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Nikolskaya Irina I.

D.Sc. (in Art History), Leading Researcher, Central Europe Art Department,
State Institute for Art Studies, 5 Kozitsky Lane, Moscow, 125375, Russia
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8042-2884

nikolsk-irina@yandex.ru

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Nikolskaya Irina I.

The Warsaw Autumn International Music Festival – Overcoming the Boundaries between East and West



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Никольская Ирина Ильинична

Доктор искусствоведения, ведущий научный сотрудник, сектор
искусства стран Центральной Европы, Государственный институт
искусствознания, 125375, Россия, Москва, Козицкий пер., 5
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8042-2884

nikolsk-irina@yandex.ru

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Никольская Ирина Ильинична

Международный музыкальный фестиваль «Варшавская
осень» – преодоление границ между Востоком и Западом

Abstract. In the late 1940s – early 1950s, a huge gap appeared between the development of musical cultures of Western and Eastern Europe, and it was Poland that initiated bridging it. Therefore, the emergence of the Warsaw Autumn Festival of contemporary music, which has become the largest, was not coincidental. The article is devoted to studying this cultural phenomenon, which has a significant scientific novelty, because the Warsaw Autumn has not yet been subjected to a detailed scientific analysis in Russian musicology. According to the organizers of the new festival – young Polish composers Tadeusz Baird and Kazimierz Serocki, – Warsaw was to become a centre of contemporary music, no less important than the avant-garde music festivals in Darmstadt, Donaueschingen, Cologne or Milan. However, the purpose of the Warsaw Autumn is more ambitious – to provide a complete aesthetic and stylistic picture of modern music, and not just avant-garde music, as was the case in Western European countries. The repertoire policy of the festival covered several areas: avant-garde music, more traditional music, the classics of the 20th century, and promotion of Polish music. The festival laid claim to being a reliable display of contemporary music in the world, reacted to the changes in global music, and soon became the largest music arena of the 20th century. It was attended by the most prominent composers of the East and West. For the socialist countries, it became a true “window on Europe” and a platform for mastering new techniques of composition. Without the Warsaw Autumn festival and its profound influence on composers of socialist countries, it would be utterly impossible to imagine the development of musical art of the entire region. This article suggests focusing on the on the early period of the festival, from 1956 (when it was established) to the early 1980s.

Аннотация. Во второй половине 1940-х – первой половине 1950-х годов между развитием музыкальных культур Западной и Восточной Европы возник огромный разрыв, инициатором в преодолении которого выступила Польша. Поэтому неслучайно ставший самым масштабным фестиваль современной музыки «Варшавская осень» появился именно здесь. Осмыслению данного культурного явления и посвящена статья, обладающая значительной научной новизной, поскольку «Варшавская осень» не подвергалась развернутому научному анализу в отечественной музыкологии. По мысли организаторов нового фестиваля – молодых польских композиторов Тадеуша Бэрда и Казимежа Сероцкого, – Варшава должна была стать центром современной музыки, не менее важным, чем фестивали авангардной музыки в Дармштадте, Донауэшингене, Кельне или Милане. Но цель «Варшавской осени» более масштабная – представить многостороннюю эстетическую и стилистическую картину состояния современной музыки, а не только авангардных тенденций, как это было в странах Западной Европы. Репертуарная политика фестиваля складывалась из нескольких компонентов: музыка авангарда, более традиционные направления, классика XX века, пропаганда польской музыки. Претендуя на достоверный показ современной музыки в мире, фестиваль менялся в соответствии с изменениями глобальной музыкальной картины и вскоре стал крупнейшей ареной музыки XX столетия. Его посещали самые авторитетные композиторы Востока и Запада, а для стран социалистического лагеря он стал подлинным «окном в Европу», школой освоения новых композиторских техник. Без фестиваля «Варшавская осень», без его радикального влияния на композиторов соцстран невозможно представить развитие музыкального искусства всего региона. В данной статье предлагается сосредоточиться на начальном периоде фестиваля, с 1956 (год открытия) по 1981 год.

Introduction

The country to initiate the bridging of the yawning gap between the development of musical cultures in Western and Eastern Europe that emerged in the late 1940s – early 1950s was Poland. Therefore, we consider it important to briefly outline the musical situation in the country that preceded this gap, starting with the interwar period (1920s-1930s). The musical art of that time was primarily focused on the French tradition (Stravinsky, Roussel, “Les Six”). The main task for the musicians of Poland was to create a new concept of national style, that is, a certain stylistic universality (neoclassicism) which could include (following Karol Szymanowski) the development of the most archaic, least affected by civilization layers of folk music (Goral, Kurpie folklore). The method of working with folklore in some ways was close to the neoclassical one: the common features included dynamism, frequent ostinato, pitch variability, the principle of chromatic sound circumrotation, a tendency towards figurative thematicism, etc. Often there was a deliberate convergence of the folklore and neoclassical elements (for example in Bartók’s *Divertimento*) when the folklore patterns of the music material development were found side by side with the baroque alternation of solo and tutti (like in the baroque genre of Concerto grosso); at the same time such an alternation technique appeared in the form of paired statement characteristic of folk instrumentalism. The unsurpassed masterpieces of that new style for Polish music were the compositions by Karol Szymanowski (the vocal cycle *Stopiewnie*, cantata *Stabat Mater*, etc.). The works of the composer’s young colleagues clearly did not measure up to his.

Interestingly, the Polish composers of the interwar period were indifferent to the creative work of the musicians of the Second Viennese School, although, according to Z. Mycielski (a member of the Association of Young Polish Composers in Paris), they were familiar with the brightest examples of Austrian expressionism: *Pierrot Lunaire* and *Songs of Gurre* by A. Schönberg, *Lyric Suite* and the opera *Wozzeck* by A. Berg, some opuses by A. Webern, etc. Apparently, the euphoria following the country’s independence channelled the composers’ quest into the positive creative directions, far from expressionism. It is all the more interesting to mention this fact because in the early days of the Warsaw Autumn

festival, it was the work of composers of the Second Viennese School that took the dominant place.

