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The Urban
Music Scene



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The Urban Music Scene

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Since its beginnings in the nineteenth century, musicology as an academic discipline has focused on high culture, as represented by written works composed by the greatest, widely recognised masters. Music was viewed as close to absolute reality and far removed from the material nature of everyday life. For this reason, all the popular music phenomena, and in particular those designed as entertainment and leisure activities, as well as people's everyday musical practices and preoccupations in their living space – have until lately remained marginal to musicologists' work. This academic bias notwithstanding, music of varied provenance performed outside the elitist concert halls, including open-air performances in urban space – has attracted enormous audience interest and frequently also substantial funding from the municipal authorities, associations, and social institutions. Free from any ideological and stylistic restrictions or commitments, open-air urban music has been a platform for the free flow and exchange of forms, contents, genres, and performance styles. In many contexts it formed a second, 'unofficial' cultural conglomerate of the supranational, supra-ethnic, and classless urban music scene.

In the life of European cities there are many examples of such 'unofficial' music scenes serving the purpose of entertainment rather than that of sophisticated aesthetic contemplation, and catering for music lovers who in many cases had no or little musical education. The Vienna of the famous Johann Strauss I and the Strauss dynasty is probably the best-known example of the success of such open-air music. Musical life has naturally also flourished in the streets of many other European cities and towns, attracting vast audiences. It is that 'other' open-air urban music scene that we have chosen as the subject of the present volume of *Musicology Today*. Chronologically the oldest period is discussed here by Ryszard Wieczorek in his paper "'Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw": The Hess Brothers' Anthology (1555) and Its European Context'. Owing to its status as Lower Silesia's political and ecclesiastical hub, Wrocław (Germ. Breslau) was the meeting place for many traditions and cultures. Its rulers, as well as the clergy, merchants, and burghers maintained lively contacts with many other European centres, which resulted in wide-reaching cultural transfer, assimilation, and transformations of imported music material. This is also true of instrumental dance music, which was originally passed down 'by the ear' in oral memory in the urban spaces of Wrocław.

Moving on in time, Rafał Ciesielski's 'Żary – The City of Georg Philipp Telemann' presents the musical culture of Żary (Germ. Sorau, now Western Poland), which pivots around the figure of young Georg Philipp Telemann, who resided and worked there in 1704–1708. Local musical initiatives take place in urban spaces symbolically associated with that eminent German composer who is known to have pursued a vivid and fruitful interest in Polish folk culture.

Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz presents a detailed panorama of the everyday open-air music life of Cracow in the then Galicia (1866–1918), richly illustrated with source material. Magdalena Dziadek focuses on analogous musical activities in the parks and streets of Warsaw between the two world wars, which represent a previously unresearched and uncharted area of study.

In her paper on klezmer music in the streets of Tarnopol (now Ternopil, Ukraine), Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak discusses Karol Rathaus' memories of Chune Wolfsthal and his role in shaping the former composer's musical sensitivity. Joanna Dobrzańska-Chorzępa's text on 'The Artistic Profiles and Experiences of Street Musicians in the Urban Spaces of Montpellier, Sète, and Paris' draws on French ethnological studies of busker practices. Detailed interviews with street musicians and audiences are complemented here by the Author's own experiment as she herself assumes the role of a busker in order to fathom the full experience of that profession.

Open-air spaces undergo intense transformations as the structure of the city changes to meet the needs of its residents. One example of such new forms and spaces are Wrocław's beach bars. Their role in shaping Wrocław's local music scene is the subject of a paper by Jakub Kopaniecki, who discusses these open-air riverside venues, typically equipped with artificial sandy beaches, as places of growing importance to the city's local music life.

Electronic dance music is the hallmark of a new era in urban culture. It develops in varied contexts, which include the given city's cultural and political past, but also various segments of contemporary urban policies and management, which contribute to the development of electronic music scenes encompassing a wide spectrum of computer and instrumental music, from the commercial mainstream to niche elitist underground genres. Urban electronic music may take many forms, which range from illegal dance parties held in clandestine venues to large-scale festivals held in remote islands retreats such as Ibiza and Goa, far removed from the limiting spaces of everyday life. Regardless of whether these events take place in derelict suburban industrial zones or faraway modern heterotopias, the electronic music scene and its soundscapes are becoming more and more complex and diversified, reflecting the diversity of urban contexts. The place of electronic music in European, American, Asian, and Australian urban environments has been the subject of a large and constantly growing literature,¹ which makes it worthy of note in a volume dedicated to open-air urban music culture.

¹ Cf. e.g. Sébastien Darchen. Damien Charrieras and John Willsteed, eds, *Electronic Cities. Music, Policies and Space in the 21st Century* (Singapore, 2021).

Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw':

*The Hess Brothers' Anthology (1555)
and Its European Context**

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**This paper is an English-language version of a text originally published in Polish as: Ryszard J. Wieczorek, "Besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw": antologia braci Hess (1555) i jej europejski kontekst', in Anna Granat-Janki, ed., Tradycje śląskiej kultury muzycznej [Traditions of Silesian Music Culture], Vol. XIV (Wrocław, 2017), Part 1, 71–87.*

I owe my gratitude to the Foundation of the Lanckoroński Family of Brzezie for granting me a monthly scholarship which made it possible to conduct research at the British Library in London and collect the necessary materials.

Owing to its role in the political and ecclesiastical life of Silesia, Wrocław/Breslau was a place where many traditions and cultures converged. The city's rulers, the clergy, merchants, and burghers maintained lively contacts with many centres throughout Europe, which resulted in wide-reaching cultural transfer, involving the assimilation and transformation of imported musical repertoires. The intensity, mechanisms, and determinants of this process cannot be fully assessed to-day since a vast proportion of source material has been lost. It is nevertheless beyond any doubt that secular polyphonic music was imported to Wrocław from numerous, frequently remote places. This is also true of instrumental ensemble dance music, which was originally passed down 'by the ear' in oral memory, and has left few traces in the source material. The scarcity of such records results not only from non-literary manner of transmission, but also from the initially low status of dance music and its performers, who had inherited their craft from itinerant minstrels or entertainers, thus – from people who typically could not read music.¹ While collections of *bicinia* and *ricercars* were printed and published in a relatively early period, interest in instrumental dances came at a rather later date, most likely because 'purely' instrumental music played a much greater role in music education and theory than dance arrangements.² With the passage of time, however, the ability to play ensemble music without written notes (*contrappunto alla mente*) gained appreciation, and instrumental dance settings became a much sought-after type of merchandise. They lost their functional character and became a stylised variety of 'artistic' music.³ Thanks to being committed to written form, ensemble dance music could now reach virtually every place in Europe, which made it possible for such pieces to be played also in centres that had previously had no traditions in this respect. Despite the wide distribution of printed editions, however, the practice of performing dance music from memory continued late into the sixteenth century, as illustrated by a much-quoted 1584 letter from William V, Duke of Bavaria, concerning the obtention of music materials for his court orchestra.⁴

All the above-mentioned circumstances make the study of instrumental ensemble dance music difficult since the source base is exceptionally modest. With regard to printed editions, interest in this repertoire clearly grew in the late 1520s. Pierre Attaignant in Paris was the first to print a dance anthology (*Six gaillardes et six pavanes*, 1528). Encouraged by the commercial success of this publication, he later dedicated many further volumes to such music. Others followed in his footsteps: Tielman Susato (*Le sixiesme livre*, 1545) and Pierre Phalèse (*Liber primus leviorum carminum*, 1571) in the Netherlands,⁵ and Francesco Bendusi

¹ For more on this European context, see Walter Salmen, *Der fahrende Musiker im europäischen Mittelalter* (= *Die Musik im alten und neuen Europa*, 4) (Kassel, 1960), *passim*.

² Dietrich Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien* (Köln–Wien, 1970), 156.

³ Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 157.

⁴ Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis. Neue archivalische Studien zur Münchener Musikgeschichte* (Kassel, 1963), 24.

⁵ Friedrich Blume, *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Orchestersuite im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1925), *passim*; Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600. A Bibliography* (Cambridge, 1965), *passim*.

in Italy (*Opera nova de balli*, 1553).⁶ Until the publication of Giorgio Mainerio's *Il primo libro de balli* (1578),⁷ Bendusi's anthology was the only Italian print that featured such repertoire. England and Spain did not produce any printed volumes of ensemble dance music until the very last decades of the sixteenth century – which, naturally, does not mean that there was no demand for such repertoire being performed there.

Only a few manuscript sources provide us with instrumental dance settings. The oldest of these in German-speaking countries is MS Augsburg 142a, compiled in the early 1510s in the courtly circles of Maximilian I⁸ for the *Stadtpfeifer* ensemble and comprising mostly pieces of Italian provenance. This comes as no surprise, considering the fact that German instrumentalists were active in many cities of North Italy.⁹ Italian dance music seems to have met with enormous interest in the German cultural world, though detailed research still waits to be conducted. Though dance was an important aspect of Italian Renaissance culture, the number of sources from Italy containing instrumental ensemble settings is surprisingly small. Altogether, according to Caroline M. Cunningham, only eighty-two printed and handwritten Italian musical pieces of this type predate Giorgio Mainerio's edition of 1578.¹⁰ The most important of the manuscripts is British Museum Roy. App. 59–62, a codex from the mid-sixteenth century comprising more than forty four-part settings.¹¹ It should be remembered, however, that the surviving works constitute but a small fraction of the orally disseminated, living repertoire, which probably also included dances now only known from lute and organ tablatures.

Like every major city in Renaissance Europe, Wrocław had its official ensemble of *Stadtpfeifer*, which added splendour to important secular and religious ceremonies. The precise date of the ensemble's emergence cannot be established owing to the scarcity of sources, but we can safely assume that it came into being not later than in the last few decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest date in the sources is 1487, when the Wrocław city council gave a permission for lutenists, string and wind instrument players ('Lautenschlager, Trometer, Pfeifer, Fidler') to establish their own fraternity. The Wrocław city council stipulated that the instrumentalists were to provide, apart from their customary duties, also appropriate musical settings for the liturgy during the carnival.¹² Interestingly, the

⁶ *Opera nova de balli di Francesco Bendusi a quatro accomodati da cantare & sonare d'ogni sorte de stromenti* (Venezia 1553).

⁷ *Il primo libro de balli a quatro voci, accomodati per cantar et sonar d'ogni sorte de instrumeti di Giorgio Mainerio Parmeggiano Maestro di Capella della S. Chiesa d'Aquilegia* (Venezia, 1578).

⁸ Luise Jonas, *Das Augsburger Liederbuch: die Musikhandschrift 2 Codex 142a der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; Edition und Kommentar* (= Berliner musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 21) (München–Salzburg, 1983).

⁹ On this subject, cf. Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages. Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992), *passim*.

¹⁰ Caroline M. Cunningham, 'Ensemble Dances in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy: Relationships with Villotte and Franco-Flemish Danceries', *Musica Disciplina*, 4 (1980), 159–204.

¹¹ London, British Library, Roy. App. 59–62 (the manuscript also comprises a supplement containing three-part vocal *Napoletane*). Cf. Michael Morrow, ed., *Italian Dances of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1978). More on the same source in Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 159–166.

¹² '[...] alle Jar eine schöne Messe am Donnerstage vor Fastnacht (St. Sempers Tag) daselbst zu St. Jakob zu singen, iglicher mit seinem Instrument, als er aufs beste mag'; from *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtschreiber*, (Breslau: G.A. Stenzel, 1847), 3, 135; quoted after: Armin Brinzing, 'Europäische

council's order of the year 1500 forbade the *Stadtpfeifer* publicly to perform the latest dances such as the *Taubentanz*, *Zeuner[tanz]*, and *Schmoller[tanz]*, presumably because they were too liberal or frivolous in nature.¹³ It may be safely assumed that the Wrocław instrumentalists' activity was already quite intense in the early decades of the sixteenth century. No relevant records from that period have been preserved, though.

Of immense interest is the two-volume anthology of dance music published in 1555 by Wrocław printer Crispinus Scharfenberg, and compiled by the Hess brothers, Bartholomäus and Paul, 'salaried instrumentalists of the royal city of Wrocław' ('besolte Instrumentisten der Königlichen Stadt Breslaw'). The print, which provides ample material for the study of instrumental dance music in the first half of the sixteenth century, comprises more than 470 pieces for four-, five-, or six-part ensemble consisting of an otherwise unspecified complement of instruments. The first volume is introduced as containing 155 'German and Polish' dances,¹⁴ while the second brings 'Spanish, Italian, English, and French' dance pieces.¹⁵ Scharfenberg's edition is of unique importance for at least three reasons. Firstly, it is the largest surviving anthology of European dance music explicitly scored for an instrumental ensemble. Secondly, it is the oldest collection of this type in Central Europe. Thirdly, it comprises multi-part settings of dances which were mostly transmitted in oral memory; the majority of those compositions are only otherwise known from lute or keyboard intavolations. Only the *altus* part-book has been preserved in Wrocław itself.¹⁶ However, in 1558 the city council of Augsburg purchased Scharfenberg's print for their own *Stadtpfeifer* ensemble, which makes it possible to analyse that collection today. The Augsburg source, however, only comprises four out of the original five part-books.¹⁷ The lack of the *discantus* makes it much harder to identify concordances for many of the dances in that edition, since in that period melody was mostly placed in the top part. The study of the collection is also made difficult by the absence of any author attributions and work titles; the dances are only identified by continuous numbering. What we already know about the character and

Tänze im Breslau des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, 4, M. Jabłoński, J. Stęszewski, eds (Poznań, 2004), 34.

¹³ 'Alleine zu Tänze schlagen, pfeifen oder Trommeter, die alten Tänze und keine neue Tänze, als Zeuner, Taubentanz, Schmoller und ander neue und ungewöhnliche Tänze'; cf. *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum...*, 205, quoted in Armin Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1998), 208. *Zeuner*, one of the dances listed here, traditionally performed during the carnival, had already been banned thirty years earlier in Danzig (Gdańsk) and Königsberg (Królewiec) owing to the participation of masked, naked figures (Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 208).

¹⁴ *Etlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz / biss in die anderthalbhundert mit fünff und vier stimmen zugebrauchen / auff allerley Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm vleis zusammen getragen / dermasen vor nie in Druck komen. Mit Römischer / Ungarischer / Böhmischer Kön. Maiestat etc. freiheit begnadet und begabet / innerhalb sechs jahren nicht nachzudrucken. Gedruckt zu Breslaw Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg. M.D.LV.*

¹⁵ *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein / Spanischer / Welscher / Englischer / Frantzösischer composition und tentz / Vber drey hundert / mit Sechsen / Fünffen / vnd Vieren / auff alle Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm fleis zusammen bracht / vor nie in druck kommen. Gedruck zu Breslaw / Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg [...] Datum Breslaw / An dem Heiligen Ostertag / des 1555 Jahrs.*

¹⁶ Biblioteka Uniwersyteku Wrocławskiego [Wrocław University Library], sh. m. 50204 Muz.

¹⁷ Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, sh.m. Tonk. Schl. 241–244 (*Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quinta [&] Sexta Vox*), <http://www.fischer-download.de/Search.aspx?BereichID=a7d29913-0bf9-4f5f-a8b3-e05e33aa5ecb#Ergebnisse>, accessed 10 Dec. 2023.

provenance of that repertoire is mostly owing to the comprehensive, in-depth research of Armin Brinzing, which resulted in his 1998 monograph on sixteenth-century instrumental dance music in the German-speaking countries.¹⁸ Brinzing studied the Augsburg copies of the Wrocław part-books *in situ* and found no traces of their actual use for music performances, except for a few pitch corrections entered in hand, which may well have been added back at Scharfenberg's printing house as the editor's own errata. The source's excellent state of preservation can be explained by the fact that the *Stadtppfeifer* usually played from memory or from handwritten copies, which prevented the prints from undergoing the normal process of wear and tear. Brinzing's studies, preceded by the work of several earlier authors,¹⁹ have made it possible to identify a large proportion of works contained in Scharfenberg's edition and more comprehensively to assess its significance, thus paving the way for further research into the sixteenth-century instrumental dance music practice.

The available data about the Hess brothers are fragmentary and grossly out of proportion with the historical significance of their anthology. Their homeland was in the Austrian Styria. Little is known about their early careers. However, we may assume that both Bartholomäus (1518–1585) and Paul (life dates unknown) received musical education at the court of King Ferdinand I Habsburg (emperor from 1558) in Prague, where not later than in 1527 a famous ensemble was established, led till 1545 by Arnold von Bruck, and later by another Franko-Flemish musician, Pieter Maessins.²⁰ Notably, sources also confirm the existence in Prague of a nine-piece ensemble of *tubicines*, whose members were exclusively Italians from 1527 onwards.²¹ It therefore seems very likely that the Hess brothers obtained materials for their ambitious publication from those musicians. Trombonist Stephan Mahu, who played in the Prague ensemble in 1530–1539 and was later promoted to the post of deputy Kapellmeister,²² may also have had instrumental dance arrangements at his disposal. The presence of a wind players' band at Ferdinand I's court had already been a long dynastic tradition, since a similar ensemble (comprising a chalumeau, a pommer, a cornett, a slide trumpet, and a trombone), led by the famous Augustein Schubiger, had operated at the Innsbruck court of Ferdinand's grandfather Maximilian I.²³ From 1549 or earlier, the Hess brothers were employed in Wrocław, but remained in regular contact with the Habsburg court. An interesting context for their activities is the famous triumphal arch *by* Johann

¹⁸ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*

¹⁹ The earliest list of the collection's contents was included in Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 164–167. Cf. a summary of the state of research in Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 155.

²⁰ Othmar Wessely, 'Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte von Pieter Maessins', in *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit: Festgabe für Ferdinand Weinhandl*, R. Mühler, J. Fischl, eds (Berlin, 1967), 437–451.

²¹ Markus Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.: Addenda und Corrigenda zur Kapelle', in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen*, 5 (W. Meighörner: Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen, 2012), 31, 47.

²² Grassl, 'Die Musiker Ferdinands I.', 40.

²³ Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages. Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge, 1992), *passim*; see also Keith Polk, 'Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), 159–186.

Twenger.²⁴ In 1569 Twenger – another migrant artist from the Austrian Styria – began a year-and-a-half-long apprenticeship in Prague, and from 1572 he is recorded in Breslau. During his stay in that latter city, he executed the project of a triumphal arch with a depiction of a wind band performing for the entry (*entrada*) of Emperor Rudolf II in Wrocław on 24 May 1577. The ensemble, which is presented playing in a high tower at the entrance to the palace, consists of a cornett, two sackbuts, two shawms, and a bass curtal. It seems very likely that Twenger may have known the Hess brothers and that his engraving shows their wind band honouring this important guest.

Apart from performing music, they built woodwind and brass instruments. Paul is known to have provided *Schreierpfeifen* ('etliche Geschrey Pfeiffen') to Ferdinand I's court in Prague. Bartholomäus, in turn, was commissioned in 1556 to make three pommers (*Brommerpfeifen*) for the Leipzig *Stadtptfeifer*, and in the last year of his life he built instruments for the Stuttgart court.²⁵ The Hess brothers' instruments were thus clearly widely used and highly valued. In 1553, Ferdinand I granted them a privilege that protected their woodwinds and brass instruments ('instrumenta von Holcz und Messen zum pfeiffen und plazen') from being copied or imitated. The privilege was then renewed in 1560 for another eight years.²⁶

The fame of the Hess brothers' ensemble must have reached far beyond Wrocław since in October 1548 the band was engaged to perform in the Saxon Torgau at the wedding of August von Sachsen and the Danish princess Anna. On that occasion, during the Lutheran service they played 'a splendid six-part piece on wind instruments' ('ein herlich stück sex vocum geblasen').²⁷ Historical records clearly confirm that the ensemble consisted of six musicians. In the liturgical context, we may conjecture that (in accordance with quite well attested contemporary practice) the instrumentalists accompanied the choir *colla parte*.²⁸

That the Hess brothers' anthology was known in places quite remote from Wrocław is evident not only from the surviving Augsburg copy, but also from two sixteenth-century inventories: one listing the music collection of famous Augsburg banker and businessman Raimund Fugger Jr (1566), and the other – the possessions of Margrave Philip II of Baden-Baden's court ensemble (1582).²⁹ One of the volumes from the Wrocław edition, comprising

²⁴ *Triumphal arch for Rudolph II's arrival into Wrocław on 24 May 1577*, engraving by Johann Twenger (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Sammlung Druckgraphik-Zeichnungen, HB 325), <https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/wisski/navigate/324985/view>, accessed 10 Dec. 2023.

²⁵ William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: a Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London, 1993), 174.

²⁶ Waterhouse, 174. From the content of the privilege, we learn that the Hess brothers manufactured trumpets, trombones, chalumeaux, transverse flutes, crumhorns, cornetts, Rauschpfeife, Schweizerpfeife, and others.

²⁷ 'Nach gescheener Predigt haben der Königlichen Stat Breslaw Musici ein herlich stück sex vocum geblasen / Unter deß haben die beiden Churfürsten die Braut vor den Bischoff und Altar bracht' (*Vorzeichnus was vor Chur und Fürsten etc. auff dem Herlichen Beylager und Freud des Hochlöblichen Fürsten Hernn Augusten Hertzogen zu Sachsen etc. mit der Durchlauchten Fürstin Freulein Anna etc. Kö. wurde zu Dennemarck etc. tochter / gescheen den siebenden tag Octobris Anno etc. XLVIII zu Torgow / gewesen*); quoted after Brinzing, , *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 159.

²⁸ Polk, *German Instrumental Music...*, 91–94; cf. also Victor Coelho and Keith Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture, 1420–1600: Players of Function and Fantasy* (Cambridge, 2016), *passim*.

²⁹ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 161.

European dances, found its way to the Danish court, as confirmed by exact copies of more than twenty pieces found in MS Copenhagen 1873, compiled in the circles of Christiana III's court orchestra.³⁰ These copies are the more valuable since they also include the now otherwise lost *discantus* part.

The title and dedication of the Wrocław edition are only found in the tenor part-books. The dedication confirms the Hess brothers' close ties to the Austrian Habsburgs and demonstrates that they knew perfectly well how music life was organised at the Habsburg court. They dedicated the first volume to Ferdinand I's first-born son, the later Archduke Ferdinand II, and the second – to the latter's brother Maximilian (who would later become Emperor Maximilian II). Both Ferdinand I and his sons were interested in secular music. As young boys they took dance lessons, which included Italian dances. In later years, Ferdinand II maintained an Italian dance teacher, and Maximilian was reputedly a gifted dancer.³¹ Both volumes were signed for printing on the same day, which testifies to the Wrocław musicians' well-thought-out diplomatic tactics and strategy. They were paying homage to both princes at the same time, which – considering the tensions that existed between the two – was very prudent and gave the Hess brothers a better chance for future favours. One of the possible traces of the brothers' links to the Habsburg court is *Königs Ferdinandus tantz* (no. 93 in Vol. 1), whose title (also known from two other sources)³² probably refers to Ferdinand I.

In the case of the Scharfenberg edition, the key question is how the Hess brothers used their sources and what their own contribution as music composers may have been. Brinzing demonstrates that dances set in the Wrocław anthology had already been in circulation for at least three decades, though the identification of concordances, and thus establishing provenance and dating, is by no means an easy task. The problem is less acute in Volume I, comprising 'German and Polish' dances, since the song tradition in German-speaking countries placed the melody in the tenor as the main part, which makes it possible to identify concordances among one- and two-part *Tenorlieder*. This becomes more problematic in Volume II, dedicated to 'Spanish, Italian, English, and French' dances, in which the source melody was placed in the top voice. For lack of the *discantus* part-book, their identification is therefore only possible in cases where other, complete copies of the same dances have been found.

Unlike the first, the second volume of the Wrocław edition includes, apart from the dedication, also a rather extensive preface, which the Hess brothers evidently deemed necessary, since the volume comprises works of foreign provenance ('Composition frembder landt art'). In the preface, they explain why their settings have no titles or texts and indicate that they are only meant to be performed instrumentally ('allein auff die instrument lieblich und dienstlich'). The lack of titles, combined with a declaration that the music is not exclusively meant for dance ('Auch sind solche stück von uns nit allein zum tantzen vermaint'),

³⁰ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 283–284.

³¹ Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1954), 48; Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 163.

³² Namely, Neusidler's lute tablature of 1549 (*Königs Ferdinandus tantz*) and Joannis de Lublin's organ tablature ([*Chorea*] *Ferdinandi*).

indicates, as Brinzing aptly observes,³³ that these settings could be used (apart from accompanying dances) also as ‘pure’ instrumental music, adding the much-needed splendour to the Wrocław patricians’ municipal and family celebrations. The anthology thus represents the transition of dance repertoire from the courtly to the private burgher environment, which was a characteristic phenomenon in the mid-sixteenth century.

Links between Scharfenberg’s print and other European sources comprising dance music have not been fully established yet. Brinzing’s list of concordances proves that French sources, and Pierre Attaignant’s first editions of 1528 and 1530 in particular, were of the greatest importance. The Hess brothers took over as many as ten out of the twelve dances contained in the former, and twenty-two out of fifty-five – from the latter.³⁴ Other sources, unknown to us to-day, must also have been at their disposal, though, since the Wrocław anthology departs in some elements of contrapuntal structure from Attaignant’s versions. Moreover, in the preface to Volume II the Hess brothers emphasise the need to execute full values for final notes in repetitions so that the regular rhythmic pulse (*mensur*) can be maintained. For this purpose, in several pieces they add a corresponding ‘bar line’. Since Attaignant’s edition contains none of these, it may be conjectured that, rather than drawing directly on the French prints (despite numerous concordances), the Hess brothers probably used (now unfortunately lost) Italian sources.³⁵ Concordances also indicate that the Wrocław musicians did not know Attaignant’s later prints (those from the years 1547–1555). Presumably neither the city of Wrocław nor the Habsburg court were interested in the latest publications of this kind. As concerns English and Spanish works, it is difficult to confirm whether the Wrocław anthology actually includes any compositions of such provenance. Only a few of the confirmed concordances are intavolated versions originating in these two countries.³⁶ It is therefore quite likely that the ‘English and Spanish dances’ mentioned in the title of Scharfenberg’s print were more of a sales gimmick, meant to boost the attractiveness of the collection, rather than an actual fact.

Italian records played a major role, as the above-discussed findings have confirmed, even though most likely only a small fraction of the sources available in that period have survived to our day. The only Italian print that predates the Hess brothers’ collection is Francesco Bendusi’s already mentioned edition of 1553,³⁷ possibly compiled for the needs of Verona’s Accademia Filarmonica. This collection is noteworthy for a number of reasons. None of the two dozen works contained therein has any composer attribution. The title page actually indicates that they were all written by Bendusi himself. As in the later publication by Giorgio Mainerio, we only have a general statement that Bendusi’s settings can be performed

³³ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 266.

³⁴ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 281.

³⁵ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 267.

³⁶ Brinzing (*Studien zur instrumentalen...*) found only three dances from the Wrocław edition that correspond to mid-sixteenth-century English handwritten intavolations, plus one dance setting that can be found in Alonso Mudarra’s collection of intavolated pieces for vihuela (Seville, 1546).

³⁷ Modern edition: Francesco Bendusi, *Opera Nova De Balli, 1553: For Four Instruments*, B. Thomas, ed. (London, 1974).

on ‘all types of instruments’ (‘accomodati da cantare & sonare d’ogni sorte de stromenti’). Nevertheless, what is meant here is almost certainly a set of wind instruments as used by the Italian *pifferi*.³⁸ According to Kämper,³⁹ the titles of individual pieces betray the use of the Venetian dialect, which suggests that the whole collection may be of Venetian provenance. Some of these titles refer to pieces of weaponry used by Italian soldiers. These settings may thus have functioned as intermedia for comedies on military subjects staged in Venice.

Bendusi’s anthology stands out among other Italian sources containing instrumental ensemble music in that it contains no settings of dance melodies, even though it features bass ostinato typical of dance repertoire (*passamezzo antico*, *romanesca*, *folia*). Those small-scale pieces seem to have been composed from scratch without using any precomposed material. On the other hand, though, considering the scale of source loss, we cannot exclude the possibility that Bendusi drew on the melodies from some now lost collections. Even if those works are not derived from any pre-existent melodic models, they still demonstrate many qualities of Italian dance music from that period. Unlike French music, they feature a very simple harmonic language with frequent use of the *passamezzo antico* pattern, mostly duple time, and extremely regular rhythms. In some pieces (as in nos. 13 *Incognita* and 19: *Bandera*), there is an alternation between duple and triple time, which suggests that they were meant for listening rather than dancing or that they required a special choreographic technique (see example 1).

All of Bendusi’s works (except for *Fusta*) were included in the Hess brothers’ anthology, in the final section of its second volume. They were not, however, copied mechanically. As in the case of some pieces from Attaingnant’s Parisian prints, seven (out of twenty-three) of Bendusi’s compositions were transposed a fourth or a fifth lower, and repeated sections were replaced with repetition marks.⁴⁰ For reasons unknown to us, the original sequence of these pieces was altered and twice interrupted by the insertion of dances from Attaingnant’s edition.

Apart from the Hess brothers’ anthology, Bendusi’s works were not borrowed into any other European source – which comes as a surprise, considering the great popularity of Italian dances at that time. Bendusi’s edition was nevertheless known in the German cultural world. An inventory of the property of Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583), a wealthy Augsburg merchant, proves that he purchased this print, and that (along with Attaingnant’s early ensemble dance publications) it became part of this patrician’s impressive music collection.⁴¹

As many as sixteen pieces from the first volume of the Hess brothers’ anthology, comprising ‘German and Polish dances’, can also be found in the form of organ intavolations

³⁸ On this subject, see e.g. Victor Ravizza, *Das instrumentale Ensemble von 1400–1550 in Italien: Wandel eines Klangbildes* (Bern, 1970), *passim*; Lorenz Welker, ‘Bläserensembles der Renaissance’, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 14 (1990), 249–270; Patrick Tröster, *Das Alta-Ensemble und seine Instrumente von der Spätgotik bis zur Hochrenaissance (1300–1550). Eine musikikonografische Studie* (Tübingen, 2001), *passim*; Coelho, Polk, *Instrumentalists and Renaissance Culture*, *passim*.

³⁹ Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik*, 173–174.

⁴⁰ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 278.

⁴¹ Colin H. Slim, ‘The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583)’, *Annales Musicologiques*, 7 (1964–1977), 67–109.

in the tablature of Joannis de Lublin.⁴² Their presence in that manuscript suggests that some (now lost) collections of dance music must have circulated in Lesser Poland at the time of its compilation (1537–1548), and that the Hess brothers likewise had access to those sources. Two main types of German dances have commonly been distinguished: *Tanz (Allemande)* and *Hoftanz*. The latter constituted the core of the *Stadtpeifer* repertoire and was sometimes actually referred to as the *Stadtpeifer Tanz*.⁴³ In agreement with contemporary practice, such dances were grouped into pairs contrasted in texture, tempo, time signature, and choreography. The first of such ‘double dances’, the *Vortanz*, was in duple time, with two rather than one breve as the basic metrical unit (‘the great measure’) and frequent alternation of 3+3 and 2+2+2 groupings in the rhythmic pattern. The second piece, the *Nachtanz*, was usually derived from the first as its transformation in triple time (*proportio tripla*, frequently referred to in German sources as *Proporz* or *Tripla*). Its entire structural model was taken over from the preceding dance, with only minor changes.⁴⁴ Since the tempo accelerated in the *Nachtanz*, musical motion in the individual parts underwent simplification, and, as a result, the contrapuntal writing typically condensed into a simple homorhythmic structure. This, then, is the dominant dance form in the first volume of the Wrocław print. Many of those dances draw on melodies from various German *Liederbücher*, but there are also borrowings from radically different types of repertoire. One of Brinzing’s main contributions to the study of this anthology was the discovery that its first volume, too, contains a significant number of French chansons as well as Italian pavanés and madrigals.⁴⁵ Notable among the former is the inclusion of Claudin de Sermisy’s famous *Tant que vivray* (no. 88) among dances of German provenance. Other ‘alien’ elements include Antonio Rotta’s dance *Rocha ’l fuso* (no. 5, also found as an intavolation in Joannis de Lublin’s tablature⁴⁶) and Costanzo Festa’s madrigal *Quanto ritrovo la mia pastorella* (no. 131). The latter recurs (with a newly supplemented *quinta vox* part) in the second volume of the Wrocław collection, that is, the one dedicated to ‘Spanish, Italian, English, and French’ dances (as no. 94). Most of the non-German pieces in Volume I are pavanés, which seem to have been widely known in the German-speaking lands long before the Hess brothers’ publication, most likely thanks to Attaingnant’s early prints.

The ‘Polish dances’, as they are referred to in the title, are a separate issue. It is now common knowledge that in the mid-sixteenth century the Polish dance repertoire had no

⁴² Tablature of Joannes of Lublin, Kraków, The Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) and the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), MS 1716. Nos. 27, 48, 50, 52, 82, 93, 95, 96, 97, 103, 119, 120, 121, 132, 142, and 153; nine of these (with reconstructed top part) were printed in Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, vol. 2.

⁴³ Otto Gombosi, ‘Der Hoftanz’, *Acta Musicologica*, 7 (1935), 119–129.

⁴⁴ Cf. Daniel Hertz, ‘Hoftanz and Basse Dance’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 (1) (1966), 13–36; Richard Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz*, 1: *The History*, 2: *The Music* (Cambridge, 1986), *passim*.

⁴⁵ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 235.

⁴⁶ Barbara Brzezińska, *Repertuar polskich tabulatur organowych z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku [The Contents of Polish Organ Tablatures from the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]* (Kraków, 1987), 135.

distinctive metrical and rhythmic qualities.⁴⁷ For this reason, it seems impossible to establish what proportion of the repertoire in the Wrocław anthology is indeed Polish. In concordances, the titles of individual dances frequently differ depending on the source. For instance, no. 64, a setting of one of the most popular German dances known as *Benzenauer* (of which we have at least twenty-three lute and organ intavolations), is referred to in other German sources either as an 'Italian' dance (*Welscher tantz*) or as a "Polish" piece (*Der polnisch*). Three other examples are noteworthy.⁴⁸ No. 52 in the Hess brothers' anthology is also known from Joannis de Lublin's tablature, where it was entered under the title *Zakłólam się Tharnem ad unum* [*saltum*]. Its principal melody, however, unfolding in the top part, can be found in many settings of Italian, French, and English provenance, which leads us to the conclusion that the Cracow intavolation is one of a Polish-language *contrafactum* of some European dance rather than a Polish piece. Dance no. 82 appears twice in Joannis de Lublin as an intavolation titled *Conradus*. Its tenor part was also incorporated into an anonymous piece titled *Des königs von Polen tantz*, found in the German Ulm 236 manuscript. Since, however, there are five other sources for the *Bruder Conrad* melody in sources from German-speaking countries, one must conclude that this dance is not of Polish provenance, either. Similarly, for no. 132 in the Wrocław anthology we have two intavolations in Joannis de Lublin, one titled *Poznanian* and the other – *Italica*. However, the piece is actually an anonymous pavane (*La scarpa mi fa mal*) known from Attaignant's print of 1530, a later German manuscript (Basel F.X.22–24 – where it is entered as *Paduaner*), and several lute intavolations. Despite its Polish title in the Cracow tablature, the dance is thus undoubtedly of Italian origin. In the Hess brothers' publication, it is presented within a 'double dance', presumably taken from a now lost Italian source in which these two were combined into a *paduana-saltarello* pair typical of that tradition. To sum up, the multiplicity of titles found in the sources has led to much confusion in the study of 'Polish dances', and significantly more caution needs to be exercised in this area than was exhibited by Adolf Chybiński in his edition.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, that latter publication also presents a claim that still holds true: 'such "wandering" [musical] phrases, undoubtedly looking back to the Middle Ages, already constituted common property after 1500. In whole or in part, they remained part of musical practice for many long centuries.'⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ewa Dahlig-Turek, „Rytmy polskie” w muzyce XVI–XIX wieku. *Studium morfologiczne* [*'Polish Rhythms' in Music between the Sixteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries: A Morphological Study*] (Warszawa. 2006), 81ff. (more bibliographical references can be found in that publication).

⁴⁸ For details concerning these settings, see Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Chybiński wrote in the preface to his edition of dances from the tablature of Joannis de Lublin: 'on the basis of titles and inscriptions found above some of the dances and dance songs, we may already conclude that they are of Polish provenance. This concerns at least eight numbers: 1. No. 14, *Jeszcze Marcinie* [*Still, Martin*]; 2. No. 22, *Zakłólam się cierniem* [*I've Pricked Myself with a Thorn*]; 3. No. 33, *Szewczyk idzie po ulicy szydełko nosząc* [*A Shoemaker Is Walking Down the Street, Carrying a Crochet Hook*]; 4. No. 8, *Poznanie* [...] [*of Poznań*]; 5. No. 9, *Poznanian*; 6. No. 23, *Poznanie*; 7. No. 24, *Poznanie*; 8. No. 31, *Hajducki* [type of dance].’ Cf. Adolf Chybiński, ed., *36 tańców z tabulatury organowej Jana z Lublina (na klawesyn lub fortepian)* [*Thirty-Six Dances from the Organ Tablature of Joannis de Lublin (for Harpsichord or Piano)*] ed. from manuscript (Kraków, 1948), vi.

⁵⁰ Chybiński, ed., *Thirty-Six Dances...*, vii.

Example 1. [Francesco Bendusi], *Incognita*. *Opera nova de balli di Francesco Bendusi a quatro accomodati da cantare & sonare d'ogni sorte de stromenti* (Antonio Gardano: Venezia, 1553), no 13. Photograph from: Francesco Bendusi, *Opera Nova De Balli, 1553: For Four Instruments*, Bernard Thomas, ed. (London Pro Musica Edition: London, 1974), 13.

13. Incognita

13

The musical score for "13. Incognita" is presented in four systems, each containing four staves. The notation is in 3/2 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

The last problem that should briefly be addressed here is the question of the Hess brothers' contribution to the composition of the dances comprised in their anthology. The title page of the first volume advertises these dance settings as suitable for a four- or five-part ensemble. As Brinzing's research demonstrates, all the available concordances are four-part (and sometimes even three-part) settings, which suggests that the fifth part was likely supplemented by the Hess brothers themselves. Notably, however, that added part (*vagant*) frequently generates mistakes in contrapuntal structure. For instance, though the *tenor* and *bassus* parts move in concert, there is no analogous coordination with the *altus*, which results in dissonant clashes or in parallel fifths and octaves. One may interpret these errors in a twofold manner: Either the Hess brothers did not have sufficient training as composers, or the notation reflects some traces of oral-memorial transmission. The rests that occur at some points in the added part can only be read (as Brinzing suggests) as attempts to avoid errors of this type. One should assume, therefore, that the Wrocław *Stadtpfeifer* possessed at least some rudimentary knowledge of composition technique.

Analysis of the *vagant* part also provides insights into one of the key aspects of sixteenth-century performance practice, namely – the use of accidentals (*subsemitonia modi*), which, according to the Hess brothers' preface, was at odds with German musical habits ('wider den gebrauch deutscher Musica'). The study of the then lute and viola intavolations, however, does not confirm this claim. On the contrary, raising the leading note appears to have been the norm.⁵¹ A comparison of the Wrocław versions with the corresponding intavolations in Joannis de Lublin leads to a similar conclusion. These works contain numerous instances of clashes between altered notes and non-altered ones in the added *vagant* part.⁵² Either the instrumentalists of that day (possibly the Hess brothers alone) really ignored accidentals, or this might be yet another trace of oral-memorial practice.

