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**In the shadow of PWM
(the Polish Music Publishing House)
On some private music publishing houses in Poland
in the first decade after the Second World War**

A wide-ranging revival of Polish press companies started before the military action of the Second World War had ended. The pre-war publishers—private, cooperative, church-related—entered the market first and were soon joined by newly founded national institutions. Judging by the number of released titles, the lead was initially taken by private and cooperative firms. In 1945 private firms issued 55% of titles, then 52% in 1946, and 48% in 1947. The year 1948 marked a significant decline in their production, with their market share equalling 33%, and 23% in 1949. In 1950 only 8% of books came from private firms.¹

In the sphere of music, the leading position was undoubtedly occupied by the Polish Music Publishing House PWM (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne) established as early as April 1945. Its business activity has already been discussed several times,² although its achievements, methods of work and condi-

¹ Wanda A. CISZEWSKA: *Źródła do badań nad dziejami książki lat 1945–1950* [Research Sources for History of Books Between 1945–1950], Bożena Bednarek-Michalska (ed.) *Biuletyn EBIB* 2007 no. 1 (Feb.), [electronic document: <http://www.ebib.info/2007/82/a.php?ciszewska>; last accessed 24/06/2009].

² Tadeusz STRUMIĘŁO: 'Wydawnictwa muzyczne' [Publishing Houses], [in:] Józef M. Chomiński, Zofia Lissa (ed.), *Kultura Muzyczna Polski Ludowej 1944–1955* [The Music Culture in

tions that determined its work have not yet been compiled in a well deserved monograph. This period also saw a triumph of the press empire Czytelnik, a cooperative publishing company, the music department of which was run by Witold Rudziński. By the time the company was liquidated in 1954 they had issued several hundred publications of sheet music and several dozen books. Isolated cases of books on music could be found in the selection offered by other national publishers (such as PIW, Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, Ossolineum) as well as private ones.

A large part of the repertory released at that time represented vocal music, mainly for a voice with piano accompaniment or for a choir. The works selected for publication most often featured popular 19th century compositions, Christmas carols, folk music or modern dance and light music, as well as social realist mass songs. Such works were issued by PWM and Czytelnik, as well as by numerous national publishers, institutions and cooperatives; such as People's Publishing Institute (Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny) in Łódź; Peasant Publishing Cooperative in Warsaw (Chłopska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza), Cooperative Trade Publishing Książka i Wiedza, Publishing Society Instytut Wydawniczy in Łódź, Publishing Cooperative Żeglarz in Gdynia, Main Army Bookshop, Ministry of National Defence, Main Committee of Physical Education, the Press of the Main Managing Board of the Union or Association of Polish Youth, ZMP—Department of Promotion and Publicity (of propaganda and agitation), and the Main Headquarters Press 'Service for Poland'. Similar publications were released through magazines such as *Materiały Świetlicowe*, *Nowa Wieś*, *Płomienie*, *Po prostu*, *Śpiewajmy* (supplements to the monthly *Teatr Świetlicowy*, later *Scena Świetlicowa*, and next *Praca Świetlicowa*), and music insets for the monthly *Teatr Ludowy*. It was also the private press companies that published the old favourites of light music, folk music, and sometimes also mass songs. Among them were the firms of Arct, Gieszczykiewicz, Ge-

People's Poland between 1945 and 1950], Kraków 1957: 91–103; Zofia HELMAN, 'Wydawnictwa muzyczne' [Publishing Houses], [in:] Elżbieta Dziębowska (ed.), *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna* [Contemporary Polish Music Culture], Kraków 1968: 232–242; Józef M. CHOMIŃSKI: *Muzyka Polski Ludowej* [The Music in People's Poland], Warszawa 1968: 28–33; Krzysztof BACULEWSKI, 'Współczesność' [Modernity], part 1: 1939–1974', in the series *Historia Muzyki Polskiej* [The History of Polish Music] vol. VII, Warszawa 1996: 118–120, as well as the press coverage on the publisher's activity in *Ruch Muzyczny*, *Odrodzenie*, *Kuźnica*, and *Muzyka* (for bibliography see, for instance, Zofia CHECHLIŃSKA, 'Bibliografia ogólna' [General Bibliography], [in:] Elżbieta Dziębowska (ed.), *Polska współczesna kultura muzyczna* [Contemporary Polish Music Culture], Kraków 1968: 403–404.

bethner and Wolff (mentioned later in this article), next to the Kraków-based T. Senecka's Polska Nuta, Warsaw-based publishing houses of J. Rynczak and Eugeniusz Kuthan, the cooperative press Przebój, the publishing house Uniwersum in Katowice; and the Dom Muzyki Polskiej in Zabrze.

This entire immensity of vocal repertoire requires completing, systemising, and establishing its chronology, therefore this will not be the object of the outline intended for this article. Nevertheless, my objective is to bring back the memory of several private publishers that issued sheet music and books on classical music. The choice of subject stems from the fact that in musicological writing information about them has only fragmentary nature.³ This outline was based on the existing bibliographies, the few preserved catalogues of the publishing firms of that time, as well as preliminary research on printed music kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków and the National Library in Warsaw. It does not aspire to present the business activity of those publishing houses in detail (that is, it does not register all their publications, the management of work or the list of employees). The main aim of this paper is to show the general scope of their work and the features of the materials that they published. However, comprehensive analysis of how they functioned would require more thorough research.⁴ The issue seems all the more fascinating that apart from musical culture it also involves an element of the cultural and economic policy of the People's State.⁵

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Although at first the communist state's authorities seemed supportive of the private initiative, they tried to monopolise the sphere of policy on culture and media and to shape the public opinion. They limited the freedom of non-national institutions by various methods: legal, administrative, and censorship,

³ Tadeusz STRUMIŁŁO, 'Wydawnictwa muzyczne' (1957): 94; Zofia HELMAN, 'Wydawnictwa muzyczne' (1968): 232–233; Józef M. CHOMIŃSKI, *Muzyka Polski Ludowej* (1968): 29; Mieczysław DROBNER: *Wspomnienia o początkach życia muzycznego w Polsce Ludowej 1944–1946* [A Memoir about the Beginnings of Musical Life in People's Poland 1944–1946], Kraków 1985 (87–88); Krzysztof Baculewski, 'Współczesność' (1996): 117–118.

⁴ For valuable advice on the methodology of research on after-war printing activity, varieties of available sources, possible approaches, places, and searches, see: Wanda A. CISZEWSKA, *Źródła do badań ...* (2007).

