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IGNACY FELIKS DOBRZYŃSKI (1807-1867): HIS LIFE AND SYMPHONIES

DISSERTATION

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By

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Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński, a Polish composer active in Warsaw, is best known for having been a colleague of Frédéric Chopin while they were both composition students of Józef Elsner. As an early nationalist composer, Dobrzyński is examined within the context of nineteenth-century Warsaw's musical culture and political situation. Dobrzyński's early training was provided by his father, who was Kapelmeister at the Iliński court in Romanów. The most important achievements of the career which followed Dobrzyński's move to Warsaw in 1825 include second place in an 1835 Viennese contest with the *Second Symphony*, a German tour in 1845-1847, and the directorship of the Teatr Wielki in 1852.

Cast in the late eighteenth-century style, Dobrzyński's two symphonies were composed in 1829 and 1831. These works show knowledge of Beethoven's music and exhibit Dobrzyński's skill at orchestration. *Symphony No. 2 in C minor*, Op. 15, is the more important work because of national elements in each movement, as well as its success in a Viennese symphony contest in 1835. Although a precedent for national elements is seen in studying the development of the Polish symphony in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Dobrzyński's contribution shows an intensification of musical patriotism which was inspired by the November Insurrection of 1830-1831. An edition of the *Second Symphony* and a list of Dobrzyński's works are included in the dissertation.

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PREFACE

Although the musical heritage of Poland is not well-known to American musicologists, an increasing interest in the music of the peripheral areas of European culture in conjunction with the international prominence of contemporary Polish composers has delineated this region as an area for new research. Limited information in Western languages is certainly one barrier to extensive reading about the music of Poland, but this can be overcome by anyone willing to study the Polish language. On the other hand, the tragic destruction of source material during World War II will always bar our complete understanding of music history in this region.

The persistent efforts of Polish scholars since 1945 to preserve their cultural monuments has resulted in numerous reference works which were beneficial to this study of nineteenth-century Polish music.[1] In spite of this, however, the destruction of ninety percent of Warsaw during the war still leaves the researcher without material to pursue key issues. For example, much of what is known about the Polish symphony in the first half of the nineteenth century derives from research completed by Stefan Śledziński before the war. Not only have many of the scores not survived, but the dissertation in which Śledziński discussed these works was also destroyed.

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[1]Tadeusz Maciejewski, "Poland: An Appraisal of the Musicological Work in Poland in the Post-War Years," *Current Musicology* No. 22 (1976), 14.

The post-war period has witnessed an expansion of scholarly activity in the Polish Peoples Republic, but only the most important composers have been studied in great detail. The name Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński has been known chiefly through his relationship to other composers, but his music has received little attention. Fortunately, many Dobrzyński manuscripts are extant in the collection of the Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne (Warsaw Music Society) and considerable information about the composer's activities could be extracted from nineteenth-century newspapers. Access to this material and the language study vitally needed in the preparation of this dissertation was made possible by a Fulbright Grant to Warsaw University in the 1979-1980 academic year and several research grants from the Kościuszko Foundation.

CHAPTER I

MUSIC IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY WARSAW

Polish music and culture in the nineteenth century developed almost entirely at the whim of political expediency. The pervasive oppression forced many musicians, artists, and literati to leave the region in order to pursue the quest for Polish intellectual freedom. Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński (1807-1867) chose to remain in Poland, and his career was significantly shaped by the politics of the country and the peculiar effect this had on musical life in Warsaw. For this reason, the study of a musical career such as that of Dobrzyński's must also include some understanding of the country's political history.

Political History

The history of nineteenth-century Poland is one of domination by other countries. With the completion of the third partition in 1795 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, Poland was eliminated from the political map of Europe. Although Napoleon's 1806 reorganization of Central Europe had created a separate state known as the "Duchy of Warsaw," the country was redivided into three parts between Russia, Prussia, and Austria by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. This partition remained in effect throughout the nineteenth century. According to the terms of this treaty, Russia received the greatest part of the Polish territory as a separate kingdom under the control of the Czar, and Warsaw, which

had been under Prussian rule, was now a part of Russian Poland.

The Congress Kingdom of Poland, placed under the control of Russia at the Congress of Vienna, lasted only fifteen years. The Russian Czar Alexander I (ruled 1801-1825), as king of Poland, granted the country a constitution which called for an elected diet, very wide suffrage (by the standards of the day), the retention of the Napoleonic civil code, freedom of the press and religion, and exclusive use of the Polish language. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the Congress Kingdom, Czar Alexander and his government paid little attention to this constitution authorizing Polish self-government, and when Nicolas I (ruled 1825-1855) became Russian Czar and Polish King on Alexander's death, he began openly to trample upon constitutional rights and to intensify political oppression through police reprisals. The Polish gentry originally believed that the Czar could be controlled through the *Sejm*, the Polish parliament, but they later realized that this was fruitless.[1]

The deteriorating political situation resulted in an armed uprising in November of 1830. Continuing until September of 1831, this November Insurrection was the culmination of the struggle with the Czar and its timing was related to the political activity on the entire continent. Underground organizations had been created in Poland as early as 1817, and an investigation after the Russian "Decembrist Uprisings" of 1825 in St. Petersburg revealed a connection between the Decembrists

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[1] Stefan Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795-1918* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 60-62.

and the main Polish independence movement, the Narodowe Towarzystwo Patriotyczne (National Patriotic Society). Similar to other nineteenth-century uprisings, the one in Warsaw was to a certain extent instigated by young army officers. In 1828 a conspiracy was organized by Piotr Wysocki at the Warsaw Cadet Academy, but it was actually news of the 1830 proclamation by Czar Nicolas I that the Polish Army was to move westward with the Russian Army to suppress the revolutionary movement in France and Belgium that incited the insurrection in Warsaw.[2]

On November 29, 1830, the conspirators and an army division moved on Belvedere Palace, seat of Grand Duke Constantine, the brother of Nicolas I, but Constantine escaped and met Russian troops outside the city. Unfortunately, the revolutionaries were not prepared to organize a new government, and during the resulting chaos, an aristocratic government led by Ksawery Drucki-Lubecki and Adam Czartoryski moved into power, declaring themselves against the Insurrection and in favor of seeking a more conservative route to Polish independence.[3]

The improved political climate allowed the reorganization of the Narodowe Towarzystwo Patriotyczne which fomented a demonstration against the Polish King, Nicolas I. As a result, the Sejm dethroned the King on January 31, 1831 and a new aristocratic government was formed. The Polish people were generally dissatisfied with the manner

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[2]Stefan Kieniewicz, "The Kingdom of Poland and the November Insurrection (1815-1831)," pp. 427-462 of *History of Poland*, ed. Aleksandr Gieysztor, *et al.* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968), 450.

[3]Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski*, 98-100.

in which the Insurrection was being conducted; they felt, for example, that traitors and spies should be severely punished and that more gains should be sought for Polish peasants. Even though it was supported by young people who came to the Congress Kingdom from other partitioned areas, and uprisings in Lithuania, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine, the Insurrection was headed for defeat because of the lack of support from other European countries.[4]

On September 8, 1831, after three days of struggle, the Congress Kingdom was flooded with Czarist troops and annexed to the Russian Empire.[5] Thousands of people were exiled to Siberia, while many others emigrated to the West and continued the quest for a reunited and independent Poland from abroad. The most notable emigré campaign was that of the conservative Hôtel Lambert (Paris) group of Adam Czartoryski, followed by the efforts of the Polish Democratic Society and the left wing element of the Polish People in Emmigration.[6]

Repression was the order of the day after the November Insurrection. Besides its immediate effect on the social and musical climate of Warsaw, political results were seen in the abolishment of the Sejm and a separate army, the closing of universities in Warsaw and Wilno,

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[4] Oskar Halecki, *A History of Poland*, 9th ed. (New York: Roy Publishers, 1976), 232-233.

[5] For a discussion of the military events of 1830-1831, see Tadeusz Stachowski, "Between Waterloo and the Alma, The Polish-Russian War of 1831," *History Today* XXIX (May 1979), 310-317; (June 1979), 386-393.

[6] *Poland: A Handbook* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1977), 67.

and Russification in the eastern parts of the territory.

Later Insurrections

Renewed revolutionary activities were planned for all three sectors of partitioned Poland in 1846, however, this effort failed because of an inability to enlist peasant support. The ensuing wave of repression also resulted in the annexing of the previously free city of Cracow to Austria. Further unrest, paralleling that in other European countries occurred in 1848, chiefly in the Prussian sector.

In the late 1850's new conspiracies tried to take advantage of the Russian defeat in the Crimean War and the increase in revolutionary activity within Russia itself. Although Alexander Wielopolski was able to gain some concessions from the new Czar, Alexander II (ruled 1855-1881), by June of 1860 mass demonstrations incited by secret student groups were being held in Warsaw. The strongest demonstrations, in February and June, 1861, were crushed. In mid-January, 1863, other longer-range conspiracies were activated when Margrave Wielopolski, as chief of the civilian government of the Kingdom, ordered an extraordinary conscription of Polish nationals for the Russian Army. On January 22 of that year a manifesto was issued by the patriots proclaiming a new government and calling the Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian nations to war against the Czar. By the first months of 1864 the Czarist government had defeated all partisan detachments and rebel organizations, and deterred the peasants from helping the insurgents by issuing the emancipation decree of March 2, 1864. Fifteen months of futile fighting by the 200,000 active rebels resulted in the abolition

of the autonomous Kingdom of Poland which was replaced by a severe policy of Russification. This Russian dominance continued until the establishment of an independent Poland at the close of World War I.[7]

Characteristics of Nineteenth-Century Polish Music

An extraordinary musical background was passed to partitioned Poland from the eighteenth century. The ideals of the Enlightenment had not reached Poland until the second half of the eighteenth century and their prominence is generally identified with the reign of Poland's last king, Stanisław August Poniatowski (ruled 1764-1794). In fact, reference to his name is often used to denote this period in Poland's cultural history. One of the main characteristics of the Stanisław period is the combination of national elements and a nascent Polish classical style which had recently come to Poland through the symphonies of Haydn and operas of Mozart. The national element was particularly manifested with the inclusion of folklore into art music. Although folk elements can be found in Polish music of earlier epochs, the idea of producing a "national art" became strong in the last days before the complete partition of the country at the end of the eighteenth century. Later these folk influences, together with a "sentimental" reaction to Rationalism, formed the bridge to Romanticism in Polish music.[8]

Polish romanticism developed under historical and economic con-

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[7] *Poland: A Handbook*, 71-72.

[8] Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "The Age of Enlightenment," *Polish Music*, ed. Stefan Jarociński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), 80-81.

ditions quite different from those of other countries. Generally, Polish musical life around the turn of the century was inferior to that of other parts of Europe and few composers of the courtly music of the eighteenth century had made significant contributions to the musical heritage of Poland. Musical life at the beginning of the nineteenth century experienced an unusually dynamic and rapid development when it moved from the courts to public concerts in the large cities. This can be seen in the shift from the Italian or French opera of the aristocratic courts to the middle class vaudeville in Polish. Schools for the training of courtiers were transformed into municipal music academies, and musical amateurs appeared not only from the aristocracy, but also from the new class of intelligentsia.

The delineation and labelling of periods in the development of Romantic music in Poland is subject to different interpretations. While Tadeusz Strumiłło referred to the period 1795 to 1830 as that of "Polish Sentimentalism," a term used to describe primarily the songs and keyboard miniatures popular in the early part of the century,[9] Alina Nowak-Romanowicz would agree with this label only for the years 1795-1815.[10] In any case, the major composers associated with this bridge from the Enlightenment to Romanticism are Józef Elsner, Karol Kurpiń-

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[9]Tadeusz Strumiłło, *Źródła i początki romantyzmu w muzyce polskiej. Studia i materiały* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956). There is an entire chapter with this title.

[10]Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "Muzyka polskiego Oświecienia i wczesnego romantyzmu," *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, 2 vols. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), II, 104.

ski, and, to a lesser extent, Franciszek Lessel and Maria Szymanowska.

The first thirty years of the nineteenth century also marked the establishment of music publishers, piano and other instrument makers, and the organized education of musicians. Artists from Western Europe, such as Hummel, Paganini, and Liszt, often appeared in Warsaw during this period as they travelled to perform in St. Petersburg. However, it was the performance of the latest operas of Cherubini, Rossini, and Auber that drew the broadest public interest.

Major Composers

One of the main organizers of musical life in Warsaw at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Józef Elsner (1769-1854). A composer of operas, symphonies, chamber works, and church music, much of which included Polish themes, Elsner's main position between 1799 and 1824 was conductor at the opera in Warsaw. In addition, he organized and directed the Instytut Muzyki i Deklamacji (Institute of Music and Declamation), also known as the Warsaw Conservatory, and the Szkoła Główna Muzyki (Central School of Music). As a result of his teaching of composition in these schools, he molded the style of an entire generation of Polish composers.

Elsner became active in a number of early music societies in Warsaw including the Towarzystwo Harmonia (Harmonic Society), Resursa Muzyczna (Music Club), Towarzystwo Muzyki Religijnej i Narodowej (Society of Religious and National Music), and later in the century, the Resursa Kupiecka (Merchant's Club). His other activities included the writing

of music reviews for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and Warsaw newspapers, and the printing of music from 1803-1805.

The career of Karol Kurpiński (1785-1857) centered around the Teatr Narodowy (National Theater), where he was a conductor from 1810 to 1840. As a composer, he is noteworthy for the Polish flavor of his operas, of which *Zabobon, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale* (Superstition, or the Cracovians and the Highlanders), is a good example, his polonaises, and his songs. He was also the editor of the first Polish music journal, *Tygodnik Muzyczny* (Musical Weekly), which was published from May 1820 to June 1821, and taught at the Szkoła Elementarna Muzyki i Sztuki Dramatycznej (Elementary School of Music and Dramatic Art), 1818-1819, and Szkoła Śpiewu (School of Singing), 1835-1840.

Several other composers active in Warsaw at the beginning of the century are worthy of mention. Maria Szymanowska (1789-1831), a pianist of world renown and a friend of Goethe, was the composer of piano miniatures in a pre-Romantic "brilliant style." The first Polish piano concerto, published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1813, was composed by Franciszek Lessel (1780-1838), who had been a pupil of Haydn in Vienna. Józef Deszczyński (1781-1844) was also the composer of concertos for the piano. The prominent composers of the next generation were mainly students of Elsner. These included Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński (1807-1867), Józef Stefani (1800-1876), Tomasz Nidecki (1807-1852), Józef Nowakowski (1800-1865), and of course, Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849). Of composers in Warsaw, Dobrzyński was the foremost composer of instrumental music in the middle part of the nineteenth century, "but

even he did not advance beyond the limits of early Romantic stylistic norms."[11]

The best-known Polish composer of the second half of the nineteenth century is Stanisław Moniuszko (1819-1872). Moniuszko's contribution to Polish music was the creation of a national operatic style with *Halka* (1846) and *Straszny Dwór* (The Haunted Manor, 1862-1865). Also active in the second half of the century were the Kątski brothers, Apolinary (1825-1871) and Antoni (1817-1899). Apolinary was a pupil of Paganini and rival to the violin virtuoso Henryk Wieniawski (1835-1880). In 1861 he founded the Instytut Muzyczny (Musical Institute) which replaced the conservatory founded by Elsner in 1821, but closed by Czarist authorities after the 1831 uprising. Antoni was a student of John Field and achieved some renown as a piano virtuoso.

Musical Life in Warsaw

The early nineteenth century shift from the court chapels to the public theaters was emphasized in the development of music in Warsaw. An illustration of this can be seen in the direction of the career of Ignacy Dobrzyński (1777-1841), Dobrzyński's father. When his services as music director were no longer needed at the Iliński court, the elder Dobrzyński held several short term posts in the eastern provinces, but eventually followed the change in musical culture by coming to Warsaw in the late 1820's.

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[11]Zofia Lissa, "Polish Romanticism and Neo-Romanticism," *Polish Music*, ed. Stefan Jarociński (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), 113.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the only popular music institution was opera, which had been produced at the king's court and magnates' residences. Nevertheless, concerts of instrumental music were initiated through the weekly presentations of Warsaw music societies, between acts at the theater, and at private salons. The earliest of the music societies, the Harmoniegesellschaft, specializing mainly in vocal and chamber music, was formed in 1800 by Germans who had relocated in Warsaw after the third partition of Poland. This society was of no consequence to the development of music in Poland because it had a minimal Polish membership. The second of the music societies in Warsaw, the Resursa Muzyczna (Music Club) was organized in 1805 during the time that E.T.A. Hoffmann was active in Warsaw. An important figure in the history of German Romantic music, Hoffmann is credited with the introduction of the Beethoven symphonies to Warsaw.[12] This early club met at the Mniszech Palace on ul. Senatorska[13] which until World War II was decorated with panels painted by the multi-talented Hoffmann. Concerts were given here in the years 1805-1807.[14]

Another important organization in the history of musical life in Warsaw was the Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzyki Religijnej i Narodowej (Society of the Friends of Religious and National Music). Organized

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[12] Józef Reiss, "Dzieje symfonii w Polsce," *Muzyka polska: monografia zbiorowa*, ed. Mateusz Gliński (Warszawa: Muzyka, 1927), 132.

[13] *Ul.* is an abbreviation for *ulica*, the Polish word for street.

[14] Stefan Śledziński, "Zarys dziejów symfonii polskiej w XIX wieku," *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, 2 vols. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), II, 419.

on September 9, 1814 and active until 1819, the society was devoted to the performance of church music, especially that which contained elements of folk music. Actually, during the period 1800-1830 churches served an important function as concert halls in Warsaw's musical life. Sunday and holiday concerts were regularly given by the society in the Pijarist church. In 1817 about 150 members of this religious music society broke away from the main group and formed the Towarzystwo Amatorskie Muzyczne (Amateur Music Society), which also presented weekly concerts.[15]

Although there were some orchestral concerts, the performance opportunities for large-scale instrumental works were limited in Warsaw during the nineteenth century. One cycle of concerts entitled Wybór Śpiewów i Deklamacji (A Selection of Singing and Declamation) was given in the hall of the Teatr Narodowy in 1823. The orchestra consisted primarily of musicians from the Teatr Narodowy and the most talented students of the Warsaw Conservatory. Carlo Soliva was the director of these concerts, but the orchestra was sometimes conducted by Elsner or Kurpiński.[16] The first concert was given on January 31, 1823, and was followed by another on March 20. Later the series moved from the Teatr Narodowy to the Sala Redutowa. When Soliva temporarily left Warsaw for Milan in April of 1823, Elsner assumed the organization of these con-

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[15] *Ibid.*, 404.

[16] Carlo Evasio Soliva (1792-1853) was an Italian active in Warsaw in the decade after 1820, and can be considered the third main music figure, after Elsner and Kurpiński.

certs.[17]

Virtuoso performers, either Poles such as the violinist Karol Lipiński (1790-1861) or foreigners on tour, such as Paganini, were featured in Warsaw's most important concerts. The artists were often engaged on stopovers during their journeys to Moscow and St. Petersburg from the West and were usually presented in the Teatr Narodowy or Sala Redutowa of the theater. Singers were the most popular artists, but violinists and pianists, performing mostly variations and concertos, were also frequent visitors. Information about concerts in Warsaw at the beginning of the century comes from newspapers, and because the journalists tended to focus on the concerts of the virtuosos, not as much is known of the chamber concerts and musical evenings held in private salons. Other sources indicate, however, that there was an active musical life here as well; letters of Chopin, for example, are of significance in this regard. Special events, such as the coronation of Nicolas I in 1829, also provided an occasion for the organization of concerts.[18]

Continuing the tradition of the early, short-lived music clubs was the socially oriented Resursa Kupiecka (Merchants Club). This club met regularly at the Młodziejowski Palace on ul. Miodowa, and one of the first activities of its 160 members was the establishment of the

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[17] Hanna Pukińska-Szepietowska, "Życie koncertowe w Warszawie (lata 1810-1830)," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku. Studia i materiały*, II, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 46-47.

[18] *Ibid.*, 49-50.

society's statutes on January 21, 1821. In February, an announcement placed in the press heralded an inaugural ball to be held in the Hotel Europejski.[19]

Musicians were important in this social club from the very beginning—Józef Elsner and Karol Kurpiński were both members of the organizing committee[20]—and a most fascinating feature of its by-laws was the membership incentive provided to musicians.

> Musical artists, who would desire to have participation in the entertainment of the Society, can be admitted to free membership. Yet the number of such members cannot exceed 40. Before the musical member will be admitted to the club, he ought to at least three times give proof of his talent at musical evenings, either singing or on some instrument.[21]

Among the most notable of the many concerts sponsored by the Resursa in the 1820's was the first performance of Chopin's *Concerto in F minor* on December 10, 1829.

In 1830 the society split into two parts. A group of 250 members, meeting at the Mniszech Palace retained the name Resursa Kupiecka

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[19] *Kurier Warszawski* (February 18, 1821), as cited by Alexander Kraushar, *Resursa Kupiecka w Warszawie* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Resursy Kupieckiej, 1928), 8-13.

[20] *Rys ogólny działań Towarzystwa Resursy Kupieckiej z pierwszych 25 lat od jej założenia w d. 30 października 1820 r.* (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1845), 8.

[21] "Artyści muzyczni, którzy by życzyli sobie mieć w zabawach Towarzystwa uczestnictwo, mogą być przyjęci na członków muzykalnych bezpłatnych. Liczba wszakże takich członków 40 przechodzić nie może. Nim członek muzykalny będzie przyjęty do Resursy, winien przynajmniej trzy razy dać dowód swego talentu na wieczórach muzykalnych, bądź w śpiewie, bądź na jakim instrumencie." Tadeusz Strumiłło, *Szkice z polskiego życia muzycznego XIX wieku* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1954), 81.

and began their activities on July 1, 1830. The remaining members founded the Nowa Resursa (New Club). They first met at the Zejdler Palace, but soon had to change the location of their activities and met, depending on availability, at the Dückert Palace on ul. Długa or the Tamowskich Palace on Krakowskie Przedmieście. This division of the original club was fortuitous in that it provided more opportunities for the performance of music in Warsaw. The Resursa Kupiecka was particularly important in nineteenth-century Warsaw for its support of Polish culture after the November Insurrection.[22]

The regular instrumental music concerts of the Resursa Kupiecka were augmented with the creation of the society's own string quartet in 1834. The quartet consisted of teachers from the Warsaw Conservatory and amateur musicians and included Józef Bielawski, Jan Kurpiński, Stefan Bulakowski, and Józef Szabliński. Beginning in February 1834, regular programs of chamber music were given; these featured the music of Beethoven and Haydn, as well as that of Onslow, Spohr, Hummel, and Kalkbrenner.[23] Other projects of the Resursa Kupiecka consisted of a performance of Haydn's *Creation* with Polish text on December 17, 1834[24] and the establishment of a school for choral music taught by Jan Zandman (d. 1841).

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[22]Kraushar, *op. cit.*, 36.

[23]References to announcements in the *Kurier Warszawski* are given by Teresa Karlikowska, "Twórczość symfoniczna Ignacego Feliksa Dobrzyńskiego" (unpublished magister thesis, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1973), 18-20.

[24]*Gazeta Warszawska* (December 15, 1834), 3187.

The importance of opera in the musical life of Warsaw has already been mentioned, however, little has been made of the actual production of opera during the period under discussion. As a result of the initiative of Wojciech Bogusławski,[25] opera in Warsaw was performed in the Teatr Narodowy at Plac Krasińskich, a theater used for all types of dramatic presentations in the first part of the century. Since the population of Warsaw was increasing, it became apparent that a new theater was needed and the Teatr Wielki (Great Theater) was built between 1825 and 1833 to the design of the Italian architect Antonio Corazzi.[26] In spite of the limitation placed on the repertory after the November Insurrection—only foreign works were permitted for a number of years—a long tradition of opera performance began at this time which continues to date. Chief among the many musically-oriented directors of the Teatr Wielki were I.F. Dobrzyński (1852) and Stanisław Moniuszko (1858-1872).

The patriotic effects of music were apparent to the resistance movement, the Narodowe Towarzystwo Patriotyczne, and like the many patriotic songs and marches, opera had its place in the political events of 1830. Most notable was the preparation of a Warsaw performance of Auber's *La Muette de Portici* (1828) an opera about an uprising in Naples in 1647.[27]

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[25]Wojciech Bogusławski (1757-1829) was the director of the Warsaw National Theater until the time of the Kościuszko Uprising (1794), when he left Warsaw to lead a theatrical company in Lwów. He returned in 1799, reopened the National Theater and, with Elsner, produced operatic and dramatic performances. He is known as the Father of Polish Theater.

[26]Piotr Biegański, *Teatr Wielki w Warszawie* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), 16-20.

[27]Strumiłło, *Szkice*, 93-94.

An important site for concerts of orchestral music later in the century was the Warsaw park known as Dolina Szwajcarska (Swiss Valley). The chronicle of musical events held at this park reveals that public concerts began as early as the summer of 1844,[28] but much of the music performed at these summer concerts was by foreign orchestras such as those led by Benjamin Bilse (1816-1902) and Edward Braun. Between the years 1857 and 1878 Bilse's German orchestra was a popular attraction at the park. In addition to "pops" concerts in which mostly dance music was performed, one or two days per week were reserved for symphony concerts. At these extraordinarily popular programs the works of composers such as Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner were performed, as well as some orchestral compositions of Polish composers. The programming of Polish music was especially increased after the music journal *Ruch Muzyczny* criticized Bilse for his unwillingness to perform Polish works.

The Education of Musicians

Nineteenth-century Warsaw saw the creation of a number of educational facilities for the training of musicians. The earliest schools were the Szkoła Organistów (School of Organists) organized in 1809, and the Szkoła Muzyki i Sztuki Dramatycznej (School of Music and Dramatic Art) which was started in 1817 with about fifty students. In 1821, however, Józef Elsner organized the Instytut Muzyki i Deklamacji (Institute of Music and Declamation—known also as the Warsaw Conservatory)

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[28] Hanna Pukińska-Szepietowska, "Muzyka w Dolinie Szwajcarskiej," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 156-162.

which became the most important school in the first part of the century. The subjects studied by students at this conservatory included singing and instrumental performance on the piano, organ, string, and wind instruments, as well as counterpoint and composition. Five years later, Elsner founded the Szkoła Główna Muzyki (Central School of Music), to which the teaching of the theoretical aspects of music was moved. The Szkoła Główna Muzyki was associated with Warsaw University, and during the 1820's Elsner taught the classes in music theory and composition that were attended by Chopin.[29]

The suppression that followed the 1830 November Insurrection resulted in the closing of the universities and schools, and left the professors and students of the Conservatory to support themselves by giving private lessons.[30] A conservatory was not again opened in Warsaw until 1861 when the Instytut Muzyczny was established with Apolinary Kątski as director. Naturally, the lack of a training facility for performers for such a long period of time had a profound effect on the musical culture of Warsaw. For example, a study of the intelligentsia of Warsaw in the nineteenth century reveals that there were about 250 musicians and actors in the Polish Kingdom in both the 1830's and 1860's, implying that there had been no growth in thirty years in spite of an

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[29] Jan Prosnak, "Z dziejów wychowania muzycznego w Polsce, IV," *Wychowanie muzyczne w szkole* XV/2 (March-April 1971), 66-67, 72.

[30] Stefan Śledziński, ed. *150 lat Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Warszawie* (Warszawa, 1964), 17-18.

increase in population.[31] The absence of an orchestra in Warsaw, caused partially by the disruption of training facilities for serious musicians, was somewhat relieved by the new Instytut Muzyczny and its student orchestra. To alleviate the shortage of wind instruments in the orchestra Kątski required the piano students at the institute to study a wind instrument.[32]

Music Publishing

Like the music schools, the publishing of music in Warsaw began very early in the century. Elsner figures importantly in the publication of Polish music as the founder in 1803 of a workshop dealing exclusively with Polish composition. In 1806, the presses of Elsner were purchased by his former associate, Izydor Józef Cybulski, who had established his firm in the Nowe Miasto the previous year. The firms of Ludwig Letronne and Franciszek Klukowski, both situated on ul. Miodowa, date from before 1821, and later in this decade, the enterprise of Karol L. Magnus was established.[33]

The composers whose works were most frequently published in Poland included Elsner, Kurpiński, Stefani, Nowakowski, and Dobrzyński, and

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[31] Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis, "La structure et la situation sociale de l'intelligentsia du Royaume de Pologne dans la période entre l'insurrection de 1830 et celle de 1863," *Acta Poloniae Historica* XXXIII (1976), 84.

[32] Stefan Śledziński, "Zarys dziejów symfonii," 408.

[33] Maria Prokopowicz, "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 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963), 594-596.

among them, national dances were preferred along with variations and rondos. Foreign works, consisting mainly of piano arrangements of the operas of Rossini, Weber, Auber, and Boieldieu, were published in the first part of the century, and reflected those works currently popular on the stage. The piano works of Hummel, Field, and Ries were also popular during the 1820's and 1830's, and in addition, it was possible to purchase foreign publications in Warsaw's music stores. From these prints the works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven became known in music circles.[34]

Unlike the complete suppression of the music schools after the insurrection, a few music publishers remained active although it was not until after 1840 that trade increased. As early as 1829, Franciszek Klukowski, known primarily as a publisher of lighter music for home use, had been challenged by the partnership of Gustaw Sennewald and Antoni Brzezina. By 1834 Sennewald was publishing under his own name.

Sennewald was to remain a pillar of Polish publishing throughout his career. For some fifteen years his firm remained dominant. Then in 1850 Rudolf Friedlein bought the firm of Fr. Spiess at ul. Senatorska 460, and seven years later Gustaw Gebethner opened a press at Krakowskie Przedmieście 415. Gebethner's first publication, issued in December 1857, was a piano waltz of Nowakowski, which was followed by a piano arrangement of Moniuszko's *Halka* in July of 1858. On December 15, 1860, Gebethner joined his firm with that of Robert Wolff. One of the first distinguished publications of this coalition was the piano

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[34] *Ibid.*, 596-597.

arrangement of Dobrzyński's opera *Monbar, czyli Flibustierowie,* which was issued in January of 1863. Other smaller firms begun in the 1850's and 1860's were those of Glucksberg and Kaufmann, but they never assumed the importance of the house of Sennewald.[35]

Perhaps in anticipation of the January Insurrection of 1863, the music publishing business began to decline as early as 1857. As a result, some music was printed illegally by underground presses during this time. This was the only method of bypassing the strict censorship required of all publications issued by the approved firms. The patriotic songs and marches published around the time of the two insurrections were mostly the product of these underground presses.[36]

This discussion of music in nineteenth-century Warsaw has outlined the work of the major composers, the establishment of music societies and public concerts, the training of musicians, and the publishing of music. These activities gave Warsovians some exposure to music, but their cultural life did not match that of other European cities. Poland's political strife particularly restricted support for performances requiring a large orchestra. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, this effected the development of Polish orchestral music and limited Dobrzyński's symphonic output to two works.

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[35] Krzystof Mazur, "Polskie edytorstwo muzyczne między powstaniem listopadowym a styczniowym," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku,* ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 56-62.

[36] *Ibid.*, 65-67.

CHAPTER II

NATIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE SYMPHONY AND OTHER GENRES

Although the history of the symphony in Poland is by no means complete, a fine line is evident in the development of this genre which connects the extant works of the eighteenth century with the symphonies of Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński. A number of early Polish symphonies exhibit an occasional national trait, most commonly in the use of the *polonaise* rhythm as the basis for a movement in triple meter. Paralleling nationalistic developments in other genres, an intensification of folk influences can be seen in the symphony after the turn of the nineteenth century. Specifically, these folk elements are the incorporation of the Lydian fourth so characteristic of Polish folk music and an expansion in the use of dance rhythms to include the *mazurka* and *krakowiak*. Since this line of incipient nationalism culminates with Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2 in C minor*, Op. 15 (1831), it is important to emphasize these national elements while discussing the development of the symphony in Poland.

The Early Symphony in Poland

The strong tradition of symphonic writing established in eighteenth-century Poland has only recently been recognized. As an illustration of this, Aleksandr Poliński, writing in 1907, believed that the

first Polish symphony was one composed by Milwid,[1] and when Henryk Opieński wrote his article about the symphonies of Dankowski and Wański in 1932, he could add only one other name, that of Gołąbek.[2] The names of many more symphonists are known today, however, because the symphony in eighteenth-century Poland has been the subject of considerable study that focused on previously unknown manuscripts found during a search of church archives after World War II.

Two leaders in this research have been Tadeusz Strumiłło and Jan Węcowski. In 1956 Strumiłło published the first scholarly edition of an early Polish symphony by including a movement from a work by A. Haczewski in the appendix to his book on the beginnings of Romanticism in Polish music.[3] A summary of Węcowski's research can be found in his article "La musique symphonique polonaise du XVIIIe siècle."[4] Other scholarly editions of Polish symphonies have been published in two series edited by Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, *Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej* and *Symfonie polskie*.

Although this research has revealed little about the lives of many early symphonists in Poland, practically all seem to have been

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[1] Aleksandr Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* (Lwów, 1907).

[2] Henryk Opieński, "Symfonie A. Dankowskiego i J. Wańskiego," *Kwartalnik muzyczny* No. 16 (1932), 685, cited by Gerald Abraham, "Some Eighteenth-Century Polish Symphonies," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H.C. Robbins-Landon with Roger E. Chapman (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), 13.

[3] Tadeusz Strumiłło, *Źródła i początki romantyzmu w muzyce polskiej. Studia i materiały* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1956).

[4] Jan Węcowski, "La musique symphonique polonaise du XVIIIe siècle," *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis* I, ed. Zofia Lissa (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 334-353.

local musicians who composed for chapel orchestras. The place of origin of many of the extant manuscripts indicates that the symphonies were performed mainly in churches,[5] but there is evidence that they were also played at aristocratic houses before balls, at marriages, and during festivals.[6] A large number of symphonic works were also written by other European composers identified in the Breitkopf catalogue as being in the employ of the Polish king,[7] and when these works are added to the compositions of Polish composers, a sizeable repertoire results. The music of Mannheim and of Czech composers was known in eighteenth-century Poland, as were the early works of Haydn, but the symphonies of Sammartini, Monn, or the Bachs were not.[8]

The birth of symphonic composition in Poland quite naturally dates from a later period than the beginnings of the genre in other European musical centers. Although an early inventory of the Cracow Jesuit Church lists a symphony of Jacek Szczurowski (1718-after 1773) from 1739 or 1740, the first surviving work is an anonymous *Symphonia a 2 Violini Alto Viola con Organo* found in Poznań by Opieński. The oldest extant work by a known Polish composer is a *Symphony in D* by A. Haczewski which dates from 1771.[9]

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[5] *Ibid.*, 342.

[6] Abraham, *op. cit.*

[7] Bohdan Muchenberg, "Z zagadnien dokumentacji symfonii polskiej drugiej połowy XVIII wieku," *Z dziejów muzyki polskiej* XIV (1969), 68.

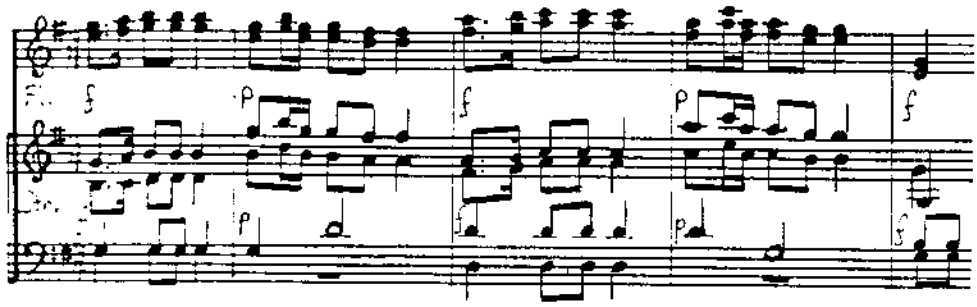
[8] Abraham, *op. cit.*, 16-17.

[9] Węcowski, *op. cit.*, 335-336.

Elements of Nationalism in the Eighteenth-Century Symphony

National traits were prominent in Polish symphonic music from the beginning of its development, but at this time consisted primarily of movements based on Polish dance rhythms. An early example of this trend is found in the second movement of Haczewski's *D major Symphony*, which is specifically labelled "alla Polacca," in this case signifying a polonaise (Example 1).

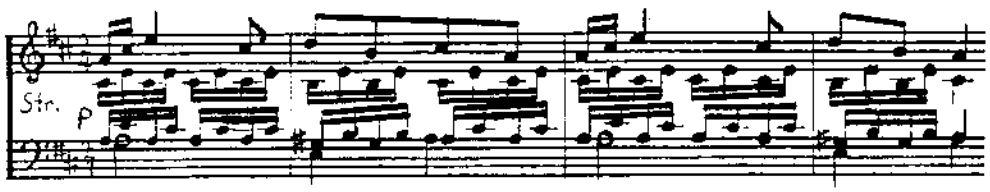
Example 1. A. Haczewski, *Symphony in D*, II, measures 1-4.



Haczewski's symphony, a three-movement work scored for two flutes, two horns, and strings, also illustrates the extent or lack of formal development in the Polish symphony by the early 1770's. The first movement is in sonata-allegro form, but with practically no development, and the final movement is a three-part form based on the krakowiak rhythm (Example 2).

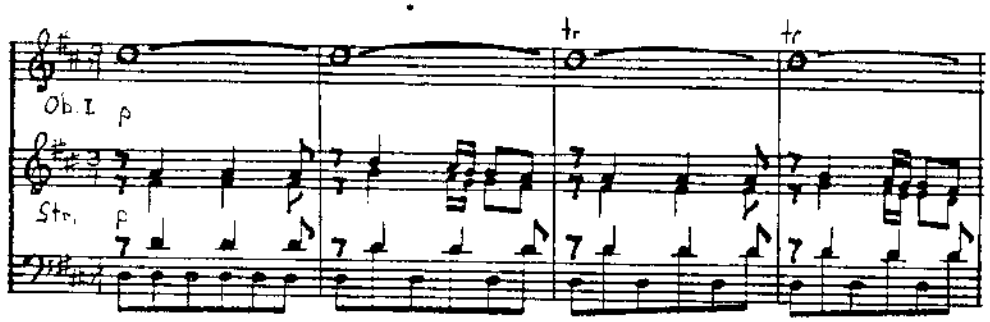
The symphony of Bazyli Bohdanowicz (1740-1817), also in the key of D major, probably dates from before 1780. Scored for two oboes, two horns, and strings, the work is in a style between that of a divertimento and a symphony dating from the 1760's or 1770's, with elements of Italian,

Example 2. A. Haczewski, *Symphony in D*, III, measures 9-12.



Viennese, and Mannheim instrumental styles.[10] Bohdanowicz's contribution to the development of a Polish national style is the "Polonese" which appears as the fourth of five movements in this work (Example 3). Unity between this and the second movement is created by the similarity of its syncopated rhythms to those which begin many of the phrases of the slow movement. Since, however, this Andante is in 4/4 meter these rhythmic patterns are best considered to be more cyclic than nationalistic.

Example 3. B. Bohdanowicz, *Symphony*, IV, measures 1-4.



Two of the more prolific Polish symphonists of the eighteenth century were Jan Engel and Jakub Gołąbek (*c.* 1739-1789). Jan Engel,

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[10] Bazyli Bohdanowicz, *Symfonia*, ed. Wendelin Świerczek, with an introduction by Alina Nowak-Romanowicz (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), viii.

chapelmaster at St. John's Cathedral in Warsaw, was the composer of at least eleven symphonies, twelve polonaises, and a number of vocal-instrumental works. He owned the first music engraving shop in Poland and six of his symphonies were issued from this establishment in 1772. Engel's music shows the influence of the Mannheim school, and although the extent of national features in his lost symphonies is not known, a slow movement from one of the six extant works has very distinct polonaise rhythms which may be regarded as a deliberate stylization of this Polish dance within the symphony.[11]

Gołąbek was a member of the cathedral kapela in Cracow from about 1774 until his death in 1789. In the initial movements of his symphonies, the first themes are fanfare-like, while the second themes are all cast from the same rhythmic and melodic mold. These first movements characteristically show the mid-century style prevalent before the firm establishment of sonata-allegro form. The development sections are brief and the recapitulations omit the second subject. Similar generalizations cannot be made for other movements in the symphonies. The size of the orchestra required by Gołąbek is similar to that of Bohdanowicz, but the wind instrument parts appear to be more independent.[12]

Two other composers active at this time, Namieyski (given name unknown) and Karol Pietrowski, can be grouped with Gołąbek because their extant manuscripts have a common source. Namieyski's symphonies show a much more assured command of technique and could compare favorably

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[11] Jan Engel, *Symfonie*, I, ed. Bohdan Muchenberg (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1969), iv.

[12] Abraham, *op. cit.*, 16-17.

to all but the best works of the Mannheim composers or J.C. Bach, whereas Pietrowski's work shows the unmistakable influence of Mozart. Strumiłło noted the similarity of the opening of Pietrowski's *Symphony in D* (II) to the overture of *Die Zauberflöte*.[13]

Further interest in folk material, approaching an incipient nationalism, can be found in a number of other eighteenth-century works. In 1782 Jan Dawid Holland (1746-1827) composed a symphony labelled "narodowa (national)" which contained Polish dance rhythms. The second movement of this symphony, which is in the style of the North German-Berlin school, is entitled "Une polonaise de chasse." A somewhat different approach to the use of a Polish idiom was taken by Antoni Milwid (dates unknown), who incorporated a Byelo-Russian folk melody in the first movement and a *dumka* in the second movement of his *Symphony in B-flat*, subtitled "Bieda ruska (Russia's Woe)." Similar use of national material can be found in the *D major Symphony* of Wojciech Dankowski (*c.* 1762-*c.* 1820) and the symphony in the same key of Franciszek Ścigalski.[14]

None of these examples, however, can be said to possess a very strong national flavor. The adoption of national rhythms into the metric schemes of the symphony, especially the utilization of the triple-meter polonaise as the basis for a slow movement, appears to be the extent of the incorporation of national material. As the Polish symphony developed

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[13] Strumiłło, *op. cit.*, 98.

[14] Ewa Obniska, "Muzyka dawna," *Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, ed. Tadeusz Ochlewski (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1977), 63.

in the nineteenth century, the composers enhanced the national flavor of their music by increasing the use of the rhythms and melodic patterns characteristic of the folk idiom.

The Polish Symphony in the Nineteenth Century

The native composers who inherited the eighteenth-century symphonic tradition were Józef Elsner and Franciszek Lessel, although such composers as Henryk Lentz and E.T.A. Hoffmann both of whom were active in Poland during the time were also influenced. Unfortunately, the early nineteenth-century shift from court orchestras to public concerts in the larger cities seemed to limit the opportunities for these composers to have their large-scale instrumental works performed. The lack of orchestras greatly inhibited the continued development of the symphony and it was not until the early twentieth century and the period of Młoda Polska (Young Poland) that the level of symphonic writing in Poland began to compare to that of the rest of Europe.[15]

The most prolific composer of symphonies at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Józef Elsner. Table I lists his symphonies with their place of composition and date.

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[15]Stefan Śledziński, "Zarys dziejów symfonii polskiej w XIX wieku," *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, 2 vols. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), II, 401.

Table I. The Symphonies of Elsner

	Symphony	Place	Date
1.	E-flat major	Wrocław	*c.* 1788-1789
2.	D major	Wrocław	*c.* 1788-1789
3.	D major	Lwów	*c.* 1795
4.	C major	Lwów	*c.* 1795
5.	E-flat major	Lwów	*c.* 1795
6.	D major	Warsaw	*c.* 1802
7.	C major, Op. 11	Warsaw	*c.* 1804-1805
8.	B-flat major, Op. 17	Warsaw	*c.* 1818

Although he was active as a composer in Warsaw throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Elsner abandoned symphonic writing after 1818. He continued to contribute to the development of the Polish symphony, however, through the work of his students. Many of the composers of the next generation composed symphonies during their studies with Elsner as a practical exercise in orchestration.

The only complete composition extant among Elsner's eight symphonies is the *Symphony in C major*, Op. 11, which is entitled:

> Grand symphonie/pour plusiers instruments/dediée à Monsieur/Adalbert de Boguslawski/Entrepreneur et directeur/ du Theâtre polonais et allemand de Varsovie par J. Elsner.

This work was composed before 1805, while Wojciech Bogusławski was the director of a troup of German actors.[16]

The *Symphony in C major*, Op. 11, is a four-movement work—Allegro, Andante, Menuet, Rondo—utilizing a Haydnesque orchestra and is like the trumpet and tympani symphonies popular in the Classical

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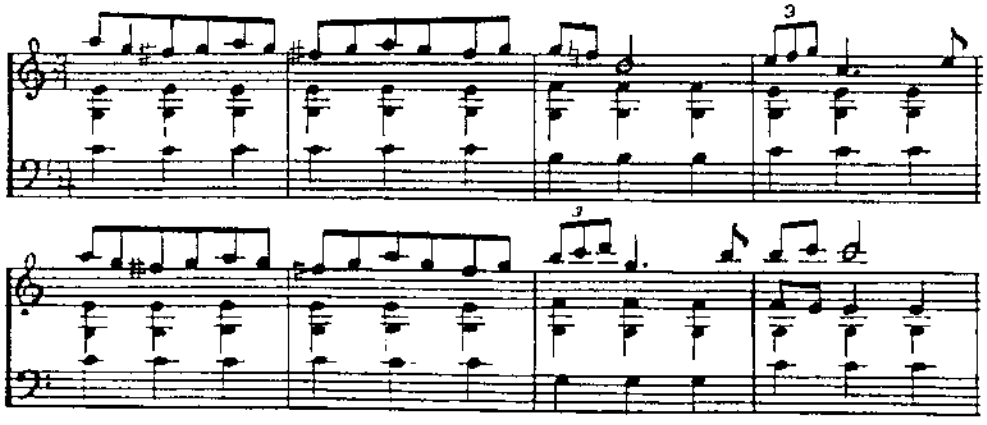
[16]Before World War II an incomplete set of parts for the *Symphony in B-flat*, Op. 17, existed in Wilno, but even then their poor condition did not allow for analysis of the work. The parts have since disappeared.

era. Nowak-Romanowicz sees aspects of the musical thought of Haydn and Mozart in Elsner's work, but Śledziński suggests that the style is in the manner of the Mannheim school.[17] Although basically in the eighteenth-century tradition, the style was expanded through the national elements incorporated in two of its movements. The minuet is built on the mazurka rhythm and the final rondo is a krakowiak. A true Polish mazurka with its characteristic sharpened fourth degree of the major scale is inserted into the trio of the minuet (Example 4). Contrasted to the eighteenth-century use of simple Polish rhythms, this example reveals a stronger national identity through the use of melody, and, as Abraham states, provides the "historical link between Poland's early symphonists and her greatest composer [Chopin]."[18] Furthermore, this manner of incorporating folk music, that is, the specific use of a mazurka in the minuet and krakowiak in the finale, became a formula which Elsner passed to his students and is the model from which Dobrzyński's use of folk elements derives.

Example 4. J. Elsner, *Symphony in C major*, Op. 11, III, trio.



[17] Śledziński, *op. cit.*, 414-415.

[18] Abraham, *op. cit.*, 21.

Franciszek Lessel (1780-1838) was the composer of a *Concert Overture in C major* (lost) and one symphony, of which only the finale remains. Mistakenly catalogued as an overture in the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, this single movement is really the last movement of a G minor symphony. In sonata-allegro form, the movement resembles the style of Haydn, particularly in the motivic work, but this is not surprising because Lessel had studied composition with this master.[19]

Henryk Lentz (1765-1839), a German musician living in the Polish territory, composed a symphony in 1809 which was marked "in magna tristitia tota Varsavia propter bellum." Probably written for a concert of the Resursa Muzyczna, this *Symphony No. 4 in D major* shows the influence of Beethoven's *Second Symphony in D major* (1802), especially in the slow movement which is in the same 3/8 Larghetto used by Beethoven. Beethoven's influence can also be perceived in the instrumentation, form, and thematic material of Lentz' symphony. Performed at another concert of the Resursa Muzyczna was the *Symphony in E-flat* (1805-1806) of E.T.A. Hoffmann. This work was composed in Warsaw and is an example of the strict adherence by early Romantics to the requirements of Classical form. Śledziński suggests it is in the style of Mozart without a trace of Romantic feeling whatsoever.[20]

Although Karol Kurpiński was, along with Elsner, one of the most

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[19]Śledziński, *op. cit.*, 415-417.

[20]*Ibid.*, 418-419.

important figures in Warsaw music circles in the first half of the century, he was not a composer of symphonies. Kurpiński's only example in this genre is the battle symphony *Wielka symfonia bitwę wyrażająca,* Op. 15 (Great Symphony Expressing a Battle, 1812). Originally named after the battle of Możajski, the title was changed after the fall of Napoleon. The composition is labelled a symphony, but because it is built on a program and has few connections to the usual sonata forms, it is not important as a predecessor to Dobrzyński's works. Jan Zandman (or Sandman) is another composer who has been inaccurately catagorized as a symphonist. In his biographical dictionary of Polish musicians, Wojciech Sowiński mentioned Zandman as the composer of a symphony, but there is no other documentation to support this assertion.[21]

Janusz Stanisław Iliński (1795-*c.* 1860) is best remembered for the great musical resources that he maintained at his court in Romanów. Dobrzyński's father was employed here as chapelmaster and the musical environment of the court was important to the development of the young Ignacy Feliks as a musician and composer. Iliński pursued his interest in music to the point of studying composition in Vienna with Ferdinand Kauer and Antonio Salieri. He composed mostly church music, although there is a *Symphony in F major,* some overtures, and two piano concertos listed among his works.[22]

The generation of Polish composers which followed Elsner and

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[21]Albert Sowinski, *Les Musiciens polonais et slaves* (Paris: Libraire Adrien Le Clere, 1857), 588.

[22]*Ibid.*, 282-285.

Kurpiński, chiefly Józef Nowakowski, Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński, and Józef Brzowski, produced only a handful of symphonies. Confronted by the Russian repression of Polish culture after the 1830 November Insurrection, as well as the difficulty of performance, these composers wrote only one or two symphonies in their younger years.

Józef Nowakowski (1800-1865) is generally recognized as having been a good teacher of piano, but not a great talent as a composer. According to Sowiński, he composed two symphonies, both in D major, and four overtures, all of which were probably written during the period of his studies with Elsner.[23] The *First Symphony*, composed about 1827, was first performed in Warsaw on March 22, 1830, in a concert organized by Chopin. Although the date of composition of the *Second Symphony* is not known, it was performed in 1846. Nineteenth-century reviewers judged the *Second Symphony* to be well-orchestrated and to have much fervor and good taste, while Śledziński wrote that Nowakowski's symphonies show the influence of Elsner, especially in formal construction and the mannered Mannheim style.[24]

A fellow student with both Nowakowski and Chopin, Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński is generally recognized as the best representative of symphonic writing in Poland during this period. Śledziński's praise of Dobrzyński was extravagant:

> Dobrzyński attained the most outstanding results in the area of symphonic music. He is moreover our best composer of sym-

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[23] *Ibid.*, 431.

[24] Śledziński, *op. cit.*, 420-421.

> phonies to the time of Noskowski, excellently handling both its form and instrumental technique.[25]

Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2 in C minor*, Op. 15, is the more important of his two symphonies because of the extensive incorporation of national material. The most pronounced Polish elements include the use of the *Kościuszko Polonaise* in the slow movement, the mazurka rhythm in the minuet, and the krakowiak "Albośmy to jacy tacy" in the finale. Fortunately, extant manuscript scores make it possible to study both of Dobrzyński's symphonies, and since they are the main focus of this paper, they will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent chapter.

Another figure in this modest sequence of Polish symphonic works is Józef Brzowski (1805-1888), a student of Karol Kurpiński. Brzowski is particularly noteworthy for his introduction of the style of Berlioz to Poland. During a trip to Paris in 1837, Brzowski composed an overture in D major entitled "Fantastic." Although the score to this work disappeared during World War II, Sowiński mentioned in his biographical dictionary that the instrumentation shows the influence of Berlioz. Śledziński claimed, on the other hand, that neither Brzowski's *Symphony in E major* (*c.* 1840) nor his overture show much of the style of Berlioz, but rather were influenced by the Classical style. Berlioz' influence in the symphony is limited to the use of two valved cornets, instruments not previously added to the orchestra in Poland. The sym-

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[25]"Osiągnął najwybitniejsze rezultaty na polu muzyki symfonicznej. Jest on zresztą aż do czasów Noskowskiego naszym najlepszym kompozytorem symfonii, doskonale władającym zarówno jej formą, jak i techniką instrumentacyjną." Śledziński, *op. cit.*, 422.

phony's nationalistic features, especially the mazurka rhythm in the scherzo followed by a krakowiak in the trio are much more in evidence than is the French influence.[26]

After these works composed in the second quarter of the century by students of Elsner, no new examples of Polish symphonies seem to have been created for many years. The composition of symphonic music was not revived until the group of graduates from the Instytut Muzyczny became active in the late 1860's. The composers Antoni Stolpe and Zygmunt Noskowski were the main figures in this renaissance, but the symphonic creations of these men were initiated only after traveling abroad.

Polish Opera

The symphony was not the only musical genre in Poland which had a long tradition of the incorporation of folk tunes and national traits. Beginning with Maciej Kamieński's (1734-1821) vaudeville *Nędza uszczęśliwiona* (Misery Made Happy, 1778), considered the first opera in Polish, the incorporation of folk elements continued with *Agatka* (1784) of Jan Dawid Holland and Jan Stefani's (1746-1829) *Cud mniemany czyli Krakowiacy i górale* (The Miracle, or the Cracovians and the Highlanders, 1794).

A setting of the libretto of Michał Radziwiłł, *Agatka* was first produced at the Radziwiłł court at Nieśwież and presents a good example of the techniques used to include folk music in opera. In Example 5, the rhythm of the krakowiak is presented as a vocal melody.

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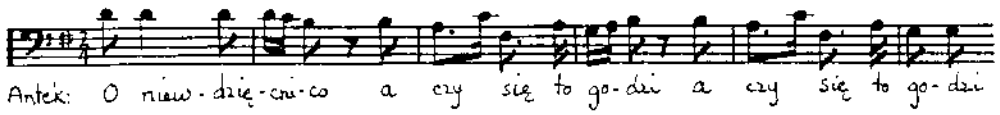
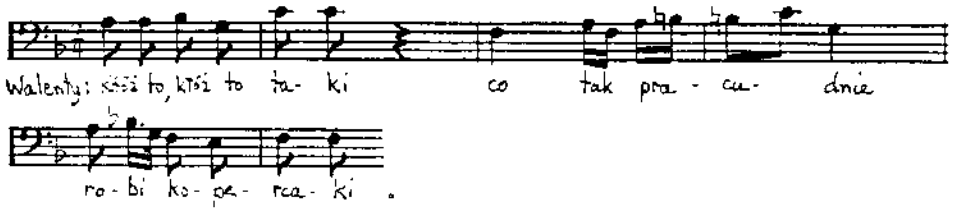
[26] *Ibid.*, 426-427.

Example 5. J.D. Holland, *Agatka,* Act I, Scene 2.



The next example, also from Act I of the opera, has the raised fourth so characteristic of Polish folk music, but the modal effect is weakened because the B-natural resolves to the dominant (Example 6). At the end of the eighteenth century, the raised fourth was still not strongly incorporated into art music.

Example 6. J.D. Holland, *Agatka,* Act I, Scene 3.



Further development of Polish opera with a national identity was prevented by the political events of the 1790's, but after 1800 opera with national traits returned. At this time, the emphasis was on history and folklore, rather than the satirical-didactic characteristics of eighteenth-century Polish opera.[27] The subject matter of opera changed most of all, with plots based on history and legend becoming very common. The realization of these national traits in a comic

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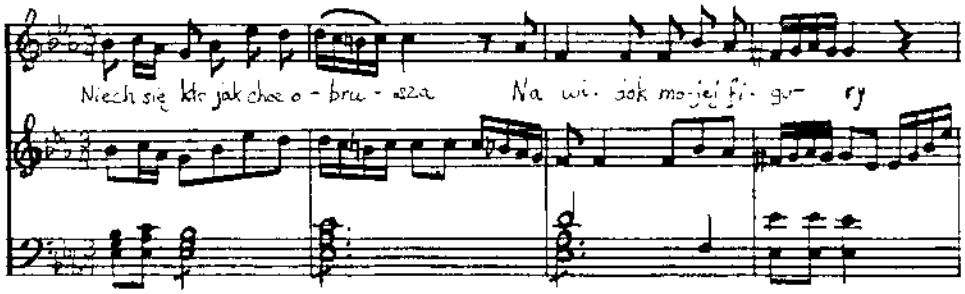
[27]Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "Muzyka polskiego Oświecienia i wczesnego romantyzmu," *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej,* 2 vols. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), II, 103.

opera can be seen in Elsner's *Leszek Biały* (Leszek the White, 1801, libretto of Ludwik Dmuszewski), which in addition to an historical plot, utilizes the polonaise, mazurka, and dumka.[28]

Other similar examples are *Król Łokietek* (1818) and *Jagiełło w Tenczynie* (1820) of Elsner and the operas *Jadwigą* (1814) and *Cecylia Piaseczyńska* (1829) of Kurpiński. Although folk melodies, such as the old church melody "U drzwi Twoich stoję, Panie" in *Król Łokietek*, are also present in these historical operas, national dances, such as the mazurka, krakowiak, or polonaise are probably more common. Example 7 shows the beginning of the polonaise from Elsner's *Siedem razy jeden* (1804).

Example 7. J. Elsner, *Siedem razy jeden*, No. 3, Polonez, measures 9-12.



The genesis of different types of opera in Poland also dated from the very beginning of the nineteenth century. The first Polish melodrama was Elsner's *Iskahar, Król Guaxary*, which he composed in Lwów in

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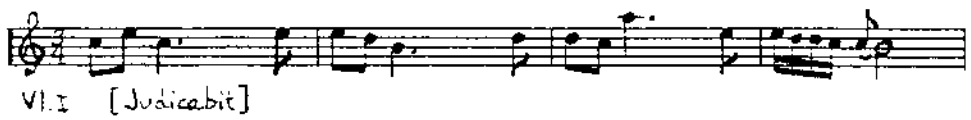
[28]Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "Niektóre problemy opera polskiej między Oświeceniem a Romantyzmem," *Studia Hieronymo Feicht septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Zofia Lissa (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1967), 399.

1797, while the term *komedio-opera* was coined to describe the musical production introduced in 1804 with the vaudevilles of Ludwik Dmuszewski. It must be emphasized, however, that the use of national and folk elements transcends distinctions in the different opera types. Referring to the examples cited above, *Siedem razy jeden* is a comic opera, while *Leszek Biały* contains sections of melodrama in addition to the historical plot and dance rhythms.

Choral Music and Art Songs in Poland

A development parallel to that of the symphony and opera can be found in liturgical music, illustrated here by several examples from the *Vesperae Pastoralis ex D* of Wojciech Dankowski. Example 8 from this eighteenth-century work is explicitly marked "Tempo di polonese."

Example 8. W. Dankowski, *Vesperae Pastoris ex D.*



A mazurka rhythm is used in Example 9 along with consistent G-sharps in the key of D major producing a Lydian fourth.[29] Several of Dankowski's Masses also contain mazurkas and krakowiaks.

In the nineteenth century, interest in the association of church music with national elements can be seen first of all in the organization of a society such as the Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Muzyki Religijnej

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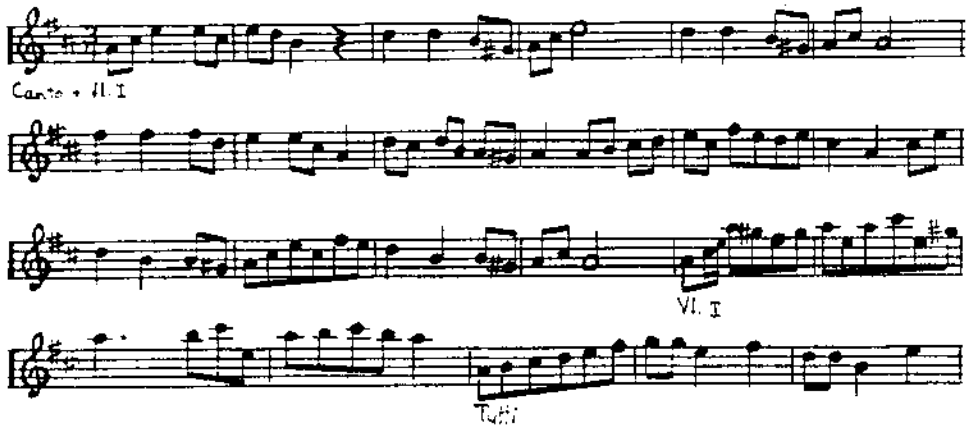
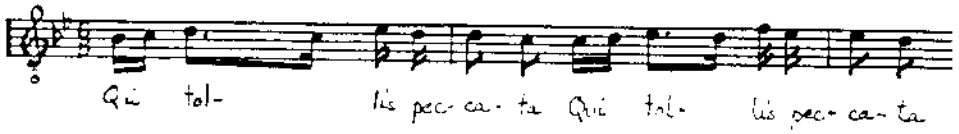
[29]Strumiłło, *op. cit.*, 73-75.

Example 9. W. Dankowski, *Vesperae Pastoris ex D.*



i Narodowej in 1814. The first extant Mass with Polish text was composed by Izydor Józef Cybulski in 1805,[30] and the substitution of the Polish language for Latin can be interpreted as a shift toward nationalism. Later in the century, the inclusion of melodic elements from popular Polish devotional songs can be found, for example, the use of "Kiedy ranne wstają zorze (When Dawn is Risen)" by Elsner in his *Latin Mass in G minor,* Op. 72 (1842). This melody appears as a tenor solo in the Gloria of this Mass for four-part men's choir, four soloists, and orchestra (Example 10).

Example 10. J. Elsner, *Latin Mass,* Op. 72, Gloria, solo tenor.



[30] Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "Zagadnienie unarodawiania polskiej muzyki religijnej u kompozytorów I połowy XIX wieku," *Stań badań nad muzyką religijną w kulturze polskiej,* ed. Jerzy Pukulik (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1973), 72-73.

During these years, cantatas were composed for all occasions, but especially for celebrations. Devotional cantatas, which were mostly Italian compositions translated into Polish were performed during Lent. Although few Polish cantatas are extant, newspaper references indicate that Elsner and Kurpiński were leaders in their composition. Oratorios performed in Warsaw were all foreign works until Elsner composed his *Męka Chrystusa* (The Passion of Christ), performed in 1838.

Due to its function as entertainment for guests at home, the art song, aside from opera, was the most enthusiastically performed musical genre during the period 1800-1830. Polish songs had generally been communal compositions assembled at social gatherings, that is, composition by concensus, but in the early nineteenth century they rose to the position of an art form. These pieces are mostly strophic in form, but there are some songs which are through-composed and others which consist of strophic variations. An important early work is the *Śpiewy historyczne* (Historical Songs), a collection of songs tracing the history of the Polish nation. These, set to poems by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, are by a variety of nineteenth-century Polish composers. Of the many aristocratic amateurs active in music at the beginning of the century, Michal Kazimierz Ogiński alone composed music to Polish texts, and also included folk characteristics in his vocal music.

Again, Elsner is the most prolific composer. His songs with piano accompaniment were composed in the first part of the nineteenth century. In 1803 and 1805 his presses printed a periodical publication of songs, *Wybór pięknych dzieł muzycznych i pieśni polskich* (Selection

of Fine Musical Works and Polish Songs), that included twenty-five of his own works. Particularly noteworthy for its Polish character without the use of actual folksong is one of Elsner's later art songs, "Pasterka (The Shepherdess)," which is one of six settings of texts by Kazimierz Brodziński that Elsner intended as examples for his 1818 treatise on the musical treatment of the Polish language.

The Polish character of Elsner's songs can be seen to lead directly to the vocal works of Stanislaw Moniuszko. The corpus of work which established Moniuszko as the master of the Polish song in the nineteenth century was the six volumes of *Śpiewniki domowe* (Song-Books for the Home) that were published beginning in 1843. This collection was followed by six more posthumous volumes. The word "home" in the title of these collections was interpreted to mean "national" and these songs, alongside Moniuszko's operas, played a considerable role in the consolidation and maintenance of national consciousness in the mid-nineteenth century.

As an important aspect in the development of nineteenth-century Polish music, the use of national material reached all genres. Although Dobrzyński's *Second Symphony* is his most significant contribution to this Polish awareness, his music is generally representative of the trend. Patriotic sentiments can be found in a number of Dobrzyński's compositions and, as will be seen, they played an important role in the composer's other musical activities.

CHAPTER III

DOBRZYŃSKI'S EARLY YEARS

Sources

Biographical sketches of Dobrzyński begin to appear in the mid-1840's and throughout the remainder of the composer's life his activities were chronicled in the press and in biographical dictionaries. These sketches are said to have been supplemented by an 1852 autobiography, but except for Zdzisław Jachimecki's citation of this in 1952, it is now unknown.[1] The earliest summary of Dobrzyński's life is an article by Marc Antoni Szulc dated May 20, 1845, which was printed to publicize Dobrzyński's trip to Poznań in that year.[2] Two later accounts of Dobrzyński's life written by Szulc bear the title "Dobrzyński in Poznań," but they generally relate the composer's activities over his entire career.[3]

Another early source of information about Dobrzyński is the article in the biographical dictionary of Polish musicians compiled in Paris by Wojciech Sowiński.[4] Sowiński published an updated Polish lan-

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[1] Zdzisław Jachimecki, "Monbar czyli Flibustierowie. Zaginiona opera I.F. Dobrzyńskiego," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* I/2-3 (1952), 200.

[2] M.A. Szulc, "Dobrzyński," *Orędownik Naukowy* (Poznań) VI/8 (1845), 60-62; VI/10, 78-79; VI/11, 82-85.

[3] M.A. Szulc, "Dobrzyński w Poznaniu," *Sobotka* (1870) No. 3, 22-23; No. 4, 27-28; No. 7, 51-52; "Dobrzyński w Poznaniu. Wspomnienie," *Echo Muzyczne* V/7 (March 20, 1881), 49-51; V/9 (April 19, 1881), 65-67; V/10 (May 3, 1881), 73-75.

[4] Albert Sowinski, *Les Musiciens polonais et slaves* (Paris: Librairie Adrien Le Clere, 1857), 151-159.

guage edition of this dictionary in 1874, but the entry on Dobrzyński is primarily a translation of the earlier French article with the addition of some new material devoted to Dobrzyński's last years.

It is particularly evident in the wording of certain passages, such as the explanation of Dobrzyński's studies with Józef Elsner, that Sowiński's article is at least partly drawn from the 1845 account of Szulc. Here, Szulc's statement, "[Dobrzyński] was not a conservatory student, as German newspapers sometimes incorrectly published,"[5] was perpetuated by Sowiński in his edition of 1857.[6]

In Dobrzyński's last decade several articles about him were published by Oskar Kolberg, a well-known Polish ethnographer. Kolberg's acquaintance with Dobrzyński extended back to the 1840's when Kolberg had been a piano student of the composer for a short time. Kolberg acknowledged Sowiński's sketch of 1857 in these writings and provided an extensive list of Dobrzyński's published and unpublished compositions.[7]

Dobrzyński's prominence as a composer was reflected in the large number of obituaries that appeared after his death in 1867. One of the most important of these necrologies is an article written by Władysław

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[5]"Nie był przeto uczniem konserwatoryjum jako mylnie kiedyś rozgłosiły dzienniki niemieckie." Szulc, *Echo Muzyczne* V/7 (March 20, 1881), 50.

[6]"Dobrzynski n'etait donc pas l'élève du conservatoire de Warsovie, comme l'avaient annoncé plusiers journaux allemands. [Dobrzyński was not then a student of the Warsaw Conservatory, as it was announced in some German newspapers.]" Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 152.

[7]Oskar Kolberg, "Dobrzyński," *Encyklopedyja powszechna* VII (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1861), 195-197. A manuscript draft of this article is held in the library of the Towarzystwo im. Fryderyka Chopina in Warsaw. "Dobrzyński," *Noworocznik (Kalendarz) Ilustrowany dla Polek* III (1863), 299-307.

Wiślicki in which he gave a detailed account of the composer's life.[8]

The only book-length biography of Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński is the work of his son Bronisław.[9] Somewhat affected in style and written with obvious prejudice, much of the biography consists of reprinted reviews from nineteenth-century newspapers. Nevertheless, this book contains much information about intimate events in Dobrzyński's life, such as family relations, and it is also invaluable for its reproduction of several of Dobrzyński's letters.

For the biography which follows, much new information about Dobrzyński's musical activities has been gleaned from other nineteenth-century sources. Polish newspapers, rich in concert reviews and advertisements for newly published music, frequently mentioned Dobrzyński. His name also appears in the journals, memoirs, and letters of other Varsovians, and similar sources outside of Poland are the key to Dobrzyński's contacts abroad. The isolated facts in these sources can be combined to produce not only a picture of this composer's career, but also a contribution toward a better understanding of the musical life of nineteenth-century Warsaw.

Early Years

Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński was born on February 25, 1807, in

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[8] Władysław Wiślicki, "Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński. Studium muzyczne," *Kłosy* (1867), No. 127, 292-293.

[9] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *Ignacy Dobrzyński w zakresie działalności dążącej do postępu muzyki w współczesnej jemu epoce* (Warszawa: F. Krokoszyński, 1893).

Romanów, a town in the region of Wołyń (Volhynia) where his father was employed at the court of Count Janusz Iliński as chapelmaster.[10] The generally accepted dates of his birth and death, and those which are recorded on his gravestone, are February 25, 1807 to October 9, 1867. However, Jarociński's article in the *Słownik muzyków polskich* states that Dobrzyński's life spanned the period from February 15, 1807 to October 10, 1867.[11] It is conceivable that the Julian calendar, still used at this time in Russia, could have been used to record Dobrzyński's birth, but the difference of ten days given by Jarociński would not have been the correct conversion factor between the Julian and Gregorian calendars in the nineteenth century. Aside from this, the entry on Dobrzyński in the *Słownik muzyków polskich* is the best in contemporary musicological literature and includes the most complete list of Dobrzyński's works.

At the time of Dobrzyński's birth it was not unusual for Poles to be living in the territory between Poland and Russia. Wołyń had been associated with Poland through the fifteenth-century Jagiellonian alliance with Lithuania, but it became part of Russia after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. Although the population of Wołyń was mostly Byelorussian, some Poles lived in the region as magnates and

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[10] Count Jan Stanisław Iliński (1795–*c.* 1860) is most often referred to as Janusz, a diminutive of Jan. Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 282.

[11] Stefan Jarociński, "Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński," *Słownik muzyków polskich*, 2 vols., ed. Józef Chomiński (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1962), I, 114-115.

landowners.[12]

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Iliński court in Romanów was one of the most important regional centers of musical culture in this area east of the Congress Kingdom of Poland.[13] The court boasted of an active cultural life, including theater, Italian opera, and French vaudeville, and many foreigners were received as guests. This tradition was begun as early as 1765 when Jan Kajetan Iliński, grandfather of Janusz, assembled about thirty singers with an orchestra of 100 members. The orchestra was expanded by Józef August Iliński to 120 persons and at the time of Ignacy Dobrzyński's employment as chapelmaster, the group included a number of virtuosos from other countries and emphasized Italian music and works of the German school, especially symphonies, quartets, and quintets.[14]

Janusz Iliński was determined to maintain the cultural tradition which had been established at the court by his ancestors, and as a student of Ferdinand Kauer and Antonio Salieri in Vienna, he is known to have composed instrumental music, choral works, and songs. Some of these compositions were published in Vienna by Mechetti, Diabelli, and Wetzendorf. Iliński's support for the arts made life at the court quite satisfactory for the Dobrzyński family. Dobrzyński's father enjoyed prestige as director of the orchestra and part-time composer, and the

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[12]"Wołyń" and "Wołyńska gubernja," *Encyklopedia powszechna* XV, ed. S. Orgelbrand (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand's Sons, 1903), 491.

[13]Andrzej Morawski, "Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński i jego symfonie" (unpublished magister thesis, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1978), 41.

[14]Szulc, *Echo Muzyczne* V/7 (March 20, 1881), 50.

selection of Janusz Iliński as the godfather of Ignacy Feliks may have indicated a good relationship with the Count.[15]

The musical environment which shaped Ignacy Feliks' development was formed, first of all, by his immediate family. The most significant influence would be without a doubt the musicianship of his father, but there was also musical talent on his mother's side of the family. Dobrzyński's mother, Eudoksya, of Russian heritage, was said to have been well-trained in music, perhaps by her father, Dementiewiczu Karelin, who was orchestra director at the Czar's court in St. Petersburg.[16]

The musical environment of the court, in addition to the musicality of Dobrzyński's family, provided an incomparable training ground. From his earliest years, Dobrzyński studied under the direction of his father. He learned to play the piano and afterwards the violin, publicly performing the piano fantasies and concertos of Dussek at the age of nine or ten. The young Dobrzyński also spent considerable time listening to his father's rehearsals and especially observing the instruments of the orchestra, an experience which undoubtedly accounts for his facility in orchestration later in life.[17]

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[15]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 12. Contrary to the information in the Bronisław Dobrzyński biography on this point, Karlikowska maintains that the incumbent at the court in Romanów and the godfather of Dobrzyński was Józef August Iliński rather than his son Jan Stanisław. Teresa Karlikowska, "Tworszość symfoniczna Ignacego Feliksa Dobrzyńskiego" (unpublished magister thesis, Uniwersytet Jagiełłoński, 1973), 30.

[16]Aleksandr Poliński, "Dobrzyński," *Wielka encyklopedya powszechna ilustrowana* XV (Warszawa: S. Sikorski, 1895), 706.

[17]Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 151.

Iliński's attempts to sustain the artistic tradition of the court in Romanów absorbed a considerable sum of money and eventually the cost became prohibitive. As a result, Dobrzyński's formal training, begun at age nine at the Jesuit school brought to Romanów by Iliński, was interrupted when his father had to leave the court and the family was forced to move to Winnica around 1816. Dobrzyński's father enrolled both his sons, Ignacy Feliks and Edward, in the local gymnasium where he was employed as a music teacher. The director of this school was Michał Maciejowski, formerly of the Piarist order and the author of many pedagogical works. Maciejowski had come to Winnica in 1814 to be the director of this school which flourished under his leadership.[18] According to Sowiński, the education that Dobrzyński received here was superior to that which is ordinarily attained by people destined for an artistic career.[19] Dobrzyński began to compose during this time and at the age of twelve he arranged a short solo for piano, soon after composing cantatas for voice and piano for family celebrations, as well as polonaises for solo piano and violin with piano.[20]

Because of recurring financial problems, the Dobrzyński family only stayed briefly in Winnica. Their next move, about 1820, was to Żytomierz, where cultural life was founded on a conglomeration of Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish traditions and where one of the liveliest

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[18]"Michał Maciejowski," *Encyklopedyja powszechna* XVII (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1864), 745.

[19]Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 151.

[20]Karlikowska, *op. cit.*, 35.

musical centers in nineteenth-century Wołyń existed.[21] It was here that Dobrzyński completed his schooling.

Dobrzyński's parents desired that young Ignacy prepare for a career in law or medicine by attending the university in Wilno. Such insistence may have been instigated by his sister Aleksandra's marriage to a medical doctor named Mezar. In the end, however, the serious illness of his father in 1821 indefinitely postponed plans for Dobrzyński's continued education in Wilno.

As the oldest son, Dobrzyński accepted the responsibility of supporting the family during the prolonged disability of his father. Although the details of his work during this time are not clear, he relied on his musical talent to provide an income. According to Sowiński, Dobrzyński even substituted in his father's position of music director and teacher.[22] Others, however, merely record that Dobrzyński worked as an instrumentalist.[23] These experiences reinforced his interest in music, and when his father's health was regained in 1825, Dobrzyński decided, with his family's approval, to abandon the plans to attend Wilno University in order to pursue a career in music.

Dobrzyński in Warsaw

In 1825 Dobrzyński moved to Warsaw where he hoped to expand be-

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[21] Kira Szamajewa, "Muzycy Polscy w Żytomierzu," *Muzyka* XXIII/1 (1978), 61.

[22] Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 151.

[23] Morawski, *op. cit.*, 43.

yond the limited opportunities of the eastern provinces. This move was actually suggested by an aunt surnamed Manowska, and upon arrival in the city, Dobrzyński lived with her on ul. Miodowa. As the director of a girls' school, she was able to arrange for Dobrzyński to earn money by giving piano lessons, enabling him eventually to purchase his own piano.[24]

One of Dobrzyński's specific reasons for coming to Warsaw was to apply for a public stipend for study abroad. According to Sowiński, ". . . he left for Warsaw (1825) where he sought to obtain government funds for a trip abroad to study composition under a skillful master and to hear the major works of the great composers performed."[25] Although he failed to receive such a grant, it was not necessarily a reflection on his musical ability, for government financial support for such studies was extremely difficult to obtain and as Herbert Weinstock points out, even Frédéric Chopin was refused.

> On at least one occasion the Polish Ministry of Public Education had granted a fellowship for foreign travel and study to an especially promising graduate of the Conservatory. With this in mind, in April 1829 Nicolas Chopin applied to the proper minister for such a grant to Frédéric-François, adducing the enthusiasm of royal personages—the late Alexander I and Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich—and of connoisseurs as proof of the young man's talent. The minister endorsed the application, but in June the final authorities, their treasury perhaps depleted by the expenses of the recent coronation of Nicolas I as King of Poland, rejected the application out of hand.. Nicolas Chopin had asked for funds

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[24] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 17-22.

[25] ". . . il partit pour Warsovie (1825) où il chercha à obtenir des fonds du gouvernement pour faire un voyage a l'étranger, dans le but de travailler la composition sous un maître habile et d'entendre exécuter les chefs d'oeuvre des grands compositeurs." Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 151-152.

> for a three-year trip to France, Italy, and Germany. The official reply was almost brutal: "State funds cannot be ~~wasted~~ [crossed out] applied to the support of this class of artists."[26]

As an alternative, Dobrzyński sought the advice of Józef Elsner in the matter of his continuing to study music. Although Dobrzyński may have approached Elsner because of Elsner's dominant position in Warsaw's music life, it is more probable that their relationship was influenced by Dobrzyński's father. Bronisław Dobrzyński wrote that Ignacy Dobrzyński knew Elsner in Lwów, prior to his acceptance of a position in Romanów.

> Called to the position of first violin at the Lwów theater, Dobrzyński became acquainted with Józef Elsner, who was the music director at the theater. Here two artists, receptive to one another, struck up a friendship based on mutual respect and worked together as two brothers. Their aim was the advancement and enrichment of the profession to which they were both dedicated.[27]

The chronology of the application for financial assistance to study abroad and the beginning of studies with Elsner is not certain, but it appears that Dobrzyński began his work with Elsner in 1826 as an alternate plan for continuing his education. Karlikowska's interpretation of these events early in Dobrzyński's residence in Warsaw is that

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[26] Herbert Weinstock, *Chopin: The Man and His Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 32-33.

[27] "Ztąd powołany na pierwszego skrzypka do teatru lwowskiego, zapoznał się Dobrzyński z Józefem Elsnerem, który był dyrektorem muzyki przy tymże teatrze. Tu zbliżeni dwaj artyści, szczerą z sobą zawarli przyjaźń, opartą na wzajemnym szacunku, żyli razem jak dwaj bracia zgodnie, a wspólnym ich celem było podniesienie i uszlachetnienie zawodu w którym obadwaj szczerze i z zamiłowaniem pracowali." Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 9.

he first applied for the stipend because he wished to leave the house of his aunt, and then he approached Elsner for composition lessons.[28]

Frédéric Chopin was also a student of Elsner in the late 1820's, and although Chopin and Dobrzyński undoubtedly knew each other—there are several references to Dobrzyński in Chopin's correspondence—it is difficult to assess the nature of their relationship. Nineteenth-century writers viewed these composers as having been good friends; for example, Sowiński states:

> Working together under the same teacher and having the same manner of seeing and of feeling, Frédéric Chopin and I.F. Dobrzyński were close friends. The same community of views and the same artistic tendency to search the unknown characterized their endeavors. They communicated their ideas and impressions to each other, following different routes to arrive at the same end.[29]

On the contrary, there is evidence that the relationship was strained when Chopin chose a symphony of Nowakowski to be performed on his concert of March 22, 1830, rather than Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 1.* In a letter to Tytus Woyciechowski of March 27, Chopin commented: "Dobrzyński is angry with me because his symphony was not performed."[30] Any

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[28] Karlikowska, *op. cit.*, 36.

[29] "Travaillant ensemble sous le même maître, ayant la même manière de voir et de sentir, Frédéric Chopin et I.F. Dobrzynski se lièrent d'une étroite amitié; la même communauté de vues, la même tendance artistique à chercher l'*inconnu*, caracterisaient leurs efforts, ils se communiquaient leurs idées et leurs impressions, suivant différentes routes pour arriver au même but." Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 152-153.

[30] "Dobrzyński się na mnie kwasi, żem jego symfonii nie wziął." Bronisław Edward Sydow, ed. *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina*, 2 vols. (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955), I, 116.

animosity caused by Chopin's choice of symphonies subsided over the years, and later in life, Dobrzyński spoke highly of his former classmate.

The exact method by which Chopin and Dobrzyński were instructed by Elsner is also subject to speculation. Dobrzyński's earliest biographer, M.A. Szulc, maintained that Dobrzyński and Chopin received private lessons from Elsner.[31] Sowiński later expanded on this point with regard to the length of Dobrzyński's study with Elsner.

> In all he took about thirty lessons from the illustrious Elsner. A colleague of his was Frédéric Chopin, who also took private lessons from the same master and friend. Dobrzyński was not therefore a student of the Warsaw Conservatory, as it was announced in some German newspapers, but the student of J. Elsner, who initiated him to the science of counterpoint and to the effects of skillful orchestration of which he possessed the secrets.[32]

Of course, the emphasis on Dobrzyński not having been a student of the Conservatory does not necessarily support the contention that he was strictly a private student of Elsner, for beginning in 1826, classes in music theory and composition were taught at the Szkoła Główna Muzyki rather than the Conservatory. Although this school was part of Warsaw

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[31]". . . chodził doń wraz z Chopinem na lekcye prywatne." Szulc, *Orędownik Naukowy* VI/8 (1845), 62.

[32]"Il prit en tout trente et quelques leçons de l'illustre Elsner, il avait pour condisciple Frédéric Chopin, qui prenait également des leçons particulières du même maître et ami. Dobrzynski n'etait donc pas l'élève du conservatoire de Warsovie, comme l'avaient annoncé plusiers journaux allemands, mais l'élève de J. Elsner, qui l'initia à la science du contre-point et aux effets d'une savante instrumentation, dont il possédait les secrets." Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 152.

University with classes conducted in university buildings, the archival research of Rafal Gerber has failed to substantiate any claims that Dobrzyński and Chopin could have been considered students of the university.[33]

The issue of whether Dobrzyński had private lessons with Elsner or was part of one of his classes can be resolved by considering the few students enrolled in the Szkoła Główna Muzyki. Chopin was apparently alone in his composition class in the academic year 1826-1827, and consequently, he had private lessons. In the year 1827-1828, he was included with Dobrzyński and Nidecki in the very advanced third year class. It is likely that Elsner consulted the work of each student in private sessions.[34]

Dobrzyński is cited in Elsner's notes on his students for the year 1826-1827 with the annotation "zdolność niepospolita (uncommon talent)." In spite of being overshadowed by the genius of Chopin, Dobrzyński's compositional abilities were highly regarded by his teacher.

Early Published Works

Clarification of Dobrzyński's early publications is complicated by the given name he shared with his father. In the years 1823 to 1827 a number of piano pieces (Table II) published by the firm of Klukowski were advertised in Warsaw under the name of J. Dobrzyński or Ig. Dobrzyński, but the available evidence does not clearly confirm which of the

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[33]Rafal Gerber, *Studenci Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1808-1831: Słownik biograficzny* (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1977).

[34]Tadeusz Frączyk, *Warszawa młodości Chopina* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1961), 205.

Dobrzyński's was the composer of each of these piano miniatures. After about 1828 there ceases to be a problem because the son's name was then distinguished by the use of two initials—J.F. Dobrzyński.

Table II. Dobrzyński's Early Published Music

Title	Dates of Advertisements
Polonaise, ded. to Maria Szymanowska	August-October, 1823
2 Polonaises	February, 1826
Mazurek	April, 1826
2 Polonaises, ded. to Karol Kurpiński	August-September, 1826
2 Waltzes	February, 1827

Little is known about the composing and publishing activities of Dobrzyński's father, except that he is known to have composed a collection of polonaises.[35] Further justification for considering Dobrzyński's father as the composer of at least one of the polonaises in Table II can be found in the 1830 catalogue from the music store of A. Brzezina. Two Dobrzyńskis are represented, Ignacy and J.F., each listed with the title of a polonaise.[36]

Nevertheless, we have already learned that Ignacy Feliks began composing music at an early age. Dobrzyński's Opus 1, an overture which could hardly be a first attempt at composition, dates from 1824, while short pieces without opus number were composed throughout his career. Faced with drawing some conclusion about these early works, I believe that at least the pieces from 1826 and after can be attributed

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[35] Sowiński, *op. cit.*, 150.

[36] *Katalog Książek Polskich znaydujących się w Księgarnii A. Brzeziny i Komp.* (Warszawa, 1830), 11.

to Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński because by this time he was settled in Warsaw looking for a means of support and there was a market for such piano miniatures.

As was mentioned earlier, Dobrzyński, under the auspices of his aunt, began to teach piano privately as soon as he arrived in Warsaw. In 1827 Dobrzyński announced in the Warsaw newspapers that he would be giving private piano lessons at his own residence in the Hotel Polski on ul. Długa.[37] A year later another announcement observed that Dobrzyński "had returned after a long absence from the city" and was offering piano lessons at a new address, ul. Niecała 614.[38] Dobrzyński had left Warsaw to teach private piano lessons in aristocratic homes in the country, but this position was only for the summer of 1828.[39]

Dobrzyński's Warsaw debut as a performer and composer was at a September 29, 1827 concert at the Teatr Narodowy. This performance began with a comedy, *Intryga przed Ślubem* (Intrigue before the Wedding). Dobrzyński then performed a *Rondo* by Henri Herz on the piano and this was followed by his *Overture*, Op. 1, which was conducted by Karol Kurpiński. The evening ended with a ballet known as *Trzy Gracyie* (The Three Graces).[40] In light of his studies with Elsner, it is interest-

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[37] *Kurier Warszawski* (July 28, 1827), 861; (October 11, 1827), 1153. All dates taken from Polish newspapers are in the Gregorian calendar.

[38] ". . . po długiej nieobecności w stolicy, wrocił . . ." *Kurier Warszawski* (October 11, 1828), 1147.

[39] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 26-28.

[40] *Kurier Warszawski* (September 28, 1827), 1104.

ing that the work Dobrzyński chose for this performance was an orchestral piece composed in 1824, a year before his arrival in Warsaw.

By 1830 Dobrzyński was receiving wider recognition as a composer and musician. Not only had one of his compositions been performed in a public concert, but he had finished his studies at the Szkoła Główna Muzyki and had also had a number of piano pieces published. In January of 1830 Dobrzyński opened subscriptions for a new series of Polish songs for home use. These were to be settings of texts by well-known Polish poets such as Franciszek Karpiński, Julian Ursyn Niecewicz, Adam Mickiewicz, and Kazimierz Brodziński. Two songs were to be released every month with subscriptions sold at the Magnus music store on ul. Miodowa.[41] Although he actually issued the first two songs of the project, works to poems of P. Potocki and Karpiński, he was forced to cancel the series in the first month because an insufficient number of subscriptions had been sold.[42]

Dobrzyński's father came to Warsaw in February of 1830 and remained for the production of his vaudeville *I ktoż lepszy?*, which was premiered at the Teatr Rozmaitości on October 3.[43] This one-act setting of a libretto by Rajmund Sumiński must have been well-received because performances continued through December and several songs from the

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[41] *Kurier Warszawski* (January 19, 1830), 81; *Kurier Polski* (January 24, 1830), 260.

[42] *Kurier Warszawski* (February 6, 1830), 170; *Kurier Polski* (February 11, 1830), 342.

[43] *Gazeta Warszawska* (October 3, 1830), 2566.

komedio-opera were subsequently published in a piano-vocal edition by Klukowski.[44]

The November Insurrection

The elder Dobrzyński's presence in Warsaw made a joint concert with his son conceivable and on November 19, 1830, according to the Warsaw press, they proposed to arrange a concert at the Teatr Narodowy.[45] With the onset of the November Insurrection (November 29, 1830), however, the Dobrzyńskis abandoned their financial motives and devoted themselves to the quest for an independent Poland. This single political event released the musical expression of patriotism which saturates I.F. Dobrzyński's music after 1830 and assures his place in the history of nineteenth-century music.

The joint concert was finally scheduled for December 29 and dedicated to the Insurrection, with the proceeds donated to provide uniforms for those joining the army. Dobrzyński composed a cantata for this concert of vocal and instrumental music on the patriotic theme of the *March of Prince Józef Poniatowski*, and his arrangement of the *Dąbrowski Mazurka* was used to begin and end the concert.[46] The concert was well-received and even earned a favorable review in Karol Kurpiński's diary.[47]

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[44] *Kurier Polski* (October 20, 1830), 1584.

[45] *Gazeta Warszawska* (November 19, 1830), 3005.

[46] *Kurier Warszawski* (December 18, 1830), 1761-1762.

[47] Tadeusz Przybylski, "Fragmenty 'Dziennika Prywatnego' Karola Kurpińskiego," *Muzyka* XIX/4 (1975), 112.

Throughout the next year Dobrzyński's patriotic spirit was explicitly displayed in patriotic marches. The *Marsz Gwardii Narodowej* (March of the National Guard) was publicly performed by a large orchestra on January 9, 1831, and was followed on April 25 of that year with a performance of his *Marsz tryumfalny* (Triumphant March).[48] A rally organized by the Towarzystwo Patriotyczne occasioned the first performance of the march *Za Bug* on June 29, 1831. The title of this setting of text by S. Goszczyński for chorus and piano refers to the Bug River between Poland and Russia.

Dobrzyński's turmoil over the political questions of 1830-1831 manifested itself in the composition of these patriotic songs and marches. Unlike the many Polish artists and intellectuals who fled to Paris at this time, Dobrzyński did not emigrate. Although there is a letter dating from the beginning of August 1845 in which Chopin asks if Dobrzyński will be coming to Paris,[49] there is no evidence that he ever travelled as far as France. Instead he remained in Warsaw and as the insurrection was suppressed and the Russification intensified, he instilled the elements of Polish Nationalism into his music.

Musically, in the period of the November Insurrection the multimovement instrumental compositions which contain nationalistic elements are more significant than the marches composed for public rallies. The most important work in this category is the *Symphony No. 2*, Op. 15, which was composed by Dobrzyński in 1831. As originally written, only

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[48] *Gazeta Warszawska* (January 9, 1831), 66; (May 9, 1831), 999.

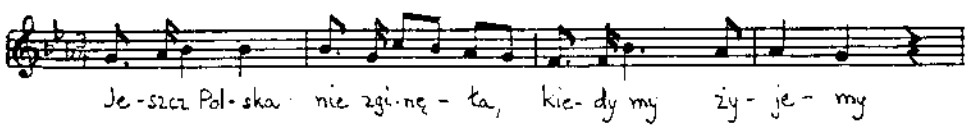
[49] Sydow, *op. cit.*, 147.

three of the four movements of this *C minor Symphony* contained themes or utilized rhythms based on Polish folk music, but later, its "Polishness" was expanded to encompass all of the movements when a newly composed slow movement was substituted for the second. Consequently, when the piano reduction of the work was published in the 1860's, the symphony was given the subtitle "In the spirit of Polish music."

A national identity can also be found in the chamber music from this period. Dobrzyński composed three string quartets in the latter 1820's, but then dropped his interest in this genre in favor of chamber music for larger groups of instruments. Although the *Second String Quartet*, from 1829, includes a movement labelled "Minuetto alla Masoviena," the most nationalistic statement in the composer's early chamber pieces is found, not surprisingly, in a composition from the period of revolutionary activity, the *String Quintet*, Op. 20 (1831). The middle section of the slow movement of this work for two violins, viola, and two cellos is based on the *Dąbrowski Mazurka*, a patriotic song from the late eighteenth century which is today the national anthem of Poland (Example 11).

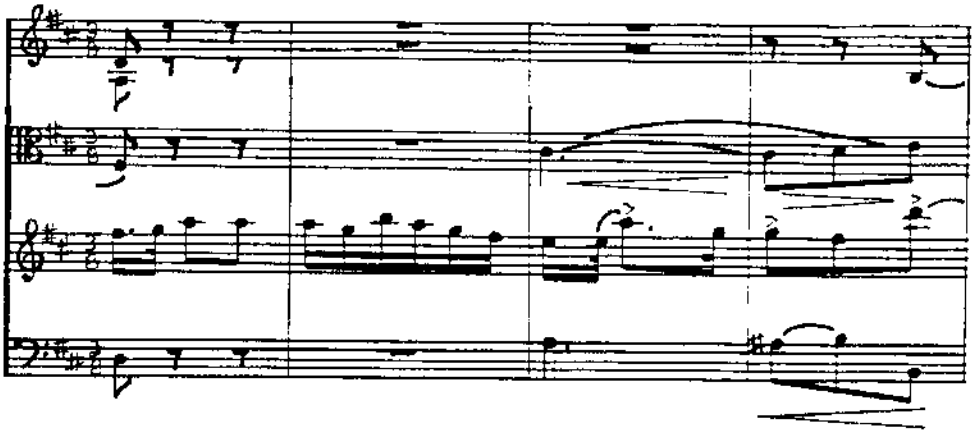
Example 11. Use of the *Dąbrowski Mazurka* in *String Quintet*, Op. 20, II.

a. *Dąbrowski Mazurka*, measures 1-4.



[Poland has not yet perished as long as we are living.]

b. I.F. Dobrzyński, *String Quintet*, Op. 20, II.



The Early 1830's

The repression that followed the 1830 November Insurrection took several years to abate, but by the middle of the 1830's weekly concerts were regularly held, especially in tha hall of the Resursa Kupiecka. A number of Dobrzyński's works were performed at these concerts, as shown in Table III. This list consists primarily of those compositions discussed previously as including national elements, works which had remained unperformed for several years.

Dobrzyński devoted considerable time to the musical activities of the Resursa Kupiecka in the 1830's. In addition to presenting performances of his instrumental music in the society's concerts, he composed occasional works such as the nameday cantata for the president of the society, Count Henryk Lubieński. Dobrzyński also copied orchestral parts for the society's performances or in some cases covered the cost for having the parts copied.[50] During these years he also became rec-

[50] *Kurier Warszawski* (July 17, 1834).

Table III. Dobrzyński's Instrumental Works Performed in Warsaw in the 1830's.

Work	Date	Place
Quartet, Op. 8	March 5, 1834	Resursa Kupiecka
Symphony, Op. 11	October 22, 1834	Resursa Kupiecka
Quintet, Op. 20	November 19, 1834	Resursa Kupiecka
Symphony, Op. 15	October 8, 1836	Krolikarnia, Wrocław orchestra[51]
Symphony, Op. 15, I	October 22, 1836	Resursa Kupiecka
Symphony, Op. 15	March 15, 1837	Resursa Kupiecka

ognized as a talented young conductor. In addition to directing his own compositions at the Resursa's concerts, he conducted such major works as the performance with Polish text of Haydn's *Creation* on December 17, 1834,[52] and in the following February, an Elsner Mass.[53]

As early as 1832 opera was again presented in Warsaw, and Dobrzyński, an avid opera fan, attended the premier of Rossini's *Comte d'Ory* at the Teatr Narodowy on August 30 of that year. Here he was introduced to Joanna Miller, who, in her operatic debut, was portraying the Countess in this production. Born in Warsaw on April 29, 1813, Joanna Miller had studied in the singing class of Carlo Soliva at the Conservatory. On August 9, 1834, two years after their meeting, she and Dobrzyński were married. Miller's performance in *Comte d'Ory* was well-received, and although she did not fully devote her life to singing after her marriage

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[51] Śledziński contends that the *Symphony*, Op. 15, was not performed in its entirety in Warsaw until 1857, however, four movements are mentioned in a review of this Hermann concert in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* V/38 (November 8, 1836), 153.

[52] *Gazeta Warszawska* (December 26, 1834), 3268.

[53] *Gazeta Warszawska* (February 4, 1835), 227.

to Dobrzyński, she did later appear on the stage in several roles.[54]

The *Second Symphony* in a Viennese Contest

The creation of the *Second Symphony* and especially its success in a Viennese contest of 1835 is perhaps the most significant event in Dobrzyński's creative life. In spite of this, misinformation about this contest has been perpetuated in much of the twentieth-century literature about Dobrzyński. To begin with the most notable misstatement, the contest was not sponsored by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde as is usually reported, but by the Viennese Concerts spirituels.

The events of the Viennese contest began with an announcement in the German music press in March of 1835 that a prize was being offered for the composition of symphonies.[55] The initial advertisement of the contest announcement, signed by the entrepreneurs of the Concerts spirituels, Edouard Freiherr von Lannoy, Ludwig Titze, and Karl Holz, was issued to the music journals from Vienna on January 21, 1835. For the best, not previously performed symphony for complete orchestra, a prize of fifty gold ducats was being offered. All composers, including foreigners, were invited to compete; performances of the winning work were to be scheduled for Lent of 1836. The deadline for submission was the end of October, 1835. The works were to be marked with a motto instead of the

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[54]Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Sztuki, *Słownik biograficzny teatru polskiego 1765-1965* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 138.

[55]The same announcement can be found in both the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* II/21 (March 13, 1835), 86, and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XXXVIII/10 (March 11, 1835), 170-171.

composer's name, and clearly and faultlessly copied scores were to be sent to the Tobias Haslinger Musikalienhandlung in Vienna. The announcement further states that the winner of the contest would be announced in February of 1836, with the prize to be awarded in May.

The judges for the contest were also listed in the announcement and included Joseph Eybler (1765-1846), Joseph Weigl (1766-1846), Johann Gansbacher (1778-1844), Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850), Konradin Kreutzer (1780-1849), Ignaz Xaver Ritter von Seyfried (1776-1841), and Michael Umlauff (1781-1842). All of the men in this group were active composers in the theaters and churches of Vienna and quite a few had studied with Albrechtsberger and other well-known teachers. As a committee to review symphonic compositions, they were very well qualified.

By November 1, 1835, fifty-seven symphonies from Germany, France, Italy, England, Sweden, Poland, and Holland had been submitted for the consideration of the judges.[56] Another press announcement, prepared by Tobias Haslinger, was released in December and contained a list of those symphonies which had been submitted, along with their identifying mottos. Number 53 on this list of fifty-seven symphonies is the "in C-moll, sign. J.F.D. Durch Hrn. J.E. in W."[57] Dobrzyński had used his own initials as the motto for his symphony, while the Herr J.E. are those of his teacher Józef Elsner in Warsaw, at whose behest he had entered the contest.

A search for unknown talent does not seem to have been the main reason for the sponsorship of this contest. From 1837 to 1848, the last

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[56] Franz Lachner, *Preis-Sinfonie für das Concerts spirituels in Wien* (Wien: Tobias Haslinger, n.d.), iv.

[57] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* III/50 (December 22, 1835), 200.

year of the society's existence, the Concerts spirituels were directed by Lannoy, Holz, and Titze, all amateur musicians. In 1835 the management of the concert society was placed in the hands of Ignaz von Seyfried. According to Edouard Hanslick in his chronicle of concert life in Vienna, the contest was devised as a means of creating further interest in the society's activities.

> In this year [1835] the entrepreneurs began to realize that a small effort, a good push appeared highly desirable, in fact, necessary, for the good reputation of their concerts. They were so modern as to announce a competition, at that time, a little used coup d'état. Fifty ducats were to be awarded for the best new symphony, a brave acknowledgement that the old masters alone would not be enough for all eternity. . . . The composer of the "night's lodging" is the only romantic blemish among these "white ermine wearers of the old school."[58]

When the votes of the judges, as well as those of Tobias Haslinger and the entrepreneurs of the Concerts spirituels were counted early in January of 1836, the majority had voted for the *Sinfonia passionata in C-moll* listed as number 28, with a motto of Goethe.[59] This symphony had been composed by Franz Lachner (1803-1890), court conductor in Munich.

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[58]"Die Unternehmer schienen in diesem Jahre überhaupt inne zu werden, dass eine kleine Anstrengung, ein energischer Ruch höchst wünschenswerth, ja nothwendig für den guten Leumund ihrer Concerte erscheine. Sie waren so modern, zu dem damals noch wenig verbrauchten Staatsstreich einer 'Preisausschreibung' zu schreiten—50 Ducaten sollten für die beste neue Sinfonie ausbezahlt werden; ein mannhaftes Bekenntniss, dass man doch nicht für alle Ewigkeit mit den 'alten' ausreichen könne. . . . Der Componist des 'Nachtlager' ist der einzige romantische Fleck auf diesem 'weissen Hermelin in der alten Schule'." Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Wien: Wilhelm Braumuller, 1869; reprinted by Gregg International Publishers, 1971), 308.

[59]The votes of the seven judges were four for No. 28, one for No. 53 or 28, one for No. 50, and one for No. 30, but the final results of the contest included the votes of the entrepreneurs of the Concerts spirituels and that of Tobias Haslinger. Lachner, *op. cit.*, vi.

Lachner had studied in Vienna and was a close friend of Schubert. Prior to his position in Munich, which began in 1836, he was conductor of the Kärthnerthor Theater in Vienna and of the Mannheim opera. This prize symphony, Op. 52, is the fifth of Lachner's eight symphonies, and in keeping with the original terms of the contest, it was performed on February 18, and March 24, 1836, on the first and sixth performances of the Concerts spirituels season.

Although there actually was only one prize, as had been announced, Dobrzyński's work is often cited as having won second prize. A list of those symphonies judged to be worthy of merit was issued and Dobrzyński's work appeared at the top of the list, essentially in second place:

> Nr. 53, mit der Devise J.F.D.
> Nr. 30, mit der Devise Ars longa, vita brevis
> Nr. 50, mit der selben Devise
> Diesen zuñachst die Sinfonien Nr. 5, 18, 26, 41, 45.[60]

The second composition in this list, No. 30, was composed by Joseph Strauss, however, the identity of other composers entered in the contest has not been determined.

Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2 in C minor* received its first performance in Vienna on March 17, 1836, in the fifth concert of the Concerts spirituels series for that year. According to a review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Dobrzyński's work was repeated in the next concert along with Lachner's winning symphony and the *Symphony in E-flat* of Joseph Strauss in order that the works could be compared. Public opinion over the results of the contest was divided, some people believing that Dobrzyński's symphony was better than that of Lachner,

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[60] Lachner, *op. cit.*, vi.

and the reviewer acknowledged other opinions in the following manner: "Then a dark, unfounded rumor spread that the Polish symphony was much nicer, and that the prize truly belonged to it by right, etc."[61] He goes on to state, however, that in his view the concert offered an oportunity to "refute such an erroneous opinion" and to settle an artistic discussion which he refers to as "a new edition of the Gluck—Piccinni debate." In spite of "interesting harmonic flow and national elements," this critic contended that the symphony of the Warsaw composer was the weakest of the three presented that evening.

This is not to say that Lachner's winning composition went without sharp criticism. Widely performed in Germany and Austria, Lachner's symphony was coolly received in Leipzig. Responding to a review of Anton von Zaccamadio who evidenced pleasure over the success of a solid German work in an international contest, Robert Schumann wrote in the November 8, 1836 issue of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* that he found Lachner's work exceedingly long and old-fashioned:

> In a word, the symphony has no style; it is put together from German, Italian and French elements, something like the Romansh language. Lachner uses the German manner for his beginnings (i.e. canonic imitations), Italian style cantilena, and French transitions and closes. When this is done expertly, in rapid succession, as with Meyerbeer, one can take it with better humor; but when the listener is conscious of it to the point of boredom—this could be seen plainly in the faces of the Leipzig

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[61] "So verbreite sich denn ein dunkles, unmotiviertes Gerucht, die polnische Symphonie sei viel schöner, ihr hätte eigentlich von Rechtswegen der Preis gebührt u.s.w." "Wien. Musikalisches Chronik des ersten Quartels," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XXXVIII/29 (July 20, 1836), 478.

audience—only the indulgent review could do other than dismiss it.[62]

In the years that followed the contest, Dobrzyński's music continued to gain exposure outside of Warsaw. The *Second Symphony* received another German performance, this time conducted by Felix Mendelssohn in Leipzig on March 7, 1839, but again it left a rather mixed impression. This was perhaps due more to the reception of the Polish elements in the symphony than the composer's manipulation of this material, because the harmonic individuality and orchestration were cited as being worthy of note.[63]

As a result of his international exposure, Dobrzyński received invitations to publish his music outside of Poland. Examination of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in the years following the contest has revealed that a number of his compositions were issued by foreign publishers (Table IV). The two German publishers that Dobrzyński dealt with were F. Hofmeister and Breitkopf und Härtel, both of Leipzig. Their interest seems to have been primarily piano miniatures. In this regard it should be noted that these pieces did not necessarily represent Dobrzyński's latest compositions at the time of publishing.

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[62] Leon B. Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1967), 191-192.

[63] *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLI/11 (March 13, 1839), 214. The critic incorrectly labels the work as that in third place in the contest.

Table IV. Compositions Published Abroad, 1836-1845.

Op. 6. *Rondo alla polacca* (1827), F. Hofmeister, *NZfM* (September 13, 1836).[64]

Op. 10. *Fantasie quasi fugue* (1828), Breitkopf und Härtel, *NZfM* (May 17, 1836).

Op. 16. *Trois Mazurkas* (1831), F. Hofmeister, *NZfM* (March 11, 1842).

Op. 24. *Deux Nocturnes* (1834), F. Hofmeister, *NZfM* (November 1, 1839).

The recognition Dobrzyński received in the Viennese contest remained with him throughout his career. Interest in publishing his music continued as well, but not without the stimulus provided by his personal appearances in Germany around 1845-1846. It is ironic that Dobrzyński's reputation was established by a symphony that had been heard only a few times in Warsaw.

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[64] *NZfM* is an abbreviation for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.

CHAPTER IV

DOBRZYŃSKI'S CAREER AFTER THE *SECOND SYMPHONY*

Although the mid-1830's marked the success of the *Second Symphony* in Vienna as well as the first performances of both symphonies in Warsaw, Dobrzyński had by this time turned his attention away from the symphony toward the composition of an opera. That he composed no other symphonies indicates a conscious shift in his interests for which several explanations may be advanced. Problems with the performance of long instrumental works, as previously discussed, certainly influenced the decision to leave the symphony behind, however, Elsner may have encouraged Dobrzyński to turn specifically to dramatic music, for we know that Elsner was convinced that Chopin should compose an opera.[1] Sowiński suggested that Dobrzyński's interest in opera was nationalistic when he wrote: "After this time, he turned all his efforts to the national situation. The Polish opera was the object of his work; he devoted himself to this completely."[2] Also, the notion that Dobrzyński was developing a role specifically for his wife should not be overlooked. In the end, all of these factors could have had some significance in Dobrzyński's

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[1] Bernard Gavoty, *Frederic Chopin*, trans. Martin Sokolinsky (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), 370.

[2] "Depuis ce moment, Dobrzynski tourna tous ses efforts vers la scène nationale. L'opéra polonais était l'objet des ses travaux, il s'y consacra en entier." Albert Sowinski, *Les Musiciens polonais et slaves* (Paris: Libraire Adrien Le Clere, 1857), 153.

decision to attempt a work for the stage.

Monbar czyli Flibustierowie

Monbar or the Filibusterers reached the form of three acts in 1838 after approximately two years' work. The librettists listed on the title page of the piano reduction published in the 1860's were Seweryna z Lochowskich Duchińska-Pruszakowa and Ludwik Paprocki, but Jachimecki believed that Paprocki was the principal librettist and that only some alterations made after 1837 should be credited to Duchińska-Pruszakowa.[3]

The plot of the opera was taken from a short novel by K. Franz Van der Velde (1779-1824) entitled *Der Flibustier*. First published in 1818, the story was later included in an 1824 collection of Van der Velde's works published in Dresden[4] and an advertisement in the *Kurier Warszawski* serves as evidence that this anthology had reached Warsaw by 1827.[5]

In the opera, Monbar is the leader of a group of pirates living in hiding on an island which is under the dominion of the King of Spain. In one of their expeditions, the pirates capture Donna Maria Guzmann, the daughter of Don Alonso, and the officers decide to draw lots for her. Although Donna Maria falls to Diego in the lottery, the other officers

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[3] Zdzisław Jachimecki, "Monbar czyli Flibustierowie. Zaginiona opera I.F. Dobrzyńskiego," *Pamiętnik Teatralny* I/2-3 (1952), 205-206.

[4] Karl Goedeke, *Grundrisz zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 3 vols. (Dresden: Verlag von Ls. Ehlermann, 1881), III, 693-694.

[5] *Kurier Warszawski* (September 27, 1827), 1097.

fight over her only to be overruled by Monbar's interest in the beautiful abductee. Monbar's attraction to Donna Maria instills rage in his girlfriend Rozalia and she threatens to seek revenge.

The next scene reveals that Donna Maria was captured when journeying to marry Don Juan. While she is planning with her servant Blanka to use Monbar's infatuation to gain her freedom, a ship carrying Don Alonso and Don Juan arrives at the island. They come ashore proclaiming their disloyalty to the King of Spain, and despite the warnings of van Best, Monbar adds Don Alonso to his group of officers. To his daughter, Don Alonso explains his plan for capturing Monbar; she is then reunited with Don Juan, but in their carelessness, she and her fiancee are caught together by the pirates and Don Juan is cast into a dungeon.

At the beginning of the second act, Rozalia enccurages Donna Maria to collaborate with her in planning revenge against Monbar. Suspecting Rozalia of plotting against him, Monbars orders her to be taken away. He then attempts to gain the affections of Donna Maria who threatens to jump into the ocean. Hearing the commotion, her father intervenes in an attempt to defend his daughter. After discussion with Monbar, he councils Donna Maria to accept the pirate leader and a wedding feast is planned. In the midst of the celebration, Monbar frees Don Juan, but reconsiders and has him returned to a cell. The entertainment is suddenly interrupted by the cannons of an approaching Spanish galleon.

Monbar opens the third act with a song of love for Donna Maria, but she remains true to Don Juan. The Spaniards gain an easy victory over the inebriated pirates, and Monbar is pushed back into a ruined

castle. When Monbar attemps to spring into the sea with Donna Maria, Don Juan forces the sword from his hand and, rescuing Maria, drives the long-sought pirate over the cliff.

A reading of the text causes one to question its significance as a "national" opera, but the critic Józef Sikorski (1813-1896) suggested that the avoidance of obvious patriotic references made it necessary to search more carefully into the opera for its true meaning.[6] It is well-known that Sikorski and Dobrzyński were good friends—they are often mentioned together in the correspondence of Stanisław Moniuszko—and it is possible that they had discussed the thought behind *Monbar*. Beyond these bare facts, however, one is left to speculate on the patriotic inferences of the opera.

Monbar was first presented to the public on October 18, 1837, when a duet from the opera was performed at the Resursa Kupiecka.[7] But unfortunately, the complete opera was not produced until 1863. The following December a concert in the same hall featured the overture from the opera[8] and in March 1838, the Finale was heard. A few more vocal pieces, sung by Dobrzyński's wife, were added in a concert at the Nowa Resursa on July 7, 1839.[9]

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[6] Jachimecki, *op. cit.*, 206.

[7] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *Ignacy Dobrzyński w zakresie działalności dążącej do postępu muzyki w współczesnej jemu epoce* (Warszawa: F. Krokoszyński, 1893), 55.

[8] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* VII/52 (December 29, 1837), 206-207.

[9] Jachimecki, *op. cit.*, 202-203.

The Early 1840's

Although the Viennese contest facilitated the publication of Dobrzyński's music abroad in the 1830's, there was little financial gain, making it necessary for Dobrzyński to continue supporting his wife and children by teaching private lessons and organizing concerts. In February of 1841, Dobrzyński obtained a teaching position at the Aleksandryski Instytut Wychowania Panien in Warsaw, but held this job for only two years because the Instytut was moved to Puławy in July of 1843. The potentially happy and prosperous period was interrupted by the death of Dobrzyński's father in Warsaw on August 21, 1841. Because of their close family and professional relationship, Dobrzyński felt the loss deeply and could not work on his compositions for an entire year. The period of mourning was ended with the composition of a *Psalm* for men's voices, which was performed at the funeral of Józef Krogulski, and the song "La Partenza" for voice with piano and obbligato violoncello.[10] By 1843 Dobrzyński was again absorbed in Warsaw's concert life. On March 19 he conducted a men's chorus and a movement from one of his symphonies at the Pac Palace[11] and one of his cantatas was presented on the April 11 concert of the Resursa Kupiecka.[12]

After marrying Dobrzyński, Joanna Miller only sporadically performed in the Warsaw opera, but she often performed at her husband's

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[10] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 64-68.

[11] *Gazeta Teatralna* No. 22-23 (March 22, 1843), 7-8.

[12] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 65-68.

concerts.[13] When Dobrzyński conducted Rossini's *Stabat Mater* on June 18, 1843, for instance, his wife was the soprano soloist.[14] In the next year, Joanna Dobrzyńska contributed several airs and romances to a program which also included an overture, the bolero from *Monbar*, and the Finale of the *Second Symphony*.[15] According to Bronisław Dobrzyński, his father dedicated the *Symphony in B-flat major*, Op. 11, to Czar Nicolas I in the early 1840's, and by decision of the Ministry of the Interior was presented with a ring.[16] A similar reference is included in the Riemann *Musiklexicon*, but here the *Symphony in C minor*, is said to carry the dedication.[17] This information was probably taken from Józef Reiss' article "Dzieje symfonii w Polsce," but there is no other documentation of the dedication to either symphony.[18]

The year 1844 marked the publication of Dobrzyński's piano method. The teaching of piano in Warsaw was done mostly with foreign materials at this time, the most popular books including those of Crammer, Hummel, and Pleyel. Although Sennewald, in 1835, made available a third printing of the Kurpiński *Szkoła* (1819) and a newer approach was offered

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[13] Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Sztuki, *Słownik biograficzny teatru polskiego 1765-1965* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 138.

[14] *Gazeta Teatralna* No. 49 (June 21, 1843), 6-7.

[15] Sowinski, *op. cit.*, 154-155.

[16] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 68.

[17] Hugo Riemann, *Musiklexicon*, ed. Alfred Einstein (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1929), 411.

[18] Józef Reiss, "Dzieje symfonii w Polsce," *Muzyka polska: monografia zbiorowa*, ed. Mateusz Gliński (Warszawa: Muzyka, 1927), 134.

by Jan Nowiński's *Szkoła na fortepian dla początkujących* (Piano Method for Beginners) in 1839, there was still a market for Dobrzyński's publication. With the concise lessons in his *Szkoła gry fortepianowej* (Method of Piano Playing), also published by Sennewald, a mother, according to a contemporary review, could herself teach her children to play a keyboard instrument.[19]

The German Tour

The lack of opportunity for a Warsaw performance of *Monbar czyli Flibustierowie* led Dobrzyński to plan a tour of German cities in search of support to produce the opera. Over a two year period (1845-1847), he gave a number of concerts in Germany performing excerpts from *Monbar*, movements from the *Second Symphony*, and various chamber works. Although this resulted in renewing the interest of the Germans in publishing his music, Dobrzyński's goal of a fully staged presentation of *Monbar* was not realized.

From a compilation of the many concert announcements and reviews of the middle 1840's an outline of the tour can be developed (Table V). Evidently in order to arrange as many concerts as possible, Dobrzyński visited Berlin more than once. The months listed in the table are those in which it is known that concerts were held; Dobrzyński's itinerary in the intervals between concerts cannot be determined exactly.

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[19] *Kurier Warszawski* (February 26, 1845).

Table V. Outline of the German Tour.

City	Months
Left Warsaw—April, 1845.	
Poznań	April-June, 1845
Berlin	August-September, 1845
Leipzig	November-December, 1845
Dresden	January-April, 1846
Berlin	June-July, 1846
Returned to Warsaw—September, 1847.	

The chronology of the concert tour actually begins in the first days of March, 1845, when Dobrzyński organized a final Warsaw concert at the Pac Palace to boost his financial resources for the trip. On April 4 Dobrzyński departed for Berlin without his family, but before reaching that city he spent some time in Poznań (Posen). During his stay in Poznań, two major performances of Dobrzyński's music were given. A concert held at the German theater on April 15 featured the overture, bolero, and a men's chorus from *Monbar* in the first half, followed by Andante, Scherzo, and Finale of the *Second Symphony*. A similar program was presented on June 13 in Poznań's Bazaar, a building designed for Polish cultural events. While staying in Poznań, Dobrzyński met Antoni Wojkowski, the publisher of the *Tygodnik Literacki* (Literary Weekly) and played in Sunday chamber music sessions in his home. Dobrzyński participated in these weekly concerts by singing some of his songs and playing excerpts from *Monbar* in a four-hand arrangement at the piano.[20]

Dobrzyński continued to compose while on tour and frequently

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[20]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 71-88.

dedicated pieces to the people he met. For example, the "Pieśń do Matki Polki (Song to Mother Poland)," a setting of Adam Mickiewicz for soprano and piano, was presented to Count Seweryn Mielzyński after Dobrzyński had been a guest in his home. On another occasion, a friend advised Dobrzyński that his financial affairs might be improved by dedicating the set of eight *Pieśni sielskich* (Rural Songs) to Count Roger Raczyński. As a result of Dobrzyński's decision to do this they were published in 1845 by J.K. Zupański of Poznań.

The Archbishop of Poznań, Leon Przylaski, was so impressed with Dobrzyński's musicianship that he offered him the position of music director at the cathedral, an offer the composer could not accept. A greater honor was conferred by the city when Dobrzyński was presented with a citation and a silver cup appropriately inscribed in German.[21] Yet the goal of his trip, a performance of *Monbar*, was not attained in Poznań, so Dobrzyński continued on to Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig.

Although it is not known when Dobrzyński arrived in Berlin, his first Berlin concert was given on August 6, 1845. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reports that on this date the overture, two arias, a chorus, and the bolero from *Monbar* were performed, the vocal parts being rendered in German. Shortly after, another performance of pieces from *Monbar* was given in the Berlin Schauspielhause and about the same time an extra concert was arranged for the hall of Herr Mielentz. This concert featured the *Funeral March*, Op. 38, which was dedicated to

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[21] Sowiński, *op. cit.*, 154; Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 78.

Beethoven, "La Partenza" for soprano, violoncello, and piano, and two piano mazurkas.[22] On September 11, another performance held at the Mielentz Hall featured the *Second Symphony*, the composition for which Dobrzyński was best known in Germany.[23]

Dobrzyński's journey took him next to Leipzig where concerts were arranged for November and December. In his appearance on November 8, he conducted the overture from *Monbar* in the fifth subscription concert of the Leipzig Gewandhaus season.[24] The next month his *Second Symphony* was presented in a concert under his direction.[25] Of course, this was the second time that the *C minor Symphony* was heard in Leipzig, and Dobrzyński was probably wise to use a composition which had seen success with German audiences to help support his promotion of *Monbar*.

By the beginning of 1846, Dobrzyński was in Dresden giving concerts. Although Karlikowska gives the date of the Dresden concert as January 9,[26] and January 20 is cited by Alfred Loewenberg,[27] neither seems correct in that the 29th of January is listed by two German music journals which report that excerpts from *Monbar* were performed in the

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[22]"Berlin. Augustbericht," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLVII/42 (October 15, 1845), 744.

[23]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 89.

[24]*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLVII/46 (November 8, 1845), 817.

[25]*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXIII/50 (December 19, 1845), 200.

[26]Teresa Karlikowska, "Twórczość symfoniczna Ignacego Feliksa Dobrzyńskiego" (unpublished magister thesis, Uniwersytet Jagiełłoński, 1973), 49.

[27]Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597-1940*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Geneve: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), I, 960.

city.[28] It is possible, of course, that there were concerts on all of these dates, for the citations are not specific enough to always allow differentiation of the programs or the halls. From another source we also find that while in Dresden Dobrzyński added a second aria for Donna Maria in the third act of *Monbar*. This was specially written for the singer Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804-1860) and was performed by this artist on January 15.[29]

A most interesting account of Dobrzyński's activities is given by Jachimecki, who related that "in Dresden, Dobrzyński came in contact with Richard Wagner, who was then director of the opera."[30] Wagner apparently had a high regard for Dobrzyński, but evidently not high enough to chance success with a staged version of *Monbar*.

Upon returning to Berlin in the spring, Dobrzyński prepared another concert for June 20, on this occasion held in the Hôtel de Russie. According to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* this matinee performance featured instrumental works of Dobrzyński and reportedly included quintets and sonatas. The quintets presumably included Opus 20 and Opus 40, but the composer is not known to have composed any sonatas.[31] His main reason for returning to Berlin was to approach Giacomo Meyerbeer, who was at this time general music director in Berlin, about

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[28] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXIV/28 (April 5, 1846), 110; *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLVIII/35 (September 2, 1846), 592.

[29] Jachimecki, *op. cit.*, 203.

[30] "W stolicy Saksonii zetknął się Dobrzyński z Ryszardem Wagnerem, który był wówczas kapelmistrzem opery." *Ibid.*

[31] *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLVIII/32 (August 12, 1846), 542.

the possibility of presenting *Monbar czyli Flibustierowie* in its entirety.[32] He was, however, unsuccessful, and unable to secure support in any of the German cities, returned to Warsaw and his family. In his biography of his father, Bronisław Dobrzyński claims that the return to Warsaw was delayed for a year until September 1847 because of illness, but there is no supporting information on such an extension to the trip.[33]

The one benefit Dobrzyński received from the two-year trip abroad was renewed interest in his compositions by German music publishers. In the years after 1846, especially in 1847, one finds many advertisements and short notices of Dobrzyński's music in the German music periodicals. The works, published by F. Hofmeister in Leipzig, are mostly from the opera numbered 40 and 50. An examination of Dobrzyński's publishing activities outside of Warsaw leaves little doubt that his appearance in Germany created the interest in his music, for the works now offered were his latest compositions.

Musical Activities of the 1850's

There is little documentation of Dobrzyński's activities in the period after his return to Warsaw in 1847 until the early 1850's, but he did return to the private teaching for which he had become known in Warsaw music circles. Among his students of harmony and composition was Kajetan Kraszewski. In a letter to his brother the novelist Józef Kraszewski, Kajetan indicated the value of Dobrzyński's teaching.

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[32] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 99.

[33] *Ibid.*, 102-103.

> I was at Dobrzyński's . . . he examined me and I was enchanted with his teaching. . . . he gave me many nice compliments, but also duly criticized me. . . . I will with certainty take lessons in harmony and orchestration from him, although I do not know where I will get the money. . . . Dobrzyński sends his regards to you.[34]

Dobrzyński, of course, continued to compose, and with no distinct preference in genre. The most important works from this period were the *Andante and Rondo alla Polacca,* Op. 62, a staple in the repertoire of twentieth-century Polish flutists, and the cantata *Święty Boże,* copies of which were offered in 1861 as a premium for subscriptions to the journal *Pamiętnik Muzyczny i Teatralny.*

In 1852 Dobrzyński composed a march for Józef Elsner's fiftieth wedding anniversary, on June 23. Inserted in the trio of this work is Elsner's best known melody, a theme from the opera *Łokietek.*[35] When Elsner died two years later, Dobrzyński composed a cantata for the funeral and also served on a committee of musical artists which organized the preparation and publishing of Elsner's memoirs. The result of this effort was the *Sumariusz moich utworów muzycznych* (Summary of My Musical Works), first written in German by Kazimierz Lubomirski and published in May, 1855.[36]

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[34]"Byłem u Dobrzyńskiego . . . on mnie egzaminował a ja byłem zachwycony jego nauką—wiele mi pięknych komplementów powiedział, ale też i krytykował porządnie. . . . Ja z pewnością będę brał u niego lekcje harmonii i instrumentacji, choćbym miał nie wiem skąd dostać pieniędzy. . . . Dobrzyński ukłony Tobie posyła." Karlikowska, *op. cit.,* 50.

[35]*Gazeta Warszawska* (June 25, 1852), 2.

[36]Józef Elsner, *Sumariusz moich utworów muzycznych z objaśnieniami o czynnościach i działanich moich jako artysty muzycznego,* ed. Alina Nowak-Romanowicz (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955), 23.

This otherwise dormant period was interrupted in 1852 when Dobrzyński was asked to assume the directorship of the Teatr Wielki after the death of Nidecki. From the beginning of his appointment on June 15, Dobrzyński ambitiously planned productions of such works as Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* and the new opera of Auber, *Marco Spada* (1852), as well as works of Polish composers. According to Leon Błaszczyk, Dobrzyński's position at the Teatr Wielki also made it possible to increase the amount of symphonic music presented in Warsaw, and he included symphonic music, played by the opera orchestra, in a series of concerts that he conducted in the hall of the Resursa Kupiecka.[37] In the only listing available for this year, however, the program consisted of the *Stabat Mater* of Rossini and Dobrzyński's *Święty Boże*.[38]

Conflicting evidence makes it difficult to establish the exact length of Dobrzyński's tenure in the directorship of the Teatr Wielki. Most sources acknowledge that Dobrzyński's term at the opera lasted less than a year, his premature resignation in January, 1853 caused by a petition to dismiss the composer. The latest research on the Teatr Wielki supports this view by indicating that in 1853, General Ignacy Abramowicz, the president of the theater, gave Dobrzyński's position as director of the Warsaw Opera to Jan Quattrini (1822-1892).[39]

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[37]Leon Tadeusz Błaszczyk, *Dyrygenci polscy i obcy w Polsce działający w XIX i XX wieku* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1964), 55.

[38]*Gazeta Warszawska* (April 8, 1852), 1. The concert was held on April 5 in the Sala Redutowa.

[39]Józef Grubowski, "Teatr Wielki w Warszawie w latach 1851-1915," *Kultura muzyczny Warszawy drugiej połowy XIX wieku*, ed. Andrzej Spóz (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980), 147.

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that Dobrzyński remained director of the Teatr Wielki for several more years. For example, an article in the *Kurier Warszawski* from March of 1855 announces the performance of a cantata "under the direction of the present director of the opera here, Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński."[40] Another source, a directory of Warsaw's residents published in 1854, lists Dobrzyński's occupation as the director of the Warsaw opera.[41]

The longer period of Dobrzyński's position as director is best supported by Jachimecki who explains that a fundimental problem at the Teatr Wielki was the nature of the directorship. The opera needed a manager to coordinate the activities of soloists, chorus, and technical staff, but Dobrzyński wanted complete control of the musical aspects of the enterprise. Although there had been some tension between Dobrzyński and the artists of the opera, the immediate cause of Dobrzyński's dismissal occured at a performance of Halévy's *Le Val d'Andorre*. On this occasion the oboist of the opera orchestra arrived late, missing an important solo in the overture and Dobrzyński publicly reprimanded the musician in a loud voice. When Abramowicz asked him to stop, Dobrzyński rashly replied that the General could command the army, but in the orchestra Dobrzyński was the General. The next day Dobrzyński was asked to resign.[42]

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[40]"pod dyrekcją ówczesnego Dyrektora opery tutejszej Ignacego Feliksa Dobrzyńskiego." Karlikowska, *op. cit.*, 50.

[41]*Skorowidz mieszkańców miasta Warszawy a przedmieściami, na rok 1854* (Warszawa: Józef Unger, 1854), 55.

[42]Jachimecki, *op. cit.*, 204.

It seems most probable that Dobrzyński left the Teatr Wielki in January, 1853. Jachimecki's story of Dobrzyński's dismissal derives from a first hand account of activities at the theater, but one which was not written until 1903, and it is conceivable that Dobrzyński could have been erroneously labelled in the press even several years after his dismissal. To my mind, the strongest evidence derives from the Teatr Wielki, leading to the conclusion that although he may have remained at the theater for several years in a lesser role, Dobrzyński was succeeded as director by Quattrini in 1853.

Dobrzyński's employment at the Teatr Wielki in June of 1852 corresponds exactly with a change in residence from ul. Niecała to ul. Kanonia 87 and one wonders if this was a move to better housing made possible by the financial security of the Teatr Wielki position.[43] This new address is confirmed by the 1854 register of Warsaw's residents.[44] Curiously, Dobrzyński moved again in 1858, changing his address to Nowe Miasto 312.[45]

The music journal *Ruch Muzyczny*, first printed in 1857 under the editorship of Józef Sikorski, is an important chronicle of Dobrzyński's activities for the next four years. In this time almost a dozen articles are devoted to his concerts and music. The first article appeared on April 1, 1857, as a review of a concert directed by Dobrzyński

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[43] *Gazeta Warszawska* (June 13, 1852), 1.

[44] *Skorowidz mieszkańców*, 55.

[45] *Kurier Warszawski* (August 23, 1858).

featuring the men's chorus from *Monbar* and the Finale of *Symphony No. 2.*[46] In the same month Dobrzyński participated in a private concert at the home of Wolicki which featured the quartets of Spohr and an octet of Mendelssohn. Here Dobrzyński presented a quartet arrangement of the *Second Symphony.*[47] As was noted earlier orchestras were not common in Warsaw in these years and arrangements for string quartet or quintet, as well as piano reductions, were commonly used to perform orchestral music. It is likely that many of Dobrzyński's orchestral works were performed in this manner.[48]

Dobrzyński's renewed interest in the performance of orchestral music is reflected in his concerts with the opera orchestra and continued in 1857 when he formed an orchestra of Polish musicians to compete with the foreign orchestras then performing in Warsaw. Made up of the most prominent members of the Teatr Wielki orchestra as well as other independent musicians, Dobrzyński's Polish orchestra presented weekly concerts at the Nowa Arkadia on ul. Mokotowska. It was, however, an unsuccessful venture, for the new orchestra was hardly able to exist through its first season.[49] Reviews of this year comment especially on Dobrzyński's programming and praise his selection of the orchestral music of Haydn and Mozart, as well as his devotion to the performance

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[46] *Ruch Muzyczny* I/1 (April 1, 1857), 8.

[47] *Ruch Muzyczny* I/4 (April 22, 1857), 27.

[48] Stefan Śledziński, "Zarys dziejów symfonii polskiej w XIX wieku," *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, 2 vols. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), II, 406.

[49] Błaszczyk, *op. cit.*, 55-56.

of music by Polish composers.[50]

Although parts of *Symphony No. 2* were performed by the Arkadia orchestra, on October 7, 1857, Dobrzyński was able to conduct the Berlin orchestra of Edward Braun in a complete performance of his *Symphony No. 2 in C minor* at Dolina Szwajcarska.[51] The nationalistic character of the *Second Symphony* now appropriately complimented discussions which had suddenly risen in support of Polish music. Sikorski's *Ruch Muzyczny* made the claim that Dobrzyński's symphony was better performed by the Polish orchestra at the Arkadia than it had been in its two performances by Braun's German orchestra.[52]

As has already been suggested, Sikorski's friendship with Dobrzyński extended beyond simple support for Dobrzyński's musical activities in *Ruch Muzyczny*. In 1858 they participated in discussions to reestablish a music school in Warsaw. The possibility had arisen through a change in political climate that occurred after the death of Czar Nicolas I in 1855, and in 1861 the Instytut Muzyczny was opened.[53]

In the 1860's Dobrzyński extended his activities to the field of writing about music. Though listed as a contributor to the 1860 volume of *Ruch Muzyczny*, he seems to have only written one concert review.[54] He also contributed a series of extensive letters to the

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[50]*Ruch Muzyczny* I/32 (November 4, 1857), 249; I/33 (November 11, 1857), 258.

[51]*Ruch Muzyczny* I/29 (October 14, 1857), 225-226.

[52]*Ruch Muzyczny* I/31 (October 26, 1857), 242.

[53]Stefan Śledziński, ed., *150 lat Państwowe Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Warszawie* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1962), 66.

[54]*Ruch Muzyczny* (May 23, 1860), 345-346.

Gazeta Muzyczna i Teatralna (1865-1866).

Until now it has only been suggested that Dobrzyński's work as a piano teacher and promoter of concerts was not very lucrative, but an 1860 article in *Ruch Muzyczny* provides a valuable insight into how poor the music business was in nineteenth-century Warsaw. In the January 18th edition the journal printed an accounting of two of Dobrzyński's promotions in January of that year (Table VI).

Table VI. Financial Summary of Concerts in January, 1860.[55]

Credits		Debits	
Tickets (at 1 ruble)	269 r.	Theater	132 r. 90 k.
Gallery tickets (at 75 kopeks)	18 r.	Orchestra	77 r. 25 k.
		Chorus	42 r.
	287 r.	Signs and tickets	15 r.
		Misc.	17 r. 10 k.
			284 r. 25 k.

Total - 2 rubles, 75 kopeks.

In the next issue of the journal, Dobrzyński complained about the reporting of these financial details, taking the position that artists should not aim to make money from their concerts.[56] Nonetheless, Bronisław Dobrzyński's constant references to the material sacrifices made by his father would seem to be justified.

A Return to Dramatic Music

In 1859, although still not having found the opportunity to stage

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[55] *Ruch Muzyczny* IV/3 (January 18, 1860), 38-40.

[56] *Ruch Muzyczny* IV/4 (January 25, 1860), 77.

Monbar czyli Flibustierowie, Dobrzyński again turned to the composition of dramatic music. The subject matter of one new work was the first two parts of *Konrad Wallenrod* by Adam Mickiewicz, which had been prepared in a libretto by Kazimierz Kraszewski and Jan Królikowski. In the period 1859-1860, and again in 1864, Dobrzyński worked on this story of the Teutonic Knights, but his composition remained unfinished at his death. Excerpts from *Konrad Wallenrod*, which was planned as a setting of fifteen pieces separated into three parts, were first performed on June 19, 1859 in a concert at the Sala Redutówa.[57] Parts of the composition were again performed in the 1864-1865 concert season.

Dobrzyński's last dramatic work, music for Victor Hugo's *Les Burgraves*, was also left incomplete at his death. About 1860 Dobrzyński began setting music to a Polish version of the drama by Kazimierz Kaszewski, a librettist of *Konrad Wallenrod*. Although only the overture and music for the first three scenes of *Burgrafowie* were completed, they were performed at the Teatr Wielki in September of 1860.[58]

The highlight of Dobrzyński's last years was the realization of his dream to see *Monbar* in a full production. In late November, 1861, *Ruch Muzyczny* announced that *Monbar* was in rehearsal,[59] but it was more than a year before it was premiered at the Teatr Wielki on January 10, 1863. It is interesting to note, in spite of the opera's national am-

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[57] Maurycy Karasowski, "Konrad Wallenrod," *Biblioteka Warszawska* (1860), II, 786-796.

[58] *Ruch Muzyczny* IV/40 (October 3, 1860), 653.

[59] *Ruch Muzyczny* V/48 (November 27, 1861), 766.

biguity, that this performance preceded the beginning of the January Insurrection by only 12 days. The opera did not, however, receive wide critical recognition. It remains unpublished except for the piano reduction of the work issed in a distinguished edtion by Gustaw Gebethner and Robert Wolff of Warsaw in the same year.

As he had done in his younger years, Dobrzyński contributed patriotic music to the revolutionary movement. For example, the piano arrangement of the *Dąbrowski Mazurka* which had been performed in 1830 finally made its way into print, though the legality of its issue was questionable. The title page does not indicate a publisher and date, but the marking "permitted to lithograph, Wilno, May 11, 1861, Censor Holmblat" is extraordinary in Dobrzyński's *oeuvre*. Krzysztof Mazur speculates that Wilno was chosen because the censor there may have had less discretion in Polish political questions than a censor in Warsaw. The censor's marking was necessary as a demonstration of the legality of the publication.[60]

By the mid-1860's Dobrzyński's failing health began to limit his musical activities. His music continued to be published and several of the older orchestral pieces, such as the *Second Symphony*, were finally made available in piano arrangement. He continued to compose, however, and was even working on the score to *Konrad Wallenrod* in the year of his death.[61] Dobrzyński's last months were apparently spent in ill

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[60] Krzysztof Mazur, "Polskie edytorstwo muzyczne między powstanien listopadowym a styczniowym," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 67.

[61] *Kłosy* IV/100 (May 29, 1867), 268.

health. Although the details are lacking, it is known that, on the advice of his physician, he spent the month of August 1867 at the home of his son-in-law in Podlasie. He returned to Warsaw on August 31 and died of a heart ailment on October 9.[62]

Dobrzyński's passing was extensively acknowledged by his colleagues and tributes to him included memorial services in several Warsaw churches. Moniuszko composed a "Hymn żałobny (Funeral Hymn)" for the burial service in Powązki Cemetery on October 12.[63] Perhaps the most fitting tribute to Dobrzyński was a concert at the Sala Redutowa on October 29, 1867 "arranged for the purpose of gathering funds for the erection of a gravestone and the publication of some of his works not yet printed."[64] The directors of this concert which featured Dobrzyński's music were Moniuszko, Quattrini, and Munchheimer.

Dobrzyński's music was not suddenly forgotten. There were frequent performances in Warsaw until the end of the nineteenth century. In addition, these years saw the publication of many of his works. Perhaps the most notable presentation of Dobrzyński's music was a complete Dobrzyński night given at Dolina Szwajcarska on July 7, 1877. Among the compositions performed that evening were the overture to *Monbar* and the *Symphony No. 2 in C minor*, Op. 15.[65]

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[62] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.* 165.

[63] Dobrzyński's grave is located in Section 11, Row 6, Plot 30.

[64] "w celu zebrania funduszy na postawienie nagrobka i wydania jego niektórych dzieł, dotąd nie drukowanych." *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* XVI/424 (November 9, 1867), 228.

[65] Hanna Pukińska-Szepietowska, "Muzyka w Dolinie Szwajcarskiej," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 144.

Although the story of Dobrzyński's career was dutifully recorded by his son Bronisław at the end of the century, the biography did not inspire great interest in his music. Unfortunately, Dobrzyński's music could not compete with the creative work of Frédéric Chopin and Stanisław Moniuszko, resulting in the obscurity of Dobrzyński's works to twentieth-century musicians.

CHAPTER V

DOBRZYŃSKI'S SYMPHONIC STYLE

Dobrzyński's symphonies, composed at a time when he was establishing himself in Warsaw, reflect his style at the completion of his studies with Elsner, and also provide a gauge of the West-European influence that could be found in Polish music around 1830. These two works were composed in close succession and consequently do not provide insight into the composer's style as it developed over the course of his career, but the many compositional techniques that are consistently used in the nine movements indicate an early stylistic stability. In this regard, it is significant that the symphonies were preceeded by only one other orchestral work, the *Overture*, Op. 1 (1824).

When the cultural lag evident throughout the discussion of music in nineteenth-century Warsaw is considered, it is not surprising that Dobrzyński's overall style does not approach that of his West-European contemporaries, but adheres more closely to the Classical style of Haydn and Mozart. The phrase structure, large-scale form, instrumentation, and harmonic vocabulary of Dobrzyński's symphonies all reflect late eighteenth-century usage, but the most interesting elements of the symphonies reveal the influence of Beethoven. Some of the Beethoven characteristics evident in Dobrzyński's sonata-allegro movements are the use of short rhythmic motives and the pervasive accenting of weak beats. In spite of a number of ideas that may have come from specific works of Haydn, Mozart,

and Beethoven, a close examination of Dobrzyński's two symphonies reveals that the predominant style is the composer's own.

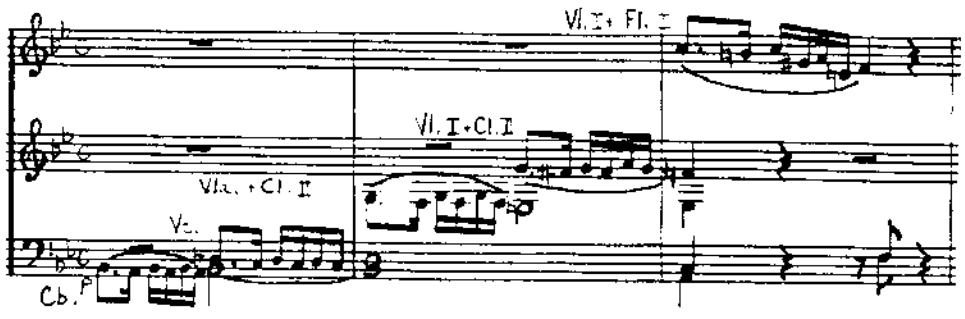
Symphony No. 1 in B-flat major, Op. 11

Dobrzyński's *First Symphony* is a four-movement work very much in the Classical style, The first movement is a sonata-allegro form with the melodies constructed in symmetrical phrases, yet Dobrzyński's personal style is evident in the domination of the principal theme throughout the movement and in the approach to modulation between key areas. The instrumentation of Dobrzyński's *First Symphony* is that of the standard late eighteenth-century symphony, with the addition of a bass trombone.

Adagio molto; Allegro vivace

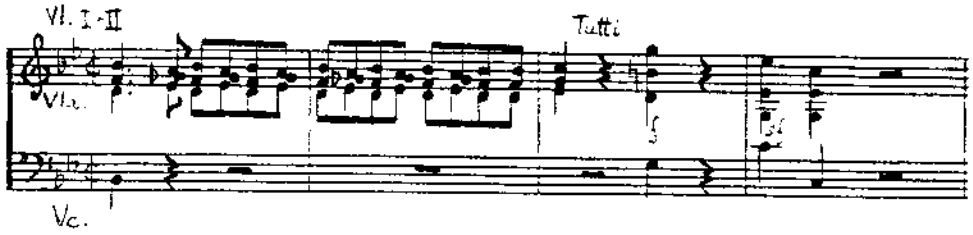
The first movement begins with a slow introduction in B-flat minor. The principal motive is given in the low strings and sequences through the full string section (Example 12). The theme is repeated on the dominant and then given over to the woodwind choir. As the slow introduction continues, the theme is extended and alternated between groups of strings and woodwinds to prepare harmonically the establishment of B-flat major at the beginning of the *Allegro*.

Example 12. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 1-3.



The Exposiiton begins at measure 15 with the tempo change to *Allegro vivace*. The theme of the first key area, B-flat major, is identical to the melody initiated in the slow introduction, but it is notated with augmented values in the reduced time signature of ¢. As can be seen in Example 13, the theme is presented in the strings with tutti punctuations at the end of the four-measure phrase.

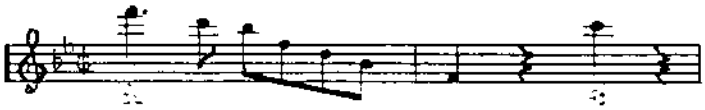
Example 13. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 16-19.



At measure 24 these short phrases are expanded to five measures by imitation of the principal motive, first between the violins and then between double bass and first violin. Theme 1 next appears in the woodwinds and then is passed on to different instrumental combinations, such as a dialogue between the bass instruments and violin and flute.

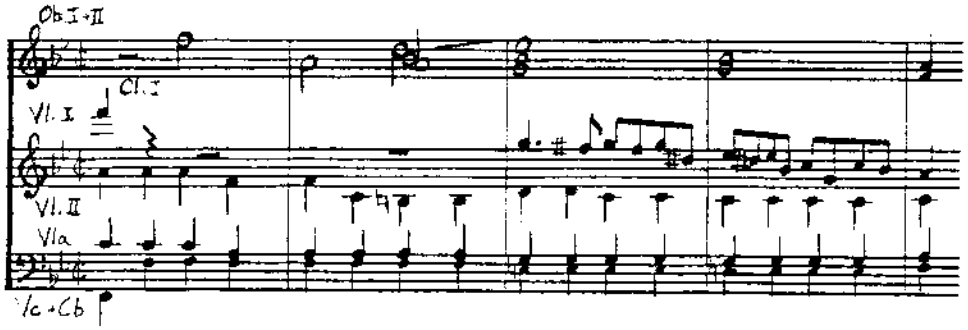
At measure 40 a secondary motive is introduced which is derived rhythmically from the principal theme, but characterized by a descending arpeggio (Example 14). While the principal theme in Violin II and Viola is countered by ascending arpeggios at measure 58, a C pedal tome emphasizes the dominant of the new key. After a repeat of this at measure 68 with the addition of woodwinds, the principal theme in the strings leads to a cadence in F major at measure 84.

Example 14. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 40-41, Flute I.



In this second key area a contrasting melody is introduced by Clarinet I and then passed to other members of the woodwind section while Violin I interjects a variant of Theme 1 (Example 15).

Example 15. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 84-88.



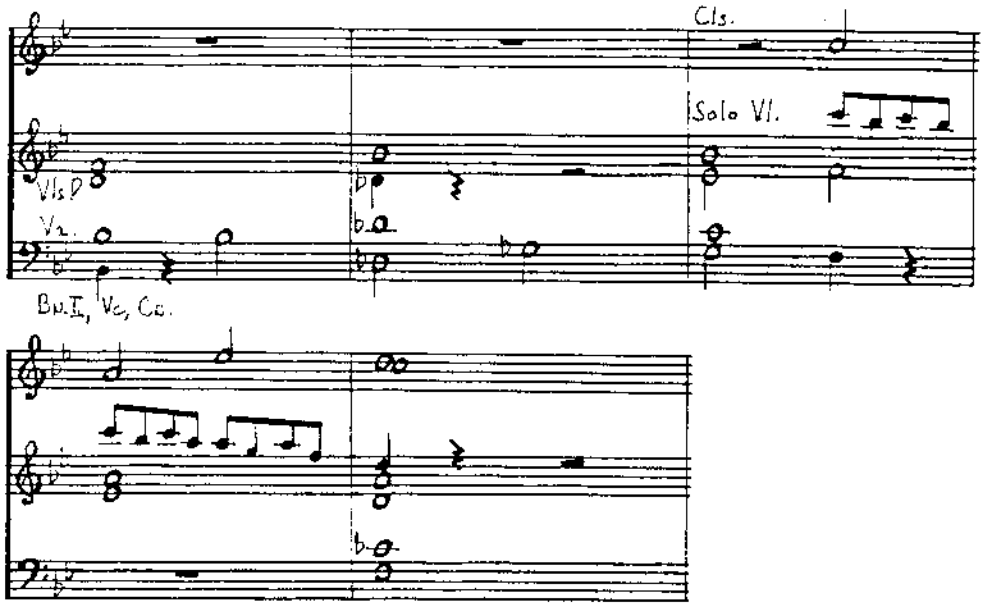
The disjunct second theme, characterize by a minor sixth leap downward followed by an upward perfect fourth, retains the balanced phrase structure evident at the beginning of the movement. A later presentation of Theme 2 at measure 92 reveals some filling-in of the intervals and lengthening of the melody. Theme 1 continues to be prominent as an accompanying figure in this section of the movement as it shifts key levels (measure 110). This dialogue between the two themes leads to a cadence in F major and the inauguration of the closing section.

With the exception of several hints of Theme 2 by the woodwinds in the ten measures following measure 124, the closing of the Exposition exhibits only the first theme, with its derivative, the secondary arpeggio

motive seen in Example 14. The Exposition ends with a strong reiteration of F major, including an F pedal, before a double bar and repeat sign.

In the initial section of the Development Dobrzyński works with Theme 2, but as in the Exposition, Theme 1 is omnipresent. Beginning in F major, the juxtaposition of the two themes by various woodwind and string combinations proceeds to B-flat minor at measure 189. Here, the second theme is presented in the bass with the accompaniment of eighth note figuration and two measures later the clarinet develops the melody by altering the order of the intervals (Example 16).

Example 16. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 189-192.



Changes of key to C minor at measure 196, followed by F minor at measure 204, signal further manipulation of the secondary theme with changing patterns of eighth note accompaniment. Beginning in measure 220

the Development establishes a twelve-measure section which is repeated in the keys of C minor and A-flat major, in addition to the introductory key of F minor (Diagram 1). Here, the principal motive of the movement is presented in the bass, but moves to Violin I and then the lower strings as the harmony reaches the tonic of the F minor harmonic cell. At measure 255 statements of Theme 1 are dispersed in the strings as the harmony prepares the return of B-flat major.

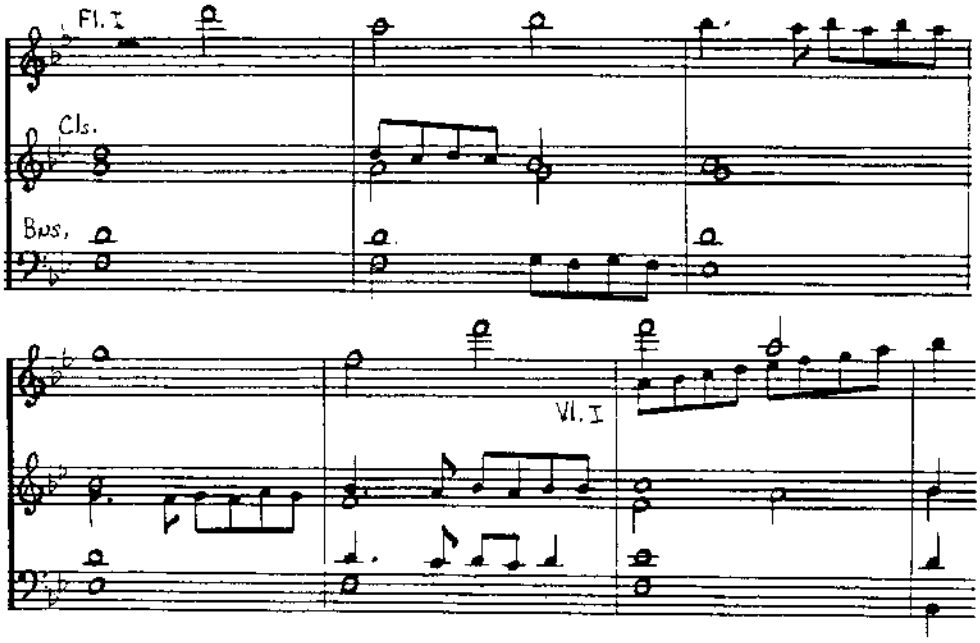
Diagram 1. Structure of the Development Section, *Symphony No. 1*, I.

Thematic material:	Th. 1 & 2	Th. 2	--	--
Key:	F:	b^b:	c:	f:
Measure number:	158	189	196	204

Th. 1	--	--	--
f: iv-V7	c: V7	A^b: ii-V7	F: (V/B^b)
220	232	240	253

The Recapitulation begins at measure 268 with the return of the first 17 measures of the Exposition in B-flat. At measure 286 a cadence on the dominant of B-flat and a fermata signify the end of this section and the beginning of the retransition, which is effected through the use of a combination of both main themes in Flute I while only Theme 1 is used in the other instruments (Example 17). Once B-flat is restored at measure 293, the Recapitulation of the second key area corresponds structurally to its exposition, but there is extensive reorchestration of the woodwind parts starting with the presentation of the second theme by oboe rather than clarinet. The end of the Recapitulation is characterized

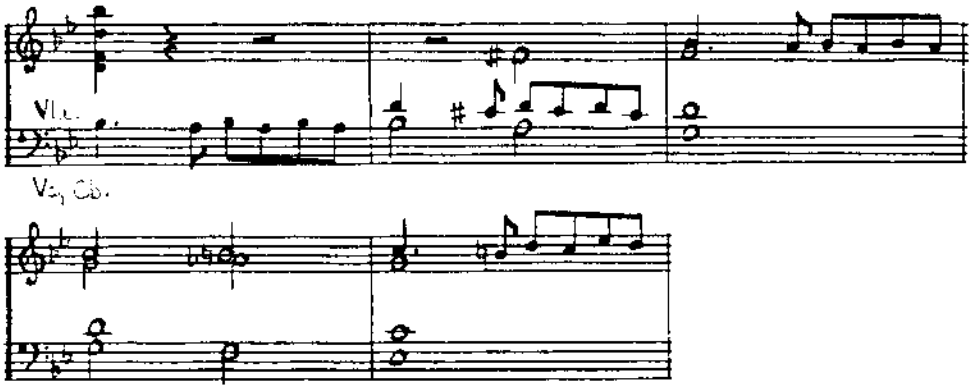
Example 17. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 287-293.



by an emphasis on B-flat through the use of Theme 1 and scale passages.

The Coda (measure 357) is related to the Introduction of the movement because it begins with a similar repetition of the principal theme in the strings, but the second entry on D natural indicates a change in the opening harmony from minor to major (Example 18).

Example 18. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, I, measures 357-361.



A short section marked *poco rallentando* leads to a fermata on the dominant at measure 364. Further working of the principal theme is begun in the woodwinds with symmetrical phrasing of the theme at measure 373 and the downward arpeggio figure used again at measure 387. The texture thins at measure 393 while an insistence on the tonic becomes the prominent feature of the music. A final presentation of Theme 1 in the bass at measure 397 is followed by the tutti B-flat chord which ends the movement.

Minuet—Allegro

With the Minuet Dobrzyński turned the tonality of the symphony to E-flat major, the subdominant key, and cast the Minuet into a rounded binary form of balanced phrases (Diagram 2).

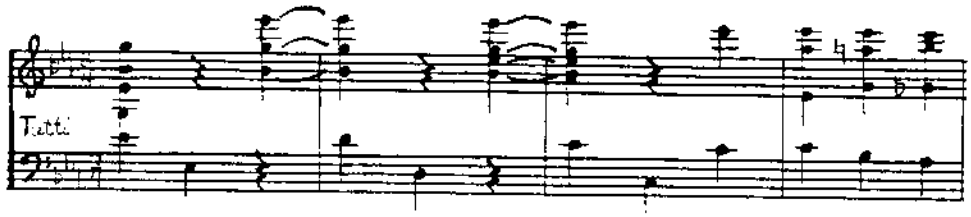
Diagram 2. Structure of the Minuet and Trio, *Symphony No. 1*, II.

	Minuet						
Thematic material:	a		a'				a
Key:	E^b:	B^b:	B^b:	C:	A^b:	G:	E^b:
Measure number:		9	17	24	32	35	55

	Trio		
	a	a'	a
	A^b:	E^b:	A^b:
	75	92	108

The movement opens with an eight-measure melody harmonized in the tonic key (Example 19). The consequent phrase, constituting the remainder of

Example 19. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, II, measures 1-4.

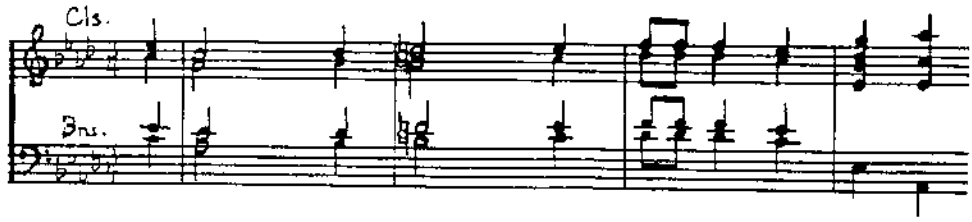


this section, turns the harmony to the dominant.

After the double bar at measure 17, material from the primary section is presented in B-flat major (Diagram 2). The same melodic idea takes the movement to C major and then A-flat major. The minuet then modulates to G major by augmented sixth chord at measure 35 where melodic material from the consequent phrase (measure 11) is used. A cadence in G major at measure 51 is followed by a return to E-flat major and a recapitulation of the melodic material from the first part of the form in the key of E-flat. The key relations in this second part of the Minuet show Dobrzyński moving to the minor submediant (^{b}VI): C major to A-flat major; then G major to E-flat major.

The Trio, another rounded binary form, is in the key of A-flat major and is rhythmically related to the Minuet (Example 20). An antecedent and consequent phrase for woodwinds, the first section of the Trio keeps the opening part of the binary form in the key of A-flat major, and the dominant is not reached until the beginning of the second part (measure 92). The last section, beginning at measure 108, repeats the woodwind lines at the beginning of the Trio in A-flat major. As would usually be found, the Minuet is then repeated to create an overall ternary form (ABA).

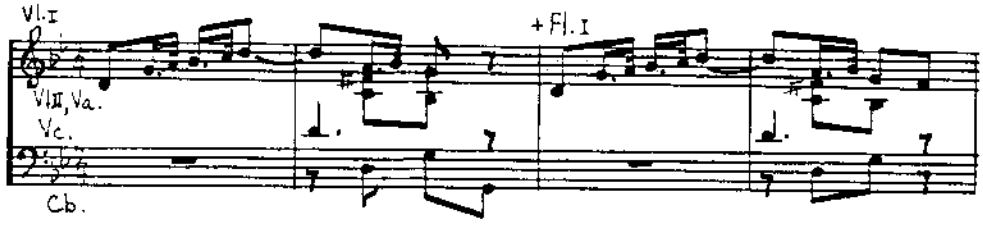
Example 20. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, II, measures 70-74.



Andante con variatione

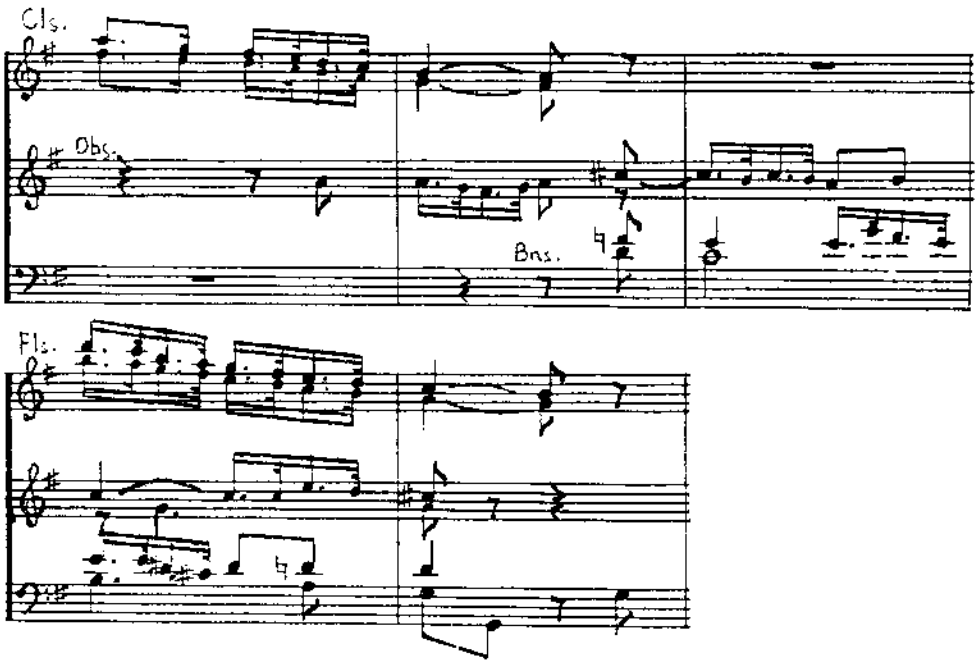
The slow variation movement, in 2/4, begins with the presentation of a solo phrase by the first violin, while the remainder of the string section provides harmonic support of this G minor binary theme (Example 21).

Example 21. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, III, measures 1-4.



The music then moves completely to the woodwinds at measure 13 where the varied melody is passed among the instruments and harmonized in thirds in G major. This first variation alters the theme by inverting the direction of the melodic line and therefore contrasts with the original theme (Example 22). For the G minor second variation at measure 30, the score is marked Minore. Here the melody is played by Violoncello and accompanied with chromatic lines by flute and clarinet. The second part of the form preserves these musical ideas with Violin I taking the beginning of each phrase of the theme while the woodwind instruments con-

Example 22. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, III, measures 13-17.



tinue the accompaniment with long chromatic lines.

The first entrance of the entire orchestra occurs at measure 41, where the ensemble is divided into two sections and the violins and upper woodwinds imitate the lower strings, bassoons, and trombone. In this third variation, two canonic parts begin at the same key level at a temporal distance of one beat, but the theme is altered in the *comes* to preserve the structure of four-measure phrases that dominate the movement. The fourth variation, still in G minor, divides the varied theme between flute and oboe to produce a hocket effect. The second phrase transfers this technique to the string section, where the violins share the melody. These melodic variations continue at measure 61 with eight measures of woodwinds followed by eight measures of strings. The idea of the fourth variation resembles that of Variation II in its alteration of the theme

in descending scale passages.

The key returns to G major at measure 77 for the fifth variation. Characteristic of this section are frequent changes in modality and a triplet sixteenth note harmonization of the theme. The first phrase of the theme is given by flute and horn, but the next phrase, in G minor, shifts to oboe and horn. The second part of the binary theme continues in G minor as the melody moves to clarinet and bassoon. The form is rounded out by a return to G major and the first phrase by flute and horn. Each of the parts of this variation is delineated with a fermata.

The last section of the movement, beginning at measure 92, continues the triplet sixteenth-note accompaniment of Variation V. In this sixth variation the theme is fragmented and presented at different key levels with frequent changes in orchestration. A broadening of the music, leading to the conclusion of the movement, is created by placing the theme in the woodwinds with string accompaniment for the first phrase, and then reversing this procedure in the second phrase of the theme. The diminishing length between shifts in orchestration leads to the conclusion of the movement with the final cadence in G minor.

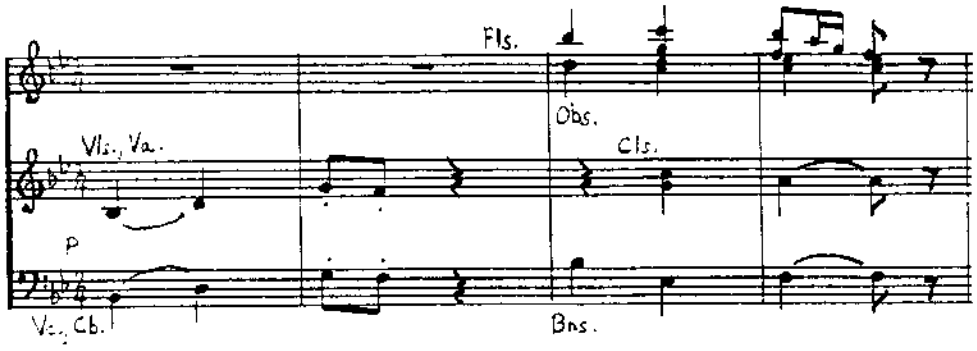
Allegro con spirito

In the last movement Dobrzyński's *First Symphony* returns to the tonic B-flat. The structure of this Finale in 2/4 is reminiscent of the first movement in form, and especially in the working of the principal theme, which again consists of a short motive.

The Exposition begins with the presentation of a main theme that

outlines the tonic chord in two-measure fragments. (Example 23).

