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Archives and blank spots: scholarly perspectives for recovering Polish music (1794–1945)

ABSTRACT: In this article, the author tries to present the issue of blank spots in the history of Polish music since 1794 (the world premiere of *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale* [The supposed miracle, or Cracovians and highlanders] composed by Jan Stefani to the libretto of Wojciech Bogusławski is regarded as a symbolic beginning of national style in Polish music) up to the end of the Second World War. It was a great period in history when Poland twice did not exist as a state (between 1795 and 1918 and between 1939 and 1945).

At the beginning the attention is drawn to the Polish music in the nineteenth century. Author describes new discoveries such as the Second Piano Quintet in E flat Major (with double bass instead of second cello) by Józef Nowakowski (Chopin's friend), and String Quartets op. 1 and monumental oratorio *Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* by Józef Elsner who was Chopin's teacher in the Conservatory of Music in Warsaw (Elsner's *Passio* discovered at the end of the twentieth century is regarded now as the most outstanding religious piece in the history of Polish music in the nineteenth century). Among other works author also mentions romantic opera *Monbar* (1838) by Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński and first opera of Stanisław Moniuszko *Die Schweizerhütte* (about 1839) written to the German libretto during composer's studies at Singakademie Berlin.

Addressing the issue of Polish music of the first half of the twentieth century author draws attention to the composer Eugeniusz Morawski regarded as the leading Polish author of programme music next to Mieczysław Karłowicz (unfortunately Morawski is still forgotten figure in the Polish musical life).

Among others the importance of symphonic heritage of Feliks Nowowiejski, an author of extremely popular in Europe during the second decade of twentieth century oratorio *Quo vadis*, is mentioned. At the end of article, the author takes up the problem of the enigmatic figure of Adolf Gużewski. The whole musical output of Gużewski, whose opera *Dziewica lodowców* [The Ice Maiden] was applauded in Warsaw and Russian opera houses in the second decade of the twentieth century, is now considered lost.

KEYWORDS: blank spot in the history of music; Polish music in the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century; the music of Józef Nowakowski, Józef Elsner, Karol Kurpiński, Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński, Stanisław Moniuszko, Eugeniusz Morawski, Feliks Nowowiejski, Adolf Gużewski, national style in music

In taking up the problem of blank spots in Polish music, I decided to limit myself to the period encompassing the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In imposing that self-limitation, I am guided in part by my own interests and by my research into Polish music history, but also by the fact that the year 1794 may be symbolically regarded as the start of the emergence of a Polish national school in music,² which, subsequently, climaxed with the piano music of Fryderyk Chopin and the operas and songs of Stanisław Moniuszko and was further developed – in various genres – by their outstanding successors, led by Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Mieczysław Karłowicz and Karol Szymanowski. More specifically, I will focus my attention on a period of 151 years, up to the end of the Second World War – a period during which Poland, between 1795 and 1918, did not exist as a state, completely subjugated by three powers, Russia, Prussia and Austria, before experiencing a wonderful twenty-year cultural heyday between the world wars, only to be brutally oppressed over the six ensuing war-ravaged years. Both the 123 years of the Partitions and – in particular – the time of the Second World War proved, unfortunately, to be exceptionally ‘fertile’ with regard to producing a bumper crop of new blank spots. The image of Polish music of the period in question, particularly with regard to the times of the Partitions, is still the subject of intense revision; we may even hazard the assertion that for two decades the model of Polish music with the central figures of Chopin and Szymanowski has been undergoing a general overhaul.

So I leave early Polish music to the experts; still, I feel obliged to stress that I am fully aware of passing over the question of blank spots in relation to music of the twenty-first century. That decision will no doubt be understood by everyone: we are witnessing at present a quite mind-boggling explosion of digitalisation, which sets us the task of redefining the traditional notion and function of the archive, to say nothing of the fact that the very category of the blank spot is essentially – or so it may seem from the perspective of the end of the second decade of our century – losing its *raison d'être* or (to put it less radically) changing its ontological status.

