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Ideologies of Progress and Nationalism and the Concepts of Supranational and National Music

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The subject of the conference[§] challenges one to define the semantic boundaries of such categories as "Europeanism" and "nationality" and their mutual relations; another purpose is to highlight the historical changes which influence the ideology of progress with its new, supranational vision of culture and art on the one hand, and the ideology of nationalism with the related idea of national art, on the other. The decline and fall of the idea of progress, discernible since the end of the twentieth century, intensified interest in the problems of nationality, which stresses that which is separate, regional, different and which can be interpreted through the postmodern concept of ontological "différance"[1]. At the same time, as we witness the growth of the European Union, with the accession of a number of new countries, and the remarkable speed of transfer of information on a global scale, this may well make us reflect on the role of the artist in the shaping of understanding and solidarity between people. However, the question of art (including music) being "national" ("Polish") and/or "European" poses the challenge of trying to find an answer to the basic question: should culture, and works created by artists, serve to bind people together into a universal community, to enrich and widen their "spiritual world", or, on the contrary, should they evoke and strengthen divisions, raise barriers, fuel grievances, create ghettoes and bring isolation, all under the pretext of the cult of originality?

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1.1 The idea of a universal or cosmopolitan culture as an attribute of "Europeanism"

Igor Stravinsky in his *Poetics of Music*[2] distinguished such concepts as universality (linked to the acceptance of an order based on an oppositional system of values), and cosmopolitanism, associated with building a world "beyond good and evil", and also "beyond beauty and ugliness". He identified the term "universality" with a feeling of community, with richness of cultural tradition and variety of artistic devices; in other words, with a harmony of diversity governed by the idea of beauty, goodness and truth. On the other hand, the term "cosmopolitanism" was associated for him with a lack of sense of community and the rejection of cultural tradition, with anarchy brought about through the "monster of originality", which would not respect an order based on a general agreement on the existence of opposing values. He applied this term to the so-called progressive art, which made a radical break with the system of values traditional in European culture, and which negated cultural tradition and regional distinctiveness. He thought that, in spite of the declarations of diversity linked to the postulate of being avantgarde, progressive art seemed one-dimensional and, in reality, devoid of the richness of cultural diversity; it also encouraged the breaking of all ties of understanding between people. In his Harvard lectures, given at the onset of the Second World War, he mourned the fact that:

"It just so happens that our contemporary epoch offers us the example of a musical culture that is day by day losing the sense of continuity and the taste for a common language. Individual caprice and intellectual anarchy [...] isolate the artist from his fellow-artists and condemn him to appear as a monster in the eyes of the public; a monster of originality. [...] Whether he wills it or not, the contemporary artist is caught up in this infernal machination. There are simple souls who rejoice in this state of affairs. There are criminals who approve of it. Only a few are horrified at a solitude that obliges them to turn in upon themselves [...]. The universality whose benefits we are gradually losing is an entirely different thing from the cosmopolitanism that is beginning to take hold of us. Universality presupposes the fecundity of a culture that is spread and communicated everywhere, whereas cosmopolitanism [...] induces the indifferent passivity of a sterile eclecticism. Universality necessarily stipulates submission to an established order. [...That is] a hierarchy of values and a body of moral principles."[3]

Thus, the concept of Europeanism, and the associated concept of that which is supranational (universal or cosmopolitan), has "many faces" and is generally identified with:

(i) the Biblical vision of reality, built on the Pythagorean-Platonic tradition and classical culture (linked with, among others things, the myth of Apollo), and such concepts as *Christianitas* and *latinas*;

(ii) the optimistic humanism and Cartesian rationalism, and with the concepts of *Ars Gallica* and *Respublica Litteraria*, i.e., "the commonwealth of learning", which proclaims the values of brotherhood and tolerance (based on the Christian tradition), cultivates the poetic culture of antiquity and cherishes the myth of Orpheus[4] (stressing the magical power of music), and

(iii) the modernist vision of a reality subject to historical necessity, the ideology of progress and the concept of the "Faustian man", who realizes the Promethean myth of divine power of creation and the freedom of action unlimited by any (traditional) norms, that is, beyond good and evil, truth and falsehood, and also beyond beauty and ugliness[5]. This modernist vision of art has been associated with the concept of freedom and cosmopolitanism (in relation to avantgarde art, both European and American).

The mutation of European culture into its modernist shape had a double aspect. On the one hand, the changes resulted from the fact that educated elites no longer entrusted their judgments, their thoughts or their poetry to a single medium — Latin — which was in general use in the sixteenth century. As a consequence, many new national languages became the accepted medium, and their status raised to that of a medium of literature[6]. On the other hand, these changes involved a gradual movement away from the idea of a universal culture based on the Bible, the antique tradition and elements of regional cultures, and an attempt to replace it with a humanistic but secular vision of culture. Since the Enlightenment, this has also implied a conception of art as being subordinate to the ideology of progress, with a radical rejection

of the Biblical tradition, the classical idea of beauty and the idea of an artistic masterpiece.

