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 MIĘDZY WARSZAWĄ A PARYŻEM (1918–1939) [BETWEEN WARSAW AND
 PARIS (1918–1939)]; ‘AMERICAN DREAM’: POLSCY TWÓRCY ZA OCEANEM
 [‘AMERICAN DREAM’: POLISH COMPOSERS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC],
 EDS. BEATA BOLESŁAWSKA-LEWANDOWSKA AND JOLANTA GUZY-PASIAK
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The three volumes under review are the first instalments of an on-going project devoted to Polish music beyond the country's borders, organised under the auspices of the Institute of Art at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and edited by the musicologists Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska and Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak. Although the essays will be most useful to scholars who can read Polish, they include detailed English-language abstracts. The forty-eight essays provide many contributions that, taken together, provide a birds-eye view of current thinking in Polish musical academia about Polish music and internationalism. The many outstanding contributions are too numerous to detail in this review, so I will focus on major themes.

The first three volumes of *Polish Music Abroad* (Muzyka polska za granicą) are largely devoted to Polish composers who were born around the turn of the twentieth century, including Aleksander Tansman, Jerzy Fitelberg, Andrzej Panufnik, Roman Palester, Piotr Perkowski, Tadeusz

Zygfryd Kassern, Karol Rathaus, Konstanty Régamey, and Zygmunt Muciński among others. These composers were younger than Karol Szymanowski, whom they often took as a source of inspiration, but older than avant-garde composers such as Krzysztof Penderecki or Henryk Górecki, who would achieve international fame in the 1960s. Born circa 1895–1915, this ‘middle generation’ of composers often had international careers, driven by a desire to establish themselves in Western Europe during the 1920s and 1930s and, after World War II, by exile from communist-ruled Poland. As a result, they have long occupied an ambiguous place in twentieth-century Polish music. Many if not most composers active in this period occupy a precarious place in the Polish concert hall, and they are often little-known beyond Poland's borders, with a handful of notable exceptions. Many of their works are unpublished and unrecorded, further complicating efforts at study and rehabilitation. Nonetheless, their works and lives have received sustained academic

attention, thanks to the research of Polish musicologists beginning in the late 1980s, including the 1988 conference held by the Union of Polish Composers on ‘Muzyka źle obecna’ (literally: ‘Poorly-present music’) and later monographs by Janusz Cegieła (on Tansman) and Zofia Helman (on Palester) among others. The volumes under review continue this important work of evaluating the contemporary musical world of mid-twentieth-century Poland. All of the essays are characterised by care and attentiveness to the historical record, and a generosity with unearthing and sharing new archival materials.

Taken together, the essays reveal the diversity of experiences had by Polish composers across the middle of the twentieth century, while also bringing into focus several common themes. Notably, they reveal how the exuberance for international exchange that the middle generation felt in the 1920s and 1930s, following the re-establishment of Polish statehood in 1918, gave way to increasing frustrations after World War II, due to both the trauma of the war and establishment of communist rule in Eastern Europe.

Focusing on the interwar period, Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska’s essay on the Parisian studies of Mycielski, a composer and essayist, draws on an extensive collection of letters written to his mother that are held in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków – an intimate and rarely consulted source. Although Mycielski’s Parisian studies and connections to the renowned pedagogue Nadia Boulanger had long formed a part of his mystique, the nature and extent of these studies has been somewhat less clear. Bolesławska-Lewandowska reconstructs this history, showing how Szymanowski directly encouraged Mycielski to study in Paris (‘These days, only Paris, sir. I send all the youths only to Paris’, he told Mycielski) and establishes that his most intense Parisian studies occurred between 1928–31, with

lesser frequency until 1936. The letters she quotes are replete with fascinating details of his lessons and musical life in Paris more broadly, bringing us into the world that Mycielski inhabited at this formative moment: ‘In [Boulanger’s lectures on music history] there is everything, and everything is arranged in a systematic order, in a clarity and ease of form’, he explained to his mother shortly after his arrival in Paris in 1928 (vol. 2, p. 93).

