

Łucjan Kamieński (1885–1964)
as an Ethnomusicologist and Man in his Works
and Letters

Bożena Muszkalska



Figure 7.1 *A portrait of Łucjan Kamieński painted in 1950 by his son Jan Jakub Kamieński*

Łucjan Kamiński is one of the leading figures in the history of Polish musicology. His main place of activity was Poznań at the time when musicology as an academic discipline was beginning to develop in Poland. Apart from publications, archives contain many materials related to his activity. Among the most significant are: Kamiński's correspondence, mostly with Adolf Chybiński,¹ letters to and from Moritz von Hornbostel,² as well as to his son, Jan Jakub Kamiński.³ The correspondence with Chybiński and von Hornbostel comes from the period of Kamiński's work at the University of Poznań and presents an interesting picture of the history of Polish ethnomusicology.⁴ His letters to all the three persons mentioned above provide us with important "footnotes" to those research ideas that Kamiński expounded in his published works. The discourse of these letters — strict and precise at times, but also free and colourful, full of witty or "unprintable" statements, of foreign terms, quite different from the language of his publications — as well as the self-analytic type of narration appearing in many fragments — bring to mind associations with Bronisław Malinowski's *Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (Malinowski 2008). The letters strike the reader as thoroughly authentic, and they speak volumes of the Professor's time in Poznań, of the events that irrevocably changed his life, and about himself as a researcher and a man. They reveal him as a man wearing no masks, a devoted friend and caring father, a great erudite and a modern academic, who combined the desire to conduct research on a European level with a conviction that this research must be dedicated primarily to one's native music.

The headings of letters testify to the friendly relations that Kamiński and Chybiński maintained for nearly twenty years before the war: "Dear and

¹ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, shelf mark K/1-90.

² 12 letters from the period between 28th September 1928 and 14th June 1932 were made available to me courtesy of Dr Susanne Ziegler of the Berlin Phonogramm Archiv.

³ These letters were donated to the Chair of Musicology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań by Jan Kamiński's wife, Nadia Kamińska. Many materials, including the photos in this article, were also provided by Jan's daughter, Barbara. I am grateful to both the wife and the daughter for their contribution. Some of the information comes from Jan Kamiński himself, whom I contacted on the telephone and by post not long before his death.

⁴ The archive of UAM Adam Mickiewicz University also contains Kamiński's personal files and the minutes of the meetings of the Historical-Philosophical Department Council and the University's Senate, some of which refer to Kamiński.

near", "My dear friend", "Caro mio", "Dolciu! Piu Dolciu! Dolcissimu! Amicissimuuu!"⁵ The closing formulas were similar in nature, e.g. „I hug you con molta espressione and please kiss from me Your Good Lady's hand"⁶ or "Fare you well, Amico Mio, and hear how your bones creak under my hugs".⁷ How close this relationship could actually be, becomes evident when we read, for example, the letter of 23rd December 1934, written in the form of a "recitative" and an "aria" (see Figure 7.2):

Oh, cruel Adolf! Will my torture never end,
 Dolcio! How much sweetness in thy name
 How much comfort, and yet thou art the scourge
 Of my heart? Poor me, why am I to blame
 That in Lvov there are idiot printers, like blind moles,
 And so thou punish'st me, though I have spent
 So many sleepless nights copying those notes
 And each one was like gold, each — a sigh
 That swift Zephyrus would carry to you.
 And now thou bids't me, o ungrateful, cruel,
 Engage in calligraphy! O, Jove,
 You who among the clouds on Mount Olympus
 Reign, withhold your bolts of wrath, and spare,
 Oh spare his dear head! My miserable heart
 Craves no revenge, for it can only love
 And suffer... And so on.

Kamieński saw in Chybiński his chief consultant on matters related to research and teaching. He sent to Kamieński detailed accounts of his activity. The preserved letters are in many cases our only source of information about important event in the history of musicology in Poland.

The correspondence between Kamieński and von Hornbostel presents the two scholars as partners in research. Von Hornbostel highly valued Kamieński's research work, whereas Kamieński eagerly drew on the experience and technical innovations introduced by his colleague from Berlin. He also paid

⁵ Lucjan Kamieński to Adolf Chybiński, Poznań 10th October 1921.

⁶ Lucjan Kamieński to Adolf Chybiński, Poznań, 12th April 1923.

⁷ Lucjan Kamieński to Adolf Chybiński, Poznań, 6th April 1934.

K-3/19

Poznań 23. XII. 34.

Recitativo.

Okrutny, ach! Gdyś wieść o wagi cierpienia?
Dolcie! Dolcie! Flej w twoim imieniu
Stuchasz, ukojenia, - czyj potrafisz
być serca mego katem? Cóż ja biciehy
uczywie! że wędrownie są drukarze =
kretyny, ślepe kraty, idioci,
Stawo kają, umie, com tyle uoty
bezcewnych strawił na pisaniu untek
jak z tego, - każda unta, stopi, była
westchnieniem, które Kafir miał ku sobie! -
umie kają, umie, okrutny, niewieścieżki,
uprawiać kalligrafie! -

O Jowiszu,

co w innych chwilał zamczyłku na Olimpie
krolicy, wstygaj gromy sprawiedliwe,
oszczęd, ach oszczęd! jego dozą głowę!
~~Mów~~ ~~we~~ ~~umie~~ ~~Nie!~~ nie chce gwałty... Sińka serce
usić się nie umie, umie tylko ^{kolęci} ^{moje} ~~brzyd~~ - -
i cierpieć - -

Figure 7.2 Manuscript of a letter from Łucjan Kamiński to Adolf Chybiński of 23rd Dec. 1934

- O gorzka słodkoży,
bole rozkoszuy, rozkoszy bolesna!
Słaczysz kocham? Oto los, anauke -
Nie chce już walczyć. Jako chce, najdziejy,
fortunuj, dręć umie, gwałbij, powiewieraj,
leż kochaj! Kaj polychać mi truciżny,
strychiunę, wetył, cyankaligrafję,
Na Ciebie potkne, choć uazajuty moje
niebiosa nowy jasny grom rozszepi:
„Nochmal, kotlaru, uapioż języcę lepiej!”
Aria.

Tak fo burzy rozszalatej,
gdy w oddali miłknie grzmot,
z niebios wiader świat kęcały
z szumem gława święty Piotr:
tak na papier śnieguobiały
wylać chce inkoustu tusz,
żeby oczy nie widziały
kropki w kałamarnu jej.
Z jakuritu wnet męślicznie
bardzo licznia

Figure 7.2 continuation

orto = i kaligraficznie
uuty, uuty, uuty, uuty,
by nie tylko cytek obkuty,
leż i z rozumem wyguty,
uawet szewc, co szycie buty,
wiejsiat, że to uuty, uuty! (Fine)

Ale, ach, redaktor otęka,
wiejsi więcej niżli tłumy: -
„Niech uchowa borka ręką,
kajto są w tem i ne:umy!
Ach przeklęte te ogouti!
Nie pomogą na to cyziouti,
na to już - a kysz, a kysz! -
trzeba klisz, wieśtety klisz!”
- A wiejsisz?

(Dal capo con Furore al Fine.)

Con molti sentimenti ed uicioki
item sordidissimi jyczeniemi na Sincita i
Nowy Rok

Twój wiejszeżółczy krec. Kwas.

Slyszales moje uaszą jwicyją aubęję kaszababę?
- A pracy kuricha nie wiejsztyś je mak jakos
urabowac? Bytoby mi paszandnie przybro. Czy
to komiecznie Lwow uun? Drukowac?

Figure 7.2 continuation

many visits to Phonogrammarchiv, where, as von Hornbostel declared in his letters, he was always a welcome guest.

Kamieński's letters to his son, Jan Jakub,⁸ are very personal and written from the perspective of a loving and caring father. The relation between father and son may well be illustrated by the following fragment:

According to your patron Jean-Jacques Rousseau (your other patron was, as I hope you still recall, our ancestor, Jan Jakub Kamieński, a heavy cavalry captain who perished in the Battle of Kircholm) — so, as Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote in *Émile*, the ideal tutor for a boy is his own father, if only he can become his friend. Therefore I strove to develop this very kind of relationship with you while you were still a child, and, in fact, I have a similar relationship with my students. I did not impose any didactic formalities on you; I preferred to go for a walk with you in my free time, to have a friendly chat with you, in the evening — engage a little in astronomy like Wojski in *Sir Thaddeus*, but also in some frolics and romping about [...] and — it proved a success. The great J.J.'s idea proved to be true. I am far from the ideal that he presents and I devoted too little time to you — and still those friendly games and chats of ours, even at their most absurd, were worth more than all the academic teaching of your school pedagogues. [...] You should not wonder, then, that your 'swashbuckling', or rather — friendly tone not only does not offend me, but, conversely, it gives me a peculiar kind of satisfaction [...]. Write, then, whatever is on your mind, point-blank, directly, like some haidamaka, does not matter what, if it is sincere and comes straight from your heart, because you are writing to a friend. 'Shake-hand', old boy!

Although Łucjan Kamieński worked in many fields, including composition, teaching, music journalism and criticism,⁹ he arguably made his most significant achievements in the field of ethnomusicology. In this paper, I have discussed those facts from Kamieński's life and that part of his academic output that are related to his activities as an ethnomusicologist, though at the same time they also reveal what kind of man he was.

