



<http://dx.doi.org/10.16926/em.2022.17.08>

Anna RUTKOWSKA

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4854-3584>

The Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences

e-mail: anna.rutkowska@ispan.pl

The faces of the guitar in Poland up to 1981 in the context of the Polish Radio Archive records

translation of an article published in this issue <http://dx.doi.org/10.16926/em.2022.17.07>

How to cite: Anna Rutkowska, *The faces of the guitar in Poland up to 1981 in the context of the Polish Radio Archive records*, "Edukacja Muzyczna" 2022, no 17, pp. 39–64.

Abstract

The Polish Radio's long-lasting broadcasting monopoly brought about the technological and later historical as well as political relegation of the guitar, in particular classical guitar, to a musical niche. The aim of the present study of a collection of recordings and programming documents stored at the Polish Radio Archive was to reveal the non-linear nature of the history of the popularisation of guitar music in Poland.

Keywords: radio, Ławrusiewicz, Kliszewski, Chybiński, Tansman, Powroźniak, guitar music in Poland.

Date of submission: October 12, 2022

Review 1 sent/received: October 16, 2022 / October 17, 2022

Review 2 sent/received: October 16, 2022 / October 29, 2022

Review 3 sent/received: October 16, 2022 / October 17, 2022

Date of acceptance: December 1, 2022

In the pre-phonographic era, the guitar was a very popular musical instrument in Poland, which made a distinct mark on literature (poetry¹, novels², short stories³, drama⁴, legends⁵), non-fiction⁶, popular science⁷, parapsychology⁸, biographies⁹,

¹ Probably the oldest mention of guitar playing in Poland is found in Stanisław Trembecki's poem *Powązki* from 1774. It tells the story of a couple of lovers who, having come to Powązki, keep themselves amused and "strum away on the guitar" (S. Trembecki, *Zofiówka. Polanka i Powązki*, Lwów 1924, p. 31). Later, the guitar is also mentioned by B. Zaleski in *Do gitary*, a poem dated ca. 1824, and A. Mickiewicz in the epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*: "You see that guitar there; go, get the guitar and give us a mazurka! I, the Major, will lead out in the first couple" (A. Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz*, translated by George Rapall Noyes, London – Toronto 1917, first edition in 1834).

² The old clerk Ignacy Rzecki, one of the main characters in *Lalka* by Bolesław Prus (first edition in 1887), kept an unused double-barrelled shotgun above his bed, and under it a guitar, which he used occasionally. (B. Prus, *Lalka*, Warszawa 1949, vol. 1, p. 11); later, the guitar also makes an appearance in the hands of countess Camelli's brother (W. Reymont, *Rok 1794: ostatni sejm Rzeczypospolitej, powieść historyczna*, Kraków 1913, pp. 7–8).

³ J.I. Kraszewski, the short story *Budnik*: "The steward's wife, born in Warsaw and recently taken away from there by the son of the chamberlain, having received a decent dowry, went from being the lord's favourite to Mr Bizunkiewicz's wife. This good woman, not at all involved in feminine work, was entirely devoted to fashion, music (she played the Spanish guitar) and good company", in: *ibidem*, *Wybór pism*, vol. 1: *Powieści sielskie*, Warszawa 1884, pp. 104–105.

⁴ A. Fredro in *Zemsta [Revenge]* (first edition in 1834) made Papkin an owner of a guitar.

⁵ L. Siemieński, *Podania i legendy polskie, ruskie i litewskie*, Poznań 1845, p. 48 – a story of a blacksmith who was guided by the ghost of a Teutonic Knight killed in the battle of Christburg, a castle in which one of the halls was "full of guitar music and singing, nothing but dance and debauchery".

⁶ M. Konopnicka, *Mickiewicz, jego życie i duch*, Warszawa 1899, p. 8: "There was no shortage of relatives in the backwoods, such as Felicyan Mickiewicz, who – «finished schools and was famous in them for his wit», yet wore work garments and ploughed his own field himself after marrying that «Józia», who dressed up and wore earrings on her way to the harvest, and would then sit on a sheaf with a guitar, playing and singing: «Come to me, my knights!»".

⁷ A.J. Rolle, *Niewiasty kresowe. Opowiadania historyczne*, Warszawa 1883, p. 10 and 192: "Fundamental changes occurred in the 17th century: the Ruthenia became completely Polonized; [...] A woman left to her own devices [...] acquires such tastes that are characteristic of women of the West – learns to play the harp, guitar, melodeon and harpsichord and to sing not only pious but also worldly texts". And later: "Rather than ride horses or enjoy shooting, our dear ladies played the zither, harp and guitar". Also, Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Gry i zabawy....*, Warszawa 1831, p. 195 and further.

⁸ S. Radziszewski, *Wiedza tajemna*, Warszawa 1904, p. 112, lists the paraphernalia accompanying a séance involving 14 people: "a coffer serving as a seat for the medium, two sofas, a music box, two guitars, two drums and as many bells, a lacquered table, a large Chinese umbrella and a chest". Later, J. Świtkowski, *Okultyzm i magia*, Lwów 1939, p. 90, gives the following example while explaining the phenomenon of telekinesis: "the guitar leaves its spot on the wardrobe and flies in the air, making sounds that resemble strings being plucked by fingers".

⁹ In a monograph devoted to the Warsaw bookseller and printer Michał Gröll (1722–1798), the author mentions the fact that Gröll (who was widely known in Warsaw during his lifetime), apart from his bookselling and publishing activity, "acted as the middleman not only when it came to finding a 'madam' to raise and teach children, a headmaster or a French teacher", but also in the case of dance and guitar instructors. (A. Pawiński, *Michał Gröll – obrazek na tle epoki stanisławowskiej*, Kraków 1896, p. 11).

religious publications¹⁰ and even poems for children¹¹ from that period. We also know of the activity of several prominent guitar soloists.¹² Moreover, as many as three different Polish broadcasting stations took advantage of the guitar's popularity, creating their signature tunes with the use of the instrument¹³.

The Polish Radio began its activity in the interwar period – a time when the oldest medium for recording and reproducing sound (Edison's phonograph) became a thing of the past. For this reason, no phonographic cylinders with guitar recordings can be found at the Polish Radio Archive. It should be pointed out, however, that the guitar did not lend itself to acoustic registrations (i.e. without the use of a microphone). Recordings of this kind are a rare occurrence in the world¹⁴. Technological innovations such as Edison's phonograph or Berliner's gramophone reached Poland at the turn of the century, and a relevant publication explaining the lack of guitar recordings was published here in 1905:

As for solo instruments, we have relatively few reproduction records. In most cases, individual instruments are best accompanied by a piano. Large trumpets such as the bombardon, helicon and French horn are completely unsuitable for phonographic recording, and so is the bass drum; these instruments are even excluded from phonographic recordings of orchestral performances. On the other hand, the small trumpet, also known as flugelhorn, yields spectacular results when accompanied by a quiet orchestra (e.g. Noskowski's Serenade, performed at the gramophone records factory of the "Columbia" company). The zither, guitar, mandolin and cello are also not suitable for phonographic reproduction, whereas the violin is delightful in the hands of a virtuoso performer¹⁵.

¹⁰ According to the diary of Archbishop Michał, the guitar as an element of life's pleasure or as an instrument of "unclean" provenance was rejected by Maria Franciszka Kozłowska in her monastic life: "Mother also liked music and dancing, and she played the guitar herself, but she later gave up this pleasure for the glory of God" (cf. *Dzieło wielkiego miłosierdzia*, Płock 1927, p. 105).

¹¹ M. Konopnicka, *Filuś, Miluś i Kizia: nasze kotki*, Warszawa 1927, p. 5.

¹² Feliks Horecki (1796–1870), Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz (1805–1881), Numa Łepkowski (1805–1887), Stanisław Prus Szczepanowski (1814–1877), Marek Konrad Sokołowski (1818–1883), and Ignacy Downar Zapolski (1829–1865), who "performed in public in Orenburg, playing the guitar" (cf. P. Zieliński, *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich: podróżnicy, odkrywcy, zdobywcy, badacze, eksploratorzy, emigranci – pamiętnikarze, działacze i pisarze migracyjni*, Warszawa 1933, p. 623).

¹³ They include the signature tune of the Lviv broadcasting station composed by T. Sereżyński, the tune of the Kraków broadcasting station created with the use of an "automatic guitar machine" (see the cover of "Antena" from 12 March 1939) and the post-war tune of Warsaw II, a construction based on guitar strings made by Jarosław Bołdok.

¹⁴ A comprehensive look at the world's earliest guitar recordings in: M. Marrington, *Recording the Classical Guitar*, New York – Oxon 2021.

¹⁵ W. Filasiewicz, *O fonografii (wg odczytu wygłoszonego w I szkole realnej w Krakowie dnia 21 czerwca 1905 roku)*, Kraków 1905, p. 18. While Filasiewicz entitled his work *O fonografii* [*On the Phonograph*], he discusses the effects of acoustic recording techniques regardless of device type (phonograph, graphophone, gramophone etc.).

Until the mid-1920s, the technological limitations (low dynamics, a significantly limited bandwidth and storage capacity – from 2 to 4 minutes) favoured the kind of repertoire which produced the best results in phonographic recording. It included male opera arias, orchestral marches for incomplete ensembles, piano medleys, light music, dance pieces, as well as some solo piano and violin compositions. This created a kind of feedback loop: only the recordings that sounded good were sold. Other kinds of music were pushed into the background in the minds of the audience; this concerned instruments such as the guitar, but also a large subset of music that did not meet the technological requirements, e.g. large-scale compositions that did not fit on a single piece of storage or impressionism, often oscillating between the *p* and *ppp* dynamics, which got lost in the sound carrier's own noise (caused by the friction between the needle and the grooves), hence being impossible to record at that time. The practice of making music at home also fell prey to the phonographic industry, as it was replaced by playing music from records. To summarise, in the short period between 1888¹⁶ and 1925¹⁷ within the territory of Poland understood as a nation, the guitar went from being an instrument that could be found in "nearly every home"¹⁸ to one that was marginalised and did not have a base of performers.

The invention of the microphone, which coincided with the launch of the Polish Radio, changed the state of affairs for the guitar; nevertheless, the station started broadcasting at a time of a vacuum in guitar music. Guitar recordings were only starting to appear on the so-called electric records, mostly abroad.¹⁹ In spite of this, the radio schedule published in nearly every issue of the weekly

¹⁶ Launch year of T.A. Edison's new improved phonograph and E. Berliner's gramophone.