The blank spot as a technical term in contemporary music history

The blank spot in historical discourse results – and this is a very popular reason for the emergence of the phenomenon described in the title of my paper – from a lack of sufficient historical sources on the subject of a particular fact, with the consequence that our knowledge is fragmentary or even non-existent. Yet a blank spot can also result from an inability to interpret a given phe-

¹The article was presented at the opening of the congress of the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives and Documentation Centres (IAML) that took place from 14–19 July 2019 in Kraków.

²1 March 1794 marked the world premiere, on the boards of the National Theatre in Warsaw, of Jan Stefani's *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiaczy i Górale* (The supposed miracle, or Cracovians and highlanders), to a libretto by Wojciech Bogusławski, the father of Polish national theatre.

nomenon (which in itself is not a good situation, but need not be reprehensible from the ethical point of view, as it does not result from bad intentions). Things are worse if a blank spot is used in historical discourse with the deliberate intention of creating an aura of vagueness or ellipsis, intended ultimately to lead to clear distortions with regard to the creation of historical myths (nowadays we often – though not always – use the fashionable term *fake news* in the context of information wars). All these phenomena have arisen many times in relation to the history of Polish music; in what follows, I will seek to signal what I see as the most interesting cases, with the proviso that the proposed survey has absolutely no claims to completeness.

At this point, I wish to emphasise one thing: unfortunately (and this is a rather depressing truth for the academic staff of musical archives, libraries and centres for documentation), finding a music manuscript, conserving it, describing and digitalising it, and even publishing it in print is merely the first stage in the filling-in of a blank spot. If we wish to completely eliminate such a spot, and that, after all, is one of the principal aims of our activities, the discovered work must first begin to live in concert halls, opera houses or churches and then also become, in the form of a CD, DVD or audio file, a product on the phonographic market. Only then – please forgive me this truism – will a work have any chance of a full existence as a cultural fact that will begin to inspire not only music historians and theorists, but also people interested in continuously expanding their intellectual horizons.

The nineteenth century

In stating that we are rebuilding the image of Polish music, I obviously did not have in mind attempts at dethroning Fryderyk Chopin or Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872). (In Poland, thanks to a Moniuszko Year declared by Parliament, we were celebrating the bicentenary of the birth of the father of Polish national opera.) It is rather about forging a broader context for Polish music of that period, in both its early, pre-Chopin, phase and its late Romantic phase.

In the domain of chamber music, the Piano Quintet in G minor by Juliusz Zarębski (a pupil of Franz Liszt), already regarded as a masterwork several decades ago, has been joined by the Second Piano Quintet in E flat major by Józef Nowakowski (1800–1865, a school friend of Chopin, who included the former's now lost First Symphony on the programme of one of his Warsaw concerts in March 1830), discovered just a decade ago and published by Kistner. The Quintet in E flat major, scored, like Schubert's *Trout Quintet*, for an ensemble with double bass instead of a second cello, attracted the keen interest of Chopin in Paris. Some of us are no doubt anxious to know why we speak of a blank spot in relation to Nowakowski's Second Quintet (the First is not known). Well, it has proven impossible to find that published score in any Polish library, most of which were methodically destroyed by the Nazis during the Second World War. It was only preliminary research conducted in Berlin by Andrzej Wróbel, a professor of cello at the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music in Warsaw, that

allowed us to locate one of the few extant copies of this work in the collection of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. That was an exceptionally fortuitous event, since Nowakowski's E flat major Quintet approaches Schubert's *Trout* in terms of artistic quality.

The situation with Nowakowski's Quintet was by no means exceptional. A similar thing occurred with Józef Elsner's opus 1 set of three quartets, published in Vienna, which was rediscovered by Julia Gołębiowska (PhD) of Poznań Music Academy just a few years ago (Gołębiowska, 2014, pp. 56–58). Although they adhere to the lighter convention of the *quatuor concertant*, a genre addressed primarily to amateur musicians, with the melodic layer and an uncomplicated texture devoid of elements of polyphonic technique to the fore, it is these three quartets which from our present-day perspective should be regarded as a cornerstone of the quartet genre in Polish lands. At this point, intentionally while on the subject of Chopin's teacher Elsner, I will just signal the complexity of the issues surrounding the identity of Polish music during the period 1795–1918: Poland did not exist on the map of Europe, many composers regarded as Polish and identifying with Poland, led by Chopin, had mixed national origins (or were even, like the German Elsner and the Czech Jan Stefani, of a different nationality), and many of them emigrated beyond the borders of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, it was then that the phenomenon of the 'nationalisation' of music gained momentum, through reference – as in Stefani's *Cracovians and Highlanders* and Elsner's 3 Quartets, Op. 1 – to Polish dances: the polonaise, the *krakowiak* and variants of the *mazurka*.