Until almost the end of the fifteenth century, the unity of European culture could be described by the terms *latinas* and *Christianitas*; to be European was simply to be a Christian, and the literature and art disseminated among the social elites of that day served to present and comment on the world described in the Bible. From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, European culture was bound together by the so-called *Respublica Litteraria* (the commonwealth of learning), representing the non-institutionalized community of "men of letters". Members of this community[7] may have used different languages, but the community itself cultivated the traditions of classical antiquity, generally subscribed to the same values (i.e., the humanistic ideal of a tolerant brotherhood) and worked towards the same goal: the development of human knowledge, inspired by, among others, the philosophy of Descartes. The ideas of this "commonwealth of learning" were disseminated both through books printed at that time, and through periodicals (political, literary and scientific) which, first appearing in the seventeenth century, were often published in French, whose role as *lingua franca* was established in diplomatic circles. Romance countries had a dominant influence on the shaping of this universal culture and art (associated with the idea of *Ars Gallica*)[8]. Thus, until the early nineteenth century, in spite of the growing linguistic differentiation, the culture of the countries of Europe did in fact constitute a unified whole, since it emphasized in a variety of ways the common antique and biblical roots.

This situation changed in the nineteenth century as a result of the acceptance of the ideology of progress (fed on the pantheistic or materialistic view of the world) disseminated by philosophers, and the propagation of belief in the historical necessity — again decreed by philosophers — of revolutionary social and cultural changes linked to the myth of the "Faustian man". The apostles of progressive art glorified extreme individualism and everything which was revolutionary, avantgarde, and different from the existing cultural tradition with its system of opposing values.

The ideology of progress and nationalism, as well as the myth of Slavism[9], had a significant influence on the development of modern culture and art. The latter functioned as a cultural index common to many (Slavic) nations, opposed to the tradition associated with the concept of the "courtly European culture". Both ideologies, and also the idea of a mythical (folk and pagan) Slavism, rejected equally the vision of reality presented in the Bible, and the cultural heritage of antiquity, regarded until then as the basis of European culture. The popularization of the Slav myth in the nineteenth century contributed to the splitting of the concept of Europe into Western Europe and Eastern Europe, the latter associated with the ideas of Russian Slavophiles[10]. The introduction of the term "Central Europe", promoted by Milan Kundera[11] constituted an attempt to destroy the Slav myth. The term refers to the area occupied by countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, whose cultural tradition over many centuries has been linked with the concepts of *latinas* and *Christianitas*. Modern terminology thus knows: (1) a Europe without an adjective, simply Europe, which is understood to refer to the non-Slavic West, and (2) a Europe which has to be defined further by an adjective, most frequently "Eastern", and sometimes "Central" (due to the publicity given to Kundera's well-known article). For example, for the historian of culture, Peter Rietbergen, author of a book recently published in Poland entitled *Europe: A Cultural History* , the concept of "Europe" is associated mainly with the culture of Romance and Germanic countries, i.e. the countries of Western, non-Slavic Europe[12].

Twentieth-century conceptions of supranational music are thus coloured by arguments over the idea of progress in art on the one hand and, on the other, by the myth of anti-European Slavism and by nationalist ideology. The latter also stimulated French-German antagonisms, linked to the desire for cultural dominance and the status of being the centre of Europe[13]

1.1.1 Twentieth-century ideas about supranational music

As we know, belief in progress was one of the fundamental ideas of the eighteenth-century Encyclopaedism and nineteenth-century positivism. It

was associated with the development of science and technology, improvement in economic conditions, and also belief in the historical necessity of revolutionary social changes. This ideology, adopted by twentieth-century artists, including musicians, contributed to the change in the system of values, and the rejection of the link between a work of art and the idea of beauty, which was traditional in the European culture. The most fundamental value became that of being "avantgarde", of experimenting, and of adopting a rebellious posture towards the heritage of the past[14]. In music, this meant accepting as "historical necessity" the emancipation of dissonance, elevation of rustles and noises, employing the avantgarde idea of precompositional series, and experiments designed to undermine the concept of a work of art as an *opus perfectum*. Avantgarde music, regarded as elitist, achieved the status of supranational, cosmopolitan art, and appropriated for itself the name of contemporary art. An institutional symptom of this tendency was, among other things, the creation in 1923 of the International Association of Contemporary Music, regarded as a kind of musical League of Nations[15], on the initiative of a Viennese publishing house called Universal Edition. Soon after, a number of branches of this association were created in different countries (e.g. England, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland).

Twentieth-century discussions linked the "supranational", "cosmopolitan" current with the call for emancipating dissonance, and for experimental work by avantgarde artists who cultivated the romantic postulate of originality; another aspect of this current was support for Schönberg's postulate of using score notation subordinated to the idea of precompositional series of pitch classes. During the inter-war years this trend was coloured by Marxist ideology and associated with "bolshevism" or the communist International. It was also linked with the ideology of German nationalism. For instance, Schönberg, an enthusiastic proponent of progressive art, felt himself to be heir and continuator of the great tradition of German music, representing the greatest and the most masterly in musical achievement, and therefore — European[16]. He made a frequently quoted statement that the idea of the 12-note *Grundgestalt* would ensure the domination of German music for the next century[17].