¹⁷ Launch year of the Polish Radio and the approximate beginning of the era of electric recordings.

¹⁸ "The Spanish guitar, a successor to the lute, is so common in our country that it can be found in almost every home..." (R. Truskolaski, *Szkoła na gitarę hiszpańską: ułożona i ofiarowana W. Karolowi Kurpińskiemu*, Warszawa 1820, p. 2). Admittedly, Truskolaski might have only meant the so-called better homes, but even at the end of the 19th century, the guitar appeared frequently in "Kurjer Warszawski" ["Warsaw Herald"] as a second-hand trade item: "Selling: concert zither – 10 roubles, violin – 10, guitar – 6, black flute – 6, small music box – 3, 10-9 Chmielna Street (cf.: "Kurjer Warszawski" of 30 April 1898, R. 78, no. 188, p. 13). As can be seen from other advertisements, the price of a used instrument was fairly stable: "Guitar for sale, 6 silver roubles. 58 Dzielna Street, flat no. 2" ("Kurjer Warszawski" of 7 March 1897, R. 77, no. 66, p. 18). At that time, small pianos were sold on the secondary market for 120–150 roubles, and the asking price for concert instruments was as high as 260 roubles (cf.: "Kurjer Warszawski" of 7 March 1897, R. 77, no. 66, p. 18; "Kurjer Warszawski" of 30 April 1898, R. 78, no. 188, p. 13). The guitar was therefore a widely available accompaniment instrument.

¹⁹ Luise Walker, who debuted in Austria in 1925, described the condition of pre-war guitar music in Europe on the basis of her own experience: "At that time, such a thing as a concert guitar was completely unheard of [...] I was constantly being asked what I was actually going to sing, because the guitar was only known as an accompanying instrument" (see Norman Merems' interview with Luise Walker from February 1995 in: "Gitarre & Laute" 2007, vol. 29, no. 1, p. 9).

“Radjo”, and later “Antena”, informed the listeners about the upcoming broadcasts of guitar music, while the rate at which guitar recordings were aired steadily increased from single airings in 1927 to dozen or so a week in August 1939²⁰. The guitar would appear on the air in all possible guises: as light music, in a programme under the banner of “muzyczka” [“little music”], often in the form of Hawaiian guitar, ethnographic tidbits from around the world, guitar in chamber ensembles and – most importantly for us – as classical guitar, mainly in performances by Andrés Segovia, whose records were made available in Poland by local representatives of record companies²¹. Polish radio stations were “up to date” with purchasing the latest releases. Their collection even included the recordings of artists who were exotic for Europe, such as Julio Martínez Oyanguren²², whose *Taniec arabski*²³ [*Arabian Dance*] was broadcast by Warsaw II on Monday, 7 August 1939 at 4:30 p.m.

Thus, classical music made regular appearances on Polish airwaves, yet the extent of its popularity remains open to debate. The aforementioned Warsaw II station could only be heard in the area which was at that time known as the Warsaw Province, and only for a few hours a day; it should also be noted here that the station was not launched until March 1937. The price of a radio set constituted another problem; despite the nationwide coverage of the station in Raszyn, the impact of the radio in different parts of the country was uneven. Shortly before World War II, there were 90 radio sets per 1,000 inhabitants in Silesia, 50 in the Poznań Province and only 12 in Polesie²⁴.

²⁰ Only a small part of the Polish Radio’s pre-war collection of gramophone records has survived, so we can only rely on programming schedules.

²¹ For instance, Radio Poznań used J.S. Bach’s *Gavotte* performed by A. Segovia in a programme entitled *Humor w muzyce klasycznej* [*Humour in Classical Music*] (“Antena” of 17 May 1936, R. 3, no. 20, p. 24); Radio Vilnius aired his record with a rendition of *Variations on a Theme* by F. Sor in the programme *Rewia instrumentów* [*Parade of Instruments*] (“Antena” of 18 October 1936, R. 3, no. 42, p. 28); on 20 May 1936, Radio Poznań aired two pieces by A. Segovia from a record published by HMV (catalogue number D 1305): Turina’s *Fandanguillo* and Tárrega’s *Tremolo study*, which contained the popular *Wspomnienie z Alhambry* [*A Memory from Alhambra*] (“Antena” of 17 May 1936, R. 3, no. 20, p. 28); on 15 January 1937, Radio Vilnius aired *Sonatina* by F. Moreno Torroba in the programme *Różne instrumenty* [*Various Instruments*] (harp, harp, guitar, flute); Segovia’s HMV record was also certainly available in this case, catalogue number E475, matrix number 2-9261 (“Antena” of 10 January 1937, R. 4, no. 2, p. 34).

²² Julio Martínez Oyanguren (1901–1973) – a Uruguayan guitarist, one of the most highly regarded classical guitarists of that era. In the 1930s, he recorded his own compositions and transcriptions of classical pieces by, among others, Tárrega and Rameau for the Argentinian branch of the Victor company as well as for the Columbia corporation.

²³ “Antena” of 6 August 1939, R. 6, no. 32, p. 15.

²⁴ “Antena” of 20 August 1939, R. 6, no. 34, p. 5. As a side note, it should be pointed out that the struggle for increasing reach and listenership was not always the main concern of the technical department of the Polish Radio (cf. M.J. Kwiatkowski, *Tu Polskie Radio Warszawa*, Warszawa

Listeners who owned radio sets could also choose from foreign radio stations (having selected the appropriate frequency), whose schedules were published in Polish magazines²⁵. The airwaves of Europe featured guitarists such as Karl Scheit²⁶, Luise Walker²⁷, Benedetto di Ponio²⁸, Pyotr Agafoshin²⁹, Jan and Cora Gordon³⁰

1980, vol. 1, p. 358: "The Polish Radio started to play an important role for integrating the Polish diaspora – just as it did before within the country – uniting the reborn Polish statehood and bridging the gaps in customs, culture and language that were left over from the partitions. The propaganda of Polish affairs among foreign listeners was also of great importance").

²⁵ Printing foreign radio schedules was a uniquely Polish practice. The leading British and American stations, as well as German-speaking broadcasters, abandoned the idea very early on based on the conviction that the majority of listeners do not change the channel they had once tuned their radio sets to. Polish listeners were very active in their search for interesting broadcasts, so they had no difficulty finding the programmes aired by the Polish service of Radio Free Europe or the music aired from behind the iron curtain by Radio Luxembourg.

²⁶ Karl Scheit (1909–1993) – an Austrian guitarist and teacher, widely known since 1929 thanks to his recordings, concerts throughout Europe and radio broadcasts; here, in an Austrian–Hungarian exchange concert on the air of Radio Budapest on 25 April 1937 ("Antena" of 25 April 1937, R 4, no. 17, p. 14).

²⁷ Luise Walker (1910–1998) – a great Austrian guitarist and student of Llobet, who played with Segovia and Pujol ("Antena" of 4 October 1936, R. 3, no. 40, p. 28); in general, broadcasters used to air a full set of her records from that time, including pieces by Schubert, Weber, Schumann, Brahms and Boccherini, recorded for Odeon in 1932, and pieces by Tarrega, Friessnegg, Dominici and Chopin, recorded for the Telefunken company in 1934. In Poland, they were regularly played by Radio Vilnius and Radio Poznań (cf. "Antena" of 13 August 1939, R. 6, no. 33; of 11 June 1939, R. 6, no. 24; of 20 November 1938, R. 5, no. 47; of 18 September 1938, R. 5, no. 38; of 11 September 1938, R. 5, no. 37; of 4 September 1938, R. 5, no. 36; of 17 July 1938, R. 5, no. 29; of 10 July 1938, R. 5, no. 28; of 26 June 1938, R. 5, no. 26; of 12 June 1938, R. 5, no. 24, and earlier issues).

²⁸ Benedetto di Ponio (1898–1964) – a talented self-taught guitarist, probably one of the first to record guitar pieces (in 1925 for the then Ente Italiano Audizioni Radiofoniche); he performed live on 28 December 1926 at 9 p.m. on Radio Rome ("Radjo. Ilustrowany Tygodnik dla Wszystkich" of 26 December 1926, R. 1, no. 2, p. 12).

²⁹ Pyotr Spiridonovich Agafoshin, (1874–1950), misspelled in newspapers as Agafonin – a soviet guitarist, teacher and the author of *Szkoła gry na 6-strunnej gitarze*, the first 6-string guitar handbook in USSR; he performed a classical repertoire on Radio Moscow ("Antena" of 17 October 1934, R. 1, no. 1, p. 45). Agafoshin was under the influence of Segovia since their meeting in 1926; he is the author of the book *Nowości o gitarze: gitara i jej sprawy wg najnowszych danych* [*Guitar News: the Guitar and its Affairs According to the Latest Data*] (1928), which was inspired by Segovia's art (cf.: N. Iwanowa-Kramskaja, *Życie poświęcone gitarze*, Moscow 1995, p. 6–10; B. Wolman, *Gitara w Rosji...*, Leningrad 1961, p. 146–152).

³⁰ Jan Gordon (1882–1944) and Cora Gordon (1879–1950), misspelled in newspapers as Gardon or Madon, was an influential married couple of British travellers, writers, artists and self-taught musicians, who were fascinated by Spanish music. On Radio London on Monday, 17 January 1927 at 8 p.m., they presented their books *Dwoje wagańdów w Hiszpanii* [*Two Vagabonds in Spain*] and *Osiółkiem przez Hiszpanię* [*A Donkey Trip through Spain*], illustrating the programme by performing lute and guitar music ("Radjo. Ilustrowany Tygodnik dla Wszystkich" of 16 January 1927, R. 2, no. 3, p. 11; "Radio Times" of 16 January 1927, no. 172, p. 12).

or Eddie Lang³¹. One could listen to the records of the European king of tango Juan Llossas and his orchestra³², which were also available in Poland; the music of Len Fillis (1903–1953), a South African artist popular in Great Britain³³, was often played from records as well. Classical repertoire for solo guitar or chamber ensembles also appeared in the schedules, albeit without the names of the performers³⁴. Guitar music was therefore widely available.