Other essays provide complementing and contrasting perspectives on the interwar Parisian milieu. Violetta Kostka, Elżbieta Szczurko, and Renata Skupin all consider the significance of France for Polish composers, as well as whether French resonances can be discerned in the works of Kassern, Szałowski, and Piotr Perkowski. Renata Suchowiejko adopts a wide perspective on this topic by drawing on reviews in *Le Ménestrel*, *Le Courier musical*, and *La Revue musicale* to discuss the reception of Polish works at the time. An interesting theme that emerges from this article – especially when read alongside the essays of Małgorzata Gamrat and Anna Granat-Janki – concerns the reception of Tansman’s works. Suchowiejko shows how Tansman played a key role in defining and promoting Polish music in Paris in the early 1920s and demonstrates how he provided Parisian readers with early explorations of the topic of Polish music. Yet as Gamrat points out, Tansman’s reception in Poland was rather chilly, a fact that he attributed in his memoirs to antisemitism in the Polish new music community. At the same time, Suchowiejko shows that the Association of Young Musicians Poles in Paris (*Stowarzyszenie Młodych Muzyków Polaków w Paryżu*), which has long been lionised by its members as the predominate site of Polish-French international music exchange, had relatively minor resonances in the Parisian press, rarely appearing as what she terms a ‘collective hero’ in reviews. We are thus reminded that the historiogra-

phy of Polish musical internationalism – as written and constructed by its participants – is often quite different from how those abroad viewed, much less chose to engage with, Poland on musical terms.

We also learn about the challenges the composers of the middle generation faced, especially from the 1930s on. The rise of Nazism in Europe forced Polish-Jewish composers to flee the continent, and the careers of Fitelberg (who fled to New York), Tansman (United States, returning to France after the war), and Rathaus (New York) never fully recovered. For many, fleeing Poland during the war led to a permanent or semi-permanent break after it, when they had to make fraught decisions about whether return to Poland – which was now aligned with the Eastern Bloc – or remain in exile, perhaps permanently. For instance, Ewelina Boczkowska's essay draws on letters written by Jerzy Fitelberg, in New York, to Roman Palester shortly after World War II to demonstrate the deep conflicts that the former felt about whether to stay in the United States or return to Poland. His decision was informed by difficult conditions faced by composers in the US, his desire to remain connected to the Polish musical milieu, and concerns about the establishment of communist rule in Poland. 'I constantly think about leaving and about my return', Fitelberg wrote to Palester from New York in 1946; 'Write to me please and tell me honestly what you think about my return [to Poland] and about the opportunities I would have there' (vol. 3, p. 38). For Palester, along with Andrzej Panufnik, on the other hand, the decision to break with postwar Poland was a more dramatic undertaking. As Bolesławska-Lewandowska discusses (in a different essay from the one mentioned above), both Palester and Panufnik's post-emigration careers were heavily influenced by the Cold War. Palester began working at Radio Free Europe in 1952, a mouthpiece of the Western Bloc that

broadcast into Eastern Europe, and both he and Panufnik maintained a critical stance toward Poland's musical life under communism.

Others managed to maintain connections with the postwar Polish new music milieu, even as they lived permanently abroad. Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek's fascinating essay on Konstanty Régamey demonstrates this course. Régamey had established himself prior to World War II as a major critic among modernist composers and a chief theorist of musical aesthetics in Poland, and only began composing during the war. Although living in Poland during the interwar years, he was in fact a Swiss citizen, which during the occupation allowed him a degree of flexibility in skirting German restrictions. Based in Switzerland after 1944, he attempted to maintain contacts with composers in Poland, publishing extensively between 1946 and 1948 in Poland's main music periodicals. He was invited for the first Warsaw Autumn Festival in 1956 and made several other trips to Warsaw. Yet he also attracted attention from the State's internal security apparatus, documents from which Naliwajek-Mazurek quotes at length. Officials viewed him as politically suspicious because of his alleged connections to the Labor Faction, which led to the denial of visas to visit Poland in 1965 and 1968. Nonetheless, his identity remained, in his own views, pulled between Switzerland and Poland, as he noted in 1971: 'Of course, I am Swiss; I have a Swiss name and no one in Switzerland doubts that I am Swiss... But at the same time, in the domain of music, it is difficult for me not to see myself as a Pole'. Six years later he stated that 'classifying me is simply impossible, because I am characterised by diversity and variety' (vol. 1, pp. 89–90).

As I reflect on these richly detailed, archivally-grounded essays, I am struck by the multiple conception of 'za granicą' (literally 'abroad', but perhaps better trans-

lated as ‘internationalism’) that were at play in both the worlds of mid-century Polish composers and the scholars who have engaged with their lives. In the essays, the term most often connotes emigration or exile, although some authors also touch on cross-border compositional influence and international exchange. Despite the centrality of cross-border experience to Polish twentieth-century music, however, we hear relatively little about the intellectual and ideological background that animated Polish interest in internationalism in the mid-century. Readers of the essays might well wonder, for example, what Mycielski, Tansman, or Szałowski believed they were accomplishing when they left for Paris and how similar their motivations were to others in central or eastern Europe at the time.

