INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

MUSICAL LIFE IN WARSAW DURING CHOPIN'S YOUTH, 1810-1830

by

HALINA GOLDBERG

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1997

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 9807936

Copyright 1997 by
Goldberg, Halina

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9807936
Copyright 1997, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 1997

HALINA GOLDBERG

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 20, 1997 — Date
Chair of Examining Committee

September 23, 1997 — Date
Executive Officer

Rufus Hallmark

Charles Burkhart

Raymond Erickson

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

MUSICAL LIFE IN WARSAW DURING CHOPIN'S YOUTH, 1810-1830

by

HALINA GOLDBERG

Advisor: Professor Rufus Hallmark

During the years 1810-1830 the favorable economic and political circumstances provided a flourishing window of time, in which Warsaw underwent a cultural renaissance. This period of Warsaw's cultural revival coincided with the duration of Chopin's stay there--from his infancy to his final departure--and the city's dynamic musical, artistic and intellectual environment nurtured the developing genius.

Although Warsaw could not compete with Paris or Vienna, it certainly compared well with many major European cities and was in tune with the most recent European styles and fashion in music. The Polish capital was an active multi-ethnic and multi-religious city aspiring to greater learning, finer arts and better music; a performing scene not only supporting local musical talent (performers as well as composers), but also importing gifted musicians from abroad. It was home to an opera house, various smaller theaters, one of the earliest modern conservatories in Europe (where Chopin received his education), several societies which organized concerts,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musically active churches, music printers and bookstores, instrument builders, for a short time even a weekly paper devoted to music and a spirited salon life.

Warsaw had over forty significant salons, just as splendid and socially refined as their counterparts in Paris or Vienna, and direct evidence of Chopin's musical presence can be established in most of them. It was in Warsaw's salons that the young Fryderyk matured amidst intellectual discussions of his elders, aesthetic battles of his artistic peers and musical experiences unattainable in public concert. Here he received his social grooming, and here he met many of his future Parisian hosts or made connections that opened the doors to the most respected households of other European capitals.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONTENTS

Illustrations.....vii
Musical Examples.....x
Acknowledgments.....xii
Editorial Note.....xiv

Preface.....1

I. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND.....22

II. MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Musical Education.....48
2. Music Publishing.....80
3. Instrument Production.....103

III. PUBLIC PERFORMANCE

1. The Public Concert: Concert Stage, Church, and Café.....144
2. Musical Theater.....214

IV. MUSIC IN THE SALONS

1. The History and General Characteristics of Warsaw's Salons.....246
2. The Social Salon.....278
3. The Intellectual Salon.....308
4. The Musical Salon.....348

Conclusion.....386

Appendix 1: Music in Warsaw's Concerts Halls 1815-1830.....391

Appendix 2: Music in Warsaw's Churches 1815-1830.....452

Appendix 3: Musical Theater in Warsaw; Selected Premieres (1815-1830).....460

Appendix 4: Musical Examples.....465

Bibliography.....481
Index.....498

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure — Page

1. A portrait of the poet Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz by Antoni Brodowski (National Museum, Warsaw).....28

2. A portrait of Józef Elsner, ca. 1803-1805 (Chopin Society, Warsaw).....49

3. A counterpoint exercise written by Chopin (National Library, Warsaw).....57

4. Simon's *Anweisung zum General Bass* signed by Fryderyk Chopin (until 1942 in the collection of the Warsaw Music Society, from Binental's 1930 reproduction).....68

5. Kaydanow's history textbook used by professor Feliks Bentkowski for history lectures attended by Chopin (National Library, Warsaw).....74

6. Fryderyk Chopin's *Rondeau* op. 1, dedicated to Mme. Linde, first edition published by Brzezina (Chopin Society, Warsaw).....81

7. Fryderyk Chopin's Polonaise dedicated to Countess Skarbek, first edition published by Cybulski (Chopin Society, Warsaw).....86

8. Fryderyk Chopin's *Rondeau* op. 5, dedicated to Countess Alexandrine de Moriolles, first edition published by Brzezina (Chopin Society, Warsaw, from Binental's 1930 reproduction).....90

9. Antoni Orłowski's Waltz on Themes by Fryderyk Chopin, published by Brzezina (Jagiellonian Library, Cracow).....94

10. A cabinet-piano built by Leszczyński about 1815 (National Museum, Warsaw).....104

11. The Visitation Nuns' Church, associated with the Warsaw University, where Chopin played the organ on Sundays (National Museum, Warsaw).....115

12. A giraffe-piano built by Buchholtz during Chopin's youth (Chopin Society, Warsaw).....131

13. A grand wing piano built by Buchholtz about 1835 (from Vogel's reproduction).....141

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

14. The Mniszech Palace, residence of the Harmonie Gesellschaft and, later, the Merchant Club (National Museum, Warsaw).....149

15. The Piarists' Church, location of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music (pre-War photograph).....164

16. The Lutheran Church, where Chopin performed at the choralion and sang in several choral performances (National Library, Warsaw).....169

17. The Cathedral Church of St. John during reconstruction (National Museum, Warsaw).....173

18. A view of the Royal Palace and Amphitheater at Łazienki (National Museum, Warsaw).....177

19. The main Town Hall, site of Catalani's and Hummel's concerts (National Library, Warsaw).....182

20. The pianist Maria Szymanowska (National Museum, Warsaw).....184

21. Niccolò Paganini on the cover of an arrangement of his music, made and published by Karol Magnus (Jagiellonian Library, Cracow).....188

22. The violinist Karol Lipiński on the cover of an arrangement of his music, made and published by Karol Magnus (Jagiellonian Library, Cracow).....190

23. An arrangement of Pixis' Variations on the Swiss Theme "Der Schweizerbub" as sung in the National Theater by Miss Henrietta Sonntag with the singer's likeness (Jagiellonian Library, Cracow).....194

24. A view of Miodowa Street with Tepper Palace, housing the *Kopciuszek* and *Dziurka cafés* (National Museum, Warsaw).....209

25. The inside of the *Honoratka café* (Płock Museum [?], from National Museum reproduction).....211

26. The National Theater about 1791 (National Museum, Warsaw).....218

27. Grand Duke Constantine's residence at Belweder (National Library, Warsaw).....290

28. The Viceroy's Palace; occupied by Count and Countess Zajączek (National Library, Warsaw).....293

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

29. Countess Zofia Zamoyska neé Czartoryska (National Library, Warsaw).....320

30. The Zamoyski Palace (National Library, Warsaw).....323

31. The Kazimierz Palace; the Chopins' apartment in the right wing (National Museum, Warsaw).....336

32. A drawing of the salon at the Chopins' apartment in the Krasiński Palace made by Antoni Kolberg in 1832, after Fryderyk's departure (until 1942 in the collection of the Warsaw Music Society, from Binental's reproduction).....340

33. Maurycy Mochnacki: poet, revolutionary and music critic (National Library, Warsaw).....343

34. The autograph title-page of Józef Elsner's Septetto for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, cello, double bass and piano dedicated to Józef Cichocki (Warsaw Music Society).....355

35. The salon of Princess Teresa and Prince Maksymilian Jabłonowski (National Museum, Warsaw).....362

36. A map of Warsaw from 1831 (National Library, Warsaw)..390

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES IN APPENDIX 4

Example — Page

1. Karol Kurpiński, Polonez in G Minor (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1992).....465

2. Karol Kurpiński, Jonek's song "W mieście dziwne obycaje" from the opera *Nowe Krakowiaki* (Warszawa: Konarzewski i Mękarski; in the National Library, Warsaw).....466

3. Jan Stefani, Bardos' cavatina "Świat srogi" from the opera *Krakowiacy i Górale* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1959).....467

4. Józef Elsner, Mazur "Parobcaki od Połańca" from the opera *King Dwarf* (in the National Library, Warsaw)....468

5. Józef Elsner, Krakowiak "Od dawna bywał" from the opera *King Dwarf* (in the National Library, Warsaw)....469

6. Józef Elsner, *Septetto* in D Major for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, cello, double bass and piano (Autograph manuscript in the Library of Warsaw Musical Society).....470

7. Franciszek Lessel, Pianó Concerto in C Major op. 14, Allegretto (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne).....471

8. Maria Szymanowska, *Vingt Exercices et Préludes*, no. 1 in F Major (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).....472

9. Maria Szymanowska, *Vingt Exercices et Préludes*, no. 9 in E flat Major (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).....473

10. Maria Szymanowska, *Vingt Exercices et Préludes*, no. 15 in C Major (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).....474

11. Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, "Dies irae" from *Compositionen zu Goethes Faust* (in T. Strumiłło, *Sources and Beginnings of Romanticism*, music appendix) 475

12. Johann Christoph Kessler, *Etudes* op. 20, no. 1 in C Major (Warszawa: Mękarski, 1903, in the National

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Library, Warsaw).....476

13. Karol Sołtyk, Mazurek (Warszawa: Klukowski, 1829; Library of the Department of Music Theory and History at the Jagiellonian University, from a microfilm in the National Library, Warsaw).....477

14. An arrangement of Pixis' Variations on the Swiss Theme "Der Schweizerbub" as sung by Henrietta Sonntag (Warszawa: Vivier, 1830; in the Jagiellonian Library, Cracow).....478

15. Antoni Kątski, *Mazurek in B Major* op. 132 (Berlin: Guttentag; in National Library, Warsaw).....479

16. Edward Wolff, *Gage d'amitié, valse brillante* (Warszawa: Klukowski, 1836; in Jagiellonian Library, Cracow).....480

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor Rufus Hallmark for his enthusiasm and expert guidance throughout the course of this dissertation. Also, I am grateful for the encouragement and advice of my readers Raymond Erickson and Charles Burkhart, whose involvement with my work often exceeded usual expectations. Raymond Erickson, in particular, read the text several times and each time returned it to me with invaluable comments. To the other members of my committee--Edward Lerner, Jeffrey Kallberg and Jerzy Gołos--I extend my heartfelt appreciation for their support and constructive critique. I am especially indebted to Jerzy Gołos, without whom many questions that I encountered during my research in Poland would remain unanswered.

The staff of the various institutions, libraries and archives in Poland--especially Mr. Pigła and Ms. Nałęcz at the National Library in Warsaw, Mr. Spóz at the Library of Warsaw Music Society, professors Zofia Helman and Maciej Gołąb at the Warsaw University's Institut of Musicology--never failed to surprise me with their willingness to assist and advise me; I owe them all my most sincere thanks. I am particularly grateful to my trusty friend Paweł Bagnowski at the National Library, without whose generous and patient support I would not have been able to scale the many insurmountable obstacles and frustrations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To my dearest Polish friends Ewa Pikulska, Judyta Richling and Renata Smolarska, I am thankful for opening their homes and hearts to me: lending an ear when needed, rescuing me in all kinds of emergencies or, simply, feeding me "goodies" when everything else failed.

Also, I am appreciative of the understanding and support of my friends in New York; especially to Drora Pershing for her continuous acts of kindness, to Michael Sargent and Michael Spudić for taking time to proofread fragments of this dissertation and to Henry Burnett for answering many of my questions. I definitely would not be able to complete my work without Roy Nitzberg's willingness to assist me in constant battles with WordPerfect.

It would be amiss to overlook the quiet and calming companionship of Kicia--never far from me; at times serving as a blanket or a paper weight.

I am most grateful to my husband David Richards for his steadfast faith in me, his endurance through the disruptions and turmoil that my work often brought into our lives and for waging computer wars on my behalf. To him and to my parents Maria and Zenon Goldberg I owe the completion this dissertation, and to them I dedicate it with my love.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

EDITORIAL NOTE

All Polish titles and quotations are translated; all translations, unless otherwise credited, are my own. I provide the originals in the text rather than footnotes to make them more accessible to Polish readers and to prevent overcrowding of the already numerous substantive footnotes.

In the bibliography and in each first full footnote reference, titles are given in the original Polish and followed with an English translation; all subsequent references use shortened English titles. One abbreviation used consistently throughout this dissertation is *AmZ for Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung.* In all bibliographic references, titles of periodicals, names of publishers and cities of publication are kept in the original Polish (Warszawa, Kraków, Wrocław, Poznań, Wilno, etc.). Similarly, in the text, Polish names of cities are used, with the exception of commonly used English forms for Warsaw and Cracow.

For persons residing in Poland--regardless of their ethnicity--Polish forms of given names are preferred; thus, Chopin is referred to as Fryderyk and his father as Mikołaj. In the case of family names, the most frequently used form was selected, although in the original sources the name may appear in a variety of spellings (e.g., Chopin is sometimes written Szopen, Szopin or Schoppin). In some cases, when a foreign

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

family name is most often found in a Polish spelling, I opted to use the Polish form (e.g., Mejer, Wejnert, Wołkow, Żywny, etc).

Some Polish family names require feminine and masculine endings and, thus, we find Izabela Czartory*ska* but Adam Czartory*ski*. I have preserved these endings, because altering them violates their meaning. However, to avoid confusion I have not maintained the more complicated forms of married and maiden names (Aszpergerowa, Moriolówna and others). Similarity, I have abandoned the Polish plural for family names (Czartoryscy) in favor of the English: the Czartoryskis.

Russian given and family names (found in original Polish sources in varied spellings) are presented in standard transliteration (e.g., Galitsin and Nikola). Nonetheless, names of Russian rulers take on forms familiar to the American reader; therefore, the Czars are Alexander I and Nicholas I, and the Grand Duke of the Polish Kingdom is Constantine.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PREFACE

Among the many works devoted to Fryderyk Chopin (1810-1849) none fully addresses the issue of the musical environment in which the composer spent his formative years. When I began this dissertation, my intention was to examine the effect Warsaw's environment had on the development of Chopin's musical style, prompted by the supposition that the seeds of his style must be found in the music he heard and learned in his home town. Unexpectedly, my investigation of Polish and non-Polish sources concerning Chopin's musical environment revealed that, although there are tomes of related material, there is no authoritative study that draws all the information together. In his most recent, excellent biography of Chopin (1997), Jim Samson calls attention to this lacuna:

> The weakest sections of most existing biographies (at least by non-Polish authors) concern the Warsaw years. Even where Polish sources have been carefully researched, the tendency has been to give inadequate measure to the shaping influence of Warsaw's social and cultural world.[1]

To rectify the situation, Samson included an extensive and informative chapter on Chopin's young years, followed by an insightful examination of the early musical style. But despite all his good intentions, having to rely on the limited published scholarship, led him to include some inaccurate

---

[1]Jim Samson, *Chopin*, (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), vi.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information.[2]

In light of this pressing need, the goal of my dissertation is to present in a single volume information pertaining to the musical world of Chopin's youth, whether the information is entirely new or previously published in a different context. Given the deficiencies of published studies and the recurrent need for clarification, I opted for considerable detail in my presentation in order to include many particulars otherwise not accessible.

To some degree, the lack of information on this subject comes from the lack appreciation of Warsaw's cultural importance. According to Samson, Chopin was personally troubled by this presumption:

> ... later in life he was often at pains to counter suggestions that Warsaw was a musical backwater.[3]

Yet, this opinion is repeated, even in the most recent studies, and Samson's book is among the few that attempt to change this outlook:

---

[2]Some needed corrections are: General Mokronowski was no longer alive during the 1820s and his widow's salon was not famed for patriotic promotion of Polish values (ibid., 10); Walerian Krasiński was not a writer, though he participated in salon gatherings; the writer who rightfully belongs in the company of these great names is his younger relative Zygmunt Krasiński (ibid., 10); the famous musical soirées took place in the home of the Cichockis, not Cichowskis, who were also Chopin's acquaintances (ibid., 28); Koźmian's name was Kajetan, not Kalenty (ibid., 10); Izabela Grabowska was the Minister's sister, not wife (ibid., 18), Eugeniusz Skrodzki was not a boarder of the Chopins but their neighbor (ibid., 7) and his memoirs are no longer extant.

[3]Ibid., 12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Warsaw was hardly a leading cultural capital, but equally it was not the provincial backwater it has sometimes been labeled.[4]

Indeed, it is not my intention to argue that Warsaw could compete with Paris or Vienna, but that, during the period under consideration, it certainly compared well with many major European cities.

Despite the political situation, Warsaw retained the status of a center of Polish culture expected of a capital. My research shows it to be a vibrant European city that was home to an opera house, various smaller theaters, one of the earliest modern conservatories in Europe, several societies which organized concerts, musically active churches, music printers and bookstores, instrument builders, for a short time even a weekly paper devoted to music, and a spirited salon life. Rather than finding a dormant, peripheral town, one encounters a city that is not only aware and in tune with the most recent European styles and fashions in music, but also the cradle of a vernacular musical language that was initiated by the generation of Polish composers before Chopin and found its full realization in his work.

Significantly, this period of cultural revival in the Polish capital coincided with the duration of Chopin's stay there--from his infancy in 1810 to his final departure from his homeland in 1830. In almost miraculous fashion the political, economic, social and cultural circumstances

---

[4]Ibid., 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

generated a dynamic musical, artistic and intellectual environment that nurtured the developing genius. Had Chopin been born a decade earlier or a decade later, the capital, devastated by warfare and stripped of all cultural institutions, could not have provided support for his talent. The young composer would have been compelled to seek musical education abroad and thus would have been deprived of the specifically Polish experience so central to his musical style.

There is a large amount of Polish scholarship that pertains directly or marginally to my research, but the dissertations, articles and books I have located in Poland present a fragmented picture of the subject. One must also consider several ideological interferences: the Romantic vision of Chopin, the nationalist framework through which native culture was perceived and the ideology imposed in this century by the communist authorities. The political climate in Poland during the 1950s and 1960s prompted scholarly dishonesty and produced pages of Stalinist "newspeak" concealing important factual information. During this post-war period the preferred line of thinking emphasized the indebtedness of Chopin's music to Polish folklore, to the culture of the people. It was preferable to downplay the contribution of intelligentsia and aristocracy to the Polish culture, including the aristocratic environment in which Chopin lived. Salon culture was scorned by the communist

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

regime as representative of bourgeois decadence and the aristocratic abuse of wealth. Even in as recent an article as Semenovski's 1989 "Russian Acquaintances and Friends of Chopin" the author refers to the "bourgeois biographers of Chopin."[5]

The same political agenda perpetuated the myth of Chopin's peasant roots, although the theory that the Chopin family was descended from a Polish emigrant to France named Szop was first advanced by Marceli Antoni Szulc as long ago as his 1873 book on Chopin.[6] On the authority of a French lawyer named Gervais, who examined archives in Nancy, the Chopin biographer Aleksander Poliński repeated the Szop story in his biography of 1914.[7]

At first, this myth came as an expression of Polish nineteenth-century patriotism. The suppressed Polish culture sought any and every opportunity to maintain its pride and dignity, no matter how absurd the means would be. But as time went on it became an accepted dogma that existed against the backdrop of nationalist ideology. The first six pages of Poliński's book on Chopin, written when Poland was still

---

[5]S.A. Semenovskiy, "Ruskiye znakomyye i druzya Shopena" [Russian Acquaintances and Friends of Chopin] in *Venok Shopenu* [A Wreath for Chopin], ed. L. S. Sidelnikov (Moscow: Muzyka, 1989), 64.

[6]Marceli Antoni Szulc, *Fryderyk Chopin i utwory jego muzyczne* [Fryderyk Chopin and his Musical Works] (1873), modern edition, ed. Danuta Idaszek (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1986), 276.

[7]Aleksander Poliński, *Chopin* (Warszawa: Idzikowski, 1914), 7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

partitioned between Russia, Austria and Prussia, is in its entirety devoted to the composer as a national treasure:

> A nation that revealed itself through such a spirit cannot perish; on the contrary, in the spirit of a genius [Chopin] it holds and from this spirit it draws the confidence of unlimited strength and a victorious future. Thus with justified pride we emphasize the "Polishness" of Chopin's spirit and the ethnicity of his music.
>
> [Naród, który się w takiej duszy objawił, zginąć nie może; przeciwnie w duszy geniusza ma i czerpie przeświadczenie niespożytych sił i zwycięskiej przyszłości. Z uzasadnioną tedy dumą, zaznaczamy polskość duszy Chopina i narodowość jego muzyki.][8]

The starved national imagination not only provided Chopin with a Polish ancestry, but further gave rise to the lengthy dispute over whether his teacher Józef Elsner (1769-1854) was also Polish. Ironically it was Elsner, a "non-ethnic Pole," who nearly singlehandedly rejuvenated Polish musical culture and guided it towards intense Polish patriotism. Humiliated by military and political defeats, Poland quickly forgot that as a sovereign and mighty kingdom of the past it had respected its multi-ethnic and multi-religious population. In Warsaw itself nationalistic claims were even more ludicrous, since during the period under consideration the city was completely cosmopolitan, multi-ethnic and multi-religious.

Many non-native residents were very closely involved in the cultural and political life of Poland. The cultural history of the first decades of the nineteenth century rings with many foreign names--people who considered themselves

---

[8]Ibid., 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Polish enough to devote their lives to the re-establishment of Polish culture. Żywny, a German-speaker from Bohemia; Elsner, a German-speaking Silesian who claimed Swedish ancestry; Würfel, an Austrian; the Czechs Czapek and Jawurek; Soliva, from Milan--these were just a few among Warsaw's musicians of foreign ancestry who earnestly participated in the making of Polish music.

Several of the immigrants had Polish spouses and some of them, or their Polish-born children, got caught up in Polish battles. The piano builder Wilhelm Troschel fought in the November Insurrection in 1830 as a sergeant of the National Guard.[9] His colleague, Jan Kerntopf, was wounded in the same uprising.[10] Later in the century, during the January Insurrection of 1863, Adolf Jan Wernitz, from the dynasty of Warsaw's trumpet builders, was arrested for selling supplies to the insurgents.[11] A similar fate befell another famous trumpet builder--Wilhelm Glier.[12]

Tradition has it that the elder Chopin was also involved in fighting for his adopted homeland. Poliński claims that during the Kościuszko Uprising of 1789 Mikołaj Chopin fought

---

[9]Beniamin Vogel, *Instrumenty muzyczne w kulturze Królestwa Polskiego. Przemysł muzyczny w latach 1815-1918* [Musical Instruments in the Culture of the Polish Kingdom. Music Industry during the years 1815-1918] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawmictwo Muzyczne, 1980), 214.

[10]Ibid., 176.

[11]Ibid., 217.

[12]Ibid., 164.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

under Kiliński in the National Guard.[13] Frączyk narrates the tale about Mikołaj Chopin defending Warsaw in its last days of freedom in 1794 as a centurion *[setnik]* in the National Guard.[14] These stories are repeated in some sources but difficult to substantiate and probably are products of the same national imagination seeking to "nationalize" the great composer.

On the other hand one must realize that this inflated Polish national pride was in part a defensive reaction to the contemptuous and arrogant treatment that Poland had continuously received from other countries. It suffices to note some irresponsible and degrading statements found in foreign works on the subject of Chopin. Niecks' biography of this composer abounds in absurd assertions:

> Their [the Poles'] oriental mellifluousness, hyperbolism, and obsequious politeness of speech, as well as the Asiatic *[sic!]* appearance of their features and dress, have been noticed by all travellers in Poland.[15]
>
> ... knives, forks, and spoons were, conveniences unknown to [Polish] peasants.[16]

But even in more recent works on Chopin one finds plenty of

---

[13]Poliński, *Chopin*, 8.

[14]Tadeusz Frączyk, *Warszawa młodości Chopina* [Warsaw of Chopin's Youth] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1961), 16.

[15]Frederick Niecks, *Frederick Chopin as a Man and Musician* (1888), modern edition (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1973), 1:10.

[16]Ibid., 1:6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ridiculous claims. Some, like Arthur Hutchings, boldly display their ignorance:

> Since Chopin was an infant when his father took up a teaching appointment and the family moved to the very middle of Warsaw, we stretch imagination by savoring any rural background to his music. None of it is directly evocative of the village on the Skarbeck estate, or of the somewhat dull countryside of Poland. Chopin's father was French; polite society in Russia and Poland conversed in French. (...) Yet the Polish element in Chopin's music is as urbane as the Hungarian element in Liszt's, and Chopin's Polish background is not of paramount importance.[17]

Others, like Arthur Hedley, indulge in old-fashioned pseudo-psychology:

> Nicholas Chopin appears to have had all the best characteristics of his race [French] and type [peasant]: manly, hard-working and careful.[18]
>
> From her [his mother] Chopin inherited the dreamy, sensitive and poetical side of his nature, and one may study in him the interplay and collisions of the two streams of inheritance, from father and mother, set against the dual background of the early Polish scene and the sophisticated world of aristocratic (and plutocratic!) Paris.[19]

---

[17]Arthur Hutchings, "Frédéric Chopin; The Historical Background" in *The Chopin Companion; Profiles of the Man and the Musician*, ed. Allan Walker (1966; reprint, New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 26. Some of the errors of fact and implication in this statement are the following: that anyone ever claimed that Chopin's contact with Polish peasant culture took place during his infancy on the Skarbek family estate, rather than during his annual summer holidays in the countryside; that Chopin's father was simply French, when he lived his entire adult life in Poland; that both the Russian and Polish elite continued to speak French even after the Napoleonic wars, during the period of the establishment of Polish identity; and that the remarkable geological variety of the Polish landscape could appear dull to an Englishman.

[18]Arthur Hedley, in *Chopin Companion*, 4-5.

[19]Ibid., 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In all fairness I must mention that Hedley also shows some generosity towards the Poles:

> Whatever charges of instability might then be brought against the Poles, no one could deny their mental alertness....[20]

One can only imagine the reaction on the part of Polish writers to these and similar statements: for example, the celebrated Polish historian Ferdinand Hoesick was clearly infuriated, and justifiably so, by the statements made by Niecks.[21] The response of Poles to such marginalization was predictable: to intensify the "Polishness" of the Polish.

Another set of historiographic issues that interfere with the understanding of Chopin concerns the rooting of his music in the salon culture of the early nineteenth century (this issue will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 1 of Part III). At the core of this implied contempt is the centuries-long cultural conflict between the French and the Germans and its effect on music and musicological doctrines. Related to the salon milieu are questions concerning gender: the perception of Chopin and his style as effeminate or androgynous. Only recently has the salon culture been portrayed with due respect, including studies of Chopin's participation in the salon and of the gender stigmas

---

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ferdinand Hoesick, *Warszawa: Luźne kartki z przeszłości syreniego grodu* [Warsaw: Loose Leaves from the Past of the Mermaid City] (Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1920), 37-38 and 173-75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

surrounding his person.[22]

In view of these considerations, it is the purpose of this dissertation to present and examine the rich musical environment of Chopin's youth, which is largely unknown to the English-speaking world, and to provide a historiographic perspective that allows a better understanding of Poland's cultural circumstances. Parts of my dissertation are based on research done by Polish scholars, supplemented by my own findings, other sections are grounded entirely in original research.

Secondary sources

The present topic has not received extensive or comprehensive treatment in English. Frederick Niecks' 1902 monumental, two-volume study of Chopin gives some attention to the cultural circumstances of his childhood, but the information is neither extensive nor dependable.[23] Both of

---

[22]Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier *Salonmusik: zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989); Andreas Ballstaedt "Chopin as Salon Composer," in *Chopin Studies 2*, eds. John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Gradenwitz, *Literatur und Musik im geselligen Kreise: Geschmackbildung, Gesprachstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1991); Petra Wilhelmy *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert: 1780-1914*; Jeffrey Kallberg, "Small Fairy Voices: Sex, History and Meaning in Chopin," in *Chopin studies 2* and idem, *Chopin at the Boundaries; Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[23]Niecks, *Chopin*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jim Samson's books on Chopin contain a substantial amount of information about the Polish predecessors of the great composer but, since he does not concentrate on the musical environment of Chopin's Warsaw, the topic is treated in a general manner.[24] Nonetheless, many of Samson's valuable observations provided points of departure for my investigation.

The most exhaustive Polish study of Chopin's Warsaw is Frączyk's *Warsaw of Chopin's Youth [Warszawa młodości Chopina]*, published in 1961. Frączyk does not focus on musical life and consequently he devotes considerable attention to the sociology of Warsaw: the physical appearance and the demographics of the city, vacationing spots frequented by its dwellers and its institutions (schools, art galleries and book publishers). Nevertheless, this study contains much valuable general information and, within his discussion of institutions and publishing firms, material pertaining to the Conservatory and music publishing. In addition, the chapter on Warsaw's social life supplied initial information for my examination of the salon culture. However, although Frączyk's book contains much important information, his research has been superseded by new studies.

It is important to remember that, even where secondary material exists, it is either unknown to the English-speaker

---

[24]Jim Samson, *The Music of Chopin* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985) and idem, *Chopin*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or it bears no relevance to Chopin. With the exception of Sankowska's master's thesis about the Warsaw Conservatory,[25] no work other than Fraczyk's relates its findings to Fryderyk Chopin and his musical development. My task here is, in part, to ellucidate the relevance of materials previously unassociated with Chopin and to provide documentation for my assertions.

In a 1979 article concerning the state of knowledge of nineteenth-century Polish music, Zofia Chechlińska concluded that the nineteenth century was the least researched period of Polish music history. She pointed to the need for systematic documentation, studies of cultural life, studies devoted to composers other than Chopin, and the publication of their works. Only after such archival work was completed would there be a basis for analytical and interpretive examination.[26] Since this article was written, some of the goals outlined by Chechlińska have been realized.

Most central to the first portion of my dissertation are three master's dissertations devoted to the musical culture of

---

[25]Marta Sankowska, "Studia Fryderyka Chopina w Szkole Głównej Muzyki Królewskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" [Fryderyk Chopin's Studies at the Main School of Music of the Royal University of Warsaw] (Master's thesis, University of Wrocław, 1994).

[26]Zofia Chechlińska, "Z problematyki badań nad muzyką polską XIX w" [Problems of Research on Nineteenth-Century Polish Music], *Muzyka* 24 (1979): 83-91.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Warsaw.[27] Each of these deals with a particular period that was delimited by political rather than musical events. Kwiatkowska begins with the third partition of Poland (1795), covers the period of Prussian administration and concludes with the occupation of Warsaw by the Napoleonic army (1806). Bućko deals with the Duchy of Warsaw period (1807-1815) while Sieradz starts with the creation of the Polish Kingdom in 1815 and stops at the November Insurrection of 1830. Although these scholars have examined vast amounts of archival material, much of the information they provide still needs to be updated and expanded.

My discussion of musical education in Warsaw is greatly indebted to Sankowska's aforementioned master's thesis.[28] The chapter on musical instruments relies on research presented by Beniamin Vogel (especially his excellent doctoral dissertation on the subject of the music industry in nineteenth century Poland, which was followed by his recent book about the Polish piano and on historical studies of the

---

[27]Magdalena Kwiatkowska, "Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach 1795-1806" [Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1795-1806] (Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1981); Anna Bućko, "Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach 1807-1815" [Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1807-1815] (Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1982), and Halina Sieradz, "Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach 1815-1830" [Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1815-1830] (Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1983).

[28]Sankowska, op. cit.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Polish organ by Jerzy Gołos.[29] Maria Prokopowicz's and Wojciech Tomaszewski's works on Warsaw's music publishing industry were essential to my inquiry.[30] There are also several articles and books dealing with the Polish musical theater and Warsaw's concert life.[31]

Because of the formal limitations and the

---

[29]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*; idem, *Fortepian Polski* [The Polish Piano] (Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 1995); Jerzy Gołos, *Zarys historii budowy organów w Polsce* [A Historical Sketch of Organ Building in Poland]· (Bydgoszcz: Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1966); idem, *Polskie organy i muzyka organowa* [The Polish Organ and Organ Music] (Warszawa: Pax, 1972), and idem, *The Polish Organ*, vol. 1, *The Instrument and its History* (Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 1993).

[30]Maria Prokopowicz, "Musique imprimée a Varsovie en 1800-1830" in *The Book of the First International Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960): 593-97; idem, "Musique imprimée de 1800-1831 comme source de la culture musicale polonaise de l'epoque," *Fontes artis musicae* 14 (1961): 16-22; idem, "Z działalności warszawskich księgarzy i wydawców muzycznych w latach 1800-1831" [From the Activities of the Warsaw Booksellers and Music Publishers in the Years 1800-1831] in *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku* [Sketches on the Musical Culture of the Nineteenth Century], ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 1 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1971), 33-50; Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliografia warszawskich druków muzycznych 1801-1830* [A Bibliography of Warsaw Musical Prints 1801-1850] (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1992) and idem, *Warszawskie edytorstwo muzyczne w latach 1772-1865* [Warsaw Music Publishing in the Years 1772-1865] (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1992).

[31]Karol Kurpiński, *Krótki rys Teatru Narodowego od roku 1818 az dotąd* [A Short Sketch of the National Theater from 1818 until the Present] (Warszawa: J. Węcki, 1831); Wojciech Bogusławski *Dzieje Teatru Narodowego* [A History of the National Theater] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1920); Maurycy Karasowski, *Rys historyczny opery polskiej* [An Outline of the History of Polish Opera] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1859), Hanna Pukińska-Szpietowska, "Życie koncertowe w Warszawie w latach 1800-1830" [Concert Life in Warsaw 1800-1830] in *Sketches on Musical Culture*, 1: 35-104.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

historiographical prejudices of many of these studies, as well as the fact that a considerable amount of research remained to be done, much of the material and observations presented in this dissertation are new. This is especially true of the chapters dealing with sacred music concerts and *café* concerts and the entire section on Warsaw's musical salons, subjects that have not yet received any scholarly attention at all, much less the attention they deserve. In these areas it has been my task to turn to primary sources and unearth new information.

Original sources

The tragic history of Warsaw is well known and it is not surprising that many documents were destroyed, especially during the vicious bombing by the Nazi forces that levelled the city in 1944. Nonetheless, much was saved and some of the information from documents that no longer exist can still be found in pre-war editions and articles, or in the private notes of scholars.

The most fundamental material came from the Chopin's letters in the 1955 edition of Bronisław Edward Sydow and the more recent edition by Krystyna Kobylańska.[32] Very important

---

[32]Bronisław Edward Sydow ed., *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina* [Fryderyk Chopin's Correspondence], 2 vols. (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955) and Krystyna Kobylańska ed., *Korespondencja Chopina z rodziną* [The Correspondence of Chopin and his Family] (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to my work are the early biographies and recollections of Chopin, written by his contemporaries and acquaintances (Kolberg, Sikorski, Sowiński, Wójcicka, Skrodzki)[33] and writers who still had access to first-hand information about the great composer (Karasowski, Hoesick and M.A. Szulc).[34] The early historical studies of Warsaw written by Chopin's contemporaries (Magier, Gołębiowski, Sobieszczański i Wójcicki)[35] and later historians (Hoesick and Kraushar)[36]

Wydawniczy, 1972).

[33]Oskar Kolberg, "Chopin," in *Encyklopedia Powszechna* [Universal Encyclopedia], (Warszawa: Orgelbrand, 1861); idem, *Dzieła wszystkie Oskara Kolberga* [The Complete Works of Oskar Kolberg], ed. J. Krzyżanowski, vol. 61, *Pisma muzyczne, część 2* [Music Writings, part 2], eds. M. Tomaszewski, O. Pawlak and E. Miller (Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1961-1990); Józef Sikorski, "Wspomnienie Chopina" [A Memory of Chopin], *Biblioteka warszawska* (1849/4): 510-559; Albert Sowiński, *Słownik muzyków polskich dawnych i nowoczesnych* [A Dictionary of Old and Modern Polish Musicians] (French edition 1857; first Polish edition, Paris: Księgarnia Luksemburska, 1874); Anna Wóycicka, "Wieczorek pożegnalny Fryderyka Chopina" [Fryderyk Chopin's Farewell Evening] *Pion* (1934), 24: 1-2; Wielisław [Eugeniusz Skrodzki], "Kilka Wspomnień o Chopinie" [A Few Memories of Chopin], *Bluszcz* (1882), 33: 257-258, 36: 281-282.

[34]Maurycy Karasowski *Fryderyk Chopin*, 2 vols. (German edition, 1877; first Polish edition, Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1882); Ferdinand Hoesick *Chopin*, 4 vols. (Warszawa, 1927) and M.A. Szulc, *Chopin*.

[35]Antoni Magier, *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy* [The Aesthetics of the Capital City of Warsaw], edition of the 1830 manuscript by Hanna Szwankowska (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1963); Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Opisanie historyczno-statystyczne miasta Warszawy* [A Historic-Statistical Description of the City Warsaw], 2nd ed. significantly augmented and expanded (Warsaw: Glücksberg, 1827); idem, *Gry i zabawy róznych stanów* [Games and Amusements of Various Classes] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1831); Franciszek Sobieszczański, *Rys historyczno-statystyczny wzrostu i stanu miasta Warszawy od najdawniejszych czasów az do roku 1847* [A

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

abound in factual information.

In the daily newspapers of early nineteenth-century Warsaw, *Gazeta Warszawska* and *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, culture was given only marginal attention. Nevertheless, they provide a wealth of information through announcements of musical events and advertisements pertaining to the music industry, publishing and education. Occasionally, one finds reviews of performances and articles devoted to musical issues written by musicians and music lovers. Among the best opera and concert reviews written in the 1820s are those penned by Chopin's friend Maurycy Mochnacki.[37] Somewhat more extensive articles are found in the literary monthly *Pamiętnik Warszawski*. Elsner and

---

Historic-Statistical Sketch of the Growth and State of the City Warsaw from Time Immemorial until 1847] (Warszawa: S. Strąbski, 1848); K.W. Wójcicki, *Cmentarz powązkowski w Warszawie* [The Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw] (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1855); idem, *Kawa literacka w Warszawie (1829-1830)* [Literary Cafes in Warsaw (1829-1830)], 3 vols. (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1873); idem, *Społeczność Warszawy w początkach naszego stulecia* [Warsaw's Society in the Beginning of our Century] (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1877) and idem, *Warszawa, jej życie umysłowe i ruch literacki 1800-1830* [Warsaw; its Literary and Intellectual Life 1800-1830] (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1880).

[36]Hoesick, *Warsaw*; Aleksander Kraushar, *Polki twórcze czasów nowszych* [Creative Polish Women of Modern Times] (Warszawa: Hoesick, 1929); idem, *Resursa kupiecka w Warszawie* [The Merchant Club in Warsaw] (Warszawa: Hoesick, 1928); idem, *Salony i zebrania literackie w Warszawie* [Salons and Literary Gatherings in Warsaw] (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historyi, 1916) and idem, *Typy i oryginały Warszawskie* [Warsaw's Personalities] (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historyi, 1912).

[37]Maurycy Mochnacki, *Pisma* [Writings], ed. Artur Śliwiński (Lwów: Połoniecki, 1910).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kurpiński contributed many of the essays published by this press, but they also found other outlets for presenting the public with their views.

Józef Elsner regularly wrote for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* published in Leipzig, and Kurpiński started the first Polish periodical devoted to music: *Tygodnik Muzyczny*. This four-page weekly magazine contained historical, aesthetic, and theoretical articles, reviews and news pertaining to theater and concert life in Poland and abroad, and a musical supplement presenting fashionable favorites and new compositions to the readers. Unfortunately, professional musicians did not represent a large enough audience to support a specialized music periodical, and the last issue of *Tygodnik Muzyczny* appeared in June of 1821, after existing little over a year.[38]

The published writings of major Polish cultural figures of the early nineteenth century also include larger works. Wojciech Bogusławski, the long-time director of the opera theater, wrote a history of the National Theater and a critical study of the Theater's repertory.[39] Karol Kurpiński

---

[38]Dagmara Strumiłło, *Bibliografia Polskich Czasopism Muzycznych* [A Bibliography of Polish Musical Periodicals], vol. 1, *Tygodnik Muzyczny 1820-1821. Pamiętnik Muzyczny Warszawski 1835-36*, ed. K. Michałowski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955), 9-19.

[39]Bogusławski, *History* and idem, *Dzieła Dramatyczne* [Dramatic Works], 12 vols. (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1820-23).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

also penned a brief history of the National Theater.[40]

Elsner kept a German musical diary, which was never published and vanished during World War II. Fortunately, major portions of this diary, called *Summary [Sumariusz]*, were published in the beginning of this century by Hoesick.[41] Kurpiński also kept a private journal, often writing of musical matters. Some of his thoughts from this no-longer-extant source can still be traced.[42]

In spite of all the destruction, there is an abundance of letters and memoirs by Chopin's contemporaries: Antoni Edward Odyniec, Andrzej Edward Koźmian, Anna Nakwaska, Count Skarbek, Natalia Kicka, Count de Moriolles--to mention just a few of the most significant names.[43] Some of them were published in

---

[40]Kurpiński, *A Short Sketch.*

[41]Ferdynand Hoesick, *Z papierów po Elsnerze* [From Elsner's Papers] (Warszawa, F. Hoesick, 1901), based on a manuscript of a translation from German by Prince Kazimierz Lubomirski; later published as Józef Elsner, *Sumariusz moich utworów muzycznych* [A Summary of my Musical Works], ed. Alina Nowak-Romanowicz (Kraków: Polski Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957).

[42]Tadeusz Przybylski, "Fragmenty 'Dziennika Prywatnego' Karola Kurpińskiego" [Fragments from Karol Kurpiński's 'Private Diary'"], *Muzyka* 20 (1975): 104-113.

[43]Antoni Edward Odyniec, *Wspomnienia z przeszłości opowiadane Deotymie* [Memories from the Past as Told to Deotyma] (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1884); Andrzej Edward Koźmian, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], 2 vols. (Poznań: Letgeber, 1867); idem, *Listy 1829-1864* [Letters 1829-1864], 4 vols. (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1894) Anna Nakwaska, "Wyjątki z pamiętników współczesnych" [Excerpts from Contemporary Memoirs], *Gazeta Współczesna* (July-August 1852): nos. 198-219; Fryderyk Skarbek, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs] (Poznań: Żupański, 1878); idem, *Pamiętniki Seglasa* [Seglas' Memoirs], ed. K. Bartoszyński (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959); Natalia Kicka, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs], ed. T. Szafrański and J.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the nineteenth century, others were issued in the last few decades. Very little of this material exists in manuscript only, since Polish scholars--taught by the painful experiences of the last war--rushed to preserve in print every bit of surviving material.

It is my hope that this dissertation will enhance our knowledge of Chopin's musical environment in Poland, correct false impressions left by other writers and lead to a richer understanding of his personality, his career and, ultimately, his musical style.

Dutkiewicz (Warszawa: Pax, 1972) and Count de Moriolles, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs], trans. Z. Przyborowska (Warszawa: Biblioteka Dzieł Wyborowych, 1902).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

> And ever louder grew the music's roar,
> And you could hear the tramp of marching, war,
> Attack, a storm, the boom of guns, the moans
> Of children, and of weeping mother's groans.
> So splendidly the master's art resembled
> The horror of a storm, the women trembled,
> Remembering with tears that tale of grief....[1]

Fryderyk Chopin, a child of a French immigrant father and a mother from an impoverished Polish noble family, was born in 1810 into a country with a thousand years of history and no name on the map of Europe. The two decades preceding his birth had witnessed the last chapter in the g%' ^R22

ish tragedy: the ultimate loss of the nation's independence.[2]

Late-eighteenth-century Poland was a stage of stormy and tragic political events. While Europe's attention was directed at the Revolution and the rise of Napoleon in France, Poland's neighbors Austria, Russia and Prussia in an unprecedented manner dismembered and obliterated the historical and sovereign state of Poland. Poland, geographically surrounded by its political enemies, launched a series of desperate political and military efforts to uphold

---

[1]Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz* [Master Thaddeus], trans. Kenneth. R. Mackenzie (New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc., 1992), 566.

[2]For detailed discussion of Polish history I recommend to the English speaker Norman Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland,* 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

its sovereignty. But in spite of those, the destruction of an autonomous Poland could not be prevented. The political truncation of the country advanced in three stages: the first partition took place in 1772 and the second in 1793. The final partition, in 1795, erased the name of Poland from the map of Europe for more than a century. The region of Mazowsze, which included Warsaw, became a part of Prussia.

The Prussian authorities imposed a new administration, and in 1797 Poland became subject to the Prussian legislature *[Allgemeines Landrecht]*. Under the new laws, land belonging both to king and clergy became the property of the Prussian treasury. The general policy of Germanization encouraged the assimilation of conquered lands, and thus Polish landowners were not permitted to buy this land.

The fall of independent Poland had a negative effect on the development of manufacturing, but permitted growth in agriculture. In contrast with the exploited and overtaxed Galicia (southern Poland controlled by the Austrian authorities), the Prussian government provided opportunities for economic growth in the form of well-functioning administration and accessible credit. These conditions were most favorable during the 1801-1804 boom in grain export, mainly to England, adding to the wealth of Polish landowners.[3]

The third partition caused a temporary crisis in Warsaw's

---

[3]Stefan Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795-1918* [A History of Poland 1795-1818] (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987), 13-22.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cultural circles, but already by the year 1800 the city had returned to its status as a center of intellectual and cultural life. As a result of political events Warsaw was deprived of the patronage which the Royal Court had provided during the Polish Enlightenment, and the Prussian authorities neither provided organization nor financial support for cultural activities.[4] But Polish intellectuals, artists and scientists, concerned with the future of Polish national identity, began projects aimed at preserving Polish culture. Some wealthy aristocrats (Ossoliński, Czacki, Czartoryska) started libraries and collections of Polish historical memorabilia. Scholars engaged in monumental undertakings such as Linde's *Dictionary of the Polish Language*.

In 1800 wealthy, enlightened amateurs and professionals consolidated their forces through the foundation of the Society for the Friends of Learning *[Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk]*. During its thirty years of existence, the Society gathered together pedagogues, scholars, scientists, artists, lawyers, physicians and political activists. Meetings, divided into scientific and humanistic discussion groups, took place several times in a month. The Society facilitated contact and discussion between its members and supported many cultural endeavors. At the end of its existence the Society had nearly two hundred members.[5]

---

[4]Kwiatkowska, 3.

[5]Kieniewicz, 87.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Through the initiative of Polish artists, intellectuals, aristocracy, middle class and Prussian administration officials stationed in Warsaw, new forms of musical organization and patronage developed. In 1799 Wojciech Bogusławski returned to Warsaw and energetically began restoring the Polish theater. He was soon joined by a young composer, Józef Elsner, the future teacher of Chopin. Concerts were often held in the theaters of Warsaw and in the palaces of the aristocracy. In 1805 Elsner and E.T.A. Hoffmann, who in the years 1804-1807 was stationed in Poland as a member of the Prussian administration, started a Music Society. Jointly with Father Cybulski, Elsner also revitalized music printing in Warsaw in 1803. This budding cultural life was again disrupted in the Fall of 1806.

The French forces that entered Warsaw in 1806 carried the promise of re-establishing a sovereign Polish state. This pledge, like many others made by Napoleon, was to remain unfulfilled. In the preceding years he took advantage of Polish hopes by using the Polish Legions (an army of Polish emigres created in 1797 in Italy by General Dąbrowski) against the Austrians in Italy and to fight his battles in places as distant as Haiti and Egypt. In 1807 Napoleon again used Polish soldiers, now recruited by Dąbrowski in Poland, in his campaign against Prussia. But instead of giving Poland independence, Napoleon bargained away its freedom during secret negotiations with his opponents. Some territories

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stayed with Prussia, Austria and Russia. Central Poland was to remain within the sphere of French influence.[6] For Napoleon the purpose of creating a Polish state was two-fold: to gain financially from exploitation and taxation and to provide for a steady supply of Polish soldiers needed for his subsequent conquests.

In June of 1807, as a result of concessions made by Napoleon, a puppet Polish state known as the Duchy of Warsaw *[Księstwo Warszawskie]* was created. The Saxon king, Frederick August, was to govern the Duchy under Napoleon's supervision. This new hereditary Duke of Poland, who ruled from Dresden and visited Warsaw only four times, had absolute power tempered by the restricted participation of a Polish parliament.

The period of the French occupation of Poland was characterized by economic, social and political instability. The year 1809 brought a war with Austria; in 1812 the Russian campaign began, and by February 1813 the Czar's army entered Warsaw. The war's devastation, migrations and stagnation in industry and agriculture caused deplorable conditions in the Duchy of Warsaw. Further, an embargo was imposed on trade with England, which affected the export of grain and the import of colonial articles. These circumstances had a destructive effect on agriculture, but at the same time the continental embargo and new privileges for the middle class encouraged the growth of local manufacturing and industry.

---

[6]Ibid., 25-35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many fortunes were lost and many made.[7]

Such economic instability did not promote cultural development. Nevertheless, an active and resolute intellectual elite in Warsaw continued to strive for progress in the realm of Polish culture. The Society for the Friends of Learning continued its activities and in 1806 asked Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, a patriotic Polish poet, to begin work on a cycle of historical poems. These works, known as *Historic Chants [Śpiewy historyczne]*, were set to music by talented amateurs and major Polish composers during the next decade and became an important element of Polish patriotic culture.[8] Steps were also taken towards the foundation of an institution of higher education, and in 1808 the Law School was established. A year later the Medical School followed. These institutions were to become a part of the University of Warsaw.

The general picture of musical life did not drastically change from the preceding period. Nevertheless, some important developments marked the early years of Chopin's life. The historian K. W. Wójcicki, in his collection of memories about Warsaw during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, writes:

---

[7]Ibid., 42-43.

[8]Igor Bełza, *Maria Szymanowska*, trans. Jadwiga Ilnicka (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1987), 29-32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 1. A portrait of the poet Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz by Antoni Brodowski (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> During this thirty-year period, Warsaw was changing from an ancient Mazowsze capital of sovereign dukes of Mazowsze into a city modelled after other large European cities, taking on a new shape, new clothes.
>
> [Warszawa w tym trzydziestoletnim okresie, już ze starożytnej mazowieckiej stolicy udzielnych książąt Mazowieckich, zwolna przeistaczała się w miasto na wzór innych większych europejskich grodów, przybierając nową postać, nowe szaty.][9]

Similarly, in an article for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* Elsner writes:

> Since Warsaw again enjoys the splendor of a capital, we have heard more than a few of the greatest virtuosi of our time.
>
> [Seit Warschau sich wieder des Schimmers einer Hauptstadt erfreuet, haben wir wirklich nicht wenige der grössten Virtuosen jetziger Zeit gehört.][10]

In addition to foreign virtuosi, Warsaw began to witness appearances of native talent.

In 1810 twenty-one-year-old Maria Wołowska (soon-to-be Szymanowska) returned from Paris. During her short-lived marriage she seldom performed in concert, but was often heard in Warsaw's salons.[11] She stayed in the Polish capital until 1822 and, after the separation from her husband, appeared increasingly in public performances.[12]

Also in 1810 Warsaw welcomed Franciszek Lessel, who

---

[9]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society,* 101.

[10]*AmZ,* July 1811: 451.

[11]Bełza, 36.

[12]Ibid., 38.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

returned to Warsaw after having spent several years in Vienna studying with Haydn. He immediately began an active musical career, which involved composition, public concerts, teaching and conducting.[13] Although a few years later he left professional musical life, he never ceased to compose and participate in musical events.[14]

With the support of a growing bourgeois class and some backing from the authorities, Warsaw's theaters grew stronger. Bogusławski and Elsner were soon joined by the young Kurpiński in their ceaseless efforts to maintain and strengthen the Polish national stage.

Karol Kurpiński had also arrived in Warsaw in 1810. With the help of Elsner he was hired as a choir coach in the National Theater.[15] The young, energetic musician soon became known as a composer, pedagogue, musical activist and writer. He also participated in the first stages of the formation of the Warsaw Conservatory.[16]

The initiative to create a "singing school" at the National Theater came from Elsner and Bogusławski during the

---

[13]Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna w Gdańsku, *Franciszek Lessel: w 200 rocznicę urodzin kompozytora* [Franciszek Lessel: for the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Composer's Birth] (Gdańsk: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1980), 54-55.

[14]Ibid., 61.

[15]Agnieszka Lisowska, "Karol Kurpiński jako pisarz, działacz i organizator muzyczny w Warszawie" [Karol Kurpiński as a Musical Writer, Activist and Organizer in Warsaw] in *Sketches on Musical Culture*, 2: 187.

[16]Ibid., 219.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

same year and was accepted in a royal decree issued in Dresden in April of 1810. The Drama School, as it was called, was opened in 1811 and underwent many organizational changes, emerging in 1821 as the Institute of Music and Declamation or the Conservatory. In this school during the years 1826-29 Chopin received his professional musical education. Thus, the years of Chopin's infancy, regardless of political and economical instability, witnessed vital developments in Warsaw's cultural life.

The "Polish problem" was settled during the Vienna Congress in 1814 with a lack of concern for Polish claims typical of the great European powers. After the 1813 War most of the Polish territories were held by Russia, and Czar Alexander I would have preferred to keep these lands under his rule. The other members of the Vienna Congress were in strong opposition to the Czar's plans in the hope of limiting his political and territorial power. By the beginning of 1815 a compromise was reached. The territory of Poland was again divided between Austria, Prussia and Russia. But the return of Napoleon to France created a new scenario with the possibility of a new war and in order to assure Polish support, Poland's claims to sovereignty had somehow to be addressed. On the 3rd of May, 1815 the Polish Kingdom *[Królestwo Polskie]* was created; a tiny state with an independent administration, constitution and a parliament, ruled by the Czar and his viceroy. Warsaw became a part of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Polish Kingdom under Russian rule.[17]

Theoretically, the constitution was among the most liberal in Europe. It provided voting rights to over a hundred thousand people, assured a separate Polish government and army, maintained Polish as the official language, and guaranteed citizens personal freedom, inviolability of property and freedom of the press. The Czar was to remain the ruler of Poland, with full legislative power, including the right to veto parliament's decisions. He was also to nominate all major political and administrative dignitaries.[18]

The Czar chose as his viceroy General Józef Zajączek, but the true power remained in the hands of two Russians: the Czar's brother Grand Duke Constantine and a Petersburg reactionary named Nikola Novosilcov. By giving his brother unofficial rule of Poland, the Czar removed him from power in Petersburg. Constantine was given the position of a chief of Polish armed forces, which he used and abused to prevent any activities aimed at Poland's independence. Novosilcov's function of Imperial Plenipotentiary *[Cesarski Pełnomocnik]* was not provided for by the constitution. He was placed in Warsaw in order to actively prepare the ground for the destruction of Polish independence. Thus, in practice the liberal Polish constitution was constantly violated by the

---

[17]Kieniewicz, 49-51.

[18]Ibid., 61-62.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Russian authorities.[19]

The few elements of autonomy maintained in the Polish Kingdom before 1831 were eagerly used by the Poles to rebuild the country. These freedoms resulted in a spirited development of the economy, improvement and increase in the number of institutions of higher education and the strengthening of Warsaw's cultural life.

The economy of the Polish Kingdom was now recovering from the destruction of previous years. Agriculture was returning to life very slowly, although the government attempted to alleviate the crisis through financial initiatives and minor reforms.[20] More significant changes took place in manufacturing. The development of textile and heavy industries was encouraged by the availability of credit, favorable taxes and custom-duties, demand for locally produced goods and the presence of inexpensive labor provided by recently freed peasants.[21] As a result cities grew in size and splendor, as did the new bourgeois class. New structures of city life created a demand for young educated people to serve in administrative positions or to enter free professions. Thus, during the years 1815-1830 the ranks of the Polish intelligentsia grew.

Warsaw's educational system met these new needs with the

---

[19]Ibid., 69-70.

[20]Ibid., 62-66.

[21]Ibid., 66-67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

creation of several important institutions. In 1816 the University of Warsaw was formed. To the already existing Schools of Law and Medicine three new divisions were added: Sciences and Fine Arts, Theology, and Philosophy. Initially, musical education was obtainable in the School of Drama, which in 1821 as the Music Conservatory became associated with the University. In addition Warsaw had several technical schools and in 1830 a Polytechnic Institute opened, the first such institution in Poland. The government, through the Chamber of Education, supervised a network of secular high schools and a less developed system of elementary education.[22]

Mikołaj Chopin, the composer's father, began his work in the capital's most prestigious high school, the Warsaw Gymnasium, on November 1, 1810.[23] Given this job opportunity, he brought his family to the capital, thus placing the eight-month-old Fryderyk in the very heart of Polish intellectual and artistic life.

The intellectuals, artists and activists who gathered in Warsaw supported the renaissance of Polish national culture. The originally small group of members of the Society for the Friends of Learning was greatly enlarged after the creation of the University. By 1830 it had fifty-seven active members, most of whom were professors at the University. To this

---

[22]Ibid., 88-90.

[23]Mieczysław Tomaszewski, "Chopin" in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna* [Music Encyclopedia] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1980-), 109.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

number one must add thirty five surrogate members, eighty-five local and foreign correspondents and thirty-five honorary members, all foreigners.[24]

Scholarly research was now facilitated through several book collections, especially the new Public Library at the University of Warsaw and the collection of the Society for the Friends of Learning.[25] Many local printers published Polish and foreign books, including an increasing number of musical publications. The number of newspapers grew in the years 1815-1830 from two to seven.[26] In May of 1820 Kurpiński began the publication of a weekly magazine devoted exclusively to music: the *Musical Weekly [Tygodnik Muzyczny]*. Kurpiński's periodical had a rather difficult existance (including a two-month interruption during November-December 1820) and survived only slightly over a year, but it initiated several aesthetic and historical discussions, as well as professional musical criticism in Poland.[27]

Much of the discussion in the *Musical Weekly* centered around theater, especially opera, not very surprising since this institution created by Bogusławski and Elsner attracted the entire musical elite of Warsaw. Audience size increased and included newcomers: intelligentsia, students, merchants

---

[24]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society*, 64-67.

[25]Kieniewicz, 90.

[26]Ibid., 92.

[27]Lisowska, 224-231.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and even more affluent craftsman and servants.

The culture of Warsaw was dominated by two philosophical tendencies. Several members of the older generation embraced the philosophy of Enlightenment, but they were all overshadowed by the legendary, saintly, learned philosopher Stanisław Staszic, who embodied every idea of the Enlightenment. He was a friend of the French encyclopedists, a naturalist, a geologist, a poet and a translator, a politician and a state minister, one of the founders of the Society for Friends of Learning and of the Warsaw University and an ardent supporter of the French Revolution. He was also a philanthropist, who supported the needy, who with his own savings purchased an estate and later gave it to the local people for self-governing while he himself led a very modest life. In his will he declared:

> A man's main destiny on this earth is to do good for people through the deeds of his entire life; to aim at improving the welfare of his kin, the welfare of other people; even to strive for the beneficial consequences of the deeds that he performed in his life to continue making future generations happy.
>
> [Głównym przeznaczeniem człowieka na tej ziemi jest, by dobrze czynić ludziom, aby swoimi czynami całego życia starał się ulepszać los swoich bliźnich, los drugich ludzi, aby nawet usiłował, by dobroczynne jego za życia czynów skutki uszczęśliwiały jeszcze pokolenia następnych ludzi.][28]

The philosophical concepts expressed in the treatises of

---

[28]Wielisław [Eugeniusz Skrodzki], *Wieczory piatkowe i inne gawedy* [Friday Evenings and other Tales], ed. M. Opałek (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1962), 286.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Staszic, Hugo Kołłątaj and Jan Śniadecki based knowledge, morality and progress on reason and laws of nature. They were supported by poets and writers, headed by Ludwik Osiński and Kajetan Koźmian, who strove to preserve the classical tradition as well as by Freemasons, among which was Chopin's teacher Elsner.[29]

The young intelligentsia were influenced by new trends coming from the West: the breaking away from calcified forms of art and the primacy of emotion over reason. Already the turn of the century saw translations of Dante, Lope de Vega and Shakespeare. Soon the poetry of Goethe, Schiller, Byron, the prose of Walter Scott and the philosophy of Herder and Schelling brought into Poland the seeds of Romanticism. Although the older generation attacked the young artists for returning to the "dark ages" and feudalism, the younger generation understood the new trends as a way of expressing their trust in common people, their defense of Polish nationality and yearning for freedom.

The roots of Polish Romanticism can be traced as far back as the 1780s. Among the very first followers of the new aesthetics was Izabela Czartoryska, who remodelled the splendid gardens around the Puławy residence in the English style, collected medieval poetry and had gothic style structures built for her estate. During the first years after the Vienna Congress the Romantic tendencies became even more

---

[29]Kieniewicz, 92.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pronounced.[30] Already in 1815 Franciszek Wężyk published his first articles on Romanticism, but after the publication of Adam Mickiewicz's first Romantic volumes in 1822 the quiet discussions between representatives of the Classic and Romantic schools of thought transformed into an open conflict which lasted until 1830.[31] Some more progressive members of the Society for the Friends of Learning made efforts to create a middleground between the battling parties. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, whose writings inspired Polish Romanticism, attempted to mediate the conflict.[32] The gentle Kazimierz Brodziński did his best to calm down the bitter battles by conveying to the public the important idea that "beauty is indifferent to the cut of the clothing it is made to wear, and the poet must draw inspiration from the heavens, not from the academic pulpit." [iż dla piękna obojętną jest rzeczą krój szaty, w jaką się je przybrało, że poeta z nieba, a nie z katedry akademickiej natchnienie swe brać powinien.][33]

The first poems of Adam Mickiewicz, which stirred up so much commotion upon their publication in 1822-23, were saturated with new Romantic aesthetic and moral values as well as revolutionary language. The young intelligentsia responded to these works with great enthusiasm and delighted in their

---

[30]Wójcicki, *Warsaw*, 158.

[31]Ibid., 163.

[32]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society*, 61-63.

[33]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 100-101.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subtle political undertones.[34] Mickiewicz, Edward Odyniec, Stefan Witwicki and their followers defended their vision of art and the entire youth of Warsaw was captured in the whirl of new ideas "... everything that breathed of novelty and audacity was sought after and gladly accepted" [... wszystko co tchnęło jakąś nowością i śmiałością, poszukiwane i chętnie przyjmowane było].[35] The most influential declaration of the new style arrived in Mickiewicz's response to the 1818 attack on Romanticism published by Jan Śniadecki, mathematician and philosopher at the University of Warsaw. The young bard replied to Śniadecki with a poem entitled "Romanticism" *[Romantyczność]*, headed by a motto from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

> Methinks I see (...) where?
> In my mind's eye.
>
> [Zdaje mi się, że widzę (...) gdzie?
> Przed oczyma duszy mojej.][36]

This powerful poem by Mickiewicz encapsulated Romantic aesthetics in these words:

> Feeling and faith speak to me more strongly
> Than a wise man's looking glass and eye
>
> [Czucie i wiara silniej mówi do mnie,
> Niż mędrca szkiełko i oko]

And its last line:

> Have a heart and look into the heart.
>
> [Miej serce i patrzaj w serce.]

---

[34]Kieniewicz, 96-97.

[35]Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 2: 68.

[36]*Hamlet*, act 1, sc. 2, ll. 184-186.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

became a Romantic manifesto opening and closing every conversation about Polish poetry.[37] Andrzej E. Koźmian (b. 1804) Chopin's older colleague at the Gymnasium and the University summarizes these emotions in his memoirs:

> Today, this unconditional adoration of the entire youth for the author of *Forefather's Eve* [Mickiewicz] can be easily explained and understood; already then he had sung his hurrahs and apotheosis of youth. This admirer of Youth conquered all young people by indulging their tempestuous nature; prophesying that the Leyden jar was about to explode, he became their leader and worshipped bard.
>
> [To uwielbienie tak bezwarunkowe całej młodzieży dla autora "Dziadów" dziś łatwo da się wytłumaczyć i zrozumieć; już on wówczas wyśpiewał był i swoje wiwaty i apoteozę młodości. Wielbiciel młodości podbił całą młodzież a dogadzając jej usposobieniu burzliwemu, przepowiadając, że palnie się z butelki lejdejskiej, stał się jej przywódcą i wieszczem ubóstwionym.][38]

Chopin was right in the midst of the debate, among the Gymnasium and University professors, artists, musicians, poets and cultural activists of the older generation on the one side and the enthusiastic, fierce Gymnasium, University and Conservatory students, young poets and influential young teachers on the other. He had a deep love and respect for the great figures of the Enlightenment that he was privileged to know. We don't know if Fryderyk had the honor of meeting the legendary Staszic, but his reverence for this great man is apparent when in a letter-description of the philosopher's

---

[37]Wójcicki, *Warsaw*, 174-77.

[38]Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 2: 47.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

funeral he reports:

> ... that out of love and enthusism his coffin [cover] was torn, and that I also have as a memento a piece of pall, with which the bier was covered; finally, that twenty thousand people accompanied the remains to [its] destination.
>
> [... że trumnę jego obdarli z miłości i entuzjazmu i że na pamiątkę i ja mam kawałek kiru, którym były pokryte mary, na koniec, że 20 tysięcy ludzi aż do miejsca ciało odprowadzało.][39]

But the young composer also responded to the new trends. Already in 1826, he attended University lectures given by the very much loved Kazimierz Brodziński, an influential young poet, historian and professor of literature.[40] Brodziński was a precursor of the Polish Romantics, involved in the discussions surrounding the new style, who in 1818 published an article "Treatise on Classicism and Romanticism." [Rozprawa o klasycznosci i romantycznosci][41]

Another young professor, Romuald Hube--a restless, adventurous spirit--was a friend and mentor of the young Fryderyk, mentioned by him in several letters. A comment made by Chopin gives us a telling glimpse at Hube's personality:

> Hube says that a man can achieve nothing in the customary way and according to a plan devised by himself; one must leave something to chance.

---

[39]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, 12 February 1826, Sydow edition, 1: 63.

[40]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 2 November [October 1926], Sydow edition, 1:73.

[41]Krystyna Kobylańska, *Chopin w kraju: dokumenty i pamiatki* [Chopin in his Land: Documents and Souvenirs] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955), 76.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [Hube powiada, że człowiek nigdy zwyczjną drogą i podług ułożonego przez siebie planu nie dojdzie do niczego, potrzeba coś losowi zostawić.][42]

In the Romantic-Classical debate Chopin declared himself through his music on the Romantic side. In 1829 he composed songs settings of Romantic poems, which very quickly traveled through the country and gained tremendous popularity.[43] The author of many Romantic poems set by Chopin was Stefan Witwicki--one of the earliest followers and a life-long friend of Chopin. Witwicki's ardent Romanticism must have been an important influence on the composer. He continued to exert influence on Fryderyk from afar, as evidenced by his letters to Paris in which Chopin was reminded not to stray from the new principles of art.[44]

Young Chopin, like Mickiewicz, sought new, free forms of expression and turned to poetry, literature and folklore for inspiration. Oskar Kolberg, younger brother of Chopin's friend Wilhelm, wrote later on in the century:

> It was a time of Romantic awakening in literature, and Music did not hesitate to pursue its sister, Poetry, which boldly hastened toward the zenith of its excellence. Nourished by such forces of nature, as inspired as the most superb bards of the time, to whose thoughts and feelings he tuned his lyre, Chopin emerged, the coryphaeus and representative of this musical epoch, though devoted exclusively to the piano.

---

[42]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, 12 August 1829, Sydow edition, 1: 94.

[43]Wójcicki, *Warsaw*, 168.

[44]Stefan Witwicki, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, 6 July 1831, Sydow edition, 1:179-180.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [Był to czas rozbudzenia się romantycyzmu w literaturze, a muzyka nie omieszkała pogonić za siostrzycą swą, poezją, mknącą śmiało ku zenitowi swej doskonałości. Karmiony takimi żywiołami, na równi natchnienia z najznakomitszymi ówczesnymi wieszczmi, do których myśli i uczuć lirę swą nastroił, powstał Chopin, koryfeusz i wyobraziciel muzykalnej owej epoki, lubo fortepianowi tylko oddany.][45]

Romanticism, sweeping through all of Europe, took on specifically local features in Poland. Given the tragic political circumstances of the enslaved nation, it became both the means to recapture the heroic past and the prelude to a future armed revolt. The old noble traditions still were felt in Warsaw. Some older noblemen maintained the traditional attire, although in the capital it appeared less and less often. The historian Kazimierz Wójcicki describes a memorable gathering of such characters that he witnessed in 1829.[46] Although new fashions had entered the capital's life, every ball started with the traditional polonaise. Sometimes, in the homes of old families, one could witness a polonaise danced in the old, ceremonial manner. The men were dressed in the traditional attire of Polish nobility, wearing *kontusz* and *żupan*, often accompanied by a sword.[47]

> 'Perhaps he is the last--you may not see,
> young men,
> Such leading of the polonaise again!'
> The pairs proceed in turn with merry noise,
> The ring contracts and then again deploys.

---

[45]Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 379.

[46]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society*, 155.

[47]Ibid., 151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As when the folds of a huge serpent curl,
The varied colours of the dresses whirl
Of ladies, soldiers, gentlemen, and gleam
Like golden scales lit by the sunset's beam,
Against the quilted darkness of the ground.
On goes the dance and shouts and toasts
resound![48]

The young people who barely remembered past events grew up among stories about the splendor of old Poland and the brave deeds of Polish soldiers fighting at the side of Napoleon.[49] In *Pan Tadeusz*, the celebrated epic poem written by Adam Mickiewicz in Paris during the 1830s, this reverence for the past is apparent. Perhaps the most moving scene of *Pan Tadeusz* is the lengthy poetic depiction of Jankiel's dulcimer concert, from which the excerpt opening this chapter and the following fragment are taken. In this acclaimed and powerful scene (taking place sometime in 1811-1812), the old Jewish musician retells the most recent history of Poland through an emotionally charged musical improvisation:

A poor old song, to Polish troops so dear!
The soldiers recognised it, crowding near
Around the master; listening they recall
that dreadful hour when o'er their country's fall
They sang this song, and went to distant climes;
And to their minds came memories of those times,
Of wandering through frosts and burning sands
And seas, when oft in camps in foreign lands
This Polish song had cheered and comforted.
Such were their thoughts, and each man bowed
his head.[50]

Wójcicki, who retells many similar tales from the past,

---

[48]*Pan Tadeusz*, 570.

[49]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society*, 81-97.

[50]*Pan Tadeusz*, 566-68.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concludes:

> There came new times, new people, but the tradition of the great epic from the time of Napoleon I survived in vivid colors, passing from father to son.
>
> [Nadeszły nowe czasy, nowi ludzie, pomimo tego tradycya wielkiej epopei z czasu Napoleona I-go, w żywych barwach zachowała się, przechodząc z ojca na syna.][51]

Such stories about times past were told in the homes of Chopin's friends and mentors and they may also have been also told in the Chopin household. These tales had a profound effect on the susceptible minds of Polish youth. The living national consciousness, impressed by increasing acts of repression and stimulated by the defiance inherent in the new cultural trends, resulted in the escalation of covert political activities.

Among the students of Warsaw, the more politically active (including Chopin's closest friends) gathered in about twenty secret organizations. Some of them consisted of a few members and existed independently; others had a wide network of groups with a definite political goal. Russian authorities, led by Novosilcov, carefully observed these organizations, and during the 1820s arrested and severely punished many activists. Among them was Adam Mickiewicz, punished for his political involvement by being exiled to Russia.[52]

Political activities were also taking place under the

---

[51]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society*, 97.

[52]Kieniewicz, 77-79.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cover of the masonic movement. Freemasonry was tolerated and even favored by Alexander I, but in Poland it took the shape of the National Freemasons, a military conspiracy created in 1819. The alert Russian secret police became aware of these activities and in 1822 the authorities prohibited all secret organizations, including Masonic Lodges. [53]

With the accession to the Russian throne of Czar Nicholas I in 1825 further restrictions were imposed on Poland's autonomy. These constant acts of harassment led to social unrest, culminating in the November Insurrection of 1830. The repercussions were severe. After the Russian victory, Poland lost the privileges and autonomy it enjoyed during the years 1815-1830, never to regain them until the creation of the independent Polish state in 1918.

By the time the November Insurrection began, Fryderyk Chopin had already left his homeland, not knowing that he would never return again. From Vienna he wrote to Jan Matuszyński:

> Write to me. You are in the army! Is she [Konstancja Gładkowska] in Radom? Did you dig barricades? Our poor parents. What are my friends doing? I live with you. I could die for you, for all of you. Why am I so lonesome today? Only you are allowed to be together in such a ghastly moment.
>
> [Pisz do mnie. Tyś w wojsku! Ona, czy w Radomiu? Kopaliście wały? Biedni rodzice nasi. Moi przyjaciele co robią? U was żyję. Umarłbym za Ciebie, za Was. Czemuż ja tak dzisiaj opuszczony? Czy to tylko wy macie być razem w tak okropnej

[53]Ibid., 79-80.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

chwili.][54]

Living in exile, he carried with him the earnest memories of his youth, not only during the emotionally charged period of the Insurrection, but also for the rest of his short life. He remained very closely involved with the Polish exiles in Paris, many of whom were friends and acquaintances of his youth, and he continued creating music that was born out of the traditions in which he was reared.

---

[54]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to Jan Matuszyński, Warsaw, 1 January 1831, Sydow edition, 1:169-170.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

II. MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS

1. MUSICAL EDUCATION

"You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" *[Z piasku bicza i diabeł nie ukręci]* read a comment on Elsner's pedagogical skill by an anonymous (and doubtlessly, envious) writer when, in light of Chopin's amazing musical achievements, the press was extolling Elsner's teaching.[1] Although it is true that the ultimate credit for Chopin's extraordinary pianistic and compositional accomplishments must go to Chopin's own musical genius, there was nevertheless arguably much merit in having fine teachers who shaped his musical and aesthetic ideas and nourished his extraordinary innate talent. For instance, while Wojciech Żywny (a teacher of questionable expertise) cannot be credited with Fryderyk's amazing dexterity at the piano, Żywny's almost daily presence at the Chopin household assured a continual proximity of an experienced musical mentor, who, if nothing else, bequeathed the love of Bach's music to his pupil.

Despite the disparaging remark above, there is in general much less skepticism about the value of Elsner as Chopin's

---

[1]*Gazeta warszawska*, April 4 1830, no. 91:858-861. The two writers involved were probably Cichocki and Kurpiński. See below, page 353. (The literal translation of the original Polish proverb is "Not even the devil can make a whip out of sand.")

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

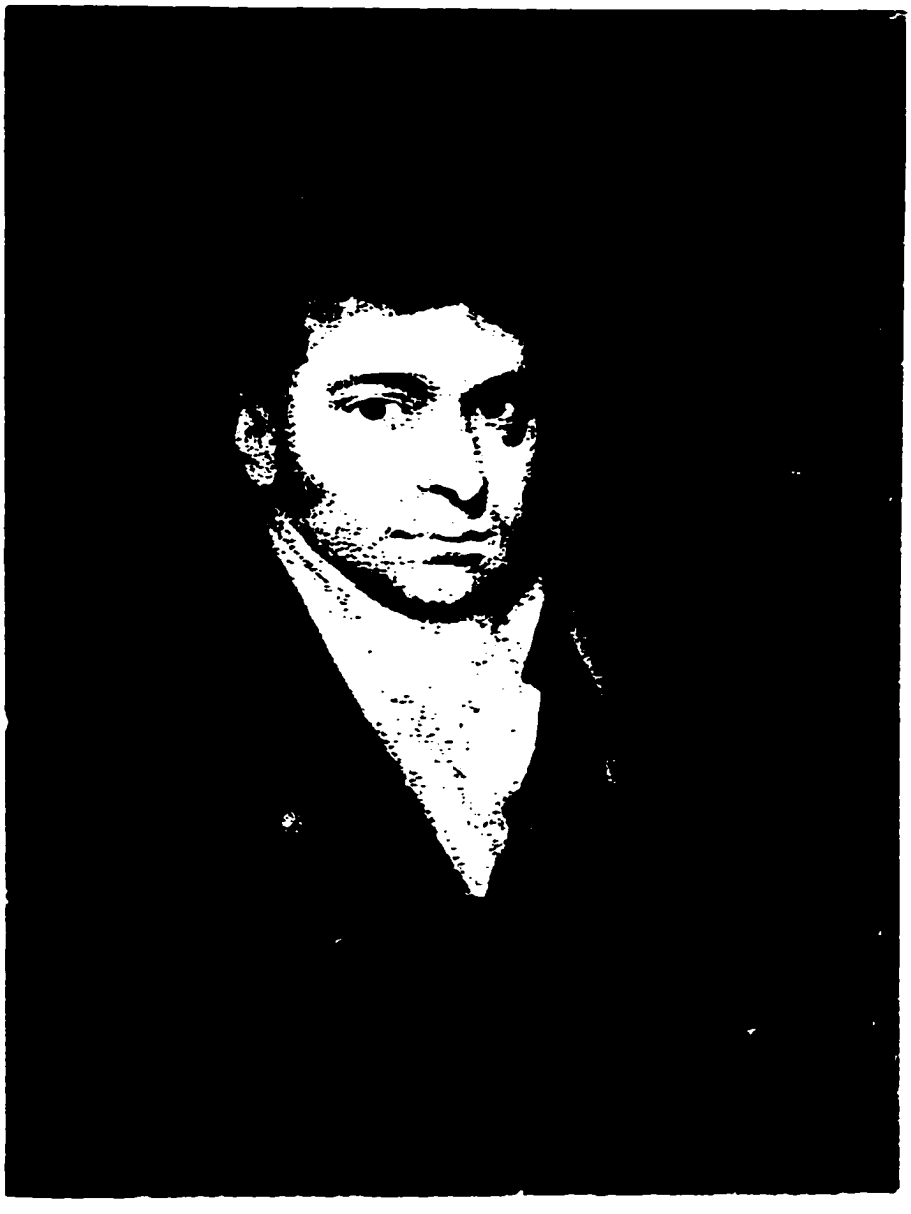


Fig. 2. A portrait of Józef Elsner, ca. 1803-1805 (The Chopin Society).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

composition teacher. Elsner kept his eye on the little genius from as early as 1817, and some form of private tutelage must have begun in the ensuing years. Under Elsner's recommendation, it was decided that beginning in the Fall of 1826, the sixteen-year-old Fryderyk would continue his education at the Warsaw Conservatory. Chopin attended the Conservatory while it enjoyed a short-lived period of remarkable prosperity, soon to be disrupted by the November Uprising and its political and cultural repercussions. The preceding years (between 1810 and 1821) had been dedicated to the establishment of the Conservatory: Poland's first institution of higher musical learning.

Prior to 1810 the possibilities of obtaining a musical education in Warsaw had been rather meager. There was some rudimentary music education in Warsaw's schools, supplied by private lessons.[2] Several attempts were made to create a higher institution of musical learning, but none of them was successful.[3] During his 1805 visit in Paris, Elsner became

---

[2]In 1783 the Commission for National Education included music in the curriculum of all types of schools, but since music was to serve as a didactic tool it was taught on a very basic level. Sankowska, 22.

[3]In 1783 the above mentioned Commission for National Education first suggested such need and again in 1792 Father Wacław Sierakowski (an organizer of Cracow's musical life, who created a music school at the Wawel Castle) presented the *Sejm* (the Polish governing assembly) with a specific plan for a professional music school created under state's patronage. Sankowska, 23. After the loss of Poland's independence, several temporary attempts were made to remedy the lack of a professional music school. During the years 1805-1807 the Music Society, organized by Józef Elsner and E.T.A. Hoffmann,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

acquainted with the Conservatory and immediately upon his return to Warsaw he began to pursue possibilities of creating a similar institution in Poland.[4] Elsner and Wojciech Bogusławski launched a campaign to create a specialized educational institution, primarily to train professional singers for the National Theater. In 1810 they received an official approval and a promise of a yearly grant from the Saxon king, thus succeeding in opening the doors of the School of Drama.[5]

---

sponsored a Singakademie. The free education of the Singakademie consisted of lessons in solo and choral singing. The teachers of the Society also led master classes for amateurs including lectures in music theory and history, and discussions referring to events of musical life. Kwiatkowska, 67-68. In 1809 father Izydor J. Cybulski organized an Organist's School [Szkoła Organistów], but its fate is unknown. Some sources also mention the existence of a music institute organized by Elsner at the Piarist church in order to improve religious music. Karasowski, *Opera*, 309.

[4]At the time, the Parisian Conservatoire National de Musique was the only institution of this kind in existence. But subsequently, other major cities of Europe became home to modern institutions of musical education: Prague (1811), Vienna (1817), Leipzig (1843) and Berlin (1850).

[5]Magier, 258. There is some confusion in literature as to whether the school was opened in 1810 or 1811. Sankowska clears up the confusion by providing information which shows that the king's decision was dated April 14, 1810 and, although the press described the school's official opening on June 4, 1811, already in September of 1810 weekly sessions, devoted chiefly to creating curriculum, took place. Sankowska, 25. Some kind of an experimental program must have existed already during this first year since Maria Würtemberg described the pupils of the school in a letter written in the Spring of 1811. The Princess and her sister Zofia Zamoyska were very impressed during an April 27th visit to the budding drama school. They met six young ladies and six young men, who after a year of studies showed a considerable progress in acting, reciting, singing, foreign languages, and dancing. Bogusławski himself provided two golden medals as rewards to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

After Bogusławski's resignation, Elsner became seriously involved in re-shaping the curriculum, extending the musical requirements and making the institution more effective. As a result, on Feb. 15, 1817 the school was officially inaugurated as The School of Music and Dramatic Art *[Szkoła Muzyki i Sztuki Dramatycznej]*. In the four-year course of studies: future actors were required to attend all classes in music (singing and piano) and drama (diction, fencing, acting), while students specializing in music did not have to participate in drama subjects.[6]

Tireless in his efforts to further the level of musical education in Warsaw, Elsner made attempts to expand his music school as part of the newly formed Warsaw University already in 1818. He suggested the creation of a department of music at the University (devoted to the teaching of figured bass, composition and theory), and a separate Conservatory providing practical instruction (vocal and instrumental).[7] The

---

the best student of each sex. Ludwik Dębicki, *Puławy (1762-1830) Monografia z życia towarzyskiego, politycznego i literackiego na podstawie archiwum ks. Czartoryskich w Krakowie* [Puławy (1762-1830); a Monograph on Social, Political and Literary Life Based on the Princes' Czartoryski Archives in Cracow], 4 vols. (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1888), 180.

[6]In order to teach basic musical skills to students lacking fundamental musical knowledge, a two-year preparatory institution called the Public School of Elementary Music *[Szkoła Publiczna Muzyki Elementarnej]* was opened on December 14, 1818. This freed the teachers to increase the level of expectation in the School of Music and Dramatic Art, which was now officially divided into two separated departments: Drama and Music. Sankowska, 28-30.

[7]Ibid., 30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

realization of his plans was not immediate, though first steps were taken rather quickly. In November 1819 the government provided the School with buildings once belonging to the convent and church of the Bernardine Sisters and with the money needed for renovations. Classrooms and the rector's living quarters were placed in the refurbished nunnery and the church was converted to a concert hall.[8]

In April 1821 the school, now known as the Institute of Music and Declamation *[Instytut Muzyki i Deklamacji]*, became a Conservatory as part of the Department of Sciences and Fine Arts of the University of Warsaw. This happened with the support of minister Mostowski, against the objections of University professors and administration. These felt that although the instruction in music theory could, in proper time, be accepted at the Department of Sciences and Fine Arts, the "mechanical practicing of music" would be highly inappropriate in the University context.[9]

---

[8]Ibid., 31.

[9]Ibid., 32. The very intricate organization of the new School can be clarified as following. There were three branches: the two-year Public School of Elementary Music, the Conservatory (music and drama departments) and the department of theory and composition called The Main School of Music *[Szkoła Główna Muzyki]*. The second and third branches constituted the Music Division of the Department of Sciences and Fine Arts and the University of Warsaw, but, to sooth conflicts with the University's administration, the conservatory classes were held in the Bernandine convent buildings. Ibid., 34. There was further division, resulting mainly from disagreements between Elsner and Soliva: the music department of the conservatory and the theory department were directed by Elsner and as part of the University were supervised by the Commission of Public Education *[Komisja Oświecenia*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin first entered the University as a student at The Main School of Music in September of 1826. He had already completed the required curriculum of the Gymnasium, but would need to stay there a year longer in order to receive his *maturitas* (certificate of completing Gymnasium education, typically required for a University admission). Chopin himself explained his decision not to stay to his friend Jan:

> Know (...) that I don't attend the Gymnasium. It would be foolish to sit six hours a day perforce, when German and German-Polish doctors ordered me to walk as much as possible; it would be foolish to listen the second time to the same [material], when in during that year one can learn something new.
>
> [Dowiedzże się (...) że do Liceum nie chodzę. Albowiem głupstwem by było siedzieć z musu 6 godzin na dzień, kiedy mi doktorzy niemieccy i niemiecko-polscy chodzić, ile możności, dużo kazali; byłoby to głupstwo drugi raz tego samego słuchać, kiedy tymczasem czego innego przez ten rok nauczyć się można.][10]

Such an option was available and was described by the University's Rector Szweykowski in the 1820 inaugural speech:

> The youth who are not accepted as permanent students unless they present *maturitas* certificate, still can attend subjects for which they have inclination. However, they will be required to complete all classes for each year of a full course of studies in accordance with a profession, which they selected for their future in the society.
>
> [Młodzież nieprzyjmowana w poczet uczniów stałych, chyba ze świadectwem doyrzałości, lubo może słuchać

Publicznego]; the drama department was directed by Soliva and, along with the Elementary School, was overseen by the Commission of the Interior *[Komisja Spraw Wewnetrznych]*. Ibid., 35.

[10]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 2 November [October 1826], Sydow edition, 1:73.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> nauk, do których czuie się skłonniejszą, ma iednak wskazane sobie wszystkie przedmioty na każdy rok osobny kursu całkowitego, w których ćwiczyć się powinna, stosownie do obranego na przyszłość w społeczności zawodu.][11]

It appears that initially Chopin had the intention to take the *maturitas* exam a year later, but since the Department of Sciences and Fine Arts permitted him to continue his studies without the certificate, he gave up the idea and concentrated his efforts on University education.[12]

Attempts to reconstruct Chopin's education at the Main School of Music have not been very fruitful.[13] The curriculum of the Conservatory involved instrumental instruction, singing, theory, practical composition and counterpoint. The course of studies anticipated two years for instrumentalists and three years for composers; these were often extended because of the demanding program. Composers were expected to attend theory lectures at the University and practical classes at the Conservatory (which possibly included instrumental lessons).[14]

The two practical subjects considered most essential for composition students were thoroughbass given by Würfel and

---

[11]*Posiedzenie Publiczne Królewsko-Warszawskiego Uniwersytetu odbyte 2 października 1820 roku* [A Public Meeting of the Royal University of Warsaw on 2 October 1820] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1820), 1-2.

[12]Sankowska, 43-46.

[13]Frączyk, 208-220; and Sankowska, 47-54.

[14]Sankowska, 47-48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

counterpoint taught by Elsner.[15] Actually Wacław Würfel's course was described as "organ playing coupled with instruction in thoroughbass" *[Orgelspiel, verbunden mit Unterricht im Generalbass]* and indeed involved playing the instrument.[16] Würfel left Warsaw in 1824 and his place was taken by Henryk Lentz. It is plausible that Fryderyk did not need to study with Lentz at the Conservatory because he had taken organ with Würfel since 1822 (by 1825 his organ skills were sharp enough to land him the position of Gymnasium organist[17]), and it is logical to infer that Würfel's instruction included thoroughbass.

Elsner's theoretical classes were divided between the University and the Conservatory:

> Józef Elsner, Professor Ordinarius, will explicate the theory of musical composition every other week, on Thursday, 12 to 1. Practical musical composition, however, he will teach at the Music Conservatory, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, 2 to 4.
>
> [Josephus Elsner, Prof. P. Ord. explicabit *Theoriam compositionis musicae* altera quoque hebdomade, die Jovis, hora 12-1. *Compositionem vero musico-practicam* tradet in Conservatorio musico, diebus Lunae, Mercurii et Veneris hora 2-4.][18]

---

[15]Karasowski, *Opera*, 309.

[16]*AmZ*, August 1821:570.

[17]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, [November 1825], Sydow edition, 1:60.

[18]*Index Praelectionum in Universitate Literarum Regia Varsaviensi, September 15, 1826 - Juli 15, 1827* (Warszawa: Glückberg, 1826), 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

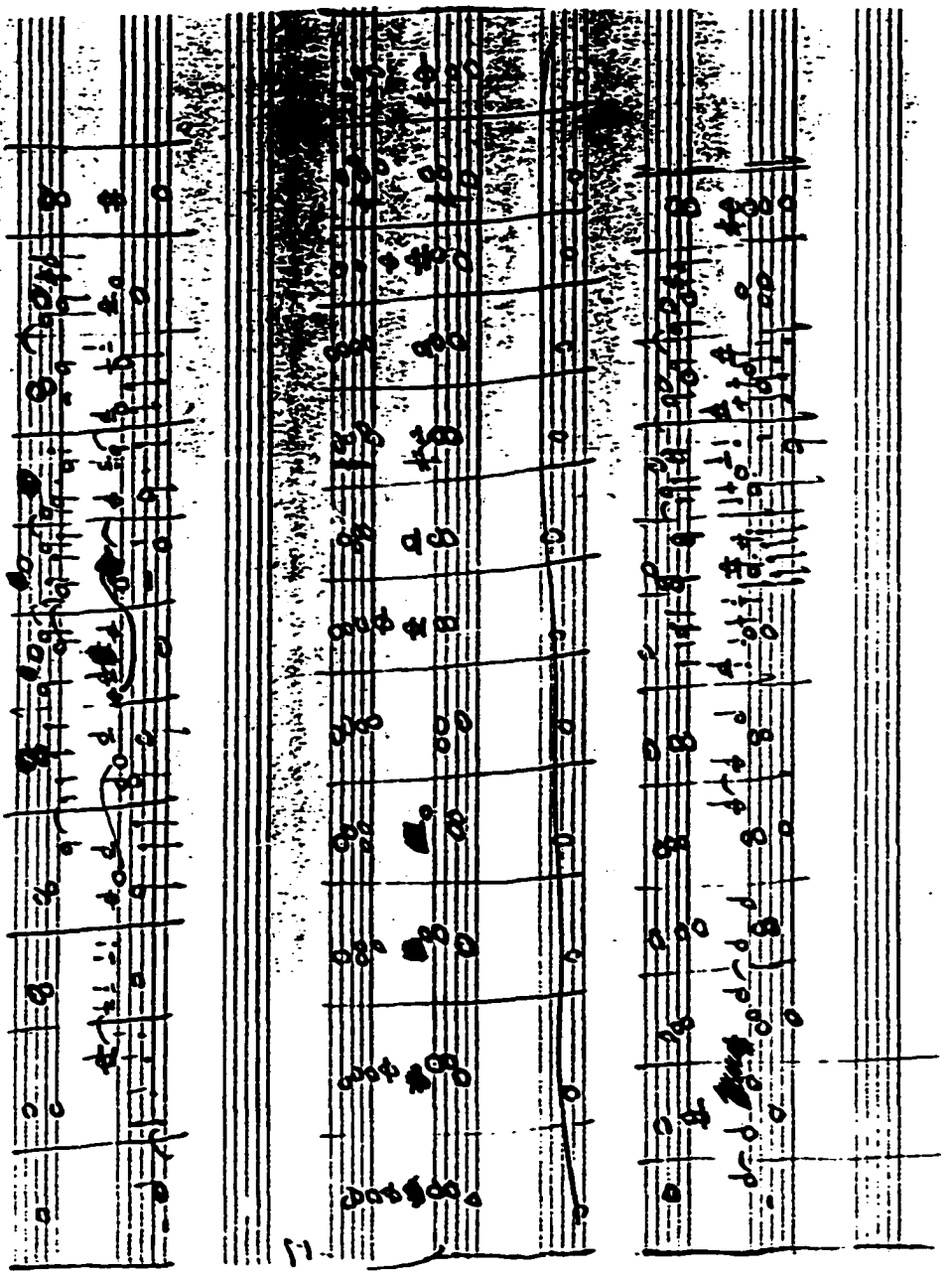


Fig. 3. A counterpoint exercise written by Chopin (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

On Fryderyk's own testimony, we know that he took regular lessons with his teacher:

> ... I go to Elsner six hours a week for strict counterpoint; I listen to Bentkowski, Brodziński and other subjects that are in any way associated with music.
>
> [... chodzę do Elsnera na kontrapunkt ścisły 6 godzin na tydzień; słucham Bentkowskiego, Brodzińskigo i innych, w jakimkolwiek związku będących obiektów z muzyką.][19]

Since the lectures of both professors Bentkowski and Brodziński conflicted with the schedule of Elsner's practical classes, this statement has introduced much confusion. Scholars have argued at length over how to reconcile the apparent problem.[20]

The issue may be resolved, however, by considering the unusual musical qualifications of the young genius. Fryderyk's preparation as a performer far exceeded the School's requirements: not only was he already a virtuoso pianist and an excellent organist who mastered the techniques of thoroughbass, but he is also believed to have studied the violin, cello and the flute.[21] Taking into consideration that Chopin had already been receiving theoretical instruction from Elsner preceding his studies at the University and that

---

[19]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 2 November [October 1826], Sydow edition, 1:73.

[20]Sankowska, 51-53; and Frączyk, 208-220.