In their preface to the second volume, the Hess brothers explain that though they added a fifth and sixth part to many of the settings, these extra musical lines may be omitted without any detriment to the music ('mögen auch wider ausgelassen werden'). In their words, the supplemented parts were intended to ensure fullness of sound ('wegen vollkommenheit') and make it possible to extend the ensemble when needed ('wegen viler gesellschaft'). The brothers also note that, in case a given piece is executed by a four-part ensemble, the bass part ought to be transposed an octave higher than notated ('so sol derselbe Bass entgegen ein octava höher als claviert genommen werden'), as indicated graphically in the print. Every such indication of added parts helps present-day scholars to define the Hess brothers' personal contributions to the music comprised in the anthology. The six-part settings with one (twenty-one pieces) or two (sixty pieces) added parts make for extremely interesting research material. The added lines are rather restless in terms of rhythm and abound in large leaps.⁵³ This makes them stand out from the other, generally calmly unfolding parts, which

⁵¹ Robert Toft, *Aural Images of Lost Traditions: Sharps and Flats in the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto, 1992), *passim*.

⁵² Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 220–222.

⁵³ Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen...*, 269ff.

closely resemble the voice-leading found in vocal works from that period. Despite the above-mentioned contrapuntal clashes, these added parts significantly enliven the music and enrich the sound, adding a peculiar kind of attractiveness to the Wrocław print.

To sum up, the anthology compiled by the Hess brothers, 'salaried instrumentalists of the royal city of Wrocław', definitely deserves further multidirectional studies. Importantly, the hitherto findings have allowed us to expand our understanding of the then ensemble dance music, providing insights into the composition techniques and instrumental performance practice in that period, and, most significantly, into the process of the absorption and transformation of music repertoires in Renaissance Europe.

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[Hess] *Etlicher gutter Teutscher und Polnischer Tentz / biss in die anderthalbhundert mit fünff und vier stimmen zugebrauchen / auff allerley Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm vleis zusammen getragen / dermasen vor nie in Druck komen. Mit Römischer / Ungarischer / Böhmischer Kön. Maiestat etc. freiheit begnadet und begabet / innerhalb sechs jahren nicht nachzudrucken. Gedruckt zu Breslaw Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg. M.D.LV.*

[Hess] *Viel Feiner Lieblicher Stucklein / Spanischer / Welscher / Englischer / Frantzösischer composition und tentz / Vber drey hundert / mit Sechsen / Fünffen / vnd Vieren / auff alle Instrument dienstlich / mit sonderm fleis zusammen bracht / vor nie in druck kommen. Gedruck zu Breslaw / Durch Crispinum Scharffenberg [...] Datum Breslaw / An dem Heiligen Ostertag / des 1555 Jahrs.*

[Mainerio] *Il primo libro de balli a quatro voci, accomodati per cantar et sonar d'ogni sorte de instromenti di Giorgio Mainerio Parmeggiano Maestro di Capella della S. Chiesa d'Aquilegia* (Venezia, 1578).

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Abstract

The paper focuses on a comprehensive dance collection compiled by two Wrocław/Breslau town musicians (*Stadtpfeifer*), the brothers Bartholomäus and Paul Hess. The anthology, partly preserved at Wrocław University Library, was published in 1555 at the Wrocław printing house of Crispin Scharffenberg and documents the transition of dance repertoire from the courtly realm to the private and public spheres, which was typical of the mid-sixteenth century. The Wrocław collection, scored for wind ensemble, contains 477 four- and five-part dances of German, Polish, French, and Italian provenance. The paper offers some new views on the repertoire from the collection. Particular attention has been given to the so-called Polish dances.

Keywords: Wrocław/Breslau, instrumental dance, Stadtpfeifer, Hess brothers, Tablature of Joannis de Lublin

Zary – The City
of Georg Philipp
Telemann

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The musical culture of a city or town draws on motifs, ideas, phenomena, and figures of local heritage, rooted in various ethnic, national, confessional, societal, artistic, industrial, and other traditions. Remembering persons, and artists in particular, who were associated with the given urban centre in the past, is one of the most distinct and impactful components of such cultures. These persons may be related to the city by birth, place of death or burial, through their stays in or passage through the city, or because some of the city's inhabitants are referred to in their oeuvre, etc.

Locally active artists representing various disciplines may bestow specific orientations on contemporary urban cultures. They become a major, and sometimes the only clear and distinctive element of the given place's self-identification. Symbolic gestures (such as naming streets and institutions after them, or events held by the municipal authorities, institutions, and organisations) turn those artists into an element of the local culture's self-image, which sometimes actually allows the local community to crystallize around those figures and thus forge their local identity.

Among such locally meaningful artists, there are many music composers. Numerous cities self-identify with a given composer and are perceived as associated with that person by outsiders on the principle of feedback (that is, a city is identified with a given artist and vice versa). Regularities may be observed here: The smaller the given town (or the fewer eminent figures have been associated with it), the more intensely it exploits its links to the given artist, who may frequently be the only major figure in the local urban tradition. On the other hand, the more recognisable the given artist is in the national and international scenes, the more crucial he or she becomes to the city's self-image. All these interdependencies are also at work in the case of Georg Philipp Telemann and the city of Żary.

Telemann in Żary. The City in His Times

The composer arrived in Żary (Germ. Sorau) in September 1704 at the invitation of Erdmann II, Count von Promnitz, who served as courtier to Augustus II the Strong, elector of Saxony and king of Poland. Telemann became head of the court ensemble (*Hofkapellmeister*), court composer and organist at the Count's court chapel (succeeding Wolfgang Caspar Printz in this position). Telemann was twenty-three on his arrival in Żary and had already obtained a diploma in law from Leipzig University. He also had considerable musical experience gained as, among others, conductor of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum and author of music for St Thomas and St Nicholas Churches in Leipzig. The composer resided in Żary uninterruptedly until the mid-1706, when he set out for Pszczyna, Warsaw, and Cracow with the Promnitz court. He also visited Berlin three times as the Count's courtier. Early in 1708 he returned to Żary, but in the autumn of the same year he eventually left that city to take up the post of conductor and Kapellmeister at the court of Johann Wilhelm von Sachsen in Eisenach. Telemann would visit Żary once more. While serving in Eisenach, he obtained permission to travel to that city for his wedding to Count Erdmann II's maidservant, Amalia Luiza Juliane

Eberlin (met back in 1706), whom he married on 13 October 1709 at the Promnitz castle chapel.

What was Żary like when Telemann lived there? In the first half of the eighteenth century, it was part of a ‘free state country’ (Germ. *Freie Standesherrschaft*) of Żary and Trzebiel (Germ. Triebel). The city had approximately four thousand inhabitants and was a major trade centre on the salt route, as well as a hub of the textile industry and of multifaceted craftsmanship. Żary lay on the Polish-Saxon royal post route connecting Warsaw and Dresden and a Saxon cuirassier garrison (ca 150 cavalrymen) was stationed there. The Promnitz family, who owned the city, consistently contributed to its flourishing and development. Their court was also splendid and sumptuous, with an art gallery, a permanent ensemble, and guest performances by Italian and French opera-and-ballet companies. It ranked among the finest aristocratic Saxon courts and was attractive as such to the young composer. His decision to accept the post was also certainly facilitated by Erdmann II’s musical interests. In his autobiography, Telemann comments: ‘The splendid character of this court [...] moved me to undertake enterprising projects enthusiastically, particularly with regard to instrumental pieces’.¹ It thus seems that Telemann’s employment in Żary was the result of both the Count’s expectations concerning the young composer’s talent and potential and of Telemann’s explicit hope that the post would provide him with opportunities for multifaceted musical work. In his 1718 *Lebens-Lauff* sent to Mattheson, he reflected from the perspective of more than a dozen years later:

If there is something in the world that encourages the human spirit to become ever more competent in whatever craft they may have learnt – it is likely the court. [...] Therefore when, in my best prime years, I entered that court, one can easily imagine that I had no intention to sit idle [but I undertook] to build my happiness.²

Karol Bula thus characterises Telemann’s time at the Promnitz court: ‘It was in Żary, one must assume, that the foundations of his decidedly innovative style eventually took shape’;³ ‘this was arguably the Sturm-und-Drang period in Telemann’s life’.⁴ One special dimension of Telemann’s association with the Żary court results from the fact that his music from that time catered for that court’s life and needs, which makes it possible to reconstruct

¹ ‘Das glänzende Wesen dieses auf fürstlichem Fuß neu-eingerichtete Hofes munterte mich zu feurigen Unternehmungen auf, besonders in Instrumentalsachen [...]’ Georg Philipp Telemann, *Lebens-Lauff mein Georg Philipp Telemanns; Entworffen in Franckfurth am Mäyn* [Autobiographie 1718], <http://www.zeno.org/Kulturgeschichte/M/Telemann,+Georg+Philipp/Autobiographie+1718>, accessed 5 February 2024. English version quoted after: Georg Philipp Telemann, *His Autobiography*; tr. Thomas Braatz, 2009, 9, <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Other/TelemannEPMattheson.pdf>, accessed 5 February 2024.

² ‘Ist etwas in der Welt / wodurch der Geist des Menschen aufgemuntert wird / sich in dem / was er gelernet / immer geschickter zu machen / so wird es wohl der Hoff seyn. [...] Wie ich nun in der besten Blüthe meiner Jahre an diesen Hoff gerieth / so ist leicht zu erachten / daß ich die Hände nicht werde in den Schooß gelegt haben / um mein Glück zu bauen.’ Georg Philipp Telemann, *Lebens-Lauff mein...*, accessed 5 February 2024. All the English translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

³ Karol R. Bula, *Telemann* (Kraków 2021), 37–38.

⁴ Bula, *Telemann*, 43.

both the repertoire and the atmosphere of the Promnitz castle in that era. Bohdan Pociąg writes that the value of Telemann's music lies first and foremost in the fact that, like no other music preserved from that time, it reflects the then culture and life of the social environments for which it was composed. It thus becomes a precious and sumptuous source of historical knowledge [...] One could say that Telemann's output is a direct outgrowth from the soil of that time's music life, its excellent artistic generalisation and crowning point [...] [Telemann's] works preserved what is by its nature the most ephemeral, elusive, fragile, and perishable: the everyday life of the age as reflected in its artistic culture.⁵

Telemann and Polish Folk Music

Telemann's employment and residence in Żary would by itself have made this artist important to the local community's identity.⁶ He stayed there as a young artist, before he became one of the greatest composers of his age. His later fame shines, so to speak, on the city's local community with its reflected splendour. Telemann's links with the local population were, however, of a deeper nature, as he developed an interest in the region's folk music and used its elements in his own compositions. This situates his relation to the local Żary culture in a different, more 'material' and palpable space. While discussing his activity in Żary, we must therefore take his own music into account.

In this context one should quote Telemann's statement on Polish folk music, which proves his acquaintance and fascination with this repertoire. In his 1718 letter to Johann Mattheson, he wrote about his stay in Żary: 'Thanks to the neighbourhood [I became] acquainted with Polish music, in which, I must admit, I found many good and varied things, which served me later in many projects, including serious ones.'⁷ In the *Lebens-Lauff*, he elaborates in his subject:

When the court moved for half a year to Plesse [now Pszczyna – translator's note] [...] I learned there first hand, as in Cracow, the Polish and Hanak [Moravian] music in its genuine barbaric beauty [...]. It is hard to believe what wonderful ideas such bagpipe players and fiddlers can have when they begin to fantasise during breaks between the dances. An attentive [listener] could pick up enough concepts from them in eight days to serve one for an entire lifetime. [...] Afterwards I wrote various grand concertos and trios in this style, which I clothed [...] in Italian garments.⁸

⁵ Bohdan Pociąg, 'Muzyka jako źródło poznania' ['Music as a Source of Knowledge'], in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Autobiografia z roku 1740* [The 1740 Autobiography], tr. Jerzy Prokopiuk (Pszczyna, 1983), 5, 7.

⁶ There is no evidence for Telemann's possible contributions to Żary's urban (burgher) music life, similar to his public concerts held with the Collegium Musicum in Leipzig (1702). This may have been due to the fact that his work at the Promnitz court was as absorbing as it was multidimensional.

⁷ 'Wegen der Nachbarschaft mit der Polnischen Musik bekannt, wovon gestehe, dass ich viel Gutes und veränderlichen darbey gefunden, welches mir nachgehendes in manchen auch ernsthaften Sachen Dienste gethan.' Georg Philipp Telemann, *Autobiografie, Autobiographien 1718, 1729, 1740* (Pszczyna, 1994), 16.

⁸ 'Als der Hof sich ein halbes Jahr lang nach Plesse [...] begab, lernete ich so wohl daselbst, als in Krakau, die polnische und hanakische Musik, in ihrer wahren barbarischen Schönheit kennen. [...] Man sollte kaum glauben, was dergleichen Bockpfeiffer oder Geiger für wunderbare Einfälle haben, wenn sie, so oft die Tantzenden ruhen, fantasiren. Ein Aufmerckender könnte von ihnen, in 8. Tagen, Gedancken für ein gantztes Leben erschnappen.'

This passage demonstrates Telemann's openness to folk music and its adaptability as an inspiration for his original works, as well as his awareness of its intrinsic value. In a quatrain penned by Telemann, he expresses his conviction that 'Polish music need not be wooden at all.' (literally 'be [made] of wood')⁹ These are the words of a musician and composer who recognised and appreciated the potential of folk music. Considering this stance, it was only natural that he made Polish folk music into a source of inspiration for his own works. This was already noticed by his contemporaries, In *Musicalisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig 1749), Johannes Stössel claims that Telemann initially leaned towards the Polish, and later to the French and Italian styles in his works, and that he first came in contact with Polish music at the castle of Count von Promnitz in Żary.¹⁰

The topic of the presence of Polish folk music as an inspiration in Telemann's oeuvre has been taken up by many scholars. Let me only quote the conclusions from some analyses. In her study of *Polish Suite*, Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska expresses her conviction that Polish musical qualities (such as mazurka rhythms and repeated phrases) can also be found in those suite movements that do not directly demonstrate Polish elements. This is related to the concept of 'Polish style' in eighteenth-century German German aesthetics, where it was viewed as cheerful, lively, and satirical (Johann Adolf Scheibe, *Critischer Musicus*, Leipzig 1745). Wilkowska-Chomińska thus considers the *Suite* as 'an example of the Polish musical style as practised in accordance with German aesthetic views.'¹¹ Zofia Stęszewska points to a rather deeper understanding of the concept of Polish music. She situates Telemann's Polish inspirations in the context of other Poland-related pieces from that age, which she describes as the earliest European dances and tunes that transmit [to us] the autonomous, distinctive rhythmic qualities of Polish music, that is, primarily the qualities of national dances: the mazurka and the polonaise. They constitute a still insufficiently researched sources for the study of Polish musical culture, including, apparently, also Polish musical folklore.¹²

Analyses of Telemann's forty-four works with the word 'Polish' in their titles lead Stęszewska to claim that those labelled as polonaises indeed belong to this genre, whereas other movements in his 'Polish' works are mazurka- and oberek-like in character. The diversity of Telemann's treatment of rhythm and melody in the polonaises proves, according to that

[...] Ich habe, nach der Zeit, verschiedene grosse Concerte und Trii in dieser Art geschrieben, die ich in einen italiänischen Rock, mit abgewechselten Adagi und Allegri, eingekleidet.' Telemann, *Lebens-Lauff mein...*

⁹ Es lob ein jeder sonst das / was ihn kann erfreun, / Nun bringt ein Polnisch Lied die gantze Welt zum springen; So brauch ich keine Müh den Schluss heraus zu bringen: / Die Polnische Musik muss nicht von Holtze seyn. 'Everyone praises what can bring him joy. / Now a Polish song makes the whole world dance, So it won't be hard to draw a conclusion: / Polish music need not be wooden at all.' Telemann, *Autobiografie...*, 16.

¹⁰ Johannes Stössel, *Musicalisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1749).

¹¹ Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, 'Suita Polska Telemanna', *Muzyka* 2 (1959), 57–64.

¹² Zofia Stęszewska, 'Polonika w źródłach muzycznych pochodzenia niemieckiego i w twórczości kompozytorów niemieckich od XVI do początków XVIII wieku' ['Poland-Related Musical Pieces in German Sources and the Works of German Composers between the Sixteenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries'], *Muzyka* 3 (1977), 97.

scholar, that he was emulating a living dance tradition that he was familiar with. This is further corroborated by rhythmic, melodic, and formal parallels between Telemann's pieces and Silesian folk music.¹³ Polish rhythms and melodies are present throughout that composer's output. Stęszewska argues that for this reason 'Telemann's oeuvre is not only of great importance to the history of German music but is also a major [...] source of information about Polish folk music, Polish dances from the first half of the eighteenth century, and indirectly even earlier ones from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'¹⁴

There are recurrent motifs in those studies. Drawing directly on living tradition, Telemann was able accurately to grasp the qualities of Polish dances, which means that his music offers credible insights into the then Polish folk practice. Polish qualities were not a mere ornament in his music or a prominent exotic stylisation. They were, instead, a lasting component of his style (also present in works that do not contain a 'Polish' element in their titles).¹⁵ This is important for the perception of Telemann in the local community, as the presence of Polish folk elements in his music integrally connects him with the local culture, and since those qualities are present throughout his oeuvre, the (local) Polish folk music becomes an indispensable point of reference for the interpretation of his works.

The Composer's Commemoration in Żary

In the later eighteenth and especially nineteenth century, the oeuvre and person of Georg Philipp Telemann were eclipsed by those of Johann Sebastian Bach and George Frideric Handel. It was only the twentieth century, and its second half in particular, that brought a Telemann revival. The bicentenary of his death, celebrated in 1967, was an important point in this process. The situation was similar on the local level in Żary. Whether his music had been performed there in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries remains a subject for further research. What we can say, for instance when looking through a collection of one hundred postcards from Żary dated 1896–1945,¹⁶ is that there is no evidence of the composer's presence in the public urban space. Despite the numerous representations of the Biberstein castle and the Promnitz palace (represented on virtually all the multi-image postcards), there are no references to Telemann in that set. The represented monuments only include figures associated with the history of united Germany: the emperors Wilhelm and Friedrich together (1919), Otto von Bismarck (1889), and Helmut von Moltke (1902). No street in Żary bore Telemann's name even though there were streets dedicated to locally active personages. After 1918, 'streets were marked out whose patrons were local figures

¹³ Zofia Stęszewska, 'Elementy polskie w twórczości Telemanna' ['Polish Elements in Telemann's Music'], *Muzyka* 3–4 (1981), 81.

¹⁴ Stęszewska, 'Elementy polskie...' 82.

¹⁵ Cf. Gunther Fleischhauer, 'Einflüsse polnischer Musik im Schaffen Georg Phillip Telemanns', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle*, 3 (1976), 77.

¹⁶ [n.n.] *Żary na dawnej pocztówce* [*Żary in Old Postcards*] [no editorial data] (Żary, 1998).

meritorious to the city's development, particularly in the area of economy'.¹⁷ Other streets bore the names of historians Johann Samuel Magnus (1678–1707)¹⁸ and Johann Gottlob Worbs (1760–1833), the philologist Michael Neander (de Sorau) (1525–1595), and Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756). The latter was active in Żary at the same times as Telemann. In 1705–12 he was a preacher at the Promnitz court and the priest at the head of the city's St Mary's parish. Importantly, he authored new versions of cantata libretti which Telemann set to music.¹⁹

After the incorporation of Żary into Poland in 1945, the composer remained absent from the local cultural scene. Despite, or rather because of the new political circumstances, Telemann could not make his way into the city's public space. Polish guidebooks and historical studies dedicated to cities and towns in the so-called 'Regained Territories' either failed to mention or quite marginalised the history of that area before 1945. For obvious reasons, such policies affected the local communities particularly strongly. Their prewar cultural past was highly complex and diversified, so that a purely Polish perspective, ignoring the other, national or ethnic traditions, was difficult to adopt. With reference to the local environment, this meant that earlier research traditions were discontinued.²⁰

Telemann's memory was only revived in the city's public space in the 1990s. This was made possible by the new social and political situation after 1989 and the new social realities, in which the concept of localness was being redefined. The establishment of real, not nominal local governments created an atmosphere in which the local identity and autonomy was being restored to social awareness in public space and (based on the reform of local government) – within the structures of the Polish state. This opened up a space for new perspectives on localness: reviving local traditions, embarking on local initiatives, and building local communities.

This re-establishment of the city's local identity incorporated the figure of Telemann into a new sphere of reception – that related to local culture. Telemann's years of service in Żary provides a reason and incentive for numerous projects undertaken by the local community. In combination with the composer's status in the history of music, this has created a space for the restoration and cultivation of his works' regular presence in local culture.

Probably the first spectacular example of public debate concerning Telemann's place in urban space concerned the proposals to name a street as well as the city's First-Level State

¹⁷ Tomasz Jaworski and Rafał Szymczak, eds, *Atlas historyczny ziemi żarskiej* [*A Historical Atlas of the Żary Region*] (Zielona Góra 2013), 92.

¹⁸ Dorota Starosta, 'Johann Samuel Magnus (1678–1707) – kronikarz Ziemi Żarskiej' ['Johann Samuel Magnus (1678–1707) – A Chronicler of the Żary Region'], *Rocznik Lubuski*, XXVIII, I (2002), 212–215.

¹⁹ Neumeister also acted as godfather to the composer's daughter, Maria Wilhelmine Eleonore.

²⁰ Cf. Stanisław Alexandrowicz, 'Różne pojęcie historii regionalnej i możliwości jej uprawiania' ['Different Concepts of Regional Culture and Ways of Its Cultivation'], in *Region, regionalizm – pojęcia i rzeczywistość* [*Region and Regionalism: Concepts vs Reality*], Kwiryna Handke, ed. (Warszawa, 1993), 39–40, 43. This phenomenon also affected material culture: 'A great number of tombstones have been destroyed in Land Lebus following the war [World War II] under the false pretence that everything "German" ought to be annihilated. This was a huge mistake [...]' Michał Sczaniecki, Władysław Korcz, *Dzieje Ziemi Lubuskiej w wypisach* [*A Land Lebus History Reader*] (Warszawa, 1960), 106.

Music School after the composer. His restoration to local culture was symbolically inaugurated by a concert held in Żary by the 'Amadeus' Chamber Orchestra of Polish Radio under Agnieszka Duczmal on 4 December 1999. This was coupled with the premiere of the Orchestra's album titled *Georg Philipp Telemann in Żary* (1999), dedicated to the composer's music. Local publications from that time (in Polish) include the already mentioned *Żary in Old Postcards* (Żary 1998), *Żarskie legendy* [*Legends of Żary*] (1998),²¹ *Żary* (1996), and *Georg Philipp Telemann w Żarach* [*Georg Philipp Telemann in Żary*] (Żary, [1998]).

From the earliest years under the new political system, the municipal authorities were actively involved in the promotion of Telemann. This included incorporating him into the city's image and public space as the patron of a street,²² a 'Telemann bench' in the main square (with a sculpture of the composer playing the violin),²³ and a section (tab) 'Telemann in Żary' added to the city council's website (telemann.com.pl), whose heading announces: 'Żary – The City of Telemann'. The tab provides access to extensive materials on such subjects as 'Georg Philipp Telemann in Żary', 'Telemann and Neumeister', 'Telemann's Wedding in Żary', 'Georg Philipp Telemann as Court Kapellmeister in Żary', 'The Impact of Telemann's Work on Silesian Musicians and Composers', 'Telemann at the Promnitz Court in Żary', and 'A Virtual City Walk in the Footsteps of Georg Philipp Telemann'.

Telemann has also become part of the Biberstein castle renovation and adaptation project ('The Castle – International Centre of Culture and Traditions'). The Centre's cultural functions have been described as follows:

It is intended to focus in particular on the promotion of Georg Philipp Telemann's period of residence in Żary (1704–08), of his music compositions, as well as the cultivation of musical collaborations between Polish and German borderland schools, and with European cities in which Telemann lived. Two large rooms on the ground floor and first floor of the castle [...] will serve as venues for chamber music concerts, conferences, meetings, and exhibitions, dedicated mainly to Telemann. The Large Hall is to bear the name of G.Ph. Telemann. One of its antechambers will house a permanent exhibition and a small Telemann-dedicated library.²⁴

On 6 February 2023, the City of Żary signed a contract for a design study titled 'Adaptation of the Castle Ruins for a Centre of Culture and Traditions'.

To date, the city's authorities and institutions (primarily the Żary Cultural Centre) have carried out the following projects: signing an agreement with Magdeburg (the composer's home city), as well as organisation of events dedicated to Telemann's music, including a concert marking the tricentenary of his departure from Żary (2008), a staged reconstruction

²¹ In the Preface, Ireneusz Brzeziński writes: 'I am convinced that [the legends of Żary] will help build our sense of homeland (the Żary region) and belonging'. Ireneusz Brzeziński, ed. and coll., *Żarskie legendy* (Żary, 1998), 5.

²² Telemann Street is located in the western part of the city, in the so-called 'district of composers', where there are also streets bearing the names of Moniuszko, Chopin, Wieniawski, Kurpiński, Szymanowski, Nowowiejski, Paderewski, and Lutosławski.

²³ The bench with a sculpture of the composer (designed by Marek Szala and Kazimierz Polak) was unveiled in Żary's main square on 17 April 2010, to mark the 750th anniversary of the city's foundation.

²⁴ Cf. poster exhibition in Żary's main square titled 'Plan for the Castle's Adaptation', prepared by Ireneusz Brzeziński (2021).

of his wedding at the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Żary-Kunice (Germ. Kunzendorf, 2017), the first concert in the Promnitz palace courtyard held in contemporary times (2018), a staged tricentenary reconstruction of King Augustus II's visit to Żary (2019), a production in the palace courtyard of Telemann's opera *Pimpinone* (by Kraków Chamber Opera in 2019), as well as a concert cycle under the telling title 'Our Telemann', which affirms the local community's self-identification with this historical figure.

Another institution active in the area of promoting Telemann's music, the Georg Philipp Telemann First-Level State Music School, was formally named after the composer in 2000 (as the only school of this type in Poland), which connects the school's activity with this figure. The very act of choosing Telemann over another then proposed candidate, an eminent Polish composer not related in any way to this city or region, was a manifestation of awareness of Żary's local identity and of Telemann's importance for the local culture. Telemann's role as the school's patron thus became a major stepping stone towards building a local musical culture.

The school collaborates (since 2000) with the Konservatorium Georg Philipp Telemann Magdeburg, with which it signed a partnership (2005) for the promotion of Telemann and his music as well as joint artistic and educational projects. The Telemann Music School in Żary also co-organises a Telemann Festival, Polish-German Musical Camps, Polish-German Competitions for String and Flute Chamber Ensembles, workshops conducted by the Polish-German Chamber Orchestra, and annual 'Summer with Telemann' festivals. A Telemann museum is to be created. A number of activities related to this composer have also been undertaken by associations: Żarski Zamek (Żary Castle) and Region Łużyce (Lusatia Region).

Local culture-related entities are intensely involved in cultivating Telemann's presence in that culture. This has resulted in consistent and multifaceted activity that has already been part and parcel of the city's life for a quarter of a century. Telemann has thus become a major figure in local culture, and an element of the city's image and identity. His historical presence is reflected in contemporary urban space in many dimensions: material (the Telemann bench, a memorial plaque), symbolic (concerts of his music, spectacles, CD releases, the music school and street of his name), as well as research and publications (studies, promotional materials, popularising prints, lectures, online materials, and educational events).

Activities related to Telemann are thus numerous and wide-ranging. Has this led the city's inhabitants to identify with this figure? Has Żary indeed been established in their perception as 'the city of Telemann'? The subject of Telemann's recognisability among the local population was researched by Kornela Szczepańska in her MA thesis,²⁵ which offers us some insight into this matter. Conducted in February and March 2018 in the form of a questionnaire on a sample of sixty-four respondents, the study reveals that 44% of them could correctly identify Telemann as a composer, musician, conductor, or violinist; 75% knew that he was the patron of the local music school; the vast majority correctly defined his links to

²⁵ Kornela Szczepańska, 'Współczesny obraz G.Ph. Telemanna w środowiskach jego pobytów (Magdeburg-Żary-Pszczyna)' ['The Contemporary Image of G.Ph. Telemann in Places of His Residence (Magdeburg-Żary-Pszczyna)], MA thesis supervised by Prof. Rafał Ciesielski, PhD, Habil., Institute of Music, University of Zielona Góra, 2020.

the city (his stay in Żary, composing music and directing the court ensemble); 56% were able correctly to locate Telemann in the Baroque era; 61% saw Telemann as part and parcel of the city's culture. A smaller proportion of respondents attended concerts of Telemann's music held in Żary: 26% just once, though as many as 57% knew that such events were organised. This study shows, nevertheless, that the city's inhabitants recognise the figure of Georg Philipp Telemann and his place in local history, as well as his significance for the city, even if they attend concerts of his music rather more rarely.²⁶

Telemann's Żary as a Case Study of Attitudes to Local Cultural Heritage

Several issues related to Żary, its history and geopolitical position as related to Telemann's status and the contemporary functioning of culture can be brought up in the above-discussed context.

With regard to the relation between the city and the composer, it is related to the issue of local heritage versus national culture. Żary is situated in the overlap area between many different 'borderlands'. For this reason, its heritage is particularly complex and diverse from the ethnic, national, confessional, political, etc. perspectives.²⁷ Its heritage is unique as an amalgam of many cultural orientations of varied provenance, a specific combination of different traditions, whose interrelations and proportions define its separate, individual character.

On the other hand, the demographics and migrations to and from the so-called 'Regained Territories' must be taken into account. In 1945–1950 Żary was settled by various Polish-language groups, including people who had been doing forced labour in the Third Reich, migrants from various parts of the pre-war Polish state, mostly central and Greater Poland (12,836 persons) as well as the so-called 'returned expatriates' forced to leave their homeland (including from Czechoslovakia and Romania – 3,147 persons).²⁸ 598 others arrived from what was then the Soviet Union in 1956–1960. These groups were internally diversified as far as nationality and ethnicity are concerned (for instance, 3,5 thousand persons of Jewish

²⁶ For comparison, research in Magdeburg (an online survey conducted between December 2019 and April 2020) shows that 100% respondents know who Telemann was, correctly associate him with music, his professions, Magdeburg as his birthplace, and himself as the patron of the city's Conservatory. 87.5% attended concerts of Telemann's music. The same proportion of respondents saw the composer as a lasting element of the city's culture.

²⁷ Even a cursory glance at cultural influences, migrations, and state or cultural affiliations of Sorau / Żory and the region of Lusatia from the sixth century and the oldest archaeological finds onwards demonstrates the area's complex 'mosaic' character typical of borderlands (cf. Jaworski and Szymczak, *Atlas historyczny...*, 10, 47–112). Żary lies in the territories of the Slavic Dadošesani tribe, incorporated into Poland in 1018. The city was founded in 1260 with Magdeburg rights granted to it in the charter. Historically it was situated in the Silesian-Lusatian borderland between Polish, German, and Czech lands, and as such it belonged to local Silesian rulers from the Piast dynasty (till 1364), then the Czech kings (till 1635) Saxon electors (till 1815), later – Prussia, the German Empire, and the Third Reich (till 1945). The city's owners included the Dewin, Pack, Biberstein, and Promnitz families. The latter owned it from its purchase by Wrocław-Breslau bishop Baltazar von Promnitz in 1558 until 1765. Cf. Piotr Haracz, 'Ziemia żarska w średniowieczu' ['The Żary Region in the Middle Ages'], in *Atlas historyczny...*, 49.

²⁸ Hanna Kurowska, 'Ludność Żar' ['The Population of Żary'], in *Atlas historyczny...*, 136–139.

nationality arrived after 1945). There were 16,3 thousand inhabitants in 1950, 19,7 thousand in 1955, and 25,0 thousand in 1960. In conjunction with the migration data cited above, this reflects the scale of population replacement in the city.²⁹ This mixed community then began to integrate. Tomasz Jaworski writes: 'In the 1950s, there were still national and social distinctions [...] Later years brought the integration of all those settlers from various parts of Poland, which resulted in the emergence of the modern society of Eastern Lusatia.'³⁰ An experience common to all the newcomers was that of the area being completely foreign to them, also with respect to its local heritage. With social integration came a recognition and assimilation into the new reality. People began to grow roots, and successive generations established a growing sense of connection to the local area and its traditions.

This historical and continuing presence of varied traditions and orientations in the local community is essential to an understanding of local identity and must be taken into account whenever we discuss the current formula of local culture in the given period. It constitutes the very nature of that culture. By looking at it through the prism of localness as the key criterion for defining traditions and describing the contemporary profiling of local culture, we are able to approach that culture from a relatively autonomous perspective and take all of its products into account, regardless of their provenance or country affiliations. Local heritage does not 'notice' these affiliations, so to speak, since they polarise that heritage as a kind of centrifugal force capable of breaking the continuity of local culture. Local heritage and identity form, in a sense, outside and above big politics and largely independently from the latter. A strong local community drawing on its own heritage and willing to build its own identity to an extent necessary for its functioning can develop a partial immunity to the 'whirlwinds of history'. By adopting such an approach, we prevent a provisional treatment of local cultures, that is, attitudes depending on, and constantly redefined by, the changing political, ethnic, confessional, and social situation. Continuity is a crucial aspect of local culture. Many such cultures derive their character from the coexistence and interaction in their history of multiple and varied traditions. Once we focus on what is local, these traditions acquire primacy and their status therefore changes.

The diversity of local culture means that, from the perspective of specific national traditions, the individual ingredients of local heritage are (or may often be) mutually 'foreign' to one another. Thus, the figure of Telemann belongs to German culture and is as such foreign to Polish culture. Within the local culture however, he functions on a par with other elements as an integral part of its heritage. With reference to components of local cultures, it is in fact difficult to consider 'foreignness' or alienness as a category. All such ingredients are local and their own, which results from the very nature of such cultures, which in a way abolish and preclude the absolute supremacy and exclusive character of any single component (for

²⁹ Boleśław Poprawa, 'Rozwój miast i wzrost liczby ludności województwa zielonogórskiego w latach 1946–1968 i w najbliższej przyszłości' ['The Growth of Cities and Population in the Zielona Góra Province, 1946–68 and in the Nearest Future'], in *Ze studiów nad miejską siecią osadniczą województwa zielonogórskiego* [Studies on the Urban Settlement Network in the Zielona Góra Province], Lubuskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, XVI (2) (Zielona Góra, 1974), 18.

³⁰ Tomasz Jaworski, '1000 lat ziemi żarskiej' ['A Thousand Years of the Żary Region'], in *Atlas historyczny...*, 9.

instance, that of national culture and the state apparatus that supports it). Local culture, therefore, is (or should be) characterised by its 'extraterritorial' status with reference to national cultures, dominant denominations, and ethnic majorities. Elements of different cultures may thus coexist on an equal footing within a local culture as its integral parts. This is especially true of the given local culture's complex history resulting in its (naturally) multicultural character. The case of Telemann exemplifies both a strong sense of localness and a distance to historically rooted ideologies that marginalise the value and sense of local identity. The choice of Telemann as a patron for a street and a music school was accompanied by a debate. Doubts were expressed, and arguments related to local traditions clashed with the nationwide, Polish perspective. These decisions, taken in the late 1990s, reflect wider transformations in the Polish identity and attitudes to local culture.

The diversified local heritage present in contemporary local cultures can also be taken into account when discussing contemporary culture at large. Local culture mediates elements of that heritage. This is also true of music which, as an ingredient of local culture, becomes a part of contemporary (including mass) musical culture, frequently positioning itself (as in the case of Telemann) as an alternative to mass culture. In such instances, local culture becomes a kind of 'wormhole' through which elements of other cultures penetrate into general culture owing to their local presence. It is through the mediacy of local culture, of its heritage, that elements of other cultures can make a natural appearance in Polish culture. For example, a 'Telemann bench' is a natural presence in Żary, but there are no grounds for erecting one in Warsaw.

Telemann's contemporary presence in Żary is thus an example of a culture-forming approach to such instances, in which the local culture is enriched through the study and incorporation of the composer's links to the place into a 'new' inclusively conceived local identity. By this process, elements of supralocal (European and global) culture make their way into local cultural reality. Telemann's place in Żary's local culture depends, in fact, on a mutual relation: The universal makes its presence in the local and the local is incorporated into the universal. Telemann's music can be considered as representing European art. It also attains, to an extent, a universal dimension within that continental sphere. The presence of Polish folk music elements in his works is, conversely, a manifestation of localness on the universal level. This process is enhanced by the very nature of music as a medium characterised by an open (universal?) manner of perception, as well as a strong expressive, emotional, aesthetic interpretative, and performance-related potential. Music is a medium that can sublimate local elements.

Despite the numerous decisions and projects carried out in the last quarter of a century, the presence of Telemann and his music in Żary still appears to represent an open process with broad prospects for development, correlated most likely with that other process of the composer being rediscovered and reintegrated into contemporary European culture in its various areas such as concert programmes, music releases, and academic research.

Today's Żary, however, is already quite justified in identifying itself as 'the city of Telemann'. The process of incorporating him into current cultural practice and of reinforcing

his presence in the city's musical life as well as his recognition on the national and international scale could perhaps be facilitated by launching a project imitating the already well-tested festival formula: 'Telemann and His Europe'.

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Everyday Life Music

in the Setting of Galician Cracow

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In this article I have attempted to characterize one of the areas of popular musical culture of the 19th century, specific to both the central urban centers of Europe and provincial cities or resorts. The research subject is the situation of resounding and reception of music in open (*en plain air*) public urban spaces. I reconstruct this type of musical everyday life using the example of Galician Krakow in the period 1866-1918¹.

The key meaning of the term "musical everyday life" I used, referring to Piotr Sztompka's understanding of everyday life, is as follows: everyday life is "life with others, in the presence of others", located in a specific space that "determines its character and content", it is the totality of "social events, i.e. the actions of many people towards each other, in relation to others, within the framework of a certain situation common to those acting"². By using the term everyday life, I also wanted to emphasize that the situations of contact with and experience of music I am considering are commonplace and universal (not only associated with elite circles), and are not exclusively festive (associated with the institution of the concert typical of autonomous music, classical music - the form, place and time of the concert), and are linked to various social practices. Traversing Raymond Williams' statement³, which is emblematic of his concept of culture, we can say that this musical everydayness is ordinary. The spaces I am interested in are the public open airs of Galician Krakow and its immediate suburbs of the time. Cultural practices involving music include its practicing (playing, singing, composing), receiving/experiencing (intentional and involuntary perception and reception), and organizing (institutional and spontaneous) the public occurrence of music.

The purpose of my article is to create the first source-documented outline in the literature of a map of the musical everyday life of the inhabitants of Galician Cracow; to systematize social events involving music, related musical practices performed in distinguished types of open air; to identify the participants in these social relational forms of activity, and to indicate what kind of borderlands determine the various aspects of these practices, or are their results. The article contains examples of events and practices, and is not a description of them pretending to be complete in synchronic and diachronic terms. The main perspective from which I consider the characterized phenomena is appropriate for a musicological view of the history of musical culture, close to its approach within cultural studies.

