

Folklorism as an Invention of the State

*Contributions of Polish
Ethnomusicologists
in Historical Perspective*

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ABSTRACT

Folklorism is presented as a component of culture change. The aim of the article is to show how ethno- and musicologists, folklorists, music teachers, broadcasters, and others, have influenced traditional peasant culture in times of fundamental transformation during the 20th century, and how they have contributed to its documentation, understanding and invention of new meanings, including the Polishness of folklore in Poland. This review aims to exemplify this process. Each European country has its own history in this respect. The text consists of three parts. In the first one, folklore is confronted with social history; the second one is dedicated to generations of ethnomusicologists; the third one is dedicated to contemporary functions of music traditions and the role of ethnomusicologists, with emphasis on applied ethnomusicology. The comments on applied ethnomusicology summarise the author's experiences acquired during field research in Poland since 1975 and attempt to demonstrate how the past (of traditional culture and music, including re/invented national values) is being transformed in the present or, rather, how history fuses with the present time.

Key words: folklorism, ethnomusicology, culture change

FOLKLORISM AS A COMPONENT OF CULTURE CHANGE

The term 'folklorism' appeared in the Polish literature for the first time in 1925, in an article by Adolf Chybiński, 'father' of Polish musicology, in which he described Karol Szymanowski's *Mazurkas*¹. Chybiński argued that the then brand new compositions were not superficial stylisations, a mere 'folklorism', but contained a deep message and represented a modern synthesis of national style. The negative legacy of the 'folklorism', tolerated only as an artistic compromise for a wide audience, continued until the mid-1960s, when Józef Burszta, an outstanding Polish ethnographer, made use of Walter Wiora's concept of *des zweiten Daseins* of folk music. With a sociologist's distance, Burszta enumerates four regularities of the more recent folkloristic performances²:

1) the gradual disappearance of old complex life conditions and an increase in artistic-recreational functions;

2) the prevalence of indirect transmission (print, notes, mass media) in learning the repertoire;

3) division into the stage and the audience;

4) aesthetic evaluation as a consequence of autonomous folkloristic production.

From the social-psychological and cognitive perspectives adopted by Eva Krekovičová³, we can formulate the following tendencies accompanying culture change and modifying the roles of local and ethnic musical traditions:

1. growing cognitive distance toward the cultural heritage, which results in a weakening sense of local identity;

2. musical traditions are getting isolated from their natural space, social foundations and contexts. The repertoire is becoming more individual than collective;

3. the old synergy in the performance process (the speech-and-song unity, the integrity of vocals, gestures, instrumental and dance practice) is being disintegrated;

4. the bulk of the tradition is becoming more susceptible to reshaping, changes or manipulations.

From the chronological viewpoint we can distinguish four phases in this process⁴:

A. the self-sufficient and relatively isolated circulation of the repertoire which was strictly related to rural life with its family rites and calendar-agrarian cycles;

B. the activities of local leaders, spontaneous or education-inspired, who initiated interests in local (folk, ethnic, traditional, peasant) culture as a symbolic complex and vehicle of communication with the outer world. Since the second half of the 19th century, specially organised folk choirs and theatres, usually led by school teachers, promoted such an understanding of peasant culture as a sign of cultural and social advancement in rural communities;

C. the selection, popularisation and modifications of folk tradition took place as early as 1880-1914 through the adaptation and co-option of folk elements into popular culture, manifesting itself in orchestras, choirs, ethnographic and musical exhibitions, as well as workers' folklore. Since 1918, the independent Polish state proved

¹ A. Chybiński, (1925). *Mazurki Karola Szymanowskiego* [Karol Szymanowski's *Mazurkas*]. *Muzyka*, No. 1, pp. 12–15.

² J. Burszta, (1970). *Folklorizm w Polsce* [Folklorism in Poland]. In: *Folklor w życiu współczesnym* [Folklore in Contemporary Life]. Poznań: Wielkopolskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, pp. 9–26.

³ E. Krekovičová, (1989). *O živote folklóru v súčasnosti. L'udová pieseň* [On the Present-Day Life of Folklore. Folk Song]. Bratislava: Národopisný ústav SAV.

⁴ P. Dahlig, (1998). *Tradycje muzyczne a ich przemiany. Między kulturą ludową, popularną i elitarną Polski międzywojennej* [Music Traditions and Their Transformations. Between the Folk, Popular and Elite Culture of Interwar Poland]. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN.

to be crucial for folk culture transformations. This process will be analysed in the next section below;

D. the fourth phase consists in artistic output inspired by ethnic/regional traditions; the works of art are created by both educated insiders and highly motivated outsiders.

THE ROOTS OF FOLKLORISM IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The independent Polish state, like all the new independent countries between Germany and Russia after WWI was, as I suggested above, highly influential with regard to internal culture changes and the rise of folklorism. The special attention dedicated to folk and peasant components in culture is easily understandable, as 75% of the population still lived in villages at that time. On the basis of the discussion and comparison of various sources from the 1920s and 1930s, eight aspects of folklorism, which form, so to speak, a system of interconnected vessels, have been considered: opinions of composers about their works inspired by folklore, school syllabuses and teachers' practice, the organisation and repertoire of choirs, tendencies in the theatre, adaptations of folk dances by both amateur and professional ensembles, the structure of broadcasting programmes, the festival movement as part of mass culture, and the progress in the documentation and interpretation of traditional music in Poland during those two decades. The main point in the discussion about music composition was the discrepancy between new music and the low competence of many potential audiences. The composers wanted to participate in the then fashionable neoclassical trend and simultaneously to preserve and express in a creative way their national or regional heritage, sentiment and identity. The folkloristic-national tendency is conspicuous in about 20% of all compositions from that time. Regional preferences (connected with Podhale – the Tatra foothills, Kurpie, or Silesia) are noticeable in this context. Only a few composers, such as Michał Kondracki, Stanisław Kazuro and especially Łucjan Kamiński, had experience in field research. Others usually studied published sources (e.g. the collection of folk songs from Kurpie and historical Mazovia, edited by Władysław Skierkowski in 1928-1934). Folk-oriented pieces were composed by Michał Kondracki, Stanisław Wiechowicz, Jan Maklakiewicz, Roman Maciejewski, Karol Szymanowski, and many others. Small-scale musical forms, such as piano miniatures, dance suites for orchestra, etc., prevailed and

were frequently commissioned by broadcasters. The folk idiom was also assimilated into more complex musical forms during the 1930s. The latter tendency culminated in the ballet *Harnasie* and in *Symphony No. 4* by Karol Szymanowski, as well as the opera *Popieliny* by Michał Kondracki.