⁵ This aspect was broadly discussed in: Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* [The Authorities Versus Publishers], Warszawa 1993.

as well as by rationing paper, imposing taxes, impairing market competition, manipulating copyright and employing propaganda.⁶

The first blow for the publishers came with the nationalising of the presses, which to a great extent happened against the still legally binding regulations, and with incorporating them into the newly formed publishing houses and political parties. At the same time mostly national or party-allied publishing companies were being opened in order to take over the private initiative. These new institutions were to create counterbalance. As early as 1944 the publisher Książka was established, to aid propaganda of the Polish Workers' Party PPR (Polska Partia Robotnicza), next to the Wiedza press promoting the ideals of the Polish Socialist Party PPS (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna), both of which were merged into Książka i Wiedza, following the parties' unification into the Polish United Workers' Party PZPR (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza) in 1948. Similarly, 1944 was the year of opening of Czytelnik.⁷ April 1945 saw the setting up of the National Press of School Publishers (Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych), who quickly monopolised the market of textbook production, and was also the month in which the Polish Music Publishing House PWM was established.

What proved to be a powerful tool in the hands of the state was the Main Office for Press, Publications and Events Control (Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk) (in fact, restrictive preventive censorship had been imposed since the beginnings of the People's Republic of Poland, with its chief organ being the Bureau of Censorship in the Department of Public Safety of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, PKWN). From that time the state apparatus was granted direct and irrevocable power to affect the future of each publication. Legal acts and institutions created to manage the state's publishing procedures from the central perspective reinforced governmental intervention in independent businesses. In March 1948 the Council of State of the Republic of Poland passed resolution 36 prescribing the formulation of a national publishing plan. On the 8th of March 1948 the Committee

⁶ The following section on legal and political aspects of publishing was largely based on the works by Stanisław Adam KONDEK (1993): mainly 47–56, 96, 115, 163, 173, 194, 196, 197; and Piotr KITRASIEWICZ, Łukasz GOŁĘBIEWSKI, *Rynek książki w Polsce 1944–1989* [Book Market in Poland 1944–1989], Warszawa 2005.

⁷ "In October 1949 Książka i Wiedza as well as Czytelnik [...] employed almost 19,400 people working in 280 administratively allocated departments", after Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 127.

of Ministers of Culture set up a Commission for Disseminating Books. It was “vested with special powers and appointed for ambitious tasks: examining and consenting to publishing initiatives, devising a publishing plan for the years 1948 and 1949, coordinating the release of the so-called mass books and cheap texts distributed by an organised network of recipients, and specifying the form of arrangement for this distribution, preventing «private consumption of books».”⁸ In July 1949 the Central Publishing Committee (Centralna Komisja Wydawnicza) was appointed. Its task was to specify publishing tasks for the year 1950 and the coming six years within the so-called Six-year Plan introduced as a centralised plan of the People’s Republic of Poland, which also had to be recognized by private companies.

Much weakened and sometimes even ruined by war, independent publishers could not count on the state’s help or bank loans, which according to administrative directives were not given to private companies for any purposes other than those meeting very strict requirements: critical to and indispensable for rebuilding the country. Publishing purposes did not fall within that category. From the very beginning the authorities hindered private institutions’ access to paper and to printing presses, which by that time had already been nationalised; whereas businesses supported by the authorities had unlimited resources and paper at discounted prices, as well as preferential treatment from printing presses. In 1946 on the basis of “A decree on suspending the legal validity of some publishing contracts in the field of literature” issued on the 9th of April 1946 and the executive provisions that accompanied it, private firms were deprived of their exclusive copyright to the works of some classic writers of Polish literature (such as Maria Konopnicka, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Bolesław Prus, Władysław Reymont, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stanisław Wyspiański, Gabriela Zapolska, Stefan Żeromski). This action badly affected some houses including Arct’s, and Gebethner and Wolff’s.⁹

In the first half of 1947 a slogan ‘battle for commerce’ marked the vanguard of the eradication of non-national and non-aligned publishing institutions. In June 1947 laws were passed requiring special permission in order to run a number of business activities, including publishing, in reference to which regulations were amended in a much stricter form in “the Government’s order

⁸ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 178–179.

⁹ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 67–68.

of the 21st of September 1949 about licensing companies publishing books and non-periodical materials.” The mere application for a licence involved a high fee, and the regulations were made in a way that enabled easy refusal. “The licensing procedure heavily disturbed the assets and resources of independent publishers. Many of them forsook the effort to gain permission for running further business activity due to previous violations of revenue regulations (e.g. delays in tax payments, duties and savings contributions) or because of a lack of formal qualifications.”¹⁰ Licensed publishers were obliged to “act within the distribution plan established by the Committee of Ministries of Culture”¹¹ and later by the Central Publishing Committee. There were also some subsidiary institutions serving as devices to fight private business initiative, including publishing presses and bookshops: the Special Commission to Fight Malpractice and Economic Abuse, and the Office of Prices at the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (with social committees of price control), to name two. Yet another harassment towards non-state firms came with the act of the 30th of January 1948 ‘on the duty of social economising’, imposing a one-time tax of 20% of gross income on private companies. State- and council-owned institutions as well as cooperatives were, however, exempt from this ‘duty to economise’.

These centralising actions were justified as the requirements for forming national culture, and financial charges from publishing houses were legitimised by accusing them of being driven solely by profit and even of a parasitical approach to culture and society. Restrictions imposed on publishers had been prepared by means of a large-scale propaganda campaign. To illustrate that, we can mention an assault against the above mentioned Eugeniusz Kuthan, a well-known pre-war publisher who distributed forbidden books whilst the country was under occupation and supported writers by making down payments to fees on works to be issued after the war. Jan Brzechwa, a highly-esteemed author of children’s literature and also an expert on copyright, whilst president of the Łódź department of the Trade Union of Polish Writers ZZLP, perhaps not realising what the consequences of his actions would be, in the pages of *Odrodzenie* (no.14, 1946: 9) accused Kuthan of taking advantage of his financial problems and providing disadvantageous conditions within the contract that

¹⁰ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 175.

¹¹ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 195.

he entered in order to issue a planned collection of lyric poems. The charge was later adopted by government-related newspapers, such as *Kuźnica*, and *Nowiny Literackie*, and the issue was pursued by the authorities of the Trade Union of Polish Writers as well as the Ministry of Culture and Art. Kuthan was accused of preying on the economic plight of authors, making money through their misfortune, war speculations and finally of taking advantage and social parasitism.¹² There were other publishers who during the war ran business activities similar to Kuthan, including Arct in Warsaw (discussed later) and Kamiński in Kraków. In reality, their initiative helped to preserve many objects of cultural value, to inspire the creation of valuable works of art and to boost the morale of their makers. Nonetheless, the arguments of the few supporters who saw philanthropy in such actions and a high financial risk (some pieces were commissioned and paid for in advance, a considerable amount was lost in war, mainly during the Warsaw Uprising) had been thwarted and the propaganda succeeded in bringing negative results.

