The "First Lady" and the "Stalinist Agent" of Polish Music: The Musical Labour of Grażyna Bacewicz and Zofia Lissa During the Shaping of Contemporary Art Music Culture in Poland (1925–1975)

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the relationship between gender, identity, musical labor, and women's agency in mid-century Poland. I focus on lives and careers of two key female figures who shaped the country's contemporary music culture: composer Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–69) and musicologist Zofia Lissa (1905–80). Throughout their careers, Bacewicz's and Lissa's creative, intellectual, administrative, and care-labour depended on, challenged, and reinforced prevailing ideas about gender roles in music and academia in Polish interwar and postwar society. Simultaneously, their lives provide a case study to examine agency that women composers and musicologists exerted with changing politics of gender and national belonging. Notably, Lissa allows for the examination of the intersection of gender and Jewish identity in Poland throughout the twentieth century. In the first part of the dissertation, I analyze beliefs and practices around womanhood and work ethic shared by Bacewicz, her mother Maria Modlińska, and her teacher Nadia Boulanger. Moreover, I argue that the presence of a nurturing domestic environment and the tangible involvement in Bacewicz's career of her mother and her sister played a vital role in her success as a professional composer. The second part of the dissertation traces academic-institutional opportunities and limitations Zofia Lissa faced as a Jewish woman during her academic career, first in interwar Lviv, and later in postwar Warsaw and internationally. Simultaneously, I recognize the historical significance of Zofia Lissa's mid-century writings on music and society and demonstrate the ways in which her scholarship points to alternative intellectual genealogies of contemporary sociomusicology in Poland and in the West.

Résumé

Cette dissertation explore la relation entre le genre, l'identité, le travail musical et la capacité à agir des femmes dans la Pologne du milieu du XXe siècle. Je me concentre sur les vies et les carrières de deux femmes influentes qui ont façonné la culture musicale contemporaine du pays: la compositrice Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–69) et la musicologue Zofia Lissa (1905–80). Tout au long de leur carrière, le travail créatif, intellectuel, administratif et de soins de Bacewicz et de Lissa a dépendu des idées dominantes sur les rôles de genre dans la musique et le monde universitaire dans la société polonaise de l'entre-deux-guerres et de l'après-guerre, les a remises en question et les a renforcées. Simultanément, leur vie fournit une étude de cas permettant d'examiner l'action que les compositrices et les musicologues ont exercée sur les politiques changeantes en matière de genre et d'appartenance nationale. En particulier, Lissa permet d'examiner l'intersection du genre et de l'identité juive en Pologne tout au long du XXe siècle. Dans la première partie de la thèse, j'analyse les croyances et les pratiques relatives à la féminité et à l'éthique du travail partagées par Bacewicz, sa mère Maria Modlińska et son professeur Nadia Boulanger. En outre, je soutiens que la présence d'un environnement domestique stimulant et l'implication tangible de sa mère et de sa sœur dans la carrière de Bacewicz ont joué un rôle essentiel dans sa réussite en tant que compositrice professionnelle. La deuxième partie de la thèse retrace les opportunités et les limites académiques et institutionnelles auxquelles Zofia Lissa a été confrontée en tant que femme juive au cours de sa carrière universitaire, d'abord dans le Lviv de l'entre-deux-guerres, puis dans le Varsovie d'après-guerre et au niveau international. En même temps, je reconnais l'importance historique des écrits de Zofia Lissa sur la musique et la société, datant du milieu du siècle dernier, et je démontre comment ses travaux indiquent des généalogies intellectuelles alternatives de la sociomusicologie contemporaine en Pologne et à l'Ouest.

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I dedicate this dissertation to my two loving grandmothers, Maria Beszterda (née Maćkowiak) and Innez Michalak (née Salnikov). Theirs were the stories that first sparked my admiration and awe for the strength and resilience of women who lived through mid-century Poland.

List of Figures and Tables

Abbreviations

AAN: Archiwum Akt Nowych (Archive of New Records)
AKP: Archiwum Kompozytorów Polskich (Archive of Polish Composers)
ANK: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (National Archives in Kraków)
BN: Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library in Warsaw)
PRL: Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa (Polish People's Republic)
PWM: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Music Publishing)
PZPR: Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (Polish United Workers' Party)
UAM: Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań)
UW: Uniwersytet Warszawski (Warsaw University)
ZKP Związek Kompozytorów Polskich (Polish Composers' Union)

A note on translations and names of cities

All translations are my own unless otherwise specified in the citations.

For the city of Lviv (also known as Lemberg, Lwów, and Lvov) I use the English name "Lviv."

I use Polish names for cities that are presently part of Poland (Kraków, Łódź, Poznań), except for Warsaw, for which I am using the English name.

In direct quotes and bibliographical references, I use city names as they appear in the original publication.

Introduction

The history of Polish art music during the early postwar decades has largely been told as a story of the conflict between the state-imposed socialist realist style and the bourgeoning Polish avant-garde, often known as the sonorist school.[1] A primary focus of this history has also been the importance of the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music an institution that epitomized the conflict between the two competing visions for Polish contemporary music. By the late sixties, the festival became the primary space for the triumph of the avant-garde aesthetic, as well as a site of musical exchange and cultural diplomacy behind and across the Iron Curtain.[2] Accounts of the Warsaw Autumn Festival have examined the context in which the festival was founded and how it expanded musical aesthetics beyond socialist realism. Polish musicologists have also dedicated a substantial body of work to the

[1] Between 1947 and 1989, the predecessor of today's Poland existed as Polish People's Republic, a socialist state. It was one of the USSR satellite states. Democracy was restored in Poland in 1989 and the first completely free elections took place in 1991. The state-sanctioned aesthetic in art and music during the communist period was socialist realism, and its impact on music was particularly strong from 1949 until the sixties. Socialist realism in Polish music was officially proclaimed in 1949 at a state-organized annual Polish Composers and Music Critics Conference. While the general ideological and aesthetic guidelines of the new style were transmitted to Poland from the Soviet Union, socialist realism has never been clearly or consistently defined in either country. In fact, the process of evaluating whether a musical work was ideologically acceptable or not by Stalin and his apparatus was largely arbitrary. The lack of clarity in defining "socialist realist" and "formalist" music supported totalitarian power and created conditions of uncertainty, fear, and oppression.

Zbigniew Granat defines sonorism as "the avant-garde style in Polish music of the 1960s that placed timbre at the centre of compositional interests." See Zbigniew Granat, "Sonoristics, sonorism," *Grove Music Online*, 22 October 2008, accessed 13 July 2021, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0002061689.

Composers usually associated with the Polish sonorist school are Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–2020), Tadeusz Baird (1928–1981), Kazimierz Serocki (1922–1981), and Witold Szalonek (1927-2001). Witold Lutosławski (1913–1994) and Henryk Mikołaj Górecki (1933–2010) have also employed the sonorist style in some compositions from the fifties and the sixties.

[2] See: Cynthia Bylander, "The Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music, 1956–1961. Its goals, structures, programs and people" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1989); Cynthia Bylander, "From Restrictions to Freedom. The Perilous Path to the First Warsaw Autumn Festival," *Musicology Today* 14, no. 1 (December 2017): 91–104; Lisa Jakelski, *Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016); Adrian Thomas, *Polish Music Since Szymanowski* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

history of socialist realism in Polish music and how totalitarian oppression affected institutions, composers' lives, and the music they produced.[3]

Despite such a large body of scholarship investigating the history of Polish postwar music, comparatively little attention has been given to questions of gender, identity, and women's agency in shaping the direction of the nation's musical heritage under Communism as composers, performers, teachers, scholars, and music organizers. While archival documents of the Polish Composers' Union reveal a significant number of professional women composers and musicologists active in the postwar decades, the early history of the Polish art music scene under Communism remains a history of men. Moreover, scholars documenting this history rarely considered gender as a useful lens of analysis. This has been the case even though the state's key interventions to transform social structures after the war to create the new socialist citizen relied heavily upon the re-negotiation of gender roles in both private and public spheres. Similarly, the relationship between the socio-political situation of women composers and scholars—including professional opportunities and accessibility of training—in interwar Poland and postwar Poland remains underexamined.

The history of women in Polish postwar musical culture has been obscured in contemporary discourses by what I identify as the paradigm of male resistance. This paradigm structures many social and political histories of twentieth-century Poland, not only music history. For example, until recently, general histories of the Polish communist period (1947–1989) did not sufficiently account for women's everyday experience of communism, whether as mothers, wives, caregivers, workers, or as political actors in the public sphere.[4] Instead,

[3] See, for example: Edward Możejko, *Realizm socjalistyczny. Teoria, rozwój, upadek* [*Socialist Realism. Theory, Development, Fall*] (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2001); Ewa Rzanna-Szczepaniak, *Rozwój Kultury Muzycznej w Polsce w świetle Polityki Kulturalnej PZPR 1956–1970* [The Development of Musical Culture in Poland Under the Cultural Politics of the Polish United Workers' Party 1956–1970] (Poznań: Akademia Muzyczna im. I. J. Paderewskiego, 2013).

[4] Katarzyna Stańczak-Wiślicz et al., *Kobiety w Polsce, 1945–1989: Nowoczesność - równouprawnienie – komunizm* [*Women in Poland, 1945–1989: Modernity – Emancipation – Communism*] (Kraków: Universitas, 2020), 9–11.

historians emphasize a male-dominated chronology of workers' strikes and other acts of open resistance to the state.[5] Likewise, music historians of the postwar period have focused on male biographies—especially the male composers and music critics who challenged state censorship. In the realm of music, the artistic counterpart to the paradigm of male resistance centers historical figures who resisted—or at least avoided compliance with—the aesthetics of socialist realism, and especially those who belonged to the new music avant-garde.

The male-resistance paradigm in Polish musicology is congruent with the politics of Polish nation-building after the fall of communism in 1989. This ideological stance relies on the unconditional denunciation of the prior communist system in almost every respect. The musicological project of cultivating a genealogy of patriotic male artists—those who are believed to have occupied the correct ideological position against the state—has been but one of the discursive practices solidifying the idea of the Polish nation during the post-communist transition. The male-resistance lens becomes particularly evident in Polish music scholarship whenever it relies on thin, surface-level interpretations of stylistic choices made by avant-garde Polish composers such as Penderecki, Lutosławski, and Górecki.[6]

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[5] See Shana Penn, *Solidarity's Secret: The Women Who Defeated Communism in Poland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005). The only woman who made it to the general awareness about political history was Anna Walentynowicz, who was one of the leaders of the Solidarity movement.

[6] As demonstrated by Lisa Cooper Vest, the dichotomous interpretations of musical aesthetic in Poland along the Cold War division line began in the sixties: "For many contemporary observers, Penderecki's employ of key Western avant-garde techniques, including serialism and indeterminacy, signified his and other Polish composers' rejection of the Soviet aesthetic doctrine. [...] Both the sound and style of Penderecki's *Threnody* (and many other Polish compositions at the 1961 festival, including Witold Lutoslawski *Venetian Games*) indicated that Polish composers were [...] announcing a political affiliation with the West." Lisa Cooper Vest, *Awangarda: Tradition and Modernity in Postwar Polish Music* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2021), 2.

Such an understanding of music history, where Polish composers could be divided into two groups (each taking either the side of the West or the Soviet side) has rarely been challenged in Polish musicology after 1989. Furthermore, what solidified the patriotic readings of some of the works especially by Penderecki and Górecki was their explicitly religious content. Especially in seventies' and eighties' Poland, Catholic Church and religiousness were coded as anti-communist. For more examples of religious and patriotic contexts in Polish music of the communist era see Mieczysław Tomaszewski, "O twórczości zaangażowanej. Muzyka polska 1944–1994 między autentyzmem a panegiryzmem" ["On Engaged Works. Polish Music 1944–1994 Between Authenticity and Flattery"], in *Interpretacja integralna dzieła muzycznego*, eds. Wiesława Berny-Negrey and Herbert Oleschko (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna w Krakowie, 2000).

The focus on artistic male resistance has limited scholars' understanding of music history of the postwar decades in several ways. First, this perspective overlooks the variety of ideological affiliations among musicians, composers, and musicologists of the early postwar period, many of whom did not simply reject the new communist aesthetic (and especially the idea of music democratization). Too often the paradigm of male resistance obscures the fact that the ideological stances held by both composers and musicologists after the war were not a binary (heroes versus collaborators), but a spectrum. Additionally, individual ideological affiliations fluctuated over time. Moreover, the dominant narrative, largely embedded in metanarratives, leaves aside the ways in which quotidian work—indeed enabled and supported by state-funded music institutions during the postwar period— shaped the long-term intellectual and institutional foundations of musical culture in Poland. Similarly, the everyday experiences of various actors—rather than political values or affiliations *per se*—remain underexamined under the main paradigm. These overlooked elements include administrative, intellectual, and academic work, as well as personal relationships and networks of support.

Furthermore, the paradigm of artistic male resistance obscures the diversity of identities and backgrounds of the people who participated in postwar music culture. Narrowing musicologists' interest in postwar history to Polish—usually Catholic—male patriots amplifies the post-1989 absence of Jewish identity in contemporary discourses of Polish history and national identity. Historian Geneviève Zubrzycki explains that the objective, *de facto* absence of Jews in contemporary Poland has consequences for collective memory. The absence of Jews in Poland became one that is

> discursive, shaped by omission, silence, and taboo. The objective absence of Jews and the discursive silence around them had a serious effect on Polish collective memory. With very few Jews left to tell their stories after the war, and in a climate that was not favorable to discussing the Holocaust, practices of remembrance were left to ethnic Poles. Within a

few generations, the historical temporal dimension of absence receded into the background, and Jewish absence became an objective but invisible social fact.[7]

The discursive absence of Jews in Polish collective memory is reproduced through the prevailing historiographic paradigms, which are also present in the field of musicology. Even when Polish-Jewish composers active in postwar Poland, such as Roman Palester (1907–1989) and Józef Koffler (1896–1944) are evoked, studies focus "more on the reconstruction of biography and musical legacy than the composers' [Jewish] identities."[8] In her article "Musical Life of the Jewish Community in Interwar Galicia: The Problem of Identity of Jewish Musicians," Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka notes that contemporary Polish musicology often "overlooks hybrid identities [of Polish-Jewish figures] to bolster the sense of the national musical culture."[9] As a consequence, Polish-Jewish musicians (such as composer Józef Koffler) and musicologists (such as Zofia Lissa) are often broadly classified as "Polish."

These accounts lack a critical analysis of how Polish-Jewish relations shaped the musical milieu in postwar Poland. Meanwhile, by reducing postwar history to a dichotomy of heroes and opportunists, the artistic male-resistance paradigm fails to recognize that the political interests and priorities of composers and scholars of Jewish background could have been different from those of the ethnic Polish, Catholic, majority. For instance, historian Bożena Szaynok argues that after the Holocaust and years of violence and mass displacement, and with the Soviet Union's promises of ethnic equality, many Polish Jews were generally

[7] Geneviève Zubrzycki, "The Politics of Jewish Absence in Contemporary Poland," *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 2 (April 2017): 251–252, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009416664020.
[8] J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Jews and Music-Making in the Polish Lands. Ed. by François Guesnet, Benjamin Matis, and Antony Polonsky," *Music and Letters* 101, no. 4 (2021): 793, https://doi.org/10.1093/ml/gcaa067. The studies Pierce refers to are Zofia Helman, *Roman Palester: Twórca i dzieło* [*Creator and A Piece of Art]* (Kraków: PWM, 1999); Maciej Gołab, *Józef Koffler: Compositional Style and Source Documents* (Los Angeles: Polish Music Center at USC, 2004).
See also Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka, "Musical Life of the Jewish Community in Interwar Galicia. The Problem of Identity of Jewish Musicians," *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów* UJ 3, no. 34 (2017): 135–157.
[9] Jakubczyk-Ślęczka, "Musical Life of the Jewish Community in Interwar Galicia," 135–136.

hopeful—rather than suspicious—regarding the increasing Soviet control and influence in Poland. As she states,

> in the shadow of the Holocaust, the issue of the Communists taking power occupied a different place in Jewish conversations [...]. Official "Jewish thinking" was based on the idea of a good communist government which recognized the needs of the Jewish community, condemned anti-Semitism [...]. Jewish representatives accepted the hypocritical communist image of the postwar situation as their own, all the more so because it also offered simple solutions to complicated Polish-Jewish relations in history: it was clear who was responsible for prewar anti-Semitism, indifference and hostility during the war, the murdering of Jews after the war. Anything that violated this image, including the anti-Semitic practices of the Communists, was effectively hidden behind the Communist facade.[10]

That the sense of opportunity and hope brought to the Jewish community by the new Communist regime in Poland could tangibly influence the individual choices and political standpoints of Polish-Jewish musicians and musicologists has not been considered enough in Polish music historiography.

Moreover, as inherently intertwined with the post-communist politics of nation-making, the paradigm of artistic male-resistance impeded a nuanced critical engagement with the Marxism-based musicological scholarship produced in Poland under communism, and especially during the time of the most restrictive socialist realism doctrine in music (1949–1953). Meanwhile, the larger Eastern European Marxist postwar musicological tradition to

[10] Szaynok, Bożena. "Polacy – Żydzi: wojna – zagłada – Polska – komunizm" ["Poles – Jews: War – Holocaust – Poland – Communism"] *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 246, no. 2 (2013): 310.
"W cieniu zagłady kwestia przejmowania władzy przez komunistów zajmowała inne miejsce w rozmowach żydowskich […]. Oficjalne 'myślenie żydowskie' mieściło się w schemacie dobrej komunistycznej władzy, dostrzegającej potrzeby społeczności żydowskiej, potępiającej antysemityzm, […]. [Ż]ydowskie przedstawicielstwa przyjęły zakłamany, komunistyczny obraz powojennej sytuacji za swój, tym bardziej, że podsuwał on także proste rozwiązania skomplikowanych relacji polsko-żydowskich w historii: wiadomo było, kto jest odpowiedzialny za przedwojenny antysemityzm, obojętność i wrogość w czasie wojny, mordowanie Żydów po wojnie. Za komunistyczną fasadą skutecznie schowano wszystko, co naruszało ten obraz, w tym także antysemickie praktyki komunistów." (My translation.)

which these works belong needs to be re-examined as a valid element of the twentieth-century European history of ideas that inform today's field of musicology.

Finally, the artistic male-resistance paradigm amplifies the apparent absence of women in postwar music history. The dominant historical paradigm of masculinist individualism and struggle necessarily excludes some female figures from the mainstream historical narrative and flattens the reception history of others. Within this paradigm, the legacy of esteemed postwar women composers—Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–1969) and her younger colleagues, including Krystyna Moszumańska-Nazar (1924–2008), Elżbieta Sikora (b. 1943) and Grażyna Pstrokońska-Nawratil (b. 1947)—is constrained by the narrow analytical lens of female exceptionalism. At the same time, less-recognized composers, as well as women who contributed to the musical culture in other ways—such as documenting the history of Polish music, producing musicological scholarship and music criticism, activating the artistic milieu, and revitalizing institutions—have been almost forgotten.[11] Some women from that group, such as prominent musicologists Zofia Lissa (1905–1980) and Stefania Łobaczewska (1888/1894–1963) have been pushed to the margins of the history of Polish musicology due to their reputation as "Stalinist scholars."

This dissertation traces different types of labour performed by women engaged in the shaping of the postwar musical scene in Poland, particularly its most important urban center, Warsaw. To this end, I focus on lives and careers of Grażyna Bacewicz (1909–1969) and Zofia Lissa (1905–1980), and analyze how their creative, intellectual, political,

[11] According to Iwona Lindstedt, several women from Bacewicz's generation grew professional careers in the interwar period, including Irena Białkiewicz, Helena Dorabialska Łucja Drège-Schielowa, Ryta Gnus, Janina Grzegorzewicz-Lachowska, Anna-Maria Klechniowska, and Władysława Markiewicz. Iwona Lindstedt, "'Why Are Our Women-Composers so Little Known?'" *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1 (2019): 44.

According to Polish Composers' Union records, most of these women joined the Union after the war, but their compositions have not gained larger recognition and the composers became forgotten. Lindstedt notices that already in the interwar period "Polish women composers basically functioned in a sort of a 'parallel world', complementary to the world of Polish music composition 'proper.'" Lindstedt, "'Why Are Our Women-Composers so Little Known?'" 59.

The revival of the Romantic paradigm of the national hero composer after the war contributed to furthering the marginalization of women composers already active in the interwar period.

administrative, self-fashioning, and care-labour depended on, challenged, and reinforced prevailing ideas about gender roles in music and academia in Polish prewar and postwar society. Simultaneously, I consider the question of agency that the creative and intellectual women—including Jewish women—had under the changing politics of gender and national belonging and the shifting situation of Jews in Poland throughout around mid-century.

Zofia Lissa, who grew up in a Jewish family in early-twentieth–century Lviv (present-day Ukraine), represents the influential generation of Polish musicologists responsible for re-establishing the field of musicology within Polish academia after the Second World War. During the postwar period, Lissa, together with other representatives of the second generation of Polish musicologists—Stefania Łobaczewska (1888/1894–1963), Józef Chomiński (1906–1994), Hieronim Feicht (1894–1967), and Stefan Kisielewski (1911–1991)—were involved in hundreds of research projects, publications, and conferences aiming to record and promulgate the history of Polish music. In the postwar period, these musicologists worked extensively on topics from early music history, as well as the prominent Polish composers of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, namely Frédéric Chopin and Karol Szymanowski (1882–1937).

Another field that the second generation of Polish musicologists explored in postwar period involved music analysis, music pedagogy, and the organization of music schooling in Poland. In particular, Lissa and Kisielewski were also interested in contemporary Polish music culture, however they approached it from two opposite ideological standpoints. While Kisielewski openly criticized communist authorities and openly contested socialist realism in music and literature, Lissa produced a rich body of scholarship dedicated to incorporating the Marxist method into musicology and promoting socialist realism in Polish music. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, Lissa's pro-communist agenda has made her a controversial figure in contemporary Poland, and the vast majority of her scholarship

has been considered excessively ideological and therefore obsolete for Poland's post-communist reality.

The two central figures of this dissertation, Lissa and Bacewicz, crossed paths after the war, when each became involved in the activities of the Polish Composers' Union. Between 1945–1957, both Bacewicz and Lissa held positions on the Union Board for several years (and were among the only women to do so until 1967).[12] Zofia Lissa is also known for initiating the foundation of Musicologists' Section of Polish Composers' Union in 1948. Transcripts of Union meetings from the first postwar decade reveal that, next to Łobaczewska, Lissa and Bacewicz were the most influential women in the Union during this period, and often the only women speaking in Union meetings at all. Bacewicz, a Polish-Lithuanian violinist and composer born in Łódź, gained recognition as a violin virtuoso in the thirties while simultaneously studying composition with Polish composer Kazimierz Sikorski (1895–1986) in Warsaw and Nadia Boulanger in Paris. By the early fifties, her compositions became renowned both in Poland and internationally, and she eventually set aside her performing career to become a full-time composer. Bacewicz is a prominent representative of Polish neoclassicism, however, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter One, later in life she also explored experimental compositional techniques. In Poland, Bacewicz is celebrated as the first "serious" modern woman composer, a trailblazer, and a role model for the next generations of women.

While the main focus of my dissertation is on women who had a significant impact on Polish musical culture primarily in the first two decades following the Second World War, I also look back at pre-war periods, including the early twentieth century and interwar era, to consider the influence of longer socio-political processes and family histories on the values

[12] The only other woman sitting at the Union Board during that period, composer Anna Maria Klechniowska, only did so for one year, between 1950–1951.

related to gender, womanhood, and work held by Bacewicz and Lissa. For example, in Chapter One, I analyze the premises of the late-nineteenth-century Warsaw positivism movement to shed light on values cultivated in Bacewicz's family of origin. Additionally, I accentuate the importance of Bacewicz's first encounters with her only woman mentor, Nadia Boulanger, in interwar Paris. In Chapter Two, I evoke wartime testimonies of the Bacewicz family to illustrate their mutual care and solidarity in difficult times. In Chapter Three, I explore the political climate of Lviv's interwar academia during Zofia Lissa's university training and early academic career. Finally, in the last chapter, I focus on the period between mid-sixties and mid-seventies to explore Zofia Lissa's correspondence from the last period of her professional activities.

This dissertation is by no means a comprehensive history of women involved in Polish music and musicology in the twentieth century. Rather, I investigate selected aspects of Bacewicz's and Lissa's lives to ask: What other histories can we tell about Polish mid-century music culture if we place women's experience—and women's work— at the very center of our inquiry? Grażyna Bacewicz and Zofia Lissa remain the focus throughout my work for a few reasons. First, they are the most notable women representatives of Polish postwar composition and musicology, respectively. Second, their status gave them considerable visibility as women in the public sphere, and as such, the way they navigated gender in their professional and private relationships delineates the contour of what was considered socially acceptable for women artists and intellectuals at the time. Following that, their status equally gave them a relatively significant level of agency and power to negotiate societal expectations. Finally, their lives are also well documented, either through primary or secondary sources—as I discuss in more detail below. While Bacewicz and Lissa remain at the center of my work, I also include other female figures from Bacewicz's or Lissa's immediate milieu: Bacewicz's

mother and sister, fellow women musicologists Stefania Łobaczewska and Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, as well as Bacewicz's teacher Nadia Boulanger.[13]

The main analytical objective of this project is to explore the relationship between gender, identity, musical labour, and women's agency in the interwar period and under communism. I analyze how women involved in musical and musicological labour navigated the changing political systems as both the subjects and active participants of the public discourse about music, society, and gender. Considering the close tie between Polish art music and musicology on the one hand and the sense of national identity on the other hand, I also ask what opportunities and challenges the field of music brought to women whose identities were peripheral to an "ideal" ethnic Pole (Lissa was Jewish and Bacewicz was half-Lithuanian).

In so doing, I dedicate special attention to the participation of women in the institutionalization and growth of musicology as an academic discipline in postwar Poland. The archival documents of the Polish Composers' Union, the key institution bringing together composers and musicologists since 1944 and 1948 respectively, reveal that while in the 1944–1969 period composition was a realm dominated by men (ninety-three percent of all composer members), the proportion between genders was significantly more balanced among musicologists (thirty-three percent women to sixty-seven percent men).[14] This data, combined with the fact that body of scholarly work documenting the history of Polish musicology remains fragmentary, suggests that there is a correlation between the omission of women in histories of the postwar music scene and a narrow historical reading of what constitutes

[13] More research is still needed on other Polish women musicologists of that generation: Alicja Simon (1879–1957) and Maria Szczepańska (1902–1962).

[14] Based on data presented in: Ludwik Erhardt, *50 lat Zwiazku Kompozytorów Polskich* [*50 Years of Polish Composers' Union*] (Warszawa: 1995), 6–15. Eighteen female composers, and two hundred twenty-eight male composers joined the Union between 1944–1969. Thirty-three female musicologists and sixty-seven male musicologists joined the Union between 1948–1969. (See Appendix 2 and Appendix 3).

Additionally, women were significantly underrepresented in the Composers' Union Board, only about ten percent of the board members in that period were women (See Appendix 1).

musical culture—that is, a reading that gives little consideration to the role of scholars and music organizers. For this part of my dissertation, I center the story and scholarship of Zofia Lissa, the leading music scholar, and the founder of the musicology department at the University of Warsaw in 1948. My objective is not only to emphasize the important role of women musicologists in negotiating the aesthetics of Polish music before and after the war, but also to unpack the impact of anti-Semitic and anti-communist biases on Lissa's scholarly path. Moreover, I propose a serious examination of Lissa's Marxist methodology in the study of music while considering the place of her Marxist scholarship in the broader genealogy of Western contemporary musicological thought.

Another objective is to examine the gendered relationship between the nation-making rhetoric of Polish art music and the undervaluing of women composers. In the spirit of socialist realism, the image of the Romantic artist-genius was renegotiated and often replaced with that of a public service craftsman. At the same time, the Romantic imagery of composers as national bards characterized the burgeoning Polish avant-garde. But where were women positioned within these different ideas about musical creativity? Here, I look at Grażyna Bacewicz to examine to what extent categories of excellence and musical genius were available to women composers during the investigated period. In particular, I trace Bacewicz's practice of self-fashioning as an "exceptional woman" as a productive strategy to control her public image. My final research objective is to reveal the false dichotomy between the spheres of private life and professional activity of these historical figures. To do so, I analyze Bacewicz's nurturing domestic space and the tangible involvement in her career of her mother Maria Modlińska and her sister Wanda Bacewicz. I also demonstrate through the available archival correspondence that Bacewicz's and Lissa's professional relationships often overlapped with friendships and other types of informal and formal sociality in the composers' and musicologists' milieu.

As an interdisciplinary study, this dissertation contributes to the advancement of knowledge in the field of musicology, women's studies, Eastern-European and Jewish studies, and post-communist studies. By focusing on the activity of Zofia Lissa and other musicologists in post-war Poland, I propose one of the first studies that sheds light on the role of scholars—and not just composers—in promoting Polish music and constructing nation-making discourses around music under communism in Poland. Moreover, as this project not only centers the experience of women, but also emphasizes the impact of gender systems on music history, it is the first feminist work in the field of Polish twentieth-century music studies, intersecting the disciplines of musicology and gender studies. As such, my discussion of women's agency in musical culture of postwar Poland adds to the debates around the history of women in communist and post-communist studies. Additionally, this study enriches the existing body of research on Polish twentieth-century music with previously underexamined topics, such as women's access to higher education and the trope of domesticity in the history of women composers. As part of my dissertation, I also transcribe, translate into English, and analyze new sources that would otherwise remain unknown to musicologists. These include Polish and German letters from Lissa's archive at the University of Warsaw Library Archives of Polish Composers, Grażyna Bacewicz's letters from the PWM Archival collection at the National Archives in Kraków, and analysis of Lissa's scholarly essays written in Polish between 1948–1953. Finally, my project contributes to bridging the discursive gap between Polish and North American scholarly musicological traditions in two fundamental ways. First, by introducing a feminist approach to the study of Polish music history, while in turn introducing a locally-informed history of Polish women to North American musicology. And second, by considering the Eastern European Marxist musicology's place in the intellectual genealogy of New Musicology.

Literature review

Women in Eastern-European and Polish twentieth-century music[15]

The history of women composers' participation in twentieth-century Eastern European classical music culture remains under-researched.[16] So far, the most advanced state of studies on music and gender under state socialism is German musicologists' work on German Democratic Republic.[17] To date, there is no comprehensive English-language work that provides an overview and analysis of the history of women and gender in Eastern European music.[18] Only recently a chapter on women composers from the Soviet Bloc—Galina Ustvolskaya, Sofia Gubaidulina, Ruth Zechlin, and Grażyna Bacewicz—was published in *The Cambridge Companion to Women in Music since 1900.*[19] While Ustvolskaya, Gubaidulina,

[15] For this part of my literature review, I consider Eastern European countries previously known as the Eastern Bloc satellite states: Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechia, Slovakia, and Hungary.

[16] Aside from Grażyna Bacewicz, another twentieth-century woman composer from the Eastern European region who has gained recognition in English-language literature is a Czech composer and conductor Vítězslava Kaprálová (1915–1940). Kaprálová was dedicated a full monograph in English, edited by Karla Hartl and published in 2011. While presenting a comprehensive study of Kaprálová's biography, works and stylistic contribution to the development of Czech music, the publication is however lacking a critical engagement with gender and identity. English-language studies on Kaprálová have mostly been supported by the Toronto-based Kaprálová Society, through their *Kaprálová Society Journal*. Since 2003, the journal has featured several articles on Kaprálová and many analyses of her works, as well as articles on other women composers. Unfortunately, the journal has not yet shed light on other Eastern European composers, and therefore missed the opportunity to introduce more of them to North American scholarship.

[17] See, for example: Rieger, Eva, and Forschungszentrum Musik und Gender, *Gender Studies in Der Musikwissenschaft—Quo Vadis? : Festschrift Für Eva Rieger Zum 70. Geburtstag* [*Gender Studies in Musicology - Quo vadis? Festschrift for Eva Rieger on her 70th birthday*], eds. Annette Kreutziger-Herr, Susanne Rode-Breymann, Nina Noeske, and Melanie Unseld (Jahrbuch Musik Und Gender, Band 3. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2010); Johanna Frances Yunker, "Socialism and Feminism in East German Opera: The Cases of Director Ruth Berghaus and Composer Ruth Zechlin" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2012); Nina Noeske, "Gender Discourse and Musical Life in the Gdr." *German Monitor* 74 (2011): 175–91.

[18] Short biographical notes of several women composers from Poland (Grażyna Bacewicz, Marta Ptaszyńska, Maria Dziewulska, Anna-Maria Klechniowska, Hanna Kulenty), Czechia and Slovakia (Vítězslava Kaprálová, Agnes Tyrrell, Ivana Loudová, and Romania (Liana Alexandra, Cornelia Tăutu, Doina Rotaru, Felicia Donceanu) can be found in the Grove Music Online and other English-language twentieth-century music lexicons. Certain English-language encyclopedias and dictionaries of women composers also include information about Eastern European women composers, for example: Aaron I. Cohen, *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* (New York: Books & Music, 1987). The level of presence of twentieth-century women composers in these English-language sources varies between the countries. For example, the number is very low for Bulgaria and Hungary, but significantly higher for Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, and Romania.

[19] Elaine Kelly, "Behind the Iron Curtain: Female composers in the Soviet Bloc," in *The Cambridge Companion to Women in Music since 1900,* ed. Laura Hamer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 33–47.

Zechlin, and Bacewicz have been studied on other occasions as well, many other women composers from the former Eastern Bloc remain underexamined, especially in English-language scholarship. It is important to note that my capability to evaluate the state of musicological research on women and gender in Eastern European languages other than Polish is limited. It is my hope that this project inspires researchers specializing in women's history and music in other Eastern European countries to produce more scholarship on their local histories of women in music both in national languages and in English, not only to bring these histories to the Western scholars' attention, but also to increase the exchange of ideas within the region.

In Poland, throughout the last decade musicologists have been increasingly interested in music and lives of women composers from the nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first century. This interest has led to a series of scholarly articles that are either survey-style overviews of forgotten female figures, or music analyses of selected pieces. Among the literature focusing on recuperating forgotten female composers, several studies focus on the history of women's participation in the Warsaw Autumn Festival.[20] The recent interest in twentieth-century women composers in Polish musicology has resulted in two special issues of Polish musicological journals. In 2019, a Warsaw-based English-language musicology journal *Musicology Today* dedicated an full issue to Polish women composers, proposing a collection of articles discussing style, aesthetic, and achievements of twentieth- and twenty-first women composers such as Marta Ptaszyńska (b. 1943) and Krystyna Moszumańska-Nazar.[21] In 2022, the twentieth volume of *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* ("Polish Yearbook

[20] See: Anna Brzezicka-Kamińska, "Polskie Kompozytorki na Festiwalu Warszawska Jesień" ["Polish Women Composers at the Warsaw Autumn Festival"] MA thesis, Uniwersytet Waszawski, 1998; Agnieszka Nowok, "Warszawskiej Jesieni portrety kobiece" ["Women's portraits at the Warsaw Autumn"], *Klucz* 12 (2013): 20–26; Marta Beszterda, "Female Composers, Gender, and Politics in Communist Poland," MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2016.

[21] Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek, ed. *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1 (December 31, 2019). The issue also includes articles presenting new discoveries on women composers from the eighteen-and nineteenth-century Poland.

of Musicology"), the journal published by the Musicologists' Section on the Polish Composers' Union, explored the theme of women in music and included analyses of music by living Polish composers: Hanna Kulenty (b. 1961), Lidia Zielińska (b. 1953), and Katarzyna Kwiecień-Długosz (b. 1978).[22] Polish musicologists have also been increasingly interested in recuperating forgotten female composers from the first half of the twentieth century, many of whom had their artistic careers suddenly disrupted by the arrival of war in 1939.[23] Here, a study that is particularly useful to my project is a 2019 article by Iwona Lindstedt's that examines the artistic activity of Polish women composers in the interwar period, and discusses their reception in the Polish press.[24] The historical evidence presented by Lindstedt challenges the common narrative around Bacewicz suggesting that her career choice was unprecedented for a woman of her generation. Further research is however still needed to understand the factors that contributed to the relative absence of other interwar women composers on the postwar compositional scene.

Despite the growing body of literature recovering the legacy of historical female figures, Polish scholars have primarily been focused on what Emily Wilbourne identifies as "mainstreaming." Wilbourne defines "mainstreaming" after James R. Briscoe as adding "models of successful women composers and performers to the established canon of music history."[25] Mainstreaming is altogether different to the kinds of feminist work in music history that either ground "questions of gender, sex, and sexuality within a broader turn toward social context" or even challenge "entire edifice of music history"—"hierarchies, origins, and

[22] Iwona Lindstedt, ed. *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 20, no. 1 (December 2022).
[23] See: Magdalena Dziadek and Lilianna M. Moll, *Oto artyści pełnowartościowi, którzy są kobietami...Polskie kompozytorki 1816–1939* [*Polish Women Composers Between 1816-1939*] (Katowice: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich Oddział w Katowicach, 2003); Magdalena Dziadek, "Polish Female Composers in the Nineteenth Century," *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1 (December 1, 2019): 31–42, https://doi.org/10.2478/muso-2019-0002.
[24] Lindstedt, "Why Are Our Women-Composers So Little Known? 43–64.
[25] "Briscoe labeled this practice 'mainstreaming,' and it points up the rather terrifying degree to which 'women as composers, as original creators,' are absent from widely used music appreciation and music history textbooks." Emily Wilbourne, "Feminist Pedagogy in the Undergraduate Music Survey Course: A Reflective Essay," *Oxford Handbooks Online*, April 2017, 4, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.013.128.

representations of 'the real' in order to generate more accurate representations of past and present and the diversity of culture and experience."[26]

As I argued elsewhere, the lack of interest in gender and social context in Polish musicology has its specific origins related to Poland's history.[27] The reasons include the influence of German academic culture based on a more formalistic, music-theory oriented approach, but also a reaction against decades of communist censorship. Under the communist regime, it was required to interpret music history, aesthetics, and musical styles exclusively through the lens of class conflict and the rules of socialist realism. This resulted in a backlash within Polish musicology and music criticism. Consequently, since the late seventies, musicologists have generally avoided socially-oriented research.[28] By focusing on recuperating historical female figures, as well as on challenging one-dimensional research paradigms in Polish musicology, I aim not only to contribute to the trend of (re)introducing women to the mainstream music history in Poland, but also to promote the two latter types of feminist work in music described by Emily Wilbourne: first, contributing towards "a broader turn towards the social context in music history," and second, "generating more accurate representations of past and present and the diversity of culture and experience."[29]

Grażyna Bacewicz

[26] Wilbourne, "Feminist Pedagogy," 5.
For one exception to this trend of scholarship mainstreaming Polish women composers, see: Karolina Kizińska, "Rola Płci Kulturowej w Badaniach Muzykologicznych: Zarys Pola Badawczego Muzykologii Feministycznej" ["The Role of Gender in Musicological Research: An Outline of the Research Field of Feminist Musicology"], *Kultura i Edukacja* (2013): 22–41.
[27] See: Marta Beszterda, "Female Composers, Gender, and Politics in Communist Poland" (MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2016); Marta Beszterda, "At the Intersection of Musical Culture and Historical Legacy: Feminist Musicology in Poland," *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ* 3, no. 34 (2017): 29–50.
[28] Mieczysław Tomaszewski, "Muzykologia wobec współczesności," ["Musicology and the present day,"] in *Interpretacja integralna dzieła muzycznego* [*Integral Interpretation of A Musical Work*], eds. Wiesława Berny-Negrey and Herbert Oleschko (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna w Krakowie, 2000), 14.
[29] Wilbourne, "Feminist Pedagogy," 5.

Despite the minimal, but growing body of scholarship dedicated to Polish women composers, the majority of work that centers a woman remains devoted to Grażyna Bacewicz. She remains the only woman representative of Polish twentieth-century music culture who has a comprehensive monograph dedicated to her (published in Polish in 1999), as well as two edited volumes, and three smaller monograph publications focused on her biography, style, and compositions, two of which were published in English.[30] Moreover, Bacewicz's compositions have been included in both Polish- and English-language twentieth-century Polish music anthologies.[31] The merit of the majority of these sources lies primarily in thorough biographical reconstructions, as well as exhaustive analyses of Bacewicz's scores and compositional style. At the same time, they largely lack critical engagement with Bacewicz's experiences as a woman and a working mother. Nor do they challenge the gendered nature of the categories of excellence, genius, and artistry, with which Bacewicz was—and continues to be—evaluated.

Primary sources, including interviews, musical reviews, and memoirs (many of them published throughout the years in the *Ruch Muzyczny,* but several still only available in archives), provide greater insight into the aspects of Bacewicz's life and identity that are most interesting to a feminist researcher. An oft-quoted concert review by Stefan Kisielewski—one of the leading music critics at the time, as well as Bacewicz's colleague—from the 1950 premiere of Bacewicz's Concerto for String Orchestra reveals but one example of how gender played into the reception of Bacewicz's works after the war. As Kisielewski wrote:

> It can be said in all honesty that this time the dignity of Polish composers was saved by a woman, Grażyna Bacewicz. Her Concerto for String Orchestra, written with gusto and

[30] See bibliography: Gąsiorowska 1999, Rosen 1984, Thomas 1985, Zielińska et. al 1989, Szoka 1996, Szoka 2016.
[31] See, for example: Krzysztof Baculewski, *Polska twórczość kompozytorska 1945–1984* [*Polish compositional output 1945–1984*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1987); Adrian Thomas, *Polish Music Since Szymanowski* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.)

> energy, brimming with fluent inventiveness and excellent instrumentation ideas, finally woke us up from lethargy. […] We finally felt a "red-blooded piece" of wholesome and delicious music written with a male-like creative power.[32]

Several published testimonies from Bacewicz's friends and colleagues—as well as her own set of autobiographical memoir-style short stories published shortly after her death as *Znak Szczególny* (*The Distinguishing Mark*)—demonstrate that Bacewicz did not want to be categorized as a "woman composer."[33] That said, as I discuss in Chapter One, in the same short book Bacewicz also reveals an abundance of experiences when, as a woman composer, she struggled against bias and discrimination. *Znak Szczególny* was particularly useful for my analysis of Bacewicz's views about gender and womanhood as a woman composer.[34]

Two archival collections that include letters from Grażyna Bacewicz and her family were of particular importance for this study. One of the collections is the Bacewicz family correspondence at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw. The second collection is the Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Music Publishing) collection at the National Archives in Kraków which includes a vast number of letters sent from Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, her friend and the Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne's director between 1945–1964. The collection also includes occasional letters sent to Ochlewski by Grażyna Bacewicz's sister Wanda, which I present in Chapter Two. It is important to note that the Bacewicz family correspondence at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw is currently not

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[32] Stefan Kisielewski, "Concerto for String Orchestra review," *Tygodnik Powszechny,* 9 July 1950.
[33] Grażyna Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny* [*The Distinguishing Mark*] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1970).
[34] I classify *Znak Szczególny* under the genre of (auto)biographical fiction or biofiction. Marleen Rensen and Christopher Wiley define biofiction as "literature that presents hypothetical or imagined lives, relying on real-life stories yet containing a certain degree of creative invention." See: Marleen Rensen and Christopher Wiley, eds. *Transnational Perspectives on Artists' Lives* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 3. Michael Lackey defines biofiction as "literature that names its protagonist after an actual biographical figure." See: Michael Lackey, "Locating and Defining the Bio in Biofiction," *A/b: Auto/biography Studies* 31, no. 1 (2016): 3. Boldrini and Novak define biofiction as "a narrative based on the life of a historical person, weaving biographical fact into what must otherwise be considered a novel." See: Lucia Boldrini and Julia Novak, eds., *Experiments in Life-Writing: Intersections of Auto/biography and Fiction* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 9–12. Max Saunders's term "autobiografiction" can also be ascribed to *Znak Szczególny.* See: Max Saunders, *Self Impression: Life-Writing, Autobiografiction, and the Forms of Modern Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

accessible to researchers outside of family. For that reason, all quotes from the Bacewicz family collection included in my dissertation come from reprints published either in Małgorzata Gasiorowska's monograph on Bacewicz or Joanna Sendłak's recent publications on the composer.[35] Moreover, Sendłak's books also offer quotes from the diary of Maria Modlińska (Grażyna Bacewicz's mother). These passages provide insight into Grażyna's both family and professional life.

Beyond the two archival collections mentioned above, in my work I also examine letters that Grażyna Bacewicz and her sister Wanda sent to Zygmunt Mycielski and Zofia Lissa. The former are located in Zygmunt Mycielski's archival collection at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw. The latter are part of Zofia Lissa's archive at the University of Warsaw Library Polish Composers' Archive. Finally, the archives of the Polish Composers' Union include records of Bacewicz's active participation in the union's operations, particularly in the first postwar decade (she was the treasurer between 1947–1950, a board member between 1950–1951, and the vice-president between 1955–1957).

Both Adrian Thomas—in his short 1985 book dedicated to the analysis of Bacewicz's style—as well as Tomasz Tarnawczyk in a more recent 2016 article analyzing Bacewicz's symphonies argue that several pieces she composed between 1945–1954 were written under the influence of socialist realism.[36] While Bacewicz's intensified use of folk and large orchestral settings in this period may suggest her conscious efforts to adhere to the new

[35] See: Joanna Sendłak, *Z ogniem. Miłość Grażyny Bacewicz w przededniu wojny* [*With Fire. The Love of Grażyna Bacewicz on The Eve Of War*] (Warszawa: Skarpa Warszawska, 2018); Joanna Sendłak, *Ostinato – wojenne dni Grażyny Bacewicz* [*Ostinato – The War Days of Grażyna Bacewicz*]. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Instytut Literatury, 2020); Joanna Sendłak, *Bacewicz*. (Warszawa: PWM, 2021); Joanna Sendłak, *Vivo – powojenne dni Grażyny Bacewicz* [Vivo – *The Post-War Days of Grażyna Bacewicz*] (Gdańsk: Fundacja Światło Literatury, 2022).

On pages 45-46 of this dissertation I further discuss challenges posed by the use of these reprints as primary sources.

[36] Adrian Thomas, *Grażyna Bacewicz. Chamber and orchestral music* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1985), 36; Tomasz Tarnawczyk, "Symfonie Grażyny Bacewicz na tle sytuacji społeczno-politycznej w powojennej Polsce," in *Grażyna Bacewicz: Konteksty Życia i Twórczości [Grażyna Bacewicz: The Contexts of Life and Artistic Output*], ed. Marta Szoka (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi, 2016), 115–124.

aesthetic regime, both authors avoid making final verdicts about the composer's political orientation. Instead, they emphasize the stylistic and ideological ambiguity of Bacewicz's works from that period. Thomas points to Bacewicz's unique ability to maintain a level of independence against the new compositional guidelines. He writes: "Bacewicz's ability to pursue an essentially abstract path was something of a phenomenon in these days. It took a quiet determination and an astute perception of permissible limits to avoid the threat of censure."[37]

Scholars' interest in Bacewicz's relationship to the communist system has also included the context of her family ties with Vytautas Bacewicz—her brother and a Lithuanian-identifying émigré in the US. In his 2016 article "Vytautas Bacevičius, którego nie było…" ("The forgotten Vytautas Bacevičius..."), Polish musicologist Krzysztof Droba analyzes the relatively unconstrained correspondence the siblings had across the Iron Curtain. Droba suggests that it was thanks to Grażyna Bacewicz's "unquestionably high position in the musical community, […] an impeccable reputation, [and being] a proud and loyal citizen of the 'socialist homeland'" that she was allowed to keep a close relationship with her brother.[38] Moreover, Droba's work, together with Maciej Janik's article revealing archival documents from Bacewicz's childhood, inform my understanding of Bacewicz's double Polish-Lithuanian identity. Janik demonstrates that Wincenty Bacewicz—a Lithuanian patriot and the father to Grażyna and her three siblings born in a Polish city of Łódź—manipulated his kids birth certificates in order to "to preserve the Lithuanianness of the next generation."[39] As

[37] Thomas, *Grażyna Bacewicz,* 36.
[38] Krzysztof Droba, "Vytautas Bacevičius, którego nie było…" ["The missing Vytautas Bacevičius..."], in *Grażyna Bacewicz: Konteksty Życia i Twórczości.* [*Grażyna Bacewicz: The Contexts of the Life and the Artistic Output*], ed. Marta Szoka (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi, 2016), 54. (My translation.)
[39] Maciej Janik, "Co wiemy o okolicznościach urodzin Kiejstuta, Witolda, Grażyny i Wandy Bacewiczów?" ["What we know about the circumstances of the birth of Kiejstut, Witold, Grażyna and Wanda Bacewicz?"] in *Grażyna Bacewicz: Konteksty Życia i Twórczości [Grażyna Bacewicz: The Contexts of the Life and the Artistic Output*], ed. Marta Szoka (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi, 2016), 205. (My translation.)

Wincenty later returned to Lithuania, leaving his Polish wife and children behind, only one of the four siblings, Vytautas (originally Witold), followed his father and decided to take Lithuanian national identity. The fact that the Polish-Lithuanian split eventually became a source of rupture in Bacewicz family remained a secret closely guarded by Grażyna Bacewicz and her sister Wanda. Droba's and Janik's works raise further questions about how Bacewicz navigated not only her gender, but also her Lithuanian ancestry and the relationship with the US-based brother, while remaining a national pride and a poster child for female artistry in communist Poland.

Zofia Lissa and the history of Polish musicology

The most important group of works that provide a historical background to the study of Zofia Lissa's leading position in Polish twentieth-century musicology is the literature reconstructing the beginnings of Polish musicology. In their respective monographs dedicated to the interwar history of musicology, Małgorzata Sieradz and Michał Piekarski both discuss the relationship that Lissa and her peers had with their professor and one of Polish musicology's founding fathers, Adolf Chybiński (1880–1952).[40] Here, additional context to conceptualizing Chybiński's style of mentorship comes from existing sources discussing the career of Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian (1890–1938), the first graduate of Lviv musicology and Chybiński's first assistant. In his 2018 article "A Post-Doctorate in Musicology: Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian and Her Path to a Scientific Career" Michał Piekarski traces the short but significant academic career of prematurely deceased Wójcik-Keuprulian.[41] But

[40] Małgorzata Sieradz, *The Beginnings of Polish Musicology* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2020); Michał Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt. Adolf Chybiński i Początki Polskiej Muzykologii We Lwowie 1912–1944* [*The Interrupted Counterpoint. Adolf Chybiński and the Beginnings of Polish Musicology in Lviv 1912-1944*]. (Warszawa: IH PAN, 2017).
[41] Michał Piekarski, "A Post-Doctorate in Musicology: Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian and Her Path to a Scientific Career," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 117 (2018): 159–93.

it is Małgorzata Sieradzka's edited collection of Wójcik-Keuprulian's letters published that same year that fully sheds light on Chybiński's discriminatory and unethical practices towards his assistant.[42] As Sieradz and Piekarski argue, the intellectual and ideological rupture between the mentor and his Jewish students started in the twenties. Chybiński's disapproval relied on his antisemitism and anticommunism as much as it did on his low opinion of Zofia Lissa's and Stefania Łobaczewska's research interests (but not research skills). Sieradz's and Piekarski's analyses of the relationship that Chybiński, Lissa, and Łobaczewska had during the Lviv times inform my work in two ways. First, it points to Lissa's and Łobaczewska's intellectual independence and innovative approach to musicology early in their careers. While Chybiński was exclusively interested in the history of early music and considered historical musicology to be the only legitimate musicological discipline, Lissa and Łobaczewska prioritized the study of contemporary music. Moreover, Lissa in particular was a forerunner in the field of sociomusicology and the study of music in radio and film.[43] Second, while Sieradz and Piekarski treat Chybiński's antisemitism as a side note rather than an important part of Lissa's and Łobaczewska's experience as young musicologists, in Chapter Three of my dissertation I revisit the wider history of antisemitism in Polish interwar academia in order to reevaluate the scale of hostility that Lissa and Łobaczewska experienced as young scholars.[44]

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[42] Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, *Korespondencja do Szwajcarii. Listy do Henryka Opieńskiego (1925–37) i Ludwika Bronarskiego (1929–38)* [*Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Correspondence to Switzerland. Letters to Henryk Opieński (1925-37) and Ludwik Bronarski (1929-38)*], ed. Małgorzata Sieradz (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2018). See also: Maciej Gołąb, "Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian w Świetle Opracowania Małgorzaty Sieradz" " ["Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian in the Light of the Study of Małgorzata Sieradz"], *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 67, no. 12 (2020): 169–76.
[43] Sieradz, *The Beginnings of Polish Musicology*, 194.
[44] Examples of Chybiński's overt antisemitism can be found in his remaining letters (some published and some available at the archives of the University Library in Poznań). Other examples of antisemitic discourse among Polish musicologists in the thirties appeared in *Muzyka Polska* and *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* journals.
See: J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song.'" *Journal of Musicology* 37, no. 2 (May 11, 2020): 236–238.

A particularly useful study for my reflection on the role of Jewishness in Lissa's postwar dedication to socialist realism in music is Mackenzie Pierce's recent article "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish Mass Song." In his work, Pierce notes that even in her interwar writings on nationalism in music Lissa was preoccupied with searching for a definition of national identity that would encompass Polish Jews.[45] Given the anti-Semitic attitudes experienced by Lissa in Lviv, Pierce suggests that Soviet's "dubious," but nonetheless stated "promises of ethnic equality" contributed to Lissa's commitment to the communist apparatus after the war.[46]

The documentation of Lissa's professional activity after the war is largely entwined with the histories of the institutions in which she worked. Two books by Polish musicologist Ewa Rzanna-Szczepaniak are devoted to the development of Polish Composers' Union between 1945–1956, as well as the broader relationship between the new state policies and the rebuilding of Polish musical culture.[47] A significant portion of Rzanna-Szczepaniak's work relies on the protocols and transcripts from the Polish Composers' Union's General Assemblies. These documents are the main source of knowledge about the discourses that governed decision-making processes within the union. Even though as official documents, the Union's transcripts are likely censored and should not be read uncritically, they still convey meaningful information about the hierarchies of power within the union. They also show exactly when and how often Lissa, Bacewicz and other women spoke and what types of issues they would bring to the assembly. Rzanna-Szczepaniak's commentary on these archival documents was particularly helpful for forming my own interpretations and allowed me to navigate the primary sources more efficiently.

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[45] Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" 238–39.
[46] Ibid., 257–258.
[47] See: Ewa Rzanna-Szczepaniak, *Działalność Związku Kompozytorów Polskich na tle sytuacji w kraju (1945–1956)* [*Polish Composers' Union Activity Against the Background of Poland's Politcal Situation (1945-1956)*] (Opole: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scriptorium, 2012); Ewa Rzanna-Szczepaniak, *Polityka kulturalna a rozwój kultury muzycznej w Polsce w latach 1944–1956* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Contact, 2009).

Slawomir Wieczorek's work *On the Music Front: Socialist-Realist Discourse on Music in Poland, 1948 to 1955* provides a nuanced perspective on Lissa's participation in—and influence on—the rhetoric of socialist realism discourse in Polish music culture of the first postwar decade.[48] Wieczorek's book is the first large-scale overview of socialist realism in Polish music as well as an unprecedentedly thorough analysis of the mechanisms, structures, and hierarchies of power that fuelled the discourse. It was useful for my study on Lissa in two ways. First, it proposes a compelling theory of hierarchy of actors who launched and maintained the socialist realism *status quo* in Poland, and locates Lissa within that hierarchy. Second, Wieczorek proposes close readings of several articles authored by Lissa in the postwar period, closely juxtaposing them with the writings of Lenin and Stalin. These analyses provided a helpful entry point to my own reading of Lissa's postwar writings that I present in Chapter 4.

Finally, the commemorative publication that provides a retrospective account of the development of the Departments of Musicology at the University of Warsaw offers detailed biographical information on Lissa, evaluates her role in the history of the institution, and provides a full record of her academic works.[49] This publication serves a dual role in my project. While it is a reliable source of historical knowledge in that it recreates the paths of Lissa's career, I also read it as a primary source, as many of the authors in this collection are Lissa's former students and mentees, who enrich these commemorative publications with personal anecdotes and memories of their relationships with their professor.

Archival documents remain the largest source of information about Zofia Lissa. In my work, I draw on materials located at Lissa's archive at the University of Warsaw Library

[48] Sławomir Wieczorek, *On the Music Front: Socialist-Realist Discourse on Music in Poland, 1948 to 1955* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020).
[49] Iwona Januszkiewicz-Rębowska, and Szymon Paczkowski, eds., *50 Lat Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [*50 Years of The Institute of Musicology At The University of Warsaw]* (Warszawa: Intytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1998).

Polish Composers' Archive, the archives of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (formerly University of Poznań) and University of Warsaw, the archives of the Polish Composers' Union (also located in Warsaw), and the Poznań University Library.[50]

Jewish female intellectuals in twentieth-century Central-Eastern Europe

Scholars have noted that the history of Jewish women, and more specifically Jewish women in the non-German-speaking parts of the Habsburg Empire, remains under researched.[51] The history of Jewish female intellectuals and artists in the early twentieth-century Eastern Europe and non-Germanophone Central Europe requires more scholarly attention. In the foreword to the 2012 book *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860–2000*, Imke Meyer notes that by focusing on the non-German-speaking Central European Jewish women, the publication reveals "the blind spots in the narratives that Western modernity tells about itself." She argues that

> non-Germanophone Central Europe, while integral to the story of European history, tends to be relegated to the periphery of Europe's discourses about identity. Women, Jews, and non-German-speaking Central Europeans have traditionally figured as the others on whom the successful construction of a modern European subject implicitly depends.[52]

The book focuses on lives of Jewish women intellectuals, artists, and political activists of Russian, Hungarian, Bohemian, Italian, Croatian, and German origins born between 1861–

[50] Part of the Chybiński-Chomiński and Chybiński-Bronarski letters located at the Poznań University Library have recently been published in a critical edition. See: Małgorzata Sieradz, ed. *Adolf Chybiński– Józef M. Chomiński. Korespondencja 1945–1952* (Warszawa: ISPAN, 2016); Małgorzata Sieradz, ed., *Adolf Chybiński – Ludwik Bronarski. Korespondencja 1922–1952* (Warszawa: ISPAN, 2020).
[51] See: Harriet Pass Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002); Judith Szapor, Andrea Peto, Maura Hametz, and Maria Calloni, eds., *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860–2000: Twelve Biographical Essays* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2012); Jewish Women in London Group, *Generations of Memories: Voices of Jewish Women* (London: Women's Press, 1989); Marion A. Kaplan, *Gender and Jewish History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Joseph. A Margoshes, *World Apart: A Memoir of Jewish Life in Nineteenth Century Galicia* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2008).
[52] Szapor et al., *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860–2000,* xi.

1902. Even though the volume does not bring any case studies from the largely Polish-speaking Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (often referred to simply as Galicia), to which Lviv belonged at the turn of the twentieth century, the shared reality of these women's lives presented by the authors provide a larger context for my reflection of Lissa's life.[53] As the authors demonstrate, the formative experience of mobility, "a propensity to relocate, to emigrate (by choice or force of circumstance), [and] to adapt to emigration or exile" brings "the difficulty of affixing Jewish intellectual women's lives within the confines of state or national boundaries and of assigning them particular ethnic or national identities."[54] This, in turn, calls for recognizing the impact of cultural in-betweenness and marginalization in lives of intellectual Jewish women living in the first half of the twentieth century. I consider these contexts to reflect on the impact of Lissa's displacement before and during the Second World War, and the challenges they experienced as Jewish women in adapting to the postwar Polish society. Harriet Pass Freidenreich's *Female, Jewish, Educated* (2002) further informs my analysis of Lissa's youth and early academic education. Freidenreich examines the emancipatory dimension of European universities opening their doors to women for the first time at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as the struggles of many Jewish women in reconciling their newly formed identities as intellectuals with social expectations around marriage and motherhood.[55] Particularly useful for my work is Freidenrich's investigation of the ways in which, similarly to Lissa and Łobaczewska, many Jewish intellectual women at the time also formed their identity around the involvement with communism and political left.[56]

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[53] Geographically, until 1914 Galicia constituted the North-Western part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today, its territories are part of Poland and Ukraine. Galicia can therefore be historically described as bordering two regions that are commonly considered to be "Central Europe" and "Eastern Europe."
[54] Szapor et al., *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860–2000*, 7.
[55] Harriet Pass Freidenreich, "Introduction: Finding Our Mothers, Finding Ourselves," in: *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women. The Modern Jewish Experience* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002).
[56] See: Harriet Pass Freidenreich, "Jews, Feminists, and Socialists: Personal Identity and Political Involvement," in *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women. The*

Methodology and theoretical approach

My methodology is indebted to the rich body of feminist studies concerned with the notions of "woman" and "feminism" in Eastern European post-communist contexts more broadly, and in the Polish context more specifically. As I approach archival documents and historical accounts through a gender-oriented lens, I remain aware of discourses between—and within—Polish and Western feminist scholarships and the challenges that come with presenting women's history from the former Eastern Bloc region to the US-dominated transnational feminist discourse. As Polish feminist historians have recognized, the history of women in twentieth-century Poland involves complicated local genealogies of women's agency and emancipation that oftentimes do not align with the history of Western feminism. This history includes, but is not limited to, the communist state's gender policies, locally-contextualized understandings of gender roles and feminized labour, social and political influence of the Catholic church, and, finally, an alternative chronology to the "waves" theory of feminism. [57] As such, a Polish history of women and gender calls for locally-informed methodological tools and frameworks.