One of the most important successes in eliminating blank spots in the field of instrumental music was the discovery of the manuscript and the recording of the Piano Concerto in A flat major by Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński, the second most gifted pupil (after Chopin) of Józef Elsner and the most outstanding Polish symphonist of the first half of the nineteenth century. Incidentally, Dobrzyński, a prize-winning composer in Europe, whose *Elegiac* Second Symphony in C minor was conducted by none other than Felix Mendelssohn, apparently repeated in later years that he was jointly responsible for orchestrating Chopin's concertos. And there may be something in that, since Dobrzyński's Concerto clearly influenced some of the modulatory plans in the first movement of the F minor Piano Concerto by Chopin, three years his junior.

Recent years have also fundamentally enriched our picture of Polish sacred music. The most important acquisition is perhaps the discovery in the mid 1990s by Professor Krzysztof Rottermund in Berlin of the autograph manuscript of Józef Elsner's *Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, Op. 65, from 1838, lost for almost 150 years. This is Elsner's *opus magnum*, which Chopin – alas to no effect – sought to have published in Paris. The rediscovery, recording and disc release (in 1998) of this Passion oratorio, which has since appeared every few years in the repertoires of Polish ensembles, may be regarded as an event of exceptional weight, since this work by Elsner is now rightly regarded as the most outstanding sacred work composed in Polish lands during the nineteenth century. At this point, it should be stressed that a number of other sacred works by Elsner have been recorded onto disc as part of the exceptionally valuable phonographic

series *Jasnogórska Muzyka Dawna – Musica Claromontana*, documenting music from the archive of the Pauline monastery at Jasna Góra in Częstochowa. That series, already numbering more than sixty volumes, has filled in a number of blank spots in Polish sacred music, including from earlier centuries. Despite this, several dozen sacred works by Elsner await editing and recording.

Ten years ago, to close the topic of blank spots on the map of nineteenth-century Polish sacred music, a Mass for voices and organ (on a much more modest scale than Elsner's *Passion*) by Karol Kurpiński, the second most important Polish composer of the pre-Chopin era, was discovered – not in library archives, but at an auction in the US. Kurpiński dedicated this Mass to the German pianist and composer Johann Baptist Cramer, active mainly in Great Britain; interestingly, in this composition, Kurpiński used several themes taken from the output of his German acquaintance (Gmys, 2015).

It seems that at present the greatest number of blank spots appear in Polish operatic music, the genre which in the nineteenth century was regarded as the most important, which few prominent composers at that time had the courage to ignore (Chopin is an outstanding exception). Recent years have brought the performance and recording of Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński's three-act opera *Monbar*, not staged since 1865, the sole stage work by this outstanding composer, without whom it is impossible to imagine Romantic music in Poland. Although *Monbar*, an opera based on the life of the filibusters, composed around 1838, was not entirely unknown, since in 1863 it was published in a piano reduction and since post-war times the overture, published separately by PWM Edition, has occasionally appeared on the programmes of philharmonic orchestras, the release of this work on disc in a performance by the Polish Radio Orchestra under Łukasz Borowicz filled in a particularly crucial gap in our picture of nineteenth-century Polish opera between Jan Stefani, Józef Elsner and Karol Kurpiński, on one hand, and Stanisław Moniuszko, on the other. Yet while the Polish operas of Moniuszko and, partly, Władysław Żeleński (I have in mind *Goplana*, after Słowacki, the Warsaw production which two years ago won an International Opera Award in the 'Rediscovered Work' category) are relatively well known in Poland, the world of the pre-Moniuszko stage in the output of its principal stalwarts, Elsner and Kurpiński, represents something of a *terra incognita*: it is generally only the overtures of several operatic works that appear in the repertoire (e.g. Elsner's *Jadwiga, Królowa Polski* [Jadwiga, Queen of Poland] and *Andromeda* and Kurpiński's *Dwie chatki* [Two cottages]). Very soon, thanks to the painstaking work of Grzegorz Zieziula (PhD) of the Institute of Art at the Polish Academy of Sciences, an edition of Elsner's late opera *Król Łokietek, czyli Wiśliczanki* (King Ladislaus the Elbow-high, or Wiślica girls) will shortly see the light of day, but around twenty-five other whole works will remain solely in the list of the composer's works. This state of affairs is caused by the fact that Elsner's scores were not published during his lifetime, and because unauthorised copies and often fragmentary copies of copies have been circulating for decades, they now require huge editorial work, which in many instances will no doubt prove impossible to carry out in full. The situation is similar with regard to the operas of Elsner's main rival, Karol Kurpiński: of his output, only *Zamek na Czorsztyńcu* (The castle