Legal, administrative and financial difficulties were accompanied by bureaucratic restrictions. Stanisław Adam Kondek quotes the procedures necessary to publish a musical composition in the circular letter of the Polish Society of Book Publishers (Polskie Towarzystwo Wydawców Książek) of 1948 no.13 (dated on the 3rd of Oct 1948):

In order to put into print and release musical compositions—probably the most apolitical form of publication—in 1948 a publisher had to follow specific steps:

- receive an approval for the pieces planned for publication from the Polish Composers' Union ZKP (*Związek Kompozytorów Polskich*), its popular music section ZAKR or from the Committee for the Pieces of Music for Education (*Komisja dla Utworów Muzyki Pedagogicznej*) (in reference to compositions used in teaching music),
- this list of approved compositions should then be sent to the Ministry of Culture and Art, accompanied by a request for paper rations addressed to the Committee on Paper; the officers of the Ministry compared the lists and deleted pieces that they found redundant or repetitive, then informed the publisher of the result of the 'planning' operation; the list of approved titles was also sent to the Committee on Paper, which only after the conditional approval was received, could consent to assigning paper or order the publisher to use their own resources,
- finally, the publisher could hand in the manuscripts together with the so-called book cards and the records of previously received approvals at the Main Office of Press, Publication and Events Control GUKPPiW (*Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk*); the Office's consent was confirmed by a stamp on

¹² Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 148–153.

the book card, later sent to the Committee on Paper so as to “obtain permission to use paper”,

- having been given consent the publisher applied to the Main Office of Press, Publication and Events Control GUKPPiW for printing permission and referral to a specific printing house,
- after the book had been issued the publisher requested GUKPPiW’s consent to have it distributed, and reported on the use of the rationed paper to the Committee on Paper.¹³

The final blow against the independent publishing companies was the founding of the Centre for Book Sales (Dom Książki) responsible for distributing books (through an act of law on the 15th of January 1950, although in reality the firm started its business activity on the 31st of December 1949). Not only did Dom Książki take over numerous book shops once belonging to Książka i Wiedza, Czytelnik, PIW and other nationalised publishing houses, it also appropriated 816 private publishing companies, all under the aforementioned law.¹⁴ In the same vein private and cooperative bookshops were eradicated and publishers were cut off from their own distribution networks (most of them owned individual bookshops or entire chains) and left at the mercy of the central distributor.

Some independent firms managed to stay operational for some time longer, however, the hostile approach of the state apparatus, destructive administrative and fiscal law and propaganda left them with no chance of survival. Since around 1953 the private initiative in publishing had been almost entirely eliminated, with the remnants represented by sparse church and church-related institutions (e.g. Pallotinum, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Publishing Institute ‘Pax’, Caritas).

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One of the most distinguished private companies in the field of music was **Arct Publishing**.¹⁵ The company was started by Stanisław Arct in Lublin in

¹³ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 116.

¹⁴ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy* (1993): 197.

¹⁵ Its history presented in this article is mainly based on information found in: Ewa LOKS, ‘Arc-towie. Saga firmy i ludzi’ [The Arct’s. A Saga on the Company and People.], *Księgarz* No. 1/2 1985: 35–52; Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, ‘Księgarnia i wydawnictwo Michała Arcta w Warszawie 1887–1950’ [The Bookshop and Publishing House of Michal Arct in Warsaw 1887–1950], [in:] *Sesje Varsavia-nistyczne* book 10: *Warszawscy wydawcy* [Publishers Based in Warsaw], Warszawa 2003: 21–39.

1838 (or possibly 1836), first as a bookshop and depository of sheet music, works of art and stationery, later as a second-hand bookshop and library, and since 1855 as a print shop initially specialising in publishing pedagogical and educational materials. Moving the company to Warsaw in 1887 allowed the founder's nephew, Michał Arct to implement some more ambitious publishing plans. Whereas in the Lublin period of its activity Arct's Publishers released one or several titles a year, by the end of the 19th century in Warsaw they had increased their yearly average to fifty books, and in the inter-war period the output surpassed 200 different publications. Before the Second World War broke out they had succeeded in compiling an impressive collection of publications including literature, books for children, school textbooks (more than 200 different textbooks had been released by the time of the First World War¹⁶), anthologies¹⁷ and many series of science literature covering diverse fields of study, one of the first being 'Books for Everyone': "a collection of books devised for a vast range of readers, including materials for self-education and supplementing one's knowledge." In the years 1901–1913 600 volumes of this series were released,¹⁸ amongst them *Fryderyk Chopin, jego życie i dzieła: Podług Karasowskiego, Liszta i innych* [Frédéric Chopin, His Life and Works: According to Karasowski, Liszt and Others] (vol. 35 of the series), 1901 by Aleksander Arct (composer, Michał's cousin, writing under a pen name Al-Ar); *Stanisław Moniuszko: Jego życie i dzieła: Z różnych źródeł* [Stanisław Moniuszko: His Life and Works: from Various Sources] (volume 52), 1902 by the same author;

¹⁶ Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 31.

¹⁷ E.g. multi-volume publications issued on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of their business in 1936: *Historia literatury* [History of Literature] by Julian KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Historia powszechna* [General History] by Adam SZELĄGOWSKI, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej* [The History of Polish Art] by Michał WALICKI and Juliusz STARZYŃSKI as well as *Słownik ortopedyczny* [Orthopedic Dictionary] by Stanisław SZOBER. Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo ...' (2003): 35.

¹⁸ Among other series there were Systematyczny Kurs Nauk [Systematic Course on Sciences], Biblioteczka Dzieł Społeczno-Ekonomicznych [A Collection of Social-Economic Works], Biblioteczka Narodowa [National Collection], Podstawy Wykształcenia Współczesnego [Foundations of Modern Education], Z Życia i Myśli [Of Life and Thoughts], Księgi Życia i Ducha [The Books of Life and Spirit], Arcydzieła Literatury Wszechświatowej [Masterpieces of Global Literature]. Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 30. New series were started in 1928 and later: *Zajmujące Czytanki Przyrodnicze* [Fascinating Reading on Nature], *Biblioteka Wielkich Pisarzy* [Great Writers Collection], fiction series for teenagers and adults, such as *Czerwone Książki* [Red Books], *Dobra Powieść* [Good Novel], *Biblioteka Złotej Jabłoni* [Golden Apple Tree Library], *Polska w Pracy* [Poland at Work], series addressing the issues of technical literature: *Biblioteka Radiowa* [Radio Library], *Radio dla Wszystkich* [Radio for Everyone]. Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo ...' (2003): 34.

and *Ryszard Wagner i jego dramaty muzyczne* [Richard Wagner and his Musical Theatre] (vol. 73), 1902 by Catulle Mendès. They later published Tadeusz Joteyko's *Zasady muzyki. Podręcznik do użytku konserwatoriów i szkół muzycznych* [Principles of Music. Textbook for Conservatoires and Music Schools] (2nd edition, 1926) Józef Reiss' *Encyklopedia muzyki* [Encyclopaedia of Music] (1924).

