

PERSEVERANCE IN THE FACE OF TOTALITARIANISM: THE LIFE AND LEGACY
OF JÓZEF ZYGMUNT SZULC IN NAZI OCCUPIED FRANCE

Bethany Grace Mamola

Dissertation Prepared for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

May 2019

APPROVED:

Stephen Morscheck, Major Professor
William Joyner, Committee Member
Carol Wilson, Committee Member
Felix Olschofka, Interim Director of Graduate
Studies in the College of Music
John W. Richmond, Dean of the College of
Music
Victor Prybutok, Dean of the Toulouse
Graduate School

Mamola, Bethany Grace. *Perseverance in the Face of Totalitarianism: The Life and Legacy of Józef Zygmunt Szulc in Nazi Occupied France*. Doctor of Musical Arts (Performance), May 2019, 31 pp., 4 figures, 1 appendix, bibliography, 27 titles.

The Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force of 1940, initiated a systematic confiscation of items belonging to Jews throughout Europe. Because of this task force and Hitler's decrees, Jews across Europe were labeled as stateless, and were stripped of ownership and rights to property. Not only did these actions devastate Jews economically, but intellectually and artistically as well. In parts of occupied France, this task force was legitimized by Vichy laws under the label of the Commissariat Générale aux Questions Juives (General Commission for Jewish Issues) and enabled Nazi officials to closely watch Jewish musicians and stop them from performing their music, profiting from anyone else performing it, and to halt any public performance of Jewish compositions. This dissertation exhibits the lost legacy of one such Jewish musician, Józef Szulc. It discusses him as a musician of great importance in the ongoing recovery of Jewish culture, music, and life during World War II. His musical output has historical notoriety, as seen through reviews and performance history. The study of Vichy laws and their effect on Jewish musicians in Paris during the Nazi occupation provides the socio-political context for Szulc's life. It also provides the most plausible reason why his contribution to French vocal music was almost entirely lost. Szulc's success with his operetta compositions created a trajectory of performances that lasted well into the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Copyright 2019

By

Bethany Grace Mamola

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could never have been possible without the encouragement of Dr. Stephen Morscheck. His guidance, and unwavering support towards my scholarship in this project has been instrumental in the writing of this document. For his mentorship I am eternally grateful.

To my parents, for their countless hours spent listening to this topic change and grow until I knew what needed to be written.

And to Laurie Lake, the first musicologist who believed I had something to say.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	v
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: JÓZEF SZULC’S STOLEN LEGACY AND THE ACTIONS OF THE VICHY REGIME.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Background and Training	2
Questions in the Current State of Research	3
CHAPTER 2. STATE OF CURRENT RESEARCH	4
Grove’s Dictionary Entry.....	4
Other English Language Sources.....	5
“ <i>Encyclopédie Multimédia de la Comédie Musicale Théâtrale en France</i> ”	7
Hypotheses for Inconsistencies in Information: Was There a Flub with <i>Flup!</i> ?	7
CHAPTER 3. PRE-WAR LEGACY	11
Introduction.....	11
“ <i>Dix mélodies sur des poésies de Paul Verlaine</i> ”	12
Early Resistance to Szulc.....	12
Paris Reviews of Szulc’s Operettas	15
CHAPTER 4. REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG TASK FORCE	17
Vichy Law.....	19
Szulc During the Occupation.....	22
CHAPTER 5. SZULC’S LEGACY TODAY.....	24
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION: EFFECTS OF VICHY LAW UPON THE LEGACY OF JÓZEF SZULC AND OTHERS.....	25
APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS.....	26
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	30

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 2.1: Photo from footnote in <i>Grove's Dictionary of Music</i> 1954 edition	4
Figure 3.1: <i>Flup!</i> Production Program, Lyon, France 1917	15
Figure 3.2: Review of the premiere of <i>Flossie, Le Figaro</i> 1929	16
Figure 4.1: Satute of the Jews	20

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: JÓZEF SZULC'S STOLEN LEGACY AND THE ACTIONS OF THE VICHY REGIME

Introduction

In 1940, a Nazi task force under the direction of Alfred Rosenberg, called the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force (the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg or ERR in German), initiated a systematic confiscation of items belonging to Jews throughout Europe. Because of this task force and Hitler's decrees, Jews across Europe were labeled as stateless, and were stripped of ownership and rights to property. Not only did these actions devastate Jews economically, but intellectually and artistically as well. Whole libraries and entire art collections were confiscated. The blow to Jewish musicians in particular was enormous; just in terms of pianos, the task force confiscated over 8,000 instruments from Jewish musicians. Another specific assignment which affected Jewish composers was the confiscation of manuscripts and compositions. Moreover, any performance of a Jewish musician's composition, both in Germany and occupied Europe, was banned. In parts of occupied France, this task force was legitimized by Vichy laws under the label of the Commissariat Générale aux Questions Juives (General Commission for Jewish Issues) and enabled Nazi officials to closely watch Jewish musicians and stop them from performing their music, profiting from anyone else performing it, and to halt any public performance of Jewish compositions.¹

The Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force and Vichy government stole the riches,

¹ Fancourt, Daisy. "Jewish Musicians in Vichy France." Music and the Holocaust. <http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/french-resistance/jewish-musicians-in-vichy-france/> (accessed July 16, 2018).

livelihoods, and legacies of Jewish musicians living in France.² Composer Józef Zygmunt Szulc is an example of one of these musicians.

Background and Training

Born in Warsaw on April 4, 1875 to the prominent Polish conductor and composer Henryk Szulc, Józef Zygmunt Szulc studied composition at the Music Institute in Warsaw under Zygmund Noskowski, and continued his study in Berlin at the Stern Conservatory. In 1897, Szulc took a position as a piano teacher, while simultaneously working as a conductor at Opera Stuttgart.³ He eventually made his way to Paris and studied with Jules Massenet, and Ignacy Jan Paderewski at the Paris Conservatoire. Paris became his permanent home in 1910 and he achieved professional success composing French operetta, especially after his marriage to operetta singer Suzy Delsart, an “operetta divette” reported to have played the role of Franz Lehar's *Merry Widow* in his French presentation.⁴ Szulc's operetta *Flup!* premiered in Brussels in 1913, and was first heard in Paris in 1920. It received eighty-one performances that year and became highly popular with Parisian audiences. In the following years Szulc wrote almost 20 operettas and established himself as a major composer of this genre. His musical compositions in total include two symphonies, a small number of chamber works and piano compositions, one

² It is important to note that there is a difference between the French Government of Vichy France and the Nazi forces occupying France during the second World War. Though Vichy was technically not a German Nazi government itself, it acted as a puppet of the Nazi agenda.