During the inter-war years the concept of supranational music was also associated with that of neoclassicism, which defined the aesthetic attitude and compositional devices aspiring to being the most valuable, the most universal, and thus European. This concept, coloured by French nationalism, stressed the superiority of a culture linked to the idea of "Ars Gallica" over Germanic culture, inspired by philosophical idealism and also Nietzschean nihilism. At the same time, neoclassicism was regarded as a form of opposition against the nationalistic programme of Slavic nations. In the words of Zofia Helman, composers,

"by entering into the current of neoclassicism, then a general trend, [...] declared themselves to be on the side of universal values of European culture, and at the same time defended [...] the art of music from the tendentiousness and utilitarianism of nationalistic programmes[18]."

Under the influence of Theodor Adorno's book *Philosophy of Modern Music*[19], the idea of neoclassicism as an aesthetic proposal for establishing a supranational, European musical culture, became less popular. Adorno's philosophy, disseminated after the Second World War, was adopted by the new, international generation of musicians. The ideology of progress came to dominate the activities of artistic avantgarde, whose work was regarded as the product of cosmopolitan liberalism characteristic of the countries of what was known as the West[20].

1.2 Nationalism and the concepts of national music

According to the well-known anthropologist and philosopher Ernest Gellner:

"Having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it has now come to appear as such. [...] It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round. Admittedly, nationalism uses the pre-existing, historically inherited proliferation of cultures [...], though it uses them very selectively, and it most often transforms them radically. Dead languages can be revived, traditions invented, pristine purities restored.[...] The cultures it claims to defend and revive are often its own inventions..."[21].

The concept of supposedly biologically (genetically) conditioned "nationality", linked to Herder's idea of *Volksgeist* and widely accepted in European culture of the nineteenth century (and implicitly assumed also in the twentieth), is thus undermined by contemporary anthropology and sociology. The ideology of nationalism, which awakens conflict between human communities using different languages, stimulated the creation of national stereotypes and the cult of the nation, through, among other things, promoting the idea of "national art." According to Gellner, nationalism is:

"primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this priciple. Nationalist *sentiment* is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist *movement* is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind. [...] the nationalist principle as such [...] has very very deep roots in our shared current condition, is not at all contingent, and will not easily be denied."[22].

Gellner is diametrically opposed to Herder's philosophy of history and claims that:

"Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: *that* is a reality, for better or worse, and in general an inescapable one"[23].

Musical nationalism thus found support in nineteenth-century philosophical-aesthetic views, in the political-economic situation, and also in the implicit assumption that it is every composer's duty to create "national music", which displays distinctive and exceptional characteristics of his nation. The nationalism shaped during the nineteenth century, motivated either by imperialism or the desire to achieve independence as a state, aimed to create cultural homogeneity which would ensure political unity against what was "foreign". Complex educational systems were created, with the purpose of forming the image of a given national culture, distinct from the culture of a "foreign" nation or a national state. The task of defining both what was typical and essential for a given national identity, and what was emphatically foreign to

it, became highly significant, especially for creative artists. An important role in the shaping of the stereotype of national identity and distinctiveness was also played by critics, musicologists, and composers making statements about the idea of "national music" and "national style"[24].

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A number of ideas shaped the understanding of such concepts as "nation", "state", "the people", "race" (Pol."naród", Fr. *nation*, Eng. *nation*, Ger. *volk*, Ital. *natione*, *stato*), among them the philosophy of history of Johannes G. von Herder (1744–1803)[25], with its concept of an enduring *Volksgeist*, the Slav myth (claiming true folk origin for Slav culture), and the philosophy of art of Hippolyte Taine (disseminating a biological model of culture, using the concepts of race, nation and art). According to this view of reality, there exists an inborn connection, independent of human will, between each human being and his "national spirit", and a primeval antagonism and differentiation between these philosophical "national spirits". The latter make it impossible to achieve any universal understanding between peoples. Thus differences in the understanding of the concept of a "nation" influenced the various ways in which "national character" was interpreted in music. In general, one can distinguish five types of interpretation.

First, a nation is an ethnic-territorial entity, which communicates using its "national" language. Its members (above all its educated elites) emanate in their artistic creations a common, stable, "spirit of the nation". National identity and characteristics of a given composition are here decided by the *biological-racial origin of the composer* of that work in relation to a given community. On this basis, the mere fact of a biological link between the artist and a given community (described as nation or state) is the deciding factor in ascribing to his work the features of "national music". For instance, Karol Szymanowski was convinced that there was a "dependence of the creative individual on the characteristics of his race, the enduring foundation"[26]. In the Third Reich, the criterion of "that which is German" was defined not in terms of specifically musical features, but in terms of the "racial purity" of a given composer. The Nazis thus aimed in their cultural policy to "cleanse"

German musical life of "racially alien" works and people, mainly of Jewish origin, through such means as the infamous *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (1941)[27]. At the same time, there were constant references to the great "German musical tradition." Of significance are the views of Joseph Goebbels on the exceptional musicality of the German nation, formulated in the 1930s. In his speech at Reichsmusiktagung he claimed:

"The musical talent of the German nation is known and famous throughout the world. It is something unique. It has enabled Germany to bestow on humanity the gift of happiness through its wonderful works of true music. Without Germany, without its great masters, who with their inspiring symphonies and splendid operas have come to dominate the musical repertoires of all peoples and all nations, world music would be unthinkable [...]. In fact, we are the chosen people of the world, not only because of our musical compositions, but also in view of our talent for responding to that music. The German nation has a rare gift, an inborn, natural, self-generating, absolute musicality"[28].