What dominated in the interwar period and in the 1940s was neoclassicism, often combined with neofolklorism, which resulted in various stylistic mixes. The most remarkable phenomenon of this stylistic paradigm was the *Concerto for Orchestra* by Witold Lutosławski (1913–1994) completed already after Stalin’s death, during the Thaw period, which has remained in the repertoire of numerous orchestras worldwide.

Before the outbreak of World War II, in 1938, the young Lutosławski made his debut (with *Symphonic Variations*). Then the difficult years of Hitler’s occupation followed. At times musicians managed to organize underground concerts in private apartments. The piano duet of Witold Lutosławski and Andrzej Panufnik performed in art cafes and presented to the audience a vast repertoire of world classical music arranged for two pianos. During the repertoire preparation, Lutosławski created his paraphrase of *Caprice No. 24* by Paganini (1941), which has been played by pianists for 80 years. In 1977–1978, at the publisher request, the composer created the orchestral version of the work.

A mention must be made of Roman Palester (1907–1989), prominent Polish composer who emigrated to France in 1951. He began in the 1930s as a devout supporter of Szymanowski’s work. He also composed much for theatre, cinema, and radio and collaborated with major figures (for example, Leon Schiller). His music was performed not only in Poland, but also in many countries of Western Europe (e.g. France, Great Britain, Spain, Italy, etc.). An active public figure, in the 1930s he headed the Polish section of the International Society for Contemporary Music and other musical organizations. It is for participating in the ISCM that he was persecuted by the Gestapo during the years of occupation and later imprisoned at Pawiak. He was miraculously released, hid in the outskirts of Warsaw and still composed music (finished the *Second Symphony* and the *Violin Concerto*). Some of his chamber works were performed in art cafes and at underground concerts in private apartments. After the war, he continued his active work, won national awards, and his music was widely performed. In the late 1940s, the composer was in serious disagreement with the government, which forced him to emigrate to France, where he died.

Andrzej Panufnik (1914–1993), another outstanding composer and conductor whom we have already mentioned, made his debut during the World War II with the acute and dramatic *Tragic Overture* (1942), which unlocked his enormous creative potential. After the war, he was considered the first figure among other composers. In the early 1950s, he emigrated to Great Britain, where he worked as a conductor, and his own compositions were performed by outstanding conductors of his time [see: 6]. In 1990, the composer became Sir Andrzej Panufnik, knighted by Queen Elizabeth II for outstanding creative achievements. Panufnik's music returned to its homeland in 1977; Palester's music — a little earlier.

There were many factors contributing to the reasons for prominent musicians to emigrate, but the critical and decisive one that affected all composers with no exception was the “invasion” of Soviet socialist realism. Until 1948, the Poles had found themselves in the stream of European development. However, in 1949, the infamous Congress of Polish Composers in Łagów Lubuski took place, where “the Minister of Culture and Arts Włodzimierz Sokorski for four and a half hours explained to the musicians their new tasks. Zofia Lissa and Tikhon Khrennikov attended. <...> The famous Polish pianist Zbigniew Drzewiecki said: „This is the end. The funeral of Polish music“. There were no hopes left for natural musical development” [4, p. 23].

The aesthetics of socialist realism dominated the music of the Eastern bloc countries until Stalin's death in 1953 and had disastrous consequences for their culture. The information about the music of the West was not available, and even the classics of the 20th century (e.g. Stravinsky, Hindemith, “Les Six”, dodecaphony of Schönberg and his school, etc.) were declared undesirable for performing. Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–2020), the future master of not only Polish but also modern world music, recalled those events when he was a student at the Higher School of Music in Krakow in the 1950s.

The new aesthetics transformed into narrow utilitarian dogmas that limited the composer's creative thought to a select number of themes, images, and expression means. I.V. Nestyev wrote about the similarities of some Eastern European countries at different stages of development, about the simplification typical of that time, a superficial approach to the “ideological and educational tasks of music”, about the intolerance towards the experience of Western art, and about the prescription of a focus on song

folklore virtually as a binding framework for democratic creative activity [2]. All this was a result of the Decree of February 10, 1948, after which the work of Shostakovich and Prokofiev was subjected to scathing criticism.

There was an aesthetic program established in Łagów, the cornerstone of which was the appeal for promoting the introduction of the folk music features in all the genres, the universal accessibility of the musical language, the ideological connection of music with the life of the country, and the strengthening of meaning and expression in music works. The program appeared to contain some naive and even erroneous provisions, especially regarding the artificially created concept of “formalism” and the criterion of creativity “alien” to the people. Among the speakers at the forum was *Group 49* (Tadeusz Baird, Kazimierz Serocki, and Jan Krenz) the members of which highlighted a number of acute creative issues, denounced the tendencies of primitivism “wrapped up in a cloak of concern about accessibility and popularity” [9, p. 56]. K. Serocki, the driving force of the Group, placed great value on promoting folklore elements in professional art, emphasizing that “... it is not enough to apply folklore just as a craft element; composers need to deepen it, to fill themselves with it so that it becomes their expression means” [7, p. 7]. In the published program for the group's first joint concert (January 1950), the musicologist S. Jarociński wrote: “...Not burdened by the pathos of either missionary work or misunderstood folk art, young musicians yearn <...> to regain the lost contact with the audience that is becoming the main consumer of culture today. Their music <...> does not intend to flatter or satisfy low-brow tastes, which is why in reaching their goals they are not willing to forego any achievements of modern harmony” [8, p. 1].

