuki.

§ 6.1. Posiedzenia Komitetu zwołuje Sekretarz Generalny przynajmniej raz na miesiąc, przysyłając członkom Komitetu porządek dzienny posiedzenia na co najmniej 3 dni przed datą posiedzenia.

2. Członkowie Komitetu obowiązani są - w przypadku niemożności wzięcia udziału w posiedzeniu - delegować na posiedzenia upoważnionego przedstawiciela.

3. Do ważności uchwał Komitetu wymagana jest obecność co najmniej 6 członków Komitetu lub ich upoważnionych przedstawicieli.  
Uchwały Komitetu zapadają zwykłą większością głosów; w razie równości głosów rozstrzyga głos przewodniczącego.

4. Z posiedzenia Komitetu sporządza się protokół, zawierający uchwały Komitetu oraz zgłoszone odrębne zdania. Protokół podpisuje przewodniczący posiedzenia i protokolant.

§ 7. Pisma Komitetu Organizacyjnego podpisuje Przewodniczący i Sekretarz Generalny.

§ 8. Na wniosek Komitetu Dyrektor Departamentu Muzyki może zlecić rzeczoznawcom opracowanie poszczególnych zagadnień. Wynagrodzenie rzeczoznawcy określi umowa pomiędzy Dyrektorem Departamentu Muzyki a rzeczoznawcą, zawarta na podstawie obowiązujących przepisów.

§ 9.1. Realizacja przyjazdów i występów zagranicznych zespołów i solistów należy do Polskiej Agencji Artystycznej "PAGART", która działa w porozumieniu z Biurem Współpracy Kulturalnej z Zagranicą.

2. Realizacja występów krajowych zespołów i solistów należy do Filharmonii Narodowej w Warszawie i Państwowej Opery w Warszawie.

3. Zespoły krajowe państwowych instytucji artystycznych dają swe występy w ramach planu usługowego ich działalności oraz zajmują się we własnym zakresie organizacją przyjazdu i pobytu w Warszawie.

4. Polska Agencja Artystyczna "Pagart", Filharmonia Narodowa w Warszawie, Państwowa Opera w Warszawie oraz inne krajowe instytucje artystyczne realizują występy, o których mowa w ustępach poprzednich, na pisemne zlecenie Departamentu Muzyki, określające warunki realizacji.
- §10. Komitet Organizacyjny może zaprosić na Festiwal wybitnych kompozytorów, wykonawców, krytyków muzycznych oraz organizatorów życia muzycznego z zagranicy w charakterze obserwatorów. Obserwatorom zagranicznym Ministerstwo pokryje koszty hotelu, utrzymania oraz koszty biletów na imprezy festiwalowe.
- §11. Sekretariat Komitetu Organizacyjnego Festiwalu prowadzi Departament Muzyki.
- §12. Zarządzenie wchodzi w życie w dniu podpisania.

MINISTER  
T. Galiński

## APPENDIX F

### Projekt. Regulamin Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Współczesnej p.n. "Warszawska Jesień."

1. W celu popierania twórczości i rozwoju życia muzycznego w Polsce ustanawia się doroczny Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej pod nazwą "Warszawska Jesień".
2. Zasadniczymi celami Festiwalu jest:
  - a) przegląd dorobku kompozytorskiego i wykonawczego w zakresie muzyki współczesnej w Polsce i za granicą;
  - b) wymiana poglądów i doświadczeń między kompozytorami i muzykami różnych krajów.
3. Powyższe cele realizowane są przez:
  - a) organizowanie w okresie Festiwalu koncertów i innego rodzaju imprez muzycznych w wykonaniu solistów i zespołów - krajowych i zagranicznych;
  - b) udział w Festiwalu - w charakterze wykonawców lub zaproszonych gości - wybitnych kompozytorów, muzyków i innych przedstawicieli życia muzycznego różnych krajów.
4. Dla kierowania sprawami Festiwalu powołany zostaje Komitet, do którego zadań należy opracowanie programu Festiwalu i preliminarza budżetowego oraz nadzór nad organizacją i przebiegiem Festiwalu. Program Festiwalu oraz preliminarz wydatków zatwierdza Minister Kultury i Sztuki.
5. Członków Komitetu powołuje Minister Kultury i Sztuki. W skład Komitetu wchodzi:
  - a) Prezes Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, jako przewodniczący Komitetu,
  - b) Prezes Stowarzyszenia Polskich Artystów Muzyków, jako wiceprzewodniczący Komitetu,
  - c) Sekretarz Generalny Komitetu - powoływany i odwoływany na wniosek Zarządu Głównego Z.K.P. uzgodniony z Zarządem Głównym S.P.A.M.,
  - d) 10-12 członków powoływany na wniosek Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki z listy kandydatów, przedstawionej przez Zarządy Główne Z.K.P. i S.P.A.M.,
  - e) dyrektor Filharmonii Narodowej, Państwowej Opery w Warszawie, Działu Muzycznego Polskiego Radia, BWKZ i Pagartu.

