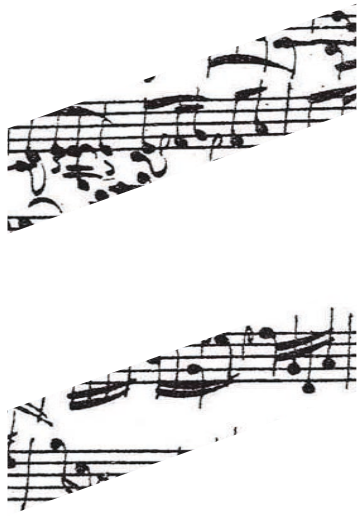Kwartalnik Młodych
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The French Art of the Natural Horn Playing and the Adaptation of Valve Mechanisms in the 19th Century

Abstract

The article is an attempt at identifying issues related to the problem of the adaptation of valve mechanisms in Parisian orchestras and Conservatoire. Opinions and postulates of supporters and opponents are being presented, as well as the concepts of combining the valve instrument with the use of the natural horn playing technique. In this context, the perspective of natural horn players, who contributed to the significant delay in the adaptation of valve horns in Paris, are being discussed. Further parts of the text explain the construction of natural horns commonly used in the discussed period in France (*cor solo* and *cor d'orchestre*), as well as various issues related to the specific playing technique. The differences between *cor alto* and *cor basse* are being examined as well as the concept of *cor mixte* proposed by Frédéric Duvernoy.

Keywords

natural horn, valve horn, French horn, *cor d'orchestre*, *cor solo*, adaptation of valve horns

The evolution of horn construction in the nineteenth century was extremely dynamic, especially with regard to the construction of instruments that would allow the full chromatic scale to be achieved. The final shape of the valve horn used today was developed by German builders—primarily Heinrich Stölzel (1777–1844) and Friedrich Blühmel (1777–1845), later also Joseph Riedl (d. 1840) and others.[1] Among French builders, Jacques Christophe Labbayé[2] and Joseph Émil Meifred (1791–1867) contributed to the improvement of the instrument. At the same time, part of the Parisian community, especially musicians associated with the Conservatoire, openly rejected the valve horn and emphasised their attachment to the sound characteristic of the natural horn.

The following text presents the opinions and postulates of French supporters and opponents of the introduction of valve horns into orchestras, as well as the proposals of solutions combining the valve horn playing with the use of the natural horn technique. In this context, the point of view of horn players as well as teachers (performance perspective) will be presented, who with their undertakings have contributed to a significant delay in the adaptation of the valve horns in Paris. The following parts of the text will explain the construction of natural horns, commonly used in France at that time, as well as technical issues related to playing technique.

Directions of the development of the horn playing in 19th-century in France

The question of the sound of the natural horn was repeatedly addressed both by the teachers of the Paris Conservatoire—including

[1] Nathan Adams, Wilhelm Wieprecht, Josef Kail, and François Périnet, among others.

[2] The dates of birth and death remain unknown.

Louis-François Dauprat, Jacques-François Gallay, Joseph Émile Meifred—and by significant artists and critics, such as Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) or François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871). Both enthusiastic voices and, much more often, harsh criticism were present in the discussion of the valve horn built in 1815. Understandably, there were also various proposals to combine the techniques inherent in both instruments. The overriding issue for supporters of the natural horn, that is, its characteristic sound resulting from the timbre of closed tones, allowing selected harmonic relations to be highlighted, was the main reason for the general disagreement on the adoption of the new instrument, constructed in principle to eliminate *sons factices*.[3] The advisability of using an instrument with valves in repertoire composed for natural horn was also questioned.[4] The opinion of Louis-François Dauprat, long-time lecturer at the Paris Conservatoire, is a representative example of the attitude of Parisian horn players to the modification of the instrument's construction:

> Some have wished that by means of holes and keys the considerable series of factitious sounds on the horn might be eliminated, while at the same time and in the same way those that are totally lacking in the low register would become possible. But this method, already applied to the [keyed] trumpet, has changed the timbre of the instrument to the point of giving it a quite peculiar character, creating an instrument which is neither a trumpet nor any other known instrument. […] The horn would probably fare likewise were it made to undergo similar alterations: it would lose its character and the true quality of its natural and factitious tones. Most of these latter have a charm that is particularly theirs, and which serve, so to speak, for shadings and nuances in contrast with the natural sounds. It must then be presumed that, far from gaining by their complete removal, the horn would lose a great deal. And what is said here about the

[3] *Sons factices* are factitious sounds, usually called *sons bouchées* (stopped or closed notes). In English terminology one can find two terms, i.e. 'stopped notes' and 'closed notes'. In this article, in reference to the technique of playing the natural horn, the author decides to use consistently the term closed notes, as it does not specify the degree of closing the hand in the bell. The use of the term closed notes provokes the idea of sounds that are completely closed. However, such sounds are not frequent in the range of the natural horn.

[4] B. Coar, *A Critical Study of the Nineteenth-Century Horn Virtuosi in France* (DeKalb (IL): B. Coar, 1952), 27.

> various sounds of the complete range of the instrument must obviously extend to the different crooks. Each of these, taken by itself, has its own colour, its timbre, and its special character; but if they were all combined in a single assembly, becoming but one and the same instrument, this instrument would certainly have, if you will, the same range of low, high, and middle sounds. However, the more the new inventions produce equality among all the sounds, the more the characters, colours, and timbres of the individual crooks would be distorted and confused. [5]

Similar opinions about the usefulness of valve horns and the impoverishment of their sound relative to natural instruments were expressed by other horn players, including Jacques-François Gallay.[6] Interestingly, these were not based on experience of playing the instrument discussed by Dauprat—Birchard Coar makes clear that the prejudice of a group of horn players at the Paris Conservatoire against playing the valve instrument was expressed without practical verification.[7] Indeed, none of the leading Parisian horn players (Gallay, Dauprat, Duvernoy) sought to explore the new playing technique. On the other hand, the practical application of the horn with valves, introduced systematically into French orchestras, deviated from the original intentions of its constructors due to the non-uniformity of the playing rules. According to sources cited by John Ericson and John Humphries,[8] horn players unaccustomed to the valve mechanism sometimes used the new instruments in the same way as the natural horn—ignoring the possibility of eliminating unwanted closed notes, treating the valves as a mechanism allowing for an efficient change of the tuning of the instrument between parts of works. Another tendency—the simplification of musical notation and the performance of all notes as open sounds against the will of the composers—was noted by

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5 L.-F. Dauprat, *Method for Cor Alto and Cor Basse*, tr. and ed. V. Roth, (Bloomington (IN): Birdalone
Music, 1994;), cited in: J. Ericson, *Dauprat on the Tone of the Natural Horn. The aesthetics of the natural horn*, http://www.public.asu.edu/~jqerics/dauprat_tone.htm, accessed 1 June 2020.

6 J.-F. Gallay, *Methode pour le Cor*, Op. 54, (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Cie., [1845]).

7 Coar, *A Critical Study*, 156.

8 J. Humphries, *The Early Horn. A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19.

Hector Berlioz in his *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*:[9]

> Many composers object to this new instrument because, since it began to appear in orchestras, certain horn players use pistons to play parts written for the ordinary horn; they find it more convenient to use the mechanism to play as open notes those notes which the composer *intended* to be played stopped. This is in fact a dangerous misuse and it is up to conductors to stop it spreading. One should not forget, after all, that in the hands of an able player the piston horn can produce all the stopped notes available on the ordinary horn *and more besides*.[10]

Despite the efforts of the proponents of the new instrument, aware of the possibilities it offered—both in maintaining the traditional technique of operating the hand in the horn, and within the framework of an emerging separate repertoire for the instrument—the adaptation of the French valve horn was significantly delayed in comparison with other musical centres such as Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden.[11] This was connected with the high performance standard of Parisian horn players in the first half of the nineteenth century, resulting from the *cor mixte* technique mastered to perfection by the French,[12] and the strong position of the teachers of the local music academy (including Jacques-François Gallay, whose vivid activity as a composer and concert pianist was to have a direct influence on the flourishing popularity of the natural horn at least until the 1860s).[13]

As John Humphries notes, the intransigence of the Parisian horn players became isolated over the years in the face of progressive changes in instrumentation. Indeed, attitudes towards valve instruments

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9 H. Berlioz, *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1843).

10 H. Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002), 181.

11 J. Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 16.

12 *Cor mixte*, *genre mixte* (mixed horn, mixed genre) was a performance concept popular in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, formulated by Frédéric Duvernoy, based on limiting the range of parts to the middle part of the instrument's range and combining the qualities of the first and second horn. It was applied to chamber and solo music of that period. An extended definition of *cor mixte* can be found later in this text.

13 R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn. Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of Its Technique* (2nd edn, London: E. Benn: 1973), 100.

outside the walls of the Paris school began to change. Although between 1833 and 1864 the Conservatoire offered parallel training in valve and natural horn, Joseph Meifred's valve horn class was secondary. Meifred was one of the first and few Parisian popularisers of the new instrument, and after his retirement in 1864 the teaching of valve horn was not continued. The same year, when Gallay—then the head professor at the Conservatoire—died, the care of the students was entrusted to his graduate, Jean Baptiste Victor Mohr. In practice, this meant the Conservatoire valve horn class was terminated. François Fétis, an enthusiast of the concert activity of the horn players associated with the Conservatoire, expresses his disappointment with their conservatism and prejudice in an article from 1865, advocating the need to replace natural instruments with valve horns. The generalisation he applies to the supposedly unconditional adoption of valves outside France should be seen as a rhetorical device to pit the conservative Parisian milieu against the rest of Europe.

> The discovery of the effect of pistons[14] was received with enthusiasm in Germany and Belgium, but France, almost always late in adopting new ideas, has shown little interest in it, and of all the instruments with pistons, adopted at first only the cornet, which soon fell into most ignoble degradation in the country taverns. […] In Paris, force of habit, prejudice, and certain special interests, which are encountered have placed many serious obstacles in the way of improving the orchestra through the betterment of brass instruments. In Europe, India, America, in everywhere except in Paris and in the provinces of France, the orchestral music has made notable progress by the use of horns, trumpets, trombones with pistons and by substitution of the bass and contrabass saxhorns for the ophicleide. […] The prejudice against cor à pistons is so deep rooted that the most skillful artists have disdained this instrument. They are convinced that the tone of the *cor à pistons* is inferior to that of the hand horn. […] The resistance, moreover, against the adoption of the *cor à pistons* in the orchestra in Paris and in the provinces of France seems plain nonsense to me. It could be well founded, only if composers never wrote

[14] At this point, the difference between pistons and valves should be clarified. In the studies on instruments, valve is the name for a mechanism which includes additional tubes (crooks) in the body of the instrument, extending the stream of air and thus changing the pitch. Such valves are divided into rotary ones, commonly called simply valves, and piston valves. For the purposes of this text, both term,: valves and pistons, are treated synonymously.

> for these instruments, but that is not so. Meyerbeer, in several of his operas, notably in *l'Africaine*, makes constant use of the two *cors a pistons* and writes other parts for the hand horn only for the sake of not going contrary to the prejudice of certain artists.'[15]

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of transition in Paris: the instruments were mixed with one another, but the presence of the valve horn in orchestras was still rare. At the same time, the Paris Conservatoire remained passive in the face of the changes that were actually taking place. It was not until 1903 that the teaching of valve horn was officially resumed thanks to the activity of François Brémond (1844–1925),[16] the professor at the Conservatoire from 1891 to 1922.[17] In practice, this meant the definitive closure of the natural horn class.

The construction of inventionshorns: *cor solo* and *cor d'orchestre*

The issues presented in this text refer to the form of the instrument in use from the 1750s to the end of the nineteenth century. The inventionshorn, considered to be representative of the instruments of Classicism and Romanticism, was constructed at the latest in 1753 by Johann Werner in cooperation with the horn player Joseph Hampel.[18] The ambition of Hampel, a Czech horn player in the Dresden ensemble, to create an instrument with a new construction was related to his work on the development of a new playing technique—it is thanks to him that the possibility to change the pitch (modifying the length of the air column) with the use of the hand placed in the instrument's bell was discovered.[19]

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15 F.J. Fétis, 'De la necessité de substituer les nouveaux instruments d'Adolphe Sax aux anciens, dans les orchestres', *Revue et gazette musicale* (1865, XXXII), 215–16; cited in: B. Coar, *A Critical Study*, 129–131.

16 B. Coar, *A Critical Study*, 138.

17 B. Coar, *A Critical Study*, 156–157.

18 A. Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 162.

19 H. Domnich, *Methode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Le Roy, 1808), V.

The horns which were commonly used in the eighteenth century were constructed with the use of the combination of crooks, placed one on another (so-called 'multicrook system'). The crook itself should be defined as a tube which extends the air column; it was formed in the shape of a loop. The fragment of the instrument used for tuning was the place of joining the last crook with the bell. The distance between the mouthpiece and the body of the instrument, which varied depending on the number of crooks put together, made it difficult to play with the hand which would dynamically change its position in the bell. Finding the existing construction uncomfortable, Hampel and Werner created a horn tuned with the use of an additional tube, the so-called 'invention crook',[20] placed in the central part of the instrument's body. The crooks that enabled to change the tuning were applied separately. The common name for the resulting instrument was an orchestral horn (*cor d'orchestre*). The constructional changes, leading to the development of the contemporary model of the instrument, were also connected with the stylistic changes in early Classical music, including the departure from the *clarino* technique[21] in favour of the new, traditionally understood role of orchestral horns—completing the harmonic layer, operating in the middle register and appearing more and more often in the chamber repertoire. The advances in the use of the hand in the horn bell allowed the chromatic scale of the instrument to be completed and in practice led to more frequent horn appearance in chamber and solo repertoire.

The inventionshorn constructed by Werner and Hampel is characterised by an invention crook built into the central part of the instrument's body. It provides a large margin to allow each horn crook to be tuned. Inventionshorns in the orchestras were supplemented with the crooks (B basso, C basso, D, E-flat, E, F, G, A, B alto, C alto) allowing to change the instrument's tuning between the movements of the composition. It should be noted that in the case of this instrument,

[20] The invention crook, in contemporary instrument usually called the slide assembly, is an additional fragment of the instrument that is characteristically distorted and has a movable part which allows for a precise tuning of the instrument.

[21] A *clarino* technique, developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is a technique of the trumpet and horn playing which involves the highest registers of the instruments in the advanced passages.

the leadpipe[22] was an integral part of the crook. The instrument constructed in this way was commonly used in nineteenth-century orchestras.

Establishing the horn as a solo instrument was the basis for Joseph-Lucien Raoux[23] to create a new French model of the inventionshorn, called *cor solo*, in the 1880s. As an instrument dedicated to soloists, it was used by the most famous natural horn virtuosos.[24] It was characterised by a slimmer construction and the crooks applied in place of the invention crook. This is connected with the most important feature of the instrument—the immobile leadpipe (unchangeable regardless of the changes of the crooks). The leadpipe of a brass instrument is considered to be one of the most sensitive structural elements affecting the sound of the instrument—determining its timbre, quality, articulation, intonation. Changing the leadpipe during playing can directly affect the soloist's performance capabilities. The construction of *cor d'orchestre* described above necessitated these changes, as the leadpipe was an integral part of each crook. Therefore, the Raoux's intention was to create a horn with a fixed leadpipe and to equalise the sound across the range, in every tuning of the instrument. While Hampel's classical inventionshorn was an instrument for both orchestral and solo playing, the *cor solo* was an impractical instrument in the orchestra due to its non-functional way of changing the crooks.

Markings for open and stopped sounds

One of the clearest and most lucid descriptions of horn playing technique, its possibilities and technique can be found in Hector Berlioz's *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*. First published in 1843, this instrumental treatise also addresses the issue of
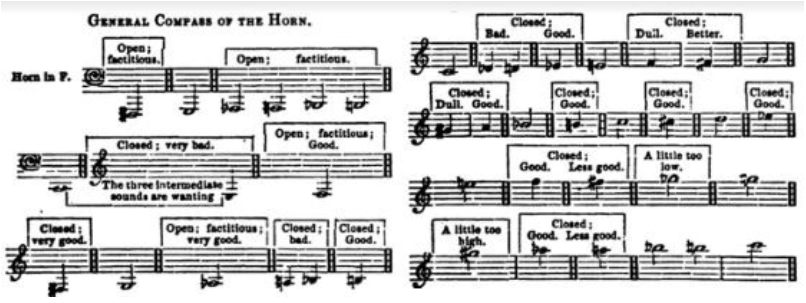
[22] The leadpipe is the part of the instrument of a widest bore size.

[23] Joseph-Lucien Raoux (1753–1821) –a maker of wind instruments and the son of famous maker (circa 1727 – circa 1800).

[24] Including Giovanni Punto, i.e. Jan Václav Stich (1746–1803), Charles Turrschmidt (1753–1797), Johann Palsa (1752–1792), Louis-François Dauprat (1781–1868) and Giovanni Puzzi (1792–1876).

combining the so-called right hand technique with the use of valves.[25] Although the valve horn occupies a secondary place in the treatise, Berlioz was one of the enthusiasts of the possibilities of the new instrument—he emphasised, however, that its true value lies in the preservation of the traditional playing technique. The author explains the principles of the instrument's functioning and describes the intonation relationships resulting from its natural tuning:

> Stopped notes make a sound that differs markedly not only from that of open notes but also one from another. These differences arise from the degree of closure applied to the bell by the player's hand. Some notes require the bell to be stopped a quarter or a third or a half; for others it has to be closed almost completely.[26]
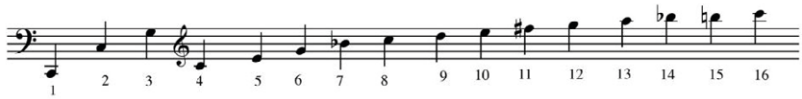


Ex. 1: The entire range of the horn together with the commentary on the intonation of particular tones. Source: H. Berlioz, *A treatise on modern instrumentation and orchestration*, tr. M. Cowden Clarke, ed. J. Bennett, Novello, (London–New York: Ewer & Co., 1882).

[25] Nowadays, almost all horns are left-handed instruments (valves are operated with the fingers of the left hand, while the right hand is in the horn). In nineteenth-century horn schools, there is usually an instruction that the instrument should be held in the left hand with the right hand in the bell. However, it should be noted that there were exceptions from the rule. Until the valve horns become common, the way of holding the instrument, i.e. 'right-handedness' or 'left-handedness' could depend on the preference of the performer. Louis-François Dauprat wrote: 'Some people hold the horn in their right hand, most of the foreign virtuosos that we have seen and heard in Paris hold the instrument just like that. So it is not a mistake, the way of holding the instrument is quite arbitrary.' The historically inaccurate English term 'right hand technique', referring to the right hand efficiently changing its position in the bell, was adopted in the 1970s.

[26] Macdonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*, 166–167.

The natural horn, using a harmonic series of aliquots, makes it possible to obtain twenty-one pitches in a span of four octaves.[27] The open sound belonging to the harmonic series of a given horn usually does not require any interference in intonation from the performer, except for specific sounds (e.g. the eleventh and thirteenth degree of the harmonic series).



Ex. 2: A harmonic series of aliquots: open sounds that can be performed by the natural horn.

Covering the bell with the hand can lower or raise the open sound by a semitone or a whole tone, the final effect being dependent on other parameters related to sound, such as air pressure, articulation or tongue position.[28] The technique of the right hand, consisting in 'closing', 'stopping' or 'covering' the horn, allows for precise regulation of intonation, and mastered at a professional level, gives performance possibilities similar to playing a valve instrument. Authors of schools for horn have variously marked, described and interpreted closed or partially covered sounds, creating distinct concepts for performance practice. In fact, the right-hand technique requires flexibility beyond the markings used in the schools, adapting it both to the anatomy of the body and to the possibilities of the instrument—the various structural features of the horn, including the bore size and bell diameter, as well as the material from which the instrument was made, can affect the timbre and intonation of individual sounds.[29]

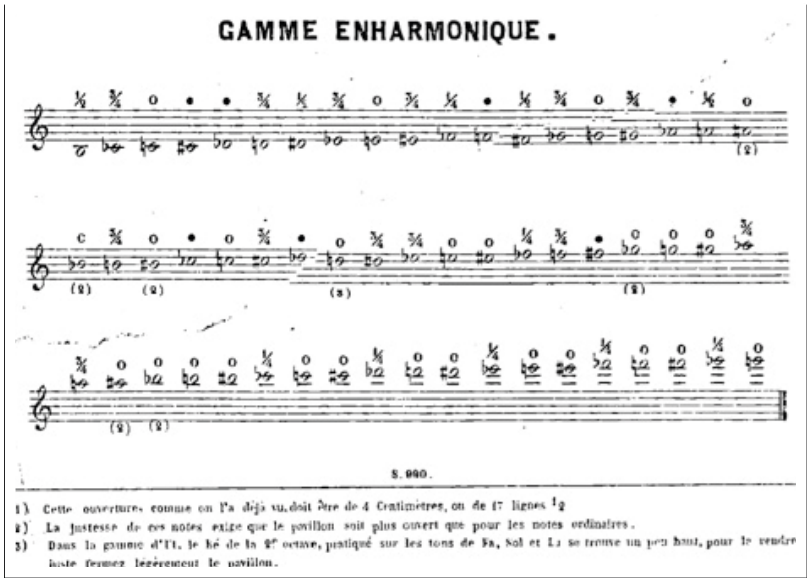
Jacques-François Gallay's *Methode pour le cor* is an example of the school giving closed notes detailed markings. Gallay proposes the symbol 'open zero' (o) (*zero ouverte*) for a natural open sound, a 'closed

[27] L.-F. Dauprat, *Le professeur de musique, ou, L'enseignement de cet art. Mis a la portee de chacun au moyen d'un instrument a sons fixes et du metronome de Maelzel* (Paris: A. Quinzard, 1857), 110.

[28] P. Farkas, *The Art of French Horn Playing* (Evanston (IL): Summy-Birchard, 1956), 46–52.

[29] J. Montagu, *Horns and Trumpets of the World. An Illustrated Guide* (Lanham (MD)–Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 37.

zero' (-) for a completely closed note, and fractions: 1/4, 1/2, 3/4, corresponding to the degree of deviation of the hand from the bell, which is the essence of obtaining various closed notes. Other, earlier French schools—by authors such as Duvernoy, Dauprat or Domnich—deal with the use of advanced instrument chromaticism in a very general way, although over the years its use has become a marker of the instrument's individual character.



Ex. 3: The range of the horn, open and closed notes. Source: J.-F. Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor*, Op. 54.

Terminology: *cor-alto* and *cor-basse. Cor mixte*

Different technical requirements of the upper and lower register of the horn, as well as the physical parameters of the instruments, led in the course of the eighteenth century to the development of characteristic specialisations of the first and second horn. The necessity of separating the parts was mainly due to the instrument's range spanning four octaves. It also had its basis in performance technique and required

adepts to determine their predispositions at an early stage of education,[30] unlike in the case of other wind instruments. The first French school specifying the characteristics of both parts while systematising the issue of closed notes was Heinrich Domnich's *Methode de Premier et Second Cor*. Although the right-hand technique had been in use since at least the 1850s, the principles of writing for the classical natural horn had not been clarified until the publication of this school in 1808.[31] Domnich explains in the preface of the work:

> Until now, it has been difficult for composers to make good use of this instrument. They were not sure whether the parts they would write would be possible to play. The possibilities of the horn were not defined precisely, and its range, high and low registers, depended on individual predispositions. In this context, the reasons for the variety of mouthpieces, the form of which was never specified, become clear. Those who used a large mouthpiece and made low notes with ease were unable to achieve high registers. Those who chose narrow mouthpieces played high notes easily, but could not reach low registers. Since the skill of playing acquired on one type of mouthpiece no longer allowed the use of mouthpieces of other dimensions, the need arose to distinguish between the specialities of the first and second horn. Everyone worked on perfecting their part, reaching extremes of register together. From that moment the whole range of the instrument was known, although it required the cooperation of two people.[32]

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30 Nowadays, horn players specialise at a late stage of their education, often in connection with their chosen position in the orchestra. The differences in question have been blurred due to the universal playing technique and the construction of instruments and mouthpieces allowing both high and low orchestral parts to be mastered equally.

31 Coar, *A Critical Study*, 24.

32 'Jusqu'alors il avait été difficile aux compositeurs de tirer parti de cet instrument ; ils n'étaient pas surs que ce qu'ils écrivaient put etre exécuté. La portée en était incertaine et les limites des sons aigus et des sons graves dépendaient des individus. En réfléchissant sur cette particularité, on en reconnut la cause dans la difference des embouchures, dont la forme et les proportions n'étaient pas déterminées. Ceux qui se servaient d'une embouchure large et qui formaient les sons graves avec facilité, ne pouvaient atteindre aux sons aigus. Ceux qui avaient adopté l'embouchure étroite avaient la plus grande aisance pour les sons aigus, sans pouvoir descendre aux sons graves. Comme l'habitude contractée par les levres ne permet pas a celui qui s'est exercé sur une embouchure quelconque d'en employer une d'un autre diametre, on sentit la nécessité de former deux genres, qu'on distingua par les noms de premier et de second Cor. Chacun travaillant de son côté a perfectionner le genre qu'il avait

Supplementing the fragment presented above, it should be added that the classically understood second horn part required a flexible technique, allowing for the realisation of passages filling out the texture in chamber works while maintaining full sound and effectiveness in the lower register, as well as—especially in later classical literature—proficiency within the realisation of closed notes from the fourth octave.[33] The advancement of the first horn part was usually associated with a high tessitura of the part, in early classical examples still reminiscent of the Baroque *clarino* technique.

French didactic literature is dominated by two types of names—*premier* and *second cor* (the most popular), and *cor alto* and *cor basse*, referring to the same range of parts, treated synonymously. The discrepancies in nomenclature in French schools were caused by the exceptional importance attached by some teachers to the terminology. The permanent introduction of the terms *cor alto* and *cor basse* was postulated by Louis-François Dauprat. He justified his idea by the exceptional technique differences between the two parts, seeing in the traditional distinction between *premier* and *second cor* a misunderstanding of the role of the second horn:

> These denominations, a bit vague, have always presented a prejudicial misunderstanding of the *Second Horn,* in causing [one] to believe that this latter title, instead of designating a particular type, assumed a degree of inferiority in the artist's talent. This idea gained more credence when some *First Horns,* by self-interest, by vanity, or even by both of these motives, often availed themselves of [this idea] to the detriment of their comrades. Meanwhile, it is good to know, even in orchestras where there are only two Horns, that each performer is first in his part, and that one cannot replace the other, because they are equally useful in the musical performance; the Horns are not like Violins, Flutes, Oboes, Bassoons, etc., who can indifferently execute one or the other of the two parts written for their instrument; the horns, on the contrary, cannot in most cases exchange parts without being thwarted by the insufficiency of their means.[34]

choisi, on parvint de part et d'autre au terme extreme ; et des-lors oute l'étendue de l'instrument fut connue quoique le concours de deux individus fut nécessaire pour la parcourir en entire.' Domnich, *Methode de Premier et de Second Cor*, II-III.

33 Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 11.

34 L.-F. Dauprat, 'Methode de Cor-alto et Cor-basse', tr. J.L. Snedeker, *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992), 171–172.