Łucjan Kamieński was born in Gniezno on 7th January 1885 as the son of Maksymilian Dołęga-Kamieński, a customs officer, and Aniela née Giersberg, his second wife. Kamieński did not remember his mother, who died

⁸ Jan Jakub Kamieński (1923–2010) was Łucjan's only son. During the war he travelled on a false passport to Dresden in order to avoid being enrolled in the Wehrmacht as the son of parents who had signed the Volksliste. It was in Dresden that he took up studies at the Academy of Fine Arts after the war. In 1947 he emigrated to Winnipeg in Canada, where he lived until his death.

⁹ The whole of Kamieński's output has been characterised by Janina Gregorkiewicz-Tatarska in her Ph.D. dissertation, *Łucjan Kamieński — muzykolog i kompozytor* [Musicologist and Composer], written under the supervision of Prof. Jan Stęszewski, Ph.D., at the Chair of Musicology, Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań 1989)

shortly after his birth. He was, however, deeply attached to Maximilian's next wife, Marta Więsierska, who came from Kashubia¹⁰ (see Figure 7.3). "The family was thoroughly Polish," Jan Kamieński recalled,

I mean the language they spoke was Polish, to begin with. [...] And the kids learned German, of course, because they had to go to German schools. ... At home, it was a musical home.¹¹

Łucjan Kamieński graduated from a classical gymnasium in Breslau (now — Wrocław) and then, possibly following the example of his elder siblings,¹² he entered a seminary in Poznań. Caught reading Ovid during a holy mass, he made up his mind to leave the seminary, as he realised that he was not a religious man.¹³

Kamieński's next destination was Berlin. He was fascinated by the city's atmosphere; he made the acquaintance of painters, musicians, writers and other interesting people. He made friends with the famous pianist Artur Schnabel and the future conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhaus, Artur Nikisch. It was possibly also there and then that he met Artur Rubinstein, with whom he maintained close contacts after World War I.

In Berlin in 1903–1909, Kamieński studied composition with Max Bruch and Robert Kahn at the Royal Academy of Musical Performing Art and, simultaneously, musicology with Hermann Kretzschmar, Johannes Wolf and Carl Stumpf at the Wilhelm von Humboldt University (Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm Universität till 1946). As an unenrolled student he also attended the lectures of the Swiss art historian Heinrich Wöllflin and the Slavic scholar Aleksander Brückner, specialising in Polish culture. Kamieński acquired a thorough education in French baroque philosophy. Jan Kamieński recalled:

¹⁰ Kashubia (Kaszuby) later became, apart from Wielkopolska, Łucjan Kamieński's main area of research.

¹¹ From an interview conducted by Barbara Kamiński with her father, Jan Jakub Kamiński, in Winnipeg in the summer of 2002.

¹² Also Łucjan's brother and sister joined religious orders. Jędrzej made a spectacular career as a Jesuit and during the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 he became a military chaplain. Helena, known as Mother Maria Bronisława, lived in a convent in Breslau which took care of young girls' education. She was a talented pianist and gave piano lessons [from the interview conducted by Barbara Kamiński].

¹³ From the interview conducted by Barbara Kamiński.



Figure 7.3 *The Kamiński family in Breslau (now Wrocław), c. 1890*

He could lecture you on Schopenhauer or, by God, even Kant, which would be pretty difficult, as I look at the *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* right there [on shelf]. But he had the principles, the idea of the whole thing, so he could discuss it knowledgeably (Ibidem).

In 1910 Łucjan Kamieński defended a doctoral dissertation entitled *Hasses Oratorien im musikhistorischen Zusammenhange* (published in Leipzig in 1912 as *Die Oratorien von Johann Adolf Hasse*), written under the supervision of Hermann Kretzschmar. It was Kretzschmar, a researcher open to the study not only of German music, but of other European traditions, who encouraged Kamieński to explore the Polish-German connections in the folk music of the Polish western frontier, which was to become the main subject of research for the future author of *Pieśni ludu pomorskiego* [*Songs of the Pomerelian Folk*] (Kamieński 1934).¹⁴ Carl Stumpf, in his turn, was the founder of comparative musicology (*vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*) in Berlin. As a trained psychologist, Stumpf conducted research in musical psychology, acoustics and physiology using non-European instruments and music.¹⁵ Together with his pupils Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and Otto Abraham, in 1905 he created a phonographic archive, which was part of the Institute of Psychology he had founded. The archive collected mostly non-European music, recorded during field work by various scholars. These materials were used in the Institute to measure selected sound parameters. Kamieński observed these activities and later carried out similar projects in Poland.

In 1909, even before the defence of his doctoral thesis, Kamieński took up the post of music section editor in the daily *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, published in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad). In the same city he also gave lectures for secondary school teachers, composed music, and wrote dissertations, mostly on the history of music. It was also in Königsberg that Kamieński met the singer Linda Harder (see Figure 7.4), whom he married in 1913. Jan Kamieński describes the inside story of this marriage:

[...] there is an interesting sideline to that. My father's family was somewhat apprehensive about him marrying a person of German descent, until he explained to them that the family was not pure German, but it had a great shot of Swedish blood in its ancestry. And Italian, on my grandmother's side. So that mollified my paternal grandparents. And equally, at the same time, my maternal grandparents were apprehensive about her marrying a Polack. Because he wrote himself Dołęga-Kamieński, and that

¹⁴ Cf. also Piotrowski 1987: 211.

¹⁵ Stumpf's paper entitled 'Lieder der Bellakula Indianer' (1886), was the first presentation, transcription and analysis of works performed by an Indian band performing in Berlin, and is regarded as the first study in the field comparative musicology in Germany.

was foreign, and really not quite acceptable because those were days when the Germans were forcibly trying to germanize the occupied territories. You see, to me, the significant thing, or a significant thing is that my mother, although to all intents and purposes, of German descent, although, mostly Swedish and Italian... "Harder" was the name that came from Sweden. And "Retti" was the one that came, that was the name of my mother's grandmother. So, she raised me as a Pole. And she learned Polish to absolute perfection, I mean, she spoke Polish without the trace of an accent. She had her Polish girlfriends and she had German girlfriends too. So she was, you know, between two worlds. But she also spoke English and she also spoke French. So she was, in that respect, a very, sort of, international person. So, in order to avoid any further conflict, they decided not to be married in any church at all, no religious ceremony, neither Protestant nor Catholic. [...] [They had] a civil marriage, performed by the appropriate civil servant, to be held in the Masonic Lodge, to which my father belonged. Totenkopf-Loge.¹⁶

Owing to his open support for Poles in East Prussia who struggled for reunification with Poland, Łucjan Kamiński was branded as an agitator and had to leave Königsberg. After a short time in Berlin, he went to Poznań, where he resided from 6th June 1920 (Piotrowski 1985: 211 ff.).

Kamiński and his wife moved to Poznań because of an offer that Kamiński had received from the Ministry of the former Prussian Province to organise Polish musical life in that city (together with another musicologist, Henryk Opieński). He accepted this offer enthusiastically, since he saw settling in Poznań — "the capital of the Western Polish borderland" — as an opportunity to carry out his earlier plan of studying the musical folklore of the Polish-German frontier. Shortly after his arrival, he took up the post of deputy director in the freshly opened State Music School and Academy (which in 1922 became the State Music Conservatory). In 1921, Kamiński also began to lecture at Poznań University, where in 1922 he was appointed to the new Chair of Musicology¹⁷ — a position he occupied till 1939. In the same year, he became deputy professor, and later — associate professor of that university. It was then that he addressed the authorities with a plan to purchase a phonograph and establish a phonographic archive.

In a letter of 10th June 1922, Kamiński reported to Chybiński:

after numerous disappointments and refusals, we eventually managed to obtain our

¹⁶ From the interview conducted by Barbara Kamiński.

¹⁷ Originally called of a "Musicological Seminar".



Figure 7.4 *Linda Kamieńska, Łucjan's wife*

own seat in the Castle, consisting of a reasonably large room and a small study, which is in fact the former pantry in the dining room of His Majesty the Crown Prince... The Department and the Senate also granted me, for the coming year, a phonograph with materials necessary to start a phonographic archive (I was supported in this request by ethnology and three chairs of linguistics), a sum of money for the photographs and diapositives for paleographic studies, as well as an assistant librarian and a teacher of harmony and counterpoint — this post will be filled by Waclaw Piotrowski. In other words: we are getting organised.

While Kamieński was busy organising the Poznań musicology, he was also considered as the main candidate for a professorship at Warsaw University, which is confirmed by this fragment of his letter to Chybiński of 12th April 1923:

As for the Warsaw chair, in his last letter Lempicki¹⁸ says that after all that had taken place before Ł. addressed me, I'm still the only serious candidate. This was his response to my accepting the chair in Poznań. [...] I will accept it if they give me, or I am granted, a proper flat. [...] My motives: 1) The possible consequence of my refusal, which you emphasised (a Jew occupying the chair in the capital); 2) most likely in Warsaw they will be more open to my teaching than in Poznań; 3) Warsaw's libraries; 4) the artistic atmosphere in Warsaw, *malgre tout* rather more bearable than in our 'Hottentotia' here in Greater Poland. [...]

Kamiński was looking for the right person to replace him in Poznań in case he decided to move to Warsaw. He would most gladly have seen Chybiński on that post, but the latter categorically refused, fearing he might lose his professorship in Lvov. Other scholars, apart from Chybiński, whom Kamiński considered for that post, were: Father Waclaw Gieburowski (before the Faculty of Theology was opened) and Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, to whom, after she had obtained her habilitation degree, Kamiński was inclined to give the post of "deputy professor". His Warsaw plans, however, never came true.