Another distinguishing feature of Arct Publishing was their dictionaries and encyclopaedias on various subjects: from linguistics (the very popular and several times reissued *Dictionary of Borrowed Words* by Michał Arct himself, and other books of a similar nature by different authors: Illustrated Dictionary of Polish, Phraseological Dictionary, Dictionary of Acronyms, Mini Dictionary of Language Errors, Spelling Dictionary), through general knowledge encyclopaedias (Illustrated Book), to specialist items (Dictionary of Commercial Words and Expressions, Radio Dictionary etc.). Taking An important place amongst publications on music, and the much valued in the inter-war period Mini Dictionary of Music by Aleksander Arct (initially issued as the 18th and 19th volumes of the previously mentioned series 'Books for Everyone'), released in 1901 and reissued with supplements in 1907, 1926 and 1949¹⁹ next to the Mini Dictionary of Music by Gustaw Roguski (1927).

Since it entered the market Arct's publishing company brought out not only books but also sheet music, with the yearly output at the end of the 19th century amounting to about 100 compositions²⁰ (the music department was first managed by Aleksander Arct²¹, and since 1930 by his son Jerzy²²); mainly series of piano music (*Etudes et Exercices, Le Jeune Pianiste, Les Deux Amies, Sonates et Sonatines, Musique Moderne*).²³ Since the beginning of the 20th century the publications of music reflected a higher editorial level. The series were edited by professors of the Music Conservatoire in Warsaw, among them Jan Łysakowski, Aleksander Różycki, Aleksander Michałowski, and Ludwik Urstein. Moreover, Aleksander Arct allowed the students of the neighbouring conservatory to borrow sheet music at a set fee.²⁴ Releasing music was somewhat

¹⁹ Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 29.

²⁰ Ewa LOKS, 'Arctowie. ...' (1985): 42.

²¹ Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 28.

²² Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 34.

²³ Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 26 i 27.

²⁴ Ewa LOKS, 'Arctowie. ...' (1985): 42.

neglected after the death of Michał Arct (in 1916), but in the years to come the initiative was reintroduced, with some additions in the form of dance and popular music (about 1926); a new market was found among the Polish community in America.²⁵

In the time of the second world war the company officially suspended their business (its owner Stanisław Arct did not agree to cooperate with the German Office of Propaganda, and thus was not granted a publishing licence). The bookshop, however, was still open and the firm itself was involved in underground activity protecting the so-called prohibited books against destruction, by opening their premises to meetings, distributing clandestine publications, and organising illegal education for the young personnel of bookshops. Stanisław Arct was also working on the post-war releases: he contracted writers and scientists, worked on manuscripts, and designed the graphic layouts of new publications. He prepared about 50 items for printing (in addition he had 77 purchased manuscripts, ready to be edited). Despite keeping two separate copies of each in two different places, all of them burnt in the Warsaw Uprising. The bookshop, storehouses, transport and printing house—over a hundred years of possession—perished in the fires of war.²⁶

Immediately after Warsaw had been liberated Stanisław Arct and his cousin Jerzy embarked on rebuilding the company. The bookshop was open on the 24th of October 1945 at 35 Nowy Świat (the first commercial facilities accessible to the public after the war), and after a short time a decision was made to divide the company, that is, to split the publishing rights. The family of the previous director, the late Zygmunt (his wife Maria Buyno-Arctowa and sons: Zbysław and Bohdan) took over the name of the company (M. Arct Zakłady Wydawnicze Sp. Akcyjna) and moved the premises to Wrocław (with a branch in Łódź) and assumed the publishing rights for the majority of titles. Stanisław and Jerzy Arct were left with the right to publish encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and sheet music. Thus, they opened two companies in Warsaw: a bookshop (Księgarnia S. Arcta Sp. z o.o.) with shares also held by employees, and a publishing house (Wydawnictwo S. Arcta, known from the publications of music as 'Wydawnictwo Muzyczne S. Arcta'). As a musician and composer, Jerzy Arct took responsibility for releasing sheet music—from 1930 he worked as

²⁵ Andrzej SKRZYPCZAK, 'Księgarnia i wydawnictwo...' (2003): 34.

²⁶ Ewa LOKS, 'Arctowie. ...' (1985): 48–50.

manager of this department.²⁷ The Arct's started the publishing business in Warsaw by issuing sheet music, having the financial means from the sales of the pre-war edition of *The Piano Handbook* by Różycki, rescued from the bookshop in Częstochowa, at their disposal.

They were aiming high and wanted to actively participate in shaping and testifying to the musical culture. In the 'Publishers' Note' for the edition of Moniuszko's Solo Songs (volume no. 2 part 1, 1947), one of the first after-war releases they wrote:

By bringing out Stanislaw Moniuszko's Songs we are implementing an undertaking initiated at the time of German occupation [...]. Upon the proposal from the Arct Publishing House, a committee comprising Prof. Jerzy Lefeld, Prof. Feliks Starczewski and Jerzy Arct began working on the project by collecting and organising Moniuszko's songs into four groups: 1. shorter solo songs; 2. longer pieces, ballads, sonnets; 3. multi-part compositions; 4. sacred and religious songs.

Before the Warsaw Uprising started two volumes of solo songs could easily be put into print. Unfortunately, the first volume was completely destroyed by the fire of the catastrophe. The second volume survived in the Praga district of Warsaw, which inspired the Publisher to release the outcome of work of the above mentioned committee very quickly by starting with this part. It is planned that the remaining works will be published until the oeuvre of the nation's songster has been presented. [...]

The catalogue of items published by Arct's company in the period 1946–1950²⁸ contains 59 books and 167 items of sheet music. Books were separated into seven sections, with the fourth one, 'Music', including two publications: *Słowniczek muzyczny* [Mini Dictionary of Music] by J. Głowacki and *Przewodnik operowy* [A Guide to Opera] by K. Stromenger (with a note: under publication; sadly, Arct did not manage to issue it; it was only released in 1959 by the publishing house Iskry). Section number 5 ('Children's') contains *Songbook for Children* by Zygmunt Noskowski and Maria Konopnicka. By 1953 Arct had published a dozen or so compositions.

