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Elder Conservatorium of Music
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Sir Andrzej Panufnik: Music and Migration

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation, submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy at the Elder Conservatorium of Music, University of Adelaide, has as its primary focus the effect migration had on the life and music of the Polish – British composer, Sir Andrzej Panufnik (1914-1991).

Many composers have been forced, or have chosen to leave, their homeland due to political pressures, and begin a new life in a foreign country. This kind of migration was particularly prevalent during times of crisis. In Europe's case, the 20th century saw a large number of artists migrate, due principally to the effects of World War I, the Great Depression, World War II and the Cold War. While, composers are often included in studies concerning migration, little attention is given to what effect this migration had on their musical output. Sometimes as a result of migration, composers who were acclaimed in their homeland found themselves outsiders in their new country and their music ignored. This thesis will examine the effect which migration from Poland had on the life and music of Sir Andrzej Panufnik, who is still an under-rated, under-performed, and under-recognised composer of the modern era.

This study consists of two sections, which explore respectively the life and music of Sir Andrzej Panufnik. Part A focuses on an overview of migration and its effect on artists (particularly composers), especially during the Cold War period. This is followed by an exploration of the effect migration had on Panufnik's life; including a detailed examination of Panufnik's reasons for leaving Poland and seeking political asylum in England. Moreover, Part A also elaborates on key concepts present throughout this study, such as defection, belonging, and *Polskość* ('Polishness'). Part B is a critical discussion of four pivotal works by Panufnik, which ascertains the presence of change of his musical style due to migration. The following works are the subject of discussion: *Tragic Overture* (1942), *Old Polish Suite* (1950), *Sinfonia Sacra* (1963-1964), and *Universal Prayer* (1968-1969). Each of these works represents a stylistic shift in Panufnik's compositional output.

DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or tertiary institution and, to the best of his knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Date:

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INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Many composers have been forced, or have chosen to, leave their homeland due to political pressures, and begin a new life in a foreign country. Sir Andrzej Panufnik (1914-1991), one of Poland's most promising composers of the post-war era, left the Polish People's Republic (PRL) in 1954 and defected to the United Kingdom (UK). This dissertation will critically examine the effect of Panufnik's migration from Poland on his life and music. In doing so, this project will investigate issues such as national identity, compositional development and how these issues may have applied and changed across his life.

This study contains two methodological approaches. The first is biographical research (through a study of his life, writings, letters, etc.); and the second a critical discussion of selected music. These two approaches are separated into two separate sections within the dissertation: Part A: The Man, and Part B: The Music.

Part A focuses on a biographical study of Panufnik's life and comprises three chapters. Chapter 1 contains an overview of the issue of migration's effect on individuals, with particular emphasis placed on migration during the Cold War period, and a brief discussion of the key terms of this study. This chapter also includes a brief discussion of comparable émigré composers with emphasis placed on Polish composers of the 20th century. The Chapter 2 examines Panufnik's life in Poland (1914-1954) and in doing so ascertain why Panufnik defected in 1954. Chapter 3 explores Panufnik's life post-defection in the UK (1954-1991), discussing how the British reacted to Panufnik, the reasons for these reactions and how they affected Panufnik. Furthermore, this chapter will consider if Panufnik was isolated or dislocated from Poland as a result of his defection, and what effect this may have had on him.

Part B consists of a critical discussion of four selected compositions: *Tragic Overture* (1942); *Old Polish Suite* (1950); *Sinfonia Sacra* (1963-1964); and *Universal Prayer* (1968-1969). Chapter 4 outlines a method for discussing the selected works in order to reveal both similarities and differences. This method draws upon the 'Formulated Aesthetics' of Zbigniew Skowron and the 'Rules of Shaping' developed by Ewa Siemadaj. Additionally, attention is paid to what level of *Polskość* ('Polishness') can be found in Panufnik's compositions and if it was affected by his defection.

Furthermore, the examination of two post-defection works (*Sinfonia Sacra* and *Universal Prayer*) will consider whether his music after 1954 exhibited any sense of belonging to the United Kingdom.

Finally, given the limited number of existing sources, particularly in the area of migration's effect on Panufnik's life and music, it was deemed necessary to generate a number of new primary sources as part of this study. These sources take the form of interviews and correspondence with those who knew Panufnik personally or performed his music under his guidance. Interviewees include: Dr Beata Bolesławska (Panufnik's official biographer); Lady Camilla Panufnik (Panufnik's wife); Łukasz Borowicz (the only conductor to have recorded, and possibly conducted, all of Panufnik's symphonic works)¹; Prof. Zbigniew Skowron (a leading Polish musicologist); Martin Dalby (former producer for BBC Radio 3, and former head of music for BBC Scotland); Andre Dzierzynski (one of Panufnik's only émigré friends and a painter); and Bernard Jacobson (another of Panufnik's friends, who worked for Boosey and Hawkes during the 1980s and 1990s).

The literature on the subject of migration is extensive. Most sources address the issue on a broad scale and thus the majority of sources do not provide information directly relevant to this study. The majority of these sources can be incorporated into six broad categories: historical texts (both general and specific); texts, which discuss migration policy; examinations of the psychological effects of migration; texts, which describe the effect migration has on society; the economic effects of migration; and cultural examinations of migration.

Some of historical texts discuss migration within the guise of a specific mass-migratory movement by an ethnic group, or the history of migration in a specific country. *Migration in World History* by Patrick Manning, for example, provides an overview of world migration in an historical context.² Klaus J. Blade's book from 2003 is another example of this kind of text, which provides an overview of migration in

¹Łukasz Borowicz has currently released six of the seven volumes which he has recorded, with the remaining volume due for release in early 2014. These recordings include all of Panufnik's symphonic works with the exception of his old Polish reconstructions, which are written for chamber orchestra, and works written specifically for smaller ensembles.

²Patrick Manning. *Migration in World History*. New York and London: Routledge, 2005.

Europe during the 19th and 20th century.³ Blade's book, while dealing with the issue of migration in Europe on a broad historical level, does provide this study with a basic understanding of the historical trends of migration in Europe at the time of Panufnik's defection. Aside from providing a basic understanding of the migratory situation in Poland and Europe during the 20th century (and more specifically the Cold War) these historical texts do not discuss individuals or music in any real detail and thus are of limited assistance to this study.

Migration policy is frequently discussed in both government and non-government documents across the world. These texts range from straightforward statements of government policy to discussions of various migration policies and their effects. Liza Schuster's essay on 'Political Asylum in Germany and Britain' discusses the effect of migration and refugee policies on these countries and their new inhabitants.⁴ Other sources debate the psychological effects of migration, dislocation, diaspora, and the importance of geographical location as a factor affecting an individual's well-being. One such source is a collection of essays compiled and edited by Maria Teresa, Savio Hooke and Akhtar Salman.⁵ Sources of this kind are important as they provide a significant insight into the motivations and behaviours of migrants in general which allows for comparisons with the case of Panufnik. Akhtar states: "Moving from where one has lived for a long time to a new place of residence can have destabilizing effects upon the mind."⁶ Likewise, he details a number of human and non-human effects of dislocation including: separation from a familiar ecological surrounding, loss of valued personal possessions, loss of family or friends, etc. Akhtar's findings, in combination with other similar sources,⁷ provide grounding for the suggestion that migration and its resulting effects can affect both an artists' ability to create, and how they create.

³Klaus J Bade. *Migration in European History*. Trans. Allison Brown. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003.

⁴Liza Schuster. "Political Asylum in Germany and Britain." in *Migration and Mobility, the European Context*. Eds. Subrata Ghatak and Anne Showstack Sassoon. New York: Palgrave, 2001: pp.109-23.

⁵Maria Teresa Savio Hooke and Salman Akhtar. *The Geography of Meanings. Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Place, Space, Land, and Dislocation*. London: The International Psychoanalytical Association, 2007.

⁶Salman Akhtar. "The Trauma of Geographical Dislocation: Leaving, Arriving, Mourning, and Becoming." in *The Geography of Meanings. Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Place, Space, Land, and Dislocation*. Eds. Maria Teresa Savio Hooke and Salman Akhtar. London: The International Psychoanalytical Association, 2007: pp.165-90. p.165

⁷For example: Philip V. Bohlman. "The Immigrant Composer in Palestine, 1933-1948: Stranger in a Strange Land." in *Asian Music*. 17.2 1986: pp.147-67.

Works such as 'Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia' by Marlène Laruelle,⁸ examine the social implications of migration for ethnic groups and nation states. Such sources are not particularly relevant to this study as they do not examine the effect migration has on music or individuals.

Sources, which deal with the economic effects of migration, are also of little help to this study, as they too, do not examine the effect of migration on music or an individual. There are, however, a few sources, such as an essay by Karol Jan Borowiecki, which discuss creative individuals as part of an examination of the economic factors and effects of migration.⁹ Ultimately, however, as economic factors do not play a role in why Panufnik defected, these texts are of limited use.

The existing literature, which considers the cultural (and musical) effects of migration, has a tendency, much like the above examples, to deal with the topic on a broad level. An example of this can be found in 'Spanish Traditions in the Philippines' by Enrique Cainglet which discusses the effect that the Spanish colonisation of the Philippines had on Philippine music and not the effect on individual composers.¹⁰

The literature concerning the effects of migration on composers is scarce and tends to deal only with the broader subjects and patterns. Examples of this type include the effects of migration of Austro-German composers to America,¹¹ or a discussion of conflict-induced migration among composers.¹² There are also a few texts, some focusing on music, which deal with the terminology and concepts in association with migration. These include Margaret J. Kartomi's essay 'The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts'.¹³ Nevertheless, this study does not require an in-depth analysis of such sources as it

⁸Marlène Laruelle. *Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

⁹Karol Jan Borowiecki. "Conflict-Induced Migration of Composers: An Individual-Level Study." in *Cliometrica: Journal of Historical Economics and Econometric History*. 7.3 2013: pp.237-66.

¹⁰Enrique Cainglet. 'Spanish Traditions in the Philippines' in *Miscellanea Musicologica, Adelaide Studies in Musicology: Transplanted European Music Cultures*. Moon, G. ed. Vol. 12. (1990).

¹¹For example: Irit Youngerman. "Immigration, Identity, and Change: Émigré Composers of the Nazi Period and Their Perceptions of Stylistic Transformation in Their Creative Work." in *Naharaim*. 3.1 2009: pp.117-34.

¹²Karol Borowiecki. "War and Individual Creativity: Tentative Evidence in Relation to Composers." in *Trinity Economics Papers: Trinity College Dublin* October 2011. <http://www.tcd.ie/Economics/>.

¹³Margaret J. Kartomi. "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts " in *Miscellanea Musicologica, Adelaide Studies in Musicology: Transplanted European Music Cultures*. Ed. G. Moon. Vol. 12, 1990: pp.21-39.

focuses on the migration of only one person, not an ethnic group and thus, does not require an analysis of terms in such detail.

There are sources, both musical and non-music related, which discuss migration related to the Second World War. These sources include texts, which discuss the generalised migratory trend of people or groups of people during WWII, for example, an article by Irit Youngerman;¹⁴ explorations of European migration to Palestine, for example, Philip Bohlman's article which deals with European composers migration to Palestine;¹⁵ and several sources, which detail migration from Europe to America as a result of the World Wars and Great Depression, for example, a book by Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, which explores musical migration from Nazi Germany to the United States.¹⁶ Additionally, there are a few sources, which deal with Russian migrant composers, such as the article by Elena Dubinets.¹⁷ These works provide an interesting outlook on general tendencies of migrant composers and allow for comparisons of these trends.¹⁸ Nonetheless, a comprehensive work concerning the broader issue of migration and its effect on a composer's musical works has not been found, regardless of how widespread the phenomenon is.

It is true that there have been some studies of 'sub-groups' such as Russian composers, Austro-German composers and several studies by Karol Borowiecki which examine the migration of composers from an economic perspective. Nonetheless there are very few studies of any composers that compare issues experienced across these migratory groups and the effect this migration had on the composer's musical development or compositions. Additionally, although migration may be referred to in a composer's biography, this discussion is brief and usually lacks any tangible detail.

In relation to this study, a few sources have presented useful findings. A chapter entitled 'Dislocation' in Gabriella Smart's dissertation on Tristram Cary (1925-2008), for example, discusses the effect of Cary's migration from the United Kingdom (where he

¹⁴Youngerman, "Immigration, Identity, and Change: Émigré Composers of the Nazi Period and Their Perceptions of Stylistic Transformation in Their Creative Work."

¹⁵Bohlman, "The Immigrant Composer in Palestine, 1933-1948: Stranger in a Strange Land."

¹⁶Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff. *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United State*. Princeton: University of California Press, 1999.

¹⁷Elena Dubinets. "Music in Exile: Russian Émigré Composers and Their Search for National Identity." in *Slavonica*. 13.1 April 2007: pp.57-67.

¹⁸Friedemann Sallis, Robin Elliott and Kenneth DeLong. *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile. Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág, and Sándor Veress*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2011.

was a reasonably well known composer with many support networks) to Adelaide, where his music was little known. Moreover, Cary migrated to Australia to try to compose more concert works; but audiences, who knew his music, were only interested in his earlier electronic compositions, not his new concert works.¹⁹ Smart's study has some bearing on Panufnik, as Cary migrated at a similar point in his life to Panufnik and during the same period of history. Furthermore, Smart argues that one of the reasons Cary is not remembered in the United Kingdom was because of the BBC's lack of interest in his music, similar to the lack of interest it showed in Panufnik's music.

An article by Elena Dubinets explores 'Russianness' and national identity in the music of émigré composers.²⁰ Dubinets' text has proven useful as it, along with other smaller scale articles, provides a framework for the discussion of national identity and *Polskość* (literally 'Polishness') within this study.

Finally, a collection of essays recently published by the Institute of Musicology in Warsaw entitled *Émigré Composers* contains some studies regarding migration in a Polish musical context.²¹ Of these essays, only two are of direct interest to this study as they discuss Panufnik's migration: 'Polish Symphonies of the 1980s as Public Statements against Martial Law' by Beata Bolesławska,²² and 'Émigrés by Choice' by Zofia Helman.²³ Bolesławska discusses Panufnik's *Sinfonia Votiva* (1981) and how this and other symphonies by Polish composers (particularly those written during the early 1980s) were deeply rooted with a sense of *Polskość*. Helman's article is useful as it provides a clear overview of the migration of Polish composers during the late 1940s and early 1950s, including brief reference to Panufnik's defection.

Turning to sources on the composer himself, although Panufnik's migration is often mentioned in texts very little space is devoted to discussing what effect this migration may have had on his music. One of the few deliberations on this issue is a

¹⁹Gabriella Joy Smart. *Tristram Cary: Scenes from a Composer's Life*. M.Mus Dissertation. Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 2010.

²⁰Dubinets, "Music in Exile: Russian Émigré Composers and Their Search for National Identity."

²¹Sławomira Żerańska-Kominek, J. K. Dadak-Kozicka, Zofia Helman and Iwona Lindstedt. *Musicology Today: Emigré Composers*. Vol. 8. Warszawa: Musicology Section of the Polish Composers' Union and Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw, 2011.

²²Beata Bolesławska. "Polish Symphonies of the 1980s as Public Statements against Martial Law." in *Musicology Today: Emigré Composers*. 8 2011: pp.178-91.

²³Zofia Helman. "Emigrés by Choice." in *Musicology Today: Emigré Composers*. 8 2011: pp.5-25.

book by Tadeusz Kaczyński.²⁴ While not delving into an in-depth discussion of migration and Panufnik's music, Kaczyński does note that Panufnik's personal experiences affected his musical development:

"Most of Panufnik's works are connected [...] with events in which he participated; also with his deeply personal experience, reflections, and observations on the natural acoustic phenomena which he translated into the language of music."²⁵

There are some interviews Panufnik gave in his later years which discuss the effect his migration had on his life (although the analysis is hardly detailed), but yet again not on the imprint migration had on his music. An interview with John Amis for BBC Radio in 1972 is an example of this, where a brief description of Panufnik's migration and his reception in England are detailed.²⁶ Additionally several newspaper articles, program notes, and journal articles written in the decade following Panufnik's migration also briefly discuss Panufnik's defection and the perceived reasons for this defection, as this study discusses in more detail in chapter 2. Panufnik himself also wrote an article for *The Times* in 1954,²⁷ the *Encounter* in 1955,²⁸ and a speech given by him upon his defection²⁹ discusses his defection and the reasons for it. Ultimately, the only work exploring (to a limited extent) the effect of migration specifically on Panufnik's music is Anna Piotrowska's essay, *Andrzej Panufnik – National Identity of the Immigrant Composer*. This article, however, is concerned more with determining if Panufnik was a Polish or English composer, concluding that he essentially was a Polish composer.³⁰

Finally, there is a relative lack of literature regarding Andrzej Panufnik himself. Basic features and elements of his biography and musical style are understood mainly through his own comprehensive (but understandably subjective) writings on the issue,

²⁴Tadeusz Kaczyński. *Andrzej Panufnik i Jego Muzyka [Andrzej Panufnik and His Music]* Warszawa: PWN, 1994.

²⁵Ibid.p.19

²⁶John Amis (Producer). *Mining the Archive. The Émigrés [3]*. London: BBC Radio, 1972.

²⁷Andrzej Panufnik. "A Composer's View of Life in Modern Poland, I-Hatred of Russian Control." in *The Times [London]*. 12 August 1954: p.7.

²⁸Andrzej Panufnik. "Composers and Commissars." in *Encounter*. 4.96 March 1955: pp.3-8.

²⁹Andrzej Panufnik. *Speech Upon His Defection to Great Britain*. Speech given in London on 1954. (the Panufnik Archives, Twickenham).

³⁰Anna G Piotrowska. "Andrzej Panufnik – National Identity of the Immigrant Composer." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.43-49.

such as his program notes,³¹ his autobiography *Composing Myself*,³² and a booklet entitled, *Impulse and Design*³³ (which includes a large number of program notes and details his stylistic credo). Even taking these writings into account, only a few in-depth studies exist. There is a collection of essays edited by the late Jadwiga Paja-Stach which discuss a range of issues including: a discussion of the composer's personality;³⁴ his stylistic aesthetics and attitudes;³⁵ his musical style;³⁶ his use of major-minor chords;³⁷ the use of a note-cell in his music;³⁸ his rhythmic compositional techniques;³⁹ the use of symmetry in his symphonies;⁴⁰ his adaptation of old Polish music;⁴¹ and the reception of his works in Poland,⁴² America⁴³ and England.⁴⁴ A monograph by Tadeusz

³¹ Andrzej Panufnik. *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. Unpublished (Housed in Panufnik Archives, Twickenham), 1985.

³² Andrzej Panufnik. *Composing Myself*. London: Methuen, 1987.

³³ Andrzej Panufnik. *Impulse and Design in My Music*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1974.

³⁴ Camilla Panufnik. "Andrzej Panufnik's Ethos of Life and Work." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.17-23.

³⁵ Zbigniew Skowron. "Andrzej Panufnik's Artistic Attitude and His Aesthetics." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.24-42.

³⁶ Bernard Jacobson. "Panufnik's Music in the Context of 20th Century Music." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.53-69.

Niall O'Loughlin. "Feeling and Intellect, Heart and Brain: Technique and Content in Panufnik's Symphonies." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.70-84.

Jadwiga Paja-Stach. "Piano Works by Andrzej Panufnik. Structures and Timbres." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.170-80.

Ewa Siemdaj. *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna [Andrzej Panufnik, Symphonic Compositions]*. Kraków: Akademia Muzyczna w Krakowie, 2003.

³⁷ Charles Bodman Rae. "The Role of the Major-Minor Chord in Panufnik's Compositional Technique." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.136-49.

³⁸ Alina Królak. "Organisation of Pitch in Andrzej Panufnik's Concertos for Solo Instrument and Orchestra." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.150-58.

Renata Suchowiejko. "The Idea of Note-Cell in Andrzej Panufnik's String Quartet No. 3." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.159-69.

³⁹ Alicja Jarzębska. "Panufnik's Musica Mensuralis. The Problem of Isorhythmic and Metrical Organization of Musical Time." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.114-35.

⁴⁰ Beata Boleśawska. "Symmetry in the Symphonies of Andrzej Panufnik." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.94-113.

⁴¹ Andrzej Sitarz. "Old Polish Music as Adapted by Andrzej Panufnik." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.181-96.

⁴² Piotr Papla. "The Reception in Poland of Andrzej Panufnik's Early Works." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.199-204.

Adrian Thomas. "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.205-20.

⁴³ Ray Robinson. "Andrzej Panufnik's Reception in the United States." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.231-59.

Kaczynski written in 1994 provided the first published examination of Panufnik's life and overall musical style.⁴⁵ An analytical study (originally a doctoral thesis) by Ewa Siemdjaj examines Panufnik's compositional style through a study of his major symphonic works.⁴⁶ A detailed biography, which also discusses elements of his musical style (principally his use of symmetry), was published in 2001 by Beata Bolesławska.⁴⁷ There is a doctoral thesis by Krzysztof Stasiak, written in 1990, which provided the first detailed analysis of Panufnik's music and his overall style, with particular importance paid to his post-1968 works.⁴⁸ Adrian Thomas has also written a number of articles and dictionary entries, which should be noted when considering the literature surrounding Panufnik. These include the 2001 *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* entry on Panufnik,⁴⁹ and an essay published in the *Polish Music Journal* in 2002, which contains a detailed discussion of Panufnik's relationship with the communist regime in relation to the Festival of Polish Music in 1951.⁵⁰

This is a relatively modest number of sources on a composer who wrote thirteen symphonies during an era considered to be anti-symphonic. Compared to his contemporary Witold Lutosławski, who is the subject of a considerable number of studies, has two annual festivals dedicated to him, and even had the year of his centenary (2013) labelled the 'Lutosławski Year' by the Polish government, Panufnik is not altogether forgotten, but certainly undervalued. This is even more curious, if one remembers that when the two composers resided in Poland, prior to 1954, Panufnik was considered more influential than Lutosławski.

Despite the presence of the sources mentioned above there remains a need for a study focussing specifically on the effects of migration on the music of a major, yet under-recognised composer of the twentieth century - Sir Andrzej Panufnik.

⁴⁴Violetta Kostka. "Reception of Andrzej Panufnik's Works in Great Britain." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.221-30.

⁴⁵Kaczyński, *Andrzej Panufnik i Jego Muzyka [Andrzej Panufnik and His Music]*

⁴⁶Siemdjaj, *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna [Andrzej Panufnik, Symphonic Compositions]*.

⁴⁷Beata Bolesławska. *Panufnik*. Kraków: PWM, 2001.

⁴⁸Krzysztof Stasiak. *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. Ph.D. Dissertation. The Queen's University of Belfast, 1990.

⁴⁹Adrian Thomas. "Panufnik, Andrzej." in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. London: MacMillan Publishers, 2001. pp.45-48.

⁵⁰Adrian Thomas. "File 750: Composers, Politics and the Festival of Polish Music (1951)." in *Polish Music Journal* 5 Summer 2002. http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/5.1.02/thomasfile.html.

PART A: THE MAN

CHAPTER 1: MIGRATION

1.1 An overview

Migration has been a fact of life throughout history and geographical spaces, and can be caused by a variety of different factors. Subrata Ghatak and Anne Showstack Sassoon assert, in the book *Migration and Mobility*, that migration is usually as a result of economic, social, or political pressures in one's homeland, or potentially better economic, social, or political possibilities in a new country.⁵¹ In the European context, post 1880s migration was mainly influenced by religious, ethnic and political persecutions, as Tim Hatton argues in *Migration and Mobility, the European Context*.⁵² Indeed, forced migration or migration based on political persecution was particularly prevalent during times of various crises in Europe. In the case of the 20th century, one thinks principally of the effects of the two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the Cold War.⁵³

Migration of the early Cold War period is of particular interest to this study. During the Cold War, Eastern Bloc countries placed heavy restrictions on emigration, making it nearly impossible to emigrate legally. Nevertheless, large numbers of *intelligentsia* managed to slide through the seemingly impregnable borders.⁵⁴ Hope Millard Harrison details this phenomenon in 'Driving the Soviets up the Wall: Soviet-East German Relations 1953-1961'. In this book, most émigré testimonials point to political pressures and hardship as the reasons for defection and not economic or

⁵¹Subrata Ghatak and Anne Showstack Sassoon. "Introduction." in *Migration and Mobility, the European Context*. Eds. Subrata Ghatak and Anne Showstack Sassoon. New York: Palgrave, 2001: pp.1-10.

⁵²Tim Hatton. "The Age of Mass Migration: What We Can and Can't Explain." in *Migration and Mobility, the European Context*. Eds. Subrata Ghatak and Anne Showstack Sassoon. New York: Palgrave, 2001: pp.11-29.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Frank W. Thackeray. *Events That Changed Germany*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004.

social factors.⁵⁵ Fascinatingly, a large number of the young refugees depicted were creative individuals: visual artists, poets, composers, etc.

The migration of creative elites was not a new phenomenon in Poland. Throughout last 250 years of modern Polish history many people have chosen, or were forced to, leave their homeland. In the case of Polish emigration over the last two centuries - from the Three Partitions of Poland 1795-1918, to the more recent communist regime 1945-1989 - emigration was also prevalently dictated by political unrest and persecution, usually due to the patriotic affiliations of the *intelligentsia*.⁵⁶ Zofia Helman noted that in the 1940s -1950s some composers left Poland as a result of the change in the political landscape:

“After World War II there appeared a very specific situation which we could label as emigration by choice⁵⁷ - not forced, but leading to unintentional breaking of contacts with one’s environment. This was the situation faced by Polish composers born c. 1895-1915 who either stayed abroad after the war had ended or left the country in the late 1940s/early 1950s. The reasons for their emigration were greatly varied, as also were their relations with authorities of communist Poland and with the Polish musical world. What they had in common was the initial motive – a more or less openly manifested unwillingness to support the new system established in Poland under the auspices of the Soviet Union.”⁵⁸

Helman makes it very clear that those who defected from Poland between 1950 and 1956 were in a unique situation to others who migrated before or after this date. Moreover, while the reasons and effects of their migration may vary, they all share one common motive for defecting, namely an inability to live, work and compose in communist Poland.

⁵⁵Hope Millard Harrison. *Driving the Soviets up the Wall: Soviet-East German Relations, 1953-1961*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

⁵⁶Norman Davies. *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

⁵⁷A term used in Jagoda Jędrychowska. "Rozmowa Z Romanem Palestrem [an Interview with Roman Palester]." in *Widzieć Polskę Z Oddalenia [Viewing Poland from Afar]* Paris: Editions Spotkania, 1988

⁵⁸Helman, "Emigrés by Choice." p.5

1.3 Discussion of Key Terms

1.3.1. Migration

Migration is the central term used in this paper, as it is the most widely used expression in the central literature concerning this phenomenon. Terms such as 'dislocation' 'displacement', and 'exile', which are also frequently used in this context, have been deliberately avoided, as they emphasise negative connotations. For example, when the term 'displacement' is used in a psychological context it refers to a sub-conscious defence mechanism.⁵⁹ Thus, the use of these terms would impose a prejudiced perception on this study.

1.3.2. Defection

The term 'defection', used to define Panufnik's migration, relates to a person deserting allegiance to one nation-state in favour of another. In the context of the Cold War, the term is commonly used in reference to an escape from an oppressive regime. Additionally, this term often implies that the emigrant was under some form of duress.

1.3.3. *Polskość*

Polskość is a Polish expression which translates directly to 'Polishness', and in the context of this study refers to any feature or aspect of a composition that bears reference to Poland. The conventional term of 'nationalism' has been deliberately avoided in this study, as it can carry negative and even aggressive overtones. Furthermore, there was a large Nationalist Party in Poland in the early 20th century, with which the term has since been linked. One of the central ideas of the Polish Nationalist Party during this time was the *Piast concept*, which was vehemently opposed to a multicultural Poland.⁶⁰ Additionally, this concept was later appropriated by the communist regime in Poland and was used in some cases as a convenient excuse for the Soviets to remove ethnic groups from the country.⁶¹ Finally, the term 'patriotism' is used cautiously due to its common association with spiritually loaded nationalism in general and not expressions or features associated with Poland.

⁵⁹Eric Berne. *A Layman's Guide to Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis*. New York: Grove Press, 1976.

⁶⁰Geoffrey A. Hosking and George Schöpflin. *Myths and Nationhood*. Routledge Publishing, 1997.

⁶¹Ibid.

The term *Polskość* has been widely used in Polish musicological literature, in particular in an article about Panufnik's national identity by Piotrowska.⁶² Moreover, Dubinet uses a similar term, Russianness, in her article, 'Music in Exile: Russian Émigré Composers and Their Search for National Identity'.⁶³

1.4 Comparable Composers

The following section will briefly discuss the migration and its effects on the music and lives of other composers, with special attention given to other Polish composers who migrated during the early Cold War period.

1.4.1. Non- Polish Composers

Béla Bartók (1881-1945) left Hungary in 1940 in response to the fascist regime and its alliance with Nazi Germany and settled in New York City. There are some noteworthy features of his migration that can also be related to aspects of Panufnik's life. Firstly, Bartok suffered from a distinct loss of place due to his migration, as he was alienated from American culture and had only left his homeland out of necessity. Secondly, being almost 60 years old and having left his financial and professional support behind, he found it very difficult to start again in a new country. This is especially so, when one compares his vast and celebrated compositional output between 1934 and 1939, to the modest output during his American years. Finally, the most important work of his American period, the *Concerto for Orchestra*, was of undeniable Hungarian character.

Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) since 1910 was already spending a majority of each year in Switzerland, and in 1914 he moved there permanently. Stravinsky left his home in the Imperial Russia also as a result of a war (World War I) and stayed away as a result of the subsequent political changes. He later settled in France (1920) and finally, due to WWII, in America (1939). Stravinsky's migration resulted not only in changes to his life, but also to his musical style as it heralded the beginning of his neo-classical period (1920-1954). This new musical style followed a period of artistic limbo during WWI, and subsequent revolutions in his homeland. Curiously, it was when he began to

⁶²Piotrowska, "Andrzej Panufnik – National Identity of the Immigrant Composer."

⁶³Dubinet, "Music in Exile: Russian Émigré Composers and Their Search for National Identity."

spend increasingly less time in Russia than he wrote arguably his 'most Russian' works; *The Rite of Spring* (1913), *Les Noces* (1923) and *Petrushka* (1910-1911).

György Ligeti (1923-2006) left his native Hungary after the revolution was violently suppressed by the Soviets in 1956 and settled in Austria. Ligeti was compelled to leave his homeland as a result of the increasing control exerted over artists by the Soviets and their frequent censorship of his works. After emigration, he experimented for a few years with electronic sounds, and while these experiments had some bearing on his latter works, he did not pursue this form of composition further. Unlike the other composers discussed so far, Ligeti did not seem to have a sense of manifested patriotism in his post-migration music.

Tristram Cary (1925-2008) migrated from England to Australia in 1974. Gabriella Smart sums up Tristram Cary's migration in the following terms:

"He is half remembered in England, and not fully valued in Australia; as it were each country sees only half the picture. The dislocation of his career path resulted in the underestimation of many of his achievements [...]"⁶⁴

Cary was not driven to migrate as a result of political persecution or war, but rather in order to facilitate increased composition of concert music. Cary's move to Australia did provide him with the increased freedom and financial stability that he desired; however, he was left without the valuable network of friends and associates he had so carefully nurtured in London. Indeed, Cary had very few commissions from Australian sources and his existing works were infrequently performed in his new home. Ironically, Cary only achieved this financial stability by taking up other non-compositional work.⁶⁵

Cary is not the only composer to shift his focus upon migration. Erich Korngold (1897 – 1957), one of the most promising young Austro-German composers of his generation, left Europe for America in 1938. His trip was initially for a one-off film project; however, following the outbreak of war Korngold (an Austrian Jew) decided to remain in America. It was at this point that his career underwent a change of direction. He had previously composed romantic operas and concert works, however in order to find adequate work in the United States, like many others he turned to film music.

⁶⁴Smart, *Tristram Cary: Scenes from a Composer's Life*. p.4

⁶⁵Tristram Cary took up a position as lecturer at the University of Adelaide from 1974-1986 where he established the electronic music studio.

Korngold is now considered one of the fathers of modern film music. Unfortunately, as a result of this migration his other concert works have been neglected, and until recently were largely unknown to audiences.

1.4.2. Polish Composers

Many Polish émigré composers have suffered from obscurity due to their migration. Feliks Janiewicz (1762-1848) for example, migrated to the United Kingdom due to the political situation in Poland during the three partitions (1795-1918), and as a result is an almost completely forgotten composer.

A lack of recognition did not affect everyone equally; Fryderyk Chopin (1810-1849), left Poland for Paris in 1830, yet his compositional output did not perish. In fact, Chopin remains Poland's most popular and well-known composer. Moreover, he was largely accepted in his new home and did not experience the same difficulties other migrants did. It could be argued this was partially due to the fact this he was half-French, but Chopin's writings and the increased patriotism found in his works shows that he very firmly considered himself to be Polish.⁶⁶

There is one composer, whose situation closely resembles that of Panufnik's: Roman Palester (1907-1989). He was considered one of the most talented composers in Poland in the 1930s and returned to Poland after WWII only to find the communist regime asserting control over the cultural and artistic practice. Jarosław Szurek asserts that it was for this reason that Palester subsequently moved to France and was in 1951 declared a 'formalist' and 'an enemy of the state', and all of his compositions banned in Poland.⁶⁷ Palester then took up working for *Radio Free Europe* in order to provide financial stability for his family and as it allowed him to make political statements against the communist regime. It is unfortunate that as a result of the communist blacklisting, Palester remained for many years a forgotten composer in Poland.

Helman points out some common trends amongst Polish émigré composers from the late 1940s and early 1950s. Firstly, many if not all of these composers, deprived of their means of living, were forced to undertake other non-compositional activities such

⁶⁶H. (eds) Opieński. *Chopin's Letters*. Trans. E.L. Voynich. New York: Dover, 1973.

⁶⁷Jarosław Szurek. "Subversive Sounds: Music and Censorship in Communist Poland." in *Music Reference Services Quarterly*. 11.2 2008: pp.143-51.

as teaching, journalism, and conducting.⁶⁸ Secondly, many of them disappeared from Polish musical life, at least for a period of time. Finally, the Polish émigré composers had their creative activity limited and career growth delayed during their initial years in their new country.⁶⁹

1.4.3. Summary

The above discussion shows that, while the reasons for and the effects of migration vary among composers, there are some common denominators in both their lives and compositions. Composers migrated usually as the result of an event or change in their circumstances that rendered them unable to compose in their homeland, war, or political upheaval. In addition, most émigré composers initially found it hard to adapt to their new environment and, at least temporarily, altered the direction of their career or musical style in order to support themselves.

⁶⁸Helman, "Emigrés by Choice." p.10

⁶⁹Ibid. pp.23-24

CHAPTER 2: POLAND (PRE-1954)

In order to explore what effect Panufnik's emigration to the United Kingdom had on his life and music it is first necessary to examine his life prior to this event and ascertain the reasons for his defection.

2.1 Formative Years - 1914-1945

2.1.1. The Early Years – 1914-1937

Andrzej Panufnik was born in Warsaw, on the 24th of September 1914. As a child, he was profoundly influenced by the musical environment created by his parents: Tomasz Panufnik, a hydro-engineer, and a celebrated violinmaker, and a talented violinist Matylda Thonnes. In his autobiography, Panufnik recalls the musicality of his childhood environment and the imprint it left on him as a person:

“In my early years I never consciously listened to my mother's playing, but it was constantly in my ears, a background music, part of the fabric of my life, so that I knew in my head the concertos of Beethoven, Mozart and Brahms as well as Bach, and contemporary Polish music such as Wieniawski and Karłowicz. This music was an intrinsic part of my existence, like cleaning my teeth, eating my meals, even breathing.”⁷⁰

The above statement shows that Panufnik realised the importance of these years to his development as a musician. His ambitions to become a composer, however, seem to stem largely from his mother's piano improvisations, and the influence of her teacher Prof. Jerzy Lefeld,⁷¹ whom Panufnik idolised as a child. He began piano lessons at the age of eight, and only three years later succeeded in entering the junior department of the Warsaw Conservatory.⁷² This early start to his career was short-lived however, as he failed to pass the final examination for that year. It was only later, at the age of 16, that his interest in music was revived once again when he composed two cabaret songs: *Ach, Pardon!* and *I do not want any more.*⁷³ Following this, in February 1932, he

⁷⁰Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.8

⁷¹Ibid. p.12

⁷²Ibid. p.18

⁷³Both of these songs were performed as part of a cabaret show run by Marian Hemar, who also added lyrics to the works. *Ach Pardon* was premièred by the well-known comedian Adolf Dymśa. Notably the subsequent gramophone record sold in the thousands.

re-entered the Warsaw Conservatory. Nevertheless, due to the gap in his musical education, induced by the failed piano exam, Panufnik lacked the necessary skills to begin a composition degree. Hence, he returned to the Conservatory, first as a percussionist, and only later as a composition student under Kazimierz Sikorski.⁷⁴ This period illustrates the determination with which Panufnik pursued this vocation.

During his studies under Sikorski, Panufnik composed several works (listed in Appendix II) among them was the *Piano Trio* (1934), which Panufnik labelled as his first serious composition.⁷⁵ Adam Walaciński wrote that even at this early stage Panufnik's music showed a high sense of 'Individuality' and many of the other traits that would later come to characterise his musical style.⁷⁶ When one considers that he was a very young student at the time and the Warsaw Conservatory of the 1930s was a rigid institution with a very traditional approach to both teaching methods and educational outcomes,⁷⁷ Panufnik's individuality is even more intriguing.

Despite the early difficulties, Panufnik graduated at the top of his class in 1936,⁷⁸ after conducting a Conservatory gala performance of his *Symphonic Variations* with the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra.⁷⁹ This conducting engagement began a lifelong struggle between his passion for composition and the necessity to conduct. The *Symphonic Variations* [*Wariacje Symfoniczne*] were met with such acclaim that only a year later both the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra and the Polish Radio Orchestra performed his new composition – the *Little Overture* [*Mała Uwertura*].

Relatively little is known of Panufnik's early musical development. However, the documents available show that his early compositions already indicated the distinctiveness of his compositional technique. In fact, several of his musical aesthetics were determined by, or formed during, his childhood and student years; as Zbigniew Skowron points out in his essay - 'Andrzej Panufnik's Artistic Attitude and his Aesthetics':

⁷⁴Bolesławska, *Panufnik*.

⁷⁵Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.36

⁷⁶Adam Walaciński. Notes to *Piano Trios, Panufnik, Malawski and Twardowski*. Music by Panufnik, Andrzej. Trio Cracovia. Compact Disc. CD Accord. (Written 2000).

⁷⁷Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.49

⁷⁸Letter from K. Sikorski to Andrzej Panufnik. 14 April 1948. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives). [A letter to prove that Panufnik completed his studies at the Warsaw Conseratory as his previous certificate was destroyed during the War].

⁷⁹Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.51

“His attitude seems to reveal a certain number of deeper beliefs, which were shaped in his youth, perhaps even in his childhood, as more or less constant ideas. One might say that these personal aesthetics became a kind of internal mirror in which he reflected different impulses emanating from the surrounding musical world.”⁸⁰

In his monograph on Panufnik, Tadeusz Kaczyński puts it in a somewhat different, yet not entirely conflicting way:

“Panufnik’s work cannot be fully understood without knowledge of the place on the map or of the environment from which he came.”⁸¹

These comments, once again, point to the importance Panufnik’s upbringing had on his musical development and the role it played in his later compositions. Therefore, understanding all of the influencing factors is necessary before attempting an evaluation of Panufnik’s musical style.

2.1.2. Study Abroad - 1937-1939

Panufnik’s formal composition studies were followed by a very brief period of obligatory national service⁸² and a period composing film music.⁸³ This short interlude was followed by conducting studies with Felix Weingartner at the Vienna Academy of Music (1937 - 1938).⁸⁴ Subsequently, Panufnik travelled to Paris to study composition privately with Philippe Gaubert (November 1938-March 1939), followed by a brief visit to London in March-June 1939.⁸⁵ During his time in Vienna, Panufnik became acquainted with the music of some of Europe’s most progressive composers of the period, including: Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern. It was while studying the scores of these composers that Panufnik apparently came to the following conclusions:

“I tried out the serial method on my own: at first I thoroughly enjoyed these mental gymnastics, but soon recognised that for me its limitations outweighed its advantages. I could see what Schoenberg was attempting. I agree with the

⁸⁰Skowron, "Andrzej Panufnik’s Artistic Attitude and His Aesthetics." p.25

⁸¹Kaczyński, *Andrzej Panufnik i Jego Muzyka [Andrzej Panufnik and His Music]* p.19

⁸²Panufnik had in fact been called for national services two years prior. However he had been able to put this service off until he had finished his studies at the Conservatory. He subsequently failed his medical examination upon his second call to national service. Panufnik details these events in the chapter, ‘Composer in Uniform’ in his autobiography *Composing Myself*.

⁸³See Appendix II for a list of compositions, which includes this film music.

⁸⁴Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.67

⁸⁵Ibid. p.81

principle of a self-imposed discipline, a limitation to achieve unity. However, judged from the standpoint of my own purposes, his method seemed to achieve unity only at the cost of the equally desirable goal of variety. The 'democratization' of the twelve notes of the chromatic scale seemed to block the way to essential expressive elements. [...] My instinct told me, however ambitious or pretentious it might seem in those early student days, that I must search unremittingly for my very own new means of expression, my own new language, at any cost, to remain independent and true to myself. I knew that I would require some discipline, some framework within which to build my own works, but it would have to be constructed by myself. It would have to meet my need for emotional content as well as structural cohesion."⁸⁶

The above quotation offers an insight into Panufnik's thoughts regarding his reasoning behind his own compositional development. It must be remembered, of course, that these recollections were written many years later, in 1985, and therefore, could have been presented through a time-skewed perspective. Nevertheless, this thinking would explain why he chose to ignore the progressive trends of the day and embark on further compositional study in order to find his own musical language. During this time, he composed his first symphony (1938-1939) which was presumably influenced by his travels and studies abroad. Unfortunately, the scores for this piece and all of the other works from that period, were destroyed in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, and therefore, cannot be explored in this paper. Nevertheless, there are a few reviews and a collection of articles, which exist and aid in the determination of the traits and patterns in Panufnik's (destroyed) early works.

A review by Piotr Papla of Polish press articles from 1934 to 1939,⁸⁷ examines approximately forty different sources of information on Panufnik. These include several articles in serious musical journals, such as *Muzyka*, *Muzyka Polska*, *Muzyka Współczesna*, *Kultura*, and in daily newspapers including *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, *Kurier Poranny*, and *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*. Panufnik even featured in a lecture on Polish Contemporary Music by Dr Julian Pulikowski during this period.⁸⁸ These writings generally speak very favourably of Panufnik's compositions, and consider him among the most talented and promising young Polish composers. His tendency to 'think outside the box' was often commented upon. His *Little Overture*, for

⁸⁶ Ibid. pp.73-74

⁸⁷ Papla, "The Reception in Poland of Andrzej Panufnik's Early Works."

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.201

example, drew considerable attention due to the fact that it was composed for an orchestra, without a violin section, which was relatively unheard of at the time.⁸⁹

The academic articles from this period noted that his compositions were largely conventional in form, although a review by a writer known only by the pseudonym 'Zast' argues that while the *Symphonic Variations* are generally clear, they also contain harmonic and polyphonic complexities.⁹⁰ Notably, the critics were quite divided regarding Panufnik's artistic style. Felicjan Szopski, for example, wrote that Panufnik's *Symphonic Variations* have "some relation to the sounds of our folklore".⁹¹ Zast, on the other hand, wrote about the same piece that "there hovers the recently fashionable spirit of the east, from the land of Mussorgsky."⁹²

2.1.3. The Second World War – 1939-1945

After a brief trip to London, Panufnik returned to Poland in August 1939, on the brink of World War II (WWII). During the war, he composed and played piano duo music with his close friend and contemporary Witold Lutosławski. They performed regularly in several underground arts cafes in occupied Warsaw, including: *Kawiarnia Aria*, *U Aktorów*, *Sztuka i Moda*, and *Lardelli*.⁹³ Their repertoire included arrangements of popular works of, *inter alia* Bach and Mozart, as well as arrangements of some jazz standards (banned by the German occupiers), and their own original compositions.⁹⁴ Much of the material played in these places was considered 'degenerate' music by the occupiers, hence these pieces acted as symbols of resistance against the Germans, while Panufnik's own compositions were characterised by a distinct patriotic tone. In addition, both Lutosławski and Panufnik considered these wartime endeavours as a form of resistance in itself. This argument was also put forward by the recent BBC radio program entitled *Warsaw Variations*.⁹⁵

⁸⁹Ibid. p.202

⁹⁰Zast. "Młodzi Muzycy Wchodzą W Świat." in *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*. 18 April 1936: p.7.

⁹¹Felicjan Szopski. "Popis Konserwatorium." in *Kurier Warszawski*. 18 June 1939: p.8.

⁹²Zast, "Młodzi Muzycy Wchodzą W Świat." p.7

⁹³Bolesławska, *Panufnik*.

⁹⁴Notably all of these original compositions were destroyed in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, with Lutosławski's *Paganini Variations* being the only exception.