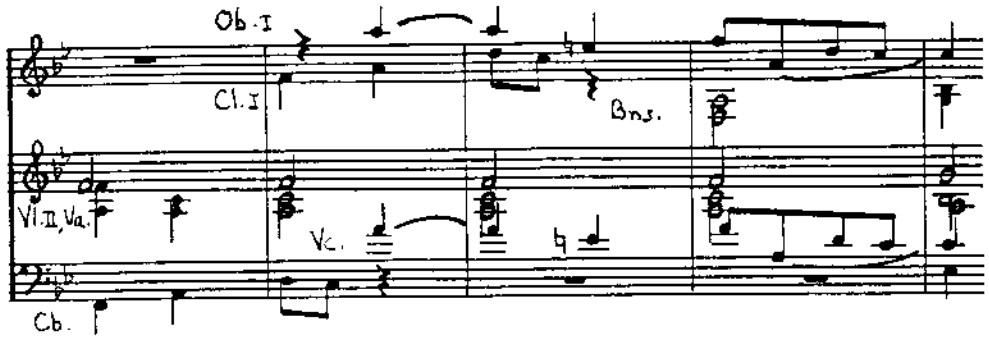
Example 23. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, IV, measures 1-4.



After this short theme is orchestrated in different combinations and expanded into a more lyric eight-measure phrase, it is placed in the bass at measure 40 while the violins accompany it with sixteenth-note passage work. A transition to the dominant key is initiated at measure 56. It first presents the theme in the relative minor and then through a Phrygian cadence (measure 72) settles onto C, the dominant of the new key. Imitation of the principal theme by the woodwinds over a C pedal leads to a cadence in the new key of F major at measrue 80.

The second theme is introduced as an oboe melody accompanied by Theme 1 in the bass. As this new melody is passed to different woodwind combinations (Example 24) Dobrzyński displays his skill at working with the themes contrapuntally by using the first theme in stretto against the second theme. The expansion of the short primary theme into a longer melody at measure 122 marks the closing section of the Exposition. This extended theme is passed from the woodwinds to the strings at measure 138 and is followed by an emphasis of F major through use of the main theme in the bass to complete the Exposition.

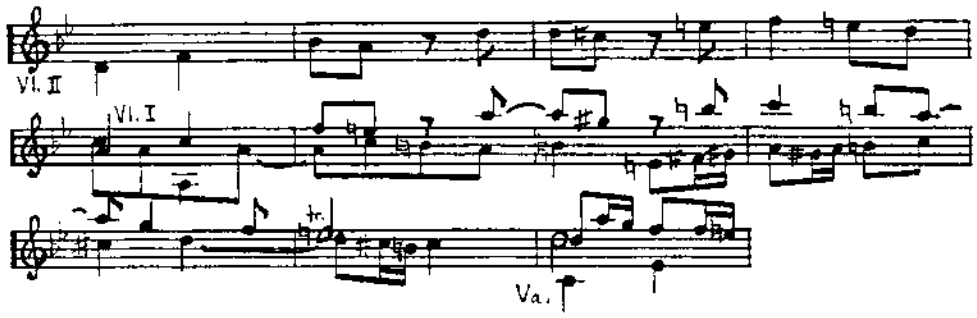
Example 24. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, IV, measures 98-102.



The Development begins at measure 147 with new material introduced by the woodwind instruments. From C major at measure 153, a descending line in the woodwinds shifts the key to F major at measure 160 where the low strings have the extended version of the principal theme in the midst of a tutti scoring. After Theme 1 and 2 are presented in C minor, they are developed by changing the intervals of the melodies and alternating their presentation between major and minor keys. A cadence in A major by means of a German sixth leads to a new development of Theme 1 by Flute I and Bassoon I.

The initial entry of a fugato based on Theme 1 is presented in D minor by Violin II (Example 25). It is followed by a real answer in Violin I. The subject returns in the Viola, is answered by the Violoncellos, and then reappears one last time in the Double Bass and Bassoons. A countersubject is not used in this exposition. A tutti episode leads from the fugato to a reworking of the thematic material in A-flat major. This time, however, the alternation between the woodwinds and strings is without fugal implications. At measure 261 Clarinet I and then Flute I have the principal theme, both accompanied by the other wood-

Example 25. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, IV, measures 212-222.



wind instruments. Another tutti section offers new derivations of Theme 1 with eighth note passage work. Finally, the principal melody is set forth in F major, forming a dominant preparation for the return to the tonic key.

The Recapitulation is a literal repeat of the Exposition, in fact, it is scored in the Warsaw manuscript[1] by indicating a repeat of measures 2-47. The retransition is shorter than the corresponding section of the Exposition and is formed over an F pedal to provide a dominant preparation to the recapitulation of Key Area II. Material originally presented in the dominant is now given in the tonic and in a similar sequence as in the Exposition, but is now made more brilliant through the reorchestration of the upper woodwinds. At measure 424 the expanded version of Theme 1 in the strings corresponds to the closing section of the Exposition. The cadence in B-flat at measure 448 marks the beginning of the Coda, which for its first several measures resembles the opening of the Development section. By measure 456, however, where both themes are heard together, the Coda subsides to emphasis of the tonic B-flat by the

[1]Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne *Ms. 995.*

principal theme heard again in the low strings with tutti accompaniment and the symphony draws to a close with a series of cadence repetitions.

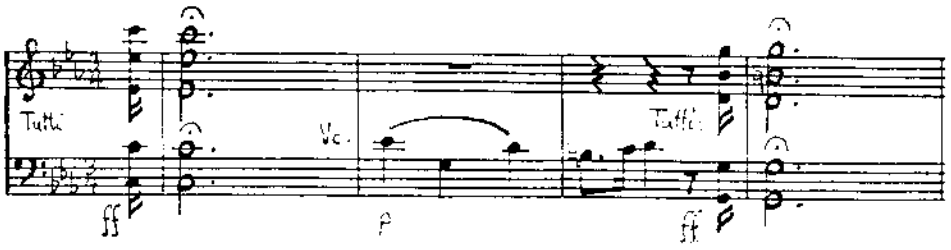
Symphony No. 2 in C minor, Op. 15

The *Second Symphony* continues the tradition seen in the earlier work with its adherence to Classical forms. Although this work differs from *Symphony No. 1* in the inclusion of Polish national elements, an intensification of Beethovenian characteristics is also evident. This is especially true in the first movement where strong accents are frequently placed on chords in weak metrical positions, such as Beethoven did in the *Third Symphony*.

Andante sostenuto; Allegro vivace

Like the *First Symphony*, the second also begins with the presentation of the principal theme in a slow introduction. The two halves of this theme, performed by the cellos and then the entire string section, are punctuated by tutti chords at measures 1 and 4 (Example 26).

Example 26. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, I, measures 1-4.



After the entire string section extends the melody, a turn to A-flat major marks the second part of the introduction which shows some alteration in the intervals of the theme. Clarinet I and Flute I overlap the theme with an alternate melody and at measure 28 the full orchestra accompanies the theme in the bass. The dominant is stressed in the last section of the introduction, which features the dotted rhythm from the second measure of the theme and alternates four-measure phrases between the woodwinds and strings. This dotted rhythm propels the introduction toward the beginning of the *Allegro vivace* at measure 57.

The Exposition, with its opening tympani roll, is reminiscent of Haydn's *Symphony No. 103 "Drum Roll,"* especially since Dobrzyński, like Haydn, reinforces the device by repeating it at the beginning of the Recapitulation. The principal theme is then set forth by the third horn in measure 59. This is followed by restatements in the flute and clarinet, and at measure 65 tutti chords are used to accent the second beat of the measure. A brief woodwind interlude is followed by an extended version of the theme in Violin II. The other string instruments add the dotted rhythm from the theme, and at measure 89 this rhythm is used in the woodwinds as an accompanimental figure, sometimes even tied over the bar line. Again (measure 100) the second beat is emphasized by a tutti chord, now on D-flat. This chord, functioning as the Neapolitan sixth in the key of C minor, resolves to a tonic six-four, and at measure 106 the theme, accompanied by the full orchestra, returns in the bass in C minor. The transition, beginning at measure 120, is based on the idea of second beat accents and the dotted thematic motive. Continued stress

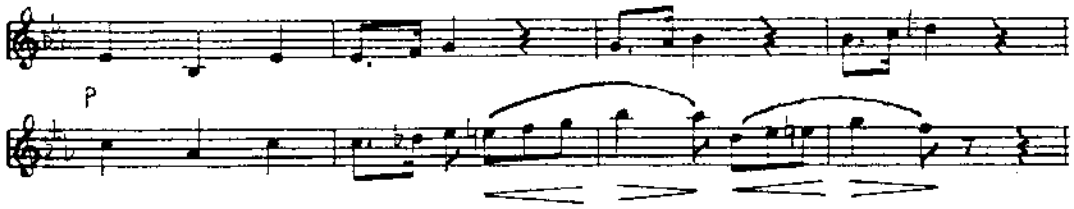
of the second beat is combined with a reiteration of the principal theme and the firm establishment of E-flat major.

As in the first movement of *Symphony No. 1*, the principal theme of this movement is taken from the introduction and continues to be used throughout the entire Exposition. This symphony, however, has both themes derived from the Introduction. In the first part of the second key area (measure 153) the principal theme alternates with the second theme which is a melody presented originally at measure 17 (Example 27). As the second key area proceeds, variations of Theme 1 continue to counter the new material. Later, the new theme is presented in the bass, accompanied by a series of dotted rhythms in the first violin.

Example 27. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, I, measures 156-159, Violin I.

The closing section, which begins at measure 240, is marked by the linear combination of the first and second themes in Violin I (Example 28) stated over a bass pedal on E-flat embroidered with eighth-note passages in the flute. As the full orchestra is reintroduced at measure 256 with Theme 1 in the bass, the tonality continues in E-flat major while material from the transition leads to the resolution of a German sixth chord to the dominant of this key at measure 281. The Exposition ends with chromatic lines and tutti chords over another E-flat pedal.

Example 28. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, I, measures 240-247, Violin I.



The Development section begins at measure 308, where Theme 1 in the bass in harmonized in A-flat major. Theme 2 is successively added by Violin I, Flute I, and Clarinet. This sequence of entries is presented in B-flat major at measure 324 only to be followed by a return to A-flat, at which point the principal theme is combined with the dotted rhythms of measure 170 in a descending line. Crossrhythms shifting the stress in the measure are also characteristic of this part of the Development. At measure 349 both themes are successively developed in D-flat major, leading in turn to A-flat major and the contrapuntal inversion of the two themes at measure 371. The harmonic rhythm becomes faster as the music progresses through F minor and by means of a German sixth reaches the dominant of E-flat major. A B-flat pedal at this point (measure 399) accompanies a melody developed from Theme 2.

The next section of the Development, beginning at measure 407, is a fugato in E-flat major. The subject, an expansion of Theme 1, is first presented by Violin II and Clarinet I, followed by a real answer in Viola and Bassoon I. The four entrances in its exposition do not have a consistent countersubject and the final entry in the bass is accompanied by the full orchestra. A second entry section begins at measure 432 with the answer on G in the first fule. Several other en-

trances follow: the subject in C minor, the subject in B-flat, and an entrance of the answer in F major. This activity settles onto a B-flat pedal at measure 447, where a new use is found for the dotted rhythm that was earlier prominent in Theme 1. At measure 464 Theme 1 is once again presented in the bass, but now in the key of E-flat major. The Development ends with accented second-beat chords over a dominant pedal, which prepares the tonic return.

The Recapitulation (measure 488) brings back a shortened version of the first key area with some reorchestration of the upper woodwinds. Key Area II begins in C major, and directly correlates to its presentation in the Exposition until measure 533 when the theme and dotted rhythm are combined in G major. As the dominant of C this leads to a repeat of the material in Key Area II. Further presentation of the thematic material in C major closely relates to its use at the beginning of the movement. For example, measure 579 marks a tutti passage similar to that beginning at measure 256 and in both places German sixths are used to emphasize the dominants.

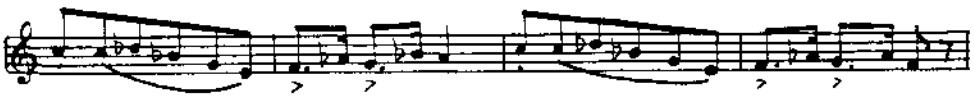
The Coda starts at measure 619 when this dominant preparation is resolved to C minor. The first measures of this section are similar to the initial segment of the Development, just as the Introduction and Coda of the *First Symphony*'s opening movement are related. Scale passages over a C pedal emphasize the harmonic importance of the Coda and rhythmic drive to the end of the movement is achieved by tonic second beat exclamations and syncopated rhythmic shifts. The movement ends with several tonic chords given on the beat.

Elegia—Andante doloroso

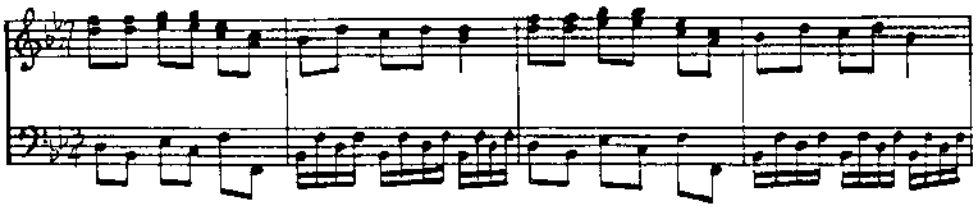
As was described in Chapter III, Dobrzyński replaced the original second movement of this symphony with an Elegia based on the melody of the *Kościuszko Polonaise*, a patriotic tune well-known in nineteenth-century Poland. Although the details of this substitution are not known, Dobrzyński probably made this change sometime after the Viennese contest in 1835. The Elegia is a variation movement beginning with an A-flat introduction played by divisi cellos and bassoons alternated in regular phrases with the woodwinds. At measure 28 a C triad, the dominant of F minor, is reached and the melody of the *Kościuszko Polonaise* is presented by trumpet. An arrangement of this melody given in Example 29 shows that Dobrzyński places the tune in a minor key.

Example 29. The *Kościuszko Polonaise* in *Symphony No. 2.*

a. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, II, measures 29-32, Trumpet I.



b. *Kościuszko Polonaise*, Trio.[2]



After a clarinet counterpoint is added to the flute's polonaise,

[2]Stefan Burhardt, *Polonez: Katalog tematyczny*, II (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), 253-260.

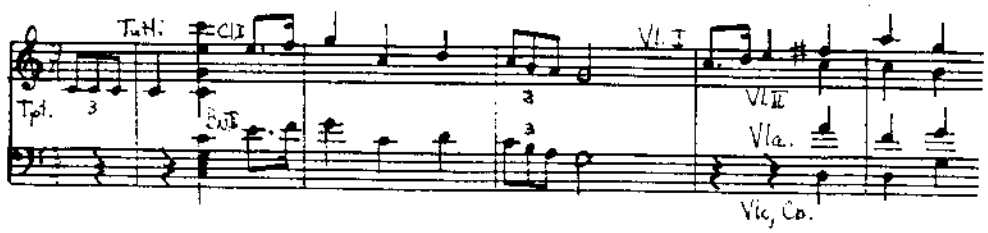
this arrangement is presented by the strings. A return to A-flat major follows and the *Kościuszko Polonaise* is reintroduced in a major key at measure 44. This melody is then presented at different key levels. A chromatic variation of the first measure of the theme leads to C major (measure 65) and the presentation of a more agitated trill and scale melody to alternate with the polonaise positioned in the bass. A transition passage characterized by a triplet accompaniment pattern is followed by the theme scored in F major for full orchestra (measure 94).

The return of the transition material leads to the next variation at measure 109. The short F major presentation of the theme at this point is followed by a return to the minor mode for the final hearing of the *Kościuszko Polonaise*. The movement ends by referring to the material of the opening introduction.

Minuetto alla Mazovienna--Allegro ma non troppo

The melody of the Minuet, a Mazurka in C major, begins with a tutti chord (Example 30).

Example 30. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, III, measures 1-5.

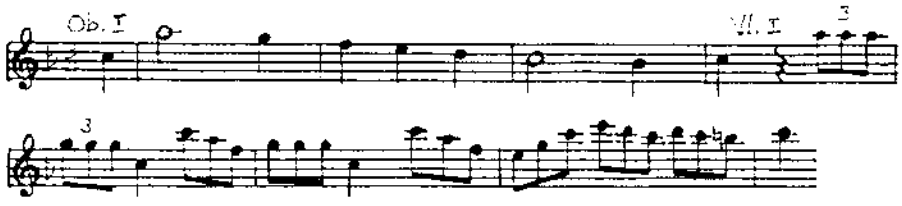


This melody is based on the Mazurka rhythm (3/4, ♩. ♪ ♩ ♩) and in the manuscript score, the movement is marked "alla Mazovienna." The theme is alternated between the woodwinds and strings and is then given by

woodwind instruments in imitation beginning at measure 13. The second part of the binary form begins on the dominant at measure 28 with the melodic material lengthened through the continuation of the dotted rhythms characteristic of the mazurka. After melodic presentations at several pitch levels, the music settles in A-flat major. At measure 60 G major prepares a return to the beginning section of the Minuet, somewhat abbreviated, and at the end a C pedal prepares the key change to F major for the Trio.

Although the triplet rhythms of the Minuet are also prominent in the Trio, which begins at measure 110, the lyric melody of the Trio contrasts with the previous section (Example 31).

Example 31. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, III, measures 110-117, Oboe I, Violin I.



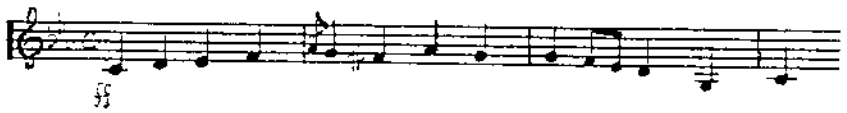
The second part of the Trio begins at measure 133, where the key passes through A minor, D minor, and E-flat major. Reaching G major at measure 160, a German sixth chord to the dominant of F major creates the modulation to F, thus marking a return to material from the beginning of the Trio which rounds out the form. The Minuet is then repeated in the customary fashion.

Vivace-assai; Presto

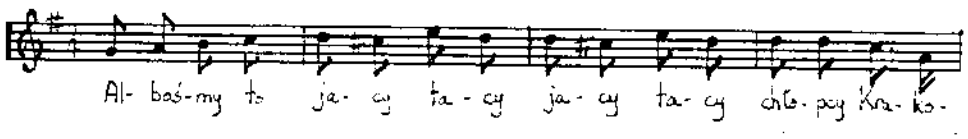
The Finale of the *Second Symphony* is a sonata-rondo form drawing on the folk tune "Albośmy to jacy tacy." The melody of this well-known krakowiak, a folk song from the southern regions of Poland, was published in the nineteenth century by Oskar Kolberg with variants of the melody and alternate texts. The melody with its characteristic Lydian fourth is given in Example 32b where it can be compared to Dobrzyński's use of the tune in the minor mode (Example 32a).

Example 32. "Albośmy to jacy tacy" in *Symphony No. 2*, IV.

a. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, IV, measures 1-4, Violin I.



b. "Albośmy to jacy tacy."[3]



[Such we are, Cracow boys]

An outline of the form to this movement is given in Diagram 3. The rondo theme (A) begins with the folk melody arranged in C minor for strings. The clarinet and flute successively take up the tune, each lengthening it with repetitions in the middle and at the end. After a

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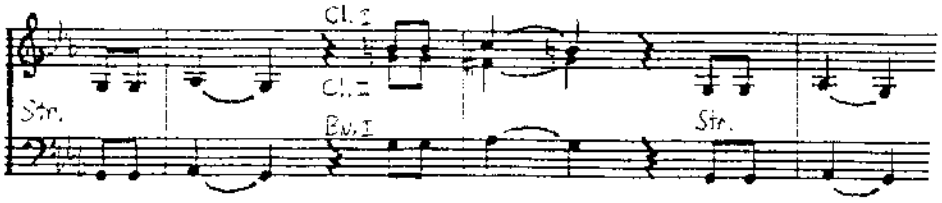
[3]Oskar Kolberg, *Dzieła wszystkie*, VI (Krakowskie II) (Wrocław, Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1962), 385.

Diagram 3. Sonata-Rondo Form of the Finale, *Symphony No. 2.*

	Expo.			Dev.	Recap.			Coda
Thematic material:	A	B	A	C,A,B	A	B	A	A
Key:	c:	E^b:	E^b:	x	c:	C:	C:	C:
Measure number:		75	100	164	326	391	421	504

fermata at a dominant cadence a new rhythmic motive is interjected (Example 33). The folk melody continues in Violin I at measure 39 and this is followed by a tutti section using the theme in the bass to lead to a modulation by a half-diminshed seventh chord to B-flat, the dominant of the new key.

Example 33. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2,* IV, measures 31-34.

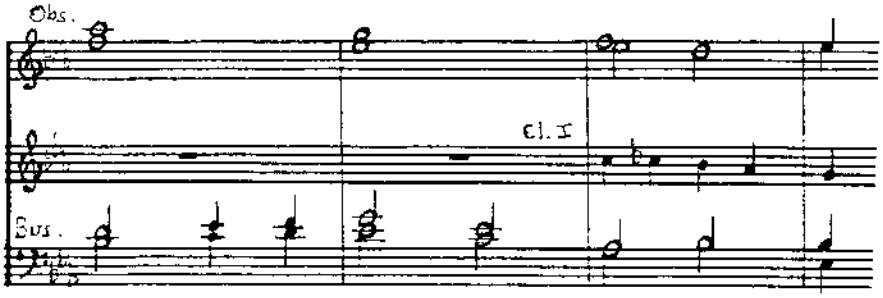


The second key area, E-flat major (measure 74), features the segment of "Albośmy to jacy tacy" containing the syncopation more characteristic of a krakowiak (♩ ♪ ♩). After this melody is interspersed with eigth-note passage work, E-flat is emphasized by sforzando chords on the second beat of the measure and the rhythmic motive of Example 33. Measure 100 initiates a repeat of the first section of the movement, but now in E-flat major. The theme begins in the flute and is followed by a tutti passage with the melody in the bass and a section dominated by

the secondary rhythmic motive.

The Development begins at measure 164 with a new theme in the bassoons (Example 34) as well as with the scale passages from the principal theme.

Example 34. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, IV, measures 164-167.



The syncopated patterns of the second key area and the secondary motive of Example 33 are soon introduced launching the movement through chromatically rising key changes which culminate in E-flat at measure 196. The theme then appears in A-flat at measure 198, and from measure 210 the modulations proceed more regularly by fifths from C major to E-flat major. An approach to D-flat is set up, but a deceptive resolution changes the direction to A-flat major where the folk tune is presented after emphasis of the new key by the sharp rhythmic motive. The rhythmic motive strikes D-flat again at measure 254 after which an unusual modulation combining a change of modality with the enharmonic mediant of D major (D-flat major as dominant of G-flat major-F-sharp minor) sets up a presentation of the theme in D major by the Oboe at measure 262. This is immediately followed by a flute response in G major. The Development ends with a fragmentation of the theme over a dominant pedal in C minor.

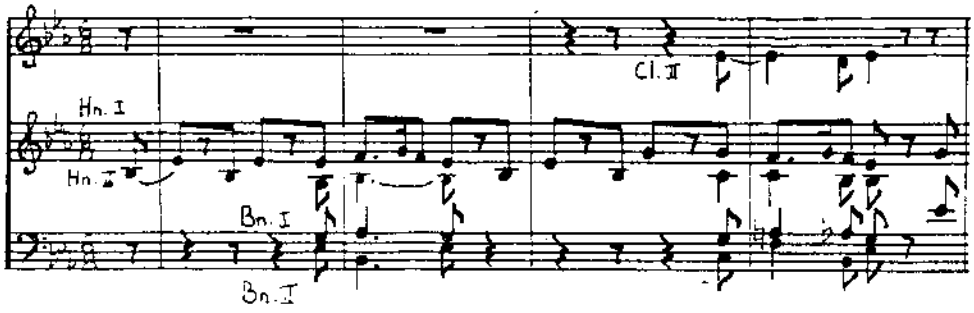
The beginning of the Recapitulation (measure 326) is notated in the manuscript score by a *da capo* repeat of the beginning of the movement, and the retransition on the dominant of C minor corresponds structurally to the corresponding measures of the Exposition. The syncopated patterns of the B section are presented again at measure 391 in the tonic major followed by the A section's return in C major at measure 421. Here, the folk melody is presented by Oboe I harmonized by woodwinds and the theme then moves to the bass. The Recapitulation ends with a series of tutti chords on the dominant.

The Coda is marked by a tempo change to *Presto* and begins with the folk melody in C major scored first for strings and then for the entire orchestra. A series of key changes based on the circle of fifths leads to the reestablishment of C major by diminished seventh chord, which resolves to the tonic six-four. The tempo in the last section of the movement changes to *Prestissimo* for the presentation of "Albośmy to jacy tacy" in the highest register of the orchestra. Repeated cadence chords on the tonic bring the symphony to a conclusion.

The Original Slow Movement—Andante grazioso

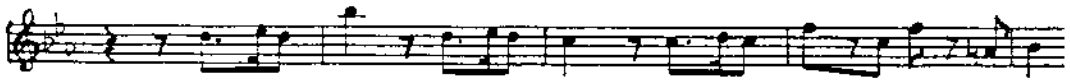
The original second movement of the symphony was a 6/8 *Andante grazioso* in E-flat major, a slow movement in sonata form. It begins directly with the exposition of a horn melody (Example 35) accompanied first by woodwinds and later by strings. A transition to B-flat major begins with successive entrances in the woodwinds, the new key finally

Example 35. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, IIa, measures 1-4.



being established at measure 26 with the introduction of a second theme (Example 36).

Example 36. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 2*, IIa, measures 26-30.



A short Development section begins at measure 30 with figuration passed among the different orchestral instruments. Sixteenth-note passages in E-flat major at measure 46 and motives from the themes continue to be developed as the music reaches B-flat major. Measure 64 marks the Recapitulation of the thematic material in E-flat major. The material originally presented in the dominant is recapitulated in the tonic when the strings have the melody at measure 92. After a segment for woodwinds and low strings in B-flat major, the tonic returns at measure 105 for the end of the movement.

Elements of Dobrzyński's Style

Dobrzyński's compositional style can be formulated best by isolating the various musical elements of the symphonies. The examination of smaller items (e.g. melody and rhythm) leads to a discussion of their contribution to the form of the movements or the sound of Dobrzyński's orchestra. Although parallels to the works of other composers can be identified in this process, just as they could in the descriptions of the two works, a comparative analysis in many cases can only lead to speculation about the influences on Dobrzyński's symphonic style.

Melody

As can be seen from the examples of *Symphony No. 1* and the complete score to *Symphony No. 2*, Dobrzyński's melodies are formed in a balanced structure of antecedent and consequent phrases. An overwhelming melodic characteristic of the fast movements is the use of short rhythmic motives, usually outlining the tonic chord, such as in Example 23. These fragments are also introduced in balanced phrases, and in this way are formally similar to the more lyric themes of the slow movements. Although the sonata-allegro movements are dominated by these short rhythmically intense motives, Dobrzyński usually offers a contrasting melody as the theme of the second key area. In the first movement of *Symphony No. 1*, for example, the second theme lacks the rhythmic identity inherent in the principal theme and also contrasts by its disjunct melodic contour (Example 15).

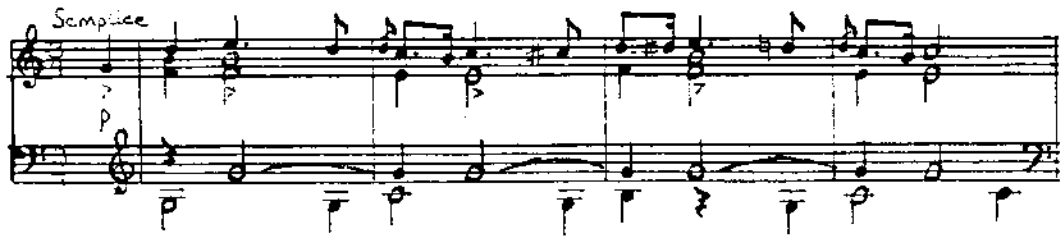
Reminiscent of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*, the strongest charac-

teristic of Dobrzyński's sonata-allegro movements is the rhythmic prominence of the themes. Not only does Dobrzyński's music grow from the rhythmic drive instilled in the basic motive, but fugatos in the Development sections of the last movement of *Symphony No. 1* and the first movement of *Symphony No. 2* intensify this growth with subjects derived from their respective principal themes.

Chromaticism in Dobrzyński's music is mostly ornamental. Representative of this is Example 12 from the beginning of *Symphony No. 1*, I, where Dobrzyński's flute and violin line, through the insertion of leading tones, chromatically winds around the notes of an F major chord. This style is consistently seen throughout Dobrzyński's symphonic repertoire.

Since folk elements play an important part in the conception of the *Second Symphony*, they perhaps should be discussed in conjunction with the melodic aspects of Dobrzyński's music. The first movement of *Symphony No. 2* is based on the rhythm of a *kujawiak*, a slower variation of the mazurka. The dotted eighth figure in the basic motive of the movement (Example 26) is characteristic of the kujawiak, as also seen in Chopin's *Mazurka*, Op. 33, No. 3 (Example 37), but in spite of this, the movement generally lacks the Polish character found in other movements of the cycle. This is the result of fragmentation of the primary theme, and especially the development of the dotted rhythm, over the course of the movement, a technique which is not used to the same degree in the other movements.

Example 37. F. Chopin, *Mazurka,* Op. 33, No. 3, measures 1-4.



Dobrzyński also adapted the triple meter of the mazurka to the Minuet movement, and as Example 30 reveals, a dotted rhythm is again characteristic. In fact, the characteristic rhythms of the first and third movements, along with the dotted rhythms used at the beginning and end of the Elegia, can be regarded as a unifying factor within the symphony. The most interesting use of folk music occurs in the last movement of the *Second Symphony,* where the folk song "Albośmy to jacy tacy" introduces, in the Lydian fourth of its melody, the strongest Polish flavor of this work. This folk song is an excellent example of the oldest type of krakowiak, where syncopation is not as prominent.[4]

Harmony

Harmony in Dobrzyński's music is consistent with the composer's classical orientation, seen first of all, in the harmonic relations between movements. In the *Symphony No. 1* the inner movements leave the tonic B-flat only to move to the subdominant and relative minor. The *Second Symphony,* on the other hand, dwells on a tonic C in three of the movements, although the Minuet exhibits the parallel major. Dobrzyński deviated the farthest from the tonic in this symphony when he replaced

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[4] Marian Sobieski, "Krakowiak," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* VII (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 1708.

the E-flat slow movement with an Elegia in A-flat major, the submediant of C minor.

Measure by measure, Dobrzyński's music moves in basic diatonic harmony with functional altered tones, and it is only on a large scale that his harmonic practice is of real interest. Modulation in the symphonies generally progresses in a cycle of fifths, with the occasional substitution of a third relation, such as to the relative minor or minor submediant. For example, the Development from the first movement of *Symphony No. 1* can be divided into two parts, as seen in Diagram 1. The overall movement at the beginning of the Development outlines the progression I - iv - v - I, while the second part shows a third relation in the change of key from C minor to A-flat major.

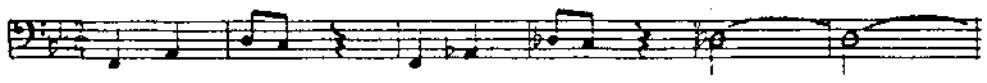
One modulation scheme consistently used throughout the symphonic repertoire occurs when Dobrzyński prepares for a new key, such as the second key area of a sonata-allegro movement. Dobrzyński's favorite method of preparing the dominant is through a chord whose bass is a half-step above the dominant, that is, a phrygian-like cadence. Most frequently, this is manifested with a German augmented sixth chord and the chords whose basses are a minor second apart are emphasized by the use of long pedal tones. Numerous examples of this have been pointed out in the discussion of the two symphonies.

Another characteristic of Dobrzyński's harmonic style is the juxtaposition of major and minor. It is curious that in *Symphony No. 2* Dobrzyński chose to introduce his two borrowed melodies in a minor key, only later resorting to the correct major tonality. Although at first this seems to be a method of disguising the most overt Polish elements

of the symphony, the change from major to minor is consistent with harmonic use in other parts of the symphonies. The alternation of major and minor is most pronounced in the variation movement of *Symphony No. 1*. Here, for example, in the fifth variation, the modality changes as each phrase of the theme initiates a different orchestration.

An example of the major-minor juxtaposition in the last movement of this symphony gives some indication of the depth of Dobrzyński's compositional thinking. At the beginning of the movement, the principal theme is presented in the tonic B-flat major, followed by a repetition in the relative minor. In Example 38, taken from the transition to the second key area of the sonata-allegro form, Dobrzyński presents the motive in F minor to introduce the note D-flat, which in turn is resolved by an augmented sixth chord emphasizing the dominant of the new key, F major.

Example 38. I.F. Dobrzyński, *Symphony No. 1*, IV, measures 64-69, Violoncello.



Form

Some elements revealing Dobrzyński's conception of sonata-allegro form have already been mentioned. Generally, the emphasis in these movements is not on thematic presentation, but on the key relations, especially the move to the dominant, which is all that is harmonically required of a sonata exposition in the Classical style.[5] The importance of key re-

[5]Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), 69.

lations to Dobrzyński can be explored further by reconsidering the harmonic scheme of the introduction to the first movement of *Symphony No. 2*. With the modulation from C minor to A-flat major, the composer could have proceeded to prepare the dominant by an augmented sixth chord, but he ignored this possibility and modulated to G major with a diminished seventh chord. When it is later learned that the second theme of the movement derives from this place in the Introduction, the secondary key relation of a fifth between the presentation of this melody in the Introduction and Exposition, A-flat to E-flat, is revealed.

Dobrzyński's sonata-allegro movements, reminiscent of Haydn, are quasi-monothematic in that material from the first key area continues as a second theme is introduced. Dobrzyński realized that this weakens the contrast of the two thematic ideas and he relied on other harmonic devices to articulate the change to a new key. Admittedly, the pedal tones and German sixths are not very subtle in outlining a new key area, but they do set a definite harmonic trend and in the manner of Beethoven emphasize the modulation by pointing not to the new tonic but to its dominant. Dobrzyński traditionally satisfies the harmonic requirements of the form when he systematically recapitulates the second key area in the tonic.

Another important characteristic of Dobrzyński's sonata-allegro form is the foreshadowing of the principal theme in a slow introduction. This technique, seen in the first movement of both symphonies, is extended in the *Second Symphony* to also include the theme of the second key area.

Dobrzyński frequently employs successive entries of a melody to

introduce a theme or establish a key structural point. This is best illustrated at the beginning of *Symphony No. 1*, where a trill motive, later to become the principal theme of the first movement, begins the Introduction (Example 12). As the melody rises through the string section, the added voices reinforce the theme through repetition and also build a harmonic structure to introduce the key of the symphony. In the original slow movement of *Symphony No. 2*, for example, the harmonic implications of this procedure begin the transition to the second key area in the sonata exposition.

As in the sonata-allegro movements, Dobrzyński's ternary forms, seen in the Minuets of the two symphonies, also remain close to the Classical model, with each part in binary form. The Minuet of *Symphony No. 1* (Diagram 2) has two thematic ideas in the first part, and after a repeat of this section, the second part takes the thematic material through several keys before a restatement in the tonic. The Minuet of the *Second Symphony* is not as structurally precise. For example, a return of the initial thematic material in the tonic is not a direct restatement as in the Minuet of *Symphony No. 1*.

Compared to its Minuet, the Trio of the second movement of *Symphony No. 1* represents a simplification in structure by its adherence to tonic and dominant harmony (Diagram 2). On the other hand, the Trio in the *Second Symphony* reveals a continuation of quick modulations first introduced in the Minuet. Although this could be interpreted as a maturation of Dobrzyński's style between symphonies, the other movements of the cycles would not support this contention.

The last movement of Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2* is in sonata-rondo form, the beginning of the folk tune "Albośmy to jacy tacy" providing the "A" theme of the movement (Diagram 3). With the later return of the opening material in the Exposition, the movement generally follows the model of the form given by Malcolm Cole.[6] The repeat of the A section remains in the relative major to close the Exposition and along with the B material, it is systematically recapitulated in the tonic. In many ways this movement confirms Dobrzyński's feeling for tonic-dominant relations within a sonata-allegro movement.

An aspect of the overall structure of the symphonies which cannot escape comment is the position of the Minuet in *Symphony No. 1* as the second movement. This idea may derive from Elsner because the four movements of Chopin's *Sonata*, Op. 4, a work dedicated to Elsner, are in the same sequence. Other aspects of this Chopin sonata illustrate the differences in the youthful works of Chopin and Dobrzyński written under Elsner's tutelage. Although a correlation can be seen in the order of the movements, Chopin's irregularity of formal structure in the first movement, where he recapitulates the first theme a tone lower, in B-flat minor, would be far from Dobrzyński's formal concepts as seen in the symphonies.

Orchestration

Dobrzyński's instrumentation in the two symphonies reflects the Classical style found in other elements of his music. His basic orchestra

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[6] Malcolm Cole, "Sonata-Rondo, the Formulation of a Theoretical Concept in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Musical Quarterly* LV (1969), 181.

consists of strings, pairs of winds, and tympani. The brass section is varied somewhat between works in that *Symphony No. 2* uses four horns rather than two and adds a section of three trombones to the single bass trombone of the earlier work. The use of a single bass trombone may reflect local conditions because Chopin's piano concertos and the *Polonaise*, Op. 22 share this peculiarity of instrumentation with Dobrzyński's *First Symphony.*[7] Trumpets are selectively scored in both symphonies and variations of instrumentation within each symphony are limited to alternation of the trombones and the use of a solo violin line in the Minuet of *Symphony No. 2.*

The skill at orchestration suggested in the chapters on Dobrzyński's life is manifested by the independent use of woodwind instruments. Although the composer sensitively combines instrumental colors in the exposition and development of thematic material, the outstanding feature of Dobrzyński's orchestral style is the challenge by the woodwinds to the supremacy of the string section. Often the two groups of instruments are used antiphonally.

In addition to the function of specific instruments within the context of a wind or string section, traditional aspects of Dobrzyński's orchestration dictate other roles for some instruments. For example, the violoncello and double bass usually double the bass line, and are frequently joined in the responsibility of providing a bass to the orchestra by bassoon or bass trombone. The bass trombone in *Symphony No. 2*

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[7]Gerald Abraham, "Chopin and the Orchestra," *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin*, ed. Zofia Lissa (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1963), 87.

additionally functions as the bass of the brass choir and as part of the trombone trio. This latter group, as well as the four horns, are used primarily in the tutti section to provide harmonic support for the music.

Instruments used sparingly and serving primarily harmonic functions seem to receive solo treatment somewhere in the symphonic repertoire. Dobrzyński used trumpet in his tutti chords, but the melodic capability of this instrument is reserved for the *Kościuszko Polonaise* in the second movement of *Symphony No. 2*. Similarly, a solo horn carries the melody at the beginning of the original second movement of this work. Another observation concerning the solo use of instruments is that the clarinet seems to be chosen over the oboe in the initial presentation of thematic material. Oboe and bassoon are known to have been less popular in Warsaw than flute and clarinet, and although it is not known if Dobrzyński had a preference, he did compose several clarinet pieces in his career.[8]

Dobrzyński may have been a renowned orchestrator in Poland, but his doubling of woodwind instruments is almost reduced to a formula in the tutti sections. Oboe I doubles the second flute part, while the lower oboe plays on octave below Flute I. The clarinets double the flutes an octave lower and the bass line is supported by the bassoon parts. Another common doubling, but one which is not unusual in symphonic music, is the reinforcement of Violin I by Flute I. This scheme is probably Dobrzyński's own, rather than a technique he learned from Elsner, because the tutti sections of Chopin's two piano concertos, both composed before he left

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[8] Hanna Pukińska-Szopietowska, "Życie koncertowe w Warszawie (lata 1800-1830)," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku. Studia i materiały*, II, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 50.

Poland in 1830, do not exhibit a similar orchestration style.[9]

Evidence of Dobrzyński's comprehension of the subtleties of orchestration can be seen in his rescoring of repeated material. Sometimes a section, such as the first key area of an Exposition, is literally repeated, but Dobrzyński also knew how to increase the intensity of his orchestral sound by rewriting the upper woodwind parts. This can be seen in the respective Recapitulations of the outer movements in *Symphony No. 1* and at the end of *Symphony No. 2*, when the folk tune "Albośmy to jacy tacy" is presented in the highest register of the orchestra.

One further aspect of the Dobrzyński symphonies which can be directly related to orchestration is the use of dynamics. Interestingly, the symphonies do not have the dynamic nuances that might be expected from a composer who had mastered the subtleties of orchestration. The sound of Dobrzyński's orchestra generally fluctuates between piano and fortissimo, with many szforzandos. Although crescendos often lead from one extreme to the other, the middle dynamic levels are missing and they are not provided by the orchestration.

It is unfortunate that Dobrzyński's symphonic output was limited to two works composed in close succession. Further symphonic writing by Dobrzyński would not only have added to the repertoire of the Polish symphony, but would have provided an opportunity to observe the development of this talented young composer's symphonic style over the course of his career. In this regard, a study of the chamber music of Dobrzyński

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[9]Stefan Śledziński, "Na temat domniemanego udziału I.F. Dobrzyńskiego w instrumentacji koncertów Chopina," *Muzyka* (1955), No. 1/2, 16-31.

could be important in illuminating his instrumental style as it developed over a greater portion of his career.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLACE OF DOBRZYŃSKI IN POLISH MUSIC

Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński has long been recognized by scholars of nineteenth-century Polish music as a student of Elsner and colleague of Chopin in his early years, and as one of the few symphonists of the early nineteenth century, he is also known for his talent as an orchestrator. Nevertheless, his music is little known to scholars and concert goers, even in Poland. A better appraisal of this composer's contribution can be developed by considering the influences on Dobrzyński's musical style, the reception of his music, and the world in which he lived.

Influences on Dobrzyński

Dobrzyński's friend and teacher Józef Elsner had the greatest opportunity to mold Dobrzyński's symphonic style, however, it is difficult to compare the instrumental styles of the two composers because of limited source material. In studying Elsner's music, Nowak-Romanowicz saw the composer's style as stemming from Haydn and Mozart, while Śledziński, who was able to study the *Symphony in C major*, Op. 11 (1804-1805), judged the general style of this work to be in the manner of the Mannheim school, with only some aspects of Haydn and Mozart apparent.[1]

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[1]Stefan Śledziński, "Zarys dziejów symfonii polskiej w XIX wieku," *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, 2 vols. (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), I, 414-415.

If too little music is available to establish stylistic similarities between teacher and student, the extant works at least indicate that specific compositional techniques were passed on. Elsner's surviving symphony incorporates the rhythm of the mazurka in the minuet movement and the krakowiak in the finale. Adopted by Dobrzyński most explicitly in the *Second Symphony*, this format can also be seen in other works, for example the *Quartet*, Op. 8.[2]

Analysis of Dobrzyński's symphonic style, in light of Śledziński's comments on Elsner's *Symphony*, Op. 11, indicates a time lag in the dissemination of musical style to the peripheral areas of European culture. By 1830 the style of symphonic music in Poland had advanced from the Mannheim style, with elements of Haydn and Mozart, to the Viennese Classical style with elements of Beethoven. Dobrzyński's symphonies reveal that the music of Haydn and Mozart was well-known in Poland by 1830. Dobrzyński's acknowledgement of Mozart, for example, can also be seen in his 1847 piano piece based on motives from *Don Giovanni*.

Beethoven's influence on Dobrzyński can also be found in many aspects of the symphonies, but Dobrzyński's knowledge of Beethoven's music at the time of writing the symphonies cannot be determined. As previously mentioned, Beethoven's symphonies were introduced to the Warsaw public by E.T.A. Hoffmann in 1806. It is not known which works were performed at this time, but probably only the first two symphonies were presented, because even though the *Eroica* had been composed, it was probably too

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[2] Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, *Józef Elsner. Monografia* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1957), 49-51.

difficult for performance by Warsaw's musicians.[3] Even as late as 1857, Józef Sikorski in a *Ruch Muzyczny* editorial stated that only the *Symphonies No. 3, 6, and 7* had been performed in Warsaw because the others were too difficult.[4] Dobrzyński, of course, could have only been influenced by concerts between 1825 and 1831 and no performances of Beethoven's symphonies can be documented for this period.[5]

There is a possibility that Dobrzyński could have become acquainted with Beethoven's music in his early years at the Iliński court in Romanów. According to Lissa, Count Janusz Stanisław Iliński studied with Beethoven around 1815, but she could not comment on the influence of Beethoven on Iliński's compositions.[6]

Dobrzyński's knowledge of Beethoven's symphonies probably came from studying piano reductions of these works. Publisher's catalogues and newspaper announcements indicate that Beethoven's music became available in Warsaw's music stores in the 1820's. In her work on Beethoven and Poland, Lissa stated:

> It is interesting that the majority of imported works, even chamber music and symphonies, were advertised in the form of arrangements for piano—four hands. . . . Consequently, the

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[3] Zofia Lissa, *Polonica Beethovenowskie* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1970), 107-108.

[4] Józef Sikorski, "Symfonie w Warszawie," *Ruch Muzyczny* 1857, No. 15, as reprinted in *Antologia polskiej krytyki muzycznej XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Stefan Jarociński (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1955), 97.

[5] Hanna Pukińska-Szepietowska, "Życie koncertowe w Warszawie (lata 1800-1830)," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku. Studia i materiały*, II, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973), 100.

[6] Lissa, *op. cit.*, 51.

orchestral works of Beethoven were introduced to us first through their performance at home.[7]

The Reception of Dobrzyński's Symphonies

The 1877 performance of Dobrzyński's music at Dolina Szwajcarska has been previously mentioned as an indication of an interest in Dobrzyński's music after his death in 1867. Among the few Polish symphonies from the first half of the nineteenth century, Dobrzyński's two works continued to be performed periodically in Poland, but never reached the status of standard works in the repertoire of Polish orchestras.

In 1880 the music journal *Echo Muzyczne* reported that a Dobrzyński symphony was performed by the Towarzystwo Muzyczne in Lwów, but it did not state which of the symphonies was programmed.[8] The next year, Dobrzyński's *Second Symphony* was featured in a concert conducted by Noskowski at Warsaw's Dolina Szwajcarska along with a symphony of Józef Nowakowski. Juliusz Stattler, in a review of this concert, cited the excellent "instrumental rhythm" of Dobrzyński's piece.[9]

A Warsaw concert of January 7, 1886 conducted by Rzebiczka also featured the *Symphony No. 2*. A review of this concert praised the structure and orchestration of the symphony, but criticized Dobrzyński for lack

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[7] "Ciekawe, iż większość sprowadzanych dzieł, nawet kameralnych i symfonicznych reklamuje się w postaci wyciągów na 4 ręce. . . . A zatem poznawano u nas orkiestrowe dzieła Beethovena wpierw przez ich domowe wykonanie na 4 ręce." Lissa, *op. cit.*, 114-115.

[8] *Echo Muzyczne* IV/3 (February 1, 1880), 20.

[9] *Kłosy* XXXIII/836 (July 7, 1881), 6.

of profound thought and originality.[10] Other performances in the late nineteenth century include a presentation of the Elegia from *Symphony No. 2* in 1896[11] and the inclusion of this entire symphony in a concert of Polish music at Dolina Szwajcarska in 1898.[12]

Dobrzyński's *Second Symphony* was performed by the newly organized Filharmonia Warszawska (Warsaw Philharmonic) in 1901. While citing the orchestration of the work as noteworthy, the critic for *Echo Muzyczne* added the observation that the "orchestra of Beethoven" was often heard in the work.[13]

Both of Dobrzyński's symphonies continued to be performed in the first part of the twentieth century and they received favorable reviews. A review from the 1936 performance of *Symphony No. 2* in Wilno states:

> In Poland the *Characteristic Symphony* is not performed often, so its recent performance in Wilno cannot pass without the impression that hearing it is a true delight. It has good form, nice musical thought, rather effective orchestration, and the last movement is full of life. All of this captures the listener and builds interest for other works.[14]

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[10] *Echo Muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne* III/120 (January 16, 1886), 28.

[11] Echo Muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne *XIII*/665 (June 27, 1896), 312.

[12] *Echo Muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne* XV/768 (June 18, 1898), 295.

[13] *Echo Muzyczne, Teatralne i Artystyczne* XVIII/48 (948) (November 30, 1901), 528.

[14] "W Polsce nie wykonywano 'Symfonji charakterystycznej' często, więc wykonanie jej obecne w Wilnie nie mogło przejść bez wrażenia, zwłaszcza, że się jej słucha z prawdziwą przyjemnością. Forma dobra, myśli muzyczne ładne, instrumentacja dość efektowna a ostatnia część (krakowiak) pełna werwy i życia, wszystko to zajmuje słuchacza i obudza zainteresowanie dla innych utworów." *Muzyka* (1936), 57-58.

The publication of Dobrzyński's *Second Symphony* in an arrangement for piano—four hands by Sennewald in the 1860's undoubtedly contributed to the good reception of the work after Dobrzyński's death. There was enough interest in Dobrzyński's symphonic music to sponsor a piano edition of the earlier symphony by Mękarski in 1880, but a modern edition of either score has yet to appear. The publication of *Symphony No. 2* is planned for the contemporary series *Symfonie Polskie*, edited by Zygmunt M. Szweykowski. The work is listed on the cover of later additions to the series as being in preparation, but it has not yet been published.[15]

Two reasons can be forwarded for the limited interest in Dobrzyński's music by concert audiences and scholars since the nineteenth century. First of all, any achievement made by Dobrzyński has been overshadowed by two of his contemporaries, Chopin and Moniuszko. Of all the Polish composers of the nineteenth century, Chopin has been the most important to concert audiences around the world. Moniuszko, on the other hand, is known primarily in Poland, but his operas mark the establishment of a Polish national style which insures his position in the history of Polish music. In addition, Dobrzyński had no famous students and therefore failed to influence the succeeding generation of Polish composers. This can be considered a matter of circumstances, since there were no music schools during the period of his activities. In spite of this, Dobrzyński's music deserves a position of more significance in the history of Nationalism in music.

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[15]Jan Paździora, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, letter to the author, March 28, 1980.

Dobrzyński as a Nationalist

The tradition of national characteristics in the Polish symphony from the eighteenth century was traced in Chapter II. In the nineteenth century this line was continued with the mazurkas and krakowiaks of Elsner's *Symphony in C major*, Op. 11 and culminated with the folk elements in Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2*, Op. 15. Although eighteenth-century Polish symphonies incorporated national rhythms as a local curiosity, the addition of the Lydian fourth from Polish folk music can be linked chronologically with the full partition of Poland in 1794. Generally, however, the Romantic concept of Nationalism in music is not seen in Poland until later in the century.

Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2 in C minor* is a significant work in the early history of nationalist music for several reasons. It is important that the creation of this symphony can be connected with a specific political event, the November Insurrection of 1830. Dobrzyński's patriotic feelings at this critical time are displayed not only in this symphony, which is saturated with patriotic feeling, but also in his other musical activities of the years 1830-1831. Although rhythms are the only basis for the "Polishness" of several movements, a specific folk melody and a patriotic song are used in other parts of the symphony. Folk melodies had been incorporated in other genres, such as operas and sacred music, but not to this extent.

The criteria just used to support Dobrzyński's name as an early nationalist would admittedly also apply to the music of Chopin. George Marek and Maria Gordon-Smith, however, suggest that Polish elements in

Chopin's music represent a Poland fantasized by a Parisian exile.[16] Following this line of thought, Dobrzyński's music would reflect the reality of nineteenth-century Poland, including the limitations on musical patriotism induced by the Russian authorities.

The recognition of Nationalism in Dobrzyński's music has been overlooked mostly because he excelled in the wrong genre—that of the symphony. Had his songs and opera been of higher quality and better known, they might have pricked the national conscience, as his symphonies would have, had Poland not lacked the orchestras of the rest of Europe. Songs and opera also had the advantage of a text to relate patriotic sentiments directly. Stanisław Moniuszko, for example, known primarily as a composer of operas and songs, receives the credit for the development of a Polish national style. Although Dobrzyński's instrumental music was of little influence in the development of Polish Nationalism, it is an outstanding contribution toward this aim and deserves to be studied and heard in performance.

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[16] George R. Marek and Maria Gordon-Smith, *Chopin* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), 67.

APPENDIX

LIST OF I.F. DOBRZYŃSKI'S WORKS

In the course of preparing the biography of Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński the need for a complete list of the composer's works became evident. The most complete list to date is in Stefan Jarociński's article on Dobrzyński in the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, however, as the details of Dobrzyński's career fell into place, it became apparent that this list needed amending. A number of works, especially those without opus number, are missing from Jarociński's compilation, while the dates of composition he lists for some of the works can be challenged with evidence from Polish and German newspapers.[1]

Since this new list of works developed as a corollary to the study of Dobrzyński's life and symphonies, it only reflects the current state of research on the composer's activity. In most cases, the commentary on the pieces is derived not from an examination of the music, but from secondary sources, such as catalogue cards in Polish libraries. The *Słownik muzyków polskich* remains the source for the years of composition in the following handlist, except where a different date is suggested by newly discovered nineteenth-century documentation. Dates have also been added for published editions of Dobrzyński's music.

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[1] Stefan Jarociński, "Ignacy Feliks Dobrzyński," *Słownik muzyków polskich*, 2 vols., ed. Józef Chomiński (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1962), I, 114-115.

In addition to newspaper references, biographical articles such those by Sowiński and Kolberg are the most important nineteenth-century sources. The Dobrzyński manuscripts listed here are collected in the library of the Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne (Warsaw Music Society) and are also available on microfilm at the Biblioteka Narodowa. Although this catalogue provides a great number of corrections and additions to Dobrzyński's *oeuvre*, current Polish research will undoubtedly shed more light on Dobrzyński's works.[2]

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[2]Information on Dobrzyński's publications collected by Wojciech Tomaszewski for his research on nineteenth-century Polish music publishing was particularly helpful in preparing this list of works.

Orchestral Music

Overture, Op. 1, 1824, WTM[3] *Ms. 1130.*

The *Overture*, Op. 1, for full orchestra, was dedicated to Colonel A. Listowski. Dobrzyński's introduction to Warsaw's music society was marked by the first performance of this work in a Teatr Narodowy concert on September 29, 1827. According to a note on the last page of the manuscript score, the work had been composed in 1824 when Dobrzyński was seventeen years old, but revised in Warsaw on May 21, 1844.

Symphony No. 1, Op. 11, 1829, WTM *Ms. 975.* Four-hand piano arrangement, Warsaw: Mękarski, 1880.

The *First Symphony in B-flat major* is a four-movement work scored for full orchestra. Although some references maintain that this symphony was composed in 1830, a manuscript of the piano reduction (WTM *Ms. 1143*) is dated 1829. The first performance of this composition was at a concert of the Resursa Kupiecka in October of 1834. In 1880 an arrangement for piano—four hands was published by Mękarski, according to the Biblioteka Narodowa.

Symphony No. 2, Op. 15, 1831, WTM *Ms. 976.* Four-hand piano arrangement, Warsaw: Sennewald, *c.* 1860-1867.

The *Second Symphony*, in C minor, carries the subtitles "Charac-

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[3]The Warszawski Towarzystwo Muzyczne will be abbreviated WTM.

teristic Symphony," "Contest Symphony," or "in the spirit of Polish music." There are five movements for this work extant because of the replacement of the original slow movement with one containing a Polish theme. The new second movement incorporates the *Kościuszko Polonaise*, while the last movement is based on the folk tune "Albośmy to jacy tacy."

Composed in 1831, this symphony was entered in a composition contest in Vienna in 1835 at the recommendation of Dobrzyński's teacher, Józef Elsner. Judged in second place, the symphony received a prize hearing in Vienna on March 17, 1836 in a concert of the Concerts spirituels, the organization which had sponsored the contest.

A manuscript copy of the symphony dating from 1834 is contained in the collection of the Warsaw Music Society. In addition, orchestral parts from 1836 were mentioned in a 1970 article by Adam Mrygoń.[4] These were later determined to be in the Graz Conservatory Library (*Ms. 40.569*). Between 1860 and 1867 an arrangement of the symphony for piano—four hands was prepared by Dobrzyński's son, Bronisław, and published by the Warsaw firm of G. Sennewald.[5]

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[4]Adam Mrygoń, "Polonica muzyczne w zbiorach austriackich," *Muzyka* XV/2 (1970), 108. The location of the parts is not cited in the article.

[5]Biblioteka Narodowa.

Overture, Op. 26, *c.* 1834.

Although Sowiński listed three overtures by Dobrzyński, all in piano arrangement, only this work and Op. 1 are mentioned in other sources, and only Kolberg corraborates Sowiński's claim for the piano version of Op. 26.

Two Polonaises, Op. 31, 1835, WTM *Ms. 1121.* Four-hand piano arrangement, Warsaw: Sennewald, *c.* 1865.

In 1835 Dobrzyński composed two concert polonaises and dedicated them to the "Director Koss." The only extant manuscript dates from about 1850 and has the indication "op. 31" added in pencil; at one time it belonged to A. Munchheimer. Dobrzyński's son Józef prepared an arrangement for piano—four hands which was published in the 1860's by Sennewald.[6]

Funeral March on the Death of Beethoven, Op. 38, 1840, WTM *Ms. 1119.* Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, date unknown.

Often referred to as *Hommage à Beethoven*, this orchestral work was composed in 1840. The manuscript score and orchestral parts date from about 1860. According to the Pazdírek catalogue, the work was published by the firm of Bote und Bock.[7]

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[6]Adolph Hofmeister, ed. *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* VI (1860-1867) (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1868), 102.

[7]Franz Pazdírek, *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker*, 11 vols. (Wien: Pazdírek, 1904-1910), III, 291-292.

Humoresque, Op. 53, 1847, WTM *Ms. 1134.*

The *Humoresque* or *Capriccio* for orchestra on an Italian theme was composed in 1847 during Dobrzyński's tour of Germany. The manuscript is incomplete.

Scherzo, Op. 56, 1849.

According to Sowiński, this work appeared in an arrangement for piano—four hands, but this version is otherwise unknown.[8]

Lamentacja nad gróbem Chrystusa Pana, date unknown, WTM *Ms. 1133.*

Only a copy of orchestral parts to this *Lamentation by Christ's Grave* exists. The parts are undated.

Allegro agitato, *c.* 1850, WTM *Ms. 1136.*

This entry consists of two pages of score from an unidentified movement autographed by Dobrzyński. The fragment has been assigned a date around 1850 by the Warsaw Music Society.

Obrazek muzyczny na przedstawiony w 12 melodjach, 1856. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1856.

The *Musical Image in Twelve Melodies* was composed for the coronation of Czar Alexander II in Moscow on September 7, 1856.[9]

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[8]Albert Sowinski, *Les Musiciens polonais et slaves* (Paris: Librairie Adrien Le Clere, 1857), 156-158.

[9]*Kurier Warszawski* (November 19, 1856).

Wspomniane Kujaw, 1837. Warsaw: Bułokowski, 1837.

This mazurka in "five parts with an introduction and coda" was performed in Warsaw by Herman's Wrocław orchestra in 1837. A piano reduction published by Bułokowski i Spółki has been dated *c.* 1845 by the Biblioteka Narodowa, however, it had already been advertised in September of 1837.[10]

Funeral March on the Death of Józef Elsner, 1854, WTM *Ms. 1118*.

Composed for Elsner's funeral in 1854, this work for wind instruments is available in a manuscript score. Although Kolberg listed the composition as a published work, no further details are known.[11]

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[10]*Kurier Warszawski* (September 10, 1837).

[11]Oskar Kolberg, "Dobrzyński," *Encyklopedyja powszechna* VII (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1861), 195-197.

Chamber Music

String Quartet, Op. 7, 1828, WTM *Ms. 1140*. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1952.

The *First String Quartet*, in E minor, was dedicated to Auguste Zimmermann, "membre de la Chapelle de S.M. Roi de Prusse."[12] Besides the manuscript, it was published in a modern edition by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1952.[13]

String Quartet, Op. 8, 1828, WTM *Ms. 1141*.

The *Second Quartet for Strings*, in D minor, was composed in 1828 and first performed on March 6, 1834 at the Resursa Kupiecka. The autograph score bears the notations "Varsovie 1829" and "No. 48. Erhalten den 6ten Mai 1839. K. Ferd. Heckel."

Concert Variations, Op. 12, 1829-1830. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1829-1830.

These variations in C major on a mazurka scored for piano, two violins, viola, violoncello, bass, and flute are dedicated to Dobrzyński's student, Mr. Jean Szwykowski.[14] The work dates from the period 1829 to 1830 and was published by Breitkopf und Härtel.[15]

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[12]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *Ignacy Dobrzyński w zakresie działalności dążącej do postępu muzyki w współczesnej jemu epoce* (Warszawa: F. Krokoszyński, 1893), 186.

[13]Jarociński, *op. cit.*

[14]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 187.

[15]Adolph Hofmeister, ed. *C.F. Whistling's Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* I-III (to 1844) (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1845), 153.

String Quartet, Op. 13, 1830.

The *Third String Quartet*, in E major, was composed in 1830, but no copies are known to exist.

Piano Trio, Op. 17, 1831, WTM *Ms. 1139*. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1836.

The *Grand Trio* for piano, violin, and violoncello was dedicated to Johann Nepumuk Hummel. The large number of advertisements sponsored by Hofmeister and the copious reviews indicate that this was one of Dobrzyński's most popular pieces.[16]

String Quintet, Op. 20, 1831. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1835-1836.

The *F major Quintet* for two violins, viola, and two violoncellos (or two violas and one cello) was dedicated "à Monsieur George Onslow par son admirateur" and was first performed on November 20, 1834 at a concert of the Resursa Kupiecka. The work is dated 1831, but the plate number of Hofmeister's edition indicates that it was published between 1835 and 1836.[17] The middle section of the slow movement of the quintet quotes the *Dąbrowski Mazurka*.

String Sextet, Op. 39, 1841. Leipzig: Hofmeister, *c.* 1845.

Dobrzyński composed the *String Sextet* for two violins, viola,

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[16] *Gazeta Warszawska* (October 31, 1836), 4.

[17] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Musikverlags Nummern* (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1961), 15.

two violoncellos, and double bass in 1841 and dedicated the work to Ludwig Paprocki. It was published about 1845 by the firm of Hofmeister.[18]

String Quintet, Op. 40, 1841. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1846.

The *Second Quintet for Strings*, in the key of A minor, has the same instrumentation as the *First Quintet*. Composed in 1841 and dedicated "à M. Charles Lipinski," this *Quintet* was also published by F. Hofmeister.[19]

Sen chrzescijanina, Op. 57, 1850.

Described as a religious fantasy, the chamber work *Dream of a Christian* was composed in 1850. It is scored for ten instruments: flute, oboe, clarinet, bass clarinet, bassoon, horn, violin, viola, violoncello, and double bass. The only knowledge of the work comes to us from Kolberg.[20]

Study on an Original Theme, 1867, WTM *Ms. 1143*$^{1-2}$.

This study in double counterpoint is scored for string quartet. The extant score and parts are dated 1867.

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[18] Biblioteka Narodowa.

[19] *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XLVIII/20 (May 20, 1846), 344.

[20] Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna*; Oskar Kolberg, "Dobrzyński," *Noworocznik (Kalendarz) Ilustrowany dla Polek* III (1863), 299-307.

Six Harmonies on the Celebrated Theme "God Save the King," date unknown, WTM *Ms. 1142.*

These variations for string quartet survive in a copy of the score.

Works for Solo Instrument and Accompaniment

Duo, for Violin and Piano, Op. 9, 1828. Leipzig: Hofmeister, before 1844.

This work for violin and piano is also referred to as an *Introduction and Variations on an Original Theme.* Dedicated to Mme. Guillemette Sennewald,[21] the work was composed in 1828 and later published by F. Hofmeister.[22]

Introduction and Variations, for Flute and Piano, Op. 18, 1831. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1835-1836.

A set of variations on the mazurka "Trzeci Maj," Dobrzyński dedicated this work "à Auguste Zimmermann, Première Flûte du Grande Theâtre du Varsovie." According to the Hofmeister plate number, the print of this composition was issued about 1835 or 1836.[23]

Variations, for Bassoon and Orchestra, Op. 28, 1834.

This set of variations or fantasy on an original theme for bassoon and orchestra was composed in 1834.[24]

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[21]Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.*, 187.

[22]Hofmeister, *Handbuch* I-III, 22.

[23]Biblioteka Narodowa.

[24]Sowinski, *op. cit.*; Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna, Nowo-rocznik.*

Fantasy, for Trumpet and Orchestra, Op. 35, 1839, WTM *Mss. 1125* and *1126*.

A *Fantasy* or *Variations* for trumpet and orchestra, composed in 1839, is listed in nineteenth-century sources, however, this information is difficult to correlate with the two extant manuscripts. The first work has a different opus number on the title page, "Fantasie, Op. 44. Pour la trompette à piston avec accomp. d'orchestre," while the second manuscript is only identified as a work for trumpet and orchestra.[25]

Fantasy, for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 36, 1840, WTM *Ms. 1146*.

Based on motives from Dobrzyński's opera *Monbar czyli Flibustierowie*, this work was dedicated to Kazimierz Baronowski.[26] The manuscript has the notation "& piano. Oeuv. 32."

Les Larmes, for Violin and Piano, Op. 41, 1843. Magdeburg: Heinrichshofer, 1847.

Les Larmes, a "meditation" for violin (or violoncello) and piano, was published by several music firms. One edition was published in Magdeburg by Heinrichshofer in 1847[27] and another was released by Hösick in Warsaw.

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[25]Sowinski, *op. cit.*; Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna, Noworocznik*.

[26]Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[27]*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXVIII/3 (January 8, 1848), 19.

Variations, for Violoncello and Piano, Op. 42, 1843.

According to Sowiński this composition was composed in 1843. It is no longer extant.

Elegy, for Violoncello and Orchestra, Op. 43, 1843.

According to the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, the *Elegy*, Op. 43, was composed in 1834, however, Kolberg dated the work from 1843, a year more in keeping with the cycle of opus numbers.[28] A performance in June of 1843 may have been the first presentation of the work.[29]

Introduction and Variations, for Trombone and Orchestra, Op. 45, 1845.

Sowiński and both of Kolberg's lists indicate that this work was composed in 1845.[30]

Nocturne, for Violoncello and Piano, Op. 46, 1845.

Most of the sources suggest that this nocturne was completed in 1845.[31]

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[28] Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[29] *Gazeta Teatralna* (June 21, 1843), 6-7.

[30] Sowinski, *op. cit.*; Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna*, *Noworocznik*.

[31] *Ibid.*

Duo, for Clarinet and Horn, Op. 47, 1846, WTM *Ms. 1145*. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1959.

The *Duo* for Waldhorn in E-flat and clarinet in B-flat was released in a modern edition by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1959. The manuscript copy of the horn and clarinet duet causes some confusion with the date of composition because the work is said to be based on Dobrzyński's music to *Konrad Wallenrod* and therefore should be dated about 1860. Kolberg's 1863 compilation of Dobrzyński's works lists Op. 47 as a duet for clarinet and piano,[32] while the manuscript of *Souvenir de Dresde* for oboe, piano, and obbligato violoncello also has the same opus number.[33] It is not known how these other woodwind pieces relate musically to the clarinet and horn duet.

Andante and Rondo alla Polacca, for Flute and Orchestra, Op. 62, 1851, WTM *Ms. 1124*. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1953.

Contrary to the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, which notes that this work for flute was composed by Dobrzyński in 1851, the extant autograph score, with its notation "Oeuv. 42," has been dated at about 1840.[34] This manuscript also shows a dedication to "M. Joseph Kobylecki."

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[32]Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[33]Biblioteka Narodowa.

[34]*Ibid.*

Concerto for Clarinet, c. 1850, WTM *Ms. 1147.* Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1953.

This manuscript score for clarinet and piano, which includes a separate clarinet part, has been dated by the Warsaw Music Society at about 1850. The modern edition of the concerto was published by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne in 1853.

Works for Piano and Orchestra

Piano Concerto, Op. 2, 1824, *WTM Ms. 7500.*

Dobrzyński's only piano concerto is an early composition written a year before the composer's arrival in Warsaw in 1825. An autograph score exists for this three-movement work, but in spite of it being an early example of the piano concerto in Poland, it has not been published and hence is relatively unknown.

Rondo alla polacca, for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 6, 1827. Four-hand piano arrangement, Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1835.

This work was dedicated to Maurice Ernemann. The date of the piano arrangement was determined by the Biblioteka Narodowa.

Introduction and Variations on a Mazurka, Op. 12, 1830. Leipzig: Hofmeister, before 1844.

This piano composition was dedicated to "Jean Szwykowski," one of Dobrzyński's students. The Hofmeister catalogues of 1844 indicate that this work was published between 1838 and 1844.[35]

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[35]Hofmeister, *Handbuch* I-III, 153.

Piano Music

Charmes de Varsovie, Book I, Op. 3, 1824. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834-1838.

This early collection of four polonaises was published by F. Hofmeister. Kolberg listed a group of four polonaises for piano, without opus number, composed in 1824, which is probably this collection.[36]

Variations, Op. 4, 1824. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834-1838.

These variations are said to be on an original theme in Russian style and according to Bronisław Dobrzyński, they were dedicated to "Mr. Mathilde Abramowicz, Inspectrice General des Instituts d'Education des jeunes Demoiselles."[37] They were composed in 1824 and published by F. Hofmeister between 1834 and 1838.[38]

Fantasy, Op. 10, 1828. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1836.

This piano fantasy, Op. 10, is in the form of a fugue based on a popular mazurka. The piece was dedicated to Frédéric Chopin.

Variations on the Mazurka "Kujawianka," Op. 14, 1830. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834.

Dobrzyński's variations on this mazurka were composed in 1830

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[36] Carl Friedrick Whistling, ed. *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* (Hildesheim, New York: G. Olms, 1975, reprint of 1828 ed. and 3 supplements: I (1829) by Whistling; II (1834) and III (1839) by F. Hofmeister), Supplement III (1834-1838), 226.

[37] Bronisław Dobrzyński, *op. cit.,* 186.

[38] Hofmeister, *Handbuch (1828),* Supplement III (1834-1838), 201.

and dedicated to Constance Zdziechowska. The work, according to the publisher's plate number, was published by F. Hofmeister about 1834. In that same year the *Kurier Warszawski* reported the first performance of this mazurka with variations as being for soprano and piano, and that it took place in the hall of the Resursa Kupiecka.[39] At one time, then, there were two versions of this composition.

Three Mazurkas, Op. 16, 1831. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1842.

The publication of this collection of mazurkas by F. Hofmeister was advertised in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in March, 1842.[40]

Four Marches, for Piano—Four hands, Op. 19, 1831. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834-1838.

According to the Hofmeister catalogues, this collection was published between 1834 and 1838.[41]

Three Nocturnes, Op. 21, 1833. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834-1838.

Dobrzyński's second set of nocturnes was composed in 1833. Hofmeister tells us that they were published between 1834 and 1838.[42]

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[39] *Kurier Warszawski* (October 22, 1834).

[40] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XVI/21 (March 11, 1842), 85a.

[41] Hofmeister, *Handbuch (1828)*, Supplement III (1834-1838), 105.

[42] *Ibid.*, 155.

Introduction and Variations on an Original Theme, Op. 22, 1833. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1838.

The publisher's plate number indicates that this piano work was published about 1838. The work was dedicated to Dobrzyński's friend Eduard Stolpe.[43]

Charmes de Varsovie, Book II, Op. 23, date unknown. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1834-1838.

This collection of four mazurkas, three waltzes, and two galops compliments the four polonaises of Op. 3. Although the date of composition for these piano minatures is not known, they were published by Hofmeister between 1834 and 1838.[44]

Two Nocturnes, Op. 24, 1834. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1838.

These two nocturnes, composed in 1834, were dedicated to Eduard Dobrzyński, the composer's brother. The plate number of the Hofmeister edition places the publication of this work in the year 1838.[45] The next year, a review of this publication appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.*[46]

Two Mazurkas, Op. 25, 1834.

According to Kolberg these piano miniatures were published, but

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[43] Biblioteka Narodowa.

[44] Hofmeister, *Handbuch (1828),* Supplement III (1834-1838), 226.

[45] Deutsch, *op. cit.*

[46] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XI/36 (November 1, 1839), 143.

no further information is available.[47]

Three Mazurkas, Op. 27, 1834.

Like the Op. 25 mazurkas these were listed by Kolberg as published works, but further publishing information is not known.[48]

Romance, Op. 32, 1839.

This piece, described as a "Romanesca, morceau harmonique," was listed as a published work by Kolberg, however, the print is not otherwise known to exist.[49]

Two Mazurkas, Op. 33, 1839. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1839.

Two newly composed mazurkas dedicated to General Nesselrode were published by Klukowski in 1839. In June of that year Dobrzyński personally announced the availability of these works.[50]

Two Mazurkas, Op. 37, 1840. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, after 1846.

The *Two Mazurkas*, Op. 37 were published by Bote and Bock after 1846, according to the Biblioteka Narodowa. The first piece is dedicated to "Mme la comtesse Marie Skarbek née Wodzinska," and

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[47] Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna, Noworocznik.*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Kolberg, *Noworocznik.*

[50] *Kurier Warszawski* (June 6, 1839).

the second to "Mademoiselle Sophie Malhomme." In January 1841 the *Kurier Warszawski* reported that the mazurkas were performed at both Resursas and also at the Teatr Rozmaitość.[51]

Résignation, Op. 48, 1846. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, 1846.

Résignation, dedicated to Natalie Lipińska, seems to have been published in a series of nineteenth-century editions, the earliest being that of Bote and Bock. Although the Biblioteka Narodowa dated this print from *c.* 1848-1850, it was reviewed in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as early as January, 1847.[52] The Pazdírek catalogue lists this Bote print, as well as editions by Litolff, Tonger, Heugel, and Hansen. Bote also published a two piano edition and a version for piano and horn. About 1887 *Résignation* was published in Warsaw by Hösick.

Ricordanza, Op. 49, 1846. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1847.

References in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* indicate that this piano work was probably published in the first half of 1847.[53]

Rhapsody, Op. 51, 1846. Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1847.

According to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, this piece was pub-

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[51] *Kurier Warszawski* (January 7, 1841).

[52] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXVI/3 (January 8, 1847), 9.

[53] *Neue Zeitschrift fur Musik* XXVII/15 (August 19, 1847), 92; XXVII/27 (September 30, 1847), 162.

lished in 1847.[54]

Nocturne on a Polish Melody, Op. 52, 1846. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, 1846.

This work is dated 1847 in the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, however, the existance of a review in the January 8, 1847 issue of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* suggests that the piece was composed in the previous year.[55] Dedicated to John Mair Rolph, this nocturne was first published by Bote and Bock and then in 1898 by Hösick.

Impromptu, Op. 54, 1847. Warsaw: Gazeta Muzyczna i Teatralna, 1866.

This piano work was published in the *Album muzyczne, nr. 2* (1866) compiled for subscribers to the *Gazeta Muzyczna i Teatralna*. It was also printed in 1881 as a musical appendix to the journal *Echo Muzyczne*.[56] This *Impromptu* seems, however, to have been released in an earlier edition, for it was listed by Kolberg in 1861 as a published work.[57]

La Primavera, Op. 55, 1847. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, 1847.

Dedicated by Dobrzyński to his family, this "morceau brillant"

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[54] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXVII/15 (August 19, 1847), 92.

[55] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXVI/3 (January 8, 1847), 9.

[56] Biblioteka Narodowa.

[57] Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna*.

is given the composition date of 1849 in the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, however, there is a review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as early as August 5, 1847.[58] This Bote and Bock edition has been dated 1846 by the Biblioteka Narodowa.

Hommage à Mozart, Op. 59, 1847. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, 1847.

This fantasy on motives from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* was composed in 1850, according to the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, however, the edition by Bote and Bock was published several years before this date. This is confirmed by a December, 1847 advertisement in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.[59]

Mouvement et Repos, Op. 60, 1848. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, 1848.

According to the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, this etude was composed in 1850, but it was published by the firm of Bote and Bock and advertised in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as early as December, 1848.[60]

Tarantella, Op. 61, *c.* 1851. Berlin and Breslau: Bote und Bock, date unknown.

According to the Pazdírek catalogue, this piano piece was pub-

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[58] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXVII/11 (August 5, 1847), 63.

[59] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXVII/51 (December 23, 1847), 306.

[60] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXIX/23 (September 16, 1848), 131. In the advertisement the work is labelled Op. 66.

lished by Bote and Bock. The opus number suggests that it was probably composed around 1851.

Grande valse brillante, Op. 63, 1853. Warsaw: Friedlein, 1853-1859.

This waltz for piano was published in Warsaw by R. Friedlein sometime between 1853, its year of composition, and 1859.[61]

Souvenir d'Oukraine, Op. 64, 1853. Warsaw: Friedlein, 1858.

The Friedlein print of this "morceau caracteristique" has been dated about 1870 by the Biblioteka Narodowa, however, it was reviewed in *Ruch Muzyczny* in May, 1858.[62]

Danse napolitaine, Op. 65, 1853. Warsaw: Friedlein, 1853-1859.

Danse napolitaine was published by R. Friedlein sometime between 1853 and 1859.[63]

Piano Works Without Opus Number

Two Polonaises, 1826. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1826.[64]

A set of two polonaises composed by Ignacy Dobrzyński was advertised in the Warsaw newspapers.[65]

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[61]Adolph Hofmeister, ed. *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* V (1852-1859) (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1860), 134.

[62]*Ruch Muzyczny* II/19 (May 12, 1858), 150.

[63]Hofmeister, *Handbuch* V, 134.

[64]The authenticity of the first four works was discussed in Chapter III. The two sets of polonaises do not seem to be the same work, but copies have not been seen.

[65]*Kurier Warszawski* (February 20, 1826), 180; *Gazeta Korespondentu Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* (February 27, 1826), 358.

Mazurek, 1826. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1826.

This mazurek by Ignacy Dobrzyński was advertised in April of 1826.[66]

Two Polonaises, 1826. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1826.

This set of polonaises by Ignacy Dobrzyński was dedicated to Karol Kurpiński.[67]

Two Waltzes, 1827. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1827.

The pair of waltzes by Ignacy Dobrzyński was published by Klukowski early in 1827.[68]

Dąbrowski Mazurka, 1830. Wilno: No publisher, 1861.

Dobrzyński's arrangement of the *Dąbrowski Mazurka* dates from the time of the November Insurrection. A December, 1830 notice in the *Kurier Warszawski* indicates that this patriotic song was performed at the beginning and end of a concert planned by Dobrzyński and his father.[69] According to Karol Kurpiński's diary, this arrangement was for piano.[70]

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[66] *Gazeta Warszawska* (April 7, 1826), 826; *Kurier Warszawski* (April 8, 1826), 340.

[67] *Kurier Warszawski* (August 31, 1826), 894; *Gazeta Warszawska* (September 1, 1826), 2052.

[68] *Kurier Warszawski* (February 12, 1827), 165.

[69] *Kurier Warszawski* (December 18, 1830), 1761-1762.

[70] Tadeusz Przybylski, "Fragmenty 'Dziennika Prywatnego' Karola Kurpińskiego," *Muzyka* XX/4 (1975), 110.

The *Dąbrowski Mazurka*, formerly known as the "Song of the Polish Legions," was created outside of Poland in 1797. At this time Polish legions attached to the French Army in Italy were being formed by General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski. The song was written by Józef Wibicki to the tune of a popular mazurka and became the symbol of Poland's indestructibility and hope for a future rebirth, but after the defeat of the November Uprising, it was banned as a seditious national song. It has been the national anthem of Poland since 1926.[71]

Dobrzyński's arrangement of the *Dąbrowski Mazurka* was published in Wilno in 1861, with no publisher indicated on the print. Not only is the city of origin unusual, but the censor's approval appears on the title page rather than inside. This was evidently done to counter the questionable legality of the work.[72]

Polonaise, date unknown. Warsaw: Sennewald, 1835.

This polonaise was published by Sennewald in 1835, according to the Biblioteka Narodowa. It was advertised in the *Kurier Warszawski* in February of 1836.[73]

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[71] *Poland: A Handbook* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1977), 16-17.

[72] Krzysztof Mazur, "Polskie edytorstwo muzyczne między powstanien listopadowym a styczniowym," *Szkice o kulturze muzycznej XIX wieku*, ed. Zofia Chechlińska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 67.

[73] *Kurier Warszawski* (February 14, 1836).

Excerpts from Bellini's La Sonnambula, date unknown. Warsaw: Sennewald, 1840.

Some Excerpts of Bellini's opera arranged by Dobrzyński for piano were published by Sennewald. An advertisement for this publication appeared in the press in June of 1840.[74]

Solemn March for the Golden Wedding Anniversary of Elsner, 1852. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1852.

Dobrzyński's march, performed on June 23, 1852 for Elsner's fiftieth wedding anniversary, incorporates the theme from Elsner's opera *Łobietek* in the trio.[75] The march was published by Klukowski soon after the celebration.[76]

Nocturne and Mazurka, date unknown. Warsaw: Album muzyczny, 1853.

These piano pieces were printed in the *Album muzyczny* issued in 1853.[77] No other information about this anthology is available.

Mazurek, date unknown. Warsaw: Sennewald, 1855.

The publication of this *Mazurek* for piano—four hands by Sennewald was advertised in the *Kurier Warszawski* in October, 1855. The piece was dedicated to the Countess Zofia Skarbek.[78]

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[74] *Kurier Warszawski* (June 3, 1840).

[75] *Gazeta Warszawska* (June 25, 1852), 1-3.

[76] *Kurier Warszawski* (July 16, 1852).

[77] Biblioteka Narodowa.

[78] *Kurier Warszawski* (October 7, 1855).

The Favorite March of Prince Józef Poniatowski, date unknown. Warsaw: Fleck, 1857.

Examples of this piano piece indicate that an edition was also published by J. Kaufman. Although both prints have been dated about 1860 by the Biblioteka Narodowa, advertisement for the Fleck publication in the *Kurier Warszawski* indicates that at least this version was published in 1857.[79]

Marche triomphale, date unknown. Warsaw: Hösick, *c.* 1880.

A copy of this march published in Warsaw by F. Hösick about 1880 is included in the collection of the Biblioteka Narodowa. It is an edition prepared by Bronisław Dobrzyński.

Method for Piano. Warsaw: Sennewald, 1845.

Dobrzyński's *Szkoła na fortepian* was published in Warsaw by G. Sennewald in 1845. He dedicated this educational work to his countrymen.[80]

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[79] *Kurier Warszawski* (December 29, 1857).

[80] Biblioteka Narodowa.

Vocal Music

Pieśni sielskie, Op. 23, 1833, WTM *Ms. 1155*. Poznań: Zupański, 1845.

This song cycle to the set of poems "Pieśni sielskie" by Stefan Witwicki was composed in 1833. According to Kolberg, the cycle was first published in Warsaw and in 1846 it was issued in Berlin with both Polish and German texts.[81] The only edition which can be documented is the one published in Poznań by Zupański which contained eight songs.[82] A manuscript to the song "Wojak" is extant.

La Partenza, Op. 29, 1835.

La Partenza "Ecce qual fiero" is a romance for soprano or tenor with piano accompaniment and violoncello obbligato. Only Kolberg lists this piece as a published work.[83]

Nie mogę być twoją, Op. 50, 1846. Warsaw: Friedlein, 1851.

This mazurek for voice and piano was composed to a text of S. Zieliński. It was published by R. Friedlein in Warsaw and advertised in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in May of 1851.[84]

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[81] Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[82] Adolph Hofmeister, ed. *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* IV (1844-1851) (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1852), 309.

[83] Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna*, *Noworocznik*.

[84] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XXXV/19 (May 9, 1851), 204.

Rozmowa ze słowikiem, Op. 67, 1858. Warsaw: Gebethner, 1858.

This setting of verses by T. Lenartowicz was published in 1858 by Gebethner according to announcements in *Ruch Muzyczny*.[85]

"Chłopek," Op. 67, 1858. Warsaw: Gebethner, 1858.

"Chłopek," from *Songs of the Farmers*, was composed to a text of Kazimierz Brodziński. It was published in 1858 by Gebethner and advertised in *Ruch Muzyczny*.[86]

Szklanka z winem, date unknown. Warsaw: Klukowski, 1829.

According to the Biblioteka Narodowa, this mazurka was published by Klukowski in 1829.

Pieśń narodowa, 1830. Warsaw: Magnus, 1830.

The "National Song," a setting of the text of Jachowicz, was described in the newspapers as a potpourii on Polish themes. It was published in 1830 by Magnus of Warsaw.[87]

Grzeczna niawiara, date unknown. Warsaw: Publisher unknown, 1844.

According to the Biblioteka Narodowa catalogue, this song was published in Warsaw in 1844, but the publisher is not known.

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[85] *Ruch Muzyczny* II/31 (August 4, 1858), 247.

[86] *Ruch Muzyczny* II/29 (July 21, 1858).

[87] *Kurier Warszawski* (December 30, 1830), 1817.

The text was by Marcin Ciepliński.

Pieśni ludowych, 1845.

According to Kolberg, this set of six folk songs was composed for the Wojkowski's while Dobrzyński was in Poznań in 1845. The texts are by Wasilewski.[88]

Ach, to źle, date unknown. Warsaw: Friedlein, 1851.

This song with a text by Józef D. Minasowicz was published in 1851 by R. Friedlein.[89] An edition with parallel German text was published by Bote and Bock between 1852 and 1859.[90]

Oberek, date unknown. Warsaw: Gebethner, 1858.

The *Oberek*, a song to the poetry of Wolski, was published by Gebethner about 1858.

Alina's Song, date unknown, WTM *Ms. 1150*. Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, *c.* 1862.

This song is a setting of the poem "Alina" by Adam Maszewski, and according to the Hofmeister catalogues, it was published by Gebethner and Wolff about 1862.[90]

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[88] Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[89] *Kurier Warszawski* (April 30, 1851).

[90] Hofmeister, *Handbuch* V (1852-1859), 388.

[91] Hofmeister, *Handbuch* VI (1860-1867), 468.

Kujawianka, date unknown. Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1860-1863.

A setting of verses by Chyliński, this song was published by Gebethner and Wolff who also published the *Variation on the Theme of the Kujawianka* for soprano solo.[92] These citations may refer to the same piece.

Piosenka przy krosienkach, 1865, WTM *Ms. 1151*[1-2].

"Dreams of Spring, a Song by the Looms" is a setting of verse by Józef Bohdan Zaleski. An extant manuscript is dated December 19, 1865.

Listek kalinowy, date unknown. Warsaw: Hösick, 1898.

According to the censor's mark, this song was published in 1898.[93]

The only known references to the next five songs are found in Jarociński's article on Dobrzyński in the *Słownik muzyków polskich*.

Opuszczony, date unknown.

Piośnka gajowego, date unknown.

Moja piośnka, date unknown.

Pieśń garncarza, date unknown.

Pieśń o chlebie, date unknown.

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[92]Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[93]Biblioteka Narodowa.

Pieśń wajdeloty, date unknown.

The "Song of a Lithuanian Bard" is listed in the *Słownik muzyków polskich* as a setting of the words of Adam Mickiewicz.

Sierota, date unknown.

This is a setting of S. Pruszakowa, according to Kolberg.[94]

Song from the Comedy "Sztuki i Handel," date unknown.

This song for a drama translated from the French by K. Kaszawski is mentioned by Kolberg.[95]

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[94] Kolberg, *Noworocznik.*

[95] *Ibid.*

Choral Music

Mass, Op. 5, 1827, WTM *Ms. 1109.*

The *Mass,* Op. 5, for two tenors, bass, three trombones, and bass was composed in 1827. A manuscript score of the work is held in the collection of the Warsaw Music Society.

Cantata, Op. 34, 1833, WTM *Ms. 1112.*

This cantata written for a ceremony of the Resursa Kupiecka is dated 1839 in the *Słownik muzyków polskich*, however, a manuscript score of Op. 34 has been dated as early as 1833 by the Warsaw Music Society. The cantata is scored for men's chorus with orchestra and may be the work that was performed at the Resursa Kupiecka in July of 1834.[96]

Cantata, Op. 44, 1843.

This cantata was written for the last performance in a series of morning concerts held at the Pac Palace. The palace was confiscated by Czarist authorities at this time in order that the building could be used for the District Court of Law.[97]

Ave Maria, Op. 58, 1850.

This cantata for soprano, choir, organ, and double bass is men-

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[96] *Kurier Warszawski* (July 17, 1834).

[97] Juliusz A. Chroscicki and Andrzej Rottermund, *Atlas of Warsaw's Architecture* (Warsaw: Arkada Publishers, 1978), 169.

tioned by Kolberg, but no copy is known to exist.[98]

Święty Boże, Op. 61, 1851, WTM *Ms. 1108*. Warsaw: Pamiętnik Muzyczny i Teatralny, 1861.

This cantata for four solo voices, choir, orchestra, and organ was performed in April, 1852.[99] In the December 4, 1861 issue of *Ruch Muzyczny* the score was offered as a premium for subscriptions to the *Pamiętnik Muzyczny i Teatralny*.[100] A manuscript score to the "hymn" is extant, as is an arrangement made by Jan Karłowicz for vocal quartet, organ, and piano (WTM *Ms. 62/K*).

Funeral March on the Death of Chopin, Op. 66, 1857, WTM *Ms. 1120*. Piano arrangement, Warsaw: Kaufman, 1861.

Scored for men's chorus and orchestra, the *Funeral March* dedicated to Chopin was composed in 1857 to the text of Maksymilian Radziszewski. A piano arrangement of the work by Bronisław Dobrzyński was published in Warsaw by J. Kaufmann and advertised in *Ruch Muzyczny* in August, 1861.[101] The extant autograph score, dated *c.* 1860, has both Polish and Latin text.

Veni Creator, Op. 67, 1858, WTM *Ms. 1110*. Warsaw: Hösick, date unknown.

This cantata for four men's voices and wind orchestra was pub-

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[98] Kolberg, *Encyklopedyja powszechna, Noworocznik*.

[99] *Gazeta Warszawska* (April 1, 1852), 1.

[100] *Ruch Muzyczny* V/49 (December 4, 1861), 770.

[101] *Ruch Muzyczny* V/34 (August 22, 1861), 543.

lished by Hösick, according to the Biblioteka Narodowa. Manuscript copies of both the instrumental score and vocal parts are extant. Curiously, two songs share the opus of 67 with *Veni Creator*, but no work is assigned number 68.

Cantata on the March of Prince Jôzef Poniatowski, 1830.

A cantata by Dobrzyński on this patriotic melody was performed in a concert he and his father organized in December, 1830.[102]

Marsz za Bug, 1831. Warsaw: Brzezina, 1831.

Referring to the Bug River, the work for choir and piano was written to the text of S. Goszczyński. The march was first performed on June 29, 1831 by artists from the Teatr Narodowy at a gathering of the Patriotic Society and was made available to the public after that date by A. Brzezina.[103]

Cantata, 1831.

The completion of this cantata for solo voices, choir, and orchestra was announced in the July 1, 1831 isse of the *Gazeta Warszawska*.[104]

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[102] *Kurier Warszawski* (December 18, 1830), 1761-1762.

[103] Biblioteka Narodowa.

[104] *Gazeta Warszawska* (July 1, 1831), 1415.

Cantata for H. Lubieński's Nameday, 1831.

Dobrzyński composed this cantata for Count Henryk Lubieński, the president of the Resursa Kupiecka. The text of the work was provided by S. Goszczyński.[105]

W tych przysionkach, 1844, WTM *Ms. 1111*.

This cantata was composed for three sopranos and orchestra. The manuscript score is dated 1844.

Śpiewka o ponczu, 1849, WTM *Ms. 1152*.

The *Song about Schiller's "Punch"* is scored for a chorus of four men's voices and piano to a translation by Józef D. Minasowicz. The extant manuscript of the work is dated March 18, 1849.

Pieśń do Najświętszej Panny Maryi, date unknown. Warsaw: Friedlein, *c.* 1860.

The *Song to the Blessed Virgin*, text by Karol Kucz, is scored for soprano, choir, and organ. The Biblioteka Narodowa has suggested that it was published about 1860 by R. Friedlein.

Introduction and Mazurka, 1865, WTM *Ms. 1113*. Warsaw: Dzwonkowski, 1865.

This work for orchestra and choir to a text by Karol Kucz was completed on August 5, 1865. It was first performed five days

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[105] Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

later in a concert at the Teatr Wielki and a piano reduction was published in Warsaw during the same year by A. Dzwonkowski.[106] A manuscript score is extant.

Meditation and Scherzo, date unknown.

This composition for four men's voices was offered to the memory of Mystkowski, Studziński, Wysocki, and Kozieradzki. It is only mentioned by Kolberg in his 1863 article on Dobrzyński.[107]

Ojcze nasz, date unknown, WTM *Ms. 1154*. Warsaw: Hösick, date unknown.

Dobrzyński's setting of the *Lord's Prayer*, extant in a manuscript score, is written for four men's voices and organ. The Polish text is by Józef Minasowski. The work is listed in the Pazdírek catalogue as having been published by Hösick, but the year of the print is not known.[108]

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[106] Biblioteka Narodowa.

[107] Kolberg, *Noworocznik*.

[108] Pazdírek, *op. cit.*

Dramatic Music

Monbar czyli Flibustierowie, Op. 30, 1835-1838, WTM *Ms. 15*$^{1-3}$*op.* Piano-vocal score, Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1863.

Monbar or the Filibusterers, an opera in three acts, was composed by Dobrzyński in the years 1835-1838. The Polish libretto was written by Seweryna Duchińska-Pruszatowa and Ludwik Paprocki, based on the short novel *Der Flibuster* (1818) by K. Van der Velde. Excerpts from the opera were first performed in Warsaw on March 18, 1838.

A piano-vocal score to *Monbar* prepared by Bronisław Dobrzyński was published by Gebethner and Wolff of Warsaw in 1863. In addition, a variety of pieces from the opera were issued by this publisher in arrangements for piano, two and four hands. A manuscript score exists for the entire work.

Konrad Wallenrod, Op. 69, 1859-1860, 1864, WTM *Ms. 1107*. Four-hand piano arrangement, Warsaw: Hösick, date unknown.

Dobrzyński worked on his "lyric drama" on Adam Mickiewicz's *Konrad Wallenrod* in the years 1859-1860, and again in 1864. Although the work was never completed, excerpts were first performed in Warsaw on June 19, 1859. The adaptation of Mickiewicz's poem was prepared by Kazimierz Kaszewski and Jan Królokowski. The manuscripts consist of the parts for an orchestra of thirty-six and a section of the work for four men's voices and organ. According to Pazdírek a piano arrangement was published by Hösick,

but the date of this print is not known.[109]

Burgrafowie, Op. 70, 1860, WTM *Mss. 1117, 1123, 1149.* Four-hand piano arrangement of the overture, Warsaw: Dzwonkowski, 1860-1867.

Dobrzyński only completed a few pieces of this setting to Victor Hugo's *Les Burgraves* before his death. The Polish translation of Hugo's drama was provided by Kazimierz Kaszewski. The selections in manuscript include the overture; Scene 1 for men's chorus and orchestra; Scene 2 for solo voice, men's chorus, and orchestra; and Scene 3, a march for orchestra. The overture was published by the Warsaw firm of A. Dzwonkowski in a reduction for piano—four hands.[110] Pazdírek lists a four-hand piano arrangement published by Hösick, but further details are not provided.[111]

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[109]Pazdírek, *op. cit.*

[110]Hofmeister, *Handbuch* VI (1860-1867), 1122.

[111]Pazdírek, *op. cit.*

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_____. *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* IV (1844-1851). Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1852.

_____. *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* V (1852-1859). Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1860.

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XIX, Piano Concerto in E minor.
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IGNACY FELIKS DOBRZYŃSKI (1807-1867): HIS LIFE AND SYMPHONIES

PART II

MUSIC

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The score of Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2 in C minor*, Op. 15, was prepared by comparing two sources, the manuscript score extant in the Warsaw Music Society Library (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne *Ms. 976*, 35 cm. X 26 cm., 256 pages) and the published piano reduction (Warszawa: G. Sennewald, *c.* 1860-1867). The manuscript score of the symphony includes five movements, counting the final four-movement form and the original slow movement which is placed between the first two movements. The work is entitled *Symfonie Caracteristique*, and according to the library this manuscript dates from 1834. The arrangement for piano—four hands bears the title: Symphonie caracteristique/Symfonia charakterystyczna/(Konkursowa)/w duchu muzyki polskiej/na wielką orkiestrę/przez/Ig. F. Dobrzyńskiego/Układ na 4 ręce przez Autora. This piano reduction was made by the composer and only the final four movements are printed in this version.

Changes from the manuscript score in this edition of Dobrzyński's *Symphony No. 2* include the rearrangement of the instrumentation to conform to contemporary practice in score order, the placement of all the woodwind instruments on separate staves, and a change from tenor to bass clef in the first and second trombone parts. In addition, Dobrzyński's original slow movement appears at the end, as an appendix to the score. The addition of notes or dynamic markings has been indicated by brackets, however, accidentals necessary to correctly double other parts have been

added without comment. Finally, the many inconsistancies in articulation and phrasing found throughout the manuscript score have been adjusted only when the composer's intentions seemed clear from the other instrumental parts or the piano score.

SYMPHONY NO. 2 in C MINOR, Op. 15

by

IGNACY FELIKS DOBRZYŃSKI

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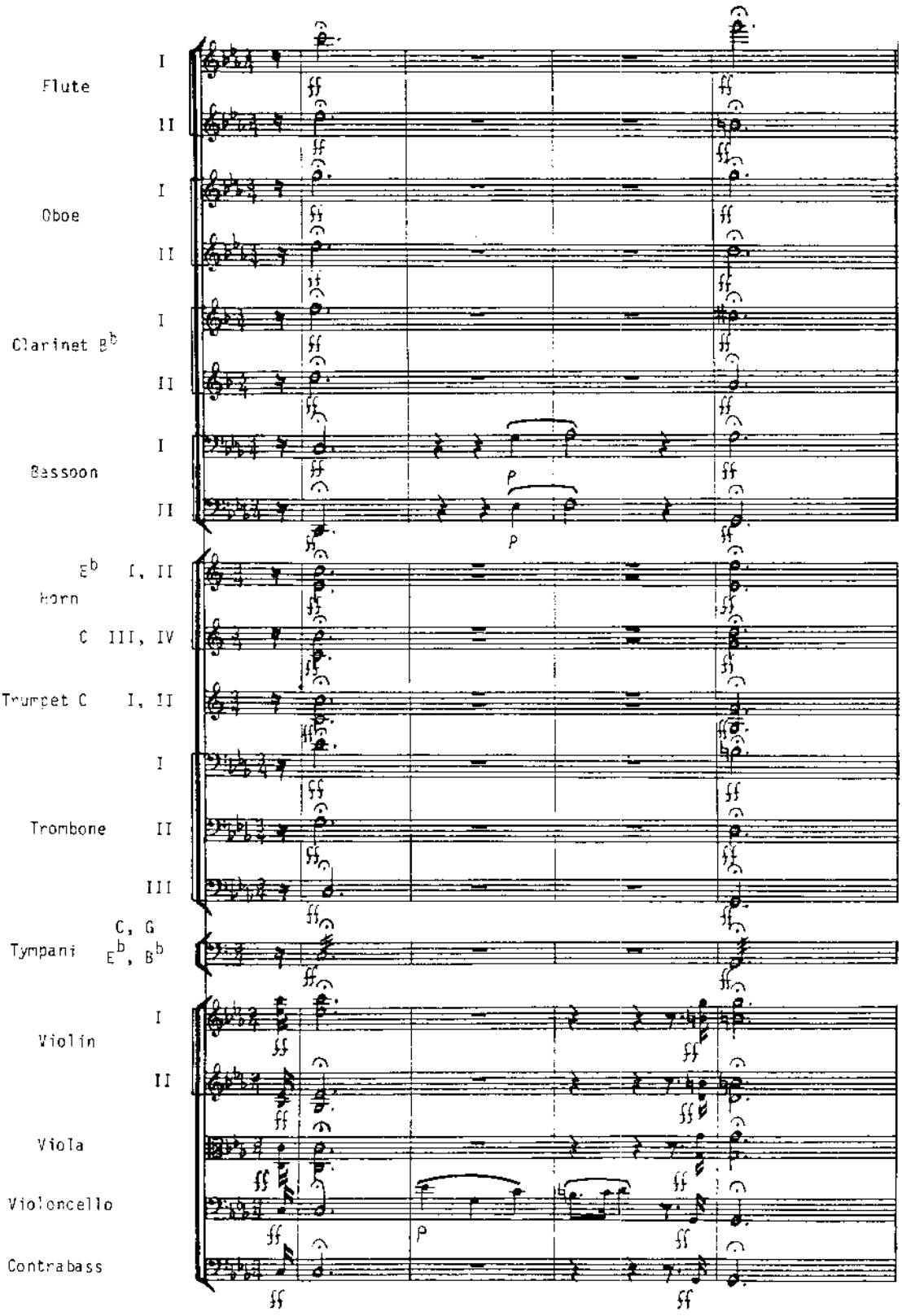
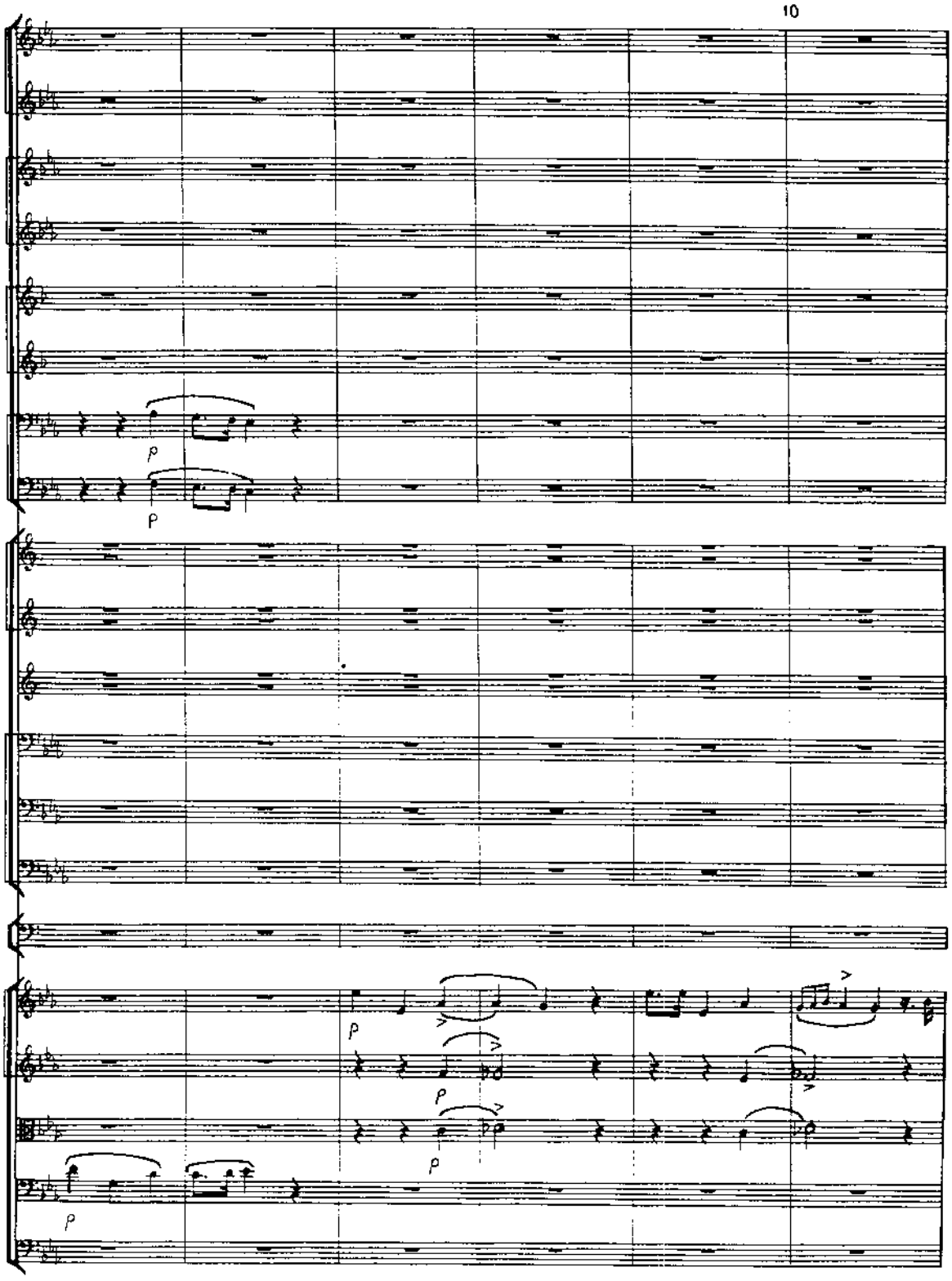
SYMPHONY NO. 2

I.F. DOBRZYŃSKI

Andante sostenuto

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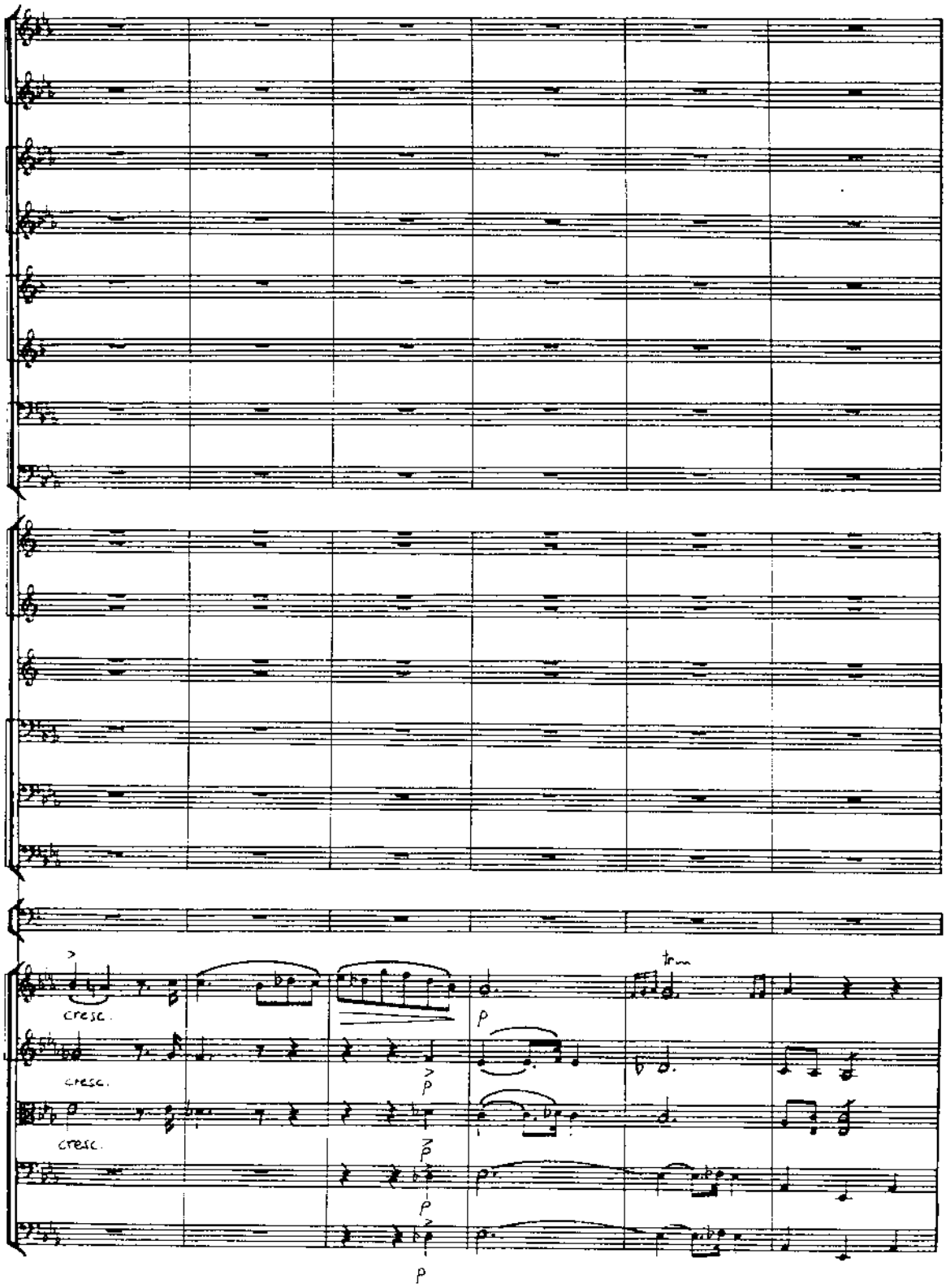
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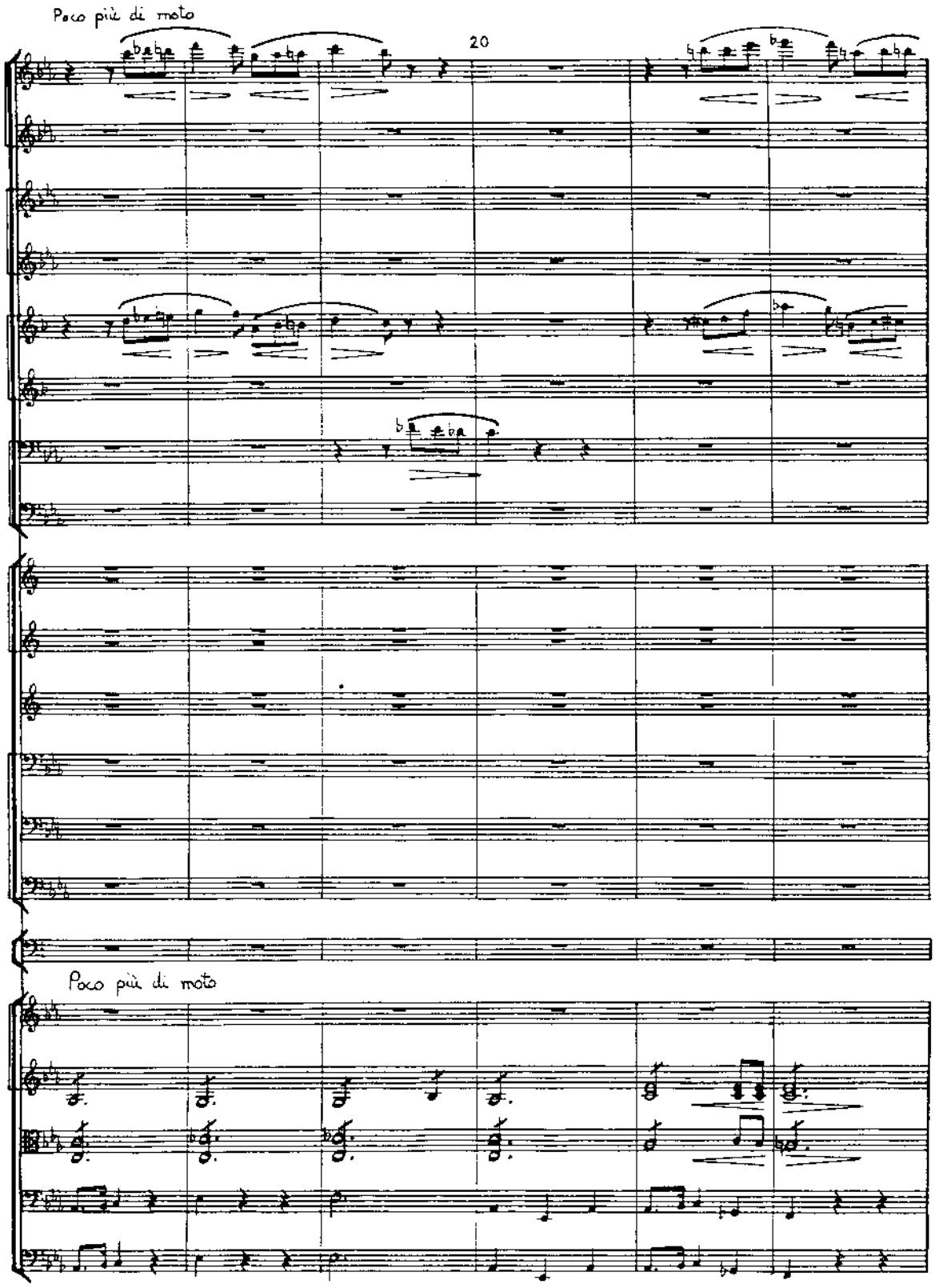
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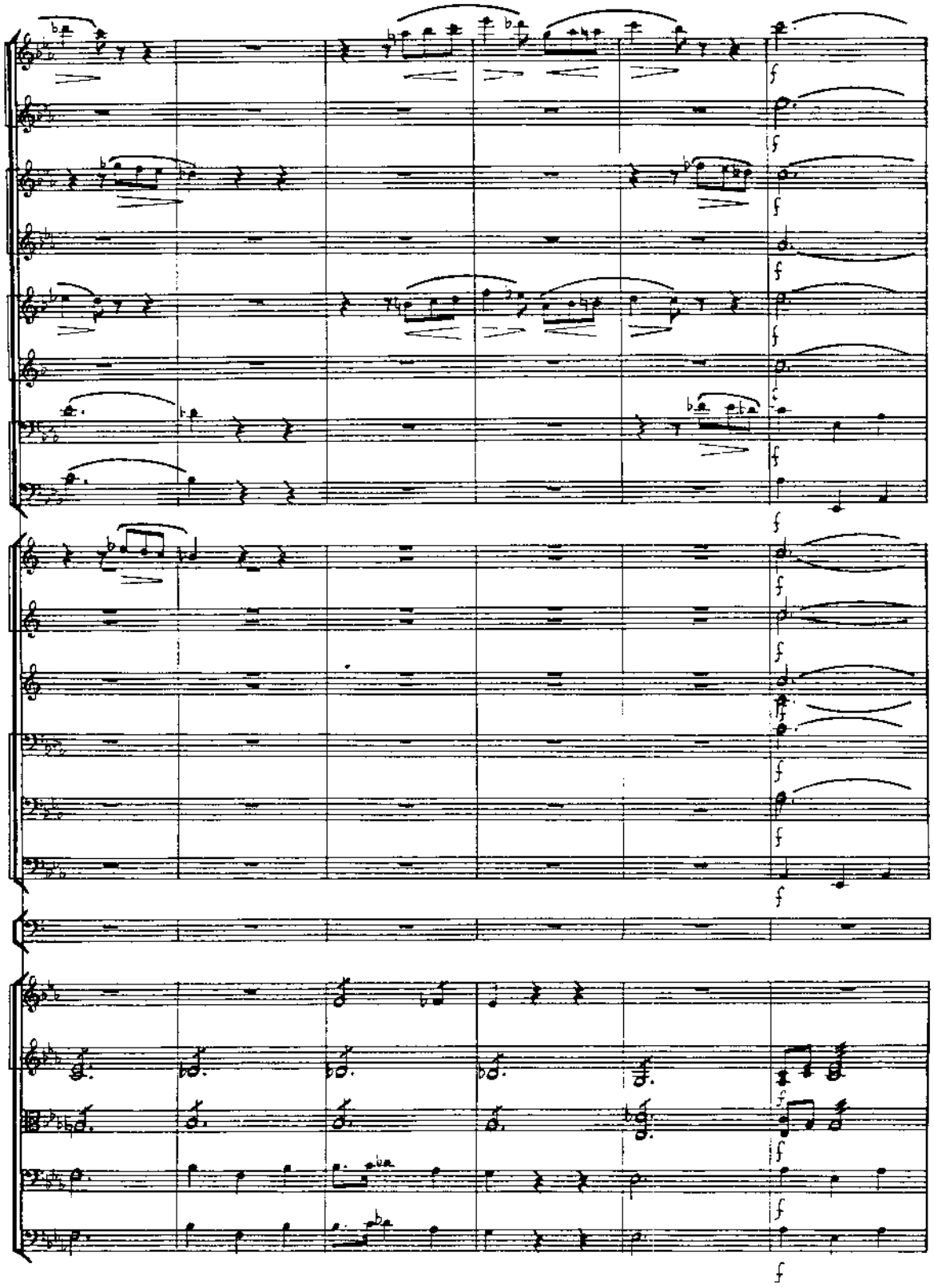

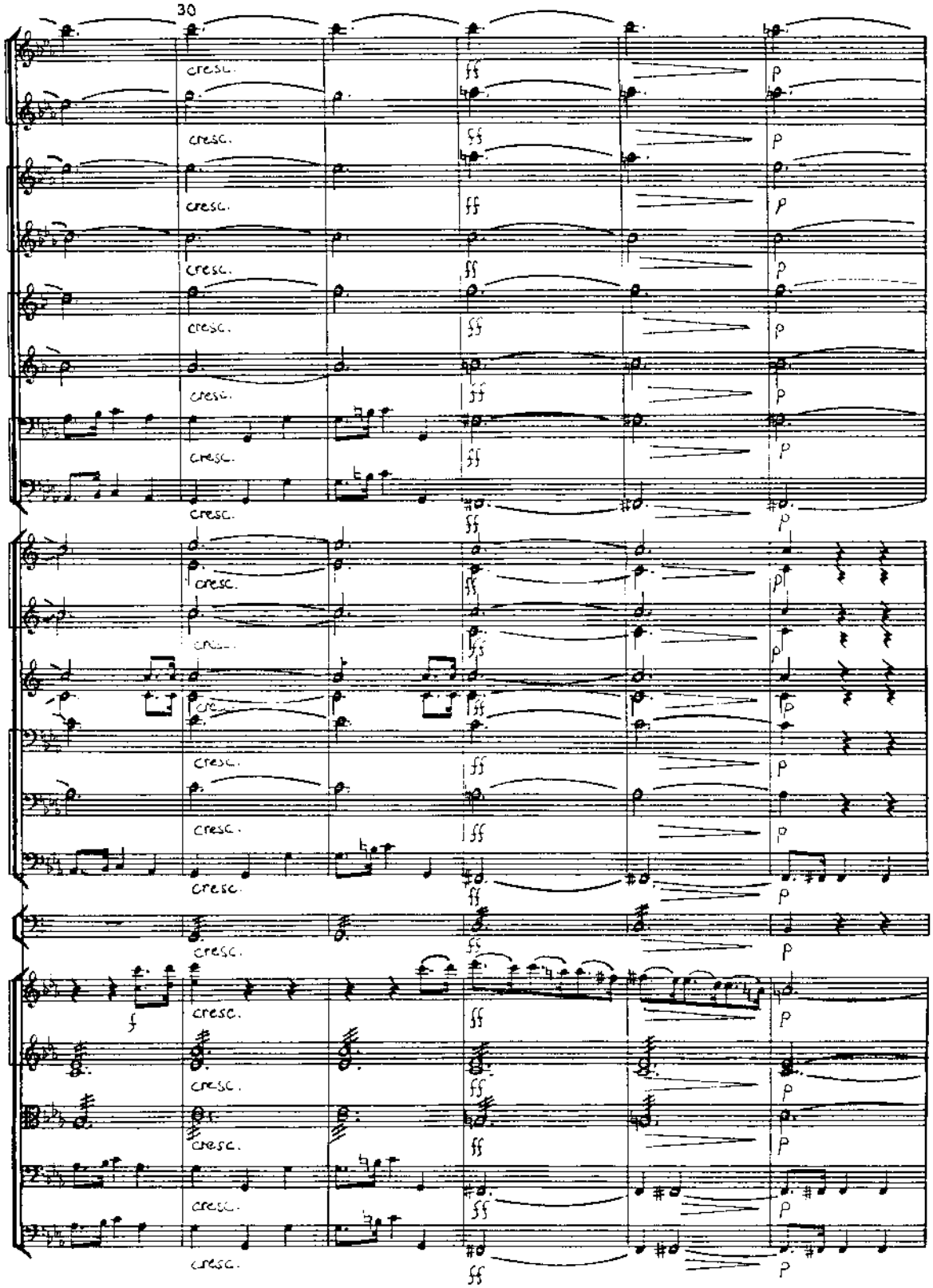
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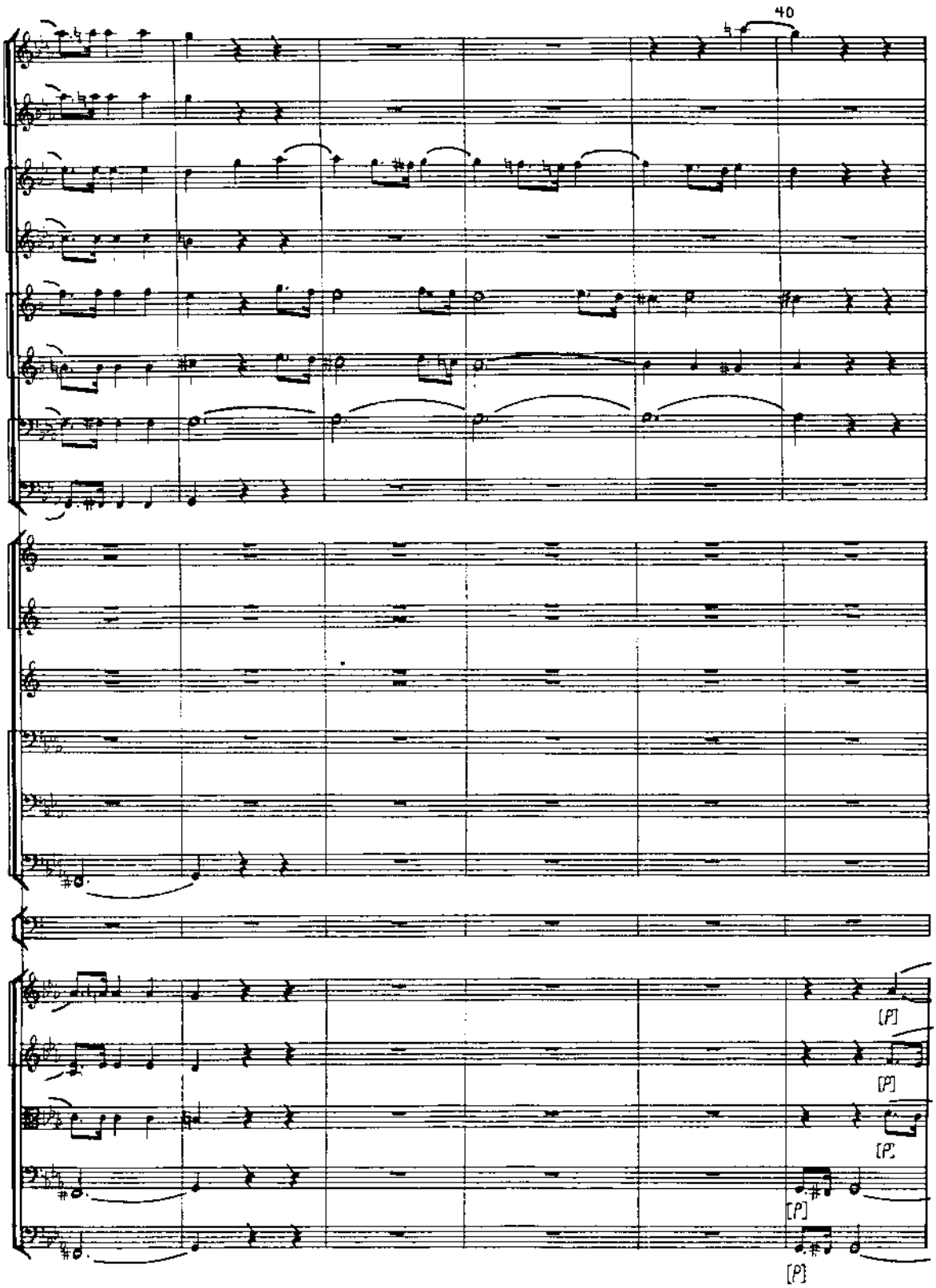
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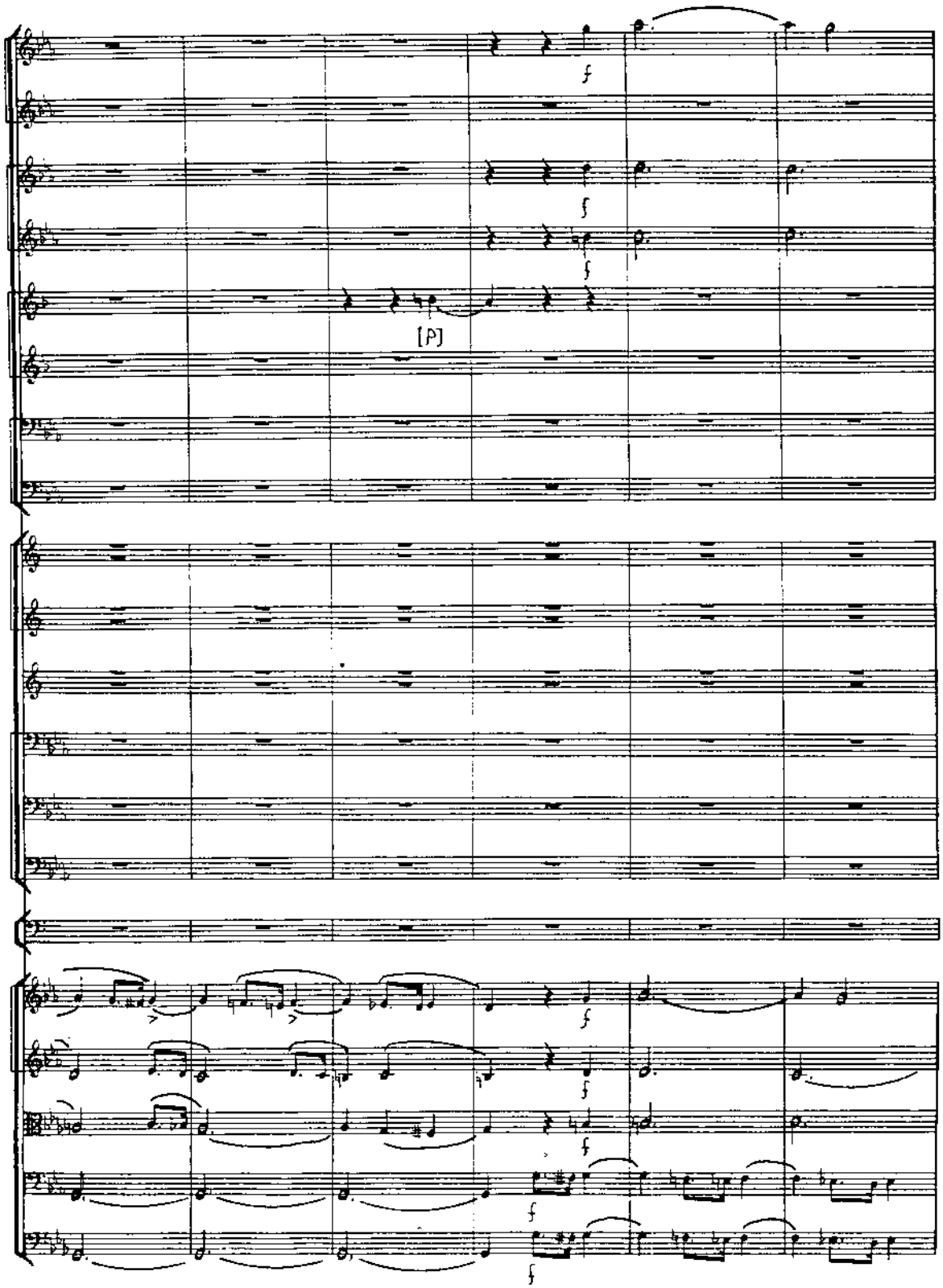
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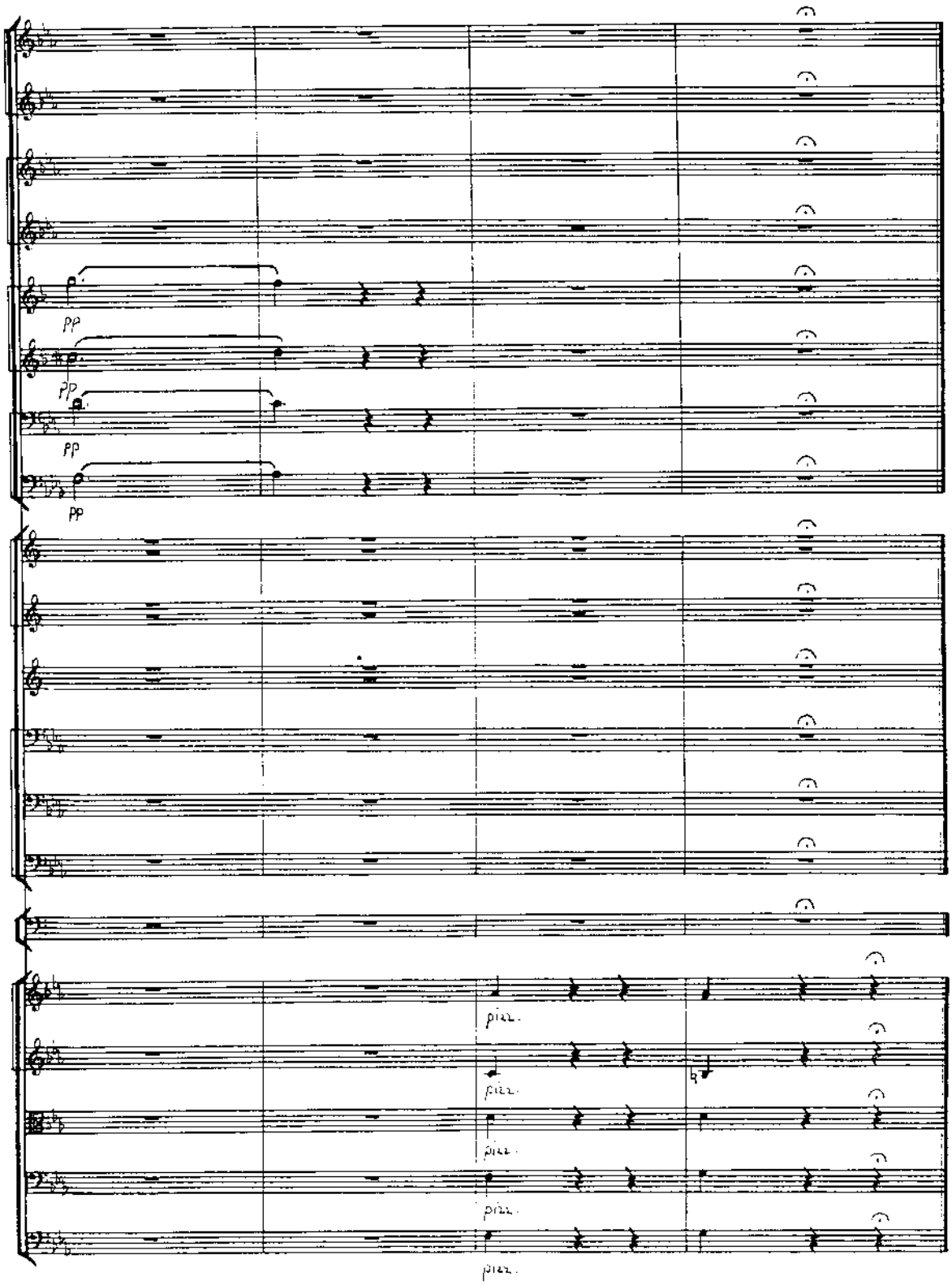
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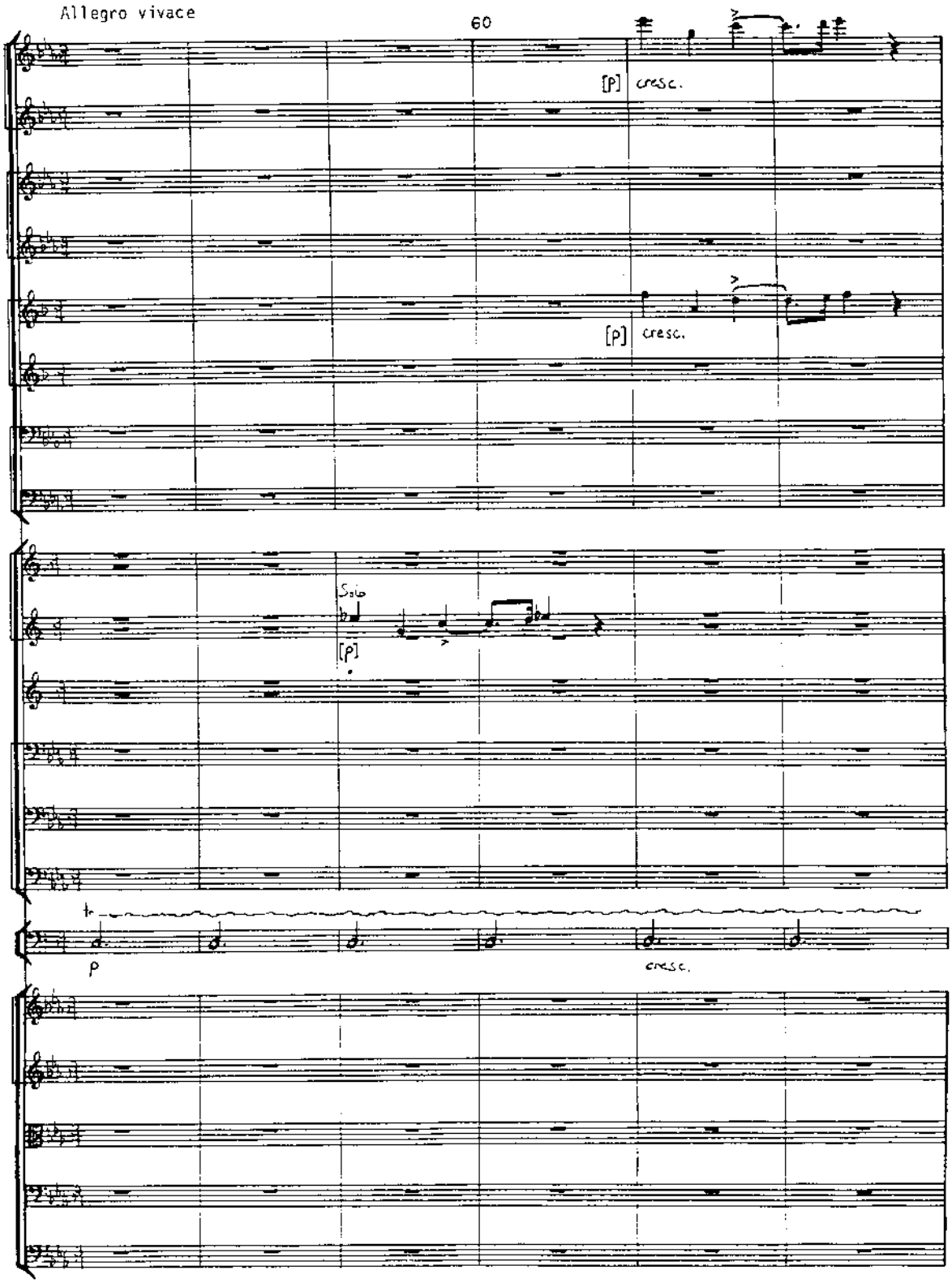
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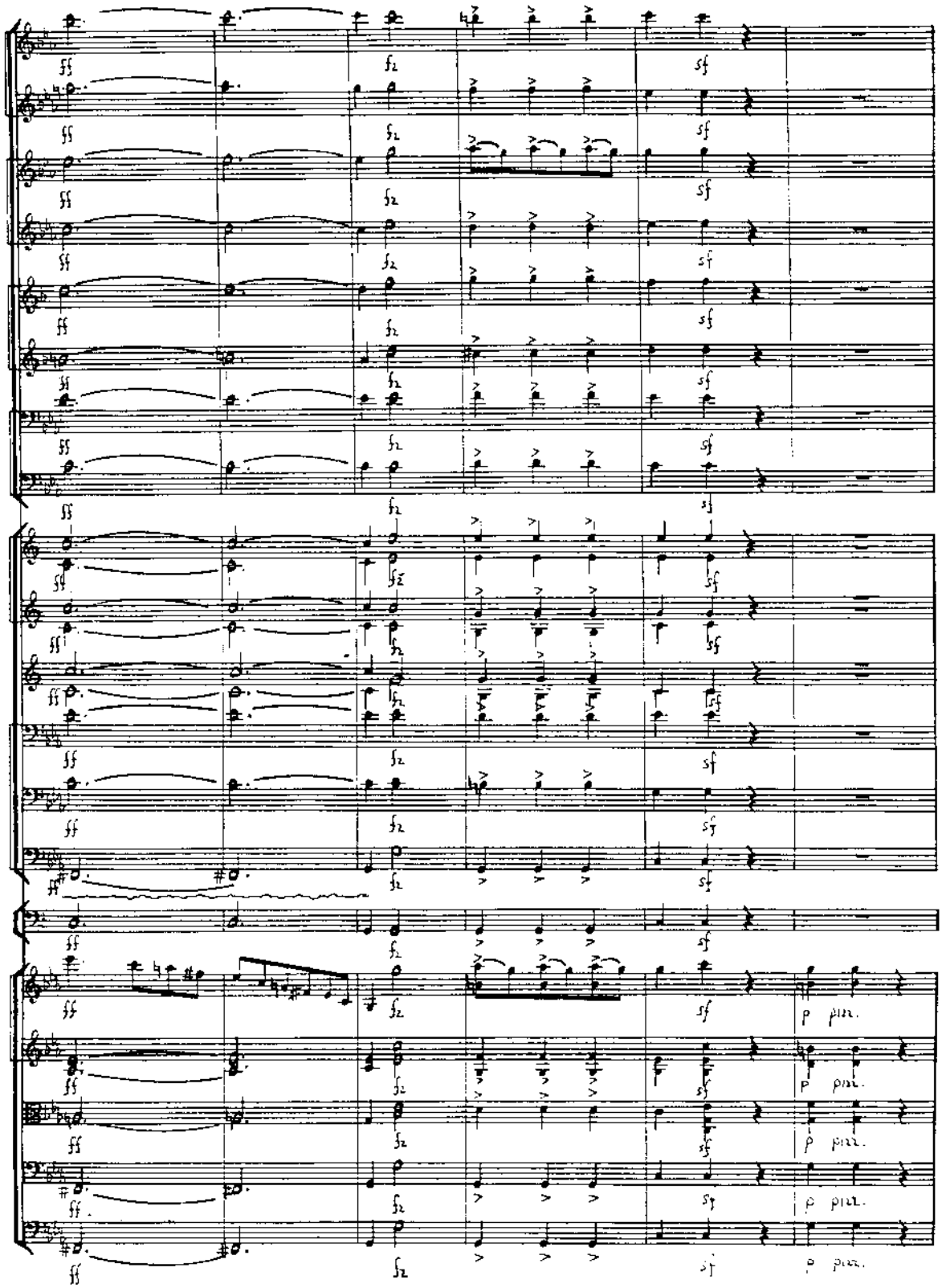
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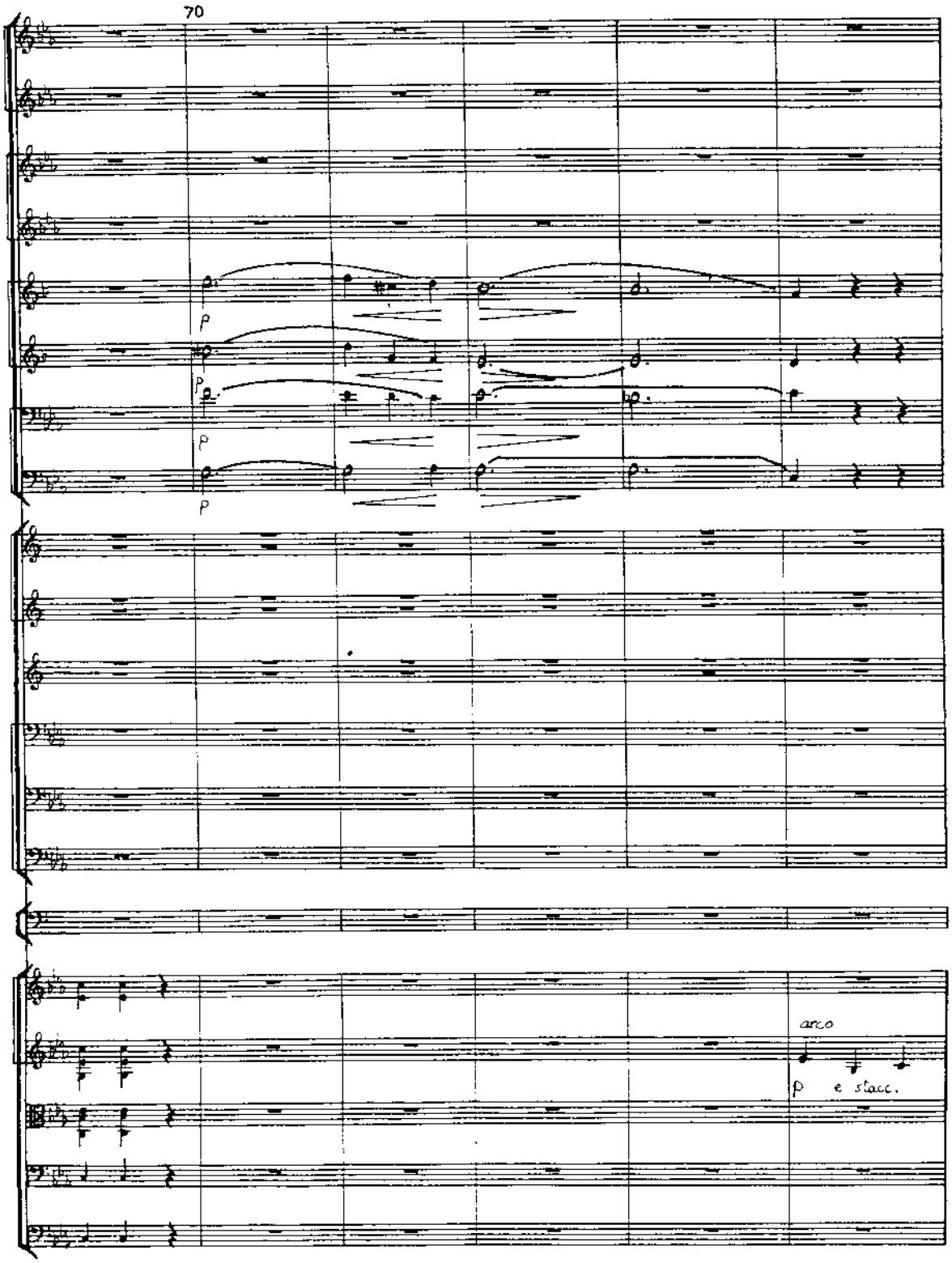
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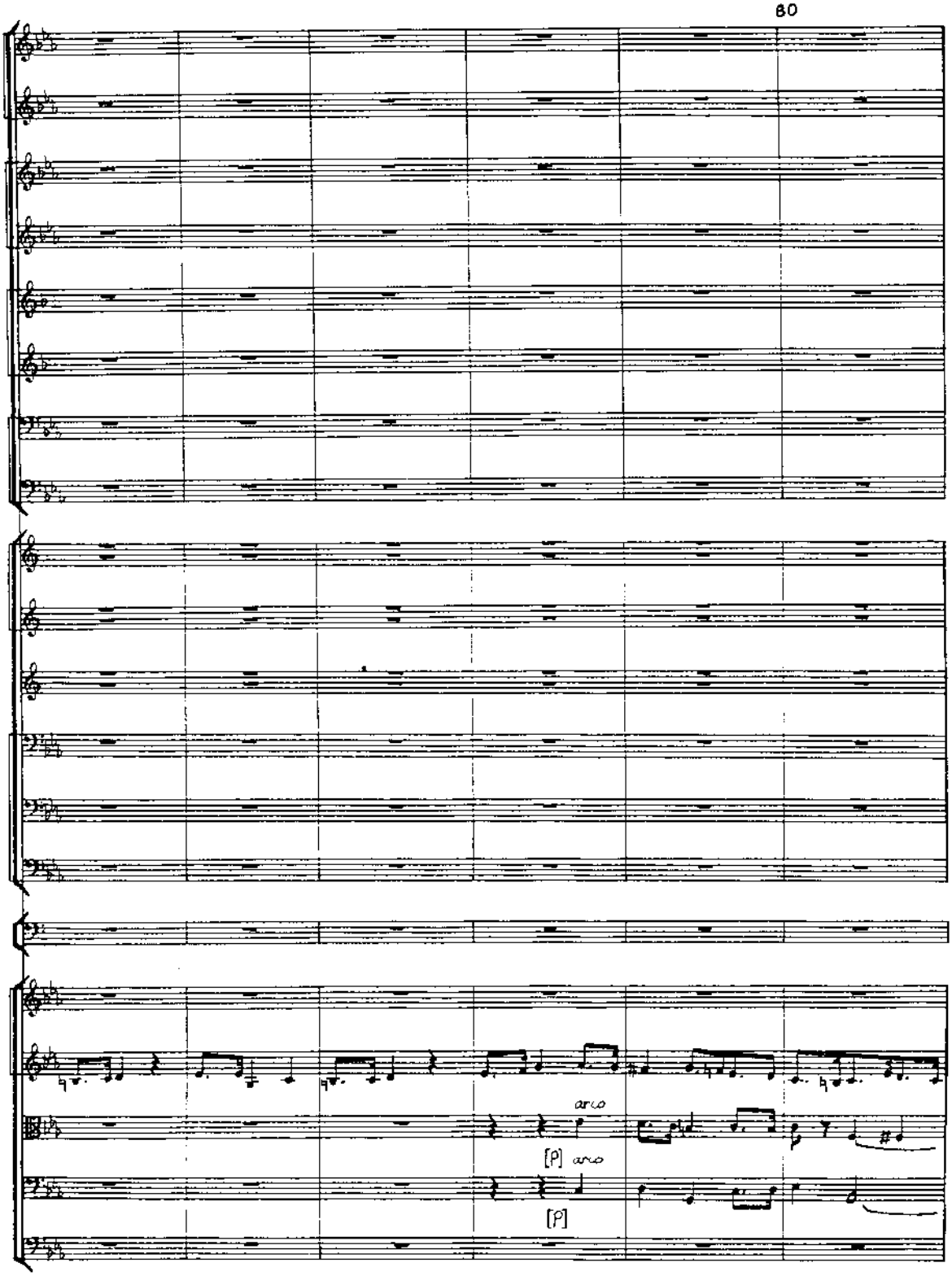
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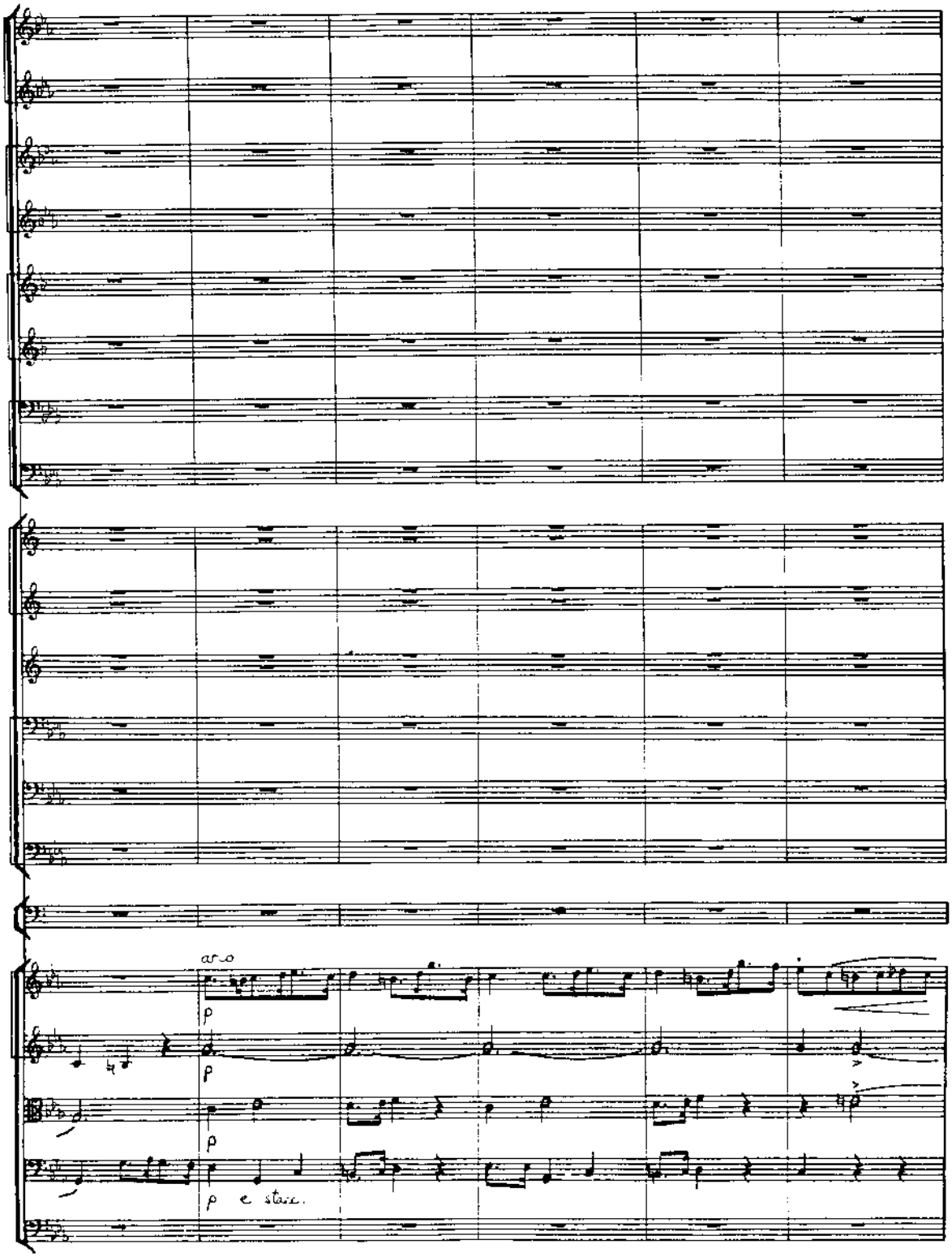
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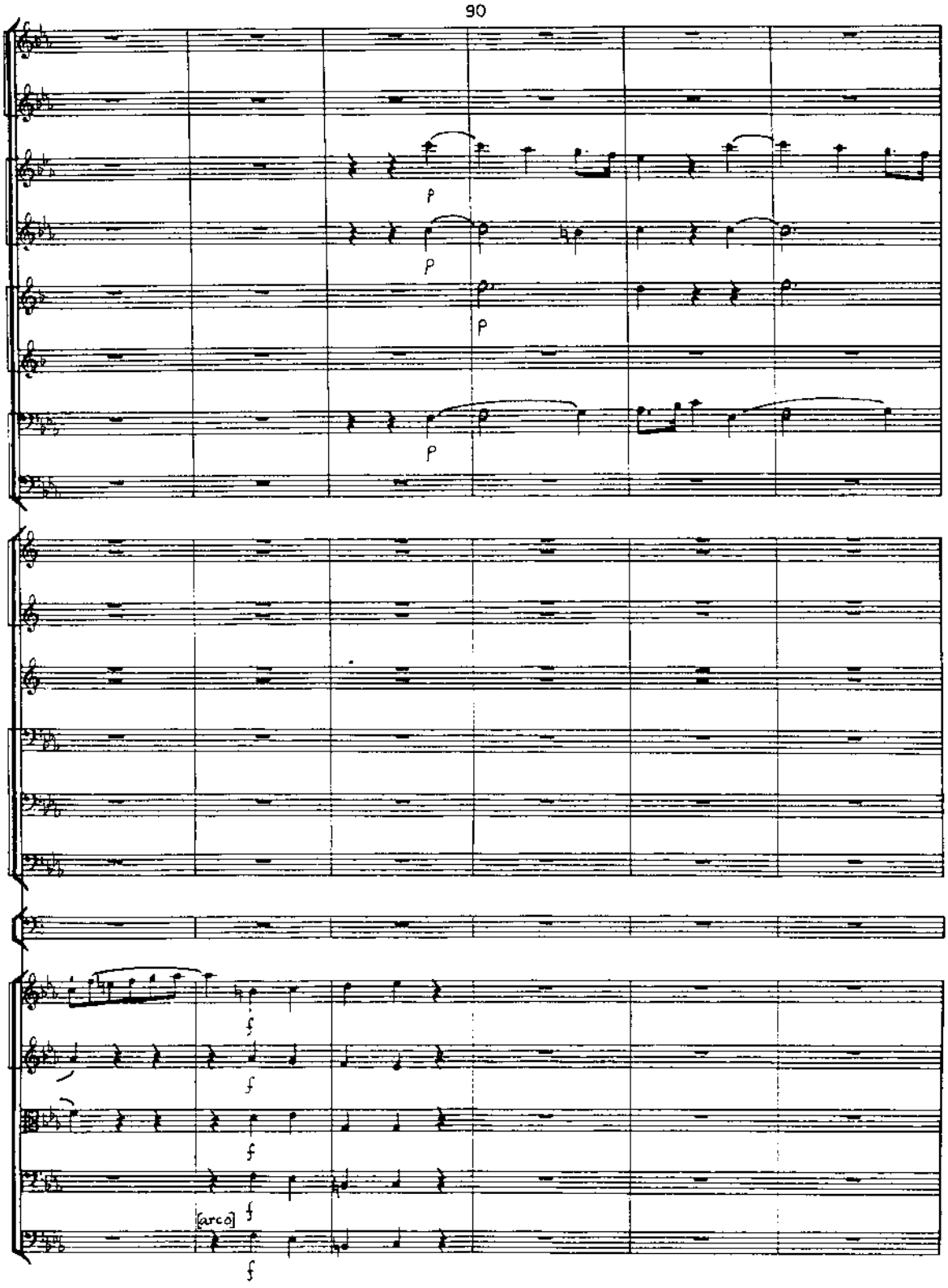
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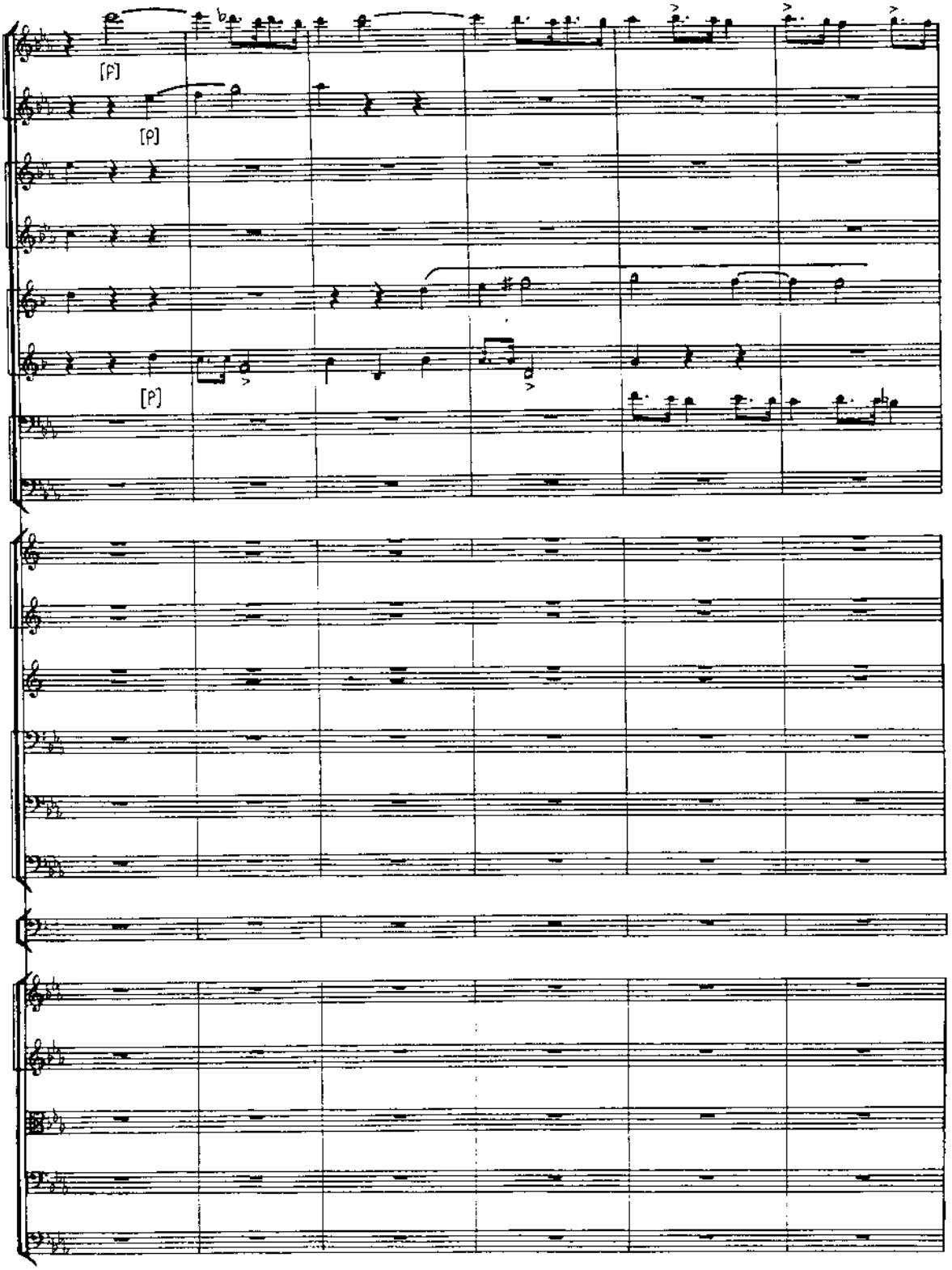
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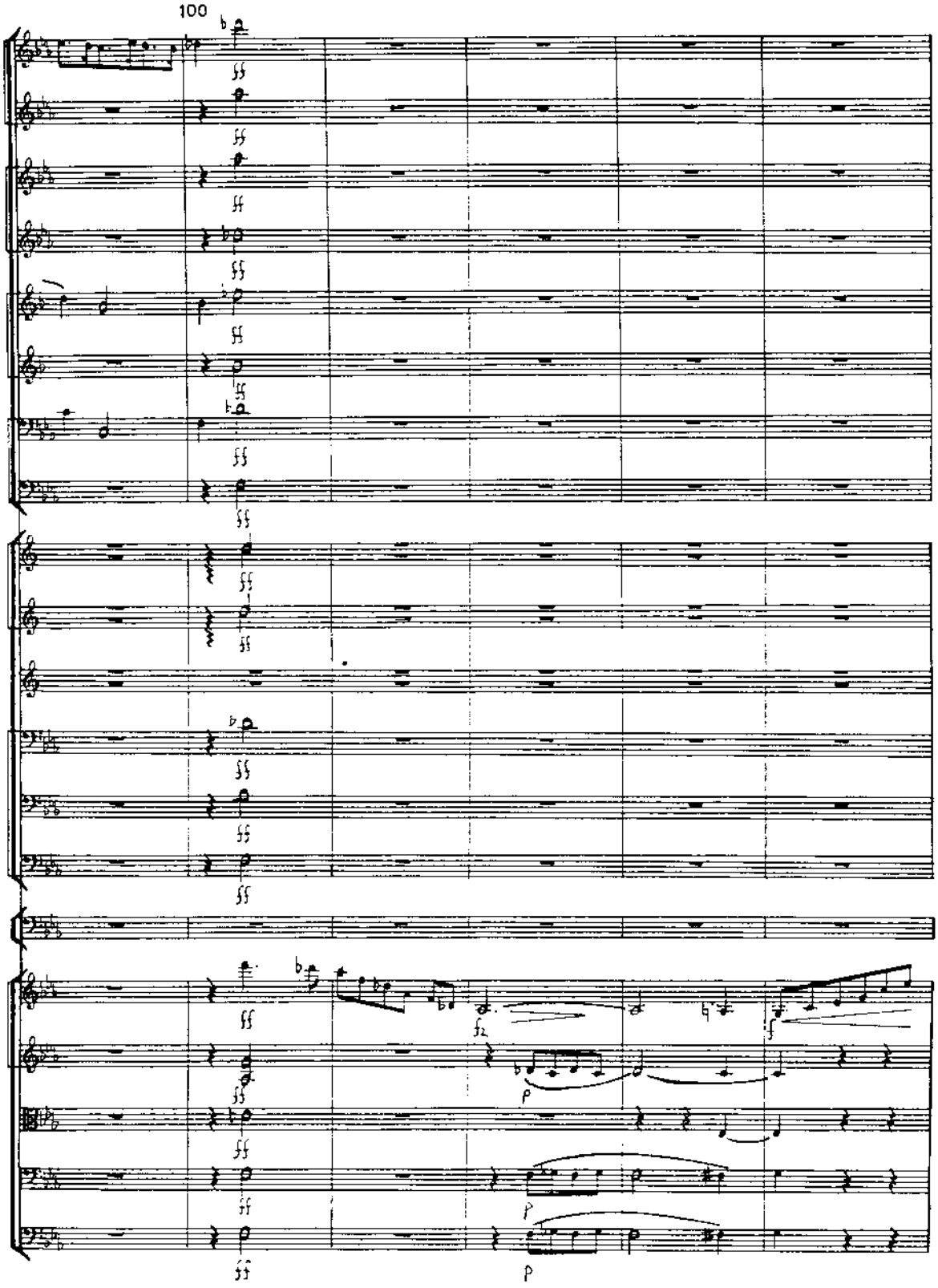
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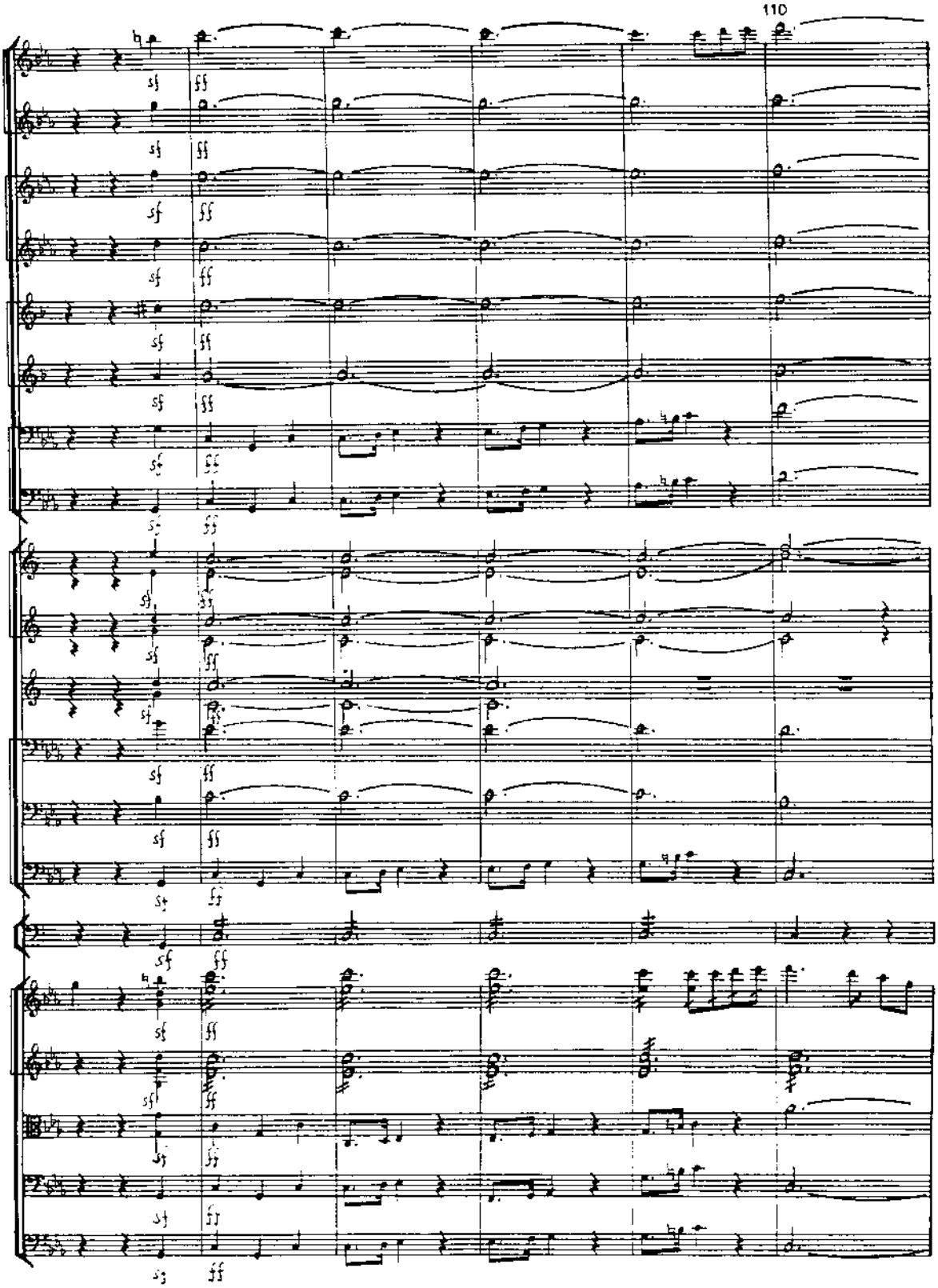
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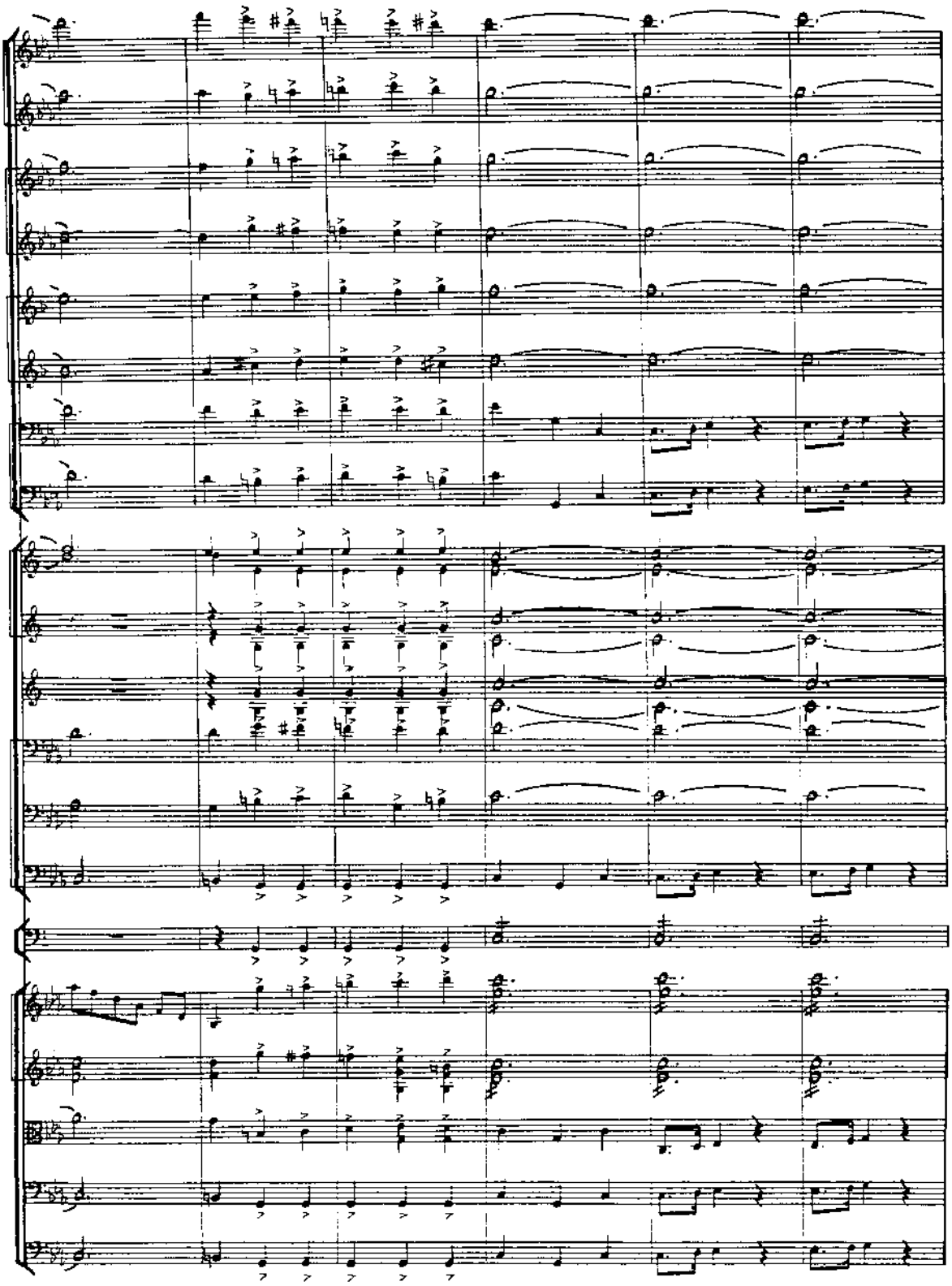