The sheet music that Arct's company produced mainly comprised educational piano pieces. Altogether there were 55 items, including *A Handbook for Beginner Pianists* [*Podręcznik dla początkujących pianistów*] by Alicja Janiszewska-Nebelska, four sonatinas for the 1st and 2nd grade by Lech Miklasze-

²⁷ Ewa Loks, 'Arctowie. ...' (1985): 51.

²⁸ *Wydawnictwo S. Arcta. Warszawa. Nowy Świat 35. Catalogue 1946–1950*, copied typescript, the Jagiellonian Library, department of musical collections, no call number.

wski, the piano handbooks by Aleksander Różycki and Louis Köhler, studies by Albert Biehl, Cornelius Gurlitt, Alphonse Leduc, Louis Streabbog, and Louis Köhler; Aleksander Różycki's arrangements and basic popular pieces, such as the collection of music by masters of the 18th century [*Zbiór utworów mistrzów XVIII wieku*] edited by Emma Altberg, as well as easy compositions by J. S. Bach, Iosif Ivanovic, Feliks Rybicki, Franz Schubert, Daniel Steibelt, Johann Strauss, Henryk Wieniawski, and Juliusz Zarębski. There were five violin works, including the two-part Violin Handbook by Józef Jarzębski and Polish Dance for violin and piano by Grażyna Bacewicz. The catalogue also listed a two-part Album for the Accordion [*Album na akordeon*] (part 1 by Włodzimierz Bieżan, part 2 by Tadeusz Wesołowski), a two-part Accordion Handbook [*Szkoła na akordeon*] by Czesław Żak and his Mandolin Handbook [*Szkoła na mandolinę*].

In addition, there were eleven collections of songs for a voice solo and piano accompaniment or a choir, among them Six Songs by Karłowicz, Solo Songs vol. 1 and 2 by Moniuszko, arrangements of carols (by Adam Lewandowski), one composition for a big symphonic orchestra (Sygietyński's *Oberek*), three for a small symphonic orchestra of the 'Odeon' type (pieces issued as part books, which allowed for a great freedom in choosing the set of performers).

A considerable part of Arct's catalogue is taken up by the section of light and dance music, for the piano, jazz orchestra (of saloon type) and a brass band. They provide a good selection of compositions by the most popular contemporary composers, including Paweł Aslanowicz, Jerzy Boczkowski, Antoni Buzuk, Leszek Chwaściński, Jerzy Harald, Zygmunt Karasiński, Tadeusz Kwieciński, Jerzy Lawina-Świętochowski, Adam Lewandowski, Jan Adam Maklakiewicz, Antoni Sikorski, Olgierd Straszynski, Władysław Szpilman, Zygmunt Wiehler, and Czesław Żak. A significant number of them come with a note 'out of print'.

The Wrocław branch of the Arct's company was liquidated in 1949, unable to face the very high tax imposed by state authorities. The Warsaw branch paid the tax in instalments and continued its vestigial publishing business. Its great calamity came in December 1950 when the bookshop had to be closed down, compulsorily incorporated to the establishment Dom Książki and removed from the register of companies on the 21st of February 1951. Arct's publishing house persevered until 1952 when the period of liquidation started, and the

company was declared fully insolvent in 1959.²⁹ In total, 360 titles (both books and sheet music) had been released by 1952.³⁰

Another publishing house with a hundred years of tradition and outstanding merits for the Polish culture in the field of music was the company of **Gebethner and Wolff**, also known for their social and charitable activity, as well as for patriotic and humanitarian initiatives.³¹

Founded in 1857 by Gustaw August Gebethner and Robert Wolff the 'bookshop and sheet music depository' immediately marked its presence on the market with wide-scale participation in book selling and publishing. The firm soon opened branches in Kraków (where the company also had a printing shop run by Ludwik Władysław Anczyc, after whom it was later named), Łódź, Lublin, Poznań, Wilno and Zakopane, and at the beginning of the 20th century in Paris and New York, thus becoming one of the key Polish institutions of culture. It also released books covering a range of fields of knowledge: from belle lettres, literature for children and teenagers, religion, and philosophy, through mathematics, nature, and technology to music. In addition to books they issued weekly magazines and daily newspapers, including *Naokoło świata*, *Kurier Sportowy*, *Kurjer Warszawski* and *Kurjer Codzienny*, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, *Ruch Literacki*, *Wiadomości Księgarskie*, as well as the most popular among them *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*. It was in the pages of their magazines and books that nearly all of the most important Polish writers had their debut and published their writing: Eliza Orzeszkowa, Bolesław Prus, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Maria Konopnicka, Władysław Reymont, and Stefan Żeromski, and in the inter-war period Michał Choromański, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Julian Kaden-Bandrowski, Leon Kruczkowski, Zofia Nałkowska, Jan Parandowski, Ewa Szelburg-Zarębina, Kazimierz Wierzyński, Henryk Worcell, Karol Bunsch, and Kornel Makuszyński. From 1905, when Russian authorities of the Congress Poland allowed teaching in Polish, Gebethner and Wolff's firm became involved in the production of textbooks and popular literature, thus turning into the most powerful business in the field, next to the publishing house of Arct.

²⁹ Ewa Loks, 'Arctowie. ...' (1985): 51.

³⁰ Ewa Loks, 'Arctowie. ...' (1985): 51.

³¹ Irena Wojsz: 'Gebethner i Wolff—największa polska firma księgarsko-wydawnicza drugiej połowy XIX i pierwszej XX w.' [Gebethner and Wolff, the Biggest Polish Bookseller and Publisher of the 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century], *Rocznik Warszawski* 30, 2001: 161–177.

Their output in the sphere of music was equally impressive. They released the first Polish collection of Chopin's works and published it in six volumes. In addition, they brought out all of Moniuszko's compositions, and pieces by earlier Polish composers as well as by those who only started their career at that time (Zarębski, Pankiewicz, Noskowski, Statkowski, Karłowicz, Różycki, Szymanowski). Before the outbreak of the Second World War they issued over seven thousand publications of sheet music, including pedagogical literature, popular European piano and vocal pieces (in many series), as well as dance and light music. Moreover, the company's name was known for several highly valued textbooks: Michał Marian Biernacki's *Zasady muzyki przyjęte i zalecone przez Instytut Muzyczny w Warszawie* [Principles of Music as Approved and Recommended by the Institute of Music in Warsaw] (1901), Zygmunt Noskowski's *Kontrapunkt, kanony, wariacje i fuga* [Counterpoint, Canons, Variations, and Fugue] (1907), Józef Reiss' *Historia muzyki w zarysie* [The Outline of History of Music] (1920), Mieczysław Surzyński's *Streszczony wykład polifonii i form muzycznych* [Summarised Lecture on Polyphony and Musical Forms] (1925), Stanisław Kazuro's *Solfeggio czyli Nauka czytania nut głosem* [Solfeggio, that is Learning to Read Music with One's Voice] (1925), and Helena Dorabialska's *Ćwiczenia praktyczne z harmonji. Kurs 1, Harmonja niemodulująca* [Practical Exercises in Harmony. Course no. 1, Non-modulating Harmony] (1927).