⁹⁵Allan Hall (Presenter/Producer). *Warsaw Variations*. London: BBC Radio 4 and Falling Tree Productions, 11:30am 20 December 2011.

During these years, Panufnik also composed his Second Symphony (1941), along with *Five Polish Peasant Songs* (1940), the *Tragic Overture* (1942) and four underground resistance songs, including the very well-known uprising anthem, *Warszawskie dzieci* (Children of Warsaw). Notably, almost all of his compositions from this period are heavily influenced by a sense of *Polskość* and patriotism. The underground songs were composed in opposition to the Nazi occupation, while the *Tragic Overture*⁹⁶ was a musical representation of the occupation of Warsaw, and later dedicated to his brother who had died in the Uprising in 1944. The *Five Polish Peasant Songs, on the other hand*, are based on a set of Polish folk tunes. Panufnik explains these inspirations in his autobiography:

“In spite of the era in which we lived, or perhaps because of it, I felt that I should turn back to my music. I had an idea to compose something very close to my native soil. One day confined to the house, [...] I opened a small collection of Polish peasant songs which somehow I had not looked closely at before. I was spell bound by the beauty of the melodies, together with the innocent charm of the words.”⁹⁷

These wartime experiences explain Panufnik’s fascination, or rather nostalgia, for Polish folk tunes. Folk tunes brought memories that embodied *Polskość* and the patriotic spirit which often features strongly in Polish art and culture, due to the historic repressions.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the simplicity and beauty of old Polish music in Panufnik’s *Five Polish Peasant Songs* acted as a counter weight to the monstrosities and complications of war. The *Tragic Overture* on the other hand, is a raw musical report of the events of war (see chapter 5); it depicts a completely different reaction to this reality than the five songs. In fact, all of the compositions of that period resound with Panufnik’s various emotional responses to the Nazi occupation of Poland.

⁹⁶This work is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

⁹⁷Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.103

⁹⁸Poland was partitioned and lost its freedom for 123 years only to regain it for a short period between the wars. Polish patriotism was cherished however, in spite of the occupation. Therefore, the generation of Poles raised in the 20 years period between the wars had a profoundly patriotic upbringing.

2.2 Communist Poland – 1945-1954

2.2.1. Panufnik Becomes ‘Composer Number One’

Shortly after the war Panufnik became a sought after composer and conductor. He was made the music director of the Polish Army Film Unit and the chief conductor of the Kraków Philharmonic Orchestra.⁹⁹ Subsequently, in the spring of 1946, he was nominated for the position of the musical director of the newly reborn Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, between 1946 and 1949 he conducted concerts, often including his own works, in France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the German Democratic Republic, and Denmark.

During this busy time, Panufnik also reconstructed his *Piano Trio*, *Tragic Overture*, *Five Polish Peasant Songs*, and *Symphony No 1*.¹⁰¹ In this process he also revolutionised score layouts at *Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne* (PWM) by leaving blank spaces (without a staff) when an instrument was not playing, rather than placing several rests in the score.¹⁰² These score adaptations were later used by almost all of the prominent Polish composers of the era; *inter alia*, Krzysztof Penderecki (1933), Kazimierz Serocki (1922-1981) and Henryk Mikołaj Górecki (1933-2010).

This period of innovation saw Panufnik write one of his most inventive works, *Lullaby*, in which he used quartertones¹⁰³ and layering for the first and only time.¹⁰⁴ The innovative techniques employed in Panufnik’s *Lullaby* were seen by intellectual circles as highly important to musical development in Poland. This is evidenced by two

⁹⁹Boleśawska, *Panufnik*.

¹⁰⁰Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra. “Some History.” *Warsaw Philharmonic*. <http://www.filharmonia.pl/historia.en.html>. (Viewed; 26 November 2013).

¹⁰¹Panufnik subsequently destroyed his reconstruction of his Second Symphony.

¹⁰²Such adaptations to his scores seem to be part of Panufnik’s desire to make them as clear and easy to read as possible. It can be seen in his later scores that he often marks the tempo changes with large underlined numbers, which are twice the size of the rehearsal markings. Panufnik often wrote a separate score for the conductor which was annotated in a slightly different way. In the *Universal Prayer*, for example, he made specific requests that in the fast sections the notes should be relatively close together but when the tempo is very slow the notes should be more widely spread. Andrzej Panufnik. *Universal Prayer*. MS, 1968. (London: British Library, Panufnik Collection). [Includes instructions for the engravers in the hand of the composer regarding unconventional notation].

¹⁰³The only known use of quartertones in Poland prior to Panufnik’s *Lullaby* was Szymanowski’s *Myths* Op. 30 in 1915.

¹⁰⁴A full analysis of *Lullaby* can be found in Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*.

articles in *Ruch Muzyczny*; 'Kołysanka Andrzeja Panufnika' by Anna Moskalukówna¹⁰⁵ and 'Z zagadnień muzyki ćwierćtonowej' by Felix Wróbel.¹⁰⁶ These are examples of techniques that later became 'trademarks' of the so called 'Polish School'. Penderecki's use of quartertones in *Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima* in 1960 is an interesting example of this. Stasiak argues:

"...many of the techniques which were to become the stock-in-trade of the Polish School come directly from Panufnik."¹⁰⁷

Nigel Osborne concurs with this point of view:

"Many if not most of the innovations of Polish contemporary music made their first appearance in the work of Andrzej Panufnik – he really was the first experimentalist."¹⁰⁸

Due to these and other developments Panufnik quickly emerged as, not only the most promising and progressive of the young Polish composers, but probably the most well-known one. Adrian Thomas sums up Panufnik's position in the following words:

"Within Polish culture during the period of socialist realism, arguably only the writer Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz exceeded Panufnik's eminence as an international figure in the public eye"¹⁰⁹

2.2.2. Communism Comes to Poland

After the Second World War, Poland came under the Soviet sphere of influence, and suffered the imposition of the communism. Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki state in their *Concise History of Poland*:

"All the key levers of power within the country rested in communist hands, while a Ministry of Public Security directed by the NKVD¹¹⁰ [...], and backed ultimately by the Red Army and the notorious NKVD itself, tightened its grip over the country."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵Anna Moskalukówna. "Kołysanka Andrzeja Panufnika." in *Ruch Muzyczny* 5.13 5 September 1949: p.25.

¹⁰⁶Felix Wróbel. "Z Zagadnień Muzyki Ćwierćtonowej." in *Ruch Muzyczny*. 5.18 15 September 1948: pp.13-18.

¹⁰⁷Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.88

¹⁰⁸Nigel Osborne. "Panufnik at 70." in *Tempo (New Series)*.150 September 1984: pp.2-10.

¹⁰⁹Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54."p.205

¹¹⁰NKVD stands for Narodny Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del, which translates, to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. The infamous NKVD was a Soviet law enforcement agency which was closely associated with the Soviet secret police (KGB) during the Cold War.

¹¹¹Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki. *A Concise History of Poland*. Cambridge: CUP, 2001. pp.250-251

Norman Davies argues in his book, *God's Playground, A History of Poland*, that there were three distinct phases in the development of Poland under Communism:

“The first, from 1944 to 1948, witnessed the gradual construction of the communist People's Democracy; the second, from 1948 to 1956, saw the imposition of Stalinism; the third, since 1956, has seen Poland ruled by a native, 'national communist' regime.”¹¹²

2.2.3. Constructing the Communist People's 'Democracy'

During the time that Davies describes as the 'construction of the Communist People's Democracy' the authorities used intimidation, violence and electoral fraud in an attempt to eliminate their political opponents, including the popular *Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe* (PSL) which was also on the left side of the political spectrum. The general election held on the 19th of January 1947 was rigged, as one might expect, in order to allow the 'democratic bloc' led by *Polska Partia Robotnicza* (PPR), to claim victory and 80 per cent of the votes. Recent fragmentary studies suggest that even under heavy intimidation PSL received between 60 and 70 per cent of the popular vote in 1947.¹¹³ The communists defeated their final political opponent in December 1948 when the now purged *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna* (PPS) was forced to unite with the PPR to form the *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza* (PZPR), which would rule Poland until the fall of Communism 40 years later. Lukowski and Zawadzki write:

“The PZPR had achieved hegemony. There was no room for any independent political or social movements in the 'brave new world' of Stalinist Poland in which the communist PZPR controlled all state institutions.”¹¹⁴

This hegemony resulted in devastating consequences for Poland; there were huge housing and food shortages, poor health care, a raft of economic problems and the very people the communists were meant to support, the workers, were in reality treated with contempt. More importantly, the Polish people lost any form of freedom, including creative freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of employment, and freedom of movement. Examples of this were the numerous party gatherings, meetings and 'social' engagements, which every citizen was forced to attend at all hours of the day. All public holidays were filled with long parades, which demanded everyone's

¹¹²Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*. p.556

¹¹³Lukowski and Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*. p.252

¹¹⁴Ibid. p.255

attendance, regardless of their circumstances, in order to praise the 'greatness and magnitude' of communist Poland.

The authorities dealt mercilessly and violently with anyone who had a contradictory opinion to that of the regime. Indeed, the large and repressive police and security apparatus, which kept a watchful eye over the population, had grown to such an extent that they numbered over 200,000 by 1953.¹¹⁵ From 1945-1956 the oppressive regime handed down 5,000 death sentences for political reasons,¹¹⁶ while tens of thousands of Poles were held in arbitrary detention, and secret files kept on nearly one third of the adult population of Poland.¹¹⁷ Panufnik's first wife Marie Elizabeth (Scarlett) Panufnik sums up her views on life in Poland in her book, *Out of the City of Fear*:

"Not even Dostoevsky in his darkest moments could have portrayed the gloom and joylessness in which people down their daily dose of vodka. They no longer drink for pleasure and they mostly drink alone."¹¹⁸

This suggests how gloomy the reality of those days was. Nearly every aspect of life fell under the control and supervision of the state. It is important to note however, that during these years it was still unclear what role music would play in this new system.

Leading Panufnik authority Beata Bolesławska elaborates:

"the creation of the Ministry of Culture and Art in the new government was received positively among artists – before the war, an institution whose task was to support artists and art had not existed (musical matters were regulated by the Ministry of Religious Faiths and Public Education). It was hoped that the state would take up the role of patron of the arts and facilitate their development."¹¹⁹

At first, there was no indication that the Ministry of Culture was going to have the negative and controlling influence on music that was to follow. The establishment of the *Związek Kompozytorów Polskich* (ZKP) [Union of Polish Composers'] in September 1945 was seen by most composers as a way of helping them to take up

¹¹⁵Ibid. p.253

¹¹⁶The majority of death penalty recipients were the former members of Armia Krajowa (AK) and resistance forces during and post WWII. The Urząd Bezpieczeństwa (UB) gathered information on the potentially politically difficult citizens through two false amnesties of 1945 and 1947.

¹¹⁷Lukowski and Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*. p.253

¹¹⁸Marie Elizabeth "Scarlett" Panufnik. *Out of the City of Fear*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1956. p.115

¹¹⁹Bolesławska, Beata. "Andrzej Panufnik and the Pressures of Stalinism in Post-War Poland." in *Tempo (New Series)*. 220 April 2002: p.14

creative work and provide financial help when necessary.¹²⁰ The ZKP was directly funded and influenced by the Ministry of Culture, and over time became one of the principal bodies used to exert control over composers by placing Party members (such as Zofia Lissa) on the executive board.

2.2.4. Socialist Realism and the Łagów Conference

Art and music had remained largely untouched by the regime until this point. The first hint of a change was in May 1948, at the Second International Congress of Composers and Musicologists held in Prague, where the Polish signatory and leading musicologist of the regime, Zofia Lissa,¹²¹ committed the ZKP to the official line established by its Soviet counterpart. As Bodman Rae put it:

“[...] she [Zofia Lissa] thus condemned her Polish colleagues to aesthetic assessment according to the following four aims: avoidance of subjectivism; cultivation of national character in music; adoption of well-known forms; and increased involvement by composers and musicologists in music education.”¹²²

The subsequent Polish Conference in Łagów in August of 1949 saw more direct measures of control, restrictions, and censorship placed on music. From this point on, all music composed, played, and recorded in Poland had to conform to the musical doctrine of *Socialist Realism*. Censorship was achieved principally through financial control, as all payments for compositions were restricted to the government. Furthermore, listening sessions at which a panel of ‘experts’ would decide if the composition was suitable for performance, were introduced. Additionally, to complicate matters, for a long time there was no clear definition of *Socialist Realist* music, which meant the term was subjective and success often depended on the good will of the regime. The definitions that were provided by the authorities were often generalised and uninformative. An example can be found in a speech given by the Polish Deputy Minister of Culture Włodzimierz Sokorski (October 1949):

“Over the past 50 years [...] the loss of hope in man, the awareness of catastrophe, and the adoption of social postures devoid of all ethical values [...]

¹²⁰Ibid. p.1

¹²¹Zofia Lissa was considered the foremost Marxist/Leninist musicologist in Poland frequently writing about what she considered to be a Marxist concept of musical aesthetics, making her writings concerning the definitions of *Socialist Realist* and *Formalist* music significant for the era.

¹²²Charles Bodman Rae. *The Music of Lutosławski*. 3rd ed. London: Omnibus Press, 1999. pp.31-32

all this, when translated into the language of music, inevitably leads to an escape from humanistic content into abstract speculations, to pseudo-avant-garde formal deliberation with no regard to the thematic development of the basic musical thought and its perception by the listener. The initially deep and thrilling pessimism of Stravinsky, Debussy, Ravel, or Szymanowski is being transformed, as the crisis of the political system deepens, into formalistic juggling, into a grotesque of dodecaphonists, into a snobbish cultivation of discordant jazz.”¹²³

Tikhon Khrennikov, the General Secretary of the Soviet Composers’ Union defined formalist music, which was alien and an enemy to the communist doctrine of *Socialist Realism*, in suitably uninformative terms in April 1948:

“The rejection of ideas in art leads to the preachment of ‘art for art’s sake’, to a cult of ‘pure’ forms, a cult of technical devices as a goal in itself, a hypertrophy of certain elements of the musical speech at the price of a loss of integrity and harmoniousness of art.”¹²⁴

Stasiak suggests that the definition of *Socialist Realist* and *formalist* music “was kept deliberately vague [similarly to other doctrines of this time] in order that it might be applied freely to any composer who did not follow the Party line.”¹²⁵ Panufnik’s first wife, Scarlett, agrees with this assertion stating: “the rules themselves are defined in a fashion at once so elementary and so vague that they were meaningless”.¹²⁶ Additionally, Panufnik himself expressed similar views about the term formalism in an article for *Encounter* in 1954.¹²⁷

Andrzej Wajda, one of Poland’s most distinguished film directors, noted many years later that *Socialist Realism* was the “representation of reality not as it is, but as it ought to be.”¹²⁸ Zofia Helman adds “the music that realized the new content was supposed to be emotional, mobilizing, optimistic, and ideologically active.”¹²⁹ Indeed, what eventually became the widely accepted definition was along the following lines:

¹²³Włodzimierz Sokorski cited in Zofia Lissa. "Konferencja Kompozytorów W Łagowie Lubuskim." in *Ruch Muzyczny*. 5.14 October 1949: pp.12-16. cited in translation in Adrian Thomas. "The Captive Muse: The Dilemma of Polish Composers in the Post-War Decade." in *Unpublished*. 1987 p.8

¹²⁴Tikhon Khrennikov. *Declaration at the General Assembly of Soviet Composers*. Speech given in Moscow on 17-26 April 1948. (Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library of Poland]). cited in Nicholas Slonimsky. *Music since 1990*. New York: Scribner's, 1971. p.1365

¹²⁵Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.104

¹²⁶*Ibid.* p.163

¹²⁷Panufnik, "Composers and Commissars." p.6

¹²⁸Andrzej Wajda cited in Lukowski and Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*. p.257

¹²⁹Zofia Helman. "Zofia Lissa (1908-1980)." in *Polish Musicological Studies* Trans. Jerzy Zawadzki. Vol. 2. Kraków: PWM, 1986; *ibid.* p.74

“To present and create works within the light of the Marxist criteria which have a positive and uncritical attitude towards Socialism. Generally this was to be achieved by using conservative, diatonic, and tonal musical language that could be understood by all.”¹³⁰

Witold Lutosławski recounted the years of ideological uncertainty in a speech given, to the Congress of Culture (Warsaw, 1981), convened by the organisers of Solidarity:

“I should remind you briefly of the ‘Fight Against Formalism’, as it was then officially called. It was decreed that the twentieth century had contributed to the total degeneration of art as a creation of bourgeois culture [...] The prescribed way to create music of our time was by returning to a simple nineteenth-century tonal language, which would reach wide masses by conveying out time in a ‘realistic’ way [...] Composers were forced to hide their most important pieces in a drawer, while their previous works were not performed. The whole situation in the musical world was falsified. Critics aimed to destroy all things of individuality or investigation of new styles and techniques. For many of us, it was all the cause of deep psychological depression.”¹³¹

2.2.5. Solutions to Socialist Realism

In her book ‘Andrzej Panufnik’s Music and its Reception’, Jadwiga Paja-Stach states:

“In conditions of terror – well-known to those who lived during that time in the socialist –bloc countries, but difficult to imagine for those who have not experienced life in a totalitarian system – many composers gave in to political pressure and wrote works stylistically consistent with the postulates of socialist realism. To escape from politically-active work, they wrote pedagogical pieces, or compositions based on Polish early music, which also gained the authorities’ approval.”¹³²

Krzysztof Stasiak, on the other hand, summarises the situation in a slightly different light:

“Composers responded in different ways to the increase in ideological pressure. Some composers, Lutosławski and Panufnik among them, avoided discussion; others paid lip service to the socialist programme while continuing working as

¹³⁰This definition is a combination of various definitions, including those provided by Charles Bodman Rae, Beata Bolesławska, Zofia Lissa, Krzysztof Stasiak and Jarosław Szurek. This definition was first used in Blake Parham. "Sir Andrzej Panufnik; a Study of Musical Dislocation." in *Spaces of (Dis)Location*. Eds. Rachael Hamilton, Allison Macleod and Jenny Munro. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013: pp.90-107.

¹³¹Witold Lutosławski cited in Bodman Rae, *The Music of Lutosławski*. p.33

¹³²Paja-Stach, "Preface." pp. 8-9

they had done before; yet others fought openly against the narrowing in scope of musical life in the terms that were presented to them by the ideology.”¹³³

This lip service could indeed have been genuine, or it could have been what Bodman Rae labels as ‘functional music’¹³⁴ (film composition, old Polish music reconstructions, etc.) for purely practical and financial reasons. Furthermore, many composers engaged in this kind of activities in the belief that they would be politically harmless means of providing for their family. Unfortunately, this was often not the case, and their compositional output was represented by the regime as demonstrating collaboration with the communist doctrine of *Socialist Realism*. Lutosławski’s comments show how his ‘functional music’ was misrepresented in this way:

“Later on, it was for those functional compositions of mine that the authorities decorated me because they mistakenly believed that I had composed them to obey the guiding principles. That was another shock because I realised that I was not writing innocent, indifferent pieces, only to make a living, but was carrying on an artistic creative activity in the eyes of the outside world.”¹³⁵

Panufnik was in a somewhat singular position during this time, as he had emerged as the most promising of the young Polish composers, often referred to in musicological texts as ‘Composer Number One’. This may indeed have led to a slightly more comfortable life for Panufnik, but it also resulted in far greater pressure and expectations from the communist authorities. Andrzej Panufnik as both a conscious citizen and an individualist was therefore put in an extremely uncomfortable position:

“I was faced with an insoluble dilemma: how could I reject the method of Socialist Realism, which the state imposed on me and, at the same time, remain a loyal subject of my native country?”¹³⁶

Moreover, his somewhat privileged position, as Poland’s flagship composer, did not prevent him from suffering from the same everyday struggles as the rest of the nation (Panufnik’s article ‘A Composer’s View of Life in Modern Poland’ presents a few examples of this).¹³⁷ In many ways, the pressure placed on Panufnik was even greater than that faced by the average citizen, as he was expected to exemplify and promote

¹³³Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.96

¹³⁴Bodman Rae, *The Music of Lutosławski*.

¹³⁵Witold Lutosławski cited in Bálint András Varga. *Lutosławski Profile*. Trans. J Chester and W Chester. London: Wilhelm Hansen, 1976. pp.8-9

¹³⁶Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p. 190

¹³⁷Panufnik, "A Composer’s View of Life in Modern Poland, I-Hatred of Russian Control."

the socialist way of life. Panufnik's solution to this problem was an attempt to placate and appease the communist authorities by using old Polish music, or folk music, in his compositions. This was because folk music was considered realistic and accessible for the masses and hence, acceptable to the Party.

Paja-Stach, Stasiak, and others have previously pointed out, that during this period a composers in Poland, either had to change their style in some way to fit with *Socialist Realism* (compose mass songs, film music, or pedagogical works, which all necessitated changing one's style), or had to stop composing. The latter was not possible for Panufnik due to his status; hence, he was forced to compromise his musical style in some way. Stasiak notes that, "a number of harmonic and colouristic freedoms were tacitly accepted as part of a folk colour."¹³⁸ This made the use of folk music the best possible option in order to allow a composer to continue to create with the possibility of some form of freedom or individuality. Jarosław Szurek wrote that Panufnik's old Polish music compositions were "a way to avoid direct confrontation with Marxist ideologists."¹³⁹ Furthermore, Panufnik himself admits that he was attempting to find a way to keep the authorities happy, but also continue to peruse his own individual artistic desires, which was not easy.

There are three additional facts one should be aware of when discussing Panufnik's use of folk music in order to appease the communist regime. Firstly, he was among many composers who reverted to using folk music during this time. Lutosławski, for example, also turned to folk music in the early 1950s and composed *Tryptyk Śląski* (1951), *Mała Suita* (1950) and *Preludia taneczne* (1954). Moreover, many composers chose to reconstruct old Polish music, for example: Tadeusz Baird's suite *Colas Breugnon*; Artur Malawski's sonata on themes by Janiewicz; and Jan Krenz's *Classical Serenade*. Secondly, all expressions of Polish national culture, including the music of Chopin, had been suppressed during the German occupation; thus compositions such as these were natural and wholly sincere affirmations of patriotic ideals and a need to re-build Poland culturally after the devastation of WWII and the Nazi occupation. Finally, the use of Polish folk music in 'serious' classical composition was not a new trend. Bolesławska stated in a recent interview:

¹³⁸Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*.p.110

¹³⁹Szurek, "Subversive Sounds: Music and Censorship in Communist Poland."p.148

“Using Polish folk music was founded in tradition within Poland; especially because of what Szymanowski did before the war [...] he certainly showed people how to use folk music, not just as a simple stylisation, but in a more modern way.”¹⁴⁰

Panufnik met Karol Szymanowski (1882-1947) during his studies at the Conservatory and, considering Szymanowski’s position, it seems that Panufnik was, in one way or another, affected by this meeting. In fact, these conclusions can be drawn from Panufnik’s own words:

“The Polish intelligentsia respected Szymanowski’s unique stature, and most musicians rightly regarded him as our greatest composer since Chopin.”¹⁴¹

Panufnik rarely discussed and commented on the music or lives of other composers, yet he wrote a very favourable note about Szymanowski in his autobiography. This seems to confirm the influence and importance of their meeting.

It is important to point out that Panufnik had already used Polish folk music in his compositions prior to the communist regime, for example, his *Five Polish Peasant Songs* in 1940. Such examples show that his later use of that medium of expression was not solely dictated by *Socialist Realist* inclinations or pressure. Bolesławska concurs: “Panufnik in fact started these kinds of works rather early, his *Divertimento* [1947] was written well before the Łagów Conference.”¹⁴² This is not to say that Panufnik was unaware of the political and cultural changes occurring in his country and the agenda for the arts. It does show however, that his approach was not necessarily instigated by the need to appease the communist regime, as some might suggest, but by his personal creative interests.

The post-war period saw Poland in desperate need of restoration, not only structural, but also in a cultural and spiritual sense. Some Polish composers, including Panufnik, felt that reconstructing old Polish music was a way of serving that purpose. Panufnik recalled many years latter:

“After lengthy thought, at last I worked out a way to avoid either confrontation or capitulation. Following the example of our architects who at the time were most inspiringly reconstructing whole sections of Warsaw, I decided to get

¹⁴⁰Beata Bolesławska. Interview (Part I) with Blake Parham. TVP, Warsaw: 13 December 2011.

¹⁴¹Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.43

¹⁴²Bolesławska. *Interview (Part I) with Blake Parham*. 13 December 2011.

myself to work as a restorer of sixteenth and seventeenth century Polish music”¹⁴³

One of Panufnik’s early post-war attempts to use folk music was with *Sinfonia Rustica*, composed in 1948. The work is based on folk tunes from the Kurpie region of Poland¹⁴⁴ and is also influenced by the art of the region, including the peasant paper cutouts.¹⁴⁵ Obviously, as it was composed before the infamous Łagów Conference, Panufnik wrote this composition without pressures from outside. Nevertheless, Krzysztof Stasiak believes that:

“At face value the use of folk music represented a simple patriotic gesture, but it came to have an increasingly ambiguous role, and by no means all the composers who were writing at this time made use of it. This was because composers had been encouraged, from as early as 1945, to use folk music as a means of creating a music for the socialist masses.”¹⁴⁶

It should be noted, however, that there is not much evidence to suggest that prior to 1949 composers in Poland were encouraged to use folk music in their compositions. Furthermore, it seems that Panufnik’s use of that type of music in *Sinfonia Rustica* had much more to do with the post-war rebuilding of culture. Zofia Helman also shares this view, arguing that there was a demand in Poland during that time for a national style and that this “opened up some opportunities for innovative exploration as well as for a development of Bartók’s idea of universal folklore, as exemplified by Lutosławski’s *Concerto for orchestra* or Panufnik’s *Sinfonia Rustica*.”¹⁴⁷

Interestingly, *Sinfonia Rustica* was initially met with praise and even won the Chopin Composition Competition in 1949. Nevertheless, when the definition of *Socialist Realism* became clearer, it was denounced and shelved, for reasons that were rather unclear. With this composition, Panufnik had attempted to use Polish folk melodies while maintaining a sense of his individual musical language. The work is rather dissonant and, while he uses quotations from folk tunes, he places them in

¹⁴³Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. pp.190-191

¹⁴⁴The Kurpie region of Poland is a lowland plain in the Mazovia region of Poland, which surrounds Warsaw.

¹⁴⁵These paper cut-outs, or Wycinanki, are pieces of Polish folk art and are often geometric designs depicting birds and flowers.

¹⁴⁶Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.82

¹⁴⁷Helman, "Emigrés by Choice." p.14

alternative contexts.¹⁴⁸ Bolesławska noted: "It is the same with his *Lullaby*; it is a folk song but just incorporated into a network of quarter tone sonorities."¹⁴⁹ Stasiak views it similarly:

"It is possible that there was a conscious (or indeed, unconscious) trade-off between the two, so that possible criticism of his more radical ideas would have been offset by the use of acceptable folk ingredients."¹⁵⁰

The individuality of this symphony, with or without folk tunes, led the communist authorities to declare, according to Panufnik, that it was "a formalistic composition, alien to the Socialist era",¹⁵¹ which in turn, caused Minister Sokorski to announce: "Sinfonia Rustica had ceased to exist."¹⁵² Lissa described formalist music as: "dehumanised music, i.e. one, which is consciously built as an abstraction, and does not contain any layers of expression as something organic [...]"¹⁵³

There is an argument about how severe the criticism of *Sinfonia Rustica* actually was. For instance Stasiak questions Panufnik's recollection of events regarding the criticism of this composition. Indeed, there seems to be no evidence of an official response to *Sinfonia Rustica* which would concur with Panufnik's recollections. There is however, no documentation at all (at least not available to the public) from the listening session, at which Panufnik alleges the criticisms of *Sinfonia Rustica* took place, making it nigh impossible to prove or disprove Panufnik's recollection of these events. It is unclear why no documentation exists, though it was not uncommon for documents to be destroyed or lost during the period of communist rule in Poland. Ultimately, however, an awareness of that era leads to a conclusion that it was possible that *Sinfonia Rustica* may not have been censored on paper but may still have been banned by the authorities. Panufnik himself stated: "there was no list of

¹⁴⁸ Andrzej Panufnik. *Sinfonia Rustica*. MS, 1948. (London: British Library, Panufnik Collection). [Pencil score in the hand of the arranger (Stefani Lacrosvkiy), with a wrapper bearing the title and six bars of unidentified music probably in the same hand (possibly in the hand of Zygmunt Mycielski), and further annotated and dated '28.x.88' by Panufnik].

¹⁴⁹ Bolesławska. *Interview (Part I) with Blake Parham*. 13 December 2011.

¹⁵⁰ Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.83

¹⁵¹ Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.194

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p.194

¹⁵³ Lissa, "Konferencja Kompozytorów W Łagowie Lubuskim." p.14

forbidden works, as there was under the German occupation”,¹⁵⁴ as very simply everything that was not officially approved by the authorities was effectively banned.

Stasiak puts forward that *Sinfonia Rustica* was chosen for an entry into the *International Peace Prize* competition in Prague in August 1950, and that it was recorded in Hungary, not in February 1950, as Panufnik recalled in his autobiography, but in February 1951.¹⁵⁵ Additionally Thomas states that the work was performed at least once a year from 1950-1953.¹⁵⁶ It does seem unlikely that a work, which had been condemned, would continue to be used. It is of course possible that the work was denounced after these events as Panufnik does not give a date for the listening session and, given that he wrote his autobiography many years after these events, and with little to no documentation from his Polish years, it is possible he muddled some of the dates. Additionally, it is also possible the work was criticized at the aforementioned listening session and was deemed not for ‘Polish ears’, yet was still used as an emblem of Polish communist talent for international events, as it had only recently won the Chopin Composition Prize. As Bolesławska rightly points out:

“Sometimes such works would appear in concerts abroad, in an attempt to show the world that Polish artists were allowed to write what they wanted, but this was only a front. All of this meant that Polish composers had been subjected to pressures of creating ‘engaged’ art and had only one choice: to submit themselves to these demands to a certain degree, or compose pieces that were destined to wait for better times, languishing in desk drawers.”¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, Thomas states:

“The inconsistency of the history of *Sinfonia Rustica* is not unusual: there were many holes in the system which allowed criticised works to resurface in print and as well as in performance.”¹⁵⁸

This type of action is even more probable when looking at the inconsistency in the doctrine of *Socialist Realism* itself, which *de facto* made everything possible as long as it was serving the greater good of communism. Thomas recalls a similar situation with

¹⁵⁴Panufnik, "Composers and Commissars." p.8

¹⁵⁵Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.115

¹⁵⁶Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54." pp.209-210

¹⁵⁷Bolesławska, Beata. "Andrzej Panufnik and the Pressures of Stalinism in Post-War Poland." p.16

¹⁵⁸Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54."p.210

Lutosławski's mass song *Nowa Huta*, which is more thoroughly described in Thomas' article 'Your Song in Mine'.¹⁵⁹

It is clear from the surviving official documentation of similar works, for example, *Nocturne* and *Lullaby* (both composed in 1947), that Panufnik was defiantly criticized for being too formalistic,¹⁶⁰ even if this criticism was tempered by a want to try and keep Panufnik 'on side'. Additionally, it is apparent that whatever methods the communist authorities may have used, Panufnik felt forced to compromise his style. He alludes to this in an article written for the *London Times*:

"In such circumstances the artist must either submit to these conditions and debase his art or abandon his career, which immediately marks him as an enemy of the people'. Many of us wishing to put the interests of Poland first have tried to compromise."¹⁶¹

Panufnik's *Heroic Overture*¹⁶² and *Symphony for Peace* saw more of his individual style sacrificed in an attempt to placate the authorities. This was achieved in the case of the *Heroic Overture* by basing the work on a counter subject to the patriotic folk tune *Warszawianka*, although the song itself is never fully stated in the work.¹⁶³ The *Symphony for Peace* is a conventionally tonal work with a heavy ideological basis. It consists of a *Lamentoso* which acts as a requiem for those who died in WWII; a *Drammatico*, which is a strong revolutionary tune, (Panufnik asserts this movement was a protest against war); and a *Solenne* with a choir, which is an ode to peace. Panufnik asserts that despite its ideological basis his *Symphony of Peace* still came under similar criticism to *Sinfonia Rustica*. An example of this is, when an unnamed

¹⁵⁹ Adrian Thomas. "Your Song in Mine." in *The Musical Times*. 136.1830 August 1995: pp.403-08.

¹⁶⁰ Włodzimierz Sokorski cited in Lissa, "Konferencja Kompozytorów W Łagowie Lubuskim." p.15

¹⁶¹ Andrzej Panufnik. "A Composer's View of Life in Modern Poland, 2-No Freedom for the Artist." in *The Times [London]*. 13 August 1954: p.7.

¹⁶² There is some debate about the composition date of the *Heroic Overture*. Panufnik states in *Composing Myself* that it was composed in 1952; however Lady Camilla Panufnik (2012) has repeatedly stated that her husband was unsure of some dates when he wrote his autobiography, especially as he did not have access to any Polish material. Adrian Thomas (2011) and Ewa Siemdjaj (2003) have argued that the *Heroic Overture* was in fact composed in 1950. They have made this suggestion based on a review of the 1st performance on the 15th of December 1950 by Stefan Kisielewski which appeared in January 1950 in *Tygodnik Powszechny*. It should be noted that there seems to be some confusion about the name of the work at this performance, although it is clear that it is not one of Panufnik's previously composed works. It seems most probable that the first version of the *Heroic Overture* took place in late 1950 (regardless of its then title) but was then revised and possibly given the aforementioned title in 1952.

¹⁶³ Stephen Walsh. "The Music of Andrzej Panufnik." in *Tempo (New Series)*. 111 December 1974: pp.7-14.

party official famously berated Panufnik after the *Symphony for Peace* premiered in the spring of 1951, because the work was “weak in ideological eloquence”¹⁶⁴ and it sounded as though the author was praying for peace rather than fighting for it. Thomas argues that, on the contrary, the *Symphony for Peace* was generally well received.¹⁶⁵

An article by Aleksander Jackowski in *Muzyka* in 1951 speaks also of the positive reception the *Symphony* received. Jackowski states that this was Panufnik’s most mature and whole work, and that it, in particular the final choral movement, mobilized people to action like none of his previous works had before.¹⁶⁶ Ultimately, regardless of how well the *Symphony for Peace* was received, it is clear from Panufnik’s later reactions to the work that (even if he may have originally felt comfortable with this composition) he became very uneasy about the communist ideological associations, which became an un-detachable part of the work. Bolesławska attests to this, stating:

“If Panufnik had any hopes that these actions (in particular the attempt at the ideologically heavily charged topic of peace in his symphony) would gain him some peace and artistic freedom, he was wrong. The consequences were quite to the contrary: the expectations as to his involvement were only magnified.”¹⁶⁷

Panufnik’s next attempt was much more direct; he forsook his own stylistic wishes and worked on old Polish music reconstructions, such as the *Old Polish Suite*,¹⁶⁸ based on a variety of Polish folk tunes. Panufnik summed up the *Old Polish Suite* and similar works of this period in the following way: “I decided to get myself to work as a restorer of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Polish music.”¹⁶⁹ Panufnik’s other works of this type include the previously mentioned *Divertimento* and the *Concerto in Modo Antico*, which is based on the hymn *Cracovia Civitas, Pieśń o Narodzeniu Pańskim* by Wacław of Szamotuły and *Tamburetta* by Jarzębski.

These compositional choices were a conscious avoidance of direct submission to the doctrine of *Socialist Realism*, and also an attempt to avoid his compositions being

¹⁶⁴Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.205

¹⁶⁵Thomas, "File 750: Composers, Politics and the Festival of Polish Music (1951)."

¹⁶⁶Aleksander Jackowski. "Po Pierwszym Etapie Festiwalu Muzyki Polskiej." in *Muzyka*. 2.7 July 1951: pp.3-8. p.4

¹⁶⁷Beata Bolesławska. *Between Emotion and Intellect*. Warszawa: Instytut Adama Mickiewicza, 2011. p.26

¹⁶⁸An exploration of this composition can be found in chapter 4.

¹⁶⁹Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.191

banned by the authorities. Unfortunately, his lack of active or direct disobedience led to a general perception that he sympathised with the authorities and fed the suspicions that his behaviour had shown opportunistic inclinations.

2.2.6. Panufnik and Communist Propaganda

The manipulation of western society to favour communist ideology was of paramount importance to the communists in the 1940s and 50s. In her essay, 'Force and Fraud', Mary Rolicka states that in 1948 an unnamed political figure in the Eastern Bloc suggested that this could be achieved through the use of prominent intellectuals as propaganda tools, hence the birth of the communist Peace Conferences.¹⁷⁰ These conferences began with a communist led congress held in Wrocław, with subsequent congresses in Paris and Prague in 1949. The 1949 conferences set up a world committee of *Partisans for Peace*, later known as the *World Peace Council*. The conference's official aim was the promotion of peace. However, in reality this was just yet another propaganda stunt. The conference's real purpose was to manipulate 'western society' into favouring the communist ideals of 'peace and equality', over the 'unequal exploitations' of capitalist regimes.¹⁷¹

Panufnik was forced, or manoeuvred, into attending several of these conferences, including the *Defenders of Peace* in Warsaw (November 1950) and the *Congress of Peoples* in Vienna (December 1952). Additionally, he was listed as a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference in 1949. He did not attend however, as he was sent to a performance of Szymanowski's *King Roger* at the ISCM Festival in Palermo, where unfortunately the peace issue was still discussed. Prominent Polish musicologist Bohdan Pocij also agrees that Panufnik was manipulated into being involved in these events:

"He hated communism and the Soviets but he was manipulated into a certain situation which turned out to be unbearable. Ethically unbearable."¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰Mary Rolicka. "By Force and Fraud." in *the Panufnik Archives, Twickenham*. 1992. p.1

¹⁷¹P Deery. "The Dove Flies East: Whitehall, Warsaw and the 1950 World Peace Congress." in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*. 48 2002: pp.449-68.

¹⁷²Bohdan Pocij cited in Krzysztof [dir.] Rzączyński. *My Father, the Iron Curtain and Me*. (Documentary: 52 min). Warszawa: TVP S.A. 2009

Panufnik was used for these Peace Conferences, as he was known in the West due to his conducting activities and the approbation his compositions were receiving abroad; and hence, his involvement would have carried more gravitas. Already in the mid-1940s, Nadia Boulanger famously claimed that Panufnik was the most promising of this generation of Polish composers.¹⁷³

It must be noted that there is some evidence however, to suggest that Panufnik may have willingly participated in these conferences. In 2001, Adrian Thomas presented a paper, which contained a recently recovered recording of a seemingly Marxist driven speech, which is alleged to have been given by Panufnik at an All-Polish Peace Congress in Warsaw, 1-2 September 1950.¹⁷⁴ Lady Panufnik asserts however, that the voice on the tape is not that of Andrzej Panufnik; and that this recording was probably yet another manipulation by the communist authorities for propaganda purposes.¹⁷⁵ At the very least, it seems highly probable that the speech was conditioned by the party, as it was not uncommon for the Party to manufacture and manipulate documents to serve their purpose.¹⁷⁶ Thomas himself acknowledges this is possible.¹⁷⁷

Furthermore, there were other occasions when, according to Panufnik, his published material was either altered without his permission or was an outright fabrication. The interview, which was published in the Soviet journal *Ogoniok*, on the 26th of June 1951, is an example of this.¹⁷⁸ The published interview states that Panufnik felt his *Tragic Overture* was permeated with pessimism and that he believed he used musical language that was too complex and inaccessible for the broad masses,¹⁷⁹ while

¹⁷³This is at least the recollection of events provided by a Letter from Camilla Panufnik to Adrian Thomas. 23 February 1999 (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives). This claim is also made in a number of program notes used by the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra during Panufnik's time as their chief conductor (1957-1959).

¹⁷⁴Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54."

¹⁷⁵Camilla Panufnik. Interview with Blake Parham. Riverside House, Twickenham: 12 January 2012.

¹⁷⁶In several sources the manipulation of documents by the communists is discussed including texts by Norman Davies, Louis FitzGibbon and Jan P. Lee.

¹⁷⁷Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54." p.213

¹⁷⁸Andrzej Panufnik. "Symfonia Pokoju (Interview with Panufnik Reprinted Form the Ogoniok Journal)." in *Muzyka*.3/4 1950: pp.49-50.

¹⁷⁹Ibid. p.49-50

on several other occasions he states quite the opposite.¹⁸⁰ Panufnik also stated, in an article written for the *Encounter* in 1955 that as a result of his position he was also often forced to make statements which he did not agree with, but had no other choice if he wanted to try and hold on to the remains of his artistic freedom.¹⁸¹ Another noteworthy article in this respect was 'Wrażenie belgijskie', published in the 28 October-3 November 1953 edition of *Przegląd Kulturalny*, which contains very strongly pro-socialist language, which when compared to Panufnik's other writings seems highly uncharacteristic for him.¹⁸² Bolesławska sums up the situation in the following words:

"He was asked with increasing frequency to voice his opinion on matters unrelated to music. Statements in support of various government initiatives appeared in the papers, and were signed 'Andrzej Panufnik'. It is difficult to determine now to what extent these were really written by Panufnik, who did not have a particular gift for expressing his thoughts in writing or using words. Conscious of this lack, he rarely made any public statements. To what extent were these statements prepared by journalists? The manipulation of words and opinions, and even complete changes of meaning of statements were techniques used universally in the communist years."¹⁸³

Bearing Bolesławska's statement in mind, along with the previously stated arguments, there were also other instances where it seems Panufnik was used for propaganda purposes. For example, Panufnik states that because he became known in parts of the West he was forced to hold several administrative positions which he did not apply for. He goes on to note that these activities distracted him from composing, disturbed his concentration, forced him to make statements which he did not agree with, and in general made it very hard for him to compose.¹⁸⁴ Panufnik held positions in the Ministry of Culture, the Committee for Cultural Relations Abroad, and the Committee for the Defence of Peace and was the Vice-President of ZKP. Furthermore, as Scarlett Panufnik observed in her book:

¹⁸⁰ Andrzej Panufnik. *Tragic Overture*. MS, 1955. (London: British Library, Panufnik Collection). [Reconstruction and revision of the original 1942, includes annotations, apparently made for the recording sessions with Jascha Horenstein and the London Symphony Orchestra in 1970].

¹⁸¹ Panufnik, "Composers and Commissars." p.5

¹⁸² Andrzej Panufnik. "Wrażenie Belgijskie." in *Przegląd Kulturalny*. 28 October - 3 November.

¹⁸³ Bolesławska, Beata. "Andrzej Panufnik and the Pressures of Stalinism in Post-War Poland." p.18

¹⁸⁴ Panufnik, "Composers and Commissars." p.5

“Most artists belong to numerous committees and are made to feel like Government employees, obliged to carry our order at any time. [...] Although not a party member, he could not possibly refuse to sit on these committees. Forces begin a screen of slogans and clichés such as eventually stifle the courage and imagination of the strongest-minded, he found that all these activities effectively prevent him carrying on with his creative work.”¹⁸⁵

What exacerbated this propaganda further was Panufnik’s association with known committed socialists such as Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. This is evidenced by a letter from the 12th of September 1953 in which Iwaszkiewicz addresses Panufnik as “Kochany Andrzeju”¹⁸⁶ [Dearest/beloved Andrzej], a highly familiar greeting that he would not have used had he not already been good friends with Panufnik. Panufnik also uses a text by Iwaszkiewicz for the final movement of his *Symphony of Peace* in 1951, which appears to provide further proof of some kind of relationship between the two men.¹⁸⁷

During his time in the Polish People’s Republic Panufnik had composed a few mass songs.¹⁸⁸ These songs, due to their political associations, were seen by many as a form of communist propaganda, hence it appeared that Panufnik had collaborated with the regime. It is true however, that many composers during this period composed mass songs in order to be allowed to continue their career. Lutosławski, for example, composed seven mass songs during the Stalinist period in Poland (1947-1956).¹⁸⁹

Due to Panufnik’s position within Poland, he was often sent abroad to conduct concerts and to attend cultural events as stipulated by the communist authorities. Indeed Panufnik wrote very openly, in *Composing Myself*, about how he enjoyed many, although not all, of these trips abroad. Importantly, it should be noted that these trips were always heavily supervised by the Secret Police, hence giving Panufnik no opportunity to speak freely about his homeland. Panufnik had already travelled extensively prior to the major cultural changes in 1949, he was already well known abroad and thus was the most obvious composer for them to continue to use in order

¹⁸⁵Panufnik, *Out of the City of Fear*. pp.165-166

¹⁸⁶Letter from Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz to Andrzej Panufnik. 12 September 1953. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives). [Includes a number of Iwaszkiewicz's poems, which he hoped Panufnik would set to music].

¹⁸⁷Andrzej Panufnik. *Symfonia Pokoju [Symphony of Peace]*. Kraków: PWM, 1952.

¹⁸⁸These mass songs are listed in appendix II.

