

Music in
Nazi-Occupied
Poland between
1939 and 1945

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ABSTRACT

The paper is a survey of research on music in territories of occupied Poland conducted by the author in recent years, as well as a review of selected existing literature on this topic. A case study illustrates a principal thesis of this essay according to which music was used by the German Nazis in the General Government as a key element of propaganda and in appropriation of conquered territories as both physical and symbolic spaces.

Key words: Propaganda, General Government, genocide, Cracow, Warsaw, music, 1939–1945, Holocaust

INTRODUCTION

The utter disruption of musical life in Poland during the Third Reich's occupation is analogous to mechanisms that ravaged all other spheres of life and culture. While quite an extensive literature on the subject of music in the Third Reich and in other occupied countries such as France continues to expand, the issue of musical life in occupied Polish territories has not yet been more broadly researched. Due to political control and censorship in post-war years, in-depth research on this topic was impossible, as also was discussion of the combined Nazi and Soviet occupations of Poland. For these same reasons, the majority of testimonies were neither gathered nor written; involvement in underground activities endangered both musicians and witnesses of musical life, who were under intense surveillance by the Secret Police (SB).¹ Other causes of silence were socio-psychological: survivors, both Polish and Polish-Jewish, were in many cases unable to speak about that extremely traumatic

time. It sometimes took them thirty years or more, if they lived that long, to cope with the trauma enough to verbalize those experiences.²

In the first transition years after the war, short descriptions of concert activity and of music composed during that time were published, with lists of losses and commemorations of musicians who perished.³ First publications of wider scope appeared only at the beginning of the 1970s: the most comprehensive essay, by Elżbieta Dziębowska, who aimed at presenting different aspects of musical life in occupied Warsaw,⁴ had been preceded by

2 This was clearly expressed by Miriam Akavia, who wrote: "I had the feeling that silence was killing me over again. I was afflicted. I suffered from constant headaches and a great tension inside me." After thirty years of silence, she published her first text in 1975. Quoted after: A. Czocher, D. Kałwa, B. Klich-Kluczeńska, B. Łabno (Eds.), (2011). *Is War Men's Business? Fates of Women in Occupied Kraków in Twelve Scenes*. Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, p. 42. Witnesses including Szymon Laks published memoirs just after the war; for many years, however, interest in them was very limited. See: S. Laks, R. Coudy, (1946). *Musiques d'un autre monde*. Paris: Mercure de France; S. Laks, (1979). *Gry oświęcimskie [Oświęcim Games]*. London: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy; S. Laks, (1998). *Gry oświęcimskie [Oświęcim Games]*, Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Oświęcim-Brzezinka. This was also the case with the first edition of Władysław Szpilman's memoirs, (1946). *Śmierć miasta; pamiętniki Władysława Szpilmana, 1939–1945*, Jerzy Waldorff (Ed.), Warsaw: Wiedza.

3 Among other articles: S.K., (1945). *Życie muzyczne pod okupacją [Music Life under the Occupation]*, RM. No. 1, pp. 12–13; *Polska twórczość muzyczna pod okupacją [Polish Music Written under the Occupation]* (1945), RM. No. 1, pp. 14–16; *Śmierć Romana Padlewskiego [Roman Padlewski Is Dead]* (1945), RM. No. 4, pp. 14, 15; M. Kwiek, (1946). *Wojenne dzieje zbiorów Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Muzycznego [Wartime History of the Collection of the Warsaw Music Society]*, RM. No. 17–18, pp. 24–26; B. Rutkowski, (1946). *Konserwatorium Muzyczne w Warszawie w latach okupacji [Warsaw Music Conservatory in the Years of the German Occupation]*, RM. No. 24, pp. 3, 4; *Egzekucje w Operze [Executions in the Opera]*, Protokół nr 19/II (1946). In: *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce (I) [Bulletin of the Main Committee for the Study of German Crimes in Poland (I)]*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo GKBZNP.

4 E. Dziębowska, (1972). *Muzyka w Warszawie podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej [Music in Warsaw under the Nazi Occupation]*. In: K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, J. Kaźmierska, H. Winnicka (Eds.), *Warszawa lat wojny i okupacji 1939–1945 [Warsaw during the War and Occupation, 1939–1945]*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (PWN), 1972, Vol. 2, pp. 31–71. Elżbieta Dziębowska (1929–2016), who became a musicologist after the war, also witnessed the situation in occupied Warsaw: she took part in

1 Cf. D. Gwizdalanka, (2012). *Element podejrzany nr 1 [Suspect Element No. 1]*, *Ruch Muzyczny [henceforth RM]* No. 10, pp. 9–11; eadem, (2012). *Element podejrzany nr 1. Repriza [Suspect Element No. 1. Reprise]*, RM. No. 11, pp. 12–14 and other publications by this author; K. Naliwajek-Mazurek (2015), *Muzyka jako metoda przetrwania i oporu w mieście dwóch powstań i Zagłady [Music as a Method of Survival and Resistance in the City of Two Uprisings and the Holocaust]*. In: K. Naliwajek, A. Spóz, *Warszawa 1939–1945. Okupacyjne losy muzyków [Warsaw 1939–1945. Musicians' Fates under the German Occupation]*. Vol. 2, Warsaw: Towarzystwo im. W. Lutosławskiego, pp. 8–23. For a discussion of the character of memoirs written in post-war years, especially the problem of self-censorship, see A. Czocher, (2005). *Jawne polskie życie kulturalne w okupowanym Krakowie 1939–1945 w świetle wspomnień [Open Cultural Life of Poles in Occupied Cracow, in the Light of Memories]*, *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 4/1 (7), pp. 227–252.

an article by Ewa Kopeczek-Michalska, with testimonies concerning concert life in Warsaw.⁵ Attempts by Polish musicologists to realize an extensive study of the topic around the year 1980, the time of the Solidarity movement with accompanying liberalization and expansion of civic freedoms, were thwarted by the imposition of martial law in December 1981 in Poland and resulting tight control of publications. Nevertheless, the Warsaw Music Society along with the Institute of Musicology at the University of Warsaw managed in the meantime to gather precious testimonies of witnesses and to organize a conference with publication of selected material from the papers then presented.⁶ In the late 1980s, new efforts by Polish musicologists to revive music cast away and forgotten due to political reasons resulted in another conference and a publication,⁷ while more complete lists of artists and musicians who were victims of the Nazi occupation of Poland were published.⁸ An important monograph on music in occupied Kraków, documenting the musical activities of Jewish musicians confined in the ghetto as

well, was published in 1988.⁹ Around 2000, new studies on the topic of music and politics appeared.¹⁰ Some aspects of musical life and the destruction of musical institutions in occupied Warsaw were explored further.¹¹ Mentions of musical activity were included in general publications on cultural life,¹² on theatre and literature in Warsaw during that epoch, and the role of the radio during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944,¹³ as well as specific topics

the famous successful attack by the Polish underground (*Armia Krajowa*, Home Army) on Franz Kutschera, Austrian, SS Police Chief in the Warsaw District (*SS-Brigadeführer und Generalmajor der Polizei*), on 1st February 1944.

5 K. Kopeczek-Michalska, (1970). *Życie koncertowe w Warszawie w latach okupacji* [Concert Life in Warsaw under the Occupation], *Muzyka*. No. 3, pp. 47–64.

6 The conference “Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej” [Music Culture in Warsaw under the Nazi Occupation] was held from 2nd to 3rd April 1981. Among articles published in *Ruch Muzyczny* are: M. Stanilewicz, (1981). *Muzyka w okupowanej Warszawie* [Music in Occupied Warsaw], *RM*. No. 10, p. 5; eadem, *Muzyczny ruch wydawniczy* [Musical Publishing Movement], *RM*. No. 19, pp. 14–15; M. Fuks, (1981). *W dzielnicy zamkniętej* [In the Closed District], *RM*. No. 16, p. 16; A. Żółowska-Witkowska, (1981). *Straty wojenne* [War Losses], *RM*. No. 14, pp. 4–7. The testimonies then gathered by M. Stanilewicz were published only recently, in K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, A. Spóz, (2015), op. cit.