It is significant to highlight that during the interwar period, the masterpieces by Szymanowski were created, in which he, like Bartók, demonstrated the innovative idea of using the mountain folklore of Podhale (in vocal opuses, the ballet *Harnasie*, etc.). The folk line continued in the first post-war years (miniatures by Witold Lutosławski, his already mentioned *Concerto for Orchestra*). However, after Łagów, there was a prevalence of commonplace works, compromising the very essence of the aesthetics of socialist realism. Artificial promotion of using folklore had a negative effect: during the Thaw, the interest in folklore in Polish creative activity waned, and for almost 30 years, there were no works by Polish composers, with rare exceptions, that included folk melodies.

Another negative factor of normative aesthetics was the following: the requirement for simplicity of musical means and accessibility of musical expression. Consequently, the musical style of the late 1940s – early 1950s did not go beyond the romantic era: it was an eclectic, outdated style with elementary means of harmony and musical texture, and simple form-building – such were the features of numerous orchestral suites, miniatures and even symphonies.

This disorientation in musical circles was overcome by the young Polish composers known from *Group 49* – T. Baird and K. Serocki, who came forward with an initiative to establish an international festival of contemporary music, supported by the Ministry of Culture and the Union of Composers. The festival started in 1956 and continues to this day. Soon the Electronic Music Studio opened under the direction of J. Patkowski, whose technical equipment could rival that of the best European studios and encouraged musicians to experiment and advance in a new sound field.

According to the organizers of the new festival, Warsaw was to become a centre of contemporary music, no less important than the avant-garde music festivals in Darmstadt, Donaueschingen, Cologne or Milan. The Prague festival, which did not involve the avant-garde music, was primarily focused on instrumental performance. All of the festivals mentioned above fulfilled their functions successfully, but the most outstanding one, undoubtedly, was the Warsaw Autumn festival.

The purpose of the festival is *to provide a complete aesthetic and stylistic picture of modern music, and not just avant-garde music, as was the case in Western European countries*. The repertoire policy of the festival covered several areas: avant-garde music, more traditional music, the classics of the 20th century, and promotion of Polish music. The festival soon became the largest music arena of the 20th century. It was attended by the most prominent composers of the East and West. For the socialist countries, it became a true “window on Europe” and a platform for mastering new techniques of composition. Without the Warsaw Autumn festival and its profound influence on composers of socialist countries, it would be utterly impossible to imagine the development of musical art of the entire region.

Tadeusz Baird and Kazimierz Serocki, the organizers and the driving force of the festival, presented a festival project which was neither purely “avant-garde”, nor purely “conservative”. In terms of artistic performance, they placed stakes on the most recognized conductors and soloists, in both

the western and eastern regions (e.g. Ye. Mravinsky Orchestra from the USSR, author’s concerts of Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez, John Cage, Aram Khachaturian, etc.)

By the end of the 1950s, due to discoveries and experiments in the field of the latest musical techniques, Polish music had become part of the world musical process and soon people started to refer to the “Polish school of composition” (the creative work of Witold Lutosławski, Krzysztof Penderecki, Kazimierz Serocki, Tadeusz Baird, Henryk Mikołaj Górecki, etc.).

The festival developed: just a couple of years after its opening, its repertoire expanded and changed significantly, because it laid claim to being *a reliable display of contemporary music in the world and reacted to the changes in global music*. Throughout the years, there has worked a festival program committee, planning each regular festival.

In this article, we shall focus on the early period of the festival, from 1956 (when it was established) to the early 1980s.

The evolution of the festival. The beginning

The first Warsaw Autumn festival (1956) was mostly dominated by the works of the 20th century classics: Stravinsky, Honegger, Bartók, Szymanowski, Martinu, Shostakovich, Ravel, Schönberg, Berg, Janáček, Milhaud, Prokofiev, Enescu, and Richard Strauss.

Regarding the Polish musicians, the works by the older generation were performed, the representatives of the so-called “Parisian school” – students of Nadia Boulanger and Paul Dukas, who found themselves in Paris during the interwar twenty years. They represented the neoclassical direction (Wiechowicz, Szeligowski, Perkowski, Kazimierz Sikorski, Szalowski, as well as not pure neoclassics – Malawski and Szabelski); the middle generation was represented by Witold Lutosławski (*Concerto for Orchestra*), Grażyna Bacewicz and Michał Spisak; the younger generation – by the already mentioned Serocki and Baird, the youngest generation – by Wojciech Kilar, the first representative of the emerging Polish avant-garde, “sonorism”, a future outstanding Polish creative figure. As for foreign contemporary music, only one piece was performed – the 1930 *Les Offrandes oubliées* by Olivier Messiaen.

The organizers of the festival felt it necessary to pay a special tribute of respect to the “father” of modern Polish music Karol Szymanowski and the

main teacher of the living generation of composers Nadia Boulanger. Nadia Boulanger was an honorary guest at the first Warsaw Autumn festival; and in memory of Szymanowski, his brilliant oratorio *Stabat Mater* was performed at the opening ceremony.

The second Warsaw Autumn festival, which took place two years later, in 1958, was characterized by a considerable shift in musical thinking. 1958 is considered the year the Polish musical avant-garde emerged. Composers were mastering dodecaphony and serialism⁽¹⁾, and at the same time freely and creatively appealing to them (*Funeral music in memory of B. Bartók for strings* by W. Lutosławski, *Four Essays* by T. Baird). Some of those to make a debut at the 1958 festival were Henryk Mikołaj Górecki, a future leading Polish composer of the 20th century, Włodzimierz Kotoński and the conductor Andrzej Markowski; they all would play an important role in Polish music. Additionally, it was at the festival of 1958 that the *Fourth Symphony* of the emigrant Roman Palester premiered.