¹⁸⁹James Harley. “Witold Lutosławski: List of Works.” *Polish Music Center*. http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/VEPM/lutos/lu-wrk-f.html. (Viewed; 5 September 2013).

to paint a favourable image of communist Poland. Bolesławska saw Panufnik's travels abroad in both a positive and negative light:

"Panufnik was happy to take advantage of the frequent trips abroad, getting away from post-war Poland and its numerous problems. Not the least of these, for Panufnik, was the way Poland was falling deeper and deeper into cultural isolation. He was probably aware that he was being used by the government for propaganda purposes, but was equally pleased by the opportunity of acquainting western audiences with Polish music."¹⁹⁰

In his autobiography, Panufnik speaks with relative openness about his time in communist Poland. Tully Potter also noted his candour in this respect in an interview with him in 1991.¹⁹¹ Moreover in his autobiography Panufnik is even prepared to mention that he did in some way, consciously or sub-consciously, cooperate with the party and was given certain advantages for this cooperation. These advantages included being awarded the largest grant by the ZKP and Ministry of Culture for the *Festiwal Muzyki Polskiej* (FMP) in 1951¹⁹² and being allocated¹⁹³ a comparatively luxurious apartment at Warecka 4/6 in March of 1954.¹⁹⁴ Panufnik was not alone in this situation in Poland. He was however, one of few artists in such a 'well-off' situation.

It is impossible to prove the accuracy of many of these sources and this study does not seek to do so. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the evidence produced from writings of authors such as Thomas show that the situation was a highly complicated one, and that there was certainly immense pressure placed on Panufnik by the authorities. Furthermore, it is evident from the available sources that Panufnik was forced to relinquish almost all of his individuality in composition and that this affected his psychological health. Nigel Osborne sums it up in the following manner:

"The moral dilemmas facing your father [Andrzej Panufnik] were enormous. On the one hand the opportunity to rebuild his country, on the other hand that if he

¹⁹⁰Bolesławska, Beata. "Andrzej Panufnik and the Pressures of Stalinism in Post-War Poland." p.15

¹⁹¹Tully Potter. "All My Children: A Portrait of Sir Andrzej Panufnik Based on Conversations with Tully Potter." in *The Musical Times*. 132.1778 April 1991: pp.186-91.

¹⁹²Thomas, "File 750: Composers, Politics and the Festival of Polish Music (1951)."

¹⁹³At the time most houses in Poland were owned by the state, and even if they were not, the state had the possibility to lodge additional people into someone's home. Due to housing shortages and the lack of competitive market economy the waiting time for a flat was normally at least a few years (at times even 10-15 years).

¹⁹⁴Beata Bolesławska and Lech Dzierzanowski. *Andrzej Panufnik*. Warsaw: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 2008. (Interactive Compact Disc).

allowed himself to be manipulated, given privileges by the new establishment. He had to look at a situation where other people were facing prison and starvation.”¹⁹⁵

2.2.7. Dual Treatment

The dual nature of the regime’s treatment of Panufnik must be considered as part of any examination of his life or music during his time in communist Poland. This is evidenced from the above exploration, which effectively shows that at one moment he would be praised for his work, given honours, etc., and at the next he would be scolded by the authorities and Polish communist musicologists. Thomas states:

“As is well known, the ideological reception of his music from within the profession ranged from watchful equivocation and malice at the ZKP meeting in June 1950 to Lissa’s very different commentaries in the mid-1950s. Although negative musical views were certainly expressed on aspects of Panufnik’s output (the discussion of Nocturne at Łagów in August 1949), the balance of published comments on *Symfonia Pokoju* [Symphony for Peace] was overwhelmingly supportive.”¹⁹⁶

On a separate occasion, Thomas acknowledged that Panufnik was a victim in this regard: “this is a special type of victimization because he was flattered with honours but at the same time he was heavily criticised.”¹⁹⁷

There are two reasons for this dual treatment. Firstly, not all criticism, both positive and negative, was entirely driven by the authorities (the Ministry of Culture) and this could account for a degree of the discrepancy with regard to the reception of his compositions. Secondly, Panufnik was one of the regime’s principal propaganda tools, and thus they wanted to provide him with incentives to act in the way they needed and wanted him to act, and to show that if he disobeyed they had effective means of punishment.

¹⁹⁵Nigel Osborne cited in Rzączyński, *My Father, the Iron Curtain and Me*.

¹⁹⁶Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54."p.219

¹⁹⁷Adrian Thomas cited in Grzegorz Braun and Aleksandra [dir.] Gruzziel. *Andrzej Panufnik. Errata do biografii*. (Documentary: 25 minutes). Warszawa: Film Open Group and TVP S.A. 2008

2.2.8. Defection

Once Panufnik had made the decision to defect, he and his first wife Scarlett began to make arrangements for their escape. Scarlett's father lived in England, and thus she was able to gain permission to visit him and help to arrange Panufnik's invitation to conduct a Swiss Radio recording session of his works. Subsequently, Panufnik was able, with the help of Konstanty Regamey, to escape the watchful eye of the communist secret police in Zürich and board a flight to London, arriving in the UK on the morning of the 14th of July 1954. This was a dramatic and dangerous move, since, as political analyst Wawrzyniec Konarski attests, being caught by the secret police would have had a disastrous effect on his career, life and family.¹⁹⁸ To take such a radical step, and leave behind his possessions, manuscripts, friends and a successful career, would have required a set of extraordinary push factors.

There are several reasons for Panufnik's defection. The four main motives are all directly related to his position as communist Poland's composer of choice. Firstly, as previously stated, Panufnik held several socialist administrative positions which consumed time better spent on composition, and forced him into the public proclamation of views he later declared he did not believe in.¹⁹⁹ Secondly, even with his heightened position, Panufnik continued to suffer from the same shortages, and more importantly lack of freedoms, as the rest of Poland. Thirdly, Panufnik was used as a propaganda tool, and even though there is some debate about whether he had been compliant or not, it put enormous pressure on both his life and career. Fourthly, some of his compositions were, if not officially, at least unofficially frowned upon in his own country, as they did not conform to the enigmatic standards set by the authorities. This was the pressure, which Panufnik found most unbearable.

The combination of these issues appears to have resulted in an inability to compose, as can be seen from his lack of compositional output at the time. In his final two years in Poland he composed only two small, and arguably insignificant, works: *Quintetto Academico*, a small chamber work written as a study piece; and *Nowy Czas*,

¹⁹⁸Wawrzyniec Konarski cited in Rzączyński, *My Father, the Iron Curtain and Me*.

¹⁹⁹Panufnik himself mentions these positions as being one of the reasons why he defected in a speech given in 1954. Panufnik. *Speech Upon His Defection to Great Britain*.

a mass song, which some (including Lady Panufnik) argue he was forced to compose.²⁰⁰ Additionally to the artistic and political problems, Panufnik encountered the social aspirations of his first wife, Scarlett, which furthered Panufnik's entrapment as he had little appreciation for social events.

The final push that caused Panufnik's defection was the tragic death of his daughter,²⁰¹ Oonagh, in 1953²⁰² and the subsequent response from the communists who had deputized him to 'lead' a cultural delegation to China²⁰³ and did not allow for his return to Poland for over a week after his daughter's death.²⁰⁴ Bolesławska suggests that, as a result of all of these pressures, when Panufnik left Poland he was in a state of psychological crisis.²⁰⁵ This assertion is also backed up by the few remaining letters from this period that paint a portrait of a distraught individual.²⁰⁶ In the end Panufnik himself explained his reasons for defecting in a *BBC/Radio Free Europe* broadcast speech upon his arrival in the United Kingdom, in 1954:

"I'd like to give my reasons for leaving Poland. The main reason was being forced into political activity, because of this I was in a totally uncreative situation. I was forced to participate in political activities against my own convictions. My greatest desire is to dedicate myself to creative work. This is only possible with complete freedom of thought and belief."²⁰⁷

²⁰⁰It should be noted that other Polish composers wrote mass songs during this time as a matter of necessity in order to appease the authorities.

²⁰¹Panufnik's daughter, Oonagh died when his then wife, Scarlett Panufnik, suffered from an epileptic fit while bathing her and the baby drowned.

²⁰²Letter from Władysław Sokorski to Andrzej Panufnik. 6 May 1953. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁰³Letter from Władysław Sokorski to Andrzej Panufnik. 13 March 1953. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁰⁴Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.221

²⁰⁵Bolesławska. *Interview (Part I) with Blake Parham*. 13 December 2011.

²⁰⁶As found in the Panufnik Archives, Twickenham, London.

²⁰⁷Andrzej Panufnik cited in Rzączyński, *My Father, the Iron Curtain and Me*.

CHAPTER 3: THE UNITED KINGDOM (POST-1954)

3.1 Dislocation from Poland²⁰⁸

The period between 1949 and 1956 saw composers who left Poland suffer much more than those who migrated prior to 1949, or after the cultural thaw of 1956.²⁰⁹

Zofia Helman writes:

“All the other composers, who left the country later, did it quite legally and were no longer eliminated from Polish musical life by means of official bans.”²¹⁰

Andrzej Panufnik was the most prolific composer to defect in the period before the thaw. Adrian Thomas claims:

“Within Polish culture during the period of Socialist Realism, arguably only the writer Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz exceeded Panufnik’s eminence as an international figure in the public eye [...]”²¹¹

Due to Panufnik’s lofty status in Poland, which was comparable to that of Shostakovich in the USSR, the repercussions for his emigration were far greater than those inflicted upon less prominent emigrants, even within the same period. Once Panufnik left Poland he became *persona non grata*, in order to set an example for others who might wish to follow in his footsteps. His music was officially banned, his scores and recordings were ordered destroyed, and his name was removed from all documents as a penalty for such disrespect to the Socialist regime. Among the sanctions his membership to the ZKP and his publishing contract with the state publishers PWM were revoked. Panufnik had very little contact with friends and family²¹² he left behind; all letters were censored by the state and in most cases would not even reach their intended recipients intact.

It appears, however, that the ban on his persona and music may not have been completely effective after the cultural thaw of 1956. While Panufnik’s music was officially banned, there were occasional performances of selected works. This is

²⁰⁸This sub-chapter is based on a conference presentation from May 2012 at the University of Glasgow which was subsequently published: Parham, "Sir Andrzej Panufnik; a Study of Musical Dislocation."

²⁰⁹For examples of such composer see; Helman, "Emigrés by Choice."

²¹⁰Ibid. p.7

²¹¹Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54." p.205

²¹²The only remaining member of Panufnik’s family left alive in Poland at this time was his niece, Ewa Panufnik.

evidenced by a review in *Ruch Muzyczny* of a performance of the *Tragic Overture* in Warsaw on the 21st and 23rd of November 1958,²¹³ and a letter from Christine Cummings, of Pear Phipps Management, which stated that the Warsaw Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra was planning to perform Panufnik's *Divertimento* in London in 1973.²¹⁴ Although Panufnik's name was removed from several documents and omitted from most publications, he was still included in the *Mała Encyklopedia Muzyczna* of 1960.²¹⁵ In an article from 2001, Thomas stated that Panufnik was also included in another music dictionary from 1967.²¹⁶ He does not, however, give any details about the entry, or even the name of this dictionary, therefore the information cannot be verified. The crucial point is that publications and performances occurred in limited numbers after the cultural thaw of 1956, when restrictions were not implemented with the same vigour as before. This could account for the regime allowing, or at least not actively forbidding, these publications. Furthermore, in all of these entries Panufnik was, as Thomas states himself:

“...presented as if in a disembodied state, as if he and his pre-1954 compositions had been pickled in a jar of formaldehyde to be left on a laboratory shelf, with most of his post-1954 output ignored as irrelevant to the ongoing Polish experience. The implication is, of course, that Panufnik would still have been a real composer had he stayed in Poland along with his colleagues and been part of the post-1956 explosion of avant-garde music”²¹⁷

Thomas' statement details clearly the thinking of the regime at this time in relation to Panufnik and shows that the regime employed many varying techniques in order to try and tarnish Panufnik's reputation and his music, thus punishing him for leaving Poland.

It was not only an official ban on his music that Panufnik faced in Poland upon his defection in 1954; the authorities also spread propaganda slandering his name in order to justify this prohibition, as well as, to discourage his friends from keeping in contact with him. The misinformation included an accusation that Panufnik was heavily in debt upon his defection and thus left Poland for financial gain. Bolesławska, however, has proven these allegations to be completely unfounded and provided

²¹³ Anonymous. "Review of Tragic Overture." in *Ruch Muzyczny*. 3.1 1959.

²¹⁴ Letter from Christine Cummings to The Warsaw Philharmonic Chamber Orchestra. 2 January 1973. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²¹⁵ *Józef Władysław Reiss and Stefan Śledziński. Mała Encyklopedia Muzyki. Warszawa: PWM, 1960.*

²¹⁶ Thomas, "In the Public Eye: Panufnik and His Music 1948-54." p.208

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.208

evidence that the only unsettled bill was an insignificant telephone account, which only arrived after he had left Poland.²¹⁸ Perhaps the most frightening of the repercussions, however, was the prospect of inevitable incarceration if he should return to Poland.

The dreadful situation in which Panufnik found himself was further exacerbated by this slanderous propaganda. It caused him to be dislocated from Poland, from his family, friends, and colleagues, and also from his previously successful career; in short, from everything he knew and associated himself with. Even after the censors' official ban on Panufnik was finally lifted in 1977, his music was not readily performed and his name was rarely seen printed in his home country.

One example of this treatment was his omission from Chomiński's article, 'The Contribution of Polish Composers to the Shaping of a Modern Language in Music'.²¹⁹ The paper discusses the contributions of Polish composers to modern music in general. Chomiński discusses Penderecki, Baird, Serocki, Górecki, and Lutosławski, yet not even one mention is given to Panufnik. Even the use of quartertones and microtonal music is discussed without a mention of Panufnik, who was one of the first to use quartertones in Poland with *Lullaby* in 1947.²²⁰ Moreover, his musical activities were not mentioned at the official, national congresses concerning art and culture in the country; even as late as December of 1981 (after the official ban was lifted) the *Congress of Culture* failed to acknowledge Panufnik. This shows that the thaw did not change the regime's perception of Panufnik as a threat. Further proof came in 1987, when an unnamed individual was arrested in Poland for possessing an underground copy of a chapter from Panufnik's autobiography: *Composing Myself*.²²¹ This shows that even at the brink of the regime's collapse Panufnik was not a comfortable subject.

²¹⁸Bolesławska, *Panufnik*.

²¹⁹Józef Chomiński. "The Contribution of Polish Composers to the Shaping of a Modern Language in Music." in *Polish Musicological Studies* Trans. Maria Paczyńska. Vol. 1. Kraków: PWM, 1977: pp.167-215.

²²⁰Andrzej Panufnik. *Lullaby*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1955.

²²¹Panufnik. *Interview with Blake Parham*. 12 January 2012.

3.2 Troubles in the West 1954-1963

Panufnik's initial years in his new country were difficult. There were accusations of communist sympathies, financial difficulties, a failing marriage, and on top of that his music was all but ignored by the British. It is true that Panufnik was initially met with a flurry of attention including a contract with one of the world's top publishing companies, Boosey and Hawkes,²²² a celebratory concert with the London Symphony Orchestra (conducted by himself), as well requests to write one-off articles in significant newspapers, *inter alia* *The Times*. This attention was, however, very short-lived, and Panufnik was quickly forgotten by the British music establishment.²²³ He recounted that following this initial interest he received no invitations to conduct, or commissions for some time. In the period following his escape from Poland, between 1954 and 1957, there were only five articles published in the United Kingdom about Panufnik,²²⁴ excluding those written by Panufnik himself.²²⁵ Additionally, the articles written between 1954 and 1957 show a distinct lack of understanding of Panufnik's situation, while only one briefly comments on his defection and the effect it may have had. Moreover, these articles tend to doubt Panufnik's credibility as a composer prior to his emigration, presumably due in part to the cultural politics of the Cold War.

During this time of Cold War cultural politics Panufnik did not belong to either side of the musical debate (the West, the East, or even to the reactionary movement led by Pierre Boulez). Therefore, almost no one paid attention to Panufnik and his compositions. For the first decade of his life in The United Kingdom even the BBC rarely broadcast Panufnik's music.²²⁶ *Sinfonia Sacra* for example was awarded the *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco* in 1963, premiered in 1964 in Monte Carlo, and

²²²It should be noted that this relationship while important was not always a purely positive one. It seems from a number of correspondences between Panufnik and the publishers (particularly in the 1950s and early 1960s) that Boosey and Hawkes were frustrated by Panufnik's frequent revisions, while Panufnik often felt that Boosey and Hawkes did not do enough to promote his music. Collection of letters from Boosey and Hawkes to Panufnik, Andrzej between August 1954 and December 1991. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²²³Nigel Osborne cited in Rzączyński, *My Father, the Iron Curtain and Me*.

²²⁴During this period there were several articles written in the local newspapers of Birmingham about his position as the chief conductor of the CBSO. However these very rarely, if ever, contained any information about his own compositions.

²²⁵Kostka, "Reception of Andrzej Panufnik's Works in Great Britain." p.224

²²⁶This relationship will be discussed in greater detail in the next sub-chapter, The British Broadcasting Corporation.

since it was performed all over the world including: New York, Buenos Aires, Berlin, Paris, Lisbon, and Helsinki; yet it was completely omitted in the United Kingdom until November 1968, when it was finally performed by the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra.²²⁷ It was not until several years later that the piece was performed by one of the major British orchestras and finally broadcast by the BBC.

The lack of musicological interest in Panufnik's works was perhaps also dictated by the fact that his music was not avant-garde enough for contemporary music authorities, and yet too modern for those concerned with more 'classical' music. The British music establishment of the late 1950s and 1960s was, generally speaking, preoccupied with encouraging the 'new' generation of composers, concerned with innovation above other aspects of music making. Little attention was paid to the merits of Panufnik's compositions; the rigorous structure of his material, his use of geometrical designs, and the importance he placed on the emotional content of his works, as these traits were seen as unfashionable. Nonetheless, precisely these qualities identified Panufnik as a nonconformist. Gwyn Pritchard refers to this attitude with the following words:

"[...] this time the emergence of propagandist attitudes as people fought to support their particular musical beliefs. Such attitudes must have been very painful for Panufnik who had recently fled a country dominated by propaganda and deliberate unwillingness to look for truth."²²⁸

The ill treatment of Panufnik was acknowledged by Norman Lebrecht in his obituary of the composer written for *The Independent* in 1991:

"Seldom has an important musician been treated worse by the British establishment [...] boycotted by the BBC which for nine years deemed his music unfit for broadcast. Leopold Stokowski flew over from the United States to pay homage [...] but the British frost was impermeable."²²⁹

Only a few people showed interest in Panufnik during the period of 1954-1962, therefore, the help and support he received during this time was limited.²³⁰ His

²²⁷Letter from Camilla Panufnik to Michael Allen. 11 May 1968. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²²⁸Gwyn Pritchard (Presenter). *Sir Andrzej Panufnik 1914-1991*. London: BBC Radio 3, 22 December 1991.

²²⁹Norman Lebrecht. "Sir Andrzej Panufnik, Obituary." in *The Independent*. 28 October 1991: p.25.

²³⁰These included; Witold Małcużyński who helped Panufnik obtain funding to write a Piano Concerto, and Sir Stuart Wilson, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Arthur Benjamin who helped to organise a considerable bank overdraft for him in the early 1950s.

compositions did receive some attention in the USA; however, this was largely due to the support of Leopold Stokowski and did not translate into any ongoing commitments.²³¹ The only exception to this general trend of disinterest in those years was a commission for the Millennium of Poland from the Kosciuszko Foundation, which resulted in the very successful *Sinfonia Sacra*, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 7. Nonetheless, the generally apathetic attitude towards Panufnik's music in the UK and abroad was an additional contributing factor to his lack of grounding in the UK.

3.2.1. The British Personality

It can be argued that the issues Panufnik faced were also due, in part, to the apprehensive attitude of British society. Lisa Schuster in her book *Migration and Mobility, the European Context*, suggests that British society was at the same time welcoming and sceptical of immigration during the 20th century. The United Kingdom now embraces multiculturalism; however, a degree of fear regarding immigrants has always been embedded within the British society. Francis Routh perceives this point similarly:

“One of the most remarkable features of the British attitude to musicians from other countries is that while the warmest welcome is extended to visitors, the reception accorded to newly-arrived citizens from other countries is ambivalent and considerably less fulsome. Composers, who have taken up residence in this country, and become British citizens, have found obstacles in their path which are inexplicable to any who do not fully understand the full implication of that ominous and much quoted phrase English reserve.”²³²

Routh further argues that Panufnik was a good example of this phenomenon: a composer, who was welcomed elsewhere, except the United Kingdom – where he resided. Lady Panufnik argues that this may have initially been due to the fact that the artistic Brits, contrary to the affiliations of their government, sympathised with socialist ideals.²³³ It is true that many artists in the West associated with socialist or even communist concepts in a broad Marxist sense due to their idealistic appeal. They

²³¹Collection of letters from Andrzej Panufnik to Stokowski, Leopold between 1953 and 1977. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archive); Panufnik, *Composing Myself*.

²³²Francis Routh. "Andrzej Panufnik." in *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-Five Years from 1945 to 1970*. London: Macdonald, 1972: p.188.

²³³Panufnik. *Interview with Blake Parham*. 12 January 2012.

did not fully comprehend the implications of a communist regime in the Stalinist sense, not perceiving it as a threat but a desirable political vision. Consequently, Panufnik's defection was a perplexing phenomenon for such people, particularly due to his previous position in the regime in which arts were supposed to thrive.

In 1974 Stephen Walsh suggested another possible reason for the problems with Panufnik's reception, arguing that the United Kingdom never had a taste for heroism in classical music: "heroic attitudes have never flourished on unthreatened soil."²³⁴ He goes on to state, however, that Panufnik's music is hardly based only on heroism, but maybe British audiences had taken that impression from the titles of his works which could appear to be, as he puts it, "grandiloquent."²³⁵

An alternative theory for the ambivalent attitude towards Panufnik was that following the death of Stalin, in 1953, artists and composers from the USSR were able to travel with slightly more freedom than before. Those previously un-heard-of composers and musicians instantly captured the interest of the West as they represented fresh and exotic ideas. Łukasz Borowicz points out:

"It is also important to note how arts organisations and agents in the West operated just after the death of Stalin. They started to revive the works of Russian composers and invited Russian artists to perform; [...] it was more interesting to employ Soviet Russian artists. At that time you had the first concerts of Russian music played by Russian artists, like Rostropovich, with English and American Orchestras.[...]At this time when they were making the roster of artists for the season, probably from a commercial point of view it would be more interesting to have someone like Rostropovich, 'from that strange country'."²³⁶

Panufnik, having defected to the United Kingdom and having been one of the few composers whose music was played in the West during his time in communist Poland, did not possess the same appeal (which Borowicz discusses) as the seemingly mysterious Russians did, and thus was often overlooked by English and American orchestras.

²³⁴ Walsh, "The Music of Andrzej Panufnik." p.8

²³⁵ Ibid. p.8

²³⁶ Łukasz Borowicz. Interview with Blake Parham. Polskie Radio, Warsaw: 6 January 2012.

3.2.2. Suspicion and Scorn

Osborne sums up Panufnik's situation succinctly: "He comes here [to The United Kingdom] to even more difficulties; to rejection, and scorn, and suspicion."²³⁷ These difficulties, particularly suspicion towards his political beliefs and reasons for defecting, can partially be attributed to his previous position in the PRL, and the political associations that (rightly or wrongly) came with it. The USA, for example, refused to grant him a visa to attend performances of his work in 1966.²³⁸ This decision was peculiar especially considering that he was previously granted permission to visit the USA after his defection. It is possible that there were legitimate reasons behind the refusal; but in order to reconsider his visa application, the US authorities requested information, which undeniably shows that they were questioning the sincerity of his political detachment from communism.²³⁹ This seems to have been a politically motivated decision, as the previous trips had not been questioned, and his compositions and life since defection certainly did not show any affiliations with the abandoned regime.

Another example of suspicion comes from an information booklet presented by Radio Free Europe. In July 1970 the *Komunikat Informacyjny* Nr. 3 of the *Kongres Współczesnej Nauki i Kultury Polskiej na Obczyźnie* [Message no. 3 of the Congress on Polish Contemporary Knowledge and Culture Abroad], asserted that Panufnik had refused to take part in a concert of Polish music for the conference, which Panufnik attests was not the case. Panufnik voiced his objection to this message in a letter to Dr Leopold Kielanowski of Radio Free Europe on the 21st of March 1970.²⁴⁰ This occurrence could have been a misunderstanding, although it seems very possible that either the anti Panufnik propaganda spread by communist intelligence, or the perception that Panufnik had in fact co-operated with the communists while in Poland, may have caused such miss-information.

Panufnik's troubles were further exacerbated, as he did not have many contacts in the United Kingdom, and was a man who by his own admission, did not make

²³⁷Nigel Osborne cited in Rzączyński, *My Father, the Iron Curtain and Me*.

²³⁸Letter from American Consulate in Great Britain to Andrzej Panufnik. 17 August 1966. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²³⁹Ibid.

²⁴⁰Letter from Leopold (Radio Free Europe) Kielanowski to Andrzej Panufnik. 21 March 1970. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

friends easily. Lady Panufnik states that “he much preferred to stay at home than attend parties or concerts.”²⁴¹ This is corroborated by a number of letters (found in the Panufnik Archives in Twickenham) and remarks made by some of their close friends, including Bernard Jacobson,²⁴² Andre Dzierzynski,²⁴³ and Mark Stephenson.²⁴⁴ Lady Panufnik elaborated on this in a speech she gave in Poland in late 1990s:

“He refused almost all social invitations, except for events connected directly with his concerts, or amongst his closer friends – musicians, artists and writers. He also rejected all invitation to lecture at Universities, give workshops, teach at music colleges, or appear on television. This was not only because of his innate shyness. He could not get used to the contemporary trend, still extant, which forces composers to become speakers extolling their own compositions. He felt that the public’s demand for explanation had given rise to a false intellectualism.”²⁴⁵

The methodical approach, with which Panufnik would prepare full answers to questions for the few interviews he gave, and the stipulation that these questions must be supplied weeks before, attest to Lady Panufnik’s above comments.²⁴⁶ Panufnik did not get involved in the established ‘Polonia’ (community of Polish immigrants) in the United Kingdom, which was often the main source of support and promotion for new immigrants. Panufnik argues that this was mainly due to the lack of interest in him from this community, which might also have been caused by his previous affiliations with the communist government, which the ‘Government in Exile’²⁴⁷ regarded as unlawful. Panufnik writes about his impressions of the Polish community:

“Nor did the hundred-thousand strong Polish community in England make any move to help. Despite their ‘Government in Exile’, a President and Ministers, and

²⁴¹Panufnik. *Interview with Blake Parham*. 12 January 2012.

²⁴²Bernard Jacobson. Interview with Blake Parham. Riverside House, Twickenham: June 2012.

²⁴³Andre Dzierzynski. Interview with Blake Parham. Riverside House, Twickenham: 2 July 2013.

²⁴⁴Letter from Mark Stephenson to Blake Parham. 25 November 2011. (Personal e-mail: Unpublished).

²⁴⁵Camilla Panufnik. *His Daily Routine and Lifestyle*. Speech given in Poland on Unknown date. (the Panufnik Archives, Twickenham).

²⁴⁶A large number of notes for interviews can be found in the Panufnik Archives in Twickenham, UK.

²⁴⁷In the aftermath of the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 the government of the Second Republic of Poland continued unbroken as the government of Poland, but in exile, until the official handover to President Lech Wałęsa in 1990. The government of the Second Republic became known as the Polish government in exile. After the war the government in exile was without any effective power, although it did represent a strong opposition to the communist regime in Poland and as a result often attracted many Polish defectors.

their enormous 'Fund for National Culture', they did nothing other than request me to conduct a charity concert without any fee later in the year [1954]."²⁴⁸

Thus, it is obvious from these comments that Panufnik did not view the established Polish community in a particularly positive light, as he felt they had offered him no support in his time of need.

3.2.3. City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra

It was this combination of factors - the indifference of the establishment, exacerbated by Panufnik's reclusive personality and disinterest in the social scene that resulted in both financial difficulties and isolation from the British music scene, as well as the Polish community. The inability to earn enough money from composition forced Panufnik to turn to his second talent - conducting. Consequently, he worked as the chief conductor of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra (CBSO) from 1957-1959. This proved to be a very demanding role that left very little time for composition, which was always Panufnik's primary interest.²⁴⁹ There are mixed reviews of his time at the CBSO. Nonetheless, it is apparent that Panufnik worked very hard to increase the quality of the orchestra's performances, and the letters and reviews from the announcement of his resignation in 1959, support this.²⁵⁰ The *Wolverhampton Express and Star* made similar comments on the 20th of November 1958:

"There is no doubt that the C.B.S.O. today is a much more accomplished combination than it was two years ago."²⁵¹

Moreover, Panufnik attempted to broaden the programming of the CBSO by including many British composers previously ignored, such as: Arne, Avison, Boyce, Byrd, Purcell and Stanley,²⁵² and more modern composers whose works had been formerly ignored. In this process, he was forced to remove some of the much loved, but over performed works from the classical and romantic era. Both of these changes caused Panufnik to clash with some of the older and more traditional members of the

²⁴⁸Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.245

²⁴⁹This position required Panufnik to conduct around fifty concerts a year, a huge number of rehearsals, a large amount of travel around the countryside, social appearances and heavy administrative duties.

²⁵⁰A large number of varying reviews and letters from this period can be found in the Panufnik Archives in Twickenham, UK.

²⁵¹B B. "Attention Was on Conductor." in *Wolverhampton Express and Star*. 20th November 1958: p.11.

²⁵²Panufnik also programmed concerts to commemorate the Elgar anniversary and Vaughan William's 85th Birthday during his time at the CBSO.

orchestra and audience during his first season, such as the notoriously troublesome orchestral leader Norris Stanley. Luckily, most of these issues were resolved by the beginning of the 1958/59 season.

It was during this time at the CBSO that Panufnik's already strained marriage collapsed. Unlike Andrzej, Scarlett had a great interest in the social scene, parties, and their position in society. Panufnik recounts the situation in his autobiography:

"She [Scarlett] refused to come to Birmingham with me, even for a single concert. Grateful as I was for Scarlett's courageous participation in my escape, she had contributed too many of the problems which were keeping me away from composition and had never outgrown her hunger for admiring words and constant attention."²⁵³

His time at the CBSO was helpful in one regard however, as Panufnik was able to gain increased knowledge about orchestral colours and the capabilities of a large orchestra. Panufnik said as much in an interview with Tully Potter:

"I was able to learn a lot about the various blends of the section of the orchestra, the technical possibilities of individual instrumentalists. Therefore it's easier for me to know how far I can go with my musical imagination."²⁵⁴

Ultimately, as previously mentioned, while Panufnik enjoyed conducting, and by all accounts was very good at it, he much preferred composing and his work as the Chief Conductor of the CBSO left him with very little time for composition. It was for this reason that he resigned from the position in 1959, even if it meant living with very limited means for the time being.

3.2.4. No Compositions

During these years of instability Panufnik composed very little. In fact he did not write anything until 1956, when he composed *Sinfonia Elegiaca*. This was not a new work, but a reworking of the now withdrawn *Symphony for Peace*. Following this, he composed *Rhapsody* in 1956 and then *Polonia* in 1959.²⁵⁵ Both works are tonally unchallenging, and while Panufnik's fingerprint is visible, they lack any striking innovation or compositional development. Bolesławska attributes this small

²⁵³Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.263

²⁵⁴Potter, "All My Children: A Portrait of Sir Andrzej Panufnik Based on Conversations with Tully Potter." p.188

²⁵⁵Bolesławska. *Interview (Part I) with Blake Parham*. 13 December 2011.

compositional output to the psychological and/or emotional burden of his Polish period:

“First of all he had to recover from all of his psychological problems; he had to find a new home, to feel more stable in Great Britain. And unless he was able to feel more, let’s say, confident in his new soil, in Great Britain, then he would not be able to start to compose again.”²⁵⁶

It is important to note that his small and somewhat cautious compositional output between 1954 and 1961 was in part caused by his time in the PRL and the problems he faced in the United Kingdom. However, this compositional output may also have been responsible for the lack of interest he received in the West, as these modest compositions do not adequately expose his talents or the innovations of which he had shown himself capable.

It was only in 1962 with the *Piano Concerto* (1957-1962), *Autumn Music* (1959-1960, revised in 1962 and 1965), and *Landscape* (1962, revised in 1965) that Panufnik began to recover his compositional momentum. Although both *Landscape* and *Autumn Music* were written during the ‘British freeze’ they were not performed until after Panufnik’s public profile had strengthened after 1965.

During this time Panufnik did not really change the basic elements of his musical style; on the contrary, he remained firm in his approach. This suggests that he was in some way unchangeable, and it seems that his unwillingness to compromise was a reaction to his time in communist Poland, where he had been forced to compromise his individuality in order to serve the greater aspirations of the regime. Many years later Panufnik’s agenda and reasoning were finally appreciated in the United Kingdom and there was a realization that he had been mistreated. Gwyn Pritchard states:

“I feel it’s important to re-state that the kind of prejudice, musical and otherwise, from which Panufnik suffered frequently is in no one’s interests, including those people who do not regard his music highly.”²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶Ibid. p.1

²⁵⁷Pritchard (Presenter). *Sir Andrzej Panufnik 1914-1991*.

3.4 The British Broadcasting Corporation

Initially the BBC, like much of the British establishment, showed a degree of interest in Panufnik. Under the leadership of Richard Howgill from 1952 to 1959, the BBC radio network commissioned a work from Panufnik (*Rhapsody*) for the tenth anniversary of the Third Programme in 1956; performed his *Sinfonia Rustica* at a Promenade Concert in 1955; and commissioned a work for the Light Music Festival (*Polonia*) in 1959.²⁵⁸ During this period the BBC broadcast Panufnik's music on thirteen occasions, including, *Rhapsody*, the *Tragic Overture*, the *Piano trio*, *Sinfonia Rustica*, *Polonia*, the *Five Polish Peasant Songs*, *Concerto in Modo Antico*, and *Lullaby*.²⁵⁹ This interest in Panufnik's music quickly dissolved, however, when Howgill retired and William Glock took over as the BBC Controller of Music in 1959.

Over the next five years, ignoring 1959 as it had been programmed by Howgill; Panufnik's music was broadcast only twice.²⁶⁰ Strikingly, one of these broadcasts was as part of a concert with the BBC Northern Symphony in Manchester on the 5th of August 1961, which also featured substantial works by Albert Roussel (1869-1937) and Charles Avison (1709-1770), and was broadcast in full.²⁶¹ There are many letters from this period detailing conversations between Glock, Panufnik and other BBC staff, which show that Panufnik had a great deal of trouble securing performances, broadcasts, conducting opportunities, or commissions from the BBC. When the BBC finally did record one of his works, the première of the *Piano Concerto* in 1962 with the CBSO, they did not broadcast the recording.²⁶²

Sinfonia Sacra, Panufnik's most prominent composition, was awarded the *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco* in 1963 against 133 entries from 38 countries.²⁶³ Subsequently, it was performed all over the world. Its US première was conducted by Leopold Stokowski, recorded, and released as an LP by EMI, recorded and broadcast on

²⁵⁸BBC. *Program Index of Transmissions of Panufnik's Works*. 1945-1970. (Reading: BBC Archives).

²⁵⁹*Ibid.*

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*

²⁶¹Letter from Wilfred Van Wyck to Andrzej Panufnik. 21 April 1961. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁶²Collection of letters from BBC to Panufnik, Andrzej between August 1954 and 31 December 1991. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁶³Boosey and Hawkes. *Andrzej Panufnik: A Promotional Booklet*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1994. p.3

Strasbourg Radio, Lisbon Radio, and televised by O.R.T.F. in France.²⁶⁴ Yet even with several letters promoting the work, from Boosey and Hawkes, Panufnik, and a number of fans, the BBC never broadcast this work during Glock's directorship.²⁶⁵ The most devastating blow came when the BBC broadcast a recording of the prize winners' concert for the *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco*, but removed Panufnik's *Sinfonia Sacra* from the recording, even though it had won first prize!²⁶⁶

The reasons for Panufnik's de facto blacklisting were never explained by Glock. One might speculate, but the truth will never be known. Glock was known to have had favourites and Panufnik was clearly not one of them. Glock was an avid promoter of serialist and avant-garde composers²⁶⁷ and deemed Panufnik and others like him, for example, Tristram Cary, to be unsuitable for the BBC airwaves. Glock wrote the following as part of the BBC Music Policy in 1963:

"So far as contemporary music is concerned – contemporary music of challenging difficulty – the catalogue shows that during 1961 the BBC broadcast, for example, three pieces by Pierre Boulez, two by Luigi Nono, one by Stockhausen, one by Maxwell Davies and that the total time devoted to Anton Webern during the whole year was about two hours[...]In the end, contemporary music as a whole will surely gain from an attempt to uphold standards, to look for whatever seems vital even if it is often forbidding. The alternative is to strew contemporary music over the programmes with a kind of generous indifference."²⁶⁸

Clearly Glock had very firm 'beliefs' regarding music, which he was unwilling to adjust.²⁶⁹ Indeed Glock's time as the BBC controller was marked by his consistent favouritism of the Second Viennese School; composers of the Darmstadt and Donaueschingen type; Boulez, and those associated with the *Domaine Musicale*; and members of the European avant-garde. As a result many British composers and European émigré composers living in Britain were sidelined by him. Only British

²⁶⁴Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*.

²⁶⁵The only slight exception to this was when a portion of the third movement was broadcast upon Panufnik's insistence as part of the interview he gave for Martin Dalby's program, *The Composer's Portrait* in 1966.

²⁶⁶BBC. *Program Index of Transmissions of Panufnik's Works*.

²⁶⁷Peter Heyworth (Presenter). *Interview with Sir William Glock*. London: BBC Radio, 1988.

²⁶⁸William Glock. *The British Broadcasting Corporation's Music Policy*. London: BBC, 1963. pp. 3-4

²⁶⁹It should be noted that there is no evidence that Glock was actively blacklisting composers. It is clear however that he neglected those who did not fit with his aesthetic credo.

composers of such weight as Britten and Tippett were able to 'buck the trend'.²⁷⁰ This does not however explain the removal of *Sinfonia Sacra* from the broadcasting of the prize winner's concert from the *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco* in 1963.

According to letters from Boosey and Hawkes to Panufnik, his publishers seemed somewhat powerless in this situation, although this was not for a lack of trying. In a letter to Panufnik on the 2nd of April 1969, John Andrews details Boosey and Hawkes' extensive dealings with the BBC to promote and encourage performance and broadcasting of Panufnik's works (see Appendix III).²⁷¹ Complaints and enquiries from sympathisers such as Stephen Lloyd, and the editor of the *Richmond and Twickenham Times*, R.V. Ward, received little response.²⁷²

This situation changed slightly in 1966 when Martin Dalby, who later became the Head of Music for BBC Scotland, was asked by Glock to present a program on Panufnik as part of his series, *The Composer's Portrait*.²⁷³ Dalby asserts that Glock gave no reason for this surprising order. The most logical explanation seems to be that Glock came under some sort of pressure, and decided to give Panufnik some token airtime without playing too many of his works. Even including Dalby's program Panufnik's music was still only broadcast three times between 1966 and 1970.²⁷⁴ Real change at the BBC only occurred after Glock eventually retired in 1972, but even then elements of his legacy lived on, both through and beyond the Boulez era with the BBC Symphony Orchestra in the 1970s.

3.5 The Cultural Thaw in Poland

Although the Stalinist system remained intact in Poland until 1956, Steven Stucky and Bolesławska both argue that the cultural changes in Poland began with Panufnik's defection, which dramatically highlighted the dissatisfaction amongst the composers at the current state of cultural politics. In December 1954 the dreaded Ministry of Security was abolished, its director Stanisław Radkiewicz dismissed, and Władysław

²⁷⁰Michael Kennedy. "Composer Who Came in from the Cold." in *The Daily Telegraph*. 1991: p.23.

²⁷¹Letter from John (Boosey and Hawkes) Andrewes to Andrzej Panufnik. 2 April 1969. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁷²Letter from R. V. Ward to Andrzej Panufnik. 6 January 1966. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁷³Martin Dalby. Interview with Blake Parham. Drymen: 26 April 2012.

²⁷⁴BBC. *Program Index of Transmissions of Panufnik's Works*.

Gomułka²⁷⁵ and his associates were released from house arrest. Following this, in 1955, the politically moderate Kazimierz Sikorski was elected president of the ZKP, the notorious Zofia Lissa withdrew from the union's leadership to pursue more scholarly work, and composers, such as Zygmunt Mycielski, began to speak out about the unhealthy state of Polish music. This situation culminated in October 1956 with the beginning of what is now referred to as the 1956 Cultural Thaw, where restrictions and control over music were significantly relaxed.

As a result of the thaw, Panufnik's Polish contemporaries, such as Lutosławski, and the new generation of composers which included: Górecki, Killar, and Penderecki - launched into a sweeping renaissance and emerged as champions of the avant-garde, the so-called new Polish School. It seems highly likely that many of these composers turned to the avant-garde sonoristic style as a reaction against the control the regime previously held over them. Yet Panufnik, who until his defection had been considered Polish composer 'number one', and since the end of the war the most progressive one, did not in any way belong to that avant-garde. Why? It is probable that this was because he had migrated and was dislocated (both culturally and geographically) from this development. Nevertheless, Lukasz Borowicz, a noted conductor of Panufnik's music, sees the situation somewhat differently, remarking:

"I think that most probably if he had stayed it would not have changed his language but his presence here would have changed the character of the changes in Poland after 1956. I say this because, supposedly if he had stayed in Poland he would have kept his position as number one, and surely the number one composer is giving the directions."²⁷⁶

Another conductor known for his performances of Panufnik's works, Mark Stephenson, agrees with Borowicz's view.²⁷⁷ Panufnik himself made comments in an interview with Tully Potter many years later, which strengthen this argument:

"I was more Polish [in England] than they were, as I was composing Polish music while my colleagues were composing post-Webern, post-Schoenberg, aleatory (like John Cage) or electronic music. They lost their Polish identity. Polish composers always feel they are behind their contemporaries – Szymanowski is

²⁷⁵Władysław Gomułka was a high profile member of the Polish Communist Party who during skirmishes between various Party factions was imprisoned and denounced as a right-wing reactionary. He later became the leader of communist Poland from 1956 to 1970.

²⁷⁶Borowicz. *Interview with Blake Parham*. 6 January 2012.

²⁷⁷Letter from Stephenson Letter to Blake Parham. 25 November 2011.

an example. The younger composers wanted to catch up and overtake the West. Living here, I was free of those complexes I just wanted to go my own way and be independent."²⁷⁸

The question of how things may have been different, had Panufnik remained in Poland, is impossible to answer. While Panufnik spent almost a decade rediscovering his own musical style, composers in Poland continued to experiment and develop further many of the techniques that Panufnik had first utilised in the late 1940s. As Marco Shirodkar argues, Panufnik's *Rhapsody* (1956) and *Polonia* (1959), composed during the period of his stylistic stagnation, are much more anchored in the old Polish music directly due to Panufnik's migration. Indeed, both compositions are based on Polish folk melodies; *Rhapsody* on a set of Polish folk dances including the *Krakowiak* and the *Mazurek*; and *Polonia* on a Polish *Highlander's March*, a *Mazurek*, the *Song of the Vistula*, and *Oberek*.²⁷⁹

3.6 Marriage and Settling Down

Eventually in 1963 Panufnik's fortunes began to change. As previously mentioned, he won the prestigious *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco*, married Camilla Jessel, and slowly the once hostile political situation began to change. Nevertheless, this improvement was not instant and it took many years for Panufnik to re-establish himself.

The *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco* was very important for two reasons. Firstly, the prize itself brought a great amount of attention to Panufnik and his music. The prize combined with the support from the Kosciuszko Foundation, which commissioned the work, resolved to a degree his unstable financial situation, providing the much needed support Panufnik required. Secondly, *Sinfonia Sacra* signaled the beginning of stylistic development for Panufnik once more. In this composition Panufnik uses symmetry, major-minor modalities²⁸⁰ and begins to experiment as he had done in the 1940s. Most importantly though, *Sinfonia Sacra* became a trigger for

²⁷⁸Potter, "All My Children: A Portrait of Sir Andrzej Panufnik Based on Conversations with Tully Potter." p.189

²⁷⁹Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*.

²⁸⁰Both of these techniques became features of his music later in his life.

the re-establishment of compositional development which Panufnik appears to have lacked ever since he left Poland.

The other major positive development in Panufnik's life was his marriage to the photographer, Camilla Jessel (later Lady Camilla Panufnik) in November 1963. It brought him great happiness and peace, which he needed in order to compose effectively. Before they were married, she had already begun to help Panufnik with his correspondence and finances, which provided him with much needed time and freedom for composition. Lady Panufnik recounts: "It was clear to me that he needed someone to look after him and remove all pressures of daily living."²⁸¹ Panufnik himself writes about his need for peace and routine in his autobiography, and surely, the explosion of large, serious compositions post-1963 also attests to this fact.²⁸²

The composer's own writings and no less than eighteen dedications to Lady Panufnik show his gratitude and love for his wife. Additionally, Panufnik found support in the London riverside borough of Twickenham where they had settled. Contrary to the rest of the United Kingdom, Twickenham did not ignore Panufnik's talent and received his compositions very warmly. The residents of Twickenham, including the Mayor, even presented a celebratory concert to welcome Panufnik to the area, on the 13th of November 1965, which at their own request included much of Panufnik's own music.²⁸³ The local newspaper wrote favourably and frequently about him, the neighbouring Richmond Concert Society gave several performances of his works, he was made the patron of the Richmond Arts Council, and as early as November 1965, a display of his manuscripts was presented in Richmond.²⁸⁴ This positive reception Panufnik received in Twickenham while conducive to increased compositional work, also shows that Panufnik still lacked the public profile in great British society which was required to further his compositional career. It was only with the increased attention created by the Monaco prize and other partnerships, which eventually emerged from this, that Panufnik was gradually able to increase his public profile.