In distinguishing the terminology relating to the part of horn, a comment should be made about *cor mixte*, a performance concept of the 1820s and 1830s sometimes referred to as *genre mixte*. It was Frédéric Duvernoy's idea to combine the qualities of the first and second horns while limiting the range of the parts to the instrument's middle register. This proposal forced—to an unprecedented degree—the performance of pitches within the fourth octave, for the most part forming a set of closed notes. Although the concept died out rather quickly, its representatives had a significant influence on the popularity of the natural horn in Paris, provoking the development of an excellent playing technique in French horn players, as well as contributing to their later intransigence in artistic choices.[35]

An example of music exploiting the qualities of *cor mixte* is nineteenth-century repertoire for horn and harp—the juxtaposition of the timbres of these instruments was a stylistic trend found exclusively in Paris from the late eighteenth century until the 1830s. According to Jean Mongrédien, this combination was very popular and 'its sweetness made sensitive souls tremble with delight.'[36] The repertoire consists mainly of compositions by composers associated with the Concert Society of the Paris Conservatoire (*Société des concerts du Conservatoire*), including François Joseph Naderman (1781–1835), Frédéric Nicolas Duvernoy (1765–1838), as well as Louis-Emmanuel Jadin (1768–1853), François-Adrien Boïeldieu (1775–1834) and Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (1789–1856).[37]

First valve horns

The construction of the first instrument allowing mechanical pitch change by means of valves extending the air column in 1815, followed by the first patenting of such a construction in 1818 by Heinrich Stölzl and Friedrich Blühmel, marked the beginning of a period of intensive work by instrument makers to develop and improve the form of the valve horn.[38]

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35 Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 20.

36 Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 276.

37 J. Mongrédien, *French Music from Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789–1830*, tr. S. Frémaux (Portland (OR): Amadeus Press, 1996), 275–277.

38 J. Ericson, 'Early Valve Designs', http://www.public.asu.edu/~jqerics/earlval.htm, accessed 1 June 2020.

This activity resulted in the development of six most popular types of mechanisms over the course of the nineteenth century:[39] Stölzel valves (Stölzel/Blühmel, 1815), rotary valves (Nathan Adams, 1824), box valves (Stölzel/Blühmel, 1817/18), Berlin valves (Stölzel/Wilhelm Wieprecht, 1827/1828), Vienna valves (Joseph Riedl/Josef Kail, 1823) and Périnet valves (François Périnet, 1838/39).[40] Of all these, the most popular mechanism used in France were the Stölzl valves (1815), from today's point of view the most imperfect and archaic mechanism.[41] The second most popular solution were the valves designed by the Frenchman François Périnet, an improvement on the Stölzl valves. It should be added that the typical Stölzl horn was the most common model of valve instrument used before 1850 in Europe.[42] Despite the conservatism of the leading French horn players, Parisians also had an influence on the evolution of the Stölzl's construction. Apart from François Périnet, these included the first populariser of the valve horn, Joseph Émil Meifred, and the wind instrument builder Jacques Charles Labbayé. Their work on perfecting the work of the valve mechanism was supposed to allow for the development of a playing technique that would preserve the specificity of the natural horn.

Conclusion

The problem of the adaptation of the Paris valve horn provokes an exploration of the literature in search of answers to the question of what instruments nineteenth-century composers wrote for and what their expectations of performers were. The will of composers was often confronted with the habits and prejudices of musicians, their abilities and the availability of instruments. It is worth attempting to break the schematic thinking of nineteenth-century instruments as successive to their older counterparts. Instruments long intermingled, techniques

39 Ericson, 'Early Valve Designs'.

40 Ericson, 'Early Valve Designs'.

41 Two out of six types of valves mentioned above are commonly used in modern performance. The first of these is the rotary valve, designed in 1824 by Nathan Adams and patented in 1835 by Joseph Riedl. Gradually popularised in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century, they became the most popular type of valve mechanism. The second design still in use today is the so-called Vienna horn, patented in 1823 by Joseph Riedl and Josef Kail.

42 Ericson, 'Early Valve Designs'.

were combined and applied according to preferences and demands. The horn part in the *Symphonie Fantastique* is an emblematic example: its realisation, according to Berlioz's remarks, should take into account the use of a piston instrument while employing the right-hand technique characteristic of the natural horn.[43]

The Parisian school made the natural horn the Romantic solo instrument. The most important didactic literature and highly advanced compositions for natural horn[44] were created in France at a time of intense development of European instruments, whose main trend was to unify the sound of instruments and strengthen their volume, forced by the increasing number of performing ensembles. Meanwhile, the French, rejecting mechanical improvements to the horn and emphasising their attachment to the sound qualities characteristic of the natural horn, led to a considerable delay in the adaptation of the valve horns. However, as Birchard Coar points out, the persistent use of natural horns in French orchestras until the end of the nineteenth century was not a sign of backwardness, but evidence of the technical excellence of Parisian horn players.[45]

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[43] In the edition of the score from 1845, Berlioz indicates to 'play the stopped sounds with hands, without pistons' ('faites les sons bouchés avec la main sans employer les cylindres').

[44] See A. Rozwadowska, 'Życie i tworczość Jacquesa-Françoisa Gallay'ego' (MA thesis, Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University, Institute of Musicology, 2018).

[45] Coar, *A Critical Study*, 138.

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Adam Franciszek Epler (1902–1940): A Forgotten Musician of Interwar Lviv

Abstract

This article is an introduction to the artistic profile of a Polish conductor, composer and guitarist Adam Franciszek Epler. This forgotten creative persona left the artistic legacy of compositions and arrangements for mandolin orchestra ensemble. Moreover, he was the first Polish guitarist playing Polish lute music, a founder of the first Polish guitar trio named Lwowskie Trio Gitarowe and a musician in the most popular interwar radio broadcast Wesoła Lwowska Fala. As a composer and conductor of the Orchestra of Mandolin Society "Hejnał" from Lviv, he also took part in numerous radio broadcasts of Polish Radio Lviv. His musical activities, similarly to the entire mandolin heritage in Poland and guitar history in interwar Poland, requires further research, and this article is one of the first contributions to these research topics.

Keywords

Adam Epler, Lviv, guitar, mandolin orchestra, Polish Radio, Katyn massacre victim

Adam Epler was a composer, conductor and instrumentalist from Lviv. He was murdered by the NKVD in 1940. In the 1930s his name appeared dozens of times in the press announcements of radio programmes, and as part of *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* [Merry Lviv Wave], the most popular interwar programme, his guitar playing or arrangements and compositions for mandolin orchestra were perhaps heard by several million people.[1] At the same time, Epler is not mentioned in practically any post-war publication, his songs are not recorded on albums, and only a single photograph of him with the title of one of his songs can be found on the Internet.[2]

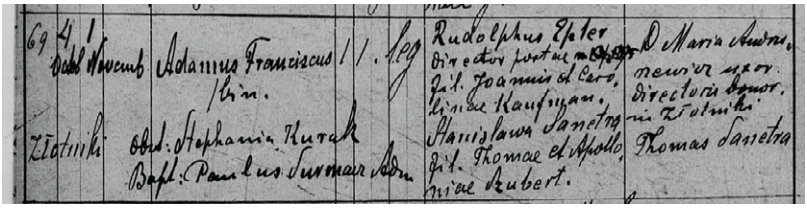
This text will present the profile of this forgotten musician, based on press releases and articles from the 1930s and on materials preserved by Barbara Epler-Matuchniak, the composer's daughter, currently living in London. However, it will not be a full biography nor an analysis of his work, but merely a contribution to further work on his artistic legacy.

Biographical information

Adam Franciszek Epler was born on 4 October 1902 in Złotniki (the Tarnopol Voivodship in the Second Polish Republic, today a village in the Tarnopol Oblast in Ukraine).[3] His parents were Rudolf Epler (son of Jan Epler and Karolina née Kaufman) and Stanisława Sanetra (daughter of Tomasz Sanetra and Apolonia née Szubert).[4] Since he was

1 W. Szolginia, *Na Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia, 1991), 21.
2 Compare 'Adam Epler', https://staremelodie.pl/kompozytorzy/236/Adam_Epler, accessed 6 July 2020.
3 AGAD, folder 301, no. 1901, *Par. Złotniki, dek. Podhajce; Księga metrykalna urodzeń, ślubów i zgonów dla wsi: Złotniki, Burkanów, Charki, Pantalicha, Rakowiec, Sokołów, Sosnów*, 365.
4 AGAD, *Par. Złotniki, dek. Podhajce*, 365.

seven, Adam Epler lived in Śnietnica near Grybów, where his mother was a postmaster.[5] He took private lessons with Eugeniusz Pazdryj, who prepared him for secondary education. Then, he studied at the Male Gymnasium in Rzeszów.[6]



Illus. 1: A fragment of *Liber natorum* of the parish of Złotniki. Source: AGAD, *Par. Złotniki, dek. Podhajce*, 365.

From 1921 to 1925 he studied law at the Faculty of Law of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv.[7] After graduation, he worked in the municipal court in Lviv. In June 1931, he passed the exam completing the judicial training and became a court assessor.[8] Then, on 4 February 1932, he was appointed a municipal judge in Busko in the district of Złoczów.[9]

He was a reserve soldier of the Polish Army in the rank of lieutenant,[10] serving in the fifth Podhale Rifle Regiment in Przemyśl.[11] He married Janina Zofia née Wałęga from Lviv.[12] He had two daughters: the younger one, Marta Jadwiga, born in 1938, and the older one, Barbara Maria Epler-Matuchniak born in 1932,[13] who kept in her private

5 B. Epler-Matuchniak, 'Koło Mandolinistów „Hejnał" we Lwowie pod batutą Adama F. Eplera i Wesoła Lwowska Fala', *Semper Fidelis*, 4 (2005), 38.

6 Epler-Matuchniak, 'Koło Mandolinistów', 38.

7 Epler-Matuchniak, 'Koło Mandolinistów', 38.

8 'Ruch służbowy w Ministerstwie Sprawiedliwości', *Monitor Polski* (21 July 1931), 2.

9 'Ruch służbowy na obszarze Wojew. Tarnopolskiego', *Tarnopolski Dziennik Wojewódzki* (1 Nov. 1932), 168.

10 P. Rogaliński, '9 maja – Polacy europejscy?', *Polonia*, 5 (2009), 50.

11 B. Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Franciszek Epler*, unpublished biographical note from the collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak.

12 B. Epler-Matuchniak, AHM_PnW_2611, relation from the collection of the Archive of Spoken History of KARTA and the House for Meetings with History (28 Oct. 2011).

13 Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Franciszek Epler*.

collection all the materials left after her father, saved from the war wandering.[14]

Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' in Lviv

Epler had no formal musical education and was self-taught. He mastered playing the guitar (he owned a harp guitar with additional bass strings), mandolin, violin and squeezebox (he owned a Hohner instrument).[15] He had excellent, most likely perfect pitch. However, recognizing his deficiencies in musical education, he took private composition lessons from Wiktor Hausman,[16] a professor at the Conservatory of the Polish Music Society in Lviv.[17] He undertook various activities in the field of music, e.g. he conducted an amateur choir in Busko or even led occasional orchestras in the Przemyśl area during reserve exercises.[18]

However, the axis of all Epler's artistic activities was the Orchestra of 'Hejnał' in Lviv. He became involved with the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' as early as during his law studies. The orchestra itself existed since around 1920.[19] Before Epler became a conductor, the band was conducted by Mieczysław Kurtycz,[20] a father of singer and guitarist Zbigniew Kurtycz.[21]

Supposedly, Epler had been the conductor since 1928, as indicated by a photograph from the archive of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak, taken on 27 October 1928 after the concert at the Hall of the Society 'Gwiazda'. In the photo Epler can be seen in the centre of the ensemble. The first manuscripts with his arrangements for mandolin orchestra date from

[14] The story of the war wandering of the family of Epler was described in detail by his daughter, Barbara Epler-Matuchniak. Epler-Matuchniak, AHM_PnW_2611.

[15] Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Franciszek Epler.*

[16] [B. Epler-Matuchniak], 'Adam Epler i „Hejnał"', *Dziennik Polski* (26 Oct. 2005), 9.

[17] K. Fink, 'Szkolnictwo muzyczne we Lwowie w okresie międzywojennym (1918–1939)', *Молодь і Ринок*, 4 (2017), 50.

[18] Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Franciszek Epler.*

[19] 'Koncert mandolinistów i tria gitarowego', *Biuletyn Radjofoniczny dla użytku prasy*, 3 (1935), 9a.

[20] The correspondence between the author and Barbara Epler-Matuchniak from 17 May 2020.

[21] R. Klimczak, 'Zbigniew Kurtycz (1919–2015)', *Dziennik Teatralny*, http://www.dziennikteatralny.pl/artykuly/zbigniew-kurtycz-1919-2015.html, accessed 6 July 2020.

the first half of 1929. The first found press announcement of an orchestra concert conducted by Epler comes from a radio programme on 4 January 1931.[22] On 29 March 1931, a general meeting of the members of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' was held, at which Epler was officially elected the conductor of the orchestra.[23]

From the report of that general meeting, we also learn about other people who held positions in the Society's board. It consisted of Prof. Józef Rubinger (chairman), Ludwik Hegedues (vice-chairman), Michał Becko (treasurer), Rudolf Anspach (secretary), Mieczysław Kurtycz (deputy secretary), Stanisław Wieczysty (librarian), Mieczysław Peszyński (host), Mieczysław Miciek (deputy conductor); Tadeusz Kirchner and Stanisław Wałęga were admitted as honorary members and Michał Becko became a founding member.[24]

Epler did all his work as a conductor *pro bono*, and all the money earned by the orchestra was spent on instruments, paper and other expenses related to the activities of the ensemble.[25] Rehearsals took place mostly on Saturdays, when Epler was free from his duties as a judge,[26] and the concerts took place mostly at the weekend, usually on Sundays.

The members of the orchestra were people of a diversified professional and social background.[27] Based on surviving photographs, the number of instrumentalists in the orchestra can be estimated at between eighteen and thirty. The preserved arrangements and compositions by Epler indicate that such a number of musicians as well as the abilities of the orchestra allowed for establishing of an ensemble containing additional instruments (mandolin piccolo, mandocello) that could be included in the orchestra (in comparison to the basic quartet composition, i.e. mandolins I & II, tenor mandola and guitar).

Very little information has been preserved about concerts under Epler's direction that were not connected with Polish Radio; most of them, like the four described below, probably took place on the occasion of various city or private events.

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22 'Programy europejskich radjofonów', *Chwila* (5 Jan. 1931), 18.
23 'Z Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" we Lwowie', *Chwila* (2 Apr. 1931), 13.
24 'Z Koła Mandolinistów' (1 Apr. 1931), 13.
25 Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Franciszek Epler.*
26 Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Epler i „Hejnał".*
27 Epler-Matuchniak, *Adam Epler i „Hejnał".*



Illus. 2: The concert of 'Hejnał' at the Hall of the Society 'Gwiazda' on 27 October 1928. Source: the collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak.

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme
1.	27 October 1928	Concert of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' at the Hall of the Society 'Gwiazda'	no data available
2.	1 December 1931	Patriotic Morning at the Tadeusz Kościuszko Society of Teenagers[28]	Polish pieces
3.	27 April 1932	Concert in the Literary Casino	no data available
4.	18 March 1932	Garden Party of the Syndicates of Lviv Journalists[29]	no data available

Table 1: Concerts of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' under the direction of Adam Epler that were not associated with Polish Radio[30].

[28] 'Poranek patriotyczny w Kole Młodzieży im. Tadeusza Kościuszki', *Gazeta Lwowska* (2 Dec. 1931), 5.

[29] 'Impreza dziennikarzy lwowskich', *Gazeta Lwowska* (22 June 1932), 5.

[30] The information concerning the concerts without the footnotes comes from the collection of photographs with the caption, preserved by Epler-Matuchniak.

Collaboration with Polish Radio Lviv

The collaboration between 'Hejnał' and the Polish Radio Lviv took place practically from the beginning of the radio's activity. Polish Radio Lviv was officially launched on 15 January 1930[31] and already on 17 May 1931 the *Radio* magazine published a photo of the orchestra with the caption: 'The Lviv Mandolin Society "Hejnał" whose performances in front of the microphone of the Radio Lviv enjoy the well-deserved recognition of radio listeners.'[32]



Illus. 3: The radio photo of 'Hejnał' from 1931. Source: 'Polska Radjowa', *Radio* (17 May 1931), 9.

The beginning of this cooperation is connected with Epler's friendship with Wiktor Budzyński. Their acquaintance began in 1929 and lasted until the outbreak of the war.[33] Budzyński was a radio man from Lviv, the creator of the famous all-Poland programme *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* and the author of a great number of texts used in this

[31] S. Miszczak, *Historia radiofonii i telewizji w Polsce* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, 1972), 118.

[32] 'Lwowskie Koło Mandolinistów "Hejnał" którego występy przed mikrofonem Rozgłośni lwowskiej cieszą się zasłużonym uznaniem radiosłuchaczy'. 'Polska Radjowa', *Radio* (17 May 1931), 9.

[33] Epler-Matuchniak, *Koło Mandolinistów „Hejnał"*, 39.

and other programmes of the Lviv radio station.[34] He greatly appreciated Epler's musical abilities, especially his willingness to explore Polish folk music.[35]

'Hejnał' regularly participated in various radio programmes, including *Wesoła Niedziela* [Merry Sunday], *Radio Chorych* [Radio for the Ill], *Wieczorna serenada* [Evening serenade] and the famous *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*. On 23 October 1937, a concert was held to celebrate the 100th radio broadcast and the 15th anniversary of the activity of the Society—this shows the scale of the orchestra's participation in the life of the Polish radio. Radio announcements found in the following two years (until September 1939) bring information about at least twenty-eight further performances. A large number of these concerts were broadcast by all Polish Radio stations throughout the decade.

Due to such a large number of the orchestra's appearances, I will only list here information about several ones, about which most information concerning the performed programme has been preserved.

No.	Date	Type of concert[36]	Programme[37]
1.	4 January 1931	Concert of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[38]	1. Michał Kleofas Ogiński: *Polonez*, 2. Tadeusz Joteyko: *Frottola Italiana*, 3. *Fantazja z op. „Halka"*, 4. Wojciech Osmański: *Wiązanka melodji swojskich*, 5. Maksymilian Chmielewicz: *Równy krok – marsz wojskowy*.

[34] 'Hallo! Hallo! Tu Polskie Radjo Lwów…', in S. Zachariasiewicz, ed., *Targi Wschodnie 1935* (Lwów: Wschód—Prasowa Agencja Informacyjna, 1935).

[35] Epler-Matuchniak, *Koło Mandolinistów „Hejnał"*, 39.

[36] In tables 2–4, in the column 'Type of concert', the original Polish announcement in the press is provided in the footnotes.

[37] In tables 2–4, in the column 'Programme', the full titles of the works are reconstructed by the author based on the press announcements.

[38] 'Koncert lwowskiego Koła mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. p. Adama Eplera.' 'Programy europejskich radjofonów', *Chwila* (5 Jan. 1931), 18.

No.	Date	Type of concert[36]	Programme[37]
2.	12 February 1935	*Przy dźwiękach marsza – idziemy spać* [When the march sounds—we go to bed], concert of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[39]	1. Zygmunt Noskowski: *Ulubiony marsz Księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego*, instrumentation by M. Becki, 2. *Marsz 6. Pułku Strzelców Podhalańskich* arr. by A. Epler, 3. Cayetano Alberto Silva: *San Lorenzo – marsz włoski*, 4. Mario Maciocchi: *Gamine charmante – marsz francuski*, 5. John Philip Sousa: *Pod gwiaździstym sztandarem – marsz amerykański*, 6. Meves: *Song of America – marsz amerykański*, 7. Mario Maciocchi: *Na arenie – marsz hiszpański*, 8. *Castaldo – marsz austriacki* arr. by A. Epler, 9. Julius Fučík: *Dzieci pułku – marsz austriacki* arr. by M. Becki, 10. *Czasy się zmieniają – marsz rosyjski* arr. by A. Epler, 11. *Dni naszego życia – marsz rosyjski* arr. by A. Epler, 12. Adam Epler: *Hejnał – marsz*, 13. Adam Epler: *Na Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali – marsz*, 14. Adam Epler: *Gródek – marsz*.
3.	12 February 1935	*To było takie znane* [It was so well-known], concert of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[40]	1. Fabian Tymolski: *Cieniom Adama Mickiewicza – polonez* arr. by A. Epler, 2. Kazimierz Bończa-Tomaszewski: *Tańce górnośląskie* (*Ułan*, *Obracany*, *Drybek*, *Trojak*), 3. Alphons Czibulka: *Stefania – gawot*, 4. Mario Maciocchi: *Milena – czardasz*, 5. Eduardo Di Capua: *'E Bersagliere – marsz włoski*.
4.	14 December 1935	*W Madrycie* [In Madrid], concert of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[41]	1. Mario Maciocchi: *Na arenie – marsz*, 2. Eugene Boucheron: *Impresje hiszpańskie* (*Pochód*, *Serenada*, *Pod drzewami pomarańczy*, *Bolero*), 3. Mario Maciocchi: *Wieczór w Madrycie – walc hiszpański*.

[39] '*Przy dźwiękach marsza – idziemy spać*, koncert zesp. Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. A. Eplera.' *Fala*, 7 (1934), [8].

[40] '*To było takie znane*, koncert ork. lwowsk. Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. A. Eplera.', *Fala*, 6 (1935), [4].

[41] '*W Madrycie*, koncert orkiestry Lwowskiego Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera.', *Antena*, 49 (1935), XXIX.

No.	Date	Type of concert[36]	Programme[37]
5.	27 April 1936	*Z piosenką przez Lwów* [With the song through Lviv], concert of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[42]	1. Adam Epler: *Gródek – marsz*, 2. Adam Epler: *Z piosenką przez Lwów – potpourri lwowskich piosenek*, 3. Wiktor Budzyński, Adam Epler: *Lwowska noc – boston-serenada*, 4. Adam Epler: *Za drągiem – zbiór sztajerków lwowskich*, 5. Adam Epler: *Na Kleparowie – polka*, 6. Adam Epler: *Na Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali – marsz*.
6.	18 September 1936	*Wspomnienia z Budapesztu* [Memories from Budapest] – half an hour of mandolins. Light Hungarian music performed by the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[43]	1. Berté Henrik: *Casino – czardasz*, 2. Adam Epler: *Wspomnienia z Budapesztu – potpourri ludowych melodii węgierskich*, 3. Adam Epler: *Taniec węgierski D-dur*, 4. Ákos László: *Melodie węgierskie*, 5. Adam Epler: *Węgierka – czardasz na motywach ludowych*.
7.	23 May 1937	*Na swojską nutę* [Our sounds], the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler [44]	1. Adam Epler: *Skalmierzanki – uwertura na tematy opery I. Kamińskiego*, 2. Adam Epler: *Cudze chwalicie, swego nie znacie – zbiór kujawiaków*, 3. Kazimierz Bończa-Tomaszewski: *Tańce górnośląskie* (*Ułan*, *Obracany*, *Drybek*, *Trojak*), 4. Adam Epler: *Na polską nutę – zbiór melodii ludowych wg Glogera*, 5. Adam Epler: *Miłe wspomnienie – polonez*.
8.	19 March 1938	Entertainment concert. Performers: the Orchestra of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler[45]	Pieces by Fabian Tymolski, arr. by Adam Epler: 1. *Polonez* (dedicated to Joachim Lelewel), 2. *Z Grodu Lwa – mazur salonowy*, 3. *Wstęga Wisły – krakowiak*, 4. *Piękna płeć stawia sieć – polka mazurka*, 5. *Straż ochotnicza – galop*, 6. *Łza – polonez*, 7. *Ręka w rękę – krakowiaki*, 8. *Do ataku broń – marsz* (devoted to Wybranowski, national guard colonel 1848).

[42] '*Z piosenką przez Lwów*, koncert Orkiestry Lwowskiego Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera.'. *Fala*, 37 (1936), [4].

[43] '*Wspomnienia z Budapesztu* – pół godziny mandolin. Lekka muzyka węgierska w wykonaniu Orkiestry Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera.', *Fala*, 21 (1937), [12].

[44] '*Na swojską nutę*, orkiestra mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera.', *Antena*, 21 (1937), III.

[45] 'Koncert rozrywkowy. Wykonawcy: Orkiestra Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera.', *Antena*, 11 (1938), XXVI.

No.	Date	Type of concert[36]	Programme[37]
9.	11 June 1938	*Z utworów Schuberta* [From Schubert's work]. Performers: the Orchestra of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler, Maria Bielicka - mezzosoprano[46]	Music by Franz Schubert, arr. by Adam Epler: 1. *Muzyka baletowa z „Rozamundy"*, 2. *Nad morzem*, 3. *Bądź pozdrowiona*, 4. *Młynarz i strumyk*, 5. Melodies from operetta *Domek trzech dziewcząt* arr. by Adam Epler, 6. *Serenada*, 7. *Polna różyczka*, 8. *Barkarole*, 9. *Moment musical*, 10. *Marsz wojskowy*.
10.	3 September 1938	*Muzyka polska* [Polish music], concert performed by the Mandolin Orchestra 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler – broadcast from the Pavillion of the Eastern Markets in Lviv[47]	1. Adam Epler: *Miłe wspomnienia – polonez*, 2. Ludomir Różycki: *Menuet* from the opera *Casanova*, 3. Fabian Tymolski: *Łza – polonez*, 4. Tadeusz Joteyko: *Frottola Italiana*, 5. Fabian Tymolski: *Królowa balu – walc*, 6. Adam Epler: *Na Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali – marsz*, 7. Wojciech Osmański: *Dziadunio – polka*.
11.	10 December 1938	Marches, waltzes and polkas performed by the Orchestra of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by A. Epler[48]	1. *Marsz 6. Pułku Strzelców Podhalańskich* arr. by A. Epler, 2. Fabian Tymolski: *Czy mogę prosić – walc*, 3. Rudolf Szpala: *Z góry piórkiem – polka*, 4. Rudolf Szpala: *Jeździec – marsz*, 5. Rudolf Szpala: *Na balu – walc*.

Table 2: A selection of the concerts of the Orchestra of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' directed by Adam Epler, broadcast by Polish Radio.

The orchestra also took part in a number of other radio concerts, including *Venezia e Napoli*,[49] *Z krainy dolarów* [From the land of dollars],[50] *Gdy zadźwięczą przy piosence mandoliny* [When music

[46] '*Z utworów Schuberta*. Wykonawcy: Orkiestra Lwowskiego Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera, Maria Bielicka – mezzosopran.', *Antena*, 23 (1938), XXV.

[47] '*Muzyka polska*, koncert w wyk. Orkiestry Mandolinowej „Hejnał" pod dyr. Adama Eplera – transmisja z Pawilonu Targów Wschodnich we Lwowie.', *Antena*, 35 (1938), XXVI.

[48] 'Marsze, walce i polki w wykonaniu Ork. Lwowskiego Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyrekcją A. Eplera, *Antena*, 49 (1938), XXVI.

[49] *Wiadomości Radjowe*, 20 (1932), 12.