The event was attended by one of the leaders of the European avant-garde, Karlheinz Stockhausen, who presented *a concert of electronic music (Gesang der Junglinge)*. The audience found impressive the composition *Music of Changes* by the American composer John Cage, as he introduced an element of chance (aleatorics) into his music. The festival organizers rightly believed that the musicians of Eastern Europe had long been isolated from the music of the 20th century and aimed to include as much music by the classics of that century in the festival program as possible. At the second Warsaw Autumn festival, the following masterpieces were performed: *A Survivor from Warsaw* and *Moderner Psalm* by A. Schönberg, *Violin Concerto* by A. Berg and three compositions by Anton Webern – cantata *Das Augenlicht*, *Fünf Satze* op. 5, and *Fünf Stücke* op. 10.

What also made the second Warsaw Autumn festival memorable was many brilliant performers, including S. Richter, H. Szeryng, E. Mravinsky with his Leningrad symphony orchestra, and the famous Juilliard String Quartet from New York. It was already at the second festival that Warsaw became a meeting point for East and West, and the only European festival

where Western audience could get acquainted with the music of Eastern Europe and vice versa.

At the third Warsaw Autumn festival in 1959, the debut of Krzysztof Penderecki (*Strofy*) and Witold Szalonek (*Wyznania*) took place; Górecki presented his first large work (*First Symphony*); Bolesław Szabelski, the head of the Katowice school of composition, in his *Improvisations* attempted to master new modern methods of composition. Grażyna Bacewicz also underwent a significant stylistic evolution and presented her remarkable work *Music for strings, trumpets, and percussion*. The festival program also included an opus by K. Regamey, a dodecaphonist composer of Polish origin living in Switzerland.

With regard to the Western European avant-garde, the emphasis of the program committee was again placed on making the audience more familiar with the classics of the 20th century: *Symphony op. 21* and *Sechs Stücke op. 6* by A. Webern; post-war opuses by P. Boulez (*Second Piano Sonata*, 1948, *Sonatine for flute and piano*, 1946, fragments of *Livre pour quatuor*, 1949); some works by L. Nono and L. Dallapiccola.

The concerts featured some outstanding performers, including the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet with his orchestra Orchestre de la Suisse Romande, the Parrenin Quartet, and the Italian flutist Severino Gazzelloni.

The guest of honour of the festival was Dmitri Shostakovich.

Expanding the Polish “musical palette”

Since the fourth Warsaw Autumn festival (1960), a greater number of works by Polish composers were presented, including the avant-garde compositions (Penderecki, Górecki, Kotoński, B. Schaeffer, Baird, Serocki) and the works of neoclassical composers of the older generation (A. Tansman, B. Wiechowicz, T. Szeligowski). Lutosławski presented his new work (*Five Songs to the Poems of Kazimira Illakovic*) which clearly outlined his quest to create his own harmony (*accordics*). The monumental *Requiem* by Roman Maciejewski, the Polish composer living in the USA, was performed under his baton.

Foreign music was present in two forms: the classics of the 20th century and new music. New works included the compositions by O. Messiaen, P. Boulez, K. Stockhausen, E. Carter, Bo Nilsson, etc. Electronic music

(1) For new compositional techniques and directions, see: [1]; for the Polish avant-garde see: [3, p. 139–253].

was widely presented and included the pieces by P. Schaeffer, J. Cage, L. Berio, etc.

The classics of the 20th century at that festival focused on opera works, both in concert and stage performance. They included Stravinsky's *Oedipus rex* (performed by the soloists and orchestra of the Polish Radio from Katowice, the choir of the Krakow Philharmonic, conducted by Jan Krenz) and Bartók's ballet *The Miraculous Mandarin* choreographed by J. Jarzynowska-Sobczak (the Baltic State Opera in Gdańsk). It should be noted that two years before the Baltic Opera had presented Ravel's ballet *Daphnis et Chloé*, the opera *Peter Grimes* by B. Britten, and *Krakatuk* by T. Szeligowski.

Among the performers those to stand out were M. Rostropovich (*First Cello Concerto* by Shostakovich), Z. Dolukhanova (vocal concert), Margot Pinter (*Second Piano Concerto* by B. Bartók), and the Japanese Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by H. Iwaki.

The event of the fifth Warsaw Autumn (1961) was the discovery of the music by the French-American composer Edgard Varèse (1883–1965) excellently performed by the Viennese ensemble Die Reihe under the baton of the conductor and composer Friedrich Cerha (who had completed the unfinished opera *Lulu* by A. Berg back in the day). The same ensemble interpreted A. Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* (solo by Marie Therese Escribano).

Contemporary Western music was represented by the avant-garde masters Boulez, Stockhausen, Nono and younger avant-garde composers Mauricio Kagel and Sylvano Bussotti. The traditional direction was presented by B. Britten who attended the festival and performed as a pianist-accompanist in a duet with the famous English singer Peter Pears. Their program included vocal opuses by B. Britten and other contemporary composers.

Among the Polish compositions widely presented at the festival, we can highlight the orchestral *Jeux vénitiens* by Lutosławski, where the author proposed his own interpretation of the element of chance in music which he called *the controlled aleatorics*, the work *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* by Krzysztof Penderecki, a bright example of *sonorism* characteristic of the Polish school of composition (this work gained popularity across countries), and the vocal cycle *Erotyki for soprano and orchestra* by Tadeusz Baird remarkably interpreted by Stefania Woytowicz.

Other performers included the vocalist Cathy Berberian, the flautist Severino Gazzelloni, and the duo-pianist team of the Kontarsky brothers.

The guest of honour of the fifth Warsaw Autumn festival was Luigi Nono.

The declared central figure of the sixth Warsaw Autumn festival (1962) was Penderecki, which reflected the considerable interest in his work in many countries (three of his works were performed: *Kanon For Orchestra and Tape*; *String Quartet*; and *Psalm 1961 for Tape*).

Among other Polish composers presented were H.M. Górecki (two works), W. Kilar (*Riff 62* with jazz elements), and B. Schaeffer, the most radical Polish avant-garde composer (symphonic work *Musica ipsa*).

