

On Zofia Lissa's (1908–1980)
Musical and Aesthetic Explorations

Zbigniew Skowron



Years of Study and Directions of Research during the Interwar Period

Zofia Lissa (born in Lvov, now Lviv, on 19th October 1908 and died in Warsaw on 26th March 1980), has an impressive record of achievement in the field of musicology, in which her publications relating to music aesthetics take pride of place. They can be described as pioneering in the full sense of the word, opening, as they did, perspectives on thinking about music previously unknown in Poland. At the same time, they made a significant contribution to music aesthetics worldwide, as illustrated not only by the numerous translations of her works into foreign languages, but also by the prestigious International Music Council Prize, awarded to her in 1979, a year before her death. To appreciate fully the range and the significance of her ideas on music and aesthetics, one needs to go back to the beginning of her academic career and her early research. She received a thorough practical grounding at Lvov Conservatory, where she studied piano and theory of music. During the years 1924–1929 she studied musicology under Adolf Chybiński (b. 29th April 1880 in Kraków, d. 31st October 1952 in Poznań), one of the Nestors of that discipline in Poland. Having received his habilitation degree in 1912 at the John Casimir University in Lvov, Chybiński headed the Musicology Section there during the years 1913–1941. Even as a student, Zofia Lissa demonstrated the wide range of her interests. While studying strictly musicological subjects, she also attended lectures by the leading representatives of the Lvov school of philosophy and aesthetics — Kazimierz Twardowski and Roman Ingarden, as well as classes in psychology and history of art. This wide-ranging knowledge, acquired during her years as a student, bore fruit in the form of an inter-disciplinary approach to musicology. The main object of interest in this approach, a musical composition, was treated by her as part of a broad humanist perspective, defined on the one extreme by philosophy, and on the other by the psychology of perception. Her sociological conception of music, which stressed the changing conditions and functions of music creation in different epochs, also matured quite early.

Lissa became an active research scholar immediately on the completion of her studies, following her Ph.D. on the harmonic system of Alexander Scriabin (Lissa 1930: 36), presented in 1929. Her works from the 1930s can be perceived as a kind of whole, in which one can discern both the directions of her explorations, and the influence of the reading which lay behind them. This relatively little-known part of her works is interesting in all its aspects, primarily because it shows Lissa's scholarly profile free from associations with ideology which — for reasons best known to herself — she decided to strengthen during the early 1950s, entering the area of dogmatic Marxism-Leninism in the footsteps of authors from what was the USSR at that time.

A glance at Lissa's pre-war legacy inclines one to conclude that her musical-aesthetic explorations stemmed from an interest in the empirical nature of the aesthetic experience, and, more precisely, in the psychology of perception, with particular focus on one chosen area, namely the perceptual experience of a child. From 1930, she published a number of articles on that subject,¹ in which, on the basis of her own work with the pupils at the Karol Szymanowski Conservatory in Lvov, and the Fryderyk Chopin Music School there, she discussed the significance of music in the development of a child's personality, types of reactions to music which were specific to children, children's creativity in that area and, finally, she formulated criteria for a system of musical education. From 1934 she led, at the Institute of Psychology in Lvov (then a leading research centre in Poland), in-depth research into the musicality of children and young people,² and the mechanisms of music perception.

Lissa's groundbreaking studies on the psychology of children and young people resulted in a book which she wrote together with Stefan Szuman, published immediately after the war under the title *Jak słuchać muzyki* [*How to Listen to Music*] (Szuman and Lissa 1948). This, however, does not exhaust her pre-war activities in the area of music aesthetics. An early article, pub-

¹ The theme of a multi-aspectual approach to the musical psychology of a child is decidedly dominant among other issues taken up by Lissa during the years after completing her musicological studies and obtaining her doctorate, i.e., 1930–1935. The following articles date from that period: Lissa 1930a, 1931, 1931a, 1931b, 1931c, 1933, 1934, 1934a.

² See Lissa 1935, 1936.

lished in 1930, 'O społecznym znaczeniu muzyki w historii ludzkości' [On the Social Significance of Music in the History of Humanity], points to a new direction of research, on the border of aesthetics and sociology of music, which she initiated at that time (Lissa 1930b). This text was the first to signal her interest in a sociological approach: seeing music in the wider context of culture, through the prism of social processes taking place within it.³

Other areas of Lissa's research interests prior to 1939, which demonstrate her receptiveness to manifestations of the then newly rising phenomenon of mass culture, include the new media of radio and film. Her works on these subjects (Lissa 1932, 1932a, 1934b), devoted both to the significance of these two media for music transmission and, in the case of film, to the musical and aesthetic functions related to the structure of a film narrative, are striking in their intuitive understanding and perceptiveness. This is particularly apparent when one bears in mind that, in Polish culture of that period, both radio and film were only just beginning to enter the social domain. Suffice it to say that the limited company 'Polskie Radio' began to broadcast a regular programme in 1926, while films with sound did not reach Poland on a popular scale until after 1930, owing to the efforts of, among others, the artists belonging to the 'Start' association, active during the years 1930–1934. Zofia Lissa was perfectly aware of the opportunities provided by these two new media, seeing, particularly in the radio, a powerful tool for promoting musical culture. On the other hand, films with sound inspired her to undertake research into various functions of music in films.⁴ These investigations resulted in a book titled *Muzyka i film. Studium z pogranicza ontologii, estetyki i psychologii muzyki* [Music and Film. A Study from the Borderland of Ontology, Aesthetics and Psychology of Music] (Lissa 1937b). This was a groundbreaking volume not only in Polish, but also in the world literature devoted to films. The originality of this work consisted in a multi-aspect approach to the status

³ Before the war, Lissa devoted two extensive articles to issues of sociology of music *sensu stricto*. See Lissa 1937, 1937a.