Contemporary Polish guitarists performed mainly on the Hawaiian guitar, which was first introduced on the air by Jan Stanisław Ławrusiewicz in the spring of 1928³⁵. He made his debut playing the musical saw³⁶, and by 1930 he had already become a virtuoso performer of the vibraphone³⁷, simultaneously playing the guitar and the Hawaiian guitar in most radio programmes. This multi-instrumental approach was fairly common prior to the war³⁸. Guitar specialists included Wiktor Tychowski, Wawrzyniec Żywolewski and the lesser known Ryszard Serafinowicz. Owing to the recordings for companies such as Syrena Records, their radio popularity was ever greater since their music was also played from records. Solo guitar records, usually by Żywolewski, also featured a popular repertoire of Russian provenance, which was in high demand in Poland due to the fact that in the 1930s, music records were not imported from

³¹ Eddie Lang (1902–1933) – an American jazz guitarist of Italian descent (“Antena” of 19 March 1939, R. 6, no. 12, p. 27).

³² Aired by Radio Poznań on 20 August 1939 (“Antena” of 20 August 1939, R. 6, no. 34) and the Polish Radio Warsaw on 5 October 1936 (“Antena” of 4 October 1936, R. 3, no. 40, p. 24).

³³ “Antena” of 6 August 1939, R. 6, no. 32, p. 15; “Antena” of 13 August 1939, R. 6, no. 33, p. 25.

³⁴ Johann Kaspar Mertz’s *Tarantella* – Tuesday, 11 January 1927 on Radio Rome at 9 p.m.; *Hungarian Fantasy* for guitar – Friday, 21 January 1927; *Stare pieśni rzymskie [Ancient Roman Songs]* (tenor with guitar accompaniment) on Monday, 30 May 1927 at 9 p.m. on Radio Rome; *Godzina Schuberta [Schubert’s Hour]* – Tuesday, 18 January 1927 at 8.05 p.m. on Radio Vienna (performed by a guitar quartet); F. Sor *Menuet*, Op 11 – 11 June 1927 at 9 p.m. on Radio Vienna; Scheidler *Sonata for Violin and Guitar*, Marschner *Three Bagatelles* – on Radio Królewiec on 24 October 1934, and many other pieces which the schedule did not describe in greater detail apart from the note “guitar solo”.

³⁵ “The concert on 11 May 1928 [...] will introduce the listeners to an unusual instrument, unknown and unheard of in Poland, namely the Javanese guitar. It will be played by an interesting young virtuoso, Mr Jan Ławrusiewicz, who will perform a number of pieces with the accompaniment of Elżbieta Manuwarda. Mr Ławrusiewicz will also present his craft of playing the musical saw with a bow” (“Radjo. Ilustrowany Tygodnik dla Wszystkich” of 6 May 1928, R. 3, no. 19, p. 4).

³⁶ “Radjo. Ilustrowany Tygodnik dla Wszystkich” of 14 August 1927, R. 2, no. 33, p. 7.

³⁷ “Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny” of 22 October 1930, R. 21, no. 286, p. 16.

³⁸ For example, the previously mentioned Warsaw II radio station created programmes focused on a particular theme, e.g. *Piosenki przy gitarze z początku XIX wieku [Songs by the Guitar from the Early 19th Century]* – a music and spoken-word programme prepared by Michał Jaworski. Janina Godlewska and Michał Śląski – vocals, Mieczysław Hoherman – guitar accompaniment; the latter performer was known mainly as an accordionist (“Antena” of 4 June 1939, R. 6, no. 23, p. 19).

the USSR. Russian repertoire was thus recorded not only by emigrants from the East, but also by numerous Polish performers (Olga Kamieńska, Stanisława Nowicka, Mieczysław Fogg³⁹, Paweł Prokopieni)⁴⁰. Żywolewski was not an exception in this respect⁴¹.

The Polish Radio found airtime for lesser known musicians as well⁴². Guitarists appeared in chamber ensembles (Cezary Domke in Łódzki Kwartet Schrammła [Łódź Schrammel Quartet] or Edward Winiarczyk in Krakowski Kwartet Schrammła [Cracow Schrammel Quartet])⁴³; the guitar duo Zbigniew Wyskiel and Bogumił Brydak appeared on Radio Lviv. In the pre-war broadcasting stations, there was also the function of a “singer with a guitar”, and this role was played by Bronisław Horowicz, Nina Bielicz and Adam Epler⁴⁴. However, no classical guitar virtuoso performer emerged during the interwar period.

For obvious reasons, the radio schedule changed dramatically in September 1939. Guitar music (which was, in principle, not typically Polish and too entertaining) seemed inappropriate. It is understandable that such music was not aired during the invasion of Poland. Soon after the surrender in October 1939, the Polish Radio company was dissolved by the occupation authorities, and the German Reich Commissioner for Warsaw signed an official announcement of confiscation of radio equipment⁴⁵. After World War II, a severe shortage of radio sets was a widespread problem in Poland. According to the report of a commission established to investigate the war losses sustained by Polish radio broadcasting, 98 per cent of the radio industry in Poland was destroyed.⁴⁶ This gave

³⁹ He performed the songs from the film *Jolly Fellows* in the Russian language.

⁴⁰ Tomasz Lerski, *Syrena Record, pierwsza polska wytwórnia fonograficzna*, Warszawa – Nowy Jork 2004, p. 157.

⁴¹ Syrena Elektro's catalogue includes the following solo performances by Żywolewski: cat. 7500 ed. December 1932 *Romanse rosyjskie. Piosenki Ukraińskie. PotPourri*; cat. 2096 ed. August 1938 *Melodie rosyjskie. Wiązanka. Część I i II*; cat. 2230 ed. April 1939 *Cygańskie romanse. Pot-pourri. Część I i II*; cat. 8539 ed. August 1935 *Kołysanka, Powiedz mi. Romans cygański*; cat. 8540 ed. ibidem *Pod urokiem twej pieszczoty. Walc, Poutpourri romansów cygańskich*; cat. 8663 *Wiązanka cygańskich romansów cz I i II*; cat. 8664, ut supra: *część III i IV*; cat. 8907 *Romanse rosyjskie. Wiązanka cz I i II*.

⁴² The guitarist Wojciech Kowalaszuk made an appearance in the programme *Zespoły amatorskie [Amateur Ensembles]*. The half-hour programme aired by Radio Poznań on Friday, 18 August 1939 at 5:30 p.m. played host to the ensemble and compositions of Zenon Szymborski, a zither player. The programme featured a zither duo and a guitar; the “unusual duo” appeared on Radio Łódź: Otto Cymer – guitar, Janusz Małeckie – harmonica (“Antena” of 19 February 1939, R. 6, no. 8, p. 15).

⁴³ “Antena” of 1 January 1939, R. 6, no. 1, p. 29; “Antena” of 26 March 1939, R. 6, no. 13, p. 26.

⁴⁴ For interesting information about Epler, see: W. Gurgul, *Adam Franciszek Epler (1902-1940) – zapomniany muzyk międzywojennego Lwowa*, “Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ” [“The Jagiellonian University Young Musicologists Quarterly”] 2020, no. 45, vol. 2, pp. 25–60.

⁴⁵ M.J. Kwiatkowski, *Polskie Radio w konspiracji 1939–1944*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁶ Z. Chomicz, *80 lat Polskiego Radia – Kalendarium 1925–2005*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 44–54.

rise to the development of the so-called wired broadcasting. In the early years after the war, radio programmes were broadcast from megaphones installed in the streets through the so-called public address system, simultaneously building up the production and sales of new receivers for household needs. Public address systems were supplied to workplaces, housing cooperatives and other public utility facilities, yet their quality left a lot to be desired. This is how Jerzy Waldorff remembers that time:

The first post-war radio programme I heard was in Łódź, sometime at the end of March – if my memory serves me right. I was very curious about it because the studio in Warsaw was supposed to air a concert by Ewa Bandrowska-Turska, an outstanding singer whom I had not heard for several months. Having found out the time of the programme, I stopped at a street loudspeaker just on time for the broadcast, but ... to this day I would not be able to say if what I heard was Bandrowska or not. The sounds that reached my ears resembled a gargling hippopotamus suffering from a bout of flu⁴⁷.

In the reality of wired broadcasting, guitar music sounded even worse than Bandrowska. Throughout the entire 1945, the guitar made a single appearance on the air⁴⁸. In 1946, it was given roughly 30 minutes of airtime in 5 short programmes⁴⁹. In 1947, guitar music did not appear until 6 October, when an entertainment programme featuring a live performance of the duo Edmund Walkowiak (guitar) and Bogusław Kliszewski (mandolin) was aired by the Poznań radio station at 1.10 p.m.⁵⁰. The second appearance of the guitar in 1947 was the virtuoso *Entr'Acte* for flute and guitar by Jacques Ibert, performed with bravado by the French duo Marcel Moyse (flute) and Jean Lafon (guitar). This captivating 4-minute composition was broadcast from a record⁵¹ on Tuesday, 7 October

⁴⁷ An excerpt from a feature article in the series *Muzyka w eterze* [*Music on the Air*] ("Radio i Świat" of 9 September 1945, no. 8).

⁴⁸ A few minutes of light music on 22 July 1945 – the musicians Kotwicz and Siemionow performed live in the evening programme *Mozaika muzyczna* [*Musical Mosaic*] ("Radio i Świat" of 22 July 1945, R. 1, no. 1, p. 13).

⁴⁹ The guitar duo of Józef Roliński ("Radio i Świat", no. 5 and 6), a record by A. Segovia ("Radio i Świat", no. 8), old music ("Radio i Świat", no. 30), two guitars and a grand piano ("Radio i Świat", no. 45) and three guitars ("Radio i Świat", no. 46).

⁵⁰ A light repertoire was prevalent: tangos, serenades, marches. The programme was later repeated on national air on 22 November and 29 December. ("Radio i Świat" of 6 October 1947, no. 40 [112], p. 7; "Radio i Świat" of 17 November 1947, no. 46 [118], p. 8; "Radio i Świat" of 22 December 1947, no. 41–52 [123–124], p. 17). It should be noted that it was most likely Kliszewski who played the guitar, and the printed radio schedule contained a mistake.

⁵¹ The record was purchased on 22 July 1947 from the record company Le Chant du Monde, a French part of the Polydor (DG) concern, separated from the parent company in order to publish sophisticated repertoire. Originally, the matrix bore the number 518, and it was published together with *Habanera* by Henri Sauveplane, but the Polish Radio acquired a later edition of the recording with the catalogue number 530, published with Honegger's *Little Suite* on the other side (which was, incidentally, aired on the same day). Cf: Inventory ledger *Płyty gramofonowe od 1 do 7999*, Fonoteka Muzyczna PRSA, file no. PGS 1, item 417 and item 4960 – two copies of that record were purchased.