³ Chechlińska, Zofia. “Szulc Family.” *Grove Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27324pg2> (accessed November 7, 2017)

⁴ <http://www.apophegme.com/ALBUM/fauvettes.htm> (accessed September 1 2018).

ballet, 19 operettas, and songs, the most well-known being his *Dix mélodies sur des poésies de Paul Verlaine* (op. 83).⁵

Questions in the Current State of Research

Contemporaneous French reviews and writings about Szulc's compositions cease after the year 1938. With the rise of Nazism and the occupation, Szulc disappeared from public view until after the war. In 1945 he wrote his last operetta, *Pantoufle*, then once again disappeared from musical history. What has been written about him in English-language sources is confined to small entries in music encyclopedias, song reference books, and a few journal articles. A careful review of existing sources also reveals inconsistencies regarding facts written about Szulc's compositions, dates of death, number of performances, and popularity among audiences. All of these facts present some intriguing questions: Why is Szulc not acknowledged or celebrated in his Motherland, Poland? What is the explanation for the inconsistencies in his biographical information and his oeuvre? How did he survive the totalitarianism and anti-Semitism of the Nazi and Vichy regimes? This dissertation will answer these questions by examining the current source materials, as well as research new sources of information to establish a more comprehensive and coherent picture of his life and work. Finally, this dissertation will show how Szulc's life serves as an example of numerous Jewish composers and musicians whose achievements and contributions were nearly erased from history by the actions of the Nazi regime.

⁵ Chechlińska, Zofia. "Szulc Family." *Grove Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27324pg2> (accessed November 7, 2017)

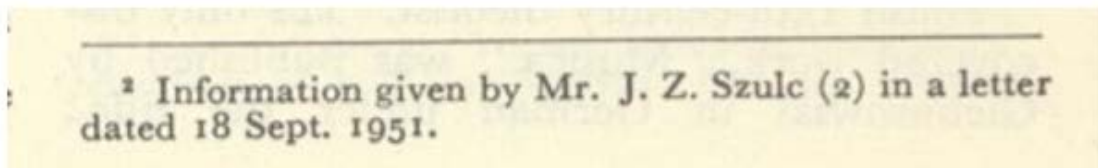
CHAPTER 2

STATE OF CURRENT RESEARCH

Grove's Dictionary Entry

A search of editions of *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, 1940 - 1953, yields no entries for Józef Zygmunt Szulc or any family members. The first entry appears in the 1954 Fifth edition and includes brief paragraphs about Szulc's father Henryk, his brother Bronislaw, and nephew Józef. Interestingly, the entry about Henryk mentions a performance of the Beethoven Septet and a trio performed by Henryk and his six sons at the Reduta Hall in Warsaw for Henryk's silver jubilee. It also includes a quote from a favorable review, followed by a citation. The footnote for the citation reads, "Information given by Mr. J. Z. Szulc in a letter dated 18 Sept. 1951." Mr. J. Z. Szulc must be Józef Zygmunt Szulc, the subject of this dissertation.⁶

Figure 2.1: Photo from footnote in *Grove's Dictionary of Music* 1954 edition



Surprisingly, the reference to this letter disappears from later *Grove's* editions, beginning with the following printed edition. It does not appear in the digital version, and most significantly, the letter is not mentioned in any other journal, book, or encyclopedic entry. Current editors in the New York office no longer have knowledge of its whereabouts, or how it came to be included and then retracted from the dictionary.⁷ They state that "the letter to which

⁶ Blom, Eric. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., s.v. "Józef Zygmunt Szulc (Joseph Sigismund) Szulc." New York: St. Martin's Press INC, 1954.

⁷ This information was gleaned from a discourse of emails sent by the U.S. office of *Grove's Dictionary* editors and the author of this dissertation.

the footnote refers must have been received or viewed by either Halski or a Grove editor, presumably Eric Blom.”⁸

All other valuable information contained in this letter appears to be lost. The date of the letter, 18 September 1951, and the appearance of the first entry for Szulc and his family in the 1954 *Grove's 5*, implies a connection between the two. In addition, the narrow period of time between the letter, the Szulc family entry in *Grove's*, and Szulc's death in 1956, creates the legitimate prospect that learning about Szulc, and his life and work, may have been delayed for many years, or limited to a passing footnote entry on a 1916 Enrico Caruso recording.

Other English Language Sources

Among the available sources that provide information on Szulc, the 1952 anthology of Sergius Kagen, an American composer, editor, voice pedagogue, and pianist, is an example. He published his anthology, *40 French Songs for Voice and Piano, High Voice, Volume II*, and included Szulc's *Clair de lune*. Interestingly, it was Szulc's mélodies and not the operettas that were first noticed in the United States. He also mentions Szulc briefly in his book *Music for the Voice: A Descriptive List of Concert and Teaching Material*, though he lists the years of Szulc's birth and death dates incorrectly.⁹

A paragraph in Graham Johnsons' book *A French Song Companion* provides general facts about his life, a few sentences about his French songs, Maggie Teyte's recording of *Clair de lune*, and some entries on his operetta compositions and their popularity in Paris:

Szulc studied under Noszkowski and moved to Paris where he composed a large number

⁸ The full email conversation between this author and the editing office of *Grove's Dictionary* can be seen in the appendix.

⁹ Kagen Sergius. *Music for the Voice; A Descriptive List of Concert and Teaching Material* (Indiana University Press, 1968), 451.

of successful operettas-including the famous *Flup!* which had over five thousand performances... Szulc is remembered today on the concert platform (if at all), as a composer of the lyrics of Paul Verlaine. His *Dix mélodies sur des poésies de Paul Verlaine* (op. 83) are divided between high and low voice-Six for soprano or tenor and four for baritone. The most famous of these (probably because Maggie Teyte recorded it with Gerald Moore) is *Clair de lune*, which is an exceptionally well-made song. It may not match Fauré or Debussy but it easily stands up to competition from anyone else. The same may be said for a beguiling *En Sourdine* and an incredibly fleet *Mandoline* which should be better known as it is an ideal vehicle for a singer with an easy top register. There are also settings of poems less well known, and which are not to be found elsewhere. *J'ai peur d'un baiser* is charmingly hesitant in a 5/4 meter and *Les Coquillages* is also a decent and ingenious attempt at setting a difficult poem. The music is part of that time-honored tradition of Polish musicians living in Paris and adopting France and French culture as their own. Szulc wrote songs in his own language too.¹⁰

In addition, also in *A French Song Companion*, Johnson and Stokes discuss Szulc's style and influences, name him as one of two Polish composers writing *mélodies* in the style of Debussy, and place him directly in the same compositional vein as the rest of the symbolist movement.

It was Debussyism which went out into the world at large and enchanted foreigners with its mystery, incipient decadence, and the delicious un-wholesomeness of the whole tone scale which had been mocked by Rossini 50 years before. Veiled eroticism, a theme ideally suited to the Debussy style, is heard in the music of foreign composers such as Issac Albéniz, and the songs of the Poles Josef Szulc and Polodowski who owe a great deal to the settings of Verlaine.¹¹

In her 2011 article "The Songs of Józef Zygmunt Szulc (1875-1956)" in the *Journal of Singing*, Wanda Brister asks why Szulc is unknown in Poland:

Looking through *Biografia Polskiego Piśmiennictwa Muzycznego* (Polish New Grove's)¹² of 1955 and the supplemental volumes from 1964 and 1978, one is unable to find Józef Zygmunt Szulc. Why would he not be included? Even more perplexing is that the musical history his family had in Poland was neither acknowledged nor celebrated.¹³

This journal entry questions why Szulc is not more prevalent in song anthologies, gives brief

¹⁰ Johnson, Graham. *A French Song Companion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

¹¹Ibid.

¹² This Polish source is a bibliography. The first word of the Polish title should read "Bibliographie," not "Biographia."

