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# The Connections between Music Culture and Film Culture

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## Abstract

The subject of reflection is the place and function of music in film, considering the political factors that determined the situation in Polish culture after World War II. In her historical outline, the author distinguishes three periods. The first is 1945–1949, when, after years of occupation, artists sought to regain contact with the broader audience, with theatre and film playing a significant role in the process. This tendency was in line with the political postulate of art for the masses, but relative formal freedom was preserved. The second period spans the years 1950–1954, when the implementation of the doctrine of socialist realism began, announced at the Conference of Composers and Music Critics in Łagów Lubuski in August 1949. In practice, this meant a return to the musical traditions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with particular emphasis on folkloric inspirations, also reflected in film music. The last part of the article concerns the period 1955–1964: a time of relative artistic freedom and a return to experimental and modern music, associated, among other things, with the development and improvement of recording techniques. **(Non-reviewed material; originally published in *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 1964, no. 53–54, pp. 72–85).**

The problem of contacts, connections and mutual influences between film culture and music culture in Poland only became relevant in the first two postwar decades. This is because until then these two fields, one of them being primarily mass entertainment, the other possessing the nature of elite art, had little in common. The most obvious evidence of this state of things is the music in Polish interwar film being exceedingly far from everything that drove the stage music of that period. Among the film composers, one can only occasionally find the names of genuine artists. Jerzy Toeplitz<sup>1</sup> draws attention to this fact by mentioning such titles as *The Stray* (*Przybłąda*; music by Jan Maklakiewicz), *Dzikie pola* [*Wild Fields*] (music by Roman Palester) and *Janko Muzykant* [*Janko Musician*] (music by Grzegorz Fitelberg). Apart from these exceptions, no bridge can be built between the pursuits and interests of the leading composers of the interwar period and what film music and film in general represented at that time.

This situation changed radically after 1945, so that when ten years later Zofia Lissa attempted to sum up the achievements of film music of that period, she could declare and demonstrate that *the general trend of the development of film music in this decade corresponds to the development of all music of the period. The exploratory, innovation-driven character of the initial efforts in this field* (Lutosławski's "*Suite Varsovienne*" / "*Suita warszawska*" /, Panufnik's "*Zdradzieckie serce*" / "*The Tale-Tell Heart*" /, Palester's "*Border Street*" / "*Ulica Graniczna*" /) *gave way to more conventional means of expression in the years 1948-1952* ("*Bright Fields*" / "*Jasne łąny*" /, "*The Village Mill*" / "*Gromada*" /, "*The Treasure*" / "*Skarb*" /, "*The Lonely House*" / "*Dom na pustkowiu*" /), *only to enter the path of searching for new means of expression again from 1952* ("*A Railwayman's Word*" / "*Kolejarskie słowo*" /, "*Five Boys from Barska Street*" / "*Piątka z ulicy Barskiej*" /, "*A Generation*" / "*Pokolenie*" /, "*The Hours of Hope*" / "*Godziny nadziei*" /, "*I Walk in the Sun*" / "*Idę ku słońcu*" /).<sup>2</sup>

The fact that film music became a vital component of musical culture in the People's Republic of Poland prompts a search for deeper reasons for the mutual connections between music and film.

It has become widespread practice to divide postwar cultural life in Poland into three periods determined by the guidelines of the cultural policy of those years. The adoption of this periodisation seems justified in this case as well, since the phenomena discussed here are shaped to the same extent by these guidelines as by the reactions of artists and audiences that they provoke. The character of the connection between music and film will be slightly different in these three periods.

### First contacts (1945-1949)

The very first declaration of the Zjazd Kompozytorów Polskich [The Congress of Polish Composers] (Kraków, 29.08.1945-2.09.1945) proclaimed the democratisation of musical life: *The Congress takes the position of not differentiating music into elite and popular and follows the principle of providing the consumer with the best quality music in every case.*<sup>3</sup>

Stanisław Wiechowicz took a similar stance in his programmatic article in *Ruch Muzyczny* [Music Movement]: *The masses should be presented with the best music*

*performed in the best way. Otherwise, we will spread bad taste and disorientation with bad music, and with substandard performance we will discourage the masses from music instead of winning them over to it.*<sup>4</sup>

Two years later, the conclusion of the Zjazd Kompozytorów i Muzykologów [The Congress of Composers and Musicologists] in Prague will include an opinion that the main cause of the crisis in contemporary music is the division into subjective classical music and banal popular music.<sup>5</sup>

The choice of the right path and the matter of reforms, or rather, of building a new Polish musical culture, was clear and simple as long as it did not go beyond the stage of manifestos, declarations, statements, etc. Their practical implementation caused enormous difficulties, if only for purely material and financial reasons, since the very launching of philharmonics, musical theatres, publishing houses, and the press was not an easy matter. Appeals to regulate the financial situation of composers and performers, often deprived of work (for lack of instruments) and forced to give up creative activities in favour of gainful and organisational ones, were constantly repeated in the pages of *Ruch Muzyczny* during its first years. Roman Palester<sup>6</sup> drew attention to a substantial supply of musical works – originating, however, from the war or the prewar period – emphasising, on the other hand, the lack of publishing opportunities, as well as the still little-revived live concert movement's failure to keep up. The author points out that since the end of the war, composers, either absorbed by material concerns or transformed into activists, have written nothing or almost nothing. Palester states that the war and postwar output does not differ in character from the prewar output because it remains in the circle of old artistic ideals. If new elements come to the fore, it is in the thematic, not stylistic, sphere.

