In no other part of Nazi-occupied Europe was the cultural imperialism of the Third Reich more aggressively executed than in Poland. Undoubtedly, its most extreme manifestation was reflected in the Western part of the country, which became thoroughly Germanised. However, plans were also unveiled for other regions of Poland to be absorbed directly into a Greater German Colonial Empire. Such territories were regarded as the very embodiment of the National Socialist *Grossraumpolitik*.1

Cultural imperialism was an intrinsic feature of Germanic expansion, a ‘spiritual’ counterpart to military aggression which became a distinctive element in the administrative and legal organisation imposed upon the occupied Eastern territories.2 The Nazi authorities regarded matters of higher spiritual order, such as art, literature and especially music, as crucial to this process. After all, they had claimed to be the true guardians of German culture, and had used this argument to legitimise their political actions even before coming to power. Since Hitler and other prominent Nazi ideologists believed in the cultural supremacy of Germany, they worked assiduously to establish a system which functioned as effectively as possible to secure the pre-eminence of the ‘master race’ in the newly conquered territories. However, so far as Hitler was concerned, Poland remained a special case. In *Mein Kampf*, he had railed against the Austrian Hapsburgs, whom he believed to have initiated misguided efforts during the 19th century to accommodate to their Slav populations. But any attempt to Germanise the Poles constituted an offence against the nobility of the German language and race:

Unfortunately, a policy towards Poland, whereby the East was to be Germanised, was demanded by many and was based on [. . .] false reasoning. Here [. . .] it was believed that the Polish people could be Germanised by being compelled to use the German language. The result would have been fatal. A people of foreign race would have had to use the German language to express modes of thought that were foreign to the German, thus compromising by its own inferiority the dignity and nobility of our nation.3

Although Hitler maintained an uncompromising stance towards the Poles, it should be noted that once in power, the Nazis did not initially pursue the same objective. Indeed,
between 1934 and 1939, there was a considerable degree of cultural exchange between Germany and Poland. This was undoubtedly envisioned as part of a diplomatic smoke-screen designed to maintain a seemingly ‘friendly’ relationship. As far as music was concerned, a number of high-profile events took place in Nazi Germany in which Polish composers and musicians were given a welcoming platform. Amongst the most notable was the Chopin Festival in Dresden in 1935, the same year that Moniuszko’s opera *Halka* successfully conquered Germany’s opera houses for the first time. Chopin’s greatest successor, Karol Szymanowski, was also highly esteemed. Many of his late-period works received performances in Germany (for example, the *Symphonie Concertante*, in which the composer played the solo piano part with the Berlin Philharmonic in 1935, the Second Violin Concerto featured by a number of German orchestras in 1936, and the Ballet *Harnasie*, given its German premiere in Hamburg in 1937). More remarkably, when Szymanowski died in Lausanne in March 1937 and his coffin arrived at Berlin’s Anhalter railway station on its way from Switzerland to the funeral in Poland, the Nazi regime arranged a special ceremony in his honour. In attendance at the ceremony were officials from the Propaganda Ministry, the Reichsmusikkammer, the stage designer Benno von Arent, the director of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, Fritz Stein, members of the Wehrmacht and the Party, as a well as prominent representatives of the Polish community in the German capital. The Musikkorps des Regiments ‘General Göring’ was also present, performing Chopin’s Funeral March in the composer’s memory. Indeed, it was common practice during this period for high-profile Nazi officials and representatives from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to attend concerts honouring Polish music and musicians. These events were cynically manipulated, as well as methodically documented, to provide clear evidence of the supposedly strong bonds that existed between Polish and German culture. One photograph, for example, shows the future Governor of the General Government Hans Frank attending a Szymanowski memorial concert on 12 May 1937 in Berlin sitting next to the wife of Polish minister of justice, Witold Grabowski. This kind of photo opportunity was deliberately planned as part of propagandistic agenda, just as many other events related to culture.

Needless to say, any professed admiration for Polish music on the German side evaporated two years later in the wake of the German invasion of Poland in September 1939. In the following month, the Reichsmusikkammer issued a directive prohibiting the performance in Germany of any music by composers from enemy countries. Chopin was the only Polish composer not to fall victim to this proscription. Yet although Chopin’s work was still allowed to be performed in Nazi Germany, it was banned in the territories of occupied Poland. Nazi musicologists sought to bolster the military campaign against Poland by writing articles that were fully supportive of the Germanisation of Polish culture. A typical example was ‘Vom deutschen Geist in der polnischen Musik’ (Of the German spirit in Polish music) by Kurt Hennemeyer, which appeared in the September 1939 issue of the journal *Die Musik*. In this essay, Hennemeyer traced the evolution of musical styles in Poland from a German perspective, starting his discussion in the medieval era and moving chronologically to the 20th century. Among his most contentious statements was a refutation of the widely held notion that the Polonaise was an intrinsically Polish dance. In this instance, Hennemeyer cited the research of Hugo Riemann, who had argued that the Polonaise originated in Spain, but had been imported into Poland via Germany. Hennemeyer also suggested that the emergence of Chopin and Moniuszko as major figures in Polish music would not have happened without the efforts of their German composition teacher,
Joseph Elsner. Chopin’s late-19th-century successors, such as Mieczysław Karłowicz and Szymanowski, were similarly beholden to purely Germanic impulses, whereas any notion of a genuine Polish folk essence in their music remained fallacious. Undoubtedly, the most offensive manipulation of the political reality came in Hennemeyer’s concluding remarks. In the light of the mass persecution of the Polish intelligentsia by the Nazis, it seems particularly ironic that he should claim that ‘the intelligentsia of the Polish people – they too will be able to speak again in Poland – have always recognised and appreciated in a real sense this greatness of the German people, as well as the unlimited power of the German spirit in its influence on the cultural development of Poland’. Likewise, the Nazi ban on performing Chopin in Poland does not square with Hennemeyer’s suggestion of the composer’s wholehearted devotion to German culture. Regurgitating the well-known anecdote that Chopin’s dying wish was that his friends should play Mozart in his memory, Hennemeyer argued that this gesture offered ‘conclusive proof that that in his final hours, this proud and noble Pole paid tribute to the no less proud and equally noble people of Germany to whom he and the whole of Poland owed so much in terms of the elevation of all aspects of their national life’.