During the Second World War the owners of the publishing house became engaged in underground activity. Furthermore, they illegally sold textbooks, lent books, and organised clandestine courses. Most of their assets were destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising, with the only surviving property being the book and paper depository at Targowa Street in the district of Praga. Through violation of law some of them were taken over by the Publishing Cooperative Czytelnik. In 1946 Gebethner and Wolff's company suffered substantial losses as a result of being deprived of the copyright to many classics of Polish literature (based on the aforementioned decree). In 1950 their bookshops were incorporated to Dom Książki. The same year the company's publishing license was not extended. They did manage to run a second-hand bookshop for a few years, however, in 1960 they filed for bankruptcy. The company closed down in 1973.

Before liquidation, Gebethner and Wolff were able to publish Twenty easy pieces for piano by Anna Maria Klechniowska (1949), Sonatinas. Part 2 arranged by Aleksandra Michałowski, two Accordion Handbooks by Ryszard Dziegielewski (Scales, passages, studies: for accordion in 1950 as well as A

Handbook for accordion with 8 to 120 bass studs, 1–2, 1948), two for solfège practice (by Faustyn Kulczycki *Solfeggio*, part. 1–2, 1948 and Stanisław Kazuro's *Solfeggio*, that is learning pitch reading for 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 voices, 1946), fragments from Moniuszko's operas, and Kurpiński's *Warszawianka* and Józef Furmanik's *Two Matins for the Celebration of Christmas and Resurrection* (1947). The publisher's offering, however, was much wider. In his releases (on the back cover) he advertised his numerous pre-war editions which had survived the ravages of war.³² There were at least a hundred titles, among them works by Moniuszko (e.g. songs, piano reductions of operas), Chopin, Łucjan Kamiński, Mieczysław Surzyński, Różycki, Żeleński, Wertheim, Szymanowski, Melcer, Adam Wieniawski, Rogowski, Niewiadomski, Statkowski, Szopski, Jarecki, and Nowo-wiejski. At that time, Gebethner's and Wolff's range of publications covered popular music for voice and piano or as arranged for a small orchestra by celebrated composers such as Marek Andrzejewski, Antoni Buzuk, E. Ciesielski, Adam and Zygmunt Karasiński, Tadeusz Kierski, Leon Rzewuski, Marek Szczerbiński, and Michał Zieliński.

Another Polish publishing company with considerable output in the field of music was **T. Gieszczykiewicz** Press. Founded in Kraków in 1897 by Antoni Piwarski, Tadeusz Gieszczykiewicz and J. Drozdowski, it first operated under the commercial name 'Antoni Piwarski i Sp., Księgarnia Muzyczna i Wypożyczalnia Nut' [Antoni Piwarski and Partners, Music Bookshop and Sheet Music Library] (it had also published music since at least 1899), and later, after Piwowski's death (1929), Gieszczykiewicz took over the company as its sole proprietor (1931) and from 1933 he ran it under his own name. Until the Second World War the firm's output had mainly covered popular piano pieces as well as highly regarded handbooks for various instruments, pedagogical literature, national, folk and church songbooks. The company was highly esteemed for being the first to publish pieces by outstanding Polish composers (e.g. Friedman, Karłowicz, Melcer, Nowowiejski, Różycki, Szeluta, Szopski, Wallek-Walewski), including four compositions by Szymanowski.³³

³² For example in: R. DZIĘGIELEWSKI: Scales, passages, studies: for accordion, 1950.

³³ Entries *Gieszczykiewicz Teodor* and *Piwarski Antoni*, in: E. Dziębowska (ed.) *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM. Część biograficzna* [Encyclopaedia of Music, PMW. Biographical Part], vol. 3 (EFG): 302 and vol. 8 (Pe-R): 123–124.

After Gieszczykiewicz's death in 1937 the company fell into decline. Its business was revived during the war when Tadeusz Zapiór first leased and then bought it, together with Aleksander Słaba, Zygmunt Bank and Józef Chodorowski. As an experienced bookseller, with years of practice at Gebethner and Wolff's and at Ossolineum, Zapiór took executive responsibility. His decision was to extend the range of the publishing house to include books on subjects other than music (mainly literature for children). In the year 1947, he came into ownership of Księgarnia Polska from Anna Egbert, the previous owner's widow. Under the company's new name of **Wiedza-Zawód-Kultura** Zapiór started a bookselling and publishing business. He decided that it was this company that would issue books,³⁴ whereas the T. Gieszczykiewicz Press, the director of which he remained till the end of its activity on the market, was to return to its strictly sheet music profile. In 1951 both companies were closed down, and since 1953 Zapiór restricted his business to running a second-hand bookshop and selling off his old companies' editions.³⁵

Catalogues of T. Gieszczykiewicz Publishing³⁶ for 1947 and 1949 consist of two sections: materials for children and teenagers, and music, altogether 27 items (sheet music and three books). Before it was closed down in 1951, the company still issued several more publications of sheet music. They were usually of pedagogical nature, aimed at teaching piano³⁷, violin³⁸, guitar³⁹ and

³⁴ To name but a few: Władysław TATARKIEWICZ: *O szczęściu* [On Happiness], *Ilustracja w książkach dla dzieci i młodzieży* [Illustration in Books for Children and Teenagers], Aleksander SEMKOWICZ: *Introligatorstwo* [Bookbinding].

³⁵ Edward CHEŁSTOWSKI: 'Tadeusz Zapiór (1899–1988)', *Księgarz* 1988 no. 2: 37–39.

³⁶ T. Gieszczykiewicz. *Księgarnia. Wydawnictwo. Skład nut. Kraków ul. św. Jana 3. [...] Katalog wydawnictw własnych, kwiecień 1947 ... 1949* [T. Gieszczykiewicz. Bookshop. Publishing House. Sheet Music Depository. Kraków, 3 Sw. Jana Street. (...) Catalogue of company's publications, April 1947 and respectively: ... April 1949], Jagiellonian Library, Department of Music Collections, both without call numbers.