at Czorsztyn) and recently *Aleksander i Apelles* (Alexander and Apelles) have been released in their entirety on disc. For more than two hundred years, *Zabobon, czyli Krakowiaczy i Górale* (Superstition, or Cracovians and highlanders), a work that in its libretto and its music constitutes a reinterpretation of Stefani's *The Supposed Miracle*, has also held its place in the repertoire. Unfortunately, it can hardly be regarded as faithful to its composer's original intentions. As for Kurpiński, it would appear that the most burning need is for a critical edition of the score of his opera *Palac Lucypera* (Lucifer's palace), from 1811 – a work that enjoyed staggering success and was even performed at the Dresden Opera. That is worth noting, since Carl Maria von Weber admitted that Kurpiński's *Palace* influenced the instrumentation of his *Freischütz* – a manifesto of European Romantic opera. Moreover – and this fact gives us a good idea of the lamentable state of the resources of Polish music archives, devastated during the last war – the score of *Lucifer's Palace* has only come down to us because, in connection with that Dresden performance, it found its way into the holdings of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek.

I have mentioned in passing that we are quite well acquainted with the operas of Stanisław Moniuszko. In his case, there are relatively few blank spots, but that does not mean that there are none at all and that they cannot be filled in. In 2015, in the library of Warsaw Music Society, where almost the whole manuscript legacy of Moniuszko is held, Zieziula discovered a piano reduction of an opera that was not even known by its title – even to the composer's monographers. The work in question is the German-language opera *Die Schweizerhütte*, presumably composed while Moniuszko was a student of Carl Rungenhagen at the Singakademie in Berlin in 1837–1838 (Zieziula, 2015). After that work was orchestrated, it was performed at the Warsaw Chamber Opera in November last year. But how was it possible that no one had previously come across it? Well, it had been kept in the same cover as another work, which evidently no one had carefully examined. This student opera, remarkably mature in the balancing between the style of Rossini and Auber, the profiling of the characters and the *vis comica*, later proved important to Moniuszko himself. Reminiscences of this work appear on the pages of the Polish-language *Bettly*, composed to the same libretto as *Die Schweizerhütte*, which was also used by Gaetano Donizetti in his version of *Bettly*. We subsequently recognise *Die Schweizerhütte* on the pages of Moniuszko's three-act *Hrabina* (The countess). So if *Die Schweizerhütte* has been found when no one was looking for it, perhaps the material for his opera *Kopernik* (Copernicus), on which the composer was supposedly working in the last years of his life, will one day be found as well?

One of the most enigmatic figures in Polish romanticism is the composer, pianist, violinist and conductor Antoni Orłowski (1811–1861). Orłowski, a likeness of whom I have yet to find, was linked to Chopin by at least three biographical facts: they were both composition pupils of Elsner, both regarded as child prodigies and both left Warsaw for France in 1830. Chopin, however, settled in Paris and Orłowski in Rouen, where he initially received a post as violinist and two years later as conductor and director of an ensemble. While still in Warsaw, Orłowski, as it is hard for us to imagine today, aroused envy in Chopin, which