A number of other articles, published in various music journals and newspapers during the early years of the war, covered similar ground to that of Hennemeyer, or extended the discussion more towards an ethnomusicological standpoint by arguing that a strongly Germanic element remained a predominant feature of Polish folk and dance music. Such material appeared alongside other essays offering pseudo-musicological analysis of Nazi songs which were regarded as a potent tool of indoctrination, rendering the imagery of killings of civilians as righteous heroic comradely action against enemies, executed with pure heart and joy, although occasionally adorned with some self-pitying sentiment. They were used as effective propaganda in the promotion of racial hatred, since their texts painted a mocking, derogatory image of the enemy, namely Jews and Poles, and provided explicit references to killings. The analysis of these songs, appearing in specialist journals, offers conclusive evidence of the extent to which the process of dehumanisation of the ‘enemy’ psychologically prepared soldiers for mass killings of civilians. Such material was regularly featured in Die Musik, a good example being an article from September 1938 in which Hans Baier praised such ‘beloved’ SA songs, as ‘War einst ein junger Sturmsoldat’ (There was once a young Storm trooper). Baier quoted with pride its fourth verse: ‘Wir sind vom Gausturm Groß-Berlin/und haben frohen Mut./Wenn das Judenblut vom Messer spritzt/dann geht’s noch mal so gut’ (We are from Gausturm Greater Berlin/and have joyful courage./When Jewish blood splatters from the knife/then once more everything will go well’).

A further example of racial indoctrination comes in Gerhard Pallmann’s article ‘Das Kriegerlebnis im Spiegel des Soldatenliedes’ (The war experience in the mirror of Soldiers’ Songs) published in November 1939 in Die Musik, which presents the melody and text of songs with a message of explicit brutality. Among the most topical of the quoted materials is a song based on a poem by Walter Flex written during World War I. It opens with the verses: ‘Wir stossen unsre Schwerter nach Polen tief hinein. Die Hand wird hart und härter. Das Herz wird hart wie Stein’ (We push our swords deep into Poland. The hand becomes hard and harder, the heart becomes hard as stone) and concludes with the sentiment that ‘Durch Polen möcht ich traben, biss mir das Blut erglüht. Das macht das Gräbergraben. Das macht die Hände müd. Bei Schwertern und bei Fahnen schlief uns das Lachen ein. Wen schert’s? Wir sollen die Ahnen lachender
Enkel sein’ (I want to trot through Poland until the blood glows that’s making us dig graves and making our hands tired. We fall asleep and laugh alongside our swords and flags. Who cares? We should be the ancestors of a laughing grandson).\textsuperscript{16}

These sentiments, replicated in other articles that appeared before the attack on Poland and during the early months of the war, prepared the ground for the segregation policies and genocidal actions that were to unfold in the occupied Eastern territories.\textsuperscript{17} According to Sylwia Grochowina, the meticulously planned attack against Polish culture was jointly spearheaded by central authorities of the Third Reich and German science and research institutions. Particularly active in this area was the Osteuropa-Institut (the Eastern Europe Institute) based in Wrocław, whose director, Hans Uebersberger, claimed that the ‘national–political and cultural’ issues of Poland were dominating its research work. A propaganda campaign was carried out through various publications that stressed the alleged primitiveness and deficiency of Polish culture, claiming that there was an absence of any creative figures of substance, and that anything of tangible value was a direct result of German influences. The Osteuropa-Institut also strove to find ‘historical evidence’ of the presence and cultural domination of Germans on Polish lands. Grochowina further notes that:

Disparagement of Polish cultural achievements was not only an end in itself as the German cultural influences in Polish lands were an argument supporting the demands to redraw the German–Polish border. It was argued that any land reached by the influence of German culture was German land. The plans of campaign against Polish culture were therefore a part of general plans of expansion and extermination connected with implementing the concept of ‘Lebensraum’.\textsuperscript{18}

Yet in order to establish and bolster German cultural superiority in occupied Poland, the Nazis faced two major problems. The first was to create an effective programme of resettlement to boost the number of Germans residing in Poland. To ensure there were sufficient numbers of Germans living in the various regions, the authorities had to draw upon two distinctive types of Germans: firstly, former citizens of the Reich (Reichsdeutsche) and secondly, ethnically German people from areas outside the Reich such as the Baltic states (Völksdeutsche). Hand in hand with this resettlement programme was the need to establish the most effective means for dealing with former Polish citizens. In spite of reinforcing a defined ideological position with regard to the Poles, the methods of implementation strongly depended upon the political status of the given area. The situation in occupied Poland was extremely complex as the administrative status of its different regions and main cities was completely changed after September 1939. In effect, Poland disappeared from the map of Europe and was divided into three main parts; the Western part was annexed to the Third Reich as the eingegliederte Ostgebiete, creating four administrative districts, namely the Reichsgau Wartheland (major cities of Poznań and Łódź), Reichsgau Danzig-West Preussen (major cities of Gdańsk and Bydgoszcz), Ost Preussen, and Ober Schlesien (major city Katowice). (See Figure 3.1.) A central part, which included the cities of Kraków and Warsaw, was transformed from 31 July 1940 into the so-called Generalgouvernement [GG] and remained under German rule, whereas the Eastern part came under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union under the terms of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. It should of course be pointed out that as a result of the invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, this territory too fell into German hands (see Figure 3.2).\textsuperscript{19}
Former Polish citizens constituted the majority of the population in the GG. In contrast, the proportion of former Polish citizens in the territories annexed to the Third Reich varied considerably according to the different administrative districts. Nevertheless, the ultimate objective of the authorities controlling all these areas was to uphold the policy of Germanisation combined with the absolute exclusion and destruction of Polish culture and its representatives. Those former Polish citizens, who were allowed to stay in the new regions, were not expelled, but only because they were needed as a working force to serve the Germans. They faced segregation and dire living conditions, and were deprived of education opportunities beyond primary school level.21

The political, ideological and pseudo-aesthetic arguments, harnessed in favour of Germans residing in these areas, remained similar to those applied to Germans in the GG. It could be summarised in the favourite rhetorical expression, often used in titles of articles and books: the German cultural ‘build-up’ or ‘development’ (\textit{Aufbau}), which consisted in clearing culture of ‘contaminating’ Jewish elements and forging it into an imagined purely German unity.22 However, in the areas cleared almost completely of Poles and Jews, it placed greater emphasis on the notion of a greater spiritual German community (\textit{Gemeinschaft}). Such an idea was more realisable in the Warthegau province, whereas in the GG, the German authorities still had to deal with the unwanted presence of Jews and Poles.