[50] 'Program radjowy', *Gazeta Lwowska* (14 Oct. 1933), 6.

for mandolin sounds],[51] *Na polską nutę* [Polish music],[52] *Zakładamy Koło Mandolinistów – Bum cyk cyk* [We start the Mandolin Society],[53] *Uciekła mi przepióreczka* [My quail ran away],[54] *Wiosna w Italii* [Spring in Italy],[55] *Manewry piosenki żołnierskiej* [Manoeuvres of the soldiers' song],[56] *Z różnych stron* [From different ways],[57] *Przekładaniec świąteczny* [A festive cake],[58] *Podwieczorek z ogródka* [An afternoon tea from the garden].[59] Apart from the musicians listed in the table above, other people who participated in the concerts and broadcasts of 'Hejnał' were: Józef Zubik,[60] Erazma Kopaczyńska-Janowicz,[61] Zbigniew Lipczyński's Choir of Funny Five,[62] Dunka Sieczkowska,[63] Tadeusz Seredyński,[64] Stanisław Rusocki,[65] Izydor Dąb,[66] Waleria Jędrzejewska[67] and Janina Rawicz-Jasińska.[68]

In the second half of the thirties, radio programmes[69] started to be recorded, perhaps including also those performed by the Orchestra of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał'. Then, such programmes were replayed after some time, often on shortwave for foreign listeners. The time of such repeats was therefore adjusted to other time zones, as was presumably the case with the programme *Na manewrach* [Manoeuvres] of 27 August 1938, which was retransmitted at 1:00 a.m. on 31 August 1938.[70]

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51 *Biuletyn Radjofoniczny dla Użytku Prasy*, 41 (1934), 18.
52 *Fala*, 43 (1935), [11].
53 'Wesoła audycja dla dzieci', *Dziennik Polski* (12 Aug. 1936), 7.
54 *Antena*, 43 (1936), III.
55 'Wiosna w Italii. Audycja muzyczna ze Lwowa', *Biuletyn Radjofoniczny dla Użytku Prasy*, 11 (1937), 14.
56 'Na fali radiowej', *Czas* (15 Aug. 1937), 14.
57 'Słuchajmy dziś radia', *Chwila* (29 Sept. 1938), 11.
58 *Radio dla wszystkich*, 15 (1939), 5.
59 'Słuchajmy dziś radia', *Chwila* (12 Aug. 1939), 11.
60 'Program radjowy', *Kurier Warszawski* (29 Aug. 1931, morning issue), 6.
61 *Wiadomości Radjowe*, 20 (1932), 12.
62 'Co usłyszymy dziś przez radjo', *Chwila* (26 July 1934), 13.
63 'Słuchajmy dziś Radja!', *Chwila* (23 July 1936), 11.
64 'Słuchajmy dziś Radja!', *Chwila* (23 July 1936), 11.
65 *Fala*, 33 (1936), [12].
66 *Fala*, 33 (1936), [12].
67 *Antena*, 43 (1936), III.
68 'Słuchajmy dziś radia', *Chwila* (5 Feb. 1938), 11.
69 Miszczak, *Historia radiofonii*, 132–133.
70 *Antena*, 35 (1938), XXVI.



Illus. 4: Broadcast from the concert *Gdy zawdzięczą mandoliny* [When mandolins sound] performed by the Orchestra of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' from the Pavilion of the Eastern Trade Fair in Lviv on 12 September 1937. Source: collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak.

Despite the fact that Epler was not formally employed as an orchestra conductor at the Lviv radio station of the Polish Radio, the 1939 *Radio-Informator*, in the section devoted to the Lviv branch, includes his photograph with the caption 'Kapellmeister'.[71] He was offered a job in radio in 1938, but due to his work as a judge he did not take up other forms of employment.[72]

Polish Schrammel

Epler cooperated with the Polish Radio in Lviv on two main levels: apart from the already mentioned concert activity as the conductor of the Orchestra of the Mandolin Society 'Hejnał', he made numerous

[71] *Radio-Informator*, 2 (1939), 204.
[72] Epler-Matuchniak, *Koło Mandolinistów „Hejnał"*, 40.

guest appearances as a guitarist in various broadcasts or during concerts of bands he co-founded.



Illus. 5: A photograph of Adam Epler from *Radio Informator*, 1939. Source: *Radio-Informator* 2 (1939), 204.

The first known instrumental undertaking of Epler was the Polish Schrammel Quartet, which was active at the turn of 1933. The ensemble performed music in the style of *Schrammelmusik*, a kind of folk music from Vienna, created at the end of the 19th century on the basis of the work of Johann and Josef Schrammel.[73] The Polish Schrammel consisted of Maria Bogucka (squeezebox), Wilfrid Gerhardt (first violin), Dr Roman Krzysztalski (second violin) and Adam Epler, who played the guitar and was the ensemble's manager.[74] Epler was also responsible for compiling the scores for the quartet. From the surviving radio announcements we know of only four concerts of those musicians together:

[73] E. Weber, 'Schrammelmusik', in 'Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online', https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_S/Schrammelmusik.xml, accessed 6 July 2020.

[74] *Radjo*, 49 (1932), IV.

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme	Performers
1.	4 December 1932	[Radio concert as part of the 3rd *Wesoła Niedziela Radiowa Lwowa*][75]	1. Johann Schrammel: *Nie ma jak Wiedeń – marsz*, 2. Johann Brahms: *Walc A-dur*, 3. Rudolf Sieczyński: *Wiedeń, miasto moich marzeń*, 4. Ralph Benatzky: *Grinzing*, 5. Marcelo Tupinambá: *Tanghino brasileiro*, 6. Werner R. Heymann: *Walc z filmu „Kongres tańczy"*, 7. Adam Epler: *Cudze chwalicie. Zbiór kujawiaków*, 8. Adam Epler: *Od ucha. Zbiór oberków*.	Maria Bogucka (squeezebox), Wilfrid Gerhardt (violin I), Roman Krzysztalski (violin II), Adam Epler (guitar, director)
2.	25 December 1932	*Z piosenką przez Lwów (Bummel po Lwowie)* arr. by W. Budzyński and A. Epler[76]	no data available	Polish Schrammel and soloists
3.	12 February 1933	*To było takie znane*, light music audition arr. by W. Budzyński and A. Epler[77]	no data available	Polish Schrammel
4.	16 April 1933	*Z piosenką przez Lwów (Bummel po Lwowie)*, light music audition arr. by W. Budzyński and A. Epler[78]	no data available	Polish Schrammel and soloists

Table 3: Concerts of the Polish Schrammel Ensemble with the participation of Adam Epler.

This collaboration was probably short, as the dates on the manuscripts of arrangements and compositions for this ensemble cover a period of seven months, from June 1932 to January 1933. After this time, the ensemble most probably ceased its activities. It reappeared in the press announcements of radio shows in July 1934, but with

[75] 'Co usłyszymy dziś przez radjo', *Chwila* (5 Dec. 1932), 17.

[76] '*Z piosenką przez Lwów (Bummel po Lwowie)* w opracowaniu W. Budzyńskiego i A. Eplera.' 'Co usłyszymy dziś przez radjo', *Chwila* (26 Dec. 1932), 10.

[77] '*To było takie znane*, lekka audycja muzyczna w opr. W. Budzyńskiego i A. Eplera.' 'Nasz korespondent donosi…', *Radjo*, 7 (1933), 12.

[78] '*Z piosenką przez Lwów (Bummel po Lwowie)*. Lekka audycja muzyczna w opr. Adama Eplera i Wiktora Budzyńskiego.' 'Co usłyszymy dziś przez radjo', *Chwila* (17 Apr. 1933), 11.

different players. Only Wilfrid Gerhardt (first violin) remained from the previous group, while new members were Roman Korecki (second violin), Konstanty Maurycy (squeezebox) and Stanisław Ćwikliński (guitar).[79],[80]

Lviv Guitar Trio

An exceptional musical activity of Epler's was co-founding the Lviv Guitar Trio (press announcements also used the names Adam Epler's Guitar Trio or 'Hejnał' Guitar Trio from Lviv), the first band of this type in Poland. In interwar Poland the classical guitar was not considered a solo instrument. Although in that period in Western Europe it started to gain recognition among both listeners and artists thanks to the activity of Andres Segovia,[81] in Poland it did not enjoy popularity as a concert instrument. It was treated as an accompaniment instrument in mandolin orchestras, or in duos with singing or mandolin. Only Zofia Zdziennicka-Bergerowa, an artist from Warsaw, promoted solo guitar performance by publishing the first twentieth-century school for unaccompanied guitar, and by composing the first guitar miniatures, among others.[82] Against this background, the creation of a guitar trio in Poland was an exception.

The members of the trio changed over the years. Epler was a permanent member of the group and its manager at the same time. Most probably the remaining members were recruited from the guitarists of 'Hejnał'. According to preserved press announcements and the photograph kept by Epler-Matuchniak, apart from Epler, the members of the trio were: in 1935—Edward Bednarczuk and Michał Becko, in 1937—Józef Oszczypko and Edward Bednarczuk, in 1938—Józef Oszczypko and Rudolf Szpala. An unusual concert in terms of its performers was that of 19 September 1935, when Epler (both as the orchestra's conductor and the guitarist in the trio) was replaced by another guitarist,

79 *Radjo*, 27 (1934), 12.

80 'Radjo', *ABC* (4 July 1934), 7.

81 A. Wendland, *Gitara w twórczości Aleksandra Tansmana* (Łodź: Ars Longa, 1996), 29–30.

82 W. Gurgul, *Bibliografia polskich druków muzycznych z udziałem gitary wydanych w latach 1901–1939 wraz ze szczegółowym omówieniem wybranych pozycji* (Tarnów: Instytut Muzyki i Tańca, 2020), 28–30.

Mieczysław Miciek,[83] who held the position of deputy conductor in the orchestra.[84]

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme[85]	Performers
1.	20 December 1934	Orchestral concert of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by A. Epler with the Lviv Guitar Trio[86]	5. Felice Blangini: *Vanne al mio bene*	Lviv Guitar Trio, Orchestra of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler
2.	23 January 1935	*Na polską nutę*, radio concert of the orchestra of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' with the guitar Trio, dir. by A. Epler[87]	4. Piwoński: *Gdy powrócisz – polonez* (arr. by A. Epler)	Lviv Guitar Trio dir. by Adam Epler
3.	8 February 1935	[radio broadcast][88]	1. Leonhard von Call: *Trio C-dur* op. 26, 2. Fernando Sor: *Walce.*	Trio guitar of Epler

[83] *Fala*, 37 (1935), [9]; the trio performer the polonaise *Gdy powrócisz* by Piwoński.
[84] 'Z Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał"'.
[85] In the Programme section only the pieces performed by the trio during a given concert were noted.
[86] 'Lwowsk. Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. A. Eplera z udz. Lwowsk. Tria Gitarowego.' *Fala*, 11 (1934), [6].
[87] '*Na polską nutę*, koncert radiowy w wyk. ork. Lwowsk. Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" z udz. Tria gitarowego pod dyr. A. Eplera.' *Fala*, 3 (1935), [5].
[88] *Fala*, 5 (1935), [7].

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme[85]	Performers
4.	19 June 1935	*W zielonym gaiku* [In a green boscage], Russian folk music arr. by A. Epler[89]	1. *W zielonym gaiku*, 2. *Łuczyna Łuczynuszka, dumka*, 3. *Czy w sadzie, czy w ogrodzie*, 4. *Jarzębina*, 5. *Nad rzeczką*, 6. *Ach Natasza*, 7. *Korobejnyki* 8. *Przy dolinie, dumka*, 9. *Nie smuć się miła, romans*, 10. *Koło mostu, koło rzeczki*, 11. *W naszej wiosce*, 12. *Matka Wołga, dumka*, 13. *Nasze dziewczęta*, 14. *Moja mateczka, dumka*, 15. *Na polanie*.	Adam Epler (prim guitar), Michał Becko (prim guitar), Edward Bednarczuk (terz guitar)
5.	15 October 1937	[radio broadcast][90]	Leonhard von Call: *Trio C-dur*, Op. 26	Guitar Trio 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler
6.	23 October 1937	Jubilee audition in Polish Radio on the occasion of 15th anniversary of 'Hejnał' and 100th radio audition[91]	Polish dances from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (arr. by A. Epler)	Lviv Guitar Trio (Adam Epler, Józef Oszczypko, Edward Bednarczuk), Orchestra of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler

89 '*W zielonym gaiku*, ludowa muzyka rosyjska w opr. A. Eplera.' 'Słuchajmy dziś Radja!', *Chwila* (19 June 1935), 4.

90 *Antena*, 41 (1937), XXIV.

91 'Audycja jubileuszowa w Polskim Radiu z okazji 15-lecia „Hejnału" oraz setnej audycji radiowej.' 'Słuchajmy dziś radia.' The correspondence between the author and Barbara Epler-Matuchniak from 16 May 2020.

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme[85]	Performers
7.	20 February 1938	*Kwiaty polskie* [Polish flowers], entertainment performed by the Orchestra of the mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by A. Epler, Guitar Trio and T. Brodzki – songs[92]	no data available	Lviv Guitar Trio, Orchestra of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler, Tadeusz Brodzki (songs)
8.	12 October 1938	*Sylwetki lutnistów staropolskich* [Polish lutenists], 1st audition from the cycle of auditions on music history, prepared by Maria Szczepańska and Adam Epler[93]	Polish lute music	Guitar Trio 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler, Dr Maria Szczepańska (commentary), Kazimierz Wajda (recitation)
9.	9 November 1938	*Sylwetki lutnistów staropolskich* [Early polish lutenists], radio audition prepared by M. Szczepańska and A. Epler[94]	Polish lute music	Guitar Trio 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler
10.	3 December 1938	*Melodie węgierskie* [Hungarian melodies], music audition arr. by Adam Epler. Based on the collections of H. Molier and Rudolf Kleineck. Song lyrics by A. Rysiecki[95]	Based on folk themes arr. by A. Epler	Orchestra of the Lviv Mandolin Society 'Hejnał' dir. by Adam Epler, Stefan Śnieżek (bass), Guitar Trio (Adam Epler, Józef Oszczypko, Rudolf Szpala)

[92] '*Kwiaty polskie*, koncert rozrywkowy. Wyk. Ork. Koła Mandolinistów „Hejnał" pod dyr. A. Eplera, Trio gitarowe i T. Brodzki – piosenki.' *Chwila* (9 Nov. 1938), 10.

[93] '*Sylwetki lutnistów staropolskich*, 1-sza audycja z cyklu aud. muz. historycznych, w opracowaniu dr Marii Szczepańskiej i Adama Eplera.' 'Radjo', *Nowy Dziennik* (11 Oct. 1938), 8.

[94] '*Sylwetki lutnistów staropolskich*, audycja radiowa w opr. M. Szczepańskiej i A. Eplera.' 'Słuchajmy dziś radia', *Chwila* (9 Nov. 1938), 10.

[95] '*Melodie węgierskie*, audycja Muzyczna w oprac. Adama Eplera. Na podstawie zbiorów H. Moliera i Rud[olfa] Kleinecka. Teksty piosenek A. Rysieckiego.' *Antena*, 48 (1938), XXV.

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme[85]	Performers
11.	4 March 1939	Concert of light music[96]	no data available	Orchestra od the Lviv Radio dir. by Tadeusz Seredyński, Janina Rawicz-Jasińska (singing), Aleksander Surgonow (singing), Guitar Trio and Adam Epler (guitar)

Table 4. Concerts of the Lviv Guitar Trio with the participation of Adam Epler.

From the press announcements we know the trio's repertoire. It can be divided into two categories, arrangements and original music. The former included: Felice Blangini's *Vanne al mio bene*, polonaise *Kiedy powrócisz* [When you come back] by unknown Piwoński, fifteen Russian folk melodies under the collective title *W zielonym gaiku*, arrangements of Hungarian folk themes about which no further information is available, and Polish lute dances from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The latter are unique in this list; they will be discussed later in this article.

The original repertoire consists of two compositions: Leonhard von Call's *Trio in C major*, Op. 26, and Fernando Sor's *Waltzes*. *Trio* by von Call was a widely available work at the time, published in the new editions by B. Schott's Söhne, edited by Walter Götz[97] and in Musikverlag Zimmermann, edited by Heinrich Albert.[98] It is unclear, however, which Sor's waltzes are referred to in the announcements—there are no guitar trios in this composer's oeuvre; the waltzes performed by the Lviv Guitar Trio must therefore also have been some kind of arrangement. It is possible that Epler used *Six Waltzes* for guitar duo from Op. 44 bis or *Six Waltzes* for guitar duo, Op. 36. The first press announcement of the concert on 8 February 1935 also noted that the ensemble was preparing to perform works by Filippo Gragnani (most probably

[96] 'Koncert muzyki lekkiej.' 'Radio. Dzisiejszy program radiowy', *Głos Poranny* (4 Mar. 1939), 9.

[97] L. von Call, *Leichtes Trio in C-Dur für 3 Gitarren* (Mainz: B. Schott's Sohne, 1929).

[98] L. de Call, *Leichtes Trio für drei Gitarren*, Op. 26 (Frankfurt am Main: Musikverlag Zimmermann).

Trio, Op. 12) and Ferdinand Carulli,[99] but subsequent press announcements only included the two previously mentioned compositions.[100]



Illus. 6: The Lviv Guitar trio, consisting of Adam Epler, Józef Oszczypko and Edward Bednarczuk after the premiere concert with Polish dances for lute on 23 October 1937. Source: the collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak, *Radio-Informator* 2 (1939), 204.

Wesoła Lwowska Fala

None of the above-mentioned activities brought Epler and his orchestra as many listeners as *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* created by Budzyński, the

[99] 'Koncert mandolinistów i tria gitarowego'.
[100] 'Koncert tria gitarowego', *Biuletyn Radjofoniczny dla użytku prasy*, 5 (1935), 16.

most popular radio programme of the Second Polish Republic, gathering people from all over Poland at their radios.

Although not much information about Epler's participation in these broadcasts has survived, we know from press reports of subsequent issues of *Fale* that 'Hejnał' was considered an integral part of the programme.[101] In a booklet *Szczepko i Tońko. Djalogi radjowe z „Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali"*, published in 1934, in the introduction written by Juliusz Petry, the director of the radio at that time, there was a sentence that indirectly referred to the orchestra's performances and to one of Epler's compositions, based on a popular song by the Lviv batiars:[102] 'Szczepko and Tońko [...] were awakened by the sound of mandolins which played the *Gródek-marsz* carelessly.'[103]

According to press announcements and described photographs (preserved at Epler-Matuchniak's home), Epler participated as a guitarist in *III Wesoła Niedziela Radiowa Lwowa* on 4 December 1932, the twenty-fifth *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* on 5 November 1933,[104] and in the radio show *Imieniny Szczepka i Tońka* [The Name Day of Szczepko and Tońko], on unknown day of 1939.[105] There is also the information from 1 April 1934 which refers to Epler's music: '*Wesoła Lwowska Fala* will bring us [...] by general request a repetition of the collection of songs of the Lviv suburb entitled *Z piosenką przez Lwów*, arranged by Mr Budzyński and Mr Epler,'[106] that is, a repetition of the very popular broadcast *Bummel po Lwowie*, for which Epler wrote the music.[107]

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101 [Lucy], 'Pięćdziesiąta fala…', *Dziennik Wileński. Dodatek kulturalno-literacki* (29 Apr. 1934), V.

102 J. Habela, Z. Kurzowa, *Lwowskie piosenki uliczne, kabaretowe i okolicznościowe do 1939 roku* (Kraków: PWM, 1989), 109–112.

103 'Szczepka i Tońka […] budziły dźwięki mandolin, rżnących na odlew *Gródek–marsza*,' K. Wajda, H. Vogelfanger, *Szczepko i Tońko. Djalogi radjowe z „Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali"*, ed. J. Petry (Lwów: Drukarnia Urzędnicza, 1934, reprint: Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich, 1989).

104 'Program radjowy', *Kurier Warszawski* (4 Nov. 1933, morning issue), 8.

105 The correspondence between the author and Barbara Epler-Matuchniak from 16 May 2020.

106 'Wesoła fala lwowska przyniesie nam […] na ogólne żądanie powtórzenie zbioru piosenek przedmieścia lwowskiego p.t. *Z piosenką przez Lwów* w opracowaniu pp. Budzyńskiego i Eplera.' 'Nasz korespondent donosi…', *Radjo*, 14 (1934), 10.

107 'Hallo! Hallo!', 46.



Illus. 7: The performers of the twenty-fifth *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* on 5 November 1933. Source: the collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak.

Together with Budzyński, Epler also took part in the composition competition as part of *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* on 30 September 1934. Their piece *Lwowska Noc—boston serenade* (Epler composed the music and Budzyński wrote the lyrics) won the second prize.[108]

The first prize winner was then Kazimierz Abratowski[109] for his piece *Bez miłości* [Without love] (also to the lyrics by Budzyński), the third prize went to Alfred Schütz[110] and the fourth prize to Zy-

[108] 'Konkurs piosenkarski lwowskich kompozytorów', *Chwila* (22 Oct. 1934), 8.

[109] Kazimierz Abratowski (1893–1974)—conductor, pianist, pedagogue and composer, born in Lviv; from 1937 until his death he was associated with Mościce, Tarnów. 'Abratowski, Kazimierz', in 'Cyfrowa Biblioteka Polskiej Piosenki', https://bibliotekapiosenki.pl/osoby/Abratowski_Kazimierz, accessed 6 July 2020.

[110] Alfred Schütz (1910–1999)—composer, pianist, conductor and radio personality. Before the war he was connected with Lviv and Warsaw, after the war he lived in Brazil and Germany; the author of the song *Czerwone maki na Monte Cassino*. J. Krassowski, 'Schütz (Szyc), Alfred', in M. Podhajski, ed., *Kompozytorzy polscy 1918–2000*, 2: *Biogramy* (Gdańsk–Warszawa: Akademia Muzyczna im. Fryderyka Chopina w Warszawie–Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 2005), 885–886.

gmunt Schatz.[111] On the 21 October 1934, the first two compositions were performed before the radio programme *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*.[112]



Illus. 8: The participants of the composition competition of *Wesoła Lwowska Fala* from 30 September 1934. Source: the collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak.

Epler, as a guitarist, occasionally performed in other broadcasts which were not connected with Budzyński and *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*. These included Wiktor Hausman's radio show *Imć Pan Boruta* [Mr Boruta] on 14 January 1934,[113] the programme *Piosenki, ballady i duety przy gitarze* [Songs, ballades and duos at the guitar] on 12 March 1939 during which he accompanied Tadeusz Brodzki[114] or the programmes *Muzyka obiadowa* [Dinner music] on 7 November 1937 and

[111] Zygmunt Schatz (1899–ca. 1942)—violinist and composer, graduate of Lviv and Vienna universities; in the 1920s he gave concerts all over Europe, later connected with Lviv and Katowice. 'Schatz Zygmunt Sim', in 'Wirtualny Sztetl', https://sztetl.org.pl/pl/biogramy/3709-schatz-zygmunt, accessed 6 July 2020.

[112] 'Konkurs piosenkarski'.

[113] 'Tydzień Literacki Polskiego Radja', *Radjo*, 3 (1934), 3–4.

[114] 'Program radjowy', *Dziennik Polski* (13 Mar. 1938), 6.

Echa przeszłości on 7 July 1938 during which he accompanied the vocal duo of Tadeusz Brodzki and Władysław Gryszyński.[115]



Illus. 9: Adam Epler as an accompanist of Tadeusz Brodzki and Władysław Gryszyński during the show *Muzyka obiadowa* on 7 November 1937. Source: the collection of Barbara Epler-Matuchniak.

Lute music

At the end of 1938 there was a series of three broadcasts *Sylwetki lutnistów staropolskich*, pioneering for lute music performance in Poland, which were conducted by Dr Maria Szczepańska[116] and Epler, who

[115] *Antena*, 27 (1938), XVII.

[116] Maria Klementyna Szczepańska (1902–1962)—musicologist, graduate of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów under the guidance of Adolf Chybiński, after the war connected with the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, researcher of Polish early music. M. Piekarski, *Muzyka we Lwowie:* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie SEDNO, 2018), 284–287.

played the guitar. The shows took place on 12 October,[117] 9 November,[118] and 19 December 1938.[119] The first broadcast featured works by Valentin Bakfark and Wojciech Długoraj,[120] while the second broadcast featured works by Kazimierz Stanisław Rudomina-Dusiacki, Bartłomiej Pękiel, and an anonymous composition entitled *Duda*.[121] No information about the programme of the third transmission has survived. The first two broadcasts also featured Kazimierz Wajda (recitation of poetry by Vespasian Kochowski) and the Lviv Guitar Trio.

This was not the first appearance of lute music performed by Epler on the radio. The premiere performance of the arrangements took place a year earlier, on 23 October 1937, during a broadcast celebrating the 15th anniversary of 'Hejnał' and its hundredth radio appearance. This is evidenced by a photograph preserved in the Epler-Matuchniak collection, taken after the broadcast, which bears the following description:

> Guitar trio consisting of Adam Epler, Józef Oszczypko, Edward Bednarczuk performed Polish dances from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries arranged by Adam Epler for the first time on Polish Radio, 23 October 1937, 8:00–8:45 p.m.[122]

The collection of Epler-Matuchniak also contains the script of the radio play *Przy kominku* [At the fireplace], which was broadcast on 26 March 1938.[123] Among various technical notes there is also information about Epler's performance during the broadcast of three untitled lute compositions—two by Valentin Bakfark and one by Wojciech Długoraj.

It was not until the early 1950s that lute compositions became widely available in Poland, when Szczepańska compiled works by Bartłomiej Pękiel, Diomedes Cato, Wojciech Długoraj and Jakub Polak and

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117 'Radjo', *Nowy Dziennik* (11 Oct. 1938), 8.
118 'Słuchajmy dziś radia', *Chwila* (9 Nov. 1938), 10.
119 'Na fali radiowej', *Czas* (19 Dec. 1938), 9.
120 J.P., 'Muzyka w radio', *Czas* (20 Oct. 1938), 13.
121 J.P., 'Muzyka w radio', *Czas* (15 Nov. 1938), 13.
122 'Trio gitarowe w składzie Adam Epler, Józef Oszczypko, Edward Bednarczuk wykonało po raz pierwszy w Polskim Radio tańce polskie z XVI i XVII w. w opracowaniu Adama Eplera, dnia 23.10.1937 godz. 20.00–20.45.'
123 'Radio', *ABC* (26 Mar. 1938), 2.

published them in Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej.[124] Epler was thus the first Polish guitarist to draw on the legacy of Polish lute players.

Compositions and arrangements

Epler's compositional output is primarily associated with 'Hejnał', as most of his works are intended for orchestra or mandolin ensemble. Although it is difficult to place his compositions in a broader context, as Polish compositions for mandolin orchestra, both pre- and post-war, are a completely unexplored subject, it may be concluded from the surviving scores that Epler mastered instrumentation for mandolin orchestra very well. His works were mostly written for large orchestral ensembles, with *divisi* of voices and parts of instruments less frequently encountered in mandolin orchestras: the mandolin piccolo and mandocello. He also composed and arranged for smaller ensembles, including mandolin quartets and duos for mandolin and guitar.

Most of his works were so-called light music. He reached for various styles, e.g. he composed tangos, as well as music based on the folklore of other countries (a cycle of pieces referring to Hungarian folk music). Above all, however, he was a populariser of native folklore, and in particular he reached for motifs characteristic of Lviv, with Lviv songs at the forefront. A quotation from Stanisław Jachowicz's poem *Wieś* [Countryside][125] became a motto of his work:

> You praise others,
> You do not know your own,
> You yourselves do not know
> what you have.[126]

His ability to develop folk musical material was emphasised in the press, for example in the context of the programme *Szlachcic na*

[124] G. Joachimiak, 'Tabulatura lutniowa Wodzickich jako przedmiot edycji muzycznej – przegląd problematyki', *Muzyka*, 3 (2015), 92.

[125] [Epler-Matuchniak], *Adam Epler I "Hejnał"*.