It is no accident that the contemporary Faust, Adrian Leverkühn — the hero of Thomas Mann's novel *Doktor Faustus* (1947) is a composer. The author believed that if Faust is to represent the German soul, he should be musical, because German attitude to the world is abstract and mystical, and that means — musical.

Second, the "spirit of the nation" is expressed by prominent (and educated) individuals of genius, who belong to the given ethnic-territorial community. According to this view, the characteristics of "national music" are shaped by musical devices employed by prominent musicians who belong (biologically) to a given nation, over a number of generations. In the words of Dalhaus:

"Because of Richard Wagner, the 'Bach-Beethoven' formula takes on a nationalistic hue. While Wagner considered Beethoven's symphonic work [...] to be the essence of music, in the article *Was ist deutsch* — with its main part written in 1856, although not published until 1878 — he places Bach, as the representative of the 'German spirit', next to Beethoven. [...] The 'Bach-Beethoven' formula [...] mutated into the 'myth of German music'. [...] There have also been various ideas as to who might have been called upon to represent these 'new, poetic times'. Bülow supported Bach, Beethoven and Brahms; Nietzsche — Bach, Beethoven and Wagner; August Halm — Bach, Beethoven and Bruckner. [. . .] The canvas they shared was the idea of an era of German music"[29].

This approach to the idea of national music is adopted by, for example, the French musicologist Jean Chantanvoine; in his volume *De Couperin à Debussy* he suggests to the reader that the identity of French music is determined by some deeply hidden links between "the rationality of Rameau, the inspiration of Berlioz, the tenderness of Gounod, the sensuality of Massenet, the refinement of Saint-Saëns, the dogmatism of Vincent d'Indy, the subtle imagination of Debussy"[30]. A similar manner of conceptualizing the "spirit of the nation" can also be found in Polish literature. For instance, Stefania Łobaczewska came to the conclusion that "the spirit of Poland" was expressed with clarity and perfection in the works of Chopin:

> "Polish national spirit does not awaken again until around 1850. It is only when Chopin, far away from his unfortunate country, takes up the magnificent traditions of our music, in order to testify to the whole of Europe that the spirit of Poland, although in captivity, can still unfurl its wing and take creative flight, — it is only then that, slowly, an understanding awakens of the native elements of our culture and art"[31].

This approach to the idea of national music is realized in works such as Panufnik's *Hommage a Chopin* or Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin*.

Third, the "spirit of the nation" is evoked by the dances and songs of the (uneducated) multitude — the people. The link between a given composition and the idea of national music is created by a reference to the dances and songs associated with the stereotype of a given nation[32]. The idea of, for instance, national Polish music was therefore realized when a musical composition contained the rhythms of a polonaise, a mazurka or a cracovienne, or folk melodies sung in the area recognized as the "cradle" of the nation.

Fourth, a nation is associated with a state, extolled by (national) anthems and patriotic songs which urge the people to struggle for political independence. According to this approach, national music should create associations with the melody of the state anthem, or patriotic songs reminding the people of past struggles for political independence[33]. Such solutions have been successfully employed in instrumental, symphonic music[34]. However, compositions by "foreign" composers may also have the character of a dedication to "the Polish nation" fighting for its political independence; such is the na-

ture of, for instance, Edward Elgar's symphonic prelude *Polonia* (Elgar was a friend of I. J. Paderewski), where one can hear the melody of the Polish song *Z dymem pożarów*[35].

Fifth, the identity of a nation is defined by the language and melodies of (folk) religious songs (sung in its national language). We can find the idea of national music interpreted in this way in, for instance, Szymanowski's *Stabat Mater*, Penderecki's *Polskie Requiem*, *Te Deum*, or Łuciuk's *Litania polska*.

What characterizes both musicologists' approaches and composer's declarations about "national music" in the first half of the twentieth century is, firstly, the belief in the existence of an impersonal and enduring "national spirit", which manifests itself in folk art[36]; secondly, a conviction that one's relation to a particular "national spirit" is determined by being born into a particular community; and, thirdly, the assumption that this "spirit" is an aspect of a primeval, wild, (pantheistic) Nature, filled with fiery creative force. It was thought that Nature understood in this way manifests itself most fully and in a "pure" manner in some mythical, archaic, proto-(folk) music of a given nation, and also in the dissonant, avantgarde and progressive contemporary (artistic) music. For this reason musicologists in their discussions began to employ the concept of "modern national style" in relation to music which was both national and "European", i.e. associated with the main current of musical output. This term was contrasted with "old national style" — a nineteenth century term associated with music whose main aim was not so much to achieve compositional perfection, but to act as a reminder of the national distinctiveness of the given community against a "foreign" nation which had political power. In his articles, Szymanowski wrote:

"There is a plethora of large and small, more or less worthy works, based on authentic melodies and rhythms. These birds, which sang freely in woods and meadows, felt awkward [...] in intricately built cages of academic forms, against a background of such naturally alien "learned" things, in a stylish parade of progressing consonance and dissonance harmonies"[37].