¹³ Brister, Wanda. "The Songs of Józef Zygmunt Szulc (1875-1956)" *The Journal of Singing*, Volume 67:3 January/February (2011).

descriptions of his French songs *Dix mélodies* focusing on the musical and textual settings of three of the ten songs in the *Fêtes Galantes*, and questions why none of the countries to which Szulc had ties, Poland, France, or Germany, claim him as a prolific composer.

“Encyclopédie Multimédia de la Comédie Musicale Théâtrale en France”

The French online encyclopedia *Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France*, (ECMF) compiled by Jacques Gana, provides detailed listings of French operettas produced in Paris between the years of 1918 and 1944. It includes reviews, performance dates, performances that occurred as well as original performers, and recordings. The ECMF contains a short biography of Szulc, as well as cast lists, debut dates, number of performances, reviews and original programs of all but two of the 19 operettas listed in the 5th Edition of *Grove’s Dictionary of Music*. These reviews give clear insight into the popularity and favorable reception of Szulc’s music, both his operetta and his songs. In its listing of *Flup!* the different productions of the operetta are chronicled between the years of 1913 (*Flup!*’s premiere in Brussels) and 1944 in Paris. Gana states that *Flup!* was performed in Paris on 155 separate days. This summarization of performance days was compiled by analysis of French press during those years, as well as *le Quotidien Comoedia*, founded in 1907, a daily French newspaper that documented the music theatre productions in France until the paper was discontinued in 1944.¹⁴

Hypotheses for Inconsistencies in Information:
Was There a Flub with *Flup!*?

When one begins to research information about Józef Szulc in English-language sources,

¹⁴ Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France, “Flup”, <http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&cleoeuvre=135> (accessed August 1, 2018).

an astounding fact is reported. *The Grove Music Online* article, Wanda Brister's article in the *NATS Journal of Singing*, and the 2001 *New Grove's Dictionary, Second Edition* article all report that Szulc's operetta *Flup!* was performed over 5,000 times.

Flup! premiered in Brussels in 1913, in Lyon around the year 1917, and eventually became exceedingly popular with Parisian audiences.¹⁵ His operetta *Flossie*, which premiered in 1929, further solidified Szulc as a favorite composer of French operetta with Parisian audiences.¹⁶ However, ECMF, which lists the Paris performance dates and locations for *Flup!* between 1920 and 1944, counts only 154 performances for the operetta during this entire time period. Interestingly, it credits *Flossie* with the most performances of any Szulc operetta, with 439 performances in Paris between 1929 and 1944. Upon further consideration, this number of 5,000 performances of *Flup!* reported in *Grove's Dictionary* and other sources seems inconceivable. For example, if it was performed over 5,000 times between its earliest premiere in Brussels in 1913 and 1944, the final year of reporting in ECMF, and the final year any review of the operetta exists, it would have been performed an average of 161 times a year for 31 consecutive years. If the time frame is extended to 1954, the year of the first *Grove's* 5 entry, the average number of performances per year would be 122 for 41 years. When contacted and asked about the reliability of English-language sources crediting Szulc with 5,000 performances of *Flup!*, Jaques Gana gave this hypothesis (translated from French):

My data (was) compiled from the systematic analysis of the press of the time. –
“thousands of performances”: undoubtedly comes from an advertising document, which did not hesitate to embellish, especially at a time when it (the information) was difficult

¹⁵ Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France, “Szulc (Joseph)”, <http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&clecomp=304> (accessed August 1, 2018).

¹⁶ This information can be factually backed up through the analysis of archived original programs and reviews, all of which have been cited in the bibliography.

to verify! - I counted only the Parisian performances between 1918 and 1944. We must add the performances in the provinces, impossible to count, and especially the performances abroad, since the play was created in Belgium in 1913. It is probable, however, that its circulation was limited to France, Belgium, Switzerland, and some Eastern countries where French works had a good reputation (Hungary, Czechoslovakia), but I do not have the count either.”¹⁷

The information from the ECMF clearly challenges this fact about *Flup!* and provides one example of research about Szulc that appears to be incorrect and misleading, yet is still found in most current sources. In the *Grove Music Online* article published in 2011, it states:

His output consists of two symphonic works (*Esther* and *Sinai*), chamber works, piano pieces, a ballet, and above all, 19 *opérettes-bouffes* listed in *Grove 5*, which received premières in Paris, Liège and Brussels. They were very popular during the composer's lifetime. The first, *Flup* (first staged in Brussels in 1913), received more than 5,000 performances in various European cities. Józef Zygmunt also used the pseudonym “Jan Sulima.”¹⁸

This number of more than 5,000 is echoed in the Brister article in the *NATS Journal*. An attempt to contact the author of the *Grove Music Online* article via email to inquire about the possible source of this number yielded no response.

The possibility that the 5,000 performances of *Flup!* came from an advertisement is one explanation for this number, but upon reflection of the reviews that exist for Josef Szulc, the number is nowhere to be found. How might these facts be reconciled between what is reported in *Grove's 5* and the ECMF? One answer may lie directly with the Nazi Reichsleiter Rosenberg Task Force and their suppression of Jewish musicians. How could they let a Polish Jew receive the glory for 5,000 performances of one of his operettas, in the face of their own proud German operetta tradition? An attempt to obliterate all evidence and record of Szulc's accomplishments is conceivable, and quite plausible under the mandates of the Rosenberg Task Force.

¹⁷ The email can be seen in its original French form in the appendix.

¹⁸ Chechlińska, Zofia. “Szulc Family.” *Grove Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27324pg2> (accessed November 7, 2017)

Another, and perhaps more likely scenario to explain the discrepancy may lie with General Directors of the theaters in occupied France. When one considers that performances of works by Jewish composers were prohibited, that fear of deportation was a powerful tool for advancing Nazi totalitarianism, and that the need to be in “lock step” with the regime was paramount, it is reasonable to consider that General Directors may have taken steps to expunge their records of performances of unacceptable compositions. Old records could have been destroyed and new ones created with little trace of previous performances of works by Jewish composers.¹⁹

This discrepancy in the English-language sources and ECMF leads one to conclude that the answer to this number of 5,000 performances can most likely be found in this missing letter referenced earlier in the original *Grove's* 5 footnote. Whether this number was factual, and has since been covered up because of anti-Semitism, erased by the theatre owners themselves through fear of persecution, misrepresented by advertisement, or misread, this remains as the most specific example of misinformation regarding Szulc's musical legacy.

¹⁹ Multiple examples of the restrictions placed on Jewish theater owners, fabricated musical documents and destroyed manuscripts can be read about in a source later mentioned herein: *Sonderstab Musik: Music confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi occupation of Western Europe* by Willem de Vries.

CHAPTER 3

PRE-WAR LEGACY

Introduction

The most enlightening and illuminating examples of the valuable primary source material regarding Szulc can be found in French reviews of *Flup!* and *Flossie*, accessible both through the ECMF, as well as the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF). While it is difficult to find any reviews in English of Szulc's songs, the BNF contains one of the first reviews of six of the *Dix mélodies* in French.²⁰ These French reviews and columns on the Parisian productions do exhibit the popularity that came to Szulc from these musical performances.²¹

For example, we discover that Józef Szulc fought in the First World War, fighting with the Russian army alongside the French, against Germany. This piece of information is found in a letter written by his librettist, Gaston Dumestre, defending Szulc against competing French composers who protested his operetta *Flup!* being performed. Later, in the original program for *Flup!* at its Paris premiere, Szulc's involvement in World War I was made clear in his printed program biography.²² This interesting detail in Szulc's life, not reported in English-language sources, bolsters Szulc's cultural and geographical allegiance, once more raising the question of why he is not more sufficiently recognized in musical history.