[21]Sankowska, 49. Chopin writes about playing the violin and the cello during his summer visit to Szafarnia. Fryderyk Chopin, Szafarnia, to his family, Warsaw, 26 August 1825, Sydow edition, 1:54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Elsner's teaching style presumed much attention given to each student's individual needs, it is possible that Chopin's continued practical instruction with his teacher was private. This seems even more likely in view of the fact that Chopin was the single composition student entering the Conservatory that year.[22] Thus, while Chopin might have attended the theoretical-aesthetic lecture (which took place on Thursdays at the University and which did not conflict with lessons given by other professors), it is plausible that for practical instruction Elsner met Chopin individually at a mutually suitable time, leaving Fryderyk free to attend other lectures.[23]

The studies of counterpoint and composition took three years; for the first two years the students attended theoretical lectures and practical training; the last year was devoted only to practical training.[24] During the first year, students were expected to write counterpoint assignments, and compose polonaises, marches, variations, rondos and,

---

[22]The position that Chopin and a few other outstanding students received individual lessons seems to be supported by Sankowska. Sankowska, 47-48. In this light, her statement that because of the scheduling Chopin could not have attended Bentkowski's and Brodziński's lectures appears contradictory. Ibid., 54.

[23]Conveniently, Elsner's private quarters were located in the Conservatory building. Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, *Józef Elsner* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957), 173.

[24]Ibid., 180.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ultimately, sonatas.[25] Most of Chopin's early works, including his Sonata in C Minor, op. 4, were composed as a part of this program of studies. During the second year Elsner wanted to familiarize his pupils with choral and orchestral textures, thus he required them to write cantatas and masses. No such works by Chopin are known, but his early works with the orchestra, the Fantasia in A Major, op. 13 and the Rondo in F Major, op. 14, date from this period. In the last year of schooling, Elsner encouraged the cultivation of student's individual talents and inclinations. Chopin's natural preference was to continue writing for the piano and among the many works from that period are the two piano concertos opp. 21 and 11.

Józef Elsner (1769-1854) was an prominent composer himself and he had the musical knowledge and the rare attributes of an excellent mentor. Elsner gave his students a solid grounding in thoroughbass, counterpoint, aesthetics and compositional theory, thus exposing them to a variety of musical concepts and genres. He extended much individual attention to each student and provided his young composers with a great deal of creative freedom:

> In the teaching of composition one should not dictate rules, especially to students whose talents are apparent; let them search alone, so they can surpass themselves; let them have the means of finding that which is still unknown.
>
> [W nauce kompozycji nie należy dawać przepisów,

---

[25]Ibid., 188.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> szczególniej uczniom, których zdolności są widoczne; niech sami je wynajdą, by mogli niekiedy sami siebie przewyższyć, niech mają środki znalezienia tego, czego jeszcze nie znaleziono.][26]

We learn more about Elsner's teaching style from his exasperated disapproval of Kalkbrenner who, without hearing the full work, suggested that Chopin eliminate a section of his concerto:

> ... would he have given you the advice, that in your next work you should make a shorter allegro, it would be different, but to cross out from a completed work cannot be forgiven. [Elsner] compared it to an erected house that stands finished, and to someone presuming that there is one pillar too many, who wants to change the entity by removing it, thus destroying what appears to him unsatisfactory.
>
> [... gdyby Ci podał radę, abyś drugi pisząc starał się zrobić krótsze allegro, to co innego; ale już z napisanego kazać wykreślać, tego darować nie można. Porównał to do wybudowanego domu i kiedy skończony stoi, komuś się zdaje, że filar jeden za wiele, i przemieniać chcą rzecz wyjmując go, czyli raczej niszcząc to co się dobrym nie zdaje.][27]

In fact, for Elsner the concern for the total logic of a piece was very high on the list of compositional priorities. He was disturbed by Szymanowska's willingness to eliminate passages from Hummel's Concerto in B Minor and to incorporate Field's andante in another composer's variations:

> The sense of unity in a work is a mark of a true artist; [in contrast, a simple] artisan sets stone on a stone, places beam on a beam.

---

[26]Józef Elsner, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 27 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:197.

[27]Ludwika Chopin, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 27 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:193.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [Pojęcie całości w dziele znamieniem jest prawdziwego artysty; rzemieślnik stawia kamień na kamień, belkę na belkę kładzie.][28]

On numerous occasions, Elsner expressed his dissatisfaction with fashionable compositions, in which sheer virtuosity replaced musical architecture. For instance, in an article published by the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Elsner so described Steibelt's piano compositions:

> ... although here also one hears all too clearly that what they lack in fundamentals is replaced by fashionable passages, spectacular runs, etc.
>
> [... hört man aber auch hier allzudeutlich ab, dass sie durch Mode-Passagen, wunderliche Einfälle und dergl. ersetzen sollen, was ihnen an Gründlichkeit abgeht.][29]

He complained about another composition:

> In general, it does not lack effective ideas, but rather their congruity, internal connection and harmonic contents.
>
> [Diesen fehlt es vornämlich--nicht an wirksamen Gedanken, aber an Uebereinstimmung derselben, an innerm Zusammenhang, und an harmonischen Gehalt.][30]

In Elsner's view, the process of creating musical artwork had to follow a certain plan:

1. The germination *[Zaród]*--planning of the thoughts and feelings that are to be evoked in the listener.

2. The shaping of the musical material.

---

[28]Józef Elsner, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 27 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:198.

[29]*AmZ*, July 1811:454.

[30]Ibid., 458. The composition was a double concerto by the Bohrer brothers from Munich.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Parenthetical beautification of the work (details).[31]

There is no doubt that such guidance was invaluable to the young Chopin; the maturation of his skills under Elsner's tutelage is apparent in the later works from the Warsaw period. In the years to come, Chopin made his own students highly aware of musical structure and he explained to them how form worked in the compositions of others and in his own works. In Mikuli's account, Chopin instructed his students to begin work on every selected musical composition by examining its structure, as well as the feelings and psychological processes which it evokes.[32]

Chopin's students repeatedly said that their master thought of music in rhetorical terms; for him it was a language following the rules of punctuation and elocution.[33] He expressed just such an idea in his sketch for a *Piano Method* by saying: "We use sounds to make music just as we use words to make a language."[34] This was in accord with Elsner's views, of music which he called the "language of

---

[31]*Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, 23 March 1813, no. 24/01:321-22. This outline follows the teachings of Koch, based in turn on Sulzer, Mattheson and Batteux. Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 297.

[32]Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils*, trans. N. Shohet with K. Osostowicz and R. Howat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 59.

[33]Ibid., 42-44.

[34]Ibid., 42.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

emotions."[35]

Elsner's teachings of the aesthetic and theoretical aspects of composition relied closely on the music-rhetorical tradition. They were described as:

> Lectures on composition, its grammatic as well as rhetorical part, held by the director of the Institution.
>
> [Vorlesungen über die Setzkunst, ihren gramatischen, wie rhetorischen Theil, gehalten von Direktor der Anstalt.][36]

In them Elsner preserved much original thought of Forkel, who carefully described the oratorical qualities of music and whose theories Elsner propagated with great ardor.[37] He gave much attention to Polish prosody, using his own publication *On Meter and Rhythm of the Polish Language [O metryczności i rytmiczności jezyka polskiego]* as a textbook.[38] Considering affinities between language and music, Elsner addressed not

---

[35]Józef Elsner, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 27 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:197.

[36]*AmZ*, August 1821:570.

[37]In fact there was so much interest in Forkel's work in Poland that during the years 1818-19, at the request of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music, Kazimierz Brodziński translated the practical sections of Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788). He presented the Society with his translation in 1822, but unfortunately the Society could not publish it due to shortage of funds. Kazimierz Brodziński, *Wspomnienia mojej młodości* [Memories of my Youth] (Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, 1901), 87.

[38]Józef Elsner, *O metryczności i rytmiczności języka polskiego* [On Meter and Rhythm in the Polish Language] (Warsaw: S. Dabrowski, 1818). In 1823 Brodziński prepared the practical part for this work and selected songs for the use in churches. Brodziński, 87.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

only meter, rhythm and accent but also the musical implications of grammar and syntax. He described syntax in terms of oratorical accent which aimed at achieving psychological objectives.[39]

The aesthetic considerations of Elsner's lectures included the influence of music and other arts on mind and emotions; its role in everyday life; ancient and medieval theories on musical perception.[40] Inspired by Forkel and Gerber, he considered the importance of historical documentation and lectured on history of music, with special attention given to the history of harmony.[41] Among other sources of historic knowledge used by Elsner most vital were Grétry's *Memoires ou Essais sur la musique* and Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de musique*, both also extensively quoted in the *Musical Weekly*.

The contents of Kurpiński's short-lived (1820-21) music publication the *Musical Weekly [Tygodnik Muzyczny]* reveals the scope of musical interests in early nineteenth-century Warsaw.

---

[39]Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner*, 181-186.

[40]Ibid., 181.

[41]Since his early years in Warsaw he had carefully collected materials pertaining to history of Polish music: old manuscripts, folk songs, biographical documentation. His intention was to use these materials for a history of Polish music. His plans were never realized, although some fragments were published as longer articles in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. The *Music Lexicon [Leksykon muzyczny]* remained in manuscript and was destroyed in World War II. Ibid., 169-170.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Next to musical news[42] one would find articles on aesthetics (music and words, music and emotions, the nature of national music), biographical sketches, series on musical instruments and musical genres, historic essays about the western tradition (opera, medieval music) and non-western musical cultures (Turkish, South American, Chinese, ancient and contemporary Egyptian; music of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews). The texts of feature articles were frequently taken from Forkel, Grétry and Rousseau, but in many instances less acclaimed sources were consulted: for instance, Drieberg's *Die musikalischen Wissenschaften der Griecher, Costumes des Othomans* by A.L. Castellan, and François-Henri-Joseph Castil-Blaze's "De l'Opera en France" from his *Essai sur la musique*.

It is apparent that Warsaw's musical circles were keeping abreast of musical knowledge of all sorts. In regard to theory, Chopin's instruction was rather conservative, although the news of more current Parisian trends also reached the Polish capital.

Chopin's earliest theory textbook was *Kurze Einweisung die Regeln der Harmonie oder des Generalbasses auf eine leicht*

---

[42]These included news from other countries of Europe and America: information about premieres and special concerts, postings of interesting publications on music and death-notices. Local musical events were given due consideration: announcements of opera performances, postings of newly published musical works, reviews of new compositions and performances. In addition, each issue contained a musical annex.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fassliche Art gründlich zu erlernen [Krótkiej nauki poznania reguł harmonii, czyli generałbasu, w najłatwiejszy sposób] by Karol Antoni Simon, published in Poznań in 1823. In fact, a copy of this book signed by Chopin with his name existed until 1942 in the collection of Warsaw Music Society.[43] Simon's Polish-German textbook was recommended by Elsner and Kurpiński as a competent introduction to the fundamentals: from scales, intervals and chords to principles of figured bass and voice-leading. A basic manual of this sort would have prepared Chopin for admission into the Conservatory, where under the watchful eye of Elsner he would sharpen his skills.

The nature of Elsner's practical instruction must remain in the realm of speculation. His only theory manual that has come down to us is an 1807 half-autograph of a handbook dedicated to his pupil Anna Łubieńska and entitled *A Brief Course of Thoroughbass [Krótko zebrana nauka generałbasu]*.[44] This manuscript contains signatures of a few Conservatory students, which suggests that it might have circulated among them, but the scope of this manual is rather limited and it cannot be viewed as representative of Conservatory

---

[43]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 52.

[44]Józef Elsner, *Krótko zebrana nauka generałbasu* [A Brief Course of Thoroughbass] or *Przykłady z harmonii* [Examples in Harmony]. Manuscript (autograph from page 21), dedication to Countess Łubieńska. Library of the Warsaw Music Society [Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne], sygn. 940. Although his *Summary* lists also two manuscripts containing lecture notes, *Treatise on Music and Harmony [Rozprawa o muzyce i harmonii]* and *Letters on music and Harmony [Listy o muzyce i harmonii]*, neither work survived. Elsner, *Summary*, 14 and 63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

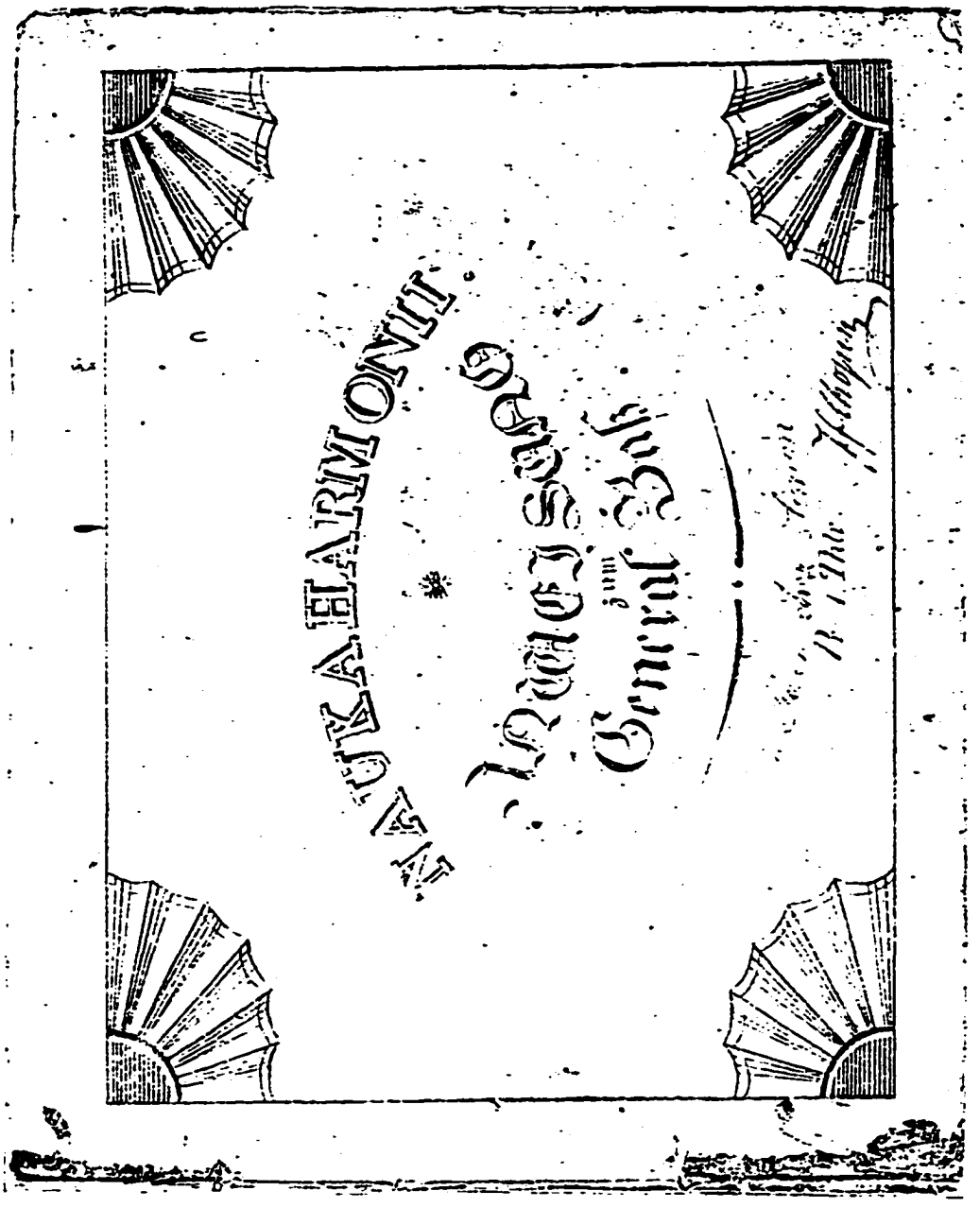


Fig. 4. Simon's *Anweisung zum General Bass* signed by Fryderyk Chopin (until 1942 in the collection of the Warsaw Music Society, from Binental's 1930 reproduction).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instruction. However, from its organization and contents we can place Elsner's lessons within the tradition of Albrechtsberger and Kirnberger.[45] The actual texts of Albrechtsberger and Kirnberger might also have been studied, as well as Kurpiński's harmony book.[46]

Karol Kurpiński's *Principles of Harmony [Zasady harmonii]*, which was first published in 1821, followed a different theoretical tradition. Kurpiński praised progress and supported the harmonists[47] and he was the first to introduce Polish words for several harmonic terms and concepts (tonic, dominant, root position, inversion, etc).[48] Among Kurpiński's influences were Schicht and Schilling;[49] and out of the 182 examples, the 13 pertaining to thoroughbass came from Emmanuel Aloise Förster's *Practische Beispiele als*

---

[45]Maciej Gołąb, *Chromatyka i tonalnosc w muzyce Chopina* [Chromaticism and Tonality in Chopin's Music] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1991), 31-33. J.G. Albrechtsberger *Gründliche Anweisung zur Komposition* (1790) and J.P. Kirnberger *Die kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (1774-79).

[46]When Franciszek Sołtyk studied composition with Elsner, he used Kurpiński's 1821 harmony manual. *Ruch muzyczny* 1861, no. 7:103.

[47]In response to the conservatism of Villoteau's *Recherches sur l'analogie de la musique avec les arts*. Karol Kurpiński, *Zasady harmonii tonów* [Principles of the Harmony of Tones] (Warszawa: Klukowski, 1821).

[48]Jan Prosnak, "Karol Kurpiński jako teoretyk" [Karol Kurpiński as Theoretician], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, January-March 1949:150.

[49]Johann Gottfried Schicht *Grundlagen der Harmonie nach Verwechslungssystem* and Gustav Schilling *Polyphonomos oder die Kunst zur Erwerbung einer vollständigen Kenntniss der Harmonie in 36 Stunden*. Ibid., 152.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fortsetzung zu seiner Ainleitung des Generalbasses.[50] Most notably, the outline and contents of this work bear close similarities with Anton Reicha's *Cours de composition musicale, ou Traité complet et raisonné d'Harmonie pratique* (1818), from which Kurpiński already quoted extensively in the *Musical Weekly.*[51]

Anton Reicha was a professor at the Paris Conservatory, and the teacher of several prominent musical figures: Liszt, Berlioz, Onslow. From a comment in Chopin's correspondence it is apparent that Reicha was well-known to both Elsner and Chopin.[52] In fact, the disillusioned Chopin reported to Elsner that although he was eagerly awaiting his meeting with Reicha, what he learnt from Reicha's students discouraged him:

> He does not like music: he doesn't even attend Conservatory concerts; he does not want to discuss music with anyone; during his lessons he just keeps glancing at his watch, etc....
>
> [Nie lubi on muzyki: nawet na koncertach Konserwatorium nie bywa; nie chce z nikim o muzyce rozprawiać; na swoich lekcjach tylko na zegarek patrzy itd....][53]

Notwithstanding his personal disappointment, in the years to come, Chopin recommended that his pupils study theory with Henri Reber, whom he respected very highly and who had been

---

[50]Ibid., 141.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ludwika Chopin, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 27 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:193.

[53]Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, to Józef Elsner, Warsaw, 14 December 1831, Sydow edition, 1:206.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reicha's student.[54]

Elsner maintained a high level of education at the Conservatory by hiring very able and respected faculty. Among the teachers who most influenced Chopin, though there is no evidence of direct instruction, were the pianist Henryk Lentz, who took over Würfel's position;[55] the violin professor Józef Bielawski, with whom Chopin performed on numerous occasions;[56] the voice teacher Carlo Soliva, whose teaching skill and musical opinions were usually endorsed by Chopin[57]; and Józef Jawurek, a superb pianist and a popular teacher, whose advice Chopin gladly accepted.[58] Although there was much competition and quarreling, Chopin was able to maintain good relationships with everyone and he took mischievous pleasure in inviting all the feuding musicians to the rehearsal before his October 11, 1830 performance:

---

[54]Eigeldinger, 59.

[55]Lentz lived in Warsaw for 40 years after having taught in Paris and London. Among his compositions the most highly praised are his preludes and symphonies. Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 68/2:379.

[56]Bielawski was also the first violinist of the National Theater orchestra and was often heard in concert and in private gatherings. His playing was characterized by solidity and clarity. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2:87.

[57]There are numerous mentions of Soliva in Chopin's correspondence, especially during the last year in Warsaw. Soliva conducted Chopin's final Polish concert, and the young pianist described his conducting in the highest terms. Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 12 October 1830, Sydow edition, 1:146-47.

[58]Kolberg, "Chopin," 459.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Never before was there an instance when all these gentlemen came together. I am able to accomplish it and I do it for [my] pleasure.
>
> [Nie było przykładu, żeby tych panów kiedyś wszystkich razem złączonych widzieć. U mnie to się da zrobić i ja to robię dla rarytasu.][59]

The Conservatory students were also encouraged to attend lectures outside of their specialty. We know that Chopin attended singing classes with Walenty Kratzer, required of all University students,[60] and that in anticipation of an international career, Chopin's parents and teachers encouraged him to study foreign languages. Thus, in addition to his earlier schooling in French, German, ancient Greek and Latin, he received instruction in Italian and English. The Conservatory curriculum provided Italian lessons with Stanisław Rinaldi, but it is likely that they were required

---

[59]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1830, Sydow edition, 1:141. At times the professional rivalry between the Elsner, Kurpiński and Soliva became exceedingly hostile. The resentment caused injurious plotting and even gave rise to an ugly smear campaign aimed at Elsner's ethnicity, although it must be conveyed that Elsner's "Polishness" was attacked only by a few and was defended by many. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner*, 174-179.

[60]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow, edition, 1:78-79. Walenty Kratzer was one of the Conservatory's singing teachers (the vocal department, headed by Soliva, consisted of Kratzer, Wejnert and Żyliński). Kratzer was a renowned opera tenor (and a composer of some fifty vaudevilles and operettas), who retired form the stage in 1821. In addition to the Conservatory, he taught voice at several other institutions (including the general classes at the University attended by Chopin) and coached the opera chorus. Hoesick, "Luminaries," 259.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

only of singers.[61] Chopin did study Italian with Rinaldi, but it appears that the lessons took place in the Chopin house.[62] At the same time, he also studied English with a respected teacher named McCartney.[63]

Given Fryderyk's enjoyment and aptitude for drawing, it is conceivable that he attended classes in architecture, sculpture and painting offered by the Fine Arts Department, but no positive proof of his participation exists.[64] However, Chopin's above-quoted letter reports that he heard lectures given by the Dean of the Department of Sciences and Fine Arts, the historian Feliks Bentkowski (see page 57).

Professor Bentkowski's history course was required of almost all students; thus his classes enjoyed the greatest audience. Although as a lecturer he lacked fire and brilliance, Bentkowski presented the material in a systematic and ordered manner, giving his students solid and honest knowledge of ancient and modern history supported by traditional and contemporary historical research.[65] In his

---

[61]Karasowski, *Opera*, 309.

[62]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 14 [12] March [1827], Sydow edition, 1:76. According to Frączyk, Chopin attended Italian lessons with Rinaldi in the company of his friends Weltz and Woyciechowski. Frączyk, 220.

[63]Frączyk, 220. After Oskar Kolberg.

[64]*Index Praelectionum*, 9.

[65]Franciszek Salezy Dmochowski, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs] (Warszawa: Jaworski, 1858), 127-129.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

RYS
HISTORYI POWSZECHNÉY

NAPISANY W JĘZYKU ROSSYISKIM

przez

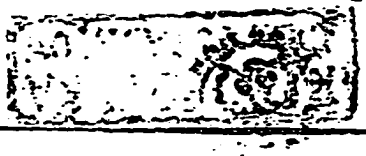
JANA KAYDANOWA

A PODŁUG DRUGIEGO WYDANIA PRZEŁOŻONY NA JĘZYK POLSKI.

TOM I.

The noblest study of mankind is man.

Pope.



W WARSZAWIE

W DRUKARNI PRZY ULICY KRAKOWSKIEM PRZEDMIEŚCIE Nro 385

1825.

Fig. 5. Kaydanow's history textbook used by professor Feliks Bentkowski for history lectures attended by Chopin (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lectures he echoed the Enlightenment's concepts of learning and urged openness to all knowledge:

> Let us guard ourselves against contempt towards any useful knowledge; let us support all scholarly endeavors; let us not talk about the harmfulness of sciences and fine arts; let us not mock good taste. Even in the darkest ages, there were theologians with the vast erudition of a lawmaker, profound philosophers. But only when all skills started to be cultivated, when good taste was added to exactitude, when valuable studies began to extend to all classes; only then, I am saying, the light of civilization ascended on our horizon.
>
> [Wystrzegaymy się więc pogardy iakiéjkolwiek bądź pożetecznéj nauki, popieraymy wszelkie usiłowania naukowe, nié mówmy o szkodliwości nauk i sztuk pięknych, nie naygrywaymy się z dobrego smaku. I w nayciemnieyszych wiekach bywali wielcy teologowie, z rozległą erudycyą prawoznawcy, głębocy filozofowie. Lecz w tenczas dopiéro, gdy wszystkie umiejetności uprawiać poczęto, gdy z gruntownością połączono smak dobry, gdy pożyteczne nauki rozszerzać się poczęły po wszystkich stanach, w tenczas mówię dopiéro światło cywilizacyi weszło nad naszym horyzontem.][66]

Bentkowski also demonstrated distinct concern for the reaffirmation of the Polish identity through the Polish language.

> ... it is a great barrier for the improvement of skill, when a language used for teaching is foreign to the populace (...) the entire system of thinking and reasoning must lack clarity, vitality, strength and shadings, when it takes on the clothes of a foreign language....
>
> [... wielką przeszkodą do wydoskonalenia umiejętności iest i to, gdy ięzyk, którego naród do ich wykładu używa, iest dlań ięzykiem obcym (...) cały systemat myślenia i rozumowania tracić musi co

---

[66]*Posiedzenie Publiczne Królewsko-Warszawskiego Uniwersytetu odbyte 5 października 1818 roku* [Public Meeting of the Royal University of Warsaw on 5 October 1818] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1818), 44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> do iasności, żywości, siły i cieniowań, gdy szatę obcego przybiera języka....][67]

The propagation of the Polish language was central to the lectures of the two literature professors: Ludwik Osiński and Kazimierz Brodziński:

> During this time, Warsaw University had two professorial chairs of literature, which attracted great attention from the University's youth and the entire public. The one devoted to comparative literature was taken by Osiński, the other, dedicated to the national literary tradition, belonged to Brodziński. The first brought pleasant diversion, but no adequately versatile learning; the timid and modest voice rising from the other directed young minds to the path of national feelings, ideas and images.
>
> [W uniwersytecie warszawskim wzniosły się w tym czasie dwie katedry literatury, które wielkie zajęcie i młodzieży uniwersyteckiej i całej pupliczności *[sic]* obudziły. Jedna z nich literatury powszechnej zajęta została przez Osińskiego, druga narodowej przez Brodzińskiego. Pierwsza przynosiła miłą rozrywkę, lecz nie dość wszechstronnej nauki, z drugiej wznoszący się głós nieśmiały, skromny, na drogę narodowych uczuć, wyobrażeń i obrazów, kierował młóde umysły.][68]

The lectures of Ludwik Osiński, based on Leharp and Blair, dealt with the ancients (Homer, Virgil, ancient Greek drama) and modern France (poetry and theater).[69] Since he was a

---

[67]Ibid., 40.

[68]Andrzej Edward Koźmian, "Wizerunki osób towarzystwa warszawskiego" [Images of Warsaw's Socialites], *Przegląd Poznański* 24 (1857):3.

[69]Ibid., 14. Professor Osiński (1775-1838) was a Director of the National Theater; an excellent poet concerned with the correctness of the Polish language; an authority on ancient, especially Roman and modern French literature; and a translator of Cornelle and Voltaire. He was appointed to his University position by Minister Stanisław Potocki in response to popular demand. Ibid., 3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

splendid lecturer, who with the musical magic of his voice could cast a spell on his listeners, there was always a crowd of enthusiastic student attending his classes.[70]

> The hour of Osiński's lecture was a feast, an eagerly sought after banquet. People rushed to his lecture hall as if to a concert, not to a literary talk. Nobody read like him, nobody recited poems so exquisitely, nobody had such a sonorous voice. This voice was like the most perfect instrument, which he commanded like the most excellent artist. He knew how to roar, he knew how to bring forth sweet and tender tones. Paganini's fiddle was in his voice.
>
> [Godzina prelekcyi Osińskiego była festynem, bankietem chciwie poszukiwanym. Zbiegano się do sali jego jeźli nie jak na prelekcyą literacką to jak na koncert. Nikt bowiem tak nie czytał, tak wybornie wierszy nie mówił, nikt tak dźwięcznego jak on nie miał głosu. Ten głós był to najdoskonalszy instrument, którym on jak najdoskonalszy artysta władał. Umiał nim grzmieć, umiał słodkie i czułe wprowadzać tony. Skrzypce Paganiniego były w jego głosie.][71]

Brodziński's oratory skill was not of the same caliber, but his classes lured the youth with an offer of brotherly guidance, which was kind and wise, and with his concern for subject matters close to the hearts of young Romantics. A proto-romantic poet, Brodziński was one of the first and the most resounding voices in the debate on Polish Romanticism; most of his views were contained in the 1818 article *On Classicism and Romanticism*.[72] A close friend of Elsner's, he extended his aesthetic concerns to the union of music and

---

[70]Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 1:222.

[71]Koźmian, *Warsaw's Socialites*, 14-15.

[72]*Pamiętnik Warszawski*, 1818.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

poetry and to music in general: not only was he the author of the above-mentioned translation of Forkel, but he also provided Elsner with several opera librettos, composed poetic illustrations for Elsner's earlier-discussed treatise *On Meter and Rhythm of the Polish Language*, and wrote an essay on the national character of Polish dances.[73] Elsner most enthusiastically recommend these lectures to his students in keeping with the earlier expressed beliefs:

> The influence of music on poetry and poetry on music is so significant, that one of them viewed as an art, cannot be accurately and thoroughly explained without the help of the other.
>
> [Wpływ muzyki na poezję i poezji na muzykę tak jest ważnym, że jedna z nich jako sztuka uważana, nie może być bez pomocy drugiej dokładnie i pewnie objaśniną.][74]

It has been suggested that Chopin's education was largely private and had little to do with the Conservatory.[75] Although it is true that the young genius's schooling entailed much individual instruction, one cannot neglect the significance of his access to a broad scope of subjects and philosophies, nor the pertinence of his total immersion in music-making. Elsner made the school an active center of musical life through public concerts at the Conservatory and in other halls, participation in religious and charity events,

---

[73]*Melitele*, 1829:85-101.

[74]Elsner, *On Meter and Rhythm*, introduction.

[75]Frączyk, 201-202. Frączyk refers to Erazm Nowakowski and Krystyna Kobylańska.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and performances of students' compositions. The daily press showered its praises on the high level of pupils in this institution. Maybe the loudest voice is Chopin's, who responded with his usual modesty to the harsh words that were quoted at the opening of this chapter:

> ... had I not learned from Elsner, who knew how to speak to my reason, I would know even less than I know today.
>
> [... gdybym się od Elsnera nie uczył, który mi umiał do przekonania przemówić, pewno bym mniej jeszcze umiał jak dzisiaj.][76]

[76]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 10 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:118.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. MUSIC PUBLISHING

"I go to Brzezina's everyday" [Do Brzeziny co dzien chodze] reported Chopin in 1829 to Tytus Woyciechowski.[1] In fact, already from an 1827 letter to Jan Bialobłocki one can conclude that Chopin even then visited Brzezina's store nearly daily.[2] We first hear of Brzezina still earlier, in a letter written by a fourteen-year-old Fryderyk during his summer vacation in Szafarnia. Here he acknowledges the receipt of musical materials from Brzezina and asks papa to buy him Ries's *Air Moor variée pour le pianoforte a quatre mains*.[3]

Of all the music merchants in Warsaw Brzezina's shop had most special meaning to the young Fryderyk; it became his second school. He was a regular guest in Brzezina store; there he spent long hours looking through or playing through works of old masters, newly published scores and newly arrived works from abroad.[4]

Although nearly all of Chopin's music was published elsewhere (except for three of his early works in Polish first

---

[1]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 3 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:108.

[2]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 8 January 1827, Sydow edition, 1:74.

[3]Fryderyk Chopin, Szafarnia, to his family, Warsaw, 10 August 1824, Sydow edition, 1:38.

[4]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:122-23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

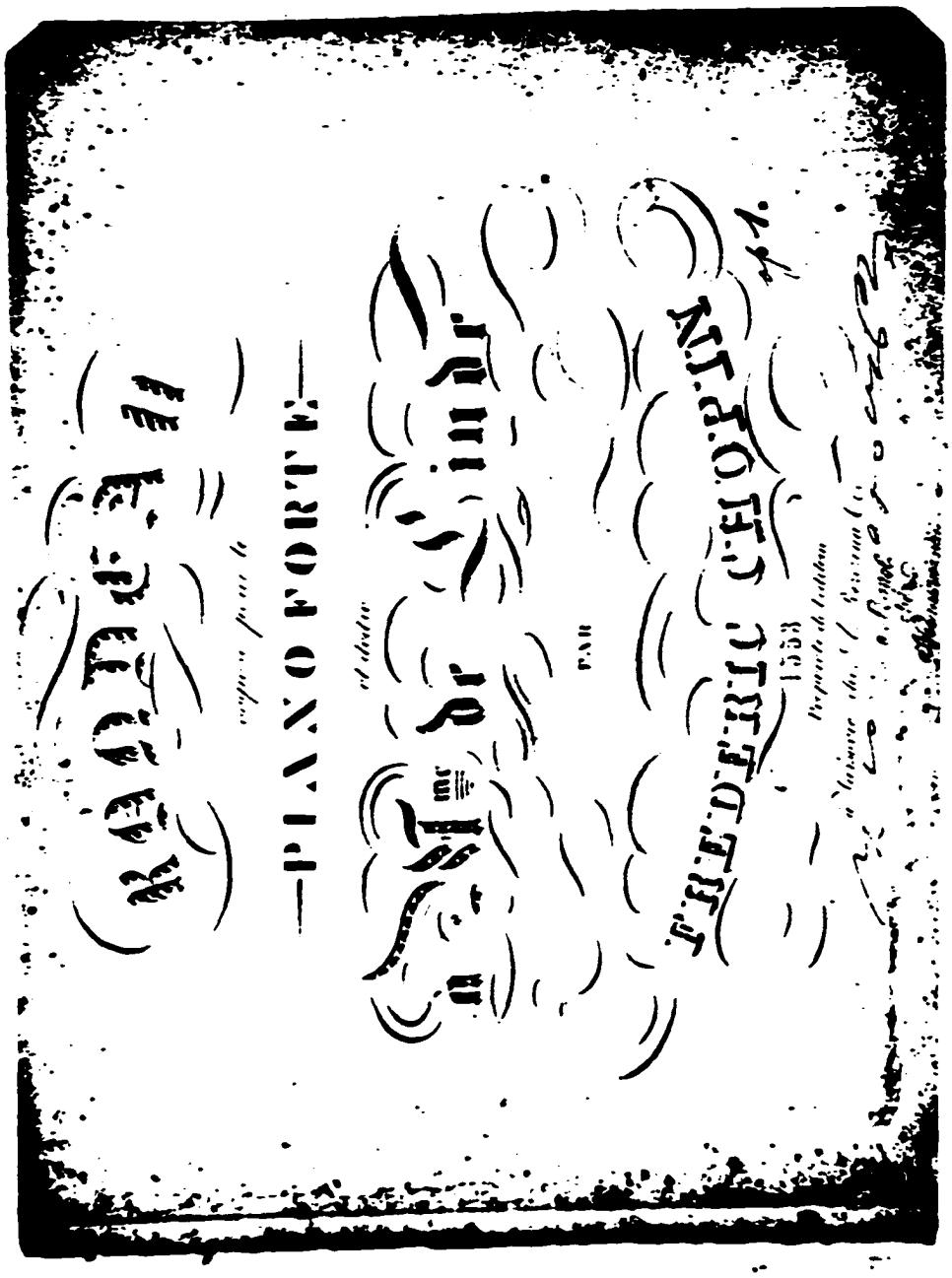


Fig. 6. Fryderyk Chopin's *Rondeau* op. 1, dedicated to Mme. Linde, first edition published by Brzezina (The Chopin Society).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

editions), the presence of flourishing music publishers in Warsaw proved invaluable to the developing composer. They provided access to a fount of musical knowledge through the repertory printed by them and through imported publications. The young Fryderyk spent countless hours in their shops, which for him took on the function of music libraries.

The music publishing industry received the stimulus for rapid development from the social changes that occurred in Poland after the 1795 partition, although the political instability caused temporary attrition in many other areas of the Polish economy. Until the third partition music patronage was restricted to the very small royal, aristocratic and ecclesiastic circles. Publishing privileges were controlled by the king and given to very few, thus preventing any competition and growth in the industry. As a result of this situation only a very small number of musical prints was produced in eighteenth-century Poland. Gołębiowski says of the gifted composers of Poland's past:

> Their works disappeared, since our country had neither music printers nor permanent outlets.
>
> [Poginęły ich utwory, bo nie było w naszym kraju żadnej drukarni muzycznych nót, and stałych składów.][5]

In his recent comprehensive work on the subject of music printing, Wojciech Tomaszewski locates only six surviving

---

[5]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 251.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

music publications printed in Warsaw prior to the year 1800.[6] In 1772 Jan Engel, a composer and kapellmeister at the cathedral of Saint John in Warsaw, received permission to open a music engraving shop. To produce music he used the technique of wood-engraving.[7] Only eight of Engel's prints can be documented in sources, though most likely he published many more of his own works and works of other composers.[8] A testimony to the number of scores (probably manuscripts and prints) that used to exist in the royal and cathedral collections (though not necessarily of local origin) is found in Elsner's *Summary*, where he recounts one Mejnert, a former castle intendant as saying in 1805:

> "You would have been astonished, Mr. Elsner, had you seen the abundance of music we had!"
>
> [Dziwiłbyś się, p. Elsner, gdybyś widział owe mnóstwo nut naszych!][9]

By the time Elsner was writing those words there was no trace of either collection.

Already before 1795, the new social, economic and intellectual tendencies that characterized the Enlightenment began to have noticeable impact on musical circles of Warsaw. After 1795, the radical changes caused by Poland's loss of

---

[6]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 48.

[7]Magier, 144.

[8]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 47.

[9]Elsner, *Summary*, 78.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

independence only accelerated the process and effected major changes in the state of music publishing in Warsaw. It was the needs of the new kind of a self-reliant composer and the constant demand for new music presented by the bourgeoisie that promoted growth of music printing in early nineteenth-century Warsaw.

Thus the new stimulus for the music-printing industry came from economic and social changes, but it took the energy and initiative of the omnipresent Elsner to accelerate the development of music printing in Warsaw. Aware of the new market, which on the one hand was supported by wider audiences and on the other by independent, professional musicians, Chopin's future composition teacher personally ventured into the music publishing business. In 1802, in partnership with Father Izydor Józef Cybulski, Elsner opened a music engraving shop. His first print, *A Collection of Polish Songs [Zbiór pieśni polskich]*, was received with great enthusiasm.[10] Encouraged, Elsner continued his publishing activities with a monthly publication of the finest Polish compositions entitled *A Selection of Fine Musical Works and Polish Songs [Wybór pięknych Dzieł Muzycznych y Pieśni Polskich]*. This publication, which lasted through the years 1803-1805, was a landmark in the history of Polish musical culture. The essential ideas of Elsner are best expressed in the press announcement which appeared for the purpose of soliciting subscription:

---

[10]Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner*, 77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> It is irrefutable that artists as well as amateurs of music have long wished (following the example of other foreign cities) to have a decent music-engraving shop in the capital, the former to make their works available to the public, the latter to have an easier access to the purchase of these works.
>
> [Niezawodną jest rzeczą, że równie artyści, jak i amatorowie muzyki od dawna już życzyli sobie (na wzór innych miast zagranicznych) mieć w tej stolicy porządną nót sztycharnię. Pierwsi, ażeby dzieł swoich udzielać publiczności, drudzy, ażeby onych z wiekszą łatwością nabywać mogli.][11]

Elsner's printing shop functioned well and during the years 1802-1806 produced many important editions. Gradually, some differences emerged between Elsner and Cybulski, and eventually in 1806, when the French occupants took over the shop for the purpose of printing military maps, Elsner left the enterprise. Cybulski continued publishing music until 1818.[12] The first published composition of Chopin, Polonaise in G Minor dedicated to Countess Skarbek, was engraved in Cybulski's shop in November of 1817.[13]

Following the example of Elsner and Cybulski, several printers opened engraving shops. Among them was Antoni Płachecki, a relative of Father Cybulski. This young man was brought into the trade by Cybulski in 1802, and during the years 1802/03 Elsner sponsored his apprenticeship in a

---

[11]*Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 11 February 1803, no. 12 quoted in Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner*, 78.

[12]Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner*, 81.

[13]Józef M. Chomiński and Teresa D. Turło, *Katalog dzieł Fryderyka Chopina* [A Catalogue of the Works of Fryderyk Chopin] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990), 174-75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

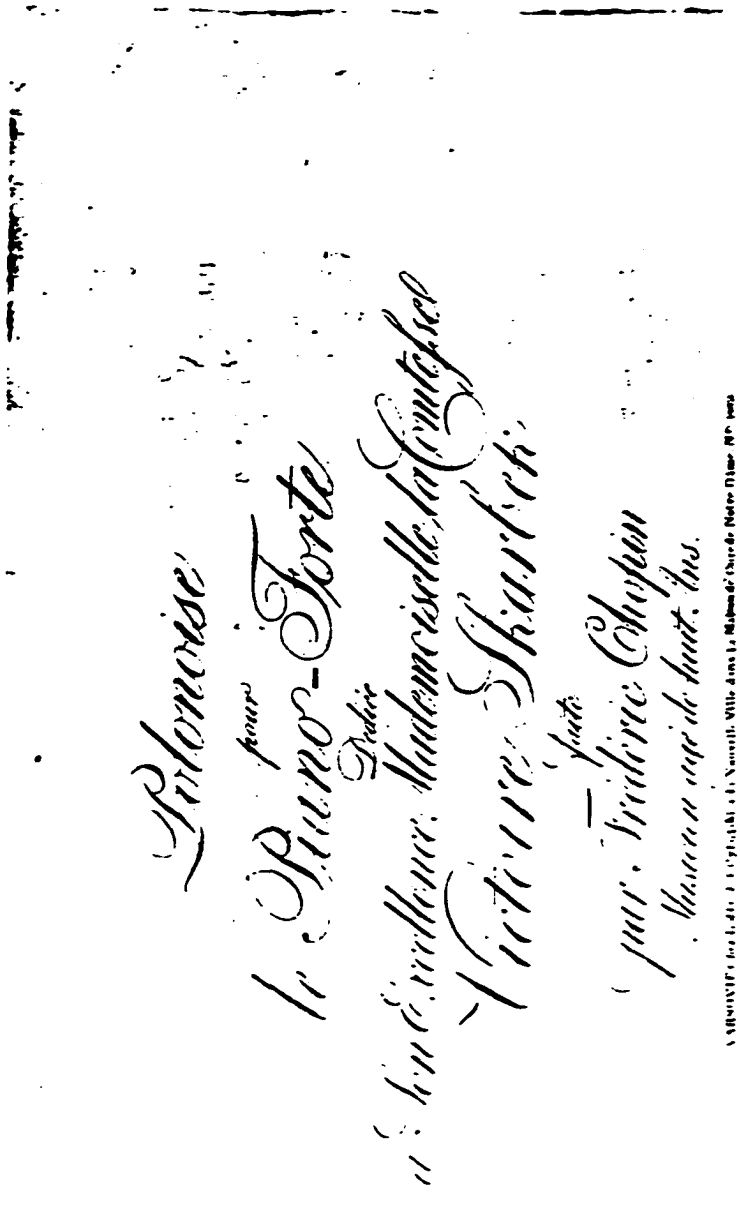


Fig. 7. Fryderyk Chopin's Polonaise dedicated to Countess Skarbek, first edition published by Cybulski (The Chopin Society).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

printing shop of Jan Ligber. According to Magier it was Ligber who already in the eighteenth century tried printing music to make it more easily available.[14] Still, he occupied himself mostly with the production of illustrations for books, and from him Płachecki learned the technique of copper-engraving. This technique remained the major method of music production until the 1820s.[15]

In 1814 Płachecki opened his own music engraving shop, which became the most long-lived enterprise of this kind in Warsaw, active until at least 1851.[16] Among the nearly ninety documented musical publications issued by Płachecki are the 1818 and 1820 editions of Elsner's *The Beginnings of Music and Singing in Particular [Początki muzyki a szczególniej śpiewania]*. At Klukowski's request, he also printed the 1818 and 1819 editions of Kurpiński's *A Systematic Lecture on Musical Principles for the Keyboard [Wykład systematyczny zasad muzyki na klawikord]* and his 1821 edition of *Examples to the Principles of Tone Harmony [Przykłady do Zasad harmonii tonów]*.

The 1820s witnessed an unprecedented flowering of music printing. The great demand for published music was conditioned by the development of the music industry, especially the production of pianos in the territory of the

---

[14]Magier, 143.

[15]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 70-71.

[16]Ibid., 50.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Polish Kingdom, which marked the unprecedented surge of interest in this instrument. The publishing industry was also sustained by the presence of musical institutions, mainly the theater and the evolution of institutional musical education, evidenced by the establishment of the conservatory.

In 1819 Ludwik Letronne began printing music by lithography. His shop produced music prints only until 1823, but other publishers began to use this technique.[17] During his short career, Letronne published several interesting works. Among others, in 1821 he issued Würfel's Preludes, the earliest such collection known to have been published in Poland.

Franciszek Klukowski was known in Warsaw probably since 1805, first as the owner of a bookstore offering music, and from 1816 as a music publisher.[18] Initially, he used the services of other printers to publish music. Thus, Płachecki's press was used to print Kurpiński's didactic works for Klukowski's store. In a similar manner Płachecki printed *Exercises for the Piano for Beginners [Ćwiczenia na fortepiano dla poczynających]* by August Ebenhard Müller, the Kapellmeister to the Great Prince of Weimar. But the 1823 edition of Müller's textbook was already printed in Klukowski's own shop, since in 1822 he began producing lithographs, a trade his family continued until 1847.

---

[17]Ibid., 51.

[18]Ibid., 50-51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notably, it was Klukowski's shop that handled Simon's harmony manual, an accepted textbook which was recommended to and used by the young Chopin.[19] Among the many other important works published by Klukowski *A [Violin] School by Baillot, Kreuzer and Lafont, written for the Paris Conservatory [Szkoła Baillota, Kreuzera i Lafona, przepisana dla konserwatorium paryskiego]*, in the translation of Chopin's mentor and friend Józef Bielawski. Klukowski also published many works of the Conservatory's young graduates, among others Napoleon Tomasz Nidecki, a later son-in-law of Elsner, Chopin's conservatory colleague and life-long friend, who eventually settled in Vienna as a Kapellmeister of the Leopoldstadt Theater.

Andrzej Brzezina's shop opened its doors to the public in 1822. Brzezina, and later his partner Gustaw Sennenwald, produced musical scores until 1837. Among the nearly 570 prints published by Brzezina by 1830 were many important volumes. In 1826 he made available Cramer's *School for the Piano*, and during the years 1826-1830 several publications containing sets of Preludes by Heinrich Gherard Lentz, Józef Jawurek and Henri Herz appeared in his shop. Along with the preludes of Szymanowska and Kessler these constitute the ancestry of Chopin's preludes. Unfortunately, none of these collections of preludes is extant, and we know of their existence only indirectly.

In 1828 Brzezina printed the other two compositions of

---

[19]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:75.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

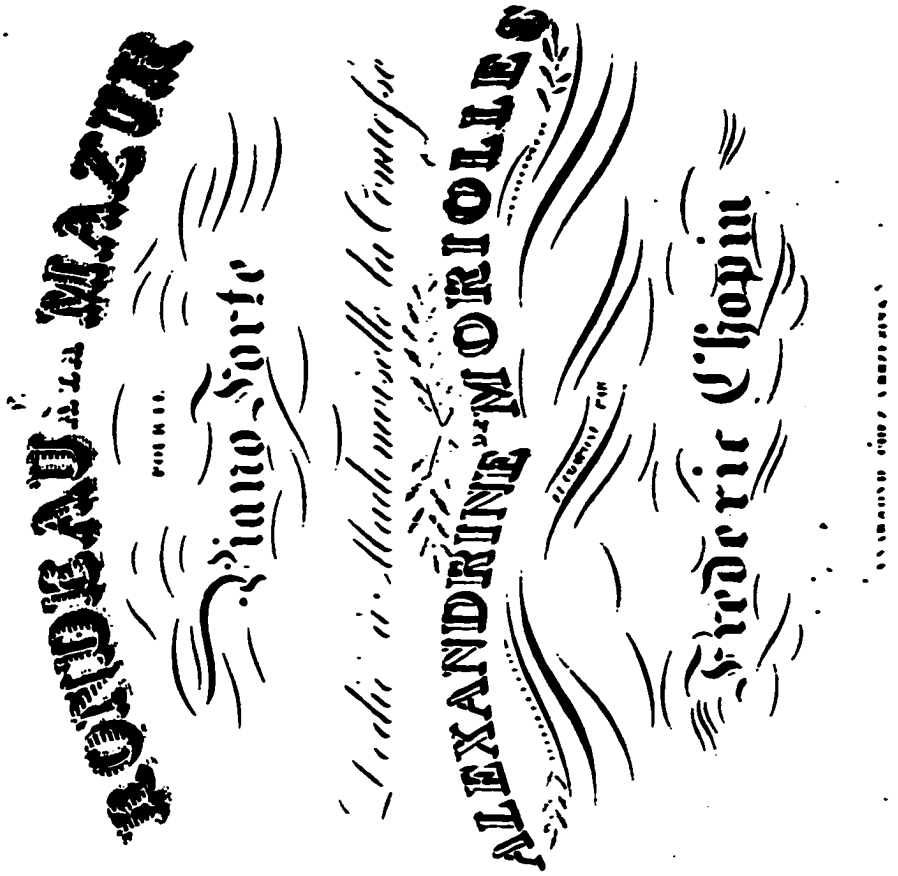


Fig. 8. Fryderyk Chopin's *Rondeau* op. 5, dedicated to Countess Alexandrine de Moriolles, first edition published by Brzezina (The Chopin Society, from Binental's 1930 reproduction).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin that were published in Poland before the composer's exile, Rondo op. 1 in 1825 and Rondo *à la Mazur* op. 5 in 1828.[20] In 1830 he also published Orłowski's Mazur on Motives from Chopin's Concerto, Fantasia and Rondo *[Mazur z motywów koncertu, fantazji i ronda Chopina]* and Waltz on Themes by Chopin *[Walc z tematów Chopina]*, about which there was much talk in letters between Chopin and Tytus Woyciechowski.[21]

At least nine other shops printed music during the 1820s. The most active was the shop of Karol Magnus, active since 1828 until 1839. The Music Conservatory also published printed music (1827 - 1830). Among its products one finds Soliva's didactic volumes: *Practical Piano School [Szkoła praktyczna fortepianu]* and *A School of Singing of the Music Conservatory [Szkoła śpiewu Konserwatorium Muzycznego]* (volume I in 1826 and volume II in 1827). Most of the other shops were either marginally devoted to music printing, or short-lived.[22]

One institution had an immense significance for the cultural and musical circles of Warsaw: the shop of Natan (Mikołaj) Glücksberg, one of Warsaw's most distinguished

---

[20]Chomiński, 189.

[21]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:116; Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, 10 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:120; Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, 17 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:121.

[22]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 51-54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

printers and the official Typographer of Warsaw University. His store published the most important new Romantic works, many translations of new and significant books, and monumenta of Polish culture.[23] Glücksberg did not publish much music (though he printed for Brzezina the 1829 edition of Kurpiński's *Principles of Music for Keyboard [Zasady Muzyki na Klawikord]*), but he was listed as a music merchant in the 1826 *Warsaw Guide* because his famous bookstore had an ample assortment of scores.[24] In a letter to Jan Białobłocki Chopin described what he found while shopping for music in Glücksberg's store:

> There are only *Eutherpe*, that is, a collection of arias and other pieces by Rossini, arranged in Vienna at Diabelli's for the piano alone (this work is an equivalent of *Philomela* for singing) and a Polonaise by Kaczkowski--very good, beautiful, in a word, for listening and taking delight in....
>
> [Są tam same *Eutherpy*, to jest zbiór arii i innych kawałków Rossiniego, na sam fortepian dobrze bardzo przełożonych w Wiedniu u Diabellego (dzieło to odpowiada *Philomelom* dla śpiewu), i Polonez Kaczkowskiego, bardzo dobry, piękny, słówem, do słuchania i delektowania się....][25]

The new patrons of music--middle class, intelligentsia and even the more affluent artisans--comprised a large audience of very definite tastes, that provided a market for salon music. Not much professional ensemble music was

---

[23]Sobieszczański, 214.

[24]*Przewodnik warszawski 1826* [Warsaw Guide 1826] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1826), appendix, 18.

[25]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, [15 May 1826], Sydow edition, 1:64-65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

published during that time, though there was a great demand for dance and theater music arranged for piano, or voice accompanied by piano. To a lesser degree, the public was interested music for flute, guitar, harp, violin and organ.

Dance music was of great importance in other European capitals, and so it was in Warsaw, where it took on a specifically Polish flavor. The polonaise *[polonez]* had become the favorite of Polish audiences by the middle of the eighteenth century and until 1815 this dance constituted a remarkable ninety-six percent of the published piano dance repertory. In this context it is not surprising that all of little Fryderyk's earliest compositions are polonaises. During the years 1816-1825 the polonaise still dominated, though gradually the waltz and the *mazur* were conquering Warsaw.

The term *mazur* denoted the original dance, whereas the diminutive mazurka *[mazurek]*, the term utilized by Chopin, came to designate the stylized dance, frequently combining the characteristics of *mazur, kujawiak* and *oberek*. The German *Walzer* brought to Warsaw during the Prussian occupation were danced in the Polish capital in a faster and more lively manner than elsewhere. Eventually, when accompanied by the galop, it would spin out of control in a mad whirl.[26]

During the period 1825-1830 the ratio of published piano dances changed in favor of the waltz (35%), and *mazur* (29%).

---

[26]Wójcicki, *Warsaw's Society*, 155.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 9. Antoni Orłowski's Waltz on Themes by Fryderyk Chopin, published by Brzezina (Jagiellonian Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The polonaise was third (20%), followed by other fashionable dances: galop, cotillion, anglaise, contredanse *[galop, kotylion, anglez, kontredans]*.[27] Chopin's Warsaw was so saturated with folkloristic dances that already in 1820 Kurpiński warned his readers that in the vicinity of Warsaw peasant dances were contaminated by the sounds of the capital.[28] For that matter, Gołębiowski claimed that the commoners of Warsaw danced to clumsy waltzes, while the upper classes adopted the mazurka.[29]

Most of the dances were utilitarian in character, although some of the polonaises and *mazurs* could function both for dancing and listening. Such compositions paved the way for stylized dances (especially waltzes and, later, polkas) in the form of virtuoso concert pieces. The brilliant Polish musicologist Tadeusz Strumiłło echoes the words of Chopin's contemporaries when he says that already during the composer's childhood Warsaw was satiated--"fed up" [miała po uszy]--with folk-based compositions.[30] Thus it is abundantly clear how strong was the tradition of stylized Polish dances into which Chopin was born. This tradition went back to the seventeenth

---

[27]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 167.

[28]Karol Kurpiński, "O pieśniach w ogólności" [On Songs in General], *Tygodnik Muzyczny*, 21 and 27 June 1820.

[29]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 323.

[30]Tadeusz Strumiłło, *Źrodła i początki romantyzmu w muzyce polskiej* [Sources and Beginnings of Romanticism in Polish Music] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956), 115.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

century, but early Romantic Polish composers made the creation of Polish national musical language their chief goal. The attempts to introduce Polish folk elements into operas dealing with national topics, first during the Polish Enlightenment and increasing in the nineteenth century, drenched the Polish musical market with folklike dances. So pervasive was the dance repertory that even the traditional genres of piano music could not escape the presence of dances.

The non-dance forms of piano music are represented by over 300 pieces published during the years 1810-1830. Here the majority are original piano compositions (as opposed to arrangements and transcriptions): mainly rondos, variations and fantasias. After these come marches, nocturnes, romances, etudes and preludes. The presence od the latter signals the beginning of an interest in the piano miniature, which will intensify after 1830.

The larger compositions--rondos, variations, fantasias and even concertos--were often inspired by popular dances, songs and thematic material from operas. The last movements of both of Chopin's concertos are influenced by dances: the E Minor by a *krakowiak*, and the F Minor by the *mazurek*. An earlier instance of such a stylized concerto movement is found in Franciszek Lessel's Piano Concerto in C Major, op. 14 (published in 1813), where the rondo-finale is a mazurka. The similarity between Lessel's work and the last movement of Chopin's Concerto in F Minor was noticed already by Hans Engel

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and certainly invites a closer investigation.[31]

The operas of Mozart, Rossini, Auber and Weber were an important source of fantasias and variations. Many of these were neither published nor even written down, since they constituted a display of the instrumentalist's improvisational skill. Such improvisation was also a mandatory part of every public concert and the young Chopin did not escape this obligation, especially since he was already known as a spectacular improviser.

The published variations and fantasias constitute only a minute fraction of such works, which originated and were often presented only in the form of live improvisations. Chopin's Variations in B flat Major, op. 2 on Mozart's "Là ci darem la mano" is representative of just such compositions. His Fantasia in A Major, op. 13, which uses several Polish themes, served a similar purpose. The use of Polish arias is not atypical, since the operas of Polish composers also received a lot of attention as sources of thematic material for instrumental pieces. Chopin's little-known Flute Variations on Rossini's *La cenerentola* dedicated to Count Józef Cichocki and Variations in E Major on "Steh'auf, steh'auf o du Schweitzer Bub" dedicated to Mrs. Sowińska belong to a slightly different genre, since they were conceived as musical gifts for the composer's patrons rather than show pieces for

---

[31]Hans Engel, *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Klavierkonzertes von Mozart bis Liszt* (Leipzig, 1927), 152-53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin the performer.

Piano or piano-vocal transcriptions of dramatic works constituted a large, separate group. The works most often transcribed were operas, comedies and melodramas. Ballets were a much smaller group. The most common kind of publication was sheet music containing a single fragment from a larger work. Less common were collections or multi-volume publications of excerpts, transcribed for the piano or for voice with piano accompaniment. Relatively few operas received a complete publication, whether as full orchestral score or more often as a piano-vocal score.

The printing of more sizable musical works in score was not feasible since the small demand would not offset the costs of production. In 1831 Gołębiowski expressed hope that some wealthy patrons would find the means to have large works--symphonic, sacred, operatic--copied and preserved for posterity:

> Should future generations want to judge the present state of music in Poland based on printed musical works, how demeaning would their opinion of us be if they found only waltzes, mazurkas, galops, polonaises, and these composed mostly by amateurs.
>
> [Gdyby albowiem późniejsze wieki chciały sądzić o teraźniejszym stanie muzyki w Polszcze z litografowanych sztuk muzycznych, jakżeby poniżające o nas mieli wyobrażenie, znajdując same tylko: walce, mazurki, galopady, polonezy, i to najwiecej przez amatorów komponowane.][32]

Despite this lack, today our view is not so limited.

---

[32]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 264.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While it is clear that the output of Warsaw's publishers reflected popular taste only, we know that many works addressed to a smaller circle of connoisseurs and larger works such as concertos and symphonies often existed in manuscript only or in foreign prints. The more acclaimed and resourceful composers, like Elsner and the young Chopin, published their larger works abroad and imported a number of copies for the use of musicians and highly educated amateurs. The information we possess about private and public concerts reveals familiarity with works of the great masters of the past (Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Bach) and the present (Field, Spohr, Hummel), whose names are absent from most publishing records. Their works were known in Poland mainly from imported scores.

In a letter written in 1825, Chopin mentions scores in his possession, most likely purchased in Warsaw:

> ... how many hundreds of scores await me lying in disorder on the piano like a mish-mash (indeed with an insult to the Hummels, Rieses, Kalkbrenners, whom fate has probably placed in this immense expanse next to Pleyel, Hemerlein, Hoffmeister)!
>
> [... ile set egzemplarzy nut w nieporządku na fortepianie, jak groch z kapustą (nawet ze zniewagą Humlów, Riesów, Kalkbrennerów, którym los zapewne miejsce w tak wielkiej rzeczypospolitej przy Pleielu, Hemerleynie, Hoffmaystrze naznaczył) leżących na mnie czeka!][33]

Nearly all Warsaw's music publishers imported music from abroad, mostly from Vienna, Paris, Leipzig and Offenbach am

---

[33]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 8 Septemeber 1825, Sydow edition, 1:56.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Main. Warsaw during Chopin's youth had access to all works popular elsewhere in Europe: in 1823 one could purchase all the works of Field, Ries (including his symphony), Dussek, Steibelt, Hartknoch, Klengel, Kalkbrenner and Spohr. An announcement in the daily press informs about the arrival at Klukowski's store of compositions for various instruments: for the piano specifically the works of Rùs, Kalkbrenner, Spohr and Kramer are listed.[34] In 1827 Klukowski imported from Vienna the works of Onslow, Weber, Horzalka, Randhartinger, Schoberluhner and several books of Czerny's piano etudes. During the next year the same store brought from Vienna new compositions by Moscheles, Czerny, Kalkbrenner, Herz, Ries, Pixis, Beriot, Rode, and especially Paganini. Hummel's new Piano School, published in Vienna in the end of 1828, arrived in Warsaw in July of 1829.[35]

Brzezina also imported scores from other Polish and foreign publishers. In 1825 he received from Paris the complete works of Hummel (22 books) and the following year the newly-published piano method by Cramer. The shop of Magnus advertised in 1830 a new Piano School by Pleyel, revised by Czerny and the very popular "Là ci darem la mano" variations

---

[34]*Kurier Warszawski,* 11 June 1825, no. 137, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 105.

[35]Jan Prosnak, "Środowisko warszawskie w życiu Fryderyka Chopina" [The Warsaw Environment in the Life of Fryderyk Chopin], *Kwartalnik muzyczny* 28 (October-December 1949):54-55.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of Mr. Chopin, published by Haslinger.[36]

Each one of the occupying Warsaw governments-- Prussian, French and Russian--imposed some form of censorship. Tomaszewski recalls an interesting instance from 1821 when a song with an inappropriate poetic text caused the periodical *Sybilla Nadwiślańska*, in which it was published, to be discontinued, whereas Kurpiński, who provided music for this poem was left untouched.[37] During 1827, a year characterized by harassment, repressions, and arrests, Novosilcov forbade the teaching of Niemcewicz's *Historic Chants*, claiming that they awakened patriotic feelings.[38] With the exception of a few such instances, until 1830 most censorship restrictions pertained to theatrical works. For example, in 1822 Elsner's *King Jagiełło [Król Jagiełło]* appeared on the list of forbidden operas.[39]

Yet all in all, censorship had a limited effect on musical works until the collapse of the November Insurrection in 1831. Already during the Insurrection, the Czar imposed strict censorship on musical prints, realizing that patriotic songs were important in the building of nationalistic feeling.

After the fall of the Insurrection as one of the measures

---

[36]Ibid., 54-55.

[37]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 22

[38]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 136.

[39]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Publishing*, 23

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the final loss of independence, Poland became a subject to decades of strict censorship. The crisis caused by the November Insurrection closed the doors of several printers and the recession that followed resulted in a decline of production by over thirty percent.[40] It took the Warsaw printing industry decades to return to the prosperity it had enjoyed in the years between 1810 and 1830.

---

[40]Ibid., 93.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. INSTRUMENT PRODUCTION

"Everywhere one goes, one finds the pitiful instruments built by Leszczyński" [Gdzie się ruszyć, Leszczyńskiego nędzne instrumenta], complained Chopin in his 1828 letter to Tytus Woyciechowski.[1] This well-known comment about Polish pianos and Chopin's later preference for Pleyel pianos created a dismal image of instrument production in Poland. Less well-known is that the statement about Leszczyński is just a part of a sentence that ends "since I haven't seen a single one that came close in sound to your sister's pantaleon or to ours" [bom ani jednego nie widział, co by się głosem zbliżył do pantalionu twej siostry albo do naszych]. Here Chopin clearly states a preference for his own instruments, of which at least one was a Polish-built Buchholtz.[2]

The Polish Kingdom had a respectable musical instrument industry, which, while it could not match other European centers in production, could well compete in quality with foreign instruments. The Polish instrument builders were quite skilled and several of them were working abroad in

---

[1]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 December 1828, Sydow edition, 1:87.

[2]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

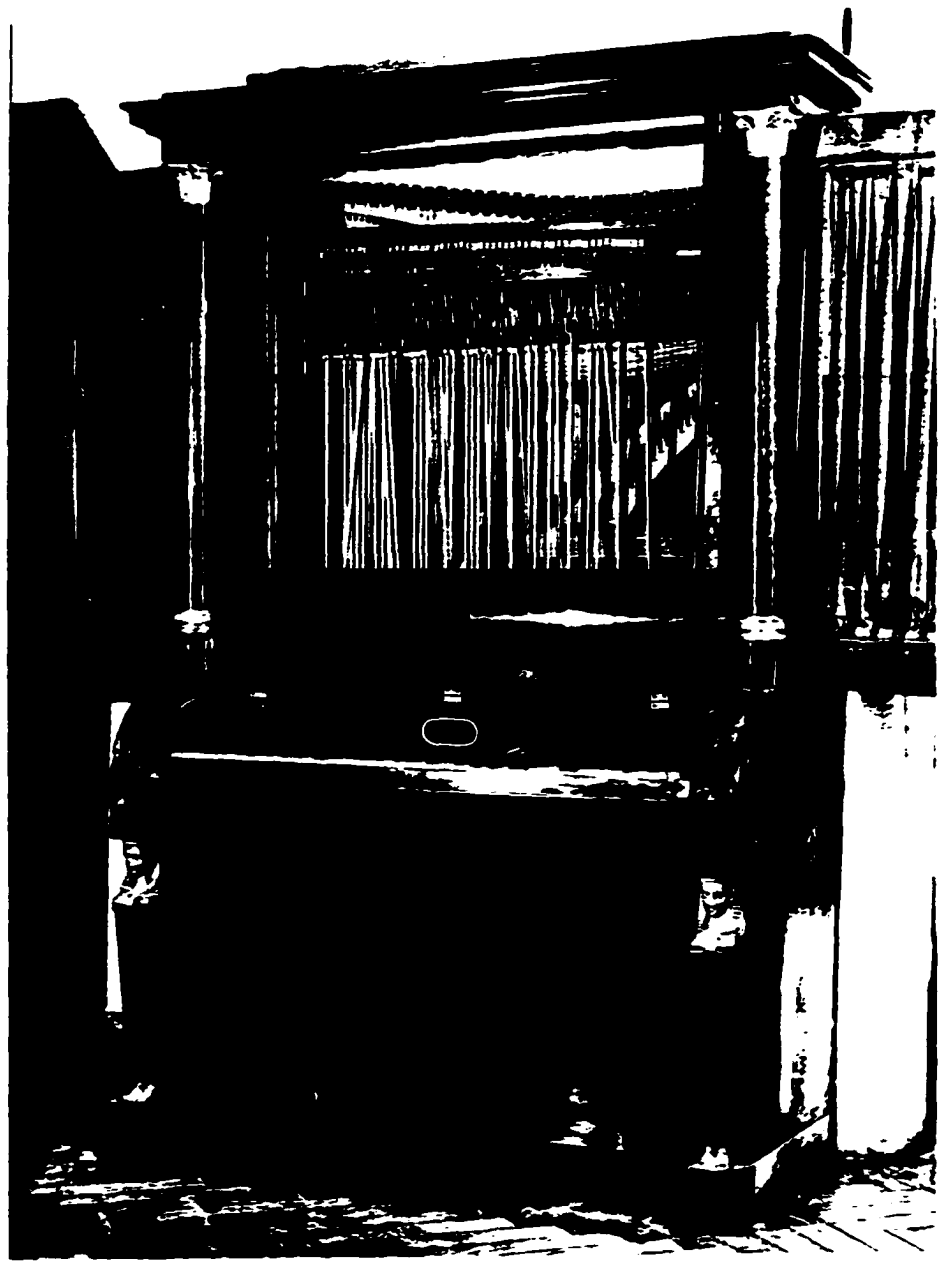


Fig. 10. A cabinet-piano built by Leszczyński about 1815 (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Germany, Belgium, France and the United States.[3]

In general, music-making was very important in Polish society: it was a necessary component of good education. In the first years of the century, young women played the English guitar (a cittern with six courses of metal strings); later the harp was favored and at the same time the piano began its fabulous career. Men were more likely to play the violin, flute, French horn, cello, or the Spanish or English guitar.[4] Some Polish makers produced large quantities of mediocre instruments suitable for these middle-class amateurs; others custom-built excellent exemplars for the discriminating connoisseur.

The forces of industrialization that shaped European economies during the nineteenth century had a profound effect on the art of instrument making. Poland, in a manner similar to other countries, experienced intermediate stages between craft and mass production. At the beginning of the century the ancient system was still intact. Existing records suggest that instrument makers did not have a separate guild, but most likely belonged to larger guilds.[5] After the creation of the

---

[3]An interesting case is that of a Warsaw inventor, Karl Gröl. According to Magier, it was Gröl who sold his design of a harp with the modern pedal system to Erard, who began producing such instruments in 1820. Magier, 246. These quite expensive harps were then imported to Poland from England in large quantities to satisfy the new fashion. Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 114.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Polish Kingdom, favorable customs and tariffs created a new industrial market that positively influenced instrument production. To further encourage growth, the government issued several rulings pertaining to education of skilled work force and modernization of the old system of production. The most important ruling pertained to the creation of Craftsmen's Assemblies *[Zgromadzenia Rzemieślnicze]* in place of the old guilds.[6]

The Assembly of Organmasters *[Zgromadzenie Organmistrzow]* gathered together luthiers *[lutnik]* as well as organ and piano builders. Trumpet-makers *[trąbomistrz]* and builders of other wind instruments at first belonged to the Assembly of Turners, but later formed their own organization; in the second part of the century they joined the Assembly of Organmasters, which continued to exist until the First World War.[7]

During the period under consideration the number of instruments makers' workshops and factories (these terms are

---

[6]The purpose of the assemblies was to set standards for, and provide education within, the apprentice system (which included practical training and basic reading and writing skills), to provide job placement for young journeymen and to settle disputes. Unlike the old guilds, the assemblies could not control prices of manufactured goods, bar the sale of finished products, or restrict the formations of manufactures or factories (whose owners and workers were not required to join the Assembly, but could not train and certify masters). Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 34 and 38. The system of Assemblies, which served mainly to destroy the monopoly of guilds, to facilitate new methods of production and to encourage new industrial enterprises, remained intact until the formation of trade unions in the last part of the nineteenth century.

[7]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

used rather loosely and interchaneably in the early industrial setting) steadily increased. By 1828 the Polish Kingdom had 72 factories, mostly in Warsaw, in addition to 369 certified builders working in the capital and various centers around the kingdom.[8] The "factories" employed about 10 workers; smaller workshops consisted of a master and 2-3 apprentices and/or journeymen.[9]

Poland has a long and rich history of violin playing and making, going back several hundred years.[10] During the first half of the nineteenth century, Warsaw had about 10 workshops of luthiers (makers of all sorts of strings instruments).[11] Their production was small and they could not compete for the popular market with the inferior yet inexpensive imports from the new centers of mass production. But the professional musician continued to require a quality that could be provided only by a master builder, and such marked the production of the Warsaw's workshops.

Warsaw's luthiers built excellent bowed instruments and bows based on old-Italian models, yet it was the production of plucked instruments (mainly the fashionable guitar) that

---

[8]AGAD, Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich 97; *Kalendarz domowy i gospodarski 1831* [Home and Farm Calendar 1831] (Warszawa: 1830), 29 quoted in Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 100.

[9]Vogel, *Polish Piano*, 58.

[10]Tyrone Greive, "A Look at the Violin in the 16th- and 17th-century Poland," *Journal of the Violin Making Society of America* 11/1 (1991): 117-142.

[11]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 50.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sustained the industry in the first part of the nineteenth century.[12] In the beginning of the century, when only the most affluent homes had a piano, the metal-stringed English guitar was the most popular instrument, found in almost every educated household. After 1808 the larger and differently-stringed Spanish guitar became preferred for accompaniment, but only for men; women continued using the light, elegant English instrument.[13]

> The quiet tones, lower tuning and lush chords of the Spanish guitar accompany singing and satisfactorily support the human voice; the English guitar plays more substantial pieces....
>
> [Gitary hiszpańskiej tony zciszone, strój o niskiej przestrzeni, treściwe akkordy śpiewom towarzyszą, głos ludzki wspierają dostatecznie; angielska snadniejsze wygrywa sztuki....][14]

Among the many string instrument builders the best guitar makers were Jan Baranowski and the Czech-born Antoni Weinert; Piotr Janicki was famous for bows "that equalled Parisian bows," but the best craftsman was Henryk Rudert I, a son and father of Warsaw's luthiers, who started his professional career in 1828.[15]

Henryk Rudert's father Johann Michael, a mediocre Saxon instrument maker, settled in Warsaw before 1821.[16] Henryk

---

[12]Ibid.

[13]Wójcicki, *Warsaw*, 188.

[14]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 234.

[15]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 50.

[16]Ibid., 203.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

grew up in Poland and, in addition to an apprenticeship, in his father's shop, he studied the violin at the Conservatory with Józef Bielawski, an excellent musician, who often worked with Chopin.[17] Rudert, who was a good guitarist and violist, often participated in chamber performances in Warsaw's salons and in the 1840s played with the orchestra of the National Theater.[18] Yet he deserves most to be remembered as a builder of beautifully crafted string instruments, carved or inlaid with wood, silver and ivory, highly praised in Poland and abroad for their beautiful and rich tone.[19]

The gut strings for these instruments were also produced in Warsaw. A large portion of the market was supplied by Johann Michael Rudert and his other son Johann Michael II, though the largest supplier was the Fiorentini Factory.[20] The Fiorentini strings (made of gut and later also silk) were of high quality, and their production was large enough to export to the Russian Empire.[21]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the main problem posed by the construction of wind instruments

---

[17]Ibid., 201.

[18]Ibid., 202.

[19]Ibid., 52.

[20]Ibid., 160. The factory was managed by three generations of craftsmen: first by Baltasaro and his son Giuseppe Fiorentini, who arrived in Poland about 1787, and after 1826 by Franciszek Józef Fiorentini (the son of Giuseppe and Józefa Sokołowska).

[21]Ibid., 53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pertained to the availability of the full chromatic scale. Several inventors experimented with mechanical systems of keys in the woodwinds and valves in brass instruments. The Polish artisans were abreast of the newest inventions from abroad, and did not hesitate to experiment on their own.[22] Gołębiowski, for example, names a Jan Miller, who removed the most significant faults of the clarinet by introducing 13 comfortable keys.[23]

The production of wind instruments in the Polish Kingdom was rather small at the beginning of the century. The few Warsaw craftsmen could not sustain their businesses from instrument production only and offered other products and services, usually as turners. Since the quality of their products was high, when the demand for wind instruments increased, several of the workshops were able to specialize. During the first quarter of the century the initially small military bands increased in size from about 10 instruments (2 clarinets, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 French horns, 2 bassoons and percussion) to ensembles of 50, 80, or even 100 players. These new ensembles included all kinds of trumpets, horns and trombones--no longer with holes *[sic]*, but with keys; they played with great precision, and a beautiful, organ-like

---

[22]Ibid., 70-72.

[23]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 236. The sources do not mention a Jan Miller, but it is possible that Gołębiowski meant Wilhelm Müller (see below, page 112).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sound.[24] Given such demand for their product, a few of the wind instrument workshops became large factories and continued to produce for the local and foreign markets well into the twentieth century.

One such successful craftsmen was Wilhelm Wernitz. At first, his workshop produced wind instruments and fine artifacts made of wood, ivory and amber. Later he was able to limit his production to fine woodwinds and brass instruments. He was especially praised for his countless innovations and improvements (re-tuning mechanisms or new valve systems for the French horn and the bugle, just to mention some).[25] Vogel suggests that instruments built by Wernitz were played at the bugle concert that amazed Chopin so much:[26]

> Recently I was in General Szembek's encampment (...) Szembek is very musical, plays the violin well--he used to study with Rode and is a rabid "paganinist," and therefore belongs to a good class of musicians. He ordered his orchestra to perform. They exerted themselves the whole morning and I heard curious things. All of this on trumpets called bugles; you would not imagine that they could execute chromatic scales as fast as possible and while descending diminuendo! It truly amazed me when I heard a cavatina from [Auber's] *La muette [de Portici]* performed on these trumpets with complete accuracy and shading.
>
> [Byłem onegdaj w obozie jenerała Szembeka (...) Szembek jest bardzo muzykalny, gra dobrze na skrzypcach, kiedyś u Rodego sie uczył, i jest zabity paganinista, a zatem do dobrej kasty muzykantów należy. Kazał muzyce swojej wystąpić,

---

[24]Ibid., 257-58.

[25]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 218.

[26]Ibid., 71.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> która się całe rano egzercytowała, i dziwne rzeczy słyszałem. Wszystko to na trąbach zwanych Bugla; anibyś pomyślał, że robią gamy chromatyczne jak tylko można najszybciej i diminuendo w dół. Zastanowiło mię to bardzo, jakiem cavatinę z *Niemej* na tych trąbach ze wszelką akuratnością i cieniowaniem usłyszał.][27]

Gołębiowski credits this success to Haase, the Kapellmeister General of Infantry Regiments Orchestras, but special praise goes to the kapellmeister of Szembek's sixty-man orchestra, Czapiewski, who organized the ensemble, made the witty arrangements, and brought the performance to such high level.[28]

The workshop of Wernitz, although the largest one in the Kingdom, was not the only producer of quality instruments. Józef Horalek, specializing in woodwinds, built highly-praised instruments, using modern innovations and his own improvements.[29] Antoni Weinert, famous as a producer of guitars, expanded his enterprise in 1812 by hiring Ch. G. Eschenbach, a trumpet builder.[30] Other builders, like Wilhelm Müller, abandoned instrument production and concentrated on turner's tasks.[31] By then Wilhelm Wernitz had trained a whole generation of fine craftsmen, including

---

[27]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 31 August 1830, Sydow edition, 1:133-34.

[28]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 258.

[29]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 170.

[30]Ibid., 216.

[31]Ibid., 192.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his son Adolf Jan and Wilhelm Glier, both of whom started their own successful factories.[32]

Poland's organ builders represented somewhat conservative tastes. While elsewhere in Europe new Romantic trends began to affect the sound and mechanism of the organ, in Poland the Baroque traditions of organ building were continued until the mid-nineteenth century. Occasionally, new stops were created: the most popular was the *Portunal [Portunał]*, which was invented about 1801 in Wrocław and had a flute-like sound. During the rebuilding and fixing of older instruments a *Portunał* was frequently installed. Other, more typically Romantic, stops added to existing instruments were: the *Vox humana, Vox amabilis, Vox coelestis* and *Aeolina*. The last one was derived from the fashionable new invention--the harmonium.[33]

Notwithstanding, the quality of instruments built and maintained by local craftsmen was rather high. Some of them, like Fryderyk Buchholtz, divided their time between piano and organ building; others devoted their efforts exclusively to

---

[32]Ibid., 218.

[33]Gołos, *Organ and Organ Music*, 73-74. Not until the years 1837-41 did the Warsaw cathedral receive a new instrument with a typically Romantic specification: four manuals and pedal, 51 stops, including 12 reed stops and the new fashionable timbres: *clarinet, vox humana* and *melodikon*. Gołos, *The Polish Organ*, 98. Such Romantic instruments were not yet common. One was more likely to encounter smaller technical improvements such as modern-compass keyboards; like elsewhere, the pneumatic action and the Venetian swell are found only at the end of the nineteenth century. Gołos, *Organ and Organ Music*, 77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

organs. Among the most respected were Wacław Bauer, Dominik Pilichowski, Karol Żakiewicz, Rafał Ostrowski and Jan Ciężartowicz.[34]

Chopin started studying the organ with Würfel at the same time as he began learning composition from Elsner, in 1822. In November of 1825 he became proficient enough to get a Sunday organist's job in the Visitation Nuns' Church of the Protection of St. Joseph associated with the Gymnasium:

> I became the Gymnasium's organist. (...) Every week, on Sunday, I play at the Visitation Nuns' Church and the others sing.
>
> [Zostałem organistą Licejskim. (...) Gram co tydzień, w niedzielę, u Wizytek na organach, a reszta śpiewa.][35]

The organ played by Chopin, built in the second half of the eighteenth century, was later removed to a provincial church in Nieznamierowice and subsequently perished in a fire. The present instrument was built by Antoni Szymański in 1909; contrary to the church's claims, it probably has no connection with Chopin.[36]

Although nothing is said about Chopin performing on the organ in the Lutheran Holy Trinity church, it is certain that he and his sister were members of the choir in this church (see page 169) and therefore there is a considerable

---

[34]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 79.

[35]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, [November 1825], Sydow edition, 1:60.

[36]Gołos, *Organ and Organ Music*, 170.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

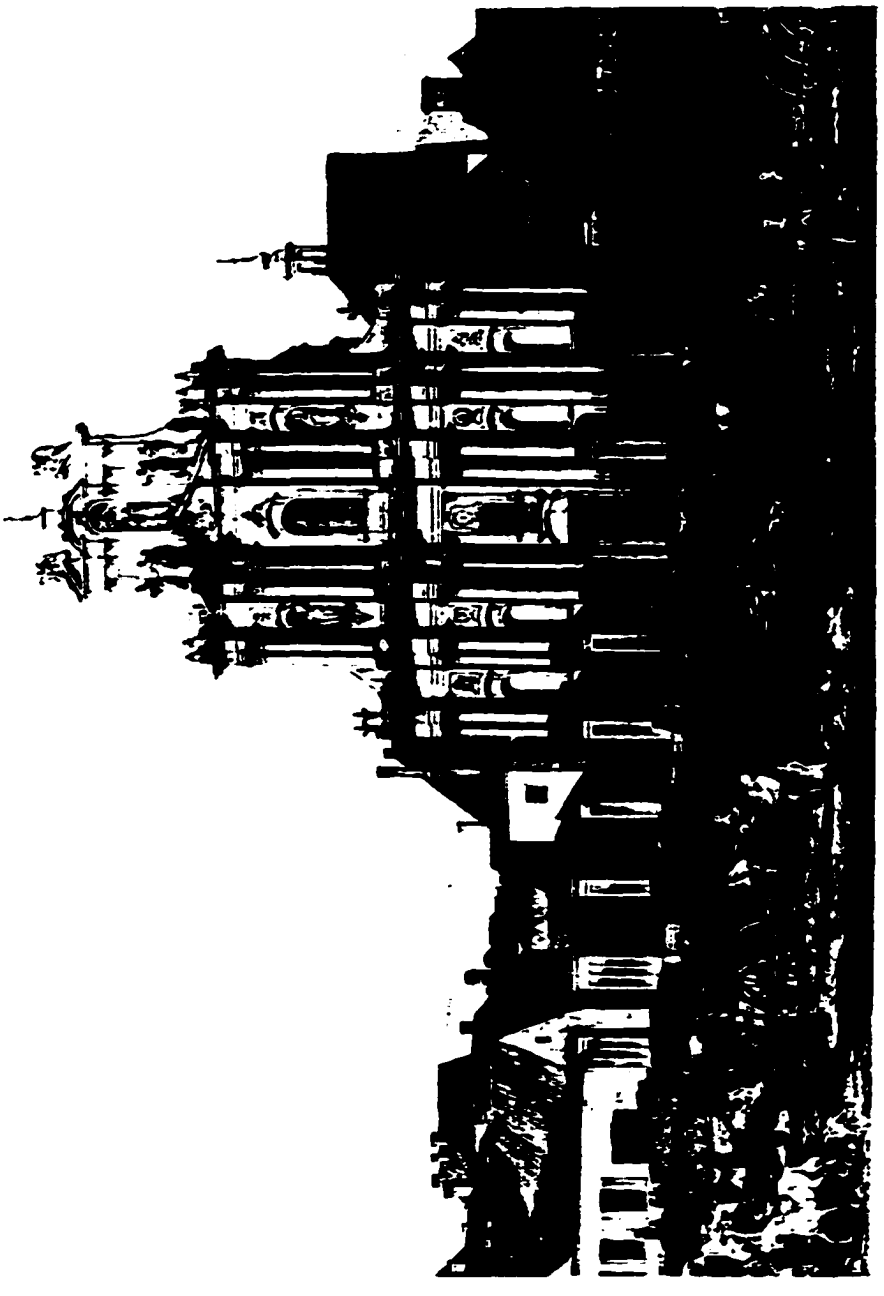


Fig. 11. The Visitation Nuns' Church, associated with the Warsaw University, where Chopin played the organ on Sundays (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

likelihood of Fryderyk being familiar with the church's organ. In 1781, when the congregation relocated to a new church, the old instrument was enlarged from 21 to 23 stops and given a new windchest, four bellows and classical architecture. The instrument was again restored and enlarged in 1817, when reed stops and one more bellow were added, thus bringing the instrument's specification to 25 stops.[37]

Chopin's mastery at the organ was best captured by Sikorski in a description of his performance at Visitation Nuns' church, which took place during his last year in Warsaw:

> Chopin, in the last year of his stay in Warsaw, was a frequent guest in the choir and gladly performed at the organ either fugues of various masters or his own improvisations. The difficult part of playing the organ, that is, the skillful and elaborate use of the pedal, was utterly easy for him and sometimes led him to almost showing off, which in turn led to the awakening of the keyboard's voices. It happened one time, during a break in a mass performed with an orchestra, that Chopin sat at the organ and, taking as the theme (in the manner of celebrated masters) a motive from the last passage, he began to draw out of it a wealth of ideas so immense and uninterrupted in its flow that everybody--from the oldest to the youngest crowding around the bench of the performer, lost in thought, captivated--forgot about the place and duties they came to fulfil.
>
> [Szopen mianowicie w ostatnim roku swego pobytu w Warszawie, czestym na chórze bywał gościem, i chętnie grywał na organach, to fugi różnych mistrzów, to własne improwizacye. Trudna cześć grania na organach to jest użycie pedału zręczne a bogate, zupełnie mu łatwą była i wiodła go niekiedy do popisywania się prawie, co znów prowadziło do

---

[37]Jerzy Gołos, "Organy i muzyka w ewangielickim kościele św. Trójcy w Warszawie" [The Organ and Music at the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity in Warsaw], *Ruch muzyczny* 15 (1990), 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> stosownego rozbudzenia głosow klawiatury. I zdarzyło się raz w przerwie między ustępami mszy wykonywanej z orkiestrą, że Szopen siadł do organu i za temat wziąwszy zwyczajem sławnych organistów, motyw ostatniego ustępu, jął wylewać z niego bogactwo pomysłów tak wielkie i nieprzerwanym płynące potokiem, że wszyscy, od najstarszych do najmłodszych, ściśnięci około ławki grającego, zadumani, porwani, zapomnieli o miejscu i obowiązkach na których spełnianie się zebrali.][38]

In view of such understanding of and proficiency at this instrument, it becomes apparent that his interest in the organ, together with studies and friendship with Würfel, must have had an effect on Chopin. Unquestionable are the organ-like textures in the middle section of the G Minor Nocturne and the A Minor Fugue, moreover his idiosyncratic fingerings could have been influenced by Baroque organ fingerings.[39]

Poland had its share of the nineteenth-century craze for mechanical instruments. All kinds of music boxes, clock chimes playing favorite tunes from Polish and foreign operas, and hand organs were produced.[40] The most famous case involved an instrument variously called *eolimelodicon, melodicordion, melodipantaleon, eolipantalion, aeolopantalon,*

---

[38]Sikorski, 554.

[39]Gołos, *Organ and Organ Music,* 184.

[40]Many of the producers were organ or piano builders, the most successful of them Antoni Śpiechowski. Vogel, *Musical Instruments,* 82. Other piano builders tried their hand at the construction of newly invented, experimental instruments. Notable productions were: Jordaki Kuparenko's *buzuton,* Philippe de Girard's *tremolofon* and Roman Piotrowski's *akordometr* (a tuning device).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

choralion, orchestrion and *tritonion.*[41] All of the above were different kinds of pseudo-organs, which represented attempts to create household-size instruments producing an organ-like sound. Two competing inventors, August Fidelis Brunner (with the help of the excellent piano and organ builder Fryderyk Buchholtz) and Józef Długosz (a respected Warsaw piano builder) built the most interesting of these instruments; their complex story is told in some detail by B. Vogel.[42] Their instruments enjoyed a short-lived but quite intense popularity, and even Chopin became involved in their history. Among his many documented performances on the pseudo-organs we find the 1825 concert of Conservatory students during which the audience heard choral works by Beethoven with the accompaniment of *choralion,* Elsner's cantata with *choralion* and young Fryderyk's performance of a *Fantasia for eolopantalion.*[43]

Chopin's interest in the pseudo-organs originated with his organ teacher, Wacław Würfel, who gave a concert on Brunner's *eolimelodicon* in 1822.[44] It was Chopin's

---

[41]Gołębiowski lists yet other names: *harmonichorn, panmelodion, terpodion, trombonion, eoliopantalion, glaskord.* Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements,* 234.

[42]Beniamin Vogel, "Fortepiany i idiofony klawiszowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach młodości Chopina" [Pianos and Keyboard Idiophones in the Polish Kingdom in the Years of Chopin's Youth], *Rocznik Chopinowski* 9 (1975):57-61.

[43]Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 102.

[44]Vogel, "Pianos and Idiophones," 60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performance on this instrument during Czar Alexander I's Warsaw visit in 1825 that earned tokens of appreciation from the monarch in the form of a diamond rings for Chopin and Brunner.[45]

According to Sikorski, Brunner invented the *choralion* together with Fryderyk Jakub Hoffman, a professor of mineralogy at the university and a friend of the Chopins.[46] Brunner's *choralion* and its future versions enjoyed tremendous popularity in Warsaw and so in 1826, during funeral ceremonies for Czar Alexander I, Elsner's *Requiem* was performed at the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity with the accompaniment of the *choralion*.[47] Around the same time Fryderyk performed on the *eolimelodicon* in the house of Teresa Kicka.[48] A similar evening must have taken place in December of this year, when the press reported Chopin's splendid performance on the *choralion* during a gathering in a private apartment.[49] Information located by Vogel indicates that the Duchess of Łowicz, wife of Grand Duke Constantine, whose salon Chopin

---

[45]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 103.

[46]Sikorski, 517.

[47]*Opis żałobnego obchodu po wielkopomnej pamięci nayiaśniejszym Alexandrze I* [A Description of the Funeral Celebration for the Eternal Memory of His Highness Alexander I] (Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1829), 82.

[48]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 104.

[49]Ibid., 105.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

frequented, also owned one of Brunner's *melodicordions*.[50]

We hear more of this instrument in Chopin's correspondence. An 1826 letter informs us that Antoni Wybraniecki, the step-father of Chopin's close friend Jan Białobłocki, ordered Brunner's *choralion* for the newly founded church in Dobrzyń.[51] In the Fall of that year Brunner had the instrument ready, with some improvements,[52] but in the Spring of 1827 the *choralion* was still not picked up by Wybraniecki.[53] The *choralion* and its unusual sound is thus described by contemporaries:

> The vibrating body in the *choralion* is the air in metal cylinders to which large brass trumpets were added, and the force of the sound produced with the help of bellows (which are pressed with the player's feet) can according to his wish increase so that it will drown out one hundred people (half of them singers). A graduated supply of air made differences in the tone color; a light blow sounded like a *melodikon*, a stronger one like a shrieking clarinet, a very strong one roared like a combined sound of trumpets, French horns and trombones. This instrument stood for some time in the choir of the Lutheran church in Warsaw, but today it lies disassembled in the church storage.
>
> [Ciałem brzmiennem w *choraleonie* jest powietrze w cylindrach metalowych będące, do którego dodano

---

[50]Beniamin Vogel, "Jeszcze raz o dwóch nieznanych kompozycjach Chopina na eolipantalion" [Once Again about Two Unknown Compositions for Eolopantalion by Chopin], *Rocznik Chopinowski* 17 (1985):124.

[51]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, 12 February 1826, Sydow edition, 1:63.

[52]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 2 November [October 1826], Sydow edition, 1:73.

[53]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 14 [12] March [1827], Sydow edition, 1:77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> wielkie trąby blaszane, a siła tonu budzonego za pomocą mieszków nogami grającego deptanych, wedle jego życzenia tak się wzmodz może, że zagłuszy sto osób, w połowie śpiewaków. Stopniowane podawanie powietrza i w kolorycie głosu różnicę sprawiało; lekkie zadęcie brzmiało jak melodikon, mocniejsze jak krzyczący klarnet, bardzo mocne ryczało jak połączony odgłos trąb, waltorni i puzonów. Instrument ten stał w jakiś czas na chórze kościoła ewangielickiego w Warszawie, dziś jednak rozebrany, leży w składach kościelnych.][54]

Chopin's involvement with Długosz's *eolipantalion* had an equally long history. According to an 1873 obituary of Kazimierz Tarczyński, who in the 1820s worked in the workshop of Długosz, the young piano builder became well acquainted with Fryderyk Chopin. Tarczyński, a fluent pianist himself, was involved in the construction of an *eolipantalion* and received from the teen-age composer two compositions for this instrument. These manuscripts Tarczyński treasured until his death.[55] Vogel traced the fate of these compositions a bit further and found that shortly before Tarczyński's death the manuscripts were borrowed by a music lover from Płock, Mrs. L., later the wife of General D., and never returned.[56] Zdzisław Szulc suggests that these could have been the

---

[54]"Narzędzia muzyczne z klawiaturą" [Musical Instruments with a Keyboard], *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1848, no. 2: 378. The disassembled *choralion* remained in storage until a sale of damaged and used instruments on October 29, 1860, when 40 trumpets from the choralion were purchased by a Szmul Wagner. Gołos, "Organ at the Lutheran Church," 3.

