

Organ Culture in Post-War Poland:

1945 - 2012

by

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the history of Western art music, political and religious institutions have exerted powerful influence through their patronage and censorship. This is especially relevant to the organ, an elaborate and expensive instrument which has always depended on institutional support. The fascinating story of Polish organ culture, which has existed since the Middle Ages, reflects the dramatic changes in Polish politics throughout the centuries. An understanding of this country's history helps to construct a comprehensive view of how politics influenced the developments in organ building and organ playing.

This paper describes the dynamics of the Church, government and art institutions in Poland during the years 1945-2012. A brief summary of the history of Polish organ culture sets the stage for the changes occurring after WWII. The constant struggle between the Church and the communist regime affected music making and organ culture in Poland from 1945-1989. The political *détente* that occurred after 1989 led to a flowering of new instruments, restorations and performance opportunities for organists. By exploring the relationship between Polish organ culture and prevailing agendas in the 20th century, the author

demonstrates how a centuries-old tradition adapted to survive political and economic hardships.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This paper provides an account of Polish organ culture from 1945 until the present day. In order to assess 20th-century developments within a broader context, the first chapter gives an historical overview from the earliest traces of organ music in Poland, showing how European tendencies influenced Polish organ building. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss political changes in the country, demonstrating their influence on music in general and on composition for the organ in particular. Chapter 4 describes other aspects of Polish organ culture during the years 1945-1989, including the educational system of training organists, intellectual exchange with other countries, organ building and publications relating to organ history and repertoire. Chapter 5 summarizes changes in these areas after 1989, further demonstrating the impact of changing political and religious institutions on the organ and its music in Poland.

As a Polish organist who started organ studies after 1989, I was drawn to this topic in order to understand my own history. In my youth I was taught according to two different history curricula: in 1980s elementary school, that the Soviets freed my

country, and in 1990s high school, that they terrorized it. My generation confronted the hardships of young capitalism and political instability and learned how to adapt to the new reality and compete with the newly opened Western market economy. Poles of my generation typically speak more than one language, often live or work outside of Poland, and travel a great deal - they do what their parents could not do. Traveling for master courses throughout Europe and for graduate organ studies in the Netherlands enabled me to view my own culture from a broader perspective. Before my recent move to the US, I worked as an organ teacher at the Academy of Music in Łódź, and I had a chance to engage in Polish organ culture by spreading the knowledge I gained from my travels. Involved in historical research about earlier European traditions of organ building and playing by studying with Jacques Oortmerssen at the Amsterdam Conservatory and with Kimberly Marshall at ASU School of Music led me to inquire about the situation in my home country. Poland has a number of historical instruments and some of the earliest surviving repertoire for the instrument. How had its difficult political history affected its prominence in European organ culture? I was especially interested in the ways that Polish organists continued their art despite the communist

suppression of the Catholic Church after WWII. Having personally benefited from the opening to the West after 1989, I wanted to investigate the ways that organists adapted to a regime that was hostile to their instrument in order to preserve a centuries-old tradition. My perspective as a doctoral student in the United States helped me to maintain objectivity towards the sources documenting Polish organs and organists in the 20th century. I was able to see how larger political ideologies and financial conditions shaped the work of organists and organ builders in Poland, and I was gratified to conclude that Polish organ culture is now flourishing despite the extreme hardships of the past.

I believe that my paper is unique in assessing Polish organ building, organ playing and organ composition after WWII within a broader political context. Much of Chapter 5 documents what I personally experienced as a young organist living in Poland. The preceding chapters set the stage for this development by showing how organists maintained their traditions and found new avenues of expression despite a lack of institutional support after 1945. I hope that my study will lead to more interest in Polish organs and their music by disseminating news of the "Organ Renaissance" worldwide.

CHAPTER 2

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ORGAN CULTURE UNTIL 1945

Organ music in Poland can be dated as far back as the country adopting Christianity in 966 C.E. At this time the Church was one of the most prominent political institutions, exerting a strong influence on almost all of Europe. The organ, having been lost to the fall of the Roman Empire in the 5th century, was reintroduced to the West with a gift in 757 from the Byzantine Emperor to Pippin, King of the Franks. Because of its powerful sound and mechanical ingenuity, it became associated with political and religious ceremony. By the 13th century, it had been adopted as the instrument of the Catholic Church, as documented by Aegidius of Zamora.

By 1300, Roman Catholicism was the dominant religion in Poland; although the country went through different stages of openness towards other religions, it has remained primarily Catholic to this day. The late 10th and 11th centuries saw the establishment in Poland of cathedrals, churches and monastic institutions that fostered the type of knowledge needed to build organs. According to archival documents, medieval organ builders in Poland were members of monastic orders or citizens

of larger towns, places where raw materials and support for organ building technology were available.¹ Large towns like Kraków, Poznań, Toruń, and Gdańsk were the most active centers, from where knowledge spread to more provincial towns.² About twenty 15th-century organ builders are mentioned in archival documents. An idea of the extent to which organs were built in medieval Poland can be found in the small diocese of Płock near Warsaw, where twenty free-standing organs and ten portable organs existed already in the 16th century, some from that time and some earlier (Płońsk 1492, Zakroczym 1466).³ Despite the abundance of archival information about organs and organists in Poland by the 12th century,⁴ there is no surviving organ music before the 16th century.

The golden period of organ music occurred as Poland expanded to become the second largest country in Europe, gaining political power throughout the 16th to 18th centuries.

Tablatures of organ music and remnants of baroque instruments

¹ Jerzy Gołos, *The Polish Organ: The Instrument and Its History* (Warsaw, Poland: Sutkowski Edition, 1992), 13.

² Ibid., 13-14.

³ Gołos, 17.

⁴ More detailed information on the instruments and the archival findings (with original documents listed and cited) from the medieval Poland can be found in: Jerzy Gołos, *The Polish Organ: The Instrument and Its History* (Warsaw, Poland: Sutkowski Edition, 1992), 9-24.

attest to this activity. Examples of Polish contributions to 16th-century organ repertoire are the Organ Tablature of Jan of Lublin (c. 1537-1548),⁵ the Organ Tablature from the monastery of the Holy Ghost in Cracow (c. 1548),⁶ the Łowicz Tablature (c. 1580),⁷ the Gdańsk Tablature (1591),⁸ the Johann Fischer Morungensis Tablature (1595),⁹ the recently discovered Żmudź Tablature (c. 1618)¹⁰ and Sapieha Album (c. 1626),¹¹ the

⁵ Manuscript: *Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina, 1537-1548*, MS 1716, Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow.
Editions: Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska, ed., *Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina. Facsimile*. Monumenta Musicae in Polonia B/1 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1964).
John Reeves White, ed., *Johannes of Lublin Tablature of Keyboard Music*, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 6 (USA: American Institute of Musicology, 1964-7).

⁶ Photocopies of manuscript: *Tabulatura organowa z klasztoru Ducha św. w Krakowie, c. 1548*, MS 564, National Library, Warsaw.
Edition: Jerzy Gołos, ed., *Krakowska Tabulatura Organowa 1548*, (Łódź, Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny, 1992).

⁷ Photocopies of manuscript: *Tabulatura organowa z Łowicza, c. 1580*, MS I/220, Warsaw Music Society Library.
Edition: Jerzy Gołos, ed., *The Organ Tablature of Warsaw Musical Society*, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 15 (Warsaw, 1966).

⁸ Manuscript: MS 300 R. Vv. Archiwum Wojewódzkie, Gdańsk.
Edition: Jerzy Erdman, ed., *Gdańska Tabulatura Organowa 1591* (Łódź, Poland: Polski Instytut Muzyczny, 1993).

⁹ Manuscript: MS XIV. 13a (d. G.I.14), Toruń, Archiwum Wojewódzkie.
Edition: Jerzy Gołos, ed., *Johannes Fischer. Utwory z Tabulatury Organowej 1595* (Łódź: Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny).
This Johann Fischer should not be confused with Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer (1656-1746), the author of a collection of organ pieces "*Blumen-Strauss*."

¹⁰ Manuscript: Ms Lt-Vn 105-67, National Library, Vilnius.
Edition: Irena Bieńkowska, Mirosław Perz, ed. *Adam z Wągrowca SOCist (+1629). Utwory organowe z intawolatury żmudzkiej*, (Poland: University of Warsaw, 1999).

Warsaw Tablature (c. 1660-1680),¹² and the 6-volume Pelplin Organ Tablature (1620-30).¹³ Discovered in 1958, the Pelplin Organ Tablature is an especially valuable source because, apart from music by Polish composers found in other sources, it contains previously unknown compositions of Nicolaus Hasse, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Franz Tunder, among others. The existence of surviving instruments, such as the organs in Olkusz (Hans Hummel and Georg Nitrowski, 1611-1634), in Kazimierz (builder unknown, 1607-1620), in Pelplin (J.G. Wulff and Daniel Nitrowski c. 1679), and in Frombork (Daniel Nitrowski, 1683-5), suggests that organ culture blossomed with Poland's economic prosperity. Unfortunately, many of the finest baroque instruments were almost destroyed in the 19th century, not only because of political and economical constraints, but also due to the lack of understanding of the old instruments by local organ

¹¹ Manuscript: MS F-30-119, Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius. Edition: Piotr Późniak, ed., *Album sapieżyńskie*, (Kraków: Musica Iagiellonica, 2004).

¹² The manuscript was in National Library, Warsaw and burned during the fire in 1944. In 1920s a copy of the manuscript was made by Adolf Chybiński, who convinced his student Czesław Sikorski to write a dissertation on it in 1953. Sikorski made his own copy of the copy, and this is the only surviving source of the score.

Editions: Jerzy Gołos, ed., *Warszawska Tabulatura Organowa XVII w.*, (Łódź: Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny, 1990).

¹³ Manuscript - facsimile: A. Sutkowski and A. Osostowicz-Sutkowska, *The Pelplin Tablature*, *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, t. 1-7, (Warszawa-Graz 1964-67).

builders. The fashion for organ music at the time was to be quiet and slow, so stops like mixtures and mutations were often removed during renovations, especially in larger and richer cities.¹⁴ As a consequence, organ building researchers nowadays look for instruments in Polish villages and small towns. Organs there tended to stay in their original condition, requiring only basic repairs. The numerous remnants of baroque organ cases are a testament to the high level of organ building during the 17th century. Often, however, they contain no original pipework.

The tradition of Polish organists working or studying abroad started around the 17th century. There are several accounts of this: Andrzej Niżankowski (1591?-1655), a pupil of Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643), was an organist in Rome at the beginning of the 17th century (at the church of S. Maria sopra la Minerva); Michael Cracovita in the 18th century was active at the royal court in Copenhagen; Szymon Gutkowski and Kazimierz Wasilewski worked in the second half of the 17th century in Moscow.¹⁵ As in other European countries, the most important Polish composers of the Renaissance and Baroque

¹⁴ Gołos, 86.

¹⁵ Marta Szoka, „Current Stream in Polish Organ Music,” in *The Diapason* 86, no. 5 (May 1995), 11.

were also organists, such as Mikołaj z Chrzanowa (1485-1562), Mikołaj z Krakowa (1st half of the 16th century), Mikołaj Zieleński (17th century), Bartłomiej Pękiel (?-1670), and Jan Podbielski (ca 1650).

Numerous devastating wars in Poland throughout the 18th century stifled innovation in organ building and composition for the instrument. However, there are a few exceptions: the organs built in Oliwa Cathedral (Jan Wulf 1763-88),¹⁶ in Jędrzejów (Józef Sitarski, 1745-54), and in Wołów (Adam Horatius Casparini, 1715-17). The main organ builders in this century either came from monastic orders or were foreign organ builders from neighboring countries. The large and important Casparini family of organ builders was active throughout 17th-19th centuries in Poland, and Poles were active abroad, like Daniel Wróblewski in Denmark and Norway, and Jerzy Wójcik in Stockholm. Unfortunately, there is not much surviving music from around this time, only a few modest pieces in late Baroque and galant style by nuns Teresa Fabiańska (c. 1767) and Jadwiga Dygulska (1796), and a composer Wacław Raszek (1825). These collections reflect a general European tendency in the late 18th and early 19th century towards arrangements of light orchestral

¹⁶ the organ that an average Pole knows about and takes pride in

and vocal pieces. Arias and dances became fashionable with the rise of the opera.

In 1795, Poland lost its sovereignty and was partitioned among the Kingdom of Prussia and the Russian and Austrian Empires; it disappeared from maps for 123 years. In the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Polish intelligentsia carried out their activities outside the territory of Poland; this was necessary to continue their careers freely and to help the Polish state re-emerge. The most famous examples were the poets Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) and Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821-1883), and the musicians Fryderyk Chopin (1810-1849) and Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941). Other artists, among them organists, stayed in the occupied territories of Poland and continued their work there. With the establishment of music conservatories in the occupied territory of Poland during the early 19th century, a romantic idiom for the concertizing organist emerged. August Freyer (1803-1883) in Warsaw and Wincenty Richling (1841-1896) in Kraków began a long line of musicians who were simultaneously teachers, church organists, composers and concert organists. They made vital contributions to the liturgical and concert repertoire with their contemporaries, Karol Kurpiński (1785-1857), Teofil Klonowski (1847-1872),

Gustaw Roguski (1839-1921), and Stanisław Moniuszko (1819-1872). These men brought the new Western European romantic aesthetic to the Church and in repertoire for concertizing musicians. This would not have been possible without instruments that could render the romantic aesthetic effectively. Although late, the romantic school of organ building reached the territory of Poland in the second half of the 19th century. The most famous organ builders from this time period are Mateusz Mielczarski (1811-68), Henryk Hartman (1833-1896), Jan Śliwiński (1844-1912, a student of Cavaillé-Coll), Leopold and Andrzej Blomberg (1857-1911), Antoni Sapalski (1822-90, who published the first known Polish organ-building manual in 1880), the Terletzki brothers (2nd half of the 19th century) and the Żebrowski family (active in the early 20th century). Foreign builders also built in the region that comprises today's Poland, such as the German builders, Sauer, Walcker, Schlag und Söhne, and Schucke, as well as the Austrian Rieger.

A grand epoch in the history of the Polish organ ended with WWII. Composers like Mieczysław Surzyński (1866-1924) and Feliks Nowowiejski (1877-1946), both concert virtuosos and church organists, teachers and composers, studied extensively abroad and left a large body of masterful organ compositions.

Surzyński, an outstanding improviser, won the international competition of organ improvisation in St. Petersburg in 1901. His compositions follow the German Romantic tradition. Nowowiejski combined the two great romantic traditions, putting both French and German idioms into his music. A well-travelled musician, performing in Berlin, London, Prague and Jerusalem in the first three decades of the 20th century, Nowowiejski became an honorary member of The Organ Music Society in London in 1931. Apart from many compositions he left nine organ symphonies written during a brief three-year period.¹⁷ Marcel Dupré performed Nowowiejski's first organ symphony during a recital in Paris in 1934.

Interestingly, the *Orgelbewegung* (*Organ Reform Movement*), which began in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century, had little influence on Polish organ-building until WWII. However, in post-war Poland it became almost an enforced doctrine for organ building and music performance, which might explain the scarcity of performances of late romantic music by Nowowiejski and Surzyński by Polish

¹⁷ More information about Feliks Nowowiejski can be found in: Ireneusz Wyrwa, *Problematyka wykonawcza utworów organowych Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w świetle poglądów estetycznych kompozytora*, (Lublin, PL: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2011).

organists.

Constant battles for regaining Polish sovereignty in the 19th century and the two World Wars of the 20th century did not help the state of music. The devastation and economic downturn especially hurt organ music. Many churches and their organs were destroyed both by bombing and vandalism in these times of hardship. Wood and metal were used for weaponry, for making fire for heat, and for building furniture. Poland after WWII was a drastically different place than it had been before the war.

Composition in general was not a priority for musicians during WWII. Not surprisingly, no large oeuvre of organ music was written during this time. Nazi occupational tactics deprived the Poles of every form of education and higher culture. No music that had national character was allowed to be performed. Archival information reports that organized underground concerts were held in cafeterias and churches where prominent pre-war musicians performed: Witold Lutosławski (1913-1994), Grażyna Bacewicz (1909-1969), Andrzej Panufnik (1914-1991) and others composed during this time; however, many of the works written before the war perished during the almost total

annihilation of Warsaw in 1941.

1945 brought a long-awaited relief to the tormented nation; however, it did not come without a price. The Polish musical world revived immediately after the war, but it did not find freedom under the looming shadow of the communists. In the next chapter of this paper the history of the following political era is going to be described.

CHAPTER 3

THE INFLUENCE OF HISTORY AND POLITICS ON MUSIC AND ORGAN CULTURE IN POLAND, 1945 - 1970

Polish political history since the end of WWII can be divided into two main periods: communism until 1989 (People's Republic of Poland) and democracy since 1989 (Third Republic of Poland). Strong political and social differences in both periods are reflected in the musical and organ culture.

In 1945 the new political establishment in Poland ensured that the culture was under "an umbrella" of state control and that the messages it conveyed were "appropriate" according to the political propaganda. By the 1950s this political influence could be observed in the first musicological writings and summaries of the 10-year post-war period.

Musicological writings of the Stalinism era

One of the greatest examples of the state's influence on musicological writings after 1945 is a book edited and published in 1957 by two important figures in Polish music theory circles,

Zofia Lissa and Józef Chomiński.¹⁸ The introduction of this influential book in Polish music history after WWII is, by itself, a source for a new dissertation. Lissa and Chomiński collected a great deal of articles on almost every aspect of musical culture during the years 1945-1955: organization of musical life (concerts, operas, amateurs, musical guilds, Polish Radio, education, publishers), compositional output (symphonic, chamber music, opera and ballet, cantata, choral music, solo music, mass song, light music, dance and film music), and music criticism. Organ and church music, however, are barely mentioned.