\textbf{Aufbau in the Warthegau – Nazi cultural ‘development’}

The appointment of Arthur Greiser as Governor of the newly created Warthegau Province in 1939 unleashed arguably the most extreme attempt at Germanisation in all the occupied territories of the East. As early as 21 September 1939, Greiser stated his intentions in unequivocal language as he addressed the population of Poznań, the city which now became the administrative centre of the new region:

\textit{All Polish influences, whether in the sphere of politics or culture or economy, will be eliminated once and forever. We Germans came here as masters, and the Poles are to be our servants. [. . .] Our most important task is to settle this land with people to whom the concept of Poland will be in the future merely a historical memory.\textsuperscript{23}}

The population statistics of the Warthegau starkly illustrate the nature of the task that he was to face. In 1939, only 325,000 individuals, or 6.6 per cent of the population in what would become the Warthegau could consider themselves German. To remedy this situation, Greiser spearheaded what historian Catherine Epstein has described as ‘one of the most dramatic and sustained Nazi demographic experiments’.24 In his effort to ‘Germanise’ his Gau, Greiser initiated the first mass gassings of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. Furthermore, he adopted an array of cruel measures: resettlement, deportation, and murder; segregation and anti-church policies; and the transformation of the Gau’s natural, built, and cultural environment. Because of the influx of resettled and Reich Germans, the ethnic cleansing and expulsion of Poles, as well as the murder of Jews, Greiser raised the percentage of Germans in the Warthegau to 22.9 per cent by April 1944.25

One direct manifestation of Greiser’s Germanisation policies was that the capital city of the Warthegau, Poznań, reverted to its former name of Posen, by which it was known during the earlier German occupation of this area following the second Prussian partition.
Figure 3.1 Map of occupied Poland, 1939

Source: Creative Commons
Figure 3.2 Map of occupied Poland, 1941

Source: Creative Commons

TERRITORIES OF POLAND OCCUPIED BY THE THIRD REICH
(Lines of partition after 6/22/1941)

Borders of Poland before 1 September 1939
Borders of Free City of Danzig before 1 September 1939
Borders of other states before 1 September 1939
Line of partition of Poland between III Reich and USSR before 22 June 1941
Territories ceded by the III Reich to Slovakia
of Poland in 1793, and before the Greater Poland uprising (Powstanie Wielkopolskie), insti-
gated by the arrival of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in Poznański in 1919. From the outset, several
Nazi offices operating in Posen and other cities and towns of Warthegau took care of
policies whose primary goal was to make this area German.26 Former Polish citizens were
thrown out of their homes, which were appropriated by German newcomers, as were Pol-
ish institutions that were commandeered for the sake of the German community. Already
in September 1939, a special division directed by Professor Peter Paulsen from Rostock
University (Einsatzkommando Paulsen) was established by the Reich’s Ministry of Inner
Affairs and the Prussian government to confiscate Polish art collections.27

Polish musicians, teachers and intellectuals in Poznański and Łódź, the other large city
in the Warthegau, were targeted by Greiser as representatives of the dangerous geistige
Oberschicht (intellectual/spiritual upper class).28 A substantial number had to move to
the GG, whereas several others were imprisoned. Marian Sauer, professor of piano at the
Music Conservatoire in Poznański, was arrested and shot by the Nazis. Other Polish intel-
lectuals were murdered in Fort VII, the first Nazi concentration camp in Poznański, among
them in December 1939, Witold Noskowski – journalist, music and theatre critic –
who worked for the newspaper Kurier Poznański and was co-founder of cabaret Green
Balloon (Zielony Balonik), famous in inter-war Poland. Most often, false reasons of death
were given, such as suicide or, in the case of music teacher Mieczysław Kaszak, who
died on 2 June 1943, ‘weakened after quinsy’.29 Several other Polish musicians living in
Poznański either had to move to the GG (as happened to the eminent Padlewski family, or
to the composition professor at Poznański Conservatoire, Stanisław Wiechowicz), whereas
those classified as Jewish were forced into the ghettos.

Meanwhile, the German press, supported by numerous articles in brochures and books,
transmitted enthusiastic reports about the fervent development of German culture instilled
by the Reich’s personnel brought to occupied Poland. A typical example of such propa-
ganda is the journal titled Wartheland, Zeitschrift für Aufbau und Kultur im deutschen Osten,
published in Posen, or the article ‘Kultureller Aufbau im Wartheland’ by Oberregierungsrat
Dr. Peter Gast (Posen), published in Ostland Kalender 1941 as the 56th Yearbook of the
Baltic Calendar (a reference to the huge influx of Baltic Germans that settled in the region).
Gast explained clearly the basis of Gauleiter Greiser’s programme of Germanisation and the
crucial role culture had to play in the realisation of this task. According to him, ‘the Aufbau
work in the East could have long-lasting results only when in-depth action is involved’. 
Thus to ‘ground German spirit and culture in this region, to make it autochthonic there’
was far more essential than, for example, the development of a transport system. Gast out-
lines the reasons why music and all the pompous aura created around it by the Nazis was
so important in occupied Poland and justifies the huge efforts and considerable expendi-
ture that were expended upon establishing new German cultural organisations, rebuild-
ing theatres and concert halls, creating German theatrical ensembles and orchestras, and
attracting the people that are ‘filled with holy fanaticism to carry German culture to the
East and make it their home forever’.30

Fanatical and unscrupulous men were needed to fulfil the Nazi colonial mission,
which in the case of confiscating the Poznański opera house and its cinemas and theatres,
was presented as a victory of German culture over Polish ‘swarming vermin’.31 Thus
Dr. Siegfried Rühle, appointed in 1939 as the new director the Museum in Posen, which
reopened triumphantly on 24 January 1940, vowed to purify its exhibits from ‘Polish
Kitsch’ and to supplement them with culturally superior German scientific thought.
The fact that the previous director of the Museum, Nikodem Pajzderski, had been arrested in October 1939 and killed on 6 January 1940 in Fort VII was kept secret. Parallel to the German takeover of the museum was the transformation of Poznań University into the Reichsuniversität Posen, where Walther Vetter was appointed by the Reich Minister for Science, Education and Culture Bernhard Rust to ‘a vacant post’ at the Faculty of Philosophy as Director of the Institute of Musicology. This vacancy arose because the Polish musicians who had been employed at the Institute, including its founder Waclaw Gieburowski, conductor of the famous Choir of Poznań Cathedral, and the then director Łucjan Kamieński, were taken into custody by the Germans. Admittedly, Gieburowski suffered more than his colleague by being forcibly moved to the GG, whereas Kamieński, who had been arrested by the Gestapo on ‘anti-German’ charges, was subsequently released thanks to the efforts of his German wife. As a result of this reprieve, in 1941 Kamieński was admitted to the Deutsche Volksliste (an institution established by the Nazis in the occupied territories classifying non-German citizens according to their racial desirability) and was able to work as an archivist.