²⁸¹Panufnik. *His Daily Routine and Lifestyle*.

²⁸²See appendix II for a listing of Panufnik's compositions.

²⁸³R. V. Ward. "Panufnik Concert." in *Richmond Times*. 1 August 1965: p.5.

²⁸⁴This is evidenced by the large collection of letters from the Richmond Concert Society, Reg Ward, and the Richmond Arts Council housed in the Panufnik Archives in Twickenham, UK.

This change of fortune, a combination of the peace he found with Lady Panufnik in their new house, and the higher profile the Monaco prize provided, seems to have lifted Panufnik's spirit and formed a much better creative environment. As a result, in 1968 Panufnik developed a new compositional technique based on a particular type of three-note chord, a cell, which he used thereafter as the basis for all of his compositions. The cell was then incorporated into various types of geometric designs, which provided the framework for his compositions. The first major work composed using this style was the *Universal Prayer*, which will be discussed in detail later in Chapter 8. Panufnik felt that his music had developed greatly from 1968 onwards and that this was a result of the increased musical freedom, which he had in the United Kingdom.²⁸⁵ This is evidenced partly by the number of analytical articles from the 1960s and the 1970s. In the 1960s only four articles of this kind appeared in publications in the United Kingdom; three in *Tempo* and one in *Musical Opinion* (which was an abridged version of one of the articles in *Tempo*). At this time *Tempo* was the 'house' magazine, which promoted Boosey and Hawkes composers, only more recently did it become a peer-reviewed academic journal. Hence, as the small number of articles concerning Panufnik written during the 1960s appeared almost exclusively in *Tempo*, it would seem that his profile in the United Kingdom was still not particularly strong. In the 1970s however, there was an explosion of articles, as shown in Violetta Kostka's review of sources in her essay 'Reception of Panufnik's Work in the Great Britain'.²⁸⁶

It was at this point that Panufnik and the London Symphony Orchestra (LSO) began, what became a lifelong collaboration.²⁸⁷ The LSO recorded four of Panufnik's orchestral works with Jascha Horenstein in 1970. David Atherton gave the première of *Sinfonia di Sfere* in 1976, recording it in 1979. The LSO also recorded *Sinfonia Mistica* in 1979 and *Metasinfonia* in 1985. The LSO also commissioned a work (*Concerto Festivo*) for their 75th anniversary gala in 1979, and in 1981 another work (*Concertino*) for the Shell-LSO percussion competition. In addition, Panufnik himself conducted the LSO on several occasions for performances of his own works. Furthermore, shortly before his

²⁸⁵ Andrzej Panufnik. Interview with Nicholas Kenyon (Radio). London: 15 July 1983.

²⁸⁶ Kostka, "Reception of Andrzej Panufnik's Works in Great Britain." p.255

²⁸⁷ This collaboration is easily visible from the large collection of letters between the LSO and the Panufnik's from the late 1960s onwards, which are housed in the Panufnik Archives.

death Panufnik was in talks with the LSO about recordings his remaining symphonies, which were not included in their current catalogue.²⁸⁸ Finally, the LSO currently runs a composition workshop and commission competition in his name.²⁸⁹

The post 1968 period also saw commissions from the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Sir George Solti, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Mstislav Rostropovich, Yehudi Menuhin, the Manchester International Organ Festival, the Royal Philharmonic Society in London, the Koussevitzky Music Foundation, the Park Lane Group, the John S. Cohen International String Quartet Competition, and even BBC Television. Additionally, over fourteen ballets were performed to his music by such distinguished ballet companies as the Stuttgart Ballet, the Houston Ballet, the Dutch National Ballet, the Ballet de L'Opéra de Lyon, the New York City Ballet, and the Royal Ballet in London.

In the end, it is Helman, who best sums up the situation Panufnik faced in the United Kingdom:

“With time, they [émigré composers] achieved some stability but had to pay for their position by temporarily, or in some periods even permanently, giving up their creative work.”²⁹⁰

3.7 Return to Poland

In 1977, after a 23-year long ‘silence’, Panufnik's music was finally heard again in Poland, with a performance of his *Universal Prayer* at the Warsaw Autumn Festival.²⁹¹ From a reception point of view, the work was of limited success, perhaps because the audience of the Warsaw Autumn Festival was used to listening to uncompromising avant-garde music. At the time of Panufnik's concert, Polish music was already witnessing a change in style; a beginning of, as Bolesławska puts it: “a new romanticism in music.”²⁹²

²⁸⁸Collection of letters from London Symphony Orchestra to Panufnik, Andrzej between 1 January 1991 and 31 December 1991. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁸⁹London Symphony Orchestra. “Panufnik Young Composers Workshop.” *London Symphony Orchestra*. <http://lso.co.uk/panufnik-young-composers-workshop-2>. (Viewed; 4 January 2012).

²⁹⁰Helman, “Emigrés by Choice.” p.10

²⁹¹Siemadaj, *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna [Andrzej Panufnik, Symphonic Compositions]*.

²⁹²Bolesławska. *Interview (Part I) with Blake Parham*. 13 December 2011.

Nonetheless, following this performance Panufnik received several requests to return to Poland for performances of his works and to conduct. He chose not to return, recording his reasons as follows:

“My native country is still under Russian control; the people suffer under ruthlessly imposed Marxist ideology, and I would never return unless some drastic political changes took place and Polish people could gain their independence and freedom.”²⁹³

In the late 1980s, the offers became more frequent, but still he refused to visit. He remained true to his word even when he was invited to conduct the inauguration concert of the 30th Warsaw Autumn Festival, which was to include his own compositions.²⁹⁴ It was in the same year, 1987, that the general assembly of the ZKP finally decided to re-instate Panufnik as a member, conferring him with honorary membership, but it still did not affect his refusal of invitations from Poland.²⁹⁵ Despite Panufnik’s attitude towards the regime, there were still some who perceived him as an opportunist who co-operated with communists, who left when it became inconvenient, and had not been willing to fight for freedom.²⁹⁶

Panufnik eventually returned to Poland in 1990, when the country had freed itself from communist rule and entered the path to democracy. He then conducted several of his own works and opened the Warsaw Autumn Festival with a performance of his tenth symphony. His visit was a truly joyous occasion; he was greeted at the airport by a Polish brass band playing *Paeon* (the only brass piece he wrote).²⁹⁷ Additionally, he was for the first time able to see many of his old friends in person, and he was once again able to conduct his beloved Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra, although the players had all changed. In an interview with Tully Potter Panufnik recounted that it was a very emotional journey for him.²⁹⁸ This time the performances of his works were very well received and there was much discussion about future plans

²⁹³ Andrzej Panufnik. *Untitled* Speech given in Twickenham on 1983 or 1984 date not marked on the document. (Panufnik Archives).

²⁹⁴ Letter from Warsaw Autumn Festival to Andrzej Panufnik. 18 September 1987. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁹⁵ Collection of letters from Związek Kompozytorów Polskich to Panufnik, Andrzej between 1 January 1987 and 31 December 1987. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

²⁹⁶ Pritchard (Presenter). *Sir Andrzej Panufnik 1914-1991*.

²⁹⁷ Bolesławska and Dzierzanowski. *Andrzej Panufnik*.

²⁹⁸ Potter, "All My Children: A Portrait of Sir Andrzej Panufnik Based on Conversations with Tully Potter." pp.189-90

for Panufnik to visit Poland to perform new works, and conduct concerts with the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra²⁹⁹ and the Chopin Music Academy Orchestra.³⁰⁰

The 'Indian summer' of his career, at the opening of the 1990s also saw him receive an honorary doctorate from the Chopin Academy of Music in 1991, and the high honour of a knighthood from Queen Elizabeth II in January 1991. Sadly, these new developments in his life, which finally signalled the recognition he had so long deserved, were very short-lived. Panufnik passed away, somewhat poetically on the day of the first democratic parliamentary elections in Poland since WWII, on the 27th of October 1991. As a final tribute to his music and cultural significance, Polish President Lech Wałęsa³⁰¹ posthumously awarded Panufnik the very prestigious *Krzyż Kawalerski Orderu Odrodzenia Polski* [Cavalier Cross of the Order of Polish Restoration].

²⁹⁹Collection of letters from Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra to Panufnik, Andrzej between 1 January 1991 and 31 December 1991. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

³⁰⁰Collection of letters from Chopin Music Academy to Panufnik, Andrzej between 1 January 1991 and 31 December 1991. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

³⁰¹Lech Wałęsa had received a Nobel Peace Prize for his work to free Poland from communism, and was the first freely elected Polish President after World War II.

PART C: THE MUSIC

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

4.1 Introduction

In order to establish what stylistic changes to Panufnik's music have been due to his emigration, a critical discussion of selected pivotal works must be undertaken. The four works chosen for this study each represent a stylistic shift in Panufnik's compositional output. For this purpose, the following works have been selected: *Tragic Overture* (1942), *Old Polish Suite* (1950), *Sinfonia Sacra* (1963-1964), and *Universal Prayer* (1968-1969).

The *Tragic Overture* was chosen, as it represents Panufnik's formative period from 1914 to 1949, and is his earliest surviving major composition.³⁰² Hence, the *Tragic Overture* provides a clear image of what constituted the composer's early stylistic features. This choice of work for the following discussion is further substantiated by Panufnik's own perception of the work as the first one to achieve his principal artistic endeavour - a balance between emotion and structure.³⁰³

Panufnik's *Old Polish Suite* will be discussed as a representation of the Stalinist years in Poland (1949-1954)³⁰⁴ when, as has already been mentioned, Panufnik's individual style was compromised due to the pressures and control of the communist regime. It is imperative that this particular piece be discussed as it shows what sacrifices he was forced to make in order to try to appease the communist regime. Unfortunately, the experience led to his compositional development stagnating during this period.

³⁰² All of Panufnik's works composed before 1944 were destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. He subsequently reconstructed the *Piano Trio* (1934) and the *Tragic Overture* (1942). He also reconstructed his first symphony (1939-1941) however he quickly destroyed this reconstruction as he felt his memory had failed him and the reconstruction was not correct.

³⁰³ Andrzej Panufnik cited in Bernard Jacobson. Notes to *Andrzej Panufnik; Tragic Overture, Autumn Music, Heroic Overture and Nocturne*. Music by Panufnik, Andrzej. London Symphony Orchestra Cond. Jascha Horenstein. Compact Disc. Conifer. (Written 1988).

³⁰⁴ While historically the Stalinist years began in 1947, the date 1949 has been given as serious control over music did not occur until the Łagów conference of 1949 and thus Panufnik's music did not change dramatically until this point.

The years 1954 -1962, following the Stalinist period, mark Panufnik's defection to the United Kingdom. This phase brings little if no stylistic development to the composer's artistic output (as was discussed in PART B) no work from this period has been selected for discussion.

It was in 1963 when his fortunes finally began to change and a new stylistic development can be noted. This was heralded by the highly successful *Sinfonia Sacra*, which will be critically evaluated in chapter 7.

In 1968, after several years of searching, Panufnik made what he argued was the single biggest and most important change to his compositional style. He began to use geometry to form a skeleton upon which he build his compositions from now on. The first key work to use this design principle was the *Universal Prayer* (further deliberated in chapter 8).

Other works composed after 1968 have not been included in this study, as all of these works operate within the same compositional framework and according to the same basic techniques. It is true that in Panufnik's later works, there is further development of the compositional techniques found in the *Universal Prayer*; however, they are minor in comparison to the previous technical changes.

It is important to note that for the purpose of this paper the chosen works will be discussed critically rather than analytically. Analytical explanations have been provided not only by the composer himself,³⁰⁵ but also through the comprehensive studies by Dr Ewa Siemdaj,³⁰⁶ Dr Krzysztof Stasiak,³⁰⁷ and Dr Beata Bolesławska.³⁰⁸ The present study seeks to build on rather than repeat this excellent analytical work. Hence it approaches the selected works in relation to ideas which pertain to the effect migration had upon Panufnik's music.

³⁰⁵Panufnik, *Impulse and Design in My Music*.

³⁰⁶Ewa Siemdaj. *Poetyka Muzyczna Twórczości Symfonicznej Andrzeja Panufnika*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Warszawa - Kraków: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2001.

³⁰⁷Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*.

³⁰⁸Bolesławska, *Panufnik*.

4.2 Exploratory Framework

The critical discussion of the selected works will seek to determine what stylistic and musical changes appear in Panufnik's music throughout his life. The examination will be guided by the following questions: What is the difference between Panufnik's pre-defection and post-defection works? What level of *Polskość* can be found in these works and did this alter as a result of his defection? Do his post-defection works exhibit any sense of belonging to the United Kingdom?

In order to ascertain what changes or developments may have occurred in Panufnik's compositional style, it is necessary to establish a set of possible common features within Panufnik's music to aid in rational comparison. Noted Polish musicologists Zbigniew Skowron and Ewa Siemdjaj have suggested a number of common denominators, which can be found in Panufnik's music. Siemdjaj notes that there are three main principles of Panufnik's formal design, which she labels as the 'Rules of Shaping' [zasady kształtowania],³⁰⁹ while Skowron observes several 'Formulated Aesthetics' which he believes are present in many of Panufnik's works.³¹⁰ Both Siemdjaj's and Skowron's definitions will be tested and explored as part of the critical discussion of the selected works in this section, with assessments about their usefulness made in the concluding chapter of Part B.

As a result, each chapter will adopt a similar exploratory framework: beginning with a brief introduction of the works' background, followed by a stylistic discussion of key features and compositional techniques. Each of these techniques and features will be discussed in isolation. The framework of this stylistic discussion is similar for each work, in order to allow direct comparison of the discussed features and techniques. Following this, an examination of the presence of Siemdjaj's 'Rules of Shaping' and Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics' (which are both detailed below) will be undertaken. Finally, an examination of the presence of *Polskość* and Belonging (to the United Kingdom) will be undertaken.

³⁰⁹Siemdjaj, *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna [Andrzej Panufnik, Symphonic Compositions]*. p.313

³¹⁰Skowron, "Andrzej Panufnik's Artistic Attitude and His Aesthetics." p.24

4.3 Ewa Siemdaj's 'Rules of Shaping'

In her book, *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna*,³¹¹ and the article entitled, *The Dramaturgic Development of Andrzej Panufnik's Symphonic Works*,³¹² Siemdaj characterizes three main principles of Panufnik's formal design, which she argues do not change with the evolution of his musical style. She argues that he used these three features: 'Constructivism', 'Final-Directional Musical Process', and the "Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements", to achieve a balance between emotion and intellect in his compositions.

'**Constructivism**', as Siemdaj explains, is a tendency for rational and logical shaping of the overall structure of a composition, by using hierarchical and previously planned musical components. She further argues that 'Constructivism' is made up of both construction and structure. Chomiński in 1983 described construction as the overall exterior of the form, and structure as the relationship between the components of said form. Additionally, Siemdaj argues that Panufnik's 'Constructivism' is shown on two levels of shaping: sound – generating musical process from an initial sound cell; and form – using previously established models as the basis of compositions. In Panufnik's later works form was achieved by the use of geometrical figures and sometimes related to the symbolism of numbers. Furthermore, Siemdaj points out that Panufnik himself frequently admitted that he composed in a systematic way, thus proving that form played a very significant role in his compositional process.

'**Final-Directional Musical Process**' concentrates the full force of the works' emotional tension towards the main culmination point. Siemdaj states: "Culmination becomes an objective of the developmental process, through which musical fulfilment is attained."³¹³ Furthermore, she argues that from Chopin onwards this was a typical feature of Polish music, including compositions by, Lutosławski, Penderecki, Górecki, and Baird. In Siemdaj's opinion, there are, however, a few compositions in Panufnik's symphonic output, which deviate from this principle: *Nocturne*, *Rhapsody*, *Sinfonia Elegiaca*, *Sinfonia Concertante*, and *Symphony No. 10*. These works require a different

³¹¹Siemdaj, *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna [Andrzej Panufnik, Symphonic Compositions]*.

³¹²Ewa Siemdaj. "The Dramaturgic Development of Andrzej Panufnik's Symphonic Works." in *Andrzej Panufnik's Music and Its Reception*. Ed. Jadwiga Paja-Stach. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2003: pp.85-93.

³¹³Ibid. p.86

culmination placement due to the elliptical structure of the work. Interestingly, however, all of these, except *Symphony No. 10*, conform to an arch design with the culmination in the middle of the cycle.

Siemdaj considers Panufnik's use of the **'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements'** as a reaction to the Hegelian dialectics. These are generally interpreted as a system in which a thesis and an antithesis are synthesized into one. Therefore, even though Panufnik uses the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements' in a variety of different forms, he is consistent in utilising opposing elements of various types in every composition.

Jadwiga Paja-Stach, in her article 'Uwagi O Formie W Muzyce Debussy'ego',³¹⁴ defines the most frequent form of the "Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements". She states that the two clashing elements are divisions of form, which are labelled as 'Unified' and 'Internally Contrasted'. The 'Unified Elements' are derived from the initial sound combinations; The 'Internally Contrasted Elements', on the other hand, are based on a montage of alien compilations of sounds, which are often counteractive to each other. The unity in contrast is achieved through polarity, which derives from a return to certain sound combinations. Siemdaj builds upon Paja-Stach's definition noting that the traditional sonata form also contains aspects of the "Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements".

As evidenced by the elaboration on Siemdaj's Rules of Shaping the 'Constructivism', 'Clashing Elements', and the 'Final Directional Musical Process' are concepts worth considering in this study. They provide structural reference themes for analytical exploration of convergence points in Panufnik's compositions.

4.4 Zbigniew Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics'

Skowron, similarly to Siemdaj, searches for a set of common features within Panufnik's music, which he argues were often shaped in his youth or childhood and became self-imposed ideas, which his music would be based on throughout his life. Skowron labels these as constant musical features of Panufnik's 'Formulated

³¹⁴Jadwiga Paja-Stach. "Uwagi O Formie W Muzyce Debussy'ego (Na Przykładzie "Preludiów") [Notes on Forms in the Music of Debussy (on the Example of "Preudes")]." in *Muzyka*. 1-2 1982: p.4.

Aesthetics',³¹⁵ which he sees as the composer's ideological *credo*. Skowron goes on to state that these aesthetics allowed Panufnik to react to musical and extra-musical impulses in a more controlled and ordered fashion.

"One might say that these personal aesthetics became a kind of internal mirror in which he reflected different impulses emanating from the surrounding musical world. Certainly, these stylistic and technical models were experienced by Panufnik not only as a composer, but also as an attentive listener. It was through this constant and *critical* confrontation of his own *credo* with the musical stimuli reaching him from all sides that he shaped his artistic attitude and manifested it in his works."³¹⁶

One of the first 'Formulated Aesthetics' of note is, '**Unity**' within a composition, which Skowron suggests may be due to the influence of his composition teacher at the Warsaw Conservatory, Kazimierz Sikorski. This explanation is even more plausible when examining Panufnik's own attitude towards Sikorski:

"I have to admit in retrospect that Sikorski was right to force me first to master the craftsmanship of conventional tonality before letting me fly off in an exciting whirlwind of exploration: in this way he helped to instil into me the necessity for unity of style and discipline, which was to stand me in good stead in my future searches for my own musical language and rules."³¹⁷

An '**Economy of Means**' is a feature of Panufnik's music which has been remarked upon by many musicologists. Skowron suggests that this particular formulated aesthetic has been found in some of Panufnik's earliest surviving compositions and many of his final works, seemingly regardless of other musical or stylistic changes. Panufnik's own comments certainly confirm a personal desire for an 'Economy of Means' from a rather early age, even in contrast to the advice of some of his professors. For instance, in his autobiography, Panufnik muses over possible reasons for Sikorski's negative view of his aim to achieve an 'Economy of Means' when composing, writing:

"Perhaps he [Sikorski] took my asceticism as an indirect criticism of his own compositions. His own eclectic works were richly adorned with counterpoints and were very densely orchestrated. Obviously he would react against my pieces

³¹⁵Skowron quotes this term from Władysław Tatarkiewicz, although he does not give the source.

³¹⁶Skowron, "Andrzej Panufnik's Artistic Attitude and His Aesthetics." p.25

³¹⁷Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.48

because, from my earliest years I favoured clarity and economy of means of expression, making it my aim never to write a single superfluous note.”³¹⁸

Skowron noted in an interview, that Panufnik’s music was generally much more diatonic than anything else and that, unlike many of his Polish contemporaries, he still thought about melodies, themes, and harmonic constructions.³¹⁹ Hence, it comes as no surprise that the next ‘Formulated Aesthetic’ is Panufnik’s use and appreciation of **‘Classical Musical Values in Harmony’**. This term refers not to some kind of neo-classical trend but to Panufnik’s value judgements in regards to harmony, which Skowron believed to be driven by a Classical Music Values.³²⁰ Here again Skowron points to Sikorski as the impacting factor on Panufnik’s perception of harmonies. Skowron writes:

“Sikorski’s attitude [...] had in fact a positive impact on Panufnik’s future career. Apart from mere proficiency and compositional skill, it strengthened his sense of integrity of a musical work and his responsibility for its form, while consolidating his respect for classical musical values.”³²¹

Panufnik’s love for Mozart, Schubert, and Brahms also played a significant role in this respect. Panufnik noted in his autobiography:

“Listening to Mozart seemed to me like drinking the dew from an exquisite geometric pattern of leaves and flowers – or tasting the pure transparent water of a mountain stream.”³²²

A **‘Balance between Content and Form’** (Structure) is another much remarked upon feature of Panufnik’s music. On several occasions, Panufnik has written about the importance of this feature to his music, for example, in *Impulse and Design* he wrote:

“I never regard the technical side of a musical work as an end in itself. [...] For me personally music is an expression of deep human feeling and true emotion.”³²³

He writes even more succinctly about his desire to balance content and form in his autobiography, “I should humbly seek to find the truest possible balance between

³¹⁸Ibid. p.49

³¹⁹Zbigniew Skowron. Interview with Blake Parham. Institute of Musicology, Warsaw: 13 December 2011.

³²⁰Ibid.

³²¹Skowron, "Andrzej Panufnik’s Artistic Attitude and His Aesthetics." p.27

³²²Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.74

³²³Panufnik, *Impulse and Design in My Music*. p.1

feeling and intellect, heart and brain.”³²⁴ Skowron suggests that Panufnik manifested this desire already during his studies in Vienna (1937-1938) as his comments from this period show that he already understood the significance of both form and content.³²⁵

Skowron finally notes that Panufnik is constantly searching for ‘**Individuality**’ in his compositions. Indeed, in his autobiography Panufnik constantly alludes to a desire to compose in a completely individual way. Furthermore, he would also have the reader believe that he was constantly searching for his own original and individual musical style.

Finally, there is also a large degree of ‘**Emotionalism**’ behind his music, which Skowron believes is one of the major reasons why Panufnik was able to achieve some kind of unique or individual style. Panufnik’s program notes often include references to the emotional content of a work and the significance of his personal situation or indeed the situation in Poland to his music. When discussing *Autumn Music*, for example, he states:

“The purpose of writing my Autumn Music was to compose a work in memory of a friend, who, after a long incurable illness, experienced her last autumn in 1960. Writing this work, I was responding to the end of a suffering human life and to the season of autumn, with all its manifestations in nature.”³²⁶

Having outlined the ideas of Skowron and Siemdaj, as reference points for the discussion to follow, this study can now proceed to the consideration of specific works.

³²⁴Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.330

³²⁵Skowron, "Andrzej Panufnik's Artistic Attitude and His Aesthetics." p.30

³²⁶Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p. 35

CHAPTER 5: TRAGIC OVERTURE

5.1 Introduction

The *Tragic Overture* was composed in 1942 as an independent concert work. As all of Panufnik's other, early compositions were destroyed in 1944 with only the overture, the *Five Polish Peasant Songs*, and the *Piano Trio* reconstructed, the overture is, therefore, the most useful guide to his early sound world. This purposeful and dramatic, often even aggressive work, is not inherently tragic in tone; at least not in a stereotypically romantic, self-pitying sense. It is instead a representation of a tragedy, of the fear and violence experienced during the German occupation of Warsaw.

5.2 Definition of Early Style

As this is the first work to be discussed, it is too early to deliberate upon differences between Panufnik's pre and post defection style, and the variations in the development of his compositional method. It is, however, possible, through a critical discussion of this pivotal piece, to pinpoint the prevalent stylistic features of Panufnik's early compositional technique and thus develop an overview of his pre-defection style. This will then aid in the comparison of the selected works.

5.2.1. The Note Cell

Probably the most notable feature of Panufnik's early compositional style is the use of a limited number of notes (a three or four note cell) as the basis of a composition. The *Tragic Overture* is based melodically, harmonically, and even rhythmically on a four-note cell (see figure 1) which pervades the entire work and is explored during the development of the piece. Panufnik wrote about this use of a four-note cell and its extrapolations in the following way:

"It might be transposed, augmented, sometimes inverted, but I must strictly guard throughout the entire work the same intervals between the notes (minor

third, major second and minor second), always within a framework of repeated rhythmic patterns.”³²⁷



Figure 1: The Tragic Overture’s four-note cell.

A minor third, major second, and minor second are the intervals, which make up the four-note cell, taken from the second violin part in the first bar of the Overture.

The four-note cell, which underpins the entire work, has been the subject of much speculation among musicologists. Firstly, the four-note cell is the basis of the entire work and the cell is used augmented, inverted, and re-worked in a multitude of ways. Examples of the reworking of the cell can be seen in figures 2 and 3 below.



Figure 2: Tragic Overture, rhythmic augmentation of the four-note cell

A rhythmic augmentation of the four-note cell (Shown in figure 1) played by the Double Basses from the second bar of the Overture.

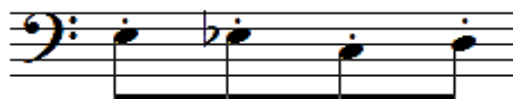


Figure 3: Tragic Overture, interval reworking of the four-note cell

A re-working of the intervals, where the direction of the intervals is inverted and the order is changed played by the cellos at Rehearsal Marking 38 (RM.38).

Moreover, the transposition of the cell, often in opposite directions by different parts of the orchestra at the same time, forms the majority of the work’s harmonic content. It is important, however, to note that this is not achieved by ignoring harmonic concerns, rather decisions made in regard to the melodic direction and transpositions of the cell take into account their resulting harmonic effect.

³²⁷Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p. 119

Secondly, on the basis of score analysis and an examination of the other documentation, which is available, the *Tragic Overture* marks the first use of such a technique by Panufnik. A more in-depth discussion of the use of the cell can be found *inter alia* in studies by Ewa Siemdaj³²⁸ and Krzysztof Stasiak,³²⁹ and an article by Calum MacDonald.³³⁰

5.2.2. Emotionalism

The second prominent feature of the *Tragic Overture* is the importance placed on the emotional content of the work. As briefly mentioned in the introduction the *Overture* was inspired by the tragedy and horror of the Nazi occupation of Poland during World War II. Panufnik later dedicated the piece to his brother Mirosław (Mirek), who was killed in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 fighting for the freedom of Poland. Interestingly Panufnik writes in his program notes for the work that, while initially he had intended the work to be abstract, he noted that he subconsciously designed the composition to convey a musical representation of the German occupation.³³¹

The importance of the work's emotional content can be seen in the presence of several programmatic elements such as: the sound of machine gun fire (see figure 4); of artillery shots (see figure 5); and an overhead plane during an air raid (see figure 6).

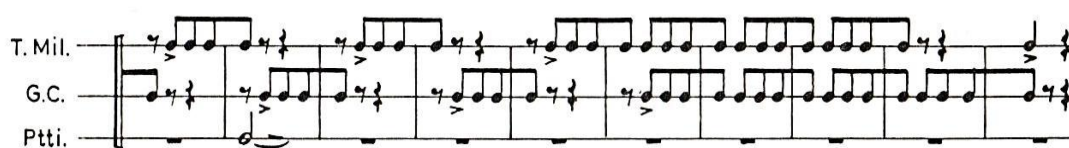


Figure 4: *Tragic Overture* RM.71 (machine gun)

The sound of machine gun fire achieved through a loud, repeated, and highly mechanical percussion part found from RM.71 to the end of the work.

³²⁸Siemdaj, *Poetyka Muzyczna Twórczości Symfonicznej Andrzeja Panufnika*.

³²⁹Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*.

³³⁰Calum MacDonald. "Review of Panufnik's Universal Prayer by Cond. Leopold Stokowski, Cantelo, Watts, Mitchinson, Stalman and Tragic Overture, Nocturne, Heroic Overture and Autumn Music by Horenstein and Andrzej Panufnik." in *Tempo (New Series)*.99 1972: p.37.

³³¹Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.17

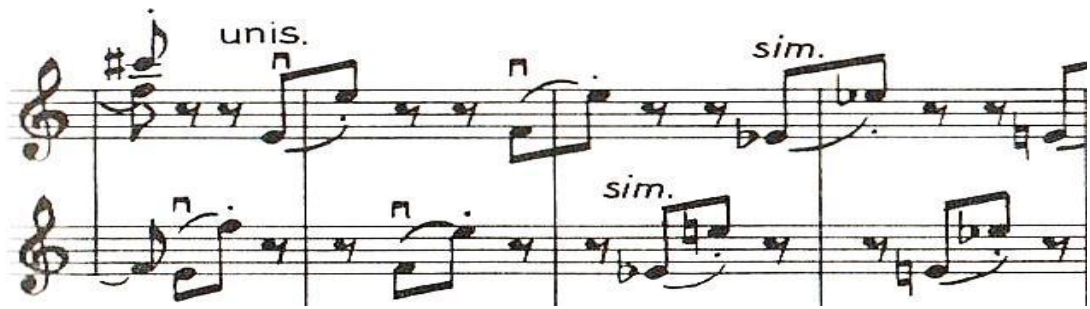


Figure 5: Tragic Overture RM.66 (Artillery shots)

The large quick quaver leaps in the string section at RM.66, which represent the sound of artillery shots.

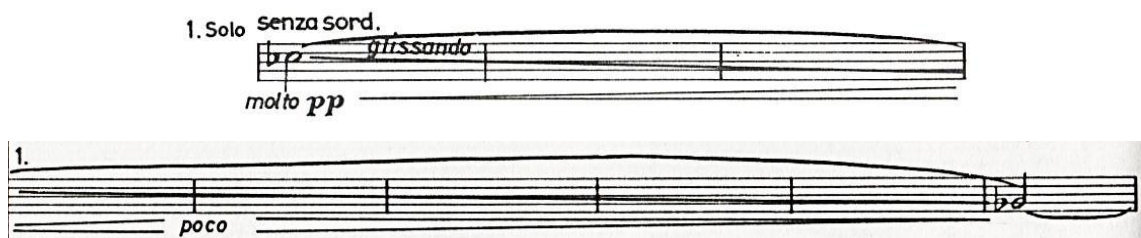


Figure 6: Tragic Overture RM.51 (Plane sound)

The sound of an overhead plane during an air raid represented by a long descending glissando played by the solo trombone at RM.51.

Panufnik himself pointed out other programmatic elements in his program notes.³³² He characterized, for example, the final chord of the work as a ‘wail of despair’.³³³ Panufnik frequently emphasized the importance of emotions in his music, he stated *inter alia* in his autobiography that the compositional technique he began searching for, even as early as the 1930s, would have to meet not only a need for structural cohesion but emotional content as well. Moreover, he stated in an interview in 1989:

“For me music is an expression of deep human feelings. Unlike scientific or philosophical work, it should not (in my opinion) need a verbal explanation in order to be understood, because it should speak directly to the listener through its emotional and spiritual content. I feel that, if I cannot reach the listener with the sound of my music, without the verbal crutch of technical explanation, then I have failed as a composer.”³³⁴

³³² Ibid. p.17

³³³ Andrzej Panufnik cited in Jacobson. Notes to *Andrzej Panufnik; Tragic Overture, Autumn Music, Heroic Overture and Nocturne*.

³³⁴ Andrzej Panufnik. Pre-Prom Interview with Unknown. Royal College of Music, London: 27 July 1989. p.1

5.2.3. The Importance of Chords

The Tragic Overture's harmony is driven by varying forms of chords to direct the work's harmonic movement. The chords, which make up this work's range, from simple triads to large polychordal combinations, including an eleven-note chord, which concludes the composition (see figure 7).



Figure 7: Tragic Overture: Final Eleven Note Chord

A harmonic reduction of the final eleven note chord of the *Tragic Overture* played by the full orchestra in the final bar of the work.

Interestingly these polychords are based on relatively conventional harmonic groupings, resulting from simple, or multiple, triadic layering and create the expressive dissonances of the piece. An example of such layering can be found also in the final bars of the work, where a five part layering involving chromatic transpositions leads to the final eleven note chord (see figure 8). The playing of more than two chords at once on top of one another, which in this instance is accomplished by the layering of chords, suggests bitonality or polytonality, and in this case created chords of both major and minor tonality. This mixed tonality will be discussed in more detail in the following sub-heading Mixed Tonality.

Figure 8: Tragic Overture: Final Chord Progression

A harmonic reduction of the final chord progression of the Overture with rehearsal marking numbers marked in square brackets above the figure.

Even with these triadic formations the basic element of the *Overture* remains the four-note cell, with most of the melodic and harmonic writing based on triadic extensions of the four-note cell (as seen in figures 1-3) to create varying chordal forms. Stasiak notes that this technique of triadic extension in the melody leads at times to rather crude parallelism (as shown in figure 8); however, it also ensures that the four-note cell remains constant throughout the composition.

5.2.4. Mixed Tonality

Many of the chords in the work contain the use of mixed tonality with conflicting scale degrees, creating a major-minor duality. This mixed tonality is important as it relates to what Charles Bodman Rae labels as the major-minor chord,³³⁵ which is used frequently in several of Panufnik's later works. Bodman Rae describes this chord

³³⁵Bodman Rae, "The Role of the Major-Minor Chord in Panufnik's Compositional Technique." p.136

thusly: “[A] four-note chord which can be described as ‘major-minor’: the triadic configuration which contains both major and minor thirds in relation to the same root.”³³⁶ An example of a major-minor chord can be seen in figure 9.



Figure 9: An example of a major-minor chord.

The ambivalence between major and minor tonality seems to represent a kind of psychological opposition in the music between emotions or ideas such as tragedy and heroism, or fear and hope.³³⁷ Given the presence of several programmatic elements in the *Tragic Overture* and Panufnik’s program notes (which discuss the emotional content of the work) it can be argued that chords with mixed major-minor modalities are used in an attempt to represent the tragic nature of the German occupation while still providing hope to the Polish people. Looking through the prism of the dedication with which Panufnik prefaced his composition, one feels that the work may well have been a representation not only of the fear and horror of the German occupation but also of the heroism during those years of war. Even though the dedication to Mirek Panufnik was only added to the reconstructed version not the original composition, it provides confirmation of the composer’s motivations.

5.2.5. Chromatic Movement

In order to enhance the melody with alternative, or complementary forms of directed activity (to those provided by the four-note cell), Panufnik uses linear chromatic motions in a variety of forms to articulate the music. Figure 10, taken from the opening of the work, is an example of this solution. It shows how the last note of each group acts as the first note of the next collection, and thus enables the original four-note cell to take on a broader melodic character and provide the double bass with a separate directional activity by using a slower rhythmic value.

³³⁶ Ibid. p.136.

³³⁷ Ibid. p.143



Figure 10: The Tragic Overture RM.1 (Chromatic Movement)

An example of chromatic movement, played by the bassoons and double basses.

This is the most common technique Panufnik uses to vary the material produced by the four-note cell. Furthermore, this kind of chromatic movement of the four-note cell is present in most, if not all, of the developmental phases of the *Tragic Overture* as it provides the composer with extra musical material without neglecting the four-note cell.

5.2.6. Layering

The *Tragic Overture* contains a large amount of layering within the orchestral texture. The layered textures are made up of three distinct elements: a melodic line (made up largely of variations on the four-note cell); a chromatic line (as discussed above); and a functional classical tonality, which Stasiak argues is represented in most instances by primary cadential motions with strong bass progressions.³³⁸ This kind of layering can be found on several occasions within the *Overture*. At RM.9 for example, see figure 11, the melodic line is taken by the Flute, the chromatic line by the first and second violin,³³⁹ and the cadential motion by the Cello.

³³⁸Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.36

³³⁹In this case the chromatic layer is achieved by the two parts playing the original version of the four-note cell and move in contrary motion by alternate steps.

The image shows a musical score for 'The Tragic Overture RM.9 (Layering)'. It features five staves: Flute I (Fl. I.), Violins I (VI. I.), Violins II (VI. II.), Viola (VIe.), and Cello/Double Bass (Vc.). The Flute I part has a '(solo)' marking and a 'p cantabile' dynamic. The Violins I and II parts have 'p' and 'pp' dynamics, with 'spicc.' and 'pp pizz.' markings. The Viola part has 'pp dolce' markings. The Cello/Double Bass part has 'pp' and 'pizz.' markings. Measure numbers 9 and 10 are highlighted with boxes. The score is written in a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature.

Figure 11: The Tragic Overture RM.9 (Layering)

An example of layering. Played by the violins, violas, cellos, and double basses.

Stasiak provides an analysis of the layered texture within his thesis³⁴⁰ and thus a more comprehensive analysis of this aspect of the *Tragic Overture* has not been included here.

5.2.7. Thematic Development

The other notable feature of the *Tragic Overture* is the attention Panufnik pays to thematic development, i.e. the development of a first and second subject, similar to that found in the traditional sonata form. The first subject, which is the aforementioned four-note cell, is loudly introduced by the entire orchestra in the first bar of the composition. The first subject then undergoes a developmental phase, in the manner of an exposition, where the subject is gradually altered. For example, the reworking of the intervals of the first subject (see figure 12) played by the lower half of

³⁴⁰Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.36

the orchestra: the double bass, cello, tuba, trombone, bass clarinet, and contra bassoon; from RM.5.³⁴¹



Figure 12: The Tragic Overture RM.5 (Intervallic change)

A reworking of the intervals of the first subject played by the lower half of the orchestra one bar after RM.5.

The first subject's exposition ends with the entire orchestra almost endlessly repeating a transposition of the first subject and driving the work to a loud climax. After a brief transition, the flute introduces the second subject, at RM.9, with long *cantabile* notes above a dialogue, between the violins, using the same motif as the flute, and a related dialogue between the violas and the cellos, which play only the rhythmic element of the motif in lengthened augmentation (see figure 13). Interestingly the second subject is much slower, due to the rhythmic values used, than the first subject; hence, the exposition of the second subject is much longer than the first.

³⁴¹Rehearsal markings (RM) are used instead of bar numbers as the score does not contain any bar numbers and rather a large number of rehearsal markings.

The image displays a musical score for 'The Tragic Overture' from measures 8 to 11. The score is arranged in three systems. The first system (measures 8-9) features a solo flute part (Fl. 1) marked '(solo) cantabile' and 'p'. The second system (measures 10-11) shows a dialogue between the two violin parts (Vi. I and Vi. II) and a related dialogue between the violas (Vle.) and cellos/double basses (Vc.). The score includes various dynamics such as 'pp', 'pizz', and 'dolce', and articulation marks like 'spicc.' and 'pizz.'. Rehearsal marks 9, 10, and 11 are clearly visible.

Figure 13: The Tragic Overture RM.8 – RM.11 (Thematic Development)

The above section of the overture is an example of thematic development, beginning five bars before RM.9 and concluding 2 bars after RM.11 with the second subject played by the flute and piccolo under which a dialogue, between the two violin parts, using the same motif as the flute, and a related dialogue between the violas and the cellos, who play only the rhythmic element of the motif in lengthened augmentation.

It is important to mention, however, that even during the exposition of the second subject, the original four-note motif (the first subject) is still recognisable. At RM.23, a transition section is introduced by the orchestra playing prolonged chords in *piano pianissimo* (each sixteen beats in length). Meanwhile, the first subject is

simplified only to a rhythmic motif, played by the tamburomilitare. At RM.27, the development of both subjects begins; precedence is given to the first subject, which is continually augmented to the extent that at the end of the development (RM.37-40) it is made up entirely of pitch augmentations.

RM.41 marks the beginning of a fairly long recapitulation of the first subject. It is only at RM.60 that the recapitulation of the second subject begins; however, the four-note motif (the first subject) is still played. Interestingly, however, while the material of the recapitulation of the second subject is a slight modification of the exposition, this time it is marked *tutti fortissimo* through the whole development. Therefore, the second subject, which previously acted as the lyrical contrasting melody in the exposition, disappears; and in the recapitulation acts instead as an extension of the dramatic mood. This in turn creates a very different emotional response to its previous incarnation, as sadness is replaced by apprehension and fear. At RM.66, the coda begins. The four-note cell (the first subject) is relentlessly 'hammered' throughout the coda, making it a more important feature of the work than in the traditional sonata form, where its function is to establish the tonic key.

5.3 The Tragic Overture and Siemdaj's 'Rules of Shaping'

Of the 'Rules of Shaping' set out by Siemdaj, only two are present in Panufnik's *Tragic Overture*. 'Final-Directional Musical Process' is seen in the ever-increasing tension that builds and releases as the piece progresses. It is, nonetheless, only fully dissipated in the climax of the final cluster chord of the work where the tension is resolved. Furthermore, the culmination is emphasised by the constant repetition and the rhythmical augmentation of the four-note cell through the duration of the work and which is increased towards the work's final bars.

Panufnik's use of 'Constructivism' is limited in this particular composition, as it is only present in the shaping of sound but not form. The use of 'Constructivism' to shape sound can be seen in the use of a four-note cell, which the entire work is based upon and is used to derive the great majority of the rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic material. Moreover, Panufnik stated that this four-note cell was devised prior to the

rest of the compositional process, which further demonstrates the presence of 'Constructivism' as a determining factor.

Finally, the *Tragic Overture* being essentially a mono-thematic work makes the presence of what Siemdaj labels as the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements' arguable at best. The work is in a sonata form, a form which according to Siemdaj has a degree of opposing elements due to its two opposing subjects, which are independently presented and developed throughout the work. In the case of the *Tragic Overture*, while there is a secondary subject (as discussed in the previous sub-heading), varying forms of the first subject (the four-note cell) are always present during playings of the second subject. Even in the second subject's exposition (RM.9), elements of the first subject are still present. Moreover, during the recapitulation of the second subject (RM.60), the first subject again appears, and in this instances seems to force the second subject to be presented in a loud declamatory mood, which is more befitting of the first. The consistent appearance of the first subject, at times to the detriment of the second, prevents any significant clashing dialectics form appearing in the *Tragic Overture*.

5.4 The Tragic Overture and Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics'

All of Skowron's six 'Formulated Aesthetics' are present to some degree in this composition. Firstly, 'Classical Musical Values in Harmony', in the form of a conventional classical harmony is visible throughout *the Overture*, even when larger polychords are introduced; they are based on simple or multiple triadic layering.

A desire for a 'Balance between Content and Form' and the presence of 'Emotionalism' in his music are often interconnected. The balance of form and content is present in the overture, which is emotionally and visually evocative. The programmatic elements are the best examples of this. Panufnik himself frequently pointed out these features³⁴² and stated the importance of an emotional element in his music. The use of sonata form and a strict four-note cell, as the basis of the composition, attests to the importance he placed on form itself.

³⁴²Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.17

The four-note cell, which is used to create almost all of the musical material within the work, allows Panufnik to achieve a high degree of musical 'Unity' – another one of Skowron's aesthetics. This is achieved by using a very limited number of notes; hence, the presence of what Skowron labelled as an 'Economy of Means'. It seems that Panufnik's use of a four-note cell is part of an attempt to create his own individual style. While this technique is far from fully developed at this stage, this discussion suggests that Panufnik was trying to compose in an individual way, and was not afraid of experimenting with new or alternate techniques. An analysis of other compositions from this period, such as *Lullaby* composed in 1947 (which contains the frequent use of quartertones), shows that Panufnik continued to experiment during the 1940s. This reaffirms another Formulated Aesthetic of Panufnik's style – 'Individualism'.

5.5 The Tragic Overture and Polskość

As this work was written prior to Panufnik's defection it is impossible to explore the presence of any belonging to The United Kingdom or any longing or distaste for his lost homeland. This composition does however; exhibit a greater trend in his music towards a sense of Polskość, which is evident in this moving piece.

The concept underlying the *Tragic Overture* is deeply Polish in nature as it represents the trauma felt by the Polish people during the Second World War. The dedication of the work to his brother, who died fighting in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, re-affirms the deep connection to the Polish spirit in the composition. This sense of Polskość is also found in the programmatic elements of the music to create a *sound-scape*, which represents the terror and fragility of the invaded city of Warsaw. The programmatic elements help to create an even more moving musical depiction of the *zeitgeist*, describing in sound the Nazi invasion and subsequent occupation of Warsaw.