Not only does this book provide a great account of the musical scene in Poland, it is also a clear demonstration of the effect Soviet propaganda had on musical art. It exemplifies how propaganda worked into the souls and minds of a nation's people who had been tormented by wars, a nation that lacked its own political autonomy for over a century. Historically, Soviets were not easily trusted by the Poles; this skepticism was rooted in historical events from previous centuries like the partitions, ruthless suppressions of anti-Russian uprisings, the Polish-

¹⁸ Józef M. Chomiński and Zofia Lissa, eds., *Kultura muzyczna Polski Ludowej 1944-1955* (Kraków, Poland: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957).

Bolshevik war in 1919, and the Soviet invasion in 1939 which led to the annexation of Polish Eastern territories. Nevertheless, abandoned by its former allies England and France who had been entrusted to protect Poland with the support of the American army against a Soviet invasion, Poland agreed to the new distribution of power in 1945. At the end of the long and devastating war, the Polish people wanted to reconstruct their country as quickly as possible. But reconstruction was completely controlled by the Soviet Union after 1945, and Soviet officials valued music as a means of propagating ideas. The government restricted music in such a way that it conveyed the “appropriate” ideas.

Whether or not writers like Zofia Lissa were personally convinced about the righteousness of the political situation is difficult to judge. We know that in 1945 she was appointed a director of the Music Department at the Ministry of Culture, and thus was involved in the system. Nevertheless, she expressed political views in the introduction to her book on music history:

There are dates in the history of nations that we have to perceive as a turning point. These dates were undoubtedly: the announcement of the Polish Committee of National Liberation Manifesto (1944), the liberation of our country from the fascist occupation, and the end of the *imperialistic* second war (1945). These years were critical

not only because they brought the fall of German fascism, but also because they were the end of *the reign of the native system of exploitation – capitalism in Poland*, and because our country quickly established new economic, social and ideological foundations. Poland became People's Poland, and so became a country that turned a new page in its history and began *building foundations of socialism*.¹⁹

Lissa mentions further that the process was still going on, and it was not without certain opposition and conflicts. She expresses her view on the existing arguments, that there are still "leftovers of the previous stages of the history of our nation, typical to the consciousness of the capitalistic social system."²⁰ She mentions two of the most important factors for the "amazing changes" going on in Poland that are "possible only in the country with a socialist system"²¹: musical institutions completely sponsored by the government, and the growth of musical consciousness by government-organized amateur movements, concerts for the

¹⁹ Józef M. Chomiński and Zofia Lissa, eds., *Kultura muzyczna Polski Ludowej 1944-1955* (Kraków, Poland: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957), 7. "Są w historii narodów daty, które musimy uważać za punkty przełomu. Takimi datami były niewątpliwie: ogłoszenie Manifestu Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego (1944), wyzwolenie naszego kraju spod faszystowskiej okupacji i zakończenie drugiej wojny *imperialistycznej* (1945). [italics added by the author]. Przełomowe były te lata nie tylko dlatego, że przyniosły upadek faszyzmu niemieckiego, ale również dlatego, że były końcem *władania rodzimego systemu wyzysku – kapitalizmu w Polsce*, że kraj nasz stanął *niejako jednym skokiem* na gruncie nowych założeń gospodarczych, społecznych, ideologicznych, że Polska stała się Polską Ludową, a więc państwem, które odwróciło nową kartę w swej historii i zaczęło *budować zręby socjalizmu*." All translations and added italics by the author.

²⁰ Ibid., 8.

²¹ Ibid., 8.

masses, and factory workers.

The only two sentences on organ music from the book are:

Traditions of organ music, in a certain period as if doused, come back to life thanks to more numerous organists: W. Oćwieja, B. Rutkowski, F. Rączkowski, and others. The enlivening of concert organ performance is due to the fact that modern instruments were built (in Cracow, Warsaw, Wrocław and Poznań), which had a foundational influence.²²

Organ music is not often treated well in summarizing music history publications, where the forms for larger ensembles and chamber music dominate. However, one might expect from a book that covers all aspects of musical life in only a ten-year period that the organ would be mentioned a bit more than in one paragraph. This is the only phrase when the term "organ" is used in a book of 317 pages, and the organs mentioned are newly built instruments in philharmonics halls, not in churches. There is a potential political explanation to this situation; at this point, Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) must enter the picture.

The Roman Catholic Church and Stalin

Since he took power in 1924, Stalin had been persecuting

²² Chomiński and Lissa, 47.

"Tradycje gry organowej, w pewnym okresie jakby przygasłe, odżywają na nowo dzięki coraz liczniejszym organistom: W. Oćwiei, B. Rutkowskiemu, F. Rączkowskiemu i i. Na ożywienie koncertowego wykonawstwa organowego nie bez zasadniczego wpływu pozostał fakt zbudowania szeregu nowoczesnych instrumentów (w Krakowie, Warszawie, Wrocławiu, Poznaniu)."

the Catholic Church as well as all other religions. The persecution was thorough and effective; according to an article by Dennis Dunn, in 1939 "all church property had long been nationalized and the episcopal hierarchy had been shattered by deportation, exile, arrest, or execution."²³ The explanation for Stalin's ill-treatment seemed to fit clearly under the heading of twentieth-century Marxist atheism. However, the explanation seems to be more complicated than that. For example, when Stalin realized that he could not stop the Germans in 1941, and that by opposing religious freedom in his own country he was losing much of his potential army, he embraced the Russian Orthodox Church as a national value. However, in this way the old animosity between the East Orthodox and West Catholic religious traditions was revived. Religion had a political value for him, and he was eager to change his ideology to achieve his own goals.

However, on July 13, 1949, the Vatican reacted to Stalin's efforts at collaboration by issuing the decree, *Responsa ad dubia de communismo*, which forbade all Catholics to co-operate with Communist governments, and excommunicated all Catholics that were already collaborating. In this way, the Church made it clear

²³ Dennis J. Dunn, "Stalinism and the Catholic Church during the Era of World War II," *The Catholic Historical Review* 59, no.3 (October, 1973): 406.

that it noted, understood and forestalled the attempts of the “despot.” While Russia was forced to abandon Catholicism during the Soviet era, the Catholic Church in Poland remained a substantial organization that played an important political role for centuries. Because the country lost its sovereignty for so many years, nationalism was the most influential ideology in the 19th and 20th centuries, and the Catholic Church was perceived as one of the main pillars of national unity. It was respected as a wealthy and venerable institution, capable of impacting most political events through the activities of its priests and believers. Also, the history of the Polish Roman Catholic Church constitutes one of the few threads giving continuity to the history of Poland as a nation.²⁴

The respected historian Norman Davies (b.1939), who visited Poland and studied there toward the end of the communist era, wrote a groundbreaking book on the history of Poland in 1981. He observed that the Church was blooming in the heart of the communist bloc, confident in its own power and security as never before.²⁵ Part of it was a strong tradition of religious zeal, especially among peasantry. Going to church was

²⁴ Norman Davies, *Boże Igrzysko: Historia Polski* (Kraków, Poland: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2005), 690-691.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 707.

a norm: all the villagers would attend Sunday mass, kneel humbly for long minutes and then sing strongly and mightily. The Marian cult blossomed. In almost every house next to the cross there was a picture of the Holy Mother of God, the Queen of Poland. The occupation of priest, "God's deputy," had high social prestige. According to historical research, the number of Catholics in the communist People's Poland was larger than before WWII or in the 19th century, reaching 96.6% of the population.²⁶ The importance and the political influence of the Church became even stronger when the Polish bishop, Karol Wojtyła (1920-2005), became Pope John Paul II in 1978. The Pope's visits to the country and meetings with the political establishment, as well as members of the Solidarity²⁷ movement, had essential repercussions in the next decade of political turmoil in Poland. As in the centuries before, religion became an important factor in uniting people to rebel against the political and social status quo.

²⁶ Ibid., 706.

²⁷ "Solidarity" movement started as a workers' trade union in 1980 and developed into a national social movement against the communist regime, with Lech Wałęsa being its leader; later to become the first president of the democratic Poland in 1990.

Music in Poland under Stalinism

Musical life in post-WWII Poland began rejuvenating with great speed; new orchestras, conservatoria, operas, publishers, and essential music journal *Ruch Muzyczny* (Music Movement) were created. These all happened with the help and control of state authorities. At first the outlook was hopeful – pre-war contacts with Parisian circles were restored and musicians performed abroad. However, in 1949, Soviet socialist realism was implemented. During the 1949 Polish Composers Union conference in Łagów Lubuski, a war on *formalism* was declared. Polish officials' interpretation of Stalin's definition of art as "socialist in content and national in form" made it clear that the only welcome music was that which could be of some use for propaganda. The cultural policy of the regime focused on the mass song, one of the most important tools of political indoctrination. A crucial aspect of this was the ideologically committed text, for example, a heroic act of building a specific factory. And so, even Witold Lutosławski (1913-1994) had his moment of "weakness" and wrote a march to the following text:

Our Smelting, ZMP's Smelting²⁸
we are dreaming about you on July nights.
With thunderbolts of work

²⁸ ZMP – Związek Młodzieży Polskiej (Union of Polish Youth)

the hard and grinning days roar, hey!
The hard and grinning days.

From the redness the blood roars in our veins
Like from fire every heavy burner.
The work at the Smelting is going to burn,
Like millions of burning hearts, hey!
Like millions of burning hearts.

So, my friend, starting today
build every new day with a brick.
With the spring the most beautiful dream
acquired the power of life.²⁹

The music had to be simple and appealing to broad masses. It also had to be designed on national tunes and rhythms, so composers used Polish folk dances. Every now and then certain curiosities were created: in the song *Stalin with Us*, which was dedicated to the cult of Stalin, Stalin's superhuman abilities were glorified against the rhythms of the polonaise – a dance of the ancient Polish nobility and royalty, which was surely the pre-war 'bourgeois-cosmopolitan musical pattern that was outlawed.³⁰

²⁹ Nasza Huto, zetempowska Huto,/ty w lipcowe noce nam się śnisz./Piorunami pracy tobie huczają/pracowite, usmiechnięte dni, hej!/Pracowite, usmiechnięte dni. / Od czerwieni krew nam huczy w żyłach/jak od ognia każdy wielki piec./Praca w Hucie będzie się paliła,/jak miliony rozpalonych serc, hej!/Jak miliony rozpalonych serc. / Wiec, kolego, już od dzisiaj/cegłą buduj każdy nowy dzień./Razem z wiosną nabrał mocy życia/najpiękniejszy sen.

³⁰ Andrzej Tuchowski, "The Impact of Communist Dictatorship and Its Transformations on the Identity of Polish Music in the Years 1945-1989," in *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America*, ed. by Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009), 344.

However, Polish folk music also became an authentic inspiration to more serious works, and thus, they survived censorship.

Since the Cold War started and the "iron curtain" was erected, a torn society had to make difficult decisions. One can imagine the ideological conflict felt by musicians, who were on one hand subsidized by the government and forced to be members of the Communist Party, and on the other hand, faced with disobeying the teachings of the Vatican.

The death of Stalin and its influence on arts and the Catholic Church in Poland

The death of Stalin in 1953 terminated Social Realism. Nikita Khrushchev condemned Stalin's 'cult of personality,' and in 1956 Polish-Soviet political relations began to thaw. Poland transformed to a country with sovereignty, and the full autonomy of the church was restored. Creative freedom recovered, the borders opened, and the famous 'Warsaw Autumn,' a festival of modern music, began. Young composers finally got the opportunity to grasp new ideas from their foreign colleagues: twelve-tone technique, serialism, electronic music and *musique concrète*. The so-called "Polish School" emerged with three personalities in the foreground: Krzysztof Penderecki (b.1933), Henryk Mikołaj Górecki (1933-2010) and Wojciech Kilar (b.

1932). Although superficially in control of their programs, the organizers of musical festivals and librettists had to pass governmental censorship – a balance between East and West music and ideologies had to be kept. In the 1960s, Krzysztof Penderecki started using religious titles and programs (like *Psalms of David*, *Stabat Mater*, and *Saint Lucas Passion*), with no discernable reaction from the authorities. Most probably Penderecki's growing international fame, after the *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* from 1960, captured some propaganda value for the government. Andrzej Tuchowski writes in his 2009 article:

The success of a Polish citizen was seen as the success of the state, a public matter (whereas his failure would have been his own and private). This is why news of these successes were aired on official Polish TV during prime time, and leftist propaganda would associate the success of the Polish avant-garde with the 'progressive' ideology of real socialism, using the then-fashionable struggle for progress in art as its battle-cry in its war against reactionaries.³¹

Penderecki's *Saint Lucas Passion* was commissioned by a German radio station and triggered an argument between the Church and the Polish government about another fragile issue: post-war relations between Germany and Poland. In a letter to

³¹ Tuchowski, 354.

German bishops the Polish clergy described the attitude of the Church as “forgiving.” In opposition, the Polish government used posters of Nazi atrocities to counteract the religious reunion of the two nations. In the end, Penderecki was perceived as sympathizing with the church, and Poles reckoned him as a composer of national significance.

By the end of the 1960s the Polish Communist Party leader Władysław Gomułka (1905-1982) assumed a form of leadership that was close to despotism, and thus previous illusions of freedom of speech disappeared. Intelligentsia and college students protested in the major Polish cities in 1968; the protests were brutally suppressed by the armed forces of the government, but started a wave of social disapproval which eventually led to the events of 1989.

Organ music 1945-1970

Clearly, organ composition fell into the territory of the officially opposed “clericalism” in the first 15 years after WWII. Organ music was not considered a vital part of Poland’s musical tradition by the state authorities; the fact that is barely mentioned in the summarizing publication by Zofia Lissa supports this view. Monumental secular cantatas with politically charged lyrics and traces of Polish folk music were preferred.

Further, composing politically 'correct' music at that time meant lucrative posts, state awards, higher living standards, and performances and publications. Not surprisingly, few composers were inspired to write music that was unwanted. And if the initiative was taken, the chance for organ music to be published was little. From the first decade, almost no organ music survives; some examples of simple church organ music survived, mainly church hymns arrangements to be used during worship. There were a few concert pieces by important organ composers: Kazimierz Jurdziński (1894-1960), Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz (1916-1998), Augustyn Bloch (1929-2006) and Tadeusz Machl (1922-2003); however, only one of them was published by the Polish Music Edition in this period, namely Jurdziński's *Trio nr 3*. The music itself was mainly neo-romantic in style, with subtle tendencies towards neo-classicism. Most of the titles suggest strong connections with the tradition: Sonata (1947) by Paciorkiewicz, Etudes (1950) by Machl, and Fantasia (1955) by Bloch.

After 1960 the situation began to change. The 1960s was a breakthrough decade in organ composition in Europe. György Ligeti (1923-2006) composed avant-garde pieces for the organ (*Volumina* 1961/1966, *Harmonies* 1967, *Coulée* 1969) and

contributed fresh innovations to the organ repertoire. Since the 1960s, Poland has also been a place of new musical creations, and organ culture there has been gradually blooming. The slow opening to the West brought new musical ideas; pieces like Bernard Pietrzak's (1924-1978) "Cztery kontrasty" (Four contrasts) from 1960, reflecting the influence of serialism, do not surprise in a larger perspective, but are quite innovative on a local scale. Pietrzak, an organist, composer, and theory and improvisation teacher working at the Academy of Music in Łódź, left post-1960 works which explore new techniques like graphic music, clusters, and sound effects achieved through particular manipulations of the organ.

In her essential and so far unique publication on this period of organ music, Marta Szoka (b. 1955) creates an interesting distinction between composers who are also organists, and organists who also compose.³² Although at first hard to grasp, the division makes sense when looked at the compositional output of these men. Organists who also compose tend to write music that can be used in practice, music that is more connected with the tradition and easy to use in teaching or

³² Marta Szoka, *Polska muzyka organowa w latach 1945-1985* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Astra, 1993), 12.

church services. Composers who are also organists tend to go beyond certain limits of practice and often try new ideas.

Composing organists of this period are Jan Janca (1930), Jan Jargoń (1928-1995), Aleksander Kozłowski (1911-1974), while composers also working as organists are Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz (1916-1998) and Aleksander Szeligowski (1934-1993).

An interesting situation that was quite new to the organ world started around this time: the organ became an instrument that attracted the attention of non-organist composers who had already achieved status in other fields of composition. Some of examples of these composers are Grażyna Bacewicz (1909-1969), who wrote "Esquisse" in 1966 for Jean Guillou (performed in 1969 in Bordeaux)³³ and Henryk Mikołaj Górecki, who wrote "Kantata" in 1968. Other non-organists composers include Aleksander Glinkowski (1941-1991), Jan Wincenty Hawel (1936), Henryk Hubertus Jabłoński (1915-1989) and Bogusław Schäffer (1929).

Organ composition in the years 1945-1965 was scarce. This was not only due to severe post-WWII devastations and a

³³ Szoka, 139.

general lack of interest in composing at a time when restoring the country was more important than the arts. Major factors in the political environment, the state control of musical life and the doctrine of Social Realism, wielded strong influence on what type of music was composed and for what functions it was used. The Roman Catholic Church, which has been for centuries an important part of Polish identity, was not culturally supported by the state; on the contrary, it was persecuted, and so the organ, for centuries linked with the church, suffered too. When the political situation thawed in the mid-fifties, religious and concert organ music started to emerge. The organ began to inspire “mainstream” composers in the 1960s, and an explosion of new works was about to occur.