"What a multitude of roles did "National Art" have to play in the period of captivity that has passed! Immersing oneself hopelessly in the depths of a splendid past, raising spectres from the dead, fearfully closing one's eyes when faced with the swift, roaring current of the life of contemporary art flowing nearby around us —

that was called "National Art"; it was also "going among the people", almost a hypnotic trance of mazurkas and carols, of collecting dreadful raspberry-coloured cutouts and green ribbons; it was the academic-German fugue on the subjects of folk songs such as *Niedaleko Krakowa* or *Chmielu, chmielu zielony* — at times it even became a treacherous poisoned tip of a foil, to be aimed suddenly at the heart of an "ideological" opponent" . . . [38].

This manner of employing folk melodies, of which Szymanowski was so scornful, was referred to by musicologists as "folklorism", or "superficial colouration". When commenting on Szymanowski's mazurkas, Adolf Chybiński claimed, for example, that the composer

"[...] rightly rejected all "folklorism", knowing that pure art refuses all compromise, which both constrains the artist's rights, and blurs the character of folk art"[39].

On the other hand, Józef M. Chomiński came to the conclusion that Szymanowski's music (composed after the First World War) is characterized not so much by a superficial "national colouration", but a deep immersion in the "spirit of the nation" (also associated with its vital "force"), and that folk melodies are for him the source of novel compositional solutions and the basis of "modern national style". In his studies of Szymanowski's work he wrote:

"For Szymanowski, national elements are not used to add colour, but are an expression of penetration into the inexhaustible power of the nation; they are the base from which grows a complete work, combining into one organism the past, the present and the future; lastly, they bear witness to the unshakeable faith in the cultural mission of the nation"[40].

"Folk melody becomes an inexhaustible source of new ideas; it inspires new formal, harmonic, sound solutions. Szymanowski not only breaks with the original folk model, but enriches it, brings out that which is the most essential and the most lasting. Without abandoning the language of contemporary music, he also creates the basis of a modern national style"[41].

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The idea of "national music" provokes further questions, such as whether a composer (described in biographical dictionaries as Polish, Russian, German, French, American etc.) has to use only the melodies (folk or patriotic ones)

cultivated within his own national community? How is one to interpret the situation when composers reach out for dances (folk or courtly) and songs which "bind" people who belong to other nations, for instance Stravinsky's *Four Norwegian Moods* [1942] or Penderecki's *V Symphony* [1992][42]? Should one view them in terms of the categories "native-foreign", "familiar-exotic", or simply regard them as a gesture of friendship and a kind of dedication by the composer to a given community which identifies itself — as a unit — with some well-known folk or patriotic melody? Another question which remains open relates to the output of emigré composers who take citizenship of other countries and collaborate in creating their musical culture, such as Stravinsky, Schönberg, Panufnik. Should they be regarded through the prism of ethnic-national or state-national categories? Stravinsky, as a French citizen (from 1934) turned out not to be "French" enough to become a member of the French Academy (in 1936); this honour, as we know, went to a composer of a "lesser calibre" but born in France, Florent Schmitt. As a citizen of the United States of America, where he had been contributing to the culture of that state for nearly 30 years, Stravinsky also turned out to be insufficiently American to count as a composer of American music[43], *Nowa muzyka amerykańska* [*The New American Music*], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1995. On the other hand, as an emigré Russian, he was not allocated the position he deserves in the State Central Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow.

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The interpretation of history of music through the idea of national music is thus contaminated by the opposition "native-foreign", and the desire to emphasize group (national) domination or to be free. One has to agree with Stravinsky who claimed that "everyone should have his passport"[44] and that it is wrong to try to erase traces of one's origin. However, at the same time he was of the opinion that an artist cannot make a fetish of his nationality, because art should strive for universal values and link all people into one community, embracing the idea of beauty and a search for eternal truth and common good. In Stravinsky's view, we all have our one and only birthplace, "our roots", the original language in which we communicate and

say our prayers. For him, in spite of the formal changes of citizenship, this was Russian and the traditions of Russian culture, but also the traditions of Mediterranean culture and the world of values preached in the Gospel. Such an understanding of national art, as an art which makes use of cultural traditions and regional elements, but at the same time strives for artistic mastery, does not conflict with the idea of universal (European) art — an art whose fundamental value is the richness of diversity subordinated to the traditional idea of beauty as unity in diversity. As John Paul II said in his letter to artists: "Beauty is the key to mystery and a call to transcendence. It encourages mankind to get to know the taste of life, and to learn to dream of the future"[45].

Notes

1 See Zdzisław Krasnodębski, *Upadek idei postępu* [*Fall of the Progress Idea*], Warszawa: PIW, 1991 and *Narody i stereotypy* [*Nations and Stereotypes*], ed. Teresa Walas, Kraków: MCK 1995.

2 Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*(1942), transl. A.Knodel and I.Dahl, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947; *Poetyka muzyczna*, transl. S. Jarociński, Kraków: PWM, 1980.

3 Igor Strawiński,*Poetyka muzyczna*, op. cit., p. 53, 54. [*Poetics of Music*, op. cit., pp. 73–75.]

4 See *Mit Orfeusza* [*The Orpheus Myth*] , ed. Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek, Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2003.

5 The term "Faustian man" was used by O. Spengler in his book *Zmierzch Zachodu* (1918) [*The Decline of the West*], where he identified the "Faustian spirit" with the "spirit of the West", limited, however, to the German Reich. According to W. Szturc (*Faust Goethego; ku antropologii romantycznej* [*Goethe's Faust: Toward Romantic Anthropology*], Kraków: Universitas, 1995, p. 27) "the idea of Faustism appears already in the work of Schopenhauer (as realisation of total freedom) and Nietzsche (in the doctrine of <superman>); [...] the Faustian man is identified with a person who is beyond the principles of good and evil."