[55]Zdzisław Szulc, "Dwie nieznane kompozycje Chopina na eolopantalion" [Two Unknown Compositions for Eolopantalion by Chopin], *Muzyka* 6 (March/April 1955):19-20.

[56]Vogel, "Once Again Compositions for Eolopantalion," 128.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

compositions for *eolipantalion* performed by Chopin during the earlier-mentioned Conservatory concerts taking place May 27 and June 10, 1825.[57]

These early performances were quite successful and the account of these events published by the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* is indeed the first printed mention of Chopin's talent found outside of Poland:

> The student Chopin was heard in the first Allegro of the F Minor Piano Concerto by Moscheles and in free Fantasias at the *Aeolopantalon*. This instrument, constructed by a local carpenter Długosz, combines the Aeolomelodikon with the piano in such a manner that it presents an amazing variety to a player acquainted with its features. It made a tremendous impression under the hands of the talented young Chopin, who through the wealth of musical ideas in his free Fantasias showed himself a complete master of this instrument.
>
> [Der Akademist Chopin liess sich mit dem ersten Allegro des Pianoforte-Concerts aus F moll von Moschelles und mit freyen Phantasien auf dem *Aeolopantalon* hören. Dieses Instrument, verfertigt von dem hiesigen Tischlermeister Dlugosc *[sic]*, verbindet das Aeolomelodikon mit dem Pianoforte auf eine Art, die dem Spieler, der sich mit Zusammensetzung der Züge bekannt gemacht hat, eine überraschende Mannigfaltigkeit darbietet, und unter den Händen des talentvollen jungen Chopin, der sich durch einen Reichthum musikalischer Ideen in seinen freyen Phantasieen auszeichnet und ganz Herr dieses Instruments ist, grossen Eindruck machte.][58]

A somewhat more detailed description of Długosz's instrument is found in an 1848 article:

> The *Aeolopantalon* combines the firmness of piano touch with the advantages of continuous tone; but handling it is not easy, not only because of pedals

---

[57]Zdzisław Szulc, "Compositions for Eolopantlion," 19-20.

[58]*Allgemeine musichalische Zeitung*, November 1825:764.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> or rather bellows, which the player himself has to press, but also because of some repetitive movements required if we want to explore the instrument's richness.
>
> [*Aeolopantalon* łączy jędrność uderzenia fortepianowego z korzyściami ciągłego tonu; ale traktowanie jego nie jest łatwe, nietylko z powodu pedałów a raczéj mieszków, które sam grający naciskać musi, jak i dla niektórych ciągle powracać mogących czynności, jeśli z bogactwa instrumentu korzystać zechcemy.][59]

The *Eolipantalion,* like Brunner's instruments, found its way to Warsaw's salons. For instance, Chopin describes an evening in 1826 spent in the Zamoyski house, where the guests admired Długosz' *eoliopantalion.*[60] The last time we hear of Długosz and his creation in association with Chopin, is in an 1835 letter from Mikołaj Chopin to his son in Paris, where he asks (on behalf of Długosz) that the composer look into selling the idea in Paris.[61] At that point any attempt to market such instruments was futile since a new and better invention already replaced them. It was the Viennese-built *physharmonica* (an ancestor of the *harmonium*), which was first introduced in Warsaw in 1829 and soon superseded all other experimental instruments.[62]

Having given due attention to the musical instruments of

---

[59]"Musical Instruments with a Keyboard," 377.

[60]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów [15 May 1826], Sydow edition, 1:65.

[61]Mikołaj Chopin, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 9 February 1835, Kobylańska edition, 102.

[62]Vogel, "Pianos and Idiophones," 61.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin's Warsaw, his involvement with the organ, and his adventures with the *choralion* and *eolipantalion*, we must return to the instrument that played the most important role in his creative life: the piano. Chopin's striking preference for the piano and his almost complete lack of interest in other instruments becomes perfectly understandable within the context of the piano madness that characterized his time.

The oldest records concerning the presence of pianos in Poland come from cloister inventories and archives of aristocratic and royal households. The earliest documented presence of a piano in Poland dates to 1749, when Johann Sebastian Bach was an agent in the purchase of a piano built by Gottfried Silbermann (the famous organ maker) for Jan Klemens Branicki from Białystok.[63] The records of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the last king of Poland and a great patron of the arts, indicate that in 1784 there were two pianos among the many keyboard instruments tuned by J. Wierzbowski.[64] In 1813, the King's tragically deceased nephew, prince Józef Poniatowski, left in his estate four pianos dating to the last three decades of the eighteenth century.[65] Somewhat more detailed information is provided by the household records of

---

[63]Vogel, *Polish Piano*, 14. At first, Bach was rather skeptical towards Silbermann's pianos, but by 1745 he considered fifteen of them satisfactory and on his recommendation they were purchased by Frederick the Great. Ibid., 21.

[64]Ibid., 177.

[65]Ibid., 178.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the great Lithuanian *hetman*, Michał Kazimierz Ogiński. This paternal uncle of the polonaise composer Michał Kleofas Ogiński (both studied with Viotti, among others) was not just a great music-lover but also a composer himself, and his court in Słonim could boast a first-rate opera theater and orchestra. In the years 1778-1801 his palace maintained over a dozen keyboard instruments, including six pianos.[66]

Pianos became fashionable only after the socio-economic changes, which in Poland took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century, permitted the growth of a middle class. The presence of pianos in households of lower-class families was at first rather uncommon. The situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century is described in an article about Poland in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

> In almost every home with ambitions for education, one finds a grand piano from Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, or Breslau [Wrocław], and often someone who plays it very well.
>
> [Fast in jedem Hause, in welchem man auf einige Bildung Anspruch macht, findet man Flügelfortepiano, aus Wien, Dresden, Berlin oder Breslau, und Jemand, der es, nicht selten vortrefflich spielt.][67]

Soon, all boarding schools for girls provided piano lessons, and more affluent households of aristocracy, nobility and bourgeoisie hired piano teachers. In 1835 a Polish newspaper quotes the same *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* as having

---

[66]Ibid., 177-78.

[67]*AmZ*, January 1805:224.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

written:

> Musical art has spread in Poland, although we in Germany don't know about it since an artist from that country is seldom heard in Europe! It has spread, I say, because in every house you find a piano and in Warsaw pianists are swarming, and still more are arriving from Germany and Bohemia....
>
> [Sztuka muzykalna rozszerzyła się w Polsce, choć my o tem w Niemczech nie wiemy, gdyż rzadko kiedy artysta z tego kraju da się słyszeć w Europie! Rozszerzyła się mówie, gdyż w każdym domu znajdziesz fortepian i ponieważ w Warszawie roją się fortepianiści, a jeszcze ich więcej przybywa z Niemiec i Czech....][68]

The ability to play the piano became such an important attribute of a young woman (while also a very desirable skill for a young man) that even the lower classes made an effort equip their homes with a piano and provide piano lessons for their daughters. In 1825 the cases of two artisans (a tailor and a locksmith) who allowed their daughters to indulge in piano playing were a subject of a public debate.[69] During the next decade music lessons in the homes of lower classes became commonplace.[70] The most important outcome of it all was the change in the social status of a musician. The contempt for professional music making, previously held by the upper classes, gave place to social acceptance and admiration (to some degree even for women musicians). Such an atmosphere

---

[68]*Kurier Warszawski*, 1835, no. 307:1553-54, quoted in Vogel, *Polish Piano*, 180. In the 1835 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* no such passage can be found.

[69]Vogel, *Polish Piano*, 179.

[70]Ibid., 183.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

made it easier for the Chopins to encourage little Fryderyk's talents and support his professional education.

The pianos played by Chopin, especially during his youth, were very different from our modern instrument. They had a smaller range (five to six and a half octaves), their keys were narrower and the resulting octave spacing was almost a centimeter smaller. The hammers were covered with leather; the strings (in Viennese models only two for each tone) had a lighter tension and were made from a different materials than today (treble from soft steel, bass from copper and only in the lowest register wrapped in wire) resulting in sound that was singing and sustained but also more differentiated in each register. Not only was the action lighter, but the key-dip was also much shallower, thus requiring a lighter touch.

The oldest Polish-made piano-like instrument still in existence was built in 1774 by Jan Skórski from Sandomierz. This instrument has a rather unusual construction: not only it is among the few square pianos in the world that used the tangent mechanism, but it also lacks dampers which brings it closer to the concept of the pantaleon--an instrument based on the dulcimer.[71] Considering the documented, earlier presence on Polish soil of foreign-built pianos, and the old, strong tradition of playing and building harpsichords and clavichords, it is likely that similar instruments were built earlier. Even if this was the case, the initially small needs

---

[71]Ibid., 117.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the local market were mostly fulfilled through imports. Those needs grew rapidly and, unquestionably, by the 1780s pianos were built in Gdańsk, Cracow and Warsaw.[72]

At first, the size of production and quality of instruments was not too impressive. When Elsner met with Erard during his 1805 visit in Paris (in order to select and purchase a piano for Princess Sapieha), the famous piano-maker questioned him about the Polish market. In his *Summary* Elsner recalls:

> I told him that most often we import them [pianos], usually from Vienna, since in general our musical instrument construction and factories are at a very low level here.
>
> [Odpowiedziałem mu, że najczęściej sprowadzamy z zagranicy, mianowicie z Wiednia, ponieważ w ogólności budowa i fabryki instrumentów muzycznych bardzo nisko jeszcze u nas stoją.][73]

The situation was fast improving with the influx of talented young builders. Many of them were foreigners, who settled in Warsaw; some were Poles, who received a thorough education abroad. Most of the materials needed for piano construction were locally available. Veneers for casings were made from Polish alder, pear, birch, ash or walnut. Spruce boards were used for sounding boards. Pins and wire used for the production of strings were imported, as were--quite obviously--ebony, mahogany, rosewood and ivory.[74] The local

---

[72]Ibid.

[73]Elsner, *Summary*, 123.

[74]Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

market absorbed newly-built instruments with amazing speed. It was an opportune moment for piano production.

By the time Chopin was growing up, the Kingdom had nearly 20 piano manufactures (all but three in Warsaw).[75] Among the most respected were the workshops of Fryderyk Buchholtz, Antoni Leszczyński, Maximilian Hochhauser, Wilhelm Jansen, Wilhelm Troschel, Tomasz Max and Antoni Śpiechowski. Thus, the pianos that Chopin played in Warsaw were not only foreign imports, but also locally made instruments that didn't differ much from European standards of the time.

The Polish piano builders implemented new inventions with only a minor delay. During the 1810s and 1820s the influences came from both London and Vienna. Square models, typically equipped with the Viennese mechanism, were treated with little respect. The Polish builders thought of them as instruments for amateurs and seldom used them in industrial exhibitions. They preferred to show their workmanship through upright and, above all, wing pianos. In the Polish Kingdom, these could relate to either Viennese or English types (elsewhere in Poland Viennese-type pianos dominated the market).

The square pianos built in Poland came in various sizes. The small, boudoir-size instruments had only four octaves and a retractable keyboard, and often incorporated non-musical functions (the one preserved in the collection of the Museum of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow doubles as a sewing-

---

[75]Ibid., 60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

table!). Needless-to-say, these instruments were not of high technical quality. The larger types had five octaves and after 1820 their keyboard size increased to six octaves.[76]

The upright pianos built in Poland were of much better quality. They were based either on Viennese or on English models, both in terms of mechanism and style of the casing. The English version of the upright piano was represented in Poland by the cabinet type using the English tracker mechanism and two stops (*una corda* and damper). The German and Viennese models--giraffes, pyramides, lyres, etc.--used Viennese mechanisms of the hanging or standing type, and typically included 4-6 mechanical stops activated with special pedals.[77]

Although the less-affluent customer could only afford the upright or square piano, the builders took greatest pride in the production of the grand wing piano. It was the best sounding of them all and the most worthy of technical improvements. The English models built in the Polish Kingdom had a more massive case, characterized by straight lines of the sides, with a partially opened bottom and a system of metal supports for the soundboard, rim and pinblock. Sometimes they used the older-style English action with dampers above the strings. The Viennese case was lighter, with flowing curves of the sides. Ribs were used only for the

---

[76]Vogel, *Polish Piano,* 118-19.

[77]Ibid., 119-20.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 12. A giraffe-piano built by Buchholtz during Chopin's youth (The Chopin Society).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

soundboard and the bottom was solid. The lighter Viennese mechanism employed wedge-shaped dampers.

As in other types of pianos, the English models had two pedal stops, whereas the Viennese ones included additional mechanical stops. In both types double or triple strings were used (copper for the bass, but seldom wrapped in wire), the hammers were covered with several layers of leather (mutton or cervine) and the keyboard extended six octaves (after 1825 it could reach six and a half).[78]

The preference for Viennese models was obvious already at the beginning of the century. Elsner's description of the public's response to an Erard piano best testifies to Warsaw's attitudes:

> The newly-arrived piano was generally and exceptionally liked in terms both of its appearance and of its tone, which was big and resounding; in a word, the instrument left nothing to be desired. Only the heavy touch of the keyboard was not to the ladies' taste, and none of them wanted to perform on this instrument, even the famous Szymanowska. Only her chief rival, Miss Wołowska (today living in Paris as the wife of the attorney Franciszek Wołowski), greatly pleased the listeners when she used this piano for her performance of Steibelt's Concerto in E Major.
>
> [Nowosprowadzony fortepian z powierzchowności podobał się nadzwyczajnie i ogólnie, ton jego podobnież, bo dźwieczny i okazały, słowem instrument ten niepozostawiał nic do życzenia. Dotknięcie tylko klawiatury dla twardości onej niezupełnie damom przypadło do smaku, żadna też nie chciała popisywać się na tym instrumencie, nawet tyle sławna Szymanowska, dopiero współubiegająca się z nią o pierwszeństwo panna Wołowska, dziś żona mecenasa Franciszka Wołowskiego mieszkającego w

---

[78]Ibid., 120-24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Paryżu, wykonała na nim Koncert Steibelta in E-dur z wielkim upodobaniem słuchaczów.][79]

The Polish piano makers did not hesitate to experiment with creating various combinations of the English and Viennese instruments, nor did they shy away from introducing their own improvements and technical solutions.[80] Many of them were praised for the quality of their instruments, but Warsaw's most famous piano builders during Chopin's youth were Antoni Leszczyński and Fryderyk Buchholtz.

Leszczyński spent many years as an apprentice and a builder in Vienna, Paris and London (with Muzio Clementi).[81] When he returned to Poland, he settled in Warsaw, and during the years 1819-1830 he was the owner of a very successful factory, that produced large quantities of richly decorated, but technically mediocre instruments.[82] It is only natural that he brought to Poland the English traditions of piano building, and he was the first one to use the English

---

[79]Elsner, *Summary*, 124-25.

[80]During a 1828 exhibition in Warsaw, Dominik Domagalski presented a piano "in a shape of a boat." Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 59. Maximilian Hochhauser continued to implement innovations during the thirty-odd years as a Warsaw piano maker. In 1826, in order to create a more powerful concert instrument, he built a piano with quadruple strings. During the twenties he presented several instruments that combined Viennese and English characteristics. Vogel, *Polish Piano*, 226. Similar combinations of the two mechanisms were attempted by F. Buchholtz, W. Troschel and T. Marx. Ibid., 121-23.

[81]Ibid., 242.

[82]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mechanism, which he presented in his pianos during the 1821, 1823 and 1828 exhibitions.[83] These did not find acceptance with Polish customers, since, as an 1823 newspaper article explains:

> ... its keys are a little too heavy. In England it is a custom to make strong keys, but in Poland, where (as one traveler said) young ladies do not drink porter and therefore do not have as much strength in their fingers as Englishwomen, it [the heavy action] is a noticeable fault.
>
> [... klawisze jego są nieco za ciężkie. W Anglii zwyczaj jest robienia mocnych klawiszów, lecz u nas w Polsce, gdzie (jak powiada jeden podróżny) panienki porteru nie piją i nie mają dlatego tyle siły w palcach jak Angielki, jest to widoczną wadą.][84]

As a result of these preferences most of Leszczyński's pianos utilized the Viennese mechanism, but their action was imperfect and they were carelessly finished.[85]

On the outside the instruments were quite impressive; Leszczyński decorated his pianos in the Empire style popular in England and elsewhere, incorporating carved columns and ornaments made of brass covered with gold-leaf. His grand pianos were decorated with brass encrustation in the shape of delicate floral or geometric patterns reminiscent of the English Adams style.[86] Chopin was not alone in his

---

[83]Ibid., 122.

[84]*Gazeta Warszawska*, 1823, no. 67:888-89, quoted in Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 61.

[85]Ibid., 243.

[86]Ibid., 141.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dissatisfaction with Leszczyński's instruments, but these richly ornamented pianos found acceptance among less demanding amateurs. Professionals and more demanding music lovers had custom-built or imported instruments.

Locally, the best builder was Fryderyk Buchholtz, whose pianos Chopin valued very highly. The cases of his pianos were much less decorative than Leszczyński's, following the growing tendency towards simplicity.[87] But unlike Leszczyński's, Buchholtz' instruments were of high quality, easily meeting the needs of sensitive professionals. The basement of the Buchholtz factory was often used by Chopin and his friends for rehearsals of compositions for several pianos.[88] Chopin himself writes about rehearsing the Rondo op. 2 with Fontana at Buchholtz's in 1828.[89] On other occasions we hear of rehearsals at Buchholtz's with Ernemenn.[90] Sowiński, who was a pianist himself, highly praises the master in his *Dictionary*:

> His instruments excel in beauty of tone and durability. [The great pianist] Aleks[ander] Dreyschock always played on a Buchholtz's piano during his stay in Warsaw in 1841.

---

[87]Ibid.

[88]*Echo muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne*, 1885, no. 83:172, quoted in Vogel, *Musical Instruments*, 61.

[89]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 December 1828, Sydow edition, 1:87. Chopin's op. 2 is the set of variations on "Là ci darem." Surely Chopin meant one of the rondos published as opp. 1, 5 or 73.

[90]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:79.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[Jego instrumenta celują pięknością tonu i wytrwałością. Aleks. Dreyschock grał zawsze na fortepianie Buchholtza, w czasie swej bytności w Warszawie w roku 1841.][91]

Fryderyk Buchholtz's father was a Prussian who settled in Warsaw. The young Fryderyk, trained as a carpenter, left the Polish capital for several years to gather professional experience. When he returned in 1815, he opened a piano-building shop in Warsaw (he also worked on organs, although archival materials provide information about re-building contracts only). At first he offered vertical pianos only--mainly giraffes with several mechanical stops. Mechanical stops were not very popular among Polish builders, and very soon Buchholtz gave up these "inappropriate additions."[92] By 1825 he shifted his production to grands with Viennese action, but he also custom-built English type mechanisms.[93]

The application of English solutions for the body of the piano did not preclude Buchholtz and other Polish builders from using a mechanism that would be suitable for a given

---

[91]Sowiński, 44.

[92]Vogel, *Polish Piano*, 119.

[93]Ibid., 204. A perfect opportunity to learn more about English instruments presented itself in 1826, when Maria Szymanowska imported an English piano (possibly a Broadwood). The instrument was permitted a duty-free entry, under the condition that Szymanowska make it easily available to local masters, so that they could use it as a model. Already in January 1827, Buchholtz presented an improved model, which borrowed from Szymanowska's instrument recent English innovations: iron supports for the frame and the lower portion of the body, and an open bottom of the case (of this kind is the Buchholtz 1827 piano, which today is housed in the Instrument Museum in Poznań). Ibid., 122.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

customer. Thus, in the English casing one could find a Viennese, English or combination mechanism; Chopin himself described such a Buchholtz combination mechanism modelled after B. Streicher.[94]

There were two pianos in the Chopin home: the instrument standing in the salon was a Buchholtz; of the other little is known. Chopin tells us that at the end of 1828 his parents arranged upstairs a little working-room for him, containing just an old desk and an old piano.[95] Vogel believes this attic piano was most likely a French or an English giraffe.[96] The Buchholtz piano from the Chopins' salon was burned during the 1863 Uprising. Thus we know nothing conclusive of the instrument's construction; there is only some circumstantial evidence pertaining to that instrument.

Franciszek Maciejewski, an acquaintance of Chopin, furnishes a bit of information about Chopin's instrument, but unfortunately he appears to be quite mistaken. He says that during his visit at Chopin's house, he heard the virtuoso playing excerpts of a newly composed concerto:

> ... on a piano made not of mahogany, nor of walnut, but simply of pine.
>
> [... na fortepijanie ani mahoniowym, ani

---

[94]Vogel, "Pianos and Idiophones," 66.

[95]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 12 December 1828, Sydow edition, 1:86.

[96]Vogel, "Pianos and Idiophones," 64.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

orzechowym, ale prosto sosnowym.][97]

Much more can be learned from the information pertaining to Chopin's first public concert, for which he used his own instrument. Vogel believes that the instrument used during this concert was a giraffe, Chopin's attic piano.[98] But several objections arise in connection with this statement. Firstly, in a letter to Tytus Woyciechowski Chopin specifically uses the term pantaleon in reference to the concert instrument:

> ... Elsner regretted that [the sound of] my pantaleon is dead.
>
> [... Elsner żałował, że mój pantalion głuchy.][99]

Significantly, the term pantaleon or pantalon is reserved expressly for horizontal pianos, as affirmed in an 1850 article.[100] Secondly, why would Chopin want to use an inferior instrument in concert (as mentioned above, an upright was not the choice of a connoisseur), and why go through the trouble of moving an instrument from the attic, if there was a superior one in the salon?

If we assume that the instrument used in the first concert was not the upstairs but the downstairs piano (a

---

[97]Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2:262.

[98]Vogel, "Pianos and Idiophones," 64.

[99]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:115.

[100]E. Bohdanowicz "Myśli o muzyce" [Reflections on Music], *Atheaneum*, 1850, 1:69.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Buchholtz), the debate concerning Chopin's tone during that concert would support the conclusion that it was not a Viennese but an English instrument.

The first comment comes from Chopin's letter to Tytus, in which the composer affirms that he used his own instrument during his first public concert on March 17, 1830 and that most of the audience found his sound too "small."[101] Among the dissatisfied was Karol Kurpiński, who jotted in his private journal:

> It was the instrument itself that was not very suitable for such a large space.
>
> [Sam instrument nie był dogodny dla tak obszernego miejsca.][102]

Chopin's close friend and one of the foremost musical critics of the time Maurycy Mochnacki wrote:

> Mr. Chopin's touch is elegant and delicate; perhaps one should wish more energy and strength in passage work....
>
> [*Tusz* pana Chopin wytworny, delikatny; w pasażach tylko możeby więcej energii i mocy życzyć należało....][103]

Chopin responded to this criticism, expressed by Mochnacki as "insufficient energy" by saying:

> I guessed where this energy resides and I played the second concert not on mine but on a Viennese instrument.

---

[101]Fryderyk Chopin, Warszawa, Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:115.

[102]Przybylski, "Kurpiński's Private Diary," 106.

[103]Mochnacki, 420.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [Domyśliłem się gdzie ta energia siedzi i na drugim concercie, nie na swoim, ale na wiedeńskim grałem instrumencie.][104]

And indeed, for the second concert (on March 22) he borrowed a Viennese instrument belonging to general Diakov, which listeners liked much more, though Chopin would have preferred to use his own instrument.[105] In his conclusion, the reviewer of the second concert juxtaposes the Viennese instrument specifically against an English one:

> The general feeling was that the tone of this [Viennese] piano was not as strong as the English one, but more distinct....
>
> [Uważano, że tony iego, iakkolwiek mniey silne od tonów fortepianu Angielskiego, były przecież wyraźniejsze....][106]

In view of all these circumstances and the fact that Buchholtz did offer pianos with English action, it seems plausible that the instrument in the Chopins' salon was a Buchholtz with English mechanism and that this was the instrument used during Chopin's first 1830 concert.

In any case, the specifications of Chopin's Warsaw pianos must remain in the sphere of speculation, since the known documents do not permit any conclusive answer. Today, since we have none of Chopin's youthful pianos, the Chopin Society in Warsaw houses an instrument built by Buchholtz around 1830.

---

[104]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:115.

[105]Ibid.

[106]*Gazeta Warszawska*, 24 III 1830, no. 81:747 quoted in Vogel, "Pianos and Idiophones," 182.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 13. A grand wing piano built by Buchholtz about 1835 (from Vogel's reproduction).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It is one of several Buchholtz instruments still in existence in Poland.[107]

This first generation of Warsaw piano builders was just the beginning--their sons, grandsons and trainees went on to expand the industry, try new inventions, implement more modern production systems, all in spite of the tumultuous political events (mainly the 1830 and 1863 uprisings) that caused destruction and long periods of economic stagnation.

An important testimony to the quality of many Polish instruments came from several visiting virtuosi; thus, during his concert tour in Poland in 1843, Franz Liszt with great pleasure used instruments manufactured in Poland, although foreign-built instruments were readily available in Warsaw. He was very pleased with pianos built by Buchholtz and Kerntopf, but in particular valued instruments produced by Krall and Seidler. A letter of appreciation sent by Liszt to the manufacturer best testifies to the quality of instruments. The great virtuoso said:

> It is my true pleasure to express my complete satisfaction with the excellent instruments that served me during my concerts in Warsaw.
>
> [Jest to dla mnie prawdziwą przyjemnością, że mogę wyrazić moje zupełne zadowolenie za te wyborne instrumenty, które służyły do moich koncertów w Warszawie.][108]

---

[107]Vogel, *Polish Piano,* 204.

[108]T.L. [T. Le Brun] "Fabryka fortepianow 'Krall i Seidler' w Warszawie" [The Krall and Seidler Piano Factory in Warsaw] *Gazeta Muzyczna i Teatralna,* 1866. no. 21:4, quoted in Vogel, *Musical Instruments,* 66.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Even if that statement is discounted as a common courtesy, it is a fact that during the second half of the century, Polish instruments received many awards, not only at local and Russian imperial exhibitions, but frequently at international exhibitions. There, among hundreds of well-built instruments, competition was tough and judges painstakingly evaluated every detail of construction and sound. Yet Polish manufacturers increasingly received recognition. This trend is exemplified particularly by the Krall and Seidler pianos, which collected many Russian awards and were distinguished in three major international exhibitions: Vienna 1873, Philadelphia 1876 and Paris 1878.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

III. PUBLIC PERFORMANCE

1. THE PUBLIC CONCERT:

CONCERT STAGE, CHURCH, AND CAFÉ

Today the term concert means many things--orchestral and choral performances, recitals, and even chamber music and church music; but during the early nineteenth century the term concert denoted a specific event: a public virtuoso performance. For Chopin's contemporaries the virtuoso concert (and later the recital) represented the newest performance trend and was viewed by many as a public display of rather superficial skill only remotely related to real music-making:

> A matinée is not a concert. The latter is intended mainly on introducing an artist, even already known to the public; thus it forces him into somewhat self-indulgent splendor. One might say the point is not so much music, but the artist, the show, even in the most noble sense, regarding the virtuoso or the composer. (...) The distinction between a concert and a matinée is subtle, though real and deserving consideration while determining the designation which will denote the nature of the artist's principal aims and the relationship in which he stands to his audience.
>
> [Poranek to nie concert. Ten drugi przeznaczony jest głównie na przedstawienie się artysty, choćby i znanego już publiczności; zniewala go więc do pewnej wystawności nieco samolubnej. Rzecby można, że nie idzie wówczas o muzykę tyle co o artystę, o popis, choćby w najszlachetniejszem znaczeniu, ze względem na wirtuoza lub kompozytora. (...) Delikatna to różnica między koncertem i porankiem, nie mniej jednak prawdziwa i godna uwzględnienia przy wyborze nazwiska na oznaczenie natury celów głównych artysty, i stosunku w jakim do

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

publiczności staje.][1]

Once we comprehend the negligible aesthetic value accorded to the public concert by an early nineteenth-century musician, it becomes apparent that Chopin's later decision to limit his public career was motivated by his artistic standards as much as by stage-fright or poor health. Sowiński speaks of a turning point in Chopin's career in his description of the highly criticized performance, which took place in Paris on April 4, 1835:

> Later, Chopin gave a grand concert with an orchestra in the Italian Theater, conducted by the famous Habeneck. Chopin performed with great fluency his very beautiful E Major *[sic!]* concerto. Whether he was not understood, or the piano concerto did not make a great impression on the gathering, the Parisian audience gave him a cold reception, though the room was filled with connoisseurs. This event discouraged Chopin so that for a very long time he did not perform publicly, but frequently played in private gatherings, and through these his fame grew as a first class pianist. Since his playing was full of fire, poetry and taste, it better suited small salons--for he particularly excelled in subtle and delicate passages; he even overused dissonances in his improvisations, but always with great refinement.
>
> [Później, dał Szopen wielki koncert w Teatrze Włoskim, z orkiestrą, gdzie derygował sławny Habenek. Szopen wykonał z wielką biegłością swój tak piękny koncert *E dur [sic!]*. Ale czy nie był zrozumiany, czy że koncert fortepianowy nie robi wielkiego wrażenia na teatrze, publiczność Paryzka zimno go przyjęła, chociaż sala była napełniona znawcami. To zdarzenie zraziło Szopena tak, że bardzo długo nie występował publicznie, lecz grywał często na posiedzeniach prywatnych, i przez takowe sława jego jako fortepianisty pierwszego rzędu powiększyła się, ponieważ gra jego pełna ognia,

---

[1]*Ruch muzyczny*, 1859, no. 49:417.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> poezyi i smaku, wydawała się lepiej w małych salonach, bo celował szczególniej w pasażach subtelnych i delikatnych, nadużywał nawet dysonansów w swoich improwizacyach, ale z wielką wytwornością.][2]

In the process of defining his own artistic goals it must have become obvious to Chopin that to avoid succumbing to vain virtuosity, a musician had to elude the entrapments of the concert stage. The salon was a rational alternative, since it provided the atmosphere of privacy and sophistication necessary for the presentation of more intimate and conceptual works. Nevertheless, it is significant that the formative years of Chopin's life coincided with an explosion of public performances in the Polish capital and that the young pianist enthusiastically took part in this dynamic musical life. Warsaw's public concerts were of diverse types. In addition to performances featuring local and foreign virtuosi (including sporadic recitals), there were also matinées and soirées organized by various societies, church concerts and performances in local cafes. The chronicle of concerts which took place in Warsaw during the years 1815-1830 (reproduced in appendix 1) shows a gradual increase in the number of musical events and by the 1820s it depicts a rather active musical scene.

The history of the public concert in Poland follows the same path as elsewhere in Europe. The conservative social structure of eighteenth-century Poland had fostered private

---

[2]Sowiński, 55.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rather than public musical performances. Before the fall of independent Poland, the Royal palace and many noble courts had maintained splendid orchestras, and thus the patronage came mostly from the highest strata of aristocracy. However, the beginning of the nineteenth century saw an emergence of new social attitudes:

> Music became very common and there was almost no household without music. (...) Also composers appeared, since there were enough music-lovers. (...) Never until now was a Pole such a music connoisseur.
>
> [Muzyka upowszechniła się znacznie i nie było prawie domu, gdzie by się słyszeć nie dała. (...) Okazali się i kompozytorowie muzyki, bo było już dosyć jej lubowników. (...) Nigdy jeszcze Polak muzyki nie był takim znawcą.][3]

The earliest type of public concert was connected to theater performances--during intermissions vocalists, orchestra and sometimes solo instrumentalists performed short concert works. The Warsaw theater, quite typically, had a tradition of performing symphonic movements between acts of a drama, though the audience paid no attention to what was being played and who the composer was.[4] Another type of concert was also connected with theater--the first part of the performance was taken by a one-act opera; the second devoted to a concert. Some of the early public concerts were associated with charity events, balls or lotteries, and only in the case of the most distinguished visiting performers did a concert fill up a

---

[3]Magier, 143.

[4]*Ruch Muzyczny*, 1859, no. 29:256.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

complete evening.

New structures fostering public concerts were created with the onset of music societies: organizations with dues-paying members that sponsored performances by professional and amateur musicians. In fact, Chopin's first public appearance in 1818 was as a part of a charity event hosted by the Benevolent Society and many of his youthful concerts took place during events hosted by the Merchant Club. These two organizations were especially active on Warsaw's musical scene during Chopin's time and his participation in them is recounted below. Since there are many lacunae in the research on this subject, first a brief review of the early history of Warsaw's music societies is in order.

Music Societies

The earliest music society in Warsaw, the Musikalische Institut der Harmonie-Gesellschaft, was created during Prussian administration of Warsaw in the specially restored Mniszech Palace.[5] The idea of creating the Harmonie-Gesellschaft came in 1801 from a member of the Prussian administration, Oberfiskal Wilhelm v. Mosqua. Concerts organized by the Society, at times several of them taking place simultaneously in different rooms, consisted of oratorios, symphonies, quartets, trios, sonatas, sometimes

[5]Magier, 156.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

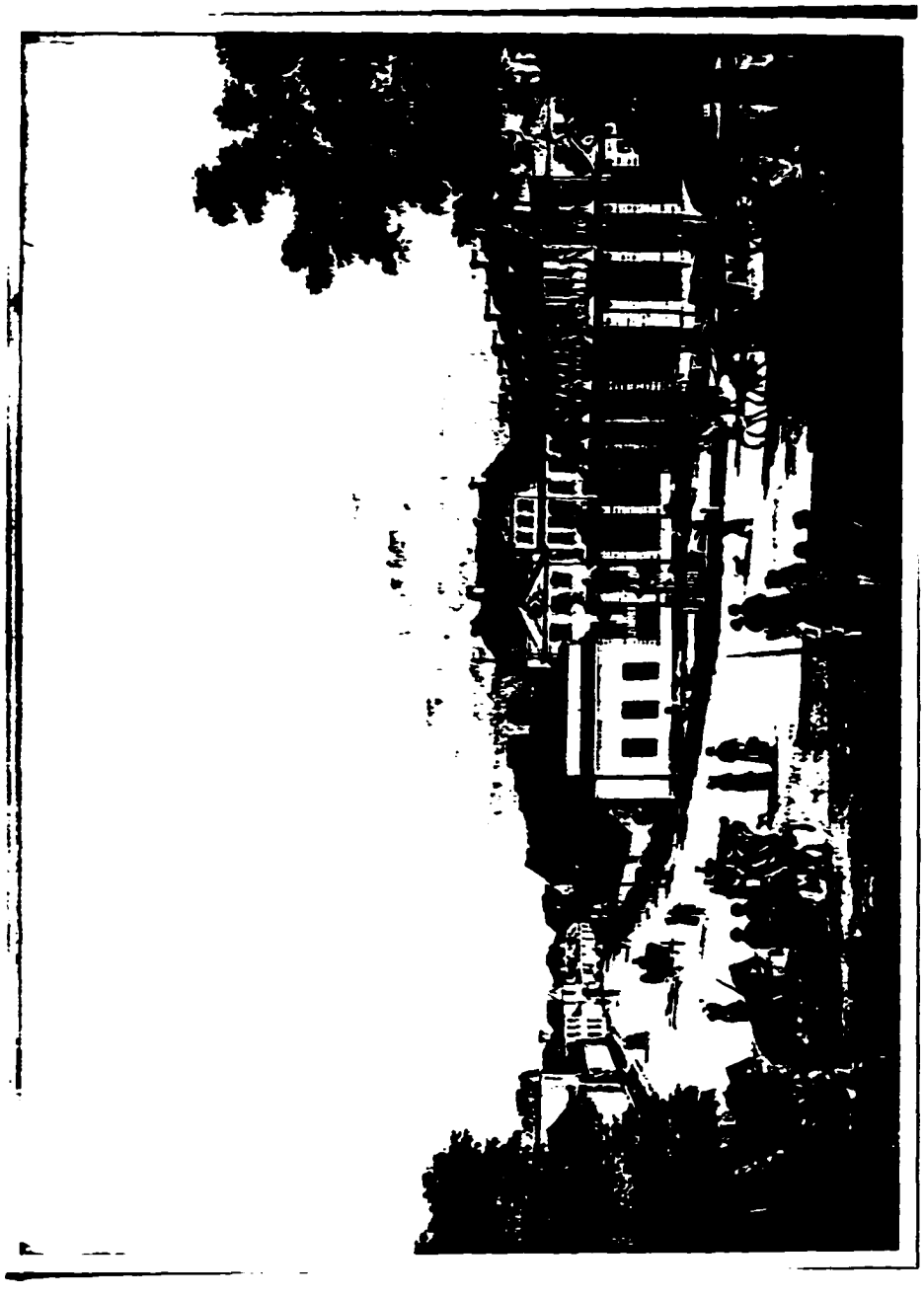


Fig. 14. The Mniszech Palace, residence of the Harmonie Gesellschaft and, later, the Merchant Club (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

even songs.[6]

The Harmonie-Gesellschaft survived until 1808, but apparently in 1805 a group of members must have split away from the original institution to create another affiliated Society, the Musik-Gesellschaft, as explained in published statutes. Although it is not clear what relationship existed between the two societies, additional statutes of the Harmonie-Gesellschaft published on July 17, 1805, suggest that it remained in rivalry with the new organization created by E.T.A. Hoffmann, Oberfiskal Mosqua and Józef Elsner.[7]

This new Musik-Gesellschaft involved members of the Prussian administration and Polish musicians, artists, intelligentsia and bourgeois, and aristocratic amateurs. The intent was to create a music society, that would not only organize concerts, but also provide vocal education for amateurs. With this goal in mind the necessary funds were raised to provide for performing space in the Ogiński Palace and for two vocal teachers--one for the soloists and one for

---

[6]Sobieszczański, 150.

[7]*Ruch muzyczny*, 1861, no. 12:181-182. According to Elsner, in 1806 the "newly created music club" was initiated by Kuhlmayer, a lawyer who also was an amateur musician and had Mosqua, Hoffmann and Wobser as directors. Poliński, *Sprawozdanie jubileuszowe komitetu Towarzystwa Muzycznego w Warszawie* [The Committee of Music Society in Warsaw Anniversary Report] (Warszawa: Kowalewski, 1896), 9 claims that the initiative to start this organization came from Count Krasiński, E.T.A. Hoffmann and W. Mosqua and names the same directors as Elsner. The statutes of this society found in the *AmZ*, October 1805:43-48 name Mosqua, Hoffmann, Count Krasicki and Major Lessel.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the choir.[8] Members of the society organized lectures, discussions and concerts featuring local and foreign performers. The society performed music of Mozart, Haydn, Gluck, Cherubini and Beethoven; that included symphonies, concertos and chamber music, especially quartets. Although Józef Elsner became the Society's official conductor, sometimes performances were led with great skill by E.T.A. Hoffmann.[9]

Historic sources clearly refer to the existence of yet another family of organizations devoted to music: private clubs. According to Warsaw's historian, Antoni Magier, the

---

[8]*Ruch muzyczny,* 1861 no. 12:181.

[9]*Ruch muzyczny* 1861, no. 10:148; and 1861, no. 12:181-83. E.T.A. Hoffmann was stationed in Warsaw from 1804 until 1807 as a member of the Prussian administration. The famous music lover, poet and musical critic had settled in Poland already in 1800, when he married a Polish woman Michalina Trzcińska. Born in 1776, in Królewiec he took the law profession after his ancestors, but loved music since his childhood and his dream of devoting his entire time to his true vocation became a reality after he left Poland in 1807. Only then he retired from his profession and worked in music. Hoffmann became involved with the Harmonie-Gesellschaft after it purchased the Mniszech Palace, destroyed by fire shortly before. Hoffmann worked out sketches and architectural plans for the rebuilding, but also personally participated in the repairs. In May of 1805 the statutes of the Musik-Gesellschaft were published and Hoffmann was named the second director [zwejter Vorsteher], supervising the library, the musical inventory, and a censor, deciding which Polish, German, or French literary-musical works would be read during the public reading sessions. After much preparatory work, the first concert took place on August 3, 1806 - the birthday of the Prussian King. A detailed story of Hoffmann's stay in Poland and his musical involvement in Warsaw is given by Jan Kosim, "Ernest Theodor Hoffmann i Towarzystwo Muzyczne w Warszawie" [E.T.A. Hoffmann and the Music Society in Warsaw], in *Sketches on Music Culture,* 2:105-79.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first regular musical evenings, during which amateurs presented respectable performances of noble compositions, took place in the Dulfus house (at Freta street across from the Dominicans) in a kind of a club from which ladies were excluded.[10] The host of these musical evenings, which took place twice a week, was Antoni Wejnert, the future Conservatory professor.[11] According to Hoesick, these musical evenings, to which the public were admitted for a small fee, took place after 1803.[12] Soon the regular musical meetings were moved to the Salwator house in Nowe Miasto, and here women were allowed to join.[13]

These meetings in Salvator House were under the aegis of the Music Amateur Society *[Towarzystwo Muzyczno-Amatorskie]*, which was established in 1817 (or even as early as 1815),[14] and took place every Wednesday evening. Each member had to pay an initial fee and dues (12 złoties every quarter). The orchestra was made up of members with musical skills and supplemented by hired professional ringers (wind instruments). The ensemble performed programs which were selected by an elected board of directors.[15] The programs included

---

[10]Magier, 156.

[11]Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 1:217.

[12]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 258.

[13]Magier, 156.

[14]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 255.

[15]Sobieszczański, 221.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Later the repertory was enlarged by symphonic works of Romberg, Méhul, Reicha and Kromer, in addition to which some overtures and Lessel's oratorio were presented.[16] Contemporaries said that there was no more pleasurable way to spend an evening and listeners were frequently delighted with the level of execution and the appearance of local talent.[17]

During its last two years the Music Amateur Society held its concerts in the building of the Benevolent Society at Krakowskie Przedmiescie street.[18] An 1820 article speaks highly of the Society's achievements--especially the last concert, during which Piotr Kaczyński, an amateur violinist performed difficult works by Rode and Lafonte--and expresses hope that concerts will resume after summer vacations.[19] Unfortunately, this was not the case and only few years after its creation the Society ceased to exist because of insufficient funds.[20]

To replace the Music Amateur Society and make concerts more popular through combining them with other goals and pleasurable activities, a new Society was created in January of 1821. This new institution was established under the aegis

---

[16]*Rozmaitości*, 1820, no. 20:74-75.

[17]Sobieszczański, 221.

[18]Magier, 156.

[19]*Rozmaitości*, 1820, no. 20:74-75.

[20]Sobieszczański, 221.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the Merchant Club *[Resursa Kupiecka]*, located at Miodowa street. The merchants of Warsaw saw promotional and social opportunities in providing the organization and space for artistic/cultural/entertainment activities for the capital's upper classes.[21] At first, performances sponsored by the Merchant Club took place in the Mniszech Palace; later the Club obtained new quarters in the Seidler Palace (Old Merchant Club) and in 1830 it moved to the Kern Palace (New Merchant Club).

Chopin's first mention of the Merchant Club is in reference to his older friend Kessler's performance of the E Major Concerto by Hummel, which took place on a Saturday November 7, 1829 at the Club. From the same letter we learn that there was talk of Fryderyk performing his Variations op. 2 at the Club on the following Saturday (November 21).[22] We have no confirmation of such a performance in other sources, but Chopin played in the Club a month later, on December 19, 1829 in a joint concert which also involved Bielawski, Copello, Dorville and Soliva. The pianist accompanied the singer Copello and played fantasias on various themes including melodrama *Der Bauer Millionär*.[23] More specifically, Fryderyk improvised on "The

---

[21]Ibid., 221-222.

[22]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzynm, 14 January 1829 [1830], Sydow edition, 1:114.

[23]*Kurier Polski*, 20 December 1829.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Broom" *[Miotła]* from *Der Bauer Millionär* and accompanied an aria from Paër's *Achilles*; in addition, an unidentified quintet by Beethoven was performed.[24]

Another important scene for concerts was Warsaw's Benevolent Society *[Towarzystwo Dobroczynności]* created in 1814 in response to the suffering caused by wars and intensified by the unusual flooding of the river Vistula by Countess Zofia Zamoyska with the help of Maria Gutakowska, Maria Würtemberg, Teresa Kicka and Józef Lipiński.

> The misery caused by the overflowing of Vistula in Warsaw and Praga, in October of 1813, prompted numerous friends of music to a decision that--in order to assist families afflicted by the flood--an open concert in the local Piarists' Church be performed on the 14th of September under the direction of the Music Director Mr. Elsner.
>
> [Das Unglück, welches durch das Austreten der Weichsel im October 1813 in Warschau und Praga verursacht wurde, veranlasste mehrere Musikfreunde zu dem Entschluss, in der hiesigen P. Piaren Kirche zur Unterstützung der vom Wasser verunglückten Familien ein offentliches Concert zu geben, welches den 14ten Sept. der Direction des Hrn. Musikdir. Elsner aufgeführt wurde.][25]

Soon the founding members were joined by other prominent members of the Warsaw community: Stanisław Zamoyski, Stanisław Staszic and Stanisław Grabowski, to mention a few.[26] Initially, the Society used various halls for its concerts. When on February 24, 1818 little Fryderyk--invited on the

---

[24]Sieradz, 191.

[25]*AmZ*, September 1814:653.

[26]Dmochowski, 276-77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

behalf of the Benevolent Society by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (the great patriotic poet) and Zofia Zamoyska--played his first public concert the location was the Radziwiłł Palace. This must have been one of the last public concerts in the Radziwiłł Palace, since during this year it became the official residence of the Viceregent and thereafter was closed to public events.

Chopin's performance of the E Minor Concerto by V. Gyrowetz under the auspices of the Benevolent Society was well received and the little pianist was thanked by J.U. Niemcewicz personally.[27] Still, Niemcewicz must have been well amused by the situation, since after his death a satirical play was found (in manuscript) pertaining to this concert and including a child virtuoso named Chopin.[28]

Chopin performed again for the Benevolent Society in 1823. This time the Society organized a series of concerts in the concert hall of its new building. This new residence of the Benevolent Society, in the old convent of the Carmelite Nuns at Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, was acquired in 1821. The young virtuoso performed in the sixth and ninth concerts of the series. On Feb. 26, 1823 he performed Ries's piano concerto with the greatest ease, precision and feeling.[29]

---

[27]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 44.

[28]Ibid., 46.

[29]*Kurier dla płci pieknej* 1 (1823), quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 61.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The last concert of the series took place on March 17, 1823, and the performer of a Hummel's concerto was most likely Chopin.[30]

Shortly before his departure from Poland, the young composer took part in another kind of altruistic event. On July 8, 1830 in the hall of the National Theater a group of musicians, including Chopin, presented a concert. The purpose of this fund-raiser was to aid Barbara Mejer, whose weak health required a trip to a health spa. Mejer was a well-known singer with whom Chopin worked on several occasions. During the benefit concert he accompanied her and performed his B flat Major Variations, op. 2.[31]

Magier tells us of an important charity event that raised funds for Warsaw's hospitals. This time Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* was performed by 300 people at the National Theater.[32] Unfortunately, the historian provides us with no date, and no other sources refer to this event. Elsewhere, though, we learn of other performances of this work in which Chopin was involved. The information unearthed by Eugeniusz Szulc places a performance of large excerpts from Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* during Easter of 1824 and in May of 1825 in the Lutheran

---

[30]Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 61.

[31]*Kurier warszawski,* July 7 1830.

[32]Magier, 143.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

church.[33] He also confidently places Fryderyk Chopin in the May 22, 1825 performance *Die Schöpfung*.[34] This comes as no surprise since during his teenage years Fryderyk was very actively involved in all kinds of church performances.

The haphazard documentation pertaining to Fryderyk's participation in church concerts cannot provide any complete picture. But the scattered references, combined with the fact that conservatory students took part in all the important performances of sacred music in Warsaw, permit the conclusion that the young composer performed many masterpieces of sacred music.

Music in Churches

The history of musical performances in Warsaw's churches still remains to be written, and the new information presented here comes directly from primary sources it needs to be considered in greater detail. The *calendarium* of church concerts (appendix 2) lists programs, where available, but the particulars of concerts in which Chopin was probably involved are also discussed below.

Every year during Holy Week the musical world of Warsaw was very busy. Performances of large choral works could be

---

[33]Eugeniusz Szulc, "Nieznana karta warszawskiego okresu życia Chopina" [An Unknown Page from the Warsaw Period of Chopin's Life], *Rocznik Chopinowski* 18 (1986):129-131.

[34]Ibid., 132-36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

heard around Warsaw; it was a custom that in some churches on Good Friday amateurs performed masterpieces of funeral and passion music.[35] Particular favorites were Mozart's *Requiem* and Haydn's *Die Sieben letzten Worte*. Since the Polish capital had many people with musical skills such performances were common and the best ones could be heard in the Piarists' and Carmelite Churches.[36] Sometimes these musical events were announced in the press. So, for example, the people of Warsaw were informed that "splendid music appropriate for the occasion of Good Friday will be performed at the Sepulchre of nearly every church":

> At 3 p.m. in the Visitation Nuns' Church by the professors and students of the Conservatory, conducted by Rector Elsner. At 4, in the Canonesses' [Church] by amateurs and artists, conducted by the Royal Kapellmeister Kurpiński. At 5, at the Piarists' Church by the Society for the Friends of Music. At 7, in the Cathedral supported by the orchestra of this church.
>
> [O godzinie 3 po-południu w Kościele PP. Wizytek przez Professorów i Uczniów Konserwatorium, pod Dyrekcją Rektora Elsnera. O godz. 4 u PP. Kanoniczek przez Amatorów i Artystów pod Dyrekcją Króle. Kapelmistrza Kurpińskiego. O godz. 5, u XX. Pijarów przez Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzyki. O godz. 7, w Katedrze przez pomnożoną Orkiestrę tegoż Kościoła.][37]

Before the partition Poland had enjoyed splendid

---

[35]Antoni Wieniarski, *Warszawa i warszawianie. Szkice towarzyskie i obyczajowe* [Warsaw and Its Residents; Sketches about the Society and Customs] (Warszawa: Bernstejn, 1857), 2:36.

[36]Ibid.

[37]*Kurier Warszawski*, 16 April 1824, no. 92:53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performances of sacred music in the Royal Chapel, in palace chapels of the Polish aristocracy, in churches and convents (some cities, Cracow and Poznań especially, continued the tradition of splendid sacred music in churches right into the 19th century).[38] Naturally, the music for high holy days was most magnificent, and thus on Maundy Thursday King Stanisław August had splendid music, usually an oratorio, performed at the Royal Castle by his orchestra and famous foreign soloists. Once on such an occasion Paisiello visited Warsaw to conduct one of his own oratorios.[39] Unfortunately, after the fall of the Polish state, funds became scarce and only slowly were some attempts made to re-introduce good music into the churches.

In 1804 the Church of St. Benon introduced music for the daily service, performed by youths and amateurs.[40] During this time, the spacious, magnificent Farny Church (an old name for the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist) had the most impressive music: a large orchestra conducted by one of the capital's most respected and excellent musicians.[41] The musician was Jan Stefani--Chopin's singing teacher from the Gymnasium--and his capella still existed in 1830, in spite of

---

[38]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 250-52.

[39]*Kurier warszawski*, 16 April 1824, no. 92:53. According to sources, most sacred royal concerts took place at the St. John Cathedral or the Holy Cross Church.

[40]Sobieszczański, 149.

[41]Wieniarski, 2:17.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

financial problems.[42]

With time, other churches introduced musical performances, though not always of good quality, as reported in 1822 by the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

> Church music is performed in many churches, but the quality is still very low.
>
> [Kirchenmusik giebt es zwar in mehrern Kirchen, doch steht sie noch auf einer sehr niedrigen Stufe.][43]

Gradually, this situation began to improve. During the years 1822-25 amateurs and professionals of the St. Cecilia Society performed Sunday music and Polish devotional chants with the accompaniment of the organ in the Franciscan Church of St. Francis of Assisi.[44] It appears that the Franciscans' Church also ventured onto more ambitious musical projects: in November, 1823 a Haydn Mass was heard. The parish church of St. Alexander and the churches of the Capuchins and Canonesses, where Warsaw's aristocracy went to Mass, also hosted some engaging musical events.[45]

The University church of the Visitation Nuns', where the majority of the faithful participating in the mass were of the upper classes, was one of the most important churches

---

[42]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 252.

[43]*AmZ*, April 1822:276.

[44]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 252-53.

[45]Wieniarski, 2:15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musically.[46] From the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* we learn that it was Minister Grabowski's initiative to improve the quality of music in this church:

> Minister Count Grabowski, who regularly observes the solemn celebrations of the Catholic Mass, is actively engaged in procuring salary increases for church-employed musicians. Also, thanks to him, there already exists in Warsaw the establishment of a University Church and, with it, a regularly observed Sunday Mass [with music], which is performed by music students with the assistance of the Conservatory professors; all under the direction of Mr. Elsner.
>
> [Der, die würdige Feyer des katholischen Gottesdienstes stets beachtende, Minister, Herr von Grabovski, wird gewiss auch in der Folge für die kirchlich musikalischen Beamten in Betreff der Erhöhung ihrer Salarien thätig seyn, so wie Warschau ihm bereits die Einrichtung einer Universitätskirche und einer sonntäglich darin stattfinden Messe verdankt, die unter der Direction des Hrn. Elsner von den Akademikern, welche Antheil an den Musikstudien nehmen, mit Beyhülfe der an dem Institute angestellten Professoren aufgeführt wird.][47]

And thus, since the church was serving the Warsaw University, the students and faculty of the Conservatory were obliged to provide music for the Sunday 10:30 Mass and for holy days.[48] Chopin not only participated in the performances as a member of the Conservatory chorus, but also, on his own testimony, he became an organist in this church already in 1825 while still in the Gymnasium (see page 162). In the *calendarium* the only

---

[46]Ibid., 2:18.

[47]*AmZ*, April 1822:275.

[48]"Antoni Orłowski," *Pamiętnik Muzyczny i Teatralny*, 1862, no. 24:371-72; and Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 253.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

specific concert program from Visitation Nuns' Church during the period of Chopin's tenure at the Conservatory is that of October 15, 1826--*Vespers* in C Major, *Veni creator* and *Te Deum* by Elsner.[49] It is possible that Fryderyk still took part in Conservatory performances during 1830 when a *Stabat mater* by Peter Winter was heard.[50]

Of all Warsaw's churches, the most celebrated for its music was the Piarists' Church:

> Besides the aforementioned University Church, about which the future will tell of its new direction, that of the Piarists remains to be noted, where a large number of amateurs as well as members of the theatrical establishment are found.
>
> [Ausser der schon erwähnten Universitätskirche, von der als einer neuen Einrichtung erst die Folgezeit wird urtheilen können, ist noch die bey Piaren zu erwähnen, bey welcher sich ein grosser Theil Dilettanten, so wie mehrere Mitglieder des Theaterpersonals einfinden.][51]

In the literature of the time we find the names of two music societies associated with the Piarists' Church and a fragmented history of their existence. Sobieszczański informs us that in 1811, Elsner and Kurpiński established a Society for Church Music *[Towarzystwo Koscielnej Muzyki]*, which every Sunday performed music during the mass in the Piarists' Church.[52] From an article in *Tygodnik dramatyczny* we learn

---

[49]Sieradz, 182.

[50]Ibid., 192.

[51]*AmZ*, April 1822:276.

[52]Sobieszczański, 179.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

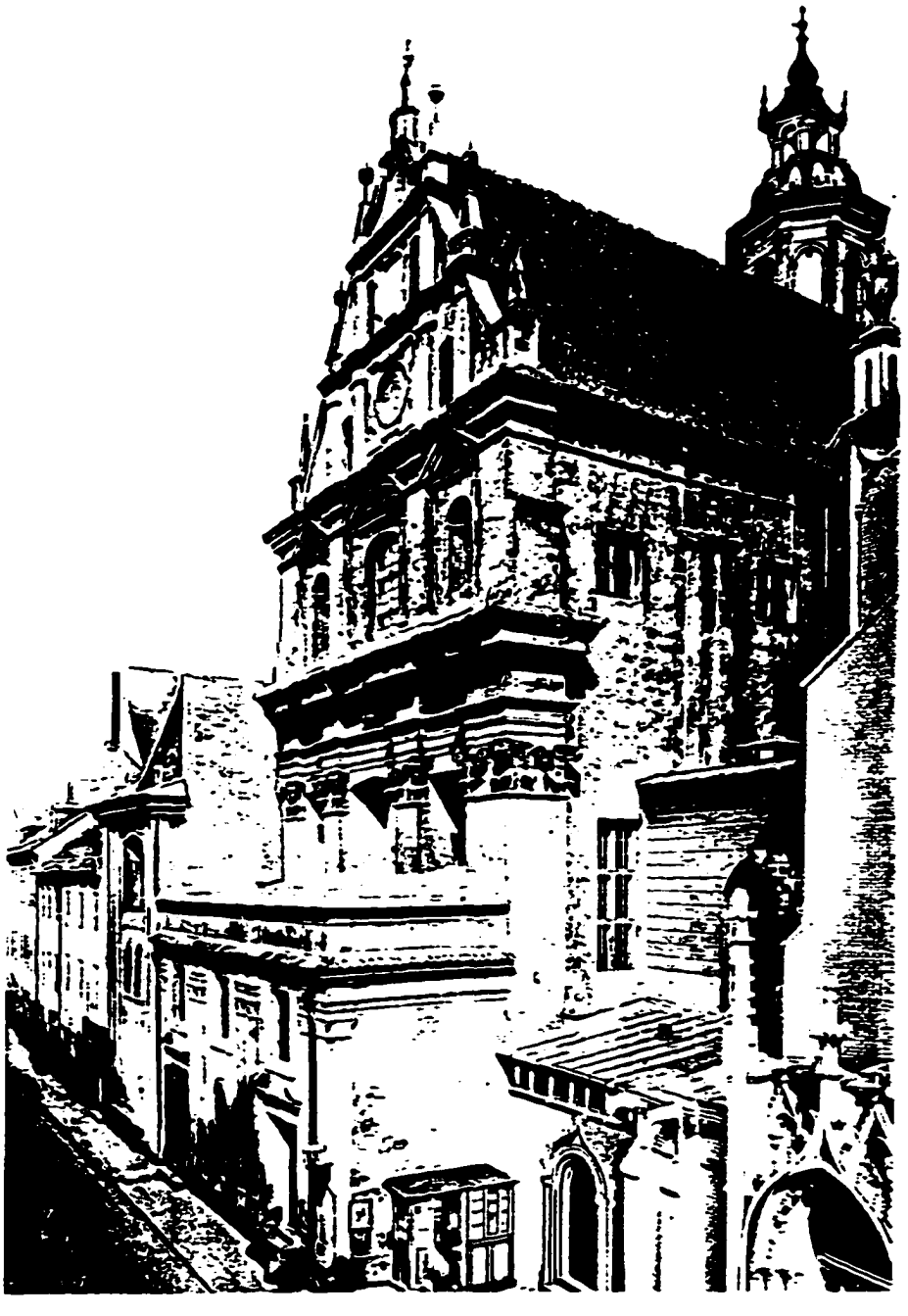


Fig. 15. The Piarists' Church, location of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music (pre-War photograph).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that in 1814 Elsner established the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music *[Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzyki Religijnej i Narodowej]*.[53] Gołębiowski states that the Society ceased to exist in 1829.[54] It is not clear whether the historians are talking about a single organization or two separate institutions. What is significant is the contribution made to the musical life of the Polish capital.

The Piarists' Church was very modest, almost poor, but it was known for its dutiful and serious attitude towards religious ritual and the best amateur choirs.[55] Since good music was considered an indispensable element of the service at the Piarists' Church, funds were generated for a library, instruments, choir expenses and even breakfast for the performers.[56] The musicians and amateurs gathered every Sunday at ten and were ready to perform at ten thirty under the leadership of Prohazka, a talented musician and organist. The great music and the nature of the service attracted all music lovers, administrative workers and the youth to Sunday mass.[57]

The conductors involved with the Society for Church Music at the Piarists' Church were Józef Elsner (the founder of the

---

[53]*Tygodnik Muzyczny i Dramatyczny*, 25 April 1821, no. 3:11-12.

[54]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 252.

[55]Wieniarski, 2:14-15.

[56]"Antoni Orłowski," 372.

[57]Wieniarski, 2:14-15.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

society), Józef Jawurek (piano professor at the Conservatory), Henryk Lentz (harmony professor at the Conservatory) and Jan Gregorowicz Soloffiew (a fur merchant blessed with a beautiful falsetto voice, who sang alto and frequently performed solos). Among other participants were the three brothers Lanckoronski (each specializing in a different musical skill: an opera tenor, clavichord teacher and a cellist), a government worker named Mülhausen, the great patron of music and a friend of Chopin, Józef Count Cichocki, his protégées the Turowski sisters and brother, the Orłowski family and the opera alto Miss Lehman. The little Joanna Orłowska led the children sopranos, the altos were led by Miss Lehman and Gregorowicz, and the students of the Conservatory sang tenors and basses; the orchestra was made up professionals and amateurs that gladly worked with the charismatic Elsner.[58] Antoni Wejnert, who never passed an opportunity to make good music, not only provided sacred compositions for the Society, but also involved his entire family in the music-making.[59] In performances of large works, Elsner and Kurpiński used the help of the army Kapellmeister Pohlens, who was a virtuoso concert performer on the contrabassoon and a popular composer of dances. In such instances, he usually led his very well-prepared army chorus.[60] All musical celebrities of Warsaw

---

[58]"Antoni Orlowski," 373-75.

[59]Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 1:217.

[60]*Ruch Muzyczny*, 1859, no. 3:24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gladly participated in performances and Polish artists traveling through the capital took an opportunity to contribute their artistic talents.[61]

There are some specific concerts in the Piarists' Church worth mentioning, since they chronologically correspond to the period of Fryderyk's involvement with sacred music. In November 1825 the church hosted performances of a Haydn Mass, Elsner's Mass and Beethoven's Mass in C Major.[62] It is plausible that Chopin participated in these concerts. He could not have performed in Mozart's *Requiem*, which was heard in the Piarists' Church on July 29, 1829, since he had already started his trip to Vienna.[63] But considering that this masterpiece was played often in various churches in Warsaw, doubtless Fryderyk knew it well.

The Society not only performed in the Piarists' Church, but also produced many secular concerts in Warsaw's halls. In 1817, after many miscarried attempts, Elsner succeeded in instituting subscription concerts under the aegis of this Society.[64] These were probably the concert series given in the Casino Room of the Sołtyk Palace during the years 1817-1818, in which case we are looking at sixteen concerts featuring a rather impressive repertory of Haydn, Mozart and

---

[61]Wieniarski, 2:14-15.

[62]Sieradz, 180.

[63]Ibid., 190.

[64]*Tygodnik Muzyczny i Dramatyczny*, 25 April 1821, no. 3:11-12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Spohr string quartets, piano concertos by Karol Arnold, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Robert Smith and John Field and smaller vocal and instrumental works.

An even more impressive concert repertory was reported for the 1819-1820 concert season, when members of the society performed 28 weekly concerts in the Conservatory Hall, under the direction of Lessel, Lentz, Würfel, Haase, Jawurek, Stolpe and Peschke. Each evening included a complete symphony, a concerto, an aria and a finale.[65]

The fragmentary documentation preserved in Warsaw's archives that pertains to the Lutheran Church [Augsburgsko-Ewangielicki] in the years 1824-29 includes several times the names of "Mlle. Schoppin" and "Herr Schoppin" (Ludwika and Fryderyk).[66] Eugeniusz Szulc is able to conclude that Chopin frequently participated in the musical events of the church during the years 1824-25 and with some certainty places him in performance of a duet from Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* and Eybler's hymn (April, 18, 1824); the Bierey *Easter Cantata* and selections from Hummel's Grand Mass (April 2, 1825); large

---

[65]Among the works performed during that season were: symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Romberg, Mehul, Lessel, Lenz, Krommer, Witt; *Overtures* by Beethoven, Cherubini, Mehul, Romberg, Spohr, Schneider, Elsner, Gerke, Kurpiński, Würfel, Poissl, Böhner, Morgenroth, Küffner, Generali, Rossini; concertos by Mozart, Spohr, Rode, Viotti, Lafont, Maurer, Matthaei, von Berbiguier, Lessel, Krommer, Cremont, Pergolesi, Ammon, Tulou, Hummel, Field, Dussek, Ries, Klengel.

[66]Eugeniusz Szulc, "Unknown Page," 136-150.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

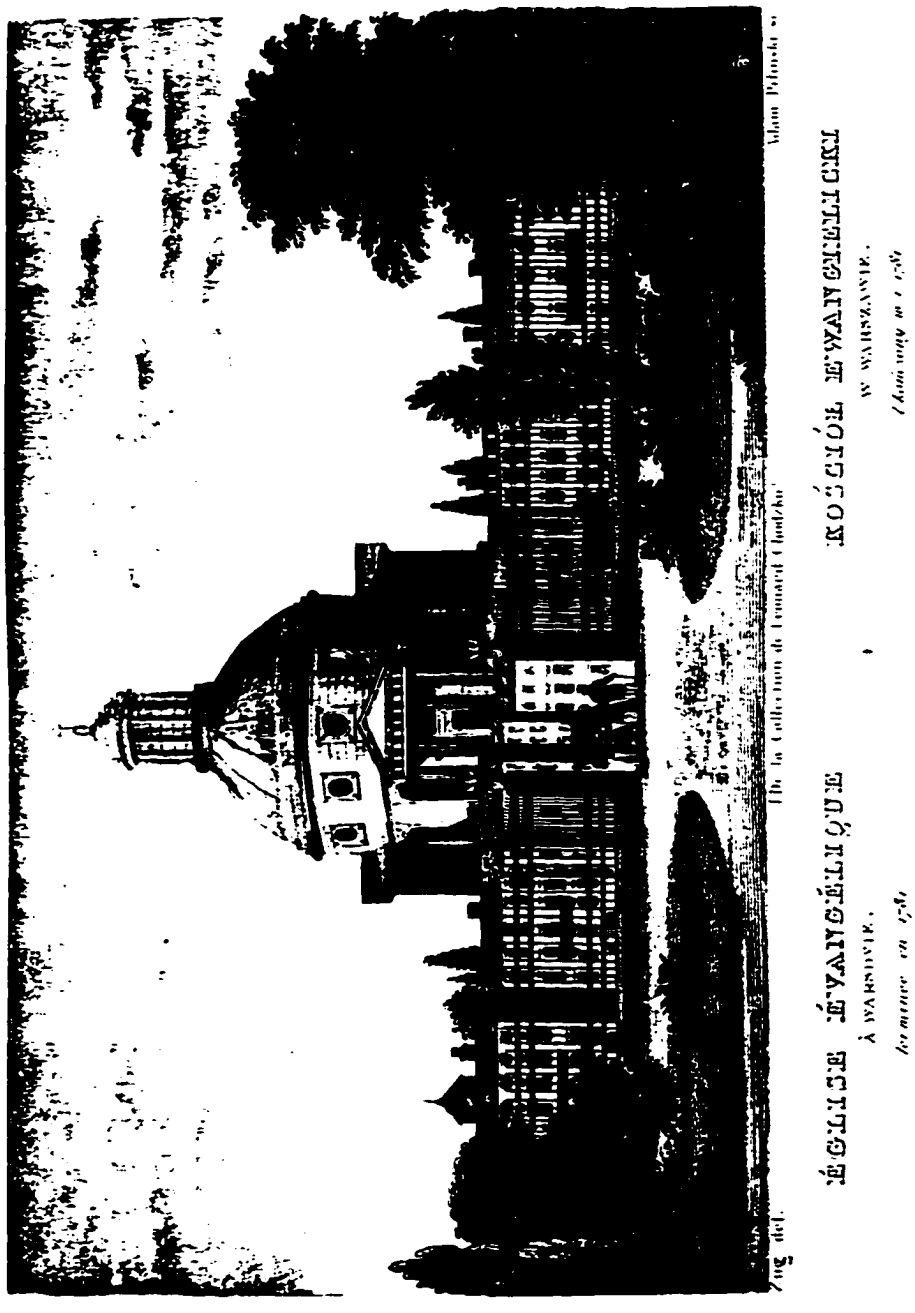


Fig. 16. The Lutheran Church, where Chopin performed at the *choralion* and sang in several choral performances (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

excerpts from *Die Schöpfung* and Elsner's hymn (May 22, 1825).[67] The earlier-mentioned improvisation, witnessed by Czar Alexander I, when Chopin played the eolimelodicon in the Lutheran Church (see page 118), took place during the same period, in early May of 1825.

After the 1814 decree of religious tolerance, Warsaw's Lutheran Church was free to add splendor to its liturgy with music. From then on special events received adequate musical treatment and beginning in 1815 the incomplete church records indicate a more consistent effort to include musical performances for all high holy days. At first, the musical events in the church consisted of Latin masses performed by amateurs and artists of the National Theater and were organized by Elsner, who acted at the request of rector Linde, Chairman of the Church's Board of Directors.[68] During the years 1821-27 the direction of musical events in the church was in the hands of Józef Jawurek (1756-1840), who introduced German cantatas and oratorios, invited Conservatory students to join chorus and orchestra of theater musicians, and in larger works secured the participation of Russian military

---

[67]Ibid., 132-36.

[68]The Lutheran church at large maintained vestiges of Latin liturgy, especially the *missa brevis (Kyrie, Gloria)*; in Warsaw there was a faction within the Lutheran community that favored the introduction of Latin elements into the service; this, combined with the growing tendency towards the polonization of the German population and the Lutheran church (at times church records and sermons were kept in Polish), made for very inconsistent liturgy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

choirs. The resourceful Jawurek was able to raise funds for the purchase of scores and instruments (12 violins, 2 violas, 3 cellos and 2 basses).[69] These were added to the two timpani, 5 trombones and four trumpets included in the 1782 inventory.[70] In the years 1828-29 the direction of music in the Lutheran Church was taken over by another Conservatory professor, the aforementioned Antoni Wejnert.[71]

The very long list of names compiled by Eugeniusz Szulc (the chorus and orchestra consisted of about 200 people) includes the names of several Conservatory professors (Bailly, Bielawski, Wejnert, Elsner and his wife), theater musicians (Mrs. Aszperger, Szczurowski, Damse, Żyliński), music lovers and outstanding amateurs (Gregorowicz, Ledoux, Mrs. Linde, Molsdorf), chiefs of military orchestras (Haase, Pohlens), the musical Orłowski family, the wife of the music publisher Brzezina, the violinists and violin builders Jan Michał and Henryk Rudert, Chopin's conservatory colleagues (Nidecki, Nowakowski, Józef and Eleonora Stefani) and his close friend (Białobłocki).[72] In the fragmentary information about repertory performed in the Lutheran Church one finds parts of Beethoven's Mass in C Major (November 11, 1825), portions of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* (Easter, 1824), Hummel's Grand Mass in

---

[69]Eugeniusz Szulc, "Unknown Page," 125-27.

[70]Gołos, "Organ at the Lutheran Church," 3.

[71]Eugeniusz Szulc, "Unknown Page," 128.

[72]Ibid., 136-150.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

E flat Major (Easter, 1825) and works by Romberg, Elsner, Mozart, Wejnert, Himmel, Eybler and others. The index of scores in the possession of the church--probably including works played during other performances--includes sacred works by Handel, C.P.E. Bach, J.C. Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, Stadler and others.[73] The fragmentary information presented by church records, combined with the presence of a splendid classical organ and supported by enthusiastic opinions found local and foreign reviews presents a picture of musical center on a truly European level--both in repertory and performance alike.[74]

The most splendid performances in Warsaw's churches occurred on the sad occasion of the death of Czar Alexander I. Although the Czar died some months earlier, the official funeral ceremonies in Warsaw took place in April of 1826. On April 7, there was a solemn funeral mass in the Metropolitan Church (St. John's Cathedral) and Kozłowski's *Requiem* was performed by 250 singers.[75] The list of works heard during this service was completed by Pergolesi's *Miserere* and Salieri's *Salve Regina*.[76] From April 10 through 12, in the St. John Cathedral there were continuous services, during which Kozłowski's *Requiem* was again performed under the

---

[73]Ibid., 129-131.

[74]Gołos, "Organ at the Lutheran Church," 3.

[75]Ibid., 74.

[76]Sieradz, 181.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 17. The Cathedral Church of St. John during reconstruction (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

direction of Soliva and Mozart's *Requiem* was conducted by Kurpiński.[77] The Lutheran Church had *Requiem* composed by Elsner, sung and played with the accompaniment of choralion.[78] At the end, on April 13, there were also grand musical services in the Synagogue and the Metropolitan Church (a Russian Orthodox service, during which a few hundred singers sang old-Slavonic chant in beautiful harmony).[79] Printed sources document Chopin's presence during the ceremonies.[80] Unfortunately, the sources are silent on the subject of his participation in the musical events. Yet, one could presume that being an official student of the Conservatory and a recognized member of the Warsaw musical community, Chopin performed in at least some of the musical events.

The splendid performances heard during Alexander's funeral and Nicholas's coronation of 1829 (described below) proved that Warsaw had the forces and skill needed for good performances of large choral works and needed only good organization. Gołębiowski felt that the monumental performances of choral masterpieces by Haydn, Handel, Beethoven and Schneider which took place in England and Germany showed a superior taste for music, but in Poland,

---

[77]*Description of the Funeral Celebration,* 82.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]*Description of the Funeral Celebration,* 24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

influenced by France and Italy, preference went to dramatic music, "and unfortunately such [music] succumbs the quickest to the whims of fashion." [Takowa niestety najpredzej ulega kaprysowi mody.][81] Indeed, to our knowledge, Chopin did not witness any performances of Handel's great oratorios until he visited Berlin. It must have been an extraordinary event, since he writes to his parents:

> Yet Handel's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day* came the closest to the ideal of great music as I have conceived it.
>
> [Jednakże *Cäcilienfest* Händla więcej się zbliżyło do ideału, jaki sobie o wielkiej muzyce utworzyłem.][82]

Notwithstanding the absence of Handelian oratorios, Warsaw's churches supported a quite lively musical tradition, but even more remarkable was the strong presence of the new genre of virtuoso concert. While the capital's public musical events included many orchestral and chamber performances, as evidenced by the *calendarium* (appendix 1), more significantly for an understanding of Chopin's musical adolescence--both as a context for his musical development and a setting for his earliest performing experiences--are the concerts of local and visiting virtuosi.

---

[81]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 256.

[82]Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 20 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Concert Hall

Warsaw had several performing spaces: the most elegant were at Town Hall and at the Royal Castle, but those were reserved for concerts of the most distinguished musical guests and carefully selected audiences. During his last year in Poland, Chopin was encouraged to perform in the Town Hall, but he declined saying "in Town Hall I would play--with no less stage fright and not much greater effect--for very few but of the highest class or for the city officials. [w Ratuszu nie z mniejszym ambarasem, niewiele większym efektem grałbym także nie dla wszystkich, bo albo dla najwyższej klasy albo dla miasta.[83]

Most typical concerts took place in the National Theater, which in addition to the main stage had a smaller Ballroom Hall *[Sala Redutowa]*. It was in the main hall of the National Theater where Fryderyk's public virtuoso performances took place. Occasionally concerts took place in the French Theater at the Saxon Palace, the Royal Theater in the Łazienki Orangery, or the hall of the Belweder Royal Palace.

In addition to the public concert spaces, some individual Polish entrepreneurs tried the idea of leasing private spaces for musical performances; a concept well known elsewhere in

---

[83]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:116.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 18. A view of the Royal Palace and Amphitheater at Łazienki (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Europe.[84] Already at the beginning of 1817 the *Gazeta warszawska* announced musical Mondays and Fridays, hosting famous virtuosi in the house of Tonnes.[85] In 1824 a person named Stadnicki placed an advertisement in the daily press announcing concerts of which the first one was to take place on December 1, 1824 at Krakowskie Przedmiescie no. 2783:

> The undersigned, having as his goal combining (in every respect) the pleasure and comfort of his Honorable Guests, has decided to give at his place so-called Musical Soirées involving the finest artists of this vocation.
>
> [Podpisany, mając na celu połączenie przyjemności z wygodą, w każdym względzie dla Szanownych Gości do niego uczęszczających, postanowił u siebie dawać tak zwane Wieczory Muzykalne, złożone z celniejszych w tej sztuce artystów.][86]

Regardless of where the concerts took place, Warsaw audiences delighted in musical experiences typical of the

---

[84]An article in a 1821 issue of *Tygodnik Muzyczny i Dramatyczny* described such arrangement in Paris involving Mr. Massimino's musical salon located at Rue Montmartre no 130. Professional and amateur salons, instruments and other musicalia were available to musicians and amateurs at a monthly cost of 10 francs. The salon was open 2-5 p.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. Musicians had a great gathering every fifteen days and every Sunday at 8 p.m. best professionals and amateurs performed compositions ranging from quartets to symphonies under the direction of Kreuzer. *Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 2 May 1821, no. 4:16.

[85]Prosnak, "Warsaw Environment," 35. Though at first this press announcement might be mistaken for a press notice of a salon concert, in fact it is an advertisement for public concerts. In it Tonnes, describing himself as an entrepreneur, offers single tickets or subscription for four concerts, which were to take place in his home at Sto Jańska street no. 24. *Gazeta warszawska*, 7 January 1817, no. 2:35. No further information about Tonnes' venture can be located, thus the fate of his concert series must remain unknown.

[86]*Kurier warszawski*, 28 November 1824, no. 284:829.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

current European tastes. The nineteenth-century listeners particularly enjoyed concerts of young, exceptionally gifted musicians, and little Fryderyk was not the only child protégé admired in Warsaw, nor was he by any means the most revered one. Among other Polish child-pianists who acquired fame in public concerts during the 1820s were Antoni Leśkiewicz, Józef Krogulski, Stefan Heller and the renowned Kątski brothers whose careers are discussed in more detail elsewhere.[87]

The two oldest Kątski brothers performed for the first time in Warsaw as early as February of 1823.[88] Of Antoni Kątski, who was a magnificent pianist, we learn:

> Antoni Kątski achieved a stupendous fluency at the piano--although the style and splendor of his playing resembled more that of French virtuosi--and at a young age he built the reputation of a first-class pianist.
>
> [Antoni Kątski doszedł wielkiej biegłości na fortepianie; ale co do stylu i świetności gry przypominał więcej wirtuozów francuskich i zrobił sobie w młodym wieku reputacyę fortepianisty pierwszego rzędu.][89]

In 1825 Warsaw heard concerts of the fifteen-year-old Chopin, but two much younger, seven-year-old pianists--Józef Krogulski and Antoni Leśkiewicz--also performed in the Polish capital. The child star of that season was the little Krogulski, of whom the critics said:

More than his proficiency, music connoisseurs are

---

[87]See below, page 272.

[88]Sieradz, 172.

[89]Sowiński, 181.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> amazed with his remarkable sense of tone color; it gives them hope that if training encourages the development of his talent, he will be regarded among the most prominent artists.
>
> [Mehr als seine Fertigkeit, bewundern jedoch die Musikverständigen seinen ausgezeichneten Tonsinn; denn dieser berechtigt, wenn die Unterricht die Entwicklung seiner Anlagen begünstigen, zu der schönen Hoffnung, ihn einst in die Reihe der bedeutensten Künstler treten zu sehen.][90]

In 1830 these two pianists, now twelve-year-olds, were heard again in Warsaw. Chopin was often asked his opinion of them, but preferred to express it only privately to Tytus:

> The little Leśkiewicz plays very well, though still mostly from the elbow. Yet I believe that he will be a better player than Krogulski.
>
> [Mały Leszkiewicz *[sic]* bardzo dobrze gra, ale jeszcze po największej części z łokcia. Ile mi się jednak zdaje, to lepszy z niego gracz będzie jak z Krogulskiego.][91]

There were also visits of young foreign virtuosi; Chopin shared his personal thoughts about one of them, Siegmund Friedrich Wörlitzer, with Tytus:

> Mr. Woerlitzer, Pianist of His Majesty [King of Prussia] is already here two weeks. He plays nicely, the little one. He is a Jew, therefore by nature very astute, and he rehearsed very well the few things that we have heard. He visited me. He is still a child; only sixteen years old. His forte are Moscheles' Variations on the "Alexander" March. He plays them perfectly, it seems that nothing remains to be desired. He was heard twice publicly and both times played these variations. When you will hear him, his playing will leave you content, although, between us, he has far to go to deserve the title bestowed on him.

---

[90]*AmZ*, November 1825:761.

[91]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 10 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:119.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [I Pan Woerlitzer, pianista jego kr. mości, jest tu już od dwóch tygodni. Ładnie bardzo gra mały. Jest to Żydek, a więc z natury bardzo pojętny, i dobrze się wyuczył kilka rzeczy, które dał nam słyszeć. Był u mnie. Jest to nawet jeszcze dziecko, ma lat 16. Jego fort są *Wariacje* Moschelesa na marsza Alexandra. Gra je doskonale, zdaje się, że nic nie pozostaje do życzenia. Dwa razy dał się słyszeć publicznie, oba razy grał te *Wariacje*. Jak go usłyszysz, będziesz z jego gry kontent, chociaż jeszcze, między nami mówiąc, wiele mu brak na tytuł, jaki nosi.][92]

During Chopin's early years Warsaw was visited by many distinguished musicians. One of the first public concerts that Fryderyk heard and that left a distinct impression on the young musician was the performance of the famous singer Angelica Catalani. (The circumstances of his private meeting with the great diva are described in Part III, chapter 2).[93] In December of 1819 she gave four performances in the Town Hall, and a limited number of rather expensive tickets (30 złoties) were quickly sold; the general agreement was that she had pushed the art of the human voice to its limits.[94] The critics wrote that Catalani distinguished herself with "pleasant appearance, lively performance, extraordinary sonorousness, force and agility of voice, especially in chromatic passages."[95] Her performances inspired a number of arrangements by local musicians but unfortunately none of

---

[92]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 15 May 1830, Sydow edition, 1:124.

[93]See below, page 295.

[94]Sobieszczański, 220.

[95]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

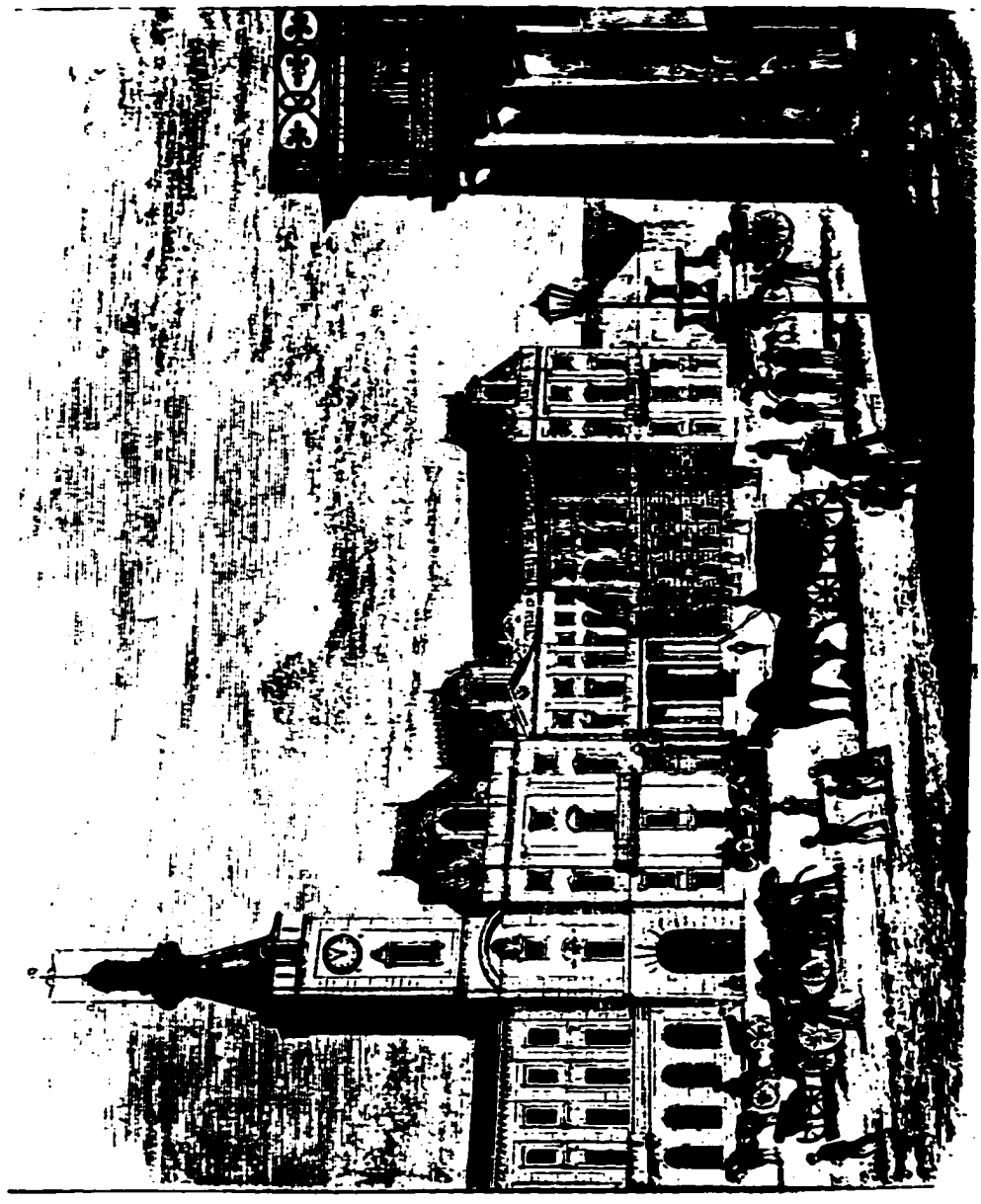


Fig. 19. The main Town Hall, site of Catalani's and Hummel's concerts (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

these publications survives.[96]

Another great idol of Chopin's youth, the celebrated Polish pianist Maria Szymanowska, gave a concert in Warsaw on May 6, 1823. She performed a Hummel's concerto and a rondo from a Field's concerto.[97] We have no certainty whether Chopin heard that performance, but he definitely heard her playing a few years later in 1827, when on January 15 Szymanowska performed a single concert in Warsaw National Theater. The concert was expected with excitement by Chopin who writes to Jan Białobłocki:

> This week Mrs. Szymanowska is giving a concert. It is going to be on Friday and the price is increased (...) I will be there without fail and I will inform you about the reception and the performance.
>
> [Pani Szymanowska daje w tym tygodniu koncert. Ma byc w piątek i cena podwyższona (...) Będę niezawodnie i dam ci znać o przyjęciu i grze.][98]

According to the press announcement, the concert took place not on Friday but on Monday.[99] The pianist performed a Hummel's concerto, variations by Ries and a *Potpourri* on Weber's *Freischütz*.[100] In a review Chopin's older friend Maurycy Mochnacki extolled the virtues of her artistry:

---

[96]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliography*, 28 and 32.

[97]Sieradz, 174.

[98]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 8 [January 1827], Sydow edition, 1:75.

[99]*Kurier Warszawski*, 12 January 1827, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 152.

[100]Sieradz, 182.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 20. The pianist Maria Szymanowska (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Mrs. Szymanowska succeeded in perfecting the nature of her instrument by making it approach the tone of the violin.... In her playing chords, melodies and single tones are combined in harmonious sonority, and the continuity of whole-, half- and quarter-notes, combined with the most diverse and gradually-developed shading in passages from the highest fortissimo to piano, from piano to crescendo, from crescendo to decrescendo etc., amazes the most exacting connoisseurs. In the adagio Mrs. Szymanowska brought the illusive imitation of human singing to the highest art....
>
> [Udało się P. Szymanowskiej udoskonalić naturę swego instrumentu przez zbliżenie go do tonu skrzypców.... Akkordy, śpiewy, i pojedyncze tony połączone są w jej grze harmonijnym brzmieniem; a ciągłość całych *nót, półnót* i *ćwierciowych,* przy najrozmaitszem i stopniowo rozwijanem cieniowaniu w przejściach z najwyższego *fortissimo* do *piano,* z *piano* do *crescendo,* z *crescendo* do *dekrescendo [sic]* i.t.d. wprawia najzawołańszych znawców w zdumienie. Łudzące naśladowanie śpiewu ludzkiego posunęła P. Szymanowska w *adagio* do najwyższego stopnia....][101]

In the spring of 1829 Warsaw got a special musical guest in the person of Johann Nepomuk Hummel. Between April 11 and May 2 the Hummel gave four concerts: the last two jointly with other musicians. The great pianist performed his own compositions as well as pieces by other composers, but the large audiences (about 700) attending his concerts were always most impressed with his improvisations. From a review of the second concert, which took place on April 18, we learn that the virtuoso amazed the listeners with the use of fugues, chords and bold passages in his improvisation on favorite themes by Mozart and Gluck's overture to *Iphigenia,* with

---

[101]Mochnacki, 377-78.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

joyful *krakowiak* variations in between.[102] Although Chopin makes no mention this visit, it is important to note that there is a hiatus in the surviving correspondence between December 1828 and August 1829. It is hard to imagine that Fryderyk would miss an opportunity to hear one of the most famous pianists of the time, and, to boot, a composer whose style had a profound effect on Chopin's own musical vocabulary.[103]

The most interesting musical season took place during the summer of 1829: on May 17 the new Czar Nicholas I arrived in Warsaw to be crowned the King of Poland. Already on the eve of the coronation the great Niccolò Paganini performed a private concert for the imperial couple.[104] The actual ceremonies were accompanied by many splendid musical events presented by local and visiting musicians.

The coronation took place on May 24, accompanied by a Coronation Mass, composed especially for the occasion by Elsner, Soliva's *Veni creator*, and Kurpiński's *Te Deum*; these were performed by an ensemble of nearly 400 professional and

---

[102]*Kurier warszawski*, 19 April 1828, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 153.

[103]Hummel's influence on Chopin is frequently discussed. See Jim Samson, *The Music of Chopin*, 50-56; and idem, *Chopin*, 35-36, 47-48, 58-63.

[104]Józef Krasiński, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs] (Poznań: Kraszewski, 1877), 161.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

amateur musicians.[105]

The official ceremonies were followed by a solemn dinner in the palace. During the dinner the guests could hear Paganini, Lipiński (see further below), Soliva and the young singers Wołkow, Janikowska and Gładkowska; the orchestra was conducted by Kurpiński. Afterwards the Grand Marshal Broniec invited the musicians to his palace where merrymaking continued: reportedly tipsy Lipiński jumped on the table and played his fiddle, while the inebriated Paganini in full approval of this performance drank to his health.[106]

During his stay in Warsaw Paganini played ten concerts, always with the same popularity (the last concert, in spite of hot weather had an audience of 600).[107] We have only fragmentary information about the program which Paganini presented in Warsaw: he played the allegro maestoso from a violin concerto by Kreutzer and his own Variations on the G String, and he improvised on a Neapolitan song "Oh, mamma, mamma cara" and on a mazur "Young Peasants from Połaniec" *[Parobcaki od Połańca]* from Elsner's opera *Król Łokietek.*[108]

Among the many compositional arrangements prompted by

---

[105]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements,* 253. For the composition of the *Mass* Elsner received from the Emperor a golden snuff box. Elsner, *Summary,* 51.

[106]Krasiński, 161-62.

[107]*Kurier Warszawski,* 15 July 1829, no. 186, after Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 156.