Kamiński's work at the Poznań Chair of Musicology concentrated on historical and psychoacoustic research into Polish folk music. In 1925–1926, he delivered a number of papers on Polish songs and folk instruments during his public university lectures.¹⁹ The problems of Polish church songs, "folk-popular" music and national dances were also the subject of his seminars. He described his classes to Chybiński:

[...] Apart from typical school classes, I have studied Kolberg with my boys for a longer time (recently I managed to purchase his 1st series). Recently, as a group project, I asked them to present the different variants of the song *Oj, chmielu, chmielu* from the evolutionary perspective, and each student got one region to study. These, however, are also only academic exercises, and they still have a long way to go before they can conduct productive research. It is only natural that the topics of classes preparing students for such independent work will usually reflect the Professor's own special interests — and in my case these include: a) Polish folk song and music in its present and past manifestations (also — the popular church songs), b) the study of the origins and roots of Polish national music. In other words, I am particularly interested in Polish-ness in music. I believe that a nation's art reflects its essential nature as in a mirror, whereas the study of art

¹⁸ Zygmunt Lempicki was a literary scholar, a German philologist, professor at the Philosophical Department, Warsaw University, and in 1926–1927 — dean of that Department.

¹⁹ See: Poznań University Chronicle for the academic year 1925–1926, Poznań 1927, pp. 31, 35.

ought to draw conclusions from this reflected image and define that essence: this is part of the work on the nation's consolidation and development of its self-consciousness.²⁰

Simultaneously with his teaching work, Łucjan Kamieński conducted regular field research. His primary area of study was Greater Poland region (Wielkopolska) where, contrary to Adolf Chybiński's view, he discovered the activity of numerous pipers. In his letter to Chybiński of 29th August 1925, he reported:

...I travel round the region and study the music of... pipers. Ecco! Sorry to say this, but you were wrong. Bagpipe players here, in the Poznań area, have not died out, but — quite the contrary — their art still flourishes in the south of the region, and especially in the *powiat* (administrative units) of Leszno, Gostyń, Kościan and Śmigiel — they have as many pipers as there are fleas, one or two in each 'major' village, and in the other *powiat* in the south they are also frequent, though not as densely distributed as in those listed above. This movement, far from being in decline, in many places has regenerated so perfectly that bagpipes are again preferred to the fashionable trumpets, clarinets and bandoneóns.

Kamieński was evidently worried about the impression this news might make on Chybiński, as he tried to tone down his words:

Still your mistake is but a trifle in relation to such a fabulous study as your recent work on the instruments of the Tatra highlanders. I am curious where this information about the apparent demise of bagpiping in Wielkopolska came from? You must have found it in the work of some pseudo-expert on this region? What effort it author must have made, indeed, not to be aware of the work of our bagpipers if they even sometimes walk around Poznań itself. It will, however, be your merit that this phenomenon will now be fully described, as, encouraged by your research, I am now embarking on a large-scale study.

In the academic year of 1928–1929, new classes of musical folklore were added to the programme of studies. These included topics related not only to Polish folk songs, but also to the music of selected Asiatic cultures. The materials for classes on non-European music were brought by Kamieński from the Phonogrammarchiv in Berlin. On 15th December 1929, he wrote about this to Chybiński:

²⁰ Łucjan Kamieński to Adolf Chybiński, Poznań, 29th Aug. 1925. Kamieński's contribution to the consolidation of the Polish state was recognised and he was granted state awards: The Officer's Cross of the Order of the White Eagle (1930) and the Gold Cross of Merit (1936).

To begin with, I have borrowed from them a collection of samples consisting of 120 cylinders from all over the world. I will later take another very good Lithuanian collection (80 cylinders), and so on, and so forth. Ot Ce! Thus the exotic culture will find its place side by side with our folklore.

Kamieński also planned to order from Berlin gramophone records with non-European music (from Java, Siam, Japan and other places) and early music, released by Lindström company.

Towards the end of the 1920s, Kamieński produced his first phonograms, recorded with Marian Sobieski in Kujawy (1928) and with Hanna Rudnicka in the Wolsztyn area (1929). In 1929, a phonographic studio was opened at the Chair of Musicology, Poznań University, and a year later — the Public Regional Phonographic Archive (RAF), subsidised by the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Instruction.²¹ The foundation of this Archive in Poznań marked the start of a period of systematic work on collecting field recordings.²² Kamieński's students regularly embarked on field trips with the Professor (within Wielkopolska — see Figure 7.5) or by themselves in other regions of Poland. Among the field researchers there were: Zygmunt Sitowski, Jadwiga Pietruszyńska (-Sobieska), Marek Kwiek, Bożena Czyżykowska, and Marian Sobieski.²³ The bagpipers and singers from Greater Poland were recorded directly in the Poznań studio.²⁴

By the outbreak of World War II, the Archive had a collection of 4020 phonograms from field work in Greater Poland, Upper Silesia, Mazovia, Kuyavia, the Tatra Foothills, the Pieniny, Southern Pomerania and central Kashubia. Apart from phonograms with Polish music, RAF also held recordings of non-European music (obtained mostly by way of exchange with the Phonogrammarchiv in Berlin), which Kamieński used during his classes with students, as well as Swedish music used as comparative material for the study

²¹ Adam Mickiewicz University Archive, No. 60, reports of the Dean of the Humanities Department for the academic year 1934–1935; Poznań University Chronicle for 1928–1929, Poznań 1930, p. 61. Cf. also Sobieska 1972 and Bielawski 1973: 22 ff.

²² Polish folk music had only sporadically been recorded before. Highlander folklore was recorded in 1904 by Roman Zawiliński and in 1913–1914 by Juliusz Zborowski (one of the performers was Bartłomiej Obrochta). Dahlig 1998: 525.

²³ The dates and destinations of those field trips as well as the names of participants are quoted by Obst (1974: 20–46).

²⁴ Swedish music was also recorded in this studio. See Kamieński 1936: 135.



Figure 7.5 *Łucjan Kamieński with his son Jan Jakub and students in June 1939*

of Balto-slavic cultures. From the correspondence between Hornbostel and Kamieński from 1931–1932 we know that the Poznań Archive also owned 12 phonograms with the music of Yemeni Jews, recorded by Jan Pomorski, who in 1932 took part in an expedition to Arabic countries led by Hans Helfritz.²⁵ During the war the Poznań collection burnt or was lost, which Łucjan Kamieński reported in his letter to Jan of 18th April 1947:

²⁵ Hornbostel asked Kamieński to let a medical student from Poznań, Jan Pomorski, take part in a field trip. In return for this favour, Kamieński was to receive recordings of Yemeni Jews, made by Pomorski, for the Poznań archive. In a letter of 14th June 1932, Hornbostel informed Kamieński of the fruits of the expedition: “Wie Sie vermutlich wissen, ist Herr Helfritz von seiner kühnen und erfolgreichen Reise nach Südarabien glücklich zurückgekehrt. Er hat 100 technisch gute und inhaltlich sehr interessante Phonogramme mitgebracht. 12 davon stammen von jemenitischen Juden. Ihrem Wunsch entsprechend werden wir diese 12 nicht mit den übrigen in unser Inventar aufnehmen, sondern sie als Ihr Eigentum im Depot behalten.” He then informs about the possibility of making copies for the Poznań archive.

the house at the corner of Jasna and Słowackiego Streets, where the Germans placed the Chair of Musicology, was also burnt, and with it — the collection of phonograms, one half of my life's 'oeuvre'. And the other half? I'd better stop thinking about it. And still one has to, with all one's energy... Oh, the scoundrels!²⁶

In 1936 Kamiński was granted a full professorship, and in 1938–1939 — occupied the post of Dean of the Humanities Department at Poznań University. His other prestigious function in the Poznań period (held in 1928–1931) was that of President of the Polish Musicological Society — the first association of Polish musicologists (Adolf Chybiński and Zdzisław Jachimecki were Vice-presidents). The Society's aims were to support academic progress in the field of Polish musicology and to represent it in international musicological organisations.

As a renowned scholar, Kamiński was invited to give lectures at the universities of Berlin, Frankfurt, Prague and Bratislava. He also took part in international symposia, such as the musicological congress held in Vienna on 26th–31st March 1927,²⁷. He shared his impressions from this stay in Vienna with Chybiński, in a letter of 25th April 1927:

The level was poor. Some senior scholars, such as P. Wagner, made a truly positive contribution. Most speakers, however — and young scholars were in the majority — told fairy tales and made political commentaries. I came to the conclusion that not only music, but also musicology have fallen prey to a war psychosis. What they engage in — some sort of spiritism, dialectic, a revision of hitherto certain, unshakeable methods — it's all a veritable mire, with no proof and no precise arguments. Everyone discovers America, but only in their imagination. [...] They write some dissonance instead of the tonic, divide the scale into quartertones, or 78-and-a-half tones, and are hailed as geniuses. [...] I also went to see the opera by one Hundemist, or whatever that Jew is called.²⁸ [...]. The singers yell out kilometre-long coloraturas, [...] and the orchestra

²⁶ Directly after World War II, on the initiative of Marian Sobieski, the Western Phonographic Archive was opened at Poznań's Faculty of Musicology. This was later incorporated into the State Institute of Folk Art Studies, opened in 1947 in Warsaw.

²⁷ In Vienna, Kamiński delivered a paper entitled 'Neue Beiträge zur Entwicklung der Polonaise bis Beethoven,' www.dtoe.at/Publikationen/Kongressberichte.php#beethoven1927 last accessed on 20th Nov. 2011.