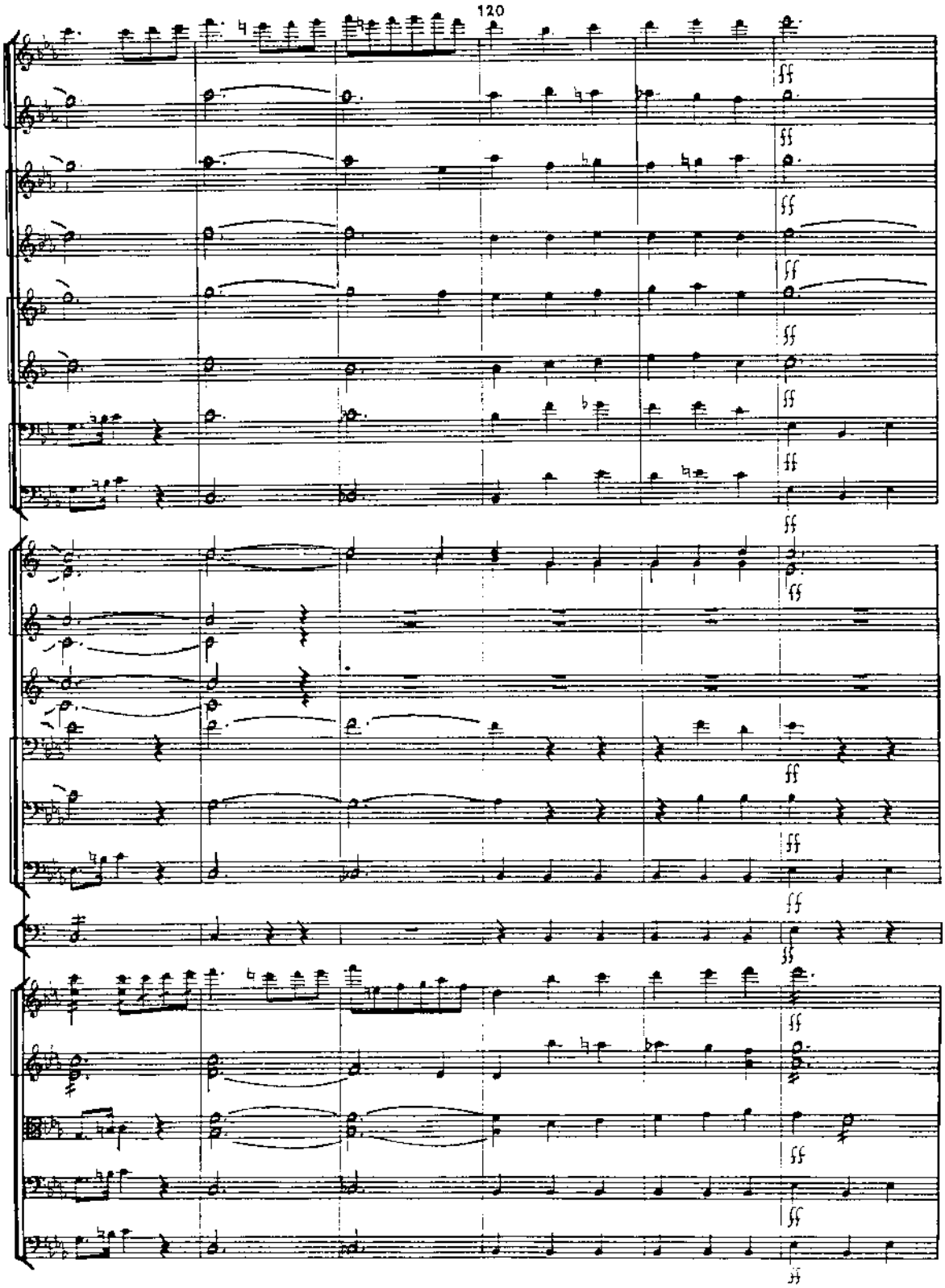
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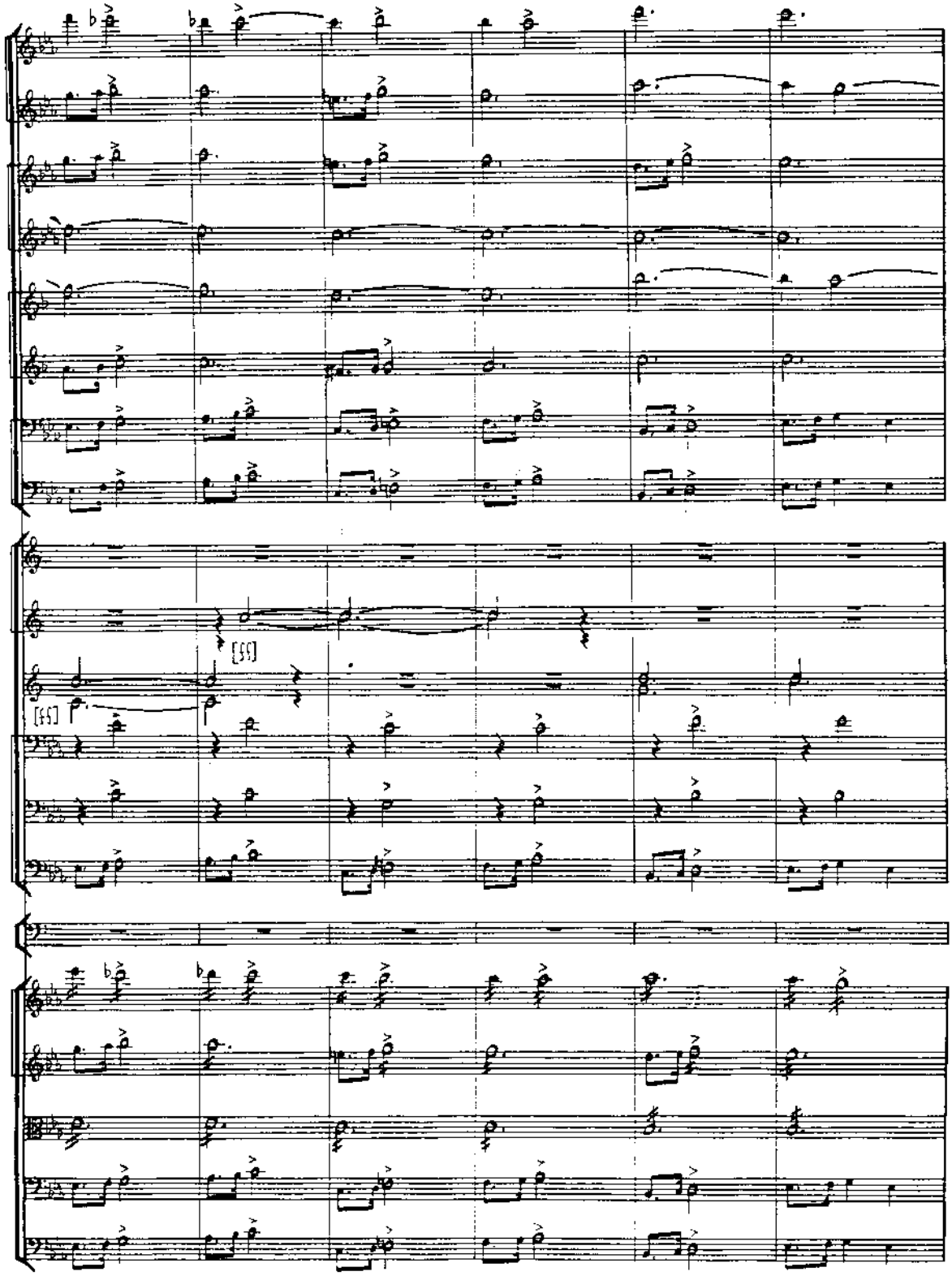
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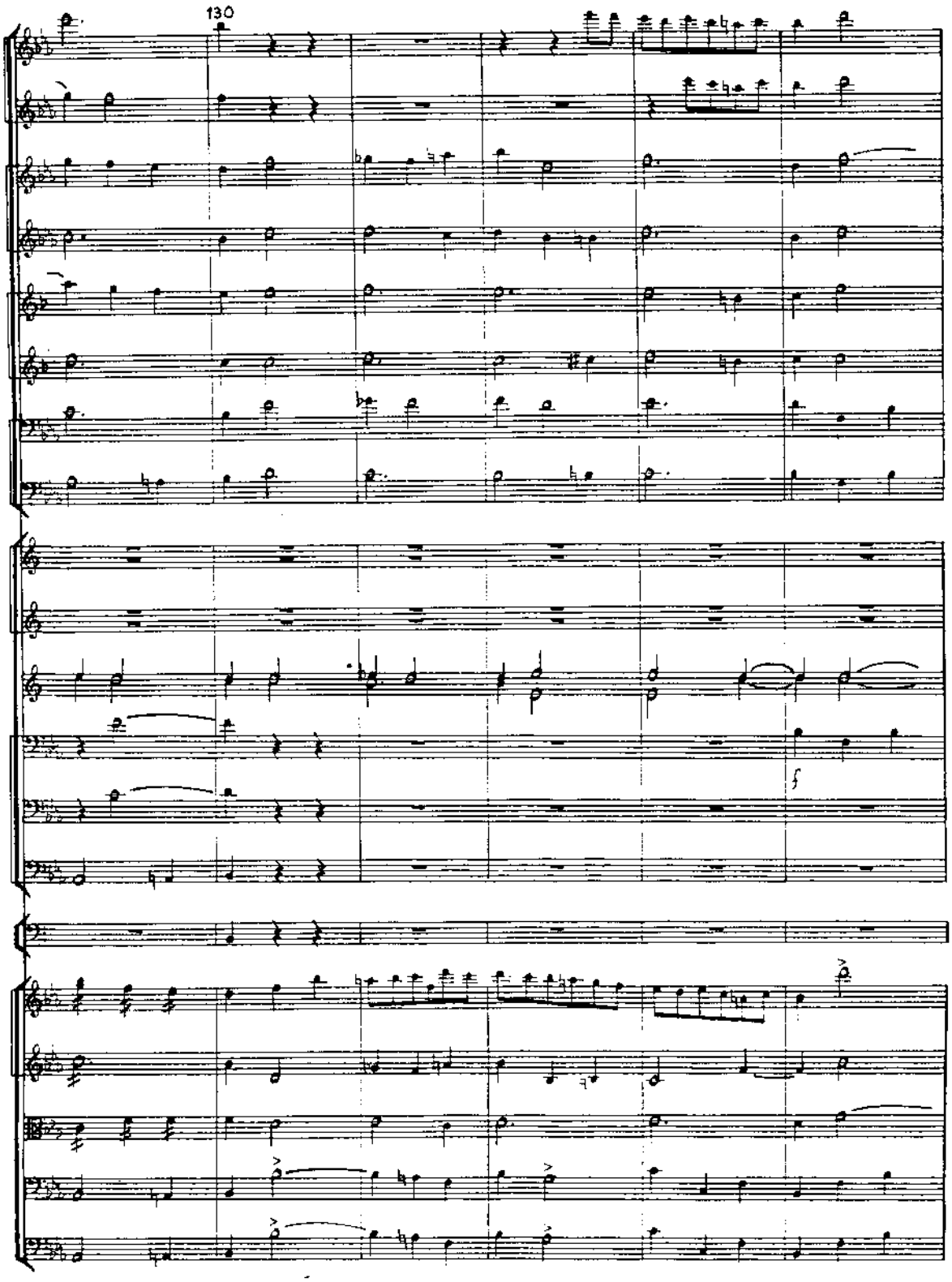
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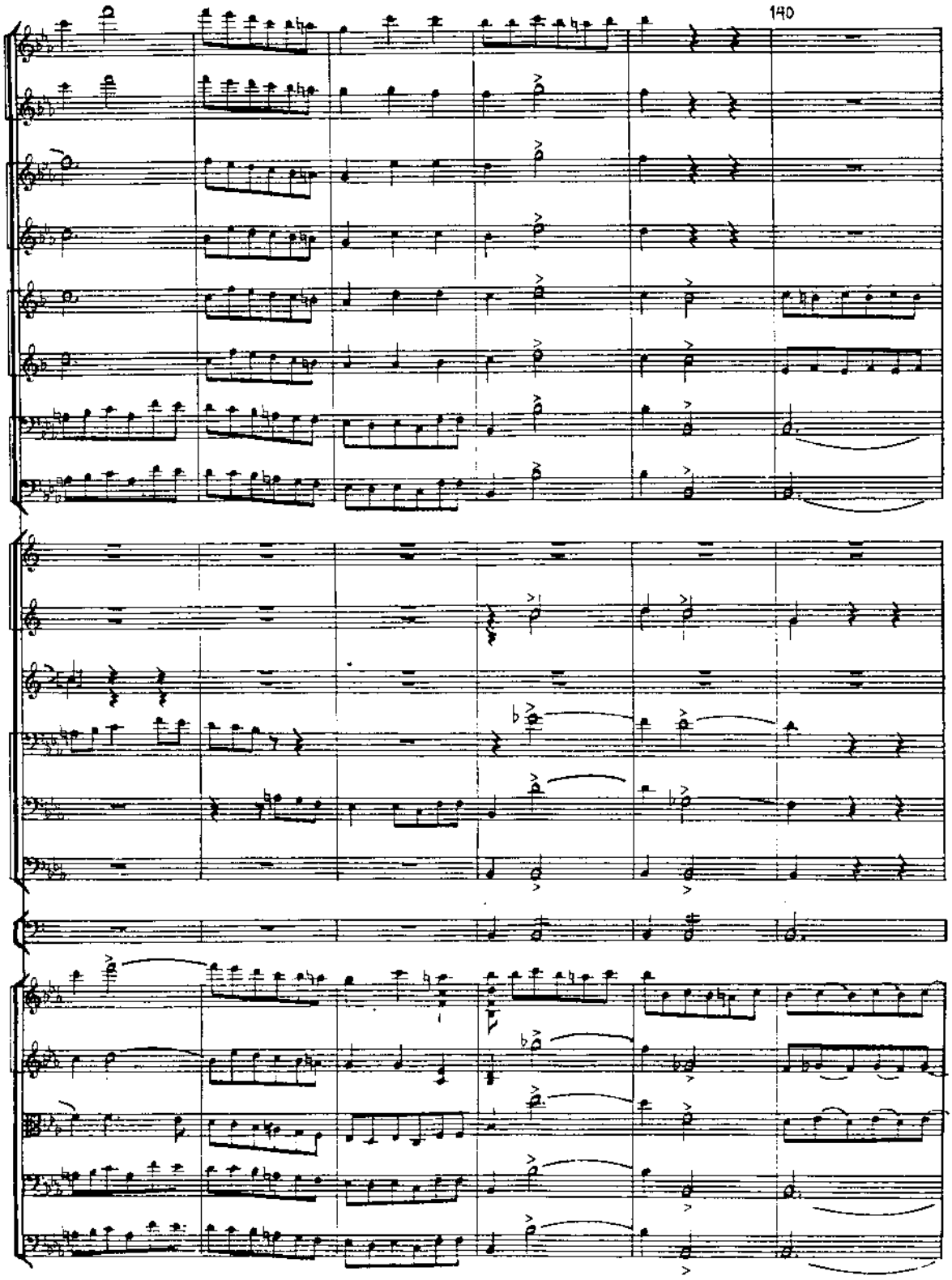
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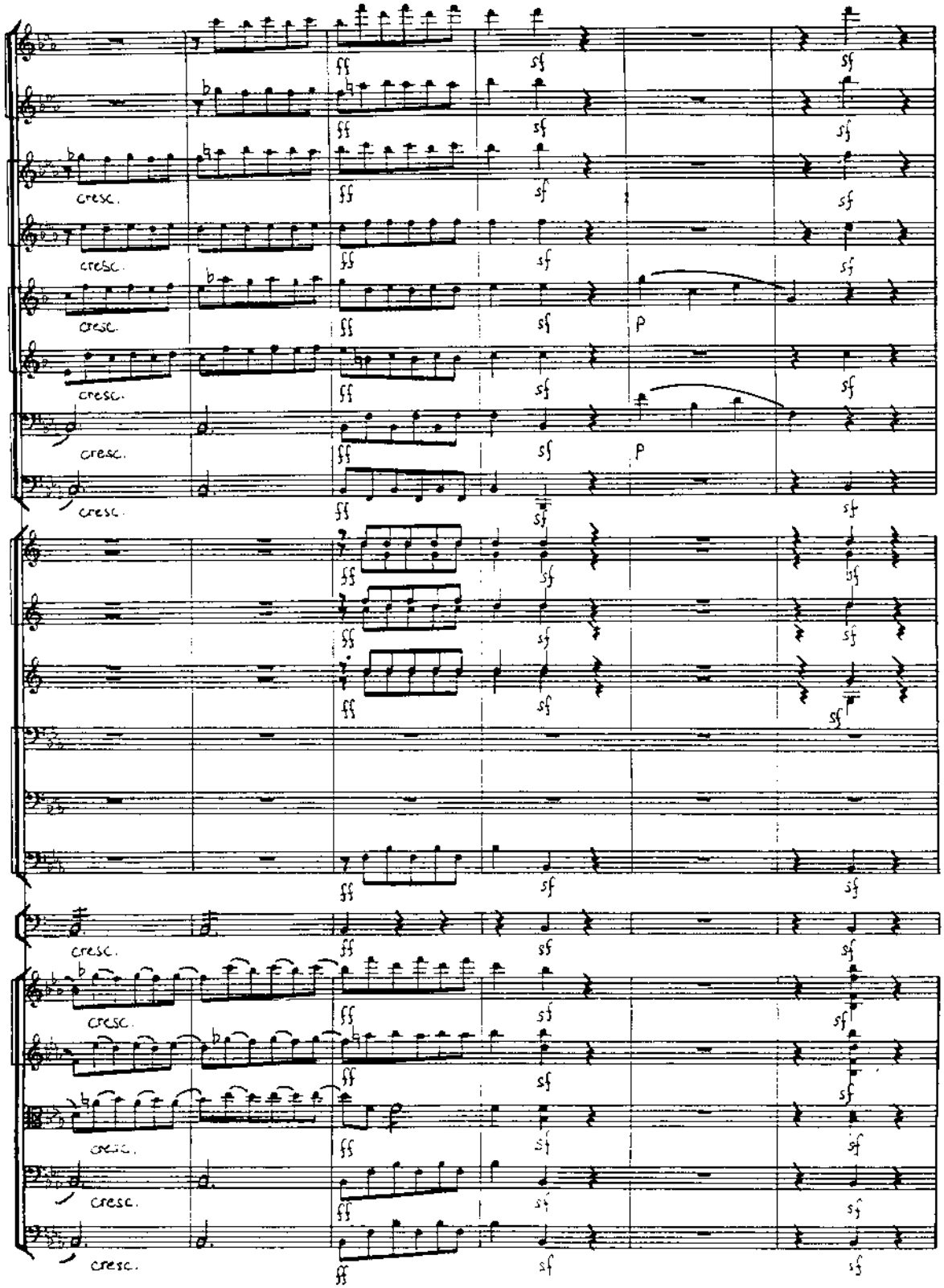
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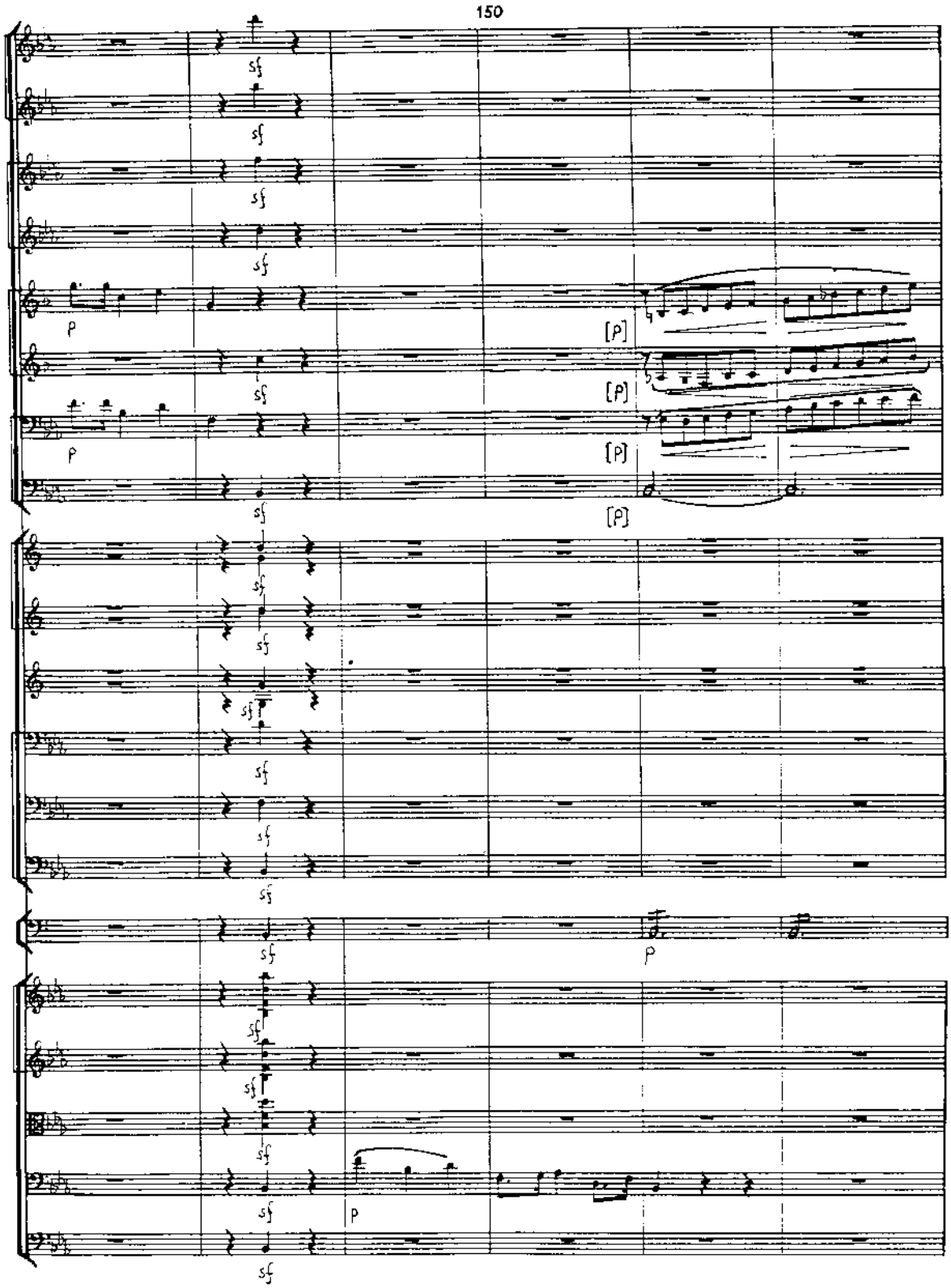
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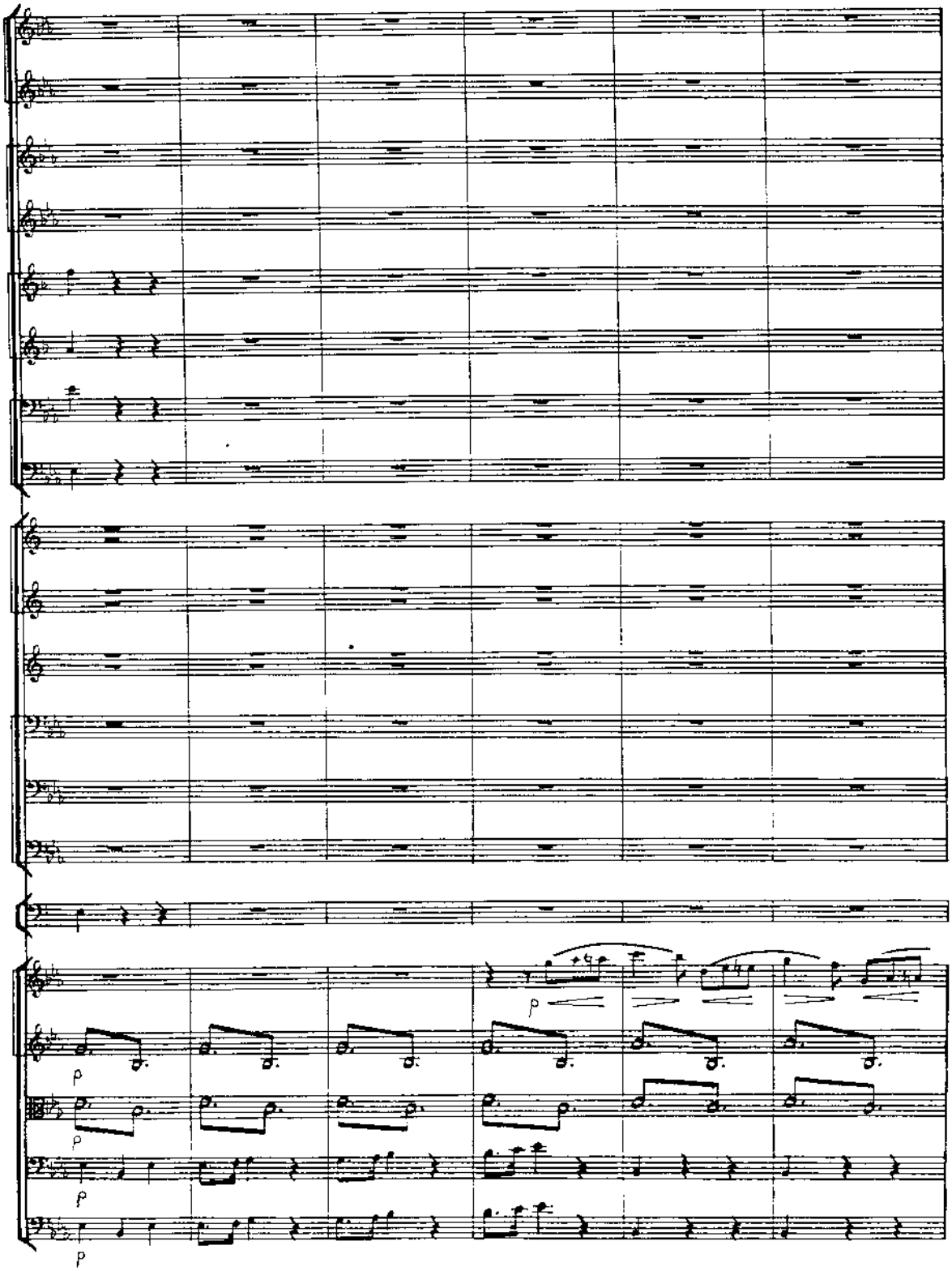
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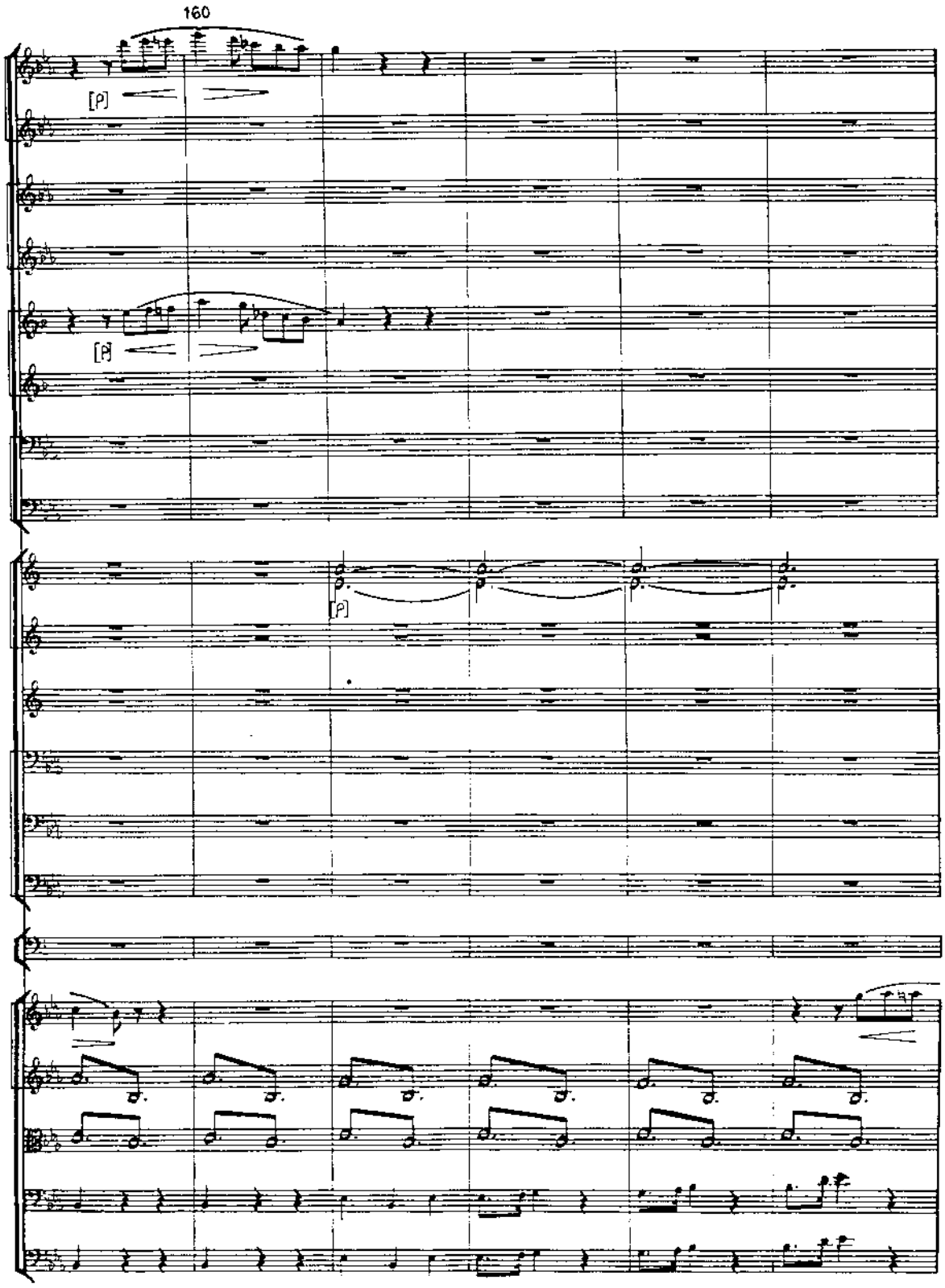
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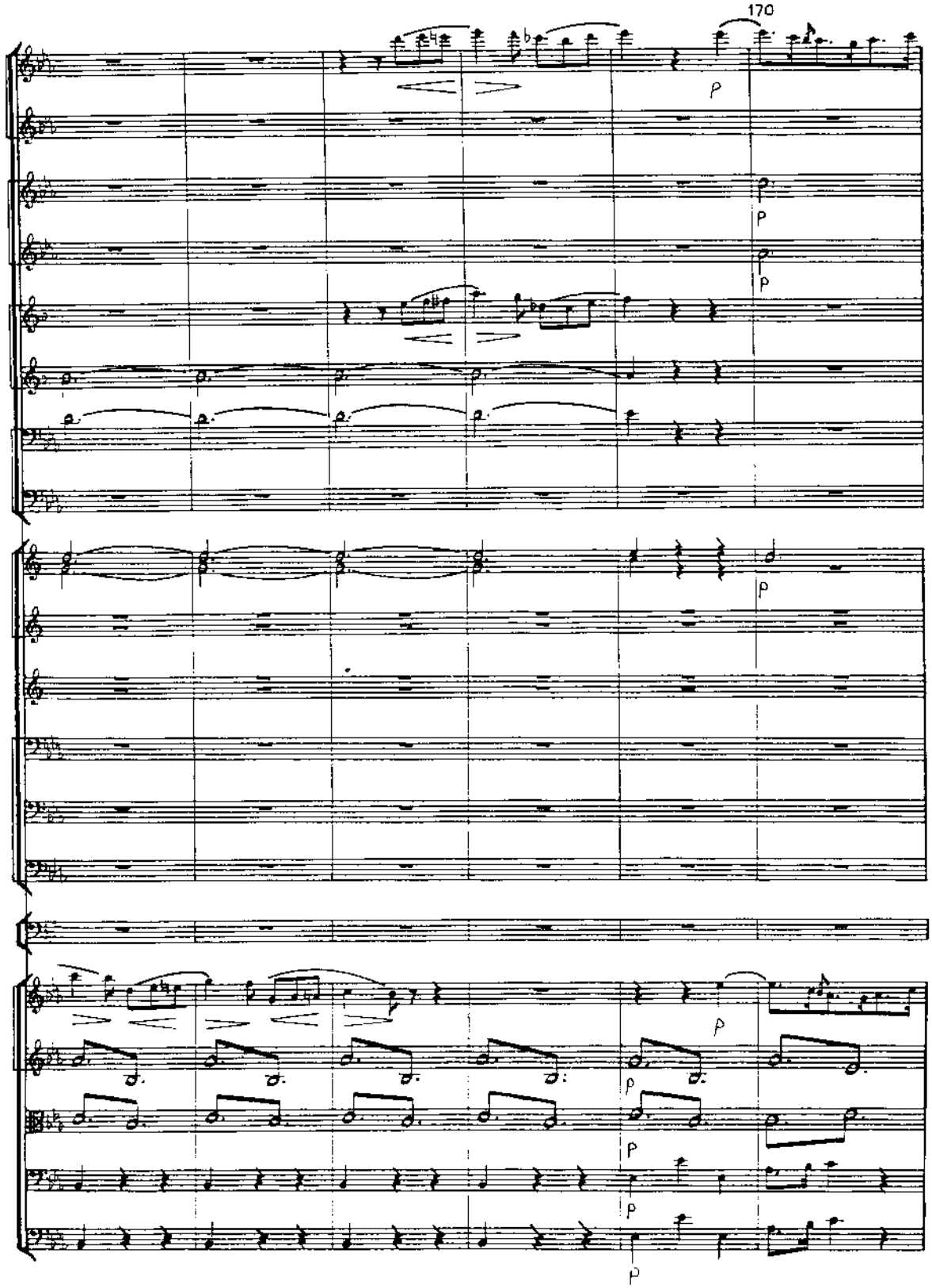
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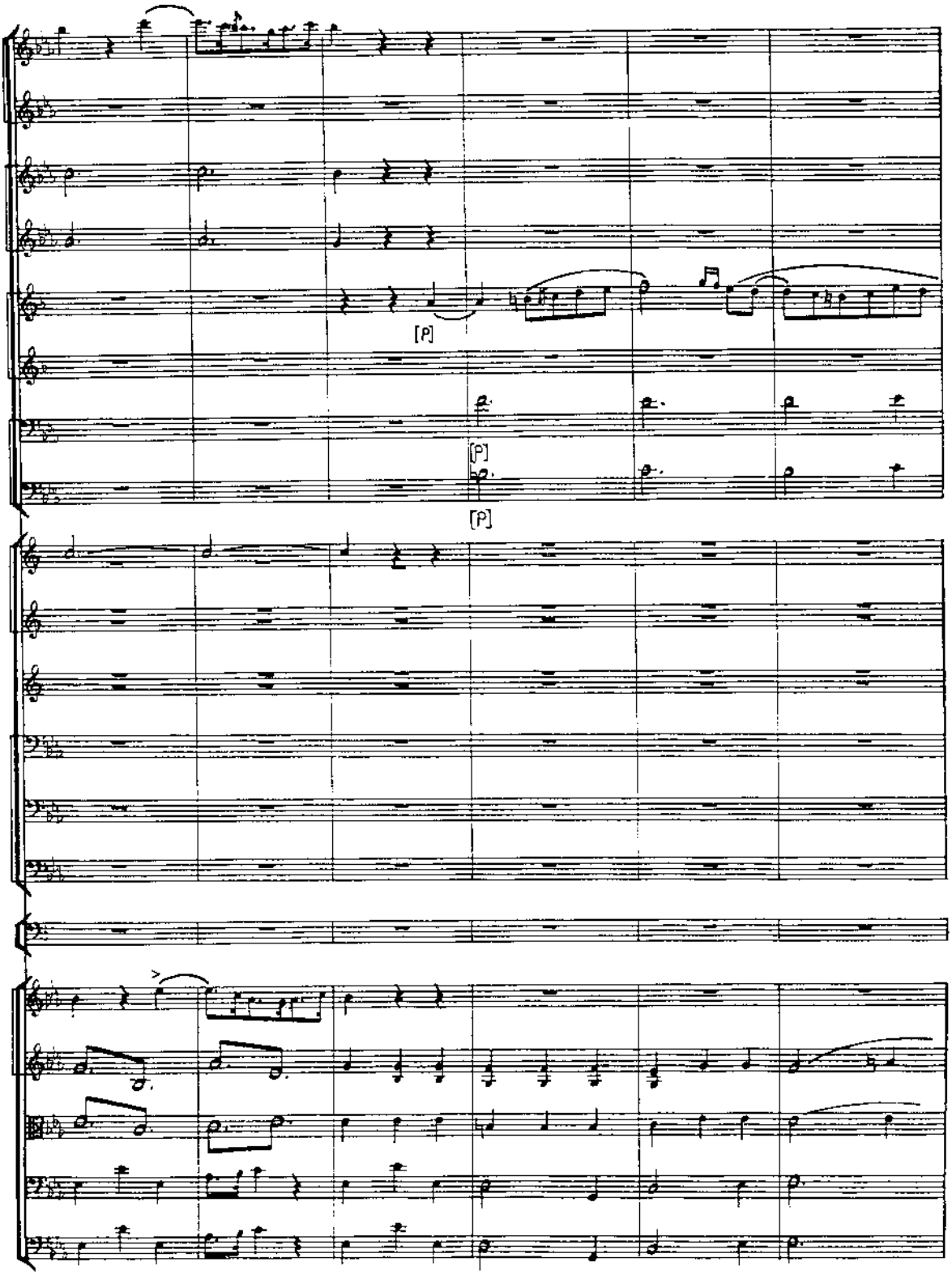
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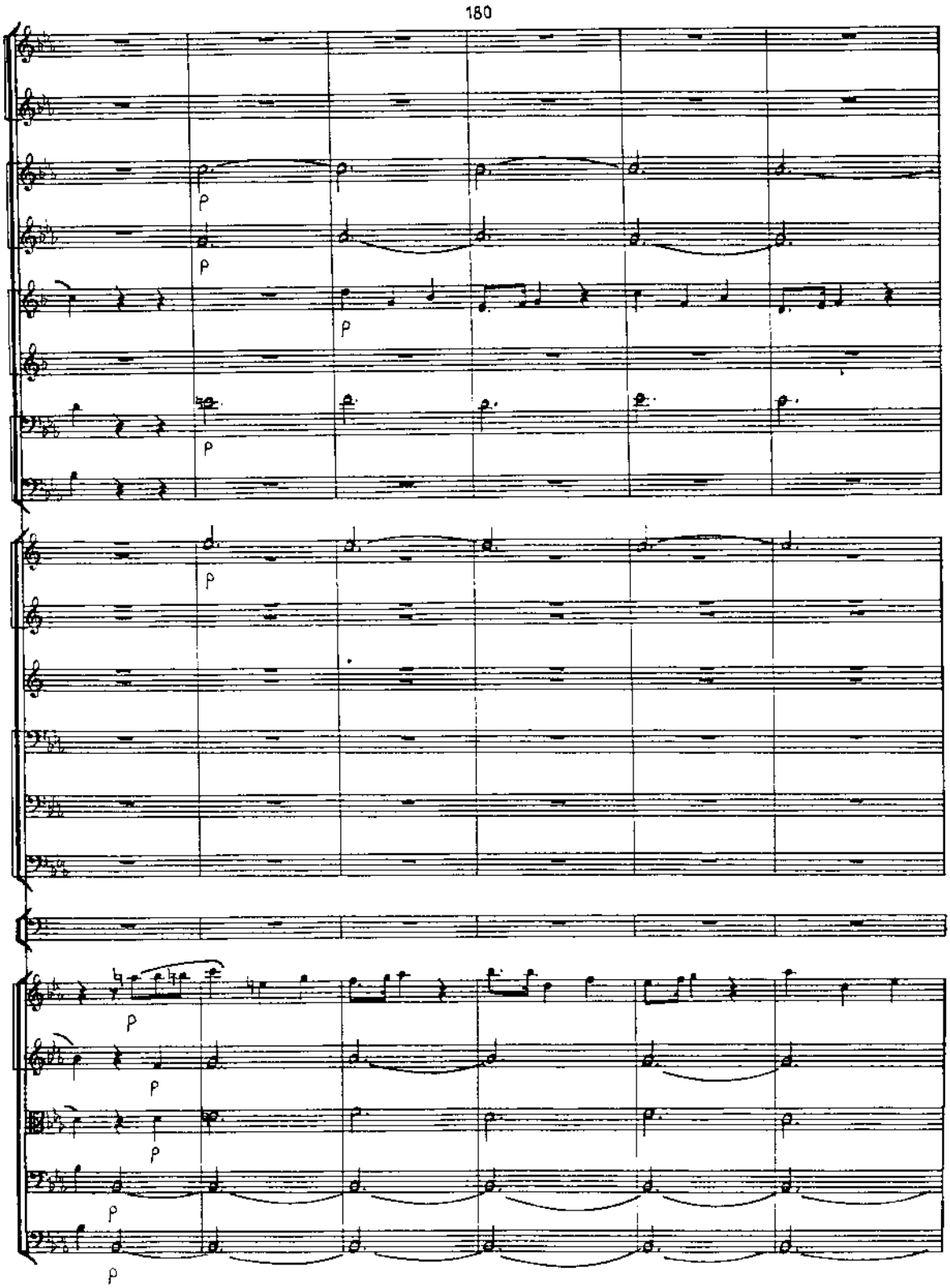
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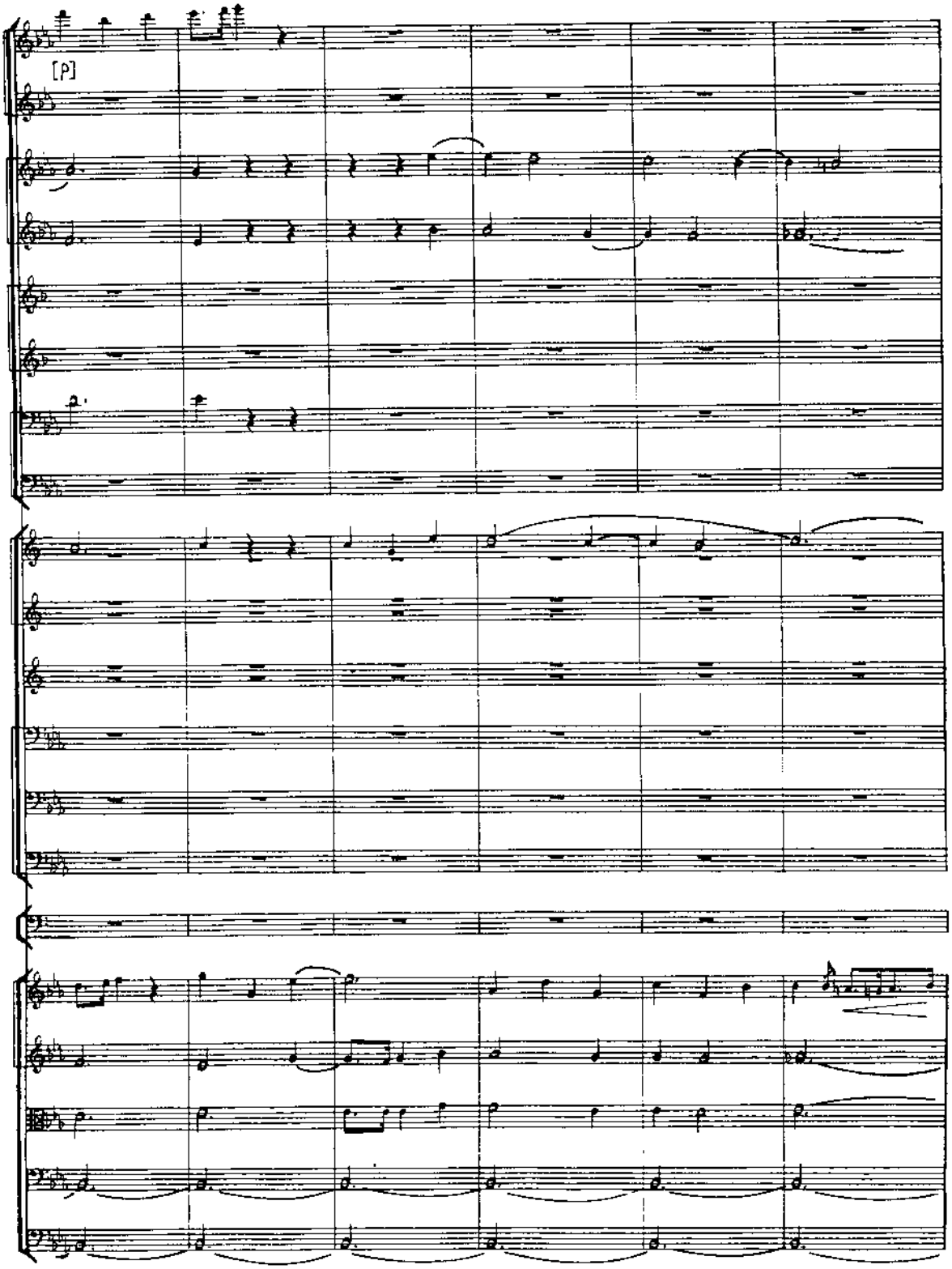
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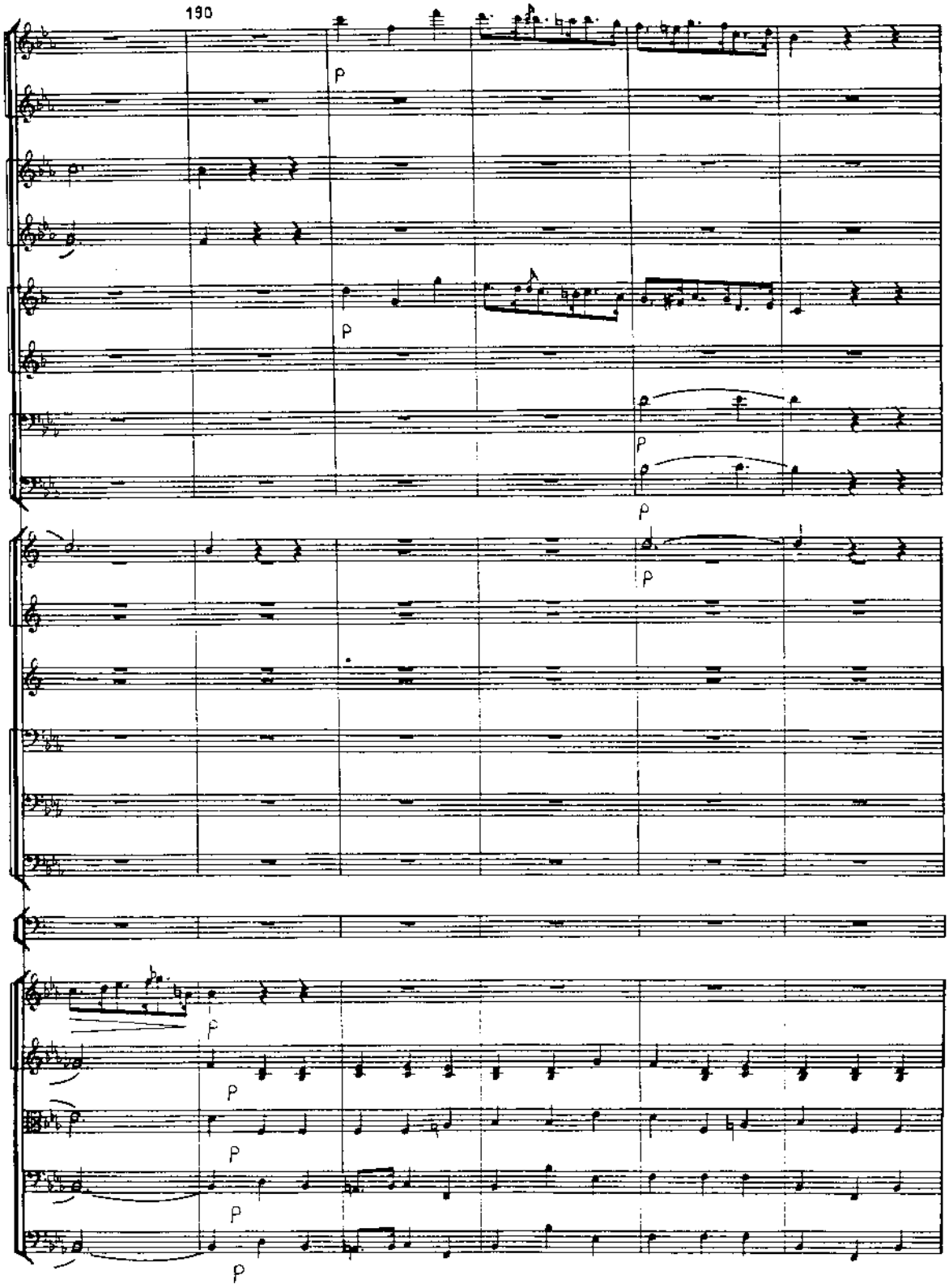
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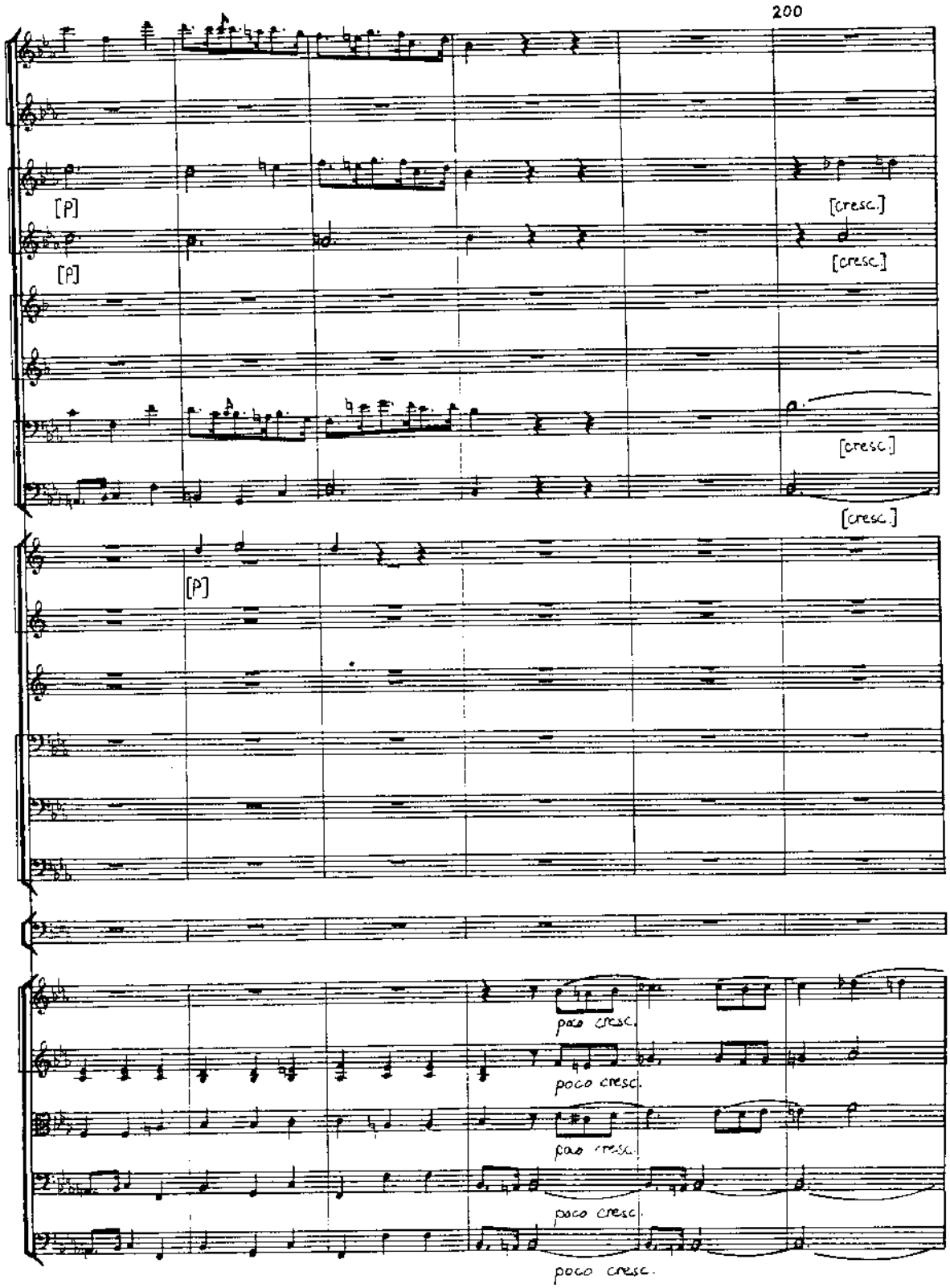
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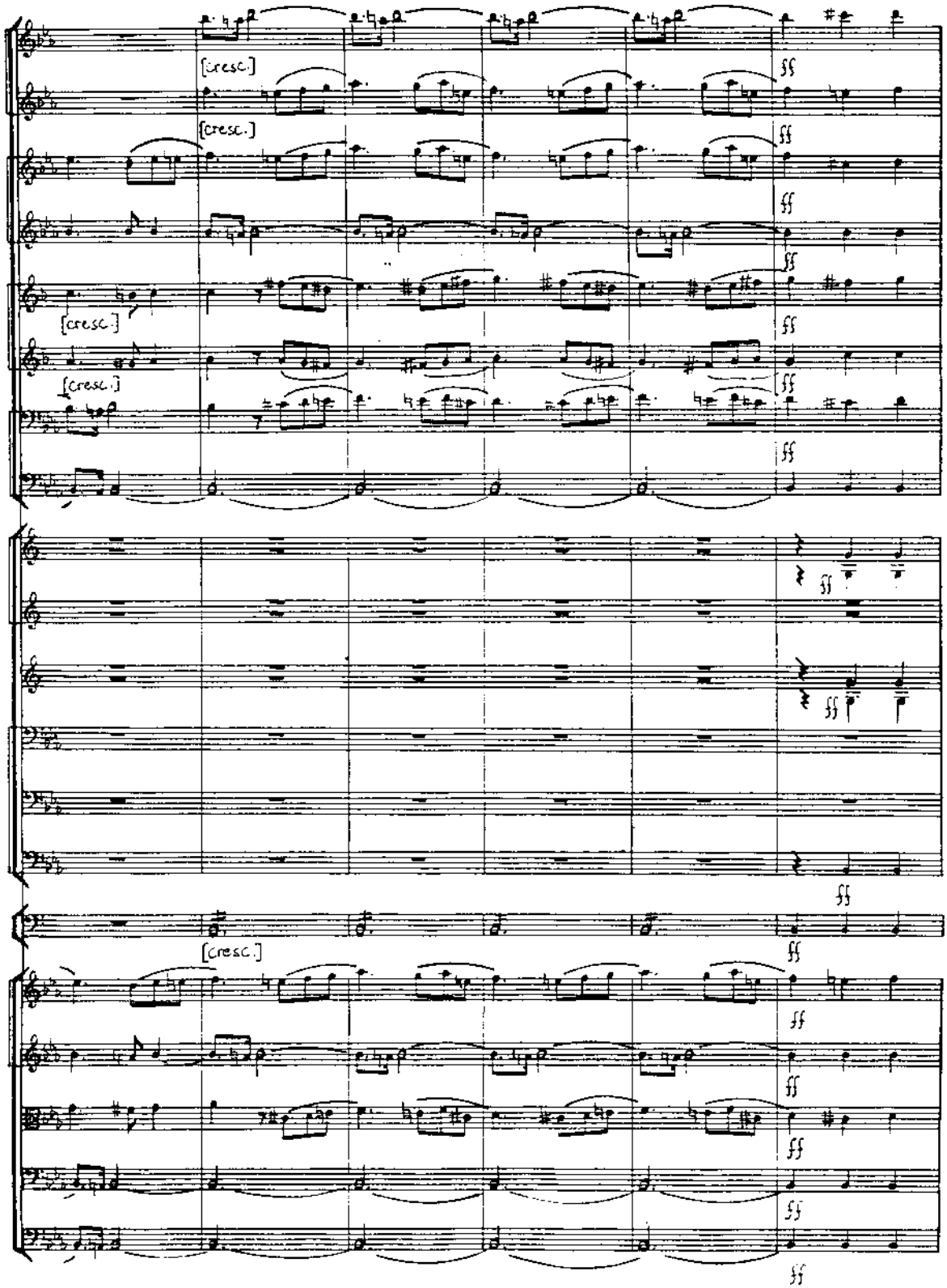
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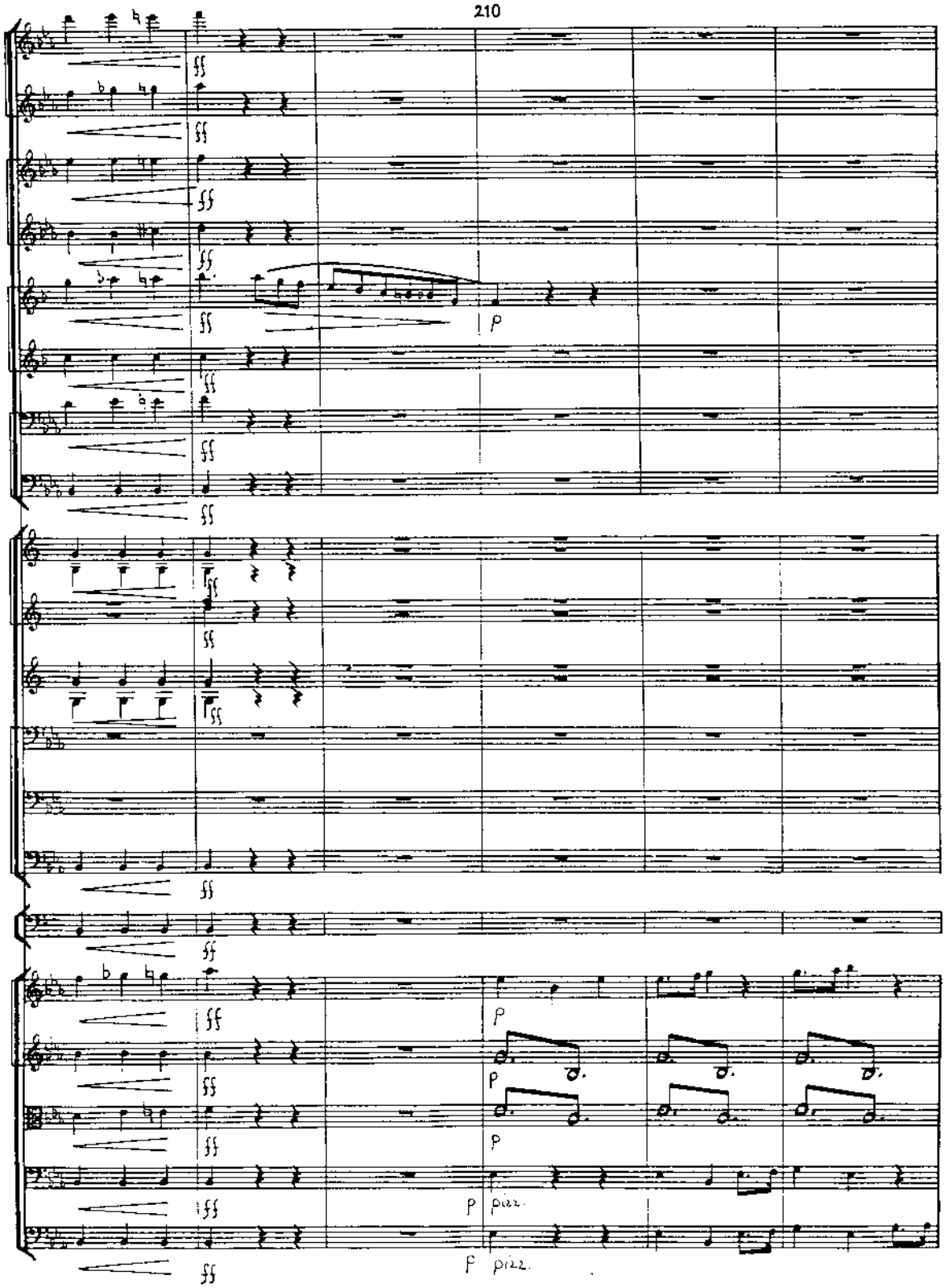
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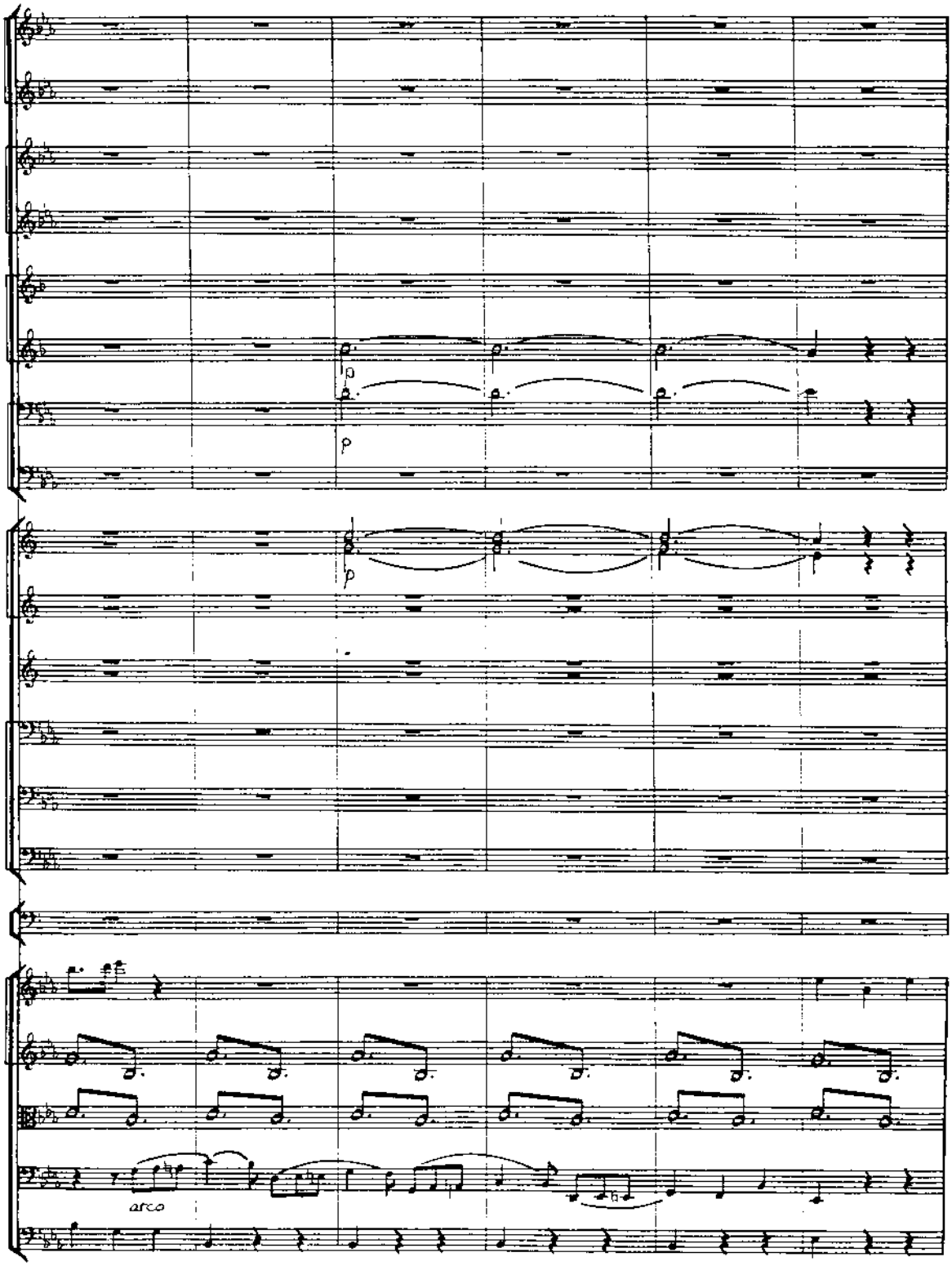
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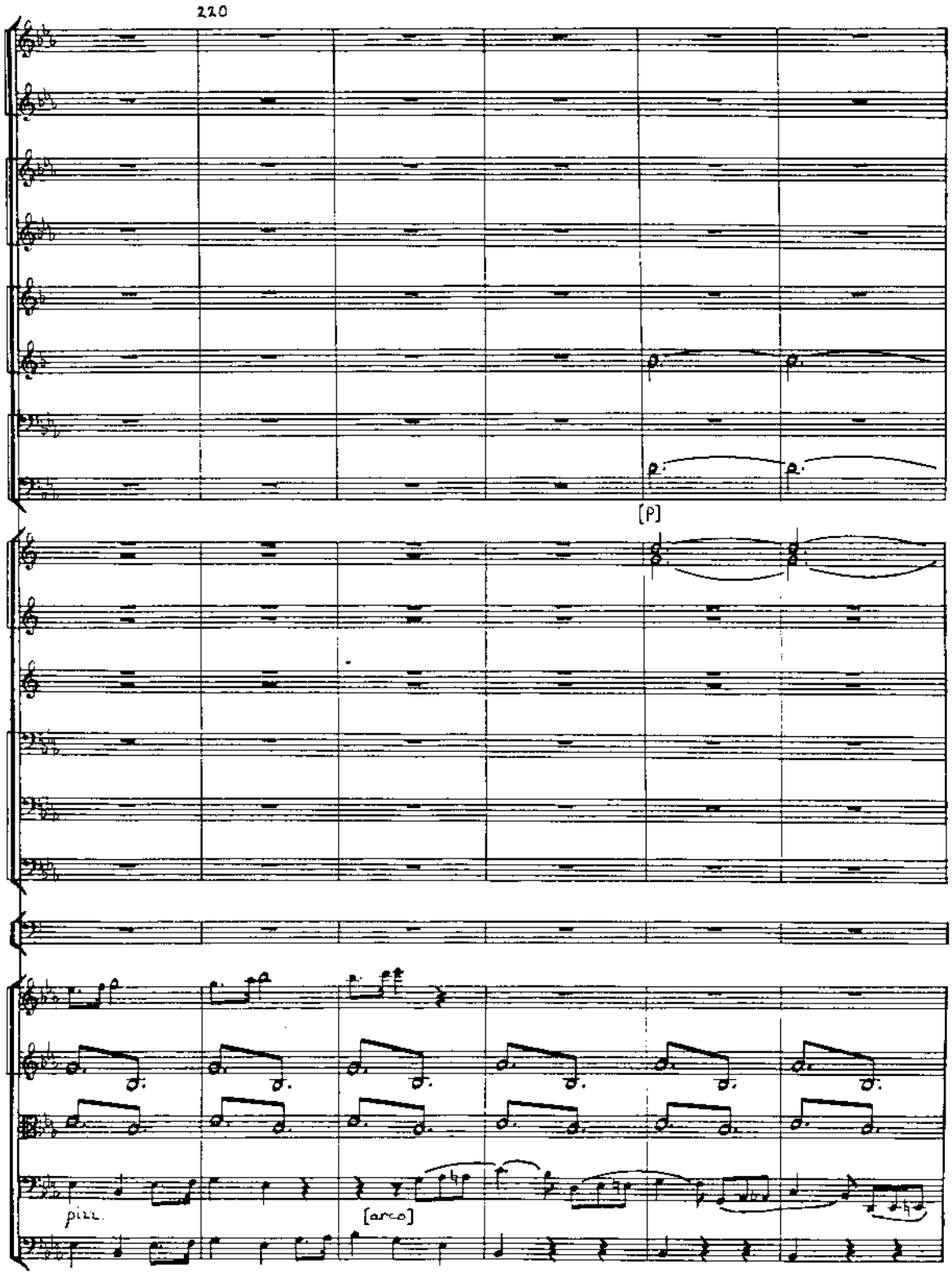
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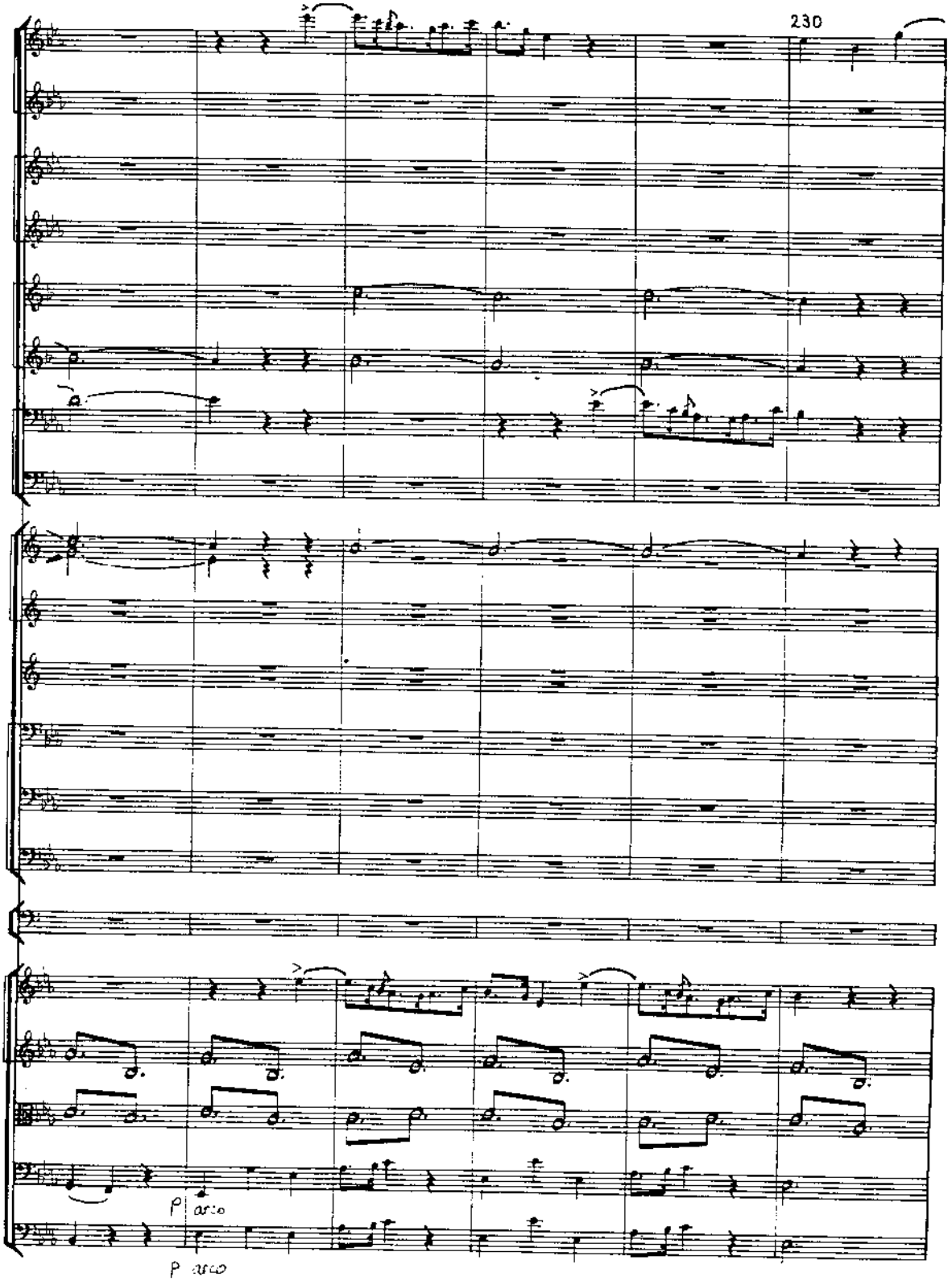
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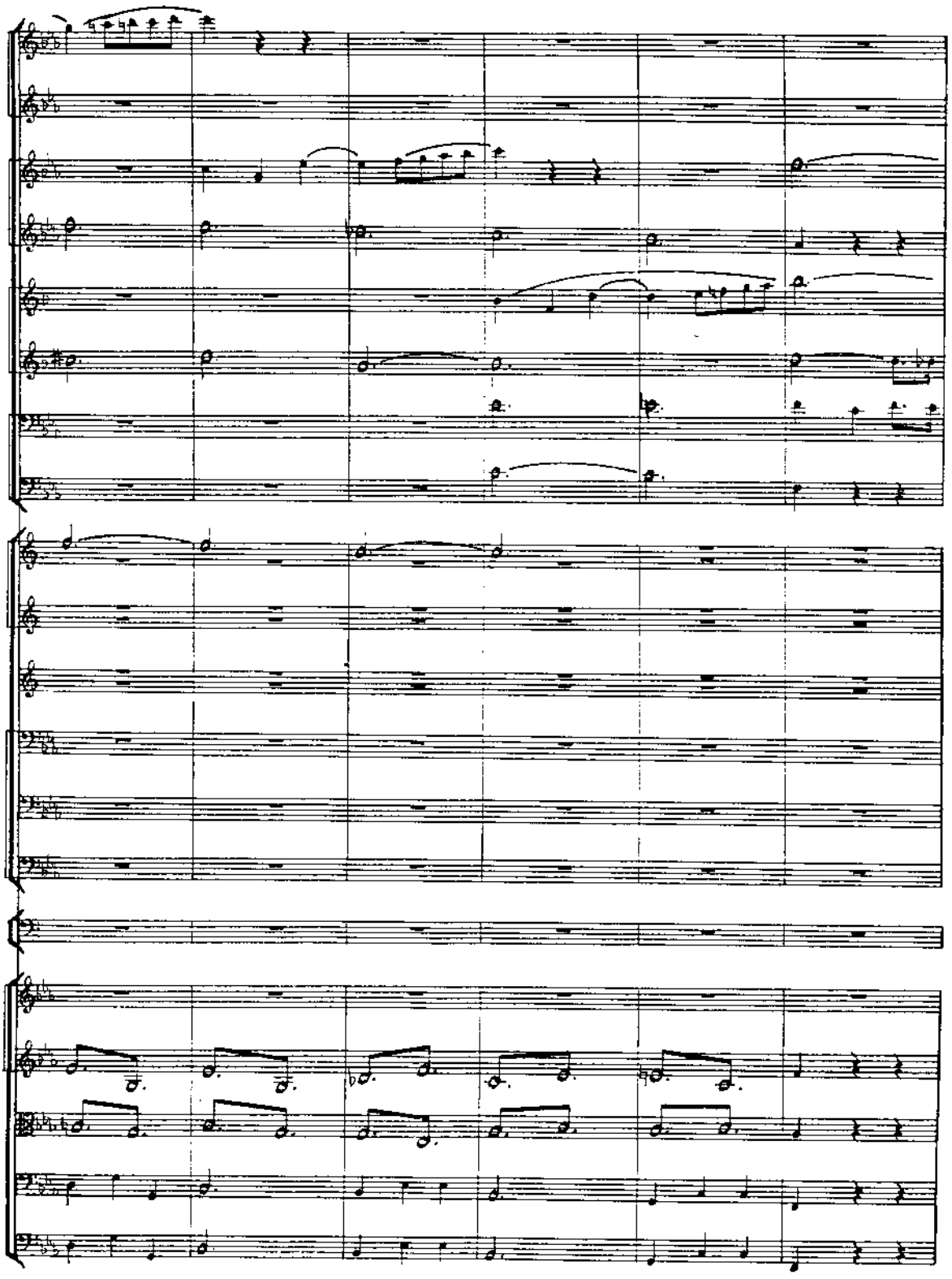

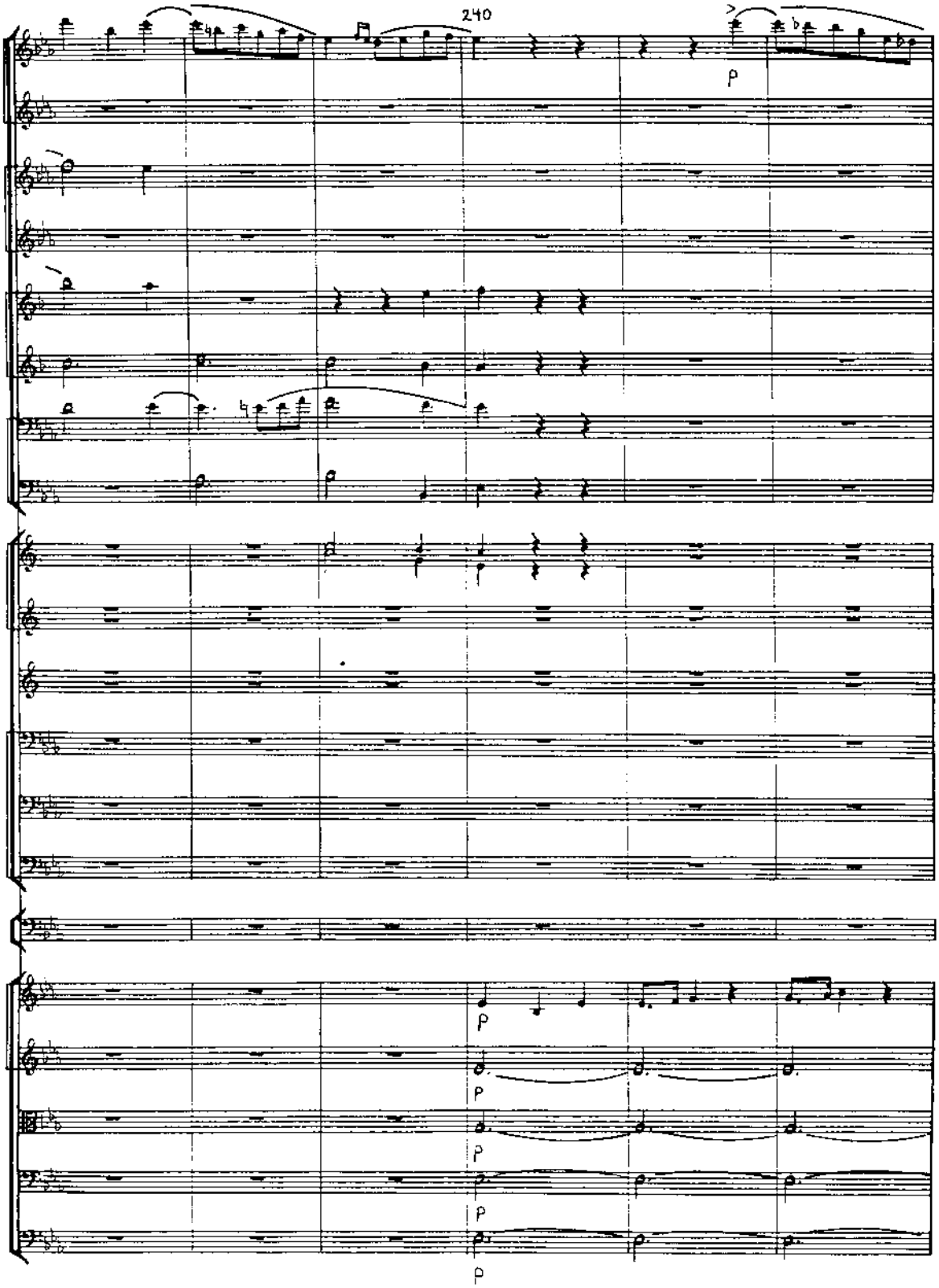
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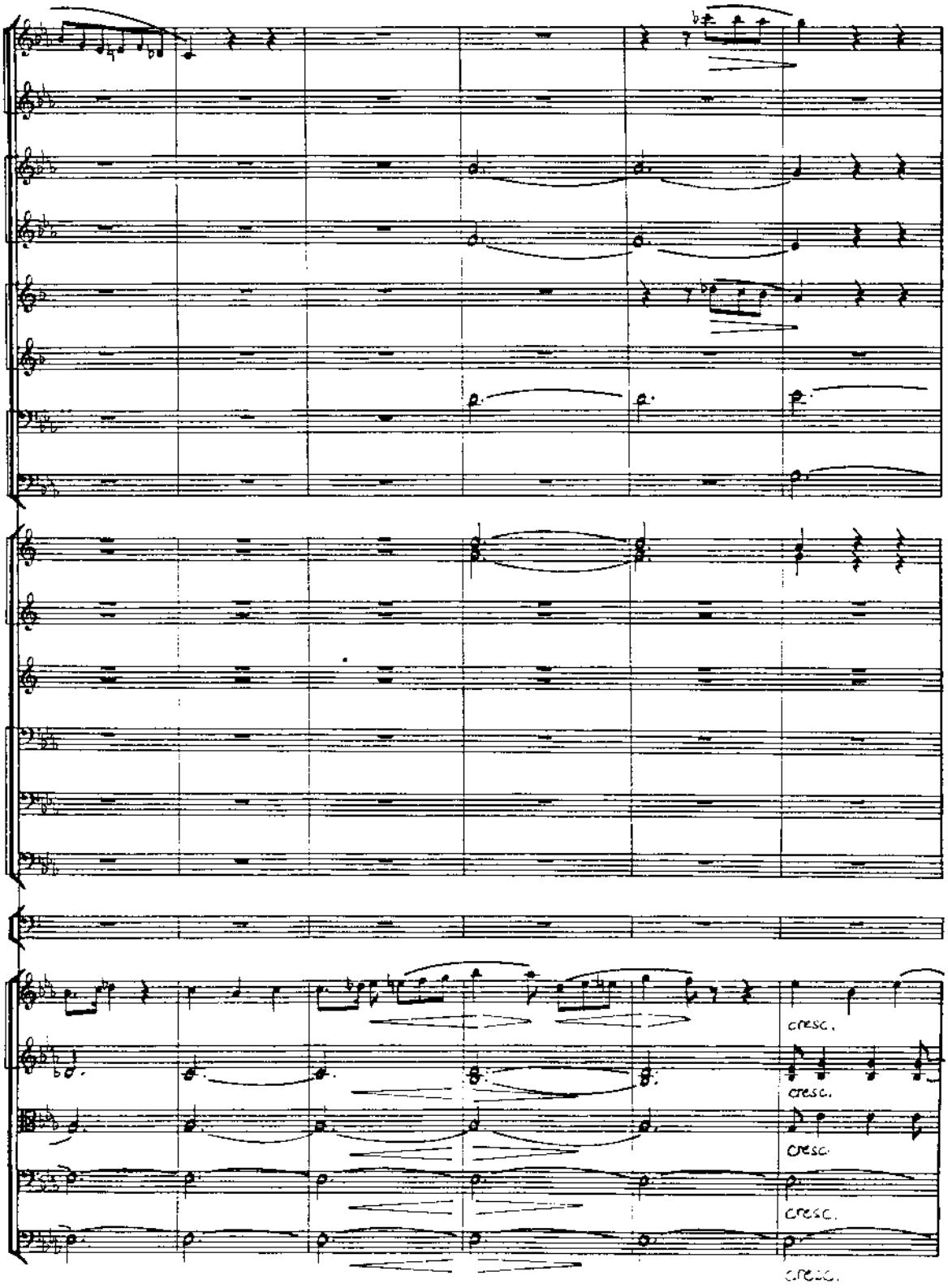
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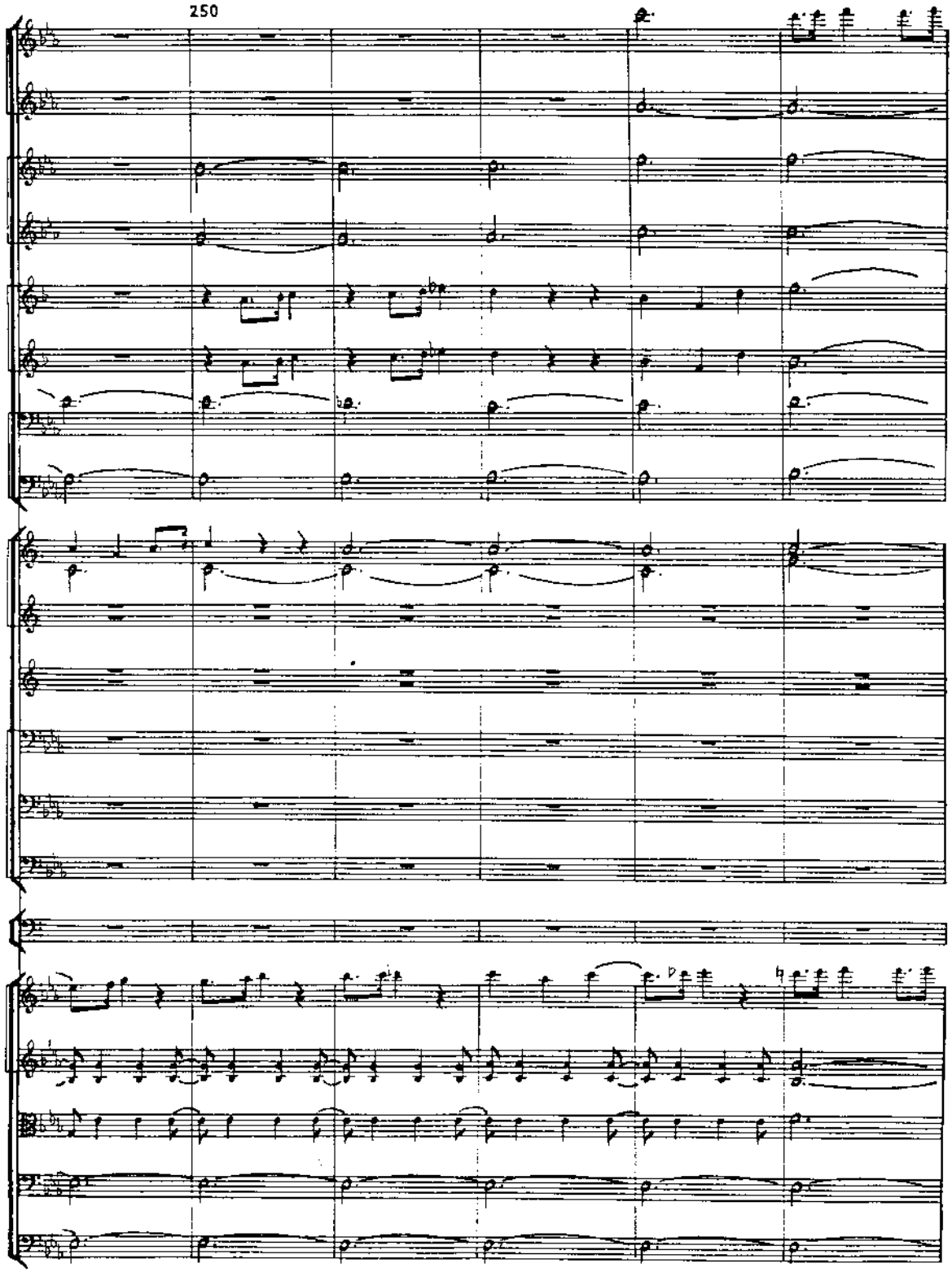
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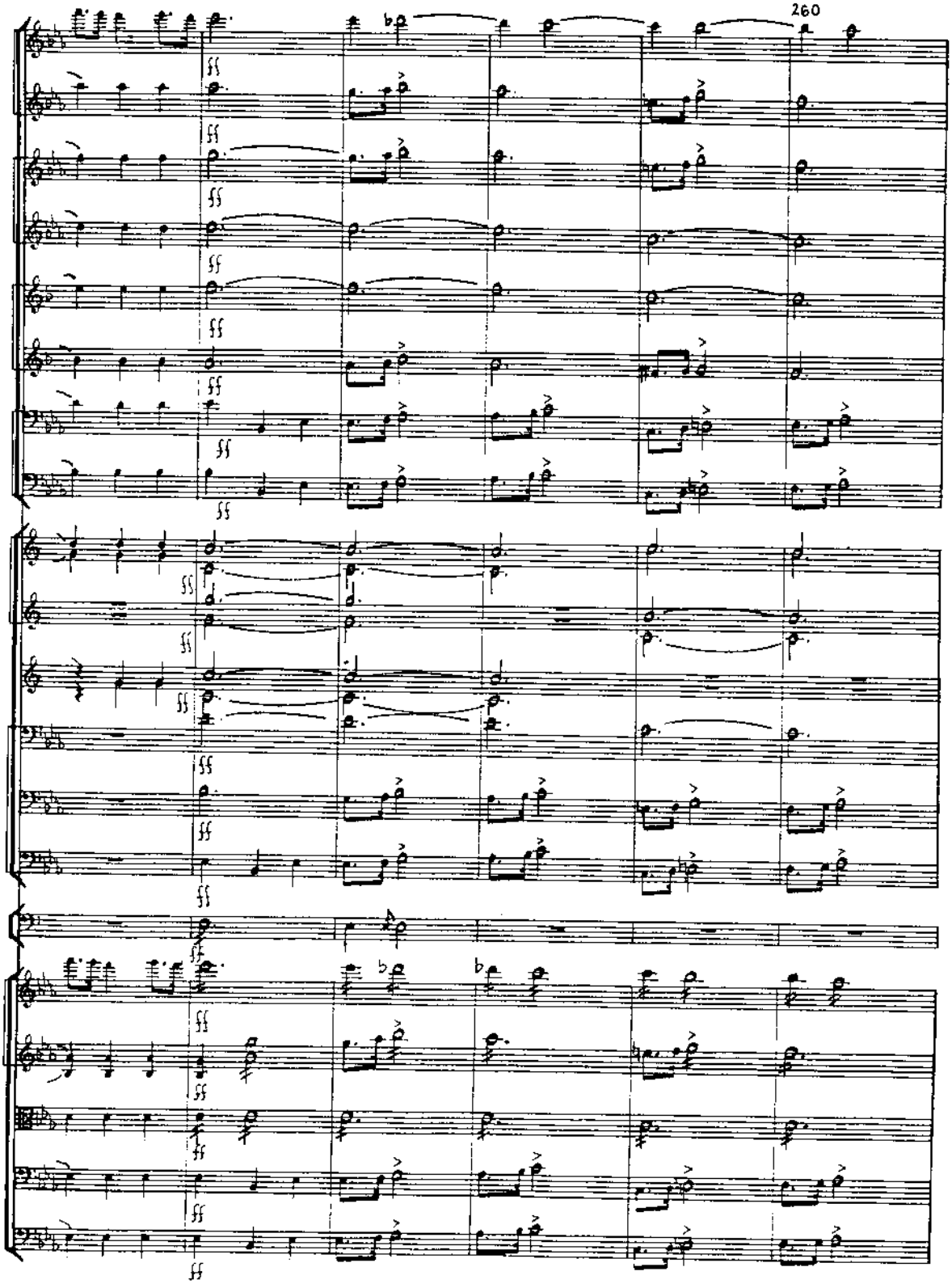
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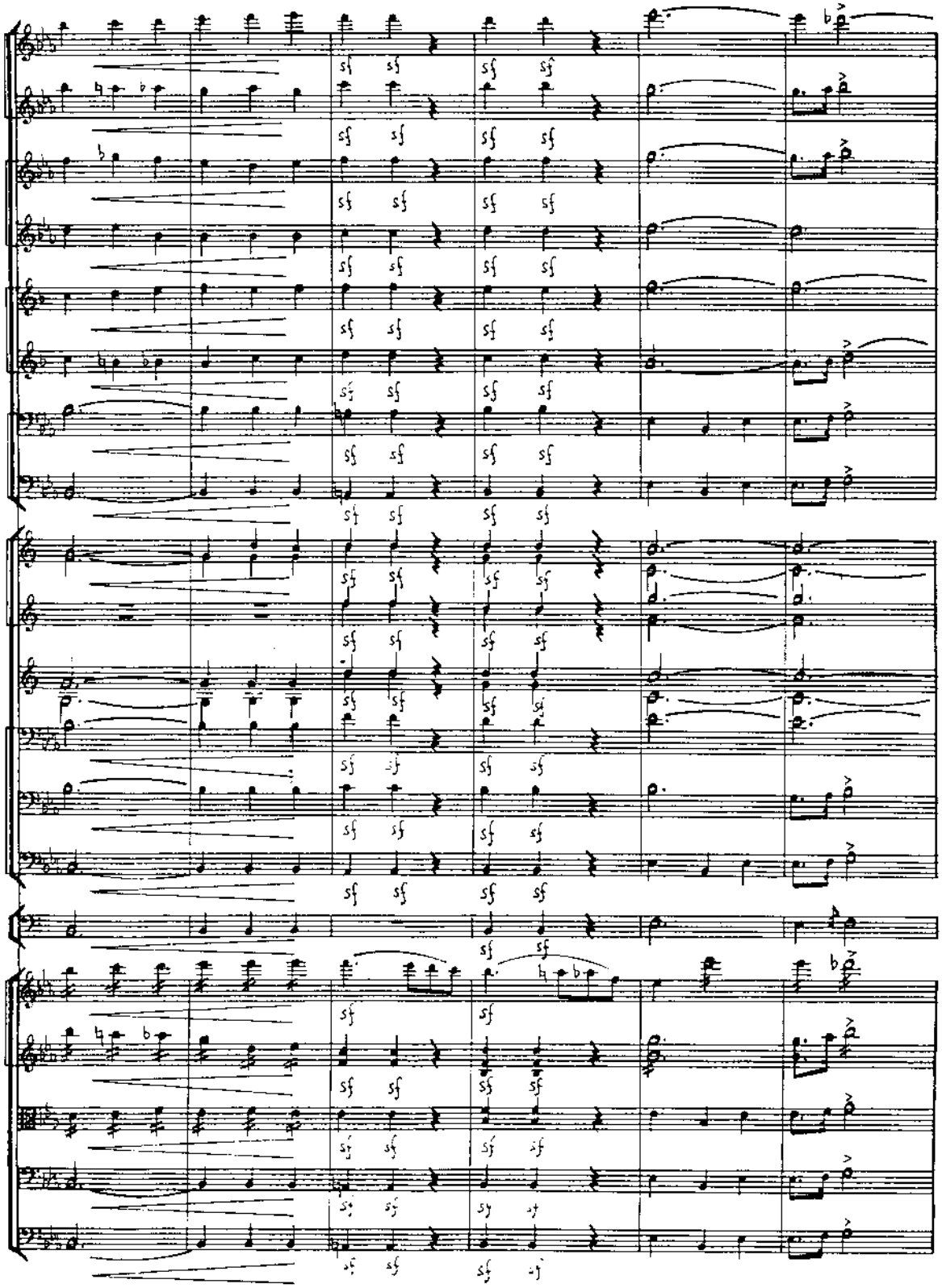

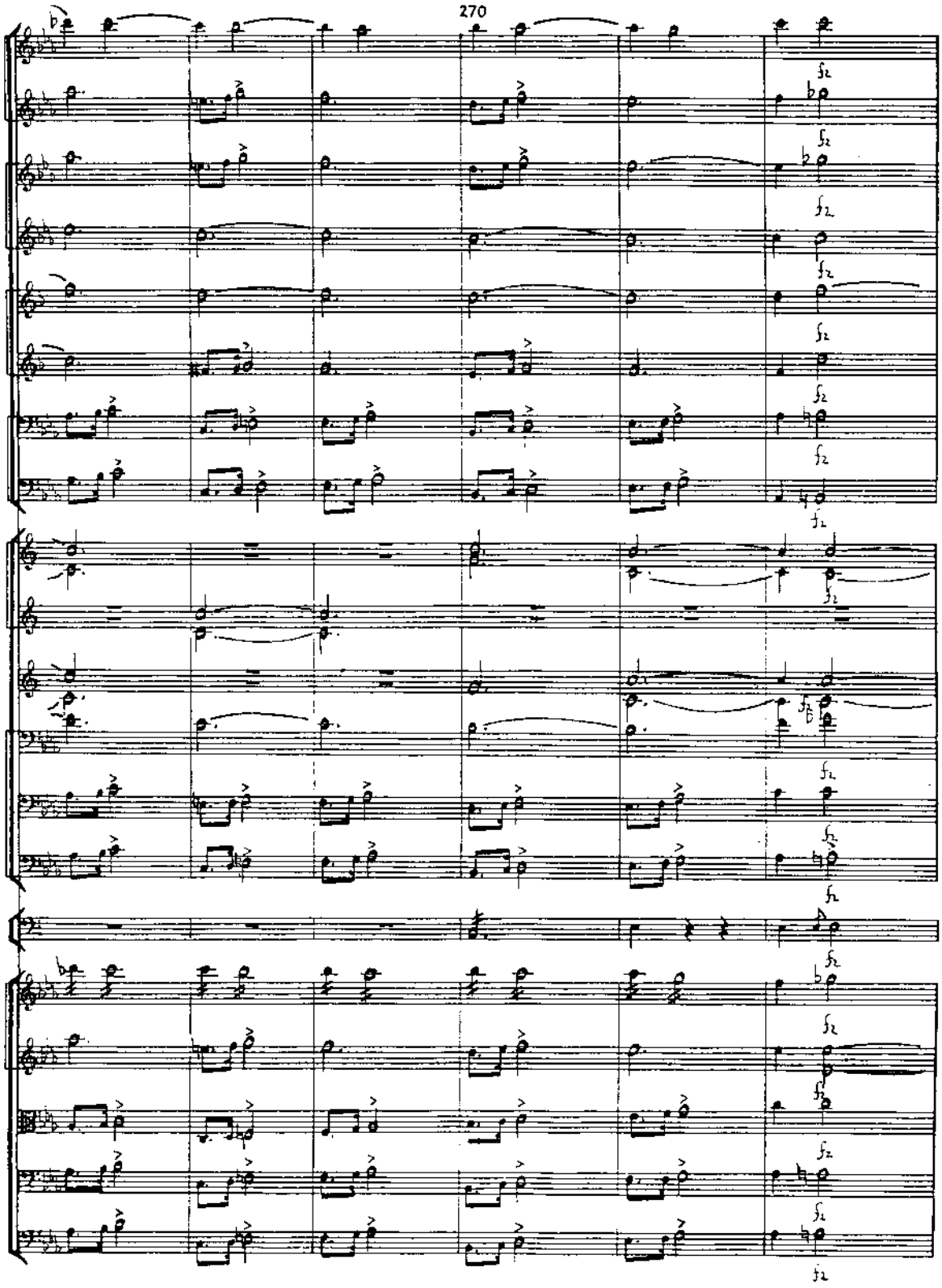
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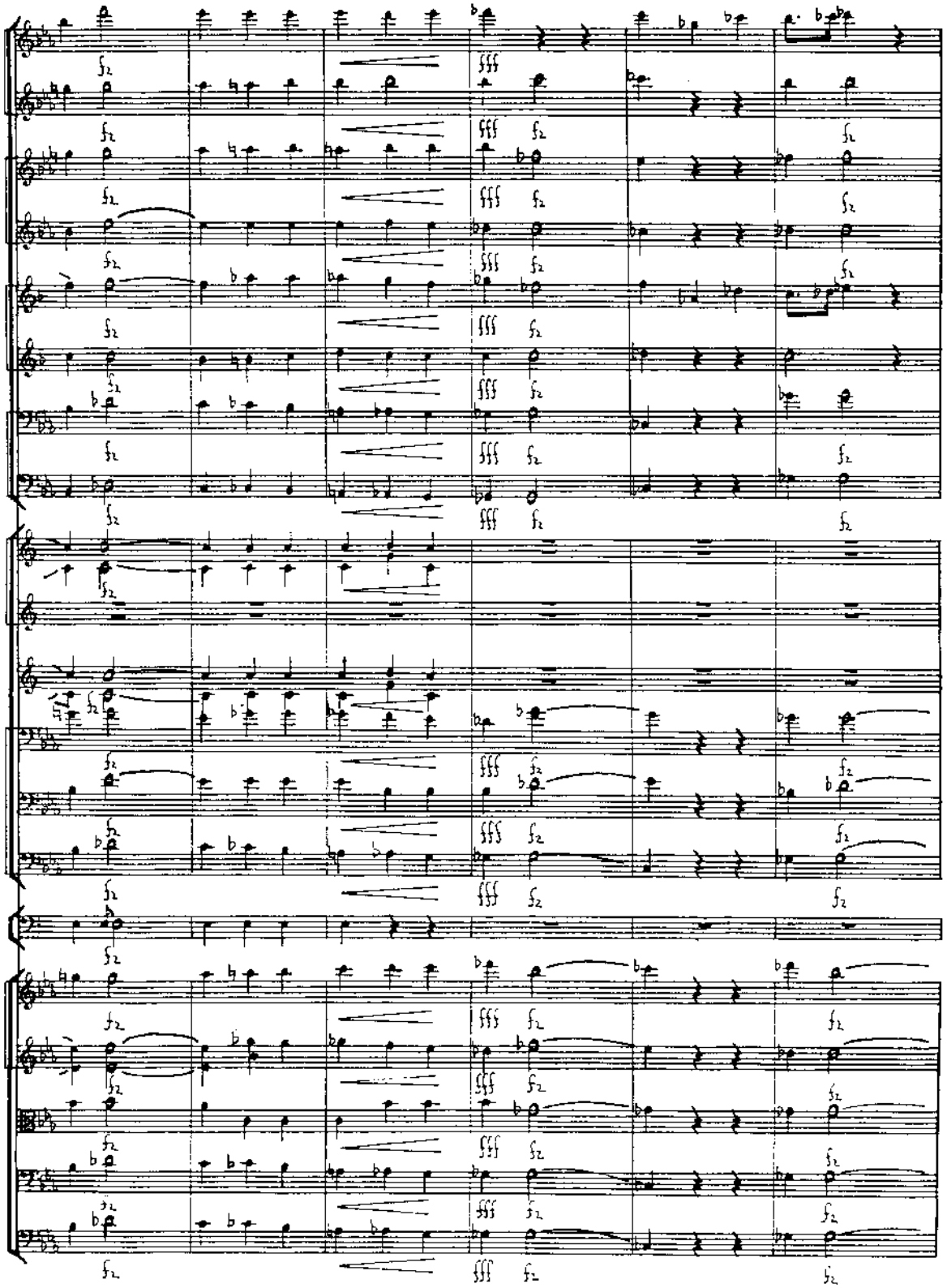

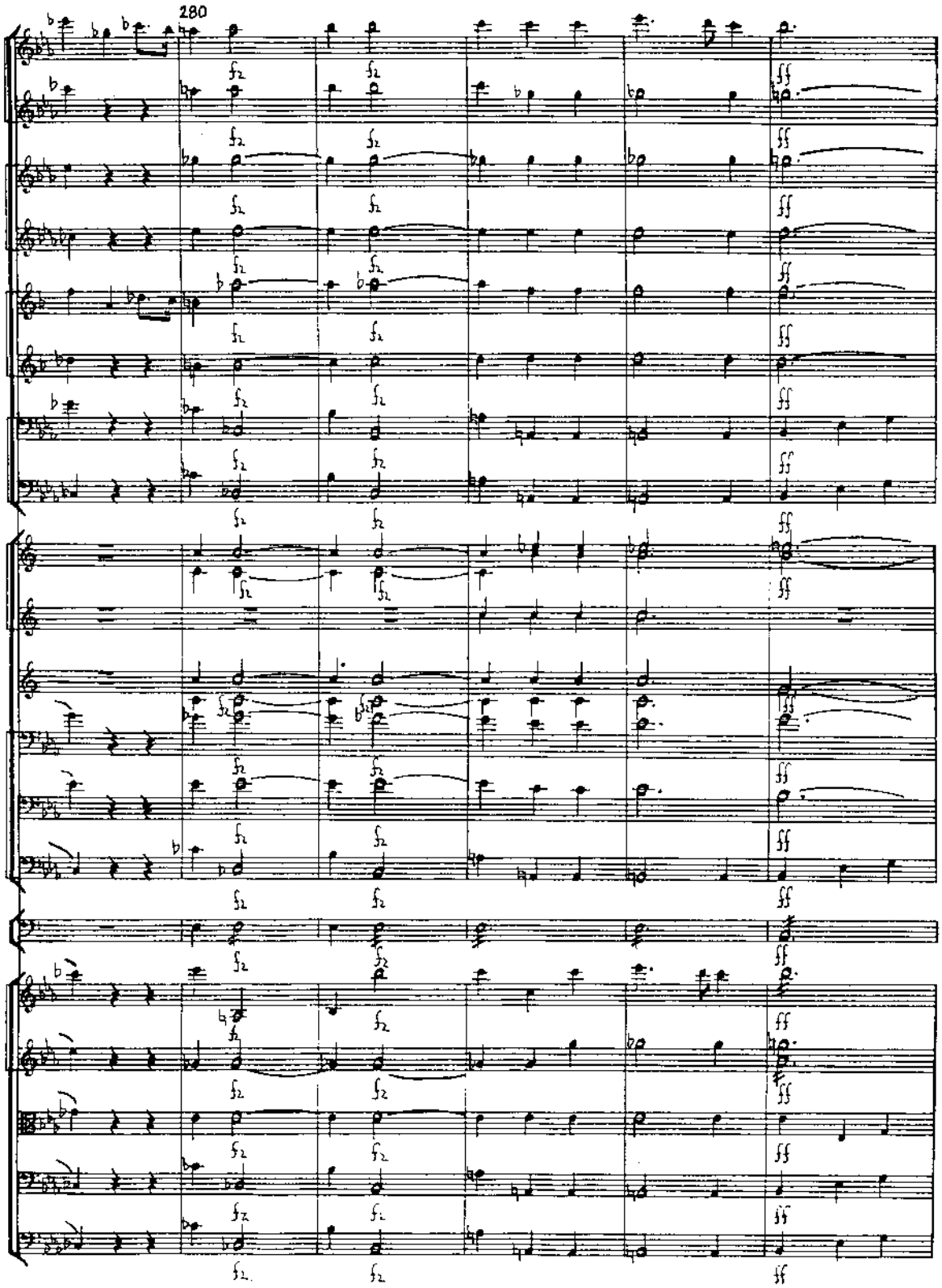
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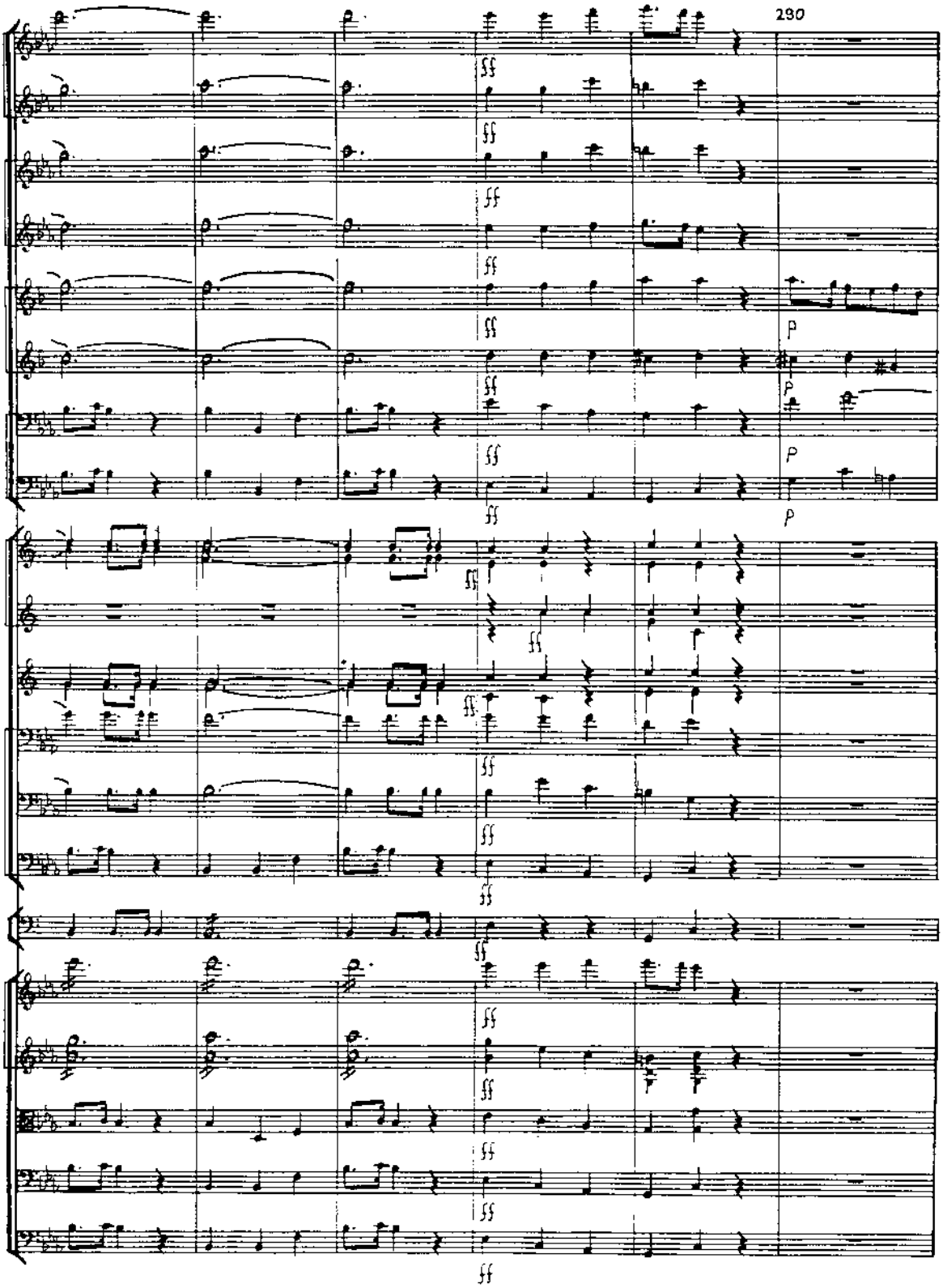
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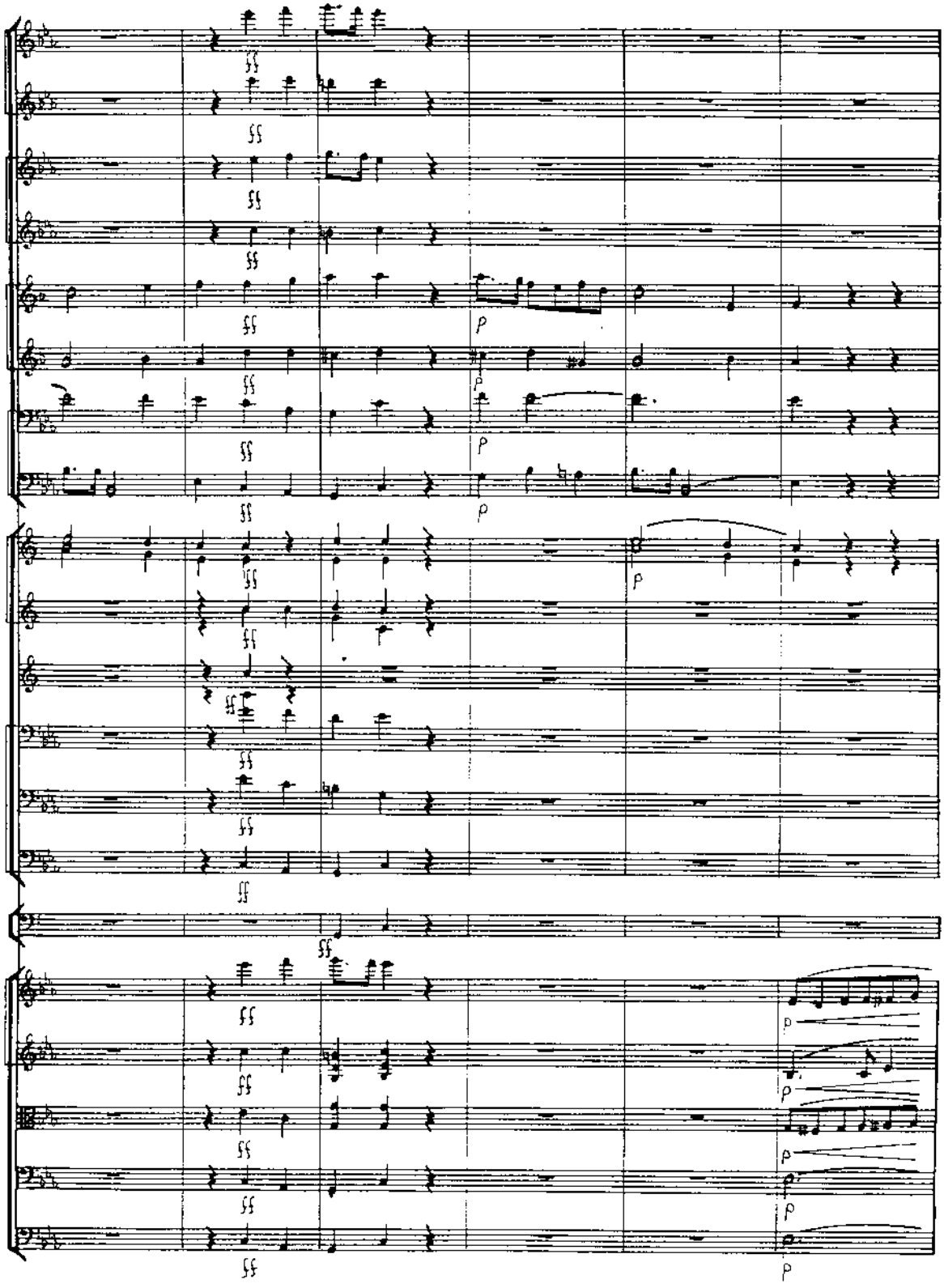

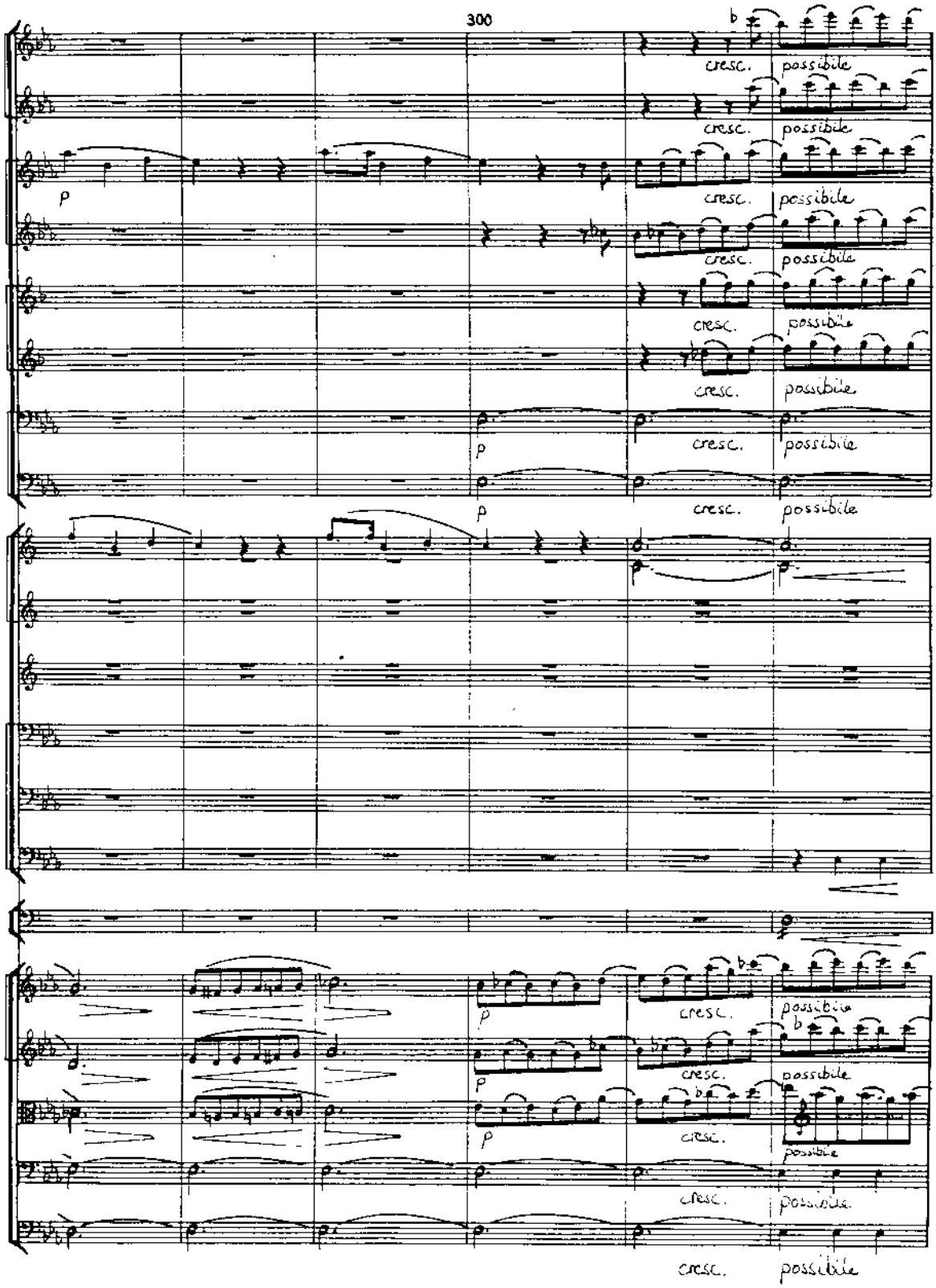
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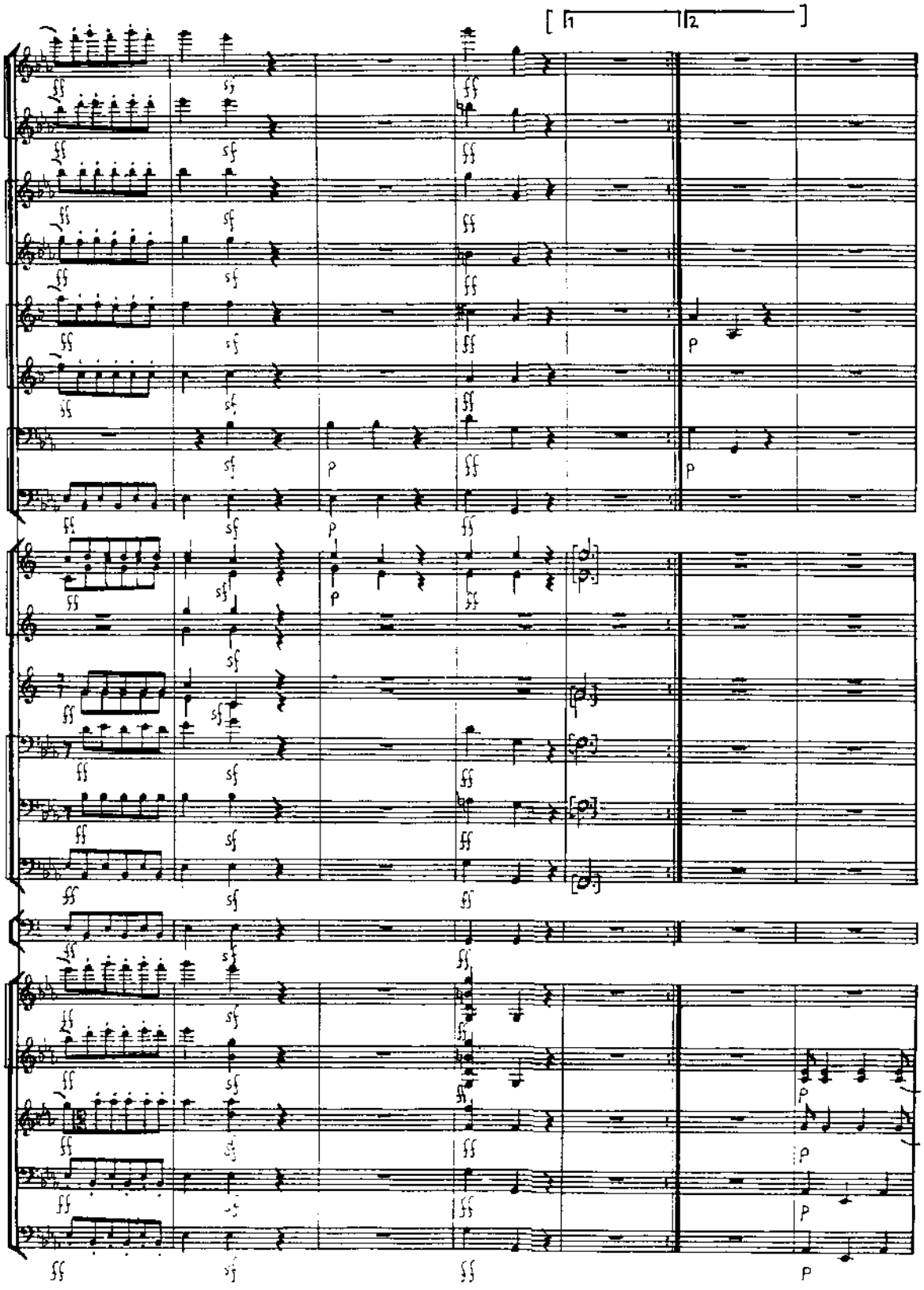
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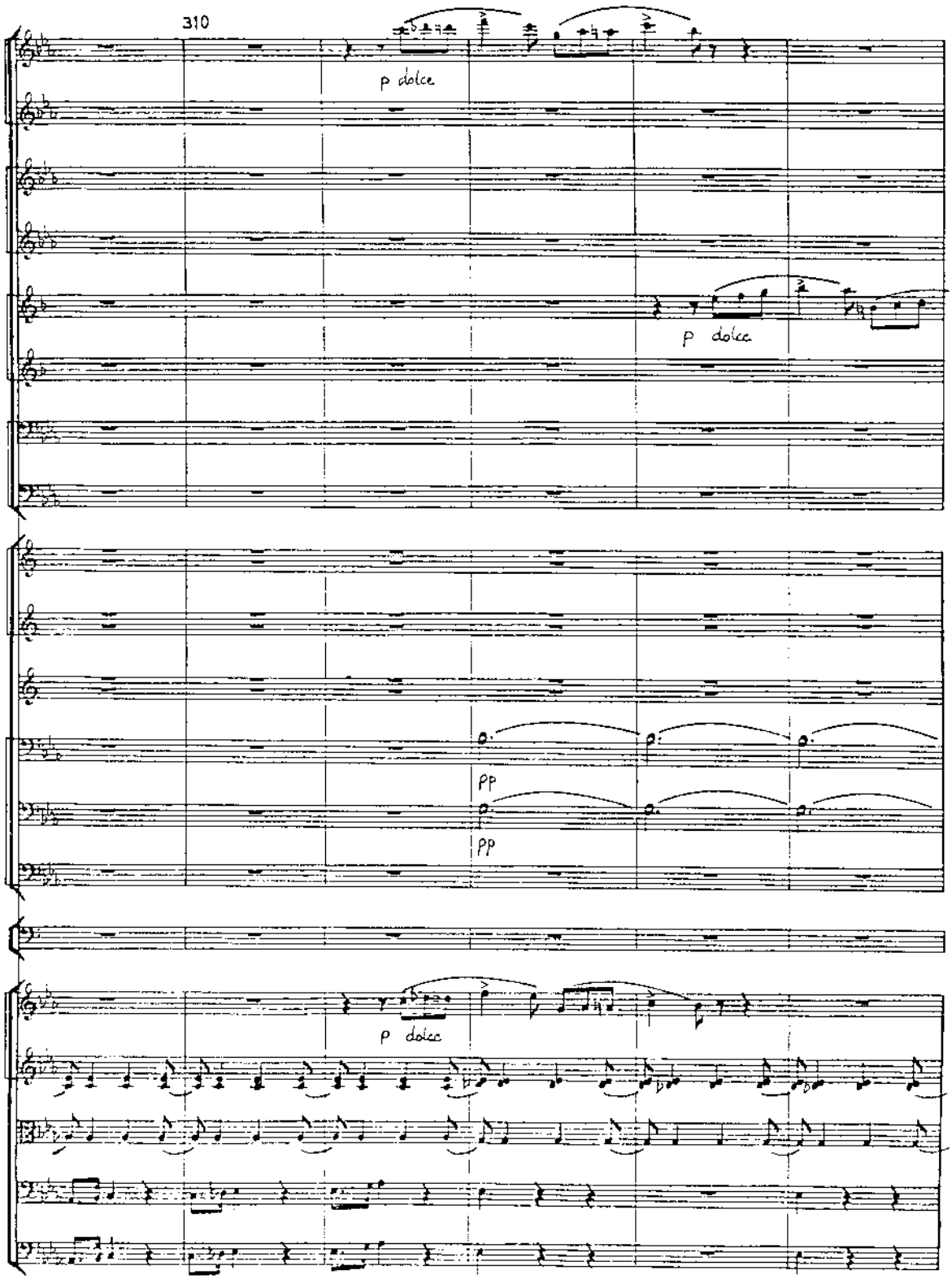
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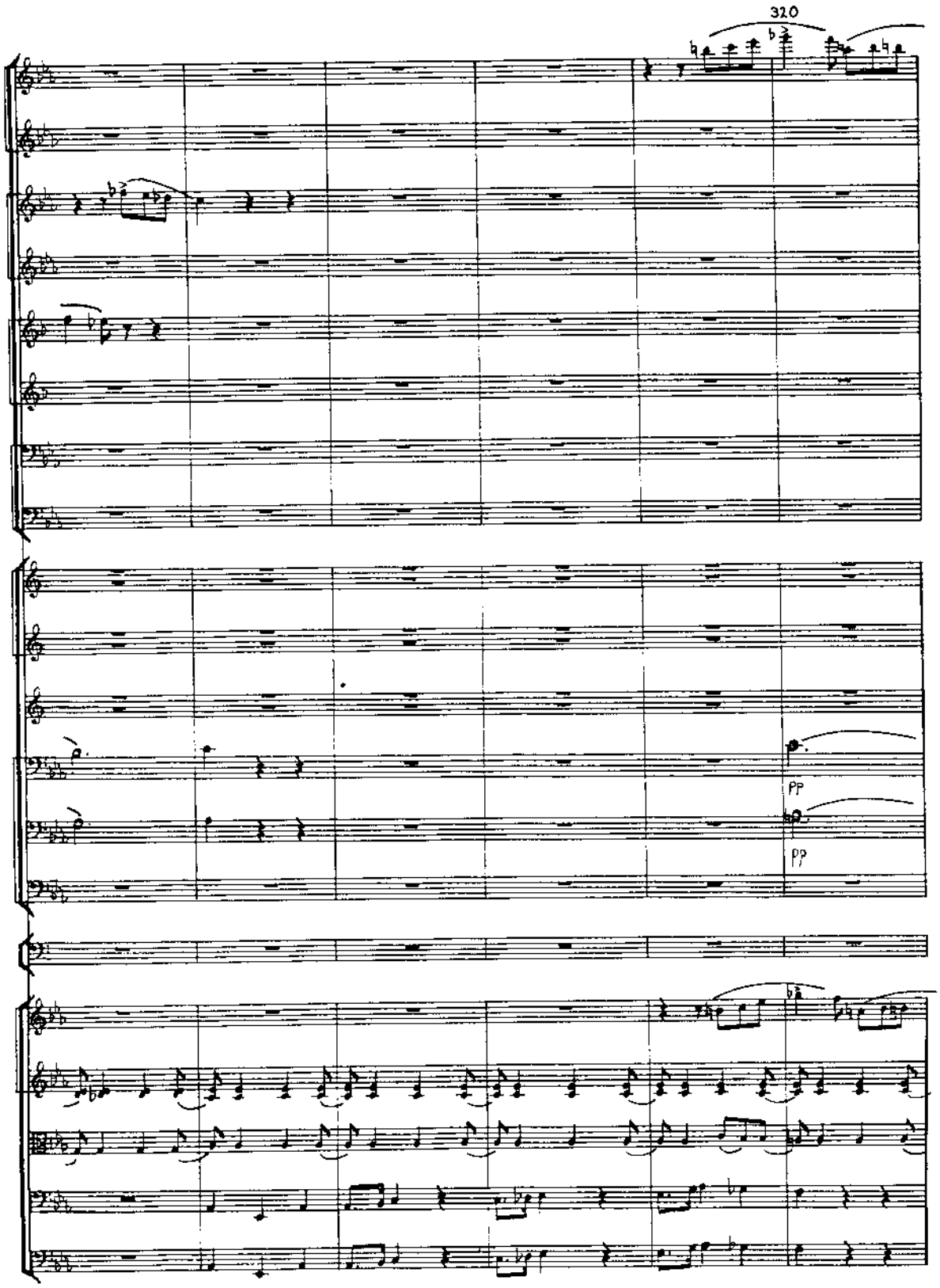
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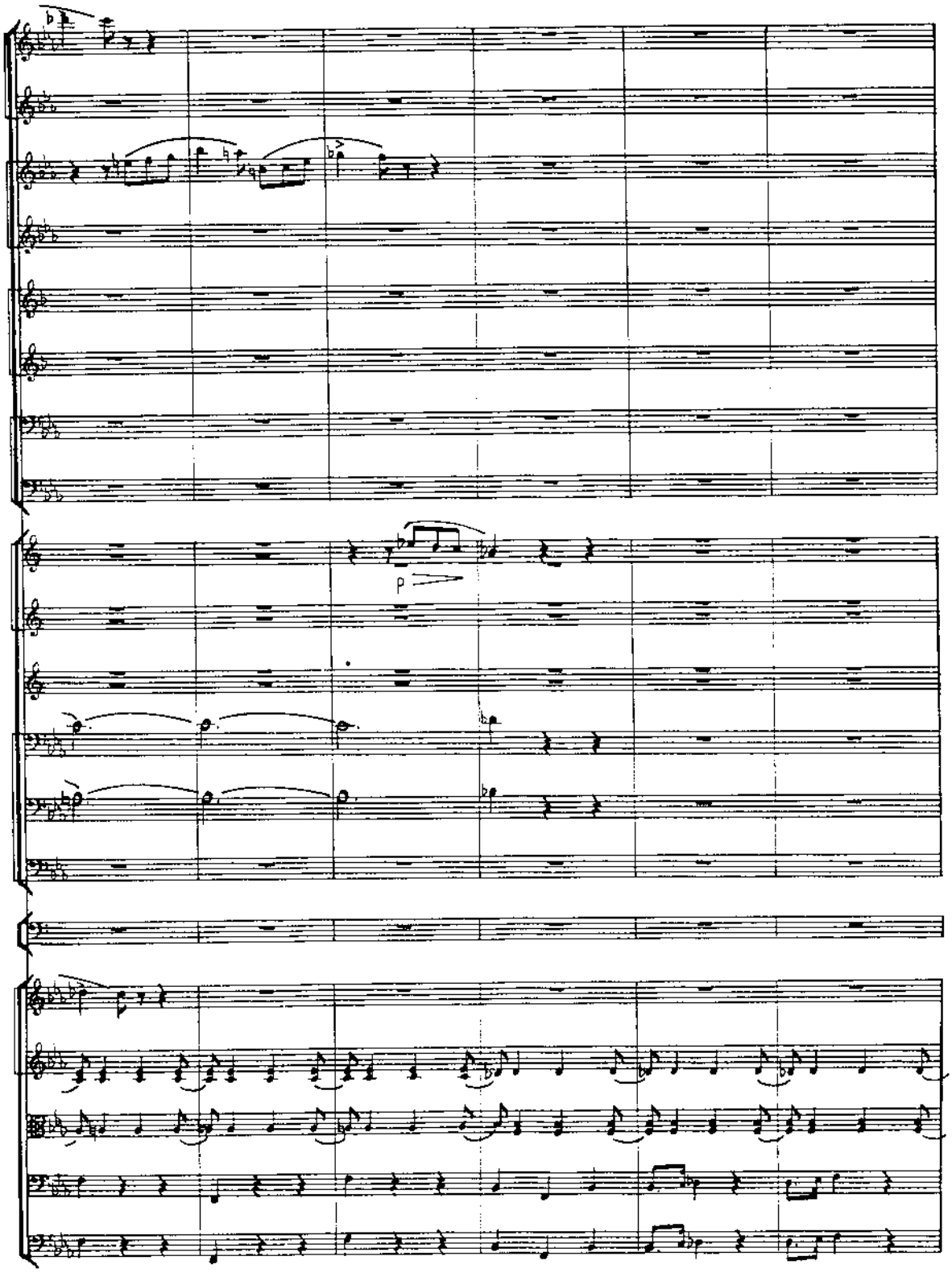
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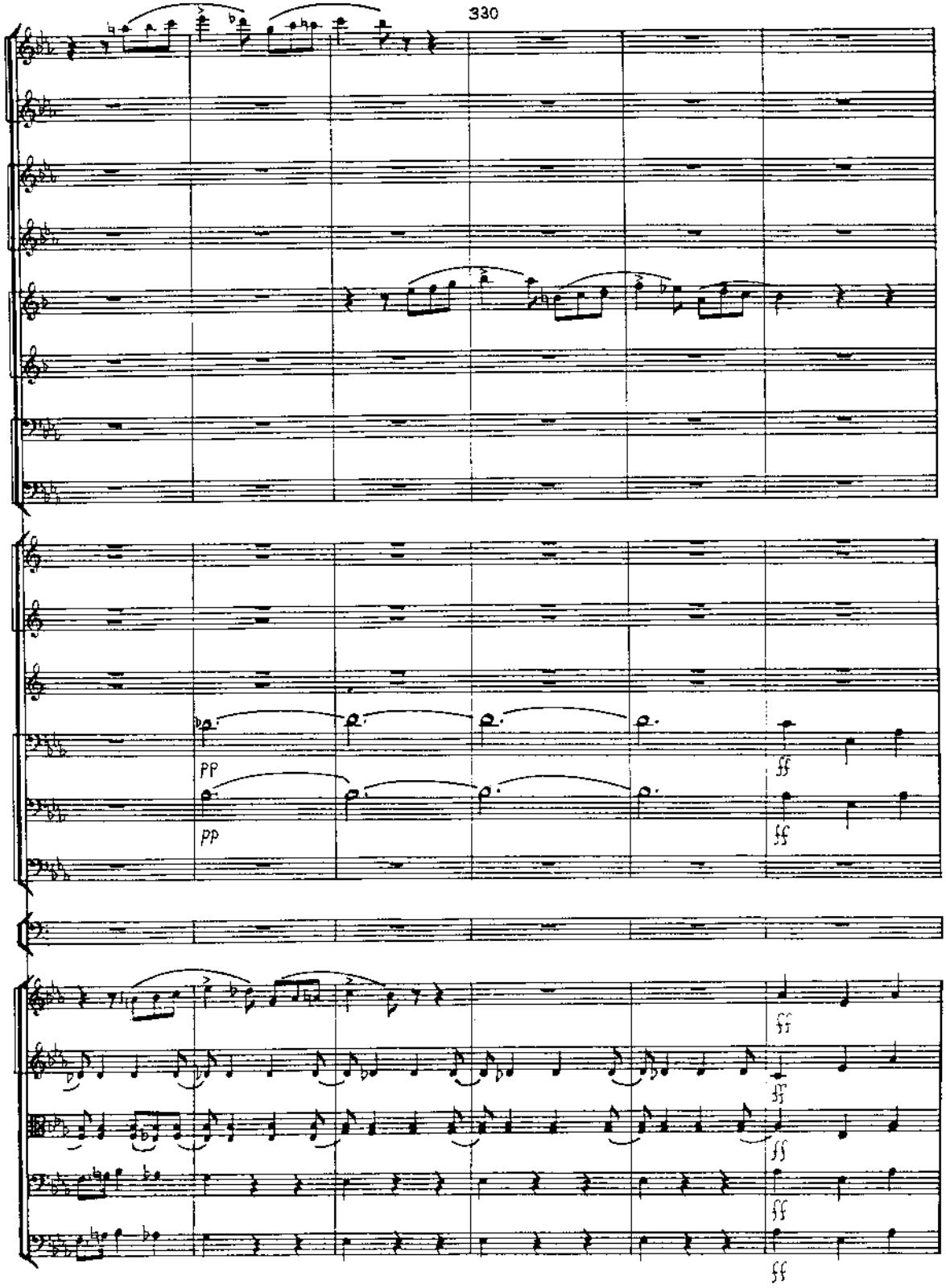
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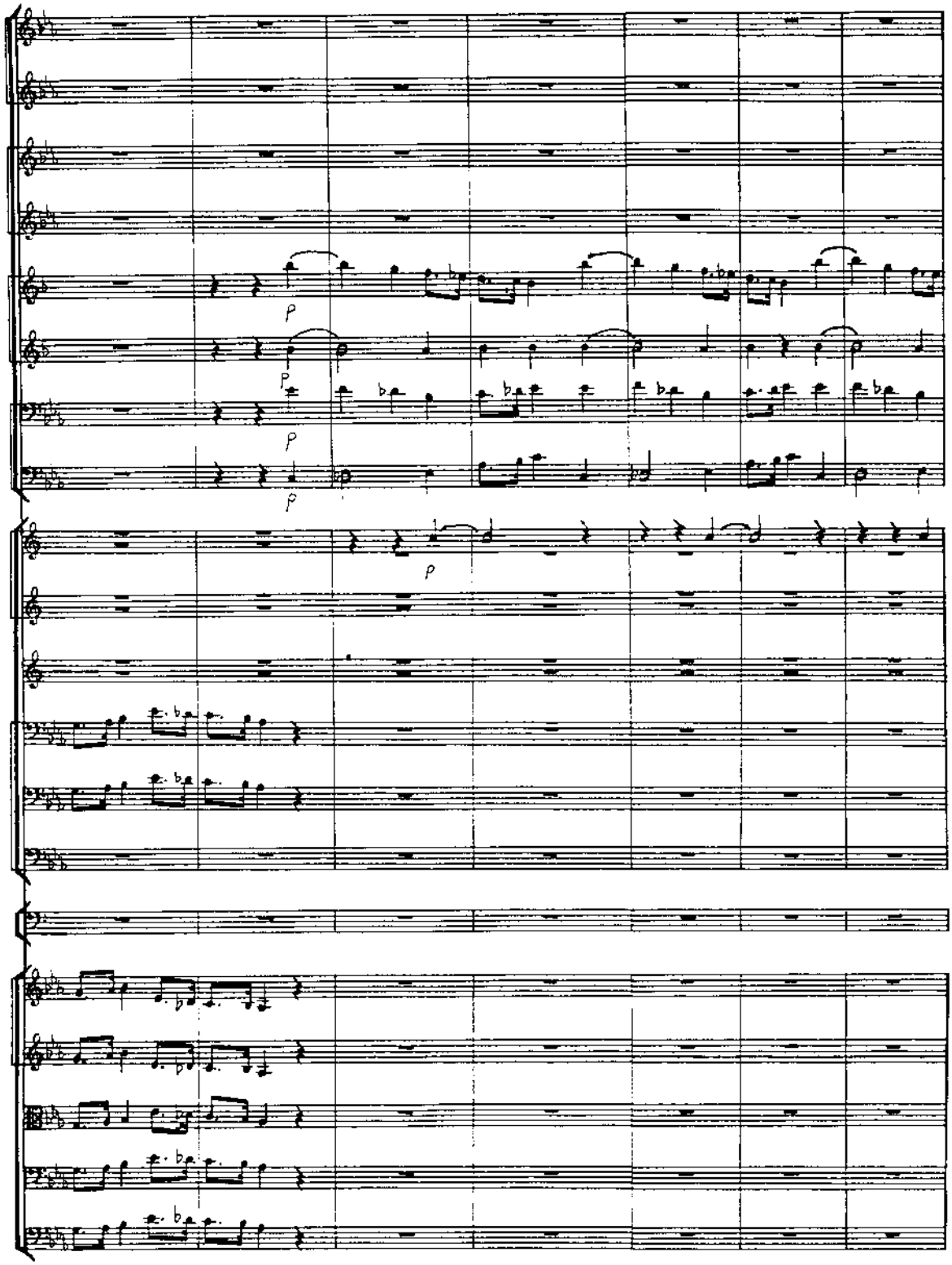
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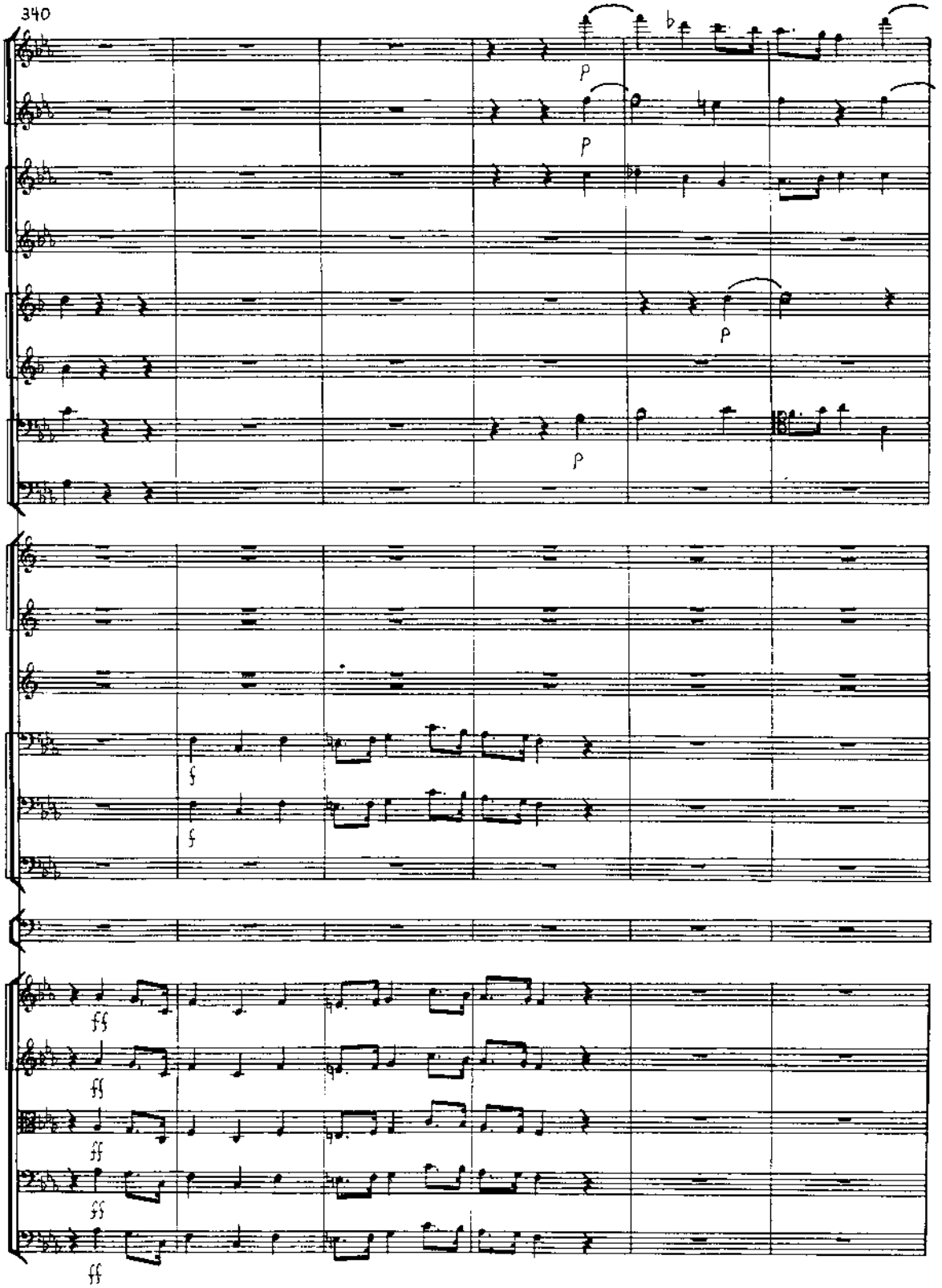
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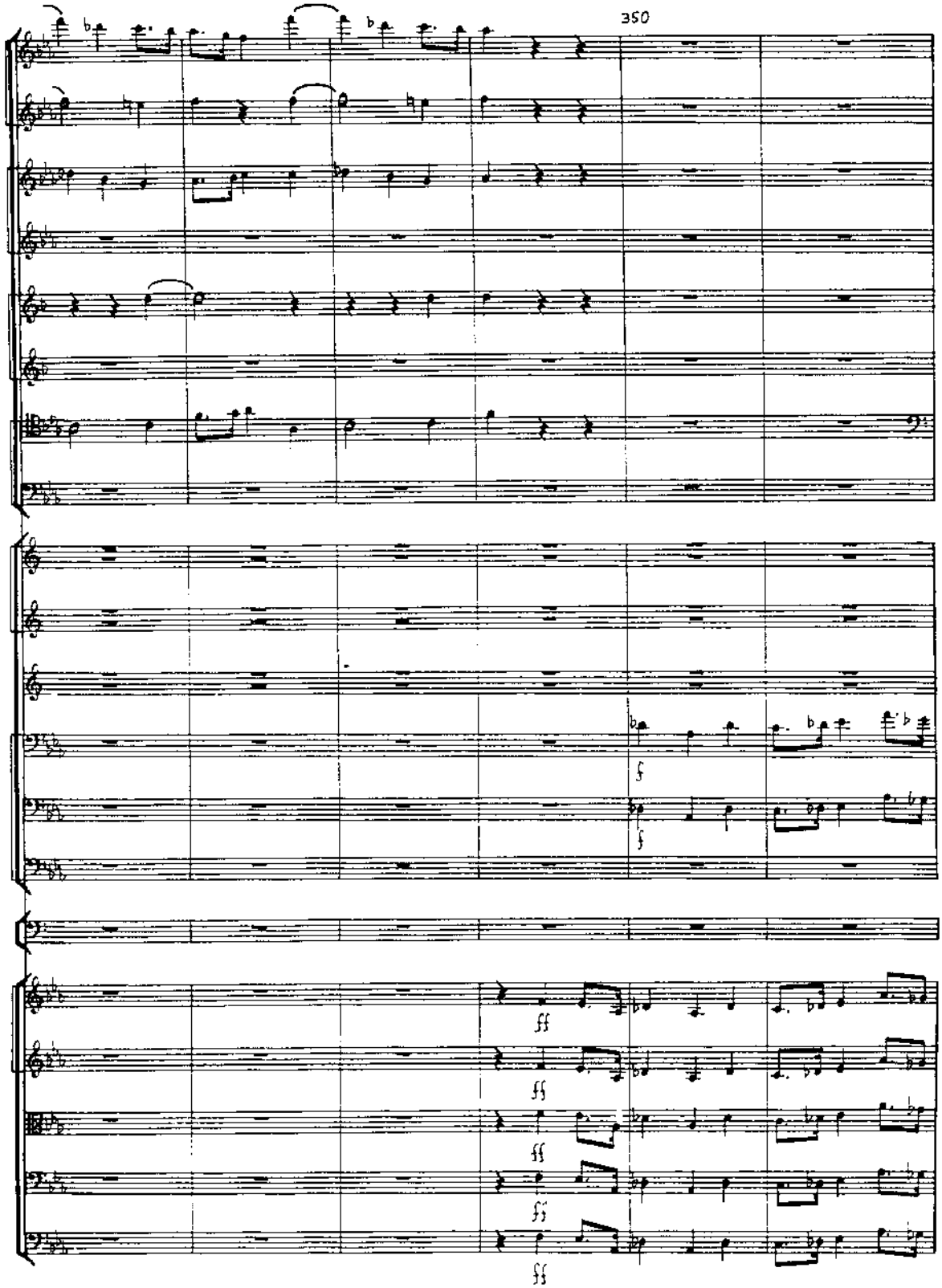
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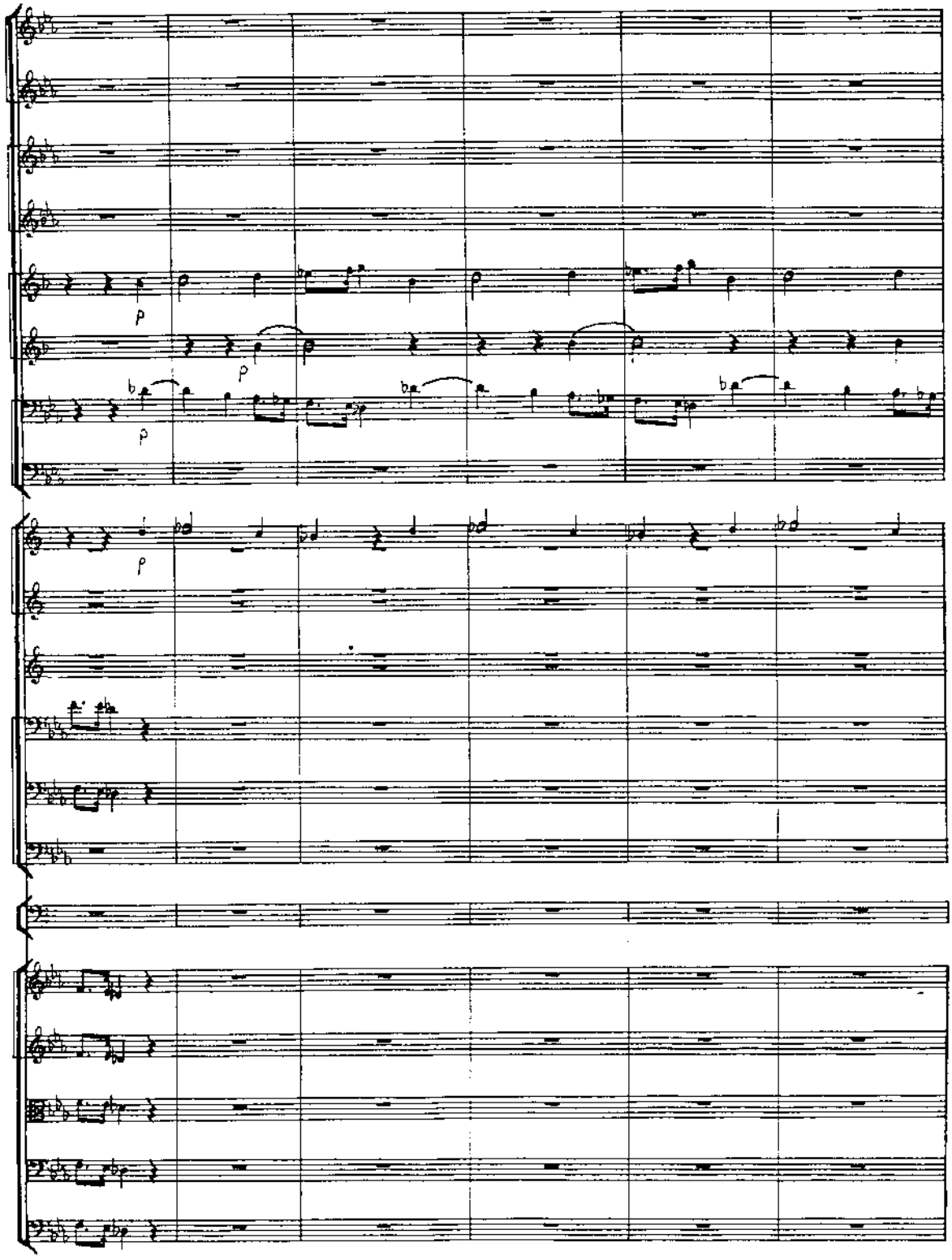
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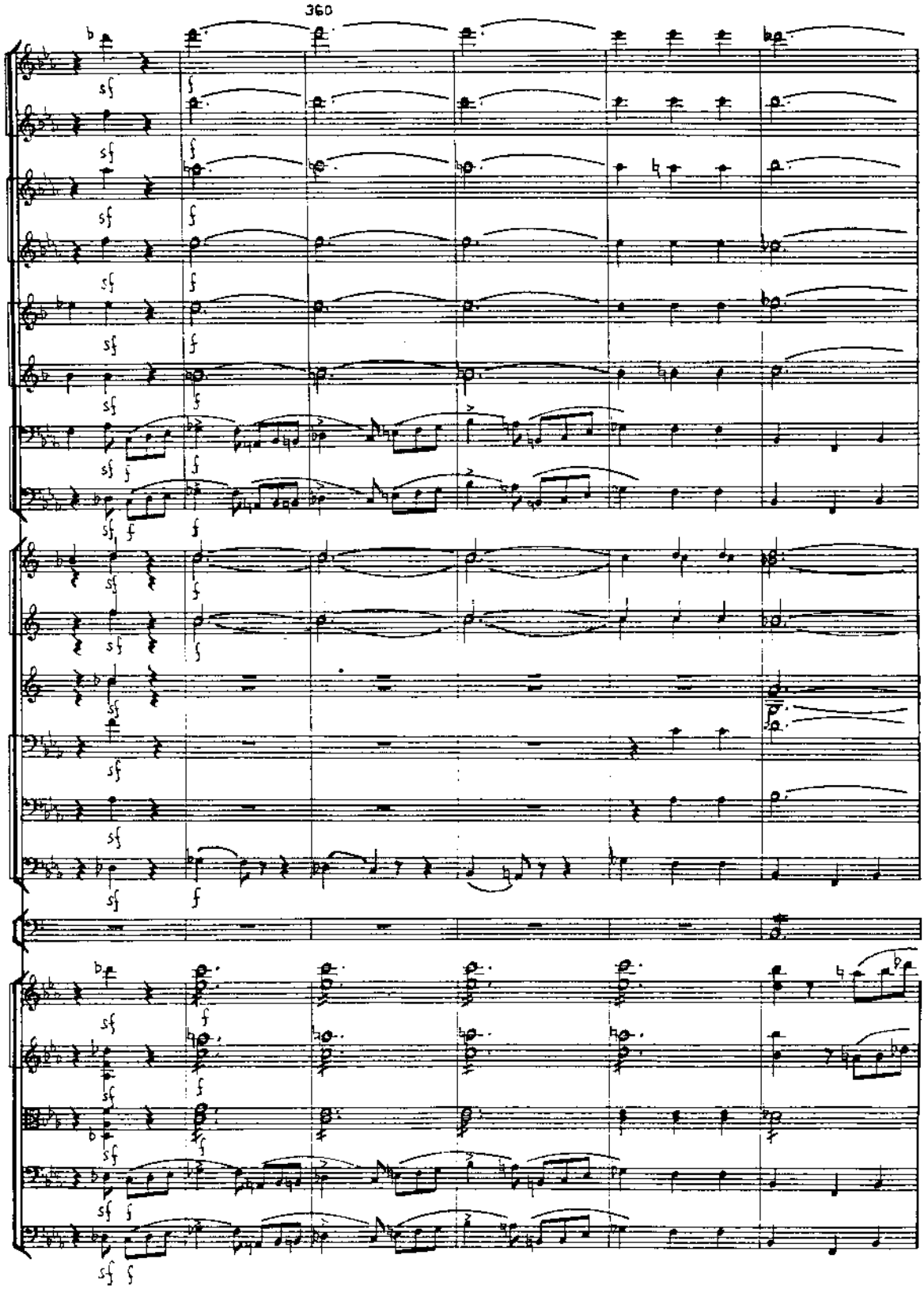
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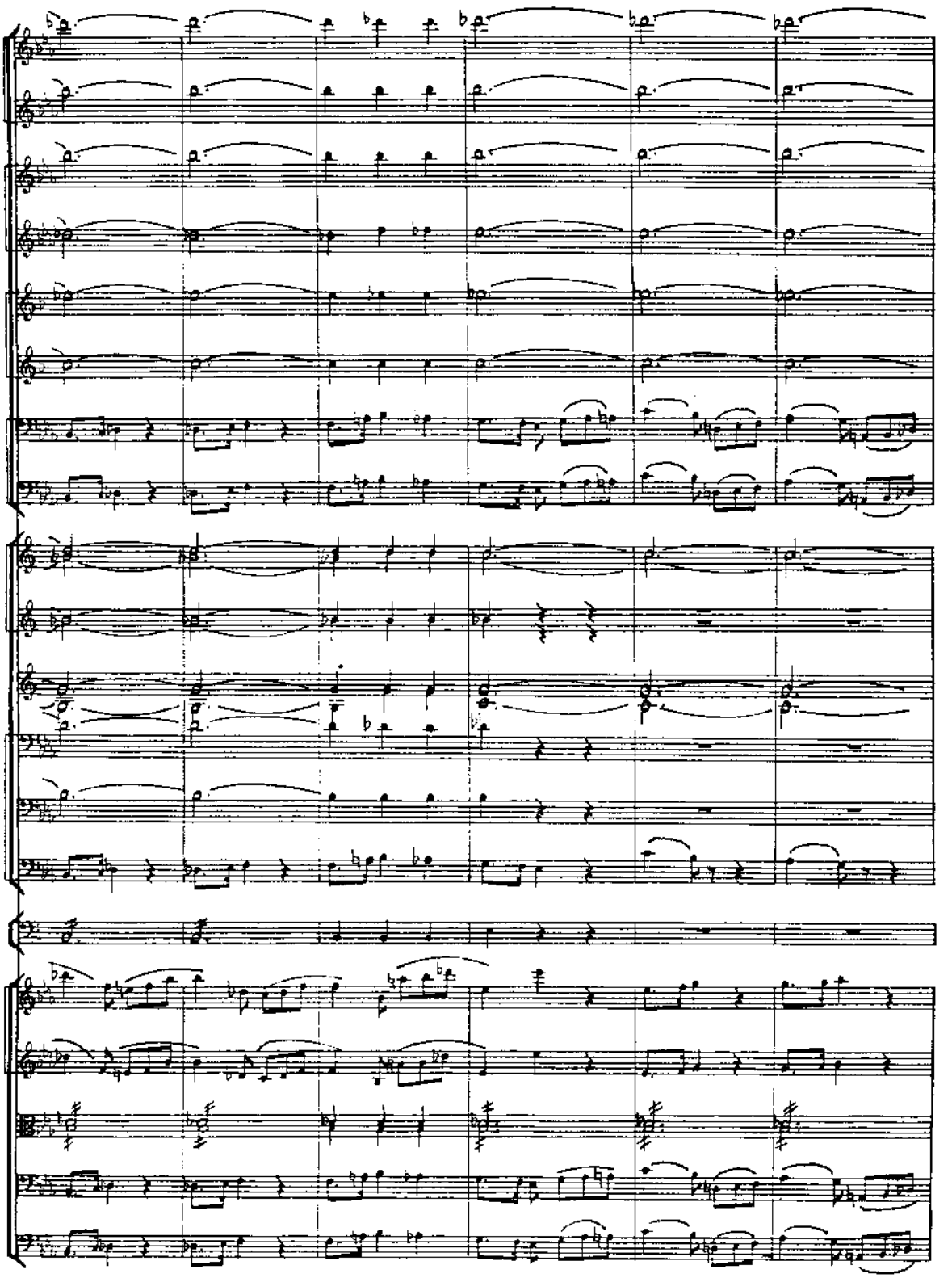