7 K. Tarnawska-Kaczorowska (Ed.), (1989). *Muzyka źle obecna* [Music Out of Step]. Warsaw: Sekcja Muzykologów Związku Kompozytorów Polskich.

8 M. Rutowska, E. Serwański, (1977). *Straty osobowe polskiego środowiska muzycznego w latach 1939–1945* [War Casualties in the Polish Music Environment, 1939–1945]. Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich [Main Committee for the Study of Nazi Crimes]; M. Rutowska, E. Serwański, (1987). *Losy polskich środowisk artystycznych w latach 1939–1945: architektura, sztuki plastyczne, muzyka i teatr: problemy metodologiczne strat osobowych* [Polish Artistic Society in 1939–1945: Architecture, Plastic Arts, Music and Theatre. Methodology of Assessing the Casualties]. Poznań: IZ.

9 S. Lachowicz, who at the 1981 conference (footnote 5) gave a paper on musical life in Kraków, the capital of the GG, published *Muzyka w okupowanym Krakowie 1939–1945* [Music in Occupied Cracow, 1939–1945] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1988).

10 D. Gwizdalanka, (1999). *Muzyka i polityka* [Music and Politics]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne.

11 M. Fuks, (2001). *Filharmonia Warszawska w latach okupacji niemieckiej (1939–1945)* [Warsaw Philharmonic under the German Occupation, 1939–1945]. In: M. Bychawska, H. Schiller (Eds.), *100 lat Filharmonii w Warszawie. 1901–2001* [100 Years of Warsaw Philharmonic, 1901–2001]. Warsaw: Fundacja Bankowa im. Leopolda Kronenberga. A. Frolów, (2004), *Życie muzyczne w okupowanej Warszawie w latach 1939–1945* [Music Life in Occupied Warsaw, 1939–1945]. Warsaw: F. Chopin Academy of Music.

12 C. Madajczyk (Ed.), (1982). *Inter arma non silent Musae. Wojna i kultura 1939–1945* [Inter arma non silent Musae. War and Culture 1939–1945]. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. In this volume it is worth noting a short text by Aleksander Gieysztor who gave research proposals regarding war and culture, for better understanding of the occupation period. These proposals include widening the scope of investigation with respect to daily-life culture and the ideological actions under the German occupation, which has been realized in recent research. See A. Gieysztor, (1982). *Wojna a kultura: propozycje badawcze* [War and Culture: Research Proposals], *ibid.*, pp. 208–209.

13 The first of such studies focused on culture as a means to fight the occupants: W. Głębocki, K. Móraski, (1979). *Kultura walcząca 1939–1945. Z dziejów kultury polskiej w okresie wojny i okupacji* [Culture in Combat 1939–45. Toward a History of Polish Culture during the War and German Occupation]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne; second corrected edition published in 1985 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Interpress). Subsequent important studies on the topic of war and culture: P. Matusak, (1997). *Edukacja i kultura Polski Podziemnej 1939–1945* [Underground Poland's Education and Culture 1939–1945]. Siedlce: Siedleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe [Siedlce Scientific Society]; P. Majewski, (2005). *Wojna i kultura. Instytucje kultury polskiej w okupacyjnych realiach Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* [War and Culture. Institutions of Polish Culture in the Reality of the General Government under German Occupation]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Trio. An earlier book by B. Drewniak, (1969). *Kultura w cieniu swastyki* [Culture under the Shadow of the Swastika] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie) is one of the first books in Poland that addresses culture under the totalitarian Nazi regime. S. Marczak-Oborski, (1963). *Polskie życie*

such as history of the ghetto in Warsaw.¹⁴ Publications in dictionary or encyclopaedic form provided extensive information on individual musicians,¹⁵ while published memoirs presented personal perspectives.¹⁶ Publications on archives and libraries further documented the severe losses and those precious materials that had been preserved.¹⁷ The repertoire of underground songs was

published,¹⁸ with historical description regarding the circumstances of their creation and usage.¹⁹ Some of the musical compositions that had been preserved through the war were published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (now PWM Edition).²⁰

Musical life in Warsaw is better known and researched in comparison to other occupied cities such as Kraków, Poznań and Łódź, although some partial information is encountered in more general historical studies or in detailed texts on the history and culture of that period. The number of publications on selected themes related to music in camps on the territory of occupied Poland (mainly Auschwitz-Birkenau) has grown recently.²¹

teatralne podczas II wojny światowej. Kronika [Polish Theatre Life during World War II – A Chronicle], *Pamiętnik teatralny*; idem, (1967). *Teatr czasu wojny: polskie życie teatralne w latach II wojny światowej (1939–1945)* [Theatre during the War: Polish Theatre Life during World War II]. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. T. Mościcki, (2012). *Teatry Warszawy 1944–1945. Kronika* [Warsaw's Theatres 1944–1945. A Chronicle]. Warsaw: Fundacja Historia i Kultura [Foundation History and Culture]; M.J. Kwiatkowski, (1981). *Muzyka w Polskim Radiu w czasie II wojny światowej* [Music on Polish Radio during WW II], RM. No. 12, pp. 3–4; M.J. Kwiatkowski, (1994). „*Tu mówi powstańcza Warszawa*”... *Dni Powstania w audycjach Polskiego Radia i dokumentach niemieckich* [“This Is the Voice of Insurgent Warsaw”... *The Warsaw Uprising in Polish Radio Broadcasts and Documents*]. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy; Szarota, T. (2010). *Okupowanej Warszawy dzień powszedni* [Everyday Life in the German-Occupied Warsaw]. Warszawa: Czytelnik.

14 B. Engelking, J. Leociak, (2001). *Getto warszawskie. Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście* [The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to a No Longer Existing City]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.

15 S. Dybowski, (2003). *Słownik pianistów polskich* [Dictionary of Polish Pianists]. Warsaw: Selene; T. Lerski, *Syrena Record. Pierwsza polska wytwórnia fonograficzna 1904–1939* [Syrena Record: Poland's First Record Company, 1904–1939], (2004). New York-Warsaw: Editions “Karin”; L.T. Błaszczyk, (2014). *Żydzi w kulturze muzycznej ziem polskich w XIX i XX wieku* [Jews in the Music Culture of Polish territories in the 19th–20th Centuries]. Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Polsce.

16 For example the diary by Mary Berg, which was published already in 1945 in New York. M. Berg, (1945). *Warsaw Ghetto. A Diary*. New York: L.B. Fischer. Hebrew translation was published immediately, in 1945 (*Geṭto Yaṛshah: yomanah shel Meri Berg*. Tel Aviv: Tverski), while the Polish translation only in 1983. M. Berg, (1983). *Dziennik z getta warszawskiego*, M. Salapska (Transl.). Warsaw: Czytelnik.

17 M. Nałęcz, (2014). Chopiniana z dawnej kolekcji Breitkopfa i Härtla w zbiorze Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie; Fragmenty korespondencji Fryderyka Chopina [Chopin Materials from the Old Collection of Breitkopf and Härtel at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw. Fragments of Chopin's Correspondence]. In: M. Kozłowska (Ed.), *Ocalone przez BGK* [Saved by BGK]. Warsaw: Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego, pp. 22–29. J. Pasztaleniec-Jarzyńska, H. Tchorzewska-Kabata, (2000). *The National Library in Warsaw. Tradition and the Present Day*. Warsaw: National Library.

18 See editions of underground songs by Witold Lutosławski, Jan Ekier and Andrzej Panufnik published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1948.

19 T. Szewera, O. Straszynski (musical arrangement), (1970). *Niech wiatr ją poniesie* [Let the Wind Carry It Away]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie (2nd edition, 1975); T. Szewera, (1999). *Za każdy kamień Twój Stolicę* [For Each Brick of the Capital]. Łódź-Tarnobrzeg: Biblioteka Tarnobrzeskich Zeszytów Historycznych [Tarnobrzeg Historical Publishings]. Yiddish songs of the underground and other types of songs were published first of all in song collections by survivors such as Shmerke Kaczerginski from Vilnius, who also fought as a partisan: S. Kaczerginski, (1948). *Lider fun do getos un lagern*. New York: Tsiko Bicher Farlag; they appeared in several other song collections, cf. R. Rubin, (1963; 1973). *Voices of a People. The Story of Yiddish Folksongs*. New York: McGill, pp. 423–461. For the scholarly study of this repertoire see: B.C. Werb, (2014). *Yiddish Songs of the Shoah. A Source Study Based on the Collections of Shmerke Kaczerginski*, PhD dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California.