³⁷ Ferdinand Beyer, *The Piano Handbook*, Friedrich Burgmüller, 25 etudes faciles op. 100; Carl Czerny, 100 exercises for piano; Aleksander Różycki, *New Piano Handbook* (issued in 1947 together with Arct Publishing), Henri Lemoine, *Easy Exercises* op. 37; Muzio Clementi, 32 Sonatinas; Anton Diabelli, *Melodious Pieces* op. 149; Hermann Berens, *New Dexterity Handbook* op. 61; Stephen Heller, *Selection of Studies* from op. 45, 46 and 47; Aloys Schmitt, *Introductory Exercises* op. 16 (reprint of A. Dąbrowiecki's edition); Władysław Miksztein, *Mały pianista. Zbiór łatwych utworów dla początkujących* [Little Pianist. Collection of Easy Pieces for Beginners].

³⁸ Antoni Langer, *Początki gry na skrzypcach* [The Basics of Violin Playing]; Tadeusz Głodziński, *Łatwa szkoła początków gry na skrzypcach oparta na melodiach ludowych* [Easy Handbook on the Basics of Violin Playing Based on Folk Melodies].

³⁹ Józef Powroźniak, *The Guitar Handbook*.

accordion:⁴⁰ a variety of piano pieces⁴¹ or the violin and the piano⁴² as well as songs for a voice and piano (carols, sacred songs and songs for children).⁴³ Czesław Koziętulski's *Pieśni ludowe na fortepian i do śpiewu z fortepianem* [Folk Songs for the Piano and to be Accompanied by the Piano] (issued on the 20th of September 1951) was most likely the final publication by T. Gieszczykiewicz Publishing. The bookshop belonging to T. Gieszczykiewicz's company still offered over a hundred pieces of light music from different publishers.⁴⁴

The first of the books by T. Gieszczykiewicz Publishers was released when the war was still on, in 1944. It was Józef Reiss' *Elementarz muzyczny* [ABC of Music] (first edition issued under his pen name Jan Dembina). The second edition of this text (supplemented) was released in 1948 with the identification number of the publishing house Wiedza-Zawód-Kultura T. Zapiór. The books that followed were also written by the same author: *Najpiękniejsza ze wszystkich jest muzyka polska. Szkic historycznego rozwoju na tle przeobrażeń społecznych* [Of all Music the Most Charming is Polish. A Draft on Historic Development against the Backdrop of Social Transformations], 1946; *Mała historia muzyki. Dla szkół muzycznych, samouków i radiostuchaczy* [Short History of Music. For Music Schools, Autodidacts and Radio Listeners], 1946. The latter was released in 1951 with the identification number of the publishing house Wiedza-Za-

⁴⁰ Józef Powroźniak, *The Piano Accordion Handbook*; Józef Powroźniak, *Treasures of the Accordionist*.

⁴¹ Władysław Grot, *Skarbczyk najpiękniejszych melodii dla dzieci* [A Little Treasury of the Most Pleasant of Tunes for Children] and other; R. Schumann, *Album for the Young* op. 68; Czajkowski, *Album for Young Pianists*; Zdeněk Fibich, *Poème* op. 41 no. 4; *W krainie melodii* [In the Land of Melody. a Collection of Favourite Pieces in Easy Arrangement for Piano] by Michał Woźny (a reprint of the previous edition of A. Dąbrowiecki Publishing).

⁴² Franciszek Konior, *Carols and Pastorales for violin and piano*.

⁴³ Franciszek Barański, *W dzień Bożego Narodzenia* [On the Christmas Day]; Tomasz Fłaska: *Śpiewnik Kościelny* [Sacred Songbook] part 1; Władysław Mikstein, *Wieniec kolęd polskich* [A Medley of Polish Carols]; Otto Žukowski, *Najpiękniejsze kolędy polskie* [The Choicest of Polish Carols]; Ludomir Różycki, *A... A... A... kotki dwa* lullaby and other; S. Hotzi, *Kraków w słońcu* [Kraków in the Sun]; Czesław Koziętulski, *Folk Songs*; Ludomir Różycki, *Piosenka Caton z opery Casanova* [The Caton Song of the Opera Casanova]; Franciszek Konior, *Pieśni kościelne na chór żeński lub męski a cappella* [Sacred Songs for a Female or Male Choir a cappella]; and *Śpiewajmy wszyscy wraz* [Let us Sing all Together], collected by Józef Powroźniak.

⁴⁴ T. Gieszczykiewicz i S-ka. *Księgarnia. Wydawnictwo. Skład nut. Kraków ul. św. Jana 3. [...]* *Katalog wydawnictw muzycznych. Przeboje taneczne* [T. Gieszczykiewicz and Partners. Bookshop. Publishing House. Sheet Music Depository. Kraków, 3 Św. Jana Street (...)] *Catalogue of Music Publications. Dance Hits*, September 1948, the Jagiellonian Library, department of musical collections, no call number.

wód-Kultura T. Zapiór as a second, amended edition and called *Mata historia muzyki. Do pierwszej wielkiej wojny światowej 1914*. [Short History of Music. Until the First Great World War 1914]. Using his own publishing number, Tadeusz Zapiór started printing yet another work by Reiss, i.e. *Podręczna encyklopedia muzyki* [Concise Encyclopaedia of Music]. Nevertheless, he only managed to issue two volumes *A-K (A-Kolędy)* between 1949 and 1950. The liquidation of his business prevented him from completing this task.

Another company specialising in issuing sheet music was the Kraków-based **A. Dąbrowiecki** Publishing. They released over 40 copies of compositions for piano, violin and piano, and voice and piano until around 1949. Some of these were didactic in nature,⁴⁵ mostly representing popular piano or song literature of the 19th century,⁴⁶ opera pieces (Bizet's) for voice and piano, as well as their piano arrangements, and carols. Some publications by Dąbrowiecki Publishing were brought out with the identification number of Gama Press from Kraków.

Stefan Kamiński had run his publishing business, bookshops and a second-hand bookshop in Kraków since 1934.⁴⁷ During the war he cooperated with the Resistance by running a clandestine library, a printing shop, and a copy room issuing illegal press, course books for underground university, and leaflets; what is more, he illegally purchased forbidden books that were earmarked for destruction from the hands of Germans. His outstanding attitude also showed itself through diligent business planning for post-war times. In preparation he made agreements with authors and paid their fees and down

⁴⁵ J. S. Bach: Two-Part inventions, Muzio Clementi, 32 sonatinas for piano (including pieces by Kuhlau, Dussek); Hermann Berens, *New Dexterity Handbook* arranged by Z. Drzewiecki; Henri Lemoine, *Easy Exercises*; Aloys Schmitt, *Ćwiczenia przygotowawcze, Najłatwiejsze sonatiny na fortepian dla pierwszych lat nauki* [Introductory Exercises; the Easiest Piano Sonatinas for the Students of Initial Grades] arranged by Artur Taube; Franz Wohlfart, 60 exercises for violin.