CHAPTER 4

A PREMONITION OF CHANGE: 1970-1989

A new leader of the communist party, Edward Gierek (1913-2001), was instrumental to modernizing the country in the 1970s. Gierek lived in the West during his youth and spoke fluent French, distinguishing him from his less “worldly” predecessors. He helped to open Poland to the West. Getting a passport, which was almost impossible in the 1950s and 60s, became much easier, and western countries decided to invest in Poland by making loans. Although part of the money received was used to expand the industrial infrastructure and to improve living conditions, it was also largely wasted in investments that did not generate any income. The inevitable economic crisis at the end of 1970s, when the credit payments were due, led to a national wave of protests.

The 1980s were a period of political turmoil, with limited resources and inflated prices for energy and food. Poles from different social backgrounds protested together against the economic and political consequences of the communist regime. Because of the national wave of protests the government instituted martial law in 1981. Societal disapproval led to the

creation of the "Solidarity" movement, which started as a workers' union and developed into a national social movement against the communist regime. The *Round Table* talks between the two opposing parties helped to establish new democratic elections which resulted in the defeat of the communists in 1989.

In general, communism was never popular as an ideology among average Poles, and the nation did not cooperate easily with the Soviet Union. The real name of the ruling communist party throughout these years did not have the word "communism" in its title; the party was called the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR – Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza). This was a strategic tactic to avoid the unpopular association. Only nowadays Poles tend to reflect on the previous era as "communist," and this is always used in a pejorative way.

Changes in musical output

After the period of musical experimentation with new techniques in the 1960s, there was a return to more traditional ideas in the 1970s. Melodic and harmonic musical factors were combined to create powerful climaxes with strong emotional impact, a typical example being Górecki's *Symphony No. 3*. When John Paul II became the first Polish Pope in 1978, many

musical works were dedicated to him, for example Górecki's *Beatus vir* (1979) and Penderecki's *Te Deum* (1980). The fact that John Paul II became a spiritual leader for the nation brought the revival of religious music as a reaction to the political ideology. Because original expression was often suppressed and censored at this time in Poland, the impact of the music was significant.

The re-opening to the West allowed composers to travel abroad to study or exchange ideas with other well-known and accomplished musicians like Olivier Messiaen, Nadia Boulanger, Pierre Boulez, Iannis Xenakis, György Ligeti, Igor Stravinsky, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Schaeffer, Luciano Berio, Luigi Nono, John Cage. Foreign musicians were invited to Poland, most notably for the famous festival "Warsaw Autumn" (initiated in 1956).

Organ music 1970-1989

The number of compositions for the organ grew as the educational system expanded to produce a continuous line of concertizing organists. (This is described in more detail in the following chapter.) Publications of organ music also increased, encouraged by prize money and visibility in competitions for composition. The national competition to write an organ piece,

organized in 1968 by the Szczecin Music Society, played a large role in the Polish renaissance of composing for the organ. From 27 submissions, the 6 winning compositions were published in 1975: *Kantata* by Henryk Mikołaj Górecki, *Al Fresco* by Bernard Pietrzak, *In memoriam* by Walerian Gniot, *Spotkania* by Maria Dziewulska, *Studium* by Jan Wincenty Hawel and *Passacaglia* by Aleksander Glinkowski.³⁴ The competition was held again in 1973 and 1985. The idea inspired other cultural centers, and competitions for organ composition are held until this day in Poland.

The end of the 1970s brought to the public relatively large numbers of publications: 30 compositions solely for organ were published in the 1970s, a bit less than 30 in the 1980s, compared to only 8 compositions published from 1945-1970. Much more music was written that was not published at the time. According to the list made in Marta Szoka's book,³⁵ in the years 1945-1985 there were about 200 works written for organ solo, 40 concertos for organ and orchestra, and 35 chamber

³⁴ In *Polska Współczesna Miniatura Organowa (Contemporary Polish Organ Miniatures)*, published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1975, and available at ASU library.

³⁵ Marta Szoka, *Polska muzyka organowa w latach 1945-1985* (Łódź, PL: Wydawnictwo Astra, 1993), 139-162.

music works with organ. This was a great flowering of organ culture in Poland. Only during the golden age of the 16th and 17th centuries do we find so many organ compositions being delivered in such a short amount of time. Interestingly, these statistics for the 20th century only include Polish composers writing for organ, unlike in previous centuries where the organ music preserved in the tablatures also came from other regions. Most importantly, Polish organ music managed to thrive under the oppressive communist regime and the resulting ideological limitations to the art.

A few interesting trends among organists during this time are significant. While Mieczysław Surzyński and Feliks Nowowiejski were performing artists as well as church and concert organ music composers, this combination was rare in 20th-century Polish music. Kazimierz Jurdziński and Aleksander Kozłowski (1911-1974), working in the early decades after 1945, continued in this vein and were teachers, church organists, and composers of organ music leaving around 20 compositions for organ each. Artists who later followed the pattern of being performing organists and composers with noticeable output are Jan Janca (1933), Norbert Mateusz Kuźnik (1946-2006), Stanisław Moryto (1947), Wiesław Rentowski (1953), Bernard

Pietrzak (1924-1978), and especially Marian Sawa (1937-2005), whose oeuvre includes nearly 300 works for organ solo and all possible combinations with other instruments and voices. There are performing organists who composed for organ sporadically like Andrzej Chorościński (1949), Jan Jargoń (1928-1995), Piotr Grajter (1955), and composers who started as concertizing organists and later committed solely to composition: Bolesław Szabelski, Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, Tadeusz Machl, Augustyn Bloch, and Aleksander Szeligowski.

During the second half of the 20th century, concert music for the organ was popular, whereas composing practical church music was not. Political ideology and governmental control over the art certainly contributed to this situation. However, the typical composer of organ music was a different type of musician at the time. Organists emerged who were not working for the church, a phenomenon specific to communist countries. Organists who taught at music academies, performed actively, and administered educational institutions and musical organizations did not combine their work with church jobs, or did so only for a very short time (Józef Serafin, Mirosław Pietkiewicz, Joachim Grubich, Andrzej Chorościński, Piotr Grajter, Stanisław

Moryto). Although professionally trained at a high-level of performance, they had no need to perform or compose church music. As it was mentioned in Chapter 2, many composers of organ music were not organists at all, thus they rarely had a professional connection with the Catholic Church.

Another interesting fact is that most of the non-organist composers wrote only a couple of pieces for the instrument throughout their careers. It is as if they flirted with the instrument to enjoy its many capabilities and then moved on to other challenges. But because there were many that tried their hands at composing for the organ, much literature was produced. Some exceptional composers wrote more, but not usually before the end of the 1980s; this will be elaborated upon in Chapter 5.

1980 was a stronger divisional mark than 1970 in Polish music. Expression became again an important factor, and although the new sounds and technological ideas were not forgotten, they were combined to serve the new goal of expressivity. The decade of the 1980s was a time of combining new and old elements, conservative approaches with more modern ones. Examples of this were the mixing of tonality with

clusters, and of harmony with sonorism.³⁶ Pieces like *Versus I* (1981) by Eugeniusz Knapik, *Oratorium* (1982) by Augustyn Bloch, *Trzy staropolskie pieśni pasyjne* (*Three Old Polish Passion Hymns*, 1981) by Jerzy Bauer, or *Cantio Polonica* (1985) by Stanisław Moryto show the influence of Messiaen-like mysticism, the mixing of different languages and concepts from the previous organ traditions, and the expressivity of late European modernism.

Two prolific composers from 1970-1989

Norbert Mateusz Kuźnik (1946-2006) was a distinguished avant-garde composer in Poland. His organ music experiments with new sound possibilities afforded by the instrument. He developed special preparations and collage techniques. Marta Szoka describes Kuźnik's output this way:

Each consecutive piece, although different from a previous one in the technical approach, seems to come from one superior thought: to show the organ as a modern

³⁶ The term 'sonorism' is often used to describe Polish music after 1956. Adrian Thomas, the American scholar who specializes in post-WWII Polish music, cites this description of the term by Teresa Małecka: "Penderecki's instrumental music . . . may be labeled today as classic sonorism. In it were realized all the typical features of this trend. There ensued a fundamental change to the hierarchy of musical values: in place of melody, harmony, metre and rhythm, sound became the form-creating, tectonic agent. Pitch as such ceased to have a vital role – color was now dominant. The sound shape became the essential architectonic unit instead of the motif." From Adrian Thomas, *Polish Music since Szymanowski* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 161.

instrument, completely lacking the religious association, and even in a sense dehumanized.³⁷

Kuźnik's main tool was the unconventional use of registration, mainly at the console. As he was dealing with 3-4 manual electric action organs, Ligeti's experiments with winding were not possible on this type of instrument. Rather, he played with preprogrammed blocks of sound subjected to registration changes, which affected the sound color as well as the range. Typical techniques for Kuźnik included writing series of clusters, chord tremolos, glissandi of intervals or chords, and repetitive patterns. He created a feeling of organized noise by using the organ at its loudest levels and bringing it to the extreme. Notable compositions by Kuźnik include *Organochromia II* (1973), *Multiplicatio* (1976), *Toccata e cantabile* (1982), and *Piano e tutti* (1985).³⁸

Kuźnik was unusual in his extreme experimental approach. The only other composer who was not afraid to experiment was Pietrzak in the 1960s (mentioned in the previous chapter). The

³⁷ Szoka, 51. "Kolejne utwory, jakkolwiek różne od strony rozwiązań warsztatowych, zdają się pochodzić z jednej nadrzędnej myśli: ukazać organy jako instrument nowoczesny, całkowicie odsakralizowany, a nawet w jakimś sensie zdehumanizowany."

³⁸ All available through US Interlibrary Loan system.

main reason for Kuźnik's uniqueness could be attributed to the fact that avant-garde ideas were already considered somewhat *passé* in the 1970s. The 1980s brought the new taste for less experimental and more expressive music.

Marian Sawa (1937-2005) is undoubtedly the most prolific Polish composer of the 20th century. By 1989 he had already written around 100 compositions for organ or various combinations with organ. Similarly to his colleagues, the first phase of his output from the 1960s-1980s reveals new ideas in terms of melody, counterpoint, harmony, rhythm, and sound color. Initially quite meticulous about form, Sawa slowly moved towards less rigid structures derived from improvisation. This particular attitude to form is one of the features that make his music distinctive and often performed nowadays. Dodecaphony and serialism (*Fantazja na organy* from 1970), as well as the use of clusters also had influence on his output. In the 1980s his language started to gravitate towards modality, quartal harmony, and polytonality, recognizable characteristics of his later style. His early compositions also show a refined approach to rhythm: additive rhythms influenced by Messiaen, non-metric measures, and irregular rhythmic structures. His later music shows much

more influence of folk and dance idioms, simplifying the rhythmic factor. Typical titles of the pieces from his first period are the names of genres: *Sonata* (1967), *Toccata i Passacaglia* (1967), *Muzyka organowa* (1968), *Capricio concertante* (1969), *Aria* (1971), *Etiuda koncertowa* (1972), *Toccata* (1973). More descriptive titles start in the late 1970s: *Assentiment* (1975), *D'Accord* (1975), *Lamentacje* (1978). The musical motives in the compositions of his first period were invented by the composer. Starting from 1978 church hymn citations start to appear, and these later became an important aspect of his compositions.³⁹ A cycle of partitas based on church hymns was composed in the 1980s: *Partita Maryjna 'Matko Najświętsza'* (1980), *Partita Maryjna 'Matko Niebieskiego Pana'* (1980), *Partita Wielkanocna 'Chrystus zmartwychwstał jest'* (1980), *Partita Wielkanocna 'Wesoły nam dziś dzień nastał'* (1980), and *Partita Wielkanocna 'Alleluja! Jezus żyje'* (1980). Larger forms for choir and organ include *Sub Tuum Praesidium* (1980), *Litaniae Lauretanae* (1980), *Stabat Mater* (1981), *Requiem dla uciśnionych - Requiem for the oppressed* (1982). This highlights the change described in the beginning of this chapter. When John

³⁹ An interesting categorization of Sawa's output according to period can be found in: Leszek Mateusz Gorecki, "Twórczość organowa Mariana Sawy," in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa XIII*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Akademia Muzyczna w Gdańsku, 2006), 430-431.

Paul II became the Pope in 1978 the prevailing mood of the country changed drastically, and freedom to express religious views through music was restored. Because Marian Sawa's music spans two different periods – pre-1989 and post-1989 – it is also described in Chapter 5.

Remarks summarizing the pre-1989 period of organ music

When looking at the titles of Polish compositions in the decades after 1945, one quickly traces a connection to the long tradition of writing for the organ. Typical titles used during this time are *Fantazja, Sonata, Impressione, Preludium, Toccata i Fuga, Spotkania (Meetings), In memoriam, Medytacje, Improwizacja, Preludium, Mini-Suita, Tryptyk*. The titles after 1980 include such typical titles based on form, but they also include extramusical ideas and expressionism: *Cienie (Shadows), Porta d'inferno, Ecce Homo, Akwarele, Quattro Impressioni, Al Fresco, Aforyzmy, Versus I, Pejzaże (Landscapes)*.

Religious motives as sources of musical inspirations show up only in the late 1970s, with an exception being the *Gothic Fantasy* by Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz from 1968 and *Mater Polonica* by Joanna Bruzdowicz-Tittel from 1973. Both of these pieces are based on the motives of *Bogurodzica*, the oldest known Polish

chant from the 14th century. These pieces demonstrate a situation particular to communist Poland. The melody became popular because of a Polish historical movie "Krzyżacy" (Teutonic Knights) from 1960, based on a novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, who won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1905. The movie was created to commemorate the 550th anniversary of the Grunwald battle in 1410. The Grunwald battle was one of the most important medieval battles that took place on Polish soil, and it was won by the Poles. It thus became a point of nationalistic pride and the source for many references, especially soon after the devastation of WWII. "Krzyżacy" was a highly popular movie, and *Bogurodzica* was sung as a battle-hymn uniting the Polish knights before the battle. Thus it is easy to understand the desire to write an organ piece based on this chant; the popularity of the song made it more of a national hymn than a religious statement.

While the post-WWII period presented organ composers with many challenges, by the end of the 1960s the situation was slowly improving. Concertizing organists initiated professional careers, took teaching positions in music conservatoria, and began to influence composers. During this period many festivals and concerts of organ music were born. Organ competitions

were held in Łódź, Warsaw and Poznań. Polish organists participated in international competitions. The rising level of organ performance and the opening to the West influenced these composers who were not organists themselves, and so in the mid-60s a fine corpus of organ pieces was produced. The most popular composers from this period, whose music is still performed, are Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, Jerzy Bauer, Bernard Pietrzak, Wiesław Rentowski, Tadeusz Machl, and Marian Sawa. The first, and to this day still the most important, book on the organ in Poland was written by Jerzy Gołos and published in 1972.⁴⁰ The 1970s and 1980s saw new organ projects in Poland. Polish, German, Austrian, and Czech companies built organs in concert halls and churches. Reconstructions of Baroque instruments and renovations of historical remnants influenced new ways of writing for the organ.

An unprecedented event happened in 1986 with the establishment of the Legnickie Conservatorium Organowe (Organ Conservatorium in Legnica, South Poland), a music conference and festival. Since that time, musicians, composers, performers

⁴⁰ Jerzy Gołos, *Polskie Organy i Muzyka Organowa* (Warszawa, Poland: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1972). Parts of the 1972 publication are translated to English with some information updated: Jerzy Gołos, *The Polish Organ: The Instrument and Its History* (Warsaw, Poland: Sutkowski Edition, 1992).

and musicologists have been meeting in Legnica annually to discuss contemporary Polish organ music. According to the introduction by Stanisław Moryto in 2001⁴¹ this event was meant to counteract “dumbing down” the art of the organ. This yearly event became a vital part of initiating creative processes in the organ culture of the 1990s and later.

Years of communist rule in Poland limited freedom of speech and artistic expression, as well as kept the standard of living low. Nevertheless, after 1945, the authorities guaranteed musical education to all citizens and supported the work of professional musicians. It is also important to note that organ music in Poland was revived after the war, with composers of other genres writing for the instrument. Although organ music for concert performance survived the hard times of communist rule, this was not the case with organ music for the church. Only after 1989 do we see a revival of compositions that fit both concert and church functions. Not before the 1980s was it common to write organ music based on religious motives or having religious titles, which aligned Polish organ music with a

⁴¹ Szoka, Marta, ed., *Polska muzyka organowa na przełomie wieków: Podsumowania i prognozy* (Warszawa, PL: Akademia Muzyczna im. Fryderyka Chopina w Warszawie, 2001), 5.

long European tradition. Thanks to non-organist composers, the instrument was explored as a sort of laboratory for new sounds. This attracted other non-organist to experiment with new techniques, in turn revitalizing organ improvisation and composition for the worship service.

Organ music is closely connected with institutions that are capable of maintaining or building such large, expensive instruments. In this sense, organ repertoire is always in a symbiotic relationship with developments in organ building, educational systems, and events and documents that disseminate knowledge about the instrument. These vital aspects of the organist's art in Poland are the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5
SCHOOLS, PUBLICATIONS, ORGAN BUILDING, FESTIVALS
OF ORGAN MUSIC, 1945-1989

Education and organ schools in the 19th century

Until the late 18th century there was no organized system for teaching organ playing in Poland. As in other European countries before the French Revolution, teaching was based on a private master-student basis. In the 19th century, manuals on organ playing began to emerge. Until the late 19th century the method books were comprised of basic and short instructions on organ playing as in Karol Simon's "Nauka gry na organach" from 1812.⁴² "Praktyczna szkoła na organy i fisharmonię" from the 1860s by August Freyer changed this situation by including numerous manual and pedal exercises, as well as compositions with pedal obligato.