20 For example, a composition written during the war by Constantin Regamey, *Quintet* for clarinet, bassoon, violin, cello and piano (1940–1944), published in 1946 by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne.

21 The crucial study concerning musical ensembles in Auschwitz-Birkenau is by J. Lachendro, (2012). *Orkiestry w KL Auschwitz* [KL Auschwitz Orchestras], *Zeszyty Oświęcimskie* 27, Wydawnictwo Państwowego Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, available also in English. Recent memoirs by Helena Dunicz-Niwińska, (2013), *Drogi mojego życia. Wspomnienia skrzypaczki z Birkenau* [Paths of My Life. Memoirs of an Auschwitz Violinist] (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau) provide important new evidence. A new book by S. Eischeid, (2016), *The Truth about Fania Fénelon and the Women's Orchestra of Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Department of Music, Valdosta State University, Georgia: Palgrave Macmillan) provides a critical evaluation of earlier publications, arguing that Fénelon's book should not be treated as actual source material. K. Bilica, (1989). *Muzyka w obozie — według Szymona Laksa i innych* [Music in the Camp: The Testimony of Szymon Laks and Others]. In: K. Tarnawska-Kaczorowska (Ed.), *Muzyka zle obecna*.

This is also the case regarding the presence of music in the ghettos.²² However, an extensive study encompassing various spheres of life in such extremely different conditions as urban centres and camps has not been realized yet.

SCOPE AND METHODS

The complexity of the socio-political reality of that time made such research very challenging. The preliminary investigation of the topic, undertaken by the author of this article, led to the assumption that music was subjected to similar racial segregation and ghettoization as the population itself.²³ This constituted a starting point for further research, which has recently been conducted under the auspices of a project grant financed by the Polish National Science Centre (2014–2016).²⁴ That study was mainly designed as historically oriented, with a methodology combining the examination of archival

sources of all possible types (photographs, concert programmes and posters, film, recordings, written sources such as official and clandestine press of the period, and published and unpublished memoirs) with oral history. Five main territorially defined topics were chosen as allowing a comparative analysis of research results concerning the situation of music in the General Government and in territories annexed into the Third Reich. Warsaw and Kraków, as the main urban centres of the General Government with their completely different character of musical life, were to be juxtaposed with the main cities of the so-called Warthegau province, Poznań and Łódź. Considering the fact that many musicians from these cities became prisoners and victims of different types of camps (concentration and extermination camps, mainly Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, Stutthof and POW camps), the research had to be extended so as to include analyses of the role of music in these places of detention and death. Some biographies of Polish-Jewish musicians who perished in the Holocaust were reconstructed during earlier studies,²⁵ but the immeasurable losses to Polish music due to the Shoah have not yet been described and it will be never possible to evaluate them in their entirety.

This earlier research, however, which drew some of its methods especially from the field of social psychology,²⁶ made it evident that it is impossible to analyse such complex and challenging focal points of the full study as the presence of music in death camps without investigating the more or less hidden socio-psychological motivations of humans involved in genocide. The examination of the critical question of why the perpetrators needed music at sites of mass killing demonstrated the necessity of reconstructing the path of associations linked with music in the worldview of the perpetrators. The process of uncovering specific Nazi ‘values’ and ‘ideals’ in this context, focusing on the last SS commandant of the Treblinka extermination camp, Kurt Hubert Franz (1914 Düsseldorf – 1998 Wuppertal), led to inquiries

Warsaw: Sekcja Muzykologów Związku Kompozytorów Polskich, pp. 56–93. Articles in a review founded by Michał Bristiger in Warsaw, *Muzykalia. Judaica*, provide new interpretations. See e.g.: A. Buchner, (2011). *Oder zwei Siege*, *Muzykalia* XI – *Judaica* 3, available online. Among other publications, the book by Shirli Gilbert should be noted: S. Gilbert, (2005). *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford University Press). Other books concern mainly camps in the Third Reich, such as Sachsenhausen; G. Fackler, (2000), *Des Lagers Stimme – Musik im KZ. Alltag und Haftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen) or Juliane Brauer, (2009). *Musik im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen*. (Berlin: Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, (vol. 25). See also research by Barbara Milewski (2014), *Remembering the Concentration Camps: Aleksander Kulisiewicz and his Concerts of Prisoners' Songs in the Federal Republic of Germany*. In: T. Frühauf, L. Hirsch (Eds.), *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

22 Most important is Gila Flam's *Singing for Survival: Songs of the Lodz Ghetto, 1940–1945*, published in 1992. Many of these songs were composed in Yiddish, are often street songs and frequently satirical in tone.

23 K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, (2013). The Racialization and Ghettoization of Music in the General Government. In: P. Fairclough (Ed.), *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 191–210; eadem, (2014). *Nazi Censorship in Music: Warsaw 1941*. In: E. Levi (Ed.), *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth Century Music*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, pp. 151–173.

24 Funding financed from the resources of the National Science Centre granted on the basis of decision number DEC-2013/09/D/HS2/01804.

25 I. Fater, (1997). *Muzyka żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym* [*Jewish Music in Poland between the Wars*], E. Świdorska (Transl.). Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm. Documentation of biographies of individual musicians was conducted by the author in 2009–2010 for the exhibition *Music in Occupied Poland. 1939–1945*, but has yet to be published.

26 K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, (2013). *Music and Torture in Nazi Sites of Persecution and Genocide in Occupied Poland 1939–1945*. In: *The world of music (new series)*, Volume 2, Issue 1, *Music and Torture | Music and Punishment*, Göttingen: Department of Music at Georg August University, pp. 31–50.

in two main fields of study. The first, investigating how music could be used as an instrument of torture, refers to notions coined in the field of psychoanalysis such as ‘messianic sadism’.²⁷ This term, a “facet of extreme ethno-racial and religious prejudice”, has been defined as “cruelty towards others that in the internal world of the perpetrators seems morally justified.”²⁸ The second field of study, stemming from the question of how this cruelty towards victims that made use of music could become an important ritual in a death-camp system, led to the consideration of sociological and aesthetical components of Nazi identity.²⁹ Thus the investigation of these elements made the study of history of music in occupied Poland evolve gradually into more multi-faceted research, with methods taken from different fields, including social psychology and anthropology.

The initial hypothesis that only witnesses could give insight into the actual realities of life under the German occupation, with its many ambiguities and complexities, proved valid in the process of applying their testimonies to evidence contained in written or iconographic sources. The critique of oral history, according to which witnesses are extremely partial in their testimonies and thus transfer a falsified image of described realities, has lost its primacy in recent years. To the contrary, it is gradually being recognized that the subjective character of their memories and their own experience of the historical past makes their evidence so valuable.³⁰ Written sources provide seemingly stable anchor points in the study area, filled with question marks and uncertainties. However, excessive reliance on preserved documentation often leads to misinterpretations; grey zones and blank spots

are often hardly noticeable in these documents, and often escape the attention of researchers. Thus it is the juxtaposition of different individual narratives of historical facts with source material that helps elucidate complex processes inherent in the structures of history. The research described here has led to tracing some characteristic traits of roles of music in occupied Poland; however, only selected examples of this material, and some results, concerning mainly the situation in the General Government’s capital, Kraków, can be presented, given this article’s limited scope, while more extensive work with comparative analyses will be contained in a book currently in preparation.

MUSIC AS AN ELEMENT IN THE SCHEME OF NAZI CULTURAL AND POLITICAL DOMINATION IN THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Nazi ideologists designed and enforced a strategy aiming at total domination over occupied Poland. This was implemented first of all through military control, the annexation of Polish territories, the physical elimination of Poland’s elites and of those members of pre-war Polish society deemed pernicious by the Third Reich from racial and ideological points of view: Jews, Gypsies and those involved in any patriotic activity linked with Polish nationality (also related to culture).³¹ However, it was the use by the Nazi Germans of an elaborate array of methods involving complex propagandistic measures that was crucial in preparing the ground for genocide and its realization.