⁴ Lissa's early interest in film music developed not only from pure intellectual curiosity or her experiences as a film goer, but also had other causes: near to her apartment in Lwów — as she herself reminisced — was a film montage workshop, from which she kept hearing soundtracks with the accompanying music. This was extremely inspiring and undoubtedly provided her with much research material.

and function of film music, analysed on the basis of principles which bring to mind structuralist and semiological methods.

A work which stands out among Lissa's other publications on music and aesthetics during the interwar period is the extensive study 'O komizmie muzycznym' [On Comicality in Music] (1938). It provides testimony not only of the maturity of her scholarly skills, but above all of her ability to solve independently a boldly stated problem, and thus also her inventiveness and her interpretive skills.

The study of comicality, like the already mentioned *Muzyka i film* [Music and film], although on a somewhat smaller scale owing to the range of the subject, constitutes a synthetic approach which refers to manifestations of comicality in particular kinds of music (from absolute, through programme and vocal to film music). The author included in her deliberations links between comicality and elements of musical construction, and the aesthetic experience of music. However, the significance of that text, undoubtedly breaking new ground in the world literature at that time, lies not only in the multi-aspectual view of the manifestations of musical comicality as an aesthetic category, but also in the more subtle nature when compared to other forms of art (visual and literary). Alongside a discussion of the essence of comicality in music, Lissa's work takes up a more general issue — the question of semantics of music. It is interesting that Lissa asked that question, in a sense, in the margin of her deliberations about comicality in programme music, in one of the middle chapters of that text.⁵

Her belief that music constitutes a meaningful message — that, in other words, sound systems may fulfil intentional functions of a particular type, was initially formed as an intuition which was difficult to verify and gave rise to a number of questions, which were initially left without answers. The characteristic, searching state of consciousness in which the inner conviction produces diverse solutions is conveyed by this fragment from 'O słuchaniu i rozumieniu utworów muzycznych' [On Listening and Understanding of Musical Works]:

⁵ See Lissa 1938: 45–52, chapter 7 — 'Zagadnienie semantyczności i asemantyczności muzyki' [The Issue of Semantics or Non-Semantics in Music].

In every area of research, at some time one reaches the point which is the boundary of the unknown; one hits a wall which cannot be breached. In our area we reach that wall when we begin to ask about the essence of that which everyone of us intuitively feels in music, and which is different from the sound structures alone. Whether, following Kurth, we describe that 'something' as a tension of psychological energies, or adopt Mersmann's description of it as tectonic forces, or agree with Losyev that music together with mathematics concern a subject of an ideal nature — none of these concepts or the theories which accompany them explain the issue. And yet, the listener's conscious or subconscious intending towards that factor in a work of music is essential for the aesthetic experience, just as, in order to experience aesthetically a literary work, it is essential not only to understand individual words and sentences, but to look towards that fictional world which is revealed through these words and sentences. This does not mean — I emphasise it again — that music contains a sphere of represented objects, that sound structures should signify some objective content, the way that a painting does. However, sound structures are an expression of a content which at present is not susceptible to being investigated scientifically and made precise, but which the listener apprehends intuitively (Lissa 1937c: 390–391).

Further, more concrete deliberations on the semantics of music are contained in Lissa's text on comicality in music. She introduced there the concept of "representational structures" which, in her view, create the work's subject and define it as a whole. A particular case of representational structures was constituted, in her opinion, by symbolic representation, linked to absolute music: more precisely, to what is known as expressive music where the sound structures, in her words, "do not represent directly any expressed content, but are simply its symbols" (Lissa 1938: 49). The point of reference for this thesis were the views of Ernst Cassirer (Cassirer 1927) and Mieczysław Wallis (Wallis 1934: 17–19),⁶ which became for her the point of departure for her own thesis based on a particular kind of relationship between the sound structure and the psychological content.

While clearly following Ingarden in using the comparative method, Lissa drew attention to the different character of the function of representational sound systems in comparison with representational objects in literature and the visual arts. Belief in the presence of this difference allowed her to challenge Ingarden's view of the representational function of music and to formulate her own, multi-layer conception of a work of music as early as 1938,

⁶ See also by the same author 1968.

nearly 30 years prior to the publication of her 'Uwagi o Ingardenowskiej teorii dzieła muzycznego' [Remarks on Ingarden's Theory of the Work of Music] (Lissa 1966: 95–113).

Valuable material, which gives one some idea of Lissa's pre-war reading, is provided by the numerous reviews of musicological studies, published by her during the years 1929–1933 in the columns of *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*. The issues examined in these studies were largely linked to issues in the psychology of music, then at the centre of Lissa's research interests.⁷ Nevertheless, among the books she reviewed we also find writing devoted to questions of a historical⁸ and aesthetic⁹ nature, to new music (Lissa 1930e), and the new media (Lissa 1931e). Of particular significance among these were two of her reviews (see Lissa 1932b). The first of them concerned Ernst Kurth's book *Musikpsychologie* (Kurth 1931), and the second, the book *Zur Psychologie des musikalischen Gestaltens* by Julius Bahle (Bahle 1930). Reading the first review leaves one in no doubt that Ernst Kurth's approach was a powerful inspiration in Lissa's choice of research direction.

Many of her pre-war works indicate that she adopted Kurth's methodological directive as her own, initiating, within Polish musicology, research located midstream in one of the main psychological approaches of contemporary European musicology at that time, which has by now had a long tradition, with contributions by American scholars.¹⁰

Trying to guess the possible development of a scholar, and the research prevented from being undertaken by the sudden turn of historical events, will always remain in the sphere of speculation. Yet it is difficult to dismiss the idea that Zofia Lissa's academic path would have taken a quite different direction were it not for the outbreak of the war. We may suppose that she would have established her position in the area of psychologically oriented aesthetics of music, and would probably have participated in such new trends as the fast-developing cognitive psychology. However, dramatic

⁷ See Zofia Lissa reviews 1929, 1930, 1931, 1931a, 1931b, 1932, 1933.