Syllabuses for primary school were based in 80% on Polish music, but methodology was frequently adopted from Western and Northern European countries. The culture-protecting significance of traditional music in the time of political dependence in the 19th century was replaced by didactic and symbolic values of music traditions in school and extracurricular education. Adaptations of narrative folk songs and ballads for school theatricals were accepted and highly valued. Folk dances began to be introduced in schools when the more theoretical profile of music education in the 1920s (solfège) was limited and practical aspects became more important in the 1930s. The singing of folk songs from different regions was accompanied by a regional tendency to promote local dialects. The folk repertoire underwent a reduction, standardisation and was widely distributed. The early Polish and peasant traditions thus came to be understood better in the framework of mass culture. Composers and ethnographers usually attached great importance to the original form of folk music, whereas teachers accepted the modified vocal forms – polyphonic versions of songs and the standard harmonisations of the instrumental accompaniment.

Choirmasters attempted to combine the traditional unison style with three- or four-part arrangements and debated on whether a given ensemble should continue the local, regional traditions or rather widen its repertoire. Specific proportions were suggested in this respect: e.g. 50% for local traditional songs arranged as part-writing, 25% – the folk songs of other regions, 25% – songs by classically educated composers.

Within the theatre movement (12,000 companies and troupes in 1938), about 25% of the repertoire was dedicated to staged folk customs and ceremonies. Among its leaders (Jędrzej Cierniak, Jerzy Zawieyski, Zofia Solarz, and Jadwiga Mierzejewska) two main directions were represented: the lyrical-introverted and spectacular-extroverted styles of staged folk ceremonies. In the 1920s the managers showed a preference for mystery plays, but from 1928 onward and in the 1930s they developed and promoted a more vivid type of shows, in which folk dances were influenced by either the academic dance traditions (the Polish Ballets of Bronisława Niżyńska and

Feliks Parnell) or by the so called liberated expressive dance popular in those days (Ziuta Buczyńska). The mystery play, revived by Juliusz Osterwa and Leon Schiller, served in towns as a substitute for the seasonal ceremonies of the vanishing peasant culture, whereas staged weddings (almost 50 different local versions in 1922-1938) became a symbol of regional identity, targeting all the strata of society.

One impulse for a revival and stylisation of peasant tradition, folk music and dance was the Nationwide Harvest Festival, held for the first time at the Polish President's summer residence (in Spała) in 1927. Technological innovations such as loudspeakers made possible the organisation of mass music events with extended instrumental groups and dance ensembles. The early folklorism of the 1930s in Poland was also connected with festivals of the Carpathians (from 1935) and of the Baltic Sea (from 1936), feast days of cities such as Cracow (1937), Warsaw (1934), and Lublin (1939). The growth of tourism inspired projects that combined classical music, theatre, exhibitions and musical folklore, usually presented by regional youth ensembles (the first Nationwide Exhibition in Poznań 1929, Art Festivals in Cracow, Warsaw, and Poznań, all in 1937). The form and content of those folkloristic performances were conditioned by international exchange related to music and dance festivals held in Great Britain, Germany, France in the 1930s.

About 20% music broadcast on Polish Radio was of strictly Polish character. Programmes featuring folk music (from 1927 onward) were produced by both national and regional broadcasting stations. In the late 1930s, audiences appreciated not only arrangements of folk tunes and dance melodies, but also original music performed by peasant musicians. Conditions of radio broadcasting contributed to limiting the duration and introducing clear segmentation in musical arrangements. A decisive role in cultural change was played by representatives of the intellectual elite, especially by teachers. Stylisations of folk traditions penetrated various domains of art, thus creating interrelationships between music, dance, and theatre scenography. Such 'syncretism' blurred the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture. The rapid development of mass media (broadcasting) contributed to a more unified vision of musical culture.

Musicologists considered the 'rescue operation' aiming to save folk music still preserved among villagers from oblivion as their main task⁵. Phonographic

documentation and publication of detailed transcriptions were the basic procedures. The first archives of folk song and instrumental music were established at the University of Poznań by Łucjan Kamiński (in 1930; 4,000 songs and instrumental pieces recorded) and at the National Library in Warsaw by Julian Pulikowski (1934; 20,000 recorded folk songs and instrumental music, including some by the national minorities). The ideological foundations and organisation of music collecting and recording were the work of Adolf Chybiński and Walerian Batko; the latter was particularly active among music teachers in the Lublin region (1930-1937). The existence of numerous national minorities in prewar Poland encouraged cooperation between musicians and ethnographers (Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay Ehrenkreutz Jędrzejewiczowa and Tadeusz Szeligowski in Vilnius, Kazimierz Moszyński and Filaret Kołessa in Volhynia and Polesia). Traditional instrumental ensemble music was transcribed for the first time by Stanisław Mierczyński (Podhale, 1930; the Hutsuls, 1965)⁶ and Jerzy Olszewski (Mazovia, 1932-1933), which, along with phonograms, made it easier to continue music traditions within the framework of folklorism. The results of field research were published by Łucjan Kamiński (songs of Pomerania, 1936) and Jadwiga Pietruszyńska-Sobieska (bagpipes of Great Poland, 1936). In some contributions, the role of the individual performers and the very act of performance were emphasised. Choreologists developed a structural analysis of dance (Zofia Kwaśnicowa, 1937-1938), which facilitated better dissemination of the ethnic art of dance. It is worth adding that the term 'etno-muzykologia' or 'etnomuzykologia' (ethnomusicology), understood initially as the scientific development of song collections, was already in use at the Universities of Poznań and Warsaw between 1934 and 1939⁷.