It could be argued that some of the compositional tools used also represent a sense of Polskość. The work's mixed tonality, for example, which seems to represent the dual emotional response, where both the tragedy and heroism or fear and hope are present. Nevertheless, most of the compositional techniques or tools themselves stem from a broader European school (for example, from Bartók) rather than from a distinctly Polish compositional school.

The origin of the three-note cell, however, does require some examination as there is far less certainty in this regard. Stephen Walsh suggests that the four-note cell, or *ostinato* as he calls it, is reminiscent of figurative writing:

“The curious thing about the Tragic Overture is that, while its oddities have the mannered appearance of devices self-consciously imitated from some admired model, it is impossible to put one’s finger on the actual model. Perhaps the *ostinato* patterns have the distant flavour of Stravinsky. But they lack the purely mechanical quality of neo-classical motor-rhythms, and come in fact closer to the figurative *ostinato* of Shostakovich’s Seventh Symphony...”³⁴³

Stasiak, on the other hand, points out that it seems highly unlikely that Panufnik would base his music on a Russian model, especially when one considers his lack of other Russian musical influences.³⁴⁴ Moreover, there is no evidence to support Walsh’s *ostinato* theory. Bogusław Schäffer argues that the four-note cell is in fact a reworking, or reordering, of Bach’s ‘B-A-C-H’ motif (Bb, A, C, B³⁴⁵).³⁴⁶ While Panufnik never discussed this possibility, given the use of the four-note cell this suggestion is entirely plausible. Adrian Thomas has added the rhythmic observation that the four-note cell may have been inspired by the BBC’s wartime call signal – ‘V for Victory’ – which was the opening four-note motif of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony.³⁴⁷

The Beethoven motif consists of three quavers followed by a minim. While there is much argument about where this motif comes from, one of the most common beliefs at the time (propagated by Beethoven’s secretary Anton Schindler) was that the motif represented fate knocking at the door - the future, the inevitable victory.³⁴⁸ This motif could also be represented as three dots and a dash, which in Morse code represents the letter “V”. Moreover, “V” is the Roman numeral five (the Fifth Symphony) and of course it also stands for victory. What is also noteworthy is that the

³⁴³Walsh, "The Music of Andrzej Panufnik."

³⁴⁴Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*.

³⁴⁵In the German music tradition a B is actually represented with an H, while a B flat is represented as a B. It is this difference in musical notation which allowed Bach to spell out his name in music.

³⁴⁶Bogusław Schäffer. "Andrzej Panufnik." in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. 1980. p.163.

³⁴⁷Thomas, "The Captive Muse: The Dilemma of Polish Composers in the Post-War Decade."

³⁴⁸Anton Felix Schindler. *Beethoven as I Knew Him*. Trans. Constance S. Jolly. Ed. Donald W. MacArdle. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.

“V” symbol was also used by the French as a sign of resistance against the Nazis.³⁴⁹ Consequently, Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, and subsequently the BBC’s V for Victory signal, became widespread symbols for freedom and resistance.

Taking under consideration the possible origin of the four-note cell, and the other similarities between Beethoven’s work and the BBC’s variation on it, it seems very likely that Panufnik, consciously or not, was calling upon the musical symbolism of these works. Moreover, while these musical ideas are not particularly Polish in origin, their emotional bearing is very close to Polish hearts and makes their use a vivid form of patriotic expression.

In conclusion it is the emotionalism of this composition, as well as the programmatic elements, the dedication of the work, the mixed tonality, and the connection with Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony and the BBC war time call signal, which show the work’s *Polskość*. The compositional tools and techniques, however, are more broadly European in origin and character.

³⁴⁹Daisy Fancourt. “Beethoven's 5th Symphony.” *Holocaust Music*. 2011. <http://holocaustmusic.org/resistance-and-exile/french-resistance/beethovens-5th-symphony/>. (Viewed; 5 September 2012).

CHAPTER 6: OLD POLISH SUITE

6.1 Introduction

The *Old Polish Suite* represents the Stalinist years (1949-1954) of Panufnik's compositional development. During this period, as explored in Chapter 2, Panufnik was forced to compromise his individual style and compose in a way, which the communist authorities would deem acceptable in order to have his music performed. One of the main ways of bypassing the Socialist Realist doctrine was the use of folk material in compositions, or reconstruction of earlier styles of music. These reconstructions pleased the authorities even more than the incorporation of folkloristic references, as they often contained the desired folk elements, and were also traditional in form. Other composers to engage in this kind of composing during this period included Tadeusz Baird (*Colas Breugnon*, 1951), Artur Malawski (*Sonata on themes by Janiewicz*, 1951) and Jan Krenz (*Classical serenade*, 1950).

Panufnik's old Polish works have received relatively little attention, as they do not possess any innovative or progressive elements. Compared to his previous works such as the *Tragic Overture*, *Lullaby* or *Sinfonia Rustica*, the *Old Polish Suite* is far more simplistic. The work is neo-baroque in style, with relatively simple melodies and rhythms accompanied by cadence driven harmonies. It consists of five movements: three Polish dances, which originate from Polish lute tablatures from the 16th and 17th century; and two separating movements, an Interlude and a Chorale, as is outlined below, in the below movement structure, see figure 14.

The Old Polish Suite	
First Movement:	Dance I: Czar
Second Movement:	Interlude
Third Movement:	Dance II: Wyrwany
Fourth Movement:	Chorale
Fifth Movement:	Dance III: Hayduk

Figure 14: A listing of the movements of the *Old Polish Suite*.

The most notable feature in this work is the use of symmetry to determine the works form. Given that symmetry later became such an important part of Panufnik's

compositions, it is interesting to see that in a simple manner he uses it also in this early and rather conservative work.

6.2 Stylistic Development

Taking into consideration the features set out during the discussion of the *Tragic Overture* in Chapter 5, very few of these stylistic features are present in the *Old Polish Suite*. Most importantly, there is no use of the four-note cell, or a set of notes to form the basis of the harmony, melody, or even rhythm.

Section A of the first movement (Cenar) is based on a lute tablature by Mateusz Waisselius,³⁵⁰ while the section B seems to be a variation of the composer's own invention. In both sections, the orchestra plays almost entirely in rhythmic unison. The Interlude is adapted from Psalm XIII by Mikołaj Gomółka. The Wyrwany, is the second of the dance movements. Its A section is based on a 17th century lute tablature³⁵¹ and has a quick and lively melody made up of quavers, semiquavers, and demisemiquavers. A more *cantabile* middle section (at RM.3), in a major mode, is based on the *Gagliarda* by Jakub Polak. The final movement, Hayduk, is also separated into two sections: the A section, based on *Hayducki* organ tablature by Jan of Lublin, is played at the beginning and the end of the movement; while B section is inspired by *Villanella* by Wojciech Długoraj and constitutes the centre of the movement (RM.2-4).³⁵² It is clear that, while the basis of the *Old Polish Suite* is far more traditional than Panufnik's previous compositions, it indicates a profound need to use an external reference point, a stylistic feature that persists through his career.

The work's neo-baroque style is exemplified by the clear division between the melody and accompaniment, with the melody and counter-melody played predominantly by one of the violin parts. The other four parts accompany the melody with chords, and a strong bass line from the cellos and double basses. The parts move in rhythmic unison, with the exception of few ornaments. The interlude movements, on the other hand, do not have the same separation of melody and harmony, and are essentially sets of modal based chords played one after another.

³⁵⁰Sitarz, "Old Polish Music as Adapted by Andrzej Panufnik." p.187

³⁵¹Ibid. p.187

³⁵²Ibid. p.187

6.2.1. The Importance of Chords

In Panufnik's *Tragic Overture* triadic formations are the driving force behind its harmony. In the *Old Polish Suite* chords continue to act as the impulse behind the work's harmonic movement, although here we do not find the polychords or the triadic layering which are characteristic of the *Tragic Overture*. In essence, Panufnik has tried to emulate the chord sequences of Polish lute tablature by composing his own harmonic sequences for a string ensemble. It is important to remember that this is a nostalgic look into the past rather than a direct musicologically informed reproduction of 18th century works.

Figure 14, details the chordal progressions of the first eight bars of Interlude and suggests two possible modes. One observes modal shift after the first phrase (bar 1 to bar 4) from what appears to be a Phrygian mode in F#-minor to an Ionian mode in the key of F#-major.

d = c. 36 (lento espressivo)
arco, molto vibr.

	Phrygian	Ionian
Violini 1	(ten.)	(V)
Violini 2	(ten.)	(V)
Violo	(ten.)	(V)
Violoncelli	(ten.)	(V)
Contrabassi	(ten.)	(V)

Bm F#m DM9 D^{M7} Em Em^{m7} F#^{Aug} F# Bm A G#^{Dim} Bm^(m7) C#¹¹ C#⁽⁷⁾ F#^{Aug} F#
 iv i VI^{M9} VI^{M7} vii vii^{m7} I⁺ I iv III i^o iv^(m7) V¹¹ V⁽⁷⁾ I⁺ I

Figure 15: The Old Polish Suite, the Opening 8 Bars of the Interlude (Chord Progression)

The chord progressions of the first eight bars of Interlude played by the Violins, Violas, Cellos and Double Bases.

While modes are responsible for most of the work's linear aspect, the harmonic movement is driven by chords. This is largely because, while the original pieces were composed within a modal framework, the simplicity of their peasant dance style aligns them directly with more conventional diatonic harmony. This chordal based movement can be observed, where sections and movements end with authentic cadences, this can be observed in figure 16. Moreover this chordal based movement is accentuated by the weight which is given to the bass line. This strength is achieved by the doubling of the bass part, which in the first, second and fifth movement is played by both the cellos and double basses.

DANCE I
(“Cenar”)

Duration
c. 12 min.

ANDRZEJ PANUFNIK

$\text{♩} = \text{c. } 80$ (*allegro giusto*)
(non div.)

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system includes staves for Violini 1 and 2, Violo, Violoncelli, and Contrabassi. The second system includes staves for Vni. 1 and 2, Vle., Vc., and Cb. Dynamics include *f*, *ten.*, and *p*. The marking *pesante* is used for the second system. A first ending bracket labeled '1' is present at the end of the second system.

Figure 16: The Old Polish Suite, Dance I: Cenar (An example of cadences)

Played by the violins, violas, cellos and double basses from the opening section of Dance I: Cenar.

Contrastingly, the third movement omits the double-basses; hence, there is no doubling of the bass line. The fourth movement has no violins; hence the violas take the melodic line, while the cellos are divided into two lines and act as inner harmonic parts. The double-bass is also divided into two parts, but both play the same bass line octaves apart, as shown in figure 15. The division of the double-bass part gives the same strength to the bass line as previously produced by the combination of cello and double-bass.

As can be seen from the above example, the work's harmony is based largely on varying modes, including Phrygian, Ionian, and Mixolydian. These modes are not imposed on the work but, rather come from the folk music sources.

6.2.2. Mixed Modality

The mixed tonality, which is noticeable in Panufnik's *Tragic Overture*, is not so prevalent in the *Old Polish Suite*, although it does appear more as mixed modality on a few occasions. For instance, the fourth movement - Chorale, is written in the key of B-minor; however, the first bar is tonally ambiguous, retaining the potential to be either minor or major. The second bar seems to resolve this ambiguity by beginning with a B-major chord, even though the work is clearly not in the key of B-major.

Another example of mixed modality can be found in the second movement (*Interlude*) which undergoes a number of modal and tonal shifts. The modal shift from a Phrygian mode on F# to an Ionian mode on F# in bar 4 of figure 15 is facilitated by a movement first to an F# augmented chord and then to an F# major chord. The same F# augmented chord to F# major chord movement is found in bar 8 of the same figure. Furthermore, the conclusion of the work is in a B-minor mode with a perfect cadence to B-major after a shift in the final bars. This shift begins in Bar 13 with a B-augmented chord, which quickly changes to a B-major chord and, in Bar 14, to a B-minor chord. Bar 15 sees a return of the B-augmented chord followed by E-minor, and Bar 16 begins the perfect cadence with an F#-major chord, which then concludes in the final bar with a brief suspension,³⁵³ leading to a B-major chord. The above modal shift is detailed in figure 17.

³⁵³One could argue this was in fact not a suspension but rather a B augmented chord (without the 5th).

Bar 13 *rall.* (lunga)

Vni. (V) *piu cresc.* (ten.) *pp* (lunga)

Vle. (V) *piu cresc.* (ten.) *pp* (lunga)

Vc. (V) *piu cresc.* (ten.) *pp* *molto espr.* (lunga)

Vc. (V) *piu cresc.* (ten.) *pp* (lunga)

Cb. (V) *piu cresc.* (ten.) *pp* (lunga)

$B^{Aug} B$ Bm Em $F\#^{Aug} F\#$ B

Figure 17: The Old Polish Suite, Interlude, the B-minor to B-major modal shift.

The above detailed model shift from B-minor to B-major played by the two violins, violas, cellos and double basses from bar 13-17 of Interlude.

Interestingly, the presence of both D-natural (bars 14 and 16) and D-sharp (bar 17), shows that Panufnik uses a chromatic false relationship between these two parts, in order to facilitate the modal shift.³⁵⁴ Furthermore Panufnik's fastidious use of cautionary accidentals to make the mixed tonality clear seems to have its gestation in works from this period, and can be found at much greater length in his more mature works.

6.2.3. Chromatic Movement

Chromatic movement is present within this work; nevertheless, it is not used to the same extent as in the *Tragic Overture*. Unlike the *Overture*, the limited chromatic movement in *Old Polish Suite* is not a part of any form of layering of orchestral textures. Hence, chromatic movement does not serve the same purpose as in the *Tragic Overture*, and cannot be ascribed, therefore, the same importance as in Panufnik's other works.

³⁵⁴The same chromatic false relationship can be found in other parts of the Old Polish Suite, the A sharp (bar 8) and A natural (bar 6) which is found in the opening bars of the *Interlude* movement.

6.2.4. Layering

As a result of the conservative nature of this reconstruction of old Polish music there is no layering found in this composition.

6.2.5. Emotionalism

Panufnik placed great importance on the emotional content of his previous works, such as the *Tragic Overture*. Unsurprisingly the *Old Polish Suite* has a different character, with no heartfelt dedication and no connection to a particular event. Nevertheless, emotionalism still plays a part in the *Old Polish Suite*, however limited it may be. The interludes, for example, which are of the composer's own invention, provide the work with greater tonal colours and emotional responses, as they consist of sombre, uneasy, and grief stricken tones in contrast to the mostly happy and jovial dance movements.

6.2.6. Thematic development

The thematic treatment of the *Old Polish Suite* is limited to simple alterations, or ornamentations of the original melodies and counter melodies. It is important to notice, however, that each dance movement has an *A-B-A* form and thus, introduces a new melody in the B section. The A and B section melodies have been identified in the examples below.



Figure 18: The Old Polish Suite, Dance I: Czar (A-section Melody)

Original version of the A-section melody in Dance I: Czar, found at bar 5 to 6 played by the first violins.



Figure 19: The Old Polish Suite, Dance I: Czar (A-section Counter Melody)

Original version of the A-section counter melody in Dance I: Czar, found at bar 9 to 12 played by the first violins.

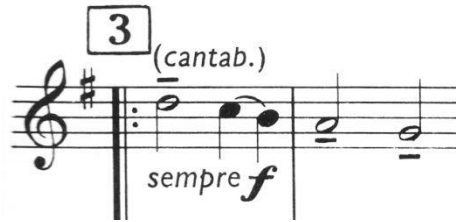


Figure 20: The Old Polish Suite, Dance I: Czar (B-section Melody)

Original version of the B-section melody in Dance I: Czar, found at RM.3 played by the first violins.



Figure 21: The Old Polish Suite, Dance I: Czar (B-section Counter Melody)

Original version of the B section counter melody (a re-working of the A section melody) in Dance I: Czar, found 5 bars after RM.3, played by the first violins.



Figure 22: The Old Polish Suite, Dance II: Wyrwany (A-section Melody)

Original version of the A-section melody in Dance II: Wyrwany, found at bar 1 to 5 played by the first violins.



Figure 23: The Old Polish Suite, Dance II: Wyrwany (B-section Melody)

Original version of the B-section melody in Dance II: Wyrwany, found at RM.3 played by the first violins.



Figure 24: The Old Polish Suite, Dance III: Hayduk (A-section Melody)

Original version of the A-section melody in Dance III: Hayduk, found at bar 1 to 6 played by the first violins.



Figure 25: The Old Polish Suite, Dance III: Hayduk (B-section Melody)

Original version of the B-section melody in Dance III: Hayduk, found at RM.2 played by the first violins.

When section A of each movement returns, it tends to be presented as a simpler re-stating of the original A section. In the case of the first movement (*Cenar*), the original melody and counter melody return in full, with a note for note repeat of bars 5 to 24. Furthermore, in the second dance movement (*Wyrwany*) the A-section is repeated in its entirety at the conclusion of the movement.

6.2.7. Phrasing

It is noticeable that while the *Old Polish Suite* contains certain stylistic elements, which exist in Panufnik's earlier works, it lacks the more progressive material present in his earlier works. Panufnik achieves variation through musical phrasing, accents, *tenuto* markings, *staccato* markings, and slurring, etc. For instance, in Dance I: *Cenar*, the counter-melody (see figure 18), while melodically and rhythmically similar to the melody (see figure 19) is made more prominent by marking almost all of the notes with *tenutos*. Moreover, the countermelody is marked with a *forte* dynamic marking (in contrast to the melody's *piano* marking) and the instruction to play the phrase with more weight (*Pesante*).

The same principle is used in the B section of the first movement. The simple contrasts of dynamics correspond to the neo-baroque idiom and the principle of 'terraced' dynamics. The dynamic effects are not dramatic or emotional as in the *Tragic Overture*. They are simply and element of the consciously adopted 'old' style.

Another example of such phrasing variation can be found in the second dance movement (Wyrwany) where the A section is broken into phrases, which are alternately plucked and then bowed, as can be seen in figure 26. Similarly, simple rhythmic figures are given increased interest by placing the emphasis of a bar on particular beats. In the second dance (Wyrwany) the emphasis placed on certain notes in the accompanying parts initially produces a feeling of one beat in a bar (bar 1-5), as the emphasis is placed on the first beat, and later 3 in a bar (bar 11-14), as the emphasis is placed on all three beats (as seen in figure 26). Following this, the emphasis swaps from 1 in a bar to 3 in a bar and back again (bar 15-19).

$\text{♩} = \text{c. } 120$ (*allegretto leggero*)

Violini 1 *p*

Violini 2 *p*

Violo *p*

Violoncelli (Cb. tacent) *p* (arco)

Vni. 1 *pp* (pizz.)

Vni. 2 *pp* (pizz.)

Vle. *pp*

Vc. *pp*

1 (arco)

Figure 26: The Old Polish Suite, Dance III: Hayduk RM.1

The first 15 bars of Dance II: Wyrwany played by the violins, violas, cellos and double basses. This figure shows the alternating bowed and plucked phrases played by the first violin, second violin, viola and cello. Additionally, this figure shows how the emphasis placed initially on the first beat (bar 1-5) changes to emphasising all three beats (bar 11-14) in the accompanying parts (second violin, viola and cello).

6.3 The Old Polish Suite and Siemdaj's 'Rules of Shaping'

The *Old Polish Suite* does not exhibit all of Siemdaj's 'Rules of Shaping'. Firstly as the work is based on a reconstruction of old Polish music, there seems to be no 'Constructivism'. Secondly, while some of the movements contain 'Final-Directional Musical Process', it is not present throughout the work. Both the second and fourth movements conclude in this manner with perfect cadences which relieve the tension. Two of the dance movements, *Wyrwany* (the third movement) and *Hayduk* (the fifth movement) seem to be directed towards a climax in the final bars. The first movement, however, does not have its climax within its final bars and rather seems to drift off into the distance without a resolution. These modest movements do not possess the drama of the *Tragic Overture* hence, the 'Final-Directional Musical Process'.

Finally, it could be argued that the contrast between the fast dance movements and the slow interludes is a form of the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements'. Additionally, all of the dance movements contain both A and B section, each with its own thematic and musical material that is often in opposition to the previous section. Hence, clashing dialectics can also be found in the works thematic material.

6.4 The Old Polish Suite and Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics'

Not all of Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics' apply to this composition. There is no real 'individualism' here because the composer has chosen to adopt a neo-baroque persona. We do observe an 'Economy of Means', both in the source materials and in Panufnik's treatment of them. Obviously, we have 'Classical Musical Values in Harmony' by the use of conventional harmonic structures and movement, as one would expect in a work of this kind. It could easily be argued that there is a clear 'Balance Between Content and Form' in this work, however, this balance is largely pre-determined, as the work is a reconstruction. One would not expect to find 'Unity' in a work where each movement is based on different material. Neither would one expect to find 'Emotionalism' in the context of a self-consciously neo-baroque work.

6.5 The Old Polish Suite and Polskość

The *Old Polish Suite*, was composed prior to Panufnik's defection, so one should not seek any indication of longing or distaste for his lost homeland. Nevertheless, the composition exhibits an intrinsic sense of Polskość through its adoption of Polish musical materials. Although the Polish characteristics are relatively superficial ones, and do not represent any deep dream, or soulful suffering. Nevertheless, the *Old Polish Suite* can, as Harold Truscott argues, explain a lot about Panufnik's musical origins.³⁵⁵ It could be argued that the diligence in stylistic verity of his reconstruction to the original folk material demonstrates that Panufnik had, even prior to his emigration, effectively exhibited nostalgia for Poland. This was evidently a longing for Poland from the past, perhaps the free Poland of the interwar period of his childhood. Mieczysław Tomaszewski notes in an exploration of nationality and its musical expressions that the use of national dances is one of the principal means of generating national character in music.³⁵⁶ There were other factors, which could have caused him to compose a work of this type (as discussed in Chapter 2). Nevertheless, it is important to remember that Panufnik had written compositions of this genre prior to the tightening of cultural policy and the introduction of censorship in Poland, and hence it seems unlikely that these works were driven solely by the expectations and pressures of the communist regime.

This composition shows us that Panufnik had, as Andrzej Sitarz puts it, "Authentic love for national elements in music, and a desire to restore early Polish works to concert life."³⁵⁷ Additionally, if we take the composition as a representation of this period, it shows that Panufnik was cautious with stylistic developments. Indeed this work when compared with his previous works, including the *Tragic Overture*, shows the sacrifices he was forced to make in order to try and appease the communist regime. There is, however, an undeniable degree of Polskość within this composition and while one could question how freely Panufnik chose to include such elements, it

³⁵⁵Harold Truscott. "The Symphonies of Andrzej Panufnik." in *The Musical Times*. 130.1757 July 1989: pp.390-93.

³⁵⁶Mieczysław Tomaszewski. "Kategoria Narodowości I Jej Muzyczna Ekspresja (Nationality and Its Musical Expression)." in *Oskar Kolberg - Prekursor Antropologii Kultury*. Eds. L. Bielawski, J. K. Dadak-Kozicka and K. Lesień-Płachecka. Warszawa: Akademia Muzyczna im F. Chopina, 1995

³⁵⁷Sitarz, "Old Polish Music as Adapted by Andrzej Panufnik." p.183

seems likely that he already had a longing for a pre-communist Poland which probably affected his music after he emigrated.

CHAPTER 7: SINFONIA SACRA

7.1 Introduction

Sinfonia Sacra was composed as a tribute to Poland's millennium of Christianity and statehood (1966). The work was commissioned by the Kosciuszko Foundation³⁵⁸ in December 1960 and won the prestigious *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco* in 1963, it thus re-established Panufnik's career. In doing this, *Sinfonia Sacra* heralded a new era of musical development for Panufnik. Some writers argue that the majority of Panufnik's compositional techniques, and his highly individual style, stem from the musical systems developed in this particular work. Barrie Hall, for example, noted in his article 'Andrzej Panufnik and his Sinfonia Sacra':

"Panufnik's third symphony, entitled 'Sinfonia Sacra', represents in many ways the coalescence of his technical, stylistic and spiritual development."³⁵⁹

Niall O'Loughlin writes similarly, detailing some of these techniques:

"The work [*Sinfonia Sacra*] also presents a number of the techniques and features that Panufnik followed in his symphonies. Notable are the use of small melodic cells, sections strongly contrasted by dynamics, speed, orchestration, as well as a powerful emotional element barely suggested in the diagrams and charts."³⁶⁰

It should be noted, however, that O'Loughlin's list is indicative rather than exclusive, and while the listed techniques and features are present in more developed forms in *Sinfonia Sacra*, this is in many cases not the first use of these techniques, as will be discussed in this chapter.

Not only did *Sinfonia Sacra* drive Panufnik to experiment and re-establish his own musical style once more, it also thrust the composer and his works into the spotlight once again. In fact, *Sinfonia Sacra* became the most popular and most frequently performed of his compositions. Between 1964 and 1966 it was performed

³⁵⁸The Kosciuszko Foundation is an American organisation, set up and run by Polish migrants in 1925 dedicated to promoting educational and cultural exchanges between the United States and Poland in order to increase the American understanding of Polish culture and history.

³⁵⁹Barrie Hall. "Andrzej Panufnik and His Sinfonia Sacra." In *Tempo (New Series)*. 71 Winter 1964-1965: p.14

³⁶⁰O'Loughlin, "Feeling and Intellect, Heart and Brain: Technique and Content in Panufnik's Symphonies." p.74

in thirteen different cities around the world, and recorded by EMI, Pathé-Marconi, Monte-Carlo Radio, and the Lisbon Radio.³⁶¹ Moreover, the symphony was performed by such prominent conductors as Leopold Stokowski (New York), Richard Hickox (London), Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (Hamburg and Berlin), Daniel Chabrun (Paris), Georg Solti (Chicago), and Gerard Schwarz (USA).³⁶² O’Loughlin sums up the importance of *Sinfonia Sacra* to Panufnik’s career:

“The *Sinfonia Sacra* is justifiably well known. It has a directness of expression that communicates its message effectively and superb orchestral technique. It represents a watershed in the composer’s music. The work also presents a number of the techniques and features that Panufnik followed in his later symphonies.”³⁶³

The importance of this composition to the development of Panufnik’s individual style is, therefore, pivotal. The work, according to the commentaries above, was a turning point in composer’s career and life. It marked the end of the ‘dark ages’ of communistic oppression and the emigration adjustment period, announcing the reformation of his style. It is, therefore, central to the present study.

7.2 Stylistic Development

All of the prominent stylistic features that were present in Panufnik’s *Tragic Overture* are also found in *Sinfonia Sacra*. Before identifying and examining them, however, it is necessary to begin with an understanding of the overall structure and design. The work is presented as a four-movement formal scheme (see figure 27):

Sinfonia Sacra	
First Movement:	Vision I
Second Movement:	Vision II
Third Movement:	Vision III
Fourth Movement:	Hymn

Figure 27: A list of the movements from *Sinfonia Sacra*.

³⁶¹Letter from Camilla Panufnik to The B B C. October 1966. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

³⁶²Christoph Schlüren. Notes to *Andrzej Panufnik, Sacra, Symphonic Works Volume 4*. Music by Panufnik, Andrzej. Konzerthausorchester Berlin Cond. Łukasz Borowicz. Compact Disc. CPO and Deutschlandradio Kultur. (Written 2011). [Notes titled, Intuition and Discipline, Symphonies Nos. 2, 3 and 10].

³⁶³O’Loughlin, "Feeling and Intellect, Heart and Brain: Technique and Content in Panufnik’s Symphonies."p.74

7.2.1. The Note Cell

Sinfonia Sacra is also based on a short pre-existing musical motif, the first phrase of the Polish anthem –*Bogurodzica*. This phrase can be seen below in figure 28. The word *Bogurodzica* translates as the ‘Mother of’ (Rodzica) ‘God’ (Bóg). In Poland, the Mother of God has been a particularly significant icon in Poland, as will be discussed in the section on, *Polskość*.

The first phrase of the *Bogurodzica* is used to determine the melodic and, through extension, the harmonic structure of the first three movements. Each movement is based on one of the first three intervals. Vision I is based on a perfect fourth (C to F), Vision II on a major second (D to C), and Vision III on a minor second (F to E). The final movement (Hymn) is based on the first phrase of *Bogurodzica* as a whole, rather than individual intervals. Thus, the first phrase of *Bogurodzica* is not heard in full until the final movement of the work, and the connection with the old Polish hymn is fully revealed.



Figure 28: *Bogurodzica* (First Phrase)

The first phrase of *Bogurodzica*. which is used as the basis for Panufnik's *Sinfonia Sacra*.³⁶⁴

Vision I, is essentially a brass fanfare. Its melody is drawn from a single interval - the perfect fourth. This interval, along with unison pitches, forms the only melodic element of the work, while most of the movement's harmony is created by the superimposition of fourths, as seen in figure 29.

³⁶⁴Maja Trochimczyk. "Bogurodzica." *Polish Music Reference Centre*. 2000. http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/reperto/bogurodzica.html. (Viewed; 21 April 2013).

VISION I

ANDRZEJ PANUFNIK

The image shows a musical score for 'VISION I' by Andrzej Panufnik. It features four trumpet parts: Tromba 1 in Do and Tr. 2, 3, and 4 in Do. The score is in 4/4 time with a tempo of approximately 48 beats per minute, marked 'Maestoso'. The first section is marked 'lunga' and 'secco'. The second section is marked 'poco' and includes a first ending bracket labeled '1'. The third section is marked 'secco' and includes a second ending bracket labeled '2'. The score uses various dynamic markings such as *ff* and *secco*.

Figure 29: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I (Perfect Fourth)

The first 23 bars of Vision I played by four trumpets in C. This figure shows how all of the melodic material uses movements of only a perfect fourth.

It is not until bar 30 that another interval is heard and, even from this point onwards, the other intervals are only used sparingly and in the parts which are not of primary musical importance. Furthermore, these other intervals only occur as a by-product of transpositions of the original unison and perfect fourth motif. An example of this can be found at bar 35-36 and is provided in figure 30.

Figure 30: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I RM.3

A section of Vision I, played by four trumpets in C.

Other intervals, such as minor sevenths, are produced when the fourths are stacked on top of one another. In bar 27 of Vision I the stacked fourths, D – G – C – F – B flat, create multiple minor sevenths (D – C, G – F and C – B flat); two minor tenths, or what could be considered a minor third, but over the space of an extra octave (D – F and G – B flat); and one minor thirteenth, or what could be considered a minor sixth (D – B flat). This bar, and the two bars that follow it and act in a similar manner, can be seen in figure 31.

Figure 31: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I (Interval of Stacked Fourths)

Bar 27 to bar 29 of Vision I played by four trumpets in C which illustrates what other interval result from a number of stacked fourths, as described above.

Gradually, increasing importance is given to the vertical structures, allowing other intervals to be used on a vertical plain, even if the horizontal plain continues to use only perfect fourths. An example of this can also be found in bar 39, as shown in figure 30. In this bar the first and second trumpets play the unison and perfect fourth motif moving from F to C, while the third trumpet plays an A natural, and the fourth trumpet an F sharp. There are however instances where even greater importance is given to the vertical structures, for example, the space between the fourth trumpet and third trumpet is a minor third (F sharp – A), and between the third trumpet and second trumpet (A – C). In this case a perfect fourth can only be found vertically between the second trumpet and first trumpet (C – F). The above described intervals can be seen in the below harmonic reduction of this bar provided in figure 32. Thus, the combination of these notes appears to form an F sharp diminished triad with an added diminished octave. Alternatively, this chord could also be interpreted as a major-minor chord with a diminished fifth. Finally, the harmonic results of the note cell technique are discussed in more detail in ‘The Importance of Chords’ sub-heading.

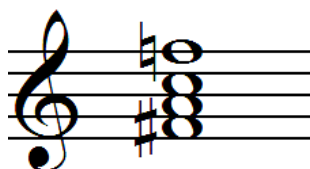


Figure 32: *Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I (Trumpet - Harmonic Reduction)*

A harmonic reduction of bar 39 of Vision I played by the four trumpets in C.

In essence the perfect fourth in Vision I is used in a similar fashion to the four-note cell in the *Tragic Overture*. In both cases, the approach is obsessive, in a positive sense equating with Skowron’s concept of ‘Economy of Means’

The second Vision’s melodic material is again primarily made up of a single interval – a major second. Indeed the major second forms the basis of the majority of the melodic movement; however, other intervals are also used throughout the work, for example, minor second, major third, and minor third. Thus, the second movement is less regimented than the first one in its approach to the use of a single interval in the formation of the melodic material. Figure 33 illustrates that intervals, other than the major second, are primarily used when the chord (played by the cellos and double

basses) changes. This usually occurs at the beginning of each particular bar. Moreover, this example shows that, when these intervallic additions are not made as part of a harmonic change, they are driven by a need to provide the composition with a tonal colour or to give the melodic line further direction. Indeed, a work made up only of melodic movements by a major second has the potential to become monotonous and lacking in direction; thus the use of other melodic material prevents this from occurring.

The voice leading of Vision II is of particular interest and is largely responsible for the expressivity of the piece. In several places the voice-leading results in vertically simultaneous chromatic alteration of the same pitch class, for example, the C sharp (cello) against C natural (violin I) in bars 1, 2 and 6; the D sharp (cello) against D natural in bars 3, 5 and 9. The composer's characteristically detailed notation - in both the full score and the structural parts - leaves us with no doubt that these chromatic false relations are entirely intended. In order to reinforce his intention, and to reassure any apprehensive string players who may momentarily doubt this intonation or their reading of the part, Panufnik adds cautionary accidentals (natural signs in brackets) in every single case where the triadic ambivalence occurs. The ambivalence is nearly always between major and minor thirds above the same root note, hence these are all examples of the major-minor chord principle discussed elsewhere in this study.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is the full score for the first 10 bars of Vision II, featuring Violini I, Violini II, Viole, Violoncelli, and Contrabassi div. a.2. The bottom staff is a detailed view of the first 10 bars for Violini I, Violini II, Viola, Violoncelli, and Contrabassi div. The score includes dynamic markings such as *ppp* (senza cresc.), *poco*, *espr.*, and *cresc. poco a poco*. Performance instructions include *con sord., sul fasto* and *sul A*. A box labeled '5' is present in the Violini I staff at the end of the first 10 bars.

Figure 33: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision II (First 10 bars)

The first 10 bars of Vision II played by the first violins, second violins, violas, cellos and double bass.

Most of the Vision III is based on minor seconds, and it is also the most expansive of the three visions. The first interval this movement presents, however, is not the minor second, but a tritone, which is the only interval used for the first thirty-one bars.³⁶⁵ After these opening bars, the minor second begins to feature. Indeed, extra musical material (material not derived from a minor second) appears to play a bigger role in this movement than in the previous two, although the minor second is still the most prominent interval in use. Thus, the tritone seems to act as a secondary interval which the movement is based³⁶⁶ on and is used in the melodic line to direct the work's movement. The string runs from RM.8 (see figure 34), for example, are based on a

³⁶⁵Excluding when the same note is repeated and there is no pitch change.

³⁶⁶Interestingly the combination of semitones and tritones is significant. This particular intervallic pairing was used extensively by Lutosławski in one of his most powerfully Polish works, *Muzyka żałobna*.

pattern where the part moves by the space of a minor second two or three times before moving by a larger interval, a perfect fourth for example. This pattern is then repeated several times, which allows the melodic line to move over a greater range than it otherwise would.

Figure 34: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision III RM.8 (String Run)

This excerpt presents the string run, found at RM.8 in Vision III played by the first and second violins, violas, cellos and double basses.

There are, however, instances in the symphony where the melodic material is formed nearly entirely from minor seconds. At RM.10, for example, the melodic part of almost all the instruments consists of minor seconds, as presented in figure 35. The only exception is the first trombone, as its melodic line comprises of minor thirds and perfect fourths. Ultimately, while the minor second underpins the entire movement, other intervals are needed in order to the melodic lines to ‘travel’.

Figure 35: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision III RM.10 (Minor Second)

An example of the use of minor seconds, as found at RM.10 in Vision III, played by the full orchestra.

The final movement, Hymn, is based primarily on the intervals of the first phrase of *Bogurodzica*, as seen in figure 28. Once again, there is an obsessive focus on particular intervals and interval relationships, which Panufnik uses to create the melodic material of this movement. The first phrase of the *Bogurodzica* is incorporated

into the final movement in its entirety at the very beginning and the very end of the movement. Placing the first phrase of the *Bogurodzica* at such prominent places within the movement emphasises the importance of the hymn to this work. Moreover, as the first phrase is the most well-known part of the hymn, playing it in such noticeable places also establishes the Polish nature of the work. The *Bogurodzica* first appears in bars 7- 9, where the melody is played quietly by the divided second violin parts a perfect fifth apart; and again in bars 13-15 by the divided viola parts, again a perfect fifth apart (see figure 36).

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the first 15 bars of the Hymn (Bogurodzica) from Sinfonia Sacra. The tempo is marked '♩ = c. 48 (Andante sostenuto)'. The first system (bars 7-9) features the first violin (Vl. I) playing a melody on the A string (sul A) in 4/4 time, with a triplet of eighth notes in bar 8. The second violin (Vl. II) is divided into two parts (div. a2) playing a perfect fifth below the first violin. The second system (bars 10-12) shows the first violin playing a triplet of eighth notes (Tri. picc.) in 3/4 time, followed by a 6/4 time signature. The second violin is divided into two parts (div. a2) playing a perfect fifth below. The third system (bars 13-15) features the first violin playing a triplet of eighth notes (Tri. gr.) in 3/4 time, followed by a 6/4 time signature. The viola is divided into two parts (div. a2) playing a perfect fifth below. Various performance instructions are present, including *ppp*, *espr.*, *cantab.*, *legato*, *lasciar vibrare*, *ten.*, and *sul D*. A box containing the number 31 is located above the second system.

Figure 36: Sinfonia Sacra, Hymn (Bogurodzica - Violins)

The first 15 bars of Hymn where the first phrase of the *Bogurodzica* is played by the second violins at bar 7 to 9, and by the violas at bar 13 to 15.

In the final bars of the work the *Bogurodzica* phrase is once again emphasised (at RM.58) where the entire orchestra (except trumpets) loudly and proudly proclaims the beginning of the Polish hymn (see figure 37).

The image displays a page of a musical score for an orchestra. The score is for measures 58 to 61 of the 'Bogurodzica' hymn. The top system of staves includes Piccolo, Flutes 1 & 2, Oboes 1 & 2, Clarinet in C, Clarinet in Bb, Bassoon, and Contrabass. The middle system includes Violins 1 & 2, Violas, Cellos, and Double Basses. The bottom system includes Trumpets, Trombones, and Percussion. The score is marked 'p' and 'cresc.' and features a 5/4 time signature. The tempo is '♩ = c. 40' and the mood is '(p) = c. 80, ancora poco meno'. The score shows the orchestral arrangement for measures 58 to 61, with the first phrase of the hymn being played in full by the entire orchestra, minus the trumpets, in the final bars.

Figure 37: Sinfonia Sacra, Hymn RM.58 (Bogurodzica – Orchestra)

The first phrase of the *Bogurodzica* is also played in full by the entire orchestra, minus the trumpets, in the final bars of the Hymn.

The *Bogurodzica* is only played at specific places within the movement; the rest is filled by various arrangements of the three intervals, which make up the beginning of the anthem (major second, perfect fourth, minor second). Similar to Vision II and Vision III, the additional musical material, in the form of other intervals, is strategically added in order to allow for further development of the piece. An example of this can be found in bar 4 of the first violin part, which moves within an intervallic pattern of: unison, major second, major second, unison, major third, major third (see figure 36). The final note of the above described first violin part is then used to initiate the full segment of *Bogurodzica*, and is present in the divided second violin part. Thus the use of the major third in the first violin part provides a harmonic basis for *Bogurodzica's* opening phrase; which is then played fifths apart by the divided second violins (see figure 36).

Another example of this technique can be found at RM.36, where the melody is made up of an oscillation of major second movements, and major thirds, which help to give the line a forward direction (see figure 38). This melody played by the flute at RM.36 is then given to the first clarinet, the oboe at RM.37, and the horns at RM.38. Interestingly, the other parts are made up melodically of only major-seconds and minor-seconds, which shows that the major-third is used only to provide the melodic line with direction.

Figure 38: Sinfonia Sacra, Hymn RM.26 (Extra Intervals)

An example of the use of extra intervals within Hymn found at RM.36 played by the flute, Oboe, Clarinet in B flat, Bass Clarinet, Horns and Trombones.

The *Bogurodzica*, or in most cases the intervals taken from it, is responsible for the majority of the melodic material, and by extension, much of the harmonic material in the symphony. Additionally, where other intervals are found they are used to forward the direction of the melodic, and at times harmonic, parts and provide the work with greater variation.

7.2.2. Emotionalism

As previously mentioned, *Sinfonia Sacra* was composed as a tribute to Poland's millennium of Christianity and Statehood, and is based on the first Polish national anthem -*Bogurodzica*. Firstly, the choice of subject for the work shows that *Sinfonia Sacra* is not an abstract work and thus, was driven by Panufnik's emotions in relation to Poland. Secondly, it has been demonstrated by the above exploration that the *Bogurodzica* underpins this entire symphony; however, the emotional associations from this hymn have not yet been explored here.

The *Bogurodzica* is not only the first known Polish anthem but also one of the earliest written documents and is the first document of Polish poetry. Throughout the Middle Ages the *Bogurodzica* functioned as the national anthem, sung not only in the Roman Catholic church (as a prayer of thanks to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God) but also before battles during the 1400s, including the great battle of Grunwald, where the Polish and Lithuanian forces dealt a crippling blow to the Teutonic Knights (1410). The same hymn accompanied the coronation of the first Jagiellonian kings of Poland. In the early 1900s the *Bogurodzica* and its patriotic associations were brought, once more, into the spotlight when it featured prominently in the book *Krzyżacy* (about the battle of Grunwald) by the Polish author and Nobel Prize laureate, Henryk Sienkiewicz.³⁶⁷ Given the popularity of this book, it is highly likely that Panufnik grew up reading this very patriotic text. In 1960, only three years before Panufnik composed his symphony, *Krzyżacy* was adapted into a film by Aleksander Ford with *Bogurodzica* as a very important musical motif.

It was the dual nature of the *Bogurodzica*, the patriotic and religious notions of this anthem ingrained in the Polish mentality, that Panufnik represented in his symphony dedicated to the millennium of both *patria* and the church. As Ewa Grzegorzka in a document prepared for the Polish Music Reference Centre at USC in Los Angeles noted:

“[...] throughout its history the chant has served two main roles: it has been used as a sign of national identity (as the earliest example of written Polish language and as the traditional national anthem) and as a sign of devotion to the Mother Mary, a symbol of Poland's all - pervading Catholicism.”³⁶⁸

In his program notes for the work Panufnik stated that he wished the listener to, “feel the atmosphere of the battlefield and of prayer, these two persistently repeated elements having dominated Polish life throughout all the thousand years of its tragic history.”³⁶⁹ Panufnik achieves this by separating the atmosphere of heroism and religious spirit into separate movements. The three visions represent the various images of the battlefields, while the final movement, the Hymn, represents a prayer to

³⁶⁷Henryk Sienkiewicz. *Krzyżacy*. 1900. 3 ed. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1994.

³⁶⁸Trochimczyk, *Bogurodzica*. p.1

³⁶⁹Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.38

the Mother of God. It is notable that while there are three movements devoted to the battlefields, and only one to prayer, the combined duration of the first three movements is equivalent to the final movement.

Sinfonia Sacra contains a number of programmatic elements, although they are somewhat less direct in nature than those found in the *Tragic Overture*. The third movement, for example, contains the sound of cannon or artillery fire which is created by the timpani (see figure 39), and the sound of a horse rushing past, created by fast semiquavers from the drums (see figure 39).

Figure 39: *Sinfonia Sacra*, Vision III (Two Programmatic Elements)

In the first 6 bars of Vision III two programmatic elements are found. The first is found in the timpani part where accented semiquaver leaps played *fortissimo* emulate the sound of cannon or artillery fire. The second is found in the third bar where the three drums, play a set of disjointed semiquavers with a progressive crescendo, which represents the sound of an approaching horse.

Additionally the sudden and interrupted ending of the movement just as it has been built to its greatest tension could very easily represent the sudden end of life on the battlefield or be an indirect reference to the trumpeter from St. Mary's Basilica in Kraków³⁷⁰ (see figure 40).

³⁷⁰In the St Mary's Basilica, in Kraków, on every hour a trumpet signal – *Hejnat* – is played. The trumpeter announces it from the top of the taller tower to the West, East, North, and South. The tune breaks off in mid-stream to commemorate the heroic death of a famous 13th century trumpeter who was shot while sounding the alarm before the Mongolian attack on the city. The *Hejnat* and the trumpeter are seen as so important to Polish culture that the noon playing is now broadcast live by the Polish national Radio 1 Station every day of the year.

Tutti *con tutta forza!*

attacca
(Vision III - c. 4' 50")

Figure 40: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision III (Interrupted Ending)

The sudden and interrupted ending of Vision III (the last five bars of the movement) just as it has been built to its greatest tension, as seen above, seems to represent the sudden end of life on the battlefield, played by the entire orchestra.

Finally, what Panufnik said cannot be ignored; before this composition he had made it abundantly clear that emotions were very important to him when he

composed. Moreover, he wrote on several occasions about the emotional side of this composition, not just at the time of its inception in program notes and interviews, but also decades later in his autobiography.