1947 at the end of a daily programme at 11.50 p.m., after which it was aired again on Tuesday, 16 December, and then on Wednesday, 7 January 1948 at the same time at night⁵². It is likely that few people heard it, as the common practice was to start the workday very early, so most citizens were fast asleep at 5 minutes to midnight⁵³. On balance, 1947 was rather unfortunate for the guitar: 4 minutes of chamber music and around 8 minutes of “entertainment”. In the following year, the previously mentioned performance by Kliszewski and Walkowiak was repeated a few times, whereas Jan Ławrusiewicz, a well-known pre-war guitarist, appeared for the first time after the war with an entertaining repertoire⁵⁴. He was the only one of Polish guitarists active before the war to reappear and continue his musical career, becoming permanently associated with the Polish Radio. All accounts of Żywolewski and Tychowski end in 1944, and their fates remain unknown⁵⁵.

The most significant radio event of 1948 was the broadcast of a programme prepared by Adolf Chybiński as part of the series “Dawna Muzyka Polska” [“Ancient Polish Music”] on Monday, 16 February at 9.00 p.m. on Radio Poznań⁵⁶. After an introduction from Professor Chybiński, the guitarist Bogusław Kliszewski performed classical repertoire for the first time in the history of Polish

⁵² “Radio i Świat” of 6 October 1947, no. 40 (112), p. 8; “Radio i Świat” of 15 December 1947, no. 50 (122), p. 7; “Radio i Świat” of 5 January 1948, no. 1 (125), p. 8.

⁵³ The piece was used three years later, and it was again broadcast at a late hour, that is after 11.10 p.m. (“Radio i Świat” of 23 October 1950, no. 43 [271], p. 14).

⁵⁴ “Radio i Świat” of 18 May 1948, no. 20 (144), p. 14.

⁵⁵ T. Lerski suggests that Żywolewski died in May 1944 in Monte Cassino (cf. T. Lerski, *Syrena Record, pierwsza polska wytwórnia fonograficzna*, Warszawa – Nowy Jork 2004, p. 802). However, official records show that it was a different person: Borys Żywolewski, born on 10 October 1910 in Żądowo-Żarnówka, Grodno district, the Białystok province, currently in Belarus (cf.: B. Affek-Bujalska, E. Kospath-Pawłowski, *Księga pochowanych żołnierzy polskich poległych w II wojnie światowej: Żołnierze Polskich Sił Zbrojnych na Zachodzie*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Ajaks, 1993, p. 332; M.R. Bombicki, *Monte Cassino. Pięćdziesiąt lat po bitwie*, Polski Dom Wydawniczy Ławica, 1994, p. 94, and M. Wańkiewicz, *Bitwa o Monte Cassino*, Warszawa 1989, vol. 1, p. 334). Żywolewski – the guitarist – certainly spent that part of the war in Warsaw, where he continued to perform in coffee bar clubs. In May 1944, to be precise, that is at the time of the battle for Monte Cassino, he would play the guitar daily in “Złota Kaczka” [“Golden Duck”, a restaurant in pre-war Warsaw] at 11 Królewska Street, which was reported by the so-called collaborationist press (cf.: “Nowy Kurier Warszawski” of 5 May 1944, R. 6, no. 107, p. 4). As far as Tychowski is concerned, the trail goes cold in 1944 on the ship Batory, where he was seen by Kazimierz Krukowski in March (cf.: K. Krukowski, *Z Melpomeną na emigracji*, Warszawa 1987, p. 61) and – probably before October 1944 – by Kazimierz Parkita (cf.: K. Parkita, *Wspomnienia lekarza okrętowego ze służby na “Batorym” 1943–1944*, Gdańsk 1987, p. 52, 104, 172).

⁵⁶ B. Kliszewski gave a live performance of *Preludium* [Prelude] and *Taniec* [Dance] for lute (in guitar transcription) from *Tabulatura krakowska* [Cracow Tablature] (ca. 1555), *Preludium* [Prelude] and *Taniec* [Dance] by W. Długoraj (ca. 1600), *Taniec* [Dance] by J. Polak (ca. 1604), 3 dances by B. Pękiel (ca. 1670) and a dance entitled *Wyrwany* by an anonymous author. (“Radio i Świat” of 16 February 1948, no. 7 [131], p. 7).

radio broadcasting⁵⁷. Another programme of this importance did not air until two and a half years later⁵⁸.

As for gramophone records and the restoration of their ravaged library, the first guitar disc appeared in the archival inventory on 2 January 1946⁵⁹. The record contained *Canzonetta* by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy from *String Quartet in E-flat major*, Op. 12, in a solo guitar arrangement, and *Vivo E Energico* by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco; both pieces were aired on Friday, 22 February 1946 at 12.30 p.m.⁶⁰, yet it was a unique broadcast without reruns over the period of four years⁶¹, which may confirm the claim that their presentation via wired broadcasting was poorly received (hardly anything could be heard). The listeners had to wait as long as four and a half years for the next broadcast of Segovia's recordings⁶².

The enormous series "L'Anthologie sonore", edited by Curt Sachs, was another important post-war purchase included in the collection of records. On 7, 17 and 29 March 1947, 280 records, i.e. the entirety of the series published up to that point, including three guitar discs, was entered into the inventory⁶³.

⁵⁷ The first post-war Polish performance is meant here, as before the war a similar repertoire was performed by Adam Epler with his guitar trio in 3 radio programmes entitled *Sylwetki lutnistów staropolskich* [*Profiles of Old Polish Lute Players*] (see: "Antena" of 12 October, 9 November and 19 December 1938, and: W. Gurgul, op cit, p. 42; however, only two broadcasts are mentioned there, omitting the one scheduled for December). Bogusław Kliszewski, born in 1911, guitarist, since 1968 employed at the Academy of Music in Poznań as a guitar teacher at the Department of Music Education, the author of the textbook *Gamy i trójdzwięki na gitarę* [*Scales and Triads for Guitar*] (cf.: *50 lat Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Poznaniu, 1920–1970*, Poznań 1973, p. 186).

⁵⁸ On Tuesday, 4 July 1950, K. Sosiński and S. Motus played the following pieces in a classical guitar duo: H. Albert *Duet No. 1*, N. Paganini *Menuet* and F. Carulli *Nocturne*, Op. 218 ("Radio i Świat" of 3 July 1950, no. 27 [254], p. 11). The performance was repeated on the Polish Radio Channel II on 26 October 1950 at 1.50–2 p.m. and 2–3 p.m. ("Radio i Świat" of 23 October 1950, no. 43 [271], p. 13).

⁵⁹ It was a superb pre-war solo record by A. Segovia purchased from the HMV company for the price of 150 zlotys, cat. no. DB 3243. (Inventory ledger..., item 1620).

⁶⁰ "Radio i Świat" of 17 February 1946, no. 8, p. 12.

⁶¹ At times, the radio schedule was presented in a less detailed way, which makes it impossible to determine whether the record in question was played at least one more time. Presumably not, as in the first half of the 1950s, shellac discs started to be withdrawn, and only select recordings were copied to a new format – the audio tape. This record was never copied.

⁶² "Radio i Świat" of 4 September 1950, no. 36, p.11 (Segovia's recordings were aired from 9.50 a.m. to 10.10 a.m.; the programme was highlighted in the printed schedule with a frame). The broadcast was repeated on 26 September 1950 at 12.15 p.m.

⁶³ No. 17 from 1935 (matrix number AS-44 and AS-45) – *Hiszpańskie romance i villancicos XVI wieku – śpiew z towarzyszeniem vihuela* [*Spanish Romances and Villancicos of the 16th century – vocals with vihuela accompaniment*] The vihuela was played by Emilio Pujol, who accompanied Maria Cid (soprano). Compositions: L. Milan *Durandarte*, M. de Fuenllana *Pasea-base el Rey moro*, J. Vasquez *Vos me matasteis*, D. Pisador *A la armas moriscote* (Inventory

None of them was broadcast for two years after the purchase. What is more, they were never loaned to other broadcasting stations, but they did find their way to Fonoteka [Record Library] at a later date in the form of audio tape copies, which probably meant that they were of illustrative use. After all, Fonoteka did not only serve as a source of recordings for music broadcasts, but also as a repository of materials accompanying spoken-word programmes. Therefore, a certain amount of “background music” was maintained, which often included guitar music, particularly in old repertoire. The above-mentioned tape copies were made from “private records”⁶⁴, whereas the original versions of shellac discs from the series “L’Anthologie Sonore”, which belonged to the Polish Radio, have been forgotten. The technological change which took place in the 1950s meant that the previously used shellac discs were replaced with microgroove discs (long-play). The collection amassed since 1945 was withdrawn and sent to storage, and so was the playback equipment. The guitar purchases of 15 March 1948⁶⁵ and 15 October 1948⁶⁶ were, therefore, long overdue due to the looming departure from the 78rpm disc technology. In the meantime, a large influx of soviet entertainment records featuring the guitar accompanied by the balalaika was observed from mid-1947.

There were multiple reasons for the stifling of guitar repertoire after World War II. Firstly, the previously mentioned technological limitations of wired broadcasting. Secondly, a large part of guitar music came from the pro-Nazi Spain. The famous Spanish guitarist Juan Llossas, whose music was frequently broadcast in Poland⁶⁷, was a member of the Falange. He was held in high esteem in Nazi Germany as “one of the oldest supporters of general Franco”, and the fascist organisation KdF⁶⁸ repeatedly hired him to perform for the armaments

ledger..., item 3596); no. 40 from 1936: *Muzyka instrumentalna w Hiszpanii XVI wieku [Instrumental Music in 16th Century Spain]*, whose page A (matrix number AS 40) is devoted to the solo performances of Emilio Pujol – L. Milan *Three Pavanas* for vihuela (Inventory ledger..., item 3619); number 89: *Gitara we Francji XVII wieku [Guitar in 17th Century France]* – French guitarist Jean Lafon, suites: F. Corbett and R. de Visée (Inventory ledger..., item 3681).

⁶⁴ During the hard times of the Polish People’s Republic, it was customary to supply Fonoteka [Record Library] through less official means.

⁶⁵ A record purchased from HMV, cat. no. D 1305: Turina’s *Fandanguillo* and *Tárrega’s Tremolo study*, i.e. *Wspomnienie z Alhambry [A Memory from Alhambra]*, performed by A. Segovia (Inventory ledger..., item 5958).