[108]Sieradz, 189-190.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

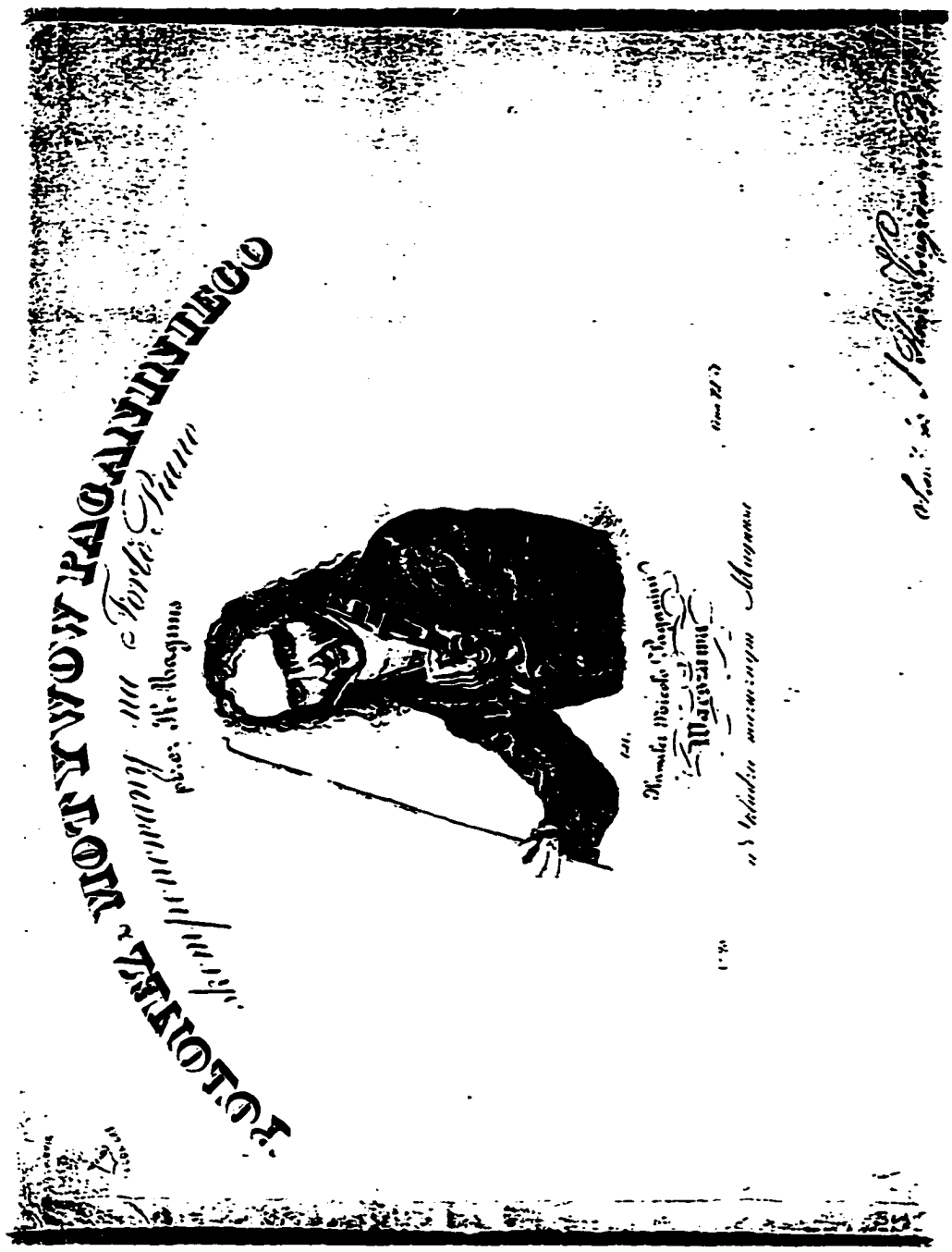


Fig. 21. Niccolò Paganini on the cover of an arrangement of his music, made and published by Karol Magnus (Jagiellonian Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Paganini's concerts two survive in the Jagiellonian Library: a galop and a polonaise based on themes and motives from his performances.[109] Chopin's A Major Variations *Souvenir de Paganini* composed during 1829 followed the same trend and his first etudes from op. 10, which according to letters were composed in the fall of the same year, were also inspired by the great violinist's performances.[110]

The same coronation festivities also provided a reason for a visit of another great virtuoso violinist, Karol Lipiński. Lipiński's performances were quite spectacular and after his June 5 concert the audiences were in awe; even the great Paganini loudly applauded his younger colleague.[111] This celebrated Polish violinist was known and admired all over Europe and his musical visits to his homeland were always welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm. In 1827 Mochnacki

---

[109]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliography,* 112 and 114.

[110]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 20 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:111; and Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 14 January 1829 [1830], Sydow edition, 1:113.

[111]*Kurier Warszawski,* June 6 1829, no. 150, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 157. Lipiński's relationship with Paganini began in Italy in 1817, when with great admiration he first heard the master. Soon after he became Paganini's protégé and the two great violinists frequently played double concerti together. Their relationship took a new turn in the late 1820s, when a conflict between them arose, instigated by an unfriendly outsider. *AmZ,* July 1835:425-26. The 1829 Warsaw concerts gave rise to a fierce and rather futile public debate between Paganini's and Lipiński's enthusiasts. Paganini handled it very gracefully, but Lipiński was not that magnanimous and according to Elsner, he harbored true bitterness towards his great rival. Hoesick, *Warsaw,* 113-14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 22. The violinist Karol Lipiński on the cover of an arrangement of his music, made and published by Karol Magnus (Jagiellonian Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wrote about his tone:

> It is a timbre artfully differentiated. This sound--sometimes soulful and caressed, and then strong, emphatic and loud--always bewitches with unspeakable magic and always resembles a spark discharged by a flintstone.
>
> [Jestto koloryt kunsztownie rozmaicony. Dźwięk ten naprzemian to rzewny i pieszczony, to znowu mocny, wybitny i głośny, zawsze niewymownym czaruje urokiem i wszędzie podobny jest do iskry z krzemienia wytryskającej.][112]

Mochnacki was also taken with his technical dexterity in variations on popular themes ("Cruel World" *[Świat srogi]* and "Let's Love Each Other" *[Kochajmy się]*):

> What extraordinary difficulties! What ease in overcoming them!
>
> [Co za nadzwyczajne trudności! jaka w ich pokonywaniu łatwość.][113]

All these virtues of Lipiński's art are extolled again in a review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

> As a violin virtuoso he is truly so outstanding and exceptional that it would not be too much to say that we wish to count him among the very best artists of our time. (...) The greatest difficulties completely surrender their harsh nature under his hands and appear so powerless and pliably docile, that, secure in himself like an ancient hero dallying with lions, he can play with them without the tiniest danger. (...) His stroke is long, wide, mighty and always so tender as distant sighs; always producing tone....
>
> [Als Violinvirtuos steht er in Wahrheit so hoch und eigenthümlich da, dass er nichts gesagt wäre, wenn wir ihn als einen der allersten Künstler unserer Zeit bezeichnen wollten. (...) Die grössten Schwierigkeiten legen unter seinen Händen ihr sonst

---

[112]Mochnacki, 383.

[113]Ibid., 385.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> herbes Wesen gänzlich ab und erwiesen sich so weich u. geschmeidig folsam, dass ohne die geringdste Gefahr, sichern in sich selbst, mit ihnene spielen kann wie ein Heros des Alterthums mit Löwen tändelt. (...) Sein Strich is lang, breit, gewaltig und wieder so zart, wie fernes Säuseln; wirkt immerdar Ton....][114]

The following year brought the visit of two other magnificent musicians: the French pianist Anne Caroline de Belleville and the famous singer Henrietta Sonntag. The two distinguished guests were heard in several public performances, and in the end of May the two ladies and the young pianist Wörlitzer performed in Warsaw's Royal Castle for a private audience which included Czar Nicholas I and his wife.[115] Chopin was not invited to this private soirée at the Castle; in a letter to Tytus the composer implies that somehow he fell out of favor with the royal family--perhaps he earned this imperial disapproval through his association with the revolutionary youth of Warsaw. Nevertheless Fryderyk witnessed other performances of Mlle. de Belleville and thought her an excellent pianist, who impressed with lightness and elegance.[116]

Yet the true star of the summer 1830 season was the magnificent soprano Henrietta Sonntag, whose arrival in Warsaw

---

[114]*AmZ*, July 1835:427.

[115]Krasiński, 162.

[116]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 5 June 1830, Sydow edition, 1:128.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin eagerly anticipated in his letter written early in May.[117] Sonntag was loved by Warsaw's audiences and her concerts were attended by large crowds of about 850 listeners.[118] Her visit inspired the composition of several new works: Kurpiński composed for her a potpourri of Polish songs, which she performed in three of her concerts,[119] Chopin was asked by Prince Radziwiłł to refine the set of variations on an Ukrainian *dumka* that this talented aristocrat made especially for Miss Sonntag.[120] These and several other publications occasioned by the singer's performances are now lost, but we are in possession of a polonaise based on works sung by her, entitled *Souvenir à la Sontag [sic]*, which was composed and published by Karol Magnus.[121]

Fryderyk was clearly captivated by Sonntag's talent, looks and personality, as evidenced by a letter to Tytus dated June 5, 1830, that is almost entirely devoted to the famous singer.[122]

---

[117]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 15 May 1830, Sydow edition, 1:123.

[118]*Kurier Warszawski*, 28 June 1830, no. 171, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 211.

[119]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliography*, 125.

[120]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 5 June 1830, Sydow edition, 1:127.

[121]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliography*, 125.

[122]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 5 June 1830, Sydow edition, 1:126-29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

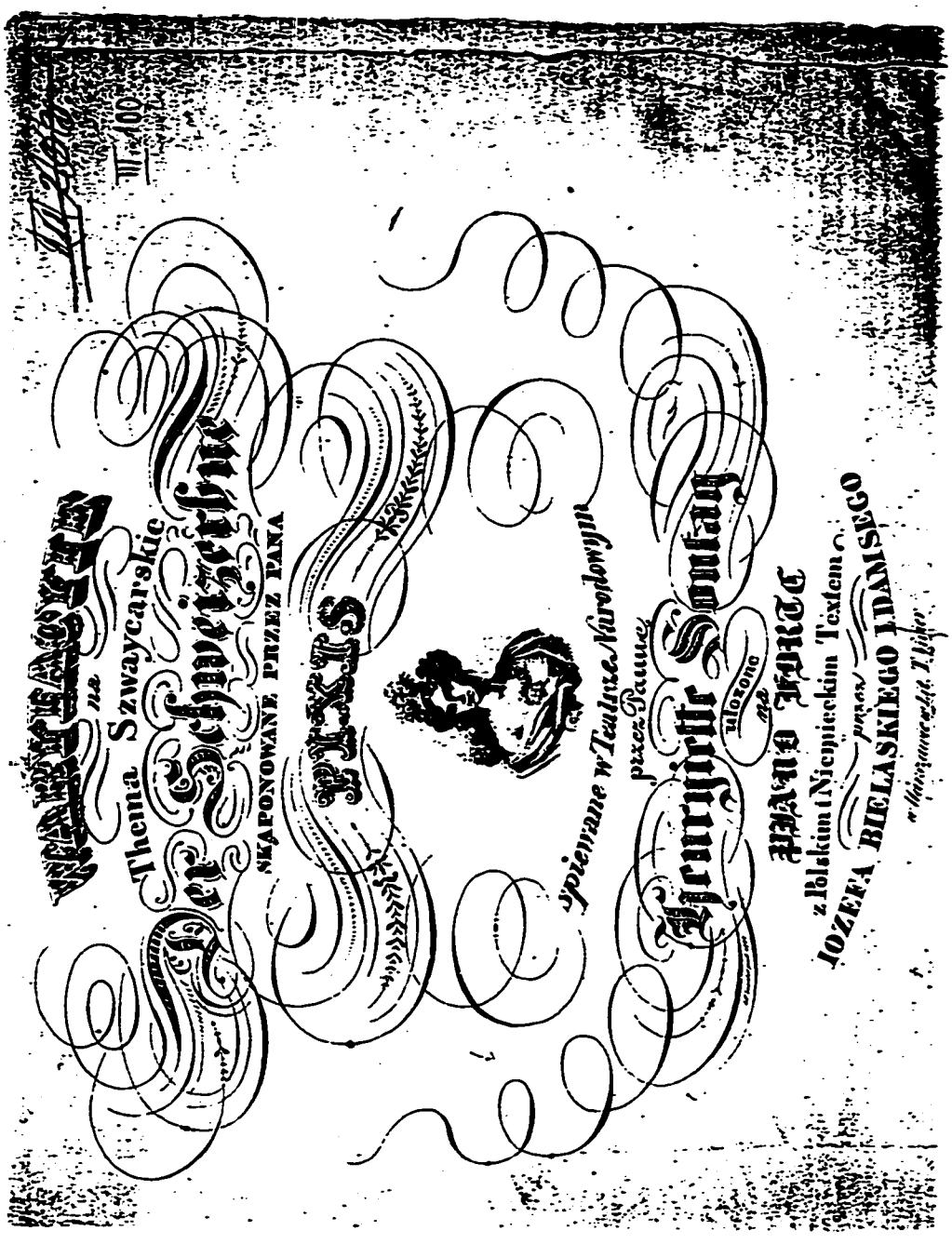


Fig. 23. An arrangement of Pixis' Variations on the Swiss Theme "Der Schweizerbub" as sung in the National Theater by Miss Henrietta Sonntag with the singer's likeness (Jagiellonian Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Miss Sonntag is not beautiful, but as pretty as possible. She charms everyone with her voice, whose range is not very large--since usually she lets us hear from a to c/c#--but which is very agile; her *diminuendi* are *non plus ultra*, her *portamenti* beautiful, and her scales (especially upward chromatic) are delicious.
>
> [Panna Sonntag nie jest piękna, ale ładna do najwyższego stopnia. Czaruje wszystkich swoim głosem, który nie bardzo jest wielkim, bo tylko nam go zwykle daje słyszeć od: a - c/c# ale jest nadzwyczaj wyrobiony; jej *diminiuenda* są *non plus ultra*, jej *portamenta* śliczne, a gammy, szczególniej chromatyczne, do góry przepyszne.][123]

Chopin's E Major Variations on "Schweizerbub"--a Swiss theme set by Pixis as variations which Miss Sonntag's performances made very popular--remained a musical memento of her visit in Warsaw. Besides Chopin's there were a number of printed adaptations of this song, including Bielawski's arrangement of the theme and vocal variations as performed by Sonntag.[124]

In her kindness, the singer found time to hear and advise the two talented vocalists from the conservatory: Wołkow and Gładkowska.[125] In fact, they were among a large group of new, young musicians performing in Warsaw at the end of the decade: the Conservatory began to bring forth a new generation of talent. In 1824 the Conservatory was given a building that had served as a convent for the Bernardine Sisters. It was quickly converted to a concert hall which became a stage of

---

[123]Ibid., 127,

[124]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliography*, 128.

[125]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 5 June 1830, Sydow edition, 1:128.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

many performances, thus the capital gained yet another concert hall.

Chopin performed at the Conservatory on several occasions. He probably participated in choral concerts; for instance, in April 1828 the students performed Cherubini's *Ave Maria* and fragments of other religious works.[126] A year later, in April 1829, the program of a conservatory concert included Cherubini's *Pater noster*.[127]

In two concerts Fryderyk was a soloist. In the May 27, 1825 concert Fryderyk as one of the students played the Fantasia for eolopantaleon. The concert was received very warmly by Warsaw's music lovers and as a result a second concert was organized. This performance featured Antonia Bianchi (an Italian singer, and a friend of Paganini, who sang for the first time in Warsaw), a flutist Kresner, and Chopin (who played Moscheles' Concerto in F Minor on the piano and improvised on the eolopantaleon). The concert took place at the Conservatory on June 10, 1825 and Chopin was applauded for his performance on the eolopantaleon.[128] It was a great success, and even the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* wrote a favorable review of Chopin's performance (see above, page 122).

---

[126]Sieradz, 186.

[127]Ibid., 188.

[128]*Kurier Warszawski*, 11 June 1825, no. 137, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 105.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin and his Conservatory colleagues were increasingly more frequently heard in the capital. The two young singers, Fryderyk's love Konstancja Gładkowska and her friend Anna Wołkow, began to sing in operas. Konstancja's first opera performance was the title role in Paër's *Agnes*.[129] Kurpiński commented:

> Miss Gładkowska's singing has much merit: innate feeling combined with skill proved is very fortunate. Her performance in this part is quite good for a first appearance.
>
> [Śpiew panny Gładkowskiej ma w sobie wiele zalety: wrodzone czucie, połączone z wprawą okazało sie w wielu miejscach bardzo szczęśliwe. Jej gra w tej roli jak na pierwsze wystąpienie, wcale jest dobrą.][130]

Several young musicians had their official debuts: Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński first performed in the National Theater on September 29, 1827 and Antoni Orłowski was heard on the national stage on February 7, 1829.[131] It was time for Fryderyk to appear at Poland's main concert hall.

Chopin's official debut at the National Theater (already mentioned above, page 139) took place on March 17, 1830. He played the Concerto in F Minor and the Fantasia on Polish Themes. From the several entirely different reports one infers the concert was a mixed success. The rather bleak, but probably inaccurate, picture of this performance was given to

---

[129]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 199.

[130]Przybylski, "Kurpiński's Private Diary," 107.

[131]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 154.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

us by Skrodzki:

> We also remember Chopin's first concert, which was received with indifference. The National Theater was empty, and most of the audience either received free admission, or was connected with him through close acquaintance or friendship.
>
> [Pamiętamy i pierwszy koncert Szopena, przyjęty obojętnie. Teatr Wielki świecił pustkami, najwięcej tam było widać takich, co darmo dostali bilety, albo ścisłą z nim znajomością i przyjaźnią złączonych.][132]

The above description is inconsistent with a note in *Kurier Warszawski* which reported:

> There were 800 people, which proves that our audience deems to reward true talent. The young virtuoso pleased the guests; it was agreed that he belongs among the greatest masters.
>
> [Znajdowało się osób 880, co dowodzi że prawdziwy talent nasza Publiczność zwykła nagradzać. Młody wirtuoz zadowolił obecnych; przyznano mu że należy do rzędu znakomitych mistrzów.][133]

The review written by Chopin's close friend Mochnacki, while enthusiastic, offered some basis for criticism:

> This adagio in Mr. Chopin's concerto, this work of an extraordinary musical genius, puts our young virtuoso next to foremost artists of Europe. Truly! One, who so young begins like this will spread his name far. (...) Mr. Chopin's touch is elegant, delicate; maybe in passage-work one could wish more energy and strength; in a salon Mr. Chopin's execution would make a still greater impression.
>
> To *adadżo [sic]* w koncercie P. Chopin, to oryginalne dzieło nadzwyczajnego geniuszu muzykalnego stawia naszego młodego wirtuoza obok najpierwszych artystów Europy. Zaiste! Daleko rozgłosi imię swoje, kto w młodych leciach tak

---

[132]Wielisław, "Memories of Chopin," 114-15.

[133]*Kurier Warszawski,* 18 March 1830, no. 75:377.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> zaczyna. (...) *Tusz* pana Chopin wytworny, delikatny; w pasażach tylko możeby więcej energii i mocy życzyć należało; w salonie egzekucya P. Chopin czyniłaby większe jeszcze wrażenie.[134]

Chopin's own account of the event expressed in a letter to Tytus contains mixed emotions:

> The first concert, although it was full and three days before no more boxes or seats were available, did not leave an impression on the crowd, as I perceived it. The first Allegro, accessible to a small number, received bravos, but it seems to me only because one was expected to be astonished--how amazing!--and to pretend to be a connoisseur! The Adagio and Rondo had the greatest effect--here one could hear more sincere cries--but *Potpourri on Polish Themes*, in my view, completely missed its mark. Bravos were given in the conviction that "before departure we ought to let him know that we were not bored."
>
> [Pierwszy więc koncert, lubo był pełny i od 3-ch dni naprzód ani lóż, ani krzeseł nie było, nie zrobił na masie wrażenia, jakem ja rozumiał. - Pierwsze *Allegro* dla małej liczby przystępne zyskało brawo, ale jak mi się zdaje, dlatego że trzeba się było dziwić, co to jest! - i niby udawać koneseurów! - *Adagio* i *Rondo* największy efekt sprawiło, tu już szczersze okrzyki dały się słyszeć - ale co *Potpury* na temata polskie zupełnie, podług mnie, celu nie dopięły. Dano brawa i w tym przkonaniu, że trzeba mu dać na odchodnym znać, żeśmy sie nie znudzili.][135]

Regardless of the mixed reception there was demand from the public to hear Chopin again--many people, who tried to obtain loges and seats for the first concert were unsuccessful, and therefore a second concert was scheduled for the following

---

[134]Mochnacki, 420.

[135]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:114-115.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Monday.[136]

The second concert took place on March 22, 1830. The program included a new symphony by Józef Nowakowski (a student at the Conservatory), Mrs. Mejer singing Soliva's grand aria from *Helena i Malwina*, Józef Bielawski's performance of Beriot's variations, and the much expected appearance of Chopin. This time the virtuoso played to an enthusiastic audience of 900. The performance included the Adagio and Rondo from the Concerto in F Minor and improvisations on two favorite songs "Cruel World" *[Świat Srogi]* and "In Town Strange Customs" *[W mieście dziwne obycaie]*.[137] In his review of this event Mochnacki again hinted at superior qualities of Chopin's art that could not be appreciated by typical concert audience and required an initiated connoisseur:

> The improvisation did not and could not achieve the same enthusiastic effect, since it was a genuine not faked improvisation, and as such it could not compare with compositions so happily inspired, so skillfully finished, and supported with utter enchantment of rich harmony.
>
> [Improwizacja nie zrobiła i nie mogła zrobić tego samego [entuzjastycznego] skutku, była bowiem prawdziwą a nieudaną improwizacją, a jako takaż mogła się wydać obok kompozycyi, tak szczęśliwie natchnionych, tak uczenie wykończonych, wspartych oraz całym powabem bogatej harmonii.][138]

---

[136]*Kurier Warszawski*, 18 March 1830, no. 75:378.

[137]*Kurier warszawski*, 23 March 1830, no. 80, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 244.

[138]Mochnacki, 421.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin was heard at the National Theater once more on October 11, 1830. For the overture he selected Rossini's Overture to *Wilhelm Tell* and he invited his two colleagues from the Conservatory, the young talented vocalists Mlles. Gładkowska and Wołkow, to share the concert with him.[139] The program opened with a symphony by Goerner, followed by the Allegro from Chopin's Concerto in E Minor. After the Allegro, Miss Wołkow sang an aria with chorus by Soliva (conducted by the composer), and then Chopin played the next two movements of his concerto. The second part opened with the Rossini, followed by an exquisite performance of cavatina "Oh quante lagrime per te versai" from *La donna del Lago* by Konstancja Gładkowska. Fryderyk closed the concert with his Fantasia on Polish Themes op. 13.[140]

The pianist's friend Józef Reinschmidt remembered that during this concert Chopin also improvised on a theme given by the audience. Presumably Elsner asked Fryderyk's friends to select and write down a theme, which turned out to be a popular Polish folk song "Hops" *[Chmiel]*.[141] Chopin had already improvised on the same theme during his August 11, 1829 concert in Vienna, and thus his task was easier.

The audiences were very pleased and there is a brief

---

[139]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, 5 October 1830, Sydow edition, 1:144.

[140]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 12 October 1830, Sydow edition, 1:146-47.

[141]Wójcicka, 2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

comment on this performance in Kurpiński's private journal:

> This evening a concert consisting of fine pieces was beautifully performed: particularly liked were Mr. Chopin's second concerto and overture from Rossini's opera *Wilhelm Tell*.
>
> [Wieczorem koncert złożony z pięknych szczegółów pięknie był wykonany: mianowicie podobała się kompozycja 2-go koncertu pana Chopina i uwertura Rossiniego z opery *Wilhelm Tell*.][142]

Moreover, Chopin himself was very content with his performance. Since he had more control over the program, he was able to select the orchestral works and to invite competent vocalists "so there were none of these unfortunate clarinets or bassoons between piano [numbers]" [żeby niebyło tych nieszczęśliwych klarynetów albo fagotów między fortepianem].[143] Soliva's command of the orchestra was so confident that the pianist related to Tytus: "never before have I played so calmly with an orchestra." [jeszcze z orkiestrą tak mi się spokojnie grać nie zdarzyło.][144] It was undeniably an encouraging experience and Fryderyk concluded: I was not a tiny bit scared and I played as a I do when I am alone." [żem sie wcale a wcale nie bał, grał tak, jak kiedy sam jestem.][145] Fryderyk did not know that this performance was fated to be his last public appearance in his homeland.

---

[142]Przybylski, "Kurpiński's Private Diary," 108.

[143]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 5 October 1830, Sydow edition, 1:144.

[144]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 12 October 1830, Sydow, 1:147.

[145]Ibid., 146.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

But the final goodbyes to his friends were said somewhat later--on a day before Chopin left Poland, in *Brzezińska* cafe, one of his favorite haunts.[146]

---

[146]Wójcicki, *Cafes*, 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Music in *cafés*

According to Antoni Magier, a historian contemporary with Chopin, the first *café* (coffee house) in Warsaw was opened in 1724.[147] Soon there were others--especially well-remembered was a tiny, but always busy Mayerhoff's *café*, opened during the reign of August III.[148] Yet, it is only in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that *cafés* became truly fashionable in Warsaw. The *Warsaw Guide* for 1829 lists 33 *café* owners,[149] and Gołębiowski claims that Warsaw had as much as a hundred *cafés* at the time.[150] Given the general interest in fine musical entertainment even restaurants and *cafés* began to introduce performances:

> Citizens of Warsaw adore music (...) The owners of various culinary-leisure establishments are well aware of this and compete in engaging native and foreign orchestras.
>
> [Warszawianie przepadają za muzyką (...) Znają to dobrze właściciele rozmaitych zakładów gastronomiczno-spacerowych i scigają się w zamawianiu orkiestr swoich i obcych.][151]

The first mention of musical performances in an eating establishment is dated to 1815, when quartets were to be

---

[147]Magier, 58.

[148]Ibid.

[149]*Warsaw Guide 1829*, commercial part, 13.

[150]Gołębiowski, *Historic-Statistical Description*, 193.

[151]Wieniarski, 2:3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performed at an eatery in Dulfus House every Monday and Friday at 6 PM by amateurs and musical artists.[152] In 1822 the restaurant of Hotel Europa hosted visiting Italian singers Lucich and Fracassi, who sang Rossini's arias and duets with the accompaniment of the violin and the guitar.[153] The enthusiastic reception of these concerts prompted the owner to institute Thursday and Sunday garden concerts during the Summer of 1823, featuring Italian singers with arias and duets from the newest operas of Rossini and other composers.[154]

In the Fall of 1830 a new *café* opened in the Chodkiewicz/Kochanowski Palace on Miodowa street. Inside, around the central salon decorated with corinthian columns, there was a balcony with galleries and loges. The very elegant decor was completed with expensive wall-coverings. On Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays music was played by Czech musicians.[155] The concerts must have been very popular, since very quickly the owner changed to daily performances.[156]

There were many elegant *cafés* frequented mostly by Warsaw's dandies; for example an establishment run by a Swiss named Lourse, which had a very elegant decor and French

---

[152]*Gazeta warszawska,* 31 October 1815, no. 87:1768.

[153]*Kurier warszawski,* 31 May 1822, no. 129:1.

[154]*Kurier warszawski* 24 May 1823, no. 122: 1.

[155]*Kurier warszawski,* 23 November 1830, no. 315:1645.

[156]*Kurier warszawski,* 24 November 1830, no. 316:1650-51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

newspapers available for reading.[157] Chopin was no stranger to places like this, and he was known to stop by Lourse's.[158] But of greater interest to us are the intellectual and artistic *cafés* of Warsaw. Of these the most famous were *Honoratka, Kopciuszek, Dziurka, U Sabatowskiej, U Brzezińskiej* and *Suchy Las*. Magier captures the importance of these *cafés*, when he remarks on the positive influence they had on literary and artistic production: they provided an opportunity of sharing ideas with and drawing encouragement from others.[159] They were the meeting-place for the intellectual and artistic avant-garde of Warsaw, providing atmosphere that fostered new thought and creation. This stimulating environment occasioned the birth of the opera *Szarlatan [A Charlatan]* during a *café* conversation between Karol Kurpiński and Aloizy Żółkowski (actor and librettist).[160]

In many such *cafés* one could hear music; for example *café U Sabatowskiej* had an unusual variety of people, predominantly a young crowd, attracted mainly by well-played quartets.[161] But certainly in all of them one would hear talk about music. In the best company, in gardens and *cafés*, one repeatedly

---

[157]Magier, 57.

[158]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 4 September 1830, Sydow edition, 1:136.

[159]Magier, 6.

[160]Wójcicki, *Cafes*, 6.

[161]Magier, 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

heard the names of famous composers: Paisiello, Mozart, Hummel, Cimarosa, Méhul, etc.[162] Chopin best testifies to the interest that *café*-goers had in musical matters when after his first concert at the National Theater, he comments:

> I would have liked to have been at *Kopciuszek* to hear the debates that must have surrounded my person.
>
> [... chciałbym być u Kopciuszka, żeby usłyszeć debata, jakie się musiały toczyć o moją osobę.][163]

Although Warsaw already had many *cafés*, *Kopciuszek [Cinderella]*, which was opened in 1817 by prosperous Warsaw confectioner Józef Baldy, was the first *café* in Parisian style, similar to Paris's *café* Procope. The *café* moved several times; beginning in 1819 it was located at Długa street and during that period it was visited by the entire cultural elite of Warsaw: writers, university professors, actors and musicians.[164] There nearly every evening one could meet Osiński, Brodziński, Skarbek, Dmuszewski, Kurpiński, Elsner and many other fascinating people. Most conversations would center around theater, but they would often evolve into disputes of aesthetic or historiographic nature.[165] In disputes and exchanges of aesthetic judgments

---

[162]Ibid., 143.

[163]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:115.

[164]Tadeusz Morawski, *Moje Przygody; ustęp z pamiętników* [My Adventures; Excerpt from Memoirs] (Kraków: Leon Paszkowski, 1873), 11.

[165]Dmochowski, 179-180; and Wójcicki, *Cafes*, 6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

young and old mixed; especially Brodziński was always ready to join the young crowd.[166]

In the years 1826-1830 *Kopciuszek* was located at Miodowa street in the Tepper Palace.[167] During the late 1820s the Tepper palace was a location of two *cafés*: *Kopciuszek* and *Dziurka [The Little Hole]*. Judging from Chopin's comment, *Kopciuszek* must still have been an active center of debates during that period; such an atmosphere is suggested by descriptions of sharp fervent literary disputes there.[168]

At the end of the 1820s, some of the guests of *Kopciuszek* changed locale to *Suchy Las [Dry Forrest]*, located at Długa street, near the National Theater. After it was taken over by Bautz, this *café* became a very important meeting place for theater people. Among others, it was frequented by Ludwig Osiński and visited daily by Ludwik Dmuszewski--actor, author, director, a member of the Board of Directors, in a word a legendary figure in the history of the National Theater. A creature of habit, Dmuszewski visited *Suchy Las* before performances, always sitting in the same chair.[169] Chopin must have known Dmuszewski very well, judging from the familiar description in a letter to Tytus, where with embarrassment he reports that Dmuszewski, impressed by his

---

[166]Tadeusz Morawski, 11.

[167]Frączyk, 321-22.

[168]Wójcicki, *Cafes*, 55.

[169]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 69.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 24. A view of Miodowa Street with Tepper Palace housing the *Kopciuszek* and *Dziurka cafés* (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performances, intends to publish sonnets to Chopin in *Kurier Warszawski*.[170] Dmuszewski was also the author of the text to the "Farewell" Cantata with music by Elsner, with which friends said goodby at the city gates to the departing Chopin.

During the time of the Polish Kingdom, another favorite place of meetings for Warsaw's youth--frequented also by Maurycy Mochnacki and Fryderyk Chopin--was *Honoratka* which belonged to Honorata Zimmerman.[171] In the period before and during the November Uprising revolutionary activists gathered in *Honoratka*. Chopin frequently spent time among the young Romantics involved in plotting the revolution; and his close friends--Maurycy Mochnacki and Konstanty Gaszyński--joined the movement and fought for sovereign Poland in the Uprising. Chopin, who was caught up in revolutionary fervor, knew well Seweryn Goszczyński, Józef Bohdan Zaleski and Joachim Lelewel, who were at the heart of the plot. [172]

The mood in the *Brzezińska café* was much less political, though, located at Krakowskie Przedmiescie, it catered mainly to the university students.

> In this quiet and peaceful corner--filled from 7 in the morning with youths, who for breakfast nourished themselves with the superb coffee--from 3 in the afternoon there gathered an ample group of literati, in order to read all the periodicals as much as to visit and chat with each other.

---

[170]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 17 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:121.

[171]Magier, 282.

[172]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 254-59.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 25. The inside of the *Honoratka café* (Płock Museum ?, from National Museum reproduction).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [W tym cichym i spokojnym zakątku, a od 7-ej godziny rano już przepełnionym młodzieżą, co na śniadanie posilała się wyborną kawą; od godziny 3-ej po południu zbierało się liczne grono literatów, tak dla czytania wszystkich pism periodycznych ówczesnych, jak dla zobaczenia się i miłej pogadanki.][173]

Fryderyk himself, in the company of his friend Dominik Magnuszewski, liked to visit *Brzezińska café* during his last years in Poland.[174] The *café* was visited also by other young men from Chopin's circle: Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński, a student of Elsner's and a colleague of Chopin's came here often; Kazimierz Wójcicki--the future historian--first met Chopin at *Brzezińska café*.[175] Konstanty Gaszyński, an author of a poem dedicated to Chopin and entitled "Farewell," was also a frequent guest; perhaps the poem was presented to Chopin during his last visit in this *café*, which took place a day before he left Poland.[176]

Chopin departed from Poland in hopes of learning more about music and establishing an international career. His expectations were satisfied; in his new home he was able to hear the most splendid performers and compositions and he reached more that short-lived fame--through his music he achieved immortality. Yet while we study with reverence his splendid mature works within the dazzling setting of Parisian

---

[173]Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2:212.

[174]Wójcicki, *Cafes*, 17.

[175]Ibid., 22-23.

[176]Ibid., 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concert life, we now see the need also to look back to public performances in Warsaw for the stimuli that nourished young Chopin's musical imagination.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. MUSICAL THEATER

It was a great hope of Chopin's family, teachers and friends that one day he would become the great Polish national opera composer. His friend the poet Stefan Witwicki said it clearest in a letter sent to Fryderyk during the November Uprising from the besieged Warsaw:

> You absolutely must be the creator of Polish opera; I am deeply convinced that you are capable of becoming one, and as a Polish national composer you will open for your talent a new, immensely rich domain, in which you will achieve exceptional fame. (...) I am certain, that Slavic opera, brought to life by true talent, by a feeling and thinking composer, will one day shine in the world like a new sun--maybe even it will surpass all others--and it will have as much melodiousness as Italian opera, much more tenderness and incomparably more thought. (...) you will be the first one, who knows how to draw on the rich treasures of Slavic melody....
>
> [Już to koniecznie musisz być twórcą polskiej opery; mam głebokie przekonanie, że zostać nim potrafisz i że jako polski narodowy kompozytor otworzysz dla swego talentu pole niezmiernie bogate, na którym zarobisz sobie na niepospolitą sławę. (...) Jestem przekonany, że opera słowiańska, wywołana do życia przez prawdziwy talent, przez kompozytora czującego i myślącego zabłyśnie kiedyś na świecie jak słońce nowe, może się nawet wzniesie nad wszystkie inne, będzie mieć mogła tyle śpiewności co włoska, a więcej jeszcze tkliwości i nierównie więcej myśli. (...) ty będziesz pierwszy, który z rozległych skarbów melodii słowiańskiej czerpać potrafisz....][1]

After the collapse of the Uprising, Chopin's sister Ludwika

---

[1]Stefan Witwicki, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, 6 July 1831, Sydow edition, 1:179.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Józef Elsner, both wrote on the subject of opera to Fryderyk. Ludwika said:

> ... Mr. Elsner does not want to see you only as concertizer, piano composer and a famous performer, because this is easier and means less than the composition of operas, but he wants to see you follow your nature as it predisposes and compels you. You have your [illegible word] place between Rossini, Mozart, etc. Your genius may not rest with the piano and concerts; you must immortalize yourself through operas.
>
> [... p. Elsner nie chce Cię widzieć tylko koncercistą i kompozytorem fortepianowym i egzekutorem sławnym, bo to łatwiejsze i mniej znaczy jak opery pisać, ale chce Cię widzieć tym, do czego Cię pcha natura i do czego Cię usposobiła. Ty masz [wyraz nieczytelny] miejsce między Rossinim, Mozartem, itd. Twój geniusz nie ma osiąść na fortepianie i koncertach, Ty z oper masz się unieśmiertelnić.][2]

Even as late as 1834, Elsner still expressed hope of one day hearing an opera composed by his most talented pupil:

> While I am still walking in this vale of tears, I would like to live to see an opera composed by you--not only for the augmentation of your fame, but also for the general advancement of the musical art brought by your composition of this kind (in particular, if the subject of the opera is from Polish history).
>
> [Chodząc jeszcze *in hoc lacrymarum valle* chciałbym doczekać opery Twojej kompozycji dla powiększenia Twojej sławy nie tylko, lecz oraz dla korzyści, którą twoja-takowa kompozycja kunsztu muzycznemu w ogólności przynieść może, w szczególności zaś kiedy przedmiot opery użytym będzie w historii istno polskiej.][3]

Initially, these hopes were shared by Fryderyk, who loved

---

[2]Ludwika Chopin, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 27 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:192.

[3]Józef Elsner, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 14 September 1834, Sydow edition, 1:246.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

opera and who embraced the Romantic ideology that placed national opera at the top of musical hierarchy, both politically and aesthetically. It is no wonder that Chopin felt this way, growing up in a city saturated with the sounds of opera.

National Theater in Warsaw

Poland had a long tradition of court theaters, not only at the Royal palace, but also in the residences of the aristocracy. In 1724 King August II initiated in Warsaw the construction of a theater open to the public, which he then frequented with great pleasure and liberally endowed from his own treasury. The people of Warsaw were invited to see performances of foreign ballets and operas free of charge, since the king, quite obviously, enjoyed a full-house performance. After the monarch's death, the theater lost its splendor, and had to be demolished for safety reasons in 1772.[4]

In the meantime, the first Polish public theater was opened in Warsaw in 1765.[5] It moved several times and frequently changed owners until 1779, when the National Theater *[Teatr Narodowy]* was founded under the auspices of

---

[4]Magier, 255-57.

[5]Ibid., 257.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

King Stanisław August.[6] The Theater was housed at Krasiński Plaza, in the building belonging to Countess Tyszkiewicz (the sister of Prince Józef Poniatowski). This building was capable of holding an audience of 800 and in 1791 it was rebuilt to accomodate about 1200 people.[7] The man responsible for the establishment of the Polish national stage was the celebrated actor and writer Wojciech Bogusławski (1757-1829), who became the theater's director for the next several decades.

The new theater was not destined to flourish freely; already in 1794 its existence was disrupted by the Kościuszko Insurrection. Because of the political turmoil Bogusławski left for Lwów, but he returned to Warsaw in 1799 bringing along the young Józef Elsner; an energetic, skillful musician who would take on the responsibilities of a musical director. In spite of difficulties (their work was repeatedly intruded upon by censorship, political intrigue, or disastrous historic events), Bogusławski and Elsner persisted and succeeded in establishing the institution of a public opera theater in Warsaw.

The responsibilities of Elsner as the musical director of the National Theater included casting, vocal coaching, preparation of the chorus, soloists and the orchestra and selection of music to be performed during intermissions. He

---

[6]Ibid., 258.

[7]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

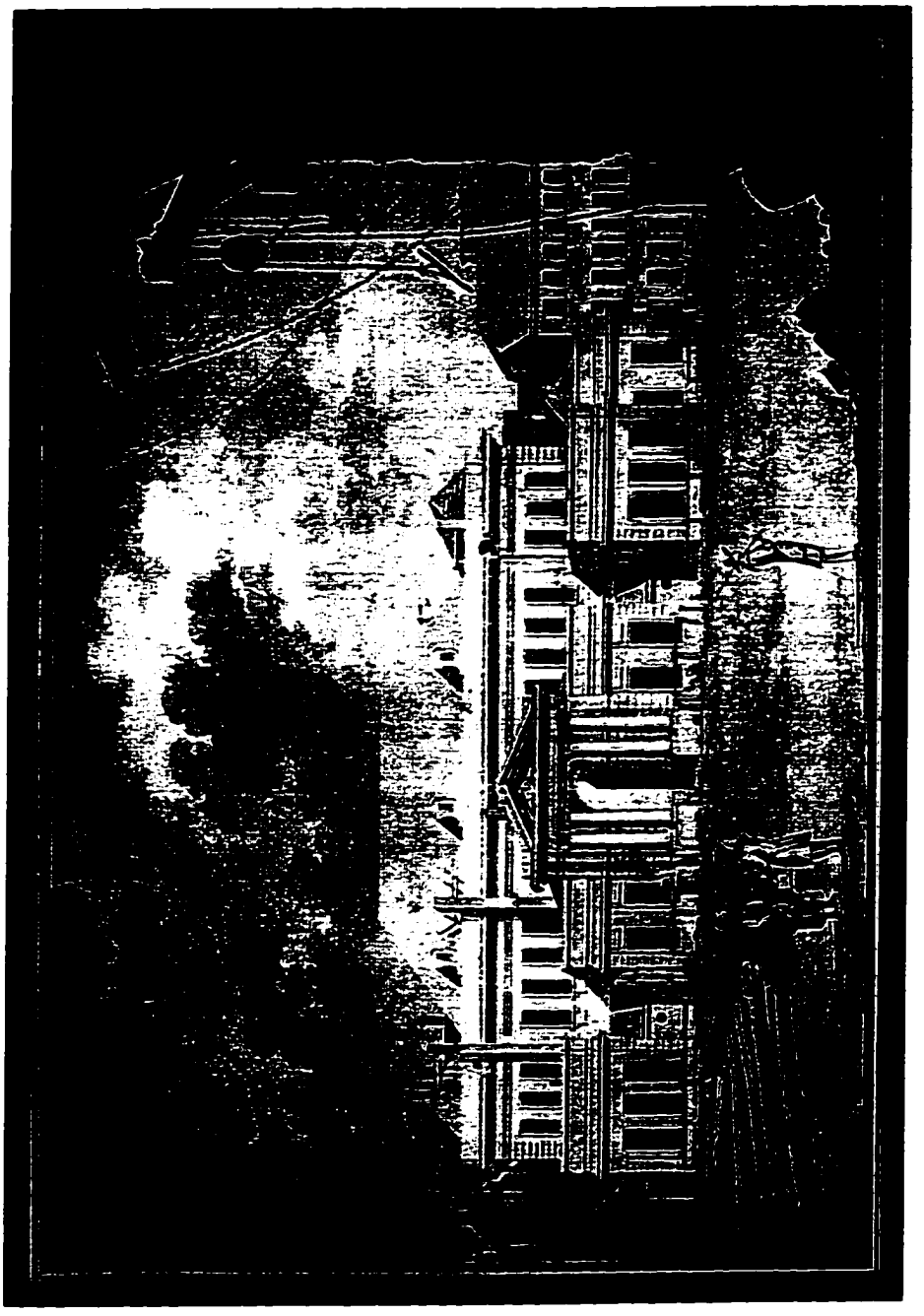


Fig. 26. The National Theater about 1791 (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was also expected to compose new operas and music for special events.[8]

The repertory of the opera theater at the turn of the century included foreign as well as Polish operas. It was dominated by Italian works, mainly by Cimarosa, Païsiello, Anfossi, Salieri (*Axur* and *Palmira*), and Mozart (*Don Giovanni*). Polish works followed; the most interest was given to Stefani's *Cracovians and Highlanders [Krakowiacy i Górale]* and Kamiński's *Misery Made Happy [Nędza uszczęśliwiona]*. Some German operas were introduced, most notably Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and Winter's *Das unterbrochene Opferfest*. Among the few French operas performed in Warsaw at the turn of the century were compositions by Méhul, Dalayrac, Grétry, and Cherubini's *Les Deux Journees* and *Lodoïska*.[9]

The audiences of these performances included nobility, landowners, and intelligentsia, but the operas were also frequented by some craftsmen and better-paid servants.[10] Members of the German administration and military were actively involved in theater life, the most active of them being E.T.A. Hoffmann, who was stationed in Warsaw during the years 1804-1-807.[11]

---

[8]Kwiatkowska, 27.

[9]Ibid., chart following page 39.

[10]Ibid., 24.

[11]Kosim, *E.T.A. Hoffmann*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

During this period the National Theater, unlike the foreign institutions in Warsaw,[12] had neither benches nor chairs, and the parterre was a great hall in which the audience constantly moved to greet each other, to pay visits to ladies boxes, to converse, comment, and eat. This movement ceased only if there was an unusual crowd or if the a momentary stop resulted from particularly interesting events on the stage. Yet this atmosphere was integral to the national stage, and should the administration have decided to put in chairs and introduce order, the theater would have lost much of its audience. The higher echelon of theater goers called *la société* belittled the use of the Polish language, and showed contempt for the actors, the memories of the historical past, and the sentimental patriotism. They preferred the private French theater of Mme. Vauban or Chiavacci's Italian opera.[13]

Regardless of financial losses caused by wars, the popularity of the National Theater increased and in 1809 the administration of the theater initiated season tickets for

---

[12]Warsaw audiences were entertained by other theatrical troupes at other venues: Vincenzo Chiavacci led an Italian theater ensemble in the years 1801-1803; Francois Gabriel Le Doux presented a ballet ensemble in collaboration with French actors (1803-05), which then was replaced by a French group of Fourès (1805-06); and a German ensemble under Carl Döbbelin arrived in Warsaw in 1804, but encountered competition of a local German group that was directed by Bogusławski during the 1804-1806 seasons. Kwiatkowska, 50-54. These foreign troupes usually performed in the Radziwiłł Theater.

[13]Skarbek, *Seglas' Memoirs,* 150-151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

loges to eliminate unauthorized free admissions:

> ... in the last few years the number of persons entering the Theater free of charge became so large that one can count up to a hundred people, (...) so many squeeze into the Theater under various pretenses and neither their persons nor names are known to the Theater's management.
>
> [... tak wielka bowiem przez ostatnie lat kilka [wchodz]ących darmo na Teatr namnożyła się liczba, że ich do stu Osob naliczyć można, (...) wielu zaś wciska się do Teatru pod różnymi pozorami, ktorych ani Osoby ani imiona nawet nieznaiome są Dyr[ekcji Te]atru.][14]

The theater was able to withstand political disasters and flourish with the support of King Frederick August (the Saxon ruler of Poland, who represented the French administration). Much artistic momentum had been generated by the talented, young Karol Kurpiński (1785-1857), who in 1810 joined Elsner as music director.

Initially Elsner and Kurpiński worked together, but growing disagreements led Elsner to resign in 1824, leaving Kurpiński as the musical director. Bogusławski also retired and left his son-in-law Ludwik Osiński in charge of the National Theater.[15]

Kurpiński, who continued on his post until 1840, led most

---

[14]The public announcement for a performance of *Ciche Wody Brzegi Rwą*, a comedy translated from German, 15 October 1809, specifies the new ticketing policy. Zakład Dokumentacji Zycia Społecznego [Office for the Documentation of Public Life], National Library, Warsaw.

[15]Ludwik Osiński (1775-1838) was a critic, poet and professor of literature at the Warsaw University. Rozalia Osińska (1786-1866) the daughter of Bogusławski and the wife of Osiński was also a dramatic actress. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 1:222.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the performances and selected repertory. During the first years of his tenure--partially because of the changing taste of the audiences and the new political environment, but also due to Kurpiński's own preferences--Polish works led the repertory, with French operas following (Paër, Gaveaux, Dalayrac, Mayr, Isouard, Cherubini, Méhul); Italian and German productions were least favored.[16] In the 1820s, after Kurpiński's European trip, the presence of Italian operas increased. This change was conditioned both by Kurpiński's admiration for Rossini and by the intrusion of Russian censorship in reaction to the proliferation of Polish operas.

During the 1820s, foreign composers who most often premiered at the National Theater were Rossini and Boieldieu. At the same time works as dissimilar as Weber's *Freischütz*, Spontini's *La vestale* and Drechsler's *Der Bauer als Millionär* enjoyed immense popularity in Warsaw. There were many fewer historical Polish operas, since they were carefully scrutinized by the authorities for political contents. Instead of politico-historical subject matter, Polishness was now manifested through the use of folklore, and thus the Polish operas of the 1820s were increasingly saturated with folk music.

Kurpiński's presence changed not only the nature of the repertory, but also the standard of performances at the National Theater. He was instrumental in organizing a

---

[16]Bućko, 59-60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professional chorus residing at the opera. Kurpiński's skilled chorus was necessary for the current repertory and was a welcomed addition to the theater, though its performances often left much to be desired.[17]

Under Kurpiński's direction the performance level of the orchestra improved. The theater orchestra was rather small (in 1821 it had only 8 violins) and some felt that the balance was not quite right, especially because of the poor quality of the string playing and the unwillingness of the wind players to hold back.[18] On occasion, like the performance of Spontini's *La vestale*, the orchestra was enlarged and in such instances no fault could be found.[19] In fact, many opera goers who witnessed performances in the late 1820s were quite pleased with the orchestra. Chopin's older friend, Andrzej E. Koźmian, who visited many European capitals, had a very good opinion of the theater's orchestra, though he felt that the singing could be better.[20] At the end of the nineteenth century, Eugeniusz Skrodzki, a younger neighbor of Fryderyk's, praised not only the orchestra, but also the opera's singers:

---

[17]In 1821 performances of *La vestale* the chorus was the least competent element of the spectacle: not quite together and seldom precise. *Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 18 April 1821, no. 2:8.

[18]*Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 23 May 1821, no. 7:26.

[19]Ibid., 18 April 1821, no. 2:8.

[20]Andrzej E. Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 1:151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> As far as voices, our opera was perhaps on a higher level than today. Without borrowing from abroad, we had beautiful basses, tenors, and not bad sopranos. The orchestra, though half the size of today's, even nowadays would not embarrass itself playing in front of our audience, which is much more discerning than the old audiences. The orchestra's precision was a credit to the untiring fervor of its director, Kurpiński, a famous composer and even a member of the Society for the Friends of Learning.
>
> [Opera nasza co do głosow może lepiej od dziesiejszej stała. Mieliśmy piękne basy, tenory i niezłe soprany, nie zapożyczając nic od obcych. Orkiestra, lubo o połowę mniej zasobna niż dziesiejsza, i dziś nie powstydziłaby się grać przed publicznością o wiele wybredniejszą od dawniejszej, a dokładność swoją zawdzięczała niezmordowanej gorliwości Kurpińskiego, swego dyrektora, znanego kompozytora, a nawet członka ponoć Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk.][21]

Initially, the National Theater had a few decent singers and number of good dramatic and comic actors. Some comic actors, like Zdanowicz[22], Damse[23] and Dmuszewski,[24] often

---

[21]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 113.

[22]Józef Zdanowicz (1786-1839) was Warsaw's most revered comic actor. There was honesty in his performance of comedies and operas, and even in buffo parts he was funny without resorting to exaggeration. His voice, although small, was sonorous and pleasant. The part of Bazyli in the *Barbiere* was among his best. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2: 80-81. Chopin highly admired Zdanowicz and his sympathy was later supported by Soliva's approval of Zdanowicz as "non plus ultra." Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 21 August 1830, Sydow edition, 1:130.

[23]Józef Damse (1789-1852) actor, singer, writer, composer and arranger of *Der Bauer als Millionär*.

[24]Ludwik Adam Dmuszewski (1777-1847) actor and author of numerous scenic works. He also translated many opera libretti into Polish and his contemporaries especially valued his translation of *La vestale* as incredibly sensitive to the need of the words, expression and music. *Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 18 April 1821, no. 2:6. Dmuszewski performed at

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

doubled as singers in smaller parts.[25] Kurpiński increased the number of actor-singers and introduced the idea of double casting. Now, in addition to several outstanding dramatic actors, the National Theater had a larger group of very good singers.

The first voice of the opera was the bass Jan Nepomucen Szczurowski (1771-1850), who retained a strong and clear voice until old age.[26] After Szczurowski was the tenor Walenty Kratzer, who in the 1820s was no longer in the public eye, but who was Chopin's singing teacher at the Conservatory. His place was taken by two younger singers Filip Wejnert (1798-1841) and Józef Polkowski (1797-1835).[27] The best female

---

the National Theater until 1826, and afterwards acted as the theater's director. He was also the editor and publisher of *Kurier Warszawski*. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2:125-29.

[25]Dmochowski, 188.

[26]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, 30 October 1825, Sydow edition, 1:59. Chopin heard Szczurowski on several occasions. Though at first he was impressed with his singing, in later years he was much more critical and thought him dreadful in Paër's *Agnese*. Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, 21 August 1830, Sydow edition, 1:130. He changed his harsh tone a bit after he heard the new bass Mr. Bondasiewicz and hoped that Szczurowski, who has taken ill, will be well in time to perform with Ms. Gładkowska in *La gazza*. Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 22 September 1830, Sydow edition, 1:141-142.

[27]Filip Wejnert was the son of Antoni Wejnert. Starting in 1819, he became the first tenor of the Warsaw Theater. His first part was Linion in *L'italiana in Algeri;* later he played in Kurpiński's *Kalmor, La vestale, Le petit chaperon rouge, Das unterbrochene Opferfest, Le calife de Bagdad,* and *Don Giovanni*. When Polkowski joined the opera he quickly became a competitor of Wejnert. Parts in *Jean de Paris, Freischütz* and *Il barbiere* were given to Polkowski. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2:82-84. Józef Polkowski was one of the best tenors

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

voice was Karolina Elsner, followed by Katarzyna Aszperger (d. 1835), Barbara Mejer, Konstancja Dmuszewska (1784-1854).[28]

Thus the level of Warsaw's opera continued to improve: the theater now had a reputable orchestra, a small group of professional dancers,[29] and a decent chorus; Osiński always provided ample funds for stage sets and costumes and, most importantly, a number of outstanding singers joined the

---

of Warsaw's opera. His debut in June of 1821 in the opera *L'inganno felice* was received as a success and his voice was viewed as pleasing, strong and skilled. *Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 13 June 1821, no. 10:40. He performed Figaro in *Il barbiere* and, although at the time his performance was not as good as Wejnert's, his magnificent rendition of Mazaniello in a 1831 production of *La muette de Portici* made him the crowd's favorite. Wójcicki, *Powazki Cemetery*, 2:85.

[28]Karolina Elsner possessed excellent vocal, dramatic and lyrical skills, and her soprano voice was magnificent in Italian operas (she sang the part of Arch-Priestess in *La vestale*). *Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 18 April 1821, no. 2:7. Józef Elsner, worried about his wife's health, seldom allowed her to perform at the opera. In the 1820s she suffered a progressive loss of hearing and after 1824 the illness forced her to completely desert professional life. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner*, 160. Katarzyna Aszperger, whose skill was acknowledged by Chopin, gained the position of one of the chief singers of the National Theater with her beautiful voice and excellent acting. Especially memorable were her performances in *Le petit chaperon rouge* and the part of Youth in *Der Bauer als Millionär*. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 3:250. Konstancja Pięknowska Dmuszewska, the wife of Ludwik Dmuszewski was an operatic actress. Her voice was valued as very beautiful, but she lacked vocal control and the ability to place her dramatic performance in service of the vocal and musical needs.

[29]At first, the ballet was provided by professional dancers and students of the Ledoux's Ballet School. *Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny*, 18 April 1821, no. 2:8. In 1805 the children's ballet of Ledoux was dismantled, only a few dancers were kept for rudimentary dancing scenes. Later Bogusławski hired Szlancowski and a few skilled dancers, who could perform complete ballets. Karasowski, *Opera*, 275.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

company. With the creation of the Conservatory much young talent was introduced into the theater in the late 1820s.

Chopin's Involvement with Early Romantic Opera in Warsaw

Starting in 1825, Chopin's letters contain increasingly numerous references to operas. During his last years in Poland he was a frequent guest in the theater; he visited the National Theater for the last time on November 1, 1830, the night before he left Poland.[30] Certainly, having Elsner as his composition teacher and mingling in the theatrical circles brought him very close to the affairs of the national stage. Also, his own peers showed avid interest in opera: Tytus Woyciechowski's eagerness for opera news from the capital is apparent from the correspondence. Fryderyk's other friends were even more intimately involved with opera; his Conservatory colleagues, the singers Anna Wołkow and Konstancja Gładkowska were just starting their operatic careers. The young Romanic writers and poets, so closely associated with Chopin, were very interested in opera; particular concern was displayed by Maurycy Mochnacki, whose eloquent reviews of opera performances constitute the foundations of Polish musical criticism.

The eagerness of young opera enthusiasts was unmistakable and they crowded into performances regardless of the

---

[30]Wójcicki, *Cafes*, 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inadequate conditions at the theater. Still in the 1820s, the theater was lighted with too few oil lamps, which left it rather dark, and the tile-stove located in the center did not provide adequate heat, but the audiences did not seem to mind.[31] Whereas the opinions pertaining to the play and acting came from the professionals gathered around the parterre stove, the musical evaluations came from the *paradyz* (literally paradise, the ironic Polish slang for gallery; also in French and German). There, near the ceiling, the acoustically superior space attracted all of the music lovers.[32]

The opera-going romantics sought manifestation of the romantic spirit through diverse means: articulation of national identity (musically and in the choice of the subject), preference for certain themes (they were enamored with qualities as disparate as hazy melancholy, playful magic fantasy or torrid human passion), the presence of emotional intensity and new musical features (be it gracious melodic lines, innovative orchestration or startling harmonic complexities).

The opera that became a source of inspiration for the Romantics was Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. In it, E.T.A. Hoffmann thought Mozart to be the father of Romantic opera:

---

[31]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 65.

[32]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Fiery imagination, deeply felt humor, and extravagant abundance of ideas, pointed this Shakespeare of music in the direction he had to follow: Mozart broke new ground, and became the incomparable creator of romantic opera.[33]

Don Giovanni was known in Poland already in the eighteenth century and in the years 1804-06 it was performed in Warsaw by a German troupe under Bogusławski's leadership. A new production premiered in the National Theater in 1817 and, since it remained in the theater's repertory, it is likely that Chopin saw performances of the work. He certainly was well familiar with the music; one of his first publications abroad was the 1830 Viennese edition of Variations in B flat Major, op. 2 on Mozart's "Là ci darem la mano," composed in 1827 and dedicated to Tytus Woyciechowski.

In 1821 Weber's *Freischütz* premiered in Berlin and immediately it was considered the ultimate embodiment of Romantic opera. Chopin awaited the first Warsaw performance of Weber's masterpiece with youthful eagerness.[34] As the Warsaw premiere of *Freischütz* neared, Chopin expressed doubts about the ability of the Warsaw audience to appreciate the work truly:

> The rumor is getting louder, that in two or three weeks *Freischütz* will be performed; I suspect that *Freischütz* will create much commotion in Warsaw. Probably there will be many commendations and

---

[33]David Charlton, ed., *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticisms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 440.

[34]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, [November 1825], Sydow edition, 1:60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> rightly so, since it means a lot that our opera can stage Weber's famous work. However, taking into consideration the goal that Weber tried to achieve in *Freischütz*--its German plot, the bizarre romanticism, unusually intricate harmonies (which suit the Germans' taste)--one can assume that after the first performance, the Warsaw audience (accustomed to Rossini's light songs) will praise the opera not because of conviction, but because of the opinion of experts: because Weber is praised everywhere.
>
> [Głośno słychać, że za dwa lub 3 tygodnie dadzą *Freischütza*; ile mi się zdaje, *Freischütz* w Warszawie wiele narobi hałasu. Zapewne liczne będą reprezentace, i słusznie. Albowiem wiele to już jest, kiedy nasza opera sławne Webera wystawić potrafi dzieło. Jednakże zważając cel, do którego Weber dążył w *Freischützu*, jego osnowę niemiecką, ową dziwną romantyczność, nazwyczaj *[sic]* wyszukaną harmonię, Niemcom szczególniej do gustu trafiającą, wnieść można, iż publiczność warszawska, przyzwyczajona do lekkich Rossiniego śpiewów, z pierwszego wstępu, nie tyle z przekonania, ile idąc za głosem znawców, dlatego chwalić będzie, że wszędzie Weber chwalony.][35]

The premiere took place on July 4, 1826 and *Freischütz* became an instant success.[36] Chopin was mistaken in his projections; the audiences might have overlooked the ideology of the opera, but they truly loved it. It was one of the most frequently played operas with fifty-three performances between 1826 and 1830.[37] The publishers immediately came forth with excerpts and arrangements from the opera and Fryderyk

---

[35]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, [between 15 and 22 June 1826], Sydow edition, 1:67.

[36]Sieradz, 215.

[37]Ibid., 226.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

forwarded some to his dear friend Jan Białobłocki.[38]

According to the contemporaries, the performance level of *Freischütz* was very high; the great Romantic poet Juliusz Słowacki especially praised the performance of Weber's opera.[39] Unfortunately, Chopin's opinion about the Warsaw production has not come down to us, although we know that his experiencing the opera in Warsaw in 1826 made him eager to see the Berlin production two years later.[40]

As a model for Romantic ethnic opera, *Freischütz* stirred Polish composers, who had been attempting to deal with the matter of national identity in opera since the eighteenth century.[41] Through the first decades of the nineteenth century, the pivotal issue was the use of the Polish language in opera and Elsner was the first to address matters concerning the prosody of the Polish language in the context of music. His earliest thoughts on this subject were published in 1803 and later reprinted in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.[42] In 1818 Elsner completed his

---

[38]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 8 [January 1827], Sydow edition, 1:74.

[39]Hoesick, *Warsaw*, 154.

[40]Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 20 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:84.

[41]The earliest operatic work in Polish was Kamieński's 1778 *Misery Made Happy [Nędza uszczęśliwiona]*, but the true success came in Stefani's *Cracovians and Highlanders [Krakowiacy i Górale]* of 1794.

[42]"In wie weit ist die polnische Sprache zur Musik geeignet," *AmZ*, 1821, no. 40:682-84.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Treatise on Meter and Rhythm of the Polish Language [Rozprawa o metryczności i rytmiczności języka polskiego].[43] The proponents, which included Kurpiński, not only advocated the use of the Polish language in native operas, but also encouraged the staging of foreign works in translation. To their nationalistic and aesthetic motivations morre practical concerns also were added:

> From very long ago until the present, wherever Italian operas are maintained, the populace does not frequent them, for it does not understand the language.
>
> [Od bardzo dawnego czasu aż dotąd, wszędzie gdzie tylko utrzymywano włoskie opery, lud na nich nie chciał bywać i nie bywa, bo nie rozumie języka.][44]

In the composition of Polish operas Kurpiński did not discourage taking foreign works as musical models, but urged that the new works be composed in the native tongue:

> ... let us imitate, where possible, the exquisite flexibility of Italian singing, but the melody shall be sketched by the words of our language.
>
> [... naśladujmy, ile można piękną giętkość śpiewu włoskiego, ale rysunkiem jego niech będą wyrazy

---

[43]Around the same time other works on the same subject appeared: J.F. Królikowski's *Rozprawa o śpiewach polskich* [Treatise on Polish Siniging] and J. Kruszyński's *O prozodii i pokładaniu słów pod muzykę* [On Prosody and Text Underlay in Music]. Elsner continued his work on this subject and in 1832 he wrote to Chopin that the publication of the completed three *[sic]* volumes was suppressed by the censor, who rejected any works containing references to national issues. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Elsner,* 181.

[44]Karol Kurpiński, *Dziennik Podróży* [Diary of a Journey], ed. Z. Jachimecki (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1954), 43.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

naszego języka.][45]

The most favored foreign model was Cherubini's *Lodoïska*, which enjoyed immense popularity in Poland since its first Warsaw performance in 1804. *Lodoïska* (and Cherubini's later work *Faniska*) was written in the convention of rescue opera, but its libretto provided a specifically Polish context. The story of *Lodoïska*, enjoyed in Paris for its exoticism, was seen in Poland through the prism of national identity. From this model Polish national operas were generated, most of them by Elsner and Kurpiński.

The most celebrated of Kurpiński's twenty-four operas was *Jadwiga, Queen of Poland [Jadwiga, królowa Polski]*, performed in 1814. Elsner soon followed with his operas on historic themes *King Dwarf [Król Łokietek]* of 1818 and *King Jagiełło in Tenczyn [Jagiełło na Tenczynie]* of 1820. *King Jagiełło* was deemed too patriotic by the censor and removed soon after its first performance, thus inciting a demonstration by academic youth. *King Dwarf* enjoyed numerous performances in Warsaw and in Lwów, but after 1822 it was forbidden in Warsaw. An attempt to revive it in 1827 was curtailed, and only during the November Uprising was the work performed again on the national stage.[46]

Although *King Dwarf* was not on stage during most of the 1820s, the opera was well remembered. Among its many melodies

---

[45]Ibid., 44.

[46]Nowak-Romanowicz, *Józef Elsner*, 195.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the most popular was the mazurka "Young Peasants from Połaniec" *[Parobcaki od Połańca]*, which served as a theme for variations composed and performed in concert by Paganini during his stay in Warsaw; Würfel also published a set of variations on this theme. Chopin also knew the opera and, in a letter from Paris, with typical wit and humility, he expressed the hope that one day he would be able to approach models set by Elsner; and if he could not create *King Dwarf* at least he would create *King Bony Legs*.[47]

Next to historic subjects, resented by the Russian authorities, local composers set apolitical Polish libretti incorporating the typically Romantic features of exoticism and magic. Among these were Elsner's *The Seer Urzella [Wieszczka Urzella]* and Kurpiński's *Lucifer's Castle [Zamek Lucyfera]*.

Other non-historic works emphasized the connection to Polish folklore; such was the popular appeal of both versions of *Cracovians and Highlanders*: the 1794 original by Stefani, and the Kurpiński's *New Cracovians [Nowe Krakowiaki]*, first performed in 1816.[48] Both operas contained subtle political

---

[47]Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, to Józef Elsner, Warsaw, 14 December 1831, Sydow edition, 1:204. Whereas King Dwarf was a real historical figure, King Bony Legs is a pun on the nicknames of several Polish kings that refer to their physical characteristics.

[48]Similar was the appeal of the ballet *Wesele w Ojcowie [Wedding in Ojców]*, which incorporated dance and musical elements of peasant culture from Cracow region. It was created by Kurpiński and Damse on the basis of Stefani's *Cracovians* and staged in 1823 as the first national ballet. The history of ballet in Poland is beyond the scope of this discussion, but it is important to mention that the National

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

references, but more significantly, they articulated national character through the music.

Many tunes from these operas impressed themselves on the Polish national memory. In 1827 one of the themes used in concert improvisation by the acclaimed violinist Karol Lipiński was Bardos' cavatina "Cruel World" *[Swiat Srogi]* from *Cracovians and Highlanders*. Chopin used "Cruel World" and Jonek's song "In Town Strange Customs" *[W mieście dziwne obycaje]* from *New Cracovians* as themes for his improvisation during a concert on March 22, 1830.

Much of the impulse for Polish romanticism came from the many foreign operas staged in Poland, especially the works of Spontini, Boieldieu and Rossini. The Parisian grand opera of Spontini appealed to the new tastes through its pageantry and the use of a large orchestra, but also through the character of melodic lines resulting from Spontini's avoidance of coloratura.[49] Chopin was familiar with Spontini's *La vestale*, which premiered in Warsaw in 1821 and was a great success. He saw *Ferdinand Cortez* and possibly *Olimpie* during his 1828 trip to Berlin.[50]

Theater during the period under discussion premiered dozens of foreign and Polish ballets (as many as ten new works a year). Sieradz, appendix 4, 219-225.

[49]Edward J. Dent, *The Rise of Romantic Opera* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 107-09.

[50]In fact, the trip to Berlin seemed to center around hopes of seeing Spontini's operas and even meeting the composer himself. Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:77-78. The visit

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The operas of Boieldieu enjoyed special popularity in Warsaw and his works were performed there with very little delay (a special case was *Les deux nuits*, which premiered in Warsaw on May 18th, 1828, a year in advance of its Parisian premiere on May 20th, 1829). Chopin must have been familiar with several operas by Boieldieu that were performed in Warsaw, the most popular being *Télémaque*, *Le petit chaperon rouge*, *Les deux nuits* and *La dame blanche*. In his correspondence, Chopin mentions Boieldieu's *Télémaque*,[51] but more significantly we learn that he improvised on a theme from *La dame blanche* during his 1829 visit in Vienna.[52]

The story of *La dame blanche*, set in a distant past (reminiscent of Walter Scott's Scotland), and its melancholic music appealed to Romantic tastes. Chopin's friend Maurycy Mochnacki skillfully captured the sentiments aroused by this opera:

> When tones--fittingly arranged through singing or harmony--stir such feelings, they are like rays of light, which suddenly bring forth buried things and

---

proved to be a musical feast; not only did Chopin see *Ferdynand Cortez* (Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 16 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:81.), but he also attended several other musical events: Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*, Onslow's *Le colporteur* and an oratorio performed by Singakademie. Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 20 September 1828. Sydow edition, 1:83.

[51]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 2 September 2 1828, Sydow edition, 1:78.

[52]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, 12 August 1829, Sydow edition, 1:93. He also improvised on the Polish folk song *"Chmiel"* [Hops], which shocked the ears of the Viennese, unaccustomed to such harsh sound. Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> obscure apparitions from shadows into the brightness.
>
> [Kiedy tony, czy w śpiewie, czy w harmonii stosownie ułożone takie uczucia potrącają, są naówczas jakoby promienie światła, które zaryte rzeczy i osłonione widziadła, niespodzianie spod cieni na jaśnia ukazują.][53]

Even Gioacchino Rossini reached for a plot that would suit the Romantic need for intense emotions: the passionate story of *Otello*. The Warsaw staging of Rossini's masterpiece was made especially effective through Polkowski's magnificent execution of Otello's part.[54] Mochnacki, who adored Shakespeare, enthusiastically welcomed Rossini's rendition of *Otello*; although he recognized the shortcomings of the libretto, he admired the mastery of the music:

> Like the sky of Africa, Rossini's composition is inflamed and fervent; passionate like the impulsive love of Otello and in many places savage, like the Moor's passions--when he is motivated in turn by jealousy, vengeance, and later despair and regret.
>
> [Jak niebo Afryki, ognista jest i pałająca kompozycja Rossyniego *[sic]* w tem dziele, namiętna jak miłość Otella porywcza i wielu miejscach dzika, jak uniesienia tego murzyna, kiedy nim naprzemian to zazdrość, to zemsta a potem rozpacz i żal powodują.][55]

Some fragments of the opera were particularly significant:

> ... for their novelty, for sudden displays of the author's genius, for departures from the ordinary

---

[53]Mochnacki, 402.

[54]Mochnacki thought him to be sensational in this part (Ibid., 399) and Chopin's opinion of the singer was equally high. Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:78.

[55]Mochnacki, 397.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> pathway. (...) e.g., at the end of the first act, when the sinister curse of the father is imitated and clearly marked in a certain discord of the harmony.
>
> [... dla ich nowości, dla niespodziewanych objaśnień geniuszu autora, dla zboczeń nijako z zwykłego toru. (...) n.p. przy końcu pierwszego aktu, gdy złowróżebne przekleństwo ojca w pewnym rozstrojeniu harmonii tak trafnie jest naśladowane, owszem dobitniej oznaczone.][56]

The Romantics did not shy away from lighter operas by Rossini. *La cenerentola* was also viewed as Romantic by Mochnacki:

> Here, Rossini is unconstrained, capricious; here he completely gives into the romantic fantasy, though more similar to the romanticism found in the stories of Scheherazade in *Thousand and One Night* or in the poetry of Ariosto.
>
> [Tu jest [Rossini] dowolny, kapryśny, tu się oddaje całej fantastyczności romantycznej, podobniejszej jednak do tej romantyczności, jaką mają powieści *Secherezady* w Tysiąc nocy i jedna, albo poezye Aryosta.][57]

In these early years Chopin frequently improvised and composed on themes by Rossini. In a letter to his parents, he reported improvising on *Mosè in Egitto* during a visit in Teplitz;[58] he composed a polonaise on *Il barbiere de Siviglia* which he intended to publish;[59] he quoted from *La gazza ladra*

---

[56]Ibid., 398.

[57]Ibid., 432.

[58]Fryderyk Chopin, Dresden, to his family, Warsaw, 29 August 1829, Sydow edition, 1:101.

[59]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, [November 1825], Sydow edition, 1:60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in the B flat Minor Polonaise dedicated to Kolberg;[60] and he used "Non piu mesta" from *La cenerentola* as the theme of the Flute Variations dedicated to Count Cichocki. During the same period he was improvising on tunes from the new, fashionable play produced by the Variety Theater.

Variety Theater

Warsaw had other theaters, in addition to the National stage. There was a French Theater (on occasion mentioned by Chopin)[61] but, due to the lack of good singers, this institution could not compete with the National Theater in opera production.[62] Much more successful was the Variety Theater established in 1829.

The artists of the National Theater created the Variety Theater *[Teatr Rozmaitosci]* in response to the Russian

---

[60]Krystyna Kobylańska, *Rekopisy utworów Chopina: katalog* [Manuscripts of Chopin's Works: a Catalogue] (Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne, 1977), 177.

[61]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:86; and Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 December 1828, Sydow edition, 1:78.

[62]The French Theater existed in Warsaw until 1831. It was brought to Warsaw, mainly for the pleasure of Grand Duke Konstanty. Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 65. Its history was filled with many interruptions and changes of management. The most successful period were the years 1820-22, when under the direction of the actress Evra Phillis, the theater produced many notable stagings of Molière, Destouches and Beaumarchais. During the 1822/23 season it moved to the Saski Palace, where it remained till 1830. Sieradz, 91-95.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

authorities' attempts to censure and control the theater repertory.[63] The goal was to provide a more popular stage and to make the plays accessible to everyone, but at the same time include moral values for the common people.[64] The National Theater stayed with the traditional repertory of opera, and the new venue provided a light, contemporary repertory of vaudevilles, farces and comic operas *[comedio-opera]*. The Variety Theater functioned side by side with the National Theater until the November Insurrection; the two theaters shared the same staff, singers and orchestra, and performed on alternate days.

At the end of 1829 a farce staged by the Variety Theater won unrivaled popularity in Warsaw: it was the Viennese vaudeville *Der Bauer als Millionär [Chłop milionowy]* written by Ferdinand Raimund and set to music by Josef Drechsler. The great poet Juliusz Słowacki described *Der Bauer* as a weak, nonsensical play with splendid decorations and machinery.[65] Chopin also considered the play foolish and infantile.[66] Mochnacki's review of the play, pointed to the romantic

---

[63]The Russian authorities, in the person of Novosilcov, reacted with fear to the increasingly national character of Polish operas. To counterbalance this patriotic mood, Rożaniecki and Novosilcov initiated the creation of an alternative Polish stage devoted to a lighter, apolitical repertory: *Teatr Polski* [the Polish Theater].

[64]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 157.

[65]Hoesick, *Warsaw*, 163.

[66]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 14 January 1829 [1830], Sydow edition, 1:114.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fascination with the absurd:

> It is a piece in the vein of this comic-satiric-harlequin romantic fantasy, that amazes to the highest degree a certain class of theater goers.... Every minute something new: here fairies in a floating palace, there ghosts, elsewhere a sorcerer with a gun loaded with talismans. (...) one can find here everything but logic in the conception, about which writers of such works do not care and have no reason to care, since the audiences do not require it.
>
> [Jest rzecz w guście owej komiczno-satyryczno-arlekinowej cudowności romantycznej, która zachwyca do najwyższego stopnia pewną klasę miłośników teatru.... Co chwila coś nowego; tu wróżki w napowietrznym pałacu, tam duchy, ówdzie czarnoksiężnik z strzelbą nabitą talizmanami. (...) jest tam wszystko oprócz sensu w układzie sztuki, o który nie dbają takich dzieł pisarze i dbać żadnej przyczyny nie mają, bo na tem i samej publiczności nie zależy.][67]

Nevertheless, many melodies from this play immediately became subjects of transcriptions, improvisations and variations. Especially popular was "The Broom Song," which in Jan Nowakowski's marvelous rendition was deemed "a triumph of art."[68] This popular tune was a subject of Chopin's improvisation during the December 19th, 1829 concert at the Merchant Club.

Chopin and Opera Abroad

Chopin welcomed every opportunity to listen to opera. He frequently wrote about opera while traveling abroad. During

---

[67]Mochnacki, 340.

[68]Ibid., 342.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the stay in Berlin, his first trip outside of Poland, Chopin constantly talked about his experiences at the opera, and not always in the best terms:

> I do nothing else, but go to theater. Yesterday it was *Das unterbrochene Opferfest*, where many a chromatic scale let by Miss Schätzel reminded me of home.
>
> [Nic nie robię tylko łażę na teatr. Wczoraj była: *Das unterbrochene Opferfest*, gdzie niejedna chromatyczna gamma, przez pannę Schätzel wypuszczona, przeniosła mię na Wasze łono.][69]

A year later, he was astonished by the level of opera performances in Vienna:

> I saw three operas: *La dame blanche*, *La cenerentola*, and Meyerbeer's *Il crociato [in Egitto]*. The orchestra and choruses were magnificent. Today *Joseph in Aegypten*.
>
> [Oper widziałem trzy: *Białą damę*, *Kopciuszka*, i *Krzyżaka* Meyerbera. Orkiestra i chóry doskonałe. Dziś *Józef w Egipcie*.][70]

Upon his last departure from Poland he stopped in Dresden. Here, he found the opera level much less satisfactory:

> Yesterday I went to the Italian opera, but it was poorly performed; there would have been nothing to hear if not Rolla's solo and the singing of Miss Hähnel from the Viennese theater, who yesterday sang her debut as Tancredi.
>
> [Wczoraj byłem na włoskiej operze, ale źle wykonanej; gdyby nie solo Rolli i nie śpiew panny Hähnel z wiedeńskiego teatru, która wczoraj jako

---

[69]Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 27 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:84. Winter's opera *Das unterbrochene Opferfest* premiered in Warsaw in November of 1802.

[70]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, 8 August 1829, Sydow edition, 1:91.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tancredi debutowala, to nie byłoby co słyszeć.][71]

When he arrived in Paris, he was excited by the chance to participate in its splendid musical life:

> ... I am quite content with what I found here; I have the leading world musicians and the first orchestra in the world. I know Rossini, Cherubini, Paër, etc....
>
> [... kontent jestem z tego com tu zastał;--mam pierwszych w świecie muzyków i pierwszą w świecie operę.--Znam Rossiniego--Cherubiniego, Paëra itd....][72]

But soon his hopes concerning the eminent musicians of the older generation were disappointed.

> These gentlemen [Reicha and Cherubini] are dried up old prunes; one can only look at them with reverence and learn from their works.
>
> [Są to, ci panowie, suszone pupki, na których się tylko z uszanowaniem patrzyć można, a z dzieł ich uczyć się można.][73]

And indeed, Fryderyk continued to learn from the younger generation of Parisian musicians and from the splendid music that resounded in the theaters and halls of Paris.

Conclusion

Warsaw's opera could not match the greatest theaters of

---

[71]Fryderyk Chopin, Dresden, to his family, Warsaw, 14 November 1830, Sydow edition, 1:151-52. Rolla, concert master in Leipzig, was an excellent violinist.

[72]Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, to Norbert Alfons Kumelski, Berlin, 18 November 1831, Sydow edition, 1:186.

[73]Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, to Józef Elsner, Warsaw, 14 December 1831, Sydow edition, 1:206.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Europe; it paled in comparison with the Viennese Opera, Parisian Grand Opera and the Italian Opera Theater in Paris. But according to Kurpiński, the Polish National Theater proudly stood up to comparisons with established opera houses in several other countries.[74] In fact, Kurpiński--who traveled with the purpose of visiting major European opera theaters and transplanting any improvements observed elsewhere to Warsaw--saw the National Theater in positive light.

> I will continue to repeat, that we have splendid talents, but (with the exception of some persons) we still have some neglect in learning roles and particularly in communicating with each other.
>
> [Zawsze będę powtarzał, że u nas są znakomite talenta, ale (wyjąwszy niektóre osoby) mamy jeszcze jakieś zaniedbanie w wyuczaniu się ról, a zwłaszcza w wzajemnym porozumieniu się.][75]

Perhaps, in evaluating the quality of operatic performances in Chopin's Warsaw, one should recall the words of tribute to the opera and to Kurpiński, written by Maurycy Mochnacki in 1828:

> It would be unjust to be unable or unwilling to recognize the work, skill or even mastery of our artists. It would be unjust not to bestow real merit upon the one who through his enthusiasm and illumination in such short time accomplished almost impossible deeds; who most contributed to elevating opera from its quiet origins to a European level. May the respect and gratitude of his countrymen be his reward.
>
> [Byłoby niesprawiedliwością nie umieć albo nie

---

[74]In his *Diary of a Journey* of 1823, Kurpiński talks with little enthusiasm about opera performances in Leipzig (31) and Frankfurt (36-37), he finds Geneva's opera poor (93), and Rouen insufferable (84). Even the Milanese La Scala (96) and Parisian Opéra Comique (40) are disappointing.

[75]Kurpiński, *Diary of a Journey*, 37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> chcieć z tego powodu ocenić pracy, zdatności mistrzostwa nawet artystów naszych. Byłoby niesprawiedliwością nie przyznawać rzeczywistej zasługi temu, który gorliwością swoją i światłem w tak krótkim czasie prawie niepodobnych rzeczy dokazał, który najwięcej przyczynił sie do podniesienia opery z cichych początków na europejską skalę. Szacunek i wdzięczność rodaków niechaj będą jego nagrodą.][76]

Though Chopin never wrote an opera, it was not because he had not been sufficiently exposed to musical theater in Warsaw. To some degree, the cause for this "failing" must be sought in his inherent predilection for the piano. Moreover, since he settled in Paris, it became highly impractical to dedicate time and energy to the creation of a Polish-language opera on Polish themes. Instead, as noted by James Parakilas, he concealed a national "text" within a cosmopolitan medium (especially the scherzi and ballades).[77] Chopin's piano pieces became a compromise that allowed him to sing Polish tales in a universal language.

---

[76]Mochnacki, 399. After a performance of Rossini's *Otello*.

[77]James Parakilas, *Ballads Without Words; Chopin and the Tradition of the Instrumental Ballade* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1992), 23. See also Jeffrey Kallberg, "The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor," in *Chopin at the Boundaries*, 3-29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IV. MUSIC IN THE SALONS

1. THE HISTORY AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WARSAW'S SALONS

Chopin's involvement in the musical world of fashionable salons is a well-known aspect of his life, as is his life-long reluctance to participate in public concert performances. In fact, the great pianist's preference for the salon has been somewhat of an embarrassment to serious scholars, who have had to reconcile the "frivolous" environment of the salon with the profound music of the Polish genius. A case in point is Hugo Riemann's dismissal of the relevance of salon style in Chopin's ouvre:

> When some (...) number Chopin among salon composers, they are guilty of a dreadful terminological muddle; it is much more correct to put Chopin's music in strict oppositon to salon music, which is characterized by the illusion of virtuosity, whereas Chopin's music often seems easy but in fact requires advanced technical skill.[1]

The nineteenth-century salon has been stigmatized as light-minded, effeminate, a playground for high "society." It has been viewed in contrast to the eighteenth-century "chamber." Whereas the classical structures and contrapuntal underpinnings of chamber music represented a conceptual art,

---

[1]Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven (1800-1900)* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1901), 318 quoted in Ballsteadt, "Chopin as Salon Composer," 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the improvisatory nature of salon music caused it to be perceived as superficial, sensuous and simply inferior. Only in recent years have works such as Ballstaedt's and Widmaier's *Salonmusik*, Gradenwitz' *Literatur und Musik im geselligem Kreise* and Wilhelmy's *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert* considered the nineteenth-century salon in a meritorious light.[2]

In one of the chapters of *Salonmusik* Widmaier addresses the complex question of what salon music is: he sees on the one hand, the entertainment function of the music, its connection with the piano and preference for instrumental minatures; on the other, the inclusion of chamber works or Beethoven's piano sonatas as an integral part of the salon tradition.[3] Andreas Ballstaedt's article on "Chopin as 'salon composer'" elucidates the conflict that is at the very core of the historical perception of the nineteenth-century salon: the nationalist clash between the French and German traditions.[4] In fact, as Jim Samson points out, German scholars included Chopin in the great tradition only reluctantly because of the French and Italian contexts for his music as well as of his Polish origin--in the words of Schenker: "For the profundity with which nature has endowed him, Chopin belongs more to

---

[2]Ballstaedt and Widmaier, *Salonmusik* and Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon*.

[3]Ballstaedt and Widmaier, 14-24.

[4]Ballstaedt, "Chopin as Salon Composer," 24-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Germany than to Poland."[5]

Another set of issues, which pertain to the perception of salon culture as effeminate, is examined by Jeffrey Kallberg. He scrutinizes the language used to describe Chopin and his playing: the otherworldly metaphors, the exaggeration of his frail physique, the sexual ambiguity of the subject--all these resulting in a distorted perception of Chopin and his music.[6] These and other preconceptions associated with the subject of Chopin as a salon composer were created by generations of writers, biographers and scholars going back to Robert Schumann himself. This body of opinion had a very negative effect on the reception of Chopin's music. Chopin's contribution, even to salon music itself, is obscured. As Ballstaedt eloquently puts it, "only when Chopin is freed form the stigma of the salon can one do justice to him in the salon."[7]

Perhaps nothing captures the intimate, unpretentious atmosphere of connoisseur's salon better than an article sent to a Warsaw newspaper during Paganini's visit to the Polish capital in 1829. It describes this acrobat of the concert stage in a stunningly unexpected role of a lyrical chamber musician. It speaks of his expressive, singing and gentle

---

[5]Jim Samson, "Chopin reception: theory, history, analysis," in *Chopin Studies,* ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 7.

[6]Jeffrey Kallberg, "Small Fairy Voices," 50-71.

[7]Ballstaedt, "Chopin as Salon Composer," 34.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

playing, witnessed by a dozen or so guests during his three-hour-long performance of his own works in a private home:

> Whereas in public concerts this great virtuoso amazes with fluency, overcoming extraordinary difficulties and bringing heretofore unknown sounds out of the instrument, in quartets a new [experience], almost ecstasy, intoxicates the senses of the listener. The cause is in the very difference in the compositions themselves; furthermore (unlike in concert), he does not try to impress the general audience with the use of means known to him only, but plays without additions, with a moving simplicity and ease typical of himself, yet he amazes and touches.
>
> [Jeżeli wielki ten Wirtuoz, w Koncertach dawanych publicznie, zadziwia biegłością, pokonywaniem nadzwyczajnych trudności i wydobywaniem z instrumentu nieznanych dotąd tonów; w Kwartetach nową prawie rozkoszą upaja zmysły słuchacza. Sama różnica kompozycji jest już tego przyczyną; oprócz tego nie usiłuje on (jak w Koncercie), czynić wrażenia na ogół słuchaczów używaniem nadzwyczajnych, jemu tylko wiadomych środków, lecz gra bez dodatków, z ujmującą prostotą i zwykłą sobie łatwością, a jednak zachwyca i rozrzewnia.][8]

Such a description and others like it indicate that the nineteenth-century salon should be viewed as a continuation of the eighteenth-century chamber. Whereas the concert stage presented the public persona--the artist for the broader audience, the salon was a home of the private artist performing with and for other musicians and educated amateurs. Sowiński, who knew the great pianist and heard him play on many occasions maintained that:

> Fryderyk Chopin did not like to perform in public. Although he could bring forth from the piano a powerful and ringing sound, his playing was too learned and did not make an impression in a big

---

[8]*Kurier warszawski*, 18 July 1829, no. 189:848.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> room. Since he deeply felt the music and liked tender melodies, he was better understood in a small circle.
>
> [Fryderyk Szopen nie lubił występować publicznie. Chociaż wydobywał ton mocny i donośny z fortepianu, gra jego była zanadto wyuczona i nie robiła efektu w wielkiej sali. Czując żywo muzykę, i lubiąc melodye tkliwe, był on lepiej zrozumiany w małem kółku.][9]

In the same vein, Chopin was reported instructing a student: "concerts are never real music; you have to give up the idea of hearing in them the most beautiful things of art."[10] Based on that and other evidence, Eigeldinger maintains that the composer espoused the aesthetic of a chamber musician and that "Chopin's teaching was not oriented towards the concert platform."[11] With all that in mind, maybe it is high time to admit that Chopin chose the salon over the concert stage precisely because it was the better forum for a serious musician and for sophisticated compositions, a place that nurtured him into his intellectual and musical maturity.

Much has been said about Chopin's participation in Parisian salon life, but the salons frequented by Chopin in Warsaw are at best given marginal mention. Yet it is in Warsaw's salons that the young Fryderyk received his social grooming and it is here that he met many of his future Parisian hosts or made connections that opened the doors to

---

[9]Sowiński, 53.

[10]Eigeldinger, 5.

[11]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the most respected households of European capitals. But more significantly, he was fortunate enough to mature amidst intellectual discussions of his elders, aesthetic battles of his artistic peers and musical experiences unattainable in public concert--stimuli for his mind and senses beyond and above the already excellent education that he had received at the gymnasium and the conservatory.

The salons of the Polish capital very much resembled the salons of other European cities except for in the matter of political and national atmosphere.[12] In fact, the tradition of salon gatherings in Poland goes back to the French connection in the eighteenth century. In 1753, before he even dreamed of becoming the king of Poland, the young Stanisław Poniatowski was sent to study in Paris and while there became a protégé of Mme. Geoffrin, the hostess of a famous Parisian salon. The already seventy-year-old Geoffrin was still as vivacious as thirty years earlier and in her celebrated salon she was surrounded by the most prominent personnages in the Parisian world, native and foreign alike. A strong friendship

---

[12]There was continuous contact with foreign salons, as educated Poles who traveled abroad often visited salons elsewhere. For example, in 1829, the young Andrzej Edward Koźmian--with whom Chopin was well-acquainted--was a guest in the famous salon of Mme. Apponyi, the wife of the Austrian ambassador in Paris. A few years later Chopin himself frequented Mme. Apponyi's salon and to her he dedicated the Nocturnes op. 27. Koźmian's description is full of admiration for the splendid performances by the great pianist Friedrich Kalkbrenner and the acclaimed singer Henrietta Sonntag that took place in Mme. Apponyi's salon, and he found that salons of Warsaw and Paris did not differ much. Andrzej E. Koźmian, Paris, to his parents, Warsaw, 5 November 1829, *Letters*, 1:24-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

developed between this extraordinary woman and the young Polish aristocrat. This relationship continued beyond Poniatowski's stay in Paris and in 1766, Mme. Geoffrin--still energetic enough--made a trip to Warsaw to visit her "adopted son," now Stanisław August, the last king of Poland.[13]

Perhaps it was under the influence of Geoffrin's salon that king Stanisław August instituted Thursday Dinners in his palace. The king was not just blindly copying the Parisian model of a salon, but instead--being a man of vast knowledge--he saw it as one of the ways to encourage the growth of learning and arts in his country. He himself was the proud owner of a priceless library and a magnificent collection of pictures (engravings, drawings, architectural projects, etc.)[14] He also had a splendid orchestra *[muzyka]* at his court, and he greatly influenced the growth and improvement of music in Poland.[15]

The Thursday Dinners were social gatherings to which the king invited distinguished scholars and artists. Smoleński describes an invitation to a Thursday Dinner as

> an acknowledgement of mastery in scholarship, poetry or the fine arts; a manifestation of recognition for talent and knowledge; a reward for already rendered public contributions.
>
> [pasowaniem na mistrzostwo w nauce, poezyji lub

---

[13]Władysław Łoziński, *Salon i kobieta* [Salon and Women] (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Syn, 1921), 66-71.

[14]Kraushar, *Salons*, 7.

[15]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 254.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> sztukach pięknych; objawem uznania dla talentu i wiedzy, nagrodą położonych już zasług publicznych.][16]

Music often accompanied those meetings and the discussions, which evolved around various themes, frequently included music and opera in particular.[17]

Following the King's example, several of the capital's aristocrats gathered together interesting guests during in meetings. The most famous places of such gatherings were the palace of Princess de Nassau, née Sanguszko, and the Palace Under a Tin Roof *[Pałac pod Blachą]*, belonging to Prince Józef Poniatowski (the last king's nephew, who was idolized by the people). Here one would also find his sister, niece and his companion--the Countess de Vauban--who was much disliked by the people. In these homes the guests would amuse themselves with fine conversation, music, readings, but occasionally they would undertake more ambitious projects. In the house of Princess de Nassau the aristocratic amateurs prepared performances of operas (Païsello's *Nina* and *La serva padrona*) and plays (the Polish premiere of Beaumarchais' *Marriage of Figaro*)[18] A similar theater for amateur performances of

---

[16]Kraushar, *Salons*, 4.

[17]Klementyna Hoffman, *Obiad czwartkowy: opis wyjęty z nieznanych dotąd pamiętników* [Thursday Dinner: a Description Taken from heretofore Unknown Memoirs] (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1917), 31.

[18]Kraushar, *Salons*, 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

foreign plays was built later (1800) in the Palace Under Tin.[19] There were also other kinds of amusements: during the first decade of the 19th century it was fashionable to make *tableaux vivants*, often denoted by the phrase *"arranger des tableaux."* [20] The term designates a kind of a still pantomime involving people dressed in appropriate costumes and posing as a life painting against an elaborate stage set.[21]

After the fall of sovereign Poland in 1795 and the disappearance of all official cultural institutions, the need to maintain Polish culture through gatherings in private salons became more pronounced. Among the first and most important salons was the home of Count Stanisław Sołtyk, the birthplace of the Society for the Friends of Learning. The salon in the Sołtyk house was established in opposition to the home of Countess de Vauban, the latter being luxurious, cultured, but catering to foreign customs. Sołtyk's salon was to provide a specifically Polish venue for artistic and intellectual endeavors. Such principles were adopted in varying degrees by other salons active during the time of the

---

[19]Magier, 152-53.

[20]Leon Dembowski, *Moje wspomnienia* [My Memoirs], 2 vols. (Petersburg: Gendyszyński, 1898), 341.

[21]During one of the earliest concerts sponsored by the Benevolent Society *[Towarzystwo Dobroczynnosci]* on May 1, 1814, a *tableau vivante* accompanied a performance of the Priestesses' chorus from Spontini's *La vestale*. *AmZ*, September 1814:655. This tradition must have still been well alive in 1820, when a benefit performance of historical and other pictures was organized. It involved dramatic and musical artists from both the National and the French theaters, as well as the painters Zygmunt Vogel and Antoni Brodowski. *Gazeta warszawska*, 18 March 1820, no. 23:581.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Duchy of Warsaw: those of the Badenis, the Gutakowskis, Princess Würtemberg and Anna Nakwaska.[22] Several of these continued their hospitality into the twenties and even later, after the November Uprising.