NAZI PROPAGANDA IN THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT – THREE DIRECTIONS

Nazi propaganda in Germany shaping the minds of Nazis-to-be managed to de-humanize future victims and to instil in the minds of perpetrators the image of persecution and extermination as a justified fulfilment of duty.³² The German propaganda for Germans in the

27 S. Akhtar, (2007). From Unmentalized Xenophobia to Messianic Sadism: Some Reflections on the Phenomenology of Prejudice. In: H. Parens, A. Mahfouz, S.W. Twemlow, D.E. Scharff (Eds.), *The Future of Prejudice: Psychoanalysis and the Prevention of Prejudice*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 7–19.

28 S. Akhtar, (2009). *Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac Books, p. 171.

29 K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, (2015). The Functions of Music within the Nazi System of Genocide in Occupied Poland. In: W. Klimczyk, A. Świerżowska (Eds.), *Music and Genocide*, “Studies in Social Sciences, Philosophy and History of Ideas” Vol. 9. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, pp. 83–103.

30 It is interesting to note that from the point of view of soundscape theory, the written archival material may be treated as inferior. See the review of such discussions in: C. Birdsall, (2012). *Nazi Soundscapes. Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933–1945*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 13.

31 For a review of Nazi policies in occupied Poland see K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, (2010). The Use of Polish Musical Tradition in Nazi Propaganda, *Musicology Today*. Vol. 7, pp. 243–259.

32 For sociological analyses concerning the stages preceding genocide, see M.J. Grant, M. Jacobs, R. Möllemann, S.Ch. Münz,

General Government (GG) was an extension of such propaganda introduced earlier in the Third Reich. At the same time, it was to demonstrate the victorious and triumphant image of the German state. The situation in Kraków was explained as early as 1946 in a study co-authored by professors and archivists who were witnesses of that period:

Most clamorous and glaring was the propaganda carried on by means of processions, party celebrations and sporting fixtures. On every occasion of this kind, principally in the first years of the occupation, the town – particularly the Market Square and adjoining thoroughfares – sank in a sea of red bunting and swastikas. Bands and marches of party formations and Hitler's Youth would fill the town with a blatant din. Restaurants and cafes would swarm with throngs of victors sated with glory and craving food and drink of which the non-German population was deprived. [...] Any business in the gastronomic line which could boast good equipment had been seized for the exclusive use of the German population.³³

The second important pillar of this scheme was propaganda destined for conquered societies, the role of which was to justify segregation policies. It consisted, for example, in presenting Jews to non-Jews at first as detrimental from the political-economic point of view as adherents of both Bolshevism and capitalism, paradoxically, then later as life-threatening as carriers of dangerous disease (typhus, etc.), in order to prepare subsequent stages of terror and the Holocaust. It should be noted how conscientious German propaganda was in the 'previously Polish territories' (in Nazi terminology, *ehemalige Polnische Gebiete*), where ethnically diverse populations posed a special challenge. Dr. Friedrich Gollert, assistant to the Chief of the Office and Head of the Office of Planning in the Warsaw District (*Persönlicher Referent des Chefs des Amtes und Leiter des Amtes für Raumordnung*), in his brochure *Warschau über deutscher*

Herrschaft. Deutsche Aufbauarbeit im Distrikt Warschau (Warsaw under German rule: German reconstruction work in the Warsaw District) published by order of SA-Gruppenführer Dr. Ludwig Fischer, Governor of *Distrikt Warschau*, expressed this in a straightforward manner:

Whereas in the Reich propaganda was applied to those of the same blood, in the General Government the ethnic structure ratios are thoroughly different. Here the propaganda is not only for German people, but it has to be also directed at Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and its effect on the mentality within different types of individual ethnic groups must be taken into consideration.³⁴

This propaganda was skilfully adapted to different ethnicities, trying to revivify all the prejudices against other ethnic groups in order to isolate them by dehumanizing the 'other'. The German press for Poles (e.g. *Nowy Kurier Warszawski*) was thus full of various anti-Semitic propaganda even after the uprising in the ghetto and its subsequent liquidation. In *Cracow under Enemy Rule*, it was already perceptively analysed:

The press was another means of propaganda. No sooner had the Germans made their entry into Cracow than they settled down in the printing works of the *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* and began to publish the *Krakauer Zeitung*. Besides the daily news, this contained political and scientific articles brimming with threats and statements inimical to the Poles. They poured forth the most contemptuous abuse on the past and present of Poland and under cover of a pseudo-scientific character they spread the most senseless inventions of German propaganda. Almost at the same time the *Goniec Krakowski*, issued in Polish, began to appear. From beginning to end it was an instrument of the German propaganda service though alleged both in Germany and abroad to be the organ of Polish public opinion.³⁵

Thirdly, the propaganda directed abroad (both to the Allies and to collaborationist countries) served to acquire the time span necessary for the completion of genocidal tasks. The name of the "Generalgouvernement for the occupied territories of Poland" is an example of such

C. Nuxoll, (2015). Music, the 'Third Reich', and 'The 8 Stages of Genocide.' In: W. Klimczyk, A. Świerżowska (Eds.), op. cit., pp. 23–68. For psychoanalytical study, see S. Akhtar, (2007). op. cit., especially table on p. 15, demonstrating manifestations of prejudice leading to genocide.

33 J. Dąbrowski et al., (1946). *Cracow under Enemy Rule*. Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 28. Jan Konstanty Dąbrowski (1890–1965) was history professor at the Jagiellonian University, who was among the arrested in the Sonderaktion Krakau. Co-authors of the book included: Feliks Kopera, director of the National Museum in Kraków, Kazimierz Buczkowski, curator of the National Museum in Kraków, Marian Friedberg, Head of the Ancient Archives of the City of Kraków, Kazimierz Piwarski, professor at the Jagiellonian University, Wacław Skrzywan, Department Head at the Chamber of Commerce.

34 F. Gollert (1942). *Warschau über deutscher Herrschaft. Deutsche Aufbauarbeit im Distrikt Warschau* Kraków: Burgverlag Krakau GmbH, p. 271. The original reads: "Während sich aber die Propaganda-arbeit im Reich an Menschen gleichen Blutes wendet, liegen die Verhältnisse im Generalgouvernement infolge der volkstumsmässigen Struktur des Gebietes völlig anders. Hier wendet sich die Propaganda nicht nur an deutsche Menschen, sondern sie hat auch auf Polen, Russen, Ukrainer und sogar Juden ihre Wirkung auszuüben, wobei auf die verschiedenartige Mentalität der einzelnen Volksgruppen Rücksicht genommen werden muss."

35 J. Dąbrowski et al., (1946). Op. cit., p. 27.

propaganda. The term was used, as was elucidated in the above-quoted book:

in the initial stage of the civil government which lasted till July 1940 when France was beaten. Germany was not yet sure of her military success, and kept the shred of Poland, thus termed; “a denomination in which special mention was made of Poland as something that could be an object of possible bargaining at the peace conference. As soon as France was beaten, those in authority in the state, the army and the party gave themselves to the conviction that victory was a certainty, and, what is more, that the end of the war was near. [...] All this was connected with the firm belief that not only those territories which had been directly incorporated in the Reich, would remain permanently under German rule but also the Generalgouvernement. The outward token of this was the elimination from the designation of the ‘Generalgouvernement’ of the phrase “for the occupied territories of Poland.” This was proclaimed by [Hans] Frank on July 30, 1940. And so what remained was an indefinite administrative appellation: ‘Generalgouvernement’, with the complete exclusion of any mention whatever of Poland. The Nazi party was to organize the German element operating here as ‘Führerschicht’, i.e. the class called upon to lead the Polish ethnic masses.³⁶

Music was aptly instrumentalised in each of these three pillars of Nazi propaganda. It constituted both an important field where these mechanisms were introduced and a tool that served in attaining these goals. The propaganda – also by means of music – served to illustrate and justify ideological goals of the German Nazi authorities of the General Government.

IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF NAZI QUEST FOR HEGEMONY IN CULTURE

Several key ideological components constituted the foundation of the dogma of the Third Reich supremacy over the vanquished population, in all possible realms. One of them, the *Lebensraum* concept, was coined mainly as the expression of German territorial expansion, but had a much broader character, a not only ideological and racial but also pseudo-aesthetic foundation.³⁷

Stephen G. Fritz explained the development of this notion in Hitler’s mind by the mid-1920s with “the key link between the destruction of Jewish-Bolshevism and the acquisition of *Lebensraum* in the east, both of which were necessary in order to secure Germany’s existence.”³⁸

This author convincingly described the earlier evolution of this and other convictions that formed the core of Nazi beliefs. The methods to create this *Lebensraum* in the case of Kraków consisted in the first stage in the physical eviction of Jews and Poles from the central city.

Kraków, smaller than Warsaw and much easier to control, was the first target the Germans selected to “carry out the scheme, long since worked out, of depriving the Poles of the heritage of their forefathers. It was on the base of a thoroughly studied plan that Cracow was chosen to be the capital of the *Generalgouvernement*” and was “the first which was to be converted into a German city not only in name and outward appearance but also in the composition of its population – the Poles were to be speedily removed and to give place to Germans.”³⁹ The Nazi authorities:

proceeded systematically to carry into effect the plan which had long since been elaborated for the complete break-up and absorption of the Polish nation by the German element – the fate preciously encountered by those Slav peoples which lived between the Elbe and the Baltics. [...] A beginning had already been made in 1939 when hundreds of thousands of Poles had been evicted from Great Poland, Silesia and Pomerania and penned up in the ‘Generalgouvernement.’ [...]

To match with the process of removing the Poles from Cracow there was of course the process of germanising the town both in appearance by giving it the outward aspects of a German city and in fact by constantly increasing the number of Germans living within its bounds. As has already been stated, Cracow had been selected to become the centre from which the German spirit was to radiate on the Polish territories. The idea was to become firmly rooted in the heads of both Germans and Poles that Cracow was a ‘German city from time immemorial’ on the background of the general claim of the autochthony of the Germans on Polish soil and of their later inflow at the time of settlement, defined as the ‘return’ of the Germans to their abandoned homesteads. And so, an energetic propaganda was evolved, at first in the press and then in pseudo-scientific publications, the core of which was a German Institute for Work in the East (*Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*). This was formed by governor-general Frank on April 19, 1940, and its seat became

the East. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, p. 8: “In the desperate period following World War I, this potent combination of nineteenth-century notions of social Darwinism, imperialism, racism, and anti-Semitism provided a seemingly plausible explanation for Germany’s current quandary and a prescription for action to save and renew the nation. Once established, the quest for *Lebensraum* and the final reckoning with Jewish-Bolshevism remained the cornerstone of Hitler’s life’s work: only the conquest of living space could make good the mistakes of the past, preserve the racial value of the German Volk, and provide the resources to lift Germany out of its economic misery. Just a few days after becoming chancellor, Hitler announced unequivocally to his startled generals that his aim was ‘to conquer and ruthlessly Germanize new living space in the east’.”

³⁹ J. Dąbrowski et al., (1946). Op. cit., p. 4.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 6–7.

³⁷ For an examination of this pseudo-aesthetics in this context, see: K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, (2015). Op. cit.

³⁸ S.G. Fritz, (2011). *Ostkrieg: Hitler’s War of Extermination in*

the venerable building of Cracow's ancient university, the Collegium Majus and the neighbouring edifices.⁴⁰

The goals of GG authorities aiming at Germanization of Kraków were clearly described in the above-quoted *Cracow under Enemy Rule* of 1946:

In 1940 some of the streets were given German names and from 1941 onward the process assumed a general character. The town's arms were altered, the swastika replacing the white eagle. The Market Square was called 'Adolf Hitlerplatz' and the use of its Polish name was banned. Likewise Wawel Castle was officially named 'Burg' and the use of the appellation Wawel was prohibited. [...] No Polish press and no Polish theatre were allowed to exist. At the close of 1939 the Słowacki Memorial Theatre became a German 'national theatre'. The Germans' next move aimed at clearing Cracow of its Polish population. This was accompanied by fierce propaganda in which it was demonstrated that Cracow owed all of its cultural possessions gathered in the past exclusively to the Germans [...]. This propaganda, which was carried on in the press, in pseudo-scientific publications, in lectures and over the wireless, included among the Germans whoever could be considered as such by the origin of this surname, by his Christian name or by whatever trifling pretext offered itself. [...] The ground being thus prepared by means of the propaganda, the work of de-polonizing of Cracow went on all the more briskly. [...] It was carried into effect at an increasingly rapid pace, especially after 1940. [...] A detailed scheme was evolved whereby Cracow was divided into three zones – one purely German, one mixed, and the third Polish. [...] Freedom of movement also came to be restricted for Poles. First the Polish children were deprived of Jordan Park, which was reserved for the exclusive use of Germans. Next it was Park Krakowski, then it was the swimming bath on the Błonia. Finally a considerable part of the benches on the 'Planty' were provided with the inscription 'Nur für Deutsche.' In 1942 the Poles were confined to the use of the back end of tram cars and a similar division was made on the railways.⁴¹

Nazi *Lebensraum* goals, which were rooted so strongly in pseudo-philosophical beliefs, could be achieved through appropriation and control not only of physical, but also of symbolic spaces. This was executed on several planes, from appropriation to destruction and genocide.

APPROPRIATION / DESTRUCTION / GENOCIDE

To de-Polonise the conquered territories, appellations linked to geographical regions were used, such as 'the Vistula region' instead of 'Poland'. In Kraków, the same intercessions were adopted as in the case of Warsaw, where

major streets and squares were renamed with German appellations, such as the central Adolf Hitler Platz, while concert halls and theatres, when not destroyed in September 1939 bombings, were taken over by Germans – the most telling example in Warsaw was the Teatr Polski (Polish Theatre) transformed into the Theater der Stadt Warschau (Theatre of the City of Warsaw). Kraków as the capital of the General Government had to acquire a German character by a similar yet even more intense and rapid process. Monuments linked with Polish national identity and culture were pulled down – the Grunwald monument to the victory over the Teutonic Order in November 1939 (in Warsaw, the Chopin monument was destroyed only in May 1940). Similarly, "the equestrian statue of [military hero Tadeusz] Kościuszko and the bust of [playwright Aleksander] Fredro, but also commemorative plaques to [the writer and painter Stanisław] Wyspiański, [poet Adam] Asnyk and [composer Władysław] Żeleński" were removed,⁴² and in some cases replaced with German ones. The centrally located statue of poet Adam Mickiewicz was destroyed in August 1940. In her text written in the first years after the war, Dora Agatstein-Dormontowa, described Jewish monuments, theatres (the Teatr Żydowski on Bocheńska Street), associations, private collections, schools, libraries, orphanages and hospitals and synagogues – looted and destroyed. The Jewish Academic House on Przemyska Street was turned into a brothel for the German military.⁴³

The stages of genocide against Jews in Kraków were described thus in the 1946 publication:

Initially the German policy towards the Jews tended to exclude them from the rest of the population and to divest them of their possessions. In its further evolution, from 1942 onwards it tended to their complete extermination. [...] after the defeat of France, the Germans proceeded to the systematical realization of their programme long since prepared for the solution of the Jewish question. It fell into two stages. The first consisted in the 'restraint' of the Jewish population so as to deprive it of freedom of movement and submit it to complete supervision by the German police. The Jews were forbidden to leave their places [...] Subsequent to the 'restraint' of the Jews came the removal from the city to more or less remote

⁴² Ibid., p. 14.