Attending to local contexts is also necessary for studying women and gender within the field of musicology, but to date no scholarly tradition combining feminist studies with music history in Poland has yet been developed. The study of women in the history of concert music tradition has, so far, been conducted primarily from the Western standpoint, and despite the interest in Polish twentieth-century musical culture among North American musicologists,

Modern Jewish Experience (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002). See also: Anna Müller, "Gender, Generational Conflict, and Communism. Tonia Lechtman's Story," in *Gender, Generations, and Communism in Central and Eastern Europe and Beyond*, eds. Anna Artwińska and Agnieszka Mrozik (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2020).

[57] See: Agnieszka Graff, "A Different Chronology. Reflections on Feminism in Contemporary Poland," in *Third Wave Feminism: A Critical Reflection,* ed. S. Gillis et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 142–155.

women have rarely been part of this scholarship. Simultaneously, Eastern European musicology has not yet proposed methodological tools for a feminist study of the region's music history.

In this work, and especially in the chapters dedicated to Grażyna Bacewicz, my feminist methodology relies on certain canonic works by Western feminist musicologists. In particular, my analysis of tropes of exceptionality, domesticity, and women's networks in Grażyna Bacewicz's career are indebted to Sherrie Tucker's and Marcia Citron's work on "exceptional women" in music, Rachel Lumsden's and Samantha Ege's work on women composers' fellowship and networks, and Ellie Hisama's and Kimberly Francis's frameworks for gender and musical modernism.[58] That said, the foundation for my methodology is rooted in the local feminist epistemology and consequently draws primarily on two areas of scholarship: 1) the work of Polish feminist historians on women's agency and labour under communism; 2) Polish feminist cultural and literary studies work on gender, nationalism, and the Romantic paradigm in Poland.

Women's agency under communism

Following the late-twentieth-century revisionist turn in post-communist studies, recent works challenge simplistic models that assume a clear-cut division between the omnipotent state and powerless individuals. Instead, scholars have emphasized the role of individual agency, everyday life, interpersonal relationships, and bottom-up organizing in negotiating

[58] Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.); Samantha Ege, "Composing a Symphonist: Florence Price and the Hand of Black Women's Fellowship" *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 24 (2020): 7–27; Rachel Lumsden, "'You Too Can Compose': Ruth Crawford's Mentoring of Vivian Fine," *Music Theory Online* 23, no. 2 (June 2017), http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.17.23.2/mto.17.23.2.lumsden.html; Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2015); Ellie M. Hisama, *Gendering Musical Modernism*: *The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Sherrie Tucker, "Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies," *Current Musicology*, nos. 71–73 (Spring 2001/2002): 375–408.

state oppression in the countries from the Soviet sphere of influence.[59] On this point, I draw on Magdalena Grabowska's work that emphasizes Polish women's agency during the communist period and challenges the discourse of "broken genealogy" governing historians' narratives about twentieth-century women and women's emancipation in Poland.[60] Grabowska uncovers the ways in which post-1989 "broken genealogy" approach—fueled by anti-communist discourses—solidifies the perception of the 1944–1989 period not as a legitimate, fully-fledged part of Polish women's emancipatory history, but rather as a historical gap, a disruption.[61] Such a view is intertwined with the mid-century scholarly paradigm in Soviet studies that assumed the passivity of individual citizens (particularly women) and their full dependence on the actions of the state apparatus.[62] But while the apathy narrative has been contested with regard to men—through the histories of Polish workers' strikes, the anti-communist democratic movement *Solidarność* (Solidarity), or even through musicological works on composers' resistance to socialist realism—Grabowska demonstrates the persistence of the "passive women" trope. One of the ways in which this narrative became

[59] Małgorzata Fidelis, "Kobiety i Komunizm w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej" ["Women and Communism in Central-Eastern Europe"], *Kobiety w Polsce, 1945–1989: Nowoczesność - równouprawnienie – komunizm [Women in Poland, 1945–1989: Modernity – Emancipation –Ccommunism*], eds. Stańczak-Wiślicz, Katarzyna, Piotr Perkowski, Małgorzata Fidelis, and Barbara Klich-Kluczewska (Kraków: Universitas, 2020), 37–43.

For works addressing agency and everyday life under Stalinism see for example: Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times. Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). The focus of Fitzpatrick's study is the practice of "extraordinary everydayness" of life in Soviet Russia of the 1930s, "that is, the forms of behavior and strategies of survival and advancement that people develop to cope with particular social and political situations." She defines the "everyday" in Russian cities of the 1930s as "everyday interactions that in some way involved the state, [excluding] topics like friendship, love, and some aspects of leisure and private sociability, [but including] shopping, traveling, celebrating, telling jokes, finding an apartment, getting an education, securing a job, advancing in one's career, cultivating patrons and connections, marrying and rearing children, writing complaints and denunciations, voting, and trying to steer clear of the secret police." Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 2-3.

[60] Magdalena Grabowska, *Zerwana Genealogia: Działalność Społeczna i Polityczna Kobiet Po 1945 Roku a Współczesny Polski Ruch Kobiecy* [*A Broken Genealogy: Women's Social and Political Activity after 1945 and the Contemporary Polish Women's Movement*] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2018).

[61] Grabowska argues that the paradigm of broken genealogy relies on three types of discourse: lack (assuming lack of women's movement in Polish tradition). convergence (assuming that the women's movements in Eastern Europe are "delayed" in comparison to Western European and American feminisms), and anticommunism (built on the belief that the post-1945 history must not be recognized as part of Poland's women's movement), where it is the latter that "solidifies, reinforces, and legitimizes" the first two. Grabowska, *Zerwana Genealogia,* 26. (My translation.)

[62] Fidelis, "Kobiety i Komunizm," 40.

consolidated was that after the 1989 transformation, feminist activists felt compelled to take an anti-communist position to legitimize the feminist movement. As a result,

> In the nineties […] the anti-communist narrative relied primarily on denying emancipatory achievements of the 1945–1989 period and on rejecting women's postwar social and political activity as part of women's movements' genealogy in Poland. The feminist anticommunism was based on a repeated statement that the postwar period did not bring a real female emancipation […] based on grassroots activity, but [rather, based] on 'forcing' women to enter women's organizations.[63]

To challenge this mainstream post-communist narrative, Grabowska traces diverse forms of women's grassroots political activity in the communist period. Drawing on her theory, in a parallel manner, I reveal those genealogies of today's Polish musical culture that have been obscured in post-1989 processes of nation-making and de-communization. While scholarly writings on Polish postwar music do not necessarily erase the communist period in the same way as it is done in the historiography of women's movement, certain parts of the postwar music culture have been lacking a nuanced analysis. Oftentimes this resulted in omitting the history of women's complex presence in the spaces where musical culture was shaped.

The history of women's movement and the history of music and musicology written in Poland after 1989 both share a tendency to prioritize narratives that serve—and reinforce—an oversimplified assessment of the communist period's legacy. Working against that tendency would mean to challenge the post-transformation *status quo* based on a collective sense of success. In today's musicology, an example of that tendency is within the historical

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[63] Grabowska, *Zerwana Genealogia*, 48–49.
"W latach 90. XX w. narracja antykomunistyczna opierała się przede wszystkim na zanegowaniu osiągnięć emancypacyjnych lat 1945-1989 i odrzucaniu aktywności społecznej oraz politycznej kobiet po II wojnie światowej jako części genealogii ruchów kobiecych w Polsce. Feministyczny antykomunizm opierał się na powtarzanym wielokrotnie stwierdzeniu, że w okresie powojennym nie dokonała się w Polsce rzeczywista emancypacja kobiet [oparta na] działaniach oddolnych oddolnej aktywności, ale na 'zmuszaniu' kobiet do wstępowania do organizacji kobiecych." (My translation.)

accounts that claim Polish avant-gardists contributed to the symbolic defeat of communism. These assessments have led to the conflation of musical-aesthetic achievement and the moral-political achievement of that history.

In a similar vein, the tendency to prioritize binary interpretations of postwar music culture has led to erasing musicological works that were in compliance with the values of the new party-state, such as Marxist works by Zofia Lissa. The erasure of Lissa's complex heritage in the field of musicology is indeed a mirror reflection of erasing women communists' agency and political activity in the field of feminist studies. Therefore, following Grabowska's theory of "broken genealogy," I ask what other broken genealogies can be found in Polish history, specifically in the history of music and the history of women. One common misconception about the history of Polish interwar and postwar art music culture is that the only noteworthy woman participating in that history was Grażyna Bacewicz. To this day, she is often considered to be the only woman ancestor from the postwar new music scene. By expanding the boundaries of what counts as the "postwar musical culture"—and primarily including musicological labour and care-labour in that category—this dissertation will reveal new genealogies for contemporary Polish musical culture, and specifically ones that include overlooked female figures.

Gender, nationalism, and the Romantic paradigm

My identification of the paradigm of (artistic) male resistance relies on Maria Janion's and Agnieszka Graff's findings of the intertwinement between the martyrologic and gendered narratives of Polish nation in history and literature, the Romantic trope of male patriotic artist (as a bard, a national prophet), and the subjugated position of women in Polish society.[64] The

[64] See: Maria Janion, *Niesamowita Słowiańszczyzna. Fantazmaty Literatury [Incredible Slavs. The Literary Phantasms*] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2006); and Agnieszka Graff, "Gender, Sexuality and Nation—Here and Now. Reflections on the Gendered and Sexualized Aspects of Contemporary Polish

long tradition of struggling for independence and the gory uprisings against foreign occupation reaches back to the Romantic period. As a result of partitions that took place in 1772, 1793, and 1795, the entire territory of Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569–1795) became divided between Habsburg Austria, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Russian Empire. A sovereign Poland ceased to exist for one hundred-twenty-three years (and major uprisings in 1830 and 1863 failed).

After briefly regaining independence for twenty years in 1918, Poland suffered from the Nazi invasion from the west and the Soviet one from the east in 1939, and another six-year long occupation. During the Second World War Poland was the site of horrific crimes against humanity perpetuated by both occupiers. Following the 1945 Yalta Conference, the country was immediately placed under Soviet control as a satellite state. It was only in 1989 that the country regained its sovereignty and democratic status. Maria Janion, a leading Polish philosopher theorizing the Romantic paradigm in Polish historical and literary discourse, argued that contrary to other European countries, in Poland the Romantic paradigm carried forward throughout the twentieth century, as it both supported and relied upon the continuous discourses around war, occupation, sacrifice, and the survival of the nation.[65] According to Janion, it was Romanticism (and therefore also Romantic literature and art) that saved Poland's existence as a community throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.[66] She explains:

> Polish modernity began with the loss of independence, and it was Romanticism which, faced with this infinitely new situation, took up the challenge of captivity. Not only did

Nationalism," in *Intimate Citizenships. Gender, Sexualities, Politics*, ed. Elżbieta H. Oleksy (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 133–146.

[65] See for example: Maria Janion*, Czy będziesz wiedział, co przeżyłeś [Will you know what you have lived through]* (Sic: Warszawa, 1996).

[66] Maria Janion, *Gorączka Romantyczna* [*Romantic Fever*] (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut wydawniczy, 1975), 23.

> [Romanticism] know how to respond to it, but also how to transform reality in a unique way, not submitting to its "empirical" canons and imposing its own spiritual order.[67]

As Janion and Graff demonstrate, the strength of the Romantic paradigm in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Polish society has in turn solidified religious and gendered imageries of the country as a "mother," and the nation as a community consisting of men. Some of those imageries have to do with a victimized motherland in need of male protection, a "Polish Mother" giving life to, protecting, and raising, the male defenders of the country, or the female virginity as a symbol of the nation's honor. According to Graff,

> historically, the cult of Madonna in Poland has long been associated with threats to national integrity. […] The nineteenth-century romantic version of this legacy involves a semantic crossover between seemingly disparate sets of ideas: (1) Poland as Mother, and (2) the Madonna, Mother of God, and Poland's queen and protectress. This imaginary unity has in turn been projected onto (3) the figure of the Polish Mother, the heroic mother of sons, a sign situated between myth and stereotype, central to the country's national identity in its homosocial dimension."[68]

At the same time, Polish gendered imageries of the nation have real effects for the situation of women in society. As Graff explains,

> the highly charged blend of maternal/national fantasies has had a varying impact on the position of Polish women, ranging from empowering, to highly ambivalent and repressive […]. The bonds between Poles as "brothers" are strengthened and sanctified by the presence of the Mother […] but this act of male bonding at the feet of the imaginary Mother requires the rejection of all significant bonds with actual women.[69]

Indeed, the common element of many of the above narrative tropes is that they encourage celebration of imagined, symbolic, women, while refusing to recognize the bodies, rights,

[67] Janion, *Gorączka Romantyczna*, 12. (My translation.)
[68] Graff, "Gender, Sexuality and Nation," 136.
[69] Ibid.

labour, and merits of real-life women as members of society. Agnieszka Graff explains that "nationalism pushes women's citizenship to the margins, treating them as the 'backdrop against which men determine the fate of the nation.'"[70] Furthermore, she notes that the tendency to elevate idealized women while marginalizing and controlling real women "intensifies in periods of transition, war, and real or perceived instability," which I perceive as one of the factor that led to poor documentation of women's achievements in music and musicology in is the period that I examine.[71] I identify the artistic male resistance paradigm as closely tied to these discourses of gender and nationalism, and as such I argue that even in mid-century Poland the Romantic imageries of genius, gender, and national belonging continued to affect the recognition (or lack thereof) of female artistic, intellectual, and political labour within the musical milieu.

Musical labour

To contextualize the stories of Lissa and Bacewicz, I consider diverse political meanings associated to music-related labour in postwar Poland. Labour, particularly working-class labour, was the most important concept and point of reference for the communist state in mobilizing society. But in mid-century war-torn Poland, the party-state's public messaging about the value of manual labour was not only part of the Marxist glorification of the working class. Immediately after the war, it was also directly related to mobilizing the collective effort of rebuilding the destroyed country, especially the razed capital city of Warsaw.[72] If elevating manual and industrial labour proved challenging for state propagandists seeking to situate

[70] George L, Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 23, quoted in: Agnieszka Graff, "Gender, Sexuality and Nation," 139.
[71] Ibid.
[72] By the end of 1944, around sixty-five percent of the city was torn down. See: Marek Getter, "Straty ludzkie i materialne w Powstaniu Warszawskim," *Biuletyn IPN*, 8–9 (43–44), 2004.

artists and intellectuals within the new social order, then the philosophy and aesthetics of socialist realism granted an ideological justification for artistic-intellectual labour of composers and musicologists after 1944. The doctrine of socialist realism prioritized art and music that was accessible, entertaining, as well as relatable to—and laudatory of—peasants and factory workers. Thus, the aesthetic allowed the work of composers and musicologists to be considered beneficial to the working class, and therefore to society at large. In this way, the communists' propagandist calls to build a socialist future, originally addressed to workers, was extended to artists-intellectuals, and the party demanded compliance with the socialist-realist doctrine to "serve the masses."

While the communist discourse around labour and citizenship might be the most conspicuous context in which music-related labour became politicized after 1944, it is important to recognize that the understanding of music as public service—even a nation-saving mission—was simultaneously a heritage of the nineteenth-century Romantic tradition. This tradition, moreover, was far from outdated in postwar Poland. As discussed above, since Poland was occupied throughout the nineteenth century, the development of a distinct national tradition in music and art in the Romantic Era had a political significance as it allowed Polish elites to mobilize a nation despite Poland's geopolitical non-existence. As a result, even after Poland's return to sovereignty during the interwar period (1918–1939), and again in 1945 following the Second World War, for composers the questions of musical style and aesthetics went hand-in-hand with those of national identity and the continuity of Polish tradition. As demonstrated by Lisa Cooper Vest, postwar composers who contested socialist realism, including well-known Polish avant-gardists, participated in the idea of music as public service, even if for them the service was linked to maintaining a distinct sense of Polish tradition rather

than contemporaneous communist values.[73] What we know as the famous Polish avant-garde of the sixties was therefore preceded by a decade-long effort to restore prewar Polish modernist traditions, and in a larger perspective, an effort to restore a sense of compositional continuity that reached back to Chopin.[74] From this perspective, to establish a new national compositional style was not simply a matter of re-establishing a highly-esteemed musical scene, but that of re-establishing cultural legitimacy and national pride. Consequently, both the "avant-gardists" and the "socialist realists" understood their work as restoring the continuity of Polish nationhood, albeit with different aesthetic means. What was at stake for the musical milieu, regardless of political orientation, was a public mission far larger than music itself.

To examine the different political meanings attached to music-related labour, I draw on Lisa Cooper Vest's theory describing the Polish "sense of temporal displacement from modernity" and "national backwardness" as a governing framework through which the musical milieu ca. 1945–1965 understood its own mission.[75] In her book *Awangarda: Tradition and Modernity in Postwar Polish Music*, Vest demonstrates that discourses on composing new music in the postwar period relied on a consensus that Poland had fallen behind on a fixed path of development, and was therefore located "outside of modernity […] at some earlier chronological point, previous to the contemporary moment."[76] Such a temporal displacement would result from Poland's one hundred-fifty-year-long history of losses and ruptures. In addition to the chronology-based understanding of Polish "backwardness," Vest also discerns its accumulation-based understanding, where, "if modernity existed as a balance

[73] Vest writes: "Already in 1960 […] the discourse about avant-gardism in Poland had begun to shift toward a […] tradition-oriented model. A broader community of critics, scholars, and composers began to wrap the young avant-garde group into aesthetic discourses of genius and national tradition […]." Vest, *Awangarda,* 158.
[74] Vest, *Awangarda,* 9.
[75] Ibid., 5.
[76] Ibid.

sheet, with certain economic, intellectual, cultural, or experiential benchmarks, then Poland's backwardness could be measured in terms of its deficiencies or gaps."[77] Thus conceived concepts of backwardness take the form of two discursive gestures that Vest borrows from Maria Todorova's study of Eastern European nationalism: lag and lack.[78] For instance, Vest demonstrates that the discursive responses to the collective ideas of lack and lag—"filling the gap" and "catching up," respectively—fueled the language used by composers, musicologists, intellectuals, and state representatives alike in the process of negotiating the direction of Polish music. All aspects of musical life were subject to the lag/lack rhetoric: new music composition, education, repertoire planning, and the institutional goals of the Polish Composers' Union.[79] As a consequence, Vest challenges the disjunction between "formalists" and "socialist realists," since they all shared a concern for overcoming musical—and therefore national—backwardness. As such, it was not only the state that had music serve political goals. If music-related labour under the auspices of the state was political, so was the music-related labour of non-state actors striving to realize their own vision of national progress.

I draw on Vest's work to identify the particular nation-making meanings and political entanglements attached to the different kinds of music-related labour performed by women, regardless of which political orientation they declared. Bacewicz serves as an example demonstrating that, first, many composers and musicologists did not, in reality, fit within one side of the ideological dichotomy of "formalists" (or "avant-gardists") and "socialist realists." Second, her case demonstrates how music-related labour functioned within a matrix of political meanings that was necessary for composers to navigate, even if they intended to remain politically neutral. As discussed above, due to Bacewicz's diplomatic skills and her

[77] Ibid.
[78] Maria Todorova, "The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism," *Slavic Review* 64, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 140–64, quoted in Vest, *Awangarda,* 5–6.
[79] Vest argues that the term "Awangarda" of early sixties was coined based on a discursive conflation of the national genius narrative and backwardness/lag narrative, and a promise that Awangarda will (finally) overcome that backwardness.

versatile compositional style (adhering to neoclassicism as well as avant-garde experimentation in the sixties), her position in Poland was highly respectable, both in the Polish Composers' Union and among higher-rank party decision-makers. Additionally, she avoided commenting on her own music and was very private about her creative process. While this could have simply been part of her personality, one might also assume that it was a choice informed by the reality for composers in this period. At the time, any composition commissioned with public funds was subjected to an extreme level of scrutiny. Interestingly, Bacewicz's personal writings in which she did reveal her creative philosophy demonstrate that she often declared her stylistic choices to be merely a part of something bigger, somehow not fully under her control. For example, in a letter to her brother from 1962, four years after her 1958 *Music for Strings, Trumpets and Percussion,* one of the key pieces that heavily relied on sonoristic technique, she wrote:

> since music is making very fast progress thanks to the young composers, I know that I can only take the back seat now, because I can't outdo myself, and the truly novel things will be invented by the young ones, not by me. But this doesn't worry me at all. Everyone has their place in the world. I do, or rather I would like to do, what I can do best—and that's all.[80]

By discursively positioning herself as simply "taking the back seat," Bacewicz was able to explore various stylistic grounds while remaining on her ideologically "neutral" position and function comfortably between the "patriotic" and the "socialist" discourse.

Vest's analysis of the postwar discourses and interests around music debunks one of the foundations on which the post-1989 male-resistance paradigm heavily relies—it blurs the clear-cut division between the "two sides" of the postwar music history in Poland, the "bad"

[80] Grażyna Bacewicz, letter to her brother Vytautas, 8th December 1962, quoted in Małgorzata Gąsiorowska, "Grażyna Bacewicz – The Polish Sappho," *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1 (December 31, 2019): 88.
I further discuss Bacewicz's compositional style in Chapter One.

oppressors and the heroic oppressed. Consequently, complementarily to Grabowska's theory, Vest's work problematizes the claim of universality of the post-1989 historiography of music. It demonstrates its reliance on one, male-centered paradigm, and therefore, it contributes to uncovering the erasure of women's contributions from Polish music historiography. The process of de-communization of Polish music history involved cultivating the clear opposition—between the detrimental, regressive labour motivated and controlled by the communists, and the heroic, male, labour, mostly related to building Polish avant-garde. Therefore, figures such as Lissa and Łobaczewska could not have been given recognition after 1989 because of their political alignment, while Bacewicz struggled to fully participate in the "heroic" group's story because of her gender, and as mentioned above, likely also her lack of clear ideological alignment.[81]

While keeping in mind these local contexts defining my understanding of musical labour, my work is also indebted to broader scholarly discourses around the definitions of music making and music culture coming in particular from music sociology and scholars such as Howard Becker, Christopher Small, and Bruno Latour.[82] For example, Howard S. Becker in his 1982 work *Art Worlds*, argued that "[a]ll art works […] involve some division of labour among a large number of people."[83] He demonstrates that art and music can rarely exist without the involvement of multiple people and multiple kinds of labour. In *Musicking,* Christopher Small argues that all activities, even as remotely connected to making music as sweeping the concert hall's floor after the concert, should be perceived as the activity of

[81] Vest argues that the connection between masculinity and the category of artistic genius was already at play in the music scene of the late fifties, when despite Bacewicz's extraordinary achievements as composer and her direct link to Szymanowski's legacy (as a young composer, she was under a strong influence of his teachings), "it was […] clear [she] […] was never in the running to be elected the next genius composer in the Chopin-Szymanowski lineage." Vest, *Awangarda*, 116.
[82] See: Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2008); Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2011); Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 191–215.
[83] Becker, *Art Worlds*, 14.

"musicking," i.e. facilitating the existence of music, understood as a process and activity, rather than an object.[84] Drawing on these theories, I perceive music labour as an umbrella term for various activities, relationships, and efforts that together formed broadly understood "music history." In my framework, music history involves the work of scholars and music organizers, as well as those who provided emotional and practical support as well as care work that fuelled the artistic and intellectual labour in the musical milieu.

Chapter outlines

This dissertation is divided into two parts. Chapters one and two constitute the first part and are fully dedicated to the figure of Grażyna Bacewicz and other significant women in her life. In the first chapter, I challenge the myth of Bacewicz as a self-sufficient superheroine by shedding light on the importance of her relationship with her mother Maria Modlińska and her only woman teacher Nadia Boulanger. By contrasting primary sources from Bacewicz's life with sources about Boulanger, I discover parallels between the ways in which Bacewicz and her mentor both engaged in practices of self-fashioning as an "exceptional woman" to neutralize the dissonance between their gender and their traditionally "male" professions. Consequently, I argue that the lineage between two women went beyond the category of aesthetics and musical style. Rather, it encompassed strategies of survival and success as a woman composer. In a similar vein, I analyze values around womanhood and work followed by Bacewicz's mother to demonstrate the ways in which Modlińska's background and beliefs marked her daughter's convictions about gender and career in her adult life.

[84] Small, *Musicking,* 9–10.

Chapter Two investigates the role of domesticity and family support in Grażyna Bacewicz's success. I argue that as mutual care was a foundation in Bacewicz's family, her loved ones were often involved in the compositional career of Grażyna and actively supported her through emotional, administrative, and musical labour. In fact, women's—especially Maria Modlińska's and Wanda Bacewicz's—labour was a ubiquitous element of Grażyna's everyday life as a composer. In particular, as I demonstrate with archival correspondence, Grażyna Bacewicz's sister Wanda often fulfilled the role of the composer's assistant and copyist. Finally, I consider Bacewicz's case as an example illustratingthe ways in which musical modernism offered opportunities to redefine domestic spaces for women composers.

The second part of the dissertation focuses on the figure of Zofia Lissa and the opportunities and limitations she faced during her academic career due to the changing politics of gender and Jewish inclusion in Poland throughout the twentieth century. Simultaneously, the two chapters present two different—local and international— angles to the history of Polish musicology as an academic field, with Chapter Four shedding light on the marks that Lissa's work left outside of her immediate Polish milieu. Chapter Three examines the broader question of Jewish women's inclusion in Polish interwar and postwar academia. I consider how the changing sociopolitical landscape impacted Zofia Lissa's access to academic opportunities before and after the Second World War. While, as mentioned above, working with Adolf Chybiński exposed Lissa to the rising antisemitism in Polish academia, it simultaneously created a rare opportunity for her as a woman to begin an academic career as a musicologist. Moreover, the formative role that Lissa had in the expansion of the academic field of musicology in Poland after the war—and the institutional power she exerted—are representative of a specific historical moment in which the state's insistence on women's professional and political activity was transforming social imaginary of gender roles. Finally, I analyze Lissa's archival letters to retrieve the image of what the state-run anti-Semitic

campaign in the 1968 Poland meant for the lifelong trust Lisa had in the Soviet system. I identify links between the rising antisemitism of the sixties, Lissa's compromised confidence in the communist project, and her increasing self-doubt as a scholar despite the significant international success she had reached by the end of that decade.

In the last chapter I analyze selected scholarly works by Zofia Lissa from the 1948–1953 period to trace the intellectual links between the Eastern European postwar Marxist musicology on the one hand, and the research paradigms of today's Western musicology on the other hand; in particular those loosely grouped under the category of New Musicology. While I recognize the shared elements between Lissa's writings and the socialist realism doctrine of mid-century Polish music, I simultaneously demonstrate that her works lend itself to a richer and more complex interpretation than simply that of a "Stalinist agent's" propaganda. Indeed, Lissa's application of Marxism, and her dedication to analyzing music primarily as a social phenomenon, places her on the genealogical tree of twentieth-century ideas about music and society next to other Eastern European postwar Marxist musicologists such as Austrian musicologist Georg Knepler, but also next to Adorno, and finally, the representatives of contemporary New Musicology. Moreover, in Chapter Four I demonstrate Lissa's rich international scholarly networks and collaborations that took place between mid-sixties and mid-seventies, during the time when her status in Poland declined. The remaining archival letters from Lissa's colleagues abroad testify to her respectable position in the international academic circles at the time. By presenting versatile historical evidence to Lissa's erasure from the history of European musicology, this chapter reveals the gendered dimension of post-Cold-War disciplinary genealogies of contemporary academia.

Chapter One

Female Exceptionalism, Mentorship, and Lineage in the Career of Grażyna Bacewicz

In the over fifty years since her death, Grażyna Bacewicz's (1909–1969) legacy has been conveyed as a simple narrative that depicts her as the "first" and an "exceptional" Polish woman composer[1] This limited narrative has been reiterated by musicians and musicologists in Poland and abroad. Bacewicz is celebrated in Poland as a role model and inspiration for generations of Polish women composers for whom she paved the way. As I previously argued elsewhere, however, the fact that she was an isolated case—as a woman composer within the postwar Polish compositional scene throughout the fifties and sixties—has not yet led to a critical examination of that history from the perspective of gender.[2] Rather, the Bacewicz story has been treated as supposedly self-explanatory evidence for two persistent myths: first, that with enough talent, any woman could have made it as a professional composer in twentieth-century Poland; and second, that Bacewicz's success and recognition shows that Poland has "always" been inherently welcoming for women composers and promoted gender equity. This "self-explanatory evidence" in turn prevented attempts to critically evaluate the level of women's participation in the twentieth-century Polish compositional scene—both at the time, and in the decades that followed.[3]

[1] Until 1963 Bacewicz was the only Polish woman composer whose pieces were performed at the Warsaw Autumn Festival. Throughout the following decade, she was joined in the programming by two other Polish women composers: Bernadetta Matuszczak and Krystyna Moszumańska-Nazar.

[2] Marta Beszterda, "Female Composers, Gender, and Politics in Communist Poland" (MA thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2016); Marta Beszterda, "At the Intersection of Musical Culture and Historical Legacy: Feminist Musicology in Poland," *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ* 3, no. 34 (2017): 29–50.

[3] Certain exceptions need to be recognized. Iwona Lindstedt made a significant contribution with her 2019 article exploring Polish women composers' participation in the compositional scene of the interwar period. See: Iwona Lindstedt, "Why Are Our Women-Composers So Little Known? Concerning Women's Musical Output in Poland Between the Two World Wars," *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1, (December 31, 2019): 43–64.

See also: Anna Maria Harley, "Po polsku i po babsku" ["In Polish and on Women's Terms"], *Ruch muzyczny,* 21 September, 1997. Anna Brzezicka-Kamińska, "Polskie Kompozytorki na Festiwalu Warszawska Jesień" ["Polish Women Composers at the Warsaw Autumn Festival"] (MA thesis, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1998).

Bacewicz's carefully curated image as Poland's national pride—and as a figure of impeccable character—has also been maintained by Bacewicz's family: namely, Grażyna's daughter Alina Biernacka (b. 1942) and granddaughter Joanna Sendłak (b. 1966). As a result of the family's vigilant protection of Bacewicz's legacy, outsiders have been denied access to the archival collection of Bacewicz's family correspondence held by the National Library in Warsaw.[4] Significantly, the only books on the composer published since 1999 have been authored by Joanna Sendłak, Bacewicz's granddaughter. Between 2018 and 2022, Sendłak published four fictionalized biographical books telling the story of Bacewicz's life in different time periods: *Z ogniem—miłość Grażyny Bacewicz w przededniu wojny* ("With Fire—Grażyna Bacewicz's Love on the Eve of War," 2018), focusing on the early years of Bacewicz's relationship with her husband, Andrzej Biernacki; *Ostinato—wojenne dni Grażyny Bacewicz* ("Ostinato—Grażyna Bacewicz's wartime days," 2020), set during the Second World War; *Vivo—powojenne dni Grażyny Bacewicz* ("Vivo— Grażyna Bacewicz's postwar days, 2022), covering the last decades of Bacewicz's life; and a short full biography, *Bacewicz* (2021), published by the Polish Music Publishing House as part of their "little monograph" series on twentieth-century Polish composers.[5]

[4] This study was particularly challenging due to the limited access to Bacewicz's archival correspondence. The biggest collection of letters left by Grażyna Bacewicz and her sister Wanda is deposited at the National Library in Warsaw, however researchers are denied access to these materials unless they can present an official approval from Grażyna Bacewicz's daughter, Alina Biernacka. When I reached out to Joanna Sendłak, Alina Biernacka's daughter (Grażyna Bacewicz's granddaughter), who is the contact person for accessing the family's archival collection, unfortunately I was informed that no access can be granted to any parts of the collection. Some of the letters from the archival collections are available in a reprinted form in the above-mentioned books authored by Joanna Sendłak as well as in Małgorzata Gąsiorowska's 1999 monograph on Bacewicz. In this dissertation, I frequently quote reprinted versions of Bacewicz's archival letters from these books. Nevertheless, due to the archival collection access policy, the conclusions presented in this chapter are based on limited sources. My work will require reevaluation once the status of the archival collection changes in the future. It should be noted that the collection in question also contains letters written to the members of Bacewicz family by other historically important figures—including but not limited to Zofia Lissa, Witold Lutosławski, and Zygmunt Mycielski. Therefore, these letters equally remain inaccessible to researchers.

[5] See: Joanna Sendłak, *Z ogniem. Miłość Grażyny Bacewicz w przededniu wojny* [*With Fire. The Love of Grażyna Bacewicz on The Eve of War*] (Warszawa: Skarpa Warszawska, 2018); Joanna Sendłak, *Ostinato – wojenne dni Grażyny Bacewicz* [*Ostinato – The War Days of Grażyna Bacewicz*]. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Instytut Literatury, 2020); Joanna Sendłak, *Bacewicz*. (Warszawa: PWM, 2021); Joanna Sendłak, *Vivo – powojenne dni Grażyny Bacewicz* [Vivo – *The Post-War Days of Grażyna Bacewicz*] (Gdańsk: Fundacja Światło Literatury, 2022).

All four books fall within the literary genre of semi-fiction: while they quote the original family letters from the protected archival collection extensively, they also engage in literary fiction. As with all literary fiction, the protagonists of Sendłak's books draw on the story of Bacewicz and her family: her siblings, Wanda, Kiejstut and Vytautas, her husband, Andrzej, and her mother, Maria Modlińska). Yet Sendłak freely designs their internal worlds and imagines everyday conversations that mix fiction with passages from extant correspondence. As Sendłak explained in a 2019 interview, "as a novelist," she selected her sources following an "artistic vision," creating a "probable reality […] governed by the laws of the novel […] although the reality of the fictional world is never completely different from the reality of our world."[6] As for her protagonists, she admits that "a book character has a different status than the […] realistically existing prototype."[7] Due to the semi-fictional nature of Sendłak's publication, my decision to read the quotes from letters and diaries that she provides as primary sources, and consequently to rely on them in building my argument, is not without risks. The reader should therefore be cautioned that some of the conclusions I draw in Chapter 2 (and in the last part of Chapter 1) may require future re-evaluation once the original archival collection becomes available.

Sendłak's artistic creation, while making Bacewicz's story more accessible and entertaining, simultaneously allows her to freely curate her family image and maintain a plain and at times ahistorical story of Bacewicz's life, which lacks serious engagement with

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Similarly to *Znak Szczególny* [*A Distinguishing Mark*], I classify Sendłak's books under the genre of biographical fiction or biofiction.

[6] Joanna Sendłak, "O Grażynie Bacewiczównie nieco inaczej" ["A little differently about Grażyna Bacewiczówna"], interview by Piotr Urbański, *Kultura u Podstaw*, March 5, 2019, https://kulturaupodstaw.pl/o-grazynie-bacewiczownie-nieco-inaczej-joanna-sendlak-piotr-urbanski. "Oczywiście tworząc powieściową kreację, dokonałam wyborów materiałów i skrótów zgodnie z artystyczną koncepcją. […] Jednocześnie jednak starałam się stworzyć rzeczywistość prawdopodobną, w której egzystują moje postacie. Powstaje zatem przestrzeń wykreowana, rządząca się prawami powieści. […] Jako powieściopisarz buduję świat możliwy, zaś sądy czytelnika, mam nadzieję, odnoszą się do tej kreacji, chociaż rzeczywistość świata fikcyjnego nigdy nie jest całkowicie różna od rzeczywistości naszego świata." (My translation.)

[7] Ibid. "Byt postaci książkowej ma inny status niż egzystencja realnie istniejących pierwowzorów." (My translation.)

questions of communist politics, social and financial issues, and gender dynamics in the family. Yet, musicological scholarship also lacks an in-depth critical socio-cultural analysis of Bacewicz's career. The merit of publications such as Małgorzata Gąsiorowska's 1999 Polish monograph *Bacewicz* or Adrian Thomas's 1985 book *Grażyna Bacewicz: Chamber and Orchestral Music* lies primarily in their thorough biographical reconstructions and exhaustive analyses of Bacewicz's scores and compositional style.[8] Nevertheless, these studies do not substantively engage with Bacewicz's experiences as a woman and a working mother, nor do they challenge the gendered nature of the labels of excellence, genius, and artistry, under which Bacewicz was—and continues to be—classified. The narrative line of an "exceptional woman" is equally maintained in more contemporary publications. For example, Gąsiorowska's 2019 article "Polish Sappho"—a small-scale English-language overview of her 1999 book—underscores Bacewicz's nickname of "Polish Sappho" to "emphasize the unique character of her talent, which successfully rivalled those of the much more numerous male composers who dominated in the music world at that time."[9] At the same time, Gąsiorowska remains skeptical of gender-centered analyses since, she argues, there is nothing inherently "feminine" or "masculine" about Bacewicz's (or any composer's) music, and the social obstacles Bacewicz faced as a woman composer were minimal. She agrees with musicologist Zofia Helman that while "women's rights advocates claim that some of the women's [social] functions put women at a disadvantage […], the example of Grażyna Bacewicz shows that this need not be true."[10]

Female exceptionalism is likewise the leading framework of the recently published monograph *Grażyna Bacewicz, the "First Lady of Polish Music"* (2022) by the British

[8] See: Małgorzata Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1999); Adrian Thomas, *Grażyna Bacewicz. Chamber and orchestral music* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1985).
[9] Małgorzata Gąsiorowska, "Grażyna Bacewicz – The Polish Sappho," *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1 (December 31, 2019): 66.
[10] Ibid., 67.

musician and writer Diana Ambache, who underscores the image of Bacewicz as a hero and a pioneer. As Ambache describes,

> [Bacewicz's] sturdy way with the world enabled her to go on composing and playing through a complex period in Polish history, both during World War II and afterwards in the communist period. As a pioneer, the word 'trailblazer' has been applied to her life and achievements, and the fact that few women had previously been given due credit as composers underlines this point.[11]

Moreover, Ambache emphasizes Bacewicz's self-sufficiency as an artist by stating that "defining a lineage around Bacewicz is not simple, as she was an independent."[12] Ambache's assertion of a "lineage of independence," while well-intentioned, is not supported by the historical record (Bacewicz's lineage is in fact well documented), and only works towards reinforcing the idealized image of Bacewicz as a singular genius.

Exceptionalism and self-sufficiency are qualities that have been attributed to many celebrated twentieth-century women composers—for example Nadia Boulanger, Ruth Crawford Seeger, and Florence Price—and are often used interchangeably with the term "successful." Yet in the context of women composers, "exceptional" rarely means simply "excellent"; more often than not, it also—or primarily—means "unusual" and "unprecedented," pointing to the fact that women composers are somewhat atypical, not the norm. As Sherrie Tucker notes, a similar logic has been employed to talk about the presence of women in jazz, where in addition to the "always emerging" model, the "exceptional model" is a common narrative trope. Tucker recognizes that the narrative of female exceptionalism is closely intertwined with the invisibility of women in jazz history and the field's lack of critical self-examination. She explains:

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[11] Diana Ambache, *Grażyna Bacewicz, the 'First Lady of Polish Music'* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 83.
[12] Ibid., 81.

> Women are invisible because they weren't good enough. Playing good enough meant playing like men. Women who play like men are ''exceptional women,'' and exceptional women can enter the discourse without changing it. […] We can use [the exceptional woman's] inclusion to argue that our historical vision of jazz is not sexist, but merit-based.[13]

The problem with the "exceptional woman" remains the same whether it is in the field of jazz or in the field of Western art music. For example, the long-standing practice of including "exceptional" women composers such as Clara Schumann and Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel in canonical narratives of nineteenth-century Western concert music has been used to uphold the idea that the canon was "objective," that is, gender-blind and merit-based. Marcia Citron calls the practice of adding exceptional women to the canon as "mainstreaming." As she notes, the practice of mainstreaming "resembles what Karin Pendle has termed 'add and stir': the addition of a few new women to the old historiographic recipes, a technique that does not significantly change the batter of the finished product." This, according to Citron, is "an apt metaphor for the dangers of merely inserting women and their music into existing structures without at least questioning them in terms of gender."[14] Mainstreaming "integrates women into well-known historical structures and shows how they relate stylistically to male composers."[15] Their works become "integrated into the canonic pantheon and as such [are] discussed in the same terms, according to the same paradigms and categories, as works by men."[16] Unfortunately, mainstreaming

> tends to thwart an understanding of women *as women* and of the importance of gender and socialization on how and why music is produced. It assumes universal meanings,

[13] Sherrie Tucker, ''Big Ears: Listening for Gender in Jazz Studies,'' *Current Musicology*, nos. 71–73 (Spring 2001/2002): 384.
[14] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 43.
[15] Ibid., 219.
[16] Ibid., 222.

> responses, and valuation of music. […] It tends to obliterate difference and social specificity and their importance in understanding music as cultural activity.[17]

In other words, not only is adding women to the canon not equivalent to reworking the values that the canon relies on, but sometimes it can, in fact, perpetuate the canon's *status quo*. As discussed above, the same logic was employed in integrating Bacewicz's career and legacy into the Polish classical music canon.

If the "exceptional" women have been "entering the discourse without changing it," then what has—until recently—remained marginal in the musicological discourse are topics such as women composers' social and professional networks and women's artistic mentorship, as well as the role of female friendships and care work in facilitating women's composing careers. Indeed, we think of women composers as, again, self-sufficient (or perhaps supported by a male mentor). As Rachel Lumsden notes in her article '"You Too Can Compose": Ruth Crawford's Mentoring of Vivian Fine,"

> at first glance, attempting to trace any sort of legacy or lineage of women composers seems a formidable, perhaps even foolhardy, endeavor. In addition to facing barriers against writing, publishing, and securing performances of their works, women composers usually worked in isolation from one another; as Joseph Straus emphasizes, "the chains of knowledge and influence needed to bind a community together have largely been absent for women composers."[18]

Yet, as Lumsden demonstrates, the remaining correspondence between Crawford and Fine attests to a mentorship and a friendship that was formative for both composers. Fellowship between women is similarly at the center of Samantha Ege's work on Florence Price, in which she stresses the importance of women's friendships and professional relationships in forming

[17] Ibid.
[18] Rachel Lumsden, "'You Too Can Compose': Ruth Crawford's Mentoring of Vivian Fine," *Music Theory Online* 23, no. 2 (June 2017): [1], http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.17.23.2/mto.17.23.2.lumsden.html; Joseph N. Straus, *The Music of Ruth Crawford Seeger* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 225.

what the world perceives as an exceptional and self-made woman composer.[19] Ege identifies particular types of spaces and institutions that can play a significant role in building such fellowships, including music journalism.

Lumsden's and Ege's findings turn the "exceptional woman" narrative about Bacewicz on its head in at least two ways. First, to trace legacies and lineages of women composers involves seriously considering Bacewicz's relationship with her only woman teacher, Nadia Boulanger, and the role this mentorship had on Bacewicz's career. Second, if we take a close look at women who participated in Bacewicz's networks in the early years of her career, it becomes quite clear that, as a composing woman, she was neither an unprecedented nor an uncommon case in Poland. In her 2019 study, musicologist Iwona Lindstedt sheds light on a surprisingly vast array of around thirty women composers active in interwar Poland, about half of whom received some recognition during their careers.[20] Society's bias against women composers at the time affected these women's access to opportunities and marked most of the press coverage they received with overt misogyny and unfair criticism. Nevertheless, as Lindstedt argues, their work still managed to make a lasting impact on both popular and art music in Poland.

Lindstedt also traced a few press articles in the Polish press from the period 1933–1939 in which the achievements of Polish women composers were presented in a positive light; these publications are a testament to the growing awareness about women in Polish music at the time. Additionally, as recorded by Lindstedt, there were at least two concerts organized in Warsaw in 1934 that were dedicated to the compositional output of women. Lindstedt found

[19] Samantha Ege, "Composing a Symphonist: Florence Price and the Hand of Black Women's Fellowship," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 24 (2020): 7–27.
[20] Lindstedt found that the total of twelve figures of women composers were featured in a few Poland-wide press articles between 1938 and 1939: Grażyna Bacewicz, Helena Dorabialska, Łucja Drège-Schielowa, Anna Maria Klechniowska, Janina Grzegorzewicz-Lachowska, Zofia Ossendowska, Lucyna Robowska, Ilza Sternicka-Niekrasz, Wanda Vorbond-Dąbrowska, Zofia Wróblewska, Leokadia Myszyńska-Wojciechowska, Zofia Zdziennicka-Berger. See: Lindstedt, "'Why Are Our Women-Composers So Little Known?'" 45.

that the composers featured in the press "were both well-recognised composers with an established position and others who were only just embarking on their careers; well-educated in the field, and 'semiamateurs.'" [21] These composers also represented a variety of compositional aesthetics, "from the nineteenth-century neo-Romantic legacy, to impressionism, to neoclassicism and other forms of musical modernism." [22] The press pieces Lindstedt analyzed include a weekly series of music scores by women composers printed in *Bluszcz*, a popular women's weekly magazine, in 1935 and 1936.[23] In 1938, the same magazine published the article "Muzyczki polskie w okresie XX-lecia niepodległości" ("Polish Women Musicians during the Twenty Years of Independent Poland") by composer Ryta Gnus, featuring figures of Polish women composers, musicologists, educators, performers, and organizers.[24]

Additionally, a rare example of moving beyond the female exceptionalism narrative and recognizing the importance of changing systems and discourses can be found in Stefania Łobaczewska's 1933 article "Kobieta w muzyce" ("A Woman in Music"), published in "Almanach spraw kobiecych" ("Women's Almanac"). Łobaczewska argued that the interwar period had brought a groundbreaking shift in women's participation in music. The change, according to her, was that women's musical activity was no longer "some exotic [...] greenhouse flower, artificially grown in the glare of individual talents," but rather has become "blended with [its] surroundings."[25] According to Łobaczewska, thanks to women's access to

[21] Lindstedt, "'Why Are Our Women-Composers So Little Known?'" 52–53.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Lindstedt refers to volumes 68 and 69 of the *Bluszcz* magazine. Lindstedt mentions that the series involved "numerous piano pieces and songs by Klechniowska, Dorabialska, Gnus, Wróblewska, Myszyńska-Wojciechowska, Baum Czajkowska, and Gordonówna." Lindstedt, "'Why Are Our Women-Composers So Little Known?'" 51.
[24] Lindstedt, "'Why Are Our Women-Composers So Little Known?'" 50.
[25] Stefanja Łobaczewska, "Kobieta w muzyce" ["A Woman in Music"], *Almanach Spraw Kobiecych. Informacje, Postulaty, Zagadnienia* [*Women's Almanac*]. ed. Herminja Naglerowa (Warszawa: Wydział Prasowy Z. P. O. K, 1933), 175. "nie są jakimś egzotycznym […] kwiatem cieplarnianym, wyhodowanym sztucznie w blasku indywidualnych talentów, ale zrosły się z tem otoczeniem." (My translation.)

post-secondary education, their artistic and musical activity had become an inherent part of the cultural life of the "working intelligentsia" class.[26]

By testifying to the rich network of women composing in Poland in the thirties, the above materials challenge the narrative that portrays Bacewicz as the only professional twentieth-century woman composer in Poland. Moreover, Łobaczewska's analysis points to a systemic shift in the field of music in the interwar period and to the way that change was directly related to the growing emancipation of upper middle-class women such as Bacewicz, and their access to post-secondary education. Like Samantha Ege's work on Black women's fellowship that predated and facilitated the peak of Florence Price's career, Lindstedt's work therefore demonstrates that Bacewicz's successful career did not develop in a vacuum. Rather, the ground was already being prepared in the interwar period for the success of a woman composer of an appropriate background.

The increase of the number of women in Polish music during the interwar period was largely forgotten after the Second World War, and the vast majority of these composers (besides perhaps Anna Maria Klechniowska, who was recently "rediscovered" by Polish music historians) have been omitted from the historiography of twentieth-century Polish music.[27] Bacewicz's overall success and recognition indeed became incomparable to that of the other women who composed in the thirties. Many of them abruptly and prematurely ended their careers due to the Second World War. Others turned their focus to teaching and performance, or simply became preoccupied with domestic life and family. While reasons vary, the result was that when the Polish Composers Union was re-established in 1945, only three women

[26] Ibid. "Inteligencji pracującej." (My translation.)
[27] With the exception of Bogusław Schäffer's *Almanach Polskich Kompozytorów Współczesnych Oraz Rzut Oka Na Ich Twórczość.* In his book, Schäffer presents figures of several Polish interwar women composers, including Anna Maria Klechniowska, Władysława Markiewiczówna, Łucja Drège-Schielowa, Maria Dziewulska, Irena Garztecka, Eleonora Grządzielówna and Stefania Lachowska. See: Bogusław Schäffer, *Almanach Polskich Kompozytorów Współczesnych Oraz Rzut Oka Na Ich Twórczość* [*Almanac of Polish Contemporary Composers and a Glance at Their Works*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956).

(Grażyna Bacewicz, Anna Maria Klechniowska, Władysława Markiewiczówna) joined as union members (see Appendix 3). The union's archival documents reveal that in the period 1944–1969, ninety-three percent of all composers in the union were men.

Despite women's documented participation in the interwar musical scene, uniqueness, and exceptionalism, together with autonomy and self-sufficiency, remain Bacewicz's key characteristics in the mainstream narrative. This chapter and Chapter Two challenge such an interpretation of Bacewicz's career, instead shedding light on the interconnectedness of the composer and the women in her life: her teacher, Nadia Boulanger, her mother, Maria Modlińska, and her sister, Wanda Bacewicz. In this chapter, I pay particular attention to the beliefs and practices around womanhood and work ethics shared by Bacewicz, her mother, and her teacher. First, I consider the mentorship and friendship between Bacewicz and Boulanger. I move beyond familiar narratives of their relationship, in which Bacewicz's studies with Boulanger are mainly brought up an indicator of the quality of Bacewicz's training and of her prestige, as well as to locate the roots of her neoclassical style. While I recognize the effect that Boulanger's cultural capital had on the advancement of Bacewicz's career, I focus on identifying similarities in Boulanger's and Bacewicz's practices of self-fashioning as hardworking and exceptional women. Next, I trace the provenance of the Warsaw positivist movement's values surrounding work and womanhood, which Bacewicz and her mother Maria Modlińska shared. I argue that the progressive values cultivated by Bacewicz's mother were as important as Boulanger's influence to shaping Bacewicz's extraordinary dedication to work and perseverance in pursuing a composing career as a woman. I continue this argument in Chapter Two, in which I investigate Bacewicz's relationships within her domestic sphere as a source of empowerment and security. I trace the ways in which Bacewicz's mother, Maria, and her sister, Wanda, created a nurturing domestic space for the composer, providing emotional and administrative support throughout Bacewicz's career. Here, I again follow

Samantha Ege's argument about the importance of female relationships, support networks, and spaces of community-building, all of which have a tangible effect on the growth of a woman composer's career.

There are three main goals of my analysis in Chapters One and Two. First, I challenge the myth of Bacewicz's self-sufficiency, not only in the sense of artistic lineage, but also in the sense of the family's active support of the composer's career. Second, I shed light on the ubiquity of women's labour—musical, emotional, administrative, and care work—in music history, which only becomes visible once one allows for a broad definition of what counts as "music history." To this end, I look at Bacewicz's story through the lens of Howard Becker's concept of "art worlds," in which "all artistic work, like all human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people."[28] I account for a field of relations and contributions that Bacewicz, like other composers, was relying on to advance her professional career. Finally, I consider how the analyses presented in Part 1 of this dissertation contribute to the scholarly discourse on women and gender in musical modernism. Drawing on feminist approaches in Samantha Ege's, Rachel Lumsden's, Kimberly Francis's, and Ellie Hisama's work, I propose a case study based in the Polish context, thereby offering an approach to gender and musical modernism that is interwoven with local debates around nation, music, and gender.[29]

I also recognize that to consider Bacewicz as a representative of musical modernism poses methodological challenges. As Miriam Hensen explains,

> scholars have been […] delineating alternative forms of modernism, both in the West and in other parts of the world. In addition to opening up the modernist canon, these studies

[28] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023), 1.
[29] Ege, "Composing a Symphonist: Florence Price and the Hand of Black Women's Fellowship," 7–27; Lumsden, "'You Too Can Compose': Ruth Crawford's Mentoring of Vivian Fine," http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.17.23.2/mto.17.23.2.lumsden.html; Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford Academic, 2015); Ellie M. Hisama, *Gendering Musical Modernism*: *The Music of Ruth Crawford, Marion Bauer, and Miriam Gideon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

> assume a notion of modernism that is "more than a repertory of artistic styles," more than sets of ideas pursued by groups of artists and intellectuals. Rather, modernism encompasses a whole range of cultural and artistic practices that register, respond to, and reflect upon processes of modernization and the experience of modernity.[30]

If, as an Eastern-European composer, Bacewicz is on the fringes of what is traditionally considered to be Europe's musical modernism, the term "modernism" is equally troublesome in the context of local Polish music historiography. Overall, Polish musicology rarely applies the term "modernism" to explain twentieth-century musical phenomena. In a narrow sense, the term has traditionally been employed to refer to the literary, artistic, and musical movement that is more often referred to as Młoda Polska ("Young Poland"), dating to the period between 1894 and 1918, with neoromantic Mieczysław Karłowicz (1876–1909) as one of its leading composers. The Young Poland's art and music is generally marked with melancholy, pessimism, and rejection of the bourgeois mentality and social conventions. These artists were inspired by Nietzsche, Bergson, and Schopenhauer, and, as Zbigniew Kuderowicz explains, were opposed to "the positivist program, which demanded that art serve social progress."[31]

Another way that the term "modernism" can be employed to talk about twentieth-century Polish music, especially in the anglophone context, is to refer to the Polish postwar avant-garde. For example, in *Polish Music after Szymanowski*, Adrian Thomas recognizes

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[30] Miriam Bratu Hansen, "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism," *Modernism/Modernity* 6, no. 2 (1999): 60, quoted in: Brigid Cohen, "Introduction: Toward a Historiography of Modernism in Migration," in *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 8–9.

[31] Barbara Wysocka, ed., *Muzyka polska a modernizm: referaty i komunikaty wygłoszone na XII Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Muzykologicznej, zorganizowanej przez Sekcję Muzykologów Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, 11-12 grudnia 1978 w Krakowie przy udziale zaproszonych gości z innych dyscyplin* [*Polish Music and Modernism: Papers and Reports Delivered at the 12th Polish Musicological Conference, Organized By The Musicologists' Section of the Polish Composers' Union, December 11-12, 1978 in Kraków With Invited Guests From Other Disciplines*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1981), 23. "sprzeciwem wobec pozytywistycznego programu, który domagał się od sztuki służenia społecznemu postępowi." (My translation.)

composers such as Kazimierz Serocki and Tadeusz Baird as "modernists."[32] That said, the Polish term "muzyka współczesna" (literally translating to "modern music"), which is broadly used to talk about music since the Second World War, translates more aptly to the German "Neue Musik," and not to "modernism" *per se*. Bacewicz does not belong to this first usage of the term modernism, the Young Poland movement, and her affiliation with postwar Polish musical modernism is moreover also debatable, since she was not considered an avant-garde composer. As Helman explains, "in the final phase of [Polish] neoclassicism, stylistic synthesis also included a wider range of […] sonoristic means," for instance in Bacewicz's *String Quartet No.5* (1955) and *Music for Strings, Trumpets and Percussion* (1958).[33] That said, in light of the growing popularity of serialism, sonorism, aleatoricism and electronic music starting in the fifties, "neoclassicism was slowly coming to be considered, in the eyes of the new avant-garde almost synonymous with traditionalism, […] a 'dead end' of contemporary music."[34]

What is more, "a view became entrenched that the influence of neoclassicism derived from Stravinsky and the French school became the cause of the stunted development of Polish music and its isolation from the global avant-garde."[35] It was therefore within the span of Bacewicz's compositional career that her immersion, through Boulanger, in the French neoclassical school turned from being an asset—viewed as a fresh and desirable Western influence—into something considered anti-modern and detrimental to Polish music. Bacewicz dealt with this conflict in different ways. On the one hand, she embraced the demise of her

[32] Adrian Thomas, "Young Poland," in *Polish Music since Szymanowski* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 225.
[33] Zofia Helman, *Neoklasycyzm w muzyce polskiej XX wieku* [*Neoclassicism in Polish Music of the 20th Century*] (Kraków: PWM, 1985), 140. "W końcowej fazie neoklasycyzmu stylistyczna synteza objęła również szerszy zakres […] środków sonorystycznych." (My translation.)
[34] Helman, *Neoklasycyzm,* 79–80. "Neoklasycyzm stawał się powoli w oczach nowej awangardy niemal synonimem tradycjonalizmu, […] uznany […] za 'ślepą uliczkę' muzyki współczesnej." (My translation.)
[35] Ibid. "Zakorzenił się pogląd, iż wpływy wywodzącego się od Strawińskiego i ze szkoły francuskiej neoklasycyzmu stały się przyczyną zahamowania rozwoju muzyki polskiej i jej izolacji od awangardy światowej." (My translation.)

neoclassical idiom. On the other hand, in an unidentified questionnaire from the sixties, Bacewicz claims that her last compositional period "is absolutely avant-garde in nature" and that her middle period was wrongly named neoclassical, as in reality it was "atonal."[36] These inconsistencies may reflect Bacewicz's own struggle to put herself on the evolving on map of twentieth-century Polish music, whereas the period between Young Poland and postwar avant-garde has largely been considered transitory, always in the making.

Having considered the above challenges related to locating Bacewicz within the category of musical modernism (and, specifically, within scholarly discourse on women and musical modernism), in this study I understand musical modernism in its broad sense, following a theoretical approach that allows for the parallel existence of "vernacular modernisms" and "alternative modernisms."[37] I echo Brigid Cohen's call "to conceive modernism as a much more diverse phenomenon than can ever be represented by canonical artistic genealogies (say, from Stravinsky and Schoenberg to Boulez and Stockhausen) or by a repertory of discrete styles (Primitivism, Expressionism, Neo-Classicism, etc.)."[38]

Beyond artistic lineage: the "exceptional woman" self-fashioning by Nadia Boulanger and Grażyna Bacewicz

Bacewicz belonged to the generation of composers who began their careers in interwar Poland and thus remained under the intellectual influence of Karol Szymanowski (1882–1937). The renowned Polish composer was wholeheartedly dedicated to spreading his idea of a new Polish music, a style that would be modern yet timeless, and cosmopolitan yet distinctly

[36] Grażyna Bacewicz, draft responses to an unknown survey, accessed January 28, 2024, https://bacewicz.polmic.pl/en/composer/.
[37] Cohen, "Introduction: Toward a Historiography of Modernism in Migration," 11.
See also: Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (University of Chicago Press, 2000); Elizabeth Bergman Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Nancy Perloff, *Art and the Everyday: Popular Entertainment and the Circle of Erik Satie* (Oxford University Press, 1991).
[38] Ibid., 8.

Polish.[39] As the chancellor of the Warsaw Conservatory in the early thirties, he encouraged young composers to travel to France and seek alternatives to German-derived aesthetic idioms. Following her graduation in 1932, Bacewicz—like many composers of her time, Polish or otherwise—moved to Paris to study composition with Nadia Boulanger, who was twenty-two years her senior and remained the only woman teacher Bacewicz ever worked with.[40] Bacewicz stayed in Paris for almost a year to study with Boulanger between 1932 and 1933. Also a violinist, she came back for a few months in 1934 to prepare for the first Henryk Wieniawski International Violin Competition, which took place in 1935. In 1939, she travelled to Paris again to attend a concert presenting her own works at the École Normale de Musique on April 26, 1939, and she stayed in the city until that summer.[41] Bacewicz was a member of the Association of Young Polish Musicians in Paris, a group that provided mutual support to performers and composers staying in Paris (some of whom ended up moving to France permanently) and facilitated the circulation of music by the association's composer members both in France and in Poland.