⁸ See Lissa's reviews 1930a, 1931c.

⁹ See Lissa's reviews 1929a, 1930b, 1930c, 1930d, 1931d, 1932a.

¹⁰ A classic example from the Anglo-Saxon musicological literature inspired by Gestalt psychology is (Leonard B. Meyer 1956).

wartime events not only interrupted the highly promising development of the young scholar but also took her away from the academic environment for a number of years.

The War Years and the Decade 1945–1955

In the early period following the outbreak of war, after the Red Army entered Poland and occupied Lvov in September 1939, Lissa worked as music editor at the radio station there, and then, from 1940, she was Dean of the Department of Theory at Lvov Conservatory. After the Nazi invasion of the USSR in June 1941 she was evacuated to Namangan (Uzbekistan), where she taught the theory of music in a secondary music school. She then moved to Moscow, and was one of the first to join the Union of Polish Patriots in 1943. In 1945 she became the cultural attaché at the Polish embassy there. Joining the milieu in which a communist government, imposed on Poland by Stalin (by the Polish Committee of National Liberation manifesto issued in July 1944), took shape, inevitably meant embracing the ideology at the core of its activity. Lissa's left-wing sympathies were already becoming apparent while she was still a student at the John Casimir University in Lwów;¹¹ however, when they became linked to a political choice, they turned unequivocally towards dogmatic Marxism-Leninism. It is impossible to resolve with certainty the question of how far this ideological commitment resulted from her own convictions, and to what extent it was motivated externally, i.e., by particular aims or intentions. The fact remains that, after returning to Poland in 1947, Lissa tied her academic activity to participation within the structures of the communist ruling powers of that time. She became Deputy Director of the Department of Music at the Ministry of Culture and Art in Warsaw which, inevitably, placed her within the department administering Polish musical production, and subject to the pressure of the doctrine of socialist realism, an infamous example of which was the all-Poland conference in Łagów Lubuski

¹¹ A form of evidence for these sympathies, which must have been witnessed by Adolf Chybiński at the John Casimir University in Lvov, is provided by the text 'Uwagi o metodzie marksistowskiej w muzykologii' [Remarks on the Marxist Method in Musicology] (1950).

in 1949, preceded by the International Congress of Composers and Musicologists in Prague in May 1948.

The other domain in which Lissa became active after the war was academic musicology; her achievements in this area involved both organisational and academic work. She received her habilitation degree as early as 1947, at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, again under the academic supervision of Adolf Chybiński, who from 1945 until his death in 1952 headed the Musicology Section there.¹² The habilitation enabled her to undertake effective efforts to create a Musicology Section at the University of Warsaw, which happened in 1948. In this way both Adolf Chybiński and Zofia Lissa (together with Józef M. Chomiński) transferred, in a sense, the Lvov musicological tradition to two new centres: Poznań and Warsaw. The third centre, in Cracow, survived the war cataclysm without major upheavals, and it was there that Stefania Łobaczewska, another scholar previously associated with musicology in Lvov, found employment.

Further stages in Zofia Lissa's academic career are marked by her being awarded the title of associate professor in 1951, and full professorial status in 1957. Shortly afterwards, in 1958, the Musicology Section of Warsaw University was given the status of Institute, and Lissa stayed as its director until 1975. It should be noted that, in spite of the ideological pressure exerted on Polish tertiary education institutions during the early 1950s, from 1951 she employed a priest, Father Hieronim Feicht, Ph.D. (1894–1967) in the Musicology Section, where that outstanding specialist on early Polish music lectured until the end of his life.

The work which constitutes a bridge between Lissa's pre-war studies of music and aesthetics and those from the post-war period is her 1948 article 'Czy muzyka jest sztuką asemantyczną' [Is Music an A-semantic art?] (Lissa 1948). The beginning of that text shows that its author had entered the orbit

¹² Professor Adolfa Chybiński's effective post-war activity in Poznań was undoubtedly a result of his finding a *modus vivendi* in the new political reality. That effectiveness (which must have involved skilful manoeuvring in the new environment, during the most difficult years of the Stalinist decade) is confirmed by the fact that he was honoured by the authorities with the Order of the Banner of Work Class I in 1950, and State Prize Class I in 1951, as well as honorary membership of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It is possible that Zofia Lissa's intervention was involved in these awards.

of influence of Soviet thinking about music; that thinking, under the influence of Andrey Zhdanov's doctrine,¹³ became the cutting edge of ruthless criticism against all innovation in Western music, branding it as "formalism". However, in the introduction to her text Lissa gave her own interpretation of the term "formalistic music", an interpretation devoid of the ideological exaggerations and intellectual simplifications which characterised Soviet authors. This does not mean that she was an enthusiast of, as she put it, "the compositional practice of contemporary composers", but she criticised their achievements from a strictly aesthetic point of view, in the form of a scholarly discourse which had nothing to do with the "dispute about musical style in the USSR" (Lissa 1948: 277), which she referred to only as if in passing (in one sentence). Moreover, the initial statement about the crisis in European music, linked to the work of the Second Viennese school in the twentieth century, as well as the criticism of formalism, guided by the thesis that "the means of artistic expression in music have become just that — the means — giving up their function of expressing" (Ibidem), imperceptibly became a lecture on her own aesthetic stance on the issue of semanticity of music. This lecture — and this needs to be emphasised — refers directly to the views she formulated before the war. This is confirmed by numerous parts of the text, in which the author restates, almost verbatim, the theses formulated in the study (mentioned earlier) 'O komizmie muzycznym' [On Comicality in Music] and in the article 'O słuchaniu i rozumieniu utworów muzycznych' [On Listening to and Understanding Musical Compositions]. Here, however, we no longer find the cognitive hesitations expressed by Lissa in her pre-war works, nor any references to metaphysics. Moreover, even in relation to such authors as A.W. Ambros or A. Schering, whose ideas might support her semantic conception of music, in relation to the issue of symbolic representation, she decides that their theory did not seek "[...] the close causal relationships between musical phenomena and, heteronymous in re-