This is a problem characteristic not only of the immediate postwar period. Before the young generation of composers made themselves known, a new musical culture was to be created by the artists, most of whom – as Zofia Lissa emphasises<sup>7</sup> – studied and shaped their attitude in the Parisian circles, remaining under the overwhelming influence of Stravinsky's individuality or succumbing to the tendencies of neoclassicism. In this situation, the breakthrough was announced not so much by significant changes in the creative skills of distinguished composers but by their involvement and active participation in creating and popularising musical forms that are more interesting to a broader audience. This type of artists' activity was not so much in servitude to the requirements of cultural policy but rather constituted a real need to renew the character and forms of music-making, whose functions in society were, after all, changing fundamentally. Hence the lively interest in the techniques of music reproduction, as well as in film. Jerzy Broszkiewicz drew attention to the significant role of these factors: *The ever more intensely developing industry of mechanical sound reproduction may even influence music itself and will undoubtedly completely revolutionise the forms of the most universally understood practice of making music.*<sup>8</sup> He then adds that ... *through the radio or sound reproducer (patéphone, gramophone, etc., including sound film) music will easily reach the broadest possible audiences.*<sup>9</sup>

As evidenced by the statement of Zygmunt Mycielski, this opinion, giving a prominent place to film, seems to be shared by composers themselves: *For*

*a good artist, technical consideration should be an incentive, not an inhibition. A concert hall, sound film, radio loudspeaker, and finally the requirements of 'dance hall music,' urban or rural music in community centres, present composers with unlimited and as yet unforeseen possibilities.*<sup>10</sup>

However, the equality of film music with other musical genres was not only postulatory but was indeed implemented. At that time, when one wrote hastily and for immediate use, writing for film provided some substitute for dramatic music forms and could be treated as an apprenticeship for future operas and ballets. Film's demand for short musical forms, expressive themes, and 'micro-ideas' not sufficient for stage use must have been particularly befitting to composers at the time, who, predisposed to writing differently, needed such opportunities as film or theatre music to test their concepts in forms that were not yet 'binding.'

In the first issues of *Ruch Muzyczny*, we find several reports – and these concern the most prominent names – about composers' collaborations with theatre and film. The coverage of the first months of musical life in Kraków notes that the music for theatre performances was written by such artists as Palester, Maklakiewicz, and Malawski.<sup>11</sup> The same magazine publishes press releases on the composers' collaboration with the film industry. For example, in the first issue's chronicle it is reported that *Andrzej Panufnik edited a short musical film entitled "Ballad in F minor" [Ballada f-moll Chopina]. The film is set against the backdrop of Warsaw's panorama before and after the uprising.*<sup>12</sup> Other notes mention Artur Malawski,<sup>13</sup> who wrote the music for the short film *Gdzie jest nasz dom?* [*Where Is Our Home?*], and Witold Lutosławski,<sup>14</sup> who scored the film *Odrą do Bałtyku* [*Down the Oder to the Baltic Sea*]. However, these leading composers will quickly withdraw from collaborating with film. Lutosławski would only write the music for *Suite Varsovienne*, never to return to this genre; Malawski would also score one more film, *Unvanquished City* (*Miasto nieujarzmione*), and Panufnik's fruitful collaboration would cease with his departure from the country. However, before this occurs, film music is of great interest to composers, as evidenced by an interview with Piotr Perkowski. The interviewer<sup>15</sup> states that this was the first time he had encountered the opinion that illustrative music was not a lower form of expression (this also applies to film music). As Perkowski states, *the latter has an extremely rewarding role to play as a promoter of underrated works*. Although, as the composer adds, *in Poland the situation in this area appears to be worse*, he is referring mainly to the conflicts between Związek Kompozytorów Polskich [The Polish Composers' Union] and "Film Polski" [The "Polish Film" State Enterprise].<sup>16</sup>

The artistic output of this period came in the form of Lutosławski's interesting scores for the films mentioned above. Also, among others, Palester's score for *Two Hours* (*Dwie godziny*), *Forbidden Songs* (*Zakazane piosenki*), *The Last Stage* (*Ostatni etap*)<sup>17</sup> and, in collaboration with Panufnik, for *Border Street*. One may add to the list Panufnik's score for *Zdradzieckie Serce* and Serocki's for *Devil's Ravine* (*Czarci Żleb*).

Much more telling than the musical analysis of these scores is the fact that they were mentioned and discussed on equal footing with other works at the composers' conference in Łagów Lubuski (which was the equivalent of the filmmakers' convention in Wisła).<sup>18</sup> For example, Włodzimierz Sokorski, analysing

Palester's work, said that *in many of his works, the composer demonstrates the features of a previously insurmountable formalism, and yet, in "Pieśń o ziemi naszej" [A Song about The Land], or even in his music for "Border Street," he was able to find a suggestive language that conveys our common experiences.*<sup>19</sup>

Piotr Perkowski, defending Zbigniew Turski's *Symphony No.2 Olympic* (*Symfonia Olimpijska*), attacked for its pessimism, draws a parallel between the tragic tone of this piece and the equally tragic tone of the music for *Border Street* and concludes that remembering past evil has value and even helps us build a new, better life.<sup>20</sup>

Half a year later, in a discussion concerning the first publicly presented works by "Grupa 49" [Group 49] (Baird, Krenz, Serocki), Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz<sup>21</sup> contrasts the *unprovoked, gracefully natural music* written for the film *Devil's Ravine* with Kazimierz Serocki's *Four Folk Dances* (*Cztery tańce ludowe*) for chamber orchestra. According to Iwaszkiewicz, the latter is an unsuccessful concession to the postulated folklore.

In the following period, the principles of film music will all but constitute a model for the creation of music. This, unfortunately, will not contribute to increasing the quality of either of them. Nevertheless, the first period of collaboration between music and film resulted in substantial achievements. Cinema attracted several outstanding composers whose interest in the genre, often taken up for the first time, brings results that are valuable from a purely musical point of view and interesting as cinematic solutions.<sup>22</sup> A limited number of musical and cinematic works were created at that time, which frequently followed the old patterns,<sup>23</sup> and yet new tendencies were coming to the fore within them, and one could observe a search for new means of expression and new forms, which guaranteed the coming, albeit slow, of a breakthrough. However, the decision was made at the Łagów and Wisła conferences to accelerate this breakthrough and do away with a liberal approach towards those who did not "keep up," were slow or resistant, eliminating a wide margin of creative output that did not include "optimistic and constructive ideas." Since the recommendations and prohibitions against music and film are similar, their future fates will continue to run parallel. And although the slogans of socialist realism can be translated much more directly into the language of film than music, there will still be some analogies here.

### Postulative realism (1950-1954)

At the June congress of composers (16-19.06.1950), Włodzimierz Sokorski took the following position in his programmatic speech: *... as its basic assumptions, socialist realism adopts the main theses of the great, progressive democratic musical tradition, without which there is not only no realistic music but no music at all.*<sup>24</sup> The author continues to demonstrate that there is no transition from the language of modernism to the language of socialist realism, thus eliminating the entire twentieth-century compositional output.