¹ Galicia/Galicia is a historical and geographic region spanning what is now southeastern Poland and western Ukraine. From 1873-1918 Galicia *de facto* was an autonomous province of Austro-Hungary with Polish and, to a lesser degree, Ukrainian or Ruthenian, as official languages. Krakow became part of Austrian Galicia from 1846 to 1918. The development of Krakow has been taking place since the turn of 1866/1867. The area of the city has expanded from 5.77 square kilometers (VIII districts) in 1867 to 46, 90 square kilometers (XXII districts) in 1915, its population has increased from 55,000 (including the army) in 1869 to 198,600 in 1915. Cited after Jan M. Małecki, *In the Era of Galician Autonomy (1866-1918)*, in Janina Bieniarzówna, Jan. M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w latach 1796-1918*, 3rd edition, Kraków-Wrocław 1985, pp. 240, 315, 361.

² Piotr Sztompka, *Everyday life - the subject of recent sociology*, in *Sociology of Everyday Life*, edited by Piotr Sztompka, Małgorzata Bogunia-Borowska, Kraków 2008, pp. 24-25.

³ Raymond Williams, *Culture is Ordinary* (1958), in idem, *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism*, London-New York 1989, p. 4.

Krakow's open air resounding with music: on the border of neighborhoods and suburbs in good weather

The open-air spaces of the city of Krakow between 1866 and 1918, which were spaces for cultural practices involving music, were of three types. I propose to refer to them as open-air: green, white, paved. The green open air are public parks (including the so-called Planty) and other green areas located in various districts of Krakow and its suburbs, commonly accessible places for walking, meeting, playing; they are spheres of rest, recreation. These are public parks that functioned here as early as the 1920s and 1930s (Planty), and were established until the mid-1990s (Park on Krzemionki Podgórskie). Associated with musical practices were the following parks: Strzelecki Garden, Łobzów Garden, Jordan Park, Krakow Park, Park on Podgórskie Krzemionki, Planty (around the Old Town) and the so-called Dietl Planty (on the site of the buried bed of the Old Vistula River). Other green areas analogous in terms of function and relationship to music include Błonia and the horse racing track operating (1891-1914) near it, the Vistula riverfront in its bend near Wawel, Panieńskie Rocks, Zakrzówek, Bielany. A separate type of open-air spaces were green and flowered outdoor dining areas. These included the premises on Zwierzyniecka Street on the Planty side, run by the well-known Krakow restaurateur Józef Tylko, which functioned under changing names: Ogród pod Kopcem Kościuszki, Dolina Szwajcarska, Ogród Gościnny "pod Kopcem Kościuszki"; the garden at Józef Masny's restaurant in Wola Justowska, in turn, in Dębniaki the Venetian Garden run by Emanuel Tilles, and in Park Jordania the summer Dairy of Ewelina Dobrzyńska, as well as the garden in the inner courtyard of the Hotel Europejski (next to the railroad station), used by the Kasyno Powszechne and later Resursa Urzędnicza⁴, which had its seat there. In the aforementioned open-air green spaces, musical or music-related events were held from about April 20-25 to about October 15-20.

The white plein-air associated with music is, like the green plein-air, public places of rest and amusement, urban areas of physical recreation in winter - natural ice slides intended for skating, a sport spreading more and more intensively in Cracow especially after the establishment of the Cracow Skating Society in 1869. Skating rinks, managed by this organization or by private individuals, were arranged on Krakow's ponds, which were numerous at the time. Since the 1870s, these included slides on: Zwierzyniecki Pond (now Plac na Groblach), in the Macewicz Garden (former Kremer's Garden) on Lobzowska Street (now the grounds of the Monastery of the Discalced Carmelites), in the Potocki Garden on

⁴ In this and the following footnotes, which also deal with events with music in other types of open-air venues, when referring to a newspaper source, I give the title of the newspaper, the year and its subsequent number. I omit (in addition to the description of quotations) the page number, because concert announcements or short reports were usually included in the regular newspaper columns entitled *Konika*, *Local and Foreign Chronicle* (and the like), which were usually on pages 3 through 6. See: "Czas" [hereafter spelled CZ] 1869, no. 100; 1870, nos. 127 and 128; 1877, nos. 198, 200, 204; 1883, no. 105; 1888, no. 128; 1910, no. 285; "Nowa Reforma" [hereafter spelled NR] 1886, nos. 123, 126, 137; "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny" [hereafter spelled IKC] 1911, no. 103. Also: *XIII. Annual Report of the Society Przyj. Krakowska Muzyki "Harmonia" for the year 1904*, Krakow 1905, pp. 5-6; *Address Book of Krakow and Podgórze. Year 1905*, ed. by Józef Knapik, Stefan Mikulski, Cracow 1904, p. XXVIII and p. 505.

Olsza (now the so-called Old Olsza, on Sokolowski Street), the ponds on Karmelicka Street vis-à-vis the St. Joseph's Institution for Orphaned Boys (66 Karmelicka Street) and next to the Botanical Garden of the Jagiellonian University on Kopernika Street. In 1889, a slide was opened on the pond in Krakowski Park, and in December 1893 Jan Mika began administering a new slide at the so-called Zwierzyński Palace, or Hunter's Mansion, on Kosciuszko Street. On the former field of the "Sokol" Gymnastic Society on Wolska Street (today Pilsudski Street), a slide was opened in January 1896, and in the nearby vicinity, on the so-called Officer's Ponds behind the Wolska turnpike (corner of today's Pilsudski Street and Mickiewicz Avenue), a military slide was established in late 1896/1897. In the open-air white music resounded from about mid-December to about mid-March.

Cobblestone plein-air is the city's squares and streets, with a regular (weekly or, moreover, designated by national, national, religious or other holidays) year-round presence of music primarily in the Main Square, on the streets diverging from it and on the road leading to Wawel, occasionally at the railroad station and in other squares (e.g. Szczepanski, Matejki). In addition, there were courtyards, including St. Jack's Gymnasium, and occasionally Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University.

In each of the aforementioned open-air venues of Cracow, it is possible to identify places specifically designated for music performance or others that were privileged in exceptional circumstances. In the Planty, concerts were given around flower beds, in so-called circles, e.g. near the railroad station, in a small hollow like a basin, around a flower bed with a poplar tree opposite St. Norbert's Church (corner of Wislna Street and the Planty), or near the starosty building (near the Barbican)⁵. Occasional music also resounded in other places, including at the so-called Liberty Tree⁶, monuments to Lilia Weneda, Harfiaz (the so-called Bojan), Tadeusz Rejtan, Artur Grottger, Fryderyk Chopin and others.⁷

In addition, in Cracow, as in other European cities, a kind of open-air quasi-concert halls were created, partly architecturally open, erected in recreational or exhibition areas. These were elevated (like a stage) gazebos for the orchestra, round or polygonal, with a roof and decorative balustrades, allowing listeners (sitting, standing or strolling or just passing by) to see the musicians playing and hear the music better. These so-called music kiosks (also called music pavilions or gazebos) were built in cities and spa resorts, in public parks and in city squares in Europe with increasing intensity from the mid-19th century, which was related to ideological and political-cultural demands for the democratization of social life in the sphere of culture, including music, its genres, forms of its cultivation and diffusion, and in the

⁵ Among others, CZ 1901, numbers 103, 129; 1911, no. 189; 1913, no. 246; NR 1911, no. 189; 1914 no. 249; IKC 1911, no. 90; Franciszek Klein, *Planty Krakowskie*, Krakow 1914, pp. 19-20, 81.

⁶ Among others, NR 1891, No. 153. "Liberty Tree" (elm) was planted in Planty, near the exit of Szpitalna Street, on May 3, 1792, and cut down by the Germans during the Second War. See photos in: Franciszek Klein, op. cit. p. 9; *National Digital Archive*, <https://audiovis.nac.gov.pl>, refs: 1-U-3044-1, 1-U-3044-2, 1-U-3044-3.

⁷ Among others, NR 1888, no. 105; 1910, no. 85; CZ 1891, no. 105; 1901, no. 90; "Głos Narodu" [hereafter transcribed as GN] 1903, no. 134. The granite pedestal with Chopin's bust, dismantled in 1931, stood next to the church of the Reformed Fathers, on the side of the Planty (at the exit of St. Thomas Street). See photo of Chopin monument from October 1926 in: *National Digital Archive*, <https://audiovis.nac.gov.pl>, reference: 1-U-3014a.

case of spas, furthermore motivated by increasing tourist traffic during the summer⁸. In Krakow, as early as 1837-1838, an attempt was made to erect a music gazebo in the Planty, near St. Spirit Square⁹, which was built in the 1860s (reconstructed in the 1890s) (on the side of Panieńska Street, today Skłodowska-Curie Street) and served as a concert venue for orchestras, especially military orchestras, until the Great War¹⁰. Analogous structures also existed, among others, in Krakowski Park, in the Rifleman's Garden, where, in order to improve the conditions for the presentation and reception of music, a new "tribune" for the orchestra was erected in 1871 - larger and more ornate¹¹. Even at the public slide on the pond in the Potocki Garden in January 1883, where the city orchestra under Adam Vronsky was playing at the time, "the kiosk for the orchestra, instead of on the opposite bank of the pond, was built in the middle of the pond on an islet, so that the music can be heard better from all points."¹². On the other hand, a gazebo was built for the orchestra at St. Jack's Gymnasium, where a brass and string orchestra had existed since 1899, and since 1900 had given concerts twice a week during the longest break in the schoolyard, in 1909. Temporary stages for orchestras and/or choral ensembles were built in squares and streets on special occasions.

The open-air, but roofed, rooms for the concert orchestra were built in Krakow on the occasion of exhibitions held in the city. An octagonal decorative music pavilion with the so-called inverted roof (because for acoustic reasons with the order of insulation layers reversed), made by Józef Górecki's art and carpentry company from Cracow, was erected in 1904 on the square of the National Exhibition of the Metal Industry (August 21 - October 2), located in the so-called Dietlowski Planty, between Starowislna Street and Wielopole Street¹³. The "Harmonia" orchestra gave concerts in the pavilion. Of great importance for the enlarged city of Cracow in 1909-1911 was the Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in a garden setting, lasting from June 4 to October 8, 1912, in the area between Błonia and Jordan

⁸ In the first half of the 19th century, orchestra stands and music kiosks were erected in gardens and private parks in the cities of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Outside it, in France, for example, some 4,000 music kiosks were erected between 1850 and 1914. The first was built in Metz in 1852, a garrison town at the time, others in, among others: Saint-Malo (1883), Grenoble (1884), Lyon (1885), Bordeaux (1889). Cited according to Marie-Claire Mussat, *Kiosque à la musique et urbanisme. Les enjeux d'une autre scène*, in *Le concert et son public. Mutation de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit, Michael Werner, Paris 2002, pp. 317-331. Cf. Philippe Gumpłowicz, *Les travaux d'orphée. 150 ans de vie musicale amateurs en France: harmonies, chorales, fanfares*, Paris 1987, especially pp. 76-151; Peter Stachel, Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, "Kur und Sommerfrische," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, Wien 2004, vol. 3, p. 1202, online: <http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml?frames=yes> accessed 2016. 07. 30.

⁹ Based on archival administrative documents of the city of Cracow, these efforts are referred to in Jolanta Wąsacz-Krztoń, *People and Music in Cracow in the First Half of the 19th Century*, Rzeszów 2009, pp. 196-197.

¹⁰ Among others, Maria Estreicherówna, *Życie towarzyskie i obyczajowe Krakowa w latach 1848-63*, Kraków 1936, pp. 105-106; Franciszek Klein, op. cit. pp. 16, 44-45, 90-91.

¹¹ CZ 1871, nos. 120 and 122.

¹² CZ 1883, no. 5, p. 2.

¹³ *Metal Exhibition in Cracow*, "Naprzód" 1904, no. 232; *Przechadzka po wystawie metalowej*, GN 1904, no. 234 (24 VIII), p. 5; Stanisław Sierakowski, *Because of the Exhibition of the Metal Industry in Cracow in 1904*, "Przegląd Techniczny" 1904, no. 52, p. 710.

Park¹⁴. The concert shell, designed by Józef Czajkowski, described in the exhibition catalog and on its site plan as a "kiosk for music," was built on the main square, in the southern part of the exhibition, where the main pavilion and the summer theater building, restaurant and café, and light fountain were located¹⁵. The orchestra of the 1st Infantry Regiment of the c. k. Austro-Hungarian Army played regularly in the shell¹⁶. In addition, the "Lute" choir gave concerts on some days, while the Academic Choir performed in the shell during the antecedents of stopovers held in the exhibition theater building¹⁷.

The holding of open-air concerts (except for the musical wake-up calls of military orchestras) depended on "favorable weather." Thus, for example, bad weather caused the postponement of the first concert of the spring-summer season in the Rifleman's Garden in 1874 from April 26 to May 8, and even then it was happy that a large audience was present in spite of the cold, while during the June heat of, for example, 1886, the "pleasant coolness" prevailing in the park was an undeniable advantage of this place favored by Cracovians for walks¹⁸. Sometimes during an event and concert the weather was surprising, e.g. at the charity concert of the orchestras of the 13th IR and "Harmony" in Jordan Park, postponed for just such a reason from May 11 to 17, 1903, despite the uncertain weather there was a large audience, but the concert ended in a storm and heavy rain¹⁹.

The functioning of the natural slides, which depended on the height of the sub-zero temperatures and snowfall, obviously also conditioned the presence of orchestras (mainly military, see Tables 1 and 2) making both the skaters and their numerous observers more enjoyable. For the latter, there were benches set up, and in addition - for example, in the Potocki Garden in 1883 - mats spread underfoot, and in 1894 the placement of benches on a hill at the then largest skating rink on Zwierzyniecka Street, where the "Harmony" orchestra played²⁰. In connection with concerts on the slides, the press reported the air temperature, the thickness of the ice and the degree of its smoothness, the hours of the orchestra's performance, and gave information on how to light the slide in the evening. On the pond near the Botanical Garden, for example, evening slides with music and lighting were introduced starting in January 1885, so that that part of the public "who, as a result of daytime activities, are deprived of this healthy and pleasant entertainment, can enjoy it at leisure. Buffet heated,

¹⁴ Maria Zientara, *Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in a Garden Setting in Cracow in 1912*, "Krzysztofory. Scientific Journals of the Historical Museum of the City of Cracow," 1991, no. 18, p. 100. The author presents the objectives, role and significance of the exhibition, its sections and exhibits, while the artistic program presented during the exhibition is not the subject of her consideration.

¹⁵ *Catalog of the Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in the Garden Surroundings under Jordan Park in Cracow: June-October 1912*, Cracow [1912], pp. 13, 38. See photograph of the main square with the concert shell in the album *Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in the Garden Surroundings in Cracow MCMXII. 30 engravings*, Kraków 1912.

¹⁶ I continue to use the abbreviation pp. when referring to these units of the c. k. army.

¹⁷ Among others, *From an Architectural Exhibition*, NR 1912, No. 258; *Opening of an Architectural Exhibition*, CZ 1912, Nos. 256, 258, 260, 270, 307, 402, 470; IKC 1912, Nos. 131, 223; GN 1912, No. 134; *From an Architectural Exhibition in Cracow*, "Nowości Ilustrowane" 1912, No. 26.

¹⁸ CZ 1874, numbers 94, 105, 106; cf. CZ 1883, numbers 99, 100, 102, 103; NR 1886, no. 126.

¹⁹ CZ 1903, no. 112.

²⁰ CZ 1883, No. 5; Jan Mika, *First giant slide*, GN 1894, No. 1; NR 1894, No. 1; GN 1894, Nos. 3 and 12.

dressing room, skates, toboggans and merry-go-round at the site of the slide."²¹ . This type of facilitation undoubtedly promoted the development of this skating rink run by the Cracow Skating Society, for in December 1893 "the music was savagely playing" already three times a week, and the good attendance testified - as was written in the "Voice of the Nation" - that, "whoever wants can experience real pleasure in the open air in winter as well."²²

Outdoor music performers: professionals and amateurs, military and civilians

The performers of music in the aforementioned open-air venues were, as was part of the peculiarity of garrison cities such as Cracow at the time, military orchestras of various infantry regiments, most of which also had a section of stringed instruments. In cobbled-together open-air venues, they were more likely to perform exclusively with wind instruments than elsewhere. The tradition of their performances - and, earlier, that of the orchestra of the Militia of the Free City of Cracow - in the Main Square and Planty dates back to the 1820s and 1830s. In the Rifleman's Garden, concerts of military orchestras began in 1852. However, it is often difficult to determine the orchestra of which regiment played, for example, the 1st or 3rd of May concert in the streets adjacent to the Main Square, or the capstone in the Market Square on the eve or birthday (August 18) of Emperor Franz Joseph I (e.g. 1884, 1898, 1904, 1917). We do not have similar knowledge for most concerts next to the Town Hall (e.g., 1891) or in front of the Spiš Palace (e.g., December 1911, January-April 1912), from 12:00 to 13:00 on Sundays and holidays (even in winter). The same is true of orchestras accompanying Sunday (sometimes Saturday) or holiday slide parties. Sometimes, also in connection with concerts in parks, it was reported only that a military orchestra or orchestras were playing, without mentioning their names. This lack of such data sometimes applies to the Plants, where, except in August, only military orchestras regularly gave concerts (including 1875, 1877, 1892, 1894). This was not the rule, however, as military authorities in some years provided residents with a precise schedule of concerts in the Planty and selected parks through the press, e.g.:

- October 1884, 13:30-17:00, opposite Walery Rzewuski's Photo Factory (gazebo at the exit of Panienska Street), orchestras: 13th pp. - 3, 17 and 31 X; 20. pp. - 6 and 20 X; 57th pp. - 13 and 27 X²³ ;
- May and June 1901, 17:00-18:30, opposite Janikowski Café (gazebo at the exit of Panienska Street) orchestras: 20th pp. - 10 V, 14 VI, 28 VI, 56th pp. - 17 V, 31 V, 13. pp. - 24 V; flower bed opposite St. Norbert's Church orchestras: 56th pp. - 7 V, 25 VI, 13. pp. - 14 V, 18 VI, 20. pp. - 21 V, 100th pp. - 28 V, 11 VI; Park on Krzemionki orchestras: 100th pp. -15 V, 12 VI²⁴ ;

²¹ NR 1885, no. 22, p. 3.

²² GN 1893, no. 11, p. 8.

²³ CZ 1884, no. 224.

²⁴ CZ 1901, No. 103 and 129. In this article I use the unified name of St. Norbert's Church, which had been a Greek Catholic parish church since 1808, in 1947 it was transferred to the Salesian Fathers, and since 1998 it was restored to the Greek Catholics.

- May 1911, 17:30-18:30 or 18:00-19:00, orchestras of infantry regiments Nos: 13, 20, 56, 93, 100; opposite Janikowski's Café - 5 V, 19 V, 26 V, "circle" in front of the starosty building - 3 V, 17 V, 24 V, 31 V; next to E. Dobrzanska's dairy - E. Dobrzanska's dairy in Planty near the Bishop's Palace - 8 V, 22 V, 29 V; Park in Krzemionki - 9 V; Garden in Lobzow/Cadet School - 25 V²⁵;
- July and August 1914, opposite Sauer's Café (former Janikowski's) orchestras: 1st pp. - 6 VII, 20. pp. - 27 VII, 56th pp. - 6 VIII, 100th pp. - 17 VIII; the flower bed opposite St. Norbert's Church orchestras: 56th pp. - 16 VII, 93rd pp. - 10 VIII, 20 VIII; the "circle" in front of the orchestra's district office building: 20th pp. - 2 VII, 3 VIII, 100th pp. - 23 VII, 1. pp. - 13 VIII; Garden in Lobzów orchestra of 93rd pp. - 9 VII²⁶.

Much more data relates to military orchestras and civilian orchestras occurring in other parks, occasionally at slides. In order to give an idea of the multiplicity of these ensembles and their Kapellmeisters, and at the same time to determine, as it were, the musical location of these orchestras in the aforementioned open-air venues in Cracow (in chronological order), I am making a tabular overview containing examples from the years in which military orchestras (Table 1) and civilian musical ensembles (Table 2) gave concerts in a given place.²⁷

Table 1. Military orchestras performing in the open air in Krakow (examples)

No. pp.	Name bandmaster	OS	OŁ	P	PK	PJ	PP	Cobble
67	Leopold KOHOUT	1867-1871						
20	Gotthard SCHINDELAR Josef MALEČEK	1867 1872 1873 1884		1884 1901 1911-1914	1886-1888 1891 1892 1901		1897	
56	Josef LANGER Josef MAREK	1867 1874-1880 1883 1884 1886		1901 1904 1911-1914	1886 1890-1892 1901 1914	1899 1904 1906	1896	1893 1912
13	Heinrich BURESCH John Nepomucen HOCK	1877 1883-1893		1883-1884 1901 1911 1912	1886-1887 1888 1892 1894	1892 1895 1897 1899		1879

²⁵ NR 1911, no. 189; IKC 1911, no. 90.

²⁶ NR 1914, nos. 249 and 295; cf. CZ 1913, no. 242 (schedule of concerts in June).

²⁷ I have standardized the spelling and correct form of the names of *Kapellmeisters* according to *Verzeichnis der Militärkapellmeister de K.u.K. Armee bis 1918*, <http://www.oesterreichische-militaermusik.com/MilMusik/Geschichte/KuK%20MilKapmeister/KuK%20MilKapMeister.html> accessed 2016. 05.05. and *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, Wien 2004. The abbreviations used in the tables mean: OS - Sagittarius Garden, OŁ - Lobzowski Garden, P - Planty, PK - Krakow Park, PJ - Jordan Park, pavement - squares and streets, ¶ - slide.

	Franz KONOPASEK				1895 1900	1903 1906		
40	Michael ZIMMERMANN Edmund PATZKE	1877 1880 1881 1882						
60	Gustav MAHR	1882						
57	Anton AMBROŽ Emanuel GEROWNITZKI	1884 1886 1887 1891-1893		1884	1888			1893 1894
100	Edmund PATZKE Engelbert SITTER			1901 1911-1914	1914	1906	1901	1894 1900
1	Franz BÉM ?			1911-1914		1912		
93	Jakob JAROSCH		1911-1914					
4	Anton KLEMM ?				1918			

Table 2. Civilian musical ensembles performing in the open air in Krakow (examples)

Name orchestra or choir	Conductor/ Guardian	OS	P	PK	PJ	PP	paving
Salinarna from Wieliczka	Joseph KUCZERA	1866 1888 1890		1897 1900	1901		1890 1893 1894 1898 1900
Urban cracow	Adam WROŃSKI Stanisław CZYŻOWSKI	1884					1883 1912
Salinarna of Bochnia	Anthony LANGER	1888					1900
"Harmony" from Lviv	Moritz FALL	1890					1890
"Harmony" from Cracow	Vladislav ONDRACZEK Stanisław CZYŻOWSKI Jan GÓRSKI Adam WROŃSKI		1891 1893 1900 1901 1904	1896	1892 1893 1895-1912	1899	1891 1892-1896 1898 1899 1900 1903-1906
Veterans	Joseph				1904		1897

	NIKIEL				1915		1900
Mandolinists	Gregory SENOWSKI				1906 1917		
Handymen	Joseph NIKIEL				1914 1917		1912 1914
Choir "Lutnia" Krakow	Adolf STEIBELT Anthony ISAKOWICZ	1890-1893		1895	1892 1904 1912 1913		1890 1893 1900 1912
Academic Choir Krakow	Victor BARABASZ Boleslaw WALLEK- WALEWSKI	1880-1882 1890	1903 1910	1886 1888	1899 1904 1910 1912		1890 1898 1900 1903 1907 1910 1912
Printers' Choir and Lithographers "Campfire."		1890		1888			1890 1893 1894
Proprietary Choir from Biezanow				1886	1901		1893
Sokol" Choir Krakow		1890		1888			1890 1894
Choir Societies Musical	Victor BARABASZ		1903	1888 1895	1895		1890 1893 1894 1898

Of the orchestras composed of students, the orchestras of St. Jack's Gymnasium (since 1899) and the Third Gymnasium (reorganized in 1907) were active in the city²⁸. The former was founded by a teacher of this gymnasium, Włodzimierz Jarosz, with the help of Ignacy Schaitter, a medical doctor and an activist of the "Harmonia" Society, and was later led by, among others, Ferdinand Stricker of the 13th pp, Franciszek Kammler of the 56th pp, Julian Petri of the 100th pp and Jan Tesařík²⁹. In turn, the orchestra of St. Anne's Gymnasium sometimes played a wake along with the "Harmonia" Orchestra³⁰. Several gymnasium bands and the orchestra of the Handicraftsmen's Youth Union participated, for example, in the Skargansky celebrations (September 27, 1912), in a procession from St. Peter and Paul's

²⁸ *Twenty-fourth report of the Dyrekcyi c. k. Gimnazyum III, in Cracow for the school year 1907, Cracow 1907, pp. 83-84; ... for the school year 1909, Cracow 1909, pp. 69-70; ... for the school year 1913/1914, Cracow 1914, p. 83; ... for the school year 1915/1916, Cracow 1916, p. 47.*

²⁹ *Report of the Director of the C. K. Gimnazyum St. Jacek in Cracow for the school year 1899, Cracow 1899, p. 82; ... for the school year 1901, Cracow 1901, p. 48; ... for the school year 1904, Cracow 1904, p. 64; ... for the school year 1905, Cracow 1905, p. 82; ... for the school year 1910, Cracow 1910, p. 74; ... for the school year 1911, Cracow 1911, p. 106.*

³⁰ *Jozef Czech's Krakow Calendar for 1905, Krakow 1905, p. 92.*

Church on Grodzka Street, through Market Square, St. Mary's Square, Little Market Square to 5 Sienna Street, in front of the house of the Archbrotherhood of Mercy³¹. In a different setting and in different circumstances, in the then suburbs of Cracow, in Wola Justowska in the garden next to Józef Masny's Restaurant, were played in 1910 and 1911 by, among others, the Veterans Orchestra under the direction of Józef Nickel and the orchestra of the 56th pp.

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Among the unusual performers appearing in the parks was a gypsy orchestra that played "close to midnight" for the first time in Krakow Park on August 15, 1897, and which was traveled especially to Hungary by the park's lessee and also its founder (1887) Stanislaw Rehman³³. Another gypsy band appeared in Krakow in 1913, and in the concert shell in the area after the exhibition of architecture, in the so-called Oleandry Park, there were demonstrations of dances, but the biggest attraction became the Negro who came with this band, who from May 17 sang here accompanied by a military orchestra³⁴. It should be noted, however, that this was not the first appearance of a black musician in Cracow, for already on September 10, 1879, tenor Borgel - as the "African" was written - performed in the Sagittarius Garden with the accompaniment of the 56th pp. orchestra. With a "strong and clear" voice he sang songs in German and English, which the audience liked very much so they demanded encores³⁵.

The organizers of open-air concerts and events involving music outside the military administration of the c. k. army were civilian institutions, including the Rifleman's Society, the Music Society, the "Lutnia" Singing Society, the Academic Choir, the "Harmonia" Society of Friends of Cracow Music, the "Sokol" Gymnastic Society, the Artistic and Literary Circle, and ad hoc committees for national and patriotic ceremonies or temporary exhibitions. In a great many cases, however, the organizers are unknown, while it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that regular concerts usually took place on Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday and holidays in Krakow Park (4:00 pm, sometimes 3:00 or 2:00 pm); on Wednesdays, Sundays and holidays in the Sagittarius Garden (4:00 pm. 16:00), on Sundays, sometimes on Saturdays in Jordan Park (at 16:00 or 15:00, occasionally at 14:00 or 17:00) given by military or civilian orchestras, were contracted annually by the park or slide lessee/manager in effect in a given year.

A symptomatic manifestation of the fondness that the citizens of Krakow had for military orchestras, resulting, of course, not only from their performances in the open air, but also in other types of concerts, was the fact that, for example, the farewell of the orchestra of the 67th pp. before the departure of this regiment to its conscription district in Hungary, took place precisely at a summer concert in the Rifleman's Garden, August 17, 1871³⁶. On the

³¹ *Skargowski's celebration*, CZ 1912, no. 443; *Memoirs of the Skargowski's Meeting in Cracow on September 25 and 26, 1912*, materials collected and with introductions by Rev. J. Pawelski T.J., Cracow 1912, p. 195.

³² *From Associations*, CZ 1910, no. 285; *Garden Party*, IKC 1911, no. 103.

³³ NR 1897, nos. 184 and 185.

³⁴ *From "Oleandrów"*, NR 1914, No. 224.

³⁵ CZ 1879, Nos. 207 and 209.

³⁶ CZ 1871, nos. 186 and 190.

other hand, the favorite regiment of the so-called "children of Krakow" and its orchestra of the 13th pp. and its Kapellmeister Jan Nepomucen Hock, on the day of their definitive departure from Krakow to Opava, March 5, 1912, in the station square and on the platform outside a large spread of Krakow citizens, the orchestra of the 56th pp. bid farewell by playing.³⁷

Types of outdoor events with music and their musical program: from aesthetic contemplation to carefree fun, on the borderline between classical and popular repertoire

The inclusion of concerts of various types in the daily cultural practices of the residents of the Krakow Fortress and, at the same time, in the "natural" audiosphere of the city's open air was due to a number of reasons, including administrative-military and ideological-political ones in the then provincial (compared to Lviv and Vienna) city of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; self-government-social ones linked to the goals of the activities of musical institutions and other associations, including ideas and activities aimed at popularizing and making the fine arts available to various social circles. In the second half of the nineteenth century, ideological-social motivations were reinforced by increasingly promoted patterns of healthy lifestyles, involving "social" outdoor recreation and sports in public spaces, in settings appropriately arranged by, among other things, the introduction of regular and occasional performances by musical ensembles and other artists. The obvious and "noble" models for the form and content of the presentation of music in the urban open air were classical music concerts held in halls, during the autumn-winter and early spring seasons, organized mainly by specialized musical or art-social institutions. In turn, musical settings of state, patriotic-national or religious ceremonies, which have an ancient tradition, served to honor and elevate the given holiday and social integration, creating a sense of community especially in a nation without a state. As is well known, in the 19th century it was in Krakow, which served the symbolic function of Poland's spiritual capital, that historical anniversaries were cherished and celebrated "with pomp."

These extra-artistic and extra-aesthetic aspects should be taken into account when considering the phenomenon of music functioning in the open air of Galician Krakow and proposing a typology of social events with its participation taking place there. In my opinion, it is possible to distinguish 6 main types of outdoor events with the participation of music: 1. Outdoor autonomous concerts, i.e. not serving other practices, not being part of other

³⁷ CZ 1912, nos. 105 and 106. The designation of the 13th pp. as "children of Cracow" was a consequence of the fact that the main region for the recruitment of soldiers was Cracow and its surroundings, which resulted in the fact that before the outbreak of the First War Poles constituted 82% in it, and, for example, in 1895 the percentage of Polish-speaking soldiers of this regiment was 98%, while in 1910 it was 84%. Cited according to *Infanterie-Regimenter 1 - 102 as at July 1914*, <http://www.austro-hungarian-army.co.uk/nationality.htm> [accessed 2016.10.06.]; Michal Baczkowski, *Under the Red-Yellow Banners. Galicia and its inhabitants vis-à-vis Austro-Hungarian military structures 1868-1914*, Cracow 2003, pp. 72-73.

events³⁸, including the so-called popular concerts; 2. outdoor concerts that make a visit to a park and a stroll more pleasant (or music accompanying a trip to the close suburbs), including the so-called Monstrekonzerzte, as well as music that makes skating or dance shows more pleasant; 3. outdoor multimedia events - festivals, raffles for prizes, dance parties, gymnastic shows, etc.; 4. outdoor commemorative ceremonies - state, patriotic-national, religious, related to local traditions; 5. so-called Platzmusik - wake-up calls, capstones, serenades, concerts of military orchestras in squares and streets; 6. outdoor Tafelmusik, whose repertoire in the form of the works mentioned in the title is not known, is music usually played daily in outdoor summer dining establishments or special concerts of "light" music organized there by various associations.³⁹

Open-air autonomous concerts were not held as often as others. They were primarily in-house concerts of Krakow's musical institutions. Held in the Shooting Garden, they usually began at 6 p.m. (rather than at 4 p.m. like other regular concerts in the parks), and had an elaborate program that avoided repertoire classified as popular (such as arrangements of opera and operetta melodies or folk and national songs), instead introducing symphonic and choral-instrumental works, relatively with a predominance of the latter. Concerts of this type were not accompanied by other attractions, and the fireworks burning, fashionable at the time, did not interfere with the course of the concert, as it took place after the end of the concert, and belonged to the established customs in the parks.

Examples of outdoor autonomous concerts include those organized by the Music Society in the Sagittarius Garden on July 1, 1880 with the orchestras of the 40th and 56th pp. and the first public performance of the Academic Choir, on June 27 and September 9, 1882, and on June 9, 1883 performed by the TM men's choir and the orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp.⁴⁰. Later, the Academic Choir independently organized its concerts, e.g. in Krakow Park on June 3, 1886 with the orchestra of the 13th pp. and on June 27 with the 20th pp. or in Jordan Park on June 10, 1899 with the orchestra of the 56th pp.⁴¹. Here are the programs of the first two of these concerts:

Sagittarius Garden, July 1, 1880, Thursday, 6:00 pm (from 2:00 to 6:00 pm music accompanying the walk performed by military orchestras), organizer Music Society, director

³⁸ Cf. the treatment of the phenomenon of the classical music concert from a historical and aesthetic perspective, e.g., Hanns-Werner Heister, "Konzertwesen, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed. op. by Ludwig Finscher, *Sachteil*, vol. 5, Kassel 1996, pp 686-710.

³⁹ The name Monstrekoncert referred to a concert performed by a large number of ensembles, in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in particular by several military orchestras, playing together and in turn by each of them. The name Platzmusik refers to the concerts given in town squares by military orchestras (or in resorts by so-called "spa" orchestras) and by the morning wake-up calls played by them, as part of their official duty, in squares and streets, or evening or afternoon capstrations in town squares (especially in garrison towns). See Hanns-Werner Heister, "Konzertwesen," op. cit. pp. 698-699; Eva Vičarová, *Rakouská vojenská hudba 19. století a Olomouc*, Olomouc 2002, pp. 72, 74. See the definition of Tafelmusik in Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* [1799], Leipzig 1922, S. 158.

⁴⁰ CZ 1880, no. 147; 1882, numbers 144, 146, 204; NR 1883, no. 127.

⁴¹ NR 1886, nos. 121, 126, 127, 142, 144, 145; GN 1899, no. 129.

Stanislaw Niedzielski, Academic Choir under the direction of Wiktor Barabasz, orchestras of the 40th and 56th pp.

1. S. Moniuszko, *After Vespers* from Act 3 of *Halka* - male chorus, conducted by W. Barabasz
2. Anton Emil Titl, *Die nächtliche Heerschau*, dramatic ballad for male chorus accompanied by brass band - conducted by S. Niedzielski
3. L. Beethoven, *Chorus of the Dervishes of the Ruins of Athens*, Op. 113 - chorus, conducted by W. Barabas.
4. S. Moniuszko, *As bywało będzie zawdy* - choir and orchestra, conducted by S. Niedzielski
5. Ludwik Grossman, solo and choral excerpt from the opera *The Spirit of the Governor* - conducted by W. Barabasz
6. R. Schumann, *Zigeunerleben*, Op. 29 No. 3 for solos, chorus and orchestra - conducted by S. Niedzielski

Sagittarius Garden, June 27, 1882, Tuesday and September 9, 1882, Saturday, 6:00 pm, organizer

Music Society, its men's choir and two military orchestras

1. R. Wagner, *Triumphal March* from *Rienzi* - orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp, conducted by Emil Patzke
2. C. M. Weber, *Overture to Euryanthe* - orchestras 40th and 60th pp, conducted by Gustav Mahr
3. W. A. Mozart, choral work
4. L. Beethoven, *Chorus of Fidelio prisoners* - choir and orchestra
5. S. Moniuszko, *Pochód Litwinów* ("Niech wesoło szumi las"), arrangement. W. Zeleński for male chorus accompanied by wind instruments
6. W. Zeleński, *Polonaise*, Op. 37 No. 1 - orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp, conducted by G. Mahr
7. C. Saint-Saëns, *Danse macabre*, Op. 40 - orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp, conducted by E. Patzke
8. W. Żeleński, *Song of the Hunter (Rifleman's Choir)* op. 33 for male choir accompanied by 4 French horns
9. Johan Ritter von Herbeck, *To the Forest* ("To the forest direct thy steps") for male chorus accompanied by 4 French horns
10. S. Moniuszko, *Znasz li ten kraj*, comp. W. Zeleński for tenor solo accompanied by male chorus
11. W. Zeleński, *Mazur* Op. 37 No. 2 - orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp, conducted by E. Patzke

12. F. Liszt, *Second Hungarian Rhapsody* - orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp, conducted by G. Mahr
13. Franz Abt, *Frühlingsnacht* op. 275 No. 2 (*The Night of May*/ "In her arms she lulls blissfully") for male chorus with tenor solo
14. R. Schumann, *Zigeunerleben*, Op. 29, No. 3 for solos, chorus and orchestra
15. R. Wagner, *Pilgrims' March* from *Tannhäuser* - orchestras of the 40th and 60th pp, conducted by G. Mahr

Cracow newspapers, which was typical of the press in the nineteenth century, of course did not include such a precisely described program with opus numbers, full original titles of works or such a cast, omitting the names of popular composers of the time ⁴²

The ambition of the organizers to match both the program and the level of performance of classical music concerts at outdoor concerts is evidenced, among other things, by the opinions expressed after the performance in the Sagittarius Garden, on August 29, 1877, of two orchestras of the 13th pp. under the direction of Heinrich Buresch and the 40th pp. with Kapellmeister Michael Zimmermann. It was written at the time that "the numerous audience that gathered proves that a program composed of works of art that have reliable artistic value will always be enticing to the public," and therefore suggested that one of Beethoven's symphonies be played next time, as "we have convinced ourselves that the forces are there for it."⁴³ . The former orchestra performed an orchestral transcription of the first movement of the *Septet in E-flat Major*, Op. 20 for clarinet, horn, bassoon, violin, viola, cello and double bass by Beethoven, and the second orchestra performed the *Fantasy from Wagner's "Lohengrin"* and the *Polka mazurka "Im Wiener Jargon"* by Stanislaw Niedzielski (director of the Music Society of Krakow), while the combined orchestras performed two overtures, to Rossini's *Wilhelm Tell* and Weber's *Freischütz*. Arguably, analogous aspirations, but also extensive experience in the realization of programs with symphonic music, as well as considerations of dissemination, lay behind Jan Nepomucen Hock's interesting "innovative" idea, realized with his orchestra of the 13th pp. at summer "garden concerts" in the same park, starting May 4, 1884. This was, in fact, "a series of so-called "variety concerts" that had excellent success in other cities," inaugurated with a program containing only works (overtures, symphonic excerpts from operas and potpourri) by "famous Italian masters" - Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, Verdi, Boito and others.⁴⁴ The second concert of the series, on July 3, 1884, was devoted to Polish music *and* included: a symphonic fantasy based on motifs from Chopin's works ("a successful whole" arranged by a "German composer"), Kurpiński's

⁴² E.g. authors less known to us in Poland today, such as Titl, Herbeck, Abt, because at the time - especially in choral societies - their works were part of the circulating repertoire. This is evidenced by the fact that, for example, the parts of voices from their works listed in the second program, coming from the collection of the Cracow Music Society, have been preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in manuscript version and with Polish text. See Jagiellonian Library, Department of Musical Collections, ref. 5961 I musicals.