[126] 'Cudze chwalicie, / Swego nie znacie, / Sami nie wiecie, / Co posiadacie.' S. Jachowicz, *Pisma różne wierszem Stanisława Jachowicza* (Warszawa: S. Jachowicz, 1853), 102.

zagrodzie [A nobleman in his land] on 17 October 1937, to which Epler wrote the music:

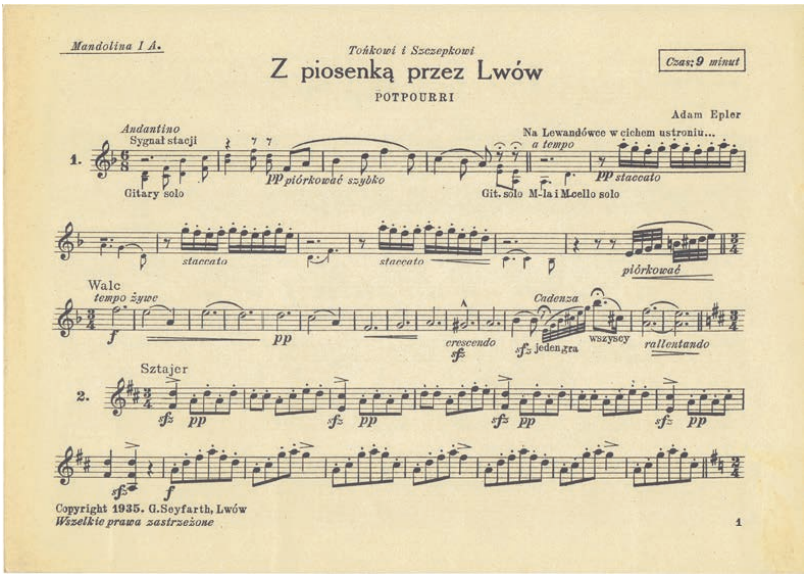
> it was a programme [...] completely different, [...] the credit goes first to the author of the text, the poet St. Rogowski, and to the hard-working amateur musician Dr A. Epler, who took care of the musical background. Thanks to the united efforts of these two people, in their painstaking research, they managed to reach truly beautiful details of original and unknown folklore.[127]

Here I will not list all of Epler's compositions and arrangements, both manuscripts and published works—this is a subject for a separate study; it is enough to say that the number of original compositions reaches about twenty items (of which six have been published), and arrangements—nearly a hundred. I will limit myself to mentioning only some of the titles of his compositions:

- *Hejnał – marsz*,
- *Na Wesołej Lwowskiej Fali – marsz*,
- *Gródek – marsz*,
- *Z piosenką przez Lwów – potpourri lwowskich piosenek*,
- *Za drągiem – zbiór sztajerków lwowskich*,
- *Na Kleparowie – polka*,
- *Wspomnienia z Budapesztu – potpourri ludowych melodii węgierskich*,
- *Taniec węgierski in D major*,
- *Węgierka – czardasz na motywach ludowych*,
- *Lwowska noc – boston-serenada*,
- *Gdy panna Mania kocha swego Frania! – tango andrusowskie*,
- *Conchita – tango*,
- *Grenada – tango*,
- *Parana – tango*,
- *Miłe wspomnienie – polonez*,
- *Od ucha – zbiór oberków*,

[127] 'była to audycja […] zupełnie inna, […] zasługa to w pierwszym rzędzie autora tekstu poety St. Rogowskiego i pracowitego muzyka amatora dr. A. Eplera, który zajął się opracowaniem tła muzycznego. Zjednoczonym wysiłkom tych dwóch ludzi udało im się w żmudnych poszukiwaniach dotrzeć do naprawdę pięknych szczegółów folkloru oryginalnego i nieznanego.' [Mart], 'Na lwowskiej antenie. Szlachta zagrodowa mówi i śpiewa', *Dziennik Polski* (28 Oct. 1937), 7.

- *Cudze chwalicie, swego nie znacie – zbiór kujawiaków,*
- *Na polską nutę – zbiór melodii ludowych wg Glogera.*



Illus. 10: A fragment of the mandolin IA part from the potpourri *Z piosenką przez Lwów.* Source: A. Epler, *Z piosenką przez Lwów* (Lwów: G. Seyfarth, 1935).

I will also mention some of the names of composers whose works he used as an arranger. He published the arrangements of the compositions by Alfred Schütz, Emil Palm, Fabian Tymolski, Satto Cresta, Pál Ábrahám, among others. There are also manuscripts preserved of the arrangements of the pieces by e.g. Ludwig van Beethoven, Peter Tchaikovsky, Charles Gounod, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Jacques Offenbach, Franz von Suppé and Giuseppe Verdi.

The information has survived about four concerts of other mandolin ensembles performing his compositions:

His compositions and arrangements were published by two companies: chamber music was published by the Instytut Wydawniczy 'Pro-Arte' from Lviv, active in 1928–1939,[128] and orchestral works by

[128] M. Pieczonka, 'Lwowskie firmy wydawnicze w latach 1918–1939', in J. Jarowiecki, ed., *Książki, czasopisma, biblioteki Krakowa i Lwowa XIX i XX wieku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1993), 53.

the well-known pre-war publishing house of Gustav Seyfarth. Compositions and arrangements published by 'Pro-Arte' were included in two series: *Mandolina-Skrzypce-Gitara solo* [Mandolin-Violin-Guitar solo] and *Najpiękniejsze utwory na kwartety mandolinowe lub skrzypcowe* [The most beautiful mandolin or violin quartets], while works published by Seyfarth were released in the series *Seyfartha Orkiestra Mandolinowa* [Seyfarth's Mandolin Orchestra].[129]

No.	Date	Type of concert	Programme	Performers
1.	25 November 1934	Radio concert in Katowice[130]	*Gródek – marsz*	Moniuszko Mandolin Orchestra from Wełnowiec, dir. by Kazimierz Bończa-Tomaszewski
2.	18 August 1937	Radio concert in Katowice[131]	*Z piosenką przez Lwów – potpourri*	Mandolin Orchestra of the Polish Association of Employees in Hajduki Wielkie, dir. by Henryk Król
3.	23 March 1938	Contest of Mandolin Orchestras of the Association of Music Lovers of the Silesian Voivodeship in Katowice[132]	Adam Epler's piece	no data available
4.	7 July 1939	Radio Concert in Katowice[133]	*Od ucha – zbiór oberków*	Mandolin Orchestra of the 'Baildon' Ironworks, dir. by Emil Kowolik

Table 5: Adam Epler's pieces performed by other ensembles.

Epilogue

The symbolic culmination of Epler's rich artistic activity was the last broadcast featuring the 'Hejnał', which took place after the outbreak of

[129] See Gurgul, *Bibliografia polskich druków muzycznych*, 53.
[130] *Antena*, 8 (1934), XXIII.
[131] *Antena*, 33 (1937), XV.
[132] F. Sachse, 'Zawody Orkiestr Mandolinowych Stowarzyszenia Miłośników Muzyki Województwa Śląskiego', *Śląskie Wiadomości Muzyczne*, 4 (1938), 11.
[133] *Antena*, 27 (1939), XXI.

World War II, on 2 September 1939.[134] At the end of October 1939, Epler and his family moved from Busko to Lviv, where he started to work as a music teacher in a secondary school.[135]

In connection with his work as a judge and his membership in the Polish Army, he was arrested by the Russians on 10 April 1940; he was imprisoned in the Brygidki Prison.[136] His family was taken to be deported to the East on 13 April 1940.[137] Adam Franciszek Epler was shot by the NKVD in May/June 1940. He is listed on the so-called Ukrainian Katyń List under disposition number 72/1-72.[138] His body was most likely buried in Bykivnia, now a district of Kyiv, where the fourth of the so-called Katyń cemeteries was opened in 2012.[139]

Epler was the first guitarist to perform the works of Polish lutenists, the founder of the first Polish guitar trio, a musician of the *Wesoła Lwowska Fala*, an artist nurturing Polish folklore, creating elaborate compositions for mandolin orchestra, as well as writing music for many popular radio shows of the Polish Radio Lviv, which were later broadcast all over Poland.

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134 'Program radiowy', *Dziennik Polski* (2 Sept. 1939), 9.

135 Epler-Matuchniak, AHM_PnW_2611.

136 Z. Gajowniczek, G. Jakubowski, J. Tucholski, *Śladem zbrodni katyńskiej* (Warszawa: CAMSWiA RP, 1998), 427.

137 Epler-Matuchniak, AHM_PnW_2611.

138 M. Tarczyński, Z. Gajowniczek, eds., *Listy katyńskiej ciąg dalszy. Straceni na Ukrainie* (Warszawa: Niezależny Komitet Historyczny Badania Zbrodni Katyńskiej–Polska Fundacja Katyńska–Centralna Biblioteka Wojskowa, 1994), 21.

139 'Bykownia – miejsce upamiętnienia 3,5 tys. polskich ofiar NKWD na Ukrainie', *Dzieje.pl* 9 April 2015, https://dzieje.pl/aktualnosci/bykownia-miejsce-upamietnienia-35-tys-polskich-ofiar-nkwd-naukrainie, accessed 6 July 2020.

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Sinfonietta for String Orchestra by Weronika Ratusińska in the Context of the Issue of (Sub)Genre

Abstract

The purpose of the article is to focus on certain terminological and historical aspects related to the genre of sinfonietta in the Polish music of the 20th and 21st century. In the introduction, the author presents the definition and general characteristics, listing the sources and the most representative works in the Polish music. Additionally, she presents numerical statistics and classification of the sinfonietta in Polish music and on this basis she analyses one of the most interesting works representing the type of sinfonietta-transcription – Sinfonietta for string orchestra by Weronika Ratusińska from 2009. The author analyses the use and manner of modification of musical motifs, the way in which the sound layer is shaped and the relation between Ratusińska's work and tradition of the genre.

Keywords

sinfonietta, chamber music, Polish music

Sinfonietta in twentieth-century Polish music is *terra incognita*, a rather marginal research area. This is due to the fact that works representing this genre are associated primarily with small and not necessarily elaborate symphonies of a didactic character. The general state of research on the sinfonietta is quite modest—valuable sources of knowledge, apart from encyclopaedic ones (entries in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*,[1] *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*[2] and the compendium *Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen*) are monographs of composers, in which sinfoniettas are described in relation to the individual style of the composer.[3] Sinfonietttas were sometimes key works for the development of the style of the composers, such as Tadeusz Baird's *Sinfonietta* for symphony orchestra from 1949.[4] The knowledge of the subject is also supplemented by English-language publications,[5] articles published in *Ruch Muzyczny*[6] and musicological works of a didactic character.[7] The author was also prompted to write this text by the fact that less researched (but valuable and important)

1 N. Temperley, 'Sinfonietta', in S. Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 17 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), 337.

2 L. Finscher, *Kammersymphonie und Sinfonietta*, in L. Finscher, ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1998), 125–127.

3 In this form, sinfonietta appears in many monographs of Polish and foreign composers, see: M. Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz* (Kraków: PWM, 1999); J. Cegiełła, *Dziecko szczęścia. Aleksander Tansman i jego czasy* (Warszawa: PIW, 1986).

4 This work of a 'romantic' character (and at the same time a symphonic debut) was received enthusiastically both by the critics and the audience, starting the great career of the young composer. See: B. Literska, *Dziewiętnastowieczne transkrypcje utworów Fryderyka Chopina. Aspekty historyczne, teoretyczne i estetyczne* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2004), 150.

5 J. Schaarwächter, *Two Centuries of British Symphonism. From the beginnings to 1945*, 1–2 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2015), 13.

6 H. Schiller, 'Kazimierz Serocki — „Sinfonietta na dwie orkiestry smyczkowe"', *Ruch Muzyczny*, 3 (1958), 28–29.

7 J. Chomiński, K. Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Formy muzyczne*, 2: *Wielkie formy instrumentalne* (Kraków: PWM, 1987), 778–790.

musical genres, such as the magnificat,[8] the passion play[9] and the oratorio[10] have already been discussed in the literature. A similar approach to the sinfonietta may broaden the spectrum of contemporary music theory.

At the turn of the twentieth century, European symphony music reached a climax with regard to the composition of the orchestra, the number of movements, and the monumental form of the works.[11] Slowly, composers began to focus on the qualities of individual instruments—especially the role of percussion in the construction of the work's tension gained great importance, as it began to create a separate sound layer.[12] Composers began to work more and more consciously in opposition to the huge late-Romantic orchestral works, writing works for chamber composition or for other, previously unused instrumental groups, focusing on timbre. The idea of the symphony was slowly redefined and transformed.

Before the author presents definitions of the sinfonietta, she would like to note that these works were created much earlier than one might think. The attention should be paid to compositions that bear the name 'sinfonietta', but are not independent works. In this sense, sinfonietta appeared already in the seventeenth or eighteenth century as introductions to small operas or cantatas. They were smaller symphonies, or three-part overtures of the Italian type. An example of such use is the sinfonietta preceding the opera *L'Arcifanfano, Re De' Matti* by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf.[13]

The definition of the sinfonietta as an independent work is usually juxtaposed in the literature with other smaller genres such as the

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8 T. Kienik, *Magnificat. Od biblijnego tekstu do polskiej kompozycji muzycznej XX i początków XXI wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej we Wrocławiu, 2019).

9 G. Massenkeil, *Oratorium und Passion*, series »Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen«, S. Mauser, ed., 10/1 (Bremen: Laaber-Verlag, 1998).

10 H. Smither, *A history of the Oratorio,* 1: *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (North Carolina: UNC Press, 1977).

11 Among the representatives of the monument al symphony were Anton Bruckner and Gustav Mahler.

12 Chomiński, Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Formy muzyczne*, 325.

13 *Arcifanfano, król głupców.* The opera composed by Dittersdorf in 1774 in Johannisberg.

concertino, sonatina,[14] or chamber symphony.[15] In the second volume of *Formy Muzyczne*, Józef M. Chomiński writes about the sinfonietta as 'a creation of the twentieth century.'[16] Indeed, it reached the greatest popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century, more specifically, after World War I, but it appeared yet at the end of the nineteenth century (*Sinfonietta*, Op. 188 for wind orchestra by Joachim Raff from 1873, *Symphoniette sur des thèmes russes* for symphony orchestra from 1880 by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov[17] or *Sinfonietta in D minor* for eight wind instruments by Rudolf Nováček from 1888 should be mentioned here). Chomiński's claim should therefore be clarified with regard to Polish music. The earliest example of the sinfonietta in Polish literature that the author was able to find is *Sinfonietta in D major*, Op. 16 for symphony orchestra by Czesław Józef Marek, written in 1914–1916.[18] In European music, the peak of the popularity of this genre took place from the 1920s to the 1950s, primarily due to the neoclassical trend, in which composers returned to old genres (including the classical symphony). In Poland, this occurred in the 1990s (see graphs 1 and 2).

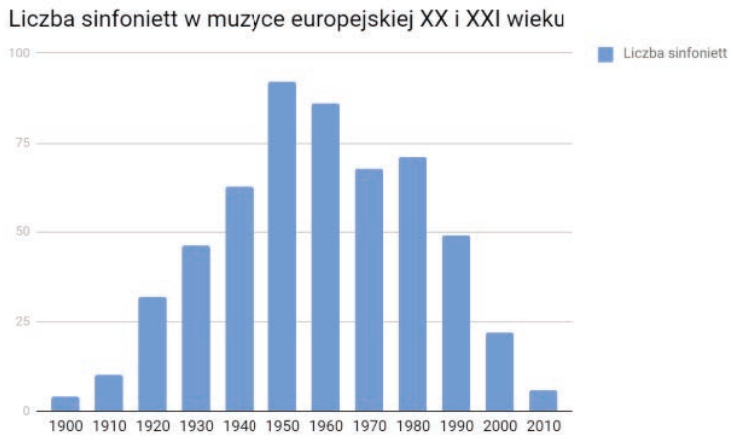
[14] Such a juxtaposition is proposed by Chomiński. See Chomiński, Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Formy muzyczne*, 778.

[15] The issue of the miniaturisation of the genre of symphony is discussed by the German musicologist Ludwig Finscher, who described such genres as instrumental genres, e.g. chamber symphony (*Kammersymphonie*), *Sinfonia da camera*, or *Kammerkonzert*, which belong to the group of small works of a similar or identical features. In fact, such types of the works are subject to similar miniaturization; however, they should not be treated interexchangeably with sinfonietta. In the case of chamber symphony, the group of soloists often occur (e.g. *Chamber Symphony* by Franz Schreker for twenty-three solo instruments from 1916, or *Chamber Symphony* for thirteen solo instruments, Op. 25, by Max Butting from 1923). The name 'chamber' makes an association with a small ensemble, while in sinfonietta the great symphony orchestra is frequently used. See Finscher, *Kammersymphonie und Sinfonietta*, 126.

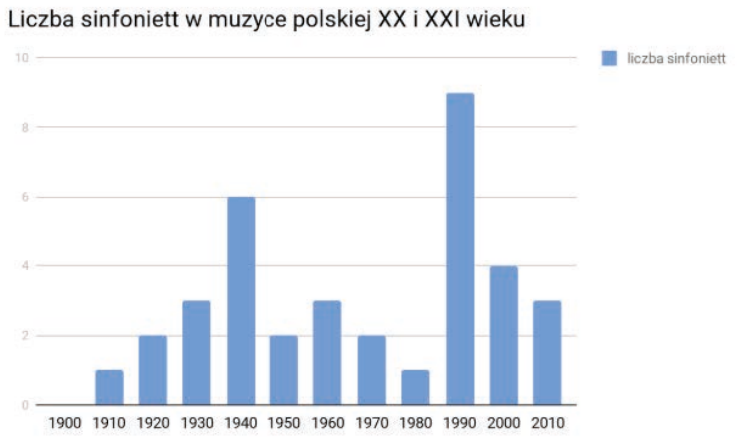
[16] Chomiński, Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Formy muzyczne*, 778.

[17] *Sinfonietta na tematy rosyjskie.*

[18] J. Zieliński, 'Czesław Marek', in M. Podhajski, ed., *Kompozytorzy polscy 1918–2000*, 2: *Biogramy* (Gdańsk–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. S. Moniuszki–Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. F. Chopina, 2005), 589–592.



Graph 1: Sinfoniettas in European music. The highest number, 92 sinfoniettas were created in the 1950s. Sinfonietta was also extremely popular in the 1960s (86), although the number is decreasing in the following decades.



Graph 2: Sinfoniettas in Polish music. These works were most popular in the 1990s.

The Polish definition of the sinfonietta was provided by the author of the entry in *Encyklopedia muzyki* edited by Andrzej Chodkowski:

'a symphony of smaller size, often for chamber orchestra.'[19] This is certainly true, but it would be appropriate to expand on this notion. A sinfonietta may or may not be intended for a chamber orchestra, since examples exist in the literature for symphonic ensemble (Mieczysław Weinberg, 1948), choir (Jan Wincenty Hawel, 1969), string orchestra (Grażyna Bacewicz, 1935), wind orchestra (Jan Krenz, 1995) or an orchestra accompanied by a solo instrument (Piotr Perkowski, 1975). Also, the duration of sinfoniettas does not have to be shortened; foreign compositions should be mentioned here: Francis Poulenc's *Sinfonietta* (about 30 minutes), Erich Wolfgang Korngold's *Sinfonietta*, Op. 5 (about 45 minutes) or Max Reger's *Sinfonietta*, Op. 50 (about 50 minutes).[20]

The above remark takes into account the definition proposed by Nicholas Temperley, who in his text on the sinfonietta describes this genre as 'An orchestral piece on a smaller scale, or of more modest aims, than a symphony.'[21] The aim of a sinfonietta (often comic, ironic) may differ from that of a symphony, because in many works of this type the composers introduce folk melodies or popular music arrangements.[22] Aleksander Tansman, among others, included such stylizations in both his sinfoniettas, but they are particularly evident in *Sinfonietta* No. 2 (1978–79). In the second movement with the meaningful title *Scherzetto popularesco* the composer set to music the well-known melodies *Umarł Maciek, umarł* [Died Maciek died]; *Krakowiaczek jeden* [One little Cracovian boy] and *Wlazł kotek na płotek* [A kitten climbed on a fence].

On the basis of many analyses of works of this type and the catalogue of about 550 sinfoniettas included in her master's thesis, the author derives her own definition: it is a subgenre directly derived from the symphony, which may undergo a process of miniaturisation in such aspects as cast, instrumentation, duration, form and motif. These modifications may occur simultaneously, but only some of them

[19] 'Sinfonietta', in A. Chodkowski, ed., *Encyklopedia muzyki* (Warszawa: PWN, 1995), 813.

[20] The reference point for the author is the duration of the classical symphony, i.e. circa 30 minutes.

[21] Temperley, *Sinfonietta*, 337.

[22] A. Granat-Janki, *Forma w twórczości instrumentalnej Aleksandra Tansmana* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. K. Lipińskiego we Wrocławiu, 1995), 122.

may appear. The sinfonietta draws on the historical heritage of the symphony, being most often an orchestral cyclic work. Neoclassical compositions are the most representative of this genre, as they have reminiscences of the sonata form, integrating all parts themes or motifs and a *secco* type of sound. These works usually have an abbreviated three-movement form, thus alluding to the pre-classical sinfonia.

The author's definition is supplemented by a general classification of sinfoniettas in Polish music (see Table 1).

The general classification of sinfoniettas in Polish music of the twentieth and twentieth centuries together with the selected examples
Based on the orchestration
1. String orchestra: Szymon Laks, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1936, Krystyna Moszumańska-Nazar, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1983.
2. Chamber orchestra: Aleksander Tansman, *Sinfonietta No. 1* for chamber orchestra, 1924, Roman Palester, *Sinfonietta* for chamber orchestra, 1948.
3. Symphony orchestra: Tadeusz Baird, *Sinfonietta* for symphony orchestra, 1949, Mieczysław Weinberg, *Sinfonietta No. 1* for symphony orchestra, 1948.
4. Soloist + instrumental ensemble: Krzysztof Penderecki, *Sinfonietta No. 2* for clarinet and string orchestra, 1994.
5. Other instrument al ensembles: Jan Krenz, *Sinfonietta per fiati*, 1995, Bogusław Schaeffer, *Sinfonietta* for sixteen instruments, 1996.
5. Vocal ensembles: Jan Wincenty Hawel, *Sinfonietta* for mixed choir a cappella, 1969.
Based on the form
1. One-movement sinfonietta: Marek Stachowski, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1998.
2. Three-movement orchestra: Michał Moc, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1999.
3. Four-movement orchestra: Aleksander Tansman, *Sinfonietta No. 2* for chamber orchestra, 1978.
4. Five- and more-movement orchestra: Krzysztof Penderecki, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra (*Sinfonietta per archi*), 1992.
Based on the content
1. Programme sinfonietta/based on national elements: Maciej Bałenkowski, *Sinfonietta No. 2 'Polonia', hommage a Wojciech Kilar*, 2017, Mieczysław Weinberg, *Sinfonietta in D major* (*sur des themes juifs*), Op. 41 No. 1, 1948.
2. Sinfonietta of an absolute character: Antoni Szałowski, *Sinfonietta* for symphony orchestra, 1940, Marek Stachowski, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1998.

Based on the style or a composition technique
1. Neo-classical sinfonietta: Grażyna Bacewicz, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1935, Aleksander Tansman, *Sinfonietta No. 1* for chamber orchestra, 1924.
2. Sinfonietta that uses the dodecaphonic technique: Kazimierz Serocki, *Sinfonietta* for two string orchestra, 1956.
3. Neo-romantic sinfonietta: Tadeusz Baird, *Sinfonietta* for symphony orchestra, 1949, Czesław Józef Marek, *Sinfonietta* for symphony orchestra, 1916.
4. Minimal sinfonietta: Weronika Ratusińska-Zamuszko, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 2009, Paweł Łukaszewski, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 2004.
Based on the circumstances in which it was composed
1. Original sinfonietta: Paweł Szymański, *Quasi una sinfonietta*, 1990, Kazimierz Serocki, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 1956.
2. Sinfonietta-transcription: Weronika Ratusińska-Zamuszko, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 2009, Paweł Łukaszewski, *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, 2004.

Table 1: The classification of sinfoniettas referring to Polish compositions.

The last type, the sinfonietta-transcription, is the essence of the author's reflection in the following analysis. The sinfonietta is then not so much an attempt to miniaturise the genre of the symphony, as an enlargement, an extension of the chamber music genre, and in this context it acquires a new meaning.

Weronika Ratusińska-Zamuszko (born 1977) is a composer, violinist and teacher. She is mainly associated with the Warsaw community,[23] but she has honed her composing skills in Holland.[24] She grew up in a family with musical traditions, therefore music has accompanied her from an early age. Due to her education, her output is dominated by works for string instruments (her fondness for the sound of the cello is

[23] Ratusińska studied composition with Włodzimierz Kotoński and Stanisław Moryto. In 2001, she graduated with distinction from the Fryderyk Chopin Academy of Music in Warsaw (currently the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music). Since 2002, she has been working there in the Department of Composition. In 2009 she received the title of the Doctor of Musical Art, and in 2018 a *doctor habilitatus* of the musical art degree. See: 'Weronika Ratusińska-Zamuszko: biografia', http://www.ratusinska.eu/bio_pl.htm, accessed 16 Apr. 2020.

[24] The composer studied at the Royal Conservatory in Hague. The frequent privilege of the generation of the composers born in 1970s and 1980s was the possibility to study abroad.

particularly evident), such as: *String Quartet No. 1* (1997), *Divertimento per archi* (1998), *Concerto* for amplified violin, instrumental ensemble and tape (2002), *String Quartet No. 2 'Ostatnie chwile'* (2003), *Blue Note* for cello and piano (2007), *Concerto No. 1* for cello and orchestra (2008), *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra (2009), *Concerto No. 2* for cello and orchestra (2013), *Exile* for solo cello for right hand and cello quartet (2014), *Concerto* for clarinet, viola and string orchestra (2015), *Blue Note II* for cello and orchestra (2017), and *Fantasia* for cello and piano (2019).[25]

An important part of the composer's output is religious music. These include: *Mass* for choir and organ (1998), *Adoratio Crucis* for mixed choir (1999), *Adeste Fideles* for soprano and organ (1999), *Magnificat* for soprano, baritone, mixed choir and symphony orchestra (2001), *Różaniec* [Rosary] for soloists, mixed choir and instrumental ensemble (2006), *Kolędy* [Carols] for mixed choir a cappella (2016), *Tryptyk* [Triptych] for organ (2017), and *Agnus Dei* for white voice and string quartet (2018).

Ratusińska-Zamuszko's work is characterised by artistic individuality, nobility of sound, and compositional artistry. Harmonic and melodic aspects referring to the old tonality, nowadays referred to as 'neotonality', play an important role in shaping her works. She applies modality, bitonality and dissonant consonances relatively frequently in her pieces. A characteristic feature of Ratusińska's works is the use of traditional barlines, but variable metre and irregular accentuation.[26] Her compositions encourage deep reflection on aesthetics and beauty. The composer is often inspired by the music and traditions of other cultures—Spain, ancient Greece, or countries of the Far East (e.g., *Cello Concerto No. 1* features the Indian raga). Quotations from folk music also play an important role, e.g. in the *Concerto* for clarinet, viola, and string orchestra.