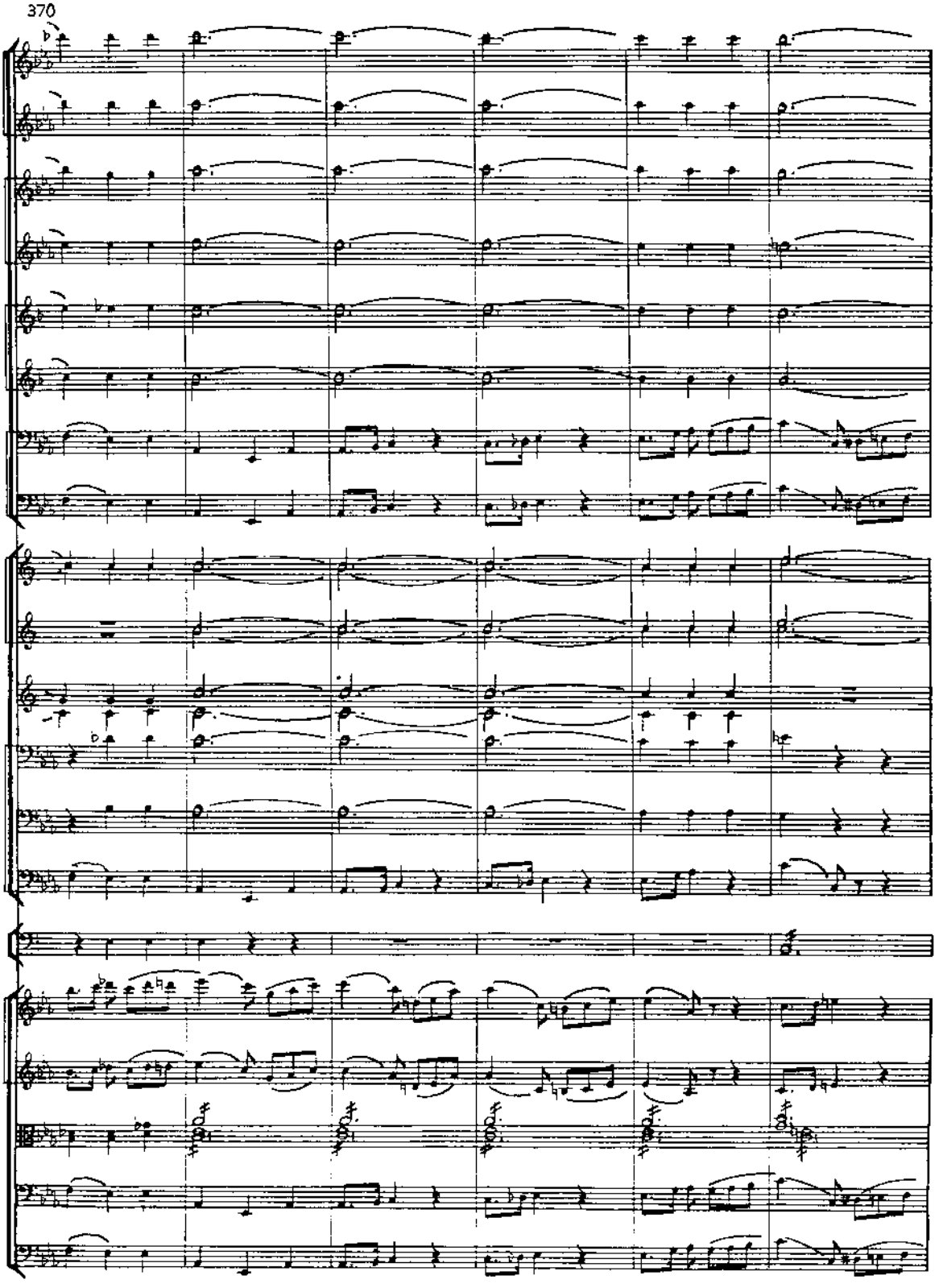
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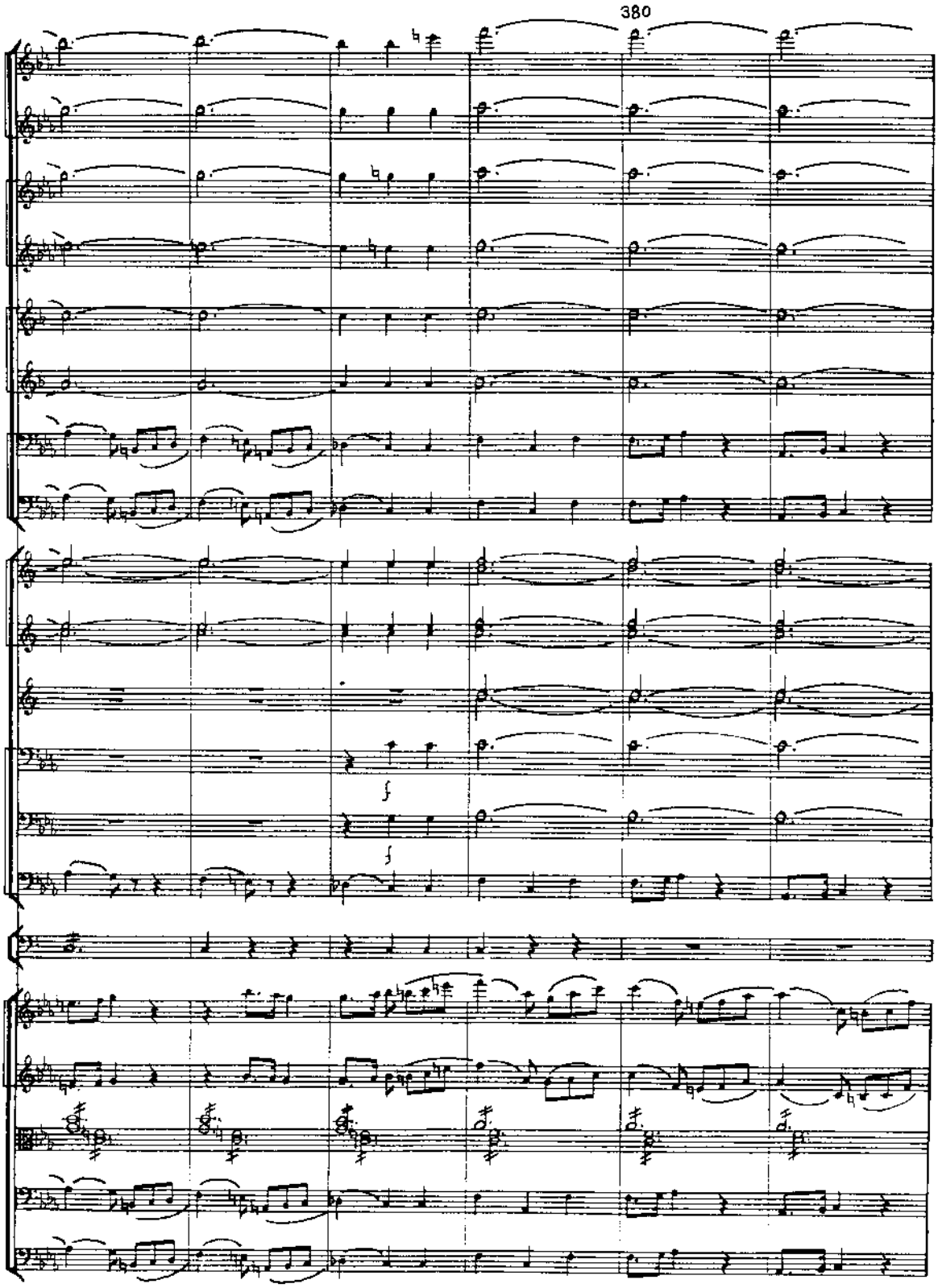
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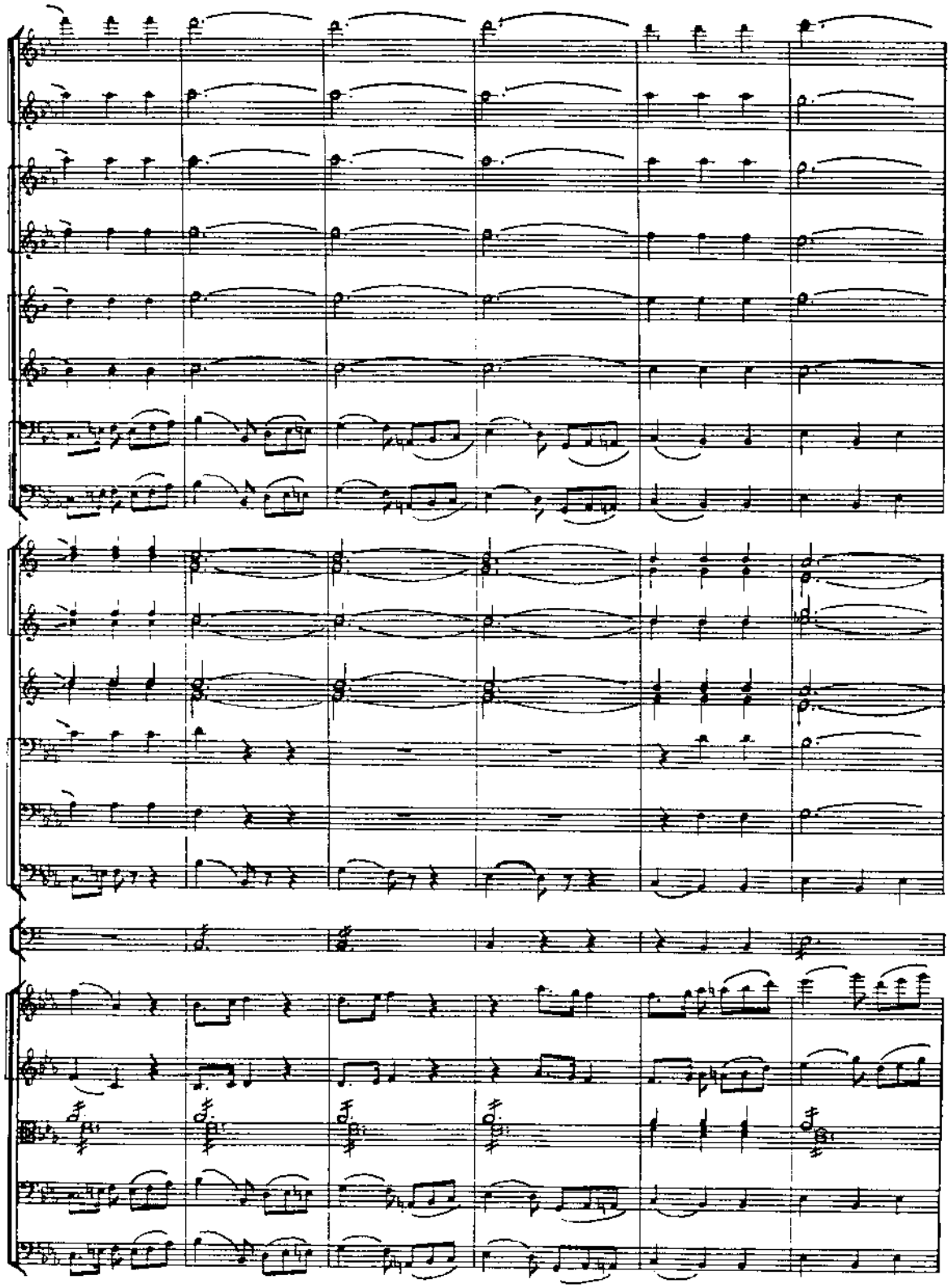

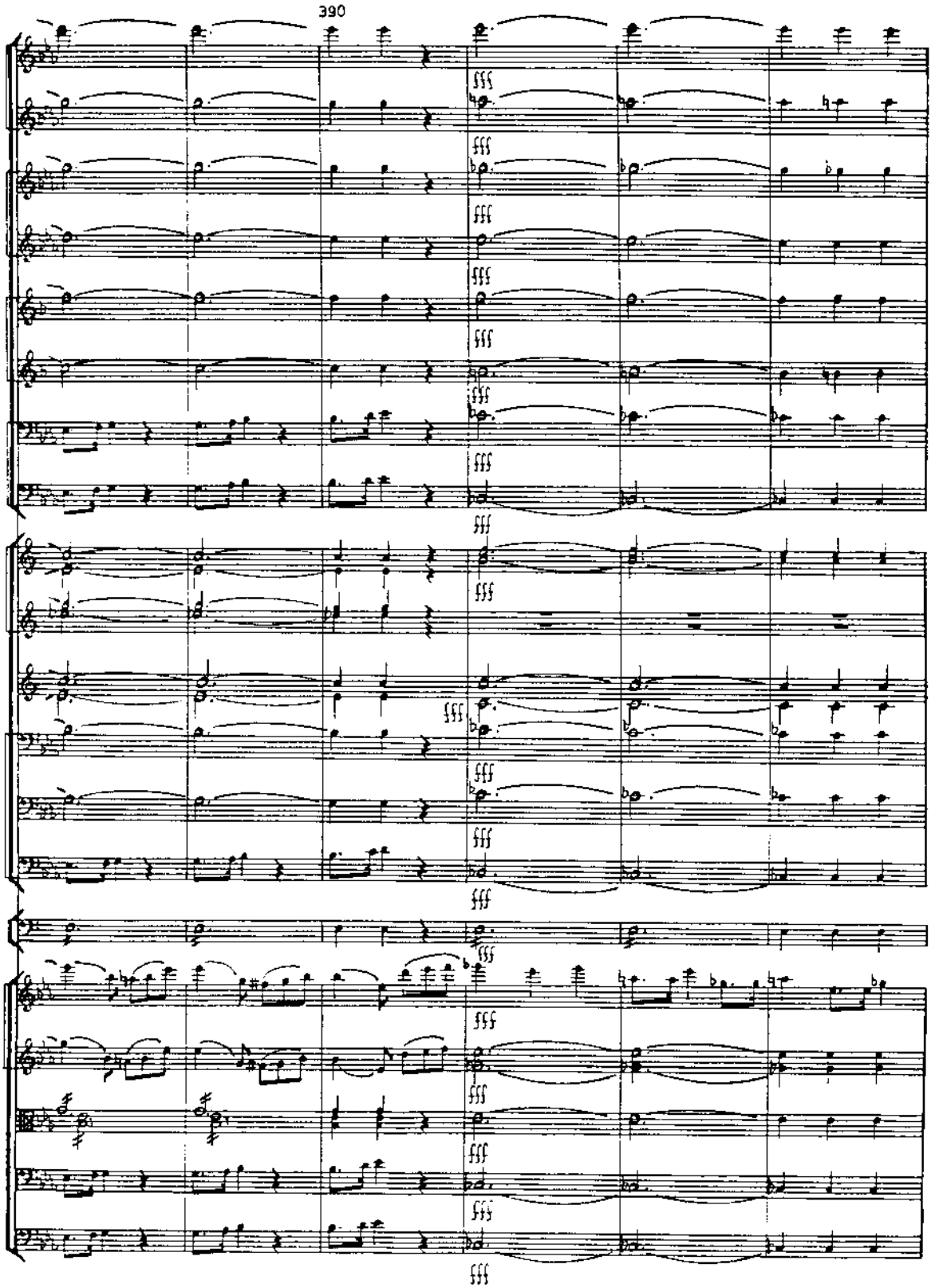
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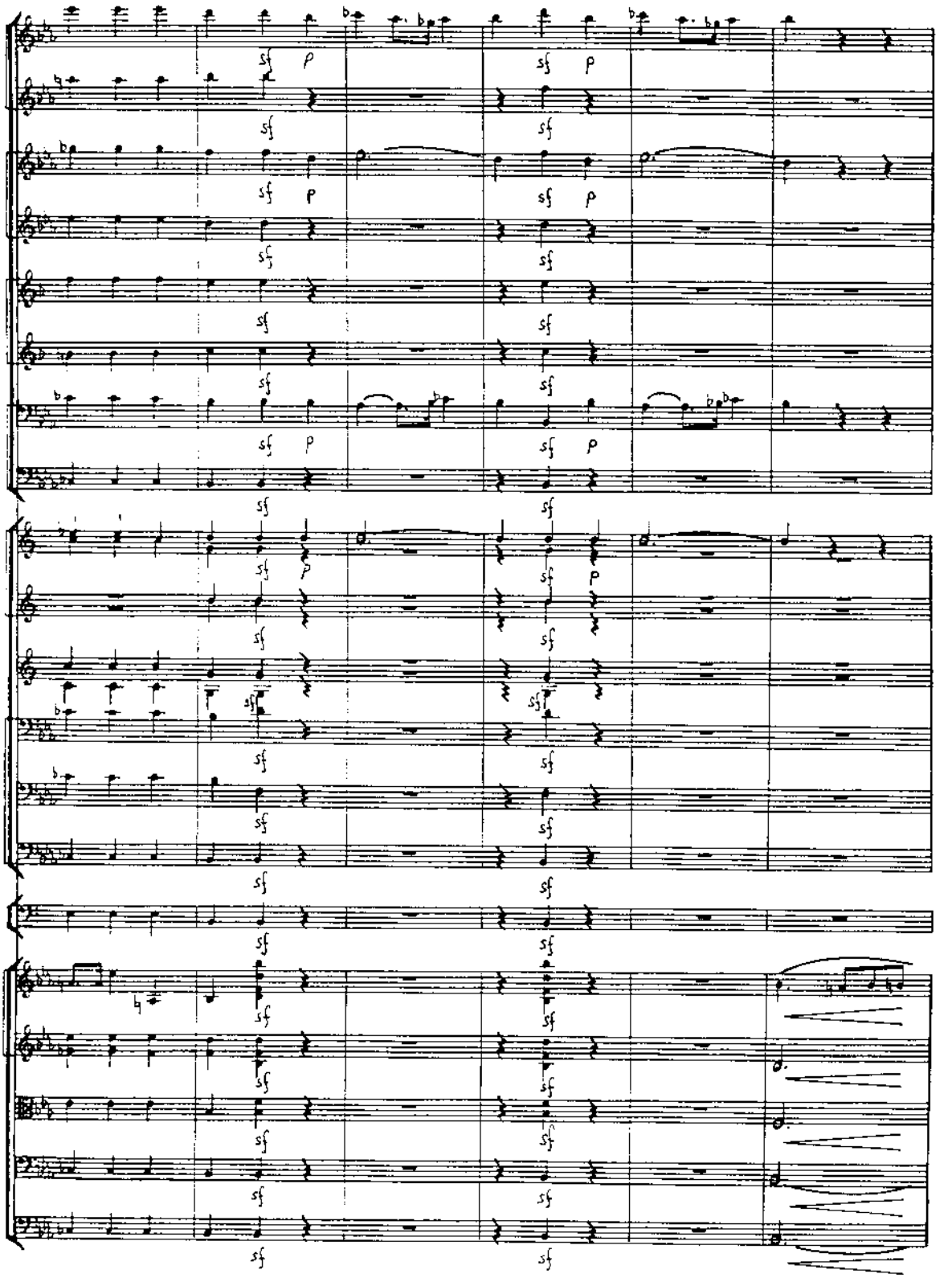

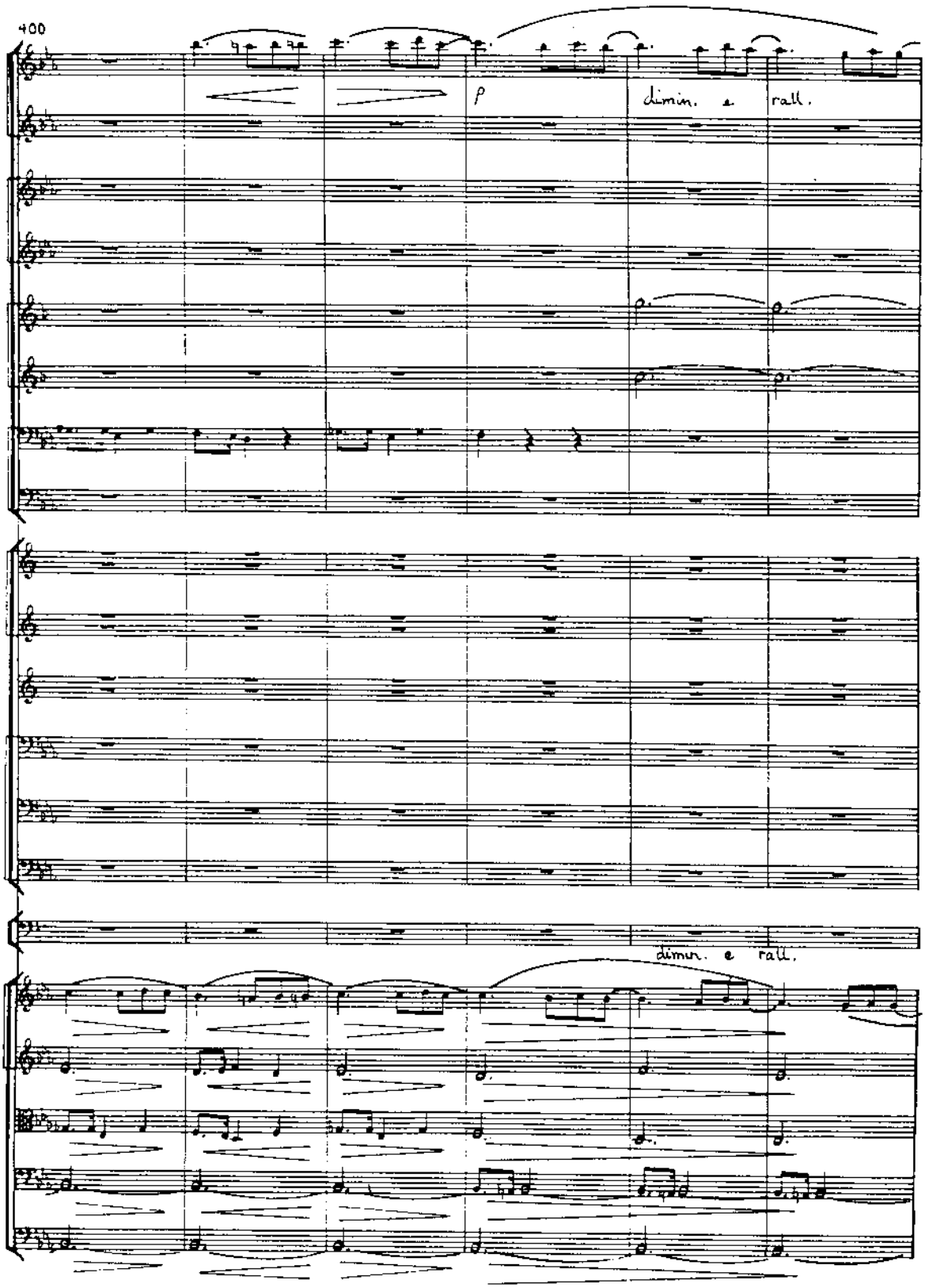
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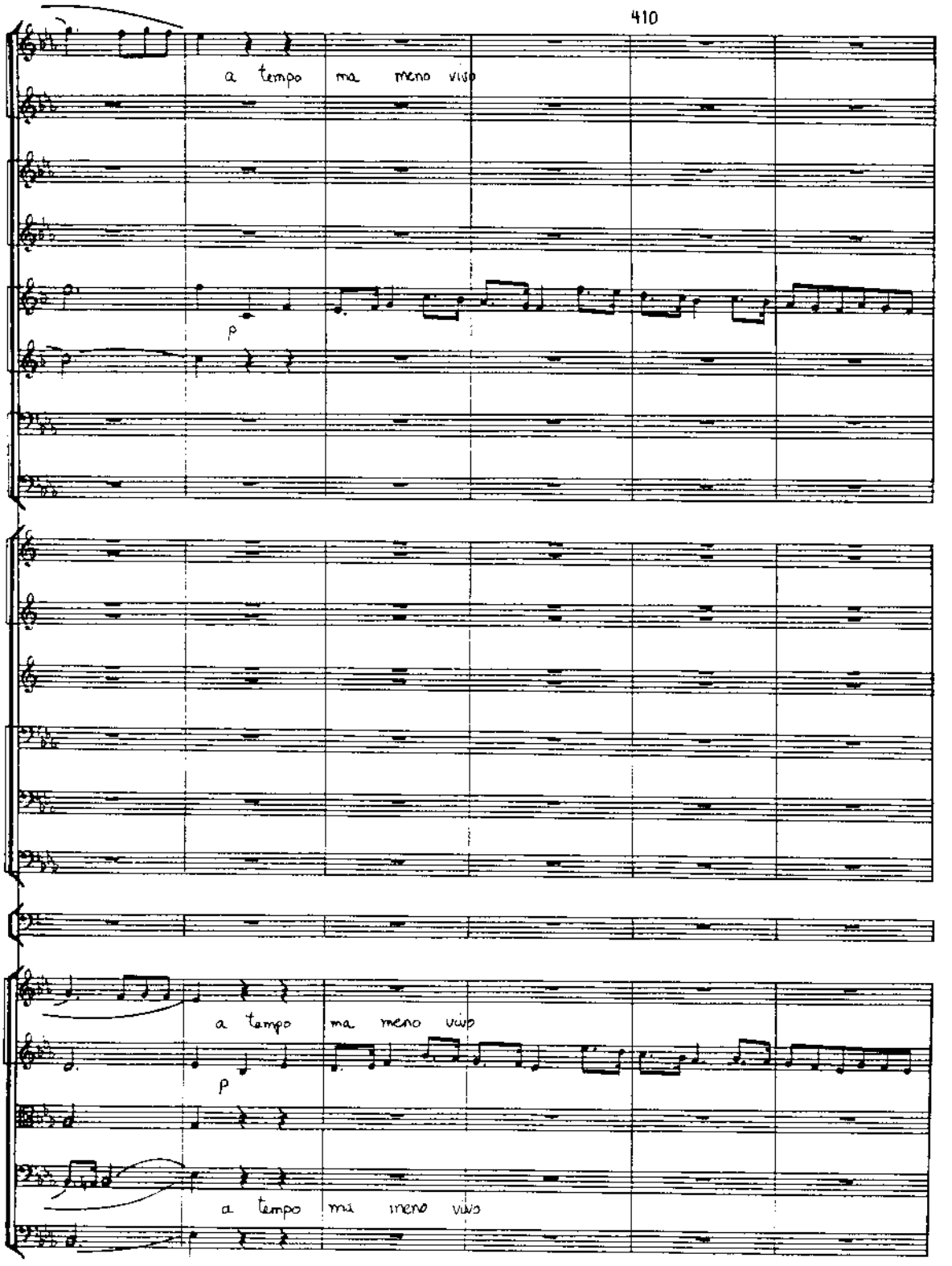
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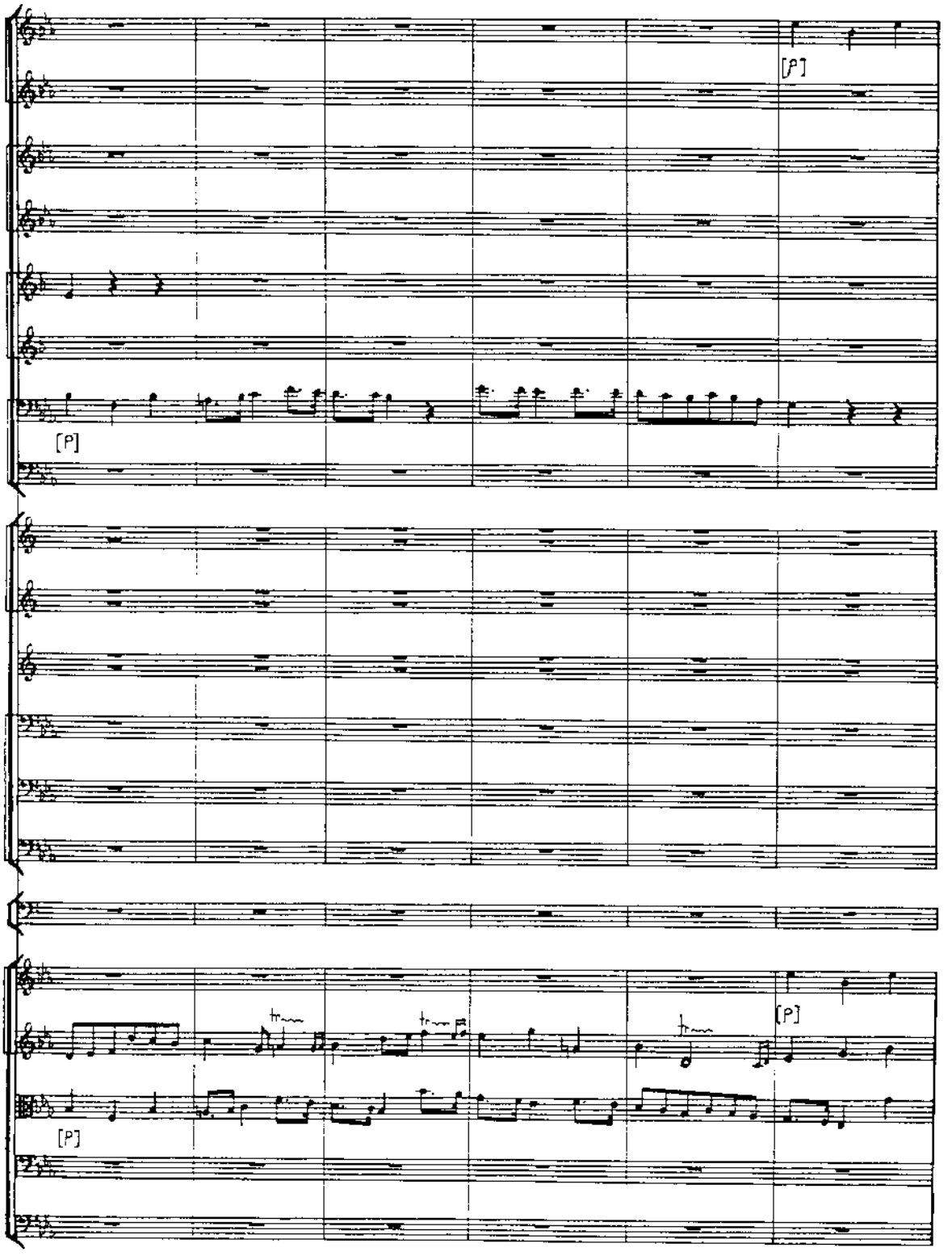
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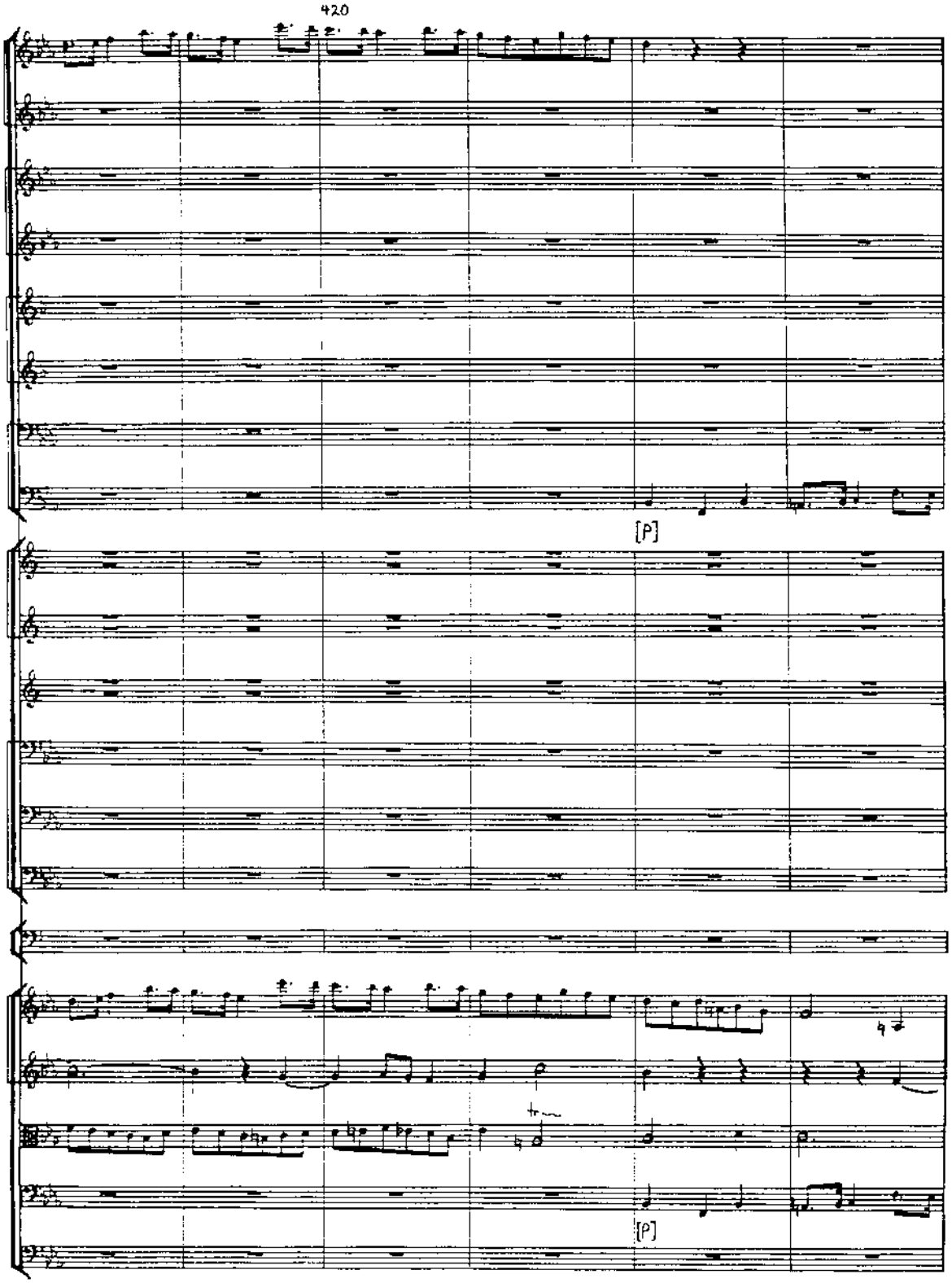
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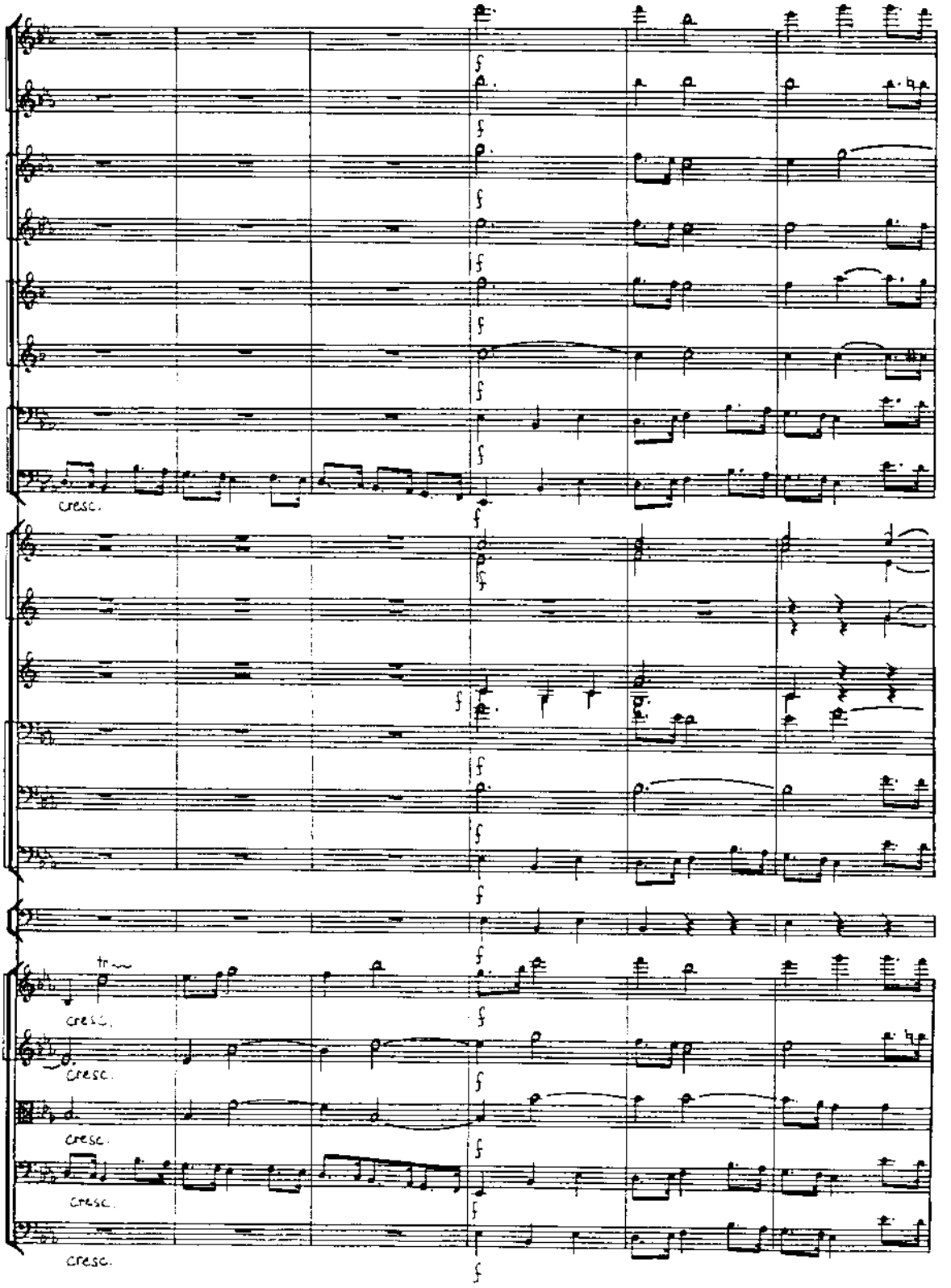
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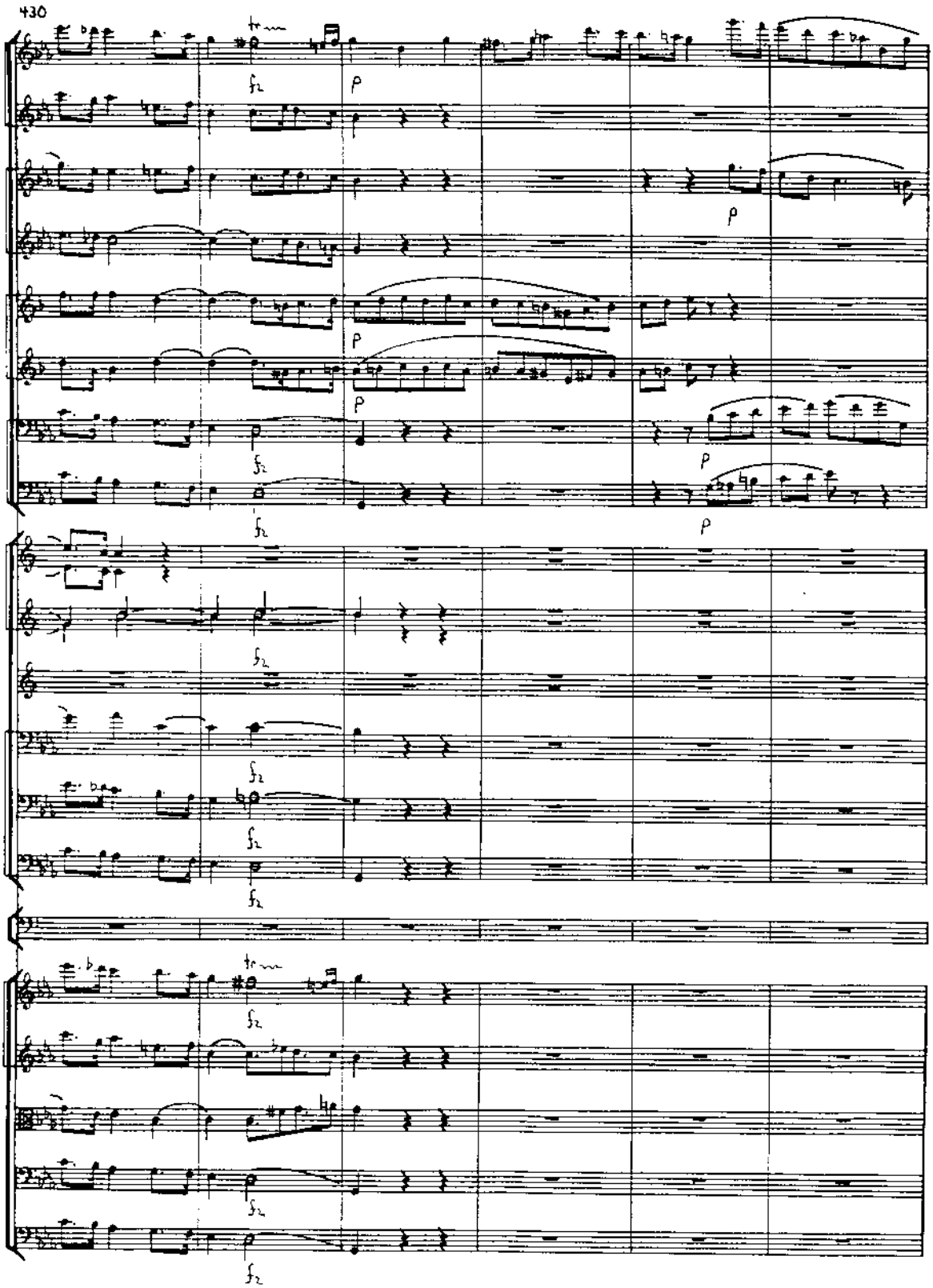
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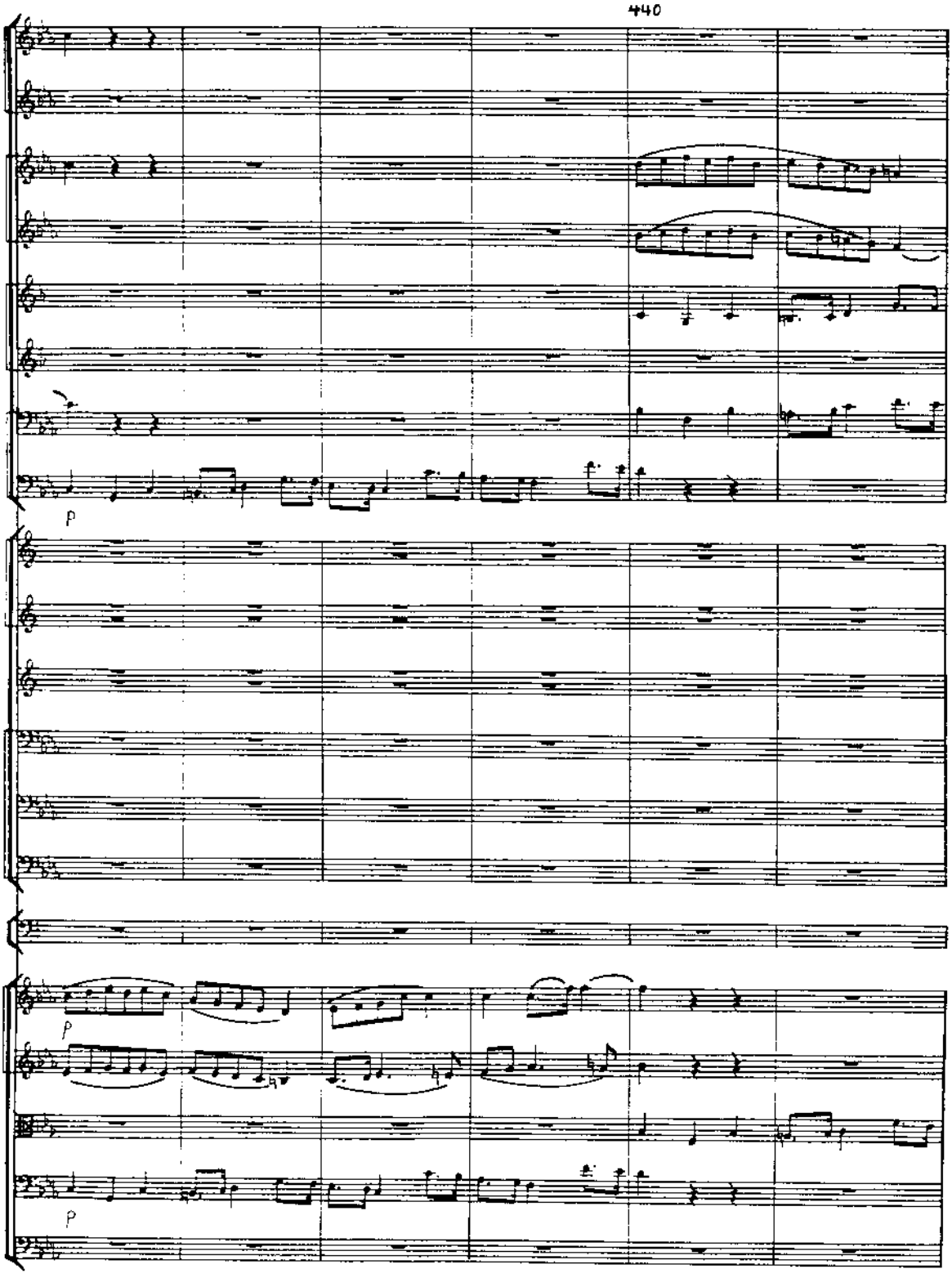
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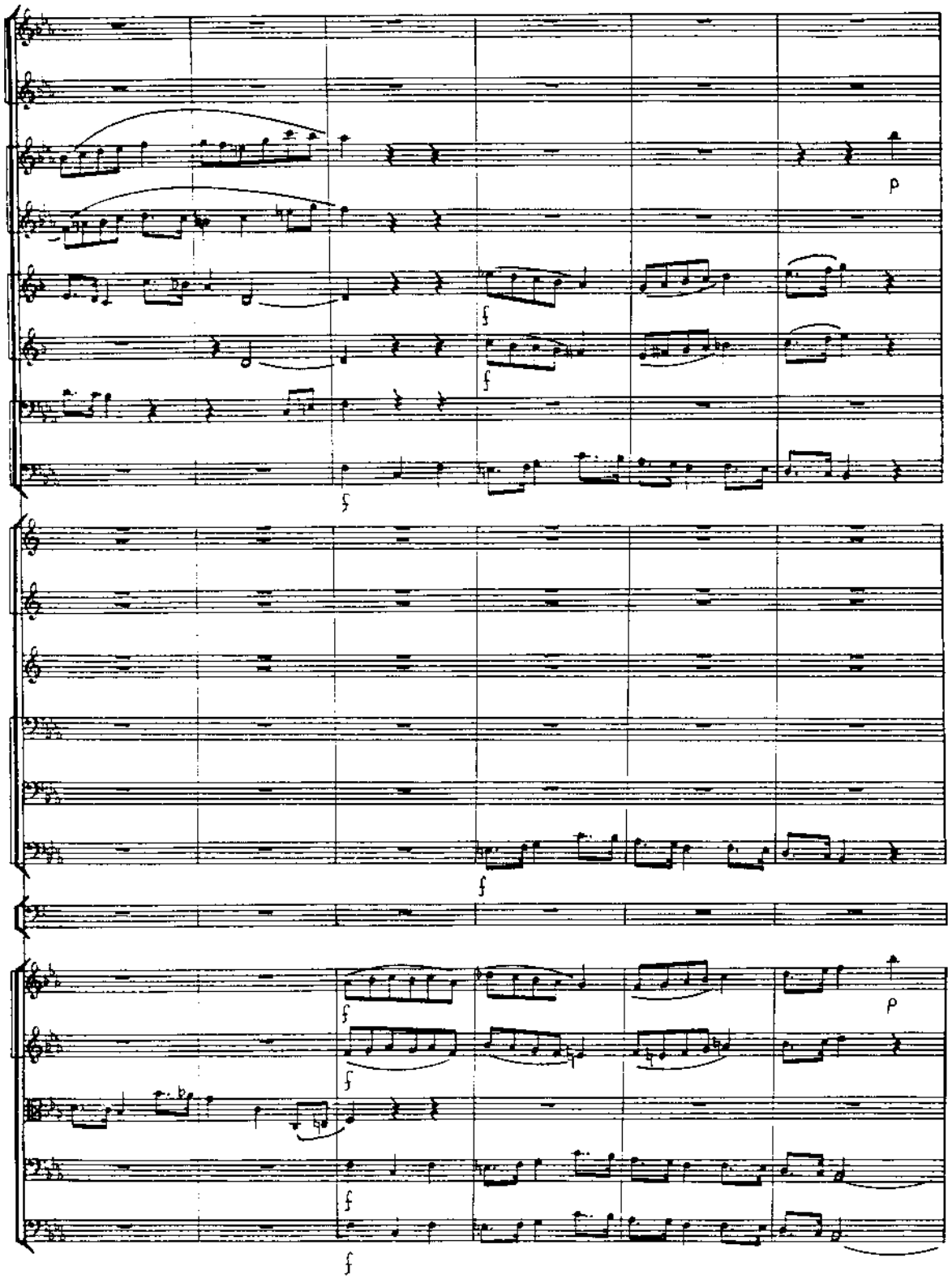
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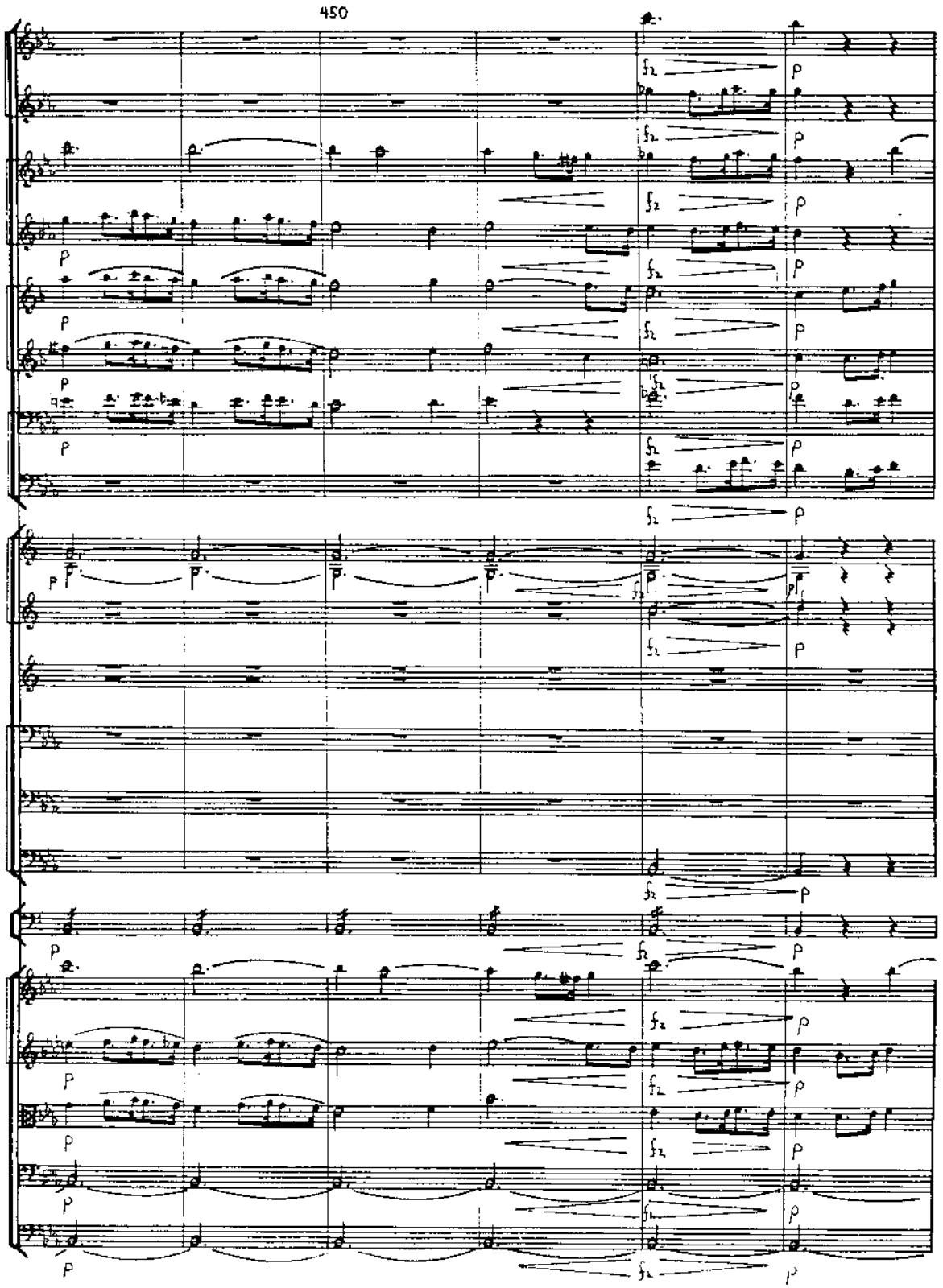
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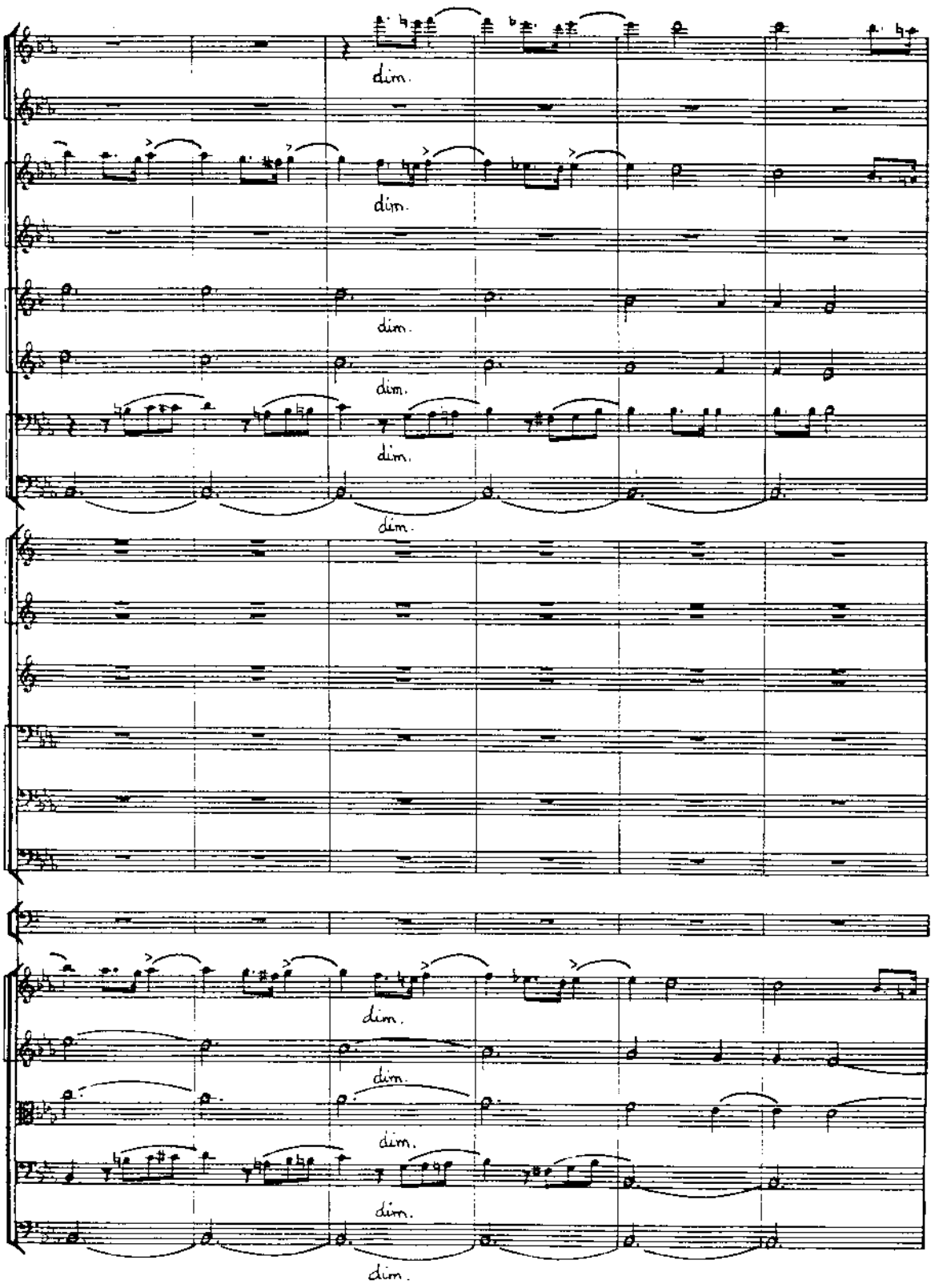
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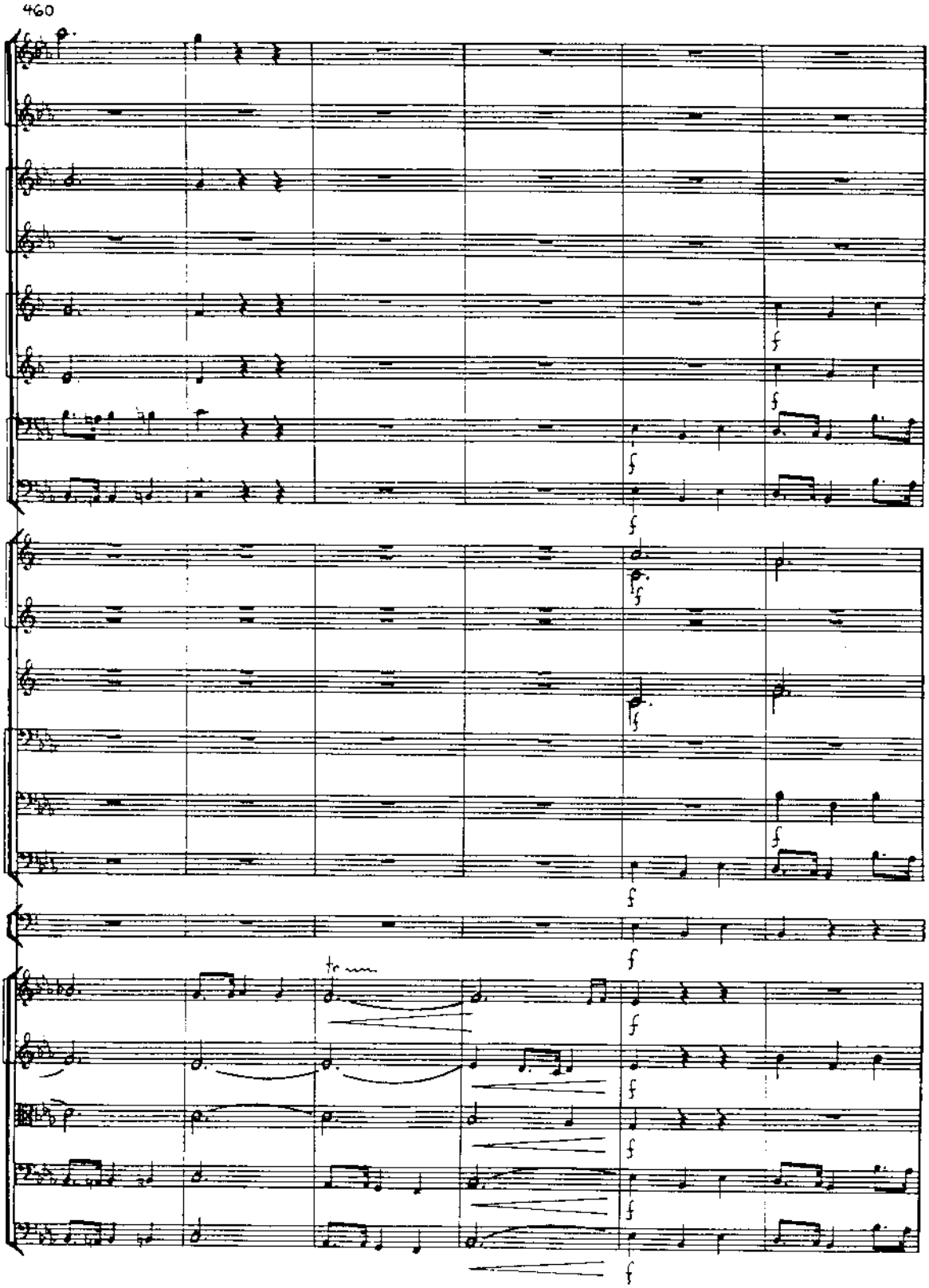
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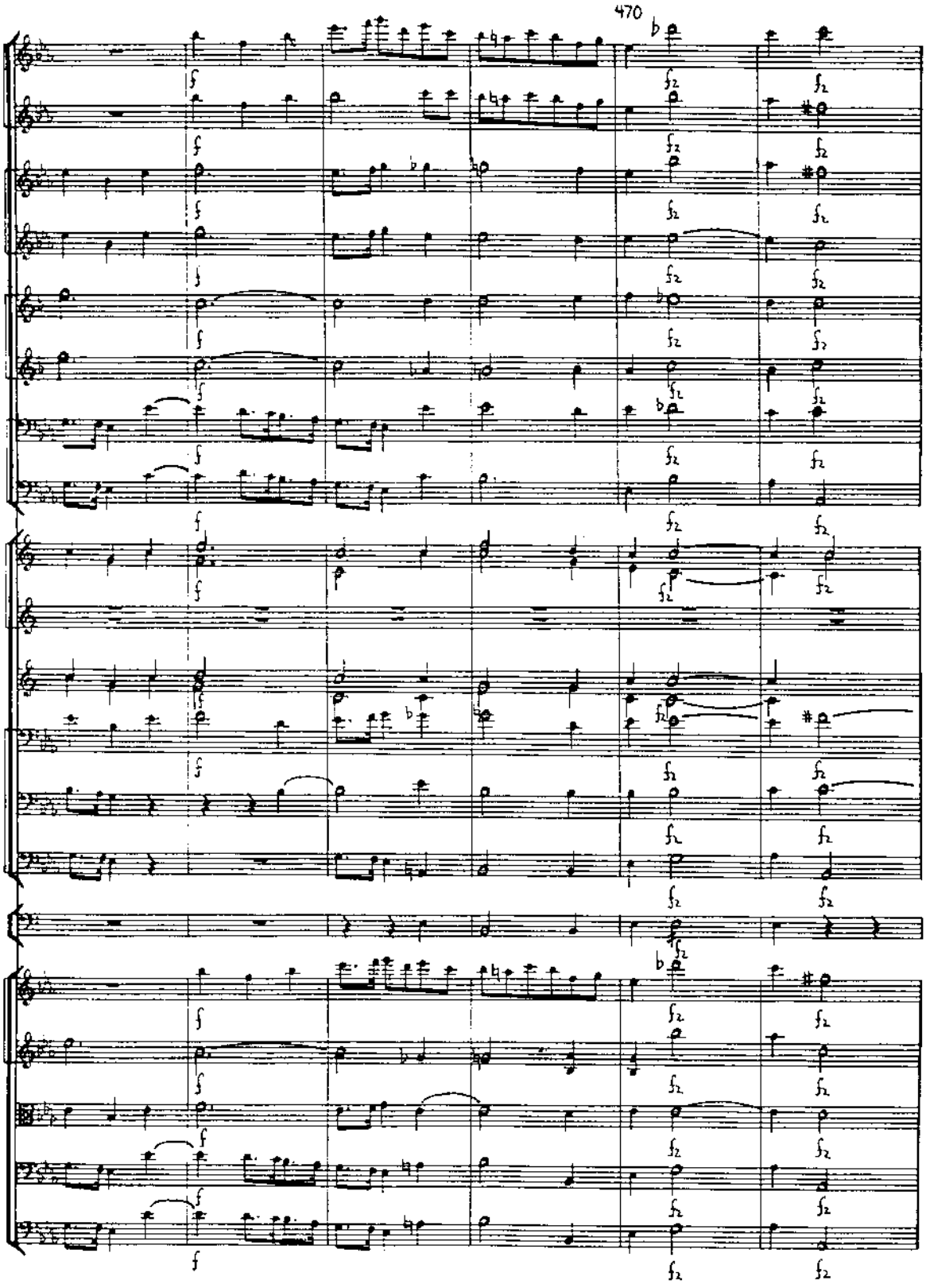
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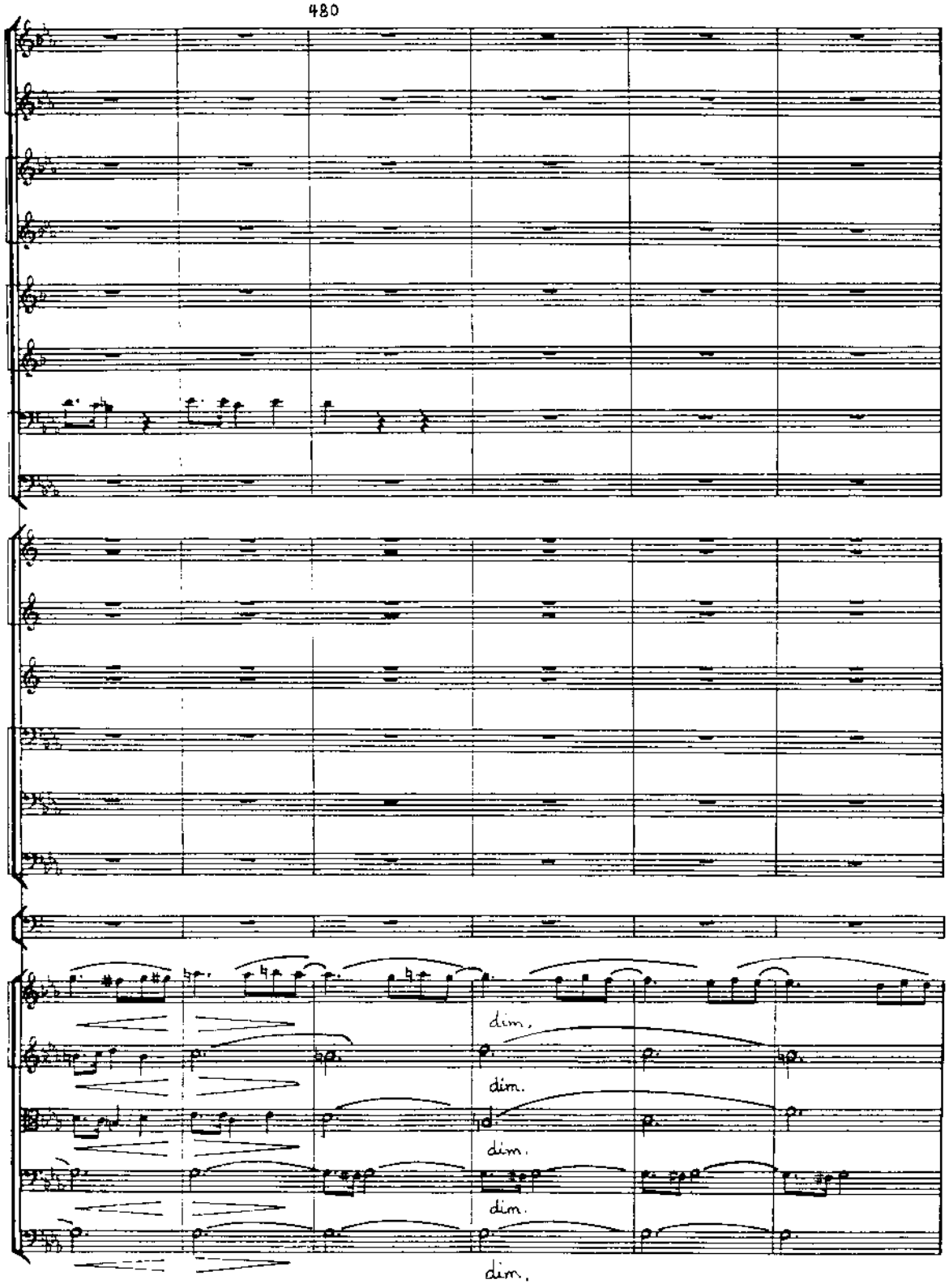

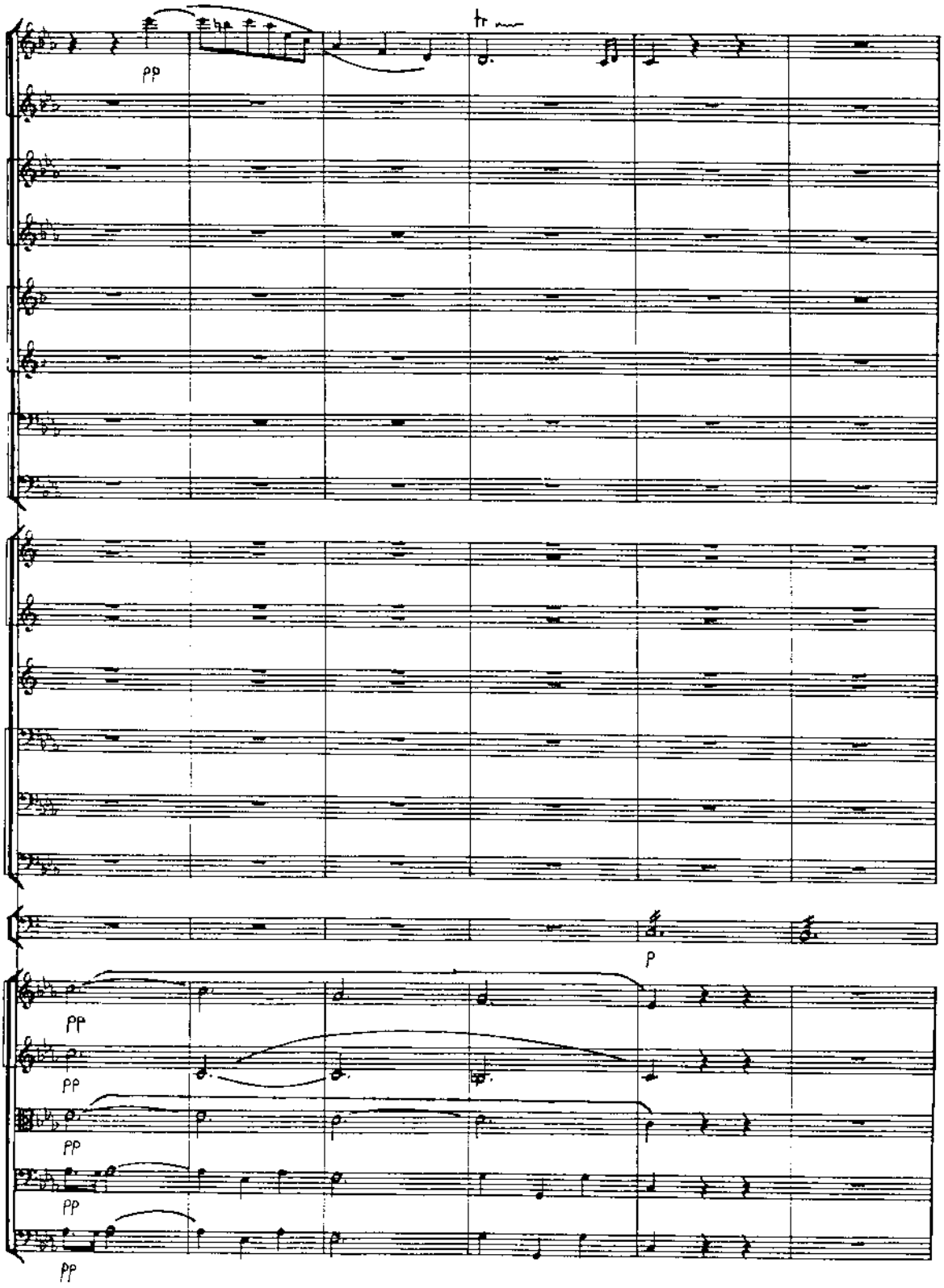
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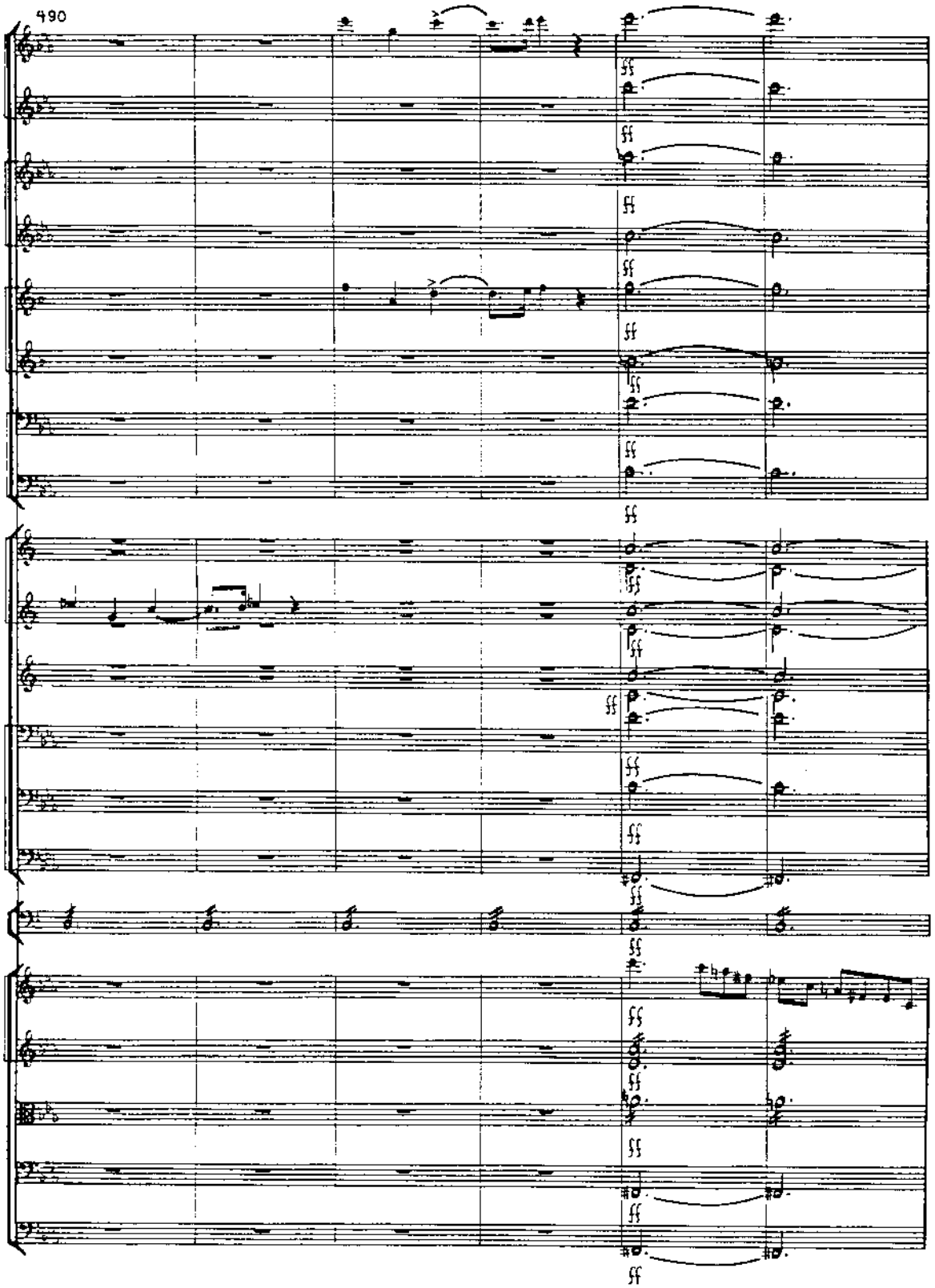
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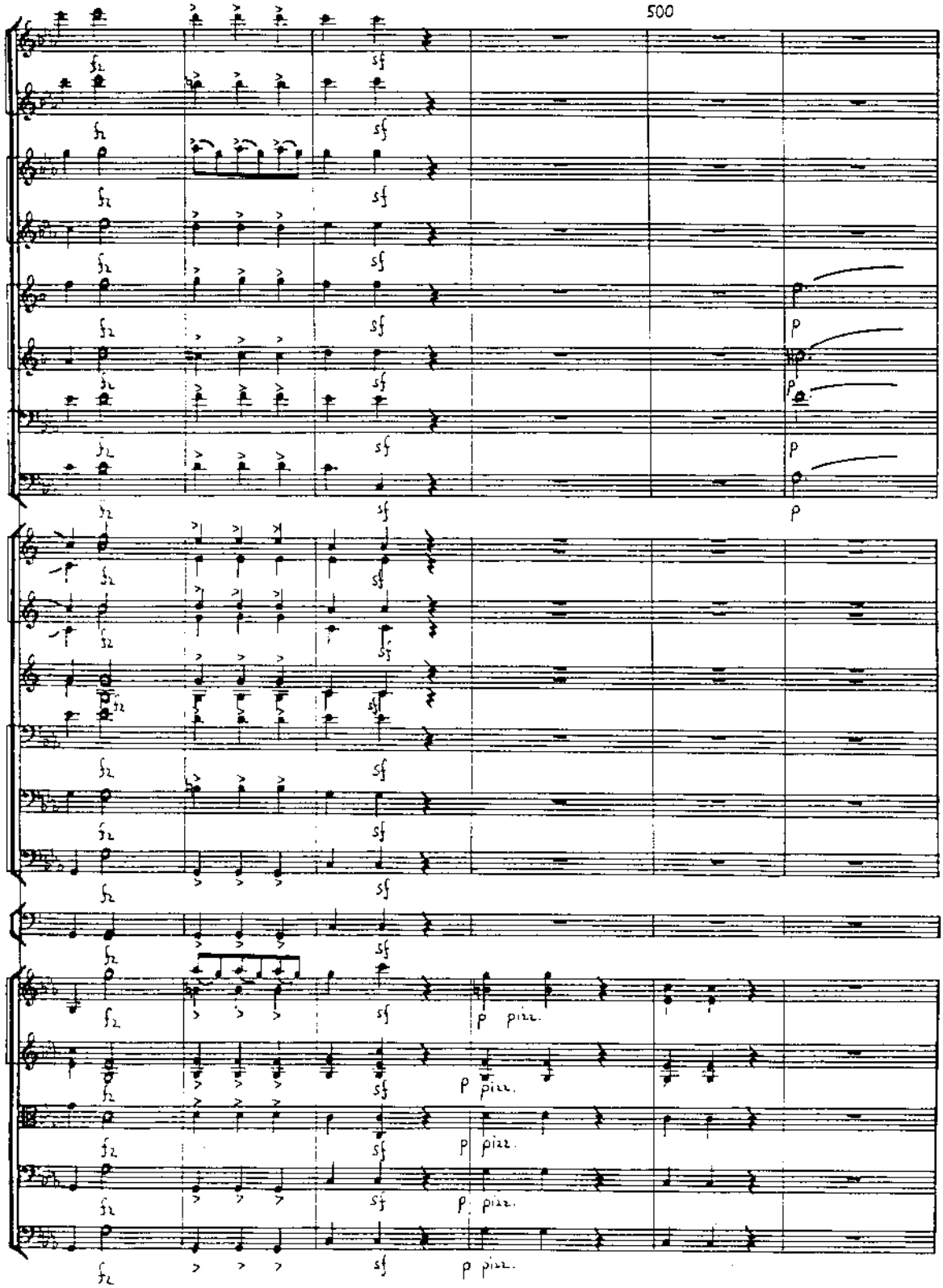
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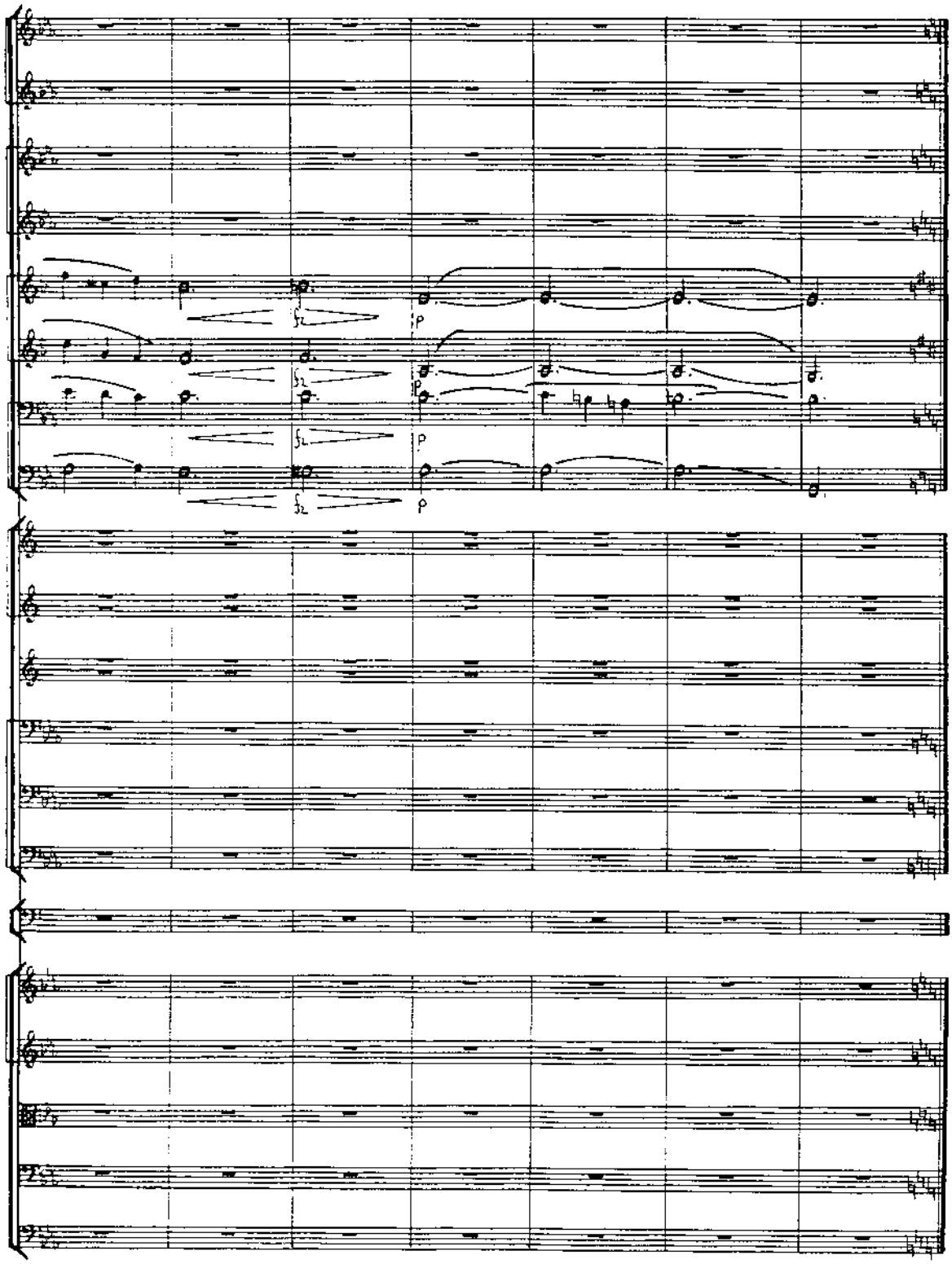
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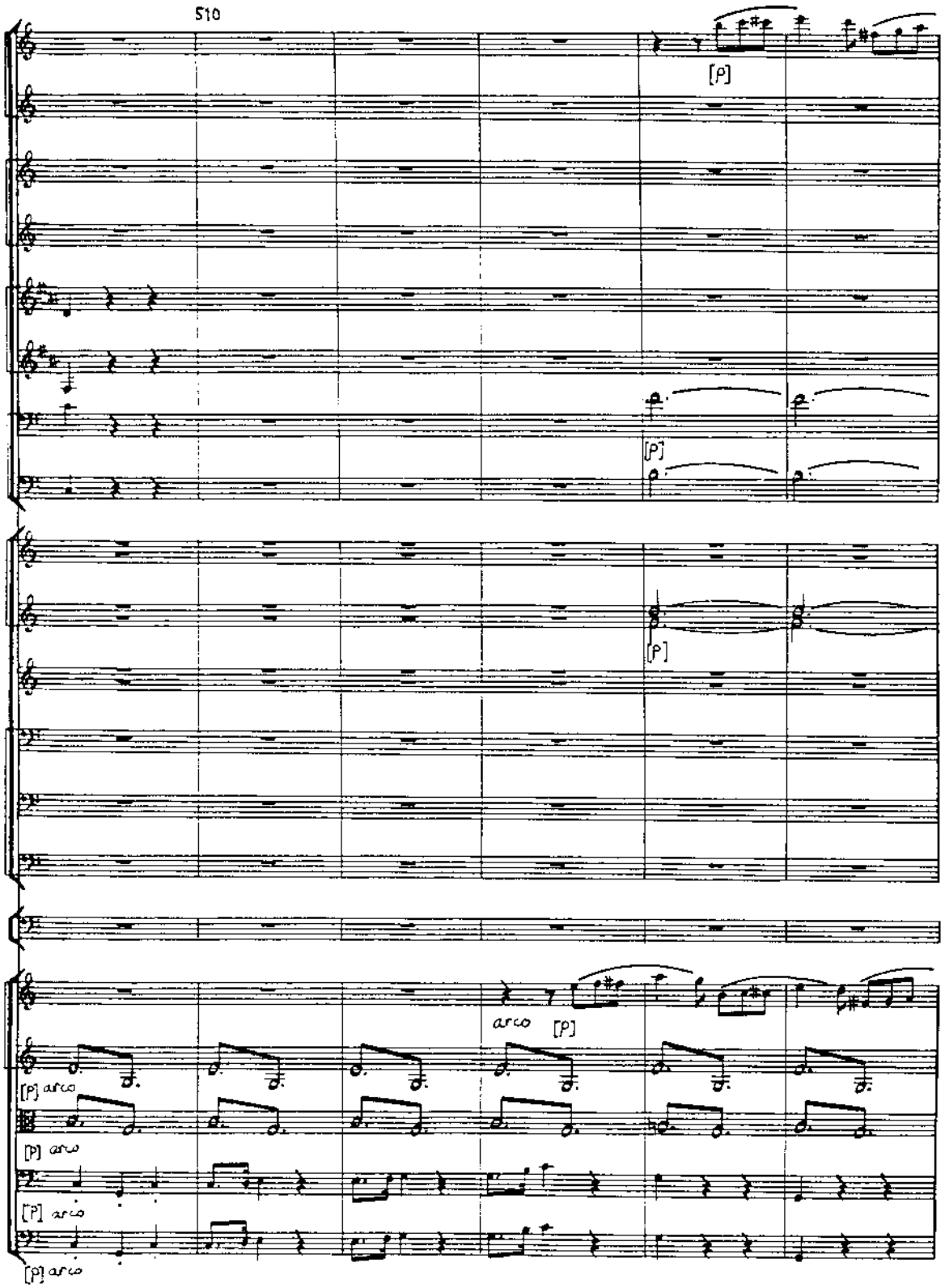
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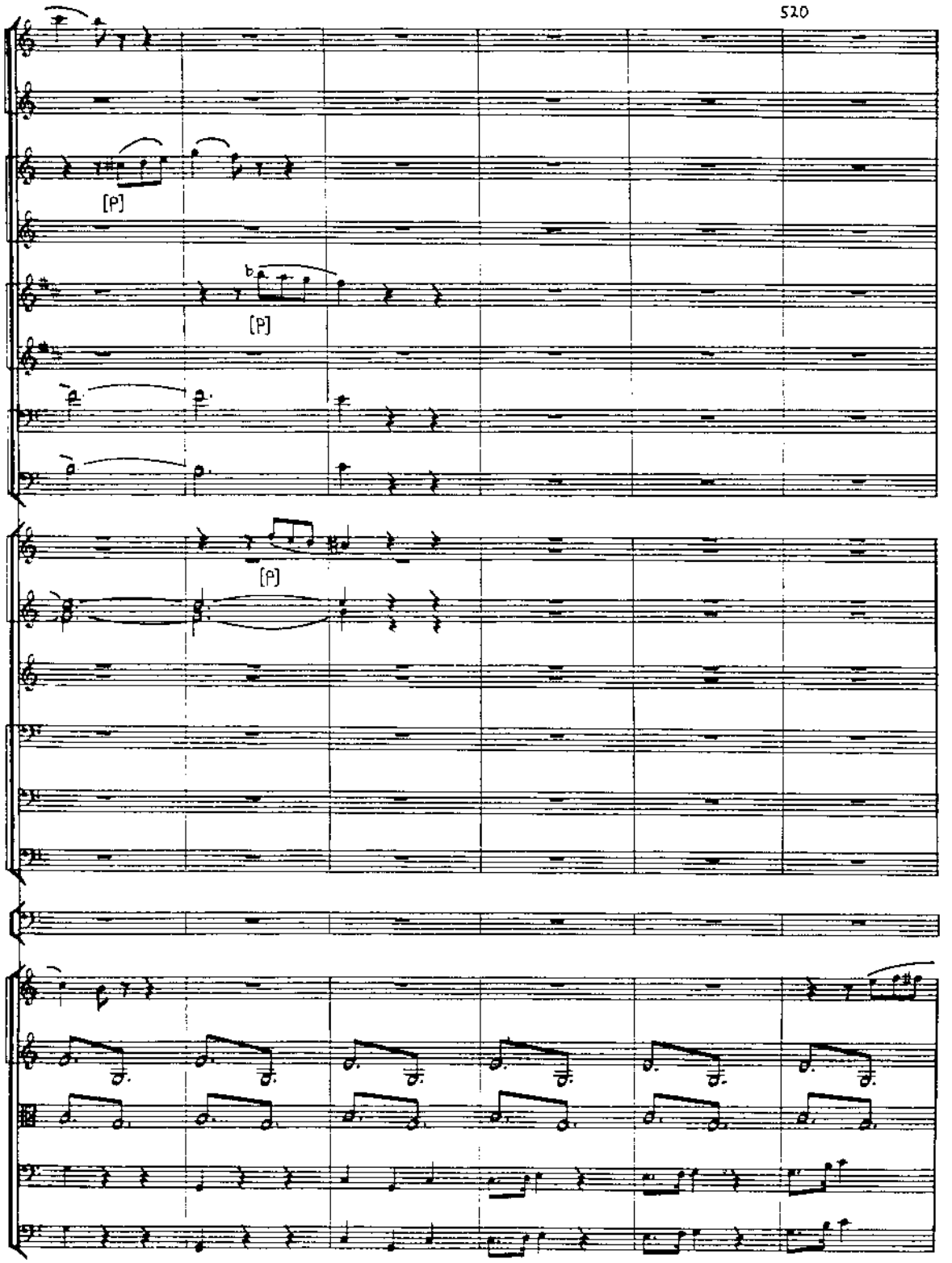
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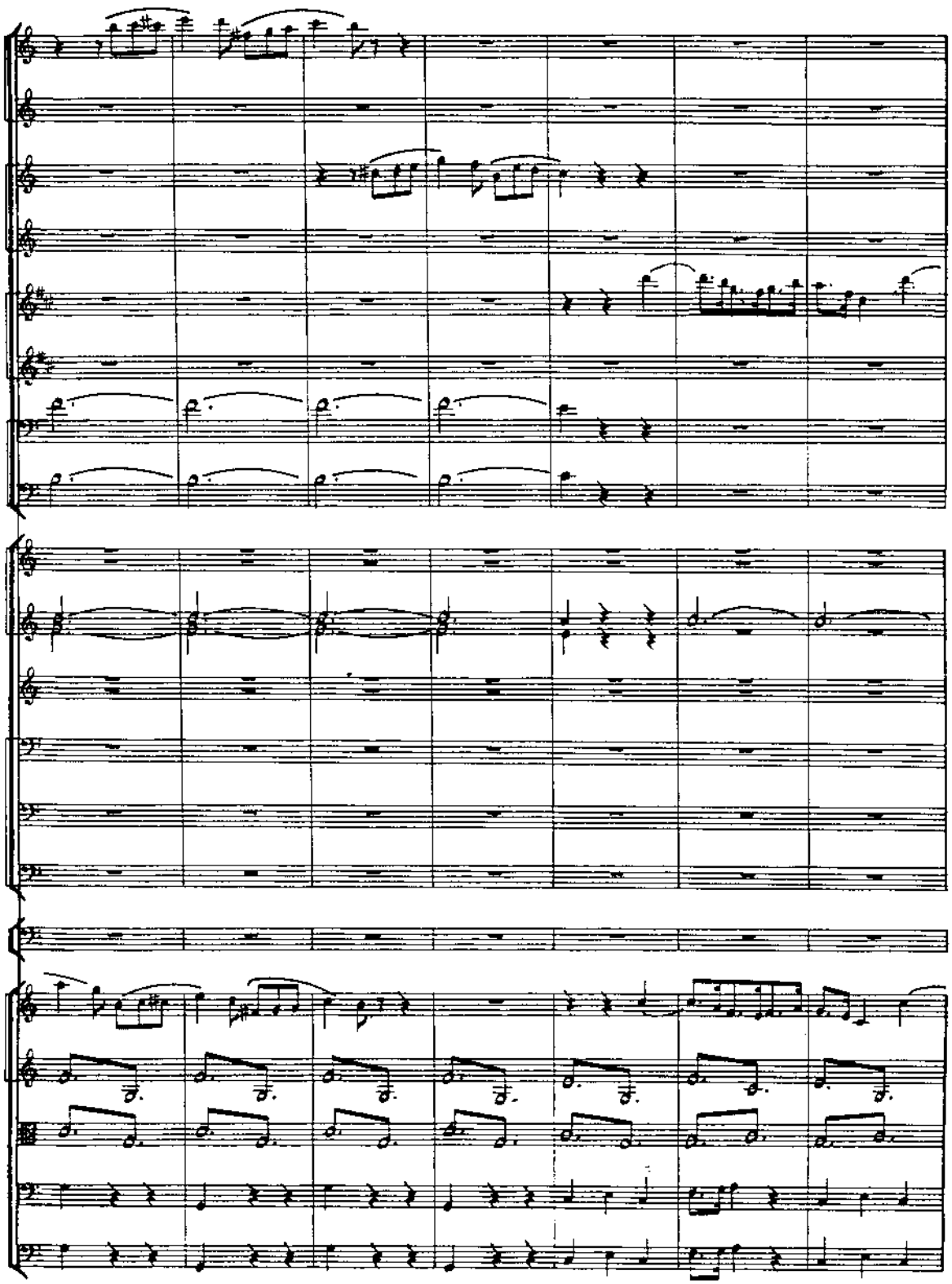

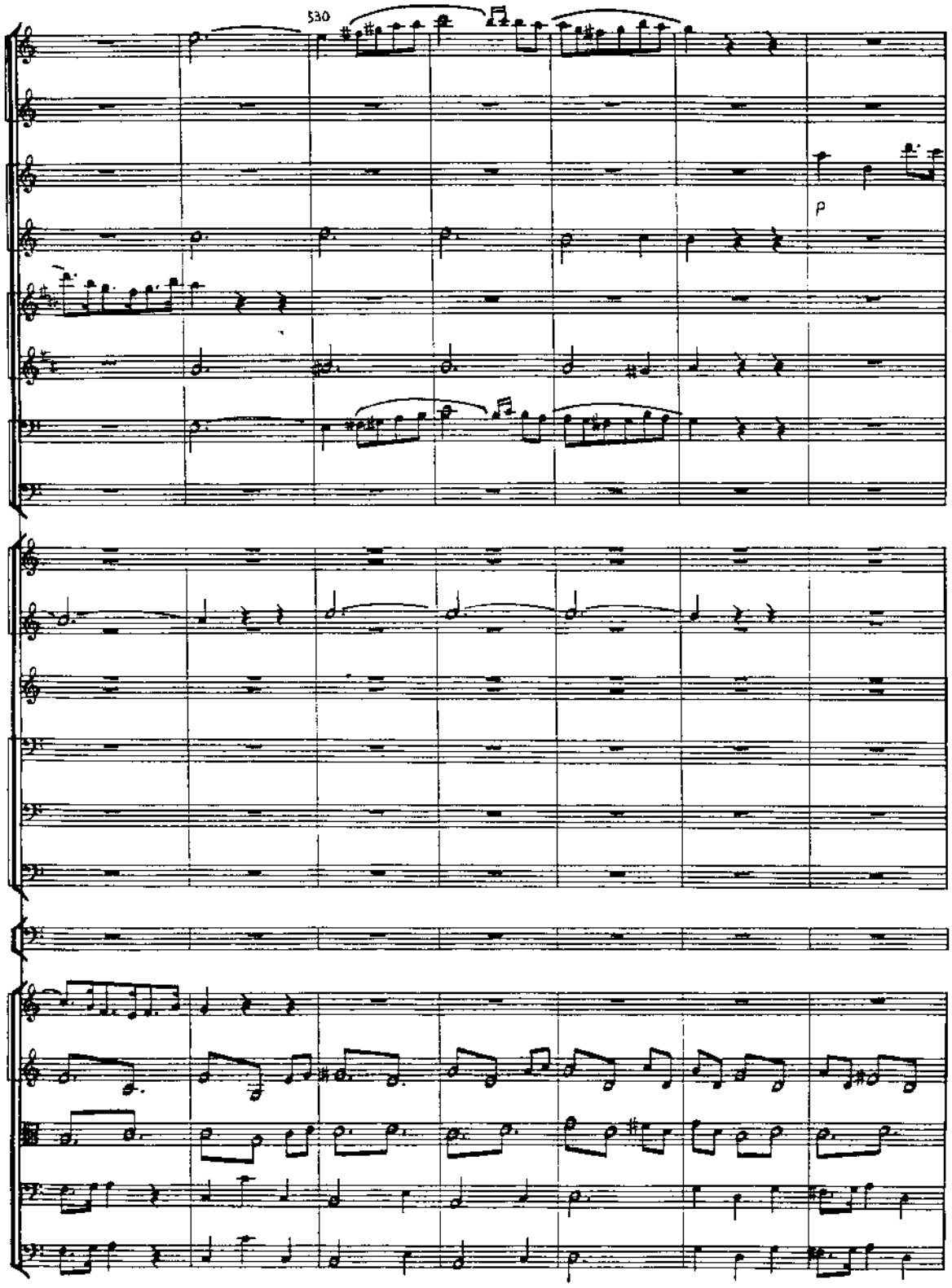
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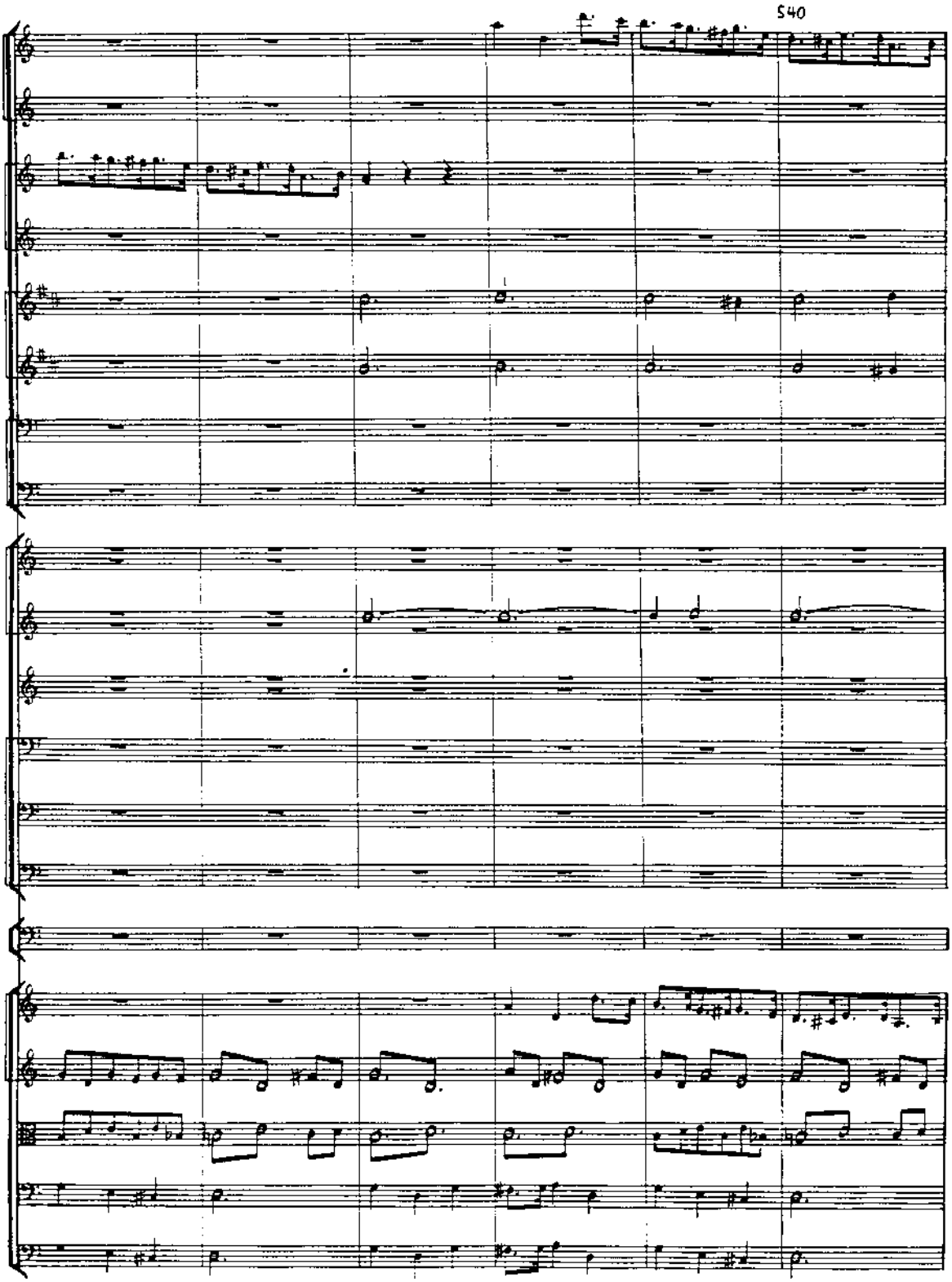
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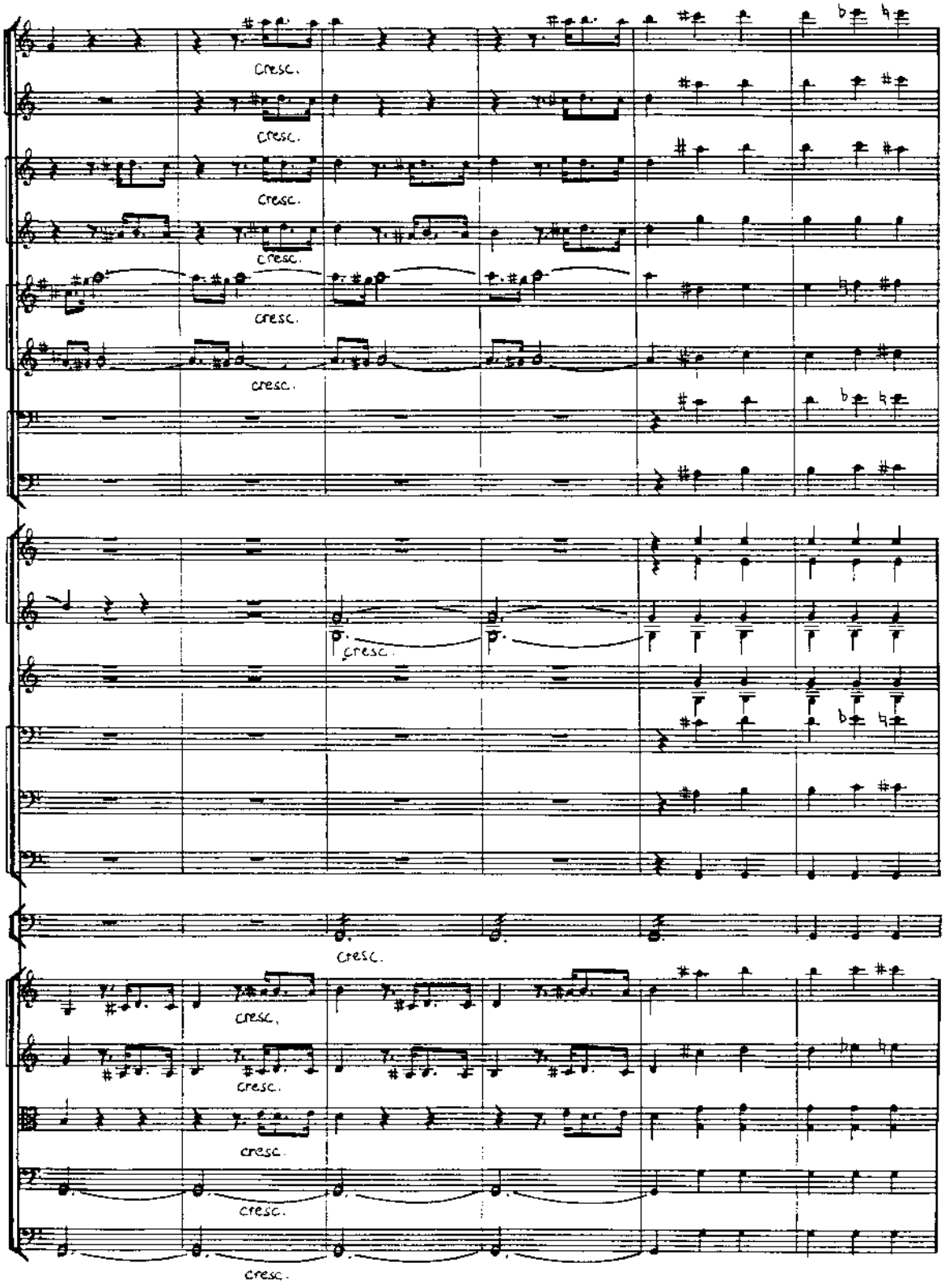
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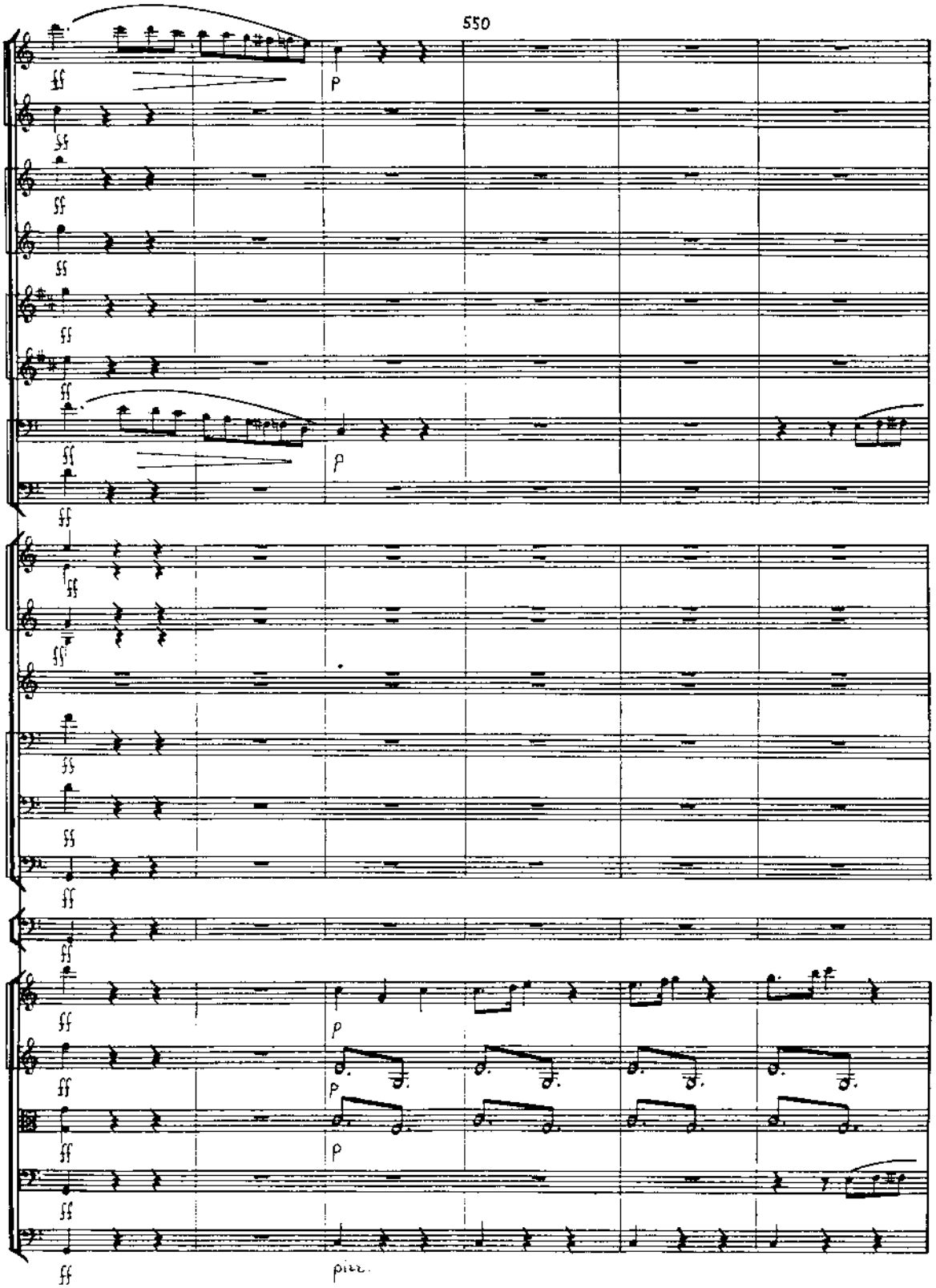
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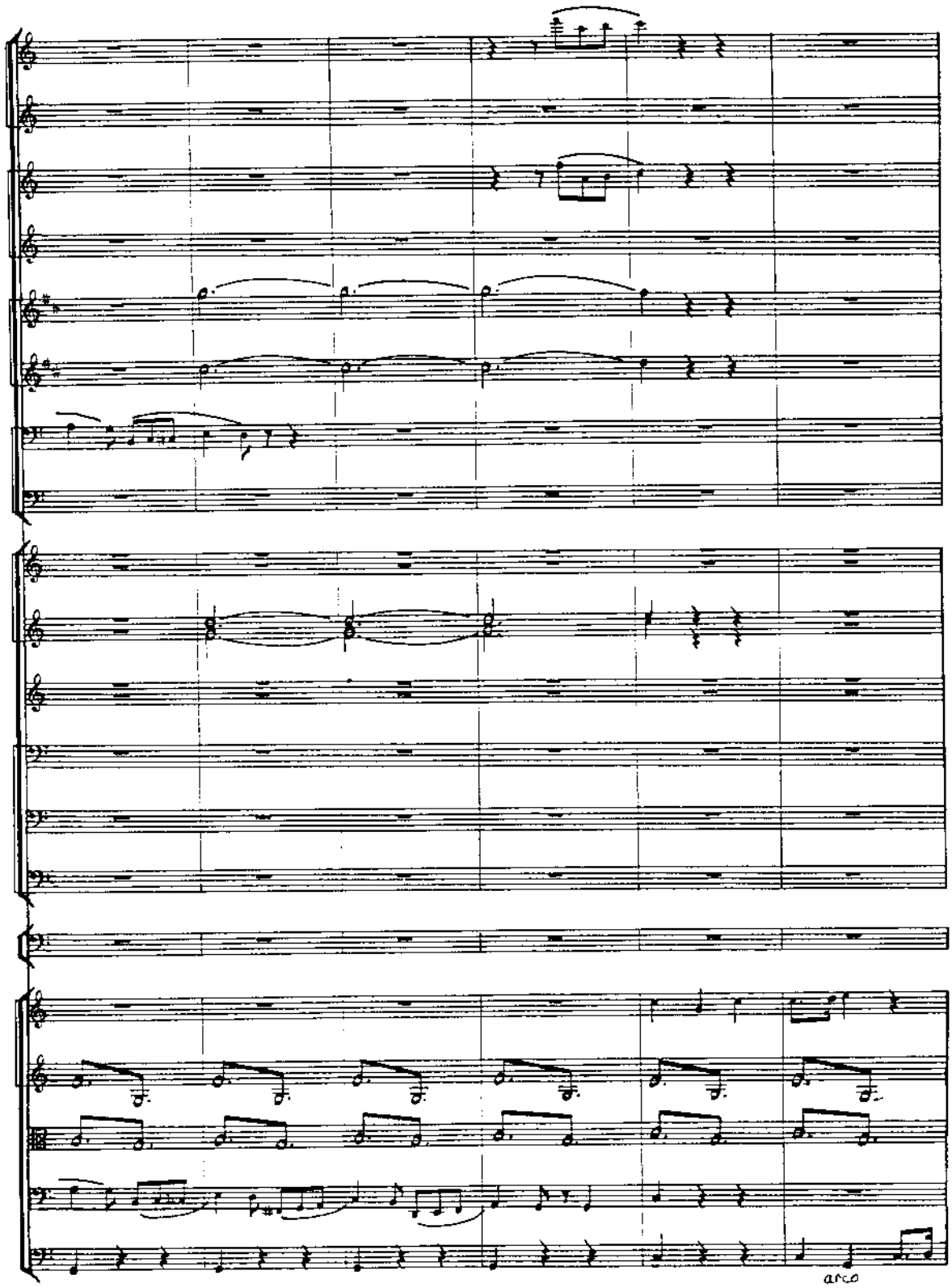
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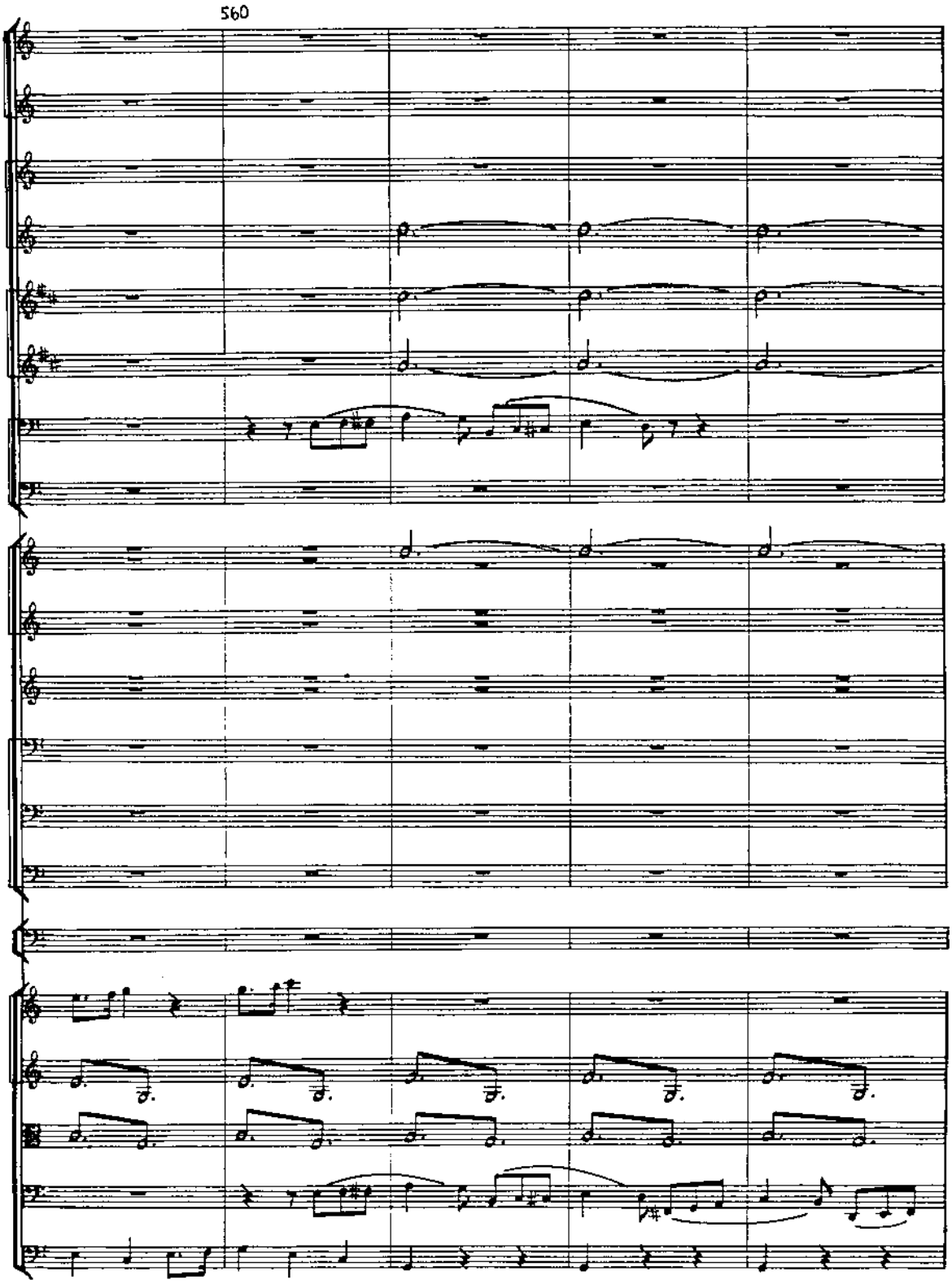
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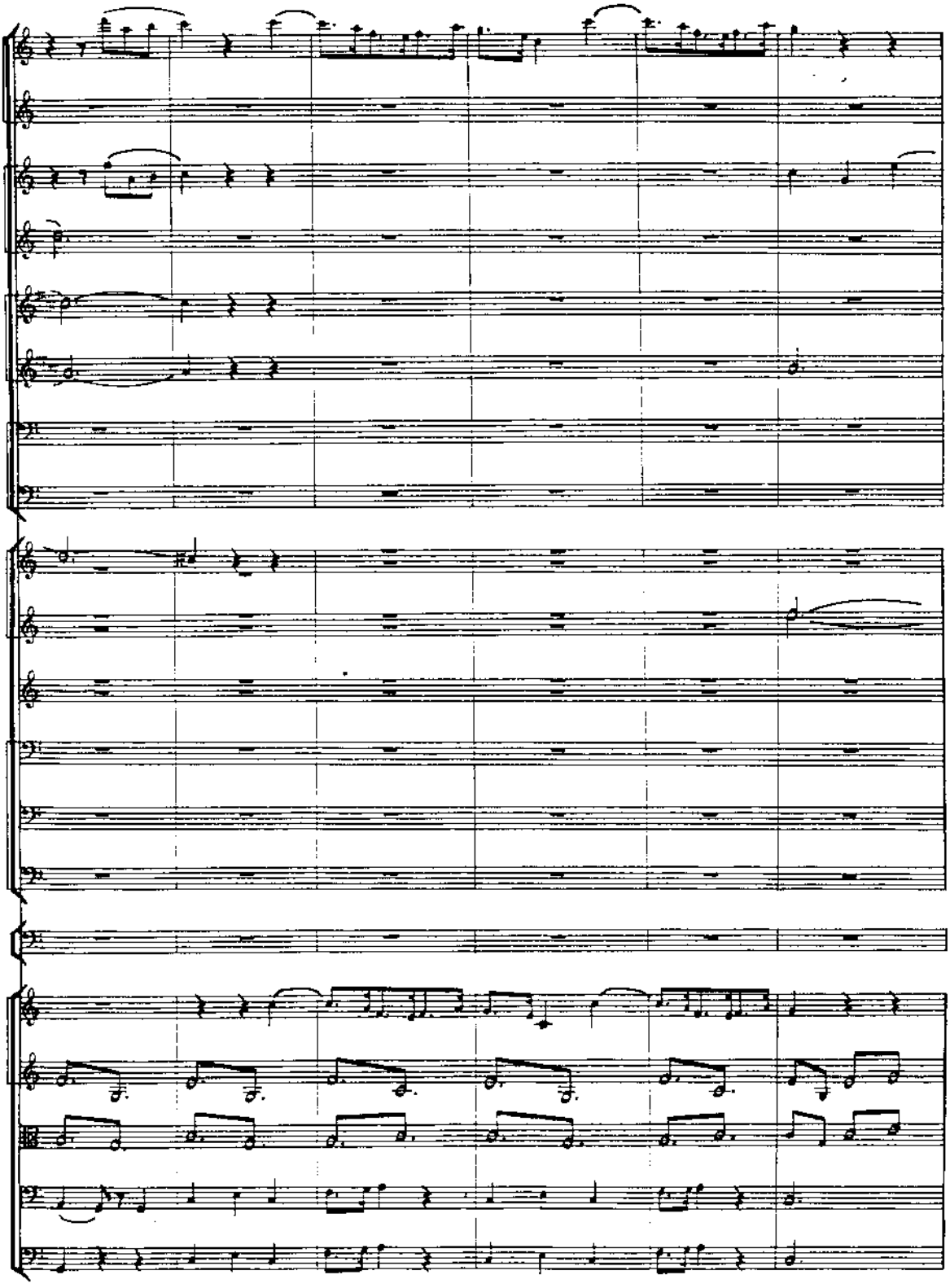

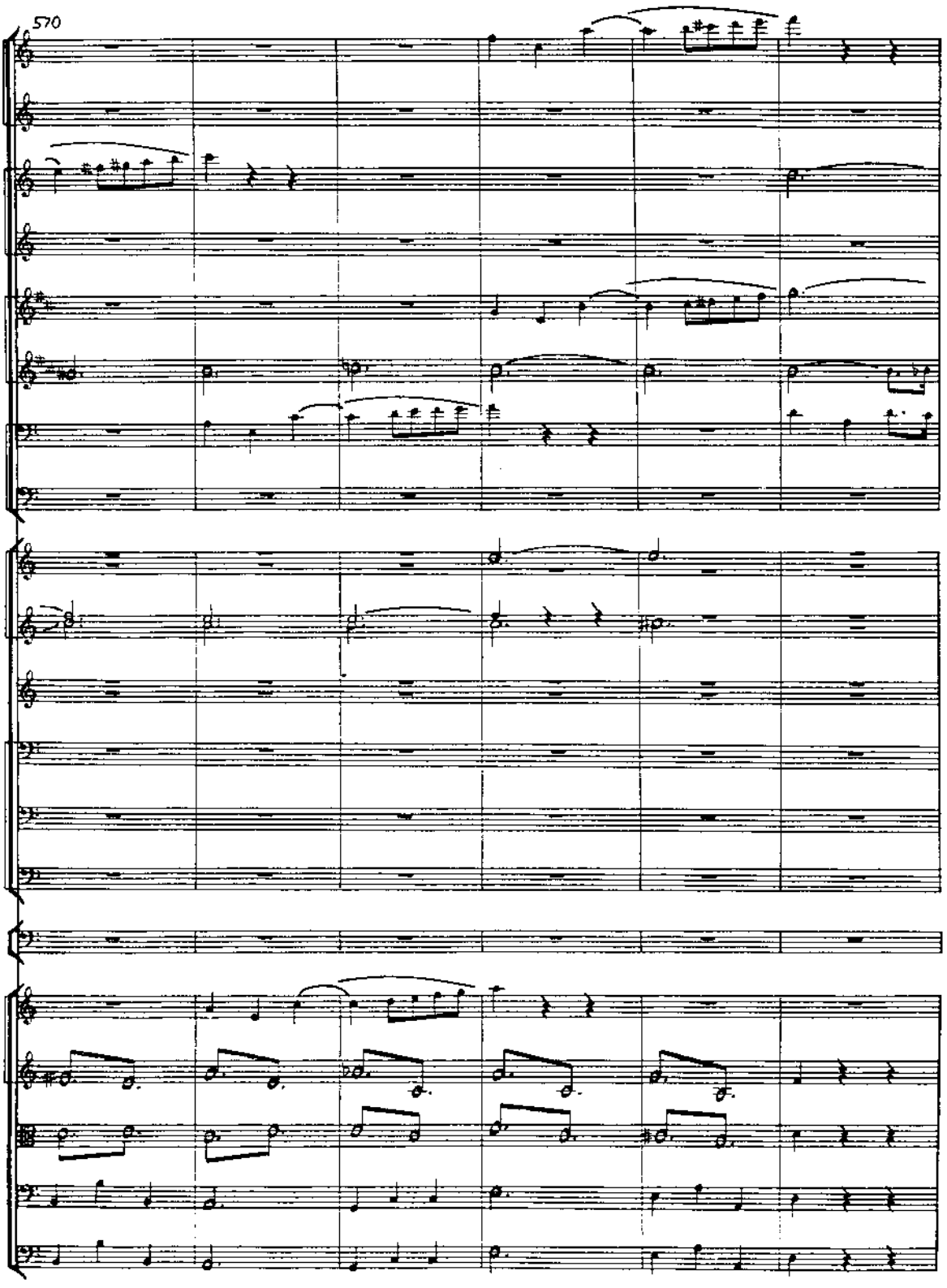
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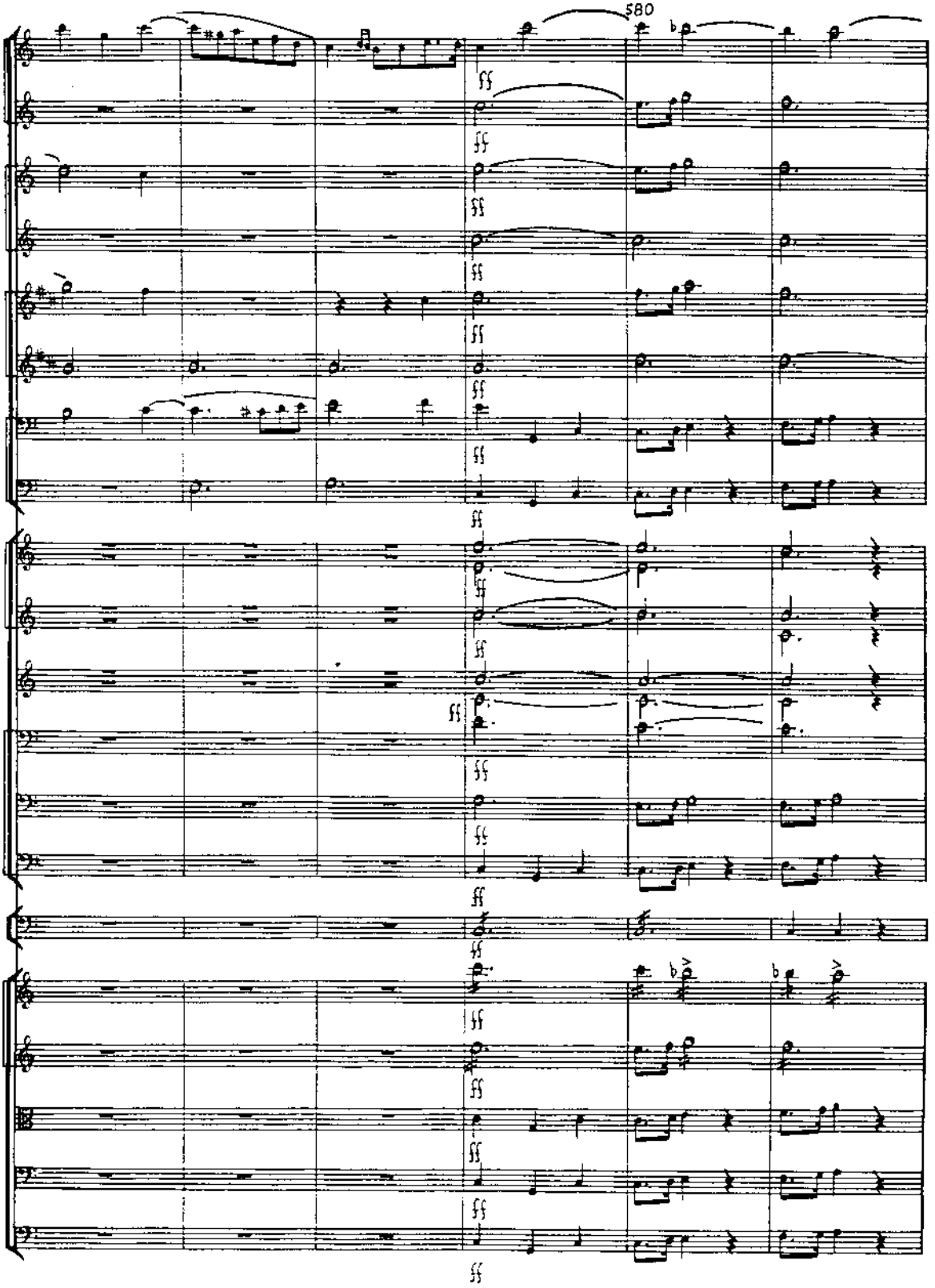
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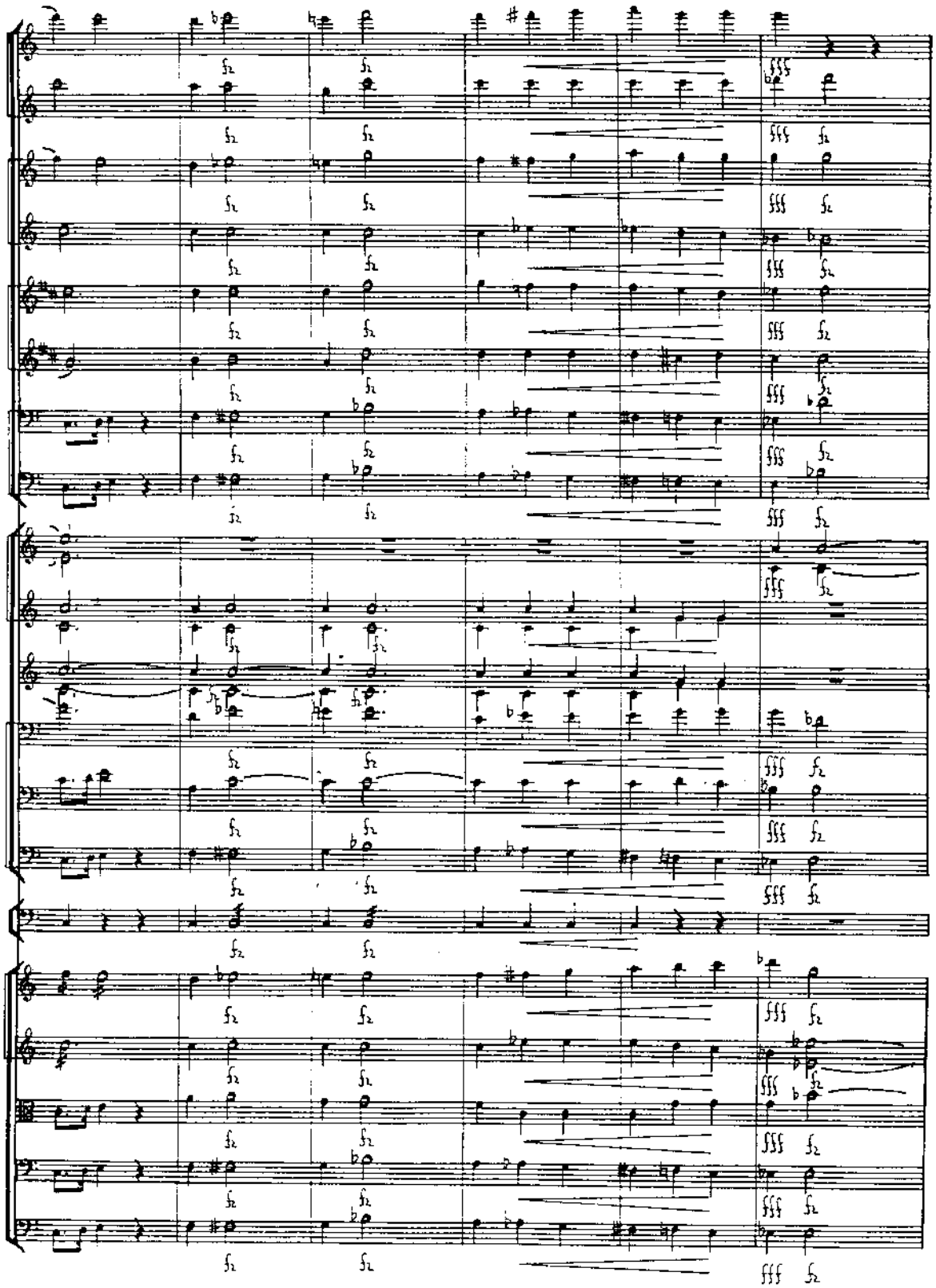

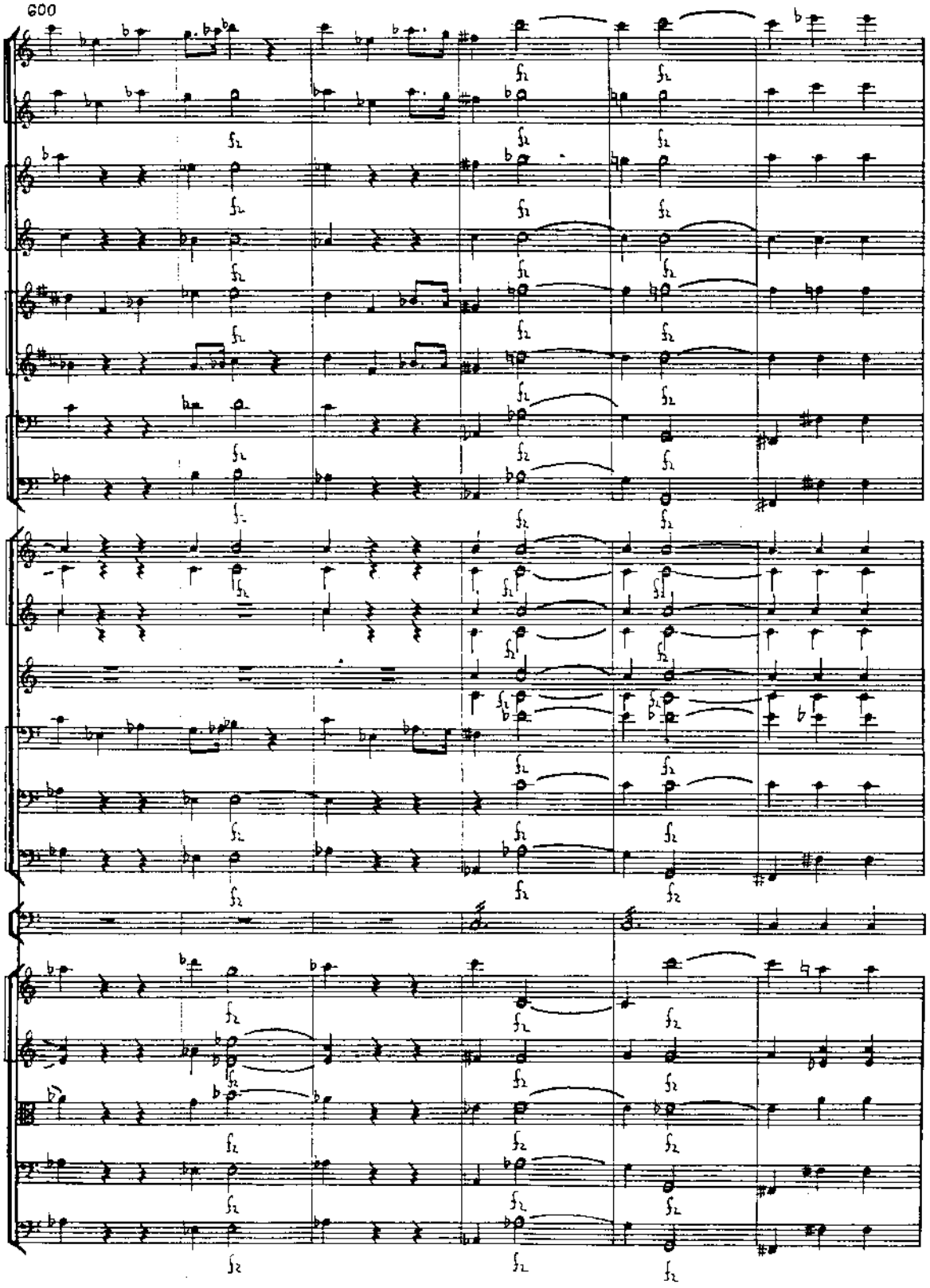
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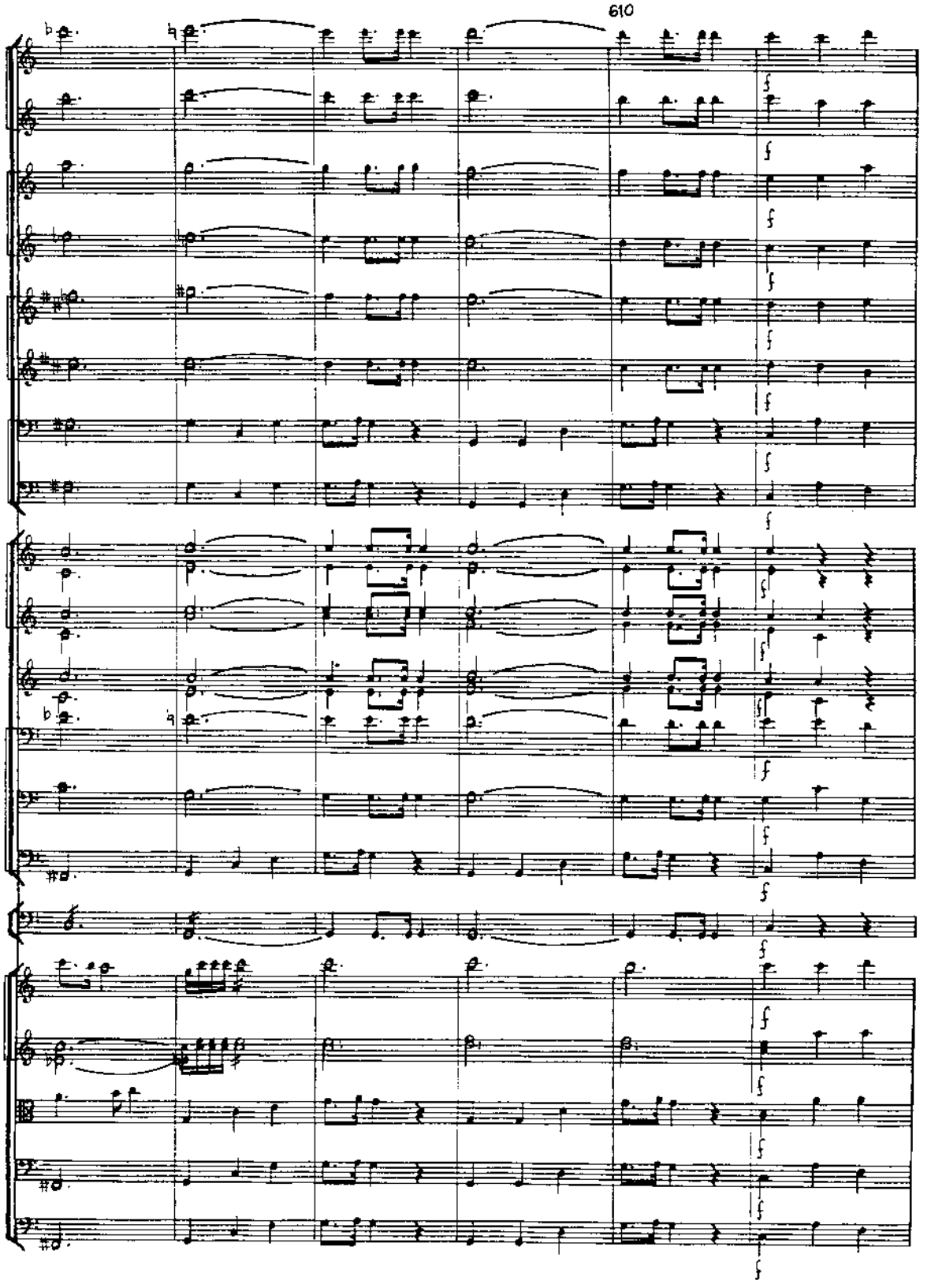
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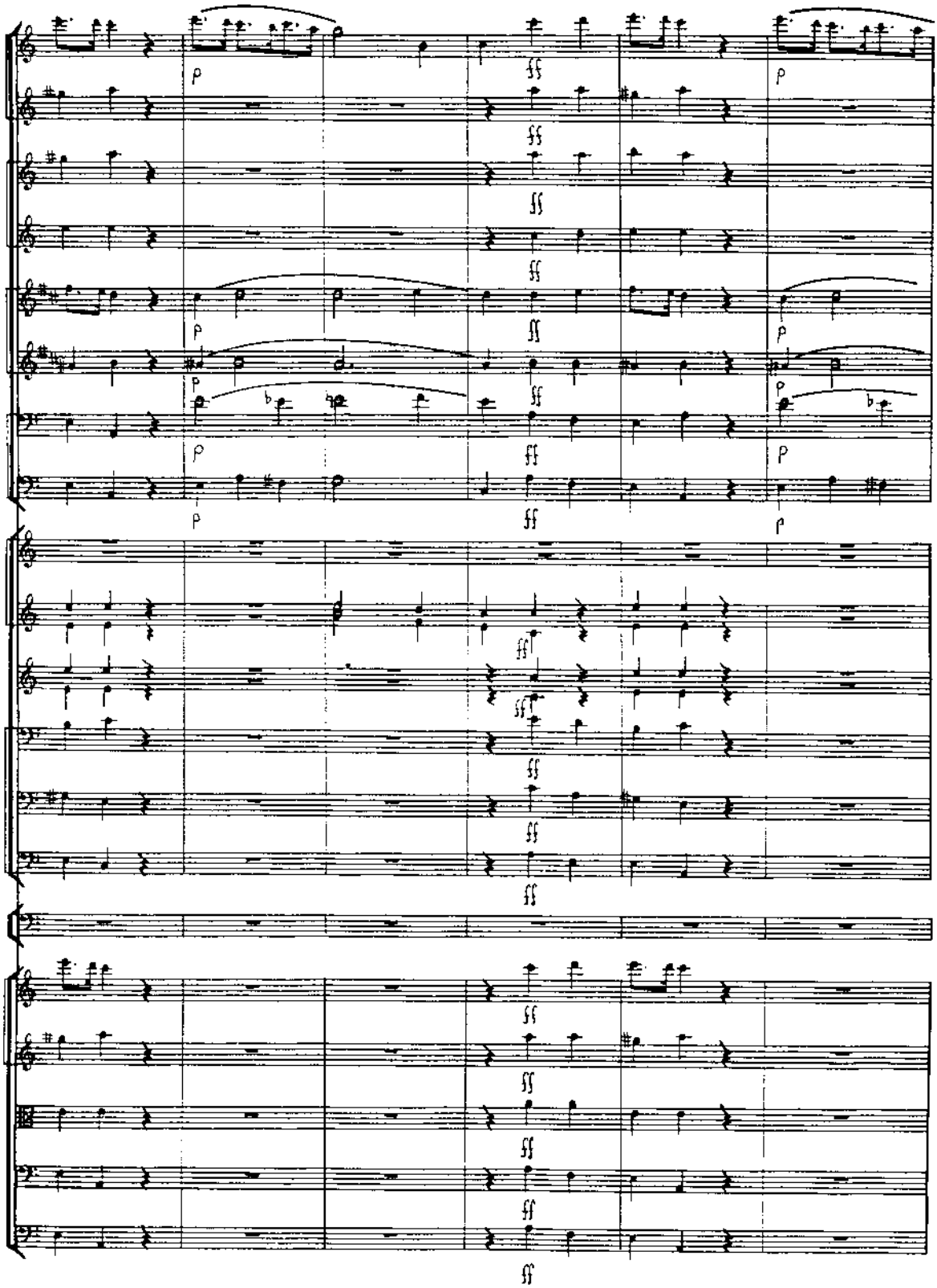

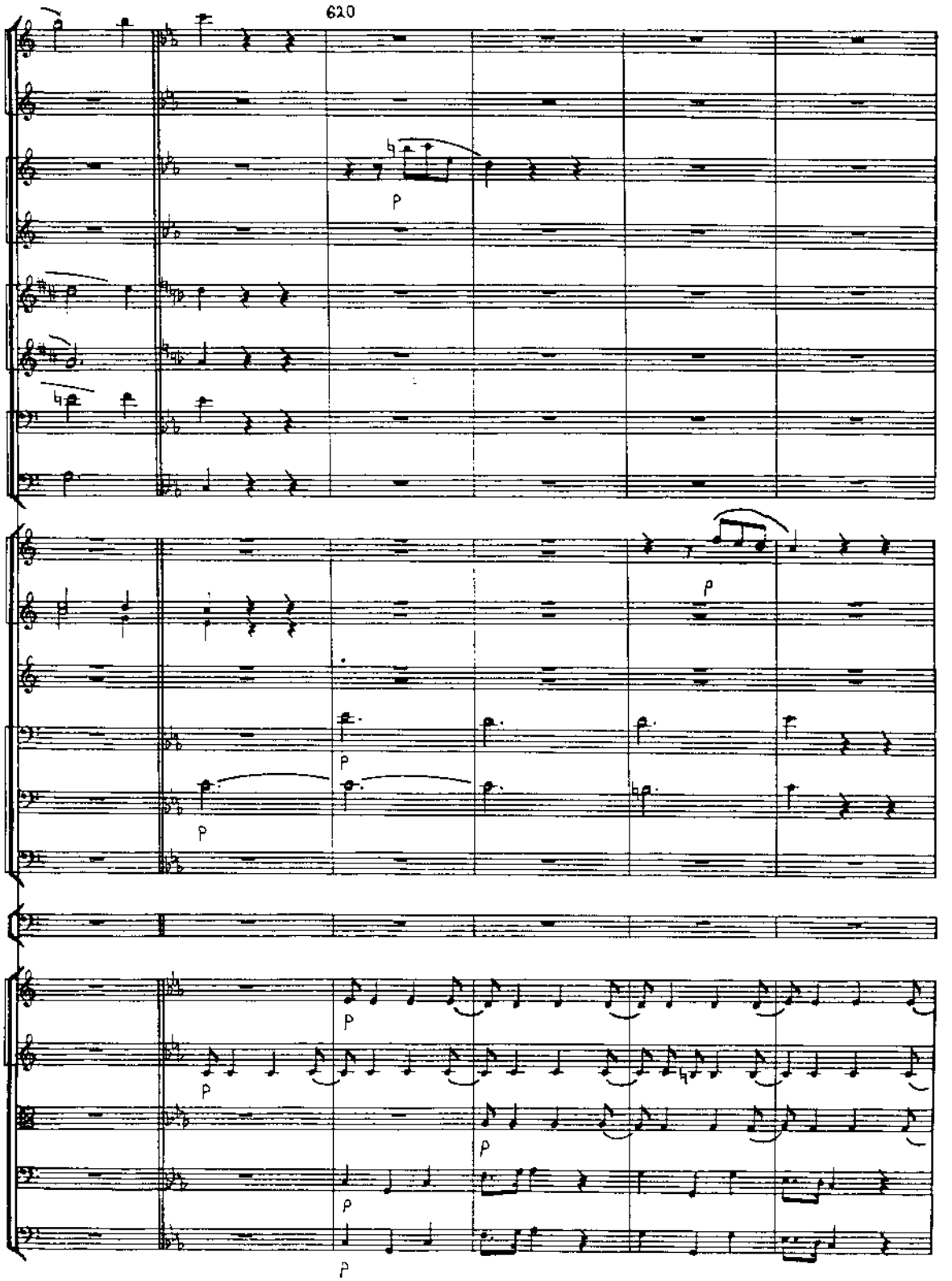
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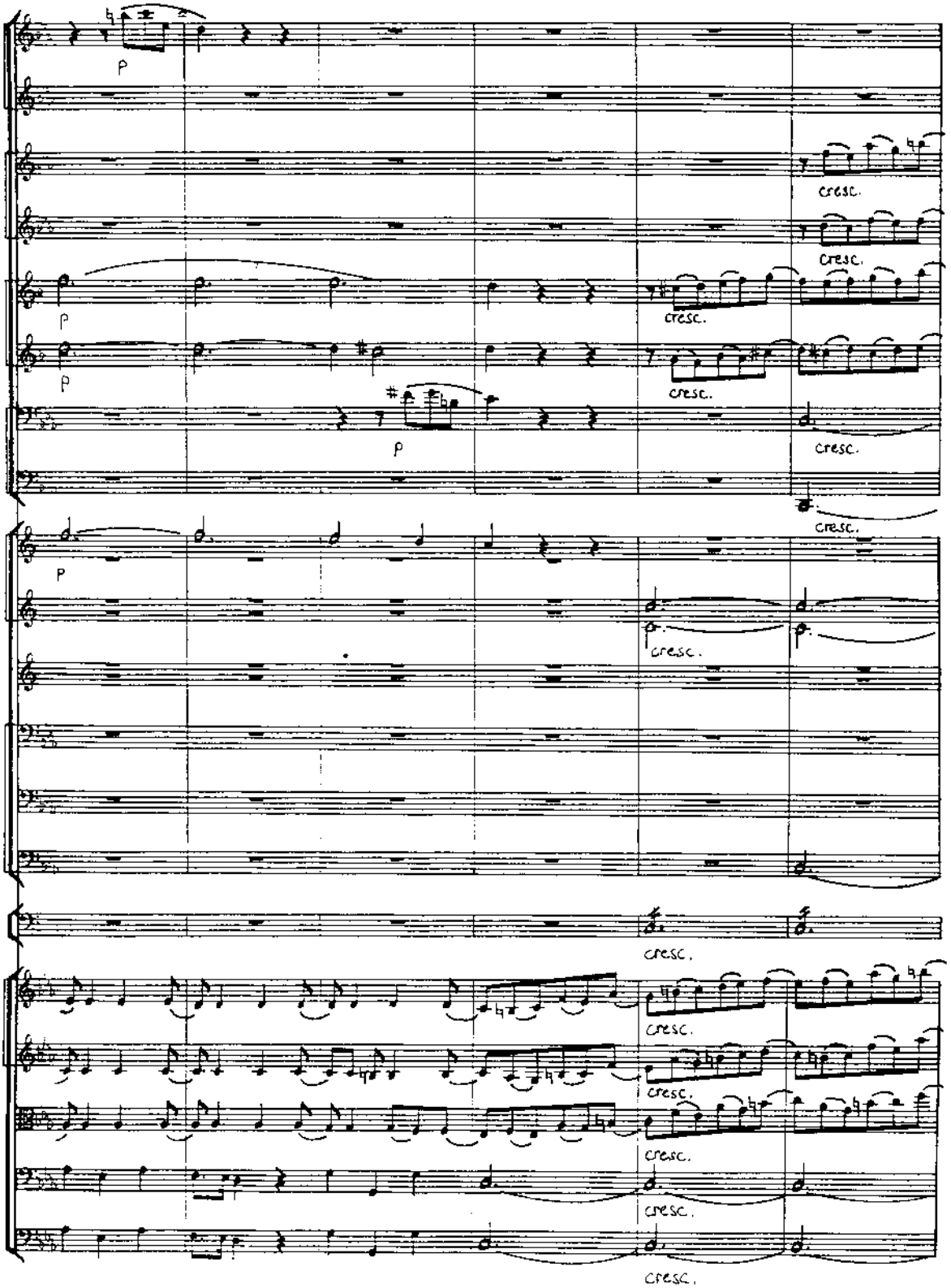
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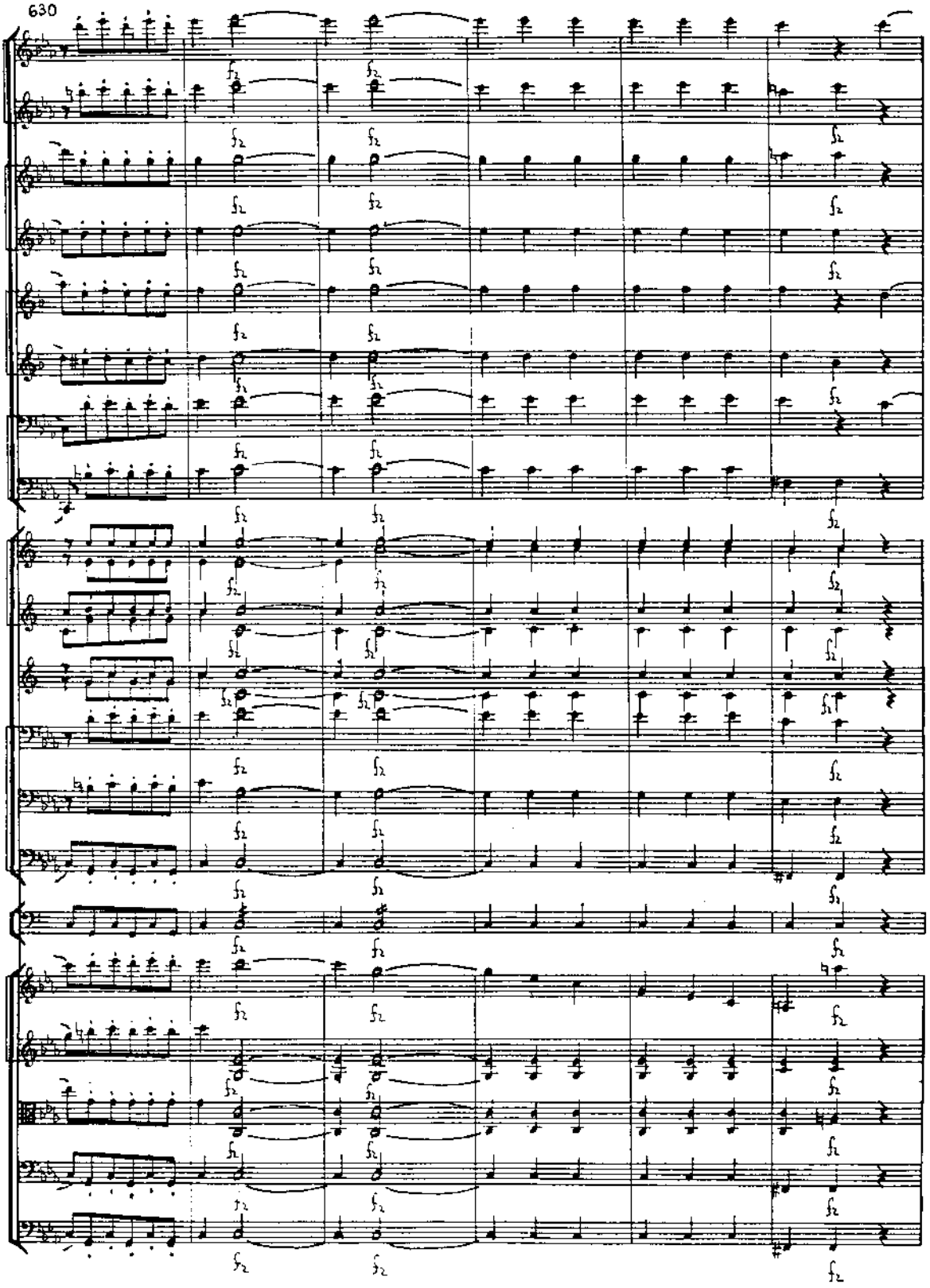
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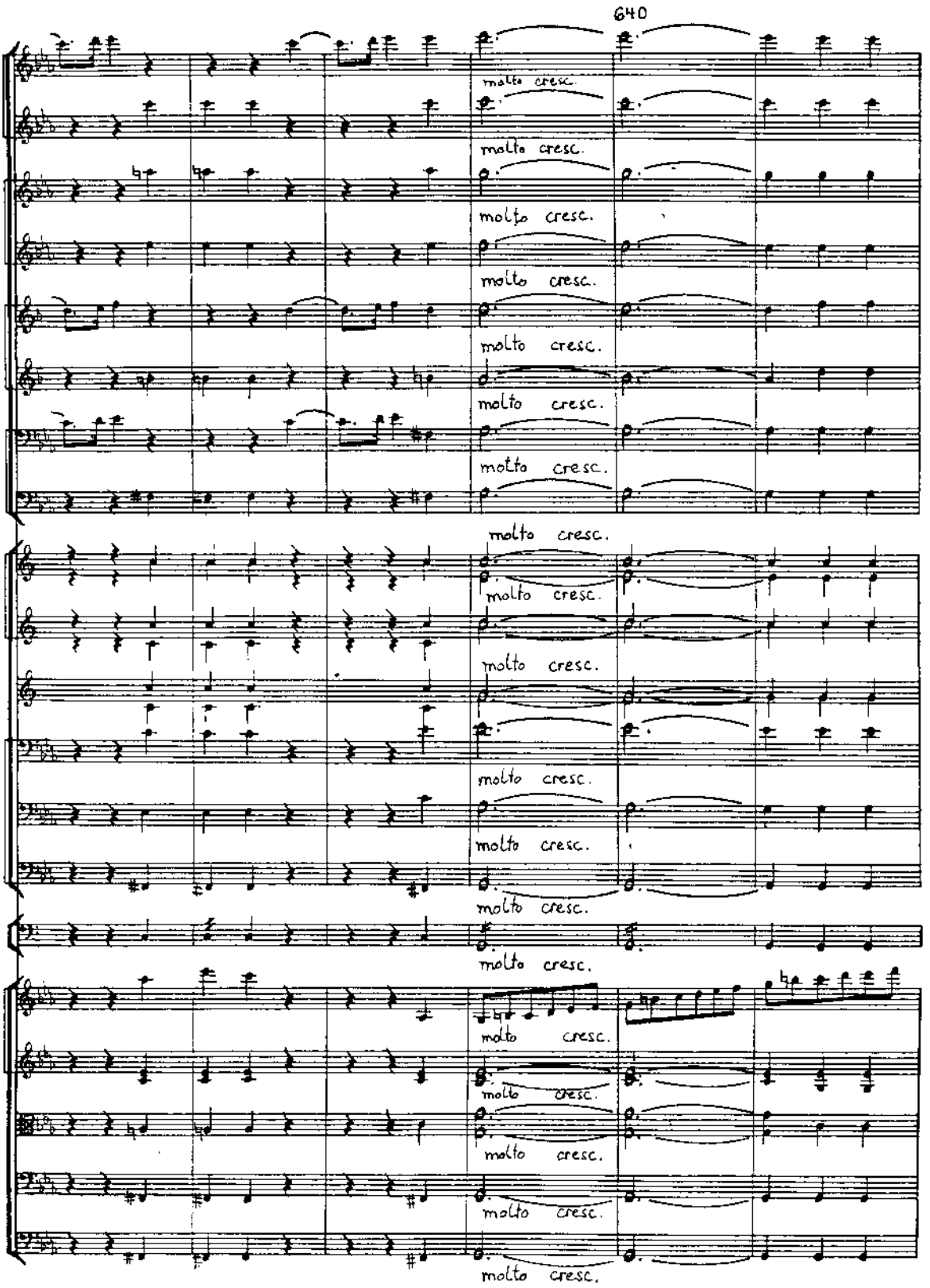
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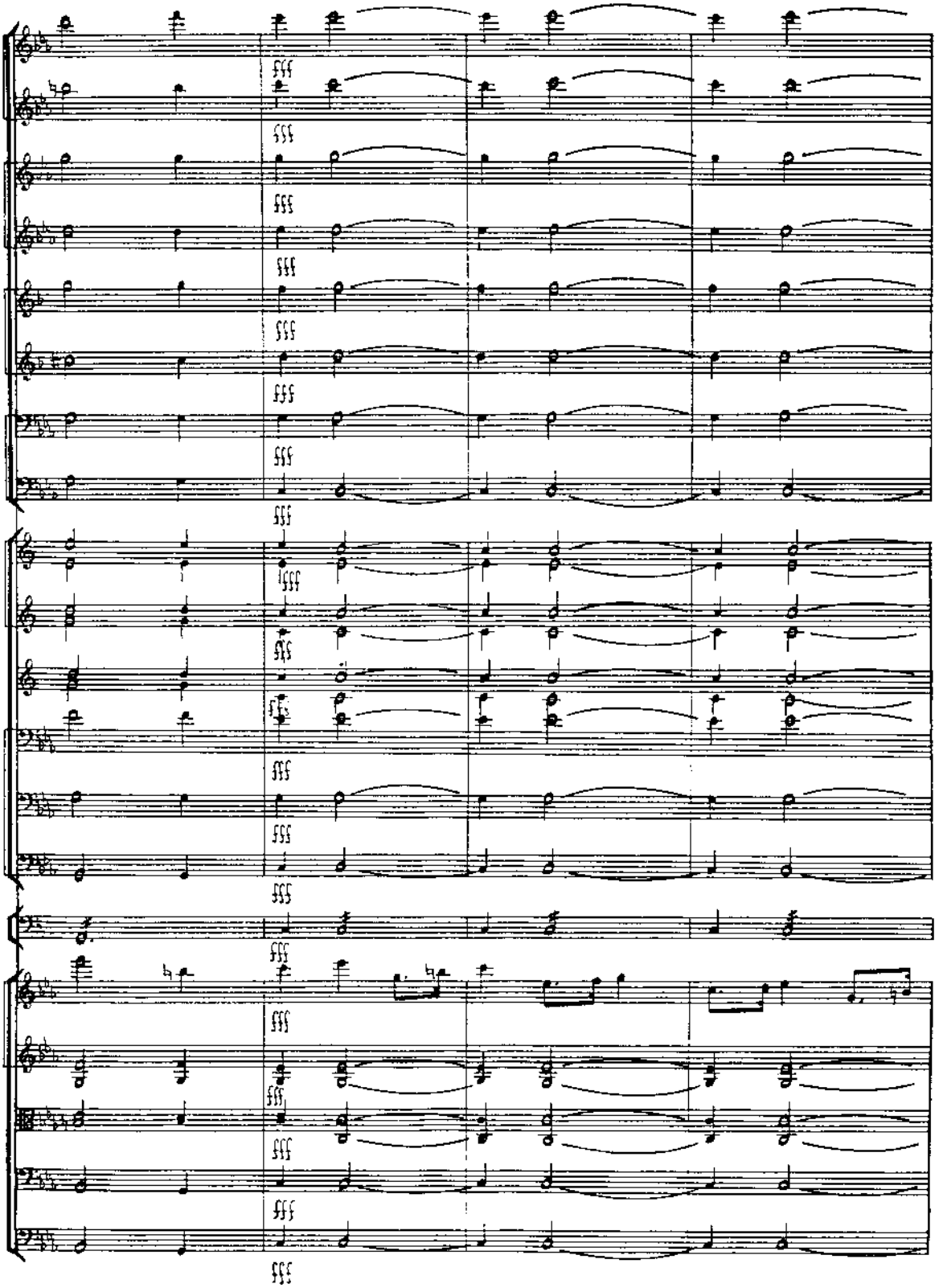
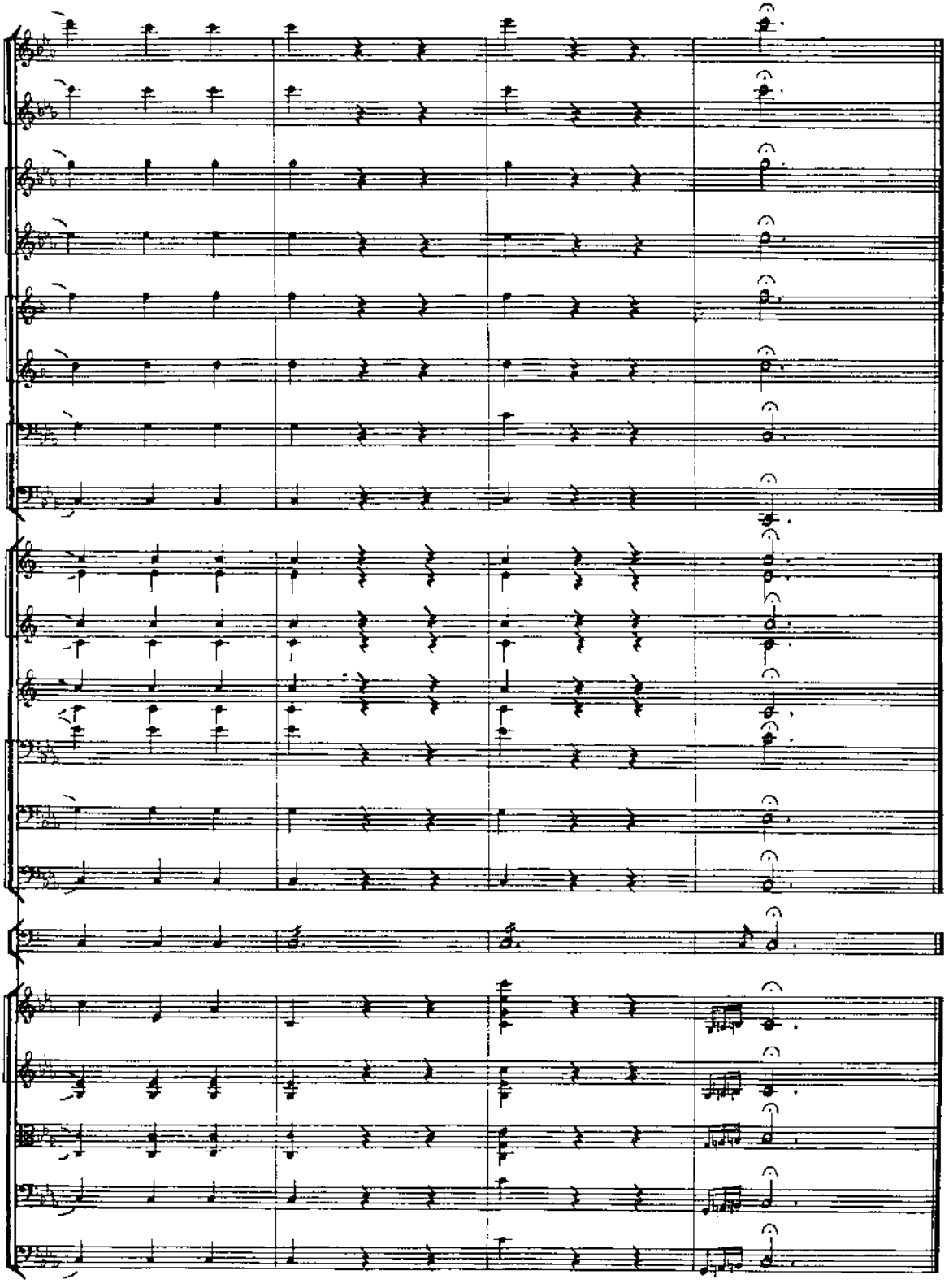
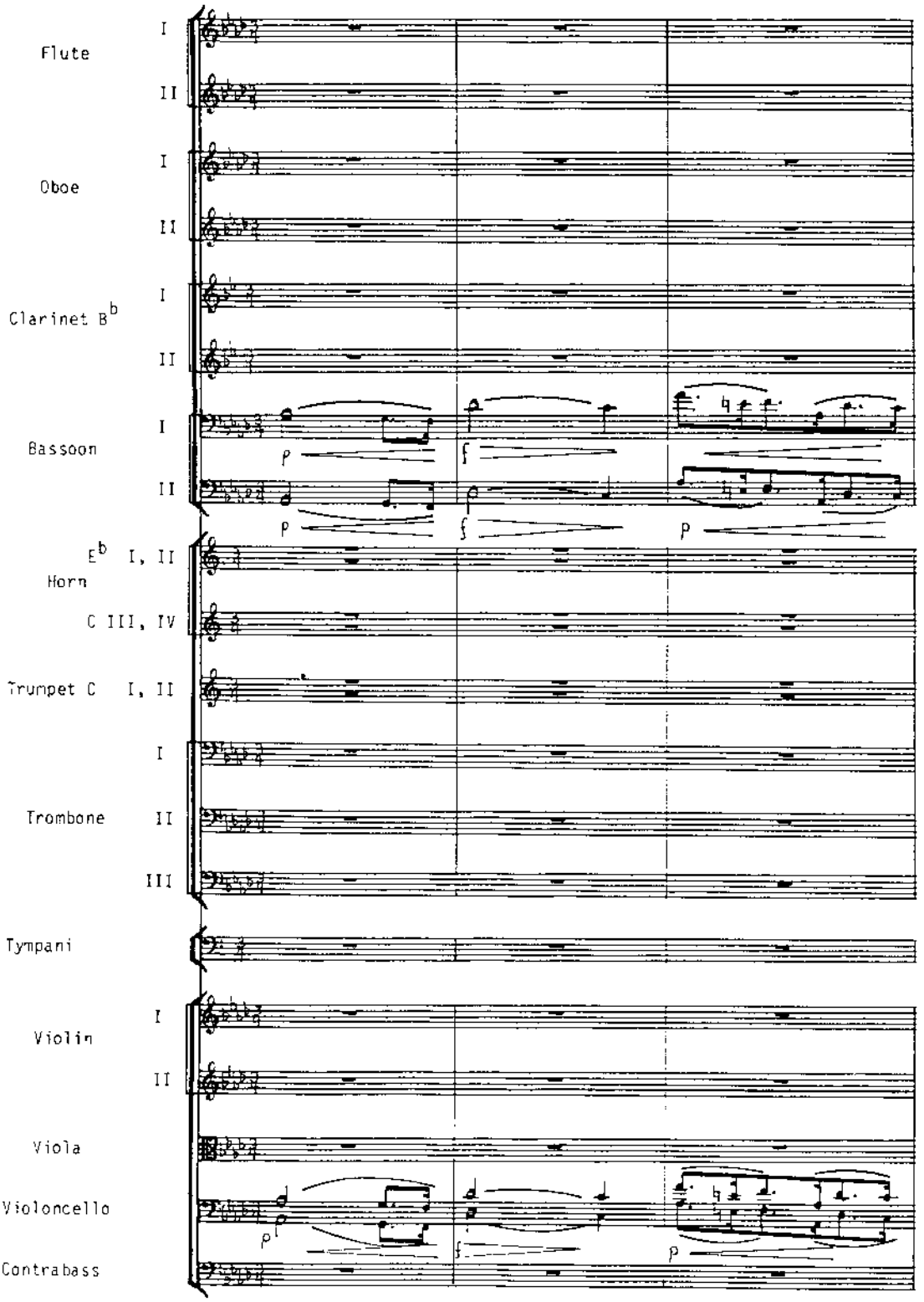