In fact, these demands were less dangerous in the sphere of grand generalisations, which were interpreted more or less flexibly and whose rationale was moreover irrefutable, than in the way they were translated into the language of

practice. At the same congress, Witold Rudziński<sup>25</sup> presented – as the agenda of Związek Kompozytorów Polskich – the following order of creative tasks: mass song, music for children, music for amateur bands, music for brass bands (e.g., the fire brigade), music for the army. Opera, chamber, and symphonic music came ninth, tenth, and eleventh, respectively. It would seem that if composers were genuinely sincere in their attitude towards the slogans of creating national music expressing the spirit of the profound changes of the age and accessible to the masses, they could only respond cynically to such a programme of creative work. However, it is not a matter of pointing out all the degenerations and vulgarisations accompanying the implementation of the slogans of the new stage; instead, we are attempting here to arrive at a definition of the role that film models played in the attempts to translate socialist realism into the language of music.

The issue of socialist realism in music was already taken up by Stefania Łobaczewska, who distanced herself from its primitive forms: *... in the first period of the new cultural policy in the People's Republic of Poland, the postulate of socialist realist art was, in practice, reduced to the crudest naturalism understood as an eclectic continuation of 19<sup>th</sup>-century mannerisms.*<sup>26</sup>

Marxist aesthetics – Łobaczewska refers here to German Nedoshivin – considers realistic art to be that which *truly shows the essence of knowable reality.*<sup>27</sup> This is contrary to non-Marxist aesthetics, which identified the issue of realism in music with naturalism or programmaticism. According to Łobaczewska, realism in music should, therefore, be considered a specific creative attitude, demonstrating the artist's organic connection with life and with his contemporary reality, which is expressed in his vivacious contact with this reality, in reacting emotionally to all its phenomena. Herein lies the source of those typical experiences which, each time taking shape in the artist's psyche and transferred in these typical and, at the same time, individual forms to the sphere of sound, give rise to what we call the 'content of realistic music.'<sup>28</sup>

Taking into account the postulatory nature of the slogans of socialist realism,<sup>29</sup> Łobaczewska considers the postulate of topicality, i.e., the presence of a specific fragment of reality in the work of art, as the principal one. *Socialist realism demands topicality understood in a sense similar to literature and visual art, a topicality which would leave no doubt as to what moves the artist in the life around him and what he shows the audience in his art as worthy of this emotion.* Łobaczewska does not overestimate the importance of this postulate, because she is inclined to consider it historically variable and relevant at a given stage of development of the art of socialist realism. Nevertheless, she attempts to deal with the idea of topicality in relation to music. She indicates programmatically associated conventions in purely instrumental music, citing examples of the expressive meaning of the so-called *seufzermotive*, *lament*, or *distinct types of emotionally tinged recitatives* adopted by instrumental music from opera. Such tricks have gained some social approval as *more or less clearly 'adhering' to a given extra-musical subject matter.*

The starting point for thus understood realism in so-called pure or absolute music is the music in film, whose natural connection with the content independent of it has led to the creation of a kind of language. It remains emotionally or even thematically intelligible even when the visual and musical processes are not synchronous. It is precisely certain devices or conventions often used in film music,

and serving clearly defined content, that have gained enough social approval and have become widespread enough to be used not only in their illustrative functions but also as a commentary or allusion, as reminiscence, or even as anticipation. The viewer is able to correctly associate pure emotions evoked by the music with the extra-musical content, even when the image does not suggest these associations directly. This is possible based on the prior habituation of the viewer to these conventions, picked up from the simplest and most unambiguously legible relationships. Similarly, when a listener acquires certain phrases common in dramatic, vocal-instrumental, or program music which carry for him some extra-musical meaning, he will also relate them to the content with which he is accustomed to associate these phrases when he hears them in a purely instrumental piece.

This is not the place to evaluate or indicate the consequences that the use of this cinematic angle, already considered primitive and outdated in film music, had on music.<sup>30</sup> However, we are interested in the extent to which such an angle brought both arts closer together in the discussed period.

Between 1950 and 1954, composers' film work continued to be held in high esteem, as evidenced by the state awards given equally to film music as to autonomous works. They were received by Sikorski for his score to *The Warsaw Debut* (*Warszawska Premiera*), Panufnik for *Dzieło Mistrza Stwosza* [*Veit Stoss' Masterpiece*],<sup>31</sup> and Serocki for *Young Chopin* (*Młodość Chopina*). Halina Czerny-Stefańska was also awarded for her musical illustration of the latter film.

However, the problem of how much parallelism was present in the realisation of the new period's slogans in music and film seems far more interesting. The criterion of topicality in the two arts was of a different nature. The main task facing composers was to incorporate folklore into stage forms by either reimagining authentic folk songs and dances, or using it as material or merely as inspiration. A great many works of this kind were written at the time: Lutosławski's *Little Suite* (*Mała suita*) and *Folk Melodies* (*Melodie ludowe na fortepian*)<sup>32</sup> or *Desiring Eyes* (*Pragną oczki*) for mixed choir and two pianos and *Katie* (*Kasia*) for string orchestra and two clarinets by Wiechowicz, who was the most distinguished composer in this area. Łobaczewska<sup>33</sup> points out that it was extremely easy to succumb to errors of vulgarisation in this area, although there was no shortage of indisputable achievements either. For example, Artur Malawski's *Wierchy* [*The Peaks*], a piece then known only in the stage version and recently performed as a ballet at the Warsaw Opera, was even compared to Karol Szymanowski's *Harnasie*.<sup>34</sup> Łobaczewska, considering the merits of this piece from the point of view of the criteria of socialist realism, comes to the following conclusion: ... *a positive moment here is the view of folklore as a certain holistic image, in which visions of nature, life, and experiences of the people and their art are combined. The composer constantly searches for that most essential, deepest expressive note that radiates from the totality of this image, though, as a result, he does not grasp it in its absolute purity. ... His work is ... as if only a secondary reflection and expression in music of this life and these experiences of the people, so strongly filtered through the prism of his own creative personality that his own image of it, which he creates, often obscures the real one.*<sup>35</sup>

This postulate of folklore, or, even more broadly, of a national character, bypassed cinema because these matters seemed too obvious to require special

attention. Besides, it is difficult to speak of something like film folklore, which could lead to a type of folk spectacle. Admittedly, such a notion could be applied to some historical Soviet films, as Jerzy Toeplitz<sup>36</sup> demonstrates by pointing out their naivety and oleograph nature, bringing them closer to a popular folk show. The populism of René Clair's films could also be described as stemming from urban folklore. However, such works are not present in the repertoire of the period under discussion. It is hard to include among them a rural film like *Difficult Love* (*Trudna miłość*), where the issue of authenticity, folk custom, and convention is by no means the primary concern of the authors. *Adventure in Marienstadt* (*Przygoda na Mariensztacie*) does not fit here either because it does not represent new urban folklore, having nothing in common with any form of authenticity.