Sinfonietta for string orchestra[27] was composed in 2009, but was not originally written for this instrumental ensemble. Interestingly, it is a transcription of the *String Quartet No. 2 'Ostatnie chwile'* from

[25] The catalogue of the works is available to see on the official website of the composer: 'Weronika Ratusińska-Zamuszko: biografia', http://www.ratusinska.eu/bio_pl.htm, accessed 16 Apr. 2020.

[26] The composer refers in this way to the work of Igor Stravinsky and Louis Andriessen.

[27] It is the only composition of Ratusińska of this type, despite the traditional genres, such as concerto or trio, are close to her.

2003. Using the typology proposed by Barbara Literska, *Sinfonietta* can be described as an example of the so-called substantive transcription, which consists in a strict transcription of the entire substance of a work into a new instrumental medium.[28] A similar principle was applied to, among others, Paweł Łukaszewski's *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra (2004)[29] and Krzysztof Penderecki's *Sinfonietta per archi* (1992).[30]

The transcription of the solo quartet for string orchestra does not distance Ratusińska-Zamuszko's *Sinfonietta* from the original work; instead, it gives it a fuller sound, which was not possible in the original instrumentation. The composer supplements the work with a double bass part which, analogous to the procedures known from the history of orchestration, does not appear alone, but rather doubles the cello part by an octave. Like *Quartet*, *Sinfonietta* consists of three contrasting movements—the composer remains faithful to the miniaturisation of form which is typical for the (sub)genre of sinfonietta.

It is worth noting that Ratusińska chooses not to include the titles of the individual movements originally used in the *Quartet*, leaving only agogic suggestions in the score (see Table 2).

In her introduction to the score of *Sinfonietta* from 2012, Katarzyna Kucia notes that the work reflects her fascination with the culture of the Far East. She quotes the composer herself:

> The art of Tibetan Buddhism does not exist 'for art's sake', but indicates the necessity of meditative experience [...]. I also want my music

[28] M. Gołąb, *Spór o granice poznania dzieła muzycznego* (2nd ed., Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 86. The author presents the typology of the transcriptions presented originally by the author in her work. Compare B. Literska, *Dziewiętnastowieczne transkrypcje utworów Fryderyka Chopina. Aspekty historyczne, teoretyczne i estetyczne* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2004).

[29] *Sinfonietta* is a transcription of the *III String Quartet* composed in the same year. It is currently more popular than its prototype and more frequently performed. As in Weronika Ratusińska's *Sinfonietta*, the composer uses a quasi-minimalist sound language, simplified rhythm and reduction of musical material. Restricting the construction of the composition to a few selected sounds is connected with contemplation, prolongation of time and experiences, as well as general reflection.

[30] *Sinfonietta per archi* is a transcription of *String Trio* composed a year earlier. The favourable interest of the audience made the composer decide to transfer the work into a new sound design. *Sinfonietta* was dedicated to Sinfonia Varsovia Orchestra.

to induce reflection, and by slowing down the pace of life—to help in concentration and contemplation.[31]

Movements	*String Quartet No. 2 'Ostatnie chwile'* [Last moments]	*Sinfonietta*
I	Chwila buntu [A moment of rebellion]	Adagio
II	Chwila pożegnania [A moment of farewell]	Andantino
III	Modlitwa [A moment of prayer]	Allegro

Table 2: A juxtaposition of the names of the movements in the *String Quartet No. 2 'Ostatnie chwile'* and *Sinfonietta*.

Although devoid of titles suggesting intentions to write programme music, the work has many performance indications which are marked by deep emotionality and thus influence the reception of the individual movements: these include *amarevole*, *con melanconia*, *espressivo*, *misterioso*, *dolce*. Stylistically, the piece refers to minimal music,[32] a trend initiated in the 1960s, using the expressive means and compositional techniques associated with it. The basis of this composition is therefore the simplicity of the melodic material and the repetitiveness of the musical content.

Movement I Adagio
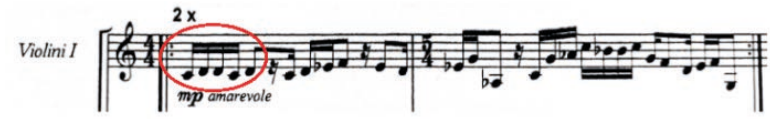
It begins with a two-bar, extremely poignant (the term *amarevole* means 'sad, with bitterness') motif of the first violin, which the author calls the initial motif, since it will be the foundation, the basic idea for the creation of subsequent structures (see example 1).

The transparency of the motif results from basing the melody solely on the tones of the C eolian scale. The first bar of the motif in 4/4 metre has a small range of the melody, with a predominant movement in seconds. In the second bar in 5/4 the range is considerably extended

[31] The statement of the composer was placed in the Preface to the score: W. Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta na orkiestrę smyczkową* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Euterpe, 2012).

[32] The main representatives of minima music are La Monte Young (b. 1935), Terry Riley (b. 1935), Steve Reich (b. 1936) and Philip Glass (b. 1937).

(interval of the major tenth). The essential element of the motif is the melodic figure that initiates it, marked in the example. Then, the composer introduces the part of the second violin, which plays a contrapuntal two-bar motif which mirrors the melody of the first violin (see example 2). The use of motifs and their transformation is very similar in Jan Krenz's *Sinfonietta per fiati* (1996).



Ex. 1: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. I, bb. 1–2. The motive of violin I. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 1.

The composer reduces the musical material by basing the melodic lines of subsequent instrumental parts on the initial motif presented earlier (see table 3).
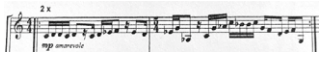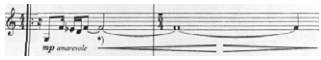
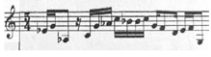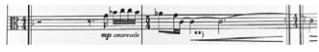
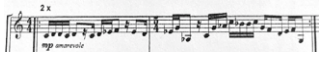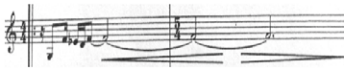
Melodic structure in the part of violin I	**Melodic structure in the part of violin II**
	 The composer uses the mirror reflection of the last five notes of the initial motif.
Melodic structure in the part of violin I	**Melodic structure in the part of viola**
	 The composer bases the motif of viola on the notes that do not appear on the second and third beat of the second bar of the initial motif.
Melodic structure in the part of violin I	**Melodic structure in the part of cello**
	 The motif is based on the characteristic skip on the first beat of the second bar of the initial motif.
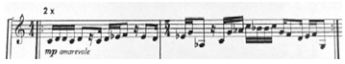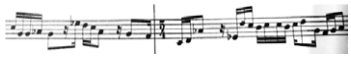
Table 3: The motifs of the instrumental parts concerning the initial motive of violin I. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*.

Crucial for the form of the *Sinfonietta*'s first movement is the repetitiveness of its melodic and rhythmic structures. The composer uses two- or four-bar sections which she then repeats several times (see example 2). The section in bars 1–10 has the character of an introduction/exposition through continuous repetition of the melodic line and oscillation in *mp* dynamics. In the next phase of the piece, the composer presents modifications of motifs appearing in all parts:
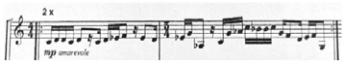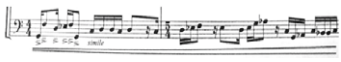
1. The presentation of the motive moved one octave higher or lower

Original	Modification
 Part of violin II, bb. 5–6.	 Part of violin I, bb. 11–12.

2. The melodic modification of the initial motif, simultaneously preserving the original rhythmic structure

Original	Modification
 Part of violin I, bb. 1–2.	 Part of violin II, bb. 11–12.
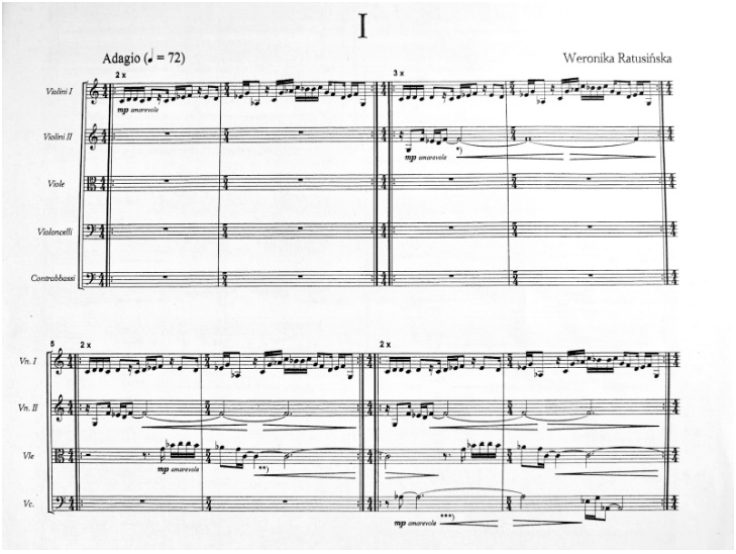
3. the exchange of the order of rhythmic figures of the initial motive as well as highlighting the selected rhythmic structure, i.e. syncope

Original	Modification
 Part of violin I, bb. 1–2.	 Part of cello, bb. 41–42.

The composer gradually expands the repetitions to four-bar phrases. She also expands the melodic line of cellos and double basses, which until bar 32 was limited to three pitches only. In the melodic line, the characteristic melodic figure based on the interval of a second is activated and presented more and more frequently (see example 3). It is exposed through *fff* dynamics and selective accents. The culmination is achieved by expanding the volume of sound and *poco a poco*

accelerando. The composer abandons the repetition of phrases in favour of the evolution of motifs, combining them with one another, constantly transforming them.
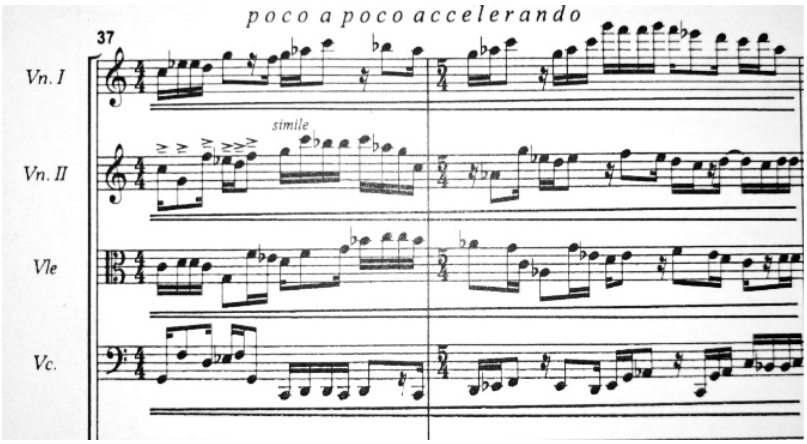
A tempestuous culmination leads to the first chord in this movement—C minor—followed by *decrescendo* and a change of the melodic line's narration. The composer presents *solo* of the first violin of quasi-impromptu form. The soloist's virtuoso is displayed against the background of the constant accompaniment of the remaining instrumental parts in chords. The C minor chord is expanded by adding non-chord tones, forming B-flat major and G minor chords. The whole is crowned with a hexadecimal figure based on the notes *C* and *D* and a delicate, misty single *pizzicato* sound.



Ex. 2: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. I, bb. 1–8. The introduction of the motives in all instrumental parts besides double basses. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 1.

Through a fixed sixteenth-note movement, from the very beginning Ratusińska introduces an element of repetition. Gradually, however, she presents new instrumental parts and constantly intensifies the dynamics (from *mp* to *fff*). While listening to the accumulation and overlapping of motifs in the middle section of the work, one may feel

a certain discomfort, an 'inner struggle'. Despite the lack of a title at the beginning of the movement, *Sinfonietta* undoubtedly depicts a situation of 'rebellion'. It may be assumed that as the melody calms down, the conflict also disappears and an emotional 'calm' and 'relaxation' takes place.
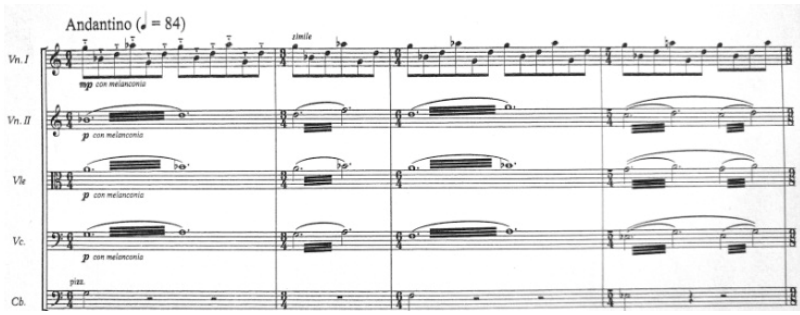


Ex. 3: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. I, bb. 37–38. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 3.

Movement II Andantino
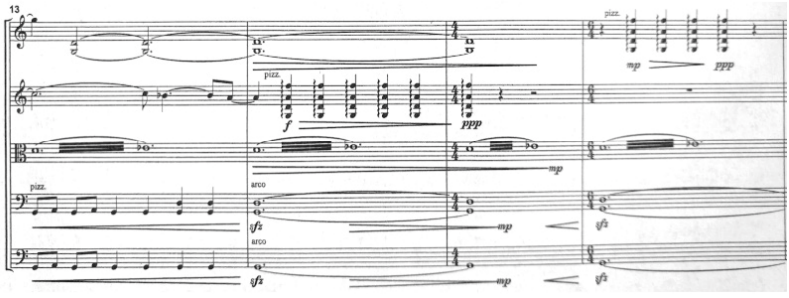
It is built of consecutive, contrasting phases. Phase I is maintained in homophonic texture. The main melodic line is built from a decomposed G minor chord coloured with second deviations in the heights A and A (see example 4). The accompaniment is limited to a delicate *tremolando* and contains the expressive phrase *con melanconia*. An exception and a very significant change from the original Quartet notation is the addition of the double bass part. It provides the harmonic basis, intoning a pizzicato descending melodic line.

The composer refers to tradition, using a specific combination of tensions and relaxations. In the harmonic course, two chords and their harmonic functions (in the sense of major-minor harmony, or rather its relic) are distinguishable:
G minor (i) – D major (V) – G minor (i)



Ex. 4: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. II, bb. 1–4. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 5.
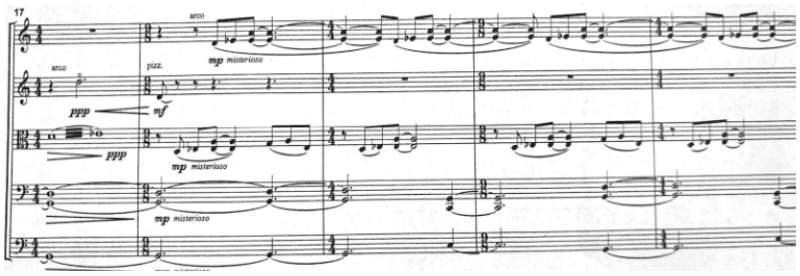
Through cadence and dynamic gradation (from *p* to *mf*) the composer brings the melody to a climax. Apart from the traditional treatment of harmony, Ratusińska also uses progression and imitation, referring to traditional compositional techniques. The melody is presented successively in the part of the second violin and the viola. Phase II is preceded by a change of character—the harmonic basis for this phase is the interval of a pure fifth presented in the cellos and double basses (see example 5).



Ex. 5: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. II, bb. 13–16. The chords in the melody of violin I and violin II predicts the following phase of the piece. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 6.

Just like in the first movement of the work, phase II presents structures of a repetitive character. It is the composer's intention that the repetition of musical thoughts in a way 'lengthens time', which is subjectively slowed down and sometimes even stopped. In phase II,
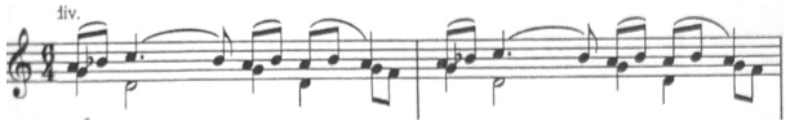
important structures are treated in a strictly imitative manner (see example 6). Throughout the whole phase, separate melodic plans are exposed, developing the polyphonic texture. Ratusińska presents new timbral qualities, introducing glissandos, harmonics or the realisation of the melody on a single string into the instrumental parts.



Ex. 6: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. II, bb. 17–21. The imitation in the melody of viola and violin. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 6.

The culminating moment of phase II is the clarification and exposition of the poignant melody of the first violin (see example 7), which is repeated ten times with a simultaneous crescendo of the whole ensemble. The phase ends with a cadence which can be reduced to a traditional harmonic system:
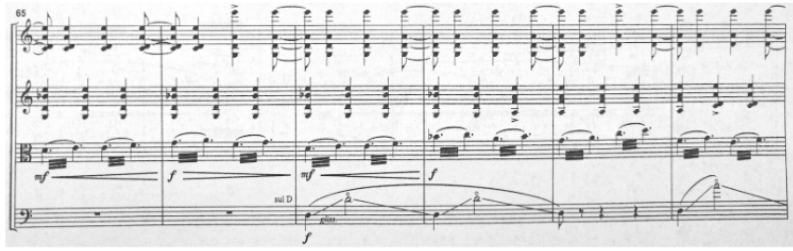
D minor (i)—A major (V)—D minor (i)



Ex. 7: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. II, bb. 34–36, part of violin I. The imitation in the melody of viola and violin I. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 7.
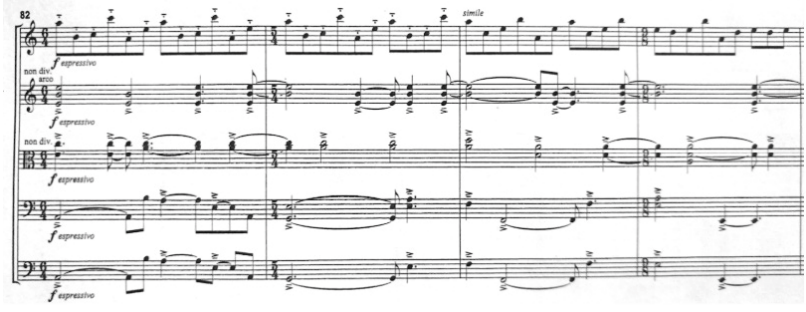
Phase III was created by combining such elements of the other phases as a *pizzicato* in chords, octave *glissando* and *tremolando*. The alternating plucking of the strings imparts an agogic liveliness (see

example 8). The viola melody in seconds comes to the fore and introduces an element of anxiety.



Ex. 8: Sinfonietta for string orchestra, mov. II, bb. 65–70. The irregular pulse of the part of violin disrupts the regularity of the metric pulse. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 8.

This episode should be treated as a prelude to the final, fourth phase, which in motifs refers directly to phase I (see example 9). The composer presents the main melody in transposition, preserving the cadential combination of chords: A minor (i)—E major (V)—A minor (i).
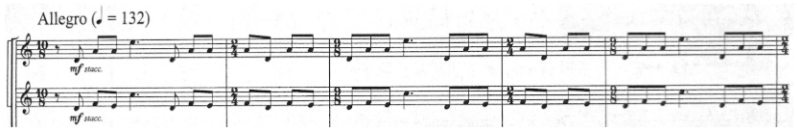


Ex. 9: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. II, bb. 82–85. The melody of the accompaniment is supplemented by the complementing rhythm. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 9.

The form of the second movement is woven with great care from fragments differing in expression, rhythm, agogics and texture. In the course of analysis it is possible to clarify the three key sections of this movement. In this case phases II and III should be combined into one

episode and treated as a kind of connector, since it does not introduce new musical content:
Section A (bars 1–17)
Section B (18–81)
Section A1 (82–95)
Coda (96–103)

Movement III Allegro
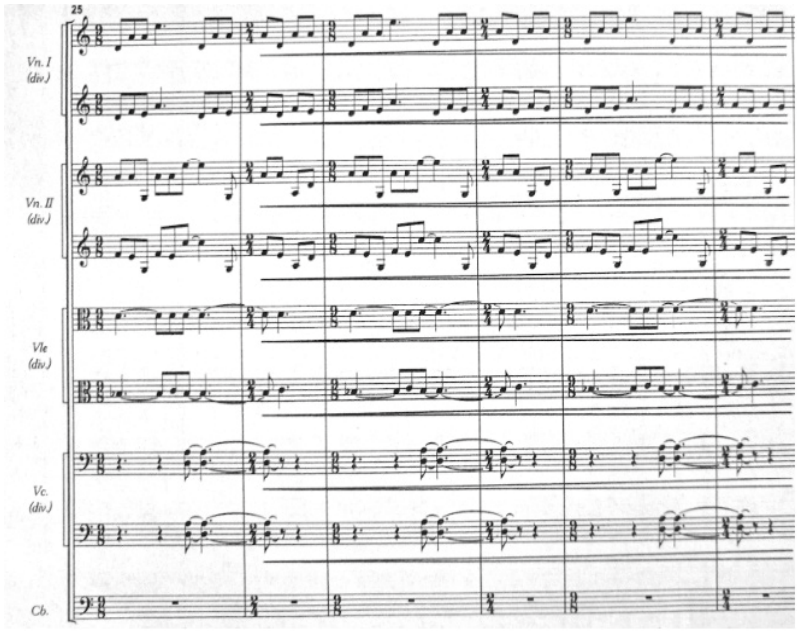
It is the longest of all the movements of *Sinfonietta*. Like its predecessors, this one, too, has some characteristic segments. Segment I (bars 1–100) begins with a two-bar motif of the first violin presented *divisi*. This melodic structure is invariably repeated over the course of thirty bars like a Baroque *ostinato* (see example 10).
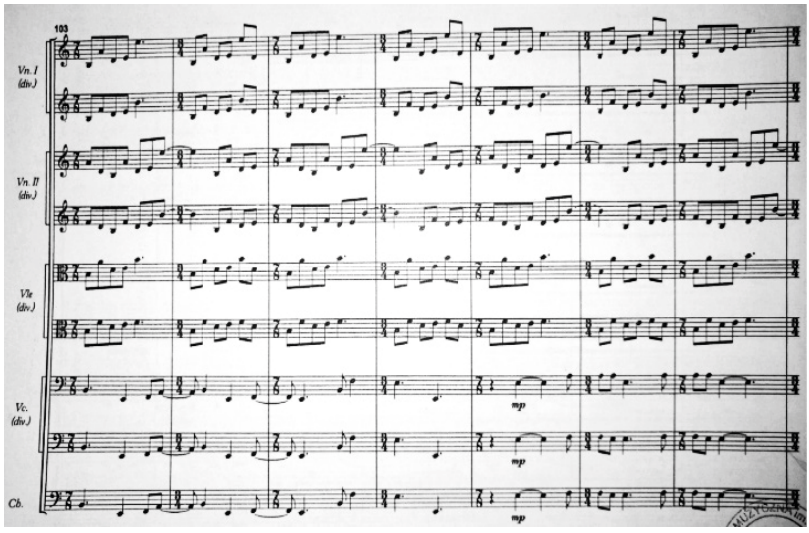


Ex. 10: Sinfonietta for string orchestra, mov. III, bb. 1–5. The part of violin I. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 10.

The long rhythmic values played on open strings give this episode its characteristic 'predatory' character. The rhythmic factor comes to the fore and provides a great contrast to the lyrical, cantilena-like movement II. The composer introduces the other *divisi* voices one by one, which correspond with each other, although at times the pulsation and sense of stability are lost through irregularly placed accents (see example 11).

Energetic motifs and percussive treatment of string instruments give this section vitalistic, bruitic qualities. The rigorously maintained tempo is contrasted with long rhythmic values realized by the viola, cello and double bass. The narration of segment I, interspersed with local climaxes, remains constant until the next phase of movement III begins. Segment II (bars 101–130) introduces a different mood through the intoning of *tutti pizzicato* melodic-rhythmic structures. The motifs of the cellos and double basses are exposed (see example 12).
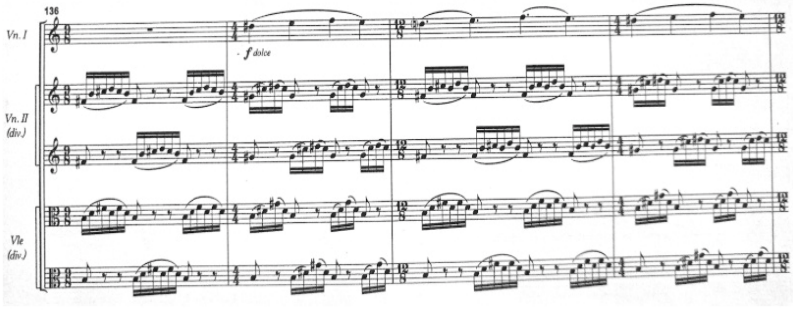


Ex. 11: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. III, bb. 25–30. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 12.



Ex.12: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. III, bb. 103–109. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 9.

The composer finishes this fragment by gradually changing the articulation to *arco*. Segment III (bars 131–183) introduces a melody full of lyricism and longing, led by the part of the first violin against the background of delicate figurations of violins and violas (see example 13).
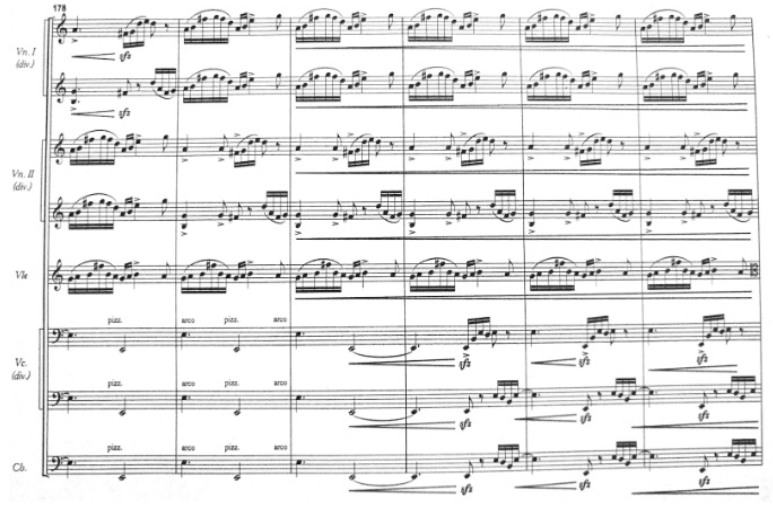


Ex. 13: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. III, bb. 136–139. The main motif of segment III. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 19.
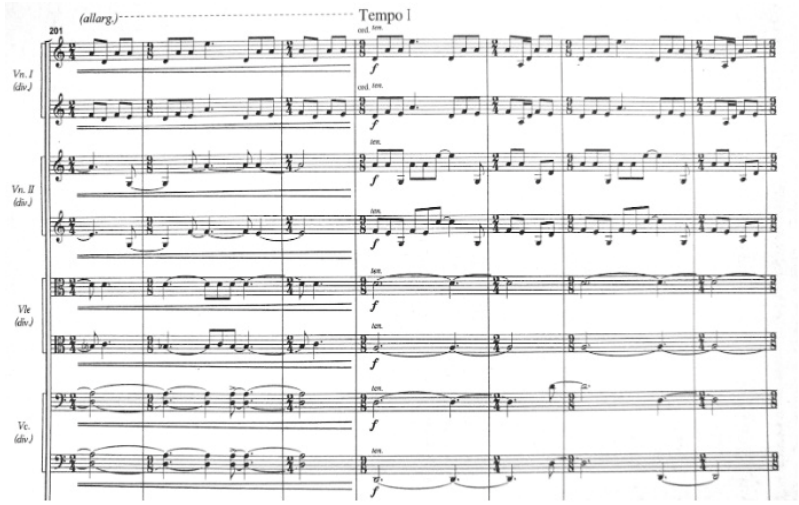
Two alternating chords should be distinguished: G-sharp minor and B minor. Rhythm remains an important form-shaping factor; within a single phrase, the composer juxtaposes duple and triple meters.