⁴³ CZ 1877, no. 197, p. 2.

⁴⁴ CZ 1884, No. 104, p. 2; No. 105, p. 2. The next concerts of the series were held starting in July 1884, as performances by military orchestras were canceled due to mourning over the death of Empress Marie Anne of Savoy (d. 4 May 1884).

Overture to Krakowiaks i Górali, Moniuszko's march (probably from the theater music to *Hamlet*), Wieniawski's *Legend* (possibly with soloist-songwriter J. N. Hock), an orchestral arrangement of Noskowski's *Piosnka żołnierza* for piano for 4 hands⁴⁵.

The program of regular open-air concerts of the so-called "popular" type, given in Jordan Park from 1897 to 1912 by the "Harmony" Orchestra, included - in keeping with the purpose of these ventures, which was to promote music in so-called "folk" circles (artisans, workers, small merchants, domestic servants) - more pieces of a lighter nature: fantasies on opera or operetta themes, as well as dances, overtures and symphonic excerpts from operas and concert overtures. The first 12 concerts in 1897, from July to September 12, on Sundays and holidays, were held at 3 p.m. Tickets cost 5 cents; young people were exempted⁴⁶. "Popular" was therefore both the musical program and ticket prices lower than for other outdoor concerts (e.g., a ticket for the Sunday concert of the "Lute" with the orchestra of the 13th pp., a two-part concert from 14:00 and from 17:00, in Krakow Park on July 4, 1897, cost 20 cents - adults, 10 cents - children) and therefore more "common" and having a wider audience. In the following years in Jordan Park, "Harmonia" under the direction of Stanisław Czyżowski, Adam Wronski and Jan Górski, sometimes Antoni Langer, performed 11 concerts each, still on Sundays and holidays, and in 1912 on Thursdays⁴⁷. The repertoire of these concerts included: Anton Rubinstein, *Toreador and Andaluska* or No. 7 from *The Costume Ball*, Op.103, Eduard Strauss, *Weit aus!* gallop, Op.81, Michael William Balfe, fantasy from the opera *The Bohemian Girl*, Rudolf Dellinger, *Chrysanthemum waltzes*, Adam Vronsky, *Mravincsics March*, Op.172, Antoni Langer, potpourri of Polish and Czech songs entitled *Lech-Czech*.

The programs of other "Harmony" or military orchestras' concerts in various parks, not explicitly called "popular" concerts (because admission tickets were more expensive) had repertoire similar in nature, but introduced works of greater value. These were concerts with a symphony orchestra, the vast majority without soloists or vocalists, and included overtures to operas and concertos, symphonic excerpts from operas and fantasies on operatic themes, sometimes excerpts from symphonies. Examples include works such as. Adam's (*If I Were a King*), Beethoven's (*Fidelio*, *Leonora III*, Part I from *Symphony No. 5*), Flotow's (*Jubel*), Glinka's (*Ruslan and Ludmilla*), Gounod's (*Faust*), Liszt's (Hungarian Rhapsodies), Kurpiński's (*Krakowiacy i Górale*), Leoncavall (*Pajace*), Mascagni (*Cavaleria rusticana*), Meyerbeer (*Dinorah*, *Huguenots*), Moniuszko (*Fairy Tale*, Fantasia from the *Haunted Manor*, *Halka*), Mozart (*Symphony No. 7 in D major* KV 45, part. I), Offenbach (*King Carotte*), Rossini (*Wilhelm Tell*), Saint-Saëns (*Dans macabre*), Thomas (*Mignon*, *Hamlet*), Wagner (*Tannhäuser*),

⁴⁵ CZ 1884, nos.150 and 152.

⁴⁶ NR 1897, numbers 154, 171, 178, 184, 190, 191, 196, 202, 204, 207, among others.

⁴⁷ Among others, Jozef Czech's *Cracow Calendar for the Year 1899*, Cracow 1899, p. 206; *XIII Annual Report of the Society Przyj. Krakow Music...*, op. cit., p. 5; Stanisław Czyżowski, *Kilka słów w sprawie orkiestry cywilnej w Krakowie*, Kraków 1913, p. 21; GN 1899, no. 103; NR 1900, no. 126; 1901, numbers 106, 159, 218; GN 1900, no. 127; 1901, numbers 104, 106, 112, 118, 147, 192.

Weber (*Freelance*), Zeleński (ballet music from *Konrad Wallenrod*)⁴⁸. A full symphony orchestra conducted by Stanisław Czyżowski, for example, offered a program described as "symphonic popular" on the afternoon of May 7, 1912 in Jordan Park: Moniuszko, Noskowski, Zelenski, Tchaikovsky, Dvořák, Weber, Grieg⁴⁹.

Thus, only the type of audience to which the outdoor popular concerts in Jordan Park were dedicated, as well as low ticket prices and placing symphonic music at the center of the program, are features of the Krakow concerts common to the genetic model of the first concerts in continental Europe called popular concerts. These were the Sunday popular concerts of classical music inaugurated by Emile Pasdeloup on October 27, 1861 in Paris, at the 5,000-seat Cirque Napoleon hall⁵⁰. Their programs, however, favored the symphonic works of the Viennese classics. It should be noted, however, that the type of program of the open-air Cracow concerts was similar to the first popular concerts in the 1860s and early 1870s, which, following the Paris model, began to be held in other French cities, including Toulouse (1862), Angres (1864), Nantes (1866), Marseille (1872), Lyon (1874) Rouen (1875), Lille (1877) and others⁵¹. On the other hand, a clear parallel can be drawn with the open-air concerts held since 1871, on Thursdays, at the Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation in Paris, whose success also financially led them to be held twice a week in 1873 (on Thursdays and Sundays) and a music kiosk was built in the garden. From 1872 to 1893, these concerts, performed by symphonic, wind and choral ensembles, were conducted by Louis Mayeur (clarinetist and saxophonist with the Paris Opera orchestra). The program of Sunday concerts in 1881, for example, consisted of 8 to 10 pieces, in the following order: march, overture, fantasia on operatic themes, waltz, potpourri of operatic melodies or march, polka, fantasia on operatic themes, dance or march. In the summer of 1881, the most frequently played compositions were by L. Mayeur (15), Auber (10), Adolphe Sellernick (9), Rossini (8), Meyerbeer (7), Donizetti (5), Verdi (4), and Beethoven only 2⁵². Also, the repertoire of military orchestras performing in the open air in Krakow was comparable to that of other regimental orchestras of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the time, stationed, among others, in the Czech lands.⁵³

⁴⁸ Among others, CZ 1877, numbers 158, 194; 1884, numbers 172, 188; 1888, number 141; NR 1891, numbers 150, 220; GN 1901, number 97; 1906, numbers 216, 218, 219.

⁴⁹ NR 1912, no. 207.

⁵⁰ An analysis of the meanings of the term "popular" in relation to various aspects of the Parisian popular concerts was conducted by Jann Pasler in her article *Democracy, Ethic, and Commerce: the "Concerts populaires" Movement in late 19th-century France*, in *Les Sociétés de musique en Europe, 1700-1920. Structures, pratiques musicales et sociabilités*, ed. Hans Erich Bödecker, Patrice Veit, Berlin 2007, pp. 455-479.

⁵¹ Cited according to Yannick Simon, *L'Association artistique d'Angers (1877-1933). Histoire d'une société de concerts populaires, suivi du repertoire des programmes des concerts*, Paris 2006, pp. 20-27, 31-34. Concerts called popular outside the continent, earlier than in Paris, were organized in England: Manchester, London (Crystal Palace) - 1855, London (St James's Hall) - 1859.

⁵² Cited according to Jann Pasler, *Four Organizations, four Agendas: Expanding the Public for Serious Music in late 19th-Century Paris*, in *Organisateurs et forms d'organisation du concerts en Europe 1700-1920*, ed. Hans Erich Bödecker, Patrice Veit, Berlin 2008, pp. 335-350.

⁵³ Cf. information in: Eva Vičarová, *Rakouská vojenská hudba...*, op. cit. pp. 80-88, 121-129.

We do not know a large part of the repertoire of concerts accompanying the time spent by the citizens of Cracow in the Planty, in parks and on a stroll.⁵⁴ It was then that one could both listen to music specifically paying attention to it, in a certain concentration, or it could be just a pleasant background during a walk, music reaching the ears in passing. It is also not surprising that there is no data on works played by orchestras that made breaks during horse races more pleasant (e.g. 1899, the "Harmonii" orchestra) or during the flower corso (e.g. 1892, the orchestra of the 13th pp, 1893, orchestra of "Harmonia"), accompanying May Day celebrations and excursions (in spring and autumn) of various associations, e.g. to Bielany (e.g. 1884), Błonia (e.g. 1899, 1902 orchestra of St. Jacek's Gymnasium), Wola Justowska (e.g. 1891, orchestra of "Harmonia"), Panieńskie Skalki (1893, orchestra of "Harmonia"; 1899, orchestra of 20th pp.), Zakrzówek or other suburban areas of Cracow (1900, 1910, 1911 orchestra of Gimnazjum św. Jacka, among others). One can only guess that these were pieces from the "lighter" repertoire of the orchestras performing there, also performed by them at other concerts, including overtures from well-loved operas, marches, dance pieces, arrangements for orchestra of popular patriotic songs and folk songs. Analogous repertoire was contained in the afternoon or evening concerts of the "Harmonia" string orchestra, under the direction of Czyżowski, given in the musical gazebo on the square of the Metal Industry Exhibition in Dietl Planty, from August 21 to October 2, 1904. The orchestra also honored the opening (August 21) of this exhibition with a performance of a transcription of Chopin's *Polonaise in A major*, welcomed the arrival at the exhibition (August 28) of Imperial Prime Minister Dr. Ernest von Koerber and approx. 1,000 other people, and during the closing ceremony (Oct. 2) - which was announced by the tolling of bells from Antoni Serafin's factory and the sound of factory sirens from Ludwik Zieleniewski's National Agricultural Machinery and Tool Factory in Cracow - she played a serenade in honor of her committee⁵⁵. In turn, at the Exhibition of Architecture and Interiors in a garden setting in 1912, performing in the concert shell sometimes alternating with the orchestra of the 1st pp. "Lutnia" sang (e.g., on July 9, from 5:00 p.m.) works by Zeleński, Noskowski, Nowowiejski, Gall, Moniuszko, Świerzyński, Grieg, Mozart and others, and in the evening (at 9:00 p.m.), when the square was illuminated, it already performed alone, among other things, patriotic songs arranged by Jan Gall⁵⁶. On the other hand, on another occasion, when on the evening of Saturday and Sunday (June 22 and 23), in addition to the illumination of the square, the "fountain of light" was again activated, the orchestra of the 1st pp. played "excerpts from operas and operettas currently being staged in Cracow," and at that time these included

⁵⁴ These included, for example, concerts in the Rifleman's Garden (orchestras: Salinarna from Wieliczka - June 30, July 1, 1866; 67th pp. - 18 VIII 1867; 70th pp. - from June 1, 1874; 56th pp. - September 4, 1878, May 3, 1883, June 3, 1886); Krakow Park (orchestras: 56th pp. - 29 and 30 May, 5 and 11 June 1886, 24 June 1891; 100th pp. - 19 IX 1897); Jordan Park (orchestra of "Harmony" - 2 VI, 7 VII 1895, 8 IX 1896).

⁵⁵ *Opening of the Metal Exhibition*, GN 1904, No. 232; *President of the Cabinet in Cracow*, GN 1904, No. 239; *Metal Exhibition*, GN 1904, No. 267 (on Sunday, Sept. 25, when "Harmonia" also played, the exhibition was visited by about 5,000 people); *Closing of the Exhibition*, GN 1904, numbers 273, 274; CZ 1904, No. 226.

⁵⁶ *An Evening of Music at an Architectural Exhibition*, CZ 1912, No. 307. Gall's "Patriotic Songs" are probably those compiled by him and published in Cracow, in 1893, by S. A. Krzyżanowski, titled "The Songs of the Nation. *Sześć pieśni narodowych* na chór męski.

Carmen, Faust, Madame Butterfly, Tales of Hoffmann, Count Luxemburg by F. Lehár, *Night in Venice* by J. Strauss, *Enemy of Women* by E. Eysler⁵⁷.

Among the concerts accompanying the stroll in the parks, elaborate programs of several military orchestras stood out, as if competing with each other, the so-called Monstrekonzerzte, although not always annotated under such a name. It was customary in this type of concert to include works written by the Kapellmeisters of military orchestras, including those stationed in Krakow (including A. Ambrož, E. Patzke, A. Wronski, J. Marek, J. N. Hock) and published by local editors, mainly A. Krzyzanowski. Such, for example, was the concert in the Sagittarius Garden on July 9, 1884, the proceeds of which were donated to flood victims:

57th pp. orchestra, conducted by Anton Ambrož - G. Rossini, *Overture to William Tell*, G. Meyerbeer, *Fantasia on themes from operas*, Thomas Koschat, *Farewell to the Alps*, A. Ambrož, *Buntes aus der Zeit*;

Orchestras of the 13th and 56th pp, conducted by Jan Nepomucen Hock and Josef Langer - W. A. Mozart, *Overture to Don Giovanni*, J. Strauss son, *Lagunen-Walzer*, Op. 411, F. Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 1*, N. Moszkowski, *Spanische Tänzle*, Op. 12, arrangement. for orchestra;

Orchestra of the 20th pp, conducted by Josef Maleček - F. Suppé, *Overture to Dichter und Bauer*, Ch. Gounod, *Scene from "Faust,"* J. F. Halévy, *Cavatina* from *"The Jewess,"* A. Vronsky, *To Miechow! - Mazurkas*, arrangement. For orchestra;

Orchestras, 13th, 20th, 56th, 57th pp. - A. E. Titl, *Overture to Königsleutnant*, conducted by A. Ambrož, R. Wagner, *March* from the opera *Rienzi*, conducted by J. Langer, V. Peters, *Fantasia from Polish Songs*, conducted by J. N. Hock⁵⁸.

An extensive and including "light", march-dance and opera, repertoire also characterized the guest performances of the 50-member Zamosc Property Orchestra, conducted by Karol Namysłowski, in Jordan Park, from the end of July 1911⁵⁹. The choice of too "serious" music included in the program accompanying a stroll in the park was sometimes criticized as inappropriate. This was alleged, for example, against the Music Society as the organizer of this type of concert in Krakow Park (choir, conducted by Wiktor Barabasz, and the orchestra of the 13th pp., conducted by J. N. Hock), whose program was composed exclusively of works by Polish composers of the 19th century, including several excerpts from

⁵⁷ *From an Architectural Exhibition*, CZ 1912, no. 277; cf. *Repertoire of the Lviv Opera in Cracow*, CZ 1912, no. 278.

⁵⁸ See review in CZ 1884, no. 158, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Landowner Orchestra of the Kingdom*, CZ 1911, No. 305. The program of the concerts in the park is unknown, but the program of the concerts of Namysłowski's orchestra in Cracow, at the Old Theater on September 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1911, under the direction of Karol and Stanisław Namysłowski, gives an idea of the typical concert layout of this ensemble. The program included 9 or 11 pieces: march, waltz, concert overture, mazurka; potpourri or fantasia, concert overture or symphonic poem, or short symphonic piece, opera overture, krakowiak or other dance. For a detailed program of these concerts, see CZ 1911, numbers 399, 405, 407, 408, 410; wp. [Władysław Prokesch], *Concert of the Namysłowski's land orchestra*, NR 1911, no. 410.

the *Crimean Sonnets* and Moniuszko's *Halka*, Noskowski's *Year in Folk Song*, Zeleński's *Goplana*, and an arrangement for choir and orchestra of two Chopin preludes:

"What is required of a walking concert is that it be composed of light, momentarily humorous things, the listening to which is not disturbed by conversation or sipping coffee. There are productions such as that of the Männergesangverein in Vienna, for example, held in the gardens, but with a proper program and on a properly constructed stage. The Saturday concert [June 8, 1895] did not have these conditions. It was too serious, and from the gazebo, which was open on all sides and surrounded by the audience all around, the voices of the singers were very unfavorably dispersed. The choirs sang as if they could not hear themselves, in foams, and they and the orchestra could not even be heard much. And it's a pity, because the production was extremely engaging."⁶⁰

The repertoire of concerts accompanying skating and the so-called Platzmusik - wake-up calls and serenades played in the Main Square and city streets, May 1 and May 3 parades or concerts in the Market Square were not usually announced. However, it is known that military orchestras used, among other things, special and military-approved sheet music collections of fanfares and marches for this purpose. On the other hand, reports on the activities of Krakow's middle schools indicate the number of sheet music purchased annually for wind and string orchestras, which also participated in the aforementioned events, and these included, for example, at St. Jacek's Middle School, 35 "march books" for the band in 1901, and in 1911 for the band and orchestra - 15 marches, 9 waltzes, 4 mazurkas, 8 polkas, 8 overtures, 2 potpourri, 8 polonaises. These above-mentioned genres of works also made up the eclectic programs of "light" music concerts at the Market Square by, among others, the 100th pp. orchestra in 1894, or "Harmonia" the following year. This is because at the time the following were performed: Anton Emil Titl, *Overture to Königsleutnant*, František Jan Škroup, *Kde domov můj* (arranged for orchestra), Karl Zeller, *Grubenlichter: Walzer nach Motiven der Operette "Der Obersteiger"*, Adolf Müller junior, *Overture to the operetta Der Hofnarr*, Ion Ivanovici, waltz *Vision de l'Orient* op. 157, R. Wagner, *Prayer from Lohengrin*⁶¹. The slides were dominated by dance pieces, often played alternately by two military orchestras.

Concerts that were part of an outdoor multimedia event, either were their separate entity and then the type of their program was similar to that of popular concerts, and in the case where it was a choir performance it did not differ from the "mosaic" structure of typical 19th century choral concerts. When the concerts were conceived as a musical backdrop to other events then their program was similar to walking concerts. What was most often included in these outdoor events? Almost an obligatory item on the program, also at the slides, were fireworks and fireworks shows, the types of which were meticulously listed in the announcements of the event and the name of the pyrotechnician responsible, who was most often Michał Filip Mądrzykowski (from a fireworks company in Cracow). Fanfare raffles were a frequent feature, with proceeds going to social causes. Balloon flight demonstrations or,

⁶⁰ *Concert of the choirs of the Music Society*, CZ 1895, no. 132, p. 2.

⁶¹ The performances were on: April 22, 1894, December 2, 1894, and February 2, 1895; see GN 1894, nos. 92 and 179; NR 1895, no. 28.

moreover, parachute jumps became a new attraction. There were stagings of so-called "live paintings" or performances of short dramatic scenes, gymnastic shows by junior high school students.

It is impossible in this article to describe even briefly all cultural events of the "multimedia" type, so I will limit myself to those most spectacular for the time in various respects. Most often they took place in Krakowski Park and during "Wianki" on the Vistula⁶², least often in Strzelecki Garden, occasionally in Jordan Park. In Krakowski Park, for example, from the end of May and in June in 1892, every Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday, during the concert of the orchestra of the 20th pp, starting at 4 p.m., there were acrobatic and gymnastic demonstrations by the "one-legged artist" Georg Fabig, and on some days (e.g., 29 May), in addition, at 6:30 p.m., a balloon flight after navigation by Giacomo Merighi of Italy, the de facto famous navigator-experimenter from Bologna, not Rome, as reported in Krakow⁶³. On other days in June (including June 16, 1892), an additional attraction, at 7 p.m., was the performance of "the unsurpassed strongwoman Miss Annetta Astora, presenting athletic and magnetic strength," or, in addition, for the first time held in Krakow (June 22, 1892), a jump from a balloon (from a height of 160 feet) using a parachute⁶⁴.

An original idea was the Sunday "folk fest" organized by the Cracow Art and Literary Circle in the Cracow Park, May 21, 1888, to raise funds for the "dissemination among the rural population of the reproduction of the painting by the master Matejko *Kościuszko pod Racławicami*".⁶⁵ Matejko's work was on display at the time at the so-called Perpetual Exhibition of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts in the upper hall of the Cloth Hall, which, for example, was visited by 1,737 people on May 10. During the festivities, the slogan for the two orchestras of the 20th and 56th pp. to start playing alternately was the burning of fireworks. The orchestras also played during the fancy dress raffle. Starting at 6 p.m. on the stage, the Academic Choir, directed by Viktor Barabash, performed several national songs. The highlight of the festivities was, disrupted by temporary rain, the performance of a living painting based on Matejko's work *Kościuszko pod Racławicami*, whose originator and director was Juliusz Kossak, and among the performers were the landowners. The unveiling of the living painting was announced by the burning of rockets, and its meaning and significance was explained to the gathered audience by Prof. Czesław Pieniążek. During the festivities, peasants in dresses and girls in garlands on their heads, who came from villages near Krakow, strolled through the park. A total of about 4,000 people came to the park for the festivities. The scheduled end of the festivities was marked by the lighting of the park with "Roman fires," and the rain that broke up forced the end at 9 pm.

⁶² E.g., "Wianki" programs featuring, among others, artists of the Lviv Opera (1884), the orchestra of the 57th pp. (1886), the Bieżanów peasant orchestra and the orchestra of the Cracow Gymnastic Association "Sokol" (1900).

⁶³ NR 1892, nos. 123 and 137; CZ 1892, nos. 125 and 129.

⁶⁴ CZ 1892, No. 129; NR 1892, Nos. 137 and 138. During a military orchestra concert on June 3, 1893, a Polish parachutist, a pioneer in this field, Zenon Szymanski, made a jump from a balloon, ascending to an altitude of 5,000 feet. He used a model parachute of the design of a Frenchman, Charles Leroux. See CZ 1893, no. 124.

⁶⁵ I provide information on the festival and accompanying events according to: CZ 1888, numbers 108, 109, 11, 115, 116; NR 1888, number 114.

Characteristic of the Rifle Garden were the so-called "royal shooting" held annually, organized by the Krakow Bractwo Kurkowe, for the title of the King of the Rifles, whose ceremonies and the procession of the new king were always accompanied by music. Unusual celebrations of this traditional ritual were those during which, among other things, as part of a concert by a military orchestra, a draw took place (on June 10, 1888) among the audience for "the latest musical instrument" [mechanical] - "Manopan", playing 12 operetta pieces⁶⁶. In the same park, at a great festival (27 VI 1891) arranged by "Lutnia" for the benefit of the Poznań theater, when the "Lutnia" choir and two military orchestras performed and an amateur humorous performance entitled *Rural courtship* and Offenbach's operetta *Mr. Choufleri takes place*, an "automatic piano" was presented, probably a pianola.⁶⁷

In the characterized repertoire of music present in the open air, one can distinguish a separate group of religious works played during open-air national-patriotic or religious events. These included compositions by Moniuszko, Mendelssohn, Georg Valentin Röder, among others. Funeral marches by various authors were often performed as part of such ceremonies. The Wieliczka Salinar Orchestra accompanying, for example, on June 12, 1893, the funeral procession of the poet Teofil Lenartowicz (whose corpse was brought to Krakow from Florence), passing from St. Mary's Church, around the Market Square, through Grodzka Street to Skałka, played alternately Beethoven's and Chopin's funeral marches (transcriptions for wind orchestra). In turn, Kraków's "Lutnia" Choir, with additional singers (160 in all) on a specially built stage next to St. Andrew's Church on Grodzka Street, sang Moniuszko's funeral march, as defined by the *Funeral March from the themes of Stanislaw Moniuszko's opera "Halka"* by Adam Münchheimer⁶⁸. On the other hand, at Skałka, in front of the crypt, the combined choirs performed Moniuszko's *Lord's Prayer* ("In grave misery") and Mendelssohn's *Beati mortui*, Op. 115 No. 1, the latter piece also sounded earlier in the TM Choir's performance at the train station, when the coffin with the poet's corpse was welcomed⁶⁹. This composition by Mendelssohn was also sung by the Academic Choir, among others, at the funeral of Oskar Kolberg (June 8, 1890), at the Market Square during the funeral ceremonies of Henryk Jordan (May 20, 1907), together with the choirs of TM and "Lutnia" at the carrying out of the corpse of the singer Aleksander Bandrowski from the house on Garncarska Street (May 30, 1913)⁷⁰. Röder's *Salve Regina* Op. 36 was also sung in analogous circumstances, including at Skałka on the steps leading to the church, above the crypt, while the bodies of Jan Ignacy Kraszewski (April 18, 1887), Stanisław Wyspiański (December 2, 1907) and Henryk Siemiradzki (September 26, 1903) were deposited there.⁷¹

⁶⁶ CZ 1888, no. 131, p. 3.

⁶⁷ CZ 1891, No. 144, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁸ *Lenartowicz's funeral*, "Gazeta Lwowska" [hereafter transcribed as GL] 1893, no. 132.

⁶⁹ Ibid; *National festivities in honor of Lenartowicz*, NR 1893, No. 128; *The triumphant return of Teofil Lenartowicz to the Fatherland*, NR 1893, No. 132.

⁷⁰ Józef Życzkowski, *Gaudeamus Igitur... The History of the Cracow Academic Choir*, Cracow 1977, pp. 26-27, 63, 97-98.

⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 24, 54, 66; cf. CZ 1887, no. 88 (19 IV), p. 2.

The message was both religious and patriotic and nationalistic in nature, with songs that were firmly established in Polish tradition. These included *Bogurodzica* and *Gaude Mater Polonia*. The performance of the former, along with Konopnicka's and Nowowiejski's *Rota*, on August 15, 1910 at Matejko Square during the unveiling ceremony of the Grunwald Monument is a well-known fact. However, it was sounded in Krakow on many other occasions. *Bogurodzica* and *Gaude Mater Polonia* were sung by, among others, the choir "Lutnia" under the direction of Antoni Isakowicz during the field mass on the Blonie (19 X 1913), celebrated on the 150th anniversary of the death of Prince Józef Poniatowski, while *Boże ojczyźnie* and exceptions from some mass by Haydn were played by the Orchestra of the Craft Youth Union⁷². In turn, the 300th anniversary of the death of Rev. Piotr Skarga, celebrated in September 1912, included the laying (September 27) of the cornerstone for the construction of a house for handicraft youth (on Krupnicza Street), whose choir and orchestra performed *Bogurodzica* and *Boże coś Polskę*⁷³ as part of the ceremony. Among the well-known and already described facts is the collective singing of *Bogurodzica* by choral groups and participants in the unveiling of the Jagiello Monument, the so-called Grunwald Monument, at Matejko Square on July 15, 1910, and after Ignacy Paderewski's speech, *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*, and after the unveiling of the monument, Feliks Nowowiejski's *Grunwald Slogan* to the words of Maria Konopnicka, the original name of *Rota*. It is worth mentioning at this point that all, without exception, participants in this solemn ceremony could potentially have been prepared to sing *Bogurodzica*, since the newspaper "Czas" (July 14) published the notes of the song with words, informing that they were taken from the work of Dr. Adolf Chybiński, the most reliable source.⁷⁴

An analogous group in terms of function in outdoor musical programs are songs considered national, or instrumental arrangements of many Polish songs in the form of a suite or potpourri. This was particularly common not only on the occasion of outdoor celebrations with symbolic meaning for Poles, but also in other circumstances (sometimes in an unplanned, spontaneous way) three songs treated as three national anthems were sung or played: *Boże coś Polskę*, *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła* and *Z dymem pożarów* by Józef Nikorowicz and Kornel Ujejski. One of them was played by the 44-member "Harmonia" from Lviv when it arrived in Krakow for the Mickiewicz festivities, and marched from the train station through Sławkowska Street and the Market Square, heading for the fire department barracks⁷⁵. *Boże coś Polskę* (*God save Poland*) and *Z dymem pożarów* (*With the smoke of fires*) were sung, in front of the entrance to the crypt on Skałka, as part of the funeral of Teofil Lenartowicz (June 12, 1893), by the TM Choir under the direction of Wiktor Barabasz⁷⁶. *With the smoke of fires*,

⁷² CZ 1913, no. 482; *Anniversary of the death of Rev. Poniatowski*, CZ 1913, no. 485.

⁷³ *Skargowski celebration in Krakow*, IKC 1912, no. 223.

⁷⁴ CZ 1910, no. 315. cf. Adolf Chybiński, "*Bogurodzica*" in terms of history and music, Cracow 1907. On the subject of the music that accompanied the gymnastic demonstrations of the Sokol teams at the Blonie Park during the V. Sokołów convention (July 16-17, 1910) see Zdzisław Przerembski, *Music in Krakow's Grunwald celebrations of 1910*, "Studia Historyczne" 2003, z. 2, pp. 147-161.

⁷⁵ CZ 1890, no. 149.

⁷⁶ *The triumphant return of Teofil Lenartowicz to the Homeland's bosom*, op. cit. p. 1.

next to *Boże coś Polskę* (*God save Poland*) and *Walecznych tysięcy opuszcza Warszawę* (*A Thousand Leaves Warsaw*), was also performed during the rejtan ceremonies in Planty (April 21, 1901) by the Handicraftsmen Choir under the direction of Józef Sierosławski, accompanied by the "Harmonia" orchestra⁷⁷. Even the potpourri composed of various songs (including the *Krakowiak kosynierów* from 1830), which at its climax included the melody *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*, played in Strzelecki Park (Sept. 7, 1867) by the combined orchestras of the 20th and 70th pp. aroused patriotic feelings especially among listeners from outside Galicia. "Some 'brother Slav,' speaking the language of Czech dailies, we don't know whether of Tatar or Chudzi lineage, because there was nothing European in that face, glanced with small eyes at the Coroners when they beat their hands with an impassioned countenance, having heard 'she did not perish,' commented the aforementioned event in 'Czas'".⁷⁸

Audience of outdoor events with music: diversity of age, gender, social and national groups

The press releases contain a relatively large amount of information about the audience for the outdoor concerts and the methods their organizers used to attract large audiences. The audiences for the concerts were additionally attracted by various attractions, as I have written about on the occasion of concerts in multimedia events. In addition, a certain temptation in the Sagittarius Garden, for example, in 1868 was to be "good cuisine, excellent drinks, fast service and moderate prices" in the restaurant of F. Niszczyński, a restaurateur known for the Dresden Hotel in Kraków⁷⁹. Even the much-loved and respected 13th pp. orchestra, conducted by Jan Nepomucen Hock in 1884, was similarly encouraged to attend concerts: "The restaurant and buffet in the garden are duly supplied with edibles, drinks and decent service."⁸⁰. Transport facilities were also pointed out, allowing people to reach the park or the slide to attend events there, accompanied by music in various forms. The use of the slide at the Zwierzyniec Palace, on Kosciuszko Street, where a military orchestra played on Wednesdays, Saturdays, Sundays and holidays in 1895, was to be encouraged by its close location to the Market Square, as written, 10 minutes, and 100 steps from the Zwierzyniec turnpike, while a year earlier a skating tournament on the same slide, combined with a concert by "Harmony," on Sunday, January 21, was invited by emphasizing that omnibuses run from the Market Square to the turnpike⁸¹. On the other hand, for the charity festival with the performance of the "Harmonia" and 13th pp. orchestras in Jordan Park on May 17, 1903, double carriages "circulated from the Market Square, transporting a large audience."⁸²

The outdoor concerts were attended by audiences of all ages. The participation of entire families with children was promoted, as economical tickets for families were offered for concerts in the framework of, for example, festivals or raffles; moreover, there were

⁷⁷ CZ 1901, no. 90.

⁷⁸ *Local and Foreign Chronicle*, CZ 1867, no. 207, p. 3.

⁷⁹ CZ 1868, no. 103, p. 4.

⁸⁰ CZ 1884, no. 107, p. 3.

⁸¹ CZ 1895, no. 11; GN 1894, numbers 1, 3, 12.

⁸² CZ 1903 No. 112, p. 2.

always discounted tickets for children, and for popular concerts the ticket was not valid for young people. Attendance at outdoor concerts was usually high or satisfied their organizers. In the press, one rarely comes across complaints that the audience was small⁸³, while descriptions of its social composition and data on its numbers are colorful.

The audience of the Planty concerts was the most diverse in terms of age and social background, as they were the most casual audience compared to the regulars of other parks. It can be said that this was an audience that listened less to the music, rather just hearing it. For example, when the orchestra of the 13th pp. played in the music gazebo at the exit of Panska Street, there was "a multitude of the audience" there, there were "lots of children hanging around", mothers, old men, city councilors and ladies were sitting on the benches, and even when "Harmonia" gave a concert here in fine weather there were "crowds of the audience" strolling by⁸⁴. Sometimes, however, the presence of groups of schoolchildren listening to operetta melodies was judged as inappropriate entertainment for such a group.⁸⁵ At concerts in Krakow Park, including in 1886, the city's well-known Academic Choir with the orchestra of the 13th pp. (June 3) was attended by a total of about 3,000 people, and another time (June 27) when the same choir sang accompanied by the orchestra of the 20th pp. there was "a crowd of several thousand in the audience colored by the variety of summer toilets," i.e. "all of Krakow," just like at balls, in the theater or concert halls, but one wondered why "the audience" destroyed the lawn near the stage, crowding mercilessly to watch the singers, it is difficult to comprehend. It is honorable for the singers to generate such enthusiasm, but it is not desirable for the lawns and that part of the audience that does not respect other people's property."⁸⁶

A large and, as can be guessed, more disciplined audience was present despite the "questionable" weather (July 7, 1906) in Jordan Park for a concert by three military orchestras of the 13th, 56th and 100th regiments, for among them "the military and official world was especially numerously represented."⁸⁷ On the other hand, in the same park, the presence of a large number of people was taken for granted at a festival (June 8, 1895) with the participation of the "Harmony" and 13th pp. orchestras, and the choir of the Music Society, as well as gymnastic exercises by children, among whom there were also "village children from the vicinity of Cracow," and the proceeds of which were earmarked for the Polish gymnasium in Cieszyn. This is because this type of charity festivals have, as it was written in "Czas" - "established popularity and success in our city, all the more so when they are held in the park, which our public so rightly surrounds with its appreciation and to which it rushes in

⁸³ Among others, Sagittarius Garden, June 9, 1883 and June 1, 1888; Krakowski Park, April 28, 1901; Jordan Park, May 8, 1901, May 24, 1903), which was explained either by too high ticket prices or "uncertain" weather. See NR 1883, no. 129; 1901, no. 99; CZ 1881, no. 126; 1901, no. 107; 1903, no. 117.

⁸⁴ Stanisław Broniewski, *Yesterday's Cracow in an Anecdote*, in *Mound of Memories*, Cracow 1959, pp. 324-325; "Harmony" Concert, NR 1897, no. 198, p. 2.

⁸⁵ CZ 1875, no. 102.

⁸⁶ NR 1886, No. 127, p. 2; No. 145, p. 2.

⁸⁷ GN 1906, No. 319 ((program: Chopin, Schumann, Wagner); No. 324, p. 1.

thousands at every opportunity."⁸⁸ . On another occasion (May 3, 1903), when a festival was held in the same park for the benefit of "Harmony" and, in addition, a performance by students of the society's school (12 juvenile violinists performed) and choirs of junior high school students sang, a total of about 10,000 people came to the park, according to "Czas", or about 15,000, as communicated by "Voice of the Nation".⁸⁹

On the other hand, in the Sagittarius Garden, located close to the train station, press reporters even spotted visitors from outside the Polish lands and from other annexations. For example, in 1867, at the August Sunday (Aug. 18) concert of the 67th pp. orchestra, tourists from Prussia who had come to visit Wieliczka sat at tables. These were tours conducted by two different travel agencies, as some of the excursionists had green ribbons tied to their buttons, while others had yellow ribbons, while at the September Saturday (September 7) concert of the orchestras of the 20th and 70th pp. the large audience was largely made up of other visitors, as they were returning from summer vacations to Lviv, Warsaw, from stays in Szczawnica, Krynica, Karlsbad, Marienbad, Kissingen and Ems.⁹⁰

A kind of ennoblement of outdoor concerts was the mention in their press descriptions of the presence of people who were widely or mainly known in musical circles. For while, for example, the presence of Wojciech Bednarski at the opening (July 19, 1896) of the Park Na Krzemionkach Podgórskich, founded on his initiative, was somewhat obligatory, and the appreciation of him by the gathered 300 or so people who "snatched him in their arms, carrying him around the park to the sounds of the 56th pp. band" was understandable, the absence of Podgórze councilors was surprising⁹¹ . On the other hand, it was noted with satisfaction, for example, the "private" stay in Krakow Park (29 May 1886) of the president of Krakow, Feliks Szlachetkowski, immediately after his return from Vienna, when on a Saturday afternoon in May the 56th pp. orchestra played in the park from 4:30 pm and offered, among other things, a boat ride on the pond or target shooting⁹² . Another event took place at a multi-part festival in Jordan Park (June 22, 1892), with proceeds going to the People's Education Society. First, there were gymnastic exercises by young people with the accompaniment of the "Harmony" orchestra, immediately after 5:00 pm began a concert by the orchestra of the 13th pp. led by J. N. Hock, followed by a concert by the "Lute" under the direction of A. Steibelt. The choristers, most likely knowing that the composer from Warsaw, Adam Münchheimer, had come to town, included his song "*Highlander*" in the program ("Highlanders are humming, boys like strings. The bagpiper is playing for them, and the maiden is singing") to words by Wincenty Pol. The piece was applauded, and its creator was present in the park⁹³ . A different surprise was prepared for Zygmunt Noskowski, who came to Cracow for his monographic composition concert (April 6, 1883). On the eve of the concert (April 5, 1883), in the afternoon, under the window of the Dresden Hotel (on the corner of

⁸⁸ *Festivities for the Polish gymnasium in Cieszyn*, CZ 1895, No. 132, p. 2.

⁸⁹ CZ 1903, No. 101; GN No. 121.

⁹⁰ *Local and Foreign Chronicle*, CZ 1867, nos. 189 and 207.

⁹¹ *In Podgórze*, GN 1896, No. 165, p. 4; NR 1896, No. 166, p. 2.

⁹² CZ 1886, no. 124.

⁹³ NR 1892, no. 143; CZ 1892, no. 143.

Market Square and Florianska Street), where the composer lived, the City Orchestra under the direction of Adam Wronski played a serenade especially for him, despite the rain, performed several pieces, and many casual listeners gathered around the musicians. Indeed, the concert and the person of Zygmunt Noskowski, as director of the Warsaw Music Society at the time, were furthermore advertised as "the most outstanding Polish composer today, so little known in Poland and so highly regarded abroad."⁹⁴

The carnival fun-fest (30 I 1876) on the ice with an orchestra playing all the time and with numerous attractions (including a gazebo made of snow and ice, a pond-slide illuminated by "hundreds of lamps", the coat of arms of the city of Cracow shining from fireworks) gathered a total of about 800 people, and about 40 skaters were in costumes, including a bear, three furnaces and a ballerina⁹⁵. And guests from outside the city were spotted on the slides:

"The city orchestra [under the direction of Adam Vronsky], playing carnival dances [14 I 1883, from h. 14:00 to 17:00], added to the eagerness and verve of the skaters, and at the end, in order to make the fun more pleasant for the dozen or so Varsovians present at the slide, performed a few of our national songs," also "Varsovians who visited [28 I 1883] the local slide, praised very much its excellent equipment, freedom of play, music and skilful skaters" more than forty⁹⁶.