“Both these factors, heroic and religious, I have endeavoured to incorporate into my symphony, stressing their emotional power.”³⁷¹

7.2.3. The Importance of Chords

The vertical structures used in this symphony are similar to those in the *Tragic Overture*, ranging from simple triads to larger polychords. The presence of these chords make it clear that while *Sinfonia Sacra* uses a note cell to determine the majority of the work’s pitch, as discussed in the Note Cell sub-heading, this is done with an awareness of the resulting chords. Much of the work’s tension and the subsequent release of said tension is created and driven by the changing chords. The resulting chords take a step away from conventional harmony, and instead create a harmony which oscillates between tonality and modality. The major-minor chord, which is discussed in detail in the sub-heading Mixed Tonality, is almost exclusively responsible for the aforementioned oscillation. Nonetheless, the seemingly non-traditional harmonic structure of a major-minor chord comes once again from the layering of traditional intervals, a major third, and a minor third.

The harmonic material of *Sinfonia Sacra* is produced in two ways. Firstly, some of it is a by-product of the melodic movement of each individual part, which is driven by the interval, or intervals, which Panufnik assigns to each individual movement. Secondly, when the harmonic material is given greater importance it employs generally conventional triads or chords, even if the resulting structures are more complex. It is at these crucial points, where the harmony is given greater importance that the melodic parts are often altered by introducing intervals which do not come from the *Bogurodzica*, as discussed in sub-heading The Note Cell.

Occasionally harmonic elements that create increased dissonance are added on top of fairly conventional chords, but once again, these are often caused by the melodic movement of the individual parts or in order to create a major-minor chord. While

³⁷¹Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.38

chords are still created from this movement the chord progressions are limited in movement as a result of the importance placed on the major second melodic movement. This figure provides strong proof that in all of these occasions Panufnik maintains the use of a form of chord as the underlying harmonic driver.

7.2.4. Mixed Tonality

Most of the tonal ambiguity present in this symphony is created by chordal combinations with conflicting scale degrees – the previously discussed major-minor chords.³⁷² In many occasions these chords are denoted by the use of cautionary natural signs (written in brackets) which conflict with one other voice in the chord. These cautionary natural signs are used in order to make it clear that both major and minor thirds are intended to be played together. Many examples can be found Vision II, and are marked with a 'M/m' symbol in the below figure 41.

³⁷²An introduction to the major-minor chord is provided in Chapter 5: The Tragic Overture, under the sub-heading Mixed Tonality.

$\text{♩} = \text{c. } 60$ (Larghetto)
 sul A
 con sord., sul faso

Violini I *)
 Violini II
 Viole
 Violoncelli
 Contrabassi div. a.2

AM/m I/i AM/m I/i BM/m II/ii A^{maj7} I^{M7} BM/m II/ii

VI. I
 VI. II
 Vc.
 Cb. div.

AM/m I/i G^{#dim} vii^o *F^{#m}min7 vi^{m7} BM/m G⁹ EM/m V/v

*It should be noted that the F^{#m}min7 has the potential to be viewed as another chord however this seems the most likely chord.

Figure 41: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision II (Importance of Chords)

An example of the importance Panufnik places on chords and their detailing (found in the opening 10 bars of Vision II). It should be noted that the AM/m symbol refers to an A major-minor chord.

The frequent use of both major and minor modalities at the same time could be said to evoke a dual emotional response. In the case of Vision II, which contains many such chords, the major-minor modality could be present in order to portray the aftermath of a battle, reminding us of the heroic deeds of those who fought, and the tragedy of those who died. Fifteen of the twenty nine bars which make up Vision II contain major-minor chords, making it the most prominent example of Panufnik's use of these chords. Figure 41 represents the opening ten bars of the Vision II and several

major-minor chords, those found in bars 1-5 are detailed below. The first two bars comprise of a spaced A-major triad, with a C-natural at the top. The third bar: a B-major triad, with a D-natural in the second violins part, and a D sharp in the cellos part (the fifth bar is achieved similarly). Bar 4 does not contain a major-minor chord but rather an A-major triad with an added seventh (See Figure 41).

The importance of the major-minor chord in *Sinfonia Sacra* is even greater than in previous compositions, as there are two new systems for the production of major-minor chords in this composition.³⁷³ In both systems, the resulting major-minor chord remains the same. However, the way in which this chord is achieved varies. Stasiak states that the first new system pairs an underlying major triad with a discrete melodic grouping, which moves between the root, minor third, perfect fourth, and perfect fifth of the chord. This type of major-minor chord is frequently used in the Hymn, from RM.40 onwards. The best example of this can be found in the final bars of the work, where the trumpet motif (taken from the first movement) is presented in A-minor (C-natural played by the first trumpet), while the remainder of the orchestra sustains a chord in A-major (see figure 42). Major-minor modalities of this type can be found in the music of Bartok and Stravinsky, which suggests Panufnik may have been inspired by these two composers.

³⁷³While this was not the first work to use these types of major-minor chords as they are also present in *Autumn Music* (1959-1961) and the *Piano Concerto* (1957-1962), *Sinfonia Sacra* shows the culmination of this technique into a large scale orchestral work.

Figure 42: Sinfonia Sacra, Hymn (Major-minor Chord)

An example of how the major-minor chord is used in Sinfonia Sacra, coming from the final three bars of Hymn, where the trumpet motif (taken from the first movement) plays in the key of A minor (C natural played by the first trumpet), while the remainder of the orchestra plays the first phrase of the *Bogurodzica* in the key of A major.

The second system for the production of major-minor chords is also based on an underlying major triad, which is paired with a figure moving between the root and minor third of the chord. This form is the most prevalent kind of major-minor chord

used during this period of Panufnik's life.³⁷⁴ Examples of the second type of major-minor chord can be found in Vision II (see figure 41).

7.2.5. Chromatic Movement

In the *Tragic Overture*, chromatic movement was used to enhance the melody and provide it with alternative, or complimentary, forms of directed activity. In *Sinfonia Sacra* alternative forms of directed activity are achieved through the use of extra intervals, which come from outside the intervals of the quoted phrase. There is however a large amount of chromatic voice leading in Vision II which is used to further the direction of the work. In this case the chromatic movement occurs either in order to prevent the chordal movements from becoming too stagnant or in order to facilitate the production one of the many major-minor chords. Examples of this chromatic voice leading can be found in the viola part at bar 2, 4, 6 and 9 of Vision II, as shown in figure 41. Further examples can be found in the first violin part at bar 3, 5, 7 and 9, the second violin at bar 4, and the first cello part at bar 8, also shown in figure 41.

7.2.6. Layering

Layering is also used in *Sinfonia Sacra*, although the importance placed upon it in Panufnik's previous compositions is not emulated here. In the first movement, for example, there is no layering of orchestral textures at all. Moreover, the layering in this symphony is not bound to a set of three distinct elements for every occurrence, making the layered textures in construction less obvious than in his previous works.

There are two distinct elements which make up the orchestral layering found in Vision II: a tonally-based melodic line produced predominantly by the interval from *Bogurodzica* assigned to the movement (minor second); and a functional chord driven tonality, which is represented in most instances by primary cadential motions with strong bass progressions. Even the more complicated movements of the work have essentially only two separate orchestral layers. In the Hymn (from RM.32) the string section plays a re-working of the intervals of *Bogurodzica* (the melodic line), while the woodwind section plays an assortment of often clashing chords (the cadential movement). This is illustrated in figure 43.

³⁷⁴This kind of Major-minor chord can also be frequently found in Panufnik's *Katyń Epitaph* (1967).

The image displays a page of a musical score for 'Sinfonia Sacra, Hymn'. It consists of two systems of staves, numbered 32 and 34. The tempo is marked 'molto tranquillo'. The instruments listed on the left are Flute 1, 2, and 3; Clarinet in Sib. 1 and 2; Bass Clarinet in Sib.; Violin I and II; Viola; and Cello/Double Bass. The score shows complex orchestral layering with various dynamic markings like *fpp* (possible), *p espr.*, and *fp*. In measure 34, there is a 'muta in Picc.' instruction for the Flute 3 part. The time signature changes between 4/4 and 5/4 throughout the passage.

Figure 43: *Sinfonia Sacra*, Hymn (Orchestral Layering)

The Hymn, from RM.32 providing an example of orchestral layering in *Sinfonia Sacra* played by the entire orchestra.

Ultimately, *Sinfonia Sacra* has no need for the same kind of layering as the *Tragic Overture*, as the extra directional activity of the work is achieved by using alternative intervals rather than by adding in a chromatic line, with the exception of the chromatic

voice leading found in Vision II. Hence, in the absence of ongoing chromatic movement there is no need for the establishment of a third orchestral layer.

7.2.7. Thematic Development

Sinfonia Sacra contains processes of thematic development. The *Bogurodzica* itself pervades the entire work, as shown in the previous explorations, either through intervals from a portion of the anthem, or the quotation of the anthem itself (which forms the primary thematic concept). It is the constant development and re-sounding of *Bogurodzica*, in some form or the other, throughout the composition that proves the importance which Panufnik placed on thematic development. Moreover, certain motifs, which form secondary themes to the composition, are produced from the aforementioned intervals. An example of this can be found in the first movement, where the perfect fourth creates a five-note motif, made up of perfect fourths and unison movements. See the illustration below:



Figure 44: *Sinfonia Sacra*, Vision I (Five-note Motif)

The five-note motif from Vision I, played by the first trumpet in C in the first bar of the movement.

This motif is the only musical material used in the first movement and is inverted, transposed, and developed in a number of different ways. Furthermore, this motif appears in the final phrases of the fourth movement (RM.54 onwards). However, this time the motif is used as part of a broader musical context, as shown in figure 45 below. In the last movement of the work, the motif introduced in Vision I (figure 44) acts as the first battle motif and a counter-melody to the first phrase of the *Bogurodzica*, which in this final movement has taken on the role of the melody. This exemplifies the importance Panufnik gives to the introduction, development, and exploration of various themes within this composition.

71

58 (c. c. 40) (c. c. 80, ancora poco meno)

5/4

4/4

Picc.

Fl. 1

Ob. 1

Cl. 1

B. 1

B. 2

Fag. 1

Fag. 2

Tr. 1

Tr. 2

Tr. 3

Tr. 4

T. 1

T. 2

T. 3

T. 4

Tuba

Euph.

DB

B. & H. 18379

cresc.

58 (c. c. 40) (c. c. 80, ancora poco meno)

5/4

4/4

Figure 45: Sinfonia Sacra, Hymn (Five-note Motif)

The five-note motif from Vision I as it appears in Hymn at RM.58 where the motif is played by the four trumpets in C, while the remainder of the orchestra plays the *Bogurodzica*.

7.2.8. Symmetry

A new development found in *Sinfonia Sacra* is the increased use of symmetry on a broader scale. Bolesławska provides a detailed analysis of the types of symmetry found in Panufnik's compositions in her article: 'Symmetry in the Symphonies of Andrzej Panufnik'.³⁷⁵ Panufnik had indeed used symmetry in minor forms in some of his previous compositions, however, this is the first time he uses it to such extent. The types of symmetry that appear in *Sinfonia Sacra* include mirror symmetry, and transposition symmetry.

Mirror symmetry is present in two principal forms in this symphony: symmetrical chords, where the intervals are symmetrical with a middle or axis point; and mirror symmetry in musical phrases. The harmonic structures created in Vision I, for example, are based on one symmetrical chord, comprised only of perfect fourths. This chord in its full form is shown below in figure 46. Figure 47, on the other hand, shows this chord in the broader context of the piece. It can be found seven bars before the conclusion of the movement.

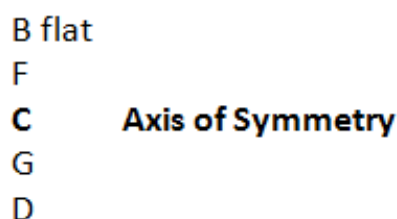


Figure 46: *Sinfonia Sacra*, Vision I (Symmetrical Chord)

The symmetrical chord, which is the harmonic basis for Vision I in its full form.

³⁷⁵Bolesławska, "Symmetry in the Symphonies of Andrzej Panufnik."

The image displays a musical score for four trumpets in C, arranged in two systems of four staves each. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a key signature change to one flat and a dynamic marking of 'fff'. The second system shows the continuation of the piece, ending with a 'molto' marking and a tempo change to 'affacc'. The score is labeled 'Tr. in Do' and '(Vision I - c. 2'20'' at the bottom right.

Figure 47: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I (Symmetrical Chord – Trumpet)

An example of symmetrical chords as found in the third bar of this example coming from the final nine bars of Vision I played by the four trumpets in C.

In this composition, the most manifested symmetry is achieved through the transposition of an interval set but with the retainment of their original intervallic pattern, hence its name: transposition symmetry. Bolesławska notes:

“All parallel interval or chord transitions progressions and transpositions are nothing more than examples of transpositions symmetry, or rather transposition-temporal symmetry (as they proceed in time).”³⁷⁶

Examples of transposition symmetry can be found in Vision II where sections, or even entire chords, are transposed in parallel. The movement from bar 2 to 3, for example, where the cellos and divided double basses are transposed up by a major second, retaining the same intervallic pattern they had in the previous bar.

Symmetry is also present, to some extent, in the way Panufnik deals with the form and theme. The work itself is divided symmetrically in duration between two different thematic ideas. As previously mentioned, the three visions, all representing heroic aspects of the *Bogurodzica*, make up the first half of the composition’s time; while the Hymn, which represents the religious aspects of *Bogurodzica*, makes up the

³⁷⁶Ibid. p.99

remaining half. There is also a degree of mirror symmetry in the thematic structure, when the motif created in the first movement returns in the final bars of the last movement.

7.2.9. Repeated Rhythmic Figures: Early Rhythmic Modules

Panufnik has previously placed importance on rhythmic figures, visible through the importance of the rhythmic element of the four-note cell in the *Tragic Overture*. Short rhythmic figures are used in *Sinfonia Sacra* in a very similar way: the short rhythmic figure is constantly repeated for a period of several bars by a section of the orchestra, while the remainder of the orchestra plays a more freely moving part against the rhythmic figure. Additionally, the pitches of the notes, which make up this rhythmic figure, are often transposed and inverted during this period of constant rhythmic repetition. These figures are usually used to provide the note-cell with alternative forms of development and push thematic ideas forward within the musical context.

An example of this can be found in Vision III at RM.18, where a rhythmic figure made up of two semiquavers is continually repeated by the piccolo, flute, and B flat clarinet (see figure 48). The interval which separates the two semiquavers in this rhythmic figure, is a minor second. It becomes the basis of the entire movement. While this rhythmic figure is being played by the piccolo, flute, and clarinet in B flat, the rest of the orchestra plays a variety of more forward moving and legato parts, as can be seen in figure 48.

The image displays a page of a musical score for 'Sinfonia Sacra, Vision III'. A box labeled '18' is placed above the Piccolo staff, indicating the start of a specific rhythmic figure. This figure, consisting of two eighth notes in B-flat, is repeated continuously by the piccolo, flute, and clarinet parts. The rest of the orchestra, including the oboes, bassoons, and brass instruments, plays more complex and varied musical parts. The score is written in a standard musical notation with various dynamics and articulation marks.

Figure 48: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision III (Semiquaver Rhythmic Figure)

An example of the of a rhythmic figure found at RM.18 in Vision III .The rhythmic figure made up of two semiquavers is continually repeated by the piccolo, flute and clarinet in B flat, while the remainder of the orchestra plays a variety of more forward moving and legato parts.

These rhythmic figures are often used to unify the work and increase tension. They are often played loudly and in constant repetition, by the full orchestra, as seen at RM.19 and RM.20 in Vision III, see figure 49.

The image displays a page of a musical score for an orchestra. The staves are arranged vertically and include the following instruments: Picc., Fl. 1 & 2, Ob. 1 & 2, C. I., Cl. in Sib. 1 & 2, Cl. bas. in Sib., Fag. 1 & 2, C. Fag., Cor. in Fa 1.3 & 2.4, Tr. in Do 1 & 2 & 3 & 4, Trbn. 1 & 2 & 3, Tuba, Tamb. picc., Tamb. ten., G. C., Vl. I, Vl. II, Vcl. div., and Cb. A box labeled '20' is positioned above the Piccolo staff, highlighting a specific measure. The score contains various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'Solo' and 'pp'.

Figure 49: *Sinfonia Sacra*, Vision III (Rhythmic Figure – Orchestra)

An example of the aforementioned rhythmic figure being played by the entire orchestra, found at RM.20 in Vision III.

The repeated rhythmic figures in *Sacra* act as early forms of what Stasiak referred to as rhythmic modules appearing in Panufnik’s post 1968 music.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁷Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.197

Therefore, some of the Stasiak’s module related findings can also be applied directly to the rhythmic figures in *Sinfonia Sacra*. For example, the modules are often made up of a pair or a grouping of three notes, usually quavers, semiquavers or demisemiquavers, which are separated by rests of the same duration. These figures can be found in isolated groups, longer passages comprised of strict repetition, or contrasted with other rhythmic types. Therefore, even though other forms of rhythmic figures can be found in Panufnik’s earlier works, the direct roots of the post 1968 rhythmic module technique are embedded in *Sinfonia Sacra*. The use of one singular rhythmic motif, like the module, as a basis for entire movement’s rhythm (like the use of the perfect fourths to create the movement’s pitch) shows a continued use and development of the note-cell technique, which Panufnik used earlier in the *Tragic Overture*.

7.2.10. Methods of extension: Additive Rhythms

The repeated rhythmic figures in Vision I of *Sinfonia Sacra* provide all of the rhythmic material for the entire movement, as seen in figure 44. This rhythmic figure is then altered in several ways to increase or decrease tension within the work. For example, in order to build tension in the first 30 bars, progressively less space is given between each entry of the motif, as seen below in figure 50. The full score of the described trumpet entries in Vision I is provided in figures 51 and 52, which show bars 1 - 41 of the movement.

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Distance between entries (quavers)</u>	<u>Number of entries</u>
1	16 (with long pause)	1
4	8	1
6	16 (with long pause)	1
10	6	2
13	4	4
17	3	4
20	2	6
23	1	24 (12 + 12)

Figure 50: *Sinfonia Sacra*, Vision I (Additive Rhythmic Attack)

A chart showing the distance between each entry and the number of entries, which occur during the subsequent phrase.

VISION I

ANDRZEJ PANUFNIK

The musical score for "VISION I" by Andrzej Panufnik is presented in four systems. The first system features Tromba 1 in C major, marked with a tempo of $\text{♩} = c. 48$ and $(\text{♩}) = c. 96$, *Maestoso*. The score includes dynamic markings such as *secco*, *lunga*, and *ff*. The second system shows the first two trumpets (Tr. 1 and 2) in C major, with a *poco* marking and a first ending bracket labeled "1". The third system shows the last two trumpets (Tr. 3 and 4) in C major, with *secco* and *ff* markings. The fourth system shows all four trumpets in C major, with a second ending bracket labeled "2". The score is written in 2/4 time and includes various rhythmic patterns and articulations.

Figure 51: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I (Additive Rhythmic Attack – Example)

The full score of the described entries, bar 1 to 23 of Vision I, played by the four trumpets in C.

The image displays four systems of musical notation for four trumpets in C. Each system consists of four staves. The first system is labeled 'Tr. Ia Do' and the second 'Tr. Ia Do'. The third system has a '3' in a box above it. The fourth system has '(b)' above it. Dynamics include 'piu ff', 'ff', and '(fem.)'. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Figure 52: Sinfonia Sacra, Vision I (Additive Rhythmic Attack – Example 2)

The full score of the previously described entries, bar 24 to 41 of Vision I, played by the four trumpets in C.

It is interesting to note that the shortening in duration between entries is compensated by the increasing number of entries. Moreover, the use of both techniques concurrently, allows the volume and drama in the work to be briefly dramatically increased. Stasiak describes this rhythmic technique as an early

exploration of an additive rhythmic technique.³⁷⁸ Arguably, this is Panufnik's first use of the additive rhythmic technique; however, in this case it is more a rhythmic reduction than addition and hence, cannot be strictly labelled as an additive rhythm. Furthermore, the term additive rhythm is problematic, as it has been used to describe a technique in which larger periods of time are constructed by joining a series of components into larger elements of unequal length. The term can also relate to a technique frequently used by Olivier Messiaen, where generally regular groupings of notes, according to a fixed meter, are augmented by the addition of typically lesser note values. Stasiak sees Panufnik's additive rhythmic techniques as a variation of Messiaen's rhythmic technique.³⁷⁹ As a result of the above discussion this technique may, for the sake of clarity, be better labelled as an additive or reductive rhythmic attack technique, as the space between rhythmic attacks is the one usually altered.

7.3 Sinfonia Sacra and Siemdaj's 'Rules of Shaping'

All of Siemdaj's 'Rules of Shaping' can be found in *Sinfonia Sacra*. As in his previous works, Panufnik's use of 'Constructivism' is primarily present in the shaping of sound. This is achieved by basing the entire work on a pre-determined set of intervals taken from the *Bogurodzica*. 'Constructivism' is also present in the symphony's general form, as it was determined before the compositional process (three visions, based on individual intervals, and the Hymn, based on the first phrase of *Bogurodzica*). The use of 'Constructivism' to determine the composition's form appears to stop here, as there is no evidence that a thematic structure or more detailed structure for the individual movements was determined prior to the composing stage of the symphony's development.

The 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements' also appears in this composition. There are two ways to interpret this clashing. Siemdaj argues that the final movement, Hymn, is made of a unified initial sound combination – the first phrase of the *Bogurodzica*.³⁸⁰ The three visions are made up of internally contrasted sounds, with

³⁷⁸Ibid. p.222

³⁷⁹Ibid. p.222

³⁸⁰Siemdaj, *Andrzej Panufnik, Twórczość Symfoniczna [Andrzej Panufnik, Symphonic Compositions]*. p.316

the sounds from each vision contrasting with the next, and with the Hymn. The second possible form of the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements' is as follows. The unified initial sound combination comes from the pre-determined intervals of the *Bogurodzica* and is responsible for the work's melodic material. The internally contrasted sound combinations are created through the addition of extra intervals to those taken from the *Bogurodzica*; or from the vertical sound combinations, produced principally by the horizontally directed unified initial sound combinations. Thus, while the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements' do exist in this composition, their presence is not particularly noteworthy, as they do not appear to provide helpful information about the development or alteration of Panufnik's musical style or compositional techniques. Moreover, as the dialectics are achieved by the using the note cell it is possible for both Siemdaj's clashing dialectics and Skowron's 'Unity' to be found in *Sinfonia Sacra* as they do not counter act one another in this instance.

'Final-Directional Musical Process' can also be found in *Sinfonia Sacra* and results in both statistical climax, and for the first time in Panufnik's compositions, syntactic climax.³⁸¹ All three of the visions conclude in a statistical climax. Vision III, for example, concludes with a particular form of statistical climax, the agogic volume-related climax; where an early chord related climax is followed by the main part of the movement and then progresses to a final climax, driven primarily by the gradual increase of volume. The early chord related climax is found at RM.8, where a loud statement of chord by the orchestra is followed by movements of a minor second. This movement is then used and developed throughout the body of Vision III. As the movement progresses the dynamic level and the number of instruments which play the aforementioned minor second movement increases. Thus the volume continues to increase until the final climax of Vision III (RM.30), as can be seen in Appendix IV, which shows the statistical climax unfolding from RM.25 to the conclusion of the movement.

An example of Syntactic climax is found in the final movement, Hymn, where the climax is reached principally through the use of thematic material. Siemdaj asserts that this type of climax is often achieved by opening the work, or movement, with the announcement of a symbolic theme, which then returns in the final moments of the work. Moreover, it could be argued that the work as a whole achieves a syntactic

³⁸¹Siemdaj, "The Dramaturgic Development of Andrzej Panufnik's Symphonic Works." p.89

climax as the motif, which underpins the first movement, is re-played by the brass section towards the conclusion of the final movement.

7.4 Sinfonia Sacra and Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics'

All of Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics' can be found in *Sinfonia Sacra* to varying extents. The category of 'Classical Musical Values in Harmony' is less prominent than in his previous compositions. Although the work places a great deal of importance on chords they result from the note-cell technique and are not really derived from conventional classical harmony. Additionally *Sinfonia Sacra* features chord types, such as the major-minor chords, which would not generally be associated with classical harmonic procedures.

Once again, a desire for a balance between form and content, and the use of 'Emotionalism', are deeply interconnected in this composition. As established in the previous sub-heading –'Emotionalism': the work's use of programmatic elements, the dedication to Poland, and the use of the *Bogurodzica* shows the importance of the emotional aspects of the work and thus the importance the composer placed on the work's content. Contrastingly, the strict design of the work shows that Panufnik had a desire to produce a clear form.

It is the intervals from the *Bogurodzica* which are used to create most of the musical material within the work and allow Panufnik to achieve two more of Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics', musical 'Unity' and an 'Economy of Means'. In fact Panufnik himself noted this in an interview from the Proms premiere of *Sinfonia Sacra* in 1989, stating:

"Using these cells, I imposed upon myself a very strong discipline in my choice of musical material and greatest possible economy in means of expression."³⁸²

The development of this technique seems to be driven by a desire to compose in an individual style. The emergence of additive rhythms, a much broader use of symmetry in his compositions, and the developments in his use of 'Emotionalism', rhythmic cells, 'Final-Directional Musical Process', and mixed tonality (mainly the increased use of the major-minor chord) all provide evidence to support the assertion

³⁸²Panufnik. *Pre-Prom Interview with Unknown*. 27 July 1989.

that Panufnik was trying to create his own individual style with *Sinfonia Sacra*. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that Panufnik was attempting to emulate any of the musical developments which had occurred in Poland, the United Kingdom or the rest of Europe during that period.

7.5 *Sinfonia Sacra* and *Polskość*

As one of Panufnik's first major works written after his defection to The United Kingdom, *Sinfonia Sacra* is crucial to any discussion concerning *Polskość* in his post-defection works. It is important to remember that *Sacra* was commissioned by the Kościuszko Foundation as a tribute to Poland. This alone shows that *Sinfonia Sacra* had a deep connection with Polish history and the Polish spirit. As previously discussed, the *Bogurodzica* was one of the most patriotic musical works in Polish history and Panufnik's use of this hymn to produce the majority of the pitch material in this work exemplifies that he understood, and related in some way to this patriotic piece. Moreover, the correspondence between Panufnik and the head of the Kościuszko Foundation, Professor Stephen Mizwa,³⁸³ show that the use of the *Bogurodzica* and the elements of *Polskość* were his ideas and not imposed upon him by the Foundation.³⁸⁴ Panufnik recollects these events in his autobiography:

“Poland's Millennium year, 1966, was fast approaching: I would compose a work which, through its emotional impact, would forcefully remind the Western world, especially the Russophile Americans, of Poland's thousand years of history as a country with its own rich culture and identity deeply rooted in the Christian tradition. Unfortunately if I were to just sit down and write the symphony without sponsorship I would probably starve before it was finished. After a few enquires, I found my way to the Kościuszko Foundation [...]”³⁸⁵

Panufnik goes on to detail his first meeting with Mizwa:

³⁸³Collection of letters from Stephen Mizwa to Panufnik, Andrzej between 16 January 1961 and 31 December 1968. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

³⁸⁴It is true that following Panufnik's initial meeting with Stephen Mizwa, the foundation board met to discuss his proposed symphony. They approved the commission but provided a number of suggestions; in particular they requested a change of title in a letter to Panufnik on the 16th of January 1961. After further discussion between Panufnik and Mizwa however these requests were dropped by the Foundation and Panufnik was given complete control over the composition. This is all evidenced in the letters between Mizwa and Panufnik, which are currently (2013) housed in the Panufnik Archives, Twickenham.

³⁸⁵Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.283

“I outlined my plan for a ‘Millennium’ symphony, based on the first hymn in the Polish language, the *Bogurodzica*— the inspiring Gregorian chant which the Polish knights used to sing on the battlefields. The professor quickly saw that my idea could bring credit to his Foundation. Almost before I could finish outlining my musical ideas, he was starting to plan a prestigious premiere, to which leading figures in the American cultural, artistic and political firmaments, even the President himself, could be invited.”³⁸⁶

As previously stated, the basis of the musical material for the work, *Bogurodzica*, is clearly Polish in nature. However, the use of this material to represent various battlefields in the visions and as a prayer in the final movement shows that a consideration of *Polskość* was taken when the musical material was extrapolated into the work as a whole. Thus, the work was essentially an expression of both Panufnik’s spiritual and patriotic feelings towards his lost homeland. Panufnik himself wrote;

“Because of the source of inspiration, I wanted this composition to be very much Polish in character and also to emphasise the Catholic tradition so deeply rooted in the country of my birth.”³⁸⁷

It is also essential to consider the importance of the spiritual aspects of the *Bogurodzica*. The first phrase, and the title, translates to the Mother of God, who is also considered the honorary queen of Poland. The Polish Catholic Church has played a very significant role in preserving patriotism over the centuries, particularly during communism. The church was a bastion of resistance against repressions of sovereignty. The close bond between Catholicism and Polish statehood is represented in the *Bogurodzica*, being both a sacred song and a national anthem.

The cathartic *forte*, which is present at climactic moments of the composition, and plays a particularly important role in the conclusion of the work, could be seen as further proof of the presence of *Polskość*. Poland’s tragic history has led many émigré artists to produce monumental works as statements of opposition to an invading or occupying force. This was true during the partitions of Poland when Fryderyk Chopin, Henryk Sienkiewicz³⁸⁸ and Adam Mickiewicz³⁸⁹ created some of the biggest and most patriotic statements in Polish literature and Music. Indeed, the use of the *Bogurodzica*

³⁸⁶Ibid. p.284

³⁸⁷Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.38

³⁸⁸Sienkiewicz, *Krzyżacy*.

³⁸⁹Adam Mickiewicz. *Pan Tadeusz: Czyli Ostatni Zajazd Na Litwie*. 1874. 6th ed. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2007.

and the cathartic *forte*, which is used to emphasize its importance at the conclusion of the work, shows that *Sinfonia Sacra* could easily be considered to be amongst these pieces.

Stasiak suggests that maybe the major-minor chords, which are used so frequently in this symphony, also represent a subconscious longing for Poland, hence the dual emotional response. In Panufnik's case there was a combination of sadness, as he was unable to return to Poland, and happiness, as he remembered the beauty of the free Poland of his childhood. Even though the major-minor chord existed in some form prior to Panufnik's defection, it was first used in the *Tragic Overture*, which represented the occupation of Warsaw and thus, another period in which the heroism and longing for freedom were prevalent thoughts on Panufnik's mind.

The other compositions which feature the frequent use of the major-minor chords are the *Katyń Epitaph* (1967),³⁹⁰ and *Autumn Music* (1962). Both of these compositions were written in commemoration of tragic events: in the case of the *Katyń Epitaph* it was the mass murder of thousands of Polish officers by the Russian army during World War II; while in *Autumn Music* it was the death of a close friend, Winsome Ward. In both cases, a sense of longing is achieved by the frequent use of the major-minor chord. As the great majority of the compositions featuring this type of chord relate directly to Poland and its martyrology, it seems that this chord represents the duality of emotions connected with Poland. Furthermore, the major-minor chord is particularly prevalent during the period during the 1960s³⁹¹ when Panufnik appears to be coming to terms with being unable to return to his homeland. Thus, it seems logical that this tonally and emotionally ambivalent chord could represent his feelings towards his lost homeland.

Ultimately, Panufnik himself makes his feelings very clear on this subject and probably said it in the simplest way in 1972:

“*Sacra* is strictly related to Poland.”³⁹²

³⁹⁰It has recently been discovered however that the *Katyń Epitaph* is in fact a very slight revision of a fourth vision for *Sinfonia Sacra*. The only copy of this vision is now held in the British Library.

³⁹¹See are the *Katyń Epitaph* (1967), and *Autumn Music* (1962).

³⁹²Paul Vaughan (Presenter). *Kaleidoscope*. London: BBC Radio, 1972.

CHAPTER 8: UNIVERSAL PRAYER

8.1 Introduction

In 1968 Panufnik made possibly the biggest and most important change to his compositional style: he started using geometric shapes, and symmetrical structures, to form a skeleton for his compositions. Moreover, it was also at this point that Panufnik cemented the importance of the note cell as the basis for almost every aspect of his works. The *Universal Prayer* became a proclamation of the singularity of Panufnik's style, and encompassed all of these developments. Leopold Stokowski appreciated the merit and significance of the *Universal Prayer*:

“In my opinion, it is a new departure in composition, just as ‘Le Sacre de Printemps’ of Stravinsky was a new departure [...] I am hoping that all faiths will realise the greatness of the poem and of the music [of *Universal Prayer*], and that it will become often performed, like the ‘Ninth Symphony’ of Beethoven [...]”³⁹³

The exploration of this piece will not only establish what stylistic changes occurred but also if Panufnik's migration was responsible for these changes and if so to what extent. Moreover, this chapter will examine if these new developments were driven by an increased sense of *Polskość*, or perhaps a proclamation of acceptance of the United Kingdom.

8.2 Stylistic Development

Although Panufnik's compositions change stylistically from piece to piece, these stylistic developments appear to have a very logical and timely progression, rather than a set of detached ideas abandoned with each new composition. Therefore, the majority of the stylistic features present in Panufnik's previous works can also be found in the *Universal Prayer*. Nonetheless, some of them have undergone significant development since their appearance in *Sinfonia Sacra* as will be discussed below.

³⁹³Leopold Stokowski cited in Wyton. "Leopold Stokowski." in *Music / The A.G.O.-R.C.C.O. Magazine*. 4.6 June 1970: pp.28-33. pp.29-30

8.2.1. The Note Cell

The note cell is one of the techniques, which Panufnik used in a number of his previous compositions; however, its use was not particularly consistent until the *Universal Prayer*. Moreover, the function of the cell so far was primarily melodic; in the *Universal Prayer* however, it is used as the basic structural component and is responsible for the musical material of the entire work. The cell articulates both melody and harmony in a very direct and systematic manner. Panufnik re-counts in his autobiography the events of the late 1960s, which led to his revised use of the note cell:

“[...] I felt a yearning to step even further beyond the humdrum realities of our everyday world and reach out for a more universal spirituality. I was searching too for a new dimension in musical grammar and language, because I felt that somewhere within my imagination lay something different, undiscovered, a future source for fresh creative endeavours.

I resolved however long it would take me, to persevere relentlessly until I could discover a new way of expressing myself, influenced neither by my native culture nor by the language of any other existing composer or musical school of thought. Almost every day, not for weeks, not for months, but for three, almost four years, I spent hour after hour in my converted stable at the end of the garden, reflecting how to tackle my new task. Sitting at my desk I would search on the staves of my manuscript paper, scribbling down endless different ideas, then trying them at the piano, until at last one day I realised that my ear, together with my intuition was beginning to win over intellectual speculation: I suddenly found a group of three notes which, as I manipulated them within the stave and on the piano, I perceived had some evocative and strangely expandable qualities – even, it felt to me, some magical power.

Echoing Archimedes, I wished to shout ‘Eureka!’ Instead, in tremendous suspense and elation, I repeatedly played the three crucial notes of my three-note cell: F-B-E (*fa-si-mi*) addition in subconsciously its two reflections, B-E-F (*si-mi-fa*) and E-F-B (*mi-fa-si*). I then tried various transpositions of these cells on the piano, using them both horizontally (melodically) and vertically (harmonically), which seemed to produce an extraordinary sense of organic unity.”³⁹⁴

It was this very cell (F-B-E) that Panufnik used to form all of the melodic and harmonic material for the *Universal Prayer*. Krzysztof Stasiak labels it as the *Alpha Cell* (see figure 53). He notes that only three of Panufnik’s works use the *Alpha Cell* exclusively to construct the entire pitch material in the composition: *Universal Prayer* (1968),

³⁹⁴Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. pp.309-310

Reflections (1968), and *Triangles* (1972).³⁹⁵ The *Alpha Cell* appears, also in a number of Panufnik's later composition; nevertheless, it is no longer the only music material present in the piece. The works that include the *Alfa Cell* in such a role are: *Sinfonia Concertante* (1973), *Sinfonia di Sfere* (1975), *Sinfonia Mistica* (1977), *Metasinfonia* (1978), *Sinfonia Votiva* (1981), the *Bassoon Concerto* (1985), *Symphony No. 9* (1986), and *Symphony No. 10* (1988).

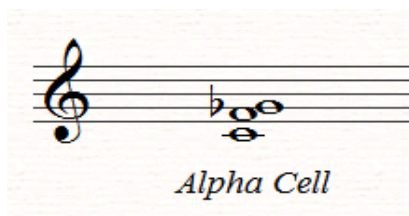


Figure 53: The Alpha Cell

Arranged on middle C in the position bounded by the smallest interval, taken from Stasiak's thesis.³⁹⁶

In *Composing Myself*, Panufnik describes the basic cell as F - B - E, which implies that this is the primary form of the cell, which functions as a root. Nonetheless, it is never functioning in this way in any of Panufnik's compositions. Due to this factor Stasiak has suggested that for the purpose of analysis the form of the cell having the smallest outer interval (tritone) should be called, the closed position; while the form having the next largest interval (perfect fifth) should be termed the first inversion; and the form of the cell having the largest outer interval (major seventh), the second inversion (figure 54).³⁹⁷ Panufnik himself presented the cell he used in *Sinfonia Votiva* in the aforementioned positions in his program notes for the work's premiere.³⁹⁸ As a result, this study will use this terminology.



Figure 54: The three positions of the *Alpha Cell* used in the *Universal Prayer*.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁵Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.140

³⁹⁶Ibid. p.141

³⁹⁷Ibid. p.141

³⁹⁸Andrzej Panufnik. Notes to *Sinfonia Votiva*. Music by Andrzej Panufnik. Cond. Seiji Ozawa, Boston Symphony Orchestra. 28th January 1982: Boston. [Written 15 August 1981]. p.31

³⁹⁹Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.141

Stasiak points out that the combination of consonant and dissonant intervals found in the *Alpha Cell* is not singular to Panufnik:

“The combination is not exclusive to Panufnik (even as the labelling might imply); it is characteristic of much twentieth-century music, including Bartok, Schönberg, Webern and Messiaen, containing as it does a useful mixture of the stable and the unstable.”⁴⁰⁰

This shows that, while Panufnik’s musical style and compositional technique may not stem directly from any particular school of musical development, he did draw on elements from music he had studied in Warsaw and Vienna.⁴⁰¹

In reference to the first part of this section, Panufnik’s use of the cell in the *Universal Prayer* is much more direct and systematic than in his previous compositions. This can be seen in the sketches of the cell used by Panufnik to formulate the content of the composition, where both the harmonic (vertical) possibilities (see figure 55) and the melodic (horizontal) possibilities are devised from the *Alpha Cell* (see figure 56).

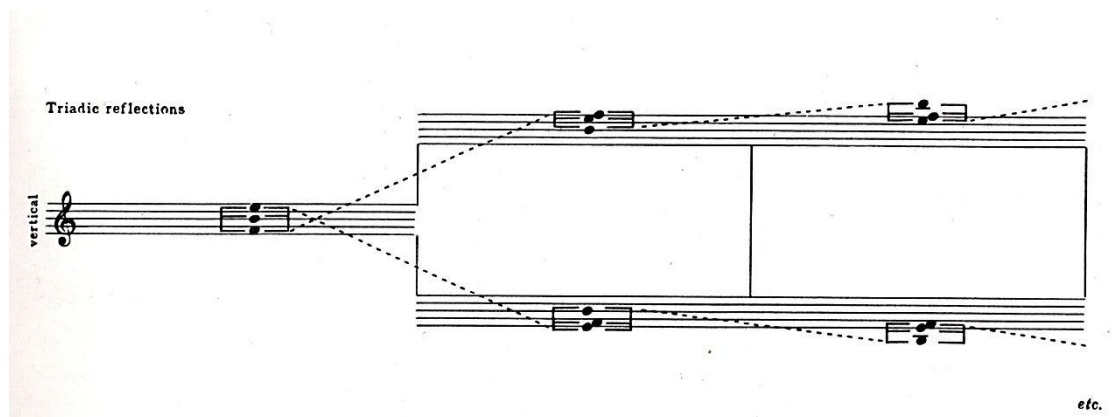


Figure 55: Universal Prayer (Harmonic Reflection)

A sketch of the vertical (harmonic) reflections of the cell, written by Panufnik and published with the program notes to the Unicorn LP recording of the *Universal Prayer* in 1971.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰Ibid. p.140

⁴⁰¹Panufnik noted in his autobiography, *Composing Myself*. pp.72-73, that he paid particular attention to the music of Schönberg, Berg, and Webern while he studied in Vienna. The musical techniques used by these composers did not appeal greatly to Panufnik however he does show a degree of appreciation for their respective techniques, at least on an intellectual level.

⁴⁰²Andrzej Panufnik. Notes to *Universal Prayer*. Music by Panufnik, Andrzej. April Cantelo (soprano) Cond. Leopold Stokowski, Helen Watts (alto), John Mitchinson (tenor), Roger Stalman (bass), the Louis Halsey Singers, David Watkins (harp), Maria Korchinska (harp), Tina Bonifacio (harp). LP. Unicorn. (Written 1971).

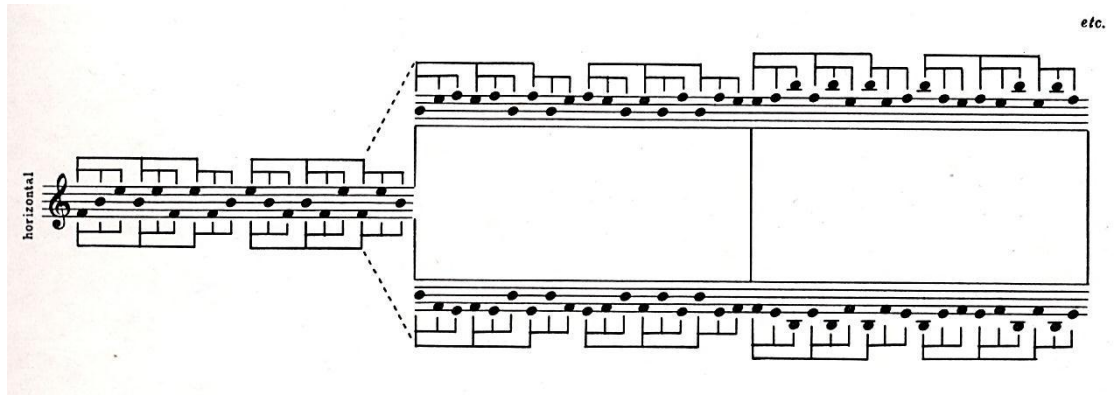


Figure 56: Universal Prayer (Melodic Reflection)

A sketch of the horizontal (melodic) reflections of the cell, written by Panufnik and published with the program notes to the Unicorn LP recording of the *Universal Prayer* in 1971.⁴⁰³

The opening passage of the work, scored for organ and choir, provides an example of the increasingly systematic approach to the use of the cell, see figure 57. This example contains a held B (found in the chorus part and the organ pedal marking) and two separate lines created by the *Alpha Cell* in the organ part. Both the upper and lower organ parts are made up of vertical arrangements of the cell presented in twelve-cell sets, which contains all twelve of the possible transpositions of the *Alfa Cell*. This is then followed by an incomplete version of the same twelve-cell set where only nine cells are used.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

The musical score for the opening phrase of the Universal Prayer features the following elements:

- Women:** Part marked *senza misura* and *ff (shout)*.
- Chorus:** Vocal line with lyrics "Father of All!" and "(repeat ad lib.)".
- Men:** Part marked *ff (shout)*.
- Organ:** Part marked *c.84, sempre rubato* and *ff*. Includes registrations $[8' 4' 2']$ and $[8' 16' 32']$.
- Pedal:** Part marked *ff*.
- Chorus (M. and W.):** Part marked *(sempre ff)*.
- Organ:** Part marked *(poco allarg.)*.

Figure 57: Universal Prayer (Opening Phrase)

The opening phrases of the *Universal Prayer*, featuring the choir and organ.

The twelve-cell set can be divided into subsets of three cells in length, which when represented in closed position, are separated only by major or minor thirds. This is shown in figure 58, which represents the division of the twelve-cell set into subsets.

The subset is also bound by the rotation of the aforementioned three chord positions, as each subset contains one cell in the closed position, one cell in the first inversion, and one cell in second inversion, as can be seen in figure 57. Interestingly, the first cell of a subset is almost always represented in the second inversion.



Figure 58: Universal Prayer (Twelve-cell set – Upper Organ)

An extrapolation of the upper organ part from the beginning of the *Universal Prayer*, which represents the division of the twelve-cell set into subsets (broken up by bar lines). All of the cells are represented in closed position and the interval of transposition noted for the first half of this example.

The systematic use of the cells does not stop there however, as the two organ lines relate very clearly to each other within each subset as they play the same three cells in the same positions but in different orders, as can be seen in figure 59, which shows the re-ordering within the first twelve-cell set.



Figure 59: Universal Prayer (Twelve-cell set – Upper and Lower Organ)

An extrapolation of the opening twelve-cell set in both the upper and lower organ part of the *Universal Prayer* in the opening bars, which shows the relationship between the position (closed position, first inversion, and second inversion) of the cell between each part.