A clear counterpoint for the violin part is the expressive melody of the cellos, which then takes over as the leading instrument. The nostalgic character of segment III is disturbed by exposing rhythmic elements and accents in all instrumental parts, which emphasises the dance character of the melody (see example 14).

Segment III flows smoothly into a section that functions as a link (bars 184–203) anticipating the appearance of segment I. The composer presents the motifs that appear in it, but they are hesitant, as if they resounded somewhere in the distance, just a memory. After this hesitation, segment I (bars 204–271) appears with renewed force, leading to a rhythmic finale (see example 15). However, it is not stormy and full of pathos until the very end. Ratusińska ends the work by gradually silencing successive instruments, leaving only the rhythmic part of the first violin and a delicate chordal accompaniment.



Ex. 14: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. III, bb. 178–183. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 9.



Ex. 15: *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra, mov. III, bb. 102–207. The return of Segment I. Source: Ratusińska, *Sinfonietta*, 26.

Movement III in the original recording of the quartet was entitled *Modlitwa*. Prayer is most often associated with reverie, calmness, which

is why the agogic marking *allegro* at the beginning of the movement may come as a surprise. However, it is worth noting that this prayer refers to the Tibetan culture. The repetitions of sounds saturated with aliquots played on empty strings are meant to allude to the Buddhist way of performing melody. The constant repetition of melodic and rhythmic structures allows one to reach a state close to trance, a deep contemplation of time.

According to the author, Weronika Ratusińska's *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra in the context of the (sub)genre is characterised by

- miniaturisation of motifs—this results from the minimal music or analogical assumptions;
- contrasting motifs;
- the chamber sound—the violin *solo* appears once;
- melody of a figurative character, mainly in the third movement;
- the occurrence of supplementary rhythms, imitations, numerous syncopations, dance and march rhythms;
- miniaturisation of instruments—a string orchestra;
- miniaturisation of form—this results from the transcription, the work consists of three movements;
- miniaturisation of duration—the duration of the work is about 20 minutes.

The analysis of Weronika Ratusińska's *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra presented above has revealed its most important aspects: the main motifs, the instrumentation or the manner of shaping the narrative. Although it is not a work originally intended for these instruments, it fits correctly into the main framework of the subgenre. As an extension to the string quartet, the composer increases the volume of sound (by introducing a double bass part) and applies *divisi* of the instruments, which also changes the texture. The author of the paper wonders whether there is another term in music literature for the transfer of an instrumental quartet or trio to a string orchestra. It is natural to consider the *Sinfonietta* as the most complete and precise transfer.

Most importantly, factors and elements typical of the genre of symphony are visibly subjected to the process of miniaturisation in this work (the number and duration of movements, micro-form elements such as motifs and the degree of their development). The author noted that in *Sinfonietta* there are sections intended to display the soloist, reminiscent of the tradition of the concerto. This is due to the exact

transcription of the quartet, but sinfoniettas originally written for orchestra also contain divisions of this kind, e.g. in the work of Grażyna Bacewicz (1935) or Aleksander Tansman (1978–79). This is primarily due to the fact that a string or chamber orchestra favours polyphonic textures with clearly delineated motifs and phrases. This makes it easier to expose the sound of the solo instrument.

The issues of transcriptions and original works require further and deeper research, which the author plans to undertake in the near future.

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Capturing Ephemerality: George Brecht's *For a Drummer* from the Perspective of a Performer

Abstract

The main purpose of the article is to present an individual approach of analysing and reperforming *For a Drummer* by George Brecht, a legendary composer and a member of Fluxus. The text is divided into several parts. The first half of the article is dedicated to the history and definition of performance art, the second one focuses on a performer persona and their artistic abilities. The latter leads to an actual analysis of a creative process, starting with a short biographical background of Brecht, followed by reading and understanding of the event score with a culmination found in the author's re-performance.

Keywords

performance, re-performance, performer, Fluxus, George Brecht

Introduction

The contemporary art is experiencing an extremely dynamic shift towards performance. The key events in the development of this type of practice took place in the 1960s, when the artists of the Fluxus movement made a turn in the history of art. This article is a tribute to them, focusing on a piece by one of their leading representatives, George Brecht.

This work is a record of the creative path leading to the re-performance of *For a Drummer*. It is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the notion of performance—an attempt to systematise the genesis of this practice, as well as to define its characteristic features.

The second part is a short discussion on the figure of a performer: an enigmatic artist who draws inspiration from their own environment, often exploiting their body to the extreme in the creative process. I present here a profile of Joseph Beuys, an artist who prides himself on his extraordinary contribution to the further creation of performative thought.

The third paragraph is a biographical memoir of George Brecht, the creator of *For a Drummer*. It ends the strictly historical-analytical part, leading directly to the practical part. The process leading to my re-performance of the piece became its essential research material. This part contains a description of the creative path and technical preparations that culminated in the performance of the piece.

Performance

While writing this text, I am going back to the events of 2017. There is no doubt that since then many new qualities have emerged in the field of performance art, similarly to the theoretical thought accompanying this art. Researchers have managed to grasp further fascinating imperatives aimed at facilitating the understanding of this practice that is difficult to define unambiguously. Meanwhile, artists are far more likely to leave the stereotypical studio space and base the material of their actions on real experiences and social choreography. Research on performance art is developing rapidly both abroad and in Poland, providing new sources on the subject, which in turn undoubtedly makes it easier to understand the idea of performance art. In the article below I only refer to some of a myriad of publications because my main aim is

to present a perspective of a performer. However, I believe that theoretical reflection cannot be omitted in this case, as it was also extremely important in the process of exploring, trying to understand and finally re-performing the piece.

I made *For a Drummer* for my bachelor thesis, as I was studying musicology at the University of Warsaw. At the time, I was combining my academic work with developing my skills in playing the drum set. I wanted to combine these two perspectives—theoretical and practical—in my thesis. I have extremely fond memories of my time as a student, so I wanted to write about a real-life event that I identify with and have an emotional connection to. An additional motivation for this method was my research interests, which included music aesthetics, learning about the profiles of artists, as well as analysing and interpreting their works. *For a Drummer* also initiated the creation of my individual practice, which resulted in the making my own performances.

The thesis based on my own experience was quite a challenge—apart from the fact that I had to draw the line between emotional reception of the piece and factual analysis, the very matter of performance art was extremely difficult for me to grasp. Then, a long process of self-reflection and phenomenological considerations began. I made global attempts to define performance and at the same time I was looking for caesuras and meaning locally, inside the re-performed piece. An important issue for me was where *For a Drummer* begins and where it ends—what it aims at, what ideas it carries.

Professor Tomasz Kubikowski, a theatre scholar and philosopher, was the first to use the term 'performatyka' as an equivalent of English 'performance studies' in Poland. Performance studies is not only about an artistic act—it studies human behaviour in specific situations, including those related to everyday life. Kubikowski claims that performance is a confrontation of instructions (and thus theory) with practice. It is a clash of concept and action, a selective treatment of a certain scenario, so that the resulting reality is attractive to us and allows us to adapt to a given situation.[1]

Joanna Zielińska, the creator of the Performing Arts Department at the Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art in Warsaw, refers to the monograph by Roselee Goldberg, an American art historian

[1] R. Schechner, *Performatyka: Wstęp*, tr. T. Kubikowski (Wrocław: Ośrodek Badań Twórczości Jerzego Grotowskiego i Poszukiwań Teatralno-Kulturowych, 2006), 44.

and curator of performance art. She refers to the publication from 1979, in which Goldber fins a genesis of performance in the activity of dadaists, surrealists and futurists. She also expands the definition of performative action—adding dance, choreography and quasi-theatrical activities.[2] Artists such as Georges Mathieu, Yves Klein and John Cage began the practice we know today as 'happening'. The term was coined by Cage's student Allan Kaprow.[3]

The year 1957: Kaprow, Cage and George Brecht (so crucial in this work) take a walk. Kaprow confesses that while creating his so-called 'action collages', he has problems with some of the sound elements of the installation (it is worth mentioning here that the artist was a great admirer of Jackson Pollock's work, who used gesture painting, the so-called 'action painting'; the expressive act of painting, which was supposed to emphasise that a painting is not a finished work but a record of the act of creation, was to be a great inspiration in the development of happening).[4] Cage, who at that time was teaching composition at the New School for Social Research in New York, invited Kaprow to his lecture. The recording or looping techniques Kaprow learned had such an impact on the artist that he asked Cage to allow him to attend classes regularly.[5]

This is how a happening was born—something that, according to Kaprow, was supposed to happen spontaneously in the gallery space. More than creating a concrete, material work, he was interested in putting tools in the hands of the audience, who through their interaction with those tools created and redefined the artist's idea. However, a constant element was the series of instructions that Kaprow issued along with the invitations to the exhibition. By doing so, he warned the viewers that they would at the same time become the creators of the work, taking an active part in its existence. The instructions were divided into particular situations (events), the end of which was signalled, for example, by the sound of a bell.

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[2] J. Zielińska, 'Czarna skrzynka. Rozmowa z Joanną Zielińską', interviewed by M. Czyż, https://www.dwutygodnik.com/artykul/8792-czarna- skrzynka.html?fbclid=IwAR2B5BJPTMJcUargwLT6cH_LKx9wtAgglEA3RzKR5PLhyJlh7BSLDyKnY6w, accessed 20 June 2020.

[3] J.F. Rodenbeck, *Radical Prototypes. Allan Kaprow and the Invention of Happenings* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2011), 15.

[4] K. Beaven, 'Performance Art. The Happening', https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/h/happening/happening, accessed 21 June 2020.

[5] Beaven, *Performance Art*.

Kaprow realised his first happening in 1959 in New York (*18 Happenings in 6 Parts*) at the Reuben Gallery. The work had the so-called compartmental structure, which consisted of logically unconnected parts—events. For Kaprow, a happening was the so-called 'collage of events'—realised live, fully improvised, performed by amateurs. He was most interested in the kind of happening that enables the active participation of the audience.[6]

A completely different concept of happening was presented by Wolf Vostell, also listed among the main creators of Fluxus. Vostell restrained the participants of his works, imposing on them specific actions to be performed, limiting their free exploration. He was interested in the process of destruction, according to him an inherent part of existence. For example, one of his actions is *Neun-Nein-de-collagen* from 1963—the use of a speeding locomotive to ram a car standing on the tracks. He passed on his ideas to the other members of Fluxus, who contributed significantly to the development of the happening.[7]

> PROMOTE A REVOLUTIONARY FLOOD AND TIDE IN ART. Promote living art, anti-art, promote NON ART REALITY to be fully grasped by all peoples, not only critics, dilettantes and professionals.[8]

The quotation provided above comes from the manifesto of George Maciunas, an American artist of Lithuanian origin, a spiritual leader and founder of Fluxus. In these phrases, he laid the foundations for a new artistic consciousness (strongly inspired by the work of John Cage) and a new perceptual consciousness based on 'being in reality' or 'sensitivity' to it.[9] The work of the artists associated with the Fluxus movement balanced between art and anti-art, devaluing the artistic nature of intentional works while adding artistry to everyday activities and situations. Ben Vautier, an active participant in the movement, recalled years later the words of Maciunas, who gave the Fluxus 'concerts' the

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6 Beaven, *Performance Art*.

7 K. Ruhrberg et al., *Art of the 20th Century* (Köln: Taschen, 2005), 75.

8 B. Piekut, *Experimentalism Otherwise. The New York Avant-Garde and Its Limits* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 220.

9 G. Dziamski, 'Performance – tradycje, źrodła, obce i rodzime przejawy. Rozpoznanie zjawiska', in G. Dziamski, H. Gajewski, J.S. Wojciechowski, eds., *Performance. Praca zbiorowa* (Warszawa: Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1984), 30.

function of cheering up the contemporary music. He was to discover that it was boring in itself, because it was dependent on historically produced cultural needs. The works of Fluxus were shaped by the recognition in art of chance and amateurism as a constitutive factor for it.[10] It should be emphasised that the artists of the Fluxus movement did not intend to claim a monopoly on defining art or the ability to transform the simplest situations and events into art. On the contrary, the effect of their actions was to mobilise everyone to undertake the artistic action and to provoke activity through a series of do-it-yourself instructions. The precursor of this type of art was John Cage. His concept was based on the belief that the act of musical creation is not an individual action of the artist, but spontaneously 'becomes' in a given situation with a given audience. Cage gave creativity a collective character, which is completely different from the romantic ideal of the alienated creator-genius.[11]

> Instead of being the product of one person, art is a process set in motion by a group of people. Art becomes socialised. It is not that someone says things, but that people do things, giving everyone (including those involved in art) the opportunity to have experiences they would not have had otherwise.[12]

The provocative nature of happening began to fade, giving way to an interest in the artist's body, treated shortly thereafter as a tool of artistic creation. The unquestionable leader in breaking physical barriers in her works is Marina Abramović, whose works such as *Rhythm 0* or *Rhythm 5* still arouse great controversy because of their radical course, dangerous to the artist's life and health. Another artist who was fascinated with crossing his barriers, both physical and mental, was Chris Burden. During the performance of his piece *Shoot*, he was intentionally shot in the arm by his friend.[13]

The work of relational artists clearly stood out in the art of the 1990s. In their view, the audience became a group of autonomous performers

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[10] Dziamski, 'Performance', 31.

[11] Z. Skowron, *Nowa muzyka amerykańska* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1995), 42.

[12] 'Sztuka, zamiast być wytworem jednej osoby, jest procesem uruchamianym przez grupę ludzi. Sztuka uspołecznia się. Nie polega na tym, że ktoś mówi, lecz że ludzie czynią rzeczy, dając wszystkim (łącznie z zaangażowanymi w sztukę) możność zdobycia doświadczeń, których nie osiągnęliby innym sposobem'. Skowron, *Nowa muzyka amerykańska*, 42.

[13] 'Chris Burden shot in the name of art in iconic performance', https://publicdelivery.org/chris- burden-shoot/, accessed 23 June 2020.

who, through their participation in the exhibition space, constitute its driving force, giving it an unpredictable rhythm.[14]

French-Canadian scholar Josette Féral, in her work *Theorie et Pratique du theatre. Au-dela des limites* tried to define the distinctive features of performance art. She pointed to three fundamental elements, independent of prevailing fashions or practices: manipulation of the artist's body as the most important and necessary feature of every performative act, manipulation of space, and the relation that is established between the artist and the audience, the audience and the work of art, the work of art and the artist.[15]

Professor Maria Szyszkowska (philosopher, politician) considers performance art to be philosophically rich—she appreciates it for bringing up topics that are often neglected in public discourse, such as ecology. She said that Jerzy Grotowski was an unquestionable precursor of ecological art. Szyszkowska also stresses that contemporary artists have taken over the role of the 19th century poet-poets, engaging additionally their own bodies in order to encourage people to abandon their stereotypical view of the world.[16]

Performer

Performance art appears as a free form of artistic inspiration flow, which is often based on observations of everyday life and the performer's individual vision. So the question arises: can everyone be an artist? 'Jeder Mensch ein Kunstler' (Everyone is an artist)—claimed Joseph Beuys, and in Poland he was echoed by Edward Stachura with his manifesto 'everything is poetry [...] everyone is a poet!'.[17]

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14 Zielińska, *Czarna skrzynka*.

15 J. Féral, *Theorie et Pratique du theatre. Au-dela des limites* (Montpellier: Editions L'Entretemps, 2011), cited in: J. Féral, 'Rzeczywistość wobec wyzwania teatru', tr. W. Prażuch, *Didaskalia*, 109/110 (2012), 19–25.

16 M. Szyszkowska, *Całe życie w opozycji. Rozmowy z Marią Szyszkowską* (Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa 1997), http://biblioteka.kijowski.pl/szyszkowska%20omaria/calezyciewopozy.pdf, accessed 23 June 2020.

17 J. Wesołowski, 'Artysta jako człowiek i jako rzecz. Uwagi obserwatora uczestniczącego', in S. Wysłouch, B. Kaniewska, eds, *Człowiek i rzecz. O problemach reifikacji w literaturze, filozofii i sztuce* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 45.

The photograph below shows Joseph Beuys, an artist, a political and social activist. It commemorates the 1982 performance during which Beuys planted (with the help of local people) seven thousand trees of various species in Kassel. Next to each of them he placed a basalt pedestal. The dualism of living, organic matter and processed, inanimate matter was meant to illustrate Beuys's key philosophy of the harmony and coexistence of these values in the life of every human being.[18]



Illus. 1: Joseph Bueys plants trees during the *7000 Oaks* action, Kassel 1982.[19]

7000 Oaks was an actual change of the city landscape, which affected not only its visual representation, but also the morale of the local people who took an active part in the project.

Central to the work below is the aspect of 're-creation'—that is, re-performance. Allan Kaprow, mentioned earlier, once said that re-performing his actions would contradict their specificity.[20] Artists and art

[18] https://www.walkerart.org/archive/E/A24315825E9BEAE26130.html, accessed 7 June 2020.

[19] Source: https://somethingcurated.com/2019/10/30/sculpture-as-social-practice/, accessed 17 July 2020.

[20] 'Reinterpreting Re-performance', https://helenabarrett1987.wordpress.com/january-2011-study/, accessed 7 June 2020.

curators at one point became concerned about the impossibility of commemorating works. The ephemeral nature of performance then became a subject of dispute and discussion. For it is an art that is extremely difficult to archive—the traditional ways of documenting art (photographs, descriptions) are not able to convey its essence, they may also be subject to manipulation and present an idea that is completely opposite to the artist's original concept. On the other hand, a performance by another artist will always bear the mark of their individual practice.

Although initially ambivalent about re-performance, artists—including Fluxus artists—were eager to draw on the works of their peers. For example, La Monte Young composed a series called *Compositions 1960*, part #10 of which ('to Bob Morris'), entitled *Draw a straight line and follow it*, was performed by Nam June Paik. The artist dipped his head in ink and, bent over, scribbled it on rolls of paper. He titled his performance *Zen for Head*.[21] On the one hand, such a solution seems to be an extreme example of interference in the structure of a piece, but on the other hand it shows the evolution of thought about re-performance. The recording is treated as a script, which is in line with the current of reflections on performance theatre. As in theatre, different directors use the same scripts. In the case of performance, artists can draw from the works of other performers and create them according to their practice and emotions.

> A Performer—with a capital letter (sic!)—is a man of action, not a man who plays another man. They are a dancer, a priest, a warrior; they are beyond the divisions of the genres. The ritual is a performance, a fulfilled action, an act. The degenerate ritual is a performance. I do not want to discover what is new, but what is forgotten. So old that divisions into art genres cannot be applied here. I am a teacher of the Performer (I use the singular: Performer). [...] A Performer is a state of being. A man of cognition. A man of cognition disposes of doing and not of thoughts and theories. What does a real teacher do for a practitioner? They say: *Do this*. The student struggles to understand, to bring the unknown to the known, to avoid doing. By the very fact that they want to understand, they resist. They will understand, but only after they do this. They will do this or not. Knowing is a matter of doing.[22]

[21] 'Reinterpreting Re-performance'.

[22] 'Performer – z dużej litery (sic!) – jest człowiekiem czynu, a nie człowiekiem, który gra innego. Jest tancerzem, kapłanem, wojownikiem; jest poza podziałami na

This poetic quotation from a text by Jerzy Grotowski (a Polish theatre director, theoretician, educator and theatre reformer) is a contribution to reflection on who the performer is—what tools do they use? What is the aim of their creative creation?

Nigel Rolfe, an Irish representative of the life art movement, assigned the contemporary artist the following task: they have a chance to unite what culture has torn apart—life and art. Artistic performance seems to be a protest against this rupture and an impulse to create a new kind of artistic being, inseparably connected with human being and its existence.[23]

Brecht

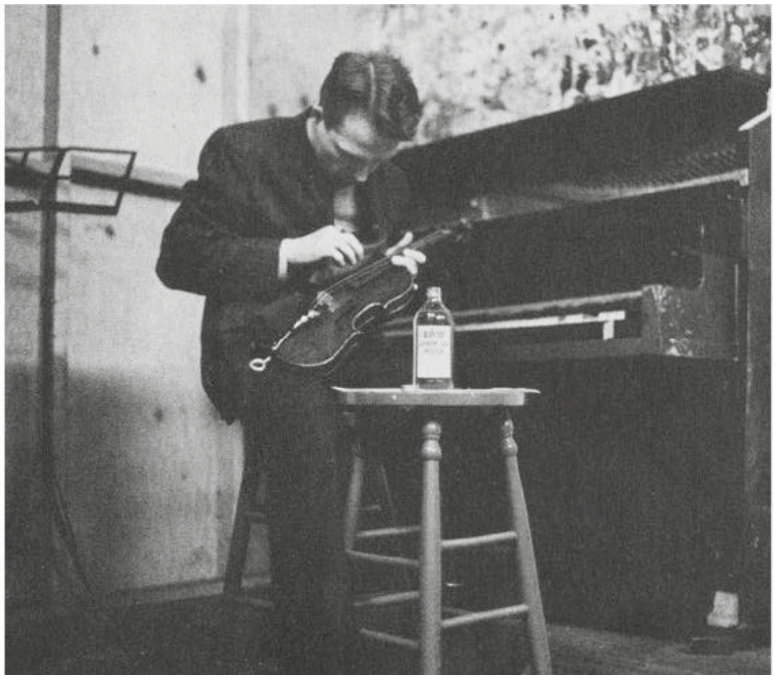
A key figure in the Fluxus movement is George Brecht, an avant-garde composer and conceptual artist who was a chemist by training. Brecht's artistic career began in the late 1950s. He was still working as a scientist at Charles Pfizer & Co. and Johnson & Johnson in New Jersey. He got the job after graduating from Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science (1946–1950). At that time he was keenly interested in art—at the beginning of his career he was inspired by the works of Jackson Pollock and Robert Rauschenberg. He transferred his fascinations onto sheets, which he covered with dark ink and titled *Chance Paintings*. Coincidence was thus the modus operandi of Brecht's early works. In 1956–1957, he formulated his theories on patterns of probability and the factor of chance in twentieth-century science and art, and published them in *Something Else Press*. The work entitled *Chance Imagery*

gatunki sztuki. Rytuał to performance, akcja spełniona, akt. Zwyrodniały rytuał jest widowiskiem. Nie chcę odkrywać tego, co nowe, lecz co zapomniane. Tak stare, że podziałów na gatunki sztuki nie da się tutaj odnieść. Jestem nauczycielem Performera (używam liczby pojedynczej: Performera). […] Performer to stan istnienia. Człowiek poznania. […] Człowiek poznania rozporządza czynieniem – *doing* – a nie myślami i teoriami. Co czyni dla praktykanta prawdziwy nauczyciel? Mówi: *zrob to*. Praktykant walczy, by zrozumieć, by sprowadzić nieznane do znanego, uniknąć uczynienia. Przez sam fakt, że chce zrozumieć, opiera się. Zrozumie, ale dopiero wtedy, kiedy zrobi. Zrobi lub nie. Poznanie to sprawa czynienia.' J. Grotowski, 'Performer', in J. Degler, Z. Osiński, eds, *Teksty z lat 1965–1969* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wiedza o Kulturze, 1990), 214.

[23] A. Kawalec, 'Kilka uwag o pojęciu sztuki performans', in A. Kawalec, ed., *O pojęciu sztuki w kulturze współczesnej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2010), 98.

revealed the author's fascination with dadaism and the figure of Marcel Duchamp, whom he regarded as the epitome of the 'searching artist'.[24]

Brecht's career developed thanks to his collaboration with, among others, John Cage, with whom he studied between 1958 and 1959, during which time he developed the idea of the event score, which was to be, as the name suggests, a record of events. The idea turned into a symbol of the activities and functioning of Fluxus. In the mid-1960s, the composer decided to leave the United States. It is said that Cage spent an entire evening convincing Brecht not to do so. Unfortunately, the persuasions were to no avail, and Brecht, travelling through Rome, southern France, London, and Dusseldorf, settled in Cologne.[25]



Illus. 2: George Brecht performs *Solo for Violin*, New York 1964.[26]

[24] A. Dezeuze, 'Brecht for beginners', in A.M. Fischer, ed., *George Brecht. Events. A Heterospective* (Köln: Buchhandlung Walther König, 2005), 3.

[25] K. Johnson, 'George Brecht, 82, Fluxus Conceptual Artist, Is Dead', http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/15/arts/music/15brecht.html, accessed 20 May 2020.

[26] Source: https://www.moma.org/collection/works/127320, accessed 17 July 2020.

From event score to re-performance

For a Drummer operates with an unusual notation that requires a completely different perspective and research strategy. Below, the event score of Brecht's piece in its original version is presented.

Fluxverion 1: Performer drums with drum sticks or drum brushes over the surface of wet mud or thick glue until brushes or sticks get stucked and can't be lifted.

Fluxversion 2: Performer drums with sticks over a leaking feather pillow making the feathers escape the pillow.

Fluxversion 3: Performer drums over drum with 2 ends of slightly leaky water hose.

Fluxversion 4: Performer drums over drum with rolled newspapers until the rolls disintegrate.

Fluxversion 5: Performer dribbles a ping pong ball between a hand-held racket and drum skin.

Fluxversion 6: Performer drums with mallets or hammers on a helmet worn by another performer.

Fluxversion 7: Performer drums with brushes inside a vessel filled with cream until cream is thick.[27]

George Brecht called the scores of his works collectively 'event scores'. The title provided above is also carried by one of the artist's performances, the content of which reads: 'Arrange or discover an event. Score and then realize it,'[28] which is literally a suggestion to 'record' an event created by the artist. The term 'event' is thus an extremely broad concept, as we can see in *The Fluxus Performance Workbook*, a collection of works by artists associated with Fluxus. In the introduction to the book we read that the genesis of event scores goes back to John Cage's activity at The New School in New York. Together with his students, the composer tried to redefine a musical work, to bring it to life, depriving it of the rigid framework of performance markings. This is how the idea of events was born, the writing of which was to be a kind of encouragement, a proposal, an instruction. Therefore, events were concise descriptions of certain events, whose time, place and manner of performance depended on the individual concept of the performer.

[27] Source: K. Friedman, O. Smith, L. Sawchyn, eds., *The Fluxus Performance Workbook* (London, 2002), 28.

[28] K. Friedman, ed., *The Fluxus Performance*, 27.

Initially, they were to be printed on small pieces of paper and sent to the composer's friends.[29]

From the contemporary point of view, these instructions are often compared to the works of minimalist poets (e.g. Emmett Williams).[30] In their works, the economy of words also provoked subjective evaluation and did not impose a concretized, paved interpretation on the viewer.

Brecht, as an abstract composer and collaborator of John Cage, was certainly fascinated by music, but entering into dialogue with it from the perspective of an avant-garde artist carries a considerable space of understatement. Performance allows for the presence and activity of people of all professions and passions. One of the forms of using event scores was their negation, which can be committed by anyone, not necessarily an antagonist of conceptual art. As a music researcher, I decided to treat *For a Drummer* as an abstract yet real musical activity, based on my knowledge and experience of playing the drum set.

Brecht himself used to say that there is no one right way to perform his works.[31] The sphere of ephemerality of performance, as well as the connections between *For a Drummer* and the Fluxus movement, could contribute to conclude the analysis here. The aim of the performer is not a performance based on predictable and consistently planned gestures, but full surrender to the narrative of the piece which takes shape in the moment of contact with the viewer. However, since the above performance was also the subject of my research, I decided to go one step further and deepen the process.

