

JOLANTA GUZY-PASIAK
 INSTYTUT SZTUKI, POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK

POLISH MUSIC IN ZAGREB'S CONCERT LIFE BETWEEN THE WARS
 (AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE CROATIAN MUSIC INSTITUTE)*

After the end of the First World War, Poland and Croatia regained their independence, thanks to the Paris Peace Conference, where new state borders were defined. Croatia became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–29), which soon changed its name to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The two countries concluded a number of cooperation agreements in many fields, well aware of the great significance of Slavic partnership during the unstable period following the establishment of the borders of New Europe. To simplify matters somewhat, although Poland and Yugoslavia did not cooperate very closely between the wars in political or economic terms, as their priorities were different, successive steps taken jointly in the legislative and economic domains – aimed at resolving issues arising from the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the legacy of the Habsburg Empire, among other things – brought the two countries closer together and created conditions for closer ties in the future.¹

Matters relating to diplomatic and economic relations have been fairly well explored in many studies.² The same cannot be said of research into the cultural

* My participation in the project 'Croatian-Polish music relations from the Middle Ages to the 20th century', carried out by the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, enabled me to conduct preliminary research in Zagreb for the purposes of this article. I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Vjera Katalinić and Prof. Stanislav Tuksar for their assistance. I also thank Prof. Magdalena Dziadek of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków for inspiring me to study the subject in question.

1 Konrad Sebastian Morawski, 'Umowy polsko-jugosłowiańskie (1919–1934): partnerstwo słowiańskie a nieuregulowane kwestie międzynarodowe' [Polish–Yugoslav agreements (1919–34): Slavic partnership and unregulated international issues], *Prace Komisji Środkowoeuropejskiej PAU* 22 (2014), pp. 73–89.

2 See Anna Garlicka, *Polska–Jugosławia 1934–1939. Z dziejów stosunków politycznych* [Poland–Yugoslavia 1934–1939. From the history of political relations], Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1977; eadem, 'Polska–Jugosławia 1918–1939' [Poland–Yugoslavia 1918–39], *Studia z Dziejów ZSRR*

relations between Poland and Yugoslavia. One of the reasons for this may be that cultural cooperation is harder to observe, because the initiatives undertaken during the period in question were usually ‘grassroots’ ventures launched by eminent individuals from the artistic or academic milieu. Only gradually were the institutionalised forms and mechanisms of cooperation known from later decades implemented. In theory, this was to be dealt with by the supranational League of Nations, founded during the Paris Peace Conference, which sought to coordinate international intellectual cooperation, university exchanges and the exchange of publications. National committees responsible for these tasks were set up, but a lack of resources, combined with the need to rebuild or even create basic and efficient institutions in countries particularly affected by the war, meant that these projects, which concerned mainly the sciences, were implemented slowly. As its interest in these supranational organisations waned, Poland decided to sign bilateral agreements with some countries. In 1931 an agreement on scientific, educational and artistic relations was signed between the Republic of Poland and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia,³ and by the second half of the 1930s there were signs of a revival on both sides.⁴

With regard to culture, the most thoroughly explored field is that of literary relations,⁵ with discussions largely concerning the activities in Poland and in Zagreb of the central figure in the process, Julije Benešić,⁶ a poet, translator and founder of a monumental series of translations of Croatian works into Polish (‘Yugoslavian Library’). There are fairly detailed analyses of several aspects: literary themes functioning in both literatures; the oeuvres of writers who promoted Croatian literature in Poland; the functioning of works by Polish writers in the Croatian language;

i Europy Środkowej [Studies from the history of the USSR and Central Europe], 12 (1976), pp. 93–125. Studies devoted to cooperation between Slavic countries between the wars have been collected by Sebastian Grudziń in ‘Koncepcje współpracy słowiańskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej: piśmiennictwo za lata 1945–2011’ [Concepts of Slavic cooperation in the Second Polish Republic: literature for the years 1945–2011], in: *Panslawizm: wczoraj, dziś, jutro* [Pan-Slavism: yesterday, today, tomorrow], eds. Zofia Chyra-Rolicz and Tomasz Rokosz, Siedlce 2016, pp. 213–229.

- 3 ‘Jugosławia–Polska. Porozumienie dotyczące stosunków naukowych, szkolnych i artystycznych. Warszawa. 1931.12.02’ [Yugoslavia–Poland: agreement on scientific, educational and artistic relations. Warsaw 1931.12.02], Prawo.pl, <https://www.prawo.pl/akty/dz-u-1933-45-347,16837764.html>, accessed 10 September 2021.
- 4 Andrzej M. Brzeziński, ‘Polska w systemie międzynarodowej współpracy intelektualnej Ligi Narodów (1922–1939)’ [Poland in the system of international intellectual cooperation of the League of Nations (1922–39)], *Dzieje najnowsze* 34 (2002), no. 2, pp. 3–22.
- 5 See the part of the article devoted to the political and institutional context of cultural relations and to Polish and Yugoslavian cultural policy in Leszek Małczak, ‘(Nie)obecność literatury chorwackiej w Polsce: okres międzywojenny’ [(Non)presence of Croatian literature in Poland: the interwar period], in: *Słowiańska Wieża Babel* [Slavic Tower of Babel], vol. 1, *Kultura i dialog* [Culture and dialogue], eds. Justyna Czaja, Irina Jermaszowa, Monika Wójciak and Bogusław Zieliński, Poznań 2018, pp. 17–35.
- 6 Julije Benešić (1883–1957), a Croatian poet, director of the National Theatre in Zagreb between 1921 and 1926, delegated by the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to work in Poland (1930–38), where he created a series of translations of Croatian literature into Polish (‘Yugoslavian Library’).