Summing up, traditional (folk or peasant) music is an excellent common ground for the cultural interpretation

and Berlin. In: G. Berlin & A. Simon (Eds.), *Music Archiving in the World*. Berlin: VWB, pp. 205-218.

6 Mierczyński, S. (1930, 1949, 1973). *Muzyka Podhala* [*The Music of Podhale*] (1st, 2nd & 3rd Eds.). Lwów-Warszawa: Książnica-Atlas, Kraków: PWM; Idem, (1935). *Pieśni Podhala* [*The Song of Podhale*]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo ZNP; Idem, (1965). *Muzyka Huculszczyzny* [*Hutsul Music*], J. Stęszewski (Ed.). Kraków: PWM.

7 P. Dahlig, (2009). The use of the term ethnomusicology in Ukraine and Poland between 1928 and 1939. *Muzyka*, No. 1, pp. 51-56.

5 P. Dahlig, (2002). The Early Field Recordings in Poland (1904-1939) and Their Relations to the Phonogram Archives in Vienna

and study of early folklorism, because three tendencies emerged simultaneously – the rise of national (not necessarily nationalistic) ideologies, the processes of democratisation, and the crisis of the unique identity of traditional music styles. These tendencies were discussed by artists, musicologists, politicians, teachers, villagers, the press and broadcasters. Such debates were sometimes stormy among Poles as the ‘Europeans of the East’, but the polemicists (with the exception of communists) always appreciated ‘the gift of the freedom’ and did not reject the search for possibly universal moral inspiration in cultural activity. It would be useful and very interesting to compare cultural policies towards folk traditions in East-Central European countries in that period of fragile peace.

FOLKLORISM IN THE CONTEXT OF AUTHORITARIAN POWER

Folklorism after WWII has its unique history. As part of the cultural policy of the totalitarian regime, folklorism was strongly promoted as spectacular social advance for peasants, especially for those who migrated to cities and industrial centres. The regime became slightly less rigorous after 1956, censorship was weakened after 1970, and after 1980 in some respects partly liberalised. Socialist policy-makers financed and simultaneously controlled folklorism, both its content and forms of presentations. Even texts of publicly performed short songs (‘ditties’) had to go through censorship. Folk presentations were incorporated into the political calendar of cultural institutions. This tendency to promote or tolerate folklore on the stage has continued until today in spite of the political changes after 1989. No fewer than 500 festivals of folk music, theatre and dance are organised yearly in the 21st-century Poland⁸.

The task of evaluating this process, also as developing in the first decade after WWII, is complicated by the fact that members of hundreds of folk ensembles remained quite content with what many of them view as their happy life experience. Quite apart from the aesthetic values of folklorism, the set pattern, the false enthusiasm of the slogans written on banners hanging over the stage – participation in folk ensembles led to a growth in cultural competence and was sometimes the first step to redefine national, regional and personal identities.

The therapeutic role of ethnic/folk tradition after the war trauma was also significant. Moreover, the cultural practices and performances in the domains of folksong, music and dance were the means of taking new roots after the huge migrations, particularly in the new Polish territories after the WWII, where folklorism – though in fact a result and ornament of the policy of a dependent, satellite state – for many people played an integrating and stabilising role⁹.

CONTEMPORARY FOLKLORISM

Folklorism can be viewed nowadays from the perspective of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the world (2003)¹⁰. Some festivals, such as the Nationwide Festival of Singers and Folk Bands in Kazimierz on the Vistula (held since 1967, the 50th edition took place in 2016), which was invented by ethnomusicologists, adopted rather conservative profiles (also with respect to revival groups), thus better defining the traditional regional styles in folk practice and successfully imitating the aesthetics of festivals of early music with their stress on relative authenticity in performance. This conservative stance does not exclude, however, the inevitable change of generations and the process of ‘aestheticization’ of traditional performance.

New forms of folklorism could sometimes be called a ‘reinforcement’, as in the case e.g. of blowing the wooden horn *ligawka* (1–1,5 m long) before Christmas in Mazovia. This custom, already known in the 18th century and still alive in the mid-20th c., has been reinforced by performers’ competitions organised by several museums and other cultural institutions since 1975. Below, the traditional and reinforced contexts have been compared¹¹.

⁸ Such a number of events have been listed by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.

⁹ H. Dumin (Ed.), (2015). *Przestrzeń utracona, przestrzeń pozyskana* [Lost Space, Gained Space]. Jelenia Góra: Muzeum Karkonoskie.

¹⁰ J. Adamowski & K. Smyk, (2013). *Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe: źródła – wartości – ochrona*. [The Intangible Cultural Heritage: Origins – Values – Protection]. Lublin–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UMCS–Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa.

¹¹ P. Dahlig, (2003). *Muzyka Adwentu. Mazowiecko-podlaska tradycja gry na ligawce* [The Music of Advent. The Traditions of Ligawka Playing in Mazovia and Podlasie]. Warszawa: TNW, p. 287.

Function and meaning	The traditional perspective	Reinforcement
Symbolic	Advent, Christmas; <i>legacze</i> — mystical shepherds; playing inside or outside the church, in the churchyard or in their own courtyard or farmyard.	Condensation of time and space to fit into the performing contests: the first or second Sunday of Advent. A new intermediate area – the museum as some space between a private house and the church.
Social	A substitute for the lack of dance music, not allowed in the Advent; a 'fast day' music; kind of anticipation of the carnival; acoustic communication within the radius of 3-6 km; playing in the yards of private houses, near a well or by a river, on village roads, etc.	Advance in musicians' status: Gathering of players at the place of the competition (museums in Ciechanowiec, Siedlce, Liw) travelling there from the distance of up to 50 km (the maximum range of a wedding musician, who was higher in rank than <i>legacze</i>); the <i>ligawka</i> as an element integrating local society (the competition in Ciechanowiec).
personal (and musical)	Proof of skill in wood carving, a test of good health (lungs); a kind of prestige for the family; a minimal, but appreciated and popular music competence.	Growth in visibility: new instruments, elaborate mouthpieces, new technologies (synthetic glues), ornaments on the horns, specific techniques of playing (raising the instrument); the new youth category, including girls, is present at the competitions; formalised procedure of performance and enlarged repertoire; instruments from different regions; other educational music events accompanying the competition.

PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSICOLOGISTS TO FOLKLORISM

When discussing folklorism, we must remember that several generations of musicians, musicologists and other intellectuals have already contributed to this movement. Virtually every ethnomusicologist has done some work in the 'current' of folklorism. This continuity of generations and contributions has been represented below; folkloristic initiatives or contributions have been listed at the end of each biographical profile. The footnotes list mainly the books written by the given author. Individual

bibliographies can be found in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna Polskiego Wydawnictwa Muzycznego. Część biograficzna* [PWM Edition Music Encyclopaedia – Biographical Part] (ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska).

The 1st generation:

- Helena Windakiewicz Rogalska (1868–1956) – the first researcher who concentrated exclusively on traditional ethnic music. She studied Oskar Kolberg's regional monographies, and adopted European musical terminology. She made contributions to the study of tonality, rhythm, and musical forms. She commented on the evolution and transformation of folksong and its liberation from its social basis. She was also the first to study the relations between Chopin's works and the sources of folk music¹². She contributed to the Chopin-inspired revival of interest in traditional peasant music in Poland among musicologists, and commented on how that music functioned in the 20th century¹³.

- Adolf Chybiński (1880–1952) – professor of musicology in Lwów (now Lviv) from 1912; music historian. He published the first article on the classification of Polish folksongs based partially on Finnish achievements (1907); he published the first monograph on the folk instruments of the highlanders (1924, 1925)¹⁴, and prepared materials for a lexicon of folk dances. He was an advocate of the phonographic documentation and improving the status of folk culture as a residue of early Polish culture, which should be cultivated as a national treasure (1921)¹⁵. In the realm of folklorism he prepared anthologies of songs for schools

¹² H. Rogalska-Windakiewicz, (1926). *Wzory muzyki ludowej w „Mazurkach” Fryderyka Chopina* [The Models of Folk Music in Fryderyk Chopin's Mazurkas]. Kraków: PAU.

¹³ Other studies by Helena Rogalska-Windakiewicz are listed in E. Dziębowska (Ed.), (2012). *Encyklopedia Muzyczna Polskiego Wydawnictwa Muzycznego. Część biograficzna*, Vol. 12. Kraków: PWM.

¹⁴ A. Chybiński, (1924). *Instrumenty muzyczne ludu polskiego na Podhalu* [The Music Instruments of the Polish Folk in Podhale] (1st Ed.). Kraków: PAU; Idem, (1925). *Dzwony pasterskie ludu polskiego na Podhalu* [The Shepherd Bells of the Polish Folk in Podhale]. Kraków: PAU.

¹⁵ Adolf Chybiński published many appeals and projects for the phonographic documentation of ethnic and folk music in the press, ethnological and cultural periodicals, for instance: A. Chybiński, (1921). *Muzea a muzyka* [Museums and Music]. *Słowo Polskie*, Nos. 130–138; Idem, (1921). *Potrzeba organizacji pracy w zakresie folkloru muzycznego* [The Need to Organise Work in the Field of Musical Folklore]. *Słowo Polskie*, Nos. 98, 100, 102; Idem, (1922). *O organizację pracy nad melodiami ludowymi* [For the Organisation of Work on Folk Melodies]. *Lud*, Vol. 21, pp. 29–39.

use and contributed to the adaptation of folk instruments (the bagpipe and the *trembita*) for the Polish army.

- Łucjan Kamieński (1885–1964), professor of musicology in Poznań from 1921. He was interested in performance practice, in the personalities of folk musicians (bagpipers) and singers, in the ‘biology of singing’. He described *tempo rubato*, polyphony and heterophony in folk practice. He was the inventor of the term “ethnomusicology” in Poland (1934)¹⁶, six years after Kliment Kvitka¹⁷ in Ukraine and well before corresponding definitions in Western Europe (Jaap Kunst). The anthology *Pieśni ludu pomorskiego* (1936)¹⁸ was a monument of the most detailed transcription of recordings from wax cylinders. The transcription and classification of folk songs was a prerequisite for creating ethnomusicology. He was the founder of the first institutional phonogram archives in Poznań (1930); he collaborated with the Berliner Phonogrammarchiv and Erich M. von Hornbostel¹⁹. In 1937, he contributed to the organisation of a competition of bagpipers in Great Poland, creating a kind of ‘jury’ with his colleagues. He promoted folk music in the press and media and composed song arrangements for choirs²⁰, indicating the original monodic material with bigger notes and his own harmonisations with smaller ones.

- Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian (1890–1938) was the author of synthetic, encyclopaedic articles on Polish folk music²¹ and of the first Polish texts on Oriental music (Turkish and Armenian).

The 2nd generation:

Jadwiga Pietruszyńska-Sobieska (1909–1995)²², Marian Sobieski (1908–1967)²³, Julian Pulikowski (1909–1944)²⁴, Tadeusz Grabowski (1909–1940), Adolf Dygacz (1913–2003), Jan Tacina (1909–1990)²⁵, and Bożena Czyżykowska (1910–1943).

General tendencies or new aspects: Intensive and systematic field research and recordings making use of an extended version of Ł. Kamieński’s methodology; complete concentration on the ethnomusicological specialisation; regional monographs - anthologies of folk songs based on phonographic sources; Silesian studies (Dygacz); case studies on culture change, studies on folk music instruments; the first comments on folk terminology; the first study of folk music in towns. The rise of applied ethnomusicology – organisation of folklore festivals and serving as the jury at the first festival of folk music in Cracow related to the tourist promotion (1937); at the Nationwide Festival of Singers and Folk Bands in Kazimierz from 1967 and numerous other enterprises of this kind; co-organising museums of musical instruments (Szydłowiec 1975); cooperation with broadcasters.