⁴³ In the article documenting the process of pauperisation and murder of Jews in Kraków: D. Agatstein-Dormontowa, (1957). *Żydzi w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* [Jews under the German occupation]. In: *Kraków w latach okupacji 1939–1945. Studia i materiały* [Kraków in the Years of the Occupation, 1939–45. Studies and Materials], *Rocznik Krakowski*. Vol. 31 (1949–1957). Kraków: Nakładem Towarzystwa Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa [Under the imprint of the Society of Lovers of Kraków History and Monuments], pp. 222–223.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 8, 25–26.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 15–17, 22.

parts of the provinces of those who were recognized superfluous or non working. [...] Next, in summer 1941, a ghetto was arranged in Cracow (as in other Polish towns), for which purpose the eastern part of Podgórze was allocated, the Christian population being displaced of it. In the first place the Kazimierz district was evacuated of Jews, whereupon the Christians from Podgórze were transferred there, and the greater part of those dislodged from the German zone [...] In it squalor, hunger and sickness reigned supreme. [...] This state of affairs, however, was not of long duration. The second stage soon followed. [...] The final liquidation of the ghetto took place on March 13 and 14, 1943. The great majority of the Jews, except a small number who were kept at Płaszów labour camp, were – among atrocities and savagery – convoyed beyond the bounds of Cracow, mostly to the gas chambers of Oświęcim (Auschwitz). The Jewish hospital and orphanage were ‘liquidated’ off-hand – children, patients and medical staff, all were murdered. All the possessions of the Jewish population were pillaged or aimlessly destroyed. It took months to clear the houses and streets of the heap of smashed furniture. The objects of value, in particular the silver plate, were brought together and plundered by the German police. The 55.000 Jews that Cracow numbered in 1939, had melted down to less than 1000.⁴⁴

In the terrifying account of persecutions and plunder, the macabre scenes of slaughter of women, children and the elderly, which also described the activity of Jewish underground and of the Council of Help for the Jews [Rada Pomocy Żydom], Dora Agatstein-Dormontowa, herself a Holocaust survivor, saved with her daughter Karolina by a Polish couple,⁴⁵ detailed the ‘action’ in June 1942 in the ghetto in Kraków conducted by the Head of SS and Police of Kraków district Julian Scherner, when the more than 5,000 victims included Jewish poet and singer Mordechaj Gebirtig (in Agatstein’s text, spelled Mordche) and painter Abraham Neumann.⁴⁶

CONTROL OF THE SYMBOLIC SPACES – A CASE STUDY

Whereas in the Reich, as a German witness quoted in Carolyn Birdsall’s study described it: “The state-subsidised radio sets (*Volksempfänger*) had the purpose of keeping

the people acoustically under control,”⁴⁷ in the General Government for non-Germans (Jews and Poles) there was a lack of radio sets, which by January 1940 had to be deposited at the closest police station. In Kraków, this was by order of Mayor Ernst Zörner on 27 November and 4 December 1939, that “Polish and Jewish owners” had to declare that they owned mechanic vehicles. By his order of 11 January 1940 they had to give away their radio sets.⁴⁸ However, the first order confiscating radio sets had been issued on 15 December 1939 and even on 10 October 1939 the interdiction against listening to foreign radio stations had already been issued.⁴⁹ This unlawful regulation permitted Nazi German authorities to attain at least four goals: (1) dispossessing the former Poland’s citizens of valuable objects such as radio sets, which was one of many examples of ruthless looting; (2) acquiring of these objects now permitted them to be passed on to Germans; (3) Poles and Jews were cut off from any uncensored source of information and other radio sounds, music included; (4) in the case of radio sets now in the light of new regulations kept illegally, this constituted ideal pretext for imprisonment, interrogations and even sentencing for camps or execution. In this context, media theorist Marshall McLuhan was right insofar as he argued that the radio in Nazi Germany created this *Lebensraum* as “fountains of auditory space”, which made Hitler’s appeal more powerful and attractive, ‘retribalising’ individuals in the realm of National Socialist ideology.⁵⁰ Those who were not part of the ‘tribe’ were excluded and their access to information was controlled by the use of loudspeakers in the streets. The reasons for not only economic, but also intellectual control of the Polish population were also explained in the *Cracow under Enemy Rule*:

In Cracow, just as in the rest of the country, the Polish population was kept from the very start under a rule of bloodshed and terror. Here also certain stages can be discerned, dependent upon the general run of the war [...].

Hitlerism in Poland, once faced with the impossibility of either exterminating or displacing all the Poles, applied itself its basic aim, that of depriving the nation of its leading classes both intellectual and economic, of replacing these by the German element, and of

⁴⁴ J. Dąbrowski et al., (1946). Op. cit., pp. 30–33.

⁴⁵ Ludwika (1891–1970) and Zygmunt Szostak (1886–1972), who lived in Warsaw’s Żoliborz quarter, took care of them from August 1942, when Dora Agatstein escaped from the ghetto in Lwów (Lviv) a month before its liquidation. On 13th November 2012, Yad Vashem recognized them as Righteous Among the Nations. Agatstein with her daughter and Karolina lived in Kraków, which they left in 1950 to go to Israel. Information retrieved from the webpage of Yad Vashem.

⁴⁶ D. Agatstein-Dormontowa, (1957). Op. cit., p. 211.

⁴⁷ C. Birdsall, (2012). Op. cit., p. 11.

⁴⁸ D. Agatstein-Dormontowa, (1957). Op. cit., p. 194.

⁴⁹ S. Lachowicz, (1988). Op. cit., p. 14.

⁵⁰ Quoted after the critique of this theory in Carolyn Birdsall’s book, who wrote: “This discourse mystifies radio as an oral medium and perpetuates a post-war tradition that explained National Socialism in terms of the irrational or a return to ancient barbarism.” C. Birdsall, (2012). Op. cit., p. 12.

degrading the Poles to play the role of passive manure – the role to which their compatriots had already been degraded in East Prussia. The Polish intellectuals, Polish trade and industry, even the more lucrative crafts were to die away in the normal course and at a pace quickened by persecution. The Poles within the limits of their country were to be mere serfs, to work for the Germans, to provide the latter with works and in future with conscripts, then, when the time came and the process of germanization had done its work, to supplement the higher class. [...]

The first step towards the realization of this scheme was to obliterate Polish intellectual culture or at least to check its growth, better still, not let it so much as vegetate. The Poles were to become a nation deprived of an intellectual class. None but Germans were to be intellectuals either in the professions or in the sphere of learning and art. The existing circles of Polish intellectuals were to melt away by natural death at a rate accelerated by oppression and, the war once over, by compulsory or voluntary emigration.⁵¹

As in Warsaw, official Polish musical activity was allowed only in cafes and only with special permission. Illegal events were organized in private apartments.⁵² While on 14th October 1940 the Philharmonic of the General Government was solemnly inaugurated, with speeches by Hans Frank and his deputy Joseph Bühler, manhunts in the streets of Kraków and executions in the vicinity of the city continued relentlessly, directed mainly against the intelligentsia. One proof is the action at the leading musical cafe for Poles in Kraków, “U plastyków” or “Kawiarnia Plastyków” at 3 Łobzowska Street. This cafe, just between 13th February 1941 and 16th April 1942, presented about a hundred recitals, vocal and instrumental, including pianists Jan Ekier and his sister Halina.⁵³ As the authors of *Cracow under Enemy Rule* wrote:

That terror wave reached its climax in the spring months of 1942 which preceded the renewed offensive in the east. According to

the instructions received by the heads of German offices in the ‘Generalgouvernement’ in February 1942, that same year was to witness Germany’s decisive effort for achieving victory. The Gestapo was preparing to harass the population of the town by means of arrests and deportation. A start was made on April 19, 1942, when almost all who were present in the “Plastyków” café were seized. About 200 men, for the most part belonging to the intellectual circles of Cracow were arrested and sent to Oświęcim, where the majority of them paid the usual penalty of their lives, among them Dr Ottmann, secretary in the Jagiellonian University, M. Rubczak, Academician, M. Puszet [Ludwik Puget], sculptor, Professor Weiner, M. Ekielski, civil engineer.

In the course of the following days several hundred officers of the reserve were arrested (2000 of them were taken in the district of Cracow) and with very few exceptions they were done to death at Oświęcim shortly after.