If Bacewicz remained under the ideological influence of Szymanowski in his quest for rebuilding Polish musical culture after more than a century of foreign occupation, in stylistic terms, engaging with the French school meant abandoning Szymanowski's neoromantic idiom. Under Boulanger's influence, Bacewicz begun to clarify her individual compositional style, later known primarily for its bold motivic work, energetic rhythms, folk references, and an artful blend of classical forms with occasional avant-garde sonoristic experimentation, especially in the last years of her life. In present-day Poland, Bacewicz is considered to be the

[39] After Poland regained political sovereignty in 1918, Polish composers and critics widely debated concepts of national belonging, modernity, and cosmopolitanism with regards to Polish new music. See: Thomas, *Polish music after Szymanowski*, 5–8; Vest, *Awangarda*, 11–13.
[40] While the majority of Boulanger's students were American, Polish composers were one of several non-Western groups, next to composers from South America, Turkey, India, and Czech Republic.
[41] While in Paris, she also studied violin with André Touret. After the war, Bacewicz visited Paris again, for example in 1946 she toured France as a violinist.

most noteworthy local representative of neoclassicism in music. Her music also exemplifies the ways in which the Polish neoclassicist idiom overlapped with, and varied from, its French origins. The strong presence of the young generation of composers in Paris in the twenties and thirties (studying not only with Boulanger, but also with Paul Dukas and Vincent d'Indy) translated into significant French influences, primarily Stravinsky's and Boulanger's, in Polish compositions.[42] That said, neoclassicism in Poland had its own cultural context and "was by no means a mere reflection of the tendencies dominant in French music or in the music of Stravinsky. […] There was […] no introductory phase of neoclassicism in Poland with the aesthetic characteristics of *Les Six*."[43]

Instead, as Zofia Helman argues in *Neoclassicism in Polish Music of the Twentieth Century*, the intellectual movement that challenged German hegemony in European music was already popularized in Poland by Karol Szymanowski. It was a given for the young generation studying composition in newly independent Poland that re-establishing a national artistic idiom after over a century of partitions (1795–1918) should be a priority for every artist. For that reason, as Helman notes, music written by Polish composers in the thirties was brimming with "folkloric-national" tendencies, which became the leading characteristics of the early phase of Polish neoclassicism. Moreover, the timeline of neoclassicism's presence in Polish musical culture differed from that in Western Europe. Neoclassicism's "greatest intensity" in Poland, that is, the period in which "the most representative and mature works" were written, occurred in the first postwar decade, whereas the peak of neoclassicism in Western Europe is usually dated to the last prewar decade.[44] In Poland, the interwar period "most often coincided with the beginning of the creative path [of neoclassicists]. […] Some

[42] Helman, *Neoklasycyzm*, 55.
[43] Ibid., 63. "nie był bynajmniej niesamodzielnym odbiciem tendencji dominujących w muzyce francuskiej czy w muzyce Strawińskiego. […] Nie było […] w Polsce fazy wstępnej neoklasycyzmu z estetyką właściwą Grupie Sześciu." (My translation.)
[44] Ibid., 50. "największe nasilenie tych tendencji […], dzieła najpełniej je reprezentujące i dojrzałe." (My translation.)

of them were just beginning to make a name for themselves in the musical world, others were literally taking their first steps."[45]

Additionally, as Helman explains, neoclassicism was particularly popular in Poland between 1949 and 1954 because of this period's strict political regime and the censorship imposed by the communist apparatus.[46] Although officially neoclassicism, together with other modernist movements, was condemned as formalistic and asocial, in reality the "national-folk" music aesthetic with clear harmonic structure offered composers a way around censorship without fully compromising their artistic authenticity.[47] Due to the imposition of socialist realism in Poland, neoclassicism's local expression between 1949 and 1954 "was an expression of a 'modernist' attitude, and the means considered 'typical' already before the war were now treated as 'harmonic experiments.'"[48] This was the case despite the fact that at the same time, neoclassicism "was becoming played-out in the West" and "its previous representatives, headed by Stravinsky, were changing their expressive in search of newer, more radical systems."[49]

The course of Bacewicz's individual career overlapped with the abovementioned timeframe of neoclassicism's development in Poland. Witold Lutosławski calls her signature

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[45] Ibid., 66. "Okres dwudziestolecia najczęściej zbiegał się z początkiem drogi twórczej przedstawicieli neoklasycyzmu polskiego. Niektórzy z nich dopiero zaczynali zdobywać sobie renomę w świecie muzycznym, inni wręcz stawiali pierwsze kroki." (My translation.)

[46] To see a detailed discussion of the politics of socialist realism in Polish music during that time, see Chapter Four.

[47] As explained by Helman, during that time, "many works were created in this trend, marked by a modern approach to texture and rhythm, harmony, sound colors and creativity in processing folk material (Lutosławski's *Silesian Triptych*, Wiechowicz's *Kasia*, Malawski's *Wierchy* and others). Folk motifs were also introduced into orchestral and chamber forms, which, after all, was characteristic of Polish neoclassicism from the beginning." ("w tym nurcie powstało wiele utworów odznaczających się nowoczesnością ujęcia faktury i rytmu, harmonii, kolorystyki dźwiękowej i pomysłowością w przetwarzaniu materiału ludowego (*Tryptyk śląski* Lutosławskiego, *Kasia* Wiechowicza, *Wierchy* Malawskiego i in.). Motywy ludowe wprowadzano też do form orkiestrowych i kameralnych, co wszakże od początku było cechą znamienną dla polskiego neoklasycyzmu.") (My translation.)

An example of that was Bacewicz's 4th String Quartet.

[48] Helman, *Neoklasycyzm,* 74.

[49] Ibid. "W latach, gdy kierunek ten […] przeżywał się na Zachodzie, gdy jego dotychczasowi reprezentanci ze Strawińskim na czele zmieniali środki warsztatowe poszukując nowszych, radykalniejszych systemów, w Polsce był wyrazem postawy 'modernistycznej,' zaś środki uważane już przed wojną za 'typowe,' traktowane były obecnie jako 'eksperymenty harmoniczne.'" (My translation.)

piece, *Concerto for String Orchestra* (1948), "arguably the pinnacle of the 'material' period of Grażyna's oeuvre."[50] Lutosławski's assessment not only speaks to the chronology of Bacewicz's career—the 1948 piece was indeed a breakthrough—but it is also a comment on the type of compositional aesthetic Bacewicz became most known for. By calling the *Concerto'*s style "material," Lutosławski links the vitality and the motoric and energetic nature of Bacewicz's music to Paul Hindemith's *Neue Sachlichkeit* (new objectivity) style, in which music is based solely on its structure and sound and is not meant to express extramusical ideas. Bacewicz generally echoed Hindemith's (and Stravinsky's) belief in music's self-sufficiency. She was known for a pragmatic approach to the compositional process and believed that "music does not express any ordinary, life feelings," but "simply expresses itself and its own emotions."[51] That said, *Gebrauchsmusik*'s associations with popular music and machines did not necessarily draw interest from Polish neoclassicists, who instead turned towards neoclassicism's elitist side—its promises of music's autonomy and ennoblement. Helman connects such approaches back to Polish composers' sense of duty to create and cultivate a Polish national tradition, a sentiment that Bacewicz shared. Neoclassical composer and music critic Stefan Kisielewski (who was also Bacewicz's friend) spoke in favor of autonomous art in 1936, saying that "it is the 'beyond-utilitarian' art that attains the highest value and creates the most noble national traditions" and that therefore "the only social role of the artist is to create good, valuable art."[52]

[50] Witold Lutoslawski, "Wspomnienie o Grażynie Bacewicz" ["Memory About Grażyna Bacewicz"], *Ruch Muzyczny* 7, 1969, quoted in Małgorzata Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1999), 149. "Koncert na smyczki jest prawdopodobnie szczytowym punktem 'rzeczowego' okresu twórczości Grażyny, który encyklopedie kwitują spłaszczającym określeniem 'neoklasyczny.'" (My translation.)
[51] Stefan Kisielewski, "Rozmowa z Grażyną Bacewiczówną" ["Conversation with Grażyna Bacewiczówna"], *Tygodnik Powszechny* no. 9 (1960): 5, quoted in Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz,*149. "Muzyka nie wyraża żadnych uczuć normalnych, życiowych. Wyraża po prostu siebie i swoje własne emocje." (My translation.)
[52] Helman, *Neoklasycyzm*, 61. "Istniała świadomość—jak pisał Kisielewski—iż to właśnie sztuka 'poza utylitarna' staje się najwyższą wartością i tworzy najszczytniejsze tradycje narodowe. W rezultacie 'jedyną społeczną rolą artysty jest tworzyć dobrą, wartościową sztukę.'"

While Bacewicz remains Poland's most notable neoclassicist, many of her peers—for example, Bolesław Woytowicz (1899–1980), Michał Spisak (1914–1965), Aleksander Tansman (1897–1986), Antoni Szałowski (1907–1973), Roman Maciejewski (1910–1998), Piotr Perkowski (1901–1990), Zygmunt Mycielski (1907–1987), Tadeusz Szeligowski, Roman Palester (1907–1989), Stefan Kisielewski (1911–1991), and Szymon Laks (1901–1983)—learned the foundations for the neoclassicist idiom in Paris just as Bacewicz did, many of them from Boulanger. In that sense, studies with Boulanger were a shared generational experience among Polish neoclassicists and her role for Polish musical culture remained significant even decades later. As a valued and respected Parisian teacher of several young Polish composers in the interwar era, Boulanger came to be perceived as "a life-line to the musical and diplomatic world at large" by many composers living in war-consumed Warsaw, and eventually as a symbol of international prestige and "selfless dedication and the aesthetic even-handedness that the Polish musical milieu had come to see as its calling card within Europe and the world at large" after the war.[53] As Andrea Bohlman and J. Mackenzie Pierce note,

> Boulanger's unprecedented agency within the Polish musical milieu drew in equal parts on her musical, diplomatic, and interpersonal acumen. Likewise, her focus on musical aesthetics […] kept her disengaged from any critique of the political realities of everyday life under state socialism, from which the Union also worked to distance itself.[54]

Indeed, part of Boulanger's allure for Polish composers was her outsider status—in the sense that she positioned herself outside of and beyond the local political contexts of new composition—combined with a sense of nostalgia and familiarity with a relationship that "had

[53] Andrea F. Bohlman and J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Friend and Force: Nadia Boulanger's Presence in Polish Musical Culture," in *Nadia Boulanger and Her World*, ed. Jeanice Brooks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 236.
[54] Ibid., 249

begun decades earlier as a modest promise of entrée into the Paris musical scene for young students."[55] As Bohlman and Pierce explain,

> by the height of the Cold War, not only had [Boulanger's] "Polish family" grown by dozens, but this matriarch had become a metonym for a broader set of values, standing in for composers' desire for international prestige, their search for foreign cultural capital, and their hope that avant-garde music could be both cutting-edge and relevant.[56]

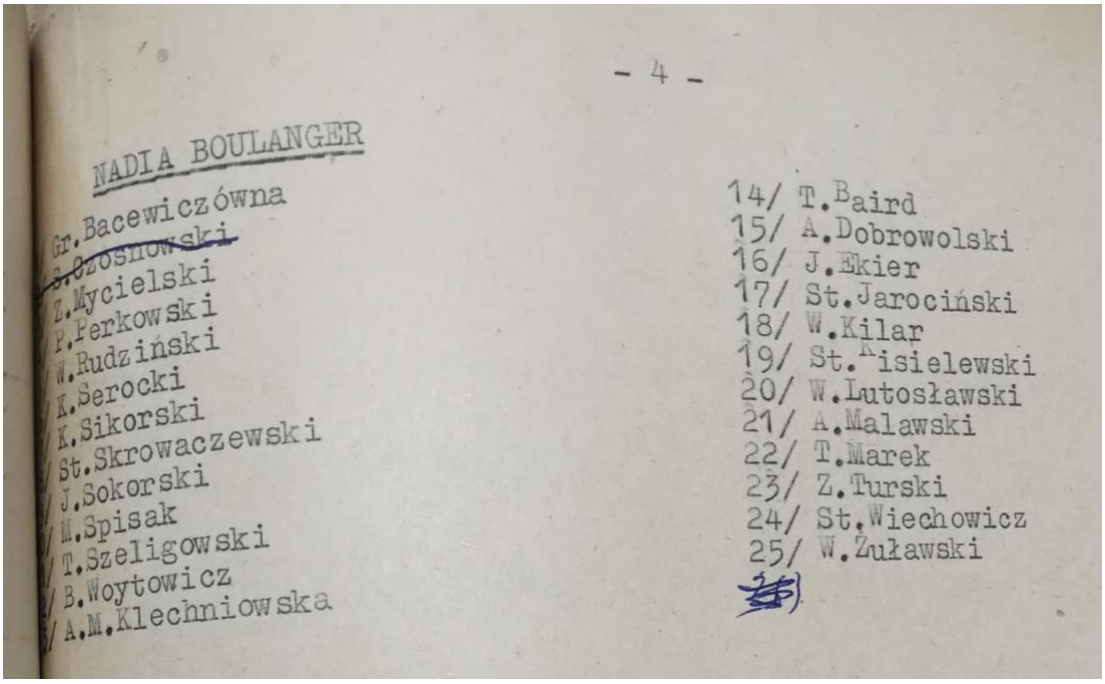
An event that testifies to Boulanger's unique esteem and popularity within Polish musical culture was her highly celebrated first post-war visit to Poland during the first Warsaw Autumn Festival in 1956. Before the festival was launched, composers' mobility across the Iron Curtain was extremely limited. Boulanger's visit was therefore a significant event to Bacewicz and her colleagues in the union. Archival documents reveal an abundance of foreign delegations (usually comprising composers, conductors, and musicologists from a given country) that were invited to attend the festival: a total of twenty-six countries, including eighteen from outside of the communist bloc.[57] "A draft participant list for the foreign delegation meetings" ("Projekt listy uczestników spotkań z delegacjami zagranicznymi") from the Polish Composers' Union archive includes a list of members who were delegated to welcome and look after each country's delegation—usually from five to fifteen people per delegation. The document includes a separate category, not dedicated to a country-specific delegation, but rather to an individual: Nadia Boulanger. As many as twenty-four composers and critics from the Polish Composers' Union were anxious to be part of Boulanger's welcome committee, nineteen of whom Boulanger had taught in Paris. Among them was Grażyna

[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] ZKP, "I Warszawska Jesień. Korespondencja z gośćmi z zagranicy i zespołami, plan koncertów, sprawozdanie z festiwalu. 1956" ["1st Warsaw Autumn Festival. Correspondence with foreign guests and ensembles, concert schedule, festival report. 1956"], page 4.

Bacewicz, the only woman on the list besides composer Anna Maria Klechniowska (see Figure 1).[58]

[58] Bohlman and Pierce, "Friend and Force," 229–230.

Figure 1. List of Polish Composers' Union members assigned to Nadia Boulanger's welcome committee during the 1st "Warsaw Autumn" Festival in 1956. ZKP, "I Warszawska Jesień. Korespondencja z gośćmi z zagranicy i zespołami, plan koncertów, sprawozdanie z festiwalu. 1956" ["1st Warsaw Autumn Festival. Correspondence with foreign guests and ensembles, concert schedule, festival report. 1956"], page 4.



- 4 -

NADIA BOULANGER

Gr.Bacewiczówna
[illegible]ski
Z.Mycielski
P.Perkowski
W.Rudziński
K.Serocki
K.Sikorski
St.Skrowaczewski
J.Sokorski
M.Spisak
T.Szeligowski
B.Woytowicz
A.M.Klechniowska

14/ T.Baird
15/ A.Dobrowolski
16/ J.Ekier
17/ St.Jarociński
18/ W.Kilar
19/ St.[illegible]isielewski
20/ W.Lutosławski
21/ A.Malawski
22/ T.Marek
23/ Z.Turski
24/ St.Wiechowicz
25/ W.Żuławski

The warm feelings were mutual. As reported in the Polish Composers' Union newsletter, Boulanger said during her visit: "My Polish students are like a large family among whom I now arrive with joy. I feel at home among them. Over the course of these meetings, the years fall away and the old Parisian memories return."[59]

Previous analyses of the Bacewicz-Boulanger relationship have not gone beyond the context of Boulanger's overall relations with her Polish students discussed above and the role that Boulanger played in Polish musical culture more broadly—in particular, how her visits to Warsaw in the fifties and sixties constituted a form of cultural diplomacy in the Cold War era.[60] As Kimberly Francis explains in her work on Boulanger and Stravinsky, Boulanger's prolific position outside of France—both in Europe and in North America—constituted a form

[59] *Biuletyn Informacyjny Związku Kompozytorów Polskich* 3 (1956): 6, quoted in: Bohlman and Pierce, "Friend and Force," 229.
[60] See: Bohlman and Pierce, "Friend and Force," 229–253; Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska, "Nadia Boulanger and Her Role in Polish Music—in the Light of Zygmunt Mycielski's Writings," *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* vol. XX (2022): 38–52.

of "cultural agency," "associated with both the pursuit and possession of symbolic power."[61] As Francis notes, Boulanger's status was inextricably linked to the transnational nature of her teaching career and the cultural diplomacy she enacted on the Franco-American line. That said, if we look at Boulanger's symbolic (and at times physical) presence in the Polish postwar musical milieu, another line of cultural diplomacy—the one across the Iron Curtain—emerges as particularly pertinent. Coming from Paris and symbolizing for Polish composers their memories and ideas about Western European artistic freedom, Boulanger carried a sense of prestige. Moreover, just as with Boulanger and Stravinsky, the validation of cultural capital between Boulanger and her "Polish family" was reciprocal. As Francis explains,

> Boulanger's work as a cultural agent involved her striving to inform overarching narratives that […] subsequently validated Boulanger's cultural capital. The loyalty and devotion she demanded of alumni who studied these narratives with her was a type of feedback loop that validated the importance of her work as a cultural actor. And as Bourdieu asserts: "It is difficult to break the circle that ensures that cultural capital comes from cultural capital."[62]

While Bacewicz—as a member of the core group of Boulanger's former students—was an active participant in this feedback loop of cultural diplomacy, there is a significant research gap regarding how the role that Boulanger played for Bacewicz might have differed from the experience of Bacewicz's male colleagues. The reasons behind such a gap are diverse. There is a limited number of sources providing insight into the relationship between the two women, especially compared to the abundance of available correspondence between

[61] Kimberly A. Francis, "Introduction," in *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford Academic online edition, 2015), https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199373697.003.0001, "Boulanger and Bourdieu."
[62] Pierre Bourdieu, "Reproduction culturelle et reproduction sociale," *Social Science Information* 10, no. 2 (1971), 53, quoted in: Francis, "Introduction," https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199373697.003.0001.

Boulanger and Bacewicz's friend and colleague Zygmunt Mycielski.[63] Another reason lies in the prevailing research paradigm in Polish musicology, in which the examination of twentieth-century Polish musical culture's relationship to the West (including the topic of cultural diplomacy in the postwar era) takes primacy over the examination of gender dynamics. Therefore, Boulanger's presence in Polish musical culture has thus far mattered to scholars primarily for her cultural significance, while her role as a potential role model for women composers has not yet been explored. Moreover, to analyze Bacewicz's relationship to Boulanger separately from those of her male colleagues would destabilize the narrative trope of Bacewicz's female exceptionalism (since it relies on her belonging to the boys' club).

Finally, the fact that Boulanger's mentorship of Bacewicz has not been closely studied might also be related to the status of Boulanger as primarily a pedagogue, a "vocation" that, as Kimberly Francis notes, has been "disparaged as feminised, itself equitable to inferiority."[64] Francis observes that Boulanger has often been devalued and marginalized along the lines of a "musical midwife" metaphor, "rendering her as neither the established composer nor the composer-in-training, a reality which has marked her with the stigma of historical triviality or, to use Jeanice Brooks's description, rendered Boulanger as 'seemingly central, yet stubbornly elusive.'"[65] Boulanger's case, Francis continues, therefore points to the broader problem of limited narratives available to musicologists, who eagerly employ

> romantic narrative constructs centered on the 'great Composer.' […] It continues to entrench composers as the absolute center of any musicological inquiry, and any

[63] In recent years the relationship between Zygmunt Mycielski and Nadia Boulanger has dominated the studies of Boulanger's individual relationships with Polish composers, especially as Polish musicologists (and, in particular, Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska) have turned their attention to the project of recovering Mycielski's figure. Mycielski maintained a close friendship with Boulanger; moreover, he was significantly more fluent in French than Bacewicz and therefore a very rich body of correspondence between him and Boulanger has been left. See: Bohlman and Pierce, "Friend and Force," 229–253; Bolesławska- Lewandowska, "Nadia Boulanger and Her Role in Polish Music," 38–52; Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska, *Mycielski. Szlachectwo zobowiązuje* [*Mycielski. Nobility Obliges*] (Kraków: PWM, 2018).
[64] Francis, "Introduction," "Boulanger and Bourdieu."
[65] Ibid.

> discussion of actors who play tangential roles—roles so often filled by women—is more often relegated to the peripheries, if such discussions are incorporated at all. This myopia has directly affected Boulanger. [66]

While Francis is primarily concerned with Boulanger's perceived marginality in relationship to Stravinsky, the above analysis provides a relevant perspective on why the Bacewicz-Boulanger lineage was, paradoxically, never thoroughly examined, even though Polish composers have held Boulanger in such high esteem. If, as Lumsden describes, "attempting to trace any sort of legacy or lineage of women composers seems […] foolhardy," then it would only become even more impossible if one of them remains so "stubbornly elusive."[67]

Due to the confidential status of Bacewicz's correspondence held at the National Library in Warsaw, some aspects of the relationship between the two women cannot yet be fully explored. Considering Małgorzata Gąsiorowska's account from her 1999 book, we can only conclude that Bacewicz did not leave any direct descriptions or memoirs of her collaboration with Boulanger beyond what she included in her set of autobiographical short stories published shortly after her death under the title of *Znak Szczególny* (*The Distinguishing Mark*).[68] At the same time, Gąsiorowska emphasizes "the many years-long heartfelt exchange of letters on the occasion of various holidays or personal anniversaries."[69] Like several other Polish composers, Bacewicz remained in contact with Boulanger after the Second World War, visited Boulanger during her trips to Paris, and was involved in Boulanger's Warsaw visits arranged by the Polish Composers' Union.

Based on a surviving letter from Bacewicz to Zygmunt Mycielski from April 13, 1964, we can conclude that Bacewicz was not confident in her French, which may be why Bacewicz

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Lumsden, "'You Too Can Compose,'" [1], http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.17.23.2/mto.17.23.2.lumsden.html.
[68] Grażyna Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny* [*A Distinguishing Mark*] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1970). Also see: Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz,* 75.
[69] Ibid. "trwająca wiele lat serdeczna wymiana listów z okazji różnych świąt czy prywatnych rocznic – świadczy o tym, że była to współpraca harmonijna." (My translation.)

and Boulanger corresponded only occasionally. A few weeks after Boulanger's stay in Poland in 1964, Bacewicz wrote to Mycielski:

> Dear Zygmunt! I have a favor to ask—when you see Nadia (if you remember), please thank her from me for the score. She made the mistake of giving it to Lutos[ławski] (I told you about it), and I don't know French enough to write about it in a sufficiently light and witty form, and I don't want to offend her with some indiscretion.[70]

While the language barrier might have affected communication between the two women, Bacewicz was closely involved in organizing Boulanger's activities and meetings during her visits in Poland. Archival photographs from Boulanger's Warsaw visits testify to the friendship between the two women, showing a smiling and relaxed Bacewicz in close proximity to her mentor (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). During Boulanger's 1964 visit, Bacewicz was also selected to accompany Boulanger at a meeting at the French Embassy.[71]

[70] BN, "Listy Grażyny Bacewicz do Zygmunta Mycielskiego, 1956–1964," Grażyna Bacewicz to Zygmunt Mycielski, April 13, 1964. "Kochany Zygmuncie! Mam prośbę: – gdy zobaczysz Nadię (jeżeli będziesz pamiętał), to podziękuj jej ode mnie za partyturkę. Ona zrobiła tę omyłkę dając ją Lutosowi (mówiłam Ci o tym), a ja nie znam na tyle francuskiego, aby napisać o tym w formie dostatecznie lekkiej i dowcipnej, więc nie chcę jej urazić jakąś niezręcznością." (My translation.)
[71] Sendłak, *Bacewicz,* 194.

Figure 2. Grażyna Bacewicz (second from the left) during the meeting with Nadia Boulanger (left) at the Polish Composers' Union, 1956, photo by Dionizy Gładysz (ZKP).

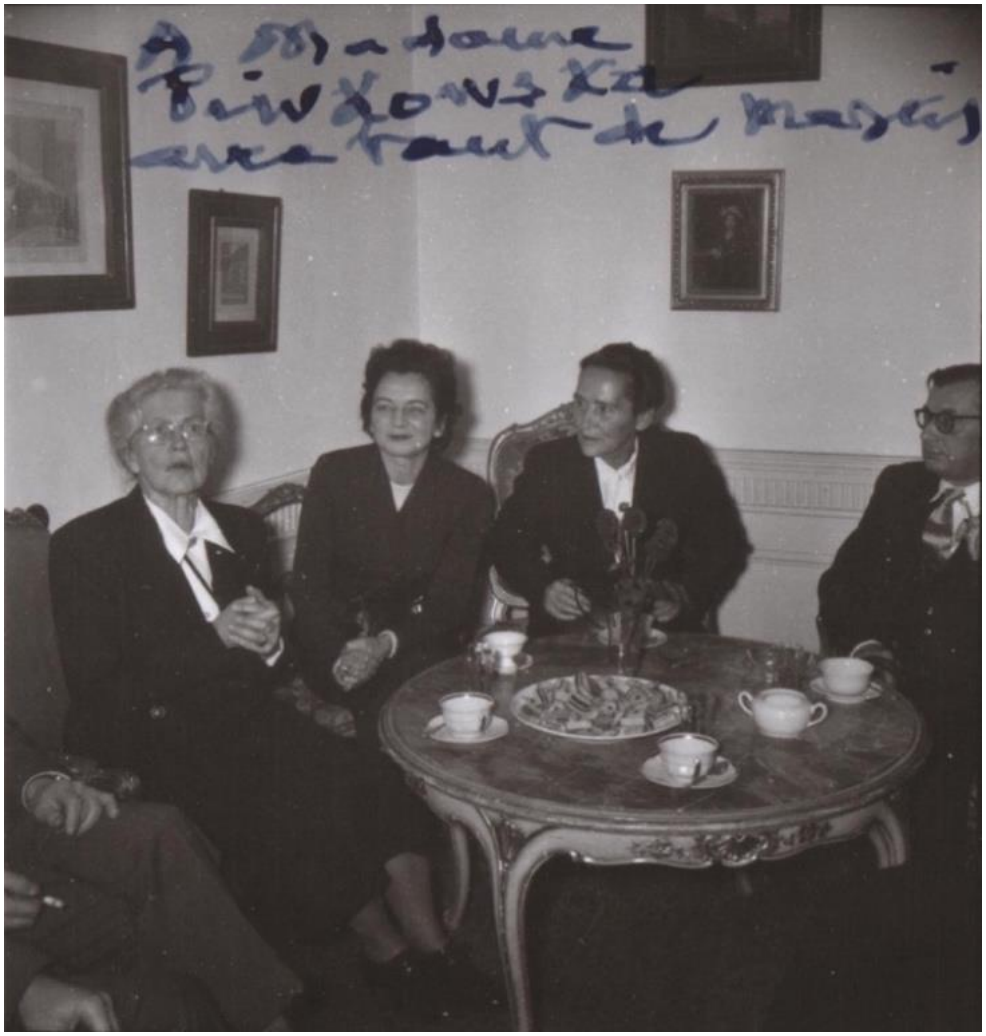

Figure 3. From the left: Grażyna Bacewicz, Kazimierz Serocki, Nadia Boulanger, and Zygmunt Mycielski, Warsaw, 1956. Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, "Obrazy – Zdjęcia," Grażyna Bacewicz, accessed June 29, 2023, https://bacewicz.polmic.pl/zdjecia.

During Bacewicz's composition lessons with Boulanger in the thirties, the Polish composer certainly had a chance to get to know her teacher on a personal level and become familiar with Boulanger's perspectives and strategies for navigating gender as a woman composer and conductor. In one of her short stories, Bacewicz quotes a conversation with Boulanger about "a woman composer's hardships."[72] Bacewicz was said to have shared with her mentor her sense of injustice related to unequal opportunities available to men and women composers, especially since domestic and childcare-related labour that often kept women from fully dedicating themselves to composing. Bacewicz also complained that while many wives would abandon their professional activity in favor of their husbands' composing careers, "it would be nonsense for a composer's husband to quit his job or take care of the housework just

[72] Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny*, 25.

because he had the misfortune of marrying a woman composer."[73] Boulanger's reaction to Bacewicz's complaints was to be uncompromising: "Grażyna, what are you saying? […] I thought you were stronger. You must not wallow in self-pity. Remember, if you want to be a real composer, there is no mercy for you."[74] As a result, Bacewicz's narrative takes a turn, and she concludes that maybe there is indeed nothing to complain about. The above dialogue illustrates how upon her entrance to Boulanger's famous compositional class, Bacewicz gained not only an opportunity to study composition, but also—for the first time in her life—an opportunity to learn how one could become a "real" composer and what prerequisites, as a woman, she had to meet. Since Boulanger assumed the role of a hardworking, unbreakable superheroine—a common strategy among successful women functioning in a traditionally male profession—she would recommend the same to Bacewicz.

Boulanger's uncompromising work ethic has been noted in several sources. For example, Bohlman and Pierce discuss Boulanger's reputation as "a selfless devotee of music":

> Commentators noted her seemingly ceaseless ability to attend every concert in the jam-packed week. Writing a color piece for the newspaper for younger readers, a journalist asked Boulanger as she passed through the lobby of the Hotel Bristol if she was going to take a rest. She replied, "A break? Never!"[75]

Bohlman and Pierce conclude that the image of hard work and extreme self-discipline surrounding Boulanger fell within the servant of music trope, which helped "critics reconcile […] her gender with the traditionally masculine work of conducting."[76] In her article "*Noble et grande servante de la musique*: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career," Jeanice Brooks echoes these remarks in her analysis of the public discourse surrounding

[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid. Due to the fictionalized nature of the collection, the exact date of the conversation is unknown. Bacewicz's first studies in Paris with Nadia Boulanger took place in the early thirties (around 1932–1933), but the recalled conversation could just as well have taken place during the composers' meetings in later years.
[75] Bohlman and Pierce, "Friend and Force," 239–240.
[76] Ibid.

Boulanger as a woman conductor in France in the twenties and thirties. Brooks reports how one of the newspaper articles at the time compared her to a priest and a servant of music, thereby erasing her gender and sexuality, personal ambition, or need for control. Instead, an emphasis was placed on the image of music's servant, or one who was merely a medium through which (autonomous) pieces of music are expressed.[77] Brooks notes that

> virtually all subsequent discourse between Boulanger, her public and the press was devoted to projecting images […] of Boulanger the servant of music. […] Accounts of her physical appearance, of her beliefs about women's role in society, and of her demeanor and style on and off the conductor's podium were shaped to support [this] idea.[78]

Bacewicz's self-fashioning and the way she was portrayed by Polish music critics were by no means identical to language about Boulanger in early and mid-twentieth century. For instance, Bacewicz openly expressed her ambition and drive as a composer. That said, there is a striking similarity between Boulanger's strict standards regarding discipline (e.g. "never taking a break"), and Bacewicz's recurring emphasis on her exceptional pace of work. Both women attributed their artistic achievements to an almost super-human effort and extraordinary work ethic. In another of her short stories, Bacewicz explained that the reason she—as a woman, wife, and mother—could work as a professional composer, was her innate ability to work very fast. She explained that:

> Nature, having graciously endowed me with an aptitude for composition, has also equipped me with […] a small, invisible motor which allows me to do in ten minutes what takes others an hour to do. Thanks to this, I run instead of walk. I can write fifteen letters in half an hour. My pulse beats faster than other people's. My mother even gave birth to

[77] As noted by Brooks, "the critical stance adopted by Boulanger's reviewers and endorsed by Boulanger herself was tenable only in a musical culture that believed in the autonomy of the musical work." See: Jeanice Brooks, "Noble Et Grande Servante De La Musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career," *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (1996): 112.
[78] Ibid., 94.

> me only seven months into her pregnancy. […] A woman with composing abilities can be a serious composer, can marry, have children, travel, have adventures, and so on, on the condition she is in possession of this little motor. If, on the other hand, she does not have one, she needn't bother trying.[79]

In a similar vein, in a 1947 letter to her brother Vytautas, Bacewicz wrote:

> I have a completely different pace of life than everyone around me, that is, I do everything faster than others, and everyone who surrounds me irritates me constantly with their slowness. However, this has good sides as well, because, for example, I can write a large piece in two weeks. Sikorski [Kazimierz Sikorski, Bacewicz's first composition teacher] knows about this, he asks me sometimes when we meet 'well, how many symphonies did you write today?'[80]

Bacewicz's mother Maria Modlińska noted in her diary in 1952 that her daughter would often say "I must leave a lot [of music]—I must hurry."[81] According to Joanna Sendłak, Bacewicz "wrote on the go, after concerts, at night. She worked fast and relentlessly, as if racing against time, which—as she had sensed […]—she would not have much of."[82] These remarks made by both Bacewicz and her mother imply that, for Bacewicz, the ability to work quickly was tied to her sense of identity as a working woman.

There is therefore a clear overlap between Boulanger's and Bacewicz's respective practices of self-fashioning as hardworking and exceptional women. Both expressed a belief that pursuing the highest possible standards of self-discipline was a necessity for a woman

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[79] Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny,* 25–26.

[80] Grażyna Bacewicz to Witold Bacewicz (Vytautas Bacevičius), August 30, 1947, *Ruch Muzyczny* 1994 no. 1, quoted in Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 156. "ja mam zupełnie inne tempo życia niż wszyscy naokoło mnie, to znaczy robię wszystko prędzej niż inni i wszyscy, którzy mnie otaczają, drażnią mnie stale swoją powolnością. Ma to jednak i dobre strony, bo np. potrafię napisać duży utwór w dwa tygodnie. Sikorski wie o tym, pyta mnie czasem, gdy się spotkamy – no, ileś dziś symfonii napisała?" (My translation.)

[81] Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 129. From Maria Modlińska diary. "wciąż powtarza: 'muszę dużo po sobie zostawić – musze się spieszyć.'" (My translation.)

Currently, the access to the journal is restricted and is only granted to family members. Selected excerpts have been quoted in Joanna Sendłak's books.

[82] Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 129. "[P]isała w biegu, po koncertach, nocami. Pracowała szybko i nieustannie, jakby ścigała się z czasem, którego, jak przeczuwała, […] wiele nie będzie miała." (My translation.)

composer. Later in her life, Bacewicz also directly expressed her admiration for the perseverance and physical strength that Boulanger demonstrated while visiting Poland. In her letters to Tadeusz Ochlewski from March 23, and April 2, 1964, Bacewicz reported:

> Nadia Boulanger rushed into Warsaw like a hurricane—she is currently out and about with you in Kraków, and from Friday we will have her in Warsaw again. She is an amazing woman, still full of strength and vigor. It's a pity that her arrival coincided with the holiday season because many colleagues are not in Warsaw. […] Her vitality is astonishing.[83]

To her brother Vytautas, Bacewicz wrote of Boulanger, who was seventy-seven at the time: "She is an old woman, yet she is never tired and always full of energy. It's scary!"[84]

For both Bacewicz's and Boulanger's, self-fashioning as proud, strong, hard-working, and dedicated—that is, as exceptional—women helped neutralize the underlying cognitive dissonance between society's imagined ideal gender equity society, and the reality of being working women composers. As with Bacewicz, "Boulanger's contemporaries saw and understood her through a perceived anomaly, between her gender and the work she aimed to do as a professional musician."[85] Within that logic, the fact that a woman "simply" needs to do more and work faster—and must always give a hundred and fifty percent—is a "natural" state, not a sign of inequity. Considering Virginia Woolf's remarks from 1929 about female authors, Marcia Citron concludes in *Gender and the Musical Canon* that a woman composer has limited options for easing this tension between herself and the existing (male) tradition. She can either claim recognition as a composer by dissociating herself from gender altogether

[83] ANK, PWM archive, folder 149, pages 71–73. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, March 23 and April 2, 1964. "Nadia Boulanger wpadła do Warszawy, jak huragan--obecnie 'szaleje' u Was w Krakowie, a od piątku znowu będziemy ja mieli w Warszawie. To niesamowita 'babka'—ciągle pełna sił i wigoru. Szkoda, że jej przyjazd wypadł w okresie świątecznym, bo wielu kolegów nie ma w Warszawie. […] Jej żywotność jest zadziwiająca." (My translation.)

[84] Grażyna Bacewicz to Vytautas Bacewicz, 1964, quoted in Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 194.
"To stara kobieta, a nigdy nie zmęczona i zawsze pełna sił. Aż strach!"

[85] Jeanice Brooks, *Nadia Boulanger and Her World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), xiii.

and, therefore, "marking herself as different from what patriarchy considered inferior […], marking herself off from other female composers and women in general," or she can acknowledge her gender and therefore risk becoming a "second category" composer who, as such, may only occasionally prove to be "as good as man."[86] Boulanger's and Bacewicz's advertising of their impeccable standards and work ethics therefore served to neutralize the perceived anomaly and demonstrate that they deserved of their places in the male professional circle and male tradition.

Archival photographs provide visual confirmation that Boulanger and Bacewicz belonged to their respective male professional circles, while presenting the very tangible "anomaly" of that belonging. Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7 demonstrate that both Boulanger and Bacewicz were repeatedly the only (or one of very few) women in rooms or at tables full of male composers. Indeed, in the opening of her 2020 book *Nadia Boulanger and Her World,* Jeanice Brooks recognizes that a recurring theme in the history of Boulanger's career was that "very frequently, she is the only woman in the image."[87] Brooks notes that

> when leafing through the metaphorical photo album of Nadia Boulanger's career—the many pictures taken to commemorate particular moments in her long professional life in music—it is hard not to be struck by her singularity.[88]

For example, in a photo of contestants for the 1908 Prix de Rome (Figure 4),

> Boulanger occupies a central position sitting upright and looking directly at the camera […] [while] male counterparts self-consciously smoke, read newspapers, and adopt elaborately casual attitudes. [Boulanger's] light-colored blouse stands out from her colleagues' dark coats like a spotlight calling attention to the anomaly of her presence.[89]

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[86] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 68.
[87] Brooks, *Nadia Boulanger and Her World*, vii.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
For the story of Boulanger's prize in the 1908 Prix du Rome see: Annegret Fauser, "'La Guerre En Dentelles': Women and the 'Prix de Rome' in French Cultural Politics," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 1 (1998): 83–129.

"Nearly thirty years later," Brooks continues, "a formal picture of the French committee of the International Society for Contemporary Music, taken in spring 1937 during deliberations over the French nominations for that year's ISCM festival," (Figure 5) again "shows Boulanger […] as the lone female member of a group […] with her male colleagues Arthur Honegger, Arthur Hoérée, Albert Roussel, Henry Prunières, and Darius Milhaud."[90]

Figure 4. Nadia Boulanger with other contestants for the Prix de Rome in 1908. Boulanger received the Second Grand Prix. Brooks, *Nadia Boulanger and Her World*, viii.

[90] Ibid., ix.

Figure 5. ISCM French committee meeting, March 1937. Brooks, *Nadia Boulanger and Her World*, viii.

Even though Boulanger and Bacewicz were separated by a whole generation, the archive reveals a striking similarity between photos of Bacewicz in professional contexts and those of her French teacher. In a photograph taken at the Polish Composers' Union Assembly in 1952, Bacewicz stands in the first row, smiling but visibly shy, surrounded by a group of approximately twenty men and only one other woman, Zofia Lissa, who glances at the camera with a slightly nonchalant look (Figure 6). Over a decade later, a camera captured laughing and confident Bacewicz at a joyful social gathering with her male colleagues from the Polish Composers' Union during the official visit of Igor Stravinsky (Figure 7). The overall mood of the photo is very relaxed. Bacewicz looks comfortable as one of the composers included in

the immediate circle surrounding Stravinsky--surely reserved to the most esteemed members of the union. Yet, quoting after Brooks, it is hard not to be struck by her singularity.[91]

Figure 6. Polish Composers' Union General Assembly, 1952. Bacewicz is fourth from the left in the front row. The other woman in the photo is Zofia Lissa. Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, "Obrazy – Zdjęcia," *Grażyna Bacewicz,* accessed June 29, 2023, https://bacewicz.polmic.pl/zdjecia.

[91] I thank Lisa Cooper Vest for pointing out that there is, in fact, another woman in the photo. She is sitting right behind the men, third left. Unfortunately, to date, I was not able to determine her identity.

Figure 7. Igor Stravinsky's visit to the Polish Composers' Union, 1965. Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, "Obrazy – Zdjęcia," *Grażyna Bacewicz,* accessed June 29, 2023, https://bacewicz.polmic.pl/zdjecia.

What ultimately sustained the status quo in both Boulanger's and Bacewicz's cases was the narrative that, despite the striking visual evidence in the photographs presented above, musical creativity had nothing to do with gender; if one woman did it, any woman could do it. Boulanger and Bacewicz supported that philosophy themselves. A *New York World Telegram* journalist reported in 1939 that Nadia Boulanger believed "sex, like age, makes no difference in music" and quoted her as saying, "What is important is the music and the quality of the playing," and that "men or women, old or young, tall or short, thin or fat, it makes no difference."[92] To another journalist, Boulanger said, "I've been a woman for a little over 50

[92] Brooks, "Noble Et Grande Servante De La Musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career," 103.

years and have gotten over my initial astonishment. As for conducting, that's a job. I don't think sex plays much part."[93]

Bacewicz similarly diminished the role of gender in her own life and career. In her biographical set of short stories *Znak Szczególny* (*The Distinguishing Mark*), already mentioned above, Bacewicz demonstrated her conviction that women's compositional skills are equal to those of men. For that reason, she refused to refer to herself as a "woman composer."[94] In the book, whenever Bacewicz describes an experience involving ignorant or outdated behavior towards her as a professional woman composer, her tone is unbeaten, almost triumphant. Bacewicz was undoubtedly proud of her artistic achievements in themselves, but she was also proud that they proved her abilities to be equal to those of men. To her, biased comments were no more than an opportunity to reinforce her sense of accomplishment and progressiveness. For example, when Bacewicz reveals in one of her anecdotes that as a composer she would occasionally be taken for a man, her tone suggests that on a certain level she takes such assumptions as a compliment and marker of the high quality of her music:

> The best thing to do is hold your peace. […] I could not have defended myself against the notable critic who wrote, "It is a well-known fact that behind Grażyna Bacewicz stands a man who ghost writes all of her compositions." This was in Vienna. […] I thought there was no need to make a big deal over nothing. In those days I regularly received letters from conductors that opened it with "Dear Mister Bacewicz," or "Cher Monsieur Grażyna

[93] Ibid., 102. "The response to the Boston interviewer's question was reported in 'Woman Who Refused to Teach George Gershwin First of Sex to Conduct Boston Philharmonic,' *New York Sun*, 15 February 1938. The interviewer from the Christian Science Monitor, 9 February 1938, reported Boulanger as saying, 'When I stand up to conduct I do not think whether I am a man or a woman. I do my job. I was born so, and it does not astonish me.' Whether this less polished version came from the same interview as the one described by the *Sun* reporter (who may have reworked Boulanger's words to make better copy) or whether it represents an earlier stage of a quip that Boulanger found she could use successfully is not clear. Since the interviews could not have been taped, it is possible that neither represents exactly what Boulanger said." See: Brooks, "Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting Career," 102.
[94] Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny,* (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1970).

> Bacewicz." I treasure those letters; they bear witness to my music having made its way into the world by itself.[95]

In 1950, a bank in Brussels refused to cash Bacewicz's cheque since it did not include a signature from Bacewicz's husband. As Belgian and Polish laws were strikingly different in that regard, Bacewicz remembers being taken by surprise and left "speechless."[96] She recalls saying, "What does my husband have to do with it? This money is mine, not my husband's."[97] Here, Bacewicz adds, "To reiterate, this was taking place in Anno Domini 1950."[98] This emphasis implies Bacewicz's impatience and irritation with the place and people involved in the situation, as if they were too backward for her, and too slow to reach the modern standards that Bacewicz expected.

Bacewicz makes a similar comment in the context of another anecdote about her trip to Spain. She travelled with a group of male colleagues from the Polish Composers' Union on a boat from Barcelona to a music festival in Majorca. She quickly attracted the unsolicited attention of her fellow Spanish travellers, local women, who seemed shocked and confused that Bacewicz was travelling without a female supervisor (mother, aunt, or nanny) and therefore assumed Bacewicz was a sex worker. In response, Bacewicz "asked them if they had forgotten in which century they were living. They did not understand."[99] Here, yet again, Bacewicz underscores the old-fashioned nature of her interlocutors' beliefs about gender. It is important to note that these examples describe Bacewicz's experiences during her travels to Western European countries (e.g. Belgium, Austria, Spain). In the political context of the Cold War, Bacewicz's narrative—contrasting her own progressiveness with the biases she encountered—indirectly sets up a comparison between gender norms in the Eastern Bloc and

[95] Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny*, 38.
[96] Ibid., 102.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 54.

in the West. While we do not know whether that reading was Bacewicz's intention, her stories undoubtedly aligned with official ideology in Poland and other Eastern Bloc states at the time, according to which the communist East had "solved" the problem of gender inequity and was therefore superior to the capitalist West.

Since the above anecdotes come from Bacewicz's self-authored set of short stories meant for publication, they are undeniably an element of how the composer intentionally constructed her image. While we cannot be certain for which other goals and larger self-fashioning narratives Bacewicz intended this book to serve, the remaining fragments of the composer's correspondence with Taduesz Ochlewski reveal Bacewicz's pride and excitement about the book. In a letter from June 18, 1962, she shared with her friend:

> My book is growing! Shall I send you the part already written or not? Or did you think I was joking with the book? I swear I'm not! It consists of short stories (genuine facts) more or less related to each other. Of course, everything is about musicians or about music. Each piece will be illustrated with a small drawing (black and white).[100]

In response, Ochlewski challenges Bacewicz to include more of her personal, subjective perspective on the described events, something that she supposedly promised the reader in the preface to her draft:

> Dear Grażyna, I return the typescript of your memoirs, thanking you for the opportunity to familiarize myself with them. I will give you a better presentation of my remarks at the next opportunity, now, in the meantime, at least in a nutshell: from these fragments of your memoirs, we do not at all get to know you from your "bad" side, as you announce in the preface. You are, after all, only a witness to events, a narrator, clearly hiding your face. We expect from such a great artist as Grażyna Bacewicz, when she writes about

[100] ANK, PWM archive, folder 146, p. 23-24. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, June 18, 1962. "[M]oja książka rośnie! Czy przesłać Ci część już napisana, czy nie? […] A może sądziłeś, że ja żartuję z ta książką? Słowo daję, że nie! Składa się ona z krótkich opowiadań (fakty autentyczne) mniej, czy więcej ze sobą związanych. Oczywiście wszystko o muzykach albo o muzyce. Każdy kawałek będzie zilustrowany małym rysuneczkiem (czarno-białym)." (My translation.)

herself, something from her own events, experiences. This is some, but not enough. […] Let me advise you to get another opinion. You understand perfectly well that our friendship obligates me to sincerely express my opinion, even if presently mistaken. Very cordial greetings and please, do not get angry with me.[101]

Ochlewski's response raises questions about the level of authenticity and genuineness found in the stories, at least in the initial draft. Bacewicz was writing her book in the sixties; therefore, she recreated many of the stories in retrospect, often several years after the fact.[102] The exact start and end dates for the project are unknown, but the above letter to Ochlewski from 1962 implies that it was a recent development at the time. There is no way of knowing whether Bacewicz's described reactions in relation to gender conventions were accurate representations of how she had reacted in the moment, or rather represent her evaluation of the situation in retrospect, or both. But how Bacewicz wanted her audience to remember her through these stories is in fact more important than the actual events. The self-image she maintains in and through these stories speaks to her beliefs and values regarding gender being a non-issue.

As emphasized in several published testimonies from Bacewicz's friends and colleagues, including Witold Lutosławski, "the fact that commentators constantly distinguished between men- and women- composers immensely irritated Grażyna."[103] In a

[101] ANK, PWM archive, folder 146, p. 29. Tadeusz Ochlewski to Grażyna Bacewicz, unknown date. "Kochana Grażyno, zwracam maszynopis Twoich wspominek, dziękując za możność zaznajomienia się z nimi. Przy sposobności lepiej przedstawię Ci moje zastrzeżenia, teraz, tymczasem chociażby błyskawicznie: z tych Twoich fragmentów wspomnień wcale nie poznajemy Ciebie z tej 'złej' strony, jak to zapowiadasz w motto. Jesteś przecież tylko świadkiem zdarzeń, narratorem, wyraźnie ukrywając Swoje oblicze. Oczekujemy od tak wielkiego artysty jakim jest Grażyna Bacewicz, gdy pisze o sobie, czegoś z własnych zdarzeń, przeżyć. To jest trochę, lecz za mało. […] Pozwól mi poradzić Ci zdobyć inna jeszcze opinie. Doskonale rozumiesz, że nasza przyjaźń zobowiązuje do szczerego wypowiedzenia swojego zdania, nawet aktualnie mylnego. Bardzo serdeczne pozdrowienia i prośba, abyś się na mnie nie gniewała." (My translation.)
[102] Sendłak confirms that the stories were all written in the sixties. See: Sendłak, *Bacewicz,* 211.
[103] Witold Lutosławski, a statement made during the conference: *O Grażynie Bacewicz. Materiały z Konferencji Muzykologicznej: Grażyna Bacewicz – człowiek i dzieło* [*On Grażyna Bacewicz. Proceedings of a Musicological Conference "Grażyna Bacewicz – The Woman and Her Work*"], ed. L. Zielińska, M. Gąsiorowska and R. Augustyn, Warsaw, 9th – 10th January 1989 (Poznań: Brevis, 1998), 15, quoted in Gąsiorowska, "Grażyna Bacewicz – The Polish Sappho." *Musicology Today* 16, no. 1 (December 31, 2019): 66.

letter to Tadeusz Ochlewski from 1954, Bacewicz politely yet firmly refused to become featured in a women composers concert night organized by the Polish Music Publishing House since she "did not like being paired with women." She wrote:

> Dear Tadeusz!
>
> Thank you very much for the invitation to the PWM club's [concert] night—unfortunately, I cannot come for very many reasons. First of all, I am swamped with work. […] I do not know how to—and do not like to—talk about my work, which is what a club [concert] night requires—and besides all that, I do not like being paired with women.[104]

Bacewicz further explained the differences she perceived between herself and the nineteenth-century Polish pianist and composer Maria Szymanowska, who was envisioned to be the second main figure of the night:

> Szymanowska certainly deserves a night at your club. […] But why do you want to associate her with me? She was a beautiful woman and an average composer—and I am not a beautiful woman at all (which I don't care for, anyway)—so where is the common ground? You can pair me up somewhere, sometime in the future, after the vacations, for example, with Malawski or Lutos[ławski]. […] I do not accept your concept as it is, because a night at your club should be a pleasure for me.[105]

To emphasize that her decision was final, Bacewicz ended the letter by asking "Dear Tadeusz, let's not come back to this matter again!"[106] By stressing that Szymanowska, as a "beautiful woman and an average composer," is inherently different from herself, Bacewicz once again disassociates herself from other women and marks herself as "different from what patriarchy

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[104] ANK, PWM archive, folder 138, p. 54–55. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 23 March 1954. "Kochany Tadeuszu! Dziękuję bardzo za zaproszenie na wieczór klubu PWM – niestety nie mogę przyjechać z bardzo wielu względów. Przede wszystkim jestem zawalona robotą […]. Nie umiem i nie lubię mówić o swojej pracy, czego właśnie wymaga wieczór klubowy—a poza tym wszystkim nie lubię zestawiania mnie z kobietami." (My translation.)

[105] Ibid. "Szymanowskiej jak najbardziej należy się u Was wieczór […] – ale dlaczego chcecie łączyć ja ze mną? Ona była piękną kobietą i średnim kompozytorem – a ja nie jestem wcale piękną kobietą (na czym mi nie zależy zresztą) – wiec gdzież niby ta wspólna platforma? Mnie możecie zestawić gdzieś, kiedyś w przyszłości, po wakacjach np. z Malawskim albo z Lutosem… Na waszą koncepcję nie zgadzam się, bo wieczór u Was powinien być dla mnie przyjemnością." (My translation.)

[106] Ibid. "Kochany Tadeuszu, więcej do tej sprawy nie wracajmy!" (My translation.)

considered inferior."[107] Bacewicz again positions herself as "exceptional," and perhaps even superior to other women: she not only emphasizes that she is without a doubt a better composer than Szymanowska, but also suggests that physical beauty—conventionally considered as women's prominent quality—holds no significance for her, stating, "I am not a beautiful woman at all, which I don't care about, anyway." [108]

As represented in Figures 4–7, for Boulanger and Bacewicz the status of "exceptional woman," which their own self-fashioning practices supported, opened doors to spaces that were historically only available to men. Their perceived exceptionalism enabled them both to maintain respectable positions in a milieu dominated by men. Yet, paradoxically, that very status of exceptionality maintained the seemingly gender-blind status quo of the spaces composers occupied and allowed the field of composition to resist deeper transformation. As Brooks notes, although Boulanger's success represented a breakthrough, it did not change the culture at large or open the field for other women at the time. The narrative of exceptionalism surrounding Boulanger's story confirmed gender stereotypes rather than challenging them, and therefore did not provide "new narrative possibilities" for her female successors.[109] Boulanger's career is "an example of how an individual and her society can interact to permit the extraordinary without allowing it to become the everyday."[110] Bacewicz's success was equally limited in influencing gender culture in the Polish compositional milieu. Bacewicz, as the "extraordinary woman," became an iconic figure within the history of postwar classical music composition in Poland, but women composers did not become the norm in that scene until several decades later.

[107] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 68.
[108] ANK, PWM archive, folder 138, p. 54-55. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 23 March 1954. "Ja nie jestem wcale piękną kobietą (na czym mi nie zależy zresztą)." (My translation.)
[109] Brooks, "Noble et grande servante de la musique: Telling the Story of Nadia Boulanger's Conducting," 116.
[110] Ibid.

The similarities between Boulanger's and Bacewicz's practices of self-fashioning as "exceptional woman" shed light on the advantages of this strategy for both women in navigating their careers and maintaining a respectable position in their respective milieus. While one may look critically at the ways the "exceptional woman" narrative upheld the male-dominated status quo more broadly, it is also important to recognize that individually, for Bacewicz, the strategy of exceptionalism granted her agency and the power of self-determination, just as it had for Boulanger and many women composers who came before. Bacewicz's tenacious rejection of Ochlewski's above-mentioned invitation to the women composers' concert, a project in which she was not interested in participating, speaks to the composer's autonomy in navigating her compositional career. Just like Boulanger, Bacewicz successfully employed the narrative of exceptionalism to meet her goals and ambitions as a professional composer despite society's bias against women. In that sense, the lineage between Boulanger and Bacewicz surpasses the boundaries of style and aesthetics (neoclassicism) and of simply being comparably unique figures within their respective milieus. Although it encompasses both of these associations, it is also a lineage that was built on their shared strategy of cultivating "exceptionalism" to survive under the male-dominated status quo. In the following section, I continue the exploration of interconnectedness between Bacewicz and other women in her life. As in my discussion of Boulanger, I examine values and messaging surrounding womanhood and labour, in this case shared between Bacewicz and her mother, Maria Modlińska.

Class, labour, womanhood and the "maternal link" in Bacewicz's family of origin

In *Gender and Musical Canon,* Marcia Citron argues that while "most investigations of female composers […] have ignored formative female figures: mothers in particular but also other female relatives and friends," it is necessary that we trace "the importance of the

maternal link in fostering the creative impulse" in biographies of women composers.[111] Indeed, Grażyna Bacewicz's mother Maria Modlińska (?–1958; see Figure 8) played an important role in her daughter's artistic development. Herself the daughter of professional pianist Natalia Zdzitowiecka, Modlińska encouraged all her children (two sons and two daughters) to pursue musical education. In his short memoir, Grażyna's brother Kiejstut wrote: "We owe it to both parents to be brought up in devotion to science, art, and creative work, to human values in general."[112]

Figure 8. Maria Modlińska, Grażyna Bacewicz's mother, 1930 (PWM).

Modlińska's influence, however, went beyond encouraging Bacewicz's childhood education. She made an impact on her children by modelling a strong work ethic founded on diligence, accountability, and perseverance, which she perceived as tools for personal self-improvement as well as for the betterment of society at large. Bacewicz's biographers note

[111] Citron, *Gender and Musical Canon*, 63.
[112] Kiejstut Bacewicz, "Mój brat Witold", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1986, nr 16, quoted in Joanna Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 22–23. "Obojgu rodzicom zawdzięczamy wychowanie w kulcie dla nauki, sztuki i pracy twórczej, w ogóle dla wartości ogólnoludzkich." (My translation.)

that Modlińska, who was raised by parents of noble birth, was a representative of the late nineteenth-century "Warsaw positivist" movement.[113] In the aftermath of the failed January Uprising of 1863–1864 against the Russian occupation, "romantic, revolutionary politics gave way to organic work as the dominant current in Polish politics. […] The nation turned from the active, armed struggle for independence to organic work (*praca organiczna*) as a realistic, suitable alternative for national existence."[114] In the course of the new sociopolitical movement, members of the Polish gentry were relocating to increasingly urbanized cities. "In households such as the house of engineer Stanisław Modliński [Maria's father], various traditions clashed: the court, the salon, […] and the new positivist tradition, also present in the upbringing of children."[115] It was the positivist tradition, including the ethos of work rather than of court and salon traditions, that Modlińska followed in her adult life. As Bacewicz biographer Małgorzata Gąsiorowska explains,

> a certain part of the new urban elite, in addition to [representing] the seriousness of cultural interests, and often dissociating itself from its own noble tradition, was also characterized by the radicalism of social beliefs, the imperative of effort and fortitude, the cult of "positive" values inherited from the pioneers of "organic labor."[116]

The idea of organic labour, also referred to as "work at the foundations" (of society) formed the core of the new positivist philosophy. "Organic work was a means of maintaining a unified national identity [including both gentry and peasantry] and developing, in the absence of an independent state, a modernized Polish cultural and economic infrastructure.

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[113] See: Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1999); Sendłak, *Bacewicz* (Warszawa: PWM, 2021).
[114] Stanislaus A. Blejwas, "Warsaw Positivism—Patriotism Misunderstood," *The Polish Review* 27, no. 1/2 (1982): 47.
[115] Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz,* 13. "W domach takich, jak dom inżyniera Stanisława Modlińskiego ścierały się różne tradycje: dworu szlacheckiego, salonu (…) i nowej, pozytywistycznej tradycji, obecnej także w wychowaniu dzieci." (My translation.)
[116] Ibid., 10–11. "Pewna czescy nowej, miejskiej elity, oprócz powagi zainteresowań kulturalnych, a często odcięcia się od własnej, szlacheckiej tradycji, cechował także radykalizm przekonań społecznych, imperatyw wysiłku i hartu ducha, kult wartości 'pozytywnych' odziedziczony po pionierach 'pracy organicznej.'") (My translation.)

It was a means of national survival and revival."[117] Creating a sense of shared national identity across social strata required repairing the gentry's relationship with the lower classes. Positivists thus advocated for the gentry to change their attitude towards peasantry and in particular to gain respect for physical labour. On the one hand, the attempt to introduce a symbiosis between different classes was based on the noble and idealistic intention to turn society into a harmonious organism. According to that logic,

> the recently-emancipated, ill-educated peasantry, the nation's largest social class, remained outside the national body: their integration was the moral, and civic patriotic responsibility of the "enlightened" classes—the gentry and the clergy, who were chided to exert leadership in such communal affairs as the spreading of education through the establishment of schools and libraries.[118]

On the other hand, the emphasis on democratization and the inclusion of the peasantry as part of the nation was equally motivated by political calculations. As historian Stanislaus A. Blejwas writes,

> at a time when tsarist authorities were trying to win the loyalty of the peasants, whom they had emancipated, the positivists were telling the "enlightened" classes to compete for the peasants' civic loyalty through involvement in communal affairs.[119]

Positivists identified education, science, and empirical knowledge as "a concrete alternative to romanticism and idealism" and as such both a foundation for the advancement of society at large, and a tool for individual self-improvement.[120] As Blejwas explains, positivism blossomed on the ground of personal disillusionment among the nobility and intellectuals, who therefore turned towards science as a foundation for "a new concept of service to the nation."[121] Warsaw positivists perceived knowledge and education as "the basis of the

[117] Blejwas, "Warsaw Positivism—Patriotism Misunderstood," 54.
[118] Ibid., 50.
[119] Ibid., 51.
[120] Ibid., 49.
[121] Ibid., 52.

material well-being of the individual and the commonwealth, […] a means for democratizing social attitudes and incorporating other social classes into the national community, […] [and] the basis of national prosperity."[122] In other words, trust in the power of organic work and democratized education, combined with a continued sense of responsibility for rekindling Polish national unity—which was necessary to claim leadership of the new patriotic project—led to the popularization of a new mindset among the Warsaw intelligentsia. Here, self-improvement achieved through hard work was not only a matter of individual growth, but also served a larger purpose: to improve Polish society.