The classics of the 20th century appeared to be well presented. Particular attention was paid to the celebrated composers (the 80th anniversary of birth) — seven works by Stravinsky were performed and four works by Szymanowski. In addition to them, music by Debussy, Bartók, Hindemith, Schönberg, Berg, Prokofiev, and Varèse was performed (in total, 24 works by the classics of the 20th century).

Electronic and concrete music

The sixth festival marked regular performance of *electronic and concrete music*. The first concert of new genres was prepared and conducted by Józef Patkowski, the director of the Polish Radio Experimental Studio.

For the first time in the history of the festival, it featured a musical work by Iannis Xenakis (*Pithoprakta*), the creator of the so-called “*stochastics*” — “probabilistic” music that combined the principles of sound and the exact sciences — mathematics and architecture.

At the seventh Warsaw Autumn festival (1963), the Polish school of composition made a powerful appearance: *Trois poèmes d'Henri Michaux* by Lutosławski, *Polymorphia* by Penderecki, compositions by Kilar, Baird, and Serocki, debut of Tomasz Sikorski.

Among the performers, M. Rostropovich, Gaspar Cassadó, the oboist Lothar Faber, and the conductor Gennady Rozhdestvensky stood out.

Moreover, two extraordinary avant-garde experiments took place. The Italian composer Franco Donatoni presented his composition *Per orchestra* which was based on the idea of the remote control of chaos. The second experiment was carried out by M. Kagel. His composition *Improvisation*

ajoutee combined the sounds of organ and unarticulated sounds produced by the organist himself and his two assistants. However, the experiments did not enjoy much success of the audience who were hard to surprise and already were getting tired of unprecedented sound effects.

At the eighth Warsaw Autumn festival (1964), in addition to a large number of Polish premieres, the composition *Metastasis* by Xenakis appeared remarkable. The composition *Canciones a Guiomar* by Nono was performed. Additionally, *String Quartet No. 3* by the Czech composer M. Kopelent was well received by the audience.

In the mid-1960s, the musical community seemed to have had enough musical inventions, and new sound effects which had recently been met with passionate enthusiasm no longer surprised anyone or received a standing ovation. The criterion for evaluating a composition gradually shifted from purely sound inventions to the artistic significance of the work. Presumably, it was the evolution of the audience's reception that led to new accents in the festival program. Thus, at the eighth Warsaw Autumn festival, extensive fragments from three operas were performed in concert — *Moses und Aron* by A. Schönberg, *Wozzeck* by A. Berg, and *The Nose* by D. Shostakovich. Additionally, that festival featured an unusual theatrical premiere — the *Piano Concerto* by the American composer John Cage was performed in a ballet interpretation (the dance ensemble led by M. Cunningham titled their performance *Antic Meet*). Thus, at the Warsaw Autumn festivals, the compositions that had already become classics coexisted with extraordinary leftist productions.

The ninth Warsaw Autumn festival (1965) did not bring any significant change. A monographic concert by Alban Berg took place; the popular-style performance of one of the last scores of Stravinsky's *The Flood* (1962) was found impressive. Meanwhile, the classics of the 20th century gradually ceased to dominate the festival program; preference was given to contemporaries. The geography of the festival was growing. The music pieces by composers from different countries were performed: G. Ligeti from Hungary, A. Nordheim from Norway, D. Bedford from England, A. Pärt from Estonia (a USSR representative), A. Stroe and T. Olah from Romania. Many new Polish names were also introduced (A. Dobrowolski, K. Meyer, K. Moszumańska-Nazar, Z. Rudziński, etc.). We should particularly mention the performance of the outstanding *String Quartet* by Lutosławski

(which followed his technique of “limited aleatorics”) in an interesting interpretation by the American quartet LaSalle.

The key feature of the 10th Warsaw Autumn festival (1966), undoubtedly, was the performance of the monumental oratorio *St. Luke Passion* by K. Penderecki, which is recognized as pinnacle of the 20th century music. Another work to have been met with enthusiasm was the one-part opera-drama *Tomorrow* by T. Baird (after J. Conrad) staged by the Grand Theatre in Warsaw.

Regarding the foreign repertoire, the works by Dallapiccola, Boulez, and Stockhausen were played. The participants from Sweden, Jan Bark and Folke Rabe, introduced the audience to the genre of “instrumental theatre”. Since then, almost every festival that followed featured a newly established musical genre. Following the “instrumental theatre,” the so-called “repetitive music” appeared: the first composition of this trend was the work by Roland Kayn. A much more impressive work in this trend, foreshadowing “minimalism,” was *Refrain* by the Polish composer Górecki.

The festival was attended by such outstanding performers as Arthur Rubinstein and Mstislav Rostropovich. Rubinstein performed the solo piano part of the *Fourth Symphony* by Szymanowski at the inaugural concert; Rostropovich played the *Cello Concerto* of the Soviet composer Boris Tchaikovsky.

The 11th Warsaw Autumn festival (1967) was marked by several premieres: for the first time, a stereophonic interpretation of *Terretektorh* by Xenakis was performed. *Equatorial* by E. Varèse, performed jointly by the National Warsaw Philharmonic (male choir) and the Paris Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Andrzej Markowski, enjoyed a tremendous success. The music by E. Varèse had a special appeal to the audience of the festival.

Among the premieres of the festival hosts, Polish composers, we should note the *Second Symphony* by Lutosławski and the oratorio *Dies irae* by Penderecki, dedicated to the unveiling of a monument in Auschwitz.

The 12th Warsaw Autumn festival (1968) was decided to combine with the 42nd World International Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). Difficulties that arose were connected with the formation of a common festival program. In addition, 1968 was marked by the dramatic political events in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, it was hardly surprising that many musicians and composers refused to participate in the joint festival as a sign of protest. As a result, the concert

programs considerably differed from those originally planned. Even the Polish concert programs did not look varied. In that oppressive atmosphere, even such works as *Requiem* by G. Ligeti and *Telemusik* by K. Stockhausen did not receive great acclaim.