The first diocesan and local organ schools were created in Warsaw, Puławy, Kraków, Kielce and Łowicz in the beginning of the 19th century. From then the number of religious schools grew, and most of them organized organ studios. In the 20th century organ schools were opened in Częstochowa, Kalisz,

⁴² Gołos 1972, 198.

Płock, Tarnów, Włocławek, and Poznań. The famous Salesian School led by the priest and composer Antoni Hlond-Chlondowski (1884-1962) opened in 1916 in Przemyśl. The following description of this school reflects the type of sacred music training received at religious schools in Poland at the time.

Salesian organ school in Przemyśl (1916-1963)⁴³

The school opened in 1916; by 1963, around 600 organists had been educated there. The initial idea for the school was to counteract the decline of church music in 19th century Poland. Church organists then were often badly paid and had low skills; some could not even read music.⁴⁴ The Przemyśl diocese decided to open a school to ameliorate this situation, raising the organists' earnings by raising their qualifications. This private religious institution was meant to serve the entire country. The administration of the school was delegated to Antoni Hlond-Chlondowski, a Salesian composer and priest. The school offered

⁴³ Based on the article by Dr. Robert Witalec, "Salesjańska Szkoła Organistowska w Przemyślu i jej likwidacja w roku 1963," <http://sdb.przemysl.pl/parafia/index.php?id=szkola> (accessed February 10, 2012). Robert Witalec is the co-editor of the book *Salezjańska Szkoła Organistowska w Przemyślu i jej likwidacja w roku 1963 - Salesian Organ School in Przemyśl and its termination in 1963* (Rzeszów, PL: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2007).

⁴⁴ Tadeusz Przybylski, "Szkoła organistowska w Przemyślu w latach 1916-1963 na tle ogólnego procesu kształcenia organistów w Polsce," in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa III*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1980), 295.

students music education as well as general education and additional professional training. The music curriculum consisted of Gregorian chant, polyphony, organ and piano performance, music theory, harmony, conducting ensembles and choirs, and playing violin and wind instruments. Apart from music the students received education in religion, Polish and German languages, mathematics and calligraphy. Something new offered by the school was a chance for students to study one additional practical field such as gardening, fruit-growing, beekeeping, book-keeping, or tailoring. Low salaries at the time did not enable organists to fully support their families, thus knowing one of these practical professions gave them the possibility to earn additional money. In 1920 the school was added to the list of private schools with a public license, which facilitated the awarding of diplomas to help organists execute their profession. Thanks to a high level of teaching and good practical preparation for the profession, the school's graduates did not have problems finding positions; rather, they were sought after. The school's good reputation was earned by graduating many virtuosos of organ playing, church music composers, university professors, and later teachers of the Przemyśl school such as Tomasz Czapla, Władysław Chmiela, Franciszek Łapka, **Feliks**

Rączkowski, Kazimierz Galikowski. The teachers maintained a high level of musicality. Among them were also prominent musicians and composers: among them the priests Antoni Hlond, Augustyn Piechura, Antoni Sródka, and Idzi Ogierman Mański. In the time between the wars the Przemyśl school taught over 1500 students, of which 245 received diplomas.

The school reopened in 1946, following WWII. The Ministry of Culture legally accepted the name "Salesian Organ Highschool in Przemyśl." The group of its post-war graduates included **Marian Sawa, Tadeusz Przybylski**, Mieczysław Tuleja, Jerzy Kurcz, Jan Rybarski, and Stanisław Kuszyb.

Since the beginning of the regime, communists tried to weaken the church's influence on Polish citizens. Liquidating Catholic schools was one of the techniques used for this. In the years 1949-1963, twenty Salesian educational institutions were closed. In 1963 Rzeszów authorities decided to make teaching for the Przemyśl school illegal. Teachers, students and local people protested. In response, the authorities sent soldiers of the communist Security Service to quell the unrest.⁴⁵ After one

⁴⁵ The "Służba Bezpieczeństwa (SB)" was established to protect the communist system inside the country through control over many aspects of social life in Poland. It was infamous for oppressive tactics against the clergy and "suspected" citizens during the communist era.

day of self-defense some people were arrested, and some had trials in the court. The dramatic account of the government's suppression of the prominent organ school in Przemyśl is but one example of the political policy towards religious organ schools during the post-war period. The changing political climate in Poland explains its disappearance and reappearance after 1989 (to be described in the following chapter).

Bronisław Rutkowski (1898-1964)

In the mid-19th century Kraków's schools (in which Wincenty Rychling taught) delivered graduates who worked in the main churches in town. In 1860, a 6-year program of organ studies was initiated at the Warsaw Conservatorium. Jan Śliwiński and August Freyer taught here, followed by Henryk Makowski and Mieczysław Surzyński. Around 1911 Makowski and Surzyński published in Warsaw three volumes of modern organ studies, "Szkoła na organy."⁴⁶ Intended for musicians who had two years of previous keyboard experience, this extensive organ program provided many exercises for pedal solo and pedal with manuals. To put the skills learned into practice, the authors also

⁴⁶ Available for a free download from Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych (Digital Libraries Federation), <http://pbc.biaman.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=679&from=FBC> (accessed on March 13, 2012).

included examples of literature from Polish and other European sources. These studies demonstrate that the level of performance expected from Makowski's and Surzyński's students in the Polish organ school was commensurate to the standards of other European centers.

Surzyński's students founded the post-WWII organ school. Two of his students, Bolesław Szabelski and Kazimierz Jurdziński, were already mentioned in Chapter 2. Probably Surzyński's most notable student was **Bronisław Rutkowski** (1898-1964), who also studied with Louis Vierne in Paris in 1924-26. After his return to Poland, he continued Surzyński's teaching in Warsaw from 1926-1939. Musicologist Wanda Falk tells us that "practically all Polish organists of today are, directly or indirectly, heirs to his artistic legacy."⁴⁷ As another Rutkowski scholar Bolesław Wallek-Walewski, wrote, Rutkowski "waged war against dilettantism and provincialism in performance, in creativity, and in the organization of musical life and propagation of culture."⁴⁸ Rutkowski, who was introduced to the German organ tradition through his teacher, Surzyński, and to the French tradition through his own studies in Paris, acquired a diverse

⁴⁷ Wanda Falk, "Bronisław Rutkowski: Founder of the 20th-Century Polish School of Organ Music" (*The Diapason* 95, no. 6 June 2004), 17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

education and continued to advocate high standards of performance for his students. He initiated organ music festivals in Oliwa in 1959 (the first of its kind in Poland) and in Kraków in 1966. He founded the first Early Music Society in Poland, published previously unpublished Polish music, performed in Europe, hosted his own radio shows broadcasting general musical programs as well as organ music. From 1927-1935 Rutkowski served as organist at St. John's in Warsaw, where he attempted to raise the level of church music. He ultimately resigned with disappointment at not achieving his goal. After the war he continued his work as an academic teacher at Kraków's school (while Warsaw was being restored from its almost complete annihilation during WWII), becoming a rector of the school from 1948-1964. He also served as head of important musical societies, such as the Philharmonic Society, Opera Society, Polish Music Press, and Editor of *Music Movement* magazine. Rutkowski's death was as tragic and meaningful as that of his teacher, Louis Vierne.⁴⁹ He died in 1964 at the Church of St. Thomas in Leipzig, Germany, where he was a juror for the international competition of Bach's organ music. He died just

⁴⁹ Vierne is said to have died of a heart attack at the console during the last of his numerous performances in the church Notre-Dame de Paris, with his foot staying on the lowest E key and echoing through the church.

beside the tomb of Johann Sebastian Bach, his life-long idol.

The most noteworthy students of Rutkowski include Feliks Rączkowski (1906-1989), Józef Chwedczuk (1902-1979), Jan Kucharski (1908-2002), Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, and following the war, Joachim Grubich (1935), Józef Serafin (1944), and Jan Jargoń (1928-1995). All these men followed in the footsteps of their teacher, becoming professors of Polish music academies after 1945 and making their careers as professional performers in Poland and abroad.

Post-WWII educational system

The changing system of music schools in Poland after the war transformed the way organists were trained. Diocesan schools, like the one in Przemyśl, were terminated because of political pressures against the church. Organ studios opened at music high schools throughout the country (about 15 of them in 1972). The music school system had three stages, all of which were public and supported by the government: elementary music school (age 6-13), music high school (14-18) and academies of music (18 and older). Eight academies of music existed during this period in Poland, in Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź, Katowice, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Poznań and Bydgoszcz. In the

1960s the average number of organ students at the college level was about 40.⁵⁰

As mentioned above, most of Rutkowski's students and their students took positions in music academies or/and music schools. Feliks Rączkowski was the first to resume teaching at the Warsaw Conservatorium after the war. He educated students who also became successful performers and teachers, such as Andrzej Chorosiński, Augustyn Bloch, Stanisław Moryto, Marian Sawa, Marietta Kruzel-Sosnowska, Maria Terlecka, and Jerzy Erdman. Chwedczuk, Jargoń, Grubich, and Serafin taught at the Kraków Academy of Music.⁵¹ Jan Kucharski, who also studied in Paris with Marcel Dupré in 1936-37 and Joseph Bonnet until 1938, taught organ at the Academy of Music in Łódź after the war (1945-77).⁵² Jan Kucharski's students became Academy professors at Łódź: Mirosław Pietkiewicz, Irena Wiselka-Cieślak, and also Pietkiewicz's student Piotr Grajter. Pietkiewicz and Grajter were the first organ teachers at the Bydgoszcz Academy

⁵⁰ Nowadays this number is at least twice as high.

⁵¹ Serafin is still teaching there.

⁵² Mirosław Pietkiewicz, "Jan Kucharski - organista, wirtuoz i pedagog (Jan Kucharski - organist, virtuoso and teacher)," in *Artificium Ars Scientia - Księga Jubileuszowa w 80. Rocznicę urodzin Ks. Profesora Jana Chwałka*, ed. by Maria Szymanowicz (Lublin, Poland: Instytut Muzykologii KUL, Polihymnia, 2010), 747-764.

of Music. In Katowice another student of Surzyński, Bolesław Szabelski, initiated the organ school before the war, followed by Jan Gawlas until 1965, Henryk Klaja until 1978, and Julian Gembalski who still holds the position. In Poznań the organ professors were Feliks Nowowiejski until 1927, Józef Pawlak until 1961, Rutkowski's student Romuald Sroczyński until 1989, and Sroczyński's students Sławomir Kamiński and Elżbieta Karolak who teach there now. Sroczyński and then Chorościński taught at the Academy of Music in Wrocław. The organ school in Gdańsk started with Kucharski's student Leon Bator, followed by Roman Perucki who still teaches there.

Few of the post-war organists had a chance to study abroad. Serafin worked with Anton Heiller in Vienna; Chorościński, Pietkiewicz, and Gembalski went to Mechelen, Belgium to study with Flor Peeters. Again, the isolation of Polish organists changed with the political system in 1989.

From 1956 until the present, organ playing is also taught at the Musicology Institute of the Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski (Catholic University in Lublin), preparing church organists for their work. This particular department is extremely active in publishing musicological articles and books on organ building, literature, and any musical activity connected with the Church.

In 1957 the Kraków Academy of Music opened the first organ department in the country (in Polish: Katedra Organów) led by Rutkowski, followed by Chwedczuk upon Rutkowski's death in 1964. This program attracted teachers from all the schools in the country becoming an inter-academic institution as well as a center of Polish organ studies. Teachers met at the Kraków Academy to discuss issues of concern to the profession and to set standards of organ culture. Apart from teaching, the department was established to enliven the concert movement in the country, to secure and restore historic organs in Polish churches, and to envision new directions for Polish organ building. Since then organ departments have opened successively in all the academies of music.

Organist training at the academies of music

In 1972 Joachim Grubich stated:

In the post-war period artistic education took on a completely new structure under the absolute patronage of the State. Organ studios at the academies of music lost the character of organist schools preparing church organists, and became centers educating organist-virtuosos, from whom stage presence was demanded.⁵³

⁵³ Joachim Grubich, "Organistyka polska w okresie Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej," in *Wokół Polskiej Tradycji Organowej*, ed. by Roman Kowal (Kraków, Poland: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna w Krakowie, 1976), 53.

„W okresie powojennym szkolnictwo artystyczne uzyskało całkowicie nową strukturę i pełny mecenat Państwa. Klasy organowe w uczelniach muzycznych

This statement can be understood better when one knows that it was written by an organist who travelled and performed often at a time when church organists were not condoned by the government. It is possible that the conflict between the authorities and the church was internalized subconsciously by organists wanting their art to flourish in Poland. A similar opinion was expressed by another organist and teacher at the Kraków Academy, Mirosława Semeniuk-Podraza. In an article of 1977 she described the program of organ teaching at the Kraków Academy and advocated making changes.⁵⁴ She pressed to make improvisation, counterpoint and fugue non-obligatory subjects, to refrain from teaching ear training, harmony, and analysis (on the premise that these subjects are taught at the high school level), and to add more hours of chamber music, piano, organ literature, organ building and figured bass. Her suggestions demonstrate that organ study was more connected with theory and composition than with theological or liturgical subjects. She insisted on a more performance-oriented approach, adding

utraciły charakter szkół organistowskich, przygotowujących muzyków-organistów kościelnych, a stały się ośrodkami kształcącymi organistów-wirtuozów, którym stawiano wymaganie estradowe.”

⁵⁴ Mirosława Semeniuk-Podraza, "Literatura organowa w programie studiów dla organistów," in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa I*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1977), 248.

subjects that would improve concert skills and facilitate acquiring a specialized knowledge of the instrument. Interestingly, this approach would be criticized in the beginning of the 21st century by a younger generation of academic teachers (described in the following chapter), who felt that organists should not be prepared only to concertize, but also to be versatile church musicians, improvisers and composers, if needed. This stance also reflects how the job situation changed after 1989 to include more professional organist positions in churches.

Writing a master's thesis became part of requirements at the Music Academy of Kraków in 1958, and this was later adopted by other institutions. According to an analysis made by Wanda Falk,⁵⁵ until 1978 the most popular subjects were analyzing and interpreting works of well-known composers like Bach, Frescobaldi, Reger, Franck, Händel, and Brahms. Only the most notable of Polish composers like Nowowiejski, Szabelski, and Machl were taken into consideration. Organ building, music from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Dutch music, and surprisingly Polish music, were topics rarely covered if at all.

⁵⁵ Wanda Falk, "Organy i muzyka organowa w opracowaniach teoretycznych absolwentów Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej (na przykładzie prac dyplomowych Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Krakowie)," in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa III*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1980), 345-362.

Writing a thesis was a new idea for organ students and it took some time for the topics to become more specialized. Also, access to the achievements of western literature was scarce, thus the theses had to be based on what literature was available at the time. Travelling to research a particular topic (for example, Spanish organ building) was not a common thing for Polish organists because of passport, language and financial restrictions. Only post-1989 theses begin to reflect the gradual opening of the country and availability of more sources in Polish libraries.

Publications

The topics for theses described above also reflect the scarcity of Polish publications on the subject. Organ or church music magazines like "Muzyka Kościelna" (Church Music) or "Organista" (Organist)⁵⁶ covered some of these issues, especially concerns about the standards of organ performance and organ

⁵⁶ Other magazines that covered organ related topics: "Muzyka Kościelna" (Church Music) published in Poznań since 1881 by Józef Surzyński, and from 1826-1939 by Chybiński, Reiss, Feicht; 1891 – "Rocznik dla Organistów" (Organist Yearbook); 1896 "Śpiew Kościelny" (Church Chant) edited by priests Teofil Kowalski and Eugeniusz Gruberski; 1925 "Kronika Muzyczna Organistów Diecezji Lubelskiej" (Music Chronicle of Lublin Diocese Organists); 1935 „Organista" (Organist) published in Łódź; 1957 – Biblioteka Organisty (Organist Library) published in Warsaw but only for a few months; „Muzyka Polska" (Polish Music) 1934-1939 ed. by Tadeusz Ochlewski; „Gazetka Muzyczna" (Music Gazette) 1936-1939; „Pismo Organistowskie" (Organist Journal) 1927-1928; „Kwartalnik Muzyczny" (Music Quarterly) 1948-1950; „Ruch Muzyczny" (Music Movement) 1945 until now.

building, and ways to raise them. But there was no single comprehensive source to cover all the related topics in Poland. Only in 1972, with Jerzy Gołos' extensive publication on Polish organ culture,⁵⁷ did the situation start to change gradually. Gołos' publication provided a summary of Polish organ building and repertoire from its beginnings, which finally placed Polish organs, organists and their music into a wider European context. Gołos also lists historical sources with some complete and original texts, a registry of Polish organ builders and instruments, and selected organ music from the 16th-19th centuries. A separate part of this publication is Ewa Smulikowska's work on Polish organ cases as works of art. This provided more evidence about the history of Polish organ building than the actual state of pipework and mechanisms. Gołos' publication was translated into English and published in two volumes in 1992.⁵⁸ This edition reflects 20 years of new research following publication of the original Polish version. Although scores of the organ music were omitted, the book was enlarged with updated and corrected information on the state of

⁵⁷ Jerzy Gołos, *Polskie Organy i Muzyka Organowa* (Polish Organs and Organ Music), (Warszawa, Poland: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1972).

⁵⁸ Jerzy Gołos, *The Polish Organ: The Instrument and Its History* (Warsaw, Poland: Sutkowski Edition, 1992).

the instruments and literature, and Smulikowska's work was included in its complete form (compared to only one chapter in the 1972 publication).