Performing *For a Drummer* requires analysing the event score and making a number of decisions. Although in most of the etudes the guidelines are clearly defined by the composer, in a few situations there is an opportunity to choose what materials the artist can use on stage. In *For a Drummer*, the word 'or' gives the performer a choice

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29 Johnson, *George Brecht*.

30 A. Michnik, 'Wejdź w świat Fluxusu (jeśli masz odwagę)', interviewed by A. Suprynowicz, http://www.polskieradio.pl/8/3887/Artykul/1766720,Wejdz-wswiat-fluxusu-jesli-masz-odwage, accessed 20 May 2020 (audition: *Bariera dźwięku. Przewodnik po muzyce współczesnej*, Channel Two of Polish Radio, 19 May 2017 at 10:30 p.m.).

31 K. Groh, 'Teoretyczna idea sztuki performance', in G. Dziamski, H. Gajewski, J.S. Wojciechowski, eds., *Performance. Praca zbiorowa* (Warszawa: Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1984), 63.

regarding the material or instrument used, which consequently significantly affects the audiovisual presentation. At this point there is a discrepancy between the aforementioned spontaneity of actions and the real preparation of the artist to perform the piece. In his publication *Training for Performance: A meta-disciplinary account*, John Matthews reflects on methods of preparing artists (actors, performers) for performances. He points out that performance is indeed a 'living art,' yet Marina Abramović had to prepare her body for the extreme stresses she put on it in her works to be able to fully convey the ideas behind them.[32] The richness of meaning of the English word 'performance' poses considerable problems of interpretation, but Matthews clearly categorises the concepts of artistic acts, separating them from unrelated activities and achievements. He cites Alison Knowles, an American artist and Fluxus member, who believes that preparation and the creative process should be based on a thorough analysis of the materials used and adapting them to use as one intends.[33] Below is a description of this type of practice. I would like to stress that I use the words event and étude interchangeably, as in my opinion individual fragments of *For a Drummer* can be treated as performative particles in the shape of theatrical études—concrete situations, tasks to be performed on stage.

In the case of the first event of the piece I chose percussion brooms and glue as my tools. My choice was made after a 'sound test' of all possible combinations suggested by Brecht. I found that the drumsticks, upon contact with a sticky or dense surface, produce a quiet, muffled sound that is almost inaudible. Following this idea and relating it to my idea of musical performance I resigned from this option. The percussion brooms, due to their construction, produce a rustling, complex sound, which was audible with both mud and glue, so I opted for that tool. The choice of glue seemed more appropriate because of the intended location of the performance.

Event two required breaking up a feather pillow and deflating it with drumstick strokes. I used Vic Firth drumsticks (model 5A Black) with a classic head shape and a length of 40.64 cm. In order to allow the feathers to get out of the pillow, I made cuts on its edges.

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[32] J. Matthews, *Training for Performance: A meta-disciplinary account* (London: Bloomsbury, Methuen Drama, 2011), 53.

[33] Matthews, *Training for Performance*, 53.

The third étude was quite technically challenging. I used a prepared garden hose. The preparation of the hose consisted of making holes in it and closing its two ends with connectors. Since I decided to create a painting during this étude and leave a sort of memento of this expression, I placed a white cotton canvas under the snare drum I was playing. Before the performance began, the hose was filled with a red liquid (water tinted with fabric paint).

Étude four was not demanding. However, I decided that the newspapers would not be rolled into a uniform roll, and I would crumple the individual magazine pages into the shape of long strips. Holding them in handfuls of five and six allowed me to create more sounds when hitting the snare drum.

The preparation of étude five was tumultuous and constantly changing, which led to considerable modification of its content. First, for technical reasons, I did not use the ping pong table (it would not fit in the stage space). It turned out to be unnecessary, because this étude assumes the presence of two performers, and I performed solo. I first bounced the ball directly off the snare drum, holding it with my hands and balancing the bouncing ball, and then bounced it against the wall.

Étude six also involved the presence of two people. In my performance, I wore a helmet on my head (perhaps about a forty-year-old motorcycle helmet). It had been crafted and, in fact, repaired. The previous owner had written 'POLICE' on it in marker. In order not to significantly affect the texture of the helmet, I just painted it with silver paint. I hit it with a meat pestle and a small hammer.

Whipping cream during étude seven was very difficult for a simple reason. It is not easy to do it with percussion brooms, whose thin aluminium fibres bend. I added a few drops of pink paint to the whipping cream. Sitting on a chair, I stirred it until it thickened, all the while working on the sound and creating the rhythm.

Initially, my plan for working with the sound material of the performance was to explore the musicality of the objects provided in the event score. I was looking for parallels between the instruction presented and the percussion rudiments. The activity was to be based on interpreting the étude and looking for the best way to convey its ideological layer through movement. The goal of matching a specific rudiment to each étude was to best convey the meaning and message through simple, schematic movement. The percussion rudiments are

a series of 'practices', technical exercises that every instrumentalist should know and be able to play. They are divided into groups—some 'strengthen' the musician's body, focusing on learning to play each limb simultaneously, while others present technical exercises based on the manipulation of the baton to produce a specific sound.

To illustrate my original point and to clarify a certain abstract approach that was born at the beginning of the work on the piece, I will give an example of the synthesis of rudiments with stage gesture. Projecting étude six in our imagination, we get the image of a person who, figuratively speaking, is 'hammering' something into the other person's head. By directly hitting someone, and in addition with a hammer (or pestle), we show our superiority, power, strength. Above all, however, it has negative connotations. Firstly, using violence against someone (despite the helmet protecting your head) is immoral and wrong. Secondly, hitting someone over the head with a hammer brought to my mind all kinds of propaganda activities and 'hammering' someone else's views and thoughts to gain support. If we follow this line of thought, and if we recall some selected events from history, we can come to the conclusion that such actions were based on a kind of pattern. In order to affect the collective psyche, actions must be uncomplicated, strong and blunt, and at the same time simple enough for everyone to compare them to their own situation and understand. Therefore, the most appropriate gesture seemed to be the seemingly simplest rudiment *Single Stroke Roll*, consisting of alternating playing equal rhythmic values with both hands. Its goal is to develop an even, almost mechanical playing of both hands, while maintaining a common rhythmic value and specific dynamics.

Ultimately, I gave up on this idea, guided mainly by the ideas of the Fluxus movement itself, which assumed, however, the creation of art in a way 'everyday', more of a social choreography than a finished artistic work. The percussion instruments used in *For a Drummer*, such as a meat pestle or a garden hose, are after all elements of almost every household. Moreover, in the case of any artistic activity there is a risk of a sudden 'dazzle' or simply a change in the concept or feeling of the piece being performed. By imposing a performance path on myself from the beginning, I not only deprived myself of the opportunity to emotionally search for the meaning of the performance and give it my individual characteristics, but I also somehow added a layer of

meaning that probably did not even cross Brecht's mind. Of course, this is a mistake, as reading a play and understanding it in all possible ways is the privilege of the viewer. However, assuming the duties of a performer who plays someone else's piece, it seemed right to me not to create, on the basis of *For a Drummer*, a new performance which would be my subjective manifesto.

Paradoxically, I limited my influence on the shape of the piece, deciding to carry out Brecht's instructions literally. However, taking the humble position of a performer was not less creative, because *For a Drummer* was my debut as a performer, it strongly influenced my further actions and still resonates in my emerging individual style. Besides, it was an attempt, an experiment of sorts, to bring performance into the musicological environment in a practical way.

The performance took place on 7 February 2017, and was attended by about fifty people. An important consideration was the venue for the performance of the piece. I chose Klubojadalnia Eufemia, located in the basement of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. The decision was conditioned mainly by the specificity of the place and the group of people visiting it—Eufemia is considered the centre of Warsaw's independent music and arts scene. The claustrophobia and intimacy of the basement club guaranteed more intimate contact with the audience, which is what I was aiming for.

The performance lasted approximately ten minutes. It was recorded on a DSLR camera not only for the documentation I needed to further my artistic studies, but also to analyse the performance and evaluate it. The illustration below shows a 'frame' from the recording. In it, I am performing étude six—hitting the helmet on my head with a hammer and meat pestle. It was an interesting experience, given the difference in the sound I heard and that of the audience.

Despite the abstractness of my actions and the unusual use of materials, only one person told me that they completely misunderstood the performance and did not find themselves in its narrative ('I didn't understand, I heard before that it was Fluxus and unusual, that's all'). Many audience members interpreted my actions very individually. There were interesting opinions connecting the études with the political situation, censorship—in this context the fragment in which I hit my head with a hammer made the biggest impression ('I felt that you react to what surrounds you, it was not as abstract as I thought')—or

sexuality, the theme of which came up while whipping cream and the sound it made ('the last bit was very intimate, exhibitionistic'). The audience members, who were previously familiar with Brecht's piece (there was even a person among them who had previously performed *For a drummer*), were very surprised by the études that provide for the presence of two performers, which I performed solo. In their view, this reinforced the message of the performance and resonated with my individual experience ('it was very yours, you made your presence very strongly felt in Brecht's piece').

Issues of the work

The question of aesthetic experience is an important element of research in the sociology of art. It is the component of reception that determines its qualification as an artistic product. Aesthetic experience causes that the work of art begins to evoke the desire for coexistence, individual reflection. This often results from the intensification of the viewer's existence—from striking those chords that will make him find common features with the work and identify with its narration.[34] In the case of avant-garde works within the Fluxus movement, which was the art of everyday life, it may be much more complicated. Then, the individual reception of the work seems to depend only on the viewer's sensitivity. It always requires cultural competence, knowledge of communication rules necessary to understand cultural products. This leads to interpretation, which is an intellectual operation that consists in the recipient's understanding of the perceived work and conscious grasping of its content, structure, and identity.[35]

The main goal of the text was to present the path that a performer must take when working on event score and abstract performance material. The issue of performing this type of music is very individual and strongly dependent on the subjective feelings of the artist.

From the point of view of musicological research, the issue of performance seems to be a very interesting although demanding research field. A particularly promising perspective is created by combining

[34] M. Golka, *Socjologia sztuki* (Warszawa: Centrum Doradztwa i Informacji Difin, 2008), 175.

[35] Golka, *Socjologia sztuki*, 178.

theoretical concepts with practical skills. It is safe to say that such an approach introduces a completely new quality in music research.

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Gender in Traditional Music: An Overview of the New Challenges Related to Polish Ethnomusicology in the 21st Century

Abstract

The subject of the article is to present the feminist trend in Western ethnomusicology and then to compare it with the state of research in Poland. The query included the latest Western musicological and ethnomusicological literature, as well as the known sources about gender in Polish traditional music. The author, based on the experience gained during the field research carried out in recent years, indicates possible changes in conducting and analysing the field in order to obtain more accurate knowledge about gender performativity in Polish folklore.

Keywords

feminism, critical theories, gender, ethnomusicology

Social transformations clearly imply some kind of transformations in academic discourse. In the twentieth century, against the background of cultural and social changes, as part of the critical theories developed by the Frankfurt School, gender, sexuality, and the discrimination associated with them began to be recognised in the humanities. As early as in the 1960s, the representation of women and minorities as the subject and object of scientific research became one of the topics of lectures, seminars, and publications. Today, after many years of evolution of issues related to its perception, socio-cultural gender can be defined as a form of representation of complex social relations and, therefore, a social construct that makes it possible to think about the interrelationships between sexual identity and other variables: race, age, culture, class, lifestyle, etc.[1] All of these variables are part of the identity of the subject under study, embedded in a material reality marked by the power relations of the subject's identity.[2] According to this definition and the views of the representative of the second-wave feminism Simone de Beauvoir, 'one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.'[3] Adding Judith Butler's theory, this 'becoming' takes place by means of constant role-playing, which is assigned to us and which seems to be an intrinsic, unchangeable feature, while in many cases it is the result of institutional pressure.[4]

At this point, it is worthy to mention misinterpretations of this definition. I am not speaking here of the scholarly, constructive criticism of elements of gender performativity theory undertaken by Biddy Martin, Eve Sedgwick, and Slavoj Žižek, among others,[5] but of its portrayal in media discourse. There are reports that do not refer to scientific articles on gender theory as such, but only to its criticism by conservative circles. Gender theory is accused of being biased, contrary to common sense, revolutionary, or being an attempt at social engineering, among

1 R. Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects Embodiment And Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (2nd edn, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 145.
2 Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects*, 184.
3 S. de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, tr. C. Borde and S. Malovany-Chevallier (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 283.
4 J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York–London: Routledge, 1999), 57.
5 Compare S. Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (London–New York: Verso, 2000).

others.[6] However, it is nothing more than an attempt to describe the diversity of inborn, attributed and acquired human characteristics and their influence on human life. Moreover, it is not only the humanities that take up the issue of gender. The ambiguity of biological gender and the need to define it is mentioned at least in the biological sciences.[7]

Although the struggle of musicology with feminist issues can be dated back to the early 1980s,[8] a major study on gender in the strict sense of the term was published only in 1991. One of the most important feminist music scholars is Susan McClary. She focuses on determining how historically constructed ideas of gender and sexuality have influenced the development of music in the early modern period. In 1991, she published the first comprehensive analysis of this topic in her book *Feminine Endings*.[9] It addresses feminist critiques of music within traditional academic disciplines, such as musicology or music theory. McClary tries to prove that, depending on the chosen topic, some elements of the gender construct and traces of the patriarchal system are present in sources concerning music since Antiquity.

In a similar way, feminism developed in ethnomusicology. The study of women was already present in research during the 'reign' of comparative musicology, i.e. at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Bożena Muszkalska summarised the activity of Richard Wallaschek, whose book *Primitive music: an inquiry into the origin and development of music, songs, instruments, dances, and pantomimes of savage races*[10] included a special section devoted to women.[11] He considered women to be more gifted than men and acknowledged that through social considerations, that is, a developing system of male domination, they

6 See also: J.J. Pawłowicz, 'Ideologia gender realnym zagrożeniem dla małżeństwa i rodziny', *Teologia i moralność*, 1 (2012), 139–154.

7 See e.g.: C. Ainsworth, 'Sex redefined', *Nature*, 518 (2015), 288–291.

8 See e.g.: C. Neuls-Bates, ed., *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: Northeastern University Press, 1982).

9 S. McClary, *Feminine Endings. Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

10 R. Wallaschek, *Primitive music: an inquiry into the origin and development of music, songs, instruments, dances, and pantomimes of savage races*, (London: Longmans, Green and C., 1893).

11 B. Muszkalska, 'Biological and Social Aspects of the Theoretical Thought of Richard Wallaschek', *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, 8 (2009), 71–80.

were unable to develop their musical activities.[12] However, even if we consider more contemporary anthropological scholars, then we can see that already John Blacking includes a critical element in his definition of music, presented in *How musical is man?*:

> […] I have music as humanly organized sound. […] we ought to look for relationships between patterns of human organization and the patterns of sound produced as a result of organized interaction […][13]

At first sight, it does not seem that Blacking's views also apply to the use of cultural gender theory in ethnomusicology. However, his definition of music is very broad. Firstly, he mentions the experiences of human beings (which may differ significantly depending on gender identity), and consequently their influence on the culture that creates music. Secondly, music is meant to make visible the spectrum of experiences, so not only experiences regarding past and present events, but also their perception, which can differ between individuals. Thirdly and finally, Blacking's other works also point to his interest in performativity of musical behaviour and especially the meaning of corporeality in this behaviour.[14] Thus, it seems right to argue that gender identity or belonging to a cultural gender may have influence the performance of traditional music or traditional music itself as such.

The pioneer, however, turned out to be Ellen Koskoff. In her book *A Feminist Ethnomusicology: Writings on Music and Gender*[15] she was the first ethnomusicologist to summarise more than fifty years of studies of gender in traditional music, she described them and characterised problems that have remained unresolved until our times.[16] Thus, I will look at three periods in the history of Western feminist thought in ethnomusicology as distinguished by Koskoff. Then, I will try to relate them to Polish ethnomusicology.

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12 Muszkalska, 'Biological and Social Aspects', 78.

13 J. Blacking, *How musical is man?* (Seattle: Faber & Faber, 1973), 7–15.

14 J. Blacking, *The Anthropology of the Body* (London: Academic Press, 1977).

15 E. Koskoff, *A Feminist Ethnomusicology: Writings on Music and Gender* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

16 It is significant that the author of this work is a woman. The topic which is worth analysing but still absent in this article is the position of women-ethnomusicologists in the academic discourse: the issues they undertake, the way of conducting the research, the effect of such studies, etc.

The first step, as in other fields of musicology, was to face the problem of the lack of representation of women. Ethnomusicology encountered it at the beginning of the 1970s from two perspectives. Firstly, like most of the humanities, it was subject to the socio-political changes implied in the statement about the influence of patriarchy on the critical evaluation of artists.[17] As a response to this problem, publications began to 'compensate' for this lack: women's musical practice was described,[18] their hitherto neglected role in the life of the society was documented (for example, one of the first articles on the subject, by Norma McLeod and Marcia Herndon, describes the behaviour of Maltese women).[19] And most importantly, the view was established that in ethnomusicology, just as in music history, there is in fact a general division between well-described output and biographies of men and the marginalised sphere of women. At the same time, feminising tendencies appeared much earlier also in anthropological studies. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the so-called feminist anthropology has been slowly developing, continuing the work of Ruth Benedict and Zora Neale Hurston. Here, too, the first publications concerned the restoration of women as distinct social and cultural actors.[20] In the early 1980s, Elizabeth Wood introduced the distinction between biological and cultural gender into the ethnomusicological environment, and then pointed to the places where gender studies prove necessary in the study of traditional music. She also positioned gender studies within the broader context of discrimination studies.[21] For more than a dozen years, Western scholars have been concerned with the connections of different people, including women, both with music and with the (social, religious) system in which their music functions.

The next stage was a breakthrough in ethnomusicology. The third wave feminism of the early 1990s almost completely abandoned the

[17] See e.g.: L. Nochlin, 'Why Have There Been No Great Woman Artists?', in V. Gornick, B. Moran, eds, *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

[18] See e.g.: B.W. Lee, 'Evolution of the Role and Status of Korean Professional Female Entertainers (Kisaeng)', *World of Music*, 21/2 (1979), 75–84.

[19] M. Herndon, N. McLeod, 'The Bormliza: Maltese Folksong Style and Women', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 88/347 (1975), 81–100.

[20] See e.g.: P. Golde, *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); M.Z. Rosaldo, L. Lamphere, J. Bamberger, *Woman, Culture, and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

[21] E. Wood, 'Review Essay: Women in Music', *Signs*, 6/2 (1980), 283–297.

concept of definable gender. The oppressiveness of language and cultural behaviour was addressed, feminism was juxtaposed with postcolonialism, and, most importantly, the first musicological works on queer theory were published.[22] Then, first encyclopaedic mentions concerning women in music occurred and the first books, the milestones of feminism, were written. On the other hand, ethnomusicologists and anthropologists signalled how difficult it was to translate very complex and individualised gender issues into the reality of field research and to study them.[23] A particularly interesting issue raised during that time was the relationship of the person to the instrument and the style of playing, examined in relation to environmental factors affecting the performer. The need to summarise all these issues was fulfilled in the publications of the Music and Gender Study Group, an association of scholars active since 1985 that have promoted a gender-balanced approach to the study of music and dance activities. The Group's statements include: a critical approach to gender roles presented in ethnomusicological research, the identification of gaps in gender research or the development of gender research terminology.[24]

The most important conclusions drawn from the meetings of the Music and Gender Study Group since 1985 and the accompanying publications included, above all, the need to revise the researchers' view of their work in terms of being subject to social constructs, stereotypes and prejudices.[25] A similar shift should also affect historical sources on traditional music and dance. Moreover, recent research shows how interdisciplinary professional field research and its analysis should be. Especially in the publications of Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond—grounded in years of field research based on historical context, in-depth biographies of the subjects, a broad cultural context and existing secondary sources—research guidelines for gender ethnomusicology in the study of foreign cultures become clear.[26] Pirkko Moisala

[22] S. Cusick, 'On a Lesbian Relationship with Music: A Serious Effort Not to Think Straight', in P. Brett, E. Wood, G.C. Thomas, eds, *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 67–83.

[23] Koskoff, *A Feminist Ethnomusicology*, 67–83.

[24] The information is available on the website of the International Council for Traditional Music, http://ictmusic.org/group/music-and-gender, accessed 30 May 2020,

[25] N. Ceribašić, 'Theory and Method of the Gender-Based Studies in Music', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 27/2 (1996), 187–190.

[26] Koskoff, *A Feminist Ethnomusicology*, 156–158.

specifically refers to Judith Butler's concept of gender performance, which I have already mentioned. It turns out that the gendered nature of performance is influenced by many other factors, such as the place of performance, the performer's identity, the situation, the circumstances, and even the audience, which has not been which has received little attention until now.[27] It is only with extensive interdisciplinary research that we can see clear how important the factor of the performer's gender is and how fluidly it can change. Such a research also enables us to notice how social changes of the early feminist movement in ethnomusicology are inspiring the next generation of Western female researchers.

In Polish musicology, the topic of gender appears infrequently and fragmentarily. It is only in the last few years that publications on women's music-making have appeared quite regularly (e.g. the studies by Aneta Markuszewska, Magdalena Walter-Mazur, Magdalena Dziadek,[28] or the recently published volume *Musicology Today*[29] devoted to female composers). Danuta Gwizdalanka has quite efficiently dealt with gender stereotypes in her popular book *Music and gender*.[30] Karolina Kizinska came up with very interesting conclusions about the very meaning of the word 'gender' and guidelines for research on this category.[31] According to the author, while searching for the meaning of the activity of a female musician one should refer to both the performer

[27] See e.g.: P. Moisala, 'Gender Performance in a Finnish Dance Music Restaurant: Reflections on a Multicultural Fieldwork Experiment, Reflections on a Multicultural Fieldwork Experiment', *Narodna Umjetnost*, 38/1 (2001), 7–19; P. Moisala, H. Järviluoma, A. Vilkko, *Gender and Qualitative Methods* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2003).

[28] See e.g.: A. Markuszewska, *Kompozytorki i patronki muzyki w XVII i XVIII wieku. Wybrane portrety* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017); M. Walter-Mazur, *Figurą i fraktem. Kultura muzyczna polskich benedyktynek w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2014); M. Dziadek, 'Utwory fortepianowe polskich kompozytorek do 1939 roku. Kontekst kulturowy, strategie wyboru gatunków i środków', in J. Krassowski et al., ed., *Muzyka fortepianowa XIII* (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna im. Stanisława Moniuszki, 2004), 544–560.

[29] S. Żerańska-Kominek, ed., *Musicology Today: Women-Composers in Poland. Their stories, ideas, and Music*, 16 (Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii UW, Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 2020).

[30] D. Gwizdalanka, *Muzyka i płeć* (Warszawa: PWM, 2001).

[31] K. Kizińska, 'Gender a kultury muzyczne – kulturoznawcze spojrzenie na badania etnomuzykologiczne i historyczne', *Przegląd kulturoznawczy*, 4 (2012), 382–390.

herself and the social organisation within which she performs. It turns out that in Polish ethnomusicology, there are studies addressing the issue of gender in a very similar manner: in correlation with gender, the context of performance, analysis of songs, mood, or emotions accompanying the performance, which places the (often complex) musical effect in the complex web of relations existing in a given community.[32] However, the only Polish study concerning the determination of the respondents' gender in correlation with the repertoire and its presentation in the form of statistical data was undertaken by Piotr Dahlig.[33] These data have been critically evaluated by Teresa Nowak.[34] Among his 543 respondents, 282 were vocalists and 259 were instrumentalists. Among vocalists, 42 were men and 242 women, while among instrumentalists there were only 4 women.

In the absence of information on the questions concerning the subjects' gender identity, I assume that it was determined on the basis of biological features visible at first sight. However, this is not an accusation. The publication comes from the beginning of the third wave of feminism, when theories of performative gender were just emerging in scientific discourse. Looking at the data presented above, we can cautiously accept two theses. First, there was a division: a majority conforming to the distribution of gender roles, and a minority, representing exceptions to the rule that occur less frequently with women. Second, the majority of men could be classified as performing acts belonging to the sphere of culture (music-making), while the majority of women could be classified as performing acts belonging to the sphere of nature (ritual repertoire).[35] The above statements by Teresa Nowak seem to be confirmed by Anna Czekanowska, who linked

[32] See e.g.: B. Muszkalska, *Tradycyjna wielogłosowość wokalna w kulturach basenu Morza Śródziemnego* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1999); M. Małanicz-Przybylska, *Między dźwiękami skalnego Podhala. Współczesna góralszczyzna* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2018).

[33] P. Dahlig, *Ludowa praktyka muzyczna w komentarzach i opiniach wykonawców w Polsce* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1993), 8–9.

[34] T. Nowak, 'Muzykantki w kulturze muzycznej wsi polskiej. Zarys problematyki', *Etnomuzykologia polska*, 1 (2016), 44–48.

[35] A larger ratio of male vocalists probably indicates of the funeral signers, whose presence on the list is obvious: the rituals connected with Catholicism are based on patriarchy, so 'male' is present in the sphere of culture.

women's performance to its specific function, a specific event, a staging, a meeting, a ritual.[36]

Together with social and moral changes taking place at the turn of the millennium, the community of folklore scholars became interested in the subject of discrimination and began to revise its view of the musical activity of male musicians, adding to it the space for female musicians. Their activity is recorded on digital media and presented on the Internet, which allows it to be easily popularised among a significant number of recipients. It turns out that in the twenty-first century, women increasingly play instruments, and older female musicians are invited to workshops as teachers. There is a growing activity of women in newly formed bands, as well as in folk ensembles, and girls are also encouraged to play from an early age.

However, as far as the older generation of female artists is concerned, a few best known names of recognized musicians are usually mentioned: Bogusława Dziadońka, a legendary player from Podhale; the recently deceased founder of Kapela Kurasie, Albina Kuraś; and the 'first squeezebox player in pants', Wiesława Gromadzka. In their case, it was primarily their skills and the resulting popularity that led to their activities being documented. The very fact that we know only a few names, which seemingly fill our gap among all musicians, is reminiscent of the practice of tokenism[37] within the mechanism of discrimination: there is a rule (men = musicians) and exceptions to the rule (women treated equally to men), which at first makes one think that only a factual assessment of the skills of other female musicians made them unknown. However, the situation is (not at all) so simple. The multiplicity of themes related to women in Polish traditional music is pointed out by Polish folklore researchers and performers of folk music, often also engaged in research 'at source'. On the one hand, almost all of them recognise the irreversible cultural change and the resulting need to revise the activity of women in the culture of the Polish countryside, but on the other hand, there are doubts concerning, for example, the borderline between prohibition and the practical

[36] A. Czekanowska, 'Towards a Concept of Slavonic Women's Repertoire', in M. Herndon, S. Ziegler, eds, *Music, Gender, and Culture* (New York: Wilhelmshaven, 1990), 57–70.