Croatian-Polish artistic and personal links.⁷ Unfortunately, we know little about Polish-Croatian relations during the inter-war period in the context of musical life. There are no comprehensive or even fragmentary studies, and acquiring information about concerts, exchanges of musicians, and knowledge of Polish music and musicological literature in Croatia requires an investigation of the archives of cultural institutions, as well as the daily and specialist press. It seems important that systematic efforts be made to define the place of Polish music in Yugoslavia, and – from a broader perspective – in other European countries between the wars. The present research report, based on a survey of archive holdings and writings devoted to Zagreb's musical culture, represents a contribution to filling the gap in our knowledge of the reception of Polish music in Zagreb. Its aim is to analyse the programme of the most important concert institution in Zagreb at the time, the Croatian Music Institute, and to establish the repertoire of Polish music performed there (see Appendix). In addition to providing information about the Polish works heard at the Institute, I also mention prominent Polish musicians who appeared in concert in Zagreb between 1918 and 1939 and promoted Polish repertoire.

Admittedly, in terms of the wealth of its musical life, Zagreb, like Warsaw, was certainly no match for Vienna, Berlin or Paris, yet the two cities always played an important role, setting the standards for smaller centres within their respective countries. At the beginning of the period in question, institutions and facilities dating back to the nineteenth century continued to flourish in Zagreb. They included the National Theatre (Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Zagrebu), with its opera house, a music society called the Croatian Music Institute (Hrvatski glazbeni zavod), which organised regular concerts, and its music school, relatively recently transformed into an Academy of Music (Muzička akademija), giving the local youth an opportunity to receive a professional education. The symphony orchestra based at the National Theatre, active since 1871, which attracted the finest musicians, was renamed the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra (Zagrebačka filharmonija orkestar) in 1920, but it had to wait for a concert hall in the modern sense of the word until 1973. A string quartet (Zagrebački Kvartet) was founded as well at that time. To give a full picture of the city's potential for presenting music by domestic and foreign composers, I should also mention the instrumental ensembles of the Academy of Music and the Croatian Music Institute (since 1920), and the amateur orchestra 'Merkur'. In addition, there were concerts by choral societies, promenade concerts and café concerts in places

7 Josip Jagoda, *Związki chorwacko-polskie w latach 1918–1965* [Croatian–Polish relations 1918–65], Kraków 2021. It is also worth referring to a study dealing with an earlier period: Emilian Prałat, *Wielcy w niepozornym. August Šenoa, Josip Eugen Tomić i polsko-chorwacka korespondencja. Stosunki kulturalne między Wielkopolską a Chorwacją w XIX wieku / Velikani u neprimjetnome. August Šenoa, Josip Eugen Tomić i poljsko-hrvatsko dopisivanje. Kulturne veze između Velike Poljske i Hrvatske u 19. stoljeću* [The great in the inconspicuous. August Šenoa, Josip Eugen Tomić and Polish-Croatian correspondence: cultural relations between Greater Poland and Croatia in the nineteenth century], Poznań–Łódź 2014.

that were originally not designed to function as music venues. Both professional and amateur music making attained an unprecedented level and scale.⁸

Fundamental to Zagreb's musical life was, as already mentioned, the Croatian Music Institute (HGZ). The Institute, a society for music lovers, was founded in 1827, modelled on similar organisations in the Austrian Empire. Almost immediately, a music school was opened there (1829), later transformed first into a Conservatoire (1916) and then an Academy of Music (1920). In 1862 the Institute added publishing to its activities, and from the beginning its aim was to collect material for a library serving cultural, scholarly and educational purposes. One of the Institute's main tasks was and still is to organise concerts in its own concert hall, famous for its particularly good acoustics. The Institute's stage welcomed practically all Croatian musicians, as well as many famous foreign artists.⁹ We have some information about performances by Polish artists there,¹⁰ including eminent pianists like Józef Śliwiński, Raoul Koczalski (who was taught by Karol Mikuli, a pupil of Chopin), Artur Rubinstein and Jakub Gimpel.¹¹ The renowned violinist Bronisław Huberman, who performed there many times,¹² is regarded as one of the greatest stars to have appeared at the Croatian Music Institute.¹³ Known to opera goers, as well as fans of operettas and musicals, the tenor Jan Kiepura also gave a concert in Zagreb during his first concert tour of Vienna, Paris and Milan, which at that time were the most important opera centres in Europe.¹⁴

The choice of repertoire for the concerts taking place at the Institute depended to some extent on the tastes of the management at the time; nevertheless, efforts were made to invite the most outstanding artists and to perform the most valuable

- 8 Tamara Jurkić Sviben, 'Glazbenici židovskoga podrijetla u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj od 1815. do 1941. godine / Musicians of Jewish Origin in Northern Croatia 1815–1941', University of Zagreb 2016 (PhD dissertation). DOI:10.13140/RG.2.2.10873.88164; Stanislav Tuksar, 'In the Whirlpool of Idealism, Naivety, Escapism, Charity and Propaganda: Music, Mass Media and Public Sphere in Zagreb and Croatia during World War I', in: *Prvi svjetski rat (1914.–1918.) i glazba / The Great War (1914–1918) and Music*, eds. Stanislav Tuksar and Monika Jurić Janjik, Zagreb 2019, pp. 581–591; Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, Leiden 2013, pp. 339–340.
- 9 Nada Bezić, 'The Croatian Music Institute Concert Hall and its Significance for the Music Life of Zagreb', in: *Zagreb i Glazba 1094–1994 / Zagreb and Music 1094–1994*, ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb 1998, pp. 253–257; Celia Hawkesworth, *Zagreb: A Cultural and Literary History*, Oxford 2007, p. 177.
- 10 My compilation of the performers and their repertoire is based on hitherto unpublished documents held in the archives of the library of the Croatian Music Institute (HGZ), primarily *Zbirka koncertnih programa 1818–1940. Indeks* [Collection of concert programmes 1818–1940. Index], ed. Janka Šanjek, Zagreb 1975. I would like to thank Nada Bezić, director of the HGZ Library, for providing me with access to the archives and assistance during my research there.
- 11 Józef Śliwiński (1865–1930) performed there on 13 April 1927; Raoul Koczalski (1885–1948) on 24 March 1938 and 4 May 1939; Artur Rubinstein (1887–1982) on 30 January 1927, 6 February 1927, 1 October 1929 and 8 October 1929; Jakub Gimpel (1906–89) on 4 October 1932.
- 12 Bronisław Huberman (1882–1947), 28 March 1926, 30 March 1926, 8 November 1927, 10 November 1927, 12 December 1928, 29 November 1930, 21 November 1935, 27 January 1939 and 2 February 1939.
- 13 N. Bezić, 'The Croatian Music Institute', p. 257.
- 14 Jan Kiepura (1902–66) appeared there on 24 November 1926.