Małgorzata Gąsiorowska argues that Maria Modlińska, Vincas Bacevičius, and their children are representatives of the positivist project who belonged to the "artistic intelligentsia," sharing as they did "the *homo faber* ethics" and "the imperative of duty and accountability."[123] Indeed, in a retrospective letter to her son in 1957, Modlińska emphasized the importance in her own life of using work to advance society. She wrote:

> We worked hard with my husband without any help, from very early in the day until late was constantly too short for us, there was always so much to do. Today, when I think back more than half a century to my childhood years, when there were almost more servants in the parental home […] than family members, and now I look at how everyone in the family—each in his own profession—works from dawn to dusk, and the household —even a large one—is run without any help, with the whirl of work all around, this crazy technological advancement and in every field this pace of work—everything of the past seems to me some unreal, bizarre, ridiculous dream, and I would not turn back to those

[122] Ibid., 52.

[123] Małgorzata Gąsiorowska, "Formacja kulturowa rodziny Bacewiczów," in *Rodzeństwo Bacewiczów: Materiały Z Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowej - Łódź, Kwiecień ' 95* [*The Bacewicz Siblings: Materials from the International Conference - Łódź, April ' 95*], ed. Marta Szoka, Bogdan Dowlasz, and Mirosław Flis (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna, 1996), 31. "Bacewiczowie – ze swoją etyką 'homo faber' i określoną wizją świata – współtworzyli (…) formację określoną zbiorczo mianem inteligencji, ściślej – inteligencji twórczej. Wszystkich tych ludzi, niezależnie od ich poglądów, łączyła jedna cecha wspólna: wpisany w ich duchowość imperatyw posłannictwa i odpowiedzialności." (My translation.)

In Latin, *homo faber* means "the working man," "the creative man" (as opposed to *homo ludens*, "the playing man").

> times. Me, I am old, and I love work, and I want to always be active until the very death and witness this insane progress in the world.[124]

Modlińska's approach aptly represents the late-nineteenth-century elite's new positivist perspective on work, including physical work, as a noble endeavor. This perspective was related to a novel attitude towards the peasantry and physical labour more broadly, namely "the abandonment of old caste prejudices [against industry and commerce]" in accordance with the motto, "nobility is work, work is merit, and only merit confirms the dignity of citizenship."[125] This change in attitude, essentially a "redefining [of] citizenship," was politically necessary for the gentry to gain the peasantry's support in "legitimiz[ing] their claim to leadership of society." [126]

Besides advocating for widespread education and the elimination of illiteracy, positivists argued for a more inclusive society, and in particular for the emancipation of women and assimilation of the Jewish minority. These values were passed down within many families among the late nineteenth-century new urban intelligentsia, including the family of Maria Modlińska. Embracing new social values, such families no longer provided education to their daughters solely to make them fitting candidates to become wives. Rather, "it was a fundamental positivist tenet that women required an adequate education in order to achieve economic emancipation, and such ideas helped to familiarize Polish society with the thought of Polish women pursuing university studies."[127] The positivist movement contributed greatly

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[124] Maria Modlińska to Vytautas Bacevičius, 1957, quoted in Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 13. "Ciężko pracowaliśmy z mężem bez żadnej pomocy, bardzo wczesny dzień do późna był dla nas stale za krótki, tyle było zawsze do roboty. Dzisiaj, gdy myślą cofnę się ponad pół wieku do lat moich dziecięcych, kiedy to w domu rodzicielskim było służby niemal więcej […] niżli osób domowych, a obecnie patrzę jak wszyscy w rodzinie — każdy w swoim zawodzie — od świtu do nocy pracują i gospodarstwo domowe — nawet duże — prowadzi się bez żadnej pomocy, wokoło wir pracy, ten szalony postęp techniczny i w każdej dziedzinie to tempo pracy — wszystko dawne wydaje mi się jakimś nierealnym, dziwacznym, śmiesznym snem i nie zawróciłabym do owych czasów. Ja, stara, a kocham pracę i chcę być do samej śmierci zawsze czynna i być świadkiem tego szalonego postępu w świecie…" (My translation.)
[125] Blejwas, "Warsaw Positivism—Patriotism Misunderstood," 51.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid., 52.

to post-secondary education eventually becoming open to women. Women were first accepted as full-time students at Lviv University and Jagiellonian University in 1897 (after being allowed to audit classes since 1879), followed by Warsaw University in 1915 and Poznań University in 1919.

In her book *At the Crossroads 1865–1918: A History of the Polish Intelligentsia*, Magdalena Micińska notes that the positivist movement was by no means homogenous, and its representatives often presented conflicting views on women's emancipation. For example, some equated women's increasing pursuit of university education as a "complete loosening of moral and social bonds."[128] Nevertheless, she argues, "there were certain, already specified, political and social drivers that pushed women to join the 'working intelligentsia' or the intelligent proletariat, after the January Insurrection was defeated."[129] It is important to note that both Maria Konopnicka (1842–1910) and Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), two of the most noteworthy Polish writers of their era, were also spokespersons for the progressive values of Warsaw positivism and advocates for women's emancipation. As Micińska writes, "Women in the latter half of the nineteenth century expressed with increasing strength and emphasis their aspirations for access to higher education, participation in public life, and autonomous positions at work and within the family."[130] Once again, these aspirations were not solely a matter of women's personal choices, but also a political project. By pursuing education and work, women were becoming part of the positivist patriotic agenda.

Maria Modlińska's biography can serve as an example again here. As Małgorzata Gąsiorowska notes, Modlińska could have benefited from "the conventions and rules of her class and milieu giving her the opportunity for a prosperous, peaceful life."[131] Instead, she

[128] Magdalena Micińska, *At the Crossroads 1865–1918: A History of the Polish Intelligentsia - Part 3* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2014), 103.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Gąsiorowska, "Formacja kulturowa rodziny Bacewiczów," 25. "konwencji i konwenansów swojej klasy i środowiska dającego jej możliwość zasobnego, spokojnego życia." (My translation.)

chose to move to the fast-industrializing city of Łódź and find employment, a decision Gąsiorowska attributes to Modlińska's self-steering nature as an "emancipationist," and one through which Modlińska pushed the boundaries of her own class background.[132] After Bacewicz's mother married the Lithuanian school teacher Vincas Bacevičius in 1903, both spouses worked to support their family of six (including Grażyna and her three siblings). The expectations regarding education and work in the Bacewicz family were therefore similar for men and women. Both parents worked, and their daughters, Grażyna and Wanda, were provided the same opportunities to pursue education and artistic careers as the two sons, Vytautas and Kiejstut. In his memoir, Grażyna's brother Kiejstut writes, "Father taught each of us from early childhood to play two instruments, violin and piano (I also played the cello), as well as the basics of music theory, cultivating in us the rigor of ensemble music-making."[133] All four children later pursued studies at the Łódź Conservatory.

As representatives of the urban artistic intelligentsia mentality, Grażyna Bacewicz's parents were free of the scepticism towards women pursuing a professional composing career (or engaging in paid work altogether) that was characteristic of European nobility throughout the nineteenth century. The stories of Clara Schumann and Fanny Mendelssohn are often juxtaposed to show the contrast in outcomes for nineteenth-century women composers and performers from different social strata. As Judith Tick explains, "in the 19th century, class propriety and attitudes towards the roles of women in public stigmatized professional careers for some privileged women."[134] Similarly, Nancy Reich points out "the widening gulf between

[132] Ibid. It is unclear if Modlińska worked as a school teacher in or in commerce at the time.
[133] Kiejstut Bacewicz, "Mój brat Witold", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1986, No. 16, quoted in Joanna Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 22–23. "Ojciec każdego z nas uczył od wczesnego dzieciństwa gry na dwóch instrumentach—na skrzypcach i fortepianie (mnie także na wiolonczeli), oraz podstaw teorii muzyki, wyrabiając w nas dyscyplinę zespołowego muzykowania […]." (My translation.)
[134] Grove Music Online, s.v. "Women in music," by Judith Tick, Margaret Ericson, and Ellen Koskoff, accessed November 3, 2023, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000052554.

See also: N.B. Reich, "Women as Musicians: a Question of Class," *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship,* ed. Ruth Solie (Berkeley: 1993), 125–46; Nancy B. Reich, "The

amateurs and professionals, with two tracks shaped by class mores: one for the professional woman from the artist-musician class and the other for the aristocratic or bourgeois lady, whose parlour domain reflected the 'cult of domesticity.'"[135] The case studies of Clara Schumann and Fanny Mendelssohn illustrate the relationship between class and its tangible consequences for a woman composer. As Tick summarizes, "Schumann was one of the great concert pianists of the century, in the public limelight for almost all her life. A prodigious talent, Mendelssohn was encouraged to learn music but discouraged by both brother and father from publishing her work."[136] The positivist-inspired values held by Bacewicz's mother and, consequently, cultivated in Bacewicz's family home therefore offer important context for the composer's recurring emphasis not only on her extraordinary dedication to work, but also on her capabilities as a woman. The astonishment, discussed above, that Bacewicz demonstrated in her short stories in reaction to gender inequity and bias against professional women resonates with the progressive positivists' advocacy for women's education, employment, and overall "serious" contributions to society. In her monographs on Bacewicz, Małgorzata Gąsiorowska suggests that there is a connection between the composer's embeddedness in the values of Warsaw positivism and what she identifies as Bacewicz's overall pragmatic approach to life.[137]

The overlaps between Maria Modlińska's socio-cultural and class background and, on the other, the values and beliefs declared by Grażyna Bacewicz in her adult life are significant for at least two reasons. First, they point to a particular, yet not artistic *per se*, female lineage between Bacewicz and her mother. The "maternal link" in Bacewicz's story is not limited to introducing Bacewicz to music in her childhood. Rather, the importance of the Modlińska-

Power of Class: Fanny Hensel" in *Mendelssohn and His World,* ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 86–99.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 73–75.

Bacewicz relationship lies in its influence on the composer's orientation towards women's role in society, and on the productive responses to potential social obstacles she might encounter as a woman: a self-imposed extraordinary work ethic, and resilience to the world's attempts to belittle Bacewicz as a woman composer.[138]

The correlation between Modlińska's and Bacewicz's orientation towards labor and womanhood also reveals a larger historical context for understanding gender dynamics in Polish postwar music and musicology. As I discuss in more detail in the following chapter, the seemingly equity-oriented postwar politics surrounding labor and gender did not in fact solve the issues of gender-based discrimination among women composers or the societal expectation for professional women to work their "second shift" at home. As Grażyna Bacewicz's case demonstrates, the way women composers perceived, and operated under, the new postwar cultural politics was in no way detached from their prewar experiences, social and class background, or the longevity of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century intellectual trends.[139] This perspective allows for a more complex and historically informed evaluation of how women composers and musicologists positioned themselves in the milieu of the Polish Composers' Union and other musical and academic institutions in the first two postwar decades. I return to this argument in Part 2 of this dissertation, in which I trace links between Zofia Lissa's shaping of the field of musicology after the war and the academic training she received as a young, assimilated Jewish woman in interwar Lviv

[138] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 63.
[139] For a broader discussion of the reemergence of the Warsaw positivism values throughout the twentieth-century Poland, see: Stanislaus A. Blejwas, "Alternatives to Romanticism: The Traditions of Polish Positivism and KOR," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne Des Slavistes* 31, no. 2 (1989): 194–210.

Chapter Two

"I Was Waiting at Home with Afternoon Tea…": Grażyna Bacewicz, Domesticity, and Women's Hidden Labour

Musicological discussions on relationship between domesticity and women's musical activity have focused largely on nineteenth-century salon music, especially in the Biedermeier era. That research has examined the ways in which women's music-making was employed to maintain the nineteenth-century "cult of domesticity."[1] However, little attention has been paid to the role of domestic spaces in the lives of twentieth-century European women composers. Some exceptions include Kimberly A. Francis's work on Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky, Samantha Ege's work on Florence Price, and Judith Tick's and Rachel Lumsden's work on Ruth Crawford Seeger, as well as the recent work of Emmanuelle Majeau-Bettez on Éliane Radigue. Francis underlines the importance of Stravinsky's domestic environment, and particularly of his wife and mother, in making the initial connection between himself and Nadia Boulanger.[2] In a similar vein, Ege demonstrates that the house of Estella Bonds was an important space of support and community building for Florence Price in the early thirties.[3] In her book on Ruth Crawford Seeger, Tick lays out tensions between the composer's career and family life.[4] Lumsden, in turn, draws attention to the themes of domesticity and everyday household chores in Ruth Crawford and Vivian Fine's correspondence in the twenties, as well

[1] See: Grove Music Online, s.v. "Women in music," by Judith Tick, Margaret Ericson, and Ellen Koskoff, accessed November 3, 2023, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000052554.

See also: Ruth Solie, "'Girling' at the Parlor Piano," in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Nancy B. Reich, "The Power of Class: Fanny Hensel," in *Mendelssohn and His World,* ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 86–99.

[2] Kimberly A. Francis, "Introduction," in *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon* (New York: Oxford Academic online edition, 2015), https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199373697.003.0001, "Boulanger and Bourdieu."

[3] Samantha Ege, "Composing a Symphonist: Florence Price and the Hand of Black Women's Fellowship," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 24 (2020): 7–27.

[4] Judith Tick, *Ruth Crawford Seeger: A Composer's Search for American Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

as in Fine's *Little Suite for Voice and Piano* (1930).[5] Finally, in her study on Éliane Radigue, Majeau-Bettez investigates the importance of the composer's home studio in her creative practices.[6] Yet these notable examples do not address all aspects of domesticity in the lives and careers of twentieth-century women composers. There remains a significant research gap around topics such as motherhood, marital relationships, emotional support, and the division of domestic labour in women composers' households. In this chapter, I demonstrate how historiographical practices can be expanded by identifying and examining the presence of a nurturing domestic environment in a woman composer's life—not only in her formative years, but also in adulthood.

Grażyna Bacewicz's living arrangements changed several times during her adult life; however, she consistently shared her household with family members. The relationships between Bacewicz, her siblings, and their mother were close-knit and built on mutual care and support. An early example of such support—and of her family's preference that she live close by—was Maria's decision to move from Łódź to Warsaw in 1928, together with Grażyna's younger sister Wanda, in order to be closer to Grażyna and her brother Kiejstut. Just a few months earlier, the nineteen-year-old Grażyna had left Łódź to enroll at the Warsaw Conservatory, and her older brother Kiejstut already lived in Warsaw with his wife Halszka. Their mother decided to follow, and Grażyna immediately moved in together with Maria and Wanda, having spent her first few months in the city living with her brother and sister-in-law. Maria and her two daughters lived together in Warsaw for eight years. In 1936, Bacewicz married her husband Andrzej Biernacki, a doctor, and the couple moved into their own apartment on Koszykowa street. After that, Wanda continued to live with her mother and both women were frequent guests at Grażyna and Andrzej's home. Between 1939 and 1945, the

[5] Rachel Lumsden, "'You Too Can Compose': Ruth Crawford's Mentoring of Vivian Fine," *Music Theory Online* 23, no. 2 (June 2017). http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.17.23.2/mto.17.23.2.lumsden.html.
[6] Emmanuelle Majeau-Bettez, "Through Time and Space: Éliane Radigue's Relationship to Sound," (PhD diss., McGill University, 2022).

family's living arrangements fluctuated due to the war, as I will discuss in more detail below. It was also during the war that Bacewicz gave birth to her only child, Alina (b. 1942). Bacewicz lived with her husband and daughter at Koszykowa street from 1945 to 1963. Her mother and sister, living together elsewhere in Warsaw, often visited Bacewicz's home. After Andrzej passed away in 1963, Grażyna and her sister Wanda moved in together. Bacewicz's domestic life in her adult years can therefore be divided roughly into four periods: 1928–1936, 1936–1945, 1945–1963, and 1963–1969.

In this chapter, I examine the latter three periods of Bacewicz's life. I begin by considering the culture of mutual care and support in Bacewicz's family in two case studies: the family's mutual aid during the war, and Bacewicz's work caring for her sick loved ones in the fifties and the sixties. Next, I focus on the ways in which Bacewicz's mother and sister maintained a supportive and nurturing domestic environment for the composer in the postwar decades, as well as how the labour they performed played a crucial role in sustaining Bacewicz's busy lifestyle. By demonstrating the significance that family relationships held in Bacewicz's life, I further challenge the image she cultivated of herself as fully self-sufficient in combining her career and personal life. Moreover, I investigate how the dynamic in Bacewicz's family in some ways challenged, and in others reinforced, historical models of gendered labour division in the families of notable (male) composers.

In order to discuss Bacewicz's domestic life, it is necessary to address the socialist state politics of gender introduced in Poland shortly after the Second World War. Family life and domestic labour in postwar Poland were affected by official state regulations regarding gender equity and employment. The new communist authorities praised themselves for "elevating" working class women in the name of both class advancement and gender equity, granting them access to education and stable employment. As I will discuss in Chapter Three, archival materials demonstrate the party's dedication to present women's issues as a top priority under

the new political rule, especially during the early postwar years. Historian Malgorzata Fidelis argues, however, that while "the communist state gave women an unprecedented opportunity to acquire education and a profession, at the same time, in practice, it continued (and modified) the tradition […] of the capitalist economy, in which women were used as a cheap and obedient labour force."[7] Contrary to such official state promises, women from the lower social strata were often directed to work at factories, performing hard and tedious manual labour, while "positions that were better-paid, managerial, or required technical skills were reserved for men."[8]

Furthermore, women remained the ones who carried the burden of domestic and childcare work, even when they also worked outside of the house. Despite—or in many cases, because of—the state's reluctance towards the Catholic church, society at large respected the moral authority of the church, and remained attached to traditional family models and gender roles. Overall, Fidelis argues that postwar politics around labour and gender neither erased the class gap in the distribution of opportunities and satisfying career paths, nor solved the issues of gender-based discrimination and inequity in the workplace: "The tension between the promise of equality and the practice of gender discrimination was, perhaps, the deepest and most enduring ambivalence of the communist policy."[9] This tension also existed outside

[7] Katarzyna Stańczak-Wiślicz, Piotr Perkowski, Małgorzata Fidelis, and Barbara Klich-Kluczewska, *Kobiety w Polsce, 1945–1989: Nowoczesność – równouprawnienie – komunizm* [*Women in Poland, 1945–1989: Modernity – Emancipation – Communism*] (Kraków: Universitas, 2020), 104–105. "[…] państwo komunistyczne dało kobietom bezprecedensową szansę zdobycia edukacji i zawodu, jednocześnie w praktyce kontynuowało (i modyfikowało) tradycje […] gospodarki kapitalistycznej, w której kobiety były wykorzystywane jako tania i posłuszna siła robocza." (My translation.)

[8] Ibid., 107."stanowiska lepiej płatne, kierownicze, czy wymagające umiejętności technicznych były zarezerwowane dla mężczyzn." (My translation.)

[9] Ibid. "Napięcie pomiędzy obietnicą równouprawnienia a praktyką dyskryminacji ze względu na płeć stanowiło, być może, najgłębszą i najtrwalszą ambiwalencję komunistycznej polityki." (My translation.)

As explained by Barbara Einhorn, "the socialist states of East Central Europe and the Soviet Union attempted to resolve what they termed the 'woman question' by economic means. Their view was that, after the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, women's participation in the labour force was not only the necessary but also the sufficient condition for their 'emancipation' from the tyranny of patriarchy and the confines of the family. This approach was anchored in a double contradiction. On the one hand women were defined as workers and mothers, without any equivalent definition of men as workers and fathers. On the other, the 'woman question' was from an early stage treated as a singular and discrete issue rather than as integral to the project of building an egalitarian society. This theoretical framework constituted a practice

Poland. Even in the German Democratic Republic, where the Church did not hold symbolic power to the same extent it did in Poland, the traditional model of labour division persisted. As Chris Weedon explains,

> even after forty years of socialism in the GDR, there was little evidence that fundamental changes in the sexual division of labour either at work or in the home, or in social and cultural norms of femininity and masculinity, followed automatically from the socialization of the means of production.[10]

The impact of the new policies specifically on women artists in the period of state-sanctioned socialist realism (1949–1955) and the following decade is difficult to interpret. The broader situation of women—for example their participation in the workforce and politics, and access to contraception and abortion—has been documented by sociologists. Yet during the communist period, most of the state's official messaging about and for women centered on working class women rather than intellectuals or artists, making it unclear what role, if any, the apparatus had envisaged for them. At the same time, while musicologists and art historians have produced a significant amount of knowledge about artists' relationships with the regime and the consequences of state censorship, very little attention has been paid to the specifically female experience in artistic contexts. To date, no large-scale research has been conducted that documents the opportunities and obstacles the communist regime created for women artists and women composers.

That said, we can assume that compared to working-class women, most women artists—usually representing the middle or upper class—enjoyed certain privileges. For example, they generally had greater financial resources and independence, often due to

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which was in effect gender-blind. In an effort to paper over these flaws, the state committed itself to socializing childcare, laundries and canteens in order that women could 'more successfully reconcile the demands of their job with their duties towards child and family'.' A third problem with the state socialist approach was that it presumed to confer citizenship rights upon women, but precluded the articulation of rights from below through grassroots political involvement." Barbara Einhorn, *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender, and Women's Movements in East Central Europe* (London: Verso, 1993), 5.

[10] Chris Weedon, *Feminism, Theory, and the Politics of Difference* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1999), 17.

generational wealth. As art historian Katarzyna Kulpińska explains in her study on Polish women poster artists of the postwar era, such relative financial independence "contributed to a more casual attitude to traditional roles in society (or a more partnership-based model of a relationship) and restored a sense of empowerment [for women]."[11] This observation, while very generalized, resonates with what is known about Bacewicz's marriage. Her husband, Andrzej Biernacki, was a successful doctor and scholar. Both spouses had lively careers with frequent travel commitments. Their correspondence provides evidence that their marriage was built on equal partnership, with both spouses demonstrating support for the other's career, even though it meant spending long weeks or sometimes even months apart. For Bacewicz, such a progressive marriage was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, Biernacki's dedication to his own career, combined with his progressive and egalitarian views on gender roles, generated empathy and understanding towards Bacewicz's pursuit of a bustling artistic career. On the other hand, his frequent travel commitments meant that Bacewicz could not count on Biernacki's consistent involvement in family life and childcare duties either. Nor did she expect otherwise since, after all, "it would be nonsense for a composer's husband to quit his job or take care of the housework just because he had the misfortune of marrying a woman composer."[12] As a result, when Bacewicz was not travelling, she was extremely busy juggling her work, household chores, and raising her daughter Alina.[13] As Kulpińska argues,

[11] Katarzyna Kulpińska, "Plakacistki PRL-u – artystki (niemal) zapomniane" ["Female Poster Designers of the Polish People's Republic – Artists (Almost) Forgotten"], *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica* 80 (2022): 67. "Niezależność finansowa, którą uzyskały, rzutowała jednak na zmiany w ich świadomości, wpłynęła na swobodniejszy stosunek do tradycyjnych ról w społeczeństwie (czy bardziej partnerski model związku) i przywróciła poczucie sprawczości." (My translation.)
[12] Grażyna Bacewicz, *Znak szczególny* [*A Distinguishing Mark*] (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1970), 25.
[13] For new postwar models of masculinity and fatherhood in Poland, see: Natalia Jarska, "Men as Husbands and Fathers in Postwar Poland (1956–1975): Towards New Masculine Identities?" *Men and Masculinities* 24 no. 4 (2021): 630–651; Piotr Perkowski, "Męskość w PRL. Rekonesans" ["Masculinity in Polish People's Republic. A Sketch"], in *Męskość w kulturze współczesnej* [*Masculinity in Contemporary Culture*], eds. Andrzej Radomski and Bogumiła Truchlińska (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2008), 101–108.

> the professional activization of women was not synonymous with their liberation from their "double burden," the gender contract in the family and marriage; this was true for most female artists who started a family. […] Just like 'regular' citizens, [these women] had to participate in the race for food and other basic consumer goods (by standing in lines, taking advantage of connections, co-creating a network of mutual commitments).[14]

As I demonstrate later in this chapter, Bacewicz was fortunate not to have to face these challenges alone, as she had two other women supporting her in her everyday life: her mother, Maria Modlińska, and sister, Wanda Bacewicz, both of whom lived as single women at the time.

Care work in the Bacewicz family

Several archival sources provide evidence that the family of Maria Modlińska, Vincas Bacevičius, and their four children was founded on mutual care and attachment. This remained the case despite the significant rupture caused by Vincas's decision to leave his family behind and move back to his home country of Lithuania in 1923. He lived there for thirty more years and never returned to Poland.[15] The separation from her father weighed heavily on Bacewicz. In a letter from January 23, 1953, Bacewicz shared with her colleague and close friend Tadeusz Ochlewski (at the time the director of the Polish Music Publishing house—PWM) that she was "inconsolable" due to not having seen her father before he passed away in December 1952. She wrote:

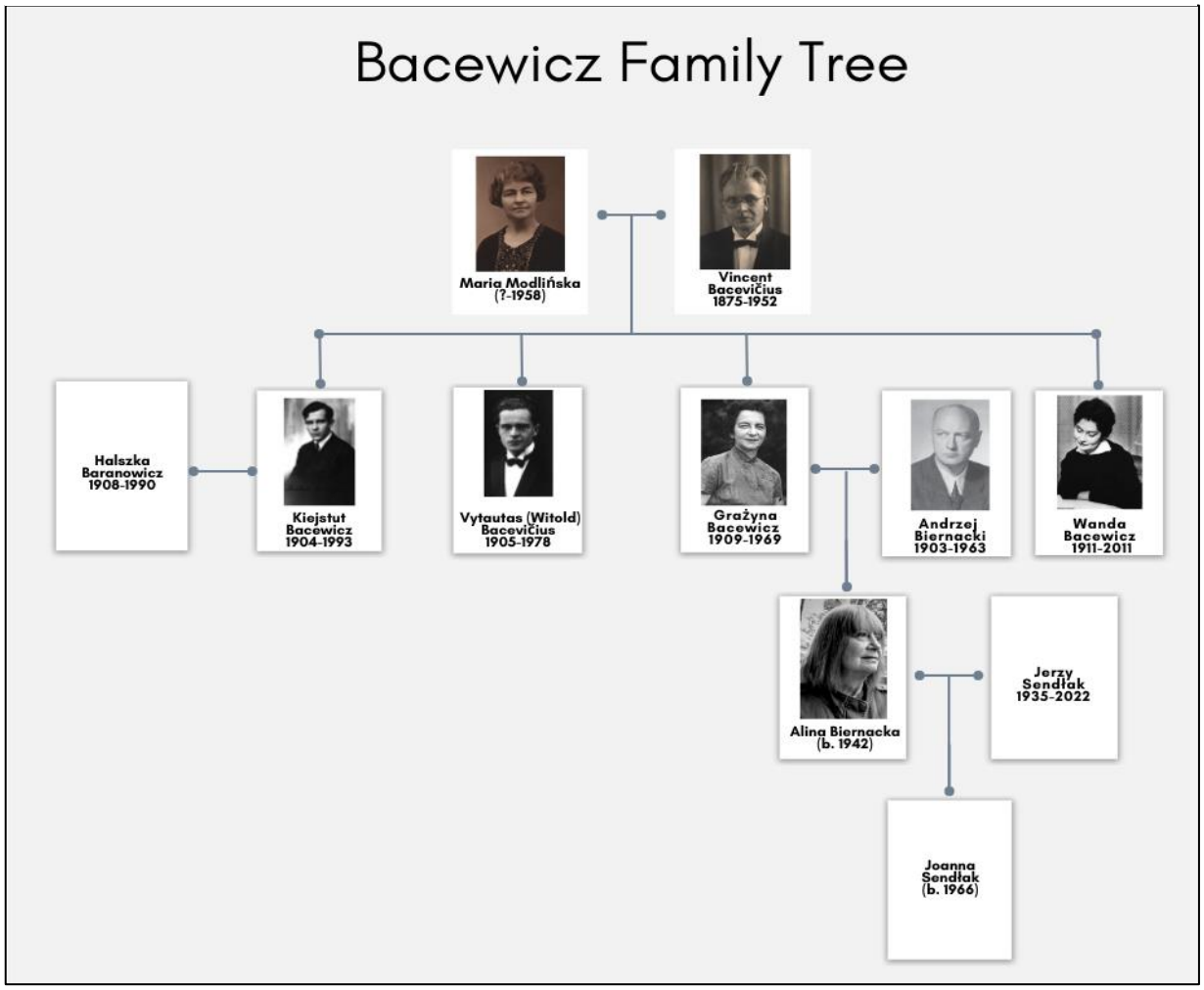
> I received the news of my father's death. I am inconsolable that none of us (his children) could be with him in his last hours. And he was so nearby! (In Lithuania). More than once

[14] Kulpińska, "Plakacistki PRL-u – artystki (niemal) zapomniane," 67. "zawodowa aktywizacja kobiet nie była równoznaczna z uwolnieniem ich od 'podwójnego etatu,' kontraktu płci w rodzinie i małżeństwie; dotyczyło to większości artystek, które założyły rodzinę. […] musiały tak jak 'zwykłe' obywatelki uczestniczyć w wyścigu po żywność i inne podstawowe dobra konsumpcyjne (poprzez stanie w kolejkach, wykorzystywanie znajomości, współtworzenie sieci wzajemnych zobowiązań)."

[15] Joanna Sendłak suggests that on top of Vincas's patriotic feelings, another reason behind his decision to relocate was the economic crisis in Łódź and an unfavorable financial situation of the family. See: Sendłak, *Bacewicz,* 28.

I asked Sokorski to let me go there, and with no success. This helplessness of ours is at certain moments unbearable. And so, our dreams that we would see him again someday—are over![16]

Figure 9. Bacewicz family tree



[16] ANK, PWM archive, folder 138, p. 136. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 23 January 1953. "Dostałam wiadomość o śmierci mego ojca. Jestem niepocieszona, że żadne z nas (jego dzieci) nie mogliśmy być przy nim w ostatnich jego godzinach. A tak był niedaleko! (W Litwie). Nieraz prosiłam Sokorskiego, aby mnie tam puścił i bezskutecznie. Ta nasza bezsilność jest w pewnych momentach nie do zniesienia. A więc nasze marzenia, że się z kimś jeszcze kiedyś zobaczymy – skończyły się!" (My translation.)

Włodzimierz Sokorski was the Minister of Culture and Art between 1952–1956 and it was in his power to approve artists' travels abroad.

[17] Portraits of Vincent, Kiejstut, Vytautas, Grażyna, and Wanda come from Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, "Obrazy – Zdjęcia," accessed June 29, 2023, https://bacewicz.polmic.pl/zdjecia.

Alina Biernacka's portrait comes from "Biernacka Alina," photo by Joanna Sendłak, Wydawnictwo Forma, accessed June 29, 2023, https://wforma.eu/biernacka-alina.html.

Andrzej Biernacki's portait comes from Janusz Ostrowski, "Professor Andrzej Biernacki Precursor of Nephrology in Poland", *Archives of Hellenic Medicine* 2020, 37 (Suppl 2): 69.

One of Grażyna's older brothers, Vytautas (also known by his Polish name, Witold), followed his father to Lithuania and eventually emigrated to the United States in 1940. The rich correspondence between Vytautas and the rest of the family testifies to their regular contact and mutual attachment, despite the distance and political divisions between Poland and the United States in the Cold War era. As noted by musicologist Krzysztof Droba, who closely studied Vytautas's letters to his family in Poland, although the letters were sent to different recipients, "the family in them is addressed as a whole."[18] Vytautas "assumed that the recipients were all named family members in Poland. Only exceptionally does he request confidentiality from one of the recipients, [but] in general he asks—and sometimes even demands—that the contents of the letters be shared among themselves at all times."[19] Indeed, the remaining letters written by Grażyna, Vytautas, and their sister Wanda—as well as the correspondence between Grażyna Bacewicz and her colleague Tadeusz Ochlewski—indicate that those family members who stayed in Poland continued to have close-knit relationships and support each other in diverse ways.

The family's closeness and unwavering mutual loyalty is most apparent in the testimonies and letters that describe their struggles during the Second World War, and especially in the aftermath of the Warsaw Uprising (August 1 through October 2, 1944). With her husband fully occupied with his hospital work, Bacewicz was busy taking care not only of her two-year-old daughter, but also of her mother, who had lost her house in a bombing, and of Wanda, who had been wounded on her way home from work on the first day of the uprising and could not walk. Additionally, Bacewicz was offering her house as a shelter to

[18] Krzysztof Droba, "Korespondencja Vytautasa Bacevičiusa z rodziną w Polsce," in *Rodzeństwo Bacewiczów: Materiały Z Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowej - Łódź, Kwiecień ' 95 [The Bacewicz Siblings: Materials from the International Conference - Łódź, April ' 95*], ed. Marta Szoka, Bogdan Dowlasz, and Mirosław Flis (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna, 1996), 176–177. "rodzina w nich traktowana jest integralnie." (My translation.)
[19] Ibid. "zakładał, że odbiorcą są wszyscy wymienieni członkowie rodziny w Polsce. Tylko wyjątkowo apeluje do dyskrecji któregoś z adresatów, na ogół prosi – a czasem wręcz żąda – żeby treścią listów dzielili się stale między sobą." (My translation.)

friends.[20] As Wanda reported to Kiejstut in a letter from 1944, Grażyna and Andrzej "took in the entire Ekier family—the pianist with his wife, one-and-a-half-year-old child and mother-in-law."[21] Bacewicz described the family's shared struggle in a postwar letter to Vytautas. She wrote:

> We survived in this hell for more than 2 months. Mommy crossed under bullets to my apartment on the fifth day. […] After 19 days Wanda was brought to us at night from the hospital, because everything around the hospital was on fire. So, we were together after that, the 3 of us and Alinka [i.e., Alina]. After a month it was no longer possible to live in the apartment because the houses around were collapsing, so we carried Wanda down to the basement. […] I only went to the apartment to cook something for them. We suffered terrible hunger. […] We left Warsaw on the second of October and the Germans took us to the camp in Pruszków. Wandzia [i.e., Wanda] on a stretcher. Thanks to Wandzia, we got to the barracks for the sick—the barracks from which they would release [people]. From other barracks they were taking [people] to forced labour in Germany. So they let us go. We went with Wandzia on a stretcher to the hospital in Grodzisk and there we were.[22]

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[20] Even before the uprising, Bacewicz's house often functioned as a safe haven for her friends and colleagues. For example, Stefan Kisielewski wrote: "During the occupation, I spent many hours in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Biernacki on Koszykowa Street. [„] It was an exceptionally hospitable and warm house, what an excellent place to rest from the horror, sorrow, doubts, and all the other disgusting things that the Germans brought to Warsaw. And how much one ate and especially drank there […]." ("Wiele godzin spędziłem podczas okupacji w domu Państwa Biernackich na Koszykowej […]. Niezwykle gościnny i ciepły był to dom, jakżeż znakomicie można było tam wypocząć od zgrozy, smutku, zwątpienia, i wszystkich innych obrzydłych rzeczy, które przynieśli do Warszawy Niemcy. A ileż się tam zjadło, a zwłaszcza wypiło […].") (My translation.) Stefan Kisielewski, *Grażyna Bacewicz i jej czasy* [*Grażyna Bacewicz And Her Times*] (Kraków: PWM, 1964) 23, 25, quoted in Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz,* 130.

[21] Wanda Bacewicz to Kiejstut Bacewicz, 1944, quoted in Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz,* 139. Jan Ekier (1913–2014) was a Polish pianist and composer. "Andrzejowie przygarnęli całą rodzinę Ekierów […] z żoną, dzieckiem półtorarocznym i teściową." (My translation.)

[22] Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 92–96. "My przeżyliśmy w tym piekle przeszło 2 miesiące. Mamusia przeszła pod kulami do mego mieszkania piątego dnia […]. Po 19 dniach przyniesiono Wandę w nocy do nas ze szpitala, bo na około szpitala wszystko płonęło. Byłyśmy więc później już razem my 3 i Alinka. Po miesiącu nie można było już mieszkać w mieszkaniu, bo domy na około się waliły, więc znieśliśmy Wandę do piwnicy. […] Ja tylko chodziłam do mieszkania, aby im coś ugotować. Cierpieliśmy straszny głód. […] Z Warszawy wyszliśmy drugiego października i Niemcy zabrali nas do obozu w Pruszkowie. Wandzia na noszach. Dzięki Wandzi dostaliśmy się do baraku dla chorych - do baraku, z którego wypuszczali na wolność. Z innych baraków zabierali na roboty do Niemiec. A więc puścili nas. Pojechaliśmy z Wandzią na noszach do szpitala do Grodziska i tam byliśmy." (My translation.)

Bacewicz's description of the family's life during the Warsaw Uprising reveals that their focus was on collective survival. Under the extreme circumstances of destruction, hunger, and the risk of being targeted by Nazi soldiers, Grażyna, Wanda, and Maria worked as a team for their and Alina's survival. Since Wanda was wounded and Bacewicz's husband, the only man in the household, was absent, one can assume that Bacewicz and her mother shared the role of head of the family, taking on most of the care work as well as responsibility for everyone's survival. In fact, in Bacewicz's narrative, men in her family are merely in the background—the subjects of her care and concern rather than those who showed her the way through the extremes of war. In a letter to her brother, Bacewicz wrote:

> Mom's house doesn't exist, burned down along with Wandzia's beautiful library and everything. The Kiejstuts also lost everything. Our house seems to be standing […], but we are plundered. […] But you know, Wituś [i.e., "Witek"], we have to admit that fate took care of us and did not want us to die. For example, Wanda, Kiejstut and Andrzej were constantly in "round-ups" and always somehow managed to wriggle out. […] You can imagine the anxiety we lived in and how we were constantly afraid of everything. We even set up a phone at mommy's place, because since it was forbidden to walk [outside] after six o'clock, and since God knows what could happen during the night, we were constantly calling each other. At worse times, all of us with the Kiejstuts gathered at our place and spent the night together, although it was forbidden to spend the night not in one's apartment.[23]

In the letter Bacewicz uses the names of her loved ones in their endearing diminutive forms (hence Alina becomes "Alinka," Wanda becomes "Wandzia" etc.).

[23] Ibid. "Mamusi dom nie istnieje, spalony razem z Wandzi piękną Biblioteką i wszystkim. Kiejstutowie także wszystko stracili. Nasz dom niby stoi (a właściwie nasza oficyna stoi, bo inna część domu zawalona), ale za to jesteśmy ograbieni. […] Ale wiesz, Witusiu, musimy przyznać, że los nami się opiekował i nie chciał byśmy zginęli. Na przykład Wanda, Kiejstut i Andrzej stale byli w 'łapankach' i zawsze się jakoś wykręcali. […] Możesz sobie wyobrazić, w jakim zdenerwowaniu żyliśmy i jak ciągle wszystkiego się baliśmy. Założyliśmy nawet telefon u mamusi, bo ponieważ od szóstej nie wolno było chodzić, a w ciągu nocy bóg wie, co mogło się zdarzyć, więc telefonowaliśmy ciągle do siebie. W gorszych momentach wszyscy z Kiejstutami zbieraliśmy się u nas i razem nocowaliśmy, choć zabronione było nocowanie nie w swoim mieszkaniu. (My translation.)

Witek, short for Witold, was the Polish name of Grażyna's brother Vytautas. Later in his life, he chose to go by his Lithuanian name.

As we shall see later in this chapter, the matriarchal dynamic revealed in Bacewicz's memories from the uprising continued to govern the family's relationships after the war. Later in the same letter, Grażyna described to Vytautas how the family was eventually reunited after the uprising separated Kiejstut and Halszka from Grażyna, Wanda, and Maria. She wrote:

> After the uprising, the Kiejstuts found out about Wandzia's condition completely by accident. At that time, they still knew nothing about us. Halszka was in some house in the countryside near Warsaw, where she was taking care of some children in exchange for food, and a doctor came there and by chance—not knowing what Halszka had in common with Andrzej and Wanda, he began to talk exactly about [Andrzej] and Wandzia. That's how they found out what had happened. They also found us by accident. […] They came to Grodzisk, not thinking at all that they would find us there. You can imagine our and their joy when they came in, we still thought they were at a labour camp in Germany.[24]

Descriptions of the family's wartime experience in Grażyna's and Wanda's letters to their brother uncover the family's deep bond and a sense of togetherness in light of danger, as well as their mutual care for each other. In a similar way, Bacewicz demonstrated remarkable dedication and care for her loved ones during sickness. Between 1949 and 1964, the composer described several challenging situations related to her care work responsibilities in letters to her colleague and friend Tadeusz Ochlewski. For example, in a letter from February 1949, she wrote:

[24] Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 94–96. "Po powstaniu Kiejstutowie zupełnie przypadkiem dowiedzieli się o stanie Wandzi. Jeszcze wtedy nic nie wiedzieli o nas. Halszka była w jednym domu na wsi pod Warszawą, gdzie za jedzenie opiekowała się jakimiś dziećmi i tam przyszedł jakiś lekarz i przypadkiem—nie wiedząc, co Halszkę łączy z Andrzejem i Wandą, zaczął opowiadać właśnie o nim i o Wandzi. W ten sposób dowiedzieli się, co się stało. Znaleźli nas też przypadkiem. […] Przyszli więc do Grodziska wcale nie sądząc, że nas tam znajdą. Wyobrażasz sobie naszą i ich radość, gdy oni weszli do nas, my ciągle myśleliśmy, że oni są na robotach w Niemczech." (My translation.)

> Dear Tadeusz, my house is a hospital. Alinka and my mother are ill. If it would be possible for you to have the rest of the money I am owed from PWM [Polish Music Publishing] sent to me, I would be much obliged to you. I am giving you a warm hug.[25]

Here, Bacewicz contacted her colleague to make financial arrangements due to her care work duties. It is possible that due to her mother's and daughter's illnesses, she had to take some time off and consequently lost some income. As a violinist and composer, Bacewicz's hours were flexible, yet the profession also made her income less stable. Her livelihood depended on access to commissions, how fast she was able to produce new music, and the calendar of rehearsals, concerts, recordings, and competitions. Bacewicz and her husband's financial situation was even less stable due to Biernacki's poor health. In the summer of 1943, he was diagnosed with tuberculosis, and was sent away to a sanatorium to repair his health. During the war, Bacewicz remained part of the Warsaw underground concert scene as a violinist, but her income was limited. Moreover, starting in 1942, she was taking care of her newborn daughter. As noted by Joanna Sendłak, during Andrzej's long convalescence between 1943 and 1944, "Grażyna […] could not count on his financial support [and therefore] supported the household with Wanda's help."[26]

In 1956, both Bacewicz's mother and husband spent time in the hospital at the same time. Modlińska, who was recovering from a complicated leg surgery, noted her daughter's commitment to showing up at the hospital despite her busy work schedule, writing in her journal:

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[25] ANK, PWM archive, folder 110, p. 423. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 9 February 1949. "Kochany Tadeuszu. Szpital mam w domu. Choruje Alinka i moja matka. Gdyby to było możliwe, abyś zlecił wysłać resztę pieniędzy, które mi się należą z PWM, to byłabym ci bardzo zobowiązana. Ściskam cię serdecznie." (My translation.)

[26] Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 86. "latem 1943 roku Andrzej zachorował na gruźlicę. Najpierw pojechał na kurację do sanatorium w Otwocku, a później do Marynina. […] Do obowiązków […] wrócił prawdopodobnie dopiero na początku 1944 roku. […] Grażyna, która podczas choroby męża nie mogła liczyć na jego finansowe wsparcie, z pomocą Wandy utrzymywała dom." (My translation.)

> Grażynka came running, did everything around me, fed me, and ran to the other end of the hospital to Andrzej, and from there to ZKP [Polish Composers' Union] for the organizational work of the composition contest.[27]

The surviving correspondence provides evidence that Bacewicz took on the role of the family's second matriarch, after Maria Modlińska. On her deathbed, Maria specifically instructed Grażyna's siblings Kiejstut and Wanda to "help Grażyna and listen to her" since Grażyna "was the busiest one in the family" and was supposed to "manage everything from now on."[28] According to the composer's own understanding, Maria pronounced Grażyna the new head of the family, the new matriarch, because she "understood well that, in essence, even though [Grażyna had] a lot of work, [she was the one to] babysit everyone in the family, whether they saw it or not."[29] It is unclear what Bacewicz meant exactly by "babysitting everyone," but it was likely a sentiment related to Bacewicz's strong sense of responsibility to and care for her loved ones.

Soon after Modlińska's death, another family member fell ill—this time it was Bacewicz's brother Kiejstut, who lived in Łódź at the time. In September 1958, Bacewicz explained her difficult family situation to Ochlewski:

> The bad season somehow does not want to end. Kiejstut was very sick, hanging by a thread. He had a surgery for an abscess in his kidney. So we were at the seaside for a few days only, and then we traveled between Warsaw and Łódź. Kiejstut's condition is still

[27] Ibid., 161. From Maria Modlińska's diary. "Przybiegła Grażynka, zrobiła wszystko koło mnie, nakarmiła i pobiegła na drugi koniec szpitala do Andrzeja, a stamtąd do ZKP na prace organizacyjne konkursu kompozytorskiego." (My translation.)
[28] Sendłak, *Bacewicz*, 171–172. "[M]amusia, umierając, gdy jeszcze mogła mówić, tak powiedziała do Kieja i Wan (ja leżałam obok na tapczanie, bo miałam swój dyżur spania—te dyżury spaniowe wprowadziliśmy na ostatnie dwa i pół dnia, bo byśmy nie wytrzymali—leżałam, ale wszystko słyszałam), że ja mam teraz wszystkim kierować, że mam najwięcej roboty, więc macie mi pomagać i słuchać mnie." (My translation.)
[29] Ibid. "Mamusia tylko dobrze rozumiała, że w gruncie rzeczy, mimo iż mam dużo roboty, niańczę wszystkich z rodziny, czy to widzą, czy nie, więc widocznie uważała, że mnie trzeba niby zrobić tą głową rodziny." (My translation.)

> serious, he is still lying in the hospital. I take comfort in the fact that, after all, the bad tide cannot last forever, that it will pass at last.[30]

Andrzej's health began to decline further as well. In a letter from September 1962, Bacewicz explained that she was too busy taking care of her husband to compose, writing:

> Dear Tadeusz, I don't know if you are aware that I have a very difficult existence at the moment. Andrzej has returned from Paris in poor health, so I am his nurse, caregiver, nanny, etc. Composing is out of the question [right now]. […] After the surgery, Andrzej was practically in agony.[31]

After Biernacki's death in 1963, Bacewicz occasionally helped her daughter through times of sickness as well. In 1964, Bacewicz complained to Ochlewski about an "epidemic" that attacked her daughter and son-in-law. The composer wrote:

> Dear Tadeusz! […] The reason for my long silence was the tonsillitis epidemic that was raging in our house. Both Alinka and her husband fell ill at the same time—so I had to take them in. I nursed them for a whole week (penicillin injections etc.). I am not afraid of germs, so I avoided the disease myself, but I am a little tired.[32]

Bacewicz thus combined her roles as a composer and organizer of musical life (including her active role at the Polish Composers' Union), and as a wife, mother, sister, and daughter.[33] No matter how challenging the circumstances happened to be, she never

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[30] ANK, PWM archive, folder 143, p. 25. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 4 September 1958. "[Z]ła faza jakoś nie chce się skończyć. Kiejstut był bardzo chory, wisiał na włosku. Miał operację na ropień w nerce. Byłyśmy więc nad morzem parę dni tylko, a później kursowałyśmy między Warszawą a Łodzią. Stan Kiejstuta jeszcze poważny, ciągle leży w szpitalu. Pocieszam się tym, że przecież zła fala nie może trwać ciągle, że minie wreszcie." (My translation.)

[31] ANK, PWM archive, folder 146, p. 49. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 5 September 1962. "Drogi Tadeuszu, nie wiem, czy się orientujesz, że mam obecnie bardzo trudny żywot. Andrzej wrócił z Paryża w złym stanie zdrowia, więc jestem jego pielęgniarką, opiekunką niańką itd. Nie ma mowy o komponowaniu. Po operacji Andrzej był właściwie w stanie agonii. […]" (My translation.)

[32] ANK, PWM archive, folder 149, p. 51-52. Grażyna Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 24 June 1964. "Kochany Tadeuszu! […] Przyczyną mego długiego milczenia była epidemia anginy, jaka u nas szalała. Jednocześnie rozchorowała się Alinka i jej mąż -- musiałam więc wziąć ich do siebie. Pielęgnowałam ich cały tydzień (zastrzyki penicyliny itp.) Zarazków się nie boję, więc sama uniknęłam choroby, ale jestem trochę zmęczona." (My translation.)

[33] Bacewicz was the treasurer at the Polish Composers' Union between 1947–1950, a board member between 1950–1951, and the vice-president between 1955–1957.

questioned the need to fulfill all her roles flawlessly; she applied immeasurable care to all of them. While maintaining her image as an exceptional and hard-working woman composer, Bacewicz simultaneously provided unflagging care and support to the members of her family. Certainly, her success in doing so led her to believe that she could "do it all" by herself and, therefore, that any woman could. What allowed Bacewicz to perform her various roles was, however, not necessarily exclusively the extraordinary self-discipline and the little "motor" (the ability to do everything extremely fast) as she seemed to believe. While Bacewicz was surely very efficient and well organized, she also received significant emotional support from her family, and especially from her mother and sister. The commitment to her loved ones that Bacewicz demonstrated was reciprocal. For example, as mentioned above, Wanda Bacewicz supported her sister during Biernacki's long absences. More broadly, as I argue below, throughout Bacewicz's career her mother and sister created a nurturing domestic space where the composer received emotional support and a sense of empowerment and community, as well as practical help with some of her professional tasks. The two women did so by providing various types of labour: Maria as the family's caring matriarch and Grażyna's confidant, and Wanda as her sister's administrative assistant, copyist, and manager.

Domesticity revisited: Maria Modlińska, Wanda Bacewicz, and the gender dynamic of Grażyna Bacewicz's domestic space

Living in physical proximity to her daughter allowed Maria Modlińska to remain closely involved in Grażyna's life. Maria was known for her regular and detailed journal writing, ardently noting down events from her children's lives. As Sendłak notes, "the entries in Maria's diary [were] an inseparable companion in the life and career of the busy daughter."[34] The idea that the diary was a "companion" does not necessarily mean that these

[34] Sendłak, *Bacewicz,* 121. "[Z]apiski w dzienniczku Marii będą odtąd nieodstępnym towarzyszem życia i kariery zapracowanej córki." (My translation.)

entries played a role in Bacewicz's everyday life; rather, this term points to Modlińska's diligence in recording her daughter's life. Indeed, while Maria's journaling habit yielded invaluable historical records for today's musicologists—providing the dates of Bacewicz's concerts, competitions, travels, and premieres—these entries also illustrate how preoccupied Maria was with her daughter's career. For example, in 1951, Maria made detailed notes about Grażyna's unprecedented success in a composition competition in Liège, Belgium:

> May 10, 1951. Grażyna […] decided to write the "String Quartet No. 4" for a competition (recently announced in Liège). […] On October 5, 1951, a phone call to Grażyna from PAP [Polish Press Agency] that she was the prizewinner. […] Such a great success, such a happy day that we were jumping around like madwomen and embracing and kissing each other. Our brilliant little woman—as they immediately informed us—beat 54 men from 13 countries.[35]

When Bacewicz travelled to Belgium to receive her award, Maria made sure to prepare a welcome party for her daughter to celebrate the success upon her return. On December 11, 1951, she wrote in her journal:

> December 11, 1951. Warsaw, Tuesday. Oh joy! Beautiful weather for the return of Grażyna from Belgium. […] I was waiting at home with afternoon tea. The table prepared, the apartment decorated with flowers.[36]

Based on the selected excerpts from Maria Modlińska's journals that have been made available by her descendants, we can conclude that Maria was usually very well informed about what piece Grażyna was working on at any given moment. She was also familiar with Grażyna's composing habits (including the fact that Bacewicz needed complete silence to be

[35] Ibid., 123. From Maria Modlińska's diary, May 10, 1951. "Grażyna […] postanowiła pisać na konkurs (niedawno ogłoszony w Liège) IV Kwartet Smyczkowy. […] 5 października 1951 telefon do Grażyny z PAP, że jest laureatką. […] Taki wielki sukces, taki najszczęśliwszy dzień, żeśmy jak wariatki skakały i wzajemnie się obejmowały, całowały. Nasza genialna kobietka – jak nas zaraz poinformowali – pobiła 54 mężczyzn z 13 krajów." (My translation.)
[36] Ibid., 121. From Maria Modlińska's diary. "11 grudzień 1951. Warszawa, wtorek. O radości! Piękna pogoda na powrót Grażyny z Belgii. […] [C]zekałam w domu z podwieczorkiem. Stół naszykowany, mieszkanie przystrojone kwiatami." (My translation.)

able to compose), as well as with the details of her social life. For example, on November 4, 1951, Maria noted: "Sunday. […] A happy day for Grażyna. For no one prevented her from composing the 'Violin Concerto no. 4.' A very rare day such as this." A few months later, Maria reported that "in the New Year, Grażyna received friends. The Lutosławskis, the Rowickis, the Panufniks, Gradstein and his lady, count Mycielski, Szeligowski, Lissa and Żuławski. They were partying until late—splendidly."[37] In a similar vein, Bacewicz told her mother about the administrative details of her work related to compositional commissions she received from state institutions. For example, one of Maria's journal entries from 1953 reads:

> ZKP [Polish Composers' Union] sent their evaluation of the ballet *Peasant King* commissioned by the Committee for Composer Commissions at the Ministry of Culture and Art. It was accepted […] on April 8, 1953, […] and an honorarium is to be agreed upon.[38]

The above entries demonstrate not only how proud Maria was of her daughter, but also how closely she followed Bacewicz's career, often acting as a protective "guardian" of her daughter's best interests. Moreover, the fact that Maria was always up to date with Grażyna's daily schedule, important deadlines, and even her mood, provides evidence that the two women were close and that Bacewicz confided in her mother about the details of her creative process and business deals. Equipped with that knowledge and as a frequent guest at Bacewicz's and Biernacki's home, Maria could focus on maintaining a nurturing and peaceful domestic environment for her daughter, as well as cultivating productive conditions for her work.

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[37] Ibid., 126–7. From Maria Modlińska's diary. "4 listopad [1951], niedziela. […] Szczęśliwy dla Grażyny dzionek. Bowiem nikt jej nie przeszkodził w komponowaniu IV Koncertu skrzypcowego. Bardzo rzadki taki dzień. […] W Nowym Roku Grażyna przyjmowała kolegów. Lutosów, Rowickich, Panufników, Gradsteina z damą, hr. Mycielskiego, Szeligowskiego, Lissę i Żuławskiego. Bawili się do późna – świetnie." (My translation.)

[38] Ibid., 136. From Maria Modlińska's diary. "ZKP przysłał ocenę baletu *Z chłopa król* zamówionego przez Komitet Zamówień Kompozytorskich przy Ministerstwie Kultury i Sztuki. Został zaakceptowany […] 8 IV 1953 […] i honorarium na być uzgodnione." (My translation.)

The sense of community, mutual care, and shared responsibility likewise permeated the relationships between Modlińska's children, especially in the face of their mother's deteriorating health and eventual death. Kiejstut, Grażyna, and Wanda came together and took turns watching over and nursing their dying mother in 1958. Furthermore, Wanda provided consistent and invaluable support to her sister's career for decades. The frequent recurrence of Wanda Bacewicz (1911–2011) in accounts of her famous sister's life is often taken for granted. In Poland, musicologists became familiar with the figure of Wanda Bacewicz primarily due to her special role as the keeper of her siblings', especially Grażyna's, heritage as "the guardian of the family memory."[39] She outlived Grażyna (1909–1969) and Vytautas (1905–1970) by over forty years, and Kiejstut (1904–1993) by eighteen years. Wanda Bacewicz was a poet and a journalist—the only one among her siblings who did not become a professional musician, despite receiving extensive musical training. After she retired in 1974, organizing the family archive became one of her most time-consuming tasks.[40] "Among other things," Agnieszka Izdebska explains, "she took care of organizing family correspondence, the most interesting part of which she [considered] Grażyna Bacewicz's letters to her brother, Vytautas Bacevičius, from 1939–1968."[41]

Figure 10. Wanda Bacewicz (left) and Grażyna Bacewicz (right) with Grażyna's daughter Alina in Park Ujazdowski, Warsaw (date unknown, circa 1942). Związek Kompozytorów

[39] Gąsiorowska, *Bacewicz*, 18. "Strażnik rodzinnej pamięci." (My translation.)
[40] Agnieszka Izdebska "Życie i twórczość Wandy Bacewicz – próba opisu syntetyzującego," in *Rodzeństwo Bacewiczów: Materiały Z Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowej - Łódź, Kwiecień ' 95 [The Bacewicz Siblings: Materials from the International Conference - Łódź, April ' 95*], ed. Marta Szoka, Bogdan Dowlasz, and Mirosław Flis (Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna, 1996), 70.
[41] Ibid. "Zajęła się między innymi porządkowaniem rodzinnej korespondencji, za której najciekawszą część uważa[ła] listy Grażyny Bacewicz do brata, Vytautasa Bacevičiusa, z lat 1939–1968." (My translation.)

Polskich and Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, "Obrazy – Zdjęcia," *Grażyna Bacewicz,* accessed June 29, 2023, https://bacewicz.polmic.pl/zdjecia.

Wanda Bacewicz never had a family of her own and the details of her personal life remain unknown. It is clear, however, that she had a very close relationship with her sister. As mentioned above, following their mother's death in 1958, and the death of Grażyna's husband Andrzej in 1963, Wanda moved in with Grażyna. Yet already starting in the late forties, Wanda helped maintain her sister's professional correspondence. The archive reveals several exchanges between Wanda and Tadeusz Ochlewski, who supervised publications of Grażyna's music by the Polish Music Publishing house (PWM). For example, in a post card from May 9, 1950, Wanda writes:

> Dear Mr. Director, upon leaving, Grażyna asked me to confirm receipt of the score of the "Concerto No, 3" for which she thanks you very much, and four author's copies of *Oberek*. The score arrived in time, as Grażyna only left today by plane. I send you warm greetings. Wanda Bacewicz"[42]

[42] ANK, PWM archive, folder 110, p. 267. Wanda Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 9 May 1950. The letter was sent from Grażyna Bacewicz's address on Koszykowa street. "Szanowny Panie Dyrektorze. Grażyna wyjeżdżając prosiła, abym potwierdziła odbiór partytury III Koncertu, za którą bardzo dziękuje i 4-ch

Another letter, sent from Grażyna Bacewicz to musicologist Zofia Lissa (her colleague and friend) on August 15, 1968, speaks to Wanda's role as a messenger between Grażyna and her colleagues, especially during Grażyna's absences. In this case, Grażyna, who was spending her winter holidays in Zakopane (a popular ski resort town in the Tatra mountains), wrote to Lissa:

> Dear Zofia, first of all, the kindest greetings from Zakopane!!! A while ago I received a letter from Wanda, in which she reports to me that you need data on my recent works. It will not be easy [to do so] from memory, but I will try! [Bacewicz proceeds to list her works.][43]

egzemplarzy autorskich Oberka. Partytura zdążyła przyjść w porę, ponieważ Grażyna wyjechała dopiero dziś samolotem. Łączę serdeczne pozdrowienia. Wanda Bacewicz." (My translation.)

[43] AKP, Lissa's correspondence in Polish, "Teczka I," Grażyna Bacewicz to Zofia Lissa, 15 August 1968. "Kochana Zosiu, [p]rzede wszystkim najmilsze pozdrowienia z Zakopanego!!! Przed chwilą dostałam list od Wandy, w którym donosi mi, że potrzebujesz danych o moich ostatnich utworach. Z pamięci nie będzie to łatwe, ale spróbuję!" (My translation.)

Figure 11. Wanda Bacewicz in 1964. Związek Kompozytorów Polskich and Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, "Portrait of Wanda Bacewicz (PWM)."