Minimal music, archaization and anti-avant-garde

The 13th Warsaw Autumn festival (1969) marked the emergence and spread of “*minimal music*” by American composers (Terry Riley, Morton Feldman). Another trend was the growing tendency towards *archaization or a new rethinking of the sources of ancient music* (e.g. the English composer Harrison Birtwistle in his work attempted to rethink a motet by Ockeghem; the Polish composer Górecki in *Old Polish Music* appealed to ancient sources of the 15th-16th centuries). Increasingly, composers were rejecting the extreme manifestations of avant-garde, although much of what had been discovered in the post-war era was firmly established in their musical vocabulary.

The key performances of the 13th festival were *Livre pour orchestra* by Witold Lutosławski and *Vingt regards sur l'Enfant Jesus* by Olivier Messiaen (John Ogdon at the piano).

The remarkable compositions were the ones by Baird (*Symphony III*), Serocki (*Poezje*), John Tavener (*The Whale*), etc.

Unlike the previous Warsaw Autumn festival, that one was attended by many famous composers from Spain (Luis de Pablo, Cristobal Halffter), the USSR (Edison Denisov, Sergei Slonimsky), Great Britain (John Tavener, Peter Maxwell Davies, Harrison Birtwistle), Yugoslavia (Ivo Malec), Holland (Rob de Bois), and Denmark (Ole Buck).

The concerts of the 14th Warsaw Autumn festival (1970) conveyed a clear anti-avant-garde message. The desire for individuality of musical expression, as well as the rejection of the extremes on the pitch palette, was manifested by many composers. There was a noticeable simplification of the over-complicated, “multilayer” musical texture and a tendency towards static sound, repetition and, consequently, a transition to *minimalism*. Representatives of the new trend were Morton Feldman, John White, Howard Skempton, Cornelius Cardew, and the Polish composers Tomasz Sikorski and Zygmunt Krauze.

The Bel Canto “instrumental theatre” from Sweden also was on the festival program.

The announced key figure of the 15th Warsaw Autumn festival (1971) was O. Messiaen whose music was performed at the closing concert of the festival (National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra conducted by Andrzej Markowski). The second figure was K. Penderecki: both parts of the monumental *Matins* (soloists, orchestra and choirs of the Krakow Philharmonic under the baton of Jerzy Katlewicz) were performed at the Cathedral of St. John.

Another important event was *Lulu* by Berg performed by the Rhine Opera House from Düsseldorf (starring Joan Carroll).

Let us especially emphasize the first appearances of musicians from Eastern Europe. Concerts of Czech and Romanian music took place: the Prague ensemble *Musica viva Pragensis* played works by the already mentioned Mark Kopelent and Zbynk Vostrak; the Bucharest ensemble *Musica Nova* performed the compositions by Tiberiu Olah, Aurel Stroe, and Nicolae Brindus dedicated to the Warsaw Autumn festival.

The main figure of the following 16th Warsaw Autumn festival of 1972 was the American classic Charles Ives.

The composition by Kazimierz Serocki was a resounding and well-deserved success: his *Continuum* for percussion performed by the famous ensemble from Strasbourg (Les Percussions) was played as an encore, with the audience demanding its repeat. George Crumb made his debut (*Echoes of Time and River*). At the festival of that year, a special emphasis was placed on music for percussions, highlighting the work of the Polish composer K. Serocki and the American G. Crumb.

The international premiere of the *Fifteenth Symphony* by D. Shostakovich took place.

The audience was attracted by the works of the Polish composers Górecki, Baird, and Kilar, the Western composers François-Bernard Mache (*Korwar*), L. Berio (*Sequenze III*), and the Korean composer Isang Yun (*Dimensionen*).

Against the background of the presented compositions, the works of the Soviet composers, which were far from modernity, sounded unexpected: A. Khachaturian's *Second Symphony* conducted by the composer himself and T. Khrennikov's *Second Piano Concerto* (the composer performed the solo part).

The 17th Warsaw Autumn festival (1973) was dominated by the Polish music. One concert was solely dedicated to Lutosławski (the key figure of

the festival); Penderecki and Górecki presented symphonies: Penderecki — the *First Symphony*, Górecki — *Symphony No. 2, “Copernican”*. The premiere of the *Concerto for oboe and chamber orchestra* by Baird and the Polish premiere of the composition *Aus aller Welt stammende* by Zygmunt Krauze took place.

Many famous performers participated in the festival: the baritone Fischer-Dieskau, the double bassist B. Turetzky, the organist Karl-Erik Welin, the Swedish Radio Choir, the singers S. Woytowicz and A. Hiolski, the conductors H. Iwaki, W. Rowicki and others.

The 18th Warsaw Autumn festival (1974) was primarily marked by the twelve-hour performance of Erik Satie’s *Vexations*, played by five pianists handing over the baton to each other. In the late 19th — early 20th centuries, the French eccentric Satie had turned out to be spiritually close to the young composers working in the mainstream of static-repetitive music. Such was the style that dominated the 18th festival, not only with the young, but also with the middle generation of composers. Apart from the works of typical representatives of the trend, T. Riley and T. Sikorsky, slightly different, but close features were found in Stockhausen’s *Stimmung*, the hour and a half long vocal composition, in Penderecki’s cantata *Canticum canticorum Salomonis*, and in the orchestral composition *Canticum graduum* by Górecki.

The greatest surprise for the audience, which aroused heated debate in the press, was the composition *Krzesany* by Wojciech Kilar, which was the revival of the long-forgotten genre of symphonic poem and the first appeal to folk melodies after many years of oblivion. Even though at the previous Warsaw Autumn festival Z. Krauze had also presented a composition that had an appeal to folklore, there was a huge difference between his and Kilar’s opuses: Krauze appealed to the methods and transformations of the folklore origins that in no way were connected with folk melodies, while Kilar clearly used stylization means.