The circumstances created by the Vienna Congress (1814-15) provided a new environment for Warsaw's social life during the years 1815-1830. The prevailing European trends, intensified by the particular Polish political context, produced astounding intellectual and artistic activity among the educated classes. The intensity with which historical and national awareness exploded resulted in vast quantities of research and writing. Initially, the movement was led by the aristocracy and intelligentsia, but soon members of the bourgeoisie joined the trend. The Society for the Friends of Learning provided the most important forum for discussion and facilitated the dissemination of new ideas: scientific, humanistic, aesthetic, literary, musical, etc. Every opportunity to create a forum for an exchange--intellectual or artistic--was seized upon: a private meeting, *a café*, or a salon gathering.

The profile of Warsaw's salons varied according to the hosts' social status, financial situation, entertainment preferences and intellectual or artistic interests. In the earlier phase of the history of the salon class divisions were very pronounced, and in many of the homes they were maintained

---

[22]Kraushar, *Salons*, 17-18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

notwithstanding the impending social revolution. Koźmian clearly states that during the 1820s Warsaw had "many open homes hierarchically graded" [wiele domów otwartych i hierarchicznie uszczeblowanych].[23] But some of the households were able to rise above the class distinctions and select their company according to merits other than birthright. Koźmian's contemporary, Oskar Kolberg says of these homes:

> Not long ago, especially during the first half of this century, we had not a few people who scorned the loud and uproarious life within the circles to which they belonged by birth, habit and financial standing; they preferred domestic entertainments and sought nourishment for the intellect among a selected circle of friends. Not infrequently, they themselves were the souls of such gatherings, animating them with joyful and witty chat, or music and dance.
>
> [Niedawnemi jeszcze czasy, a zwłaszcza w pierwszej ćwierci bieżącego stulecia, niemało u nas było ludzi, którzy gardząc życiem głośnem i szumnem w obrębie sfery do jakiej ich powołały urodzenie, nawyknienie i stosunki majątkowe, przekładali nad nie rozrywki domowe i szukali pokrzepienia umysłu wśród dobranego kółka przyjaciół. Sami też będąc nierzadko duszą podobnych towarzystw, ożywiali je to wesołą i dowcipną gawedą, bądź muzyką i tańcem.][24]

As elsewhere in Europe, women held a particularly significant position in the salon culture. Certainly, they were an ornament to every social gathering and often provided motivation for artistic attempts on the part of the men. It

---

[23]Andrzej E. Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 1: 241.

[24]Oskar Kolberg, manuscript in the collection of the National Library, Warsaw, BN. III. 8893.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was no secret that by learning to play the piano a young man provided himself with the opportunity to court his lady while making music with her, or that by nurturing artistic talents a young lady could show her social standing and attract a suitor. In 1833 the Polish press reprinted from an unidentified Berlin periodical the following description of Warsaw's social life:

> Warsaw represents all the elements of educated, attractive and glamorous society. Some local women are writers, and though their works can be considered literary experiments, they are not without wit and originality; and since they received a much better education than women in southern countries, their conversations are more reasoned and full of life and wit.... In general, everybody here dances charmingly, ladies play the piano splendidly, and draw some (though until now only one true piano talent [Szymanwska?] has been produced who is recognized in Europe), they also paint flowers and landscapes; but all these stop with marriage.
>
> [Warszawa przedstawia wszystkie żywioły uczonego, przyjemnego i świetnego towarzystwa. Niektóre z tamecznych kobiet, są literatkami, a chociaż dzieła ich mogą bydź *[sic]* uważane, jako próby literackie, jednak nie zbywa im na dowcipie i oryginalności; a ponieważ otrzymały daleko lepsze wychowanie jak kobiety krajów południowych, rozmowy ich sa rozsądniejsze i pełne życia i dowcipu.... W ogólności wszyscy tańczą tu powabnie; damy wybornie grają na fortepianie, trochę też rysują; lecz dotąd jeden tylko wydano prawdziwy talent na fortepianie, który w Europie jest znany; malują także kwiaty, landszfty, lecz to wszystko z zamęściem ustaje.][25]

Marriage over a career was the choice of many brilliant and talented women of Chopin's circle, including his love Konstancja Gładkowska. She was a very promising graduate of

---

[25]*Gazeta warszawska,* 14 June 1833, no. 157:1356.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Warsaw Conservatory and her first public appearances (about the same time as Chopin's debut) were received most enthusiastically. Yet, less than a year after the start of her career, she disappeared from public life. Gołębiowski notices the same phenomenon:

> It is common here, that young ladies, not only from more affluent homes but also of lesser standing, learn to play the piano and reach a high level of proficiency and excellence; after they marry it is uncommon that they continue--they abandon it completely with a tremendous waste of invested efforts and a loss of pleasure that they could bring to themselves and others.
>
> [Powszechną jest u nas rzeczą, że młode panienki nie tylko możniejszych domów, ale i mierniejszych stanów uczą na fortepianie, i dochodzą do wysokiego stopnia wprawy i doskonałości; gdy pójdą za mąż, rzadko jest, żeby się która jeszcze nim trudniła, zarzucają go zupełnie, z nieodżałowaną stratą i nakładów czynionych, i z uszczerbkiem przyjemności, jakąby sobie, i innym przynosić mogły.][26]

Such must have been the fate of the young and talented lady amateurs performing for the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music who won the admiration of their audience:

> Among the members of this Society are four (...) outstanding female pianists, one of whom--still a very young lady--performs the most difficult compositions by Beethoven, Field, Ries and Dussek with admirable proficiency.
>
> [Unter den Migliedern dieser Gesselschaft sind (...) vier ausgezeichnete Klavierspielerinnen, wovon die eine, eine noch sehr junge Dame, die schwierigsten Compositionen von Beethoven, Field, Ries und Dussek mit bewundernwürdiger Fertigkeit

---

[26]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 234-35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

vorträgt.][27]

A few extraordinary women were able to nurture their talents beyond the requirements of good breeding. In music the most famous was certainly Maria Szymanowska, who was most likely the "one true piano talent" mentioned by the Berlin article. For her the cost of continuing her pianistic career was a divorce, but in turn performing became a source of income necessary to support herself and her children. A celebrated contemporary writer Klementyna Tańska was also motivated by financial need in developing her literary talents. After her marriage to Karol Hoffman, who was unusually supportive, she was able to continue writing.

For women who did not have a dire financial need nor the driving compulsion to follow their calling, the salon was a perfect outlet. Indeed, Warsaw had myriad erudite, talented hostesses involved with literature, poetry, theater, music, fine arts, politics, social issues, historical projects, etc. The unequalled leaders among them were Princess Izabela Czartoryska and her daughters Princess Maria Würtemberg and Countess Zofia Zamoyska, followed by other women from the highest social circles: Anna Nakwaska, Róża Mostowska, Countess Aleksandra Potocka, and Princess Ludwika Czetwertyńska. Some of the finest of these groomed the next generation of remarkable ladies: Teresa Kicka was a mentor of her nieces Natalia and Rozalia Bisping, Countess Rzewuska

---

[27]*AmZ*, August 1820:534.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

guided the uncommon intellect of her daughter Kaliksta. Among the brilliant young ladies participating in the sophisticated salons were Flora Laskarys, Katarzyna Lewocka, Joanna Orłowska (Naimska), Emilia Reszke, Regina Wolff (Wieniawska), and in subsequent years Maria Nesselrode (Kalergis) and Jadwiga Łuszczewska (Deotyma). Many of them later hosted Warsaw's most famous artistic meetings.

There were several women whose interests lay primarily with music and whose homes were host to specifically musical gatherings. Here one must mention Maria Szymanowska's concerts in the home of her parents, Princess Teresa Jabłonowska's musical soirées, Ludwika Linde gathering musicians next door to the Chopins, and ladies sharing their passion for music with their husbands: Anna Cichocka, Eleonora Wolff and Mme. Sauvan.

A full description of a typical salon evening was provided by historian Antoni Magier in his stylized "letter of 1826," which made an insightful comparison between past and then-present life in Warsaw. First, Magier described the salon and stated with pride that the luxurious furnishings of the room, which included a pantaleon, were all of local production. He also saw a couple of violins, a harp and a cello in the study. The guests, a dozen or so, were first invited to a splendid dinner, accompanied by liberal quantities of good wine. The conversation at the table dealt with political and administrative issues, since several guests

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were members of the administration; moreover, the National Theater director, Ludwik Osiński, complained about the theater's financial problems. After dinner, the company busied themselves with various occupations; Magier found the musical production of the host's daughter especially pleasing. She sat at the pantaleon and sang with a very pretty voice. To Magier's amazement she had a Polish teacher (Faustyn Żyliński, a teacher at the Conservatory, performing in Warsaw since 1823), since "in the olden times to learn singing, one always had to take an Italian teacher."[28]

The kinds of amusement varied depending on the social status and interests of the hosts. Middle class Warsaw society was centered around family circles, which included relatives and friends. Each such circle would select a particular day of the week on which a score of families would gather for an evening together. There were games (especially whist), music-making (most frequently involving fashionable songs with piano accompaniment), dancing, reading aloud and discussions of new books. The traditional celebration of a name-day presented a special opportunity for musical performances. This Polish custom was given especially festive manner for the observance of the patriarch's name-day; frequently with an offering-performance from his descendants. In *Gazeta Warszawska* there is a description of such a celebration of grandpa's name-day. At the start his children

---

[28]Magier, 56-57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and grandchildren lined up to present gifts of their achievements: hand-made crafts, Latin recitations, written essays, recited and composed poetry and other products of talent and intellect. Following the dinner, a family concert was heard. It included fashionable favorites and compositions by family members, created especially to salute the guest of honor.[29]

Mikołaj Chopin's name-day celebrations were always such a solemn and joyful occasion for a gathering of friends and acquaintances. Skrodzki describes one such occasion after Emilka's death, when Chopin was in the fifth or sixth grade in the gymnasium. Among the many guests the places of honor were given to the professors Elsner, Hoffman and Skarbek. At first, Chopin's earliest piano teacher Żywny, who was like a family member in the Chopin household, conducted a chamber performance by musicians Molsdorf (cello), Kaczkowski (violin) and Le Doux (director of the Treasury Commission and an amateur violinist). Following was a performance by Fryderyk and his sisters.[30]

Andrzej Edward Koźmian also speaks of these concerts, particularily during the years 1818-1822:

> Every year, on father's holiday he gave a concert with the accompaniament of other instruments; I was always invited to such celebration and every year one could observe astounding advancement of the

---

[29]*Gazeta warszawska*, 9 September 1820, no. 117:1936.

[30]Wielisław, "Memories of Chopin," 258. None of the listed musicians was on the staff of the National Theater.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

young artist.

[W święto ojca co rok dawał on koncert przy towarzyszeniu innych instrumentów; zawsze na ten festyn zaproszony bywałem i w każdym roku można było uważać zadziwiające postępy młodziuchnego artysty.][31]

Intellectual households, like that of the Chopins, would host debates of literary, artistic and political subjects. Especially interesting were meetings in the homes of professors, writers and members of the Society for the Friends of Learning: Feliks Bentkowski (historian and dean of Sciences and Fine Arts), Onufry Lewocki (member of several educational councils), Fryderyk Jakub Hoffman (the mineralogist who also co-created the aelomelodikon with Brunner), among others. Here one would find stimulating conversation and the company of distinguished guests such as Józef Lipiński (chief inspector of schools), Father Wojciech Szwejkowski (theologian and university rector) and Ludwik Osiński (theater director and literature professor).[32]

Most of Warsaw's salons invited some kind of musical entertainment and, naturally, the quantity and the quality of musical performances reflected the tastes of the hosts. But there were several households in Warsaw in which making music was the main purpose of meeting. The most acclaimed were the gatherings in the homes of Count Józef and Anna Cichocki, Jan Krzysztof Kessler, Prince Maksymilian and Teresa Jabłonowski,

---

[31]Andrzej E. Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 1:210.

[32]Dmochowski, 294-95.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dr. Ludwik and Mrs. Sauvan, Eleonora and Dr. Józef Wolff and Franciszek and Barbara Wołowski. The social standing of these homes varied: the Jabłonowskis were of the highest aristocracy, the Cichockis were of lesser nobility, Sauvan and Wolff were medical doctors, Kessler was a pianist and the Wołowskis (parents of Maria Szymanowska) were wealthy brewers. What they shared was the aspiration to experience fine music.

From various sources we learn of the nature of performances during typical musical soirées. The guests would hear chamber performances, vocal and instrumental soloists or solo piano recitals. The piano was an unquestionable star of Warsaw's salons:

> The piano does not present itself favorably in spacious dwellings, among a flock of instruments, but gains esteem in the salon, where it alone becomes a small orchestra: whether a fluent hand performs musical works or accompanies a singing voice. The piano is the treasure of the harmonist and the singer. In the city, in the village, how much boredom chased away, how many evenings beautified. When it is difficult to put together a quartet, a piano, two or three voices and a score of Mozart, Paër or Rossini will suffice to create a splendid concert.
>
> [Fortepian nie zdoła okazać się korzystnie w obszernych zabudowaniach, wśród gromady innych instrumentów, lecz zyskuje wiele w salonie, gdzie tworzy sam orkiestrę małą: czyli biegłą ręka wykonywa dzieła muzyczne, czy towarzyszy śpiewającemu głosowi. Fortepian jest skarbiec harmonisty i śpiewaka. W mieście, na wsi, ileż nudów odpędzonych, ileż wieczorów upięknionych. Gdy trudno złożyc kwartet, fortepian, dwa lub trzy głosy, i partycya Mozarta, Paera lub Rossiniego wyborny da koncert.][33]

---

[33]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 234-35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In fact, by the mid-nineteenth century solo piano music became much more important than chamber music:

> One can not deny that in our times salon music, represented almost exclusively by the piano, has far outrun chamber music, or so-called quartets....
>
> [Zaprzeczyć nie można, że w naszych czasach muzyka salonowa, prawie wyłącznie reprezentowana przez fortepian, o wiele wyścignęła muzykę kammerową, czyli tak zwaną kwartetową....][34]

But during the period under consideration, the salons of musical connoisseurs invited chamber performances. In 1831 Gołębiowski writes:

> The so called quartets are the most pleasant chamber music. In a short time the taste for this kind of music became so popular in Poland, and especially Galicia, that in every significant household one would be entertained by quartets....
>
> [Najprzyjemniejszą muzyką pokojową są tak zwane kwartetta. W krótkim czasie tak się upowszechnił smak w kraju polskim do tego rodzaju muzyki, zwłaszcza w Galicyi, że niemal w każdym znaczniejszym domu bawiono się kwartetami....][35]

The continued success of chamber music during the period when the piano was believed to reign supreme is confirmed by Oskar Kolberg. Writing about the salons of the Cichockis, Princess Jabłonowska, Krzyżanowski and Petiskus, active during the mid-1820s, Kolberg says:

> At that time some private homes also hosted musical soirées, during which string quartets and other works--for the solo or accompanied piano--were performed.
>
> [Wtenczas także powstały i w domach kilku osób

---

[34]*Ruch muzyczny*, 1861, no. 11:165.

[35]Gołębiowski, *Games and Amusements*, 255.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> prywatnych wieczorki muzyczne, na których wykonywano kwartety smyczkowe i inne dzieła na fortepian, solo lub z towarzyszeniem napisane.][36]

The term "quartets" *[kwartety]* is used in the first half of the nineteenth century to denote more than just an ensemble of four instruments. It designates chamber music in general, and it also describes salon-size ensembles performing orchestral music.

This so-called "quartet" was a chamber orchestra of four violins, viola, cello, flute, two oboes or clarinets, two French horns and a bassoon. Such arrangements required good performers, especially wind players who could control their sound and balance it with the small string ensemble. This group, perfect for salons, was deemed inappropriate for large performing spaces; a sound that was marvelous in a salon would get lost in the vast space of a theater.[37] The performance of Ries' concerto at Kessler's salon, described by Chopin in a letter, must have featured a comparable performing group.[38] A similar ensemble must have been used in the rehearsals of Chopin's concertos at his parents' salon of which Fryderyk says:

> ... already this week I am to rehearse the entire Concerto [E Minor] in quartet, so that at first this quartet can communicate with me--get

---

[36]Oskar Kolberg, manuscript in the collection of the National Library, Warsaw, BN. III. 8893.

[37]*Tygodnik muzyczny i dramatyczny* 7 (23 May 1821):26.

[38]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 20 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:110.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> accustomed a bit--without which, says Elsner, an orchestral rehearsal would not proceed smoothly.
>
> [... już w tym tygodniu mam cały Koncert próbować w kwartecie, dlatego żeby najprzód ten kwartet mógł sie porozumieć ze mną - trocha oswoić, bez czego, Elsner powiada, próba z orkiestrą od razu nie przyszłaby do ładu.][39]

Warsaw had plenty of local musicians--professionals and skilled amateurs--to organize salon performances. There was the older generation of musicians--Józef Elsner, Carlo Soliva, Józef Jawurek, Henryk Lentz, Walenty Kratzer, Antoni Wejnert--and the young professionals: Antoni Teichman, Johann Christoph Kessler, Aleksander Rembieliński, Józef Bielawski and Józef Szabliński. Next to these mentors the concerts involved students and new graduates of the Warsaw Conservatory: Fryderyk Chopin, Józef Nowakowski, Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński, Maurycy Ernemann, Józef Brzowski, Henryk Rudert, August Freyer, Konstancja Gładkowska and Anna Wołkow. Among the amateurs the most active were: Franciszek Sołtyk, Karol Sołtyk, Teodor Filipeus, Józef Molsdorf, Tekla Wołowska, Ledoux, Mrs. Sauvan, Konstanty Wolicki. In same cases entire families were participating--some members as professionals and

---

[39]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 31 August 1830, Sydow edition, 1:132. The benefits of such rehearsal to the performer and the conductor are apparent, but Chopin says clearly that the intention is for the orchestra to become acquinted with the work. If we keep in mind that the term quartet denotes more than the customary four string instruments, it makes perfect sense that, when the leaders of each orchestral section have an opportunity to first familiarize themselves with the ensemble sound of the composition, it makes for a more efficient rehearsal with the full orchestra.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

others as amateurs. The most prominent were the Turowski, Wolff and Orłowski families. In addition to local talent, visits of renowned Polish artists in between European engagements, performances of foreign virtuosi and appearances of touring *Wunderkinder* added zest to private concerts.

Performances in the most influential households and the more reputable musical salons would frequently precede public appearances and, in fact, for some the reputation gained in a private setting could open the doors to a public concert. Thus it was common for an artist first to be heard in salons and to make many more private than public appearances.

In the daily press we occasionally find information about private concerts in the form of a notice, a review, or an item embedded within a concert announcement. And thus an 1824 article describes the playing of an Italian cellist Fenzi, who was known to music-lovers from salon concerts and perceived as a splendid combination of virtuosity and feeling especially in adagios.[40] Later on that same year Warsaw was visited by a flutist named Wolfram. Before Wolfram was heard in public concert, music connoisseurs got to know him in salons; an article sent to *Kurier warszawski* described his playing as characterized by "extraordinary tenderness, variety and expresiveness that can only be produced by the violin" [nadzwyczajną czułość, rozmaitość i dobitność iakie iedynie tylko na skrzypcach wydać można] and compared his performances

---

[40]*Kurier warszawski*, 24 September 1824, no. 228:601.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to those of Rode on the violin.[41] During the following year we learn of salon appearances by the pianist Lewit; the information comes from a concert announcement advising the public that Lewit [Levitte], a pianist and a pupil of Moschelles [Moscheles], performed in private homes and will be heard in the National Theater.[42]

Naturally, salons welcomed artists of great acclaim who needed no endorsement. Paër, Rode, Steibelt, Cherubini, Catalani, Spontini, Dusík [Dussek] and many others are reported to have performed in Warsaw's salons. In the late 1820s the most memorable were the private appearences of Karol Lipiński, Niccolò Paganini and Anne Caroline de Belleville. The press informs us specifically that during his December 1827 - February 1828 visit to Warsaw, Karol Lipiński not only gave five public concerts, but was also heard in numerous private concerts in the capital's best homes.[43] When he returned in 1829 for the Coronation of Czar Nicholas I, Lipiński probably made similar salon appearances, especially since his rival Paganini had made his own visit in Warsaw memorable not only through public but also through private concerts.[44] A year later, Poland was visited by the renowned singer Henrietta Sonntag and an excellent pianist Anne

---

[41]*Kurier warszawski*, 27 December 1824, no. 308:925.

[42]*Kurier warszawski*, 31 May 1825, no. 128:625.

[43]*Kurier warszawski*, 21 February 1828, no. 50:201.

[44]*Kurier warszawski*, 18 July 1829, no. 189:848.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Caroline de Belleville. No record exists of Sonntag's private appearances, but Mlle. de Belleville was heard in one of Warsaw's most splendid homes immediately upon her arrival.[45] By June 3, still before the official concert, she played in several salons, including the Court and she astonished her audiences with improvisations on Herz.[46]

Like other European cities, Warsaw marvelled at the skillful performances by children and disabled musicians. Predictably, they were viwed not just on their musical merit, but rather were perceived as oddities. Their concert performances had something of a circus spectacle about them and the fashion for such displays extended into salons. From the press we know that the blind virtuoso guitarist Peter Simon played in Warsaw's best homes, before giving a concert in the National Theater.[47] Simon, who was on his way to Russia, was already well known in Paris and in the Netherlands, where he received the title of the Guitarist to King.[48] A couple of years later, another blind musician, a flutist named Grinberg, preceded his public concerts with appearences in private homes.[49]

Child virtuosi, not only adult musicians, were frequent

---

[45]*Kurier warszawski,* 24 May 1830, no. 141:726.

[46]*Kurier warszawski,* 6/3/1830, no. 147:765.

[47]*Kurier warszawski,* 23 October 1828, no. 286:1195.

[48]*Kurier warszawski,* 6 October 1828, no. 272:1139.

[49]*Kurier warszawski,* 16 April 1830, no. 102:513.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

guests in salons and appeared often on the concert stage. Indeed, Chopin's career was launched by his appearences as a *Wunderkind*. But Chopin was just one of many performing in Warsaw in the early decades of the 19th century. Next to Fryderyk, Warsaw's favorites were the Kaczyński brothers, Zygmunt Krasiński and the Kątski brothers.

Chopin knew the Kaczyński brothers well and he often mentioned their name in connection with salon concerts. We learn of an evening at Diakov's, where a lot of good music was performed, among other performers Chopin played Hummel's piano trio *La Rubinelle* with the Kaczyńskis.[50] On other occassion Chopin, Kaczyński (the cellist) and Bielawski played Chopin's C Major Cello Polonaise, op. 3 and his G Minor Trio, op. 8 in front of their closest friends: Elsner, Ernemann, Żywny, Matuszyński and Linowski.[51]

Count Zygmunt Krasiński, a child virtuoso who improvised poetry, appeared next to Chopin already during his first public performance in the 1818 charity concert, where the two amazing boys shared the popular attention. Krasiński's destiny was to become one of Poland's most influential

---

[50]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117.

[51]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 21 August 1830, Sydow edition, 1:131. The Kaczyński brothers, a violinst and a cellist, were first heard in Warsaw in an 1814 charity concert organized by Countess Zamoyska: the violinst played a Rode concerto and the cellist performed a Pot-pourri by Romberg. Ultimately, the brothers settled in St. Petersburg, invited by the excellent musician Count Wielhorski. Sowiński, 170.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Romantic poets. Although Fryderyk and Zygmunt knew each other quite well and their common lot was to live and die in foreign lands, there is no indication of a more intimate friendship between them.

Chopin's relationship with the Kątski brothers was quite different. His correspondence clearly evidences a close friendship with this musical family. The four brothers, who started as *Wunderkinder*, continued their musical education and met with great success in Poland and abroad as performers and composers.[52] Unfortunately, posterity has not been so generous to the Kątskis as it has been to Chopin: their reputation died with them.

At times one would hear angry voices criticizing the exploitative nature of the *Wunderkind* business. The author of an article in *Ruch muzyczny*, inspired by a concert given by a young girl, brings to the public's attention that the unusual demands put on a young child deprive her of a childhood, the right to mature at her own rate, and require abnormal social

---

[52]The Kątskis were introduced into the capital's homes in the early 1820s. The oldest brother named Karol (b. 1813) played the violin, the middle brothers Antoni (b. 1817) and Stanisław (b. 1820) were pianists, and the little Appolinary (b.1824) was later admired for his virtuosity on the violin. After their 1823 performances in Warsaw, the press raved about their extraordinary talents. *Kurier warszawski*, 1 February 1823, no. 27:1. After concert tours in Poland, they tried performing in various European cities and met with much success. Following the November Uprising they relocated to Paris, where they were held in high esteem by the local musical circles. Sowiński, 180-82.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

constraints from a twelve-year-old girl.[53] But regardless of concerns voiced by some, the salons continued to delight in visits from young talent.

The first stage of Chopin's participation in the salon world began about 1818. His first documented performance is the charity concert organized by Countess Zamoyska in February of 1818. However, it stands to reason that the aristocracy became acquainted with his pianistic skill beforehand. Once he became known in the fashionable aristocratic world of Warsaw, it was now "in style" to invite the young virtuoso to a musical evening. Karasowski lists many homes that hosted little Fryderyk's performances: Czartoryski, Sapieha, Czetwertyński, Lubecki, Radziwiłł, Skarbek, Pruszak, Łempicki and the home of Constantine at *Belweder.*[54] Kolberg's article on Chopin expands the list with the names of Zajączek, Wolicki, Okołow.[55] Hoesick adds the names of Zamoyski, Potocki and Mostowski.[56]

There are some indications that Chopin's parents and teachers became concerned with these constant intrusions into the boy's education and emotional welfare and for a period of time forbade his salon performances. The most conspicuous

---

[53]*Ruch muzyczny,* 1859, no. 31:272.

[54]Karasowski, *Chopin,* 29. The Belweder summer palace was built by the last king of Poland. After the partitions it became a residence of the Russian rulers.

[55]Kolberg, "Chopin," 459.

[56]Hoesick, *Chopin,* 1:52.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

testimony comes from Odyniec, who states that Fryderyk's parents did not allow him to perform in salons, and only as a result of special pleas by Miss Teresa Kicka was Odyniec allowed to introduce the virtuoso into her salon in the year 1826 or 1827.[57] This performance in Kicka's house must have been one of the first in a new phase of Chopin's participation in the salon milieu.

The second stage of Chopin's participation in Warsaw's social life spanned the years 1827-30. Now he was no longer invited as a *Wunderkind*, but as a young, extremely talented artist. Not only was he welcomed for his musical gifts, but also for his charm, wit and intellect. Exposed to the salon atmosphere since his earliest years, Fryderyk felt at ease in the company of aristocrats, political leaders and the intellectual and artistic *avant-garde* of Warsaw. At the end of the 19th century Mrs. Józefa Kościeliska, the younger sister of Chopin's love Maria Wodzińska, described the composer in the following words:

> He was the embodiment of grace, subtlety, refinement. When he wanted to be liked by someone, nobody could resist his charm. In normal situations cheerful, witty, giddy, only at the piano did he become serious.
>
> [Było to usposobienie wdzięku, delikatności, wytworności. Gdy się chciał komuś podobać, nikt urokowi jego się nie oparł. W zwykłych warunkach wesoły, dowcipny, trzpiot, dopiero przy fortepianie stawał się poważnym.][58]

---

[57]Odyniec, 325.

[58]Hoesick, *Słowacki i Chopin*, 2:295.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

No wonder his elegant presence and beautiful performances were highly sought. At times Chopin complained that he was so busy socially that he could not find time for composition. Some evenings he visited more than one salon--everywhere they expected him to play and improvise. Exhausted by these demands, he complained to his friend Tytus:

> You know how pleasant it is when you are sleepy and they ask you to improvise. Try to satisfy everybody!--Seldom do I happen upon an idea similar to those that so easily got into my fingers some mornings at your piano.
>
> [Wiesz, jak to wygodnie, kiedy się spać chce, a tu proszą o improwizację. Dogódźże wszystkim! - Rzadko zdarzy się myśl podobna tej, co nieraz rano na Twoim pantalionie tak snadnie weszła mi w palce.][59]

Complaints aside, it is apparent that Chopin thrived among people, in the salon environment and that did not enjoy solitude:

> He disliked being without company--something that seldom occured. In the morning he liked to spend an hour by himself at the piano; but even when he practised--or how should I describe it?--when he stayed at home to play in the evenings, he needed to have at least one of his friends close at hand....[60]

In his letters we find information about numerous salon concerts that he attended. It is evident that the late 1820s was a period of extreme animation in the musical world of Warsaw. Chopin marvelled at this phenomenon in his letters:

---

[59]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 December 1828, Sydow edition, 1:87.

[60]Ferdinand Hiller, quoted in Eigeldinger, 270.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I will have you know that our world has become terribly involved in music-making, not even Holy Week was spared....
>
> [Trzeba ci wiedzieć, że się świat nasz straszliwym sposobem rozmuzykował, nie szczędzono nawet Wielkiego Tygodnia....][61]

The main reasons for this abundance of musical events were certainly the prosperity and quiet Warsaw enjoyed between political disasters and the presence of a large and active circle of musicians and music lovers. It is particularily during Lent, when more profane entertainment was considered improper, that Warsaw's salons would present private concerts:

> The Great Fast is the season of amateur concerts: musical matinées and soirées, family trios and quartets. Indeed some [performances] are distinguished by knowledge of the subject and good taste....
>
> [Wielki post - to epoka koncertów amatorskich, poranków i wieczorków muzykalnych, tercetów i kwartetów familijnych. Niektóre rzeczywiście odznaczają się znajomością rzeczy i dobrym gustem....][62]

Having outlined the social conditions and the general nature of Warsaw's salons, we can move on to a more detailed discussion of individual households. Considering the profile of entertainment and the social function, the salons within the sphere of our interest fall into three major categories: the social salon (which gathered family and friends, served to introduce newcomers, provided entertainment), the intellectual

---

[61]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 30 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117.

[62]Wieniarski, 2:35.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

salon (akin to a discussion club, and sometimes devoted to a specific aesthetic agenda) and the musical salon (bringing together artists and amateurs in musical performances). Undoubtedly, in some cases the boundaries of these categories become somewhat blurred. Several social salons exhibit truly intellectual aspirations; in some intellectual and social salons music played an important role. Thus, though in some cases classification expresses a subjective judgement, the ultimate goal of these chapters is served: to learn more about how the salon experience shaped and nurtured the mind and the talent of the young Chopin.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. SOCIAL SALONS

In a memoir published at the end of the nineteenth century the famous Polish poet Antoni Edward Odyniec described Chopin's startling performance on an *eolimelodicon*, which he witnessed in 1826 or 1827 in the salon of Miss Teresa Kicka. It was supposedly Chopin's social-artistic debut, which he later recalled as his sweetest emotional triumph, unsurpassed by later successes:

> After playing two or three works of other composers, he began to improvise on the last one. The mournful and solemn tones of the little organ apparently influenced the atmosphere of inspiration, which seemed to engulf him. There was universal admiration. No one was judging any more, but listening. He played and played farther on, ever more suggestively and mournfully, and he would have continued no one knew how long, had not the venerable Juljan Ursyn [Niemcewicz], noticing an unusual change and pallor of his countenance, taken pity on him. Therefore he approached him, and silently sitting by him, he took him by the hand, saying: "Enough already, enough, young man! it is time that you rest." Only then he was surrounded by everybody. Nobody dared to loudly praise him; the hostess and the guests only clasped his hands in appreciation.
>
> [Po dwóch czy trzech kompozycyjach cudzych, zaczął improwizować na temat ostatniej. Rzewne i uroczyste tony organku, oddziałały widocznie na nastrój natchnienia, które jego samego zdawało się pochłaniać. Podziwienie było ogólne. Nie sądzono już ale słuchano. On grał i grał coraz dalej, coraz wyraziściej i rzewniej, i grałby nie wiedzieć jak długo, gdyby czcigodny Juljan Ursyn, postrzegłszy nadzwyczajną zmianę i bladość jego twarzy, nie ulitował się na koniec nad nim. Zbliżył się więc, i z cicha usiadłszy przy nim, ujął go powoli za rękę, mówiąc: "Dość już, dość, kawalerze! trzeba żebyś odpoczął." - Wtenczas

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> dopiero otoczyli go wszyscy. Nikt już głośno chwalić go nie śmiał, i tylko gospodyni i goście ściśnieniem rąk mu dziękowali.][1]

Odyniec, whose account must be given some margin for poetic embellishment, claims that he was the one to introduce the young composer into the Kicka home. He tells us that the Chopins did not allow Fryderyk to perform in salons and his statement is consistent with Fryderyk's account, that because of his failing health,

> All teas, soirées, little balls have been falling through.
>
> [Wszystkie herbatki, wieczory, baliki w łeb wzięły.][2]

Nonetheless, after the special pleas of Miss Teresa Kicka were presented, the young virtuoso (dressed still in Gymnasium uniform) was permitted to play for the distinguished company.

In the Kicka salon, in which this performance took place, one found a mixed society.[3] The beautiful nieces of Teresa Kicka--Natalia and Rozalia Bisping--attracted young, interesting men such as the poets Odyniec, Stefan Witwicki, Juliusz Korsak (a translator of *The Divine Comedy*) and Juliusz

---

[1]Odyniec, 325-26.

[2]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 2 November [October 1826], Sydow edition, 1:73.

[3]The home in which these meetings took place belonged to Józefa Kicka, the widow of Voivode Onufry (1750-1818), and was located in the Krasiński Palace. The meetings were really run by Józefa's daughter Teresa Kicka, who in her mature years was still a remarkable beauty. In her youth Teresa was courted by many distinguished men, including the Prussian king in 1813, but she refused them all. Kicka, 142.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Słowacki. Słowacki, one of Poland's greatest Romantic poets, began visiting the Kicka salon shortly after his arrival in Warsaw. A mention of these visits can be found in a February 1829 entry in his memoir:

> I have here the familiar Kicka home, which in Warsaw plays a much more important role than it did in the past.
>
> [Mam tu znajomy dom Kickich, który w Warszawie daleko wiekszą, niż niegdyś, gra rolę.][4]

Of the older guests, most admired were two men enamoured of Teresa, Walerian Krasiński (a relative of General Krasiński and a brave opponent of the Classicists) and Józef Lipiński, as well as Kazimierz Brodziński, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and Padre Chiarini (professor of history and eastern languages).[5] The salon war between the Classicists and Romanticists did not spare the Kicka salon and many visits were spent debating this favorite topic.

Literature was not the only favorite subject of this household; music also held a special position and Warsaw's best musicians assembled here. Natalia Bisping (1801-1888) herself had a very beautiful voice and was a pupil of Carlo Soliva. Her teacher complained that God ought to have given such a beautiful voice to a poor girl--for her it would have been a source of good fortune, whereas for Miss Natalia it was a cause of much suffering. Her aunt, Teresa, enjoyed showing

---

[4]Hoesick, *Warsaw*, 152.

[5]Kicka, 145-150.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

off Natalia's beauty and voice, but the timid girl agonized over each such performance.[6] Natalia herself wrote in her memoir that during such occasions at grandma's musical evenings she was accompanied by Soliva and Chopin.[7] Fryderyk's letter from 1828 attests to his association with the Kicka salon and paints a vivid picture of his busy social schedule; for by now he had become the favorite of Warsaw's salons:

> For a week I have not written a thing; neither for people, nor for God. I am scurrying to and fro--today I will attend a soirée at Mme. Wintzingerode, from where I will proceed to a second one at Miss Kicka's.
>
> [Od tygodnia nicem nie napisał ani dla ludzi, ani dla Boga. Latam od Anasza do Kaifasza i dziś jestem u Wincengerodowej na wieczorze, skąd jadę na drugi do Panny Kickiej.][8]

In the context of Chopin's association with Miss Teresa's salon, one must mention the Grabowski and Gutakowski homes, which were very closely related to the Kickis not only through an immediate family relation, but also through association with a common social and intellectual-artistic circles.[9]

---

[6]Ibid., 143.

[7]Ibid., 144.

[8]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 December 1828, Sydow edition, 1:87.

[9]The original relationship came from the three Szydłowski sisters: Józefa, Elżbieta and Ewa. Ewa, who married Sobolewski, was the mother of the two Mrs. Gutakowski (Teresa and Maria) and Walenty Sobolewski. Elżbieta, the wife of Jan Jerzy Grabowski, had several illegitimate children by king Stanisław August, including Stanisław Grabowski. Józefa was the matriarch of the Kicki family. It was their children that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Minister of Religions and Public Education, Voievod, Count Stanisław Grabowski (1780-1845), often used his position to assist musicians. In 1829, Mikołaj Chopin wrote Grabowski, asking for his support in securing a government grant for Fryderyk's educational trip.[10] Minister Grabowski responded with a strong letter of recommendation. Unfortunately, Tadeusz Mostowski, Minister of the Interior and the Police, felt that public funds should not be "wasted for encouraging artists of this kind" [marnowane na zachęcanie tego rodzaju artystów] and the grant was denied.[11]

Although there is no direct record of Chopin performing in the Grabowski salon, Mikołaj Chopin's letter bears witness to Fryderyk's association with this extremely musical family. Both Stanisław and his second wife Julia, née Zabiełło,[12] had a fine talent for singing.[13] In addition to music, his salon, like the related Kicka salon, fostered intellectual qualities and was frequented by young poets (Odyniec,

---

created such a close family, reinforced by further marriages: Mrs. Gutakowska's second husband was her widowed brother-in-law; her brother Walenty Sobolewski was married to Izabela the sister of Stanisław Grabowski; Natalia Bisping married her uncle Ludwik Kicki; and Henryk Zabiełło married his cousin and a step-sister Gabriela Gutakowska.

[10]Mikołaj Chopin, Warsaw, to Stanisław Grabowski, Warsaw, 13 April 1829, Sydow edition, 1:87-88.

[11]Sydow edition, commentary, 1:487.

[12]He married her in 1822 after the death of Cecylia, née Dembowska.

[13]Klemens Kołaczkowski, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs] (Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, 1900), vol. 3:33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Witwicki, Zaleski) and outstanding young ladies (Flora Laskarys, Katarzyna Lewocka, Natalia and Rozalia Bisping [Biszpink]).[14]

The Grabowskis' interest in music went beyond the salon: most likely Julia was the "Mrs. Grabowska," whose participation in the performance in the late 1830s of his oratorio Elsner gratefully acknowledges.[15] Stanisław was a patron of church music and participated in organizing many musical performances: he was instrumental in bringing good music to the University church of the Visitation Nuns[16] and at his initiative the cathedral and university orchestras were combined under the direction of Elsner to give splendid musical performances during mass at both the University and the Piarists' Churches; Grabowski himself attended the sung Mass.[17]

Regardless of the public's opinion about Grabowski,[18]

---

[14]Odyniec, 355-56.

[15]Elsner, *Summary*, 177.

[16]*AmZ*, April 1822:275.

[17]Sowiński, 137.

[18]Grabowski, who was a natural son of the last king of Poland, was a spitting image of his father and possessed all his virtues and faults. Kołaczkowski describes his knowledge and memory as impressive: Grabowski, he says, spoke with equal ease of mathematics, poetry, chemistry and painting, but he feels that Grabowski's opinions and character were unsteady. Kołaczkowski, 3:33. Natalia Kicka writes of his irresolute character, but credits him with love for literature and a good heart. Kicka, 90. Skrodzki also remembers minister Grabowski as a poor administrator but an extremely well-read and knowledgeable man, who had a great love of the arts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Warsaw's musicians certainly felt indebted to him. Not only did he try to help Chopin, but he was of great assistance to Elsner. When in 1827, as a result of conflict between Soliva and Elsner, the latter was denied a part of his pay, Minister Grabowski's intervention restored Elsner's salary.[19] Probably as tokens of gratitude, the composer presented his benefactor with musical gifts. In the *Summary*, Elsner lists a manuscript of a Mass in F Major dedicated to Minister Grabowski[20] and a cantata to a Polish poem, composed for Minister Count Grabowski's birthday, which was performed by the students of the Conservatory and University students and later published.[21]

The other family related to the Kickis were the Gutakowskis. Their home was already known as a scene of musical performances during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw. Members of the military and of the administration crowded to these meetings, where poetry was being read and music by

---

Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 89. It is Grabowski's public stance that gave him such a negative reputation. He was given the position of Minister of Religions and Public Education after Stanisław Potocki, who had made many enemies with his strongly anti-clerical stand, was forced to retire. Grabowski's apparent inability to run the office and his clear lack of interest in political action were very convenient for the political forces above him; he was completely controlled by the Church and the Russian authorities. Yet even those who resented his political acquiescence acknowledged his personal merits and charm.

[19]Elsner, *Summary*, 162.

[20]Ibid., 36.

[21]Ibid., 51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Spohr, Spontini and Gretry (unfortunately no specific titles are mentioned) was performed on an old-fashioned harpsichord.[22] Although there is no explicit information placing Chopin in the Gutakowski salon, it must be considered significant given its strong musical tradition, the documented participation of musicians from Chopin's circles (Nidecki and Elsner) and the close relationship with the Kicka salon.

The family resided at Grzybowski Plaza in a modest building which, on the outside, did not resemble an aristocratic palace. Yet inside it was adorned with expensive marbles, brass and splendid paintings.[23] There were always several families living there and several members of the household loved and enjoyed music, but none more than Mrs. Gutakowska's son Henryk Zabiełło.[24]

Count Henryk Zabiełło (1785-1850), the Court Equerry, was a great connoisseur and patron of the arts. He himself was an

---

[22]Kraushar, *Salons*, 17.

[23]Kicka, 129.

[24]The mistress of the house, Maria Gutakowska, was twice widowed; her first husband was General Zabiełło, who was a victim of a political lynching in 1794. She later married Ludwik Gutakowski (1738-1811), who was her widowed brother-in-law. After Gutakowski's death, the household consisted of Maria; her son Henryk Zabiełło, who was married to her step-daughter Gabriela Gutakowska; and her step-son Wacław Gutakowski, who was married to Józefa Grudzińska. Józefa was the sister of the Grand Duchess, who also lived in the Gutakowski house during a period before her marriage to the Grand Duke Konstanty. The Gutakowski home was a very amiable place. Mrs. Gutakowska was very much liked by her guests, thus her home was frequently visited by the Kicki and Grabowski crowd and by the Grand Duke Konstanty and his Polish wife. Kicka, 151.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

amateur painter, who financially supported young artists.[25] Zabiełło was known for seeking out poor young people with talent for the arts or crafts and educating them from elementary to higher schools, thus enabling them to become skillful artisans and artists.[26] He also extended his interests and generosity to the musical community and thus in 1819 he was the vice-president of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music. In 1825 he presided over the Warsaw Music Society and became particularly fond of the young composition student Tomasz Nidecki.[27] Possibly, as a token of gratitude for Zabiełło's contributions to music, Elsner dedicated his choral sextet and an *Offertorium* (published by Płachecki) to him.[28]

Whereas the Kicki-Grabowski-Gutakowski colony witnessed Chopin's adult debut, his earlier conquests, during childhood, occurred in a different setting:

> Soon the name of young Fryderyk became well-known in Warsaw. Hence, horses pulled up and carried him to soirées, where he played his improvisations. Every Sunday the horse carriage of Grand Duke Constantine came after him, and there in Belweder [Palace] he would spend the entire day with the young Paweł, the son of Duke Constantine.

---

[25]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 117. His own paintings usually portrayed the insides of churches and cloisters. Kołaczkowski, 3:32.

[26]Kołaczkowski, 3: 33.

[27]Sowiński, 420. In 1827, with Elsner's encouragement, he awarded Nidecki a scholarship to study abroad, which he was able to use only in 1829. Hoesick, "Luminaries," 263.

[28]Elsner, *Summary*, 38.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[Wkrótce imię Fryderyka młodego stało się głośne w Warszawie. To też konie zajeżdżały i zabierały na wieczory gdzie grywał swoje improwizacje. Co niedziela zajeżdżała kareta W. Księcia Konstantego po niego i tam już cały dzień bawił w Belwederze z młodym Pawłem synem Księcia Konstantego.][29]

The most eminent homes of Warsaw belonged to the Russian, Lithuanian and Polish aristocratic elite. Most of those salons were open only to an intimate circle of highborn guests, but exceptional talent could merit an introduction to this exclusive society. For the little Fryderyk this occurred through the agency of Princess Ludwika Czetwertyńska.[30] Through her Chopin met Prince Radziwiłł, with whom she was very friendly, and was she who introduced Fryderyk into the house of General Zajączek.[31] But most significantly, being friendly with the Duchess of Łowicz, she was able to bring the young genius into the highest house of Poland, for the Duchess was the Polish wife of Grand Duke Constanine, the brother of

---

[29]A letter from Antoni Eustachy Marylski to Hoesick written in 1900, quoting from his father's memoir (which was a collection of notes). National Library, Warsaw, BN II 7125 k 51-63.

[30]Marceli A. Szulc, 251-54. Chopin became acquainted with the Princess through her sons. Fryderyk and the Czetwertyński brothers--especially the young Prince Boris--developed a friendship while the boys were staying at the Chopins' boarding house. Their mother was a highly educated and a very musical woman. Her salon, frequently hosting musical performances, was among the most elegant in Warsaw. Hoesick, *Chopin,* 1:59. She quickly recognized the little boy's talent, invited him to perform in her salon and introduced him to high society. Karasowski, *Chopin,* 29.

[31]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 314.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Czar Alexander I.[32]

Chopin's relationship with the Russian Imperial family began already in September of 1818, when during the visit paid by the Czar's mother at the University and the Gymnasium, the little composer presented Her Majesty with "two Polish dances of his own making."[33] During his celebrated visit to Poland in 1825, Czar Alexander I himself heard the young Polish genius perform on the *eolimelodicon*. On this occasion, as earlier mentioned, the impressed monarch bestowed diamond rings on both Chopin and Brunner (the creator of this new instrument).[34] However, Fryderyk was best acquainted with the Czar's younger brother.

---

[32]Kolberg, "Chopin," 459. Duke Constantine met his future wife, the Polish noblewoman Joanna Grudzińska (1791-1831) in 1814, in the salon of Adam Broniec [Bronic], Grand Marshal of the Court (d. 1830). (The Marshal was married to Marjanna Grudzińska, née Dorpowska, and thus was a step-father of Duke Constantine's future wife). There he courted her until their marriage in 1820. The social salon at Broniec's palace, which was open to a private circle of the highest society, was frequented by the Duke almost every evening; since Duke Constantine was a great music lover, there was always music accompanying these gatherings. Many musicians and amateurs must have visited the salon. We learn of one Franciszek Skibicki--a student of Field and supposedly a good musician--being frequently invited to Broniec' home. Henrietta Błędowska z Działyńskich, *Pamiątka przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794-1832* [Remembrance of the Past. Memoirs from the Years 1794-1832], ed. K. Kostnicz and Z. Makowiecka (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960), 216-17. No professional musician of this name has been identified so the probable amateur is one of the courtiers, Franciszek Skibicki, Gentleman of the Chamber. *Warsaw Guide 1826*, 5.

[33]*Gazeta Korespondenta*, 6 October 1818, no. 80, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 45.

[34]Ibid., 103.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Grand Duke Constantine (d. 1831) was living in Warsaw as Chief Commander of the Polish Forces. In 1820 Constantine married Grudzińska, after having given up his rights to the Russian throne in exchange for his brother's permission to divorce Duchess Anna.[35] The Duke also had a mistress and an illegitimate son named Paweł, whom he loved dearly and kept in the palace.[36] Constantine often invited young talented boys to keep his young son company.[37] Since the Grand Duke's son took a special liking to Fryderyk, the little pianist was a frequent guest in Belweder. Sometimes Paweł, accompanied by his tutor Count de Moriolles (whose little daughter also was Chopin's playmate), would personally fetch Fryderyk from his home in order to take him for a walk or to Belweder.[38]

Chopin was not invited to the palace just as Paweł's playmate; the Duke was himself very musical and he liked Chopin around for his own pleasure. On the authority of Antoni Jędrzejewicz (the composer's brother-in-law) we are told that Chopin's playing was the only sure method to sooth the Duke's violent temper. In such angry moments the Duchess

---

[35]*Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary] (Wyddawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1960-), 11:246.

[36]Józef Count Krasiński, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs] (Poznań: Kraszewski, 1877), 120.

[37]Frączak, 361 and Napoleon Sierawski, *Pamiętnik* [Memoir] (Lwów, 1905), 7.

[38]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 27. Grand Duke Constantine's residence at Belweder (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

would send for Chopin.[39] During these early years Fryderyk composed a march and dedicated it to Duke Constantine; the little piece very much pleased His Highness.[40] Kolberg hints that it could be the unidentified march published without the author's name between 1818 and the Variations op. 2.[41]

After his marriage to Joanna Grudzińska, Constantine did not provide the lavish and open home expected of the highest family of Poland. Kicka observes that the Duke's court functioned on a small scale and elaborate dinners were seldom given.[42] If we are to believe Count de Moriolles, Belweder was a very unhappy, wearisome and gloomy place; evenings were long and empty, the Duchess was always sick and the Duke increasingly escaped into solitude. Those evenings spent together passed often in silence, which seemed better than uncomfortable conversation. This monotony was only sometimes interrupted by visits, and then Belweder took on some life.[43]

Given the reclusive character of the Duke, his warm interest in Chopin's music strikes an even more sincere note. The amiable relationship with the Duke Constantine must have continued beyond Fryderyk's childhood since Mikołaj Chopin

---

[39]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:61.

[40]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 30. Tradition has it that Constantine had the march orchestrated and performed by military orchestras.

[41]Kolberg, "Chopin," 258.

[42]Kicka, 185.

[43]Moriolles, 102-105.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

uses him as a reference in an 1829 letter:

> His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Chief Commander most graciously often deigned to allow [Fryderyk] to demonstrate his developing talent in his presence.
>
> [Jego Cesarzowiczowska Mosc WX Naczelny Wódz raczył najłaskawiej dozwolić, ażeby nieraz w jego obecności wzrastającego talentu swego mógł dawać dowody][44]

From Fryderyk himself we learn that a year later, when the pianist was leaving Warsaw, the Grand Duke gave him a recommendation to the ambassador in Vienna.[45]

Another scene of Chopin's childhood musical conquests was the salon of Mme. Zajączek. She had an exceptional fondness for Chopin, who was introduced into her house by Princess Czetwertyńska and quickly became her favorite.[46]

General Zajączek, the Viceroy, and the French-born Mme. Zajączek (née Pernaté), kept an appropriately lavish home, which was a meeting place for all classes.[47] Music played an

---

[44]Mikołaj Chopin, Warsaw, to Stanisław Grabowski, Warsaw, 13 April 1829, Sydow edition, 1:88.

[45]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, 1 December 1830, Sydow edition, 1:157.

[46]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 314.

[47]The political position of Mme. Zajączek's husband, the Viceroy, General Józef Zajączek, was quite controversial. He had a splendid patriotic and military past and had been a comrade-in-arms of Kościuszko. However, in his old age this crippled war veteran believed that economic growth was more important for Poland than liberty and so he became a loyal servant of Tsar Alexander I. In return, he received the highest position in the Polish Kingdom. Hoesick, "Luminaries," 314.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

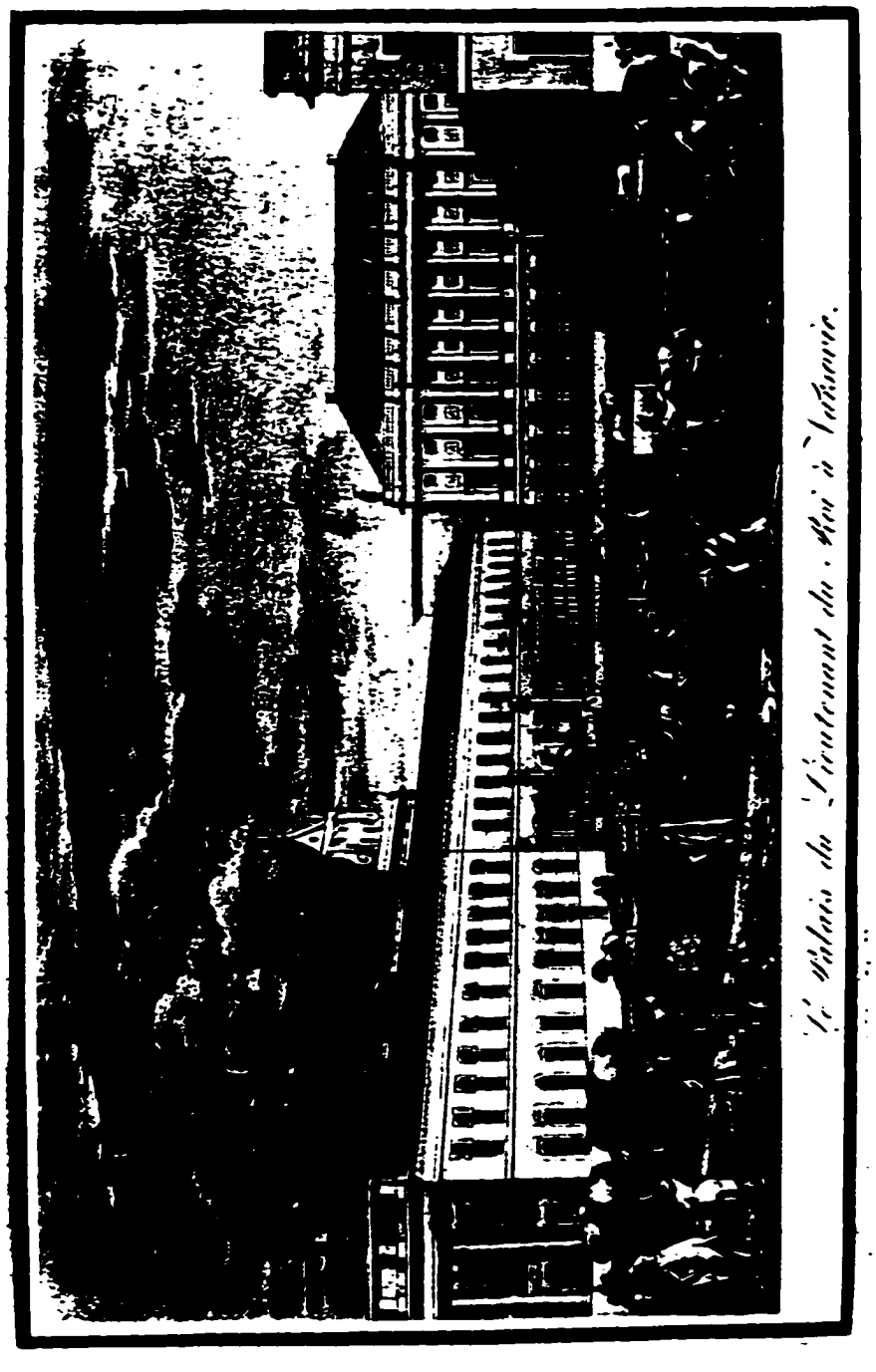


Fig. 28. The Viceroy's Palace; occupied by Count and Countess Zajączek (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important role in their house and Mme. Zajączek took her musical involvement even farther in that she was instrumental in organizing the 1817-1818 series of Sunday matinées in the Sołtyk Palace.[48] The following year she promoted the highly successful choral concert in the Lutheran Church.[49]

During the artistic triumphs of his childhood, Chopin initiated many relationships that opened doors of European salons in his later life. But the most extraordinary musical event of his childhood took place in the house of Konstanty Wolicki.[50] It is here that the little virtuoso was heard by the famous singer Francesca Catalani during her 1819/20 artistic visit to Warsaw, a performance for which the highly impressed diva awarded the little virtuoso a golden watch adorned by an engraved dedication which read:

Mme Catalani
à Fréderic Chopin
agé de 10 Ans
à Varsovie
le 3 Janvier 1820.

Konstanty Wolicki was a wealthy financier who kept two fine

---

[48]*AmZ*, October 1819:711.

[49]Ibid., 712.

[50]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 283. Konstanty Wolicki was related to Francesca Catalani through his French wife (a sister-in-law of the singer) and Catalani was a frequent guest in the Wolicki home during her stay in Warsaw. The Wolicki family was also related to the Wodziński and Skarbek families and thus well-known to the Chopins. Konstanty's father, the senator, lawyer and judge Jan Nepomucen Wolicki (1766-1847), was the brother of the Archbishop of Gniezno-Poznań, Teofil Wolicki (1767-1829), whom Chopin visited on his way to Berlin. Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 27 [September 1828], Sydow edition, 1:85.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

homes, one in Warsaw and one in Paris. His Warsaw home was known for its high-class salon where the arts, especially good music and talented musicians, were always welcome. Chopin was very much liked by both Konstanty and his wife and through them he became acquainted with a younger cousin of the financier also named Konstanty. The younger Konstanty Wolicki was a clerk in the state administration, but more importantly he was a talented amateur composer of church music and conductor.[51] Chopin's association with the Wolicki family went beyond his early years in Warsaw and continued in France. He was a frequent guest in the Parisian house of Mrs. Konstanty Wolicki, who in the meantime remarried and was now Countess Morska.[52]

Chopin's acquaintances with the elite of Warsaw's salons left a trail of dedications. The above-mentioned two Polish dances given to the Czar's mother and the march dedicated to Duke Constantine are no longer extant but other compositions bear witness to Fryderyk's Warsaw associations.

---

[51]After the 1831 Uprising the younger Konstanty Wolicki was exiled to Siberia and continued his musical activities there until his return to Poland. Sowiński, 412-13. Upon his return, he again became involved in musical circles. He participated in Monday gatherings devoted to the performance of chamber music and this gave him the idea of transcribing symphonies for chamber ensembles. *Ruch muzyczny*, 1857, no. 4:27. Subsequently, he came to excel in making arrangements of orchestral works for chamber groups, among others symphonies and overtures by Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Dobrzyński. Among his own compositions most significant were Masses and a Requiem. Hoesick, "Luminaries," 286.

[52]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 283-84.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The E Major "Schweizer Bub" Variations (1830), bearing a dedication to Katarzyna Sowińska, were based on Henrietta Sonntag's performance of the German song "Steh' auf, steh' auf, o du schweizer Bub," which took place during the summer of 1830.[53] Furthermore, in his book on Chopin Marceli Antoni Szulc relates Oskar Kolberg's testimony that these variations (Schweizerbub) were composed at Sowińska's request in her apartment in less than an hour.[54]

The German-born Katarzyna Sowińska, née Schröder, was an ardent music-lover and a great Polish patriot.[55] Fryderyk often visited her salon and usually played four hands with Sowińska. Lengthy eulogies found in the daily press after her death in 1860 noted that "music in particular and art in general occupied her until her death" [Muzyka w szczególności, a sztuka wogóle, zajmowały ją aż do śmierci].[56]

---

[53]Eugeniusz and Jadwiga Szulc, *Cmentarz ewangielicko-reformowany w Warszawie* [The Calvinist Cemetery in Warsaw] (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1989), 220.

[54]Marceli A. Szulc, 45.

[55]She was the wife of General Sowiński, who in the years preceding the Uprising was Mikołaj Chopin's superior at the Military School. Sowiński was Poland's great hero, and the story of his valiant death in the November Uprising became a legend. During the Uprising several ladies, including Sowińska, Tańska-Hoffman and her sister Tarczewska, had created a relief organization. This was no longer salon charity--these brave women personally brought help into the trenches and lazarets. Sowińska was later imprisoned for her activities and after her release the noble widow devoted herself entirely to caring for the needy.

[56]*Gazeta Codzienna,* 21 June 1860, no. 159, quoted in Kraushar, *Polish Women,* 211.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin's Rondo *à la mazur* op. 5, published in 1828, is dedicated to *Mademoiselle la Comtesse Alexandrine de Moriolles*. Aleksandryna de Moriolles, whom Chopin affectionately called "Mariolka," was a daughter of a highly placed courtier, Count Alexandre Nicolai Leonard Carl de Moriolles (born in 1760), who emigrated from France shortly after the Revolution. His adventurous life took him around Europe and in 1821 he arrived in Warsaw, where he became the private tutor of Grand Duke's son.[57] Chopin's friendship, or maybe even a youthful infatuation, with "Moriolka" certainly dates back to their childhood acquaintance, but during his teenage years her name appears frequently in his letters and after Chopin's second public concert:

"Moriolówna" sent me a laurel wreath....

[Moriolówna przysłała mi wieniec laurowy....][58]

Already during his early years Chopin established his relationship with several of the courtiers and officials of the Russian administration. We find many of their names on the pages of Chopin's letters from the Warsaw period. A courtier whose name appears frequently in Chopin's letters is Philippeus [Filipeus].

Colonel Teodor Friedrich Philippeus was the First Aide-

---

[57]Moriolles, 5-7.

[58]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 17 March 1930, Sydow edition, 1:116.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

de-Camp to Duke Constantine.[59] In the 1829 Directory he is also identified as the Court Administrator.[60] Whatever his position, "Filipeus" was very much involved in the musical life of Warsaw and Kolberg informs us that he was a good violist.[61] His home at Senatorska 473 must have frequently been the site of musical performances.[62] One of them is described to us by Chopin himself:

> ... this Monday there was a major soirée at "Filipeus," where Mrs. Sauvan pleasantly sang the duet *[sic]* from *Semiramide*; the duet *buffo* from the *Turk*, sung by Soliva and Gresser, had to be accompanied again on demand.
>
> [... w ten poniedziałek był wieczór duży u Filipeusa, gdzie Pani Sauvan ładnie śpiewała duet z Semiramidy, a duet buffo z Turka, śpiewany przez Soliwę i Gressera, na żądanie powtórnie akompaniować trzeba było.][63]

The above-named Jacques Charles Gresser was a Frenchman administering the printing-house of the Bank of Poland and was not very much liked by Chopin.[64] Hoesick also places many musical soirées in the homes of Lewicki and Gresser.[65] He does not give any further information about Lewicki; however

---

[59]*Warsaw Guide 1826*, 57.

[60]Ibid., 70.

[61]Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 62/2:474.

[62]*Warsaw Guide 1826* and *Warsaw Guide 1829*, directories.

[63]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 10 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117.

[64]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 286-87.

[65]Ibid., 286.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

it is feasible that this music-lover is Michał Lewicki, Commandant of Warsaw.[66] Chopin writes about an upcoming evening at Lewicki's where Hummel's *Sentinella* will be performed; Prince Galitsin will play Rodin's quartet and "my polonaise with the cello, to which I added an Adagio introduction especially for Kaczyński" [mój Polonez z violonczellą, do którego dodałem Adagio introdukcję umyślnie dla Kaczyńskiego].[67]

The Prince Galitsin [Galitzin, Goliacyn, Galicyn, Galicin] mentioned by Chopin is most likely Aleksander, the son of Sergiey.[68] The Galitsins were renowned for their musical patronage; the most eminent was Nikola Galitsin, the cellist who sponsored Beethoven, but he was not alone. The princes Nikola, Sergiey, Lew and Mikhail were all involved in music and regularly visited Szymanowska's musical salon in St. Petersburg.

In 1824 Aleksander Galitsin (1789-1850) married Karolina Teresa Walewska (1778-1846).[69] Even though they resided

---

[66]*Warsaw Guide 1826,* 49

[67]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, 10 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117-18.

[68]Semenovskij, "Chopin's Russian Friends," 65 informs us that two Galitsins--Ivan and Aleksander--were installed in Warsaw by the side of Constantine, but he is incorrect in asserting that there is no information about musical inclinations of either one of Warsaw Galitsins.

[69]She divorced her first husband Colonel Count Chodkiewicz. Stanisław Szenic, *Cmentarz Powązkowski* [The Powązki Cemetery] (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979-1983), 2:65. This wedding date is supported by a remark in Maria

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

outside the capital, they actively participated in Warsaw's social life, as attested not only by Chopin's letter, but also by an 1829 note preserved in the Czartoryski archives that places "Princess Galicin" in Warsaw.[70] Aleksander Galitsin was a good amateur pianist who composed small vocal and instrumental pieces.[71] His wife was also quite musical and composed one of the songs in *Historic Chants*.[72] This musical couple must have been present at many of the capital's musical events. They certainly befriended Maria Szymanowska, who as a token of friendship composed a concert transcription of Galitsin's song "A chaque instant" and dedicated it to him.[73]

There were other musically inclined personages in the court circles. From Chopin's letters we learn of a Russian named Diakov, who lent Chopin his Viennese piano for the March, 1830 concert, and invited Chopin for a musical soirée.[74] Presumably, he meant Petr Diakov, General Attaché

Szymanowska's 1823 letter about Countess Chodkiewicz receiving a divorce and preparing to marry "Prince *Galicyn*." Bełza, *Szymanowska*, 48. Another source, which incorrectly places the marriage in 1814, reports that they settled in Warsaw, but for political reasons he had to resign his military career, move to the suburbs of the capital and eventually leave Poland. *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 8:221.

[70]Dębicki, 4: 316.

[71]Bełza, *Szymanowska*, 33.

[72]*Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 8:221.

[73]Bełza, *Szymanowska*, 33.

[74]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:115 and 117.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

de la Suite de Constantine, Commandant of the 4th Regiment of the Kossacks.[75]

Another name associated--not without some embarrassment--with the great Polish composer is that of Jerzy Okołow. He was a much hated agent of Russia and Novosilcov, placed as the Director of the Royal Accounting Chamber. Chopin's Polish biographers preferred to overlook Okołow's association with the country's greatest musical patriot, but the truth is that Chopin was not very discriminating and chose his acquaintances according to personal rather than political preferences. Regardless of Okolow's political disrepute, Fryderyk knew him and performed in his house.[76]

Given the strong presence of Russian administrators in Warsaw, the need for preservation of distinctively Polish traditions became more urgent. Several homes in the occupied Polish capital, maintained an explicitly Polish style. The most illustrious was the salon of the matriarchal Maria Lanckoronska, née Świdzińska (d. 1826), known as the "Widow of the Castellan of Połaniec." Her salon belonged to the highest society but was open to people of all stations; it maintained ancient Polish traditions, it was old-fashioned, simple, very patriotic and "*terra incognita* to the Russians."[77]

A thoroughly "Polish" home frequented by the young

---

[75]*Warsaw Guide 1826,* 50.

[76]Kolberg, "Chopin," 459.

[77]Skarbek, *Memoirs,* 127.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fryderyk was kept by the popular writer Anna Nakwaska, née Krajewska, the wife of Castellan Franciszek Nakwaski.[78] The lettered lady of the house was remembered as "having the faculty to talk about the old times with a great vigor of thought, opinion and wit" [umiejąca opowiadać o dawnych czasach z wielką żywością myśli, poglądu i dowcipu].[79] She opened an active social salon in 1810, when her husband became the Police Prefect (later he received the rank of a Senator and was appointed a Judge of the Highest Chamber). The Nakwaskis gave dinners twice a week and hosted Wednesday literary meetings and frequent musical evenings.[80] The elite of Warsaw's literati, actors and musicians were included among the guests of those gatherings. Elsner, who frequented their home, informs us that Osiński, the opera director and a literature professor, was a close friend of Prefect Nakwaski.[81] Young talent, including Chopin, was also welcome

---

[78]Nakwaska grew up in a family interested in art and received an thorough French education. Only later, as a married woman, did she educate herself in Polish literature and then became an outspoken opponent of foreign education for young Polish women. Her first literary endeavor was a translation into French of the Princess of Würtemberg's novel *Malwina* (1817). Encouraged by the success of this venture, she moved on to her own literary projects and after 1831 she became known for her books in Polish for commoners and young people. Helena Michałowska, *Salony artystyczno-literackie w Warszawie 1832-1860* [Artistic-Literary Salons in Warsaw 1832-1860] (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), 134.

[79]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 78.

[80]Nakwaska, no. 215:4.

[81]Elsner, *Summary*, 136.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and the composer himself reports his participation in a concert at Nakwaska's house.[82]

A very different atmosphere, far from the nationalism of Nakwaska's salon, permeated the home of Countess Aleksandra (Rozalia) Rzewuska, née Lubomirska (1788-1865). This worldly lady--educated, smart and eloquent--kept an elegant and cosmopolitan salon.[83] In her luxurious salon the Countess hosted many a musical event and Chopin informs us that it was Countess Rzewuska who brought from Vienna the Czech pianist named Czapek.[84] A true embellishment of this salon was the presence of Rzewuska's daughter, Kaliksta (1810-1842), who inherited her mother's intelligence and is said to have placed intellectual aspirations higher than traditional roles for woman.[85] Kaliksta's father, Wacław Rzewuski-Emir (d. 1831), was himself a great music lover and an amateur composer (of among other works, a requiem, a song in *Historic Chants*, romances and dramatic scenes on texts by Walter Scott,

---

[82]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117.

[83]Countess Rzewuska's opposition to all nationalistic and revolutionary ideas was the consequence of a terrible personal tragedy: her mother, a Polish aristocrat residing in Paris, had been caught in the political turmoil of the French Revolution and guillotined.

[84]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Biskupiec, [24 December 1825], Sydow edition, 1:62.

[85]Kraushar, *Salons*, 24.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Petrarch and Dante).[86]

The list of homes that witnessed Chopin's performances also includes the names of Lubecki, Lubomirski and Łubieński.[87] Franciszek Ksawery Prince Drucki-Lubecki, who served as the Minister of Treasury and Finance, held social gatherings in his salon and was depicted as a man of great intelligence, although he lacked thorough education.[88] The Lubomirskis were renowned for their artistic interests and the acclaimed musical salon of Princess Teresa Jabłonowska, née Lubomirska, has been given greater consideration below, page 361. The brothers of Princess Jabłonowska--Edward, Kazimierz and Józef--also mingled in the artistic circles. Edward Lubomirski (1796-1823) was a writer, a poet (whose work was admired, among others, by Brodziński) and an enthusiastic supporter of the new Romantic tendencies.[89] But given the limited information, it is impossible to determine which Lubomirski hosted Chopin's childhood performances.[90] The identity of the Łubienski poses some problems, since again we

---

[86]Count Rzewuski, whose adventurous life embodied every Romantic ideal, was fascinated with the East, knew Arabic and spent many years living in Arabia. *Ruch muzyczny,* 1859, no. 29:249-252. Given his frequent travels, it stands to reason that his marriage was not very successful; eventually his wife moved to Vienna and he settled in his estate in Podole. Kołaczkowski, 31.

[87]Karasowski, *Chopin,* 29.

[88]Kicka, 113.

[89]*Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 18:8-9.

[90]Karasowski, *Chopin,* 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are dealing with a large family of this name, many of whom were highly musical.

Countess Teresa Tekla, née Bielińska Łubienska (1767-1810), and her husband Feliks Łubienski (1758-1848), who served as the Minister of Justice during the Duchy of Warsaw, belonged to a family with great patronage traditions.[91] The numerous dedications found in contemporary musical works bear witness to her position in musical circles. These artistic interests she bestowed on her children. Of her seven sons and three daughters, Henryk, Józef and Róża were the ones most committed to music.

Róża (1799-1880) was married to Ludwik Sobański and together they hosted a popular musical salon. Józef (1796-1885) wrote lyric melodramas; one of them *The Harvesters [Zniwiarze]* was set to music by Kozłowski and performed during the wedding of Prince Michał Ogiński and Marya Ogińska in 1821.[92] The most probable host of Chopin's performances, though, was Henryk (1793-1883), who after Tekla's death in

---

[91]Already the old Bieliński, Countess Tekla's father, involved himself with Warsaw's musical world; when Elsner and Father Cybulski were establishing the first music printing shop, he donated an old pewter dish-set to be melted into typeset. Tekla herself was a translator of Racine, Metastasio and Voltaire and an author of comedies and dramas. *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 18:471-72. Her tragedy *Wanda* was one of the earliest dramatic works on a national theme performed in the National Theater. Sowiński, 243. She also wrote a melodrama entitled *Charlemagne and Vitkind [Karol Wielki i Witykind]*, for which Elsner provided music. This production was created expressly for the arrival of the Saxon king as the ruler of the Duchy of Warsaw. Elsner, *Summary*, 46.

[92]Sowiński,243.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1810 inherited the Bieliński-Łubieński Palace at Marszałkowska and Królewska streets.[93]

Henryk Łubieński was adored in Warsaw's salons and was engaged in a wide variety of projects. He assisted Zofia Zamoyska in the creation of the Charitable Society.[94] He was also the director of the Polish Bank and headed the Merchant Club committee. This involvement with the Merchant Club kept him in close association with the Cichocki family and other music-lovers. As a token of gratitude for his commitment to advance music, Chopin's Conservatory colleague Ignacy Dobrzyński honored his name-day with a specially composed cantata, which was performed by a solo quartet (made up of the Turowski family) and a mixed choir.[95]

The sources name several other social salons that had frequent musical performances. We are told that a Gentleman of the Chamber, Emanuel Brzostowski (whose son was a very talented singer) kept musical soirées in his salon, where one could find the choicest of Warsaw society: Prince Adam Czartoryski, the Zamoyskis, the Jabłonowskis, Niemcewicz and

---

[93]Tomasz Wentworth Łubienski, *Henryk Łubienski i jego bracia* [Henryk Łubienski and his Brothers] (Kraków: Gebethner, 1886), 35.

[94]Ibid., 47.

[95]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *Ignacy Dobrzyński w zakresie działalności dążącej do postępu muzyki współczesnej jemu epoce* [Ignacy Dobrzyński in the Arena of Activities Aiming at Musical Progress during his Time] (Warszawa: Felicyia Krokoszyńska, 1893), 30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Platers.[96] We also hear about the widow of the Polish hero, General Mokronowski, who married a younger military man and, until her death in 1827, led a very busy social salon open to all guests. It attracted higher strata of society, mainly the military crowd. Here the guests were more likely to talk social gossip than discuss serious matters.[97] Yet, the hospitality and entertaining atmosphere made it one of the most frequented homes and a very likely place for the child prodigy Chopin to perform.[98]

It is impossible and unnecessary to trace every significant Warsaw household visited by Chopin, but the preceding excursion into the world of high society surrounding the young composer presents an intriguing picture of the Polish capital during first decades of the nineteenth-century. Within those circles we perceive an earnest desire for sophisticated entertainment and a sincere concern for the quality of Polish art. Even the socialites are involved with the most burning political, social and aesthetic issues. But most importantly, in many of the highest households one finds an atmosphere of respect for the Polish language and native culture growing within the context of the emerging Romanticism as we shall see in the next chapter.

---

[96]Kołaczkowski, 3:39-40.

[97]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 126.

[98]Frączyk, 355.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. INTELLECTUAL SALONS

In the National Museum in Cracow there exists a copy of a celebrated 1815 treatise on rhetoric by Stanisław Potocki entitled *On Articulation and Style [O wymowie i stylu];* the Cracow exemplar is inscribed with Fryderyk Chopin's name in the adolescent composer's own hand.[1] This volume--a publication particularly influential in reclaiming the noble status of the Polish language--stands as a witness to Fryderyk's involvement with the intellectual trends sweeping Warsaw during the first part of the nineteenth century.

Whereas the typical social salon followed new cultural tendencies, the more aspiring circles, which I will call "intellectual salons" or "literary salons," were in the avant-garde of cultural events. The intellectual salon was not just a recipient of ideas engendered by the artistic and intellectual renaissance taking place in Warsaw during Chopin's youth, but more significantly it was where much of the new ideology and aesthetics were generated. Social class and age considerations influenced the nature of Warsaw's intellectual salons, but these were often overlooked by participants enthralled in the pursuit of beauty and knowledge. Though the aristocracy and the intelligentsia usually made up two separate groups, the boundaries between

---

[1]Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 53.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

them were frequently traversed in the salon setting.

The two most impressive of Warsaw's earliest intellectual salons belonged to Stanisław Sołtyk and Stanisław Potocki, the latter being the author of the aforementioned treatise on language. These two eminent men were present on the Polish political and cultural scene since the time of King Stanisław August, and their endeavours were essential to the rebirth of learning in the occupied Poland.

Castellan Stanisław Count Sołtyk and his wife Karolina, née Sapieha (1759-1814), organized regular meetings in their salon as early as the time of the Prussian rule of Warsaw. Their salon maintained a purely Polish character in contrast to the French influences that prevailed in Józef Poniatowski's Palace Under Tin Roof. The soul of the gatherings at the Sołtyks was the engaging hostess, who was determined to maintain a Polish home against the prevailing fashion and the ridicule of ladies from her class.[2] This is not to imply that foreigners were excluded from the Sołtyk salon; for example, a vast amount of intellectual energy came from an Italian antiquities scholar, Padre Albertrandi. Entirely devoted to the survival of Polish culture, he was one of the many fascinating and brilliant people visiting the Sołtyks, who in November of 1800 established the Society for the Friends of Learning *[Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk]*.[3]

---

[2]Skarbek, *Seglas' Memoirs*, 145.

[3]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 108.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stanisław Kostka Count Potocki (1755-1821) was a cultural activist, one of the creators of the Society for the Friends of Learning and founder of the magazine *The Warsaw Memoir [Pamietnik Warszawski]*, for which he wrote regularly under the name of *Świstek*, presenting social and literary critiques in satirical form. In 1815 he became the Minister of Public Education and Religions, and in this capacity he was one of the founders of Warsaw University. Unfortunately, his progressive ideas about religious matters gave his opponents a reason to remove him from his political office.[4]

The Potocki Palace at Krakowskie Przedmieście was the location of a social/literary salon that was frequented by the older generation and especially favoured by Niemcewicz, who was seen there daily.[5] The Potocki family had a great interest in music. The Minister's brother, Ignacy Count Potocki (d. 1809), had a great deal of musical knowledge: in fact, in February of 1818 *The Warsaw Memoir* published his discourse on the Polish composers of the sixteenth century.[6] The Potockis' niece, Laura Countess Potocka also showed interest in music and composed the song "Władysław Łokietek" for Niemcewicz's *Historic Chants*. Elsner dedicated several funeral compositions, including *De profundis* (all published by Brzezina), to the memory of Ignacy and Stanisław Potocki, for

---

[4]Wójcicki, *Warsaw*, 68-74.

[5]Kołaczkowski, 3:30.

[6]Sowiński, 313.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which Countess Aleksandra Potocki gave him a snuff-box that had belonged to her husband, Count Stanisław.[7]

During the 1820s the Potocki and Sołtyk salons were no longer the major forces of intellectual progress. The elderly and widowed Count Sołtyk ceased to hold meetings in his own house, but continued to participate in literary meetings especially at the homes of Minister Mostowski and Miss Klementyna Tańska. In 1825 he was accused of treason and imprisoned by the Russian authorities. During his incarceration, which lasted until 1828, he suffered paralysis--no doubt this painful ordeal accelerated his demise.[8] Potocki had passed away even earlier, in 1821, but Chopin probably still had the honor of meeting him, when as a child he performed in his distinguished home.[9] The Minister's wife, Aleksandra, née Lubomirska, Potocka, who "was one of the most eminent ladies in Warsaw" *[należała do dam najpoważniejszych w Warszawie]*, continued to receive her distinguished guests in a salon which attempted to reconcile patriotic and cosmopolitan tendencies.[10] The Countess organized periodical amateur theatrical performances, and Chopin's casual remark about his presence during such a performance suggests that

---

[7]Elsner, *Summary*, 36-37.

[8] Sołtyk was defended by Marceli Tarczewski the husband of Aleksandra Tańska, and released on the 24th of May, 1828. Hoffman, *Memoirs*, 147.

[9]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:52.

[10]Kołaczkowski, 3:30.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this was not an isolated event: he must have attended frequently.[11]

Chopin's talent earned the admiration of the aristocratic intelligentsia: highly educated, refined, wealthy, the leaders in every aspect of Polish life. Among these families, the unequivocal leaders were the intermarried homes of the Czartoryskis and the Zamoyskis. Count Skarbek presents us with the following description of these two families:

> Both homes (...) were models of fine manners, national aspirations and strict preservation of social dignity. In the attempt to bring closer people of learning and people of the world, these hospitable abodes received all people distinguished in literature and fine arts and no less those endowed with higher talents, even though both groups lacked the refinement that is usualy dictated by worldly elegance.
>
> [Oba domy (...) były wzorami dobrego tonu, narodowej dążności i ścisłego zachowania godności towarzyskiej. W zamiarze zbliżania z sobą ludzi nauki z ludźmi światowymi, przyjmowano w gościnnych tych progach, wszystkich odznaczających się w literaturze i sztukach pięknych, niemniej obdarzonych wyższymi talentami, choćby jednym i drugim zbywało na tej ogładzie, jakiej elegancyja światowa dopominać się zwykła.][12]

The Czartoryski family was long famous for art patronage, but Izabela Czartoryska, née Fleming (1746-1835), was particularly a lady of extraordinary intellect and artistic taste. This matriarch was one of the pioneers of Romanticism in Poland; her own aesthetic preferences made her rebel

---

[11]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117.

[12]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 125.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

against neo-classical attitudes. A two-volume commonplace-book of poetic and literary excerpts written in her own hand best testifies to her interests: Troubadour poems, chivalric epics, Provençal songs, Scandinavian, Germanic and Slavic myths.[13]

After 1784, when the Czartoryskis acquired a country estate in Puławy, Izabela's Romantic tastes became even more evident. In her description of the English garden in her new estate, she clearly articulated her intentions of breaking away from French pseudo-classicism:

> Unnatural things cannot please--only things in which nature seems at its most perfect are pleasing; to me forced shapes in trees seem to be disgusting: shaped into columns or knobs, or opened into fans they are no adornment for any site. Trimmed spruce trees, tormented hornbeams, cut linden trees always offend, never decorate.
>
> [Nienaturalne rzeczy w niczem podobać się nie mogą - dopieróż w tych, gdzie natura zdaje się najdoskonalszą, przymuszone kształty w drzewach podług mnie sa obrzydliwymi: obcinane w kolumny, w gałki, czyli rozpinane w wachlarze żadnego miejsca nie zdobią. Okrzesane świerki, męczone graby, podcięte lipy zawsze szpecą, nigdy nie stroją.][14]

Undeniably such an approach to gardening was a milestone in aesthetic thinking in Poland, but the most famous aspect of Izabela's estate at Puławy were the two structures which she had built in the park: the Temple of the Sibyl and the Gothic House. These buildings housed monuments of Polish history: they enshrined the essence of Polish patriotism. The Temple

---

[13]Dębicki, 4:100.

[14]Ibid., 1:129.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the Sibyl was older; it dated to 1800. In it one could see shields with coats of arms belonging to the most magnificent families, spoils taken in distant wars, the arms and armor of Polish knights and kings.[15] Here, in a gloomy half-shade, the visitor was taken through the thousand years of Polish history. The Gothic House, opened in 1809, was almost entirely built of fragments that came from historical sites and structures around Poland--stone, brick, wooden and marble architectural elements.[16]

Puławy quickly became a place of pilgrimage for Poles, especially the fiery, young, emotional Romantics. Chopin must have heard much about Puławy, though he probably never visited the estate, and in his letter to Jan Matuszyński (who saw Puławy) written during a trip to Toruń (when Fryderyk saw the birthplace of Copernicus), Chopin compares his experience to Matuszyński's:

> What did you see in Puławy? What? You saw only a small part of that seen by my eyes in its entirety. Presumably you had seen in [the Temple of] the Sibyl one little brick taken from the home of Copernicus, the place of his birth? and I saw the entire house, the entire place....
>
> [Cóżeś widział w Puławach? Cóż? Widziałeś część tylko małą tego, na co moje oczy w całości spoglądały. Wszakżeś widział w Sybilli cegiełkę wyjętą z domu Kopernika, z miejsca jego urodzenia? a ja widziałem cały ten dom, całe to miejsce....][17]

---

[15]Ibid., 1:254-270.

[16]Ibid., 1:271-278.

[17]Fryderyk Chopin, Szafarnia, to Jan Matuszyński, Warsaw, [begining of August 1825], Sydow edition, 1:51.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the splendid setting of Puławy Izabela surrounded her five children Adam Jerzy, Maria, Zofia, Konstanty and Teressa Anna with the best tutors, mentors, role models and young people--rich or poor, but always exceptionaly stimulating and inspiring. Thus Puławy became a whole colony; an intellectual and artistic nest. Princess Izabela Czartoryska, who herself was very musical and had a beautiful voice, made sure that there was good music in her residence at Puławy and in the local parish church. The music at her court was supervised by the elder Lessel (Wincenty), who was a superb musician; in addition to these duties he also directed the Singing School.[18] His son, Franciszek Lessel, one of Haydn's most talented pupils, also worked for the Czartoryski family, as a steward for Princess Maria Würtemberg. Although he left music as a profession, he never ceased to compose and to participate in musical performances.[19] In Puławy he was in the company of fine musicians educated by his father: Princess Maria, her very musical brother Konstanty and Cecylia Beydale.[20]

Chopin performed many times in the Warsaw home of the Czartoryskis.[21] In the capital, social gatherings organized

---

[18]Sowiński, 67.

[19]Lessel, 58.

[20]Cecylia Beydale (believed to be Fryderyk Lessel's great love), who was introduced to the world as a distant relative of the Czartoryskis but was probably Princess Izabella's out-of-wedlock child, was exceedingly musical and composed of one of the *Historical Chants*.

[21]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by Izabela's husband, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, and their five children took place in the family's residence known as the Azure *[Błękitny]* Palace.[22] Prince Adam Kazimierz (1734-1823) was a devoted patron of the arts and personally wrote a few dramatic works that were performed in Warsaw. The first number of *Czasopismo* in 1828 published his "Dictionary of Old Musical Instruments in Poland," which contained a clear and detailed description of forty-five musical instruments.[23] Perhaps most telling is the 1815 dedication by Elsner of *Veni sancte spiritus* (published by Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig) to "Prince A. Czartoryski, the patron of Society for the Friends of Church Music *[Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzyki Kościelnej]*."[24]

Chopin also dedicated several of his compositions to the members of the Czartoryski family. On his Mazurkas op. 30 we find inscription to Princess Maria Würtemberg, the eldest daughter of Izabela and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. Princess Würtemberg was a respected writer and author of the acclaimed romance *Malwina*, which was published in 1817 and very highly regarded both in Poland and in France, even by the most

---

[22]This palace had belonged to the Czartoryskis since the time of King Stanisław August, when the father of Adam Kazimierz, Prince August Aleksander Czartoryski, purchased the Azure Palace and made it a home of learned discussion for literati and scholars. Kraushar, *Salons*, 10.

[23]Sowiński, 66-67.

[24]Elsner, *Summary*, 33.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

demanding academics.[25] She also was an ardent music lover and the composer of the melody to "Stefan Batory" from *Historic Chants*.[26] From contemporary sources we get an impression of her being quite an able musician. For instance, in a letter to her mother from 1809, Maria writes about studying every day with [Franciszek] Lessel in preparation for a sung Mass that she will soon attempt with Ms. Najemska, Szczurowski and Kratzer (renowned professional singers).[27] At a later date, we are told by Klementyna Tańska Hoffman, how Princess Maria delighted and comforted her dying father with her keyboard playing.[28]

The most musical of Izabella's children was undoubtedly Konstanty Adam Czartoryski (1773-1860), who played the violin and the piano and sang. He delighted in great music (especially Viennese, French and Italian styles), collected fine art (Raphael, Greuse, Van der Welde and others) and surrounded himself with extraordinary people. After he settled in Vienna in 1829, his salon became well known in the artistic circles. His children, who inherited Konstanty's love for music, participated in his musical endeavors (they were also involved in musical journalism and organization of

---

[25]Czesław Pieniążek, *O autorkach polskich a w szczególności o Sewerynie Duchińskiej* [On Polish Female Writers, Especially Seweryna Duchińska] (Poznań: Merzbach, 1872), 10.

[26]Sowiński, 419.

[27]Dębicki, 4:173.

[28]Hoffman, *Memoirs*, 1:109.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musical life in Vienna).[29] In the 1840s Konstanty Czartoryski held quartet Thursdays frequented by Berlioz, David, Meyerbeer, Thalberg, Vieuxtemps, Dreischock, Servais, the violinist Mayseder, et alia. Even the great Liszt honored Konstanty's soirées with his presence.[30] In this salon his daughter-in-law Marcelina Czartoryska, née Radziwiłł (1817-1894,) presented the music of her teacher and dearest friend, Fryderyk Chopin.[31]

Another dedication, on Chopin's Rondo *á la Krakowiak* in F Major, op. 14, bears the name of Anna Czartoryska, née Sapieha. She was the wife of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770-1861), the most prominent of Izabela's children, who hosted salon meetings for Warsaw's highest society. Prince Adam received an exhaustive education in preparation for a splended political career, but through his strong patriotic stand he brought upon himself, quite predictably, the wrath of the Russian authorities: imprisonment and, after the November Uprising, the confiscation of his properties and exile in France. His Parisian home, Hôtel Lambert, became a center of Polish emigré life and housed the most important exile institutions--political, educational and cultural. For Chopin it became a second home in foreign land.

In Warsaw, Czartoryski lived in the small Branicki Palace

---

[29]*Ruch muzyczny*, 1860, no. 24:392.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Dębicki, 4:345-48.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with his wife Anna (1799-1864) and his mother-in-law Princess Anna Sapieha, née Zamoyska (Chopin also performed in the Sapieha home).[32] Thus, Prince Adam was doubly related to the Zamoyskis through his wife and through his sister Zofia (married to Stanisław Kostka Count Zamoyski).

A direct mention of the Zamoyskis comes from Chopin's letter of May 8, 1826, when he was present at a Sunday evening at their house:

> ... Sunday, today a week ago, I was at the Zamoyskis, where almost the entire evening they admired Długosz's *eolipantalion*.
>
> [... w niedzielę, dziś tydzień, byłem u Zamoyskich, gdzie admirowali przez cały prawie wieczór eolipantalion Długosza.][33]

By no means was it Chopin's first visit to this distinguished household, since he is known to have performed there as a child.[34]

The fine salon of Voivod Stanisław Kostka Count Zamoyski and Zofia Countess Zamoyska, née Czartoryska, existed already during the time of Duchy of Warsaw. In 1811 they purchased the Azure Palace from the Czartoryski family and in it they held an eminent salon. The home of the Zamoyskis was not open; only special guests of great merit were invited

---

[32]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 29.

[33]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, [15 May 1826], Sydow edition, 1:65.

[34]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:52.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 29. Countess Zofia Zamoyska neé Czartoryska (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

there.[35] After 1816, when Zamoyski became the head of the Senate, they invited high officials, members of the social elite, literati, journalists and musicians. Particularly celebrated were the Literary Fridays during the winter of 1827, which were kept in honor of the imprisoned Adam Jerzy Czartoryski.[36]

Zofia Zamoyska was, in her own words, a good musician and had a good piano teacher (Wincenty Lessel) but she wasted her talent.[37] She reputedly had a pleasant voice and frequently tried her hand at composing music; among other things she wrote music to "Jan Zamoyski" from *Historic Chants*. She was well known in the Polish capital for her involvement with charities, particularly as the head of the Benevolent Society *[Towarzystwo Dobroczynności]*. One finds somewhat conflicting information pertaining to her involvement with the emerging musical institutions. In 1810 she is said to have been involved in the creation of the Drama School, and in 1815 she became a president of the Music Society (which later became the Conservatory).[38] From Oskar Kolberg we learn that:

> ... during the year 1815 artists and amateurs under the patronage of Countess Zofia Zamoyska charged Elsner with the creation of a school for organists.
>
> [... w roku 1815 artyści i amatorowie pod opieką

---

[35]Kicka, 185.

[36]Odyniec, 322.

[37]Dębicki, 4:288.

[38]Sowiński, 424.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hr. Zofii Zamoyskiej poruczyli mu [Elsnerowi] urządzenie szkoły organistów.][39]

The editor of Kolberg's writings suggests that his report refers to the creation on September 5, 1814 of the Society for Religious and National Music *[Towarzystwo Muzyki Religijnej i Narodowej]*, which had as its goal not only providing regular music for the mass at the Piarists' Church, but also the training of musicians.[40] Notwithstanding the details of the history of Warsaw's music school, Zofia Zamoyska stands as a prominent supporter of musical education and music at large.

The Azure Palace, famous for its magnificent library, was kept in a totally English style; that included even the education of the ten Zamoyski children. Count Zamoyski himself more resembled an English Lord than a Polish magnate.[41] The Palace housed several literary and cultural establishments (the literary salon of Tańska and in later years Pruszak's musical evenings). Several outstanding young people involved in cultural activities were invited to live in the Palace;

---

[39]Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 61/2:403.

[40]Ibid. Professor Jerzy Gołos suggests that Warsaw had two higher-level music schools, the state-run Conservatory attended by Chopin and the public *Instytut Muzyki i Deklamacji* (under the auspices of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music, located in the buildings of the Piarist church). Since both institutions were headed by Elsner and shared some of the teachers and classes, it is at times hard to discern between the two schools that were actually inextricably interwoven. The schools are listed separately in the *Warsaw Guide 1826* and *Warsaw Guide 1829*. It is beyond the scope of the present study, but the matter certainly invites closer investigation.