Gołos' enormous influence on other researchers stimulated many discussions, which led to a conference publication in 1977, „Organy i Muzyka Organowa” (Organ and Organ Music). Since that time, it has been published every 2 or 3 years by the Gdańsk Academy of Music in collaboration with the Koszalin state authorities.⁵⁹ The publication began as a complement to the musical performances during the Koszalin organ festival, documenting the academic sessions on organ topics with 20-25 articles in each volume. The editor, Paweł Podejko, wrote in the first edition:

The need for contact with organ music is uniquely strong in our society, so important that one can talk about the renaissance of organ music. Full audiences at organ concerts in Oliwa, Kamień Pomorski, Frombork, Leżajsk, Kraków, Tyniec, Szczecin, Wrocław and many others prove this. Organ festivals, although already numerous in our country, are enjoyed with an unflagging interest.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ 14 volumes so far.

⁶⁰ Paweł Podejko, „Przedmowa – Preface,” in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa I*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1977), 9.

„Zapotrzebowanie na kontakt z muzyką organową jest w naszym społeczeństwie wyjątkowo duże, tak, że można wprost mówić o renesansie muzyki organowej. Świadczą o tym komplety słuchaczy na koncertach organowych w Oliwie, Kamieniu Pomorskim, Fromborku, Leżajsku, Krakowie, Tyńcu, Szczecinie, Wrocławiu i wielu innych miejscowościach. Festiwale

The conference became an important platform for exchanging thoughts and knowledge about the organ and its music between Polish and international organists and musicologists. The Polish participants represented all the Polish conservatoria, universities, and national centers for restoring and documenting historical monuments. Starting in the 1980s, professors from the former Eastern bloc (former Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Soviet Union) joined the conference; in the 1990s, they were joined by professors from Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and other European countries. The subjects covered in the conference meetings were the following:

- organ building and its history in different eras, countries, including the work of particular organ builders, acoustics, and monument restoration
- organ performance; activity of outstanding performers in different eras and countries (including local regions in Poland)
- organ literature and its interpretation; formal, historical and stylistic analysis; output of particular composers

“Organy i Muzyka Organowa” was published in Polish with summaries in German. Foreigners presented information on

organowe, mimo że tak liczne w naszym kraju, cieszą się nieśląbnącym powodzeniem.”

their own countries in their own languages, and summaries were translated into Polish.

Another important publication of organ music was PWM, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Musical Editions). Initiated in 1946, PWM played an important role in promoting Polish achievements, being the main publisher of contemporary Polish organ music until 1989. As mentioned in the previous chapter, publications of music facilitated performance and dissemination of the music by performers. Although many of the scores are out of print today, it is still possible to find many of the compositions from this period through the US Interlibrary Loan System.

Competitions and festivals of organ music

It would be hard to overestimate the value and role of national and international competitions of organ music in propagating the music and art of organ performance. The first competition organized in Poland took place in 1950. Ogólnopolski Międzyszkolny Konkurs Bachowski (National Interschool Bach Music Competition) in Poznań helped to establish the reputations of many organists already mentioned in this paper, such as the prizewinners Jan Jargoń, Romuald Sroczyński, and Tadeusz Machl. Ogólnopolski Konkurs Muzyki Dawnej (National Early

Music Competition) held in Łódź in 1961 was won by Joachim Grubich, Leszek Werner and Filomena Fuss; in 1964, the prizewinners were Józef Serafin, Maria Lizer, and Jacek Kulig.

Polish organists have also successfully participated in international organ festivals and won prizes at prestigious organ competitions. These include Irma Thenior-Janecka in 1956 in Prague, Joachim Grubich in 1960 in Graz and in 1962 in Geneva, Józef Serafin in 1972 in Nürnberg, Jarosław Malanowicz in 1980 in Toledo, and Andrzej Białko in 1981 in Rome.

Concertizing was limited in the first two decades after WWII, since there was no promotion of organ music by the government or churches. A misunderstanding of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) led some churches to include guitar and popular music, marginalizing the organ tradition. In 1972 Grubich summarized this situation:

well-educated organists with virtuoso skills had to find an outlet for their talents. The Church did not demonstrate interest in their art in the post-war period – a lack of understanding or even interest in art organ music in churches was exacerbated by new liturgical approaches. However, still the most valuable instruments were found in churches. We had to find activities in order to use these important instruments for concerts, and so many efforts went in this direction.⁶¹

⁶¹ Grubich, 53.

”Wykształceni muzycy-organiści o predyspozycjach wirtuzowskich musieli znaleźć ujście dla swych umiejętności. Zapotrzebowania na ich sztukę nie przejawiał już Kościół w okresie powojennym – dał się zauważyć brak

The first organ concerts took place at Oliwa cathedral, at first sporadically with few performers. In 1959 they were organized as a festival, accompanied by radio shows recorded live during the concerts. In 1965 festivals also arose in Kamień Pomorski, Koszalin, Frombork, Leżajsk, followed by Dni Muzyki Organowej (Days of Organ Music) in Kraków, Dni Muzyki Organowej i Klawesynowej (Days of Organ and Harpsichord Music) in Wrocław, and Festiwal Muzyki Organowej i Oratoryjnej (Festival of Organ and Vocal Music) in Łódź. Research conducted during the 1970-71 season shows that there were around 100 organ concerts, and the performers were not only Polish, but came from many other European countries.⁶² In his 1972 monograph, Gołos cited other Polish cities with organ festivals and listed well-known Polish performers, such as Feliks Rączkowski, Józef Chwedczuk, Jan Jargoń, Leszek Werner, Romuald Sroczyński, Leon Bator, Jerzy Rosiński, Andrzej Siekierski, Jan Kucharski, Mirosław Pietkiewicz, and Henryk Klaja.⁶³ Polish Records (Polskie

zrozumienia czy nawet zainteresowania artystyczną muzyką organową w kościele, zresztą nie sprzyja temu również nowa liturgia. Tym niemniej jedyna naprawdę wartościowe organy w Polsce znajdowały się i nadal znajdują się w kościołach. Trzeba było znaleźć formy działania, które umożliwiałyby wykorzystanie tych cennych instrumentów do celów koncertowych i w tym kierunku poszły liczne starania.”

⁶² Grubich, 57.

⁶³ Gołos, 201.

Nagrانيا), a state company, issued recordings of organ music made by Chwedczuk, Rutkowski, Rączkowski, Jargoń, Serafin, Kruzel-Sawa, and Grubich. Typical concert repertoire included that which is considered standard today: pre-Bach, Bach, romantic, and a modern piece. Typical composers were Buxtehude, Sweelinck, Froberger, Pachelbel, Frescobaldi, Bach, Mendelssohn, Franck, Reger, and Messiaen. Polish pieces were rarely played due to an attitude that Polish music was inferior, although Surzyński's music was the most popular. Rączkowski, Paciorkiewicz, and Sawa were among the performing composers who played their own music.

Organ concerts were also organized in concert halls, where new instruments were being built (described later in the chapter). However, concerts in churches attracted bigger audiences than those held in the concert halls. Apparently the organ's connection with the church was very strong in the minds of the Polish people, whereas they were only starting to consider the organ as an instrument for the concert hall.

Another interesting development was the rise of female organists after the war. Women pursued performing and teaching careers, but did not work as church organists. Apart from the general political reasons mentioned in the previous

chapter, this was mainly due to the particular demands of the Polish Catholic Church who preferred male organists. Organists in Polish churches had to intone the hymns from the console, and male voices were preferred.⁶⁴

Organ building 1945-1989

In the beginning of the article entitled „The right and wrong ways of Polish organ building at the turn of the 21st century,”⁶⁵ Jerzy Kukla, an organist and organ builder, writes:

While discussing organ building in the 20th century Poland we should understand that we are talking about a phenomenon, something that existed amidst the surrounding situation. Given the circumstances, it should not exist at all. Thus, if there are critical opinions expressed in this article, the author nevertheless wants to give proper respect to all, who in this hard political and economic situation in Poland, decided to take up organ building, building instruments which survived until this day and creating proof of the **potentials** of the national companies.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The author of this paper, although born in in the late 1970s, encountered herself the surprise of Catholic priests at the sight of a female organist at the console.

⁶⁵ Jerzy Kukla, „Drogi I bezdroża polskiego budownictwa organowego u progu XXI wieku,” in *Polska muzyka organowa na przełomie wieków: Podsumowania i prognozy*, ed. by Marta Szoka (Warszawa, PL: Akademia Muzyczna im. Fryderyka Chopina w Warszawie, 2001), 25.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 25.

„Mówiąc o budownictwie organowym w Polsce XX wieku powinniśmy sobie zdać sprawę z tego, że mówimy o fenomenie, o czymś, co istniało wbrew otaczającym uwarunkowaniom i na dobrą sprawę nie powinno istnieć. Stąd jeżeli nawet w niniejszym tekście znajdują się sformułowania krytyczne, autor pragnie oddać należny szacunek tym, którzy w polskich warunkach ekonomicznych i politycznych w ogóle wykonywali zawód organmistrza, budując instrumenty, które mimo wszystko przetrwały do dzisiaj i stanowią dowód **potencjalnych** możliwości rodzimych warsztatów.”

The state of organs that survived the war was far from satisfactory. The devastation of WWII throughout the country left many churches and organs completely annihilated. Czech, German, and Austrian organ building companies disappeared from the Polish market because of the communist regime. Valuable organs were often mistreated by inexperienced organists in attempts to repair the instruments; this occurred on a national scale immediately after WWII. Nevertheless, new instruments were built, too. As mentioned in Chapter 1, after WWII the aesthetics of the *Orgelbewegung* became prevalent in music performance and organ building as well. The performers of the time were educated in the light of *Orgelbewegung* ideas, and they demanded instruments that would fit this “new” approach. Polish organ builders trained in the romantic tradition were forced to abandon their worked-out patterns to satisfy their customers. They had no aid in building instruments in a “new” fashion, and they had to learn from their own mistakes due to their isolation from western achievements and knowledge in the first decades after 1945.

There were a few Polish companies in the post-WWII market: the Biernacki brothers (one of the largest organ

companies in the 1920s and 1930s in Poland, specializing in building romantic style instruments with electro-pneumatic and electro-magnetic actions), Stefan Truszczyński, Karol and Albert Polcyn, Stanisław Krukowski, and the Kamiński brothers. Dire economic and political circumstances made it difficult for organ building companies to survive, including those with decades of active tradition and success. Private business was considered to work against the common good, and most of the organ building companies were private businesses before WWII. Because the material market was controlled by the government, private organ builders often could not access basic materials, like wood or copper, from which to make instruments. This led to rare but infamous incidents involving organ builders stealing materials from existing instruments.⁶⁷

The Polish market opened shortly after 1956, and European companies stimulated local organ builders. The competition with which Polish companies had to deal led them to make up for the lost time and differences. Financial restrictions and lack of communication with the West resulted in instruments that were only theoretically related to the German 17th or 18th

⁶⁷ Kukla, 29.

century instruments. Instruments were planned without detailed information about historical pipe scaling, mixtures, intonations, and key and stop action. Often these instruments had pneumatic or electro-pneumatic key action, because organists themselves thought mechanical action would be too difficult to play.⁶⁸ The “Baroque” sound was associated with the domination of aggressive high mixtures to counteract the “dull” and “unattractive” sound of instruments that were built around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is still possible nowadays to find “modernized” instruments with softly voiced foundation stops and harsh mixtures and mutations installed in place of “unnecessarily duplicated” 16’, 8’, or 4’ stops. Another popular approach was to build modern electric action instruments in historical cases.

The need for an inventory of the existing remnants of historic instruments and criteria for making decisions about proper restorations emerged as significant topics after the war. In 1968, authorities from The Centre of Cataloguing Monuments (Ośrodek Dokumentacji Zabytków) had their first meeting with musicologists, organists and organ builders interested in

⁶⁸ Ireneusz Wyrwa, *Problematyka wykonawcza utworów organowych Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w świetle poglądów estetycznych kompozytora*, (Lublin, PL: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2011), 11-12.

restoring old instruments. Because only the organ cases had been taken under governmental care, the organists postulated that also the pipes and organ mechanisms were included; this happened in 1968. According to Jan Chwałek, an academic teacher and organ consultant who was personally involved in many later historical restorations, "a proposal was formulated to engage foreign specialists to work on the conservation of historic instruments of higher class."⁶⁹ Subsequent sessions in 1969 established that there were historic organs in Poland that needed to be protected, and that the Ministry of Culture and Art as well as Church authorities were interested in supporting these efforts. It was also stated that there were institutions and people in Poland who could be active in this field, however Polish organ builders did not have the proper qualifications.⁷⁰

Following this meeting two important institutions were opened in 1970, Placówka Dokumentacji Zabytkowych Organów przy Pracowniach Konserwacji Zabytków in Toruń (Institute of Cataloguing Historical Organs at the Monuments Conservation

⁶⁹ Jan Chwałek, "Ochrona zabytkowych organów w Polsce w latach 1967-1977," in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa I*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1977), 101. "Sformułowano też postulat zaangażowania specjalistów zagranicznych do prac konserwatorskich przy obiektach wysokiej klasy."

⁷⁰ Ibid., 102-103.

Studio) and Pracownia Konserwacji Organów Zabytkowych in Kraków (Studio of Preserving Historical Organs). Marian Dorawa, Jan Chwałek and Jerzy Gołos were involved with these. Until 1976 fifteen free-standing pipe organs and some positives were documented; this led to important decisions about proper restorations. Private contractors were hired, such as Józef Mollin from Odrów near Chojnice, and Truszczyński from Warsaw. Through this experience, these men began building mechanical action instruments themselves in the 1980s.

Joachim Grubich summarized this situation during the 1972 organ conference in Kraków:

Despite the large input of the Organ Department [in Kraków] in drawing up sound concepts for newly built instruments, due to a lack of outstanding organbuilders and voicers and hardships in obtaining the right materials, our organ building did not reach a European level. The actual state of the new organs most often departed from what was planned in terms of voicing, scaling, the quality of the material and other vital elements that are decisive to the sound of the organ.⁷¹

Later in the article he writes:

⁷¹ Grubich, 55.

"Mimo dużego wkładu Katedry w opracowywanie koncepcji brzmieniowej nowo budowanych organów, na skutek braku wybitnych organmistrzów, przede wszystkim intonatorów, a także na skutek ogromnych trudności materiałowych, nasze budownictwo organowe nie osiągnęło poziomu europejskiego. Faktyczny obraz dźwiękowy nowych organów najczęściej odbiegał od przewidywanego z uwagi na niewłaściwą intonację, menzurację, dobór materiału i innych elementów decydujących o barwie dźwięku organów."

We will be able to talk about complete artistic satisfaction for a performer and a listener only when we have instruments with slider wind chests and mechanical action.⁷²

This statement shows that the *Orgelbewegung* was taken quite literally in Poland. Although there is an undoubted value in mechanical action instruments, this is no reason to denigrate instruments in the romantic style. This attitude towards building romantic style instruments meant moving backwards for Polish builders. Following European trends led to the neglect of valuable instruments, and some romantic-style instruments were mistreated.

Summarizing the achievements of this period, it is important to note that despite the economic and political hardships, new instruments were constructed. Organs in concert halls and the restoration of notable organs in Polish churches inspired the creation of organ festivals. New installations were found in concert halls already in the 1950s (Warsaw, Kraków, Bydgoszcz, and Katowice) as well as at music schools in Kraków, Warsaw, Opole, Katowice, and Gdańsk. Restorations of important instruments were done (for better or for worse) in

⁷² Grubich, 56.

"O pełnej satysfakcji artystycznej tak wykonawcy jak i słuchacza będzie można mówić dopiero wtedy, gdy pojawią się u nas instrumenty o wiatrownicach zasuwkowych i trakturze mechanicznej."

Oliwa (by Biernacki in 1955), Frombork (by Kamiński in 1965), Kamień Pomorski (by Kamiński in 1968), and Leżajsk (by Polcyn 1968).⁷³ In the late 1970s, when the borders opened a bit, organists made excursions abroad to former West and East Germany, Sweden, and Holland, to learn from the experiences of others. Better informed restorations were conducted on the 1688 organ at the St. John Church in Toruń (by Józef Mollin, 1979-1983); the 1627 organ from St. John in Gdańsk (by Harry and Guntram Hillebrand from Altwarmbuechen/Hanower 1985);⁷⁴ Jerzy Nitrowski's instrument from 1631-33 in Kazimierz Dolny (1980-82); and the 1617-24 Hans Hummel organ in Olkusz (1992).

The first Polish tracker was built by Truszczyński in 1975.⁷⁵ However, foreign organ builders like Rieger-Kloss, Schuke from Potsdam, Eisenbarth from Passau, and Beckerath from Hamburg were preferred for constructing trackers in Polish churches and concert halls, which made other Polish companies restructure

⁷³ Kukla, 33.

⁷⁴ built by Marten Friesen in years 1625-27, rebuilt by Daniel Nitrowski in 1713, Andrzej Hildebrant in 1720-22, and later in 1745-46, changed to pneumatic action by Walcker in 1899-1902, and restored to mechanical action in 1985

⁷⁵ Kukla, 30.

their workshops. In the 1980s, the Kamiński brothers, Mollin, Truszczyński and Cepka also built organs with tracker action.