6 Undoubtedly this gradual literary multilingualism aided the shaping of the ideology of nationalism, and made it more difficult for social elites to communicate. The Reformation movement, which started in the sixteenth century, encouraged literary formulation of thoughts in national languages, and their spread was aided by the invention of print. For instance, it is a significant fact that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, at a book fair at Frankfurt — the largest event of that kind in Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century — only four per cent of books were in Latin, which at one time was the common language of social elites; see: Peter

Rietberger, *Europa. Dzieje kultury* (1998) [*Europe: A Cultural History*], transl. Robert Bartołd, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 2001, p. 292.

7 The sixteenth-century English poet Samuel Daniel was one of those who referred to the ideas constituting *Respublica Litteraria*: *It be'ing the proportion of a happie Pen,/Not to b'invassale'd to one Monarchie,/But dwell with all the better world of men,/Whose spirits are of one communitie;/Whom neither Ocean, Desarts, Rockes nor Sands/Can keepe from th'Intertraffique of the minde,/But that it vents her treasure in all lands,/And doth a most secure commencement finde.* A.B. Grosart (ed.), *The Complete Works In Verse and Prose of S. Daniel*, I, London 1885, p. 106, quotation from P. Rietberger, *Europa. Dzieje kultury*, p. 284. [*Europe: A Cultural History*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 285.] Later historiography defined *Respublica Litteraria* as "A [...] culture, recognizable in the whole of Europe... though limited to the upper classes, in the long run [it] did not fail to have a more widespread influence on very diverse areas of life. Obviously, many lived this culture only as a superficial lifestyle, but specifically the intellectual elite began to direct itself to the values which appeared to guarantee the more fundamental ideals of unity, civilization and, it was hoped, the resulting peace: Christianity in its original, universal form and classical culture. These values became internalized through common educational norms and practices and therefore were considered Europe's collective inheritance even if [...] this was now felt to be Christian-European, European-Christian, or perhaps just European, without any clear religious connotation." Peter Rietberger, *Europa. Dzieje kultury*, op. cit., pp. 283–4 [Eng. pp. 284–5]

8 See Tabor Klaniczay, *Renesans, manieryzm, barok* [*Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque*], transl. Elżbieta Cygielska, Warszawa: PWN 1986; Andrzej Borowski *Renesans* [*Renaissance*], Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 2002; Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, *Polski wiek świateł. Obszary swoistości* [*The Polish century of Lights. Domains of Peculiarity*], Wrocław: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002.

9 Ethical and social factors played a fundamental part in the construction of the myth and stereotype of European-Slavic antithesis. The moral purity and religiosity of Slavs (linked to the myth of the "Holy Rus"' and the idyllic Slav with a heart of gold) were contrasted with the decadent and increasingly secular culture of the "corrupt" West. Since the culture of Europe was perceived as elitist and cosmopolitan, the Slav myth both raised the status of lower social classes, and deepened anti-gentry and anti-bourgeois phobias. The Slav myth thus influenced not only what might be called a national regeneration, but also contributed to defining the concepts of the nation and the people, while not differentiating between the concepts of nationality and tribalism; see Maria Bobrownicka, *Narkotyk mitu. Szkice o świadomości narodowej i kulturowej Słowian zachodnich i południowych* [*The Narcotic of a Myth. Sketches on National and Cultural Consciousness of Western and Southern Slavs*], Kraków: Universitas 1995.

10 See Maria Bobrownicka, *Narkotyk mitu. Szkice ...*, [*The Narcotic of a Myth. Sketches...*], op. cit.; Andrzej Walicki, *Rosja, katolicyzm i sprawa polska* [*Russia, The Roman Catholic Church and Poland*], Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2003.

11 Milan Kundera, 'Zachód porwany albo tragedia Europy Środkowej' ['The Stolen West or the Tragedy of Central Europe'], *Zeszyty Literackie* II, 1984, issue.5. See Peter M. Stirk (ed.) *Mitel Europa. History and Prospects (Studies in European Unity)*, Edinburgh 1994.

12 The author excuses himself in these terms: "Although there are sound scholarly reasons, besides considerations of a politically correct nature, to induce an author to include the cultures of central and eastern Europe in the text, I have chosen not to do so. First of all, I lack the language skills necessary to delve into the relevant literature. More important, however, I believe that this non-inclusion can be defended on the basis of the past itself; with its many 'accidents', it has forged links between a number of regional cultures in western Europe which increasingly have shown a comparable historical development, resulting in a more widely experienced culture that, however diverse in many of its elements, yet has grown towards an overall unity." Pieter Rietberger, *Europa. Dzieje kultury*, op. cit., p. 12. [*Europe: A Cultural History*, op.cit., p. xxi.]

13 See Alicja Jarzębska, *Spór o piękno muzyki. Wprowadzenie do kultury muzycznej XX wieku* [*Debate on the Beauty of Music. An Introduction into 20th-century Musical Culture*], Wrocław 2004.