16 J. Stęszewski, (1992). Zur Geschichte des Terminus „Ethnomusicology”. In: J. Kuckertz, R. Schumacher, *Von der Vielfalt musikalischer Kultur*. Anif/Salzburg: Verlag Ursula Müller-Speiser, pp. 527–534.

17 B. Łukaniuk, (2006). Do historii terminu „etnomuzykologiya” [On the History of the Term ‘Ethnomusicology’]. *Etnomuzika*, No. 1, pp. 9–32.

18 Ł. Kamieński, (1936). *Pieśni ludu pomorskiego* [Songs of the Pomeranian Folk]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Bałtyckiego.

19 P. Dahlig, (2000). Wczesna etnomuzykologia polska w świetle korespondencji [Early Polish Ethnomusicology in the Light of Correspondence]. In: L. Bielawski, K. Dadak-Kozicka & A. Leszczyńska (Eds.), *Muzykologia u progu trzeciego tysiąclecia* [Musicology at the Start of the Third Millennium]. Warszawa: Akademia Muzyczna im. F. Chopina, Instytut Sztuki PAN, pp. 155–174.

20 Ł. Kamieński, (1936). *Śpiewnik wielkopolski* [A Songbook from Greater Poland]. Poznań: Wielkopolski Związek Teatrów Ludowych; Idem, (1938). *Śpiewnik pomorski* [A Pomeranian Songbook], Poznań: Wielkopolski Związek Teatrów Ludowych.

21 B. Wójcik-Keuprulian, (1932). *Muzyka ludowa* [Folk Music]. In: *Wiedza o Polsce* [Knowledge about Poland], Vol. 5, Part 3. Warszawa: Wiedza o Polsce; Idem, (1932/34). *Polska muzyka ludowa* [Polish Folk Music]. *Lud Słowiński*, Vol. III, pp. B3–B33.

22 J. Sobieska & M. Sobieski, (1954). *Szlakiem kozła lubuskiego* [The Trail of the Lubus Bagpipe]. Kraków: PWM; Idem, (1973). *Polska muzyka ludowa i jej problemy* [Polish Folk Music and Its Problems], L. Bielawski (Ed.). Kraków: PWM; J. Sobieska, (1957). *Wielkopolskie śpiewki ludowe* [Folk Songs from Greater Poland]. Kraków: PWM; Eadem, (1972). *Ze studiów nad folklorem muzycznym Wielkopolski* [From the Studies on Greater Poland’s Musical Folklore]. Kraków: PWM; Eadem, (1982, 2006). *Polski folklor muzyczny* [Polish Musical Folklore] (1st & 2nd Ed.). Warszawa: COPSA; CEA.

23 M. Sobieski, (1955). *Pieśni ludowe Warmii i Mazur* [The Folksongs of Warmia and Masuria]. Kraków: PWM; Idem, (1961). Oskar Kolberg jako kompozytor i folklorysta muzyczny [Oskar Kolberg as a Composer and Music Folklorist]. In: O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie* [Collected Works], Vol. 1. Kraków: PWM; Wrocław: PTL, pp. LVII–LXXI; Idem, (1967). Z zagadnień polskiego ludowego instrumentarium muzycznego (mazanki, serby, skrzypce) [Problems of Polish Folk Instrument Studies: The Mazanki, Serby and Fiddle]. In: *Studia Hieronymo Feicht septuagenario dedicata*. Kraków: PWM, pp. 24–34.

24 J. Pulikowski, (1933). *Geschichte des Begriffs Volkslied*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

25 J. Tacina, (1959). *Gronie nasze, gronie. Pieśni ludowe znad źródeł Olzy* [Gronie, Our Gronie. Folksongs from the Olza River Source Area]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk”.

The 3rd generation:

Bolesław Bartkowski²⁶, Ludwik Bielawski²⁷, Aleksandra Bogucka, Anna Czekanowska²⁸, Grażyna Dąbrowska²⁹, Alojzy Kopoczek, Barbara Krzyżaniak, Roderyk Lange³⁰, Bogusław Linette³¹, Jarosław Lisakowski³², Aleksander Pawlak³³, and Jan Sześzewski³⁴.

Full maturity and probably the heyday of the discipline; studies on methodologies, syntheses, encyclopaedic contributions and handbooks; the development of ethnochoreology and anthropology of dance; efforts to define national style in the context of both historical sources (dances, carols) and analyses of actual

performances. Studies on religious songs in folk practice; regional monographs attain their most advanced form; instrumentology as a subdiscipline of ethnomusicology. Slavic studies, initiation of research on the resettled populations; contributions of ethnomusicology to interdisciplinary studies and to general theory of music. Intensive cooperation with folk ensembles, folk musicians, singers, cultural institutions and festivals, in the capacity of consultants and jurors.

The 4th generation:

Maria Baliszewska, Andrzej Bieńkowski³⁵, Jadwiga Bobrowska³⁶, Józefina K. Dadak-Kozicka, Piotr Dahlig³⁷, Ewa Dahlig-Turek³⁸, Anna Gruszczyńska, Bożena Lewandowska, Bożena Muszkalska, Arleta Nawrocka³⁹, Zbigniew Przerembski⁴⁰, Alicja Trojanowicz⁴¹, Krystyna

26 B. Bartkowski, (1987). *Polskie śpiewy religijne w żywej tradycji. Style i formy* [Polish Religious Songs in Living Tradition. Styles and Forms]. Kraków: PWM.

27 L. Bielawski, (1999). *Tradycje ludowe w kulturze muzycznej* [Folk Traditions in Musical Culture]. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN.