The works of other Polish composers were also well-received: the oratorio *El Hombre* by Zbigniew Bujarski, the orchestral work *Musique solennelle* by Marek Stachowski, and *Impromptu fantasque* by Kazimierz Serocki repeated as an encore, a brilliant work in terms of discovering new shades of sound. Serocki was the only composer who remained within sonorism and the aesthetics of the 1960s, but it must be admitted that his coloristic imagination never ceased to surprise or seemed limitless.

The vast repertoire of Western European music was presented. The famous masters (Messiaen, Boulez, Berio, Xenakis, Ligeti) were joined by about 60 new names.

Traditionally, the performing side of the festival looked well-presented. *Night concerts dedicated to experimental music* were introduced, which attracted young people, and not just musical youth.

The 19th Warsaw Autumn festival (1975) reflected current trends of the time: the development of *static music* and *audiovisual creativity* which came into the spotlight and implied the use of light, sounds and noises produced by water flows, thunderstorms, etc. In the reproduction of such musical experience, their creators appealed to computer graphics, transparencies, filming and a wide range of other effects and actions. Let us mention *Klangsynchronie* by J.A. Riedl, a clearly experimental performance given in the vast hall of the Warsaw University of Technology. A counterbalance to such experiments was the work within the tradition: at the St. John’s Cathedral a concert of Penderecki was held (the symphonic poem *The Awakening of Jacob* and the oratorio *Magnificat* conducted by the composer himself, in which Penderecki’s transition to the style he called post-neo-romantic was noticeable). The performance of Lutosławski’s outstanding opus *Paroles tissées* to the text by J.-F. Chabrun was given in an interpretation by the famous English tenor Peter Pears. The author of the music transformed his technique of “limited aleatorics” into a different type of imagery — the lyrics of piercingly smouldering tragedy.

Two opera performances were put on: the Brno Opera House presented *The Cunning Little Vixen* and *From the House of the Dead* (after Dostoevsky) by L. Janáček. The Poznań Opera gave *The Twilight of Peryn* by Zbigniew Penhersi.

The classics of the 20th century were represented by Shostakovich’s compositions. The attention paid to the classics was gradually reducing; and avant-garde compositions were coming to the fore. The genre of a *happening* was found appealing. The festival featured the happening *Song Books* by J. Cage created five years before which was performed at a night concert by the Parisian ensemble Simoni Rist.

The performances of the French ensemble Les Percussions de Strasbourg, the Chamber Choir from Tallinn, and the Wilanów Quartet from Warsaw were a spectacular success.

The 20th anniversary Warsaw Autumn festival (1976) was dominated by the display of synthetic works, which combined the new, introduced by the avant-garde, with the old and traditional. The tone was set by the vocal-instrumental *Bogurodzica* by Wojciech Kilar performed at the opening concert, which used the text of the medieval national anthem. A creative dialogue with the past was also illustrated in the *Third Concerto for Oboe and Orchestra* by the Italian Bruno Maderna, as well as the compositions by L. Foss, R. de Grandis, H.M. Gorecki, etc.

Many masters remained at their former positions (Ligeti, Xenakis, Boulez, Zimmermann, out of the Polish composers – T. Baird, K. Serocki).

The festival continued to expand its geography: an emphasis was made on the concerts of composers from Japan, Yugoslavia, the USSR, Germany, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, etc.

Among the performers those to stand out were the choir The King's Singer's from Great Britain, the boys' choir from Poznan, the harpsichordist Elżbieta Chojnacka, the oboist Heinz Holliger, and the performer of Messiaen's vocal cycle *Harawi* – Jane Manning.

Aesthetic change, the 21st Warsaw Autumn festival

The 21st Warsaw Autumn festival (1977) confirmed the tendency in a number of musicians to *combine new means of composition* [5] *with more traditional ones*. In this regard, the *Symphony of Sorrowful Songs* (*Symphony No. 3*) by Henryk Mikołaj Górecki made a sensation; it was destined to become a world bestseller in the UK and the USA already in the 1980s. However, after its premiere in Warsaw, a heated debate between the supporters of emotional-romantic music and pure avant-garde raged. Other works by Polish composers were also subject to sharp criticism: the poem *Kościelec 1909* by Kilar (*Kościelec* is the mountain where the composer Mieczysław Karłowicz died in 1909) was condemned for its program elements, the *Piano Concerto* by Zygmunt Krause – for the fact that his aesthetics did not accept sonoristics. The same approach was taken in assessing *Universal Prayer* by Andrzej Panufnik, whose work was included in the festival for the first time after years of emigration. Such a heated debate about the Warsaw Autumn festival and its program took place for the first time, which could only mean one thing – *a change in aesthetic orientation*. The change was seen not only in Polish music. Another example was a composer and

performing tandem from the German Democratic Republic: Hans-Karsten Raecke and Gunter Sommer effectively combined their music with jazz. The trend towards embracing different musical traditions was continued by the regular participant of the festival, singer Cathy Berberian, who entitled her solo program “From Monteverdi to the Beatles”.

The works of young composers born in the 1950s were also indicative of the change in aesthetic orientation. The festival was a debut of Eugeniusz Knapik (the vocal-instrumental *Le Chant* to the text by P. Valéry) and Andrzej Krzanowski, who together with the artist K. Urbański created the audio-visual performance *Transpainting* (both composers were from Górecki class, Katowice).

The festival was clearly dominated by Polish music (Lutosławski, Serocki, Kotoński); the foreign music was represented by Boulez, Berio, Crumb, Nono, Kagel, Castiglioni, Takemitsu, Marco and others. A considerable part of the concerts was dedicated to the classics of the 20th century. The performers to stand out were M. Pollini and H. Szeryng.