⁶⁶ Another record by A. Segovia, this time purchased from the record company Decca – BM 0159; it includes: I. Albeniz’s *Granada* and E. Granados’ *Tonadilla* (Inventory ledger..., item 7317).

⁶⁷ The tangos by Llossas and his orchestra were also published by the Polish record company Syrena Records: cat. no. 8423.

⁶⁸ Kraft durch Freude (Strength Through Joy) – a Nazi organisation which held “racially pure” mass events, concerts, games and other forms of communal entertainment for the citizens of the Third Reich.

industry⁶⁹. The post-war atmosphere in Poland made it impossible to be indifferent to such figures, while editors lacked the motivation to run a background check on every guitarist from Spain, Italy or even France, which also collaborated with the Third Reich.

The third reason concerns the very provenance of the guitar. The Polish People's Republic, a temporary socialist state, was built under the banners of the victory of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance, and at the time preceding Edison's invention, the guitar – as we surely remember – was seen in Poland as a courtly instrument, an instrument of the upper classes and the “better-born”. It should be sufficient to recall here the words of Maciej Lorek, who – while discussing the views on the upbringing and education of the youth that were considered to be sensible in Poland – quoted excerpts from Hieronim Baliński's 1598 treatise, which states that: “A young man should know how to handle a horse, a sabre and a guitar”⁷⁰. Likewise, Karolina Wojnarowska writes about “a dusty guitar testifying to the owner's careful upbringing”⁷¹. The courtly origin of the guitar is also confirmed by ethnomusicological studies. The guitar was never part of traditional Polish folk ensembles. We only know of some isolated hybrid forms of instruments which evolved in shape towards the guitar, though had nothing in common with the craft of rural luthiers, the so-called guitar fiddles⁷². In addition, the national Musical Folklore Collecting Campaign organised on the initiative of Jadwiga and Marian Sobieski in 1950–1954 resulted in a single recording session featuring the guitar – in the village Dąbrówka Wielka in Silesia⁷³. As an instrument that was deemed to be indispensable to the so-called “better upbringing”, the guitar, just like the piano, must have become a subject of ridicule among the peasantry if Oskar Kolberg recorded the following song about a certain young lady:

⁶⁹ R. Müller, *Chronik eines bürgerlichen Lebens in Nürnberg. Part 2: 1939 (Kriegsanfang) bis 1945*, Norderstedt 2020, p. 45.

⁷⁰ M. Lorek, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku*, Rzym 1930, p. 151.

⁷¹ K. Wojnarowska, *Ostatnie rady ojca dla syna*, Wrocław 1842, p. 345.

⁷² E. Dahlig, *Ludowe instrumenty skrzypcowe w Polsce*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 156–157.

⁷³ They are recordings from 17 September 1951 (file no. T0466, items 14 to 16, and T0467, items 1 to 5). Agnieszka Waluga accompanied on the guitar; she was born in 1911 in Dąbrówka Wielka, Tarnowskie Góry district. The crew of people from Silesia and Dąbrowa who were responsible for the recording session described her as a very intelligent and musical person. From a young age, she sang folk songs, often in folk theatres. Her late father was a district secretary in Dąbrówka Wielka. The artist greatly contributed to organising recording sessions of musical folklore in her region. It is no surprise, then, that A. Waluga owned a guitar, given that Silesia was the fastest developing region in Poland (cf. the aforementioned number of radio receivers), although it seems that the recording made as part of the Musical Folklore Collecting Campaign was meant to be more of a curiosity and an illustration of local changes, both in terms of repertoire and instruments used.

[...] Zaśpiewa co przy gitarze / Wizyty często przyjmuje;
[She strums the guitar while singing / She often receives visits;]

Rozmawia tylko o *parze* / Kaszy gotować nie umie⁷⁴.
[All she talks about is playing games / She knows not how to cook groats.]

This demonstrates that the guitar was a rare sight in the Polish countryside other than at a “lordly” manor house, which did not fit the new political narrative⁷⁵.

Due to the growing Sovietisation of culture, also in the Polish Radio, profound changes started occurring as early as the beginning of the 1950s. On the one hand, the record library employees were trying to rebuild the lost collection, and Fonoteka still featured the most prominent instrumentalists of the time, including guitarists such as: Andrés Segovia, Felix Arguelles, Gustavo Zepoll, Karl Scheit, the aforementioned Luise Walker, the outstanding Renata Tarragó, László Szendrey-Karper and Antonin Bartoš⁷⁶, as well as Alexander Ivanov-Kramskoy from the “friendly” Soviet Union, a student of Pyotr Agafoshin, whose music was aired before the war. There was an inflow of recordings from the so-called exchange between European broadcasting stations and even the faraway Radio Canada⁷⁷. On the other hand, the said recordings did not appear on the air in the way we would expect them to. The discs that were purchased (produced with the new vinyl technology) were copied onto reel-to-reel tapes (a new, convenient sound carrier) for editors’ use⁷⁸, but there are no signs of any loans⁷⁹. Throughout the entire period of the Polish People’s Republic, the censorship was of a word-of-mouth nature, which means that there were no official guidelines or documents, especially bans, as to the repertoire that could

⁷⁴ O. Kolberg, *Lud: jego zwyczaje... W. Ks. Poznańskie*, part 5, Kraków 1880, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Guitars were an exception in the composition of Edward Ciuksza’s Mandolin Orchestra, which was in constant collaboration with the Polish Radio since “the mandolin was very close to and popular with the working class” (cf.: T. Szewera, *Barwny świat mikrofonu: wspomnienia radiowców*, Łódź 1983, p. 172).

⁷⁶ Both appeared in Poland with recitals for the 5th World Festival of Youth and Students in Warsaw in August 1955.

⁷⁷ For example, the 1963 live performances of A. Vivaldi’s *Concerto in D major* for two guitars by Ida Presti and Alexandre Lagoya (file no. D 25/2).

⁷⁸ As gramophone discs were easily damaged, newly purchased records were immediately copied onto the so-called regular-use tapes ever since audio tapes started to be available. Thanks to this, the current condition of the Polish Radio’s record library is very good – most of the records were played only once in order to copy them, and there are also brand new discs.

⁷⁹ For instance, Renata Tarragó: broadcast copy catalogued in June 1953 – 0 loans until the present day; Felix Arguelles: catalogued at the same time – 0 loans until 1975, László Szendrey-Karper – catalogued in 1955, not loaned until 1983, Gustavo Zepoll – in the archive from 1955, loaned for the first time in 1982. Out of Segovia’s full discography – single loans, typically *Bourrée* by J.S. Bach from the E-minor suite BWV 996; Alexander Ivanov-Kramskoy – first loan not until 1975 (on the basis of loan cards for the respective file numbers in the Polish Radio Archive).

be aired⁸⁰. In the meantime, the 1950s was a time of particular flourishing for guitar art in Europe. Owing to such figures as Segovia, Tansman, de Azpiazu, Llobet, Walker and many other prominent musicians, a guitar section was opened as part of the International Music Competition in Geneva⁸¹. Numerous recordings of classical music ranging from Renaissance to contemporary were published. However, all of these efforts go unnoticed in Poland. Some mysterious forces cause the classical guitar to be “unwelcome” on Polish air.

The library of the Polish Radio’s spoken-word programmes preserves broadcasts which prove that the guitar was, at that time, presented in a way that reinforced certain stereotypes. It generally appeared as background music for the so-called evenings of music and thought, but no authors or performers were identified. A frequently used cliché was to combine the guitar with Spanish poetry⁸². It was tolerated in the form of singing with the guitar, a practice that was carried over from the pre-war period⁸³. Apart from that, Andrés Segovia, whose fame was impossible to ignore, was a regular guest on Polish radio. The effects of indoctrination from that period are best illustrated by the following statement of Ludwik Jerzy Kern:

The guitar was, as far as the general public was concerned, an old-fashioned instrument, a bit funny and kind of outclassed. It was, at best, played by confirmed bachelors who were not right in the head and one more maniac, a certain Andrés Segovia, a world-famous virtuoso⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ This peculiar nature of undocumented censorship is only discussed in the 21st century textbooks (cf. M. Ustrzycki, J. Ustrzycki, *Historia, podręcznik dla szkoły branżowej I stopnia*, Gdynia 2021, p. 174: “State censorship allowed such content in rock songs that could not be overtly used in any other form. [...] Not only rock music inspired opposition to the enslavement of the people. In August 1981 [...] there were performances by many artists whose music was frowned upon by the authorities, e.g. Jan Krzysztof Kelus, Jacek Kleyff, Leszek Wójtowicz, Jacek Kaczmarek. These Polish bards objected, though only through the use of a guitar and their own voice, to the political and social reality of the country”). Incidentally, we owe the professional-grade recordings of Jan Krzysztof Kelus’ and Jacek Kleyff’s music to Mr Wojciech Makowski, who – as a long-time employee of the Polish Radio and the head of its technical department since 1993 – made them privately, taking advantage of the “margin of professional freedom” available to him as part of his official duties. He stored the original versions of these recordings at home until 2012, when he donated them to the Polish Radio Archive (author’s own information obtained directly from the Donor).

⁸¹ Cf. W. Starling, *Strings Attached: The Life & Music of John Williams*, London 2012.

⁸² The poem *Gitara [Guitar]* was read by Elżbieta Barszczewska during a broadcast aired on 17 April 1954, which was devoted to the poetry of F. García Lorca. The poetry was illustrated with movement II of *Concerto in D major*, Op. 99, for guitar with the accompaniment of M. Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s orchestra, performed by Andrés Segovia and New London Orchestra under the baton of A. Sherman, recording from 12 July 1949; however, both the programme and the documentation lack any mention of the author of the composition. There is also no information as to how the copy of the recording found its way to the Archive.

⁸³ For example, Tadeusz Ross appeared in this role in the series “Afternoon at the Microphone”.

⁸⁴ L.J. Kern, *Moje abecadłowo*, Kraków 2003, p. 87.

Even Segovia was subject to a certain degree of censorship, as pieces that were considered to be trite or trivial, for instance an arrangement of F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Songs without Words*, individual movements of J.S. Bach's suites or M. Giuliani's Sonatas, were featured on a regular basis, but new compositions, such as Heitor Villa-Lobos' *Etudes*, were not as eagerly presented.