[37] The same rule applies to the race discrimination, see e.g.: G. Mixon, '*Good Negro – Bad Negro*: The Dynamics of Race and Class in Atlanta During the Era of the 1906 Riot', *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 81/3 (1997), 593–621.

aspects of village life or the interference of external factors in the rural environment and the personal lives of the subjects.[38]

Certainly, the state of gender-specific research in Polish ethnomusicology is to a large extent *terra incognita*, based on conclusions drawn by researchers 'as a side note'. However, the delay in comparison with other branches of musicology seems obvious if we take into consideration the subject matter of ethnomusicology. One would have to agree with Koskoff, who emphasises how time-consuming and laborious is the in-depth study of the described culture, which makes it much more difficult to quickly draw clear conclusions, especially those concerning moral and ethical issues, on the basis of field research conducted in the face of the social change of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[39] Simply put, the possible reasons for the absence of gender issues in Polish ethnomusicology can be divided into two types: those related to the analysis of the field study and those related to the field study.

Without doubt, every researcher should at least try to follow the advancement of the subject of research. In the case of an ethnomusicologist who wants to deal with feminist studies, they are obliged to read especially carefully the literature produced by other branches of musicology, apart from ethnomusicological works. But this is only the beginning of the scholarly struggle. It must be taken into account that the development of feminism in the last hundred years has accelerated to such an extent that we are now at the end of its third wave. Every social change gives rise to a revision of concepts: first, it happens in the Western humanities; only later ethnomusicologists become familiar with its products inspire by them. Additionally, ethnomusicologists should confront the literature with the also developing anthropological discourse. It turns out, therefore, that the topic only seems narrow, and dealing with feminism in ethnomusicology requires a very regular verification of the already gathered information.

However, in the face of a constantly updated state of research the real challenge becomes field research. Let us take a look at the example of interview documentation. The latest 'methodology' of ethnomusicological research popularised in the country are the instructions of Jadwiga and Marian Sobieski, covering experiences dating back to

[38] H. Matuszewska, K. Trebunia Tutka, A. Bieńkowski, R. Mazur-Hanaj, T. Janas, 'Kobiety – muzykantki', *Pismo folkowe*, 108 (2013), 4–17.

[39] Koskoff, *A Feminist Ethnomusicology*, 168.

the 1950s [sic!].[40] In the sample protocol attached to the instructions,[41] there is no place for determining the gender identity of the respondent. Works belonging to the feminist movement indicate that it undoubtedly matters and is certainly not as obvious as it seemed to researchers of that period. The effect of raising awareness of the gender pioneers in ethnomusicology is the aforementioned broadening of the scope of field research to include these issues, e.g. in the works of Maria Małanicz-Przybylska or Bożena Muszkalska. Another element which is also worth paying attention to is, obviously, determining whether the performer with their musical behaviour belongs to the traditionally understood, specified pattern (in our case, it will be a general division into male instrumentalists and female singers), or whether they break out of it, and why. Also the questions concerning the repertoire should not be omitted (the question can be asked both to the audience and to the performer) as well as the individual evaluation of the repertoire: is it meant to be performed by everyone, or should it be performed by a person with specific gender characteristics? A question about the evaluation of a piece or an entire work may also elicit observations about musical qualities, perhaps attributed, according to the writer of the statement, to certain human or gender characteristics. Especially when interviewing a person who breaks out of the pattern, one should also keep in mind the social perception of this behaviour. A very good example of answers to questions of this kind is a fragment of an interview with Stefan Kołaziński, a violinist from the Kołaziński band from Zdunków, in which he played together with his daughter, Wiesława Gromadzka.[42] For instance, Kołaziński claimed that 'everybody wanted to see how the girl played' and listed the farthest places to which the band was invited also because of the fact that she was a woman. This example shows how the reaction to the performative act of Wiesława Gromadzka, unusual for the culture of the Zdunkowo region, is shaped.

[40] J., M. Sobiescy, *Polska muzyka ludowa i jej problemy* (Warszawa: PWM, 1973), 458–476.

[41] Sobiescy, *Polska muzyka ludowa*, 476.

[42] The archival recording of the conversation of Magdalena Tejchma with Stefan Kołaziński, a famous violinist from Zdunkowo, and his daughter Wiesława Gromadzka from 1971, broadcast on Channel Two of Polish Radio in the programme 'Sources', *https://www.polskieradio.pl/8/478/Artykul/2283666,Kapela-Kolazinskich-ze-Zdunkowa*, accessed 11 Jan. 2020.

Thus, it can be seen that despite the distant date of publication of the interview, gender issues were present among folklore researchers, although probably in an unintentional way.

However, the anachronistic questionnaire is not the greatest problem. In my opinion, the attitude of the researcher themselves is crucial. It is obvious that conducting research requires a high level of empathy, tact and sensitivity. Nevertheless, when it comes to interpersonal relationships, personal issues, individual rituals or possible taboos, the more trust is needed in the researcher and the community at large, as well as mutual understanding and honesty, which is extremely difficult to achieve. In many cases, questions about identity, gender roles, and discrimination are private matters that should not be discussed, and if they are, it should be with a friend or a close one. The same is true of revealing such stories. Many researchers might risk losing the contact with the community they are actively observing and the inability of the next group of researchers to revisit them. The need for sensitivity in research and its subsequent evaluation has already been mentioned by Sobieski and should be given special attention.[43]

The conducted research may provide answers to a number of questions, some of which I will try to quote. Was there in fact an unwritten nature-culture division in Polish traditional music, where people of a certain gender identity became part of the system of performative acts? Even if we answer this question in the affirmative (and, as I proved above, it is not obvious), doubts begin to multiply. Does this division in traditional music still exist in the twenty-first century, when the performance context is completely different? Was crossing the borderline (or not) part of the pragmatics of the different physical predispositions of men and women, or—given the spectrum of sexuality—did it not matter at all, and did the real problem lie in the discrimination of those who tried to break out of the patterns (in which case we would be dealing with a taboo)? What makes this happen? Are we actually dealing with taboos and breaking them?

During my research, another extremely interesting topic occurred. According to information obtained from the younger generation of folklorists working in the archives of Piotr Gan, at least within a 50-70 km radius of Gromadzka's birthplace, other women were playing the

[43] Sobiescy, *Polska muzyka ludowa*, 467.

squeezebox or accordion at the same time.[44] Their names are known, and some of them are still alive. There is no information about such finds in other archives. On the other hand, during field research in September 2019 in Muszyna and its surroundings, I personally managed to find musical traces of a talented female musician in near Złockie, playing wind instruments in a wedding band with several men.

These two examples indicate the urgent need for regular research into the presence of women musicians. After researching many other regions of the country, it might turn out that women musicians were not as rare as we currently think and statistics indicate. Perhaps their presence is associated with a particular region, or perhaps even the entire country. It is also unclear when women started playing instruments. Going a step further, it is unlikely, albeit still possible, that there has always been a female musician within a few villages, playing better or worse, remembered or completely forgotten, but once an element of the local culture. In conclusion, in the light of current knowledge, we cannot say whether the occurrence of female musicians is an insignificant phenomenon, containing only a few names and surnames, a regional phenomenon, or a part of musical tradition forgotten by scholars.

The questions and hypotheses I have presented are only the beginning of a list of unresolved issues related to gender. However, it is not only Poles that can complain about the constantly growing volume of this list. Even taking into account the literature I mentioned at the beginning of my presentation, the global discourse on ethnomusicology still pays relatively little attention to gender, often treating the topic as a passing academic fad. Already in the 1980s, Bruno Nettl noted that ethnomusicologists are at the beginning of their journey when it comes to relating the relationship between a musician's gender or sexual identity to the music they create or perform.[45] Twenty years later, Moisala Pirrko and Beverly Diamond stated in a similar way: 'musical genders' have yet to be recognised as a useful item in the scholarly dialogue across cultures or in the discourse between them'.[46] It seems that after

[44] I gathered this information thanks to the kindness of Mr Piotr Baczewski.

[45] B. Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 450–460.

[46] M. Pirrko, B. Diamond, *Music and Gender* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 347.

another twenty years, only a few tentative steps towards exploring the topic have been made.

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Bones and Concertina: The Sailors' Instruments that Have Survived Over the Centuries

Abstract

The history of the sailors' instruments is currently a barely investigated area. In the past, bones were used frequently in a variety of music genres, whereas today they seem to be forgotten in certain countries. The simplicity of playing that once was their advantage has also resulted in the small number of written sources concerning the technique of playing as well as the way of producing of this instrument. Despite this fact, bones were the ground for what is called the "musical recycling". Concertina, in spite of its much more complicated structure and technique of playing, is more popular and has been described in several secondary sources. There are even schools of playing on this instrument available. Unfortunately, concertina is rarely used in concert halls too. Both instruments, thanks to their simplicity and small size, visited almost every part of the world in the era of great sailing ships, but today they remain known and used only in specialised environments.

Keywords

bones, concertina, sailors' instruments, Ten-a-penny Band

Bones and their history

The bones are one of the simplest and oldest instruments, dating back to prehistoric times. Sue Barber and Percy Danforth in the book *How to play nearly everything* by Dallas Cline[1] prove that the history of this instrument goes back almost as far as the history of the human. Its exact origins are unknown, but the first bones found have been excavated from graves dating back to the second millennium BC in Moldavia. Barber and Danforth describe depictions of bones players (i.e. musicians playing the bones) in the mosaic found in the ruins of the ancient city of Ur in Mesopotamia, on Egyptian vases dating to 3000 BC, and on Greek black-figure pottery. It is assumed that the bones were associated with the cult of the Egyptian goddess of beauty and love, Hathor.[2] In the Middle Ages, jugglers travelling across Europe sang, danced and played various instruments, including bones. There is a legend that apart from their obvious percussion form, the bones were also used as a signaling instrument. Lepers used them to warn villagers of their arrival.[3] The instrument, known as 'bones' or 'rhythm bones', is used today mainly in America and Ireland. In Poland it is a barely used instrument. It belongs to the group of instruments called clappers (according to Hornbostel-Sachs classification).[4] It gained the greatest popularity in the era of large sailing vessels, that is in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Those days, sailors were not educated and did not have money for expensive instruments that could easily get damaged during sea voyages. However, seafarers loved to

1 D. Cline, *How to play nearly everything* (New York: Oak Publications, 1977), 7–8.
2 Compare C. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), 69.
3 Cline, *How to play nearly everything*, 8.
4 'Klasyfikacja Hornbostela-Sachsa', http://www.skrzypce.instrumenty.edu.pl/pl/klasyfikacja/klasyfikacja#, accessed 31 May 2020.

make music. When they had a break from work they liked to gather to sing about their lives and their longing for land and family. Sailors making music together in this way were called the Ten-a-penny Band. The instruments that were used there were sometimes not worth a penny.[5] Nails, violins, and guitars made from cigar boxes were simple to use and, when damaged, easy to repair. Therefore, the bones—made originally from seal and whale bones and later also from wood—fulfilled their role perfectly. The simple playing technique that could be mastered during a single voyage also contributed significantly to the popularity of this instrument.[6]

'Musical Recycling', or how the bones are made

The Ten-a-penny Band has was introduced to our culture, even though we often do not notice it. One of the main pillars of Carl Orff's system of musical education is playing simple percussion instruments: drums, tambourines, knockers, rattles, triangles, bells, xylophones, metalophones, acoustic boxes and claves (this is the so-called Orff's instruments).[7] In the conception of this pedagogue, simple instruments constructed by students with their own hands are also used.[8] In the twenty-first century, we increasingly encounter recycling in all areas of our lives. Recycled or musycle instruments enable us to have instruments that are simple to repair and easy to use—that is, with the properties that the instruments used in the Ten-a-penny Bands of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had.

Today, the bones made not only of wood can be found. There are instruments made of bones, usually beef bones, but also of metal, plastic, or even stone (i.e. slate bones). Their sound is different, not only because of the material used, but also the shape, length and weight. From my own experience as a bones player, I can say that the sound closest to the 'original' sound are those bones that were made from

5 Szurawski, M., *Szanty i szantymeni – Pieśni i ludzie z wielkich żaglowców* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Glob, 1990), 202.

6 Cline, *How to play nearly everything*, 7.

7 B. Michalak, *Schulwerk Carla Orffa. Idea muzyki elementarnej i jej recepta* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2009), 87.

8 U. Smoczyńska-Nachtman, *Muzyka dla dzieci. Umuzykalnienie według koncepcji Carla Orffa* (Warszawa: WSiP, 1992), 7.

high-density materials. These are, for example, beef bones or wooden bones, made of mahogany.



Illus. 1: Hand-made bones from beef bones. Source: the private archive of the author.

Because of a small interest in this instrument in our country, it is impossible to buy it in a store. The largest suppliers of bones are the United States and Ireland. However, Internet tutorials provide a myriad of 'recipes' for making the bones at home.[9] Separating the bones from the meat and boiling them long enough strips them of their characteristic smell and cartilages. The bones are then ready for further steps. Next, excess marrow should be removed. Bones prepared in this way should be preserved. After the whole process they should be left to dry: they can be baked or left in the sun. The longer they dry, the more durable they will be and the better they will sound. They can also be decorated, which will affect their sound as well. However, not every bone is the right material for an instrument. It must be reasonably thick, slightly curved with a reasonably smooth surface.[10] The standard instrument is eighteen centimeters long, two and a half centimeters

[9] P. Bowie, 'Turn Beef Ribs into Traditional Rhythm Bones', https://makezine.com/projects/turn-beef-ribs-into-traditional-rhythmbones/, accessed 31 May 2020.

[10] Due to this, beef ribs are often used. Some of internet stores for the bones players sell the bones that are ready to be cut (e.g. www.bonedrymusic.com).

wide and three to five millimeters thick. The author of this article has also encountered varieties of the bones that were shorter and were made specifically for children, and varieties of the bones for people with larger hands. In fact it is an individual thing and there is no universal bone size. You can play on any type of the bones, and they will simply differ in sound.



Illus. 2: The basic grip. Source: the private archive of the author.



Illus. 3: The English grip. Source: the private archive of the author.

Bones playing technique

The technique of playing the bones is simple and can be learned in two weeks. Over the years, two grip holds have developed: the basic grip and the English grip. The basic grip allows you to hold two or three bones in one hand, while the English grip allows you to play up to four bones in one hand.[11]

Both grips are based on the same principle, but in the basic one the static bone is between the second and third fingers, while in the English grip it is between the thumb and index finger. It is rested on the palm of the hand along the line on the palm toward the wrist. In the basic grip, the bone is pressed against the inside of the palm along its monger edge with the middle finger, while in the English grip it is pressed with the index finger. This bone will remain still while playing. Movable bones are gripped between the other fingers. In the basic grip, it is held between the third and fourth fingers. When playing with more than two bones, the next moveable bone is additionally grasped between the fourth and fifth fingers. In English grip, four bones can be played simultaneously: one static and three movable ones, which are placed between the second and third, third and fourth, fourth and fifth fingers respectively. The movable bones are not rested against the inside of the hand. They are to be loose, but they must not fall out of the hand. Thus, they can only be held by squeezing the proximal phalanges.[12]

The sound of the bones depends on the way they clack against each other, that is, on the movement one makes with the wrist. Five basic movements of the wrist can be distinguished, and thus five types of tap. The first and basic one is the single tap. It involves making gesture of 'untwisting' with the wrist in the frontal plane. This causes the moving bone to strike the static bone, producing a characteristic single sound. The double tap is similar to the single tap, but 'untwisting' is followed by opposite 'twisting'. The moving bone strikes the static bone and produces two sounds that differ in timbre. Next one is continuous series of rapid taps called the extended roll. It involves making a semi-circular motion with the wrist. The moving bone strikes the static bone repeatedly, producing sounds similar to the sound of a snare drum. A more difficult tap is the triplet roll. It involves making a waving gesture

[11] Cline, *How to play nearly everything*, 10.
[12] Cline, *How to play nearly everything*, 10.

with the wrist. At the beginning, it may be helpful to move the whole arm, and then gradually reduce its participation in this. The last type is the four-beat roll. It is performed by drawing an infinity sign in the air with the wrist.[13]

The author knows from her own experience as a performer that, by playing the bones, one can discover many types of sound over time. They can be modified by rearranging the bones in relation to each other and crossing them. The bones are handmade, therefore each has a different density and shape. This affects the sound significantly, as does even a slight change in the placement of the bones relative to each other. Usually, both bones are held at about 2/3 of their length. However, to change their sound, they may be held lower or irregularly: one bone higher and the other lower. An interesting sound effect is also obtained by changing the static bone with a movable one. During playing, the sound is modified by crossing a movable bone with a static one, so that the edges of the bones are the striking surface. It is also possible to obtain a melodic sound by playing the bones, although this type of striking is not very popular. In this stroke, the bones should be pressed against the player's cheeks. By producing strokes correlated with a change in the arrangement of the mouth, any melody can be played.

Bones in culture

The bones as an instrument have survived in culture to a very negligible degree, but they have not disappeared completely. Their traces can be found in works of art. An example of this is William Sidney Mount's painting *The Bone Player* (1856).[14] In poetic works, bones appeared in the original version of William Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream: I have a reasonable good ear in music. Let's have the tongs and the bones.*[15] The protagonist here speaks of the duo of bones

[13] Cline, *How to play nearly everything*, 11–15.

[14] The painting is kept at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It was painted in oil on canvas.

[15] W. Shakespeare, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', https://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/views/plays/play_view.php?WorkID=midsummer&Scope=entire&pleasewait=1&msg=pl, accessed 31 May 2020.

and tongs, which is perhaps the chimta, an instrument from South Asia. The bones also appear in Lewis Carroll's poem *The Viper's Expedition: an ordeal in eight convulsions: Words whose utter inanity proved his insanity, / While he rattled a couple of bones*.[16] The phrase 'rattle bones' refers to the characteristic sound of this instrument. In Polish, we can find the terms 'klekotanie', 'klikanie'. The English equivalent,



Illus. 4: William Sidney Mount *The Bone Player* (1856), oil on canvas. Source: Google Arts & Culture.

[16] L. Carroll, 'The Hunting of the Snark', https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/43909/the-hunting-of-the-snark, accessed 31 May 2020.

'to rattle', is used less frequently. The word was most probably introduced to the English language by Washington Irving, who in his stories wrote about an instrument called the rattle-bones, meaning the bones.[17]

In Poland, the bones in a live form are still present in the consciousness of musicians passionate about Irish music. As a basic instrument of traditional Irish bands, they were mentioned in John B. Keane's book *The Bodhrán Makers*.[18] Today, the bones players are frequent visitors to Irish jam sessions. Many Irish bands have percussionists who play the instrument or simply specialised bones players. In the United States, an organisation called the Rhythm Bones Society was formed to carry on the tradition and educate in the art of bones playing. Unfortunately, their activities concern only the New Continent. In Poland, many years ago, the mission of popularisation of maritime traditions was undertaken by a mariner and shantymen (that is a man whose task on a ship was to sing shanties while sailors worked to give it an even rhythm) Marek Szurawski, whose performance skills can be admired at contemporary shanty festivals. His artistic and workshop activity helped to increase the knowledge of the bone as an instrument in the contemporary sailing community. The author's cooperation with Marek Szurawski and their duo appearing at the International Festival of Sailing Songs 'Shanties' initiated her efforts to popularise the bones as a percussion instrument. The author also conducts music classes on maritime themes in various educational institutions in Kraków, Lublin, Opole and Łódź.

Concertina and its use

Unlike the bones, the concertina is a far more complicated instrument in both construction and playing technique. However, it is the one that enjoys much greater popularity today. It is hard to imagine sea shanty music without a concertina. In the times of sailing ships, it served not only for pleasure and making the time after work pleasant, but also helped in it. A shantyman played the concertina and sang to

[17] *The Complete Works of Washington Irving* (Hastings: Delphi Classic, 2014).
[18] J.B. Keane, *The Bodhrán Makers* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1992).

make long hours filled with monotonous work bearable for sailors.[19] At the same time, he made their effort common at a certain moment and distracted their attention from hard work. There were specific musical treatments used for specific jobs at sea. Different songs were sung when working on the rigging or sails and others when working on various mechanisms.[20] Shanties were an integral part of the work, as Herman Melville confirms in his fictionalised memoirs of service on an American frigate:

> 'All hands up anchor!' When that order was given, how we sprang to the bars, and heaved round that capstan; every man a Goliath, every tendon a hawser!—round and round—round, round it spun like a sphere, keeping time with our feet to the time of the fifer, till the cable was straight up and down, and the ship with her nose in the water.[21]
>
> I could not help murmuring against that immemorial rule of men-of-war, which forbids the sailors to sing out, as in merchant-vessels, when pulling ropes, or occupied at any other ship's duty. Your only music, at such times, is the shrill pipe of the boatswain's mate, which is almost worse than no music at all. And if the boatswain's mate is not by, you must pull the ropes, like convicts, in profound silence; or else endeavour to impart unity to the exertions of all hands, by singing out mechanically, *one*, *two*, *three*, and then pulling all together.[22]

The English Concertina was invented by Charles Wheatstone in the 1820s. A later one, the so-called German Concertina, was constructed

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[19] You can find more informations on the topic of shanties in the book of Annika Mikołajko *Szanty i ich muzyczno-edukacyjny charakter w środowisku marynarzy w erze wielkich żaglowców* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2017) and in the book by Marek Szurawski *Szanty i szantymeni – Ludzie i pieśni dawnego pokładu* (Kraków: Fundacja Hals, 1999). The real tresury of the knowledge on the topic of songs on vessels are in fact the English-language books of Stan Hugill. The author is called 'last working shantyman', because he spent nearly entire life sailing, collecting shanties from all over the world and using them in his job of a shantyman. As a lecturer at the Sea School, he tried to restore the tradition of shanties on vessels.

[20] Mikołajko, *Szanty i ich muzyczno-edukacyjny charakter.*

[21] H. Melville, *White Jacket or, the World in a Man-of-war* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2011), 12.

[22] Melville, *White Jacket*, 81–82.

by Carl Friedrich Uhlig. The instrument became the hexagonal prototype of the bandoneon and later the accordion.[23]

The most common and accessible type of this instrument is the Anglo-German concertina. Playing it can be somewhat difficult. As the concertina has free reeds, it is an double-action instrument. This means that two tones can be assigned to one button (one playing outwards and the other inwards). Because the concertina comes in two tunings: C–G or D–A, it has some obvious sound limitations.[24] However, there are also more expensive instruments that have sounds outside their main keys. These are equipped with an additional chromatic row.



Illus. 5: English-German concertina C-G without the additional chromatic row. Source: the private archive of the author.

The concertina, unlike the bones, has been much better preserved in culture. Its similarity in sound to the accordion, as well as its handier form of carriage, have caused many shanty bands not to part with this instrument on their concert tours. However, the concertina has such a loud sound that it blends in easily with other instruments and does not need a special sound system in good acoustic conditions. This has made it a good companion not only on concert stages, but also in

[23] D.M. Worrall, *The Anglo-German Concertina. A Social History* (3rd edn, Fulshear: Concertina Press, 2010).

[24] J.H. Maccann, *How to play concertina* (London: Hopwood & Crew Ltd., 1902), 1.

everyday music making. The concertina is also used in sacred music in evangelical churches of Scotland.[25]

Reception of the bones and concertina over the time

Both instruments: the bones, which originated at sea, and the concertina, which for years was associated with maritime work, have survived to the present day, although they have been somewhat forgotten. While a number of books have been published on the concertina in order to explain its history and playing techniques, information on the bones is not easy to find today. However, with the development of the Internet, it is easier and easier to listen to virtuosos of this unique instrument. Vinyl records of shantymen who played these instruments are an exceptional source of knowledge today. Stan Hugill left behind not only recordings, but also books in which he described his knowledge in detail. These include a collection of work songs from around the world *Shanties from the Seven Seas*,[26] a collection of articles from 1962–1973 on various shanties sung in the era of great sailing ships *The Bosun's Locker*,[27] and a book devoted to work songs sung originally in Germanic languages *Songs of the Sea*.[28] Erik Ilott, also a shantyman, left behind an extremely valuable recording *Shipshape & Bristol Fashion Sea Songs*.[29] On this recording he not only sings but also plays the concertina and the bones. Thanks to digitisation, the remarkable concerts of Freeman Davis, known as 'Brother Bones', the whistling and bone virtuoso, or Francis Craig's bone-playing song *Play them Bones*[30] will also not be forgotten. Interesting are the various recordings in which the bones appear as one of the percussion instruments in instrumental ensembles.

[25] S. Eydmann, 'The Life and Times of the Concertina. The Adoption and Usage of a Novel Musical Instrument with Particular Reference to Scotland', http://www.concertina.com/eydmann/life-and-times/, accessed 31 May 2020.

[26] S. Hugill, ed., *Shanties from the Seven Seas* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

[27] S. Hugill, *The Bosun's Locker* (Todmorden: Heron Publishing, 2006).

[28] S. Hugill, *Songs of the Sea* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977).

[29] The recording on the vinyl album, released by Folks'le Records in 1973 in Great Britain, consisting of seventeen shanties performed by Erik Ilott and his ensemble.

[30] They can be found in the popular musical services, such as YouTube and Spotify, titled 'Brother Bones' or 'Francis Craig'.

Such a surprise, for example, is the song *Supercalifragilisticexpialidocious* from the musical *Mary Poppins*. In the ensemble, among other percussion instruments, you can spot a bones player who plays four bones. The bones can also be heard on the soundtrack of the movie *Titanic* in the backing dance scene, *Third Class Dance*. Unfortunately, they are not shown there, but they are clearly audible. They were played by drummer Aaron Plunkett.

Another cultural phenomenon connected with the use of the bones was the American minstrel shows described by e.g. Mark Twain, i.e. performances featuring sketches, dances and songs with their own instrumental accompaniment. According to the writer, the bones player not only played, but also told a kind of story. He sat at one end of the stage and the musician playing the banjo sat at the other. Between them sat a gentleman, extremely elegant, in neat clothes, behaving courtly and with good manners. He contrasted with the rest of the acting troupe, and above all with the churchman and the musician playing the banjo. They were the main jokers.[31]

Bones are mentioned in English literature as the primary instrument in minstrels shows. Their single strokes and dynamically varying trills of shorter and longer tones provided the rhythm for the entire band. Additional accents beyond the main bar measures and the main rhythm made the pieces sound more interesting.[32]

The activity of most bones players have been immortalised only in memoirs in newspapers or books. Such figures included Frank Brower, mentioned by Carl Wittke in his book describing the minstrel activities of *Tambo and Bones. A History of the American Minstrel Stage*,[33] and Joe Murphy, mentioned in *From San Francisco Eastward. Victorian Theater in the American West* by Carolyn Grattan Eichin.[34] Their activity in circus troupes and solo performances as bones players contributed to

[31] Ch. Neider, ed., *The Autobiography of mark Twain* (New York: Harper, 1959), cited in R.E. McDowell, 'Bones and the Man Toward a History of Bones Playing', *The Journal of American Culture 1* (1982).

[32] H. Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), cited in McDowell, *Bones and the Man*, 38.

[33] C. Wittke, *Tambo and Bones. A History of the American Minstrel Stage* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1930).

[34] C.G. Eichin, *From San Francisco Eastward. Victorian Theater in the American West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2020).

the popularisation of the bones on the New Continent. This provided the opportunity to create the Rhythm Bones Society mentioned above.

It is a good thing that old-marine instruments have not been lost in the darkness of history and that the people who still allow these instruments to live have survived. It is, after all, our common heritage because, as John F. Kennedy said:

> It is an interesting biological fact that all of us have in our veins the exact same percentage of salt in our blood that exists in the ocean, and, therefore, we have salt in our blood, in our sweat, in our tears. We are tied to the ocean. And when we go back to the sea - whether it is to sail or to watch it - we are going back from whence we came.[35]

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[35] 'John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum', https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/americas-cup-dinner-19620914, accessed 30 May 2021.

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