[...]. From then on, till the end of June, every night people were arrested and the greater part of them sent at once to Oświęcim [...], and almost every day round-ups were carried out in the streets. Parts of the ‘Planty’ and whole streets were cordoned off, combed, and most of the men were, particularly the young, were carried off [...]. Only a small part of those taken were ever released, the others used to be despatched to concentration or labour camps or were executed. In those months Cracow’s losses in manpower amounted to between ten and twenty thousand men who were carried away and for the most part massacred.⁵⁴

Only 30 men survived out of 200 arrested at that time (first arrests happened there on 8th March 1942).⁵⁵ Most of them died in Auschwitz the same year. Ludwik Puget (1877–1942) – who organized the concerts at the cafe together with Hanna Rudzka-Cybisowa – was executed on 27th May in Auschwitz. He was a sculptor, painter, historian of art, descending from aristocratic family (a baron), famous also for his handsome appearance (he was said to resemble Gregory Peck) and had created the cabaret “Under the Pink Cuckoo” in Poznań in the interwar years, popular among intelligentsia circles.⁵⁶

⁵¹ J. Dąbrowski et al., (1946). Op. cit., pp. 3, 8.

⁵² Cf. a rare photograph documenting an illegal concert at Janina Stolfowa’s apartment at Retoryka Street 1, with Halina Ekier at the piano from the Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive] in Kraków, published in: A. Czocher, (2011). *W okupowanym Krakowie. Codzienność polskich mieszkańców miasta 1939–1945* [In Occupied Cracow. Everyday Life of the Polish Citizens]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Oskar. S. Lachowicz (op. cit., p. 127) writes about Olga and Jadwiga Stolfowa’s musical salon.

⁵³ S. Lachowicz, (1988). Op. cit., pp. 103–109 gave the full list of musicians who performed at this cafe, based on information from *Goniec Krakowski*. He also quoted the article by Adam Rieger published in *RM* 1945 in October, enumerating artists who performed there: Dobrowolski, Drabik, Dubiska, Dzieduszycki, Ekier, Ekierówna, Gaczek, Ilnicka, Madeja, Madeyska, Markiewiczówna, Mikuszewski, Morbitzerowa, Platówna, Bilińska-Riegerowa, Rosenerowie, Stefańska, Syrewicz, Szlemińska, Żmudziński and others.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 35–36. Edward Kubalski (1872–1958), in his memoirs kept between 1st September 1939 and 18th January 1945, wrote on 16th April 1942 that “in café ‘Plastyków’ reopened after a few days yesterday evening, all guests were arrested.” On 18th April he wrote that this round-up was the beginning of arrests of reserve officers, which happened during the night of 16th to 17th April. At that time his only son Stanisław was arrested and died the same year in Auschwitz. E. Kubalski, (2010). *Niemcy w Krakowie* [Germans in Cracow], J. Grabowski, Z.R. Grabowski (Eds.). Kraków-Budapest: Wydawnictwo Austeria, p. 206. On 30th June he mentions the information on death of Ludwik Puget (Puszet) in Auschwitz, which “moved everybody” (p. 223).

⁵⁵ S. Lachowicz, (1988). Op. cit., pp. 16–17.

⁵⁶ K. Naliwajek-Mazurek, (2014). *Dom otwarty: muzyczne wątki w kontaktach artystycznych Kazimierzy i Nikodema Pajzderskich* [An Open House: Musical Motives in Kazimiera and Nikodem

Kazimierz Wiłkomirski⁵⁷ quoted a reminiscence by percussionist Józef Stojka that Hans Rohr, the appointed conductor of the GG Philharmonic, came to the Lardelli cafe to look for musicians, explaining that if the call was boycotted, even performances in the cafes would be forbidden and all the musicians would remain jobless. The history of this orchestra will be described elsewhere; it is worth noting however that the orchestra, undoubtedly clearly used by Hans Frank as instrument of propaganda, was at the same time an institution which permitted the survival of Polish musicians and those in hiding because of their Jewish backgrounds, such as first violinists Otto Teutsch (with his family) and Artur Nachtstern. This orchestra was also a place where the segregation policies realized in the city were blurred. The fact that the concertmaster, Fritz Sonnleitner and the conductors were German while all the other musicians were Polish was intended and can still be interpreted to maintain Polish musicians as 'serfs' in the German hegemony.

However, the actual relations between German and Polish musicians were good. In an interview conducted by the author, Leszek Izmajłow who played in the orchestra stated that musicians from both sides respected each other for their craftsmanship.⁵⁸ In autumn 1941, Sonnleitner created his Fritz Sonnleitner-Quartett der Philharmonie des Generalgouvernements with Polish musicians (Józef Salacz, Tadeusz Szulc and Józef Mikulski), which gave concerts until 12th April 1943.⁵⁹ The above-mentioned witness stated that one of the orchestra's conductors, Rudolf Hindemith, saved two musicians from a street round-up, which took place close to the building where

rehearsals and concerts took place.⁶⁰ This violinist also recalled the moment when Sonnleitner was called into active Wehrmacht service and had to leave Kraków.

Nazi propaganda aimed at Germanising Kraków also tried to make use of key symbols of Kraków identity as far as the auditory landscape was concerned; along with renaming Wawel Castle as 'Krakauer Burg' and trying to posthumously Germanise Fryderyk Chopin,⁶¹ they intended to use the traditional bugle call (*hejnat*) played from one steeple of St. Mary's Church in Main Market Square. The latter intention can be read in nine letters exchanged between Mayor (*Stadthauptman*) Karl Schmid and his collaborators in late 1940.⁶² Schmid sent his first letter on 30 September, asking about the origin of the bugle call:

Herrn Magistratsdirektor Dusza im Hause

Auf dem Turm der Marienkirche wurde vor dem Kriege durch einen Trompeter täglich eine bestimmte Melodie geblasen.

Ich bitte um Mitteilung, ob diese Übung nach dem Kriege wieder aufgenommen wurde, und ausserdem, worauf sich diese Übung gründet. Aus welchem Anlass wurde die Musik eingeführt?

Wer hatte den Bläser bestellt und auf wessen Weisung handelte er?⁶³

Dr. Kurtz from the *Abteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* sent a letter on 10th October to Schmid (delivered to the *Stadthauptman* on the 12th) on the letterhead of the *Abteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*

Pajzdowski's Artistic Contacts]. In: E. Siejkowska-Askutja (Ed.), *Nikodem Pajzdowski 15 IX 1882 – 6 I 1940. Muzealnik – konserwator zabytków – historyk sztuki* [Nikodem Pajzdowski 15th Sept. 1882 – 6th Jan. 1940: Museum Curator, Conservator, Historian of Art]. Poznań: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzeum Narodowego Poznaniu, pp. 48–49.

⁵⁷ K. Wiłkomirski, (1971). *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (now PWM Edition), pp. 550–551. For the history of the orchestra see also A. Woźniakowska, (2004). *60 lat Filharmonii im. Karola Szymanowskiego w Krakowie. 1945–2005* [60 Years of K. Szymanowski Philharmonic in Cracow, 1945–2005]. Kraków: Filharmonia im. K. Szymanowskiego w Krakowie, pp. 22–28.

⁵⁸ Interview with violinist Leszek Izmajłow, who after the war became concertmaster of the Cracow Philharmonic (interview recorded in Cracow, on 22nd October 2016). I extend my thanks to Krzysztof Meyer for introducing me to Leszek Izmajłow.

⁵⁹ Cf. S. Lachowicz, (1988). Op. cit., pp. 76–77.

⁶⁰ This type of relations was of course extraordinary amid cruelty and persecutions; S. Lachowicz, who was also witness of the time, makes it clear in the attempt of evaluation which closes his book: "Music did not alleviate the Hitlerite customs. I remember one good Jewish musician who for a few months gave accordion lessons to Gestapo chief in Tarnów. He praised his pupil, whom he offered sometimes a piece of bread and ersatz coffee; he saw in this a guarantee for his own survival. Soon, however, on the order of the latter he was murdered in the street, when he was coming back home after a lesson. I remember the corpse lying next to the kerb, with head covered with a newspaper. But these are questions pertaining to the domain of psychopathology, which seem to exceed the competences of the author, although they seem to be so unambiguous..." Ibid., p. 132.

⁶¹ Cf. K. Naliwajek, (2010), Op. cit., p. 252 ff.

⁶² Preserved in the National Archive in Kraków, under signature SmKr 213.