In many cases, Wanda's role went beyond simply facilitating the exchange of letters. In fact, she would provide essential feedback that informed the publishing process of Grażyna's pieces. For example, in a letter to Ochlewski from November 21, 1949, Wanda wrote:

> Dear Mr. Director, […] I would like to humbly note that Grażyna's "Suite for two violins" is being repeatedly requested, which forces us to constantly rewrite this piece in two copies. (The Suite is currently being prepared by two of Prof. Jarzębski's students graduating from the Conservatory this year—Santor and Bąkowski for their double recital.) Wouldn't it be possible—insofar as the Suite is not scheduled to be printed for the time being—to transcribe it in several copies? Or perhaps it would be worth printing it after all, especially since Professor J. Jarzębski presented the Suite to the Ministry as

the most urgent thing to print. The first print run would surely have gone as fast as those duets. I extend my deepest respect and cordial greetings. Wanda Bacewicz.[44]

Similarly, in a letter to from May 8, 1953, Wanda informs Ochlewski that she attaches her corrections to "the errors in the piano part of the Quintet."[45]

While Wanda often acted as Grażyna's administrative assistant, as well as a copyist and editor of her scores, she was also involved in keeping records of her sister's works and providing up-to-date information about the composer's latest successes and compositional works to musicologists and editors. In a letter to Zofia Lissa from February 13, 1969 (shortly after Grażyna's sudden death), Wanda wrote:

> Dear Ms. Zosia [i.e., Zofia], I keep getting asked by various people for a list of Grażyna's works, so I took the opportunity to make a copy and I am sending it to you, because I think you will find it useful when, for example, you travel with lectures on contemporary Polish music. […] In this inventory are, of course, only the more important works. […] I think that the list of [Grażyna's] works will perhaps also be [published] in [the special issue of] "Ruch Muzyczny" dedicated to Grażyna, but well, of the accuracy of my own [list] I am at least certain.[46]

Similarly, in a letter sent to Lissa later that same year, Wanda explains:

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[44] ANK, PWM archive, folder 110, p. 327. Wanda Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 21 November 1949. The letter was sent from Grażyna Bacewicz's address on Koszykowa street. "Drogi Panie Dyrektorze. […] Pragnę skromnie zauważyć, że Suita Grażyny na dwoje skrzypiec jest ciągle przez kogoś pożądana, co zmusza nas do nieustannego przepisywania tego utworu w dwóch egzemplarzach. /Obecnie Suitę przygotowują 2 kończące w tym roku Konserwatorium uczniowie prof. Jarzębskiego – Santor i Bąkowski na swój podwójny recital./ Czy nie dałoby się – o ile Suita nieprzewidziana jest na razie do druku – przepisać ją w kilku egzemplarzach? A może jednak warto byłoby ją wydrukować, tym więcej, że profesor J. Jarzębski przedstawił Suitę w Ministerstwie jako rzecz najbardziej pilną do druku. Pierwszy nakład na pewno by się rozszedł tak szybko jak i tamte duety. Łączę wyrazy najgłębszego szacunku i serdeczne pozdrowienia. Wanda Bacewicz" (My translation.)

[45] ANK, PWM archive, folder 138, p. 117. Wanda Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 8 May 1953. "A więc podaję błędy w partii fortepianowej Kwintetu." (My translation.)

[46] AKP, Lissa's correspondence in Polish, "Teczka I," Wanda Bacewicz to Zofia Lissa, 13 February 1968. (There is a mistake in the date of the letter. Since it discusses Grażyna Bacewicz's recent death, it must have been sent in 1969, not in 1968). "Droga Pani Zosiu[,] ciągle ktoś mnie prosi o spis utworów Grażyny, więc zrobiłam przy okazji kopię i przesyłam, bo sądzę, że się pani przyda gdy np. jeździ pani z odczytami o współczesnej muzyce polskiej. […] W tym spisie są oczywiście tylko utwory ważniejsze. […] Sądzę, że spis utworów będzie może także w 'Ruchu Muzycznym' poświęconym Grażynie, no ale za ścisłość swojego jestem przynajmniej pewna." (My translation.)

> Dear Ms. Zofia, […] looking through the materials about Grażyna today, I noticed that due to hurry in the list of awards sent to you for the German encyclopedia, I left out the UNESCO Paris—*Music for Strings, Trumpets and Percussion* (the highest score for a symphonic work in 1960). This worries me, so I am very much asking—if it has not yet been sent to Germany to send the data I am enclosing instead of the previous one, and if it has already been sent—to update it. I am very sorry that I am bothering the ill, but I would like to make sure that such an important thing is not left out.[47]

In the abovementioned letter to Ochlewski from November 21, 1949, Wanda attached "an entry for the chronicle of 'Ruch Muzyczny'" (*Ruch Muzyczny* was, and still is, a renowned music magazine published by the PWM, and it can be assumed that the topic of the entry sent by Wanda was her sister's music).[48] Additionally, in the letter from May 8, 1953, Wanda informed Ochlewski:

> A letter arrived for Grażyna from the Belgian musician d'Archambeau, who was recently on tour in America. He writes that Grażyna's works are having great success in America. The Stradivarius Quartet is asking for the score of the "Quartet No. 4," and the director of the New York Public Library, Department of Music—a great personality in the music world—wants one copy of each of Grażyna's works. This, of course, is unfeasible, but I am pleased to see such interest in the music of Gr.[ażyna.][49]

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[47] AKP, Lissa's correspondence in Polish, "Teczka I," Wanda Bacewicz to Zofia Lissa, 12 September 1969. "Kochana Pani Zofio […] Przeglądając dziś materiały o Grażynie zauważyłam, że przez pośpiech w przesłanym pani dla niemieckiej encyklopedii spisie nagród opuściłam UNESCO Paryż—Muzyka na smyczki, trąbki i perkusję (najwyższa punktacja za utwór symfoniczny w 1960 r.) Martwi mnie to, więc bardzo proszę—o ile nie zostało to jeszcze do Niemiec wysłane o przesłanie danych, które załączam zamiast poprzednich, a jeśli już wysłano—o uzupełnienie. Przepraszam bardzo, że męczę chorą, ale chciałabym, ażeby tak ważna rzecz nie została pominięta. Spis utworów jest w porządku." (My translation.)

[48] ANK, PWM archive, folder 110, p. 327. Wanda Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 21 November 1949. The letter was sent from Grażyna Bacewicz's address on Koszykowa street. "Drogi Panie Dyrektorze. Pozwalam sobie przesłać na ręce Pana Dyrektora wzmiankę do kroniki 'Ruchu Muzycznego.'" (My translation.)

[49] ANK, PWM archive, folder 138, p. 117. Wanda Bacewicz to Tadeusz Ochlewski, 8 May 1953. "Dziś przyszedł list do Grażyny od muzyka belgijskiego d'Archambeau, który był ostatnio na tournée w Ameryce. Pisze on, że utwory Grażyny mają w Ameryce wielkie powodzenie. Kwartet Stradivariusa prosi o nuty IV Kwartetu, a dyrektor New York Public Library--Department of Music – wielka osobistość w świecie muzycznym pragnie mieć po jednym egzemplarzu wszystkich utworów Grażyny. To oczywiście jest niewykonalne, ale cieszy mnie takie zainteresowanie muzyką Gr.[ażyny]." (My translation.)

These notes illustrate that like Maria, Wanda was proud of her sister and was personally involved in maintaining and supporting the composer's impeccable reputation. Through the years, she became an essential actor in Grażyna's professional and social networks, which allowed her to promote her sister's music among the editors and musicologists Grażyna introduced her to and whom she befriended. For example, the archive demonstrates that Wanda was friends with Tadeusz Ochlewski, Zofia Lissa, and Zygmunt Mycielski, all of whom were Grażyna's close friends; Wanda maintained these friendships even after Grażyna's death. It is also important to note that thanks to her musical training, Wanda was musically competent and knowledgeable about the Polish contemporary music scene, which made her an excellent fit as Grażyna's assistant, albeit without a formal title. Moreover, on top of her work as a poet and novelist, Wanda also worked as a music journalist and occasionally published reviews for *Ruch Muzyczny*. Starting in 1951, she also collaborated with Polish Radio, preparing broadcasts on classical music and poetry. Working on the outskirts of Warsaw's musical-musicological milieu, Wanda Bacewicz might also have made and maintained certain professional connections without her sister's direct involvement.

Overall, while Wanda was the guardian of the family memory after all her siblings passed away, her work began decades earlier while she was assisting her sister. Wanda's later involvement in organizing the family archive was therefore an extension of her lifelong active role in supporting Grażyna's career. The support, assistance, and loyalty that Bacewicz could count on in her domestic space throughout her career challenges the myth that as a woman composer, she was a self-sustained superheroine—an image she nevertheless made sure to cultivate (see Chapter One). Moreover, the involvement of both Maria Modlińska and Wanda Bacewicz in Grażyna Bacewicz's success sheds light on the ways in which musical modernism offered opportunities to redefine domestic spaces for women composers. Once a

space that policed women and set limits to their artistic exploration, for Bacewicz the "private" space was one that empowered and amplified her creative potential.

Grażyna Bacewicz's agency within her family system challenges the traditional relationship between gender and domesticity. Yet simultaneously, her reliance on the availability of other women in her family to provide emotional and musical labour in fact reinscribes and relies on a well-known gendered trope of the family dynamic of great (male) artists. One example of such a trope is that of the "composer's wife" as a public role performed by the wives of several recognized male composers in the history of Western art music. The most notable and documented cases of the "composer's wife" trope involve Alma and Gustav Mahler, Clara and Robert Schumann, and Alice and Edward Elgar. [50] The women in several of these cases were talented musicians who eventually had their own careers as well.

The trope of the "composer's wife" is particularly resonant in the history of Polish postwar composition. Elżbieta Penderecka (b. 1947) and Danuta Lutosławska (1911–1994), the wives of two of the most recognized twentieth-century Polish composers (Krzysztof Penderecki and Witold Lutosławski) have been widely recognized in Poland for their integral role in their husbands' careers. Both women are known to have abandoned their own professional paths to provide various types of labour in support of their husbands' compositional careers. Elżbieta Penderecka (née Solecka) married her husband as an eighteen-year-old Jagiellonian University student majoring in physics. Penderecki was a thirty-two-year-old divorcé at the time. Penderecka dropped out of the university and immediately started working as Penderecki's assistant and office manager, also giving birth to her first child less than a year after the wedding. Throughout Penderecki's career, she co-organized festivals and

[50] A notable example discussing the "composer's wife" as a public role is Martha Sprigge's paper "The Widow in the Archive: Musical Materials and the Gendered Labor of Mourning in the German Democratic Republic" presented at the American Musicological Society Annual Meeting in 2019. See also: Martha Sprigge, *Socialist Laments: Musical Mourning in the German Democratic Republic* (New York: Oxford Academic online edition, 2021), https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1093/oso/9780197546321.001.0001.

musical projects with him, sat on the boards of several cultural institutions, and eventually became recognized in Poland as an independent patron of classical music. Danuta Lutosławska (née Dygat) and her husband married in 1946, when both of them were in their thirties. Danuta is known to have worked as the copyist of Lutosławski's scores. As her husband recalled,

> Danusia [i.e., Danuta] began transcribing my works fairly early in our marriage. This was, of course, a huge convenience, because I could design the layout of all my scores that Chester published. I wrote the scores quite carefully in pencil and the whole horizontal layout was already calculated by me the way I wanted it. Danusia made carbon paper from this, which served as matrices for printing. This was a huge help to me because I was sure of the end result. You never have that certainty when you hand over the material to an engraver.[51]

A parallel exists between the "composer's wife" figure in the case of Penderecka and Lutosławska, and the role that Wanda Bacewicz played in Grażyna Bacewicz's career. Since the ambitious Andrzej Biernacki had a demanding career as a doctor, Bacewicz could not count on her husband to provide the kind of assistance Penderecki and Lutosławski had at home (and she likely would not have expected him to do so, given her declared values regarding gender roles). Yet she was fortunate to receive comparable assistance from her sister Wanda. With sufficient musical training and no family commitments of her own, Wanda Bacewicz was an excellent variant of the "composer's wife" figure for Grażyna Bacewicz. Simultaneously, Wanda's labour at home could be downplayed; it did not challenge the image of Bacewicz as someone who did everything by herself. Paradoxically, what allowed

[51] "Danuta Lutosławska," Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, accessed January 28, 2024, https://greatcomposers.nifc.pl/pl/lutoslawski/catalogs/persons/10096_danuta-lutoslawska.
"Danusia od dość wczesnych lat naszego małżeństwa zaczęła przepisywać moje utwory. To było oczywiście ogromnym ułatwieniem, ponieważ mogłem projektować układ graficzny wszystkich moich partytur, które Chester wydawał. Pisałem partytury dość starannie ołówkiem i cały poziomy układ był już przeze mnie wykalkulowany tak, jak chciałem. Danusia z tego robiła kalki, które służyły jako matryce do druku. To dla mnie było olbrzymią pomocą, ponieważ byłem pewny efektu końcowego. Nigdy nie ma się tej pewności, kiedy się materiał oddaje sztycharzowi." (My translation.)

Bacewicz to maintain her superheroine image was Maria's and Wanda's labour and support. In that sense, the family dynamic that sustained Bacewicz's career relied on women's labour—much of which took place behind the scenes, in the domestic space—that has gone largely unacknowledged in previous studies of Grażyna Bacewicz's life and public image.

At the same time, there are clear differences between the "composer's wife" model and the dynamic in Grażyna Bacewicz's family. As I explain above, Maria, Wanda, and Grażyna lived in a matriarchal structure from the point Vincas left the family to return to Lithuania. Due to Biernacki's frequent absences from Warsaw, Bacewicz's lively career, and the egalitarian nature of their marriage, the fact that he married into the family did not necessarily disrupt the primarily matriarchal orientation of the women's everyday lives. The letters and memoirs quoted above testify to a family structure that relied on the women's reciprocal care work. Additionally, recognizing Maria's and Wanda's sense of responsibility for the advancement of Grażyna's compositional career and overall reputation makes it clear that while all women in the Bacewicz family engaged in traditionally feminized care work, they were also equally in charge of ensuring the good name and general well-being of the family as a whole. As such, Bacewicz's case provides a historical example of a woman composer who achieved success not because of her exceptionality and falsely assumed self-sufficiency, but rather because of the reliability and multifaceted support of the feminized family microcosm in which she lived.

Chapter Three

Women in Twentieth-Century Polish Musicology: Agency, Institutions, and Jewish History[1]

The intellectual and institution-building labour of musicologists was essential to reconstructing and sustaining the Polish classical music tradition throughout the twentieth century. In the interwar period and after the Second World War, in the wake of century-long partitions and the losses of two World Wars, a sense of urgency to revive national culture arose among musicians, composers, and scholars. The work of musicologists was not limited to documenting and interpreting the history of Polish music: they were widely influential figures involved in nation-making political-aesthetic debates oriented towards the future.

For women, however, and in particular Jewish women, the power to act and the opportunity to participate in the nation-making discourses surrounding the rebuilding of Polish national music was deeply intertwined with the changing politics of gender and ethnic-national identity in Poland. To illustrate the complicated history of women's presence in Polish musicology, this chapter traces the academic career of musicologist Zofia Lissa (1905–1980) against the dynamically shifting sociopolitical background of twentieth-century Poland. Consequently, by emphasizing the ways in which women's agency and visibility in the academic milieu relied on the changing politics of gender and inclusion, I complicate the commonplace image of Lissa as an invincible—albeit opportunistic—figure, who exerted firm and consistent power throughout her scholarly career.

In contemporary Poland, Lissa's contributions are recognized largely in three contexts. First, she is remembered as an author of a popular music theory and history textbook "Zarys Nauki o Muzyce" ("Overview of the Study of Music"), originally published in 1934.[2] The

[1] This chapter includes detailed descriptions of incidents of verbal and physical violence against Jewish people.
[2] Zofia Lissa, *Zarys nauki o muzyce* [*Overview of the Study of Music*] (Lviv: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1934).

book has earned its place in the canon of Polish music pedagogy and has been reprinted several times, with its most recent edition in 2007. Musicologists, however, remember Lissa primarily for her role in institutionalizing Polish musicology and restoring the country's musical culture in the late forties and early fifties. Lissa survived the Second World War in the USSR—first as a music teacher in Soviet-occupied Uzbekistan, and later as the head of musical activities at the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow. Shortly after, she served as cultural attaché at the Polish embassy in Moscow. Following this period, Lissa's career accelerated, both as a scholar and as a communist activist. Pierce notes that after she settled in Warsaw in 1947, Lissa "held a level of power within the Polish musical milieu largely unmatched by musicologists before or since."[3] Indeed, in addition to being a prolific researcher and a university teacher, Lissa worked at the Ministry of Culture and Art, founded and chaired the Musicology Department at the University of Warsaw, and was an active figure in the operations of the Polish Composers' Union.

Finally, the third and most controversial context in which Lissa's contributions to Polisah musicology are framed in the present-day is through her reputation as a "Stalinist scholar." There were several factors that led to Lissa's legacy being defined in this way, including her communist political views, the overlap between her scholarship and the official socialist realism doctrine (which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Four), as well as her influence within the state apparatus and Ministry of Culture and Art. These elements of Lissa's biography contributed to painting the scholar's unfavorable image in post-communist Poland. After 1989, the influence of musicologists on the political-aesthetic direction of Polish postwar music has been examined largely with regard to their role in promoting or challenging the doctrine of socialist realism. Characteristic to those accounts is the premise that those who

[3] J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song.'" *Journal of Musicology* 37, no. 2 (May 11, 2020): 232.

contested socialist realism were driven by an individual moral compass, while those who advanced the new doctrine did so because they were manipulated, indoctrinated, or prioritized immediate individual benefits over the wellbeing of the nation.

In recent years, however, scholars interested in Lissa's intellectual-artistic and organizational contributions in the postwar decade have introduced theoretical and historiographical frames that shift away from the question of ethics. Rather than reproducing the narrative of Lissa as a calculated "Stalinist," J. Mackenzie Pierce and Lisa Cooper Vest propose a more nuanced analysis of Lissa's overall biography and of the sociopolitical circumstances that the Polish artist-intellectual class found themselves in at the conclusion of the war.[4] In his 2019 dissertation "Polish Generation's Journey Across War and Reconstruction, 1926–53," Pierce argues that socialist realism in Polish music "arrived onto a well-laid groundwork: it fit into a discourse about aesthetics, accessibility, and social responsibility that was second nature to the musicians who had survived the war," including Lissa.[5] Pierce analyzes the discourse of *upowszechnianie* (understood as music education of the masses, music popularization) as a governing force that sustained national music culture in interwar Poland. He demonstrates that Lissa, together with other musicologists, composers, and music organizers active in the thirties, carried a sense of social responsibility for maintaining, growing, and democratizing musical culture through wartime.[6] As a result, "the communist

[4] See: J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Life and Death for Music: A Polish Generation's Journey Across War and Reconstruction, 1926–53" (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2019); Lisa Cooper Vest, *Awangarda: Tradition and Modernity in Postwar Polish Music* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2021).

The use of the term "artist-intellectual" to describe the wide milieu of composers, musicologists, critics, and cultural policy makers in communist Poland has been largely popularized by Lisa Cooper Vest.

See also: Zofia Helman, "Zofia Lissa," in *50 lat Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [*50 Years of The Institute of Musicology At The University Of Warsaw*], eds. Iwona Januszkiewicz-Rębowska and Szymon Paczkowski (Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1998), 9. To some extent, Zofia Helman recognizes these two contexts in her article quoted above. She indicates the nature of the postwar times as "difficult and groundbreaking" for Polish music and music education before laying out the extent of Lissa's political affiliation.

[5] Pierce, "Life and Death," 357.

[6] Pierce looks at Zofia Lissa, Roman Palester, Tadeusz Zygfryd Kassern, Zygmunt Mycielski, Tadeusz Ochlewski, Mateusz Gliński, Piotr Perkowski, Mieczysław Drobner, and Stefan Kisielewski.

projects absorbed the rhetoric and often also objectives of prewar projects."[7] Pierce's analysis challenges the concept of the socialist realism period in Polish music as a moment of disjunction. He reconciles the scholarly consensus that socialist realism was "derived from the Soviet context, […] correspond[ing] to tightening of the Soviet reins across Eastern Europe" with the documented "support for socialist realist principles [from] members of the [Polish] cultural elite."[8]

Moreover, in his 2020 article "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" Pierce demonstrates the link between Lissa's prewar and wartime experiences and her commitments to the communist project and music's democratization.[9] He traces the origins of Lissa's enthusiasm for mass song—one of the socialist realism's flagship genre—back to her wartime experience with collecting and transcribing popular war songs. As Pierce notes, Lissa saw firsthand the positive role that popular song played in easing political and ethnic divisions among Polish and Polish-Jewish refugees in the USSR. In other words, when Lissa came to Warsaw in 1947 and wholeheartedly dedicated herself to building the new, socialist Poland, she was already carrying personal trauma that made her hopeful about Poland's new political order. And she was not alone in her faith in the Soviet Union's "promises of ethnic equality" and that communists would finally eradicate antisemitism from society, however "dubious" these promises turned out to be.[10]

While Pierce's revisionist study of Lissa encourages a more nuanced understanding of Lissa's legacy, Vest demonstrates how Lissa's 1947 approach to socialist realism as a guarantee of cultural progress was not simply an ideological transplant of the Soviet discourse to the Polish ground. While Lissa's ideas on socialist realism were undoubtedly influenced by

[7] Pierce, "Life and Death," 317. Pierce also emphasizes that the ideas of "rebuilding" and "democratizing" were part of the discursive campaign aiming to overcome and heal war traumas as a society.
[8] Ibid., 357.
[9] Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" 231–66.
[10] Ibid., 257–258.

Soviet musicology and her time spent in the Soviet Union, they also evolved from her own lifelong scholarly interest in musical meaning and the study of music sociology. Finally, Vest argues that the "Marxist-modernizationist" group—as she characterizes Lissa, Włodzimierz Sokorski, and Stefania Łobaczewska ca. 1947—adhered to a distinctive idea of progress that had governed debates around music in Poland since the twenties.[11] She challenges the disjunction between "formalists" (the heroes) and "socialist realists" (the villains), since they all shared a concern for overcoming a perceived musical, and therefore national, backwardness. As such, similarly to Pierce, Vest proves that the history of socialist realism and Marxism in music and musicology in late forties Poland cannot be reduced to a simple top-down imposition of Soviet state-sponsored ideology.

In this chapter, I build on and expand the frameworks of Pierce and Vest as means to not only nuance Lissa's biography, but, most crucially, to move beyond the singular question of ethics in evaluating the link between Lissa's career and the broader history of Polish musicology. I focus on three selected periods from Lissa's biography to illustrate the impact of the politics of gender and ethnicity that were at play in each of these moments and the opportunities and limitations they brought to Lissa. As such, I consider Lissa and the history of Polish musicology against the background of key broader socio-political processes: Jewish and Polish women's emancipation and access to academic careers in Poland before and after the Second World War, ethnic-national tensions in interwar Galicia, and the increasing antisemitism at Polish academic institutions affecting Jewish men and women both in the interwar period and in post-1956 Poland. Simultaneously, I investigate how Lissa responded to these changing circumstances and to what extend she managed to exert her agency vis-à-vis external sociopolitical forces. This chapter is not a comprehensive history of women or Jewish women in Polish musicology, nor is it a comprehensive history of the academic field

[11] Vest, *Awangarda,* 26–33.

and its institutions. Rather, I focus on three selected moments from Lissa's career: her studies at the John Casimir University in Lviv (1924–1929), the first postwar years in Warsaw, when Lissa exerted an unmatched level of institutional power in academia and in the Polish Composers' Union (1947–1955), and the post-1956 stage of Lissa's academic career, which simultaneously marked a period of disillusionment in the communist system and the decline of Lissa's status in Poland (1956–1968).[12]

While reflecting on Lissa's life, I depart from existing historiographical practices characteristic to studies of twentieth-century Central- and Eastern-European Jewish women. On the one hand, I want to avoid the common teleological practice in Polish music historiography of categorizing assimilated Polish-speaking Jews as essentially Polish subjects. This common practice contributes—even if unintentionally—to the discursive absence of Jews in Polish collective memory and Polish musicology. The experiences that Lissa had up to the end of the Second World War would form what the editors of *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860–2000: Twelve Biographical Essays* identify as "co-existence of civic and ethnic loyalties" that made her perspective on citizenship and cosmopolitanism informed by the "transformation from imperial subject to national citizen."[13] On the other hand, as the same scholars warn, an attempt to frame Lissa as a typical Jewish "supra-national" would be unjustified. First, the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, in which Lissa grew up, was a semi-autonomous Polish province, and as such culturally distinct from the rest of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Second, Lviv became officially recognized as a Polish city in 1923, which was influential to the way that intellectuals and musicians from the Jewish community there

[12] For the name of the city, I follow editors Yiśra'el Barṭal and Antony Polonsky in their edited collection of essays, *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999), xvi. They write: "Galicia's most diversely named city, and one of its most important, boasts four variants: the Polish Lwów, the German Lemberg, the Russian Lvov, and the Ukrainian Lviv. As this city is currently Ukrainian and most of its residents speak the Ukrainian language, we shall follow that spelling."

[13] Judith Szapor, Andrea Peto, Maura Hametz, and Maria Calloni, eds. *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860–2000: Twelve Biographical Essays* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2012), 8.

identified themselves. Third, the romanticized concept of a "supra-national Jewish woman" simply does not match the reality of emigration and exile to escape war and pogroms. Lissa's life, like many others', was "profoundly altered by the nationalist virulence, anti-Semitism, and misogyny of the interwar period, and overshadowed by the Shoah. Those still alive in the Cold-War period […] struggled with the stigma of their Jewish and bourgeois origins."[14] In other words, the reason why I place Lissa at the center of my overview of the history of Polish musicology is by no means a suggestion that Lissa was an essential Polish subject. On the contrary, by approaching that history from Lissa's perspective, and accounting for the complexity of her identity and life experience, I bring attention to the central role of not only gender, but also of Jewish presence and antisemitism, to the history of musicology in Poland.

Jewish women in the academic milieu of the early twentieth-century Galicia and the beginnings of Polish musicology

Zofia Lissa (1905–1980) received her doctoral degrees in musicology in 1929, after five years of full-time studies at the University of Lviv's small musicology department, founded and chaired by professor Adolf Chybiński (1880–1952).[15] At the time of her graduation there was only a handful of trained musicologists in Poland, including three former graduates of the Lviv Musicology Department (Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian in 1917, Hieronim Feicht in 1924, and Maria Szczepańska in 1926) and Lissa's peer and friend Łobaczewska (1888/1894–1963) who graduated concurrently with Lissa in 1929.[16] Polish musicology was first institutionalized as an academic field in 1911 when a program was

[14] Ibid., 7.
[15] At the time, five-year-long post-secondary studies at Lviv University ended with a doctorate rather than a master's degree. The full name of their degree was "doktor filozofii w zakresie muzykologii" ("doctor of philosophy in the field of musicology"). Throughout the twenties, Lviv University gradually shifted to the system where the default degree was a Master's degree. The first Master's degrees in musicology at the Lviv University were granted in 1932. See: Michał Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt. Adolf Chybiński i Początki Polskiej Muzykologii We Lwowie 1912–1944 [The Interrupted Counterpoint. Adolf Chybiński and the Beginnings of Polish Musicology in Lviv 1912–1944*] (Warszawa: IH PAN, 2017), 221.
[16] See: Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt*, 223.

founded at Jagiellonian University in Kraków, followed by John Casimir University in Lviv in 1912 and Poznań University in 1919. In the interwar period, these musicology departments remained relatively small compared to contemporary standards, with an average of one graduating student a year.

Lissa, therefore, together with a handful of other graduates, belonged to the second generation of Polish musicologists, and the first one who received their training in Polish. The intellectual lineage of that generation led directly to Guido Adler: both the founder of the Lviv musicology department, Chybiński, and the founder of the Kraków musicology department, Zdzisław Jachimecki (1882–1953), completed their studies in Vienna and prepared their *Habilitation* dissertations under Adler.[17] This prominent lineage made several members of the interwar generation of musicology graduates from Lviv and Kraków key figures in Polish postwar musicology. In particular, Feicht, Lissa, Łobaczewska, and Szczepańska were leaders in re-establishing the field of musicology after the war, chairing institutes and departments at universities and conservatories, and taking leadership in the Polish Composers' Union and the Polish Music Publishing House (PWM).[18]

The pre-1939 history of the Lviv's musicology department has been well documented in recent works by Małgorzata Sieradz and Michał Piekarski.[19] In particular, the existing literature discusses the biography and academic background of Chybiński and the early years

[17] Chybiński defended his dissertation in 1912 at Lviv University with a work titled "Teoria mensuralna w polskiej literaturze muzycznej I połowy XVI wieku," and Jachimecki in 1910 at Jagiellonian University with a work titled "Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej od roku 1540 do 1640."

Stefania Łobaczewska also attended lectures with Guido Adler in Vienna during the First World War, and as such she belongs to the initial group of Polish musicologists who studied the discipline under Adler. That said, she did not receive an official degree in Vienna. According to Olga Protopopova, Łobaczewska audited the lectures for four years, 1914–1918. See: Olga Protopopova, "Wybrane aspekty piśmiennictwa muzycznego Stefanii Łobaczewskiej w lwowskim okresie jej działalności" "Selected aspects of Stefania Lobaczewska's music writings in her Lviv period" (MA thesis, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2010).

In the context of Vienna, I treat *Habilitation* as a German word. That said, when I discuss habilitations on Polish universities, I treat the word "habilitation" simply as a translation of the Polish word "habilitacja."

[18] Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian died before the war, in 1938.

[19] See: Michał Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt. Adolf Chybiński i Początki Polskiej Muzykologii We Lwowie 1912–1944* [*The Interrupted Counterpoint. Adolf Chybiński and the Beginnings of Polish Musicology in Lviv 1912–1944*] (Warszawa: IH PAN, 2017); Małgorzata Sieradz, *The Beginnings of Polish Musicology* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2020).

of the Lviv musicology department's operations (including overviews of the curricula, student enrolment, and academic staff). Nevertheless, neither of these studies center the ways in which the history of the department intersects with the history of women's presence in Polish interwar academia more broadly. Lissa, who later became a foundational figure for postwar Polish musicology, received her university training in a relatively short window during the early twentieth century in which Jewish women could enjoy freedom of education at Polish universities. She enrolled in the musicology program only about twenty-five years after women were first accepted as students to Polish universities, and only twelve years after an academic program in musicology was first founded in Lviv. Moreover, Lissa graduated in 1929, just before antisemitic practices and policies made Jewish presence at these institutions challenging—and often impossible—a few years later. Finally, as a representative of one of the very first generations of women in Central-Eastern Europe who pursued academic degrees, Lissa had very few university-educated women role models to look up to. Instead, Lissa's generation was forming a new *status quo* in Polish post-secondary education. As evaluated by a historian Mariola Kondracka, the interwar period was the second, more mainstream phase of women's rights battle in the field of post-secondary education, after the initial pre-1914 phase, when women still only occasionally attended universities. Therefore, "in the years 1918–1939 [women] […] themselves co-formed the stratum of the intelligentsia by virtue of their professional position, and not 'only,' as had been largely the case until then, as wives and daughters of intellectual men."[20]

[20] Mariola Kondracka, "Kobiety na uniwersytetach" ["Women in Universities"], in *Równe Prawa Nierówne Szanse* [*Equal Rights Unequal Opportunities*] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2000), 284. "Okres międzywojenny nazwać można drugim etapem w procesie zdobywania przez kobiety pełni praw na wyższych uczelniach. Po [przedwojennej] fazie początkowej […] lata 1918–1939 przynoszą 'umasowienie'— znaczne rozszerzenie kręgu podejmujących studia wyższe kobiet. […] w latach 1918–1939 [kobiety] […] same współtworzyły warstwę inteligencji dzięki swojej pozycji zawodowej, a nie 'tylko,' jak to w dużej mierze było dotychczas, jako żony i córki mężczyzn inteligentów." (My translation.)

Keeping in mind the historical moment in which Lissa embarked on her scholarly career, I identify three factors that delineated the horizon of opportunities and limitations during her prewar training: the increasing presence of women students in the early twentieth-century post-secondary education, the growing antisemitism that overtook university lecture halls by the end of the thirties, and the glass ceiling faced by women who had ambitions to pursue academic careers. Paraphrasing Natalia Aleksiun's approach to the first generation of Polish-Jewish women historians, I look at how Lissa's status as a female and Jewish scholar "shaped [her] professional trajectories, from [the] very access to university training to [the] choice of research topics and […] career opportunities."[21]

Lissa was born on October 19, 1905, to Jewish parents in the city of Lviv.[22] Her father Noa Lissa was a successful and well-respected photographer in the 1900s. His passion was art photography; he owned a commercial photography salon in downtown Lviv, as well as another one in the city of Stryi (his wife Chana's hometown located around seventy kilometers away).[23] The occupation of Lissa's mother, Chana, is unknown, but her own father was a surgeon, indicating the middle-class background of the family. As a child, most likely starting in 1919, Lissa took lessons in music theory, piano, and organ at the Conservatory of the Polish Music Society in Lviv (known until 1919 as the Galician Music Society).[24] Lissa entered the University of Lviv in 1924 to study musicology with Chybiński.[25]

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[21] Natalia Aleksiun, "Female, Jewish, Educated, and Writing Polish Jewish History," *Polin Studies in Polish Jewry* 29 (2017): 196.

[22] Most sources still provide 1908 as Lissa's date of birth. 1908 was also the date of birth Lissa provided in several personal questionnaires and forms she was asked to fill out at the institutions where she was employed (e.g. University of Warsaw). That said, in 2020 Piotr Szalsza published a study quoting Lissa's birth certificate from 1905 that he discovered in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. See: Piotr Szalsza, "Nieznane fakty z życia Zofii Lissy i jej najbliższej rodziny" ["Unknown Facts From The Life of Zofia Lissa And Her Close Family"], *Muzyka* 65, no. 4 (December 30, 2020): 171–81.

[23] Szalsza, "Nowe fakty z życia Zofii Lissy," 175–177.

[24] Ibid., 175. The Conservatory of the Polish Music Society in Lviv is today known as The Mykola Lysenko Lviv National Music Academy.

[25] Chybiński also taught at the Conservatory of the Polish Music Society in Lviv starting 1916, so it is reasonable to assume that he already knew Lissa when she was enrolling in the musicology program at the university. See: Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt,* 133, 349–350.

Figure 12. Zofia Lissa, portrait, "Ankieta Personalna" ["Staff Questionnaire"], 25 October, 1953, Warsaw University Archives.

A detailed discussion of the political and cultural relationship between different national and religious groups in early twentieth-century Lviv exceeds the scope of this chapter. Nevertheless, the city's unique history—with its complicated geopolitical status, its rich intellectual, academic, and musical culture, and recurring ethnic tensions—informs the history of Lviv's academic life, and more precisely, the presence of Jewish women in Polish interwar academia and musicology. At the turn of the century, Lviv was one of the liveliest cultural, musical, and intellectual urban centers in Central-Eastern Europe.[26] A capital city of the Galicia and Lodomeria region (usually referred to as Galicia, 1772–1918)—a relatively autonomous province of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary—Lviv was also the most ethnically diverse large city in the region. At the time, Galicia had the largest concentration of the Jewish population in East-Central Europe and they constituted the second biggest group

[26] See: Michał Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt. Adolf Chybiński i Początki Polskiej Muzykologii We Lwowie 1912–1944* [*The Interrupted Counterpoint. Adolf Chybiński and the Beginnings of Polish Musicology in Lviv 1912–1944*] (Warszawa: IH PAN, 2017); Jolanta Pekacz, *Music in the Culture of Polish Galicia, 1772–1914* (London: Routledge, 2016); Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka, "Musical Life of the Jewish Community in Interwar Galicia. The Problem of Identity of Jewish Musicians," *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ* 3, no. 34 (2017): 135–157.

in the city of Lviv before World War I. Joshua Shanes reports that by 1910 Jews constituted around eleven percent of Galicia's total population and the percentage was significantly higher in the urban centers, Lviv and Kraków (over twenty-five percent).[27] Moreover, as he notes, "unlike Jews in Tsarist Russia, […] Galician Jews since their emancipation in 1867 enjoyed wide-ranging civil and political rights more typical of Central and Western Europe."[28]

Figure 13. Map of the Galicia region in the late nineteenth century.

In early twentieth-century Galicia, the Jewish community was facing internal debates and disagreements over conflicting visions for the future place of Jews in Eastern Europe, namely between assimilationists and Zionists.[29] As noted by Jerzy Holzer, "the Jews trod the

[27] Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3.
[28] Ibid.
[29] That said, Joshua Shanes argues that the opposition between assimilationists and Zionists was false. He writes: "In fact, by approaching Jewish nationalism as a cultural process rather than simply a political movement, one can incorporate even self declared 'assimilationists' into the narrative of Jewish national construction. One of the problems in dealing with Zionist sources, including Zionist historiography, is their tendency to dismiss opponents—many of whom subscribed to strong notions of Jewish collective identity—as assimilationist. Part of the problem lies in the ambiguity of the terminology itself. Nineteenth-century Jewish activists who described themselves as assimilationist rarely meant that they advocated the total abandonment of their Jewish identity, what Todd Endelman has labeled 'radical assimilation.' Most intended only the modernization of the Jews and their integration into non-Jewish society as Jews. Recent scholarship drawing on Milton Gordon's distinction between 'acculturation,' 'integration,' and 'assimilation' is helpful in clarifying this misunderstanding. As Jonathan Frankel put it, 'the loss of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness is not seen [among modern scholars] as necessarily bringing with it a loss of collective identity.' 'Who is more assimilated,' Vienna's Chief Rabbi Moritz Güdeman (1835–1918) reportedly asked, 'the nationally minded Jew who ignores the Sabbath, or the observant Jew who feels himself to be a German?' […] In short, Jewish

path to integration in the societies in which they lived, but they also generated their own Jewish national movement, which sought new ways of coming to terms with the changes."[30] While "the 1880s saw the heyday of the Polish assimilationist movement among educated Galician Jews," they "began to seek a modern, politically unassimilated identity through Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism" at the turn of the century, largely due to the "strong dose of antisemitism injected into Galician Polish political culture" (and in particular the growth of the Polish "National Democrats" political movement).[31] As I discuss below, in the first half of the twentieth century, antisemitic policies in Galicia spread particularly at universities, sites that historian Celia S. Heller described as "the hotbed of antisemitism."[32]

Between 1772 and 1939, "the ethnic structure of Lviv had evolved in a rather stable tripartite manner among the dominant Poles (from fifty to fifty-five percent) and the two minorities, Jews (thirty to thirty-five percent) and Ukrainians (fifteen to twenty percent)."[33]

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nationalism was an umbrella term for a wide variety of cultural and political ideologies. At its core, it must be understood as a movement designed to strengthen Jewish ethnic pride and identity, and ultimately to organize Jews politically as Jews, self-conscious people of a modern nation." Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10–11.

To this day, this debate organizes the field of Jewish studies on identity and belonging, and especially historiography of European Jewish identity in the discussed period.

[30] Barṭal and Polonsky, eds. *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999), 11. See also in the same volume Jerzy Holzer, "The Jewish Elite in Galicia," 84.

[31] Jerzy Holzer, "The Jewish Elite in Galicia," 84.

As John-Paul Himka explains in the same volume: "Although there had always been anti-Jewish currents in Polish political circles, a new era began with the emergence of 'national democracy'. The National Democrats proudly championed modern political antisemitism and considered it a component of Polish patriotism. Because of the Ukrainian—Polish antagonism, these right-wing nationalists were hegemonic among the Polish minority in eastern Galicia […]. The growing influence of virulent antisemitism in Galician Polish politics cooled the ardour of Polish assimilationists. Whereas at the start of the constitutional era educated Galician Jews might be fervent Polish patriots but barely able to speak the language, by the eve of the First World War Jewish intellectuals all had a mastery of Polish but fewer retained tender feelings for Poland." John-Paul Himka, "Dimensions of a Triangle: Polish—Ukrainian—Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia," in *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians, 1772–1918*, eds. Yiśra'el Barṭal and Antony Polonsky (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1999), 36–37.

[32] Natalia Aleksiun, "Together But Apart: University Experience of Jewish Students in the Second Polish Republic," *Acta Poloniae Historica 109* (2014): 111–112.

[33] Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Lviv: A Multicultural History through the Centuries," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000): 58.

These proportions were reflected in the breakdown of Lviv's three main religions. In 1931, fifty-one percent of the population Lviv were Roman Catholic, mostly ethnic Poles. Judaism was the religion followed thirty-two percent of Lviv's inhabitants (not all "ethnic" Jews followed Judaism), and Greek Catholicism (mostly ethnic Ukrainians), constituted sixteen percent. Konrad Wnęk, Lidia A Zyblikiewicz, and Ewa

That said, due to the lack of accurate data on the number of people who spoke Yiddish or Hebrew at home, evaluating the exact ethnic, linguistic, and cultural composition of the early twentieth-century Lviv remains a challenging task. This gap in historical record comes from the fact that, before the First World War, the Austrian state only allowed its citizens to indicate one of three languages when conducting a census in Galicia: Polish, German, or Ukrainian.[34] As a consequence, it is difficult to deduce the exact number of assimilated Polish Jews in Lviv at the turn of the century, the group which Lissa's family of origin is identified. This leads to conflicting scholarly categorizations of Lviv: some label it as a textbook example of a "multicultural" city, while others stress the city's belonging to either Polish or Ukrainian culture.[35]

Following the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—an Eastern European dual state that had existed since 1569—in 1772, 1793, and 1795, a sovereign Poland ceased to exist for 123 years. The land became divided between Habsburg Austria, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Russian Empire. It was not until 1918 that the two nations regained their independence under new borders as the Second Polish Republic (1918–1945)

Callahan, eds., *Ludność Nowoczesnego Lwowa w Latach 1857–1938* [*Population of Modern Lviv in the Years 1857–1938*] (Kraków: Tow. Nauk. Societas, 2006), 76.

[34] See: Piekarski, *Przerwany kontrapunkt,* 75; John-Paul Himka, "Dimensions of a Triangle: Polish—Ukrainian—Jewish Relations in Austrian Galicia," 26.

[35] Divergent historical perspectives today—often aligned with their authors' own national standpoints and loyalties—resonate with the sentiments dividing Poles and Ukrainians at the time. In the early twentieth century, both groups perceived Lviv as belonging to their respective nation. As the Austro-Hungarian Empire granted Poles increasingly more political and cultural power in Galicia since 1867, the polonization of Lviv resulted in a backlash from Ukrainians. Polish-Ukrainian tensions culminated in an outbreak of a civil war in November 1918 and an over six-month-long Battle of Lemberg, eventually won by the Polish army. The conflict also triggered a wave of antisemitism that led to a pogrom and looting of the Jewish neighborhood (November 22-24, 1918), killing between a hundred and a hundred-and-fifty people (numbers vary in different historical sources) and leaving several hundreds wounded. During that Lissa might have been in Lviv, however it is also possible that she was in Vienna at the time (see: Piotr Szalsza, "Nieznane fakty z życia Zofii Lissy i jej najbliższej rodziny" ["Unknown Facts From The Life of Zofia Lissa And Her Close Family"], *Muzyka* 65, no. 4 (December 30, 2020): 171–81).

See also: Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Lviv: A Multicultural History through the Centuries," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000): 55. "With the granting of autonomy to Galicia in the 1860s, the polonization of the crownland became the *sine qua non* of further Austrian-Polish coexistence. As in the late medieval era, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century German 'Lemberg' had become Polish 'Lwow' again. […] Less hampered by political constraints, the Polish elite saw Galicia as fulfilling the special role of a 'national Piedmont,' i.e., the territory which would serve as a core for a reborn Polish state. Lviv was to serve as a center of national revival for all the areas of partitioned Poland."

and the Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940), respectively. That said, already in the late nineteenth century the John Casimir University of Lviv and Jagiellonian University in Kraków—both located in Galicia—became the first two universities to regain the right to use Polish as the official language of instruction.[36] Under a new Austrian bill from 1897 granting women the right to post-secondary education in selected fields, women entered the Lviv Philosophy department for the first time. Equally, in 1897, Jagiellonian University admitted women to study philosophy, medicine, agriculture, and political sciences.[37] Galician universities were therefore the first to offer university education to women with Polish as the language of instruction.[38] University studies were met with high level of interest among Galician women, especially at Jagiellonian University.[39] Overall, until 1918, 115 women received their doctorates at Lviv University (including sixty in medicine and fifty five in philosophy) and another 102 at Jagiellonian University.[40]

Since the possibility to enrol in a musicology program at a Polish university only presented itself shortly before the First World War, at the time when Lissa received her

[36] The process began in the 1870s. The University of Lviv was founded in 1661 as Universität Lemberg. In the interwar period it functioned under the Polish name of Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza ("John Casimir University"). Presently the university is known as the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

[37] Katarzyna Sikora, "Pierwsze kobiety na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim" ["First Women at Jagiellonian University"]. Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. *Studia Politologica* 3 (2007): 268.

The ratio of Jewish students among the universities in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were by far the highest in Galicia. That said, many Polish and Jewish women from Galicia chose to attend the Vienna University. As demonstrated by Jadwiga Suchmiel, Galician Jewish women "increased the total number of women students at the University of Vienna, with particular interest in the Faculty of Medicine." Jadwiga Suchmiel, "Galicyjskie Żydówki ze stopniem doktora w Uniwersytecie w Wiedniu do roku 1918" ["Galician Jewish Women with Doctoral Degrees at the University of Vienna to 1918"]. Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie. *Pedagogika*. 14 (2005): 147–148.

Among eighty women of Polish citizenship who graduated with a doctorate from the Vienna University by 1918, there was one in musicology—in 1917. See: Suchmiel, "Galicyjskie Żydówki ze stopniem doktora w Uniwersytecie w Wiedniu do roku 1918," 155. At the time, the expected degree at the end of the university program was a Doctorate, not a Master's degree.

[38] Post-secondary education in Polish was severely restricted or non-existent under Russian and Prussian partitions. See: Mariola Kondracka, "Kobiety na uniwersytetach," 272.

[39] For example, Kolbuszewska writes that by 1914, there were 39,324 female students at the Philosophy Department of Jagiellonian University. See: Jolanta Kolbuszewska, "Kobieta Uczoną – Droga Polek Do Samodzielności Naukowej" ["Woman Scientist - The Path of Polish Women to Scientific Independence"], *Studia Europaea Gnesnensia* 20 (2019):128

[40] Kolbuszewska, "Kobieta Uczoną," 129

As mentioned above, at the time, five-year-long post-secondary studies at Lviv University ended with a doctorate rather than a master's degree.

doctoral degree in musicology in 1929 there were only five other women in Poland holding that degree, three of them also from Lviv University.[41] Musicologist Michał Piekarski notes that in the interwar period, "Lwów's Musicology Department was feminized to a much higher degree than any other peer establishment within Poland."[42] Indeed, women were more than fifty percent of students at several Lviv conservatories. Due to Lviv's rich musical life and an extensive system of music schooling at various levels, conservatory education was popular among girls and women. As a consequence, with a large body of musically talented and trained women residing in Lviv, there was a relatively high interest in studying musicology among them once a department opened. As Piekarski notes, "before 1939, alongside the University of Berlin, the Lwów University was among Europe's leading tertiary schools as far as the number of female graduates in Musicology is concerned."[43]

While Piekarski presents high enrolment of women at music conservatories as a sign of the city's progressive cultural life, it should be noted that pursuing a pedagogical or performing career might have simply been a popular alternative to women who were not allowed to enter university. The gradually increasing number of women at the Lviv musicology department can also be seen as part of the broader tendencies in university enrollment in the interwar period. Once women were accepted by all Polish universities after 1918 their percentage among all enrolled students grew consistently. While women were also interested in other fields such as commerce and medicine, the most significant participation

[41] Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian in 1917, Maria Szczepańska in 1926, Stefania Łobaczewska in 1929, and one other in Krakow – 1923. Additionally at this point Alicja Simon had defended her doctorate in 1914 at the University of Vienna.

[42] Michał Piekarski, "A Post-Doctorate in Musicology: Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian and Her Path to a Scientific Career," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 117 (2018): 168.

[43] Ibid. Piekarski also adds: "In Western Europe, single women graduates in musicology appeared in the same period as their Polish peers (second decade of the twentieth century), though several hubs (such as Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and elsewhere) had launched the discipline earlier than Lwów or Cracow did." (165)

See also: Michał Piekarski, "Działalność Polskich i Ukraińskich Wychowanków Lwowskiej Szkoły Muzykologicznej (Do 1939 Roku)" ["The Activity of the Polish and Ukrainian Disciples of the Lviv Musicological School (Until 1939)"]. *Rozprawy Z Dziejów Oświaty* 47 (2010): 73–108.

of women was found in humanities.[44] The overall number of female students in musicology increased in the thirties, and, as presented in Table 1, by 1939 thirty-seven percent of all musicology graduates were women.

Table 1. Trained musicologists in Poland by 1939. Based on: Michał Piekarski, "Działalność Polskich i Ukraińskich Wychowanków Lwowskiej Szkoły Muzykologicznej (Do 1939 Roku)" ["The Activity of the Polish and Ukrainian Disciples of the Lviv Musicological School (Until 1939)"], *Rozprawy Z Dziejów Oświaty* 47 (2010): 73–108.

Name and location of the university	Musicology program founded in	Taught by	Total number of musicology graduates by 1939	Women (37%)	Men (63%)
Jagiellonian University (Kraków)	1911	Zdzisław Jachimecki (1882–1953), musicology training received in Vienna, *Habilitation* under Adler	24	8	16
Lviv University[45]	1912	Chybiński (1880–1952), musicology training received in Munich from Adolf Sandberger, *Habilitation* under Adler	22	5	17
Poznań University	1919	Łucjan Kamieński (1885–1964), musicology training received in Berlin from Hermann Kretzschmar and Johannes Wolf	22	13	9

[44] Mariola Kondracka, "Kobiety na uniwersytetach," 274–277.

In the 1934–35 academic year, women constituted over sixty-five percent of all students at the departments of humanities at the University of Warsaw, University of Vilnus, and University of Lviv, while the overall percentage of women at these universities was on average around twenty-eight to thirty to percent.

[45] Between 1903–1917/18 the total of fifty-five women received their doctorates in Lviv. See: Jadwiga Suchmiel, *Działalność naukowa kobiet w Uniwersytecie we Lwowie do roku 1939* [*Women's Scholarly Activity At The University Of Lviv Before 1939*], (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 2000), 96–97.

Despite the general growth in the number of women enrolled in university programs, Jewish women were gradually excluded from that group throughout the interwar period due to the spread of antisemitic policies and practices at universities.[46] As explained by Aleksiun, Polish universities in the twenties and thirties have been perceived by historians as "a highly politicized [and] a particularly dangerous space of sharp national conflicts and attacks against Jewish and Ukrainian students."[47] Aleksiun argues that the Polish university at the time "was more a place of marginalization than it was a place of integration," and "a contested space of ethnic tension and violence."[48] As she explains, academic institutions were considered primarily a place of shaping of "the future elite of the country" and therefore "became laboratories for what many ethnic Poles perceived as a reclaiming of their country."[49] For those who desired for Poland to be an ethnically homogenous nation state, the presence of Jewish students at universities triggered criticism. Eventually, antisemitic sentiments were translated into overt practices of discrimination at Polish universities. First, they took a form of so-called *numerus clausus* (imposing quota to limit the number of Jewish students who could be accepted to a university each year), and eventually, starting in mid-thirties, the "ghetto benches" segregation system where Jewish students were forced to sit in a designated area in lecture halls.[50]

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[46] "There were 2,970 Jewish students at the University of Warsaw in the 1923–4 academic year, 2,643 at Jan Kazimierz University (UJK) in Lvov, and 1,716 at Jagiellonian University (UJ) in Cracow. In 1921, Jews constituted 31.4 percent of the students at the University of Warsaw (UW), 29.6 percent at Jagiellonian University, and as high as 46.6 percent at Jan Kazimierz University. In 1923, their percentage remained as high.22 However, in the 1930–1 academic year that percentage at universities began to fall: to 23.8 percent in Warsaw, 26 percent in Cracow and 31.9 percent in Lvov." Aleksiun, "Together But Apart," 115–116.

[47] Aleksiun, "Together But Apart," 137.

[48] Ibid. See also: Natalia Aleksiun, "Crossing the Line: Violence against Jewish Women and the New Model of Antisemitism in Poland in the 1930s," *Jewish History* 33, no. 1 (March 1, 2020): 134–135.

[49] Ibid.

[50] *Numerus clausus* was never introduced on the level of the state (although a proposed bill to do so was presented as early as 1923). Rather, universities introduced *numerus clausus* rules individually. At Lviv University, the far-right student organization Młodzież Wszechpolska advocated for an eleven-percent numerus clasus for Jews as early as 1922. See: Kazimierz Rędziński, "Studenci Żydowscy we Lwowie w latach 1918–1939" ["Jewish Students in Lviv between 1918–1939"]. *Prace naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie* 25 (2016): 585.

Throughout the thirties, far right student organizations advocated for introducing the *numerus nullus* rule (no Jews at universities). The "ghetto benches" segregation system was officially introduced at Lviv

For example, Mariola Kondracka discusses the case of Jagiellonian University, where the university authorities imposed a five percent quota for women students at the law department and medicine department in 1923. Kondracka notes that this decision was intentionally directed specifically at Jewish women, who constituted a significant percentage among women students at these departments.[51] A few years later in 1929, explicit instructions to favor men and Poles in admissions to the medicine department followed.[52] These quotas across different Polish academic institutions gradually led to the pushing out of Jews from the fields of medicine and law. Moreover, the far-right student organization Młodzież Wszechpolska ("All-Polish Youth") openly advocated for "Jew-free days" or "Jew-free weeks" at Lviv University throughout the twenties and the thirties, actively blocking Jewish students, men and women, from entering University buildings, often with use of physical violence.[53]

Scholars have identified countless testimonies of overt aggression, harassment, and abuse towards Jewish students in interwar Poland, including Lviv.[54] Jewish women suffered from physical violence on campuses as much as Jewish men: "non-Jewish students, both male and female, insulted, pushed, hit, and forcibly removed Jewish men and women from classrooms in broad daylight, while most fellow classmates and faculty merely looked on."[55] As argued by Aleksiun, in fact

University in January 1938, despite several protests. See: Jan Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1918–1946. Portret kresowej uczelni* [*The John Casimir University in Lviv 1918–1946: A Portrait of a Borderland University*] (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), 65–66.

[51] Kondracka, "Kobiety na uniwersytetach," 276.

[52] Ibid.

[53] See: Rędziński, "Studenci Żydowscy We Lwowie W Latach 1918–1939," 591.

[54] For more about the discrimination and violence against Jewish students at Polish universities see: Natalia Aleksiun, "Together But Apart: University Experience of Jewish Students in the Second Polish Republic," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 109 (2014): 109–137. See also: Aleksiun, "Crossing the Line," 139, 151–152.

Moreover, Jewish students (and prospective students) in interwar Poland often struggled financially unproportionally more than ethnic Poles. The economic barrier made it difficult for Jewish students to live in the city and fund their studies. See: Kazimierz Rędziński, "Studenci Żydowscy we Lwowie w latach 1918–1939" ["Jewish Students in Lviv between 1918–1939"], *Prace naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowi*e 25 (2016): 581–60.

[55] Aleksiun, "Crossing the Line," 134–135.

> antisemitic stereotypes were closely intertwined with conservative notions about masculinity and femininity, as categories of gender and Jewish difference overlapped. In that world view, emancipated Jews and emancipated women endangered the fabric of idealized traditional society. As a result, a gendered antisemitism informed not only political discourse about the Jews but also daily encounters.[56]

The presence of Jewish women was contested the most in the fields of medicine and law, as these professions "were perceived as respected and lucrative [and therefore] […] compromised by the large number of Jews who practiced [them]."[57] At the same time, the quota system did not affect humanities to the same degree. For example,

> in the 1923/4 academic year Jewish women constituted 33.3 per cent of all Jewish students at Polish universities and in 1930/1 as many as 39 per cent, in comparison with 26.4 per cent among Catholic students. […] As far as philosophy faculties were concerned, Jewish women emerged as an even more conspicuous group. They accounted for between 63 and 75 per cent of all Jewish students.[58]

The fact that numerous female Jewish students attended philosophy faculties throughout the twenties and thirties did not however mean that students in the humanities did not face antisemitism in the university setting. In fact, Piekarski, Sieradz, and Pierce have presented extensive historical evidence of the overtly antisemitic demeanor of Chybiński, Lissa's academic mentor and supervisor. Beginning in the twenties, Chybiński, among several other music researchers, actively excluded Jewish voices from main musicological journals and subscribed to "an exclusionary form of Polish ethnic nationalism […] pioneered by the radical right."[59] In a letter from 1925, Chybiński complained to his assistant and former student

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[56] Ibid.
[57] Aleksiun, "Crossing the Line," 134–135.
[58] Natalia Aleksiun, "Female, Jewish, Educated, and Writing Polish Jewish History," *Polin Studies in Polish Jewry* 29 (2017):198.
Also, "violent outbursts against Jewish students […] gained momentum in the 1930s, especially for those enrolled in the Medical and Law Faculties of Warsaw, Lwów, Wilno (Vilna, today Vilnius in Lithuania) and Cracow." Aleksiun, "Crossing the Line," 134–135.
[59] Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" 237.

Szczepańska that Jewish researchers had been too involved in "publicizing the monuments of Polish church music."[60] As a consequence, Chybiński decided to "only have doctoral dissertations on Polish music written by his non-Jewish students."[61] Unfortunately, his antisemitism only seemed grow more virulent in the following years. In a 1930 letter to his friend, musicologist Ludwik Bronarski, Chybiński wrote: "I find the growing cosmopolitanism and Jewishness of the Lviv musicological and musical world increasingly distasteful. […] I will try to raise a different, more 'national-democratic' generation of musicologists. Will I succeed?[62] Similarly, in 1937, he wrote "I would be very happy if *Muzyka Polska* (Polish Music journal) united all ethnically Polish writers on music, in the same way as under my strong pressure it expelled all Jews and crypto-Jews."[63]

In their works, both Sieradz and Piekarski approach Chybiński's blatant antisemitism as a background issue. Sieradz's emphasis seems to be placed on Chybiński's "impartiality" as a pedagogue and his alleged ability to separate his political beliefs from academic mentorship. For example, she writes: "Even though Chybiński did not really value Lissa as a person […], he always admitted that her intelligence and erudition were remarkable."[64] Since Chybiński's legacy is perceived by Polish musicologists as nearly synonymous with the legacy of the discipline as a whole, there is certainly a level of uneasiness in realizing the scale of his bigotry. Consequently, Sieradz and Piekarski give Chybiński the benefit of the doubt in hoping

[60] Chybiński to Szczepańska, July 15, 1925, quoted in Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt*, 228.
"Należy ubiec żydów w ogłaszaniu zabytków polskiej muzyki kościelnej, skoro inni, tj. nie-żydzi nie odczuwają grozy wrażenia, że gdyby nie żydzi, nie znaliby Polacy swej muzyki." (My translation.)
[61] Ibid.
"Sądzę, że te argumenty […] wyjaśnią, dlaczego prace doktorskie z zakresu polskiej muzyki otrzymują u mnie wyłącznie właśnie nie-żydzi." (My translation.)
[62] Chybiński to Bronarski, October 8, 1930, quoted in Piekarski, *Przerwany Kontrapunkt*, 227.
"Kosmopolityzujący się i zażydzający świat muzykologiczny i muzyczny lwowski staje mi się coraz wstrętniejszy. […] Postaram się wychować inną, bardziej 'endecką' generację muzykologów. Czy mi się to uda?" (My translation.)
[63] Chybiński to Bronarski, January 14, 1937, quoted in Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" 237.
"Ucieszyłbym się bardzo, gdyby MP. zjednoczyła wszystkich rdzennie polskich pisarzy muzycznych, tak jak wykluczyła pod moim silnym naciskiem wszystkich żydów i kryptożydów."
[64] Sieradz, *The Beginnings of Polish Musicology*, 194.

that his prejudice was somehow separable—and separated—from his work. As a result, while struggling to reconcile the image of this "great man" with the unfavorable historical evidence, existing scholarship continues to place Chybiński's image at the center of historical inquiry. Consequently, the perspective of Chybiński's Jewish students has hardly been explored by these scholars, and the fact that for Lissa her mentor's antisemitism was likely far from a background issue remains overlooked. While no remaining archival material provide information about Lissa's relationship with Chybiński, Lissa's concerns about growing antisemitism among musicologists is well documented. As an active participant in the intellectual life of Lviv's Jewish community, Lissa published texts on nationalism, race, and music that spoke against biological determinism and actively searched for an inclusive definition of national identity that would be inclusive of Polish Jews.[65]

Despite Chybiński's racist fantasies about raising an ethnically homogenous Polish (as well as Catholic and preferably right-wing) generation of scholars, the second generation of Lviv's musicology was in fact a very diverse group, corresponding to the ethnic-religious breakdown of the city's population. Thirty six percent of all Lviv musicology graduates before 1939 were either Jewish (thirteen percent) or Ukrainian (twenty-three percent).[66] Moreover, Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, Chybiński's student (1912–1917) and assistant (1915–1925), was involved in the life of the Armenian community after marrying her Polish-Armenian husband Garabed Keuprulian. To Chybiński's disapproval, two of his students—Lissa and

[65] Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" 238-239.
Also see: Zofia Lissa, "Problem rasy w muzyce" ["The Problem of Race in Music"], *Muzyka* No. 3 (113) March 1934; Zofia Lissa, "W sprawie 'rasy' Fryderyka Chopina" ["Concerning the 'Race' of Fryderyk Chopin"], *Wiadomości literackie* No. 778 (1938): 7.
Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka mentions that Lissa "cooperated also with the national Jewish institutions like Jewish Artistic-Literary Society. In 1933, she led for its members the series of lectures dedicated to the history of music." See: Sylwia Jakubczyk-Ślęczka, "Musical Life of the Jewish Community in Interwar Galicia. The Problem of Identity of Jewish Musicians." *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów* UJ 3, no. 34 (2017): 147-148.
[66] Piekarski, *Przerwany kontrapunkt*, 224.
I quote these numbers after Piekarski. In his work, Piekarski does not include Stefania Łobaczewska among Jewish students. (See: Piekarski, *Przerwany kontrapunkt*, 227–228.)