It can certainly be said that the main goals behind the introduction of the presence of music into the daily socio-cultural practices of the residents of Krakow done in the public open airs of the city were successfully achieved. Music in the green, white and cobbled open air resounded in most of the districts of Krakow at that time and in some suburban municipalities. The presented panorama of events involving music in the open air of Galician Krakow is wide and varied, and the musical repertoire functioning in these special circumstances is manifold, not differing from the customs in the analogous range of cultural events taking place in large and medium-sized European centers of the time. Getting to know even just this selected section of the musical everyday life of the inhabitants of a sparsely industrialized city in the Polish lands in the second half of the 19th century, I believe, greatly realises the picture of public musical life in Cracow seen and assessed so far only from the perspective of the absence of professional permanent symphony orchestras or an opera theater, and the scant presence of symphonic repertoire from the works of the Viennese classics. In addition, a comparative analysis of the corpus of small press, diary, iconographic and sheet music sources, as well as a critical and contextual verification of the information they contain about music functioning in the open air of Galician Krakow, brings new facts about the premieres or dating of editions of works by Polish composers, and much data about the reception of their work.

⁹⁴ CZ 1883, nos. 76 and 77; NR 1883, nos. 77 and 80; Franciszek Bylicki, *Concert by Zygmunt Noskowski*, NR 1883, no. 81, p. 3.

⁹⁵ CZ 1876, no. 25.

⁹⁶ CZ 1883, No. 11, p. 2; No. 22, p. 3.

Open-Air Music in Warsaw

Between the World Wars

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The below-presented survey of venues and events that made up the soundscape of the interwar Warsaw is based on materials from that city's biggest newspaper, *Kurier Warszawski*, which was a leading and most detailed source of information on cultural life in the city. Since *Kurier* was a Christian-nationalist daily, it marginalised events organised in the separate Jewish district as well as activities of the left-wing movement – however not to such an extent as to undermine the editors' objectivity in their choice of cultural news.

Parks and gardens

Warsaw's parks were, as in other European cities, a place of entertainment for the city's inhabitants. Each was frequented by, and accessible to, specific social groups. Under the Russian rule before WWI, the Polish population would go for walks and events to places situated in the centre of the capital: the Foksal garden, where a summer theatrical stage operated in the eighteenth century, and where parties and shows were held; the exclusive Royal Łazienki Park, frequented by the Polish high society (Russians were unwelcome there); the nearby Agrykola Park and Saxon Garden. The bourgeoisie was also attracted to Frascati entertainment park, founded back in the eighteenth century on a terrace east of Trzech Krzyży (Three Crosses) Square, overlooking the Vistula's escarpment, and the Swiss Valley, a part of Ujazdów quarter with an amphitheatre that was made available to choirs and orchestras. Between the world wars, the Krasiński Garden catered for the Jewish (Northern) District and for the Russian population. Aleksander Kraushar, a historian of the city, describes Russian-style popular Passover parties held in that park.¹ The Russian high society would rest in the Ujazdowski Park, where military parades were held, among others.

Warsaw's working class spent their free time in the summer on the unguarded beaches of the Vistula's left bank. The traditional Whitsuntide church fête and fair² attracted people to the Bielany Wood where merry-go-rounds and travelling circus tents invited holiday makers. This continued until 1935, when the area was taken over by the municipal authorities, which prohibited such fair and funfair operations. Springtime picnics were held in Młociny Park, Mokotów Park, and the summer resorts on the outskirts. Warsaw's markets provided traditional venues for acrobats and sung theatricals. The best known of these markets were in the Praga District (Różycki Marketplace in Targowa Street) and in Wola District (the so-called Kercelak in Kerceli Square). Circus shows were also presented in Broni Square, a warehouse area converted in the 1930s into a bus terminal.

In the centre of left-bank Warsaw, Dynasy under the Vistula's escarpment (seat of the Cyclist Society) was a venue for popular parties. The Rotunda, erected in 1891 to house the *Panorama of the Tatra* and later adapted for a theatre, was the pride of that place. Right-bank

¹ Aleksander Kraushar, 'Warszawa przed powstaniem styczniowym 1863 r. (Nieco wspomnień naocznego świadka)' ['Warsaw before the 1863 January Uprising (Memories of an Eyewitness)'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 22 (23 January 1930, evening edition), 4.

² The Catholic Pentecost, fifty days after Easter.

Warsaw, which was mostly a working-class district, had two large parks: Aleksandryjski and Skaryszewski.

The names of some of the above-mentioned parks changed after 1918: Aleksandryjski to Praski, Skaryszewski – to Paderewski Park, Agrykola – to Sobieski Park. New parks were also created in line with the then modern planning concept of garden cities, implemented in 1934-39 under the tenure of Stefan Starzyński as President of Warsaw. The Traugutt Park was thus set up in the centre of the city in 1925-1929, the Żeromski Park in Żoliborz District – opened in 1932, the Sowiński Park in Wola – in 1936, the Wielkopolski Park along Filtrowa Street and the Dreszer Park along the moat in Mokotów Fort – in 1938. Of all these parks and gardens, the exclusive ones were those situated in the city centre: Saxon, Krasiński, Traugutt, Ujazdowski, Agrykola, and Łazienki – with electric lighting, entertainment venues, and guards who maintained order and made sure the visitors looked decent enough. The administrators also took care of the natural soundscape, making efforts to attract songbirds that could nest in the park greenery.

The common folk's entertainment centres were the Paderewski and Praski Parks. The latter attracted the audience with a funfair (extended and modernised in 1929), but it was also a venue for popular parties and concerts by the municipal orchestras. A similar function was fulfilled by Pole Mokotowskie (Mokotów Commons), some sports fields, as well as Dynasy. The latter, however, disappeared from Warsaw's map of entertainment venues in the 1930s when the cycling track was closed down, the plots parcelled out (in 1937), and luxury tenement houses built on them.

From 1919 onwards, municipal parks were rented out for public parties by the Technical Department of the City Council, which granted concessions for such events. Parties of this kind were most frequent in the 1920s. Later they went out of fashion, partly due to the population's impoverishment during the Great Depression, but also because the Warsaw middle class embraced a new trend – that of going out of town on family outings and summer holidays. The latter became accessible even to persons of modest means – the more so since improvements in public transport (buses and trains to the outskirts of Warsaw) made such trips possible also for those who did not own a car.

The above-mentioned 'exclusive' parks hosted restaurants and theatres: The Mineral Waters Institute and the Letni (Summer) Theatre in the Saxon Garden; an elegant café with music in the Royal Łazienki Park, where ballet productions were presented in the pseudo-Greek ruin (renovated in 1926) known as the Theatre on the Isle. In the latter, spectacles were staged by the dance companies of Piotr Zajlich, Franciszka Kutnerówna, Adolfina Paszkowska, Tacjana Wysocka, Kazimierz Łobojko, and others. In 1928-32 the Warsaw Opera gave summer performances in this outdoor theatre, while in 1937-39 the Polska Opera Ludowa (Polish Popular Opera), headed by Stanisław Narocz-Nowicki, held Moniuszko seasons there. The last spectacle, one of *Halka*, was shown on 27 August 1939.

The sports stadium in Łazienkowska Street became a venue for mass events in the early 1930s. 1931 saw the production in that place (by the Dyrekcja Widowisk Historycznych – Historical Spectacles Management) of a monumental reconstruction of the Battle of

Raławice, involving 1,500 performers (including three orchestras, choirs, and a ballet). The next attraction of this type, presented soon afterwards, was *The Cottage outside the Village* after a novel by Józef Ignacy Krasiński, whose performers included an orchestra, choirs, a ballet, hundreds of supernumeraries, and an authentic train of Gypsy wagons. In June of the following year, a spectacle was shown based on Henryk Sienkiewicz's *The Teutonic Knights*. A concert of more than a dozen Romanian military bands (750 musicians in total) was held there in early July 1934, and in 1935 – a historical show featuring major episodes from recent Polish history, culminating in the presentation of a 'live map of present-day Poland'. From 1935 onwards, the venue served as the Polish Armed Forces' main stadium.

Numerous entertainment events were held in the Swiss Valley, property of the Skating Association. An ice rink and toboggan run opened there after frost had set in. Music was played for the public using these facilities. In the summer, bands and orchestras performed on several stages; masquerades, tableaux vivants, fireworks, dancing competitions, prize draws, women's beauty contests etc. were organised. Some events had specific themes. For instance, the 1919 summer season opened with a 'Singles Evening' and ended with a great party titled 'The Valley Is on Fire'. Many events were held in the summer of 1921, when the Swiss Valley's management was taken over by Henryk Markiewicz, owner of a Concert Agency with seat at Warsaw Conservatory. In the following year, the Valley was leased to a private company, which organised daily concerts by the Warsaw Garrison Representative Orchestra under its very active leader Aleksander Sielski, formerly a conductor in Russia. 1922 saw the first jazz band performance in the Valley – by Antoni Adamus String Sextet. The Entertainment Society headed by Stanisław Ossorya-Brochocki held a cabaret season, and was responsible for the summer seasons in the Valley until 1924. These included concerts by Adamus' jazz sextet, the Warsaw Garrison Representative Orchestra, Warsaw Philharmonic, as well as the Stanisław Namysłowski Orchestra (successor to the legendary Karol Namysłowski Peasant Orchestra, active under the Russian rule). The 1925 summer season featured, among others, Walery Jastrzębiec's cabaret company and the Orchestra of the Thirty-Sixth Academic Infantry Legion,³ while in 1926 and 1927 the main star was Sielski's orchestra, performing with popular opera and stage singers as well as Tacjana Wysocka's dance company. Since the Warsaw Garrison Representative Orchestra wound down in 1927, its place was taken over by Warsaw Philharmonic, which held its own summer season in the Valley in 1928. Daily concerts were directed by leaders regularly collaborating with the Philharmonic and by some of the orchestra members. The Philharmonic continued to hold performances in the Valley in 1929-1932. Symphonic concerts were followed by ballet spectacles and revues. 1929 saw the introduction, for the first time, of 'mechanical music' in the Valley, played back over Marconi gigantophones. The 1933 concert season in the valley was presented by Warsaw Symphony Orchestra (established by Bronisław Szulc). After a break in 1934, season organisation was taken up in 1935 by the Polish Fanfare, which was another of Sielski's orchestras, and by

³ Its members were students of the State Music Conservatory; it was directed by Major Stefan Lidzki-Śledziński.

Lewandowski's orchestra in 1937. In the last years before the war, there were no more musical seasons in the Valley.

Midsummer Night celebrations

The Rowing Association's marina in Czerniakowska Street (Powiśle District) became a new venue for entertainment in Warsaw between the World Wars. In 1919 the Society came up with the idea of reviving the so called *wianki*, the folk midsummer festival, which had been forbidden under the Partitions and during the war since large assemblies had been unwelcome. The first midsummer celebrations in independent Poland, in June 1919, were highly spectacular for this reason. They took the form of a boat parade. The crews consisted of representatives of non-governmental organisations, guilds, schools, universities, and the army, clad in historical costumes, with presentations of tableaux vivants. Since all the crews wished to manifest their patriotism, national symbols prevailed. The central idea of this parade, titled 'Midsummer Garlands Float to Gdańsk', was to emphasise the Polish nation's wish for the city of Gdańsk to be reunited with Poland. This idea was reflected in many ways. There were fireworks and patriotic music, including Poland's still unofficial national anthem, *Dąbrowski's Mazurka*. The boat crews included Warsaw's leading choirs, *Lutnia* (Lute) and *Drużyna Śpiewacza* (Singers' Team),⁴ both of which prepared programmes consisting of patriotic songs and other pieces on themes related to the Vistula. The 1920 midsummer celebrations were more modest since Poland was fighting wars against Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia, there was a government crisis, and raging poverty pushed Warsaw's workers to hold protests in the streets. The traditional parade was held, though. Military bands and choirs (*Lutnia* and *Drużyna Śpiewacza*) performed. In the late 1920s, the celebrations began to be co-organised also by Women's Rowing Association, 'Wisła' Rowing Club, and the Academic Sports Union. The main points of the programme remained the same: a boat parade on the Vistula, a fireworks display, and orchestral music. Nevertheless, since participants had to pay for the scenery and décor out of their own pockets, the parade participants' numbers were on the wane, as also was the audience's interest. 'The Warsaw crowds are not fond of fresh air. They prefer stuffy crowded halls,' commented *Kurier Warszawski* following the rather unsuccessful 1929 midsummer celebrations. In a way, this sentence also sums up the then overall situation of outdoor entertainment initiatives in Warsaw.⁵ In 1933, the official midsummer celebrations were merged with the Sea Day (28 June). This festival, which also included events on land (an open-air church service and a military parade) thus turned into a propaganda event with an openly political agenda, complete with choral performances of hymns and patriotic songs. 1934 saw a technical innovation, since the national anthem (which traditionally opened the boat parade on the Vistula) was played over the loudspeakers. From 1938, the event was broadcast on Polish Radio. Warsaw's inhabitants missed the traditional

⁴ Respectively, the Choir of Trade and Industry Personnel and the Choir of the Rowing Association.

⁵ 'Wiadomości bieżące. Wianki na Wiśle' ['Current News: The Midsummer Celebrations on the Vistula'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 171 (24 June 1929, morning edition), 2.

midsummer celebrations, though. To satisfy the popular expectations, from 1937 onwards they again came to be organised by non-governmental groups, independently of the Sea Day.

Concerts and other events held by the municipal authorities

The tradition of municipal and military orchestras giving free concerts in Warsaw's urban space goes back to the nineteenth century. In the early period, the orchestras known for such performances were those of the municipal militia (active throughout the Prussian occupation), the Fire Brigades (est. 1906), and the State Police (founded after the dissolution of the militia). There were also others, such as those of the railway guards, city trams personnel,⁶ and gasworks personnel. From the late 1920s onwards, free concerts by military bands and municipal orchestras were held in the city's parks, gardens, and squares. This was also a way to support orchestral musicians in financial straits. The first open-air concert series financed by the Municipal Department of Education and Culture was held in 1928, when selected brass bands gave performances in the Saxon, Skaryszewski, and Traugutt parks on Sundays and feast days. From mid-May 1929, free city-funded concerts were presented in the Saxon Garden by Aleksander Sielski's brass band. From 1935, free performances by military bands and the Orchestra of the Municipal Trams and Buses Company as well as popular dance parties with music were organised by the city council in parks and suburban meadows. As many as 190 such events were held till July 1939,⁷ in places such as the Paderewski, Traugutt, Żeromski, Dreszer, and Sowiński parks, Wybrzeże Kościuszkowskie boulevard, the Old Town walls, Wolności Square, meadows along Elbląska Street in Powązki estate, and the fields in Sienkiewicza. The Old Town Square was used several times in the 1930s as a summer venue, including – for a production of *Cud mniemany* (*The Supposed Miracle*) by Wojciech Bogusławski, which was part of a festival dedicated to this father of the Polish opera, as well as Jan Kiepura's concerts in 1938 and 1939.

Music in pavement cafés and tea gardens

Such summer tea gardens existed as outdoor sections of restaurants in central Warsaw already in the nineteenth century. They catered for the lower-middle and middle urban classes, both Polish and Jewish, while Russians had their own venues. The garden of Roman Rekiert & Co.'s dairy (35, Ujazdowskie Avenue) won popularity in the nineteenth century and maintained its reputation after WWI. Performances by the more-than-one-hundred-piece Warsaw Army Headquarters Orchestra, founded during the Polish-Soviet war and headed by Aleksander Sielski, took place in that venue in 1920-21. According to Kazimierz Wiłkomirski, who was a member of this orchestra, it brought together 'plenty of musicians working in the lighter music genres, as well as all kinds of botchers who (like myself) prefer to do poor work

⁶ Later known as the Orchestra of the Municipal Trams and Buses Company.

⁷ 'Wiadomości bieżące. Zabawy powszechne w Warszawie' ['Current News: Free Entertainment in Warsaw'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 204 (26 July 1939, morning edition), 6.

in the orchestra rather than spill (our own or the other side's) blood in the nearby front line'.⁸ In later years, Sielski's band was transformed into the Orchestra of the Warsaw Garrison of the Polish Armed Forces, which performed, among others, under Jan Mackiewicz in the Rekiert tea garden. Other collectives that appeared there included Adam Furmański's 'popular music and symphony orchestra' and Kazimierz Bajon's artistic ensemble. The last open-air event was held in Rekiert's tea garden in 1929. Thereafter, Aleksander Sielski, who was then the head of a brass band he had set up himself, opened a Summer Concert Hall on the same spot. Cabaret spectacles had been discontinued even before, due to strong competition from permanent cabaret stages, operating, also in the summer, in those 'stuffy crowded halls' that the Warsaw public is said to have preferred.

The Rekiert tea garden competed with the garden at 3 Bagatela Street, property of the Gardening Society (est. 1884), leased after WWI to Kazimierz Dakowski. Advertised as 'Warsaw's summer salon', it attracted members of the higher and middle classes. In the summer of 1919, Aleksander Sielski, already mentioned above in connection with several other initiatives, launched in Bagatela (jointly with Maria Sobolewska, director of a Warsaw singing school) a project called Opera Buffo, including spectacles of Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor* (*The Impresario*), a piece after Offenbach, Adam's *La poupée de Nuremberg*, as well as a ballet night titled *Polish Dances* (dir. Kazimierz Łobojko). The garrison orchestra under Sielski played in the intervals. Sielski and Sobolewska continued this project in the following season (1920), with premieres of operettas by Wincenty Rapacki Jr (*Trial of Love*, *The Carbonari*), as well as medley shows including performances by the Warsaw ballet. Józef Trzeciak's ballet-extravaganza *The Old Fisherman and the Goldfish* was staged in July. From early May 1921, Stanisław Namysłowski's orchestra gave daily concerts at Bagatela. In the summer of 1926, there were more medley shows including vocal, theatrical, and acrobatic numbers, dances, and even performing dogs and roosters. The inaugural programme, titled *Attention! We Have Come*, was produced by Max Boczkowski. The 1927 summer season at Bagatela opened with an operetta by Leo Fall (titled *Piękny sen* [Beautiful Dream] in the Polish version), whereas 1928 saw performances by Tadeusz Wołowski's ephemeral Wesoly Ul (Merry Beehive) theatre company, which staged variety shows: *Hey These Wives of Ours* and *Hello Bagatela!* They were superseded in 1929 by Rewia Bagatela revue theatre company, inaugurating their programme series with a variety show titled *Miss Bagatela*. The latter troupe continued to stage spectacles for the next two seasons, but already at the all-seasons theatre next door, 5 Bagatela Street.

The garden in Bagatela was also the venue for most charity events held in Warsaw in the early-to-mid-1920s. These were usually all-night shows abounding in various attractions, including ballet spectacles, fireworks displays, and contests of all kinds. These shows also featured opera and ballet artists, cabaret stars, and jazz bands. The latter included Kagan-Gold in 1922, Adamus' band in 1923, and Zygmunt Wiehler's orchestra in 1924. In later years, jazz bands would play indoors, which was related to the fact that their performances would

⁸ Kazimierz Witkomirski, *Wspomnienia* [Memories] (Kraków, 1971), 192.

be broadcast on the radio. In Bagatela, such parties were held no more in the 1930s until they began to be organised again in the summer of 1939. The last of them featured Polish Radio Orchestra, Dana Choir, and several opera soloists. Its aim was to collect money for the country's defence.

The tea garden of the Victoria Hotel, likewise centrally located at 26 Jasna Street, only offered performances by mandolin ensembles and the domra players' band.⁹ The last information concerning music events held in that garden comes from the late 1920s. Several other tea gardens with music emerged in the same period. 1925 saw the first performances in the newly opened tea gardens at the Polonia Palace hotel (39 Jerozolimskie Avenue), Café Restaurant Unia (12 Moniuszki Street), the Łobzowianka Café (at the corner of Ujazdowskie Avenue and Koszykowa Street), as well as Civil Servants Club at 12 Świętokrzyska Street. A short-lived youth orchestra under Feliks Rybicki performed at that latter club, a mandolin ensemble and a band under Czesław Żak – at the Unia Café, and the Polish Armed Forces Representative Orchestra – during the evening dances at the Łobzowianka. More musical tea gardens would open in the years that followed: at the Wróbel Restaurant (14 Mazowiecka St.), the Lij (8 Krakowskie Przedmieście St.), the Europejski Hotel (13 Krakowskie Przedmieście St.), the Bristol Hotel (42/44 Krakowskie Przedmieście St.), the Philips Radio-Garden (8 Mazowiecka St.), J. Herbst & Co. restaurant (at the corner of Nowy Świat and Warecka St.), and Café Romantique (11 Krucza St.).

Summer theatres

Some theatres and cinema theatres held open-air performances in the summer. These included the Argus Theatre (5 Bielańska St.), which attracted the audience with strongmen's and acrobats' displays of skill, cabaret programmes, and operetta spectacles, cinema-theatres: the Wodewil (43 Nowy Świat St.) and Olimpia (114 Marszałkowska St.), as well as the small Eldorado Theatre (29 Hoża St., at the corner of Marszałkowska St.). 1923 saw a summer operetta season at the Wodewil, organised by Władysław Szczawiński and Kazimiera Niewiarowska (both artists had recently moved to Warsaw from Russia). The first work to be premiered was Hugo Hirsch's *Die Tolle Lola*, followed by Jean Gilbert's *Szczęście Mary* (probably *Annemarie*), Robert Stoltz's piece titled *Czar nocy* [*Charm of the Night*] in Polish, and Oscar Strauss' *Das Nixchen* (Pol. *Królowa fał*). In the next summer season, the same team staged Stoltz's *The Harlequin* (Pol. *Pajac*) and Walter Kollo's *Marietta*. In 1925 Niewiarowska held her own theatre season in an all-year, indoor venue, whereas the 1926 season at the Wodewil was organised by Walery Jastrzębiec-Rudnicki, a spectacle director collaborating with Warsaw's cabarets. The stage was renovated and roofed over. The season opened with Emmerich Kálmán's *Autumn Manoeuvres*. Two variety shows, titled *Weather will be Good the Day after Tomorrow* and *Wife Won't Learn about It*, were staged in the following year. Afterwards the Wodewil's outdoor programmes came to an end.

⁹ A band made up of Russian musicians active in the 1920s Warsaw under the direction of Bazyli Zubrzycki.

The Eldorado Theatre, already in operation before WWI, presented its outdoor summer programmes in 1926 (featuring a stage collective led by Stanisław Ossorya-Brochocki, whose inaugural show titled *Cimcirimci z bibliotkami* was followed by *Ah Those Bushes* and *Put Your Legs on the Table*) and 1927 (directed by Walery Jastrzębiec: *The Guardian of Virtue*, followed by *Women's Paradise* and *At War with Wives*). This theatre ceased its activities the autumn of 1927.

Another theatre-and-cabaret venture that opened its outdoor stage in 1926 was the Olimpia, where the outdoor summer season was likewise directed by Walery Jastrzębiec. After the medley *What Impudence!* there came, among others, the vaudeville *I Wanna Be a Tomboy!* authored by well-known journalist Jadwiga Kiewnarska, and the 'topical vaudeville' titled *Susanne's Taking a Bath*; in 1927 – two other vaudevilles: *Radio Frequency 1111* and *You'll Find a Husband Here*. This short-lived stage ended its activity at the same time as the Eldorado, in the autumn of 1927. The Olimpia's troupe provided the basis for the Czerwony As (Red Ace) theatre headed first by Tadeusz Wołowski, and later – Józef Winiaszkiewicz. The latter company only gave performances till the end of the 1928/29 season. During this time it nevertheless also made its presence in the outdoor events scene by staging a remake of Alfred Hennequin / Joseph Webster's farce titled *Pan minister na inspekcji* [*The Minister's Inspection*] in Polish in the summer of 1928 and the revue *No Fig Leaf Needed* in 1929. The Olimpia's successor was the Pod Bukietem (Under the Bouquet) restaurant, opened in 1931, which had both an indoor area and a tea garden.

Street musicians and the soundscape of urban yards

Kurier Warszawski wrote in the summer of 1923:

As Warsaw's appearance, its buildings and streets, are undergoing a transformation, so also are human types. The organ-grinders and urban band singers, whose ear-splitting voices assault peace-loving inhabitants – are gradually disappearing. Likewise on the wane are buskers playing in public squares and on pavements, whose instruments are merely a cover for their beggary.¹⁰

This press article was printed at the time of mass migrations after WWI, when a huge number of people coming from Russia or from the Eastern borderlands regained by the Polish state flocked into Warsaw, which led to a major immigration crisis. Many of those newcomers were begging in front of churches, at the entrance to post offices, department stores, restaurants, as well as in the city's main squares and traffic arteries, as the text informs us.

The era of organ grinders and urban street musicians entered its twilight, according to Marta Michalska, already in the late nineteenth century. This was caused, on the one hand, by a series of bans on such activities imposed by the municipal police, and on the other – by the rise of the modern media, which for a large part of the population came to replace live

¹⁰ 'Grajkowie uliczni' ['Street Musicians'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 196 (17 July 1923, evening edition), 4.

music.¹¹ Having said this, both barrel organs and buskers' bands continued to contribute to the soundscape of Warsaw between the world wars. The number of street performers even increased during the Great Depression since many unemployed workers and craftsmen took it up as an occupation. Their activity frequently led to conflicts with caretakers and later also with the law since in 1938 the municipal authorities placed a ban on street performances.¹² This regulation was in fact flouted by both the musicians and their audiences. The traditional repertoire of street performers reflected the multinational structure of Warsaw's prewar population. This meant that, side by side with Polish-language songs (frequently derived from the current cabaret and cinema repertoire), organ-grinders, street singers and bands also performed the much-liked Russian romances. One of Nina Rydzewska's protagonists recalls in her novel *W-Hour* (published directly after WWII):

Your eyelids are still heavy from the sleep, when a barrel-organ tune bursts in through the window: 'Rozluka, ti moya rozluka',¹³ echoing against the cobblestones in the yard [...] But then comes 'Otets moy bil bradyaga',¹⁴ a piece I love so much [...].¹⁵

This is followed by a little medley of Polish cabaret hits: 'These are the moments one will remember even if one lived to be a thousand years old!'¹⁶ and 'Oh Susanna, I so terribly love you!'.¹⁷

The urban courtyard soundscape was complemented (in Rydzewska's recollections) by the characteristic calls of street peddlers of different nationalities: Polish, Romani, and Jewish. Though Russians were no longer part of this ethnic mix after WWI, the calls of Russian peasants and craftsmen were still fresh in Warsaw inhabitants' memories between the world wars, as evident from witness accounts. Wiktor Gomulicki, for instance, recalls the voices of Russian peasants who had settled in Warsaw's environs, cultivating and selling their crops: 'They used to win our hearts with the melodiousness and exaggerated sweetness of their speech...'¹⁸ A Russian cart-driver's (*izvoshchik*) song was parodied in 1932 by Banda literary cabaret as part of a programme in which Zula Pogorzelska impersonated a street singer.

Warsaw's buskers, organ-grinders, and street bands differed from their counterparts in e.g. Vienna in that they had no trade union of their own, no management, no hierarchy regulated by competitions, and no top-down repertoire policies. The Ministry of Internal Affairs admittedly attempted to regulate the profession in the summer of 1928 by introducing

¹¹ Marta Michalska, 'Dźwięki, ludzie i nasłuchiwanie Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Wybrane elementy fonosfery miasta' ['The Soundscape, the People, and the Audience of Warsaw at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Selected Aspects of the City's Soundscape'], PhD thesis (supervised by Błażej Brzostek, PhD, Habil.), University of Warsaw, 2022, 129.

¹² 'Wiadomości bieżące. Zakaz gry muzycznej na ulicach' ['Current News: Street Music Performances Banned'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 150 (2 June 1938, morning edition), 5.

¹³ Разлука [Parting], a traditional Russian romance.

¹⁴ Бродяга [A Vagrant], a Russian folksong.

¹⁵ Nina Rydzewska, *Godzina W* [*W-Hour*], (Warszawa, 1946), 181–182.

¹⁶ Rydzewska, *Godzina W*, 184. In Polish (original spelling): 'To są momene-ta, co się pamienne-ta, choćbyś człowieku żył-y tysiąc lat!'

¹⁷ Rydzewska, *Godzina W*, 184. 'Zuzanno, ach! Zuzanno, ach! Ja kocham, kocham cię aż strach!' – a remake of a well-known American hit, popularised in Poland by Tadeusz Faliszewski.

¹⁸ Wiktor Gomulicki, 'Dusza Rosji' ['The Soul of Russia'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 88 (29 March 1914), 3.

a system of job licences, defining the conditions for musicians playing in tenement yards as well as repertoire censorship. This project, however, was never actually implemented.¹⁹

‘Cacophony’ in urban yards

The problem of noise from tenement yards, entering urban flats through the open windows, was frequently taken up in both the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. This ‘cacophony’, previously largely produced by piano players, was augmented in the interwar period by the sound of radios and gramophones. In the Warsaw press, such urban yard noise was contested in both serious and humorous form. In the humoresque ‘Welcome to Spring’, printed in April 1934 by *Kurier Warszawski*, the silence-loving narrator’s ears are attacked by the vernal outburst of yard music: barbershop singers, songs ‘that were greatly popular at the end of the previous century’, the sound of slide guitars, until, eventually,

there came a longer break, which was eagerly used by our neighbour to bang out Rubinstein’s *Romance* on the piano. Albeit unapplauded, she repeated her performance five times.

This *Romance* must have encouraged the shoemaker who lives in the basement. This man, otherwise quiet and placid by nature, played a worn-out record of *Polish Flowers* on his gramophone.²⁰

The Polish capital’s ‘diary in song’

Satirical commentary on current political events constituted a major part of Warsaw’s street-song repertoire. Such songs could be distributed as occasional prints or transmitted orally. They constituted ‘the capital’s diary in song’. A collection of such pieces, in circulation in the years 1919-20, was preserved thanks to its publication in the Polish-Jewish journal *Kurier Nowy*. The author of this compilation, leading Polish-Jewish journalist Jakub Appenzlak, not only wrote down the lyrics, but also mentioned some typical performers of this repertoire, which makes it possible to trace the songs’ transmission from the anonymous author to the public. Prominent among those performers were news vendors and paperboys, members of the News Vendors Trade Union, which was an official body. They evidently also aspired to the role of oral street news reporters. In his introduction to this song publication, Appenzlak wrote:

As I was passing by the Teatr Wielki [Grand Theatre], the paperboy sang: *One was a pianist, / today we have a pharmacist.*²¹ / *You are bound to see / more comedy here [in Poland] / Hey, dana.* And a group

¹⁹ [n.n.], ‘Grajkowie i kuglarze uliczni’ [‘Street Musicians and Jugglers’], *Kurier Warszawski*, 225 (15 August 1928), 5.

²⁰ Aramis, ‘Powitanie wiosny’ [‘Welcome to Spring’], *Kurier Warszawski*, 103 (16 April 1934, morning edition), 6.

²¹ This refers to Leopold Skulski, who took over from pianist Ignacy Jan Paderewski as Poland’s Prime Minister.

delighted to see the obituaries of 'traitors' chanted to the same tune: *We shall drive the Jews out / and live in peace. / Our [country's] trade is not for them, / It is for 'Progress'.*²² *Hey, dana!*²³

'Street urchins' were another social group that eagerly performed political songs. Appenzlak reports in the same feature on this subject: 'Those brave boys are marching and singing, on a sentimental note: *Roses are blooming, cherry has shed its blossom / may all the jews [sic!] be afflicted with plague!*'²⁴ When political songs dealt not just with current events but with one selected social group, they could easily become a propaganda tool or a way of exerting pressure. This was suitably illustrated by the author of *New Kurier's* feature with a song about profiteers, whom some people in Warsaw identified with rich Jews:

Street urchins sang in front of one of Warsaw's restaurants: *Wealthy men are eating / in this dear city / best wheat cakes / and sweet apple pies! / Such is the sumptuous supper / of young profiteers. / So who would care / that the [Polish] currency is falling?*²⁵

In the later instalments of Appenzlak's report we follow the political songs as they permeate from their cradle in the strict centre of the city (where the public is knowledgeable about politics) to the suburbs and tenement yards ('They're reciting verse about Andrzej²⁶ in the suburbs'²⁷; 'Maidservants chant to "La matchiche"²⁸,²⁹ 'Listen to the songs sung by women shivering with cold in the queues'³⁰).

National and nationalist marches: the music of political demonstrations

One type of public music performance was associated with Warsaw's role as the state capital, the centre of both current political propaganda and of national memorial celebrations. From the earliest days after Poland regained independence in 1918, Warsaw celebrated national holidays and anniversaries with mass-scale marches, which aimed to promote patriotism, win support for the political authorities, and consolidate the society. Street demonstrations, originally spontaneous, later – organised by grassroots committees and/or the municipal authorities, followed a calendar that corresponded to current political events and circumstances, such as the national holidays of Poland and its political allies (France and the

²² Towarzystwo Rozwój [Progress Society], founded in 1913, called for economic boycott of Jewish traders. After WWI, it opposed granting Polish Jews the status of a national minority.

²³ Pierrot [Jakub Appenzlak], 'Między wierszami. Najmłodsza pieśń ludowa (Trzecia seria)' ['Between the Lines. Most Recent Popular Songs (Series Three)'], *Kurier Nowy*, 11 (11 January 1920), 2.

²⁴ Pierrot, 'Między wierszami. Najmłodsza pieśń ludowa (Trzecia seria)', 2.

²⁵ Pierrot, 'Między wierszami. Najmłodsza pieśń ludowa (Wydanie drugie)' ['Between the Lines. Most Recent Popular Songs (Series Two)'], *Kurier Nowy*, 102 (7 December 1919), 4.

²⁶ Andrzej Niemojewski, conservative writer and politician well-known for his anti-Semitic views.

²⁷ Pierrot, 'Między wierszami. Najmłodsza pieśń ludowa (Wydanie drugie)'.

²⁸ 'La Matchiche', a popular French song written by Charles Clerk (1905), sung in Poland to a text translated by eminent actor Wincenty Rapacki Jr.

²⁹ Pierrot, 'Między wierszami. Najmłodsza pieśń ludowa' ['Between the Lines. Most Recent Popular Songs'], *Kurier Nowy*, 100 (4 December 1919), 2.

³⁰ Pierrot, 'Między wierszami. Najmłodsza pieśń ludowa', 2.

United States). In the early years after WWI, the Corpus Christi processions and traditional midsummer celebrations were also appropriated for political purposes. These mass events were immensely spectacular, with their routes adorned by emblems and greenery, participants dressed in military uniforms or historical costumes, and crowds of flower-bearing children. All this was coupled with a rich musical setting provided by orchestras and Warsaw's leading choirs: Lutnia, Drużyna Śpiewacza, Harfa, Duda,³¹ and Dzwon. Photographic and film footage was taken; reports on these celebrations were printed in the daily press; newsreels showed the events in major cinemas.

The history of patriotic demonstrations attended by the wide Warsaw public starts under the Prussian occupation, during WWI, when the Prussian authorities took care to fuel anti-Russian sentiments and let these animosities escalate during street events held on 3 May, on the anniversary of Poland's first constitution.³²

Directly after the Regency Council (in office from 1916) had announced its Address to the Polish Nation (on 7 October 1918), crowds of Warsaw's inhabitants gathered in the streets, singing patriotic songs.³³ Another march took place on 14 October. 'I've bumped into another demonstration, wailing in a funereal, drawling manner: "Give us back our fatherland and freedom, oh Lord". There were plenty of rallying cries and banners such as "Long live Piłsudski" and "Long live Wilson"', wrote the novelist Maria Dąbrowska in her *Diaries*.³⁴ The march was inspired by members of the Polish First Corps in Russia,³⁵ but other soldiers also joined in, along with university and secondary school students, as well as representatives of various social organisations. The socialists held their own, separate demonstration, with performances of their hymn – *The Red Banner*.³⁶ Another demonstration, following the Regency Council's declaration of transferring military command to Józef Piłsudski,³⁷ took the form of a great national march coupled with services held at Christian churches and synagogues. Among the first societies and institutions to declare participation in this event were the Lutnia choir and the Orpheon Music Society.³⁸ On 17 November, the march set off from five churches in the city centre, including the Holy Cross Church. Music was performed during the event by Warsaw's leading musical institutions: the Teatr Wielki opera house, a fire service orchestra, and the Lutnia choir, while the demonstrators also included Warsaw

³¹ The choir of the Rowing Association.

³² Aleksander Kraushar, historian of Warsaw, commented on this project in his cycle 'Z notatnika' [From a Journal], discussing the situation in Warsaw during the war. *Kurier Warszawski*, 253 (13 September 1919, evening edition), 6.

³³ The Address proclaimed Poland's independence, citing the so-called Fourteen Points (of US President Woodrow Wilson), previously accepted by the Central Powers as the basis for peace negotiations.

³⁴ Maria Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki 1914–1932* [Diaries 1914–1932], Vol. I, ed. Tadeusz Drewnowski (Warszawa, 1988), 116.

³⁵ Founded in 1917 in Russia, fighting under the command of Józef Dowbor-Muśnicki.

³⁶ Pol. *Czerwony sztandar* (incipit 'Our blood has long been shed by butchers') – the traditional hymn of the Polish proletariat.

³⁷ This was made possible by the abdication of German Emperor Wilhelm II, which entailed the dismantling of Prussian rule in Warsaw.

³⁸ 'Orpheon' Singers and Musicians' Society, directed by L.T. Płosajkiewicz, with seat in Mokotowska Street, which ran a youth orchestra and choir.

Philharmonic orchestra member and students of Warsaw Conservatory. Press accounts do not list titles of the songs performed during this march. We only know that *Boże, coś Polskę* (*God, Who Hast Poland...*), which functioned as an unofficial national hymn, was sung as the procession was leaving the Holy Cross Church. Another mass demonstration was organised on 15 December 1918, at the crucial juncture directly after France's recognition of the Polish National Committee as the Polish government-in-exile, which would soon allow its representatives to join the peace negotiations. The communist party likewise intensified its presence in Warsaw in that period. Its activists and supporters frequently held rallies and marches in the streets of the Polish capital. The socialists, who set out on 29 December 1918 from Saski Square,³⁹ are known to have sung *The Red Banner* again on this occasion. Their demonstration dissolved into riots, which were crushed by the army. There were casualties.

1 January 1919 saw the arrival in Warsaw of Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Let me again quote Maria Dąbrowska's diary:

We had a curious New Year's Day yesterday. Paderewski arrived and was greeted as though he were the ruler of the Nation. I have never seen anything like this in my life: those countless crowds, swooshing onwards like the sea, with a never-ending cry of enthusiasm..."⁴⁰

According to *Kurier Warszawski's* detailed report, the fire service orchestra greeted Paderewski at the railway station with three anthems, namely: the Polish, British, and American ones. Around midnight the joint choirs of Lutnia, Drużyna Śpiewacza, Harfa, and Duda performed on the balcony of the Europejski Hotel (opposite the Bristol, at which Paderewski resided). Under the baton of Waclaw Lachman and Władysław Otto, they sang the canon of patriotic songs: *Rota (The Oath)*, *Czas do boju, czas (Time to Go to Battle)*, as well as both unofficial Polish national anthems: *God, Who Hast Poland...* and *Dąbrowski's Mazurka*. Crowds spontaneously gathered in front of the Bristol Hotel on the following day, singing patriotic songs.