28 A. Czekanowska, (1990). *Studien zum Nationalstil der polnischen Musik. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, Vol. 163. Regensburg: G. Bosse; Eadem, (1990). *Polish Folk Music: Slavonic Heritage – Polish Tradition – Contemporary Trends*, J. Blacking (Ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Eadem, (2008). *Kultury tradycyjne wobec współczesności: muzyka, poezja, taniec* [Traditional Cultures and Modernity: Music, Poetry and Dance]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio; A. Czekanowska (Ed.), (1999). *Dziedzictwo europejskie a polska kultura muzyczna w dobie przemian* [The European Heritage and Polish Musical Culture in an Age of Transformations]. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica.

29 G. Dąbrowska, (1971). *Obrzędy i zwyczaje doroczne jako widowisko* [Annual Customs and Rituals as Shows]. Warszawa: Centralny Ośrodek Metodyki Upowszechniania Kultury; Eadem, (2006). *Leksykon tańców polskich* [A Lexicon of Polish Dances]. Warszawa: Muza.

30 R. Lange, (1977). *Tradycyjny taniec ludowy w Polsce i jego przeobrażenia w czasie i przestrzeni. Zeszyt Naukowy Polskiego Uniwersytetu na obczyźnie*, No. 7. Londyn: Veritas Foundation Publication Centre.

31 B. Linette, (1970). *Folklor muzyczny a folklorizm* [Musical Folklore and Folklorism]. In: *Folklor w życiu współczesnym* [Folklore in Contemporary Life]. Poznań: Wielkopolskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, pp. 30–38.

32 J. Lisakowski, (1971). *Pieśni kaliskie* [Songs of the Kalisz Region]. Kraków: PWM; Idem, (1980). *Pieśni ludowe z regionu Kozła* [Folksongs of the Kozioł Region]. Zielona Góra: Wojewódzki Dom Kultury, Lubuskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne.

33 A. Pawlak, (1981). *Folklor muzyczny Kujaw* [The Musical Folklore of Kuyavia]. Kraków: PWM;

34 J. Sześzewski, (2009). *Rzeczy, świadomość, nazwy. O muzyce i muzykologii* [Things, Consciousness and Names. On Music and Musicology], P. Podlipniak & M. Walter-Mazur (Eds.). Poznań: PTPN.

35 A. Bieńkowski, (2001). *Ostatni wiejscy muzykanci* [The Last Village Musicians], Warszawa: Muzyka Odnaleziona; the editor of a series of CDs presenting field recordings from Poland.

36 J. Bobrowska, (1981). *Pieśni ludowe regionu żywieckiego* [Folksongs of the Żywiec Region]. Kraków: PWM; Eadem, (2000). *Polska folklorystyka muzyczna* [Polish Musical Folklore], Katowice: Akademia Muzyczna im. K. Szymanowskiego.

37 P. Dahlig, (1987). *Muzyka ludowa we współczesnym społeczeństwie* [Folk Music in the Contemporary Society], Warszawa: WSiP; Idem, (1993). *Ludowa praktyka muzyczna w komentarzach i opiniach wykonawców w Polsce* [Polish Folk Music Practice in Performers' Opinions and Commentaries], Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN; Idem, (1998). *Tradycje muzyczne a ich przemiany. Między kulturą ludową, popularną i elitarną Polski międzywojennej* [Music Traditions and Their Transformations. Between the Folk, Popular and Elite Culture of Interwar Poland], Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN.

38 E. Dahlig-Turek, (1990). *Ludowa gra skrzypcowa w Kieleckiem* [The Folk Violin Tradition in the Kielce Region]. Kraków: PWM; Eadem, (2001). *Ludowe instrumenty skrzypcowe w Polsce* [Folk Fiddles in Poland]. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN.

39 A. Nawrocka-Wysocka, (2002). *Śpiewy protestanckie na Mazurach* [Protestant Songs in Masuria], Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN.

40 Z. Przerembski, (2006). *Dudy. Dzieje instrumentu w kulturze staropolskiej* [The Bagpipe's History in Old Polish Culture]. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN.

41 A. Trojanowicz, (1989). *Lamenty, rymowanki, zawołania w polskim folklorze muzycznym* [Laments, Nursery Rhymes, and Exclamations in Polish Musical Folklore]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.

Turek⁴², Antoni Zoła⁴³, and Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek⁴⁴.

General tendencies: Searching for new topics. Development of the anthropology of music; studies dedicated to the *emic* perspective; folk terminology and aesthetics; studies on culture history and change; thanatology (ceremonies related to death); interdisciplinary studies; links to philosophy and philology; field research and contributions to studies on Asia, South America, and Southern Europe; initiation of research on national and religious minorities in Poland; studies on Jewish music in Poland; the study of historical sources for folk music and dance in Poland since the Middle Ages, e.g. in tablatures; advanced musical iconography studies, and further development of instrumentology. The first study by a non-Polish scholar on the cultural history of instrumental ensembles (William Noll)⁴⁵. The use of new (computerised) procedures of analysis; new quality and range of documentation (filming); development of the discography. Further intensive cooperation with folk ensembles, folk musicians, singers, cultural institutions and festivals, in the capacity of consultants and jurors.

The 5th generation:

Jacek Jackowski⁴⁶, Gustaw Juzala⁴⁷, Tomasz Nowak⁴⁸, Weronika Grozdew, Ewa Sławińska-Dahlig, and others.

General or specific tendencies: Revival studies and practical participation in the revival of traditional, folk music (the so-called folk movement, *ruch folkowy*); research on ethnic borderlands, on the national minorities in Poland and Polish minorities abroad; field research in Belarus, Lithuania, Romania, Ukraine, and Bulgaria; long-term cooperation with Indonesia; contributions to studies on Jewish and Gypsy music; religious folk culture in Poland as an object of ethnomusicology; intensive documentation of outstanding folk musicians and singers; conservation of old collections – digitisation of analogue recordings, computerisation of archives. Not only cooperation with folk musicians, cultural institutions and festivals as consultants and jurors, but also active participation in the revival of ethnic musical tradition (and performance practice).

FOLKLORISM AND APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

The comments and typologies below summarise the author's experiences of field research in Poland since 1975. The perspective of applied ethnomusicology is related more closely to cultural anthropology than to musical analysis and, in agreement with modern tendencies in cultural studies, does not exclude the consciousness of the research worker. For this reason, this section ends with an ethnomusicologist's self-reflection, because 'objective' folklore studies can hardly be imagined, and individual self-criticism is both useful and necessary.