Kamieński’s replacement, Walter Vetter, was joined by a number of other prominent musicians who were lured to the Warthegau, attracted by the idea of fulfilling the Nazi colonial mission of building up German musical life in the region. One of the most notable was the Hitler Youth composer Georg Blumensaat, who was appointed Director of the Landesmusikschule Reichsgau Wartheland in Posen. Blumensaat was a prolific writer of political songs, contributing material to such collections as Unser Kriegs-Liederbuch (1941), and Das Neue Soldaten-Liederbuch (1941). He was also composer and editor of two volumes of the Posener Chorbuch (1941 and 1943) subtitled ‘aus der praktischen Aufbauarbeit im wiedergewonnenen Osten entstanden’ (emerging out of the practical reconstruction of the recovered territories of the East).

The Landesmusikschule Reichsgau Wartheland opened on 15 November 1940 with an initial enrolment of 107 students. Located in the former convent of the Carmelite Sisters, the Landesmusikschule building had to be fully renovated, as it was deemed inadequate for the purposes of establishing a sufficiently buoyant music education institution. But its development was further hampered by the fact that the German Army occupied 25 per cent of the premises. Greiser realised that by establishing only one music school in Posen, he was not exactly enhancing standards of music education in the region. So a more ambitious project was unveiled two years later with the creation of a Stadtmusikschule in Posen in the spring of 1942. This was followed in September of the same year with an announcement at the Third Posener Musikwoche that Greiser was to establish the Wartheländische Musikerziehungswerk, which was to coordinate music education throughout the region and create music schools in each district town of the Wartheland. Statistics drawn from the annual report of the state adviser for music in the Reich District Land of the Warta River (19 May 1944) demonstrated that as of 1 April 1944, in addition to the Landesmusikschule in Posen, there were eighteen municipal music schools in the Warthegau, employing 132 teachers and attracting 2964 students.

Complementing the drive to establish a purely German music education system in Posen was the desire to Germanise concert and operatic life in the city. The musician entrusted with helping to achieve this objective was conductor Hanns Roessert. A member of the NSDAP since 1 April 1933, Roessert had been first Kapellmeister in the Opera at Halle, where he had also directed the local Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur
In autumn 1940, Greiser appointed Roessert to become music director of the newly reconstructed Posen Opera House and establish a symphony orchestra, drawing its personnel from all geographical areas of the Reich. Roessert worked with zeal to fashion the most suitable repertoire for the opera house, appointed the Schoenberg pupil Winfried Zillig as his first Kapellmeister, and planned the forthcoming season of orchestral concerts. Within a few weeks, he had assembled an orchestra of 62 players, which made its concert debut in the Aula of the University on 7 November 1940 in a special concert featuring Maria Greiser, wife of the Governor, as soloist in the Piano Concerto of Hans Pfitzner, a composer to whom she was strongly devoted. Such was the enthusiasm generated by this concert that it raised the considerable sum of 350,000 RM in support of the Winterhilfswerk (a scheme set up by the Nazis to help their most needy populations during the cold winter months).

Further ostentatious musical celebrations of Germanness took place in Posen over the next two years. The first of these was the Ostdeutsche Kulturtage (16 to 23 March 1941), graced by a visit from Reichspropaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, who officially opened the new Posen Theatre. Special attention was given to the Mozart anniversary, which was commemorated by a staged performance of Die Entführung aus dem Serail and a lecture from musicologist Erich Schenk, with the apposite title ’Mozart und der deutsche Osten’. Another notable appearance was that of the NS Reichs Symphonie-Orchester which gave two concerts of popular classics to close the Kulturtage. Following this came the Second Posener Musikwoche (31 August to 7 September 1941), the first such festival having taken place around the same time the previous year, just before Roessert had fully constituted his orchestra or had been in a position to plan the programme. This time, however, Roessert very much stamped his own authority on proceedings, with an opening concert that concluded with a performance of Siegmund von Hausegger’s rarely heard symphonic poem, Barbarossa. The decision to revive this proto-nationalist late-Romantic work, whose first and third movements are titled ’Die Not des Volkes’ (The Plight of the People) and ’Das Erwachen’ (The Awakening) respectively, around the same time as the German army was invading the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa, was surely no coincidence. Not surprisingly, Hausegger’s bombastic music received a rapturous reception, as did a performance later in the week of Reger’s Vaterländische Ouvertüre.

Undoubtedly the most zealously nationalist music festival to take place in the Warthegau was the third and final Posener Musikwoche in September 1942. There is good evidence to suggest that it was Arthur Greiser’s wife Maria who urged the organisers of this event to pay lavish homage to Hans Pfitzner. In effect, the whole festival was turned into a cult celebration of the old master’s achievement with numerous concerts featuring his music. In addition, composer and critic Hermann Unger travelled from Cologne to deliver a lecture titled ’Die Weltgeltung der deutschen Musik und Hans Pfitzner’ (The International Standing of German Music and Hans Pfitzner). The culminating event of the Third Posener Musikwoche was the award of the Warthegau Music Prize of 20,000RM to Pfitzner. The official document, nominating Pfitzner for the award and signed by Arthur Greiser, describes the composer as ’the messenger of the German Soul [an obvious reference to Pfitzner’s cantata Von deutscher Seele] the fighter for German art and fundamental attitudes, and the creator of immortal musical masterpieces’. Concurrently with the award, Greiser decreed that Posen would now have a street named after the composer, and that various local music schools would bear his name. Finally, a Hans Pfitzner Prize would be established to help fund the training for
the most promising young German musicians in the region. The first awards of these prizes were announced in the October 1943 issue of the journal *Musik im Kriege*.37

In his review of the third Posener Musikwoche, published in the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, Edmund von Temnitschka commended the organisers for having devised such a rich programme of musical events, especially considering the huge struggle of the German war effort that was unfolding during this period. Temnitschka claimed somewhat brazenly that the fact that between 1941 and 1942 the Wartheland region had paid host to no less than 150 Symphony Orchestra concerts, 89 Chamber Music events, 172 Solo Recitals, 37 Choral Concerts and three Music Weeks spoke volumes for the policies that had been put in place by the occupiers and provided great hope for the future.38 Inevitably, however, such levels of activity could no longer flourish in Posen, given the increasing problems facing the German army on the Eastern front.