²⁸ Kamiński writes here about Hindemith, whose music he held in low regard, as he explained in a letter to his son of 4th April 1948: "You chose a wrong person, son, when you asked me to justify the music of Hindemith and his gang of atonalists, as I am one of those thickheads and stick-in-the-muds who do not see any justification for it at all and do not perceive those sounds as music. You know that I always had the good will to study the intentions and the logic of every sound composition, and I am not insensitive to the music of any human race, from the Samoyedic

tune their instruments all the time, until after two hours they eventually come to the tonic — and that's all.²⁹

Kamieński's streak of success was interrupted by the outbreak of the war, after which his family history took a dramatic turn. In 1939, he was arrested by the Gestapo under the charge of anti-German activity. His publications on the musical culture of Pomerelia and Kashubia, in which he strove to prove the Polish character of those regions by analysing the musical material, were shown at the exhibition of "Enemies of the Reich" in Poznań. At the intervention of his wife Linda, of German descent, Kamieński was released from prison, but remained under police supervision. He found employment as an archivist in the Raczyński Library. The constant threats of the German persecutors led in 1941 to his decision to sign the Volkslista. This desperate move, which may have saved his and his family's lives during the war, was condemned after the war by the Polish academic and cultural circles as treason, and provided Kamieński's enemies with a pretext to accuse him of "collaboration with the Nazis and acting to the detriment of the Polish state." The investigation did not provide any proof of the Professor's collaboration with the Germans. He was, however, sentenced to three years in prison, confiscation of property and loss of citizen rights for signing the Volkslista. Here is a fragment of his letter to his son, of 5th February 1947, describing these dramatic events:

peoples to the Malays and the various African Niam-Niams, to the Chinese and the Japanese, and all those nations and tribes that praise their God in so many different ways. The point is that all these forms of music have their constitution, their principles, and each is based on its own forms of tonality, that is, on agreed, or rather developed through centuries of practice — sets of tones selected from the countless sounds of the entire audible scale, and they create and comprehend their melodies in those very keys, without which limitation our sense of hearing would be lost in a chaos. Secondly, everywhere melodies have a structure based on repetition and variation of small groups of notes called motifs, within a symmetrical division of time. [...] All those foundations of pan-human music were rejected by the atonalists. I have purposefully presented the problem from such a broad perspective in order to show you that those supposed reformers, who think that they have only overthrown the old European musical system, have in fact given up all order in music and burnt the very roof over their heads..."

²⁹ Later in the same letter, however, Kamieński admits that one positive effect of the Viennese congress was the establishment of the Slavic Musicological Society, which inspired Kamieński to form the Polish Musicological Society.

Your letter came exactly a year after the start of the smear campaign launched against us — that is, me, Mum, and you — by the son of a composer who died this year in January (you know him well). With the help of various other scoundrels and idiots that he talked into it, he went on with it, devoid of any taste and conscience, until it led to my court case. You wouldn't believe what kind of slander, what insults, what choice of words to defile and disgrace us, and all of this — recorded in caricature, a proper waste of pencils. One huge mess. And without a reply — the addressee was not present. The first lampoon was published on 3rd February, on the 5th we were taken to the secret police headquarters, and on the 22nd — we landed in the prison in Młyńska St., which your mum did not leave alive. Already for a long time, especially after the loss of the flat and of all our property, she had been losing weight at an alarming speed, and just before her death a medical examination showed that her stomach had gone four fingers down. Undoubtedly it was her old TB that returned and gave those symptoms. Had we been free, we might have found some remedy for this, but in prison there was no hope and the avalanche had to go all the way down. Our only beloved mother died on 27th July of lung, bone and bowel consumption. And I, put in another prison department, did not even know what was happening to my poor thing! I was only informed after the fact, and shown her body already placed in a coffin³⁰[...]. In the meantime, the date of my trial came: 27th and 28th September 1945. From the denunciations made by that lampoonist I mentioned above, and by his companions, the prosecutor selected three points which he hoped to prove. The court, however, freed me of the charge of collaborating with the invaders and acting to the detriment of Poles (!), but sentenced me to three years in prison for my apparent application to sign the Volkslista, though, as you know, I never applied for it, and such an application was obviously never found among our VL documents!

Jan Kamiński commented on these events:

He was a university professor, he was the faculty dean. And that was already a strike against him. He was married to a woman who was of German descent. He did his PhD in Germany. He published in Germany, he published his musical work in Germany. He, sometime in the '20s, he was also a reviewer, apart from his university career. He also wrote reviews. Among his reviews, he wrote one of an opera which he knew was a remake. It was a very patriotic Polish opera. But he knew that this opera was a remake, by the same composer, of an opera which that composer had written in German for German consumption, and also very patriotic in German. And Papa made the mistake of coming out in print with this, saying, "Look, this is not a very strong work anyway. Besides which, it's a remake of Mr. So-and-So's German opera into Polish". This earned him the hatred not only of the composer, but particularly of the composer's sons. One of those sons became a musicologist and my father was the promotor of his PhD. Nevertheless, after all those years — this review ran in '27 — in '47, this man wrote a denunciation of my father as a German collaborator. [...] It was a time when those things

³⁰ During his visit to Poland in 1993, Jan Kamiński looked for his mother's grave, but he only managed to establish that in the period when Linda died prisoners were buried in a mass grave [from the interview conducted by Barbara Kamiński].

were just a daily occurrence. Denunciations were the order of the day. Anyway, now came the witnesses. No witnesses could be found for the denunciation.³¹

As I have mentioned, all the musical world, including Prof. Chybiński, turned their backs on Kamiński because of his signing the Volkslista. In a letter to Jerzy Młodziejowski of 11th May 1945, Chybiński clearly distances himself from his old friend: "I would be very glad if until that time [i.e. till Chybiński took over the directorship of the Faculty of Musicology in Poznań (1945–1952) — my note] the "case of Dołęga" came to its close, and not during my stay there (be mindful of my thin skin)." In another letter, of 22nd January 1946 to Ludwik Bronarski, he claimed that he took the Chair over from Kamiński, "who turned out a Volksdeutscher".³² In 1960 Kamiński was eventually cleared by the court of all charges, but never regained his good name in the academic circles (Tatarska 1988).

Unable to continue an academic career in Poznań, Kamiński moved to Toruń, where he worked as a teacher in the State Secondary School of Music (in 1949–1957), composed and continued independent research on Kashubia folk music, recording 150 soft discs. In 1957 he left Poland, travelling to his son in Canada. A year later he returned to Toruń, where he stayed until his death. He died after a long illness on 29th July 1964.

Though Kamiński's output comprises only short articles (in their original versions: reports with musical illustrations), introductions to song collections and reviews, it presents a comprehensive vision of the new discipline that he practised and popularised during his work at Poznań University. In Guido Adler's classification, this discipline is the domain of systematic musicology and therefore rightly called "Musikologie" by the Professor (without any other qualifiers), as it constitutes the "musicology *par excellence*", "musicology proper" (Kamiński 1936: 129). Kamiński himself used different terms for his discipline: "comparative musicology," "musical ethnology," "musical ethnography", or "ethnomusicology."

³¹ From the interview conducted by Barbara Kamiński.

³² Both letters have been made available to me by Krystyna Winowicz, who was presented with them by Chybiński's family.

Like his Berlin teacher Carl Stumpf, regarded as the father of “comparative musicology”, Kamieński proposed to extend the “official” (traditional) musicology so as to include such disciplines as instrument studies. In his view, musicology ought to comprise all research into “musical phenomena and phenomena related to music from the material, physical and physiological spheres,” conducted by means of the instruments of natural science and mathematics (Ibidem). For Kamieński the history of music was only one section of musicology, though he admitted it was to that section that comparative musicology owed its position at universities. Musicological studies at his Chair originally focused on the historical perspective, which he also represented in his early publications.

His research into historical sources,³³ however, was — as he himself confirmed — “ethnic-comparative” in character, and aimed at the reconstruction of the history of Polish church song, the development of folk and national music.³⁴ In his research, the centre of gravity shifted to musical folklore, which was related to Kamieński’s conviction that in order to understand the “deeper, impersonal level of music”, its “general human norms” and “ethnic models”, one must go beyond European artistic music, which was the main point of interest for traditional musicology (Kamieński 1936: 129). In the context of this discussion of the directions Kamieński mapped out for “new musicology”, it should be stressed that he used the term “ethnomusicology”, traditionally ascribed to Jaap Kunst and dated to 1950,³⁵ already in the early 1930s during his lectures at Poznań University.³⁶ A typescript of Kamieński’s unfinished paper dated to 1934 discusses a precious collection of musical instruments held in Warsaw’s Ethnographic Museum, documented by students from Poznań, as well as the central phonographic archive recently opened in that museum, whose collection, Kamieński claimed, could

³³ Kamieński discovered, among others, Old Polish dances in Swedish tablatures of 1720 and polonaises in 18th century manuscripts unearthed in Berlin.

³⁴ Examples can be found in Kamieński’s articles ‘On the Old Polish Polonaise’ of 1928 and ‘Who Composed Our National Hymn?’ of 1934; reprinted in Kamieński 2011.

³⁵ In the subheading of the book *Musicologica: A Study of the Nature of Ethno-musicology, its Problems, Methods and Representative Personalities*, published in 1950 in Amsterdam. Cf. Krader 1980: 275.