⁴⁶ *Album for Young Pianists* by Czajkowski; Ivanovic's and Strauss' waltzes; *W krainie melodii* [In the Land of Melody. Collection of Favourite Pieces in Easy Arrangement for Piano] arranged by Michał Woźny; pieces by Brahms, Chopin, Liszt (abridged version), Eduardo di Capua; four songs by Moniuszko; and five songs by Niewiadomski.

⁴⁷ To find out more about his business see: Zofia Starowiejska MORSTINOWA, *Kabala historii* [Fortune-telling of History], first edition, Kraków 1962, introduction: 'Jak pisałam Kabalę' [About writing the 'Fortune-telling']: V-XIX, Stanisław Augustynowicz-Ciecierski, 'Wspomnienie o Stefanie Kamińskim' [Memory of Stefan Kamiński], *Tygodnik Powszechny* 9 Nov. 1975, no. 45: 6.

payments for working on the contracted books. His writers and consultants were highly acclaimed people of letters (Zofia Kossak, Wojciech Żukrowski, Jan Dobraczyński, Czesław Miłosz, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Tadeusz Kwiatkowski) and science (among the forty names Zofia Starowieyska Morstinowa mentions Stanisław Pigoń, Leon Marchlewski, Stanisław Wędkiewicz, Jana Dąbrowski, Władysław Szafer, Roman Dyboski, Stefan Szuman and Zdzisław Jachimecki). One publication that was most likely the effect of this kind of wartime contract was Zdzisław Jachimecki's *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym od czasów najdawniejszych do doby obecnej* [Polish Music in Historic Development from the Olden Days to the Present Era]. Vol. 1: *Od Bogurodzicy do Chopina* [From Bogurodzica to Chopin]. Part 1: *Do końca w. XVII* [Till the End of the 17th Century]. Part 2: *Wiek XVIII do połowy wieku XIX* [The 18th Century till mid 19th Century] (1948, 1951). After the war Kaminski managed to publish about 160 titles before his company was closed down.⁴⁸

In addition, individual publications of classical music or sheet music of pedagogical purpose were sporadically issued by other private firms specialising in music, among them Eugeniusz Kuthan's Publishing from Warsaw, K. T. Barwicki's Publishing from Poznań, and Uniwersum Publishing from Katowice.

* * *

It is not easy to unequivocally establish what the importance of private publishing businesses was in the first decade after the Second World War. Their output (totalling just over a hundred publications, excluding stage music) might not be considered impressive in comparison with the production of PWM.⁴⁹ They did not contribute to creating the most high-brow Polish culture (i.e. they did not issue the most outstanding works of Polish contemporary music) or humanities (there were no source publications of early music, and few meaningful historical treatises); although some traces of a more ambi-

⁴⁸ Stanisław Adam KONDEK, *Władza i wydawcy...* (1993): 153.

⁴⁹ By the end of the first half of 1952 PWM had released 910 items (book and sheet music), including about 420 promoting music, around 250 classified as stage music, about 210 for music schools, and over 20 on theory and history of music, as well as annual volumes of journals; according to Tadeusz MAREK, 'Cyfry, które brzmią jak muzyka (siedem lat działalności Polskiego Wydawnictwa Muzycznego)' [Numbers that Sound Like Music (Seven Years of Business Activity of the Polish Music Publishing House)], *Muzyka* 1952 No. 5/6: 106.

tions approach to culture may be observed in Arct's company (their intention to publish all works by Moniuszko). What one needs to remember, however, is that private publishing houses did not enjoy normal business conditions. Subdued by war (in terms of capital, equipment and personnel) at the start of their presence on the post-war market, they had to face all sorts of harassment from the authorities that eventually led them to failure. Such circumstances meant that it was impossible to implement a consistent creative publishing policy. They undoubtedly co-built the foundations of the developing musical culture and the everyday culture by publishing popular music and handbooks to teach the playing of instruments. The good level of those releases and the right choice of their publishers is proven by the fact that a considerable number of them (at least a vast part of pedagogical materials and those of popularising nature) were later to be found in the catalogues of the Polish Music Publishing House PWM.

It is hard to say what their future and contribution to Polish culture would have been like had it not been for the ruthless exterminatory approach of the party and state apparatus. Their liquidation was disastrous for Polish musical culture. Fortunately, the extensive and sound publishing practice of PWM, led first by Tadeusz Ochlewski and then by Mieczysław Tomaszewski, served all of the essential spheres of musical culture.

It was only the crisis of the 1980s and the transformations of the political system in the 1990s, linked with the changes in the management of PWM, that resulted in considerable limitations in the production of this Polish monopolist. Had the number of publishing houses specialising in music been higher, this quandary could have been less biting. It was not until the early 1990s that the private companies present on the market next to, and sometimes competing against, PWM enjoyed their revival.

Translated by Agnieszka Gaj

Abstract

Music publishing houses had started to resume their activity in Poland on a bigger scale even before the war operations ended. At the beginning, the market was dominated by private companies, yet they became gradually superseded by state-owned publishing houses or associations (PWM, Czytelnik), to eventually disappear by the early 1950s. Their inability to stay in business was a result of long and consistent efforts of a socialist state, hostile to private initiative—especially in the sphere of policy on culture, media and shaping of public opinion. Their bankruptcy was triggered by legal and administrative restrictions, censorship, paper rationing, taxes, unfair competition, copyright manipulation and propaganda activities, all of which are discussed in the article.

The most prominent music publishing houses of that time were: Arct Publishing, Gebethner and Wolff Press, Tadeusz Gieszczykiewicz Press, Wiedza-Zawód-Kultura run by Tadeusz Zapiór, A. Dąbrowiecki Publishing, Stefan Kamiński Press. They managed to publish altogether over one hundred publications, excluding a large body of stage music. Even though they did not publish any outstanding works of the contemporary Polish music nor any significant historical studies, they did play an important role in providing basis for a development of musical culture and the “everyday” culture by publishing numerous handbooks for various musical instruments and popular music. Let the fact that a considerable number of their publications is later found in the catalogues of the PWM serve as a proof of their high standards.

Keywords: Polish publishing houses, Arct, Gebethner and Wolff, Tadeusz Gieszczykiewicz, Wiedza-Zawód-Kultura, Tadeusz Zapiór, A. Dąbrowiecki, Stefan Kamiński.