⁶³ Ibid. "To Mr. Magistrate Director Dusza, at home: In the tower of the Mary's Church, a certain melody was blown by a trumpeter every day before the war. I request information on whether this exercise has resumed after the war, and, moreover, on what it is based? On what occasion was the music introduced? Who had appointed the trumpeter, and on whose orders did he act?"

of the *Amt des Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*, in which he responded that the bugle call had no political meaning:

Dieses Signal ist früher über alle polnischen Sender als Mittagszeichen gegangen und sogar Anlass für verschiedene Novellen usw. gewesen. Ich würde es für richtig halten, das Turmblasen wieder einzuführen, da es seine schöne Sitte ist und tatsächlich keinen politischen Hintergrund hat.⁶⁴

Schmid replied on 12th November that the call could be of interest also for the Germans if there were no military reservations:

Wie aus den 5 Beilagen ersichtlich ist, könnte das hier übliche Turmblasen wieder aufgenommen werden. Es wäre dies ein eigenartiges Spiel, das sicherlich auch dem Interesse der Deutschen begegnen würde.

Bevor ich eine endgültige Entscheidung treffe, bitte ich um baldgefl. Mitteilung, ob militärischerseits keine Bedenken bestehen.⁶⁵

After receiving the declaration that the call had no military significance, at a meeting he convened on 17th December with Director Schmidt of the Department of Nation Enlightenment and Propaganda, Schmid signed the document *Aktenvermerk betr. Turmblasen*, in which he wrote that Schmidt had “also pointed out that St. Mary’s Church, built by Germans, was for ages accessible only to Germans. He presumes that the bugles calls [*Turmblase*] were especially cultivated by the Germans, and that we should not, on our part, have any reservations about the reintroduction.”⁶⁶ The exchange

64 Ibid. “This bugle call was formerly broadcast on all Polish [radio] stations at midday and was even the subject of some modifications, etc. In my view it would be appropriate to restore the bugle call from the church tower since it is a nice custom and has in fact no political background or significance.”

65 Ibid. “As evident from the five documents enclosed, the customary bugle call could be taken up again here. This could be [treated as] a kind of particular playing that would certainly also be of interest of the Germans. Before I take the final decision, I am requesting a prompt reply as to whether there are any objections to this project from the military point of view.”

66 “Am 17.12. 1940 habe ich mit Herrn Präsident Schmidt von der Abteilung für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda wegen der Wiedereinführung des Turmblasens Rücksprache genommen und ihn namentlich von dem Schreiben von Herrn Dr Kurtz vom 10.10.1940 unterrichtet. Präsident Schmidt begrüßte sehr lebhaft die Wiedereinführung allen Stellen gegenüber zu vertreten. Er wies besonders noch darauf hin, dass die Marienkirche ja von Deutschen erstellt sei und jahrhundertlang nur für Deutsche zugänglich war. Er vermute, dass das Turmblasen namentlich auch von den Deutschen gepflegt wurde und deshalb von unserer

ends with the letter of 17th December, sent by Schmid to the Kraków Fire Department, which before the war had presented the bugle call, ordering its reinstatement, with the first presentation on 24th December at 7 PM.⁶⁷ Indeed, *Goniec Krakowski* provides the information that from 24 December the bugle call from the tower of St Mary’s Church was reintroduced twice daily, at noon and at 7 PM, but one witness wrote in his diary on 27th December: “I haven’t yet heard it, however.”⁶⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The present report constitutes a partial presentation of research results concerning the vast topic delineated at the nexus of music and politics during the Third Reich occupation of pre-war territories of Poland. The case study of Kraków, described here in some of its aspects, has yet to be expanded and detailed, then to be evaluated in a comparative perspective with other cities. However, based on evidence gathered to date, it can be stated that similarities were considerable in Nazi German politics in Warsaw and Kraków. Germanisation and de-Polonisation policies, the control over inhabitants and resettlements of the pre-war citizenry appears to have been even more pronounced in Kraków, then the capital of the General Government. Music was used to attain these goals; the scope of propagandistic measures involving music still requires further examination. Actions taken against such an outstanding independent Polish cultural centre as the Plastyków Cafe were ruthless; similar actions had been realized even earlier in Warsaw,⁶⁹ and also later –

Seite keinerlei Bedenken gegen die Wiedereinführung bestehen sollten.” (document entitled “Aktenvermerk betr. Turmblasen.”)

67 An die Städt.Feuerwehr, Krakau. Ostring’: “Auf den Bericht vom 6.11.1940 ordne ich hiemit an, dass das turmblasen in der alten Weise wieder aufgenommen wird. Zunächst wird das Spiel aber auf mittags 12 Uhr und abends 7 Uhrn beschränkt. Zu diesen Zeiten ist es in der früheren Weise auszuführen. Das Spiel beginnt erstmals am 24. Dezember um 19 Uhr. Für den Fall, dass irgendwelche Zweifel bestegen, wolle bei mir umgehend Rückfrage gehalten werden.”

68 E. Kubalski. (2010). Op. cit. p. 107.

69 The case of “Arkadia” café, which opened at the beginning of 1940 or the end of 1939 in the preserved part of the Warsaw Philharmonic building, already after the opening of such cafés as “Bristol”, “Lira” by Piotr Perkowski and the most famous one, “Sztuka i Moda” (SiM) Café which was inaugurated on 16th December 1939. This musical café, where the underground activity was strong and not perfectly organised, operated until

the whole idea behind restricting independent musical activities among Poles consisted in further possibilities of vigilance and control. German Nazi control of musical repertoires and access to them, the planned manipulation of auditory spaces and, most importantly, of the physical existence of musicians and their audiences according to racial Nuremberg Laws, resulting from the most extreme realizations of *Lebensraum* concepts, proved effective and resulted in mass losses to Polish musical culture. Thus the symbolic spaces created in illicit, clandestine music-making were so important in all spheres of occupied Poland, from cities and urban spaces to detention sites such as prisons, ghettos and the massive system of German concentration camps. However, power relations reflected in different roles of music appropriated by the Third Reich need further interpretation. Music was used in the conquered Polish territories for two diametrically opposed goals, realized in parallel: destruction and genocide planned for some groups selected according to ethnic prejudices versus reconstruction – *Aufbau* – and growth for other groups. After the publication of first part of *Mein Kampf* (1925), composer Hans Pfitzner wrote in preface for the third edition of his *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz. Ein Verwesungssymptom*: “Das Antideutsche, in welcher Form es auch auftritt, als Atonalität, Internationalität, Amerikanismus, deutscher Pazifismus, berennt unsre Existenz, unsre Kultur von allen Seiten und mit ihr die europäische.”⁷⁰ This quotation is an example of narcissist urge of an ethnocentric culture, which, to refer once more to Salman Akhtar’s typology, passed from moderate to severe prejudice. In 1926, this was still an expression of internal ‘fantasy of the self being in danger; regression to group identity’ versus ‘justified’ discrimination: the dehumanization of others (fifth level on the scale of prejudice manifestations). In the 1940s, Pfitzner’s quote was included in the General Government Philharmonics concert-programmes booklets, in the time of ‘organized violence; murder and genocide’ (sixth level

in the scale of prejudice manifestations) which stems from ‘paranoid megalomania; emergence of ‘Messianic sadism’.”⁷¹

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4 December 1940, when Gestapo arrested everybody present there. As described by W. Bartoszewski, (1974), some of the arrested, who were kept in Pawiak prison, were executed in Palmiry near Warsaw on 12th June 1941 (29 persons, 14 women among them). Others were sent to concentration camps; the wife of Stanisław Piasecki who was the editor of right-wing underground journal “Walka”, medical doctor Irena Piasecka was sent in a *Sondertransport* of 274 women to Ravensbrück. W. Bartoszewski, (1974). *1859 dni Warszawy* [1859 Days of Warsaw]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, pp. 209, 225–226.

⁷⁰ H. Pfitzner, (1926). *Die neue Ästhetik der musikalischen Impotenz. Ein Verwesungssymptom?*. In: H. Pfitzner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. 2. Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag. G.m.b.H., p. 119.

⁷¹ All quotations are taken from S. Akhtar, (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

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