14 Adopting the ideology of progress in artistic activity presupposes a belief in one, *a priori* determined direction of change, which is beyond any influence of individual artists; they can only be "ahead" of it, and confirm their "creative powers" by shocking the audience (to a lesser or greater degree) by producing something novel, which has never been presented before. Critics emphasize such features as "the desire to break away", "awareness of being in the vanguard", and activities which are implicitly directed towards creating a new art, and through new art — a new society and a new man.

15 See Adolf Weissmann, 'Międzynarodowe Towarzystwo Muzyki Współczesnej' ['International Society for Contemporary Music'], *Muzyka* 1925 No. 1, pps. 15–19.

16 See Arnold Schönberg, *National Music* 1931, in: *Style and idea. Selected Writings of A. Schoenberg*, ed. L. Stein, London 1984, pp. 169–74.

17 This statement by Schönberg is mentioned by, among others, Hans H. Stuckenschmidt, (*Arnold Schönberg*, transl. S. Haraschin, Kraków: PWM 1965, p. 75) and William Austin (*Music in the 20th Century*, London 1966, p. 295).

18 See Zofia Helman, 'Dylemat muzyki polskiej XX wieku — styl narodowy czy wartości uniwersalne' ['The Dilemma of Polish Music in the 20th Century: National Styles or Universal Values'], in: Anna Czekanowska (ed.), *Dziedzictwo europejskie a polska kultura muzyczna w dobie przemian* [*European Heritage and Polish Musical Culture in the Period of Transformations*], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica 1995, pp. 184–85.

19 Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music (1949),* transl. Anne G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster, London: Sheed & Ward, 1973; *Filozofia nowej muzyki* (1949), transl. F. Wayda, Warszawa: PIW, 1974.

20 See Jan Maklakiewicz, 'Z zagadnień współczesnej twórczości muzycznej w Polsce' ['Some Problems of Modern Musical Oeuvre in Poland'], *Muzyka* 1934 No. 1, pp. 33–37; Maciej Jabłoński, Janina Tatarska (eds.), *Muzyka i totalitaryzm* [*Music and Totalitarism*], Poznań: Ars Nowa, 1996.

21 Ernest Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, Polish transl. Teresa Hołówka, Kraków: PIW, 1991, pp. 15, 72. [*Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd, 1983, pp. 6, 55–6]

22 Ernest Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, op. cit., p. 9 [pp. 1, 56]

23 Ernest Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, op. cit., p. 64. [pp. 48–49]

24 See, among others, Mirosław Perz, 'Uwagi o treści pojęcia <muzyka polska>' ['Notes on the Content of the <Polish Music> Concept'], *Muzyka* 1971 No. 3, pp. 23–26; Anna Czekanowska, 'Do dyskusji o stylu narodowym' ['Studies in National Style in Polish Music'], *Muzyka* 1990 No. 1, pp. 3–17; Jan Stęszewski, 'Polski charakter narodowy w muzyce: co to takiego?' ['Polish National Character in Music: what is it?'], in: *Narody i stereotypy* [*Nations and Stereotypes*], ed. Teresa Walas, Kraków: MCK 1995, pp. 226–231; Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, *Recepcja muzyki francuskiej w Polsce w II połowie XIX wieku* [*Reception of French Music in Poland in the Second Half of the 19th Century*], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003 (Chapter *Stereotypy narodowe w kulturze XIX w.* [*National Stereotypes in the Culture of the 19th Century*], pp. 327–433; Anna G. Piotrowska, *Idea muzyki amerykańskiej w ujęciu kompozytorów amerykańskich pierwszej połowy XX wieku* [*The Idea of American Music by American Composers of the First Half of the 20th Century*], Toruń 2003.

25 Johann G. von Herder in his philosophy of history presented it as history of nations, which he regarded as being endowed with a "spirit". The distinctiveness of these "spirits" was supposed to be based mainly on the different languages of human communities, and the different mythical primeval sources of their cultures. Herder's views, contained in works such as *Abhandlung ́uber den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772), *Myśl o filozofii dziejów* [*Ideas on the Philosophy of the History*] (2 vols, 1784–91, Polish edition 1962) had an enormous influence on the later development of the idea of a nation and the philosophy and history of culture.

26 Karol Szymanowski, 'Zagadnienie "ludowości", w stosunku do muzyki współczesnej' (1925) ['Question of "Popular Character" in Relation to Modern Music'], in: *Pisma* [*Writings*], vol. 1: *Pisma muzyczne* [*Musical Writings*], ed. Kornel Michałowski, Kraków: PWM, 1984, p. 172.

27 Jan Stęszewski, '<Lexikon der Juden in der Musik> z perspektywy współczesnej i polskiej' ['<Lexikon der Juden in der Musik> from the Modern and Polish Perspective'], in: Maciej Jabłoński, Janina Tatarska (eds.), *Muzyka i totalitaryzm* [*Music and Totalitarism*], op. cit., pp. 47–60.

28 Quoted from: B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu swastyki* [*Culture in the Shadow of Swastika*], Poznań 1969, p. 10.