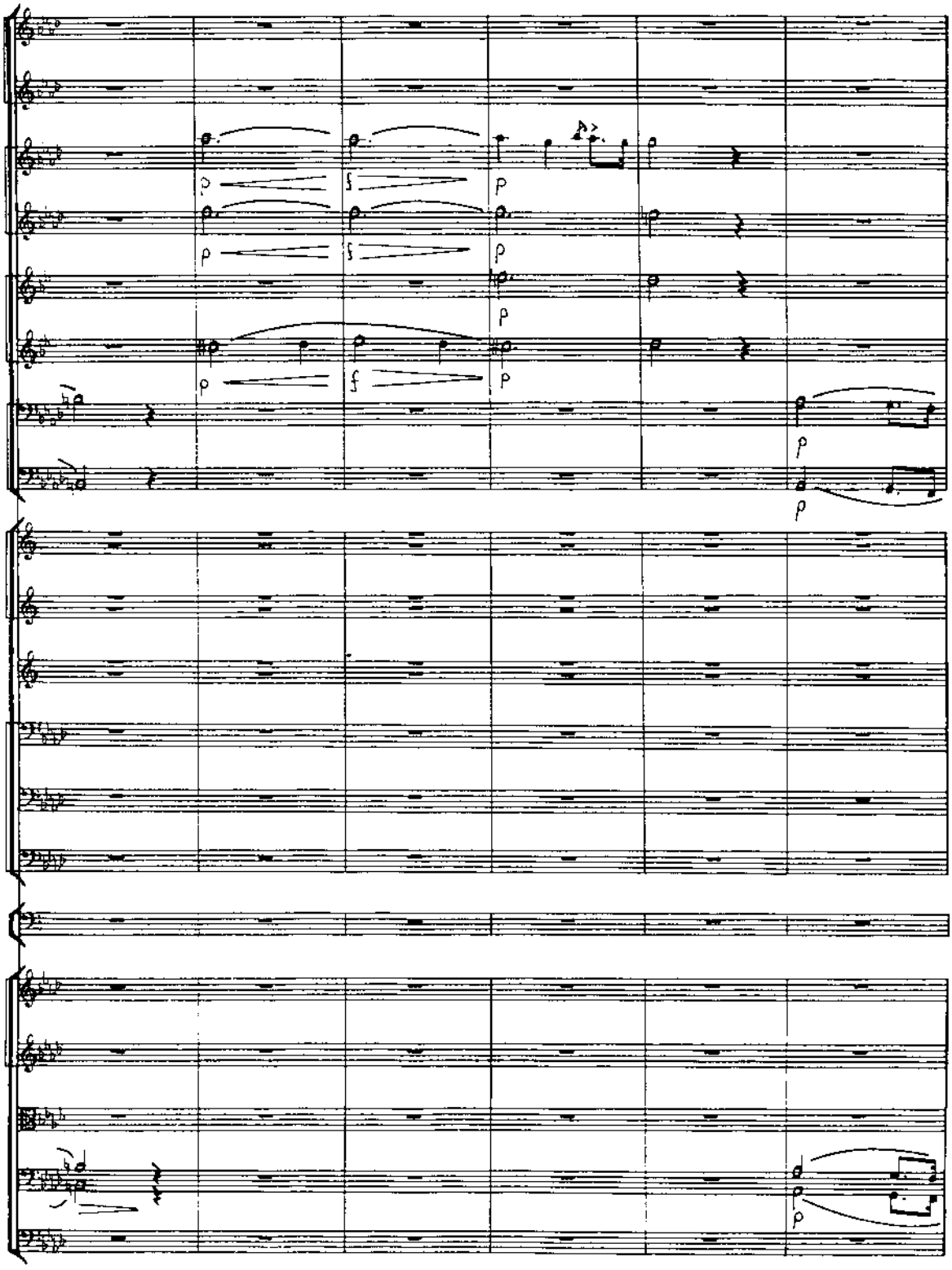


II

Elegia

Andante doloroso ma non troppo lento

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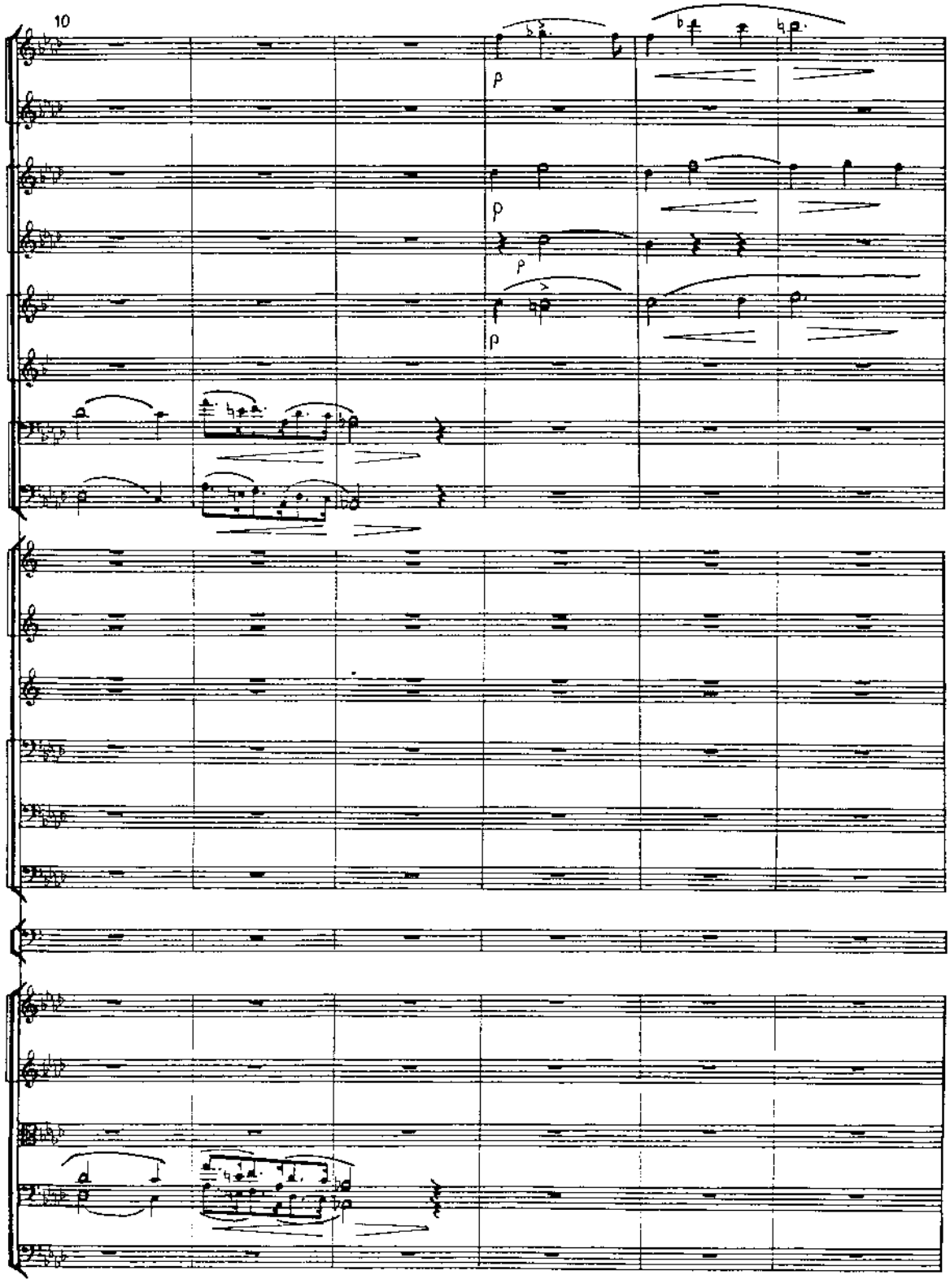
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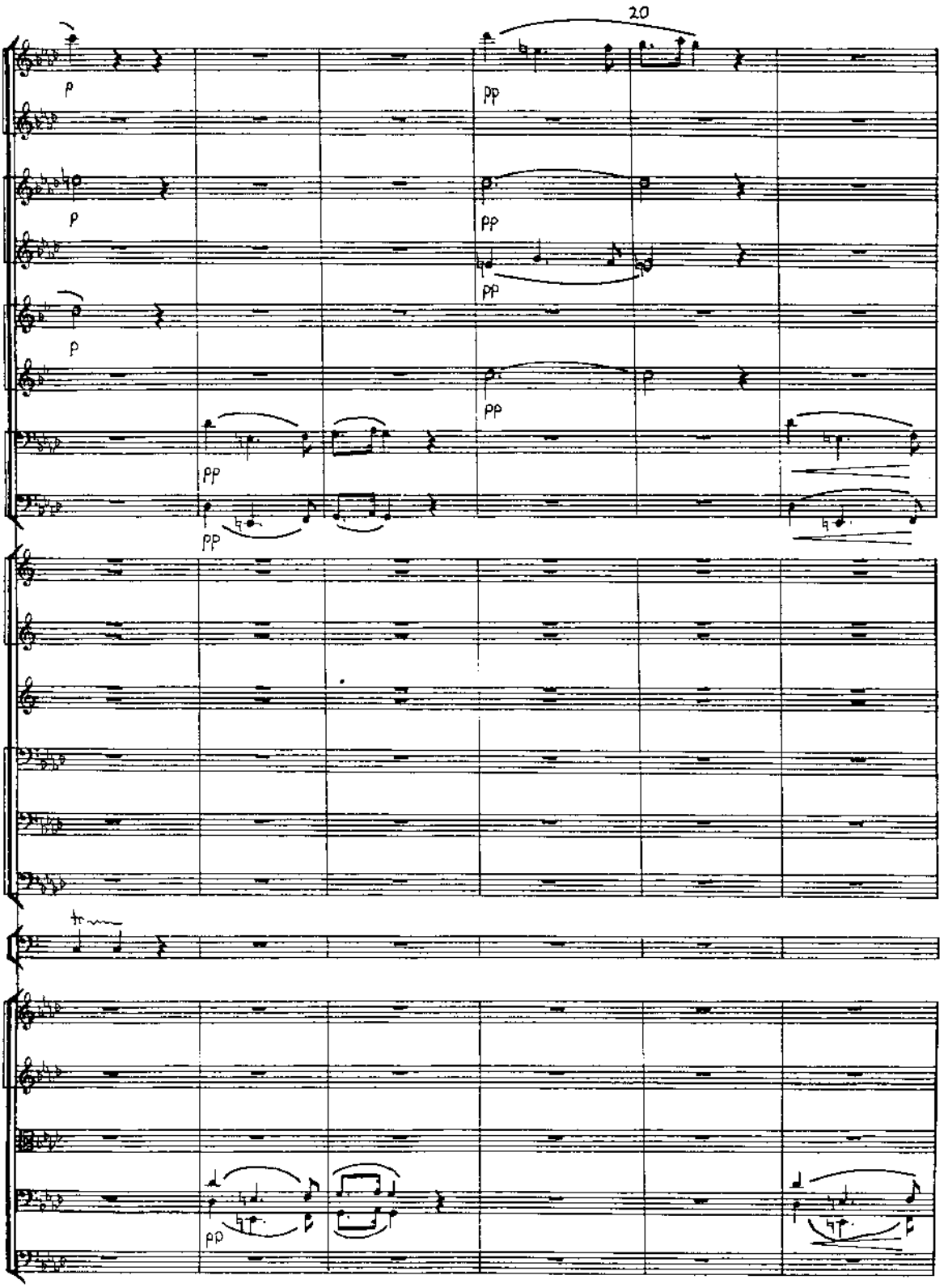
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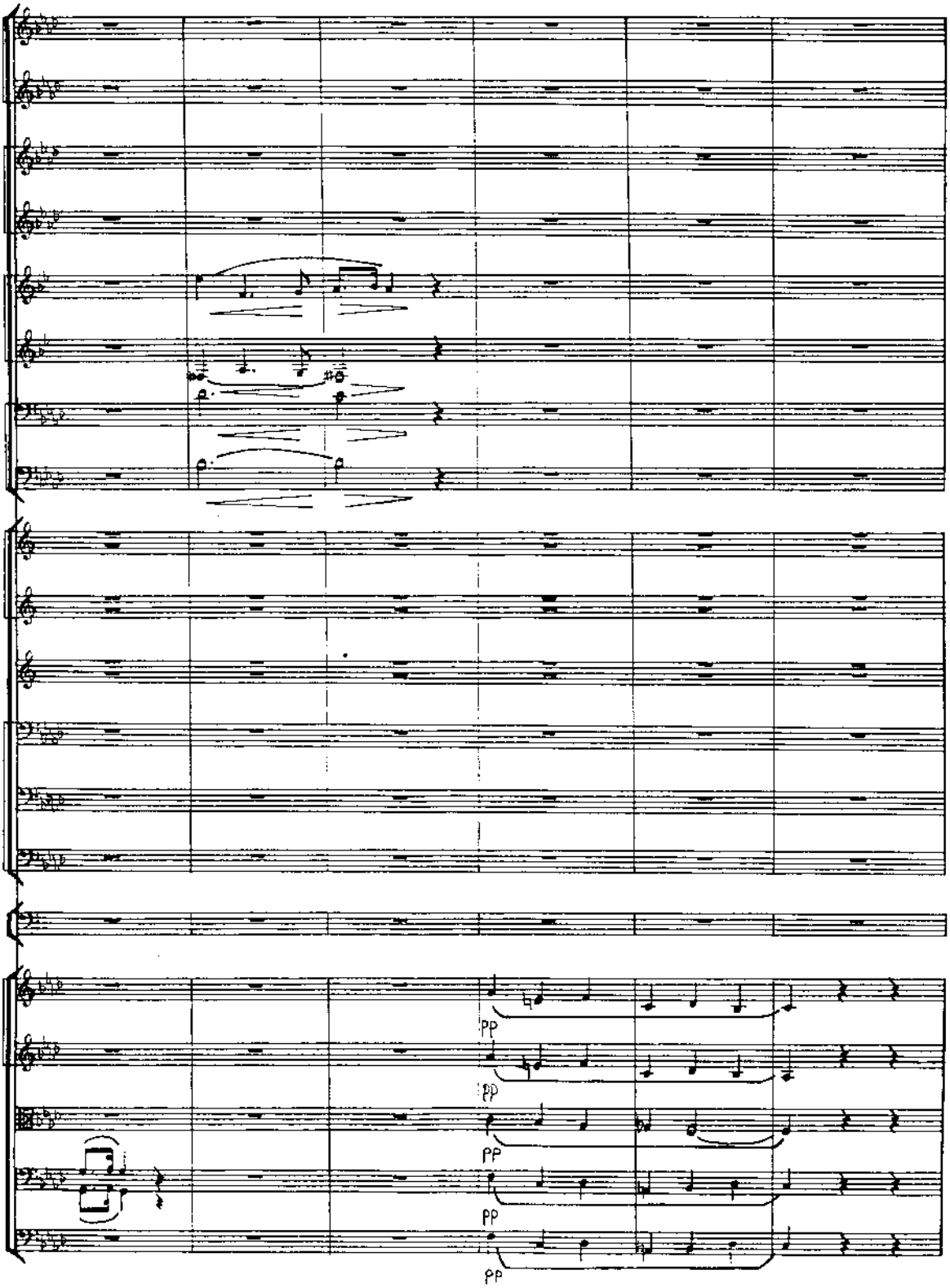
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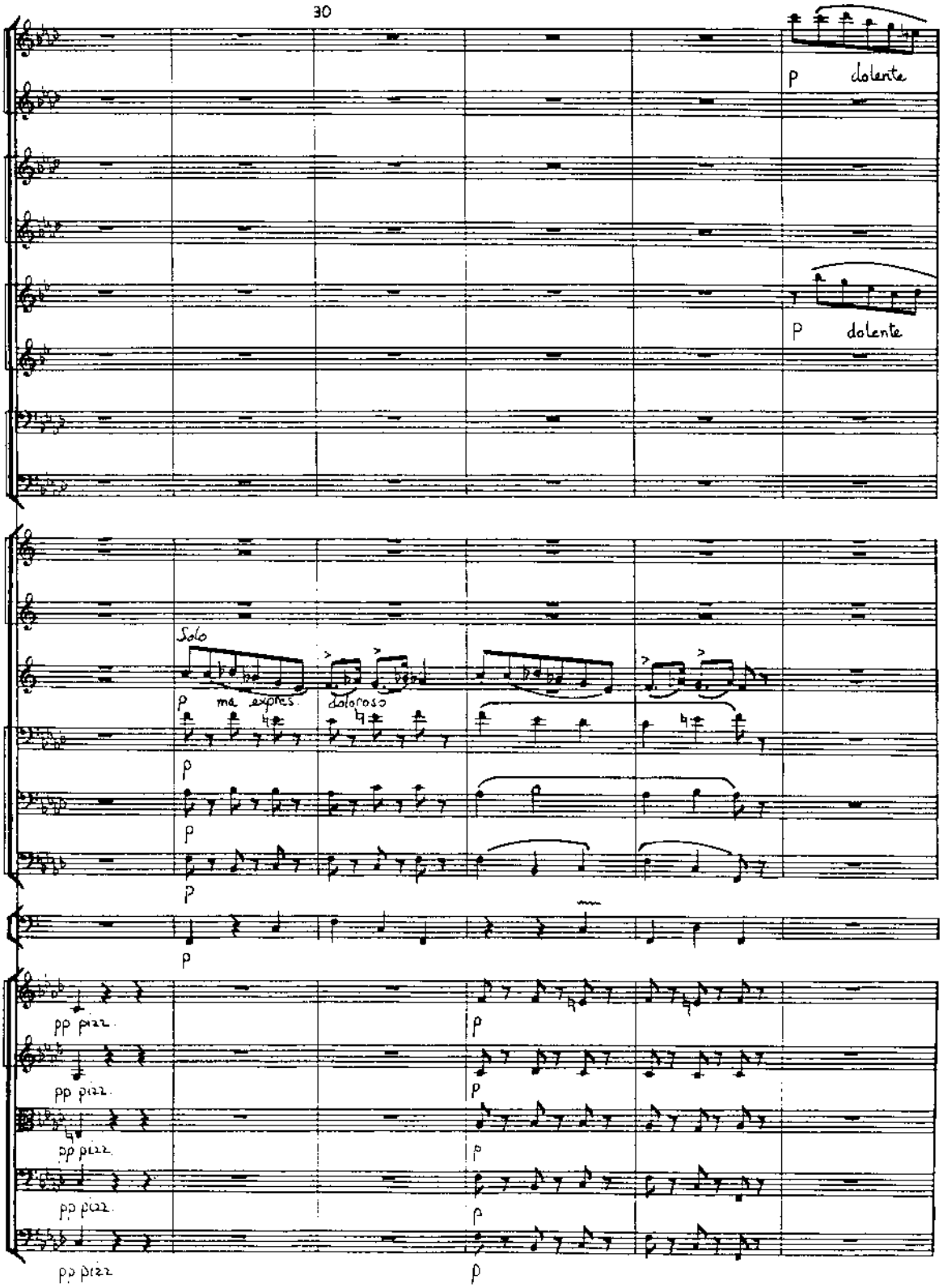
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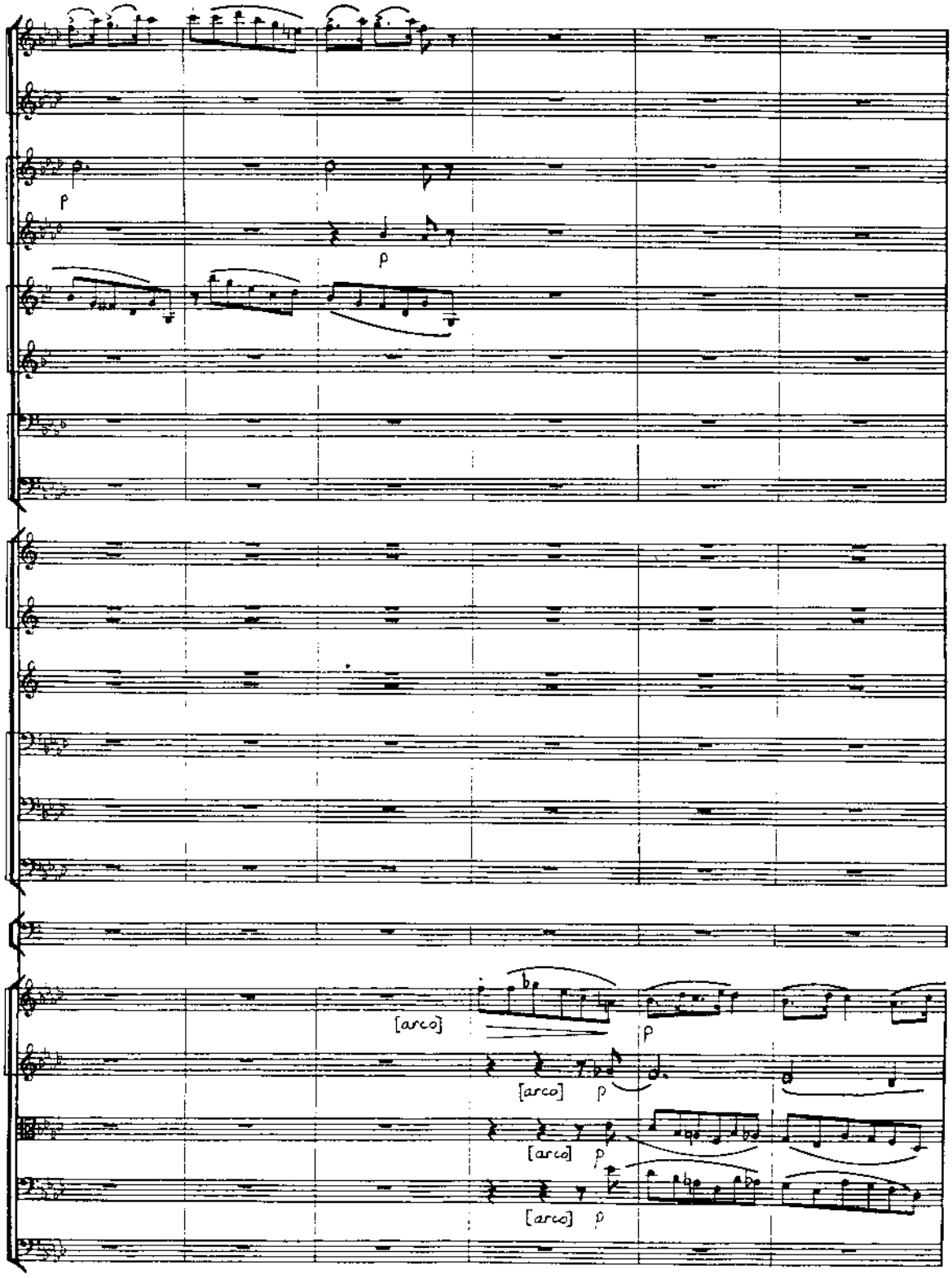
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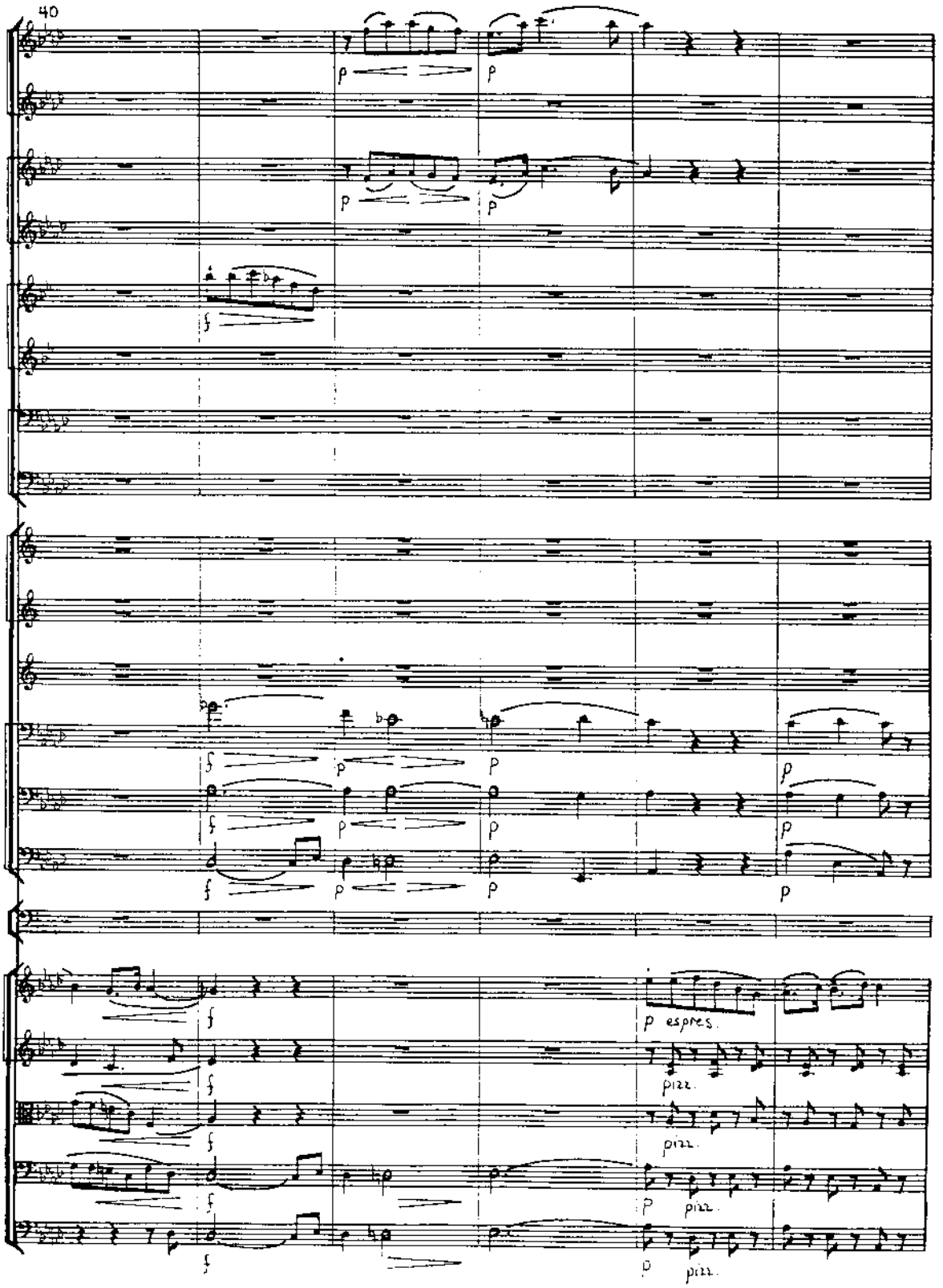
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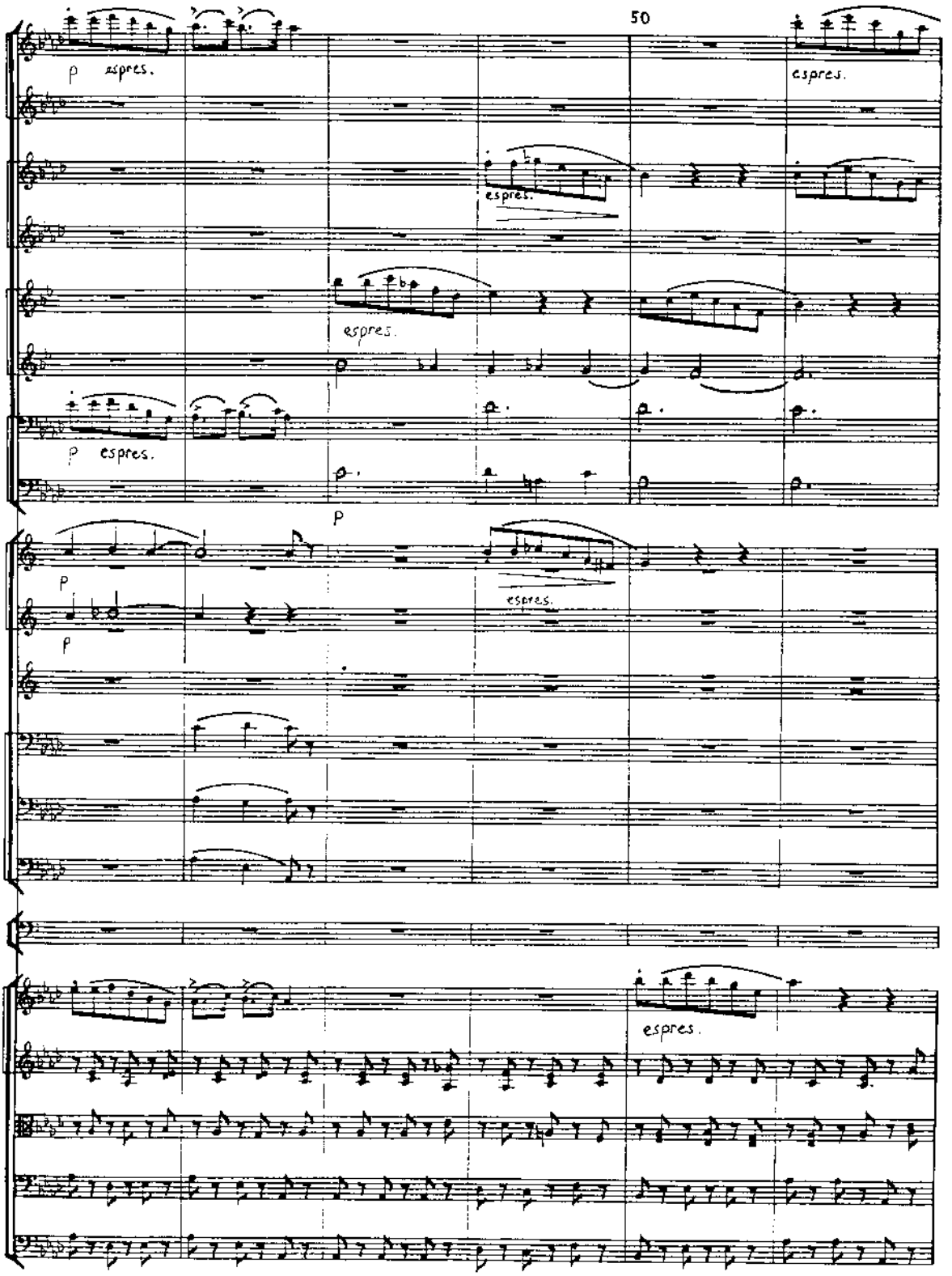
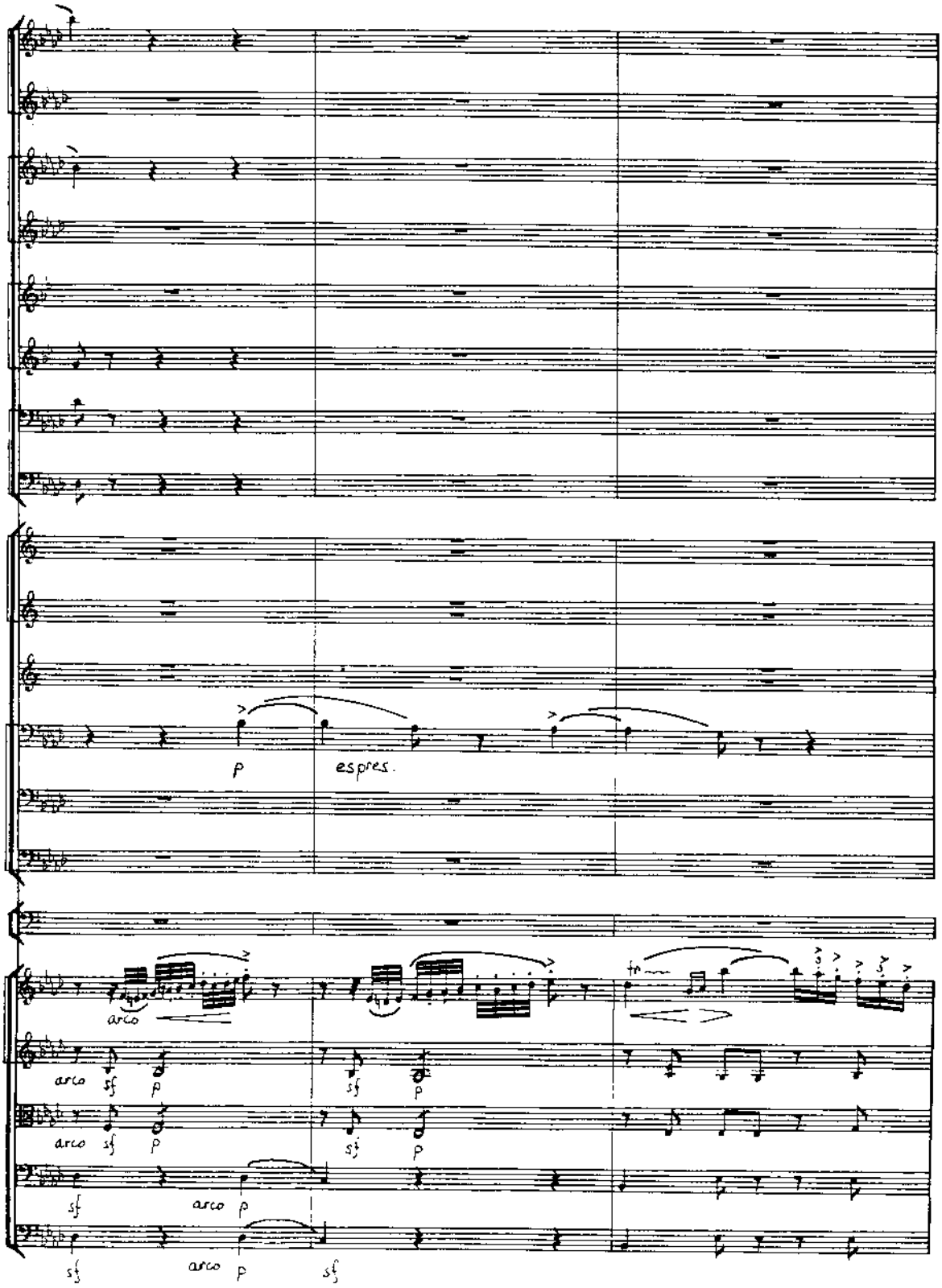
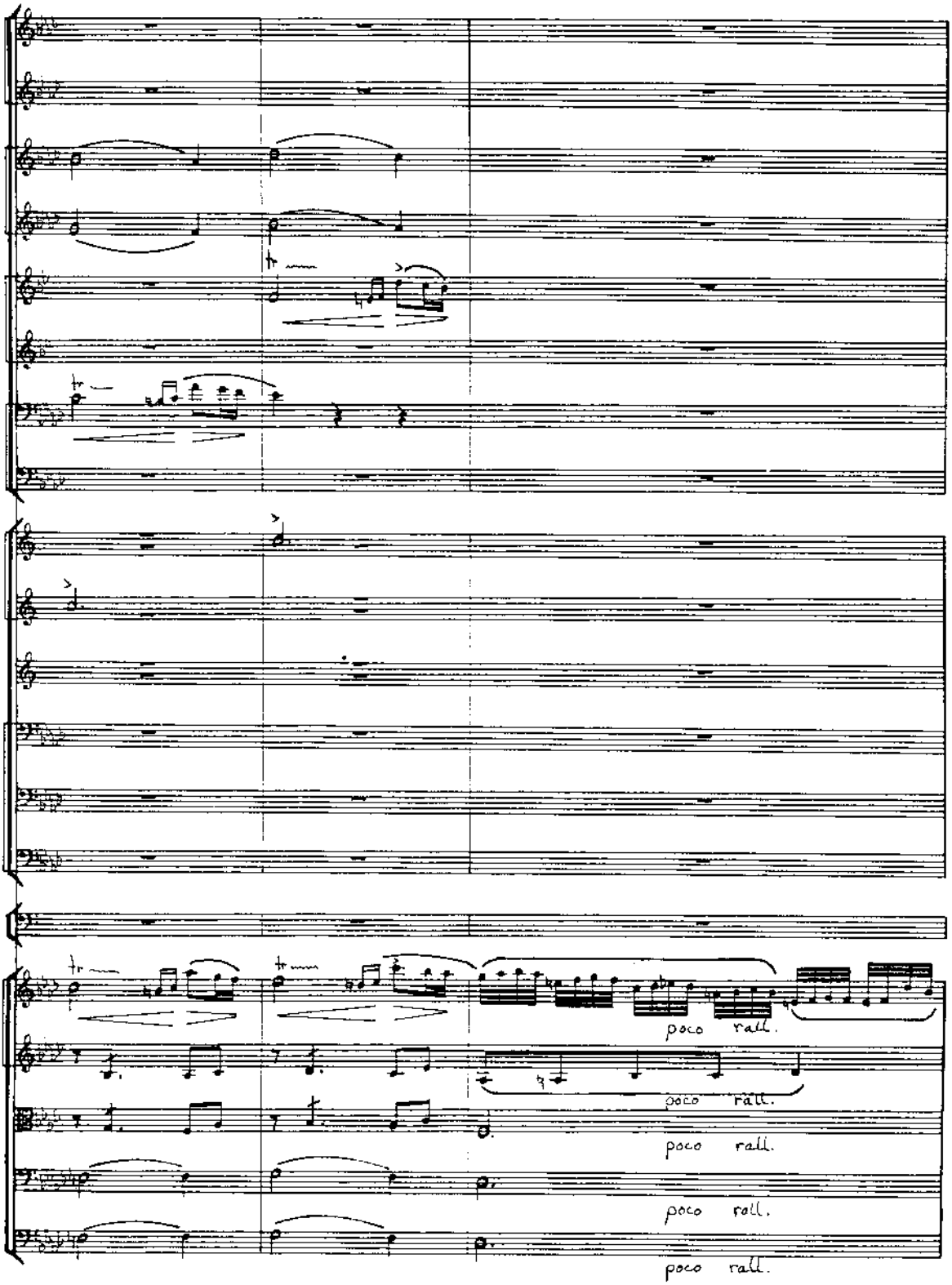
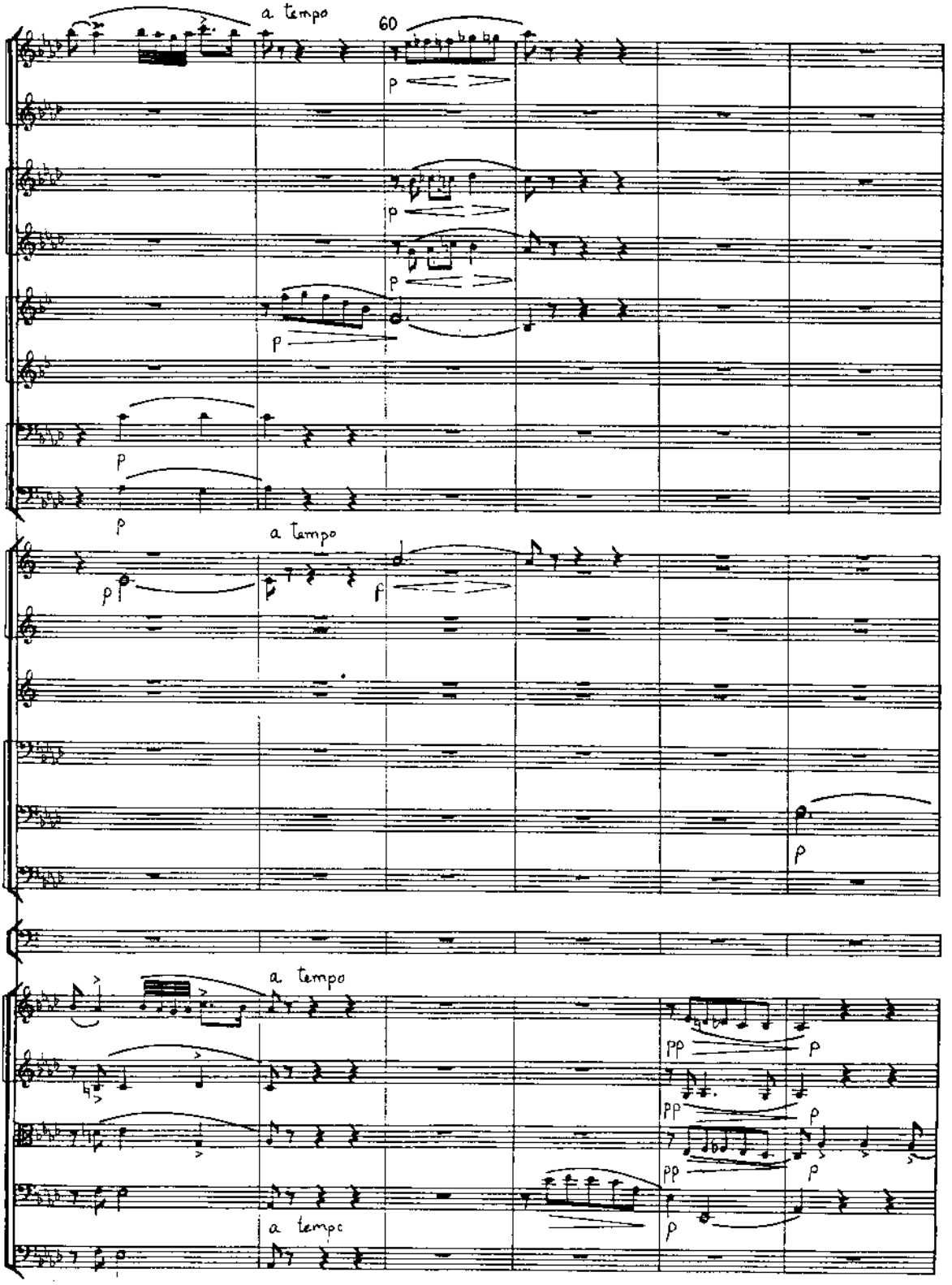
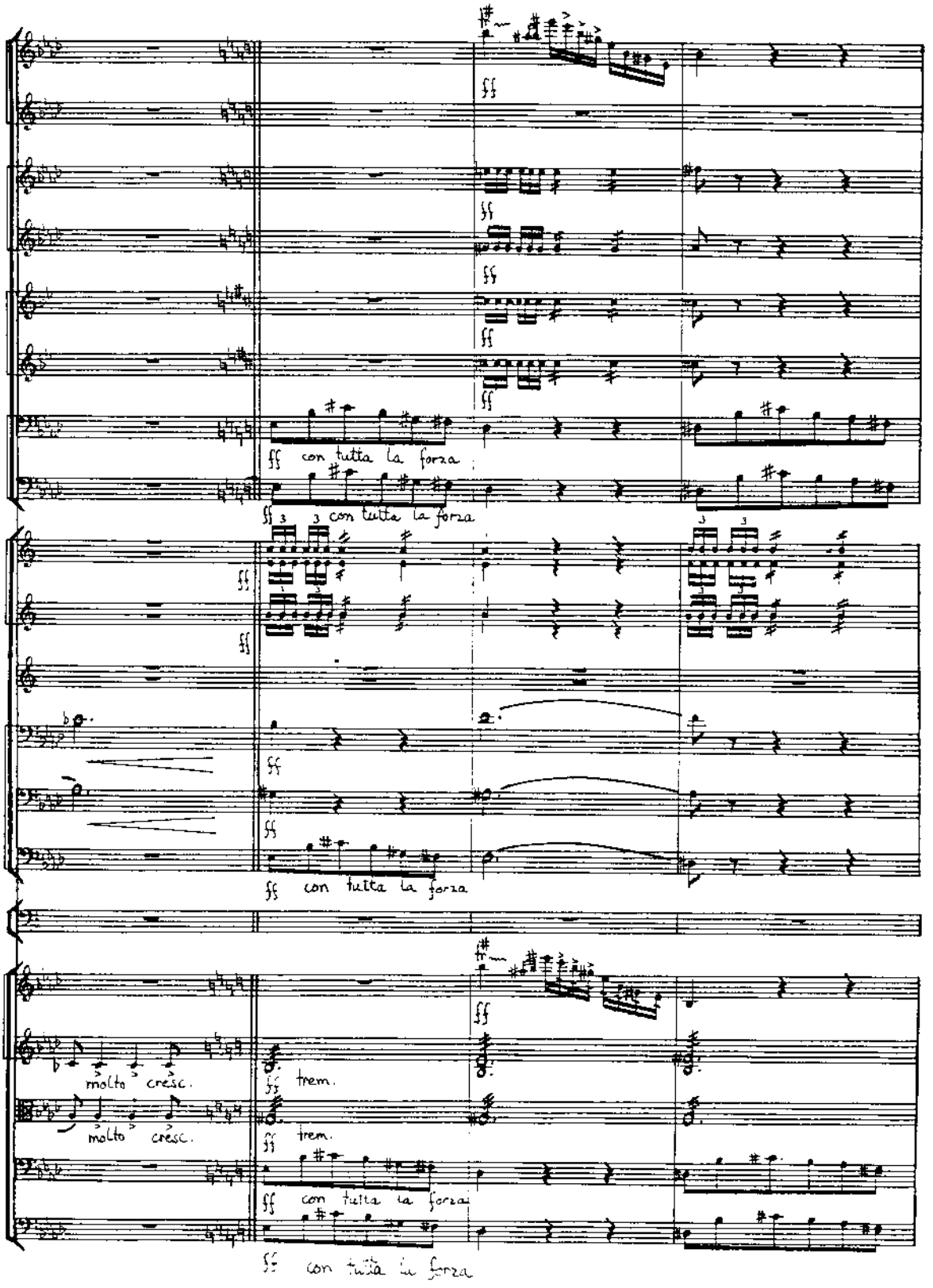
pizz.
pizz.

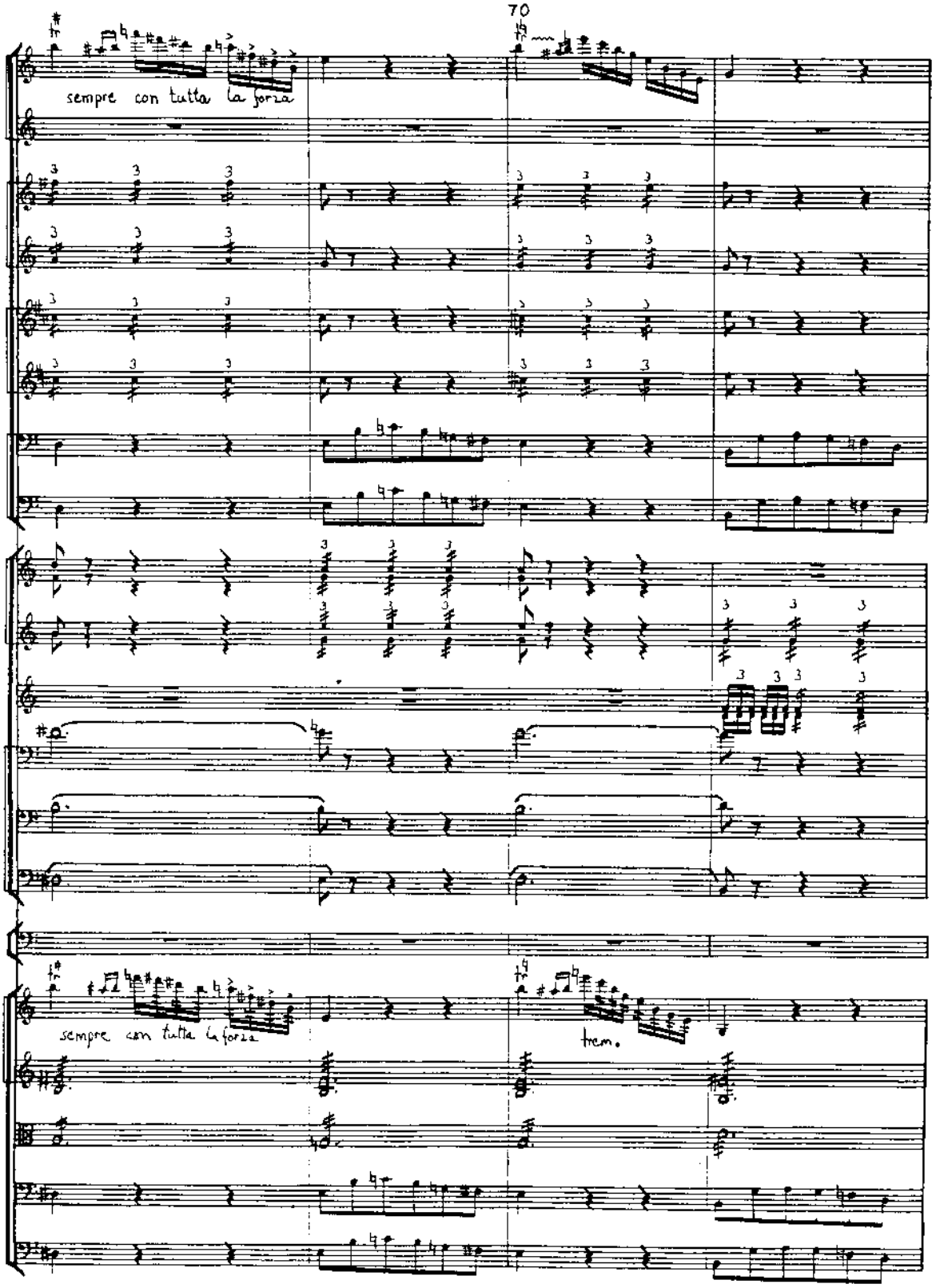

50
p espres.
espres.
espres.
espres.
p espres.
p
p
p
espres.
espres.

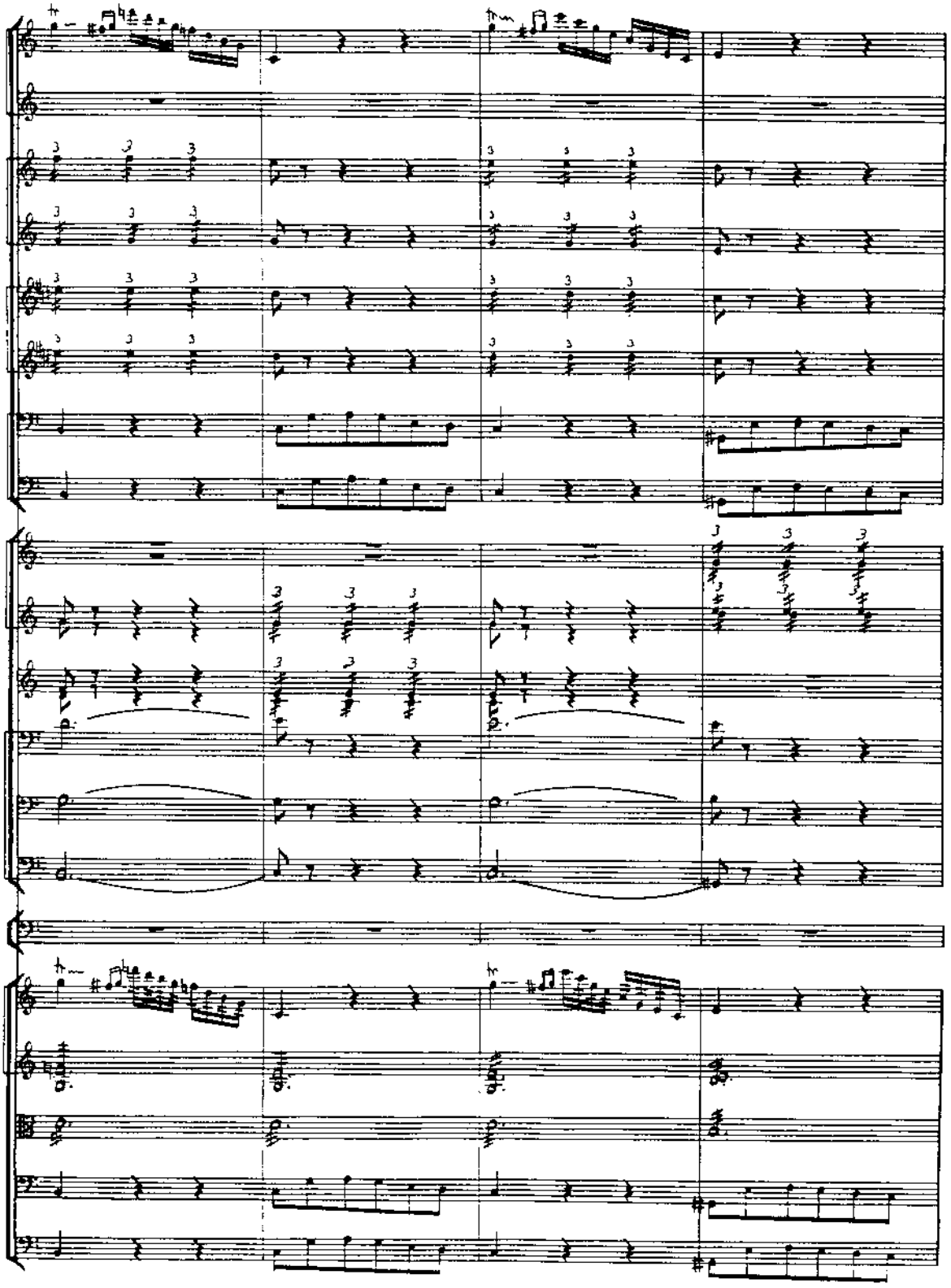

p
espres.
arco
arco sf p
arco sf p
sf
arco p
sf
arco p sf
tr

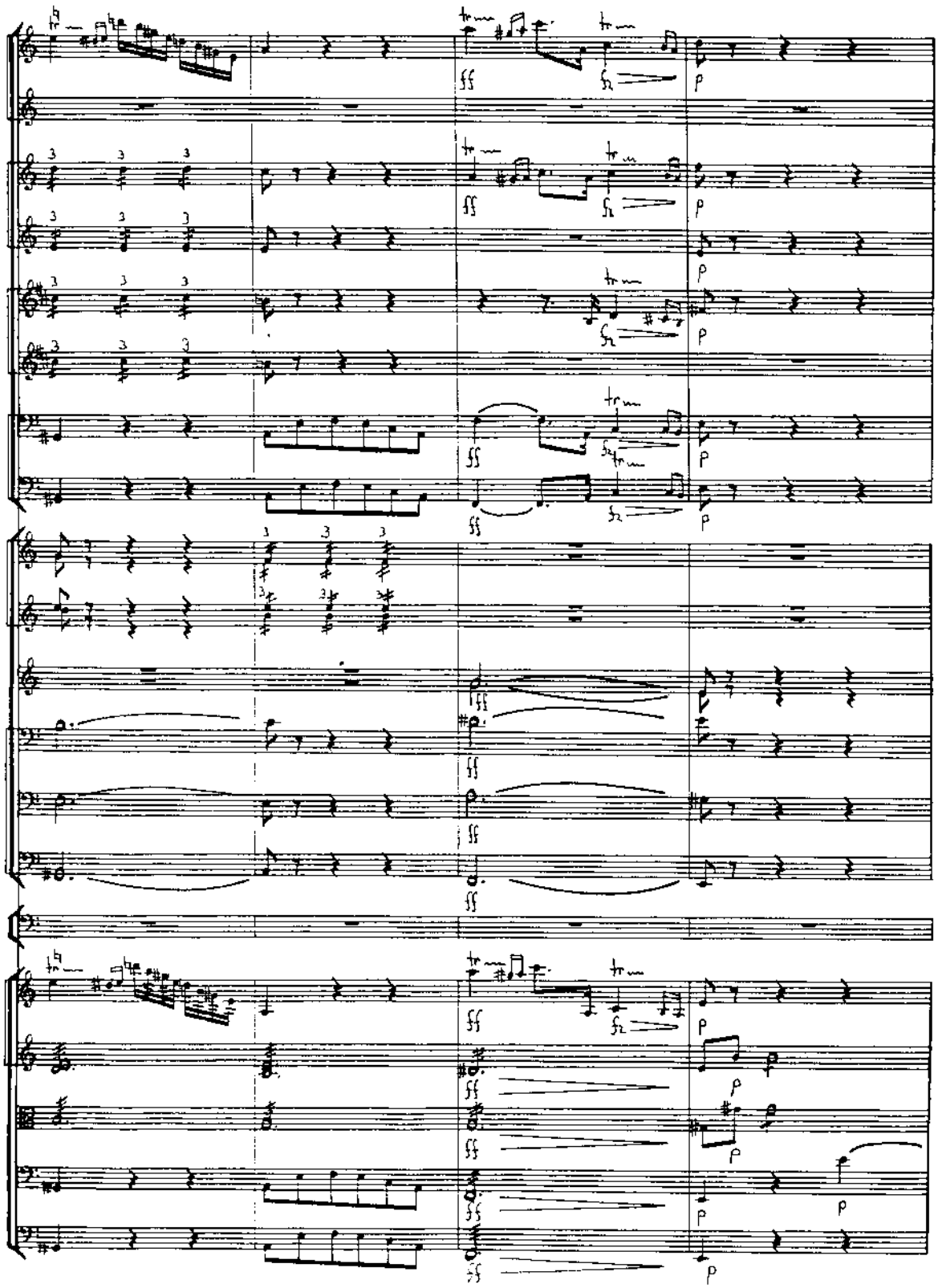

poco rall.
poco rall.
poco rall.
poco rall.
poco rall.

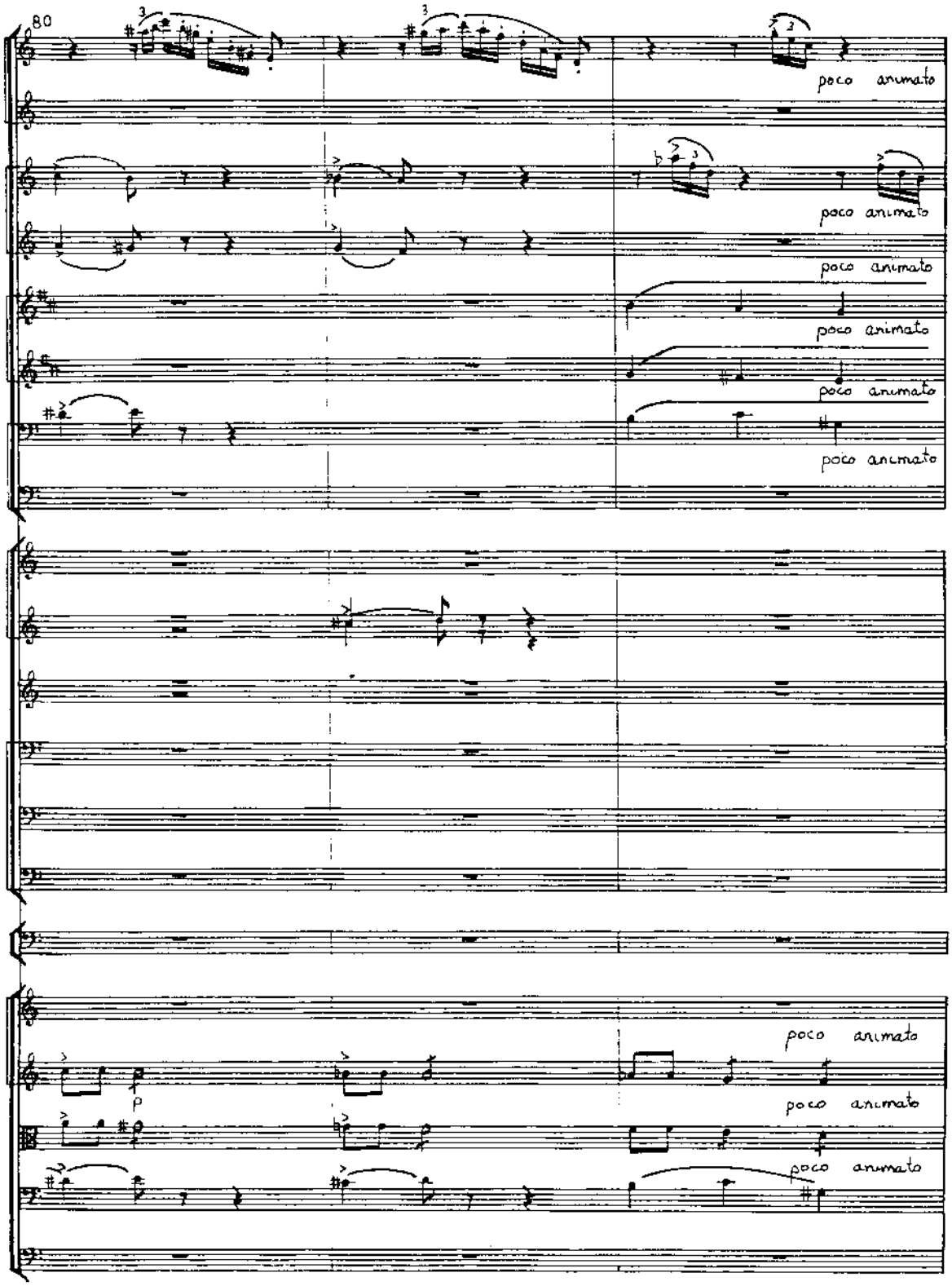

a tempo
60
p
a tempo
f
a tempo
pp
a tempo

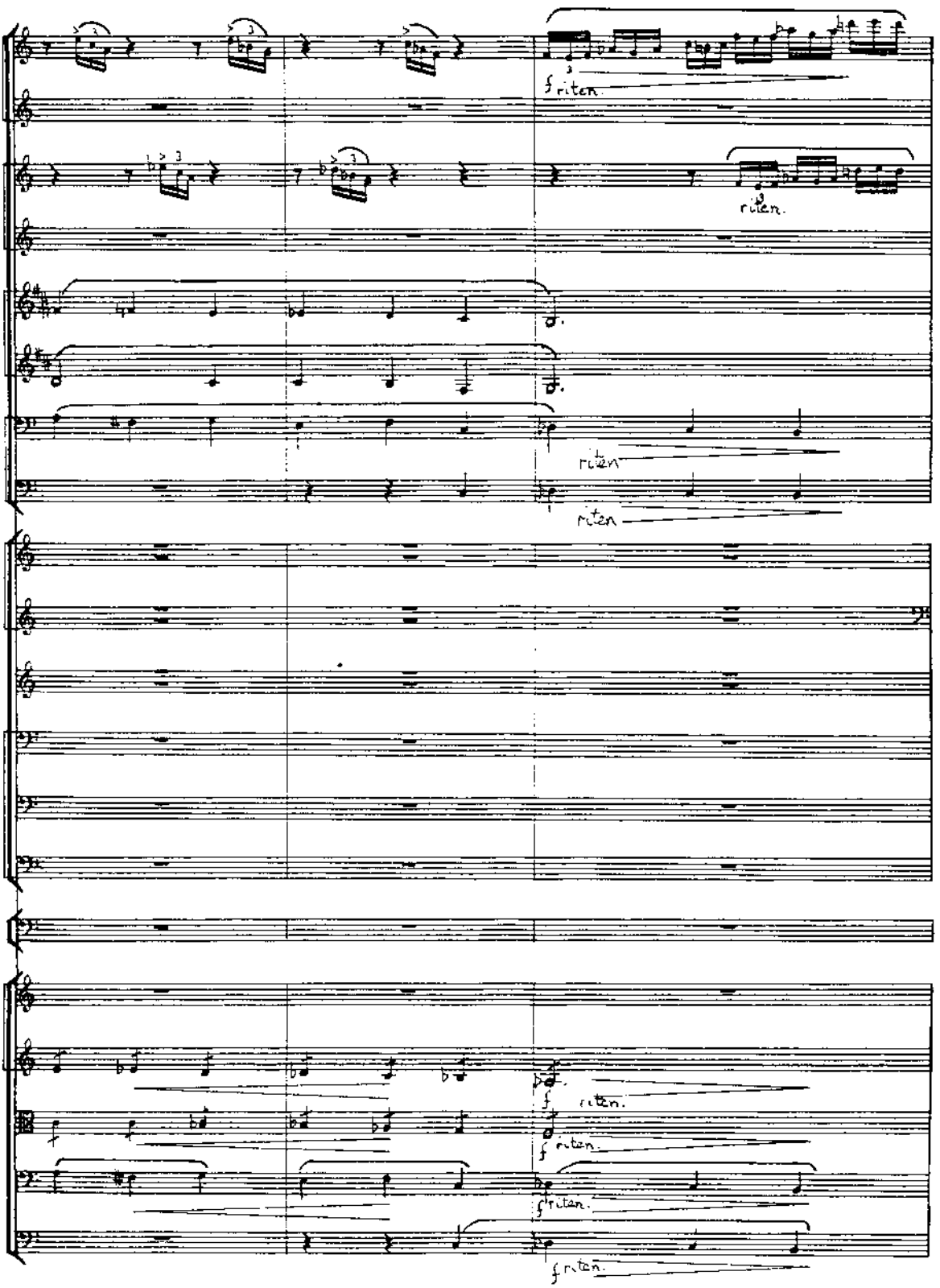

ff con tutta la forza
ff 3 3 con tutta la forza
ff con tutta la forza
molto cresc.
molto cresc.
ff trem.
ff trem.
ff con tutta la forza
ff con tutta la forza

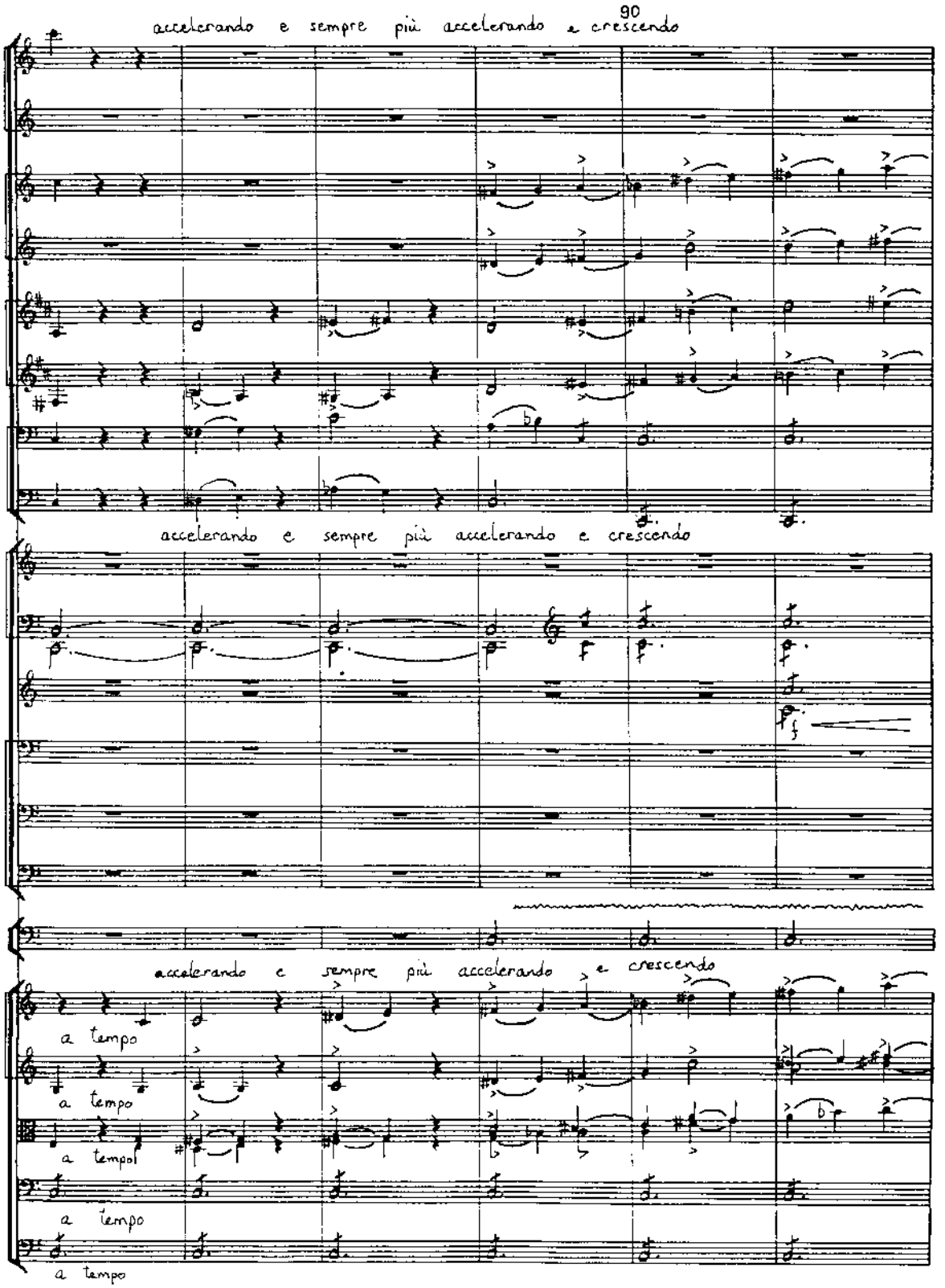

70
sempre con tutta la forza
sempre con tutta la forza
trem.

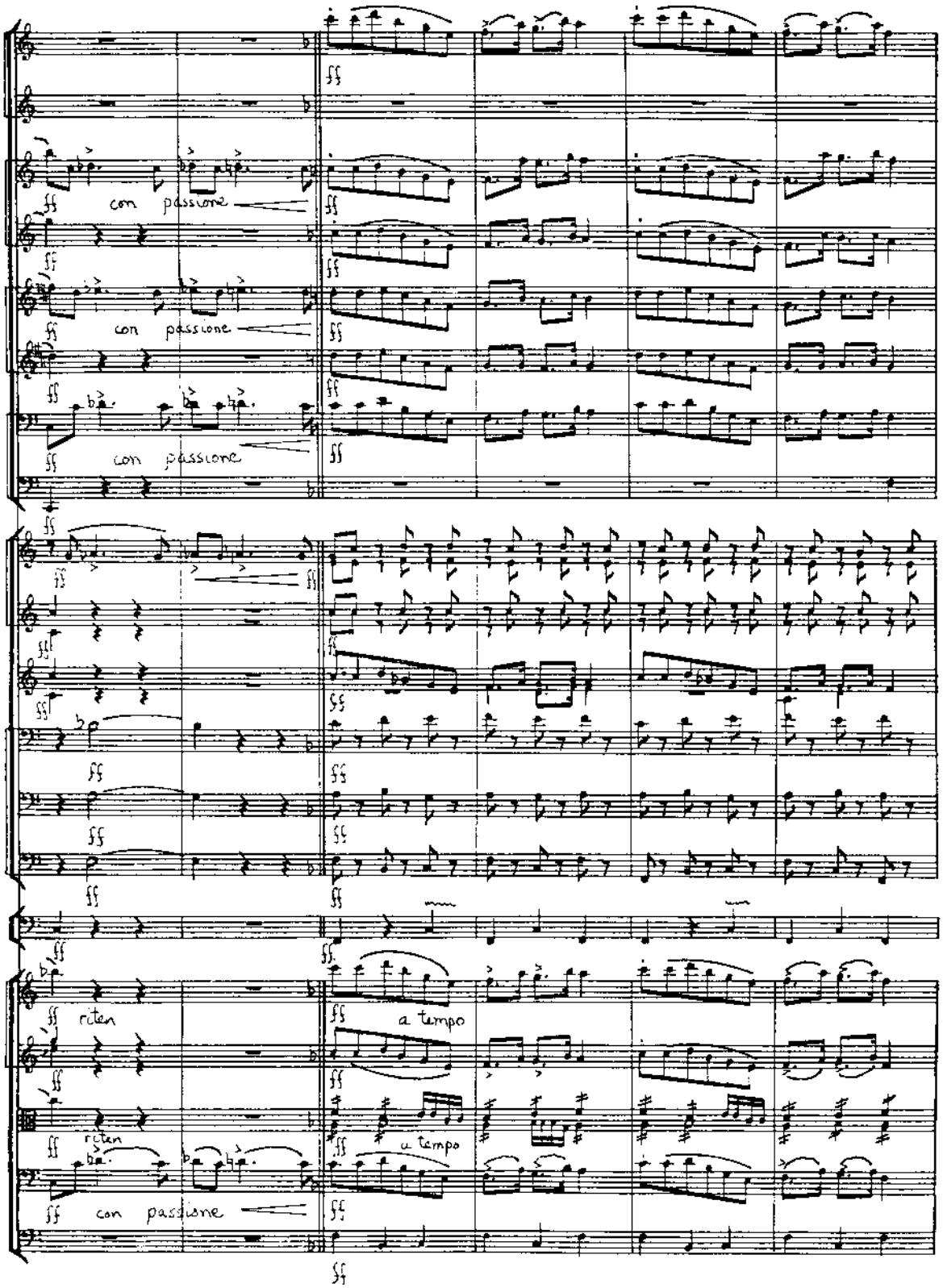


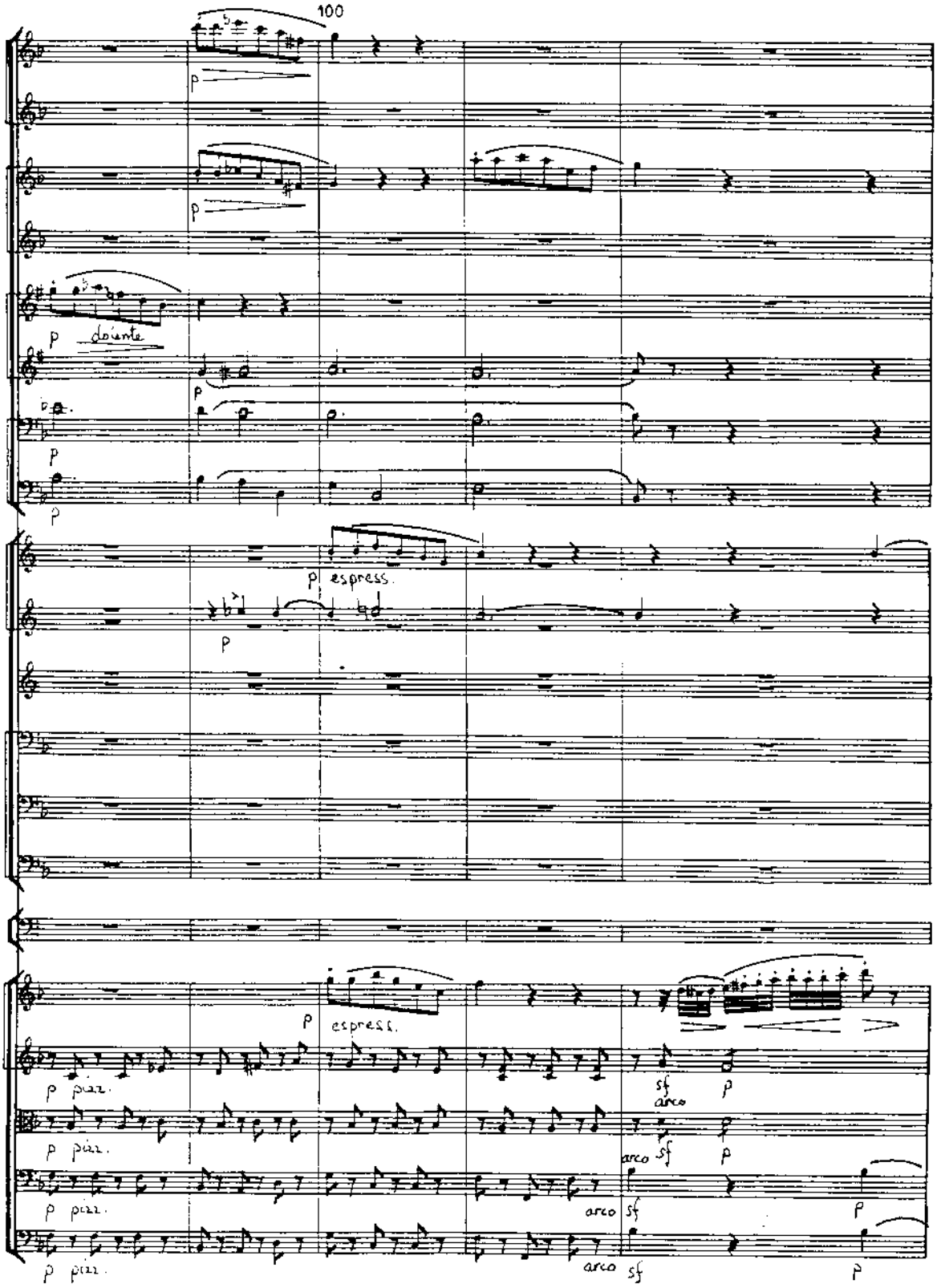


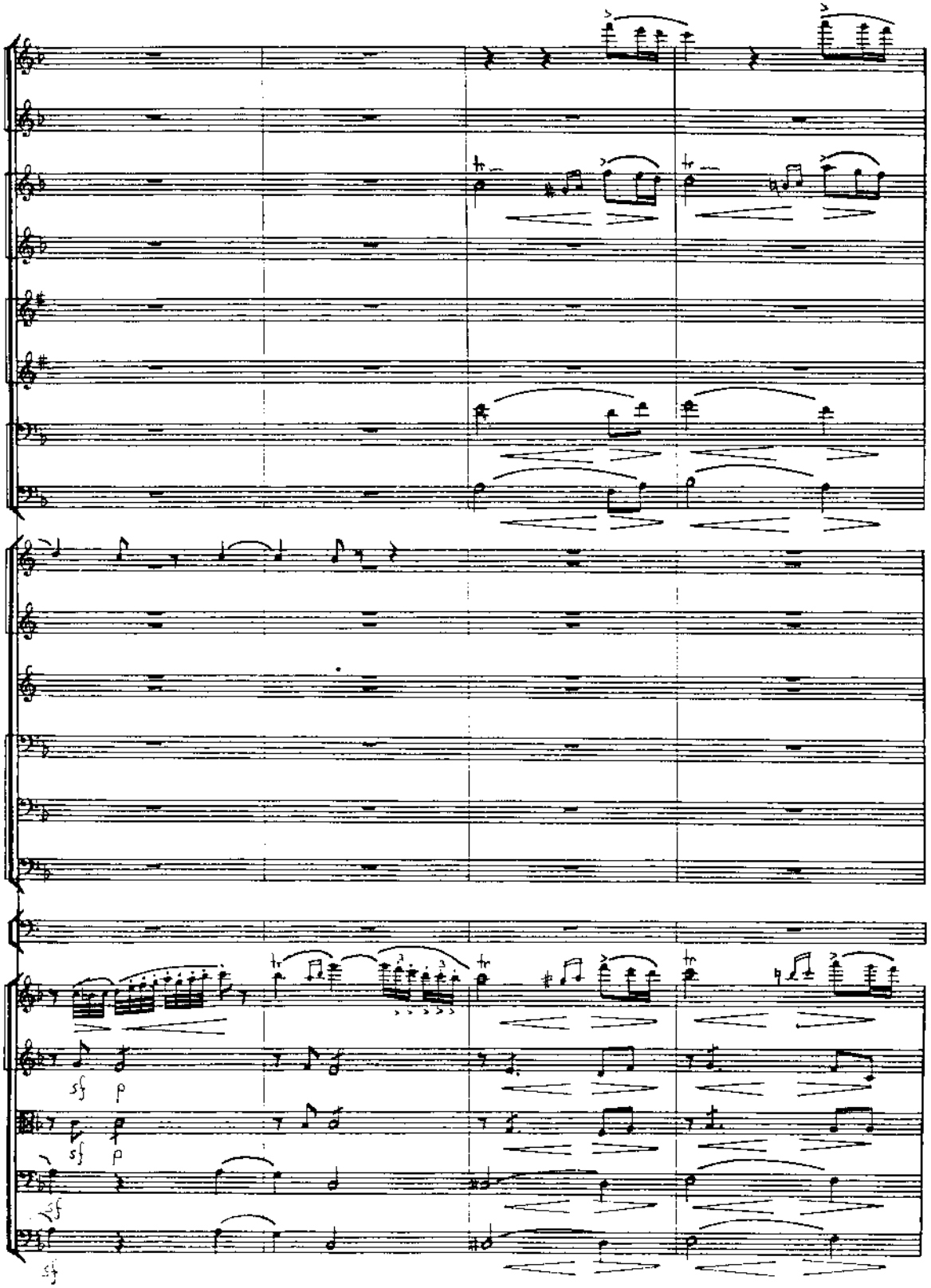

80
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
poco animato
p

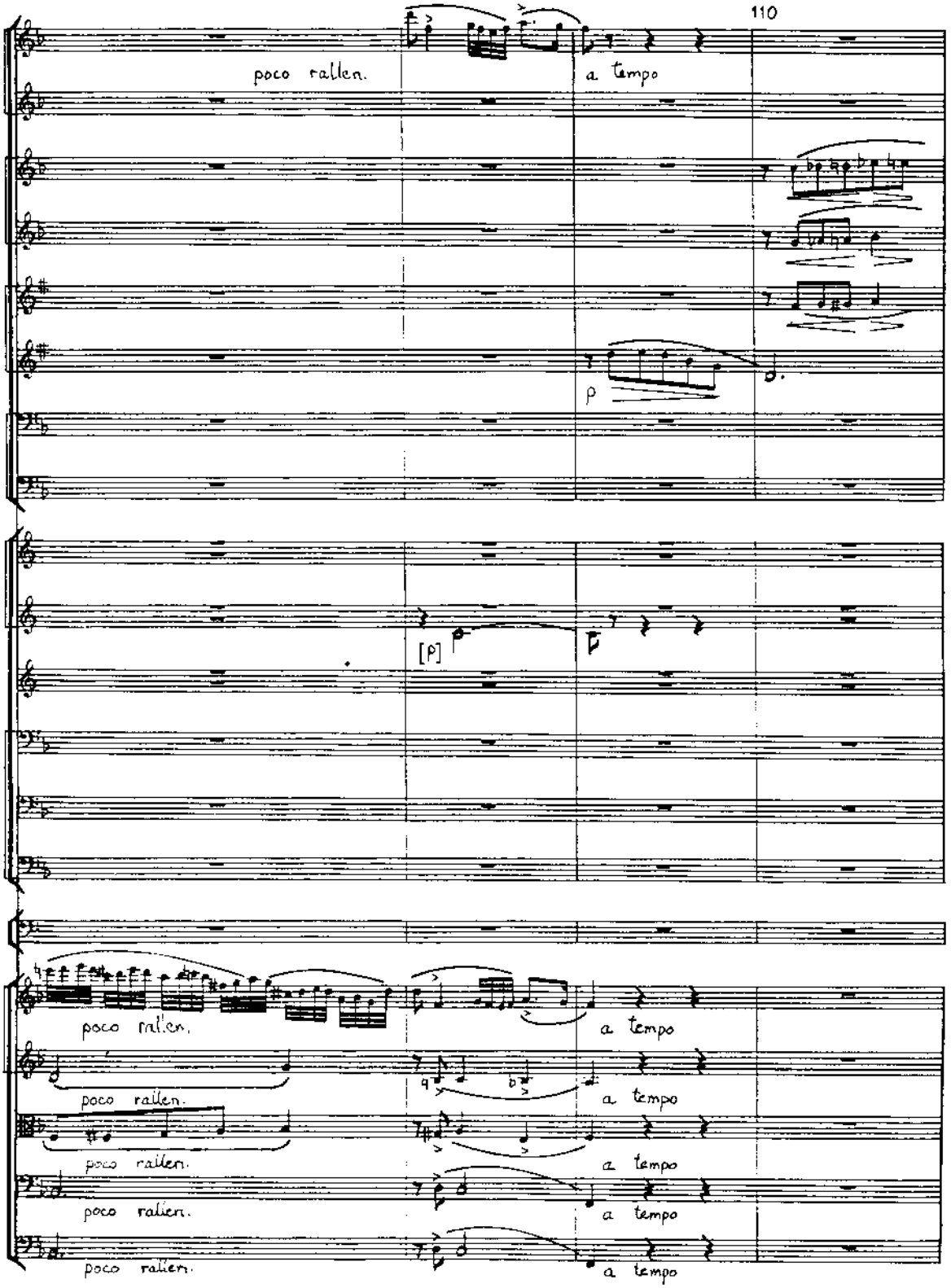

f riten.
riten.
riten.
riten.
f riten.
f riten.
f riten.
f riten.

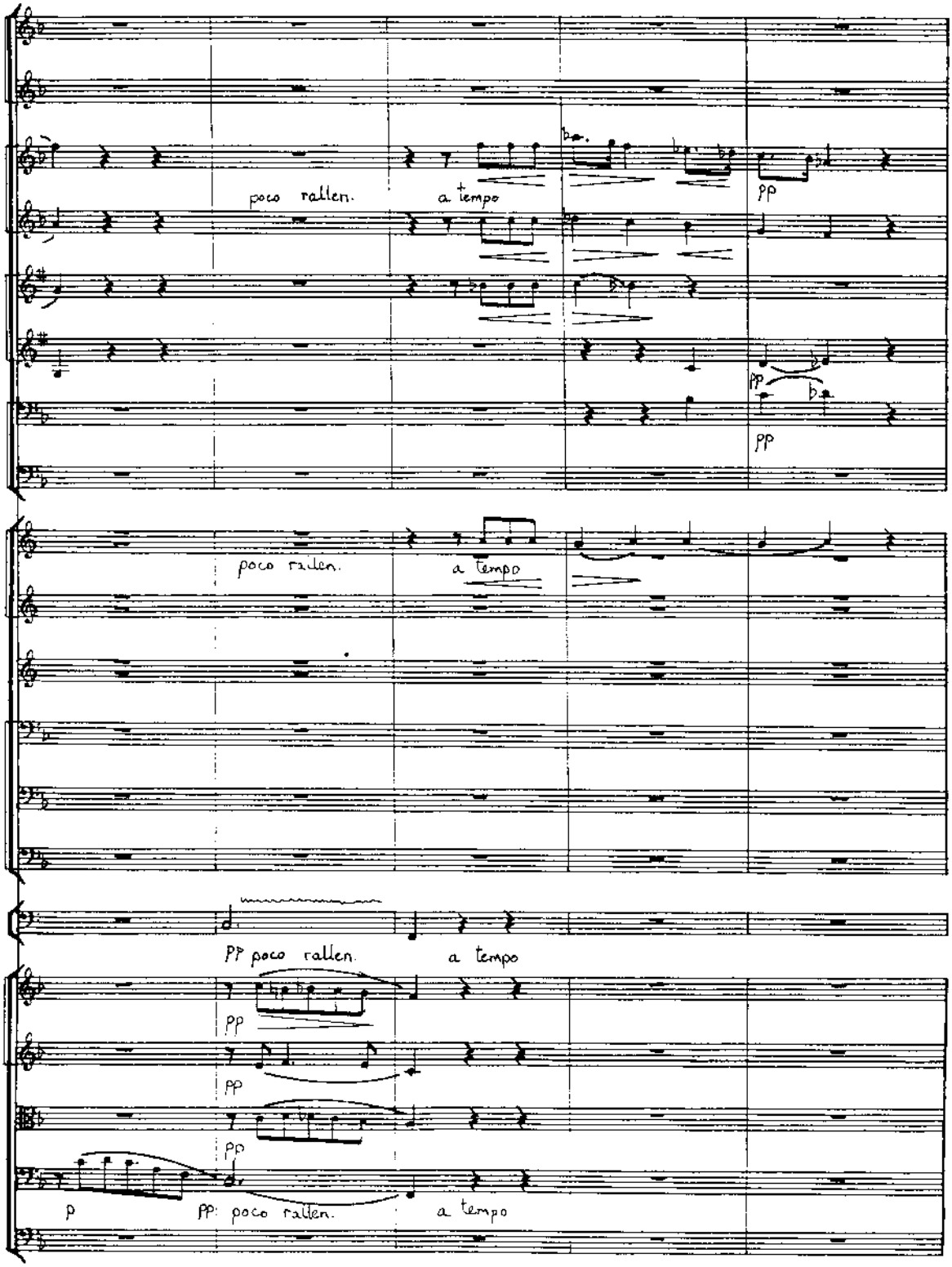

90
accelerando e sempre più accelerando e crescendo
accelerando e sempre più accelerando e crescendo
accelerando e sempre più accelerando e crescendo
a tempo
a tempo
a tempo
a tempo
a tempo

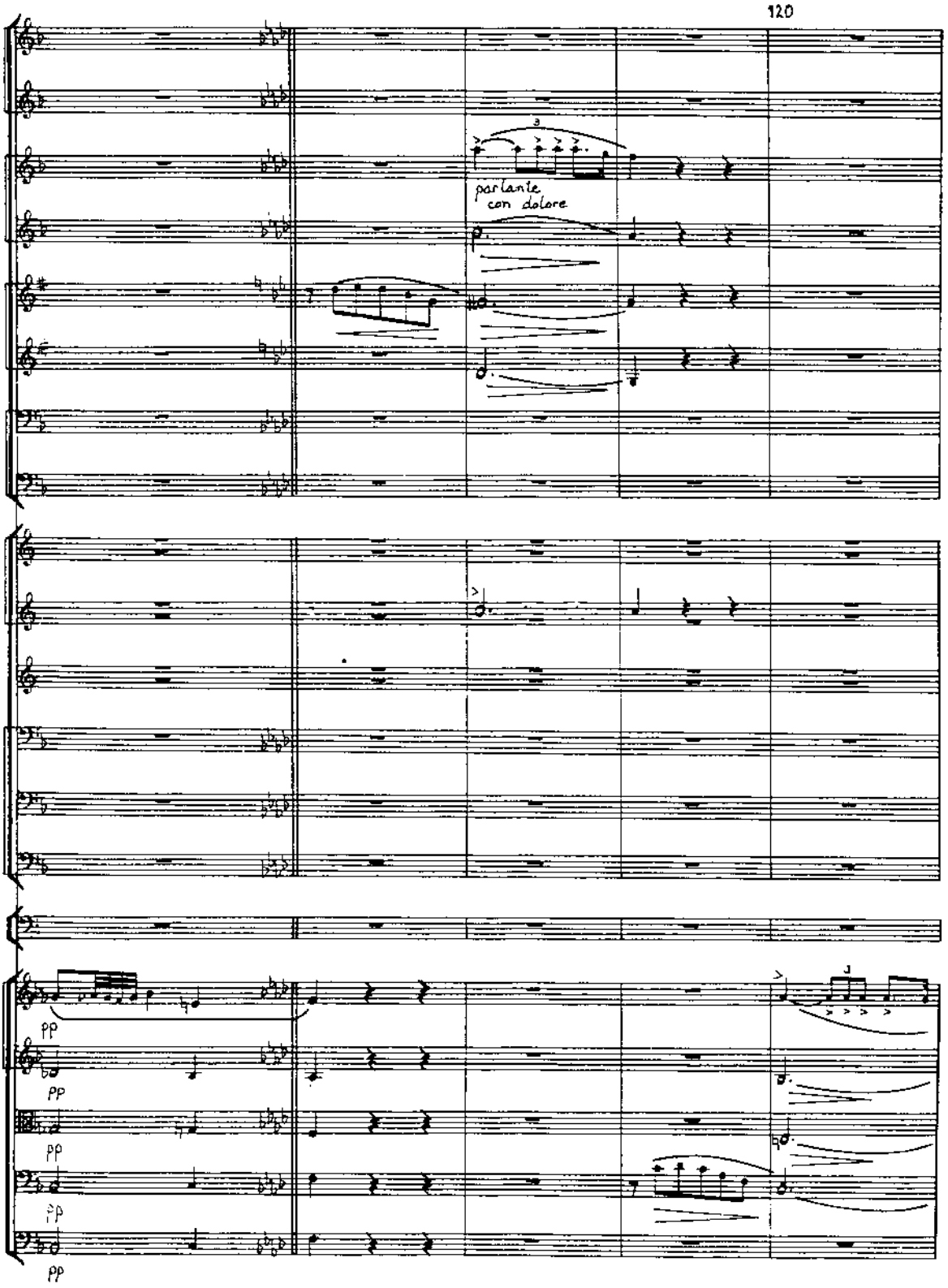

con passione
con passione
con passione
riten
riten
con passione
a tempo
a tempo

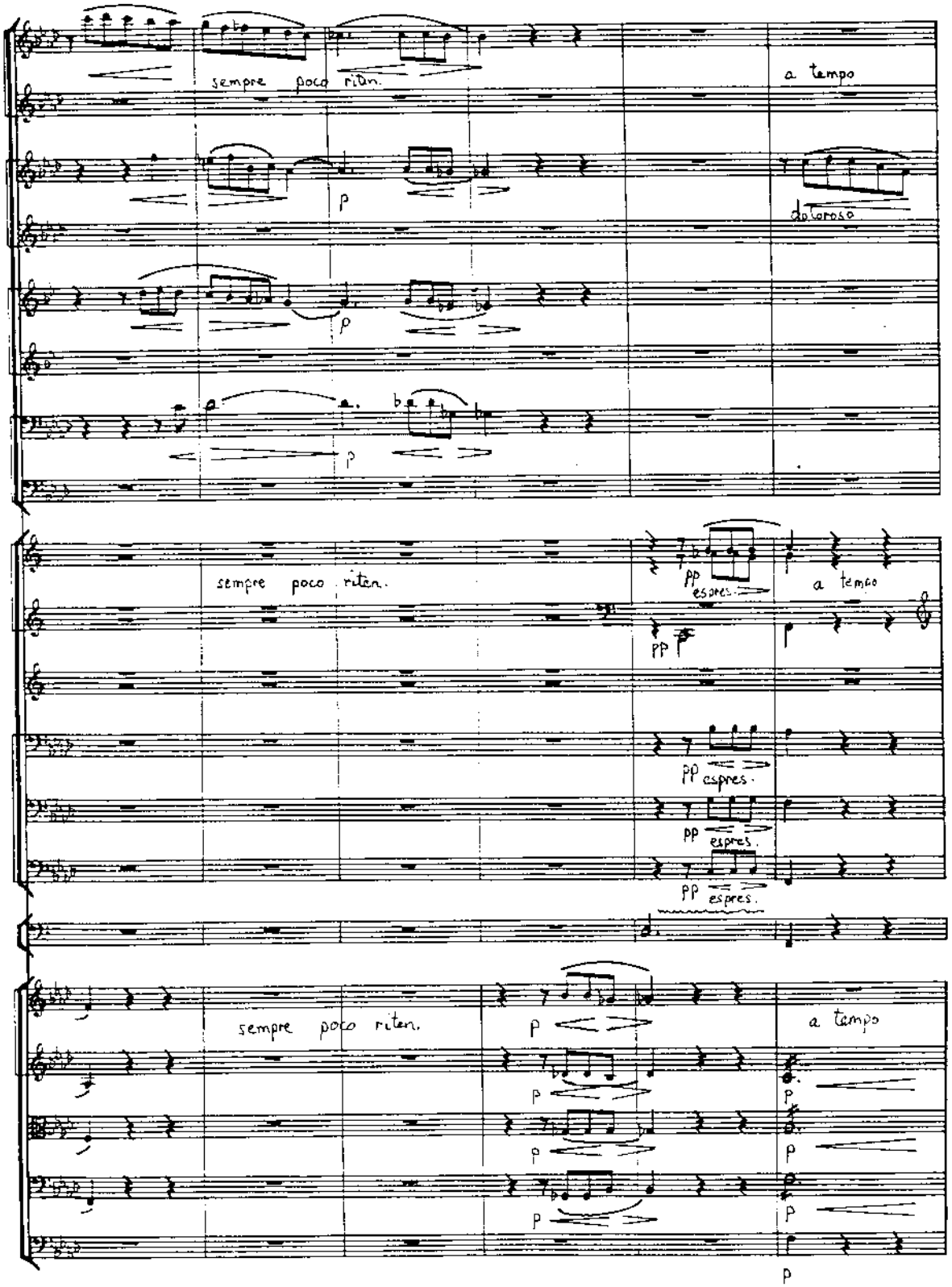

100
p
p
p dolente
p
p
p
p espress.
p
p espress.
p pizz.
p pizz.
p pizz.
p pizz.
sf
arco
p
arco
sf
p
arco
sf
p

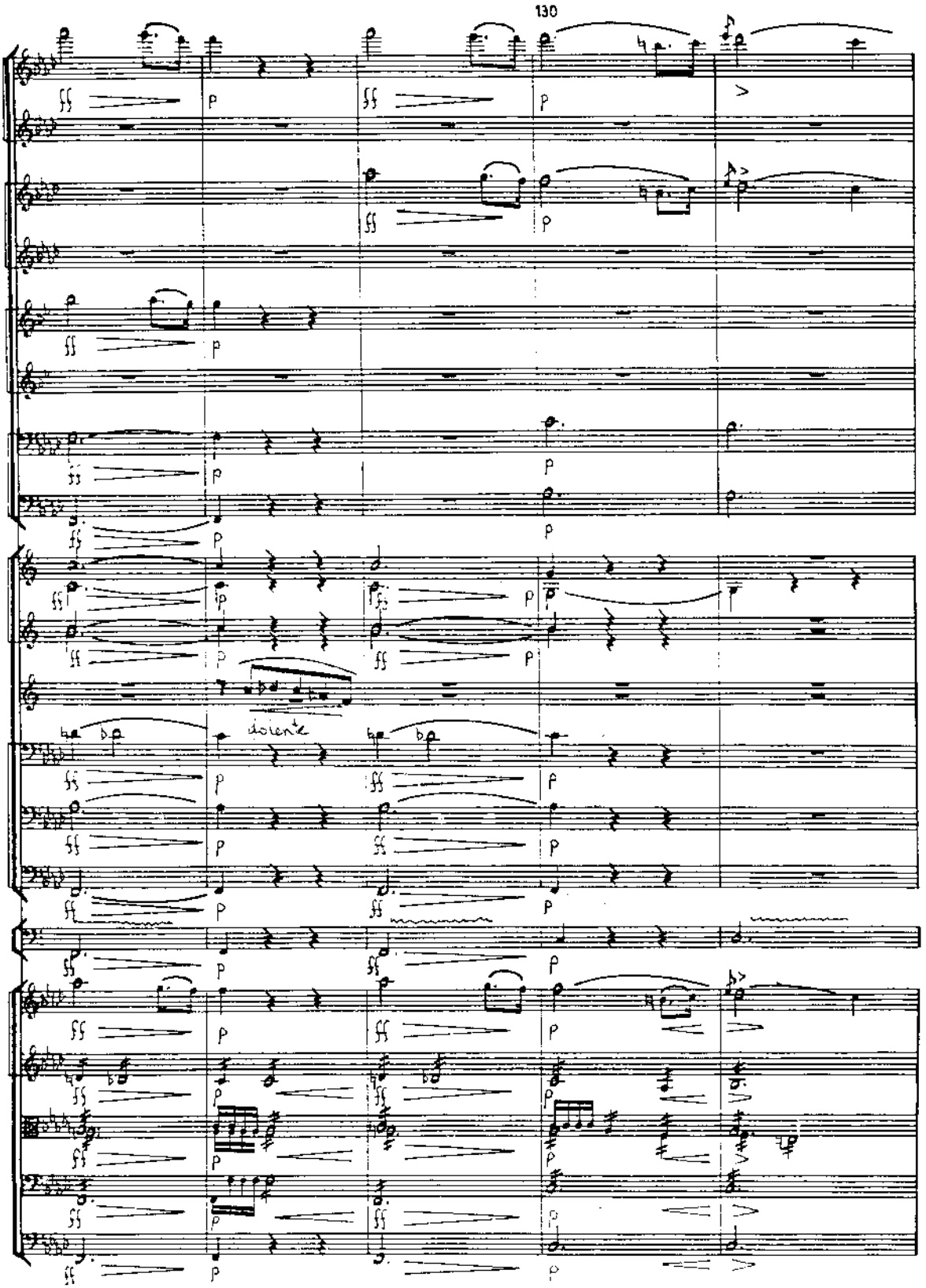

sf
p
sf
p
sf
sf

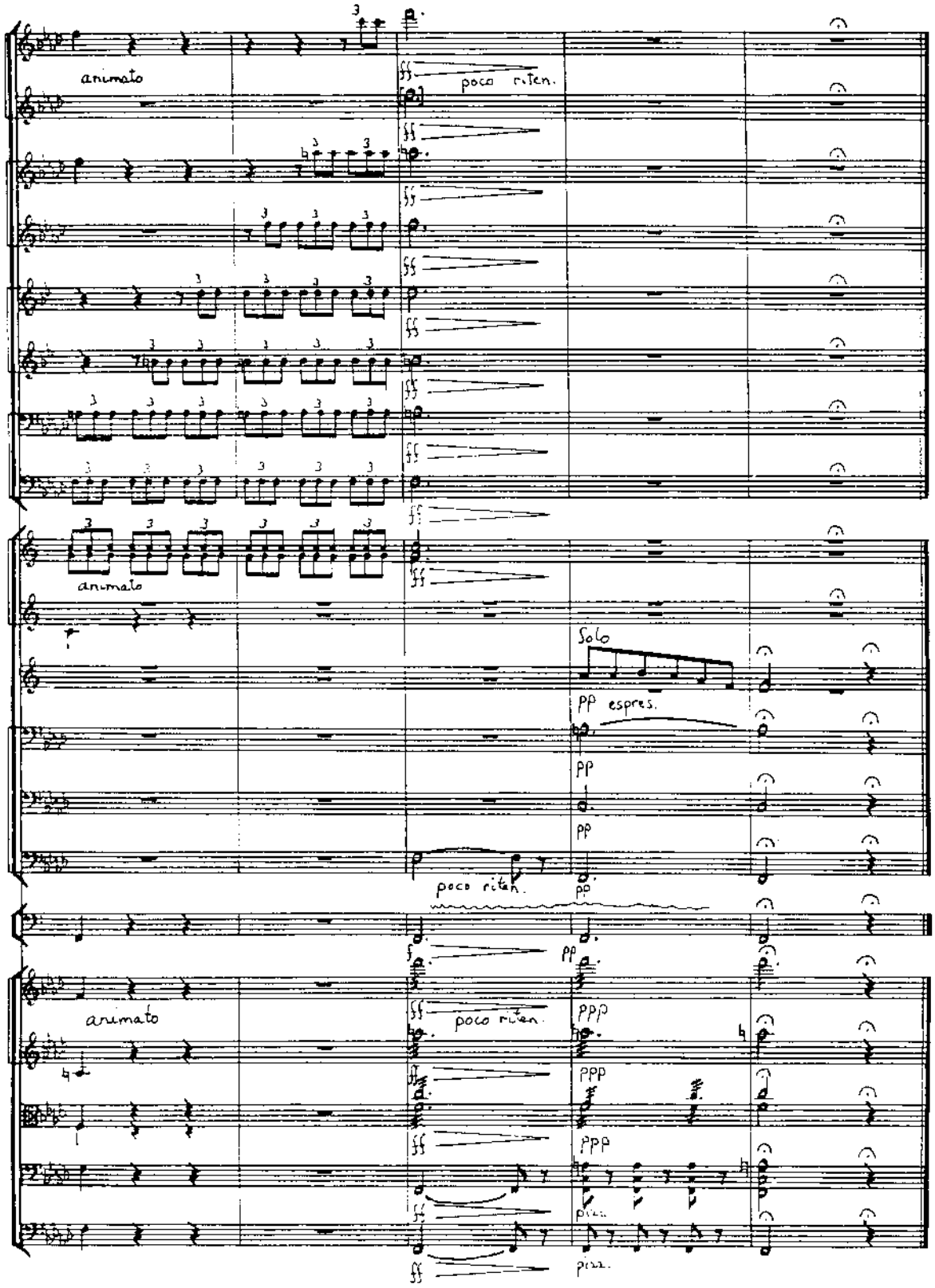

110
poco rallen.
a tempo
p
[p]
poco rallen.
a tempo
poco rallen.
a tempo
poco rallen.
a tempo
poco rallen.
a tempo
poco rallen.
a tempo


poco rallen.
a tempo
pp
pp
poco rallen.
a tempo
pp poco rallen.
a tempo
pp
pp
pp
p
pp poco rallen.
a tempo


120
parlante
con dolore
pp
pp
pp
pp
pp


sempre poco riten.
a tempo
dolcroso
p
sempre poco riten.
pp espres.
a tempo
pp
sempre poco riten.
p
a tempo

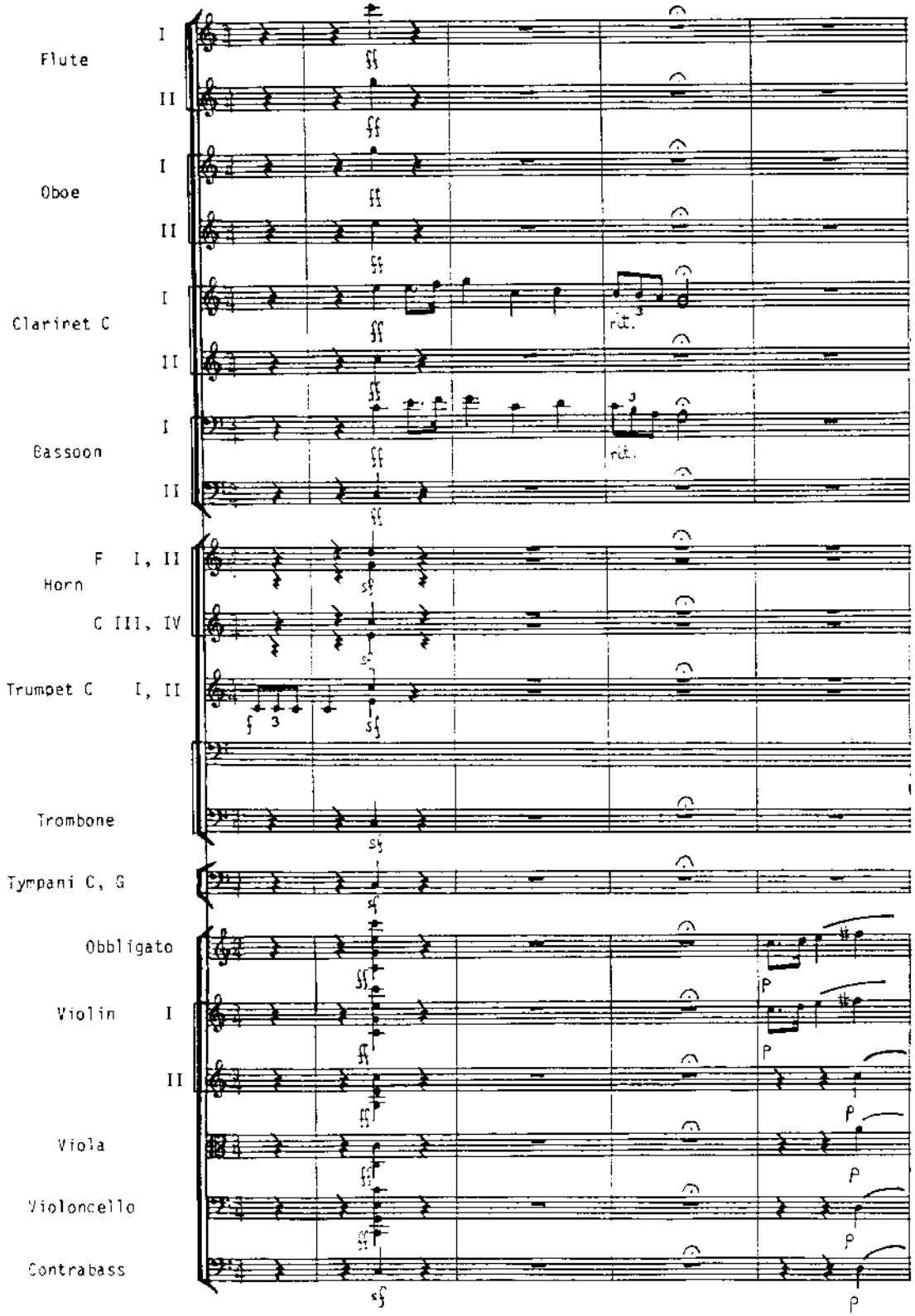

130
dolente

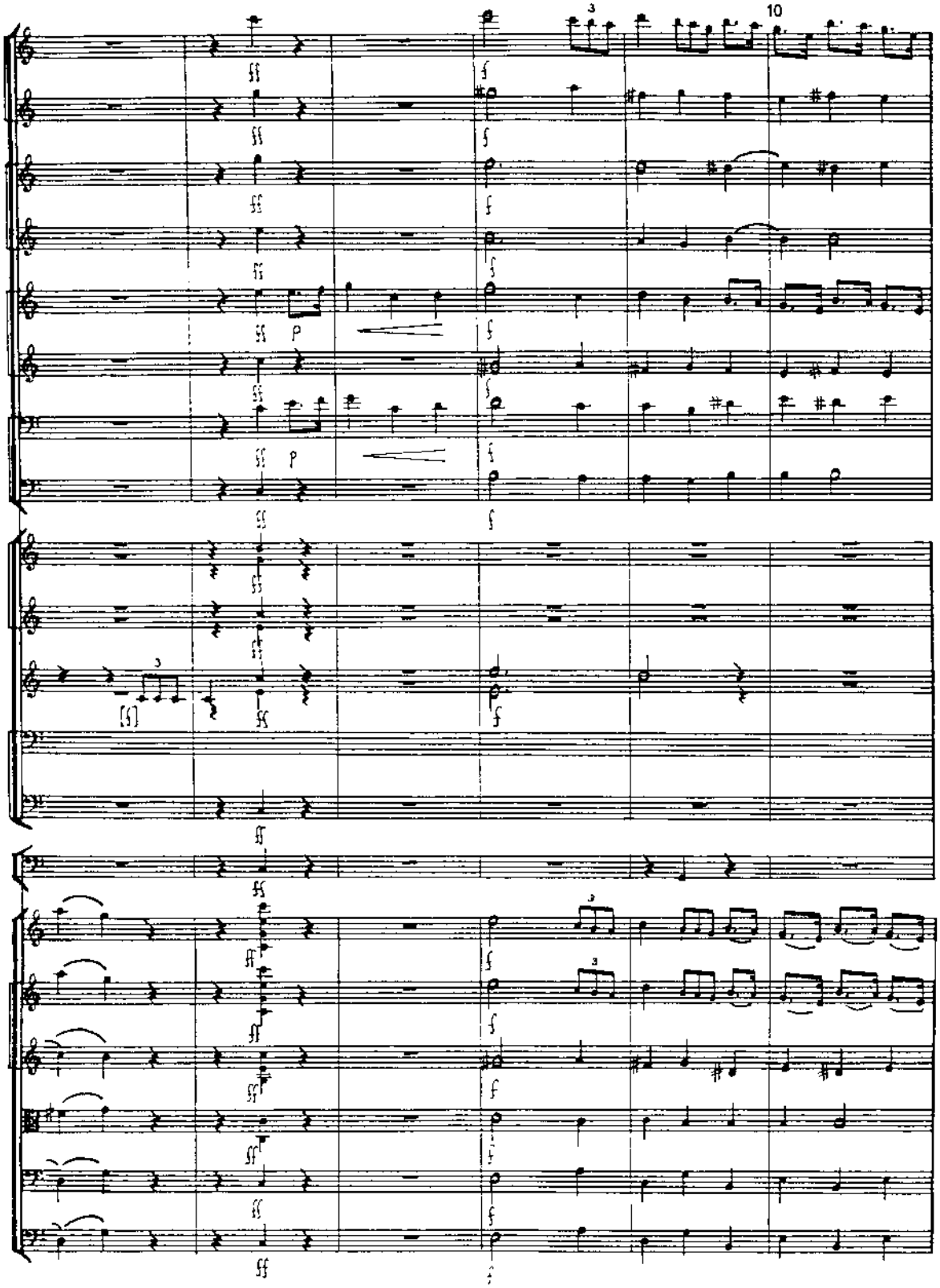

animato
poco riten.
animato
Solo
pp espres.
pp
pp
poco riten.
pp
animato
poco riten.
ppp
ppp
ppp
pizz.
pizz.

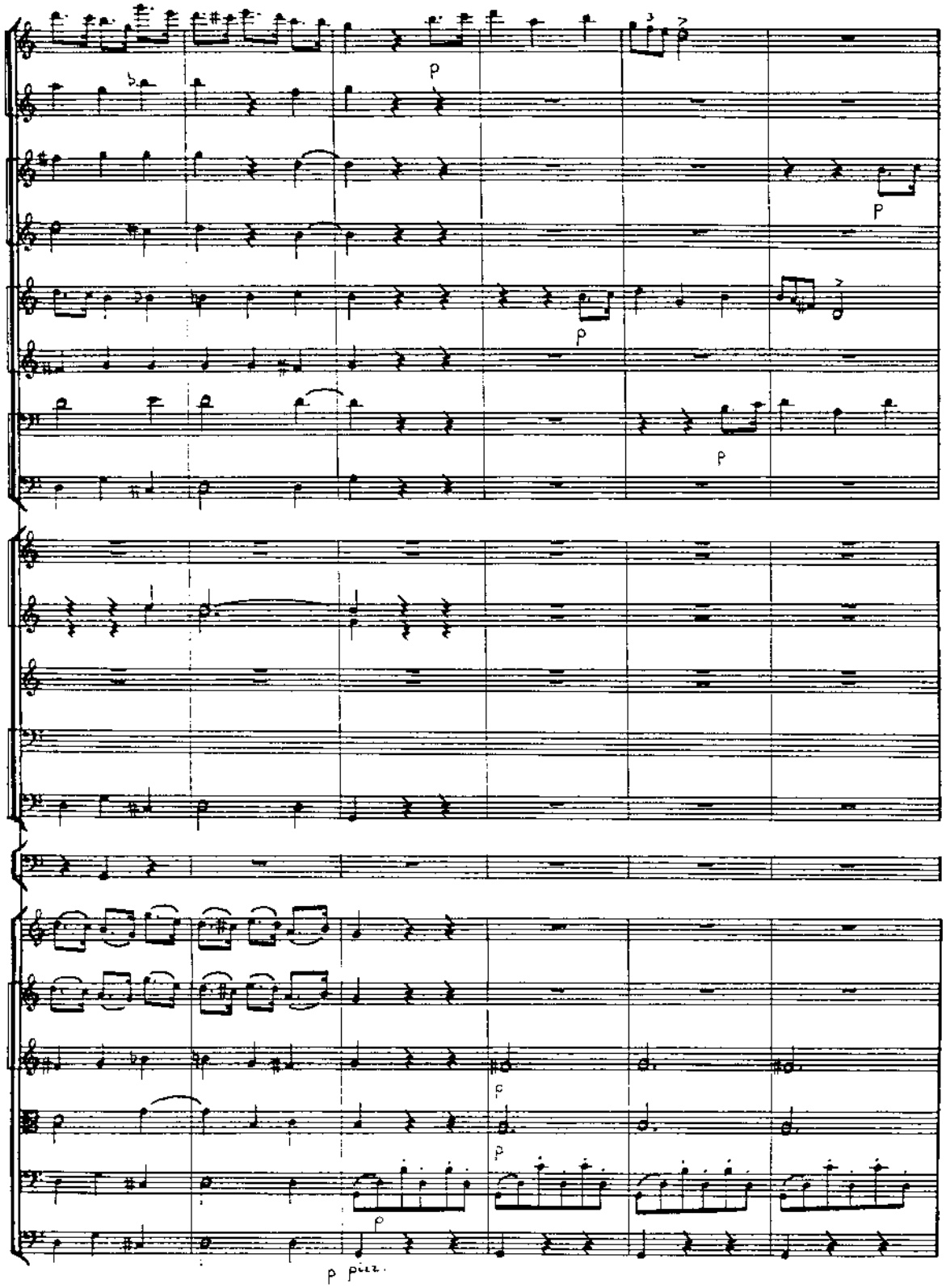
III

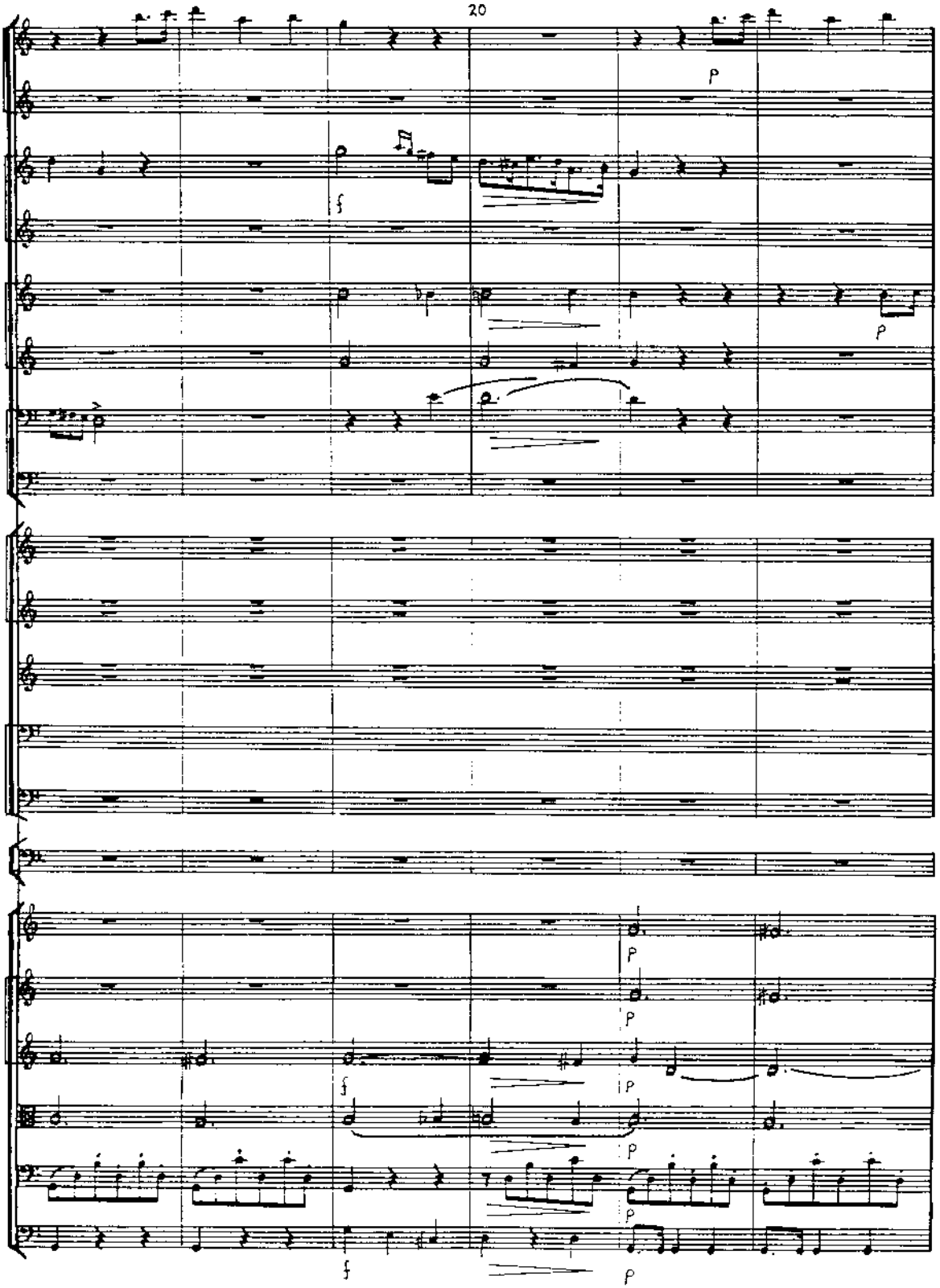
Minuetto alla Mazovienna

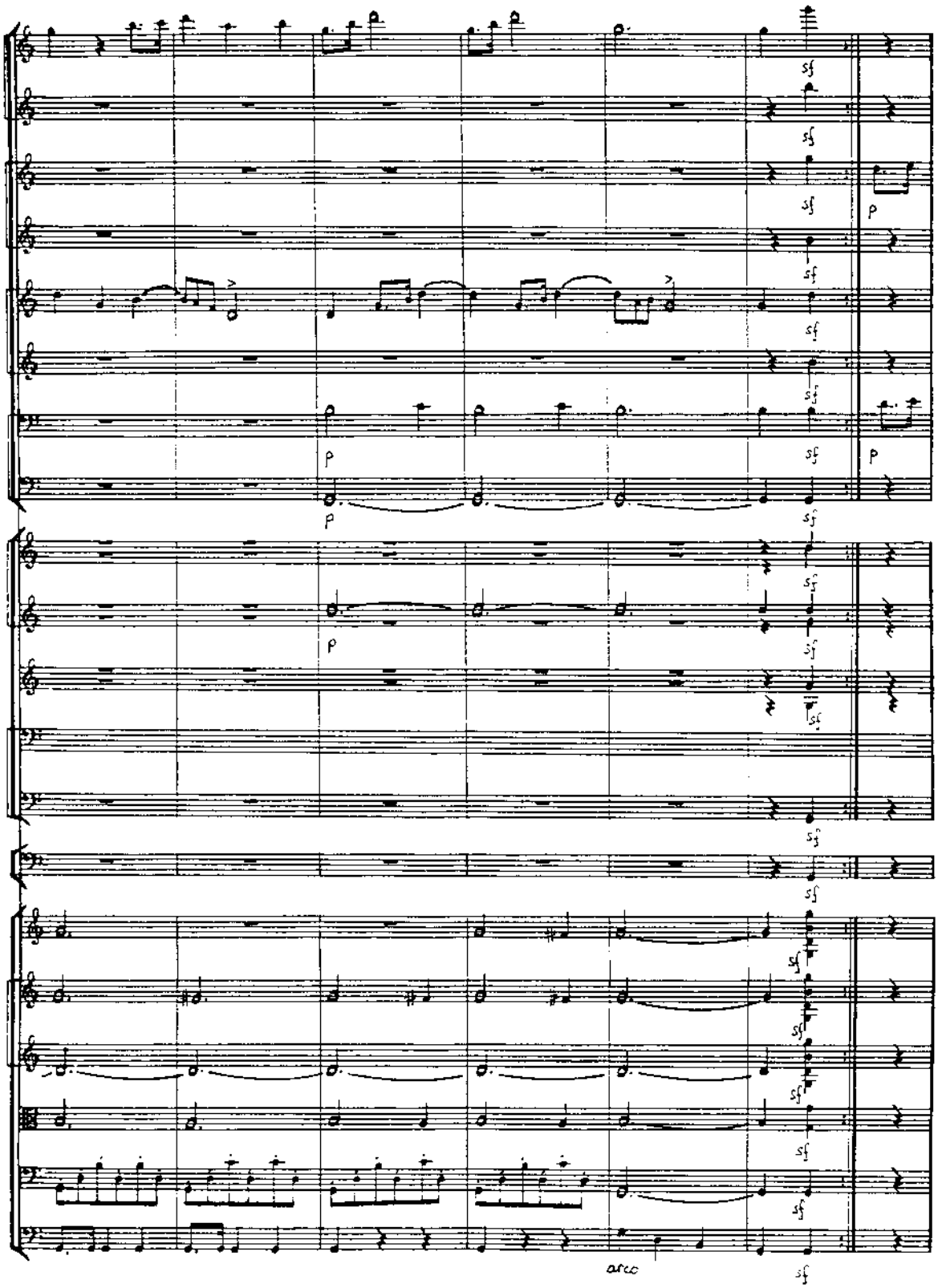
Allegro ma non troppo

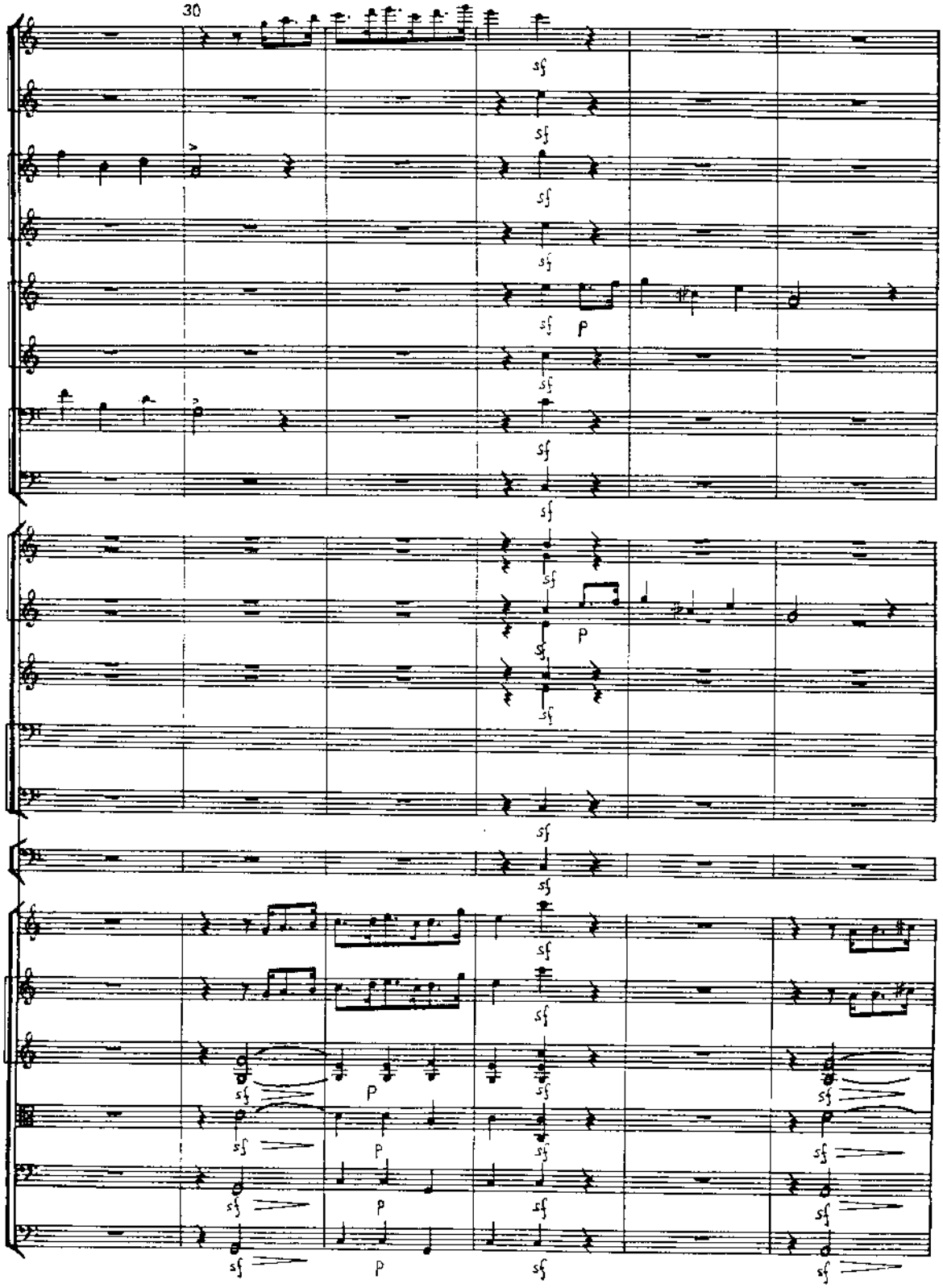


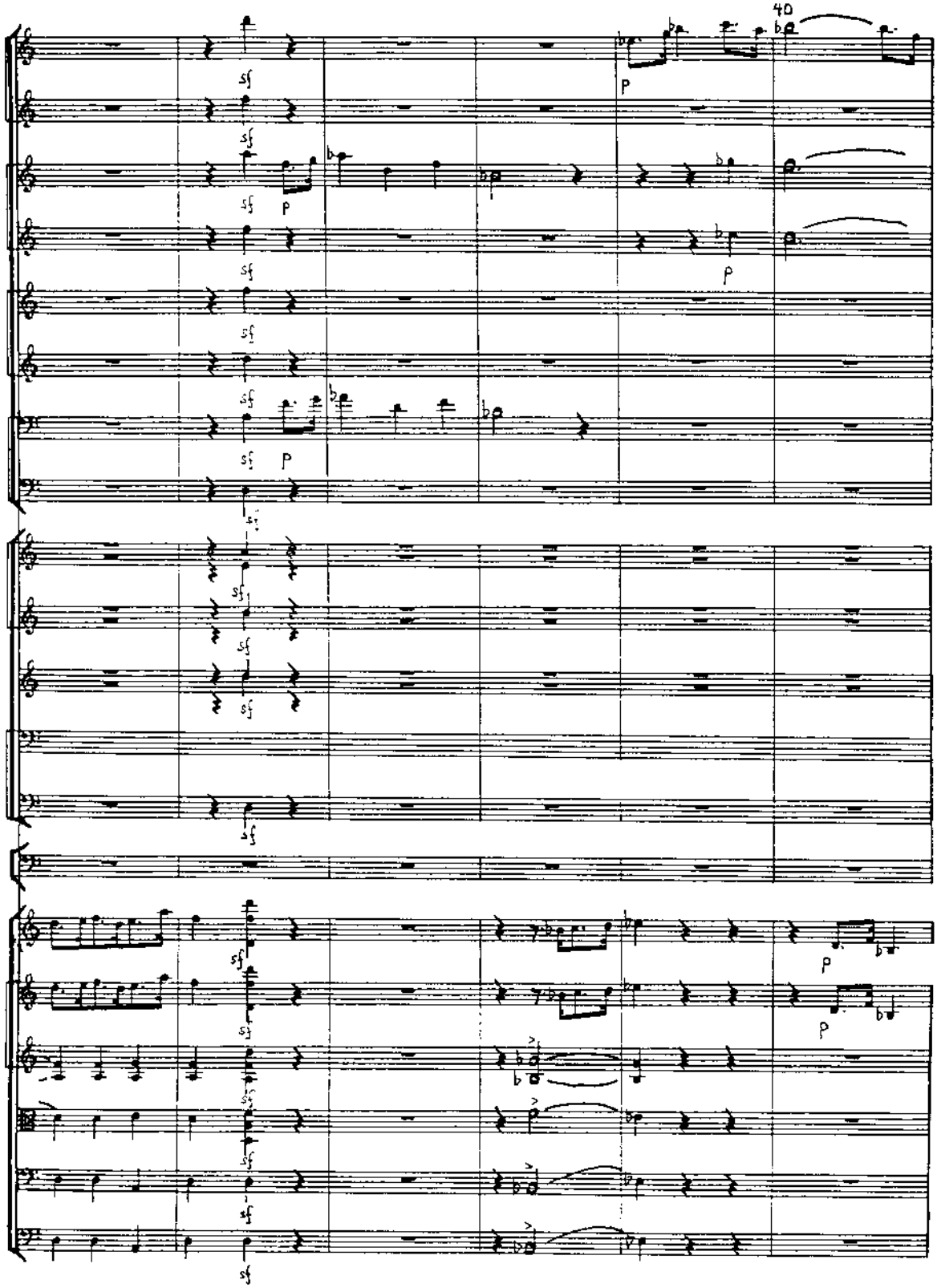

10
P
P

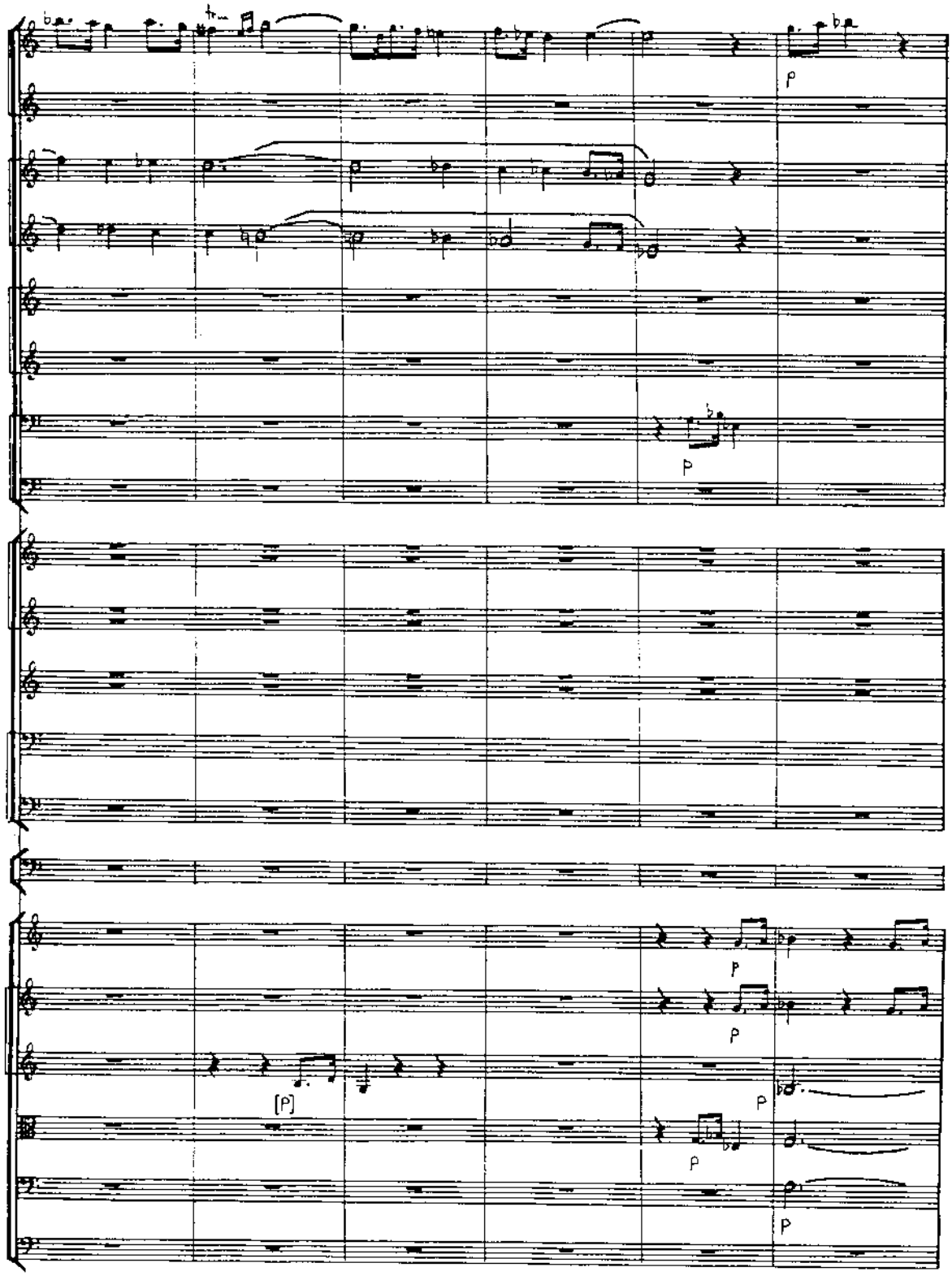

p
p
p
p
p
p
p
p
p pizz.

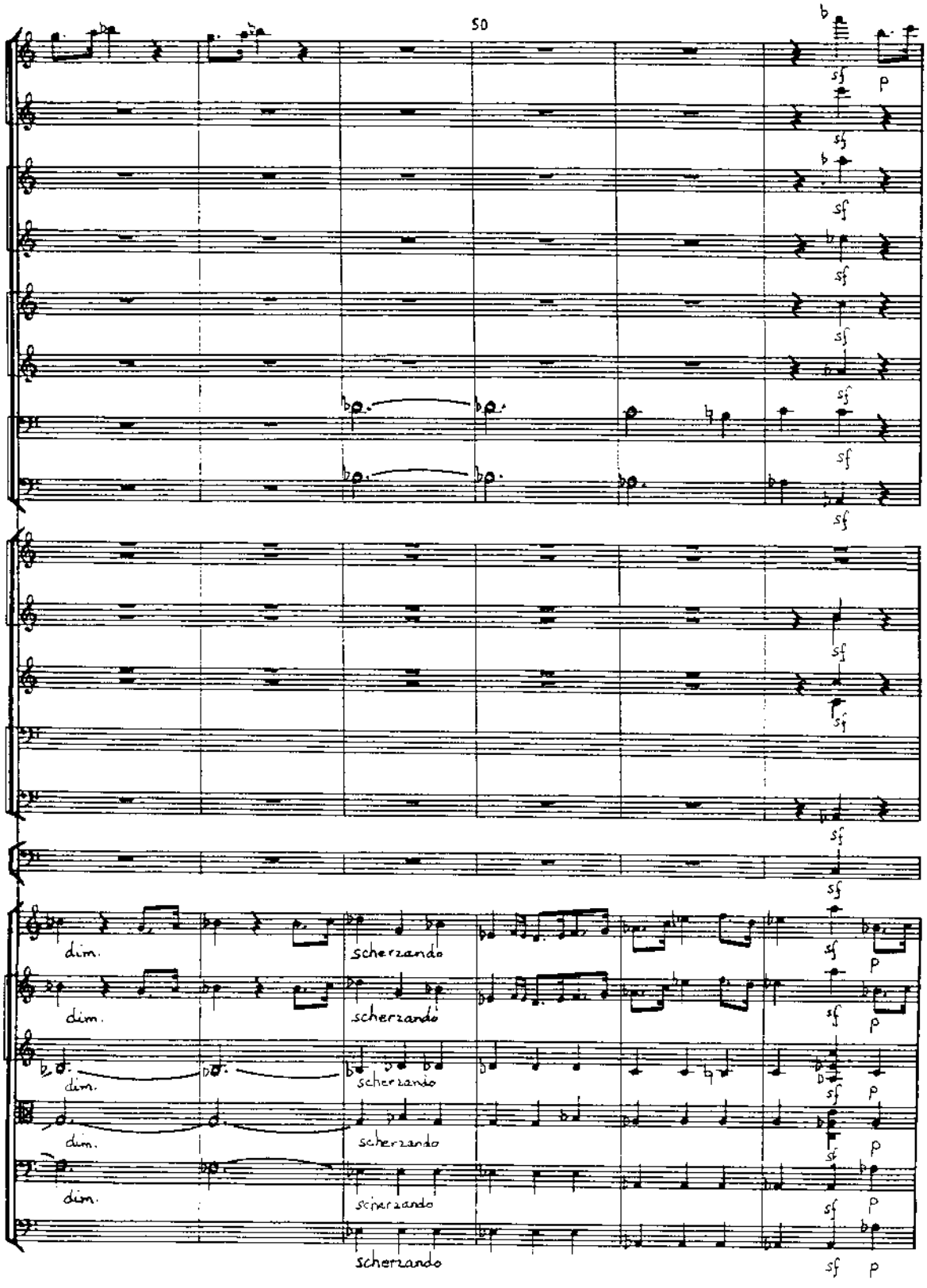

20
p
f
p
p
p
p
p
f
p

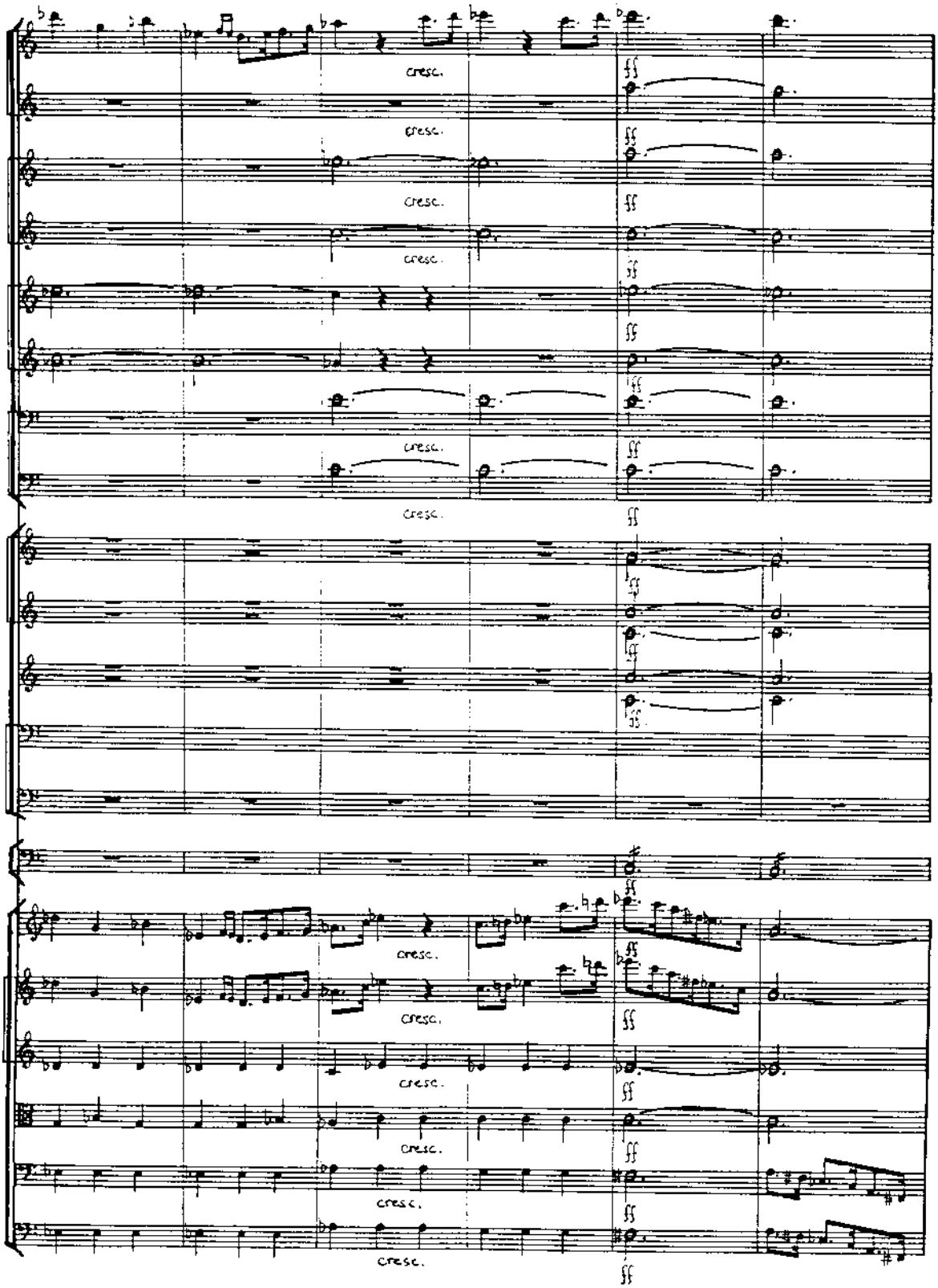

sf
p
arco

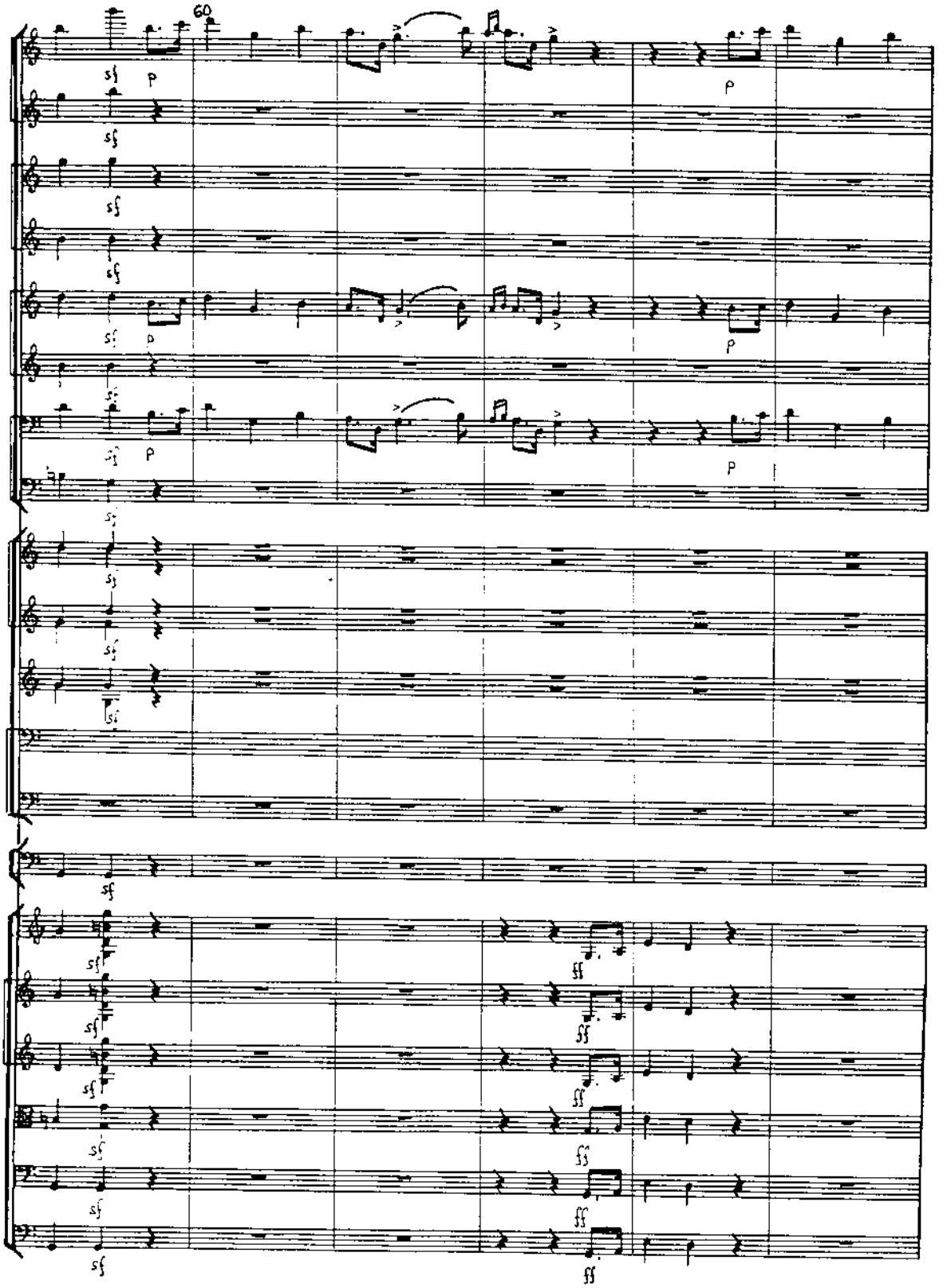

30
sf
P

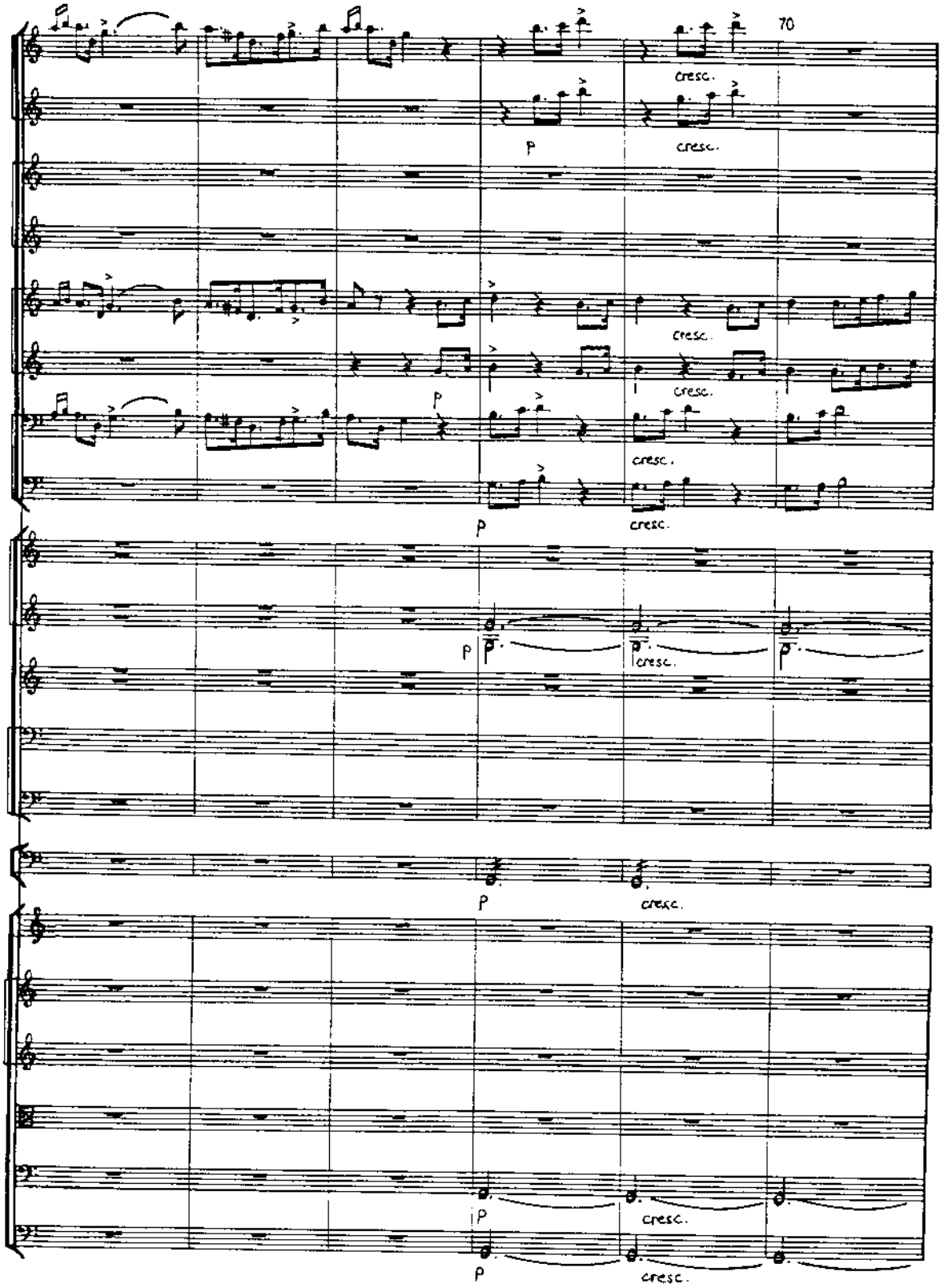

40
sf
P

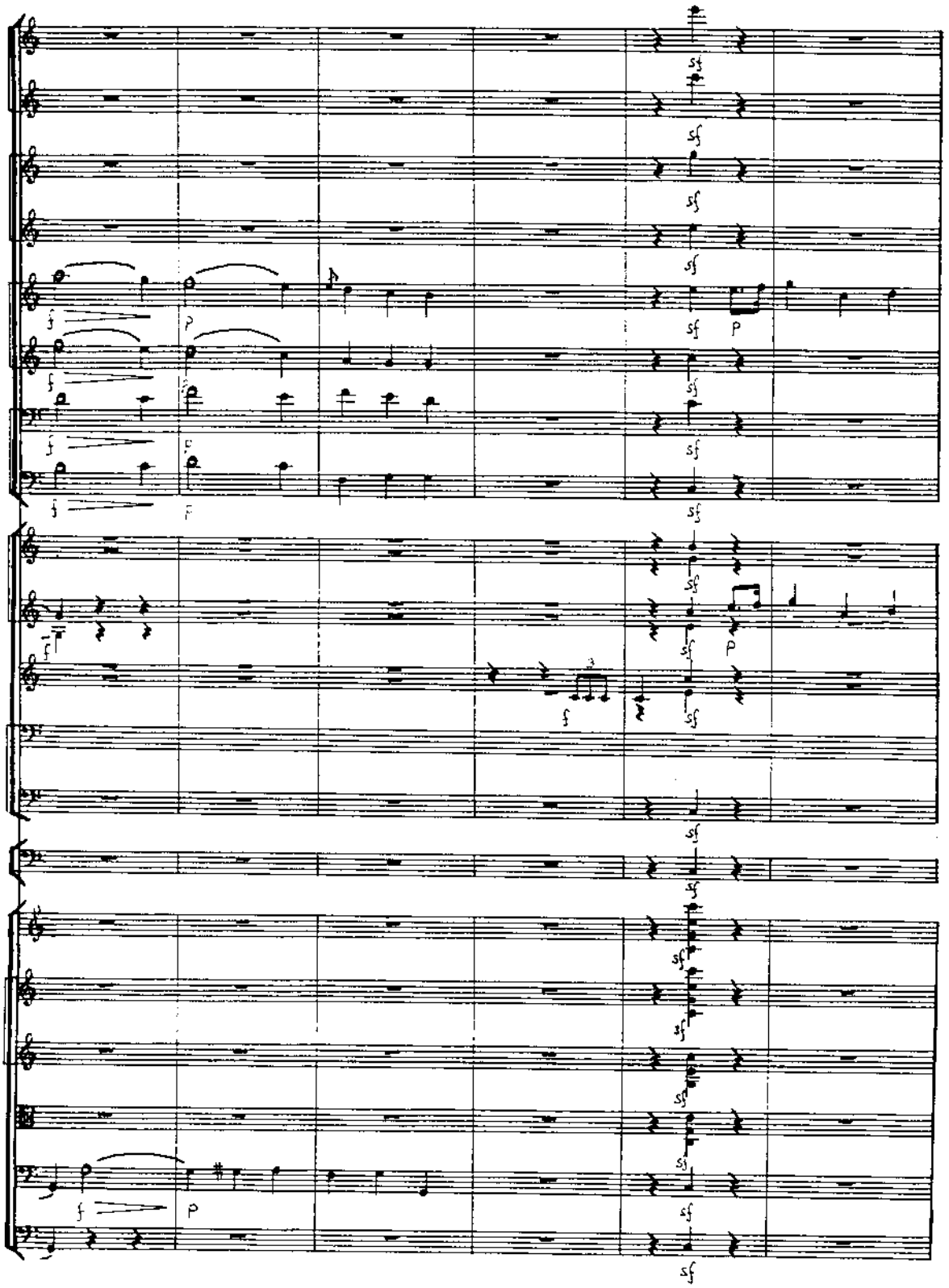

p
p
p
p
p
p
p
[p]

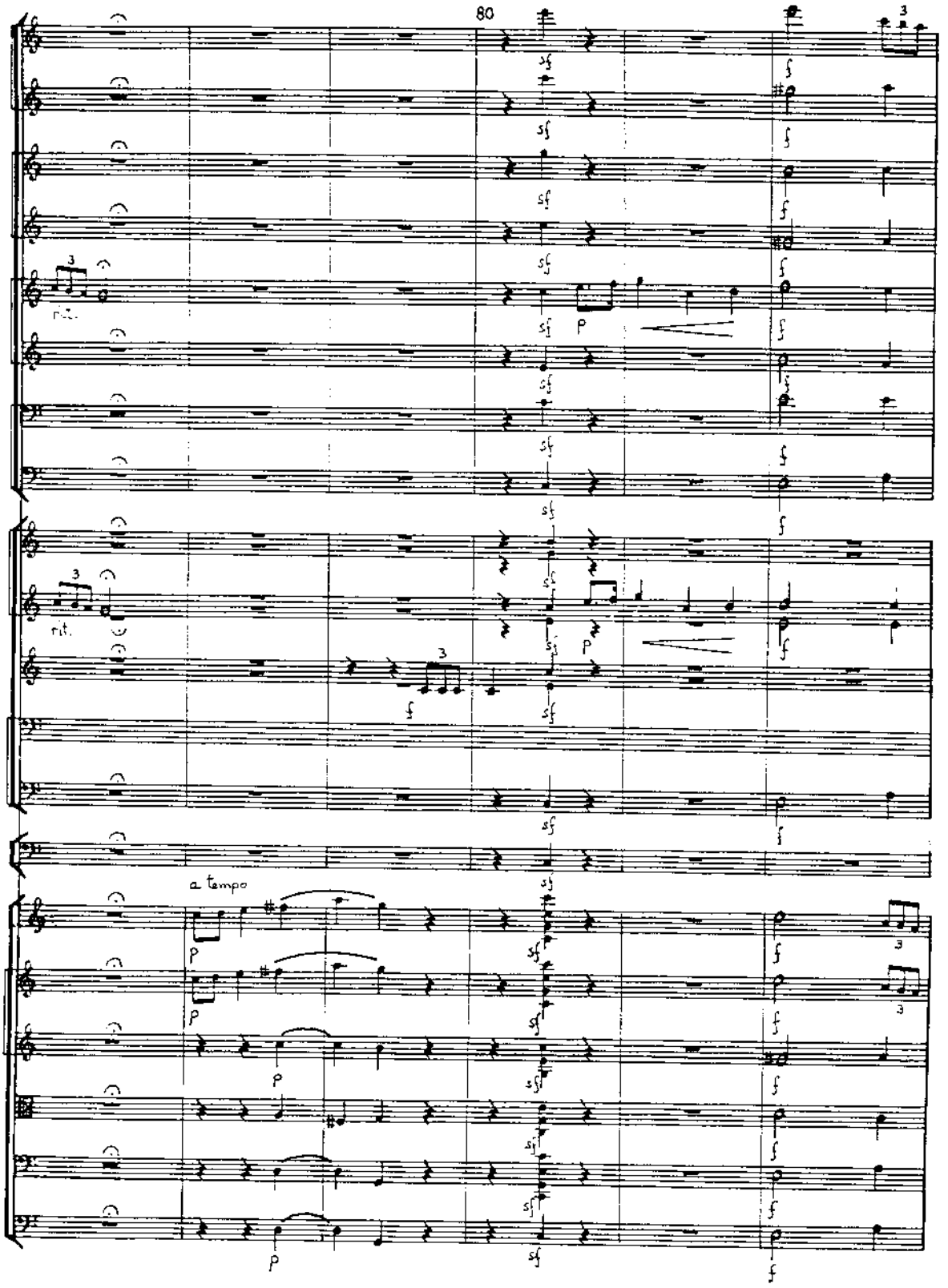

50
dim.
scherzando
sf
p


cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
ff
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
ff

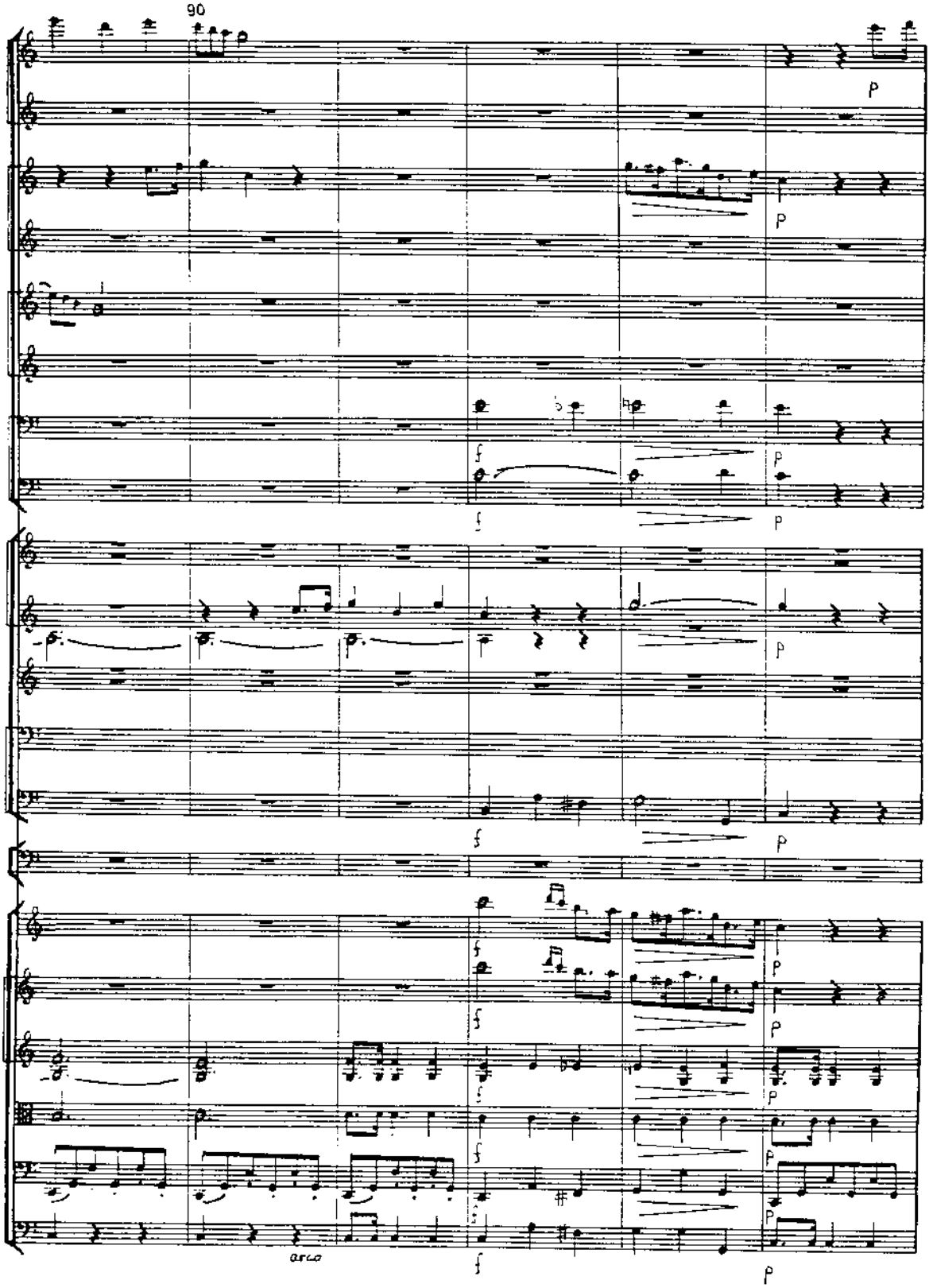

60
sf
p
ff

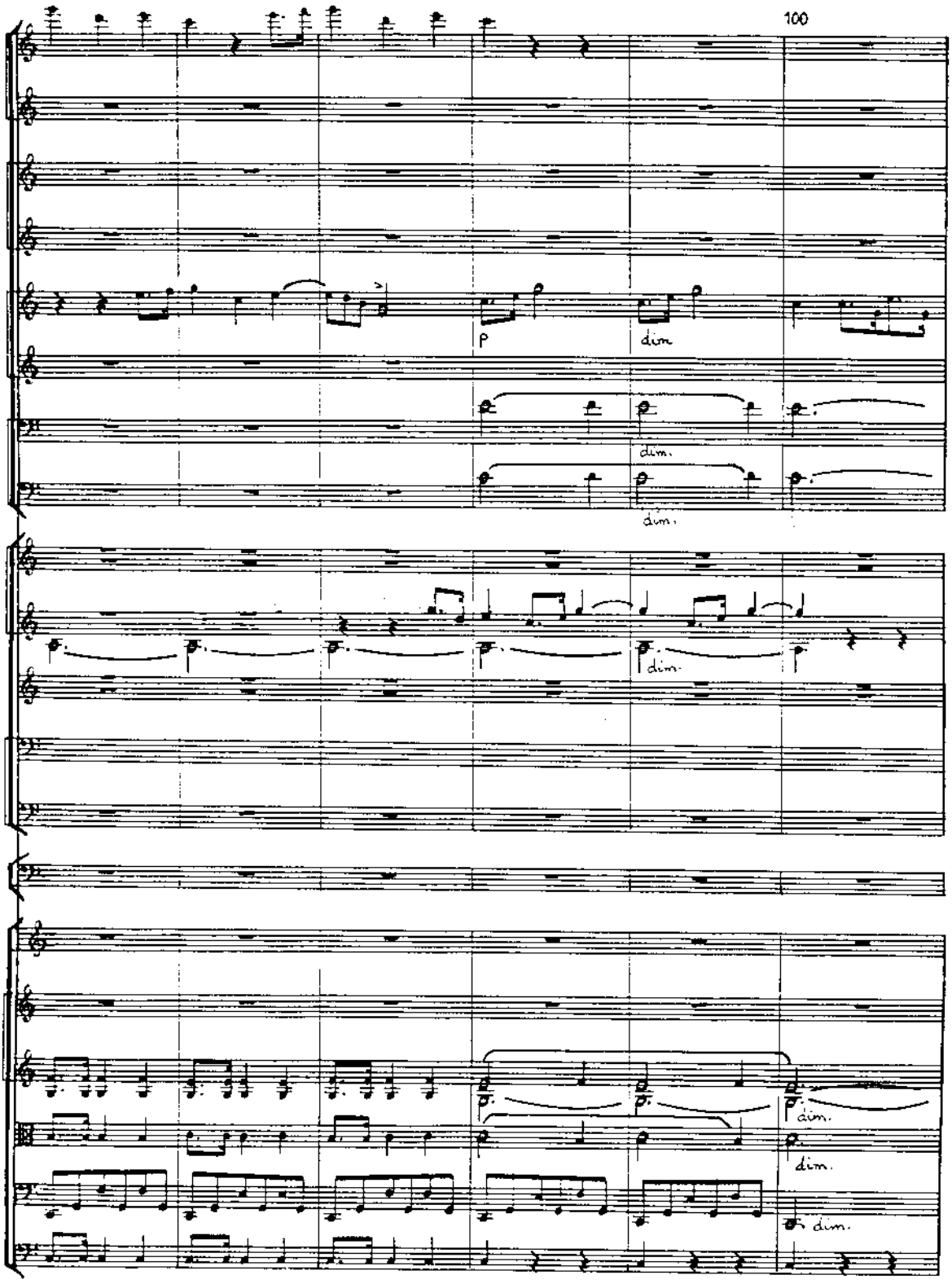

70
cresc.
p
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
p
cresc.
p
cresc.
p
cresc.
p
cresc.