works, be it Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian or foreign. Documents preserved in the Institute's library include programme booklets and unpublished lists of concert repertoires, analysis of which reveals that more than one hundred Polish compositions were performed in more than seventy concerts during the inter-war period (see Appendix for all the legible names of Polish composers and a list of their works).¹⁵ In addition to providing information about the presence of Polish music in Zagreb during the period in question, this compilation may also be useful for monographers of Polish composers researching the reception of their works abroad.

Nada Bezić writes about the premises behind the repertoire of the regular concerts held during the inter-war period, noting that they focused on contemporary music:

[A] concert series named *Jutarnji koncerti* (Morning Concerts) and later *Intimne muzičke večeri* (Intimate Musical Evenings). It marked the musical life of Zagreb in the period between the two world wars, featuring an unsurpassed combination of quality performers and programs, contemporary musical trends, and carefully prepared program booklets. [...] The repertoire of this series was divided into standard, domestic, and contemporary. The standard concert repertoire, consisting of songs by Franz Schubert (1797–1828), piano miniatures by Robert Schumann (1810–56), or chamber music by Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904), made up the smallest part of the repertoire. One could even say that this music was probably included with the intention of offering the audience something familiar as a contrast to the concerts with contemporary music.¹⁶

As regards Polish music, the programmes featured important Romantic composers (Fryderyk Chopin, Stanisław Moniuszko, Henryk Wieniawski), as well as many later conservative and progressive composers, including the contemporary Karol Szymanowski. Chopin, who was part of the permanent canon at the Institute, undoubtedly dominated, with numerous performances of his piano works not even recorded in the surviving indexes. Other Polish composers were represented by works that were very popular in Poland (and sometimes also abroad). As far as piano music is concerned, often performed in Zagreb were works by Ignacy Jan Paderewski (for example the *Minuet*, Op. 14 No. 1, *Cracovienne fantastique*, Op. 14 No. 6 and *Légende*, Op. 16 No. 1), and of more recent music – Ludomir Różycki's *Tańce polskie* [Polish dances], Op. 37 and Karol Szymanowski's *Etude in B flat minor*, Op. 4 No. 3.

In terms of chamber music, most popular was the romantic oeuvre of Henryk Wieniawski, who matched Chopin for the number of performances of his works (for example, *Scherzo tarantelle*, Op. 16, *Polonaise*, Op. 21, *Fantaisie brillante* on themes

15 Cf. fn. 10.

16 Nada Bezić, 'The Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (Croatian Music Institute) in the 1920s: *Jutarnji koncerti* (Morning Concerts) and *Intimne muzičke večeri* (Intimate Musical Evenings)', *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies*, 3 April 2021, <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/104>, accessed 5 August 2021.

from Gounod's opera *Faust*, Op. 20, Violin Concerto in D minor, Op. 22), as well as contemporary music by Szymanowski ('The Fountain of Arethusa', from *Myths*, Op. 30 No. 1, *Three Pagani Caprices*, Op. 40).

Vocal music was dominated, unsurprisingly, by Moniuszko, whose songs and operatic arias (from *Halka*, *Straszny Dwór* [The haunted manor] and *Verbum nobile*) for voice with piano or choir featured in nearly twenty concerts. Vocal works by later composers who drew on the Moniuszko tradition were also presented: most frequently performed were songs by Stanisław Niewiadomski, Władysław Żeleński (arias from his operas *Janek* and *Stara baśń* [An ancient tale] were performed as well), Zygmunt Noskowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski. There were also songs by more progressive composers like Mieczysław Karłowicz, Ludomir Różycki and Karol Szymanowski.

Vocal ensembles performed works by renowned composers of choral music, including Kazimierz Garbusiński, Karol Hławiczka, Feliks Nowowiejski, Kazimierz Sikorski, Michał Świerzyński, Bolesław Wallek-Walewski, Stanisław Wiechowicz and Władysław Żeleński. Performances of works by earlier composers, Waclaw of Szamotuły and Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki, were rare.

Statistically speaking, Polish music was performed at the Croatian Music Institute once a quarter, on average, which might seem quite frequent, but the core of the repertoire was made up of nineteenth-century works or newer but rather conservative pieces. The oeuvre of Karol Szymanowski, Poland's most eminent representative of contemporary music, did appear throughout the whole inter-war period, but neither he nor the more demanding Croatian music lovers were satisfied with the promotion of his music in Zagreb.¹⁷ This is evidenced by a 1927 letter sent to Szymanowski by the opera director and conductor Friderik Rukavina,¹⁸ concerning plans to stage the composer's opera *King Roger*. I quote it in full, because it not only refers to this particular issue, but also accurately reflects Poland's cultural presence in Zagreb during the inter-war period:

Dear Sir,

In a conversation with the local Polish consul, Mr Grudziński, we decided to promote Polish Art and Music.