Many of the essays also strike me as sharing a methodological affinity with the German field of *Exilforschung*, a project that sought to re-integrate émigrés of Nazism into the national canon after World War II.¹ Applied to the Polish context, the national rupture under questions is not Nazism per se, both rather occupation during World War II and the establishment of communist rule after it. Yet while some of the Polish composers under discussion in *Polish Music Abroad* certainly saw their experiences in terms of a break with the Polish nation, the nation-based framework also has limitations: Can it fully elucidate Régamey’s feeling of multiple national allegiances, for instance? Does calling Tansman’s compositions ‘Polish music’ do justice to their relation to Polishness, Jewishness, and Frenchness – not to mention his French citizenship after 1938? Put differently, the experiences and works of Polish composers likely have much to reveal about the meanings of ‘Polish music’ as a national category and could

productively enrich our understanding of how the Polish intelligentsia imagined the cultural terrain beyond Poland’s borders.

Points of reference for exploring such issues might be found in the recent musicological studies that have sought to move beyond the nation as a paradigm for studying international musical exchange. Brigid Cohen has, for instance, persuasively challenged the idea that Stefan Wolpe’s career is best narrated in terms of nation by instead exploring his multiple attachments to communities during his emigration, which she uses to discern a type of ‘migrant cosmopolitanism’ in his works.² One wonders whether Régamey’s life could be understood in similar terms. Lisa Jakelski’s recent scholarship on the Warsaw Autumn Festival and Danielle Fosler-Lussier work on music diplomacy have likewise stressed the ways in which ideas of international exchange – in this case those led by the State – are complicated by the messy interpersonal contacts and multiple priorities of individual participants in these projects.³ Future studies of Polish émigré composers might likewise productively attend to the tensions between ideology, intellectual context, and composers’ individual actions.

As with any project that attempts to engage with as broad a topic as this one, there are several subtopics that *Polish Music Abroad* has yet to explore. With the exception of Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak’s fascinating study of Polish music at the World Fairs in 1925 and 1937, few essays discuss the institutions that supported international musical exchange. One wonders about the role of the Polish State, as well as non-government-

2 Brigid Cohen, ‘Limits of National History: Yoko Ono, Stefan Wolpe, and Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism’, *The Musical Quarterly* 97 (2014) no. 2, pp. 181–237.

3 Lisa Jakelski, *Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968*, Oakland 2017; Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy*, Berkeley 2015.

1 See Pamela M. Potter, *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts*, Berkeley 2016, chapter 2.

tal institutions such as the International Society for Contemporary Music, in promoting Polish music abroad. Nor, excepting Marek Żebrowski's informative essay on Henryk Wars's symphonic compositions, is there much coverage of composers who made their names working in 'light' genres, even though the explosion of Polish tangos and foxtrots arguably defined the aural experience of urban Poles during the interwar years. One wonders how the global circulation of these popular recorded genres helped to promote and transmute ideas of Polishness, both within and beyond the country's borders.

Finally, one also wishes to hear more about the gender of Polish musical internationalism. With Małgorzata Komorowska's essay on the singer Marcella Sembrich aside, the contributions focus on male protagonists. Yet women such as the musicologists Alicja Simon and Zofia Lissa played major roles in promoting Polish music abroad. Simon, for instance, not only completed a dissertation in Zurich about Polish influences on German baroque music, but later worked for the League of Nations where she studied the economic conditions of musicians and served for several years at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., where she was charged by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs with promoting Polish music in the United States.⁴ Lissa was not

⁴ Her activities are chronicled in Archiwum Akt Nowych, collection of the (prewar) Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, file 8251.

only a cultural attaché in the Polish embassy in Moscow at the war's conclusion, where she oversaw Polish-Soviet musical exchange, but also participated in musical tours to China in the 1950s.⁵ These activities do not necessarily fit into musicological narratives that privilege composers and works, but such activities nonetheless undergirded the circulation of Poland's music beyond the country's borders.

These considerations for future research, however, do not detract from the volumes' significant contributions to our understanding of the international lives of Polish composers in the last century. The essays collected in the first three volumes of *Polish Music Abroad* address major gaps in scholarly understandings of the music composed by the middle generation of twentieth-century Polish composers, while serving as models of archival rigor and scholarly generosity. I eagerly await the future publications in the series.

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⁵ David G. Tompkins, 'Red China in Central Europe: Creating and Deploying Representations of an Ally in Poland and the GDR', in: *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War: Exploring the Second World*, eds. Patryk Babiracki and Austin Jersild, Berlin 2016, pp. 273–302.