[41]Kołaczkowski, 3:34.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

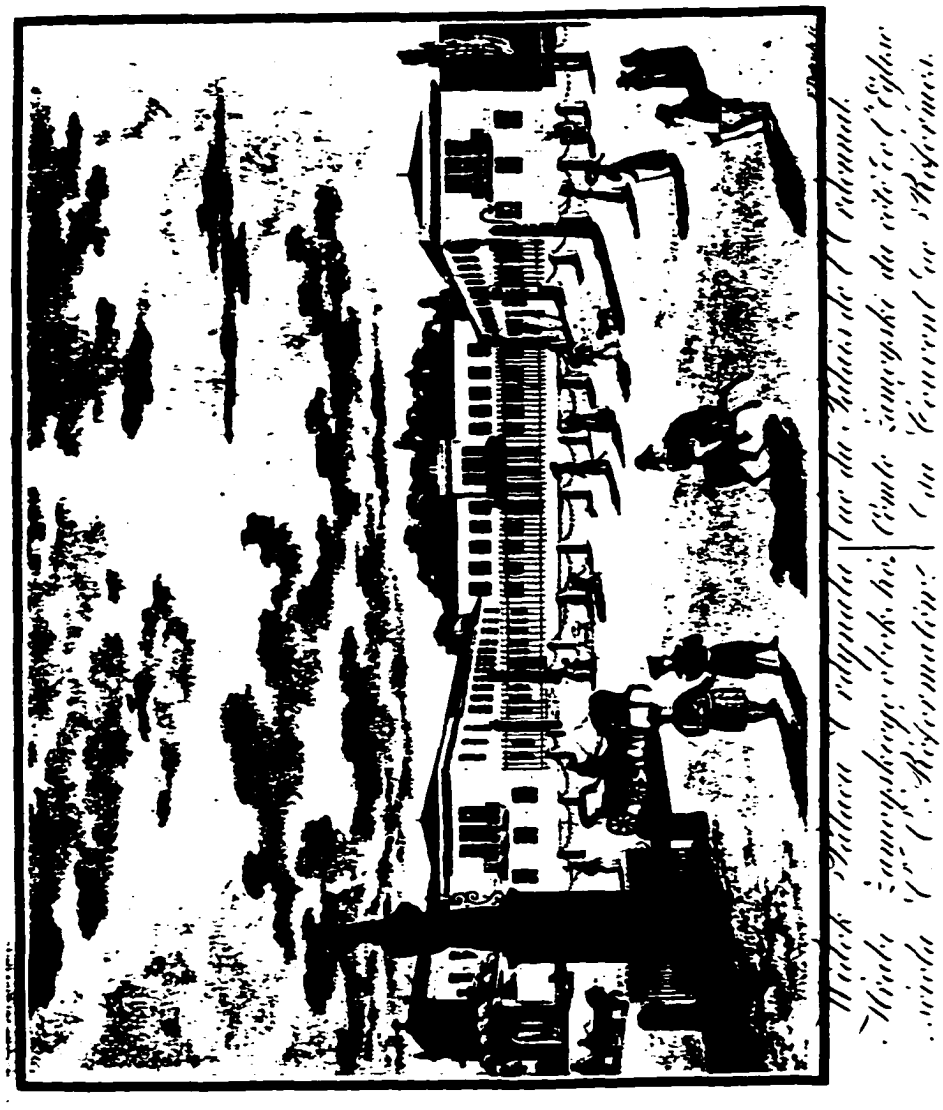


Fig. 30. The Zamoyski Palace (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

among these were the realist writer Józef Korzeniewski, the Italian painter Luigi Rubio, the poet Antoni Edward Odyniec and, during the years 1822-28, the writer Klementyna Tańska.

The enthusiasm with which Chopin, in a letter to his family, recounts lodging in Ojców in a room once used by Klementyna Tańska seems to presuppose his sisters' admiration for the acclaimed writer:

> He gave us a room under the rock, in a house built expressly for tourists. Izabella! (...) there where Miss Tańska has lodged!
>
> [Dał nam pokoik pod skała, w domku umyślnie dla turystów zbudowanym. Izabello! (...) tam gdzie panna Tańska stała!][42]

Klementyna Tańska (1798-1845) was a talented writer of various kinds of books, but children knew her best for her publication of *Diversions for Children [Rozrywki dla dzieci]*, a magazine which was well known in the Chopin household. From the above-cited letter it appears that Fryderyk, his sisters and friends were well familiar with Tańska's celebrated description of Ojców near Cracow. Since the magazine was conceived to inspire writing, it was especially loved by little Emilia Chopin--a child with uncommon literary talents.[43]

Tańska was one of the first women for whom writing was not just a hobby but also a means of support, for no other

---

[42]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, 1 August 1829, Sydow edition, 1:89.

[43]Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery*, 2:16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sources of income were available to her until at the age of thirty (1829) she married Karol Hoffman, a gifted and diligent writer.[44] The talented young woman, inspired by Brodziński's call for the restoration of the Polish language, began her profesional writing career in 1817.[45] She wrote for adults and for children, books and articles, but the purity of the Polish language remained of utmost importance to her. During meetings in her house, she put out a collection box. There, one would place money as a penalty for using a French word, in place of a suitable Polish equivalent.[46]

Starting during the winter of 1823, the three Tański sisters hosted regular salon meetings at their homes. Klementyna invited guests every Tuesday, her older sister Aleksandra Tarczewska had Sunday and Wednesday evening gatherings and their beloved younger sister Maria Hermann, who died young of tuberculosis, was a hostess to Thursday meetings. Among the young writers, poets and philosophers was

---

[44]The impoverished Tański family was brought to Warsaw by Prince Adam Czartoryski, who hired Klementyna's father; little Klementyna joined her family in Warsaw in 1805. Pienazek, 12. Prince Adam continued helping the family and in 1822 the sisters and their sick widowed mother moved to a wing of the Azure Palace. Hoffman, *Memoirs*, 1:97-98.

[45]Pienążek, 12.

[46]Wójcicki, *Warsaw*, 144. Apart from her professional activities Miss Tańska became involved in altruistic projects. In 1825, she was invited by Zofia Zamoyska to join the Benevolent Society, which oficially began her charitable contribution to Poland's needy. Hoffman, *Memoirs*, 1:126. Through the courage and devotion with which she cared for the sick, wounded and dying during the November Uprising, she gained a lasting place in the Polish history.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

also the elderly Sołtyk, who participated in the weekly literary sessions.[47]

Of the three sisters it was Aleksandra who had the greatest love for music. It was she who described their first meeting with the little pianist named Chopin during an evening in the house of Olimpia and Tomasz Grabowski (the director of Commission for the Religions), where a group of friends frequently met for social and literary conversations:

> During the course of the evening young Chopin, a child of eight years, played the clavichord. He promises, connoisseurs maintain, to replace Mozart, so soon is he starting to compose.
>
> [W przeciągu wieczora grał na klawikordzie młody Chopin, dziecię w ósmym roku. Obiecuje, jak twierdzą znawcy, zastąpić Mozarta, tak rychło zaczyna komponować.][48]

This meeting must have initiated a rather close association for in volume VII of her journal, Tańska with affection wrote about the Chopins and when Emilia died, she published a lengthy eulogy.[49] She maintained a good relationship with the Chopins through the years, and evidently kept up her interest in Fryderyk's musical endeavors since in 1830 she wrote to Chopin's sisters asking for help in obtaining a

---

[47]Hoffman, *Memoirs*, 1:106-107.

[48]Aleksandra Tarczewska (Tańska). *Historia mojego życia* [The History of My Life], ed. I. Kaniowska-Lewańska (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1967), 50.

[49]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 224.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ticket for Chopin's March 22 concert.[50] In 1831, after her brave involvement with the November Uprising, she left the country and settled in Paris, where she was a part of the Polish artistic and political circle gathering in Hôtel Lambert; and thus she kept in close touch with Chopin.

While Chopin was enjoying his youthful artistic triumphs, another child named Zygmunt Krasiński (1812-1859) amazed Warsaw with his improvised poetry. In fact Chopin's 1818 public debut was also Krasiński's first open performance. This young son of Count Wincenty Krasiński was to become one of the most important Polish Romantic poets.

During the years 1820-27 General Voivod Wincenty Count Krasiński (1782-1858) and his wife Maria Urszula, née Princess Radziwiłł, hosted one of the most important of Warsaw's literary salons. The meetings took place in their splendid palace, which housed a magnificent gallery of paintings and a sizable library.[51] The General, who had many friends among the older generation of Warsaw's literati, gladly extended his hospitality to the younger generation and even provided patronage for aspiring artists.[52]

The literary gatherings which took place in the Krasiński Palace were considered the most pleasant and cheerful in

---

[50]Mieczysław Karłowicz, *Niewydane dotychczas pamiątki o Chopinie* [Heretofore Unpublished Chopin Memorabilia] (Warszawa, 1904), 376 quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 245.

[51]Wielisław, *Friday Evanings*, 117.

[52]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Warsaw. There, one would find the older generation of writers and poets Niemcewicz, Osiński, Koźmian and Fredro; scholars and university professors Linde, Lelewel, Bentkowski, Brodziński, Ciampi and Szubert; and the young witers and poets Korzeniowski, Odyniec and Grzymała.[53] During these gatherings Koźmian, Osiński and Morawski, who sturdily guarded the old values, were confronted by the young Romantics, especially Odyniec.[54]

> From the time when Osiński began his literature class in the University building and every Saturday gave lectures between 3 and 4, straight after the lecture, the society--including Osiński--gathered in the house of General Krasiński for dinner. How much learning, amusement and cheer accompanied these gatherings, for the host--an enthusiast of learning and literature--was gracious, generous, cheerful and witty; he encouraged and permitted good humor.
>
> [Od czasu jak Osiński rozpoczął swój kurs literatury w gmachu uniwersyteckim, i w soboty od 3 do 4 odbywał prelekcye, zwykłe domu jenerała Krasińskiego towarzystwo, a więc i Osiński, zbierałó się u niego o 4tej na obiad, prosto udając się z prelekcyi. Ileż wśród tych zebrań i nauki, i zabawy, i wesołości: bo gospodarz miłośnik nauk i literatury, był gościnny, hojny, wesoły, dowcipny, pobudzał do żartów i dozwalał ich.][55]

Since during the years 1826-28 Chopin attended Osiński's lectures, it might have been his privilage to spend some Saturday afternoons in this choice company. There, he would have certainly met the young Count Zygmunt, whom the

---

[53]Andrzej E. Koźmian, "Images," 20-21.

[54]Dmochowski, 327.

[55]Andrzej E. Koźmian, "Images," 21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literature professor Kazimierz Brodziński considered his best student.[56]

Zygmunt Krasiński, like Fryderyk, was destined to spend most of his adult life away from Poland, though the cause of his exile was deeply personal. The young poet's travels away from home had their root in the ideological conflicts he had with his much-loved father.[57] General Krasiński represented rather controversial political tendencies and his ostensibly most embarassing and enraging political act (which made him an outcast in the public opinion) took place in 1828 when he was the only senator to condemn Polish patriotic organizations.[58] This action conclusively distanced Zygmunt from his father and caused him to spend years roaming aimlessly around Europe.[59] The person who accompanied him during his exile was his doctor Ludwik Sauvan, whose involvement with Warsaw's musical salons is recounted below (see page 373).

---

[56]Kicka, 127.

[57]Ibid., 126.

[58]*Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 15:196.

[59]At the end of 1838, in Naples, Zygmunt Krasiński met Countess Delfina Potocka who for many years remained the object of his ardent love. *Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 15:199-204. Delfina was also a student and a friend of Chopin to whom he dedicated his Concerto in F Minor, op. 21 and Waltz op. 64 no 1. Much speculation has been made concerning an alleged affair between the composer and this beautiful lady, but the letters that were at the source of these theories proved to be falsifications. Eigeldinger, 143. However, the Countess was a close friend of Fryderyk and remained near him in his last days.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Krasiński family belonged to a large circle of aristocratic salons that considered matters of literary and theatre criticism to be of utmost importance. In fact, they were organized into a group of critics, who in the years 1815-19 wrote theater reviews signed X, hence were known as the Society of Exes *[Towarzystwo Iksów]*. The principal members of the Society were: Prince Adam Czartoryski, General Krasiński, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, the Plater brothers, Maksymilian Fredro, Kajetan Koźmian, ladies versed in literary matters--Princess Würtemberg, Róża Mostowska and Zofia Zamoyska--and the founder of the society, Tadeusz Mostowski.

Minister of the Interieur and the Police, Count Tadeusz Mostowski, and his wife Róża, née Potocka, Mostowska held literary meetings in their palace at Długa street.[60] Count Mostowski had received an excellent education in France, and with his knowledge, enthusistic interest for politics, literature and economics he achieved fabulous results in his office. He had been concerned with Polish literature and theatre since his youth, and his first wife Anna Mostowska, née Radziwiłł, already in 1806 published a three-volume work advocating the cultivation of the Polish language.[61] During the Society of Exes meetings--frequently taking place in the Mostowski home--members of the society read their literary works and took turns preparing theater reviews. These

---

[60]Kicka, 189.

[61]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 300.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gatherings provided a forum for lively debates on current literary issues; whereas Mostowski and Koźmian defended classical values, some of the others (Prince Czartoryski, Niemcewicz, Maksymilian Fredro and especially Morawski) were open to the new German and English Romantic ideas.[62]

Although Mostowski did deny Mikołaj Chopin's application for a grant supporting Fryderyk's foreign education (see above, page 282), he was no enemy of the musical art--the Mostowskis even hosted musical performances to which the most excellent guests were invited.[63] The Minister's cold refusal to assist Chopin is even more surprising in light of his acquaintance with the young composer's singular talent: Fryderyk performed for the Mostowskis as a child[64] and the youngest one of the Mostowski children, Róża, was said to have been Chopin's pupil.[65] A confirmation of a continuing relationship with Miss Mostowska comes from Chopin himself, who inscribed his Mazurkas op. 33, composed in 1838: *A Mademoiselle la Comtesse Rose Mostowska.*

A few years earlier Chopin dedicated the Mazurkas op. 6 to another young Polish gentlewoman who studied with him in

---

[62]Andrzej E. Koźmian, *Memoirs,* 1:189.

[63]Kajetan Koźmian, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs], 3 vols. (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1972), 3:208-09.

[64]Hoesick, *Chopin,* 1:52.

[65]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 303. After the Uprising Mostowski left for Berlin and following his wife's death he and his daughter Róża moved to Paris, where the latter married Eustachy Sapieha. Kicka, 190.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Paris, Paulina Plater (1813-1889), the daughter of Ludwig Plater, one of the members of The Society of Exes. In fact, the Plater family helped Chopin greatly during his first days in the French capital.[66] They themselves were exiled to Paris after the November Uprising[67] and they remained there until 1842.[68]

Considering Chopin's involvement with Warsaw intellectual circles one can presume that he had made acquaintance with the Platers already in Warsaw. In the pre-Uprising days Count Ludwik Plater (1775-1846) held the position of the Director of Control in the Department of Treasury and Finance and supervised the Department of Forests. The Count participated in the meetings of the Society of Exes, was a fellow of the Society for the Friends of Learning and had honorary memberships in many freemason loges.[69]

Ludwik Plater and his wife Maria Anna Brzostowska kept a high social salon and a splendid and much respected home.[70] Their home was considered very hospitable, open to Warsaw society as well as to Lithuanian youth arriving in the capital to study. Here, young people could find advice, help and

---

[66]Sowiński, 55.

[67]Stanisław Morawski dr., *W Peterburku 1827-1838* [In Petersburg 1827-1838] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskie, 1898), 359.

[68]*Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 26:682.

[69]*Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 26:681.

[70]Stanisław Morawski, 158.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shelter.[71] Maria Szymanowska, who became very friendly with the Platers, was also a frequent guest in their house and a participant in the customary musical soirées.[72]

Another member of the Society of Exes who settled in Paris after the Uprising was Count Jan Maksymilian Fredro (1784-1846), the Marshal of the Court and assistant Minister of Education. Maksymilian, who was the brother of Poland's greatest comedy writer Aleksander Fredro, was himself a translator, a poet and a tragedy writer. He kept an open house supporting the cultural life of the capital, and after the political incident with Wincenty Krasiński the literary meetings of Exes moved to the Fredro house.[73]

Of all the members of the Society of Exes, Chopin was most familiar with Kajetan Koźmian, through his sons Jan, Andrzej and Stanisław, with whom the composer studied at the gymnasium. In his memoirs Andrzej Edward Koźmian remembers the years when he stayed at the Matuszewski boarding house, next door to the Chopins. He liked to listen to little Fryderyk playing and improvising and invited the young virtuoso to the Koźmian home:

> Frequently I brought him to holiday dinners at my parents'; already then he amazed everybody with his extraordinary gift and through his politenes and good heart won approbation.

---

[71]Kołaczkowski, 3:37.

[72]Stanisław Morawski, 159.

[73]*Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 7:122-23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[Ja go często w święta woziłem na obiady do moich rodziców, i on już wtenczas darem nadzwyczajnym wszystkich zadziwiał a swoją uprzejmością, dobrem sercem, przychylność obudzał.][74]

Kajetan Koźmian (1771-1856), who served on the Commission of the Interior and the Police, was also a member of Society for the Friends of Learning and a classical poet whose aesthetic opinions were taken as the highest authority. During literary meetings in his house the works of Mickiewicz and other young Romantics were read. Here, in the company of Niemcewicz, Osiński, Morawski and young Romantics (Gaszyński, Krasiński and others) the time was passed in literary and aesthetic discussion, good humor and listening to Chopin's music.[75]

Among the participants of intellectual gatherings at the homes of highly educated aristocrats were intellectuals and artists from other social classes: representatives of free professions, university and gymnasium professors, and future leaders of Polish culture--mostly students and new graduates of Warsaw University.

Chopin had close associations with all these circles: through his father's professional connections, from his earliest childhood he mingled with gymnasium and university professors, many of whom were members of the Society for the Friends of Learning. Moreover, the Chopins resided in the the

---

[74]Andrzaj E. Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 1:210.

[75]Stanisław Koźmian, *Przegląd Polski*, June 1885, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 232.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kazimierz Palace, together with the families of other Gymnasium and University professors.[76] Fryderyk's childhood friend Eustachy Marylski (1806-1871), who boarded with the Chopins describes this elite company:

> We lived on the 2nd floor in the wing on the right, next to the Gymnasium, which was downstairs in building called "Cadets Quarters," where the public library is today. On the first floor of the same wing lived Samuel Bogumił Linde, the rector of the Gymnasium, and Father Wojciech Szwejkowski, the rector of the Warsaw University. Downstairs were university professors [Juliusz] Kolberg, Kazimierz Brodziński and many others.
>
> [Mieszkaliśmy na 2 piętrze w oficynie na prawo obok Liceum, które mieściło się na dole w tak zwnym gmachu "Koszary Kadeckie" gdzie dziś jest biblioteka publiczna. W tej samej oficynie mieszkał na 1 piętrze Samuel Bogumił Linde rektor Liceum i ksiądz Wojciech Szwejkowski rektor uniwersytetu warsz. Na dole profesorowie uniw. Kolberg, Kazimierz Brodziński i wielu innych.][77]

The most renowned salon on the University campus was on the second story in the right wing of the Kazimierz Palace in the apartment of Józef Lipiński (1764-1828), Inspector of Educational Institutions and President of the Board of Directors of the National Theater. In the early 1820s the house of Lipiński, who was also a writer, a translator and a poet, was visited by Stanisław Staszic, Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Łukasz Gołębiowski, men conneced with theater, and university professors Skarbek, Brodziński, Linde and Jan

---

[76]Later, they moved across the street to the Krasiński Palace.

[77]Hoesick, "From Marylski's Memoirs" [Z pamiętników Marylskiego] in *Słowacki and Chopin,* 1:90.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 31. The Kazimierz Palace; the Chopins' apartment in the right wing (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bandtke (Dean of Law and Administration).[78]

Lipiński was frequently visited by a niece, who in his last years attended him, and by a nephew who arrived in Warsaw from Podole in 1824. Chopin quickly befriended the nephew, Stefan Witwicki, a significant Romantic poet, who became the principal poet of his songs. After Lipiński's death in 1828, his niece Katarzyna Lipińska Lewocka hosted her own famous salon frequented by Chopin's sisters and their husbands, the law professor Jedrzejewicz and the polytechnic professor Barciński.[79]

The university professors who were the closest friends of the Chopins were the renowned linguist Samuel Linde (whose home is discussed in the chapter on musical salons), Juliusz Kolberg (geodesy), Fryderyk Jakub Hoffman (natural sciences) and Fryderyk Count Skarbek.

Skarbek was a renowned political economist, member of Society for the Friends of Learning, a published writer, politician, benefactor of the poor and a pupil of Mikołaj Chopin, of whom he spoke with the highest respect, gratitude and affection. Regardless of differences in social standing, the friendship between Skarbek and the Chopins continued throughout their lives.[80] Fryderyk Chopin was born on the Skarbek estate and was named after the count. In fact, Skarbek

---

[78]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 18-75.

[79]Ibid., 140-142.

[80]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was his godfather and the count's sister Anna Skarbek Wiesiołowska--frequently visited by Chopin at her estate--was the composer's godmother.[81] Fryderyk Skarbek did have some artistic interests: for his amusement he painted and wrote novels and plays. Although he admits he knew little about music, he describes his involvement in organizing charity concerts.[82] His salon had a clearly intellectual profile, but musical performances were welcomed and Chopin is known to have performed there.[83]

Conversely, Professor Kolberg's house was very artistic: the father wrote poetry, and of the six children the youngest Antoni received thorough education as a painter, and Oskar became a musician and Poland's first and most famous ethnomusicologist. Elsner wrote a kantata and several songs to poems by Juliusz Kolberg.[84]

Professor Hoffman's scholastic domains were botany and mineralogy, but in his spare time he was an inventor, and the *choralion* (see page 119) was actually Hoffman's invention built by Brunner. His interest in musical instruments is not surprising since we know that the professor and his wife Henryka, née Thienpondt, were music connoisseurs and that their son Aleksander, who studied the piano, frequently took

---

[81]Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 183.

[82]Skarbek, *Memoirs*, 245.

[83]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 29.

[84]Elsner, *Summary*, 50 and 54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musical advice from the young Fryderyk.[85]

Chopin's parents also hosted a salon. Their Thursday meetings involved the above-mentioned university professors Linde, Kolberg, Skarbek and Hoffman, but also included Kazimierz Brodziński, Feliks Paweł Jarocki (zoologist), Wacław Aleksander Maciejowski (historian), Antoni Brodowski (art professor and a painter); musicians Żywny, Elsner, Jawurek, Würfel; and members of the French colony (for example the Du Pont family).[86] The favorite pastimes were card games, discussions about music (especially Cherubini, who was everybody's favorite) and musical performances, that gave Fryderyk the opportunity to learn from all musicians present.[87] Indeed, Fryderyk frequently gave concerts in the salon of his parents.

Among the many concerts hosted by the Chopins of special interest are the rehearsals for Fryderyk's public concerts. According to the press, on March 3, 1830 the young vituoso

---

[85]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 232-235.

[86]A testimony to the musical involvement with the Du Ponts is Chopin's Polonaise in G Sharp Minor dedicated to Madame Du Pont. Her daughter, Ludwika Du Pont, was a friend of Fryderyk and his sisters; he often visited the Du Ponts, improvised at the piano, and played four-hands with Ludwika (According to her husband's nephew, E. Skrodzki "Wielisław" "Memories of Chopin," no. 36:281). Ludwika married Adolf Cichowski (an event mentioned by Chopin in his letter to Tytus Woyciechowski dated May 15, 1830) and Hoesick (and after him much secondary literature) invariably confuses this Adolf Cichowski with the music patron Count Józef Cichocki, whose salon is discussed in the next chapter.

[87]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:65-67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

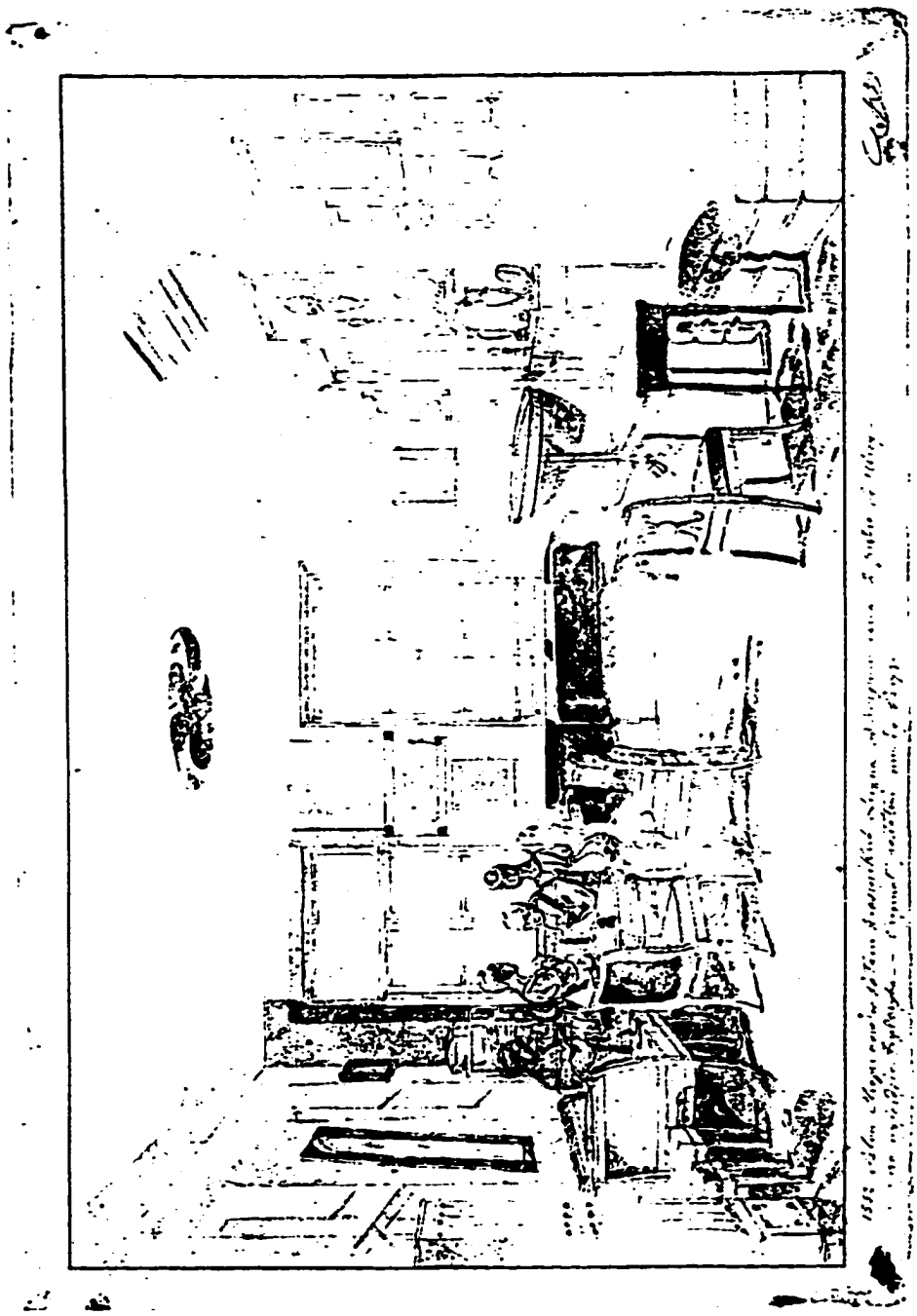


Fig. 32. A drawing of the salon at the Chopins' apartment in the Krasiński Palace made by Antoni Kolberg in 1832, after Fryderyk's departure (until 1942 in the collection of the Warsaw Music Society, from Binental's reproduction).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

performed the Concerto in F Minor and the Fantasia on Polish Themes with the accompaniment of a reduced orchestra in front of a gathering of music and music lovers in preparation for his performance at the National Theater.[88] A similar rehearsal happened on September 22 of the same year, when Fryderyk presented the Concerto in E Minor for his friends and colleagues.[89] Chopin wrote about this rehersal in a letter to Tytus listing the most important guests present: Elsner, Kurpiński, Soliva, Ernemann, pianists Czapek, Kessler, Fillip (Filipeus) and Dobrzyński, cellists Molsdorf and Kaczyński, violinists Le Deux [Ledoux], Sołtyk and Pawłowski.[90]

Among the guests in the Chopin salon were many of Fryderyk's own peers, who soon were to join the ranks of Warsaw's leading intellectuals and artists. Naturally, the young generation also hosted their own intellectual meetings. Chopin was welcomed to these gatherings not only for his wit, charm and learning, but more importantly his presence was recognized as pivotal in the articulation of Polish musical Romanticism and rewarded with utter admiration for his genius.

Though his letters tell us the most about his friendships with Tytus Woyciechowski, Jan Matuszyński and Jan Białobłocki,

---

[88]*Kurier Warszawski,* 5 March 1830, no. 62, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 293.

[89]*Kurier Warszawski,* 23 September 1830, no. 255, quoted in Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 248.

[90]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 22 September 1830, Sydow, edition, 1:141.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin had a large circle of acquaintances and collegues with whom he gladly spent time chatting or making music; it included Aleksander Rembieliński, Wilhelm Kolberg, Józef Reinschmidt, Alfons Brandt, Dominik Magnuszewski, Dominik Dziewanowski, Stanisław Koźmian, Eustachy Marylski, Stefan Witwicki, Konstanty Gaszyński, Ignacy Maciejowski, Marceli Celiński, and Julian Fontana.[91]

The prominent pianist Julian Fontana (1810-1869) was one of Chopin's closest friends. They knew each other from the Warsaw Gymnasium, and their friendship deepened during their studies at the Conservatory and years of common exile. Like Chopin, Fontana made his home in Paris where he performed and taught, but he was not happy in his new environment and moved frequently (to London, New York and Cuba), occasionally returning to Paris.[92]

Another musical friend from the Gymnasium was Maurycy Mochnacki, who came to Warsaw from Galicia. He was a very talented pianist who with great mastery performed the works of Mozart, Beethoven and Weber.[93] Yet he is most remembered as a revolutionary and a historian of the November Uprising (he was at the heart of the plot).[94] In his short life (1803-1834) Mochnacki distinguished himself also as a writer and a

---

[91]Karasowski, *Chopin,* 53.

[92]*Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 7:58.

[93]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 204-205.

[94]*Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 21:502.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Fig. 33. Maurycy Mochnacki: poet, revolutionary and music critic (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

journalist, who in the years 1825-1830 wrote many superb articles in the daily press. He involved himself with the public dispute between the Romantics and the Classicists, eloquently advancing the Romantic cause. Drawing on his vast knowledge of aesthetics, metaphysics, and literary and cultural history, he defended Brodziński, Mickiewicz, Zaleski and Witwicki. In addition Mochnacki wrote reviews of theatre and concert performances (including commentaries of Chopin's public appearances, some of which are quoted in the chapter on Public Concert), which made him one of the first Polish music critics.[95]

Bohdan Zaleski remembers these meetings at Chopin's and Mochnacki's, where young artists and intellectuals gathered there listened to Fryderyk's enchanting music:

> Chopin--then cheerful and young--whom we all called Szopenek [diminutive of Szopen], played for us his marvelous pieces. Equipped with genius mind--quick, witty and sensitive--he frolicked with the art, mastered it and captivated listeners with the natural abundance of his Polish rhythm and melody.
>
> [Chopin wtedy wesoły i młodziuchny, którego też wszyscy zwaliśmy Szopenkiem, wygrywał przed nami cudne swe utwory. Genialnego umysłu, bystry, dowcipny a czuły, igrał ze sztuką, panował nad nią, oczarował słuchaczów samorodną bujnością polskiego rytmu swego i melodii.][96]

The writer of these words, also a friend of Chopin, was a Romantic poet who arrived in the Polish Kingdom from Ukraine

---

[95]Mochnacki, *Writings*.

[96]Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:243.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in 1820.[97] Zaleski--eight-years-older than Chopin--frequently stayed in Warsaw while residing in nearby cities where he worked as a home tutor (since 1827 he was a tutor in the house of general Piotr Szembek).[98]

The other young literati surrounding Chopin were Antoni Edward Odyniec (born in 1804), a protégé of Zamoyski who came to Warsaw from from Lithuania, a poet and a writer, translator of Byron; Konstanty Gaszyński (1809-1866) from Mazowsze, a Romantic poet, who after the Uprising settled near Marseille; Stefan Witwicki born in Wołyń Podole in 1800, whose poetry Chopin set to music and who worked in the Ministry of Education after his arrival in Warsaw in 1824.[99] These young people usually gathered in the homes of Chopin, Mochnacki, Reinschmidt or Magnuszewski.

Dominik Magnuszewski (1810-1845), Fryderyk's friend from the Gymnasium, was a native of Warsaw.[100] He was a writer, a translator of Hugo and the main representative of Romantic

---

[97]Zaleski was the poet of some of Chopin's songs. In Paris in 1846 Zaleski married Chopin's pupil Zofia Rosengardt, who came from Warsaw to study with Chopin. Zaleski must have been very close to the Chopins since at the end of his life in 1882 he sent a letter from France asking for help in recovering "my papers once left in Warsaw with Chopin's sisters" [papiery moje zostawione ongi w Warszawie u Chopinówien]. "Józef Bogdan Zaleski" in *Kronika rodzinna*, 1886:228.

[98]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 200.

[99]Ibid., 203. Stefan's family was musically inclined and his brother Mikołaj "played the cello beatifully." Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 62.

[100]Hoesick, 'Luminaries," 211-212.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

expressionism in Polish literature.[101] Dominik Magnuszewski's sister Anna describes in her memoirs gatherings taking place in their house. The guests were usually Chopin, Fontana, Konstanty Gaszyński, Jerzy Kirków, Ulrych, Józef Reinschmidt, Krzysztofowicz, Mokronowski, Zygmunt Krasiński, Leon Łubieński and Kazimierz Wójcicki.[102] Wójcicki--Anna Magnuszewska future husband--also also mentions these gatherings and Chopin's marvelous improvisations.[103]

During these meetings there was usually a supper liberally accompanied with good wine, after which Chopin was asked to improvise. He did it gladly, but always asked Klara, the older sister, to sing him a song from which he would often draw hours of improvisation.[104] After that, the dreamy improviser took turns with Fontana playing joyful *mazurs*, polkas and waltzes for everybody to dance.[105] The last gathering of this kind with his friends took place in the house of Reinschmidt, when Chopin was given a silver chalice.[106]

Circles interested in intellectual matters--mainly

---

[101]*Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 19:143.

[102]Wóycicka, 1.

[103]Wójcicki, *Powązki cemetery,* 1:175. He also claims that here he met the great composer for the first time, though in *Cafes* states he first met Fryderyk at Brzezińska cafe.

[104]Wóycicka, 1.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Hoesick, *Chopin,* 1:153.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literature, poetry and theatre--spanned all age and class groups, but every one in these groups actively contributed to the making of Romanticism in Poland while also working to sustain the Polish culture under foreign domain. While Chopin's emerging compositional style was nourished by the new artistic tendencies surrounding him, it cannot be overlooked that already then his innovative musical genius made him an active agent in the creation of Polish Romanticism.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4. MUSICAL SALONS

The autograph manuscript and the first German edition of Chopin's Preludes op. 28 bear the inscription:

24 Preludes pour le pianoforte
dédiés à son ami J.C. Kessler par F. Chopin

Although Chopin dedicated his first French edition of the Preludes to Pleyel--a gesture as practical as it was friendly--the dedication to Kessler implies that nearly a decade after his departure from Warsaw, Chopin still felt it important to acknowledge his short but profound friendship with this renowned Austrian composer in whose active Warsaw musical salon he had spent many evenings. In fact it is believed that with the Preludes, Fryderyk was reciprocating for the Twenty-Four Preludes that Kessler had dedicated to him.[1]

"Mann von Geist und sogar poetischen Geist," as Robert Schumann called him, Johann Christoph Kessler spend many years in Poland.[2] Kessler was a pianist, a teacher and a composer

---

[1]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 255-56.

[2]Originally Johann Christoph Kötzler was born on the 26th of August 1800 in Augsburg. As a young man he arrived in Vienna to study philosophy and at the same time he devoted himself to studying music. During this time, with nearly no instruction he achieved an incredible level of pianistic virtuosity and compositional skill. In the years 1820-26 he worked as a *Hausmusiklehrer* of Count Potocki in Lwów and Łańcut, and later lived in Vienna, Warsaw and Wrocław. He returned to Lwów in 1835 and after living there for twenty more years he finally settled in Vienna where he died on January 14, 1872. *Riemann Musik Lexikon*, Personenteil, 1:917; and F. Pyllemann, *AmZ*, 1872, no. 12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of etudes, nocturnes, variations, preludes and bagatelles. His most famous works were his Piano Etudes opp. 20 (1825), 51 and 100, which are regarded as technically more difficult than Czerny's *School of Virtuosity*, and stylistically between Hummel and Chopin.[3] The etudes were very highly valued by his contemporaries: Kalkbrenner, Fétis and Moscheles included them in their piano schools, and Liszt played them in concert.[4]

Kessler arrived in Warsaw in 1829, hoping to settle there as a piano teacher, and quickly became known in the local musical circles. He gave numerous concerts in Warsaw. Chopin tells us of one such performance, which took place at the Merchant Club in November of 1829.[5] The Austrian was especially fond of Chopin; they met frequently, played together and spoke much about art and music.

There were musical meetings in the homes of many professional musicians,[6] but Kessler tried to gather the best of Warsaw's musicians. Among the participants of his musical soirées were Maurycy Ernemann, Józef Bielawski, August Zimmermann, Józef Nowakowski, Stanisław Serwaczyński, Józef

---

[3]Riemann, 1:917.

[4]Fr. Pyllemann, *AmZ*, 1872, no. 12.

[5]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, November 14 1829, Sydow edition, 1:114.

[6]For instance, Carlo Evasio Soliva kept musical soirees, two of which (involving performances by a magnificent alto, Mrs. Bourgeois-Schiroli) are mentioned by Chopin. Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Elsner, Henryk Lentz, Józef Jawurek, [Edward?] Stolpe, Walenty Kratzer, Józef Wagner, Józef Szabliński and Antoni Wejnert.[7] Every Friday professionals and amateurs gathered in his house for "quartets" and made music ad lib--without a pre-arranged program.[8]

Chopin frequented Kessler's soirées, and it is there that he heard Spohr's Otteto, which he thought incredibly beautiful.[9] On other occasions he heard Ries' Concerto in C sharp Minor (in "quartet" version), Hummel's Trio in E Major (piano, viola and cello), Prince Ferdinand's Quatuor (which contemporaries incorrectly suspected to be the work of Dussek) and Beethoven's last Trio ["Archduke," B flat Major, op. 97], which left Chopin dumbfounded:

> ... it's a long time since I heard something equally great; there Beethoven mocks the whole world.
>
> [... coś podobnie wielkiego dawno nie słyszałem, tam Beethoven szydzi z całego świata.][10]

In Kessler's home Chopin had not only the opportunity to become acquainted with great works of music, but also the chance share his experiences with other musicians and learn from them. A similar atmosphere permeated gatherings in the

---

[7]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 257.

[8]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 20 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:110.

[9]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski 3 October [1]829, Sydow edition, 1:108.

[10]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 20 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:110.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

house of Count Józef Cichocki (b. 1783) and his wife Anna, née Filipecka (1787-1848).

Count Cichocki, a Starost, and once the Marshal of Lithuanian nobility, became well-known in Warsaw's musical circles in the 1820s. He was an extraordinary figure: an amateur flutist, an organizer of public musical life, a musical journalist, an arranger, a music historian, a patron and a host of musical meetings. Cichocki's most noticeable organizational achievements were connected with the Merchant Club. In the years 1830-40 he established weekly chamber concerts in the Club.[11] He also made sure that the Merchant Club had a quartet in residence--a permanent performing group, established in 1834, made up of Józef Bielawski (first violin), Jan Kurpiński (second violin), Stefan Bułakowski (viola), and Józef Szabliński (cello).[12] In 1836 Cichocki together with the Warsaw composer Jan Sandmann [Zandman] created a choir for the Merchant Club.[13] This amateur choir, directed by Sandmann, was conceived expressly "for the performance of classical compositions" [do wykonania klasycznych kompozycyj.][14] With such performing forces in place Cichocki was able to bring large choral works to the Club:

---

[11]Sowiński, 425.

[12]Dobrzyński, 45-46.

[13]Sowiński, 425.

[14]Ibid., 63.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Thanks to his efforts Haydn's *Creation* and one part of his cantata *[sic]* the *Four Seasons*, namely *Spring*, were performed.
>
> [Za jego staraniem wykonano "Stworzenie świata" Haydna i jedną część kantaty "Cztery pory roku", mianowicie "wiosnę".][15]

In his sincere love for music, Cichocki also demonstrated much concern for musicians. He participated in the creation of the Society for the Assistance for Destitute Musicians and Their Widows and Orphans *[Towarzystwo Wsparcia Podupadłych Muzyków oraz Wdów i Sierot po Tychże Pozostałych]* and remained an active member of the Society's committee.[16] Privately, he was a dedicated patron of musicians, many of whom were members of Chopin's circle.[17]

Cichocki often wrote about music and his articles and reviews were published in *Powszechny Dziennik Krajowy, Kurier*

---

[15]Dobrzyński, 29.

[16]Sowiński, 425.

[17]He had particular interest in the musical Turowski family. Together with them he took part in performances at the Piarist Church. The Turowski family--three sisters and a brother--made up a vocal quartet: Marya (1820-1885), whose married name was Stolpe, was a soprano; Józefa (1819-1884), who married Leśkiewicz, was an alto; Waleria (later Bonfis) sang tenor; the brother, Seweryn, was an excellent bass. Dobrzyński, 53. Already in December of 1830 Seweryn Turowski performed in a charity concert, in the company of the young pianist Józef Krogulski, violinst Józef Bielawski and the young singer Konstancja Gładkowska (all from Chopin's circle). He continued singing and was heard in the Merchant's Club on December 8, 1835. Later, two Turowski sisters (Marya and Józefa) joined the Warsaw Theatre, and Józefa Leśkiewicz became was one of the finest altos the capital knew. It is unclear who is the Józef Turowski, who had a beautiful bass voice, made the Polish translation of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* and performed the part of Adam. "Antoni Orłowski," 375; and *Kurier warszawski*, 1849, no. 337.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Warszawski, and *Pamiętnik Muzyczny Warszawski* (in the years 1835-36 he was even the editor of the last publication).[18] Being a great admirer of Chopin, Cichocki also took an opportunity to write about the young pianist: his well-known article for *Powszechny Dziennik Krajowy*, in which he was comparing Chopin to Mozart and calling for more performances by the young virtuoso, came after Chopin's March 22, 1830 concert. The same article also complimented Elsner's teaching and indirectly snubbed Kurpiński.[19] In response, an anonymous author (probably Kurpiński himself) ridiculed Elsner's music and his contribution to Chopin's education.[20] As one can infer from Chopin's letter, the conflict created a rather uncomfortable situation for him, but Fryderyk was accustomed to squabbles between Elsner, Soliva and Kurpiński, and he effortlessly and tactfully maneuvered through predicaments created by their inflated egos. In fact, he reacted to Cichocki's praise with proper modesty, accepted Kurpiński's gentle criticism and credited Elsner with teaching him everything about composition.[21]

Count Cichocki was an excellent flutist and in the archives of the Warsaw Music Society *[Warszawskie Towarzystwo*

---

[18]Jerzy Habela, "Cichocki, Józef" in *Music Encyclopedia*, 2:201.

[19]*Powszechny Dziennik Krajowy*, 25 March 1830, no. 83.

[20]*Gazeta warszawska*, 4 April 1830, no. 91:858-861. See above, page 48.

[21]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 10 April, 1830, Sydow edition, 1:118.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Muzyczne] there is a manuscript of some flute variations on Rossini's *La cenerentola* attributed to Chopin and bearing a dedication to Cichocki from Chopin. The work is not well known, mainly because Chopin's authorship is not certain, but also because the accompaniment is so flawed. An exhaustive article about this piece claims that the flute part is clearly the work of Chopin, but suggests that the original accompaniment was lost and that the existing version (musically clumsy and full of harmonic errors) is a reconstruction executed by a poor composer.[22]

Elsner also dedicated a composition to Cichocki: it is his Septet in D Major for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, cello, double bass and piano, surviving in an autograph manuscript in the archives of the Warsaw Music Society (no. 942).[23] A more surprising musical connection involves the French composer Georges Onslow, who dedicated his Quintet in E flat Major, op. 1, no. 2 for flute, violin, viola, cello, bass to Count Cichocki.[24] Nothing more is known about their acquaintance, but it is confirmed by another musical link between the two men. Cichocki transcribed Onslow's Eighth String Quintet in D Minor, op. 24 for flute, violin, viola,

---

[22]Jan Prosnak, "Wariacje fletowe Chopina" [Chopin's Flute Variations] in *Studia Muzykologiczne* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1953), 1:302-307.

[23]Elsner erred in his description of this piece as Septet *[sic]* for viola, flute, clarinet, French horn, cello and piano. Elsner, *Summary*, 57.

[24]Habela, "Cichocki," in *Encyclopedia*, 2:201.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

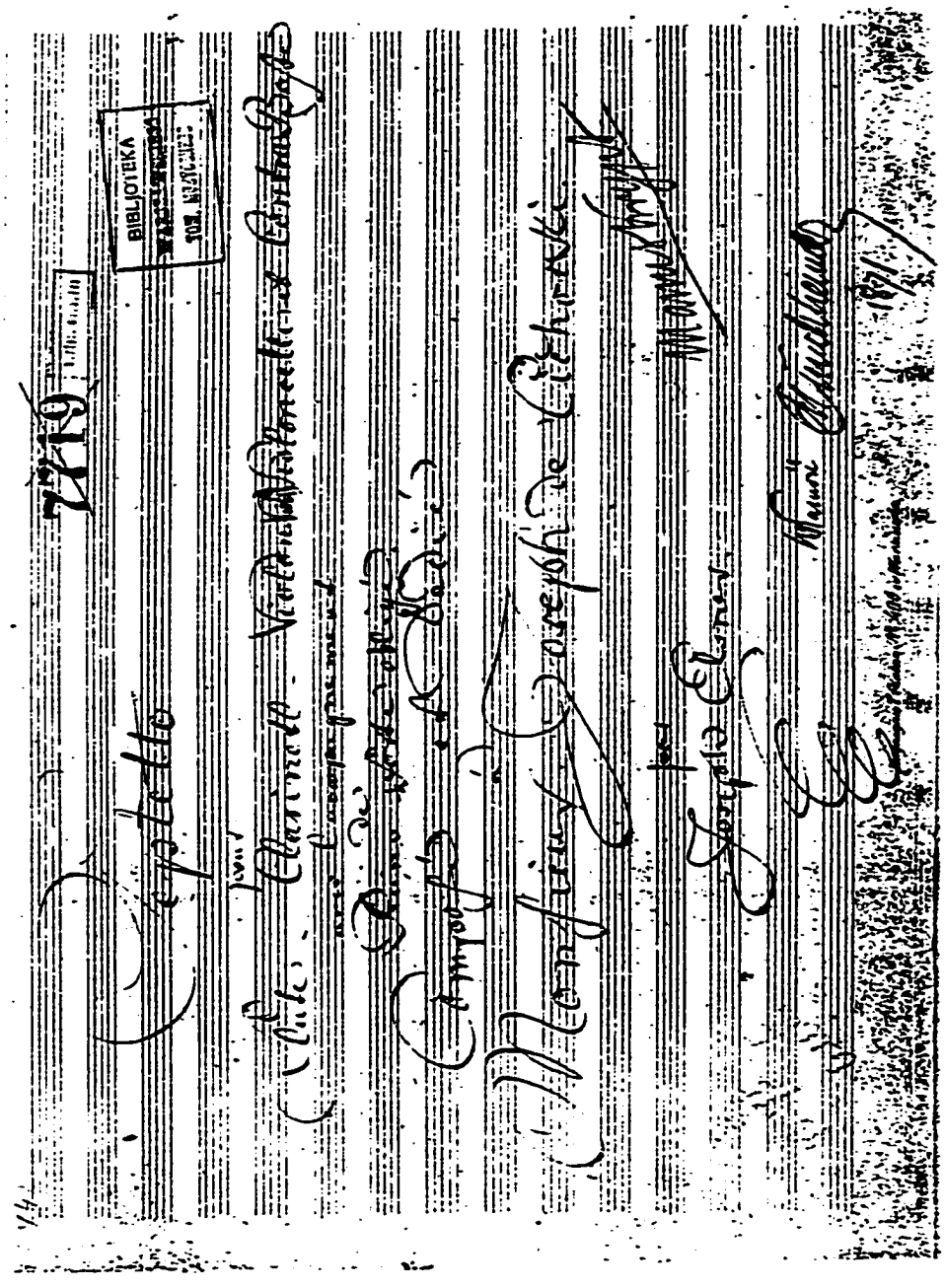


Fig. 34. The autograph title-page of Józef Elsner's *Septetto* for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, cello, double bass and piano dedicated to Józef Cichocki (Warsaw Music Society).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cello and bass. The transcription was published by Breitkopf et Härtel in 1833 and received a favorable review.[25]

Perhaps Cichocki's greatest contribution to music history was his interest in early music; in fact, his was the first attempt to publish old Polish compositions.[26] With the help of J. Krogulski, he edited two 4-voice Masses by Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki (ca. 1665-1734), and he collaborated with Sandmann, who transcribed Psalms by Mikołaj Gomółka (ca. 1535-1607?) into modern notation.[27] There were probably more old masterpieces in his possession, since Kolberg informs us:

> This wealthy, music-loving citizen owned an assortment of classical compositions, and a large collection of instruments and manuscripts.
>
> [Majętny ten obywatel i miłośnik muzyki, miał u siebie dobór dzieł klasycznych i liczny zbiór instrumentów i autografów.][28]

Sadly, this rich collection of manuscripts was sold after his death, and today no trace of it can be found.[29]

Count Cichocki and his wife Anna, who was a pianist and a singer, kept "Musical Mondays" in their house at Leszno 723,

---

[25]*AmZ*, December 1833:824.

[26]Sowiński, 63.

[27]Ibid., 425. They were published by Sennewald in Warsaw, and Hoffmeister in Leipzig as *Church Chants of Old Polish Composers [Śpiewy kościelne dawnych kompozycyi polskich]* in two volumes.

[28]Oskar Kolberg, manuscript in the collection of the National Library, Warsaw, BN. III. 8893.

[29]*Ruch muzyczny*, 1860, no. 41:666.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gathering Polish and foreign musicians, critics and literati.[30] The fame of these soirées even reached abroad; the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reported in 1834:

> It is a special honor to name the following homes, which must be considered the first in town for classical music: Count Cichowski [Cichocki] to whom we are grateful, among others, for the outstanding Merchant Club quartet....
>
> [Besonders in Ehren sind folgende Häuser zu nennen, die für gesellige Musik geradehin als die ersten der Stadt angesehen werden müssen: Herr Graf Cichowski *[sic!]*, dem man unter Andern auf der Resource ein bedeutenes Quartett verdankt....][31]

In Warsaw, the house of Count Cichocki was at the core of the musical society:

> ... he gathered not only local, but also foreign artists. There, visiting guests gave their first performances; there was formed the opinion about the abilities and talents of musical artists--opinion gained in this artistic circle was a guarantee of public success.
> Visiting celebrities: Henselt, Servais, Perelli, Nicolai, and many others, also performed in this home.
> It was, I would say, the musical heart of all Warsaw, and the famous Mondays gathered and united nearly all talents--literary and scholastic luminaries and generally people of distinction in the fields of the arts and sciences or of other personal merits.
>
> [... zgromadzał nie tylko swoich, ale i zagranicznych artystów. Tam to był pierwszy występ przyjezdnych gości, tam gruntowała się opinia o zdolnościach, talentach artystów muzycznych; opinia zjednana w tem kółku artystycznem, była rękojmią powodzenia publicznego.
> Produkowali się też w tym domu znakomitości

---

[30]Habela, "Cichocki" in *Encyclopedia*, 2:201.

[31]*AmZ*, August 1834:561. The error in Cichocki's name is not unusual: Hoesick consistantly confuses Józef Cichocki with Adolf Cichowski. Hoesick, *Chopin*, 1:101 and 265; idem, "Luminaries," 275-76.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> przejezdne jak: Henzelt *[sic]*, Servais, Perelli, Nikolai *[sic]* i wielu innych.
> Było to, że tak powiem, ognisko muzykalne całej Warszawy, a słynne Poniedziałki, zgromadzały i jednoczyły wszystkie prawie talenta, znakomitości literackie i naukowe, w ogóle osobifatstości wybitniejsze na polu sztuk, nauk, lub zasług osobistych.][32]

According to Münheimer, the Cichockis were Chopin's dearest friends.[33] Fryderyk himself describes an evening spent at Cichocki's apartment in his letter to Tytus from Sept. 18, 1830:

> Yesterday I was at Cichocki's, the heavy fellow's, for his name-day celebration. I played in Spohr's Quintetto for piano, clarinet, bassoon, French horn and flute. Most beautiful. But terribly uncomfortable for the hand; everything that he deliberately wanted to write as a display for the piano is insurmountably difficult and often it is impossible to find fingerings....
>
> [Wczoraj byłem u Cichockiego, tego grubego, na imieninach. Grałem *Quintetto* Spohra na fortep., clar., fag., waltornie i flet. Prześliczny. Ale strasznie nie w palec. Wszystko, co chciał umyślnie na fortepian napisać dla popisu, jest nieznośnie trudnym i nie można często palców wyszukać....][34]

Oskar Kolberg talks about gatherings of music lovers in the home of Cichocki, but he also mentions the homes of Petiscus, Krzyżanowski and Princess Jabłonowska.[35] We know

---

[32]Dobrzyński, 29-30.

[33]Hoesick, *Słowacki and Chopin*, 2:251-52. In the same interview Münheimer informed Hoesick that he owned the autograph of Cichocki's memoir; it is no longer extant.

[34]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 18 September, 1830, Sydow edition, 1:139.

[35]Oskar Kolberg, manuscript in the collection of the National Library, Warsaw, BN. III. 8893.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

little about Petiscus[36] and Krzyżanowski[37], but some

---

[36]The only connection of the Petiscus family with music is found in the archives of the Lutheran Church: on December 2, 1825 Marianna Petiscus, the widow of Krzysztof Hartmann, is listed among donors of funds for the purchase of instruments and scores for this church. Eugeniusz Szulc, "Unknown Page," 127. Jan Krzysztof Hartman Petiscus [Petyskus] was a famous Warsaw financier and lottery agent. Already in 1803 and 1804 his counting house at Długa 550 street sold tickets for the Berlin Lottery. *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1803, no. 97:1664; ibid., 1804, no. 46:856. In 1809 his counting house was selling tickets for Warsaw and Dresden Lotteries. *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, 1809, no. 93:1450. Though he died in 1822, his establishment at Senatorska 473 is still listed in the *1826 Warsaw Guide*, and three years later both locations Senatorska 473 and Długa 550 are mentioned, presumably maintained by his heirs. *Warsaw Guide 1826*, 17; *Warsaw Guide 1829*, 22.) Petiskus is remembered still today as the owner of one of Warsaw's most splendid neo-classical apartment houses, located at the corner of Sentorska 473 and Wierzbowa streets, a building that was designed for him by P. Aigner and built during the years 1818-1821. After his death it became the property of Wilhelm Brunwey, who married Emilia Adelajda, the daughter of the financier. The existing information permits only a glimpse of the private person: we know that in 1819 Petiskus belonged to a Masonic Lodge named *Halle der Beständigkeit* and that when he died in 1822 he left a large sum of money to the Evangelic hospital. Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 429. This generous gift was announced in the press. *Gaz warszawska*, 1822, no. 38:494; *Kurier litewski*, 1822, no. 146:1.

[37]There are several candidates. The most obvious is Jan Krzyżanowski, who was the father of Chopin's future protégé the composer Ignacy Krzyżanowski. Jan Krzyżanowski--a clarinetist and a music teacher--was also a relative of Chopin's mother, but he lived at first in Opatów and later in Kraków; there is no mention of him staying in Warsaw. Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 61/1: 350. Among the Krzyżanowskis listed in *Polish Biographical Dictionary* two contemporary residents of Warsaw suit the role best in terms of their age and circumstances. Jan Kanty Krzyżanowski (1789-1854), a Doctor of Philosophy, was a pedagogue and a member of Society for the Friends of Learning, who worked in the Commission of Religions and Public Education. *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 15:604-05. His colleague on the Commission was Adrian Krzyżanowski (1788-1852), a mathematician and a professor of Warsaw University. Ibid., 15:594-95. Both of them are likely to host salons but no further information about musical gatherings could be located.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information is available about music in the distinguished home of the Jabłonowskis.

Undoubtedly Kolberg had in mind Teresa Jabłonowska, née Lubomirska, but the princely Jabłonowski family had interesting musical ties going back a generation. Teresa's mother-in-law, Princess Tekla, née Czaplica, Jabłonowska (d. 1820, Rome), spent much of her life in Vienna and Lwów. In Lwów she was very active in the musical circles among other high-born music-lovers. During the last decade of the eighteenth-century, being a talented singer, she participated in the performances of Lwów's Musikakademie (created and directed by Elsner).[38] It was the political career of her husband Antoni Barnaba Jabłonowski (1732-1799) that oftentimes took her to Vienna, where her sister was also stationed as the wife of a Polish emissary.[39]

One of the frequent guests in the Viennese home of Princess Jabłonowska was Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who for some time was even her teacher. Years later Tekla Jabłonowska convinced Mozart's son Wolfgang Amadeus Xawier to travel to Poland (he performed in Warsaw in June of 1819) and helped him settle in Lwów.[40]

Tekla's son, Senator Voivod Maksymilian Jabłonowski, the Grand Master of the Court in the Polish Kingdom (1785-1846),

---

[38]Elsner, *Summary*, 101.

[39]*Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 10:216-217.

[40]Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 61/2:286.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

married Teresa Lubomirska (1793-1847).[41] Teresa was a beautiful, flirtatious and cultivated lady, and her salon was very fashionable and always full.[42] But rather than just providing social entertainment, Princess Teresa organized musical concerts, to which she invited some of the finest musicians in the capital: for example the tenor Antoni Teichman is known to have performed in her salon during 1829.[43] One of her concerts was even mentioned in the press:

> Yesterday, at the house of His Majesty Prince Jabłonowski, Voivod, Grand Master of the Royal Court, there was a magnificent gathering of estimable persons for a musical soirée, in which amateurs and artists performed various songs.
>
> [Wczoraj u JO. Xcia Jabłonowskiego Woiewody, Wielkiego Mistrza Dworu Królewskiego, było świetne zgromadzenie osób znakomitych na wieczorze muzycznym, na którym ąmatorowie i ąrtyści wykonywali rozmaite śpiewy.][44]

A very different kind of documentation comes down to us in connection with musical meetings in the salon of the

---

[41]The artistic Lubomirski family is mentioned on page 304.

[42]Kicka, 188 and Andrzej E. Koźmian, *Memoirs*, 1:241.

[43]Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 61/2:454. Antoni Teichman [Tajchman] (b. 1789 near Wrocław) was educated in Wrocław, Kraków and Italy. He settled in Warsaw and was known as an orchestra cellist, singer, voice teacher and composer.

[44]*Kurier Warszawski*, 16 March 1830, no. 73:365.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

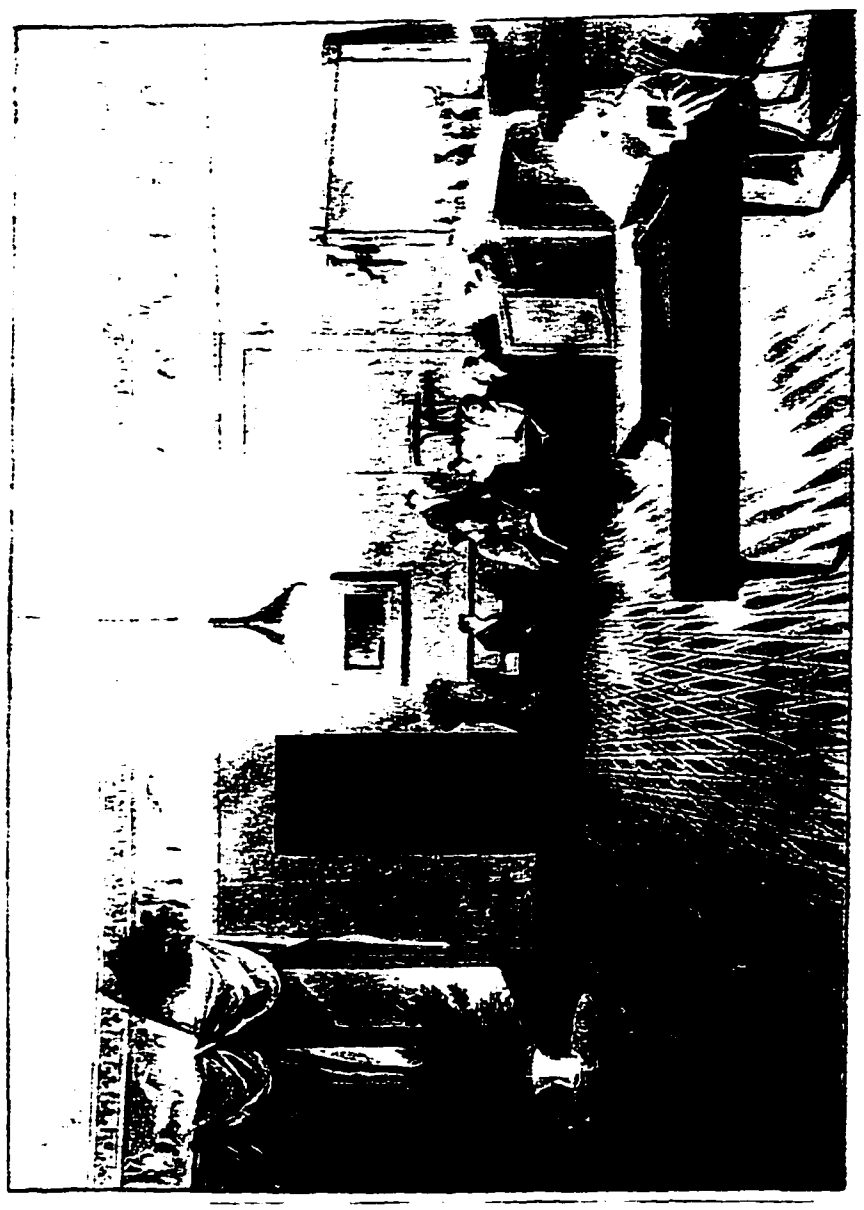


Fig. 35. The salon of Princess Teresa and Prince Maksymilian Jabłonowski (National Museum).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wołowskis, parents of Maria Szymanowska:

> These days, baptized Jews often gather at Franciszek Wołowski's under the pretense of listening to the concerts of Mrs. Szymanowska, who is the daughter of the above-named Wołowski.
>
> [Żydzi ochrzczeni obecnie zbierają się często u Franciszka Wołowskiego pod pretekstem słuchania koncertów pani Szymanowskiej, która jest córką wymienionego Wołowskiego.][45]

This and other fascinating documents come from an archival collection of secret spying reports written by one Mackrott for Grand Duke Constantine. They cover the period from December 25, 1822 to January 6, 1823 and contain accusations of conspiracy among the converted Jews (spurred by charges of helping a deserter).[46] These accusations caused many problems for the Wołowskis, but their predicament was solved in an unexpected manner: during a stay in Vienna Maria Szymanowska made Czar Alexander's acquaintance, and he, smitten with her talent and beauty, smoothed over the problem in Warsaw and immediately nominated Maria the Imperial Court Pianist.[47]

Maria Szymanowska's parents, Franciszek (ab. 1759- 1839)

---

[45]Teofil Syga and Stanisław Szenic, *Maria Szymanowska i jej czasy* [Maria Szymanowska and Her Times] (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960), 463.

[46]Syga and Szenic, 463. In mid-eighteenth century Jakub Lejbowicz Frank founded an anti-talmudist sect following a philosophy that led to mass conversions to Catholicism. Among Frank's followers was Maria Szymanowska's ancestor, Solomon ben Elias, who converted about 1759 and took on the name Wołowski.

[47]Stanisław Morawski, 162.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Barbara (ab. 1768-1835) lived in a house at Grzybowska and Walicka streets (no. 1109).[48] Franciszek Wołowski was a wealthy brewer and an owner of an apartment building. The Wołowski household was known for kindness and godliness and Franciszek was highly respected by his peers.[49]

The Wołowskis and related families had frequent gatherings--the jewels of these meetings were Maria and her cousin Franciszek Wołowski, a renowned lawyer.[50] The other family musician, Maria's cousin, the pianist Tekla Wołowska was a regular guest at music sessions in the Wołowski house.[51] Tekla, who later married her cousin the lawyer Franciszek Wołowski and moved to Paris, was a superb pianist and in her youth competed with Maria.[52]

The parents of Maria Szymanowska, in their attempts to

---

[48]*Warsaw Guide 1826,* 20 and *Warsaw Guide 1829,* 32.

[49]Stanisław Morawski, 177-78. Since their home was located in the 5th district, it is likely that Maria's father was the Franciszek Łukasz Wołowski elected in 1820 to the 5th district Citizen Council. *Gazeta korespondenta warszawskiego i zagranicznego,* April 3 1820, no. 19:437-8.

[50]Jan Nepomucen Janowski, *Notatki autobiograficzne 1803-1853* [Autobiographic Notes 1803-1853], ed. M. Tyrowicz (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1950), 72-73. During the years 1824-25, Janowski worked as a tutor for the Brzeziński family, beer merchants related and associated with the Wołowskis. He explains that during evening gatherings in the house of his principal there were usually 30 or 40 guests, mostly family and friends, and usually other beer merchants. According to Janowski, this class of people lived in a separate circle, since other social groups were prejudiced against them (due especially to the writings of Alojzy Żółkowski).

[51]Syga and Szenic, 47.

[52]Elsner, *Summary,* 124.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nourish their daughter's talent, invited prominent local and foreign musicians to their hospitable house. These guests would listen to Maria playing or invite her to make music with them; on occasion, they would also instruct and guide her musical talents. Though many of the guests belonged to a higher social class, the Wołowskis were able to give Maria the education and refinement that obliterated the class difference between herself and her acquaintances.[53] Her intelligence, talent, personality and beauty did the rest.

Foreign artists traveling through Warsaw often visited the Wołowski household as well: Ferdinand Paër in 1807, Pierre J. Rode and Daniel Steibelt in 1808 and Luigi Cherubini. These renowned musicians, who came to Warsaw with the splendid court of Napoleon, were amazed at Maria's talent.[54] Maria also played in the Warsaw homes of Napoleon's dignitaries: one such musical evening, during which Maria Szymanowska astonished the guests with her performance, took place in the salon of Emperor's minister Talleyrand.[55] During her short-lived marriage Maria continued to spend winters in Warsaw meeting wonderful musicians in her parents' salon. Thus she met August Klengel, Wolfgang Amadeus Xavier Mozart (the composer's son) the French violinist Eloy de Vick, and Gasparo Spontini. In 1811 their home was honored with the presence of

---

[53]Stanisław Morawski, 177-78.

[54]Ibid., 161.

[55]Syga and Szenic, 65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan Ladislav Dussek, and in 1819 the famous singer Angelica Catalani stopped there.[56]

Among Szymanowska's other friends were several Russians staying in Poland; frequent guests in her salon included Count Novosilcov and Siergiey Lvovich Pushkin, father of the famous poet, who was stationed in Warsaw.[57] An intimate relationship existed between the pianist and the Galitsins; in Warsaw, the musical Prince Aleksander and his Polish wife were the pianist's close friends.[58] The testimony of that friendship is left in memoirs, letters and compositions.[59]

We have no direct evidence that Chopin was a guest in the Wołowski salon, though it has been asserted that Catalani first heard of the young Fryderyk it this salon.[60] But we know that, among the many visitors, the salon was patronized by Kurpiński, Lessel and Elsner.[61] In fact, some claim that Elsner visited the house daily.[62] Occasionally, even such splendid guests like Prince Radziwiłł could be encountered at

---

[56]Iwanejko, 30-31 and Syga and Szenic, 39. Iwanejko's biography of Szymanowska and Syga and Szenic's excellent biographic novel about the pianist speak much of music-making in the Wołowski household, but unfortunately neither work is specific about the sources of this information.

[57]Syga and Szenic, 76.

[58]Bełza, *Szymanowska,* 33. See above, page 299.

[59]Syga and Szenic, 77.

[60]Bełza, *Szymanowska,* 37.

[61]Iwanejko, 26.

[62]Syga and Szenic, 41.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the Wołowskis.[63]

Prince Antoni Radziwiłł (1775-1833), who was married to the Prussian Princess Louise Hohenzollern (the niece of Fryderyk II), was made the Plenipotentiary to the Prussian King in the occupied western Poland and thus he resided in Berlin and Poznań. Although he did not host a salon in Warsaw, his visits to the capital were always of utmost artistic significance, as was his connection with Fryderyk Chopin.

The Radziwiłł family was for generations involved in patronage and the making of the arts, but Prince Antoni's commitment was exceptional. He was a very good cellist and a talented composer (he also played the harp and the guitar and sang).[64] The Prince had an artistic salon in Berlin that hosted the greatest musical celebrities, and after 1815 in his Antonin estate near Poznań he held weekly musical gatherings devoted to the performance of chamber works by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and other classical masters, in which he always played the cello part.[65]

Radziwiłł was acquainted with many great musicians of the time; for instance, Chopin indicates that he was very friendly

---

[63]Ibid., 47.

[64]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 61.

[65]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with Spontini.[66] It was Radziwiłł who with a very high recommendation presented Chopin to Henrietta Sonntag during her 1830 visit in Warsaw.[67] Among the many dedications to him we find Beethoven's Overture *Zur Namensfeier* op. 115, Mendelssohn's Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 1, Szymanowska's Serenade for piano with cello accompaniment, and two works by Chopin: the Trio in G Minor, op. 8 and Introduction and Polonaise op. 3.[68]

Radziwiłł's own most famous and praised composition was music to Goethe's *Faust*.[69] The work was first performed by the Berlin Sing-Akademie on October 26, 1835 and given a detailed and enthusiastic review.[70] But Chopin heard and played fragments of *Faust* earlier, during one of his visits with the Prince, and he found the music unexpectedly inventive, with traces of genius.[71]

Chopin's first meeting with Prince Radziwiłł took place in 1825.[72] To honor the Prince's brief visit to Warsaw, the

---

[66]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:78.

[67]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 5 June 1830, Sydow edition, 1:126.

[68]*Polish Biographical Dictionary*, 30:158.

[69]Karasowski, *Chopin*, 61.

[70]*AmZ*, December 1835:800-811.

[71]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 14 January 1829 [1830], Sydow edition, 1:112-114.

[72]Although Sowiński claims that Chopin was eight when he first played for the Prince. Sowiński, 54.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

capital's aristocracy prepared a magnificent reception in the Wilanów Palace, hosted by Countess Potocka and Princess Czetwertyńska. Fryderyk was asked to provide the guests with dance music, and the ballroom came alive to the accompaniment of young composer's waltzes, *mazurs*, and polonaises. Prince Radziwiłł stood by the piano, full of admiration and completely absorbed by the music.[73]

Chopin played again for Radziwiłł on the day of the Prince's departure from Warsaw in the salon of Princess Czetwertyńska--both meetings left the Prince enchanted by the talent and charming manners of the young genius.[74] Princess Czetwertyńska, the proud patron of the young pianist, learned during that stay that Radziwiłł would sponsor Chopin's studies at the Conservatory.[75] But this and other statements concerning Radziwiłł's financial support for Chopin's studies are highly debatable.[76]

---

[73]Marceli A. Szulc, 251-54.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Probably the earliest assertion of help from Radziwiłł comes from Liszt. Marceli A. Szulc later admitted that his claim is entirely based on Liszt, and that he had no other evidence to support it. Marceli A. Szulc, 278-79. Sowiński also reports that Radziwiłł was paying for Chopin's education, but his account of the events is similarly contestable. Sowiński, 54. In this case the only report that can be considered reliable is Oskar Kolberg's clear declaration that Radziwiłł "much contributed to Chopin's education" [wiele na wykształcenie Chopina łożył]. Kolberg, "Chopin" in *Orgelbrand*, 5:459. These claims by Liszt, Marceli A. Szulc, Sowiński and Kolberg are vehemently opposed by other writers. Karasowski, writing on the authority of Chopin's sisters and mother, firmly denies

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin's correspondence mentions Prince Antoni Radziwiłł frequently. The first group of letters pertaining to Radziwiłł, dating from 1828 and written before and during Fryderyk's trip to Berlin, show anxious anticipation of a meeting with the Prince.[77] Nothing is known about a meeting in Berlin, but we are told that on the way back to Warsaw the composer stopped in Poznań. According to eyewitnesses, during a musical dinner at Radziwiłł's house, Chopin performed his own Polonaise with the Prince, played sonatas of Beethoven, Hummel, Mozart for two and four hands (with the house *maitre*, Kapelmeister Klingohr) and amazed all with his

---

any help from Radziwiłł. Karasowski, *Chopin*, 62-66. A similar position is taken by Julian Fontana, who firmly believes that Radziwiłł did not support Chopin in the Gymnasium *[sic]*. Kobylańska, *Chopin*, 193.
Chopin's correspondence suggests other possibilities. Although it is difficult to ascertain whether Radziwiłł financially contributed to Fryderyk's formal education, letters written in the late 1820s imply that the Chopin family was in need of a stipend that would assist the young pianist in furthering his career. An 1829 plea for a government grant sent by Mikołaj Chopin to minister Grabowski (denied by Mostowski) is a clear proof of that. Mikołaj Chopin, Warsaw, to Minister Stanisław Grabowski, Warsaw, 13 April 1829, Sydow edition, 1:87-88. Later this year, in letter to Tytus, Fryderyk unequivocally states that the Prince made pledges of patronage and that his father wanted him to pursue the possibility of Radziwiłł making good on his promise. Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 20 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:109-110.

[77]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 9 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:78; Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 16 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:81; and Fryderyk Chopin, Berlin, to his family, Warsaw, 20 September 1828, Sydow edition, 1:83.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

improvisations.[78]

In October of 1829 he wrote of a standing invitation from the Prince's wife Ludwika to stay in their palace in Berlin.[79] About two weeks later, Chopin visited friends near Poznań, in hope of arranging a casual visit with Radziwiłł; he was already disillusioned with the Prince, but his father encouraged him to go ahead.[80] Therefore, he completed the Trio in G Minor for piano, violin and cello and dedicated it to Prince Antoni Radziwiłł.

The perseverance paid off. In November there was a note from the Prince thanking Chopin for the Trio and asking him to expedite the printing so that they could perform it together when Chopin stopped in Poznań on his way to Berlin.[81] The long awaited, week-long visit to Antonin finally came in the beginning of 1830.[82]

During the visit Chopin spent much time with the Prince, making and discussing music. He was also coaching the seventeen-year-old Princess Wanda, whom he thought very

---

[78]Marceli A. Szulc, 56. In a 1830 letter, Chopin suggests a later composition date for the Polonaise (see below).

[79]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, March 10 1829, Sydow edition, 1:107.

[80]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 20 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:109-110.

[81]Antoni Radziwiłł, Antonin, to Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, 4 November 1829, Sydow edition, 1:111.

[82]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 14 January 1829 [1830], Sydow edition, 1:112-114.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

musical. For her he composed a simple, flashy *"alla polacca* with the cello" (which was later published as Polonaise in C Major, op. 3). The other Princess, Eliza (the great love of the future German Emperor Wilhelm I), made two supposedly very accurate drawings of Chopin. In exchange she asked for a copy of Chopin's Polonaise in F Minor [op. 71, no. 3].[83] Radziwiłł might have been reluctant to help Fryderyk financially, but he certainly opened many doors for him and motivated the composition of all Chopin's early works for the cello.

A dedication of Chopin's Rondo in C Minor, op. 1 to "Madame de Linde" stemmed from years of friendship between the Chopin and Linde families; the special music-making moments with Mrs. Linde in particular. Ludwika Linde, was the second wife of Samuel Bogumił Linde, Rector of the Warsaw Gymnasium, and later a University professor; the author of the monumental *Dictionary of the Polish Language.*[84] The Lindes and the Chopins were close friends. An especially intimate relationship existed between Fryderyk's sister Emilia and the professor's daughter by his first wife also named Ludwika. The two girls were the closest of friends, which is apparent in Emilia's letters.[85]

---

[83]Ibid.

[84]Young Fryderyk made a drawing of Samuel Linde, now in the City Museum in Radom.

[85]Kobylańska, *Chopin,* 16.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second Mrs. Linde, Ludwika Nussbaum, was born in Eislingen, Germany in 1800. Miss Nussbaum arrived in Poland in 1820 to visit the Skarbek family and during that stay she met Bogumił Linde, whom she married in 1824. She was a very talented young lady who drew, sang and played the piano. Her connection with music was not just a matter of social convention, for she was born into a musical family: her father was a conductor of an army orchestra.

There were regular meetings in the Linde salon, though the busy rector seldom participated in them; only sometimes would he come out for tea and then promptly return to his study.[86] Thus, the young Mrs. Linde was alone in organizing and hosting musical evenings to which she invited her friends. The Chopins were among her regular guests and she often played four hands with Fryderyk.[87]

Chopin did not shy away from playing with good amateurs. For instance, he gladly joined the musical evenings at the home of doctor Ludwik Sauvan and his talented wife who was a good singer.[88] In fact, there was a circle of very talented

---

[86]Wielisław, *Friday Evenings*, 32.

[87]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 130-31.

[88]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 3 October 1829, Sydow edition, 1:108. Mrs. Sauvan (1810-1871) also participated in performances in other musical salons. Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 10 April 1830, Sydow edition, 1:117; and Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 15 May 1830, Sydow edition, 1:123. She was the only daughter of the famous theatre personality Ludwik Adam Dmuszewski and Konstancja Pięknowska (see, pages 108, 224 and 226), who went against her father's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

amateurs that frequented musical salons and were involved in music-making with Chopin. Hoesick mentions the names of Molsdorf [Malsdorf], Kaczyński, Ledoux, Sołtyk, Łempicki and Schuch.[89] Of these, the first four most often appear in Chopin's correspondence.[90] According to Kolberg, Molsdorf and Kaczyński were cellists, and Ledoux and Sołtyk played the violin.[91] The careers of the Kaczyński brothers are mentioned earlier (page 271) and we can also trace the identities of the others.

It was the cellist Józef Molsdorf who, as a fund-raiser for the composer Rywacki, performed the Romberg cello concerto between the acts of a play.[92] His performance was well received, and the young man was described as having the potential for becoming a good musician if he invested in further practice.[93] Apparently he did not take this advice, for by the early 1820s he is listed as an accountant in the

---

wishes and on May 14, 1827, at the age of seventeen, married Ludwik Sauvan (a medical doctor of Zygmunt Krasiński and his friend). She later divorced her husband, and after converting to Lutheranism she married Ludwik Zabłocki (24 October 1832), whom she eventually also divorced. Szenic, 2:210.

[89]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 271-272.

[90]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 22 September 1830, Sydow edition, 1:141.

[91]Kolberg, *Music Writings*, 61/2:474.

[92]*Gazeta warszawska*, 27 July 1813, no. 60:832 and ibid., 10 August 1813, no. 64:892.

[93]Ibid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Commission of Treasury and Finance.[94] The title baron given to him by his friends may be authentic: he was probably a descendant of an old German family from Kłodawa, which settled in Poland in the 18th century.[95]

Franciszek Ledoux was also a governmental employee in the capacity of vice director of the Bureau of Direct Contributions in the Department of Treasury and Finance.[96] It is likely that he was the son of the renowned dancer Franciszek Gabriel Ledoux, who according to the death notice, left behind two children, a son and a daughter.[97] Known as a violinst, Ledoux also tried his hand at composition, as

---

[94]*Warsaw Guide 1826,* 61; and *Warsaw Guide 1829,* 76.

[95]*Polish Biographical Dictionary,* 21:636. There is record of an Aleksander Molsdorf (1806-1862) who was born in Kłodawa in a respected noble family (in 1783 a Molsdorf was a Royal Chamberlain and during Prussian occupation and served as Postmaster of Kłodawa). After completing studies in law and administration at the University of Warsaw, he worked in the Commission of the Treasury and Finance. He later fought in the November Uprising after which, in 1832, he settled in France (moved to Paris about 1839). Aleksander could not be identical with Józef, since he would have been too young to work for the government already in 1823. Furthermore, if he were the cellist performing in 1813, most likely some mention of his unusually young age would have been made. But he was very likely a close relative of Chopin's cellist.

[96]*Warsaw Guide 1826,* 62.

[97]*Kurier warszawski,* 3 February 1823, no. 29:1. Franciszek Gabriel Ledoux (1754-1823) was a great dancer who arrived in Poland from France in 1782. He was the director of Poland's first ballet and the founder of several ballet schools. Ledoux was loved by Warsaw's youth, who knew him well since he also taught dancing in Warsaw's boarding schools. Wójcicki, *Powązki Cemetery,* 2:156. The famous dancer married Mlle. Lex, a French milliner; their children, however, became completely polonized. Szenic, 1:160.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

evidenced by an 1822 print of a Mazurek.[98] The identity of the "Sołtyk" frequently mentioned by Chopin and other musicians remains uncertain, for Warsaw had two related Sołtyks who were outstanding violinists: Franciszek and Karol.

Count Franciszek Sołtyk, Senator Castellan of the Polish Kingdom (1783-1865), was the son of Józef Sołtyk and Józefa Urbańska. He was a superb violinist, who studied with Lafont and Kreutzer in Paris. When he returned to Poland he spent winters in Warsaw and often performed there in public and private concerts. He also studied composition with Elsner and left many works: concertos, sonatas, nocturnes, fantasias, rhapsodies, dances, etc.[99] His compositions were very beautiful, melodious, yet classically structured in the style of Kreutzer, but original.[100]

Count Karol Sołtyk was born in 1791 near Cracow.[101] He was the son of Jan Kanty Sołtyk and Anna Rostworowska.[102] Karol was a wonderful violinst: the great violin virtuoso Karol Lipiński claimed that Karol Sołtyk and Duranowski were the best Polish violinists.[103] Sołtyk was also the composer

---

[98]Wojciech Tomaszewski, *Bibliography,* 51.

[99]Sowiński, 344-45.

[100]*Ruch muzyczny,* 1861, no. 29:445.

[101]*Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* 1869:492-93.

[102]*Orgelbrand,* 23:822.

[103]*Ruch muzyczny,* 1861, no. 7:103. Duranowski was an excellent violinst known outside of Poland as Durand or Dürand.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of about fifty Mazurkas (many of them published in Warsaw); these were very popular and considered among the best of their time.[104] As a young man, he inherited a large sum of money and went to Vienna. During a stay there he studied the violin with Mayseder. In short time, his luxurious life-style made him a pauper but, thanks to his teacher's help, he got a job as a second violinst in the Imperial Court orchestra. Soon after, his family paid up his debts and he was able to return to Poland.[105] Though he lived in Cracow,[106] where he often played in quartets, he frequently visited Warsaw and in 1827 he permanently moved to the capital to join his sister Urszula Wielogłowska.[107] In Warsaw, he was friends with the musicians Teichmann, Brzowski, Orłowski and Chopin.[108] He died during a cholera epidemic in Warsaw in 1831.[109]

In light of these facts, it is difficult to ascertain which Sołtyk is referred to by Chopin. They were both splendid musicians; though Lipiński thought highly of Karol, Kolberg admired Franciszek:

---

[104]*Orgelbrand,* 23:822.

[105]*Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* 1869:492-93.

[106]There are also claims that he lived in the Sandomierz district. *Orgelbrand,* 23:822.

[107]*Tygodnik Ilustrowany,* 1869:492-93.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Ibid. Elsewhere Kolberg gives end of 1830 or 1831 as the date of death of cholera. Kolberg, *Music Writings,* 61/2:474. The *Orgelbrand* article claims that he died in 1828. *Orgelbrand,* 23:822.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Karol's playing in general was lucid and vibrant, but in respect to shading and detail it did not match the playing of his relative Franciszek Sołtyk from Piastów.
>
> Gra jego [Karola] w ogóle była wyrazista i pełna, lubo pod względem cieniowania i wykończenia nie dorównywała grze krewnego jego, Franciszka Sołtyka z Piastowa.][110]

It is most likely that Chopin had the opportunity to play on different occasions with both Karol and Franciszek, and if Karol was still alive in 1829 and 1830, then the references in Chopin's letters could pertain to either violinist.

The Sołtyks' were not the only amateurs who attained a measure of virtuosity. Chopin admiringly described the playing of another one of Warsaw's amateurs:

> ... he plays the piano like nobody else that I have heard. You can well imagine what joy it is for us, who never hear anything of perfection here. He does consider himself an artist, but an amateur. I will not expand the description of his fast, smooth and round playing, but I will tell you only that his left hand is as strong as the right one, which is unusual in one person. An entire sheet of paper would not suffice, if I wanted to describe his most exquisite talent.
>
> [... gra na fortepianie tak jakem jeszcze nikogo nie słyszał. Możesz sobie wystawić co to za uciecha dla nas, cośmy tu nic doskonałego nie słyszeli. Nie jest on jako artysta, ale jako amator. Nie będę się rozszerzał nad opisywaniem jego szybkiej, gładkiej, okrągłej gry, ale Ci to tylko powiem, że lewa reka tak mocna jak prawa, co jest nadzwyczajną rzeczą w jednej osobie. Albowiem nie stałoby mi całego arkusza, gdybym chciał opisać prześliczny jego talent.][111]

---

[110]*Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1869:492-93.

[111]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 30 October 1825, Sydow edition, 1:59.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This object of fifteen-year-old Chopin's admiration was Aleksander Rembieliński, who had just returned from Paris. Aleksander, born in the beginning of the century, lived in Paris for six years and was well received there. In addition to being a pianist, he also composed and published several pieces, including piano trios.[112] Chopin was especially fond of his waltzes, which he mailed to Jan Białobłocki with the highest recommendation.[113]

Aleksander's paternal uncle, Raymund Rembieliński, was a President of the Mazowsze Regional Commission, which overlooked the Warsaw Gymnasium, and thus he was well-known to the Chopins. He kept a salon in which Aleksander often performed after his return to Warsaw in 1825. Chopin speaks of Aleksander on several other occasions, always with the same admiration, indicating that they see each other frequently.[114]

Warsaw had several amateur musicians, who brought their entire families into musical activities. Their children, reared in an atmosphere of love for music, went on to become music connoisseurs and, in some cases, professional musicians. Such was the case of the children of Walenty Orłowski and

---

[112]Sowiński, 320.

[113]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, between 15 and 22 June 1826, Sydow edition, 1:68.

[114]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Jan Białobłocki, Sokołów, 15 May 1826, Sydow edition, 1:65.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Apolonia Graczewska.[115] Walenty was an amateur bassoonist, who was very well-known in Warsaw's musical circles and apparently friendly enough with Elsner to chose him as the godfather of his son, Antoni. In fact all three of his children--Joanna, Antoni and their step-brother Józef Szabliński--not only participated in various musical activities, but also received a formal musical education and continued a life-long commitment to music.

Józef Szabliński played several instruments, but excelled as a cellist and a French horn player. At first he was a student of Wejnert, later he became Wejnert's assistant, and in 1819 he was a horn player for the theatre orchestra.[116] When it was needed, he also played the cello for the orchestra.[117] During his career he was heard in several public chamber performances as a cellist and already in 1829 he became a wind instrument professor at the Conservatory.[118]

Joanna Orłowska was the youngest, born in 1814.[119] As a child, she headed the children-soprano choir in the performances at the Piarists' Church, in which the Orłowski family regularly participated.[120] Joanna studied singing and

---

[115]*Kurier warszawski*, 3 April 1867, no. 77:462.

[116]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 262.

[117]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 130.

[118]Sowiński, 373.

[119]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 162-63.

[120]"Antoni Orłowski," 375.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

piano at the Conservatory and sang as a soloist in concerts organized by both Old and New Merchant Clubs.[121] She was also a fine pianist and an excellent sight-reader and often participated in chamber performances.[122] Starting in 1835, after she married Naimski, she held famous musical Wednesdays visited by such celebrities as Vieuxtemps, Paganini, Servais, Dreyschok and Liszt.

The most talented of the Orłowski children was Antoni, who studied composition with Elsner and the violin with Bielawski. He was born in 1811 and already at the age of twelve he received first prize for his violin playing. A year later he composed music for a ballet, successfully performed at the National Theater.[123] Chopin and Antoni Orłowski were colleagues at the conservatory and there are many references to Antoni in Chopin's letters. In the spring of 1830, after Chopin's first public concert, Orłowski published mazurkas and waltzes on themes from Chopin's E Minor Concerto.[124] Though sometimes Chopin mocked Orłowski's abilities,[125] on other occasions he acknowledged his compositional skill:

Orłowski's new ballet, in respect to music, is

---

[121]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 162-63.

[122]Dobrzyński, 51.

[123]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 268.

[124]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 27 March 1830, Sydow edition, 1:116.

[125]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 31 August 1830, Sydow edition, 1:134.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indeed very good and has many pleasant places.

[Nowy balet Orłowskiego, co się tycze muzyki, jest istotnie bardzo dobry i wiele miejsc ładnych.][126]

In 1830 both young musicians found themselves in Paris, but Orłowski--offered the position of a theatre orchestra's conductor--moved to Rouen.[127] They remained in touch and in 1834 Chopin visited Orłowski in Rouen.[128]

The following year, a child of another music-loving family from Warsaw arrived in Paris. He appeared at Chopin's door with a recommendation letter from Chopin's old teacher Żywny his name was Edward Wolff.[129]

Edward Wolff (1814-1880) amazed Warsaw as a child prodigy and became a professional musician as a pianist and a composer. He studied with Elsner and later went to Vienna to continue his education with Würfel. From 1835 he lived in Paris, where he had a great following as a piano teacher and a performing virtuoso. Among his over 300 piano compositions, most are etudes and fantasias.[130] Edward, who grew up in the same musical circles as Chopin, was a great admirer and

---

[126]Fryderyk Chopin, Warsaw, to Tytus Woyciechowski, Poturzyn, 22 Sept 1930, Sydow edition, 1:142.

[127]Sowiński, 298.

[128]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 164.

[129]Wojciech Żywny, Warsaw, to Fryderyk Chopin, Paris, 12 June 1835, Sydow edition, 1:257-58.

[130]Sowiński, 412.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

follower of his.[131] He was the author of a nocturne entitled *Hommage à Chopin*,[132] and to Chopin he dedicated his piano concerto.[133]

Edward Wolff was the most talented child of Józef Wolff (1766-1866), a renowned Warsaw physician and his second wife, Eleonora Oesterreicher (1789-1859).[134] Eleonora Wolff was a skilled pianist, mentioned in an 1812 article in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* as one of the best in Warsaw.[135] In their apartment at Podwale 497, the Wolffs kept a well-known musical salon.[136] The musical gatherings in their home were visited by Warsaw's musical elite and visiting foreign virtuosi.[137] It is likely Eleonora was the Mrs. Wolff to whom Elsner dedicated the Quartet in F Major for piano, violin, viola, and cello.[138] Chopin probably knew the Wolffs well since, during his stay in Vienna, he was a frequent guest in the hospitable home of the [Weberheims] Weyberheims--the exceptionally musical Mrs. Weberheim being none other than the

---

[131]Edward Wolff, Vienna, to Józef Nowakowski, Warsaw, 8 August 1835, Sydow edition, 1:258-59; and Hoesick, *Słowacki and Chopin*, 2:251-52.

[132]Hoesick, "Luminaries," 269.

[133]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 280.

[134]Szenic, 2:243.

[135]*AmZ*, September 1812:612.

[136]Szenic, 2:243.

[137]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery*, 279.

[138]Elsner, *Summary*, 58.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sister of Mrs. Wolff of Warsaw.[139]

The Wolffs had seven children, of whom several had musical talent.[140] Not only was Edward involved with music, but also his brother Maksymilian (1809-1874), who graduated the Gymnasium in 1825 and received medical training at the Warsaw University. Maksymilian, though not a professional musician, continued to participate in the musical life of Warsaw as a devoted amateur.[141] Their musically inclined sister Regina married a Lublin doctor and became the mother of two great musicians Józef and Henryk Wieniawski.[142]

The early nineteenth-century musical salons constituted only the first generation of artistic salons in Poland; in the following decades many more homes initiated regular musical meetings. Because of the trend for hosting musical soirées, Chopin was able to reap the benefits of participating in daily music-making sessions with experienced elders and peers. There he could master the skills and enjoy the pleasures of a

---

[139]Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, 1 December 1830, Sydow edition, 1:156; and Fryderyk Chopin, Vienna, to his family, Warsaw, [22 December 1830], Sydow edition, 1:158. This comes as no surprise when we learn that the original home of the Wolffs was in Brodów in Galitzia. Teodor Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy* [Polish Neophytes] (Warszawa: Laskauer, 1904), 287.

[140]Szenic, 1:244.

[141]Eugeniusz Szulc, *Calvinist Cemetery,* 280. The Wolff family, originally Jewish, converted to Christianity one by one. The records indicate that the doctors Maksymilian and Michał converted in 1840 and their brother Bolesław Maurycy--the Warsaw publisher--in 1856. Jeske-Choiński, 287-88.

[142]Szenic, 1:298.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

chamber musician; play intimate and lyrical music without the necessity to satisfy popular tastes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONCLUSION

The original intent of my dissertation was to examine the formation of Chopin's early style within the musical context of his native Warsaw. I soon discovered that no comprehensive study of Warsaw's musical environment during the period of Chopin's youth could be found, and I realized that in order to pursue my topic I would first have to research Warsaw's musical history myself. In the process, my material shaped itself into a study of its own.

I hope that the present dissertation will facilitate the investigation of the initial topic--Chopin's early style. I myself expect to draw on this sociomusicological context in the future for style analysis, and I trust that other scholars will also find here factual information useful to their historical and analytical research.