Łobaczewska—sympathized with the communist movement.[67] Chybiński found that reprehensible, as he was a declared National Democrat (the interwar National Democracy known as "endecja" was a conservative Catholic political movement known for its xenophobic and antisemitic stance).

The diverse set of ethnic, religious, and political backgrounds of the young generation of musicologists found a reflection in their scholarly interests, oftentimes to Chybiński's disapproval. The forefather of Lviv's musicology believed that the main scholarly focus of the discipline should lie in early music. In particular, he perceived working on Polish early music as his scholarly but also patriotic duty, and expected the same approach from his students. In terms of methods, Chybiński only recognized close reading and theoretical analysis of archival music scores as the single legitimate way to practice musicology. For those reasons, Chybiński

> was reluctant to have his students pursue topics related to aesthetics, psychology, and sociology of music. […] It can be concluded that Chybinski—especially noticing the enormity of the work […] in documenting the musical culture of early Poland and analyzing and editing […] works—considered it a waste of potential and training received at his department for his students to deal with aesthetics or psychology.[68]

Despite their mentor's reservations, however, many among Chybiński's students and alumni explored their own research interests. For example, Wójcik-Keuprulian published writings on Armenian and Middle Eastern music and Łobaczewska explored the aesthetics of

[67] Zofia Helman mentions, in passing, the context of Lissa's individual life trajectory by pointing out that she "was already associated with the communist movement before the war, and even then […] she posed the problem of the direct influence of forms of social life and of 'productive forces' on changes in musical styles. ("Z ruchem komunistycznym była związana już przed wojna i już wówczas […] stawiała problem bezpośredniego wpływu form życia społecznego i 'sił produkcyjnych' na zmiany stylów muzycznych.") (My translation.) Zofia Helman, "Zofia Lissa," in *50 lat Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [*50 Years of The Institute of Musicology at the University of Warsaw*], ed. Iwona Januszkiewicz-Rębowska and Szymon Paczkowski (Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1998), 12.

[68] Piekarski, *Przerwany kontrapunkt,* 338. "niechętnie odnosił się do obierania przez swoich wychowanków zagadnień związanych z estetyką, psychologią i socjologią muzyki. […] Można uznać, że Chybiński, zwłaszcza dostrzegając ogrom zadań […] w zakresie dokumentacji kultury muzycznej dawnej Polski i analizy oraz edycji kolejnych utworów, uważał zajmowanie się przez wychowanków estetyką lub psychologią za marnowanie potencjału i wykształcenia zdobytego w jego Zakładzie." (My translation.)

musical modernism.[69] Finally, Lissa pursued her interests in sociomusicology, psychology of music, and film music, presenting an unprecedented level of innovation and interdisciplinarity and publishing some of the first works in Polish musicology representing those sub-disciplines. In other words, despite Chybiński's antisemitism and his uncompromising, nearly dogmatic, approach to practicing musicology, Lissa demonstrated intellectual independence and thrived as a young scholar exploring her individual interests. In the interwar period, her work appeared in several music journals, including *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* ("Music Quarterly") published 1928–34, *Lwowskie wiadomości muzyczne i literackie* ("Lviv Music and Literary News") published 1925–34, and *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* ("The Polish Yearbook of Musicology") published in 1935 and 1936.[70]

The freedom to follow academic interests for Lissa and her female peers as researchers and music critics was not, however, equivalent to having access to career opportunities within the university. Scholars note that while the interwar period brought the normalization of women in university spaces as students, they faced a glass ceiling when it came to continuing their academic careers. In order to be approved as lecturers after receiving a doctorate, young scholars needed to obtain habilitation and be granted *veniam legendi* ("permission for lecturing"), the right to be an autonomous lecturer, assigned to a particular university and department.[71] Women were first accepted to apply for habilitation in 1907, however these requests needed to be approved case by case by a professorial body of a given department, and in practice they were denied to women until late twenties.[72] Lviv University remained even more conservative in that matter than Poznań University and Jagiellonian University—

[69] Łobaczewska wrote her doctoral dissertation on Debussy. Later, in 1950, she also published a monograph on Karol Szymanowski.
[70] Michał Piekarski, "Działalność Polskich i Ukraińskich Wychowanków Lwowskiej Szkoły Muzykologicznej (Do 1939 Roku)" ["The Activity of the Polish and Ukrainian Disciples of the Lviv Musicological School (Until 1939)"], *Rozprawy Z Dziejów Oświaty* 47 (2010): 73–108.
[71] See: Kolbuszewska "Kobieta Uczoną – Droga Polek Do Samodzielności Naukowej," 124.
[72] Ibid., 129."W praktyce gremia profesorskie nie udzielały takiej zgody." (My translation.)

while the first habilitation was granted to a woman at Poznań University in 1929, at Lviv University this did not take place until 1936.[73] As a result, women—whether assistant or full professors—were generally not employed as university lecturers until the thirties.

Historian Jolanta Kolbuszewska, who has traced the history of female habilitations at Polish universities in the field of history, notes that before 1939 only one woman received habilitation in history at Lviv University. As Kolbuszewska concludes, "women's habilitations and assistant professorships in the patriarchal scholarly community of the Second Republic continued to generate resistance."[74] While women's habilitations became more accepted in the thirties, their overall proportion at all Polish universities before the Second World War did not exceed three percent.[75]

There are several examples of qualified women whose habilitations were denied or delayed in the interwar period. For example, historian Helena Polaczkówna (1884–1942), an alumna of the John Casimir University of Lviv, was denied habilitation at her *alma mater* after

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[73] Karolina Lanckorońska in art history. See: Małgorzata Sieradz, B*ronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Korespondencja do Szwajcarii. Listy do Henryka Opieńskiego (1925–37) i Ludwika Bronarskiego (1929–38)* [*Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Correspondence to Switzerland. Letters to Henryk Opieński (1925–37) and Ludwik Bronarski (1929–38*)], (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Pan, 2018), 22.

[74] Jolanta Kolbuszewska, "Kobiety w akademii. Droga do samodzielności naukowej polskich historyczek w XX stuleciu" ["Women In Academia. The Road to Academic Independence Of Polish Women Historians In The 20th Century"], in *Kobiety niepokorne. Reformatorki – buntowniczki – rewolucjonistki* [*Unruly Women. Reformers – Rebels – Revolutionaries*], eds. Iza Desperak and Inga Kuźma (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2017). 95.

"Despite the acceptance - or rather, tolerance - of female studies, and consequently of doctorates - women's habilitations and assistant professorships in the patriarchal scientific community of the Second Republic continued to generate resistance. At the Jagiellonian University by 1939, only 15 women had been awarded habilitation, of which only one, Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, had a veniam legendi in the historical sciences. By comparison, 26 male historians were habilitated at the same university during the same period. In Lviv, the situation was very similar, before World War II, only Łucja Charewiczowa (in 1937.)"
("Mimo akceptacji, a właściwie tolerowania „żeńskich" studiów, w ich konsekwencji zaś doktoratów – habilitacje i docentury kobiet w patriarchalnym środowisku naukowym II RP nadal budziły opór. Na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim do 1939 roku zaledwie 15 kobiet uzyskało habilitację, z tego *veniam legendi* w zakresie nauk historycznych miała tylko jedna, Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa. Dla porównania, w tym samym okresie na wspomnianej uczelni habilitowało się 26 historyków mężczyzn. We Lwowie sytuacja była bardzo zbliżona, przed II wojną w dziedzinie historii habilitowała się jedynie Łucja Charewiczowa (w 1937 r.).") (My translation.)
Kolbuszewska also provides exceptions: examples of women who had successful academic careers in humanities. See: Ibid., 133-134.

[75] Mariola Kondracka, "Kobiety na uniwersytetach" ["Women in Universities"]. In *Równe Prawa Nierówne Szanse* [*Equal Rights Unequal Opportunities*] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2000), 279–280.
Also see: Kolbuszewska "Kobieta Uczoną – Droga Polek Do Samodzielności Naukowej," 133."

a three-year-long wait period (she applied in 1926 and was denied in 1929). She was eventually granted the title at the University of Poznań in 1929.[76] As explained by Jolanta Kolbuszewska and Mariola Kondracka, in the interwar period, rather than in Galicia, it was easier for women to advance their academic careers at one of the newly founded or reopened universities like Poznań or Warsaw, since these institutions suffered from a shortage of academic staff.[77]

The "habilitation glass ceiling" was also faced by Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, Lissa's fellow alumna of the Lviv University musicology department. Wójcik-Keuprulian was denied habilitation at her alma mater in 1929—not only due to the university's systemic exclusion of women from academic careers at the time, but also as the result of Chybiński's overt lack of support.[78] Wójcik-Keuprulian became a teaching assistant and a librarian at the musicology department during her degree (which, in practice, implied working under Chybiński) and continued after she graduated in 1917 as the first woman graduate of the Lviv musicology department.[79] She received an official title of teaching assistant in 1919, followed by an assistant lecturer title shortly after. Despite working closely with Chybiński for several years, according to Wójcik-Keuprulian's letters to her friend and colleague Ludwik Bronarski, she held Chybiński accountable for blocking her habilitation at Lviv University.[80] Then, once she received her long-awaited habilitation at Jagiellonian University, Chybiński once again

[76] Kolbuszewska "Kobieta Uczoną – Droga Polek Do Samodzielności Naukowej," 95.
[77] Kolbuszewska "Kobieta Uczoną – Droga Polek Do Samodzielności Naukowej," 95; Kondracka, "Kobiety na uniwersytetach" 279–281.
[78] Małgorzata Sieradz, B*ronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Korespondencja do Szwajcarii. Listy do Henryka Opieńskiego (1925–37) i Ludwika Bronarskiego (1929–38)* [*Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Correspondence to Switzerland. Letters to Henryk Opieński (1925–37) and Ludwik Bronarski (1929–38*)], (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Pan, 2018), 22.
[79] Michał Piekarski "A Post-Doctorate in Musicology: Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian and Her Path to a Scientific Career," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 117 (2018): 170.
[80] As analyzed by Małgorzata Sieradz, B*ronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Korespondencja do Szwajcarii. Listy do Henryka Opieńskiego (1925–37) i Ludwika Bronarskiego (1929–38)* [*Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian. Correspondence to Switzerland. Letters to Henryk Opieński (1925–37) and Ludwik Bronarski (1929–38*)], (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Pan, 2018), 9-11.
Also see: Michał Piekarski, "A Post-Doctorate in Musicology: Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian and Her Path to a Scientific Career," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 117 (2018): 159–93.

worked against her academic ambitions by impeding Wójcik-Keuprulian's chances to move her veniam legendi to Warsaw University. Once she realized the odds of being granted her veniam legendi in Warsaw were slim, she wrote to Bronarski: "my university career should be considered 90 percent buried."

At the time, Wójcik-Keuprulian believed that the obstacles she was facing were directly related to her gender, as she added: "for this very reason—that I have the misfortune to belong to the inferior sex." [81] Two years later, in a 1937 letter to Bronarski, Wójcik-Keuprulian confessed:

> the fact that I have been waiting two years for my habilitation to be transferred from Kraków to Warsaw has its effect on me. Mr. Chybiński contributed to this. I have no grievance against him because he is not even worth it.[82]

Eventually Wójcik-Keuprulian's request to move her veniam legendi from Jagiellonian University to Warsaw University was denied in early 1938, after a three-year long wait. A few months later, Wójcik-Keuprulian died unexpectedly at the age of forty-eight.[83]

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[81] Wójcik- Keuprulian to Bronarski, July 30, 1935, quoted in Sieradz, B*ronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian,* 155. "moją karierę uniwersytecką w 90 procentach należy uważać za pogrzebaną […] z tego właśnie powodu – że mam nieszczęście należeć do płci niższej." (My translation.)

[82] Wójcik- Keuprulian to Bronarski, 7 April 1937, quoted in Sieradz, B*ronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian,* 162-163. "Fakt, że dwa lata czekam na przeniesienie habilitacji z Krakowa do Warszawy – robi swoje. Przyczynił się do tego p. Ch[ybiński]. Nie mam do niego żalu, bo nawet i tego niewart." (My translation.)

[83] Maciej Gołąb in his review of Sieradz's edited collection of letters from the archive of Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian admits that reading Wójcik-Keuprulian's letters led him to "the revising of the myth of Chybiński as a great founder of the scholarly school in the moral sense." As he notes, Chybiński's "misogyny demanded endless victims—Zofia Lissa, Stefania Łobaczewska, Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, after all, are the flower of Polish musicologists of the time. Only Maria Szczepańska, academically and characterologically the weakest among them, managed to maintain her position with the authoritative (one would like to say: authoritarian) supervisor who could not tolerate any competition or insubordination."
("Jest to dla mnie przyczynek do rewizji mitu Chybińskiego jako wielkiego twórcy szkoły naukowej w sensie moralnym: jego mizoginizm domagał się bezustannych ofiar – Zofia Lissa, Stefania Łobaczewska, Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, to przecież kwiat ówczesnych polskich muzykolożek. Jedynie Maria Szczepańska, naukowo i charakterologicznie najsłabsza spośród nich, zdołała utrzymać swoją pozycję przy nieznoszącym jakiejkolwiek konkurencji i niesubordynacji, autorytatywnym (chciałoby się rzec: autorytarnym) kierowniku." (My translation.)
Maciej Gołąb, "Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian W Świetle Opracowania Małgorzaty Sieradz," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 67, no. 12 (2020): 171–172.

Wójcik-Keuprulian's experience was representative of the larger problem of gender inequity in Polish interwar academia. As Kolbuszewska notes,

> until the outbreak of the Second World War, the academic staff of Polish universities remained an elite men's club, the doors of which were only slightly ajar for women. There was no official regulation restricting women's scholarly work, so one cannot speak of systemic (legal) discrimination against them. However, many restrictions were of a […] habitual (unwritten) nature.[84]

Considering Lviv University's unwelcoming environment for women's academic careers, rising antisemitism, and the hostility of Lissa's only mentor towards the ambitions of Wójcik-Keuprulian, one wonders whether Lissa—despite her dedication to research—felt discouraged from pursuing a habilitation herself. Upon receiving her doctorate in 1929, Lissa went on to teach music history, music theory, and music psychology at the Lviv Conservatory. She continued in that position until 1941, when, among many others, she had to flee the city due to the Nazi attack on Lviv.[85] There is no archival correspondence or documentation indicating that Lissa would consider or pursue a habilitation while still in Lviv, however the works that she eventually used in 1946 to apply for a habilitation had been written and published before the war, pointing to the fact that her scholarly output was already sufficient for a habilitation at that time.

In an official letter that Lissa sent to Poznań University Humanities department on June 13, 1946, while still living in Moscow, she placed the request to be considered for habilitation in musicology based on one of two works: "Z zagadnień komizmu muzycznego" ("On the Issues of Musical Humor") published in Kwartalnik Muzyczny (*Musical Quarterly*)

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[84] Kolbuszewska, "Kobieta Uczoną – Droga Polek Do Samodzielności Naukowej," 135.
"kadra naukowa polskich uczelni do wybuchu II Wojny Światowej pozostała elitarnym klubem męskim, którego drzwi dopiero lekko uchylały się przed kobietami. Nie istniał żaden przepis ograniczający pracę naukową kobiet, nie można więc mówić o ich systemowej (prawnej) dyskryminacji. Wiele ograniczeń miało jednak tzw. zwyczajowy (niepisany) charakter." (My translation.)

[85] Danuta Gwizdalanka, "Zofia Lissa," *Musik und Gender im internet: MUGI*, Accessed June 21, 2021, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000497?lang=en.

from 1938, and "Muzyka w filmie, studia z pogranicza ontologii, estetyki i psychologii muzyki filmowej" ("Music in Film: Studies in Ontology, Aesthetics and Psychology of Film Music") published as an independent work in Lviv in 1937.[86] She was granted her habilitation and veniam legendi in music theory at Poznań University on May 10, 1947.[87] That said, she never worked as a lecturer at Poznań University. Instead, at the beginning of 1948 she made a request to the Warsaw University Humanities department to have her veniam legendi transferred, followed by another request to become chair of the musicology program. Consequently, in 1948 Lissa became one of the main architects of Warsaw University's new musicology program.

Musicology and women's agency in Stalinist Poland (1948–1953)

While women's academic careers in musicology were hindered by patriarchal—and sometimes antisemitic—systems in interwar Poland, their situation shifted significantly in the period immediately succeeding the Second World War. There were two main factors that improved access to academic careers for women in postwar Poland. First, starting in 1947, the communist Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) became the dominant political faction in a one-party state. This development led to a systemic introduction of communist policies to Poland, including state-sanctioned gender equity. Second, to rebuild the educational system in the war-torn country, Poland not only needed to revive its prewar academic institutions, but also to found new ones. Given that many Polish intellectuals lost their lives or emigrated during the war, there was a shortage of university professors ready to fill the newly created positions. This created high demand for academics, which benefited women scholars. Both these elements—official messaging in support of women's professional activity and the

[86] UAM Archives, "Zofia Lissa: teczka osobista," unpaginated.
[87] It is unclear why it was in music theory and not in musicology.

shortage of qualified scholars in the country—contributed to Lissa's spectacular academic career between 1947 and 1955.

Lissa had two key achievements in the first postwar decade. First, in 1948, she successfully facilitated founding the University of Warsaw's first musicology program, which later expanded into an institute in 1958.[88] She remained its director for almost thirty years. Second, she helped launch the Musicologists' Section of the Polish Composers' Union that same year. Her influential position did not end there: she was also a vice-director of the music department at the Ministry of Culture and Art (1947–1948); a member of the Polish Music Publishing board; sat on the Polish Composers' Union board (1947–1948, 1949–1954); and later became a chair of the Musicologists' Section of the Polish Composers' Union (1964–1968).[89]

Since its revival in 1944, the Polish Composers' Union was Poland's most influential musical organization, both for the party-state and for Polish composers. According to David Tompkins, "union membership conferred prestige and status, as well as access to […] funding [and social benefits],"[90] and it secured "performances of new works […], and publications by a state-own main music publisher."[91] At the same time, "unions also served as a tool for the political control of musical production" by the party-state, often seeking to use it as "a transmission belt for political aims." In the case of music, political control took the form of policing the style and aesthetics of new compositions and imposing the rules of socialist realism. However, as demonstrated by Vest, even in the Stalinist period—the time of the most intense censorship—the Polish Composers' Union was far from the party's mouthpiece.

[88] Additionally, Lissa was granted the highest professorial title ("Profesor zwyczajny") in 1957. Once the Musicology Institute was established in 1958, Lissa became its director and kept that position until 1975.
[89] For more examples of Lissa's activity, see: Helman, "Zofia Lissa," 7-9.

The only other woman as widely recognized with a long-term position on the Union Board in this period was Grażyna Bacewicz.
[90] David Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line: Music and Politics in Early Cold War Poland and East Germany* (West Lafayette Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2013), 95.
[91] Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska, "The Musicological Section of the Polish Composers' Union. Historical Background," *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, no. 17 (2019): 186.

Rather, the Union functioned as a space of negotiation, where composers and musicologists—inclusive of both agents of the new communist order as well as its opponents—actively debated the direction for Polish contemporary art music. The 1948 decision to officially accept musicologists into the union through the Musicologists' Section enabled scholars to share the union's financial, institutional, and discursive power.

Contemporary musicologists investigating Lissa's role in founding both the Musicologists' Section and the musicology department at Warsaw University have focused on either undermining Lissa's agency in the process or searching for evidence that her involvement was motivated solely by a strive for political power. In her 2019 article "The Musicological Section of the Polish Composers' Union: Historical Background," Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska argues that "the whole idea [to found the Musicologists' Section] was devised in Moscow and was strictly political," and only motivated by the Ministry of Culture's hope to use musicologists as a tool for political control over the Union.[92] Another musicologist, Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka, believes that Lissa "played her own game: her main objective was to make the Warsaw musicology [department] appreciated in Poland and abroad; the Polish Composers' Union could be helpful in that."[93]

Indeed, the Musicologists' Section under Lissa's leadership did allow her to take an active role in the Union's operations. From transcripts of the General Assemblies, Lissa appears to have been the most active woman in the organization until 1956. She also sat at the Union board for almost seven years. In a similar vein, Adam Izdebski underscores that Lissa's

[92] "The belief that musicologists should 'support the ideological maturation of composers and evaluate the effects of this process in the form of ideologically and artistically correct works' paved the way for the idea of including musicologists in the composers' union. This view was strongly supported by the authorities for whom a combined union would also be easier to control politically." Beata Boleslawska-Lewandowska, "The Musicological Section of the Polish Composers' Union. Historical Background," *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny,* no. 17 (2019): 189, 191.

[93] Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka, "Początek powojennej batalii o muzykę w świetle dokumentów z Walnych Zjazdów Związku Kompozytorów Polskich" ["The Beginning of rhe Post-War Battle for Music in Light of Documents from General Assemblies of the Polish Composers' Union"], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 9 (2011): 198.

leadership in the foundation of the department was indebted to her position at the Ministry of Culture and Art, and that the successful and swift formation of the new musicology program took place despite the mistrust and apprehension that Lissa's figure supposedly sparked among faculty and the dean of the Humanities Department.[94] In summary, Bolesławska-Lewandowska, Dadak-Kozicka, and Izdebski perceive the history of musicology's entrance into the University of Warsaw and the Polish Composers' Union under Lissa's leadership as primarily an oppressive act aimed to exert the party's control over musical thought and aesthetics in Poland.

An important though rarely-discussed outcome of establishing the Musicologists' Section was that it resulted in the increased representation of women in key decision-making positions in the new music scene. Moreover, including musicologists in the Union allowed Lissa herself to take an active role in the Union's operations. From the transcripts of the General Assemblies, Lissa appears to be the woman who contributed the most comments during the meetings between 1945 and 1956.

Indeed, archival documents indicate that Lissa's political connections played a role in the level of power she came to possess in the Polish Composer's Union and in the academic field of musicology. For example, the Proceedings of the Music Subcommittee of the Department of Education and Culture of the Polish Workers' Party Central Committee confirm Lissa's participation in the works of the subcommittee.[95] The Music Subcommittee

[94] See: Adam Izdebski, "Powstanie warszawskiego ośrodka muzykologicznego i jego udział we wprowadzaniu socrealizmu do muzyki polskiej" ["The Establishment of the Warsaw Musicology and its Participation in the Introduction of Socialist Realism to Polish Music"], in *Trudny wiek XX. Jednostka, system, epoka* [*Diffult Twentieth Century. Individual, System, Era*], eds. P. Bąbiak and Joanna Nalewajko-Kulikov (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010), 178–188.

[95] AAN, "Protokoły Podkomisji Muzycznej Wydziału Oświaty i Kultury KC PPR": (AAN WOK KC PPR 295/XVII-19, Podkomisja Muzyczna; AAN WOK KC PPR 295/XVII-43, Kolegium Oświatowo-Kulturalne BP KC PPR; AAN WOK KC PPR 295/XVII-74), quoted in Adam Izdebski, "Powstanie warszawskiego ośrodka muzykologicznego i jego udział we wprowadzaniu socrealizmu do muzyki polskiej" ["The Establishment of the Warsaw Musicology and its Participation in the Introduction of Socialist Realism to Polish Music"], in *Trudny wiek XX. Jednostka, system, epoka* [*Difficult Twentieth Century. Individual, System, Era*], eds. P. Bąbiak and Joanna Nalewajko-Kulikov (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010), 161-208.

was a ministerial body created in May 1947 and chaired by a director of the Department of Education and Culture's music-specific division. According to proceedings from July 2, 1947, the subcommittee mandated Lissa to make contact with the Polish Composers' Union, with the goal of including musicologists as part of the union, and, consequently of exerting more political control over the aesthetics of newly composed music.[96] It is therefore clear that Lissa participated in music-related conversations—and possibly also decisions—that took place within party structures. What remains unexamined, however, are the circumstances that made it possible for Lissa, especially as a woman and a Jew, to become so esteemed both among musicologists and communist party decision-makers in the first place.

One of the factors that enabled educational and, later, professional opportunities for Lissa was the specific historical moment in which she received her training at the University of Lviv. As Chybiński's former student, Lissa represented a prestigious academic lineage that made her a fitting candidate for an academic career in musicology in the new postwar context. But Lissa was also one of many women communist intellectuals who were actively promoted by the Stalinist apparatus in postwar Poland. Her case represents the new gender politics introduced under Stalinism that supported women's presence and visibility in the public sphere. Even though, as I discussed in Chapter one, the traditional expectations for women as mothers, wives, and caregivers in the context of family and home remained largely unchanged under communism, historians such as Natalia Jarska, Piotr Perkowski, and Agnieszka Mrozik emphasize that in the 1948–1953 period, the time of the "Stalinist revolution," women were given positions of power within the party structures and state institutions. This was, in fact, the only period when the communist ideal of gender equity was at least somewhat applied in

[96] Izdebski, "Powstanie warszawskiego ośrodka muzykologicznego i jego udział we wprowadzaniu socrealizmu do muzyki polskiej," 173.

practice and translated itself into support for female party members' careers in academia, education, and art.

During the Stalinist years, the authorities wanted to "emphasize the momentous role of women in the building of socialism" and present women's issues as a top priority.[97] For instance, the "Resolution of the Politburo on Labour Among Women" ("Uchwała Biura Politycznego w Sprawie Pracy Wśród Kobiet") from 1949 addressed the need for continuous encouragement and facilitation of working-class women's entry into the workforce. The document also pointed to the new socialist regime's success in bringing a unique change regarding gender equity by stating that:

> only socialism brings total liberation to women and provides unlimited opportunities for the all-round development of their abilities and creative forces. For the first time in the history of our country, the issue of women has entered the path of radical solution […]. The socio-legal inequality of women has been eradicated.[98]

Moreover, the regime promised women large-scale promotions to more senior positions in their workplaces. The "Resolution" continued by stating that

> the party organizations […] should […] remove all obstacles […] to the increasingly active participation of women in social and political life, in manufacturing and education, in the management [… of state organs. It is necessary to appoint women more widely and boldly than before on a mass scale to higher positions of leadership in socialist industry, commerce, telecommunications, the state apparatus, and trade unions.[99]

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[97] AAN, "Uchwała Biura Politycznego KC PZPR w sprawie pracy wśród kobiet," AAN PZPR KC, Wydział Kobiecy, 237/XV - 8, Projekty Uchwał Biura Politycznego i Sekretariatu KC PZPR w sprawach kobiet, pages 10-11.
"podkreśliły doniosłą rolę kobiet w budownictwie socjalizmu" (My translation.)

[98] Ibid. "tylko socjalizm niesie kobiecie całkowite wyzwolenie i daje nieograniczone możliwości wszechstronnego rozwoju ich zdolności i twórczych sił. Po raz pierwszy w historii naszego kraju sprawa kobiet weszła na drogę radykalnego rozwiązania […]. Zlikwidowana została społeczno-prawna nierówność kobiet." (My translation.)

[99] Ibid., page 28. "Organizacje partyjne […] powinny […] usuwać wszelkie przeszkody […] na drodze do coraz czynniejszego udziału kobiet w życiu społecznym i politycznym, w produkcji i szkolnictwie, w kierowaniu […] organami władzy państwowej. Trzeba szerzej i śmielej niż dotychczas na skalę masową powoływać kobiety na wyższe stanowiska do kierownictwa w socjalistycznym przemyśle, w handlu, w komunikacji, w aparacie państwowym i Związkach Zawodowych." (My translation.)

An important element of the state's gender politics in the late forties was enhancing the visibility of working women; examples of women's promotions to higher ranking jobs were supposed to attract other women to become professionally active. Moreover, work was perceived as a tool for raising political awareness among women. As stated in the "Resolution":

> it is necessary to introduce the largest masses of women to active participation in political life; to awaken among women solidarity with the struggle and efforts of the working class, and the ardent patriotism in working for People's Poland; to mobilize them around people's power."[100]

Historian Małgorzata Fidelis identifies this mechanism as "equality through protection." [101] According to this logic, "women themselves were not ready for gender equality, and the role of Stalinism, the state, and gender policies was to prepare them for their new roles."[102] As Perkowski notes, support for women's paid labour offered by the Stalinist state did not exclusively activate working-class women. The party-state's triumph in solidifying the Stalinist regime owed much of its success in the educational and artistic fields to a generation of women intellectuals associating themselves with political left professionally active in academia, education, art, and culture, including historians, writers, and poets.[103] They were often from a middle-class assimilated Jewish background, actively involved in the political

[100] Ibid., pages 28, 30.
"Trzeba wprowadzać najliczniejsze rzesze kobiece do czynnego udziału w życiu politycznym - budzić wśród kobiet solidarność z walką i wysiłkiem klasy robotniczej, gorący patriotyzm w pracy dla Polski Ludowej oraz mobilizować je wokół władzy ludowej." (My translation.)
[101] See: Małgorzata Fidelis, "Equality through Protection: The Politics of Women's Employment in Postwar Poland, 1945-1956," *Slavic Review* 63, no. 2 (2004): 301–24.
[102] Katarzyna Stańczak-Wiślicz et al., *Kobiety w Polsce, 1945–1989: Nowoczesność - równouprawnienie – komunizm* [*Women in Poland, 1945–1989: Modernity – Emancipation – Communism*] (Kraków: Universitas, 2020), 49.
"same kobiety były niegotowe na tę równość, a rolą stalinizmu, państwa i polityki równouprawnienia miało być przygotowanie ich do pełnienia nowych funkcji." (My translation.)
[103] Piotr Perkowski, "Droga do Władzy? Kobiety w Polityce" ["Road to Power? Women in Politics"], in *Kobiety w Polsce, 1945–1989: Nowoczesność - równouprawnienie – komunizm* [*Women In Poland, 1945–1989: Modernity – Emancipation – Communism*], eds. Stańczak-Wiślicz, Katarzyna, Piotr Perkowski, Małgorzata Fidelis, and Barbara Klich-Kluczewska (Kraków: Universitas, 2020), 54–55.

left from before the war, spent the wartime in the USSR, and took positions in academia, education, and culture after 1945. In fact, for those women, many of them Jewish, the new regime offered opportunities for greater autonomy and agency in their academic careers. Indeed, the state's insistence on women's professional and political activity transformed social norms regarding gender in the workplace. As Perkowski notes, communist/Stalinist "ideological correctness prohibited obstructing women's path to more academic degrees."[104]

Lissa was an example precisely of this shift. On the one hand she was well-educated and willing to promote socialist and communist values within her academic field. On the other hand, she was one of many women to whom the state could offer academic opportunities largely unmatched before the war, and which would dry up in the later decades of the communist period. Lissa was from a Jewish family, affiliated with the communist movement since her interwar years in Lviv, she spent most of the war teaching music in the USSR, and subsequently worked as a cultural attaché at the Polish Embassy in Moscow. Moreover, Lissa's political ties to the USSR were undeniable due to the fact that she was a former member of the Union of Polish Patriots, a Stalin-approved political body founded in Moscow by Polish communists (mostly war refugees) in 1943. Regarding her academic work, Lissa had enough scholarly output to apply for a habilitation before the war. Yet it was only under the new system that her chances were no longer obstructed by gendered and ethnic biases within academia. For this reason, while at first glance the granting of Lissa's "express" habilitation in 1947 may appear as though she received favourable treatment from the state due to her political leanings, in reality this was an indication that she was finally being granted a fair chance at an academic career, one for which she had long been prepared.

[104] Kolbuszewska, "Kobiety w akademii. Droga do samodzielności naukowej polskich historyczek w XX stuleciu," 102.
"Poprawność ideologiczna zabraniała też w sposób otwarty blokować kobietom drogę do kolejnych stopni naukowych." (My translation.)

In other words, Lissa's political background—in combination with her expertise in the field of musicology—may have indeed made her an ideal candidate for the position as the Party's "inside person" in the process of politicizing music. What needs to be emphasized, however, is that the relationship between Lissa and the state apparatus was significantly more nuanced than that. First, supporting Lissa's leadership position among Polish musicologists aligned with the state's official campaign for gender equity, women's participation in the workforce, and the socialist revolution at large. Yet there was also a second factor: the shortage of academics in the country. Lissa was willing to work hard towards rebuilding the academic field of musicology and to set up structures for educating new generations of students. This task was urgent yet challenging due to the shortage of qualified academic teachers and academic programs at leading Polish universities immediately after the war. As Kolbuszewska explains, the post-war staffing shortage in academia benefited

> the advancement of women. As in the interwar period, it was easier for them to associate with emerging academic centers. Newly created universities in many cases built both material and personnel facilities from scratch. When vacancies existed, women were more likely to be hired. They were often the only candidates for a given position and did not have to face unequal competition with men.[105]

At the conclusion of the war, the main Polish universities were located in Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, and Wrocław. Shortly after the war new universities were also founded in Łódź, Lublin, and Toruń. Due to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements in 1945, Polish borders were reshaped and Lviv—the most vital center for Polish musicology in the interwar period—no longer belonged to Poland's territory (see Figure 14).

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[105] Ibid., 100.
"awansowi kobiet niewątpliwie 'służyły' powojenne braki kadrowe. Podobnie jak w dwudziestoleciu, łatwiej było im związać się z powstającymi dopiero ośrodkami. Nowo tworzone uniwersytety w wielu przypadkach budowały zarówno materialne, jak i osobowe zaplecze od podstaw. W sytuacji istnienia wakatów chętniej zatrudniano kobiety. Często bywały one jedynymi kandydatkami na dane stanowisko i nie musiały stawać do nierównej konkurencji z mężczyznami." (My translation.)

Figure 14. Borders of Poland before and after the Second World War, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej.

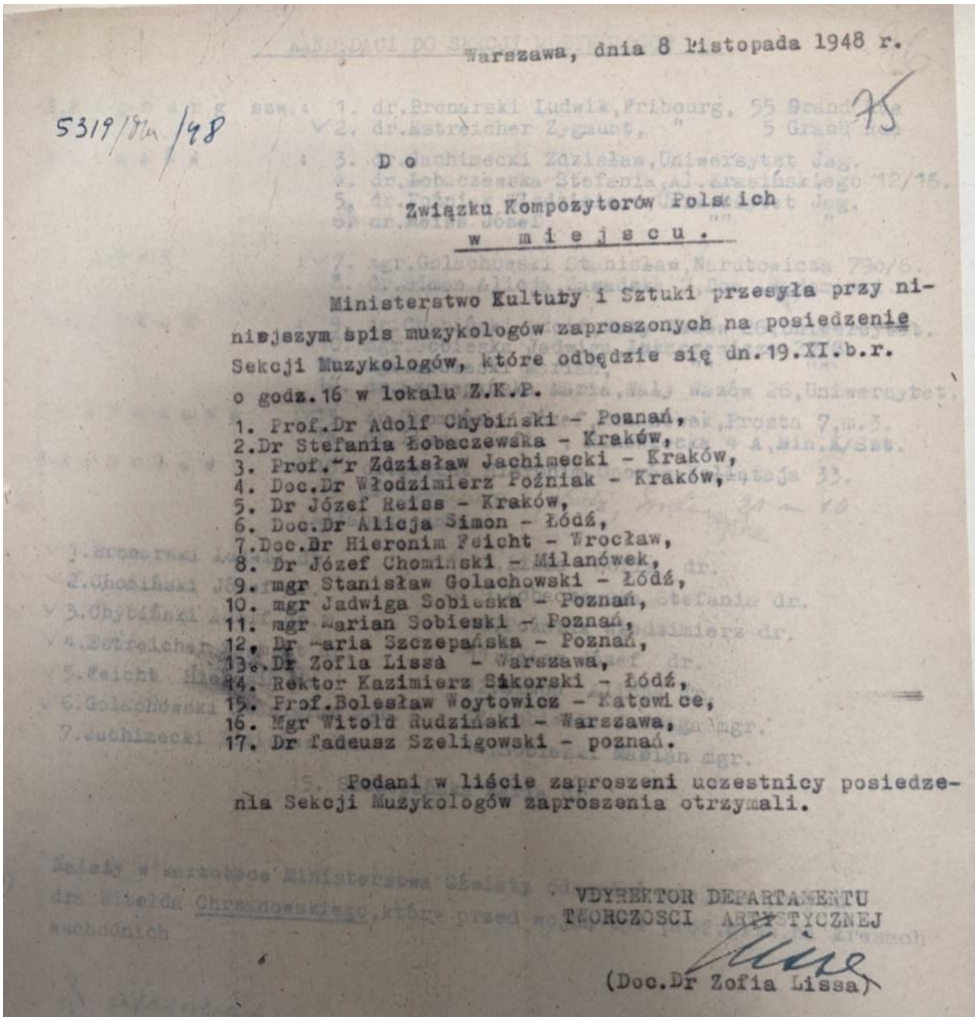
The overall number of trained musicologists who survived the war and were able to and interested in staying in the field was very small. At the war's end, Jachimecki and Chybiński were the only academic teachers in Polish musicology eligible to lecture at the university level.[106] Even though there were three professors and seventy students who graduated with a musicology degree in Poland between 1911 and 1939, only eighteen musicologists were invited to the first postwar official congress in 1948, and only seven of them had necessary qualifications—either a title of docent or a professor—to work as

[106] According to the bill approved on October 28, 1947, habilitation remained the minimum degree required in order to give academic lectures.

Łucjan Kamieński, former chair of the Musicology Department at the University of Poznań, was in practice remove from academic positions after the Second World War due to accusations of collaborating with the Nazi.

independent university-level teachers. (See Figure 15; the eighteenth musicologist is Lissa who was the author of the letter).[107]

Figure 15. Musicologists invited to the "First Congress of Polish Musicologists" after the war (1948). "Prof." and "Doc." before the name indicates qualifications of an autonomous university lecturer. Polish Composers' Union Archive.



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Związku Kompozytorów Polskich

w miejscu.

Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki przesyła przy niniejszym spis muzykologów zaproszonych na posiedzenie Sekcji Muzykologów, które odbędzie się dn. 19.XI.b.r. o godz. 16 w lokalu Z.K.P.

1. Prof. Dr Adolf Chybiński - Poznań,
2. Dr Stefania Łobaczewska - Kraków,
3. Prof. Dr Zdzisław Jachimecki - Kraków,
4. Doc. Dr Włodzimierz Poźniak - Kraków,
5. Dr Józef Reiss - Kraków,
6. Doc. Dr Alicja Simon - Łódź,
7. Doc. Dr Hieronim Feicht - Wrocław,
8. Dr Józef Chomiński - Milanówek,
9. mgr Stanisław Golachowski - Łódź,
10. mgr Jadwiga Sobieska - Poznań,
11. mgr Marian Sobieski - Poznań,
12. Dr Maria Szczepańska - Poznań,
13. Dr Zofia Lissa - Warszawa,
14. Rektor Kazimierz Sikorski - Łódź,
15. Prof. Bolesław Woytowicz - Katowice,
16. Mgr Witold Rudziński - Warszawa,
17. Dr Tadeusz Szeligowski - poznań.

Podani w liście zaproszeni uczestnicy posiedzenia Sekcji Muzykologów zaproszenia otrzymali.

WYDZIAŁ DEPARTAMENTU
TWÓRCZOŚCI ARTYSTYCZNEJ

(Doc. Dr Zofia Lissa)

After launching the Musicologists' Section at the Polish Composers' Union in 1948, membership was eventually granted to twenty-four musicologists. Nevertheless, this number was undoubtedly low in proportion to the number of academic institutions in the country. And that was precisely the argument that Lissa used to justify her large-scale project of opening a

[107] The required title was a docent (granted in the process of habilitation) or a professor.

new musicology program at the University of Warsaw in order to "populate" the musicological field.

In March 1948, Lissa, in her capacity as the president of the Ministry of Culture and Art's music department, wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education with a detailed explanation of the urgency of creating new musicology programs in Poland. She writes: "currently, educational centers for musicologists are located in Poznań, Kraków, Wrocław and Łódź, as well as there is a lectureship in Toruń. This number is insufficient […] in comparison with the demand for music education"[108] Then, Lissa proceeds to list the number of primary, secondary, and post-secondary music schools that need teachers and lecturers, and she states that "at the moment we have about forty active musicologists in Poland, [including] only twenty with full qualifications […]. Consequently, there is a shortage of about 120 musicologists. […] It is therefore necessary to increase the number of musicology programs."[109] She concludes by saying: "it is now necessary to found a Department of Musicology in Warsaw, which in time will include all disciplines of musicology."[110] In other words, for Lissa, the shortage of academic staff (combined with the new Stalinist politics of gender) not only contributed to her swift reception of her habilitation after the Second World War, but also gave her the rationale to work towards founding her "own" musicology program at one of the most important universities in postwar Poland.

[108] AAN, "MKiS Zaklady Muzykologii przy Uniwersytetach 1947–48 korespondencja" ["Ministry of Culture and Art. Departments of Musicology at Universities 1947-48 Correspondence"], pages 31–32, 3 March 1948. "Obecnie ośrodki kształcenia muzykologów znajdują się w Poznaniu, Krakowie, Wrocławiu i Łodzi oraz lektorat w Toruniu. Ilość ta jest w obecnej sytuacji w stosunku do zapotrzebowania szkolnictwa muzycznego niewystarczająca." (My translation.)

[109] Ibid.
"W danej chwili w Polsce mamy około 40 czynnych muzykologów, tylko 20-tu posiadających pełne kwalifikacje (dyplomy uniwersyteckie). Wobec tego brakuje około 120 muzykologów. […] Jest zatem koniecznością zwiększenie ilości katedr muzykologii i rozszerzenie obsady personalnej katedr obecnie funkcjonujących." (My translation.)

[110] Ibid.
"Konieczne jest już obecnie utworzenie w Warszawie Zakładu Muzykologii, który z czasem obejmie wszystkie działy muzykologii." (My translation.)

"Your story has something of a failed love for Marxism": gendered stereotypes in the decline of Lissa's status in Polish musicology

The prosperous time for academic women came to an end around the time of the 1956 "Polish Thaw" (also known as "Polish October"). The political transformation of 1956 followed a series of events that took place both in the USSR and in Poland, including Stalin's death in 1953, the subsequent transformation of the Soviet Union, and the 1956 leak of the "Secret Speech" by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, which criticized Stalin's totalitarian practices and held him accountable for war crimes. Massive anti-communist protests followed in Poland, resulting in a change in the leadership of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR). The governing style of the new First Secretary Władysław Gomułka (1905–1982) was based on a so-called "Polish path to socialism," striving to re-nationalize Poland and maintain more autonomy from the USSR. Gomułka largely consolidated his power through encouraging reversion to traditional gender roles, which eventually "ended the era of women's promotion in the Communist Party."[111]

In Poland, the era of Gomułka is commonly referred to as the "little stabilization." As noted by historian Dobrochna Kałwa, the discourse of "stabilization"—often also framed as "normalization"—was understood as returning to traditional pre-Stalinist ways of living: "the return of cultural norms and social practices associated with individualism, privacy, and consumption."[112] Considered a generally positive change in the dominating discourse of the time, normalization resulted in a shift away from celebrating women's professional activization and their visibility in the public sphere. As Kałwa explains, "the post-Stalinist backlash in Poland began by challenging and then rejecting the communist project of emancipation and equality, which was interpreted as an alien concept, imposed by the Soviets,

[111] Katarzyna Stańczak-Wiślicz et al., *Kobiety w Polsce, 1945–1989: Nowoczesność - równouprawnienie – komunizm*, 62.
[112] Dobrochna Kałwa, "Post-Stalinist Backlash in Poland," *Clio* 41 (2015): 152.

and as such contrary to the essential interests of the Polish nation."[113] For that reason, Kałwa argues that from the perspective of women's history, the narrative of stabilization and normalization is inaccurate since it "distorts the ambiguity and contradictions of both gender policy and the situation of women in Poland after Stalin."[114] Instead, she proposes the concept of a post-Stalinist backlash to illustrate the shift in gender politics and gender discourse after 1956.

In this context there was a new, growing language of gendered metaphors and stereotypes aimed at ridiculing and mocking powerful women, particularly dedicated those who were communists from the Stalinist period. One of the gendered stereotypes employed to dissociate Gomułka's new political vision from the Stalinist past was that of an ill-intentioned, fanatical, ugly, old, and single woman committed to Stalinism. Mocked as "the aunts of the revolution," women who had benefited from professional and political opportunities in the previous decade, were now a subject of open hostility.

Another consequence of the Polish Thaw was the loosening of restrictions surrounding literature, art, and music. Indeed, the cultural transformation after Stalin's death led to the opportunity to reimagine the aesthetic and ideological standards of Polish music, and in turn made Lissa's Marxist agenda increasingly irrelevant. Musically, 1956 brought the rejection of restrictive socialist realist censorship in composition and musicology. Instead, Poland saw the rising popularity of avant-garde aesthetics and electronic music among the new generation, as represented by Penderecki. It was around this time that the progressive Warsaw Autumn festival was launched, followed by the opening of the Polish Radio Experimental Studio in 1957. As explained by Vest, already by 1954 at the annual Composer's Union Assembly,

[113] Ibid., 154.
[114] Ibid., 153.

Lissa was accused of isolating composers and limiting their creativity: "It was no longer time for listening to Lissa."[115]

The changing reality took a toll on Lissa. In a letter from February 1958, she complained to her friend and colleague Zygmunt Mycielski by writing: "Everything that I had lived by for thirty years, that gave my life meaning, collapsed. […] There is emptiness around me. […] Alienation. […] I feel dead even though I am alive […] How can one go on like this?"[116] She further lamentedthe ostracism experienced from her colleagues in the new post-Stalinist reality, expressing that her life and career were now pointless. Indeed, by the mid-fifties, Lissa began experiencing social and intellectual isolation within her Polish scholarly networks.

Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" was a shock for Lissa and other pre-war communist activists of her generation who had occupied senior positions in public institutions and the structures of the Party since the end of the Second World War. A former student of Lissa, the musicologist Anna Czekanowska-Kuklińska (1929–2021), wrote in her memoirs that after Khrushchev's speech, Lissa "often spoke of her despair and that everything that was important to her had become corrupted."[117] Further, Lissa's correspondence with Mycielski demonstrates that it was not until three years after this (in 1959) that she recovered emotionally and returned to work.

Mycielski believed that the hostility and alienation Lissa was experiencing within her professional environment between 1956 and 1959 came from the fact that unlike other prominent communists, Lissa never officially condemned her adherence to Stalinism in the

[115] Vest, *Awangarda*, 68.
[116] BN, Zygmunt Mycielski's correspondence. Lissa to Mycielski, February 10, 1958.
"Zawaliło się wszystko, czym się żyło przez lat 30, co nadawało życiu sens. […] Jest wokół mnie pustka. […] Wyobcowanie […] Nazywam to śmiercią za życia. […] Jak można tak dalej?" (My translation.)
[117] Anna Czekanowska, *Ku niedalekiej przeszłości (1948-2002). Z doświadczeń badacza i nauczyciela*. [*Toward The Near Past (1948-2002). From The Experience of a Researcher and Teacher*] (Poznań: PTPN, 2015), 56.
"mówiła często o swojej rozpaczy i o 'zbrudzeniu' wszystkiego co było dla niej ważne." (My translation.)

wake of 1956. In his response to her 1958 letter, Mycielski wrote: "For many, you have become a symbol of a particular tenacity."[118] Earlier in the correspondence he also adds: "[Your] story has something of a failed love for Marxism."[119] Mycielski's comparison of Lissa's disillusionment with Stalin's doctrine to a romantic heartbreak resonates with a gendered cultural image of communist involvement as a type of infatuation or even insanity.[120]

Mrozik notes that there is "a common misconception in Poland that communism—particularly that of the intellectual elites—was a result of "blindness," "succumbing to seduction," or "being possessed." For example, the involvement of Wanda Wasilewska (1905–1964)—a prominent Polish communist organizer and Lissa's peer—with communism was

> described as a "love affair, a passion that consumed her suddenly and completely, "fanaticism," or even "religious ecstasy," […]. [These] observations, highly critical of communism, depicting it with the use of metaphors of religion and love, created a particularly powerful effect when used in relation to a woman: femininity sharpened the image of a communist as someone irrational, consumed by a sudden passion, ecstatic.[121]

In Lissa's case, the gendered undertones of that metaphor resonated particularly loudly, as she was unmarried (and if she had romantic relationships, she remained very private about them) and did not have children.[122]

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[118] BN, Zygmunt Mycielski's correspondence. Lissa to Mycielski, February 10, 1958.
"Stałaś się dla wielu symbolem pewnej nieustępliwości." (My translation.)
[119] Ibid.
"Ta historia ma coś z zawiedzionej miłości do marksizmu" (My translation.)
[120] For broader tropes of disillusionment and the end of communist "infatuation" see: Czesław Miłosz, *The Captive Mind* (New York: Vintage International, 1990). Further, more specifically for experiences of the interwar generation of Communist intellectuals and their intellectual and political disillusionment in postwar Poland, see: Marci Shore, *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918-1968* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).
[121] Agnieszka Mrozik, "Crossing Boundaries: The Case of Wanda Wasilewska and Polish Communism," *Aspasia* 11 (2017): 23.
[122] Gwizdalanka suggests that Lissa had an ex-husband while in the USSR, but she does not provide any historical evidence. See: Danuta Gwizdalanka, "Zofia Lissa." *Musik und Gender im internet: MUGI*, Accessed June 21, 2021, https://mugi.hfmt-hamburg.de/receive/mugi_person_00000497?lang=en.

In the wake of the 1956 cultural and political change, Lissa faced a new wave of hostility within her environment not only as a woman and a communist, but also as a Jew. As Mrozik explains, the new party leadership

> not only made sure to purge public institutions from Stalin's supporters (including many women), but also […] [constructed] a history of the left in Poland to legitimize […] the political direction of their choice. The main element around which this story revolved was the active struggle—political and armed—waged against the German occupant by the communists in the country (and so: not in the USSR), that is Poles and men (and so: not Jews or women). [123]

Over the years, Gomułka's initially subtle practices of removing Jews from the structures of the party eventually turned into an open antisemitic smear campaign, peaking in March 1968. Following the "March events," thousands of Jewish communists were removed from the party, and between 13,000 and 15,000 fled the country. While Lissa stayed in Poland, the drastically different narrative around women and Jews, including the 1968 campaign, inevitably affected the level of influence in her professional milieu, and left a toll on her mental well-being. Her lost sense of purpose and belonging, so clear in her letter to Mycielski from 1958, was again echoed in her correspondence from the period between 1969 and 1974. For example, in a 1969 letter, she refers to her national belonging and the mass Jewish exodus by writing:

> I don't think anyone has the right or can take away my sense of organic belonging to the language in which I think, to the country in which I grew up, and for which I have spent my life trying to work as diligently and as well as I could. The fact that officially I am not allowed to say "we" does not mean anything—the most important thing is who you feel you are. […] It is only me who decides about these things, not the composition of some

[123] Agnieszka Mrozik, "Communism as a Generational Herstory: Reading Post-Stalinist Memoirs of Polish Communist Women," *History of Communism in Europe* 8 (2017): 262.

blood […]. It is only sad that the country is emptying, and not from the worst people. Often even from the best people.[124]

Lissa further admits that the 1968 purges left her "trembling that [her] life's work—the [musicology] institute—would be destroyed."[125]

Consequently, while Lissa's passion for sociomusicology remained unwavering, her correspondence demonstrates that during the post-Stalinist era she became deeply disappointed with the communist political project, especially as the communist state eventually fell short of her expectations regarding ethnic equality and justice. According to Polish musicologist and Lissa's former student Andrzej Chłopecki, in 1968 Lissa was "beaten by unknown offenders."[126] The details of the incident remain unknown, but if Chłopecki remembered the date of this occurrence correctly, it coincided with the 1968 "March events." Another Polish musicologist, Stefan Kisielewski—Lissa's peer and a declared anti-communist known for his animosity towards Lissa—remembered her sense of defeat expressed around that time. In his journal, Kisielewski wrote: "once after 1968 I met Lissa and she said 'Well, I guess you no longer have any complaints about me, we're on the same side now.'" Such a comment can suggest that at the time Lissa already aligned herself with those who denounced the actions of communist authorities.[127]

Lissa's declining status in post-Stalinist Poland as a woman, a Jew, and a communist, combined with the new, avant-garde-oriented focus of Polish musicology resulted in the

[124] BN, Zygmunt Mycielski's correspondence. Lissa to Mycielski, May 14, 1969.
"[…] nikt mi nie ma prawa i nie może odebrać poczucia organicznej przynależności do języka, w którym myślę, do kraju, w którym wyrosłam, i dla którego całe życie starałam się pracować jak mogłam najusilniej i najlepiej. Że oficjalnie, nie wolno mi mówić 'my', to przecie nic nie znaczy – najważniejsze jest to kim się człowiek czuje. […] O tych sprawach tylko i wyłącznie ja decyduję, a nie skład jakiejś krwi […]. Smutno tylko, że wokół nas pustoszeje kraj, i to wcale nie od ludzi najgorszych. Często – od najlepszych nawet." (My translation.)

[125] BN, Zygmunt Mycielski's correspondence. Lissa to Mycielski, May 14, 1969.
"[…] drżałam tylko, że rozwalone zostanie dzieło mojego życia – instytut […]." (My translation.)

[126] Andrzej Chłopecki, "Pani Profesor" ["Madam Professor"], in *Dziennik Ucha. Sluchane na ostro* [*Journal of the Ear. Sharply Listened*] (Kraków: PWM, 2014).

[127] Stefan Kisielewski and Piotr Gabryel, *Abecadło Kisiela* [*Kisiel(ewski) 101*] (Warszawa: Prószyński, 2011), 75.

shrinking of her academic platform to present, discuss, and develop her scholarship. Consequently, throughout the sixties and seventies, Lissa's musicological activity was oriented outwards (that is, outside of Poland), which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, while Lissa's international academic career proved extremely successful, in her correspondence from that period, she appears defeated and insecure, often doubting her self-worth and displaying a serious decline in her mental health.

For example, in 1969 letter sent by Wanda Bacewicz to Lissa less than a week after the death of Grażyna Bacewicz, Wanda Bacewicz thanks Lissa "for the sent expressions of sympathy on the sudden passing of Grazyna." Bacewicz then adds, "I wish you a speedy recovery, and please don't say that you are not needed by anyone—this is not correct."[128] Such a response implies that in the original letter, Lissa must have implied to Wanda Bacewicz that she felt like she "was not needed by anyone." Similarly, the collection of Lissa's seventies correspondence with Elżbieta Dziębowska—Lissa's friend and a former student—indicates that at least between January 1973 and November 1974 (and probably longer) Lissa suffered from depression. Concerned with Lissa's apathy, anxiety, and lack of interest in work, Dziębowska tried to convince Lissa to change her negative perspective. For example, in a letter from January 23, 1974, Dziębowska writes:

> I am concerned that you are afraid of traveling alone (how so?) and lecturing. These are indeed anxiety symptoms that need to be treated […]. At times it seems to me that you give in too easily to various moods […]. Could it really be that your life has only dark sides? […] Please forgive me for this moralizing, but I am really worried about you.[129]

[128] AKP, Lissa's correspondence, Wanda Bacewicz to Lissa, January 23, 1969.
"za nadesłane wyrazy współczucia z powodu nagłego odejścia Grażyny. […] Życzę Pani powrotu do zdrowia i proszę nie mówić, że nie jest Pani nikomu potrzebna – to niesłuszne." (My translation.)
[129] AKP, Lissa's correspondence, Dziębowska to Lissa, January 23, 1974.
"zaniepokoiło mnie to, że Pani Profesor obawia się samotnych podróży (jakże tak?) i wykładów. Są to istotnie stany lękowe, które trzeba leczyć, ale jeśli Pani Profesor nie zmusi się sama do autopsychoterapii, to nic z tego nie wyjdzie. (…) Chwilami zdaje mi się, że Pani Profesor zbyt łatwo poddaje się różnym nastrojom […] Czyżby naprawdę życie Pani Profesor miało tylko ciemne strony? […] Proszę wybaczyć mi to moralizowanie, ale doprawdy niepokoję się o Panią Profesor." (My translation.)

Similarly, in the fall of the same year (November 4, 1974), Dzięboswska writes: "What worries me most is that you are not interested in anything, that you don't read, don't listen to music, but spend whole hours idly on the couch."[130]

Moreover, Dzięboswska's letters reveal the extremely high, even unattainable, standards that Lissa set for herself in her professional work. In a letter from May 24, 1973, Dzięboswska writes to Lissa:

> You are worried that your academic work is not going well for you right now. Too bad, there are such periods, all your life you have worked like a typewriter—almost on call. Meanwhile, for most people, lifelong creative work presents difficulties, […] stagnation and various obstacles. What you are struggling with now after many years of extraordinary intensive activity, others experience throughout their lives. Therefore, I do not see any special reason to worry about reduced productivity, it is simply […] a temporary condition.[131]

In a letter from November 4, 1974, Dziebowska adds: "All your life you have been working without rest. [...] Now you have to do not what you need, but what you like. May you read for pleasure, not to make an article out of it for the day after tomorrow. I am afraid, I am, that you continually dissect […] your failures regardless of the number of successes."[132]

The reasons behind Lissa's mental and emotional struggles in the last decade of her life were certainly complex. That said, it is difficult to overlook the relationship between

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[130] AKP, Dzięboswska to Lissa, November 4, 1974.
"Najbardziej mnie to martwi, że nic Panią nie interesuje, że nie czyta Pani, nie słucha muzyki, tylko całe godziny spędza bezczynnie na tapczanie." (My translation.)

[131] AKP, Lissa's correspondence, Dzięboswska to Lissa, May 24, 1973.
"Martwi się Pani Profesor, że praca naukowa Pani teraz nie idzie. Trudno, bywają takie okresy, całe życie pracowała Pani Profesor jak maszyna do pisania – niemal na zawołanie. Tymczasem dla większości osób praca twórcza przez całe życie nastręcza trudności, (nieczytelne) zastoje i różne opory. To, z czym Pani Profesor boryka się teraz po wielu latach nadzwyczajnej intensywnej aktywności, innym towarzyszy przez całe życie. Nie widzę zatem żadnych specjalnych powodów do zamartwiania się nad mniejszą wydajnością, po prostu jest to […] stan przejściowy." (My translation.)

[132] AKP, Lissa's correspondence, Dziebowska to Lissa, November 4, 1974.
"całe życie pracowała bez wytchnienia. Na dobrą sprawę […] takie życie może człowieka tylko oszołomić. Teraz trzeba robić nie to co trzeba, tylko to co lubię. Niechże Pani czyta dla przyjemności, a nie po to, że trzeba z tego zrobić na pojutrze artykuł. Boję się, boję, że bez przerwy Pani rozpatruje swoje […] porażki bez względu na ilość sukcesów." (My translation.)

Lissa's extreme desire to prove herself as a scholar, and the fact that the outside conditions and expectations for her work—in other words, the rules of the game—shifted incessantly throughout her life. After pushing against the expectations of an authoritative and prejudiced mentor as a young scholar, Lissa went on to survive the Second World War as a music teacher in exile, followed finally by fully dedication to expanding the field of musicology in postwar Poland. Before Lissa's was able to accomplish her life's *oeuvre*, the new political reality began echoing her time in Lviv; only now she was not simply an "unruly" student. This time, many saw her as obsolete: an old, lonely, fanatic communist, no longer relevant and no longer needed for the field to which she dedicated her entire life.

Chapter Four

Marxism and Music in the Work of Zofia Lissa: Alternative Genealogies of Contemporary Musicology in Poland and in the West

The official bibliography of Lissa's works—involving books, articles, chapters, surveys, published analyses, encyclopedic entries, and press reviews—spans the period of over forty-five years, from 1930 to 1977.[1] Of the three main stages of Lissa's scholarly work, roughly delineated into early period (1929–1939), middle period (1945–1956), and late period (1957–1977), it is the middle one that would later define her in the collective memory as a "Stalinist scholar." Despite the groundbreaking nature of Lissa's studies on music and society, contemporary musicologists in Poland have refused to seriously consider her scholarship—especially the work that she undertook during the middle period—or to recognize her contributions as a valuable part of the field's intellectual history. The reasons for that exclusion concern the philosophical and political orientation of her writings, most of which rely on Marx's theory of dialectical materialism and involve Lissa's innovative attempts to establish a music-oriented Marxist theory of aesthetics. Moreover, references to the writings of Lenin and Stalin appear frequently in Lissa's work; this fact has been construed as powerful evidence that her scholarship was indebted to communist propaganda and therefore treated musicology in an unethical manner. For the same reason, her work has been deemed to lack scientific objectivity and represent political oppression in Poland during the Stalinist period (1948–1953/55).[2]

Given the generally peripheral position of most Eastern European musicologists within anglophone musicology, and the fact that the reputation of Lissa's scholarship would be questioned even at home, it is not surprising that her works are largely unknown in the West.