¹³ See Nicolas Slonimsky 1994, in particular the resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (b) dated 10 February 1948, pp. 1055–1057; A.A. Zhdanov's speech at the discussion at the General Congress of Soviet Composers in Moscow, 17–26 February 1948, pp. 1057–1058; the declaration of the Second International Congress of Composers and Musicologists in Prague, 29 May 1948, p. 1068.

lation to them, events in social, economic and general cultural life" (Lissa 1948). Significantly, among these references we no longer find the "most diverse forms of human expression", which before the war provided the basis for deliberations on the subject of representational structures.

The period 1950–1954 constituted a special phase in Zofia Lissa's academic activity, marked by the ideological and political choices she made earlier. During that time she published a number of works on music and aesthetics, in which the common ideological denominator was Marxism-Leninism in its dogmatic, simplistic form as provided by Soviet ideologues led by Zhdanov and Stalin himself.¹⁴ With all their borrowings, as well as epistemological and methodological stereotypes, Lissa's works from the early 1950s still bore a trace of her pre-war experiences: they were, after all, written by a scholar acquainted with the "bourgeois" methodology, which had nothing in common with dialectical materialism or Leninist theory of reflection, and which by then was beyond the pale. What made the situation paradoxical was the fact that, while expressing the belief that music is capable not only of reflecting the surrounding reality (more precisely, the processes of social change), but also of becoming a tool in the service of "progressive" ideology, Lissa herself had lived through quite different aesthetic experiences, related to the conception of music as a meaningful message, which becomes real in the act of perception as interpreted by gestalt psychology. Clearly, these experiences could never be reconciled with the Marxist-Leninist ideological orientation. For this reason in her works from the period 1950–1955 she could not avoid simplifications in the description of the relationships between music and reality and, resulting from these, in the description of the intermediaries between these two spheres.

Lissa's publications from that period, which provide a peculiar testimony of reflection on music linked with premises and aims of an ideological char-

¹⁴ These include: Lissa 1950, 1950a, 1951, 1953, 1953a, 1953b, 1954, 1955. It is worth mentioning that, parallel to that unequivocally committed scholarly activity, during the years 1949–1952 Lissa edited a number of collections of Soviet songs, including *Pieśni o Stalinie* [*Songs about Stalin*] (Czytelnik, Warsaw 1949, 13 issues). It seems ironic that the reviewer of *Sovetskaya Muzyka*, writing under the initials G.M., while praising the collection *25 Pieśni radzieckich* [*25 Soviet Songs*] edited by Lissa (Warsaw [Współpraca] 1949), at the same time reproached her for omitting the *Anthem of the Soviet Union* and... songs about Stalin. See Monko-Ejgenberg 2008:16.

acter, have not as yet been subjected to in-depth research.¹⁵ The ideological message of these texts corresponded to the cultural policy of the authorities at that time, and Lissa had to apply them in real life in her managerial capacity at the Department of Music of the Ministry of Culture and Art. Her works on aesthetics at that time were closely associated with the principles of socialist realism, formulated to address all members of the creative arts community; nevertheless one may suppose that her pre-war experiences were sufficiently grounded within her judgment to awaken inner criticism towards these political rules, imposed from the outside and accepted initially in an atmosphere of pressured propaganda. While it would be difficult to justify intellectual opportunism resulting, after all, from one's own, personal choices — and this applies to all similar situations — it would also be difficult to apply the same measure to all of Lissa's works which bear the imprint of ideology.

Directions of Research during the 1960s and 1970s

In 1956 Zofia Lissa critically evaluated her work during the previous decade, and distanced herself from the dogmatically understood ideology of socialist realism. This, however, did not mean abandoning some of the aspects of the Marxist method, particularly viewing music in its social aspect, in the context of historical development. It is from this perspective, freed (and this needs stressing!) from ideological pressures and simplifications, that she examines a number of issues in aesthetics, including the one of historically changing reception and understanding of music. Her works in this area, among them the article 'O historycznej zmienności percepcji muzycznej' [On Historical Changeability in the Perception of Music] (see Lissa 1959), as well as the text

¹⁵ It is only relatively recently that Polish musicological literature has begun to discuss the issue of the relationship between music, ideology and politics. See Gašiorowska 1994, Jabłoński and Tatarska 1996, Gwizdalanka 1999, *Socrealizm?* 2002. Opinions about Zofia Lissa's works from the first half of the 1950s have been formulated by: Polony 1991 (particularly chapter 9 — 'O sporze z estetyką socrealizmu i marksistowsko-stalinowskim projekcie muzykologii' [The Argument with Social Realist Aesthetics and the Project of Marxist-Leninist Musicology], pp. 277–306), Polony 1996: 46–47 and Helman 2004: 197–200.