In 1919 the anniversary of Poland's first constitution (3 May) was already celebrated as an official national holiday. It had initially been planned by a group of private persons as 'a festival of spring and the 3 May [national] revival', thus combining a springtime party with anniversary celebrations. Only at the very last moment did the Polish Sejm (lower chamber of the Parliament) declare 3 May an official national holiday. *Kurier Warszawski* listed the following elements of the 1919 celebrations: children's march to the Traugutt Cross at Warsaw Citadel (accompanied by an orchestra playing songs), a field mass (with 'military music and children's choral singing'), planting symbolic trees, another march to 3 Maja [3 May] Street ('to the accompaniment of orchestras, including a children's ensemble'); later in the afternoon and on the following day – orchestral concerts and parties 'in sundry gardens

³⁹ In protest against the authorities' decision to intern the delegates of the Russian Red Cross who had come to Warsaw.

⁴⁰ Maria Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki 1914–1932*, I, 130. Entry for 2 January 1919.

and places'.⁴¹ Marches were setting out from churches after the religious services and from the slopes of the Citadel, where a morning field mass coupled with a military parade was held in front of the garrison church.

On 14 July 1919, military bands and Lutnia choir performed during the celebrations of France's national day (Bastille Day). *Dąbrowski's Mazurka* and *La Marseillaise* were performed, among others. The military event on the fifth anniversary of Piłsudski's Polish Legions crossing the border of the (tsarist) Kingdom of Poland on 12 August featured the following programme: a field mass in Saski Square, a military parade with the participation of the Warsaw garrison orchestra, dances and parties at, among others, Agrykola and the Citadel in the afternoon. Two days later, military and municipal orchestras greeted Herbert Hoover (head of the US relief efforts in Poland) with hymns and marches. This ceremony likewise involved a field mass in Saski Square and a military parade. Children were invited to appear in copies of army uniforms.

Józef Piłsudski's name day as Chief of State was officially celebrated for the first time on 19 March 1919. The celebrations, which opened with a field mass in Saski Square, were filmed and later screened at the Filharmonia – a leading Warsaw cinema operating in the concert hall of Warsaw Philharmonic on concert-free days.

The eighty-eighth death anniversary of General Józef Sowiński, who defended Warsaw's Wola District during the November Uprising of 1830–31, was celebrated in the early autumn of 1919 with a march that set out from a little church situated on the military defence earthwork. Soon afterwards, however, the enthusiasm of patriotic event organisers wore off due to economic crisis and the unsteady political situation. The march on 18 January 1920, marking the assignment to Poland of the territories of the former Prussian Partition (by the Paris Peace Conference) was already quite small. Piłsudski's name day started that year with a military parade in Saski Square (with the singing of soldiers' songs), followed by a street pageant of military bands, whereas military and municipal orchestras gave performances in the main squares. 3 May celebrations began in 1920 with a Holy Mass in the chapel ruins at the Botanical Garden. Lutnia choir was accompanied during the Mass by the police orchestra. The soundscape of this event was complemented by the whirring of aeroplane engines. A flight of aircraft was used to drop leaflets that advertised the national loan, to the accompaniment of gun salvos. The Mass was followed by a military parade which ended in Zamkowy (Castle) Square.

1920 was also the last year in which the US national holiday was celebrated with a march, coupled with a solemn orchestral concert and choral performances in Teatralny Square. The French national day was no longer celebrated in the streets since the Bolshevik army was already heading for Warsaw and recruitment for volunteer service was in full swing. 18 July was the Volunteer Army Day (troops mobilized to defend the country from the Soviet invasion), with a Mass held in Saski Square and a march to the sound of military bands. Participants were dressed in 1831 and 1863 insurgents' costumes.

⁴¹ 'Wiadomości bieżące. Obchód 3-go Maja' ['Current News: 3 May Celebrations'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 105 (15 April 1919, morning edition), 2–3.

In later years the number of such marches was significantly reduced due to high costs. The US national day celebrations therefore took the form of small-scale presentations held at the little Hoover Garden in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. 3 May parades continued. A papal decree of 11 November 1923 transformed 3 May into a religious-national feast day under the official name of the Solemnity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Polish Crown. Its soundscape (and visual context) involved church bell ringing, military parades with orchestras, gun salvos, and the whirr of aircraft engines. The said parades set out from Saski Square (known from 1928 as Józef Piłsudski Square) till 1935, and were moved afterwards to Niepodległości Avenue (on route to Mokotów Field) or to Ujazdowskie Avenue (marches to Wolności Square).⁴² Piłsudski's lethal illness led to a cancellation of the mass celebrations in 1935. The last 3 May parade before the war was greeted with particular enthusiasm as a demonstration of Poland's military power.

Poland's Independence Day celebrations (on 11 November, launched under the rule of the Sanation movement, 1926–1935, and officially established as a national holiday in 1937) involved events held both on that day and on its eve, including church services, military parades, Sokół (Polish Gymnastic Society) parades, and colourful 'propaganda pageants' for young people. As of 1935, these events also included memorial tributes to Piłsudski. The military parade held on 11 November 1938, the twentieth anniversary of Poland regaining independence, was particularly impressive.

Military parades were also organised on Soldiers' Day, which in 1925 was set to 15 August, that is, the anniversary of the victorious Battle of Warsaw (fought against the Bolshevik army in 1920). The celebrations in the capital were rather modest, as the ceremony proper took place in the nearby villages of Ossów and Radzymin, where the actual battle had been fought. The only larger-scale ceremony in Warsaw itself was held on the tenth anniversary of the battle. A march with music and singing proceeded from St John's Cathedral to the Swiss Valley, where a festive spectacle was presented. After the National Democrats became part of the ruling coalition in Poland, their representatives held their own alternative marches on 15 August, with the crowd loudly cheering Roman Dmowski, leader of the nationalists, as well as shouting anti-Semitic and anti-communist slogans. Endecja's demonstrations ended with collective singing of *Hymn Młodych* (*Hymn of Youth*) to words by Jan Kasprówicz, sung to the 1831 melody of *Warszawianka* (*La Varsovienne*).

Piłsudski's name day continued to be celebrated under the rule of the Sanation governments. On the eve of that day, marches set out from Piłsudski Square to the Marshal's residence at the Belweder. Army and police troops marched along with orchestras, which performed the hymn of the Polish Legions and of Piłsudski's supporters – *My, pierwsza Brygada* (*The March of the First Brigade*). The national anthem and patriotic songs were later performed in front of the Belweder, where the Marshal received greetings from delegates of the army and civilian organisations. The Marshal's name day was still commemorated after his death in 1935. On that day, people gathered under the street megaphones to listen to

⁴² Known previously and again at present as Plac na Rozdrożu (Square at the Crossroads).

church services and speeches recorded by Polish Radio. Military and civil service delegates marches along the streets and paid homage to the deceased statesman in front of his busts or portraits.

The last weeks before the outbreak of WWII in 1939 saw the parades in the streets of Warsaw of the Twenty-First Infantry Regiment 'Children of Warsaw', which was revered by Warsaw's inhabitants as the city's direct defenders. A mass rally was held by the regimental command in Siekierki fields on 30 August 1939. *Kurier Warszawski* describes the extremely solemn atmosphere of that event, enhanced by a performance of a march based on motifs from the 1831 *Warszawianka* and the patriotic song *Tysi c walecznych* (*A Thousand Valiant Warriors*), which was dedicated to the regiment.⁴³

Memorial sites

From the earliest postwar years, patriotic anniversaries were celebrated at various locations related to Poland's struggle for national independence. In Warsaw these were: the slopes of the Citadel (at the Traugutt Cross, erected at the site where Romuald Traugutt, the leader of the 1863 January Uprising had been executed) and the Botanical Garden of the University of Warsaw adjacent to the Royal  azienki Park (in the ruins of a small chapel under whose foundations, as legend has it, a copy of the 3 May Constitution had been buried). It was on that latter site that an illegal student demonstration had begun in 1891. On the initiative of the university's authorities, annual festivities were held in the Botanical Garden on 3 May (the national holiday), culminating in collective singing of *God, Who Hast Poland...* The event was cancelled in 1935 since Pi sudski was in his death throes at that time.

The patriotic manifestation at the Warsaw Citadel was first held in 1919 on the anniversary of the outbreak of the January Uprising, under the patronage of Helena Paderewska, wife of the then prime minister. Following a Holy Mass at St John Cathedral, with performances by the Rorate Choir under Stanis aw Kazuro, the participants marched to the Traugutt Cross. Patriotic songs were sung to the accompaniment of a military band. For the next several years, the ceremonies at the Citadel primarily involved the armed forces. From 2021, a military parish operated at the former Eastern Orthodox Church, now reconsecrated as St George's Church. From 1928 onwards, religious processions were held on the slopes of the Citadel, with the participation of church and lay choirs as well as the Armourers' School Non-Commissioned Officers Choir (the school operated at the Citadel).

Another patriotic memorial site was Saski (Pi sudskiego) Square, where the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was unveiled in 1925. On national holidays, official ceremonies were held there with the participation of the state authorities and the army. Amateur orchestras and choirs customarily gave brief performances in that square on their visits to Warsaw.

Religious processions

⁴³ Andrzej  wit, 'Dzieci Warszawy' ['Children of Warsaw'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 240 (31 August 1939, evening edition), 4.

The solemn Corpus Christi celebrations in Warsaw, as elsewhere, involved street processions with the Eucharist, which set out from about a dozen churches throughout the city. The official procession in the centre of the city brought together politicians, the military, university professors in traditional gowns, delegates of craftsmen's guilds, religious fraternities, schools, and non-governmental organisations. It set out from St John's Cathedral and proceeded along Świętojańska Street, across Zamkowy Square and into Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. The four altars where Gospel fragments were to be sung were erected near the former Observant (St Anne's) Church, the chapel of the WTD charity (at the former Kazanowski Palace), the figure of the Our Lady of Victory,⁴⁴ and the Carmelite Church. The procession and the preceding Mass were celebrated with rich musical settings, provided in the 1920s by Lutnia and the Catholic seminarists' choir under Father Antoni Kaim (rector of St Anne's), and later by other ecclesiastical choirs. Father Eugeniusz Gruberski's *Responsories for Corpus Christi* were an obligatory part of those musical performances. There was also congregational singing of religious songs to the accompaniment of military and municipal orchestras.

The first postwar Corpus Christi ceremony took on patriotic overtones, with Józef Piłsudski himself following the priestly baldachin in the company of leading politicians. Apart from religious songs, the national anthem of Poland (*Dąbrowski's Mazurka*) was also sung. This national aspect of the Corpus Christi processions was consciously upheld by the authorities in later years. In 1922, *Kurier Warszawski* appealed to Warsaw's inhabitants to decorate their houses and send delegates from guilds and societies 'so as to demonstrate on that day that the capital is ours, Polish and Catholic'.⁴⁵ In the 1930s the official Corpus Christi celebrations regained their purely religious character though politicians still took part. National songs were no longer sung. In the last few years preceding WWII, the President of Poland participated in processions in Spała (where he had his residence) rather than Warsaw.

Apart from processions held on Corpus Christi and the octave of that feast, street processions were also organised in Warsaw for the Feast of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus in June. From the mid-1930s processions held in early August marked the departure of mass pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Marian sanctuary, where the Feast of the Assumption was celebrated on 15 August.

The summers of 1935–39 saw the staging of religious spectacles (*autos sacramentales*) after Calderon (*Mysteries of the Holy Mass – Los Misterios de la misa; Belshazzar's Feast – La cena del rey Baltasar; The Great Theater of the World – El Gran Teatro del Mundo; Mystery of the Cradle and Tomb*) by Misterium theatre company founded by Edward Strycki and a choir directed by Jan Maklakiewicz, in the courtyard of the Holy Cross Church.

Memorial and funeral ceremonies

⁴⁴ Under the Partitions of Poland, this figure, made famous by the bloodily dispersed patriotic demonstration of 1861, was known as the figure of the Blessed Mary (Maria Hilf) of Passau.

⁴⁵ 'Wiadomości bieżące. Procesja Bożego Ciała w katedrze' ['Current News: Corpus Christi Procession at the Cathedral'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 158 (12 June 1922, evening edition), 3.

Other public ceremonies included death anniversaries, the transfer of distinguished Poles' mortal remains, and funerals. Funerals of average citizens, with processions accompanied by brass bands, moving along the streets to cemeteries, were held in all areas of the city (including the Jewish district). Sumptuous funerals of rich or important figures usually did not involve processions. Their participants took part in Holy Mass at the Church of St Charles Borromeo at Powązki Cemetery. The bones of distinguished persons of the Eastern Orthodox denomination were transferred on several occasions from their respective places of residence to the Metropolitan Cathedral of the Holy Mary Magdalene (of the autocephalous Polish Orthodox Church). Among others, in March 1927 a crowd including representatives of the thirty-thousand strong Russian diaspora in Warsaw and the cream of the Polish intelligentsia took part in the funeral of the Warsaw-based Russian writer and journalist Mikhail Artsybashev.

On 26 June 1927, Warsaw celebrated the transfer from France of the mortal remains of (famous Polish Romantic poet) Juliusz Słowacki. The coffin, transported up the Vistula River from Gdańsk, was greeted at the Poniatowski Bridge by a procession of politicians, representatives of schools, NGOs, etc., who accompanied it to St John's Cathedral. There it was laid in state for all those who wished to pay homage to the dead bard. On the next day, the coffin, accompanied by a solemn procession with music, was carried to a train that took it to Cracow.

The sixtieth anniversary of Stanisław Moniuszko's death in June 1932 was marked with a nationwide assembly of choral societies, held in Warsaw, as well as choral procession from the Holy Cross Church to Powązki Cemetery on 4 June. Moniuszko's songs were sung at his grave. An open party was organised in the Ujazdowski Park on the following day, combined with a concert of Moniuszko's songs performed by joint orchestras and choirs.

On the day after Piłsudski's death, 14 May 1935, thousands of Warsaw's inhabitants marched along the streets of Warsaw to the Belweder. The funeral ceremony at the capital also included transfer of the Marshal's body to St John's Cathedral, where it was laid in state in a glass-covered coffin for three days. There were more marches to the Belweder, held by delegates of various societies and organisations, by scouts, etc., as well as a final military parade at Mokotów civilian airport (in Mokotów Field by Topolowa Street, now a park), from whose vicinity the body was then transported by train to Cracow. The musical setting of this ceremony was provided by military bands. Two-day ceremonies in honour of Piłsudski were held in the years that followed. On the eve of that his death anniversary, soldiers paraded to the sound of funeral drums. The anniversary itself was celebrated with a spell of silence, the ringing of church bells and the sound of factory sirens, a military parade, and gun salvos.

In May 1937, the body of composer Karol Szymanowski was transported from Switzerland, where he had died, to Cracow via Warsaw. In the capital, the ceremony involved performances by young musicians from the State Music Conservatory, of which Szymanowski had been the head in 1930–31.

The solemn ceremony of the return of the relics of St Andrew Bobola, SJ, from Rome to Warsaw in June 1938, was attended by the state authorities (Polish President Ignacy Mościcki, Polish commander-in-chief Edward Rydz-Śmigły, members of the government and the Parliament) as well as crowds of Warsaw's inhabitants. The coffin with the martyr's bones was brought to the place of its permanent rest at the Jesuit Chapel in Rakowiecka Street. The procession and the Holy Mass in Zamkowy Square were accompanied by the singing of religious songs and hymns.

The transfer of the body of Wojciech Korfanty, long-time leader of the Polish national movement in Upper Silesia, from the Church of the Holiest Saviour to the railway station, whence the coffin was taken by train to this politician's home city of Katowice, was the last large-scale funeral ceremony in prewar Warsaw. It was held on 18 August 1939.

Workers' and Youth Demonstrations

From 1919 onwards, 1 May was the day when factory workers, and in particular – members of the largest Polish socialist party (PPS), marked their presence in the Polish capital. Demonstrators marched from Teatralny Square to Old Town Square. Till 1921, the socialists marched on May Day along with the communists (whose party had already been made illegal in March 1919, but its activity in Warsaw continued to be tolerated till July 1920) and with members of the Bund (a secular Jewish socialist party). Marches were accompanied by the singing of songs, including *The Red Banner* (the socialists' hymn), fanfares, and drumming. In 1922, Christian workers' unions refused to march with the socialists, while Bund held its own marches in the Jewish district instead. In later years, May Day marches would turn into street disturbances as communists joined the PPS demonstrators, carrying anti-state banners. This developed into a kind of customary scheme, recurring year after year (albeit not planned by the socialists as part of their May Day celebrations), culminating in bloody fights between the socialists and the communists, or between different followers of the Marxist doctrine, as *Kurier Warszawski* put it in 1928.⁴⁶

Demonstrations were also held in the streets of Warsaw by nationalist youth organisations, whose members sang Kasprowicz's *Hymn of Youth* during marches.

Conclusions

The interwar period was a time of busy cultural and political, music-accompanied activity in the open air, though the role of such events in the totality of Warsaw's cultural life steadily diminished with time as a result of the municipal authorities' policy of emphasising the city's role as the state's capital and building the image of a modern metropolis. The need for public manifestations of patriotism manifested itself in the early years after WWI in numerous street demonstrations, whereas the postwar enthusiasm facilitated the flourishing of public events

⁴⁶ 'Demonstracje majowe' ['May Day Demonstrations'], *Kurier Warszawski*, 123 (4 May 1928, evening edition), 2.

in parks, tea gardens, and open-air theatres. The later economic crisis, as well as the popularisation of alternative leisure activities (outings to the suburbs, summer holidays) meant that interest in such open-air events gradually diminished. They also had to compete with new forms of entertainment, such as sports events, air shows, funfairs, and new media, including the gramophone and the radio, which encouraged people to spend their free time at home. It was the municipal authorities, however, that had the greatest impact on Warsaw's street soundscape, as they controlled the open-air events industry. In the 1930s, spontaneously organised concerts and parties were being systematically replaced by propaganda events. The amount of urban space available for entertainment was also significantly reduced due to modern urbanisation.

Warsaw's role as the state capital was highlighted by frequent military parades, held in the main streets and the civilian airport. Political celebrations took advantage of a new form of broadcasting via street megaphones. At marches and demonstrations, music was traditionally performed by military bands, police and municipal orchestras, as well as Warsaw's choirs, of which Harfa continued to provide public services for the longest time, that is, until 1939.

Warsaw's streets and squares were the scene for the spontaneous composition and dissemination of political songs, as well as for tumultuous marches held, among others, by left-wing organisations and right-wing youth. Urban folklore, least susceptible to social change, found refuge in the tenement yards. It preserved much of its former shape, and was the only part of the interwar city soundscape that reflected the multicultural character of Warsaw.

Most widely audible (and prominently visible) were the concerts of municipal and military bands in urban squares and parks. The repertoire of these orchestras strongly evolved. Originally (as in the nineteenth century and during WWI) it was popular dance music, operetta and ballet numbers, as well as classical music hits. Polish folk music was gradually added to this repertoire (also on the radio), which reflected the authorities' cultural policy of promoting folklore as an element of national identity. Modern popular music was mostly to be heard in the numerous 1920s tea gardens, where dance music (jazz and traditional) was played, and where concerts, operettas, and cabaret (revue) programmes were performed in the evenings. The repertoire of those local tea garden stages largely consisted of fashionable Polish and foreign songs (both Western hits and Russian pieces, which were established favourites in Warsaw). This repertoire, popularised by cabarets, cinemas, and the music record industry, was subsequently taken over by the numerous street bands, which simultaneously cultivated traditional urban folklore, and by anonymous authors of political songs, who set them to the music of current hits.

Classical music fans had their own open-air venues: the Bagatela garden and the Swiss Valley, where the capital's best orchestras, including Warsaw Philharmonic, gave weekly concerts of accessible Romantic symphonic works (Grieg, Tchaikovsky, Wagner, and others), as well as operatic numbers. There were also programmes dedicated individually to the music of various nations and groups (Polish, Russian, French, Slav) and popular matinees. Classical

ballets were staged at the Theatre on the Isle in the Royal Łazienki Park, where in the 1920s one could attend Warsaw Opera ballet company's productions of *Swan Lake*, *Scheherazade*, *Polovtsian Dances*, *Pan Twardowski*, and others. Under the Great Depression, the municipal opera crew, temporarily out of work, staged in that venue such popular operas as *Faust*, *La Bohème*, and others, and in the 1930s, the Polish Popular Opera (Polska Opera Ludowa) presented Moniuszko's *Halka*, *Flis (The Raftsmen)*, and *The Haunted Manor*.

National parades and the later mass demonstrations marking national or traditional holidays (including Midsummer and the Sea Day) confirmed Warsaw's role as the state capital. During the parades, the Polish national anthem was sung, along with commonly known patriotic songs from the time of the Polish uprisings, as well as *Rota (The Oath)*, with words by Maria Konopnicka and music by Feliks Nowowiejski, which also functioned as an anthem. Celebrations in honour of Poland's allies (the United States and France) involved solemn performances of their respective national anthems. The various political fractions and organisations likewise had their repertoire with which they manifested their identity during street demonstrations. Thus, Piłsudski's followers marched to the sound of *My, pierwsza Brygada (The March of the First Brigade)*, the national democrats – to that of *Hymn Młodych (Hymn of Youth)*, the socialists – to that of *Czerwony sztandar (The Red Banner)*. Shortly before the outbreak of WWII, the Infantry Regiment 'Children of Warsaw' also received its own hymn, compiled out of Warsaw-related patriotic songs.

Frequent religious and funeral processions along the streets of Warsaw were likewise accompanied by music. In the early years following WWI, patriotic songs were also sung on such occasions, whereas in the 1930s this repertoire was limited to religious music. The Corpus Christi processions were particularly spectacular, and involved the participation of leading Warsaw choirs, both lay and ecclesiastical, as well as municipal and military orchestras. Religious ceremonies and national anniversary celebrations usually culminated in communal performances of the hymn *Boże, coś Polskę (God, Who Hast Poland...)*.

Magdalena Dziadek (b. in Bielsko-Biała, 1961) graduated with honours in music theory from the Katowice Academy of Music (1984). In 1991, at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IS PAN) in Warsaw, she obtained her PhD on the basis of a dissertation on Warsaw music criticism in 1810–1890. In 2004 she completed her postdoctoral (*doctor habilitatus*) degree at IS PAN. Since 1992 she has pursued independent academic work, focussing on the history of Polish and Central European musical culture during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. She has published a two-part monograph titled *Polska krytyka muzyczna w latach 1890–1914* [Polish Music Criticism, 1890–1914], a collection of source materials on the reception of Chopin's music in Poland during the nineteenth century and in Poland and Germany between the two world wars, a two-volume monograph on the history of Warsaw's music university, as well as several other books dedicated to the history of Polish musical culture (most recently, the popularising publication *Journey through Sounds. In the Footsteps of Stanisław Moniuszko*, the fruit of her work, jointly with Prof. Radosław Okulicz-Kozaryn, on a new, complete edition of the composer's correspondence). Dziadek holds the post of professor at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow.

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to situate the most important open-air venues where music was performed on the map of interwar Warsaw. This includes venues in city parks, restaurant tea gardens, streets and squares where mass celebrations and demonstrations took place, as well as the courtyards of tenement houses frequented by street players and singers. In addition to live music, that coming from the radio, gramophone records, as well as megaphones installed in parks and streets has been taken into account. On the basis of press reports, taken mainly from the *Kurier Warszawski* (Warsaw's largest daily newspaper), as well as works of fiction and diaries, the repertoire of works performed in the open air has been reconstructed. The organisers and performers of concerts, open-air shows, and street marches during which music was performed have also been listed. The material is divided into contexts connected with the everyday life of Warsaw's bourgeoisie and working class (during which music, functioning independently or as part of theatrical, cabaret and film performances, functioned as entertainment) and those belonging to the official-public or ceremonial sphere (celebrations of religious and national holidays, military parades, spontaneous demonstrations of supporters of various political groups). Special emphasis has been placed on recreating the social and political context of the latter type of events, which highlight the role of interwar Warsaw as the capital of the state.

Keywords: open-air music, the culture of interwar Warsaw, urban folklore, military music, political demonstrations and music

Jewish Popular Music in Galicia

*in Karol Rathaus' Memoir
of Chune Wolfenthal*

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From the many surviving writings of Karol Rathaus (1895-1954)¹, composer and university lecturer, written throughout his life: newspaper articles, reviews, program notes, lectures to students, and finally letters, emerges the image of an educated, wise and just man; open-minded, but reserved in showing his feelings². Among the published and manuscript materials kept in the composer's archives, one that stands out - kept in an exceptionally personal tone - is a memoir about the composer's uncle, klezmer Chune Wolfsthal³. This several-page essay, outlined by the 58-year-old composer near the end of his life, allowing the reader to imagine Rathaus' childhood and youthful years spent in Galicia at the turn of the 20th century, is dedicated to the uneducated musician-multi-instrumentalist and his art⁴. It is striking that the author, who had the unique opportunity to study, work and participate in the premieres of his works in the most important European cultural centers: Vienna, Berlin, Paris and London, did not describe any of the great artists close to him who influenced the face of the art of his time and undoubtedly inspired him. He does not mention the outstanding composers who shaped him, Franz Schreker⁵ or Arnold Schönberg, or the charismatic conductors who breathed life into his scores: Wilhelm Furtwängler (*Symphonic Overture*, Op. 28, Berlin Philharmonic, 1928) or Artur Rodzinski (*Symphonic Polonaise*, Op. 52, New York Philharmonic, 1943), nor the visionary directors with whom he collaborated on film and theater productions, such as Fyodor Ocep (*The Brothers Karamazov*, 1932) and Alfred Döblin (*Marriage*, 1930).

He undoubtedly owed a great deal to all of these people, with whom he also maintained private contacts, but he did not record them in a separate memoir like the humble klezmer from Galicia. There is no description in Rath's text of the magnificent symphony concerts, opera performances or recitals by world-class virtuosos he attended since he turned 18 and left Ternopil for Vienna. He does not comment on extraordinary performances on renowned stages: Staatsoper Unter der Linden in Berlin, where his opera *Fremde Erde* (1930) premiered, or Covent Garden, where his ballet *Le Lion amoureux* (1937) was performed. Instead, he recalls the Gimpel Theater in Lviv, which - even outdoors - staged plays in Yiddish.

¹ For more on Karol Rathaus, see Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak, 'Karol Rathaus, the Transplanted Composer,' *Musicology Today* 8 (2011), 163-177. See also Martin Schüssler, *Karol Rathaus* (Lausanne: Peter Lang, 2000).

² This is how he was remembered by his colleagues and students in the Department of Music at Queens College in New York (now: Aaron Copland School of Music, CUNY), which he co-founded and taught there until his last days between 1940 and 1954. See Donald Pirone, 'Karol Rathaus: an American chapter', *Music* 44/4 (1999), 35-56.

³ The composer's legacy is preserved in the Karol Rathaus Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Benjamin Rosenthal Library, Queens College, City University of New York [hereinafter CUNY]. I would like to thank all the people at Queens College, CUNY, who have been helpful to me during my search of the Karol Rathaus Archives, especially Professors Donald Pirone, Edward Smaldone, and Lev Deych.

⁴ Charles Rathaus, *Chune Wolfstahl*, typescript in English, 4 pages, dated May 16, 1953, KRP.

⁵ Franz Schreker (1878-1934) composer and conductor, pedagogue at the Vienna and Berlin music academies, educated a large number of students that included Karol Rathaus, Ernst Křenek, Alois Hába, Artur Rodziński.

In this almost private statement, considered in this text, the Angel who gave Rathaus his love of music calls his uncle, a Jewish amateur musician, whose playing he admired as a child and whose superior musical artistry influenced his future choice of profession and life path⁶. Charles Rathaus of Ternopil is a descendant of several generations of musicians. His father, Bernard, became a veterinarian (he graduated from veterinary school in Lviv in 1890) to lift his family out of poverty. Rathaus had a younger brother Rudolf, who became a diplomat and Polish activist (including in New York), and an older sister Dora. The composer recalls that he spontaneously began playing the piano, bought for his sister, at the age of six and soon became interested in composing as well, determined to become a musician from an early age. This was of great concern to his father because, in his opinion, it meant a return to the family's traditional career path and poverty. Rathaus was instilled with a Polish identity from the beginning, and school readings fully complemented his patriotic-national education. At the same time, he was exposed to Jewish traditions through, among other things, his contacts with the musically talented Wolfsthal family, which cultivated various forms of Jewish music.⁷

There are so many years crowded with people and events since I started to live that is to make music. My beginnings were early. Still I remember them and the good angel who stood at the cradle of my musical birth. A man with an emperor Franz Joseph beard, large gray-blue eyes illuminating his lovely face: the big and generous mouth, a strong and well shaped nose and above all the coppola of a musicians forehead. Noble, intelligent and tall. His hands were large too, but fatherly hands, soft end warm and dry. Tender hands and fingers. The fingers of a musician who could play practically any instrument of the orchestra, particularly well the cello and the violin.⁸

Chune Wolfsthal (1850-1924) is not an anonymous figure, although not much is known about him either. Information about the musician can be found in dictionaries and encyclopedias, as well as studies devoted to klezmer music, but many of them are inaccurate or erroneous⁹. He was the son of a cantor from Tyśmienitsa near Stanislawow and initially, along with his six brothers, sang in the synagogue choir. He founded the Wolfsthal Brothers Klezmer Band, moved to the larger Ternopil, which had three times the population, and toured not only throughout Galicia, but also played in Austria, Hungary and Germany. He performed for Jewish audiences, holding Hanukkah concerts in synagogues, for example, and non-Jewish audiences. The Wolfsthal Brothers' band was one of the most popular and respected in its area¹⁰. Beginning in 1890, Chune became involved with the Yiddish theater in Lviv, as an orchestra musician and composer; he created many operettas, few of which survive today. He spent the war time in Vienna, working in the Jewish theater there. Returning

⁶ It is worth mentioning that Rathaus studied composition at the Vienna and Berlin Academies of Music, in addition to history at the University of Vienna, where he received his doctorate in 1921.

⁷ Issues of Jewish musical culture in Galicia, to name only Polish researchers, are dealt with by Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka, Michał Jaczyński, Kinga Fink, Agnieszka Jeż, among others.

⁸ Rathaus, *Chune Wolfstahl*, 1. Original spelling.

⁹ Recently, an extensive article on the musical Wolfsthal family was published by Michał Klubinski, 'The Musical Wolfsthal Family between Lviv, Vienna, Berlin and Warsaw', in *Jews in the Musical Culture of Galicia*, Ewa Nidecka, ed., vol. 1 (Rzeszow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2021), 135-157.

¹⁰ Walter Zev Feldman, *Klezmer. Music, History, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 411.

to Ternopil, he continued composing, and despite the fame his works enjoyed, he died in poverty. His works, mostly unpublished, are hard to come by.

From the Wolfsthal family also come professional and more widely known musicians: Maurycy (1857-1937), violinist, pedagogue at the Conservatory of the Galician Music Society (from 1919 - the Conservatory of the Polish Music Society), who educated many outstanding instrumentalists, including Apolinary Kątsky. Apolinary Kątsky, and his son Bronislaw (1883-1944), a conductor, pianist (student of Theodor Leschetizky) and composer active in Lviv and Warsaw, conductor at the Grand Theater and the National Philharmonic¹¹, and Joseph (1899-1931), violinist, concertmaster at the Staatsoper and pedagogue at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin.

Describing his uncle, Rathaus sketches a picture of a world that no longer exists, which was annihilated along with the Holocaust of the Jews during World War II, also recalling the musical practice of the time: ways of creating and arranging music, instrumental lineups, popular musical forms and titles of old hits, as well as the places where they played - capturing the atmosphere of Galician cities and towns. Chune and his band, of course, did not have a permanent home - they played in synagogues, restaurants and café gardens, on porches and in sheds, on the streets. Rathaus recalls encountering the musician on his way to school, in the morning, when he returned from an all-nighter at work, with his violin tucked behind his pocket:

Often in cold, blue, snowy mornings on my way to school, passing the Sobieski Square: I would meet him, Chune Wolfsthal, on his way home. He has been entertaining people all night long and playing dance music with his outfit till the small hours. Now, his fiddle half hidden under his coat and half entrusted to the warmth of his heart, he would march home, his big galoshes noisily squicking in the metallic crumbings of the snow. I wished him a shy "Good Morning" and my greetings were subdued by feelings of guilt: After a sheltered night and warm breakfast, I was free to go to school, while my beloved uncle had to earn his living "this way". His answer also was shy and also dictated by feelings of circumstance and guilt. He may have suffered not to be able to give me a better example. He knew that his profession, however honorable, did not meet the standards of "society".¹²

At the time when Karol (incidentally, he never changed the form of his name to German or English, living permanently abroad) was preparing for matriculation in 1913, the city had a population of 35,000, nearly half of which were Jews¹³. He attended the 1st Gymnasium named after Vincent Pol with Polish language, located in a magnificent building on May 3 Street¹⁴, today Hetman Sahajdaczny. By the way, autonomous Galicia, as the only area at the time where Polish national life developed almost unfettered by the partition,

¹¹ They are mentioned several times, including by Michał Piekarski in his work *Music in Lviv* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademickie SEDNO, 2018).

¹² Rathaus, *Chune Wolfstahl*, 1.

¹³ Sources of information include source data from censuses conducted in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1890, 1900 and 1910, among others.

¹⁴ See information about Karol Rath's passing the matriculation exam with honors in the *Report of the Dyrekcji C. K. Higher Gimnazjum I. with Polish language of instruction in Ternopil for the school year 1912* (Ternopil: I. Wierzbicki, 1912).

became the center of the independence movement from 1908. May 3 Street lay in the vicinity of the representative Dominican and Sobieski squares [il. 1 Ternopil, Sobieski Square, 1902].

From a 1928 guide to the Ternopil region, it is known that the restaurants of the hotels: Putschert's (also: Puczt's, on Dominikansky Square) and Podolsky's (with the elegant Boulevard Café, on Mickiewicz Street, now Taras Shevchenko Street) performed music in the evenings¹⁵ - both were located near Sobieski Square, so it is likely that in either of these establishments Chune could play the violin in the evenings, an instrument associated with the Jewish people like no other¹⁶. "As to the fact that in the arsenal of instruments the violin, as an attribute of the Jewish artist, was placed in a place if not first, then certainly unique, there is no doubt," writes Iwona Siedlaczek in her text on the metaphysics of the violin¹⁷. Chune played "endlessly" waltzes, polkas, caddies, polonaises and other dances¹⁸, combining Jewish folklore with Polish, Ukrainian, Western music, which began to be in common practice at the time, and borrowing of rhythms and melodies was practiced by both Jewish and Christian musicians, as scholars of various musical traditions point out¹⁹. As is well known, Galicia was the most ethnically and religiously diverse crown land of the entire Austrian state; it was inhabited by Poles, Ruthenians, Germans, Armenians, Jews, Karaites, Moldavians, Hungarians, Gypsies and Liptovs, so it is not surprising that various influences intermingled.

Despite his unparalleled abilities and great diligence, Chune was unable to provide for his family's well-being, as Rathaus mentions early in his essay, citing the words of his friend, the distinguished literary scholar Joseph Roth: "The musicians in Galicia were poor: they lived from Jewish cheerfulness"²⁰. Joseph Roth (1894-1939), a singer of Galicia and the Habsburg monarchy, author of, among other things, the Radetzky March, is almost a peer of Karol Rathaus, born in Brody, a graduate of a Protestant grammar school, speaking Polish and German. The trio of friends also includes Soma Morgenstern (1890-1976), born in Budzanów to a pious Hasidic family, a few years older, the son of an estate manager, who spoke Ukrainian and Yiddish, and who, like Rathaus, graduated from a gymnasium in Ternopil. The attitudes of these three prominent artists, Morgenstern, Roth and Rathaus, were formed in

¹⁵ *Guide to the Ternopil Voivodship* (Ternopil, Provincial Land Society 1928), 80.

¹⁶ Iwona A. Siedlaczek, 'The Metaphysics of Jewish Violins in the Culture of Not Only Galicia,' in [Jews in the Musical Culture of Galicia](#), Ewa Nidecka, ed., vol. 1 (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2021), 255-278. Joachim Stutschewsky, *Jüdische Spielleute ("Klezmerim"): Geschichte, Lebensweise, Musik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019).

¹⁷ Siedlaczek, 'The Metaphysics of Jewish Violin', 257. See also Kinga Fink's text 'Lwow's Jewish Violinists in the Opinion of Journalists and Music Critics in Interwar Poland', *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska* 73 (2018), 139-159.

¹⁸ Rathaus, *Chune Wolfstahl*, 1.

¹⁹ Cf. for example, Walter Zev Feldman, 'Remembrance of Things Past: Klezmer Musicians of Galicia, 1870-1940', in Michael C. Steinlauf, and Antony Polonsky, eds, *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry Volume 16: Focusing on Jewish Popular Culture and Its Afterlife* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka, 'The Transformation of Jewish Musical Traditions and the Transformation of Jewish Musical Institutions on the Example of Prewar Galicia,' *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 70:12 (2022), 231-250 or Tomasz Nowak, 'Musical contacts between Polish and Jewish communities and the image of Jewish culture in the popular current of Polish music of the 19th century', *Chopin Studies* (2020), 62-87.

²⁰ Rathaus, *Chune Wolfstahl*, 1.

this Polish-Ukrainian-Jewish-Austrian-German melting pot, and their intertwined during their subsequent years of study in Vienna, and later stays in Berlin and New York, and surviving correspondence proves that the period of their youth left a strong mark on their entire lives. Looking for crumbs of information about Wolfsthal in Soma Morgenstern's books, one can come across his account of his sister's wedding, at which the brothers' acclaimed band performed:

The famous band was imported from Ternopil and cost my father a lot of money. There were three brothers: David, Chune and Hermann. David was the leader. Hermann took turns playing violin or cello, and Chune was a violinist, cellist and composer. [...] In the band there were two clarinetists, a flutist, a drummer and a bass player. [...] But they didn't only play weddings and folk music had a rich repertoire. They gave concerts and also played chamber music.²¹

Despite being superior in talent to many others, Chune, being an uneducated musician, was active in the area of musical culture, which is not classified as high culture, but as popular and entertainment culture: together with his own band, he performed at weddings and other Jewish celebrations, accompanied dances in fashionable establishments in Ternopil, played in the Jewish theater in Lviv, for which he also composed operettas. He created music accessible to everyone, commonplace. His path, daily activities and extraordinary, though unpolished, talent are described by Rathaus as follows:

Chune Wolfsthal never had the chance to study. All he has learned was by practical experience during his military service. Here he learned to play all kinds of instruments, to arrange for orchestra, to conduct, even to compose new music. But in practical life, "orchestra" became a very flexible idiom to a Jewish klesmer, who back home from his military career, married and soon was blessed with a family of four children. The gigantic task to feed them and to make a living with his music let him accept all kinds of work: he taught violin solo and in groups, he taught cello, he performed and played dance music, semi-classic and even classical music with his orchestral "outfit" For this outfit which was assembled according to the price, he always used to write a special scoring. So for twenty Kronen he would arrange an orchestra for four people. How to make them sound as fully as possible? Chune would arrange for one violin, one flute, one viola and a bass-fiddle. For forty Kronen, he would add four musicians - shall we say another violin or two or cello and a clarinet. Arrangements? No problem! Chune would sit down and do it. Songs of yesteryear, Jewish liedlach [songs - J.G.P.], hits from the newest operettas, waltzes, mazurs Chune would arrange for any kind of ensemble and perform it the following night.²²

During his school years, Soma Morgenstern was also one of the private cello students of Chune Wolfsthal, who, according to him, presumably also taught his nephew, then budding composer Karol Rathaus, his friend (no information survives on this in other sources). Although his first musical experiences also included active participation in the school choir and orchestra, as well as attending a symphonic concert on the occasion of a guest performance by the Vienna Tonkünstler orchestra, he was particularly fascinated by the performances of the Jewish Theater in Lviv at that time²³. It was the first permanent Jewish theater in Galicia

²¹ Soma Morgenstern, *In einer anderen Zeit: Jugendjahre in Ostgalizien*, 184-187 (Springe, 1995), 184-185.