³⁶ Based on the oral testimony of Jadwiga Pietruszyńska (-Sobieska), Kamieński’s student and later assistant lecturer, quoted by Jan Stęszewski (Stęszewski 2009: 123).

be used in research and to illustrate the “ethno-musicological” lectures delivered throughout Poland. The date we find on the typescript is 13th Dec. 1934, and a handwritten note made by Jadwiga Sobieska informs that the paper was to be published in the *Bulletin de Musée d’Ethnographie à Varsovie* (Stęszewski 2009: 123). In 1935 Kamiński defined “ethnomusicology” at a course for folklore students active in the north and west of Poland, held in Inowrocław (see Dahlig 2002: 211). The first published definition of “ethnomusicology” (spelt without the previously applied hyphen), quoted by Walerian Batko, presumably after Kamiński, appeared in February 1939: “Ethnomusicology is a young discipline aiming to classify the collected folk songs by means of scientific methods” (Batko 1939: 62 ff.).³⁷ The new discipline, as Kamiński understood it, was not only to compare phenomena in order to explain their diversity (which had been the objective of comparative musicology, introduced as a separate discipline by Adler), but also — to collect folk song and music, which brought it within the spheres of ethnography and ethnology.

Kamiński’s ambition was to bring Polish musicology to the highest European level. He eagerly studied the work of his Berlin colleagues, took part in international conferences, made use of libraries abroad and of up-to-date equipment for music recording and analysis. At the same time he believed that the aspiration to high European standards had to be accompanied by thoroughgoing research into Poland’s own musical culture (Kamiński 1936: 131).

Having “founded a satisfying basis for historical studies”, Kamiński began to carry out his vision of the new discipline, introducing classes of musical folklore into the programme of studies and continuing his efforts to establish at the Chair of Musicology an archive collecting Polish folk music. In his article ‘We Build the Study of Polish Folk Song’ he described his project as follows: “To build a science means to build observatories and institutions aiming to [...] trace back the evolution of folk singing and collect its manifestations in the future” (Kamiński 1934: 206). The view that musi-

³⁷ Batko attended Kamiński’s lectures in Krzemieniec (1935) and in Warsaw (1937–1939), where — as Dahlig (1998: 520) claims — he may have heard this definition.

cal archives would become a necessary tool had been formulated already in the late 19th century by Carl Stumpf (Stumpf 1892),³⁸ Kamieński's teacher. Kamieński also maintained contacts with Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, director (in 1906–1933) of the Berlin archive founded by Stumpf. He informed Chybiński about the development of this cooperation in his letter of 15th December 1929:

I am coming back from Berlin, from another trip. [...] This time I went there to discuss the project of my 'phonographic archive' and to establish closer contacts with Hornbostel, with whom, as I have already written to you on another occasion, we play four hands. They fix the music on our cylinders, preserving the right to make a copy also for themselves, and in return — present us with their own selected copies. [...] I brought them the first batch of our cylinders for electroplating, learnt many tricks of the trade related to the use of the recording apparatus, obtained from Hornbostel his special membrane mechanism for regulating the depth of the engraving, ordered a sensitive tonometer (also of Hornbostel's design) and talked to the phonograph and cylinder supplier. He will very soon receive a large batch of these (500 cylinders and two more phonographs) [...] I must also betray to you that while in Zagreb at Sirela's I examined the Viennese disc system. It cannot stand the competition with the cylinder-operated 'Exelrier'! Firstly, the machine is awfully heavy and complicated, a real disaster for a field researcher. Also the discs are very thick and heavy, and, last but not least, their recordings are nowhere near as good as ours — they are so unclear that Sirela himself admitted he had no idea how to notate them. Admittedly, Odeon's and similar records, meeting all the standards of manufacture, are in turn greatly superior to our cylinders, but this is another matter. You cannot take a whole record factory to Heresy or Odsieczna, even if you own one. For our purposes, the Excelsior has proved sufficient. At the moment it is the most practical instrument, and after phonographic work has been organised here on a larger scale, I will definitely opt to select it as our basic tool.

The models that Kamieński followed came mainly from Berlin, but also in Poland Adolf Chybiński, with whom Kamieński maintained regular contacts before the war, campaigned for the phonographic documentation of Polish national heritage.³⁹

When planning the phonographic archive in Poznań, Kamieński assumed it would only serve regional needs and inspire the establishment of a whole network of similar institutions in other regions of Poland. The central archive, to be located in Warsaw, was to function as a sound library, collecting copies

³⁸ In this article Stumpf also described in detail the principles of musical transcription.

³⁹ Chybiński was also the first to publish an instruction for folk song collectors (Chybiński 1925).

of phonograms from the regional archives.⁴⁰ In order to accelerate work on “saving some songs and instrumental pieces from oblivion”, he recommended, in the initial period, that the clergy, organists, teachers and other “selected individuals” ought to conduct questionnaires. These interviewers were to work side by side with “professional forces”, that is, Chybiński and Kamieński, as well as their students and “semi-professionals” trained at appropriate courses.⁴¹ All the archives were to record music on Edison’s phonographs manufactured by Excelsior, of the type applied by Hornbostel in the Berlin archive, and use the same protocol form to catalogue the collections.⁴² The label or protocol prepared by Kamieński, attached to each phonogram, consisted of four sections:

- A. The recording: 1. Place, 2. Date, 3. Name of recording author, 4. Cylinder speed.
- B. The performance: 1. Manner of performance, 2. Type of voice, 3. Description of the instrument: a) type, b) dimensions, c) origins and age, d) scale and tuning, e) individual musical features, f) external traits.
- C. The performer(s): 1. Name(s) and surname(s), 2. Place of birth, 3. Date of birth, 4. Nationality and religion, 5. Family relations, 6. Occupation, 7. Musical function, 8. Place of residence, 9. National, religious and economic relations in the area of residence.
- D. Musical piece(s): 1. Character and use, 2. Origins, 3. Text, 4. General comments (in each section) (Heising 1939: 7).

The earliest recordings made for the Poznań archive come (most probably) from 2nd and 7th January 1930. They are 22 vocal and instrumental pieces performed by Marian Kulawiak, a bagpiper active in Poznań from 1928, his wife Marianna Kulawiak and their daughter Konstancja Horem-ska. The melodies were first sung by the piper, his wife or daughter, and then — played on the bagpipe. The cylinders with these recordings were sent on 14th October 1930 from Poznań to Berlin for electroplating. Attached were

⁴⁰ The Central Phonographic Archive in Warsaw was founded by Julian Pulikowski in 1934.

⁴¹ Łucjan Kamieński to Adolf Chybiński, Poznań 29th Aug. 1925.

⁴² See Kamieński 936: 133. Zygmunt Sitowski was the first to describe the activity of the archive in his article ‘Fonograf zbiera pieśni’ [A Phonograph Collects Songs] (Sitowski 1933: 50–52).

the incipits of the songs, translated from Polish into German by Mieczysław Koliński, working at that time on a voluntary basis in the Berlin archive (Dahlig 2002: 212). These cylinders have been preserved to our day (Ziegler 2006: 162 ff.) in the Section of “Musikethnologie, Medientechnik und Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv” of the Ethnologisches Museum — Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, and constitute the only remaining fragment of the extensive collection of the Poznań archive (see Figure 7.6).

The quality of the recordings on electroplated cylinders was — for reasons unknown — low even as early as 1931. This, as well as the high price of cylinder electroplating apparatus, inspired Kamieński and his colleagues to look for new solutions. In 1935, Kamieński informed Chybiński about the new method of copying recordings from cylinders:

I dedicated this time to further field work in Kashubia, this time — extending a dense net over Central Kashubia — the so-called ‘Laski’ between Kościerzyna and Kartuzy — and I have the impression that the season’s haul contains, apart from smaller fish, also more important endemic material [...] The phonograph recordings from this recent expedition have all already been copied onto records and I can soon begin to notate them. I do not know if I have already reported this to you, but I solved my problem with fixing the phonograms by copying the cylinders via a microphone and an amplifier onto gelatin discs in two copies: one — to be worn out by use, and the other — not to be used until that first one is completely worn out. This kind of disc is very hard and can easily be played back 150–200 times. When it is already worn out, a new one can easily be made in the basis of that other unused copy, which is then played back for the first time, and so on. The chances for the long life, or even a near-indestructibility of our recordings, have thus become very high. The cylinders that have been made available again in this way are covered with wax and used again in our field work. They can be reused up to 15 times. The recorders were costly, but now they save us a lot of money. Now I am planning the purchase of a small automobile with built-in electric recording equipment.⁴³

In 1936 Kamieński announced that for his summer field expeditions he would use a phonograph constructed by Marek Kwiek and gelatin discs synthesised by Marian Sobieski. In the article ‘Z badań nad muzyką i śpiewem ludu polskiej’ [Studies on the Music and Songs of the Polish People], Kamieński wrote:

⁴³ Lucjan Kamieński to Adolf Chybiński, Poznań 21st October 1935.