Aside from its relevance to the field of Chopin studies, this dissertation addresses vital questions pertaining to the history of Polish music. In this respect, there are a number of issues that arise from my work and would merit further investigation. More exploration is needed concerning the history of Warsaw's salons, with special attention to music. Not only does the salon during the period under consideration require closer scrutiny, but also the later nineteenth century

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

salon, when Chopin's peers (like Naimska, Reszke, Wolicki, Lewocka, Lubomirski or Kalergis) kept their own salons, awaits an in-depth inquiry.

The subject of performances in Warsaw churches during the early nineteenth century figures only marginally in this study. The *calendarium* compiled for appendix 2 was based on a limited number of sources and it was not intended as a conclusive chronicle, but rather (for lack of any other readily available information) as an interim source, to be superseded by an exhaustive survey of this topic.

The fragments of conflicting information that emerged in respect to the history of the Warsaw Conservatory, combined with Professor Gołos' incidental findings pertaining to the existence of a second music school under the auspices of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music at the Piarists' Church, also suggest an avenue of investigation. So does the manuscript of Józef Elsner's harmony treatise that was never fully studied. I have already begun to explore data about the intriguing salon tradition of performing orchestral works in "quartets," or chamber orchestras. The existence of such a tradition opens a whole new perspective on the nature of salon entertainment, and it may shed light on Chopin's scoring choices.

While working in Warsaw, I have accumulated much material that is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but that pertains to the research topics outlined above. Yet, by no

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

means did I exhaust all the archival sources. There are still many archives in Warsaw itself that need to be further explored. These, in spite of the massive Nazi destruction of Polish documentation, may still yield new data. Outside of the Polish capital, in cities like Cracow, Płock, Poznań and Wrocław, there collections exist that must be examined. Many of the major cities abroad, which have had close or even indirect contact with Warsaw's cultural circles (mainly Vilnus, Lvov, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Leipzig), today house important collections of Polish documents. These remain almost completely unexplored.

Warsaw's daily press and periodicals provided an astonishing wealth of information for my study. What remains to be done is an extensive search of press and journals published in the remaining major Polish and foreign cities. These may contain dispatches from Warsaw describing important musical events, reports of visiting Warsaw musicians, and information about people from the Warsaw musical circles, who, like Chopin, relocated to a different area.

The image of Chopin's Warsaw that emerges from the contemporary documentation presented in my dissertation is marvelously colorful: an active multi-ethnic and multi-religious city aspiring to greater learning, finer arts and better music; a performing scene not only supporting local musical talent (performers as well as composers), but also importing gifted musicians from abroad. Fryderyk Chopin had

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the good fortune to experience an unusual moment in the nineteenth-century history of this city: a flourishing window of time, in which the great genius could be nourished by the artistic and intellectual energy of Warsaw's cultural renaissance.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

MAP LEGEND

1. The University of Warsaw; the Chopins' apartment in the right wing of the Kazimierz Palace.
2. The Chopins' apartment in the Krasiński Palace.
3. The Lutheran Church.
4. The Visitation Nuns' Church associated with the University of Warsaw.
5. The Viceroy's Palace; the residence of Count and Countess Zajączek.
6. Building of the Benevolent Society.
7. The Warsaw Conservatory.
8. The Royal Castle.
9. The Cathedral of St. John.
10. The *Dziurka* and *Kopciuszek cafés* in the Tepper Palace.
11. The Piarists' Church; the location of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music.
12. The National Theater.
13. The main Town Hall.
14. The Mniszech Palace; residence of the Harmonie Gesellschaft and, later, the Merchant Club.
15. The Zamoyski Palace.
16 Grand Duke Constantine's residence at Belweder Palace.
17. The Royal Palace at Łazienki.

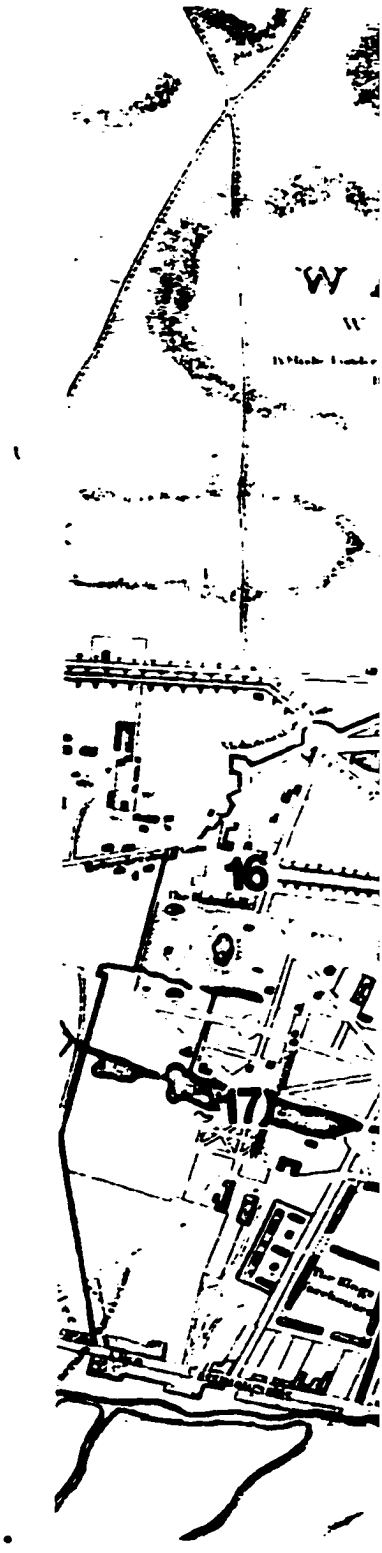
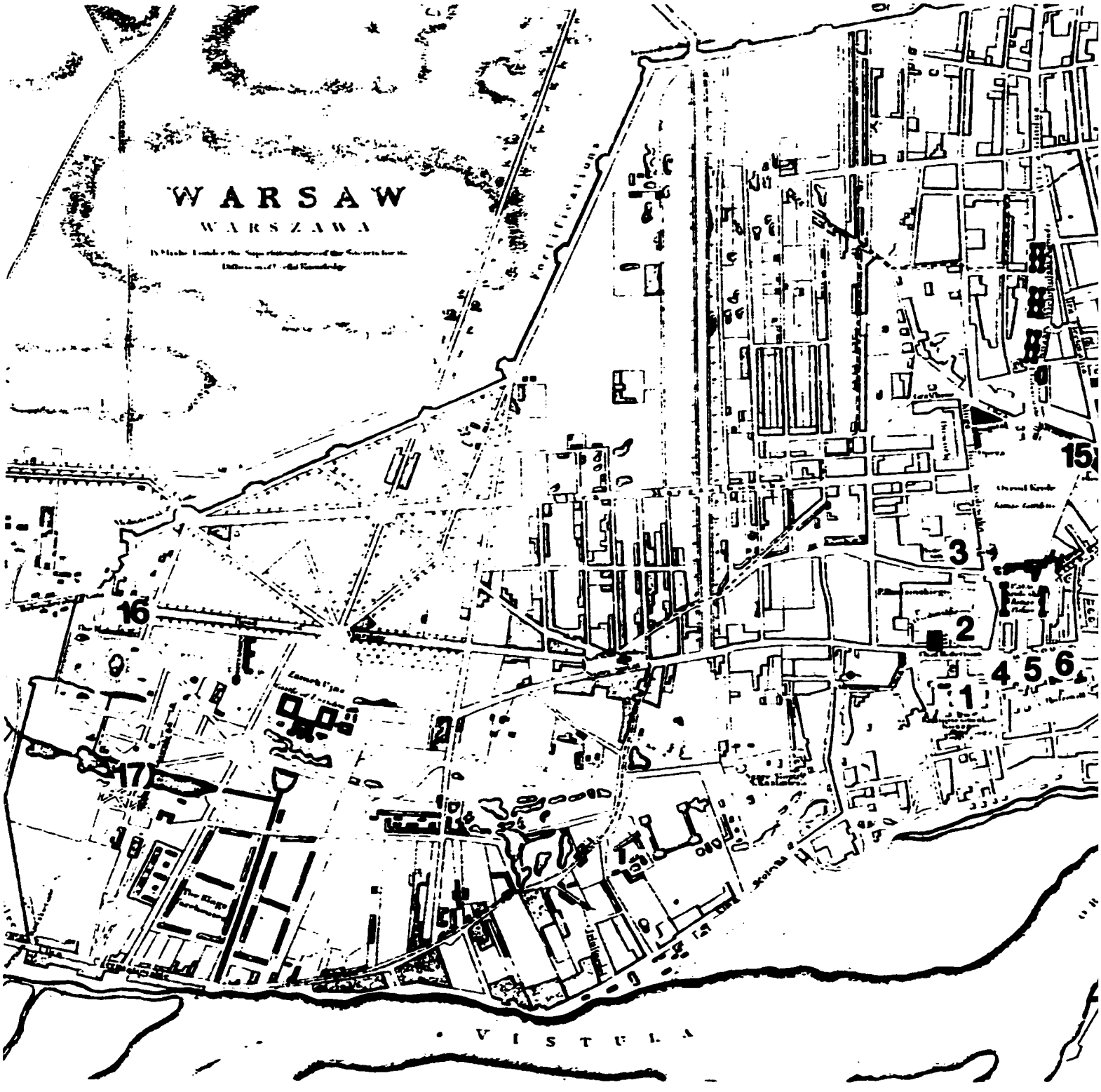


Fig. 36. A map of Warsaw from 1831 (National Library).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDICES

The first three appendices are based on tables compiled by Halina Sieradz in her Master's thesis "The Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1815-1830." Other sources consulted by me are Hanna Pukińska-Szpietowska's article "Concert life in Warsaw (1800-1810)," Anna Bućko's thesis "The Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1807-1815" and Magdalena Kwiatkowska's thesis "The Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1795-1806." I supplemented and updated their research with information from the local press (notices and reviews) and from the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (correspondences from Warsaw), as well as from references found in memoirs and letters (especially Chopin's).

In appendices 1 and 2 each concert entry containes date, names of performers and repertory performed where available. Appendix 3 is not intended to be all-inclusive. It lists only selected Warsaw opera premieres: composer, title and the year of world premiere for foreign works.

For appendix 4 I have selected a handful of excerpts from compositions by Warsaw musicians. I included Chopin's elders and peers; professionals as well as amateurs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 1

MUSIC IN WARSAW'S CONCERT HALLS 1815-1830

1815			
Jan.	National Theater	Józef Damse clarinet	Lefevre clarinet concerto
Feb.		Carl Mayer piano	Dussek Piano Concerto in F Major, Field Piano Concerto in A flat Major, Field Rondo *alla polacca*
		Jan Szczurowski bass and Walenty Kratzer tenor	Maurer aria Mozart aria
Feb.		Carl Mayer piano Sobieski violin	Dussek Piano Concerto in E flat Major, Rode violin concerto
Feb.	National Theater	Lehmann flute	Dresler concerto, Dupuy adagio, rondo
March 28	National Theater	Józef Bielawski violin	Kreutzer violin concerto
April 19	National Theater	Luigi Gianella flute, Franciszek Lessel piano, Walenty Kratzer tenor, Józef Bielawski violin	Gianella flute concerto, Gianella double concerto, Mozart aria with clarinet obligato from *La clemenza di Tito*, Kreutzer rondo
April		Lehmann flute, Blaha oboe, Stolpe	Dulon concerto, variations on a Russian song, Dussek Quintet from the F Minor Oboe Concerto

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

May 17	National Theater	Mme. Frank-Sander voice	
May 19	National Theater	Carl Mühlenfeld piano and violin	Mühlenfeld piano concerto and violin concerto, rondo on two Russian folk melodies
June		Mme. Frank-Sander voice, Józef Bielawski violin	Paër aria with violin obligato from *Griselda*, Rode violin variations, Reichard bravura aria, Haydn one movement from a symphony, vocal rondo
June	National Theater	Pietro Esudero violin, Luigi Tarquinio soprano	Viotti Concerto in B Minor, Baillot variations on a Russian theme, Farinelli aria from *Attila*
June 16	National Theater	Various artists	Cantata on the occasion of the proclamation of the Polish Kingdom
Oct. 11	National Theater	Petzhold violin	Kurpiński overture, Rode concerto, Haydn allegro from a symphony, Petzhold polonaise
Oct. 19	National Theater	Łuszczewski bassoon	
Nov. 3	National Theater	Naget flute	
Dec. 24	National Theater	Various artists	Cantata on Czar Alexander I birthday

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1816			
Jan. 3	National Theater	Mme. Elsner voice, Szlancowski violin, Luigi Tarquinio soprano	Elsner overture, Cimarosa scene and aria from oratorio *Il Sacrifizio d'Abraham*, Lamarc transcription of allegro from a cello concerto, Farinelli aria and duet, Haydn Andante from the "Drumroll" Symphony
Jan. 15	Grand Hall of the Freemason Loge at the Mniszech Palace	Bernhard Romberg cello, Jan Szczurowski bass	Elsner overture, Romberg "Swiss" Concerto in C Major, Maurer aria, Russian song for the cello, Krommer allegro for a brass instrument, Romberg andante and polonaise for the cello
Jan. 24	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Mme. Elsner voice	Elsner overture, Romberg Military Concerto in F Major, Romberg Swedish songs and songs on *Cracovianas and Highlanders*, Portogallo aria, Krommer brass polonaise, Mozart andante
Feb. 5	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Mme. Elsner voice, Walenty Kratzer tenor	Elsner overture, Romberg Concerto in E flat Major, Zingarelli duet, Romberg Moldavian songs, Haydn last allegro from a symphony, andante and polonaise

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feb. 9	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Nanette Stam, Najemska, Breunig, Ernst Mertke bassoon, National Theater orchestra Józef Elsner conductor	Lessel overture, Romberg "Swiss" Concerto, Swedish songs, Zingarelli arias, Blangini *romanza*
after April 2		David French horn and flageolet	
May 7	Radziwiłł Palace		
May 25	National Theater	Weydynger oboe, Hussek clarinet, Koller bassethorn	
July 20	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	
Aug. 9	National Theater	Michałowski discant flute, Maciejewski bassoon	
Aug. 12	Ballroom at the National Theater	Józef Wolfram flute	
Aug. 13	National Theater	Ignacy Reutt violin	Kreutzer violin concerto, Rode rondo
Sept. 13	National Theater	Bernard piano	
Oct. 21	National Theater	J. Gehring violin	
Nov. 4	National Theater	Wenkel French horn	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nov. 11	Ballroom at the National Theater	Franciszek Kohaut French horn and trumpet	
Nov. 20		Karol Arnold piano	
Nov. 30	Radziwiłł Palace	J. Gehring violin	
Dec. 2		Karol Arnold piano	
Dec. 9	National Theater	Franciszek Kohaut French horn, various artists of the National Theater	
Dec. 12	Radziwiłł Palace	Karol Arnold piano	
Dec. 18	National Theater	Ignaz Schuppanzigh violin	
Dec. 30	Ballroom at the National Theater	Franciszek Kohaut French horn and trumpet, Karol Arnold piano, Ignacy Reutt violin	
1817			
Jan. 10	Tonnes' private hall	Franciszek Kohaut French horn and tumpet, Ignacy Reutt violin	first subscription concert
Jan. 13	Tonnes' private hall		second subscription concert
Jan. 17	Tonnes' private hall		third subscription concert
Jan. 20	Tonnes' private hall		fourth subscription concert

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 26	Ballroom at the National Theater	Kosmeli jaw's harp	
March 31	Ballroom at the National Theater	Fryderyk Besser flute and violin	
April 16	Ballroom at the National Theater	Kosmeli jaw's harp	
after April 26		Hus Desforges cello, singers and orchestra	Desforges vocal and instrumental compositions
June 19	National Theater	Józef Bielawski violin, Sobieski violin	Viotti concertanto for two violins, Lipiński Polish dance
Aug. 3	National Theater	Double chorus and double orchestra	Kurpiński cantata with the declamation of hymn to joy
Aug. 17	National Theater	National Theater orchestra	Kurpiński Symphony *Battle of Możajsk*
Sept. 10	National Theater	National Theater orchestra and chorus	Elsner cantata for the name-day of Czar Alexander I (text Ludwik Osiński)
Nov. 20	National Theater	D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon	Duvernois French horn concerto, Gebauer bassoon concerto
?	National Theater	Niziński piccolo	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 7	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace	Karol Arnold piano, Louis Feuillide tenor, string quartet: Józef Bielawski violin, Melchior Maleczyński violin, Witkowski viola, Józef Wagner cello	I Sunday concert: Arnold compositions, Feuillide boleros, Haydn quartets, Mozart quartets
Dec. 14	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace	Karol Arnold piano	II Sunday concert: Haydn quartets, Mozart Introduction and Fugue
Dec. 21	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		III Sunday concert
Dec. 23	National Theater		Kurpiński cantata with *tableaux vivants*
Dec. 27	National Theater		Kurpiński *Elegy on the Death of Tadeusz Kosciuszko*
Dec. 28	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		IV Sunday concert
1818			
Jan. 4	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		V Sunday concert
Jan. 11	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		VI Sunday concert

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan. 18	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		VII Sunday concert: Haydn quartet, Arnold piano concerto, Tittof romance, Mozart quartet, Arnold Six Caprices, Feuillide romance, Cherubini excerpts from the opera *Abencérages*
Jan. 25	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		VIII Sunday concert: Haydn quartet, Dussek Ninth Piano Concerto in G Minor op. 49-50, Beethoven cavatina, Spohr quartet, Arnold piano sonata, Della Maria, rondo
Feb. 1	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace	Karol Arnold piano, Louis Feuillide tenor, D. Bailly French horn, and others	IX Sunday concert: Mozart quartet, Robert Smith piano concerto, Giuseppe Niccolini Alzira's scene, Haydn rondo, Arnold piano variations, romance, S. Gail bolero, compositions for French horn

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feb. 8	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		X Sunday concert: Haydn quartet, Arnold piano concerto, Giuseppe Niccolini new scene, Mozart, allegro, François Boieldieu romance, Arnold rondo, Feuillide bolero
Feb. 15	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		XI Sunday concert: Mozart quartet, Arnold piano concerto, Etienne Méhul aria, Louis Spohr, violin solo, François Boieldieu romance, Ferdinand Ries piano variations, S. Gail bolero
Feb. 22	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		XII Sunday concert: Haydn quartet, John Field piano concerto, Giuseppe Niccolini scene, Prince Ferdinand of Prussia fugue, Louis Spohr potpourri for violin and piano, Arnold piano sonata, Della Maria vocal pieces

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feb. 24	Radziwiłł Palace	Vicini violin, Piotr Kaczyński violin, Karol Arnold piano, Jacques Briece tenor, Louis Feuillide tenor, Fryderyk Chopin piano, and other artists and amateurs	V. Gyrowetz Piano Concerto in E Minor
March 1	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		XIII Sunday concert: Mozart quartet, Italian cavatina, Jan Ladislav Dussek Twelfth Piano Concerto in E flat Major op. 70, Prince S. Galitzin romance, Arnold solo piano transcription of a rondo from a piano concerto by John Field, Haydn allegro, Meurger bolero
March 6	National Theater	D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon, National Theater orchestra	Etienne Méhul overture "Hunt" Concerto for the French horn, bassoon concerto, symphonia concertando for the French horn and the bassoon, variations on a theme of a Tirol dance

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 8	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		XIV Sunday concert: Haydn quartet, polonaise, Meurger bolero, Robert Smith piano concerto, Mozart allegro, grand duet, romance
March 12	French Theater	Jacques Briece tenor, Mme. Briece voice, Karol Arnold piano, Louis Feuillide tenor	French and Italian arias, vocal duet, instrumental and vocal compositions
March 14	National Theater	Wacław Würfel piano	Würfel free fantasia
March 15	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		XV Sunday concert
March 24	Cassino Hall in the Sołtyk Palace		XVI Sunday concert
April 9	National Theater	Antoni Fischer voice	
April 15	National Theater	Antoni Fischer voice, Karolina Elsner voice	Italian comic intermezzo *Il Geloso*, and other pieces
April29	National Theater	Wincenty Buccolini contralto	
May 1	National Theater	Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano	Würfel potpourri
May 2	National Theater	Karl Moeser violin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

May 7	National Theater	Melchior Maleczyński violin, Józef Bielawski violin, Józef Wagner cello, National Theater orchestra	Antoni Kratzer concertante, Polish dances
May 16	National Theater	Karl Moeser violin	Moeser Rondo *à la russe*
?		Siboni voice, Mme. Elsner voice	Scenes from *La clemenza di Tito*
?	National Theater	Mme. George flute	
Aug. 2	National Theater	Various artists of the National Theater	Hymn with choruses, declamation, and dances with the accompaniment of a double orchestra, for the occasion of Czarina Maria Teodorovna's name day
Aug. 3	Royal Theater at the Orangery in Łazienki	Dumouchel (mother) harp, Dumouchel (son) piano	
Oct. 8	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	Felipe Libon violin concerto, Lafonte Concerto in G Minor
1819			
Jan.		Georgine Nesse voice	Various arias
March 5	National Theater	Artists of the National Theater	Kurpiński *Harmonic Elegy on the Death of Two Russian Heros*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 27	National Theater	Georgiane Nesse voice	Vincenzo Pucitta grand aria and scena, Vittorio Trento aria with polonaise
April 7	National Theater	Artists and amateurs	Oratorio, selection of chants and choruses
April		Kaplińska voice, Feuillide voice, Briece voice, Mlle Phillis, Wacław Würfel piano	
June 14	National Theater	Wolfgang Amadeus Xavier Mozart piano, Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon, Mme. Elsner, Mme. Dmuszewska, Mme. Aszperger, Walenty Kratzer Jan Szczurowski, Bonaventura Kudlicz	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Overture from *Magic Flute*, Wolfgang Amadeus Xavier Mozart Piano Concerto in E flat Major, double concerto for French horn and bassoon, Johann Nepomuk Hummel Rondo in A Major, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Sextet from the last act of *Don Giovanni*, fantasia on Polish themes
July 6	National Theater	Gentile Borgondio alto, Karolina Elsner voice	Gioacchino Rossini scenes from *Tancredi*
July 8	National Theater	Gentile Borgondio alto	
July 15	National Theater	Gentile Borgondio alto	five arias

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

July 17	National Theater	Gentile Borgondio alto, Karolina Elsner voice	Scene from Rossini's *L'italiana in Algeri*, Mayr duo from the last act of *Ginevra di Scozia*, Rossini scene composed for Borgondio's *Tancredi*--aria from the second act
Aug. 3	National Theater	Artists of the National Theater	Karol Kurpiński Hymn for the occasion of Czarina Maria Teodorovna's name day
Sept. 26	Ballroom at the National Theater	Józef Bielawski violin	
Oct. 26	Ballroom at the National Theater	Winnen bassoon, D. Bailly French horn	
Dec. 4	Town Hall	Angelica Catalani voice, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Karol Kurpiński overture, Grand Aria *della tromba*, concertanto excerpts, vocal transcription of Rode's violin variations, Niccolo Antonio Zingarelli cavatina "Ombra adorata," excerpt from instrumental quartet, Vincenzo Pucitto aria *alla polacca* "La placido campagna," hymn "God Save the King"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 9	Royal Castle	Angelica Catalani voice, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Part I: Elsner overture, Rossini aria, Mozart Don Ottavio's aria from act II of *Don Giovanni*, Pucitta aria, Spontini finale of the first act of *La vestale* Part II: Kurpiński overture, Nicolo aria, Mozart *Dies irae*, Nasolini duet, Würfel improvisation, Catalani's variations on Mozart's "Klinget Glöckchen," Haydn "Die Himmel erzählen" from *Die Schöpfung*
Dec. 15	Town Hall	Angelica Catalani voice, Hieronim Pomernacki violin	Part I: overture, Vincenzo Pucitta scena and aria from *Deh Frenate*, Ferdinand Paër Variations *La Biondina*, excerpt from a symphony, Part II: overture, Marcos Portugal aria "Frenar vorrei le lagrime," violin concerto, Vincenzo Pucitta polonaise "La placida campagna," hymn "God save the King"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 22	Town Hall	Angelica Catalani voice	Aria *della superba Roma*, Variations *Sul margine del Rio*, cavatina "Vittima Sventurata," aria with clarinet "Gratiamus agimus tibi," Russian song "Hurrah"
Dec.		Hieronim Pomernacki violin	
Dec. 23	National Theater		Cantata on the occasion of Czar Alexander I birthday
1820			
1817-1820	Salvator House	Music Amateur Society	Symphonies by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Méhul, Romberg, Reicha, Krommer, oratorios, Lessel oratorio
?	Salvator House	Piotr Kaczyński violin	Rode and Lafonte works for the violin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1819-1820	Conservatory Hall	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music conducted by Wincenty Lessel, Lentz, Haase, Würfel, Jawurek, Stolpe, Peschke	Twenty-eight weekly Winter concerts, presenting symphonies (Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Romberg, Méhul, Lessel, Lentz, Krommer, Witt), overtures (Beethoven, Cherubini, Méhul, Romberg, Spohr, Schneider, Elsner, Gerke, Kurpiński, Würfel, Poiss, Böhner, Morgenroth, Küffner, Generali, Rossini), concertos (Mozart, Spohr, Rode, Viotti, Lafonte, Maurer, Matthaci, von Berbiguier, Lessel, Krommer, Cremont, Pergolesi, Ammon, Tulou, Hummel, Field, Dussek, Ries, Klengel.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feb. 18	National Theater	Julia Bulgari voice, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Karol Kurpiński Overture to the Opera *Charlatan* [Szarlatan], Gioacchino Rossini aria "Quanto e grata all'alma mia" from *Elizabetta, regina d'Inghilterra,* Ponese aria *alla polacca* "Quai piu circonda e aghiaccia," Gioacchino Rossini aria with variations "Naequi all'afann e al piano," Gioacchino Rossini, rondo from *L'italiana in Algeri,* instrumental compositions
April 14	National Theater	Jan Czyrsznic harp	
April 22	National Theater	Heinrich Bärmann clarinet and bassoon, Winnen bassoon	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 28	National Theater	Heinrich Bärmann clarinet and bassoon, Winnen bassoon	Overture, Bärmann allegro from a bassoon concerto, instrumental music, Bärmann adagio and rondo for the bassoon, instrumental music, potpourri for the bassoon, Bärmann recitative and theme with variations from the opera *Richard the Lionhearted*, an aria with variations from *Don Giovanni*, variations on Tirol themes, finale
May 5	National Theater	Hieronim Pomarnicki violin	Pierre Baillot violin concerto
May 9	National Theater	D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon, Józef Bielawski violin, Mess voice, Granville voice, National Theater orchestra	D. Bailly concerto for French horn, Winnen bassoon concerto, François Boieldieu a duet from *Ma tante Aurore*, Karol Kurpiński cantata on the occasion of Grand Duke Constantine's birthday

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

June 23	National Theater	Antonio Dall'Occa double bass, Katarzyna Aszperger voice, Louis Feuillide voice, chorus and orchestra of the National Theater	Karol Kurpiński Overture to the Opera *Kalmora*, Karol Kurpiński an aria from *Kalmora*, variations for double bass, Józef Elsner overture
July 7	National Theater	Antonio Dall'Occa double bass, Jan Szczurowski bass, Louis Feuillide voice, Józef Bielawski violin	Concertanto for violin and double bass
Aug. 2	Ballroom at the National Theater	Julia Bulgari voice	
Aug. 5	Ballroom at the National Theater	Julia Bulgari voice, Jan Szczurowski bass	Charles Mayer aria, Gioacchino Rossini duet from *Tancredi*, Gioacchino Rossini variations
Aug. 23	National Theater	Antonina Campi voice	Vojtech Gyrowetz aria, Polish arias
Aug. 30	National Theater	Antonina Campi voice	Francesco Bianchi cavatina *largo*, Charles Mayer aria with violin, Ferdinand Paër polonaise, Joseph Weigl grand aria, overture

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sept. 6	National Theater	Antonina Campi voice, National Theater orchestra	Aria "O luba Pamieci," aria with clarinet, Gioacchino Rossini cavatina, Arthur Beniamin variations on themes from Etienne Méhul's opera *Joseph in Aegypten*
Sept. 9	National Theater	Marianna Sessi voice, National Theater orchestra	scene from *Romeo and Juliet*
?		Marianna Sessi voice	
Sept. 13	National Theater	Antonina Campi voice	
Sept. 20	National Theater	Marianna Sessi voice	
Oct. 14	National Theater		*Tableaux vivants* with music
Oct. 29	National Theater		Karol Kurpiński excerpts from operas and *Picture of Prince Poniatowski in Leipzich*
1821			

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan. 22	National Theater	Karol Arnold piano, Henrietta Arnold voice, National Theater orchestra	Charles Louis André symphony, Ferdinand Paër aria from the opera *Camille*, Karol Arnold piano concerto (first movement), Karol Kurpiński Overture to the Opera *Ruins of Babylon*, Karol Arnold piano fantasia, Gioacchino Rossini cavatina from *La gazza ladra*, Karol Arnold rondo from a piano concerto, Vincento Pucitta vocal variations
Jan. 25	National Theater		Cantata
Feb. 1	French Theater at the Mniszech Palace	Karol Arnold piano, Henrietta Arnold voice	Farinelli aria, Jan Ladislav Dussek concertando for two pianos, Karol Arnold fantasia, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart aria from *La clemenza di Tito*, Karol Arnold piano capricio, Gioacchino Rossini cavatina from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*
Feb. 14	Town Hall	Karol Arnold piano, Henrietta Arnold voice	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 8	Town Hall	Piotr Bender clarinet, Franciszek Bender clarinet, Mme. Bender voice	Vincenzo Pucitta aria *alla polacca* "La placida campagna," Variations *Oh dolce concento,* Franz Danzi concerto for two clarinets, potpourri on Swiss songs
March 14	National Theater	Piotr Bender clarinet, Franciszek Bender clarinet, Mme. Bender voice	Gioacchino Rossini aria from *Tancredi,* potpourri on Swiss songs, Variations *Oh dolce concento*
March 21	National Theater	Piotr Bender clarinet, Franciszek Bender clarinet, Mme. Bender	Gioacchino Rossini excerpts from *Tancredi,* clarinet concertos
March 22	Belweder Royal Palace	Piotr Bender clarinet, Franciszek Bender clarinet, Mme. Bender voice	
April 13	Town Hall	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music: amteur orchestra, F. Haase conducting, Maurycy Ernemann piano and others	Etienne Méhul Overture to *Joseph in Aegypten,* overtures and symphonies

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 25	National Theater	Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano, D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon	John Field Piano Concerto in C Major, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano fantasia, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel rondo from a piano concerto, Karol Kurpiński fantasia for French horn and bassoon
May 25	National Theater	Mme. Demarthe voice, Katarzyna Aszperger voice, D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon, National Theater orchestra	
June 22	National Theater	Pedro Escudero violin	Pierre Baillot violin concerto
first half of 1821		amateurs and artists	Beethoven Allegro from the F Major Symphony, Johann Nepomuk Hummel Septet in D minor transcribed as a quintet, Spohr duo concertanto for two violins, Lamarc cello rondo, Reicha *Harmoniemusik*, Rossini aria
Sept. 1	National Theater		Cantata on the occasion of Czar Alexander I name day
Oct. 3	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 8	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	
Oct. 10	Merchant Club Hall in Mniszech Palace	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	
Oct. 15	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	Fryderyk Duranowski violin variations, Rudolf Kreutzer violin concerto, Karol Lipiński violin variations
Nov. 1	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Artists and Amateurs	Music soirée
Nov. 28	National Theater	Jan Feist flute, other instruments	
1822			
late Jan.	Conservatory Hall	Conservatory students, Carlo Soliva accompanying	Arias by Gluck, Rossini, Simon, Mayer
March 11	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Karol Romberg cello, Józef Polkowski tenor	Bernhard Romberg fantasia on themes of Polish folk songs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 18	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Karol Romberg cello, Mlle. Romberg voice, Józef Polkowski tenor, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Karol Kurpiński Overture to the Opera *Zbigniew*, Bernhard Romberg cello concerto, Bernhard Romberg potpourri for cello piccolo, Gioacchino Rossini aria from the opera *Elizabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*, Bernhard Romberg potpourri on Swedish songs
April 1	National Theater	Aleksander Sierzyński piano, Wacław Würfel piano, Józef Bielawski violin, Józef Polkowski tenor	Wacław Wilhelm Würfel concerto for two pianos, Joseph Mayseder variations for piano and violin, Gioacchino Rossini duet, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel fantasia for *eolomelodicon*, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel rondo brillant
April 4	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Amateur orchestra of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music, F. Haase conductiong, Piotr Kaczyński violin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

May 6	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Amateur orchestra and choir, Józef Jawurek conducting, Ritrych glass harmonica, Edward Górski clarinet	Kifner overture, clarinet concerto, compositions for *eolomelodicon* and glass harmonica, Joseph Haydn chorus from *Die Schöpfung*
May 15	Town Hall	Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano, D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon, Józef Bielawski violin, Karolina Elsner voice, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Giacchino Rossini Overture to *La cenrentola*, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel allegro from a piano concerto, Paër scene from *Sargino*, Cavos Adagio and Polonaise in · Rondo, Spohr potpourri for the violin, Cremont adagio and rondo for the bassoon, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel rondo from a piano concerto, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel fantasia for the *eolomelodicon* on a romanza from Méhul's *Joseph in Aegypten*
July 21	Royal Theater at the Orangery in Łazienki	National Theater orchestra, military orchestra	
Aug. 7	Ballroom at the National Theater	Castiglio voice, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano	
Aug. 31	National Theater	Salomea Paris voice, piano and harp	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 2	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Artists and Amateurs	First musical soirée
Oct. 9	National Theater	Joachim Kaczkowski violin, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano	Joachim Kaczkowski compositions, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel compositions
Oct. 16	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Artists and amateurs	
Nov. 5	National Theater	Gohl flute	Variations on a Polish dumka
Nov. 9	National Theater	Gohl flute	
Dec. 4	National Theater	Aleksander Boucher violin	
Dec. 6	National Theater	National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
Dec. 9	National Theater	Aleksander Boucher violin, Celestyna Boucher harp and piano, D. Bailly French horn	Giovanni Battista Viotti violin concerto, Celestyna Boucher harp concerto, minatures for harp and violin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 13	National Theater	Aleksander Boucher violin, Celestyna Boucher harp and piano, D. Bailly French horn	Celestyna Boucher harp variations, Aleksander Boucher variations for violin and orchestra, Carl Maria von Weber variations for French horn, Aleksander and Celestyna Boucher potpurrie of themes and variations for violin and harp
Dec. 16	Ballroom at the National Theater	Giovanni Fidanza voice and guitar	
Dec. 18	National Theater	Aleksander Boucher violin, Celestyna Boucher harp and piano, D. Bailly French horn, Winnen bassoon	Pierre Rode, violin concerto, Karol Lipiński polonaise, concertando for harp and French horn, bassoon concerto
Dec. 19	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Giovanni Fidanza voice and guitar	
Dec. 28	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Giovanni Fidanza voice and guitar	
Dec. 30	National Theater	Aleksander Boucher violin, Celestyna Boucher harp and piano, Barbara Mejer soprano	violin variations, Gioacchino Rossini aria
1823			

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan. 3	Town Hall	Aleksander Boucher violin, Celestyna Boucher harp and piano, D. Bailly French horn, Barbara Mejer soprano, amateur orchestra	Aleksander Boucher violin polonaise, Gioacchino Rossini aria
Jan. 4	Town Hall	Giovanni Fidanza voice, Fracassi voice, Angela Luzzi voice	
ca. Jan. 23	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Artists and Amateurs	
Jan. 31	Ballroom at the National Theater	Barbara Mejer soprano, Zofia Kurpińska voice, National Theater orchestra, Józef Elsner, Karol Kurpiński, Carlo Soliva conducting	First concert from the cycle "Selection of Operas and Declamations": Gioacchino Rossini introduction, aria and finale from the opera *Tancredi*, Karol Kurpiński Grand Aria from the Opera *Czaromysł*, Gasparo Luigi Spontini excerpts from *La vestale*, Gioacchino Rossini arias, Karol Kurpiński excerpts from the lyrical scene *Hero and Leander*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feb. 14	National Theater	D. Bailly French horn, National Theater orchestra	Gioacchino Rossini Overture to *La gazza ladra*, Karol Kurpiński concerto for French horn
Feb. 17	National Theater	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin	
Feb. 19	Hall at the Benevolent Society building		Vocal and instrumental pieces
before Feb. 21	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Karolina Elsner voice, National Theater orchestra	Italian and other arias
Feb. 26	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Fryderyk Chopin piano	Ferdynand Ries piano concerto
March 17 or 24	Ballroom at the National Theater	Eleonora Stefani voice, Katarzyna Aszperger voice, Jan Szczurowski bass, Józef Polkowski tenor, Filip Wejnert tenor, Faustyn Żyliński voice, Barbara Mejer soprano, National Theater orchestra, Carlo Soliva conducting	Second concert from the cycle "Selection of Operas and Declamations": Gioacchino Rossini aria from the opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Gioacchino Rossini Overture from the Opera *La gazza ladra*, Ferdinand Paër Overture to the Opera *Achille*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 17	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	? Fryderyk Chopin piano	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto
April 5	Ballroom at the National Theater		Third concert from the cycle "Selection of Operas and Declamations"
April 5	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Amateurs: piano, violin cello	Concertante
April 10	National Theater	Amateurs and Conservatory orchestra, Karol Milewski conducting, Adam Pstrokanski violin	François Boieldieu Overture to the Opera *La fête du village voisin*, François Boieldieu Overture to the Opera *[Two Blind Men from Toledo]*, Józef Elsner Overture to the Opera *King Leszek the White* [Leszek Biały] Józef Elsner Polonaise on te Themes from Luigi Cherubini's Opera *Lodoïska*
between April 10 and 15	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Amateur orchestra, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel conducting	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 16	National Theater	Féréol Mazas violin, Bricon voice, Mlle Bricon voice, Barbara Mejer soprano, National Theater orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting	Féréol Mazas violin concerto, Baczarol Echo with variations, Ferdinand Paër Overture to the Opera *Sargino*, Berton romance, Gioacchino Rossini Overture to the Opera *La gazza ladra*, Gioacchino Rossini aria from the opera *La gazza ladra* Féréol Mazas Fantasia on a cavatina from Rossini's opera *Tancredi*
April 23	National Theater	Féréol Mazas violin, Winnen bassoon, Eleonora Stefani voice	Józef Elsner overture, Pierre Rode Variations, Giovanni Battista Viotti violin concerto, Joseph Haydn a symphony, Féréol Mazas a violin duet, Ferdinand Paër Camille's aria, Giacomo Meyerbeer overture
May 6	National Theater	Maria Szymanowska piano, National Theater orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, John Field rondo from a piano concerto, overtures
May 25	Garden in the European Hotel	Giovanni Fidanza voice, Fracassi voice, Angela Luzzi voice	Gioacchino Rossini arias and duets

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

July 9	National Theater	Heinrich Börmann clarinet, Wacław Wilhelm Würfel piano, Eleonora Stefani voice	Heinrich Börmann Clarinet Concerto in C Minor, Carl Maria von Weber variations for clarinet and piano, Variations for solo clarinet
July 14	National Theater	Heinrich Börmann clarinet	Carl Maria von Weber clarinet concerto
Aug. 6	National Theater	Charles Detroit piano	Charles Detroit Fantasia and variations
Aug. 18	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	Karol Lipiński Variations
Aug. 21	Royal Theater at the Orangery in Łazienki	D. Bailly French horn	D. Bailly adagio and polonaise
Sept. 3	French Theater at the Saski Palace	Giovanni Fidanza voice, Fracassi voice, Angela Luzzi voice	Gioacchino Rossini excerpts from operas
Sept. 7	National Theater	Giovanni Fidanza voice, Fracassi voice, Angela Luzzi voice	
Oct. 22	French Theater at the Saski Palace	Fernando Sor guitar, Mlle Sor voice	
Nov. 19	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace		First Musical Soirée
1824			

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan. 27	National Theater	Szalkiewicz clarinet	Müller clarinet concerto
Feb. 5 or 6	National Theater	Myszkiewicz violin	Myszkiewicz polonaise
Feb. 7	National Theater	Bylewski clarinet	Karol Lipiński clarinet concerto
March 10	National Theater	Szalkiewicz clarinet	Karol Kurpiński clarinet concerto
March 29	Conservatory Hall	Amateurs	
May 7	University Hall	Conservatory students and professors, Nowakowski clarinet, Stankiewicz French horn, Kostecki French horn, Biling bassoon, Szabliński French horn	Józef Stefani overture, Józef Elsner cantata for chorus and quartet (text Milewski), clarinet concerto, French horn trio, bassoon concerto
ca. Sept. 4	Conservatory Hall	St. Brice voice, Quagliarini voice, orchestra and chorus	Gioacchino Rossini a duet from the opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Gioacchino Rossini aria with chorus from *Otello*, Gioacchino Rossini Overture to the Opera *L'italiana in Algeri*, Etienne Méhul overture "Hunt"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 12	National Theater	Fenzi cello, Fenzi voice, Barbara Mejer soprano	Rudolf Kreutzer cello transcription of a violin concerto, Pierre Rode cello transcription of violin variations, Gioacchino Rossini a duet from the opera *Armide*
Oct. 15	National Theater	National Theater orchestra and chorus	Carl Maria von Weber Overture to *Der Freischütz*, Karol Kurpiński cantata (text Kazimierz Brodziński)
Oct. 26	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Jan Schnetter violin	
Nov. 29	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Karol Romberg cello, Mlle. Romberg voice	Bernhard Romberg B Minor Cello Concerto
Dec. 1	Private Hall of Stadnicki	various artists	
Dec. 6	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello	
Dec. 13	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Karol Romberg cello, Mlle. Romberg voice	Bernhard Romberg Variations on themes of favorite Polish national songs
Dec. 18	National Theater	Bernhard Romberg cello, Karol Romberg cello, Mlle. Romberg voice	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 28	National Theater	Józef Wolfram flute	
Dec. 29	Conservatory Hall	Conservatory students, artists and amateurs	Józef Elsner Cantata "God Save the Father of our Land, Save the King" [Zachowaj Boze Ojca Ludu, zachowaj króla], Gioacchino Rossini overtures, vocal and instrumental works
1825			
Jan. 3	National Theater	Józef Wolfram flute, Eleonora Stefani, voice, Katarzyna Aszperger voice, Józef Polkowski tenor, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Carl Maria von Weber Overture to the Opera *Der Freischütz*
Jan. 12	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Józef Wolfram flute, Charles Detroit piano	
Jan. 15	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Józef Wofram flute	
Jan. 17		Józef Wolfram flute	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan 28	National Theater	Kazimierz Baranowski violin, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Karol Kurpiński Polish Dances, Józef Baranowski Polish Dances, Mazurkas
Feb. 8	National Theater	Edward Górski clarinet	Concertanto for clarinet
April 7	Hall at the Benevolent Society building	Aleksander Szopowicz violin	Giovanni Battista Viotti allegro and adagio from a violin concerto, Pierre Baillot violin variations, Giovanni Battista Viotti rondo *à la polacca*
May 27	Conservatory Hall	Conservatory orchestra and chorus, soloists (amateurs and students), Fryderyk Chopin piano, *eolopantalion* and *choralion*, Józef Jawurek conducting	Józef Nowakowski overture *à la Rossini*, Pierre Rode violin concerto, Moscheles piano concerto, Johann Nepomuk Hummel Piano Rondo in B Major, Fryderyk Chopin fantasia for *eolopantaleon*, Paër a duet from the opera *Achille*, Rossini vocal works, Ludwig von Beethoven choral compositions with *choralion*, Józef Elsner "God Save the Father of our Land, Save the King" [Zachowaj Boze Ojca Ludu, zachowaj króla] with *choralion*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

June 4	National Theater	J. Lewit piano	Friedrich Kalkbrenner piano concerto, J. Lewit variations
June 10	Conservatory Hall	Conservatory chorus and orchestra, artists and amateurs, Fryderyk Chopin piano and *eolopantaleon*, Antonia Bianchi voice, Kresner flute, Józef Jawurek conducting	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Overture to the Opera *Die Zauberflöte*, Johann Nepomuk Hummel Piano Rondo in A Major, Romberg Cello Rondo *à la polacca*, Pierre Rode allegro from a violin concerto, Moschelles Piano Concerto in F Minor, Fryderyk Chopin fantasia for *eolopantaleon*
June 19	Conservatory Hall	Józef Krogulski piano, Conservatory orchestra	Johann Nepomuk Hummel Piano Concerto in A Minor, Friedrich Kalkbrenner rondo
between June 25 and 30	National Theater	Hiacynt Majewski violin	
July 2	National Theater	Hiacynt Majewski violin	
July 11	Elert Hall in the German Hotel	Antonia Bianchi voice, Kresner flute	
July 19	National Theater	Józef Bielawski violin, National Theater orchestra	Antoni Wejnert polonaise, Józef Elsner polonaise

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

July 20	Conservatory Hall	Józef Krogulski piano	Ferdinand Ries, Allegro from the Third Piano Concerto in C sharp Minor, Variations on a theme from Gioacchino Rossini's opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Johann Nepomuk Hummel adagio and rondo from a piano concerto
July 26	National Theater	Józef Krogulski piano	
Aug. 13	National Theater	Józef Krogulski piano, National Theater orchestra	Karol Kurpiński variations on themes of national songs
Aug. 21	National Theater	Józef Krogulski piano, National Theater orchestra	Kalkbrenner Piano Concerto in D Minor (?), potpourri, Carl Maria von Weber Overture from *Der Freischütz*
Aug. 23	National Theater	Winnen bassoon, Józef Bielawski violin, Sobieski violin	Peter Winter concertino for bassoon, Maurer variations for two violins, Mourer concertanto for two violins
Oct. 20	National Theater	Antoni Leśkiewicz piano	Ferdinand Ries, piano concerto, Friedrich Kalkbrenner piano rondo
Nov. 1	Conservatory Hall	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin	
Dec. 3	National Theater	Zak clarinet	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1826			
April 26	National Theater	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin, Stanisław Kątski piano	
Aug. 19	National Theater	Józef Krogulski piano	Ignaz Moscheles allegro from a piano concerto, Johann Nepomuk Hummel rondo from a piano concerto
Sept. 1	French Theater at the Saski Palace	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin, Stanisław Kątski piano, Józef Polkowski tenor, Barbara Mejer soprano	Pierre Rode variations, Gioacchino Rossini arias from *L'italiana in Algeri*
Sept. 13	Ballroom at the National Theater	Tirol vocal trio: Albert Herz, I. Huber, Aleksander Wotke	Vocal works by Mozart, Spohr, Beethoven, Weber, Drechsler, Eisenhofer
Sept. 18	Ballroom at the National Theater	Tirol vocal trio: Albert Herz, I. Huber, Aleksander Wotke	
Sept. 23	National Theater	Tirol vocal trio: Albert Herz, I. Huber, Aleksander Wotke, J. Lewit piano	Gioacchino Rossini duet of Count and Figaro from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*
Sept. 30	National Theater	Józef Krogulski piano	Karol Kurpiński, variations on national songs
Oct. 2	Ballroom at the National Theater	Tirol vocal trio: Albert Herz, I. Huber, Aleksander Wotke	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 9	Ballroom at the National Theater	Tirol vocal trio: Albert Herz, I. Huber, Aleksander Wotke	
1827			
Jan. 1	National Theater	Maria Szymanowska piano, Barbara Mejer soprano, Jan Szczurowski, bass, Faustyn Żyliński tenor, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, Ferdinand Ries variations, potpourri on themes from Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz*
Feb. 7	National Theater	Maria Szymanowska piano, National Theater orchestra	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, August Klengel piano concerto
Feb. 14	National Theater	Barbara Mejer soprano, Maria Szymanowska piano	Carl Soliva aria, Gioacchino Rossini aria from *La cenerentola*
April 4	National Theater	Antonia Bianchi	
June 11	Conservatory Hall	Tymoteusz Kuczyński violin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

June 19	New Merchant Club Hall	Maurycy Ernemann piano, J. Lewit piano, Katarzyna Zimmermann voice, Jan Kowalowski French horn, Winnen bassoon, Katarzyna Aszperger voice, National Theater orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	
June 22	Conservatory Hall	Tymoteusz Kuczyński violin	
June 26	National Theater	Jan Kowalowski French horn	
June 27	Theater Hall at the Saski Palace	Antoni Kątski piano, Stanisław Kątski piano, Dorville voice, Adela D. voice	Pieces by Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Ferdinand Ries, Gioacchino Rossini cavatina from the opera *Otello*, François Boieldieu duet from the opera *La dame blanche*
Aug. 4	Royal Theater at the Orangery in Łazienki	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin, Stanisław Kątski piano, Eugenia Kątska voice	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, Pierre Rode, Allegro from Violin Concerto No. 10, Karol Arnold rondo on the theme of an Ukrainian dumka from his First Piano Concerto, Karol Kurpiński potpourri, vocal pieces

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aug. 18	Hall at the Schulz Orangery in Powazki	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin, Stanisław Kątski piano	
Sept. 29	National Theater	Ignacy Felix Dobrzyński piano, orchestra conducted by Karol Kurpiński	Ignacy Felix Dobrzyński *Overture de concert a grand orchestre* op. 1 *dediée a Monsieur le Colonel Listowski*, Herz rondo for piano and orchestra, a piece by John Field
Oct. 8	Conservatory Hall	Antoni Kątski piano, Karol Kątski violin	Johann Nepomuk Hummel allegro from a piano concerto, Ferdinand Ries adagio and rondo from a piano concerto, Henri Herz rondo *brillant*, Pierre Rode Allegro from the Seventh Violin Concerto, Cremont adagio and rondo, Karol Kątski polonaise
Dec. 14	Town Hall	Giovanni Celli voice, Karolina Toussaint voice	Arias and duets by Gioacchino Rossini, Saverino Mercadante and Giovanni Celli

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 12	National Theater	Karol Lipiński violin, National Theater orchestra	Giovanni Battista Viotti violin concerto, Karol Lipiński potpourri on national songs "Cruel World" [Swiat srogi] and "Let's Love Each Other" [Kochajmy sie]
1828			
Jan. 20	Conservatory Hall	Sztol	
Jan. 24	National Theater	Karol Lipiński violin, National Theater orchestra	Karol Lipiński violin concerto, Giovanni Battista Viotti violin concerto, Karol Lipiński violin variations, Charles Beriot potpourri
Jan. 30	National Theater	Karol Lipiński violin, Jan Szczurowski bass, National Theater orchestra	Luigi Cherubini Overture to the Opera *Lodoïska*, Giovanni Battista Viotti violin concerto, aria, Lafonte *Rondo d'Emma*, Karol Lipiński variations, Karol Lipiński violin concerto
Feb. 6	National Theater	Karol Lipiński violin, Jan Szczurowski bass, Faustyn Żyliński tenor, National Theater orchestra	Overture, Pierre Rode Violin Concerto in E Minor, Gioacchino Rossini duet, Pierre Baillot violin variations, Karol Lipiński polonaise

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Feb. 15	National Theater	Karol Lipiński violin, Barbara Mejer soprano	Nicolo Isouard Overture to the Opera *Le médecin turc*, Pierre Rode Violin Concerto in E Minor, Vincenzo Pucitta aria, Charles Bériot violin variations, Karol Lipiński Rondo *alla polacca*
March 24	Ballroom at the National Theater	J. Lewit piano	
ca. March 25		J. Lewit piano, Józef Bielawski violin, Szalkiewicz clarinet, August Zimmermann flute, Jan Kowalowski French horn, Lican cello, Einert double bass, Winnen bassoon	Johann Nepomuk Hummel Septet in D Minor op. 74, potpourri on the themes from Carl Maria von Weber's music to the drama *Preciosa*
April 2	Conservatory Hall	Artists and amateurs, Conservatory students (including Chopin?), Carlo Soliva conducting	Luigi Cherubini *Ave Maria*, fragments of other religious works
April 11	Town Hall	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, variations, improvisations
April 18	National Theater	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano	Johann Nepomuk Hummel compositions

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 25	National Theater	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano, Józef Bielawski violin, August Zimmermann flute, Lican cello, Dorville voice	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, vocal variations with the accompaniment of violin and cello, improvisations
May 2	National Theater	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano, Jan Kowalowski French horn, National Theater chorus	Johann Nepomuk Hummek hymn with choruses, Johann Nepomuk Hummel improvisations on given themes
May 19	Ballroom at the National Theater	Karschmidt cello	
June 2	National Theater	Polish singers: Hauser family	
June 7	National Theater	Róża Blandow voice, Jan Kowalowski French horn, Szalkiewicz clarinet	Pierre Rode vocal transcription of violin variations
June 18	French Theater at the Saski Palace	Karschmidt cello	
Oct. 24	National Theater	Peter Simon guitar, Katarzyna Zimmermann voice, Szalkiewicz clarinet	Peter Simon compositions
1829			
Jan. 7	Merchants Club	Joseph Christoph Kessler piano, Stanisław Serwaczyński violin, orchestra	Jan Nepomuk Hummel, Piano Concerto in E Major

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jan. 22	Ballroom at the National Theater	Richter French horn	
Feb. 7	National Theater	Antoni Orłowski violin, National Theater orchestra	Charles Beriot violin variations
March 24	National Theater	Józef Krogulski piano, Antoni Orłowski violin National Theater orchestra	Ignaz Moscheles Piano Concerto in E Major op. 64 no. 4, Henri Herz Adagio and Rondo from the E Major Piano Concerto, Józef Krogulski piano sonata, Józef Stefani overture, Charles Beriot violin variations, Karol Kurpiński piano potpourri on Polish songs
April 8	Ballroom at the National Theater	Stephen Heller piano, Antoni Orłowski violin, Szalkiewicz clarinet	Stephen Heller Piano Concerto in D Minor, Szpat clarinet variations, Charles Beriot violin variations
April 10	Town Hall	Franciszek Łopata	
April 13	National Theater	Karol Goerner French horn, Winnen bassoon, National Theater orchestra	Karol Goerner symphonia concertante for French horn and bassoon
April 13	Merchant Club Hall in the Mniszech Palace	Hibner guitar and guitar harmonica	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 15	Conservatory Hall	Artists, amateurs, Conservatory students, Carlo Soliva conducting	Luigi Cherubini *Pater noster*, Gioacchino Rossini quartet from the opera *Mosé in Egitto*, Gioacchino Rossini introduction from the opera *Mosé in Egitto*, Carlo Soliva "Prayer," Józef Elsner an aria from the opera *Abraham's Sacrifice* [Ofiara Abrahama], Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi quartet
May 9	National Theater	Kazimierz Baranowski violin	Pierre Rode Eighth Violin Concerto
May 11	Ballroom at the National Theater	Stephen Heller piano	Ferdinand Ries compositions, Ignaz Moscheles compositions
May 23	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	private concert for Czar Nicholas I
May 24	During coronation of Czar Nicolai I as the king of Poland	400 artist and amateurs	Józef Elsner Coronation Mass, Karol Kurpiński *Te deum*, Carlo Soliva *Veni creator*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

May 24, evening	Royal Castle, private concert	Niccolò Paganini violin, Karol Lipiński violin, Barbara Mejer soprano, Anna Wolkow voice Janikowska voice, Konstancja Gladkowska voice, Antoni Teichman voice, Conservatory students, orchestra and choir, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Niccolò Paganini compositions, Gioacchino Rossini Overture to the Opera *Le siège de Corinthe*, Carlo Soliva compositions
May 25	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
May 29	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
May 30	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
June 3	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
June 5	National Theater	Karol Lipiński violin	
June 6	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
June 10	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
June 13	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
June 15	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	Rudolf Kreutzer allegro maestoso from a violin concerto
June 24	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

July 4	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
July 5	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	
July 14	National Theater	Niccolò Paganini violin	Niccolò Paganini Violin Concerto in E flat Major op. 6 part I, Niccolò Paganini *Cantabile spianato* and Vatiations on Neapolitan song "Oh, mamma, mamma cara," Niccolò Paganini Recitativo and Variations on the G string, Niccolò Paganini introduction and variations on theme of the mazur "Young Peasants from Połaniec" [Parobcaki od Polanca] from Józef Elsner's opera *King Dwarf*
ca. Aug. 20		Kazimierz Baranowski violin	
Oct. 10	National Theater	Karl Friedrich Copello voice	Gioacchino Rossini aria from the opera *Otello,* Vincenzo Pucitta aria
Oct. 21	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	
Oct. 28	National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 30	Ballroom at the National Theater	Leonora Nejman violin	
Oct. 31	National Theater	Bourgeois-Schirolli voice	
Nov. 6	National Theater	Bourgeois-Schirolli voice	
Nov. 7	Merchant Club	Johann Christoph Kessler piano, Stanisław Serwaczyński violin	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto
Nov. 21?	Merchant Club	Fryderyk Chopin piano?	
Nov. 22	Ballroom at the National Theater	Stanisław Serwaczyński violin and others	Joseph Mayseder quartet, Joseph Haydn quartet, Charles Beriot variations
Dec. 7	National Theater	Bourgeois-Schirolli voice	
Dec. 16	Ballroom at the National Theater	Karl Friedrich Copello voice	
Dec. 19	Old Merchant Hall	Fryderyk Chopin piano, Józef Bielawski violin, Karl Friedrich Copello voice, Dorville voice	Fryderyk Chopin improvisation on the song "The Broom" from the opera *Der Bauer Millionär*, Ludwig von Beethoven quintet, aria Santinel, Ferdinand Paër aria from the opera *Achille*
Dec. 21	Town Hall	Bourgeois-Schirolli voice	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dec. 23	Ballroom at the National Theater	Bourgeois-Schirolli voice	
1830			
March 7	New Merchant Club in the Kern Palace		
March 17	National Theater	Fryderyk Chopin piano, Barbara Mejer soprano, Karl Goerner French horn, National Theater orchestra	Fryderyk Chopin Piano Concerto in F Minor op. 21, Fryderyk Chopin Fantasia on Polish Themes op. 13, Ferdinanad Paër Variations *La Biondina*, Józef Elsner Overture to the Opera *King Leszek the White* [Leszek Biały], Karol Kurpiński Overture to the Opera *Cecylia Piaseczyńska*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

March 22	National Theater	Fryderyk Chopin piano, Barbara Mejer soprano, Józef Bielawski violin, National Theater orchestra	Józef Nowakowski II Symphony, Fryderyk Chopin Piano Concerto in F Minor op. 21, Charles Beriot violin variations, Fryderyk Chopin Rondo *à la Krakowiak*, Carlo Soliva aria from the opera *Helena and Malwina*, Fryderyk Chopin improvisation on themes of songs "Cruel World" [Świat srogi] and "In Town Strange Customs" [W mieście dziwne obycaje]
April 2	National Theater	Antoni Leśkiewicz piano, Antoni Orłowski violin	Antoni Orłowski variations on the theme of the song "The Broom" from the opera *Der Bauer Millionär*
April 19	Ballroom at the National Theater	Grünberg flute, Józef Molsdorf cello, Szalkiewicz clarinet	
April 25	National Theater	Hieronim Pomarnicki violin	Hieronim Pomarnicki quartets
April 28	National Theater	Friedrich Wörlitzer piano	Ignaz Moscheles variations on the theme of "Alexander March"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

May 7	National Theater	Johann Gottfried Friebe flute, Rakowski cello, Katarzyna Zimmermann voice	Goerner symphony, Gohl flute variations
May 11	At the unveiling of the Copernicus monument	National Theater artists and others, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Karol Kurpiński canatata for voices and orchestra in memory of Copernicus
May 12	National Theater	Friedrich Wörlitzer piano	Ignaz Moscheles variations on the theme of "Alexander March"
May 19	National Theater	Friedrich Wörlitzer piano	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, Ignaz Moscheles Polonaise
May 30	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice, Szalkiewicz clarinet, National Theater orchestra	Karol Kurpiński Overture to the Opera *Cecylia Piaseczynska*, Szalkiewicz clarinet concerto, Saverio Mercadante aria, Pierre Rode violin variations (vocal transcription)
May 26 or 30	Royal Castle	Henrietta Sonntag voice, Friedrich Wörlitzer piano, Charlotte de Belleville piano	Saverio Mercadanta aria, Johann Peter Pixis aria, Gioacchino Rossini aria, Henri Herz piano compositions, Ignaz Moscheles variations on the theme of "Alexander March"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

June 1	National Theater	Hanrietta Sonntag voice	
June 2	National Theater	Hanrietta Sonntag voice	
June 4	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice	Pierre Rode violin variations (vocal transcription), Gioacchino Rossini cavatina from the opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Gioacchino Rossini cavatina from the opera *La gazza ladra*, Carl Maria von Weber aria from the opera *Der Freischütz*
June 5	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice	Gioacchino Rossini aria from the opera *Semiramide*
June 9	National Theater	Charlotte de Belleville piano, August Zimmermann flute, Karl Goerner French horn	Johann Peter Pixis piano concerto, Charlotte de Belleville piano variations
June 21	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice	
June 23	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

June 25	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice, Katarzyna Zimmermann voice	Giovanni Paccini aria, Gioacchino Rossini aria from the opera *Il turco in Italia*, Gioacchino Rossini duet from the opera *Armide*, Karol Kurpiński variations on a Polish song
June 26	National Theater	Charlotte de Belleville piano, Henrietta Sonntag voice	Johann Nepomuk Hummel piano concerto, Johann Peter Pixis piano variations, Gioacchino Rossini aria
June 27	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice, Katarzyna Zimmermann voice	Gioacchino Rossini duet from the opera *Armide*, hymn "Long Live the Polish King"
June 28	National Theater	Henrietta Sonntag voice, Charlotte de Belleville piano, Leon Herz voilin	
July 8	National Theater	Barbara Mejer soprano, Fryderyk Chopin piano, Józef Bielawski violin, Szalkiewicz clarinet	Józef Damse variations, Fryderyk Chopin Variations in B flat Major op. 2 on "La ci darem la mano"
July 16	National Theater	Charlotte de Belleville piano	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

July 16	New Merchant Club garden at Miodowa street	Artists and amaterurs	Johann Nepomuk Hummel Septet op. 74, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart aria from the opera *Le nozze di Figaro*, clarinet variations, Gioacchino Rossini duet from the opera *La cenerentola*, Gioacchino Rossini chorus from the opera *Comte d'Ory*
Aug. 4	Ballroom at the National Theater	Emilia Faliński [Faleńska] piano, Katarzyna Zimmermann voice, Szalkiewicz clarinet	Ignaz Moscheles rondo from a piano concerto, Carl Czerny Rondo *á la polacca*, Giacchino Rossini compositions
Aug 31	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Sept. 4	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Dept. 8	Gardern in the Merchant Club	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 8	National Theater	Brengeri voice	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 11	National Theater	Fryderyk Chopin piano, Anna Wolkow voice, Konstancja Gladkowska voice, National Theater orchestra and chorus, Carlo Soliva conducting	Karl Goerner symphony, Fryderyk Chopin Allegro from the E Minor Piano Concerto op. 11, Carlo Soliva aria with choruses, Fryderyk Chopin movements II and III from the E Minor Piano Concerto op. 11, Gioacchino Rossini Overture to the Opera *Wilhelm Tell*, Gioacchino Rossini Cavatina "Oh quante lagrime per te versai" from the Opera *La donna del lago*, Fryderyk Chopin Fantasia on Polish Themes op. 13, Fryderyk Chopin improvisation on a theme given by the audience "The Hops" [Chmiel]
Oct. 15	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 16	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 18	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 19	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 22	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 23	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oct. 24	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Oct. 28	National Theater	Ignacy Felix Dobrzyński violin	Ignacy Felix Dobrzyński *Overture de concert a grand orchestre* op. 1 *dediée a Monsieur le Colonel Listowski*, Rudolf Kreutzer XII Violin Concerto, Ignacy Felix Dobrzyński variations
Nov. 3	Ballroom at the National Theater	Marc Dugravot flute	
Nov. 4	National Theater	Singers from the Alps	
Nov. 5	Ballroom at the National Theater	Łabiński flute and viola, Frejs flute	Łabiński solo for viola, variations for two flutes, overtures and concertos
Nov. 12	Merchants Club in the Seidler Palace	Barbara Mejer soprano, Katarzyna Aszperger voice, Antoni Teichman voice, Józef Brzowski piano, orchestra, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Jans *allegro* from a quartet, Daniel F. Auber aria from the opera *La muette de Portici*, piano rondo, Caraffa Neapolitan barcarole, Ferdinand Paër duet from the opera *Sargino*
Nov. 22	National Theater	Katarzyna Zimmermann voice	
Nov. 26	National Theater	Franciszek Szalk bassethorn	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 2

MUSIC IN WARSAW'S CHURCHES 1815-1830

1815			
ca. Nov. 28	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Elsner *Te deum* on the arrival of Czar Alexander I in Warsaw
1817			
Jan. 11	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Mozart *Requiem*
April 4	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Oratorio
Dec. 21	Lutheran Church	Amateurs	
1818			
March 10	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Mozart *Requiem*
March 20	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Haydn oratorio *Die Sieben letzte Worte*
1819			
Holy Week		200 artists and amateurs from the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Excerpts from: Beethoven C Major Mass, Cherubini F Major Mass, Elsner F Major Mass, Handel "Hallelujah," Haydn *Die Schöpfung*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1820			
May 10	Cathedral of St. John	chorus and orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting	Elsner Mass and *Te deum* for the consecration of the Archbishop
1821			
April 20	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	Joseph Haydn oratorio *Die Sieben letzte Worte*
April 20	Capuchins' Church		Quartets
April 20	Bernardine Church		Quartets
April 20	Visitation Nuns' Church	Military orchestra	Symphonies
April 20	Garrison Church (probably Carmelite Church)	Military orchestra	Symphonies
Oct. 14	Dominicans' Church	Edward Górski clarinet, amateur chorus and orchestra	
Oct. 21	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory students, Józef Elsner conducting	Vocal and instrumental music
Dec. 25?	Lutheran Church		Himmel *Vater Unser*
Dec. 30	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory students, Józef Elsner conducting	Music for the octave of Czar Alexander I's birthday

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1822			
April 5	Piarists' Church	Orchestra of the Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music, Chrzaski conducting	Joseph Haydn oratorio *Die Sieben letzte Worte*
April 5	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory students, Józef Elsner conducting	Peter Winter *Stabat mater*
April 7	Lutheran Church	Amateurs	Oratorio
May 8	Bernardine Church	Karol Lange flute, amateur chorus and orchestra	Grand mass, flute concerto
May 26	Lutheran Church	Artists and amateurs, Józef Jawurek conducting	Józef Elsner sacred works, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart sacred works
Dec. 8	Bernardine Church	Karol Lange flute	
1823			
April 22	Holy Cross Church	Conservatory chorus and orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting, Karolina Elsner voice, Jan Szczurowski bass, Walenty Kratzer tenor, Jan Gregorowicz Soloffiew alto	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart *Requiem*
May 18	Lutheran Church	Orchestra and chorus, Józef Jawurek conducting	Józef Elsner *Offertorium*, Joseph Haydn cantata
June 24	Cathedral of St. John	Orchestra and Chorus, Jan Stefani conducting	Joseph Haydn mass, Józef Elsner *Offertorium*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sept. 18	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting	Concert on the occasion of an anniversary of the foundation of the Royal Warsaw University
Oct. 3	Cathedral of St. John	National Theater orchestra and chorus, Jóef Elsner conducting	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart *Requiem*
Nov. 17	Holy Cross Church	Amateur orchestra	Józef Kozłowski *Requiem*
Nov. 22	Franciscan Church	Artist and amatuers, Edward Górski clarinet	Joseph Haydn mass, clarinet concerto
		1824	
March 25	Canonesses' Church	Skibińska voice, D. Bailly French horn, Bailly's students, instrumentalists and chorus	Jan Stefani mass, "Song on the Death of Christ"
April 16	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory students and professors, Józef Elsner conducting	
April 16	Canonesses' chuch	Artists and amateurs, Karol Kurpiński conducting	
April 16	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	
April 16	Cathedral of St. John	Enlarged cathedral orchestra	
April 18	Lutheran Church	Artists and amateurs (including Chopin in the chorus)	Excerpts from Joseph Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, Eybler hymn

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nov. 15	Capuchins' Church	Orchestra Jan Stefani conducting	Rosetti (Ruzicka) mass
Nov. 22	Bernardine Church	Artists and Amateurs, Józef Elsner conducting, Melchior Szwajcewski	Joseph Haydn *Missa solemnis*, Józef Stefani *Offertorium*
Dec. 18	Cathedral of St. John	Orchestra, Jan Stefani conducting	*Te deum*
1825			
April 2	Lutheran Church	Artists and amateurs (including Chopin in the chorus)	Excerpts from Hummel's Grand Mass in E flat Major, Bierey "Easter" Cantata
early May	Lutheran Church	various performers including Fryderyk Chopin playing the *eolimelodicon*	Improvisation on the *eolimelodicon* for the visit of Czar Alexander I
ca. April 4	Canonesses' Church	Edward Górski clarinet	"Polish Chant on the Death of Christ" with harp accompaniment
May 22	Lutheran Church	Artists and amateurs (including Chopin in the chorus)	Large excerpts from Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, Józef Elsner hymn
Nov. 6	Piarists' Church	Artists and amateurs	Joseph Haydn mass, Józef Elsner mass
Nov. 11	Lutheran Church	Artists and amateurs	Ludwig von Beethoven *C Major Mass*
Nov. 20	Piarists' Church	Artists and amateurs, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Excerpts from Ludwig von Beethoven *C Major Mass*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1826			
April 7	Cathedral of St. John	Chorus of 200 (including Chopin in the chorus?), orchestra and soloists (Barbara Mejer soprano, Zaleski tenor), Carlo Soliva conducting	Funeral services for Czar Alexander I: Józef Kozłowski *Requiem (Domine Jesu* and *Benedictus* replaced with *Domine* and *Salutaris hostie* by Cherubini), Allegri *Miserere,* Giovanni Battista Pergolesi two duets and last *Amen* from *Stabat mater,* Antonio Salieri *Salve regina*
April 10, 11 and 12	Cathedral of St. John	Chorus of 50, orchestra and soloists (Barbara Mejer soprano, Katarzyna Aszperger, Faustyn Żyliński tenor, Jan Szczurowski bass, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Funeral services for Czar Alexander I: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart *Requiem* (enriched instrumentation: added woodwinds, brass and harps)
April 10, 11 and 12	Cathedral of St. John	Chorus, orchestra and soloists, Carlo Soliva conducting	Funeral services for Czar Alexander I: Józef Kozłowski, *Requiem*
April 12	Lutheran Church	150 male chorus, soloists (including Chopin?) Faustyn Żyliński tenor, Józef Polkowski tenor, Jan Szczurowski bass, partial orchestra, *choralion*	Funeral services for Czar Alexander I: Józef Elsner *Requiem*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

April 13	Cathedral of St. John	chorus of a few hundred	Funeral services for Czar Alexander I: old-Slavonic chant during Russian Orthodox service
April 13	Synagogue		Funeral services for Czar Alexander I: Jewish musical services
May 7	Piarists' Church	Amateurs, Józef Jawurek conducting	Józef Elsner mass
Oct. 15	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory students, artists and amateurs (including Chopin?), Józef Elsner conducting	Józef Elsner *Vespers* in C Major, Józef Elsner *Veni creator*, Józef Elsner *Te deum*
1827			
ca. April 14	Piarists' Church	Society for the Friends of Religious and National Music	
ca. April 14	Visitation Nuns' Church	Conservatory students	
Dec. 1	Cathedral of St. John	Chorus and orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting	*Requiem*
1828			
Jan. 1	Lutheran Church	National Theater artists, Conservatory Students (including Chopin?)	Antoni Wejnert cantata
1829			
Jan. 1	Lutheran Church	Artists and amateurs, Antoni Wejnert conducting	Antoni Wejnert compositions

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

July 29	Piarists' Church	Artists and amateurs, Karol Kurpiński conducting	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart *Requiem*
Oct. 25	Cathedral of St. John	National Theater artists and others, Józef Elsner conducting	
Dec. 1	Cathedral of St. John	Orchestra, Józef Elsner conducting	Józef Elsner *Requiem*
1830			
April 8	Cathedral of St. John	Artists and amateurs, Józef Stefani conducting	Religious compositions
April 11	Visitation Nuns' Church	Artists and Conservatory students, Józef Elsner conducting	Peter Winter *Stabat mater*
April 11	Former Paulite Church	Quartet, Józef Bielawski conducting	Joseph Haydn oratorio *Die Sieben letzte Worte* (in string quartet arrangement)
May 8	Holy Cross Church	Orchestra, Józef Stefani conducting	Joseph Haydn mass, Józef Stefani *Offertorium*, Józef Elsner *Te deum*
May 20	Augustinian Church	Amateur orchestra	Joachim Albertini *Missa solemnis*
Nov. 23	Franciscan Church	Artists and amateurs	Józef Elsner mass, Józef Elsner hymn

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 3

MUSICAL THEATER IN WARSAW
SELECTED PREMIERES 1815-1830

1815	
Nicolas Isouard	Joconde, ou Les coureurs d'aventures (1814)
Karol Kurpiński	The Reward [Nagroda]
1816	
Henri-Montan Berton	Les deux sous-lieutenants, ou Le concert interrompu (1802)
Nicolas Isouard	Les confidences (1803)
Karol Kurpiński	The School Founder [Mała szkoła ojców]
Voytech Gyrowetz	Federica ed Adolfo (1812)
Karol Kurpiński	Superstition, or Cracovians and Highlanders, or The New Cracovians [Zabobon czyli Krakowiaki i Górale czyli Nowe Krakowiaki]
Pierre Gaveaux	Le bouffe et le tailleur (1804)
Voytech Gyrowetz	Agnes Sorel (1806)
Nicolas Isouard	Le médecin turc (1804)
Karol Kurpiński	Grandfather, or Two Centuries [Dziadek czyli dwa wieki]
Karol Kurpiński	Hero and Leander
Gioseffo Catrufo	Félicie, ou La jeune fille romanesque (1815)
1817	
Karol Kurpiński	Jan Kochanowski at Czarny Las
Valentino Fioravanti	I virtuosi ambulanti (1807)
Pierre Gaveaux	Un quart d'heure de silence (1804)
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Don Giovanni (1787)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Etienne-Nicolas Méhul	Le trésor supposé, ou Le danger d'écouter aux portes (1802)
François-Adrien Boieldieu	Béniowski, ou Les exilés du Kamtchatka (1800)
Karol Kurpiński	A Troop of One Soldier [Bateria o jednym żołnierzu]
Nicolas Isouard	Jeannot et Colin (1814)
1818	
Joseph Weigl	Das Dorf im Gebirge (1798)
Karol Kurpiński	Czaromysł the Slav Prince [Czaromysł książe słowiański]
Jozef Elsner	King Łokietek, or the Women of Wiślica [Król Łokietek czyli Wiśliczanki]
Ferdinand Paër	Griselda, ossia La virtù al cimento (1798)
Gioacchino Rossini	Tancredi (1813)
Valentino Fioravanti	Le cantatrici villane (1799)
Pierre-Antoine-Dominique Della-Maria	Le prisonnier, ou La ressemblance (1897)
1819	
Nicolas Isouard	Le magicien sans magie (1811)
François-Adrien Boieldieu	Rien de trop, ou Les deux paravents (1810)
Karol Kurpiński	The Castle in Czorsztyn, or Bojomir and Wanda [Zamek w Czorsztynie czyli Bojomir i Wanda]
Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold	La clochette, ou Le diable page (1817)
Karol Kurpiński	Zbigniew
1820	
Jozef Elsner	Jagiełło in Tenczyn
Gioacchino Rossini	L'inganno felice (1812)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Friedrich Heinrich Himmel	Fanchon das Leyermädchen (1805)
Karol Kurpiński	Kalmora, or The Paternal Right of the Americans [Kalmora czyli Prawo ojcowskie Amerykanów]
Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, et al.	The Maccabees, or the Siege of Jerusalem (pasticcio)
François-Adrien Boieldieu	Le chaperon rouge (1818)
Jozef Damse	The Magnetic Clarinet, or Magic without the Magic [Klarnecik magnetyczny czyli Czary bez czarów]
Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac	Gulnare, ou L'esclave persanne (1798)
Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold	Les troqueurs (1819)
1821	
L. G. Spontini	La vestale (1807)
Giacomo Meyerbeer	Emma di Resburgo (1819)
Nicolas Isouard	Les rendez-vous bourgeois (1807)
Jozef Damse	Night in a Castle [Noc w zamku]
Karol Kurpiński	The Ghost of Prince Jozef Poniatowski [Cień Księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego]
Karol Kurpiński	The Forester in the Kozienice Woods [Leśniczy w puszczy Kozienickiej]
Jozef Elsner	Abraham's Sacrifice [Ofiara Abrahama]
Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac	La jeune prude, ou Les fammes entre elles (1804)
1822	
François-Joseph Fétis	L'amant et la mari (1820)
Franciszek Mirecki	The Gypsies [Cyganie]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Edmée Sophie Garre-Gail	Les deux jaloux (1813)
1823	
Jozef Damse	Where the Chimney Smokes [Gdzie się kurzy z komina]
Jozef Damse and Jozef Stefani	Old Times [Dawne Czasy]
Jozef Elsner	The Soothsayer Urzella, or What Pleases the Ladies [Wieszczka Urzella czyli To co się damom podoba]
Jozef Damse	The Cage [Klatka]
1824	
Giacchino Rossini	Il turco in Italia (1814)
1825	
Gioacchino Rossini	La gazza ladra (1817)
Gioacchino Rossini	Il barbiere di Siviglia (1816)
1826	
Karl Maria Weber	Der Freischütz (1821)
Gioacchino Rossini	L'italiana in Algeri (1813)
1827	
Karl Maria Weber	Preciosa (1821)
François-Adrien Boieldieu	La dame blanche (1825)
1828	
Jozef Damse	Żoko the Brazilian Monkey [Żoko małpa brazylijska]
Jozef Damse	Thirty Years, or The Life of a Swindler [Trzydzieści lat czyli Życie szulera]
François-Adrien Boieldieu	Les deux nuits (1829)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
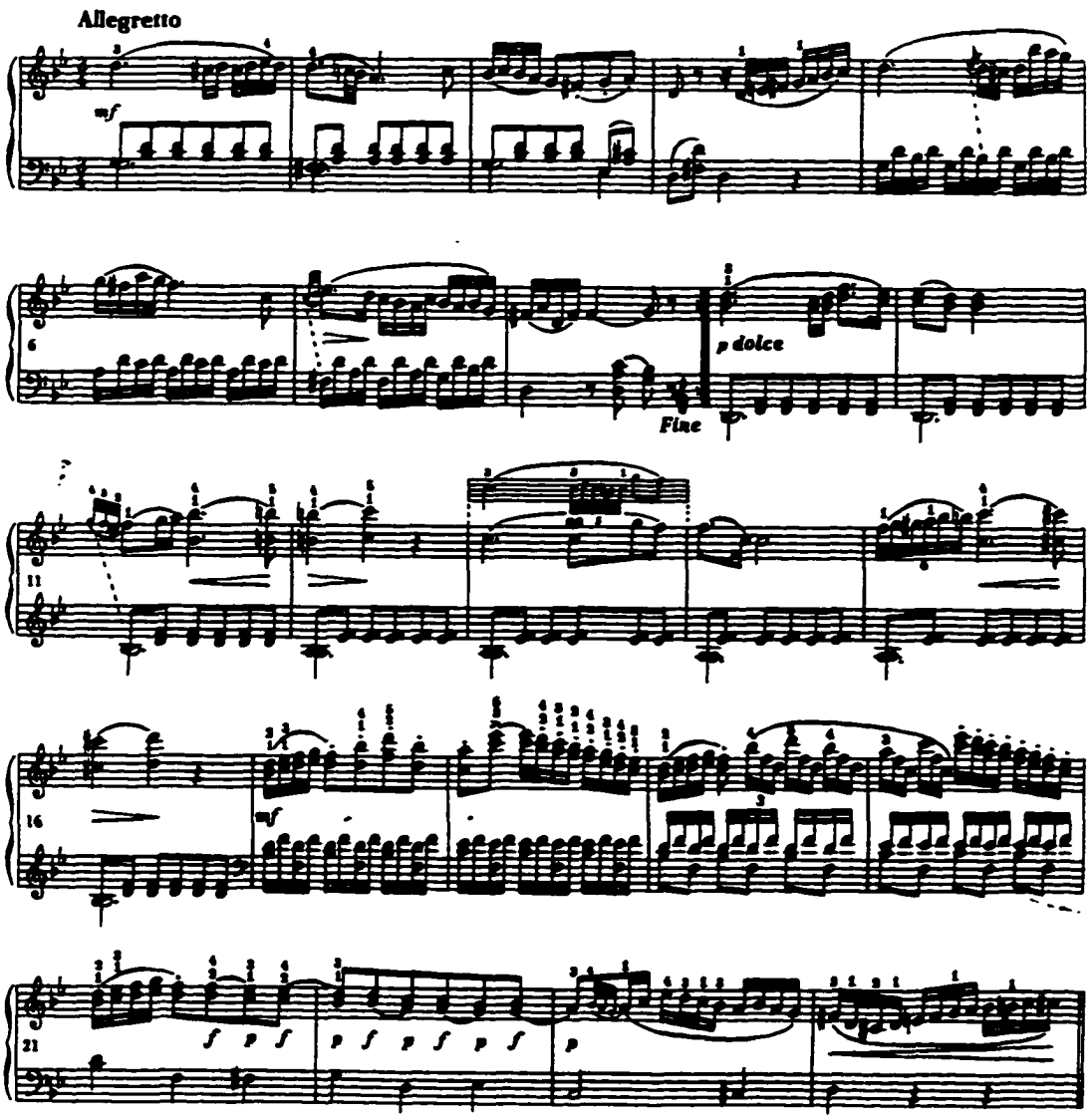
Gioacchino Rossini	Otello (1816)
François-Adrien Boieldieu	Télémaque (1806)
Daniel-François-Esprit Auber	Le maçon (1825)
1829	
Jozef Damse	The Ambassador [Ambasador]
Jozef Stefani	The Botany Lesson [Lekcja botaniki]
Walenty Kratzer	Country Sleep-walker [Lunatyczka wiejska]
Karol Kurpiński	Cecylia Piaseczyńska
Jozef Damse	Dyjona the Brave Greek Woman [Dyjona odważna Greczynka]
Giacchino Rossini	La cenerentola (1817)
Joseph Drechsler, adoptation Jozef Damse	Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt, oder Der Bauer als Millionär (1826)
Gioacchino Rossini	Semiramide (1821)
1830	
Gioacchino Rossini	Le comte Ory (1828)
Ferdinand Paër	Agnese (1809)
Ignacy Felix Dobrzyński	And Who Is Better? [I któż lepszy?]
Gioacchino Rossini	La donna del lago (1819)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX 4
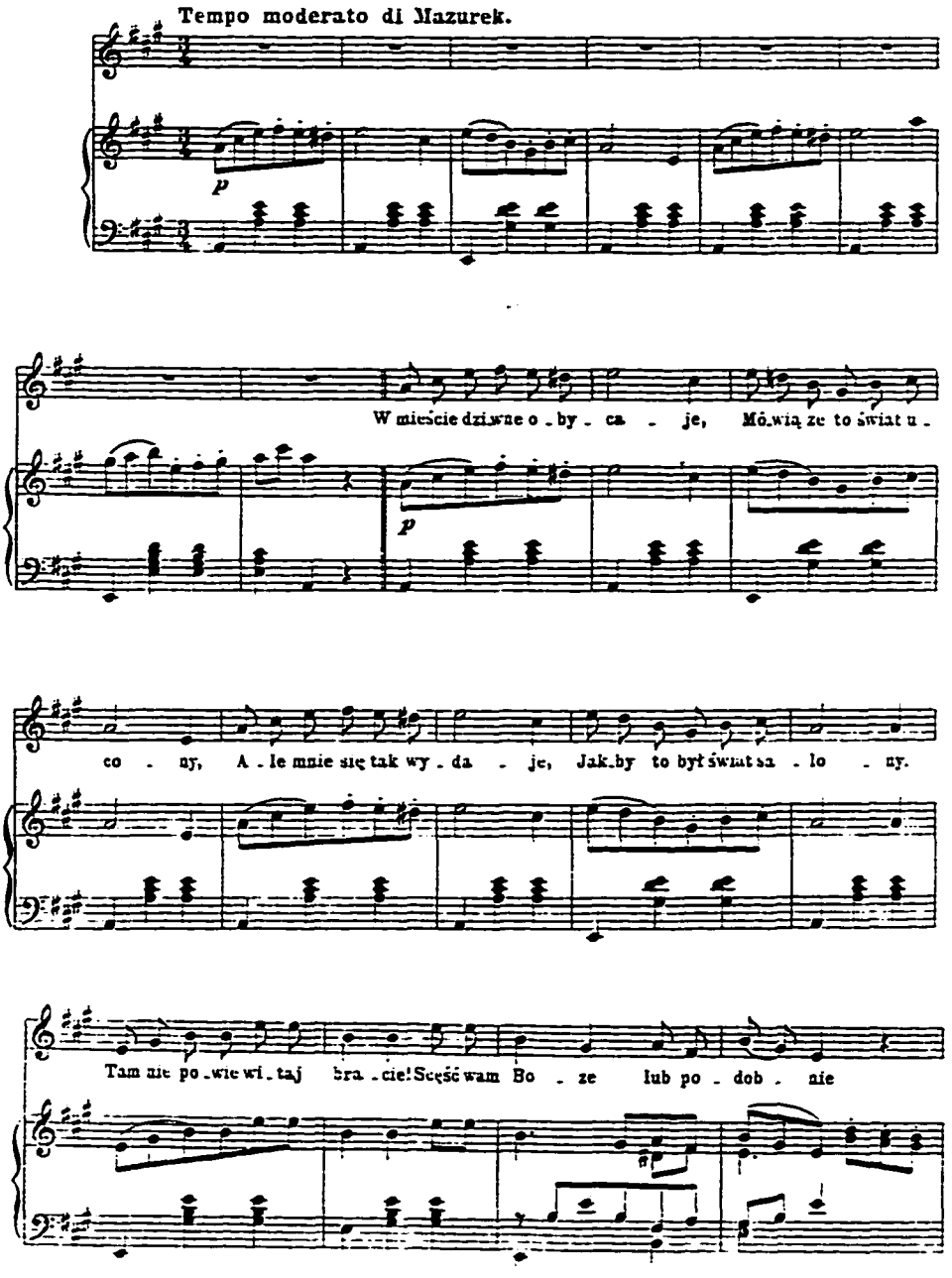
MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1. Karol Kurpiński, Polonez in G Minor (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1992).



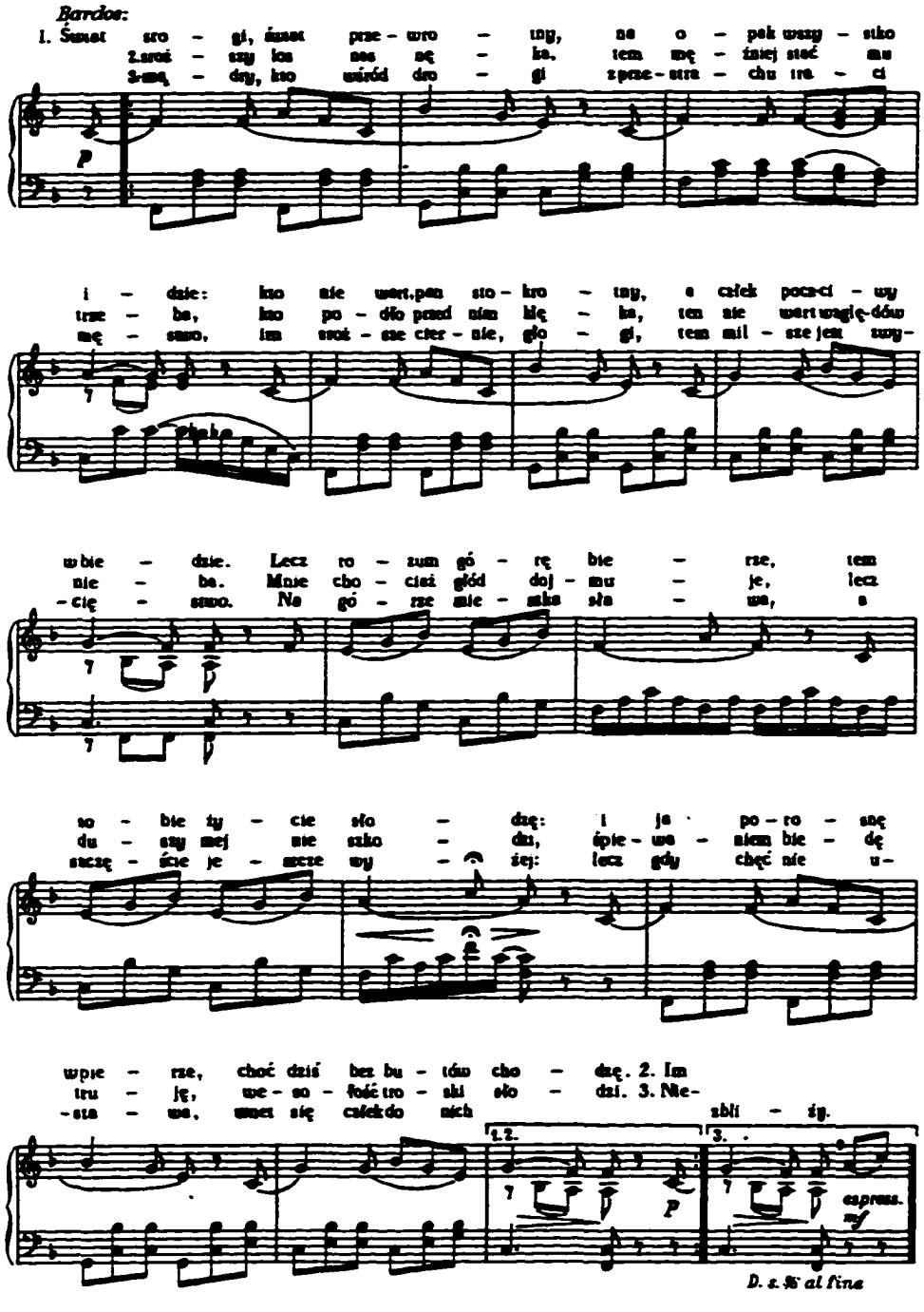
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 2. Karol Kurpiński, Jonek's song "W mieście dziwne obycaje" from the opera *Nowe Krakowiaki* (Warszawa: Konarzewski i Mękarski; in the National Library).
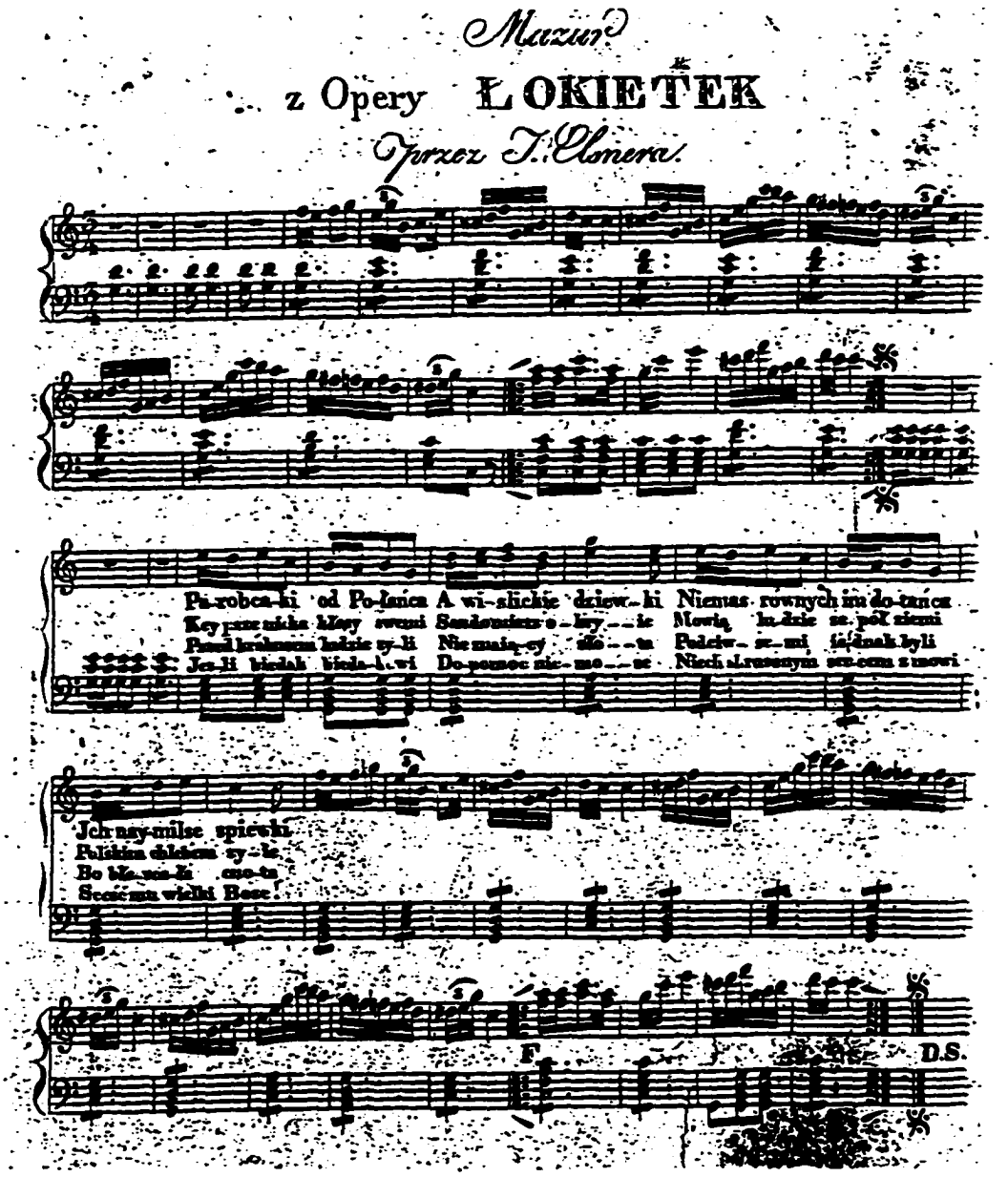


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 3. Jan Stefani, Bardos' cavatina "Świat srogi" from the opera *Krakowiacy i Górale* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1959).
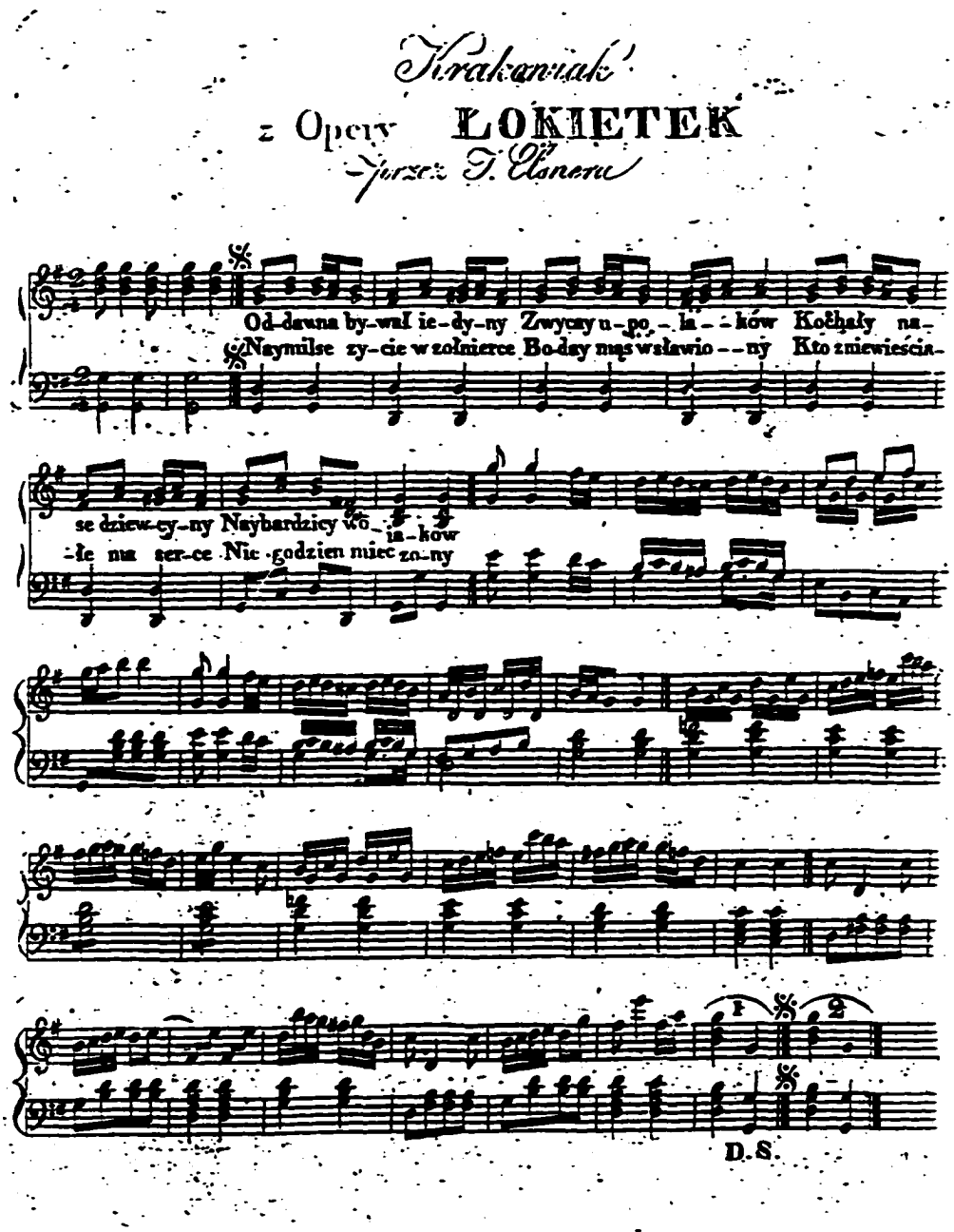


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 4. Józef Elsner, Mazur "Parobcaki od Połańca" from the opera *King Dwarf* (in the National Library).