From the local/regional point of view, folklorism is a 'second-hand' tradition, but to some extent rooted in the 'first-hand' heritage. Both have external and internal functions, and their following properties can be discussed:

⁴² K. Turek, (1986). *Pieśni ludowe na Górnym Śląsku w XIX i w początkach XIX w. Charakterystyka poetycko-muzyczna źródeł* [Folksongs in Upper Silesia, 19th – early 20th Centuries. Poetic and Musical Qualities of the Sources]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

⁴³ A. Zoła, (2003). *Melodyka ludowych śpiewów religijnych w Polsce* [The Melodies of Religious Folksongs in Poland]. Lublin: Polihymnia.

⁴⁴ S. Żerańska-Kominek, (1995). *Muzyka w kulturze. Wstęp do etnomuzykologii* [Music in Culture. Introduction to Ethnomusicology]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego; S. Żerańska-Kominek (Ed.), (1990). *Kultura muzyczna mniejszości narodowych w Polsce: Litwini, Białorusini, Ukraińcy* [The Musical Culture of National Minorities in Poland: Lithuanians, Belarussians, and Ukrainians]. *Rozwój regionalny, rozwój lokalny, samorząd terytorialny*, No. 29. Warszawa: Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, Instytut Gospodarki Przestrzennej.

⁴⁵ W. Noll, (1991). *Peasant Music Ensembles in Poland: A Culture History*, Seattle 1986. *Economics of Music Patronage Among Polish and Ukrainian Peasants to 1939. Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 349–379.

⁴⁶ J. P. Jackowski, (2007). *Łowickie a Rawskie – muzyczne subregiony Mazowsza* [The Łowicz and Rawa Regions – Musical Subregions of Mazovia]. Warszawa: TNW.

⁴⁷ G. Juzala, (2007). *Semiotyka folkloru muzycznego pograniczy polsko-litewskich* [The Semiotics of Musical Folklore in the Polish-Lithuanian Borderlands]. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.

⁴⁸ T. Nowak, (2005). *Tradycje muzyczne społeczności polskich na Wileńszczyźnie. Opinie i zachowania* [Music Traditions of Polish Communities in the Vilnius Region. Opinions and Types of Behaviour]. Warszawa: TNW.

Spontaneous (1) vs. organised (2) circulation of folk traditions.

Ad 1. Transmission at home; e.g. grandfather/grandmother to grandchildren; transmission at weddings and other local ceremonies, e.g. acoustic instruments and retrospective repertoire on the second day of the wedding; traditional songs at local harvest holidays.

Ad 2. The activities of village elites: vocal groups, vocal-theatrical groups, song and dance ensembles, folk bands and orchestras and their multiple social functions.

The organised movement results in:

1) a growing discrepancy between contemporary and historical concepts and contexts;

2) internal development and diversity of transmission; the rise of new isolated cultural enclaves, cultural associations; the continuation of marginal but important styles, and of the distinct identity of minorities;

3) reduction of the repertoire and standardisation of its performances;

4) reducing musical tradition to the role of a local emblem accompanied by its own documentation and promotion of the community. These activities are conditioned by the initiatives of local leaders and 'guardians' of local memory. The adoption of an insider's viewpoint would bring out the fact that each community or village is a micro-society whose traditions have inevitably been filtered and partially lost. This raises the question of what still functions in passive memory and what is presented publicly, especially with regard to the older generations of villagers that are now disappearing.

From the macro-perspective, three types of presence of folk traditions can be distinguished:

1) integration with mass culture, simulation of real or virtual community in marketing, regional and culinary festive garden-parties, contemporary feast songs, folk quotations in pop music;

2) partly independent and autonomous circulation and transmission in local agrarian communities, e.g. of religious folklore; regional/local music as an alternative for the youth in towns, for ethnic minorities; psychic need for face-to-face contact with music; music as a vehicle to gain and deepen the individual or generational consciousness and identity/subjectivity.

3) the dissemination of elements of folk tradition in artistic works.

Folklorism evolves from different patterns of participation in traditional folk culture. Poland demonstrates three profiles of such participation: dance parties (especially in western and south-western Poland,

that is, in Greater Poland and Silesia); vocal and ritual culture still preserved in the eastern parts; the high status of individual displays of skill (Lesser Poland and the mountains). Folklorism is usually built on these various kinds of cultural 'soil'.

Connections to local musical landscape suggest the following postulates in the Polish context:

1. to counteract the city dwellers' sense of superiority in relation to villagers;

2. to foster initiatives aiming at forming subjective bonds within local communities;

3. to be open to pluralism of expression in the domain of ethnic/regional culture while at the same time using different criteria for the evaluation of different performances, e.g. 'authentic'- individual versus stylised-collective; to take note of apparently marginal phenomena and thus to balance the protection of both the whole and the details of the heritage;

4. to act as willing consultants to folk ensembles when it is expected, especially to youth and children's bands;

5. to help protect natural circulation (e.g. 'houses of dance' and other youth associations) against commercialism;

6. to protect the sources of folk/regional culture, both 'on paper' and 'living' ones; to conduct family documentation in time; to foster musical competence, since a revival combined with musical illiteracy is short-lasting;

7. to document dialects and language modes, because music is changing together with the ways of talking about music and its vocabulary;

8. to support and assist youth groups in their search for aesthetic uniqueness when they either tend to revive traditional music in modern arrangements or to discover and reconstruct the forgotten beauty of old style.

From another, more personal perspective, the postulates of practical folklorism/applied ethnomusicology can be divided into three groups:

I. Activities for the communities under study:

1. acting as 'guardians', demonstrating interest to the older generations;

2. assisting in public performances, including advice concerning the choice of repertoire, which is usually most welcome in the circles of singers and musicians;

3. preserving local memory by technical means;

4. avoiding the illusions frequently disseminated by mass media; establishing the real state of traditions within the local communities studied by ethno-sociology and musicology as the prerequisite for any conclusions;

5. the 'intransitive' character of the evaluation of the various folk performances; high appreciation for pure traditional performance does not disqualify song-and-dance ensembles; such incompatibility of presentations is typical of contemporary cultural diversity;

6. taking part in music-making along with interviewing singers and musicians.