The focus of the conversation was primarily on your works, as they would be of great interest to us here, for we respect your talent greatly.

Yugoslavia [*recte* Zagreb] wishes to get to know your music as best and as much as possible, because it is little known in our country – not only at the Opera but even in symphonic concerts. I would very much like to stage your opera *King Roger* next season [1927/1928] here in Zagreb – my deputy Prof. S. Albini has already written to Vienna [to the publisher, Universal Edition]

17 Significantly, a recently published list of the most important contemporary composers presented at the Croatian Music Institute does not include Szymanowski (instead, we find there Ludomir Różycki), see N. Bezić, 'The Hrvatski glazbeni zavod', Appendix 2. Contemporary music repertoire – foreign composers.

18 Friderik Rukavina (1878–1940), a Croatian conductor, director of the Zagreb Opera from 1927 to 1929. He stayed in Poland between 1904 and 1909.

regarding the material for the opera.¹⁹

Regarding the performance of your music in Zagreb (a concert of your compositions), I spoke to Dr Artur Schneider,²⁰ who said that he was ready to organise it under the conditions that you were made aware of two years ago.

As director of the local opera house, and at the same time a conductor of opera and symphonic concerts, probably like you, I started my career on Polish stages, where I also matured as a conductor, which is why I am grateful to Poland. Hence it is my great desire, simply my duty, to promote Polish music – and to make our public familiar with Polish music as much as possible.

Respectfully yours,

FRukavina²¹

As we know, *King Roger* was not performed in Zagreb during Szymanowski's lifetime, but the composer visited the city on 20 November 1933, during a concert tour promoting his Symphony No. 4 ('Concertante'), Op. 60, with which he appeared in over thirty countries in 1932–1935. The Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra was conducted by Grzegorz Fitelberg, and the concert greatly impressed the critics:

The biggest interest was aroused by the third concert [of the Zagreb Philharmonic], on 20 November, under the baton of the outstanding Polish conductor Grzegorz Fitelberg, featuring the pianist Karol Szymanowski, one of the most famous contemporary composers. [...] He interpreted only contemporary works, including Prokofiev's most witty *Classical Symphony*, in which the composer revives the Classical style in a completely original way. The most interesting item on the programme was the imaginative and ambitious Symphony No. 4 for piano and orchestra, Op. 60, with the famous composer himself on the piano.²²

The performance was noted by several periodicals and was undoubtedly the most important event for the promotion of Polish music in Zagreb during the inter-war period. As a digression, I would like to add that while I was searching for information about Polish music in Croatian press sources, I came across not only references to performances by Polish artists, but also interesting articles about the music of Polish composers by authors from both countries: Adolf Chybiński, Karol Stromenger

19 Srećko Albini (1869–1933), a Croatian composer and conductor, director of the Zagreb Opera from 1909 to 1919.

20 Artur Schneider (1879–1946), a Croatian art historian, long-serving secretary of the Croatian Music Institute (HGZ), organiser of Zagreb's concert life.

21 Friderik Rukavina's letter to Karol Szymanowski in Warsaw, Zagreb, 1 March 1927, in: *Karol Szymanowski. Korespondencja 1927–1931* [Karol Szymanowski. Correspondence 1927–31], ed. Teresa Chylińska, vol. 3, Kraków 1997, pp. 74–75.

22 'Najveći interes pobudio je treći koncert 20. XI kojom je ravnaopslavljeni poljski dirigent Grzegorz Fitelberg a sudjelovao je pianista Karol Szymanowski, jedan od najpoznatijih savremenih kompozitora. [...] Interpretirao je samo moderne autore, od S. Prokofjeva nadasve duhovitu *Klasičnu simfoniju*, u kojoj autor na posve originalan način oživljuje klasični stil. Najinteresantnija točka programa bila je invencijozna i pretencijozna *IV. Simfonija* za klavir i orkestar op. 60, kod koje je sam slavni autor svirao koordiniranu pianističku dionicu'. Lujo Šafranek-Kavić, 'Operna i koncertna sezona u Zagrebu' [The opera and concert season in Zagreb], *Sv. Cecilija* 27 (1933) no. 6, p. 186.

and Božidar Širola (with Mateusz Gliński),²³ providing readers with insights into the most important figures and tendencies in Polish music. Such valuable professional contributions also include discussions of Polish books devoted to musical historiography (Zdzisław Jachimecki's *Historia muzyki polskiej* [History of Polish music] from 1920 and Henryk Opieński's *La musique polonaise* from 1918), as well as Jachimecki's monograph on Stanisław Moniuszko from 1921 – discussions which appeared in the journal *Sv. Cecilija*.²⁴ Concerning Ludomir Michał Rogowski, a Pole living in Yugoslavia, there is practically no information about his music; articles devoted to him appeared mainly in the local press in Dubrovnik (where he lived), and occasionally in magazines published in Belgrade, which may be linked to his personal connections with composers such as Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević and Stevan Hristić.²⁵

The research results presented here are the first step towards forming a picture of the Polish presence in Zagreb's musical culture, to which should be added an analysis of the repertoire of other important cultural institutions, including the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra and Croatian National Theatre, concerts at the Academy of Music (and possibly also the broadcasts of Radio Zagreb, launched in 1926, and recordings, which began to appear in Zagreb in the late nineteenth century²⁶), and the coverage of concert life in the daily and specialist press.²⁷ In addition to expanding and deepening this research, it is important to compare the forms of this presence in the cultures of other Slavic states emerging after the First World War, as well as in the more established musical life of Germany and France, for example, during the same period. Reflection on music should be accompanied by an exploration of the political and economic mechanisms influencing culture, especially in the 1930s.