Thus, while in music, the implementation of the postulates of socialist realism proceeds primarily based on authentic folk material, in film, authenticity does not come to the fore in any form. Lack of adherence to reality did not interfere with the concept of realism, whose postulatory nature was fully revealed in this particular field. For what was shown was not what is, but what should be, what could serve as a model and example.

Film, therefore, primarily fulfilled the postulate of topicality, which composers tried to follow as well, not only in the manner described above (concerning instrumental music) but also by developing vocal-instrumental forms. Łobaczewska<sup>37</sup> emphasises that their cultivation was also one of the main demands on music. Above all, the cantata was developed, and large forms of dramatic music, such as opera and ballet, were also attempted, without much success anyway.

There is undoubtedly some analogy between the way filmmakers tried to "deal" with topical or otherwise obligatory themes and the composers' efforts in the field of the cantata based, as Łobaczewska<sup>38</sup> emphasises, on texts by contemporary Polish poets from the angle of socialist subject matter. It is not so much a matter of thematic parallels, which make only anecdotal sense, for example, when one compares Jerzy Młodziejowski's cantata *Hejże młoty i do roboty*<sup>39</sup> [*Hey, Hammers! Get to Work!*] with *The Steel Hearts* (*Stalowe serca*) or the vast collection of cantatas about Stalin with *The Soldier of Victory* (*Żołnierz zwycięstwa* / a.k.a. *The Epopee of Warsaw* /). More characteristic is that film and music works of this period can be subject to the same or similar accusations. Most of the works created at that time have no value today other than historical, and many belong to the category of so-called "classical mistakes." According to Łobaczewska, the only cantata of indisputable value is Wojtowicz's *The Prophet* (*Prorok*).<sup>40</sup> Although she finds appreciation for Baird's *Ballada o żołnierskim kubku* [*A Ballad of the Soldier's Cup*], Łobaczewska considers Krenz's *Dwa miasta* [*Two Cities*] a "classical mistake."<sup>41</sup> The author refers here to the incommensurability of the expressive means for the realisation of such works (from Bach-type polyphony to mass song), the excessive predominance of text (recitation against the background of percussion or the transformation of a cantata into a mass song with orchestral accompaniment), and, finally, the inability to solve structural problems. This last accusation applies to instrumental works as well, where a conflict can be noticed between the authentic source (a folk song) inspiring the composer and the requirements of a modern stage piece.



Most films of this period can likewise be accused of the disproportion of means, the predominance of narrowly and schematically understood content, the disregard of form, and, finally, the inadequacy of the new subject matter and traditional ways of its execution. Although, to their credit, some works were also created at the time that deserve attention and high ratings. We have in mind Aleksander Ford's *Young Chopin* and *Five Boys from Barska Street*, Jerzy Zarzycki's *Unvanquished City*, Jan Rybkowski's *The Lonely House*, as well as Jerzy Kawalerowicz's *Cellulose* (*Celuloza* / a.k.a. *A Night of Remembrance* /) and *Under the Phrygian Star* (*Pod gwiazdą frygijską*). Apart from Kawalerowicz, it is characteristic that the representative works of this period are made by the "old," prewar filmmakers. At the same time, a group of young composers who immediately congregated after the Łagów convention and called themselves "Grupa 49" quickly came to prominence. Film would experience this invasion of the young a little later, and later still, these young composers (apart from Serocki, who started earlier) will come to the fore in film music. The group was formed by Tadeusz Baird, Jan Krenz, and Kazimierz Serocki, who were still students at the time. All three demonstrated a turn away from their previous activity by burning the works of their youth.<sup>42</sup> Although it might seem so, it did not end with that spectacular gesture; instead, the search for a new musical language capable of expressing the emotions of a modern man, and at the same time understandable not only to a narrow circle of initiates, began. The creative activity of "Grupa 49" was received and assessed in many ways, but it was undoubtedly an interesting initiative that had no equivalent in the field of film.

A phenomenon of this period characteristic from the point of view that also interests us is the production of two musical films: Jan Rybkowski's *The Warsaw Debut* with Kazimierz Sikorski's musical arrangement and Aleksander Ford's *Young Chopin* with Kazimierz Serocki's musical arrangement. Perhaps taking up this subject had more than just an anniversary aspect but was also an expression of a keener interest, as evidenced by the achieved artistic results. *Young Chopin* is undoubtedly an exception among music-biopics, which typically do not go beyond the formula of cheap melodrama. Zofia Lissa rates the musical arrangement of this film very highly: *Serocki has developed in a particularly interesting way ... those tasks of music that concern the representation of the creative imaginations of the films' characters. In "Young Chopin," he attempts to boldly and multifacetedly reconstruct Chopin's creative process, e.g., by directly linking Chopin's work (often his improvisations) with the musical impulses preceding it. For example, the street poor singing Christmas carols, Paganini's concerto, a village wedding, or even gunshots in the street directly precede the scenes in this film in which Chopin improvises by weaving overheard sounds or motifs into his own musical fabric. Not only do we clearly hear how the three street gunshots transform into the opening notes of the "Prelude in D minor," but in the excellent scene of the ailing Chopin's hallucinations, Serocki shows how the sounds of the postillion's trumpet transform into the initial motifs of the "Etude in A minor," or how the motifs of the "Prelude in F minor" stir up terror and fear in the composer's imagination. Serocki reconstructs the creative process in relation to the "Etude in C minor" in a most interesting way. Affected by the tragic news from Warsaw, Chopin, staying in Vienna, strikes loose chords and detached motifs of this Etude, initially not even corresponding to*

*the original known today. The shape of the piece we know as Chopin's "Etude in C minor" slowly emerges and matures. And it is here that Serocki's music captures this gradual transformation, clarification, and crystallisation of the composer's idea, constituting a very bold trick of film illustration.*<sup>43</sup>

The musical arrangement of *The Warsaw Debut*, on the other hand, was realised in a unique way, in that the music always occurs in its natural function – it thus becomes, to some extent, the protagonist of the film, the plot develops around it, and it is the subject of conflict. The intended contrast between Moniuszko's music and the fragments written by Sikorski, stylised in the spirit of the Italian opera, turned out vivid and convincing.