Whereas the major German music periodicals carried regular reports, at least up to 1943, of the varied types of musical events taking place in Posen, less information was gleaned about the cultural situation in Wartheland’s second city of Łódź, now renamed Litzmannstadt in tribute to the World War I veteran General and Nazi party member, Karl Litzmann, who had won a decisive victory for German troops at the Battle of Łódź in 1914. As was the case in Poznań, Łódź’s musical institutions were thoroughly Germanised, and a large influx of performers from the Baltic regions was transferred to Litzmannstadt to help establish a German theatre there. Initially, the musical forces employed at the theatre were relatively modest, which meant that only operettas could be performed. But from the 1942/43 season, the number of musicians was expanded sufficiently in order to enable operas to be staged. Poor attendance by the German population in Litzmannstadt forced the city authorities to undertake schemes aimed at popularising the theatre, with subscriptions that drastically reduced ticket prices and established long-standing partnerships with Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy) and other Nazi organisations. This explains the theatre’s unadventurous operatic repertoire, which was confined to such standard fare as d’Albert’s *Tiefland* (in 1944), Humperdinck’s *Hänsel und Gretel* (1942), Nicolai’s *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor* (1943), Verdi’s *Otello* (1943) and Puccini’s *Tosca* (1942).

The authorities running the German Theatre played it safe so far as opera repertoire was concerned, whereas the fully funded symphony orchestra, established by Adolf Bautze in August 1940, was a more ambitious undertaking. In stark contrast to almost all other German musicians living and working in the Wartheland, Bautze had already moved from Germany to Łódź in the 1920s and for several years had established a reputation as an effective conductor of German choirs in the region. In August 1940, the Mayor of the Litzmannstadt appointed him as the city’s local functionary for music (Städtischer Musikbeauftragter), a post that he combined with taking on the role of being head of the Reichs Propaganda Office (Leiter des Reichspropagandaamtes: Zweigstelle Litzmannstadt) in the city.

Such elevation gave him considerable power and influence, much beyond his relatively limited abilities as a conductor.39 Indeed, Bautze managed to convince the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin that the establishment of a full-time symphony orchestra in Litzmannstadt was a vitally important German cultural asset for Wartheland. Accordingly, the Ministry furnished the orchestra with a generous subsidy that amounted to nearly 100,000 RM by 1943.40 Thanks to this subsidy, Bautze was able to increase the number of musicians in the orchestra from 52 to 85.41 The conditions attached to this grant,
however, resulted in the Ministry’s demanding that the orchestra change its policy of only featuring standard repertoire in its programmes, and that in future, it should demonstrate a more tangible commitment to music by living composers officially approved by the regime. As a result, the programme planning of the Symphony Orchestra from 1942 onwards was more adventurous. In the few seasons of its existence between 1942 and 1944, many of the concerts given by the Litzmannstadt Symphony Orchestra included at least one contemporary work, and a platform was given to a substantial number of composers including Pfitzner, Helmut Jörns, Gerhard Maasz, Richard Trunk, Bruno Stürmer, Ottmar Gerster, Rudolf Petzold, Hermann Grabner, Helmut Fiechtner, Arno Knapp, Werner Trenkner, Johann Nepomuk David, Walter Drwenski, Gottfried Müller, Fred Lohse, Rudolf Peters, Winfried Zillig and Werner Egk. Another sign of the importance attached to the Symphony Orchestra was the frequent appearance of guest soloists from the Reich and the occasional visit from significant conductors, such as Franz Konwitschny, Peter Raabe, Count Hidemaro Konoye, and Eugen Jochum.

Hans Frank and the creation of a new orchestra in the Generalgouvernement

A few months after the GG was established, Governor-General Hans Frank began to make plans to build up Kraków into one of the major centres of German culture, a move which at a stroke demoted the status of Warsaw as the former capital of Poland. An early statement of his intent was his invitation to the conductor Hans Knappertsbusch and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra to present the opening concert at the newly inaugurated Deutsches Theater on 16 December 1939. The programme, given in front of an audience made up of prominent Nazi officials, members of the Wehrmacht and the SS, featured mainstream German symphonic repertoire, with Bruckner’s Fourth Symphony preceded by Beethoven’s Second. Frank also used this occasion to deliver a trenchant speech, first of all welcoming the orchestra and then praising it as the very embodiment of the ‘glorious indestructible thousand-year-old cultural heritage of German artistic creation, German artistic hegemony and German artistic reproduction’. At the same time as extolling the orchestra, Frank also launched into a tirade against Poland and its ‘falsification of history’, promising that ‘we will try for the sake of the righteousness of the achievement to increase the German character of this place’.42

The following day, Frank and further Nazi officials, including Reichsminister Walther Funk, were in attendance at the Vienna Philharmonic’s matinee concert under Knappertsbusch. The programme of lighter music by Nicolai, Schubert, Mozart and the Strauss family was designed very much in the manner of the famous New Year’s Day Concerts, first established in Vienna two years later. Once again, members of the Wehrmacht made up the majority of the audience, but this time ethnic Germans from the Kraków region were also present.

Although there was to be a further series of concerts from prestigious German artists and ensembles during the next months, Frank was determined to create his own full-time symphony orchestra in Kraków and to establish an opera ensemble to supplement the acting complement of the Deutsches Theater. He was able to achieve the first of these objectives relatively quickly, whereas operatic activities only started relatively modestly in the 1941/42 season, and were mostly confined to presenting repertoire requiring limited orchestral forces.
The steps by which Frank’s orchestra became a permanent fixture in Kraków’s musical life were described in some detail in an article by Alfred Lemke which was published in the September 1942 issue of Zeitschrift für Musik.43 According to Lemke, the Munich-based conductor Dr Hanns Rohr was summoned by Frank to Kraków in May 1940 to make plans for establishing an orchestra. Both men realised that it would be impractical at this stage to resettle a complement of over 60 German musicians in the GG. Accordingly, during the summer months Rohr was assigned the task of drawing personnel for the orchestra from Polish musicians that had been formerly active in orchestras in Poznań and Warsaw. A month later, Rohr had amassed a sufficient number of players for the orchestra to give a modest debut concert in the Gothic Courtyard of the University, with a programme featuring symphonies by Haydn and Schubert. But Frank’s idea for the orchestra was to be far more grandiose. He wanted to expand the orchestral forces to around 80 musicians. In addition, Rohr, who became chief conductor, employed a German concert master, Fritz Sonnleitner, also from Munich, to work alongside the Polish orchestral musicians, and an assistant conductor, Rudolf Erb. After Rohr’s unexpected death early in 1942, Rudolf Hindemith, brother of the famous composer, was appointed his successor. Two years later, Erb was replaced by Hans Swarowsky.