Poland followed general European tendencies in the three decades before 1989. Organs were built by both foreign and Polish organ builders; some of the new organs had mechanical action, good sound quality and were well-fitted for concert use. The post-1989 era brought better informed restorations and the flow of knowledge from Western countries. For the first time, copies of instruments in historical styles were built. These will be described in the following chapter, which recounts the history of Polish organs and organ playing after 1989.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF POLISH ORGAN CULTURE, 1989-2012

Politics and art since 1989

Despite fears that the 1989 political revolution in Poland would lead to bloodshed, the change of regime unfolded in a more democratic manner than was expected. The "Round Table Talks" between the communist leadership and the democratic opposition (leaders of the "Solidarity" movement) resulted in parliament elections that were won by the opposition. The first non-communist prime minister was elected in 1989, and in 1990 Lech Wałęsa, the leader of the Solidarity movement, became the first non-communist president of Poland. Political changes influenced the nation's economy. The shift from a state-controlled to a free-market economy engendered the privatization of the state-owned companies and the emergence of private businesses, leading to greater economic growth. However, this did not come without a price. Sky-rocketing inflation was caused by the final years of communist rule, and by 1990 Leszek Balcerowicz, the minister of finances, implemented a drastic plan to counterbalance this. Many social problems resulted; the standard of living for many Poles was diminished

and the level of unemployment increased. Those who worked for years in inefficient government-owned companies were especially affected. Although the plan effectively reduced inflation, capitalism ultimately created a larger economic disparity among Polish citizens.

Despite these problems Poland has made dramatic economic progress over the last two decades, which led to the signing of two important treaties. In 1999 Poland joined NATO, and in 2004 the European Union. The latter is especially important for the state of the arts, providing many subsidies for artistic and educational activities in Poland.

The role of the Catholic Church changed from a voice of opposition that was often suppressed by the communist government yet managed to gain strength throughout the 1980s, to an important and influential part of the Polish political scene. In the early 1990s the Church requested the abolition of the law separating church and state, as well as postulating the right to religious education. Although at first perceived as a sign of religious freedom, Catholic teaching came to schools without options for other denominations. Nevertheless, other factors eroded the Church's power. Because of the opening to the West, people travelled more than before 1989. More people also

obtained higher education degrees that were subsidized by the state. The Polish Catholic Church began losing its strong spiritual influence due to its highly conservative ideological views which were often in opposition to modern European lifestyles. During the communist era the Church was perceived as a center of freedom and opposition; in post-1989 Poland it is perceived as an institution that has a questionable influence on politics. It is typical for Catholic priests to comment on political life during Sunday sermons, to favor politicians and encourage parishioners to vote for them. Post-1989 Catholicism is still respected as providing long years of Polish tradition; however many Poles who declare themselves Catholic do not actively participate in the life of Church. On the other hand, many important events in people's lives - birth, first communion, weddings and funerals - are so strongly connected with the Church that the institution and its rituals are still needed.

In addition to its liturgical function, the organ is kept alive in Poland through a long tradition of organ concerts and festivals started already during the communist era. Churches are valuable monuments, and the organs in them are treated with great respect. Churches often become tourist attractions, and summer organ festivals contribute to their desirability. Sunday masses

are still an important part of the average Polish lifestyle, and despite some secularization, church organists are able to maintain good positions.

Festivals of organ music

Since the 1990s festivals of organ music have been blooming in Poland. Nowadays even the smallest towns organize days or summer festivals of organ music in their churches; approximately 300 of these are organized yearly. As mentioned earlier, Polish churches are often valuable historical monuments, and even if the organs inside them are substandard, a cool, spiritual place attracts people during a hot summer evening to listen to music and admire art. European churches built in previous centuries often have excellent acoustics, and parishes take pride in inviting musicians to perform in them. All the festivals that were initiated shortly after 1945 still exist, attracting large crowds through their growing popularity. The prestige of organ festivals also impresses state authorities with the need to renovate the organ or parts of the church. Although Church property confiscated by the state was restored in 1989, preserving its historical value lies in the country's best interests. Efforts to expand tourism in Poland motivate festival organizers to invite acclaimed Polish and foreign musicians. Many European,

Asian and American organ virtuosos have visited Poland to present summer courses and workshops.

Schooling and education

Polish academies of music are broadening opportunities for students by creating church music and early music departments; they also participate in exchanges with other European universities through the Socrates-Erasmus program. Many organ students take this opportunity to study for a semester or two with a professor in Germany, Holland, or France, and they are partially subsidized by this program. Because learning languages is a popular and important part of school curricula in Poland, many students travel for their post-graduate studies to other European countries or to the US. The experience they gain abroad makes them more competitive after returning to Poland. A growing interest in early music inspires many instrumentalists and vocalists to study in universities that offer lessons on historical instruments (such as Basel, Switzerland, or The Hague or Amsterdam in The Netherlands); they often return to Poland to help create early music departments. Church music departments can have great influence on the level of liturgical organ playing, bringing high quality music to the sanctuaries. Many graduates organize music festivals in their parishes.

The reopening of religious schools in Poland filled the gap in high-school level teaching for church musicians (Lutomiersk, Kraków, Bielsko-Biała, Gliwice, Pelplin, Warszawa, Łódź, and many others). Most high-school level public schools are still more performance-oriented, and this makes religious organist schools all the more necessary. In her 2001 article, Magdalena Czajka claims that secondary music schools do not prepare organists for church positions because they offer no practical study of harmony, improvisation, or conducting.⁷⁶

Around 15 national and international organ competitions take place each year in Poland to increase awareness, raise standards and provide contact with foreigners. Often these are named for the founders of an organ school or a major composer. This is seen in the Kucharski competition in Łódź (since 2008), the Nowowiejski competition in Poznań (since 1994), the Sroczyński competition in Poznań (since 2008), and the Sweelinck competition in Gdańsk (since 1992). There are also competitions organized around a theme, like the new 2012 competition for college students for the best performance of French and North German music in Katowice (connected with

⁷⁶ Magdalena Czajka, "Zawód: Muzyk, Specjalność: Gra na organach. Kilka refleksji o kształceniu organistów w Polsce," in *Polska muzyka organowa na przełomie wieków: Podsumowania i prognozy*, ed. by Marta Szoka (Warszawa, PL: Akademia Muzyczna im. Fryderyka Chopina w Warszawie, 2001), 23-25.

building instruments in these styles). There are many competitions for high-school students, like the Sawa competition in Warsaw (since 2011), and other competitions in Olsztyn, Krasnobród, Bielsko-Biała. The oldest of these has been held in Rumia since 1989, encouraging new compositions for the organ. Polish students often take part in international competitions, receiving high scores and returning with prizes which typically secure them a teaching position at one of the universities.

Information about teaching at the university level

In the 2001 publication "Muzyka Organowa na przełomie wieków," Marcin Szelest, a teacher of the younger generation (who also studied in the US), claims that there is "lack of understanding and sympathy"⁷⁷ for early and avant-garde organ music, as well as for improvisation and basso continuo practice. He proposes a teaching program in which these fields are covered, supplemented with thorough and practical knowledge of all organ literature, associated instruments and music theory. As suggested above in Chapter 4, improvisation was a specialized skill for Polish musicians in the 1970s. Szelest asserts that improvisation is a craft that deserves attention in the curriculum,

⁷⁷ Marcin Szelest, "Kształcenie organistów w polskich akademiach muzycznych – oczekiwania i rezultaty," in *Polska muzyka organowa na przełomie wieków: Podsumowania i prognozy*, ed. by Marta Szoka (Warszawa, PL: Akademia Muzyczna im. Fryderyka Chopina w Warszawie, 2001), 19.

because without it an average organ student encounters problems even harmonizing a simple church song. One solution to this situation was the creation of church music divisions at some Polish music academies, like those in Warsaw and Kraków. Similarly, new early music departments became important for teaching stylized basso continuo realization, underscoring the importance of learning harmony and practicing chamber music. Szelest criticizes earlier approaches to organ education based exclusively on teaching pieces from the standard repertoire, without preparing students for musical life outside academic institutions.

Despite Szelest's critical remarks, the standard of organ playing in Poland constantly benefits from competition with foreign organists and the exchange of knowledge. International organ stars like Olivier Latry, Guy Bovet, Lorenzo Ghielmi, Pierre Pincemaille, Peter Planyavsky, and many others come to Poland to give master courses. Conversely, Polish organists frequently travel abroad to concertize and study music, historical instruments and other organ cultures.

Publications since 1989

In the forward to the first post-1989 edition of "Organy i

Muzyka Organowa” Janusz Krassowski expresses his

observations and hopes:

In light of the recent significant changes in Poland (and not only here), at a time when issues of political and national importance dominate our minds – but when relentless recession complicates the clarity of the view of the future and makes solving current issues harder – questions and concerns arise concerning values that often disappear from view during times of unrest. Our issues generate questions too. Why? Because we fear the consequences of external occurrences: lack of connection between politics and art, economics and culture . . . Are we threatened by the domination of “practical pragmatism?” We cannot settle this issue . . . However, the fact is that we have been continuing our conferences since 1977 through evolving periods of outside circumstances, constantly handling changing organizational problems, which makes us feel optimistic.⁷⁸

Indeed, it is gratifying to see leaders of organ culture continue their efforts to share their knowledge and passions despite feelings of instability. The conference still exists today, celebrating its 15th edition in 2012. There has been a noticeable

⁷⁸ Janusz Krassowski, “Przedmowa – Preface,” in *Organy i Muzyka Organowa VIII*, ed. by Janusz Krassowski (Gdańsk, Poland: Akademia Muzyczna w Gdańsku, 1991), 7.

“W sytuacji zaszyłych w Polsce (i nie tylko) doniosłych zmian, w czasie kiedy dominują w umysłach sprawy wagi państwowej i narodowej – ale gdy nieustępująca recesja komplikuje przejrzystość obrazu przyszłości i utrudnia rozwiązywanie wielu zagadnień bieżących – budzą się pytania i troska o wartości uchodzące często z pola widzenia w czasach przełomu. Objęte tymi pytaniami są i nasze sprawy. Skąd się to bierze? Z obawy o skutki drugorzędnych w istocie zjawisk: niezborności między polityką a sztuką, gospodarką a kulturą. Z niepewności naszej i z nieprzystosowania do tego. Czy zagraża nam dominacją “pragmatystycznego praktycyzmu” – nie sposób tego jednoznacznie przesądzić. (...) Jednak fakt doświadczalny, że kontynuujemy nasze zjazdy od 1977 roku poprzez ewoluujące “etapy” zewnętrznych okoliczności, pokonując zmieniające się organizacyjne problemy, ma tu swoją wymowę napawającą optymizmem.”

shift in the invitations proffered. While before 1989 many conference speakers were from former Soviet Union countries, since 1989 Western countries have been better represented, with speakers such as Hermann J. Busch, Colin Andrews, Bruno Oberhammer, Mads Kjersgaard, Lorenzo Ghielmi, Pieter van Dijk, Christoph Krummacher, and Werner Walcker-Mayer. American organ music, a topic which was not discussed before 1989, is also covered. The main focus of the sessions continues to be a platform for sharing knowledge about organ building, performance, repertoire and interpretation, as well as other aspects of organ culture in Poland.

Also of note are new books and doctoral dissertations on specialized topics by a younger generation of organists. These include Dariusz Bąkowski-Kois' "Zagadnienia sonorystyczno-wykonawcze iberyjskiej muzyki organowej XVII stulecia" (Sound and performance issues in Iberian organ music of the 17th century) from 2006; Marcin Szelest's "Przemiany stylistyczne we włoskiej muzyce organowej przełomu XVI i XVII stulecia" (Stylistic changes in Italian organ music of the 16th and 17th centuries) from 2007; Andrzej Mikołaj Szadejko's "Styl i interpretacja w utworach organowych Friedricha Christiana Mohrheima (1719?-1780) i Johanna Gottfrieda Mühela (1728-

1788). Zagadnienia wykonawcze i stylistyczne muzyki organowej w regionie południowego Bałtyku w osiemnastym wieku.” (Style and interpretation of organ pieces by Friedrich Christian Mohrheim (1719?-1780) and Johann Gottfried Müthel (1728-1788). Performance and stylistic issues of organ music in the South Baltic region in the 18th century) from 2010; Ireneusz Wyrwa’s “Problematyka wykonawcza utworów organowych Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w świetle poglądów estetycznych kompozytora” (Performance Issues in Feliks Nowowiejski’s organ compositions, in light of the composer’s aesthetic views) from 2011. These detailed publications, accompanied by recordings of the music described, are important contributions to Polish musicological literature on organ music and performance. They also demonstrate a shift in focus of the younger generation of organists, well-educated and able to conduct specialized research on organ repertoire, taking full advantage of newly accessible Western sources and literature.

In addition to Kraków’s established “Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne” (PWM – Polish Music Edition), new publishing houses like “Organon” and “Pro Organo” have emerged to disseminate works by lesser known or young organ composers. Most new publishers are situated in music academies or universities such

as the publishing house of the Musicology Institute of Warsaw University or "Musica Iagiellonica" of Jagiellonian University in Kraków. New record labels like DUX, Acte Préalable and Musicon release organ music recorded on Polish historic and modern instruments, as well as music by lesser known composers and music that was recently discovered or published. The Polish record market carries recordings of organ works by Mieczysław Surzyński, August Freyer, and Marian Sawa along with complete recordings of music from the early Polish organ tablatures.

Organ music since 1989

Over 300 compositions for organ and for combinations of other instruments with organ have been written since 1985 in Poland.⁷⁹ Half of this amount comes from the impressive oeuvre of Marian Sawa, by far the most prolific composer in 20th century Poland. In addition to his work as a composer, Sawa was a professor at the Warsaw Academy of Music. Beginning in 1973 he taught organ improvisation, harmony, counterpoint and liturgical accompaniment (after the Church Music department was opened). Many of his organ works are dedicated to his

⁷⁹ In Marta Szoka's publication *Polska muzyka organowa w latach 1945-1985* (Łódź, PL: Wydawnictwo Astra, 1993) there is a list of organ compositions written during the years 1945-1985. The year 1985, and not 1989, is used here as a divider to complete Szoka's list. The list of works from the post-1985 period can be found in Appendix A.

academic colleagues or students. As mentioned in Chapter 3, his musical style became more simple over time, to the point where his last pieces were sight-readable. Sawa commonly used religious motives and titles, as well as tonal harmonies in his post-1989 compositions. Because his music did not follow trends, it is hard to categorize by musicologists. Nevertheless, his organ pieces became extremely popular among organists, making Sawa the most performed 20th century composer in Poland.

Other important composers who continued their work after 1989 are Jan Janca (with almost 40 works for organ, mainly for liturgical purposes), Norbert Mateusz Kuźnik (about 15 works for solo organ and chamber musicians, as well as one concerto with orchestra), Jerzy Bauer, Tadeusz Machl, Stanisław Moryto, Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz, Bronisław Kazimierz Przybylski, and Wiesław Rentowski. Each of these men composed about 10 works for solo organ and combinations with other instruments. Some composers from the younger generation devoted their careers solely to composition yet wrote only sporadically for organ, like Zbigniew Kozub (1960), or Piotr Grella (1961). There has also emerged in Poland a new line of young musicians combining performance and composition studies. These are

represented by Dariusz Przybylski (1984), who devotes himself to performing new music for organ, composing many works himself (around 17 through 2009), and Marcin Łukaszewski (1972), a pianist and composer who has written around 10 works mainly for organ solo. These two composers are extremely prolific given their young age, and they have already published and recorded their music. This reflects the changing cultural politics in Poland as well as the effects of capitalism, the internet and new technologies in broadening the Polish compositional scene.

Organ building since 1989

Since 1972, documenting and cataloguing historic instruments in Poland has been developing constantly, leading in recent years to publications with detailed information about organs in particular dioceses and counties.⁸⁰ Poles have

⁸⁰ For example:

- O. Waldemar Kapeć, "Przemiany konstrukcyjno-brzmieniowe w budownictwie organowym na terenie diecezji lubelskiej 1805-1939 (Sound and structural changes in organ building on the territory of Lublin diocese in years 1805-1939)," (Lublin, Poland: Polihymnia, 2008)
- Paweł Podejko, "Życie muzyczne dawnego Gdańska, Pomorze i Kujaw (Musical Life of old Gdańsk, Pomorze and Kujawy)," (Gdańsk, Poland: Akademia Muzyczna w Gdańsku, 2001), describing among others the organs in Gdańsk
- a collection of articles "Organy na Śląsku (Organs in Silesia)," ed. by Julian Gembalski (Katowice, Poland: Akademia Muzyczna w Katowicach, 2004)
- Ludwik Gawroński, "Muzyka Religijna w Lublinie w latach 1574-1794, (Religious Music in Lublin in the years 1574-1794)," (Lublin, Poland: Ludwik Gawroński, 1996)

preserved their historical legacy and monuments by researching Church archives and sharing their findings. The KUL⁸¹ Musicology Department is the leading academic institution which, apart from numerous publications, also actively participates in restorations. Under its auspices, baroque as well as romantic instruments have received proper care. Recent restorations include two instruments from 1916 and 1917 by Bruno Goebel located in Olsztyn, a Jägerndorf Rieger from 1927 in Łódź, a Ladegast from 1876 in Poznań, and a Schlag und Söhne from 1900 in Warsaw. Baroque instruments restorations include the 1729 Christian Mentzel organ in Jelenia Góra, the 1657 organ in Słupsk, the 1736 Michael Engler organ in Krzeszów, and the 1679 Jan Jerzy Wulff organ in Pelplin. A leading company for restorations is still that established by Józef Mollin, and taken

- Maria Szymanowicz, "Organy w kościołach diecezji radomskiej. Historia i stan obecny (Organs in churches of the Radom diocese. Their history and present state)," (Lublin, Poland: Polihymnia, 2006)

- Maciej Broniewski, "Barokowy prospekt organowy w kościele Łaski w Jeleniej Górze (Baroque organ case in Grace Church in Jelenia Góra)," (Poznań, Poland: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004)

- Ks. Michał Roman Szulik, "Kultura muzyczna katedry siedleckiej. Ludzie i muzyka (The music culture of Siedlce Cathedral. People and music)," (Lublin, Poland: Polihymnia, 2008)

- Andrzej Prasał, "Kultura muzyczna w archidiecezji wrocławskiej w latach 1945-2003 (The music culture in the Wrocław Archdiocese in the years 1945-2003)," (Lublin, Poland: Polihymnia, 2009)

- Tomasz Szałajda, "Historia organów katedry w Pelplinie na tle europejskiego budownictwa organowego (History of the Pelplin Cathedral organ in light of European organ building)," (Gdańsk, Poland: Wydawnictwo Bernardinum, 2008)

⁸¹ KUL = Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, Catholic University of Lublin

over after his death in 2005 by his son, Zdzisław Mollin. One of today's most prolific companies, Mollin builds 1-2 instruments a year, mainly continuo organs and small or medium size mechanical action instruments, and restores large free-standing instruments. He is popular throughout Poland, especially in the northern part of the country. Another important restorer is Marek Cepka, who in 2001 was partially responsible for the renovation of Poznań's Ladegast instrument. The Kamiński brothers' company has been involved in two interesting projects in Katowice, which are described in more detail in Appendix B. Julian Gembalski, organ professor of the Academy of Music in Katowice, decided to create an instrument in the French Classical style in 1999, and a North-German Baroque instrument in 2003. Although instruments of this type already existed in Europe and the US, their styles are unusual for Poland, and they attracted a great deal of attention in the organ world.