29 Carl Dahlhaus, 'O trzech kulturach muzycznych' ['On the Three Cultures of Music'], in: *Idea muzyki absolutnej* [*The Idea of Absolute Music*], transl. Antoni Buchner, Kraków: PWM, 1988, pp. 128–29. In the second half of the nineteenth century German composers became actively involved in demonstrating nationalistic, anti-French emotions. For instance, Wagner composed an ode in honour of the German army and a comedy *Capitulation* to celebrate the victory of Sedan, while Brahms wrote an occasional work entitled *The Song of Triumph*, in which he implied that he regarded Paris as synonymous with the degenerate Babylon. From its first performance (7 IV 1871 in Bremmen) the song always accompanied state celebrations, and for this reason the public opinion associated Brahms with that which was German. See Danuta Gwizdalanka, *Muzyka i polityka*, Kraków: PWM, 1999, pp. 103–123.

30 Jean Chantanvoine, *De Couperin à Debussy*, Paris 1921; quoted from: Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, *Muzyka francuska w Polsce w II połowie XIX wieku* [*French Music in Poland in the Second Half of the 19th Century*], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999, ps. 190.

31 Stefania Łobaczewska, *Muzykologia polska* [*Polish Musicology*], in: Mateusz Gliński (ed.) *Muzyka polska* [*Polish Music*], Warszawa 1927, p. 44.
32 Zbigniew Bokszański, *Stereotypy a kultura* [*Stereotypes and Culture*], Wrocław, 2001.
33 See Irena Poniatowska, '<Polonia odrodzona> w symfonii polskiej początku XX wieku' ['<Polonia Revived> in the Polish Symphony of the beginning of the 20th century'], in: *Complexus Effectuum Musicologiae. Studia M. Perz Septuagenario dedicata*, ed. T. Jeż, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Rabid, 2003, pp. 403–412.
34 This interpretation of the idea of national music was alluded to by, among others, Zygmunt Noskowski in his composition entitled *Odgłosy pamiątkowe* (1905) [*Commemorative Echoes*], which was a kind of medley of "patriotic songs" (hymns, marches and Polish songs with links to join them); Ignacy Paderewski in his *Symfonia h-moll, zw. Polonia* (1903) [*Symphony in B minor, the so-called Polonia*] (a work composed to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the January uprising; in the finale there appear the motifs of the song *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła* [Polish National Anthem "Poland is not dead yet"]); Emil Młynarski in his *Symfonia F-dur*, zw. *Polonia*, which uses the melody of *Bogurodzica* [*The Mother of God*] — associated (in the printed programme) — not so much with its religious meaning, but with the function of a patriotic song, encouraging faith in victory on the battlefield.
35 See Robert Anderson, 'Paderewski and Elgar's Polonia', *Musica Iagellonica*, 1995, pp. 141–146.
36 Szymanowski, for instance, wrote: "in our understanding, that which belongs to the <folk> demonstrates clearly the deepest original features of a given race in relation to the sphere of aesthetic experiences [...it exists — A.J.] as an unchanging constant, a suprahistorical and most direct expression of the spiritual properties of a race"; Karol Szymanowski, 'Zagadnienie "ludowości" w stosunku do muzyki współczesnej' ['Question of "Popular Character" in Relation to Modern Music'], w: *Pisma* [*Writings*], vol. I, *Pisma muzyczne* [*Musical Writings*], ed. K. Michałowski, Kraków: PWM, 1984, pp. 172, 169.
37 Karol Szymanowski, 'Zagadnienie "ludowości" w stosunku do muzyki współczesnej', op. cit., p. 171.
38 Karol Szymanowski, 'Uwagi w sprawie współczesnej opinii muzycznej w Polsce' ['Notes on Modern Music Opinion in Poland'], in: *Pisma muzyczne* [*Musical Writings*], op. cit., p. 39.
39 Adolf Chybiński, 'Mazurki Karola Szymanowskiego' ['The Mazurkas of Karol Szymanowski'], *Muzyka* 1925 No. 1, p. 12–15.
40 Józef M. Chomiński, 'K. Szymanowski a Strawiński i Schönberg' ['K. Szymanowski in relation to Stravinsky and Schönberg'], *Muzyka Polska* 1937 No. 5 p. 232; also in: *Studia nad twórczością Karola Szymanowskiego* [*Studies in Karol Szymanowski's Oeuvre*], ed. M. Tomaszewski, Kraków: PWM, 1969, p. 36.
41 Józef M. Chomiński, 'Chóralne <Pieśni kurpiowskie>' ['<Kurpian Songs> for Choir'], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1948 No. 24, also in: *Studia nad twórczością Karola Szymanowskiego* [*Studies in Karol Szymanowski's Oeuvre*], op. cit., p. 335.
42 In this work the composer used a Korean melody, which for that community was a symbol of their struggle for national independence.
43 See Zbigniew Skowron
44 In one of his press interviews Stravinsky pointed to Scriabin as an example of a

composer "without a passport", whose music is not rooted in his native tradition. See Boris de Schloezer, 'An Abridged Analysis' (1928), Engl. transl. Ezra Pound, in: Edwin Corle (ed.), *Igor Stravinsky; A Merle Armitage Book*, New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1949, p. 33.

45 Jan Paweł II, *List Ojca świętego do artystów. Do tych, który z pasją i poświęceniem poszukują "epifanii" piękna, aby podarować je światu w twórczości artystycznej* [*Letter of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to Artists. To all who are passionately dedicated to the search for new "epiphanies" of beauty so that through their creative work as artists they may offer these as gifts to the world*], quotation taken from: *Tygodnik Powszechny*, No. 22 (2603), 30 V 1999, p. 9.