In amongst this rather ridged pitch system, Panufnik does allow himself the freedom to repeat the same cell as many times as he wishes. An example of this can be found in the three harp parts at RM.3, where the same cell in the same position is transposed by octaves for the first 4 bars before the cell is transposed by a minor third in the sixth bar and the positions changed. This can be seen in figure 60 – the extrapolation of the three harp parts from RM.3 to RM.4. Figure 60 also shows that this part of the *Universal Prayer* does not contain the full twelve-cell set, but is instead made up of only 4 cells from the set, which are represented in a symmetrical manner with the axis at bar 10.

The image shows a musical score for three harps (Harp I, Harp II, Harp III) in 4/4 time. The score is divided into two sections: bars 1-4 and bars 6-17. A bracket labeled "The Same Cell" spans bars 1-4 across all three harps. A vertical line labeled "Axis Point" is positioned between bar 4 and bar 6. The notation includes various accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and chordal structures.

Figure 60: Universal Prayer (Harmonic Reduction – Harp)

An extrapolation and harmonic reduction of the three harp parts from RM 3 to RM 4, with bars marked above.

The cell is used to form the melody of the work by a simple linear ordering of each of the three notes within the cell. The six possible permutations of the notes and their transpositions, were set out by Panufnik himself (figure 56). This resulted in the use of four possible intervals in the melody: minor second, perfect fourth, perfect fifth and, tritone. Taking the tenor solo one bar after RM.5 as an example, it can be seen that within a transposition of a cell, only the three notes of that cell are used and no other intervals can be found (figure 61 and 62). Although, like in *Sinfonia Sacra*, the stacking of the intervals discussed above in a vertical plain results in the creation of other larger intervals, for example in first bar of figure 61. This stacking results in the creation of a major third, over the space of an octave, between the F flat – played by the first harp, and the A flat – sung by the tenor soloist.

The musical score is divided into two main sections. The first section begins with a tenor solo in 4/4 time, marked *pp* (pianissimo), with lyrics: "Yet gave me, in this dark E - state, To". The tempo changes to 5/4, then back to 4/4, and finally to 5/4. The harp accompaniment consists of three parts: one near the sounding board (marked *p*), one in the middle of the instrument (marked *p*), and one at the bottom (marked *p*). The second section starts with a tenor solo in 3/4 time, marked *f* (forte), with lyrics: "see the Good from Ill. And bind - ing Na - ture". The tempo changes to 4/4. The harp accompaniment continues with three parts, including a *sim.* (simile) marking in the middle part.

Figure 61: Universal Prayer (Tenor Solo)

The tenor solo accompanied by the three harp parts one bar after RM 5.

The image shows a musical score for a tenor solo with three harp accompaniment parts. The score is split into two systems. The first system has a tenor line with lyrics "fast in Fate, Left free the Human" and three harp parts. The time signatures are 6/4, 3/4, and 4/4. The second system has a tenor line with the lyric "Will." and three harp parts. The time signatures are 5/4 and 3/4. The harp parts include the instruction "All Harps: molto accel. e cresc." and "ord.".

Figure 62: Universal Prayer (Tenor Solo 2)

The second page of the tenor solo accompanied by the three harp parts one bar after RM 5.

When the harp parts are transposed to a new cell, by a minor or major third, the tenor part also moves by the same interval. It is this transposition of the cell that gives the necessary directional movement to the melodic line, as without this the work

would quickly become stagnant and non-directional. This removes the need for extra intervals to be added to the melodic line, as had been the case in Panufnik's previous compositions. Due to the constraints of this study, only a relatively brief exploration of the note cell technique has been undertaken. It is however, clear from this examination that this technique is more systemized than previously, and is of greater importance to Panufnik's compositional style.

8.2.2. Emotionalism

The emotionalism of Panufnik's works is most clearly explained by Panufnik himself. His program notes for the *Universal Prayer* contain the following words in this regard:

"For some years I had had in mind a very deep wish to compose a prayer to the God of religions – to the 'Father of All' religions and races – in which the spiritual content might help to unite the feelings of all people, now so tragically divided in this disturbed world. When reading through the works of Alexander Pope, at last I felt I had found the perfect text in his *Universal Prayer*, which, although written over two hundred and fifty years ago, struck me with its vitality and strength of its meaning to us now."⁴⁰⁴

It is apparent that Panufnik saw Pope's 18th century poem (see Appendix V), as a means to express his desire to unite the world. The poem frequently alludes to the equality of all people under the same god, 'Father of All':

"Father of All! in every Age,
In every Clime ador'd.
By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!"⁴⁰⁵

This ideal is embodied particularly in the first phrase of the poem, 'Father of All', which Panufnik not only mentions in his own program notes, but gives pride of place within the work itself. He achieves this by having the massed chorus sing only those words on a B natural for the entire work. Examples of this can be found at RM.1 (figure 57), but also at RM.8, 12, 14, 18, 22, 26 and 27. Moreover, the work both begins and ends with

⁴⁰⁴Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.44

⁴⁰⁵Alexander Pope. "Moral Essay: Universal Prayer Opt. Max." in *The Complete Poetical Works of Alexander Pope* 1738. Ed. Henry W. Boynton. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1903. p.1

this same phrase, giving it more gravitas. Additionally, each individual chorus member is given complete rhythmic freedom. The varying rhythm achieved through that, represents the ideal of different people united (through the consistent pitch and text) in a call to a just God – God-of-all equally. An example of this can be found in the opening phrases of the work (see figure 57). Panufnik further cements this idea in his notes to the score by stating the following:

“As regards the chorus, all singers have to choose freely the rhythm in which to sing the three words ‘Father of All’, so as to retain their independence from one another and make themselves heard as individuals. Therefore it is highly recommended that wherever feasible the members of the chorus should not be placed close together, but well scattered in the church or concert hall.”⁴⁰⁶

Moreover, the performers’ freedom, discussed above, provides the performers with inimitable possibility to express their personal emotions in relation to the words.

Finally, there is also a number of further emotional aspects, which stem from Panufnik’s treatment of the chorus part in various sections of the work. For example: the first chorus entry, (figure 57) is marked *fortissimo* and is also given a marking telling the chorus to shout. This is to represent people’s attempt to draw God’s attention.⁴⁰⁷ The conclusion of the work sees the chorus and the four soloists unite for the first time in singing the recurring ‘Father of All’ phrase to a notated rhythm (see figure 63). Therefore, the concluding bars represent people’s final unification and expression of trust in the just, common God.

⁴⁰⁶ Andrzej Panufnik. *Universal Prayer*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1973. p.1

⁴⁰⁷ Panufnik makes note of this idea in a letter to Leopold Stokowski: Letter from Andrzej Panufnik to Leopold Stokowski. 14 April 1970. (Twickenham: Panufnik Archives).

3
4 **Broadly** (♩ = c. 56)

Tutti *fff*

S. Solo
C. Solo
T. Solo
B. Solo

Fa - ther - of

Harp I
Harp II
Harp III

27

W.
M.

Chorus

Organ

Tutti *fff*

The image shows a page of a musical score for the finale of 'Universal Prayer'. It is in 3/4 time, marked 'Broadly' with a tempo of approximately 56 beats per minute. The score includes parts for Soprano, Contralto, Tenor, and Bass soloists, who sing the words 'Fa - ther - of'. There are also parts for three harps (I, II, and III) and an organ. The organ part is marked 'Full 3/4'. The choir part is also in 3/4 time. The score is marked 'Tutti fff' (fortissimo) throughout. A rehearsal mark '27' is placed above the organ part. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Figure 63: Universal Prayer (Finale)

The final bars of the *Universal Prayer* where the soloists and choir unite singing a notated rhythm with accompanying phrases by the organ and three harps.

8.2.3. The Importance of Chords

The *Universal Prayer*, for all the importance placed on the very systematic note-cell technique, continues to place much importance of chords or chord type structures. Indeed the harmonic structures or chords, which are formed by the note cell, tend to operate on relatively traditional harmonic practices. The vertical representation of the cell always takes one of three positions, as discussed in the 'Note Cell' sub-heading: closed position, first inversion, or second inversion (figure 56).

The shifting of notes from the bottom to the top, to achieve note cell inversions, is very similar to the classical manner of chord positioning. Another example of such a connection can be found in the harmonic progressions of the cells, which are very similar to more conventional harmonic progressions, i.e. cadence type movement. Furthermore, the clear melody-accompaniment duality, which pervades the vast majority of the work, is another reference to a chord-based system of harmonic structures. An example of this can be found in all of the vocal soloist sections, where the melody is carried by the solo voice accompanied by the three harps. All of this is still achieved through the use of the cell and the same set of structural rules to produce these parts, as described in the 'Note Cell' sub-heading (see figure 64).

The image displays a musical score for a section of 'Universal Prayer'. It is organized into two systems of staves. The first system includes a Tenor Soloist (T. Solo) and a Soprano Soloist (S. Solo) at the top, with three Harps (Harp I, Harp II, Harp III) below. The Tenor Soloist's part has lyrics 'Good - ness let me' and a fermata over the final note. The Soprano Soloist's part has lyrics 'Or think Thee' and a fermata over the final note. Harp I features arpeggiated figures with '8' markings, while Harp II and Harp III have more rhythmic accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal parts with lyrics 'bound;' and 'Or think Thee'. Harp I is marked 'loco' and continues with arpeggiated figures. The score is written in a key with one flat and a 2/4 time signature.

Figure 64: Universal Prayer (Duality of Accompaniment and Melody)

An example of the melody/accompaniment duality which is found in much of the *Universal Prayer*. This example come from 8 bars after RM.11 and is performed by the tenor soloist, soprano soloist and three harps.

8.2.4. Mixed Tonality

Unlike Panufnik's previous works, there is no use of the major-minor chord in this composition, nor is there any sense of mixed tonality, beyond the one that is briefly caused by the cell.

8.2.5. Chromatic Movement

Much like in *Sinfonia Sacra*, the chromatic movement in the *Universal Prayer* comes as a result of other activity: in this case the cell and its structural rules. Therefore, the chromatic movement is not used to direct further development of the melody or harmony, as it had in some of Panufnik's earlier works, such as the *Tragic Overture*.

8.2.6. Layering

Once again, layering plays no prominent part in the musical material of the *Universal Prayer*. Similarly to *Sinfonia Sacra*, there is usually a clear separation between the melodic and accompanying lines. This division is not achieved however, through two separate layers, but is accomplished by the vertical use of the cell, to create the accompanying line instead; while horizontal use of the cell is to create the melodic line.

Ultimately, the *Universal Prayer* does not require layering, like that of the *Tragic Overture*. The transposition of the cell (usually made up of major and minor thirds) prevents the cell-induced movement from becoming stagnant and uninteresting.

8.2.7. Thematic Development

Thematic development is one of the cornerstones of Panufnik's style across his oeuvre; it is found in all of the discussed works. The *Universal Prayer* is thematically developed, as its only real motif (the cell) is rigorously used to create all of the music material. Nevertheless, the *Universal Prayer* seems to lack any kind of linear journey through time, as the rigid cell system often results in perception of regression rather than development.

The work's overall structure is separated into several small sections, as seen in Panufnik's own diagram, which show the blocks representing the individual sections in

figure 64. Stasiak provides another example of how the *Universal Prayer* is made up of static structures rather than a linear movement. During the examination of the work's structural synopsis, it becomes apparent that the music is most often narrative, rather than transitional in nature, as Stasiak points out:

“The predominance of the narrative type of music suggests that the articulation of structure at this early stage is not achieved through formal function, but primarily through the juxtaposition of static ‘blocks’ of music.”⁴⁰⁸

8.2.8. Symmetry and Structural Designs

In *Sinfonia Sacra* Panufnik for the first time used symmetry plentifully, as detailed in the previous chapter. In the *Universal Prayer* Panufnik takes this a step further using a symmetrical structure to underpin the entire work. In his program notes Panufnik points out:

“Composing my *Universal Prayer* I designed a symmetrical framework, building up a structure in which the first stanza corresponds with the thirteenth (last) one, the second stanza with the twelfth, the third with the eleventh, and so on – coming to the centre of the work, the axis, the seventh stanza, where in contrast to the humility and the quiet condemnation of hypocrisy through-out the rest of the poem, Pope openly uses his serrated blade of irony to strike out against fanaticism.

The stanzas of the poem, sung by the four soloists, are divided by short interludes, sometimes instrumental only, sometimes including the chorus. These interludes are also symmetrically arranged, and additionally a great number of other internal symmetric patterns are to be found within the whole symmetric framework.”⁴⁰⁹

Prior to composition, Panufnik detailed the structure and form of the work in a chart, as seen below in figure 65. This chart shows how symmetry exists, not only in the aspect of form, but also as a result the dynamic markings, instrumentation, and tempo.

⁴⁰⁸Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.250

⁴⁰⁹Panufnik, *Andrzej Panufnik: Biography, List of Works, Discography, Articles, Notes on All Compositions in Chronological Order*. p.44

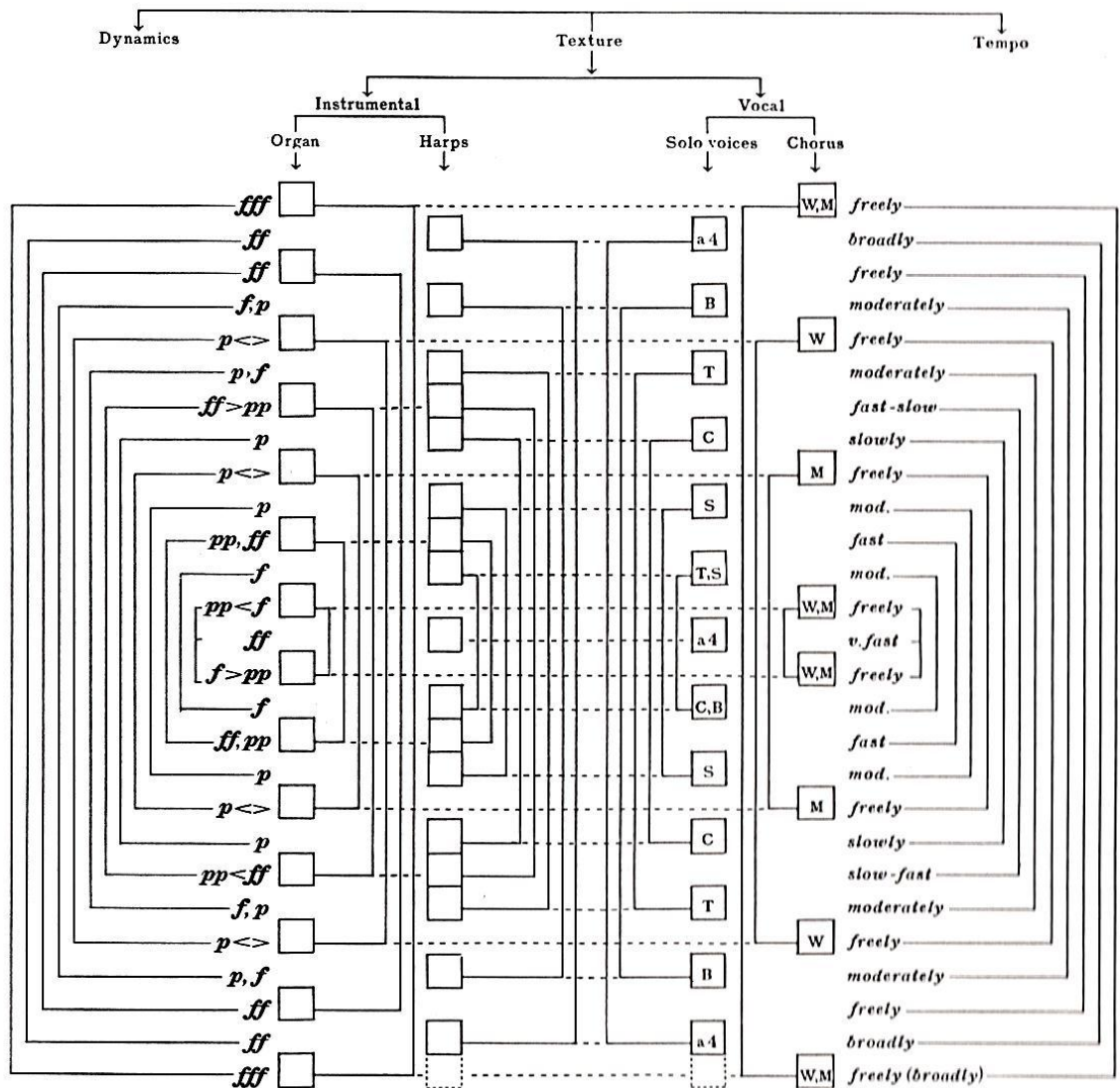


Figure 65: Universal Prayer (Structure)

The diagram drawn by Panufnik to represent the structure of the *Universal Prayer*.⁴¹⁰

An example of this can be found when comparing RM.6 to its symmetrical counterpoint – RM.20. At RM.6, a dialogue between the organ and harp parts, moves from *fortissimo* to *pianissimo* with a gradual *rallentando* and is mirrored completely at RM.20, where the organ and harps play *pianissimo* to *fortissimo* and with gradual acceleration.

⁴¹⁰Panufnik. Notes to *Universal Prayer*. p.2

Furthermore, in a letter to Leopold Stokowski, from the 14th of April 1970, Panufnik details each rehearsal marking showing how even his intentions behind each stanza are symmetrical.⁴¹¹ He writes about the RM.5 and RM.21 (RM.5's symmetrical counterpoint):

“No. 5 – Very rhythmical. The tenor sings in ‘hopeful’ and ‘comforted’ expression, working up to a climax, supported throughout by the harps, who then continue for another five bars.”⁴¹²

“No 21 – see No. 5. But the tenor solo finishes his part very quietly and with much expression.”⁴¹³

Panufnik also argues that he was inspired to use a symmetrical structure by the poem:

“The construction of the cantata was imposed on me by the classical form of the poem. Alexander Pope himself had written that ‘Order is Heav’n’s first law’, a remark which brought me tremendous satisfaction, echoing as it did my own sentiment regarding any viable work of art.”⁴¹⁴

This does seem to be the case, given that each stanza is broken up into its own section, as shown below in figure 65, which details the beginning and concluding point of each stanza. The repetition is a common feature of the majority prayers, not only in Catholicism, but also in other religions like i.e. Islam or Hinduism, to create a sort of ‘mantric state’ of ritualism. Pope’s poem resembles this type of prayer with its repeated phrases and ordered structure; therefore, it is not surprising that Panufnik’s setting of the poem achieve this sense of ritualism through the works symmetrical structure and repetition.

⁴¹¹Letter from Panufnik Letter to Leopold Stokowski. 14 April 1970.

⁴¹²Ibid. p.2

⁴¹³Ibid. p.3

⁴¹⁴Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.313

Stanza:	Begins at:	Concludes at:
1	RM 1	RM 2
2	RM 3	RM 4
3	RM 5	RM 6
4	RM 7	RM 8
5	RM 9	RM 10
6	RM 11	RM 12
7	RM 13	RM 14
8	RM 15	RM 16
9	RM 17	RM 18
10	RM 19	RM 20
11	RM 21	RM 22
12	RM 23	RM 24
13	RM 25	RM 26

Figure 66: Universal Prayer (Position of Stanzas)

A Chart, which contains the beginning and concluding point of each stanza of Pope's poem in Panufnik's *Universal Prayer*.

Symmetry in the aspect of form is the most obvious one present in the *Universal Prayer*; however, it is not the only version of symmetry found in this work. Mirror symmetry in phrases can be found in the cell progressions played by the harps from RM.3 to RM.4. For extrapolation of this progression see figure 59. Transposition symmetry also appears regularly, as the cell is frequently transposed in its entirety (as discussed in the sub-heading 'The Note Cell').

Furthermore, there is also a large degree of rhythmic symmetry found in this work. An example of this can be found in the upper organ part at RM 8 (figure 67), where the rhythmic values are progressively shortened until a central axis point is reached. Following this, the reverse occurs, as the rhythmic values are now progressively lengthened, mirroring previous shortening of rhythmic values, this can be seen in the figure 67 below.

Figure 67: Universal Prayer (Rhythmic Symmetry)

An example of rhythmic symmetry found in the upper Organ part at RM.8.

Stasiak probably sums up Panufnik’s use of symmetry in the *Universal Prayer* best:

“Symmetrical structures determine not only the outer structure but the fundamental layout of all the individual sections. The symmetrical backbone within each section is provided by the pitch scheme which reverses exactly around a central point, and the other elements of any given section are subject to one or both of the reversals.”⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.252

8.2.9. Rhythmic Modules

Stasiak defines the term rhythmic module as: “a discrete rhythmic grouping of fixed duration or fixed definition, which is subject to a repetitive process.”⁴¹⁶ While similar repeated rhythmic figures have been used in Panufnik’s previous works (*Sinfonia Sacra*), the technique in the *Universal Prayer* is far more developed, systematic and directly connected to the note cell, and thus, it will be labelled as rhythmic modules. The rhythmic freedom in Panufnik’s previous works is here replaced by a rhythmic system, which acts in much the same way as his note cell technique. Short rhythmic modules are formed and extended, repeated and transformed, to form all of the work’s rhythmic material. A rhythmic module is usually directly associated with a particular representation of the note cell and any change in the rhythmic material is brought by changes in the presentation of the note cell.⁴¹⁷ The beginning of a new representation, or order of the twelve-cell set for example, often results in a rhythmic ingredient changing from one pattern to the next. Additionally, the beginning of a new section within the prayer often sees a new presentation of the cell and a new rhythmic module.⁴¹⁸

There are a number of modules that can be identified in the *Universal Prayer*, all of which are paired exactly with one presentation of the three-note cell. These modules often have one or two variants, which allow for greater rhythmic variety. Two of the principal modules found in the *Universal Prayer* are detailed below:

Module 1: A module found in one form: dotted quaver, quaver, semiquaver. An example of this module can be found in the organ part at RM.6 (figure 68).

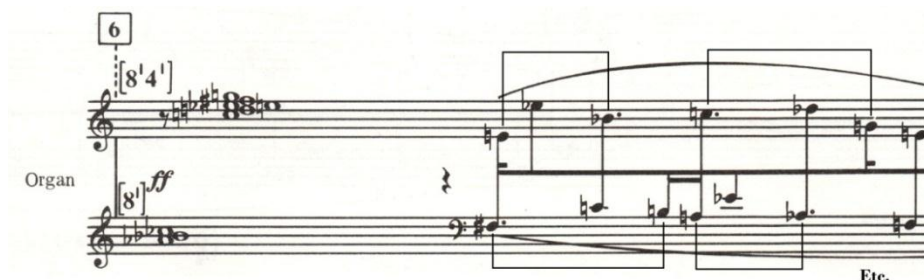


Figure 68: *Universal Prayer* (Module 1)

An example of module 1 found in the organ part at RM. 6.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid. p.197

⁴¹⁷ Both Stasiak and Siemdaj note similar relationships between the rhythmic modules and the note cells in Panufnik’s post 1968 compositions.

⁴¹⁸ Each section of the *Universal Prayer* is shown with a new rehearsal marking in the score.

Module 2: This module is possibly the most common module found in the *Universal Prayer* and is also presented in only one form: minim, dotted crotchet, and crotchet. An example of this module can be found in the organ part at RM.10 (figure 69).

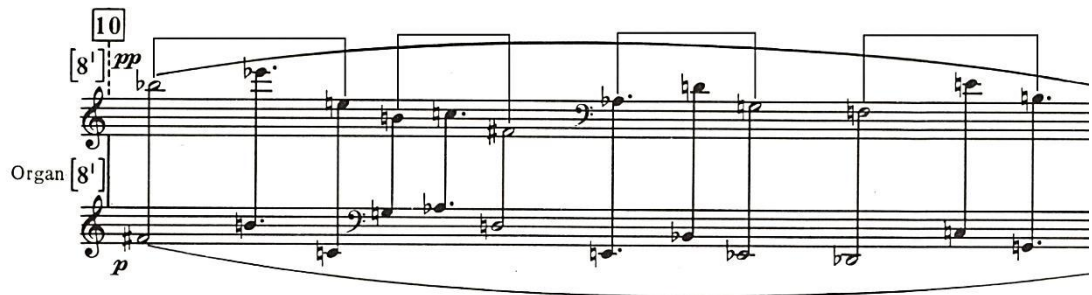


Figure 69: *Universal Prayer* (Module 2)

An example of module 2 found in the organ part at RM 10.

In the *Universal Prayer* these modules are generally represented in their original forms; however, in some other compositions from this period the module can be re-written in a slightly varying way. Module 1, for example, can be represented in two other forms, as shown in figure 70. Importantly the resulting duration of the module remains the same - always 3 quavers.

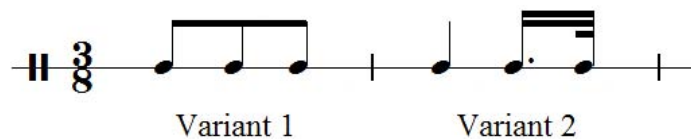


Figure 70: *Universal Prayer* (Two variants of module 1)

The main way in which these modules are then extended during the work is repetition, although other processes are used often due to the requirements of the pitch system and to prevent the pitch movements becoming too monotonous. In the same way that the cell and the cell's position are altered in every subset, the rhythmic module undergoes a rotation of note values (figure 59). Figure 71 provides an extrapolation of this system, which shows that the module is played and then represented as a mirror image of itself. This is done by moving the first value progressively to the end of the module. After this, two of the values are exchanged, creating a new position, which then undergoes the same rotation of the first value.

Axis

Etc.

Figure 71: Universal Prayer (System of Extension)

An extrapolation of the system of extension of the rhythmic module used in the *Universal Prayer*.

The full sequence, as described above, with the exception of the dotted quaver in the fifth line, is found in the organ part at RM.12 and is shown below in figure 72 and 73.

12

* Organ

[2']

pp

[2']

Organ

[2'4']

Organ

[2'4']

ppp (whisper)

W.

Chorus

M.

unpitched

Father of All, (repeat ad lib.)

Organ

p

Figure 72: Universal Prayer (Rhythmic Modules Extension)

The full sequence of rhythmic module extension as found from RM.12 in the Universal Prayer, part 2.

8.2.10. Additive or Reductive Rhythmic Attack Techniques

Additive rhythmic techniques, as used in *Sinfonia Sacra*, are also found in the *Universal Prayer* in the same form. An example of the additive rhythmic technique can be found in the organ part at RM.8 (figure 73). In this case, the technique is initially regressive, with the progressive shortening of the rhythmic values until a point of reversal, when the rhythmic values are then increased at the same rate.

The musical score for Figure 73 consists of three systems. The first system features the Organ part (Pedal or Manual) in 4/16 time, marked '8 senza misura', 'poco legato', and 'p espr.'. The Chorus M. part is marked 'pp a2' and 'a4'. The second system shows the Organ part with 'sempre rubato' and the Chorus M. part with the text 'Fa-ther of all...'. The third system shows the Organ part with 'Axis' and the Chorus M. part with 'a6', 'a8', 'a10', 'a12', and 'a10' markings. The organ part is marked 'poco'.

Figure 73: Universal Prayer (Additive Rhythms)

An example of the additive rhythmic technique found in the upper organ part at RM.8.

8.2.11. Limited Aleatorism

In the article: 'Panufnik's *musica mensuralis*. The Problem of Isorhythmic and Metrical Organization of Music Time', Alicja Jarzębska notes that Panufnik's music post 1968 is a combination of two fundamental principles. She defines them in the following terms:

“One of the fundamental principles in Panufnik’s music which he used to form his clearly-defined, extended structures of ‘music-building’ material is contrast between (1) a sequence of notes with regular or variable accents and (2) a sequence of notes without metrical accents but with a freely chosen duration of rests between the notes (i.e. *senza misura*).”⁴¹⁹

The second option, “a sequence of notes without metrical accents, but with a freely chosen duration of rests between the notes”,⁴²⁰ has been labelled by other musicologists, such as Bolesławska, as an example of aleatory music.⁴²¹ Aleatory music is a fairly generalized term, although it could be applied to the *Universal Prayer*, for the purposes of clarity the term ‘limited aleatorism’⁴²² will be used in this specific instance.

The two rhythmic principles identified by Jarzębska are used together for the first time in Panufnik’s *Universal Prayer*. Jarzębska details them in these words:

“Universal Prayer provides an example of structure created according to this principle of contrast. Its form is generated by a hierarchic montage of 45 sections, 23 of which have metrical accents while 22 are marked *senza misura*.”⁴²³

Furthermore, these rhythmic principles are placed in clearly separated sections: the *senza misura* sections always performed by the organ, while the sections with metrical accents are performed by the harps and the soloists. Panufnik himself points this separation out:

“This work is composed on two distinctive plans: Plan I – solo voices and harps – has precise indication of rhythm; Plan II – organ and chorus – is written *senza misura* with no indication of rhythm.”⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹Jarzębska, "Panufnik’s Musica Mensuralis. The Problem of Isorhythmic and Metrical Organization of Musical Time." p.116

⁴²⁰ibid. p.116

⁴²¹The term aleatory comes from the Latin word *alea*, which means ‘dice’ and by this association implies a type of music which has an element of chance. Arnold Whittall in the Oxford Companion to Music defines aleatory music as: “[...] a reaction against the impossibly precise and strict notational conventions of post-war avant-garde composition, in favour of allowing an element of freedom of choice for interpreters of compositional texts. This might involve varying the order of precisely notated events, or, more radically, determining the contents of events themselves in the light of new notational practices which avoided specifying every detail of pitch, rhythm, and dynamic [...]” Arnold Whittall. “Aleatory Music.” *The Oxford Companion to Music*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>. (Viewed; 20 September 2013).

⁴²²This term was used by Witold Lutosławski to describe his own music of this kind, as cited in Steven Stucky. *Lutosławski and His Music*. Cambridge: CUP, 1981. p.109

⁴²³Jarzębska, "Panufnik’s Musica Mensuralis. The Problem of Isorhythmic and Metrical Organization of Musical Time." p.116

⁴²⁴Panufnik. *Universal Prayer*. p.1

In order to make these ideas clear to the performers, Panufnik engages in a number of writing techniques. Firstly, in the movements marked *senza misura* the quasi-melodic phrases are often divided by rests of unspecified rhythmic values – marked as *fermata*, or with an apostrophe symbolizing a ‘breath’. Secondly, the organ part was originally noted with diamond/rectangular headed notes, in order to provide a visual distinction between the more rhythmically free music and the music of strict duration. In a note to his publishers Panufnik explained his reasoning:

“The rectangular notes indicate for the organist suggested (this is underlined) values (minum = 42, crotchet = 84, quaver = 168), and the actual length of the notes will be decided by the organist during (underlined) each performance with a sense of feeling and spontaneity, very freely, *sempre rubato*, through-out the whole work (except the last few bars).”⁴²⁵

The chorus is given the most rhythmic freedom with no notated music, not even a suggested rhythmic pattern, like in the organ part, until the final bars of the work.

8.3 The Universal Prayer and Siemdaj’s Rules of Shaping

All of Siemdaj’s three ‘Rules of shaping’ can be found in this composition. Panufnik’s use of ‘Constructivism’ in the *Universal Prayer* is present principally in the shaping of sound, as the entire work is based on a pre-determined note cell, as discussed in the ‘The Note Cell’ sub-heading. ‘Constructivism’ is also present in the form as a whole, as the work’s dynamics, tempo, etc. are all pre-determined by the strict symmetrical structure, (figure 64) as discussed in the ‘Symmetry and Structural Designs’ sub-heading. Stasiak also notes that the emotional ideas, which are associated with the *Universal Prayer*, exhibit a degree of ‘Constructivism’, as they come from the pre-compositional ideas of the piece:

“These [the pre-compositional ideas] range from mystical, philosophical, intellectual and technical ideas, to the ideal of ‘peace’ or the aspiration of ‘hope’. Where an idea is not initially a technical one, it is given certain technical attributes which can be used in the music.”⁴²⁶

The ‘Final Directional Musical Process’ found in the *Universal Prayer*, is due to the symmetrical structure of the work and thus, is achieved differently to previous

⁴²⁵Panufnik, *Universal Prayer*. p.3

⁴²⁶Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.231

compositions. Nevertheless, the work is characterised by a syntactic climax, which is reached through the use of thematic and musical material. This is driven by the symmetrical structure of the work, as it denotes when each piece of musical material will be played. The listener, being already aware of what musical material comes next, is drawn to listen for the work's first part, which will signal the climax of the work and its conclusion. When the first piece of musical material returns in the final bars of the work, the dynamic level and the number of players increases, which seem to represent an agogic, volume-related, statistical climax.

The 'Dialectics of two Clashing Elements' in the case of the *Universal Prayer*, does not appear in the same way as in Panufnik's previous compositions. In this case the two separate Plans, while not played together, act as the Clashing Elements. The Plan I is precisely notated and has a clear melody and accompanying parts. The Plan II is in direct contrast to it, as limited aleatorism is found, no real rhythmic indications are given, and the division between melody and accompaniment is not as clear.

8.4 The Universal Prayer and Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics'

'Unity' is the easiest 'Formulated Aesthetics' to be identified in the *Universal Prayer*. It is achieved through the use of a number of strict techniques to produce a note cell, and a few select rhythmic modules which are the basis of the entire work. The 'Economy of Means' is also achieved through the use of the note cell and rhythmic modules. As a result of the increased limitations of the cells and the lack of extra musical material, a sense of an 'Economy of Means' is even more prevalent.

'Emotionalism' can be found, only sparingly, as discussed in the Emotionalism sub-heading. The note cell system replaces the use of 'Classical Music Values in Harmony', although classical values are used to aid in the construction of the note cell systems. Moreover, the 'Balance Between Form and Content' is also less obvious in this composition. Panufnik does seem to try and balance the strict system of composition (note cell, symmetrical structure, etc.), which places importance on form, by providing the chorus and organ with a great deal of freedom, as discussed in the 'Limited Aleatorism' sub-heading, and hence allow the content to pierce through.

The note cell, rhythmic modules, and the structure of the work are also hallmarks of Panufnik's drive to achieve Individuality, as these systems of composition are not found in works of other composers during this period. It could be observed that, while Panufnik's compositional systems share a number of principles with the twelve-tone method, Panufnik attempts to treat all twelve transpositions of his cell equally within his system. The comparison stops here, because Panufnik's method is concerned with cells rather than individual pitches and allows greater manipulation of the components than in the twelve-tone system. Furthermore, Panufnik's techniques result in a set of constructed rules, which predetermine the vast majority of the work's melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic material, while the twelve-tone system is usually concerned only with the linear melodic-based.

8.5 The Universal Prayer and Polskość

The *Universal Prayer*, unlike the previous works discussed, does not have any direct connection to Poland. The work was not commissioned by a Polish organisation, was dedicated to Panufnik's wife, and the poem was written by a British poet. The musical material was also devoid of Polish patriotic songs or folk tunes. Additionally, the compositional techniques used in the work do not emulate those of his Polish contemporaries (Witold Lutosławski, Krzysztof Penderecki, Henryk Górecki, and Kazimierz Serocki) who had embraced the more avant-garde style. All of these factors would seem to point towards a trend away from Polskość in his music. Panufnik himself noted this trend in his autobiography on several occasions, asserting:

"Now, inevitably, my ties with my native country were becoming less binding. I realised that even if I wished I would no longer be able to continue producing works like my *Polonia Suite*, *Rhapsody*, *Sinfonia Sacra* or *Katyń Epitaph*. Though written since my escape, they had still been dominated in their musical content by my innate Polishness. While in no way rejecting my past heritage, nor the works I had composed under its influence, I knew also that if I continued to rely on similar musical material, still drawing on the haunting echoes of Polish folk music, the result would be artistic stagnation."⁴²⁷

Despite the composer's own account, there are a few elements of the work, which one might argue, show a degree of connection to his Polish roots. Firstly, this

⁴²⁷Panufnik, *Composing Myself*. p.309

was Panufnik's most directly religious work so far and it was composed just after large religious works emerged once again into Polish musical life with the premiere of Penderecki's *St Luke Passion* in March 1966.

Secondly, the limited aleatorism, which Panufnik uses, (as distinct from the wide spread use of indeterminacy at this time – a very different approach altogether) can be argued to show a Polish connection, as forms of aleatory music were common in the music of Panufnik's Polish contemporaries, for example, Lutosławski's *Symphony no. 2* composed in 1965-1967. Furthermore, the use of aleatorism could be considered as a political metaphor in relation to communist control and censorship. The more traditional compositional style (non-aleatory) is 'suppressing' the individuality of a performer, while aleatory music is emancipating the individual member of the orchestra and relaxing control, hence providing a sense of freedom of expression.

Stasiak argues that there is a degree of *Polskość* in the note cell system itself as it was a reaction against the new, more avant-garde music which was coming out of Poland after the 1956 cultural thaw. Stasiak states:

“As it is, there is a good case for arguing that the introduction of the cell system was in part a response to developments in Poland. Of course, a tendency towards a systematic approach was already present in a number of areas of Panufnik's music, including pitch, but the actual musical language built up through the α -cell system, seems to have been a direct response to the new Polish music.”⁴²⁸

This may indeed have been the case given that Panufnik had moved towards compositions based on chords from the late 1940s until this point and had not engaged in the use of sonorism, as many Polish composers had after the cultural thaw of 1956. Furthermore, his compositions in the late 1970s and 1980s seem to react against this system and return to a greater use chords. Thus, it seems entirely plausible that the increased systemization of his compositional techniques and the decreasing use of conventional harmony was driven by the events in Poland.

Ultimately, the work shows only minor, if any, connections with Poland, which is a notable departure from his previous works that contain a high degree of *Polskość*. Moreover, the minor connections, which can be attributed to the piece, seem to be a

⁴²⁸Stasiak, *An Analytical Study of the Music of Andrzej Panufnik*. p.271

reaction to ongoing control exerted by the communist regime in Poland and the desire for freedom.

8.6 The Universal Prayer and Belonging

Until this point there has been no suggestion of any belonging to The United Kingdom in Panufnik's music. The *Universal Prayer* conversely uses a British poem and seems to at least hint some interest in the United Kingdom. Panufnik, a composer who very rarely wrote vocal music, chose a text written by a British poet to compose his largest vocal work and to showcase his new compositional technique. As Panufnik noted himself in an interview some years latter:

“Of course not all my works are attached to Poland. In my home by the River Thames near London, I found new inspiration locally – for instance in my cantata, *Universal Prayer*, composed to the magnificent poem of Alexander Pope who also lived on the river in Twickenham.”⁴²⁹

Panufnik's attempted acclimatisation into British culture is evident, not only by the choice of poetry, but the way in which Panufnik sets the poetry to music. Pope's poem is presented in its entirety with no alteration, while each stanza of the poem is separated into its own individual section, as is shown in figure 65. As a result, Panufnik allows the poem to be responsible for where the musical material and sections of the work begin and end, rather than making the poem 'an obedient servant' of music.

⁴²⁹Panufnik. *Pre-Prom Interview with Unknown*. 27 July 1989. p.2

CONCLUSION

It is apparent from the comparison of selected works that there are several stylistic features found in both Panufnik's pre-defection and post-defection works. The continued importance Panufnik placed on the thematic development and emotionalism in all of the examined compositions is an exemplification of this. Moreover, it is apparent from Panufnik's own writings that he felt his style was always taken from the same basic building blocks or principles.

Panufnik's music was not constant however; it did undergo a significant stylistic development. Many of the techniques identified in his early style (i.e. the *Tragic Overture*) are present in much more developed forms in his post-defection works (*Sinfonia Sacra* and the *Universal Prayer*). The note-cell and rhythmic modules techniques, for example, have their early beginnings in the limited number of notes and the repeated rhythmic figures used in the *Tragic Overture*. After defection these compositional ideas are developed to such extent that Panufnik devises a distinct and systematic arrangement for the creation and implementation of the note-cell and rhythmic modules, to determine the entire melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic material of the composition; as is seen in the *Universal Prayer*. The pre-compositional geometrical designs and symmetry within the work determine its material and form, providing further examples of this post-defectional progression of style.

These compositional processes, so clearly defined in the *Universal Prayer*, exist in only a somewhat revised form in all of Panufnik's post 1968 works. Therefore, it appears that Panufnik was only able to settle his own compositional style and system, once he acquired the peace and freedom, which he finally found the United Kingdom in the late 1960s.

With the exception of his late communist period (the early 1950s), when Panufnik resorted to old Polish reconstructions, Siemdjaj's three 'Rules of Shaping' seem to be present in compositions from all other periods of his life. This conclusion is of course drawn upon the sample used by this study, where this observation can be applied to all works compared. Even with Siemdjaj's 'Rules of Shaping', once again an evident progression can be ascribed to the development of all compositions.

'Constructivism', for example, in the *Tragic Overture* is found in the shaping of sound only, while in the *Old Polish Suite*, not at all. In Panufnik's post-defection works, however, 'Constructivism' returns in more developed form and is responsible for both aspects of sound and form in *Sinfonia Sacra* and, even more prominently, in the *Universal Prayer*. This development shows that Panufnik had a need for increased order in his compositions, as he did in his life. This balance seem to have been disturbed by the time in Polish People's Republic and the psychological state upon defection only to be regained later. In fact, this pattern of this development shows that the increased use of 'Constructivism', essential to Panufnik's individual style, was made possible due to his migration.

'Final-Directional Musical Process' also under goes a similar development. Found in relatively simple forms in works from Panufnik's Polish period, the technique is further developed in *Sinfonia Sacra*, which results in the appearance of the first syntactic climax. Furthermore, with the introduction of pre-compositional geometric designs in 1968, the 'Final-Directional Musical Process', found in the *Universal Prayer*, is a result of the symmetrical structure on which the form of a piece is based.

Finally, the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements' changes throughout Panufnik's compositional output this seems to be, however, in the nature of the technique itself, as defined earlier in this study. The examination of the presence of the 'Dialectics of Two Clashing Elements', does not add a great deal to the understanding of his style or compositional development in Panufnik's works. It could be argued that the presence of dialectics in Panufnik's music is not especially revealing or insightful, as forms of dialectics are present in almost all of the European music of a classical tradition.

The 'Rules of Shaping' are helpful in ascertaining what common features exist in Panufnik's compositions, nevertheless, they do not provide in-depth information about his compositional development in isolation. Siemdaj presents these rules as part of a generalized framework for viewing Panufnik's compositions above and beyond his compositional development. As a result, these rules are presented in a rather generalised manner, only addressing particular aspects of his style. Moreover, these definitions and categories use rather complicated stylistic nomenclature to achieve a relatively simple categorization of Panufnik's music. This restricts the discussion of

Panufnik's compositional development by imposing artificial limitations upon exploration of Panufnik's music.

Most of Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics' can be found in all of the discussed compositions, with the exception of the *Old Polish Suite* composed during the Socialist Realist period. This seems to strengthen the argument that the communist period saw Panufnik's music regress, as the *Old Polish Suite* has no 'Individualism', 'Economy of Means' or inherent 'Emotionalism'. Furthermore, the 'Balance Between Content and Form' is predetermined as the work is a reconstruction.

Sinfonia Sacra, on the other hand possess almost all of the 'Formulated Aesthetics' and shows a clear progression from their initial use in the *Tragic Overture*. Some new techniques including: additive rhythm, major-minor chords, and increased use of symmetry; help to place importance on 'Individualism' once again, something that perhaps, became only possible due to composer's defection.

The *Universal Prayer* shows the greatest development of Skowron's aesthetics. 'Unity', 'Economy of Means', and 'Individualism' are all achieved by the use of the new pre-compositional geometric designs, the systematic note-cell technique, and the new rhythmic modules. 'Emotionalism' is achieved through a variety of means, but the most notable change is the emergence of limited aleatorism, which gives performers freedom and thus allowing them to present their own individual emotional responses to the work, rather than unanimity of the ensemble. Finally, a 'Balance Between Content and Form' is achieved by the use of a strict system of composition, which places the importance on form, and yet again, the use of limited aleatorism, which gives the chorus and the organ a great deal of freedom.

The one 'Formulated Aesthetic', which is, at times, questionable is the presence of 'Classical Music Values in Harmony' as, while the use of chords is important to Panufnik's music, they are not necessarily presented with functional harmonic progressions. This is the case in Panufnik's post-defection works particularly, as harmony is driven by the note cell system, but with the focus on the resulting chords which the note cell produces. This term is also limited, as it does not provide any significant information when viewed in isolation from other trends. The term 'Classical Music Values in Harmony' is, therefore, only useful in a comparative sense. Many composers during Panufnik's life abandoned classical harmonic values, ceasing to

compose with chords in mind and resorted, in the case of the 'Group of 33' in Poland, to harmony that did not place importance on chords. Interestingly, many of the composers who continued to use some form of classical harmony in the form of chords were also pianists, for example, Panufnik and Lutosławski; while those who did not compose with chord structures in mind, were generally non-pianistic composers, such as Penderecki and Baird.

Like Siemudaj's 'Rules of Shaping' Skowron's 'Formulated Aesthetics' are at times rather generalised and even simplistic. Even so, they still provide some valuable indicators for common features of Panufnik's music which have developed and altered throughout his life.

In each of the compositions examined in this study, one has been able to detect a degree of *Polskość*. In the *Tragic Overture* this is found in the work's subject, title, and dedication. Nevertheless, the compositional techniques used, do not bear any great sense of *Polskość*. Contrastingly, the *Old Polish Suite* possess direct musical connections with Poland, as it uses Polish folk tunes and reconstructs work from an earlier period of Polish history. This composition, even though composed during communism, still seems to show a longing for an older lost Poland and may provide some insight into Panufnik's negative feelings towards Socialist Realism. This composition suggests that Panufnik defected because he was unable to compose in the way he wanted.