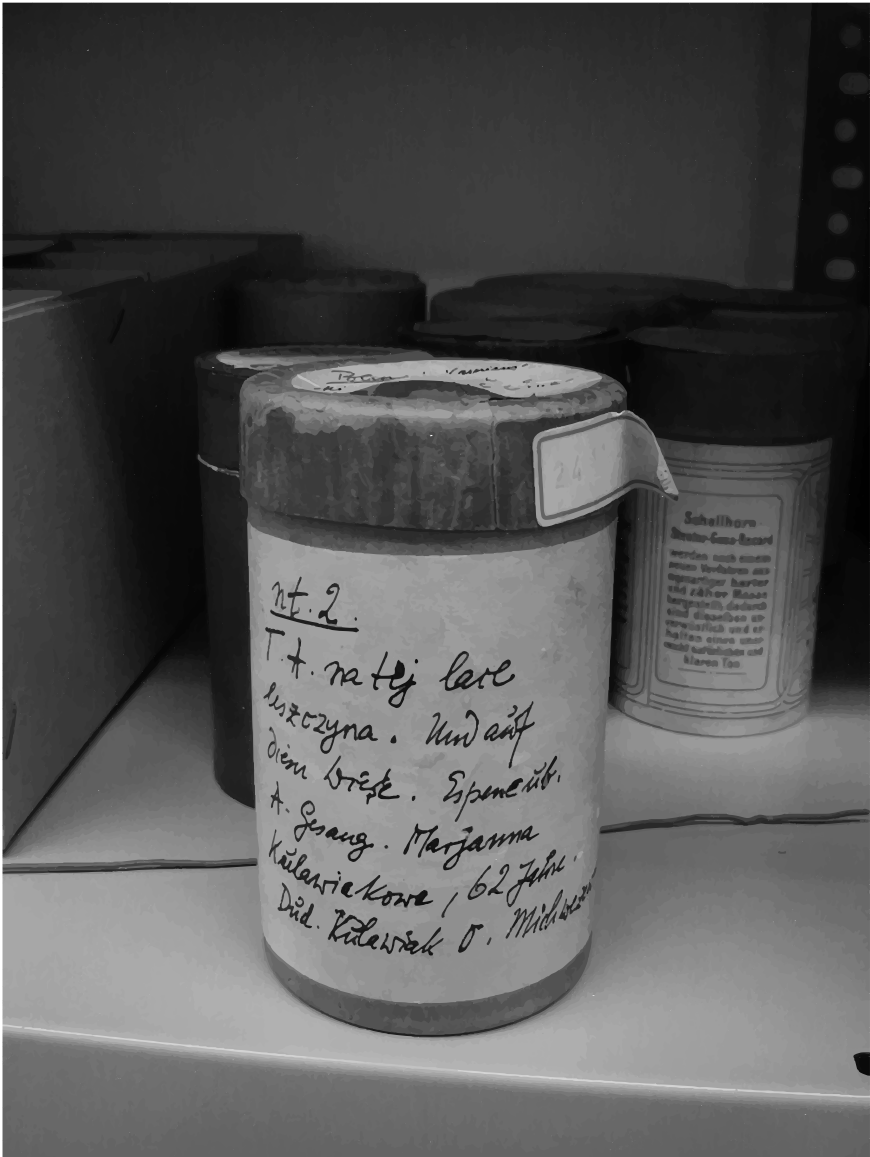


Figure 7.6 A cylinder with the recording of “Na tej łące leszczyna” [Hazelnuts in that Meadow] performed by Marianna Kulewiak (vocals) and Marian Kulewiak (bagpipe)

Both inventions will make us independent from foreign producers who have so far supplied us with both the phonographs and the cylinders. This will greatly decrease the costs of running the archive. For the sake of research, I attach much importance to the development of our acoustic-phonotechnical section. The first theoretical works in this area are already in print. Another reason is that this opens up new practical opportunities for our musicology as far as the phono- and radiotechnical progress and the building of instruments are concerned. (Kamieński 1936: 144)

Also all the previously recorded phonograms were copied onto discs (see Bielawski 1973: 18).

Kamieński turned the recordings on cylinders, and later on Decelith records, into important documents. The phonograms provided researchers with basic sources for the analyses and interpretations of folk songs and music that were conducted at a later stage of research. They also made it possible to prepare detailed music transcriptions, which could be verified by later students. In a lecture broadcast on the radio in 1934, Kamieński said:

A modern researcher and collector preserves folk melodies not only in the form of music notation — dead, imprecise and not controlled by anyone — but passes them on to future generations as original, living sound using a sound recorder, i.e. Edison's phonograph. These live documents are stored in phonographic archives, and in the peace and quiet of our study, using various types of equipment, we transcribe these into a music score with such precision and such details that Kolberg could never have dreamt of. Apart from the score, however, we also preserve the sound document itself, which future scholars can use to verify the accuracy of our transcription (Heising 1939: 6).

The phonogram also allowed the researcher to grasp the specific distinctive features of each performance, reflecting the performer's personality — an aspect that was particularly attractive to Kamieński.

It was owing to Kamieński that the Poznań archive became an important centre for the documentation of Polish musical folklore, taking advantage of up-to-date recording and measuring equipment and making use of modern research techniques.

The subject of the phonographic records was, as Kamieński put it, "the original authentic art of the Polish folk", "all that the country folk sing from memory, from oral tradition, independently from the direct, limiting influence of literary culture (i.e. songbooks), and that is a free expression of its original creativity in the form of multiple variants."

The Professor instructed the researchers to make recordings and conduct interviews in person, as well as transcribing the music for future analyses. They were expected to be able to distinguish between older pieces containing characteristic regional features and newer imported ones, which betrayed external influence. The knowledge of historical sources and of Kolberg's collections was indispensable for any novice before he or she could begin comparative studies. The ultimate objective of research was clearly defined as "the establishment of the sources and principles of folk singing" and "faithful observation of today's folklore from the point of view of the biology of folk song" (Kamieński 1936: 134).

According to Kamieński, transcripts made on the basis of recorded phonograms were to reflect "the entirety of the sung (or played) image" and to constitute a "photo" of the phonogram (see Figure 7.7). The Professor enriched traditional music notation by adding a number of new symbols to represent shades of intonation, manner of performance (such as glissandi, appoggiaturas — forefalls and backfalls, shortening and extending the bar, tempo rubato, and other phenomena related to tempi, dynamics and articulation. He also notated the performers' mistakes, claiming that they were a subject for musicological-psychological research. When transcribing the pieces, he used Hornbostel's tonometer and Maelzel's metronome,⁴⁴ and recommended the application of a dynamometer as an urgent innovation. In order to facilitate the transcription of heterophony and two-part pieces, he originally recorded each voice or instrument synchronically on a separate phonograph, and later — on one phonograph with two tubes (Kamieński 1936: 143).

With similar care for every detail, Kamieński also recorded the texts of songs, taking into account the actual local pronunciation. He complained that it was hard to find a common language with the linguists, who, though their assistance was much welcome, insisted on applying general Polish or pre-established norms to the transcription of spoken texts in local dialects, instead of reflecting their real sound. Kamieński was aware of the fact that sung texts were phonetically different from spoken ones, and therefore he regarded such practices as unacceptable. He employed an expert on the re-

⁴⁴ He notated the tempi in metronomic values, without verbal descriptive labels (such as e.g. *Allegro*).

20. Wilk i koza

(wersja Borska)

[RAF, nr. 1315 (Pm. eh. 10 c)]

Nadpiewał: MARCIN LIPSKI (lat 75)

Wilk na za-guo-ńe, wilk na za-guo-ńe, a ko-z'uch-na
w bródz-dzie: „Mo-ja ko-z'uch-na, mo-ja ko-z'uch-na,
pójdz-że wa-szec do mnie! mo-ja ko-z'uch-na.
mo-ja ko-cha-na, pójdz-że wa-szec do mnie!”
„Ach, mój wi-łoś-ku, ach, mój wi-łoś-ku, wej no chłop-ci
pa-sp.” „Mo-ja ko-z'uch-na, mo-ja ko-cha-na.
nie rób-że ha-ta-su! mo-ja ko-z'uch-na,
mo-ja ko-cha-na, nie rób-że ha-ta-su!”

[Wilk na zaguońe, wilk na zaguońe,
a koz'uchna w brózdzie:
/: „Moja koz'uchna, moja koz'uchna,
pójdzże waszec do mnie!” :/

„Ach, mój wilośku, ach, mój wilośku,
wej no chłopci pasz.”
/: „Moja koz'uchna, moja kochana,
nie róbże hałas!” :/

„Ach mój wilośku, ach mój wilośku
wej no żaltj pjasek.”
/: „Moja koz'uchna, moja kochana,
nie daleczko lasiek.” :/

„Ach mój wilośku, ach mój wilośku,
ach ja bjedna koza.”
/: „Moja koz'uchna, moja kochana,
nie trzeba-c nam woza.” :/

Por. wersje nr. 98.

Figure 7.7 Transcription of the song 'Wilk i koza' [A Wolf and a Goat]; Ł. Kamieński 1936a: 42.

gional dialect, a genuine Kashubian, Ludwik Zabrocki, to help him transcribe the texts of Kashubian songs from the collection *Pieśni ludu pomorskiego. I. Pieśni z Kaszub Południowych* [Songs of the Pomerelian Folk. I. The South Kashubia]. Kamiński's innovative approach to the transcription of dialectal texts did not, however, meet with the appreciation of the book's editors, who printed a spiteful disclaimer claiming that there were mistakes in the phonetic transcriptions of texts and that professional linguists had no means to correct them (Kamiński 1936a: 18). Kamiński thus commented on this incident in his letter to Chybiński of 30th June 1936:

You can call me a pig: I deserve it. But first you must know why. I am sending you two collections: 1) the Kashubian songs, 2) the Greater Poland songbook. The 'piggy' stench oozes from the former. On page 18, after the preface, you will find one very strange detail, namely, 'the editor's disclaimer', or a comment by the fisherman Borowik, as untrue as it is idiotic, and the funniest thing is that he inserted that text behind my back after the last proofreading. I lodged sharp protests in writing with the managing board and with the distributors [...] Our department passed a resolution 'condemning' B's commentary as 'most inappropriate', and on this basis I sent a serious article to Wędkiewicz — but he refused, arguing that he does not print polemics...