In the 1960s, the obvious popularity of the guitar in all of its forms could no longer be hidden or downplayed. The authorities (including the Committee of Radio and Television) had to find a place for the guitar in the "system". The guitar was predominantly portrayed (without clarifying that this concerns the electric guitar) as a source and symbol of social unrest:

Should it be banned? Restricted? Or maybe we should allow teenagers to blow off steam and listen to big-beat music, only making sure that they do not go too far. Conflicting opinions overlap. The debate becomes heated, and the issue reaches a wider audience through the press only because of further stunts that are getting more serious. The problem of what to do with big-beat has also been faced by the management of the Warsaw Housing Cooperative Cultural Centre in Żoliborz. Once, after a performance by Niebiesko-Czarni [a Polish big-beat and rock band], the management of the facility found over a dozen broken chairs and tables, a torn-off curtain and a broken window⁸⁵.

Spoken-word programmes with classical guitar background music continued to be aired during the period in question, but they did not exceed 10 minutes and kept repeating what everyone already knew. The musical illustration mostly consisted of Segovia's rendition of *Bourrée* by J.S. Bach (BWV 996), which stems from the fact that it is the shortest movement of the suite, and hence it was favoured by the editors. The guitar earned its permanent place in entertainment. Folk music from countries where the guitar is a traditional instrument also made its way to Poland.

It is also worth noting the absence of any recordings on the subject of the guitar in the archival collection GH (Głosy Historyczne [Historical Voices]), which has been maintained since 1955. The collection was isolated in order to facilitate searching for statements made by well-known figures in the world of music and culture. The absence of recorded statements by guitarists and composers demonstrates either that their concert activity was limited or that there was little media interest in the instrument. For example, a lengthy interview with Alexandre Tansman conducted in May 1967 in connection with his visit to Poland to celebrate his birthday did not include any questions about his guitar compositions⁸⁶, and neither did an interview conducted by Zuzanna

⁸⁵ A fragment of a programme entitled *Gitary i wychowanie* [Guitars and Upbringing], which aired on 29 January 1967 (file no. L 17512); text written by Marek Żelazkiewicz and Irena Chmieleńska, read by Irena Chmieleńska.

⁸⁶ File no. GH 319, interview by Gustaw Bachner, no broadcast data available.

Csato on 24 September 1980⁸⁷ (the material was edited, so it remains unclear whether such a question was not asked or was cut).

A certain kind of “cultural freedom” prevailed in contemporary music, which was unshackled by ideological constraints. The classical guitar could, therefore, be found in radio broadcasts from festivals such as Darmstadt Summer Course⁸⁸ or Warsaw Autumn. Polish composers were also trying to elevate its status by devoting their undivided attention to the instrument. It was then that the first recordings of Polish chamber music featuring the guitar were made; on 3 March 1961, Roman Maciejewski performed *Nocturne* for flute, celesta and guitar (guitar – Czesław Malik) at the recording studio of the Polish Radio⁸⁹; on 24 September 1961, Włodzimierz Kotoński presented *Trio* for flute, guitar and percussion at the 5th International Festival “Warsaw Autumn”⁹⁰. The guitar part was also played by Czesław Malik. Moreover, the Archive holds a tape from the international exchange which contains a recording of Włodzimierz Kotoński’s *Trio* made two years later with the guitarist Konrad Ragossnig as part of the cultural programme *Das Neue Werk*⁹¹.

A little later, the Polish Radio Experimental Studio acquired the recording of Joanna Bruzdowicz’s *Fas et nefas* for tape and prepared guitar (1970) by means of an exchange with Institut International de l’Audiovisuel – Groupe de Recherches Musicales (INA GRM), and on 24 September 1972, six months after its world premiere and as part of the 16th International Festival of Contemporary Music “Warsaw Autumn”, the Polish Radio recorded *Partita* for concertante harpsichord, electric guitar, bass guitar, harp, double bass and chamber orchestra under the baton of Krzysztof Penderecki; the guitar was played by Jerzy Nalepka⁹².

In terms of education, however, the classical guitar was not part of the music school curriculum until the mid-1960s. Initially, the classical guitar was introduced as an additional instrument at music education departments in Łódź (1963) and Poznań (1968)⁹³. The first guitar course in a secondary school (in Łódź) was created in the 1967/1968 school year. Professor Józef Powroźniak

⁸⁷ File no. Sł/MUZ 3466.

⁸⁸ A composition entitled *Sonant* for guitar, harp, double bass and instrumental ensemble by Mauricio Kagel from 1964 has been preserved in the collection.

⁸⁹ File no. K 2706/7.

⁹⁰ A recording of the live performance under file no. ZWJ 247; made by the Polish Radio.

⁹¹ File no. SE 1168.

⁹² File no. ZWJ 621: chamber ensemble of the National Philharmonic Orchestra in Warsaw, conducted by A. Markowski. Soloists: Felicja Blumental – harpsichord, Jerzy Nalepka – electric guitar, Jan Drozdowski – bass guitar, Alina Baranowska – harp, Jan Kozubski – double bass.

⁹³ For an exhaustive review of the beginnings of classical guitar education in Poland, see: M. Staszewski, *Klasa gitary w Akademii Muzycznej im. Grażyny i Kiejstuty Bacewiczów w Łodzi*, “Sześć Strun Świata” 2016, no. 3 (7), pp. 43–45.

talked about the introduction of the guitar into the music education system on the Polish Radio in 1971:

[JC] – [...] Professor Powroźniak is the leading authority on classical guitar in our country and the author of a unique work in Polish musical writing entitled *Gitara od A do Z* [*Guitar from A to Z*]. Professor, is it possible to complete guitar studies in Poland?

[JP] – A guitar diploma of the Higher Music School cannot be obtained yet, but it is possible at the level of secondary education – a secondary music school in Łódź introduced the guitar as a principle instrument a few years ago, and the studies at that institution are concluded with a secondary music school diploma.

[JC] – Thank you for this interesting response. Professor, please allow us to dedicate to you *Bourrée* by Johann Sebastian Bach played by one of the most famous guitarists of our time, the Spaniard Andrés Segovia [music starts]⁹⁴.

Two months after this interview was aired, a guitar course was opened at the Higher Music School⁹⁵. The early 1970s were a turning point for the guitar on Polish Radio. It was then that Edward Gierek came to power, and Poland suddenly opened up to the world. An explosion of guitar activity followed. In 1975, the guitar was once again the main discipline of the Geneva Competition, which was largely ignored in 1956 when Manuel Cubedo was awarded the 1st prize. This time, the Serbian-born American guitarist *Dušan Bogdanović* won the competition, and his recital was broadcast thanks to a tape obtained from the international exchange⁹⁶. Broadcasts of guitar concerts by foreign performers taking place in Poland were also recorded⁹⁷. Narciso Yepes⁹⁸ made frequent appearances, and the secret of his numerous performances in Poland lies in family ties⁹⁹. More importantly, however, the Polish Radio began to

⁹⁴ File no. L 23937, the programme *Niezwykła kariera gitary, czyli 6 strun plus elektryczność* [*The Extraordinary Career of the Guitar, or 6 Strings and Electricity*] by Janusz Cegiełła, recorded on 10 August 1971; first broadcast: 13 August 1971.

⁹⁵ M. Staszewski, op. cit., p. 43: “ In 1971 [...] the State Higher Music School in Łódź opened a guitar class taught by Aleksander Kowalczyk. His first graduates, Jerzy Nalepka and Jan Oberbek, studied a four-year programme and completed their education in 1975”. While taking part in the 1972 premiere Polish recording of Krzysztof Penderecki’s *Partita*, Jerzy Nalepka was a 22-year-old second-year student of the newly opened faculty.

⁹⁶ File no. D 1707, M. Giuliani, Concerto in A major, Op. 30, movement 1 – *Allegro maestoso*; accompaniment by the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande under the baton of A. Kaiser. Tape received on 17 February 1978.

⁹⁷ There is an archival live recording of a concert held on 14 February 1975 at the National Philharmonic. The concert was performed by Siegfried Behrend accompanied by the National Philharmonic Orchestra in Warsaw under the baton of A. Markowski (file no. Z 1138).

⁹⁸ A concert held on 24 January 1980 at the National Philharmonic and a studio recording from 5 June 1972 were preserved in the Archive.

⁹⁹ He was married to a Polish woman, Maria Szumlakowska, and he visited Poland for reasons unrelated to music, which is mentioned by, e.g., Artur Barciś (cf.: A. Barciś, M. Graff, *Rozmowy bez retuszu*, Kraków 2011, p. 124).

make its own solo recordings of Polish guitarists playing classical repertoire¹⁰⁰ as well as ensemble recordings¹⁰¹.

Spoken-word programmes popularising the guitar and showing its different faces (classical, jazz, traditional, regional, including flamenco, as well as those related to singing and broadly defined entertainment) were made on a regular basis¹⁰². What is particularly noteworthy is the high level of knowledge presented in the programmes, their proper use of foreign names and terms¹⁰³, extensive form and duration as well as the wealth of musical illustrations¹⁰⁴. The guitar was also routinely featured in periodic broadcasts¹⁰⁵. The record library

¹⁰⁰ 15 June 1973, a recording session with Roman Ziemiański; the programme included: B. Pękiel *Taniec polski* [Polish Dance], J. Polak *Galiarda*, F. Sor *Variations*, Op. 9, and *Menuet in G major*, N. Paganini *Sonata in C major*, H. Villa-Lobos *Prelude* No. 1 and No. 4 and *Danza Brasileira*, V. Gómez *Romans*, J. Viñas *Fantasia original* and the traditional piece *Soleares*; 21 July 1973, the first recording session with Marcin Zalewski, the programme included: Albeniz *Asturias*, H. Villa-Lobos *Etude* No. 11, D. Scarlatti *Sonata in C minor*, L. Roncalli *Suite*; and the second session in March 1976, the programme included: E. Granados *Andaluza*, J. Dowland *Fantasia*; in 1973, Jan Oberbek recorded B.K. Przybylski's 4 *Nokturny kurpiowskie* [4 *Nocturnes of the Kurpie region*] in Łódź with a string orchestra under the baton of J. Maksymiuk, and a little later, in March 1979, a solo recital in Kraków (the programme included Turina, Rodrigo, Pujol, Sor); Jerzy Żak – recordings from 1977, 1978 and 1979 (Dowland, Bach, Mroński and Antonio de Cabezón); Jerzy Mechliński – September 1978 (Villa-Lobos *Prelude in E minor*; Bach *Sarabande* from *Partita in B minor*). Interestingly, Jerzy Mechliński was an opera singer by education, but he accompanied on the guitar to classical singing repertoire.