Another important step in Polish organ building was made in 2003 when a new and historically informed instrument was built inside a historical organ case. The organ in St. Cross Church in Kraków resulted from an academic and scientific collaboration. The instrument was built almost from scratch, as only a few original pipes survived so 90% of the instrument had

to be reconstructed. The original specification was known from the archives, and the pipes were made from the same metal as the original remnants. As an experiment, the tuning of Jan of Lublin was chosen for the “new” organ. The end product was an instrument of very high quality with a unique tuning.⁸²

The organ appears to thrive in post-1989 Poland, with organists advancing the work of their predecessors. Levels of performance, organ building and research have risen, enlivening the culture. The unrestricted travel of students and professional musicians brings new ideas back to the country and inspires developments, especially in organ building. Thanks to the stability of the Polish economy (even the recent 2008 global crisis did not affect it as severely as other European countries) and support of the European Union, there are provisions for new organ projects that augur well for the continued flourishing of organ culture in Poland.

⁸² Described in Appendix B.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Presently, the Polish organ world is characterized by hundreds of organ festivals, academies of music with large organ performance and church music studios, churches and the government participating hand-in-hand in the music culture, and students as well as teachers freely using all the opportunities to exchange knowledge and experience with their European colleagues. New music is being composed. Prominent 20th and 21st-century organ figures are frequent visitors for concerts and master classes. Historical organs are being catalogued, restored and played on. New organs are being built. Polish organ culture is blooming in an unprecedented way. Therefore, it is vital that documenting and disseminating Polish accomplishments continue.

While studying in the US, I realized how difficult it is to gather information about Polish organ culture. Most of the sources and publications about Polish music are available only in the Polish language. Scores of Polish organ music are hard to obtain, even in Poland, as a large number of them are out of print. Music by the most notable Polish composers such as Nowowiejski or Surzyński needs new and improved scholarly

editions in the modern European style.

The history of the organ in Poland has a fascinating past that is both colorful and grim. The post-1945 period is still being discovered by historians and musicologists. Interestingly, the political influence on music is often omitted in scholarly publications by Poles. A trace of explanation can be detected in Marta Szoka's 1993 publication. In the conclusion to her work, which was written in the late 1980s but not published until the early 1990s, she states that "music as art, by its nature autonomous, is far freer from pressure of the surrounding circumstances than, for example, literature or film."⁸³ Although feasible to a certain degree, the statement excludes the problem of describing organ music as free from external pressure because of its strong association with the Church. I believe that other assessments of the communist regime's influence on music making, such as Tuchowski's article from 2009,⁸⁴ are needed to fully dispel a widely-held notion that art music is free of political

⁸³ Marta Szoka, *Polska muzyka organowa w latach 1945-1985*, (Łódź, PL: Wydawnictwo Astra, 1993), 133.

"muzyka jako sztuka z natury rzeczy autonomiczna jest w znacznie większym stopniu wolna od presji otaczającej rzeczywistości, niż np. literatura, czy film"

⁸⁴ Andrzej Tuchowski, "The Impact of Communist Dictatorship and Its Transformations on the Identity of Polish Music in the Years 1945-1989," in *Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America*, ed. by Roberto Illiano and Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009), 333-362.

interference.

This paper was motivated by the desire to understand how organ culture survived the inhospitable environment in Poland after WWII. I was pleasantly surprised by the amount of fine music composed for the instrument during this period, as well as by the tenacity of organists in preserving the legacy of their liturgical traditions by adapting the organ as a concert instrument. My research is proffered here to honor those that paved the way for the renaissance of organ culture in Poland today. There is a treasure-trove of little known information and music that deserves to be made available to the international community of organists and scholars. My goal is to illuminate these unjustly obscured paths for future research so that the music of Polish organist-composers can be reclaimed by a new generation.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF ORGAN WORKS 1985-2012

A catalogue of organ compositions written in the years 1945-1985 is available through Marta Szoka's book *Polska muzyka organowa w latach 1945-1985* (Polish Organ Music from 1945-1985) published in Łódź, Poland by Wydawnictwo Astra in 1993. To continue Szoka's research, the list below was created.

COMPOSER'S NAMES AND DATES	TITLE, INSTRUMENTS, DATE
Augustyn Rafał (1951)	Missa for soprano, alto, organ and choir (1998)
Bauer, Jerzy (1936)	Accende lumen sensibus for organ (1985) Libera me Domine [version I] for spring sextet and organ (1989) Libera me Domine [version II] for organ (1989) Rozmyślenia eschatologiczne (pamięci Bernarda Pietrzaka) for organ (1998) BACHCAB for organ (1999)
Berger, Roman (1930)	Exodus III - Psalm for organ (1997) Korczak in memoriam for mezzosoprano, viola, cello, flute, organ, timpani and string quartet (2000)
Bloch, Augustyn (1929-2006)	Albowiem nadejdzie światłość twoja , psalmody for reciter, organ, choir and orchestra (1987), Hac festa die per organo, coro ed orchestra (1996) i Oratorium gedanense 1997 per organo, coro ed orchestra (1997). W górze nad nami , meditations for 4 sopranos, 4 altos, 4 tenors, 4 basses and organ (2003)
Błażewicz, Marcin (1953)	Ecce homo – ecce homines for organ (1994)
Borkowski, Marian (1934)	Pax in terra II for female voice, percussion and organ (1988) Prologue for trumpet and organ (1990)
Bruzdowicz-Tittel, Joanna (1943)	Urbi et Orbi , cantata for tenor, children choir, 2 trumpets, 2 trombones and organ (1985) Aurora Borealis for harp and organ (1988)
Buczyński, Paweł (1953)	Porta d'inferno for organ (1998)
Czarnecki, Sławomir (1949)	Three Visions op. 27 for organ (1988-90) Pieśni eucharystyczne for voice and organ (1992) Via Crucis op. 31 for organ (1993)
Chorosiński,	Dein Zweiglein for mixed choir and organ

Andrzej (1949)	(1986) Introdukcja i Fuga for organ (1991)
Górecki, Henryk Mikołaj (1933- 2010)	Salve Sidus Polonorum. Kantata o Św. Wojciechu op. 72 for large mixed choir, 2 pianos, organ and percussion ensemble (1997-2000)
Grella, Piotr (1961)	Ordines (Jorge Luis Borges in memoriam) for alto saxophone, organ and cello (1988) Sacrae symphoniae (Christopher Lewis in memoriam) for organ (1992-2000) Due pezzi for organ (1994-95) Lachrymae (In Memory of September 11, 2001) for organ (2001) Largo (Ommagio a Johann Sebastian) for violin (or flute or clarinet or alto saxophone) and piano (or organ) (2002) In memoriam Edward Bogusławski – Concerto for organ and string orchestra (2004) Three Nocturnal Postludes (In Memoriam John Paul II) for string quartet or organ (2005)
Janca, Jan (1933)	Missa de Angelis (with Credo III) for mixed choir and organ Hört, der Engel helle Lieder for organ Württembergisches Orgelbuch (Der Geist des Herrn erfüllt das All; Das Weizenkorn muss sterben; Selig seid ihr) Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot Gott liebt diese Welt Manchmal kennen wir Gottes Willen Solang es Menschen gibt auf Erden Esslinger Orgelbuch , Bd I-III (Der du die Zeit in Händen hast; Du hast uns, Herr, gerufen; Du hast mich, Herr, zu dir gerufen; Ohren gabst du mir; Das ist ein köstlich Ding; Laß die Wurzel unsers Handelns; Deine Hände, großer Gott; Es wird sein in den letzten Tagen; Nun schläfet man; Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer; Weißt du, wieviel Sternlein stehen; Der du die Zeit in

	<p>Händen hast; Der Morgenstern ist aufgedrungen; Du hast uns, Herr, gerufen; Du hast mich, Herr, zu dir gerufen; Ohren gabst du mir; Das ist ein köstlich Ding; Laß die Wurzel unsers Handelns; Deine Hände, großer Gott; Es wird sein in den letzten Tagen; Nun schläfet man; Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer; Weißt du, wieviel Sternlein stehen</p> <p>Das rote Album. Hits for Organ I Musik zu Kasualien, Heft 4 (Bridal March and Dance; Elegie Nr. 2) Musik zu Kasualien, Heft 5 (Gott, der nach seinem Bilde; Requiem aeternam)</p>
Jasiński, Marek (1949-2010)	<p>Missa brevis for children choir and organ (1990) Carl Loewe in memoriam for organ (1997)</p>
Kaczorowski, Sławomir (1956)	<p>Canto for organ (1987) Duo for violin and organ (1996) Cztery kontrasty for organ (1998)</p>
Kiesewetter, Tomasz (1911-1992)	<p>Preludium i toccata C-dur for organ (1991)</p>
Kilar, Wojciech (1932)	<p>Introitus for organ (2000)</p>
Kozub, Zbigniew (1960)	<p>Laudamus Nomen Tuum for organ (1985) In petto for organ and percussion (1988) Siedem obrazów apokaliptycznych for organ (1991) Semi-sophisticated Music for organ and computer (1995) Psalm 150 for choir, organ, brass and percussion (1996) Siedem obrazów apokaliptycznych for organ and computer (1996) Psalmy czasów przyszłych for soprano, reciter, flute, synthesizer, organ and percussion (1999) Rag-Organ-Reparation-Time for organ (2002)</p>

	<p>Spaces of Silence for piano, organ, clarinet, harp, accordion and percussion (2002)</p> <p>Medytacje Nowego Różańca for viola and organ (2004)</p> <p>Spaces of Silence for piano, accordion and organ (2005)</p> <p>Spaces of Swarm for 2 pianos, organ and percussion (2006)</p> <p>Psalm 150 for mixed choir, organ and symphonic orchestra (2006)</p>
Kurylewicz, Andrzej (1932-2007)	<p>"Tre salmi per alto voce e pianoforte (ossia cembalo ossia organo)" (1985)</p> <p>"Anima Christi ii" per soprano e organo (1987-88)</p> <p>"Due Salmi per Festa Dei Morti" for alto, organ and string orchestra (1988)</p>
Kuźnik, Norbert Mateusz (1946-2006)	<p>Piano e tutti per organo (1985)</p> <p>Odjazd, songs for soprano and piano or organ (1985)</p> <p>Koncert berliński in 4 parts for organ and orchestra (1986-87)</p> <p>Trio for trumpet (saxophone), timpani and organ (1988)</p> <p>Improvisation quasi fantasia for organ (1988)</p> <p>Pieśń nad pieśniami for organ and mixed choir (1988-89)</p> <p>Koncert na Świętą Lipkę for organ (1992)</p> <p>Portrait of Composer for organ (1993)</p> <p>Koncert wawelski for organ (1994)</p> <p>Koncert leżajski for organ (1994)</p> <p>Psalm per soprano solo, coro misto ed organo (1995)</p> <p>Muzyka per tromba, 3 timpani, organo ed archi (1995)</p> <p>Normatheo for organ (1996)</p> <p>Koncert for organ and orchestra (1997)</p>
Lampart, Zbigniew A. (1953)	<p>Dobry wieczór, Panie Mahler... czyli Muzyka zapomnianego snu for organ (2004)</p>
Łuciuk, Juliusz (1927)	<p>"Partes variables" for children or female choir a cappella, with organ or symphonic</p>

	<p>orchestra (1985) "Tripticum paschale" for organ (1993) "Cztery piosenki religijne" for solo voice and piano or organ (1994) "Consecrazione" for organ (2003)</p>
<p>Łukaszewski, Marcin (1972)</p>	<p>Bogurodzica for organ [from Miniatury for organ] (1989) Trzy etiudy for organ [from Miniatury for organ] (1992) Prolog i fuga for organ (1992) Inviolata for soprano and organ [from Pieśni maryjne] (1996) In manus tuas for mixed choir with soloists and organ (1996) Ave Maria for soprano and piano or organ [from Pieśni maryjne] (1999) Suita na Boże Narodzenie for organ (1999) Dwadzieścia cztery preludia na organy (2000) Pasjans for organ [from Miniatury for organ] (2001) Exegi monumentum (Marian Sawa in memoriam) for organ (2006) Signum temporis for flute and organ (2006)</p>
<p>Machl, Tadeusz (1922-2003)</p>	<p>Witraże, suite for organ, flute, oboe and horn (1985) Chorał, Cantabile, Fuga for organ (1988) Dissonatio for organ (1989) Poemat for organ (1992) Witraże for organ (1993) Preludia na temat polskich pieśni kościelnych for organ (1997) Oremus pro pontifice, for 20th anniversary of John Paul II pontificate for baritone solo, organ and string ensemble (1998) Msza for soprano, tenor, mixed choir and organ (1998) Epitafium dédié à Jean Langlais for organ (1999)</p>
<p>Makowski,</p>	<p>Elevazione per organo (1985)</p>

Mieczysław (1933)	<p>Correlazione for flute and organ (1988) Fantasia geometrica for organ (1988) Salve Porta Coeli for organ (1989) Gloria Tibi Trinitas for organ (1989) Summae Triumphum Gloriam for organ (1989) Pastorale for organ (1998)</p>
Moryto, Stanisław (1947)	<p>Cantio polonica for organ (1985) Conductus for 2 accordions and organ (1987) Canto for trombone and organ (1990) Antyfony for soprano and organ (1992) Da pacem domine for organ (1997) Veni creator for organ (1998) Msza Legnicka for soprano, alto, mixed choir and organ (2000) Gorzkie żale for soprano (or mixed choir), reciter, brass quintet, percussion and organ (2001) Msza dziecięca for solo voices, boys choir (or female choir) and organ (2002)</p>
Moss, Piotr (1949)	<p>Adagio II for organ and strings (1996) Weihnachtskantate for soprano, female choir, organ and strings (2000)</p>
Paciorkiewicz, Tadeusz (1916-1998)	<p>Refleksje for trumpet and organ (1987) Koncert for organ and string orchestra nr 2 (1987-88) Aria for viola and organ (1988) Koncert for viola, organ and orchestra (1989-90) Sekwencja for organ (1990) Lauda Sion, dialogues for organ and harp (1990) Ave Maria for mixed choir and organ (1991) Andante calmato for cello and organ (1991) Psalm 150 Laudate dominum for 5 voices solo or 5-part mixed choir and organ (1993)</p>
Pokrzywińska, Maria (1954)	<p>Versus for clarinet and organ (1997) Toccata capricciosa for organ (1999) Toccata capricciosa a quattro mani for organ (2001)</p>

Przybylski, Bronisław Kazimierz (1941-2011)	<p>"Musica concertante" per organo e percussione (1986)</p> <p>"Sequenza quasi una fantasia" for organ (2005)</p> <p>"Con-Tact" for flute, violin and organ (2005)</p> <p>"The Sonic Con-Tact" for thereminvox, string quartet and organ (2006)</p> <p>"The New Con-Tact" for thereminvox and organ (2006)</p> <p>"Postludium" for organ (2007)</p> <p>"Musica Concertante" for organ and percussione (2007)</p>
Przybylski, Dariusz (1984)	<p>Tryptyk op. 1 for organ (2001)</p> <p>Bogurodzica op. 7 for organ (2003)</p> <p>Partita "Hejnał wszyscy zaśpiewajmy" op. 9 for trumpet and organ (2003)</p> <p>Sequenza quasi una fantasia op. 11b for organ (2004)</p> <p>Introitus, Hymnus et Alleluia op. 13 for baritone and organ (2004)</p> <p>Missa brevis op. 19 for female choir and organ (2005)</p> <p>Missa brevis op. 19b for mixed choir and organ (2006)</p> <p>Cantata in honorem Sancti Bartholomaei op. 27 for baritone, mixed choir, brass quintet, percussione and organ (2006)</p> <p>Sequenza quasi una fantasia op. 11c for percussione and organ (2006)</p> <p>Fanfara Clamare op. 25 for organ (2006)</p> <p>Entrata e Chaconne op. 29 for organ (2006)</p> <p>Preambulum op. 38 for organ (2007)</p> <p>Concerto Festivo op. 45 for organ four hands and chamber orchestra (2008)</p> <p>Concerto Festivo op. 45b for organ four hands and symphonic orchestra (2008)</p> <p>Dum medium silentium op. 44 for soprano and organ (2008)</p> <p>Dreaming Tiffany before the breakfast op. 53 for soprano saxophone and organ</p>