6. W posiedzeniach Komitetu bierze udział z urzędu dyrektor Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki.
7. Komitet wyłania ze swego grona Prezydium, ustalając zakres jego zadań i kompetencji.
8. Przy Związku Kompozytorów Polskich tworzy się stały Sekretariat Festiwalu, jako organ wykonawczy Komitetu. Pracami Sekretariatu kieruje Sekretarz Generalny Komitetu.
9. Realizacja przyjazdów i występów solistów i zespołów zagranicznych należy do Pagartu, który działa w porozumieniu z BWKZ. Organizacja występów solistów i zespołów krajowych należy do Filharmonii Narodowej i Państwowej Opery w Warszawie. Zespoły krajowa państwowych instytucji artystycznych dają swoje występy w programie Festiwalu w ramach planu usługowego ich działalności oraz zajmują się we własnym zakresie organizacją przyjazdu i pobytu w Warszawie.
10. Pagart, Filharmonia Narodowa, Państwowa Opera w Warszawie oraz różne krajowe instytucje artystyczne realizują występy festiwalowe na pisemne zlecenie Komitetu Festiwalu ustalające warunki realizacji. Koszty tych występów pokrywane są przez Komitet z preliminarza budżetowego Festiwalu.
11. Preliminarz budżetowy Festiwalu obejmuje również inne wydatki, związane z organizacją Festiwalu, jak: koszty propagandy, wydawnictw, obsługi gości zagranicznych, wydatki osobowe i rzeczowe Sekretariatu itp.
12. Na pokrycie wydatków przewidzianych preliminarzem budżetowym Festiwalu - Ministerstwo będzie corocznie przyznawało Związkowi Kompozytorów Polskich dotację docelową, z której Komitet będzie się rozliczał - Departament Ekonomiczny Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki zabezpieczy corocznie - na wniosek Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki - w budżecie Resortu kredyty i środki dewizowe na organizację Festiwalu.

## APPENDIX G

### Zarządzenie Nr 214 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 22 grudnia 1959 r. w sprawie międzynarodowych festiwali muzyki współczesnej w Polsce

W celu popierania twórczości i rozwoju życia muzycznego w Polsce--zarządza się, co następuje:

- §1. Ustanawia się doroczny Międzynarodowy Festiwal Muzyki Współczesnej pod nazwą "Warszawska Jesień", zwany dalej w skrócie "Festiwałem", który odbywać się będzie w Warszawie na początku jesiennego sezonu muzycznego.
- §2. Celem Festiwalu jest:
  - 1) zaznajamianie polskich słuchaczy z dorobkiem kompozytorskim i wykonawczym w zakresie muzyki współczesnej w Polsce i za granicą,
  - 2) wymiana poglądów i doświadczeń między kompozytorami i muzykami różnych krajów.
- §3. Sprawami Festiwalu kieruje Komitet, do zadań którego w szczególności należy: opracowanie projektu programu i projektu preliminarza Festiwalu, kierownictwo przebiegiem Festiwalu oraz koordynacja działalności instytucji, współdziałających przy organizowaniu Festiwalu.
- §4. W skład Komitetu wchodzi:
  - 1) Przewodniczący--Prezes Zarządu Głównego Związku Kompozytorów Polskich,
  - 2) Sekretarz Generalny--powołany przez Ministra Kultury i Sztuki na wniosek Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki, uzgodniony z Zarządem Głównym Związku Kompozytorów Polskich,
  - 3) Członkowie: 10-12 członków, powołany przez Ministra Kultury i Sztuki na wniosek Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki, uzgodniony z Zarządem Głównym Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, oraz przedstawiciel Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Dyrektor Biura Współpracy Kulturalnej z Zagranicą, Naczelny Redaktor Muzyczny Polskiego Radia, Dyrektor Filharmonii Narodowej w Warszawie, Dyrektor Państwowej Opery w Warszawie, Dyrektor Polskiej Agencji Artystycznej "PAGART".
- §5. Komitet wyłoni ze swego grona Prezydium, ustalając zakres jego zadań i kompetencji.
- §6. W posiedzeniach Komitetu i jego Prezydium bierze z urzędu udział, jako przedstawiciel Ministra Kultury i Sztuki, Dyrektor Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki, który czuwa nad prawidłowym przebiegiem prac Komitetu, zgodnie z polityką kulturalną Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki.