he struggled to conceal in his letters. At the age of thirteen, Orłowski composed his first ballet, *Walka rybołówców* (Battle of the fishermen), which in 1827 was successfully staged at the Grand Theatre (Teatr Wielki). That success for the sixteen-year-old composer meant that before leaving Warsaw, in 1830, he managed to stage three more ballets. In France, he maintained close contacts with prominent figures in French musical life: besides Chopin, with whom he performed in concert at least once in Rouen, also with Moniuszko's beloved composer Daniel-François-Esprit Auber, Camille Pleyel and Henri Herz. In Rouen, Orłowski staged two of his comic operas, including the highly popular *Le mari de circonstance*. Today, all the scores by this Polish bandmaster from Rouen constitute blank spots; we have only minor piano pieces and the Piano Trio, more valuable, but still overlooked by performers – all composed in Warsaw. To this we know (possibly) of one larger work, a *Marsz żałobny Orłowskiego* (Orłowski's funeral march), which Stanisław Moniuszko conducted on 20 March 1861 during the funeral service for Orłowski, who died prematurely (Mazur, 1993). It has yet to be established whether this is a work by Stanisław Moniuszko employing an unidentified theme of Orłowski's or merely an orchestration of some now unknown piano work by Orłowski. The fact remains that this is a composition which could form the funerary component of some large-scale Romantic Eroica. As things stand, the output of Antoni Orłowski is a mysterious blank spot: to date, no one has taken a closer interest in this music. As far as I am aware, no one has attempted to search through the musical archives in Rouen, where materials produced by Orłowski may be.

I have already mentioned the name of Moniuszko twice. Now I would like to evoke him for the last time with regard to a blank spot understood as a deliberately distorted fact. I am speaking here of what is generally regarded – from the musical point of view – as the composer's most magnificent work, the opera *Straszny dwór* (The Haunted Manor). This is a comic opera, not devoid of serious references to reality, which resonate particularly strongly in Stefan's famous carillon aria, in which we hear veiled comparisons between the homeland and the operatic hero's mother, laid in the grave. The Warsaw audiences immediately grasped all these contexts during the first three shows. They were also immediately understood by the Russian censor, who – despite the show's financial success – had it taken from the bill. As a consequence, Moniuszko never saw this work on the stage again. *The Haunted Manor* was first performed on 28 September 1865, at a singular time for the Poles, when the entire nation was in mourning, following the crushing defeat of the January Uprising. *The Haunted Manor* has been interpreted, like the works of Henryk Sienkiewicz, as one of those masterworks written 'for the fortification of hearts', but that idea only began to develop many years after the composer's death, as this opera, which formed a blank spot for some time, was gradually restored to the repertoire. The motif of 'fortification' in relation to this opera has been taken up by most commentators of Moniuszko's oeuvre, glorifying the composer's patriotic stance. Yet a sober glance at the manuscripts left by Moniuszko allow for a completely different appraisal of this work's genesis: its piano reduction was completed after more or less a year's work, in the mid 1862, and the copyist quickly finished copying out

the orchestrated score on 9 January 1863 (*nota bene* one day before the world premiere of Dobrzyński's *Monbar*). The January Uprising broke out exactly two weeks after the clean score of *The Haunted Manor* was completed – on 23 January 1863. After his death, Stanisław Moniuszko, who was always sceptical – to put it mildly – with regard to ideas of insurrection aimed at national liberation, was unexpectedly made out to have been a comforter of the nation – a role that he by no means felt like officially assuming while alive. It is still difficult to get this true message regarding the genesis of *The Haunted Manor* through to the public at large. For the time being, the myth created and perpetuated by historians in school textbooks holds sway.

The twentieth Century

It is high time we shifted our attention to the first half of the twentieth century. While noting, as I mentioned earlier, that the image of this historical period is under reconstruction, we must remember that its principal figures are widely perceived to be Karol Szymanowski and Mieczysław Karłowicz, who died tragically during a winter trip into the Tatra Mountains. After Karłowicz's death, in 1909, it seemed that no one – although I will shortly comment on this information in greater depth – could really prevent Szymanowski from securing the title of the most outstanding living Polish composer of the Young Poland generation. A significant contribution to promoting his symphonic output was made by a colleague from the 'Young Poland in music' group of composers to which Szymanowski belonged, namely, the outstanding conductor Grzegorz Fitelberg, who prepared many symphonic first performances of Szymanowski's works, and also by two musicologists regarded as the fathers of that discipline in Poland: Adolf Chybiński and Zdzisław Jachimecki. Szymanowski himself willingly echoed his allies, declaring – particularly after Poland regained its independence in 1918 – that he was actually the only worthwhile composer of his times in Poland, enclosed in his ivory tower and adopting an attitude of 'splendid isolation'.