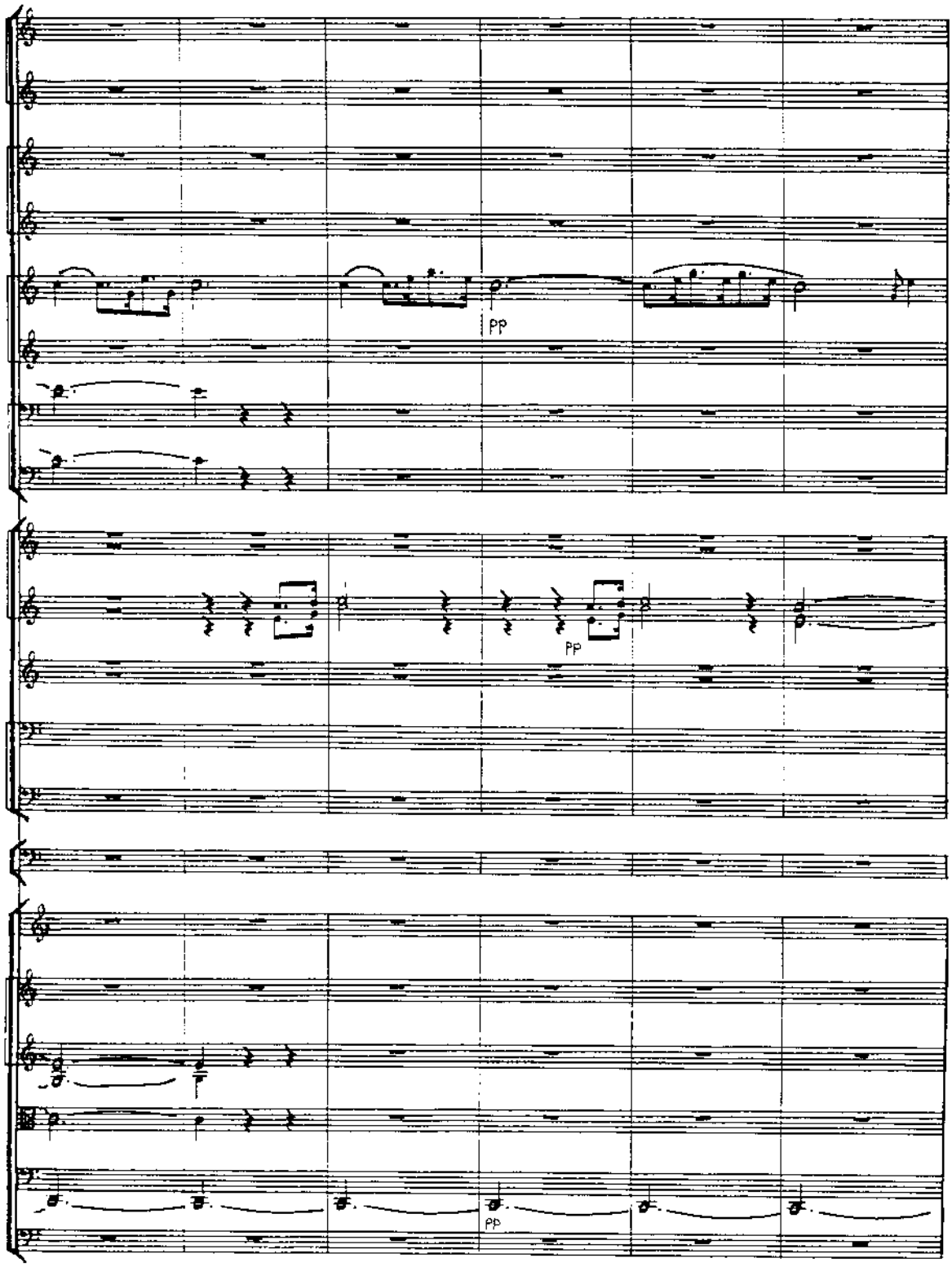


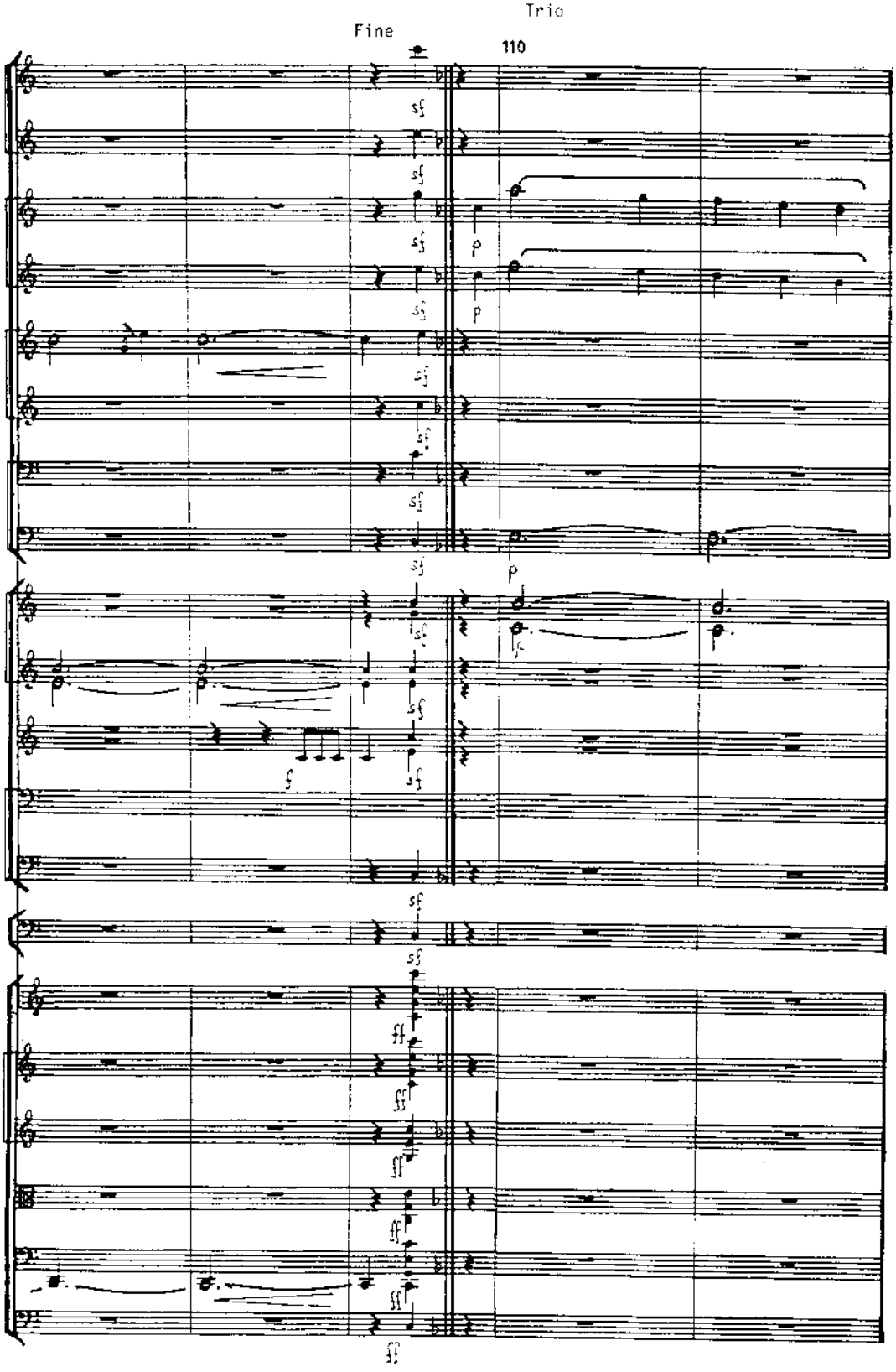

80
rit.
rit.
a tempo

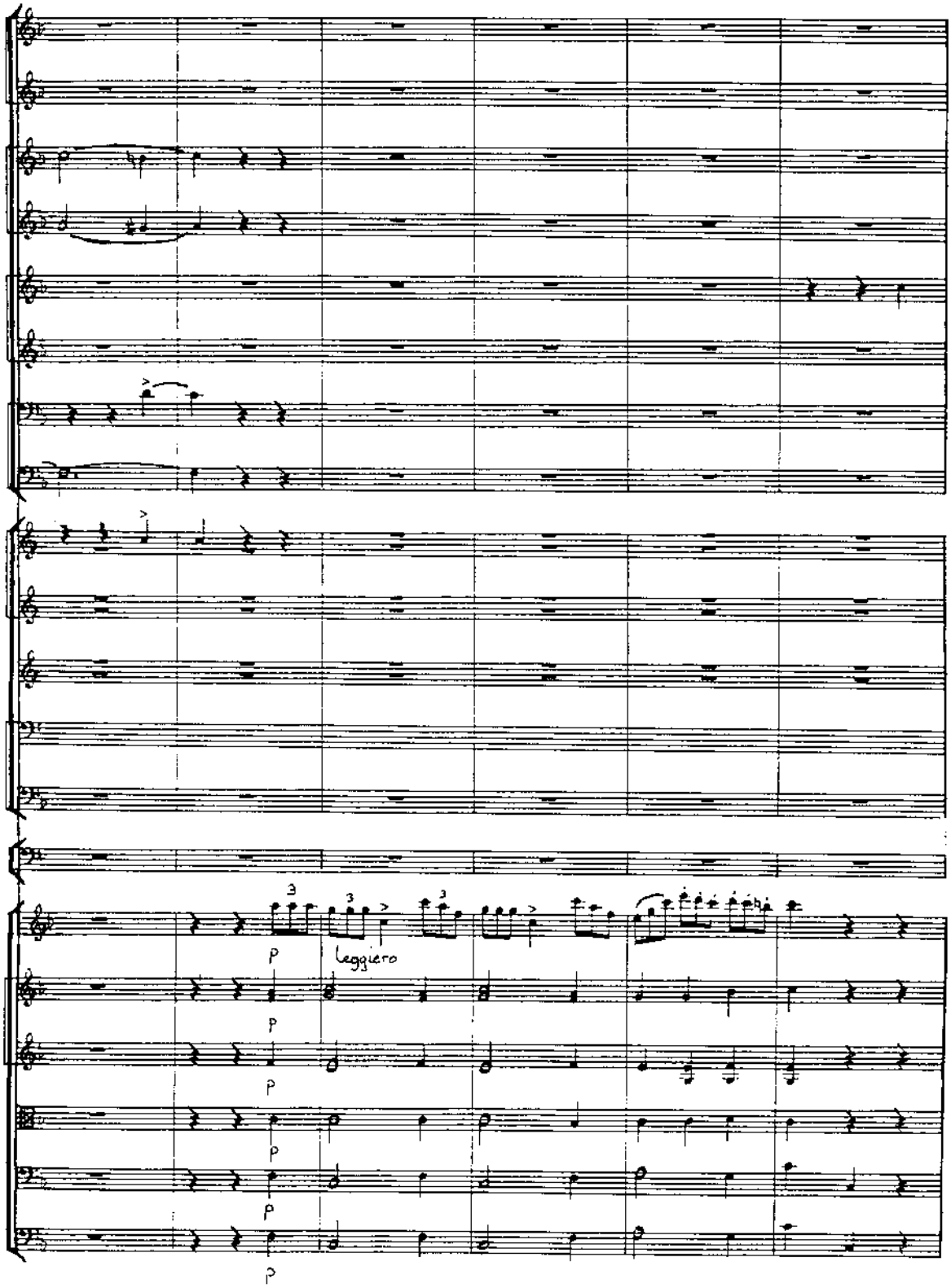
p
pizz.

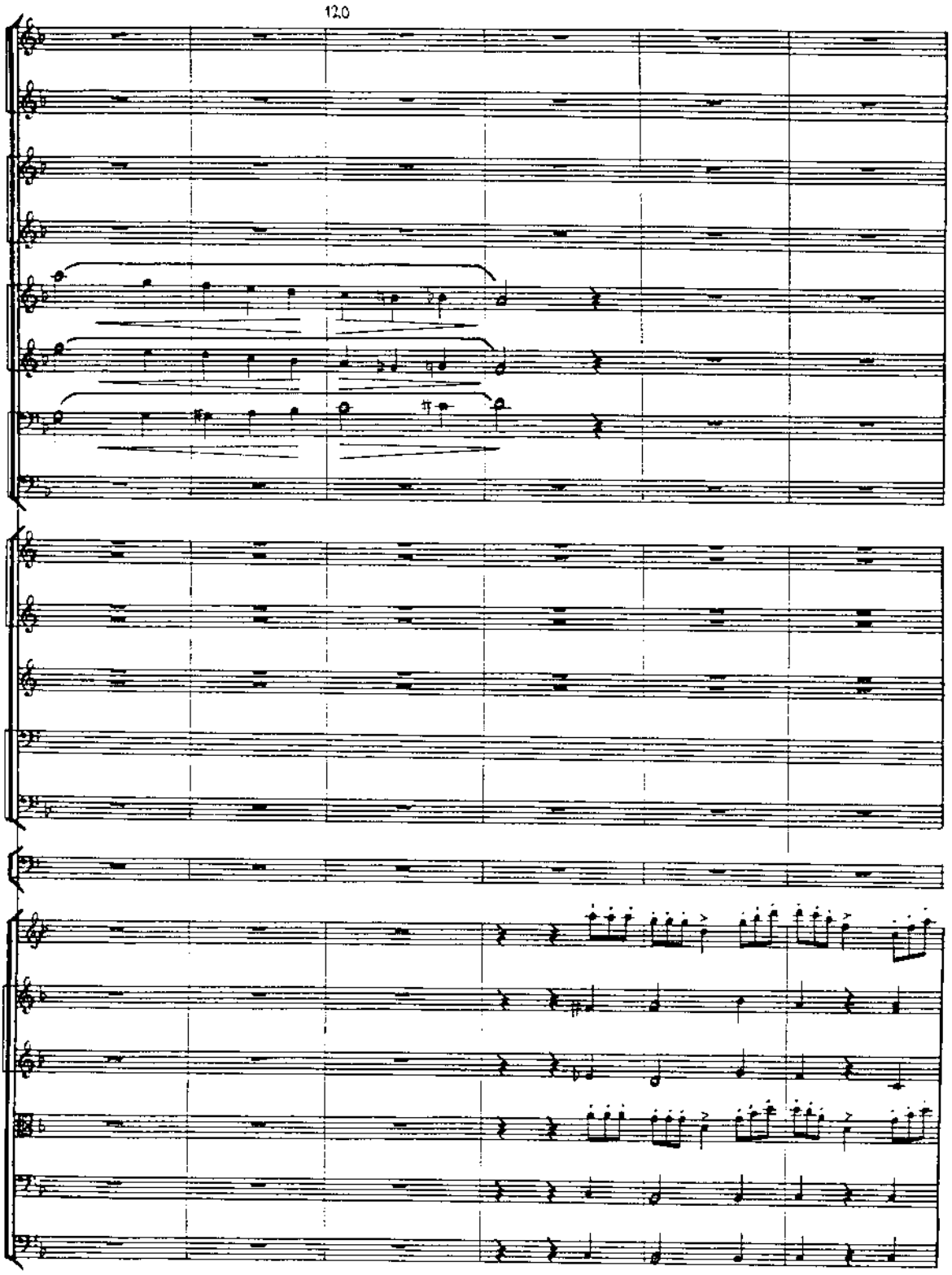

90
arco

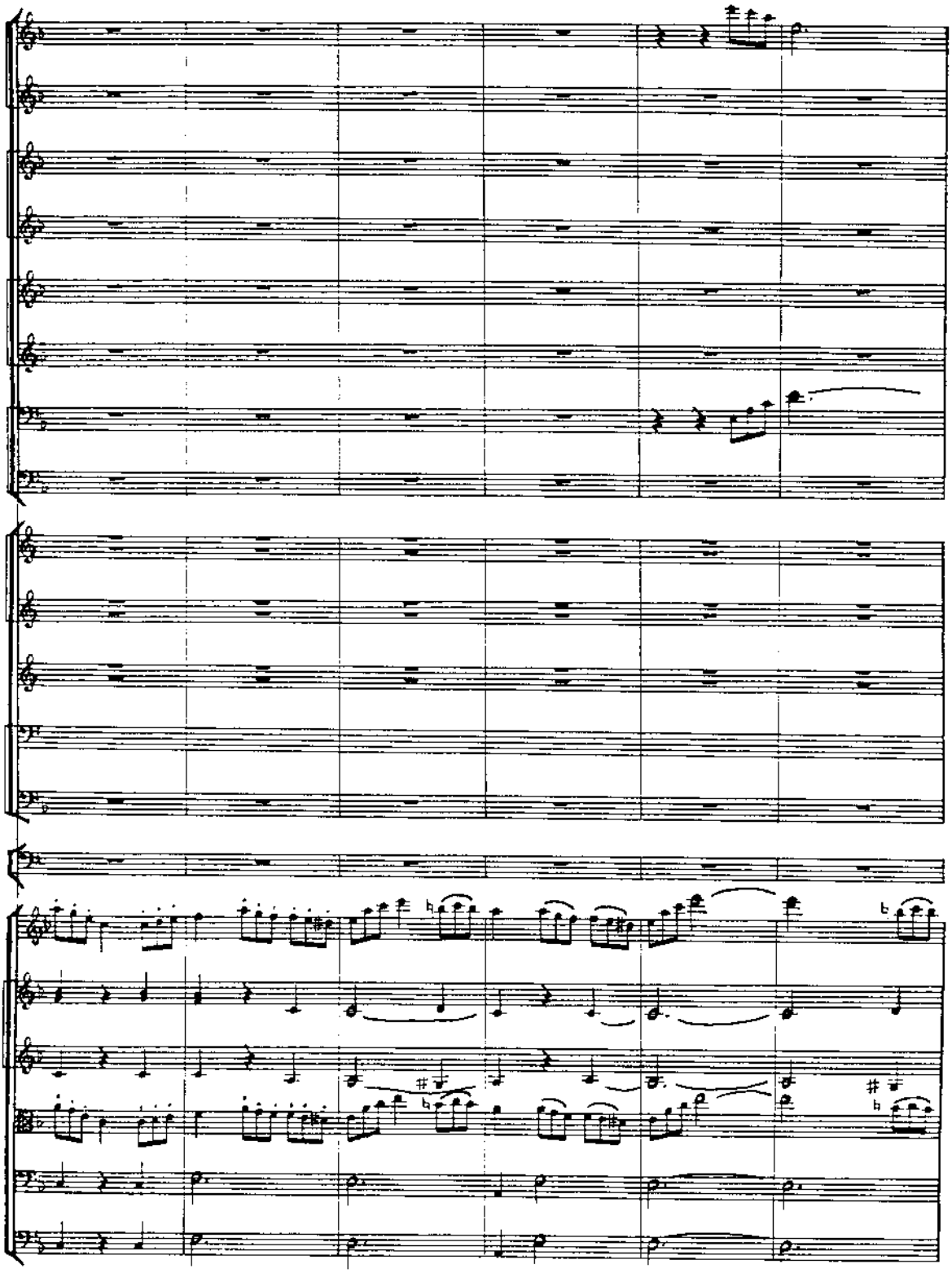

100
p
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.
dim.

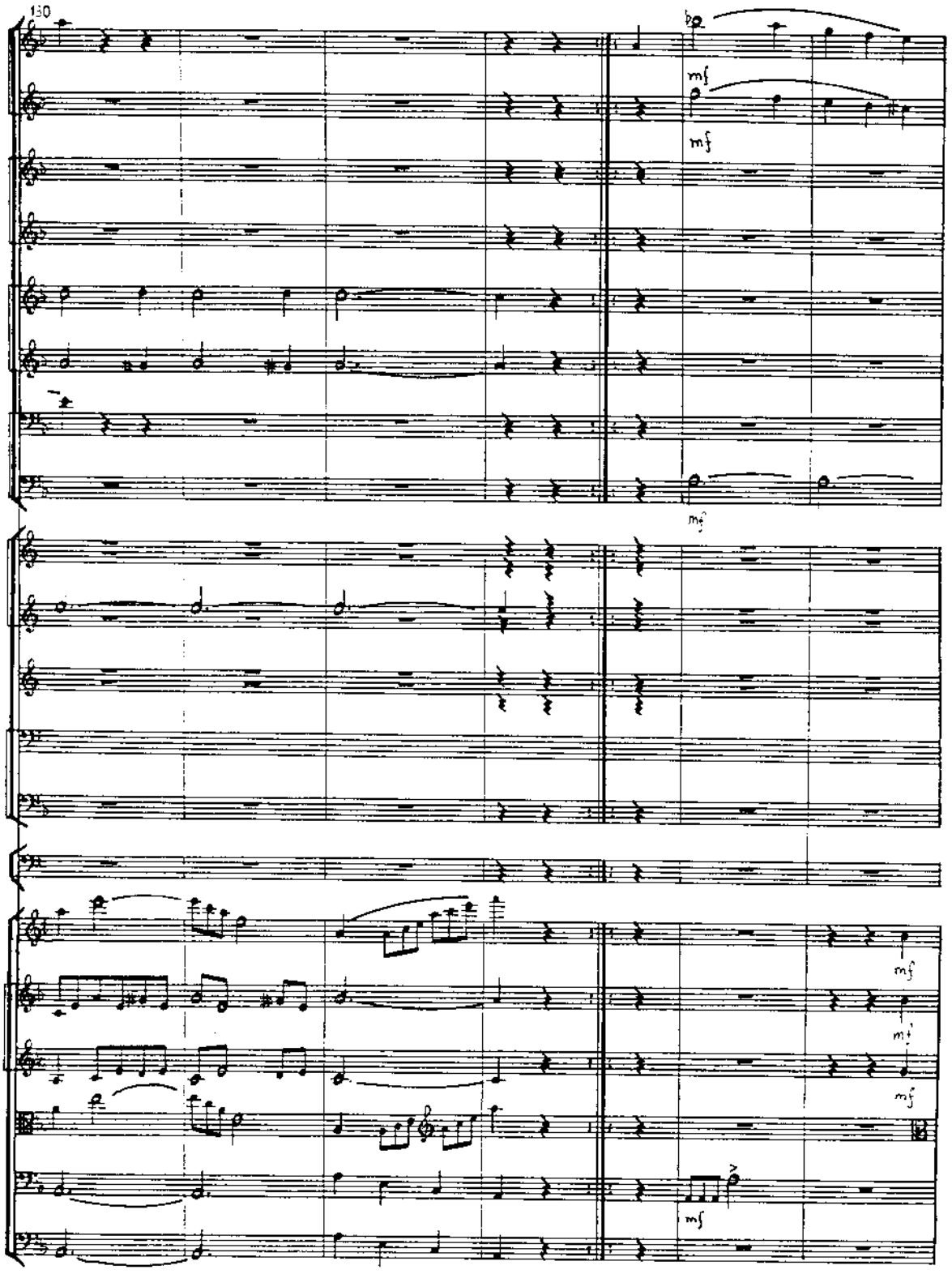

pp
pp
pp

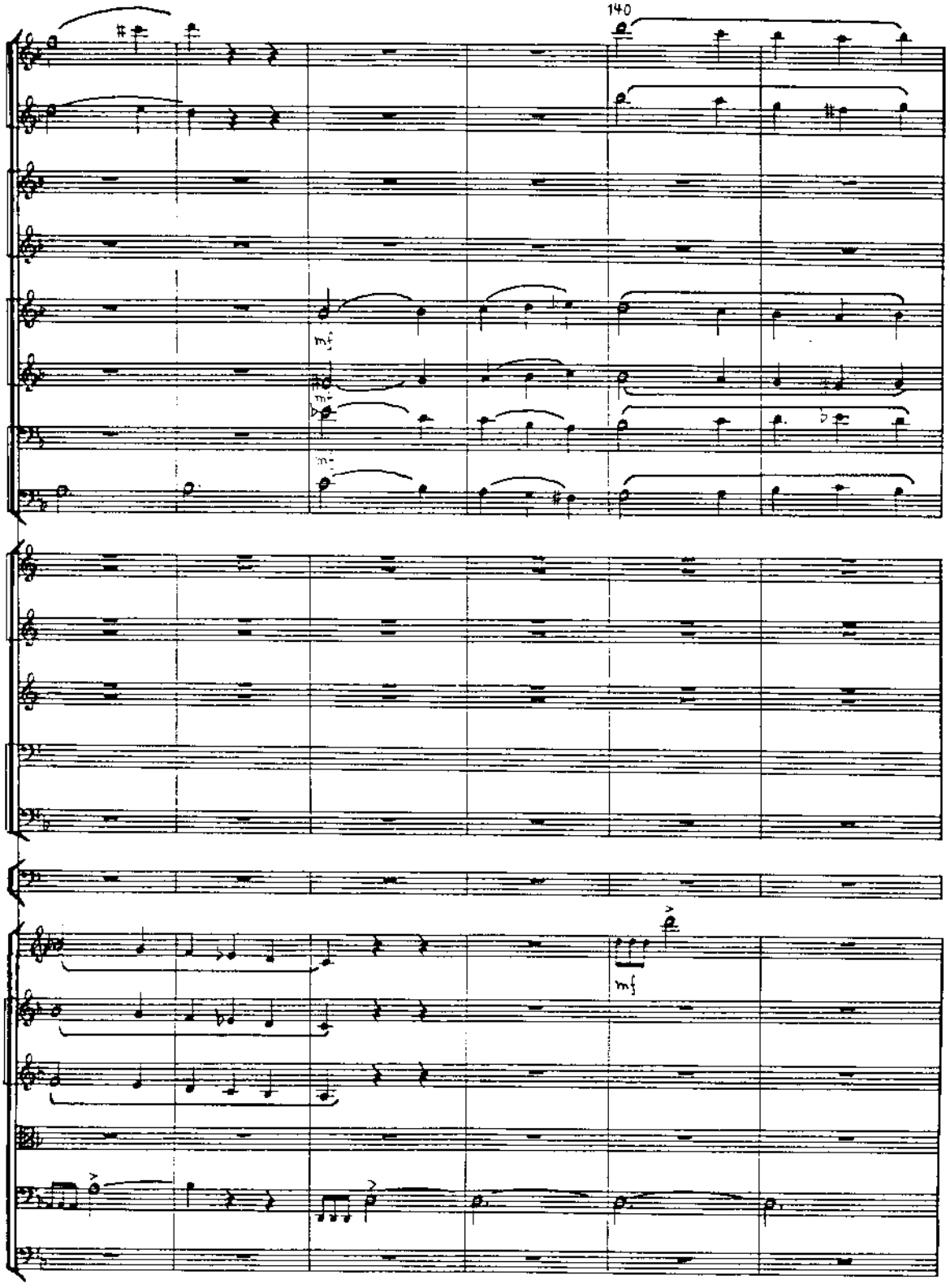

Trio
Fine
110

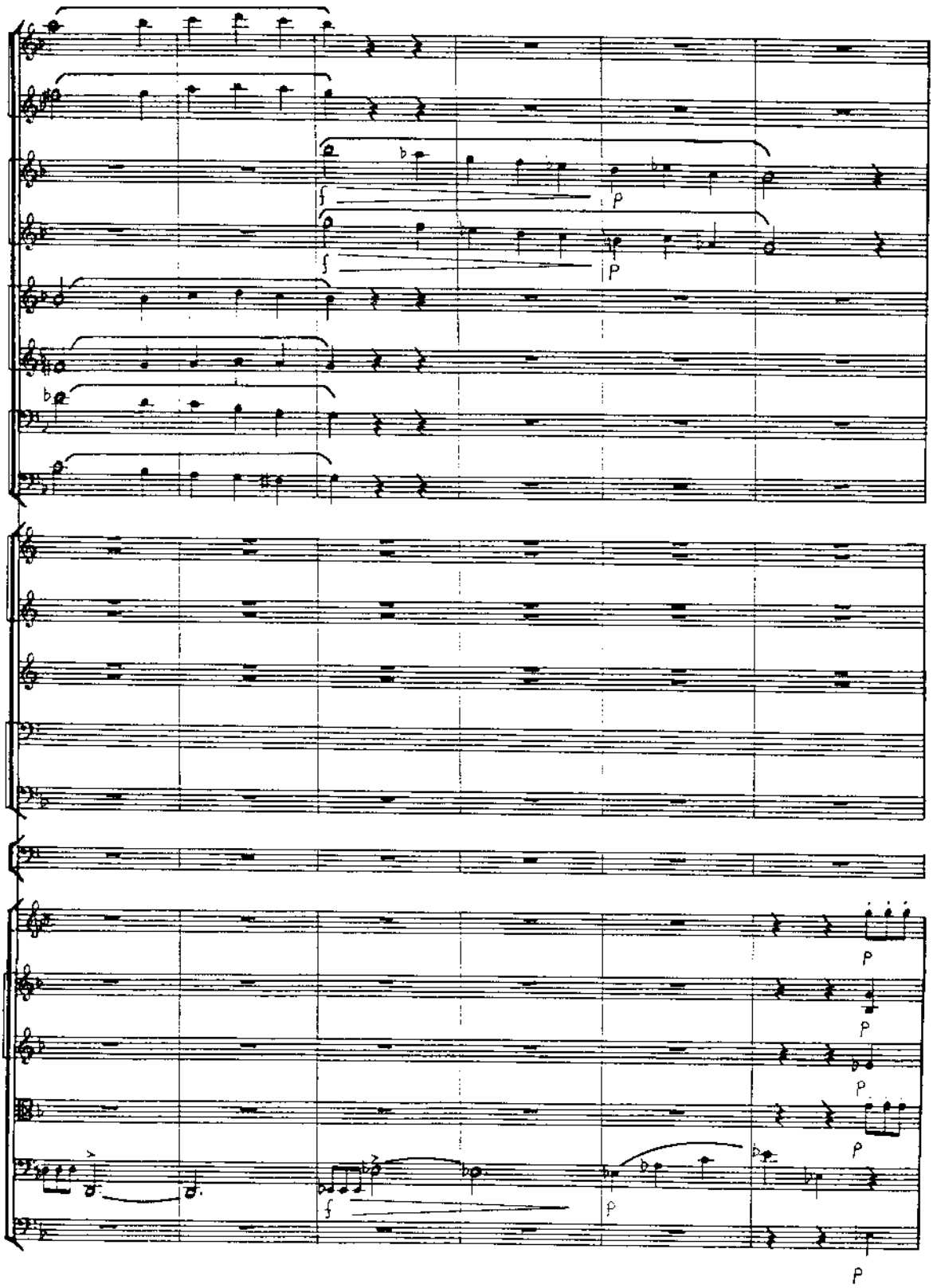

p
leggiero
p
p
p
p
p

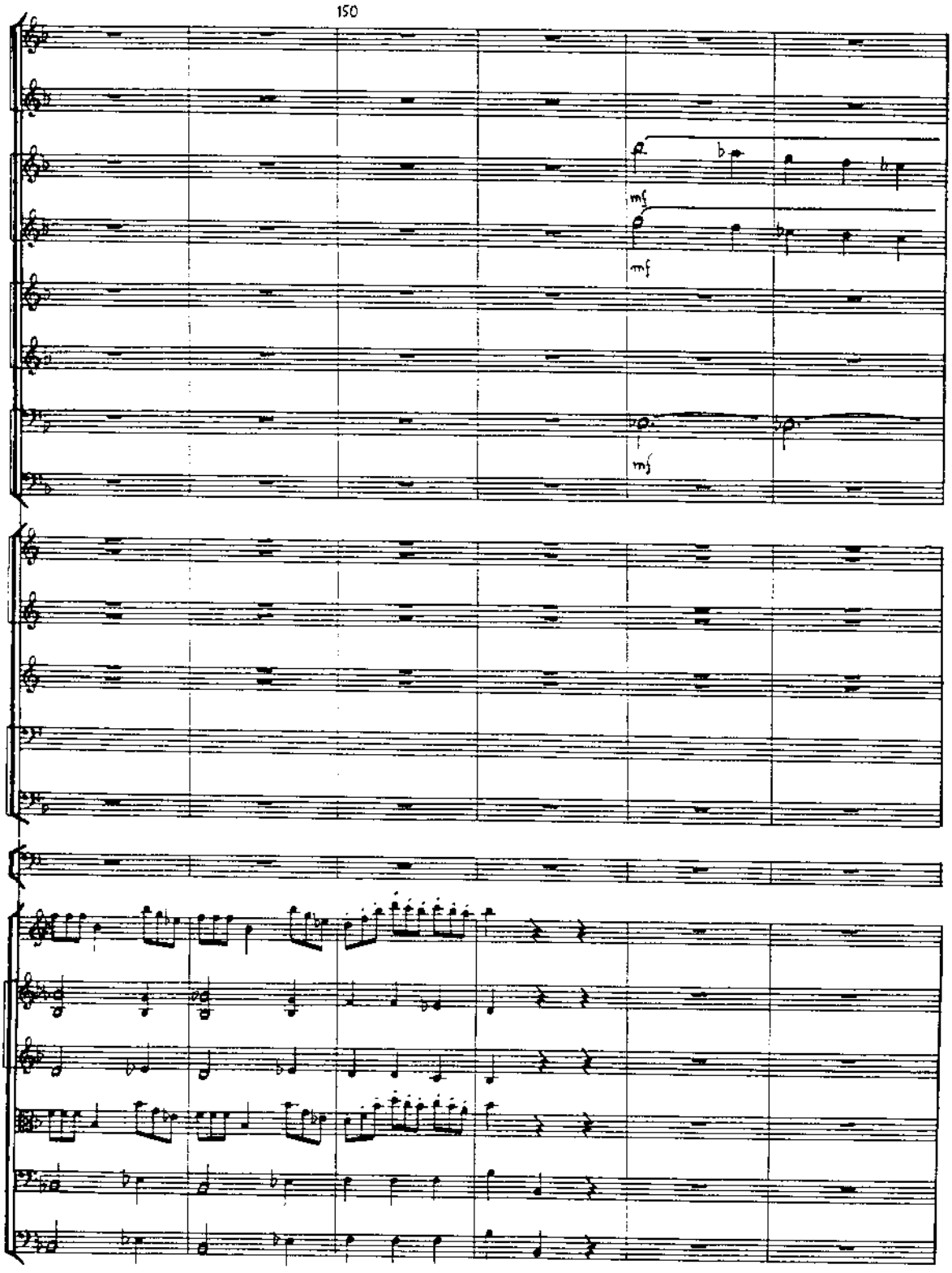

120

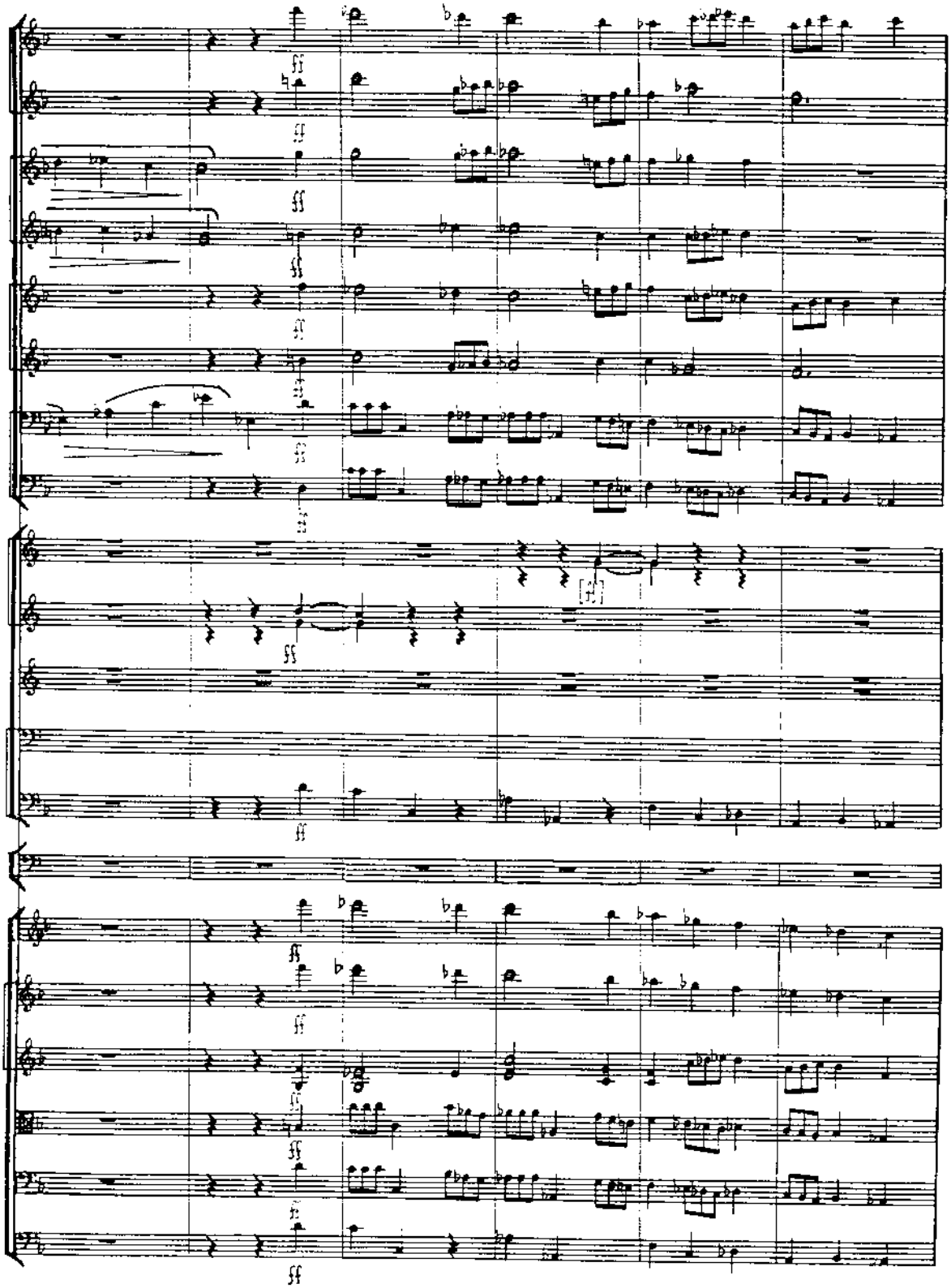


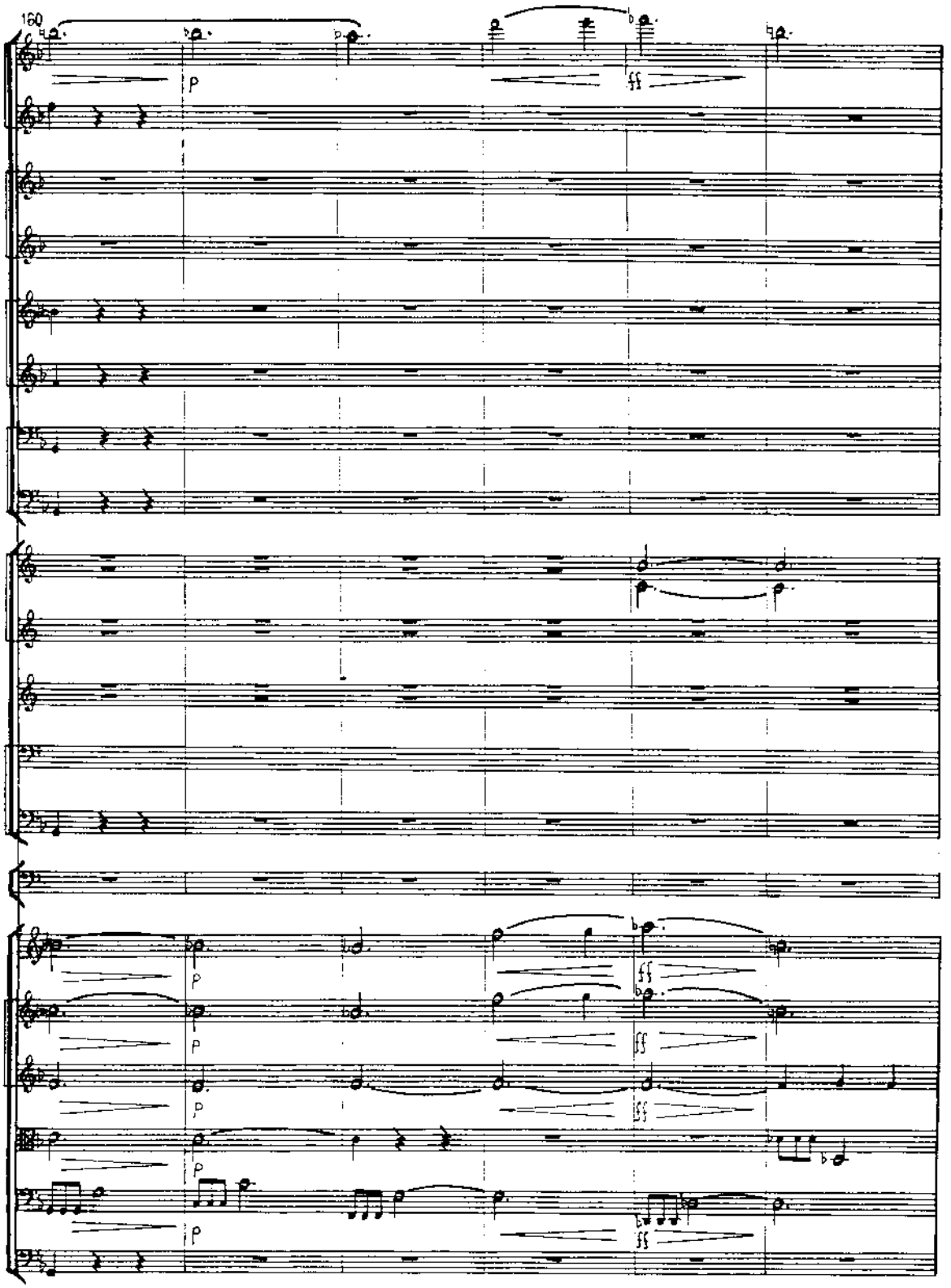

130
mf
mf
mf
mf
mf
mf
mf

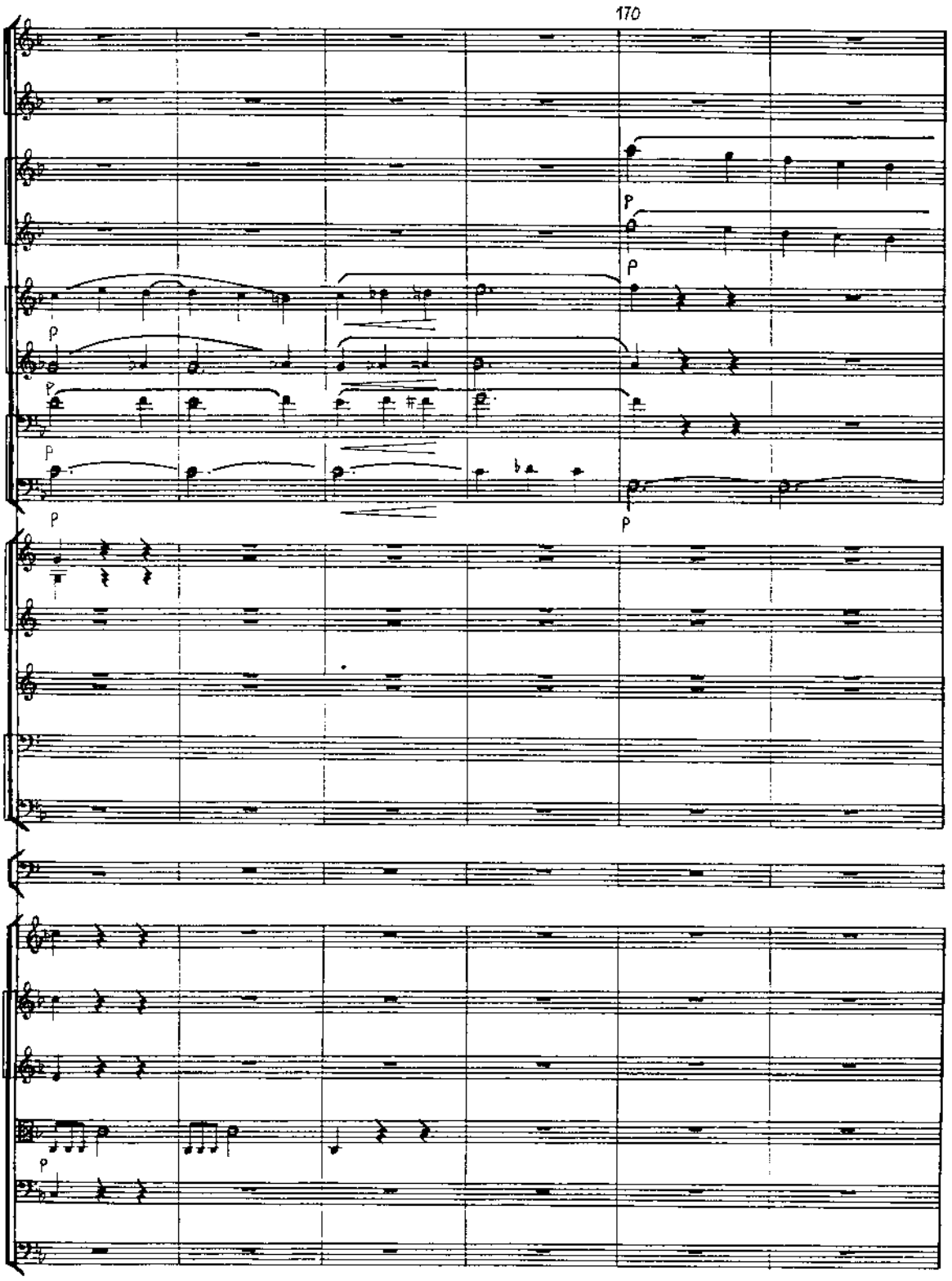

140
mf
mf


f
p
f
p
p
p
p
p
f
p
p


150
mf
mf
mf




160
p
ff


170
p
p
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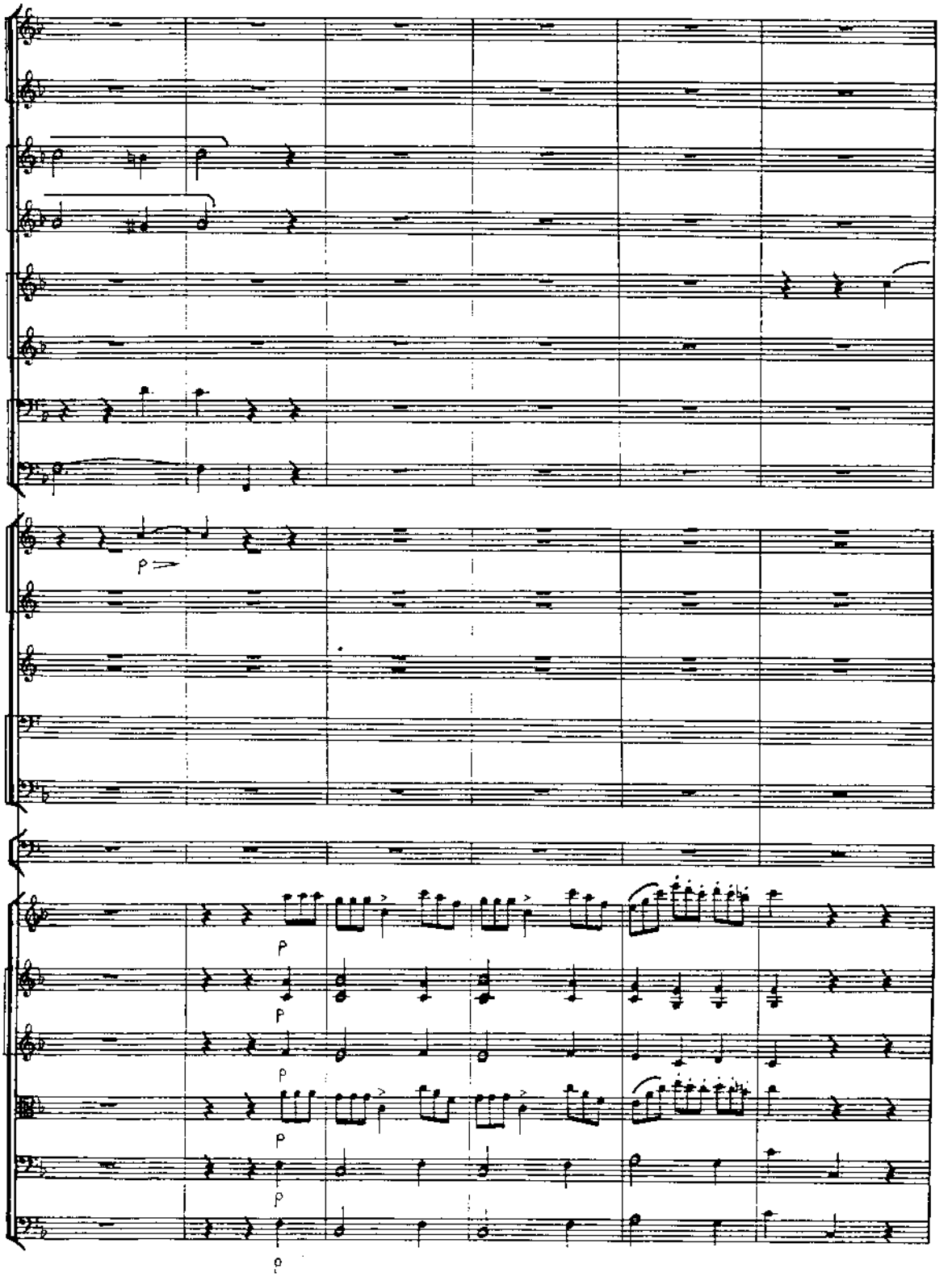
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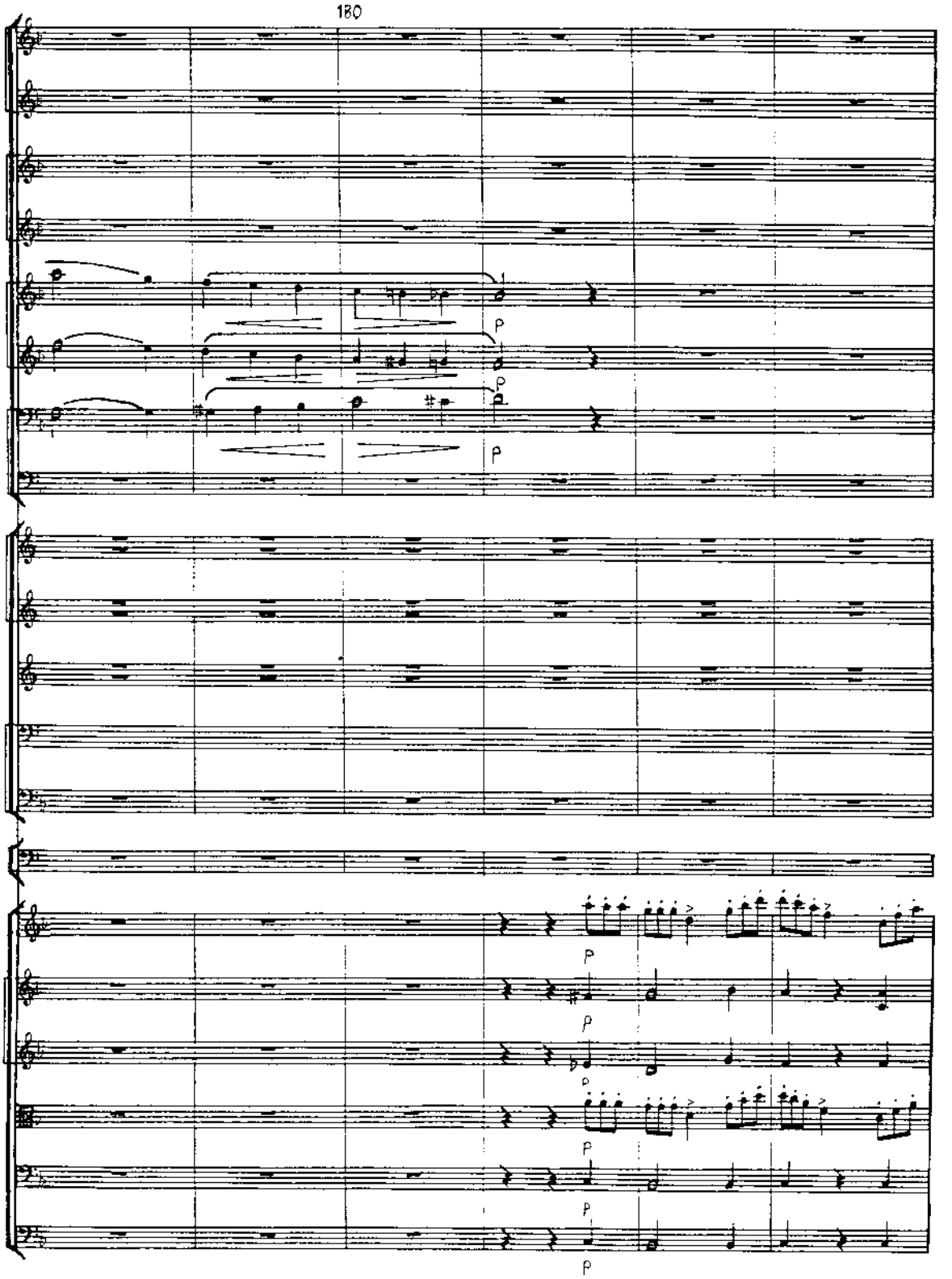
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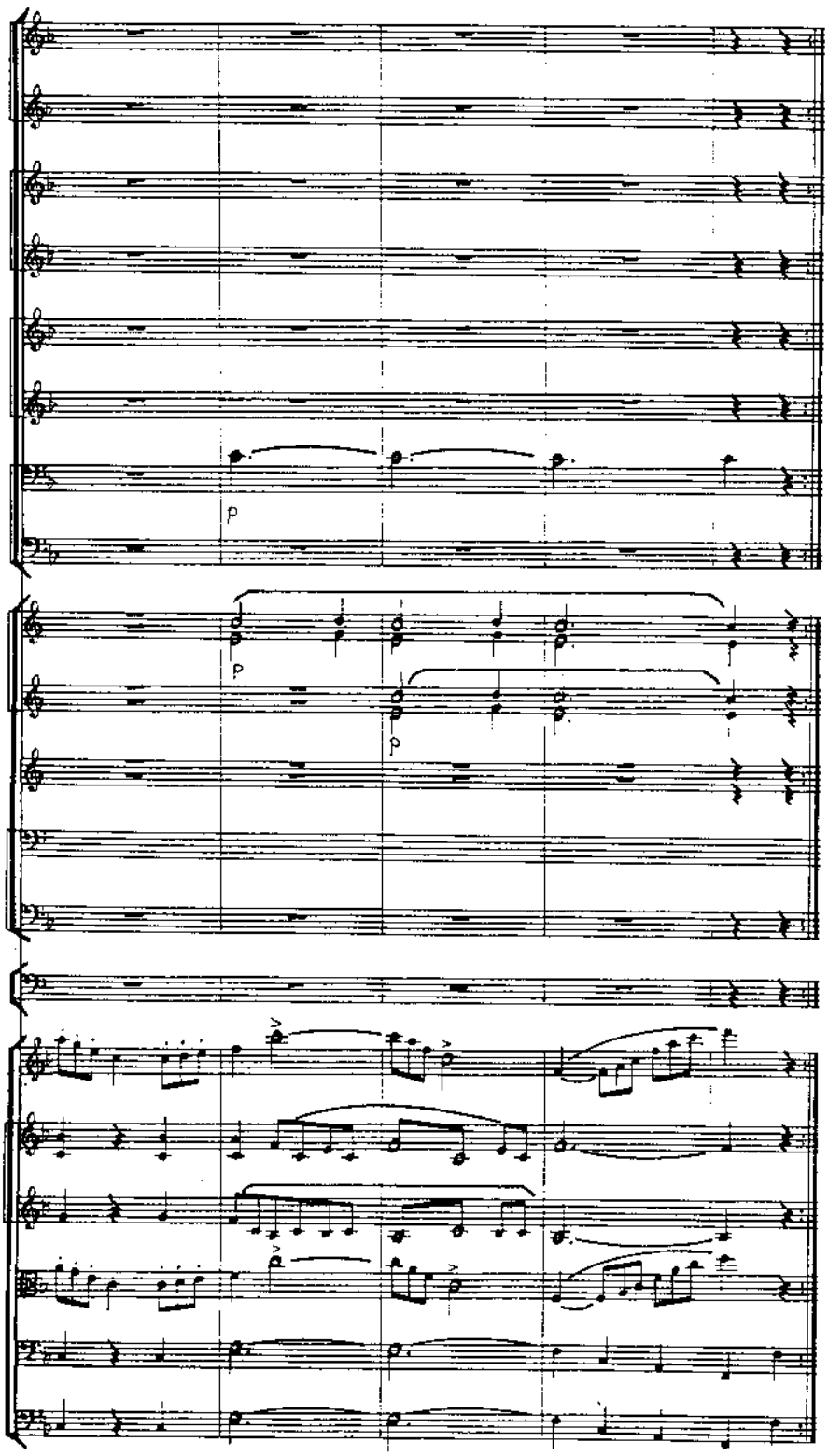
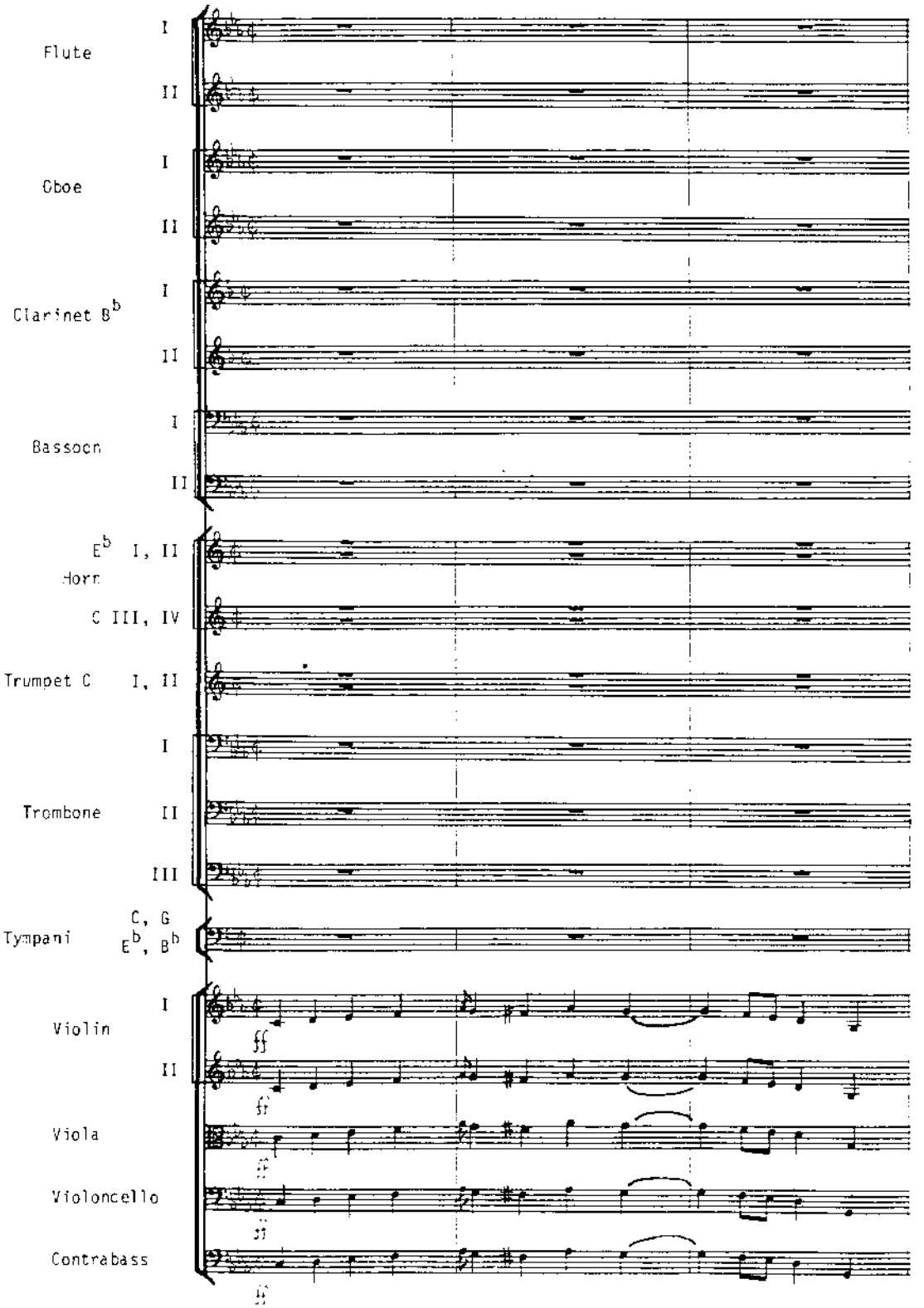
Da Capo al Fine

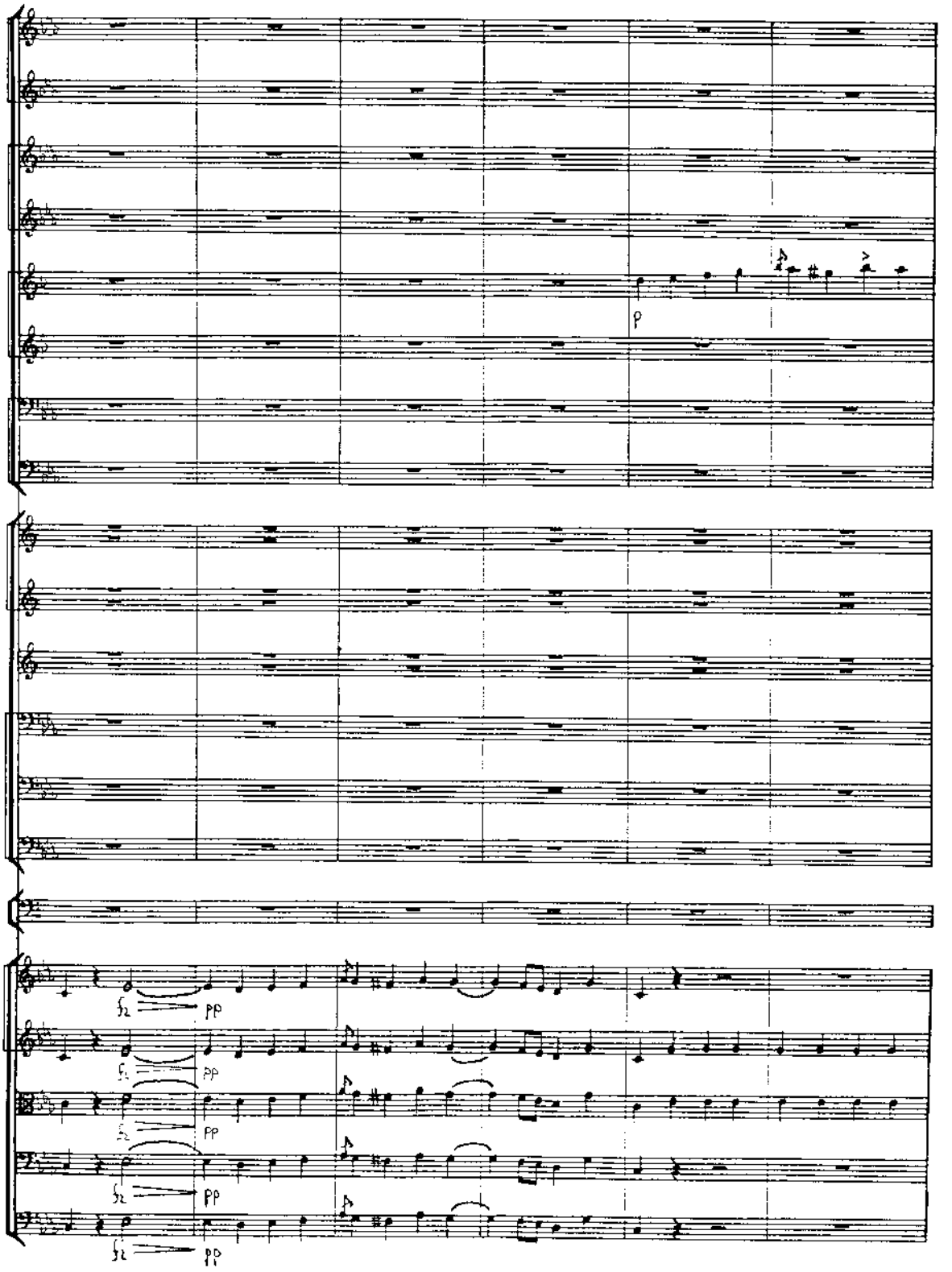


IV

Finale alla Cracovienna

Vivace assai

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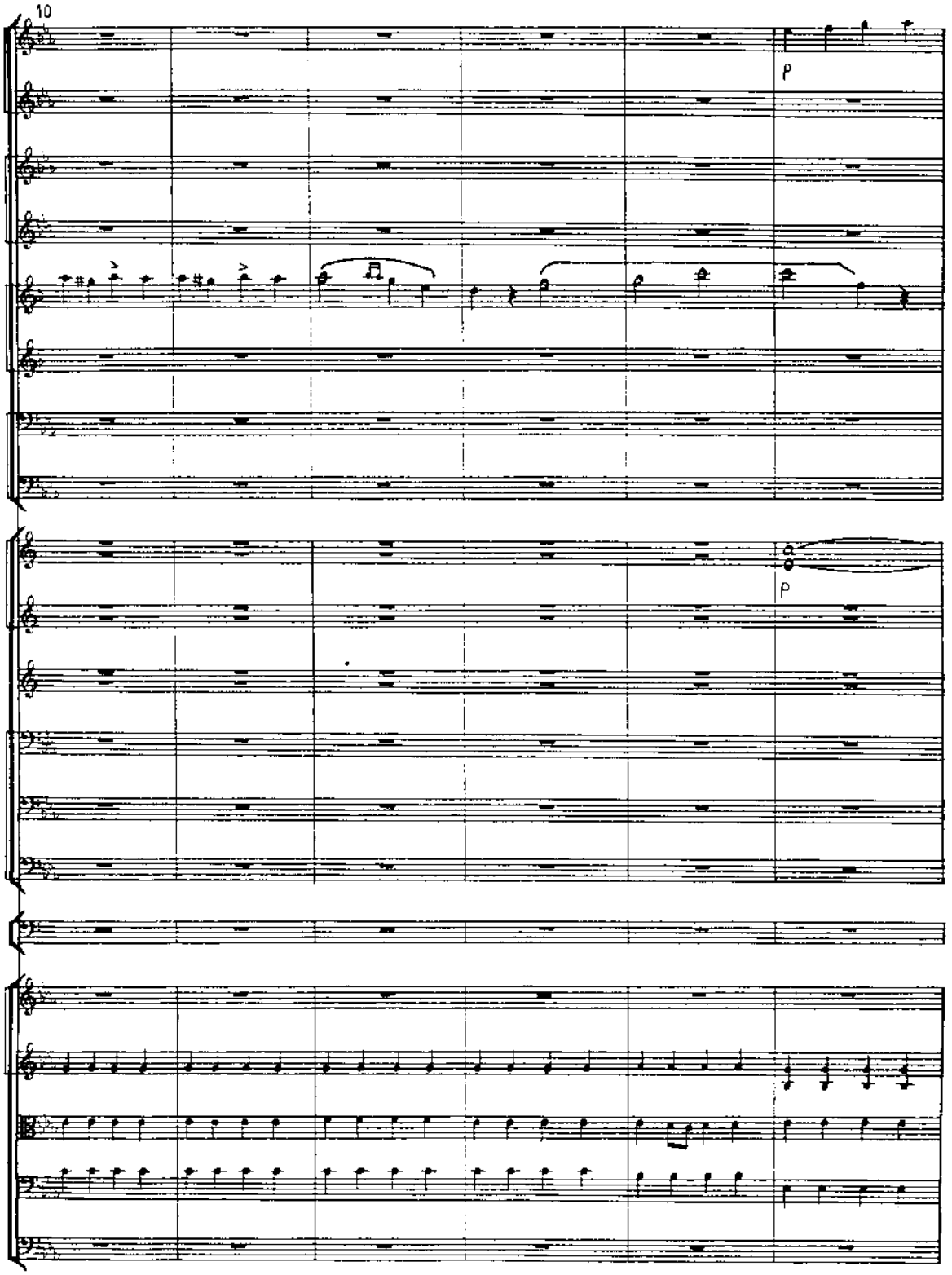
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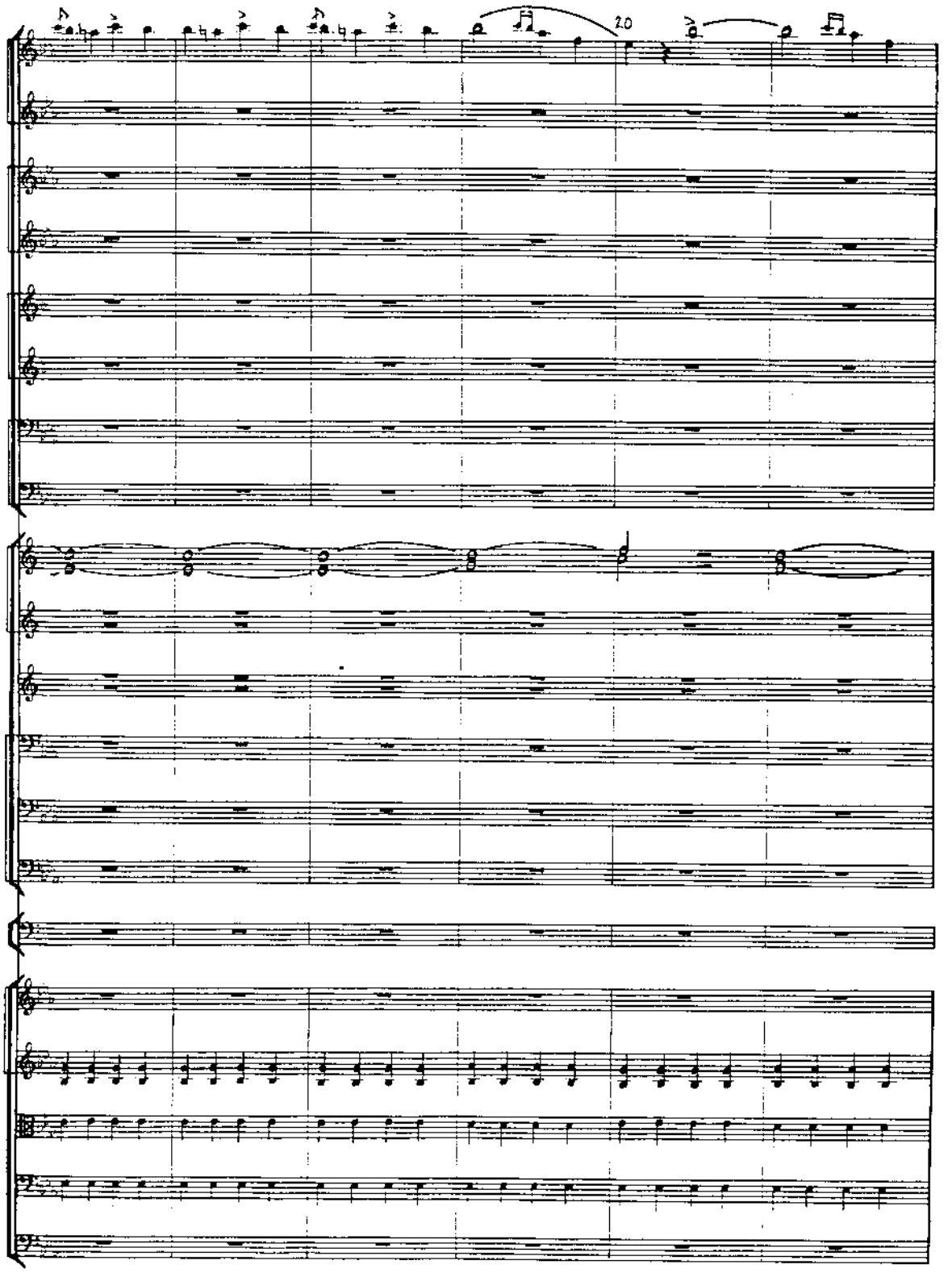
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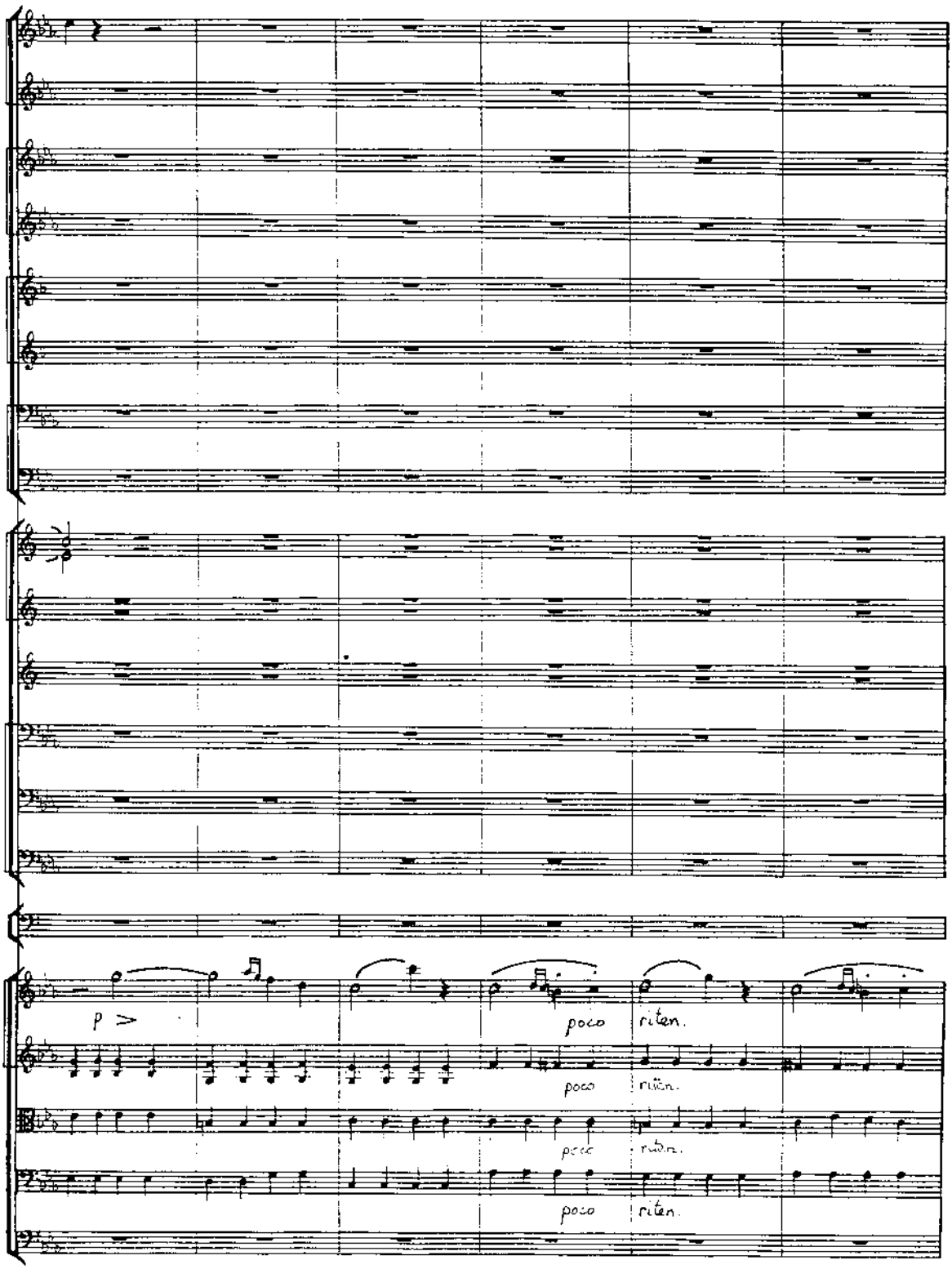
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poco
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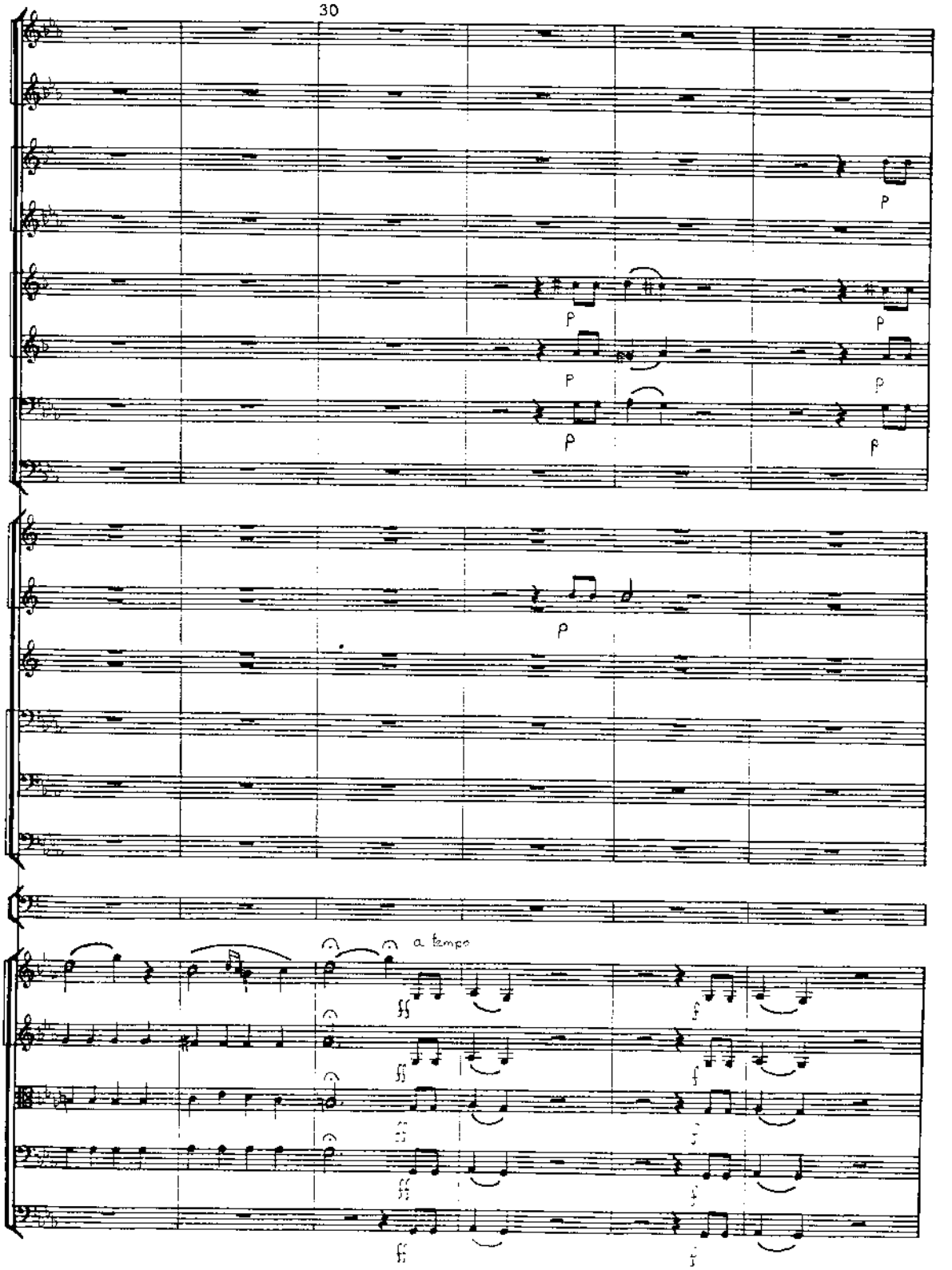
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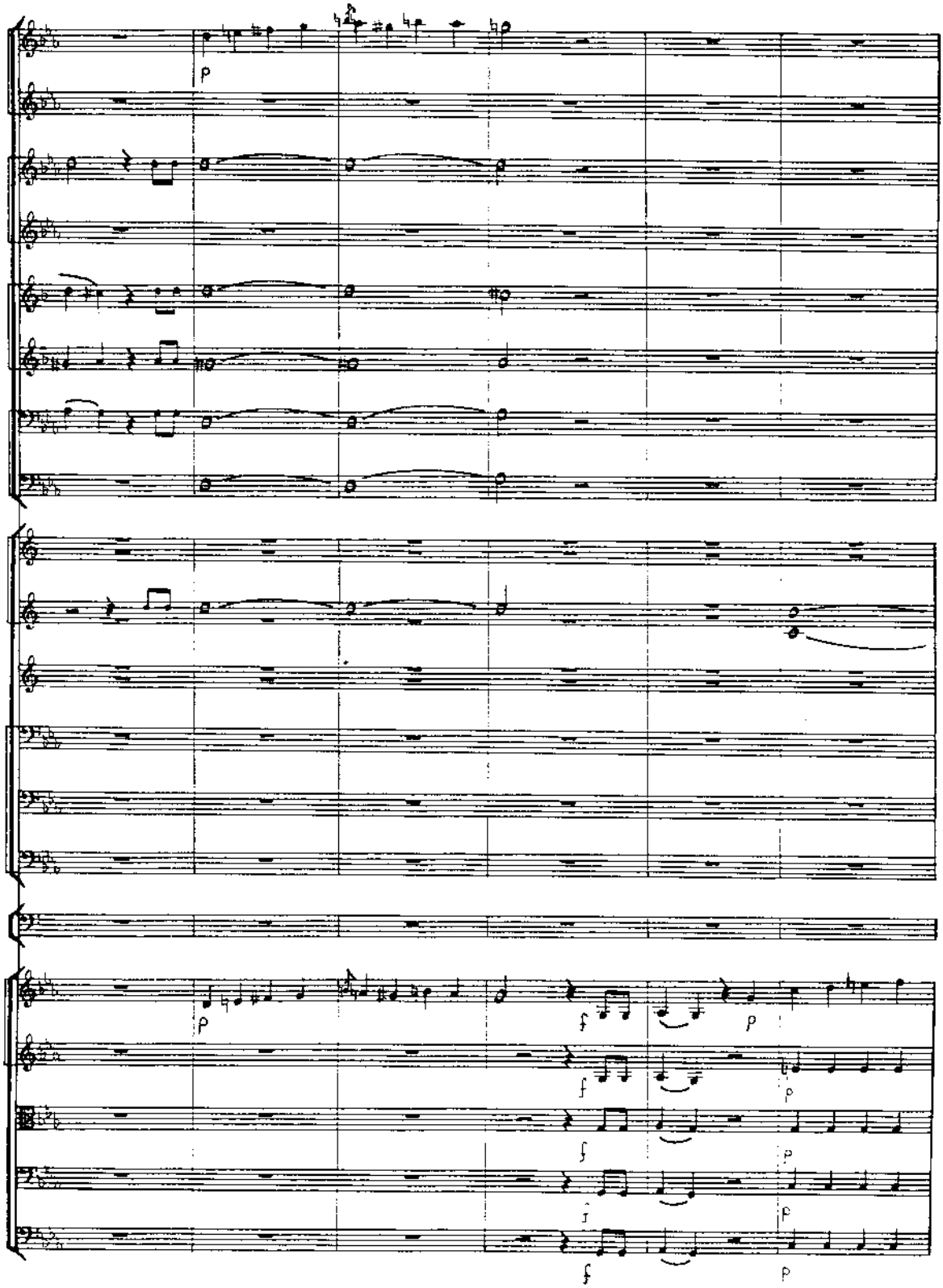
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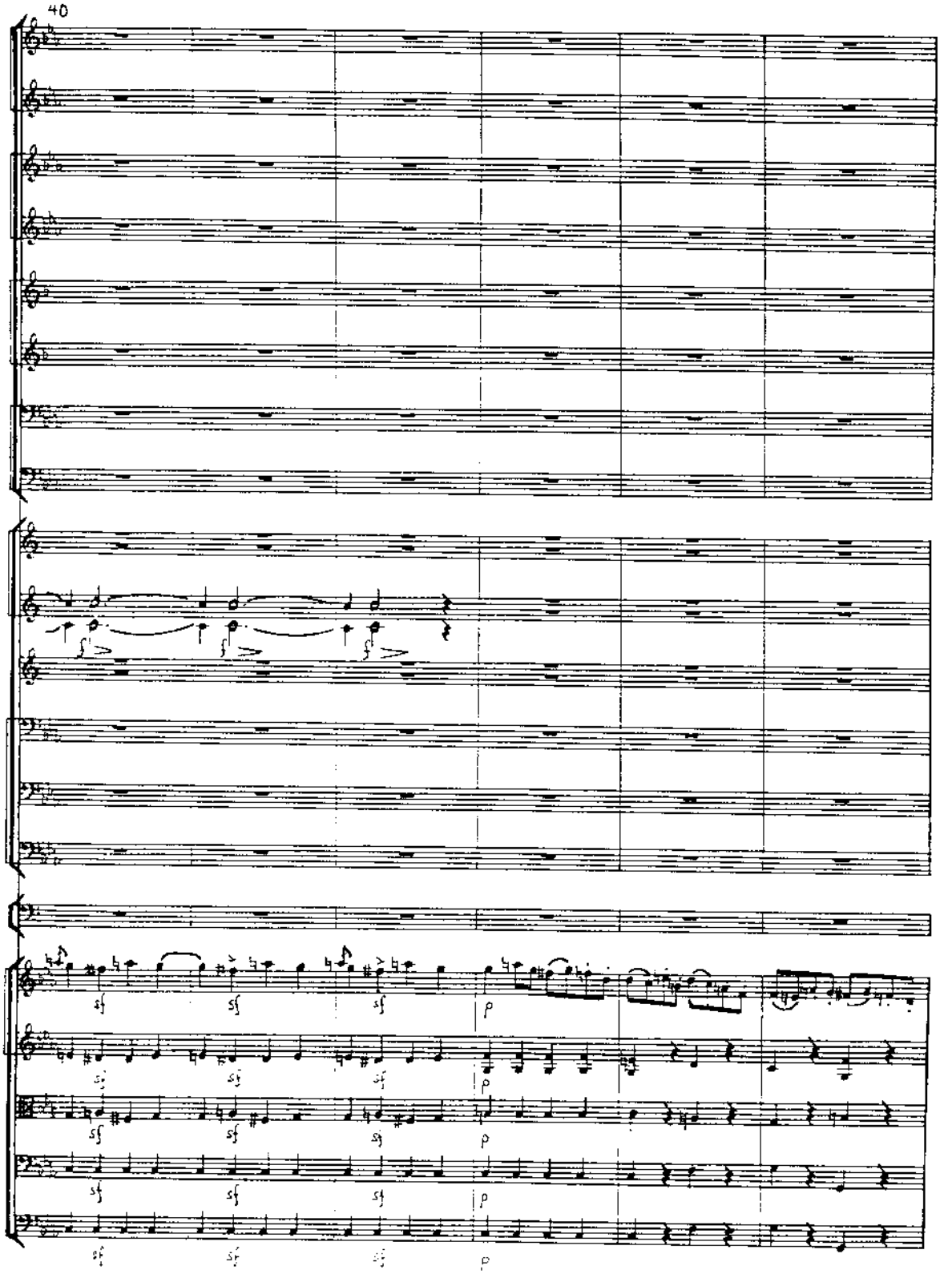
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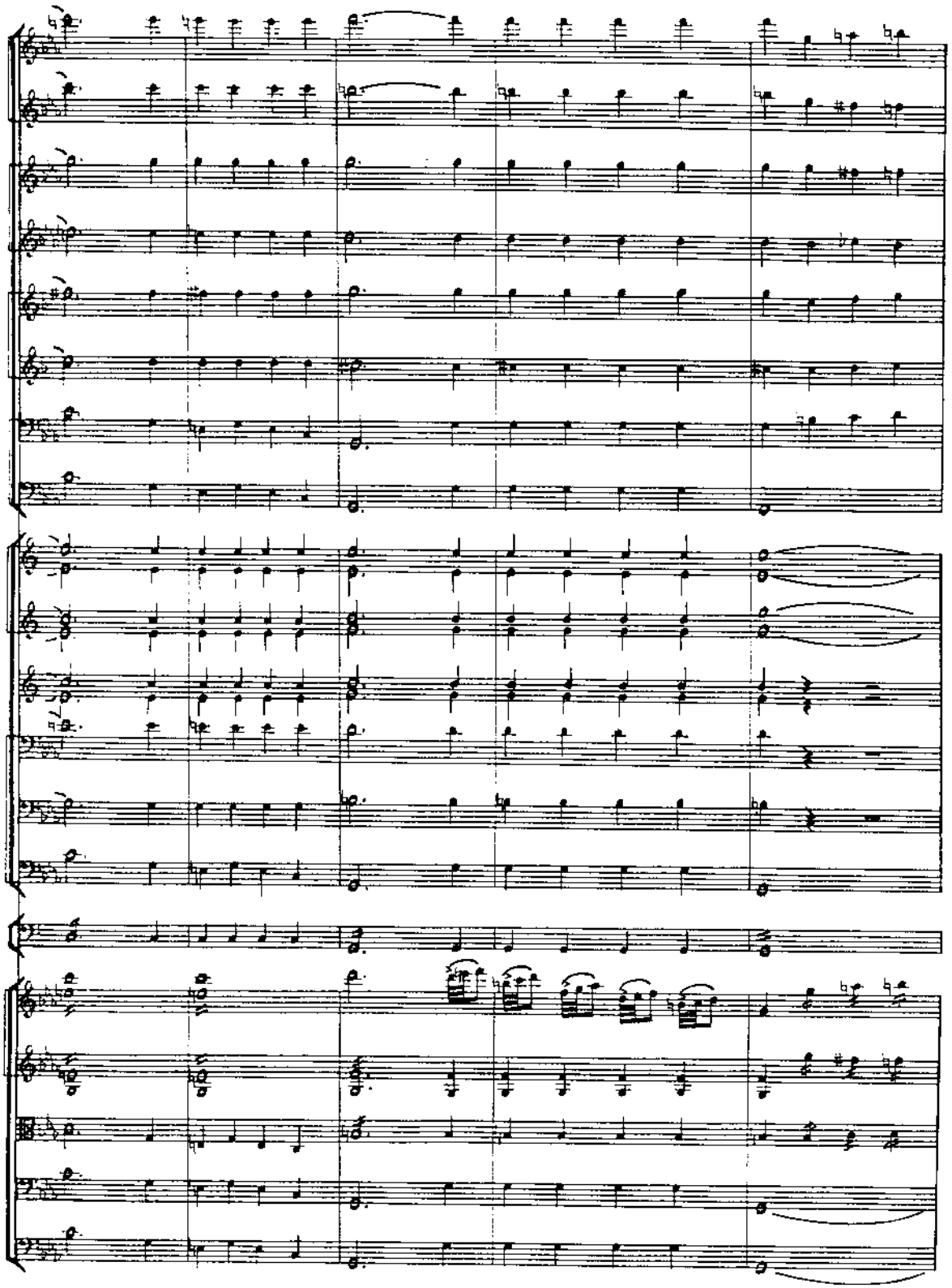

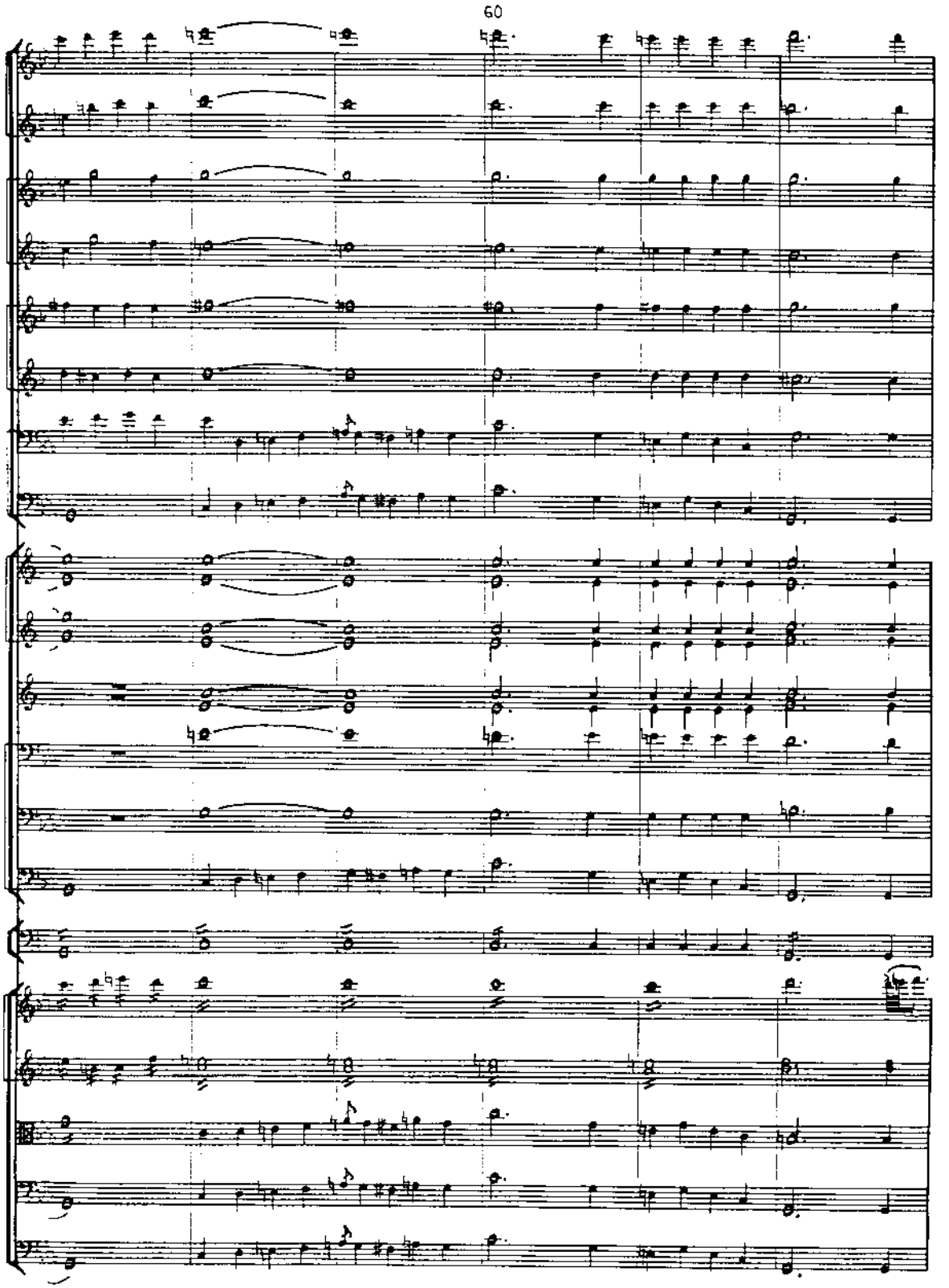
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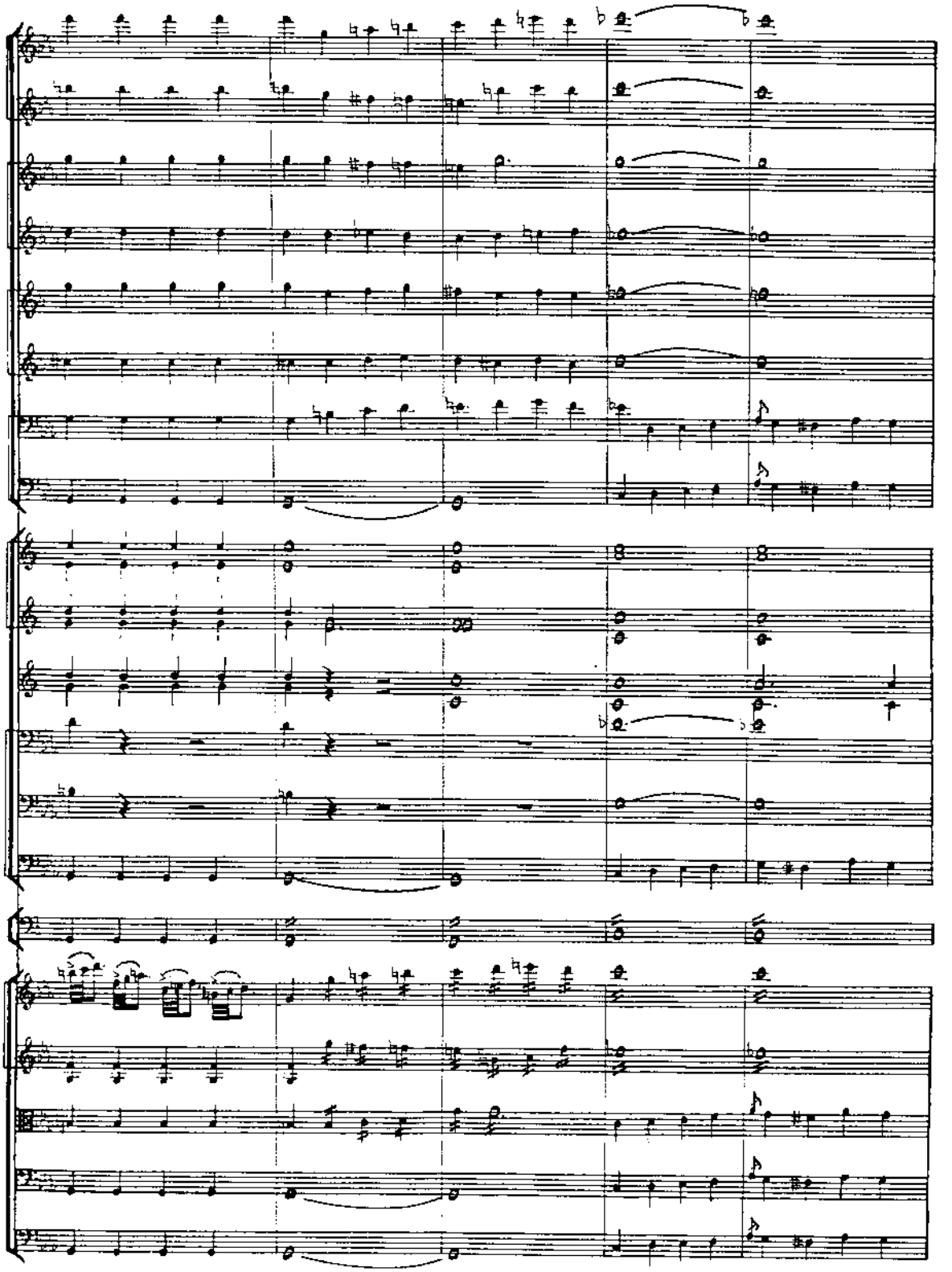

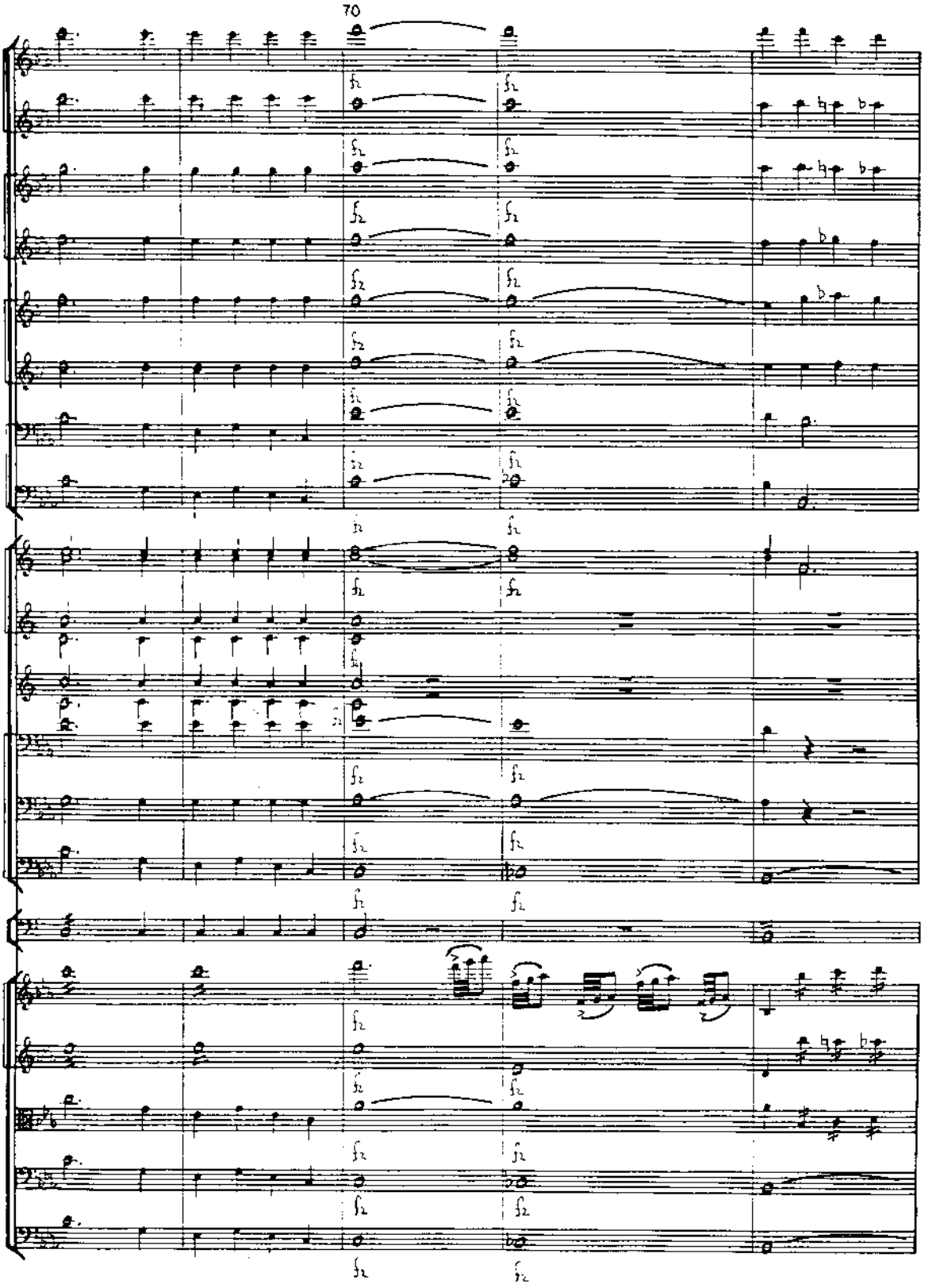
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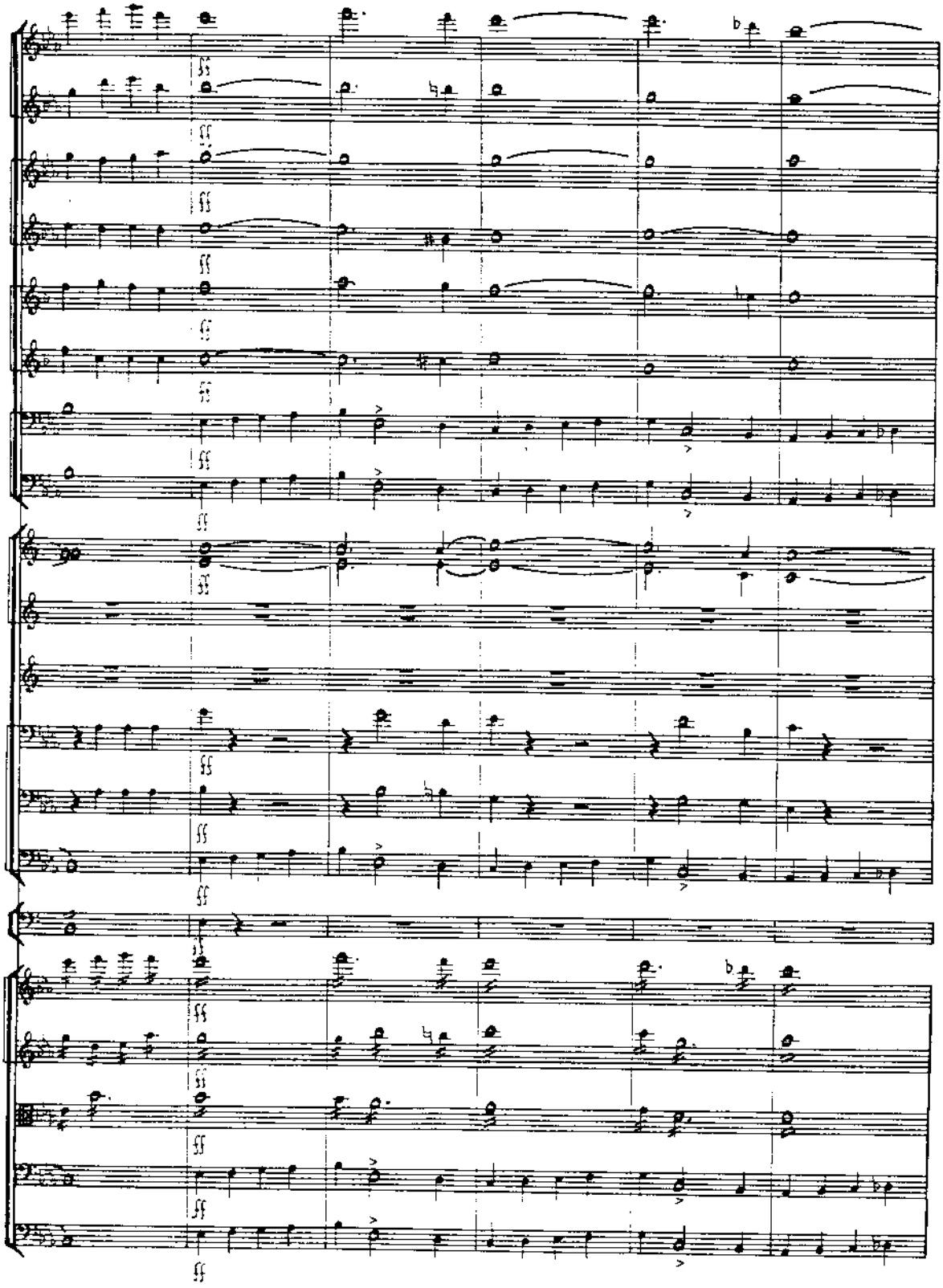

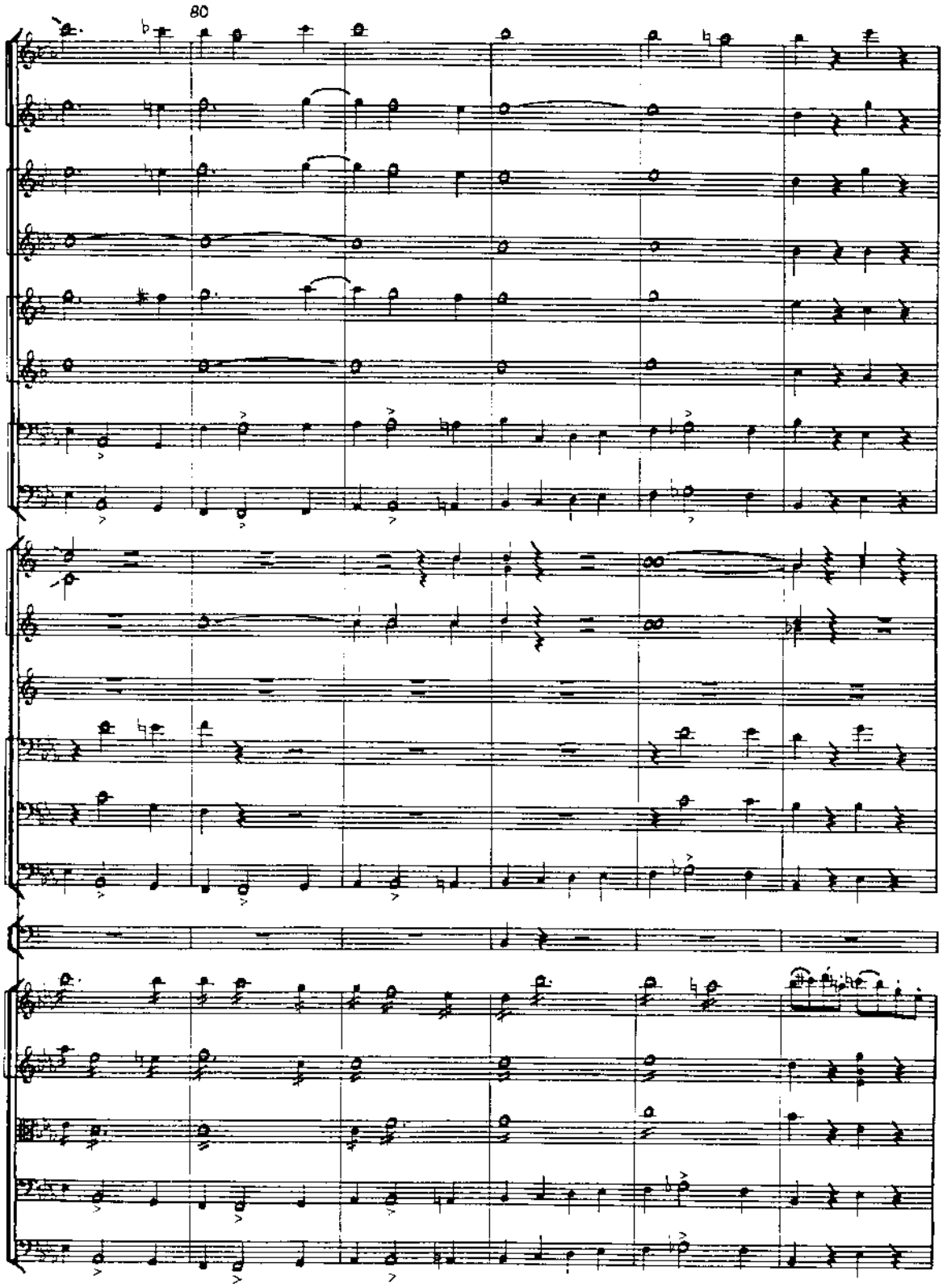
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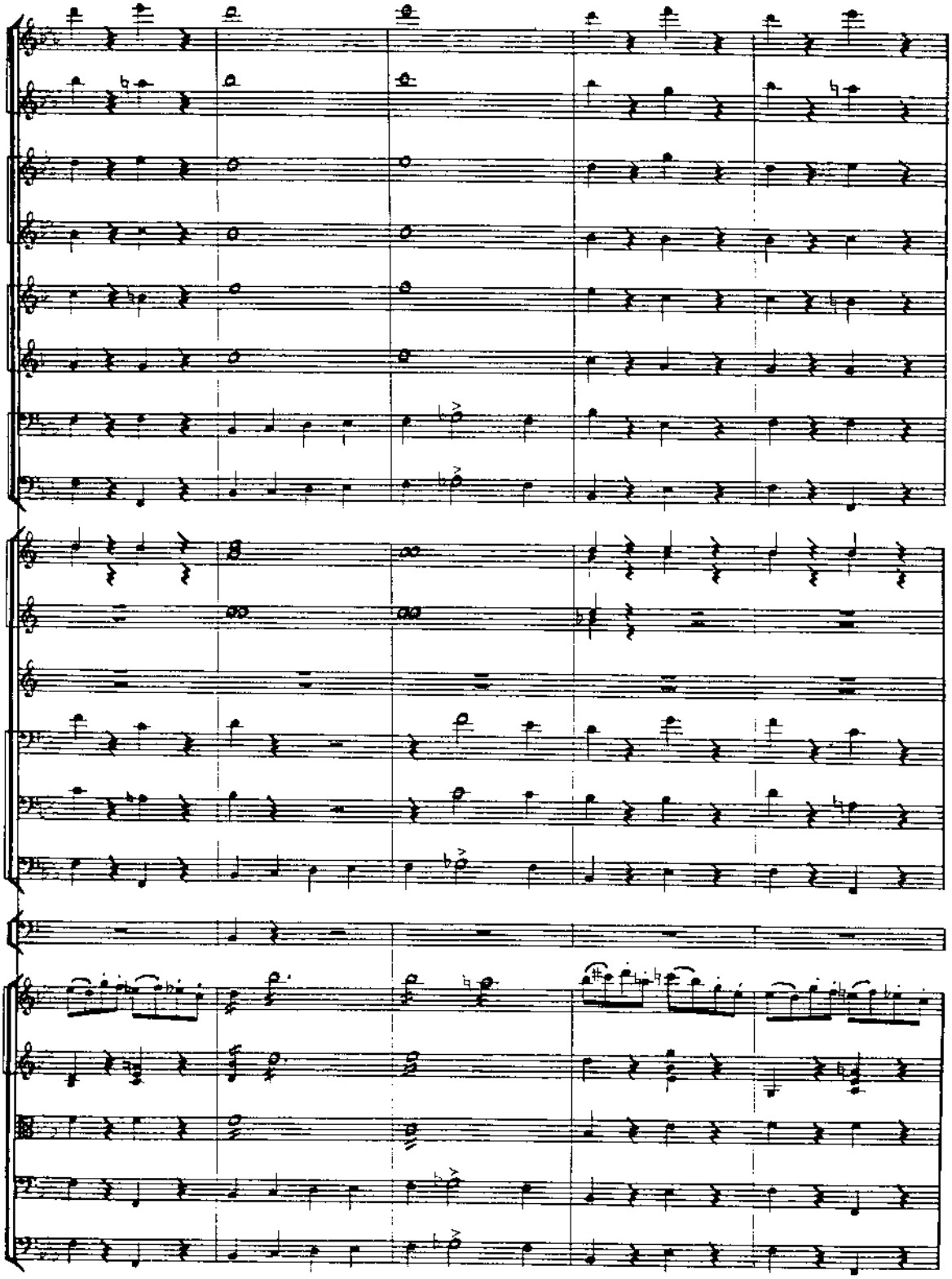

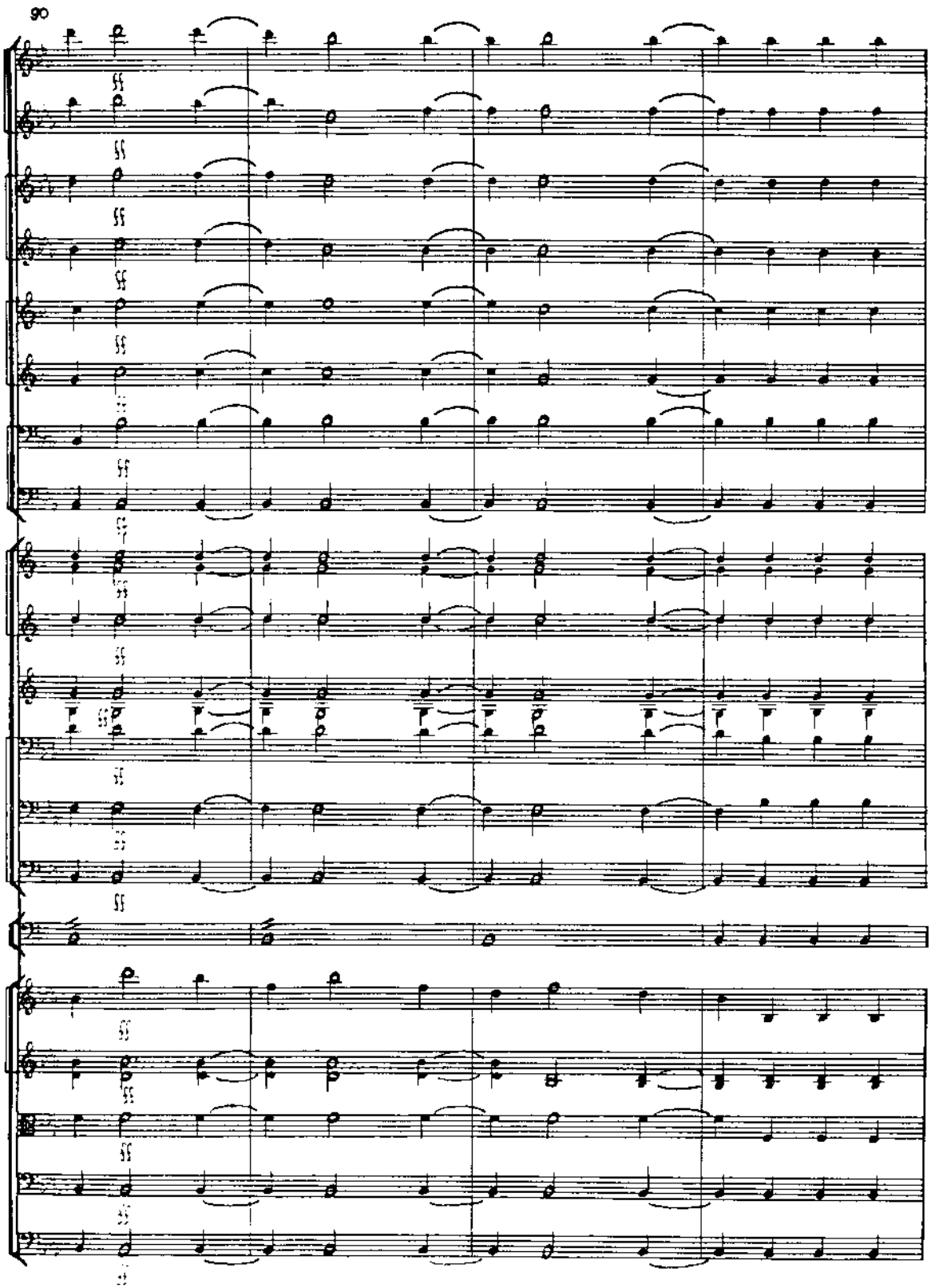
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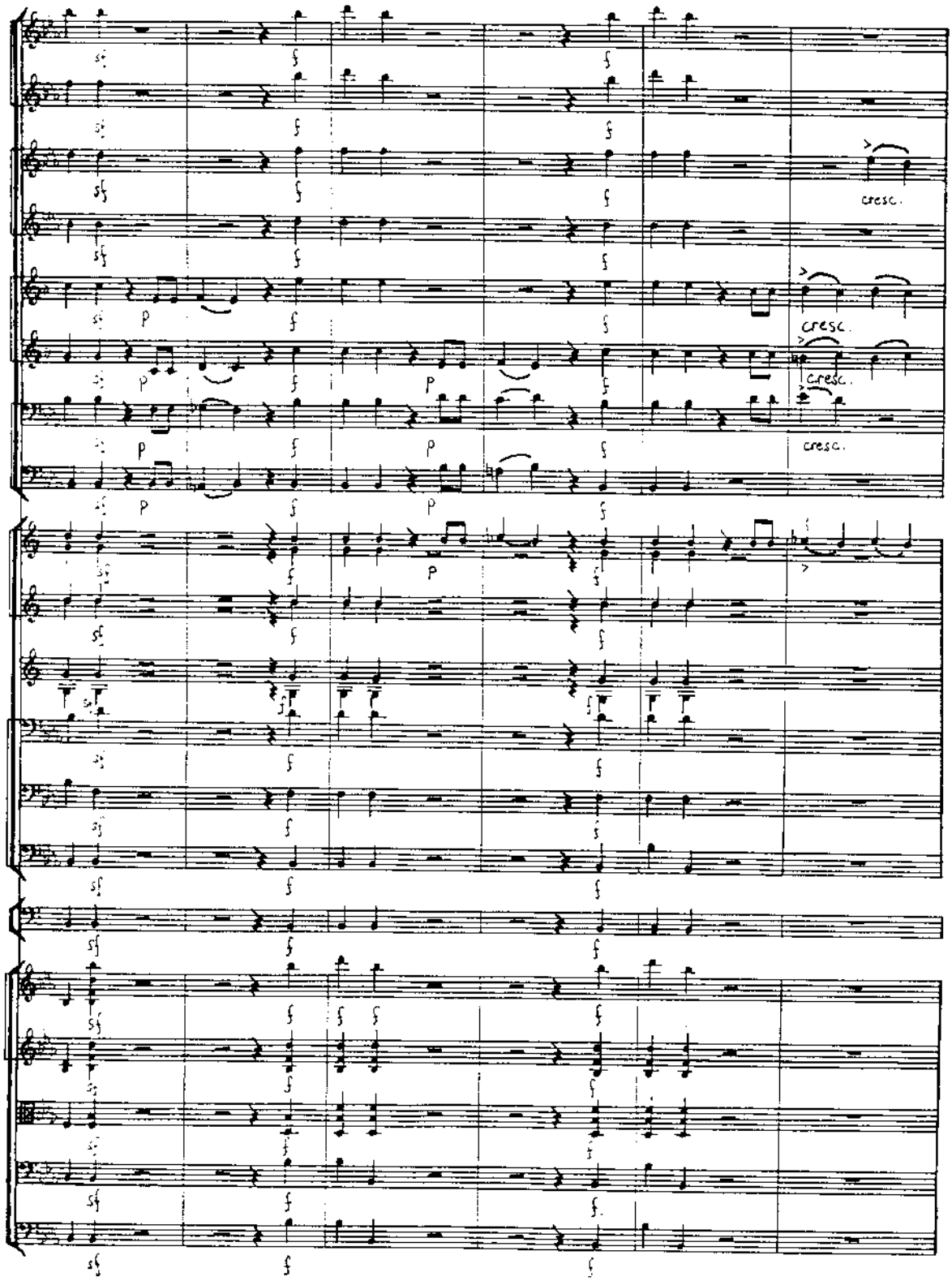
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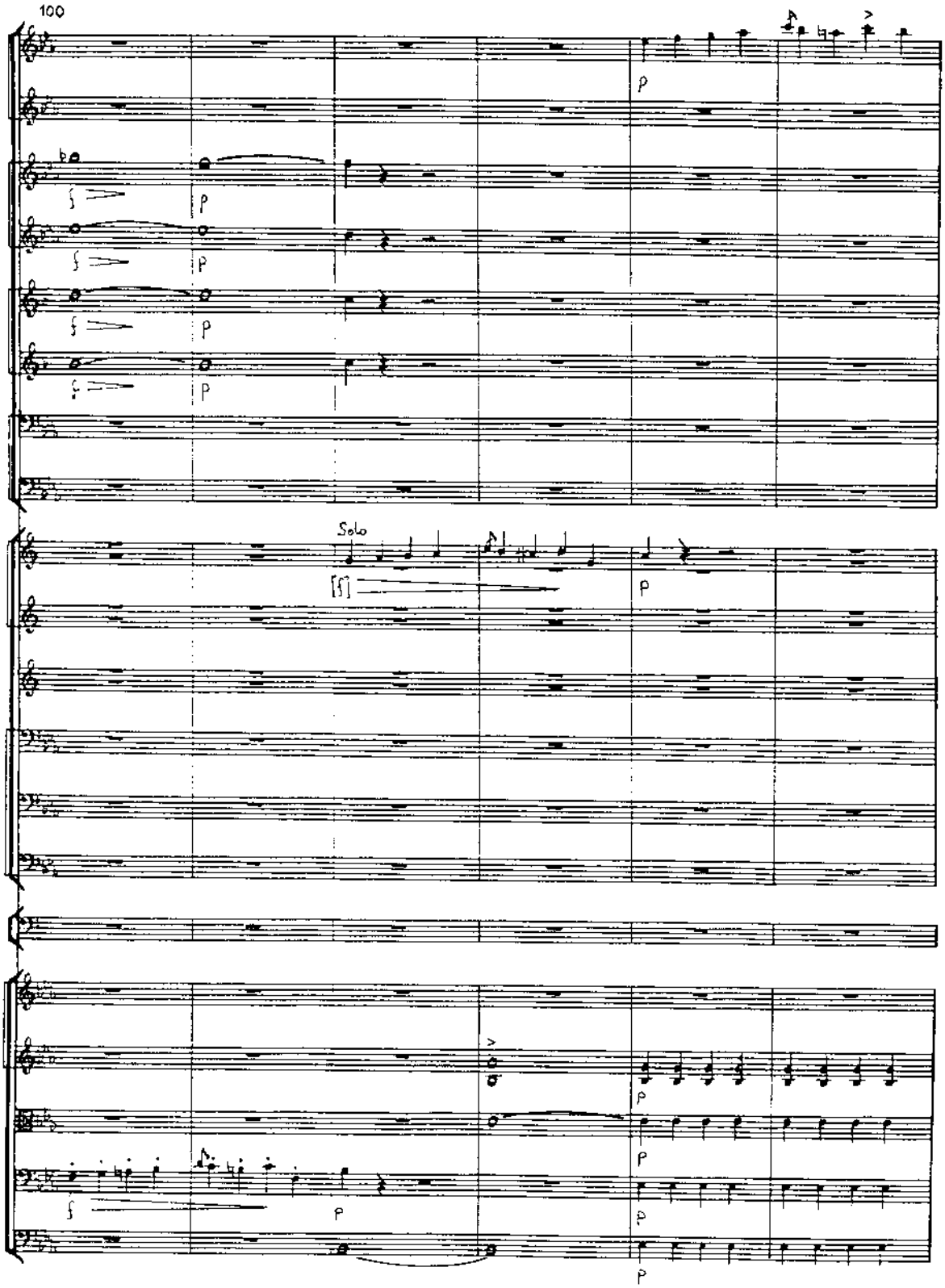
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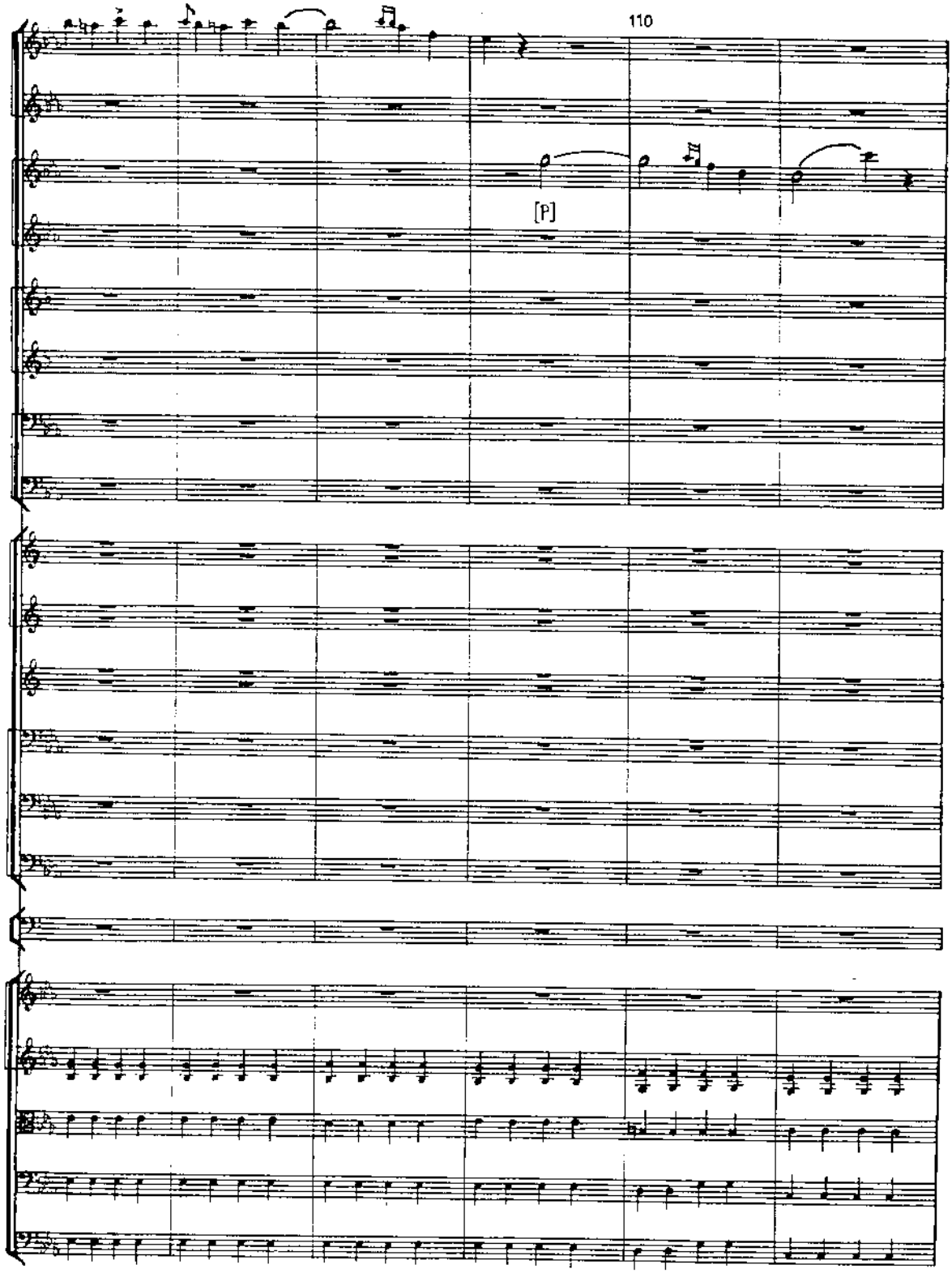
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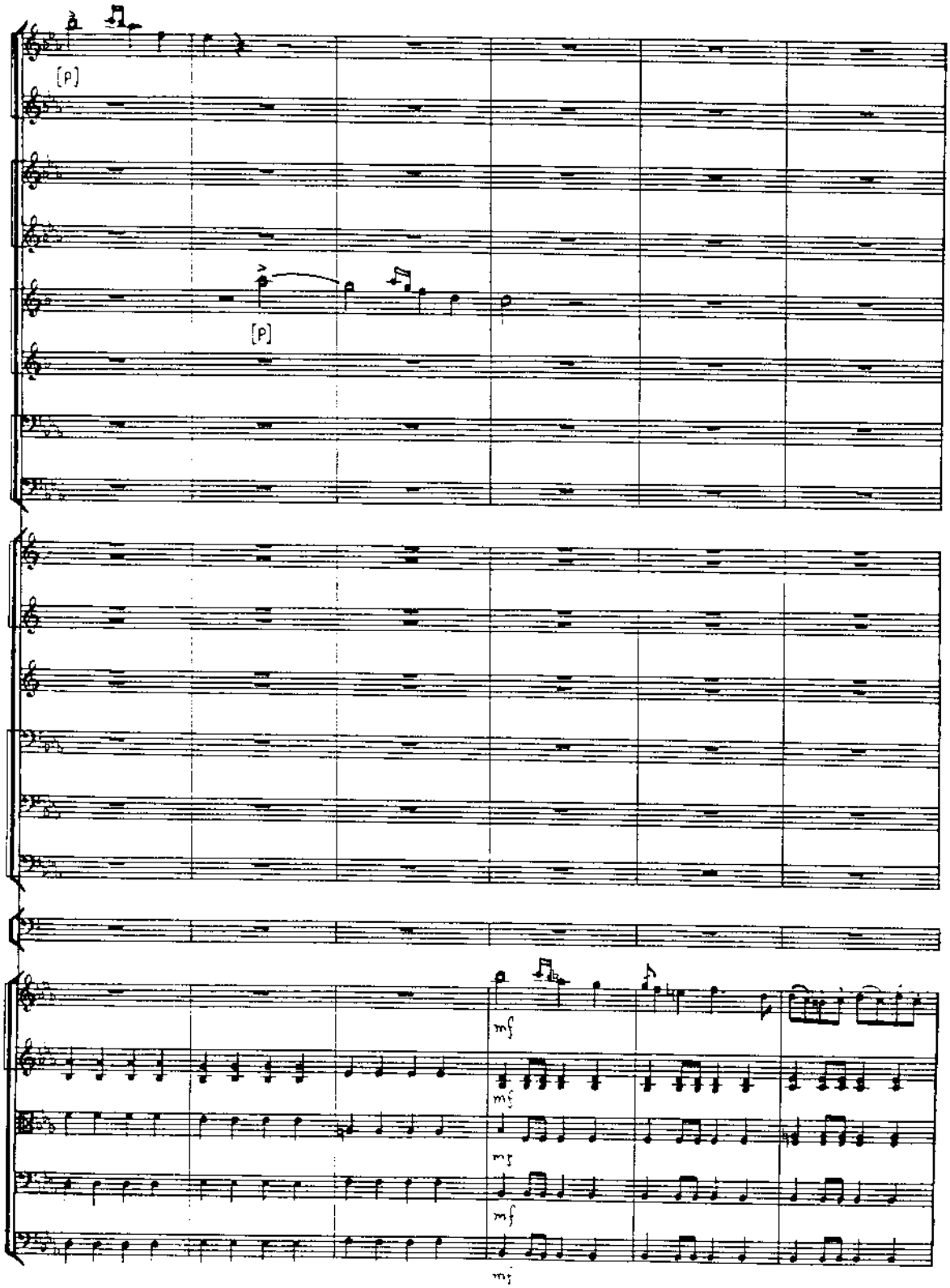
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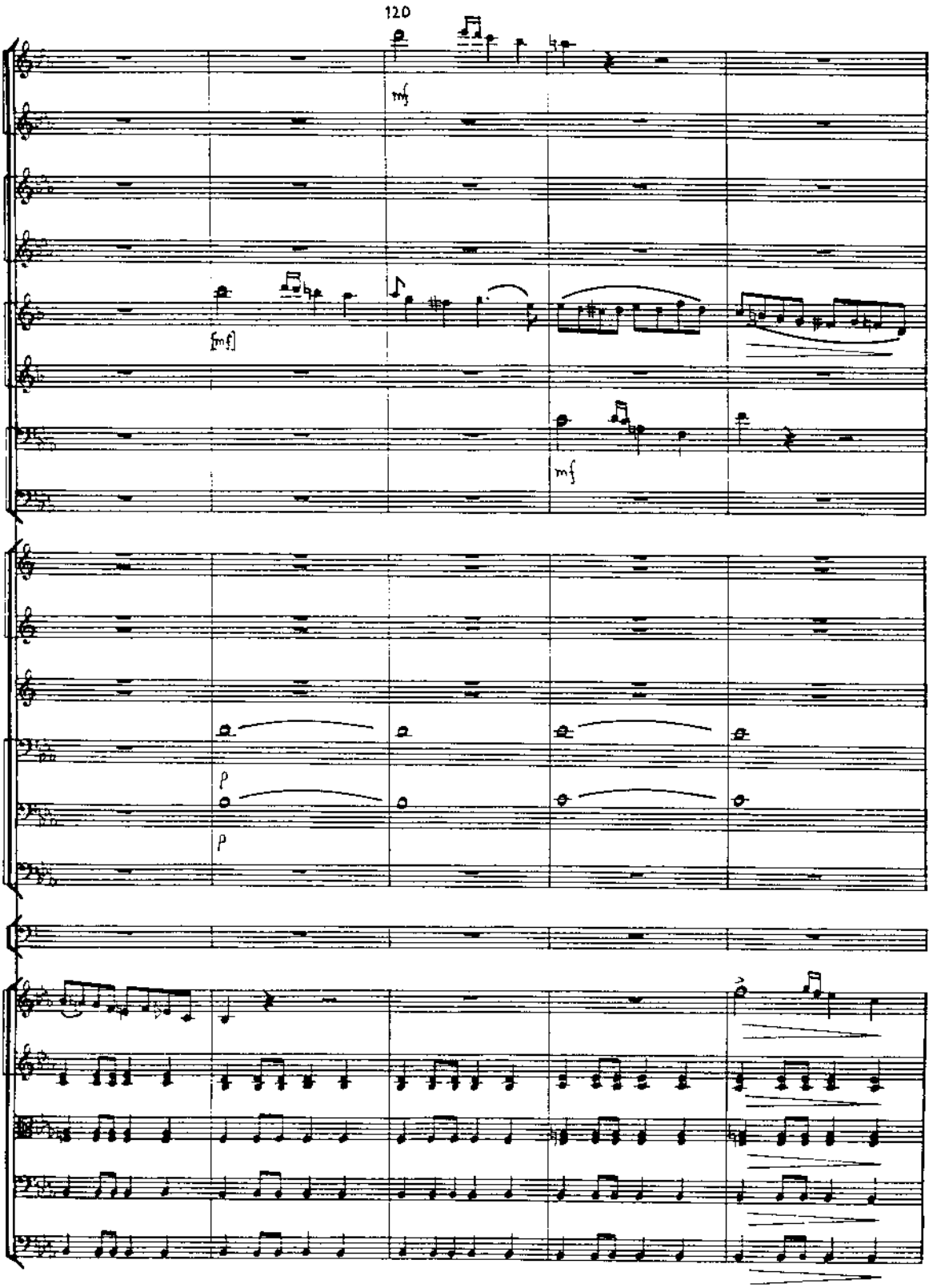
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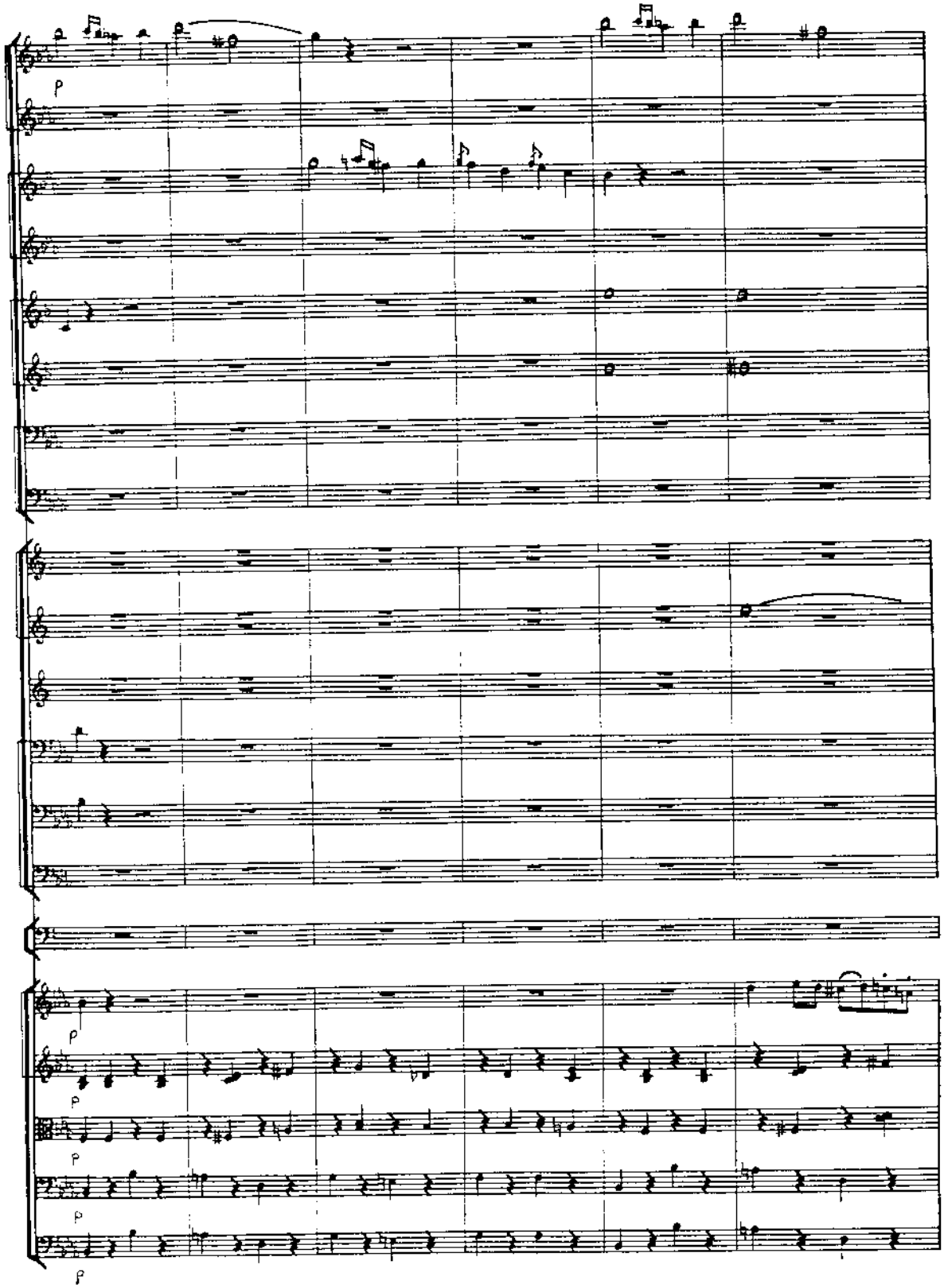

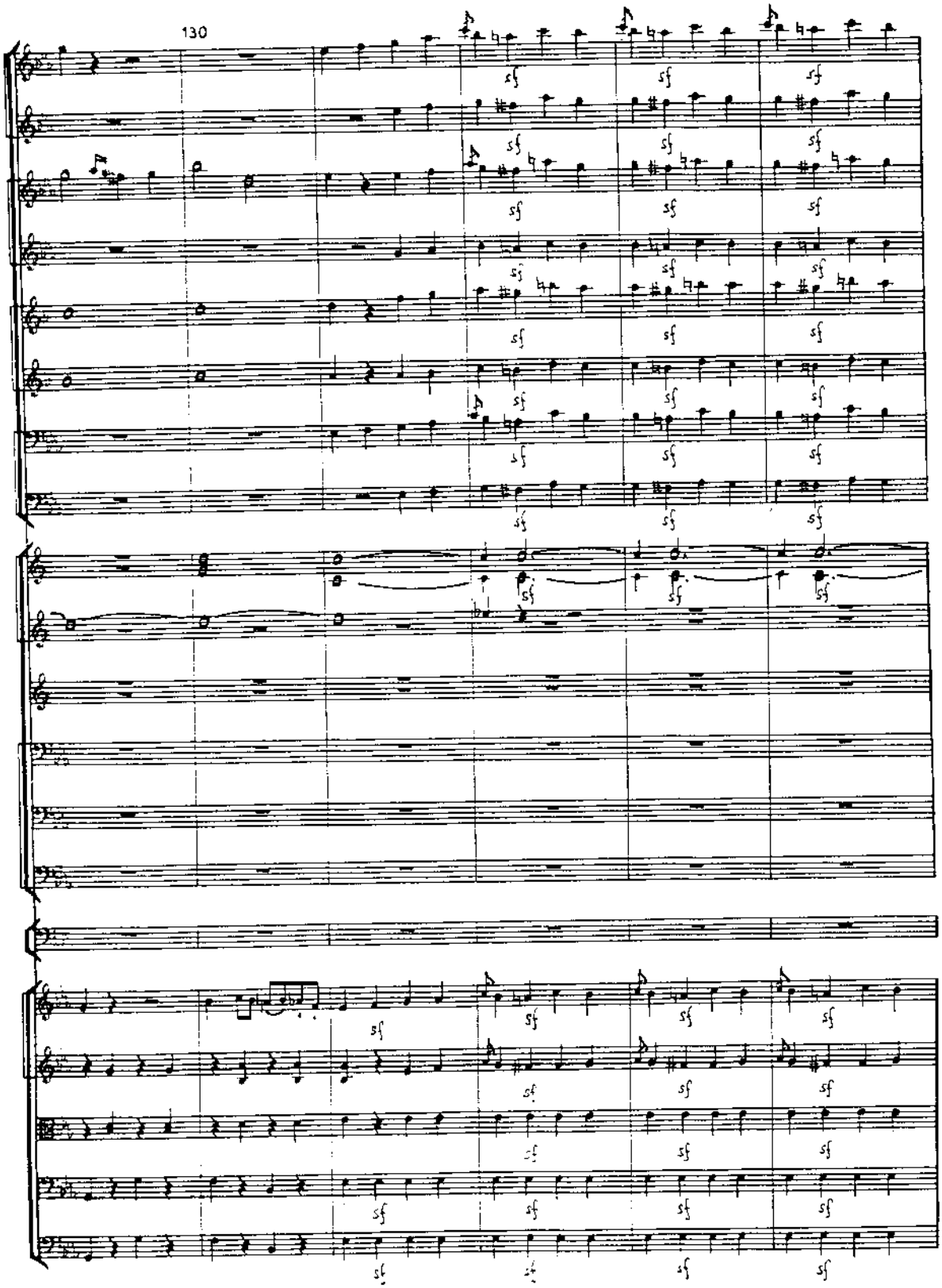
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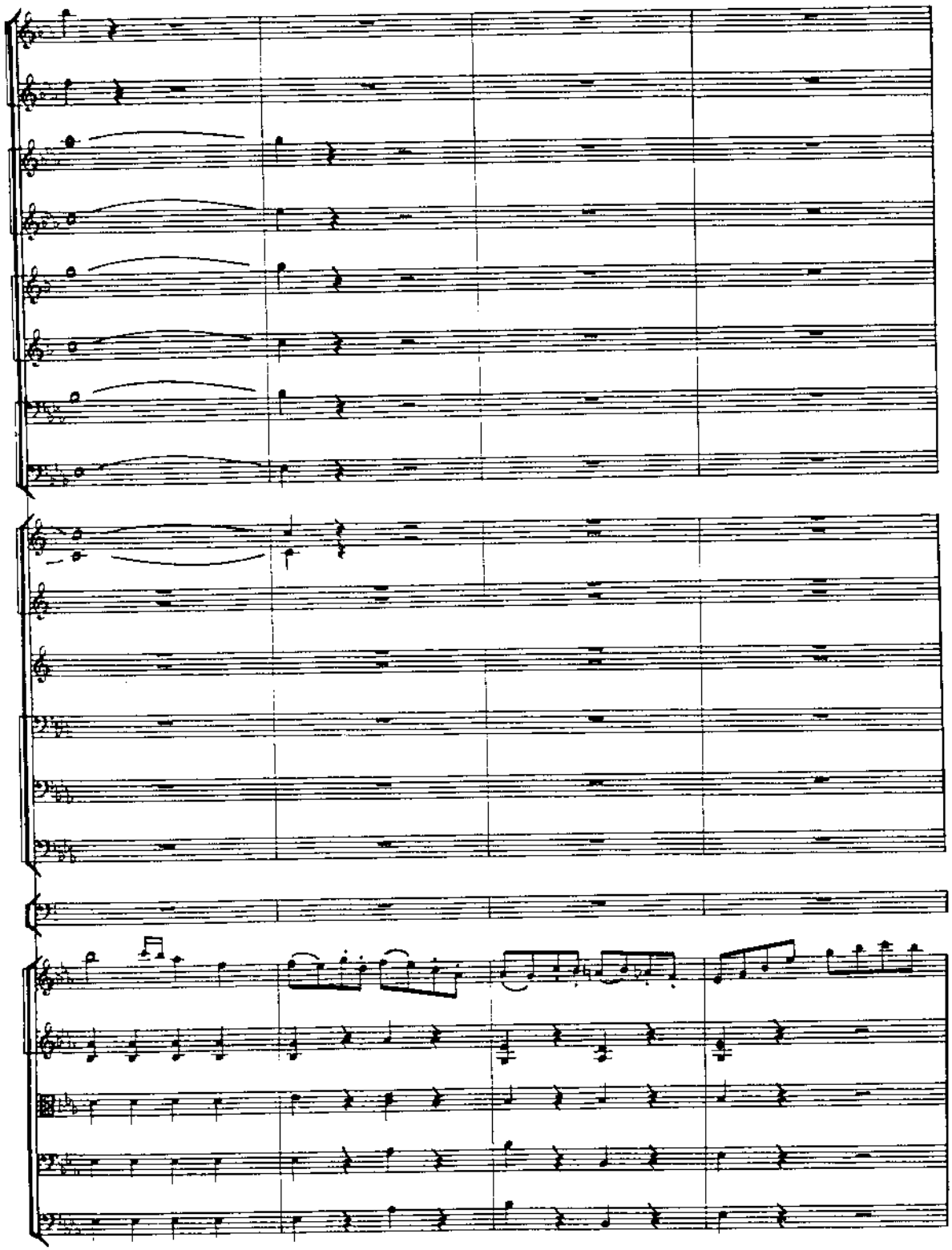

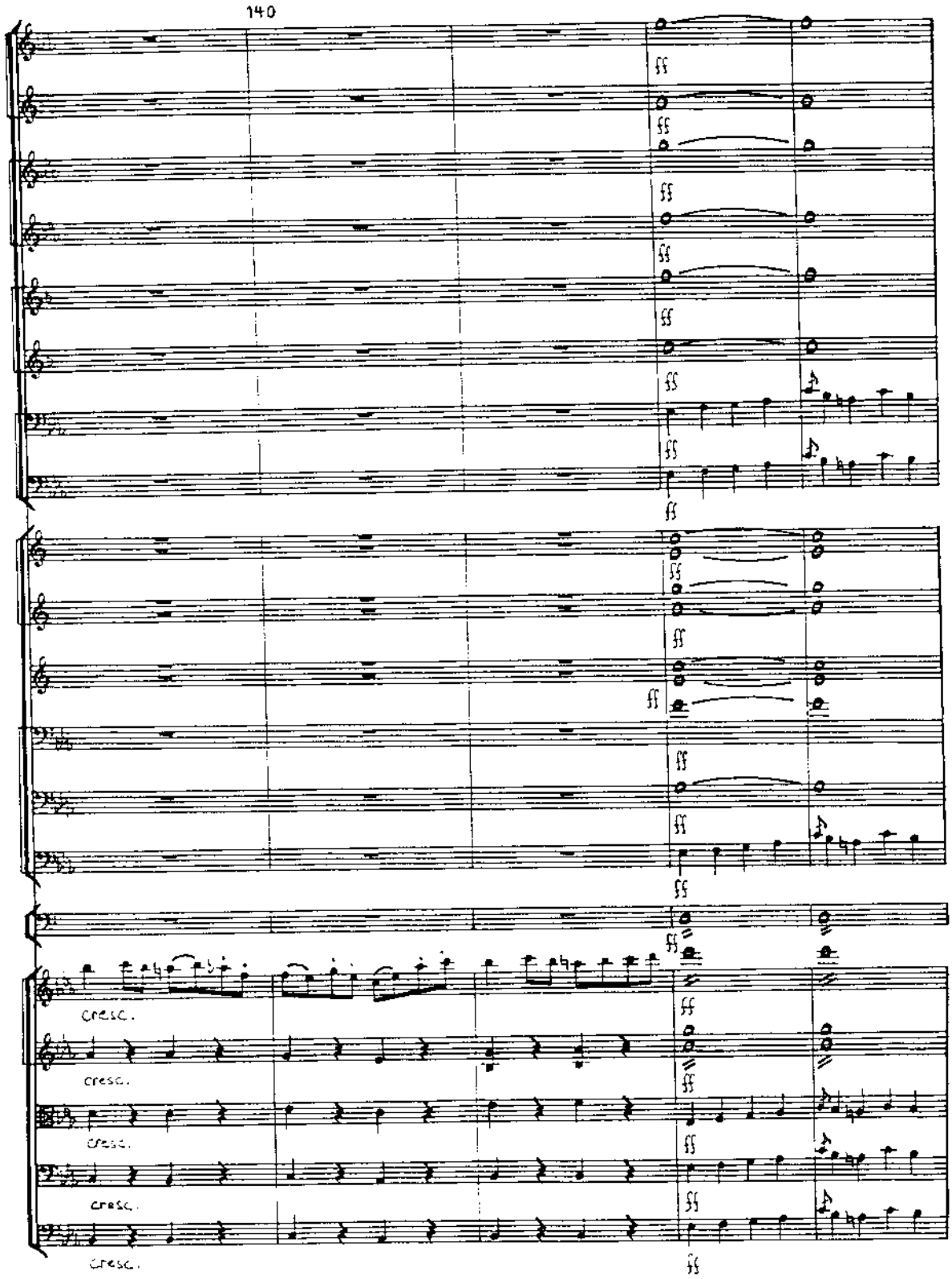
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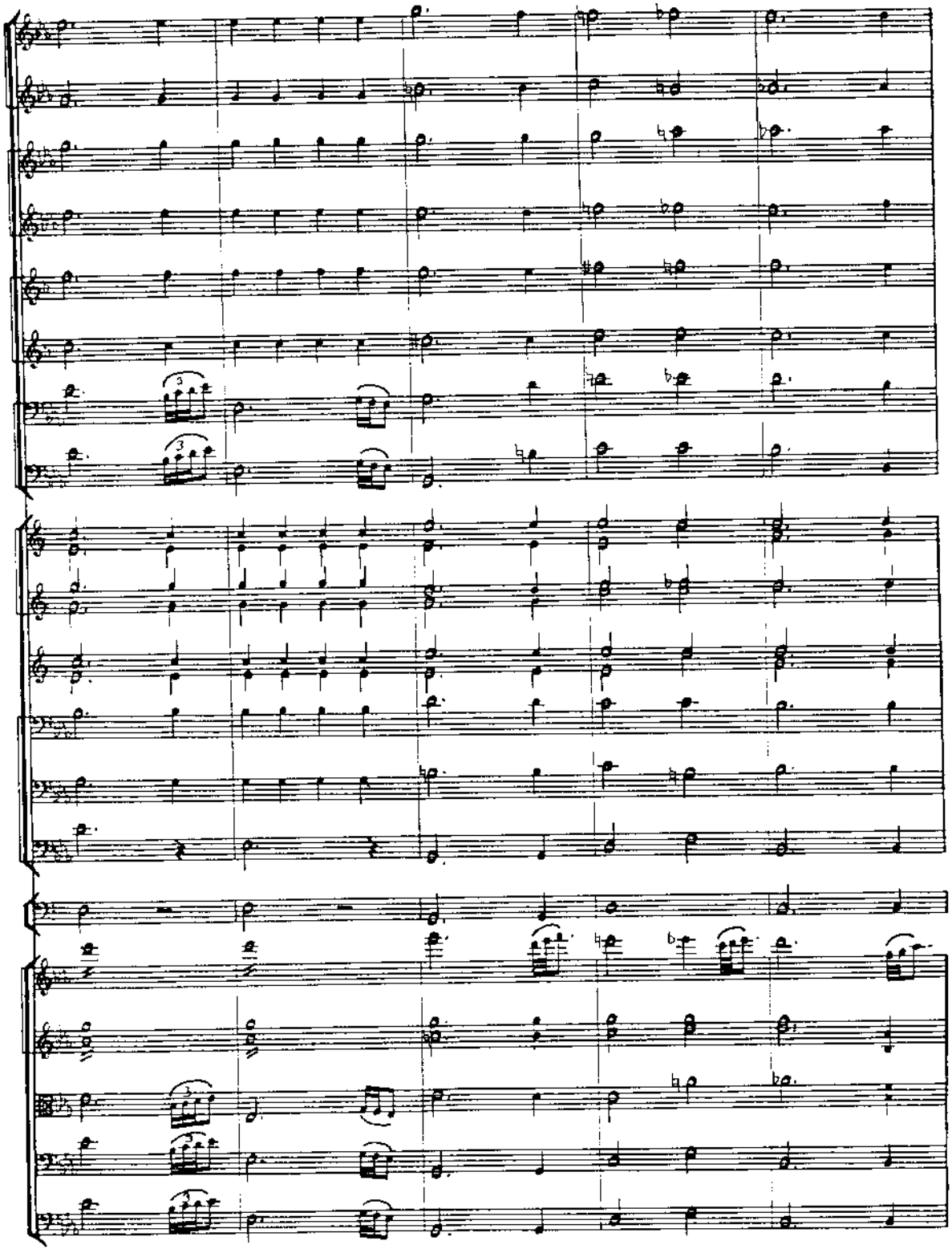