Translated by Anna Kijak

- 23 Adolf Chybiński, 'O poljskoj glazbi' [On Polish music], *Kritika* 2 (1921) no. 6, pp. 201–207; Karol Stromenger, 'Poljska glazba' [Polish music], *Obzor* 67 (1926) no. 72, p. 7; Božidar Širola, 'Nekoliko rijeci o poljskoj muzici' [Some words on Polish music] [with Mateusz Gliński], *Hrvatska straža* 3 (1931) no. 139, p. 4.
- 24 Vinko Lovšin, 'Zdzisław Jachimecki: Historja muzyki polskiej' [Zdzisław Jachimecki: history of Polish music], *Sv. Cecilija* 16 (1922) no. 6, pp. 173–175; Vinko Lovšin, 'Zdzisław Jachimecki: Stanisław Moniuszko', *Sv. Cecilija* 16 (1922) no. 6, pp. 75–76; Stjepan Markulin, 'Henryk Opieński: La musique polonaise', *Sv. Cecilija* 14 (1920) no. 6, pp. 125–126.
- 25 See Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak, 'Estetyka i polityka. O pozamuzycznych inspiracjach twórczości Ludomira Michała Rogowskiego' [Aesthetics and politics. On extra-musical inspirations in the works of Ludomir Michał Rogowski], *Muzyka* 54 (2009) no. 3–4, p. 173.
- 26 S. Tuksar, 'In the Whirlpool of Idealism', pp. 582–583.
- 27 However, Sanja Majer-Bobetko points out that music magazines were being published quite irregularly during this period, and many of them did not survive – for financial reasons. Sanja Majer-Bobetko, 'Croatian Musical Journals between the Two World Wars and the Musical Criticism', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23 (1992) no. 2, p. 177.

APPENDIX

Repertoire of Polish music performed at the Croatian Music Institute (HGZ) between 1919 and 1939²⁸

| Composer | Title | Forces | Date |
|----------------------------|---|------------------|------------|
| Jerzy Fitelberg | Concerto for String Orchestra | String orchestra | 12.06.1931 |
| Kazimierz Garbusiński | 'Mazurka' | Mixed choir | 20.06.1931 |
| Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki | 'Benedictus' | Mixed choir | 7.04.1936 |
| Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki | 'Gaude mater Polonia' | Mixed choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki | <i>Missa paschalis</i> | Mixed choir | 15.12.1931 |
| Karol Hławiczka | [Silesian folk song] | Choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Łucjan Kamiński | [folk song] | Men's choir | 20.06.1931 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | <i>Epizod na maskaradzie</i> [Episode at a masquerade], Op. 14 | Orchestra | 12.06.1931 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | 'Na śniegu' [On the Snow], Op. 1 No. 3 | Voice and piano | 4.05.1930 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | 'Pamiętam ciche, jasne, złote dnię' [I remember quiet, clear, golden days], Op. 1 No. 5 | Voice and piano | 18.03.1928 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | 'Pod jaworem' [Under the sycamore] | Voice and piano | 7.05.1925 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | 'Skąd pierwsze gwiazdy' [Whence the first stars], Op. 1 No. 2 | Voice and piano | 2.05.1931 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | 'Smutna jest dusza moja' [My soul is sad], Op. 1 No. 6 | Voice and piano | 2.05.1921 |
| Mieczysław Karłowicz | 'Zasmuconej' [To a sorrowful girl], Op. 1 No. 1 | Voice and piano | 4.05.1930 |

28 Cf. fn. 10. Fryderyk Chopin's piano compositions are not separately listed, as they were part of the canon of works frequently performed at the Institute. Incidentally, the titles of works in the surviving programmes are usually given in rather general terms (for example, sonata, mazurka), without the opus number or information that they are part of a cycle. I have completed the data wherever possible.

| Composer | Title | Forces | Date |
|---------------------|---|---------------------|------------|
| Oskar Kolberg | [folk song] | Voice and piano | 7.06.1919 |
| Oskar Kolberg | [folk song] | Voice and piano | 7.06.1919 |
| Lucjan Marczewski | <i>Cortège</i> | Piano | 28.03.1925 |
| Lucjan Marczewski | 'Na ust koralu' ['On your lips of coral] | Voice and piano | 8.03.1918 |
| Lucjan Marczewski | <i>Noc Listopadowa</i> [November night] | Piano | 28.03.1925 |
| Lucjan Marczewski | <i>Dwie pieśni</i> [Two songs] | Voice and piano | 28.03.1925 |
| Piotr Maszyński | 'Pieśń majowa' [May song] | Voice and piano | 8.05.1927 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | [song] | Voice and piano | 17.03.1926 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | [romance] | Violin and piano | 25.01.1919 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | An aria from the opera <i>Halka</i> | Voice and piano | 2.05.1921 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 11.03.1926 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 4.05.1930 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 26.11.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 26.11.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | An aria from the opera <i>Straszny dwór</i> [The haunted manor] | Voice and piano | 19.02.1918 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 2.05.1921 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 2.05.1921 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 26.11.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | An aria from the opera <i>Verbum nobile</i> | Voice and piano | 26.11.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Cracovienne' | Voice and piano | 19.02.1918 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Dwie zorze' [Two auroras] | Voice and piano | 26.11.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Kozak' [Cossack] | Men's choir | 19.02.1918 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 22.09.1923 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 17.03.1926 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Pieśń wieczorna' [Evening song] | Choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Pieśń wojenna' [War song] | Voice and orchestra | 8.03.1918 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Piosnka żołnierza' [Soldier's song] | Voice and piano | 2.05.1921 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | " | " | 22.09.1923 |