Yet without negating Szymanowski's leading role, we must remember that the situation of Polish music in those times was by no means all that bad. There were at least a few active composers who definitely deserve to be remembered – not only by us Poles – and restored to the repertoire. One of them is Henryk Opieński, a friend of Szymanowski's who was an exceptionally versatile figure: outstanding musicologist and music journalist, founder of the Poznań Conservatory, the man behind the famous Swiss ensemble *Motet et Madrigal*, symphonic and operatic conductor and finally distinguished composer, active up to the early 1930s. His versatility was much appreciated by Ignacy Jan Paderewski, with whom Opieński was on very friendly terms, ultimately becoming the first monographer of Paderewski's compositional output (he often stayed at the Polish pianist's Riond Bosson residence). Until recently, it was considered that apart from a single – actually quite splendid – symphonic poem published in Poland, *Zygmunt August i Barbara* (Sigismund Augustus and Barbara), and a dozen or so songs, Opieński's output was completely lost. Fortunately, thanks to the

efforts of Małgorzata Sieradz (PhD) of the Institute of Art at the Polish Academy of Sciences, and Joanna Cywińska-Rusinek (PhD) of the Institute of Musicology in Poznań, a few years ago three archive sources of this composer were discovered in Switzerland: in Lausanne, Freiburg (the property of the Archivum Helveto-Polonicum foundation) and Basel University Library (Cywińska-Rusinek, 2019). It turned out that Opieński's scores previously considered to be lost (the oratorio *Syn Marnotrawny* (The prodigal son) and the two operas *Maria* and *Jakub lutnista* (Jacob the lutenist), performed at the Poznań Opera during the 1920s, are extant and are awaiting scholarly description, publication and further performances, a hundred years later. All three archives contain not just a score, but Opieński's incredibly rich epistolographic output – correspondence conducted in many different languages with prominent figures in Polish and European musical life. Editing that correspondence, among which valuable documents concerning details from the life of Paderewski and of Opieński's friend, the outstanding Young Poland dramatist and artist Stanisław Wyspiański, is one of the urgent tasks for Polish musicology.

The achievements of Opieński, who developed his compositional craftsmanship relatively slowly, did not represent any real threat to Szymanowski's position. The same cannot be said about the output of three other composers, to whom I would like to devote a little attention.

The first of those composers is Eugeniusz Morawski, an artist who until recently had been erased from Polish music history as a derivative composer, an epigone. Yet closer contact with his symphonic works, songs and ballets proves astonishing. Although there are few extant works, their quality is breathtaking. Morawski was a gifted artist, very much like the Lithuanian composer and painter Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis. During the Second World War, he lost his life's work in an instant, with the destruction of around seventy-five per cent of his unpublished scores – a tragedy unimaginable for any artist. With nowhere to live and no support from the Polish Composers' Union, run at that time by the vindictive adherents of Szymanowski, led by Zygmunt Mycielski, Morawski died completely forgotten, and his surviving output was scornfully dismissed with the label 'epigone' and de facto erased from the repertoire. At this point, I would like to cite one of his three extant symphonic poems, *Nevermore*, from 1911, which opens with an eleven-tone fugue that presages the fugue from Béla Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta*, written twenty-five years later (this work also prefigures the soundworld of many compositions by the sole Polish dodecaphonist, Józef Koffler, restored to Polish music twenty years ago by Professor Maciej Gołąb [2004]). At this point, I will just add that *Nevermore* is an ephra-sis of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven*, musically outstripping analogous efforts by Joseph Holbrook and Nikolay Myaskovsky.

Today, the oeuvre of Eugeniusz Morawski, whose music is at least a match for that of Karłowicz, is winning over more and more musicians and listeners. Yet it is full of blank spots. Although most of them can no longer be filled, we ought not to stop looking for his music in French archives. Perhaps at least his symphonic poems *Vae victis* and *Fleurs du mal*, after Baudelaire, both performed in France, will one day return to the concert hall.