After his defection, the degree of *Polskość* seems to have increased. *Sinfonia Sacra*, for example, has possibly the most Polish of subjects and uses one of the most patriotic of Polish musical works, the *Bogurodzica*, as the basis of most of its musical material. Furthermore, the sound of the major-minor chords seems to represent Panufnik's dual emotions towards Poland. Significantly, there is a significant lack of British cultural references in this work, which suggests that Panufnik had not yet found his place in British society.

It was not until 14 years after he defected, with the composition of the *Universal Prayer* in 1968, when Panufnik seems to have settled enough in his new home to assimilate at least some small parts of British culture into his music, for example, the use of a British poem. Although the assimilation was minor, this change in Panufnik's compositional inspiration, coupled with only minor elements of *Polskość* (if any),

suggest that he had finally found a sense of belonging or at least settlement in the United Kingdom. Moreover, Panufnik's refusal to use sonorism also suggests that he was becoming less connected, or even dislocated, from Poland during this period of his life, as sonorism had become one of the strongest expressions of *Polskość* in music in the post Stalinist period (1958-1978). In fact, Sonorism became one of the touchstone features of what the Western media labelled as the 'Polish School'. Penderecki saw sonorism as so distinctly Polish that even after he abandoned it in favour of different compositional techniques; he found it necessary to return to the forsaken sonorism while composing music for the Polish film, *Katyń* (2007) – a highly anticipated production that referred to feelings of patriotism and Polish martyrology.

Panufnik's defection to the United Kingdom resulted not only in changes to his life but also to his music. The biographical examination of his life, presented in this study, shows that Panufnik felt forced to defect, as he found himself unable to compose in Poland, principally due to pressures of the communist regime. Moreover, it is apparent from the examination of the *Old Polish Suite* that during this period Panufnik's compositional development stagnated. Throughout his time in the Polish People's Republic, Panufnik's compositions became stylistically regressive, as he turned to reconstructions of old Polish music in an attempt, at least partially, to appease the stylistic demands of the regime.

Panufnik's defection did not completely alleviate these problems, however, as he continued to suffer from the residual effects of the 'communist composer number one' label. Panufnik was also effectively dislocated (both geographically and culturally) from Poland. He was blacklisted in his home country; had little to no contact with his old friends, family, and peers; and did not engage with the Polish community in the United Kingdom. Additionally, he was met in many parts of the British music scene, Glock's BBC in particular, with scepticism, which also affected his employment prospects. In the end, Panufnik was all but forgotten in his homeland and forced to start at the very beginning in his new country due to the damage that the communist regime in Poland, and his subsequent migration had caused to his reputation and life.

As a result of the many difficulties, Panufnik's career and compositional development remained in a state of limbo for several years. Therefore, while his contemporaries in Poland began to experience increased freedoms allowing them to

experiment with their compositional techniques, Panufnik was forced to re-establish himself as a composer and re-determine his compositional style and techniques. It was only in 1963, when *Sinfonia Sacra* was awarded the *Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco* that Panufnik was able to begin to engage fully in musical life in Europe once more. It was at this point that Panufnik began to develop his compositional style and techniques once again. Given his psychological state immediately prior to his defection one might speculate that he would have suspended his compositional activity had he remained in Poland for the full duration of the repressive Stalinist and post-Stalinist period. Like any speculation the argument could go in varying directions and has inherent weaknesses. Even so a certain amount of speculation is tempting – perhaps even irresistible – and various ‘what if?’ questions due present themselves. These question are obviously unanswerable, but they do at least serve to remind us that Panufnik’s migration both hindered and helped his career, both as a composer and conductor and his compositional development.

Even though there is no dramatic revolution in Panufnik’s compositional style between the Polish years and the British period, his migration did facilitate the continuation of development and compositional ideas, which ultimately would not have been possible if he decided to remain in Poland. His compositional techniques do change, but the aims remain the same as they were in Panufnik’s early compositional career: a desire to balance form and content, avoid superfluous notes, and create something that was uniquely his own.

Panufnik’s migration is one of the major factors responsible for his under-recognised status both in Poland, the United Kingdom and further abroad. Since his death, however, there has been a gradual re-assessment and re-engagement with his music. This well-timed re-discovery of his music will culminate with a number of Panufnik related events in 2014, as part of the centenary celebrations. 2014 will see the LSO-Panufnik Young Composers Project celebrate its tenth anniversary, and performances of Panufnik’s works will be given by countless ensembles including: the Juventis Orchestra in Poland; the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra; the London Symphony Orchestra, in both London and Poland; and the Warsaw Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, which will perform several of Panufnik’s works throughout 2014. There will be no fewer the two conferences dedicated to the discussion of Panufnik’s

music and life in Poland during the centenary year. Additionally, 2014 will also see the release of the final volume of CPO's complete orchestral collection of Panufnik's compositions conducted by Łukasz Borowicz. These recordings, and others like them, will enable listeners around the world to become acquainted with his music.

Finally, the performances, recordings, and general attention given to the composer as part of the celebrations in 2014 will not be the end, but will hopefully act as a new beginning and encourage greater interest in Panufnik's compositional output. Therefore, it must be concluded that the process of Panufnik's evaluation is ongoing, and hence it is not necessary to attempt a definite assessment of his achievements. This study seeks to contribute to the re-discovery of Panufnik's music, and to provide some new insights into the expressive and creative works of this complex and composer.

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- Panufnik, Andrzej. *Sinfonia Votiva (Symphony No 8)*. Cond. Seiji Ozawa. Boston Symphony Orchestra. Compact Disc. Hyperion CDH55100. [Recorded 1981]
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- Panufnik, Andrzej. "Symphony No. 10" in *Andrzej Panufnik: Symphonies and Cello Concerto*. Cond. Kazimierz Kord, Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra. Compact Disc. CD ACCORD. [Recorded 2000]
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- Panufnik, Andrzej. *Tragic Overture*. Cond. Wojciech Michniewski, Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra. Electronic Wave File. Polish Composers Union (ZKP). [Recorded 1990 at Warsaw Autumn Festival]
- Panufnik, Andrzej. "Twelve Miniature Studies." In *Shostakovich, Panufnik music for piano*. Raymond Clarke (piano). Compact Disc. Divine Art Ltd. [Recorded 2002, world première recording]
- Panufnik, Andrzej. "Universal Prayer" in *Andrzej Panufnik, Metasinfonia and Universal Prayer*. Cond. Leopold Stokowski, April Candelo (soprano), Helen Watts (alto), John Mitchinson (tenor), Roger Stalman (bass), the Louis Halsey Singers, David Watkins (harp), Maria Korchinska (harp), Tina Bonifacio (harp). LP. Unicorn. [Released 1985. Recorded 1970]
- Panufnik, Andrzej. *Universal Prayer*. Stefania Woytowicz (soprano), Krystyna Szczepańska (mezzo), Florian Skulski (baritone), Włodzimierz Zalewski (bass), Chorus of the Teatr Wielki, Urszula Mazurek (harp), Sylwia Kowalczyk (harp), Anna Skorzak (harp), Andrzej Chorościński (organ). Polish Radio. [Recorded 1977]
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- Panufnik, Andrzej. "Violin Concerto" in *Andrzej Panufnik Arbor Cosmica, Violin Concerto*. Cond. Wojciech Michniewski, Robert Kabara (violin), Sinfonietta Cracovia. Compact Disc. DUX. [Recorded 1995]
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Andrzej Panufnik Arbor Cosmica, Violin Concerto. Cond. Wojciech Michniewski]
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Choir of Wacław Lachman Singing Society (HARFA). Electronic Wave File. Polish
Radio Archive. [Recorded 1994]

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Important Date List

Date	Event
1909	Marriage of Panufnik's parents, Matylda Thonnes (a violinist) and Tomasz Panufnik (a hydraulics engineer and violin maker)
1914 [24 th Sept.]	Birth of Andrzej Panufnik
1922	Young Panufnik starts to learn piano with his grandmother Henryka Thonnes. First attempts at composition.
1925-1926	(11 years old) Taught at the Warsaw conservatorium for a year by Ms Comte-Wilgocka.
1931	First compositions, <i>Ach Pardon</i> and <i>Nie chcę więcej</i> performed by a famous actor and cabaret performer - Adolf Dymsha.
1932	Starts full time study as a percussionist at the Warsaw Conservatorium. After 1 semester he transferred to composition. His teachers included Kazimierz Sikorski and Valerian Berdyaev.
1934 [spring]	Panufnik writes his first serious composition the <i>Piano Trio</i> op.1 and his first film soundtrack for <i>Warsaw Autumn</i> .
1935 [end]	Visits Karol Szymanowski in Zakopane.
1936	Graduates and conducts his major composition (<i>Symphonic Variations</i>) at his graduation, played by the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra.
1936-1937	Begins to make plans to study with in Vienna but is called up for national service. Something he then manages to get out of. However this results in him missing the beginning of the academic year and remaining in Poland working; writing some film music.
1937	Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra and Polish Radio Orchestra perform his <i>Little Overture</i> .
1937-1938	Studies conducting with Felix Weingartner at the Vienna State Academy of Music, Austria.
1938 [8th Nov.]	Travels to Paris (Studies with Philippe Gaubert).
1939 [11th Mar]	Travels to London to study.
1939 [June]	Returns to Poland.

1939 [Sept.]	Poland is invaded by the Nazis and World War II begins
1940 [Oct.]	Starts working with Witold Lutosławski as part of a piano duo in Arts Cafes (Sztuka i Moda Café and U Aktorów Café). This continued until well into 1944.
1942	Russian air attacks on Warsaw
1944 [early]	Conducts his <i>Tragic Overture</i> in a war time concert
1944 [1st Aug.]	The Warsaw Uprising occurs in which Panufnik's manuscripts are destroyed and his brother Mirek Panufnik is killed
1945 [early]	Poland is 'Liberated' by the USSR and World War II ends and Andrzej moves to Krakow.
1945 [Nov.]	Becomes the Conductor of the Krakow Philharmonic Orchestra and music director of the Polish State Film Productions.
1945 [late]	Andrzej's mother Matylda Thonnes dies
1946	Helps to establish the state music publisher, PWM. (first published use of blank spaces instead of several bars of rests)
1946 [3rd May]	Becomes Director of the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra
1947	Awarded first prize in the Karol Szymanowski Competition (<i>Nocturne</i>). Engages in a series of guest appearances with leading European Orchestras including Berlin Philharmonic, London Philharmonic, and l'Orchestre National Paris.
1948 [Aug.]	Attends the international Congress in the Defence of Peace (Picasso is also present)
1949 [Apr.]	Awarded first prize in the Chopin Composition Competition (<i>Sinfonia Rustica</i>)
1949 [5-8 Aug.]	The Łagów conference (organised by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art, MKiS) at which the implementation of socialist realism in Polish music began and Panufnik's compositions are criticized for being formalist.
1950	Appointed vice president of the UNESCO International Music Council (Along with Arthur Honegger)
1951	Awarded the order of the Banner of Labour of the First Class (highest state distinction in the Polish People's Republic), awarded again in 1952.
1951 [13th July]	Marries his first wife, Elizabeth O'Mahoney-Rudnicka (Scarlet)
1951 [Sept.]	Andrzej's father Tomasz Panufnik dies

1952	First prize in the Helsinki Olympic Games-related competition (<i>Heroic Overture</i>)
1952 [14th Sept.]	Birth of his first child with Scarlet, Oonagh, a daughter.
1953 [Apr.]	Was the head of the official Polish cultural delegation to China for 2 months.
1953 [5th May]	Scarlet suffered an epileptic attack while bathing Oonagh, resulting in Oonagh's death by drowning
1954 [14th July]	Arrives at Heathrow Airport, England and seeks political asylum, defecting from Communist Poland.
1954 [20th Sept]	Andrzej is officially removed from the Polish Composers Union.
1955 [Feb.]	Panufnik travels to the USA for the first time to hear the Detroit Symphony conducted by Leopold Stokowski play his <i>Symphony of Peace</i> . This was the beginning of a long standing friendship between the two men.
1957-1959	Made Music Director of the Birmingham Orchestra (CBSO) (Scarlet refused to accompany Panufnik to this post, following which they divorce)
1959 [Autumn]	Meets Winsome Ward, whom he has a brief relationship with. Winsome is latter hospitalized with cancer and subsequently passes away.
1960 [late]	Meets Camilla Jessel
1961 [28th Nov.]	Receives British citizenship and naturalisation papers which he completes and becomes a citizen
1963 [March]	Camilla and Panufnik holiday in Madrid together
1963 [May]	Won the Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco (<i>Sinfonia Sacra</i>)
1963 [27th Nov.]	Married Camilla and moved into Riverside House in Twickenham, London
1965	Awarded the Sibelius Centenary Medal in London
1966	Made a Knight of Mark Twain (USA)
1968	Panufnik finds his new compositional style (F-B-E)
1968	Roxanna Panufnik is born
1970	Leopold Stokowski conducts the world premiere of the Universal Prayer in New York and latter records the work in Westminster Cathedral, London.

1970	Recordings of the <i>Tragic Overture</i> and <i>Autumn Music</i> are made by the London Symphony Orchestra and Unicorn Records, the beginning of long partnerships with both organisations.
1977	First performance of Panufnik's works in Poland since his defection when <i>Universal Prayer</i> is performed in the Warsaw Autumn Festival
1980	A great intensification of Panufnik's compositional work occurs over the next ten years.
1980 [Aug.]	Shipyard workers in Gdansk (Solidarity) protest against the 'United Workers Party', Carrying the banner of the Black Madonna (a symbol of Polish independence) as Panufnik begins composing his <i>Sinfonia Votiva</i> .
1980 [late]	Panufnik sees his only living relative, his niece Ewa, for this first time since leaving Poland
1981 [13th Dec.]	Martial Law is declared in Poland.
1983	Won the Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco (All of his works) and made an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Music.
1984 [24th Sept.]	London Symphony Orchestra concert to celebrate Panufnik's 70th Birthday
1984	Appointed an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Music.
1985	Awarded an honorary Doctoral Degree from the Polish University in Exile and the London Philharmonic commissions Panufnik's 9th Symphony.
1987	Receives honorary membership in the Polish Composer Union
1987	Publish autobiography, <i>Composing Myself</i>
1988	Sir Georg Solti and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra commission Panufnik's 10th Symphony.
1989	Celebrated his 75th Birthday with Unicorn re-issuing a number of recordings and a celebration concert presented by London Musici.
1990	Diagnosed with advanced prostate cancer.
1990	Returned to Poland for the first time in 36 years and conducted several of his own works at the Warsaw Autumn Festival as the honorary guest
1991 [Jan.]	Knighted in the United Kingdom
1991 [27th Oct.]	Panufnik passes away in Twickenham

1991 [31st Oct.]

Polish President Lech Wałęsa posthumously honours Panufnik with a *Krzyż Kawalerski Orderu Odrodzenia Polski* (Cavalier Cross of the Order of Polish Restoration)

1991

Awarded a doctorate Honoris Causa from the Chopin Academy of Music, Warsaw University.

Appendix II: Composition list

Panufnik's Compositions

Name	Composition year	Commissioned	Dedication	Premiered	Premiered by	Notes
Symphonies						
Symphony No. 1	1939 – 1941 (reconstruction: 1945; destroyed by the composer)					Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944. He attempted to reconstruct this work in 1945-46 but after a playing by the Krakow Philharmonic he destroyed the score.
Symphony No. 2	1941			1944, Warsaw		Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944
Sinfonia Rustica (Symphony No 1) [Symfonia Wiejska]	1949 (revision: 1955)			13 May 1949, Warsaw	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Orkiestra Filharmonii Warszaw.	Awarded the Fryderyk Chopin composition prize in 1949.
Symphony of Peace [Symfonia Pokoju]	1951			25 May 1951, Warsaw	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Chór Artos, Orkiestra Filharmonii Warszawskiej	For chorus and Orchestra with Polish text by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. Withdrawn from Artistic Conscience by Panufnik in 1955. Material from the work was used in both <i>Sinfonia Elegiaca</i> and <i>Invocation for Peace</i> .

Sinfonia Elegiaca (Symphony No 2)	1957 (revision: 1966)		The Victims of WWII	11 November 1957, Houston	Cond. Leopold Stokowski, Houston Symphony Orchestra	Used material from the <i>Symphony of Peace</i>
Sinfonia Sacra (Symphony No 3)	1963 – 1964 (revision: 1982)	Kosciuszko Foundation for	Tribute to Poland's Millennium (1966)	12 August 1964, Monte Carlo	Cond. Louis Frémaux, Monte Carlo Opera Orchestra	Awarded the Prix de Composition Musicale de Monaco in 1963
Sinfonia Concertante (Symphony No 4)	1973	Redcliffe Concert Society with funds from the Arts Council of Great Britain.	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	20 May 1974, London (Queen Elizabeth Hall)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Paul de Winter (Flute), David Watkins (Harp), Les Solistes de l'Orchestre de Chambre de Belgique	For solo flute, harp and strings. Was a present to his wife Camilla to celebrate their 10th Anniversary of marriage.
Sinfonia di Sfere (Symphony No 5)	1974 – 1975 (revision: 1976)		Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	13 April 1976, London (Royal Festival Hall)	Cond. David Atherton, London Symphony Orchestra	
Sinfonia Mistica (Symphony No 6)	1977	Christopher Seaman for the Northern Sinfonia with funds provided by the Arts Council of Great Britain.	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	17 January 1978, Middlesbrough	Cond. Christopher Seaman, Northern Sinfonia	For chamber orchestra.

Metasinfonia (Symphony No 7)	1978 (revisions: 1983, 1985)	Geraint Jones for the Manchester International Organ Festival with funds provided by the Arts Council of Great Britain.	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	9 September 1978, Manchester (Manchester Town Hall)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Geraint Jones (Organ), BBC Northern Symphony Orchestra	Solo organ, timpani and strings
Sinfonia Votiva (Symphony No 8)	1981 (revisions: 1983, 1991)	Boston Symphony Orchestra	The Black Madonna	28 January 1982, Boston (Boston Symphony Hall)	Cond. Seiji Ozawa, Boston Symphony Orchestra	Commissioned for the Centennial of the Boston Symphony Orchestra
Sinfonia di Speranza (Symphony No 9)	1986 (revisions: 1987, 1989, 1990)	Royal Philharmonic Society	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	25 February 1987, London (Royal Festival Hall)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, BBC Symphony Orchestra	Commissioned to celebrate the Royal Philharmonic Society's 175th Anniversary.
Symphony No 10	1988 (revisions: 1990, 1991)	Sir Georg Solti and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.	Sir Georg Solti and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.	1 February 1990, Chicago (Orchestra Hall)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Chicago Symphony Orchestra	Commissioned to celebrate the centennial for the Chicago Orchestra.

Other Orchestral Works

Ballade (1 of 2 Lyric Pieces)	1923 (reconstruction: 1945) (revision: 1963)	The 1963 reconstruction was a commission by the Farnham Festival for Performance	Composer's mother (Matylda Panufnik)	Reconstructed: 13 March 1963, Farnham Festival	Cond. Alan Fluck, Farnham Festival Orchestra	For woodwinds. Lost in the Warsaw Uprising, 1944 but latter reconstructed.
Romance (2 of 2 Lyric Pieces)	1929 (reconstruction: 1945) (revision: 1963)	The 1963 reconstruction was a commission by the Farnham Festival for Performance	Composer's mother (Matylda Panufnik)	Reconstructed: 13 March 1963, Farnham Festival	Cond. Alan Fluck, Farnham Festival Orchestra	For Strings. Lost in the Warsaw Uprising, 1944 but latter reconstructed.
Symphonic Variations [Wariacje Symfoniczne]	1935 – 1936			1936, Warsaw		Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944. Performed as his graduation work by the Warsaw Philharmonic under the composer's baton.
Symphonic Allegro [Allegro Symfoniczne]	1935 – 1936			1936, Warsaw		Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944
Symphonic Image [Obraz symfoniczny]	1935 – 1936			1936, Warsaw		Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944

Little Overture [Mała Uwertura]	1937			1937, Warsaw		Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944
Tragic Overture [Uwertura Tragiczna]	1942 (reconstruction: 1945) (revision: 1955)		Composer's brother (Miroslaw Panufnik) (This dedication only appears from 1945)	19 March 1944, Warsaw	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Charity Concert Orchestra (Members of the Warsaw Philharmonic)	Lost in the Warsaw Uprising, 1944 but latter reconstructed. The longer description of this work reads, "To the memory of my beloved brother, Miroslaw Panufnik, a valiant member of the Polish Underground Army, who fought and lost his life in the tragic Warsaw uprising of 1944."
Lullaby [Kotysanka]	1947 (revision: 1955)			9 November 1948, Kraków	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Orkiestra Filharmonii Krakowskiej	29 strings and 2 harps
Nocturne [Nokturn]	1947 (revision/reconstr uction: 1955)			26 April 1948, Paris	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, L'Orchestre Radio Symphonique	Awarded the Karol Szymanowski composition competition prize in 1948
Heroic Overture [Uwertura Bohaterska]	1949			15 December 1950, Kraków	Cond. Witold Krzemiński, Orkiestra Filharmonii Krakowskiej	Won the pre-Olympic composition competition in Warsaw in 1952

Rhapsody	1956	BBC		11 January 1957 London (BBC Broadcast)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, BBC Symphony Orchestra	First Composition after moving to the UK. Commissioned by the BBC to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Third Programme.
Polonia	1959	BBC		21 August 1959, London (Royal Albert Hall)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, BBC Symphony Orchestra	Commissioned by the BBC for the 1959 Promenade Concert Season
Autumn Music	1959 – 1960 (revisions: 1962, 1965)		To the memory of Winsome Ward	16 January 1968, Paris	Cond. Serge Fournier, L'Orchestre Philharmonique de l'ORTF.	
Landscape	1962 (revision: 1965)			13 November 1965, Twickenham (Church of St. Mary)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, English Chamber Orchestra	Interlude for String Orchestra
Katyń Epitaph	1967 (revision: 1969)		To the memory of 15,000 defenceless Polish prisoners-of-war murdered in Russia	17 November 1968, New York (Carnegie Hall)	Cond. Leopold Stokowski, American Symphony Orchestra	
Concerto Festivo	1979 (revision: 1980)	London Symphony	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	17 June 1979, London (Royal Festival Hall)	London Symphony Orchestra (No Conductor)	To be performed with no Conductor. Commissioned to commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the LSO.

Procession for Peace	1982 – 1983	Greater London Council for Peace Year	To peace-loving people of every race, religion, of every political & philosophical creed	16 July 1983, London (Kenwood Lakeside)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra	
Arbor Cosmica	1983 (revisions: 1985, 1989, 1990)	Koussevitzky Music Foundation	To the memory of Serge and Natalie Koussevitzky	14 November 1984, New York (Merkin Hall)	Cond. Gerard Schwarz, New York Music Today Ensemble	12 evocations for 12 strings.
Harmony	1989	Performing Arts Department of the 92nd Street NY.	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	15 December 1989, New York (Tilles Centre, Long Island)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, New York Chamber Orchestra	A poem for chamber orchestra. Commissioned to commemorate the composer's 75th birthday. Dedicated to Camilla to celebrate the 25th anniversary of their marriage.
Love Song (Orchestrated version with Mezzo-soprano solo)	1991	Meriel and Peter Dickinson		28 November 1991, London	Cond. Mark Stephenson, Meriel Dickinson (mezzo-soprano), London Musici.	Text in English by Sir Philip Sidney.

Works for solo instruments and orchestra

Piano Concerto	1957 – 1962 (revision: 1970, re-composition: 1972, addition of 'Entrada': 1985)	Feeney Trust	Madame Rosa Berenbau	25th January 1962 Birmingham	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Kendall Taylor (piano), City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra	Originally intended to be performed by his friend Witold Malcużyński
Hommage a Chopin (Orchestrated from vocal version)	1966			24th September 1966 London (Church of Nôtre Dame de France)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Douglas Whittaker (flute), English Chamber Orchestra	For flute and small string orchestra.
Violin Concerto	1971	Yehudi Menuhin	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	18th July 1972 London (Guildhall; as part of the City of London Music Festival)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Yehudi Menuhin (violin), Menuhin Festival Orchestra	Violin and strings
Concertino	1979-80	Shell-LSO	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	24th January 1981 London (Fairfield Hall, Croydon)	Cond. André Previn, Nigel Thomas and Jeffrey Preutice (Percussion), London Symphony Orchestra	For timpani, percussion and strings. Commissioned for the Shell LSO Music Scholarship for young percussion players.

Bassoon Concerto	1985	Robert Thompson for the Polanki of Milwaukee (Polish women cultural club)	To the memory of the Polish martyr, Father Jerzy Popiełuszko	18th May 1986 Milwaukee	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Robert Thompson (bassoon), Milwaukee Chamber Orchestra	Bassoon and chamber orchestra
Cello Concerto	1991	Mstislav Rostropovich and the London Symphony Orchestra	NA	24th June 1992 London (Barbican Hall)	Cond. Hugh Wolff, Mstislav Rostropovich (cello), London Symphony Orchestra	For cello and orchestra
Arrangements of early Polish music						
Divertimento	1947 (revision: 1955)			9th December 1948 Krakow	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Orkiestra Filharmonii Krakowskiej	Edited and adapted from six trios by Felix Janiewicz. For string Orchestra
Old Polish Suite [Suita Staropolska]	1950 (revision: 1955)			March 1951 Warsaw	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, Orkiestra Filharmonii Warszawskiej	Based on sixteenth and seventeenth century works. For string Orchestra
Concerto in Modo Antico [Koncert Gotycki]	1951 (revision: 1955)			16 May 1952 Warsaw	Cond. Witold Rowicki, Orkiestra Filharmonii Warszawskiej	Trumpet concerto (trumpet, two harps, harpsichord, timpani and strings)

Jagiellonian Triptych	1966			24 September 1966, London (Church of Nôtre Dame de France)	Cond. Andrzej Panufnik, English Chamber Orchestra	For Strings.
Vocal and Choral Works						
Psalm [Psalm symfoniczny nr 145]	1936			1936 Warsaw		For four solo voices, chorus and orchestra. Panufnik's Diploma piece. Lost in the Warsaw Uprising 1944.
Five Polish Peasant Songs [Pięć Pieśni Ludowych]	1940 (reconstruction: 1945) (revision: 1959)			September 1945 Krakow	Cond. Stanisław Skriwaczewski	For Soprano/Treble voice(s), 2 flutes, 2 clarinets and bass clarinet. Text in Polish.
Four Underground Resistance Songs [Cztery Pieśni Walki Podziemnej]	1942-1944 (reconstruction: 1945)				1944, Warsaw	Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944 but latter reconstructed. Notably <i>Warszawskie Dzieci</i> became one of the most well known patriotic songs of the time.
Hommage a Chopin [Suita Polska]	1949 (revision: 1955)	UNESCO to commemorate the 100 th anniversary of Chopin's death.		3 October 1949, Paris	Irène Joachim (soprano), André Collard (piano)	For soprano and piano (vocalises).
Song to the Virgin Mary	1964 (revision: 1969, 1987 for String Sextet)	Lake District Festival	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	26 April 1964, London (Victoria and Albert Museum)	Cond. Geraint Jones, Geraint Jones Singers	Chorus and 6 solo voices. Latin text by an anonymous Polish poet.

Universal Prayer	1968 – 1969		Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	24 May 1970, New York (Cathedral of St. John the Divine)	Cond. Leopold Stokowski	Cantata for soprano, alto, tenor and bass soloist, chorus, 3 harps and organ. Text in English by Alexander Pope.
Winter Solstice	1972	Louis Halsey, the Thames Chamber Choir and Orchestra	Composer's Children	16 December 1972, Kingston- upon-Thames (Parish Church)	Cond. Louis Halsey, Jean Knibbs (soprano), Bruce Pullan (baritone), Louis Halsey Singers, London Bach Orchestra	Cantata for soprano and baritone soloists, chorus, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tympani and glockenspiel. Text in English by Camilla Panufnik.
Love Song	1976 (1991 optional string orchestra part added)	Meriel and Peter Dickinson		12 December 1977, London (Purcell Room)	Meriel Dickinson (mezzo- soprano), Peter Dickinson (piano)	For mezzo soprano and harp (or piano), text in English by Sir Philip Sidney.
Dreamscape	1977	Meriel and Peter Dickinson with funds provided by the Arts Council of Great Britain	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	12 December 1977, London (Purcell Room)	Meriel Dickinson (mezzo- soprano), Peter Dickinson (piano)	For mezzo soprano and piano, a wordless vocalise. Originally titled <i>Night Meditations</i> .
Prayer to the Virgin of Skempe [Modlitwa]	1990			17 September 1990, Warsaw	Barbara Żarnowiecka (soprano), Maciej Cegielski (piano)	Solo/unison voice, organ and instrumental ensemble. Polish text by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz

Chamber Music

Classical Suite [Suita Klasyczna]	1933			1933, Warsaw		For string quartet. Lost in the Warsaw Uprising 1944.
Piano Trio Op. 1 [Trio na fortepian, skrzypce i wiolonczelę]	1934 (reconstruction: 1945) (revision: 1977, 1989)		Composer's mother (Matylda Panufnik)	10 December 1936, Warsaw	S. Jarzębski (violin), J. Bakman (cello), M. Wajnberg (piano)	First Serious composition by his reckoning.
Marsz Jaworzyński	1945 – 1946					For small Orchestral Ensemble
Quintetto Accademico [Kwintet na instrumenty dęte drewniane]	1953 (revision: 1956, lost and then rediscovered in 1999 by Roxanna Panufnik)			1953, Warsaw		For flute, oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon. Polish text by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz Accademico
Triangles	1972	BBC-TV	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	14 April 1972, London (BBC 2 Program TV)	Tony Staveacre (producer)	For 3 flutes and 3 cellos. Based on Tantric Philosophy and art.
String Quartet No. 1	1976 (revision: 1977, 1980)		Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	19th October 1976, London (Queen Elizabeth Hall)	Aeolian Quartet	
Messages (String Quartet No 2)	1980	North Wales Music Festival for the Gabrieli Quartet with funds from the Welsh Arts Council.	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	25 September 1980 St Asaph Cathedral, North Wales	Gabrieli Quartet	

Paeon	1980 (revision: 1981)		For the 80th Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother	1980 London (Royal Albert Hall)	Cond. Kneller Hall, Royal Military School of Music band.	For Brass band
Song to the Virgin Mary	1987	Park Lane Group	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	21 February 1990 London (Purcell Room)	Park Lane String Sextet	Arrangement for string sextet on the vocal work of the same name.
String Sextet (Train of Thoughts)	1987	Park Lane Group with funds from the Arts Council of Greta Britain.	Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	21 February 1988, London (Purcell Room)	Park Lane String Sextet	String Sextet
String Quartet No. 3 [Wycinanki] [Paper cuts]	1990	John S. Cohen Foundation for the London International String Quartet Competition	Composer's Children	15 April 1991, London (Barbican Hall)	Wihan Quartet	This commission was to celebrate the diamond jubilee of the London International String Quartet competition.

Piano Works

Variations [Wariacje na fortepian]	1932 – 1933			1933, Warsaw		Lost in Warsaw Uprising, 1944.
Twelve Miniature Studies [Krag Kwintowy]	1947 (revision: book I 1955, book II 1964)			1948, Krakow		Original title; <i>Circle of Fifths</i> .
Reflections	1968		Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	21 April 1972, London	John Ogdon (piano)	

Pentasonata	1984 (revisions: 1987, 1991)		Composer's wife (Camilla Panufnik)	23 June 1989, Aldeburgh Festival	Craig Sheppard (piano)	
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Works for Youth

Thames Pageant	1968 – 1969	Witney, Mann Ltd, for the Richmond- upon-Thames Schools' Music Association	Composer's Children	7 February 1970, Twickenham (Thames Valley Grammar School)	Cond. Eric Griffiths	Cantata for young players and singers. Text by Camilla Panufnik.
Invocation for Peace	1972 (revision: 1974)	Southampton Youth choir and Orchestra	Composer's Children	28 November 1972, Southampton	Cond. Peter Davis, Southampton Youth Orchestra and choir	Used material from the <i>Symphony of Peace</i> . Text by Camilla Panufnik. For treble voices, 2 trumpets and 2 trombones.

Occasional and Incidental Music (as catalogued by the British Library)

Ah, Pardon	1925			1925 Warsaw		Performed as part of a Cabaret show run by Marian Hemar
I do not want any more	1925			1925 Warsaw		Performed as part of a Cabaret show run by Marian Hemar
Warsaw Wind [Warszawski Wiatr]	1949					For mezzo-soprano and piano. Poem by Konstanty Idefons Galczynski. He also made an instrumental version of this.

Incidental Music to 'The Third Adam'	1977					For a radio play by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz. Based on old Polish religious songs and written for 2 flutes 2 clarinets and a Bass clarinet.
Golden Wedding Offering	1978		Richard and Winifred Jessel			Written for the composer's children to sing for the golden wedding anniversary of the composer's parents-in-law, Richard and Winifred Jessel.
Wedding Offering	1980		Toby and Eliza Jessel			For organ and written as a short march for the composer's brother and sister in law.
Mass Songs						
Pieśń Zjednoczonej Partii [Song of the United Party]	1949					For the merger of the Polish Socialist Party with the Polish Workers Party. Polish text by Leopold Lewin.
Pieśń Zwycięstwa [Song of Victory]	1950					Polish text by Stanisław Wygodzki.
Pokój nad światem [Peace Over the World]	1951					Polish text by Stanisław Ryszard Dobrowolski.
Ślubowanie Młodych [Pledge of the Youth]	1952					Polish text by Władysław Broniewski.
Nowy Czas [New Time]	1954					Polish text by Jerzy Ficowski.

Film Music

Warszawska Jesień [Warsaw Autumn]	1936					Short Film directed by Eugeniusz Cękalski
Trzy Etiudy Chopina [Three Etudes by Chopin]	1937					Short Film directed by Eugeniusz Cękalski and Stanisław Wohl. Panufnik – Music consultant
Strachy [Fears/Ghosts]	1938					Feature Film directed by Eugeniusz Cękalski and Karol Szołowski
Zdradzieckie Serce [Cheating Heart]	1945					Short Film directed by Jerzy Zarzycki (film was never screened)
Ręce Dziecka [The Hands of a Child]	1946	Institut Filmowy		1946, Krakow		Documentary directed by Tadeusz Makarczyński. Music for flute, clarinet, trumpet, percussion and strings
Teatr mój widzę ogromny [I See My Huge Theatre]	1946	The Polish Army Film Unit				Short Film directed by Jan Marcin Szancer and Jerzy Zarzycki
Łódź	1946	The Polish Army Film Unit				Short Film
Ziemia Planeta Ludzi [Earth the Planet of People]	1949					Short Film

Ślubujemy [We Pledge]	1952				Cond. Jerzy Gert Polish Radio Orchestra and Choir in Kraków	Documentary realised by Jerzy Bossak. Song <i>Ślubowanie Młodych</i> . Among pieces by Władysław Szpilman and Alfred Gradstein
Ballets to Panufnik's Music						
Elegy	1967			13 September 1967, New York	Chor. Gerald Arpino, City Centre Jeffrey Ballet	A reworking of Sinfonia Elegiaca
Cain and Abel	1968			1968, Berlin	Chor. Kenneth MacMillan, Deutsche Oper, Berlin	A reworking of Sinfonia Sacra and Tragic Overture
Miss Julie	1970			1970, Stuttgart	Chor. Kenneth MacMillan, Stuttgart Ballet	A reworking of Nocturne, Rhapsody, Autumn Music, Polonia and some newly composed music; including 'Drunken Peasant Song' with words by Lady Panufnik
Autumn Music	1974			1974, London	Chor. David Drew, BBC TV	
The Archaic Moon	1978			1978, Houston	Chor. Norman Walker, Houston Ballet	Choreographed to Rhapsody
Homage to Chopin	1980			1980, London	Chor. David Bintley, Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet	Choreographed to Hommage a Chopin and 'Mazurek' from Polonia
Vincent van Gogh	1980			1980, London (Television ballet)	Chor. Raimondo Fornoni, Dutch National Ballet	Choreographed to Sinfonia Sacra

Adieu	1980			1980, London	Chor. David Bintley, Royal Ballet	Choreographed to Violin Concerto
Dances of the Golden Hall	1982			1982, New York	Chor. Martha Graham, Martha Graham Dance Company	Choreographed to Nocturne
Bogurodzica	1983			1983, Lyon	Chor. Gray Veredon, Ballet de L'Opéra de Lyon	Choreographed to Sinfonia Sacra
Common Player	1983			1983, Israel	Chor. Robert Cohan, Batsheva Dance Company of Israel	Choreographed to Sinfonia Sacra
Sinfonia Mistica	1987			1987, New York	Chor. Paul Mejila, New York City Ballet	
Sacred Symphony	1991			1991, Birmingham	Chor. Christopher Hindle, Birmingham Royal Ballet	Choreographed to Sinfonia Sacra
Stop it	1993			1993 Amsterdam	Chor. Krzysztof Pastor, Dutch National Ballet	Choreographed to Violin Concerto

Appendix III: Report on discussions with the BBC, 1960-1963 by Boosey and Hawkes.⁴³⁰

This report is attached to a letter to Andrzej Panufnik from John Andrews on the 2nd of April 1969.

P A N U F N I K

REPORT ON MEETINGS, LETTERS, ETC. WITH THE B.B.C.

- 12th Feb. 1960: Meeting with Glock. General subjects discussed, including works of A.P.
- 1st July: Janiewicz Divertimento suggested to Isaacs for Home Service.
- 14th July: Full Score of Polonia sent to Stanford Robinson. Hopeful reaction.
- 19th July: Meeting with Crossley Holland. Reminded him about B.B.C. commission for Rhapsody, and asked why it had not been repeated.
- 20th July: Lunch with Leonard Isaacs. Many subjects discussed including Polonia. Subsequently score sent.
- 14th Sept: Saw Leonard Isaacs again. Works of Chavez, Panufnik, Tcherepnin, and Theodorakis discussed.
- 17th Oct: Saw Leonard Isaacs again to follow up above subjects.
- November: List of suggestions for 1961/2 season sent to Glock and other addressees in the B.B.C. List included Tragic Overture.
- 19th Dec: Lunch with Leonard Isaacs. Subjects discussed - Lees, Panufnik, Theodorakis, and the acquiring of Hungarian tapes for broadcasting.
- 28th Dec: Further list of suggestions sent to Leonard Isaacs, including Sinfonia Rustica
- 30th Dec: Sent Glock a list of suggestions for 1961. No record of what was included, but every list at that time included works of A.P.
- 3rd Jan. 1961: Saw Glock to follow up Prom suggestions, and to speak about Glazunov anniversary.
- 9th Jan: Telephoned Leonard Isaacs to ask about any progress on A.P. and Theodorakis works. Answer - not yet.
- 30th March: Telephoned Leonard Isaacs about Moravitz and A.P.
- 11th April: Spoke to Glock about A.P. and Williamson. No record as to which works referred.

cont.....

⁴³⁰ Letter from Andrews Letter to Andrzej Panufnik. 2 April 1969

28th June, 1961: Telephoned Leonard Isaacs to follow up.

10th July: Telephoned Leonard Isaacs about A.P., von Einem and Serly.

11th July: 3.15 p.m.: saw Glock about Copland, Eklund, A.P. and Serly.

18th Sept: Again suggested Leonard Isaacs Polonia for 'Concert Hour.'

2nd Oct: Followed up above.

10th Nov: Telephoned Glock about Prom suggestions, including Tragic Overture.

14th Dec: Lunch with Glock. General subjects discussed, but chiefly Promenade Concert suggestion, including Tragic Overture and Sinfonia Rustica. I also mentioned forthcoming performance of Piano Concerto in Birmingham.

18th Dec: Some scores sent to Glock, but no record as to which ones.

30th Jan, 1962: Telephoned Glock about Copland, Ginastera and Panufnik.

7th March: Ditto

7th April: 4.30 p.m.: Meeting with Glock about Piano Concerto. He told me no possibility for Prom performance for season 1962/3.

27th Sept: 3 p.m.: Meeting with Keller. Spoke about several subjects including Barraud, Jolivet, Lees, Panufnik and Tcherepnin.

November: Piano Concerto suggested to Glock for Prom concerts at which meeting I told him Kendall Taylor would be available to play it.

January, 1963 Dr. Roth requested me to try Piano Concerto yet again for 1963 Proms. No result.

23rd April: Spoke to Leonard Isaacs about Polonia for "Concert Hour".

25th April: Isaacs telephoned me to say "Sorry, no".

19th July: Spoke to Gerald Abraham generally about A.P.

4th Nov: List of suggestions again proposing Piano Concerto for 1964 Proms sent to Glock.

5th Dec: Lunch with Keller. Spoke of Maxwell Davies, Panufnik,

cont....

(Sinfonia Sacra), Jolivet, Tcherepnin, and Williamson.

- 18th Dec. 1963 Lunch with Glock. Subjects - Gloriana and Proms for 1964. Again I mentioned Piano Concerto.
- 1 Jan. 1964 Sent Keller list of suggestions for "Music to Remember" and "Concert Hour".
- 21st July: Lunch with Gerald Abraham and David Adams at which, among other things, A.P.'s music was discussed. G.A. would look into the matter.
- 27th July: At a lunch with Glock and David Adams we again brought up the matter of A.P.'s music.
- 3rd Nov: Lunch with Abraham following up previous conversations.

Detailed report ends here. See my covering letter.

Appendix IV: Score of *Vision III* of *Sinfonia Sacra* from RM.25.⁴³¹

The image displays a page of a musical score for the third vision of a symphony. The page is numbered 42 at the top left and 43 at the top right. It contains two systems of staves, labeled 25 and 27. The instruments listed on the left include Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Cl. b.), Percussion (Perc.), Horns (C. in F.), Trumpets (Tuba), Trombones (Tuba), Timpani (Timp.), Snare Drum (Tub. m.), and Cymbals (G.C.). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'molto marc.', 'fren.', 'col legno', and 'p molto accio'. There are also performance instructions like 'cresc. poco e poco' and 'fren.'. The page number 42 is repeated at the bottom left, and the page number 43 is repeated at the bottom right. The publisher's name 'B. & H. 19879' is visible at the bottom right of the page.

⁴³¹ Andrzej Panufnik. *Sinfonia Sacra* (Symphony No. 3). London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1963.

Fl. 2
Ob. 2
C.I.
Cl. in S^b 1
Cl. in S^b in S^b
Fag. 2
C. Fag.

Cor. in Fa
Tbn. 1
Tbn. 2
Tbn. 3
Tuba
Timp.
Tamb. M.
G.C.

VI. I
VI. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

Fl. 1
Ob. 1
C.I.
Cl. in S^b 2
Cl. in S^b in S^b
Fag. 1
C. Fag.

Cor. in Fa
Tbn. 1
Tbn. 2
Tbn. 3
Tuba
Timp.
Tamb. M.
G.C.

VI. I
VI. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

Musical score for page 48, measures 29-33. The score includes staves for Fl., Ob., C.I., Cl. in Sib., Cl. bar. in Sib., Fag., C. Fag., Cor. in Fa., Tuba, Tuba, Timp., Tambo. ten., G. C., VI. I, VI. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The music is in 2/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. Dynamic markings include *mf* and *f*. Rehearsal marks 1.3 and 2.4 are present.

Musical score for page 47, measures 34-38. The score includes staves for Fl., Ob., C.I., Cl. in Sib., Cl. bar. in Sib., Fag., C. Fag., Cor. in Fa., Tuba, Tuba, Timp., Tambo. ten., G. C., VI. I, VI. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The music continues with complex rhythmic patterns. Dynamic markings include *mf* and *f*. Rehearsal marks 1.3 and 2.4 are present.

Appendix V: The text of the Universal Prayer, a poem written by Alexander Pope.⁴³²

Father of all! in every age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Thou Great First Cause, least understood:
Who all my sense confined
To know but this—that thou art good,
And that myself am blind:

Yet gave me, in this dark estate,
To see the good from ill;
And binding Nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will.

What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This, teach me more than Hell to shun,
That, more than Heaven pursue.

What blessings thy free bounty gives,
Let me not cast away;
For God is paid when man receives,
To enjoy is to obey.

Yet not to earth's contracted span,
Thy goodness let me bound,
Or think thee Lord alone of man,
When thousand worlds are round:

Let not this weak, unknowing hand
Presume thy bolts to throw,
And deal damnation round the land,
On each I judge thy foe.

If I am right, thy grace impart,
Still in the right to stay;
If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
To find a better way.

Save me alike from foolish pride,
Or impious discontent,
At aught thy wisdom has denied,
Or aught thy goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me.

Mean though I am, not wholly so
Since quickened by thy breath;
Oh lead me wheresoe'er I go,
Through this day's life or death.

This day, be bread and peace my lot:
All else beneath the sun,
Thou know'st if best bestowed or not,
And let thy will be done.

To thee, whose temple is all space,
Whose altar, earth, sea, skies!
One chorus let all being raise!
All Nature's incense rise!

⁴³²Pope, "Moral Essay: Universal Prayer Opt. Max."