Kamiński's idea of folk music transcription, faithfully reflecting both the musical and verbal components of the songs, and his system of notation — bring to mind the proposals presented by Otto Abraham and Erich Moritz von Hornbostel in their famous article 'Vorschläge für die Transkription exotischer Melodien' (Abraham and Hornbostel 1909: 1–25). Kamiński himself quotes a publication by Béla Bartók (1923), whose transcriptions he criticises as not sufficiently detailed and less progressive than his own (Kamiński 1936a: 6).

Transcriptions accounting for various details of performance are included in collections of songs published for the purposes of academic research and documentation. A different type of notation was used by Kamiński in songbooks for performers, aiming to popularise the recorded folk songs in the Polish society. In the text opening the 2nd issue of *Lutnia* in 1939, Kamiński wrote:

All effort aiming at the improvement of Polish musical culture will only be half measures if we do not base it on folk song and folk music...

It was for choirs (children's, male, female and mixed) that the *Śpiewnik wielkopolski* [Greater Poland Songbook] (1936) and *Śpiewnik pomorski na jeden lub więcej głosów* [Pomerelian Songbook for One or Many Voices] (1938) were arranged. In his prefaces to these songbooks, Kamiński explained in what ways the scores they contained differed from transcriptions made for research purposes. The songbook transcriptions were the result of comparing many recorded versions, and so — the outcome of comparative studies. They also allowed for the addition of an optional drone performed vocally or on a bass wind instrument, as well as for mono- and polyphonic performance, based on the 9th-to-15th century *diaphonia*, similar to the diaphony from the Pieniny Range and to the Greater Poland duos of bagpipes and violins. The *Pomerelian Songbook* also contained “counterpoints” to be performed on a violin, flute or clarinet.

The analyses of the recorded pieces, conducted by Kamiński, were subordinated to one central idea: that of reconstructing the origins and evolution of individual songs, musical genres and regional repertoires in order to identify the successive stages in the transformation of folk culture. Kamiński saw the transformation of songs as a general rule and discussed it, under the influence of diffusionism, in the context of such historical factors as wars and human migrations. Similarly to the representatives of evolutionism and the cultural-historical school, Kamiński worked out maps which presented the distribution of individual phenomena. The central thought that underlay his research stance can well be summarised in this sentence:

There is a wealth of material to draw upon: one can reconstruct the lineage and trace back the development of each individual song through the centuries, its migrations across the country and its transformations, the resulting variants, foreign influences and the forms in which they have survived. One can analyse the interaction of music and the word, their unions and partings, assimilations and contaminations, and whatever leads us to an understanding of the driving forces behind this deepest emanation of the Polish people (Kamiński 1934: 206).

Kamiński traced back this evolution of song from a biological standpoint, i.e. he attempted to gain an insight into the laws and the essence of folk art (Kamiński 1936a: 4).

Kamieński advocated a holistic analysis of songs, taking into account the words and melody, their original relation and mutual interactions in the process of song evolution. He called this analysis of songs as “organic wholes” the logo-melic method.⁴⁵ He attached particular importance to the study of variants (forms, varieties), which he compared in synoptic tables. He understood a song as a “permanent combination of a certain basic verbal-semantic-metrical idea with a certain basic melodic idea.” Only by means of the analysis of “logo-melic variants,” i.e. variants of songs with text and melody, can a researcher draw any conclusions concerning the evolution of regional, local and individual features of songs, and its stages. Holistic song analysis, Kamieński claimed, provided the scholar with the possibility to grasp the biology of folk song, which always exists in a specific biological and historical context, and is associated with states of the human mind, with human activities and needs.⁴⁶ For the concept of the “biology of folk song”, Kamieński was most likely indebted to Hornbostel, who applied it with reference to the analytic procedures used by the Ukrainian scholar Ottokar Hostinsky.⁴⁷ Kamieński used the logo-melic method for the first time in his ‘Monograph of the South Kashubian Matchmaking Song’ (Kamieński 1935: 107–131). The subject of this analysis was a wedding song recorded in 1932 near the Wdzydze Lake in Kashubia as compared with songs from other regions of Poland (Greater Poland, Mazovia, the Radom and Sandomierz Regions), both those recently recorded and those coming from Kolberg’s and J.J. Lipiński’s collections. He presented the compared songs in synoptic tables (see Figure 7.8).

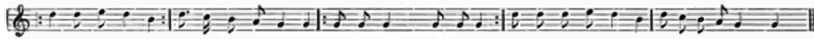
Apart from texts and melodies, Kamieński also considered the circumstances of performance and the local terminology. When analysing the song scale, he noted its similarity to the scale of the Kashubian trembita (whose links with the Scandinavian culture he set out to demonstrate in his later

⁴⁵ Kamieński wrote about the necessity of collaboration between musicologists and linguists already in 1935, in his review of a paper by the Slavist scholar Erwin Koschmieder. The paper was an attempt to explain the reasons for the different vocalisation of reduced vowels (jers) and vowels in Orthodox Church songs and in contemporary colloquial speech. See Kamieński 1935a: 192–196.

⁴⁶ Kamieński formulated this view in, among others, the article ‘Śpiew i muzyka ludu wielkopolskiego’ [The Song and Music of the People of Greater Poland] (1939: 3–5).

⁴⁷ “Dr. v. Hornbostel hält es für wünschenswert, daß außer der Anatomie und Morphologie des Volksliedes auch seine Biologie studiert werde, wie Prof. Hostinsky es in einigen Fällen getan hat”. See III. Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 1909.

Zmówinowa, Kliczkowska



J.J. Lipiński, Wielkopolska⁸



Liś-cie w o - gro - dzie li - ście pa - da - - - ja. Ko-wal bi - je mło - - - tem, } nie chceć, nie pój-dę, nie po mojej wo-li.
 te - go ko - wa - la te - go mi ra - - - ja. za - le - wa się po - - - tem, }

K. Maz. III. 33



Hej posły by-ly } do kalinecki lnianki rwać. Lnianek nie wy - rwa - ly. } nie nie znać.
 pan-ny panie-necki } stłu-kły i star - ga - - ly. }

Figure 7.8 Comparison of variants of the Kleczków matchmaking song; Ł. Kamieński 1935: 112.

works), to the scales coming from various regions of the world, and to Gregorian chant (Ibidem: 118 ff.). Such comparisons of phenomena far removed from each other in space and time resemble those proposed by representatives of the Berlin school. The author of the article concludes by pointing to German and Scandinavian influences in the Kasubian song and to its likely affinity to midsummer night songs, with which it shares the common mode similar to that from the wedding song *Oj chmielu* (Ibidem: 126 ff.).

Kamieński's field work in Pomerelia, Kashubian and Greater Poland purported to prove that it is in those regions that we should look for the sources of Polish culture. The Professor stressed the specific features of those regions' musical folklore, their independent dialects and sets of instruments, and their rituals, related to the local living conditions. In Kashubian melodies he emphasised the presence of the already mentioned scale, whose origins he traced back to the influence of the Scandinavian "trembita scale" (based on harmonics) on the original Polish pentatonic scales. In was under the influence of that "trembita scale", Kamieński argued, that the anhemitonic pentatonic scale was transformed into a major key (See Kamieński 1935: 121 and Kamieński 1936: 138). With reference to Kashubian music, Kamieński dis-

cussed, for the first time in Poland, the problem of the metro-rhythmic qualities of songs, with particular reference to the rubato, which he considered as “one of the most eminent features of the Polish musical psyche.” (Kamiński 1936: 134)⁴⁸

Kamiński saw the songs and music of Wielkopolska as free from German influences, which some scholars would trace in them. He associated the rich repertoire of the *przodek* dances so characteristic of that region with the Lusatian *reja*, and regarded the Greater Poland bagpipe as identical with the Lusatian bagpipe described by Ludwik Kuba.⁴⁹ The problem of links between the cultures of Greater Poland and Lusatia reappears in a letter of 6th June 1948, sent to his son, who resided in Dresden after the war:

As you are now active on the territory of the old Margraviate of Meissen, to which Dresden also belonged and which can more or less be identified with Lusatia, in the future you may use for the propagation not only of Polish, but generally of Slavonic culture the fact (which you know from your family home) of close links between Lusatian and Polish folklore. Lusatia and Western Greater Poland are, in fact, probably the last sanctuary of the old *koziół* or bagpipe, but also a large proportion of Lusatian folk songs is a mirror reflection of our old “walking” dances or polonaises. What I have in mind here is the Lusatian *reja*, imported from Poland during the Polish-Saxon personal union and grown from these roots into a rich local culture, or else — developed simultaneously in both regions at that time. That polonaise culture reached as far as Western Pomerania, as proved by a mid-18th-century manuscript that I have discovered — and so it extended over an immense territory. Considering the similar dissemination of the polonaise, this time — definitely from Poland — in Sweden in the form of the so-called *polska* — I am willing to accept that the *reja* was more likely an import from Poland than the result of autochthonic development, especially as the Polish influences in Saxony were so very strongly felt at that time. All the same, this shared musical culture is of much significance for ethnic studies. Though also in Sweden the polonaises penetrated into general folk culture, with time the Swedish *polska* considerably diverged from the Polish prototype, whereas the Lusatian *reja* is so Polish in character that it could easily pass for a *chodzony* at a wedding in Greater Poland. Undoubtedly also in the times before the rise of the polonaise, the Lusatian folklore must have been closely related to ours, but these links still require further studies. If only I could now go into the field with a phonograph! Perhaps the Consulate could help to initiate such a project? Anyway, what we now know for certain is that Lusatian songs preserve the memory of the military campaigns of Bolesław the Valiant, who bravely fought for the unification of that land with

⁴⁸ The issue of the rubato had already been tackled by Kamiński in one of his early articles (Kamiński 1918–1919: 108–126).