The second figure worth recalling is Feliks Nowowiejski, a native of Warmia, who openly declared his Polish identity, but until 1918 remained a subject of Wilhelm II, emperor of Germany and king of Prussia. For practically his whole life, Nowowiejski was a favourite target for attacks from influential critics. One might say that he was methodically destroyed by Zdzisław Jachimecki and Adolf Chybiński, who in the fervour of raising Karol Szymanowski and Mieczysław Karłowicz onto a pedestal not only tore Nowowiejski's compositional reputation to shreds, but also denied him the right to Polish citizenship.

Nowowiejski, since 1910 known as the composer of *Rota*, to words by Maria Konopnicka – a song that became the unofficial anthem of the enslaved Polish nation – was the favourite student of Max Bruch in Berlin. That is no trifling distinction, given that Ralph Vaughan Williams, Ottorino Respighi and Gian Francesco Malipiero all studied with Bruch. Nowowiejski received the Meyerbeer composition scholarship – the highest in Germany – twice in a row.

Up to the mid 1920s, Nowowiejski remained essentially under the sway of late romanticism. A distinct watershed occurred around 1934, in connection with his lengthy stay in Paris, where he met such composers as Marcel Dupré, Alexander Glazunov and Albert Roussel. His contact with Roussel, with whom Nowowiejski subsequently maintained quite a lively correspondence, proved particularly important. Previously classified as an unpromising epigone, Nowowiejski, together with Morawski and Koffler, came to the fore among Polish composers active at home. These words, which in the second half of the 1930s no one dared or simply wished to utter, since a distorted picture of his oeuvre held sway, still meet today with resistance from people strongly attached to the hallowed musical historical matrix of the inter-war period. And yet they are strongly borne out by at least a dozen or so scores, among which I would like to briefly describe here at least the Third Symphony (*The Seven Colours of Iris*), which refers stylistically to the achievements of Roussel. Yet in the case of Nowowiejski's Third, we cannot speak of the slavish copying of Roussel's style, since practically each of its movements surprises us with remarkably ingenious timbral solutions. Here, Nowowiejski effectuated a creative reinterpretation of Roussel's Third Symphony in G minor, anticipating by more than forty years Witold Lutosławski, who carried out the same task, using entirely different means, in his own Third Symphony (1983), regarded today as one of the pinnacles of European symphonism of the second half of the twentieth century.

Although most of Nowowiejski's output is extant, we are still seeking his Symphony *Nordlandfahrt* (Journey to the land of the North), the score of which was even put forward, in 1899, for the inspection of Emperor Wilhelm II, as well as two other symphonies, in the keys of A minor and B minor, written during his studies with Bruch (Fokt, 2019).

Of the unpublished music of the last composer I wish to mention, Adolf Guzewski, we can say even less than about the creative output of the nineteenth-century composer Antoni Orłowski, since we have not a single one of his scores at our disposal. This composer, who trained mainly in St Petersburg and honed his skills with Zygmunt Noskowski, very quickly achieved successes in Warsaw and St Petersburg comparable to those gained by Nowowiejski in Berlin.

On two occasions – with his Symphonic Variations on an original theme (1910) and his Piano Concerto in E flat minor (1913), this composer triumphed in the prestigious competition run by the Warsaw Music Society, while in 1912, for his Symphony in A major, he won the Warsaw Philharmonic Competition held to mark that institution's tenth anniversary – a competition that was the apple in the eye of Young Poland composers. Recognition from the competition judges went hand in hand with recognition from the public. Perhaps Guzewski's greatest cause for pride was the staging of his opera *Dziewica lodowców* (The ice maiden), which enjoyed great success in St Petersburg. Unfortunately, Guzewski's successes, like those of Nowowiejski, were a thorn in the flesh of Zdzisław Jachimecki, according to whom this composer's music displayed but meagre qualities. Yet does that critic's attitude towards Nowowiejski and Morawski allow us to wave the now lost output of Adolf Guzewski aside? That question seems rhetorical.

Translated by John Comber

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