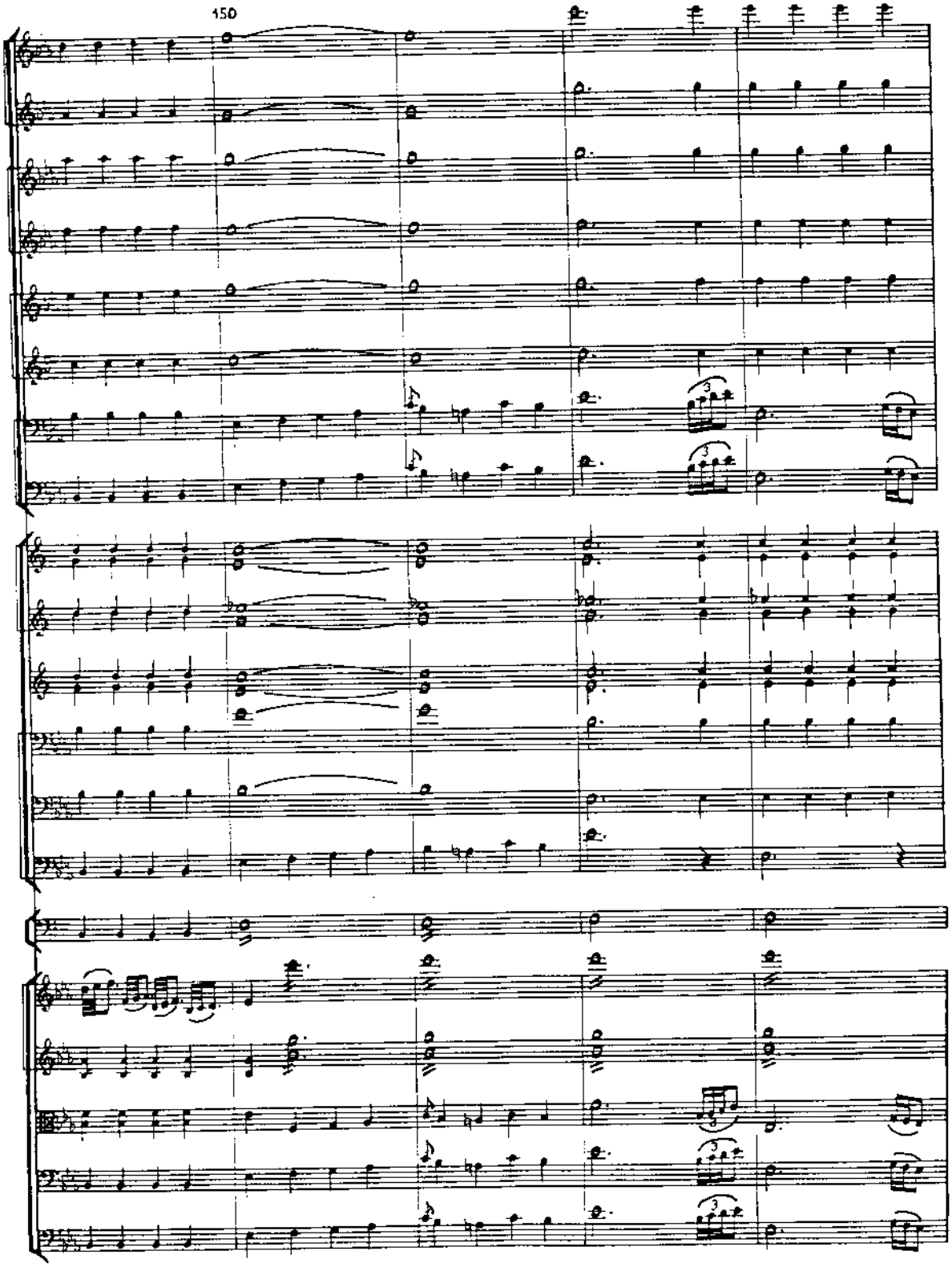
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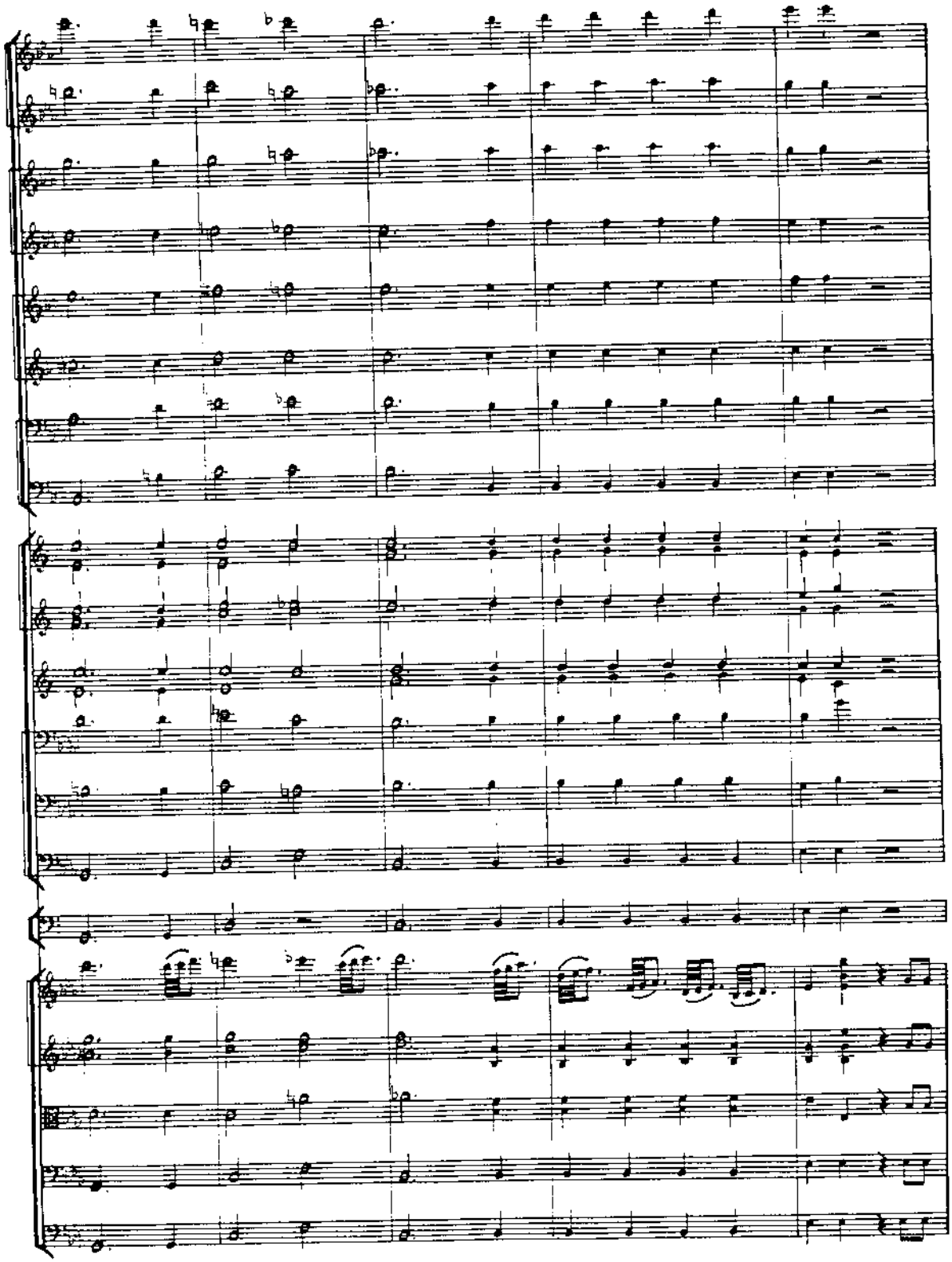

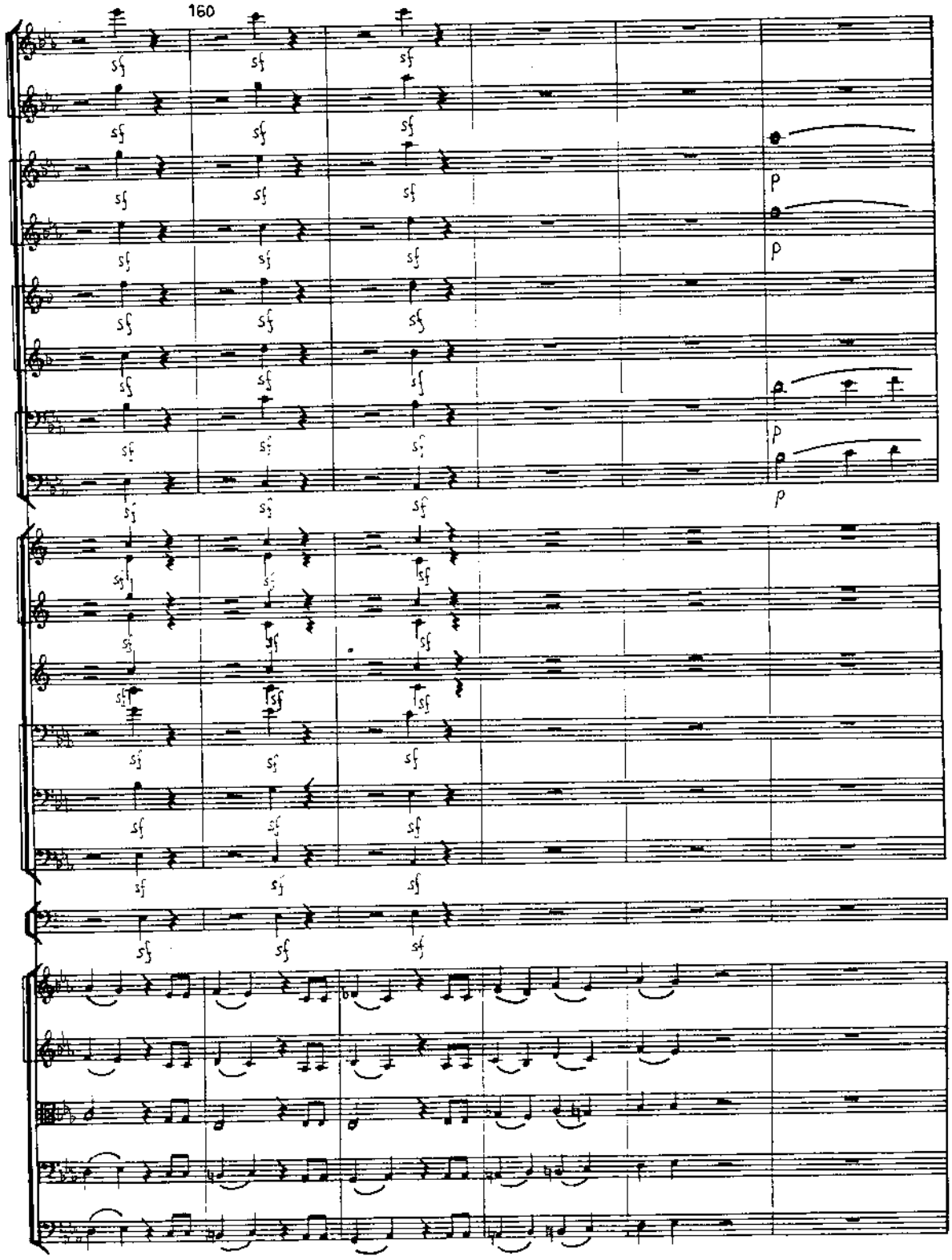
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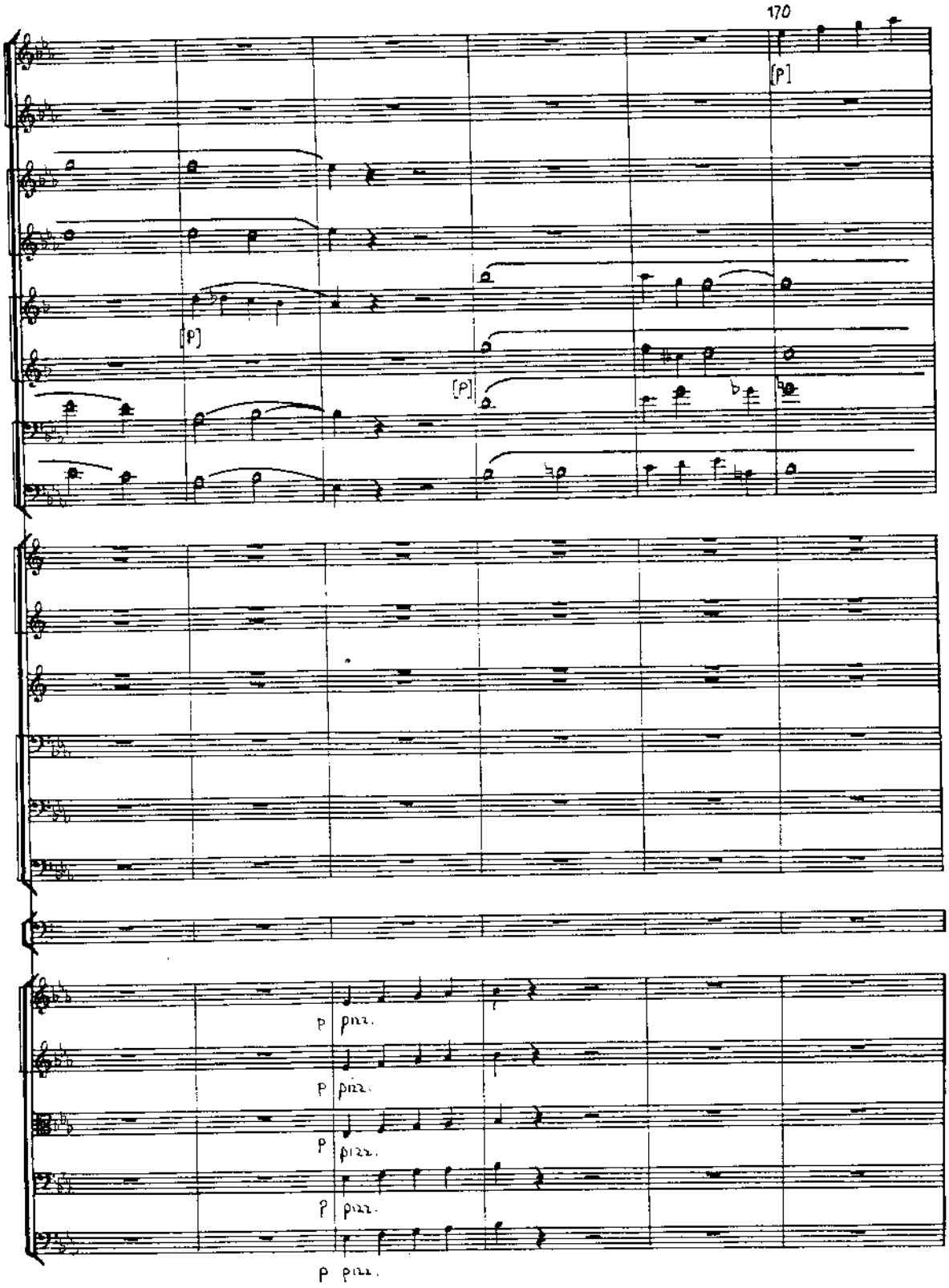
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p pizz.
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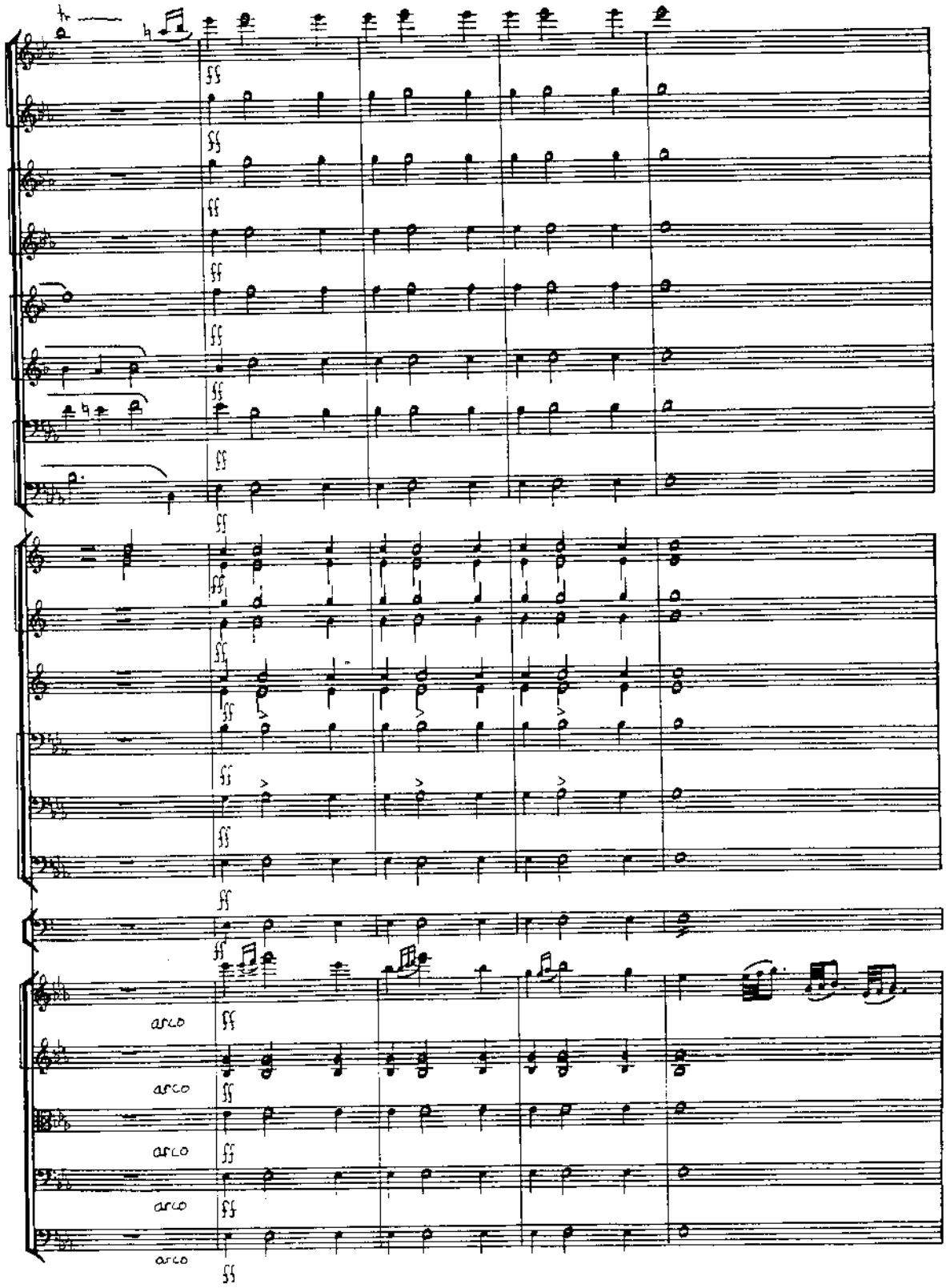
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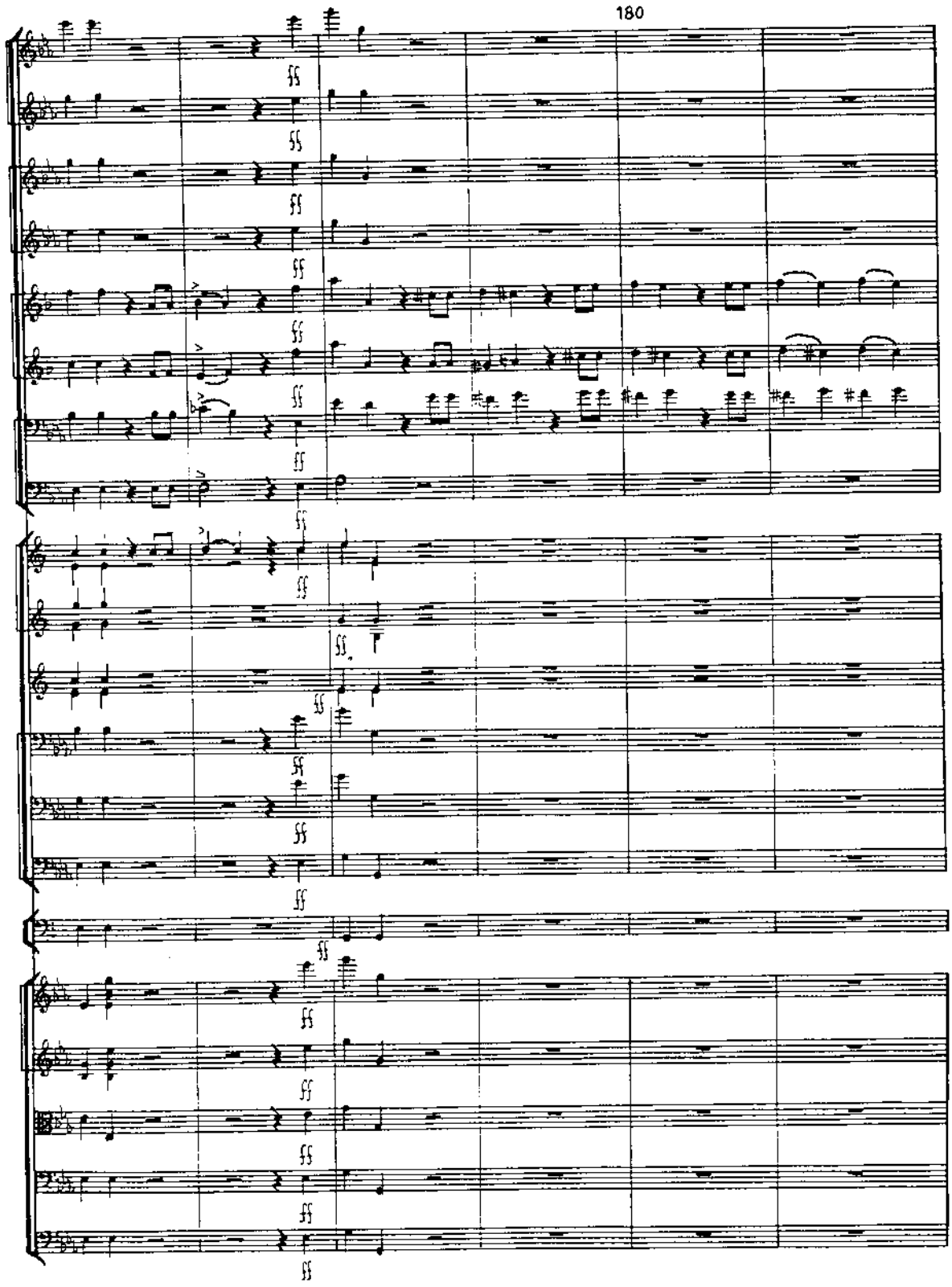
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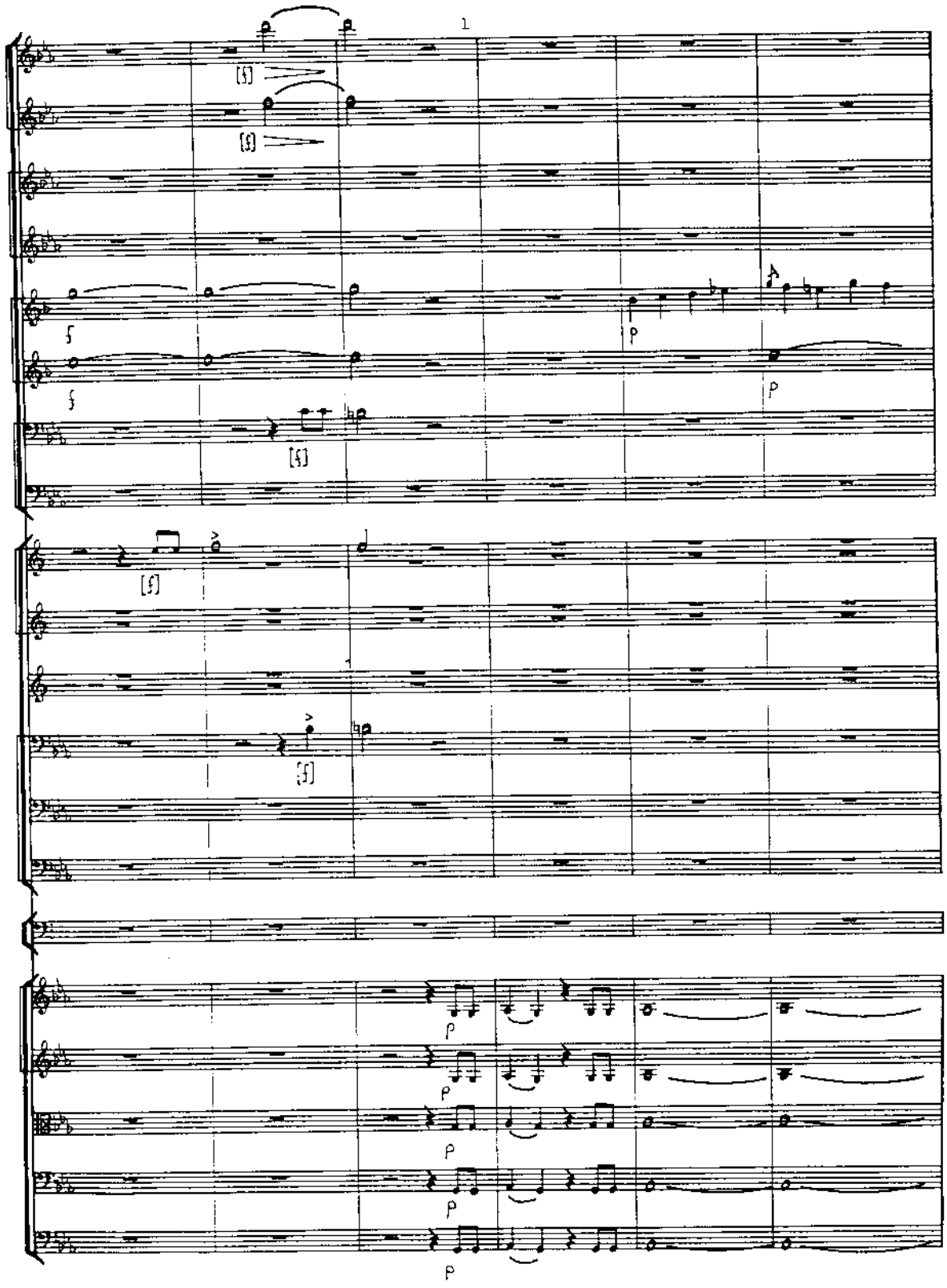
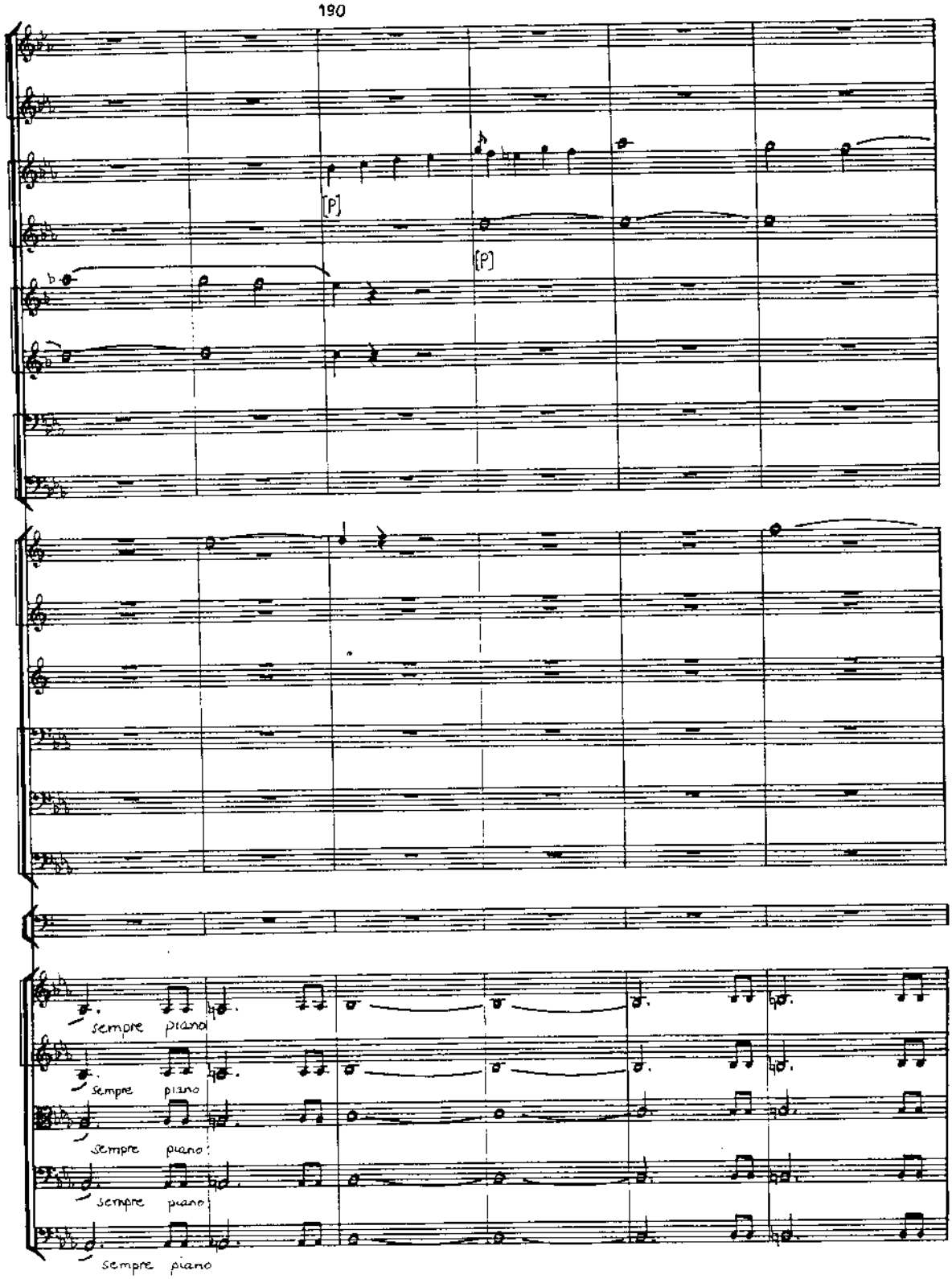


[1] At this point the piano arrangement indicates a repeat of the first part of the movement.

190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[p]
sempre piano
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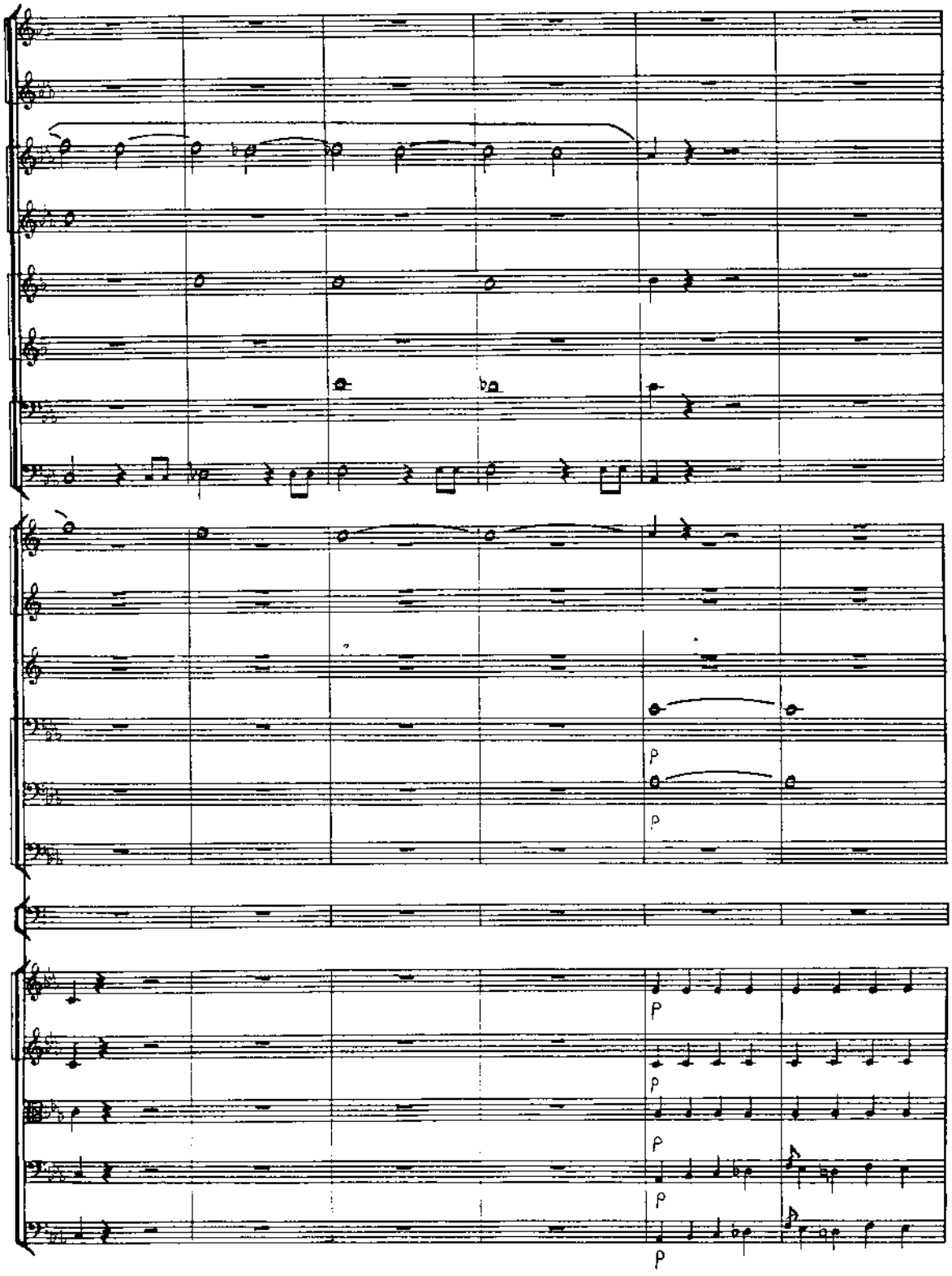
sempre piano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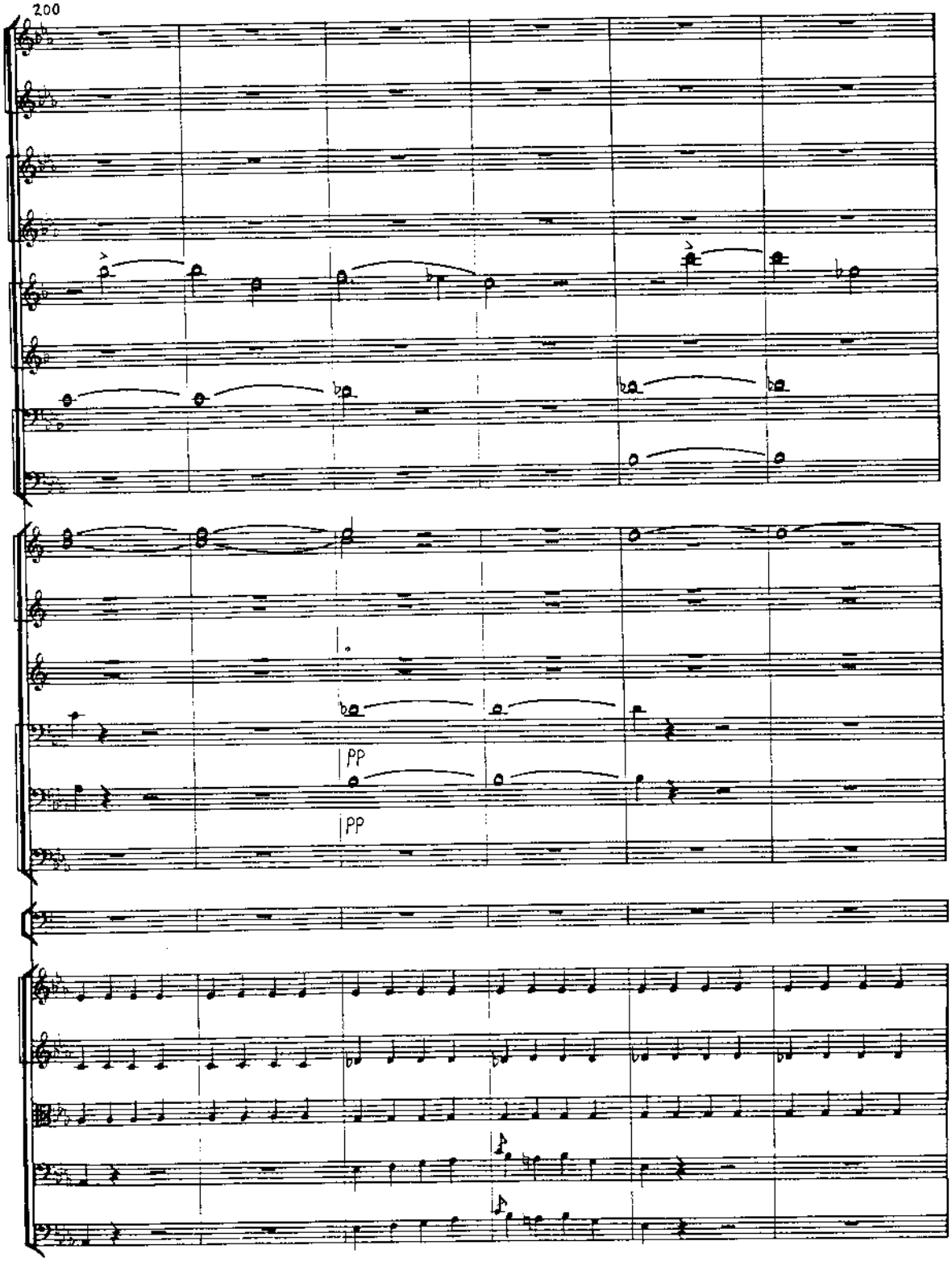
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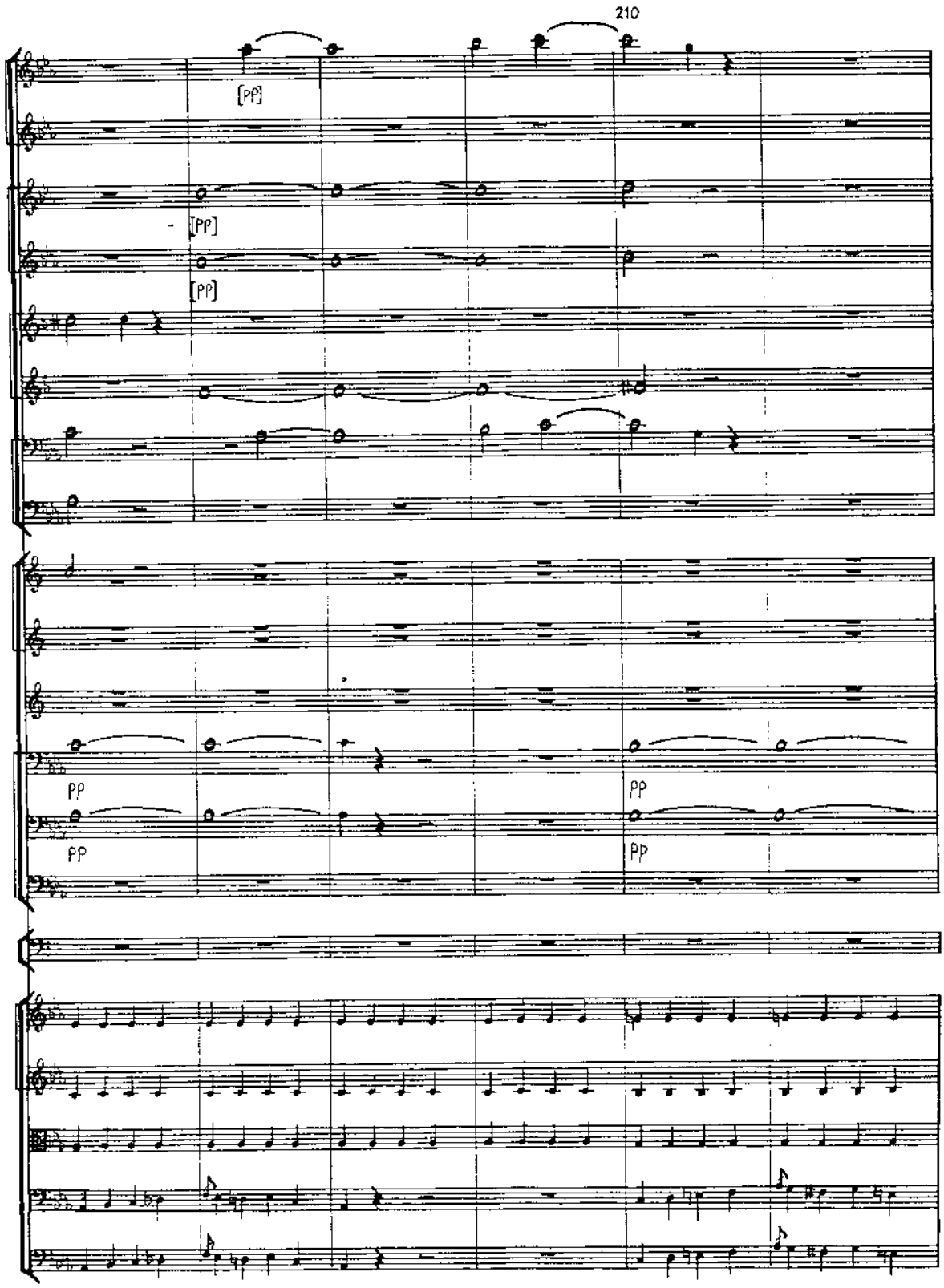
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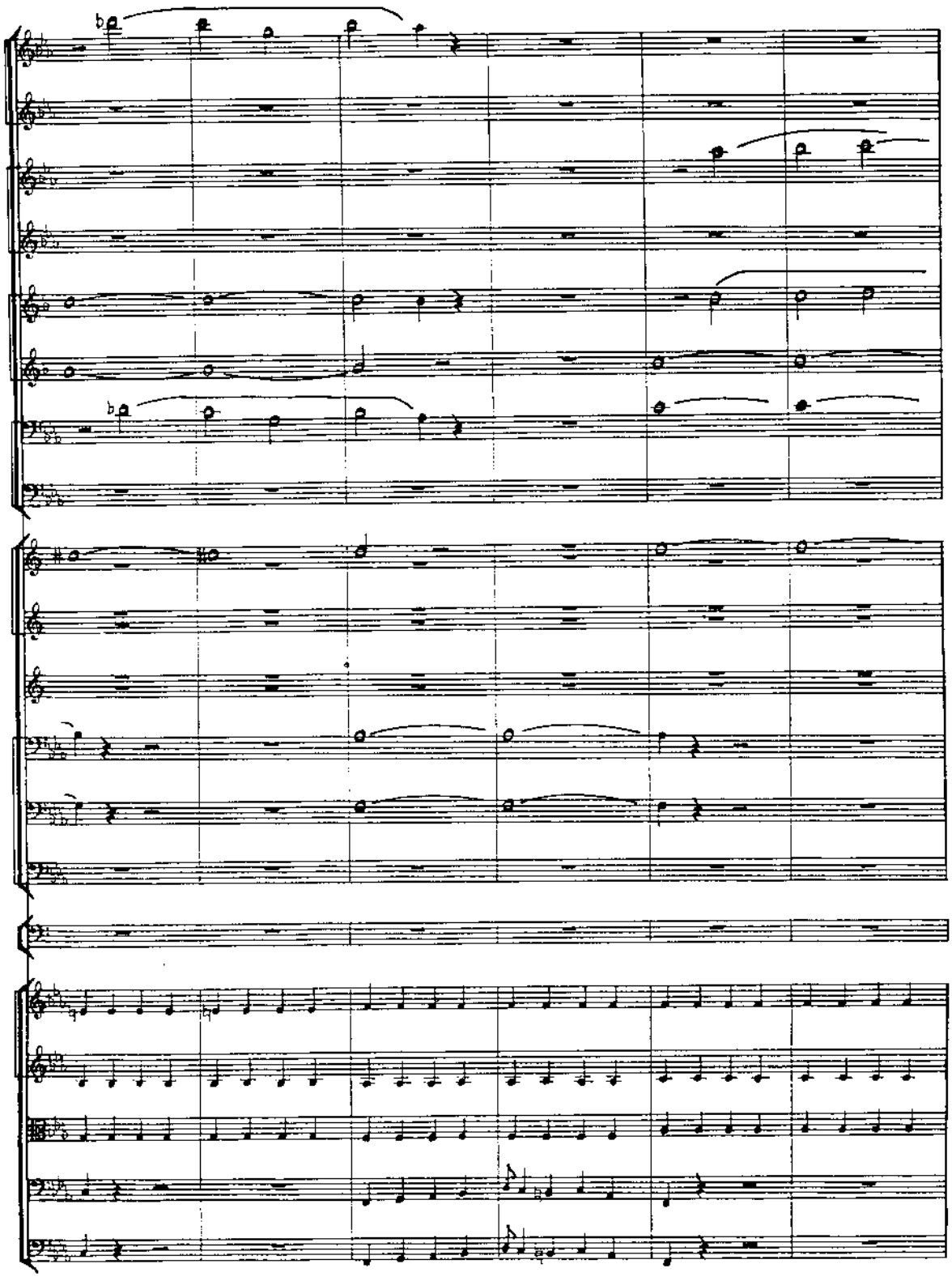

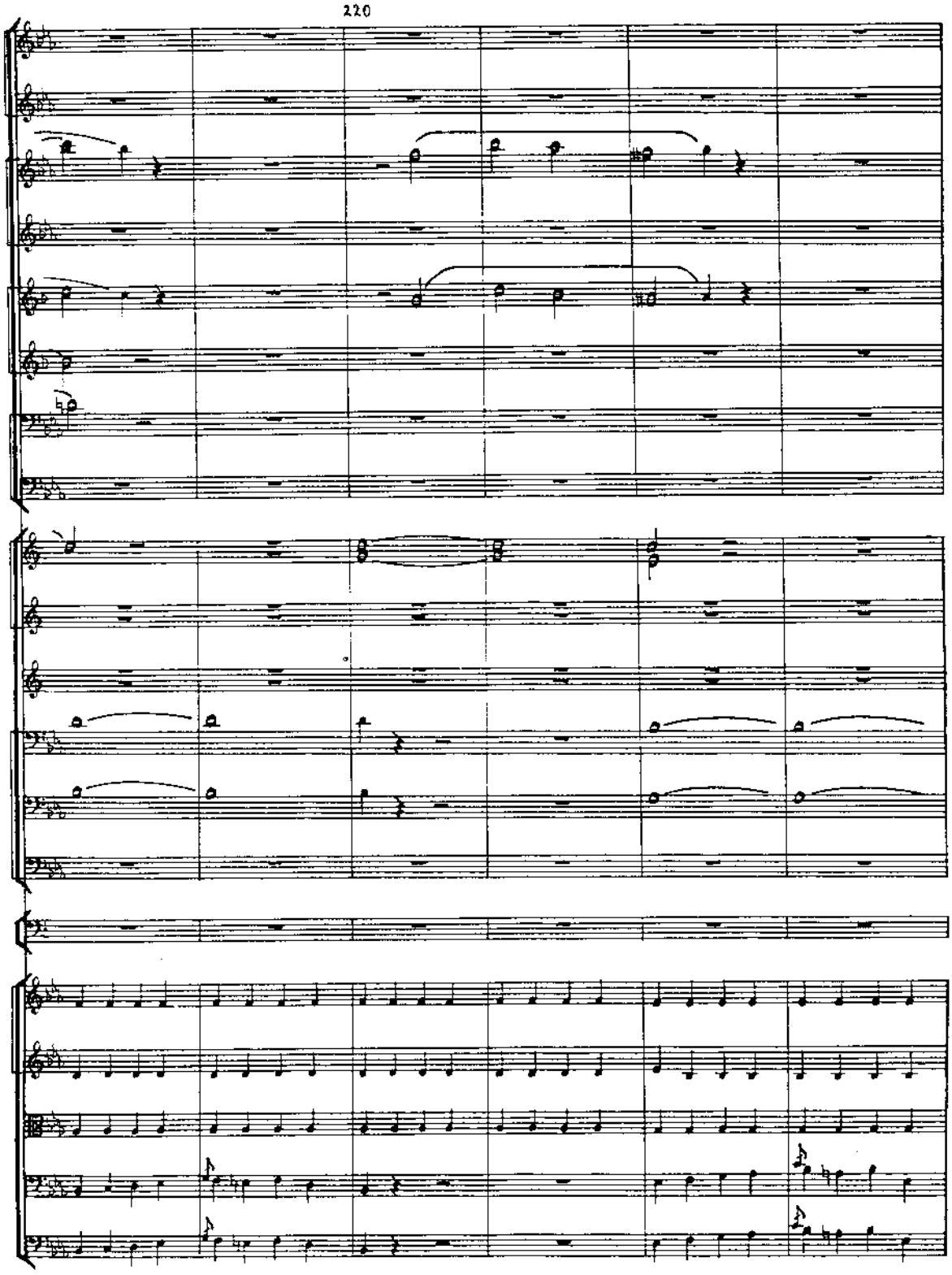
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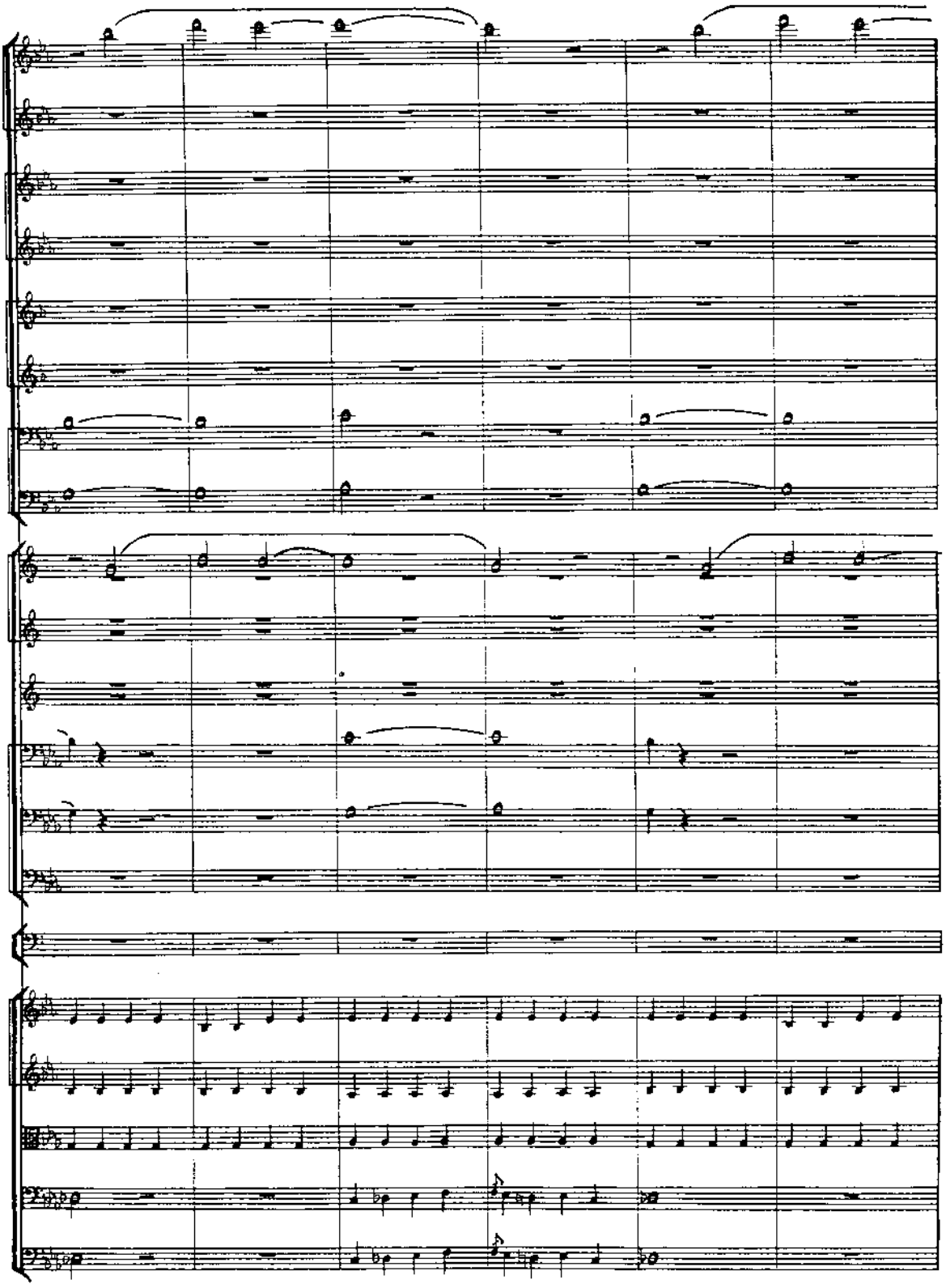

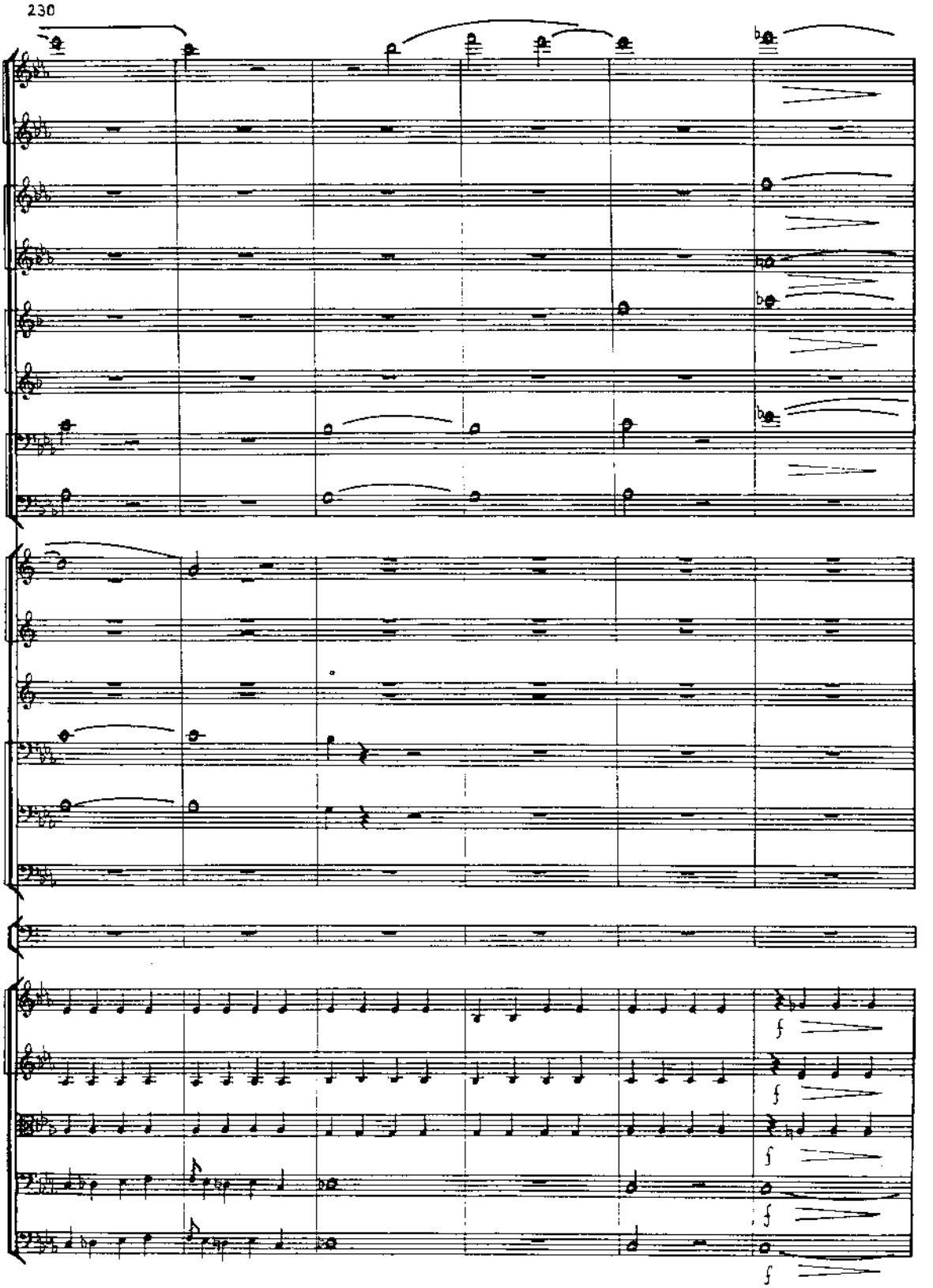
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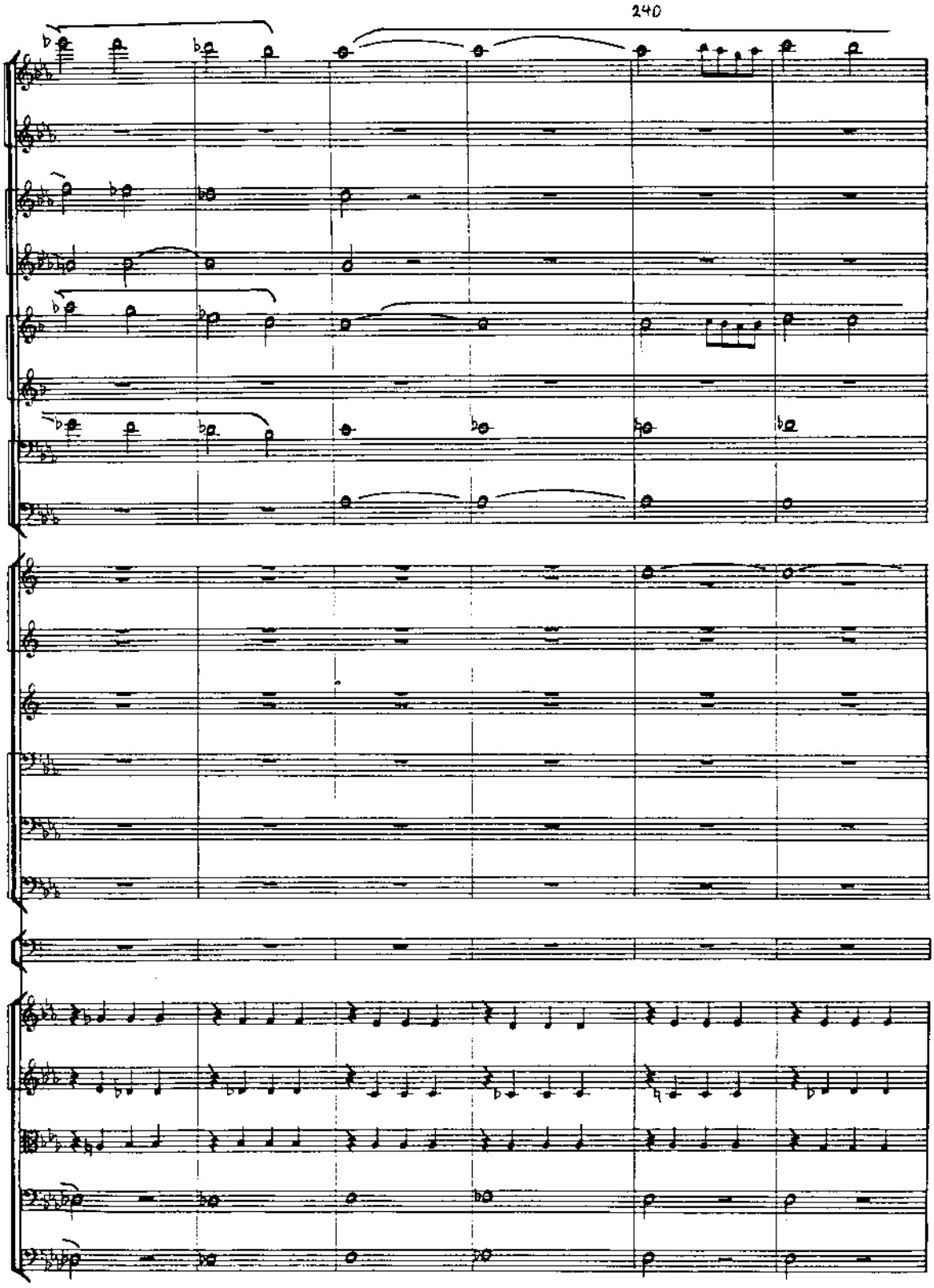
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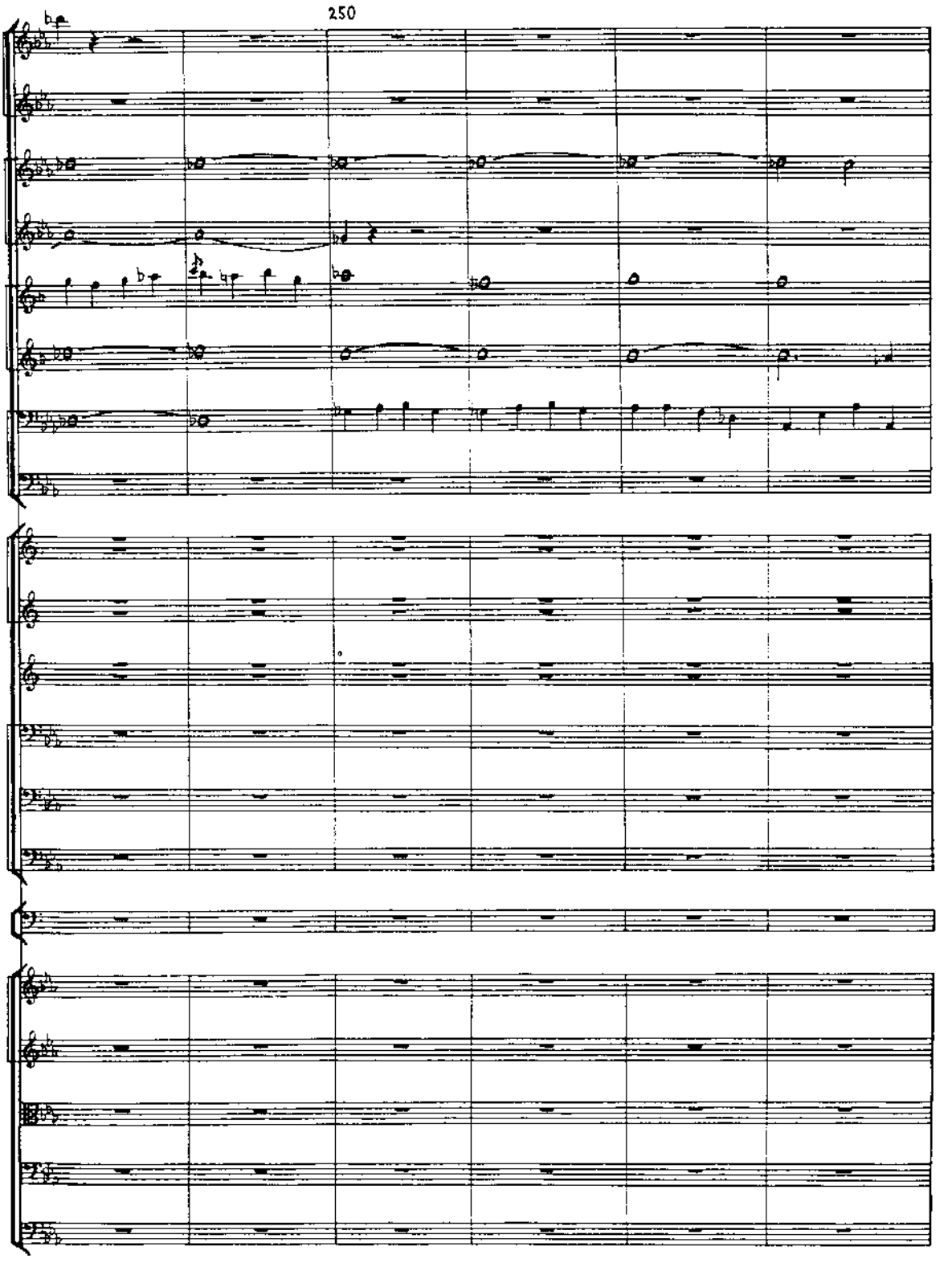
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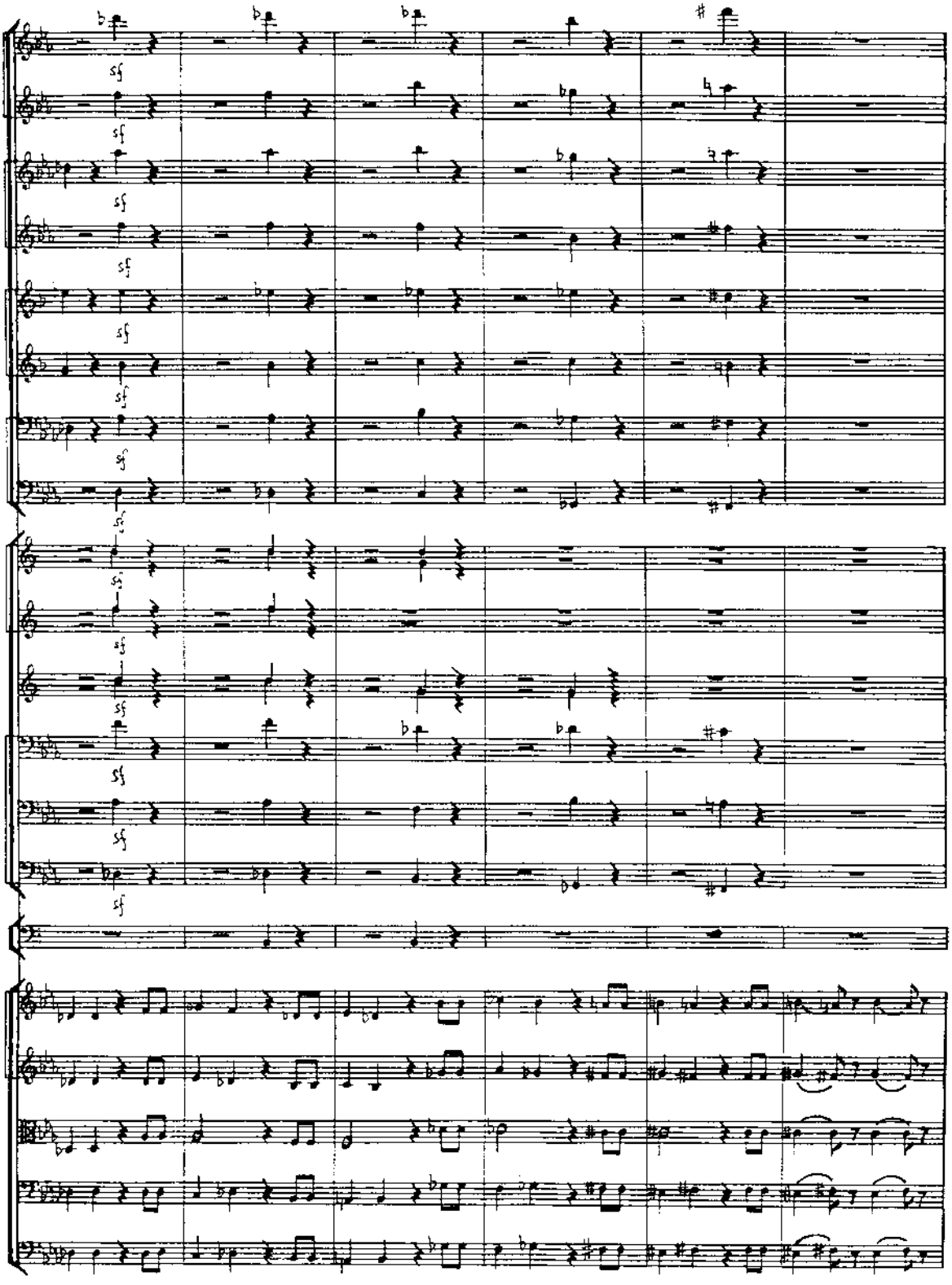

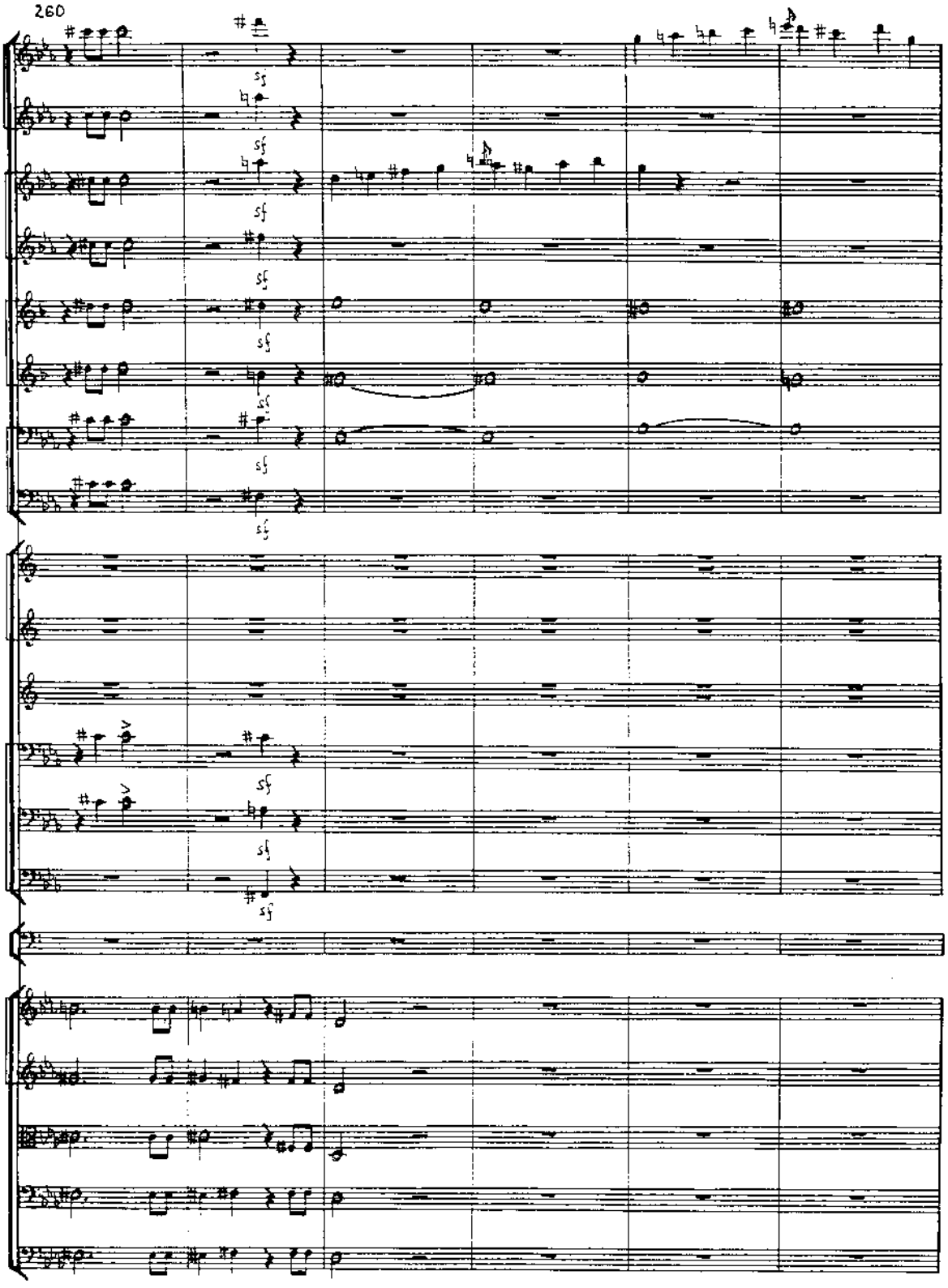
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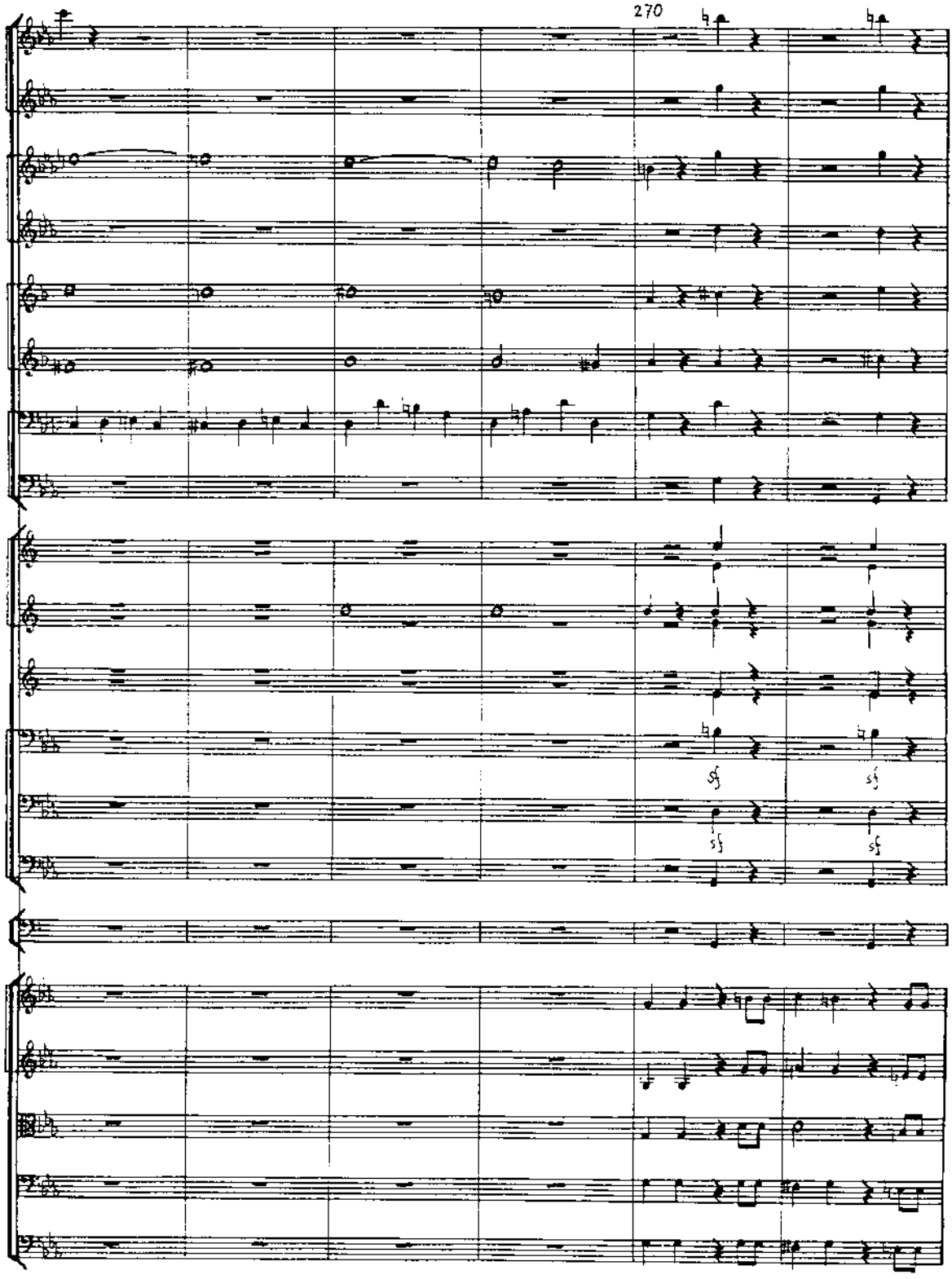
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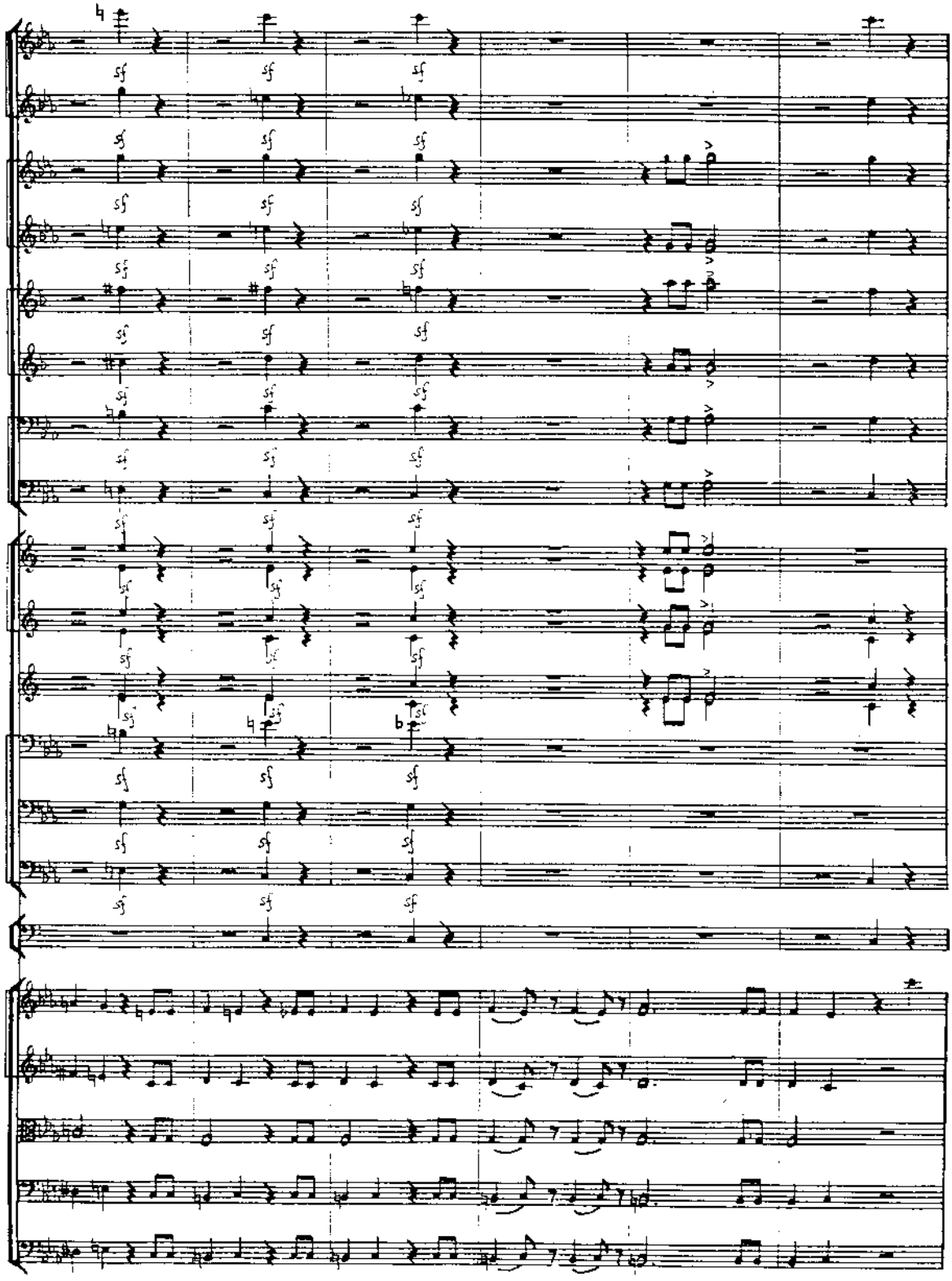

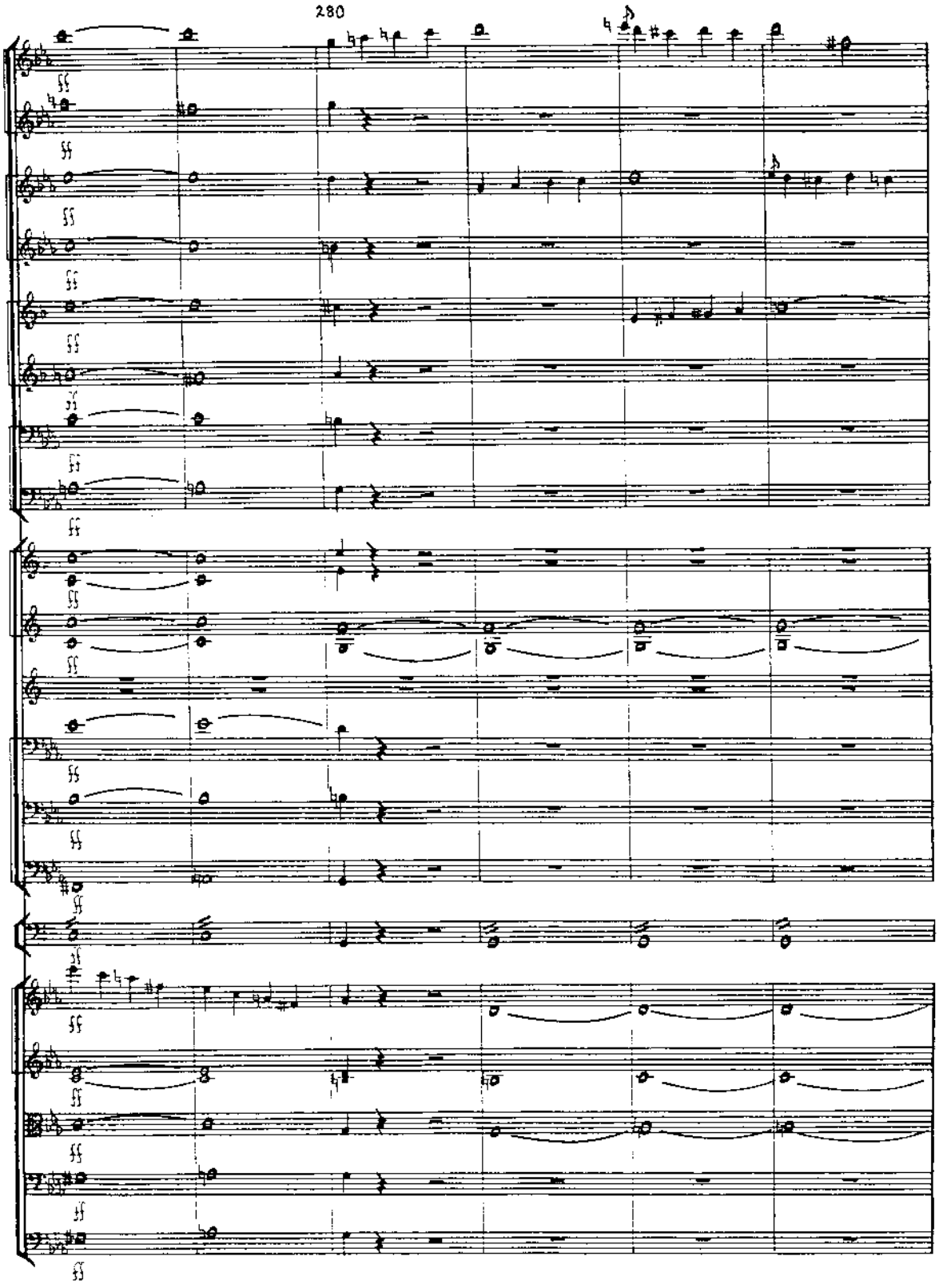
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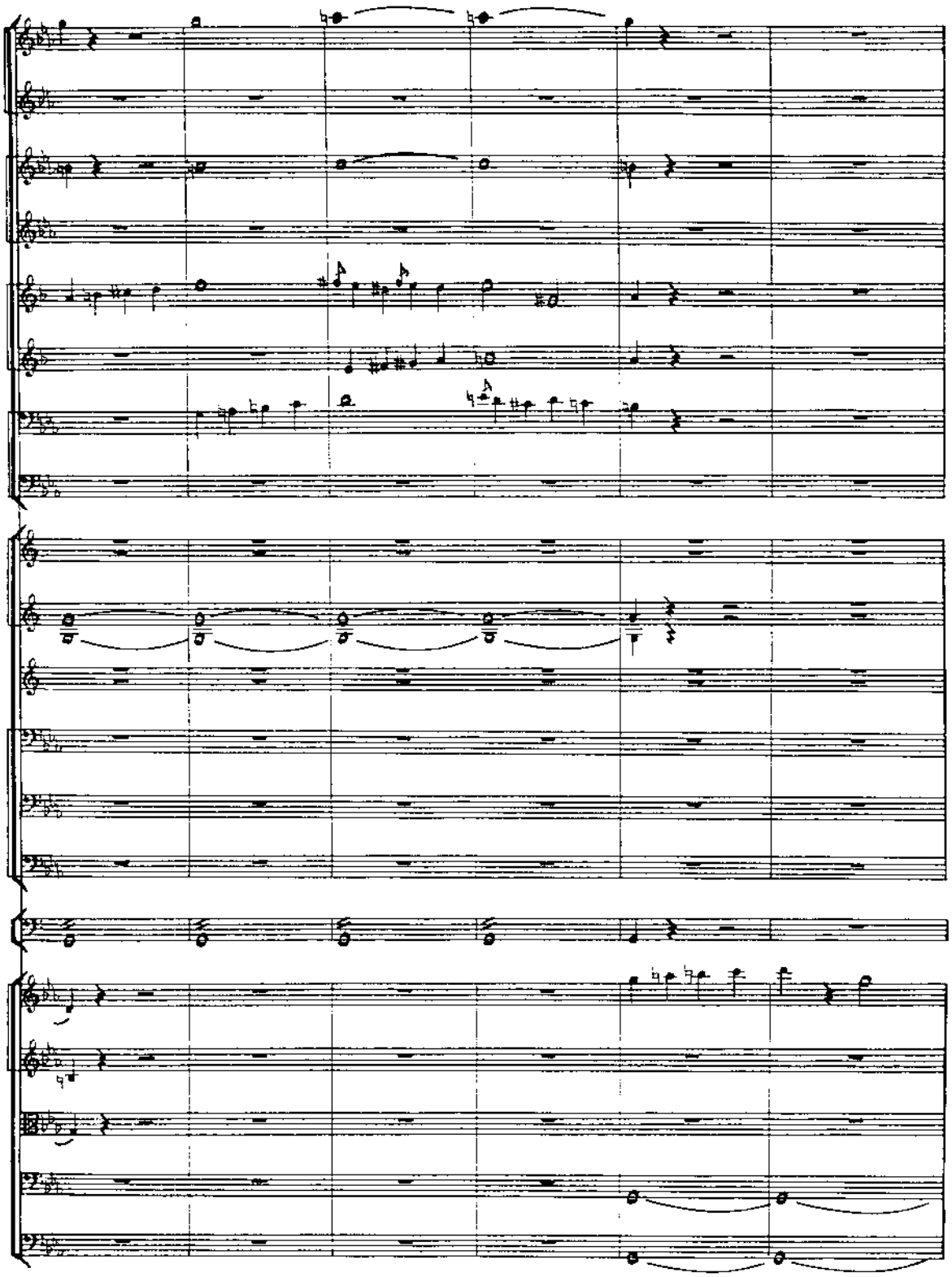

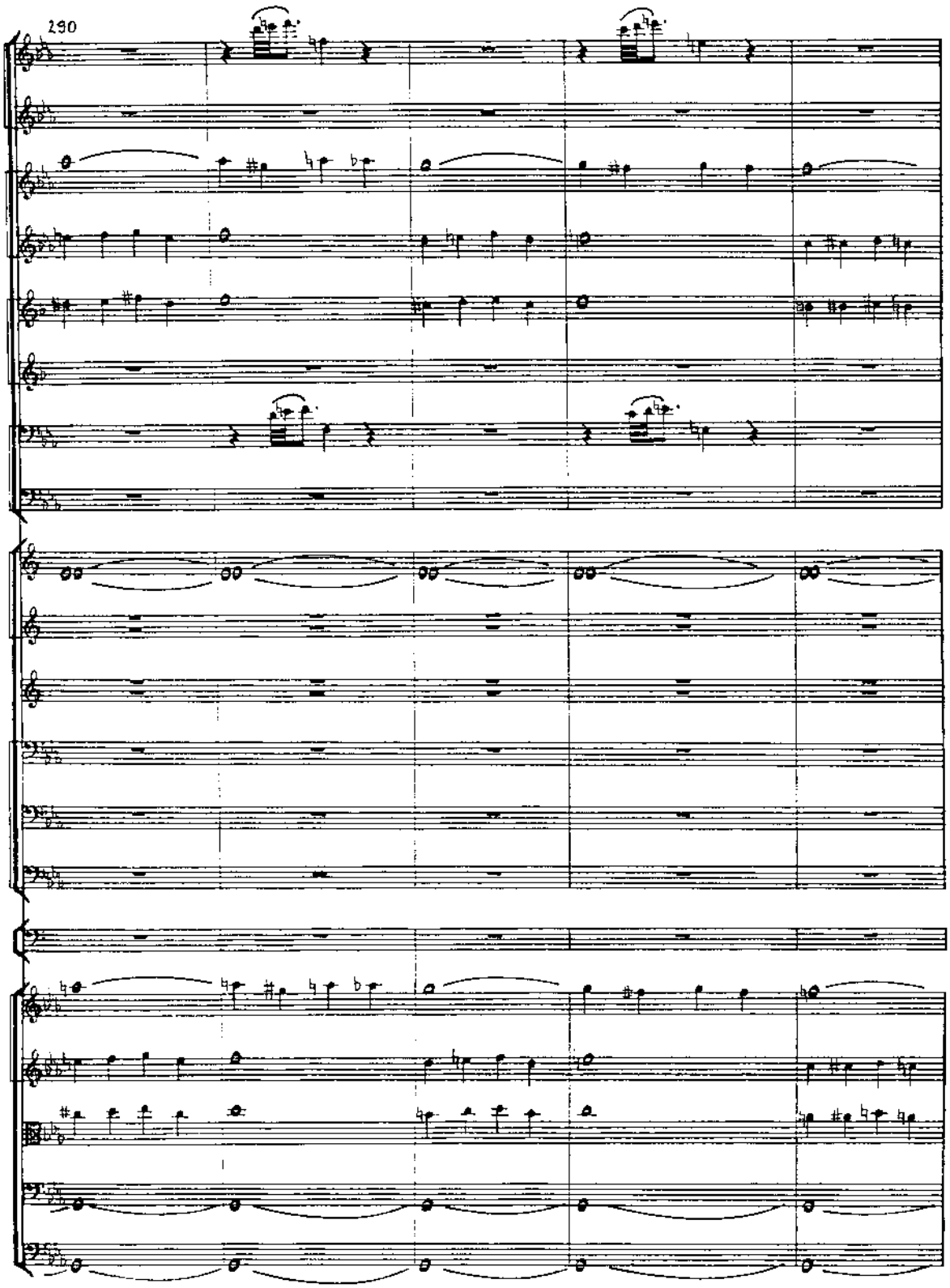
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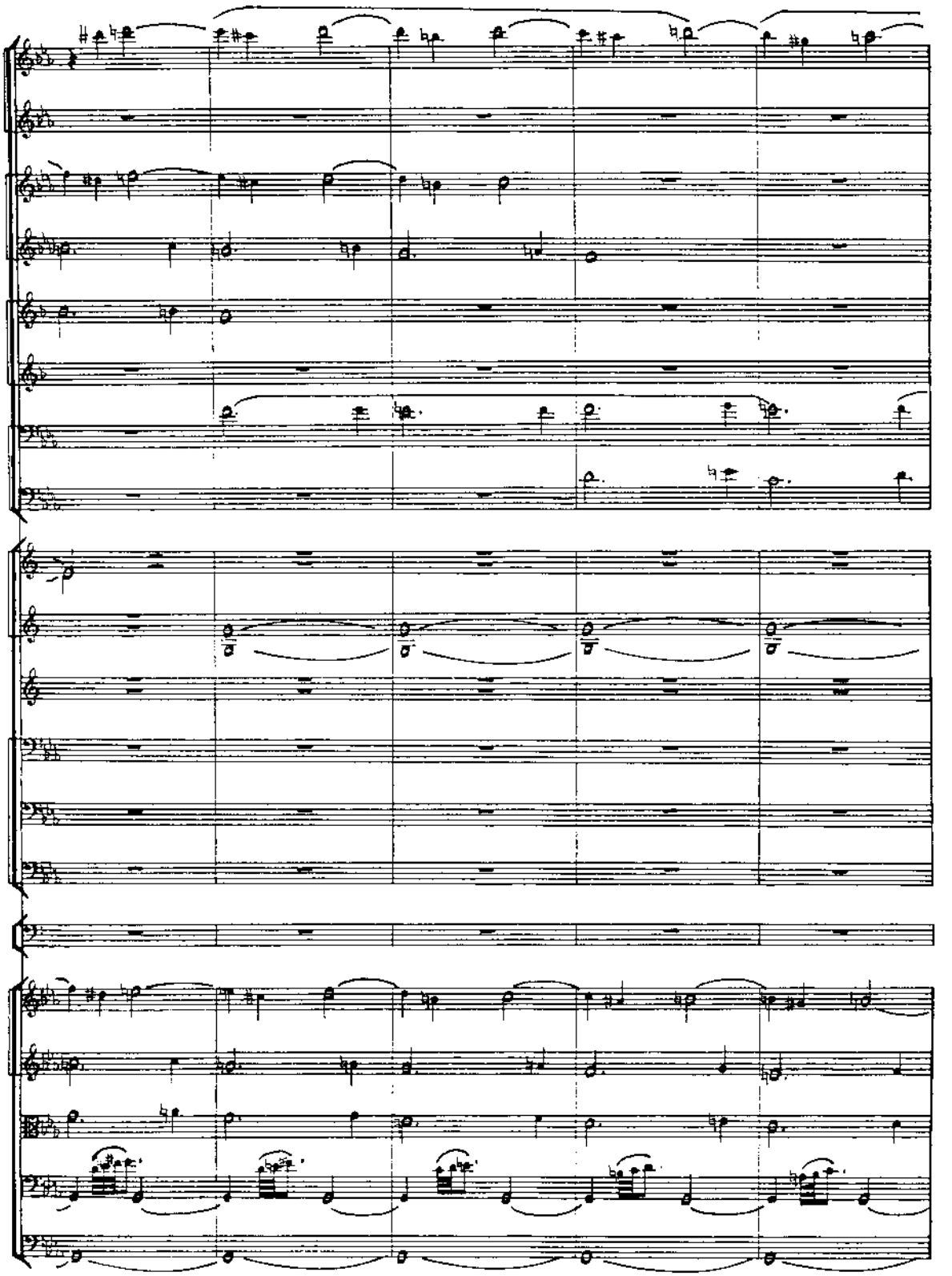

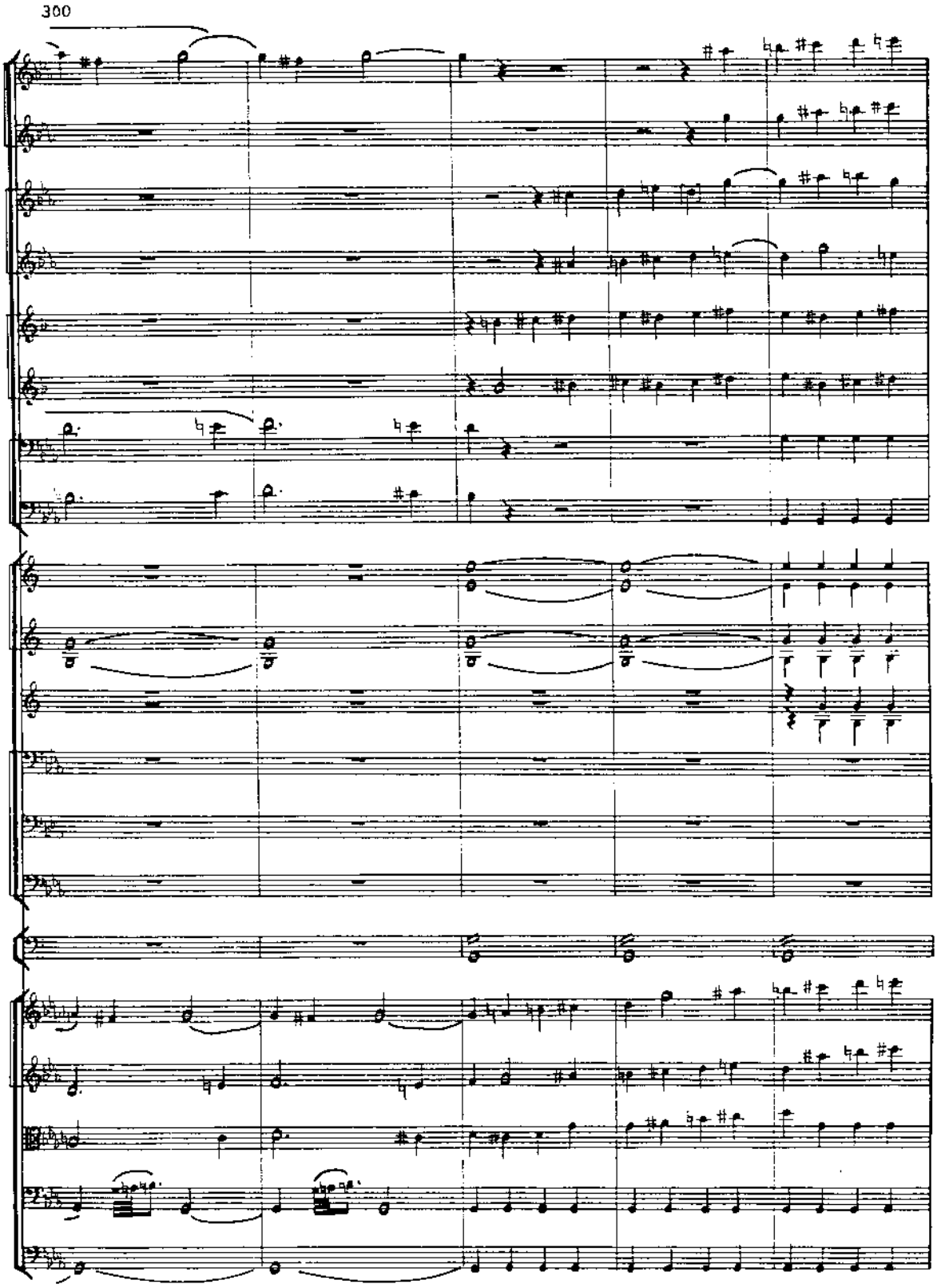
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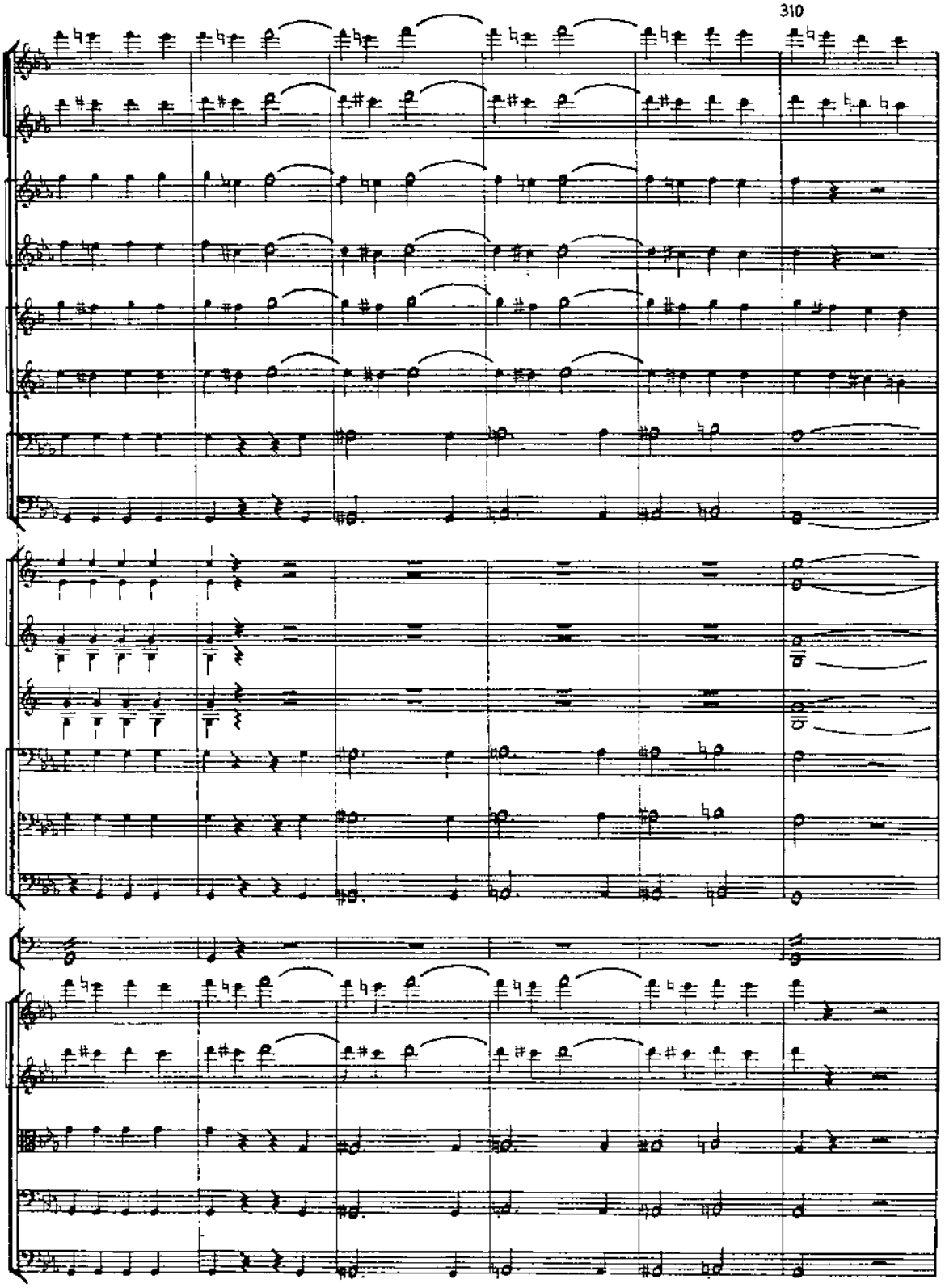
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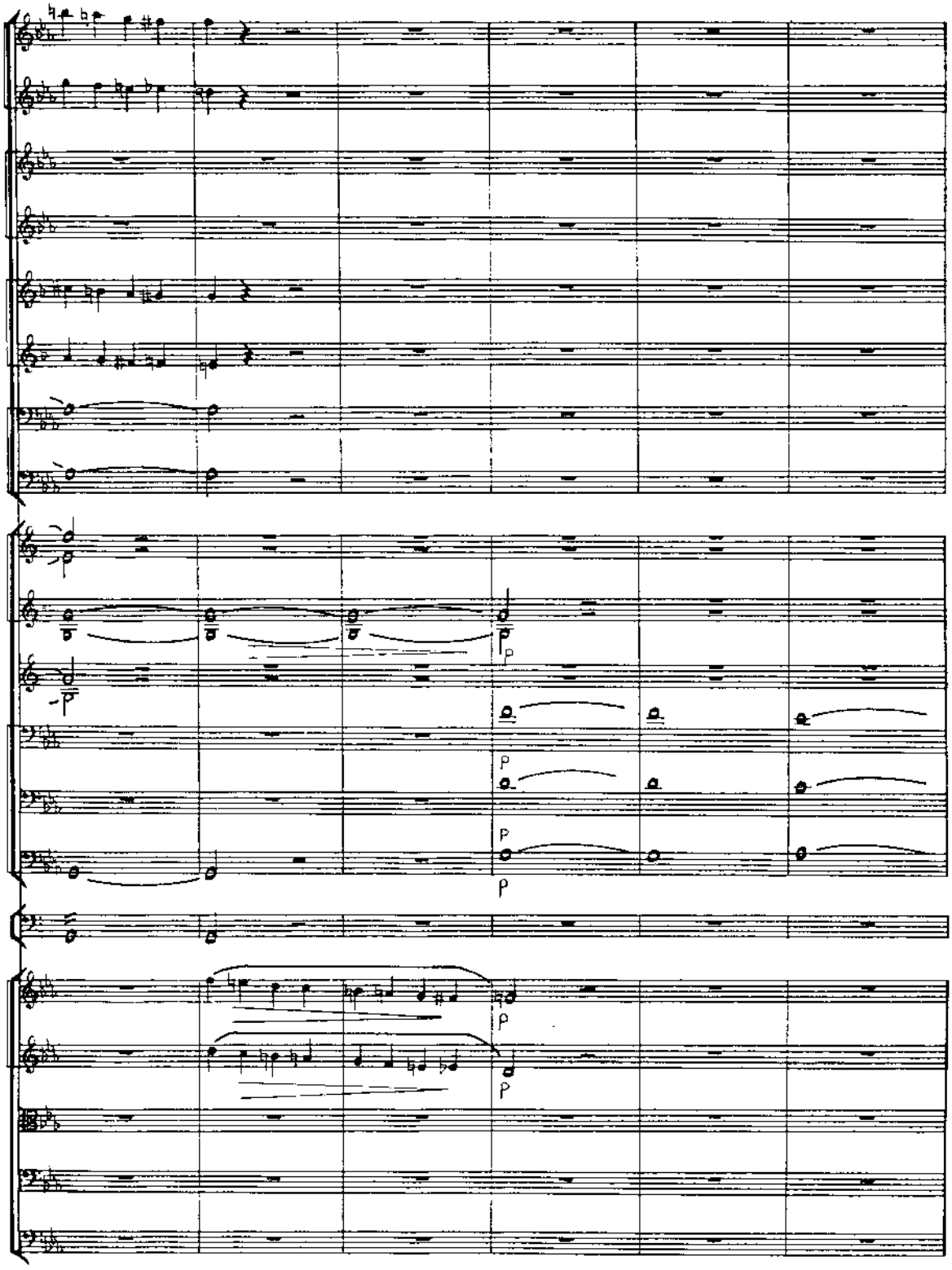
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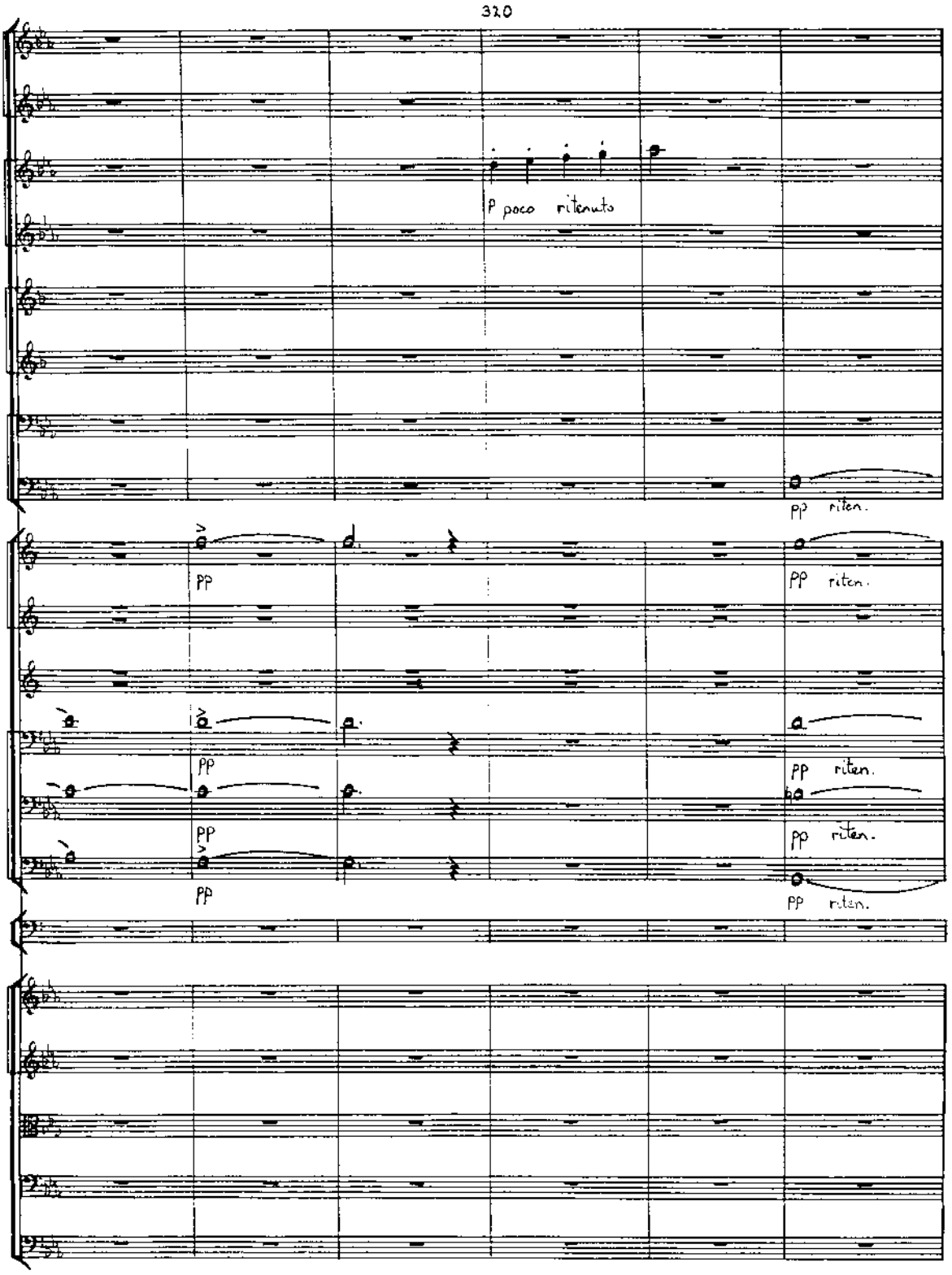
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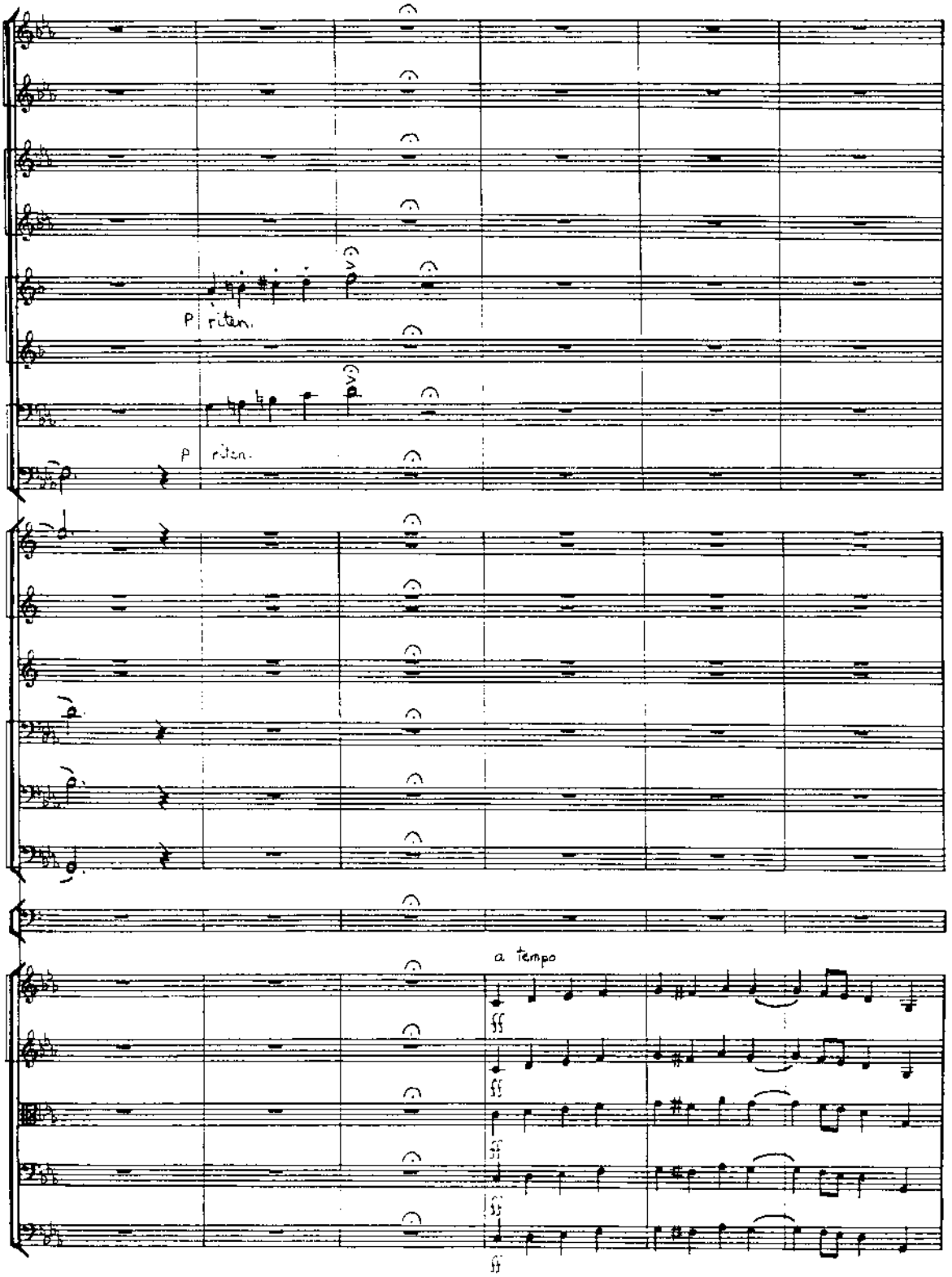
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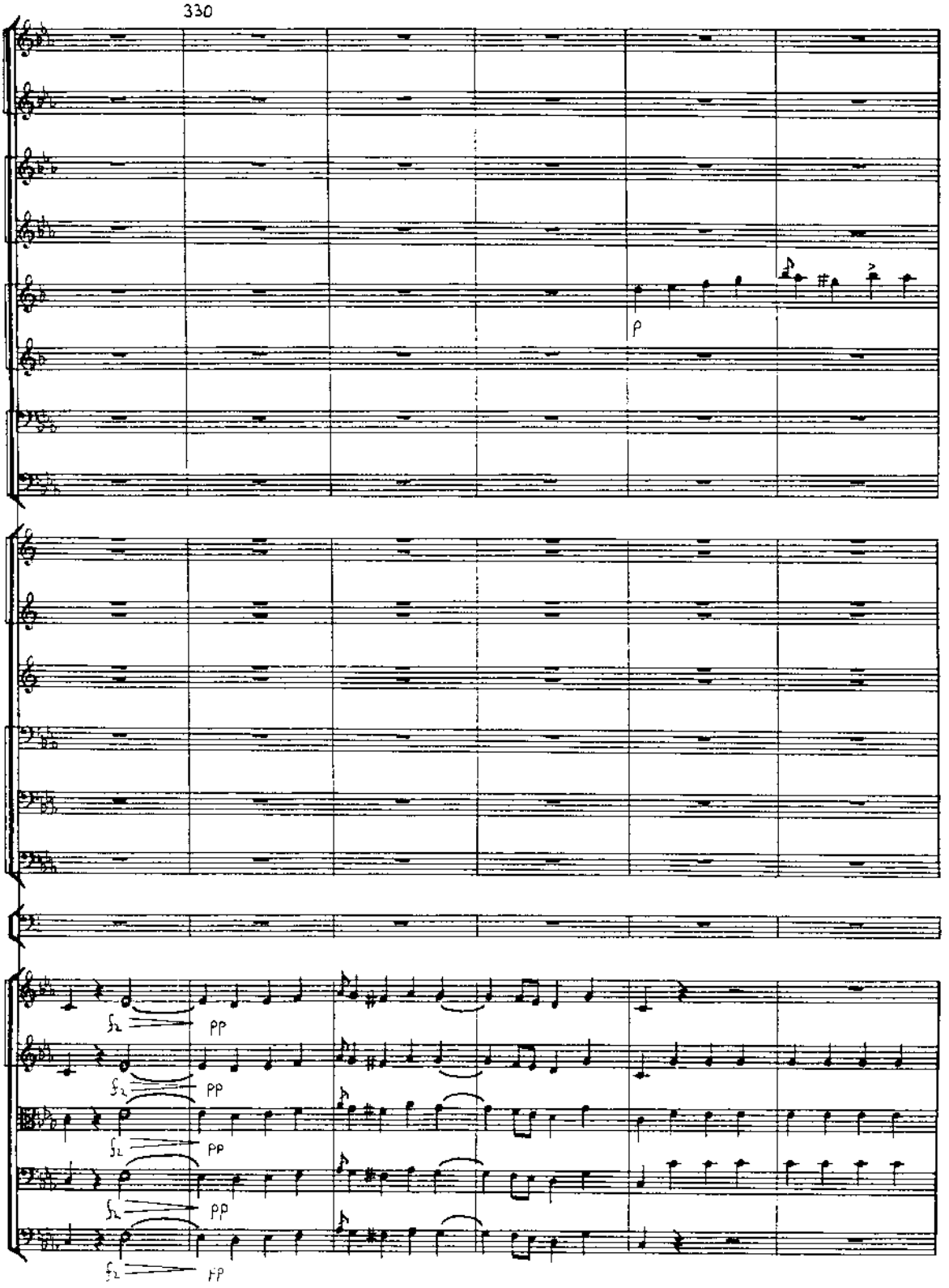
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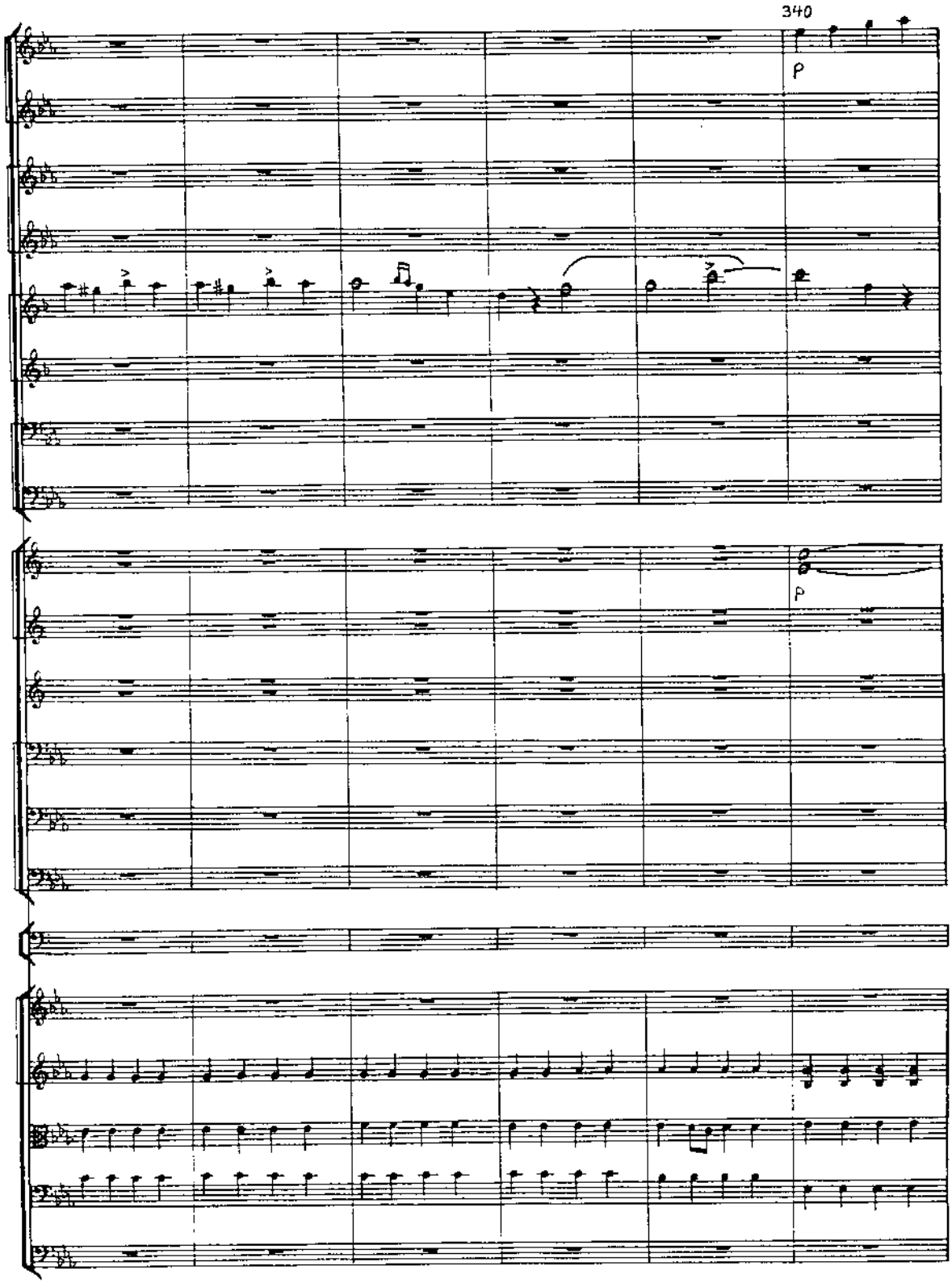
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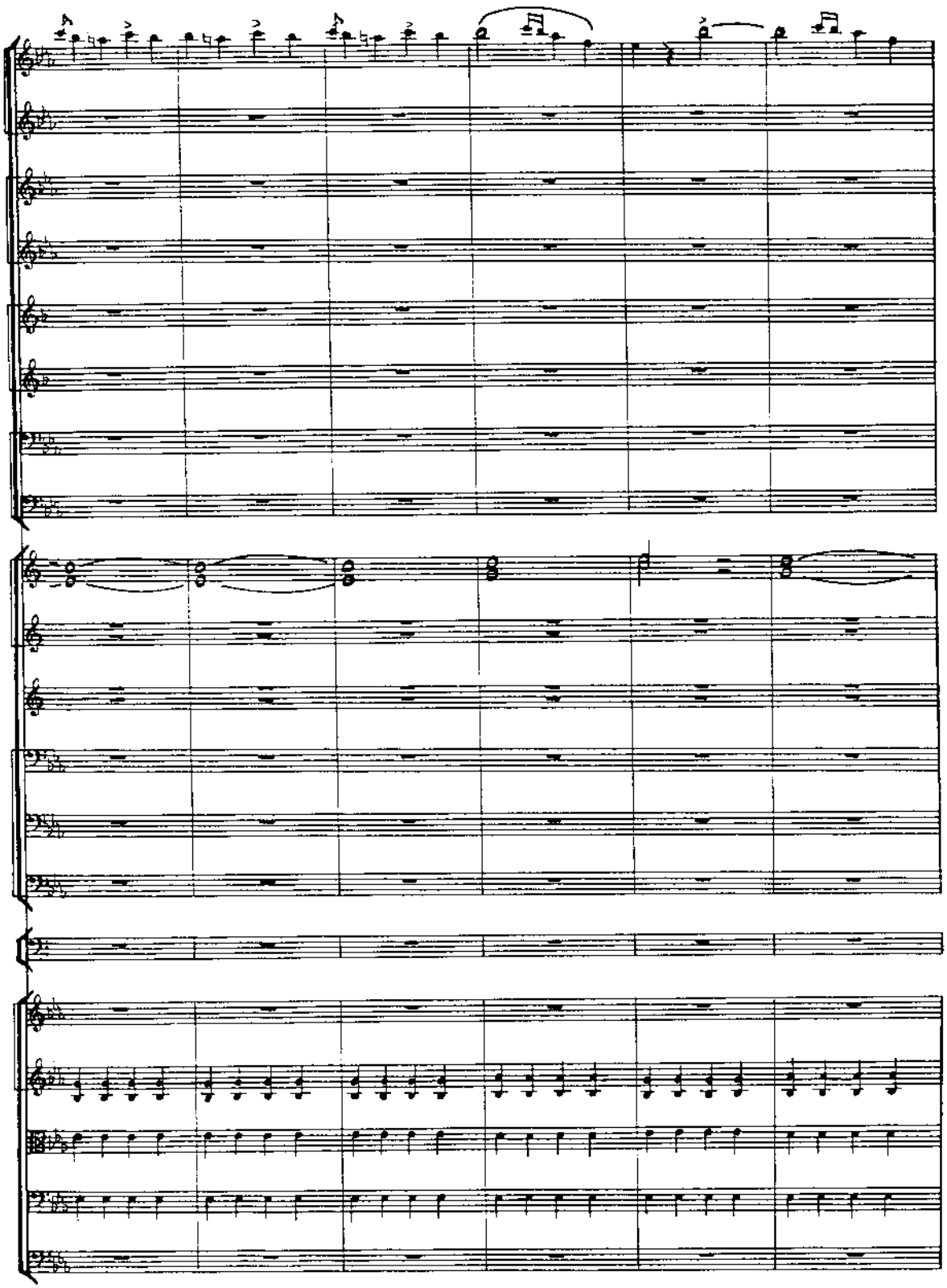

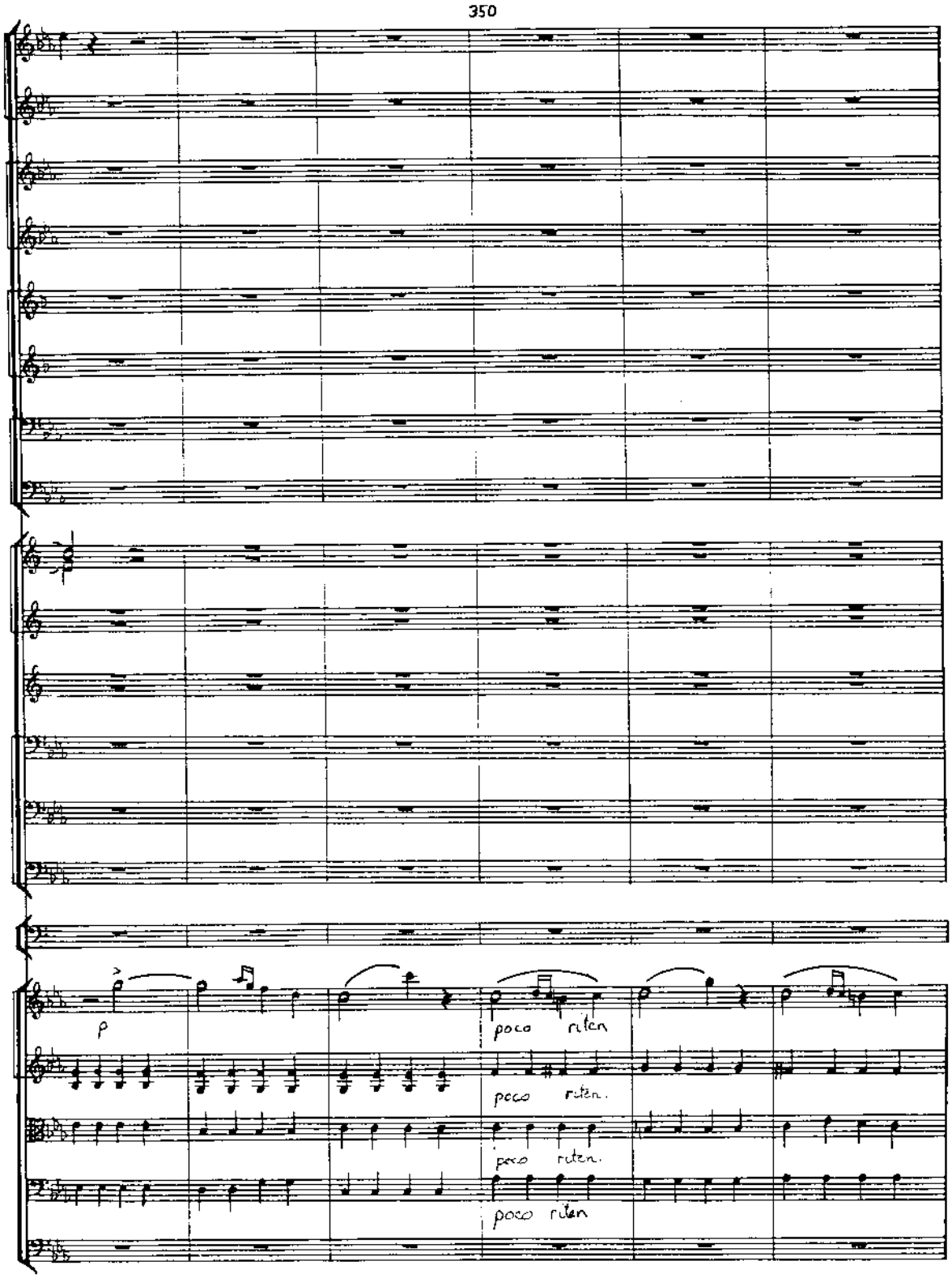
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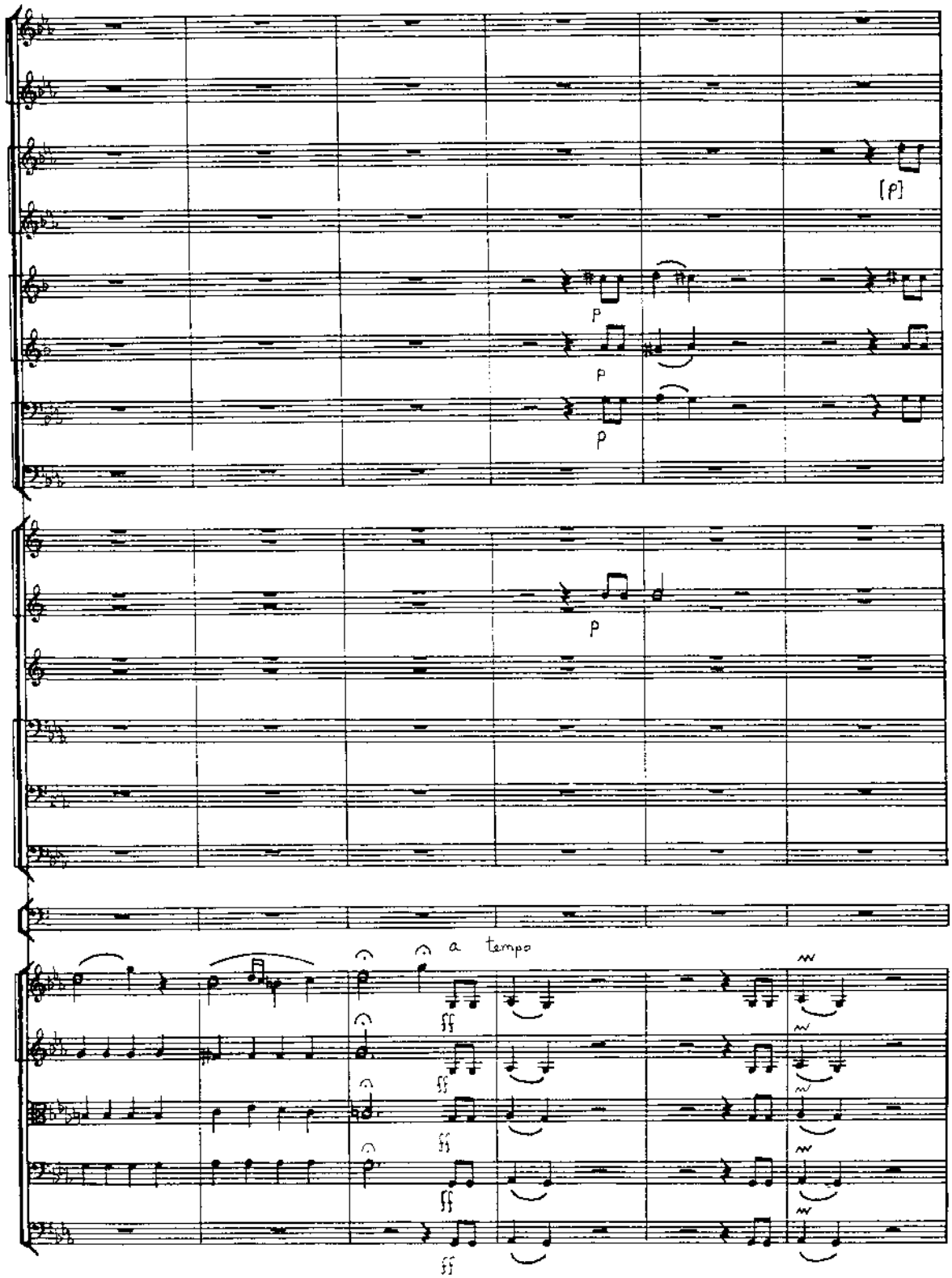
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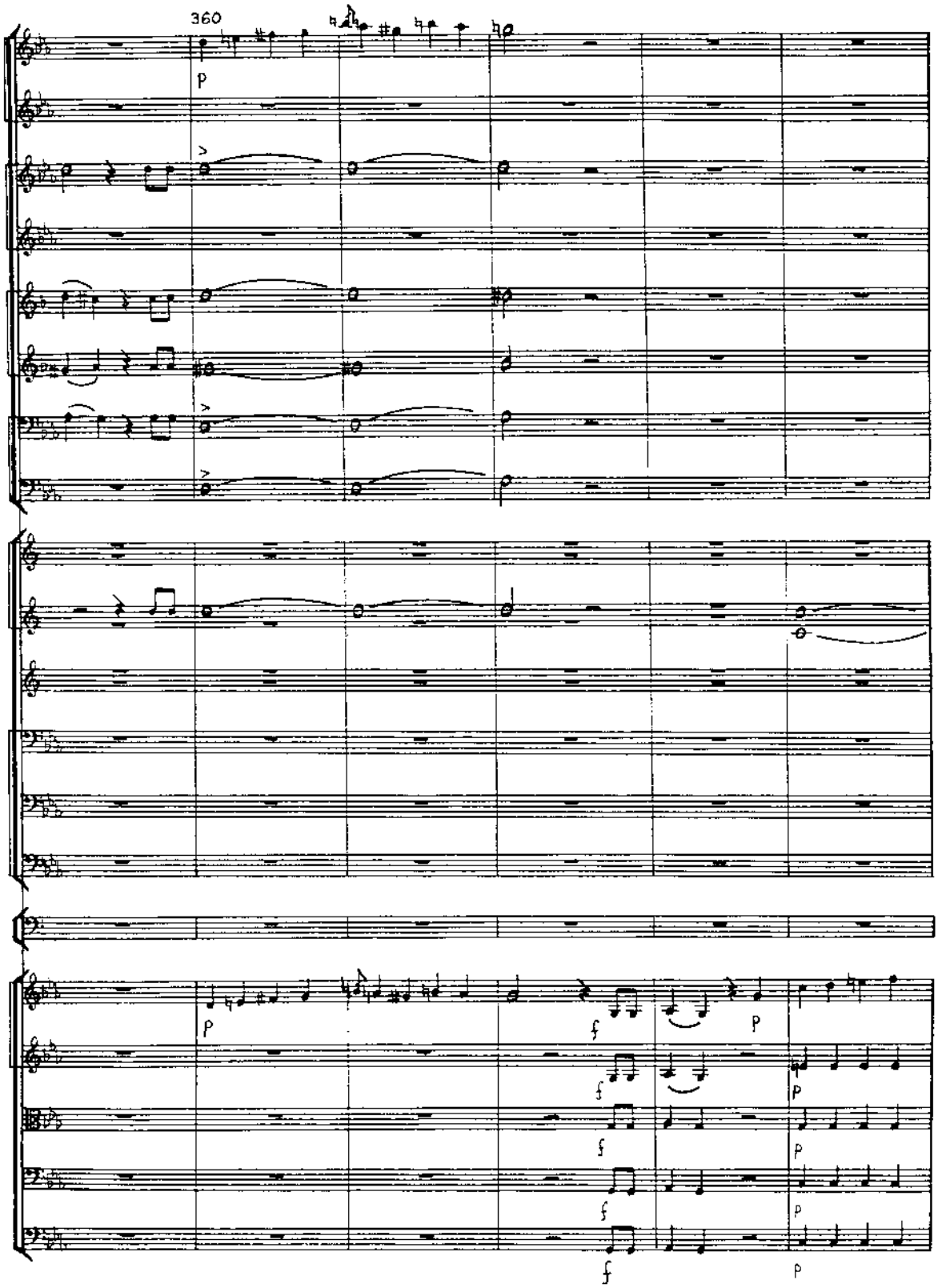
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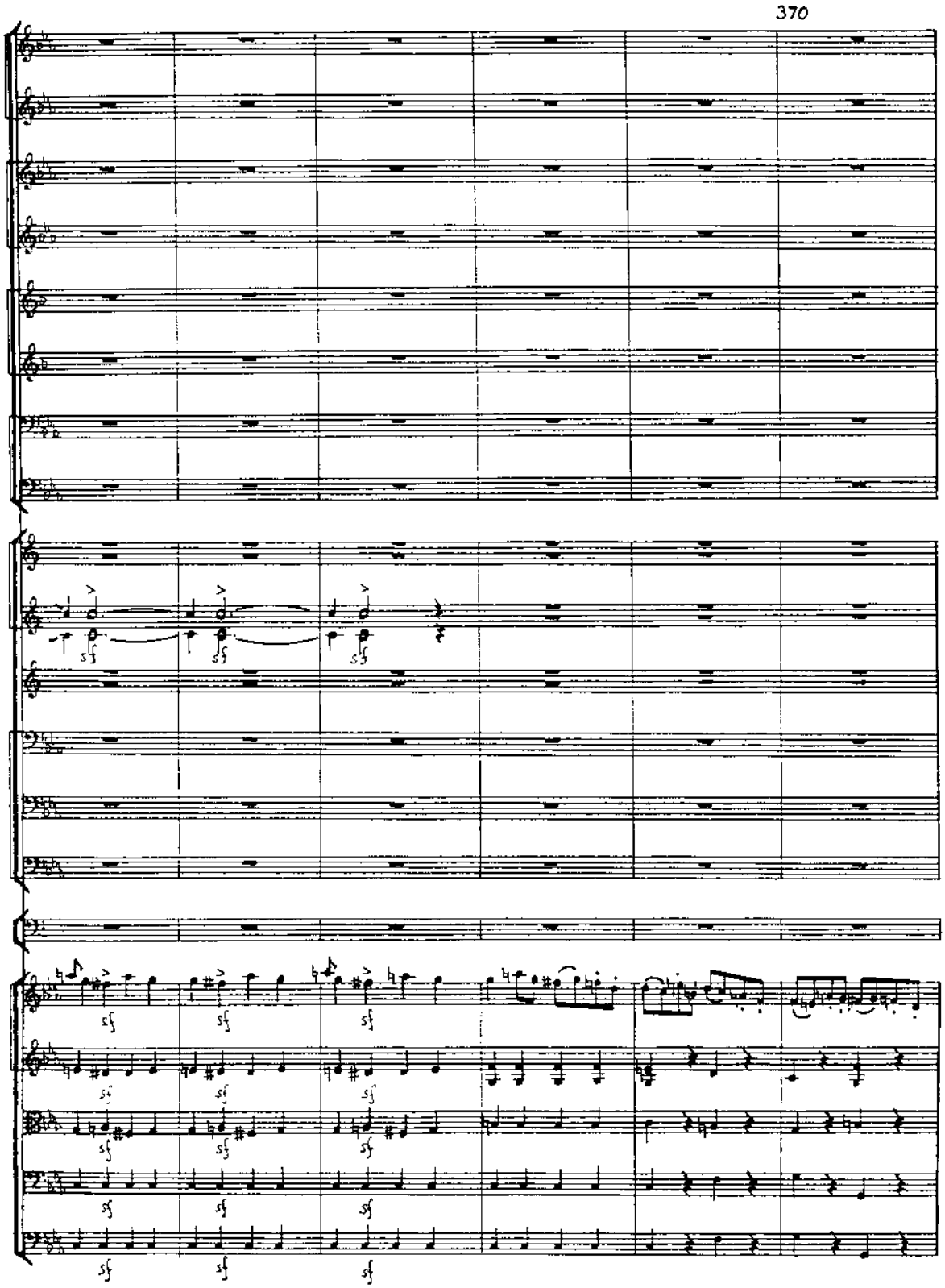
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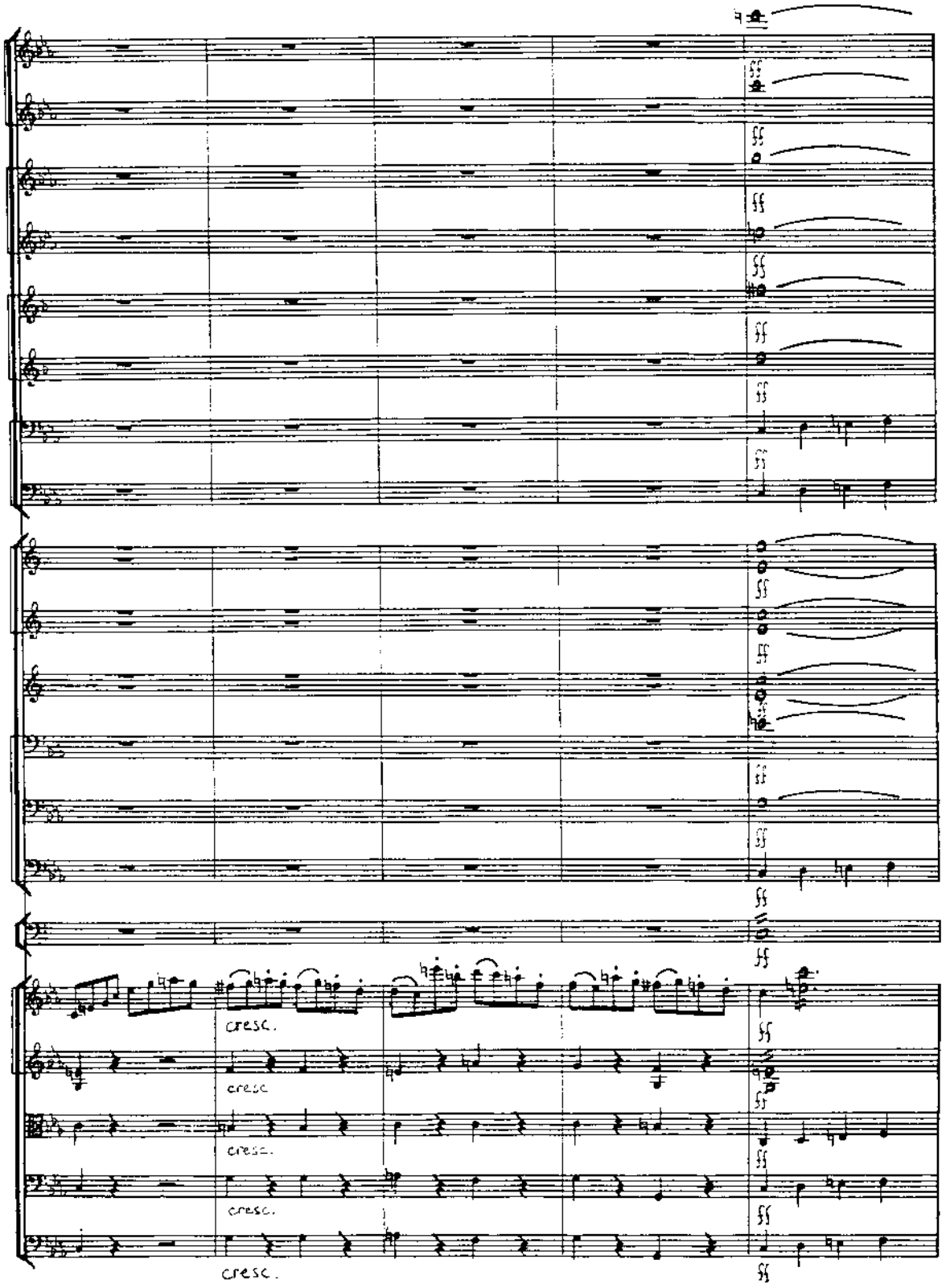
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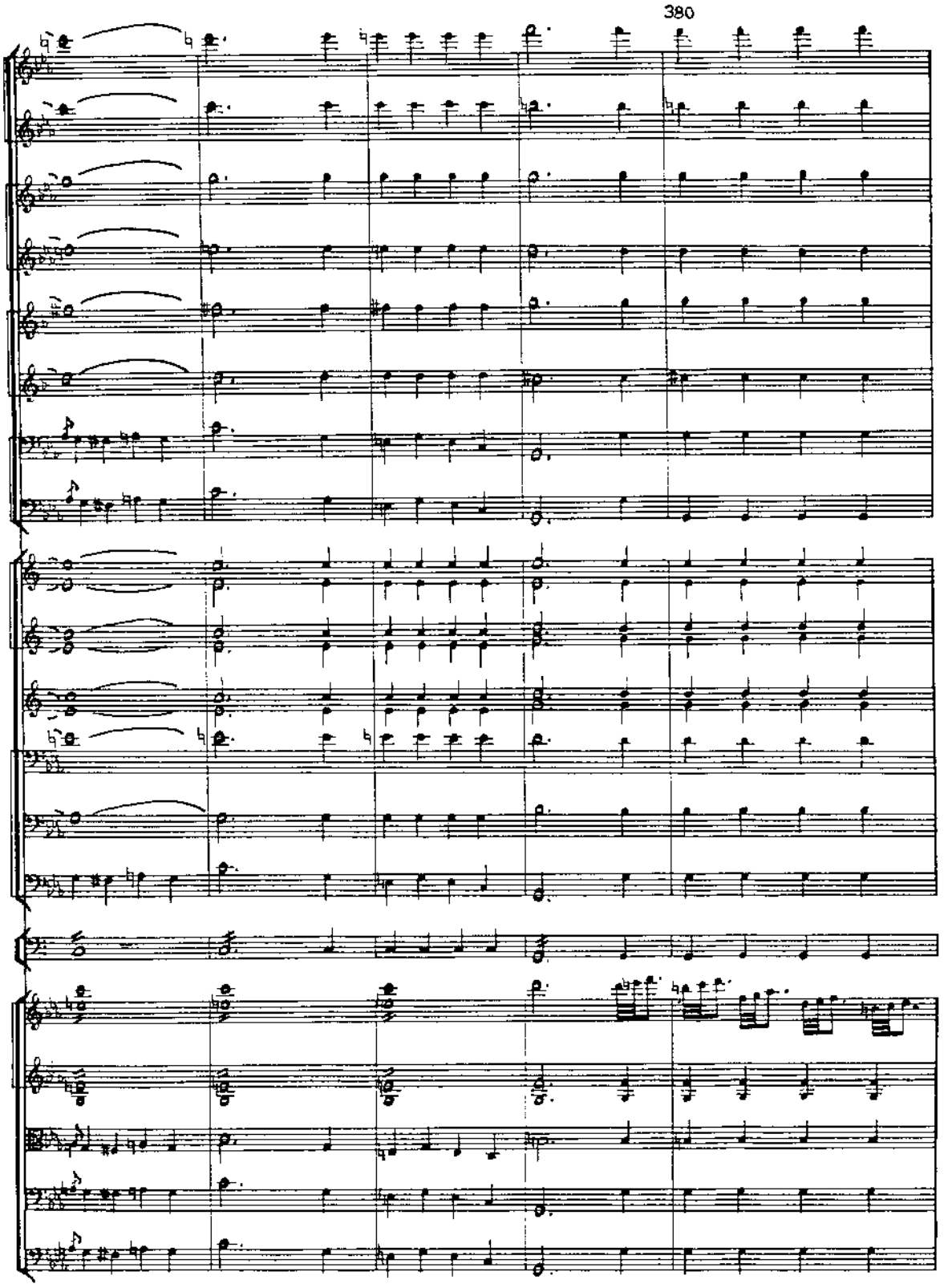
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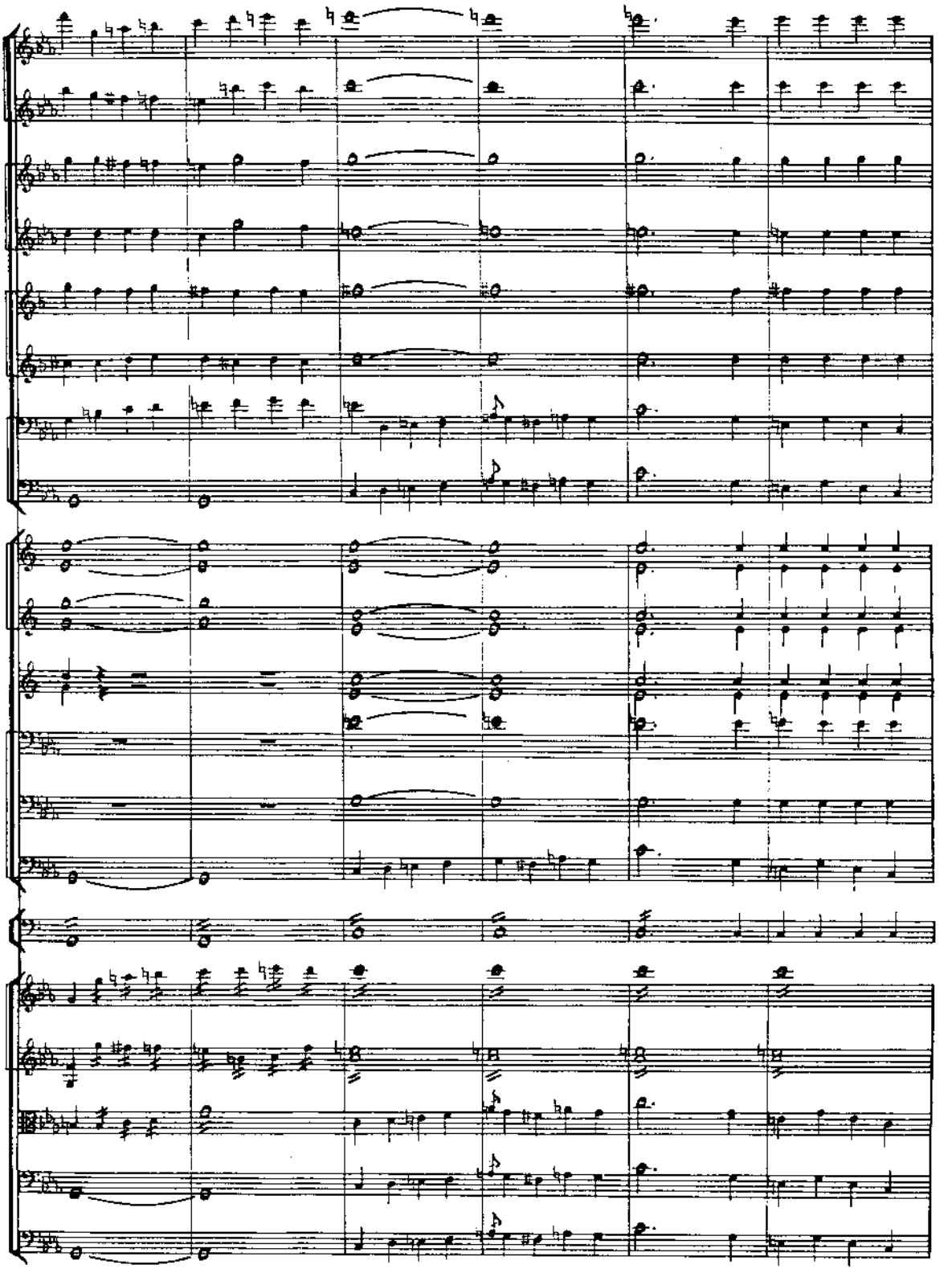

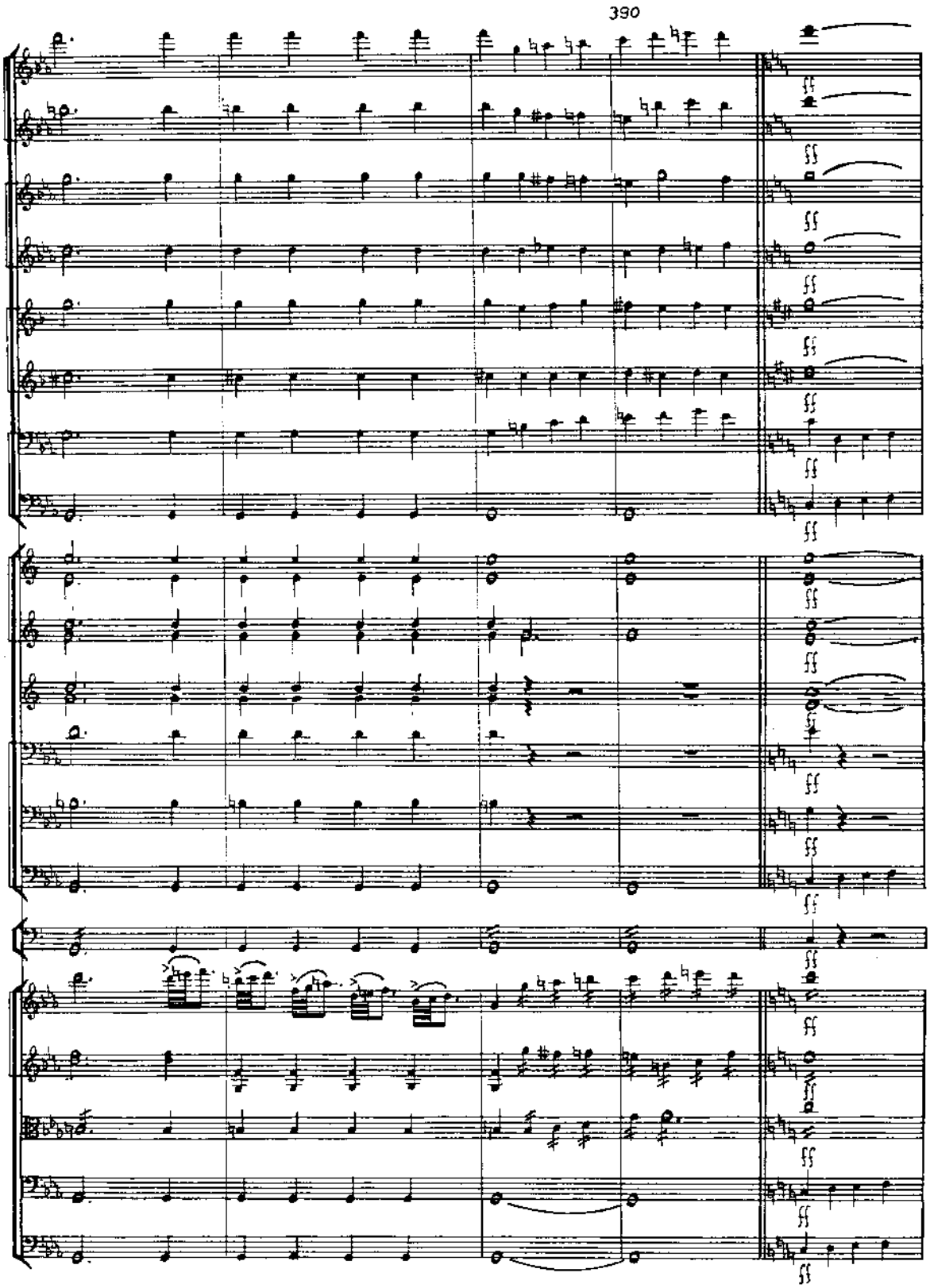
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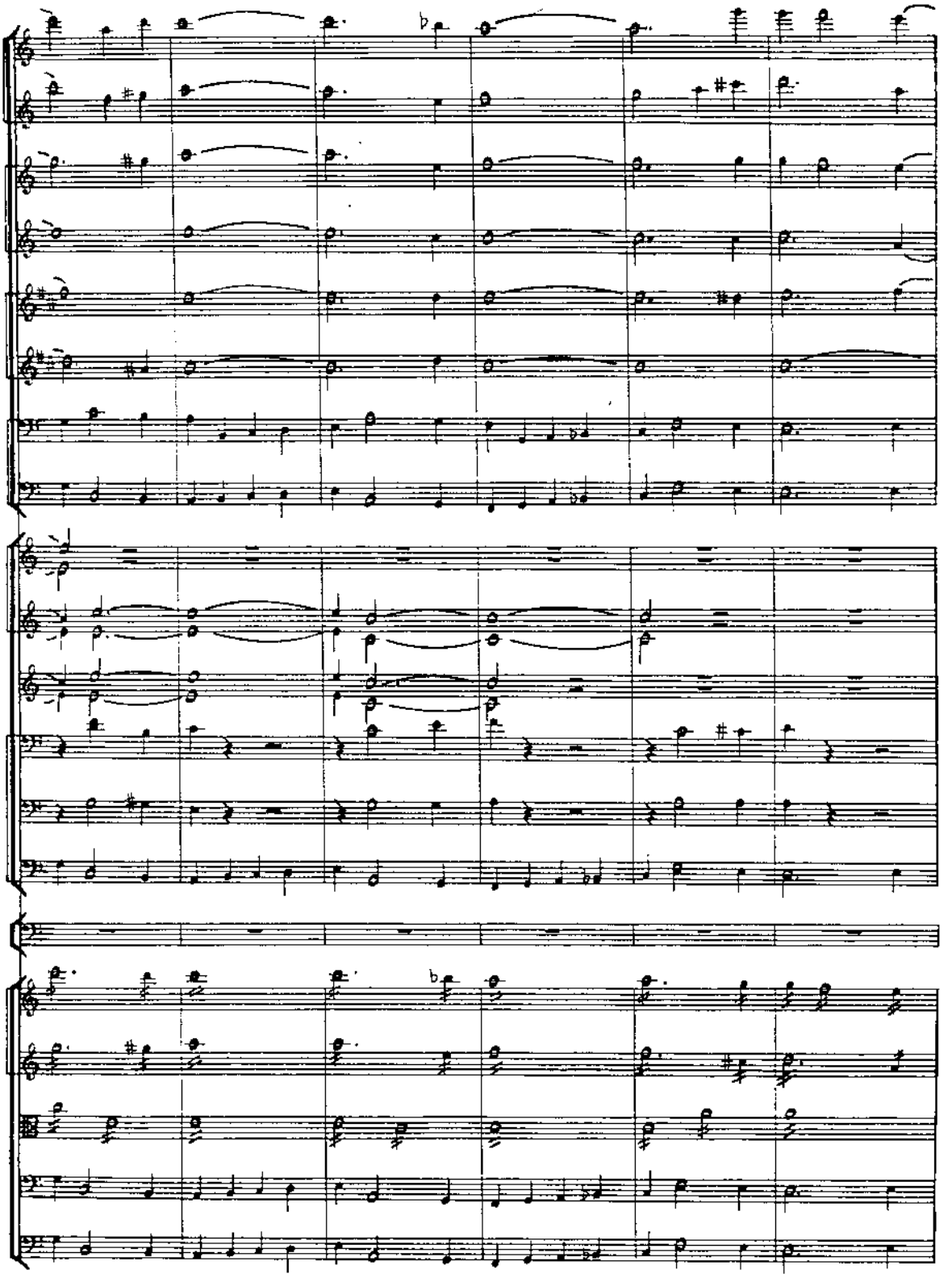