If one were to attempt a summary of the musical and cinematic output of this period, one could refer to Witold Lutosławski's term "substitute creativity," which he used on another occasion. The composer describes it as follows: *At a given moment, not being able to write as I would like to, I write as I can. The degree of the composer's commitment to such creative work may even be remarkably high, even though it has something of an act of resignation.*<sup>44</sup>

The question is, however, whether it was genuinely impossible for artists at the time to deliver works that were both good and in keeping with the demands of socialist realism or whether the margin of freedom left to them was so small that such works simply could not be created?

While in the field of film the answer is simple, as the administrative control over creative work could be complete and comprehensive, the same administrative control – as Mycielski<sup>45</sup> writes in his polemic with Schäffer – could not point the finger at anything in the score. On the basis of this opinion, Schäffer<sup>46</sup> finds no mitigating circumstances for the works of this period. It is because, in his view, composers could always write as they wished as long as they did not use such terms as "dodecaphonic" and "serial" since no one would notice what kind of music they were writing anyway. Mycielski disagrees with this assessment, claiming that the most valuable pieces, such as Panufnik's *Lullaby* (*Kołysanka*) or Lutosławski's *Symphony No. 1* (*I Symfonia*), vanished from the repertoire not because someone tried to prove them incompatible with the required assumptions but because the composers did not resort to any pretexts (e.g., folk or thematic) that would prove their conformity with the requirements of the period.

It is hard to disagree with Mycielski. Especially if one considers that, despite fewer opportunities for state control, it was more difficult for a composer to "fit in" within the outlined framework than for a filmmaker, for whom socialist realism boiled down to an attitude towards reality. Even more so since the requirements of socialist realism also interfered with matters of technique and musical language.

The contact between the two arts, established at the time even more closely than before, will continue to develop further in immensely interesting ways in the following years.

## Breakthrough and stabilisation (1955-1964)

The groundbreaking and aggressive nature of this period in art is beyond doubt. In the field of film, it is credited with the birth of the 'Polish school' (of international rather than purely local significance), with the creation of a number of works of the highest calibre, and the immediate establishing of young artists, such as Andrzej Wajda and Andrzej Munk, as the world's leading filmmakers. In the musical output of this period, one can observe a vigorous and multidirectional development, the dominance of experimental attitudes as well as the rapid assimilation of the latest trends such as serial music, electronic and concrete techniques, and aleatoricism. Alongside the invasion of many young, new talents (Penderecki, Górecki), a characteristic phenomenon occurred whereby artists representing a rather moderate attitude (e.g., Bolesław Szabelski) moved to avant-garde positions. However, it is not only the radicalism of attitudes and the feverish rush towards exploration that link music and film in this period. This type of connection results from reasons of a broader and more general nature, which determine the direction of the arts' development but do not determine their mutual relationship. These determinants will now appear as a result of autonomous developmental impulses arising from the nature and character of both music and film art.

The development of contemporary music is moving in a direction that enables it to be used more fully in film. Meanwhile, the development of film technology is pointing out new ways and areas of exploration for musical creation, which at a certain point leads to such a far-reaching synthesis of visual and audial factors that their interaction seems both inevitable and indispensable. On the one hand, we are dealing with film works (Polish experimental films are the best example here), in which the contribution of the sound factor is so great that they are equally suitable for listening and watching, or the initial musical idea organises the whole (*A Walk in the Old City of Warsaw / Staromiejski spacerok*;<sup>47</sup> *Życie jest piękne / Life is Beautiful*). On the other hand, theorists of contemporary music<sup>48</sup> draw attention to its increasingly spatial character and the demand for visual representation resulting from its very structure. The close contact between music and film in Poland throughout the entire two postwar decades makes it possible to consider this problem not only on a purely theoretical level but also in relation to specific material. We have already emphasised the very characteristic fact of the most outstanding Polish composers' collaboration with film. In the last period under discussion, this fact is all the more interesting because film scores are being written by the entire musical avant-garde, including such composers as Tadeusz Baird, Włodzimierz Kotoński, Andrzej Markowski, Krzysztof Penderecki, Bogusław Schäffer, and others.

Instrumental experiments in Polish film music are not only related to the general tendencies towards an "analytical" or "layered" treatment of the orchestra by composers. At the same time, they express the search for a new art of sound specific to film, one whose characteristics the viewer would not associate with any other musical style. Film technique inspirations and the tricks discovered while cooperating with cinema paved the way for the transition towards

new techniques: electronic and concrete music. Even more so, as the composers' first attempts in this field are linked to their work for film.<sup>49</sup> Exposing musical instruments in roles that are unusual for them (percussive treatment of the piano, the flute as the basis for harmonic consonances, melodic use of percussion), sound augmentation (e.g., female vocals in *I Walk in the Sun*), mixing musical and scratch effects (*The Glass Mountain / Szklana góra*), or setting music to dialogue have a primarily extra-musical meaning in film. On the other hand, they enrich the register of tricks in instrumental music and lead the composers' imagination in a particular direction. For example, in his *Stanzas (Strofy)*, Krzysztof Penderecki introduces such tricks as plucking and strumming the piano strings with the fingers, the *glissando* and *tremolo* of a broom, the use of the piano body as a resonator (the reciter shouts by the strings freed from the damper), the scordatura of out-of-tune violin, the clatter of the flap mechanism on a flute, etc.