[1] Altogether the list of her works contains 598 entries. See: Ewa Mrygoniowa, "Bibliografia prac prof. dr Zofii Lissy," in *Studia musicologica. Aesthetica – theoretica – historica*, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska et al. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1979).
[2] Even though Stalin died in 1953, the post-Stalinist political-cultural thaw in Poland did not begin until 1956.

Yet, at the same time, Lissa was well recognized and connected within international musicological networks from the mid-sixties and until her death in 1980. Lissa's archive at the University of Warsaw Library Archives of Polish Composers includes correspondence with over a hundred musicologists and researchers from Europe and North America. The largest collections of letters are those from prominent German musicologists: Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (1919–1999), at the time the editor of *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*; Georg Knepler (1906–2003), director of The Hochschule für Musik Hanns Eisler Berlin and professor at the Humboldt University; and Ewald Zimmermann (1910–1998), one of the first music editors at the German music publishing house G. Henle Verlag. Lissa equally exchanged large number of letters with Estonian musicologist Elmar Arro (1899–1985), professor of musicology at the University of Heidelberg and the University of Kiel, and Croatian musicologist Ivo Supičić (b. 1928), editor at *Acta musicological* and president of the International Musicological Society in 1982–1987. As I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter, many of these letters testify to Lissa's active participation in international congresses, visits to universities abroad as a guest lecturer, and regular contributions for edited volumes and mostly German academic journals (see Table 2). Lissa's firm institutional embeddedness—and an esteemed reputation—within international academic culture during the last two decades of her life did not, however, translate itself into more than a marginal role for her works in musicology after 1989. If the memory of Lissa's role in sustaining the institutional pillars of European musicology in the seventies and eighties was lost with the passing of her generation, the intellectual proximity of her scholarly work to the tenets of contemporary anglophone New Musicology passed unnoticed. Yet, Lissa studied issues that were fundamental to the field of musicology on both sides of the Iron Curtain, including strikingly forward-thinking theoretical interventions on musicological method and the role of music in society.

To demonstrate the significance of Lissa's institutional and intellectual legacy while also tracing her relationships with foreign scholars and institutions, this chapter presents a comparative analysis of Lissa's writings on music and those of Theodor Adorno, whose work is often regarded as a precursor of New Musicology. I challenge the local and international erasure of Lissa's scholarly contribution. By presenting a contextualized evaluation of her scholarship, I argue that she played a unique—yet to date underexamined—role in the evolution of the twentieth-century musicology. More broadly, through examining Lissa's scholarship, I reflect on the politics of music historiography in Poland and in the West. I examine the ways in which Cold War and post-Cold War divisions have affected the history of Marxism's presence in music studies, the local and global processes of the development of musicology as an academic field, and the politics of knowledge production in, and about, Eastern Europe.

This chapter unfolds in four sections. The double erasure of Lissa both locally and internationally is intertwined with two parallel yet very different historiographical processes that have shifted the place of Marxist thought in both Polish and Western musicological scholarship. Based on this dual perspective of what led to Lissa's erasure, I center my analysis in this chapter around two axes, keeping in mind that they inform each other in demonstrating that Lissa was far more than a peripheral "Stalinist scholar." The first, locally-oriented section of the chapter examines the nuances of Lissa's participation in socialist realism in Polish music between 1949 and 1953. I begin with an overview of the timeline and implications of the socialist realist doctrine in Polish music. While I consider the points of convergence between Lissa's postwar scholarship and the Polish socialist realism, I also recognize points of discrepancy between the official state ideology and Lissa's individual reasoning regarding

music, aesthetics, and society.[3] As discussed in Chapter Three, Lissa's involvement in rebuilding musical institutions after the Second World War cannot be seen exclusively as her willing adherence to the communist apparatus. Rather, her work needs to be considered within the broader history of Jewish women's agency in twentieth-century Poland. Similarly, identifying Lissa's unique approach to socialist realism allows us to build context for her adherence to Marxism in her scholarship, and to challenge the common stereotype that all musicians, artists, and scholars who supported socialist realism in the arts were coerced into doing so.

My discussion of Lissa's career moves beyond Lviv and Warsaw and considers Lissa's contribution to the broader intellectual history of musicology. First, I analyze Lissa's selected books and articles that are representative of postwar Eastern European Marxist musicology, this time to demonstrate their overlap with the tenets of New Musicology. I then incorporate the figure of Adorno in his position as one of New Musicology's forefathers. Tracing points of overlap and discrepancy between Adorno's and Lissa's ideas on popular music, artistic value, and the social role of music, I challenge the hegemony of Adornoian Marxism in our understanding of New Musicology's intellectual genealogy. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I consider Lissa's rich international scholarly network in the period of the mid-sixties to mid-seventies. The archive reveals that during that time Lissa had a vast, international platform to broadcast her ideas through publications and conferences and that those ideas received significant attention from prominent European scholars. Investigating this period in Lissa's career provides valuable context regarding the place of Marxism in her overall intellectual output. Tracing Lissa's lifelong exploration and development of ideas (other than focusing solely on her output during the first postwar decade) dismantles the stereotype of her

[3] See: J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song,'" *Journal of Musicology* 37, no. 2 (May 11, 2020): 231–66; J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Polish Generation's Journey Across War and Reconstruction, 1926–53" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2019).

as a mere "Stalinist scholar," someone reproducing forced ideology, lacking agency, and working in isolation from alternative viewpoints. Rather, for Lissa, her colleague Stefania Łobaczewska, and other European musicologists from the Soviet sphere of influence, actively thinking about music and society was a lifelong intellectual and usually political commitment that happened to be channeled through Marxism, and for a limited period of time also through socialist realism.

As mentioned at the outset, there are both local and international historiographical processes that resulted in the erasure of Lissa's work in contemporary musicology. Through this chapter, I argue that the local process has led to the ongoing domination of positivist historical musicology and music theory in Polish and other Eastern European musicological tradition, resulting in a low level of engagement with Lissa's writings in contemporary Poland. The local historiographical process encompassed three stages: the domination of Marxism in the musicology of Poland (and other satellite states such as Hungary or Czechoslovakia) between late forties and mid-fifties; Marxism's continuous presence throughout the duration of the communist era in the region; and the eventual post-communist rejection of the history of Polish musicology's entanglement with Marxism. Within the modern democratic countries from which Marxist scholarship previously emerged, it became a symbol of political oppression, enthusiastically rejected and condemned following the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989—clearly not something that the modern scholarly communities would be proud to translate and export westwards. The uneasiness around Lissa's work in contemporary Poland is therefore directly intertwined with Polish musicology's rejection of its Marxist past. What remains undervalued by recent scholarship is that, with her work on music and society, Lissa introduced an unprecedented level of innovation and interdisciplinarity to Polish musicology.

For the first time in the Polish musicological tradition, Lissa proposed ways to move beyond historical musicology, a tradition represented by Adolf Chybiński and most of his

other students. While popular music scholars, and even more so music education scholars in Poland have generally drawn from Lissa's writings post-1989, traditional historical musicology has treated questions of music's social context (class, race, gender) with skepticism.[4] It is therefore not only Lissa's intertwinement with Marxism more broadly that makes her unsuitable for the post-communist politics of musicological memory; it is also her general research interests that largely go against the research paradigms of contemporary Polish musicology, leaving many of her achievements unrecognized.

For contemporary musicologists, the reception of Lissa's scholarship is also inextricable from her institutional affiliation with the high-level units of the Communist Party in Stalinist Poland, such as her connections at the Ministry of Culture and the powerful position she had within universities, the Polish Music Publishing House, and the Polish Composers' Union. The evaluation of Lissa's scholarship from the 1948–1953 period, therefore, is overdetermined in ways that exceed the issues of research quality and originality, or even the broader questions of Lissa's academic integrity and research ethics. Instead, Lissa's postwar work is subject to an evaluation along the lines of political loyalty and individual moral responsibility within the structures of power; it points to the question of ethics more broadly.

The recurring question of ethics that marks the reception of Lissa's postwar work governs contemporary historiography of the Republic of Poland (1944–1952) and the Polish People's Republic (1952–1989). As explained by historians Katarzyna Chmielewska and Anna Kowalska, "the Polish historiographical discourse on communism is [...] strongly value-laden, primarily in that it almost always situates the past in the axiological realm. [...] What we are discussing is, in fact, not the People's Republic of Poland […], but the moral

[4] For my discussion of today's Polish musicology's skepticism towards sociomusicology, see: Marta Beszterda, "At the Intersection of Musical Culture and Historical Legacy: Feminist Musicology in Poland," *Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ* 3, no. 34 (2017): 29–50.

judgements of involvement in the system."[5] That discourse, Chmielewska and Kowalska note, relies on creating a simplistic, dichotomic, and therefore disjunctive collection of the history's agents: the authorities and society. Society, in turn, is divided into two further dichotomic groups: those who actively resisted communism, and those who did not. As a result, contemporary historiography of the Polish People's Republic can create a "macro-structured storyline, an overarching story of allegiance and lack thereof, an axiological presupposition."[6]

Contemporary musicologists have applied similar logic to the historiography of the Polish classical music culture during the Communist period, usually through the artistic male-resistance lens, a paradigm I discussed in the Introduction. The process of de-communization of Polish music history involved cultivating a clear opposition between the detrimental, regressive musical and intellectual labor motivated and controlled by the communists, and heroic (male) musical labor, mostly related to the growing Polish avant-garde movement, but also associated with religious and patriotic contexts.[7] Under such collective imaginary, Lissa, as an educator and musicologist interested in Marxism, and as a Jewish woman, is associated with the first rather than the second group.

Among those who work as musicologists, researchers, and archivists in Poland in the present day, concerns about Lissa's heritage as a thinker and an organizer come to the surface

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[5] Anna Kowalska, "Wokół dyskursu o PRL," in *Debaty Po Roku 1989: Literatura w Procesach Komunikacji* [*Debates after 1989: Literature in the Communication Process*], ed. Maryla Hopfinger, Zygmunt Ziątek, and Tomasz Żukowski (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN Wydawnictwo, 2017); Katarzyna Chmielewska, "Narracje historyczne o komunizmie," in *Debaty Po Roku 1989: Literatura W Procesach Komunikacji [Debates after 1989: Literature in the Communication Process],* ed. Maryla Hopfinger, Ziątek Zygmunt, and Żukowski Tomasz (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN Wydawnictwo, 2017), 82. "Dyskurs polskiej historiografii na temat komunizmu ma […] charakter silnie wartościujący przede wszystkim dlatego, że niemal zawsze sytuuje przeszłość w polu aksjologicznym. […] De facto spieramy się nie o PRL (ten oceniany jest jednoznacznie negatywnie), ale o moralne oceny zaangażowania w ówczesny system." (My translation.)

[6] Chmielewska, "Narracje," 79.
"W ten sposób historiografia najnowsza tworzy makrostrukturę fabularną, nadrzędną opowieść o wierności i jej braku, czyli warunek wstępny, aksjologiczną presupozycję." (My translation.)

[7] For example see: "Sonorystyczna ekspresywność i alegoryczny symbolizm: symfonia polska 1944–1994" ["Sonoristic Expressivity and Allegorical Symbolism: the Polish Symphony 1944–1994"], in *Muzyka polska 1945–1995 Materiały Sesji Naukowej 6-10.12.1995 w 20-lecie Zakładu Analizy i Interpretacji Muzyki*, ed. Krzysztof Droba, Teresa Malecka, Krzysztof Szwajgier (Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna w Krakowie, 1996), 25–27.

in the form of political and interpretative ambivalence. Those two types of ambivalence recurringly point to the question of whether and where Lissa belongs in the genealogy through which we understand today's music world.

The political ambivalence serves to display the worldview of whoever is speaking and is apparent in everyday conversations and semi-formal published memoirs about Lissa. While there is a general sense that Lissa was an important figure in Polish musicology and should have earned a place in the collective memory, validating her work often triggers un urge to balance it with a dose of skepticism.

Interpretative ambivalence, in turn, marks encyclopedia entries and academic summaries of Lissa's life and work, where the limitations of the short entry format and the need to synthesize information amplify the struggle to contain multiple sides of her heritage, many of which are considered discordant under the prevailing historiographical paradigm. For example, in her 1998 overview of Lissa's life and work, musicology professor and Lissa's former student Zofia Helman presents her teacher's heritage from the postwar period as contradictory. On the one hand, Helman gives Lissa credit for overcoming challenges and establishing musicology as a solid academic field in Poland after the war. Helman writes:

> [Lissa] belonged to a generation that faced the challenge of creating musical culture and knowledge […] in difficult and ground breaking times. She was often confronted with choices, not only intellectual, but also political and ethical. […] She undertook an enormous effort as well as enormous responsibility. It was undoubtedly her merit that musicology as a university discipline was preserved in Poland.[8]

[8] Zofia Helman, "Zofia Lissa," in *50 lat Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* [*50 years of the Institute of Musicology at the University of Warsaw*], ed. Iwona Januszkiewicz-Rębowska and Szymon Paczkowski (Warszawa: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1998), 9.
"[Lissa] należała do pokolenia, któremu przypadło w udziale współtworzyć kulturę muzyczną i wiedzę […] w czasach trudnych i przełomowych. Niejednokrotnie musiała stawać wobec konieczności wyborów, nie tylko intelektualnych, ale też politycznych i etycznych. […] Podjęła ogromny trud i ogromną odpowiedzialność. Niewątpliwą jej zasługą było utrzymanie w Polsce muzykologii jako dyscypliny uniwersyteckiej." (My translation.)

On the other hand, she recognizes Lissa's problematic ideological affiliation by writing:

> [Lissa's] scholarly thought was not free from entanglements with external affairs [...]. Especially in the first post-war decade, she was more susceptible to political influence than other Polish musicologists. […] It was Zofia Lissa who made the attempt to develop the foundations of a musical aesthetics subject to the dogmatic principles of Marxism, for she treated scholarly work, as well as artistic creation, as part of ideological and political activity.[9]

The performative and interpretative ambivalence around Lissa is coherent with the nature of contemporary discourse on the Polish People's Republic more broadly. It points directly to the meanings produced in contemporary Poland through the memory of communism, and how these meanings support the construction of individual and group identity. Anna Kowalska notes that

> the disputes about the Polish People's Republic [...] are firmly rooted in the present [and at] their very core is the struggle for self-image."[10] Therefore, what might seem like a conversation about our relationship to the past, is in fact about "our own place in post-communist Poland. We are not arguing about the representations of the old world, but about today's consequences that result from any given representation."[11]

Consequently, I propose that the uneasiness around Lissa—and especially her postwar period—does not result from any sort of inherent contradictions in her intellectual, professional, and personal path. Instead, the conflicting emotions surrounding the reception of Lissa point to the ways in which her heritage disrupts a consensus about what stories and

[9] Ibid. "Jej myśl naukowa nie była wolna od uwikłań w sprawy zewnętrzne. […] Szczególnie w pierwszym dziesięcioleciu powojennym, silniej niż inni polscy muzykolodzy ulegała ingerencjom natury politycznej. […] To właśnie Zofia Lissa podjęła próbę opracowania zrębów estetyki muzycznej poddanej dogmatycznym założeniom marksizmu, bowiem pracę naukową, podobnie jak i twórczość artystyczną traktowała jako część działalności ideologiczno-politycznej." (My translation.)
[10] Kowalska, "Wokół dyskursu," 60. "Spory o PRL […] są silnie osadzone we współczesności. Niezwykle istotną ich stawką jest walka o autowizerunek." (My translation.)
[11] Ibid. "[…] swoje miejsce w postkomunistycznej Polsce. Nie spieramy się o wizerunki dawnego świata, lecz o dzisiejsze konsekwencje, które z danego wizerunku wynikają." (My translation.)

founding myths are valued within Polish musicology today. Rather than engaging in an impossible task of weighing Lissa's merits against wrongdoings as seen from the perspective of today's status quo, my goal is to examine those points of disruption in order to challenge common genealogies of contemporary musicology in Poland.

Lissa's career not only challenges Polish musicological genealogies, but also the genealogies of today's Western musicology. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi's categorization of Marxism in music studies is particularly helpful in understanding this connection. In her opening essay to *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics,* Qureshi distinguishes between three "historically divergent strands of Marxist thought that have addressed music and, more broadly, culture," and which continue to influence the study of music history.[12] The first, "traditional" one is "[continental] humanist or culturalist Marxism [that] comprises 'a rich legacy' of theoretical work in literary and cultural criticism and a commitment to the cultural centrality of music, and references on art more than music."[13] This strand includes the work done by the Frankfurt School and Adorno, especially on mass culture, but also British cultural studies of the seventies. The second strand of academic Marxism that addressed music identified by Qureshi—the "anthropological" strand— involves the work of Western and non-Western anthropologists and sociologists since the seventies that focused on the role of material production and class relations in music cultures. Finally, Qureshi identifies the third strand as activist "state and revolutionary" Marxism which "contrast[s] with [the previous two] critical-interpretive approaches."[14] It is primarily observable in Soviet countries and generally associated with the Zhdanov Doctrine. While Qureshi recognizes ways in which the activist and totalizing nature of the state strand of Marxism leads to its intellectual limitations, she proposes that we see the displays of the "state and revolutionary" strand as legitimate

[12] Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics. Critical and Cultural Musicology* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), xvi.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., xvii

"alternative applications of Marxist theory to art and music."[15]

In music scholarship, the "state and revolutionary" strand, represented by Lissa, has largely functioned separately from the first two strands—the humanist-culturalist Marxism and the anthropological Marxism. The isolation of the academic "state and revolutionary" Marxism aligns with the political divisions of the Cold War and post-Cold War era that limited the trajectories of how ideas travelled. Some of the products of these global politics are "cultural Marxism with the 'Western' need to be anticommunist; political Marxism with loyalty to Soviet and other communist regimes; and Marxist anthropology with the need to explain colonized non-Western societies."[16]

Qureshi's model reflects on the international historiographical process governing Marxism's presence in musicology concerning Western, anglophone, scholarship. The introduction of Adorno's writings to the mainstream musicological discourse in North America in the late seventies began a slow paradigm shift away from positivism towards now ubiquitous sociological and cultural studies-oriented perspectives. The new status quo, indebted to Western post-Marxist thinkers, continues in musicology today, even while "perspectives explicitly informed by the work of Karl Marx have been conspicuous largely by their absence."[17] As explained by Qureshi, "music scholars who have increasingly taken an interest in that theme [critical theory] as a means of exploring the cultural role of music have worked with Marx's ideas primarily in derivative forms."[18] Moreover, she notes that "studies of art music in particular have retained a humanist suspicion of materialist treatment."[19] Marxist musicological works from Soviet and Soviet satellite states, however, have been dismissed by Western musicologists as nothing more than a relic of the past: barely a

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., xviii.
[17] Ibid., xiv.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

background, a context, to explain the sound, genre, style, and aesthetic of music in Soviet Russia, postwar Poland, and GDR.

Whether it has been the "Western need to be anticommunist," the Western postcolonial practice of "othering" Eastern European subjects, or simply the language barrier and lack of academic curiosity, scholars drawing on Marx at home in North America took little interest in the body of work produced under the influence of Marxism in state socialist countries of the second half of the twentieth century.[20] The bias against non-Western strands of Marxism has also been noted by musicologist Adam Krims, who recognized "the dominating presence of so-called Western Marxism in traditions of critical humanities scholarship."[21] As Krims argues, "while Western Marxism deviates sharply in many respects from other Marxist traditions, it […] remains the only tradition related to Marx that many humanities scholars encounter in any depth or detail (i.e., in any state beyond allusive reference or caricature)."[22]

Lissa's case highlights the noticeable absence of non-Western strands of Marxism, and in particular Quershi's "state and revolutionary Marxism," from Western musicology. Yet from a contemporary perspective, Lissa's writings demonstrate a striking conceptual proximity to some of Adorno's ideas (categorized under the "traditional" strand) on the one hand, and with the key paradigms of contemporary anglophone New Musicology (which could be linked to both the "traditional" and the "anthropological" strands) on the other. I analyze these unexpected interrelations between different Marxist threads across historical eras and political divisions in this chapter. My goal is to reveal a longer and more

[20] Poland is by no means the only place where the anti-communist status quo has impeded a nuanced re-evaluation of the socialist legacy of previous decades. In his book *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century,* Michael Dennings reinterprets America's Popular Front of the thirties and, against the historiographical consensus in American studies, he stresses the importance of the cultural-artistic activity under Popular Front to the history of socialist intellectual tradition in America. Dennings explains that "like many Americans, […] [he] inherited the Popular Front's laboring of American culture without knowing it; Cold War [anti-Communist] repression had left a cultural amnesia. See: Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 2010), xi.
[21] Adam Krims, *Music and Urban Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 92.
[22] Ibid.

geographically complex intellectual genealogy of contemporary music sociology and New Musicology in the West.

Socialist realism and Lissa's early post-war work

The politics of memory in Polish music historiography has positioned Lissa's legacy as inherently linked to consolidating socialist realism in musicology during the Stalinist years.[23] Historians indicate that the period of state- sanctioned socialist realism in Polish music between 1949 and 1955 was largely the result of the local development of the Zhdanov Doctrine. Socialist realism in Polish music was officially proclaimed in 1949 at a state-organized annual Polish Composers and Music Critics Conference in the town of Łagów Lubuski (August 5–8, 1949), yet in practice its beginnings should be dated back to 1948.[24]

One of the founding documents of the socialist realist doctrine in Polish music was a paper presented at the conference by Włodzimierz Sokorski, at the time the Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Culture and the Arts, and subsequently the Minister of Art and Culture between 1952 and 1956. His paper "Formalizm i realizm w muzyce" ("Formalism and Realism in Music") proclaimed the need to "overcome the epigonistic music of late capitalism with already clear features of formalist degeneration, and to find its own artistic expression, both thematically and formally."[25] In another paper, "Ku realizmowi socjalistycznemu w muzyce" ("Towards Socialist Realism in Music") (1949) Sokorski presents a clear opposition between formalism and socialist realism.[26] As noted by Sławomir Wieczorek in his book *On the Music Front: Socialist-Realist Discourse on Music in Poland, 1948 to 1955,* Sokorski

[23] In his book *On the Music Front: Socialist-Realist Discourse on Music in Poland, 1948 to 1955* Sławomir Wieczorek positions Lissa more precisely within the hierarchical structure of "mentors," "settlers," and "executors" fueling the socialist realism discourse on contemporary music between 1948–1955. Following this typology, Wieczorek positions Lissa as the lead "settler" after the main "mentor," Włodzimierz Sokorski. See: Wieczorek, *On the Music Front,* 31-89.
[24] See for example: Wieczorek, *On the Music Front,* 15 and onwards.
[25] Włodzimierz Sokorski, "Formalizm i realizm w muzyce" ["Formalism and Realism in Music"], *Ruch Muzyczny*, nos. 23–24 (1948): 2.
[26] Włodzimierz Sokorski, "Ku realizmowi socjalistycznemu w muzyce" ["Toward Socialist Realism in Music"], *Ruch Muzyczny* 14 (1949).

describes formalism as "'anti-humanistic,' 'abstract-formal,' 'a-musical,' 'pseudo-innovative,' 'anti-national,' serving to 'continually dull ethical and aesthetic sensibilities, destroy folk output and the lifeblood of national music, and thus enfeeble nations in their battle for freedom and social justice,' and 'dislocate them from human experience' […]. Socialist realism, in turn, was described as "'humanistic,' 'emotional,' […] and 'sincere and genuine.'"[27]

While the general ideological and aesthetic guidelines of the new style were transmitted to Poland from the Soviet Union, socialist realism has never been clearly or consistently defined in any of these countries. The aesthetic implications of the new doctrine have remained vague in writings of Sokorski, much like those of other Polish musicologists and political leaders.[28] This lack of clear definition was often justified by the overarching nature of socialist realism itself. For example, in his Łagów Lubuski speech Sokorski explained that "Realism in music should […] be treated not mechanically, not as a new artistic school, [...] but as a conscious attitude to one's own musical substance, which is the product of certain societal needs […]."[29] In practice, the process of evaluating whether a musical work was ideologically acceptable or not by Stalin's apparatus was largely arbitrary. The lack of clarity in defining socialist realist and formalist music served totalitarian power and sustained conditions of uncertainty, fear, and oppression.

Some general rules were, however, laid out. Priority was given to music that was accessible (tuneful melodies, tonal harmony), entertaining, as well as relatable to and laudatory of the lives of the working class (peasants and factory workers). Vocal music was

[27] Wieczorek, *On the Music Front,* 49.
[28] For a discussion of how formalism and socialist realism were conceptualized by Sokorski and Polish musicologists Józef Chominski and Stefan Kisielewski, see Wieczorek, *On the Music Front,* 44–55.
[29] Sokorski, "Formalizm i realizm w muzyce" ["Formalism and Realism in Music"], 4.
"Realizm w muzyce należy więc traktować nie mechanicznie, nie jako nową szkołę artystyczną, […] lecz jako świadomy stosunek do własnego tworzywa muzycznego, będącego wytworem określonych potrzeb społeczeństwa." (My translation.)

preferred over instrumental music, and two genres were particularly desired: mass song and cantata, as well as the symphony with a vocal finale. Sokorski "encouraged composers to take up writing opera, ballet, songs for the masses, and folk-related stage presentations, and to draw inspiration from the works of Chopin, Mussorgsky, and Beethoven."[30]

The execution of specific stylistic demands was ensured through an institutional and financial structure of the state's patronage and control. Here, professional unions and associations, such as the Polish Composers' Union played an important role of centralizing and gate keeping new music composition and performance. An integral imperative of the new stylistic and institutional order was the isolation of Polish musicians and scholars from Western contemporary music. The isolation took a physical form, making mobility and participation in artistic opportunities abroad extremely difficult, as well as an aesthetic form, discouraging production and circulation of music that would be relevant to the Western artistic trends.[31]

During the socialist realist period in Polish music, Lissa's scholarly interests overlapped with the Party doctrine. She advocated for prioritizing music that corresponded with the audience's everyday life, popularizing mass song, and increasing access to music education. In the years immediately following the war, her priorities gravitated towards building a theoretical foundation for a Marxist music aesthetic and a related musicological methodology. In her own words, the body of work she produced between 1948 and 1953 had an overarching goal of "transition[ing] to the standpoint of socialist realism in musical creation

[30] Wieczorek, *On the Music Front*, 48–49.
[31] As discussed in Introduction, the isolation subsequently resulted in the narrative of catching up with the West as one of the discursive foundations around the Warsaw Autumn festival once the impact of state-imposed socialist realism decreased in 1956.

and transition[ing] to the standpoint of historical and dialectical materialism in the study of music."[32]

Lissa lays out these theoretical and methodological foundations primarily in her three 1950 essays: "Leninowska teoria odbicia a estetyka muzyczna" ("Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Musical Aesthetics"), "Uwagi o metodzie marksistowskiej w muzykologii" ("Notes on the Marxist Method in Musicology"), and "Uwagi o metodzie. Z zagadnień metodologicznych współczesnej muzykologii" ("Notes on Method. On Methodological Issues in Contemporary Musicology.") For example, in "Lenin's Theory" Lissa adapts Lenin's 1909 "theory of reflection" to the study of music. This concept proposed that human sensations are direct reflections, copies, of the qualities of the outside material world. Following that trope, Lissa debunks music aesthetics based on German idealism and instead argues that art and music are manifestations of social activity, a direct reflection of reality, a form of social consciousness. She explains that the composer's "ideology," world, class, and era are reflected in the music, and that social reality always precedes music itself. While in the aesthetics of idealism "the sense, the content of the sound shape is completely exhausted in the existence of the sound structure itself […]," in materialist aesthetics, there exists a substance that is separate from the sound expression, and this substance is "ontologically primary" to the sound.[33]

It is also in this essay that Lissa lays the ground for socialist realism's prioritization of program music. She argues that Eduard Hanslick's "absolute music" does not exist, as all music is in fact program music—some of it in the traditional sense of the term, and the rest is program music in an "expressive" sense, reflecting emotions and psychological processes.

[32] Zofia Lissa, "Muzykologia polska na przełomie" ["Polish Musicology at a Turning Point"] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1952), 5. "Przejścia na pozycję realizmu socjalistycznego w twórczości muzycznej oraz przejścia na pozycję materializmu historycznego i dialektycznego w nauce o muzyce." (My translation.)
[33] Zofia Lissa, "Leninowska teoria odbicia a estetyka muzyczna" ["Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Musical Aesthetics"], *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji z Zakresu Teorii i Historii Sztuki, Krytyki Artystycznej oraz Badań nad Sztuką, Zeszyt Specjalny*, no. 1 (1950): 58.

According to Lissa, formalist aesthetics has flattened the concept of programmatic music to pure illustration, while illustrative is but one of possible type of program music.

All of Lissa's 1950 essays provide definitions of formalist and realist music, which functioned as one of the key distinctions organizing the doctrine of socialist realism in music. According to Lissa, formalism "is always such a creative approach that treats sound forms not as a reflection of reality, but as values in themselves, autonomous."[34] Therefore, any piece of art is formalist if it is not rooted in experience, "which is not a reflection [...], a generalization of the phenomena of objective reality. [Socialist] realist will be a work of art that grew out of a strong experience that reflects and generalizes reality."[35] Lissa also concludes that formalism and realism in music existed at different stages of music's development, constantly clashing. According to this logic, formalism is not an invention of Marxist musicology; rather, the dichotomy of formalism and realism in music is a parallel to the clash of materialist and idealist worldviews throughout history.[36]

Another point of overlap between the socialist realism doctrine and Lissa's 1950 essays is the emphasis on a new musicological methodology, stressing that so far, the study of music has been too isolated from society and the lived reality. A few years later, Lissa reiterated her views on music aesthetics and methodology in two musicological works that directly respond to the treatises written by Joseph Stalin: "Niektóre zagadnienia estetyki muzycznej w świetle artykułów Józefa Stalina o marksizmie w językoznawstwie" ("Some Issues of Musical Aesthetics in Light of Joseph Stalin's Articles on Marxism in Linguistics") (1952) based on Stalin's "Marksizm a zagadnienia językoznawstwa" ("Marxism and the Issues of Linguistics") and "O obiektywności praw w historii i teorii muzyki" ("On the

[34] Ibid., 82.
[35] Zofia Lissa, "Uwagi o metodzie marksistowskiej w muzykologii" ["Notes on Marxist Methodology in Musicology"], in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci prof. A. Chybińskiego. Rozprawy i artykuły z zakresu muzykologii* [*Festschrift for Professor A. Chybiński. Treatises and articles in musicology.*], ed. Kornel Michałowski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1950), 15
[36] Lissa, "Leninowska teoria odbicia a estetyka muzyczna," 112–113.

Objectivity of Laws in Music History and Music Theory") (1953) based on Stalin's "Ekonomiczne problemy socjalizmu w ZSRR" ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR").[37] In the latter, she again criticizes traditional ("bourgeois") historiography that frames music history as a succession of aesthetic influences, and instead argues that the development of musical culture has always been related to the development of society's condition.

Scholars interested in Lissa's intellectual-artistic and organizational contribution in the first postwar decade have introduced theoretical and historiographical frames that shift away from the issue of ethics (measured by the extent to which one was distancing oneself from the actions of the communist apparatus). In particular, J. Mackenzie Pierce has proposed examining how Lissa's prewar and wartime experiences shaped her worldview, and Lisa Cooper Vest has reflected on the sociopolitical circumstances the entire Polish artist-intellectual class found themselves in at the conclusion of the war.[38] Pierce argues that Lissa's dedication to socialism predated the imposition of socialist realism in Polish music. The introduction of socialist realism into Polish musical culture shortly after the World War II took place in a moment when many musicians, composers, and musicologists in Poland—including Lissa—already supported the idea of music democratization, largely due to their prewar and wartime experiences.[39]

That Lissa's Marxist musicology coincided with the political transformation in Poland rather than being directly caused by it can, however, also be concluded from a closer reading of her early postwar works as they reveal a surprising level of eclecticism and intellectual

[37] Zofia Lissa, "O obiektywności praw w marksistowskiej historii i teorii muzyki" ["On the Objectivity of Laws in Marxist Music History and Theory"], *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji z Zakresu Teorii i Historii Sztuki, Krytyki Artystycznej oraz Badań nad Sztuką* [*Materials for Studies and Discussions in Art Theory and History, Art Criticism, and Art Research*], 1 (1953): 121–65.
[38] I borrow from Lisa Cooper Vest the use of the term "artist-intellectual" to describe the wide milieu of composers, musicologists, critics, and cultural policy makers in communist Poland.
[39] See: J. Mackenzie Pierce, "Life and Death for Music: A Polish Generation's Journey Across War and Reconstruction, 1926–53" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2019).

autonomy that go beyond the official line of socialist realism. For example, Lissa's early postwar works (from before socialist realism became officially sanctioned in Poland in 1949), such as her 1948 essays "Aspekt socjologiczny w polskiej muzyce współczesnej" ("The Sociological Aspect of Polish Contemporary Music") and "O społecznych funkcjach muzyki artystycznej i popularnej" ("On Social Functions of Popular and Art Music"), provide a convincing call for the need to develop the discipline of music sociology, at the time, a quite innovative and original idea.[40] In these essays, based on a thorough historical overview of the discipline, she argues for the need to balance traditional musicology's restrictive empiricism and the resulting detachment from its social context. Moreover, "The Sociological Aspect" is an early example of Lissa's approach to new music (and, eventually, the Polish avantgarde), which in many ways straddled the tenets of socialist realism on the one hand, and the awareness of the inevitability of Polish modernism's aesthetic explorations on the other hand. While voicing her concerns for new music's inaccessibility to the general audience, Lissa simultaneously defended herself: "it is not about shallowing, simplifying the existing musical achievements—I would like to emphasize that clearly and unambiguously, because I have justified concerns that there will be people who will suspect me of that."[41] She believed that making musical style more accessible does not need to be creatively limiting for composers.[42]

Moreover, while many of Lissa's works from that period have exclusively Soviet intellectual influences, quoting extensively from Stalin, Lenin, Marx, Engels, and Boris Tieplov (a Soviet psychologist), she simultaneously contextualized her ideas as part of the German intellectual line by considering the contributions of Guido Adler, Ernst Kurth,

[40] Zofia Lissa, "Aspekt socjologiczny w polskiej muzyce współczesnej" ["The Sociological Aspect of Polish Contemporary Music"], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 6 (1948): 104–43; Zofia Lissa, "O społecznych funkcjach muzyki artystycznej i popularnej" ["On Social Functions of Popular and Art Music"], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 23 (1948): 211–222.
[41] Lissa, "Aspekt socjologiczny," *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 6 (1948): 38–39.
[42] For more analysis on Lissa's approach to new music, see also: Vest, *Awangarda*, 56, 196, 197.

Hanslick, and Hugo Riemann.[43] In her article discussing Stefania Łobaczewska's 1950 monography on Karol Szymanowski, Magdalena Dziadek was the first scholar to point out that Lissa and Łobaczewska, while now commonly labeled as "Marxists," in reality represented an eclectic intellectual stance in their scholarship.[44] This was the case even in their works from the late forties and early fifties (the period of the most severe censorship), when, according to Dziadek, Lissa and Łobaczewska were consistently looking for ways to marry Marxism with German idealism. Dziadek writes:

> Łobaczewska's […] eclecticism paradoxically corresponds with Lissa's works of the 1940s and early 1950s [...]. Like her Lviv colleague, she draws handfuls from the "idealist" literature condemned by Marxism: she makes use of the writings of Schopenhauer, Jung, Kurth, Hausegger, Riemann, Schering, and many others.[45]

Indeed, Lissa's writings from the Stalinist period simultaneously borrowed from the German musicological tradition while openly criticizing it for its isolation from other cultural and social domains. Let us consider, for example, the Schopenhauerian concept of will as something that can be directly expressed exclusively through music. Roger Scruton explains that, according to Schopenhauer, "unlike painting and literature, music is not a form of representation, nor does it deal in Platonic ideas, which are the common resource of all the other arts. Music exhibits the will directly."[46] While Lissa disagreed with the idea that music

[43] See for example "Notes on the Marxist Method in Musicology" and "Notes on Method. On Methodological Issues in Contemporary Musicology."
[44] Magdalena Dziadek, "Trzy listy Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza do Stefanii Łobaczewskiej" ["Three Letters from Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz to Stefania Łobaczewska"], in *Muzykolog humanista wobec doświadczenia muzyki w kulturze: księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesor Małgorzacie Woźnej-Stankiewicz* [*The Humanist Musicologist in Relation to the Experience of Music in Culture: Festschrift for Professor Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz*], ed. Zofia Fabiańska and Magdalena Dziadek (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2021), 561–571.
[45] Ibid., 564–565.
"Z pracami Lissy z lat czterdziestych i wczesnych pięćdziesiątych […] koresponduje – paradoksalnie – myślowy eklektyzm Łobaczewskiej. Podobnie jak jej lwowska koleżanka, czerpie ona całymi garściami z potępianej przez marksizm literatury „idealistycznej": posiłkuje się pismami Schopenhauera, Junga, Kurtha, Hauseggera, Riemanna, Scheringa i wielu innych." (My translation.)
[46] Roger Scruton, "German Idealism and the Philosophy of Music" in *The Impact of Idealism: The Legacy of Post-Kantian German Thought*, Volume 3: Aesthetics and Literature, ed. Nicholas Boyle, Liz Disley, Christoph Jamme and Ian Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 179.

does not represent external reality, she did in fact concur with Schopenhauer that a musical piece possesses objective internal value. For example, in "Leninowska teoria odbicia a estetyka muzyczna" ("Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Musical Aesthetics"), Lissa broadly discussed the concept of an objective artistic truth, an "essence," a concept borrowed from Hanslick's idealist musicology praising pure, "absolute" music. Lissa was also familiar with works of Kurth, the founding figure of music psychology, and mentions him in most of her works from the late forties and early fifties. While she generally found his concepts to be overly focused on internal emotional world, and not sufficiently overcoming idealist music aesthetic, she nevertheless repeatedly used Kurth's work as a starting point for building her own arguments on music cognition and reception.[47]

Lissa and New Musicology

The analyses presented in this chapter so far provide a starting point for a nuanced and comprehensive reading of Lissa's individual relationship with Marxism in musicology, and her overall life trajectory as a thinker and scholar in twentieth-century Poland. Existing scholarship does not consider the question of how Lissa's work fits within the broader history of Marxism in musicology and the development of Western music sociology throughout the twentieth century. In his *New Grove* entry on the history of American musicology, H. Wiley Hitchcock characterizes the disciplinary postmodern turn in American musicology as a process that began in the eighties and was influenced, on the one hand, by the works of Carl Dahlhaus and Hans-Georg Gadamer, and, on the other hand, Adorno, "whose critique of the power structures embedded within the culture industry inspired a more political direction

[47] See for example "Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Musical Aesthetics," "Notes on the Marxist Method in Musicology;" see also: Zofia Lissa, "Czy muzyka jest sztuką asemantyczną" ["Is Music an Asemantic Art"], *Myśl Współczesna*, no. 10 (1948) 276–289.

within American musicology."[48] The paradigm shift leading to a musicological practice generally referred to as New Musicology or "cultural musicology" can be characterized by an interdisciplinary approach "informed by critical theory and post-structuralism/postmodernism," "skepticism towards traditional meta-narratives," challenging the traditional music canon, and criticism of "the omission of gender, race, and sexuality from academic discourse." It is also defined by its skepticism of the field's largely positivistic approach and emphasis on formal analysis, instead turning towards previously understudied musical genres such as popular and film music, greater involvement of women and minorities into the discipline, and a greater self-interrogation of the field.[49] Since the nineties, this process has continued, creating further points of intersection between musicology and sociology, as well as opening musicology up to ideas and methods from gender and queer studies, environmental studies, political sciences, film and media studies, and many others.

In contrast to the case of the Marxism of the Frankfurt School, the connection between Marxism from the Soviet sphere of influence and contemporary anglophone musicological thought has rarely been considered. Yet, Lissa's writings from the 1948–1953 period reveal multiple links and points of overlap with the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century social justice-oriented research paradigms of Western musicology. In her 2003 article "Berlin Walls: Dahlhaus, Knepler, and Ideologies of Music History," Anne C. Shreffler had identified a similar case of a striking proximity between the premises of New Musicology and the work of another twentieth-century Soviet Bloc musicologist, Knepler.[50] An Austrian Jew and involved communist, Knepler was the founder (1950) and the first director of The Hochschule

[48] H. Wiley Hitchcock and James Deaville, "Musicology in the United States," *Grove Music Online*, accessed 6 Sept. 2022, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002242442.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Anne C. Shreffler, "Berlin Walls: Dahlhaus, Knepler, and Ideologies of Music History," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 4 (2003): 498–525.

für Musik Hanns Eisler Berlin (today The Universität der Künste Berlin), and later a professor at the Musicological Institute of the Humboldt University (1959–1971) in East Berlin. Knepler and Lissa represented the same generation of musicologists. Born one year apart in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Knepler in Vienna, Lissa in Lviv), they received their musicology doctorates in their respective cities in 1930 and 1929 respectively. Their biographies reveal further parallels: involved in the communist movement already in the thirties, after the war Knepler became "one of the most prominent representatives of Marxist musicology."[51] It is no surprise that Knepler and Lissa eventually became colleagues and friends, a relationship I discuss in the final section of this chapter.

Based on Knepler's scholarship and letters, Shreffler has laid out the following tenets of postwar East-German Marxist musicology, which accurately match Lissa's research interests and priorities:

- the emphasis on theory and method in musicology;
- increased attention for popular and folk music;
- "desire to improve society" through music pedagogy;
- emphasis on the importance of music psychology and music cognition;
- challenging traditional music history periodization;
- and extending the geographical scope of music studies.[52]

Many of these tenets, as Shreffler notes, resemble those of New Musicology, despite "little or no direct influence of East German and Soviet Marxist musicology on the North American scene (with the possible exception of aspects of Richard Taruskin's work)."[53] Shreffler notes

[51] Ibid., 502.
[52] Ibid., 504–505.
[53] Ibid., 523. It is important to note that Shreffler believes that Marxist ideas traveled to North American musicology through French scholarship and not through Adorno. She writes: "If my account of Knepler's thought sounds familiar, it is because of the transmission of Marxist thought to North America through French theorists (Sartre, Lyotard, Foucault, Lacan, Kristeva, and others), whose powerful reception helped to transform literary criticism and, to a lesser extent, historical studies. North Americans got their Marxism by way of France, not Germany (French post-structuralist theory is still hardly received in German musicology)."

that "although Knepler's plea for a more methodologically aware musicology fell on deaf ears at the time, his concerns do not seem so radical in the wake of Joseph Kerman's call to arms in *Contemplating Music* of 1985 and the following surge of interest in theoretical issues."[54] More specifically, Shreffler notices a parallel between Knepler's society-oriented approach to music and Kramer's definition of New Musicology. If for Knepler and Lissa music is "a primal form of communication [that] shapes every aspect of human interaction and society; […] [and a] multiply connected with the ideological network of the society in which it exists […]," then their approach

> [is] conceptually […] not too far from Lawrence Kramer's description of the goals of the new musicology, which concentrates 'on the relationship between music and subjectivity, where subjectivity is understood not as the condition of private inward existence but as a disposition to occupy socially formed positions from which historically specific types of action and feeling become possible.'[55]

Similarly, Lissa's emphasis on the music's embeddedness within lived reality (including composers' ethnic, social and class background), her call to consider the social environment of any musical creation, and her appreciation for popular music and non-Western music recall the work of by contemporary Western musicologists such as Susan McClary, Tia DeNora, Georgina Born, and many others. The main tenets of Lissa's society-oriented musicology also resembled those of Knepler's. For her, composer is always a product of his or her historical era, geographical location, and class background. In "Remarks" Lissa presents a detailed systematization of general and specific social factors that determine musical culture and the evolution of musical styles (see Figure 16).[56]

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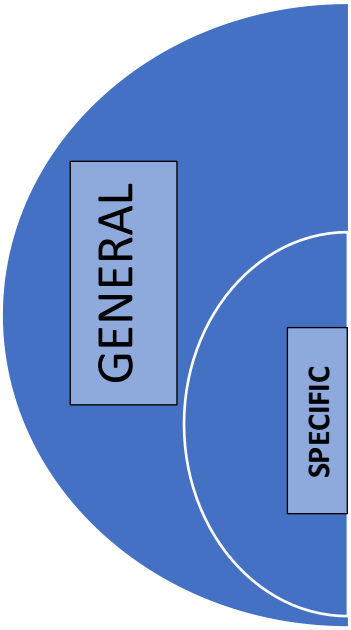
[54] Ibid., 504.
[55] Ibid., 522.
[56] Lissa does recognize that composer's individual psychology will also determine the aesthetic evolution of their music and should be considered to go beyond Marxist "economism." Social factors, however, must always be considered in order to avoid what she calls "idealist psychologizing." Lissa, "Remarks on Marxist Methodology in Musicology," 46–59.

Figure 16. Lissa's systematization of factors that determine the evolution of musical culture and musical styles.



GENERAL	1) The social and economic position of the composer in a given historical situation 2) The type of listener or patron 3) Conditions of musical performance/consumption
SPECIFIC	1) Geographical conditions, climate, dominant type of raw material in a given environment, living and working conditions 2) Influence of other arts 3) Language, writing, state of general sciences 4) Local traditions and national customs 5) Crossing of cultures 6) Tradition[57]

Lissa's scholarship represents several elements categorized by Shreffler as characteristic of East German Marxist musicology. Firstly, psychology and cognition are often a point of takeoff for her essays on music aesthetic, methodology, and historiography, such as herher 1948 essay "Aspekt socjologiczny w Polskiej muzyce współczesnej" ("The Sociological Aspect in Polish Contemporary Music").[58] Second, she took music pedagogy seriously, and constantly worked on improving the quality of academic training in musicology (as described in Chapter three). Moreover, she believed in elevating society through a democratic and widespread music education. An element that was not typical for all musicologists from the Soviet milieu, but which offers another link between Lissa's interests and New Musicology, is her interest in film music, which made Lissa a pioneer in intermedia

[57] Ibid. "OGÓLNE: 1) Społeczne i ekonomiczne położenie kompozytora w danej sytuacji historycznej; 2) Typ słuchacza lub mecenasa; 3) Warunki wykonania/konsumpcji muzycznej. SZCZEGÓŁOWE: 1) Warunki geograficzne, klimat, dominujący typ surowca w danym środowisku, warunki życia i pracy; 2) Wpływ innych dziedzin sztuki; 3) Język, pismo, stan nauk ogólnych; 4) Lokalne tradycje i obyczaje narodowe; 5) Krzyżowanie się kultur; 6) Tradycja." (My translation.)
[58] Zofia Lissa, "Aspekt socjologiczny w polskiej muzyce współczesnej" ["The Sociological Aspect of Polish Contemporary Music"], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, no. 21–22 (January-February 1948): 104–143.

music study (her first essay on film music was published in Lviv in 1937).[59] Finally, the clear emphasis on theory and method in musicology is apparent in all her writings, such as her 1950 essays discussed earlier in this chapter, where she was preoccupied with laying foundation for a new (Marxist) approach to the study of music and music history.

Another aspect of Lissa's musicology that aligns with the musicological field's contemporary paradigm is her criticism of racial marginalization, antisemitism, and Eurocentrism in musicology. Lissa's advocacy against antisemitism in music features mostly in her early writings from the Lviv period, which was also the time when she experienced antisemitic comments from her academic mentor Adolf Chybiński. For example, in her 1937 article "Zagadnienie rasowe w muzyce" ("The Issue of Race in Music"), Lissa clearly advocates for an inclusive definition of national belonging:

> The homogeneity of a national style has its source therefore not so much in anthropological homogeneity as in the uniformity of the cultural environment. […] Jews compose everywhere today in the style of the environment in which they grew up and live, and this phenomenon is one more striking piece of evidence that […] environment has more significance than race.[60]

As noted by J. Mackenzie Pierce,

> Lissa's argument flips the ethnic nationalist view of the Jew as "parasite" on its head. Not only does Jewish assimilation pose no threat to the coherence of the national culture, she argues, but it proves that the dominant national culture is strong and vital. Such views became a hallmark of her thinking about national identity in the late 1930s; she repeatedly evoked the formative power of environment not only when discussing Jewish composers

[59] Zofia Lissa, *Muzyka i film. Studium z pogranicza ontologii, estetyki i psychologii muzyki filmowej* [*Music and Film: A Study at the Intersection of Ontology, Aesthetics and Psychology of Film Music*] (Lwów: Księgarnia Lwowska, 1937), 135.
[60] Zofia Lissa, "Zagadnienie rasowe w muzyce" ["The Issue of Race in Music"], *Wiedza i Życie*, no. 10 (1937): 665, quoted in Pierce, "Zofia Lissa, Wartime Trauma, and the Evolution of the Polish 'Mass Song'," 238.

but also to elucidate Chopin's musical affinities for Polish culture over his "racial" ties to France.[61]

After the war, Lissa did not return to the topic of antisemitism and Jewish belonging in musical culture in her writings, however her interest in challenging biases in music remained. In several of her postwar works, she criticized the field of musicology for its Eurocentric and colonial approach to music history and therefore for delegitimizing a large part of the world's music history.[62] In her "Remarks," Lissa points out musicology's post-colonial orientation and the ahistoricism of research on certain non-Western cultures:

> We grew up with the erroneous prejudice that all the development of musical culture followed a single track and took place basically within the framework of European (more precisely: Western European) culture. [...] [The fact that,] until recently, the consideration of, for example, Chinese music, [...] Arab music, [was ahistorical, in] complete abstraction from further developmental stages of these cultures [...], all this is difficult to explain other than with some deep-rooted […] attitude to these cultures as cultures of "colonial" peoples.[63]

This type of criticism is also reflected in Lissa's methodological manifesto included at the end of the essay. In her list of recommendations for the new musicological practice, she demands that "the history of music should be extended so far as to include the musical cultures of pre-historic stages; [and] the geographical scope of the musical cultures under consideration

[61] Here, Pierce refers to three of Lissa's essays on Chopin's "race" from the thirties. See: Zofia Lissa, "O stylach narodowych w muzyce" ["On National Styles in Music"], *Sygnały,* No. 20 (1936): 6; Zofia Lissa, "Jakiej 'rasy' był Fryderyk Chopin?" ["What 'Race' was Frederic Chopin"], *Chwila,* (February 26, 1938): 10; Zofia Lissa, "W sprawie 'rasy' Fryderyka Chopina" ["On the Issue of Frederic Chopin's 'Race'"], *Wiadomości Literackie*, no. 39 (1938): 7.

[62] In the years immediately following the war, Lissa's concern about race and the definition of national style in music gave way to a broader criticism of musicology's Eurocentrism, though she did not completely abandon the topic of national style.

[63] Lissa, "Notes on the Marxist Method in Musicology," 8–9. "Wychowaliśmy się na błędnym uprzedzeniu, że cały rozwój kultury muzycznej szedł jednym torem i dokonał się właściwie w ramach kultury europejskiej (ściślej: zachodnio-europejskiej). […] Ahistoryczne do niedawna rozpatrywanie na przykład muzyki chińskiej, […] arabskiej, zupełne abstrahowanie od dalszych etapów rozwojowych tych kultur […] – to wszystko trudno inaczej wytłumaczyć, jak jakimś głęboko zakorzenionym i nawet nieuświadomionym sobie przez badaczy stosunkiem do tych kultur jako do kultur ludów kolonialnych." (My translation.)

should be expanded, forgoing the centralization around the music of only one focal point (Western Europe)."[64]

Lissa's reflections on Eurocentrism were surely indebted to her deep intellectual immersion in the Marxist thought. Her conviction that all music cultures should be equally valued was rooted in the "theory of formation" (which she uses interchangeably with the term "the stage theory"), and its complimentary "principle of repeatability," taken from Lenin. Broadly speaking, according to the theory of formation, each society goes through an identical set of developmental stages called "stages of formation." At any given moment, there are simultaneous processes happening all over the world, but these processes are not all at the same stage at the same time. Each stage is reflected by a new level of development of the music culture and new musical styles. Additionally, at all times there exists a "parallelism between the social system and a particular stage of music development."[65] Lissa explains that

> musical style changes with the change of social formation, its content and its forms of expression corresponding to, and serving, the direction of more general transformations. Certain specific complexes of stylistic characteristics of music are constantly linked to certain stages of social development.[66]

Additionally, following Lenin's principle of repeatability, based on a premise that the principles of development remain homogenous across societies, the artistic and cultural reflections of any given developmental stage are repeatable: "specific stages of social development correspond to constant manifestations of religious, intellectual, artistic, [...] musical forms."[67] It is based on this argument, moreover, that Lissa rejects the idea of

[64] Ibid., 71. "Dzieje muzyki należy rozszerzyć tak dalece, ażeby objąć nimi kultury muzyczne etapów przedhistorycznych. […]. Należy rozszerzyć zasięg geograficzny rozpatrywanych kultur muzycznych, rezygnując z centralizacji wokół muzyki jednego tylko ośrodka (Europy Zachodniej)." (My translation.)
[65] Ibid., 26. "Paralelizm układu społecznego i określonego etapu rozwoju muzyki." (My translation.)
[66] Ibid. "Styl muzyczny zmienia się wraz ze zmianą formacji społecznej, treścią swą i formami wyrazu odpowiadając i służąc kierunkowi przemian ogólniejszych. Pewne określone kompleksy właściwości stylistycznych muzyki stale łączą się z określonymi etapami rozwoju społecznego." (My translation.)
[67] Ibid., 28. "Określonym stadium rozwoju społecznego odpowiadają stałe przejawy form religijnych, myślowych, artystycznych, […] muzycznych." (My translation.)

composers' mutual stylistic influence as a basis for stylistic transitions in the history of music. Rather, she believes that "the similarities of style in the same era in different composers are due to the fact that these artists are subject to the pressure of the same social formation."[68]

Lastly, if one follows the idea that all societies in the world are subject to only one available trajectory of progress, it could be compelling to argue that the music of more developed stages is superior to that of less developed ones. But in Lissa's perspective, the value of music is not attached to whether it comes from a more or less developed stage. Rather, the value of music is located in how well it represents the reality of its time. The authenticity and aptness of reflection has more importance than what kind of reality is being reflected.

Lissa's calls against the positioning of European music as superior sound surprisingly familiar in today's era, when we observe the academic movement to decolonize music, musicology, and music education—even if the theory of formation and repeatability principle seems dated. Yet though Lissa formulated her criticism of musicology's Western as early as 1950, it went largely unrecognized and did not resonate in the West at the time when it was voiced.[69] In the historiography of American historical musicology, postcolonial theory is considered to have entered the field around the nineties. As for ethnomusicology, *Grove* Article on "Colonialism" reads that

> from about 1975, ethnomusicologists also turned more explicitly to the study of colonialism—and to related areas such as racism and nationalism—in 20th-century music and in the history and methodology of ethnomusicology itself. Most of the literature dealing implicitly and explicitly with the subject dates from after 1985. Developments

[68] Ibid. "Podobieństwa stylu w tej samej epoce u różnych kompozytorów wynikają z tego, że twórcy ci podlegają ciśnieniu tej samej formacji społecznej." (My translation.)
[69] While some of Lissa's works were translated into German and English, available records show that "Notes on the Marxist Method in Musicology" was not one of them, which prevented it from circulating abroad. It seems that, of Lissa's ideas, the ones that attracted the most interest abroad were related to music and media, film music, and music aesthetics.

include the substantial influence of social theorists such as Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, and Eric Hobsbawm.[70]

Lissa's criticism of musicology's colonial bias not only occurred long before it became widespread in anglophone musicology, but also while she was still functioning primarily in the Polish-Russian scholarly context. Even in that circle, her approach was also a novelty. In Poland, post-colonial perspectives have only been incorporated into the field of musicology in the last two decades, and to date Lissa has not been credited for first introducing those issues to Polish scholarship.[71] Around 1950, while the official communist discourse involved performing overt denunciation of imperialism and colonialism, in reality, postcolonial issues were not a priority in Polish socio-political discourse, which was strongly focused on rebuilding the war-destroyed country. Issues of race were of course discussed in the context of Nazism and the Holocaust, but not with regard to colonization, blackness, racism, and exoticism (where discourses of race and music are focused in contemporary Western musicology).[72] That said, Lissa likely first developed a sensitivity to the hierarchical approach

[70] Bruno Nettl, "Colonialism," *Grove Music Online*, edited by Deane Root, accessed February 2, 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[71] Similarly, post-colonial theory has only been widely incorporated into Polish ethnomusicology during the last two decades. For a long time, ethnomusicology in Poland occupied itself primarily with the collecting and analyzing of Polish folklore.

[72] This is largely still the case in today's Poland. Polish territories have been historically white. The ethnic-based violence and conflict have predominantly targeted Jews. Other local tensions have been between Poles and Ukrainians. In other words, the lines of prejudice follow along ethnicity as much as language, culture, religion, and territory. Additionally, while colonizers from Polish lands were briefly present in Kaffa Island in the fifteenth century, and in Gambia and in Tobago Island in the seventeenth century, Poland's role in the global history of oversea colonization was negligible. A category that has been overall more formative to Poland's history is occupation (Poland has been both occupied and an occupier) rather than colonization. At the same time, historian Jan Sowa argues that Poland's expansion to the Ukrainian and Lithuanian territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be interpreted as colonization. See: Jan Sowa, *Inna Rzeczpospolita jest możliwa! Widma przeszłości, wizje przyszłości* [*Another Polish Republic Is Possible! Ghosts Of the Past, Visions Of The Future*] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2015). Other Polish authors have found it productive to analyze Poland's culture and history through a reinterpreted post-colonial lens. See for example: Ewa Majewska, "Postkolonializm w Polsce – propozycja feministyczna," *Przeglad Kulturoznawczy*, no. 14 (2012): 335–353; Magdalena Nowicka "Is Postcolonial Theory Female? Beginnings, Rise and Decline of Postcolonialism," *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 3 (2010): 109–130; Hieronim Grala, "Kolonializm alla polacca," *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny* 4 (2017): 93–117; Bogusław Bakuła, "Kolonialne i postkolonialne aspekty polskiego dyskursu kresoznawczego (zarys problematyki)," *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2006): 11–33; Mieczysław Dąbrowski. "Kresy w perspektywie krytyki postkolonialnej," *Prace Filologiczne* 55 (2009): 91–110.

Additionally, recent book by Kacper Pobłocki, *Chamstwo,* draws a parallel between the intergenerational trauma coming from Polish institution of serfdom (broken as late as 1864) and the post-

to local-national music cultures in the process of challenging the hegemony of German musicology. As a Polish- speaking Russian music lover living in Poland, the exceptionalism that marked the German musicological tradition contrasted sharply with her own Eastern European and Soviet experience.[73] According to Albrecht Riethmüller's article on German musicology published in 1980, at the time when the field's Eurocentrism was slowly being recognized by musicologists:

> it has become popular in international musicological circles today to complain about "eurocentrism" in music; easily overlooked, however, is the fact that for many central European musicologists (up to a few decades ago, in some cases even a few years ago) European music ended at the border to the Slavic speaking countries.[74]

While Lissa was one of the musicologists complaining about Eurocentrism, she was also one to recognize the paradox described by Riethmüller. Indeed, even today, many of those critical of musicology's Western bias would simultaneously approach the idea of "European" in a very selective way, excluding pre-Romantic music creation from Eastern, South-Eastern European, and Scandinavian countries. Lissa had already noted the problem of the marginalization of Eastern European music in the late forties. In her 1951 article "W sprawie periodyzacji dziejów kultury muzycznej" ("On the Periodization of the History of Music Culture"), she noted:

> The history of universal music has so far been understood mainly as the history of Western European music. And only from the nineteenth century onward was a certain contribution of Central and Eastern European nations to the general treasury of musical history recognized. [...] Whatever manifestations of the earlier culture of these nations,

slavery trauma in other places in the world. See: Kacper Pobłocki, *Chamstwo* (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2021).

[73] Lissa was interested in Russian music—and especially in Russian musical modernism— already during her studies in Lviv. Her doctoral dissertation was dedicated to Alexander Scriabin. See: Zofia Lissa, "O harmonice Aleksandra Skriabina" ["On the Harmonic System of Alexander Scriabin"], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, No. 8 (1930): 320–55.

[74] Albrecht Riethmüller, "German Music from the Perspective of German Musicology after 1933," *Journal of Musicological Research* 11, no. 3: Musicology in the Third Reich (1991): 177.