By the autumn of 1940, effectively a year after the official creation of the GG, everything was in place to announce the arrival of a new orchestra, which was to be known as the Philharmonie des Generalgouvernements. The Philharmonie made its formal debut on 14 October 1940 at the Urania Cinema in Kraków with a programme featuring Beethoven’s Eighth Symphony and Brahms’s First, reportedly performed in front of 1500 Germans.44 Within its first season, the Philharmonie had given twenty concerts in Kraków and nine in Warsaw. The repertoire selected for the first season was almost exclusively German, with particular focus on symphonies by Schumann, Brahms and Bruckner. An extremely limited roster of music by living German composers also featured in the programmes, most notably works by Nazi loyalist Richard Trunk, Reznicek and Pfitzner: a practice that continued in the following seasons.45

Somewhat predictably, Lemke’s article paints a misleadingly positive impression of musical developments in Kraków. What the author failed to mention was that the audience for the Philharmonie’s main concerts was exclusively made up of Germans, and that the orchestra was in fact also employed to give an entirely separate series of concerts only for the Poles. At these concerts, the authorities sanctioned the idea that concerto opportunities could be given to Polish musicians drawn from within the orchestra, as if to create the impression that the Germans were prepared to show some generosity of spirit towards the Poles. On the other hand, this policy did not apply to concerts given in front of exclusively German audiences where it was mandatory for the soloists to be of German origin.

It is not known exactly to what extent Hans Frank imposed his own ideas regarding the programme planning of the Philharmonie. Almost certainly, the decision to honour Richard Strauss with an 80th birthday concert on 12 June 1944 must have been his, given that Frank was a particularly enthusiastic supporter of the composer. Another figure much admired by Frank was Hans Pfitzner. As was the case in the Wartheland, Pfitzner proved to be a particularly useful representative of German nationalist musical values, and his works featured regularly in the concert programmes of the Philharmonie during its brief existence.46 Although Frank very much hoped that Strauss would accept an invitation to conduct the Philharmonie, it was Pfitzner who seized the opportunity to collaborate with Frank. Eagerly accepting his invitation to conduct the Philharmonie,
he first appeared with them in a concert during the autumn of 1942, where Pfitzner’s music was judiciously placed alongside that of his musical heroes, Schumann and Wagner. A further indication of the official approval accorded to Pfitzner by the GG was the performance in November 1943 of his Cantata *Von deutscher Seele*, on the occasion of the Kulturtage des Generalgouvernements. But the most intensive collaboration between Pfitzner and Hans Frank took place the following year, when the composer visited Kraków in July and December 1944. The culmination of their association was the world premiere, given by the Philharmonie under Hans Swarowsky on 2 December 1944, of Pfitzner’s *Krakauer Begrüßung*, a six-minute orchestral piece which the composer dedicated to Frank. Overwhelmed by the dedication, Frank gave a hundred bottles of sparkling wine, a silver box and a fee of 10,000 Reichsmarks in gratitude to the composer.

It is difficult to imagine what the response of the Polish members of the Philharmonie might have been to performing this particular work, with its pompous opening section ostensibly glorifying Hans Frank’s domain, let alone the wistful middle section with an unmistakeable rhythmic allusion to the Polonaise. After surviving in the orchestra for just over four years, it can be assumed that some performers had become anaesthetised to the dire situation that faced them and so many of their compatriots. However, despite the fact that Frank had bestowed upon them relatively secure employment as orchestral musicians and thereby saved them from the degradations of being forced to join the *Baudienst* (Polish service of construction in the GG established by the Nazis in December 1940), sent to the Reich to endure forced hard labour, or, worse still, being deported to the death camps, many musicians were still enduring life-threatening situations on a daily basis. One former member of the orchestra recounted to me in 2017 that on at least two occasions, conductor Rudolf Hindemith had to use his influence to secure the release of orchestral musicians that had been rounded up and threatened with deportation. Furthermore, two members of the Philharmonie were living in constant fear of the possibility that their Jewish descent might be revealed to the authorities.

Given the traumatic situation facing the members of the Philharmonie, it is perhaps understandable that they kept their counsel, performing works like *Krakauer Begrüßung* to the best of their abilities merely as a means of survival. We must assume that at the same time, Polish members of the Philharmonie felt a deep sense of unease and humiliation at having to follow Frank’s repressive orders and segregation policies. That Frank had decreed that Polish music had to be excluded from their repertoire must have seemed extremely hurtful and totally hypocritical, perhaps doubly so when he appears to have sanctioned programmes featuring works by Slav composers, Smetana and Dvořák.

In effect, Frank’s outright ban on the Philharmonie performing Polish music lasted only a few seasons and contained one major exception. On 27 October 1941, Wilhelm Kempff was invited to play Chopin’s Second Piano Concerto with the Philharmonie in a programme that also included Karl Höller’s *Passacaglia und Fuge nach Frescobaldi* and Bruckner’s Fourth Symphony. By placing the Chopin in the context of such repertoire, Frank and conductor Hanns Rohr were effectively bolstering the fallacious propaganda emanating from Nazi Germany surrounding the Polish composer’s racial background that presented him as of Alsatian origin with a family name that was originally known as ‘Schopping’. On account of this fabrication, it was possible to argue that the true kernel of Chopin’s music was essentially German, and such evidence alone justified the decision to continue to perform his work in the Reich. Although Frank fully subscribed
to the notion of Chopin being German, it is significant that this Concerto was not repeated in the concert series given in front of Polish audiences, possibly for fear of unleashing a potentially seditious response.

In reality, Frank was an avid enthusiast for Chopin’s music and seemed prepared to overlook the uncomfortable fact that German soldiers, working under his jurisdiction, had by this stage destroyed all monuments built by the Poles honouring the composer in the GG. Yet in order to appear to the outside world as the protector and staunch advocate of Poland’s greatest musical figure, Frank even planned to pay him homage with a specially conceived Chopin Exhibition that opened in Kraków in October 1943.\(^{49}\) The Exhibition brought together several precious items from German institutions and involved transporting material from the Prussian State Library under the direct supervision of musicologist Georg Schünemann. Frank also included the Édouard Ganche collection, which had been forcibly bought by the Germans in occupied France.