'Recepcja muzyczna jako współczynnik historii muzyki' [Reception of Music as a Co-factor in the History of Music] (Lissa 1975b: 114–133), belong to the general theory of reception which — inspired by works from literature studies — developed in musicology during the second half of the twentieth century, largely owing to the works of Carl Dahlhaus (see Dahlhaus 1977).¹⁶

The 1960s and 1970s saw the mature period of Zofia Lissa's writing on music and aesthetics. The works which particularly stand out during that time are those devoted to the ontology of a work of music, with the polemical text 'Uwagi o Ingardenowskiej teorii dzieła muzycznego' [Remarks on Ingarden's Theory of the Work of Music] being of prime significance. The point of departure for this polemic was Lissa's questioning of Ingarden's position, which assumed a distinction between performance as a concretisation of a musical composition, and the status of such a work understood as an intentional object. Questioning the universality of this thesis, Lissa reached for the then newest creative domain, electronic music, showing that a performance of an electronic composition is not only forever identified with its recording,¹⁷ but — more than that — the composition in such a case acquires a single, unchanging shape. Roman Ingarden published his reply, 'Uwagi do Uwag Zofii Lissy' [Remarks on Remarks by Zofia Lissa] in the same issue of *Studia Estetyczne* which published Lissa's text (Ingarden 1966: 115–128). In responding to her remarks on the special status of an electronic composition he did admit that his own remarks related to "objects within the range of experience" (Ingarden 1966: 115),¹⁸ but he tried to demonstrate, with a high degree of determination, that his stance was confirmed also in relation to electronic works. However, one has the impression that Ingarden's arguments were not fully adequate to explain the specific properties of an electronic work, since neither its performance nor its score correspond in essence to the performance and recording of a traditional work. In defending the differences in the performance of an electronic work by analogy to

¹⁶ Particularly chapter 10 — 'Probleme der Rezeptionsgeschichte,' pp. 238–259.

¹⁷ The only medium which made that recording possible was magnetic tape, hence alongside the term "electronic music" there also functioned the term "music for tape" (nowadays this type of composition is described as "electro-acoustic music").

¹⁸ The examples quoted by Ingarden fall into the classical-romantic tradition.

the performance of an instrumental work, Ingarden seems to have missed the fundamental divergence between a live musical performance and r e p r o - d u c i n g a composition through speakers: the acoustic differences resulting from the quality of the reproduction equipment cannot be compared to different interpretations by musicians performing an instrumental or vocal work. In the first case we can only speak of purely acoustic differences, while in the second case the differences concern a much wider range of co-factors which make up a performance. For similar reasons, one cannot identify the score of an electronic work with traditional notation. The specific character of an electronic score, which in any case is not always made available by the composer, consists in it being a r e a l i s a t i o n score, which strictly defines the set of studio procedures, thus leaving no places which are not fully defined, as happens in the traditional score, which naturally, ensures plurality of interpretations. An electronic piece, fully defined in its recording as well as in its sound realisation in a studio, constituted a case which did not meet the premises of Ingarden's theory and thus it would be difficult to deny the correctness of Lissa's comments (her knowledge of the nuances of electronic music was undoubtedly greater than Ingarden's, who looked to nineteenth-century classics) which, however, do not erode the main structure of Ingarden's conception.

The discussion between Zofia Lissa and Roman Ingarden provides further evidence of her approach to musical phenomena in their historical, changing manifestations, resulting from her conviction that conceptions about musical compositions are not given once and for all, but undergo transformations together with the works themselves. It is also undoubtedly the case that it was precisely then, in the second half of the twentieth century, that the traditional conception of a work of art as an *opus perfectum et absolutum* underwent changes and re-evaluations to an unprecedented extent. However, it is regrettable that the discussion between the two scholars was limited to the status of electronic and aleatoric works, and did not include such a fundamental aesthetic issue as the multi-layered nature of a musical composition. Although Lissa "flagged" that question for Ingarden even before the war, in

the text 'O komizmie muzycznym' from 1938, quoted earlier, it was finally left without a response.

Lissa's mature output comprises studies devoted to such subjects as the temporal aspects of a musical composition, the character of being a process, and the perception and understanding of music. These works reflect the aesthetic views of this Polish scholar on key problems of music understood primarily as a social and historical phenomenon, in the perspective of its deep connections to culture in general. Alongside the main issues of modern music aesthetics, such as the essence of a work of music and value in music, Lissa also turned her attention to historical questions, with particularly close consideration of German musical thought from the romantic period — the views of A.W. Schlegel and J.G. Herder. A different area of interest from her mature period is represented by articles on film music. Also here Lissa conducted interdisciplinary research, as evidenced by the text on 'Film a opera. Z zagadnień krzyżowania konwencji gatunkowych w sztuce' [Film and Opera. On the Issues of Crossing Genre Conventions in Art] (Lissa 1963).

The first of Lissa's collections of writings on music and aesthetics bearing the title *Szkice z estetyki muzycznej* [Essays in Music Aesthetics] appeared in 1965 (Lissa 1965). It contained the following texts: 'O komizmie muzycznym' [On Comicality in Music] (1937); 'Rola kojarzeń w percepcji dzieł muzycznych' [The Role of Associations in the Perception of Musical Compositions] (1954); 'O ewolucji percepcji muzycznej' [On the Evolution of Music Perception] (1959); 'O wielowarstwowości kultury muzycznej' [On the Multi-layered Nature of Musical Culture] (1959); 'O stylu narodowym w muzyce' [On National Style in Music] (1960); 'Estetyczne funkcje ciszy i pauzy w muzyce' [Aesthetic Functions of Silence and Rest in Music] (1961); 'Teoriopoznawcza analiza struktury czasowej gatunków muzycznych' [Epistemological Analysis of Temporal Structure in Musical Genres] (1964); 'Romantyzm w muzyce: definicja, kryteria, periodyzacja' [Romanticism in Music: Definition, Criteria, Periodisation] (1967); 'O cytacie w muzyce' [On Quotations in Music] (1966); 'O procesualnym charakterze dzieła muzycznego' [On the Character of the Musical Composition as a Process] (1965).