²⁰ Given that the songs for baritone in the set of ten had not yet been published and performed, the songs were entitled *Six mélodies* at that time. This review, exhibited later in this dissertation, is the only one available on these songs from these early years.

²¹ Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France, "Szulc (Joseph)" <http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&clecomp=304> (accessed August 1, 2018).

²² "Flup!: Operette en 3 Actes" Program for Joseph Szulc's Flup. Bataclan Orchestra. Maestro E. Doloire. Paris, France: Bataclan Theatre, November 1 1920.

“*Dix mélodies sur des poésies de Paul Verlaine*”

Included in Szulc’s compositions are a small number of German songs and his French *mélodies*. Of these *mélodies*, the most frequently performed today is his *Clair de lune*, from Paul Verlaine’s *Fête galantes*. This song, and the lesser known *mélodie*, *Hantise d’amour*, were recorded between 1914 and 1916 by Enrico Caruso, who was at the height of his own career. Through analysis of some of these first reviews of Szulc’s music in Paris, it is quite clear that not only did the public receive his music with delight, but in many of these reviews the critics wrote of their anticipation of hearing much more from the young composer. One such review is of Szulc’s French *Dix mélodies*, published in 1908 and performed in the Parisian salons that same year. It includes a discussion of his musical sensibilities “perfectly matching those of the poet Verlaine” and that “the music is perfectly adapted to the words”.²³

Early Resistance to Szulc

As previously mentioned, the newspaper *Le Carnet de la semaine: gazette illustrée, littéraire, politique, économique et satirique*, published a retraction letter dated March 5th, 1916, regarding the possibility of producing Szulc’s *Flup!* for the first time in Paris. The letter, written by Gaston Dumestre, Szulc’s librettist for *Flup!*, addressed two specific events. He defied the comments made by anonymous French composers that Szulc “could be German” and that “if the varieties (a Paris Theatre) produce *Flup!*, we will bring down Belleville and... set fire at the theatre.” Dumestre rebuked these unnamed composer’s accusations with documentation refuting

²³ These statements, translate from French, come from a Paris review, of which the original and the translation can be seen in their entirety in the appendix.

Szulc's alleged German heritage. He went on to confirm Szulc's participation in the First World War fighting against Germany, and that Szulc's own brother was on the battlefield at the time of publication.²⁴ This article was published in 1916, and four years later, *Flup!* made its Paris debut. This document demonstrates significant resistance towards Józef Szulc. From the beginning of his French productions, his identity and therefore validity were called into question. This is evidence of resistance against Szulc and his productions being performed in French theaters even prior to any laws later enacted regarding his composition's being banned due to his Jewish heritage.

The direct translation of this letter can be seen here:²⁵

We receive the following letter, which we have the pleasure to insert:

My dear colleague,

Permit me to come to thank you that you have had the professional integrity to refuse to insert in the *Carnet de la Semaine*, a letter seeking to substantiate the slanderous and carefully anonymous rumors that have been made about FLUP! and its authors. You wanted, and you were correct, proof of the accusations contained in this letter that said newspaper received without inspection, and which it was obliged to deny twenty-four hours later.

Someone — and there is only “someone,” in this story — someone has claimed that that the musician of FLUP!, Joseph [*sic*] Szulc, could be German.

I pass on to you two official documents that respond to this. The first comes from the General Council of Russia, certifying that “the bearer of the present document is truly Mr. Joseph Szulc, a Russian subject, with a national passport, issued by the Warsaw Police Chief, August 13, 1903, number 8365.”

The second is a certificate of probationary membership in the Society of Authors and Composers, dated July 5, 1907, attesting to the Polish-Russian nationality of Mr. Szulc, justified by his birth certificate and his judicial record.

I add that Szulc, a Russian subject, born in Warsaw of Russian parents, is of a category no longer designated in Russia and that he cannot, because of that, be employed in France as he has tried. Two of his brothers were killed on the

²⁴ Dumestre, Gaston. *L'affaire Flup*. Article. Paris: Le Carnet de la semaine : gazette illustrée, littéraire, politique, économique et satirique / gérant : X. Faydau, March 5th, 1916. Bibliothèque National de France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6552213q/f19.item.r=flup.zoom> (accessed August, 1 2018).

²⁵ This translation was done with the aid of William Joyner.

Eastern front by German bullets, and five others are at this moment still fighting in the Russian army.

Is this sufficient for those who are concerned about Szulc?

As for me, a Frenchman from Tarbes, having only Frenchmen in my ancestry, I have always been and am still deeply anti-militarist. But to be true to my roots, I returned from Belgium, where I was editor-in-chief of *Petit Bleu* in Brussels, as soon as mobilization began, and I am now fighting against the Prussians between Reims and Berry-au-Bac.

And now, just who has committed such an ingenuous orgy of patriotism about FLUP!? Merely a half-dozen chubby composers, young, whose names “sort of” sound French, whom the war has left free to perpetrate on us an operetta score — heroic of course — that they would rather see produced instead of FLUP!

They have never been called up, but they protect, with fierce energy, the trenches of the Parisian cafés. I will await with pleasure the opportunity to interrogate them after the war, when I will be able to return my uniform to the nation's wardrobes.

Recently, they said that if the Variétés were to produce FLUP!, they would “bring down Belleville and Ménilmontant for the f... fire at the theater.”

As if Belleville and Ménilmontant would really come and jeer at an infantryman and ally just for the benefit of some sneaky and jealous no-talents?

No! FLUP! will be played and played well, against the odds and against these cowards, in a theater which, if not the Variétés, is one of no less importance. FLUP! will be played now, in this moment, as I return to the front to which I must depart tonight, my six-day leave having ended. FLUP! will be played after the Victory, when the terrible anxiety which grips all of France will have fallen away. FLUP! will be played when the grizzled veterans who have returned home will have the opportunity to defend their honor and their livelihoods against men who never served yet take advantage of the war in the most odious of ways, signaling their patriotism while hiding under quivering flags during their dirty little dealings.

While waiting for this this moment, believe, my dear colleague, my best wishes.

Gaston Dumestre

The *Carnet* in turn thanks Mr. Dumestre for the tribute he paid it, in choosing it as the flagship of French honor, professional loyalty, and true artistic solidarity.

Through this letter, it is clear that Szulc met resistance in producing his works in French theaters.

If the possibility of getting his works performed in French theaters during World War I was in question, when it was not yet illegal for works written by Jewish composers to be performed, one

can conclude that the difficulty in maintaining a legacy in the years during and surrounding the Nazi occupation of Paris would have been significantly challenging.

Paris Reviews of Szulc's Operettas

The first paragraph of the original 1917 Lyon production program of *Flup!*, states that Szulc fought alongside France against Germany in WWI, a fact not included in any current sources about Szulc (Fig. 3.1).