- §7. Program i preliminarz kosztów Festiwalu zatwierdza--na wniosek Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki--Minister Kultury i Sztuki.
- §8. Tworzy się przy Związku Kompozytorów Polskich Sekretariat Festiwalu, jako organ wykonawczy Komitetu. Pracami Sekretariatu kieruje Sekretarz Generalny.
- §9. Pisma Komitetu podpisują Przewodniczący i Sekretarz Generalny.
- §10. 1. Posiedzenia Komitetu zwołuje Przewodniczący lub w jego zastępstwie Sekretarz Generalny przynajmniej raz na miesiąc, przesyłając członkom Komitetu porządek dzienny posiedzenia najpóźniej na trzy dni przed datą posiedzenia.
2. Do ważności uchwał Komitetu wymagana jest obecność co najmniej połowy członków Komitetu, w tym Przewodniczącego lub w jego zastępstwie Sekretarza Generalnego.  
Uchwały Komitetu zapadają zwykłą większością głosów; w razie równości głosów rozstrzyga głos Przewodniczącego.
- §11. 1. Realizacja przyjazdów i występów zagranicznych zespołów i solistów należy do Polskiej Agencji Artystycznej "PAGART", który działa w porozumieniu z biurem Współpracy Kulturalnej z Zagranicą.
2. Realizacja występów krajowych zespołów i solistów należy do Filharmonii Narodowej w Warszawie i Państwowej Opery w Warszawie. Zespoły krajowe państwowych instytucji artystycznych dają swoje występy w programie Festiwalu w ramach planu usługowego ich działalności oraz zajmują się we własnym zakresie organizacją przyjazdu i pobytu w Warszawie.
3. Polska Agencja Artystyczna "PAGART", Filharmonia Narodowa w Warszawie, Państwowa Opera w Warszawie oraz inne krajowe instytucje artystyczne realizują występy, o których mowa w ustępach poprzednich, na pisemne zlecenie Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki, które również określi warunki finansowe realizacji.
- §12. 1. Koszty występów, o których mowa w §11, pokrywane będą przez Zespół do Spraw Muzyki.
2. Inne wydatki związane z organizacją Festiwalu, jak: koszty propagandy i wydawnictw, koszty obsługi obserwatorów zagranicznych, wydatki osobowe i rzeczowe Sekretariatu--pokrywane będą przez Zespół do Spraw Muzyki zgodnie z ustaleniami zawartymi w budżecie Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki.
3. Departament Ekonomiczny zabezpieczy na wniosek Zespołu do Spraw Muzyki corocznie w budżecie Ministerstwa kredyty i środki dewizowe na organizację Festiwalu.
- §13. Komitet może zaprosić na Festiwal wybitnych kompozytorów, wykonawców, krytyków muzycznych oraz organizatorów życia muzycznego z zagranicy w charakterze obserwatorów. Projekt listy obserwatorów zatwierdza Minister Kultury i Sztuki.
- §14. Zarządzenie wchodzi w życie z dniem podpisania. MINISTER T. Galiński