Of course, the influence of the film technique (and composers' cooperation with cinema in general) on instrumentation should not be exaggerated. Nevertheless, it seems significant, if only because of the increasing privileging of the technical moment, which brings both arts onto some common ground. Zofia Kułakowska<sup>50</sup> analyses this problem using the example of the evolution of Andrzej Markowski's instrumentation technique. As the author writes, *Markowski searches for new and ever richer musical means to achieve the intended sound effects determined by the films' themes. Obviously, this search is not limited exclusively to the methods of handling the orchestra, but instrumentation is one of the most essential elements of his film music style. The vanishing of traditional instrumentation patterns and the departure from certain regularities in the handling of the orchestra in favour of a concept that is sometimes extremely difficult to perform led the composer to a point where only a step separates instrumental music from electronic and concrete music, in terms of their role and function in the film work, as well as the launch of new sound possibilities. At such a point, the transition to a new compositional technique is all but inevitable and certainly beneficial for the art of filmmaking for a few reasons. Primarily, one must mention the complete independence of the composition from the orchestral performance apparatus and the entirely new possibilities of handling the sound material.*<sup>51</sup>

So far, film has made use of electronic and concrete music in short experimental forms.<sup>52</sup> Here, the primacy goes to Włodzimierz Kotoński (*House / Dom* / *Albo rybka / Or Fish* / *New Janko Musician / Nowy Janko Muzykant*) and Andrzej Markowski (*A Walk in the Old City of Warsaw, Once There Was / Był sobie raz* / *School / Szkoła*). Markowski also attempted at using the new techniques in feature films, such as *Story of One Fighter (Historia jednego myśliwca)*, or on a larger scale in *First Spaceship on Venus (Der schweigende Stern, pol. Milcząca gwiazda)*.

In Polish contemporary music, one can also observe an innovative approach to the use of time and space in a piece,<sup>53</sup> which is most likely not unrelated to the film experiences of composers, who have long been solving the issue of the spatial organisation of sound in this aspect.

This problem is addressed by artists in their autonomous works. In *Three Diagrams for Solo Flute op. 15 (Diagramy op. 15 na flet solo)*, Henryk Górecki plays out the contrast between time and space in such a way that, with the aleatoric organisation of time (the three *Diagrams*, the order of which is discretionary, are

three structural versions of the same passage), space implements the technique of total serialisation. The interest in space is even more pronounced in *Epitaph* (*Epitafium*), another piece by this composer. One of the critics commented that the system of pauses, the effects of silence *resulting in the static so characteristic of the pointillist technique do not allow the piece to be grasped as a unified "temporal continuum."*<sup>54</sup>

The "layered" nature of Baird's *Exhortation* (*Egzorta*) – a piece, after all, genetically related to film<sup>55</sup> – seems to stem from cinematic inspirations since one can observe certain analogies with a soundtrack. In Baird's piece, we can distinguish three colour layers differentiated by articulation: the layer of faint noises, rhythmic-sonorous accents, and the fundamental vertical mass. In the first two, the author uses sounds of an indeterminate pitch, while the third is the carrier of the series. Penderecki's *Canon* (*Kanon*) also evokes associations with film due to its stereophonic character (the run played back from the tape, the speaker system).

The analogies indicated above have, in fact, little in common with clearly and emphatically identifiable influences. Instead, the observed facts prove a different kind of relationship. Namely, that during this period of increased experimentation in film and music, the zone of related phenomena in both of these areas expands considerably. A matter that goes beyond the relations within the world of Polish art of the two decades under discussion is, as already indicated, the direction of the evolution of film and contemporary music, which results in a series of emerging tangent points that function differently depending on art communities and the creative individuals operating within them.

The stabilisation of Polish film production, a limited range of forms and genres in which artists express themselves, and the weakening of interest in pure experimentation automatically narrow down the interactions with music,<sup>56</sup> which, in turn, has much less potential for influence at a time when cinematography is focused on penetrating reality, which can include music as an object of interest when it is specifically justified by the course of action.

One can also speak of a stabilisation of the forms of the composers' co-operation with cinema. Of course, the experimental character of the previously described activities does not extend to the entirety of music-film relations. Yet, certain principles on which the constant contact of these two areas is based have become universally accepted. They are not so much the achievements of the last experimental period as the result of practice and experiences of the entire two decades under discussion. Although film music is just as often written by composers specialising only in this particular genre (e.g., Adam Walaciński), it is still customary to involve leading composers who transfer their latest experiences and workshop experiments to film.

For all their concern for the modern character and high quality of music, Polish filmmakers are increasingly inclined towards the model of an integrated film work, in which a harmony of factors prevails and none dominates the others. Considered from this point of view, Polish film has never become musicalized to the same extent as, for example, English film in the 1940s or Soviet in the 1950s, where attention was paid primarily to the amount of music and its autonomous value. The evolution of the film score model towards musical modernity on the one hand and towards complete synthesis with the other factors of the film work

on the other has led to solutions different than before, likewise in those genres that primarily make use of popular music.

After the initial, not very successful attempts to use operetta patterns (Czesław Aniołkiewicz's music for *Adventure in Marienstadt*) and sub-par hit songs (e.g., Jerzy Harald's film music), Polish cinema is turning towards jazz. Admittedly, jazz is exploited with some exaggeration and does not always harmoniously fit into the film. This can be observed, for example, in *Adam's Two Ribs* (*Dwa żebra Adama*), where the musical aspect has been resolved well, but its concept does not seem to be the most fitting. It is also difficult to understand why the music for the rural drama *Here Is My Home* (*Mam tu swój dom*) was entrusted to the famous jazz specialist Krzysztof Komeda.

Apart from such cases, the use of jazz leads to interesting and excellent results, as one can observe, for example, in *Innocent Sorcerers* (*Niewinni czarodzieje*), *Knife in the Water* (*Nóż w wodzie*, with music by Komeda), or *Night Train* (*Pociąg*, scored by Andrzej Trzaskowski). Apart from the advantage of indisputable modernity, jazz permeates the film more smoothly and freely than other types of popular music. For example, the function of a hit song in a film is generally purely decorative, and its weaving into the course of the plot encounters numerous obstacles. The trend for a song of one's own began with Wojciech Jerzy Has's *Farewells* (*Pożegnania*, /a.k.a. *Lydia Ate the Apple*/) promoting the hit *Pamiętasz, była jesień* [*Do You Remember, It Was Autumn*]. Even Andrzej Munk succumbed to this fashion by including the song *Kriegsgefangenenpost* in *Bad Luck* (*Zezowate szczęście*).