In 1975 Lissa published *Nowe szkice z estetyki muzycznej* [*New Essays on Music Aesthetics*] (Lissa 1975), which contained seven studies in two parts: I — 'O istocie dzieła muzycznego' [On the Essence of a Work of Music] (1968); 'O tzw. rozumieniu muzyki' [On the So-Called Understanding of Music] (1974); 'O wartości w muzyce' [On Value in Music] (1969); II — 'Świadomość historyczna w muzyce i jej rola we współczesnej kulturze muzycznej' [Historical Awareness in Music and its Role in Contemporary Musical Culture] (1972); 'Recepcja muzyczna jako współczynnik historii muzyki' [Reception of Music as a Factor in the History of Music] (1971); 'Prolegomena do teorii tradycji w muzyce' [Prolegomenon to the Theory of Tradition in Music] (1970); 'Muzyka a rewolucja' [Music and Revolution] (1974). The same year also saw the publication of a collection of Lissa's writings in German, under the title *Neue Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik* (Lissa 1975a), which included: 'Über das Wesen des Musikwerkes' (1968); 'Ebenen des musikalischen Verstehens' (1974); 'Zur Theorie der musikalischen Rezeption' (1974), 'Musikalisches Geschichtsbewusstsein — Segen oder Fluch?' (1973); 'Einige kritische Bemerkungen zur Ingardenschen Theorie des musikalischen Werkes' (1972); 'Prolegomena zur Theorie der Tradition in der Musik' (1970); 'Musik und Revolution' (1974).

It is significant that none of the collections referred to above contained Lissa's works adhering to the Marxist-Leninist and socialist realism doctrine. That decision clearly indicates that she did not regard them as part of the core of her achievement, in a sense bracketing them out, excluding this group of texts from her academic biography and, at the same time, bringing closer to the core the works written before the war and those written after 1956.

The areas of research initiated by Zofia Lissa during the interwar period, and developed by her after the October "thaw" of 1956, in an atmosphere free of ideological pressures, allow us to recognise in her an outstanding representative of twentieth-century aesthetics of music, although by now her achievements in that field are acquiring more of a historical value. This results, on the one hand, from the methodological orientation she adopted, i.e. the links to gestalt psychology, historicism and structuralism and, on the other, references to manifestations of musical life which were current

at the time and which included the offerings of the Polish and world second avant-garde presented at the "Warsaw Autumn" festivals. One has to admit that Lissa was an attentive observer of these musical events, and reflected on them, confronting the proposals of the new music, which sometimes involved radical conceptions of a work of music and its reception (comprehension), with the traditional findings of music aesthetics. Her ideas on aesthetics, while they encompassed the latest manifestations of musical life, remained linked to the modernist trend and, naturally, did not extend to include musical post-modernity.

The value of Zofia Lissa's legacy in the aesthetics of music consists primarily in the multi-aspectual and interdisciplinary nature of her reflections which, starting with the question of the meaning of music as a tool of human communication, came to include a number of fundamental issues, such as the nature and structure of a work of music, semantics and non-semantics in music, its experience and understanding and, finally, the aesthetic foundations of film music. However, it is not just the range of issues undertaken by her, which, after all, was the object of deliberations by many twentieth-century thinkers about music, but the manner in which she approached them which make her writings of value. What made Lissa's aesthetic reflections individual was the dual perspective in which she viewed a work of music: firstly psychological, as an object which acquires full meaning during the process of perception, and secondly sociological, as a social product, conditioned by historical and transcultural circumstances.

Works cited

Books and articles by Zofia Lissa:

- Lissa Zofia (1930)**, 'O harmonice Aleksandra Skriabina' [The Harmonic System of Alexander Scriabin], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 8.
- Lissa Zofia (1930a)**, 'Stosunek dziecka do muzyki' [A Child's Attitude to Music], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 10.
- Lissa Zofia (1930b)**, 'O społecznym znaczeniu muzyki w historii ludzkości' [On the

- Social Significance of Music in the History of Humanity], *Przegląd Społeczny* Nos. 4–5.
- Lissa Zofia (1931)**, 'O twórczości muzycznej dziecka' [On Children's Musical Creativity], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 7.
- Lissa Zofia (1931a)**, 'Z psychologii muzycznej dziecka' [On the Musical Psychology of a Child], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 10–11.
- Lissa Zofia (1931b–1932)**, 'Z zagadnień współczesnej pedagogii muzycznej' [Issues in Contemporary Music Teaching], *Przegląd Społeczny* 1931, No. 12; 1932, No. 1.
- Lissa Zofia (1931c)**, 'Psychologia współczesna a wychowanie muzyczne' [Contemporary Psychology and Music Education], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 12.
- Lissa Zofia (1932)**, 'Radio we współczesnej kulturze muzycznej. (Psychologiczne, artystyczne, społeczne i pedagogiczne problematy radia)' [The Radio in Contemporary Musical Culture. (Psychological, Artistic, Social and Didactic Problems of the Radio)], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 14.
- Lissa Zofia (1932a)**, 'Radio a nauczanie muzyki' [Radio and the Teaching of Music], *Muzyka w szkole* No. 2.
- Lissa Zofia (1933)**, 'Twórczość muzyczna dziecka w świetle psychologii i pedagogiki' [Children's Musical Creativity in the Light of Psychology and Pedagogy], *Muzyka w szkole* No. 10.
- Lissa Zofia (1934)**, 'Badania muzykalności a wychowanie muzyczne' [Investigating Musicality and Music Education], *Muzyka Polska* No. 3.
- Lissa Zofia (1934a)**, 'Wpływ muzyki na młodzież w okresie dojrzewania' [Influence of Music on Young People during Puberty], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 12.
- Lissa Zofia (1934b)**, 'Społeczna rola radia w kulturze muzycznej' [The Social Role of the Radio in Music Culture], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 6.
- Lissa Zofia (1935)**, 'O istocie i typach muzykalności' [About the Essence and Types of Musicality], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 7.
- Lissa Zofia (1936)**, 'O badaniu muzykalności i psychotechnice muzycznej' [On Research into Musicality and Music Psychotechnics], *Przegląd Społeczny* No. 1.
- Lissa Zofia (1937)**, 'U podstaw kultury muzycznej. Z zagadnień socjologii muzyki' [At the Foundation of Musical Culture. Selected Issues in the Sociology of Music], *Przegląd Społeczny* Nos. 9–11.
- Lissa Zofia (1937a)**, 'Z zagadnień socjologii muzyki' [Selected Issues in the Sociology of Music], *Przegląd Socjologiczny* Nos. 3–4.
- Lissa Zofia (1937b)**, *Muzyka i film. Studium z pogranicza ontologii, estetyki i psychologii muzyki* [Music and film. A Study on the Border of Ontology of Aesthetics and Psychology of Music], Lvov.
- Lissa Zofia (1937c)**, 'O słuchaniu i rozumieniu utworów muzycznych' [On Listening and Understanding of Musical Works], *Wiedza i Życie* No. 6, pp. 383–395.