> especially Slavic or North European, were regarded only as weak, derivative, and delayed echoes of that "main" stream of development.[75]

Indeed, Polish musical culture has not necessarily been neatly categorized as "Western" throughout the history of musicology, and even today its status as "Western" or "Eastern" remains context dependent. Lissa's awareness of a double marginalization—that of Eastern European music from European musicology, and that of Jewish music from Polish musicology—made her particularly perceptive to also recognize German universalism in the field of musicology.

Lissa found it important to emphasize that art and music have roots in multiple places in the world, not just in Europe, an argument that has only gained more urgency throughout the subsequent decades. The theory of formation and the repeatability principle served her to challenge the primacy of the European music history and the false assumption about a unified developmental stream of world's musical culture (widespread in musicology until a few decades ago). While the conclusion of that reasoning—music history is and should be more than just European music history—is now considered foundational to the field of musicology, Lissa's method did not stand the test of time. Lissa's approach falls into the trap of a teleological, deterministic approach to history, since according to her method all different formations and stages are prescribed. Such a concept is defenseless vis-à-vis the postmodern paradigm contesting the existence of universal and ultimate principles or master narratives. As noted by Shreffler, the broader trend among state Marxist musicologists to rewrite the history of music (such as through the theory of formation and the repeatability principle) leads to yet another master narrative. Such a narrative

[75] Zofia Lissa, "W sprawie periodyzacji dziejów kultury muzycznej" ["On the Periodization of the History of Musical Culture"], *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji z Zakresu Teorii i Historii Sztuki, Krytyki Artystycznej oraz Badań nad Sztuką,* nos. 7–8 (1951): 66–67. "Historię muzyki powszechnej pojmowano dotąd głównie jako dzieje muzyki zachodnio-europejskiej. I tylko od wieku XIX począwszy uznawano pewien wkład narodów środkowo- i wschodnio-europejskich do ogólnej skarbnicy dziejów muzyki. […] Wszelkie przejawy dawniejszej kultury tych narodów, zwłaszcza slowiańskich, czy północno-europejskich, uznawano tylko za słabe, wtórne i spóźnione echa tamtego 'głównego' nurtu rozwojowego." (My translation.)

> does not aim to grasp small-scale developments and is structurally blind to the thoughts, feelings, and motivations of individual actors. It operates deductively rather than empirically. It postulates universal laws that govern every layer of a hierarchically organized system. […] Master narratives, whether Marxist, structuralist, or psychoanalytical, have proven to be based on unified world views that ultimately have an interest in control.[76]

New Musicology's attempts to challenge such meta narratives resonate with the criticism of teleological, macro-structured historiography—a clear point of divergence between East European Marxist musicologists and New Musicology, despite many other conceptual overlaps.

From today's perspective, what is striking in Lissa's work is the contrast between her deep awareness of the social background, primarily class (and, to some extent, race), as a determining factor in musical output, and the significant silence around gender. The main reason behind this was that for Lissa, as for Knepler, "the crux of human power relationships resided in the class system."[77] Contrary to the New Musicology paradigm, other factors, such as gender, race, and nationality, were of secondary significance to class, at least on a theoretical level, since these non-class-based inequalities were merely a symptom of capitalist dystopia and were promised to disappear naturally once class inequality is defeated. Moreover, the omission of gender is another consequence of the totalizing meta-narrative nature of Eastern European Marxist historiography. More nuanced and intersectional experiences of an individual are not accounted for, left alone an individual identity beyond class belonging. Lissa's Marxist analysis of music history was therefore by no means immune to the seemingly gender-blind principle of "male as norm," a flaw that Donna Haraway points out in "Situated Knowledges," where she criticizes humanistic Marxism's "impotence in

[76] Shreffler, "Berlin Walls," 508, 523–524.
[77] Shreffler, Ibid., 523.

relation to historicizing anything women did that didn't qualify for a wage." [78] At the same time, Haraway recognizes Marxism's foundational role in developing feminist standpoint theories. She writes:

> Marxism was still a promising resource as a kind of epistemological feminist mental hygiene that sought our own doctrines of objective vision. Marxist starting points offered a way to get to our own versions of standpoint theories, insistent embodiment, a rich tradition of critiquing hegemony without disempowering positivisms and relativisms and a way to get to nuanced theories of mediation.[79]

Lissa's lack of feminist awareness therefore exposes the gap between how the idea of situated knowledges operated in Marxism (as classed, but not gendered, epistemologies), and how it is perceived in contemporary Western feminism. Simultaneously, a strong reaction to the "missing" gender in Lissa's or Knepler's musicology is a reminder of Marxist roots of contemporary concept of intersectionality that became a building block for today's postmodern, postcolonial, and feminist New Musicology.

While the lack of gender awareness marks the limits of Lissa's Marxist analysis of music, we can assume that her experience as a woman did inform her everyday perception of the world, even if it did not find its place in her works on music history. For example, her lived experience as a Jew in interwar Poland made her more perceptive regarding the discrimination against Jewish musical culture, and these observations translated themselves into her work as a musicologist. To what extent she also considered and experienced her gender as a significant "otherness" within the musical-musicological milieu remains unknown, since Lissa did not address it in any of the remaining letters and documents. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter three, my reconstruction of Lissa's professional

[78] Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (Autumn, 1988): 578.
[79] Ibid.

environment reveals that women were rare in that world and likely made Lissa feel out of place at least at times. Ultimately, the doctrine of class that marked her theoretical horizon did not leave space for that experience to permeate into her scholarship.

Lissa, popular music, and Adorno

So far, I considered different aspects of Lissa's scholarly output and the ways in which they correspond to the field of musicology today: in particular, her emphasis on the musical culture's embeddedness within lived reality and the criticism of musicology's Eurocentric bias. The last significant element of Lissa's oeuvre that equally resonates with New Musicology, but has not yet been discussed, is Eastern European Marxist musicology's increased attention to popular and folk music.

The attention to popular and folk music is a particularly important element of Eastern European Marxist musicology in how it reveals its neglected links to New Musicology. In today's musicological discourse, the only Marxism that is routinely credited for the development of New Musicology is that of Adorno. As noted by Adam Krims, "in the early days of American cultural musicology […] Adorno seemed to serve as little more than a *tenant lieu* for the notion of socially engaged music studies, sometimes bafflingly mischaracterized."[80] Yet, given the increased respectability that popular music studies hold in musicology today, there is a sense of conflict between Adorno's contempt towards popular music and his image as someone who consolidated music sociology and New Musicology. Adorno's take on popular music and jazz has "generated passionate, often heated, response virtually from the moment they began to appear, and continuing to this day."[81] He rejected popular, or "light" music based on his belief that music's role is to express "the exigency of

[80] Krims, *Music and Urban Geography*, 89.
[81] Richard D. Leppert, "Commentary," in *Essays on Music, Theodor W. Adorno,* trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 331.

the social condition and to call for change through the coded language of suffering."[82] Instead, in the era of mechanical reproduction of music, popular music became "pure commodity," a condition in which popular music exists as the "most alien of all music to society."[83] Adorno's position as New Musicology's forefather despite his emblematic contempt for popular music created particular challenges for popular music studies. As noted by Krims,

> nowhere does Adorno's looming presence prove so vexing as in popular music studies; there, even the most strenuous validations of the music seem, at some point, out of necessity, to look back to Adorno's shadow and exorcise the weight of his critiques. His well-known, perhaps notorious, rubrics […] seem to lie inextricably as a foundational trauma in the discipline.[84]

If Adornoian Marxism triggers discomfort and anxiety for contemporary popular music scholars, postwar East European Marxism offers an intellectual heritage that they may find more productive. Generally more forgiving than Adorno—and often favorable of the social effects of popular music—Lissa and her colleagues saw popular and folk music as a tool of alleviating the class struggle and centering the experience of the working class.

The foundational role of Adorno's work in the development of music sociology and New Musicology, and the striking proximity of Lissa's ideas to some of the conceptual foundations of those fields today, raises questions about the relationship between Adorno's Marxism and Lissa's Marxism in music. But it is not only Lissa's and Adorno's respective relationships to the field today that makes it productive to juxtapose their ideas on popular music. It is also the nature of their biographical and personal histories: they represented the same generation (Adorno was two years Lissa's senior); they were both familiar with German philosophical tradition; they were both Jewish and spent World War II in exile (Lissa in the

[82] Theodor W. Adorno, "On the Social Situation of Music," in *Essays on Music, Theodor W. Adorno*, ed. Richard D. Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 393.
[83] Ibid., 425.
[84] Krims, *Music and Urban Geography,* 91.

USSR, Adorno in the USA). As a result, criticism and fear of fascism not only shaped their political opinions, but also their writings on music. As laid out by Richard Leppert and Martin Jay,

> the parameters that define [Adorno's] thought are several […]: Marxism of a distinctly heterodox variety, aesthetic modernism, […] [and] a "Jewish impulse," particularly notable after the onset of the war and the horrors of the Holocaust.[85]

Along the same lines, Tia DeNora explains:

> [Adorno's] work explored the failure of reason that culminated in the catastrophic events of the twentieth century: the rise of fascism, genocide, terror, and mass destruction. More specifically, he sought to understand what he perceived as a transformation of consciousness, one that fostered authoritarian modes of ruling.[86]

While both Adorno and Lissa were influenced by Marx, they gravitated towards different elements of his work. Adorno was drawn to the concepts of commodity fetishism and the insatiable power of the marketplace under capitalism, Lissa, in turn, usually referred to market forces or capitalism only in passing, although she often labeled certain types of music as "bourgeois." In general, she was more occupied with demonstrating the ways in which music constituted a part of the superstructure, as well as emphasizing music's societal usefulness and relevance as the main criteria for artistic value. It was partly those different points of reference that led to discrepancies in Lissa's and Adorno's perspectives on popular music.

Most of Adorno's key works on popular music and mass culture come from the thirties, including "On the Social Situation of Music" (1932), "On Jazz" (1936), "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening" (1938), and ending with "On Popular Music" (1941), written after Adorno moved to North America.[87] It is therefore important to

[85] Richard D. Leppert, "Introduction," in *Essays on Music, Theodor W. Adorno,* trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 23.
[86] Tia DeNora, "Adorno, 'Defended against His Devotees'?" in *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.
[87] That said, later works also included discussion of jazz, and, in particular, film music.

keep in mind that since the emphasis on popular and folk music emerged in Lissa's writings roughly between 1948–1953, there is not only a geographical but also a temporal gap between the kind of music Adorno and Lissa referred to as "popular." Generally speaking, by popular music Adorno usually meant "hit songs available on radio and disk, from standard-fare love songs to novelty numbers."[88] Lissa's writings addressing popular music focused primarily on two categories: either Polish popular "street" songs, or folk music (referring to Polish folk, but also to non-Western indigenous, traditions). As explained by musicologist Anna G. Piotrowska in her analysis of Lissa's work on popular music,

> Lissa seemed to endorse the well-established dichotomy strongly contrasting popular music (*Unterhaltungsmusik, U-Musik*) and serious music (*ernste Musik, E-Musik*). She often defined popular music in opposition to the so-called elite music and was adamant that all music 'that does not belong to art music' can be described as popular.[89]

In other words, like Adorno, Lissa clearly differentiated between popular and art music, and she attributed a certain level of intrinsic superiority to the latter due to its supposed possession of artistic essence, truth, and timelessness.

But while Lissa did consider popular music to be artistically less valuable, *contra* Adorno she found mass interest in popular music to be mostly positive, due to its educational role and potential for class advancement.[90] According to Lissa, a listener's enjoyment of popular music "could be the prelude to enjoying more sophisticated music. She saw the fascination with popular music as a transitional phase in the process […] leading to the appreciation of artistic music."[91] For example, in her 1948 essay "O społecznych funkcjach

[88] Richard Leppert categorizes different types of music Adorno addressed under the umbrella of mass culture: "light classics," popular music, jazz, kitsch (which could refer to all genres), and film music. See Leppert, "Commentary," 331.
[89] Anna G. Piotrowska, "Zofia Lissa on Popular Music or How the Influence of Marxist Ideology Impacted the Research on Pop Music in Socialist Poland," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 51, no. 1 (2020): 105.
[90] Those elements were also identified by Piotrowska.
[91] Piotrowska, "Zofia Lissa on Popular Music," 111.

muzyki artystycznej i popularnej" ("On Social Functions of Popular and Art Music"), Lissa identifies "good quality" popular music as music that is necessary to train listeners in music appreciation and to gradually bring society's listening sensitivity to a more sophisticated level. She believed that "the main function of music is to educate, to draw a new audience into the world of musical experiences."[92] As she explained, "the fundamental social responsibility at a given stage" rests on contemporary popular music. [93] Thus,

> the responsibility of pulling up the new listener from the lower, historically regressive musical pole to a higher one, to artistic music, […] the responsibility of producing that minimum of listening habits which are necessary for the apperception of artistic music.[94]

She calls on composers to therefore "overcome their 'artistic agoraphobia,' their fear of the social space [...]" (by which she means a fear of commercial music market), since "the creation of good popular music, referring closely to artistic, but nevertheless not hermetic [music] is the necessity of the present times."[95] Only good quality popular music, she continues, "is able to meet the demands and goals set […] by the growing culture of the popular masses."[96]

Lissa's two-pronged perspective on popular music—as inherently inferior, yet at the same time leading the way towards enjoying "superior" music—is largely a consequence of her complex and often inconsistent theory of the value of an artwork. While she repeatedly returns to the idea of essential, inherent, artistic truth (and, therefore, artistic value) of a music

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[92] Zofia Lissa, "O społecznych funkcjach muzyki artystycznej i popularnej" ["On Social Functions of Popular and Art Music"], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 23 (1948): 216. "W okresie przełomu, jakim jest niewątpliwie nasza epoka, główną funkcją muzyki jest wychowanie, wciągniecie nowego kręgu odbiorców w świat przeżyć muzycznych." (My translation.)
[93] Ibid., 219. "To właśnie współczesna muzyka popularna, na której ciąży podstawowe na danym etapie zadanie społeczne" (My translation.)
[94] Ibid. "zadanie podciągnięcia nowego słuchacza od dolnego, regresyjnego historycznie bieguna muzycznego do wyższego, do muzyki artystycznej, […] zadanie wytworzenia tego minimum nawyków słuchowych, które są niezbędne do apercepcji muzyki artystycznej […]." (My translation.)
[95] Ibid., 216. "Kompozytorzy muszą pokonać swoją 'agrofobię artystyczną,' swój lęk przed przestrzenią społeczną […], swój lęk przed 'rynkiem' społecznym w sensie najszerszego rezonansu społecznego. Stworzenie dobrej muzyki popularnej, nawiązujacej blisko do osiągnieć artystycznej, ale mimo to nie hermetycznej [muzyki] jest dziś potrzebą chwili." (My translation.)
[96] Ibid. "Dopiero taka muzyka potrafi spełnić te żądania i zadania jakie przed nią stawia narastająca dziś kultura mas ludowych." (My translation.)

piece, she simultaneously builds an argument for music's value as socially constructed. Lissa merges the concept of subjective and objective value of a musical piece by arguing that the truth and value, while indeed "inherent," is nevertheless located in the piece's ability to appropriately reflect the reality, it's "social functionality." Here, Lissa relies on Marx's philosophical ground that the superstructure (to which music belongs) results and grows out of the base. She explains that "social approval is given to those works that promote—from the side of their content—the developmental tendencies of their base at a given stage […]."[97] Thus, Lissa believes that the audience can recognize whether a piece possesses artistic truth. Truth is therefore not linked to the category of aesthetics, to beauty (if anything, the symmetry of form is important), but to its social relevance. Indeed, in "Remarks" she indicates that "the concept of beauty is historically variable and relative, […] so it should not be a criterion for the value of an artwork."[98] As a consequence, she continues,

> the only important criterion for the value of an artwork is its functional attachment to reality [...], whether and to what extent it fulfills the social tasks that are determined by a particular era in a particular environment, […] joins […] the developmental direction which in a given historical episode [...] is the carrier of social progress.[99]

In other words, Lissa believes that a musical work needs to be evaluated by its activist and political potential to push society forward in the "best" direction for that historical and geographical context.

The two factors that Lissa identifies as essential for the proper level of music's "functional attachment to reality" are as follows: 1) content that is up to date (the best possible

[97] Lissa, "Notes on the Marxist Method in Musicology," 18. "Aprobatę społeczną uzyskują zaś te dzieła, które wspierają od strony swojej treści tendencje rozwojowe swojej bazy na danym etapie, z nich zaś przede wszystkim te, które to czynią lepiej od strony swych wartości formalnych." (My translation.)
[98] Ibid. "Pojęcie piękna jest historycznie zmienne i relatywne, m.in. dlatego nie powinno być kryterium wartości dzieła." (My translation.)
[99] Ibid., 17. "Jedynym istotnym kryterium wartości dzieła sztuki jest jego funkcyjne uwiązanie o rzeczywistość. […] Czy i o ile spełnia ono społeczne zadania jakie są wyznaczone określoną epoka w danym konkretnym środowisku, czy i o ile włącza się ono swoją treścią i forma w ten kierunek rozwojowy który na danym odcinku historycznym […] jest nosicielem postępu społecznego." (My translation.)

reflection of the "development tendencies of the era"; this proves a composer's talent); and 2) the artistic level, expressed through the presence of a perfect musical form. It is primarily the first component that allows for a broad definition of an artwork, one that can also include folk and popular music, since "an artistic work is as much a folk song as it is a grand symphony or opera. The differences lie solely in the different means of expression available to the artist."[100] This is a clear point of discrepancy with Adorno, for whom popular music brought nothing but further social isolation of the individual.

Despite Lissa's more favorable view on popular music, there exists a significant overlap between Adorno's and Lissa's criticism of jazz music (and especially Tin Pan Alley jazz), even if in Adorno's case it speaks more to his elitist ideas about music in general, while in Lissa's it exemplifies a commonplace Soviet anti-Americanism and racism. Even though Lissa very rarely addressed jazz in her writings, her 1953 essay "O obiektywności praw w historii i teorii muzyki" ("On the Objectivity of Laws in History and Theory of Music") contains a striking, bitter passage condemning jazz as the epitome of an "unbridled eroticism, brutality, savagery," without however specifying what type of jazz it was to which she referred.[101] The fact that Lissa adopted the anti-American and anti-black stereotypes found in communist propaganda is perplexing in light of her otherwise progressive and anti-racist approach to folk and indigenous music. Indeed, Lissa recognizes that "Negro folk music [involves] extremely valuable songs." Moreover, "the work of Gershwin and other American composers proves that Negro music can be sublimated, that it can serve as a starting point for music of high ideological values, such as the opera *Porgy and Bess*."[102] Nevertheless, she

[100] Ibid. "W myśl naszej definicji dziełem artystycznym jest zarówno pieśń ludowa jak i potężną symfonia czy opera. Różnice tkwią tu tylko w różnych środkach wyrażania się, dostępnych twórcom i przez nich stosowanych przy wyrażeniu przeżycia." (My translation.)
[101] Lissa, "O obiektywności praw w marksistowskiej historii i teorii muzyki," 58–59. "Nieokiełznanego erotyzmu, brutalności, dzikości." (My translation.)
[102] Ibid., 59. "Ludowa muzyka murzyńska, w której obok niezwykle cennych pieśni są również relikty pierwotnych orgiastycznych, brutalnie erotycznych, niekiedy w swym wyrazie dzikich tańców – może być bardzo różnie wykorzystywana. Twórczość Gershwina i innych kompozytorów amerykańskich świadczy o tym, że muzyka murzyńska może ulegać sublimacji, że może służyć jako punkt wyjścia dla muzyki o wysokich

argues, the same African-American folk music contains "relics of primordial orgiastic, brutally erotic, sometimes wild dances […]. The standard production of Tin Pan Alley [...] makes jazz a starting point for […] music that appeals more to the lower 'levels' of the audience's psyche. The glorified boogi-woogies, sambas, etc. [...] is the best evidence of this."[103]

My analysis of the different points of divergence and overlap between Lissa's and Adorno's views on popular music demonstrates how the postwar Eastern European Marxist musicology of Lissa, Knepler, and their colleagues offers alternative genealogies to twenty-first-century musicological thought on popular music and beyond. Lissa's work on music's social embeddedness, Eurocentrism, and popular music points to the underexamined intricacies of the post-Cold War politics of music historiography that often conceal the variety of trajectories alongside which ideas about music and society progressed and travelled within and across the Iron Curtain divisions.

As Shreffler argues, Knepler's contributions to German musicology were equal to those of Dahlhaus, yet, in North America, the former remained unknown and his ideas unrecognized. Dahlhaus's popularity in Germany and North America in turn continues to support "strong pockets of resistance […] to social readings of music from those who believe in the possibility of unmediated access to the aesthetic content of a work." [104] As Shreffler explains, "this is especially true in Germany, where in large part because of Dahlhaus's success in fending off not only Marxist approaches but also all methods with a sociological component, one finds very little sympathy for Anglo-American 'new musicology.'"[105] This is

ideowych walorach, np. opera Porgy and Beth. Ale standardowa produkcja Timpan Alley […] czyni z jazzu punkt wyjścia dla tego typu muzyki, który odwołuje się raczej do niższych 'pięter' psychiki odbiorcy. Osławione boogi-woogi, samby itp. […] jest tego najlepszym dowodem." (Original spelling. In my translation to English, I correct Lissa's spelling of "Bess" and "Tin Pan Alley.")

[103] Ibid.

[104] Shreffler, "Berlin Walls," 523.

[105] Ibid.

a similar case in Poland, where New Musicology and sociologically-oriented readings of music have been met with reluctance and skepticism, while positivist musicology—symbolizing anti-communist resistance—continues to be perceived as having ethical advantage in post-Cold War Poland. And if Dahlhaus's popularity overshadowed Knepler's contributions to sociologically informed musicology in Germany, Adorno's popularity among Anglo-American musicologists has obscured other strands of Marxism that could provide more comprehensive historical context to the development of New Musicology. As noted by Krims, "arguably today the most damaging effect of Adorno's shadow stems precisely from the widespread conflation of his name with the entire broad and diverse field of Marxism, at least by many practitioners of music theory, musicology, and popular music studies."[106] Lissa's scholarly oeuvre is but one example of a body of work that remains divorced from today's musicology, therefore obscuring the full spectrum of its intellectual genealogies.

European musicological networks circa 1970: Towards a comprehensive interpretation of Lissa's ancestry

The musicological framework built by Lissa throughout her life exceeded the boundaries of ideological propaganda, even if it also engaged propagandistic elements. Similar to the case of her colleague and friend Łobaczewska, Lissa's early career evolved in the intellectual and political context of interwar Lviv, a milieu where the left-leaning ideas of music democratization were highly valued. Moreover, my analysis of Lissa's academic publications reveals that despite the isolating effect of the socialist realist period in Poland, her postwar scholarship presented a surprising level of intellectual autonomy and eclecticism. Lissa's foundational ideas were informed by German musicological and philosophical tradition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While many of her works from the middle

[106] Krims, *Music and Urban Geography*, 92.

period are display exclusively Soviet intellectual influences, at the same time she draws on theories by Adler, Hanslick, and Kurth as a point of takeoff to her own work. Her beliefs around socialist realism as such would also often diverge from the official party line. Finally, I demonstrated that many of Lissa's paradigmatic ideas about music's social embeddedness portended what a few decades later became paradigmatic in contemporary Western musicology. Lissa's intellectual heritage should therefore be seen as a significant contribution to a longer twentieth-century lineage of ideas on music and society.

Another overlooked element of Lissa's ancestry is the international recognition from and influential position she had among prominent European musicologists during the last two decades of her life, and in particular between the mid-sixties and mid-seventies. During that period, Lissa maintained a rich network of academic and personal connections with scholars from across Europe. She actively participated in conferences abroad and collaborated on international panels and publications (see Table 2).

The intellectual links between Lissa and German musicologists (namely Dahlhaus and Eggebrecht) were briefly recognized by Zofia Helman in her biographical work on Lissa.[107] But it is the archive—containing Lissa's rich international correspondence with a network of scholars and artists from the German and Eastern European cultural milieu starting in late fifties—that reveals the scope and depth of Lissa's international collaborations and friendships. Lissa's archive, maintained at the University of Warsaw Library Archives of Polish Composers, includes a considerable body of incoming correspondence from the period between the late forties (after Lissa's relocation to Warsaw) and her death in 1980.[108] A large

[107] Helman, "Zofia Lissa," 17. "Postawione przez Lissę zagadnienie [kategorii dzieła] podjęli i rozwinęli Carl Dalhaus i Hans H. Eggebrecht, prowadząc do uściślenia pojęcia dzieła muzycznego i jego funkcjonowania." ["The issue (of the category of work) posed by Lissa was taken up and developed by Carl Dalhaus and Hans H. Eggebrecht, leading to a clarification of the concept of a musical work and its functioning."] (My translation.)
[108] Lissa's increased international correspondence after mid-fifties likely testifies to the fact that after the 1956 thaw travelling and maintaining international connections became easier. Additionally, as I discussed in Chapter Three, Lissa's position and reputation in Polish musicological milieu declined after the 1956 political breakthrough (and the revealing of Khrushchev's Secret Speech), which likely led her to seek alternative outlets for scholarly activities abroad. That said, in most cases it is not possible to tell with certainty when

category of letters are those from individuals and institutions based in Germany, Austria, and Czech Republic, along with Yugoslavia, Switzerland, and the USA. Some of the letters reveal a more personal relationship to Lissa, others concern exclusively professional matters, such as publications or lectures Lissa worked on, or work-related travels to conferences, concerts, and festivals.

Another group consists of letters from Lissa's students and former students, especially ones who continued their academic careers abroad. Most letters discuss both personal and professional business, which leads to a conclusion that many of Lissa's friendships developed within the musical and academic milieu. The dominate language of foreign correspondence is German, a language that at the time functioned as the lingua franca for European musicologists. Some letters in English, Russian, and French also appear in the archive. The collection of German letters in particular reveals Lissa's impressive professional and social network beyond the Polish artistic-intellectual milieu.

Out of the 144 names on the list of individuals who wrote to Lissa in German around a hundred can be identified as musicologists, music theorists, philosophers, composers, or performers, most of them German and Austrian, but there were also Swiss, Czech, Croatian, Swedish, French, Argentinian, and Hungarian individuals among them, primarily men. Most of this correspondence comes from the period between mid-sixties to mid-seventies. In many cases, the correspondence carried on until Lissa's death in 1980. Occasionally, some of those letters are dated as early as late fifties and early sixties.[109] The names include some of the most significant figures of German postwar musicology: Dahlhaus, Eggebrecht, Heinrich Besseler, Konrad Boehmer, Knepler, as well as scholars based in North America—a Québécois

exactly her relationships started, since the archive is likely not complete as there is no guarantee that Lissa kept all her postwar letters.

[109] It is impossible to know, unfortunately, whether no correspondence was exchanged prior to this time frame, or, rather, the correspondence was lost. But due to the political circumstances until late the fifties (the strict Stalinist regime), we can assume those exchanges started later.

musicologist Jan-Jacques Nattiez and Cornell University-based Donald J. Grout (president of the American Musicological Society between 1952–54, 1960–62, and the International Musicological Society between 1961–64). The list also includes thirty-eight foreign (mostly, but not exclusively, German) institutions: universities, embassies, music associations, libraries, archives, music publishers, and conference organizers, the majority of which come from the late sixties and early seventies. Beginning in the mid-sixties, Lissa herself was also receiving invitations and nominations to be a member of several international music organizations and bodies, such as the International Musicological Society presidium between 1965–1977, the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig (1965), "La commission du dictionaire polyglots des termes musicaux" (1969), and the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (1972).

The archive reveals numerous letters expressing admiration, respect, and appreciation of Lissa and her scholarly output. For example, in 1958, the Director of the Musicological Institute of the Humboldt University Ernst H. Meyer sent a thank you letter to Lissa after a series of guest lectures and stated that "the members of the institute are very grateful to […] [Lissa], as an internationally recognized important representative of teaching and research in the field of music aesthetics, for giving them the opportunity to further their education in this field."[110] Similarly, in 1965, Lissa received a letter from the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig informing her of the unanimous nomination for the Academy's member. This award testifies to Lissa's significant position within the German musicological milieu. In fact, the authors of the letter specifically recognize that they "especially appreciate […] [Lissa's] connection to German universities, where […] [she] often give[s] lectures." They further explain that the "election was made in appreciation of […] [Lissa's] services to the study of

[110] AKP, Zofia Lissa's Letters: German and German-speaking institutions, Ernst H. Meyer to Lissa, 1958. (My translation.)

new and contemporary music" as well as her versatile disciplinary interests. For Lissa, they believed, "music is a world connected with all disciplines. Questions of psychology and aesthetics, sociology and the general science of art involve […] [her]."[111]

Based on my analysis of this correspondence, I observed that between the mid-sixties and mid-seventies, Lissa belonged to a Central-Eastern European circle of musicologists who stayed in regular contact, embarked on shared academic projects, and often made effort to travel to conferences (for example International Music Society congresses) to see each other in person. The circle included Eggebrecht (University of Freiburg, University of Erlangen–Nuremberg), Supičić (CNRS in Paris, Zagreb Academy of Music), Arro (founder of the J.G. Herder Forschungsstelle für Musikgeschichte in Kiel), Kurt von Fischer (Zurich University), Knepler (Hochschule für Musik in Berlin, Humboldt University), Dragotin Cvetko (founder of the department of musicology at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) and occasionally also Dahlhaus (University of Kiel, Berlin Institute of Technology). On separate occasions, two among those scholars invited Lissa to participate in the works of a newly founded academic journal. Supičić encouraged Lissa to become a member of the "patronage committee" (which likely was the editorial board) of the *International Journal of Musical Sociology and Aesthetics*—a journal that was initiated by Supičić at the Institute of Musicology in Zagreb in 1969.

Similarly, in 1977, Arro founded a journal titled *Musica Slavica* (of which only one issue was published) and immediately reached out to Lissa and von Fisher for their contributions to be published in the journal's first issue. As far as journal publications are concerned, the most fruitful collaboration for Lissa within that scholarly circle was that with Eggebrecht, who became the editor in chief of the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* in 1962 and

[111] AKP, Zofia Lissa's Letters: German and German-speaking institutions, Saxon Academy of Sciences to Lissa, 1965. (My translation.)

invited Lissa to publish her work in the journal several times.[112] In fact, with time, Eggebrecht's and Lissa's professional relationship grew into a close friendship that they maintained until Lissa's death.[113]

Starting in 1972, the group regularly met at the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium and often collaborated on panels and roundtables taking place during the conference. For example, for the 1974 colloquium, Lissa, Eggebrecht, and von Fischer prepared a shared lecture on the "Methods and Principles of Music Historiography."[114] According to a letter Lissa received from the colloquium organizers, Dahlhaus was another speaker. The invitation that Lissa received on February 8, 1974, reads:

> Dear Zofia! […] We are in the process of compiling the list of participants of our colloquium "Methods and Principles of Music Historiography", which we are organizing from 30.9. to 2.10. 1974 within the framework of the Brno International Music Festival. It is already certain that Professors Eggebrecht, Kurt von Fischer, and Dahlhaus will participate, and of course your name should not be absent, if your work plans, as always, allow it. Please let us know as soon as possible if we can count on your participation! […] We are looking forward to your answer as soon as possible and even more to seeing you here again in autumn. With many warm greetings.[115]

Earlier, in a letter from January 22, 1974, Eggebrecht mentions in his letter to Lissa:

> But I will definitely go to Brno. […] I am leading a round table there, probably—about music historiography—maybe you could join me there, by planning, preparing, doing it together again?[116]

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[112] See: Zofia Lissa, "Prolegomena zur Theorie der Tradition in der Musik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 27. Jahrg., H. 3. (1970): 153-172; Zofia Lissa, "Zur Theorie der Musikalischen Rezeption," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 31, no. 3 (1974): 157–69.
[113] Correspondence from Eggebrecht is the most numerous in Lissa's archive at the Polish Composers' Archive.
[114] AKP, Zofia Lissa's Letters: German and German-speaking institutions, Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium to Lissa, February 8, 1974. (My translation.)
[115] Ibid.
[116] AKP, Zofia Lissa's German Correspondence, Eggebrecht to Lissa, January 22, 1974. (My translation.)

In the end, Lissa had to call off her participation in the 1974 colloquium due to health issues. Her absence did not go unnoticed. The remaining correspondence from both the event organizers and from Lissa's colleagues indicates that her participation in the yearly colloquium was highly anticipated. In the invitation sent to Lissa the following year, the organizers wrote:

> We can hardly imagine the Brno Colloquia without your active participation in a leading position. In fact, your absence was clearly felt […]. All the more urgently and cordially we invite you not to leave us in the lurch at least this year. We would like to see you, if not as chairperson […], at least with one of the main lectures! Hopefully, your health will not leave anything to be desired and will not prevent you from honoring the Festival and Colloquium with your presence. So once again: we cordially invite you and would like to read your answer soon, which might even contain the working title of your planned lecture. I am personally looking forward to your letter and greet you very cordially, always.[117]

After Lissa was again forced to miss the 1975 colloquium due to her ongoing health condition, her colleague and friend von Fischer expressed a sense of regret and sadness due to her absence at the colloquium. He also recognized Lissa's unique expertise and experience that, according to him, could not be easily replaced by the new generation of scholars:

> Although new colleagues are certainly maturing, we want to keep you and your generation as long as possible, because real maturity of experience is acquired only after long years of laborious ways.

In his letter, von Fischer also responds to what we can assume is Lissa's expression of resignation and self-doubt, as he writes:

[117] AKP, Zofia Lissa's Letters: German and German-speaking institutions, Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium to Lissa, 21 January 1975. (My translation.)

> it would be a pity and premature to withdraw from everything, as you write. Hopefully the vacation in the south will give you back that optimism which we appreciate so much in you. Therefore: See you in 1976 at the latest!

Similar to Lissa's correspondence with her Polish colleague and friend Elżbieta Dzięboswka, discussed in the previous chapter, many of the letters Lissa exchanged with her colleagues abroad include confessions about her recurring emotional struggles and depression. These letters reveal a more personal relationship between Lissa and these scholars and the remarkable amount of emotional support and encouragement they offered. For example, in a letter from September 12, 1974, Lissa's Slovenian colleague Cvetko wrote:

> Now you have to take care of yourself, you are far too young and too vital to afford the depression and to live without travel, lectures and work. It's good that you are in good medical hands, I'm sure that you will free yourself from it [the depression] with your vitality. I wish you the best and I will be very happy to hear about your work again. As far as I can accommodate you, I will gladly do everything that is possible for me. Just write, by the way, I will be very happy to hear from you again. And stay proud, you can continue to do that with regard to your previous achievements.[118]

In a similar vein, two years later, von Fischer offered Lissa reassurance in a letter from April 9, 1976, by writing:

> Dear Zofia, […] it's very sad that you are not coming to [congresses in] Zurich or Freiburg. But I understand your reasons. Esther [von Fischer's wife] and I are very, very sorry that you are not doing so well. What can I say: maybe it will comfort you a little if I tell you that every new semester poses problems for me too: am I still enough, can I stimulate my students enough? […] You have created such a great scholarly work, you are quoted again and again (also in Swiss radio broadcasts, for example, about film music). So you really don't need to be afraid - but I know: it's a disease. But aren't there

[118] AKP, Zofia Lissa's Letters: German and German-speaking institutions, Cvetko to Lissa, September 12, 1974. (My translation.)

good remedies today? Maybe I can send you some medicine if that's possible and you want it.[119]

Noteworthy in the above letters is the expression of genuine friendship and care these scholars offered to Lissa. While recognizing the limitations of one's control over depression as a serious mental illness ("it's a disease"), they simultaneously make sure to remind Lissa about the extraordinary achievements she made during her life and encourage her to approach her struggles with compassion.

To conclude, Lissa's influence and reputation within Polish musicology gradually declined in the sixties and seventies, in that period she remained a highly esteemed scholar outside of Poland, and her presence and contributions at conferences, congresses and in publishing projects was sought-after. Such a discrepancy between Lissa's status abroad and at home points to the ways in which the post-Stalinist politics in Polish academia overshadowed the significance and uniqueness of Lissa's lifetime of scholarly experience and output, so clearly identified by her colleagues abroad. Ironically, as presented in Table 2, many of Lissa's editorial commissions and guest speaker invitations in that period revolved around her expertise in the history of Polish music, and as such, an important part of her international activity constituted promoting—and popularizing knowledge about—Polish composers and Polish musical culture.

Most of all, Lissa's international success in the last few decades of her life once again demonstrates her unfading adaptability to adverse conditions. In this case, it meant facing outward and nurturing the relationships and opportunities that she had outside of the immediate Polish musicological milieu. As demonstrated above, at times, it was also from her colleagues abroad that Lissa could seek emotional support. Last but not least, as the archive testifies to Lissa's close collaboration with Dahlhaus and Eggebrecht, who are today

[119] AKP, Zofia Lissa's German Correspondence, von Fischer to Lissa, April 9, 1976. (My translation.)

remembered as two of the most notable German musicologists of the twentieth century, there is a striking contrast between the prominent place these two scholars have assumed in the collective musicological memory, and the silence surrounding Lissa's role of in twentieth-century European musicology.

Table 2. Lissa's scholarly collaborations, papers, guest lectures, and publications outside of Poland between 1954–1979. Selected events based on Lissa's correspondence in German. AKP, Zofia Lissa's German Correspondence, German and German-speaking institutions.

1954–55	Invitation to provide contributions to the Henschel-Verlag concert guide about the most recent history of Polish music.
1955	Preparations of German translations of Lissa's two books: *On the Question of Objective Lawfulness in Music* and *The Specifics in Music* with Henschel-Verlag.
1957	Letter from Verband Deutscher Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler (VDK) about a planned publication of Lissa's book *On the Historical Laws* in German the following year.
1958	Lissa attends the IMS Congress in Koln and presents a paper titled "On Musical Humor."
	Guest lectures at the Musicology Institute of the Humboldt University in Berlin.
1959–1977	Collaboration with the German Music Encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG).
1959	Commission for program notes on Lutosławski's *Concerto for Orchestra* for Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, to be published in a music magazine *Preludium: Concertgebouw-Nieuws.*
1963	Invitation from the Institute for Musicology Leipzig to give a guest lecture titled "The Aesthetic Functions of Silence and Pause in Music" and two seminars on the aesthetics of film music.
	Israeli "East and West in Music" conference organizing committee informs Lissa that they received a UNESCO grant to cover her travel expenses.
	President of IMS Donald J. Grout (Cornell University) informs Lissa that the IMS would like to send musicians and musicologists to the "Polish Music Festival" in 1965. An exchange of books and materials in person with Lissa is also mentioned.
1964	Lissa is invited to give a paper at the International Musicological Society Congress in Salzburg.
	Lissa attends the first meeting of the Consulting Committee of the IMS.
1965	Lissa organizes an international music festival and a congress "Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis" in Bydgoszcz, with many participants from abroad, East and West.
	Invitation to send a contribution to a special issue of the journal *Sinn und Form* published by the Deutsche Akademie der Künste in Berlin to commemorate the late president of the journal Willi Bredel.
	Intended publication of Lissa's book *Aesthetic of Film Music* in German in the first quarter of the year by the Henschel publishing house.
	Lissa's article on film and music published in the March issue of *Musik und Gessellschaft.*
	Lissa elected to be a member by the Saxon Academy of Sciences at Leipzig.
1966	The American Choral Foundation invites Lissa to write a review for the American Choral Review about "choral music at the festival in Bydgoszcz" to be published in 1967.
1967	Lissa elected to the IMS Board of Directors.
	10th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Ljubljana. Lissa invited to a round table discussion on "the problem of value in music of the 19th century" by Carl Dahlhaus and to a panel on "Musical style change and history" by Knepler. Lissa also attends the meeting of the former Board of Directors.
	Guest lecture title "The Essence of the Musical Work" at the University of Salzburg.
	Commission to write an article in English and French on Chopin for the 1967 International Piano Festival Arturo Benedetti Michelangeli in Brescia, Italy.
	Lissa speaks at the main conference of the Institute for New Music and Music Education in Darmstadt from March 27 to April 1, 1967.
	Series of guest lectures in Germany on Polish music from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries: Oldenburg, Detmold, Cologne, Mannheim Music Festival, Munich.

	Guest lecture at a musicology seminar at the University of Munich: "Historical Variability of Recorded Music (PsychoHistorical Problems)."
	Invitation to a congress organized by the Institute for New Music and Music Education in Darmstadt, dedicated to the problems of the formation of musical tastes, questions of music aesthetics and music sociology.
1968	Invitation to speak at the Darmstadt Conference on April 1–6, 1968.
	Lissa attends meetings of the IMS Board of Directors on September 21 and September 22 at the Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap of the University of Utrecht.
	Invitation from UNESCO to contribute an academic article on film music to their upcoming issue of the *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales* dedicated to "analyzing the effects of certain structures (institutions, organizations or associations) on artistic life, both from the point of view of the creators and that of the public."
	Publication of the essay "Chopin's Influence on Lyadov" in the *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft.*
	Publication of the German translation of Lissa's essay "On the Essence of the Musical Work" in the second issue of *Die Musikforschung* journal.
1969	Invitation from Ivo Supičić from the Musicology Institute in Zagreb become a committee member and write a contribution for his new journal named *International Review of Music Aesthetics and Sociology.*
	Invitation to send a contribution to be featured in a special issue of the academic journal *Sinn und Form* on the twentieth anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.
	Lissa attends the meeting of the Board of Director of the IMS, Basel.
1969	Invitation from the Saxon Academy of Sciences in Leipzig to contribute an obituary for Heinrich Bresseler (musicology professor at Karl-Marx-University Leipzig) to the Academy's yearbook.
1969/70	Publication of Lissa's contribution in the *International Review of Music Aesthetics and Sociology* by the Institute of Musicology in Zagreb, with the support of the International Committee for Aesthetic Studies, edited by Supičić.
1970	German translation of Lissa's essay "The Concerto for Orchestra by Witold Lutoslawski" printed in a German anthology.
	Invitation to attend Beethoven Symposium in Vienna.
	Lissa's essay "Prolegomena to the Theory of Tradition in Music" ("Prolegomena zu einer Theorie der Tradition in der Musik") published in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* 3/1970.
	Publication of the "Les hommes et leurs oeuvres" volume of the French *Dictionnaire de la musique,* edited by Marc Honneger, including Lissa's contributions on Polish composers, folk dances, Polish music history, and Polish cities.
	Invitation to attend the International Congress of Studies in Byzantine and Eastern Liturgical Music, in Maggio, Italy.
	Paper presentation at the IMS Congress in Bonn: "Prolegomena to a Theory of Tradition in Music."
	Invitation to the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium.
1971	Guest lecture at the University of Ljubljana as part of a lecture series.
	Two guest lectures at the Institute of Musicology at Salzburg University (as a joint event of the Institute and the Austrian-Polish Society and). Eventually cancelled due to Lissa's illness.
	Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht sends a letter to the Chancellor of the Warsaw University asking for Lissa to be a visiting lecturer at the Freiburg University for the summer semester of 1973 and give weekly lectures on the history of Polish music (Eggebrecht writes that "This would be a first in the Federal Republic of Germany"), as well as teach a joint seminar on music aesthetics with Eggebrecht.
	Preparation of a Hungarian translation of Lissa's essays on music aesthetics.
1971/1972	Invitation for a contribution to the 1972 issue of *Quarterly Journal of the International Music Council (UNESCO)* under the working title: "Functions and Tasks of Today's Music Criticism."

1972	Invitation to give a lecture at the 26th Darmstadt Conference, Institute for New Music and Music Education
	Invitation to contribute updated entries on Polish composers to the Riemann Music Encyclopedia, facilitated by Dahlhaus.
	Lissa invited to advise in the hiring process at the Freie Universität Berlin. She sends a letter with her opinion about two scholars between whom the competition is: Konrad Boehmer and Tibor Kneif.
	Guest lecture "On the Nature of Historical Consciousness in Today's Music Culture" at the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium.
	Lissa invited by Hans Astrand to write entries related to Polish music for the Sohlman's Music Encyclopedia (Stockholm): an entry on Poland, entries on main Polish cities, entries on Polish composers. She was also invited to write an entry about Polish musicology.
	Publication of proceedings from the 1971 conference in Ljubljana, including Lissa's.
	Lissa elected a member of Akademie Der Wissenschaften und Der Literatur in Mainz.
1973	Lissa's article on Beethoven and the Polish folk song appears in *Muzikološki zbornik* (*Musicological Annual*).
	Lissa is a visiting lecturer at the Freiburg University for the summer semester.
	Lissa receives an offer to publish an Italian translation of he "Studia nad twórczością Fryderyka Chopina" ("Studies on Frederic Chopin's Oeuvre") from Gastone Belotti in Padova.
	Lissa contributes an entry on Polish Music for the Italian Riccoli Music Encyclopedia.
	Lissa gives a guest talk at the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium "Musica Slavorum."
	Lissa contributes to an anthology "Questions of Musical Understanding" as part of a Paul Hindemith Foundation research project on musical understanding. She is also invited to the accompanying symposium in 1974 in Frankfurt.
	J.J. Nattiez asks Lissa for permission to publish an English translation of her "essay on musical quotation" in his reader for the collection "Approaches to Semiotics."
	Invitation to a meeting of the Musicology Commission in the Academy building, Akademie Der Wissenschaften Und Der Literatur in Mainz.
1974	Guest talk "Music Reception as a Factor of Music Historiography" at the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium; cancelled due to Lissa's health problems.
	Lissa invited to give a talk at the International Congress of the German Musicological Society in Berlin. The organizers also ask Lissa to put them in contact with suitable "American ethnomusicologists" and "Third World representatives" to speak at the congress.
1975	Ernest Kay, honorary General Editor of "The World Who's is Who of Women" (published in Cambridge, England), sends Lissa a questionnaire in order to publish Lissa's "own illustrated biography" in the third edition of the book.
	Lissa is offered a publication of the Croatian translation of her "Essays on Music Aesthetics" in 1976.
	Beethoven Archive in Bonn invites Lissa to write a contribution on Beethoven for the anniversary volume of the Beethoven Yearbook (planned to be published in 1976) on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Beethoven's death and the fiftieth anniversary of the Beethoven Archive.
	The publisher of the "International Who's Who in Music and Musicians Directory" (published in Cambridge, England) informs Lissa that the eight edition, which includes her biography, is published.
	Lissa invited to speak at the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium.
	Lissa is invited to collaborate with the *German Encyclopedia of Modern Music* edited by Hans Ulrich Schumann and Detlef Gojowy.

1976	Stanley Sadie informs Lissa that an entry on her is included in the forthcoming edition of the sixth edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and asks Lissa for additional information on her career and publications.
	Meeting of the Board of Directors of the IMS, Zurich. Lissa cancels her attendance due to health problems.
	Invitation to Kassel Music Days.
	Speaker at the "Aspects and Methods of Music History" Symposium of the Annual Meeting of the Society for Music Research in Freiburg ("Symposions der Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung in Freiburg.") Lissa cancels her attendance due to health problems.
	Invitation to the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium in 1976 and in 1977.
1977	Lissa is offered a travel grant and per diem to attend the 12th Congress of International Musicological Society in Berkeley, California.
	Publication of the first and only issue of Elmar Arro's journal *Musica Slavica* with Lissa's contribution titled "The Slavic Music Perspectives and Aims of Research."
	Roundtable speaker at the International Beethoven Congress in Berlin, three-day scientific conference as part of its commemorative events to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the composer's death.
	Lissa's Russian edition of her work on film music is evaluated by Dahlhaus to be translated and published in Germany.
	Lissa organizes Kurt von Fischer's guest lecture at Warsaw University
1978	Publication of a paper "The National Style in Karol Szymanowski" in *Hamburger Jahrbuchs für Musikwissenschaft* (*Hamburg Yearbook for Musicology*).
	Invitation to collaborate on an anthology *Poetry and Music* with Eggebrecht, Dahlhaus and others.
	Request from a German international working group "Frau und Musik" for Lissa to suggest a list of women instrumentalists and conductors in Poland and to inform women composers in Poland about the composition competition in Warsaw that will elect composers to be presented during the Polish Composers' week in Darmstadt in 1979.
1979	Conference on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Humboldt University of Berlin, organized by the Musicology Section of the Aesthetics and Art Sciences Division, together with the Musicology Commission of the Association of Composers and Musicologists, attended by musicologists from the GDR and guests from abroad. The conference coincides with the Berlin Music Biennale. Lissa invited to the roundtable discussion "On Early Romantic Concepts of Music." She also gave a lecture on "The Problem of Musical Time in the Aesthetics of August Wilhelm Schlegel."
	Professor Jan L. Broeck from Gent University (Belgium) publishes his response to Lissa's work and writes to her to ask for her feedback to his comments.
	Lissa receives the UNESCO International Music Council prize.
	Invited to add her contribution to an anthology on "History and Problems of Music Culture," which is to be dedicated to Prof. Ernst Hermann Meyer on his seventy-fifth birthday.
	Invitation to participate in the colloquium on "Music as Communication" at the Brno International Music Festival and the Musicological Colloquium next to H. H. Eggebrecht, Dalhaus, and Knepler.
	Lissa invited to give a guest lecture by the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Foundation in Basel (Switzerland) as part of a lecture nationalism and exoticism in music in 1980. Other lecturers in the series included Dahlhaus, Lévy-Strauss, and Pierre Boulez.

Conclusion

This dissertation has brought to light several key findings regarding the musical labor and agency of women who made an impact on Polish music between 1925 and 1975. Going beyond the common historiographical narratives about twentieth-century Polish music history—that of nation-making through music and that of (artistic) male resistance paradigm—my study uncovers previously unexplored aspects of this history through centering female subjects.

First, I demonstrate the ways in which both Bacewicz and Lissa asserted their agency in their respective domains, displaying resilience and creativity through the tumultuous sociopolitical landscape of mid-twentieth-century Poland, marked by war, migration, and discriminatory politics. Each woman adopted a different strategy. Bacewicz achieved unparalleled success among female composers of her generation by adopting a strategy of self-fashioning as an exceptional woman and relying on support from her family while balancing her career with care work responsibilities. Lissa, in turn, consistently prioritized her academic career, persistently challenging biases and making choices aligned with her personal beliefs, even if unpopular among her mentor and colleagues. Both women relied on their friendships to overcome obstacles and seek emotional support when necessary.

Second, my dissertation offers a nuanced perspective on the traditional understanding of lineage and mentorship within composition and musicology. I show that the connection between Bacewicz and Boulanger within a predominantly male-dominated profession transcends mere stylistic or aesthetic similarities; rather, their relationship embodied a stern yet nurturing training in survival strategies, ones that pushed back against gender biases. Similarly, the relationship between Bacewicz and her mother impacted the composer's values surrounding gender and work ethics. In Lissa's case, challenging the scholarly lineage associated with Chybiński was essential for her academic autonomy as both a woman and a

Jew. Moreover, my exploration of Lissa's scholarship and academic circles revealed overlooked non-Western lineages of Marxist thought in musicology, typically marginalized in the history of the field.

Third, my findings challenge the traditional division between the spheres of private life and professional activity in music history. The support and labor upon which Bacewicz relied in her domestic sphere were instrumental to her successful career. For both Bacewicz and Lissa, some of their most profound friendships were with their colleagues. Bacewicz confided in Ochlewski about her family life, while Lissa's correspondence with Mycielski and Dziębowska give a raw image of Lissa's deep personal struggles.

My dissertation suggests several directions for future research projects cantered on women composers and musicologists who made impact on Polish music in the twentieth century. This notably includes a sustained study of other female students of Chybiński mentioned in the thesis: Stefania Łobaczewska, Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, Alicja Simon and Maria Szczepańska. While researchers have recently shown some interest in biographical studies of Łobaczewska, Wójcik-Keuprulian, and Szczepańska, future studies need to critically evaluate their academic achievements and professional relationships in the context of the gender politics of both interwar and postwar Polish academia. Similarly, further work needs to be carried out to document the contributions of other Polish women composers from Bacewicz's generation. As Lindstedt's research has shown, there were numerous active women within interwar compositional scene. Additionally, the women who joined Polish Composers' Union immediately after the war alongside Grażyna Bacewicz also remain understudied. Future projects that investigate the role of gender in their compositional careers would be particularly beneficial.

I look forward to future studies on Bacewicz and Lissa that will benefit from access to archival collections which were unavailable to me during the course of this project. This

includes the Bacewicz family collection at the National Library in Warsaw, currently inaccessible to researchers, as well as various materials at institutions in Lviv and Moscow that may reveal new facts about Lissa. Unfortunately, due to the Covid-19 pandemic and Russia's subsequent full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, my archival research was confined to institutions situated within present-day Poland.

Throughout this dissertation, I offered an overview of musico-political contexts, spaces, and situations where Bacewicz, Lissa, and many like them faced gender, ethnic, and class bias on regular basis. While the lives of Bacewicz and Lissa belong to the past, the simplistic accounts and myths of the "exceptional first lady" and the "Stalinist agent" of Polish music persist in Poland's musical culture and remain firmly embedded within academic discourse today. Yet scholars' attachment to these myths inevitably prolongs the silences that cover the most interesting aspects of lives of women who spent their lives building Polish music and musicology as we know it today. By contrasting those gendered archetypes with the complex fabric of their realities, it is my hope that this project inspires future studies centered on women and crafting alternative genealogies of contemporary Polish music culture.

Appendix 1

Female members of the Polish Composers' Union's Board between 1945-1989.[1]

	Period of holding a position in the Union's Board	Function
Grażyna Bacewicz	1947-1950 1950-1951 1955-1957	Treasurer Board member Vice president
Elżbieta Dzięboswka	1973-1975	Board member
Anna Maria Klechniowska	1950-1951	Vice secretary
Zofia Lissa	1948-1950 1951-1954 1954-1955	Board member Vice president Board member
Bernadetta Matuszczak	1967-1969	Board member
Grażyna Pstrokońska-Nawratil	1981-1983	Board member

[1] Ludwik Erhardt, *50 lat Zwiazku Kompozytorów Polskich* [*50 Years of Polish Composers' Union*] (Warszawa: 1995), 17-19.

Appendix 2

Men and women in Polish Composers' Union's Board between 1945-1989.[2]

	Men	**Women**
1945-46	7	0
1946-47	7	0
1947-48	6	1
1948-50	4	2
1950-51	7	2
1951-54	10	1
1954-55	11	1
1955-57	8	1
1957-59	9	0
1959-60	8	1
1960-63	8	1
1963-64	8	1
1964-67	10	1
1967-69	10	2
1969-71	9	0
1971-73	9	0
1973-75	8	1
1975-77	9	0
1977-79	11	0
1979-81	11	0
1981-83	10	1
1983-85	11	0
1985-87	13	0
1987-89	13	0
Total number of men / women assigned a board position at least once between 1945-89	**70**	**6**
Total percentage	**92,10%**	**7,90%**

[2] Ewa Rzanna-Szczepaniak, *Działalność Związku Kompozytorów Polskich na tle sytuacji w kraju (1945–1956)* [*Polish Composers' Union Activity Against the Background of Poland's Politcal Situation (1945-1956)*] (Opole: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scriptorium, 2012), 9-84.

Appendix 3

Female members of Polish Composers' Union between 1945-1989[3]

	Composers	Joined in	Musicologists	Joined in
1	Andrault de Langeron (Białkiewiczówna Irena)	1956-1958 (+)[4]	Bauman-Szulakowska Jolanta	1986
2	Bacewicz Grażyna	1945-1969	Bilińska Jolanta	1987
3	Bancer Teresa	1963	Bobrowska Jadwiga	1979
4	Bortkun-Szpotańska Katarzyna	1984	Bogdany-Popielowa Wanda	1972
5	Boulanger Nadia	1957-1979 (+)	Bogucka Aleksandra	1972
6	Bruzdowicz-Tittel Joanna	1968	Brzezińska Barbara	1968
7	Buczkówna Barbara	1974-1993 (+)	Chechlińska Zofia	1961
8	Drège-Schielowa Łucja	1947-1962 (+)	Chłopicka Regina	1981
9	Dziewulska Maria	1952	Chmara-Żaczkiewicz Barbara	1977
10	Garr Wiesława Alicja	1979	Chylińska Teresa	1963
11	Garztecka-Jarzębska Irena	1951-1963 (+)	Czekanowska-Kuklińska Anna	1964
12	Grządziel (Grzondziel-Majzel) Eleonora	1949-1993 (+)	Dadak-Kozicka Katarzyna	1977
13	Hussar Małgorzata	1983	Dahling Ewa	1991
14	Iszkowska Zofia	1948	Danecka-Szopowa Krystyna	1963
15	Klechniowska Anna-Maria	1945-1973 (+)	Dziębowska Elżbieta	1965
16	Krzanowska Grażyna	1979	Fabiańska Zofia	1980
17	Kulenty Hanna	1986	Falenciak Joanna	1981-1989
18	Kunkel Renata	1984	Galińska Elżbieta	1980
19	Maciejasz-Kamińska Anna	1976-1988	Gąsiorowska Małgorzata	1982
20	Markiewiczówna Władysława	1945-1982 (+)	Gorczycka Monika-Izabella	1960-1962 (+)

[3] Ludwik Erhardt, *50 lat Zwiazku Kompozytorów Polskich* [*50 Years of Polish Composers' Union*] (Warszawa: 1995), 6–15.
[4] The date of death.

21	Matuszczak Bernadetta	1965	Grzenkowicz Izabella	1973
22	Moszumańska-Nazar Krystyna	1957	Gwizdalanka Danuta	1986
23	Niewiadomska-Michałowicz Barbara	1971	Hanuszewska-Schaefferowa Mieczysława	1970
24	Pfeiffer Irena	1951	Helman Zofia	1965
25	Piątek Katarzyna	1989	Idaszak Danuta	1965
26	Piechowska Alina	1967-1981	Jasińska Danuta	1979
27	Podgórska Ewa	1988	Kaczorowska-Guńkiewicz Mirosława	1966
28	Pokrzywińska Maria	1987	Kłobukowska Jadwiga	1963
29	Pstrokońska-Nawratil Grażyna	1973	Kobylańska Krystyna 1966	
30	Ptaszyńska Marta	1988	Kotyńska Marzanna	1968-1978
31	Puchalska Barbara	1988	Lachowska Stefania	1950-1966 (+)
32	Sikora Elżbieta	1978	De Laveaux Teresa	1965-1974
33	Skowrońska Janina	1957-1992 (+)	Lissa Zofia	1948-1980 (+)
34	Synowiec Ewa	1975	Łobaczewska Stefania	1948-1963 (+)
35	Szajna-Lewandowska Jadwiga	1957-1994 (+)	Malecka Teresa	1980
36	Szpineter-Kuniecka Maria	1975-1983	Matracka-Kościelny Alicja	1983
37	Szymańska Iwonka B.	1973	Morawska Katarzyna	1965
38	Trębicka Maria	1984-1985 (+)	Motylewska-Wielopolska Bożena	1966-1971
39	Wnuk-Nazarowa Joanna	1976-1984	Nowak Anna	1989
40	Zakrzewska-Nikiproczyk Barbara	1975	Nowak-Romanowicz Alina	1955-1994 (+)
41	Zawadzka-Gołosz Anna	1989	Obniska Ewa	1976
42	Zdechlikiewicz Jolanta	1989	Paja-Stach Jadwiga	1986
43	Zielińska Lidia	1981	Pamuła Maria Teresa	1974
44			Piotrowska Maria	1985
45			Poniatowska Irena	1969

46		Porębowiczowa Anna	1960-1988(+)
47		Simon Alicja	1948-1958 (+)
48		Smoleńska-Zielińska Barbara	1989
49		Sobieska Jadwiga	1948
50		Sokołowska-Chwedczuk Zofia	1974-1982
51		Stanilewicz-Kamionka Maria	1978-1984 (+)
52		Stęszewska Zofia	1965
53		Szczepańska Maria	1948-1962 (+)
54		Szczepańska-Malinowska Elżbieta	1983
55		Szepietowska Hanna	1967-1980 (+)
56		Szoka Marta	1988
57		Szwarcman Dorota	1988
58		Szweykowska Anna	1980
59		Tarnawska-Kaczorowska Krystyna	1977
60		Trojanowicz Alicja	1979
61		Turło Teresa Daliła	1961
62		Turska Irena	1963
63		Wilkowska-Chomińska Krystyna	1952
64		Windakiewicz Helena	1948-1956 (+)
65		Winowicz Krystyna	1985
66		Witkowska-Zaremba Elżbieta	1974
67		Woźna-Stankiewicz Małgorzata	1978
68		Woźniak Jolanta	1977
71		Zabłocka Jadwiga	1966
72		Zduniak Maria	1986
73		Zwolińska Elżbieta	1969
74		Żerańska-Kominek Sławomira	1977
75		Żurawska-Witkowska Alina	1987

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MEN
MKiS
MSW
PZPR KC

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