¹⁰¹ On 9 May 1970, the Classical Guitar Ensemble of the Stanisław Moniuszko Warsaw Musical Society, conducted by M. Olszewski, performed *Rondo* by Carulli in Warsaw. Oddly enough, the recording was stored in the CH/LUD archival collection, which predominantly contains folk and ethnic music. This suggests that there was a certain kind of uncertainty as to how to classify guitar music in the record library.

¹⁰² See Maria Łastawiecka's programme from 10 September 1973: *Na gitarach można różnie* (file no. J 3313).

¹⁰³ In the previous decade, radio broadcasters faced numerous linguistic difficulties; Segovia's name was notorious among them: they used pronunciations resembling its German ("Andreas"), French ("André") or sometimes even Polish ("Andrzej") equivalents.

¹⁰⁴ Apart from the previously mentioned programme by J. Cegięła, there was also Stella Weber's half-hour programme *Gitara indiańska* [Indian Guitar] with music by the Los Calchakis band from 20 May 1972 aired in two parts on Channel 3 (file no. Pr III 36725+A) and Krzysztof Lipka's programme *Gitara miłosna – cudowny zapomniany instrument* [Love Guitar – a wonderful, forgotten instrument] (file no. Pr III 78997), which made use of the Klaus Storck & Alfons Kontarsky record, 1974, LP no. 2533, matrix 175, published by Archiv Produktion. Klaus Storck plays the arpeggione of Anton Mitteis, a student of Stauffer; Alfons Kontarsky plays a Brodmann grand piano made in Vienna around 1810. Recorded on 9–12 January 1974 at Studio Lankwitz, Berlin; producer – Dr. Andreas Holschneider; sound director – Werner Mayer.

¹⁰⁵ For example: in the series "Mały Przewodnik Melomana" [A Music Lover's Little Guide], the author Lech Nowicki devoted one episode to the guitar in March 1975; the series "Z Muzeum Instrumentów Muzycznych" ["From the Museum of Musical Instruments"] featured one episode on the subject of the guitar as well. There was also a radio programme exclusively focused on the recordings of famous classical guitarists – the 18-minute broadcasts of Jan Lewtak from 1976 (in the Archive: Andrés Segovia and Alirio Díaz; the others have not survived).

was being expanded, and the music of all the world's greatest artists was regularly played from discs; they include: Ramón Ybarra, Julian Bream, Oscar Ghiglia, Narciso Yepes, Leo Brouwer, René Bartoli, Rafael Iturri, Milan Zelenka, Siegfried Behrend, Alirio Díaz, Turibio Santos, Barna Kováts, Werner Pauli, John Williams, Konrad Ragossnig, Christopher Parkening, Ernesto Bitetti, Ingolf Olsen, Diego Blanco, and famous duos: the Abreu brothers (Sérgio and Eduardo), the Assad brothers (Sérgio and Odair); the Romero brothers (Pepe and Angel, also with the rest of the family as Los Romeros).

A separate paragraph should be devoted to the issue of female guitarists in the context of the image of the guitar performing practice that was shaped on the radio throughout the period of the Polish People's Republic. As a result of the kind of policy that was pursued with respect to music for 30 years, a stereotype was created that the guitar is not a womanly instrument, thereby obscuring the history of the English guitar and the knowledge of how it functioned (even though Aleksander Fredro equipped Papkin with the English guitar – an instrument typical of a woman – in order to enhance the comedic effect)¹⁰⁶. The existence of great female instrumentalists, who were then at the peak of their careers, was erased from public awareness; they included: Luise Walker¹⁰⁷, Renata Tarragó¹⁰⁸, Olga Pierri¹⁰⁹, Marga Bäuml¹¹⁰, Ida

¹⁰⁶ Papkin: "Ach, jak anioł śpiewam ładnie! (śpiewa przy angielskiej gitarze...)" ["Ah, I sing like an angel! (sings while playing the English guitar...)"], see: A. Fredro, *Zemsta*, Łódź 1975, p. 19. The 19th century division into masculine Spanish guitar and feminine English guitar was mentioned in the weekly "Radio i Świat" as early as in 1950 (cf. "Radio i Świat" of 24 December 1950, no. 52 (279), p. 8).

¹⁰⁷ The purchase of the Supraphon disc and a recording session for the Polish Radio on 15 November 1966 (sound director – W. Zieliński); for the time being, the circumstances surrounding the recording session are unknown. Walker only mentions her stay in Warsaw in the context of a transfer during her tour of the Soviet Union in 1935 (cf. L. Walker, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, p. 116).

¹⁰⁸ Renata Tarragó (1927–2005), the first female guitarist to record *Concierto de Aranjuez* by Joaquín Rodrigo and the editor of the first edition of the concert's score. The Polish Radio is in possession of her records published by Columbia Odyssey, RCA Victor and EMI.

¹⁰⁹ Olga Pierri (1914–2016), a co-founder of the Uruguayan Guitar Centre and a female quartet/quintet with Teté Ricci, Margot Prieto, Margarita Quadros, Carmen Toraza and Carolina Varela. In the Archive under file no. Pł 12727, disc ARCA FH001 1958: Alberto Soriano's *Concerto No. 1* for 5 guitars and *Concerto No. 2* for 4 guitars.

¹¹⁰ Marga Bäuml (1916–2004) – an Austrian guitarist, guitar professor at Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Graz. In the Polish Radio Archive: among others, a recording session for the Polish Radio from 11 May 1972; the solo programme included two études by Napoléon Coste, whereas the rest of the repertoire was a guitar-violin duet.

Presti¹¹¹, Ilse Alfonso¹¹², Maria Lívia São Marcos¹¹³, Monika Rost¹¹⁴, Alice Artzt¹¹⁵, Maria Kämmerling¹¹⁶, as well as artists of the younger generation: Inge Scholl-Kremmel¹¹⁷, Tania Chagnot¹¹⁸, Mary Akerman¹¹⁹ and Sharon Isbin. These world-famous women did eventually (albeit with a delay and only selectively) appear on the air, yet their art sank into oblivion due to the policy of exclusion. Despite their brilliant technique and remarkable musicality, the recordings of their music were not broadcast by the Polish Radio, even though it was in possession of numerous phonograms; as a result, the students of secondary schools and higher education institutions had no way of ever encountering them. At that time, if the countries of the so-called people's democracy decided not to publish an artist's work (such as Milan Zelenka on the Supraphon discs or Alexander Ivanov-Kramskoy on the Melodia discs), their music could only be "tracked down" on the radio and preserved using a private tape recorder, which is why it was so important to broadcast different performers, and not just A. Segovia¹²⁰.

Unfortunately, this brief 10-year period of development and fascination with the classical and non-classical guitar in Poland was interrupted. The imposition of martial law in December 1981 resulted in taking all politically incorrect content off the air, and a large part of radio broadcasts, including music

¹¹¹ Ida Presti (1924–1967), known as a child prodigy, began her illustrious guitar career at the age of 8. She gave the first performance of *Concierto de Aranjuez* in France. Having ended her solo career, she mainly performed in a duo with her husband (Alexandre Lagoya). In the Polish Radio Archive: a Philips record and a tape from the exchange with Radio Canada.

¹¹² Ilse Alfonso (born in 1933 in Belgium), the music competition which takes place in Brussels is named after her; she later performed in a duo with her husband Nicolas. In the Polish Radio Archive: the record *Musica Magna*.

¹¹³ Maria Lívia São Marcos (born in 1942 in Brazil), the winner of the Best Young Artist award funded by Associação Paulista de Críticos Teatrais and a gold medal for "Best Concertist" from Associação de Artistas Brasileiros in Rio de Janeiro. In the Polish Radio Archive: the record *BAM*.

¹¹⁴ Monika Rost (born in 1943 in Germany), the winner of numerous competitions, including the Paris competition; she later performed with her husband Jurgen. In the Polish Radio Archive: a record published by Eterna in 1979.

¹¹⁵ Alice Artzt (born in 1943 in the USA), a student of Ida Presti and Julian Bream. In the Polish Radio Archive: records published by Telefunken and Hyperion.

¹¹⁶ Maria Kämmerling (born in 1946 in Germany), a student of Karl Scheit and a famous contemporary music interpreter. In the Polish Radio Archive: a recording from the exchange – International Rostrum of Composers in Paris.

¹¹⁷ Recording session at the M-1 studio of the Polish Radio from 17 and 19 January 1980; sound director – Andrzej Lipiński.

¹¹⁸ The winners' concert of the 27th Radio France International Guitar Concert was recorded via Radio France on 25 October 1985; first broadcast: 13 February 1986.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem.

¹²⁰ For example, of all female guitarists, only Monika Rost, and only her chamber music, is available at the record library of The Chopin University of Music in Warsaw (Eckart Haupt, Monika Rost, *Virtuose Musik für Flöte und Gitarre*, Eterna, 8 26 661).

programmes, was controlled by the uniformed services from the outside¹²¹. Nearly 300 journalists were laid off¹²². The complete cultural freedom which we now know did not come until the memorable parliamentary elections of 4 June 1989, and in the case of the radio even later than that¹²³.

The Polish Radio is a large, well-known institution, but its Archive can hold many secrets from the reader. Throughout the existence of the central broadcasting station (in Warsaw) and its regional counterparts, the rules for archiving the acquired material have not been consistent¹²⁴, nor have they been made publicly known. Until the 1990s, the collection of records (both purchased commercially as well as original productions collected over the years of broadcasting activity on different sound carriers) was scattered across different rooms, buildings and even cities, and the typical archiving procedures did not apply to it. The fragmentary nature of its documentation also stands in the way of conducting research on the collection. The information contained in the catalogue is basic, incorrect¹²⁵ or of collective nature, e.g. “A Concert of Young Musicians”. The actual documentation work involving a large team of professionals has only been under way since the Polish Radio became an independent company in 1994, and it is carried out with the intent to create a fully digitised archive. The “faces of

¹²¹ Cf. *Alphabet of Solidarity*, ed. Krzysztof Nowak, Gdańsk 2021, p. 54 “The duet, and later, the trio: Gintrowski, Łapiński, Kaczmarek, ended their career when martial law began”, and p. 12: “the second circulation, i.e. the underground press, cassettes with prohibited songs, illegal cabarets, concerts in private houses, home theatre... disproportionately low funds and possibilities to keep alive the spirit of courage that appeared [...] in August 1980”.

¹²² Z. Chomicz, *80 lat Polskiego Radia – Kalendarium 1925–2005*, Warszawa 2005, p. 82.