## APPENDIX H

### Projekt. Uchwała Komitetu Festiwalowego w sprawie sposobu wyboru utworów polskich do programu 'Warszawskiej Jesieni'

1. Rozpatrywane w trybie poniżej ustalonym będą utwory kompozytorów polskich, powstałe w okresie ostatnich 3-ch lat przed rokiem kolejnego Festiwalu (w okresie 5-ciu lat dla utworów scenicznych),
2. Utwory zgłaszają kompozytorzy osobiście lub zgłasza je Komitet Festiwalowy, podając wyczerpujące dane dotyczące utworu (nazwa, obsada, uwentualnie wykonawcy, nagrania, wydania itp, jak również miejsce gdzie się znajduje partytura i materiał).
3. Komitet Festiwalowy nie zapewnia rozpatrzenia utworów zgłoszonych po 1-yh stycznia każdego roku, lub do tego czasu jeszcze nie ukończonych (w roku 1961 wyjątkowo obowiązuje termin 1 marca).
4. Komitet Festiwalowy rozpatrzy nie więcej niż trzy utwory tego samego kompozytora. Jeśli zgłoszono więcej utworów, Komitet zwróci się do autora z prośbą, by sam ustalił, które utwory mają być poddane rozpatrzeniu.
5. Po stwierdzeniu przez Sekretariat, że zgłoszone utwory odpowiadają powyższym warunkom, Prezydium Komitetu dokonuje kolektywnie pierwszej eliminacji większością głosów kompozytorów i muzykologów uczestniczących w Prezydium. Dla dalszej eliminacji Prezydium wyznaczy dla każdego utworu referentów, którzy przedstawią swoją opinię na specjalnym posiedzeniu Prezydium. Prezydium większością głosów fachowych ustali ostateczną listę utworów przydatnych dla programu Festiwalu.
6. Po ustaleniu które utwory mogą być wzięte pod uwagę przy układaniu programu, Prezydium definitywnie ustali listę utworów przeznaczonych do wykonania na najbliższym Festiwalu, z tym jednak, że nie należy włączać do programu 2-ch utworów tego samego kompozytora, o ile są to utwory tego samego rodzaju (np. 2 utwory symfoniczne). Pozostałe utwory mogą być przez Prezydium przekazane do rozpatrzenia przy układaniu programu następnego Festiwalu.
7. O decyzjach omówionych w pkt. 5 i 6, autorzy zostaną powiadomieni.
8. Projekt programu zatwierdza Plenum Komitetu oraz przedstawia do zatwierdzenia Ministrowi Kultury i Sztuki zgodnie z par. 7 Zarządzenia Nr 214 Ministra Kultury i Sztuki z dnia 22 grudnia 1959 r.
9. Prezydium Komitetu może włączyć do programu utwór będący jeszcze w przygotowaniu lub też zamówić utwór dla Festiwalu. W tych wypadkach potrzebna jest uchwała podjęta większością całego Prezydium.



10. Utwory wprowadzone do programu na zasadzie pkt. 9 nie powinny przekroczyć jednej trzeciej minutażu zakwalifikowanych do wykonania utworów polskich.

11. Niniejsza uchwała nie dotyczy współczesnych utworów polskich napisanych wcześniej niż to określa termin wskazany w pkt. 3 (np. utwory Szymanowskiego, międzywojenne i powojenne, repertuarowe utwory polskie), które włącza się do programu na podstawie decyzji Komitetu Festiwalowego.

12. Zmiany w niniejszych przepisach mogą być dokonane na podstawie prawomocnej uchwały Komitetu (zwykła większość głosów przy obecności co najmniej połowy członków Komitetu, w tym Przewodniczącego lub w jego zastępstwie Sekretarza Generalnego - §10 Zarządzenia Nr 214).

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Notes concerning the history of two Polish music publications are necessary. The periodical *Ruch muzyczny* exists in two series, which can be differentiated only by the year of publication. The first was published in four volumes from 1945 to 1949; the second commenced publication in May 1957 with volume 1, no. 1, and continues to be in print today. Both were issued biweekly. From April 1950 to February 1956, *Muzyka* appeared either monthly or bimonthly; in April 1956 it became a quarterly publication.

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