To present himself in this new light, Frank lifted his earlier proscription of Polish music from the programmes of the Philharmonie for Polish audiences, although it still remained in force for the concert series given to the Germans. Cynically, the sudden appearance of Polish music in the Philharmonie’s programmes, by a limited number of 19th-century composers, was timed to coincide with the opening of the Exhibition.\(^{50}\) Both gestures were paraded to the outside world as symbols of German magnanimity.\(^{51}\)

The Philharmonie continued to give concerts months after Goebbels’s declaration of Total War in the summer of 1944 had effectively shut down all opera houses and concert halls in the Reich. In the last few weeks of its existence, the conducting of the orchestra was assigned to a Pole for the first time – specifically to Adam Dolżycki, who for several years had demonstrated a closeness to the Nazi regime, and whose café concerts had in fact been boycotted by members of the Polish Resistance. Perhaps the most grotesque example of Dolżycki’s complicity was the programme given in front of Polish audiences on 3 December 1944, just over a month before Kraków was captured by the Russians. The first two items provocatively placed Moniuszko’s *Bajka* alongside the second performance of Pfitzner’s *Krakauer Begrüßung*. Not surprisingly, soon after this escapade, Dolżycki realised that his career in Poland would be effectively over, particularly since the Germans were now fleeing from Kraków. Unprepared to face the obvious recriminations that followed the end of the German occupation, he escaped over the border to Germany, eventually settling in Munich where he spent the rest of his life.

**Aufbau and Raumordnung in the Generalgouvernement, using music as a weapon of German imperialism**

Despite Polish musicians’ efforts during the first months of the Nazi occupation to continue their work unhindered, the Nazi authorities only sanctioned live musical performance in cafés. Higher education was forbidden to Polish students, Polish and Jewish newspapers and periodicals were banned and replaced by German propaganda newspapers in Polish, and musical institutions such as orchestras and choirs were closed down. The publishing of classical music scores was also banned, and all radio sets in possession of Poles and Jews had to be deposited at police stations. Strict segregation policies were implemented by the Nazi authorities. This was focused primarily on the physical separation of Jews, and subsequently in their extermination. Warsaw was divided by the decree of 2 October 1940 issued by Warsaw District Governor Ludwig Fischer,
establishing a ghetto for former citizens of the Second Republic of Poland, who were considered Jewish according to the Nuremberg Laws, and the population had to move hastily there from other parts of the city. On 16 November 1940, the Ghetto was sealed. A year later, on 10 November 1941, a decree was issued stating that anyone leaving the Ghetto without permission would be arrested and subjected to the death penalty, a punishment that was also meted out to anyone helping people of Jewish origin to escape.

Inside the GG, propagandistic and administrative policies were defined by two main contradictory approaches. One of them resulted, as already mentioned, from the need for using Polish musicians in the imperialistic rituals of Hans Frank's dominion, whereas the other was characterised by the aggressive manipulation of the local population, limiting its access to culture and national identity. To achieve these aims, the Nazis employed administrative means in preparing and carrying out segregation and ghettoisation policies, accompanied by propaganda directed specifically at various ethnic groups. Utilising a refined form of the ancient Roman principle of divide et impera, they aimed to strengthen ethnically construed notions of individual cultures, which had to be purged of ‘alien’ elements in order to survive, and to instil fear and revulsion towards the cultural ‘other’. Music and culture were efficiently used in these mechanisms as a factor of manipulation. The tactic, omnipresent both in the German-language press, such as the Krakauer/Warschauer Zeitung, and the Polish-language press, such as Nowy Kurier Warszawski, juxtaposed news on music, theatre and other branches of culture with virulent anti-Semitic propaganda. A typical example may be found in the 21/22 July 1940 issue of the Krakauer Zeitung, which on one page placed an exultant article praising German theatrical life in Warsaw under the title ‘Zur Eröffnung der Sommer-gastspiele im Belvedere-Park’ (On the opening of the summertime guest performances at the Belvedere Park), without of course mentioning that the performances were taking place in the former Łazienki Park, which was now ‘for Germans only’ – not only free of Jews (Judenrein) and Poles (Polenrein) but also free of the Chopin monument that had been destroyed previously on 31 May 1940. On the following page, there is another article titled ‘Die Polen machten Warschau Judenmetropole’ (The Poles made of Warsaw a Jewish metropolis) and placed in the ‘General Government’ section of the newspaper, adorned with a huge photo, signed ‘A row of particularly “expressive” types of Jews, that one can meet in the GG at every turn’.

While reading through these sources, filled with racial prejudice and contempt, one gets the impression that it was a quasi-‘aesthetic’ disgust that dictated the ghettoisation politics in the GG. This long-instilled racial revulsion is omnipresent in German sources on Nazi cultural development, especially those concerning the GG.

For Poles, as in other parts of GG, especially in Warsaw, official Polish musical activity was allowed only in cafes and only with special permission. Illegal events were organised in private apartments. On 14 October 1940, the Philharmonic of the General Government was solemnly inaugurated – with speeches by Hans Frank and his deputy Joseph Bühler – while manhunts in the streets of Kraków and executions in the vicinity of the city continued, directed mainly against the intelligentsia. Almost every day, roundups were carried out in the streets, and the terror intensified. The most important musical cafe for the Poles in Kraków, called ‘U plastyków’ or ‘Kawiarnia Plastyków’ at 3 Łobzowska Street 3, which operated between 13 February 1941 and 16 April 1942, and where around 100 recitals of known artists were held, was seized by the Gestapo on 19 April 1942. About 200 men for the most part belonging to the intellectual circles of Kraków were arrested and sent to Auschwitz, where the majority were murdered.
Nazi methods applied to the whole of occupied Poland were intended to liquidate or uproot the elites and destroy culture. They proved to be very effective, wreaking long-lasting damage on cultural developments in the immediate post-war era. The loss of composers’ manuscripts, scores, instruments and private collections was irreparable. But the most catastrophic impact of Nazi politics for Polish and international culture was the loss of composers, pianists, singers and string players who fell victim to extermination, either through being murdered in the ghetto and death camps, or shot by German soldiers defending their fellow countrymen.55