| Composer | Title | Forces | Date |
|------------------------|--|----------------------|------------|
| Stanisław Moniuszko | Prologue from the opera <i>Straszny dwór</i> [The haunted manor] | Orchestra | 20.06.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Wędrowną ptaszyną' [Wandering bird] | Voice and piano | 26.II.1931 |
| Stanisław Moniuszko | 'Wiosna' [Spring] | Piano | 24.OI.1929 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | [Polish folk song] | Voice and piano | 16.O2.1920 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Dzwony' [Bells], Op. 20c | Voice and piano | 11.O3.1926 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | <i>Jaśkowa dola</i> [Johnny's earthly lot] – 9 songs | Voice and piano | 7.O5.1925 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Maciek' | Voice and piano | 3.O5.1919 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Na wojnie' [To be at war] | Voice and piano | 8.O5.1927 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Nie swatała mi cię swatka' [You weren't matched with me by a matchmaker], Op. 14b | Voice and piano | 2.O5.1921 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Otwórz, Janku' [Johnny, open the door] | Voice and piano | 7.O5.1925 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Porównaj Boże' [God, equate] | Voice and piano | 3.O5.1919 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Siałem proso' [I was sowing millet] | Voice and piano | 3.O5.1919 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | „ | „ | 2.IO.1935 |
| Stanisław Niewiadomski | 'Trzej Ptaszkowie' [Three Birds] | Voice and piano | 20.O3.1919 |
| Zygmunt Noskowski | 'Jasio' [Johnny] | Two voices and piano | 24.OI.1918 |
| Zygmunt Noskowski | 'Skowroneczek śpiewa' [A skylark is singing] | Voice and piano | 7.O5.1925 |
| Feliks Nowowiejski | 'Bitwa pod Raclawicami' [The Battle of Raclawice], Op. 29 No. 8 | Mixed choir | 20.O6.1931 |

| Composer | Title | Forces | Date |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|------------|
| Feliks Nowowiejski | 'Do Ojczyzny' [To the homeland] | Mixed choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Ignacy Jan Paderewski | <i>Cracovienne fantastique</i> , Op. 14 No. 6 | Piano | 24.01.1920 |
| Ignacy Jan Paderewski | <i>Légende</i> [Legend], Op. 16 No. 1 | Piano | 25.05.1917 |
| Ignacy Jan Paderewski | Minuet, Op. 14 No. 1 | Piano | 7.04.1935 |
| Ignacy Jan Paderewski | 'Piosnka dudarza' [The piper's song], Op. 18 No. 2 | Voice and piano | 8.03.1918 |
| Ignacy Jan Paderewski | <i>Thème varié</i> in A major, Op. 16 No. 3 | Piano | 27.04.1919 |
| Bartłomiej Pękiel | <i>Audite Mortales</i> | Choir and piano | 6.10.1936 |
| Ludomir Różycki | Caton's song from the opera <i>Casanova</i> | Voice and piano | 4.05.1930 |
| Ludomir Różycki | <i>Cztery Intermezza</i> [Four intermezzi], Op. 42 | Piano | 28.03.1925 |
| Ludomir Różycki | <i>Legenda</i> [Legend], Op. 26 | Piano | 28.03.1925 |
| Ludomir Różycki | Piano Quintet, Op. 35 | Piano quintet | 20.02.1925 |
| Ludomir Różycki | 'Pieśń dziewczęcia' [Girl's song] | Voice and piano | 18.03.1918 |
| Ludomir Różycki | <i>Tańce polskie</i> [Polish Dances], Op. 37 | Piano | 28.03.1925 |
| Ludomir Różycki | 'Twe usta' [Your lips] | Voice and piano | 11.03.1926 |
| Kazimierz Sikorski | 'Oj, lulajże, lulaj' [Oh, lullaby, lull] | Mixed choir | 18.02.1938 |
| Kazimierz Sikorski | 'Pognała dziewczyna wołki' [A girl drove the oxen] | Mixed choir | 18.02.1938 |
| Kazimierz Sikorski | 'Wierzba' [The willow] | Mixed choir | 18.02.1938 |
| Michał Świerzyński | 'Kołysanka' [Lullaby] | Men's choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Michał Świerzyński | 'W górach' [In the mountains] | Choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Karol Szymanowski | Excerpt from the ballet <i>Harnasie</i> | Orchestra | 12.06.1931 |
| Karol Szymanowski | Etude in B flat minor, Op. 4 No. 3 | Piano | 11.10.1919 |