On average, the quality of Polish film scores can be considered exceedingly high. When special cases are taken into account (music for experimental films at their forefront), awarding our film music one of the first places in the world will certainly not be an exaggeration. At least here, it is necessary to do justice to composers who generally are overlooked but whose unnoticed contribution to the development of Polish cinema deserves full recognition.

Transl. Artur Piskorz

<sup>1</sup> J. Toeplitz, *Historia sztuki filmowej*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1959, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Lissa, "Muzyka filmowa", in: *Kultura muzyczna Polski Ludowej 1944-1955*, eds. J. M. Chomiński, Z. Lissa, Kraków 1957, p. 262. The author misstates the title of Andrzej Wajda's 1955 short film *I Walk in the Sun*, whose original title should read: *Idę do słońca*. [Editor's note]

<sup>3</sup> "Deklaracja Zjazdu Kompozytorów Polskich", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1945, no. 1, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> S. Wiechowicz, "Kompozytor w dobie dzisiejszej", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1945, no. 1, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> "Manifest II Międzynarodowego Zjazdu Kompozytorów i Muzykologów w Pradze", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1948, no. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> R. Palester, "Twórczość muzyczna w Nowej Polsce", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1946, no. 11-12, pp. 16-17.

<sup>7</sup> Z. Lissa, "Muzyka symfoniczna", in: *Kultura muzyczna...* op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> J. Broszkiewicz, "Ukryta rewolucja", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1945, no. 4, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Z. Mycielski, "Czekamy na nową muzykę", *Nowiny Literackie* 1948, no. 32.

<sup>11</sup> See: *Ruch Muzyczny* 1945, no. 1, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> *Ruch Muzyczny* 1945, no. 3, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Ruch Muzyczny* 1946, no. 1, p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> W. Pawłowski, "Wywiad z Piotrem Perkowskiem", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1949, no. 7-8, p. 11.

- <sup>16</sup> The two institutions cooperated: Stanisław Golachowski, a distinguished musicologist, became the music director of "Film Polski" in 1945; to commemorate the Chopin Year, "Film Polski" announced a competition for a film short that would meet the requirements of a full-length feature about Chopin. As is known, the first prize was not awarded, and none of the works met the requirements of the planned film. Związek Kompozytorów Polskich put forward demands (*Ruch Muzyczny* 1948, no. 3) for filmmakers to make short films popularising music related to particularly important anniversaries. The reason for the misunderstandings was the lack of a collective agreement between the ZKP and "Film Polski," which wanted to have a free hand in engaging non-member composers, which was opposed by the Union.
- <sup>17</sup> It is worth quoting here, as a titbit, the information recorded in the 7<sup>th</sup> issue of *Muzyka* from 1951, which notes that the French composer Henri Dutilleux wrote a song to words by Jean Goudrey-Rety [sic] conceived as a commentary on *The Last Stage*. It was performed in Paris before the premiere of the film.
- <sup>18</sup> "Konferencja Kompozytorów w Łagowie Lubuskim – 5.08-8.08.1949, Protokół", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1949, no. 14.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 13. The original title of Palester's ballet should read: *Pieśń o ziemi*. [Editor's note]
- <sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.
- <sup>21</sup> Ksi, "Na przykładzie pewnego koncertu", *Muzyka* 1950, no. 1.
- <sup>22</sup> See: Z. Lissa, "Muzyka filmowa", op. cit.
- <sup>23</sup> In this respect, the accusations levelled against composers can also be applied to filmmakers. *Forbidden Songs*, or even *Border Street*, which is of outstanding artistic value, would be a typical example of a film made in the "prewar" style.
- <sup>24</sup> W. Sokorski, "O realistyczny warsztat twórczy", *Muzyka* 1950, no. 3-4, p. 6.
- <sup>25</sup> W. Rudziński, "Program pracy ZKP", *Muzyka* 1950, no. 3-4, p. 10.
- <sup>26</sup> S. Łobaczewska, "Próba zbadania realizmu socjalistycznego w muzyce na podstawie polskiej twórczości 10-lecia", *Studia Muzykologiczne* 1956, vol. 5 (text written in 1954).
- <sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 14.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.
- <sup>29</sup> Łobaczewska distinguishes socialist realism from realism in general, which for her is a developmental trend manifesting itself through all periods and styles of the history of music (p. 18), whereas *socialist realism concerns only the art of a specific historical period ... The social function of music changes in relation to the preceding period, along with the audience: from a purely aesthetic function, serving to satisfy the needs of an elite bourgeois audience, to a function that we will define as a factor in the ideological reconstruction of man* (p. 23).
- <sup>30</sup> Given these assumptions, it becomes clear why socialist realism renounced the tradition of all the anti-programmatic trends of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Instead, it tried to disseminate and make available the language of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which best suited the listening habits of the average audience member. Therefore, to remain in accordance with the postulates and guiding slogans of socialist realism, the development of musical language had to proceed incredibly slowly.
- <sup>31</sup> This music is also known as an autonomous piece *Gothic Concerto* (*Koncert gotycki*) for the trumpet.
- <sup>32</sup> In 1958, the composer assessed his activities at that time in the following way: *Between 1945 and 1954, I wrote a number of pieces on folkloric themes. I treat most of them as a broad margin of my proper work*. See B. Pilarski, "Witold Lutosławski odpowiada na pytania", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1958, no. 7, p. 4.
- <sup>33</sup> S. Łobaczewska, op. cit., p. 61.
- <sup>34</sup> See: B. Schäffer, "Artur Malawski", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1958, no. 6, p. 9.
- <sup>35</sup> S. Łobaczewska, op. cit., pp. 104-105.
- <sup>36</sup> J. Toeplitz, op. cit., p. 273.
- <sup>37</sup> S. Łobaczewska, op. cit., p. 70.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibidem.
- <sup>39</sup> Correct title: *Hejże młoty! Do roboty!* [Editor's note]
- <sup>40</sup> Correct spelling of the pianist and composer's name: Bolesław Woytowicz. [Editor's note]
- <sup>41</sup> Ibidem, p. 73.
- <sup>42</sup> T. Marek, "Grupa 49", *Muzyka* 1953, no. 5-6, p. 49.
- <sup>43</sup> Z. Lissa, "Muzyka filmowa", op. cit., p. 251.
- <sup>44</sup> B. Pilarski, op. cit., p. 2.
- <sup>45</sup> Z. Mycielski, "Dlaczego nie piszę o nowej muzyce współczesnej", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1958, no. 5, p. 3.
- <sup>46</sup> B. Schäffer, "Sytuacja w polskiej muzyce współczesnej", *Życie Literackie* 22.12.1957.
- <sup>47</sup> The original title of the film should read: *Spacerek Staromiejski*. [Editor's note]
- <sup>48</sup> See: articles published in successive issues of *Die Reihe. Information über serielle Musik*, Universal Edition, Wien – Zürich – London (published since 1955).