Figure 3.1: *Flup!* Production Program, Lyon, France 1917



Translation of first paragraph: Joseph [sic] Szulc, whose exquisite musical qualities Bataclan reveals to Parisians, was born in Warsaw in 1875. He comes from Poland, that country which gave France so many fervent friends, and during the war he served at the French front for two years, with the Russian army.²⁶

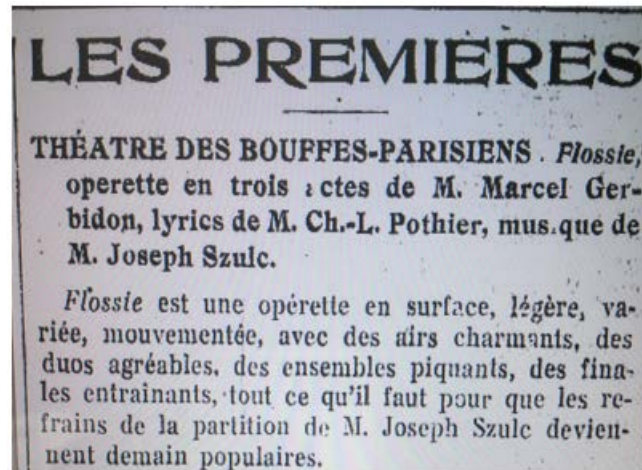
Similarly, original critical reviews from the operetta performances of different productions throughout Paris provide a perspective of how Szulc and his work were received. One example, the review of the premiere of *Flossie* written for French newspaper *Le Figaro* (see

²⁶ Golstan, Stan. "Les Premieres." Review of Work *Flossie*, by Joseph Szulc, *Le Figaro*, October 5, 1929. <http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fig&cleoeuvre=134> (PDF version of document downloaded August 20, 2018).

Fig. 3.2) states, that Szulc wrote with:

Light, varied, moving, with charming tunes, pleasant duos, spicy sets, catchy finales, all that is necessary for the refrains of the score of Joseph [*sic*] Szulc to become popular tomorrow.²⁷

Figure 3.2: Review of the premiere of *Flossie*, *Le Figaro* 1929



These sources help establish Szulc's standing within the context of early 20th century French operetta and vocal composition.

These reviews and programs solidify Szulc's popularity and his status as a composer, and they refute the possibility that his current anonymity is due to any lack of commercial success or connection in Paris during those formative years between the world wars. Furthermore, this proof of popularity raises the question of how Szulc managed to escape deportation and death, and why his legacy was so deeply buried in history. The most logical answer lies within the actions taken by the Nazis and the Vichy government during the war.

²⁷ Golstan, Stan. "Les Premieres." Review of Work *Flossie*, by Joseph Szulc, *Le Figaro*, October 5, 1929. <http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fig&cleoeuvre=134> (PDF version of document downloaded August 20, 2018).

CHAPTER 4

REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG TASK FORCE

Effect on Musicians

The research available on the effect of the Vichy Regime on French musicians has increased in the last twenty years. Scholarly research about the Nazi plundering of art, architecture, wealth, film, and literature has been extensive, yet the research on the specific plundering of musical instruments, compositions, and prohibiting performances has progressed more slowly. In her article “The Preparation for Vichy: Anti-Semitism in French Musical Culture between the Two World Wars”, Jane Fulcher describes the political climate in France between the two world wars, and concludes that well before Vichy laws were enacted, anti-Semitism in France had a firm hold upon the population:

This network of cultural meanings and values penetrated the musical world most profoundly during those periods of national crisis surrounding the two world wars. It is for this reason that the Vichy regime marked no radically new point of departure with regard to its political and musical discourse, its system of values, meanings, and codes: its obsession with "purity" and "de-intoxification," with Jewish musicians and black American jazz, had roots in this strain in the culture that had been developing and adapting for the past forty years.²⁸

Another useful source in the discussion of Jewish musicians in France during World War II, though not Szulc specifically, is the book by Willem de Vries *Sonderstab Musik: Music Confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi Occupation of Western Europe*.²⁹ This book describes in detail the effect of the Rosenberg Task Force on musicians in France under the Vichy regime. One specific transcription of a letter by Dr. Herbert Grigk, an

²⁸ Fulcher, Jane F. *The Preparation for Vichy: Anti-Semitism in French Musical Culture between the Two World Wars*. *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (1995): 458-75.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/742439> (accessed August 10, 2018).

²⁹ Vries, W. de. *Sonderstab Musik: Music confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi occupation of Western Europe*. Amsterdam: (Amsterdam University Press, 1996.)

ERR official specifically dealing with the operations in France, is instrumental in understanding how focused this Taskforce was in tracking down foreign Jewish nationals, like Szulc, in Paris.

A letter dated March 21, 1944 to special commando Nizza states:

I would like to know whether in the course of your work thus far you have encountered Jews involved in Music (“Musikjuden”) who have emigrated from elsewhere or who have continuously resided in your region of operation. We are especially interested in Jewish concert agents (whose material is of great value to us), in prominent Jewish concert performers, and in Jewish music writers. Unfortunately, the Sonderstab Music is presently so understaffed that I am unable to dispatch representatives to Nizza.³⁰

Composer Darius Milhaud and his wife fled from Paris to the United States prior to the occupation. Milhaud hid as many manuscripts as he could, although this did not halt the ERR from finding manuscripts in his home town and transferring them to Germany in 1944. Upon returning, the Milhauds found their apartment emptied by the Nazis, and as punishment for Milhaud’s outward criticism of Wagner’s music, they had placed a score of Wagner’s opera *Parsifal* on his mantle.³¹ These actions are mere glimpses of the state of affairs for Jewish musicians in Paris, and cannot begin to represent the activity that would have affected any Jewish musician who remained within the occupied territory.

A recent publication written and compiled in 2017 by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted provides lists of libraries plundered and pillaged in France, and is instrumental in helping the public understand the systematic and calculated the Nazi effort was in the destruction of music, art, instruments and manuscripts. She states:

Of all the German-occupied countries and territories, France undoubtedly suffered the greatest losses in cultural property due to seizures, especially in terms of the value of art plundered from collections of private Jewish ownership. And the ERR was certainly the biggest culprit. At the end of July 1944, Robert Scholz, head of Special Staff Fine Arts (Sonderstab Bildende Kunst), submitted his infamous report with the figure of 21,903 identified works of art looted from France during the period October 1940 to July 1944.

³⁰ Ibid, 209.

³¹ Ibid, 212.

French specialists today suggest that some 100,000 works of art were plundered from France, but the ERR itself was not responsible for all of these losses. The French commission now dealing with Holocaust-related looted art and other cultural assets quotes the figure of 65,000 items returned to France, 45,000 of which could be returned to their owners. But such statistics may not be complete, and these estimates do not include rare books or valuable manuscripts. While the ERR processed most of its loot in the Louvre and then the Jeu de Paume, other seized paintings were sold or exchanged or simply never made it through the ERR inventory process. How many thousands of books, manuscripts, and archival materials were also confiscated remains to this day difficult to calculate with any semblance of accuracy.³²

This source iterates the fact that only in very recent years has the French government had access to more accurate lists of the personal libraries plundered, and that:

The most authoritative lists of notable private institutional and personal libraries plundered by the ERR in Paris are among the ERR files located in Kyiv (Kiev). Only recently have French researchers received copies of these lists.³³

It is difficult to say definitively why Szulc's music has not been more notably remembered after he died, but without question the Rosenberg Taskforce and the work of the Vichy government were directly instrumental in affecting the longevity of his legacy.