²² Rathaus, *Chune Wolfstahl*, 2.

²³ Soma Morgenstern, *Von Galizien ins amerikanische Exil*, Jacques Lajarrige, ed., (Frank & Timme, 2014), 219.

(Yiddish performances were generally forbidden in the Russian partition), founded in 1889 by Jakub Ber Gimpel (1840-1906), an actor and singer who had gained experience as an opera chorister at the Skarbek Theater. Despite financial and venue problems, the theater survived until 1939, and began performing at the "Pod Sroką" premises with a garden at 13 Zamkowa St. Jewish theater troupes, active at the time in Krakow, among other places, also performed in hotels and restaurants, places regarded as somewhat suspect anyway, so as not to irritate pious Jewish citizens - neither performances nor participation as spectators in shows were initially accepted for religious reasons. In Lvov, under Castle Mountain, on a stage barely covered in case of rain, performances were held for the first eight years, and guests, sitting on wooden benches or standing, enjoyed food and drink (it is said that Gimpel's good fortune was manifested in the fact that it usually didn't rain during the plays, so even coined the saying "gimpls wejster," meaning nice weather)²⁴. After moving to 11 Jagiellońska Street (incidentally, Marian Hemar was born in the tenement at this address), conditions improved. As for the repertoire of the Gimpel Theater, various dance and vocal forms were performed, sometimes offering entertainment at a weaker level, hitting the lowest tastes, but also classics of the European repertoire were played (including Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*, Schiller's *The Robbers*, Gogol's *The Revisor*, Gutzkov's *Uriel Akosta*) in Yiddish translation²⁵. The writer Lev Kaltenberg, recorded in his memories of Lviv the unique, fully democratic audience and the special atmosphere of the performances he witnessed:

There existed on Jagiellonska Street in Lviv an archaic theater, a stinking and ragged shed, the Jewish Gimpel Theater. This theater was most integrally connected with the figure of its director, owner, ticket taker and cashier in one person, old Gimpel [...].

In the shack on Jagiellonskaya I was passionate not so much about the stage, but about the audience. True, on this stage I saw many times actors of uncommon and unexpected measure, guest appearances by Granach, Granowski, Cemach, Baratov. And even just here I still managed to see the old Kaminska²⁶. [...] The audience, on the other hand, was not the one from gala and festive performances and premieres, but precisely the everyday and commonplace one, which was, against the background of my theatrical experience so far, something quite exceptional. First of all, it was a fully folk theater not in the stretched or artificial sense of the word. A true theater of the plebs. [...] Theater is theater. A book is good for reading, theater only for watching. Although, wait a minute; not only in this. After all, one must also add the possibility of sometimes all too vivid participation of the audience in shaping the stage action. [...] Such an audience has not been seen anywhere outside this theater. [...]

²⁴ Sławomir Gowin, 'Irreversible Theater', 14 Jan. 2022, *E-theater*, <https://e-teatr.pl/teatr-bezpowrotny-20873>, accessed Nov. 23, 2023. See also. the combined issue of *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 41:14 (1992) devoted to Jewish theater issues.

²⁵ Anna Kuligowska-Korzeniewska, 'Challenges of Modernity,' *Theater* 12 (2014), <https://teatr-pismo.pl/5002-wyzwania-nowoczesnosci/>, accessed Nov. 4, 2023.

²⁶ Ester Rachel Kamińska (1870-1925) - considered the most prominent actress in Yiddish Jewish theater, mother of actress Ida Kamińska (1899-1980), the first director of the Jewish Theater in Warsaw.

In this theater I learned a bit of the Jewish language, and here also the autonomism of a work of theatrical art, which is not always and necessarily (or should be) an exposition of a literary work, appealed to me with puzzling force.²⁷

Jakub Ber Gimpel attached great importance to the musical setting of performances and the selection of works. Lvov musician Alfred Plohn mentions in the 1930s that vaudevilles, folk plays, operettas, musical comedies were staged there, and cites authors of biblical operettas: Horowitz, Lateiner, Ch. Wolfsthal and Goldfaden²⁸. It is said that Chune Wolfsthal made up his mind to write for the Yiddish stage after seeing the operetta *Shulamis*, by Abraham Goldfaden (1840-1908), a distinguished figure in Jewish theater, at Gimpel. From then on, Chune became involved with operetta for many years, as a composer and performer of cello parts in the theater's orchestra. Rathaus describes his uncle's fascination with the theater as follows:

Then did it happen that the Yiddish theater where Chune and his outfit used to play took hold of him. Director Gimpel from the big city of Lemberg decided to give Chune a chance; the ideas for the yiddish theater started to absorb the mind and the heart of the composer.

Confronted with the task never before tried, Chune Wolfsthal opened up like a stream. A stream of melodies, duos, overtures, tunes, waltzes and polkas, the whole light fare of the new genre: "a Yiddish drama with Tanz and Gesang" was brought to the fore, the libretto was fixed, music was set on paper, the score was written, parts were extracted and copied. Music was studied with singers, the whole thing was rehearsed, conducted and finally performed by my uncle Chune Wolfsthal.

I vaguely remember a few titles: Die Tochter von Jerusalem, Bostenoi, Die drei Matunes.

In 1953, when almost half a century has passed since the events reported, details may have faded. Fortunately, we have an article by Karol Rathaus written in 1925, after his uncle's death, probably hitherto unused in the literature, in which the composer discusses Wolfsthal's operetta work and his merits a bit more extensively (he does not refer to this pro memoria publication in the memoir in question). In the text *God's Musician. To the Memory of Chune Wolfstahl*, published in German in the Jewish magazine *Jüdische Rundschau*²⁹, the most important Zionist weekly published in Germany (in the years 1902-1938) he makes a characterization of the nascent Yiddish operetta, juxtaposing it with its Western prototype, and also comments on the great success of his uncle's music:

Operetta in the West flourished in the big city for entertainment, but in the East it was the beginning of Jewish art music, as it brought together all the elements of folk culture. One could call these strange creations "applied folk music"; by the way, it's amazing to what extent the primitiveness of librettos was elevated (often elevated to the status of true art) through the power of music.

Wolfsthal often wrote operettas, but there were three works that achieved worldwide success (but only

²⁷ Lev Kaltenbergh, *Fractions of a Broken Mirror. Childhood in the Borderlands. That Lviv* (Warsaw, 1991), 175-177.

²⁸ Alfred Plohn, 'Music in Lvov and the Jews', *Musicalia* 13 [reprinted from the *Jewish Almanac* of August 1936].

²⁹ Karl Rathaus, 'Ein Musikant Gottes. Chune Wolfsthal zum Gedächtnis', *Jüdische Rundschau*, 30:84 (1925) dated 25.10.1925, 708.

among the Jewish people). These are: *Daughter of Jerusalem*, *Bostenoi* and *Three Gifts*. These works, musically, are considered classic operettas modeled after Johann Strauss and Suppé [...] There is hardly a Jewish theater in both hemispheres where the aforementioned three works are not played. And what's more: there is no Jewish worker, no good Jewish home in the East, where Wolfstal melodies are not sung, where they have not entered the language and blood of the people.³⁰

The power of the music, combined with attention-grabbing, though not always top-notch content (with such exceptions as *Three Gifts*, written to a text by the eminent literary writer Yitzchok Leib Peretz), meant that Rathaus, a composer who represented the progressive current of Neue Musik in Germany at the time, remembered the shows seen in Galicia and returned to them in the 1920s. Having the musical knowledge and sensibility of an artist, he saw special value in this mass entertainment:

Here and right now let me state, that I do not share the aversion and outright discrimination against the idiom and especially not against yiddish theater. The Brody-er singer and the folks pieces with the music by Gordon are in my memory the beginning and the birth of the genuine jewish comedia del arte. In Gimpels theater as a little boy I lived through the horrors and excitement of shadow and substance of the theater. Here I learned to laugh and to cry with the dramatis personae.

Undoubtedly, the experiences he had while attending performances at the Lviv Jewish theater contributed to his interest, already in his professional life, in developing music for plays and film, which consumed him especially in the 1920s and 1930s. Particularly noteworthy in this context was Karl Gutzkov's famous play *Uriel Acosta*, directed by Alexei Granovsky (1880-1937) and performed in Hebrew by actors from the Habima troupe (the theater still operates today as the Habima National Theater of Israel). This troupe went on a European tour from Moscow in 1930 with success everywhere, and the crowning achievement of their tour was performances in the German capital, during which they also performed Shakespeare's *An Evening of Three Kings* - both plays were illustrated with music by Rathaus. The composer was extraordinarily involved in the preparations for this performance³¹, and found the music itself so successful that he also compiled a Suite from Uriel Acosta for orchestra, published twice, in 1930 and 1947 - one of his more frequently played and more popular works. The 1935 premiere of the Suite was conducted by Joseph Rosenstock, a Krakow-born colleague of Rathaus' from his time studying with Franz Schreker in Vienna, and later conductor of the New York City Opera, among others. The performance itself was very well received³², and Karol Rathaus had a right to be satisfied that he had developed the idea of Jewish musical theater, so important to his uncle. But he could also regret that Chune did not live to see such a professional ensemble of actors and musicians performing valuable and ambitious Jewish art in one of Europe's major cultural centers.

³⁰ Rathaus, 'Ein Musikant Gottes', 708.

³¹ Schüssler, *Karl Rathaus*, 186.

³² Schüssler, *Karl Rathaus*, 186-188.

The story about Chune Wolfsthal, preserved in the memory of his nephew, is of more than sentimental value, although it is not lacking in emotion, revealing the cordial relationship he had with his uncle. The information left to us - already 70 years ago - by an outstanding and respected composer, one of the most important in the culture of the interwar period, solidly educated, concerns the activities he observed and the artistic phenomena most relevant from the perspective of time. He describes the path that the talented Jewish musician had to go through, from the synagogue, through participation with his own band in countless social events, to finding himself on the ground of the emerging Jewish theater, a phenomenon at the time half fair, half artistic. He points out that - often criticized for inadequacy - Yiddish theater, like *commedia dell'arte* before it, could evolve, and produce new, more valuable forms. Chune was still fortunate to have witnessed some of the theater's great achievements, such as the performance of Shimon An-ski's *Dybbuk*, staged by the Vilna Troupe, which changed the expectations of audiences and actors. An evolution took place when Karol Rathaus was associated with the stage, when Jewish theater moved from folk theater to theater with a social message.

Rath's short essay facilitates our better understanding of a world abruptly ended, a world about which we still know too little, poorly documented - for the obvious reason, the annihilation of both witnesses and material traces³³. Chune Wolfshtal may be emblematic of the fate of many other Jewish musicians³⁴, whose musical practice is described in this material. We miss the essentials - the scores, the performances, the live music - but nevertheless learn vital information: about the repertoire, the instrumental compositions, the music venues or the reactions of the listeners.

His statement is the voice of a person who is very well versed in musical culture, noting trends and directions of change in artistic phenomena, and - given the date of the writing of the text - with an appropriate temporal distance.

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³³ See an interesting article by Agnieszka Jeż, addressing the problem of reconstructing Jewish music traditions, 'Memory as a terrain in Jewish music research', *Contemporary Culture*, 3 (2023), pp. 48-59.

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Profiles and *Artistic Experiences* *of Street Musicians*

*in Urban Spaces of Montpellier,
Sète and Paris*

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In French ethnological literature, the subject of street music was taken up by several musicologists and ethnologists, such as Frédéric Audard, Gérard Laplantine, Marc Augé, Anne-Marie Green, Florence Gétreau, who in the 1990s, through surveys and community interviews, took up the task of characterizing the repertoire and writing down the history of street artists. Frédéric Audard, as a practicing musician, conducted a six-month study, mainly analyzing the function of music performed in the subway and its reception by passengers¹. At the request of the Musical Heritage Research Institute of France² Gérard Laplantine³ conducted a search on street music. By researching venues, repertoire, reception, credentials and designations of musicians, and by analyzing documents from the RATP police and administration⁴, he has brought a wealth of new information on the practice of musicians in the metro⁵. Marc Augé⁶ and Anne-Marie Green⁷ have also researched artists in the Paris metro.

An in-depth study of urban musicians has been carried out by Florence Gétreau⁸, an eminent musicologist and art historian who has devoted a significant portion of her work to street music, examining both the history and socio-political aspect of the phenomenon. In her works, this distinguished researcher has described four centuries of street musicians' activities, their origins, status, method of remuneration, venues for artistic presentations, interventions by police and government officials, as well as their repertoire and its circulation. Among her most important achievements are: *La rue parisienne comme espace musical réglementé (XVII^e -XX^e siècle)*⁹, *Le son dans l'exposition Musiciens des rues de Paris*¹⁰ and *Musiques dans la rue*¹¹. Designed by Florence Gétreau, the *Musiciens des rues de Paris* exhibition held at the Musée national des Arts et Traditions populaires in Paris (November 1997 - April 1998), accompanied by a two-day symposium organized on March 12 and 13, 1998 by the French Society for French Ethnology¹² became a landmark moment in the history of street music research in France.

¹ Florence Gétreau, *La rue parisienne comme espace musical réglementé (XVII^e-XX^e siècles)*, in *Les cahiers de la société québécoise de recherche en musique*, Société québécoise de recherche en musique, 2001, 5, pp.11-24, after Frédéric Audard, *Introduction à l'étude des musiciens du métro*, mémoire dactylographié de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences sociales, 1982.

² Institut de recherche sur le patrimoine musical en France.

³ Gérard Laplantine, *Métro: du nadir au zénith*, in *Musiciens des rues de Paris*, Catalogue de l'exposition du Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Paris 18.11.1997-27.04.1998. éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, pp. 106-110.

⁴ Régie autonome des transports parisiens.

⁵ The metro is a kind of extension of the street, with similar rules as in the above-ground urban space.

⁶ Marc Augé, *Le Métro revisité*, Paris 2008.

⁷ Anne-Marie Green, *Musicien de métro. Approche des musiques vivantes urbaines*, Paris 1998.

⁸ IREMUS official website. [Accessed: 20.09.2023]. Available: <https://www.iremus.cnrs.fr/fr/membres-permanents/florence-getreau>

⁹ Florence Gétreau, *La rue parisienne...*, op. cit.

¹⁰ Florence Gétreau, *Le son dans l'exposition Musiciens des rues de Paris*, in *Cahiers de musique traditionnelle*, no. 16. in: *Musiques à voir*, 2003, pp. 123-136.

¹¹ Florence Gétreau, *Musiciens des rues...*, op. cit.

¹² Société d'Ethnologie française.

Florence Gétreau's work inspired me to expand my knowledge of the street musician primarily in the context of the present day. In 2013, while on a research fellowship at Université Paul Valéry 3 in Montpellier, I decided to conduct a series of research and academic experiments to better understand what contemporary street musicians face and also to learn about the transformation of their social position. She sought to find answers to a number of questions, including, among others, what terms are now used to describe street artists; do musicians treat their performances as their only source of income? What do they do for a living? Do they travel or live a sedentary lifestyle? And also, is a street musician of the South of France different from a musician playing in Paris? Does the geographic location (coastal towns) and economic level of the city affect the choice of repertoire and the choice of space? To answer these questions, I interviewed musicians in two French cities: in Paris, the country's capital, and in Montpellier. The list of questions I asked is as follows:

1. What is your name? If you don't want to give your real name, you can give a nickname.
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you live?
4. How long have you been playing on the street?
5. What made you play on the street?
6. On the street do you play alone or in the company of other musicians?
7. Do you belong to any music band? What is its name?
8. Did your teachers encourage you to play on the street?
9. Has anyone in your family played on the street before?
10. What do you feel when you play on the street?
11. How often do you play on the street?
12. Do you think it's possible to make a living playing on the street?
13. Do you think that the location on the street has an effect on increasing the audience?
If you play in a small, atmospheric street, will you make more money than if you play in a large square?
14. Do people respond positively to your game? e.g., do they bestow positive words on you or ask questions?
15. Do you have any funny story related to the street game? Would you be able to share it?
16. Do you have any unpleasant experiences related to playing on the street?
17. Is it necessary to have some kind of permit to play on the street?
18. What cities in France have you played in? Did you notice any difference in people's reaction or your mood while playing in different cities?
19. Is it better to play on the street in specific months? Do you think, for example, that playing on the street in February is completely pointless?
20. Why do you play on the street?
21. How would you describe your profession? Are you a street musician? A street artist?
How about a different one?
22. What kind of repertoire do you play?

23. Have you noticed that when you play a certain repertoire, more people come up to listen to you? If so, what genre of music is it?
24. Czu do you think that clothing affects the interest of the audience?
25. Have you encountered the term *street mafia*?
26. Do you sell your records (music albums) while playing on the street?
27. What do you do for a living?
28. What is street play for you?

All of the artists' responses obtained, can be found in the appendix attached to the master's thesis¹³ written in 2016 at the Institute of Musicology at the University of Warsaw and stored in the Institute's library.

I asked 6 musicians for an interview. They were: 1. Juliern Didier -28-year-old instrumentalist, musicologist, who used to play New Orleans jazz, swing jazz moderne or Jazz Ka with his band friends on the streets of Montpellier. 2. Hélène Namvarazad - singer and instrumentalist with Persian and French roots. 3. Ross Vorhees - a 28-year-old artist who has been playing genres such as American folk, country and blues on the street for six years. He studied jazz theory, conducting and applied linguistics. 4. 62-year-old Athos, who works in a corporate office by day. For the past 25 years, he has been playing on the street accompanied by a mandolin ensemble, performing film repertoire, French music of the 1920s and 1930s, and, given his audience's preferences, popular music standards. 5. Samuel Cibémol Lepage - a 23-year-old Canadian who has been traveling the world with a guitar on his back for three years without any musical training. 6. 27-year-old multi-instrumentalist from Italy. He studied violin and piano at the Conservatory of Music in Venice, but can also play the saxophone, as well as percussion instruments, which he presents on the street stage.

The main question of interest to me, was the motivation for playing in urban spaces.

An analysis of the statements allows us to distinguish two main motives for presenting in front of a street audience. The first, mentioned by all artists, is the desire for direct and constant contact with the audience. Communing with a diverse audience, which voluntarily stays with the musician for as long as they wish, and which is not obliged to stay put until the concert breaks if the presentation is not to their liking. The street artist can thus count on honest feedback and an authentic reception. He knows exactly how many people like his performance and the audience he is reaching. As Julien Didier says, "*it's a real concert in front of a real audience.*"¹⁴ . French musicians also value the opportunity to make new friends, often other musicians performing on the street, with whom artistic connections are made. It is a scene aimed at pleasing both the audience and oneself. An opportunity to express oneself through one's own music, uninfluenced by repertoire from other institutions.

¹³ Joanna Dobrzanska, *The street musician in the urban space of Montpellier, Séte and Paris*, Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw, 2016.

¹⁴ Interview with Julien Didier conducted on 16.05.2015 in Montpellier, Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit.

Ross Vorhees, on the other hand, emphasizes the opportunity to practice in front of a wide audience, the experience of performing in public, facing stress, and the chance to hone one's craft of playing an instrument.

The second key motive for urban showmanship is the desire to benefit financially, the desire to earn money for further travel, for the basic necessities of life. Financial independence through practicing a hobby and at hours of one's own choosing seems attractive. As Ross points out, *"it's not a desk job from 9am to 5pm. It is also often much more financially advantageous."*¹⁵ . Presenting a new repertoire in front of an audience can be a lot of fun, and sometimes get the attention of an important person in the industry. After all, there are situations in which musicians have been noticed for the first time precisely during presentations in the urban space. Such individuals include Edith Piaf or Isabelle Geffroy (Zaz). Haylen reports in an interview that she feels she is "a full-time artist"¹⁶ ". She plays on the street to earn a living and to meet people in the music industry. Julien Didier also sells her band's CDs during her performances, which makes up a large part of their salary. This gives him the opportunity to travel and present his work in other parts of the world. Playing on the street is therefore an event where artists have the opportunity to present themselves, they have the chance for the audience to notice them, to discover them.

Each of the musicians I had the opportunity to talk to emphasized that street music making is a lifestyle, a form of self-expression, sharing their music with others. As Ross points out, "this presentation manifests itself in freedom of expression, freedom of chosen place and freedom of working style."¹⁷ A street artist is a liberated person, whose musical interpretation is not limited by any framework. He sets his own boundaries. Also unbounded in any way is the audience, who can consciously make a choice whether they want to listen to the presentation, learn more about it, stop for a while, or prefer to skip it or ignore it altogether, moving on. The performance is a sharing of one's art with others. A free art experience for which we may or may not thank you. The most important thing is mutual enjoyment. As Julien Didier points out, "a change of place allows you to observe the culture and habits of other communities, learn about their needs and interests"¹⁸ . Being able to observe cultural changes under the influence of time, political or economic situations is one of the most important advantages of traveling the world and getting to know the *people* living there."¹⁹ , Samuel adds. Despite sometimes unpleasant situations, such as police interventions, complaining neighbors, aggression from drunk people, playing on the street is still a thing that gives a lot of happiness and is for Haylen a whole life, for Samuel - a passion, for Julien and Federico - a way of life, for Athos - love, for Guy - giving pleasure, and for Ross

¹⁵ Interview with Ross Vorhees conducted on 30.06.2015 in Montpellier, Ibid.

¹⁶ Interview with Hélène conducted on 20.06.2014, Ibid.

¹⁷ Interview with Ross conducted on 30.06.2015), Ibid.

¹⁸ Interview with Julien conducted in Montpellier on May 16, 2015, Ibid.

¹⁹ Interview with Samuel conducted in Paris on 02.02.2016, Ibid.

- total freedom. The streets of France continue to be filled with musicians representing a high level of performance.

Regarding street musicians' stated intention of primarily pleasing urban audiences, in 2015 I conducted a survey asking 100 people living in the south of France or in Paris for their opinion on street music presentations. I completed the query using an online form consisting of the following questions²⁰ :

1. Where are you from? (South of France, Paris, Other).
2. What age are you? (15-25; 26-40; 40+).
3. What do you call a person who plays on the street (street musician; un zicos; street artist; otherwise).
4. How would you describe the level of play of street musicians/artists in France? (Very high - they are professional musicians; quite high; medium - they do their best; weak; other observations).
5. What kind of repertoire do they usually perform? (Classical music; pop, country; jazz; rock).
6. Do you consider musicians/street artists to be positive people who enrich the city street with their art? (definitely yes; rather yes; no; definitely no).
7. Did you happen to talk to a musician/street artist? If so, what questions did you ask him/her?
8. Do you have a favorite musician/street artist that you often pass by?
9. A musician/street artist is first and foremost... (an artist who expresses himself through music; an artist who connects with the public through musical presentations; an artist for whom playing on the street is a way to earn extra money; an artist who treats his street playing as a profession, it is his only source of income; other comments).
10. What do you think of street artists/musicians?
11. Is the appearance of street artists/musicians important? What are they wearing? (yes, definitely - I don't go near people who look poor; yes if the musician is elegant, it increases his popularity; no, the most important thing is the way he plays; it doesn't matter to me; other comments).
12. You prefer musicians who... (entertain passersby, encouraging them to join in and make music together; play music as if they were performing in a concert hall other comments).

²⁰ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit.

13. Are you in the habit of thanking a musician/street artist by dropping a coin into the "hat"? (Yes, I do it very often; it has happened to me; no).
14. Putting money in the musician's case is... (thanking him for his beautiful playing, which made me feel like I was at a professional concert; it's a reflex; a nice gesture towards a person who earns his living this way; other comments).
15. Do you think musicians/artists contribute something positive to the cultural life of the city? When are they more of a distraction?

A total of 100 people took part in the survey, including 52 people from the south of the country, 37 people from Paris and 11 people from abroad who live in France temporarily. Citizens registered in the nation's capital were asked to refer to Paris, those from the south were asked to refer to the Languedoc-Rousillon and Provence lands, and those from abroad were asked to refer to Paris (3 people) and the south (8 people). Due to the rapid changes taking place in France at the end of the 20th century regarding the position of the street musician, as well as the attitude of the young person to the value of money at the time of graduation and the need for gainful employment), I further divided the respondents into three age categories: 15-25 (the period of school and study - people mainly supported by their parents), 26-40 (working people), 40+ (working people who may remember the struggle for street musician's rights in 1990-1997).

During my time in France, I repeatedly asked locals about the concept of a street musician - they usually referred to a street artist. Regardless of where they lived, the majority of respondents definitely referred to people who play on the street as street musicians. The French also used to call him a street artist. From the responses of young people, it appears that the line between street artist and street musician is invisible, and terms such as *zicos*²¹ or phrases that do not contain the suffix "street" are much more common. Also appearing among the definitions were such terms as artist (*un artiste*), gypsy, wanderer, vagabond (*un romanichel*), musician (*un musiciens*), *troubadour* (*troubadour*) and circus performer [*saltimbanque*].

Another issue that was assessed by the urban audience is the level of playing of musicians/street artists. Regardless of age and place of residence in the majority opinion, these people represent a very high level of performance. Only 16% of respondents felt that those presenting on the street play the way they can. 10% believe that it all depends on the street musician and the city. As they point out: "you can find many excellent ones, but also many average ones. In the South of France and in small towns, you rarely meet them. There are many more in Paris." Only one respondent (South of France - 26-40) expressed negatively

²¹ Colloquially about a musician playing an instrument. See [Accessed: 20.09.2023]. Available online: <http://dictionnaire.reverso.net/francais-definition/zicos>.

about street musicians/artists: "As for the aesthetic level, it is unfortunately very low. Originality is often lacking. Very high repetitiveness."²² .

The overall impression of the audience, however, is very positive and street musicians are no longer identified with beggars playing anything to get a handout, but are seen as skillful and gifted artists.

The next question of the survey I conducted concerned the repertoire that is usually offered on the streets of France. It turns out to be extremely diverse. Regardless of the part of the country and the city, one can hear works from the genres of classical music, pop, jazz, rock, country, French song, rap, festival song, folk, reggae, experimental music, avant-garde music and any combination resulting from their combination while walking. The term "world music" appears repeatedly in the statements of the interviewees, which on the one hand emphasizes its great diversity, and on the other, the multiculturalism of those presenting themselves in the urban space. Two interviewees mention Romanian rap and Arabic music, thus highlighting the existence of traditional music of different cultures within France.

The vast majority of the public, up to 98%, believes that street musicians/artists are positive people who enrich the city streets with their art²³ . I have often heard the opinion that street musicians are the calling card of France. People living in the south of France believe that musicians/artists enrich the urban space with their art. The situation is similar for Parisians. Tourists, on the other hand, believe that people who play on the street represent the country in a favorable way on the international stage.

The majority of passersby who stop for a moment in front of a musician are limited to listening to the street performance only. Only 24% of those surveyed make direct contact with the artist through conversation. Younger people and those from the south of the country are more willing to approach. On the one hand, this percentage seems small in relation to all informants, but on the other hand, it should be noted that it is almost a quarter of the audience that approaches musicians after a performance. Comparing this situation to the private congratulations offered to an artist after he or she has played a concert in a philharmonic hall, 24% of those interested in a street musician's figure seems quite a large number. The audience is curious about the street musician's period of presentation in the urban space, their background, where they can be heard on a daily basis, their education, their passions, the bands they play in, the style of music they travel in, the instruments they play, as well as the possibility of purchasing an album or the address of an individual website.

Related, as it were, to the above question is the next one, concerning a favorite or frequently encountered musician/street artist²⁴ . As in the case described above, the majority of respondents are unable to name such a person, with only 17% of the audience able to identify specific individuals presenting in urban spaces. Some are able to name full names, while

²² Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit.

²³ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, *Appendix: Table 6*.

²⁴ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, *Appendix: Table 7, 8*.

others are able to name simply the instruments and location where the artists in question can be found. This is a valuable source of knowledge about the instrumentation with which the musicians show, about the places where they perform, and also because of the names of people who are no longer anonymous. Thanks to the musicians' answers, it is possible to learn that in Montpellier there are such street artists as the old man who often situates himself by the Trois Grâces fountain; the musician who plays the hang²⁵ ; the musician who plays the tam-tam²⁶ ; the group Canibal Dandies performing in the Place de la Comedie or in the rue de la Loge; an instrumentalist playing the steel drum²⁷ on the Grand rue Jean Moulin; an American playing on the rue de la Loge and in the Arceaux market; and a man playing Renaud songs on guitar situating himself in front of Polygone - Alexandre Bocktael. One respondent turns out to be a street musician himself - he points to himself in this question. Another respondent from Paris, on the other hand, mentions his dad. It is extremely interesting that as many as two of the respondents have a connection to performing in the street space. I would like to point out that the survey was not aimed at musically trained people, nor was it highlighted in any way on music sites. The respondents are random people who came across my questionnaire through a link directing them to the website <http://www.surveymonkey.com>. From the audience's responses, one can learn that there is an accordionist situating himself on the streets of the capital at the Sacre-Coeur, a group of classical musicians presenting at Les Halles metro station, and a woman playing the koto near the Centre Pompidou.

The next questions I asked in the questionnaire focused on evaluating street musicians from the perspective of the public's own tastes and views of street performers. I first attempted to gain knowledge about the public's perception of street artists' motivations. Are the musicians perceived as people who wish to express themselves through music, who, by practicing songs, intend to make contact with the audience, or do they rather treat performing as a sole or additional source of income.

From the responses of those interviewed, it can be concluded that while in the south of France it is difficult to speak of the predominance of any motive, in the evaluations of street musicians of Paris, one can observe an evident perception of street presentations as a way to make money. The age of the respondents is of little significance here in terms of distribution, but one can observe an evident identification of the street musician's motivation with earning money in those over 40, especially those from Paris²⁸ .

The next issue I was interested in was evaluations of musical performances. The question was whether the audience prefers to be entertained by musicians who encourage them to join in

²⁵ A percussion instrument created in 2000 in Switzerland, Andrew Morrison, Thomas D. Rossing, *The extraordinary sound of the hang* [in:] *Physics Today* 62 (3), 66-67 (2009).

²⁶ Otherwise known as gong, James Blades, *Gong*, [entry] in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie [ed.], London 1980, vol. 7. p. 521.

²⁷ *Steel drum* [entry] in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie [ed.], London 1980, vol. 18. p. 89.

²⁸ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, *Appendix: Table 7, 8*.

and make music together, or whether they prefer to feel like they are at a real concert²⁹. The result turned out to be unequivocal. With the exception of a group of 15-25 year olds from the south of France, most of the audience preferred the professionalism of those presenting on the street, which makes the viewer feel like attending a recital in a concert hall.

So are audiences used to paying for a city performance? Thirty percent of respondents said they did so very often. Sixty-seven percent happened to thank the play by dropping their remuneration into the musician's case. Only 3% indicated that they are not in the habit of rewarding artists with money - these are 15-25 year olds from the south of France. Thus, it can be inferred that these are the same people for whom the most important thing is to have fun and join in the common entertainment. For 58% of the respondents, tossing a coin into a hat/coin is a thank you for a beautiful performance that made them feel like they were at a real concert. For 39%, it is a nice gesture for those who make a living by presenting themselves in public. For the rest, it is simply a thank you for beautifying the day, helping³⁰ or an involuntary reflex during which they do not think about their motivations.

The vast majority of survey respondents, regardless of age and the region of France to which they refer, speak positively about street artists. Repeatedly there are expressions that they are colorful people who contribute a lot to the city's soundscape. They improve the mood and bring together people in the neighborhood who don't have the time or opportunity to get to know each other on a daily basis. One respondent emphasizes that for him street musicians are: *positive people who bring a lot of good energy, often much more cheerful than most residents, even if they are in a difficult financial situation and this is their way of life. They are passionate musicians who try to distribute their feelings in order to enliven the residents' monotonous days. They are part of the city's life, which is extremely important*³¹. In his opinion, these artists should be given more recognition because of the obvious benefits they offer to residents. The opportunity to admire their talent without incurring costs in the process. They allow the public to watch themselves for free. Similarly, the performance could be presented in a theater or concert hall. They allow anyone interested to access the art, regardless of the high price of tickets or lack thereof. According to respondents, street musicians are also extremely courageous people, as they "take the initiative to offer their performance under the evaluation of the audience, pouring it into the framework of a theater or exhibition hall. They give in to reactions that are completely unexpected and different from those allowed within the official structure"³² (e.g., theater, opera, etc.³³). As one person from the south of France (26-40) points out: "It is often said that the street is the best school for artists because it does not provide protection"³⁴. Another interviewee from the same region emphasizes: *from an artistic point of view, a musician is obliged to seduce his audience while*

²⁹ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, Appendix: Table 12.

³⁰ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, Appendix: Table 14.

³¹ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, Appendix: Table 10.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

*expanding his repertoire. This is the only way he can stay on top. As a spectator, I try to understand [the meaning of] things while listening to music played on the street. I wonder if the artist in front of me is homeless, if he has a job, where he eats his meals, if he is a member of some troupe? Street musicians are extremely brave people, because they voluntarily share their artistic world with others*³⁵. This statement draws attention to another issue, i.e. the copyrights of the original works they present and their own artistic presentation. This is because it is not regulated by any copyright laws. If the musician has not submitted his own work to SACEM or any other authority where he can claim rights to the melody, lyrics or harmony; any viewer, inspired by the work he has heard, can create his own work based on it, which will not be considered plagiarism.

As the respondents emphasize, street musicians are also people who stop time, distracting from the drudgery of daily life, politics and the rush. On the one hand, respondents complain about musicians performing at subway stations, in train cars or in corridors (this is strictly forbidden by the state) due to forcing travelers to listen to their musical presentations (which doesn't happen on the street, because here the passerby has the opportunity to bypass the presentation venue). On the other hand, there are those who appreciate playing on public transportation. One respondent living in Paris (15-25) admits that he appreciates situations where, while waiting for a late train, he has the opportunity to listen to nice tunes that help soothe his nerves and not look at his watch for a while. In his words: "Thank you true street artists for making it possible to experience beautiful moments when the train schedule works very badly in the morning. Thank you also for your evening performances on the streets of Paris, in pubs and on Saint Michel."³⁶. According to listeners, these are very kind people who, even in the absence of musical training, enliven the city. Using their talent, they enrich the image of the place, which is thus perceived by tourists as more cheerful and dynamic. As one tourist (15-25) points out, referring to the capital, "in front of the Centre Pompidou there are always musicians who are very appealing and interesting. It helps to add value to the culture."³⁷. So it is noticeable by both French residents and visitors. According to another interviewee, "[street artists] bring a lot of good to the city, they bring a smile to the faces of passersby - it's the great power of music"; "They can't disappear from the city streets"; "They are great. I think no one will speak negatively about them" .³⁸

In the course of my research on the figure of the street musician in France, I attempted to find out, by playing the role of a flute player, what a street artist faces. I carried out this experiment in three cities: Montpellier (the center of the south of France), Sète (a small coastal town with few tourists), and Paris. All the presentations were held in May (a period that is already very sunny) twice in each place, in order to compare the interest of tourists and city residents at the same time.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, Appendix: Table 15.

³⁷ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, Appendix: Table 10.

³⁸ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit, Appendix: Table 15.

Based on online tips³⁹, I prepared five pieces for the musical presentation: Antoni Vivaldi's *flute concerto in D major* RV 428 "Pratt", Sergei Rachmaninov's *Italian Polka*, Johann Sebastian Bach's *Badinerie*, Charles Gounod's *Ave Maria*, and Dave Brubeck's jazz standard *Take five*. The first presentation took place in the Rue de la Loge in Montpellier. People and tourists returning from work seemed completely uninterested in me when I first played my instrument on the street. It was only after a few minutes that people began to gather around me, wanting to listen to the pieces I was performing. Most of the passersby bestowed me with a smile. It was noticeable that when I performed the Vivaldi *Concerto* or Bach's *Badinerie*, people associated these pieces and approached more eagerly, often dropping coins into the case placed in front of me. Police officers repeatedly monitored the street, but never once drew my attention. Within an hour, I received 45 euros and 20 cents. When I returned to the same place the next day, and chose it because of the density of people and good acoustics, I was met with a rather unpleasant situation. A couple selling caricatures nearby demanded that I leave the place because I was new here, probably not familiar with the city's rules⁴⁰ and I was taking away their customers. Otherwise they will be forced to inform their "friends"⁴¹. Since I considered this a threat, I decided to move up the street. I didn't have to wait long before the lady from the beauty salon also asked me to change my place of play, because despite the presentation of classical music, her salon offers customers silence in which to relax.

On the same day, I met six other street artists: a guitarist playing⁴², Canadian artist Haylen⁴³, guitarist Mike⁴⁴ and his didgeridoo⁴⁵ Alain⁴⁶ - all of whom presented themselves in the very center of the Place de la Comedie. In addition, I saw a woman playing guitar⁴⁷ in front of the opera house and a man in the Place Jean Jaurès with a traveling piano⁴⁸.

The next place I went to with the same repertoire was the seaside town of Sète. On the first day, I located myself along the Quai de Bosc by the canal de Sète, which seemed full of people. Moments after taking out my instrument, I was greeted by the police, who asked to see my permit to play. Learning that I did not have authorization, I was demanded to show my ID. After a lengthy discussion, the police officers directed me to the mayor's office, where

³⁹ Joanna Dobrzanska, *Street musician...*, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Probably, these are unwritten rules between street artists, establishing days when they present themselves on the street so as not to disturb each other.

⁴¹ As I learned among friends at the university, there is a group of people in Montpellier who own a street monopoly.

⁴² Guitarist performing popular French songs. He has been playing in Montpellier's main square for thirty-two years, earning a living and paying the necessary taxes.

⁴³ Her silhouette is introduced in Chapter 3 of the present work.

⁴⁴ A singer and guitarist who performs country music. By day, he plays in bars and restaurants, but to earn extra money, he also interprets country standards on the streets of Montpellier.

⁴⁵ A brass instrument of Australian aborigines.

⁴⁶ A didgeridoo performer and seller, traveling in the south of France.

⁴⁷ A woman of Moroccan descent, performing country music.

⁴⁸ Pierre-Henri Weiss, who travels around the world with a piano on wheels painted in various patterns, playing ragtime and encouraging people to try playing the instrument.

I was to receive a street game permit. At the Prefecture, I learned about the rules for granting such a permit and, having submitted the appropriate form motivated by a research project, I was granted a free authorization taking into account the place and day of my presentations. I was also instructed that the authorization must be carried with me at all times, and that any sound amplifiers that could disturb residents are strictly prohibited. Having received the appropriate permission⁴⁹, I showed up at the specified time and appropriate place. Apart from me that day, I did not meet any other musician.

Figure 1. Permission to play in the town of Sète.