- <sup>49</sup> Andrzej Markowski hosted a screening of short films at the Experimental Music Seminar organised by the Polish Experimental Studio on June 1-6, 1959.
- <sup>50</sup> Z. Kułakowska, "Problemy instrumentacji w muzyce filmowej Andrzeja Markowskiego", *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 1961, no. 2.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibidem, p. 44.
- <sup>52</sup> Zofia Lissa discusses this problem in detail in her article "Muzyka w polskich filmach eksperymentalnych", *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 1961, no. 2.
- <sup>53</sup> The loudspeaker and the magnetic tape initiated a new attitude towards musical space and its organiser – time. The space between the sound source and the listener is not something permanent, but it can be changed and organised so that it can be included in the structure of the musical form. See: "Słownik terminów muzyki współczesnej", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1960, no. 21.
- <sup>54</sup> B. Pociąg, "Epitaforium Henryka Góreckiego", *Ruch Muzyczny* 1959, no. 6.
- <sup>55</sup> Baird himself writes: *The main idea of a piece written much later titled "Exhortation" exists in embryonic form in one of the fragments of my music for E. and Cz. Petelski's film "The Stone Sky" ("Kamienne niebo")*. See: "Z ankiety Rola muzyki w dziele filmowym", *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 1961, no. 2.
- <sup>56</sup> Zofia Lissa, while analysing Polish experimental films, comes to the conclusion that *film, in shaping the visible layer, increasingly uses methods taken from music. ... This happens in quite different ways, but is always reducible to methods typical of music. The further the visual layer moves away from reality, the more strongly it takes over musical organizing principles. For purely abstract films (tachisme in motion, kineforms), musical methods will probably become the only basis for integration*. See: Z. Lissa, "Muzyka w polskich filmach eksperymentalnych", op. cit., p. 23.

### Alicja Helman

Born in 1935, died in 2021; Polish film scholar, film critic, and academic teacher. Her research concerned cinema history, aesthetics, and theory, as well as film studies methodology. She graduated in musicology from the Faculty of History at the University of Warsaw. In 1955, she started working at the Department of History and Theory of Music at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, but soon her interests shifted towards film. From 1957 to 1960, she collaborated with the weekly magazine *Ekran*, and from 1960, for over a year, she was the secretary of the editorial board of *Kwartalnik Filmowy*, where she published her first scientific texts on film. In 1963, she defended her doctoral thesis, written under the supervision of Jerzy Toeplitz and published as *Rola muzyki w filmie* [*The Role of Music in Film*] (1964); she obtained her habilitation in 1970 based on the book *O dziele filmowym* [*On the Film Work*]. From 1972, she taught film studies at the Jagiellonian University. In 1974, she co-founded the Film Studies Department at the Institute of Polish Philology at the University of Silesia in Katowice, which she managed for the next 10 years. From 1986, she headed the Film and Television Department at the Institute of Polish Philology and, from 1996, the Audiovisual Arts Department at the Faculty of Management and Social



Communication in Kraków. She collaborated with the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Department of Film Studies at the University of Łódź. She obtained the title of professor in 1998. Her vocation was pedagogical work; she supervised more than forty completed PhDs, educated several generations of Polish film scholars, and supported their work and careers. Author of hundreds of articles and dozens of books on film studies, initiator of publishing series, editor and co-author of the ten-volume *Słownik pojęć filmowych* [*Dictionary of Film Terms*] (1991-1998). She published in all major Polish film magazines, both academic (*Kwartalnik Filmowy*, *Studia Filmoznawcze*, *Ekrany*, *Pleograf*) and those aimed at a wider audience (*Ekran*, *Film*, *Kino*).

#### **Słowa kluczowe:**

muzyka filmowa;  
muzyka autonomiczna;  
film dźwiękowy;  
Konferencja  
Kompozytorów  
i Krytyków  
Muzycznych 1949;  
Stefania Łobaczewska;  
Alicja Helman

#### **Abstrakt**

Alicja Helman

#### **Związki kultury muzycznej i filmowej**

Przedmiotem refleksji jest miejsce i funkcja muzyki w filmie, z uwzględnieniem czynników politycznych warunkujących sytuację w polskiej kulturze po II wojnie światowej. W rysie historycznym autorka wyróżnia trzy okresy. Pierwszy to lata 1945–1949, kiedy po okresie okupacji twórcy dążyli do odzyskania kontaktu z szeroką publicznością, w czym istotny udział miały teatr i film. Pozostawało to w zgodzie z politycznym postulatem sztuki dla mas przy zachowaniu względnej swobody formalnej. Drugi obejmuje lata 1950–1954 – rozpoczęto wówczas wdrażanie doktryny realizmu socjalistycznego ogłoszonej podczas Konferencji Kompozytorów i Krytyków Muzycznych w Łagowie Lubuskim w sierpniu 1949 r. W praktyce oznaczało to powrót do tradycji muzycznych XIX w., ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem inspiracji folklorystycznych, co znajdowało odbicie również w muzyce filmowej. Ostatnia część artykułu dotyczy lat 1955–1964: czasu względnej wolności artystycznej oraz powrotu do muzyki eksperymentalnej i nowoczesnej, związanego między innymi z rozwojem oraz doskonaleniem technik nagraniowych. **(Materiał nierecenzowany; pierwodruk: „Kwartalnik Filmowy” 1964, nr 53–54, s. 72–85).**



*Suite Varsovienne*, dir. Tadeusz Makarczyński (1946)



*Unvanquished City*, dir. Jerzy Zarzycki (1950)