Vichy Law

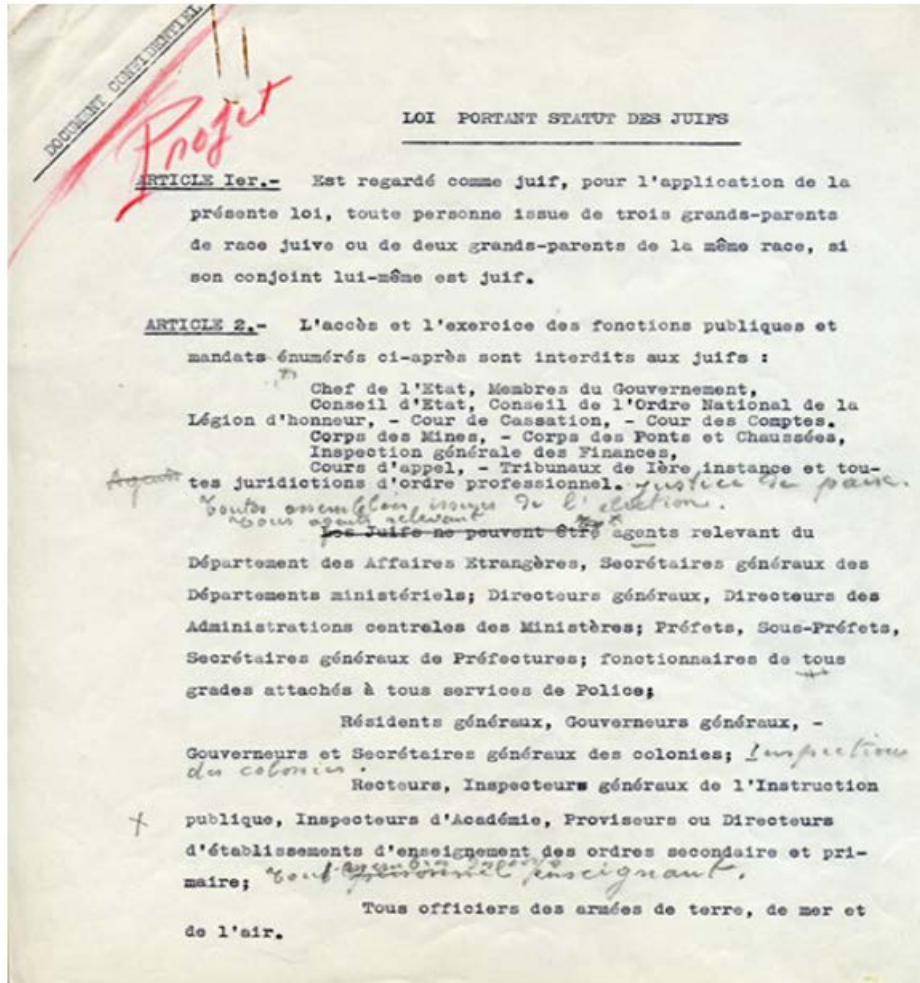
Finally, an analysis of specific Vichy laws shows how the laws specifically targeted Jewish musicians living in Paris. One such law entitled Statute of the Jews (see Fig. 4.1) published October 3, 1940, stipulated that Jews, both French born and foreign nationals, were henceforth excluded from the public service of the State, the army, teaching, and the press. This was the first of many Vichy laws that went into effect during the time of German occupation.

³² Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy. "Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg." Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): Database of Art Objects at the Jeu De Paume, The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), 4 Mar. 2017, www.errproject.org/. Accessed September 1, 2018.

³³ Ibid.

This document was submitted to the Paris Holocaust Memorial anonymously in 2010, and authenticated by Serge Klarsfeld, a leading Holocaust expert in France.

Figure 4.1: Statute of the Jews



Translation of the original document, only recently uncovered and authenticated in 2010, follows:

For the purposes of this Act, any person born of three Jewish grandparents or two grandparents of the same race, if his spouse is Jewish, shall be regarded as a Jew for the purposes of this Act.

Article 2: The access and the exercise of the public functions and mandates enumerated below are prohibited to the Jews:

1. Head of State, member of the Government, Council of State, Council of the National Order of the Legion of Honor, Court of Cassation, Court of Auditors, Corps of Mines, Corps of Bridges and Roads, General Inspectorate finance, courts

of appeal, courts of first instance, justices of the peace, all professional jurisdictions and all assemblies resulting from the election.

2. Agents in the Department of Foreign Affairs, Secretaries General of Ministerial Departments, Directors General, Directors of Central Ministries, Prefects, Sub-Prefects, Secretaries General of Prefectures, Inspectors General of Administrative Services at the Ministry of the Interior, Government Officials all ranks attached to all police services.

3. General residents, governors general, governors and general secretaries of the colonies, colonial inspectors.

4. Teaching staff members.

5. Officers of land, sea and air armies.³⁴

According to an article published in 2010 by the *Washington Post*:

The document - dated Oct. 3, 1940 - is a draft of a statute on Jews under France's collaborationist Vichy regime. It includes what Klarsfeld³⁵ says are handwritten notes by Vichy leader Philippe Petain³⁶ describing how authorities should target Jews, notably by excluding them from public office and from working in schools. Klarsfeld says the document is "decisive proof" that the measures were taken at the behest of Petain himself and that the handwritten notes show that Petain in fact toughened the statute's original language. Klarsfeld said the statute was not written "at the Germans' demands" and shows "the will of Vichy to align itself with the Nazi racial ideology."³⁷

The information in this document, the Statute of the Jews, demonstrates the specific ways in which Szulc would have been affected by the Vichy regime and anti-Semitism in Paris.

Examples of other composers, both with lasting legacies and without, exhibit how these laws would have affected every Jewish citizen living in Paris at the time. Reynaldo Hahn, whose father was of German-Jewish descent, fled Paris, and went into hiding in 1940 in order to protect

³⁴ This translation does not include the translation of the hand written addendum that add stipulations to the articles.

³⁵ Serge Klarsfeld, is one of France's current leading Holocaust experts, who verified and publicly announced the validity of the document hand edited by Vichy leader Marshal Pétain.

³⁶ France's chief of state from July 1940 until August 1944.

³⁷ Roux, Cecille. "Document Shows Ex-French Leader's Anti-Semitism." *The Washing Post*, October 3, 2010. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/03/AR2010100301694.html?noredirect=on> (accessed September 4, 2018).

himself, and returned only after the war ended in 1945. Other composers were captured and deported during the war, like Fernand Ochsé, who despite the efforts of his friend and fellow musician Arthur Honegger to conceal him, was captured in Cannes in 1944 after having fled Paris, and subsequently deported to Auschwitz and killed. These examples prove the state of danger in which Jewish Parisians like Szulc lived, and exemplify the situation Szulc would have faced in occupied territory.³⁸

Szulc During the Occupation

The presence of Vichy laws, as discussed above, raise the question of how someone with notoriety such as Szulc was able to avoid deportation. The most likely answer is that he was hidden, although corroboration of this is difficult. No information exists in current sources that definitively explains how Szulc, a Polish Jew and successful composer, survived the war. However, one French website focusing on marginalized artists reports the following about Józef Szulc and Suzy Delsart:

During the last war, they stayed at the Violets, 7 Rue Palezzi. Mrs. Lalance tells us that, wanted by the Germans, Josef [*sic*] Szulc was housed for a few months by Baron Le Guay in the former atelier of Héseltine, in La Bastie. But it was undoubtedly thanks to the fame of his wife, very popular in Germany, that Josef Szulk [*sic*] was not deported during the Second World War.³⁹

This piece of information, not corroborated by any other source, may be a clue in determining how Szulc might have avoided deportation by the Nazis. If this information is true, it would most certainly add to the argument that he would have been unable to promote his compositions and performances during this time, while keeping his identity and location hidden.