Notes

1 See Diemut Majer, ‘Non-Germans’ under the Third Reich. The Nazi Jurisdiction and Administrative System in Germany and Occupied Eastern Europe, with Special Regard to Occupied Poland, 1939–1945 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 187.
2 For a broader overview of Nazi views regarding culture, see Sylwia Grochowina, Cultural Policy of the Nazi Occupying Forces in the Reich District Gdańsk – West Prussia, the Reich District Wartheland, and the Reich District of Katowice in the years 1939–1945 (Toruń: Foundation of General Elżbieta Zawacka, 2017), 21–25.
3 Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Munich: Eher, 1936), 429–30.
6 See ‘Deutschland ehrt das Andenken Szymanowskis’, Deutsches Nachrichtenburo, 3 April 1937.
7 Clarification that it was acceptable to perform Chopin’s music in Nazi Germany was issued by the Reichsmusikkammer – see Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer, 6/19 (October 1939), 57–58.
9 Ibid., 794–95. A similar argument was postulated in 1940 – see Herbert Drescher, ‘Aus Zeit und Geschichte. Kulturbeiträge für den Osten – in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit: Von Heinrich Fink bis zu Joseph Elsner. Deutsche Musiker in Polen’, Kukauer Zeitung, 159 (7/9 July 1940), 9–10. Drescher concludes that all Polish musicians, including the most famous ones such as Chopin and Moniuszko, ‘take their beginning just like the stream from a source – from Elsner’ as their ‘spiritual father’. He argued that ‘German nature and German style have not only left their mark on the stone fortifications of past centuries in Poland, but also found their expression in a considerable number of Polish melodies. What the German sword conquered in the East, the German peasant colonised and the German merchant brought to prosperity; the German artist, and not least the German musician inhabited the Polish land and filled it with his spirit, in the past and now’.
11 Ibid., 797.
12 Ibid.
Katarzyna Naliwajek


16 Ibid., 47.


19 For a comprehensive description of these administrative policies see Grochowina, *Cultural Policy*, 75–124.


28 On the extermination on Polish intelligentsia, as well as the destruction and plunder of Polish cultural heritage, monuments of Chopin and Moniuszko amongst others, see Grochowina, *Cultural Policy*, 83–104.

30 Dr. Peter Gast, ‘Kultureller Aufbau im Wartheland’, in Ostland Kalender 1941, 56. Jahrgang des Baltischen Kalenders (Posen: E. Bruhns, 1941), 68. My thanks to Dr Elżbieta Steinborn for her help in translating the German texts.
32 For a detailed résumé of Vetter’s career during this period, see Harry Waibel, Diener vieler Herren: Ehemalige NS-Funktionäre in der SBZ/DDR (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2011), 349.
33 Grochowina, Cultural Policy, 220–22.
34 For a comprehensive and resolutely nationalist résumé of the musical events taking place at the Ostdeutsche Kulturtage, see Edmund von Tennitschka, ‘Ostdeutsche Kulturtage 1941 in Posen’, Zeitschrift für Musik, 108 (1941), 332–33.
36 ‘Glanzvoller Höhepunkt der Posener Musikwoche. Musikpreis Reichsgau Wartheland 1942 für Hans Pfitzner’ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, 7 September 1942, 2. The newspaper carries photos of Pfitzner shaking hands with Arthur Greiser and reports on Pfitzner’s contribution as accompanist to Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and conductor in a programme featuring his Kleine Sinfonie, his Overture to Das Käthchen von Heilbronn, and Schumann’s Fourth Symphony.
40 Anselm Heinrich, Theatre in Europe under German Occupation (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 178.
41 See Grochowina, Cultural Policy, 206.
42 Krakauer Zeitung, cited in Fritz Trümpi, The Political Orchestra: The Vienna and Berlin Philharmonics during the Third Reich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 228–29. It should be also noted that Knappertsbusch visited occupied Kraków three further times during the war, giving concerts with the Berlin Philharmonic on 12 September 1941, and 5 and 6 September 1942.
45 Amongst the few contemporary German and Austrian composers featured in the following two seasons were Karl Höller, Joseph Haas, Franz Schmidt, Gustav Adolf Schlemm, Joseph Suder and Theodor Berger. The only world premiere given by the Philharmonie was that of the Hauer pupil, Johann Ludwig Trepulka’s Variationen für Orchester über ein eigenes Thema (Alt – Wiener Tänzeweise), on 26 November 1942.
46 One of the first works by Pfitzner to be heard in Kraków was the Cello Concerto, op. 42, with Ludwig Hoelscher as soloist on 20 September 1941. Also featured in the 1941/2 season were his Duo for Violin, Cello and Orchestra, Symphony, op. 46 and the Overture Das Käthchen von Heilbronn.
47 Pfitzner’s 75th birthday concert on 12 July 1944 included Schumann’s Fourth Symphony and Weber’s Oberon Overture, as well as Pfitzner’s Symphony, op. 46, Zweite Deutsche Gesänge and the Overture to Das Käthchen von Heilbronn.
48 For a notable example of efforts to Germanise Chopin’s music, see Ernst Krienitz, ‘Kampf um Chopin’, Die Musik-Woche, 28 October 1939, 1–2. For a more in-depth discussion of Chopin reception during this period, see Reinhard Piechocki, Unter Blumen eingesenkte Kanonen: Chopins Musik in dunkler Zeit (1933–1945) (Düsseldorf: Staccato, 2017).
49 Excerpts from the address given by Georg Schönemann reinforcing the Germanic provenance of the composer at the opening of the Chopin Exhibition in Kraków are reproduced in Fred K. Prieberg, Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945 (Kiel: Kopf, 2009), 6449–50.
50 The Polish repertory featured in the Philharmonie’s programmes included Moniuszko’s Bajka (10 October 1943, 15 October 1944 and 3 December 1944), Moniuszko’s Jadwiga
Dumka, Żeleński’s ‘Dumka’ from the opera Janek (23 January 1944), Noskowski’s The Steppes (27 February 1944), Żeleński’s Overture W Tatrach (5 March 1944 and 14 January 1945), Chopin’s Piano Concerto No. 1 (5 March 1944), Moniuszko: Halka Overture, Karłowicz’s Violin Concerto (14 May 1944), fragments from Halka (11 June and 25 June 1944), and Kurpiński’s Clarinet Concerto (14 January 1945).


Krakauer Zeitung 171, 21/22 July 1940, 4.

The characteristic bronze statue of 1926 by Waclaw Szymanowski was dismembered and sent by rail to German foundries. Every possible effort was made to destroy all existent copies of the statue, which were preserved in Polish museums, most of them at the Poznań Museum. All the plaster replicas and a wooden copy in 2:1 scale preserved there, offered by Waclaw Szymanowski himself, were destroyed. However, one of the employees of the Museum managed to hide a copy of the statue’s head in the cellar.

Krakauer Zeitung 21/22 July 1940, 5.


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Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement (Wrocław: Korn, 1940).