| Composer | Title | Forces | Date |
|--------------------------|--|----------------------|------------|
| Karol Szymanowski | 'Łabędź' [The swan], Op. 7 | Voice and piano | 7.05.1925 |
| Karol Szymanowski | Nocturne, Op. 28 | Violin and piano | 27.01.1939 |
| Karol Szymanowski | 'Pieśń dziewczęcia u okna' [Song of a girl at the window], Op. 22 No. 2 | Voice and piano | 11.03.1926 |
| Karol Szymanowski | Prelude in C minor, Op. 1 No. 7 | Piano | 2.03.1935 |
| Karol Szymanowski | String Quartet in C major, Op. 37 | String quartet | 13.03.1926 |
| Karol Szymanowski | " | " | 1.02.1933 |
| Karol Szymanowski | <i>Three Paganini Caprices</i> , Op. 40 | Violin and piano | 12.04.1928 |
| Karol Szymanowski | " | " | 27.04.1935 |
| Karol Szymanowski | 'Tyś Nie Umarła' [You are not dead], Op. 2 No. 2 | Voice and piano | 23.04.1929 |
| Karol Szymanowski | 'Zulejka', Op. 13 No. 4 | Voice and piano | 11.03.1926 |
| Karol Szymanowski | <i>Źródło Aretuzy</i> [The fountain of Arethusa], Op. 30 No. 1 | Violin and piano | 28.03.1926 |
| Karol Szymanowski | " | " | 12.12.1928 |
| Karol Szymanowski | " | " | 12.03.1935 |
| Aleksander Tansman | Sonatina | Violin and piano | 9.03.1933 |
| Wacław of Szamotuły | 'In te Domine speravi' | Choir | 15.12.1931 |
| Bolesław Wallek-Walewski | 'Serenade' | Men's choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Stanisław Wiechowicz | 'Chmiel' [Hops] | Orchestra | 12.06.1931 |
| Stanisław Wiechowicz | [Silesian folk song] | Men's choir | 20.06.1931 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | <i>Caprice-valse</i> in E major, Op. 7 | Violin and piano | 21.01.1925 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | <i>Cracovienne</i> | Violin and piano | 16.03.1918 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | <i>Fantaisie brillante</i> on themes from Gounod's opera <i>Faust</i> , Op. 20 | Violin and orchestra | 15.03.1918 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 30.04.1922 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | <i>Le carnaval Russe</i> , Op. 11 | Violin and piano | 1.10.1921 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | Mazurka | Violin and piano | 16.03.1918 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 20.03.1918 |

| Composer | Title | Forces | Date |
|--------------------|--|----------------------|------------|
| Henryk Wieniawski | Polonaise, Op. 21 | Violin and piano | 4.10.1932 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 9.1935 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | <i>Scherzo tarantelle</i> , Op. 16 | Violin and piano | 5.06.1937 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 3.06.1938 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 14.04.1939 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | <i>Souvenir de Moscou</i> , Op. 6 | Violin and piano | 18.II.1919 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | Violin Concerto in D minor, Op. 22 | Violin and orchestra | 12.01.1918 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 22.01.1918 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 5.01.1919 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 31.05.1919 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 1.12.1920 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 16.03.1921 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 29.09.1926 |
| Henryk Wieniawski | " | " | 3.06.1938 |
| Władysław Żeleński | An aria from the opera <i>Janek</i> | Voice and piano | 26.II.1931 |
| Władysław Żeleński | An aria from the opera <i>Stara baśń</i> [An ancient tale] | Voice and piano | 2.05.1921 |
| Władysław Żeleński | 'Pieśń żeglarzy' [Sailors' song], Op. 34 No. 1 | Mixed choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Władysław Żeleński | 'Nasza Hanka' [Our Hanka] | Mixed choir | 22.09.1923 |
| Władysław Żeleński | 'O Jaśku spod Sącza' [About Johnny from Sącz] | Voice and piano | 7.05.1925 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bezić, Nada. 'The Croatian Music Institute Concert Hall and its Significance for the Music Life of Zagreb'. In: *Zagreb i Glazba 1094–1994 / Zagreb and Music 1094–1994*, ed. Stanislav Tuksar, 253–261. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1998.
- Bezić, Nada. 'The Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (Croatian Music Institute) in the 1920s: Jutarnji koncerti (Morning Concerts) and Intimne muzičke večeri (Intimate Musical Evenings)'. *Musnologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies*, 3 April 2021, <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/104>.
- Brzeziński, Andrzej M. 'Polska w systemie międzynarodowej współpracy intelektualnej Ligi Narodów (1922–1939)'. *Dzieje najnowsze* 34, no. 2 (2002): 3–22.