³⁸ Johnson, Graham (1996). Felicity Lott, Susan Bickley, Ian Bostridge, Stephen Varcoe, Graham Johnson. In "Songs by Reynaldo Hahn" [CD Liner Notes]. London: Hyperion.

³⁹ <http://www.apophegme.com/ALBUM/fauvettes.htm> (accessed September 1 2018).

This is also an example of the actions possibly taken by those composers who endeavored to stay alive in occupied France during this time of persecution.

CHAPTER 5

SZULC'S LEGACY TODAY

Szulc's musical presence in the United States is steadily growing. In 2016, Classical Vocal Reprints re-published the full volume of his *Dix Mélodies*, and the YouTube analytics for his French songs point to resurgence in the last ten years in the performance of these songs. This is based on the number of videos added and viewed starting in the year 2009 when they were republished in the United States. Most of these videos are from his opus 83 and are from American recital, and academic settings, though some professional recordings have appeared during this time frame.

In Europe, it is more difficult to concretely gauge the current state of his legacy. In France, as this paper has shown earlier, there is a considerably larger amount of written material on the composer, but in terms of current performances, the operettas are seldom produced, if at all.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: EFFECTS OF VICHY LAW UPON THE LEGACY OF JÓZEF SZULC AND OTHERS

The lost legacy of Józef Szulc is one of great importance in the ongoing recovery of Jewish culture and life during World War II. His musical output has an historical notoriety, as seen through reviews and performance history. The details of his legacy as a foreign national with a successful career composing in Paris during a time of great discrimination and hardship are worthy of in-depth research and recounting. The study of Vichy laws and their effect on Jewish musicians in Paris during the Nazi occupation provides the socio-political context for Szulc's life. It also provides the most plausible reason why his contribution to French vocal music was almost entirely lost. Szulc's success with his operetta compositions created a trajectory of performances that lasted well into the late 1920s and early 1930s. Most importantly, his life serves as yet another example of how detrimental the actions of the Nazi regime were for Jewish musicians.

APPENDIX
SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS

Gold Medal of Merit for his achievements in the cultural sphere and ten years later he received a Rumanian distinction, the Meritul Cultural. In 1951 he was appointed director of the Warsaw State High School for Music.

Szpinalski's repertory comprises works of all styles and epochs, but he is undoubtedly at his best with modern music. He seems to be in perfect sympathy with the new harmonies and new ways of expression, and his renderings of works by Szymanowski, Kassern, Khachaturian, Szeligowski, etc., are not only interesting but are enhanced by his temperament and vital force, combined with a rare insight into the nuances of rhythmical fluctuations.

C. R. H.

SZTOMPKA, Henryk (*b.* ? , 1904).

Polish pianist. He was a pupil of Józef Turczyński at the Warsaw Conservatory, which he left with distinction in 1926. The following year he took part in the Chopin International Competition for pianists in Warsaw and won a prize for the best performance of Chopin's mazurkas. In 1927 he was granted a state scholarship to study music abroad. He went to Switzerland and studied with Paderewski at Morges for four years (1928-32). His début in Paris, where he appeared as soloist with the Colonne orchestra, conducted by Gabriel Pierné, was followed by an extensive tour in Europe: France, England, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Since the second world war Sztompka has been domiciled in Cracow, teaching the piano-forte at the Conservatory but not discontinuing his concert activities. In May 1948 he visited England and gave a series of Chopin recitals. He was also the soloist at a concert organized by the Polish Embassy to commemorate Chopin's last visit to London and played on the very instrument on which Chopin had played a hundred years before. He appears to have a precise and even somewhat cold mind. He may be described as intellectual rather than emotional, and though a brilliant pianist, he is overpraised in his native country as "Poland's leading pianist and a Chopin player par excellence".

C. R. H.

Szujski, Józef. See Jarecki (H., 'Jadwiga', opera).

SZULC. Polish family of musicians.¹

(1) **Henryk Szulc** (*b.* Warsaw, 31 Jan. 1896; *d.* Warsaw, 11 Feb. 1903), violinist and composer. Besides acting as leader of the Warsaw Opera orchestra, he taught the violin at the Conservatory. At his silver jubilee organized at the Reduta Hall in Warsaw, he appeared on the platform with his six sons, with whom he played the Beethoven Septet, and with his son and grandson in a Beethoven

¹ Also known under the German spelling of the name as Schulz.

trio. After this performance the Warsaw press produced many highly favourable criticisms, including the following passage: "This marvellous trio was marvellously played by two fathers and two sons".² Henryk Szulc was famous among the Warsaw musicians for his remarkable memory. He knew by heart nearly all the parts in any string quartet or other chamber work in which he had once performed. Two of his sons became well-known composers.

(2) **Józef Zygmunt (Joseph Sigismond) Szulc** (*b.* Warsaw, 4 Apr. 1875), pianist and composer, son of the preceding. Educated at the Warsaw Conservatory under Noskowski (composition), he continued pianistic studies under Moszkowski. Although he established a position for himself as pianist, he soon discontinued his concert activities and turned successfully towards composition. He wrote a number of excellent and most successful *opérettes-bouffes*. 'Flup', for instance, had over 5000 performances. He lives permanently in Paris. His works include the following:

OPÉRETTES-BOUFFES

- 'Flup' (libretto by Gaston Dumestre), Brussels, Alhambra, 19 Dec. 1913; Paris, Bataclan, 18 Mar. 1920.
- 'Titin' (lib. by Dumestre), Paris, Bataclan, 20 Oct. 1920.
- 'La Victoire de Samothrace' (lib. by Dumestre), Liège, Dec. 1922.
- 'Loute' (lib. by Pierre Veber & Maurice Soulié), Brussels, Olympia, Dec. 1922.
- 'Le Petit Choc' (lib. by P. L. Fiers), Paris, 25 May 1923.
- 'Vivette' (lib. by Dumestre), Liège, Dec. 1924.
- 'Quand on est trois' (lib. by Veber & Albert Willemetz), Paris, 20 Apr. 1925.
- 'Mannequins' (lib. by Jacques Bousquet & Henri Falk), Paris, Capucines, 30 Oct. 1925.
- 'Divin Mensonge' (lib. by Veber, Alex Madis & Hugues Delorme), Paris, Capucines, 12 Oct. 1926.
- 'Couchette No. 3' (lib. by Veber, Madis & Willemetz), Paris, Capucines, 7 Feb. 1929.
- 'Flosie' (lib. by Marcel Gerbidon & C. L. Pothier), Bouffes-Parisiens, 9 May 1929.
- 'Sidonie Panache' (lib. by Willemetz & Monézy-Éon), Paris, Châtelet, 2 Dec. 1930.
- 'Zou' (lib. by Felix Gandera & Jean Boyer), Paris, Folies-Wagram, 1930.
- 'Le Garçon de chez Prunier' (lib. by André Barde & Michel Carré), Paris, Capucines, 20 Jan. 1933.
- 'Mandrin' (lib. by André Rivoire & Romain Coolus), Paris, Théâtre Mogador, 12 Dec. 1934.
- 'L'Auberge du Chat Coiffé' (lib. by André Barde & Alfred Delavanzelle), Paris, Théâtre Pigalle, 18 Dec. 1935.
- 'Le Coffre-fort vivant' (lib. by Louis Verneuil & Georges Beer), Paris, Châtelet, 17 Dec. 1938.
- 'Pantoufle' (lib. by Marcel Gerbidon, A. L. Marchaud & Willemetz), Paris, Capucines, 24 Feb. 1945.
- 'Diane au bain' (lib. by Henri Moreau & Jean Benedict).