II. Activities for general social landscape and public circulation:

1. the fact of collecting sources is itself creative in the social-cultural respect;
2. reasonable participation in creating the contents and shaping the quality of media-scape;
3. serving on the juries of competitions and festivals;
4. decisions as to the choice of repertoire for discographies;
5. publishing one's own results of field research, but without any excessive attachment to one's own 'material'; digitisation accompanied by the protection of original sound carriers.

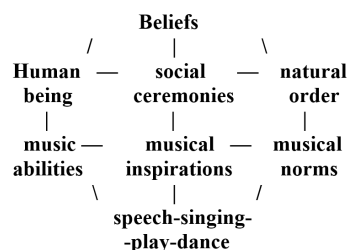
III. Activities for the research circles:

1. creating a stronger sense of community in the small and dispersed groups of research-workers;
2. evoking a sense of participation in the theoretically never-ending process of multiplying and deepening knowledge.

While serving the whole gamut of social tasks, we cannot forget about or neglect the basic set of ideas that underlie music practice in the original environments, such as:

- 1) the concept of orderliness, its embodiment and affirmation, which is the common heritage of nature and supernatural powers;
- 2) restoring or inspiring good humour, regaining equilibrium ('to amuse in misery');
- 3) the treatment of musical instrument as an extension of the human body and soul with all their range of expression.

The consciousness of traditional music as interlinked with the social and symbolic worlds is to be kept in mind, which is illustrated in the scheme below⁴⁹:



This eclectic or 'postmodern' approach makes it possible to discuss the development, specialisation, transformations of interests, methods, and the emergence of social, applied ethnomusicology which has for approximately 80 years exerted impact on (1) the shift (import) of traditional music from villages to towns, cities and the media environment and (2) the reintegration of values connected with traditional culture, such as the significance of the symbolic domain and the links between vocal culture and the natural environment. Nevertheless, the general goal of ethnomusicology, also relevant in social space, is still the promotion of an individual understanding of the world and people through the microcosm of traditional music in its historical and social contexts. Folklorism can be thus reinterpreted in the 21st century as a useful and reasonable way to counteract homogeneity in the society, the lack of aesthetic ideals, and the pressures of the fluid and chaotic media world. Folklorism, in spite of its 'sins', contributes, in the end, to the survival of ethnic values in the globalised world.

Since early comparative musicology concentrated on purely musical structures, contemporary ethnomusicology could adopt a similar procedure, but applied to another, more human subject – that of a deeper understanding of the individuality of the cultural history of every European country, nation and ethnic group.

Folklorism in Central-Eastern, North-Eastern and Southern Europe was the invention of the new independent states after WWI, and has greatly contributed, apart from the school system, to creating national concepts in Poland, such as the 'Polishness' of local rural traditions. An ideological homeland, not only a private one, thus emerged in the consciousness of village communities that made up 70% of the population in the interwar Poland. In the first decades of the 20th century, folklorism, that is – the presence of traditional but transformed folk/peasant music, folk dances, traditional calendar-related spectacles – was fostered by the political authorities, teachers, and broadcasters people, but practised by the youth and students visiting cities to take part in festivals held from the end of the 1920s. These occasional journeys from villages to towns resulted in new

⁴⁹ P. Dahlig, (1993). *Op. cit.*, pp. 302–303.

self-identities and a new public discourse on Polishness in various regional traditions. The all-Polish myth took shape during the annual harvest festivals held in Spała from 1927, for which the ethnographer Kazimierz Moszyński designed twelve gates symbolising different regions of Poland, including two specially distinguished ones – Silesia and Pomerania, which were then of crucial political importance to Poland. These twelve gates, probably influenced by the Biblical Jerusalem, inspired the imagination of the villagers coming to Spała from all parts of Poland. To promote the integrated culture of Poland, a new, democratised Polishness had to be invented so as to counteract the effects of the Poland's partitions in the 19th century.

After WWII, folklorism in 1945-1956 became an attractive vehicle which, in fact, masked the persecutions of the independent cultural and political heritage of Poland. However, for the villagers themselves, for thousands of folkloric ensembles financed and controlled by the Communist regime, folklorism was the accepted form of the spectacular cultural/political advance of peasantry (the term 'peasant' did not yet acquire the pejorative connotations that it has today). After political changes in 1956, the role of a homogenous satellite country was gradually complemented by regional movements within socialist Poland. Toward the end of the 1960s, regionalism brought about a revival of national tendencies. The Nationwide Festival of Folk Singers and Folk Bands held since 1967, and the Association of Folk Artists founded in 1968, served the promotion of Polish traditions, but with an emphasis on the individuality of its participants and members. In such contexts, the shaping of national consciousness and the idea of Polishness have to be considered as social and operational realities, partly constructed and partly recreated. A kind of Polishness was and is still being promoted abroad by state folklore ensembles such as 'Mazowsze' and 'Śląsk' ('Silesia'), which present highly stylised forms of traditional culture acceptable to a mass audience. Since the 1970s, folk traditions have openly become associated with national culture. In the present century, they are being further negotiated, but projects such as 'All the Mazurkas of the world' are replacing natural processes and oppose culture change. The de-territorialisation, de-contextualisation and media-isation blur the former contrasts between village and town communities with respect to revived forms of traditional music and dance.

The ethnomusicologists themselves used the argument of the Polishness of folklore in Poland simply to stress the importance of their studies and thus to secure financial support. It has been the case both before and after WWII.

But a sincere faith in Polishness as a sublimation of territorial and cultural bonds should never be excluded, also in the humanities. Each country should have a right to be loved by its citizens, naturally with some reasonable limitations which can be deduced from history.

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