⁴⁹ See Kamiński 1932: 53. Kamiński was planning field recordings of the Sorbian *reja* in Lusatia and of the *polskor*, akin to Polish folklore, in Sweden. However, the outbreak of the war and the later complications in the Professor’s life thwarted these plans.

Poland, which, however, did not stop him from taking (as was the habit in those times) a huge number of Lusatian slaves (40 thousand or so, I am not sure about the exact figure) and resettling them in Poland (this notorious idea was revived by Hitler, the inventor of the modern “relocation” concept).⁵⁰

Inspired by Hornbostel’s studies of Icelandic polyphonic singing, Kamieński looked for similar performance techniques on the territory of Poland, and claimed that the bagpipe and violin parts in Greater Poland duos were a remnant of an archaic variational heterophony. The two-voice songs he recorded in the Pieniny Mountains with Zygmunt Sitowski in 1932–1933 he interpreted as an archaic technique akin to the 9th-century *organum* and the early English *cantus gemellus*. He called this technique “*diaphonia*, or the original form of consonant (harmonic) polyphony” (Kamieński 1933: 5). For Kamieński, heterophony was “the most indigenously Polish musical form”, but he considered the *diaphonia* from Pieniny as an effect of a “brief external influence” from Greece and Byzantium, or from medieval Western Europe.⁵¹ Much of Kamieński’s collection consisted of recordings of instrumental music, which he used for instrument studies. Of special interest are his studies of the bagpipe and its regional variety — the *koziół* from Greater Poland, continued and extended by Jadwiga Pietruszyńska (-Sobieska) (Kamieński 1932: 53ff, Kamieński 1936: 137, Kamieński 1939: 4).

The author of this article intended to present the figure of Łucjan Kamieński as a great erudite following the current developments of his discipline in Europe, a keen researcher dedicated to the Polish case, and a righteous man with an incredibly rich personality. He propagated in Poland the methodology developed in leading European centres, also working on the improvement of those methods. He transplanted the comparative techniques applied by scholars from Berlin and Vienna on the macro scale — onto the local level, concentrating on regional studies. He created a model for field research to be used by later generations of Polish ethnomusicologists. His work mapped out the development of Polish ethnomusicology.

⁵⁰ Łucjan Kamieński to Jan Kamieński, Winiary 6th June 1948.

⁵¹ Unfortunately the transcriptions of pieces recorded by Kamieński in Pieniny have not been preserved.

Works cited

- Abraham Otto and von Hornbostel Erich M. (1909)**, 'Vorschläge für die Transkription exotischer Melodien', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 11. Jhrg., H. 1. (October–December), pp. 1–25.
- Bartók Béla (1923)**, *Volksmusik der Rumänen von Maraures*, Munich.
- Batko Walerian (1939)**, 'Rozmowy z czytelnikami', *Teatr ludowy* No. 2.
- Bielawski Ludwik (1973)**, 'Działalność Jadwigi i Mariana Sobieskich na polu dokumentacji i badań polskiej muzyki ludowej' (Jadwiga and Marian Sobieski's Documentation Work and Research on Polish Folk Music), in: J. and M. Sobiescy, *Polska muzyka ludowa i jej problemy [Problems of Polish Folk Music]* (a collection ed. By L. Bielawski). Cracow.
- Chybiński Adolf (1925)**, 'Wskazówki zbierania melodii ludowych' [Instructions for Collecting Folk Songs], *Przegląd Muzyczny* No. 1, pp. 6–12, No. 2, pp. 1–9; reprinted in Lublin, 1931.
- Dahlig Piotr (1998)**, *Tradycje muzyczne a ich przemiany. Między kulturą ludową, popularną i elitarną Polski międzywojennej [Musical Traditions and Their Transformations. Between Folk, Popular and Elite Culture in Poland Between the World Wars]*, Warsaw.
- Dahlig Piotr (2002)**, 'Early Field Recordings in Poland (1904–1939) and Their Relations to Phonogram Archives in Vienna and Berlin', in: *Music Archiving in the World. Papers Presented at the Conference on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, ed. G. Berlin, A. Simon, Berlin.
- Heising Roman (1939)**, 'Z fonografem przez wieś wielkopolską' [With a Phonograph Through the Villages of Greater Poland], *Lutnia*.
- Kamiński Łucjan (1918–1919)**, 'Zum "Tempo rubato"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* I, pp. 108–126.
- Kamiński Łucjan (1932)**, 'Z badań nad folklorem muzycznym Wielkopolski' [From Research into Greater Poland's Musical Folklore], *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* No. 3.
- Kamiński Łucjan (1933)**, 'Diafonia ludowa w Pieninach' [Folk Diaphony in Pieniny]. *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk* No. 1.
- Kamiński Łucjan (1934)**, 'Budujemy naukę o polskiej pieśni ludowej' [We Build the Study of Polish Folk Song], *Muzyka* No. 11.
- Kamiński Łucjan (1935)**, 'Monografia pieśni zmwówinowej z Kaszub Południowych' [Monograph of the South Kashubian Matchmaking Song], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, pp. 107–131.
- Kamiński Łucjan (1935a)**, review of Erwin Koschmieder 'Przyczynki do zagadnień chomonji w hirmosach rosyjskich' [A Contribution to the Study of OCS Jer Transformations in the Russian Hirmos], Vilnius 1932, *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, pp. 192–196.

- Kamieński Łucjan (1936)**, 'Z badań nad muzyką i śpiewem ludu polskiego' [Studies on the Music and Songs of the Polish People], *Balticoslavica. Bulletin of the Eastern Europe Research Institute in Vilnius*, vol. II.
- Kamieński Łucjan (1936a)**, *Pieśni ludu pomorskiego. I. Pieśni z Kaszub Południowych* [Songs of the Pomerelian Folk. I. South Kashubia], Toruń.
- Kamieński Łucjan (1939)**, 'Śpiew i muzyka ludu wielkopolskiego' [The Song and Music of the People of Greater Poland], *Lutnia* No. 2, pp. 3–5.
- Kamieński Łucjan (2011)**, *O biologii pieśni* [On the Biology of Song], prefaced and selected by B. Muszkalska, Poznań.
- Krader Barbara (1980)**, [entry:] *Ethnomusicology*, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 6, ed. S. Sadie, London.
- Malinowski Bronisław (2008)**, *Dziennik w ścisłym znaczeniu tego wyrazu*, Cracow; English edition: *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. With a New Introduction by Raymond Firth*, Stanford University Press 1989.
- Obst Marian (1974)**, 'Muzykologia poznańska w okresie międzywojennym 1922–1939' [Poznań Musicology Between the Wars, 1922–39], in: *Zeszyt Naukowy Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Muzycznego im. Henryka Wieniawskiego. 50-lecie powołania Katedry Muzykologii na Uniwersytecie im. Adama Mickiewicza. Materiały z Sesji Naukowej Sekcji Muzykologicznej PTM im. H. Wieniawskiego* [Research Publications of H. Wieniawski Music Society in Poznań. 50 Years of the Chair of Musicology at Adam Mickiewicz University. Proceedings of a Symposium Held by the Musicological Section of the Society], ed. K. Winowicz, Poznań, pp. 20–46.
- Piotrowski Bernard (1987)**, 'Łucjan Kamieński (1885–1964), badacz folkloru muzycznego Polski zachodniej' [A Researcher of Musical Folklore in Western Poland], in: *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne* [Gniezno. Studies and Historical Sources], vol. 2, Warsaw-Poznań.
- 'Poznań University Chronicle for the academic year of 1925–26' (1927), Poznań.
- 'Poznań University Chronicle for 1928–1929' (1930), Poznań.
- Sitowski Zygmunt (1933)**, 'Fonograf zbiera pieśni' [A Phonograph Collects Songs], *Tęcza* No. 3, pp. 50–52.
- Sobieska Jadwiga (1972)**, *Ze studiów nad folklorem muzycznym Wielkopolski* [Studies on Greater Poland's Musical Folklore], Cracow.
- Stęszewski Jan (2009)**, 'Zur Geschichte des Terminus "Ethnomusicology"', in: *Rzeczy, świadomość, nazwy. O muzyce i muzykologii* [Objects, Consciousness, Names. On Music and Musicology], eds. P. Podlipniak, M. Walter-Mazur, Poznań.
- Stumpf Carl (1886)**, 'Lieder der Bellakula Indianer', *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.
- Stumpf Carl (1892)**, 'Phonographierte Indianermelodien', *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.
- Tatarska Janina (1988)**, 'Around the Case of Łucjan Kamieński', *Nurt* No. 6.
- Ziegler Susanne (2006)**, *Die Wachsylinder des Berliner Phonogramm-Archives*, Berlin.

- III. Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft (1909), Wien, 25. bis 29. Mai 1909. Bericht vorgelegt vom Wiener Kongressausschuss, <http://ia700301.us.archive.org/28/items/haydnzentenarfei00inte/haydnzentenarfei00inte.pdf> [20.02.2011].**