BALLET

- 'Une Nuit d'Ispahan' (scenario by André Fijan), prod. Brussels, Théâtre de la Monnaie, 19 Nov. 1909.

ORCHESTRAL WORKS

- 'Esther', symph. overture.
- 'Sinai' symph. overture.
- Also several chamber works and pianoforte music.

² Information given by Mr. J. Z. Szulc (2) in a letter dated 18 Sept. 1951.

Emails Regarding Current State of Research

Correspondence with Grove's Dictionary Office

Dear Bethany Grace Mamola,

Thank you for writing in to us. The Grove editorial staff here in New York unfortunately does not have access to such documentation. If it is still around, it would probably be in our Oxford (UK) office somewhere.

I can tell you that the author of the old Grove 5 edition to which you refer is Czeslaw R. Halski; the letter to which the footnote refers must have been received or viewed by either Halski or a Grove editor, presumably Eric Blom. As you may be aware, the quote and its associated footnote text are not in the most recent edition of the article live on our site:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027324>

The author of that version, Zofia Chechlińska, may have more information. She is or was associated with the Chopin Institute, who may have contact information for her:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027324>

If you have any other questions, feel free to let us know. Best of luck in finding what you need.

Kind regards,

Andrew

Andrew-Struck Marcell | Assistant Editor, Grove Music Online and Oxford Reference

Original French Emails with Jacques Gana of ECMF

Bonjour,

Pardonnez-moi de vous répondre en français, mais mon anglais n'est pas assez bon!

Concernant Flup:

La pièce n'a pas été représentée 155 fois, mais 155 jours. La plupart des théâtres avaient 2 matinées par semaine (jeudi et dimanche le plus souvent), parfois 3 (samedi), ce qui fait qu'on peut tabler sur $155/7 \times 9 = 200$ environ. Mes données ont été établies à partir du dépouillement systématique de la presse de l'époque.

«des milliers de représentations»: sans aucun doute issu d'un document publicitaire, qui n'hésitaient pas à en rajouter, surtout à une époque où c'était difficilement vérifiable!

Je n'ai compté que les représentations parisiennes entre 1918 et 1944. Il faut y ajouter les représentations en province, impossibles à compter, et surtout les représentations à l'étranger, puisque la pièce avait été créée en Belgique en 1913. Il est probable néanmoins que sa diffusion ait été limitée à France, Belgique, Suisse, et quelques pays de l'Est où les œuvres françaises avaient une bonne notoriété (Hongrie, Tchécoslovaquie), mais je n'en possède pas non plus le décompte.

Avec mes regrets de ne pouvoir vous en dire davantage,

Jacques Gana

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Artists of the Royal Conservatory (Toronto). 2004. *Music Reborn: Composers of the Holocaust*. Toronto: Royal Conservatory of Music.
- Beker, Sonia Pauline. *Symphony on Fire: A Story of Music and Spiritual Resistance During the Holocaust*. New Milford, NJ: The Wordsmithy, LLC, 2007.
- Blom, Eric. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., s.v. "Józef Zygmunt Szulc (Joseph Sigismund) Szulc." New York: St. Martin's Press INC, 1960.
- Bohlman, Philip V. 1991. "In Search of Home: German-Jewish Musical Scholars and Scholarship, 1933-1940." *Journal of Musicological Research* 11:201-17.
- Brinkmann, Reinhold, and Christoph Wolff. 1999. *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.
- Brister, Wanda. "The Songs of Józef Zygmunt Szulc (1875-1956)" *The Journal of Singing*, Volume 67:3 January/February (2011).
- Carmen, Judith. "DIX MÉLODIES, Opus 83, Sur Des Poesies De Paul Verlaine" *The Journal of Singing*. Volume 68:3 January/February (2012).
- Chechlińska, Zofia. "Szulc Family." *Grove Music Online*.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27324pg2> (accessed November 7, 2017)
- Cobb, Matthew. *The Resistance: The French Fight Against the Nazis*. London, UK: Simon and Schuster, 2009.
- Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France, "Szulc (Joseph)",
<http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&clecomp=304> (accessed August 1, 2018).
- Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France, "Flossie",
<http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&cleoeuvre=134> (date accessed August 1).
- Encyclopédie multimédia de la comédie musicale théâtrale en France, "Flup",
<http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&cleoeuvre=135> (accessed August 1, 2018).
- "Flup!: Operette en 3 Actes" Program for Joseph Szulc's Flup. Bataclan Orchestra. Maestro E. Doloire. Paris, France: Bataclan Theatre, November 1 1920.
- "Flup!: Operette en 3 Actes" Program for Joseph Szulc's "Flup" Theatre des Celestins Orchestre. Maestro M. Phillipe Flon, Lyon, France: Theatre Des Celestins 1917.
- Fulcher, Jane F. *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France During Vichy and the German Occupation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.

- Fulcher, Jane F. *The Preparation for Vichy: Anti-Semitism in French Musical Culture between the Two World Wars*. *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (1995): 458-75.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/742439> (accessed August 10, 2018).
- Golstan, Stan. "Les Premieres." Review of Work *Flossie*, by Joseph Szulc, *Le Figaro*, October 5, 1929. <http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=fic&cleoeuvre=134> (PDF version of document downloaded August 20, 2018).
- Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy. "Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg." Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): Database of Art Objects at the Jeu De Paume, The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference), 4 Mar. 2017, www.errproject.org/.
- Johnson, Graham and Stokes, Richard. "The History of the Mèlodie" in *A French Song Companion*. (New York, Oxford University Press 2000).
- Kagen, Sergius. *Music for the Voice: A Descriptive List of Concert and Teaching Material* (Indiana, Indiana University Press 1968).
- Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Operetta: A Sourcebook, Vol 1*, Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2015.
- Roux, Cecille. "Document Shows Ex-French Leader's Anti-Semitism." *The Washing Post*, October 3, 2010. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/03/AR2010100301694.html?noredirect=on> (accessed September 4, 2018).
- Szulc, Joseph. "Clair de Lune" in *40 French Songs for Voice and Piano vol. 2*, edited by Sergius Kagen 84-86 California: International Music Company, 1952.
- Szulc, Joseph. "Dix Melodies" Huntsville, TX: Recital Publications, 2009.
- Szulc, Joseph. "Flossie: opérette en 3 actes" Paris: Éditions Francis Salabert, 1929.
- Szulc, Joseph. "Flup opérette en 3 actes" Paris: Éditions Francis Salabert, 1920.
- Vries, W. de. *Sonderstab Musik : Music confiscations by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg under the Nazi occupation of Western Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996.