- Chybiński, Adolf. 'O poljskoj glazbi'. *Kritika* 2, no. 6 (1921): 201–207.
- Chylińska, Teresa, ed. *Karol Szymanowski. Korespondencja 1927–1931*. Vol. 3. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997.
- Garlicka, Anna. 'Polska–Jugosławia 1918–1939'. *Studia z Dziejów ZSRR i Europy Środkowej*, 12 (1976): 93–125.
- Garlicka, Anna. *Polska–Jugosławia 1934–1939. Z dziejów stosunków politycznych*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977.
- Grudzień, Sebastian. 'Koncepcje współpracy słowiańskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej: piśmiennictwo za lata 1945–2011'. In: *Panslawizm: wczoraj, dziś, jutro*, eds. Zofia Chyra-Rolicz and Tomasz Rokosz, 213–229. Siedlce: Uniwersytet Przyrodniczo-Humanistyczny, 2016.
- Guzy-Pasiak, Jolanta. 'Estetyka i polityka. O pozamuzycznych inspiracjach twórczości Ludomira Michała Rogowskiego'. *Muzyka* 54, no. 3–4 (2009): 147–161.
- Hawkesworth, Celia. *Zagreb: A Cultural and Literary History*. Oxford: Signal Books, 2007.
- Jagoda, Josip. *Związki chorwacko-polskie w latach 1918–1965*. Kraków: Universitas, 2021.
- Jugosławia-Polska. Porozumienie dotyczące stosunków naukowych, szkolnych i artystycznych. Warszawa. 1931.12.02. Prawo.pl, <https://www.prawo.pl/akty/dz-u-1933-45-347,16837764.html>.
- Jurkić Sviben, Tamara. 'Glazbenici židovskoga podrijetla u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj od 1815. do 1941. godine / Musicians of Jewish Origin in Northern Croatia 1815–1941'. PhD thesis, University of Zagreb, 2016.
- Lovšin, Vinko. 'Zdzisław Jachimecki: Historia muzyki polskiej'. *Sv. Cecilija* 16, no. 6 (1922): 173–175.
- Lovšin, Vinko. 'Zdzisław Jachimecki: Stanisław Moniuszko'. *Sv. Cecilija* 16, no. 6 (1922): 75–76.
- Majer-Bobetko, Sanja. 'Croatian Musical Journals between the Two World Wars and the Musical Criticism'. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23, no. 2 (1992): 177–188.
- Małczak, Leszek. '(Nie)obecność literatury chorwackiej w Polsce: okres międzywojenny'. In: *Słowiańska Wieża Babel*, eds. Justyna Czaja, Irina Jermaszowa, Monika Wójciak and Bogusław Zieliński. T. 1, *Kultura i dialog*, 17–35. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2018.
- Markulin, Stjepan. 'Henryk Opieński: La musique polonaise'. *Sv. Cecilija* 14, no. 6 (1920): 125–126.
- Morawski, Konrad Sebastian. 'Umowy polsko-jugosłowiańskie (1919–1934): partnerstwo słowiańskie a nieuregulowane kwestie międzynarodowe'. *Prace Komisji Środkowo-europejskiej* 22 (2014): 73–89.
- Prałat, Emilian. *Wielcy w niepozornym. August Šenoa, Josip Eugen Tomić i polsko-chorwacka korespondencja. Stosunki kulturalne między Wielkopolską a Chorwacją w XIX wieku / Velikani u neprimjetnome. August Šenoa, Josip Eugen Tomić i poljsko-hrvatsko dopisivanje. Kulturne veze između Velike Poljske i Hrvatske u 19. stoljeću*. Poznań–Łódź: Księży Młyn, 2014.
- Samson, Jim. *Music in the Balkans*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Stromenger, Karol. 'Poljska glazba'. *Obzor* 67, no. 72 (1926): 7.
- Šafranek-Kavić, Lujo. 'Operna i koncertna sezona u Zagrebu'. *Sv. Cecilija* 27, no. 6 (1933): 186.
- Šanjek, Janka, ed. *Zbirka koncertnih programa 1818–1940. Indeks*. Zagreb 1975 [unpublished].
- Širola, Božidar. 'Nekoliko rijeci o poljskoj muzici'. *Hrvatska straža* 3, no. 139 (1931): 4.
- Tuksar, Stanislav. 'In the Whirlpool of Idealism, Naivety, Escapism, Charity and Propaganda: Music, Mass Media and Public Sphere in Zagreb and Croatia during World War I'. In: *Prvi svjetski rat (1914.–1918.) i glazba / The Great War (1914–1918) and Music*, eds. Stanislav Tuksar and Monika Jurić Janjik, 581–591. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2019.

MUZYKA POLSKA W ZAGRZEBIU W DWUDZIESTOLECIU MIĘDZYWOJENNYM

Zagadnienia bilateralnych stosunków dyplomatycznych i gospodarczych w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym między Polską a Królestwem Serbów, Chorwatów i Słoweńców (od 1929 r. Królestwem Jugosławii) zostały dość dobrze przedstawione w wielu opracowaniach, czego nie można powiedzieć o stanie badań nad relacjami kulturalnymi tych dwóch państw. Jedną z przyczyn może być fakt, że współdziałanie na polu kultury było mniej uchwytne, ponieważ w badanym okresie na ogół podejmowano inicjatywy „oddolnie”, z potrzeby i na odpowiedzialność konkretnych, wybitnych jednostek ze świata artystycznego lub akademickiego, i dopiero stopniowo wdrażano zinstytucjonalizowane formy i mechanizmy współpracy znane z późniejszych dekad. Nie istnieją ani syntetyczne, ani przyczynkowe opracowania współpracy w zakresie życia muzycznego.

Niniejszy komunikat, oparty na przeprowadzonych dotychczas przeze mnie badaniach archiwalnych ma na celu przyczynienie się do stopniowego wypełnienia luki w naszej wiedzy dotyczącej recepcji polskiej twórczości, na początek w najważniejszym mieście chorwackim, w Zagrzebiu. Jego założeniem była analiza repertuaru głównej ówczesnej instytucji koncertowej w Zagrzebiu, Chorwackiego Instytutu Muzycznego pod kątem obecności w nim muzyki polskiej. Aneks na końcu tekstu zawiera wszystkie możliwe do odczytania nazwiska naszych kompozytorów wraz z wykazem utworów. Trzon repertuaru stanowiły dzieła dziewiętnastowieczne lub nowsze, ale te zaliczane do raczej konserwatywnych nurtów, a twórczość Karola Szymanowskiego, naszego najwybitniejszego przedstawiciela muzyki współczesnej, pojawiała się co prawda na przestrzeni całego dwudziestolecia, ale ani on sam, ani wymagająca część publiczności chorwackiej, nie była usatysfakcjonowana z obecności jego muzyki w Zagrzebiu. Poza informacją o utworach polskich, jakie rozbrzmiewały w Instytucie wspominam także o wybitnych polskich muzykach koncertujących w największym mieście chorwackim w okresie 1918–39 i promujących rodzimy repertuar.

Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak

Keywords / słowa kluczowe: Zagreb/Zagrzeb, Polish musical life / polskie życie muzyczne, interwar period / dwudziestolecie międzywojenne, Croatian Music Institute / Chorwacki Instytut Muzyczny, Karol Szymanowski

Dr hab. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak, musicologist, the University of Warsaw graduate. Employee of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Head of the ‘Polish Music Abroad’ section at the Department of Musicology of the Institute. Co-editor of the *Muzyka* journal and member of Editorial Boards of journals: *Arti musices* (Zagreb) and *Lithuanian Musicology* (Vilnius). Editor-in-Chief (with Beata Bolesławska-Lewandowska) of a book series ‘Muzyka polska za granicą’ [Polish music abroad]. Programme director of postgraduate studies at IS PAN (‘History of music with elements of contemporary music culture’). Her research interests includes Polish emigrée composers and Pan-Slavism in music.
jolanta.guzy-pasiak@ispan.pl