Foreign accents (the 22nd Warsaw Autumn festival) and Polish accents (the 23rd Warsaw Autumn festival)

The program of the 22nd Warsaw Autumn festival (1978) focused on foreign music. In the spotlight was the creative work of Messiaen, Xenakis, and Berio. The monumental sacred oratorio by Messiaen (*La Transfiguration de notre Seigneur Jesus-Christ*) was performed in Poland for the first time, just as it was for the first time that musicians from Eastern Europe could listen to it. The works by Charles Ives, Webern, J.A. Riedl, Friedrich Cerha, Berio, Dieter Schnebel and many others were also presented.

For the first time at the festival, the Soviet music by composers of the middle generation was presented: Alfred Schnittke, Bronius Kutavičius, Arvo Pärt and Anatoly Shenderov (Chamber Orchestra from Lithuania, soloists Gidon Kremer and Tatyana Grindenko). Music by the composers from Serbia and Romania was also performed.

Two monographic concerts were given: by Ernst Krenek and Bolesław Szabelski. Out of Polish compositions, we shall highlight *Sinfonia sacra* by Andrzej Panufnik, *Concerto for cello and orchestra* by Lutosławski, the works by Penderecki, Baird, Zbigniew Bargielski, etc.

By that time many performers had consciously started to specialize in contemporary music, some of them took part in almost all Warsaw Autumn festivals (among them the vocalists C. Berberian, O. Szwejger, J. Manning, H. Lukomska, S. Woytowicz; the harpsichordist E. Chojnacka, the Assmann quartet from Cologne, the vocal ensemble Madrigal from Romania, etc.)

At the 23rd Warsaw Autumn festival (1979), Polish music was increasingly widely presented. The main features of the festival were the opera *Paradise Lost* (after J. Milton) by Penderecki, staged by the Stuttgart Opera House, and his *Violin Concerto*, a new vocal and instrumental composition *Les espaces du sommeil* by Lutosławski, *Violin Concerto* by A. Panufnik, *Viola Concerto* by R. Palester, the works by Serocki, Baird, Kotoński, Bujarski, K. Meyer, M. Stachowski and young Knapik, Kszanowski, and Paweł Szymański (debut).

The foreign works that attracted considerable attention included the opera *The Martyrdom of St. Magnus* by Peter Maxwell Davies, *Sinfonia con giardino* by Niccolò Castiglioni, and the *Fifth Symphony* by Kalevi Aho. Sofia Gubaidulina made her debut (*Ten preludes for solo cello*); the composition by Edison Denisov for voice, clarinet, alto and piano *Douleur (Pain and Silence)* after O. Mandelstam was a success.

Three directions of the 24th Warsaw Autumn festival and the anniversary festival

The 24th Warsaw Autumn festival (1980), like the previous ones, developed in three dimensions: contemporary Polish music, contemporary foreign music, and the classic of the 20th century. The concert programs were full and varied, so we shall highlight only the most outstanding features of the festival. They included A. Schönberg's opera *Moses und Aron* given by the German Opera on the Rhine, the solo concert by Sviatoslav Richter (the program included S. Prokofiev's works), and many opuses by foreign composers (Xenakis, J. Casken, G. Ligeti, A. Schnittke, M. Kagel and many new names from around the world). A special emphasis should be given to the premieres of the *Double Concerto for oboe, harp and chamber orchestra* by W. Lutosławski (solo by Heinz and Ursula Holliger) and *Beatus vir* for solo baritone, choir and orchestra by H.M. Górecki, dedicated to Pope John Paul II.

Another anniversary, 25 years of the Warsaw Autumn festival (1981), opened with a concert of the works by the founders of the festival – Kazimierz Serocki and Tadeusz Baird. Among the Polish composers, the works of Krzysztof Penderecki stood out (the composer conducted his *Symphony No. 2*); at the Cathedral of St. John the oratorio *Te Deum* dedicated to Pope John Paul II was performed by the Krakow Orchestra and soloists, the Polish Radio and Television under the baton of Antoni Wit.

The anniversary festival was could be considered the most large-scale: 107 compositions were performed (more than half of them were performed in Poland for the first time). There were 70 works by the composers from Western Europe, among them were *Ais* by I. Xenakis, *Elegias a la Muerte de tres poetas espanoles* by Cristóbal Halffter; two *Double Concertos for flute and oboe with orchestra* by Edison Denisov and Paul-Heinz Dittrich.

In the festival programs there were some “national” concerts: the Hungarian concert performed by the Budapest Orchestra (compositions by Bartók, Szollosy, Bozay); the French concert with the participation of Ensemble de l'Iteneraire which marked a new trend in *spectral music* (Grisey, Murail, Michaël Lévinas, etc.); the Portuguese concert performed by the Contemporary Music Group of Lisbon (Peixinho, Lopes e Silva, Salazar, Capdevielle); and the Bulgarian concert – choral compositions interpreted by the women's choir of the Higher Institute of Music and Pedagogy of Plovdiv (Dragostinov, Spasov, Iliev, Stoykov). Bogusław Schaeffer, Roland Kayn, Steve Reich, John Cage and Olivier Messiaen were honoured to give solo concerts. The festival for the first time featured the works of Franz Schreker.

Conclusion

The broad panorama of music development of the 20th century presented in the article in rather a short form allows us to draw some conclusions, the main of which is uniting the academic music that previously did not go beyond its region (East – West) into a single developing process. The festival provided musicians from the countries of the Eastern Bloc with an opportunity to study the classics of the 20th century and the contemporary trends in Western music, so that they could compose in line with them. Very soon, within the 25-year period discussed in the article, new names

of Eastern European composers, who in terms of their creative potential were on a par with those from the West, became known.

The Warsaw Autumn festival might have unconsciously “written” the history of the 20th century music, as it subtly and accurately responded to the emergence of new trends, genres and directions. Researchers of the musical art of the 20th century can hardly do without considering the experience of this festival. Additionally, it should be highlighted that the festival contributed to the emergence of numerous, outstanding performers of modern music, including avant-garde and experimental music.

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