¹²³ It was not until 25 September 1989 that Andrzej Drawicz became chairman of the Radio and Television Committee. He set up a commission to eliminate residual propaganda in radio broadcasts. Some time passed before these efforts produced results.

¹²⁴ As M. Barucka accurately points out: “The way in which they were shaped was determined by programming needs” (see: M. Barucka W. Barcikowski, *Archiwum Polskiego Radia – Sezam na klasyczną nutę*, “Ruch Muzyczny” 2015, no. 4, pp. 28–31).

¹²⁵ It was possible to correct many of them in the course of the preliminary research for the present article. The incorrect information mainly included spelling mistakes in surnames, which made it difficult to search for them in the digital domain, e.g.: Renata Tarrega instead of Taragó, Jan Oberek instead of Oberbek, Manuel Pance instead of Ponce, [NN] Iglesia instead of Angel Iglesias. There were also changes in the names of musical pieces or certain simplifications resulting from linguistic difficulties, e.g. *Taniec hiszpański* instead of *Aires regionales* or *Krzew mącznicy* instead of *Madroños*, as well as inaccuracies in dates. Some comical mistakes resulting from the lack of information have also been made, such as the catalogue inclusion of the famous single “Rodrigo’s Concierto Aranjuez – Manuel and His Music of the Mountains” as a performance by a guitarist named “Manuel” with the accompaniment of a band called “Music of the Mountains”, whereas the name “Manuel and His Music of the Mountains” was actually used by the well-known composer and arranger Geoff Love, and the eponymous guitar solo was performed by Ivor Mairants, a brilliant British guitarist with – which is particularly interesting – Polish roots (he was born in Rypin in 1908).

the guitar” mentioned in the title of this work are, therefore, a metaphor for the state of affairs that can be observed on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the station’s launch, and the present article, which only presents a very brief outline and the main aspects of the subject in question up to 1981, is merely meant to provide impetus for further in-depth research.

References

Monographs

- Affek-Bujalska Barbara, Kospath-Pawłowski Edward, *Księga pochowanych żołnierzy polskich poległych w II wojnie światowej: Żołnierze Polskich Sił Zbrojnych na Zachodzie*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Ajaks, Pruszków 1993.
- Barciś Artur, Graff Marzanna, *Rozmowy bez retuszu*, Wydawnictwo M, Kraków 2011.
- Bombicki Maciej Roman, *Monte Cassino. Pięćdziesiąt lat po bitwie*, Polski Dom Wydawniczy “Ławica”, Poznań 1994.
- Chomicz Zbigniew, *80 lat Polskiego Radia – Kalendarium 1925–2005*, Polskie Radio SA, Warszawa 2005.
- Dahlig Ewa, *Ludowe instrumenty skrzypcowe w Polsce*, The Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa 2001.
- Filasiewicz Witold, *O fonografie (wg odczytu wygłoszonego w I szkole realnej w Krakowie dnia 21 czerwca 1905 roku)*, Gebethner i Wolf, Kraków 1905.
- Fredro Aleksander, *Zemsta*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1975.
- Gołębiowski Łukasz, *Gry i zabawy różnych stanów w kraju całym lub niektórych tylko prowincjach*, nakładem Autora, Warszawa 1831.
- Iwanowa-Kramskaja Natalia, *Życie poświęcone gitarze*, Moskwa 1995.
- Kern Ludwik Jerzy, *Moje abecadłowo*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2003.
- Kolberg Oskar, *Lud: jego zwyczaje... W. Ks. Poznańskie, cz. 5*, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1880.
- Konopnicka Maria, *Filuś, Miluś i Kizia: nasze kotki*, Wydawnictwo M. Arcta, Warszawa 1927.
- Konopnicka Maria, *Mickiewicz, jego życie i duch*, Bronisław Natanson, Warszawa 1899.
- Kraszewski Józef Ignacy, *Wybór pism*, published by S. Lewental, Warszawa 1884.
- Krukowski Kazimierz, *Z Melpomeną na emigracji*, wyd. Czytelnik, Warszawa 1987.
- Kwiatkowski Maciej Józef, *Polskie Radio w konspiracji 1939–1944*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1989.
- Kwiatkowski Maciej Józef, *Tu Polskie Radio Warszawa*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1980.

- Lerski Tomasz, *Syrena Record, pierwsza polska wytwórnia fonograficzna*, Editions Karin, Warszawa – Nowy Jork 2004.
- Loret Maciej, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku*, Scuola Tipografica Pio X, Rzym 1930.
- Marrington Mark, *Recording the Classical Guitar*, Routledge, New York – Oxon 2021.
- Mickiewicz Adam, *Pan Tadeusz*, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., translated by George Rappall Noyes, London – Toronto 1917.
- Müller Rudolf, *Chronik eines bürgerlichen Lebens in Nürnberg. Część 2: 1939 (Kriegsanfang) bis 1945*, Books on Demand, Norderstedt 2020.
- Parkita Kazimierz, *Wspomnienia lekarza okrętowego ze służby na "Batorym" 1943–1944*, Wydawnictwo Morskie, Gdańsk 1987.
- Pawiński Adolf, *Michał Gröll – obrazek na tle epoki stanisławowskiej*, Gebethner i Spółka, Kraków 1896.
- Prus Bolesław, *Lalka*, Wydawnictwo "Książka i Wiedza", Warszawa 1949.
- Radziszewski Stanisław, *Wiedza tajemna*, Księgarnia S. Sadowskiego, Warszawa 1904.
- Reymont Władysław, *Rok 1794. Ostatni sejm Rzeczypospolitej. Powieść historyczna*, Gebethner i Wolf, Warszawa – Kraków 1913.
- Rolle Antoni Józef, *Niewiasty kresowe. Opowiadania historyczne*, Gebethner i Wolf, Warszawa 1883.
- Siemieński Lucjan, *Podania i legendy polskie, ruskie i litewskie*, J.K. Żupański, Poznań 1845.
- Starling William, *Strings Attached: The Life & Music of John Williams*, Biteback Publishing, London 2012.
- Szewera Tadeusz, *Barwny świat mikrofonu: wspomnienia radiowców*, Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 1983.
- Świtkowski Józef, *Okultyzm i magia w świetle parapsychologii*, published by the editorial team of the "Lotos" monthly, Lwów 1939.
- Trembecki Stanisław, *Zofiówka. Polanka. Powązki*, published by W. Zukerkandl's bookshop, Lwów 1924.
- Truskolaski Romuald, *Szkoła na gitarę hiszpańską: ułożona i ofiarowana W. Karolowi Kurpińskiemu*, funded by F. Klukowski, Warszawa 1820.
- Ustrzycki Mirosław, Ustrzycki Janusz, *Historia, podręcznik dla szkoły branżowej I stopnia*, Operon, Gdynia 2021.
- Walker Luise, *Ein Leben mit der Gitarre*, Musikverlag Zimmermann, Frankfurt am Main 1989.
- Wańkiewicz Melchior, *Bitwa o Monte Cassino*, Prószyński i S-ka, Warszawa 1989.
- Witoszynski Leo, *Über die Kunst des Gitarrenspiels*, Doblinger 2002.
- Wojnarowska Karolina, *Ostatnie rady ojca dla syna*, published by W.B. Korna, Wrocław 1842.

Wolman Borys, *Gitara w Rosji, esej o historii sztuki gitarowej*, Muzgiz, Leningrad 1961.

Zieliński Stanisław, *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich: podróżnicy, odkrywcy, zdobywcy, badacze, eksploratorzy, emigranci – pamiętnikarze, działacze i pisarze migracyjni*, Instytut Wydawniczy Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej, Warszawa 1933.

Joint publications

50 lat Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Poznaniu, 1920–1970, ed. Stanisław Chudak et al., Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań 1973.

Alphabet of Solidarity, ed. K. Nowak, Institute of Solidarity Heritage, Gdańsk 2021.

Dzieło wielkiego miłosierdzia, Catholic Mariavite Church, Płock 1927.

Polskie media – dziesięć lat po likwidacji cenzury. Konferencja naukowa, Warszawa 1–2 czerwca 2000, ed. Z. Sokół, Warszawa 2001.

Periodicals

“Antena. Ilustrowany Tygodnik dla Wszystkich”, from issue no. 1 of 7 October 1934 to issue no. 34 of 20 August 1939 r.

“Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny”, select issues from 1930.

“Kurjer Warszawski”, dziennik, select issues from 1897–1898.

“Nowy Kurjer Warszawski”, dziennik, select issues from 1944.

“Radio i Świat”, tygodnik, from issue no. 1 of 22 July 1945 to issue no. 43 of 23 October 1950.

“Radio Times” of 16 January 1927, issue no. 172.

“Radjo. Ilustrowany Tygodnik dla Wszystkich”, from issue no. 1 of 19 December 1926 to issue no. 40 of 30 September 1934.

Articles in periodicals

Barucka Małgorzata, Barcikowski Wojciech, *Archiwum Polskiego Radia – Sezam na klasyczną nutę*, “Ruch Muzyczny” 2015, no. 4, pp. 28–31.

Gurgul Wojciech, *Adam Franciszek Epler (1902–1940) – zapomniany muzyk międzywojennego Lwowa*, “Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ” 2020, no. 45, vol. 2, pp. 25–60, [<https://doi.org/10.4467/23537094KMMUJ.20.004.12531>].

Heute muss man aggressiv spielen, das ist wichtig geworden, “Gitarre & Laute” 2007, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 8–12.

Staszewski Maciej, *Klasa gitary w Akademii Muzycznej im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi*, “Sześć Strun Świata” 2016, no. 3 (7), pp. 43–45.

Unpublished and archive materials

Inventory ledger *Płyty gramofonowe od 1 do 7999, Warszawa 1945–1948*, The Polish Radio Archive, section: Fonoteka.

**Oblicza gitary w Polsce do roku 1981
w świetle dokumentacji Archiwum Polskiego Radia****Streszczenie**

Długi okres monopolu antenowego Polskiego Radia spowodował technologiczne, później historyczne, a także polityczne przesunięcie gitary, głównie klasycznej, do muzycznej niszy. Celem badania zbioru nagrań i dokumentów programowych w Archiwum Polskiego Radia było ujawnienie nielinearności przebiegu popularyzacji muzyki gitarowej w Polsce.

Słowa kluczowe: radio, Ławrusiewicz, Kliszewski, Chybiński, Tansman, Powroźniak, muzyka gitarowa w Polsce.