- Lissa Zofia (1938)**, 'O komizmie muzycznym' [On Comicality in Music], *Kwartalnik Filozoficzny* No. 1, pp. 23–73; No. 2, pp. 95–107.
- Lissa Zofia (1948)**, 'Czy muzyka jest sztuką asemantyczną?' [Is Music an A-semantic art?], *Myśl Współczesna* No. 10, pp. 276–289.
- Lissa Zofia (1950)**, 'Uwagi o metodzie marksistowskiej w muzykologii' [Remarks on the Marxist Method in Musicology], in: *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Prof. A. Chybińskiego* [Prof. A. Chybiński Memorial Book], Cracow.
- Lissa Zofia (1950a)**, 'Leninowska teoria odbicia a estetyka muzyczna' [Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Music Aesthetics], *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji* (special issue), pp. 95–159.
- Lissa Zofia (1951)**, 'Problem odzwierciedlenia rzeczywistości w muzyce' [The Problem of Reflecting Reality in Music], *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji* No. 5, pp. 164–183.
- Lissa Zofia (1953)**, 'Niektóre zagadnienia estetyki muzycznej w świetle artykułów Józefa Stalina o marksizmie w językoznawstwie' [Selected Issues of Music Aesthetics in the Light of Joseph Stalin's Articles on Marxism in Linguistics], *Studia Muzykologiczne* No. 1, pp. 11–154.
- Lissa Zofia (1953a)**, 'O specyfice muzyki' [On the Special Character of Music], *Studia Muzykologiczne* No. 2, pp. 7–132.
- Lissa Zofia (1953b)**, *Podstawy estetyki muzycznej* [Foundations of Music Aesthetics], Warsaw. Parts 1–2 (*Zagadnienia ogólne; Leninowska teoria odbicia a estetyka muzyczna; Zagadnienia estetyki muzycznej; O specyfice muzyki*) [General Issues; Leninist Theory of Reflection and Musical Aesthetic; Problems of Musical Aesthetics; On the Specific Nature of Music].
- Lissa Zofia (1954)**, 'O obiektywności praw w historii i teorii muzyki' [On the Objectivity of Laws in the History and Theory of Music], *Studia Muzykologiczne* No. 3, pp. 7–112.
- Lissa Zofia (1955)**, 'Prawa dialektyki w muzyce' [The Laws of Dialectics in Music], *Studia Muzykologiczne* No. 4, pp. 75–104.
- Lissa Zofia (1959)**, 'O historycznej zmienności percepcji muzycznej' [On Historical Changeability in the Perception of Music], *Przegląd Humanistyczny* No. 4, pp. 43–56.
- Lissa Zofia (1963)**, 'Film a opera. Z zagadnień krzyżowania konwencji gatunkowych w sztuce' [Film and Opera. On the Issues of Crossing Genre Conventions in Art], *Estetyka*, pp. 199–216.
- Lissa Zofia (1965)**, *Szkice z estetyki muzycznej* [Essays in the Aesthetics of Music], Cracow.
- Lissa Zofia (1966)**, 'Uwagi o Ingardenowskiej teorii dzieła muzycznego' [Remarks on Ingarden's Theory of a Musical Composition], *Studia Estetyczne*, pp. 95–113.
- Lissa Zofia (1975)**, *Nowe szkice z estetyki muzycznej* [New Essays in the Aesthetics of Music], Cracow.

- Lissa Zofia (1975a)**, *Neue Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik*, Wilhelmshaven.
- Lissa Zofia (1975b)**, 'Recepcja muzyczna jako współczynnik historii muzyki' [Reception of Music as a Co-factor in the History of Music], in: *Nowe szkice z estetyki muzycznej*, Cracow, pp. 114–133.
- Szuman Stefan and Lissa Zofia (1948)**, *Jak słuchać muzyki* [How to Listen to Music], Warsaw.

Reviews by Zofia Lissa:

- Lissa Zofia (1929)**, review of H. Jahnke, *Beiträge zur Psychologie der musikalischen Komposition*, Leipzig 1928, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 5, pp. 93–95.
- Lissa Zofia (1929a)**, review of J. Gehring, *Grundprinzipien der musikalischen Gestaltung*, Leipzig 1928, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 5, pp. 89–90.
- Lissa Zofia (1930)**, review of P. Servien, *Introduction à une connaissance scientifique des faits musicaux*, Paris 1929, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 9, pp. 108–109.
- Lissa Zofia (1930a)**, review of A. Casella, *L'evoluzione della musica. L'évolution de la musique*, London 1924, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 8, pp. 366–368.
- Lissa Zofia (1930b)**, review of S. Furmanik, *Próba wyznaczenia przedmiotu muzyki* [An Attempt at Defining the Subject of Music], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1929 No. 3, in: *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 6–7, pp. 249–250.
- Lissa Zofia (1930c)**, review of M. Schlesinger, *Grundlagen und Geschichte des Symbols*, in: *Symbolik in der Tonkunst*, Berlin 1930, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 8, pp. 381–382.
- Lissa Zofia (1930d)**, review of H. Schüman, *Monozentrik, eine neue Musiktheorie*, Stuttgart 1924, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 6–7, pp. 251–252.
- Lissa Zofia (1930e)**, review of H. Cowell, *New Musical Resources*, New York 1930, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* No. 8, pp. 379–381.
- Lissa Zofia (1931)**, review of J. Kreis, *Wer ist musikalisch?*, Berlin 1926, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 10–11, pp. 294–295;
- Lissa Zofia (1931a)**, review of H. Meissner, *Beitrag zur Entwicklung des "musikalischen Sinnes" beim Kinde während des Schulpflichtigen Alters*, Berlin 1914, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 10–11, pp. 297–298;
- Lissa Zofia (1931b)**, review of F. Struwe, *Erziehung durch Rhythmus in Musik und Leben*, Kassel 1930, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 10–11, pp. 309–310;
- Lissa Zofia (1931c)**, review of A. Lorentz, *Musikgeschichte in Rhythmus der Generationen*, Berlin 1928, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 12–13, pp. 444–445.
- Lissa Zofia (1931d)**, review of G. Cooke, *Tonality and Expression*, London 1929, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 12–13, p. 446.
- Lissa Zofia (1931e)**, review of B. Winzheimer, *Das musikalische Kunstwerk im elektrischer Fernübertragung*, Augsburg 1930, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 12–13, pp. 467–469.

- Lissa Zofia (1932)**, review of H. Schole, *Tonpsychologie und Musikästhetik*, Göttingen 1930, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 14–15, pp. 610–611;
- Lissa Zofia (1932a)**, review of H. Fleischer, *Philosophische Grundanschauungen in der gegenwärtigen Musikästhetik*, Berlin 1928, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 14–15, p. 612.
- Lissa Zofia (1932b)**, review of Kurth and Bahle: 'Z najnowszych badań nad psychologią i estetyką muzyczną', *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 14–15, pp. 543–565.
- Lissa Zofia (1933)**, review of J.M. Rymaszewski, *Muzyka a sugestia* [*Music and Suggestion*], Warsaw 1932, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* Nos. 19–20, pp. 198–199.

Texts written by other authors:

- Bahl Julius (1930)**, 'Zur Psychologie des musikalischen Gestaltens', *Archiv für gesamte Psychologie*, Leipzig, Nos. 3–4 (vol. 74).
- Cassirer Ernst (1927)**, 'Das Symbolproblem und seine Stellung im System der Philosophie,' *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik* Vol. 21.
- Dahlhaus Carl (1977)**, *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte*, Köln .
- Gąsiorowska Małgorzata (1994)**, 'Muzyka polska lat 1945–1955 wobec socrealizmu' [Polish Music in 1945-55 and Social Realism], in: Anna Oberc (ed.), *Muzyka, słowo, sens – Mieczysławowi Tomaszewskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin* [*Music, Word, Meaning – to Mieczysław Tomaszewski on His 70th Birthday*], Cracow.
- Gwizdalanka Danuta (1999)**, *Muzyka i polityka* [*Music and Politics*], Cracow.
- Helman Zofia (2004)**, [entry:] *Lissa Zofia*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil, vol. 11, Kassel, pp. 197–200.
- Ingarden Roman (1966)**, 'Uwagi do Uwag Zofii Lissy' [Remarks on Remarks by Zofia Lissa], *Studia Estetyczne*, pp. 115–128.
- Jabłoński Maciej and Tatarska Janina (eds.) (1996)**, *Muzyka i totalitaryzm* [*Music and Totalitarianism*], Poznań.
- Kurth Ernst (1931)**, *Musikpsychologie*, Berlin.
- Meyer Leonard B. (1956)**, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, Chicago – London, Polish transl. by Antoni Buchner and Karol Berger: *Emocja i znaczenie w muzyce*, Cracow (PWM) 1974.
- Monko-Ejgenberg Tamara (ed.) (2008)**, 'Mysz radziecka' [The Soviet Mouse], *Ruch Muzyczny* No. 7.
- Polony Leszek (1991)**, *Polski kształt sporu o istotę muzyki. Główne tendencje w polskiej myśli muzyczno-estetycznej od Oświecenia po współczesność* [*The Polish Variant of the Argument about the Essence of Music. The Main Trends in Polish Musical-Aesthetic Reflection from the Age of Enlightenment to the Modernity*], Cracow.

- Polony Leszek (1996)**, 'Powikłania ideologii estetycznych w powojennym pięćdziesięcioleciu' [Complications of Aesthetic Ideologies in the Five Postwar Decades], in: *Muzyka polska 1945–1995. Materiały sesji naukowej 6–10 grudnia 1995 w 20-lecie Zakładu Analizy i Interpretacji Muzyki* [Polish Music 1945–1995. Proceedings of a Research Session Held on 6th–10th December 1995 to Mark the 20th Anniversary of the Faculty of Music Analysis and Interpretation], eds. Krzysztof Droba, Teresa Malecka, Krzysztof Szwałgier, Cracow, pp. 46–47.
- Slonimsky Nicholas (1994)**, *Music since 1900*⁵, New York.
- Socrealizm? (2002)**, Editorial discussion (Michał Bristiger, Andrzej Mencwel, Stefan Morawski, Wojciech Tomasiak, Władysław Malinowski), *De Musica* Vol. III.
- Wallis Mieczysław (1934)**, 'O rozumieniu pierwiastków przedstawiających w dziełach sztuki' [On Understanding the Representational Elements in Works of Art], in: *Księga pamiątkowa prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego* [Prof. T. Kotarbiński Memorial Book], Warsaw, pp. 17–19.
- Wallis Mieczysław (1968)**, *Przeżycie i wartość. Pisma z estetyki i nauki o sztuce (1931–1949)* [Experience and Value. Writings on the Aesthetics and Study of Art (1931–1949)], Cracow.