	(2009) Schübler Choräle op. 48 for organ (2009)
Rentowski, Wiesław V. ()	Piffero for organ (1985) Albebragen for organ (1985) Tu Es Petra for organ (2005) Abo ovo for alto saxophone and two organists Erhalt Uns, Herr for organ (2000/2010) Kammermusik for Organ (2010)
Sawa, Marian (1937-2005)	1. Sonata for organ (1985) 2. Stabat Mater for baritone solo and organ (1985) 3. Tryptyk for trombone and organ (1986) 4. Ecce lignum crucis for organ (1986) 5. Fantazja nordycka for organ (1986) 6. Fantazja 'Nie opuszczaj nas' for organ (1986) 7. Te Deum for organ (1986) 8. Niebiańskie słowo for mixed choir and organ (1986) 9. Sacris solemnibus for mixed choir and organ (1986) 10. Inviolata for female choir and organ (1986) 11. Pregiera semplice for solo voices, male choir and organ (1986) 12. B-A-C-H for organ (1987) 13. Taneczne obrazki for organ (1987) 14. Reincarnation for organ (1987) 15. Modlitwa o łaskę uświęcenia życia for mixed choir and organ (1987) 16. Fresk for flute and organ (1988) 17. Agata for organ (1988) 18. Ewa for organ (1988) 19. Magda for organ (1988) 20. Adoro Te Devote for organ (1988) 21. Oda for organ (1988) 22. Surrexit Christus hodie for organ (1988) 23. Sekwens for organ (1988) 24. Sonata for organ (1988) 25. Makamy organowe (1988) 26. Magnificat for solo voices, male choir and organ (1988)

	<p>27. Jesu meine Freude for organ (1988-90)</p> <p>28. Fantazja 'Sansara' for organ (1989)</p> <p>29. Hommage à J. Pachelbel for organ (1989)</p> <p>30. Trzy improperia for organ (1989)</p> <p>31. Jutrznia for organ (1989)</p> <p>32. Kolędowanie for tenor, male choir and organ (1989)</p> <p>33. Canzona for oboe and organ (1990)</p> <p>34. Hommage à Cesar Franck for organ (1990)</p> <p>35. Canzona for organ (1990)</p> <p>36. Hymne Der Stant Sundern for organ (1990)</p> <p>37. Gaude Polonia for organ (1990)</p> <p>38. Missa brevis for mixed choir and organ (1990)</p> <p>39. Nieszpory o świętym Andrzeju Boboli for male choir in unison and organ (1990)</p> <p>40. Ave Maria for tenor, male choir and organ (1990)</p> <p>41. Invocazione for organ (1991)</p> <p>42. Veni Sancte Spiritus for soprano and organ (1991)</p> <p>43. Dwa offertoria for soprano solo and organ (1991)</p> <p>44. Koncert for organ (1992)</p> <p>45. Krasnochmielak for organ (1992)</p> <p>46. Małe preludia for organ (1992)</p> <p>47. Ave Maria for solo voice and organ (1992)</p> <p>48. Ave Maria II for solo voice and organ (1992)</p> <p>49. Concerto breve na organy i orkiestrę nr 1 (1993)</p> <p>50. Avec les amis for organ (1993)</p> <p>51. Fant for organ (1993)</p> <p>52. Gloria Tibi Trinitas for organ (1993)</p> <p>53. Trzy preludia for organ (1993)</p> <p>54. Veni Sancte Spiritus for organ (1993)</p>
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	<p>55. Pian-Org for organ and piano (1994)</p> <p>56. Deo gratias for organ (1994)</p> <p>57. Hejnał for organ (1994)</p> <p>58. Hymnus in honorem Sancti Petri et Pauli for organ (1994)</p> <p>59. Małe preludia for harmonium (1994)</p> <p>60. Preludia eucharystyczne for organ (1994)</p> <p>61. Sine nomine for organ (1994)</p> <p>62. Toccata festiva for organ (1994)</p> <p>63. Msza Eucharystyczna for mixed choir and organ (1994)</p> <p>64. Msza Maryjna for mixed choir and organ (1994)</p> <p>65. Sancta Catharina for mixed choir and organ (1994)</p> <p>66. Jam sol recedit igneus for soprano solo and organ (1994)</p> <p>67. Modlitwa for baritone solo and organ (1994)</p> <p>68. Ozdobo Cypru Święta Katarzyna for solo voice and organ (1994)</p> <p>69. Sancta Catharina for voice and organ (1994)</p> <p>70. Rex Pacificus for mixed choir, organ and 12 trumpets (1994)</p> <p>71. Koncert organowy nr 2 (1995)</p> <p>72. Con Fuoco for violin and organ (1995)</p> <p>73. Largo for violin and organ (1995)</p> <p>74. Missa 'Orbis factor' for harpsichord or organ (1995)</p> <p>75. Sonatina for organ, harpsichord, piano or accordion (1995)</p> <p>76. Trzy elegie for organ or piano (1995)</p> <p>77. All'Antico for organ (1995)</p> <p>78. Fresk gregoriański for organ (1995)</p> <p>79. Fuga-Bolero for organ (1995)</p> <p>80. Orbis factor for organ (1995)</p> <p>81. Noël for organ (1995)</p> <p>82. Dyptyk Gnieźnieński for solo voices, mixed choir and organ (1995)</p>
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	<p>83. Królowo nasza, Matko pocieszenia for mixed choir and organ (1995)</p> <p>84. Bądź pozdrowiona Pani Święta for solo voice and organ (1995)</p> <p>85. Confitebor Tibi for soprano and organ (1995)</p> <p>86. Koncert organowy nr 3 'Legnicki' (1996)</p> <p>87. Fantazja Jasnogórska for organ (1996)</p> <p>88. Fantazja 'Regina Poloniae' for organ (1996)</p> <p>89. Hymnus II for organ (1996)</p> <p>90. Sekwencja I 'Dies irae' for organ (1996)</p> <p>91. Sekwencja II 'Victimae paschali laudes' for organ (1996)</p> <p>92. Pastorale for organ (1996)</p> <p>93. Liauba for organ (1996)</p> <p>94. Fantazja chorałowa 'Toi qui disposes' for organ (1996)</p> <p>95. Scherzino for organ for two performers (1996)</p> <p>96. Kantata na Boże Narodzenie for solo voices, mixed choir and organ (1996)</p> <p>97. Laudate Dominum for mixed choir and organ (1996)</p> <p>98. Regina caeli for mixed choir and organ (1996)</p> <p>99. Tu es Petrus [version I], cantata for solo voices, mixed choir and organ (1996)</p> <p>100. Pieśń do św. Brygidy for voice and organ (1996)</p> <p>101. Tu Trinitas Unitas for soprano and organ (1996)</p> <p>102. Sekwencja na Boże Narodzenie for soprano, alto, bass and organ (1996)</p> <p>103. Tu es Petrus [version II], cantata for 2 solo voices, mixed choir, organ and orchestra (1996)</p> <p>104. Intrata z Hejnałem for organ (1997)</p> <p>105. Ad Jubilationem for organ 4 hands</p>
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	<p>(1997)</p> <p>106. Jubilate Deo for organ 4 hands (1997)</p> <p>107. Matko Pomocy Nieustającej for mixed choir and organ (1997)</p> <p>108. Terra tremuit for mixed choir and organ (1997)</p> <p>109. Carmina fratribus dicata for soprano, 2 saxophones and organ (1997)</p> <p>110. Carmina in honorem Sancti Adalberti for 2 solo voices and organ (1997)</p> <p>111. Sancta Caecilia, oratorio for soprano solo, boys choir, male choir, mixed choir, 2 organs, bells and strings (1997)</p> <p>112. Koncert organowy nr 4 (1997-2002)</p> <p>113. Koncert organowy (1998)</p> <p>114. Introitus for organ and trombone (1998)</p> <p>115. RAF for harpsichord (1998)</p> <p>116. Suita pieśni maryjnych for 2 trombones, tuba and organ (1998)</p> <p>117. Entrada festiva for organ (1998)</p> <p>118. Salve Regina for organ (1998)</p> <p>119. Spotkanie z 'Kalinką', burlesque for organ (1998)</p> <p>120. Psalms 96 for countertenor and organ (1998)</p> <p>121. Cantate Domino, cantata for soprano, bass, mixed choir, 2 organs and strings (1998)</p> <p>122. Intermezzo for orchestra (1999)</p> <p>123. Dyptyk for oboe and organ (1999)</p> <p>124. Fantazja for saxophone and organ (1999)</p> <p>125. Suita stylizowana for oboe and organ (1999)</p> <p>126. Sonata for organ nr 2 (1999)</p> <p>127. Koncert na saksofon i organ (1999)</p> <p>128. Postludium 'Krzyżu Święty' for organ (2000)</p> <p>129. Preludium 'Ach mój Jezu' for organ (2000)</p>
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	<p>130. Santa Barbara - Fantazja S-A-B-A for organ (2000)</p> <p>131. Magnificat na sopran i organ (2000)</p> <p>132. Sonant na trąbkę i organ (2001)</p> <p>133. Missa brevis (Verbum Caro) na mixed choir i organ (2001)</p> <p>134. Fantazja chorałowa for organ (2001)</p> <p>135. Toccata for organ (2001)</p> <p>136. Tryptyk o św. Klemensie Hofbauerze-Dworzaku na baryton solo, mixed choir i organ (2001)</p> <p>137. Nad brzegiem Wisły for solo voice and organ (2001)</p> <p>138. Trzy dialogi for violin and organ (2002)</p> <p>139. Preludia na temat polskich pieśni kościelnych for organ (2002)</p> <p>140. Fantazja amerykańska na tematy amerykańskie for organ (2002)</p> <p>141. Ave regina caelorum for organ (2002)</p> <p>142. Preludium i Fuga "Greensleave" for organ (2002)</p> <p>143. Missa in resurectione for mixed choir and organ (2002)</p> <p>144. Pasterzu dobry for voice and organ (2002)</p> <p>145. De profundis for soprano and organ(2002)</p> <p>146. Toccata organowa BA-MA for 2 performers (2003)</p> <p>147. Fantazja 'Święty Boże' for organ (2003)</p> <p>148. Ave Maris Stella for organ (2003)</p> <p>149. Dwie rapsodie organowe (2003)</p> <p>150. Stabat Mater for mixed choir, female choir, solo voices, piano and organ (2003)</p> <p>151. Duet for flute and organ (2004)</p> <p>152. Msza do św. Huberta for horn and organ (2004)</p> <p>153. Fantazja myśliwska na temat</p>
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	<p>'Pojedziemy na łów' for organ (2004)</p> <p>154. Dante for organ (2004)</p> <p>155. Fantazja śląska for organ (2004)</p> <p>156. Magnificat for 4-part female choir and organ (2004)</p> <p>157. Cor Jesu for 3 equal voices and organ (2004)</p> <p>158. Toccata i fuga for organ solo (2004)</p> <p>159. Missa Claromontana for mixed choir, organ and timpani (2005)</p>
Schaeffer, Bogusław (1929)	<p>Sonata nr 1 'Wiosna' for organ (1985)</p> <p>Sonata nr 2 'Lato' for organ (1985)</p> <p>Sonata nr 3 'Jesień' for organ (1986)</p> <p>Sonata nr 4 'Zima' for organ (1986)</p> <p>Organ Fantasia for organ (2003)</p>
Synowiec, Ewa (1942)	Apokalipsa for organ and brass ensemble (1985-86)
Twardowski, Romuald (1930)	<p>Musica festiva for organ (2002)</p> <p>Toccata i chorał for organ (2002)</p> <p>Trzy intermezza for organ (2004)</p> <p>Tryptyk paschalny for organ (2005)</p>
Wiłkomirski, Kazimierz (1900-1995)	Medytacja na temat gregoriańskiego nieszporu wielkopostnego for cello and organ (published in 2002)
Wojtacki, Emil Bernard (1981)	Już nie mieszkają w wieży Hölderlina... for organ
Zakrzewska-Nikiporczyk, Barbara (1946)	<p>Preludium na temat "Zbliżam się w pokorze" for organ solo (1987)</p> <p>Magnificat for organ solo (1989)</p>

APPENDIX B

SELECTED INSTRUMENTS BUILT IN POST-1989 POLAND

Kraków, Kościół Św. Krzyża (St. Cross Church)

SPECIFICATION		
18 stops, 630 pipes, Manual Shove Coupler; I/Pedal; Calcant 2 manual and pedal keyboards suspended mechanical key and stop actions pitch: a ¹ = 465Hz (at 15 degree Celsius) tuning: well-tempered, according to the description found in Jan of Lublin Tablature (c. 1540) short octave in manual and pedal		
I Manual	II Manual Pozytyw	Pedal
Pryncypał 8' (1704) Flet major 8' (1704) Octava 4' (1704) Gemshorn 4' (2003) Sedecima 2' (1704) Mixtura IV-V (2003) Cymbał XI (1704)	Flet 8' (1704) Pryncypał 4' (1704) Quinta 3' (late 18 th c?) Octava 2' (2003) Tertia (2003) Quinta Minor 1 1/2' (2003) Tremulant	Sub-Bas 16' (2003) Pryncypał 8' (2003) Quinta Major 6' (2003) Octava 4' (2003) Puzan 8' (2003)

St. Cross Church, which exists in its original form since the 16th century, had its organ installed in 1704. The precise date of installation was not known until an inscription on the highest prospect pipe was found during the last restoration. As many organs at the time, it was completely "modernized" to pneumatic action in the beginning of the 20th century. In 1995 the state of the organ was a mere collection of pipes in a bad shape. During the last restoration in 2003, Richard Jacoby (Kassel, Germany) created an initial report, conducted a research, catalogued the pipes, designed the restoration project and

restored a separate voice, the Polish Cymbel (Cymbał). Ekkehart Gross Orgelbau (Waditz, Germany) created new elements, restored all the stops, installed and voiced the instrument.

Originally it was an instrument with a pull-down pedal. Because the instrument is used in a liturgical setting nowadays, a small pedal division was added. New pipes were created after an analysis of the scaling system of the original pipes that survived. Original metal pipes were made from a stop consisting of 84.1% lead, 8.65% tin with copper, antimony and silver. All new pipes were made from the same alloy. The specification and spelling of the stop names are original.

Katowice, Kościół Opatrzności Bożej (Church of God's Providence)

SPECIFICATION			
41 stops, 3150 pipes 3 manuals and pedal suspended mechanical key and stop action (apart from Positif) Couplers: Positif/Grand Orgue Récit-Echo/Grand Orgue Tirasse Grand Orgue.			
I Manual Positif	II Manual Grand Orgue	III Manual Récit et Echo	Pedal
Bourdon 8' Prestant 4' Flute 4' Nasard 2 2/3' Doublette 2' Tierce 1 3/5' Larigot 1 1/3' Fourniture III Cymbale V Cromorne 8' Tremblant	Bourdon 16' Montre 8' Bourdon 8' Prestant 4' Flute 4' Nasard 2 2/3' Doublette 2' Tierce 1 1/3' Grosse Fourniture IV Cymbale III Grand Cornet V Trompette 8' Clairon 4' Voix humaine 8' Tremblant	Bourdon 8' Flute allemande 8' Prestant 4' Doublette 2' Cornet de récit V Cymbale IV Trompette de récit 8' Basson- Hautbois 8' Tremblant	Soubasse 16' Montre 16' Flute 8' Montre 8' Prestant 4' Plein Jeu IV Bombarde 16' Trompette 8' Clairon 4'

The idea for the organ was born in 1993, and until 1998 preparations were made: consultations with organists, collecting money and materials. Montage started in Feb 1998 until Oct 1999. 9 reeds are patterned on François-Henri Clicquot scalings, and produced in France. The organ has an exchangeable pedal keyboard: short "a la française" and German with longer keys.

The concept, specification and theoretical basis was designed by Julian Gembalski (Katowice), the construction and voicing by the Kamiński brothers, scaling of the reed pipes by Zygmunt Kamiński, Julian Gembalski, and Yves Koenig, and the making of the reed pipes by Joël Klein, (Woerth). The organists involved in consulting included André Isoir (Palaiseau), Jean-Luc Perrot (Saint-Etienne), and Yves Koenig (Sarreguemines).

Katowice, Kościół Świętej Rodziny (Church of the Holy Family)

SPECIFICATION			
37 stops, 3 manuals and pedal suspended mechanical key and stop action Couplers: Rückpositiv/Hauptwerk Brustwerk/Hauptwerk Hauptwerk/Pedał II/I Shove Coupler			
I Manual Rückpositiv	II Manual Hauptwerk	III Manual Brustwerk	Pedal
Principal 8' Rohrflöte 8' Quintadena 8' Octave 4' Rohrflöte 4' Sesquialtera 2 ch. 2 2/3' + 3/5' Blockflöte 2' Sifflöte 1 1/3' Scharf 5 ch. 1' Krummhorn 8' Tremulant	Quintadena 16' Principal 8' Spitzflöte 8' Octave 4' Quinte 2 2/3' Octave 2' Mixtur maior 4 ch. 1 1/1/3' Mixtur minor 4 ch. 1' Trompete 16' Trompete 8'	Gedackt 8' Gedackt 4' Spitzflöte 2' Nasat 2 2/3' Terz 1 3/5' Cymbel 3 ch. 1/2' Schalmey 8' Tremulant	Principal 16' Subbas 16' Octave 8' Basflöte 8' Octave 4' Flöte 2' Mixtur 4 ch. 2 2/3' Posaune 16' Trompete 8' Schalmey 4'

This instrument also designed by Julian Gembalski, is patterned on North-German baroque organ, and was constructed by the Kamiński brothers from Warsaw in 2003.