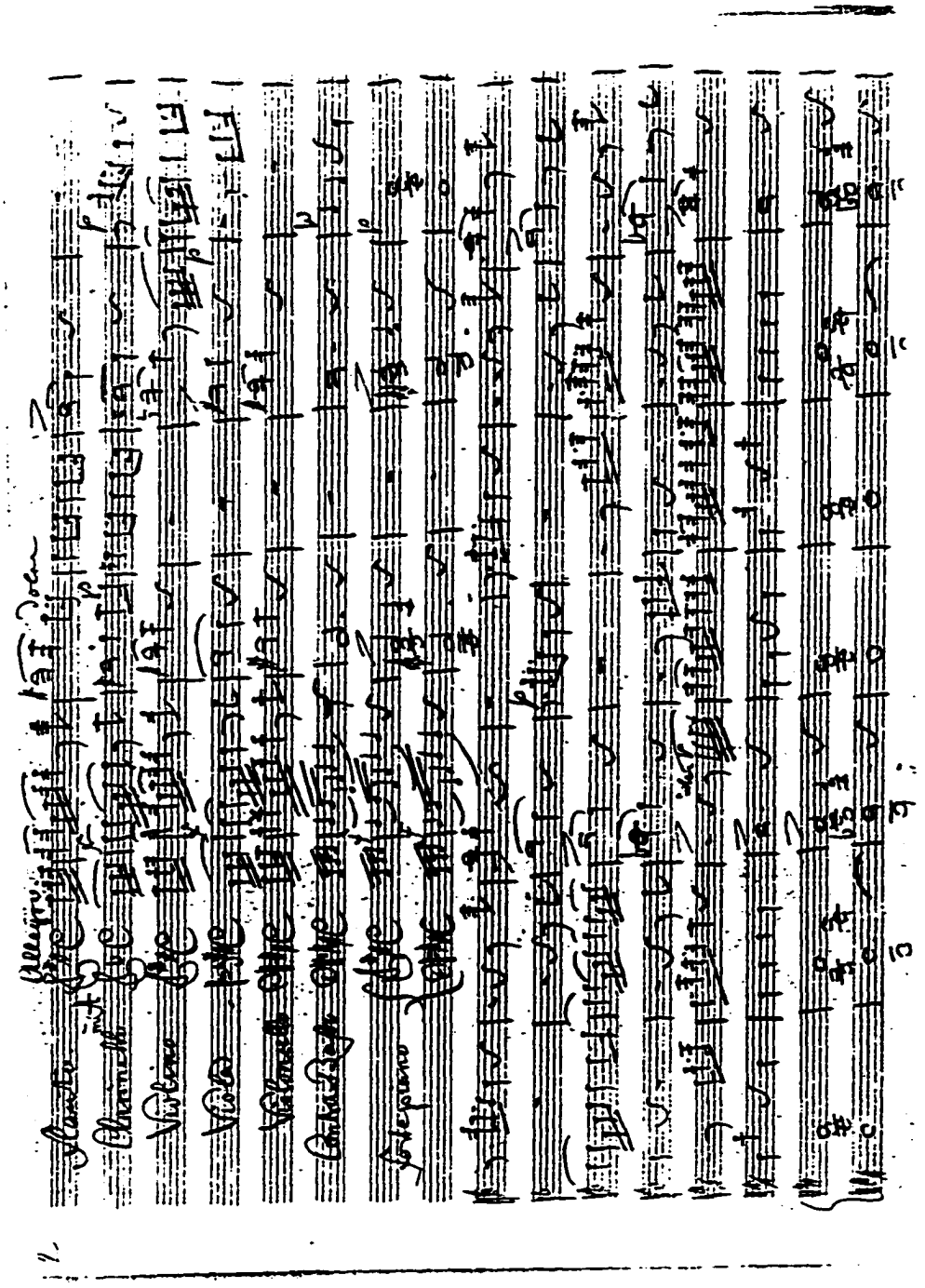
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 5. Józef Elsner, Krakowiak "Od dawna bywał" from the opera *King Dwarf* (in the National Library).
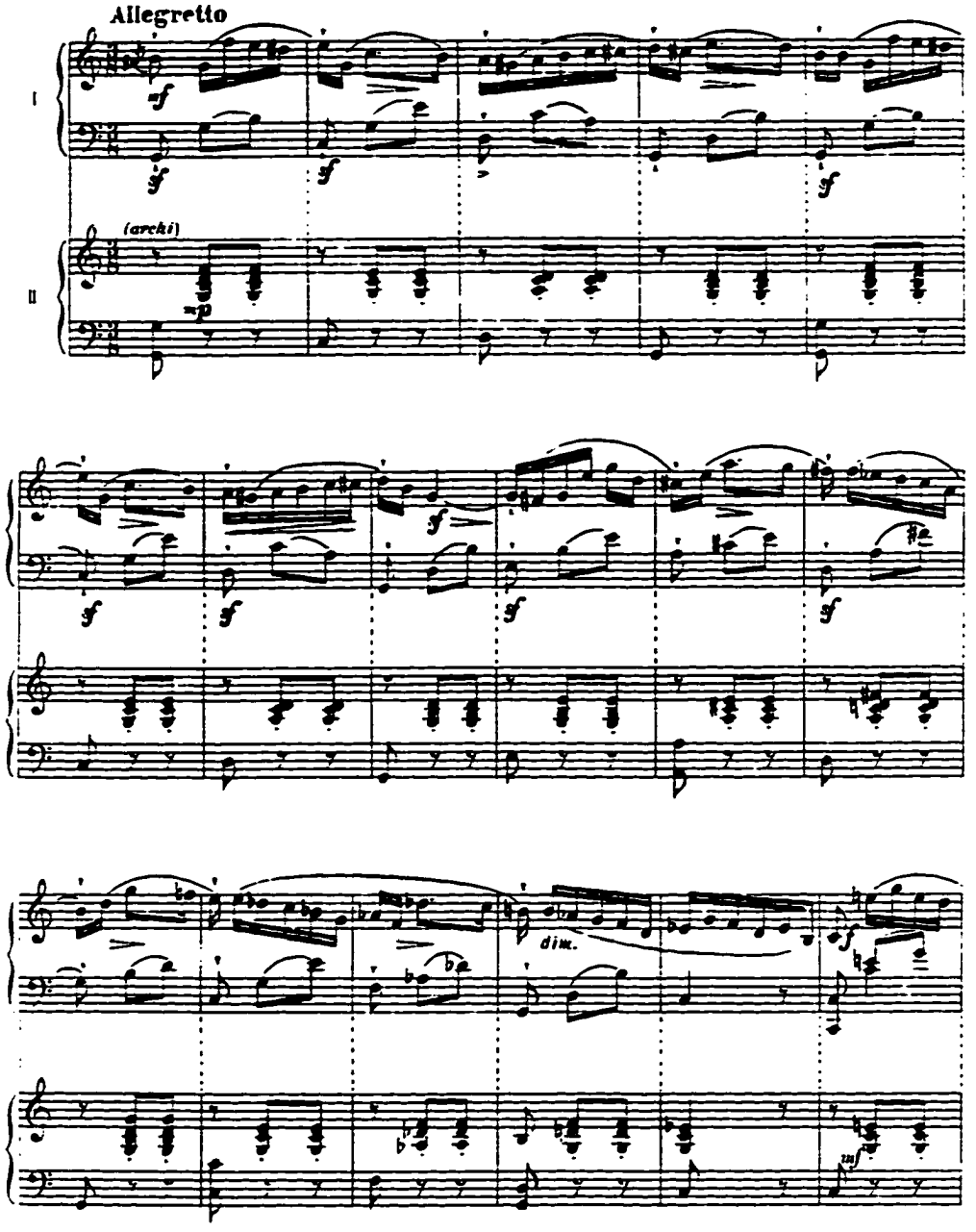


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 6. Józef Elsner, *Septetto* in D Major for flute, clarinet, violin, viola, cello, double bass and piano (Autograph manuscript in the Library of Warsaw Musical Society).
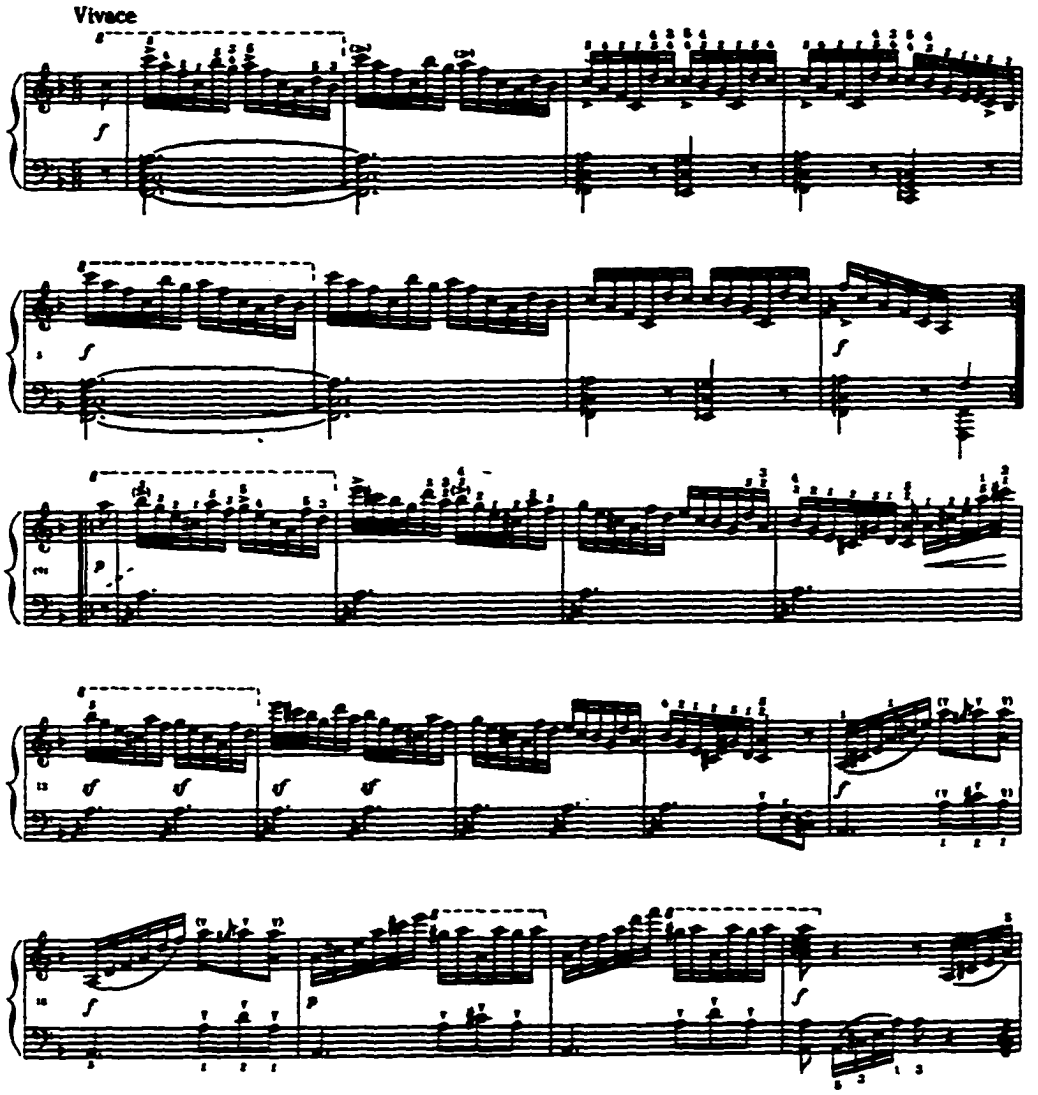


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 7. Franciszek Lessel, Piano Concerto in C Major op. 14, Allegretto (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne).
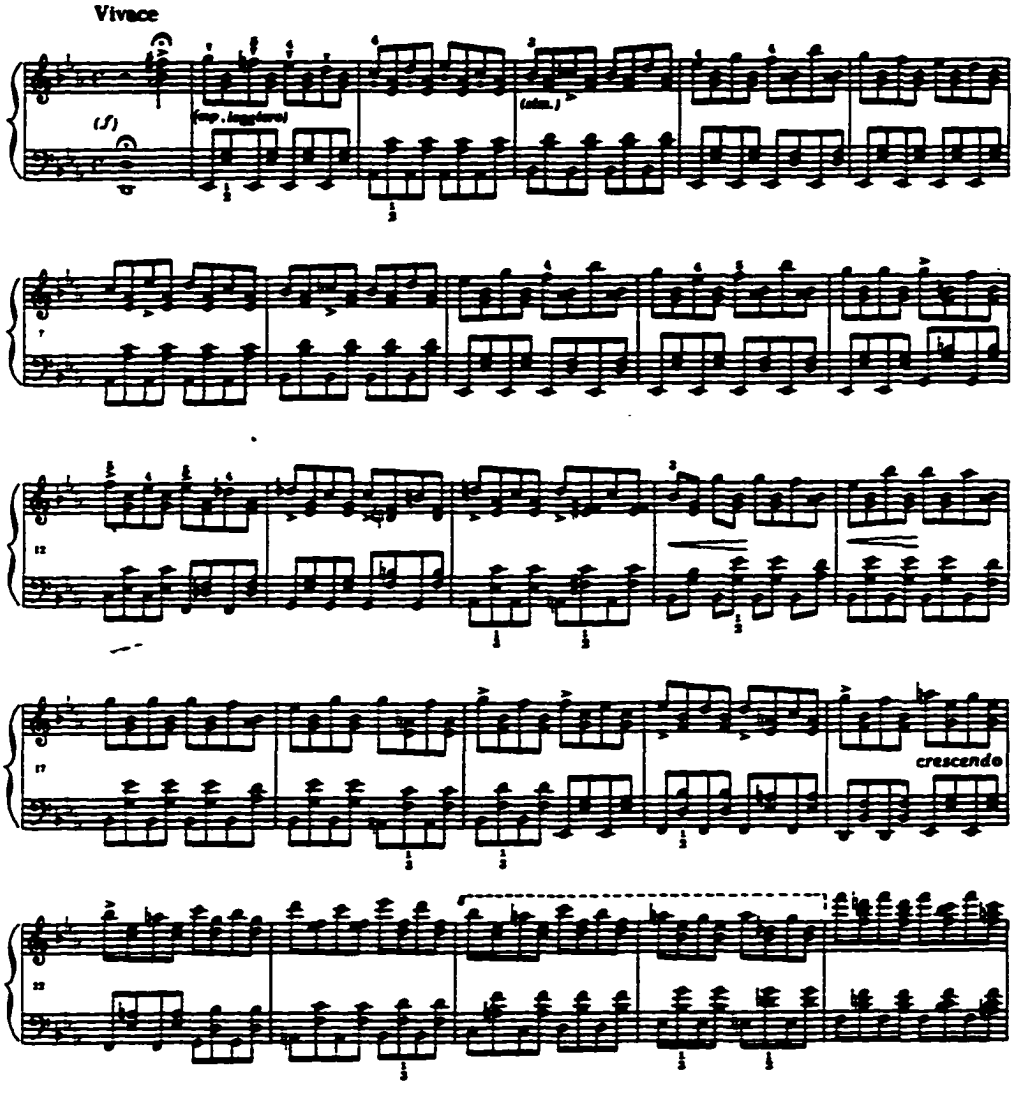


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 8. Maria Szymanowska, *Vingt Exercices et Préludes*, no. 1 in F Major (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).
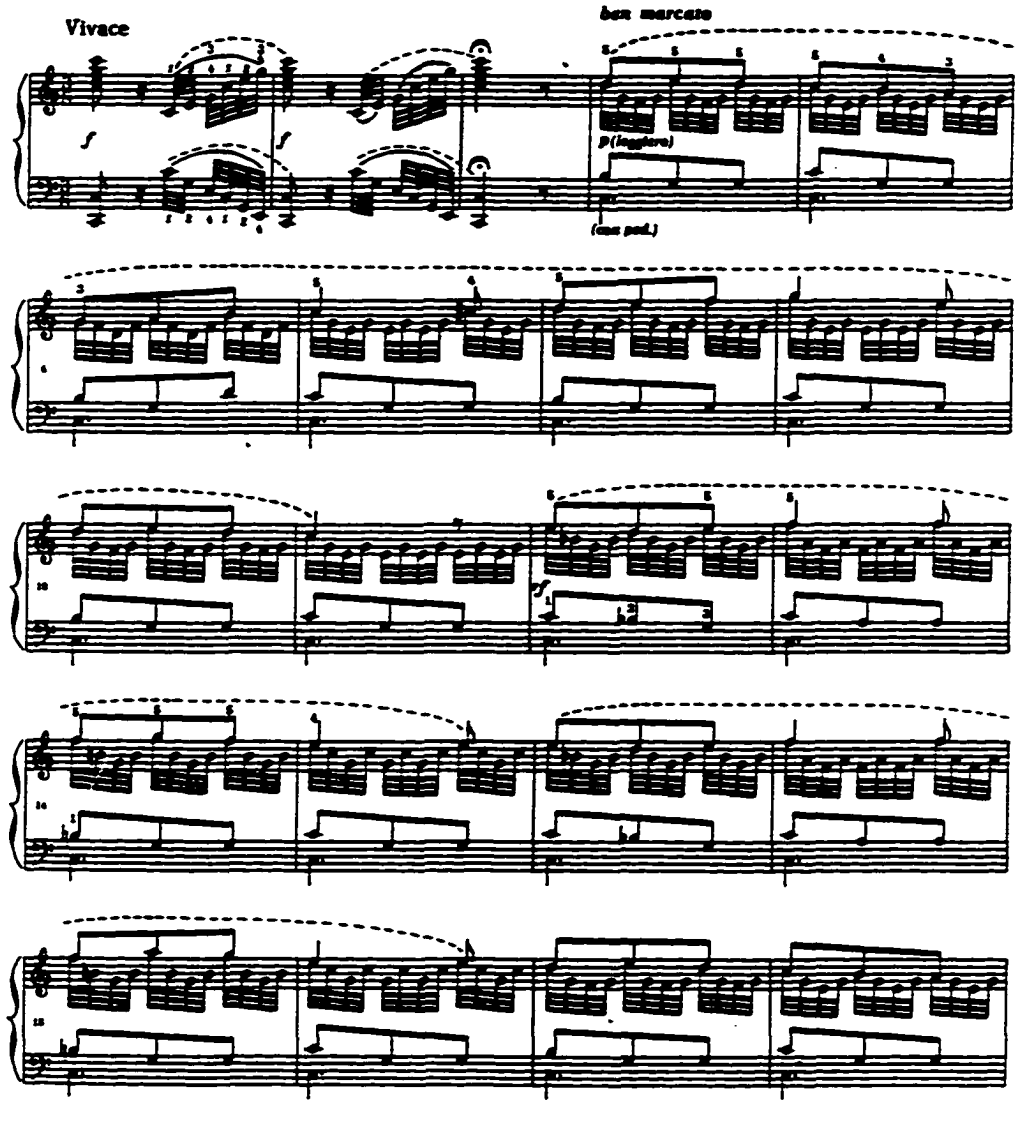


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 9. Maria Szymanowska, *Vingt Exercices et Préludes*, no. 9 in E flat Major (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).



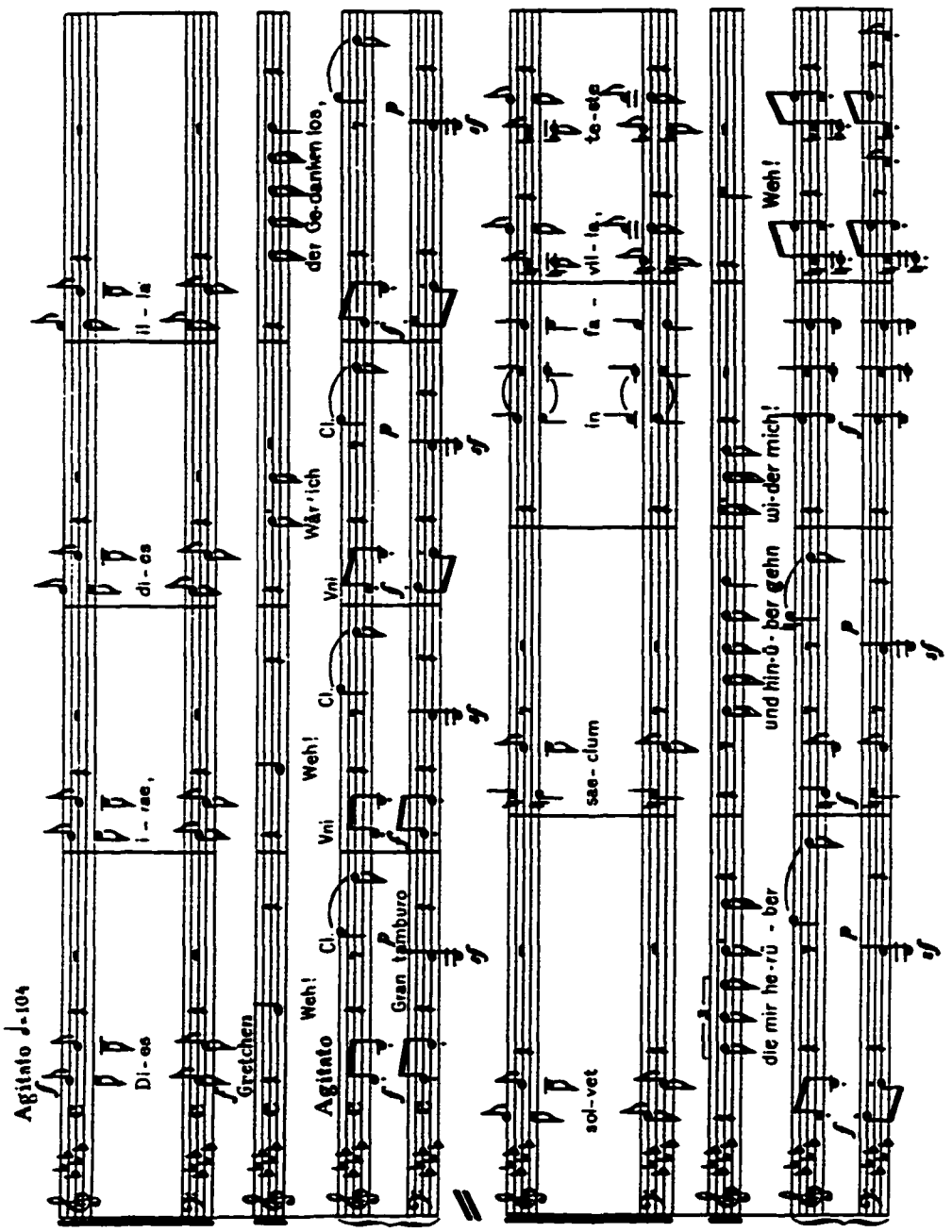
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 10. Maria Szymanowska, *Vingt Exercices et Préludes*, no. 15 in C Major (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).
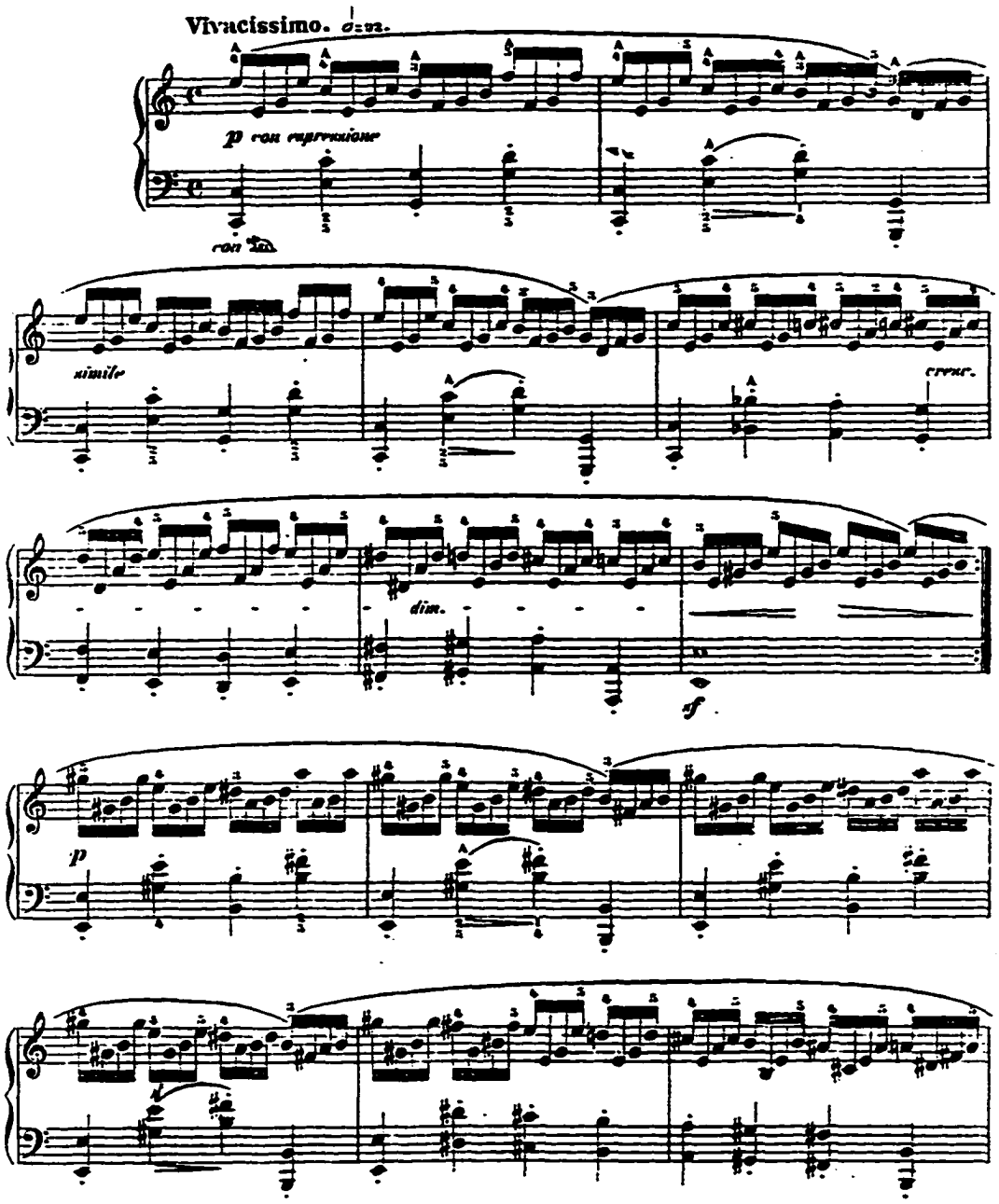


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 11. Prince Antoni Radziwiłł, "Dies irae" from *Compositionen zu Goethes Faust* (in T. Strumiłło, *Sources and Beginnings of Romanticism*, music appendix).



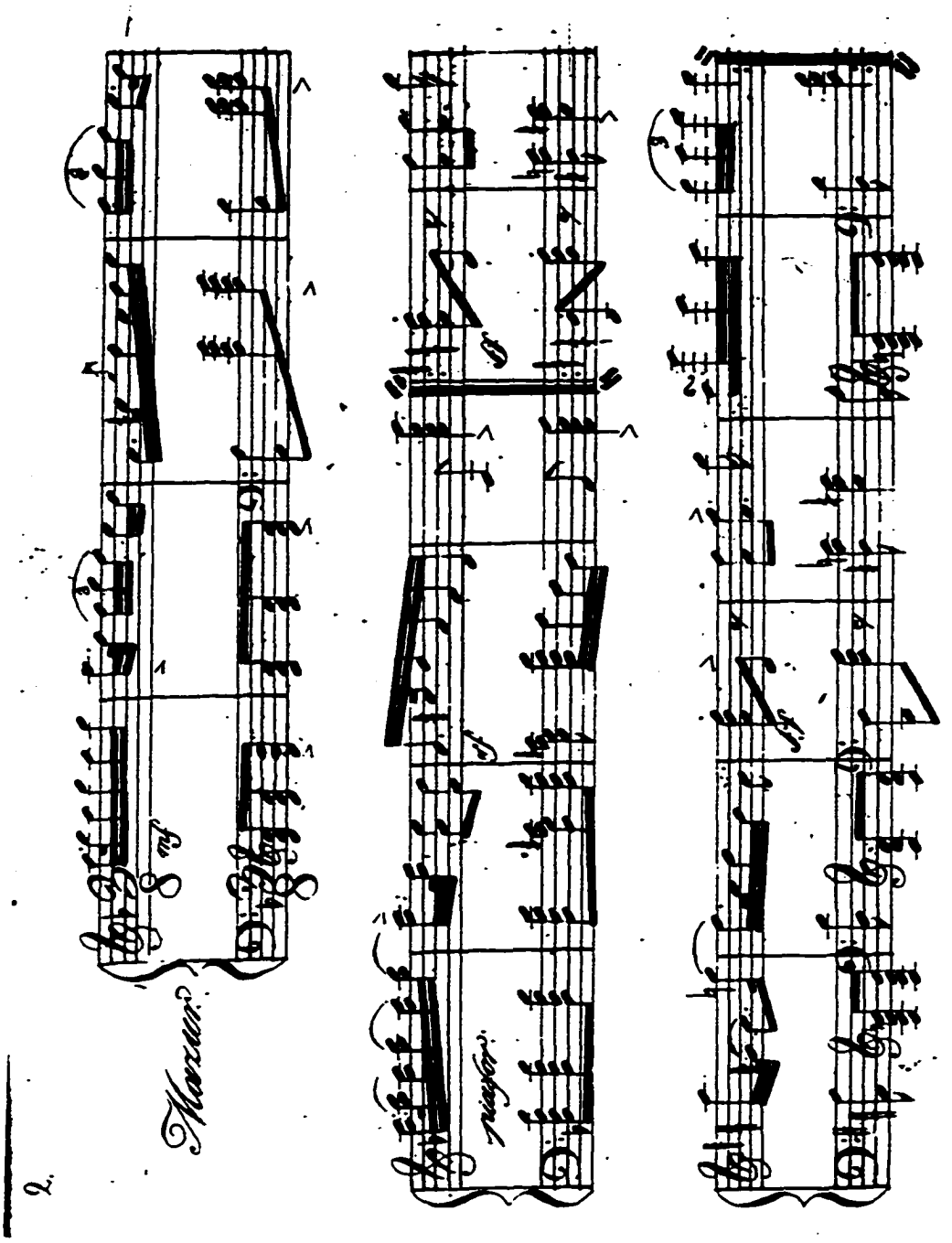
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 12. Johann Christoph Kessler, *Etudes* op. 20, no. 1 in C Major (Warszawa: Mękarski, 1903, in the National Library).
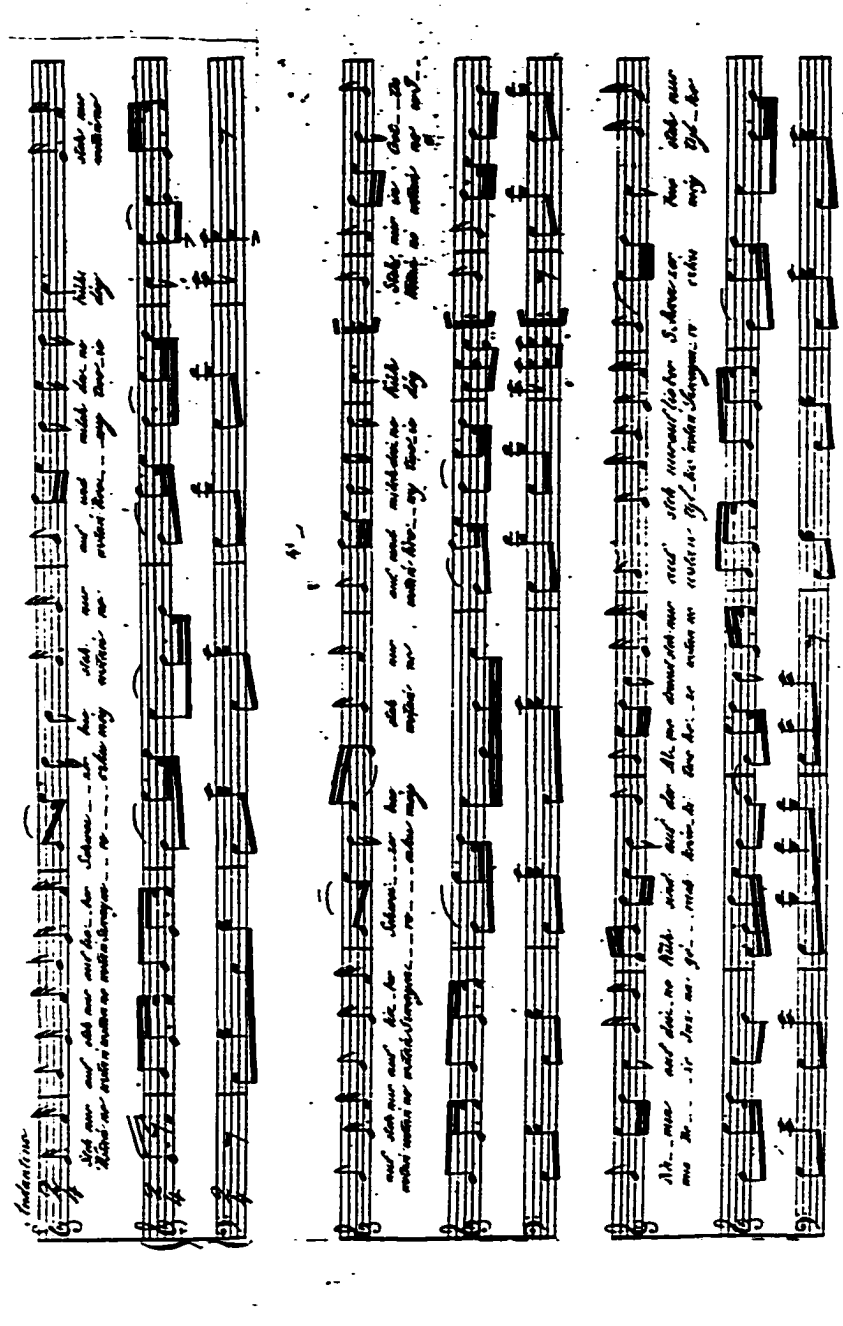


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 13. Karol Sołtyk, Mazurek (Warszawa: Klukowski, 1829; Library of the Department of Music Theory and History at the Jagiellonian University, from a microfilm in the National Library).



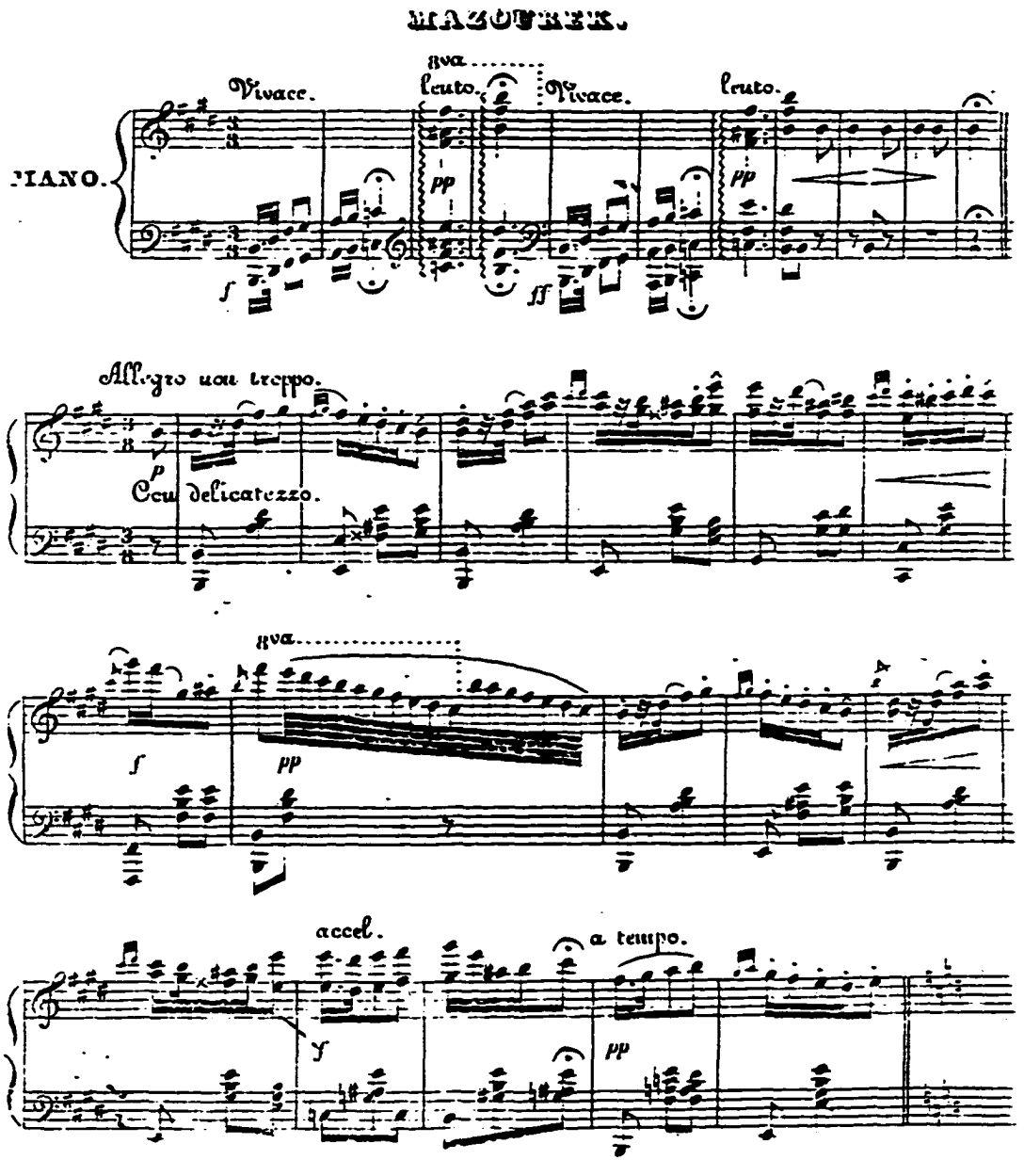
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 14. An arrangement of Pixis' Variations on the Swiss Theme "Der Schweizerbub" as sung by Henrietta Sonntag (Warszawa: Vivier, 1830; in the Jagiellonian Library).



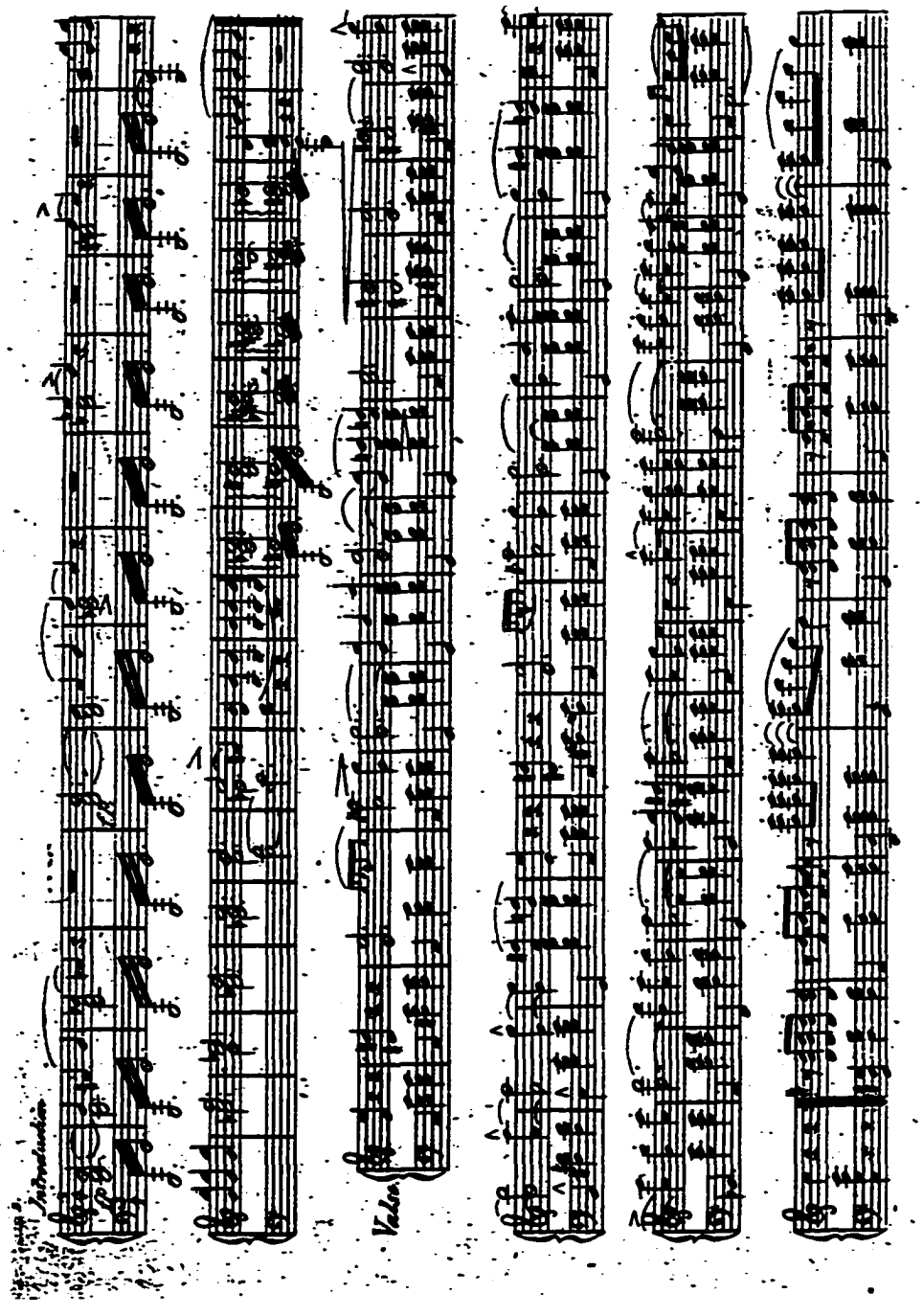
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 15. Antoni Kątski, *Mazurek in B Major* op. 132 (Berlin: Guttentag; in the National Library).



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 16. Edward Wolff, *Gage d'amitié, valse brillante* (Warszawa: Klukowski, 1836; in the Jagiellonian Library).



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Antoni Orłowski." *Pamiętnik Muzyczny i Teatralny* 1862, no. 24:371-76.

Ballstaedt, Andreas and Tobias Widmaier. *Salonmusik: zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis.* Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989.

Bełza, Igor. *Istoria polskoy muzykalnoy kultury* [The History of Polish Musical Culture]. Moskva: Gosud. Muzyk. Izdat., 1957.

_____. *Maria Szymanowska.* Translated by Jadwiga Ilnicka. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1987.

Bilińska, Jolanta. "Opery Mozarta na scenach polskich w latach 1783-1830" [The Operas of Mozart on the Polish Stage in the Years 1783-1830]. *Muzyka* 22 (1977): 79-102.

Błędowska, Henrietta z Działyńskich. *Pamiątka przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794-1832* [Remembrance of the Past. Memoirs from the Years 1794-1832]. Modern edition by K. Kostnicz and Z. Makowiecka. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960.

Bogusławski, Wojciech. *Dzieje Teatru Narodowego* [A History of the National Theater]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1820.

_____. *Dzieła Dramatyczne* [Dramatic Works]. 12 vols. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1820-23.

Bohdanowicz, E. "Myśli o muzyce" [Reflections on Music]. *Atheaneum* 1850, no.1:37-73.

Branson, David. *John Field and Chopin.* New York: St. Martin Press, 1972.

Brodziński, Kazimierz. *Wspomnienia mojej młodości* [Memories of my Youth]. Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, 1901.

Bronarski, Ludwik. *Etudes sur Chopin.* Lausanne, 1946.

Brown, Maurice John Edwin. *Chopin: an Index of his Works in Chronological Order.* London: Macmillan, 1972.

Bućko, Anna. "Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach 1807-15" [The Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1807-1815]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1982.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Charlton, David ed. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Chechlińska, Zofia. "Z problematyki badań nad muzyką polską XIX wieku" [Problems of Research on Nineteenth-Century Polish Music]. *Muzyka* 24 (1979): 83-91.

_____, ed. *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku* [Sketches on the Musical Culture of the Nineteenth Century]. 5 vols. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971-1984.

Chomiński, Józef M. "Mistrzostwo kompozytorskie Chopina" [The Compositional Mastery of Chopin]. *Rocznik Chopinowski* 1956: 181ff.

_____ and Teresa D. Turło. *Katalog dzieł Fryderyka Chopina* [A Catalogue of the Works of Frederic Chopin]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990.

Chopin, Fryderyk. *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina* [Correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin]. 2 vols. Collected and edited by Bronisław Edward Sydow. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955.

Dembowski, Leon. *Moje wspomnienia* [My Memoires]. 2 vols. Petersburg: Grendyszyński, 1898.

Dent, Edward J. *The Rise of Romantic Opera.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Dębicki, Ludwik, count. *Puławy (1762-1830) Monografia z życia, towarzyskiego, politycznego i literackiego na podstawie archiwum ks. Czartoryskich w Krakowie* [Puławy (1762-1830; a Monograph on Social, Political and Literary Life Based on the Princes Czartoryski Archives in Cracow]. 4 vols. Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1888.

Dmochowski, Franciszek Salezy. *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs]. Warszawa: Jaworski, 1858.

Dobrzyński, Bronisław. *Ignacy Dobrzyński w zakresie działalności dążącej do postępu muzyki w współczesnej jemu epoce* [Ignacy Dobrzyński in the Arena of Activities Aiming at Musical Progress During his Time]. Warszawa: Felicyia Krokoszyńska, 1893.

Dziębowska, Elżbieta. "O polskiej szkole narodowej" [On the Polish National School]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

vol. 1:13-32. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971.

Egert, Paul. *Friedrich Chopin*. Potsdam, 1936.

Eigeldinger, Jean-Jacques. *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils*. Translated by Naomi Shohet, Krysia Osostowicz and Roy Howat. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Elsner, Józef. *O metryczności i rytmiczności języka polskiego* [On Meter and Rhythm in the Polish Language]. Warszawa: Dąbrowski, 1818.

_____. "O muzyce w ogólności" [On Music in General]. *Astrea. Pamietnik Narodowy* 1825.

_____. Przykłady z harmonii [Examples in Harmony] Manuscript (partially autograph). 1807. Library of the Warsaw Music Society. WTM, sygn. 940.

_____. *Sumariusz moich utworów muzycznych* [A Summary of my Musical Works]. Modern edition by A. Nowak-Romanowicz. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957.

Encyklopedia Powszechna [Universal Encyclopedia]. 28 vols. Warszawa: Orgelbrand, 1861.

Engel, Hans. *Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Klavierkonzertes von Mozart bis Liszt*. Leipzig, 1927.

Frączyk, Tadeusz. *Warszawa młodości Chopina* [Warsaw of Chopin's Youth]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1961.

Gabryś, Jerzy and Janina Cybulska. *Z dziejów polskiej pieśni solowej* [From the History of the Polish Solo Song]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1960.

Gallois, Jean, ed. *Musiques et Musiciens au Faubourg Saint-Germain*. Paris: Delegation de l'Action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1996.

Georgi, Walter. *Klaviermusik*. Zürich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1950.

Gołąb, Maciej. *Chromatyka i tonalność w muzyce Chopina* [Chromaticism and Tonality in Chopin's Music]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1991.

Gołębiowski, Łukasz. *Gry i zabawy różnych stanów* [Games and Amusements of Various Classes]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1831.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. *Opisanie historyczno-statystyczne miasta Warszawy* [Historic-Statistical Description of the City Warsaw]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1827.

Gołos, Jerzy (George). "Organy i muzyka w ewangielickim kościele św. Trójcy w Warszawie" [The Organ and Music at the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity in Warsaw]. *Ruch muzyczny* 1990, no. 15:3.

_____. *The Polish Organ.* Vol. 1, *The Instrument and its History.* Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 1993.

_____. *Polskie organy i muzyka organowa* [The Polish Organ and Organ Music]. Warszawa: Pax, 1972.

_____."Some Slavic Predecessors of Chopin." *Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960): 437-47.

_____. *Zarys historii budowy organów Polsce* [A Historical Sketch of Organ Building in Poland]. Bydgoszcz: Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1966.

Gradenwitz, Peter. *Literatur und Musik im geselligen Kreise: Geschmackbildung, Gesprächstoff und musikalische Unterhaltung in der bürgerlichen Salongesellschaft.* Stuttgart, 1991.

Greive, Tyrone. "A Look at the Violin in 16th- and 17th-century Poland." *Journal of the Violin Society of America* 11 (1991): 117-142.

Grout, Donald. *A Short History of Opera.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

Hoesick, Ferdinand. *Chopin. Życie i twórczość* [Chopin. Life and Works]. 2 vols. Warszawa: Hoesick, 1927.

_____. *Pisma zbiorowe* [The Collected Works]. Vol. 1, *Słowacki i Chopin* [Słowacki and Chopin]. Warszawa: Trzaska, Evert i Michalski, 1932.

_____. "Luminarze warszawscy w roli przyjaciół i znajomych F. Chopina" [Warsaw Luminaries as Chopin's Friends and Acquaintances]. In *Warszawa: luźne kartki z przeszłości syreniego grodu* [Warsaw: Loose leaves from the Past of the Mermaid City]. Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1920.

_____. *Z papierów po Elsnerze* [From Elsner's Papers]. Warszawa: Hoesick, 1901.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hoffman, Klementyna. *Obiad czwartkowy: opis wyjęty z nieznanych dotąd pamiętników* [Thursday Dinner: a Description Taken from heretofore Unknown Memoirs]. Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1917.

_____. *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs]. 3 vols. Berlin: Behr, 1849.

Index Praelationum in Universitate Literarum Regia Varsaviensi, September 15, 1826 - Juli 15, 1827. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1826.

Iwanejko, Maria. *Maria Szymanowska.* Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1959.

Jankélévitch, V. *Le nocturne.* Paris, 1957.

Janowski, Jan Nepomucen. *Notatki autobiograficzne 1803-1853* [Autobiographical Notes 1803-1853]. Modern edition by M. Tyrowicz. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1950.

Jeske-Choiński, Teodor. *Neofici Polscy* [Polish Neophytes]. Warszawa: Laskauer, 1904.

"Józef Bohdan Zaleski." *Kronika Rodzinna* 1886: 225-29.

Kallberg, Jeffrey. *Chopin at the Boundaries; Sex, History, and Musical Genre.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Karasowski, Maurycy. *Fryderyk Chopin.* 2 vols. First German edition Dresden: F. Ries, 1877; first Polish edition Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1882.

_____. *Rys historyczny opery polskiej* [An Outline of the History of Polish Opera]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1859.

Kicka, Natalia. *Pamiętniki,* [Memoirs]. Modern edition by T. Szafranski and J. Dutkiewicz. Warszawa: Pax, 1972.

Kieniewicz, Stefan. *Historia Polski 1795-1918* [A History of Poland 1795-1918]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987.

Kobylańska, Krystyna. *Chopin w kraju: dokumenty i pamiątki* [Chopin in his Land: Documents and Souvenirs]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955.

_____. *Korespondencja Chopina z rodzina* [The Correspondence of Chopin and his Family]. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972.

_____. *Rękopisy utworów Chopina: katalog* [Manuscripts of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chopin's Works: Catalogue]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977.

Kolberg, Oskar. *Dzieła wszystkie* [The Complete Works]. Edited by J. Krzyżanowski. Vol. 62, *Pisma muzyczne* [Music Writings] part 2. Edited by M. Tomaszewski, D. Pawlak and E. Miller. Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1961-1990.

Kołaczkowski, Klemens. *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs]. 4 vols. Kraków: Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, 1900.

Kosim, Jan. "Ernst Theodor Hoffmann i Towarzystwo Muzyczne w Warszawie" [E.T.A. Hoffmann and the Music Society in Warsaw]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 2:105-79. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973.

Kowalczyk, Henryka. "Józefa Elsnera podręcznik do harmonii" [Józef Elsner's Harmony Textbook]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1964.

Koźmian, Andrzej Edward. *Listy 1829-1864* [Letters 1829-1864]. 4 vols. Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1894.

_____. "Wizerunki osób towarzystwa warszawskiego" [Images of Warsaw's Socialites]. *Przegląd poznański* 24 (1857): 1-28.

_____. *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs]. 2 vols. Poznań: Letgeber, 1867.

Koźmian, Kajetan. *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs]. 3 vols. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1972.

Krasiński, Józef, count. *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs]. Poznań: Kraszewski, 1877.

Kraushar, Aleksander. *Polki twórcze czasów nowszych* [Creative Polish Women of Modern Times]. Warszawa: Hoesick, 1929.

_____. *Resursa kupiecka w Warszawie* [The Merchant Club in Warsaw]. Warszawa: Hoesick, 1928.

_____. *Salony i zebrania literackie w Warszawie* [Salons and Literary Gatherings in Warsaw]. Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historyi, 1916.

_____. *Typy i oryginały warszawskie* [Warsaw's Personalities]. Warszawa: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historyi, 1912.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kurpiński, Karol. *Dziennik Podróży* [Diary of a Journey]. Modern edition Z. Jachimecki. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1954.

_____. *Krótki rys Teatru Narodowego od roku 1818 aż dotąd* [A Short Sketch of the National Theater from the Year 1818 until the Present]. Warszawa: J. Węcki, 1831.

_____. *Zasady Harmonii Tonów* [Principles of the Harmony of Tones]. Warszawa: Klukowski, 1821.

Kwiatkowska, Magdalena. "Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach 1795-1806" [The Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1795-1806]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1981.

_____. "Życie muzyczne Warszawy w latach 1795-1806" [The Musical Life of Warsaw in the Years 1795-1806]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 5:9-91 Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984.

Lesure, François. "L'histoire de Pologne dans la musique française de 1830-1865." *Muzyka* 17 (1972): 57-65.

Lisowska, Agnieszka. "Karol Kurpiński jako pisarz, działacz i organizator muzyczny w Warszawie" [Karol Kurpiński as a Musical Writer, Activist and Organizer in Warsaw]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1970.

_____. "Karol Kurpiński jako pisarz, działacz i organizator muzyczny w Warszawie" [Karol Kurpiński as a Musical Writer, Activist and Organizer in Warsaw]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 2:181-231. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972.

Lissa, Zofia. "Klavierpolonaise und -Mazurka im 19. Jahrhundert." In *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. Wulf Arlt, 813-839. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973.

_____. "Problemy polskiego stylu narodowego w twórczości Chopina" [The Problems of Polish National Style in Chopin's Oeuvre], *Rocznik Chopinowski* 1 (1956): 96-170.

_____. *Studia nad twórczością Fryderyka Chopina* [Studies on Chopin's Work]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1970.

_____, ed. *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Łobaczewska, S. "La culture musicale en Pologne au début du XIXe siècle et ses relations avec la musique de Chopin." *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin*, ed. Zofia Lissa, 63ff. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960.

Łoziński, Władysław. *Salon i kobieta* [Salon and Women]. Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Syn, 1921.

Łubienski, Tomasz Wentworth. *Henryk Łubienski i jego bracia* [Henryk Łubienski and his Brothers]. Kraków: Gebethner, 1886.

Magier, Antoni. *Estetyka miasta stołecznego Warszawy* [The Aesthetics of the Capital City of Warsaw]. Modern edition of the 1830 manuscript by H. Szwankowska. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1963.

Michałowska, Helena. *Salony artystyczno-literackie w Warszawie 1832-60* [Artistic-Literary Salons in Warsaw 1832-1860]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974.

Mietalska-Ciepierska, Agnieszka. "Rekopisy polskich kompozytorów XIX wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej" [Manuscripts of Nineteenth-Century Polish Composers in the Collections of the Jagiellonian Library], *Muzyka* 27 (1982): 65-82.

Mirscy, Józef and Maria. *Maria Szymanowska. 1789-1831. Album.* Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1953.

Mizwa, Stephen P. "Chopin's Indebtedness to the Artistic Tradition in Poland." In *Frédéric Chopin 1810-1849*, ed. S. Mizwa, 21-27. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949.

Mochnacki, Maurycy. *Pisma* [Writings]. Edited by Artur Śliwiński. Lwów: Połoniecki, 1910.

Morawski, Stanisław, dr. *W Peterburku 1827-1838* [In Petersburg 1827-1838]. Edited by A. Czartkowski and H. Mościcki. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskie, 1898.

Morawski, Tadeusz. *Moje przygody; ustęp z pamiętników* [My Adventures; Excerpt from Memoirs]. Kraków: Leon Paszkowski, 1873.

Moriolles, Count de. *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs]. Translated by Z. Przyborowska. Warszawa: Biblioteka Dzieł Wyborowych, 1902.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mrygon, Adam and Maria Burchard. "Katalog poloników muzycznych w zbiorach austriackich" [Catalog of Polish Musical Materials in Austrian Collections]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 5:161-324. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984.

Murdoch, William. *Chopin and his Life*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935.

Nakwaska, Anna. "Wyjątki z pamiętników współczesnych" [Excerpts from contemporary memoirs]. *Gazeta Warszawska*, July-August 1852, nos. 198-219.

"Narzędzia muzyczne z klawiaturą" [Musical Instruments with Keyboards]. *Biblioteka warszawska* 1848, no. 2:367-81.

Niecks, Frederick. *Frederick Chopin as a Man and Musician*. 2 vols. First edition 1888; reprint, New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1973.

Nowak-Romanowicz, Alina. *Józef Elsner*. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957.

_____. "Nauka teorii muzyki w podręcznikach doby klasycyzmu polskiego (1750-1830)" [The Study of Music Theory in Textbooks of the Period of Polish Classicism], *Muzyka* 25 (1980): 53-66.

_____. "Niektore problemy opery polskiej między oświeceniem i romantyzmem" [Some Problems of Polish Opera between the Enlightenment and Romanticism]. In *Studia Hieronimo Feicht septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Zofia Lissa, 328-336. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967.

_____. "Polonika w bibliotekach czechosłowackich" [Polish Works in Czechoslovak Libraries], *Muzyka* 20 (1975): 100-103.

Lester, Joel. *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Odyniec, Antoni Edward. *Wspomnienia z przeszłości opowiadane Deotymie* [Memories from the Past as Told to Deotyma]. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1884.

Ogiński, Michal Kleofas. *Listy o muzyce* [Letters about Music]. Modern edition by Tadeusz Strumiłło. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956.

Opis żałobnego obchodu po wilkopomney pamięci nayiaśniejszym Alexandrze I [A Description of the Funeral Celebration

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for the Eternal Memory of His Highness Alexander I]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1829.

Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna w Gdańsku. *Franciszek Lessel: w 200 rocznicę urodzin kompozytora*. Gdańsk: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Muzyczna, 1980.

Papierz, Stanisław. "Muzyka w polskich czasopismach niemuzycznych w latach 1800-1930" [Music in Polish Non-Musical Periodicals During the Years 1800-1830]. In *Bibliografia muzyczna polskich czasopism niemuzycznych* [Music Bibliography of Non-Musical Periodicals]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1971.

Parakilas, James. *Ballads Without Words; Chopin and the Tradition of the Instrumental Ballade*. Portland: Amadeus Press, 1992.

Pieniążek, Czesław. *O autorkach polskich a w szczególności o Sewerynie Duchińskiej* [On Polish Female Writers, Especially Seweryna Duchińska]. Poznań: Merzbach, 1872.

Poliński, Aleksander. *Chopin*. Warszawa: Idzikowski, 1914.

_____. *Sprawozdanie jubileuszowe komitetu Towarzystwa Muzycznego w Warszawie* [The Anniversary Report of the Committee of the Music Society in Warsaw]. Warszawa: Kowalewski, 1896.

Polski Słownik Biograficzny [Polish Biographical Dictionary]. 35 vols. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1936-.

Posiedzenie Publiczne Królewsko-Warszawskigo Uniwersytetu odbyte z Października 1818 roku [A Public Meeting of the Royal University of Warsaw, which Took Place in October 1818]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1818.

Posiedzenie Publiczne Królewsko-Warszawskigo Uniwersytetu odbyte z Października 1820 roku [A Public Meeting of the Royal University of Warsaw, which Took Place in October 1820]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1820.

Powróźniak, Józef. *Karol Lipiński*. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1970.

Procházka, Jaroslav. "Chopin und Böhmen." In *Chopin Jahrbuch*. Vienna, 1927.

Prokopowicz, Maria. "Musique imprimée à Varsovie en 1800-1830." *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin*, ed. Zofia Lissa, 593-97. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Naukowe, 1960.

_____. "Musique imprimée de 1800-1831 comme source de la culture musicale polonaise de l'époque." *Fontes artis musicae* 14 (1967): 16-22.

_____. "Z działalności warszawskich księgarzy i wydawców muzycznych w latach 1800-1831" [From the Activities of Warsaw Booksellers and Music Publishers in the Years 1800-1831]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 1: 33-50. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971.

Prosnak, Jan. "Karol Kurpiński jako teoretyk" [Karol Kurpiński as a Theoretician]. *Kwartalnik muzyczny* 25 (January-March 1949): 138-155.

_____. "Krakowiaki z czasów księstwa warszawskiego" [Krakowiaks from the Period of the Duchy of Warsaw]. *Muzyka* 5 (1960): 49-59.

_____. *Kultura muzyczna Warszawy XVIII wieku* [The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Warsaw]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955.

_____. "Środowisko warszawskie w życiu Fryderyka Chopina" [The Warsaw Environment in the Life of Frederic Chopin]. *Kwartalnik muzyczny* 28 (October-December 1949): 7-126.

_____. "Wariacje fletowe Chopina" [Chopin's Flute Variations]. In *Studia Muzykologiczne*, vol. 1:267-307. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1953.

_____. "Twórczość fortepianowa Karola Kurpińskiego" [Karol Kurpiński's Piano Works]. *Muzyka* 4 (1959): 58-71.

Przewodnik warszawski 1826 [Warsaw Guide 1826]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1826.

Przewodnik warszawski 1829 [Warsaw Guide 1829]. Warszawa: Glücksberg, 1829.

Przybylski, Tadeusz. "Fragmenty 'Dziennika Prywatnego' Karola Kurpińskiego" [Fragments from Karol Kurpiński's 'Private Diary']. *Muzyka* 20 (1975): 104-113.

_____. *Karol Kurpiński*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980.

Pukińska, Hanna. "Polonez przed Chopinem" [The Polonaise before Chopin]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1959.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pukińska-Szpietowska, Hanna. "Życie koncertowe w Warszawie (1800-1810)" [Concert Life in Warsaw (1800-1810)]. In *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska, vol. 1:35-104. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971.

Raszewski, Zbigniew. *Bogusławski*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972.

Raźnik, Paulina. "Elementy stylu brilliant w polonezach F. Chopina okresu warszawskiego" [Elements of *stile brilliante* in Chopin's Polonaises of the Warsaw Period]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1993.

Rehberg, Walter and Paula Rehberg. *Frédéric Chopin: sein Leben und sein Werk*. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1949.

Rosen, Charles. *The Romantic Generation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Rzepkowski, Radosław. "Twórczość fortepianowa Franciszka Lessla" [The Piano Works of Franciszek Lessel]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1974.

Samson, Jim. *Chopin*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1997.

_____. *The Music of Chopin*. London: Routhledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.

_____, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

_____, ed. *Chopin Studies*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

_____ and John Rink, eds. *Chopin Studies 2*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Sankowska, Marta. "Studia Fryderyka Chopina w Szkole Głównej Muzyki Królewskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" [Fryderyk Chopin's Studies at the Main School of Music of the Royal University of Warsaw]. Master's thesis, University of Wrocław, 1994.

Semenovskij, S.A. "Russiye znakomyye i druzya Shopena" [Russian acquaintances and friends of Chopin]. In *Venok Shopenu* [A Wreath for Chopin], ed. L.S. Sidielnikov, 63-83. Moskva: Muzyka, 1989.

Serbeńska, Zofia. "Warszawskie szkolnictwo muzyczne w XIX wieku" [The Musical Education in Nineteenth-Century Warsaw]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1974.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sieradz, Halina. "Kultura muzyczna Warszawy w latach 1815-1830" [The Musical Culture of Warsaw in the Years 1815-1830]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1983.

Sierawski, Napoleon. *Pamiętnik* [Memoir]. Lwów, 1905.

Sikorski, Józef. "Wspomnienie Chopina" [A remembrance of Chopin]. *Biblioteka warszawska* 1849, no. 4:510-559.

Skarbek, Fryderyk, count. *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs]. Poznań: Żupanski, 1878.

_____. *Pamiętniki Seglasa* [Seglas' Memoirs]. Modern edition by K. Bartoszyński. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959.

Sobieska, Jadwiga. "Problem cytatu u Chopina" [The Quotation Problem in Chopin]. *Muzyka* 4 (1959): 74-100.

Sobiescy, Jadwiga and Marian. "Tempo Rubato u Chopina i w polskiej muzyce ludowej" [Tempo Rubato in Chopin and Polish Folk Music]. *Muzyka* 5 (1960): 30-39.

Sobieszczański, Franciszek M. *Rys historyczno-statystyczny wzrostu i stanu miasta Warszawy od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1847* [Historic-statistical sketch of the growth and state of the city of Warsaw from time immemorial until 1847]. Warszawa: S. Strąbski, 1848.

Sowiński, Albert. *Słownik muzyków polskich dawnych i nowoczesnych* [Dictionary of Polish Musicians Old and Modern]. First French edition, Paris: Libraire Adrien le Clere, 1857; first Polish edition, Paris: Księgarnia Luxemburska, 1874.

Strumiłło, Dagmara. *Bibliografia polskich czasopism muzycznych* [A Bibliography of Polish Musical Periodicals]. Vol. 1, *Tygodnik Muzyczny 1820-1821. Pamietnik Muzyczny Warszawski 1835-1836.* Edited by Michałowski. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955.

Strumiłło, Tadeusz. *Szkice z polskiego życia muzycznego XIX wieku* [Sketches from the Polish Musical Life of the Nineteenth Century]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1954.

_____. *Uwertury Kurpińskiego* [The Overtures of Kurpiński]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1954.

_____. *Źródła i początki romantyzmu w muzyce polskiej* [Sources and Beginnings of Romanticism in Polish Music]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____, A. Nowak-Romanowicz and T. Kurylowicz. *Poglądy na muzykę kompozytorów doby przedchopinowskiej: Ogiński, Elsner, Kurpiński* [Views on Music by Composers of the Pre-Chopin Era: Ogiński, Elsner, Kurpiński]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1960.

Swaryczewska, Katarzyna. "Mazurki Marii Szymanowskiej i Chopina" [Mazurkas of Maria Szymanowska and Chopin]. *Muzyka* 4 (1959): 111-122.

Syga, Teofil and Stanisław Szenic. *Maria Szymanowska i jej czasy* [Maria Szymanowska and Her Times]. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960.

Szenic, Stanisław. *Cmentarz Powązkowski* [The Powązki Cemetery]. 3 vols. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979-1983.

Szulc, Eugeniusz. "Nieznana karta warszawskiego okresu życia Chopina" [An Unknown Page from the Warsaw Period of Chopin's Life]. *Rocznik Chopinowski* 18 (1986): 125-150.

Szulc, Eugeniusz and Jadwiga Szulc. *Cmentarz Ewangielicko-Reformowany w Warszawie* [The Evangelic-Reformed Cemetery in Warsaw]. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1989.

Szulc, Marceli Antoni. *Fryderyk Chopin i utwory jego muzyczne* [Fryderyk Chopin and his Musical Works]. Original edition 1873. Modern edition by D. Idaszek. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1986.

Szulc, Zdzisław. "Dwie nieznane kompozycje Chopina na eolopantalion" [Two Unknown Compositions for Eolopantalion by F. Chopin]. *Muzyka* 6 (1961): 18-21.

Szwankowski, Eugeniusz. *Repertuar teatrow warszawskich (1814-1831)* [The repertory of Warsaw's Theaters (1814-1831)]. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1973.

Szyburska-Szwed, Małgorzata. "Maurycy Mochnacki jako krytyk muzyczny na tle kultury muzycznej Warszawy pierwszej połowy XIX wieku" [Maurycy Mochnacki as a Music Critic against the Background of Musical Culture of Warsaw in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century]. Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1987.

Tarczewska, Aleksandra Tańska. *Historia mojego życia* [The History of my Life]. Modern edition by I. Kaniowska-Lewanska. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1967.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tomaszewski, Mieczysław. "Filiacje twórczości pieśniarskiej Chopina z polską pieśnią ludową, popularną i artystyczną" [The Relationship of Chopin's Vocal Works with Polish Folk, Popular and Art Song]. *Muzyka* 6 (1961): 79-89.

Tomaszewski, Wojciech. *Bibliografia warszawskich druków muzycznych 1801-1850* [A Bibliography of Warsaw Musical Prints 1801-1850]. Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1992.

_____. *Warszawskie edytorstwo muzyczne w latach 1772-1865* [Warsaw Music Publishing in the Years 1772-1865]. Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1992.

Veinus, Abraham. *The Concerto*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1944.

Vogel, Beniamin. *Fortepian Polski* [The Polish Piano]. Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 1995.

_____. "Fortepiany epoki Chopina a współczesna praktyka wykonawcza" [Pianos of Chopin's Era and Contemporary Performance Practice]. *Rocznik Chopinowski* 17 (1985): 129-134.

_____. "Fortepiany i idiofony klawiszowe w Królestwie Polskim w latach młodości Chopina" [Pianos and Keyboard Idiophones in the Polish Kingdom in the Years of Chopin's Youth]. *Rocznik Chopinowski* 9 (1975): 38-69.

_____. *Instrumenty muzyczne w kulturze Królestwa Polskiego. Przemysł muzyczny w latach 1815-1918* [Musical Instruments in the Culture of the Polish Kingdom. Music Industry in the Years 1815-1918]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1980.

_____. "Jeszcze raz o dwóch nieznanych kompozycjach Chopina na eolipantalion" [Once again about Two Unknown Compositions for Eolipantalion by Chopin]. *Rocznik Chopinowski* 17 (1985): 123-128.

_____. "Muzycy, muzykanci i muzykusy Księstwa Warszawskiego: szkic geografii muzycznej ksiestwa" [Musicians of the Duchy of Warsaw: a Sketch of the Duchy's Musical Geography]. *Muzyka* 20 (1975): 82-107.

_____. "Przemysł Muzyczny na ziemiach Królestwa Polskiego (1815-1918)" [The Music Industry in the Polish Kingdom (1915-1918)]. Ph.D. diss., University of Warsaw, 1977.

Walker, Alan, ed. *Frédéric Chopin: Profiles of the Man and the Musician*. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Wielisław" [Skrodzki, Eugeniusz]. "Kilka wspomnień o Chopinie" [A Few Memories of Chopin]. *Bluszcz* 1882, no. 33:257-58 and no. 36:281-82.

_____. *Wieczory piątkowe i inne gawędy* [Friday Evenings and Other Tales]. Modern edition by M. Opałek. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1962.

Wilkowska-Chomińska, Krystyna. "Chopin i Paganini" [Chopin and Paganini]. *Muzyka* 4 (1959): 101-110.

Windakiewiczowa, H. "Niektóre formy muzyczne u Chopina a muzyka ludowa polska" [Some Musical Forms in Chopin and Polish Folk Music]. In *Sprawozdania z czynności posiedzeń P.A.U.*, vol. 30, no. 8. Kraków, 1925.

_____. *Wzory muzyki polskiej w mazurkach Fryderyka Chopina* [Models of Polish Music in Frederic Chopin's Mazurkas]. Kraków, 1926.

Wieniarski, Antoni. *Warszawa i warszawianie* [Warsaw and its Residents]. 2 vols. Warszawa: Bernstejn, 1857.

Wilhelmy, Petra. *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert: 1780-1914*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989.

Wójcicki, K[azimierz] W. *Cmentarz powązkowski w Warszawie* [The Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw]. 3 vols. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1855.

_____. *Kawa literacka w Warszawie (1829-1830)* [Literary *Cafés* in Warsaw (1829-1830)]. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1873.

_____. *Społeczność Warszawy w Początkach Naszego Stulecia* [Warsaw's Society at the Beginning of our Century]. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1877.

_____. *Warszawa, jej życie umysłowe i ruch literacki 1800-1830* [Warsaw; its Literary and Intellectual Life 1800-1830]. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1880.

Wóycicka, Anna. "Wieczorek Pożegnalny Fryderyka Chopina" [Fryderyk Chopin's Farewell Evening]. *Pion* 1934, no. 24:1-2.

Wydawnictwa ciągłe 1795-1863 [Continuous Publications 1795-1863]. Vol. 7. *Bibliografia Warszawy* [Bibliography of Warsaw]. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Ossolińskich, 1992.

Zamoyski, Adam. *Chopin*. Translated by Halina Sołdacz. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1990.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Zduniak, Maria. "W sprawie utworów Józefa Elsnera" [On Józef Elsner's Works]. *Muzyka* 22 (1977): 79-88.

Żebrowski, Dariusz, ed. *Studies in Chopin*. Translated by E. Tareska, H. Oszczygieł and L. Wiewiórkowski. Warsaw: The Chopin Society, 1972.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

INDEX OF MOST FREQUENTLY ENCOUNTERED LOCAL PERSONS

Alexander I, Czar 31, 46, 119, 170, 172, 174, 287, 288, 292, 363
Aszperger, Katarzyna 226
Baranowski, Jan 108
Barcińska, Izabella (Chopin) 324
Barciński, Antoni 337
Bauer, Wacław 114
Bentkowski, Felix 58, 59, 73-75, 263
Białobłocki, Jan 41, 54, 56, 58, 73, 80, 92, 99, 114, 120, 123, 171, 183, 225, 229-231, 238, 279, 303, 319, 341, 379
Bielawski, Józef 71, 89, 109, 154, 195, 200, 267, 271, 349, 351, 352, 381
Bogusławski, Wojciech 15, 19, 25, 30, 35, 51, 52, 217, 220, 221, 226, 229
Brodowski, Antoni 28, 254, 339
Brodziński, Kazimierz 38, 41, 58, 59, 64, 76, 77, 208, 280, 304, 325, 329, 335, 339, 344
Brunner, August Fidelis 118-120, 123, 263, 288, 338
Brzezina, Andrzej 80, 81, 89, 90, 92, 94, 171, 310
Buchholtz, Fryderyk 103, 113, 118, 129, 131, 133, 135-137, 139, 140, 141, 142
Chiarini, Padre 280
Chopin, Emilia 324, 326, 372
Chopin, Mikołaj 7, 8, 123, 262, 282, 291, 292, 296, 331, 337, 370
Chopin, Tekla Justyna (Krzyżanowska) 9, 22, 359, 369
Cichocka, Anna (Filipecka) 2, 260, 264, 265, 351, 358
Cichocki, Józef 2, 48, 97, 166, 239, 263, 264, 265 306, 339, 351, 353-358
Cichowska, Ludwika (Du Pont) 2, 339
Cichowski, Adolf 2, 339, 357
Ciężartowicz, Jan 114
Constantine, Grand Duke 32, 119, 271, 286, 288-291, 295, 298, 299, 301, 363
Czartoryska, Anna (Sapieha) 318
Czartoryska, Izabela (Fleming) 37, 259, 312-318
Czartoryska, Marcelina (Radziwiłł) 318
Czartoryska, Teressa Anna 315
Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy 312, 315, 318-319, 321,
Czartoryski, Adam Kazimierz 312, 313, 315-317
Czartoryski, Konstanty Adam 315, 318
Czetweryńska, Ludwika 259, 273, 287, 292, 369
Czetweryński, Boris 287
Damse, Józef 171, 224, 234
Diakov, Petr 140, 271, 300
Długosz, Józef 118, 121-123, 319

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dmuszewska, Konstancja (Pięknowska) 226, 373
Dmuszewski, Ludwik 207, 208, 210, 224, 226, 373
Dobrzyński, Ignacy Feliks 197, 212, 267, 295, 306
Elsner, Karolina 226
Elsner, Józef 6, 19, 20, 25, 30, 35, 37, 48-51, 50, 51, 53, 56, 58-65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 77-79, 83-85, 87, 89, 99, 101, 114, 128, 133, 150, 151, 159, 163, 165, 166, 170, 174, 186, 187, 189, 201, 210, 212, 215, 217, 221, 227, 231, 233, 234, 243, 262, 267, 283-286, 302, 305, 311, 316, 321, 322, 338, 350, 353-355, 360, , 360, 364, 366, 376, 380-383, 386
Engel, Jan 83
Ernemann, Maurycy 135, 267, 271, 241, 349
Fontana, Julian 135, 342, 346, 370
Fredro, Maksymilian 328, 330, 331, 333
Galitsin, Aleksander 299, 300, 366
Galitsin, Karolina Teresa (Walewska) 299, 366
Gaszyński, Konstanty 210, 212, 334, 342, 345, 346
Gładkowska, Konstancja 187, 195, 197, 201, 227, 257, 267, 352
Glier Wilhelm 7, 113
Glücksberg, Natan (Mikołaj) 91, 92
Gołębiowski, Łukasz 17, 82, 95, 98, 108, 110, 112, 118, 152, 160, 161, 162, 165, 175, 187, 204, 252, 258, 264, 265, 335
Goszczyński, Seweryn 210
Grabowska, Julia (Zabiełło) 282
Grabowski, Stanisław 155, 162, 281, 282, 281-286, 292, 326, 370
Gregorowicz, Jan Soloffiew 166, 171
Gutakowska, Maria 155, 282, 285
Haase Kapellmeister 112, 171
Hoffman, Fryderyk Jakub 119, 262, 263, 337, 338, 339
Hoffman, Karol 259, 325
Hoffman, Klementyna 259, 263, 296, 311, 317, 324-325
Hoffmann, E.T.A. 25, 50, 150, 151, 219, 228, 229
Jabłonowska, Tekla (Czaplica) 360
Jabłonowska, Teresa (Lubomirska) 260, 263, 264, 265, 304, 306, 358, 360, 361, 362
Jabłonowski, Antoni Barnaba 360
Jabłonowski, Maksymilian 263, 264, 360, 361, 362
Janicki, Piotr 108
Jansen, Wilhelm 129
Jawurek, Józef 7, 71, 89, 166, 170, 171, 267, 350
Jędrzejewicz, Antoni 289, 337
Jędrzejewicz, Ludwika (Chopin) 61, 70, 168, 214, 215
Kaczyński, brothers 153, 271, 299, 341, 374
Kalergis, Maria (Nesselrode) 260, 386
Kątski, brothers 179, 271, 272
Kicka, Natalia (Bisping) 20, 259, 279, 280, 282, 283

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kicka, Teresa 119, 155, 259, 274, 278-283, 285, 291, 304
Klukowski, Franciszek 87-89, 100
Kolberg, Antoni 338, 340
Kolberg, Juliusz 335, 337, 338, 339,
Kolberg, Oskar 17, 42, 256, 265, 266, 273, 291, 296, 298, 321, 322, 356, 358, 360, 369, 374, 377
Kolberg, Wilhelm 42, 43, 238, 342
Kołłątaj, Hugo 37
Kozłowski, Józef 172, 305
Koźmian Andrzej Edward 20, 40, 223, 251, 256, 262
Koźmian, Kajetan 2, 37, 328, 330, 331, 333, 334
Koźmian, Stanisław 342
Krasiński, Walerian 2, 280,
Krasiński General, Wincenty 150, 279, 280, 327-328, 329, 330, 333
Krasiński, Zygmunt 2, 271, 327, 329, 334, 346, 373
Kratzer, Walenty 72, 225, 267, 317, 350
Krogulski, Józef 179, 180, 352
Kurpiński, Karol 15, 18-20, 30, 35, 48, 65, 67, 69, 70, 87, 88, 92, 95, 101, 139, 159, 163, 166, 174, 186, 187, 197, 202, 206, 221-223, 225, 232-234, 244, 351, 353, 366
Laskarys, Flora 260, 283
Ledoux, Franciszek 171, 267, 341, 374, 375
Ledoux, Franciszek Gabriel 226, 375
Lelewel, Joachim 210
Lentz, Henryk 56, 71, 89, 166, 267, 350
Leśkiewicz, Antoni 179, 180, 352
Lessel, Franciszek 29, 96, 153, 168, 315, 366
Lessel, Wincenty 315, 317, 321
Leszczyński, Antoni 103, 104, 129, 133-135
Letronne, Ludwik 88
Lewocka, Katarzyna 260, 283, 337
Ligber, Jan 87
Linde, Samuel 24, 170, 328, 335, 337, 339, 372-373
Linde, Ludwika (Nussbaum) 81, 171, 260, 372-373
Linde, Ludwika (daughter) 372
Lipiński, Józef 155, 263, 280, 335, 337,
Lipiński, Karol 187, 189-191, 235, 269, 376, 377
Łowicz, Duchess of (Joanna Grudzińska) 119, 285, 287, 288 289, 291
Łubieński, Henryk 304, 306
Łubieński, Józef 304, 306
Łubieński, Leon 346
Łuszczewska, Jadwiga [Deotyma] 260
Maciejewski, Franciszek 137
Maciejowski, Wacław 339, 342
Magnus, Karol 91, 100, 188, 190, 193
Magnuszewski, Dominik 212, 342, 345, 346
Marylski, Eustachy 2, 335
Matuszyński, Jan 314

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Max, Tomasz 129
Mickiewicz, Adam 22, 38, 39, 42, 44, 45, 334
Mochnacki, Maurycy 18, 139, 183, 185, 189, 191, 198-200, 210, 227, 236-238, 241, 244, 245, 342-344
Molsdorf, Józef 171, 262, 267, 341, 374, 375
Moriolles de, Aleksandryna 90, 289, 297
Moriolles de, Alexandre Nicolai 20, 289, 291
Mosqua von, Wilhelm 148, 150
Mostowska, Anna (Radziwiłł) 330
Mostawska, Róża (Potocka) 259, 330-331
Mostowska, Róża (daughter) 331
Mostowski, Stanisław 53, 273, 282, 311, 330-331, 370
Naimska, Joanna (Orłowska) 166, 171, 260, 268, 380, 387
Nakwaska, Anna (Krajewska) 20, 255, 259, 302, 303
Nakwaski, Franciszek 302
Nicholas I, Czar 46, 174, 186, 192, 269
Nidecki, Napoleon Tomasz 89, 171, 285, 286
Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn 27, 28, 38, 101, 156, 278, 280, 306, 310, 328, 330, 334
Novosilcov, Nikola 32, 45, 240, 301, 366
Nowakowski, Józef 78, 200, 241, 267, 349, 382
Odyniec, Antoni Edward 20, 39, 274, 278, 279, 282, 283, 321, 324, 328, 345
Ogiński, Michał Kazimierz 124
Ogiński, Michał Kleofas 124
Okołow, Jerzy 301
Orłowska, Apolonia (Graczewska) 379
Orłowski, Antoni 91, 94, 162, 166, 171, 197, 268, 377, 380-382
Orłowski, Walenty 166, 171, 268, 379, 380
Osiński, Ludwik 37, 76, 77, 207, 208, 221, 226, 261, 263, 302, 328, 334
Ostrowski, Rafał 114
Philippeus, Teodor Friedrich 297
Pilichowski, Dominik 114
Płachecki, Antoni 85, 87, 88, 286
Plater, Ludwik 306, 330, 332
Plater, Maria Anna (Brzostowska) 306, 332
Plater, Paulina 332
Pohlens, Joseph (Kapellmeister) 166, 171
Polkowski, Józef 225, 237
Poniatowski Prince, Józef 124, 217, 253, 309
Poniatowski King, Stanisław August 124, 160, 217, 251-252, 218, 309, 316
Potocka, Aleksandra (Lubomirska) 259, 311, 369
Potocka, Delfina (Komarov) 329
Potocka, Laura 310,
Potocki, Ignacy 310
Potocki, Stanisław Kostka 76, 284, 308-311, 335
Pushkin, Sergey Lvovich 366

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Radziwiłł, Prince Antoni 156, 193, 220, 287, 318, 327, 330, 366-370, 369-371
Reinschmidt, Józef 201, 342, 346
Rembieliński, Aleksander 267, 342, 378, 379
Reszke, Emilia 260
Rinaldi, Stanisław 72, 73
Rudert, Henryk I 108, 109, 171, 267
Rudert, Johann Michael 108, 109
Rudert, Johann Michael II 109
Rzewuska, Aleksandra [Rozalia] (Lubomirska] 259, 303, 304
Rzewuska, Kaliksta 259, 303
Rzewuski, Wacław-Emir 303, 304
Sandmann, Jan 351
Sapieha, Anna (Zamoyska) 128, 309, 319
Sauvan Ludwik 264, 373, 329, 373
Sauvan, Ludwika (Dmuszewska) 260, 264, 267, 298, 373
Sennenwald, Gustaw 89
Simon, Karol Antoni 67, 89
Skarbek, Fryderyk 9, 20, 85, 86, 101, 220, 240, 262, 294, 301, 307, 309, 312, 335, 337, 338, 373
Skórski, Jan 127
Skrodzki, Eugeniusz 2, 198, 223
Słowacki, Juliusz 231, 240, 280, 335
Śniadecki, Jan 37, 39
Soliva, Carlo 7, 53, 54, 71, 72, 91, 154, 174, 186, 187, 200, 201, 202, 224, 267, 280, 281, 284, 298, 341, 349, 353
Sołtyk, Franciszek 69, 267, 341,372, 376-378
Sołtyk, Karol 267, 341, 374, 376-378
Sołtyk, Karolina (Sapieha) 309
Sołtyk, Stanisław 309, 311, 326
Sowińska, Katarzyna (Schöder) 97, 296
Sowiński General 296
Śpiechowski, Antoni 117, 129
Stanisław August 124, 160, 216, 252, 281, 309, 316
Staszic, Stanisław 36, 37, 40, 155, 335
Stefani, Eleonora 171
Stefani, Jan 160, 219, 231, 234
Stefani, Józef 171
Szabliński, Józef 166, 171, 267, 268, 350, 351, 380
Szczurowski, Jan Nepomucen 171, 225, 317
Szembek General, Piotr 111, 112, 345
Szwejkowski Father, Wojciech 54, 263, 336
Szymanowska Maria (Wołowska) 29, 61, 89, 132, 136, 183-185 259, 260, 264, 299, 300, 333, 363-366, 368
Tarczyński, Kazimierz 121
Teichman, Antoni 267, 361, 377
Troschel, Wilhelm 7, 129
Turowski (family) 166, 268, 306, 352
Wagner, Józef 350
Wejnert, Antoni 152, 166, 171, 172, 225, 267, 350, 380
Wejnert, Filip 72, 225, 226

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wernitz, Adolf Jan 7
Wernitz, Wilhelm 111, 112
Wężyk, Franciszek 38
Wieniawska, Regina (Wolff) 260, 384
Wiesiołowska, Anna (Skarbek) 338
Witwicki, Stefan 39, 42, 214, 279, 337, 342, 344, 345
Wójcicka, Anna (Magnuszewska) 201, 346
Wójcicki, Kazimierz 17, 43, 44, 212, 346
Wolff, Edward 382
Wolff, Eleonora (Oesterreicher) 260, 264, 268, 383-384
Wolff, Józef 264, 268, 383-384
Wolff, Maksymilian 384
Wolicki, Konstanty 294, 295
Wolicki, Konstanty (younger) 267, 295
Wolicki, Teofil 294
Wołkow, Anna 187, 197, 201, 227, 267
Wołowska, Barbara 264, 363-366
Wołowska, Tekla 132, 267, 364
Wołowski, Franciszek 264, 363-366
Woyciechowski, Tytus 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 91, 103, 112, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 154, 176, 180, 181, 189, 192, 193, 195, 199, 201, 202, 206, 207, 210, 224, 225, 227, 229, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 266, 267, 271, 275, 276, 281, 297, 298, 299, 300, 303, 312, 339, 341, 349, 350, 353, 358, 368, 370, 371, 373, 374, 378, 381, 382
Würfel, Wacław 55, 56, 71, 88, 114, 117, 118, 382
Würtemberg Princess, Maria (Czartoryska) 51, 155, 255, 259, 302, 315, 316, 330
Zabiełło, Henryk 282, 285, 286
Zajączek, Józef 32, 273, 287, 292-294, 390
Zajączek, Mme. (Pernaté) 273, 292-294, 390
Żakiewicz, Karol 114
Zaleska, Zofia (Rosengardt) 345
Zaleski, Józef Bohdan 210, 344, 345
Zamoyska, Zofia (Czartoryska) 51, 155, 156, 259, 271, 273, 306, 312, 315, 319-322, 325, 330
Zamoyski, Stanisław Kostka 123, 155, 273, 319, 312, 321-323, 345, 389
Zimmerman, Honorata 210
Zimmermann, August 349
Żółkowski, Alojzy 206, 364
Żyliński, Faustyn 72, 171, 261
Żywny, Wojciech 7, 48, 262, 271, 339, 382

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.