Service Commerce et Artisanat
Tél. : 04 99 04 74 00
Fax : 01 46 52 85 89
E-mail : commerce-artisanat@ville-sete.fr

 **ville de sète**

LE MAIRE DE LA VILLE DE SETE

AUTORISE

Mademoiselle Joanna DOBRZANSKO, étudiante polonaise à l'Université Montpellier III dans le cadre du programme ERASMUS, domiciliée Cité U voie Dominitienne Bt.4 Chambre 422 à MONTPELLIER Cedex 5 - à occuper une superficie de 1m2 sur la place Aristide Briand dans le cadre de son mémoire « musiciens dans la rue du sud de la France », pour y jouer de la flûte traversière les :

- **Mardi 11 juin**
- **Jeudi 13 juin**
- **Dimanche 16 juin**
- **Samedi 22 juin et**
- **Dimanche 23 juin 2013 à partir de 12 heures**

Sous les réserves suivantes :

- les lieux devront être laissés en parfait état de propreté, aucun piquetage ne sera pratiqué dans le sol.
- L'installation projetée ne devra pas gêner la circulation des piétons.
- La protection des usagers devra être assurée par le pétitionnaire, conformément aux règlements et normes en vigueur.
- L'autorisation est délivrée au pétitionnaire à titre précaire et révocable. A la première injonction de l'Administration, le pétitionnaire sera tenu de libérer l'emplacement, à ses frais exclusifs, sans qu'il puisse s'en prévaloir pour réclamer une indemnité quelconque.
- Le pétitionnaire sera tenu pour seul responsable, tant vis-à-vis de la Commune que des tiers, des incidents ou accidents de toute nature pouvant résulter de cette occupation.
- Le pétitionnaire devra assurer, pendant toute la durée de l'opération, une permanence téléphonique et charger une personne nommément désignée, de donner l'alerte. De la rapidité de la transmission de l'alerte dépend la rapidité de l'arrivée des secours.
- Compte tenu du projet d'étude et du statut d'étudiant du pétitionnaire, l'occupation du Domaine Public est consentie à titre gratuit.



Sète, le 07 juin 2013

Pour Le Maire,
Le Conseiller Municipal délégué
Sébastien PACULL

AMPLIATIONS ADRESSEES A :
- M. le Commissaire Central de Police
- la Police Municipale

*Toute correspondance doit être adressée à Monsieur le Maire de la Ville de Sète
Hôtel de Ville - Boîte Postale 373 - 34206 Sète Cedex - Tél. 04 99 04 70 00*

⁴⁹ Consent to play in Sète

While playing in a small street⁵⁰ I was met with many warm reactions from passers-by, who, interested in my music, generously presented me not only with coins, but also with freshly caught fish⁵¹, a €10 lunch voucher⁵² and coffee from a nearby restaurant⁵³. People eagerly approached, asking where I was from, how long I've been playing and what I do in life. They shared their thoughts about my speech, adding that musicians contribute a lot to the culture of this city. They also talked about the wonderful instrumentalists they had met on the streets of Sète, confirming that artists are also interested in smaller towns in France. Within an hour, I received an additional 78 euros. Presenting myself the next time, I was invited to play in a restaurant where jazz meetings were held in the evening. In the following days, while being a tourist in Sète, I met a guitarist playing the works of Georges Brassens⁵⁴, as well as a pianist who was playing a synthesizer to raise money for his studies⁵⁵.

The last place I went to for environmental research was Paris. Despite sending an inquiry to the mayor's office for a permit to play, I received no response. So I decided to try my luck in a small street called Saint-Martin, near the City Hall and the Centre Georges Pompidou⁵⁶ where *saltimbanque* used to perform. People were eager to greet me, without dropping much into the case, however. They would stop, listen for a while, then walk away. Within an hour I received 23 euros and 10 cents. The next day I changed locations. Following the hints I had read on the Internet (the hints guaranteed success if you chose a popular tourist spot to demonstrate your skills), I decided to try my hand in front of Notre Dame Cathedral. After a few minutes, a young couple approached me, asking me if I knew that playing in the street was forbidden and the city guard would probably show up right away. The Parisians recommended to me a nearby place famous for presenting concerts by street musicians - the bridge connecting the Petit Pont islands. Having gone there, I didn't meet any musician, so I laid out my case and started the presentation according to the scheme I had already developed. Despite a favorable audience, I managed to collect only 18 euros in an hour. Concluding the above, I would like to draw the conclusion that playing on the street gives a sense of freedom and allows you to make new friends. However, it seems a big risk to treat street performances as the only source of income.

⁵⁰ Rue Général de Gaulle at Aristide Brand Square.

⁵¹ A fisherman returning from fishing really liked the piece by Antony Vivaldi and, explaining that unfortunately he didn't have any money with him, handed me two freshly caught fish.

⁵² In France, there is a highly developed social system, whereby employees, in addition to a fixed salary, also receive lunch vouchers that can be used at virtually any café or restaurant when ordering a dish, sandwich, dessert and drinks.

⁵³ A waiter from *Le Flore* bar, located on rue Général de Gaulle, brought me coffee in a takeaway mug, thanking me for playing.

⁵⁴ French poet and composer originally from Sète.

⁵⁵ Most universities are fee-based in France.

⁵⁶ National Center for Arts and Culture.

Figure 2. Musical presentation on the Rue de la Loge in Montpellier



Figure 3. Musical presentation on the Quai de Bosc at the canal de Sète.



My research shows that a street musician is not a beggar playing anything, and the level of his performances often turns out to be very high. In addition, I perceive still-rooted traditions, i.e. the *itinerancy* of street musicians. Frequent changes of venue are crucial both in terms of presenting one's persona to a wider audience, as well as for mundane reasons - it is impossible to play even the most wide-ranging repertoire again and again in the same place, as it becomes a nuisance to those living in the neighborhood. My research was carried out 10 years ago. The results of the searches and analysis presented here can serve as a starting point

for further research steps in this field, relating especially to contemporary contexts of music-making in urban open airs.

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The Role *of Beach Bars*

in Wrocław's Local Music Scene

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Beach bars – a relatively new phenomenon in Wrocław – are open-air riverside bars typically located on one of the Oder River’s numerous branches or arms and usually possessing artificial sandy beaches. They are, crucially, seasonal facilities open between late May and early September and closed during the rest of the year. Many of these bars are used as concert venues, and some even have specially constructed stages. A number of summer music festival events are held there. Though Wrocław’s first beach bar, ZaZoo, only opened in 2016, by the 2021 season there had already been sixteen of them in the Lower Silesian capital.¹ Their number grew to twenty-one in 2022,² which indicates a steady increase.

Despite their growing significance in the leisure industry of a creative city such as Wrocław,³ to date these bars have not been the subject of any study concerning their place in the life of local musical communities and their sonic atmosphere. Apart from generally characterising these spaces, I will therefore also attempt to define their place in the city’s popular music scene in relation to traditional forms of its presence. For this purpose, I will quote examples from my field research conducted in the years 2019–2021 as well as later observations. While discussing local musical practice, it also seems natural to tackle the question of the city’s sonic identity, which is co-shaped by the activity of urban artists.

The Local Music Scene: Serious Urban Leisure Activities

Local music scenes are a type of musical communities, built and maintained through musical processes and/or public performances, regardless of place and time. Music-making creates social relations in real time, making both the artists and their audiences (participants of this process) aware of their mutual interconnectedness.⁴ Musical processes will be understood here (after Bennett and Peterson) as the coexistence of many musical practices interacting as part of the process of group and individual differentiation and along varied trajectories of mutual inspirations and transformations. The performers, the supporting infrastructure, and fans jointly contribute to collective music-making for the sake of personal enjoyment, self-definition, and profit.⁵ Such activities are defined as serious leisure activities (i.e. those demanding some commitment but bringing lasting benefits) as opposed to casual leisure

¹ Wrocław.pl, *Beach Bary we Wrocławiu. Sprawdź najpopularniejsze miejsca w plenerze (ZESTAWIENIE)* [Wrocław Beach Bars: Check Out the Most Popular Outdoor Venues (A Survey)], [website], (2021), <https://www.wroclaw.pl/dla-mieszkanca/beach-bar-wroclaw-lista-miejsc>, accessed 11 Feb. 2022.

² ‘Miejsca we Wrocławiu’ [‘Wrocław Venues’], *Beach Bary i plaże miejskie we Wrocławiu. (SEZON 2022)* [Beach Bars and Urban Beaches in Wrocław, the 2022 Season], [website], 2022, <https://miejscawewroclawiu.pl/23008-2/>, accessed 27 Sep. 2022.

³ Entertainment in a creative city, including the local music scene, is the subject of my paper: Jakub Kopaniecki, ‘Why does a creative city need its local music? A study of the contemporary Wrocław jazz scene’, *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, 21 (2021), 23–38.

⁴ The research resulted in a thesis supervised by Prof. Bożena Muszkalska, PhD, Habil.: Jakub Kopaniecki, ‘Muzyka popularna w przestrzeni fonicznej współczesnego Wrocławia’ [‘Popular Music in the Sonic Space of Contemporary Wrocław’], PhD Thesis, University of Wrocław, 2023.

⁵ Kay Kaufman Shelemay, ‘Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 2 (2011), 363–364.

⁶ Andy Bennett and Richard Peterson, ‘Introducing Music Scenes’, in Andy Bennett and Richard Peterson, eds, *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual* (Nashville, 2004), 1.

activities that comprises basic pleasure-related social interactions and types of behaviour related to personal satisfaction. Leisure is what we engage in voluntarily after fulfilling our professional and household duties (as opposed to free time, which also includes our non-work obligations). The aims of leisure activities include rest, entertainment, pursuing one's interests, social participation, and self-fulfilment. Leisure activities are also necessary for the inhabitants' private satisfaction.⁷

The local music scene may also be interpreted from the perspective of sound studies as an acoustic community, that is, a human community inhabiting a certain definite space and centred around the types of sound dominant in that space. Acoustic information plays a positive role in the life of such communities, whose members frequently share the same 'sound romance', which means that some types of sound hold pleasant associations for them as a result of stereotypes (i.e. fixed notions of some phenomena) or memories.⁸ The above-discussed notion of a musical community is therefore contained in the semantically wider notion of an acoustic community. Popular music scenes are concentrated around places of major significance in the city's cultural space, that is, in the most attractive spaces that have emerged as a result of long-term social development. The city centre is considered as the most important of such spaces since it defines the framework of social life within which we sense and interpret the city's individual character, its scale, and the rhythm of its life.⁹ The centre is also acoustically the most active. In Wrocław, the Old Town is considered as the most significant space since it expresses and embodies the city's identity to a particular degree. This also concerns the city's sonic identity, as historically cultivated and immediately recognisable.

The city's music scene consists, first and foremost, of various food-and-drinks establishments for which live music is an additional customer attractor but does not constitute their basic line of activity. In Wrocław this role is fulfilled by pubs, bars, and clubs in the Old Town, attended both by regular local customers (for whom they are an element of their lifestyle and leisure) and by visitors to Wrocław who wish to sense the city's atmosphere. These venues give local artists a chance to perform in public and earn money, while their performances provide the establishment with additional income from food-and-drinks sales as well as promoting the place, which likewise translates into financial profit. Such venues create opportunities for musicians and determine the kind of repertoire they perform. They are not only buildings conceived as commodities in nightlife economy, but also the background of people's urban life.¹⁰ The venues therefore play a crucial role, since music and

⁷ Zack Moir, 'Popular Music Making and Young People', in Roger Mantie and Gareth Dylan Smith, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Music Making and Leisure* (New York, 2017), 223–224.

⁸ Sebastian Bernat, 'Wokół pojęcia soundscape. Dyskusja terminologiczna' ['On the Notion of Soundscape: A Terminological Debate'], *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego*, 30 (2015), 45–57; Maksymilian Kapelański, 'Koncepcja "pejzażu dźwiękowego" (soundscape) w pismach R. Murray'a Schafera' ['The Concept of Soundscape in the Writings of R. Murray Schafer'], unpublished MA thesis written under the supervision of Prof. Maciej Gołąb, University of Warsaw, 1999.

⁹ Dominika Pazder, 'Rola przestrzeni kulturowych w kreacji współczesnego śródmieścia' ['The Role of Cultural Spaces in Creating Contemporary Urban Centres'], *Czasopismo techniczne*, 4-A (2008), 22.

¹⁰ Tara Brabazon, *Popular Music: Topics, Trends & Trajectories* (London, 2012), 66–67; Bennett, 'Introducing Music Scenes', 7–8.

physical space mutually shape each other. Music becomes regularly associated with specific places, which thus build their own 'aura' or atmosphere. The latter may also subsequently spread outside the given venue. Live music plays a key role in the sense and perception of local aura since its form of communication is the most direct, intense, and spontaneous.¹¹ Physical space is just as important as the repertoire performed in them, since extramusical sounds and the décor of the place form a kind of 'landscape' characterised by a specific atmosphere that lends authenticity to the place. Music becomes part of the reception of that atmosphere, to which light and scents are also likely to contribute, turning the event into a multisensory experience. The combination of such qualities as décor, acoustics, the food and drinks served – influences and interacts with the music repertoire, the performers' stage expression, and audience reactions.

Where the music scene is 'healthy' in the sense that it allows its members to develop, artists should have access to a variety of venues in which they can express different, distinct aspects of their musical identity. Two venues that together form Wrocław's so-called 'jazz scene'¹² are an excellent example of such diversity. One is the elegant Vertigo Jazz Club and Restaurant, the other – Nietota bar. Both usually feature the same artists and sometimes also a very similar repertoire. However, the music arrangements, stage movement, and forms of contact with the audience are adjusted to suit the character of the given place. What is considered normal in Nietota (e.g. dancing in front of the stage and the use of colloquial language) is viewed as unbecoming in Vertigo, where the guests stay seated at their tables and the performers mostly use polite formulas while addressing the audience.¹³ Both venues exploit their concert schedules extensively as an element of promotion strategies. Both have been present in the city's space for many years. They are highly recognisable and already 'familiarised' by the local musical community to such an extent that some of its members even call these places 'home'. Pianist and arranger Sebastian Łobos explains: 'Either venue has its special qualities that must be taken into account so that we can select the right repertoire and let ourselves have a good time, too [...]. I cannot imagine Michael Bublé [songs – author's note] being performed in Nietota, but such music sells well in Vertigo.'

¹¹ John Connell and Chris Gibson, *Sound tracks. Popular music, identity and place*, (New York, 2003), 192, 211.

¹² By the Wrocław jazz scene I mean the music community centred around four Old Town venues: Guinness pub, Nietota bar, Vertigo Jazz Club and Restaurant, as well as Stary Klasztor club. The artists performing in those venues work in jazz-related genres and/or identify themselves as jazz musicians. The venues themselves, and Vertigo in particular, use the 'jazz' label to characterise or even sometimes define their profile.

¹³ Cf. Jakub Kopaniecki, 'Ekspresja sceniczna a performans miejsca. Wrocławska scena muzyczna – przed pandemią i w jej trakcie' ['Stage Expression and Performance of the Venue. The Wrocław Music Scene before and during the Pandemic], *Kultura-Historia-Globalizacja*, 29 (2023), 107–123.



Figure 1. Vertigo Jazz Club and Restaurant (left) and Nietota (right) during concerts.

Beach Bars: Characterisation of the Venues

Venues in the city centre are well-known, ‘familiarised’, and at the same time highly varied. Live music defines their character. Though it is not the main source of income, its presence and popularity greatly benefits the whole business. Beach bars, on the other hand, seem uniformly ‘ludic’ on the surface and are highly unpredictable in terms of repertoire. They nevertheless play a vital supportive role in the local music scene. The sudden growth in their popularity is related, among others, to the gradual redevelopment of riverside areas in Wrocław, which are being converted into attractive residential quarters and leisure spaces for the city’s inhabitants.¹⁴ These places are ‘quasi-public’, to use Dariusz Dziubiński’s terms, that is, they are commercial investment but remain publicly accessible and are advertised as meeting places for human interaction, which makes it possible to discuss them also in terms of public space.¹⁵ They are similar in this respect to establishments in the city centre, which are likewise private but oriented towards interaction and social life. Beach bars fit into the two main models of contemporary urban leisure – one pivoting around food-and-drinks venues and the other – around open-air recreation, which includes outdoor leisure activities.¹⁶

Due to their specific character, beach bars are located outside the Old Town, that is, outside what is considered as the cradle of local music practice in Wrocław. All the same, during the research I conducted in 2019–2021 beach bars frequently featured both in audience questionnaire results and in statements from musicians associated with downtown music communities. I therefore realised that these venues needed to be examined as well, since they are places to which local musicians, especially those associated with the jazz scene, largely move for the summer. Unlike Old Town establishments and venues considered as hubs

¹⁴ Grażyna Adamczyk-Arns, Paweł Wojdyła and Małgorzata Zdebel, ‘Odnowa wodnych przestrzeni publicznych Wrocławia w kontekście rewitalizacji Przedmieścia Oławskiego’ [‘The Revival of Wrocław’s Waterside Public Spaces in the Context of Oławskie Suburb Redevelopment’], *Studia KPZK*, 188 (2018), 377–391.

¹⁵ Dariusz Dziubiński, ‘Beach bary we Wrocławiu. Przestrzenie prywatne czy publiczne?’ [‘Wrocław’s Beach Bars: Private or Public Spaces?’], *Architectus*, 3 (2020), 131, 141.

¹⁶ Dziubiński, ‘Beach bary’, 134.

of Wrocław musicians' activity, beach bars are relatively new and situated quite far from the most significant urban spaces. Their outdoor location also means that soundscape may potentially be polluted by sounds coming from outside the given venue. Sonic identity of the place is a key issue, since music and physical space mutually shape each other, and the place's aura results from interactions between community members, the intangible 'energy flow' between those people,¹⁷ and the multisensory experience of the concert's physical space. The space that artists' and the audience have at their disposal dictates the rules, since its acoustics and type of representation are beyond their control. This concerns sounds coming from the stage or speakers, from the audience, as well as sounds of the environment.¹⁸ As already suggested above, every place has its own way of constructing its individual sonic statements.

Since beach bars are customarily located on the riverside, far from the active and sonically varied city centre, they ostensibly seem relatively uniform in terms of soundscape. The three most popular ones and most active as concert venues were (before the end of 2021) ZaZoo, Prosto z Mostu, and Stara Odra, all situated on the same arm of the river, called the Old (Pol. Stara) Oder. Despite their similar location, each of them has its own unique sonic aura resulting from its design characteristics as well as background noise incorporated into their soundscape. To musicians, these venues provide opportunities for earning money and self-promotion. For the businesses themselves, live music is an added value, increasing their income from sales of drinks and snacks. Such venues were relatively less affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, since restrictions were partly lifted in the summer seasons, and catering facilities could be reopened. The functioning of beach bars nevertheless strictly depends on the weather. On cold, windy, and especially on rainy days the customers are few or the bar may even close. A concert planned for such a day will be cancelled (not so in the case of indoor venues). In fair weather, and especially at weekends (starting on Friday night), beach bars are filled with people, the sound of many conversations, clanking bottles, music being played back from speakers, and boats passing by on the river.

Young people, mostly students, are the main group among beach bar regulars. For them, this is one of the favourite forms of leisure activity in the summer season, especially since apart from concerts most such venues also stage fire shows and other spectacles, stand-ups, competitions, etc. – types of entertainment much less common in bars and clubs in the city centre, which likewise programme local musicians. Beach bar audiences dress adequately for the weather, usually in light casual summer clothing. Even at larger-scale concerts, which do not merely function as background music, clothing remains casual rather than formal. This is also what distinguishes beach bars from the most prestigious venues such as Vertigo Jazz Club and Restaurant, whose customers wear elegant attire much more frequently as it corresponds well with the club's atmosphere. Concert or no concert, the tables and chairs that

¹⁷ Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Estetyka performatywności [The Aesthetics of Performativity]* (Kraków, 2008), 186–187.

¹⁸ Patrycja Terciak, 'Koncert: widowisko – teatr – performans. Próba ujęcia wydarzenia w kontekście współczesnej refleksji nad performatyką' ['A Concert as a Spectacle, Theatre, and Performance. An Attempt at a Description in Terms of Contemporary Performance Studies'], *Glissando*, 21 (2013), 27.

are standard furnishings in other venues can much more rarely be found in beach bars, whose customers typically recline comfortably on deckchairs instead.

The Sonic and Performance-Related Characteristics of Wrocław's Most Popular Beach Bars

ZaZoo

ZaZoo was the first beach bar to open in Wrocław (in 2016), and it remains the most popular one. Thirty concerts were held there in 2019–2021, nineteen of which featured local musicians. Situated behind the Zoological Garden (hence the name) in the eastern part of the city, it is also one of its largest beach bars, with a surface area of 0.25 ha. Its main section is a wide rectangle with a centrally located entrance and counter. To the east of the drinks counter there are deckchairs and tables as well as a sanitary unit, to the west – the stage and more deckchairs and tables, which are arranged so as to face the stage during big concerts.

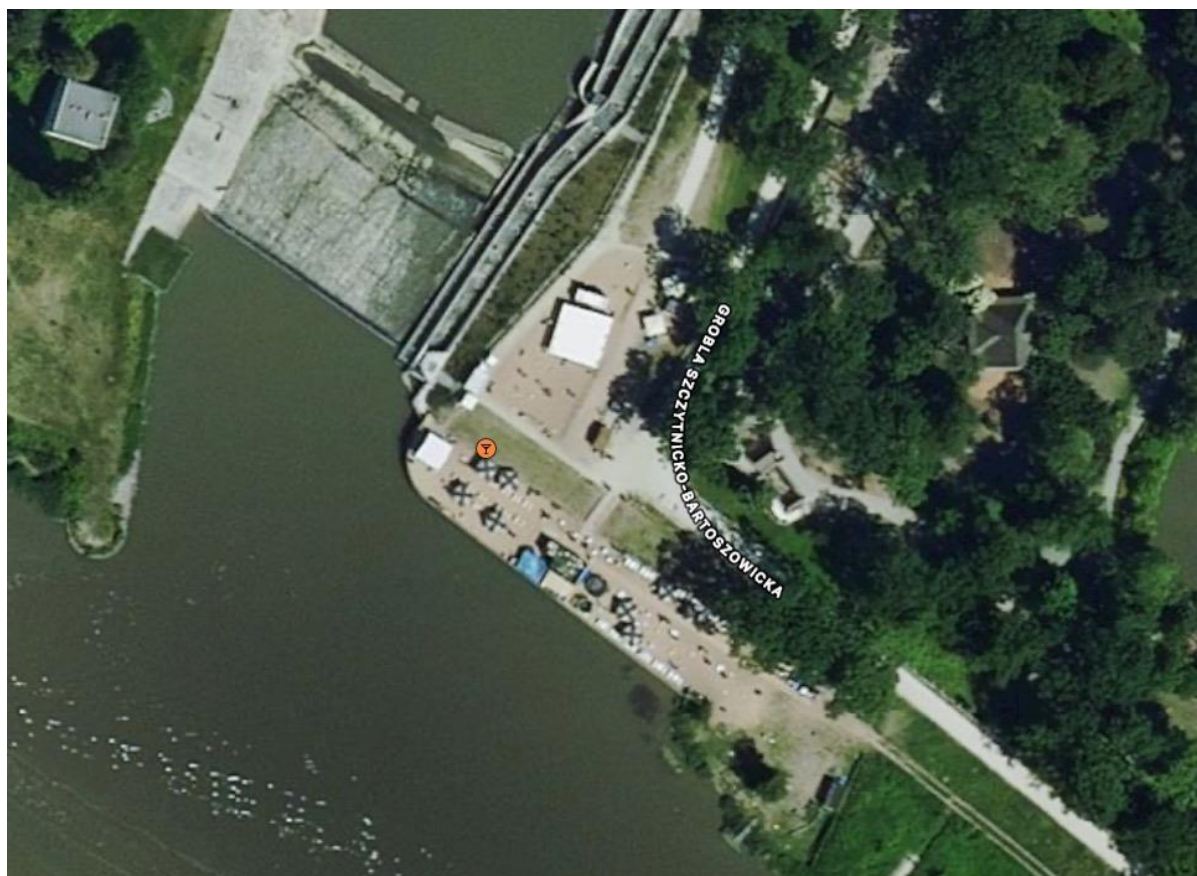


Figure 2. Satellite photo of ZaZoo beach bar. Source: Apple Maps.



Figure 3. The western section of ZaZoo, with the river Oder in the background and the stage on the right.

The bar is located near the Szczytniki sluice way, also visible in the photograph above. Since the bar is surrounded by water, air temperatures often significantly drop in the evening, particularly late in the season (September). Notably, when the sluice opens, the sound of splashing water can clearly be heard from near the stage. Also of note is the quiet whirring of boat engines as river traffic is intense in this area. Animal noises, most of all the cries of exotic birds, reach the place from the nearby zoo, and dance music is played back from the counter. The proximity of the sluice and the zoo is what shapes the unique soundscape of this place, making it distinctly stand out from other beach bars. The sound of flowing water and animal cries are, however, only clearly audible during acoustic concerts or quiet numbers. Powerful amplification effectively eliminates external sources of sound once we have found ourselves within reach of the speakers. The stage can effortlessly accommodate five to seven persons – the full line-up of a band.

The clear separation of the concert section with the stage from the purely recreational one makes it possible to gather the more involved listeners either on the beach in front of the stage or on the low grassy embankment perpendicular to the stage. During concerts, musicians interact with the audience, encouraging people to clap, sing, or dance along, and engaging in brief exchanges (mainly announcements of the successive numbers). The fact that all the deckchairs in the western section face the stage facilitates communication and efficient energy flow between participants, as well as preventing listeners from getting distracted.

Importantly, though, many members of the audience continue their conversations during concerts or (frequently) walk around on their way to the bar counter or the toilets. Such behaviour is typical and commonly accepted in beach bars. Those who find no interest in the given concert can seat themselves in the eastern section of the bar. Varied music, mostly electronic and hip-hop, is played back via the speakers during intervals. Such music is quite unrelated to numbers performed live from the stage. This approach stands in clear contrast to how such things work in the city centre, where background music usually corresponds not only to the atmosphere of the place but also to that of the event in progress.

Since many of the events in ZaZoo are part of festivals organised by Vertigo club, the repertoire performed there is highly varied and not easy to define. For instance, Vertigo Summer Vibes Festival included a concert in ZaZoo of singer-songwriter Melika (alternative electronic music), Vertigo Summer Blues Festival involved a performance by HooDoo Band (crossover funk, soul, and rhythm and blues), whereas Vertigo Summer Jazz Festival featured a ZaZoo concert by The Cuban Latin Jazz (combining Cuban music with jazz). What all these musicians have in common is that they are professionals recognised in the local music scenes as artists who combine fine skills with stage experience. They do their job very well and, in many cases, make a living by performing music, even though most of them are not bound by regular work contracts.¹⁹ Their high status allows them to present original repertoire, unlike amateurs (that is, beginners at the start of their careers in music) who (though they may also have good skills and technique)²⁰ mostly perform covers of popular songs.

Prosto z Mostu

Prosto z Mostu (literally ‘straight from the bridge’, but also an idiom like ‘straight from the shoulder’ in English), is the youngest of Wrocław’s top beach bars. It opened in May 2018 in the northeastern part of the city, near the Warszawskie (Warsaw) Bridges in the Ołbin district. Like ZaZoo, this bar is situated on the Stara Odra river arm, which flows through eastern and northern Wrocław. The bar is divided into two zones: a gravel-strewn western one with benches and parasols (facing the bar counter) and the beach in the east, which includes a small, roofed stage adjacent to the bar. This venue is sonically a very rich place. The adjacent floodbank and Pasterska Street are popular walking and cycling routes, whereas the nearby Warszawskie and railway bridges carry busy traffic. Sounds from these places can distinctly be heard especially in the western section of the beach bar.

¹⁹ Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music Making in an English Town* (Middleton, 2007), 12–17.

²⁰ Marie McCarthy, ‘Creating a Framework for Music Making and Leisure’, in Mantie, *The Oxford Handbook of Music Making and Leisure*, 14–18.



Figure 4. Satellite photo of Prosto z Mostu beach bar. Source: Apple Maps.



Figure 5. The eastern section of Prosto z Mostu, with the stage located centrally, the volleyball court to the left of the stage, and part of the bar counter on the right.

Its eastern part (the beach and the volleyball court) occupies most of the venue's surface area, with the stage located more or less centrally. The stage is walled off on its sides, which means that what happens onstage can only be properly seen and heard from the front. As in ZaZoo, deckchairs are arranged in rows directly in front of the stage for those intending to listen to the music. The stage's side walls significantly reduce the number of persons who can attend the concert or even hear it as background music. For this reason, Prosto z Mostu mostly hosts experienced and recognisable Wrocław-based bands, which mostly perform there during local music festivals, in particular – those held by Vertigo Jazz Club and Restaurant. Background music comes nearly exclusively from speakers located at the bar counter, which (as in ZaZoo) are switched off for the duration of the concerts. Audience behaviour is similar to that in ZaZoo: People mostly interact verbally, and dance rather more rarely (movements are limited by the guests' half-lying position on the deckchair).

Stara Odra

Located right next to the tram terminus in Zawalna Street, in the Karłowice district in the north of Wrocław, this one of the older beach bars opened in late May 2017 and hosted forty-two concerts in 2019–2021. All but one of them (97.62%) were performances by local artists. This is an absolute record among the beach bars under study. Most of these concerts (twenty-five) took place in 2020, more specifically – between the first and second lockdowns during the COVID-19 pandemic. In that period, indoor establishments were obliged significantly to reduce the number of seats and increase distances between tables. For outdoor facilities health-and-safety regulations were less restrictive, which meant that they could operate almost as freely as they had done before the pandemic.

Stara Odra is designed as a trapezoid space with a small, prominent stage in the middle, opposite the entrance and the counter. Thanks to this solution, live music instantly attracts attention and can be viewed and listened to from nearly every part of the establishment. The number of vessels on the Old Oder (from which the bar took its name) is small, and the noise from the nearby Trzebnickie (Trzebnica) Bridges – not conspicuous. Its location at the foot of the Karłowicki Floodbank means that the bar is isolated from sounds coming from the street that runs along the other side of the embankment and from the housing estate. The dominant soundscape of Stara Odra is therefore that of quiet conversations, dance music played back from speakers, and volleyball being played in the court situated at the eastern edge of the bar.

Bartek, a local inhabitant and Stara Odra customer, informed me that the music can also be heard from the nearby houses, which makes it possible for the residents to listen to the concerts from the balconies of their apartment blocks and tenements.



Figure 6. Satellite photo of Stara Odra beach bar. Source: Apple Maps.



Figure 7. View of Stara Odra's western section. The stage in the middle, the bar counter – on the right. The river is visible on the left, and further left - the Trzebnickie Bridges.

Stara Odra was mentioned by artists in the interviews I conducted but not in the questionnaires. Unlike in the case of other beach bars, artists stressed that music plays a secondary role in Stara Odra, where it mostly serves as a backdrop for alcohol and snack consumption as well as private conversations. Deckchairs and low tables are set out all over the precincts and, unlike in the venues described above, they are not arranged to form an auditorium around the stage. Concerts began in the early evening hours (6–7 p.m.) and lasted for 2–3 hours with intervals. They were held on different days of the week, mostly outside the weekends. This suggests that these events were meant to encourage people to visit the bar on weekdays, which are less attractive for this kind of leisure. Owing to the small dimensions of the stage and the auxiliary character of music in this venue, the vast majority of the events were acoustic solo or duo concerts (a singer with guitar or keyboard). Despite music being relegated to the status of acoustic background, musicians' comments were positive. Wojtek Kiełbasa, one of the most popular local artists, said during his concert: 'It is great to play here since the atmosphere is always good.'

For reasons stated above, Stara Odra (unlike the other three beach bars under study) hosted performances by both amateurs and experienced professionals, and the repertoire mostly consisted of acoustic covers of popular hits. For instance, jazz singer Basia Piotrowska (collaborating with Vertigo, among others) sang pieces by Dua Lipa, Amy Winehouse, Elvis Presley, etc., using her charisma to involve the public, which nevertheless mostly engaged in conversations and consumption in the first part of the concert. Conversations were to be heard throughout, though mostly from the far edges of the bar. The already mentioned Wojtek Kiełbasa similarly performed acoustic covers of songs by Ed Sheeran, Coldplay, John Mayer, The Beatles, etc. during one of his concerts at Stara Odra. He announced each song and responded to audience reactions, both between numbers and during performances, encouraging people to dance, clap, and sing along. Notably, while in the other beach bars the auditorium is nearly full from the start, that in Stara Odra was only filling gradually, which suggests that the concerts were not the people's main reason for visiting the place and that many of them attended the music events by chance.

Wrocław's Isles Lose Their Status in the Music Scene in Favour of Urban Beaches

Ślódowa (Malt) Island was, in my questionnaires, the most frequently mentioned open-air venue. However, I consciously left it out of my research. It once possessed a stage used for numerous open-air events. The stage, however, was frequently vandalised, as evident from the isle's official Facebook profile 'Wyspa na weekend'. Not a single open-air concert was held there between September 2019 and the end of 2021. Several factors contributed to this situation. One was the growing risk of vandalism after alcohol consumption became permitted on the island (as of 1 August 2018).²¹ Besides, 2020 saw the opening of Concordia Design food-

²¹ [n.n.] "'Piwo pod chmurką" we Wrocławiu już od 1 sierpnia' ['Beer Allowed in the Open Air as of 1 August'], Wrocław.pl, [website], 2018, <https://www.wroclaw.pl/dla-mieszkanca/gdzie-legalnie-napic-sie-piwa-we-wroclawiu>, accessed 27 Apr. 2022.

and-services complex. It houses concerts both on its roof and indoors, and they are therefore less likely to be cancelled due to bad weather. Of great significance to the decline of Słodowa Island as a concert venue has also been the emergence in various parts of Wrocław of numerous beach bars offering live concerts. This has greatly expanded the local musicians' opportunities as they can now perform on many smaller stages rather than just single big one in the city centre. Though there are several bars situated near Słodowa Island as well, they do not stage live music except for occasional DJ nights.

As Dariusz Dziubiński observed in his research, there were no other attractions or infrastructure on Słodowa Island. It was mostly frequented by young people, whereas the other age groups preferred the neighbouring, quiet Piasek (Sand) and Daliowa Islands, which attract strollers and rest seekers among others with their rich soundscapes related to the varied greenery and the river that surrounds them. Besides, the beach bar offer is more holistic, their furnishings and the attractions offered – much richer and comfier. What these two types of space have in common is behavioural freedom, which, however, tends to manifest itself in much more extreme ways on the island. Despite the public ownership of that latter space, there is much less control (mostly of how alcohol is consumed), which allows some visitors to engage in extreme and (in the eyes of most people) untypical behaviour of the kind normally not permitted in public space.²²

Of those mentioned above, only Daliowa Island is included in my study. Thanks to festivals held by Vertigo club, it has become a major summer venue in the Wrocław jazz scene. Though lacking any concert infrastructure, Daliowa has a unique soundscape resulting from its location on the river Oder with a small sluice at the isle's eastern edge (separating it from Piasek Island), from which the splashing of the water can be heard. There are several trees and many shrubs. A large part is strewn with gravel. The sound of bells coming from the nearby church on the hour complements this varied but calm and mild acoustic background, favourable to rest seekers. This attracts many people to this isle, including families with kids – strolling, talking, sometimes sitting on blankets in the small grassy patches, and enjoying the place's calm atmosphere.

The Current Situation of Wrocław's Beach Bars. New Opportunities for Beginners and Experienced Local Artists on Open-Air Stages

Though the beach bar spaces are located far from the city centre, they are, in a way, part of the Wrocław jazz scene, with the Market Square as its focal point. It is musicians belonging to that scene that most commonly perform on the beach bar stages. As in traditional music scenes, different beach bars offer varied opportunities for both experienced and beginner artists, though it is the professionals who dominate in the bars' concert schedules. This situation is now changing, however, since some of the new beach bars opened in 2022–2023 have been co-founded by owners of clubs and bars in the city centre. Marina Kleczków and

²² Dziubiński, 'Beach bary', 140.

Babie Lato Partynice, for instance, are affiliated with Vertigo. These venues were designed from the start with a view to intense concert activity featuring local artists who had previously performed in indoor venues and occasionally in other beach bars as well. They have both covers and original numbers in their repertoires, which they can now present outside the city centre in the summer season, while the atmosphere of already 'familiarised' places and the intense flow of energy between musicians and their audience remain largely similar, and they shape the atmosphere of each new place.

These parallels notwithstanding, the danger of a live concert becoming a mere background for drinks-and-snack consumption is much greater in a beach bar, regardless of the artist's recognisability and the dimensions of the venue itself. In a downtown indoor establishment, where the space is much smaller and has clear physical boundaries, even uninvolved non-fans will attend to the music performance to some extent, whereas talking at the table or simply ignoring the event becomes difficult. Besides, hubs of the local music scene attract a regular and faithful audience. Their deep rooting in the city's cultural identity means that new guests are also more likely consciously to observe the conventions of the place with regard to concert attendance as well as the artists' and audience's forms of expression. In beach bars, on the other hand, where concerts are held much less frequently²³ and (in many cases) only in one dedicated part of the given establishment – joining or leaving an event in mid-course is much easier, and the energy does not build up between musicians and the audience to the extent to which it is possible in indoor venues. In Wrocław's oldest beach bars, concerts are typically an added attraction rather than an essential component of their identity. In the downtown area, its bars and clubs are constitutive of the city's music scene, and their musical identity impacts the overall aura of the place.

The soundscape of beach bars is likewise very different from that of the city centre. It is filled with the sounds of nature and of city life, which vary depending on the given venue's location (e.g. different sonic messages reaching ZaZoo from the zoological garden and Prosto z Mostu from the busy traffic on the bridges). Even in the case of bars situated near the main arteries, sounds of the environment tend to be much quieter than in the sonically active city centre, the noisy and noise-filled soundscape of which goes far beyond the level of a mere lo-fi ambience.

To conclude, the importance of Wrocław's beach bars for the growth and durability of the city's music scene is likely to increase in the years to come, as this new type of space (with its freshly discovered urban self-identity) is beginning to play an even greater role among the local populace. Owners of the existing establishments have already noticed their potential, and operators of other beach bars are exhibiting growing interest in the services of Wrocław musicians as live music is becoming more and more central to the functioning of their businesses. This situation benefits both the artists (who can perform more frequently for ever more involved audiences) and the city as a whole (which gains new cultural spaces, thus enhancing Wrocław's artistic identity and its creative potential). The effects of this process are

²³ For instance, 159 concerts were held at Vertigo Jazz Club and Restaurant in 2020, just twenty-five – in Stara Odra beach bar.

almost exclusively positive, since Wrocław's attractiveness as a place of residence, personal development, attractive free-time offer, as well as serious leisure activities is on the rise.

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Abstract

The paper discusses Wrocław's beach bars, i.e. open-air riverside facilities which (as the name suggests) mostly possess artificial sandy beaches. The importance of this type of venue, relatively new in Wrocław, for the local music life is constantly growing. The text characterises these urban spaces (which have been of only marginal interest to Polish scholars to date) and defines their place in the city's popular music scene in relation to traditional forms of that repertoire's presence. In his survey of local musical practice, the author refers to the city's sonic identity (soundscape), which is co-created by urban artists. The paper covers the period of the author's field research in 2019–2021 as well as his later observations which indicate potential directions of beach bars' development and confirm their growing role in shaping Wrocław's local music scene.

Keywords: local music scene, popular music, beach bar, urban studies, sound studies