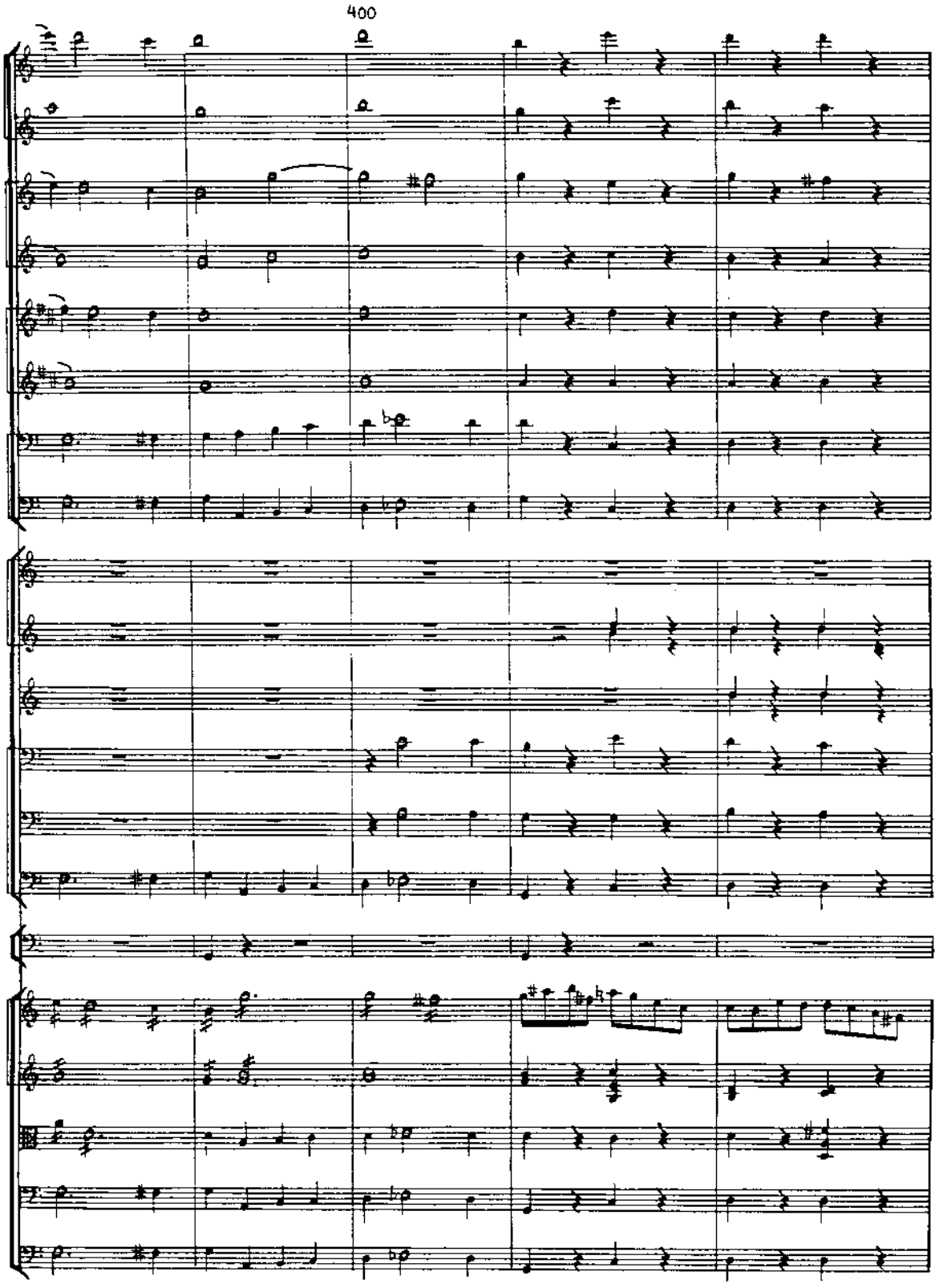
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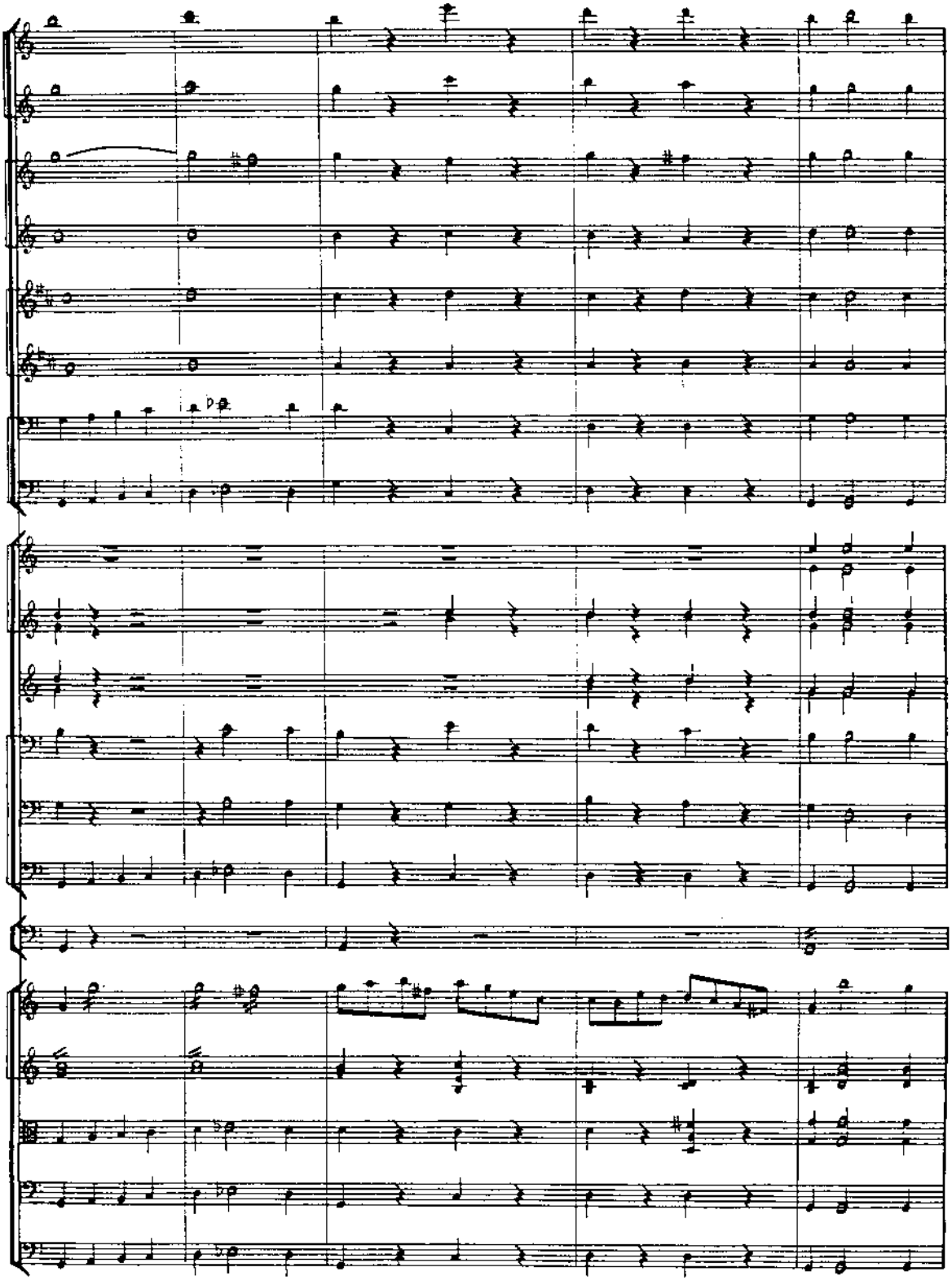

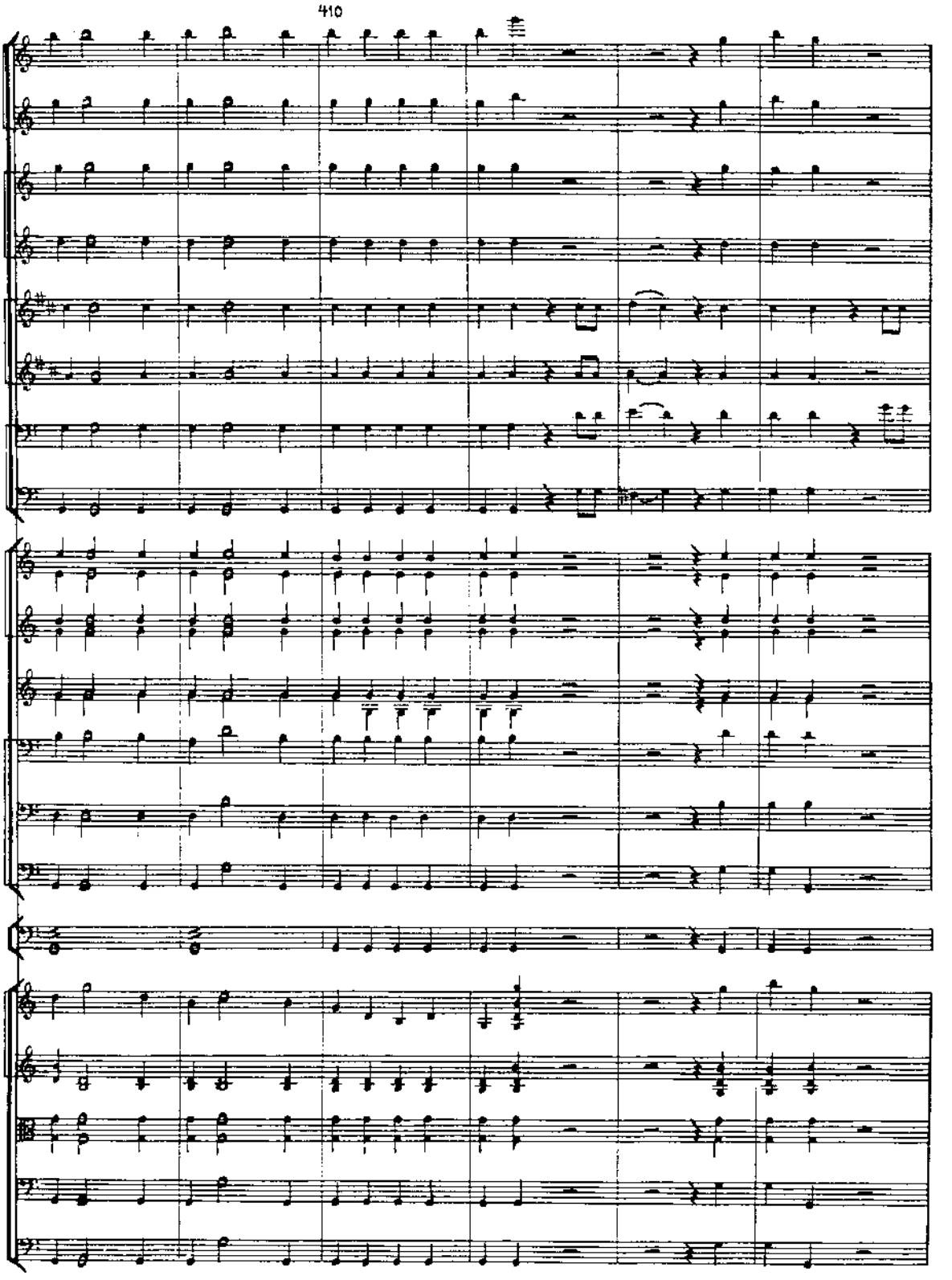
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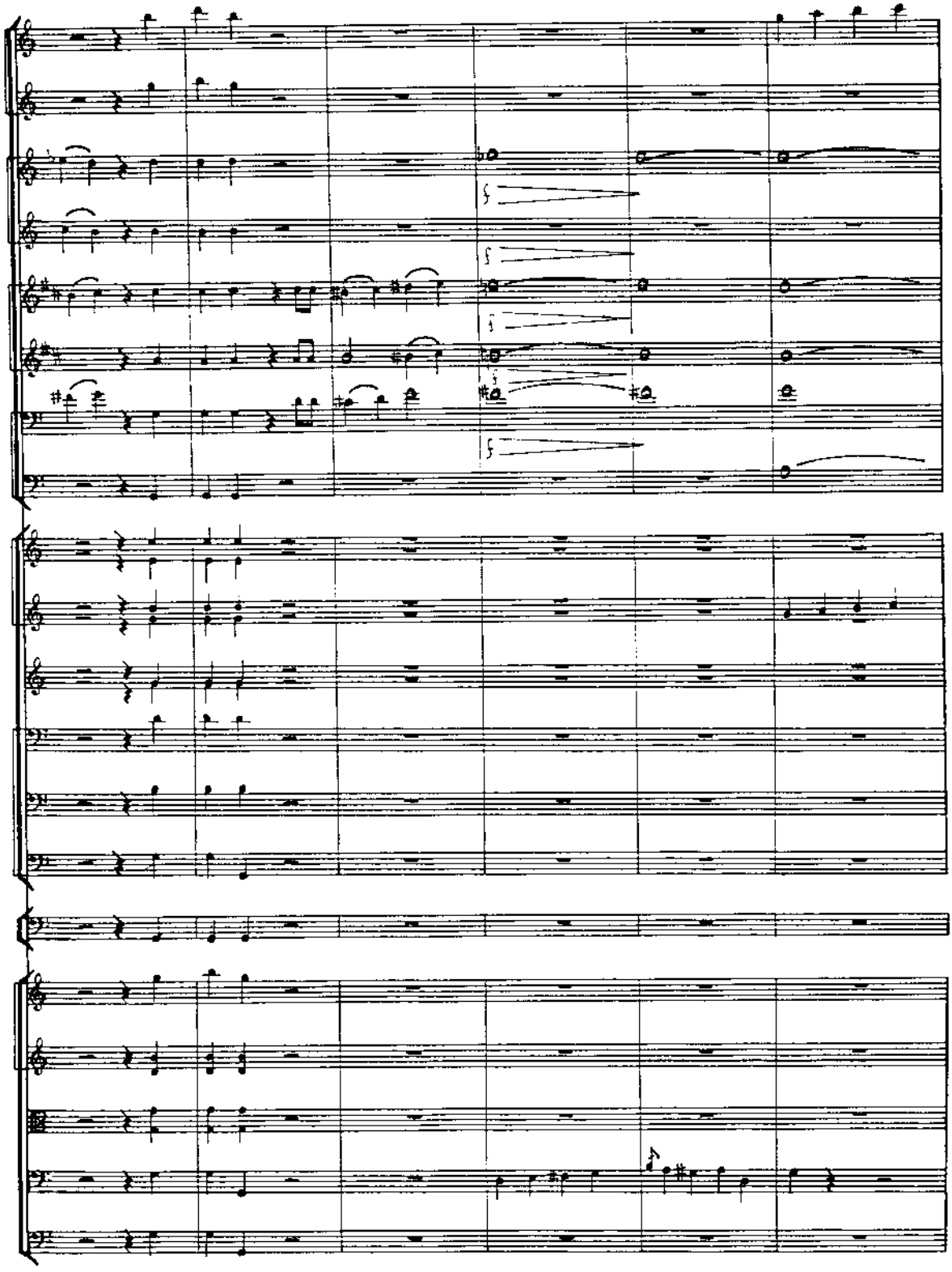

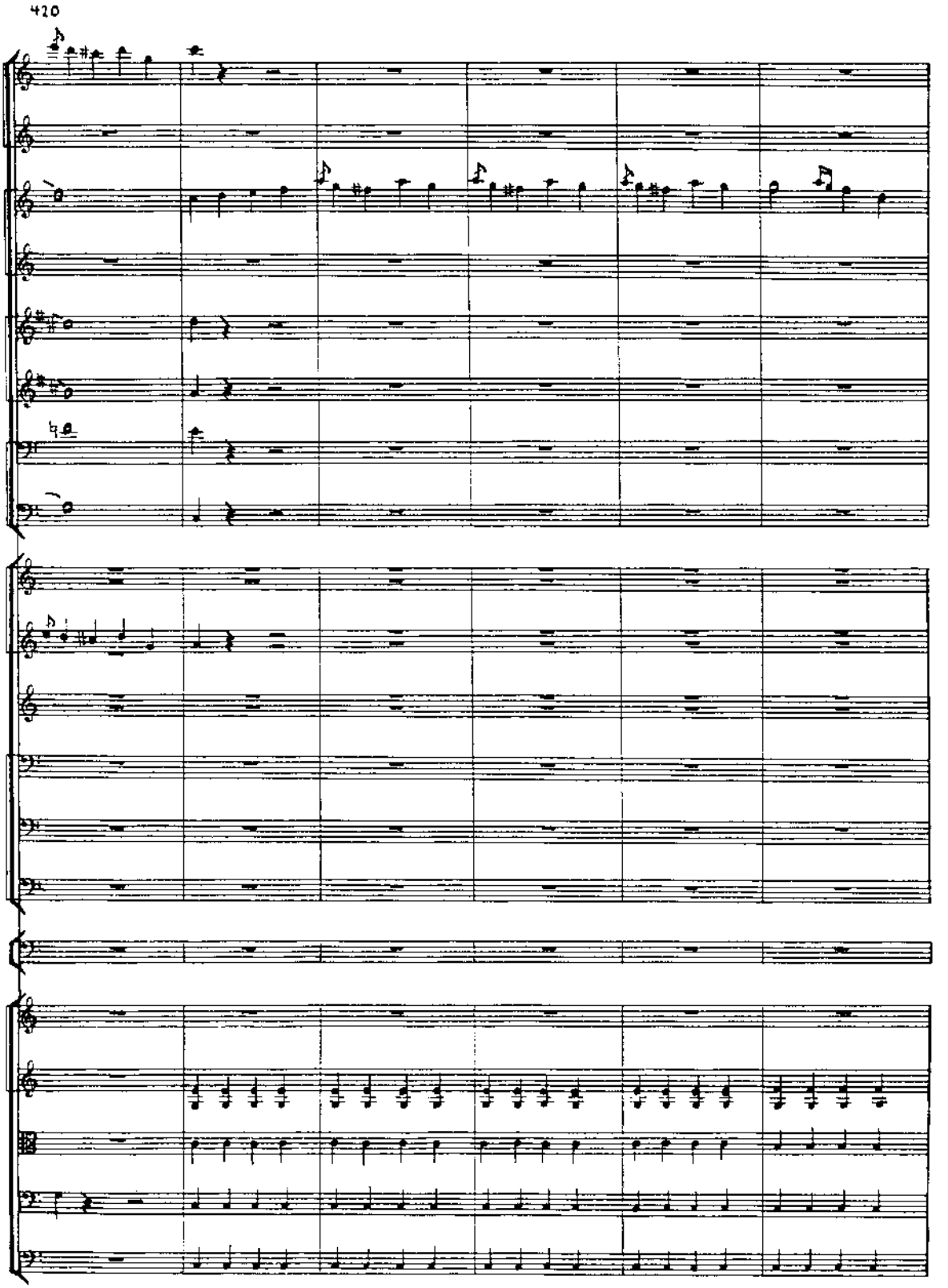
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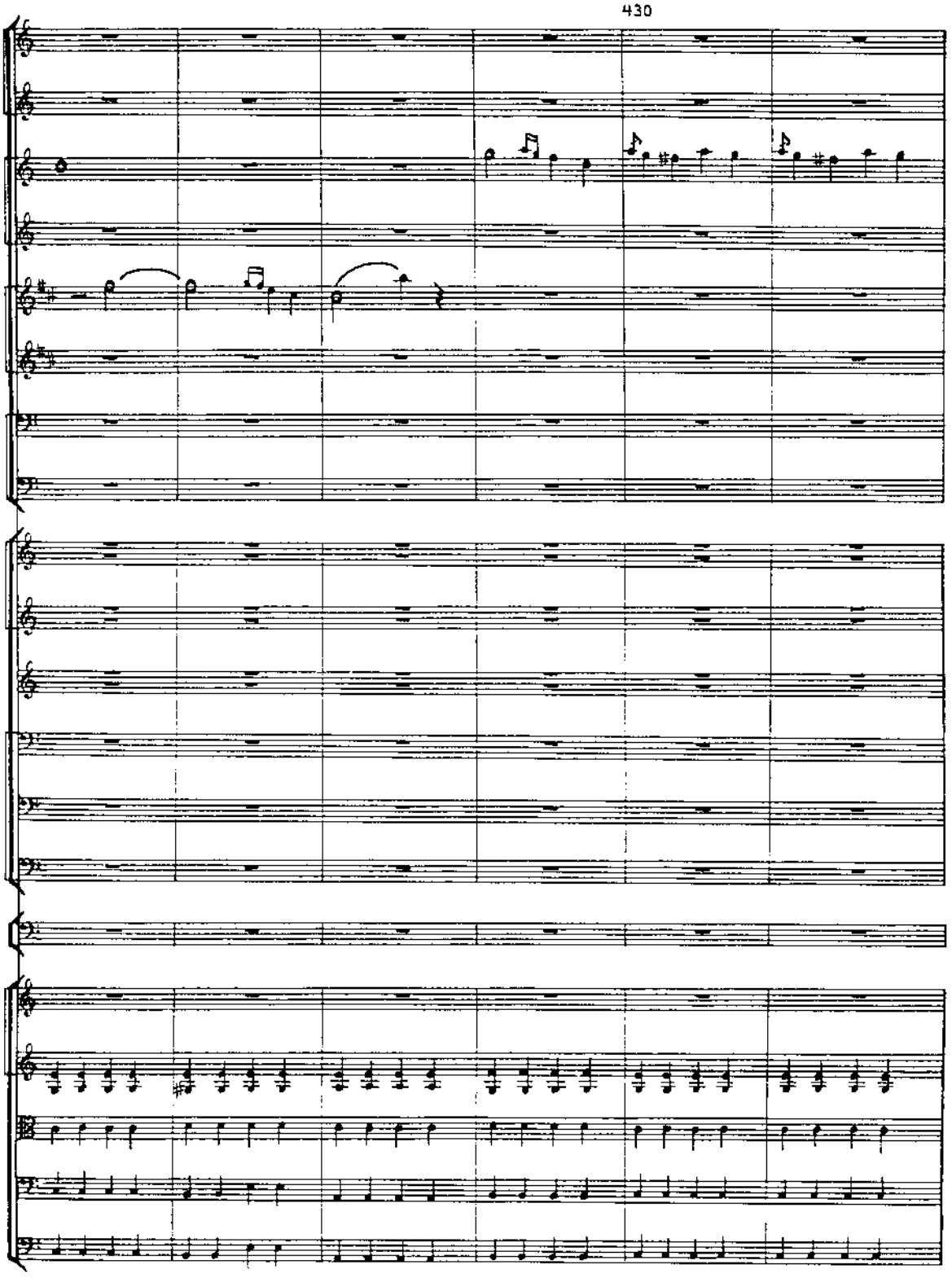
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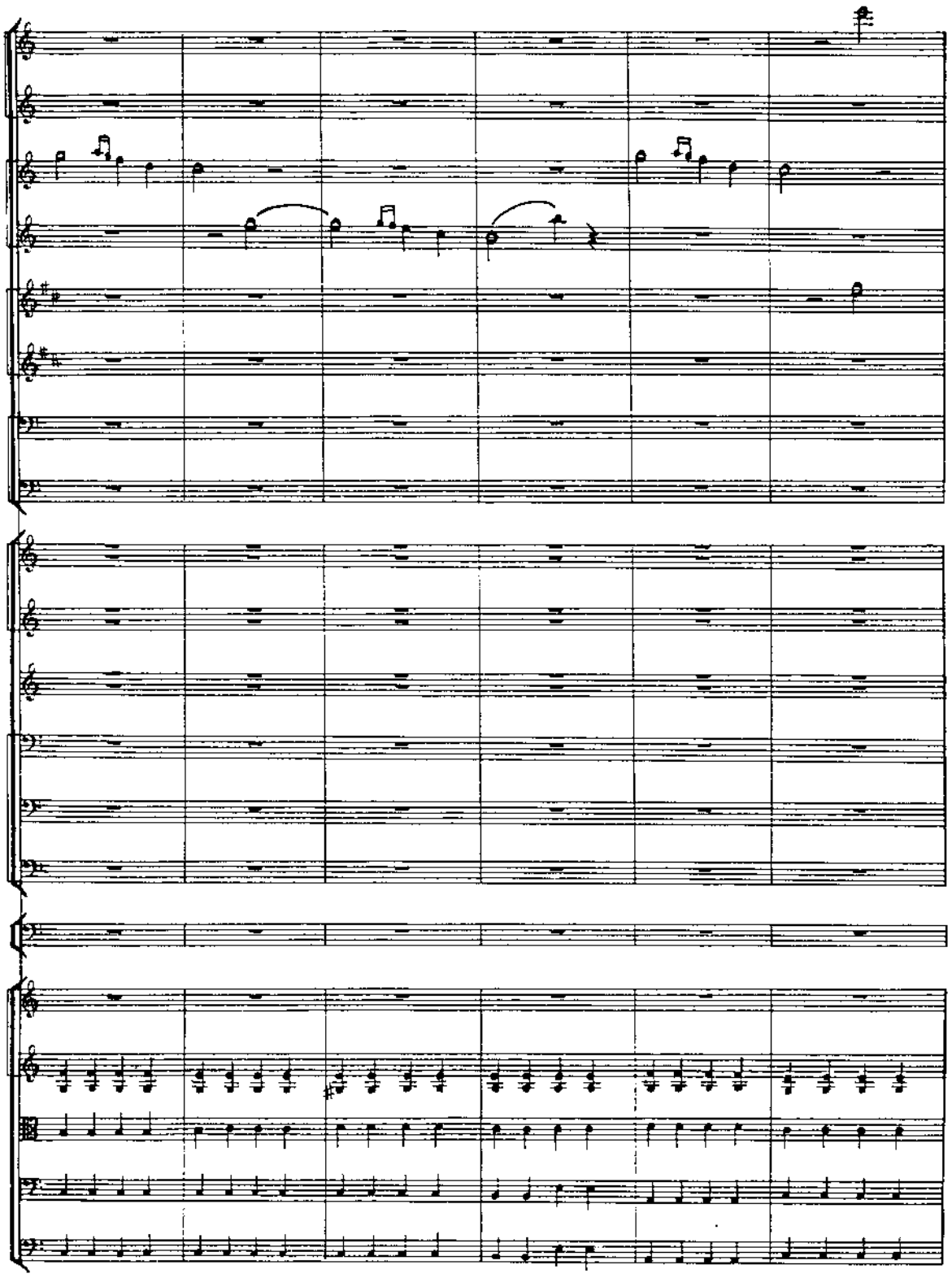

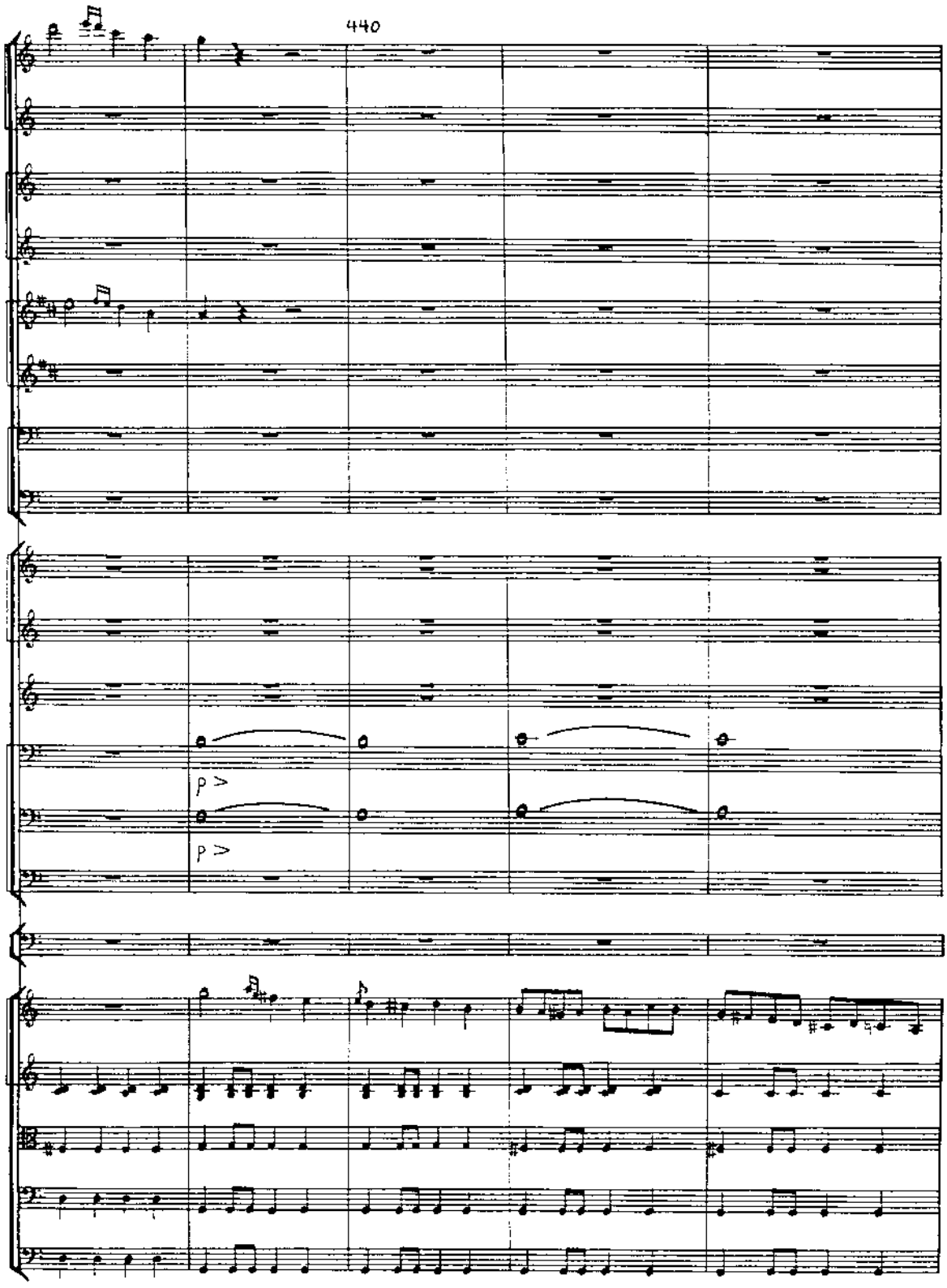
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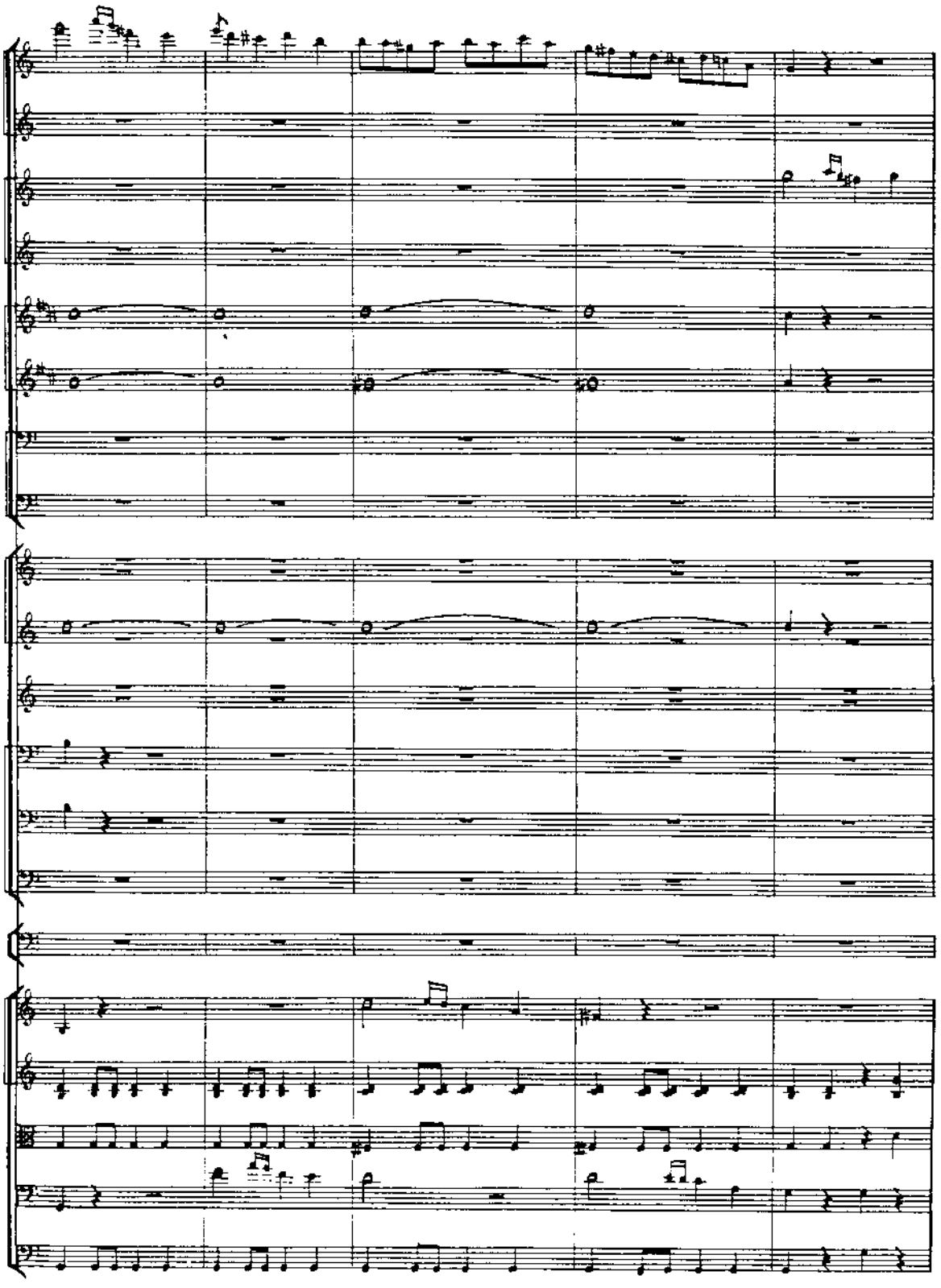

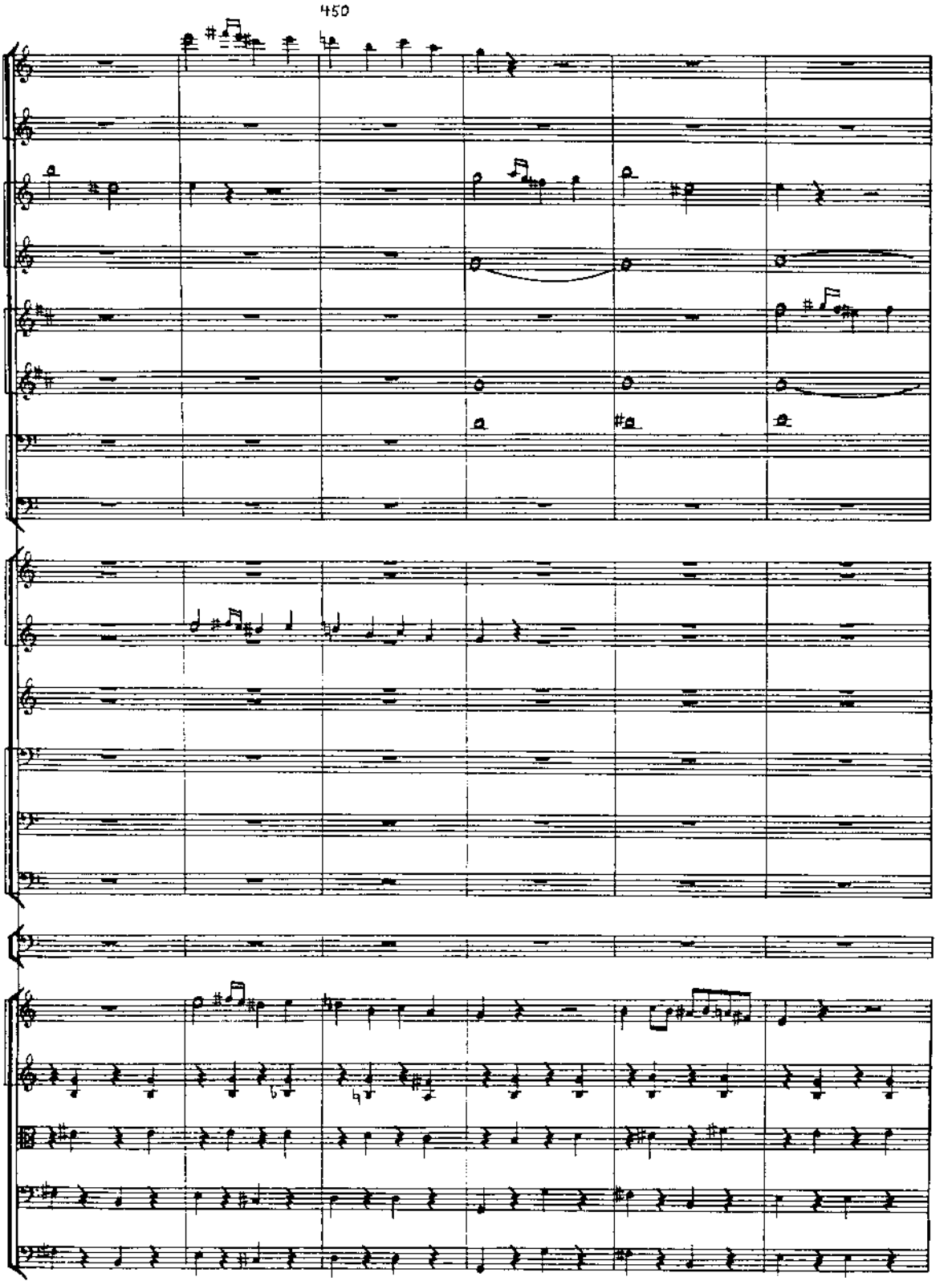
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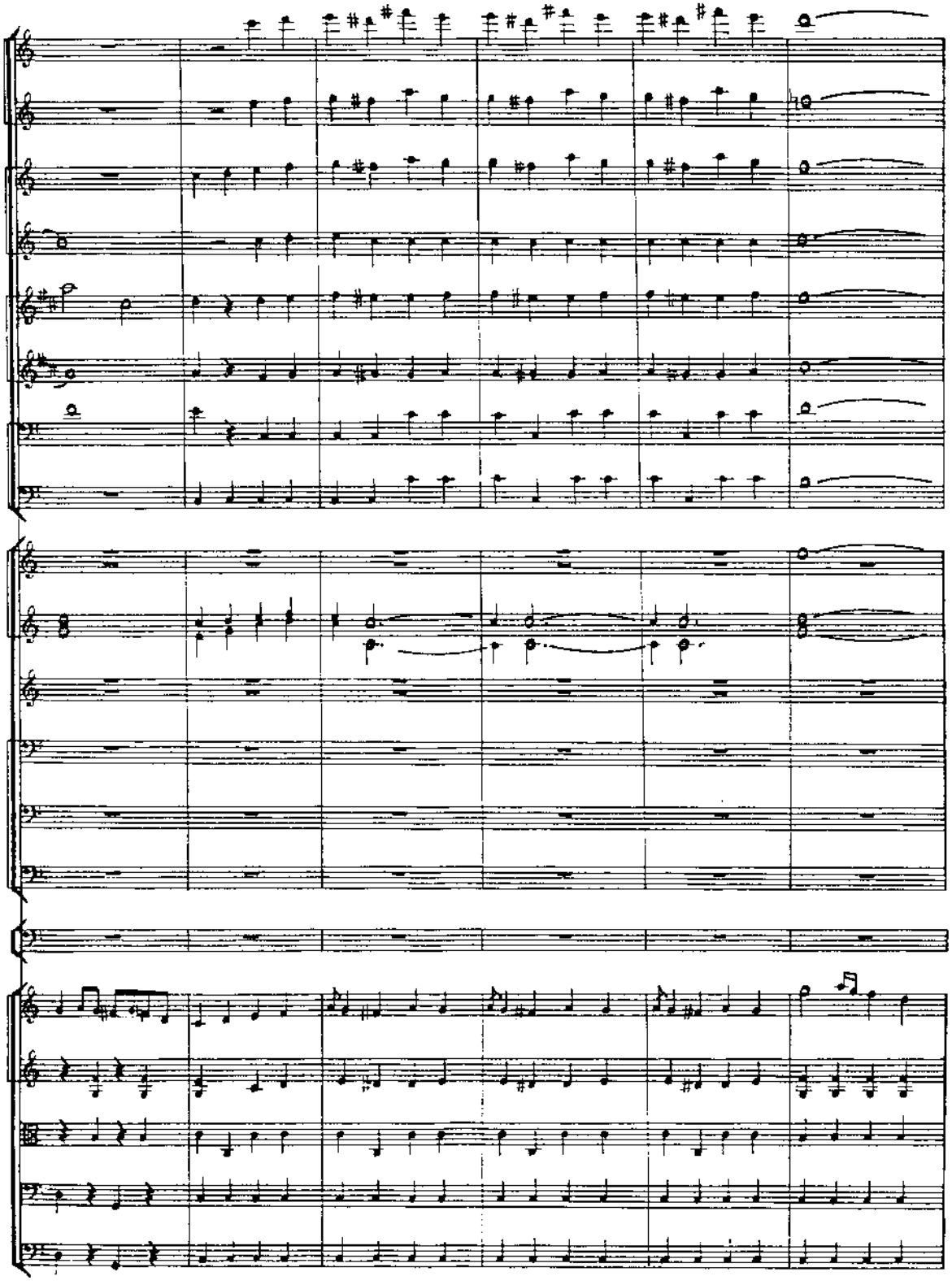

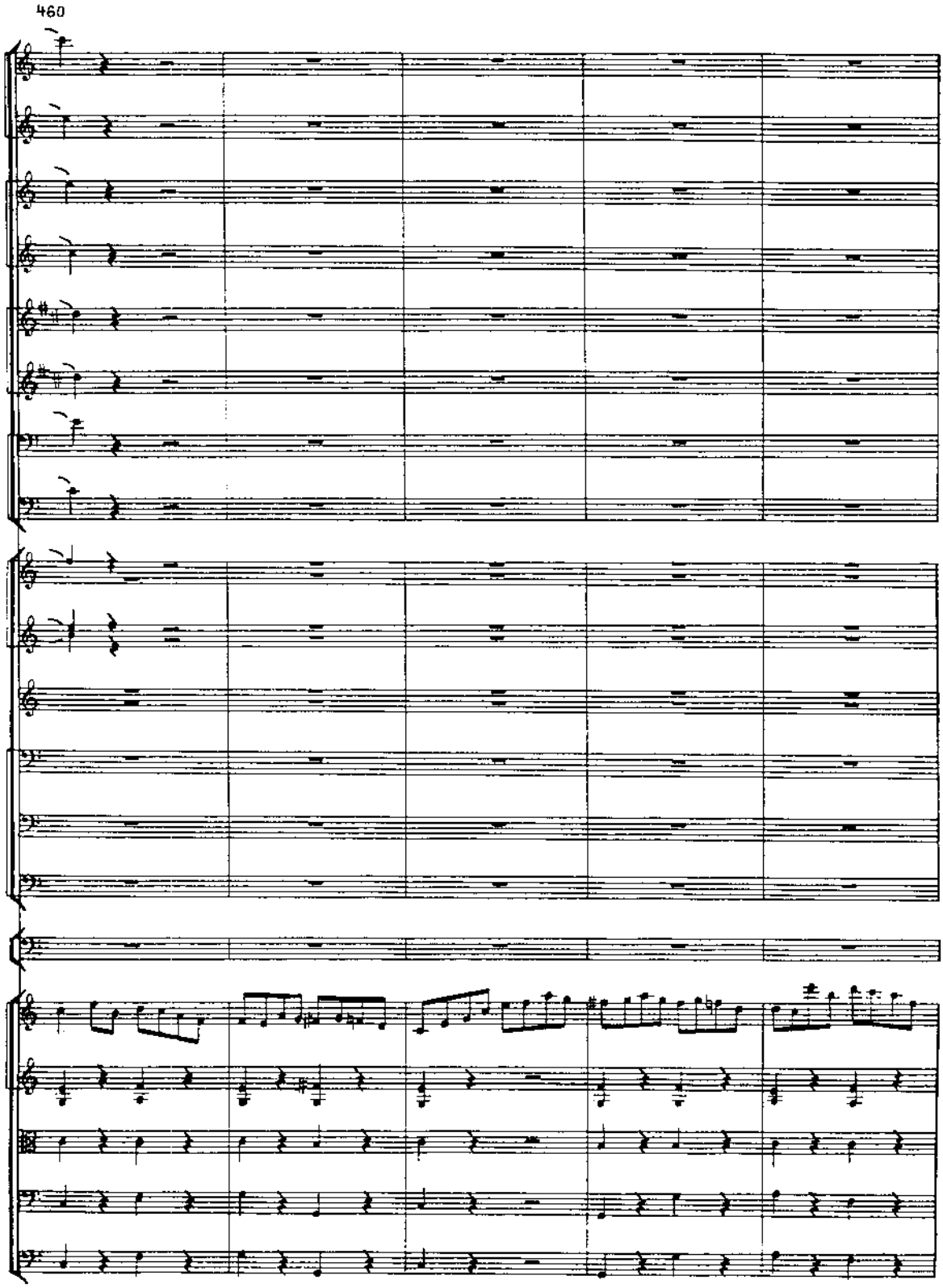
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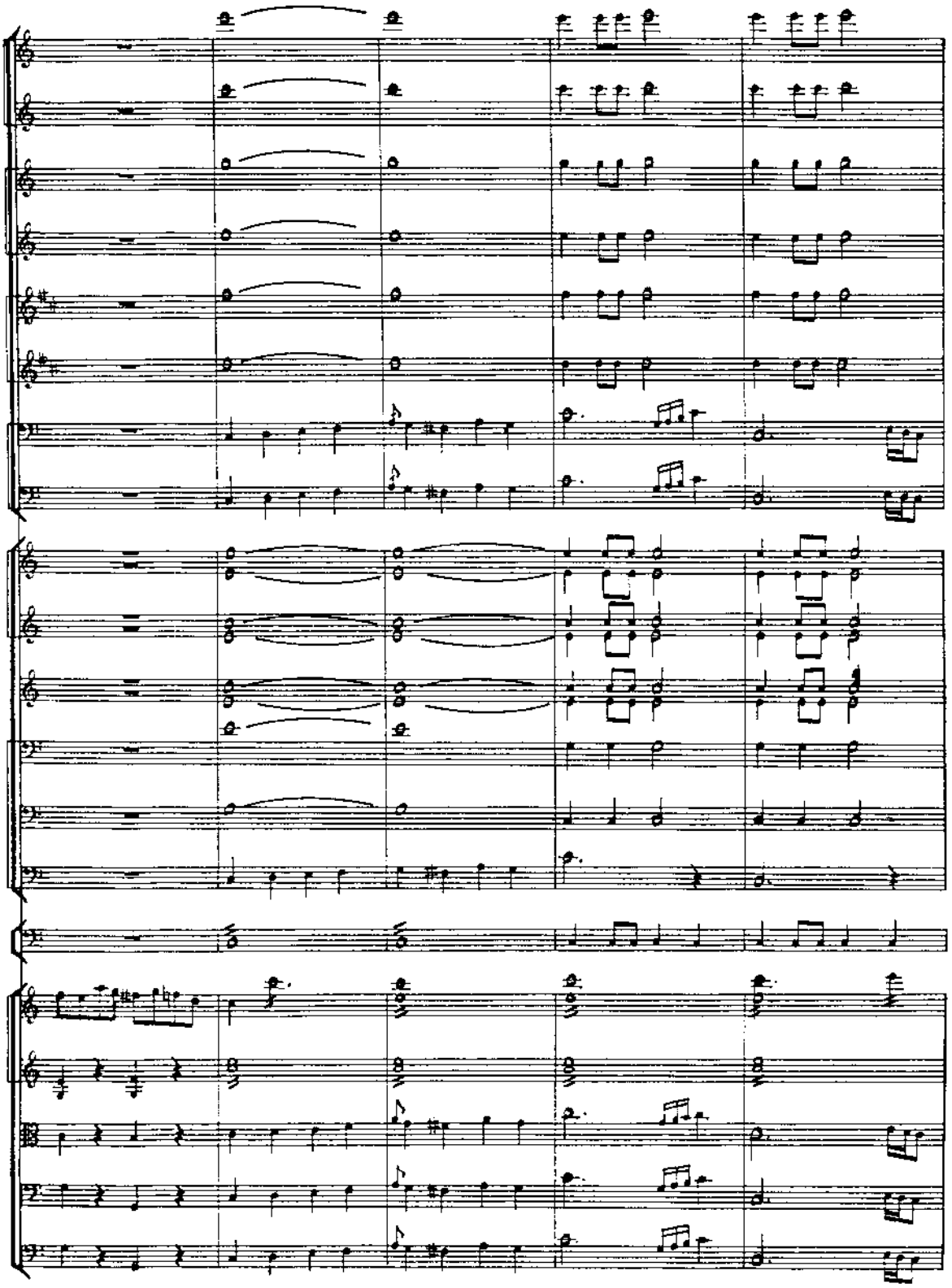

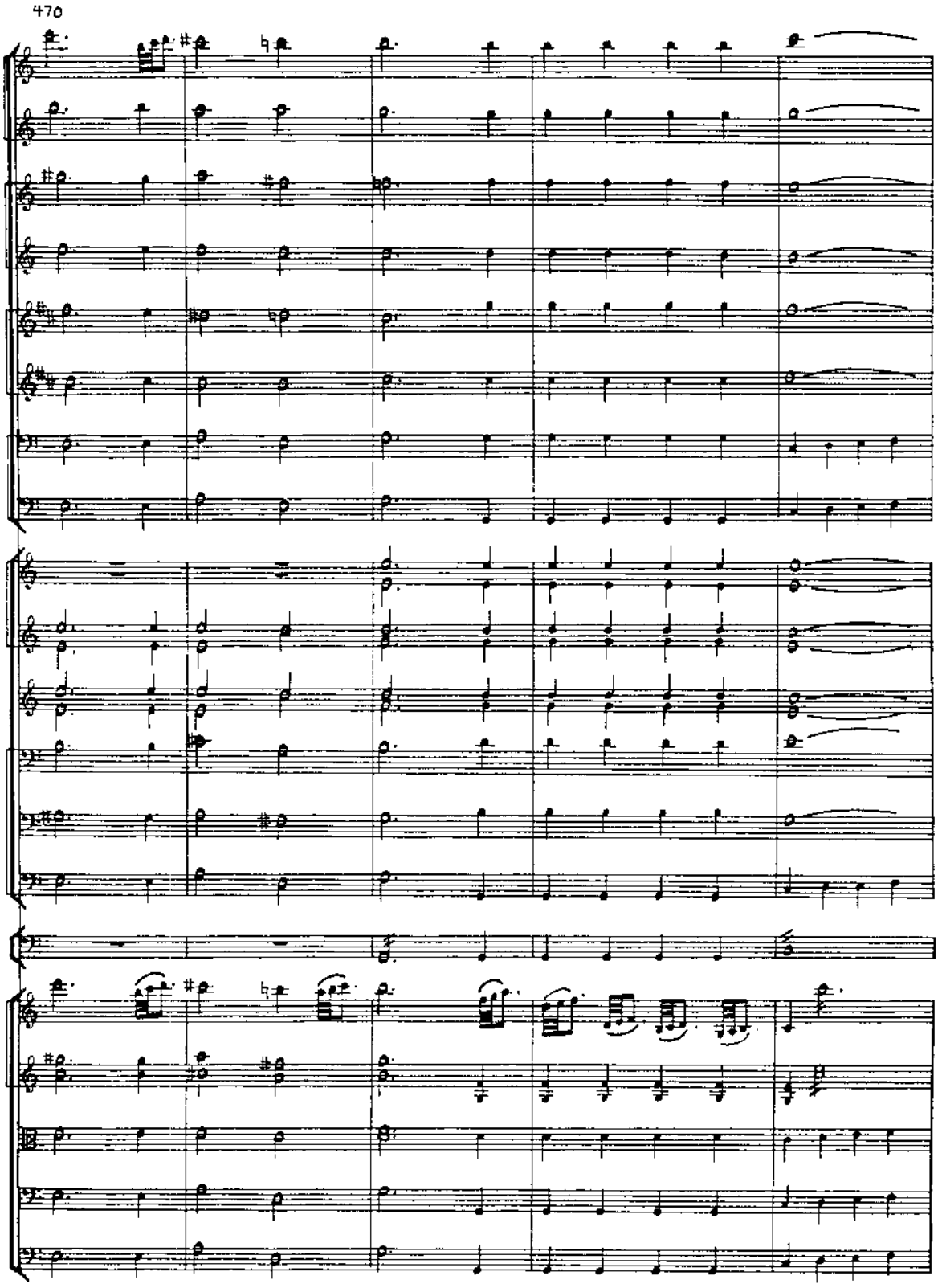
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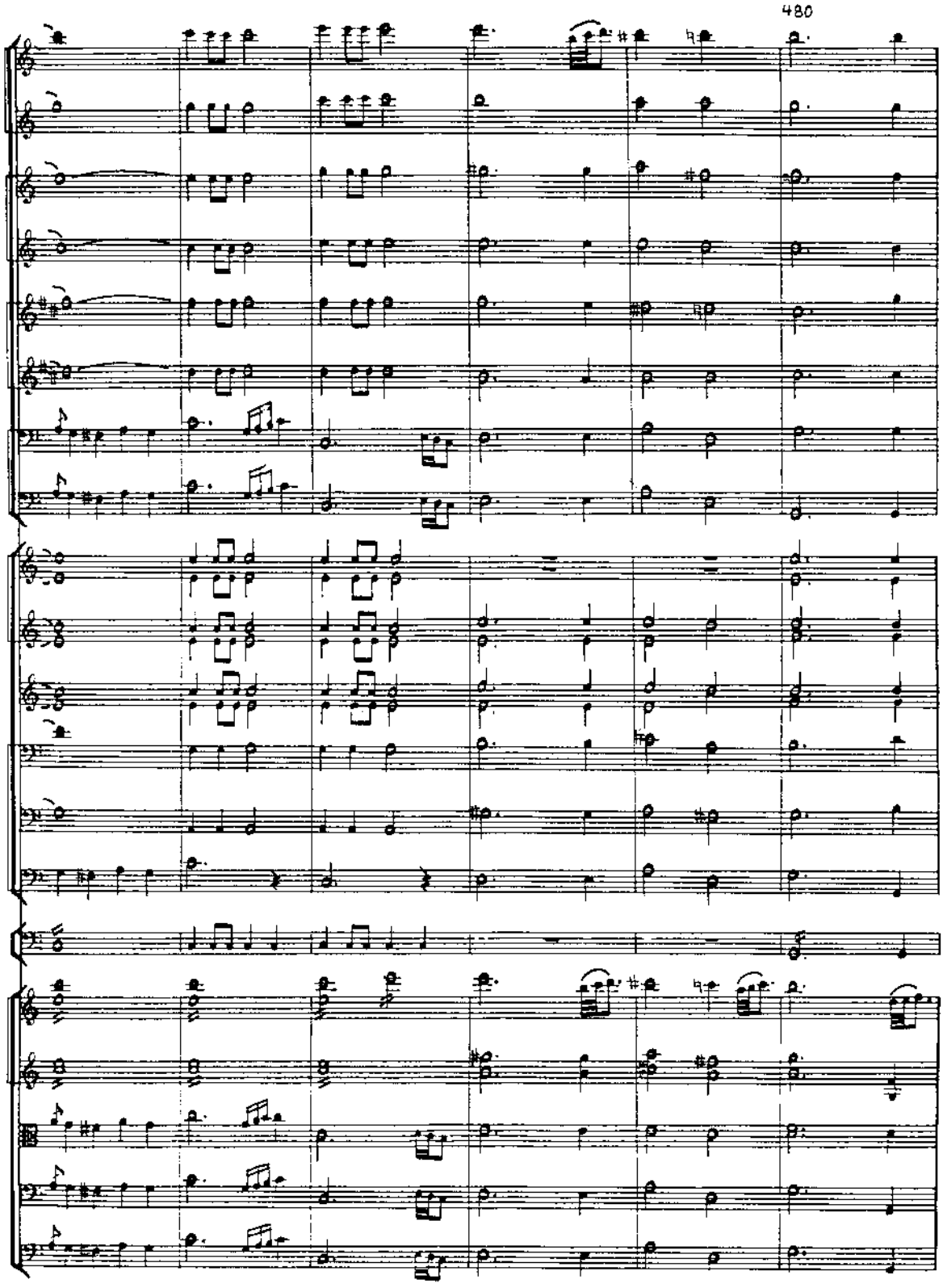
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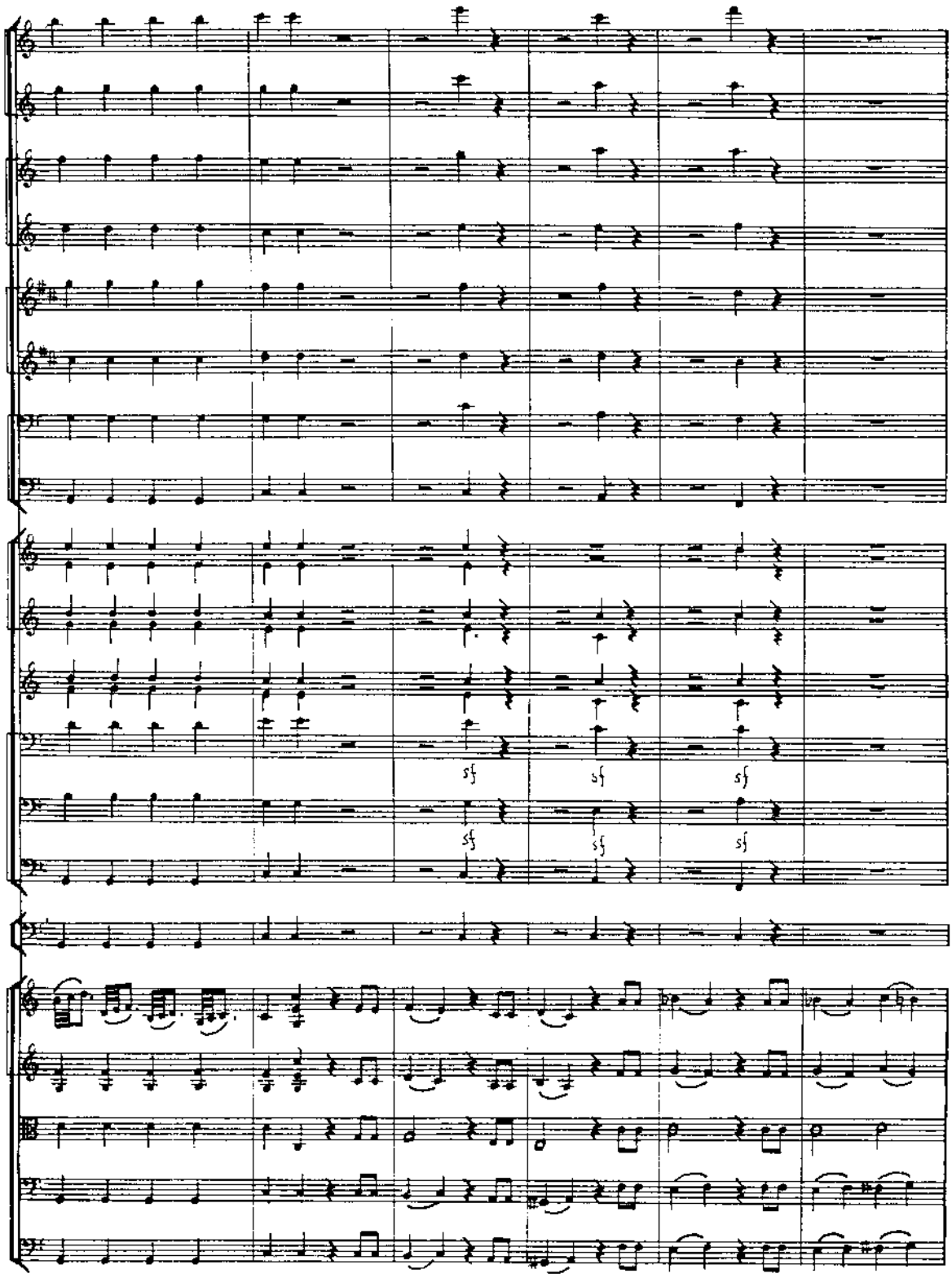
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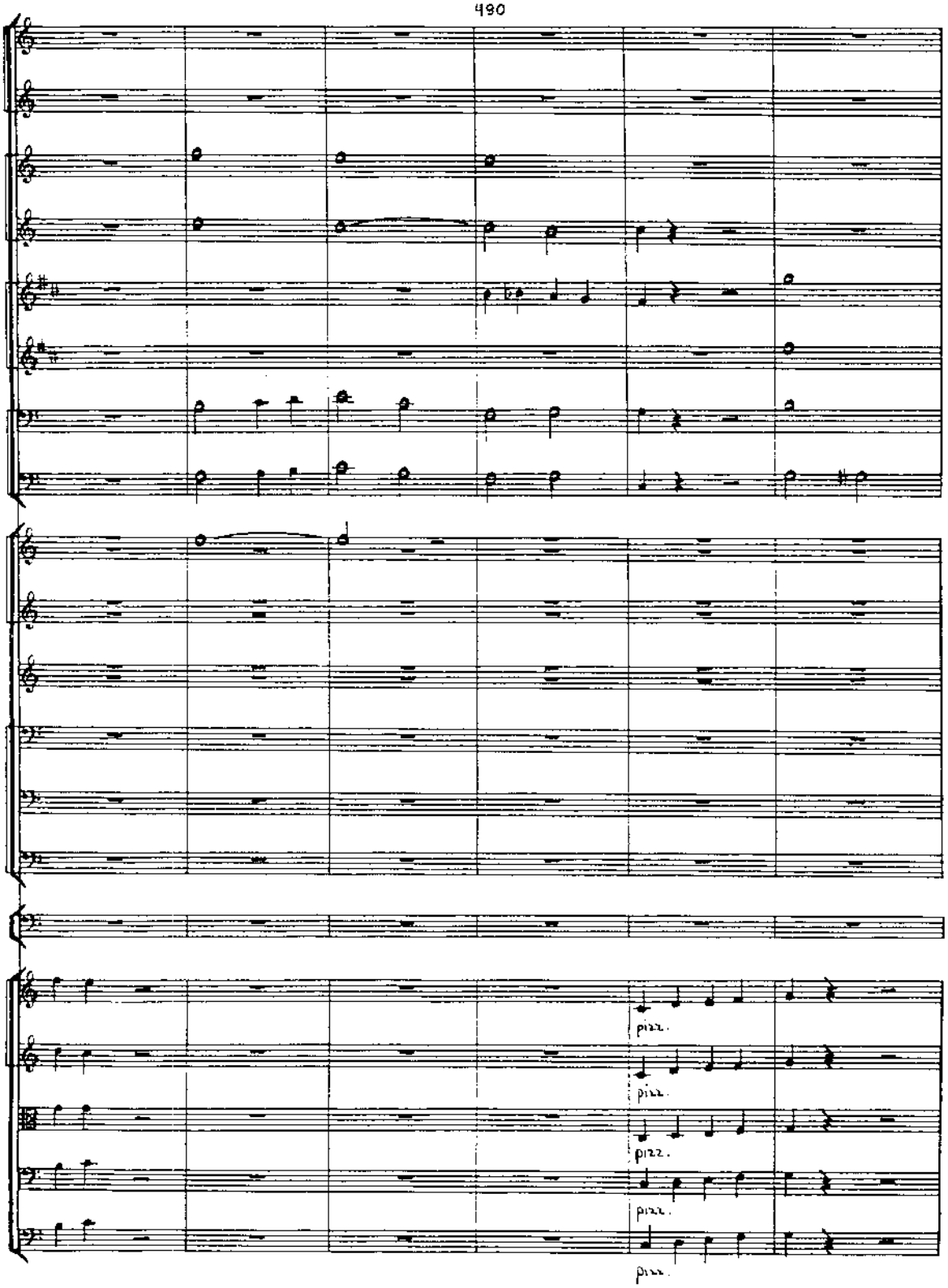

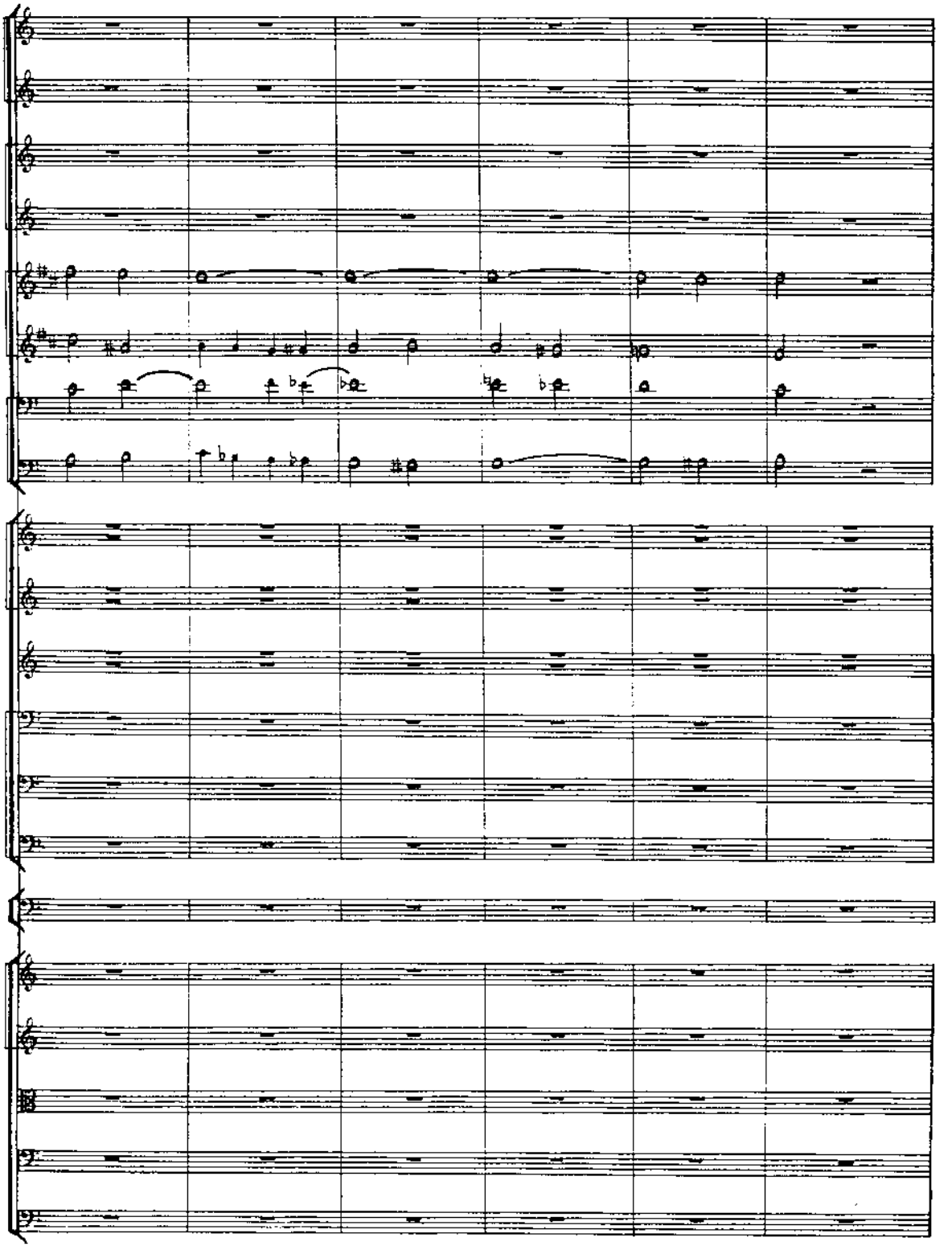

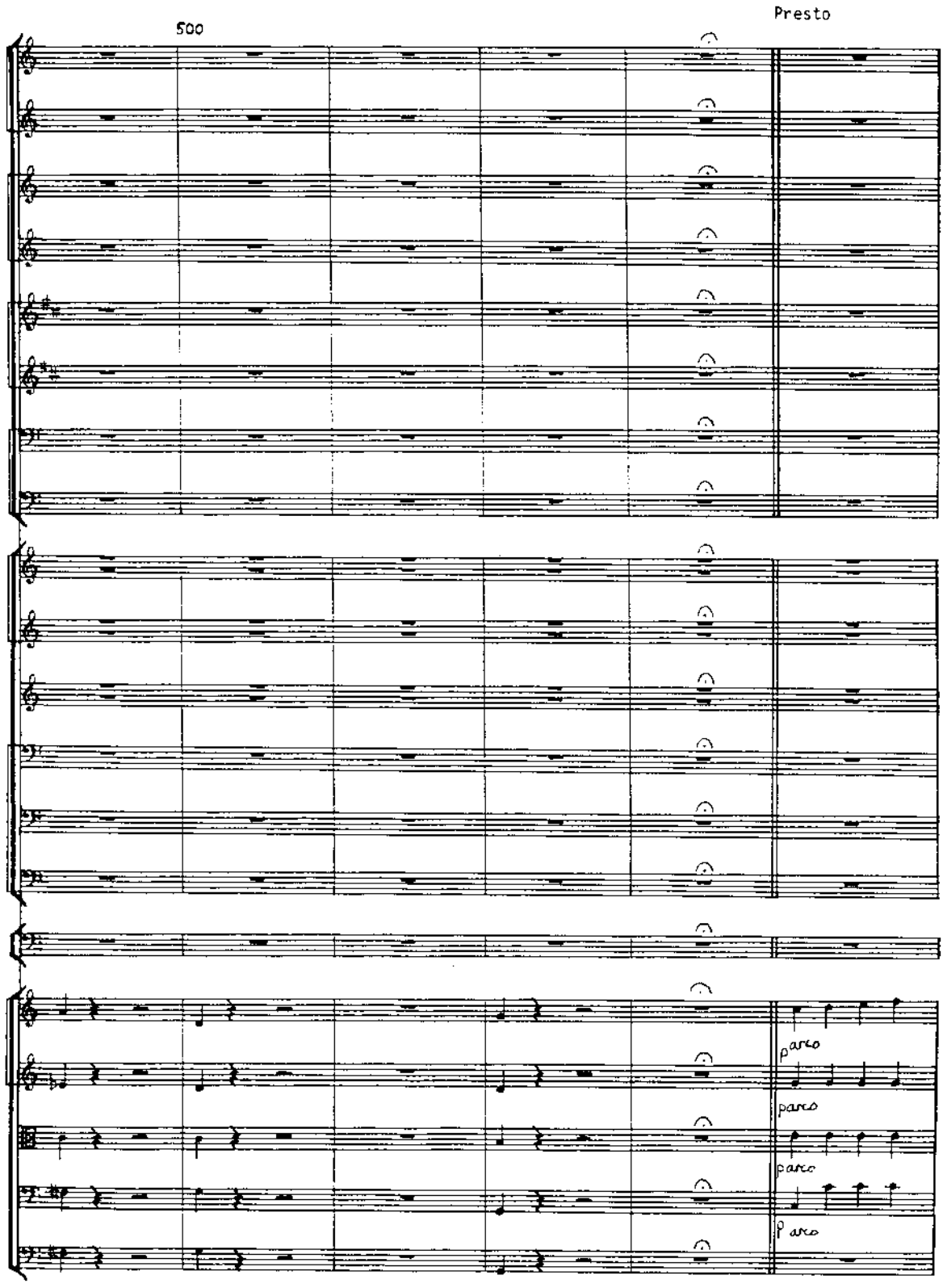
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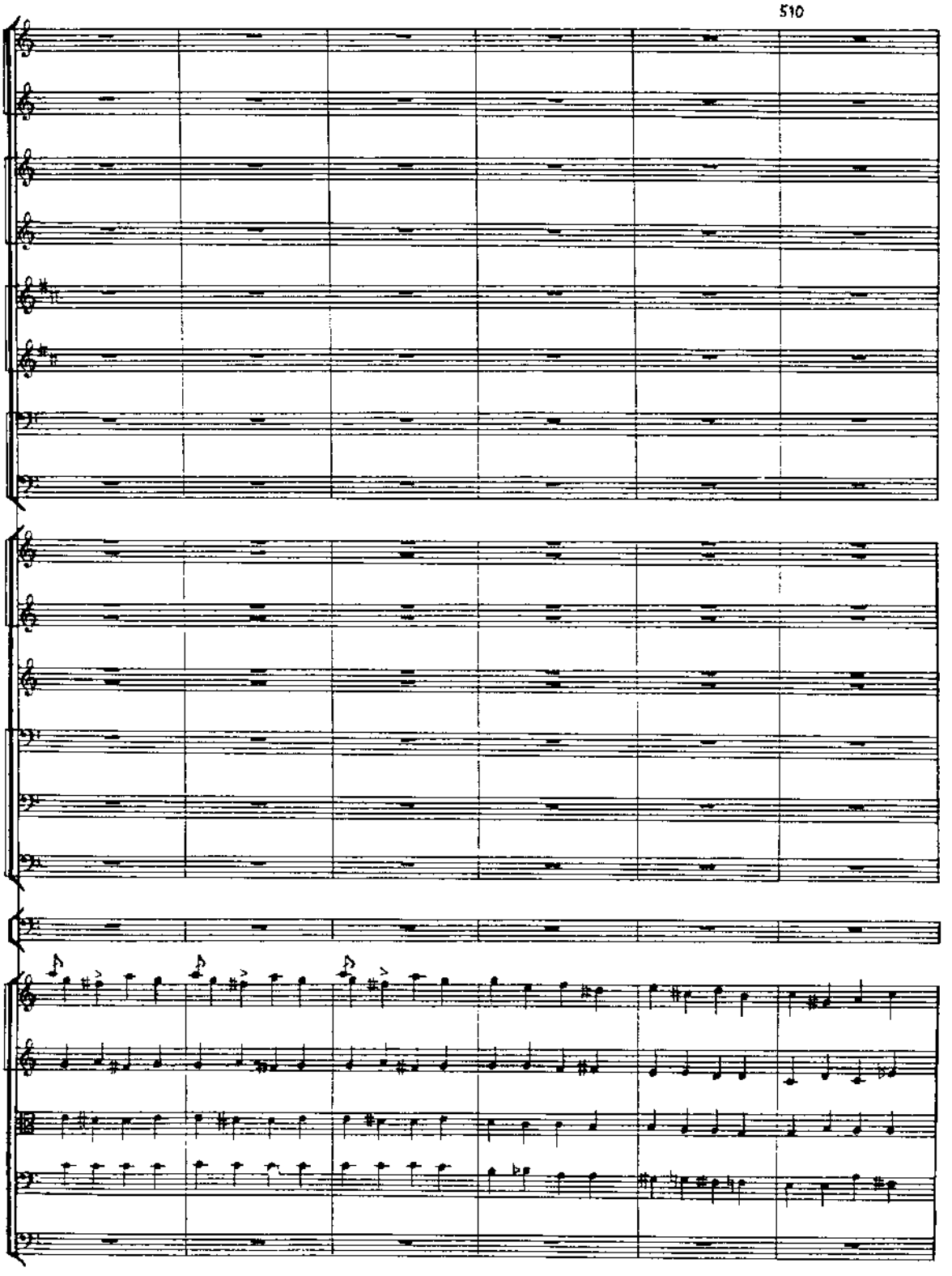
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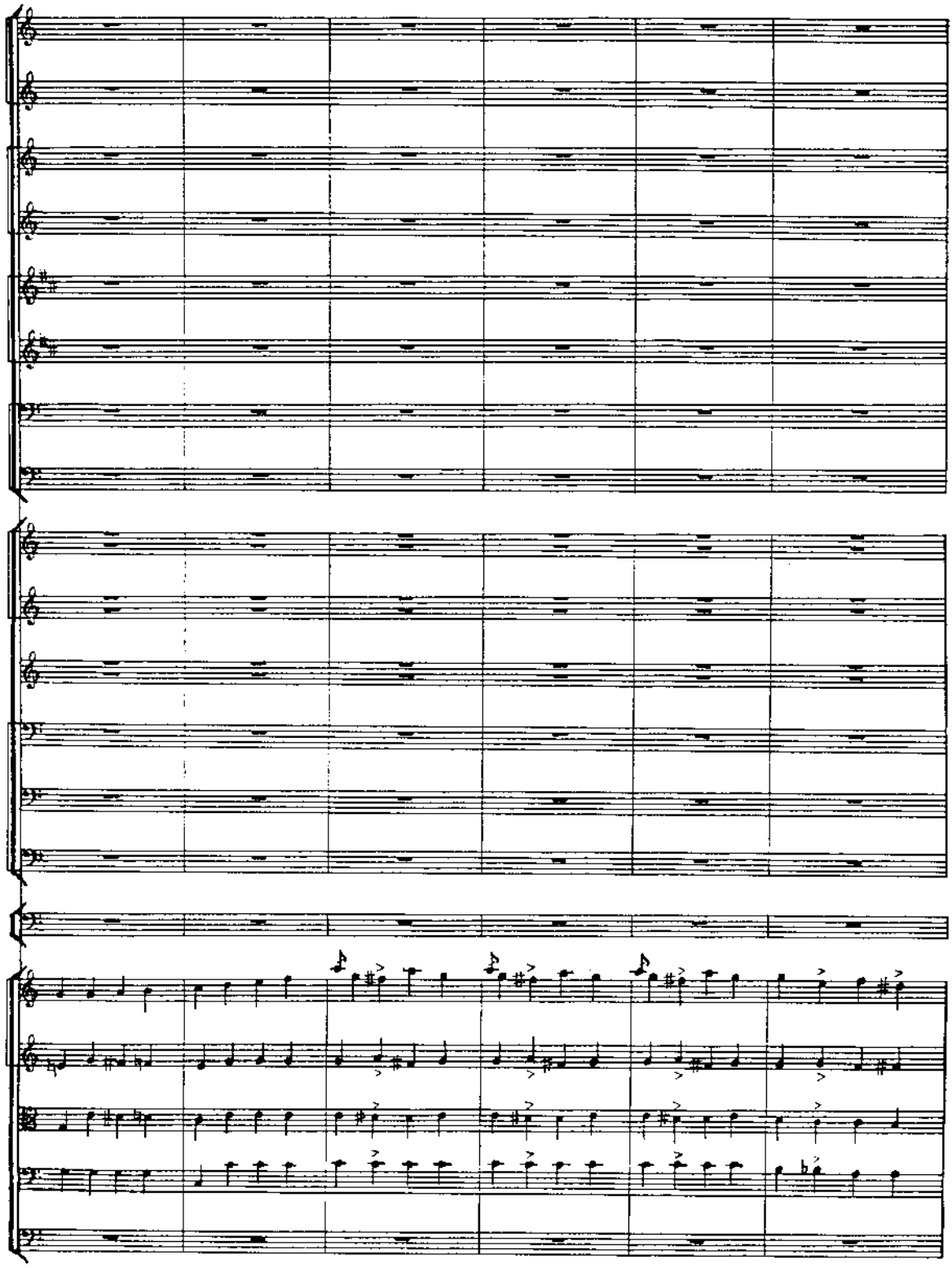

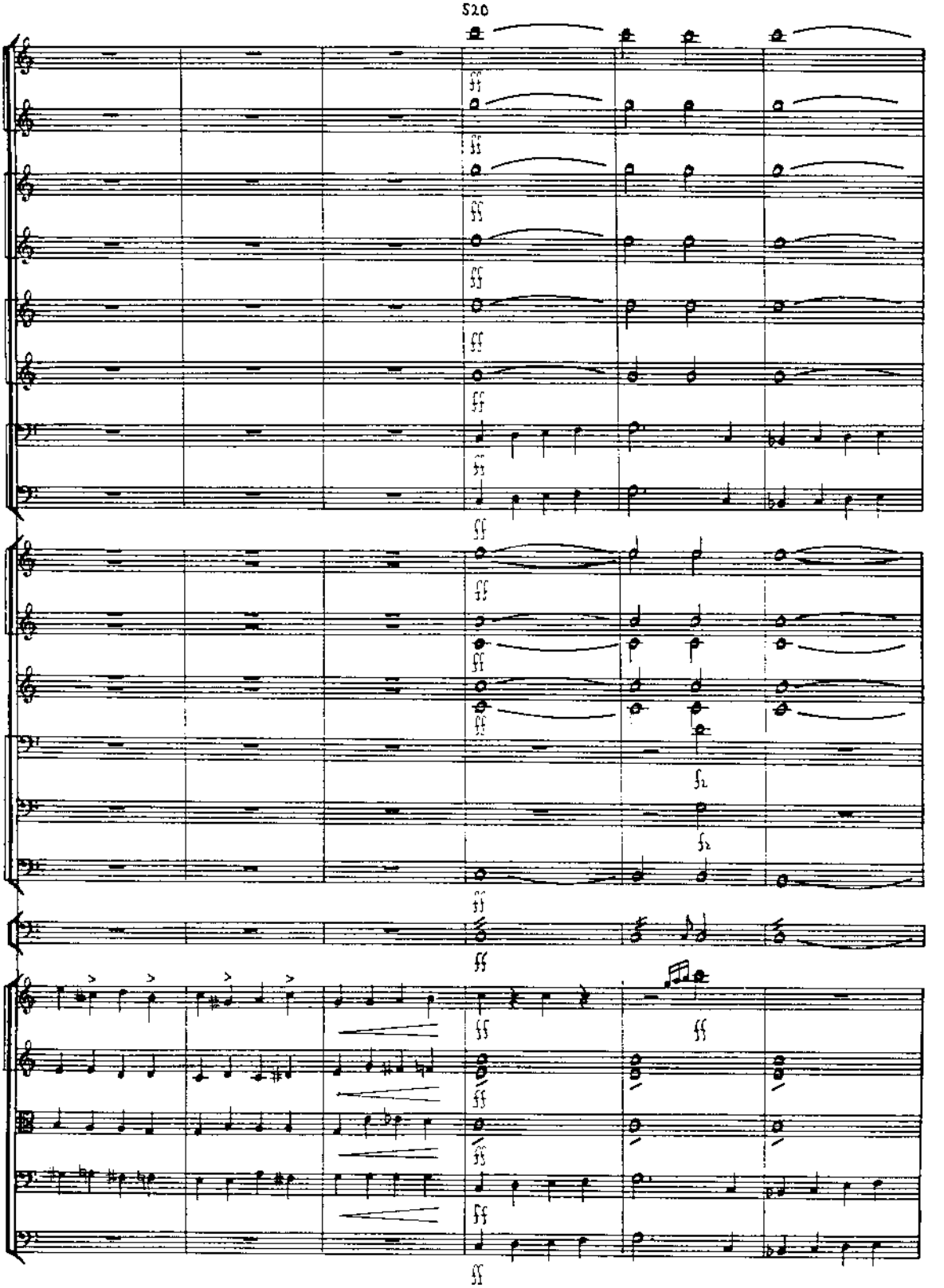
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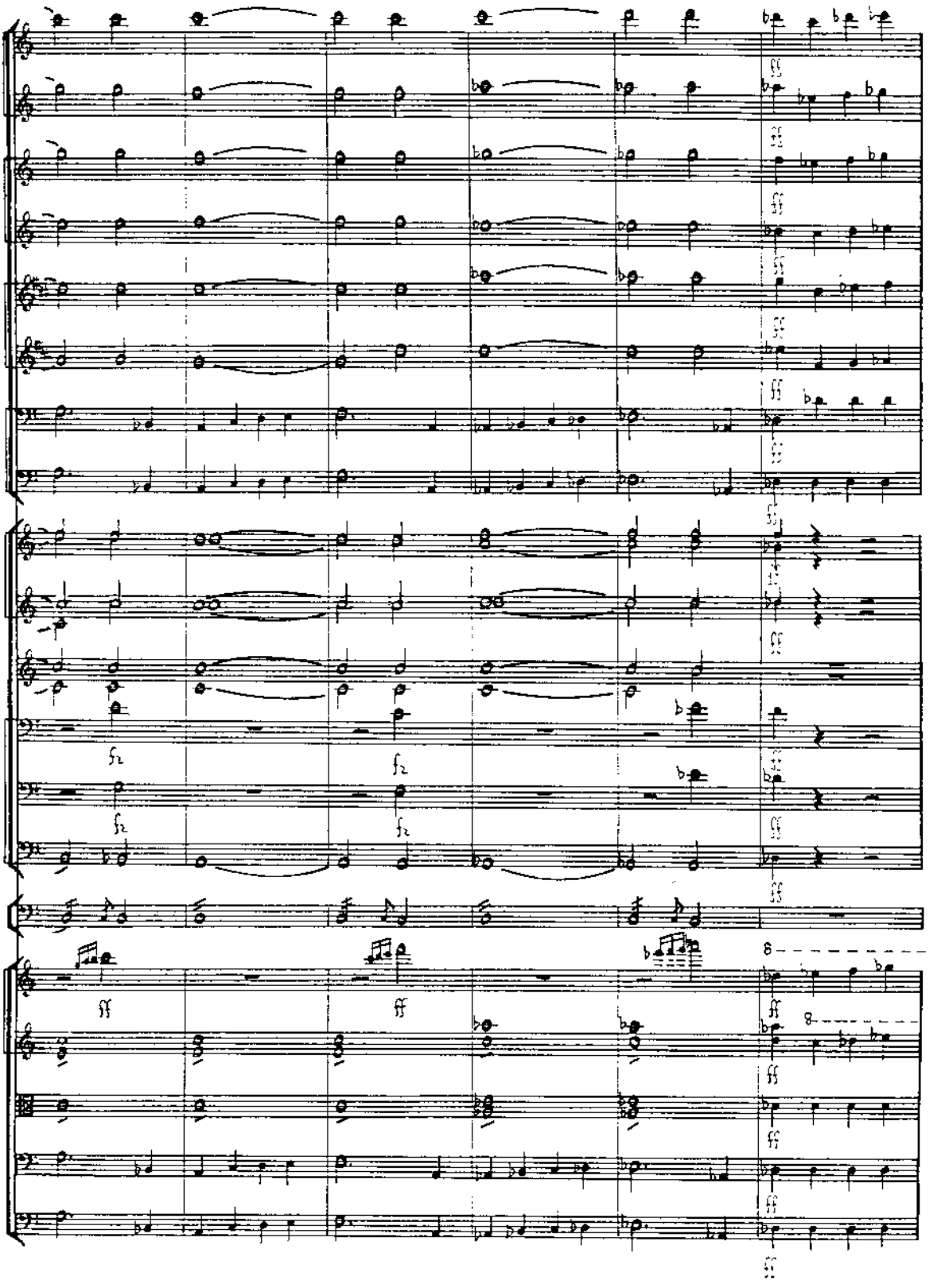

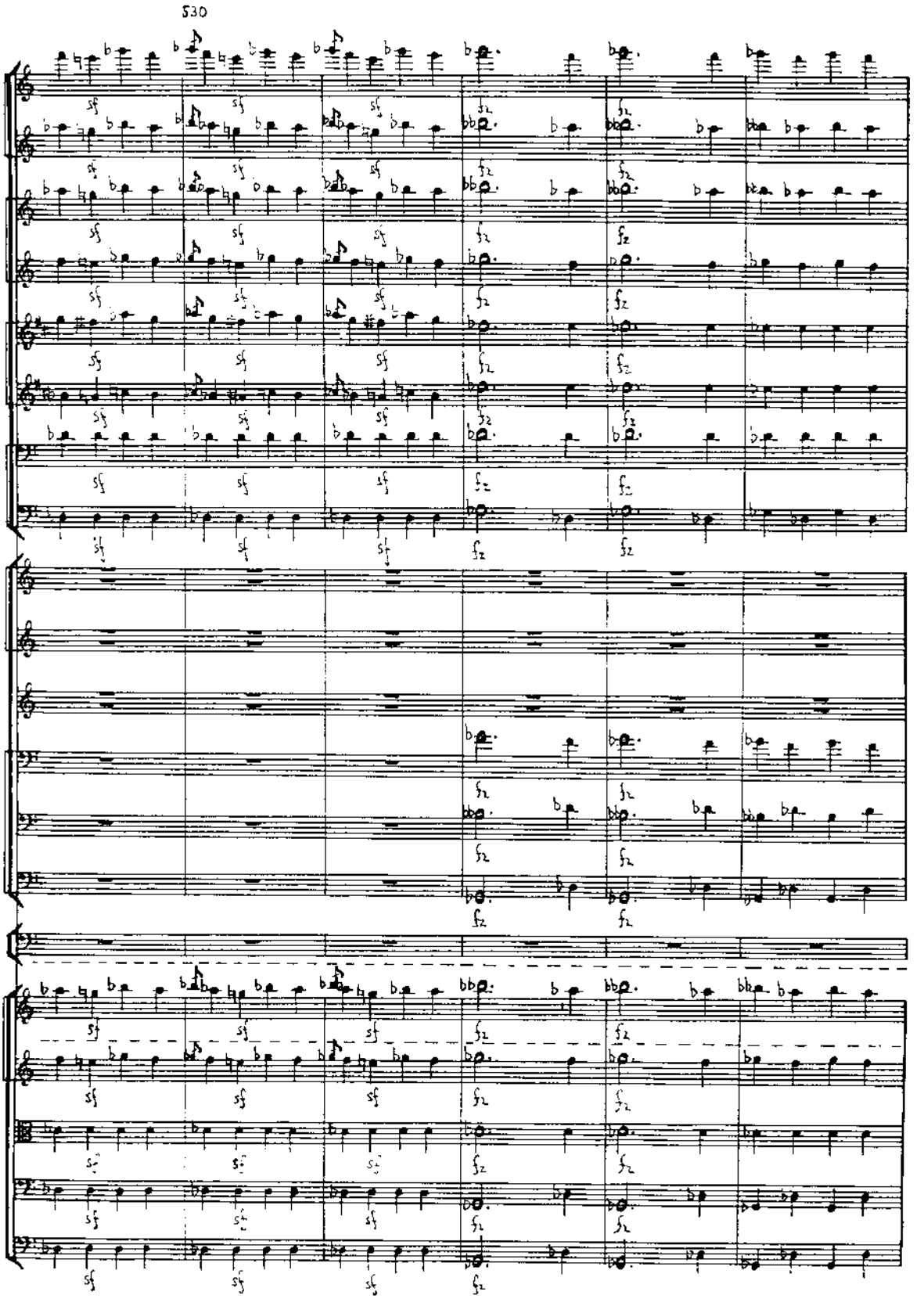
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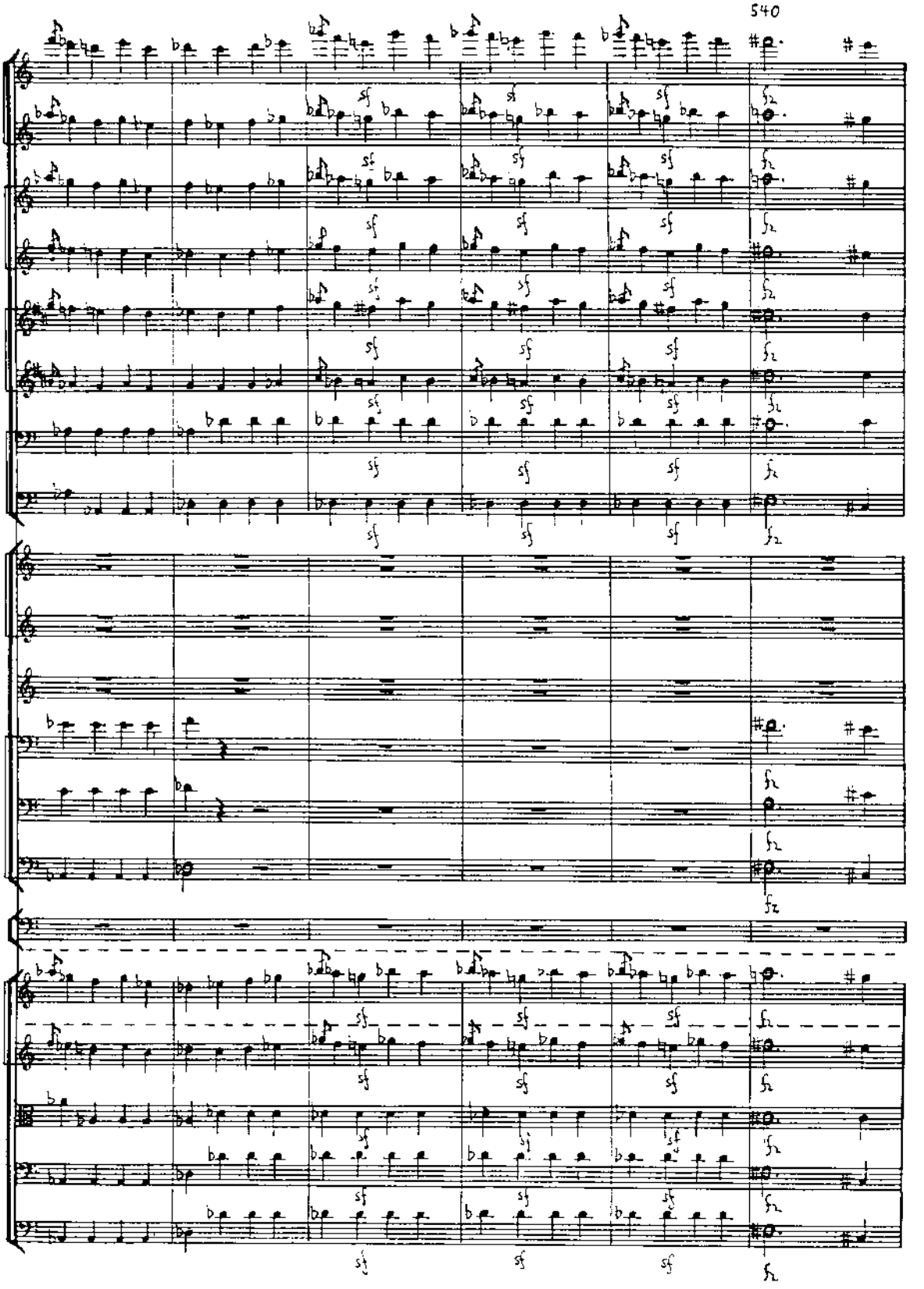
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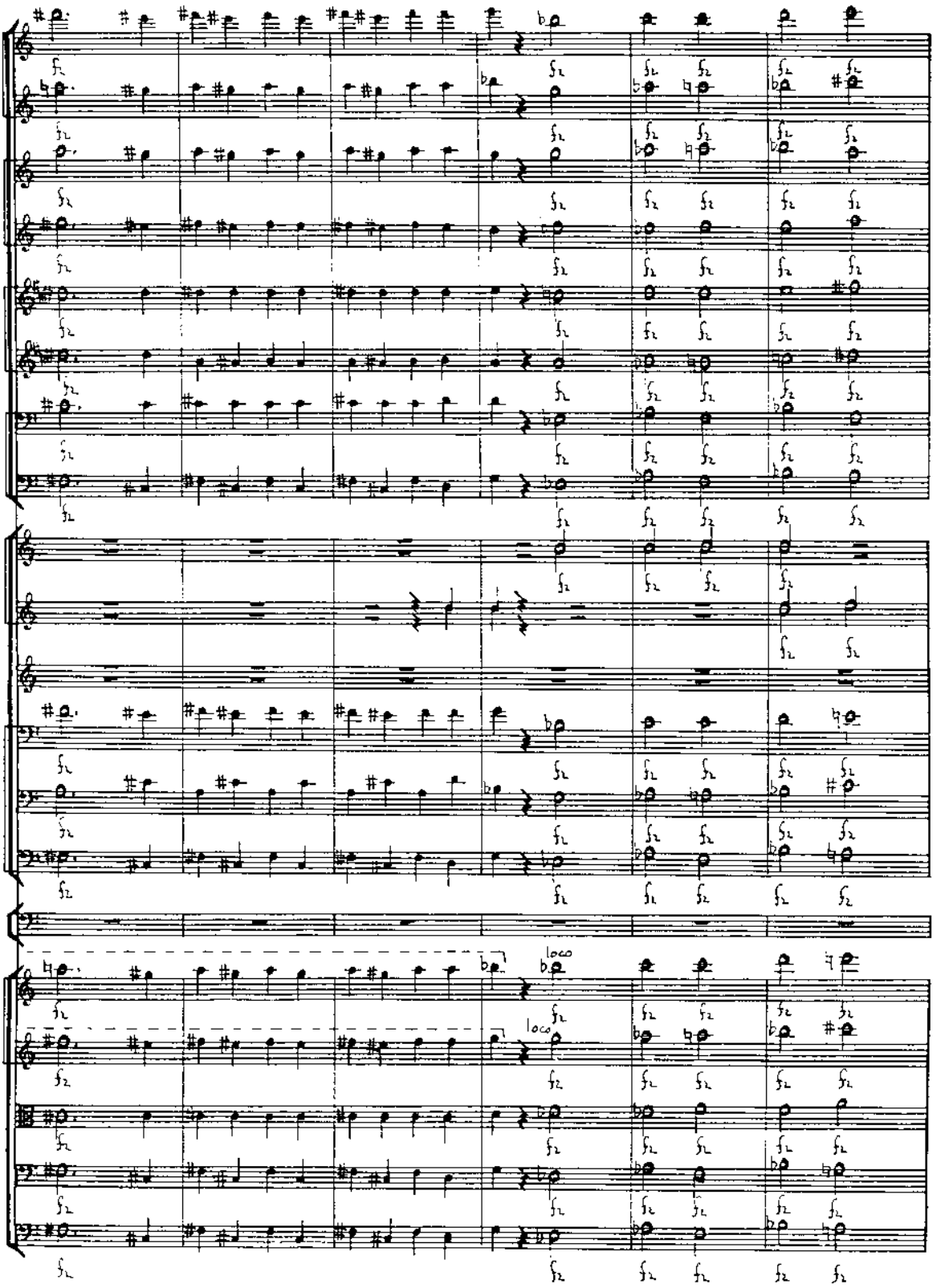
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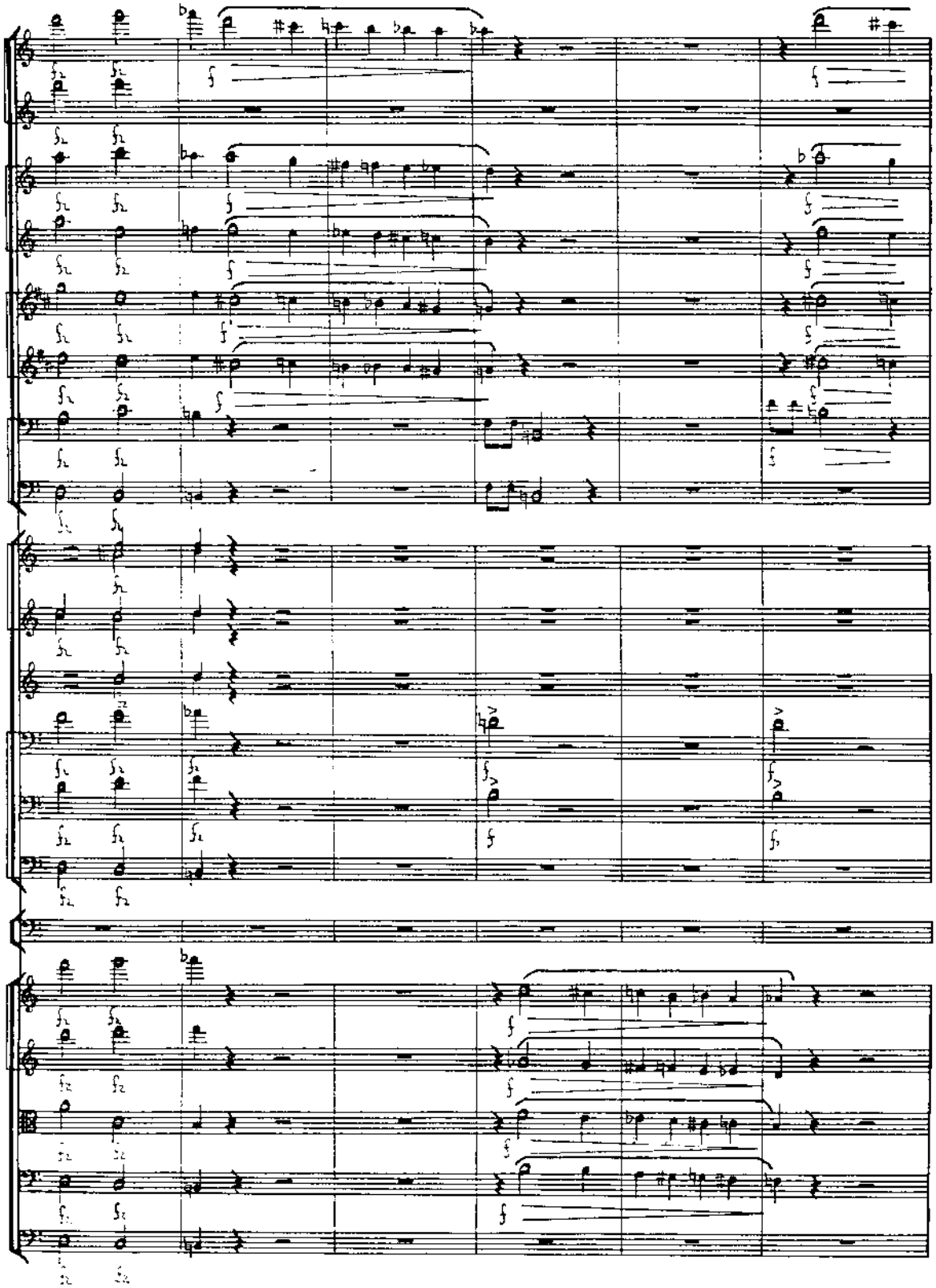

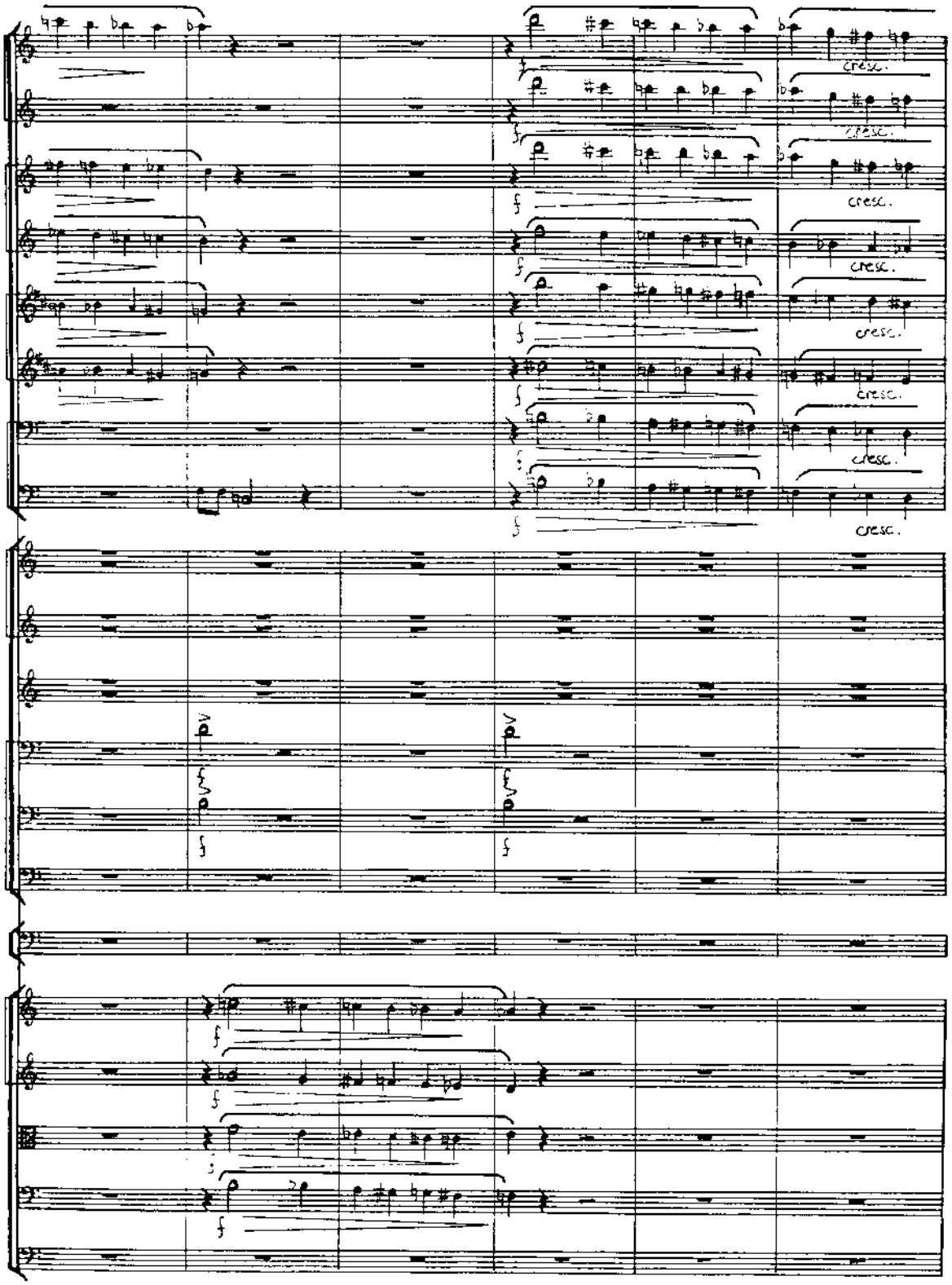
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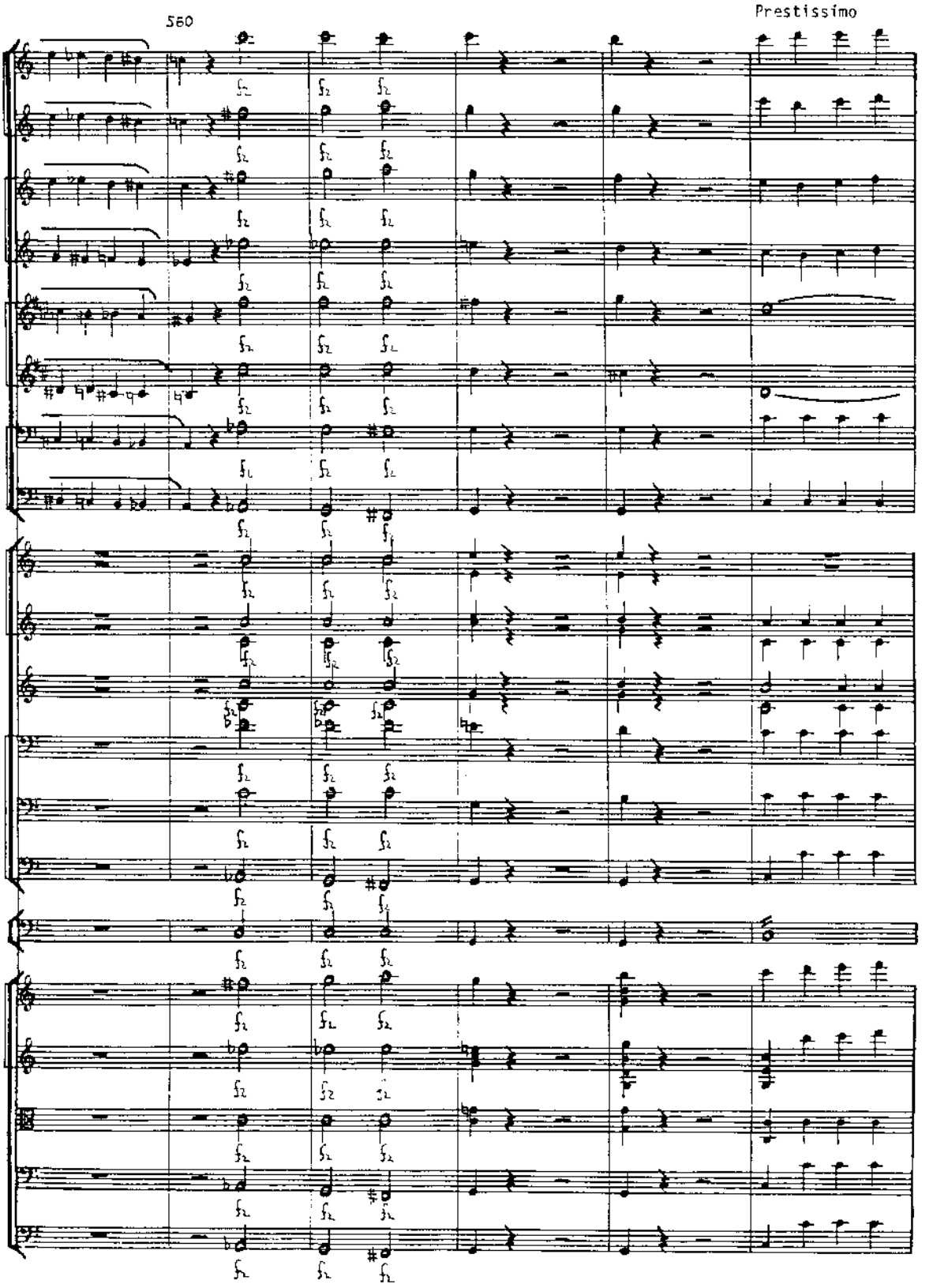
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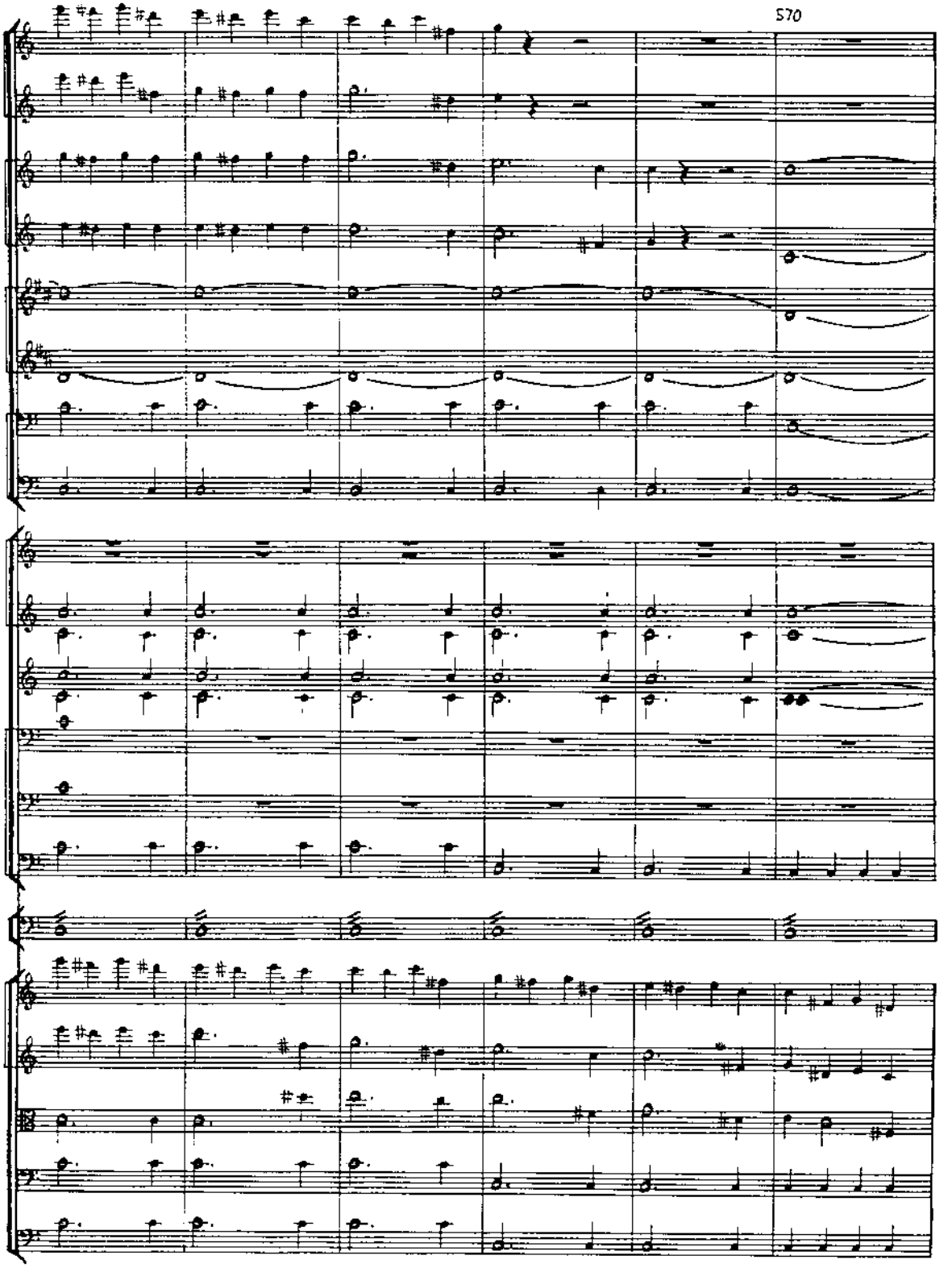
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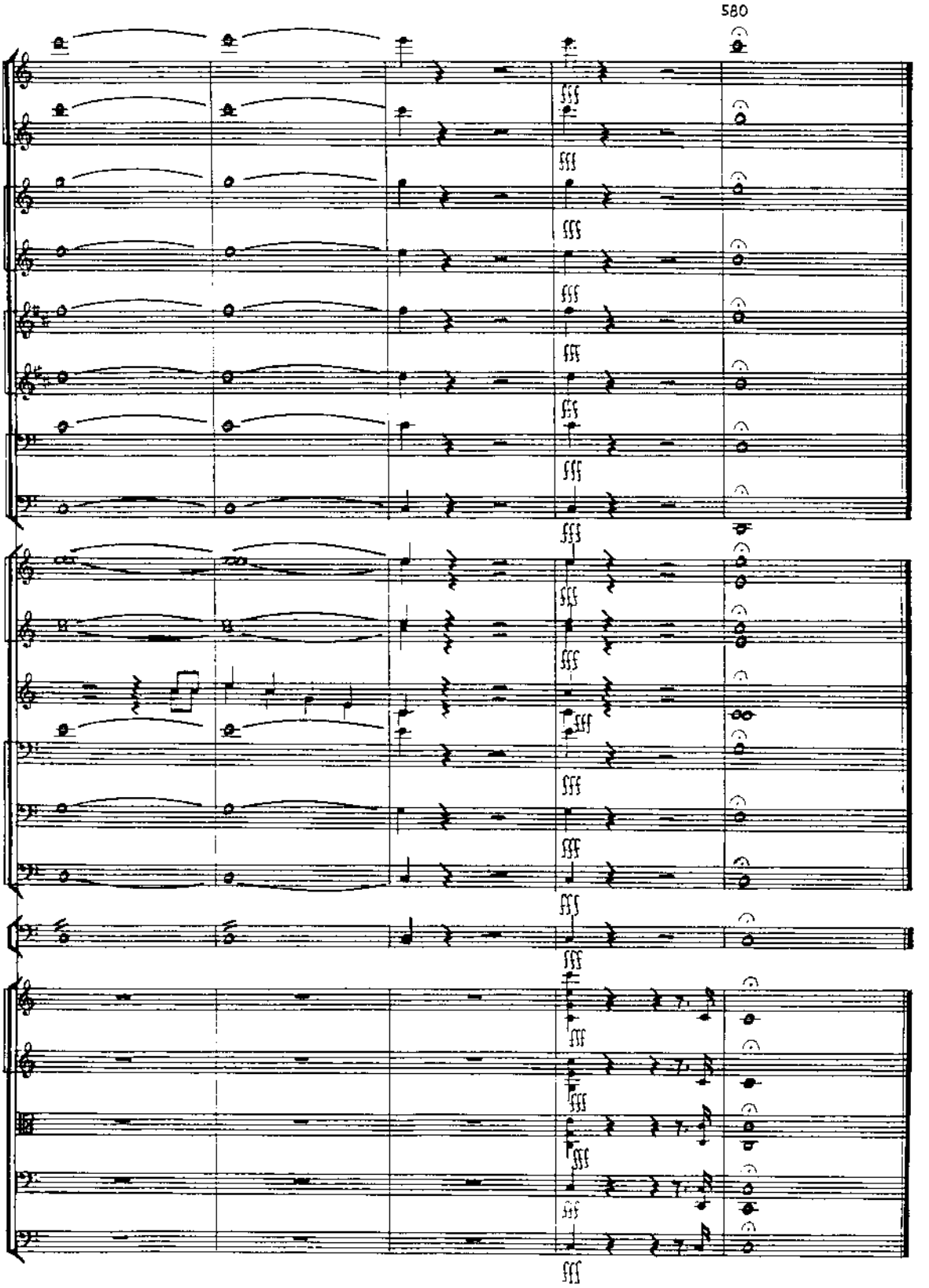
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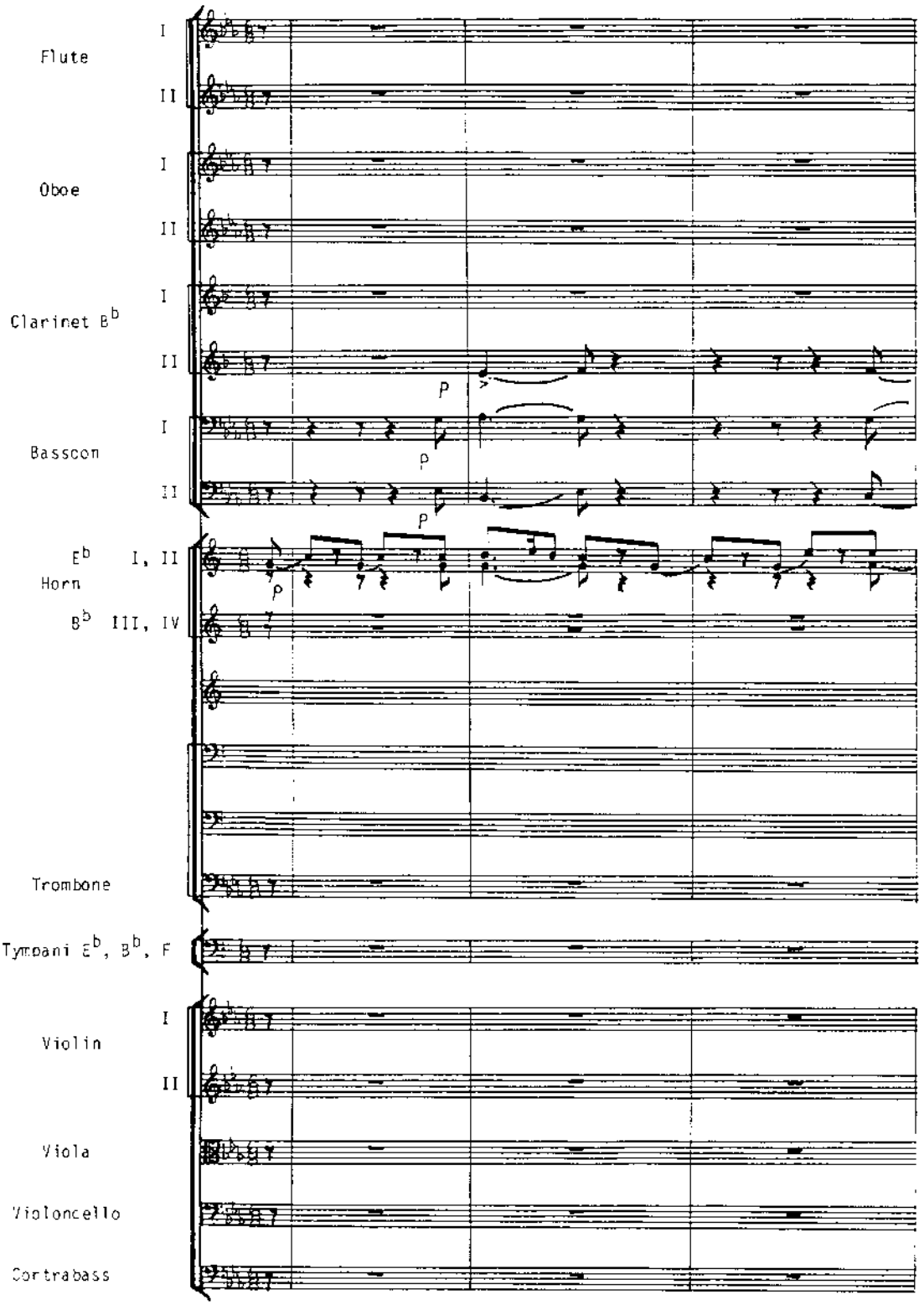
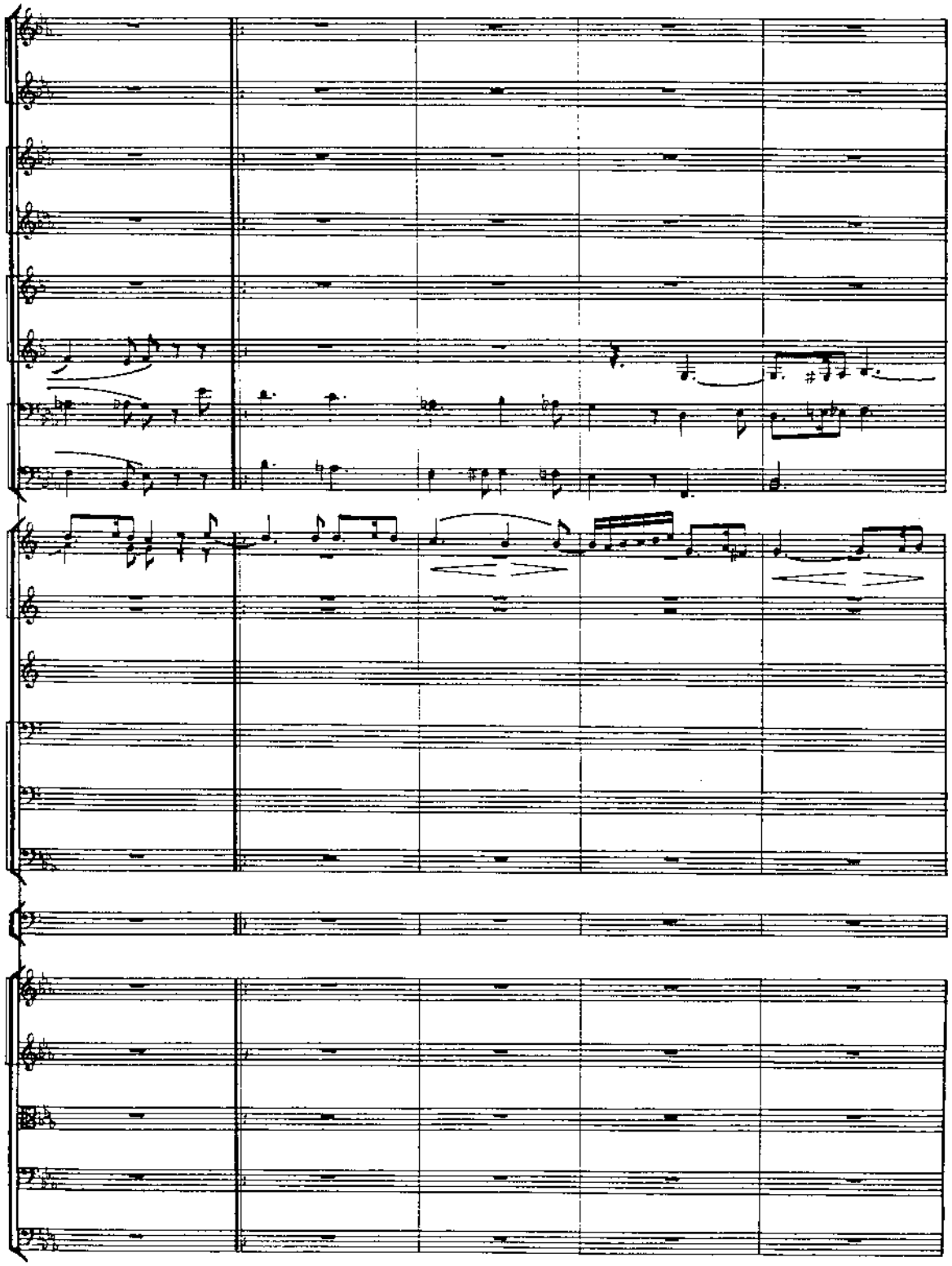
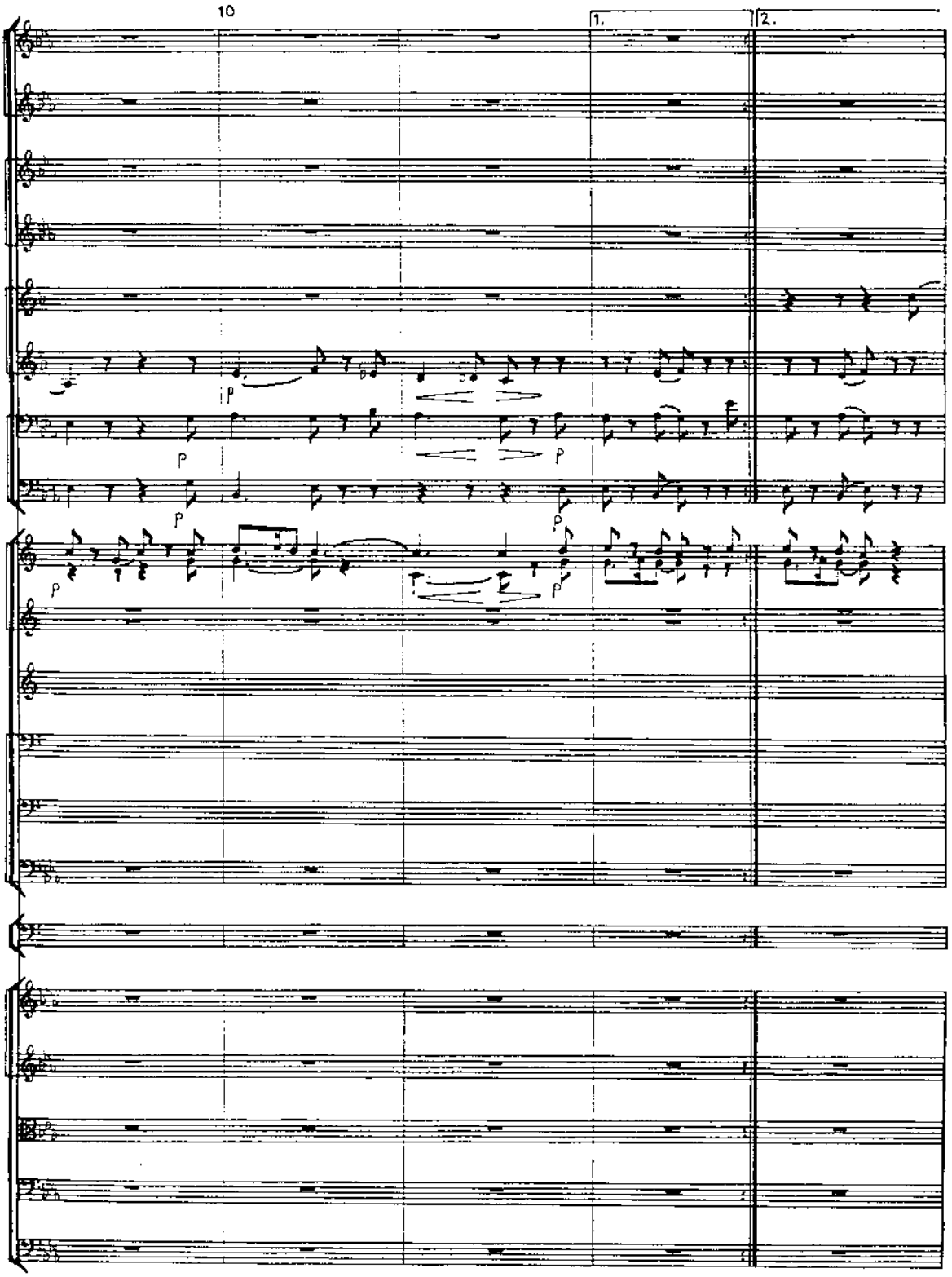
ORIGINAL SLOW MOVEMENT

Andante grazioso



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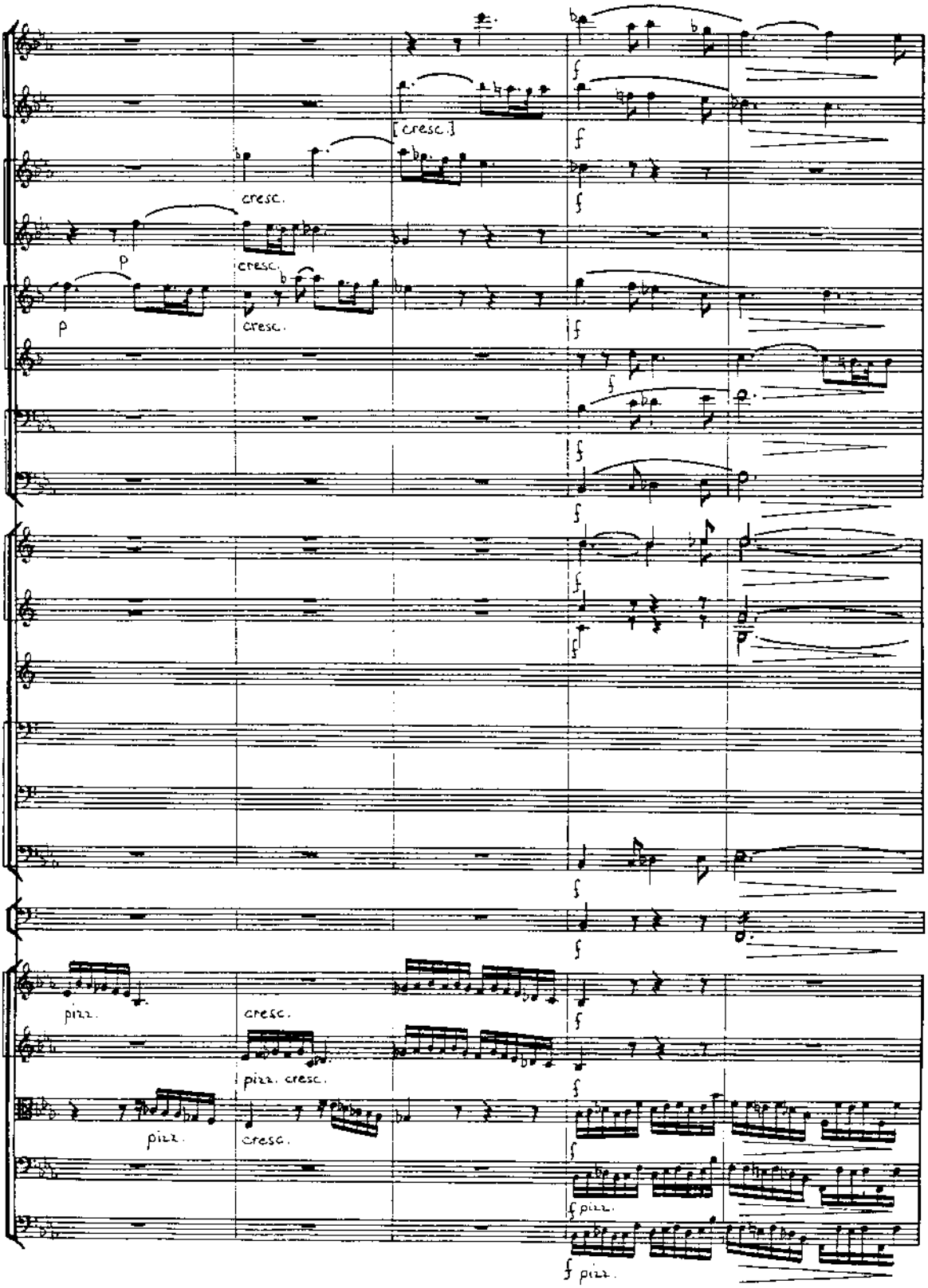
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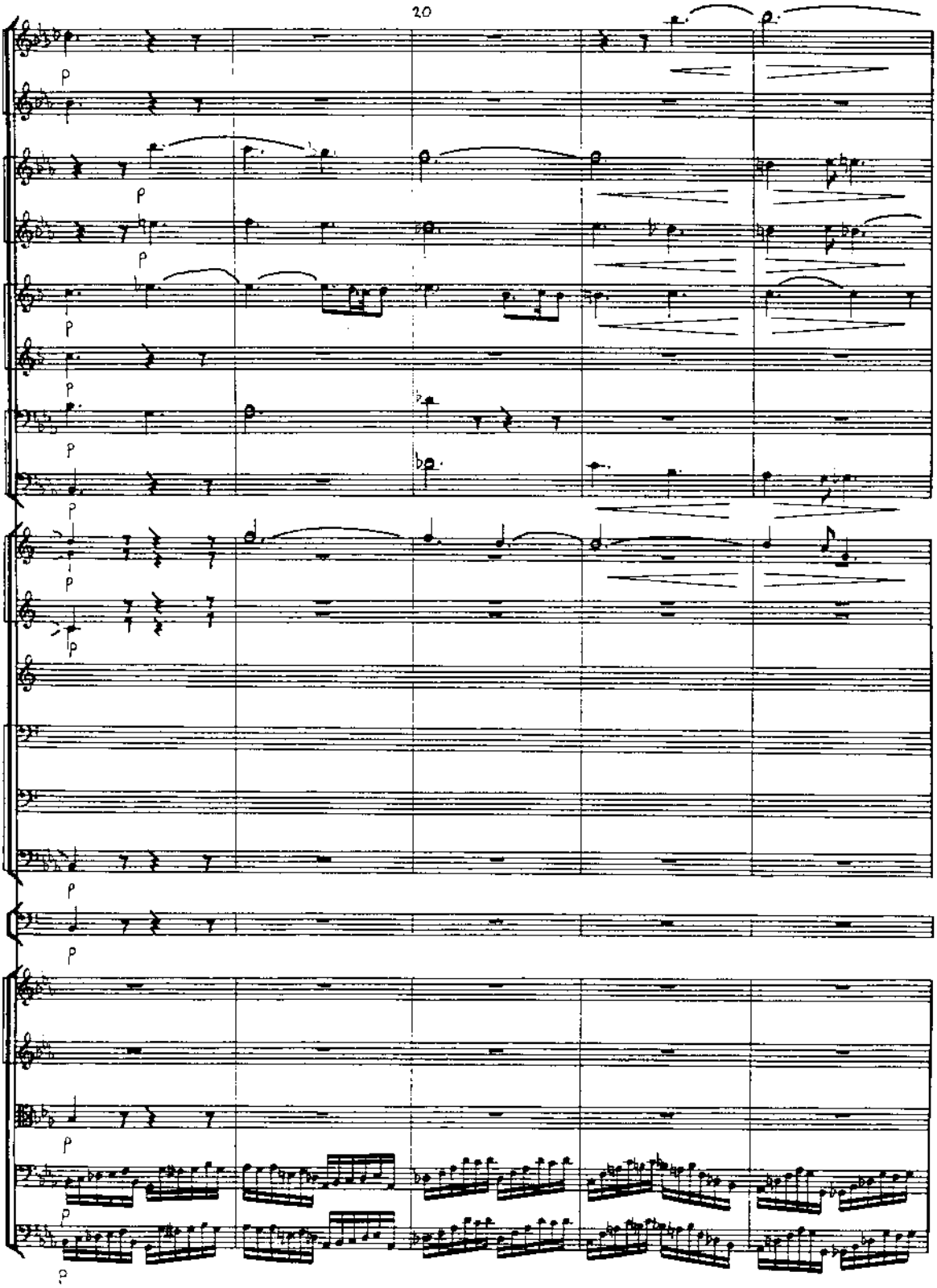
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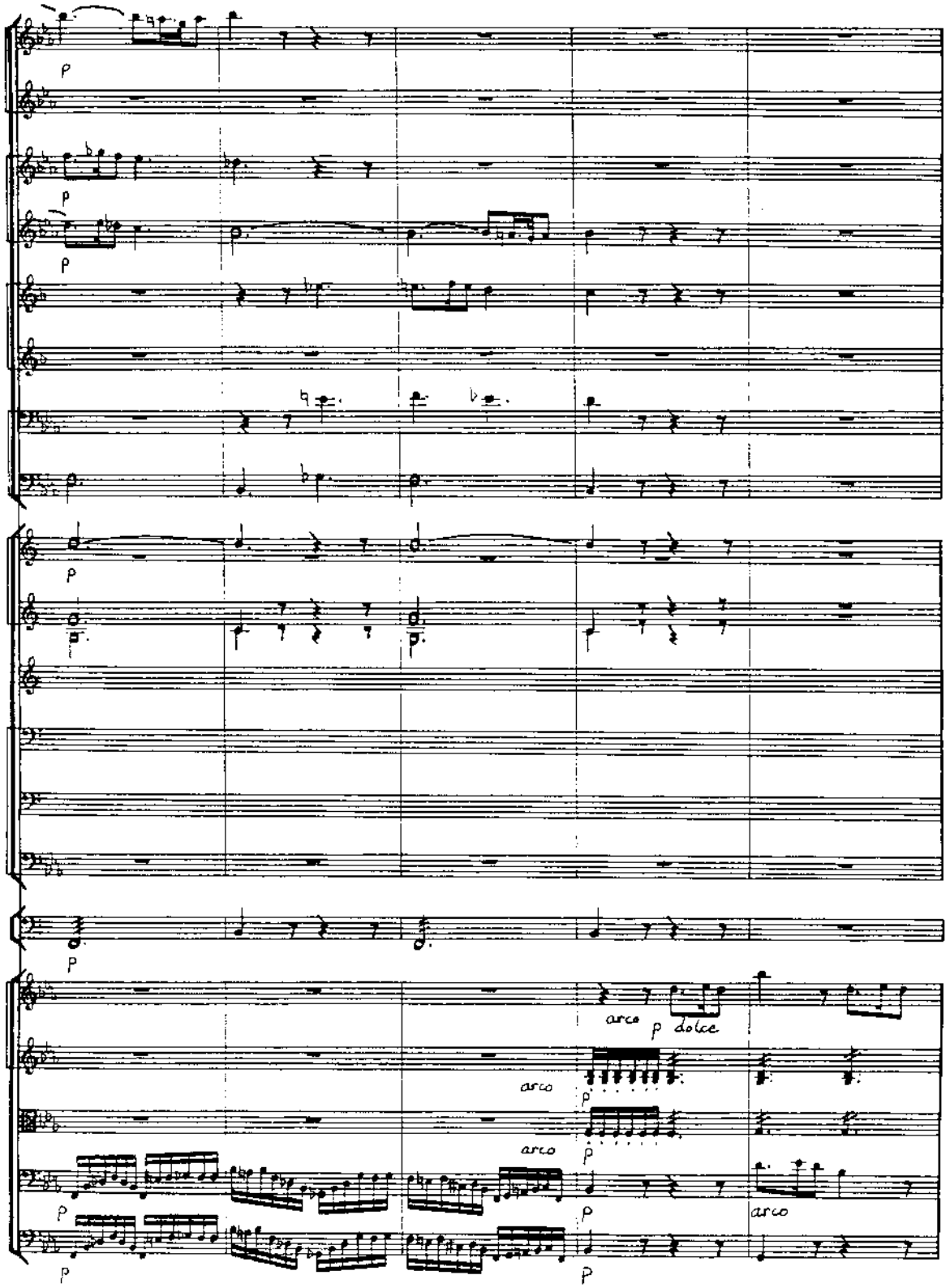
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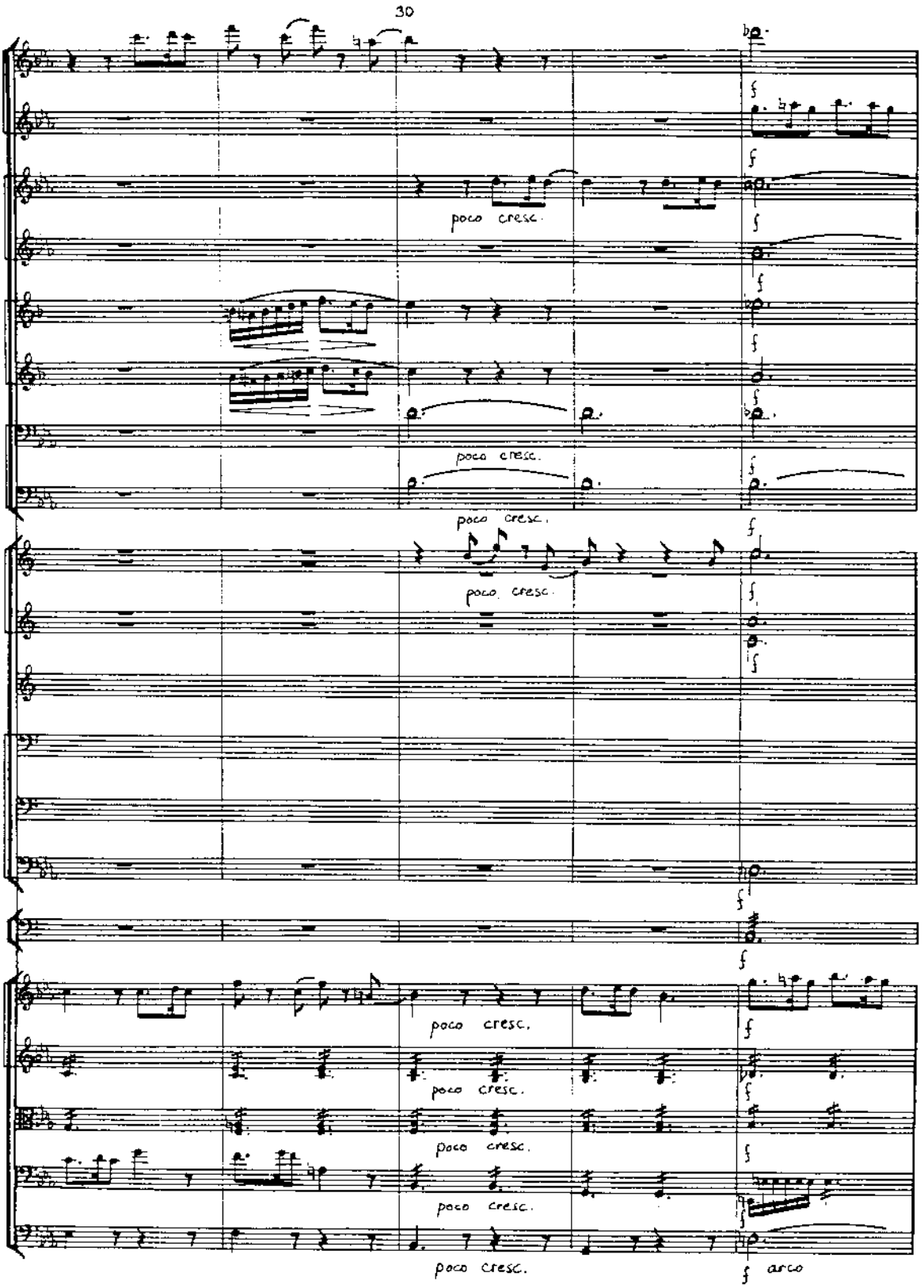
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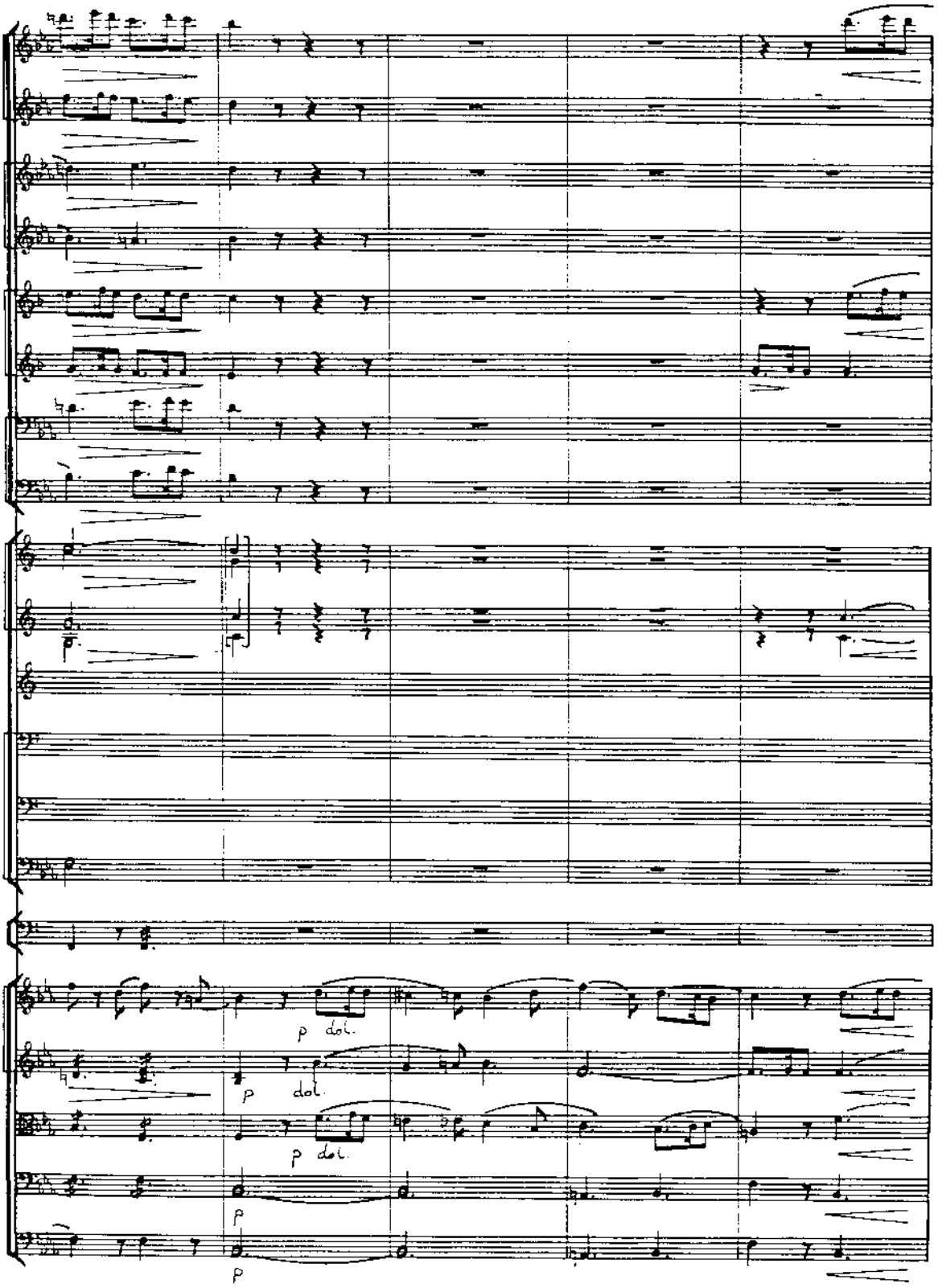
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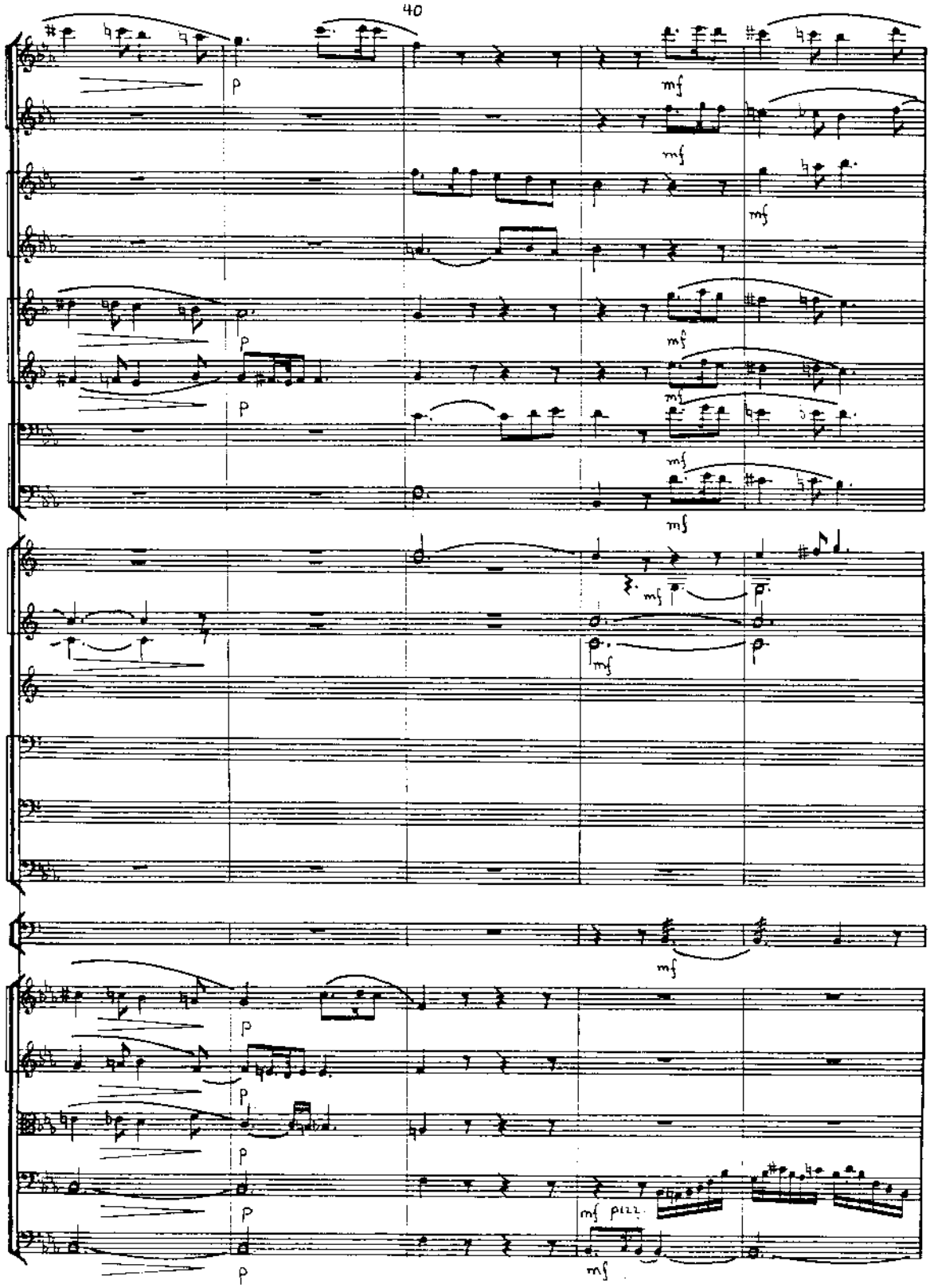
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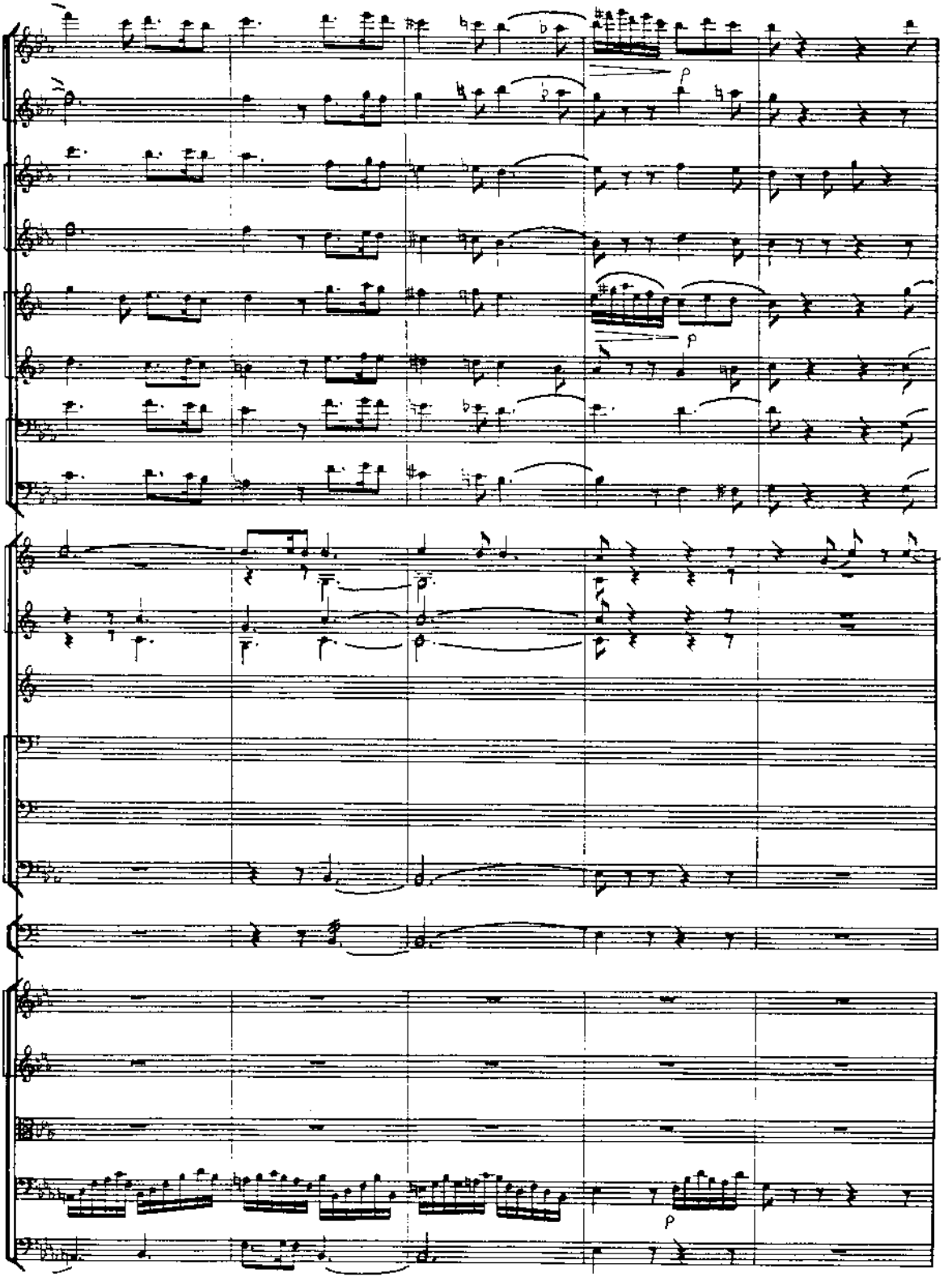

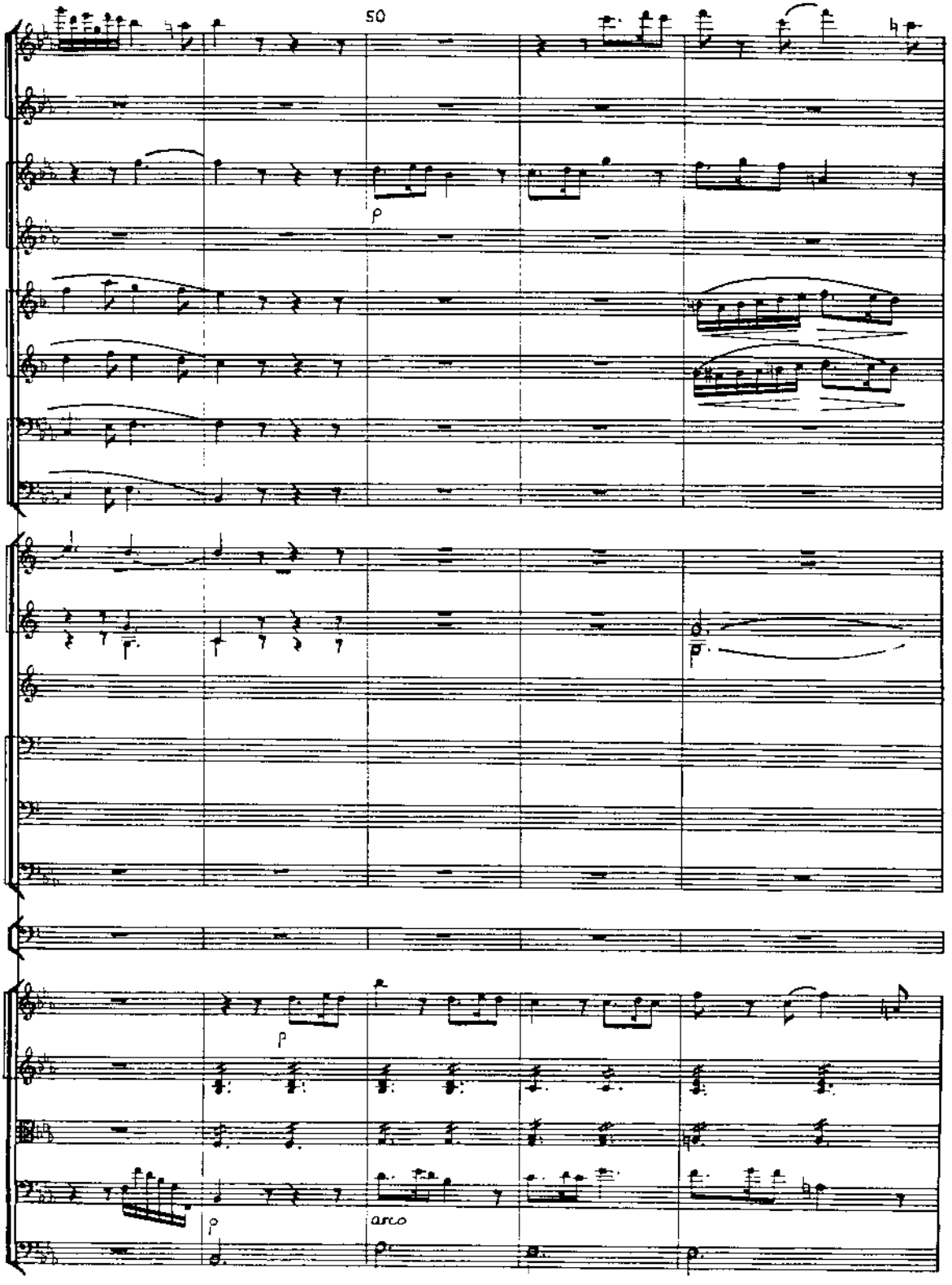
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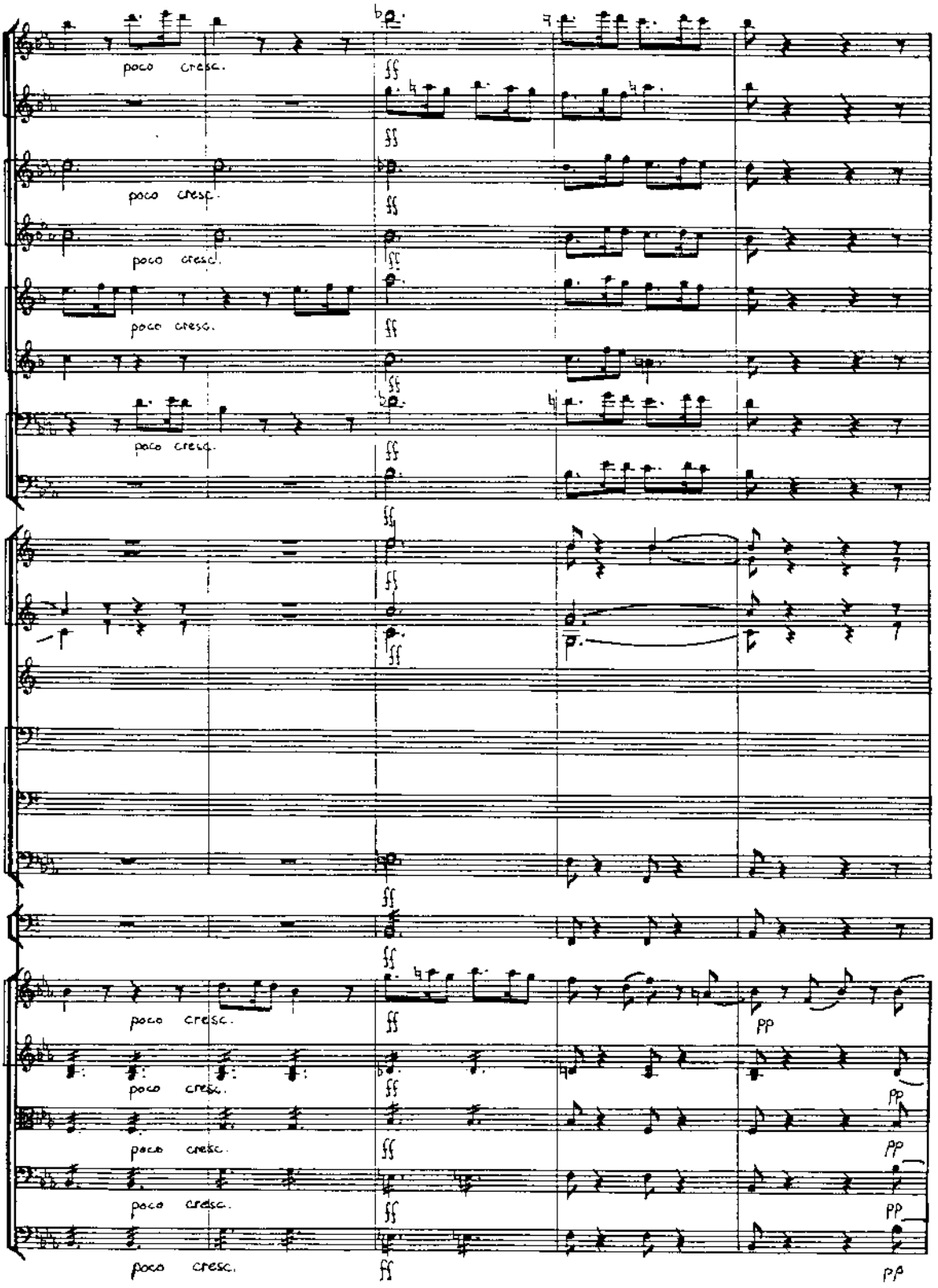
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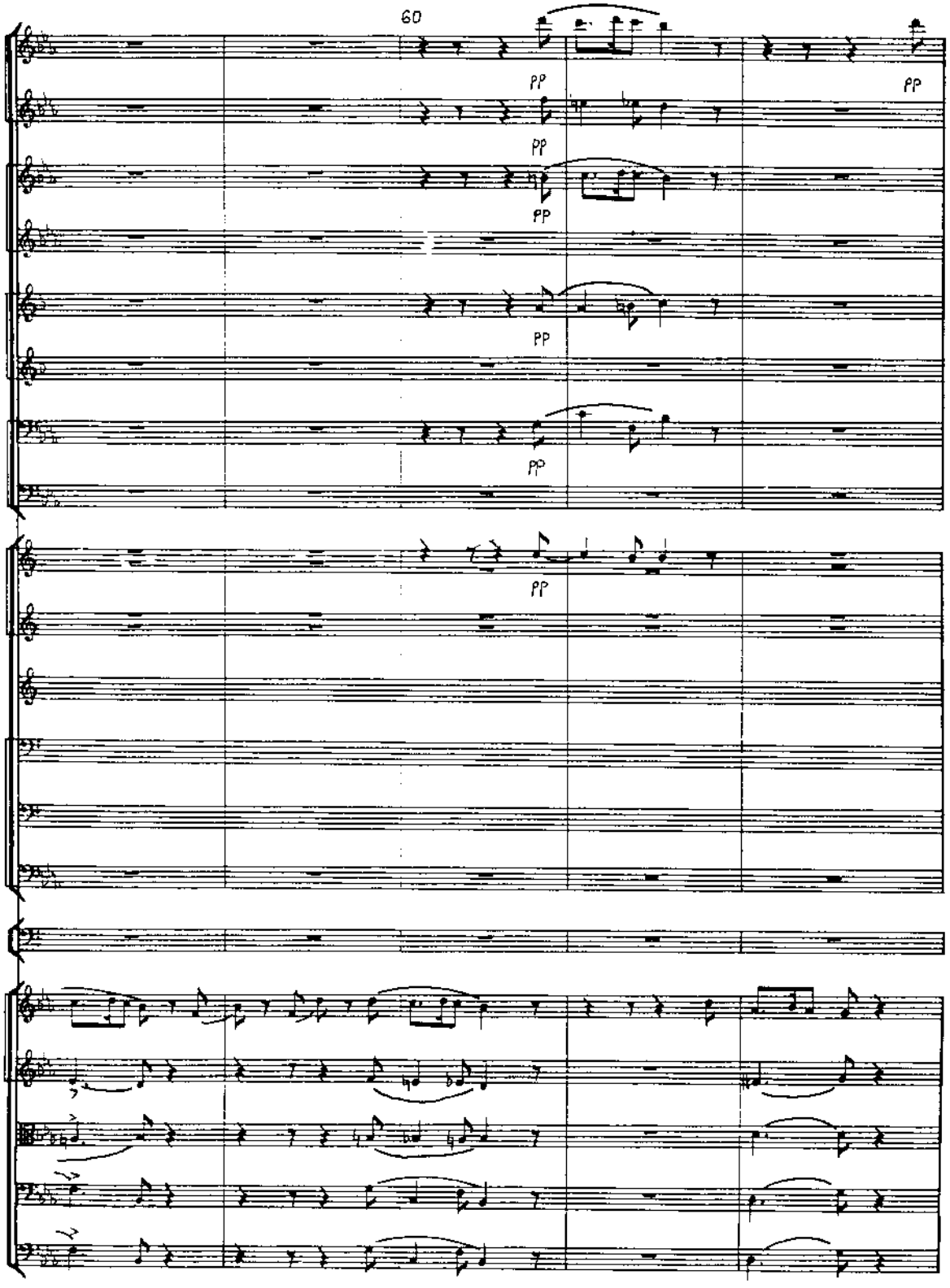
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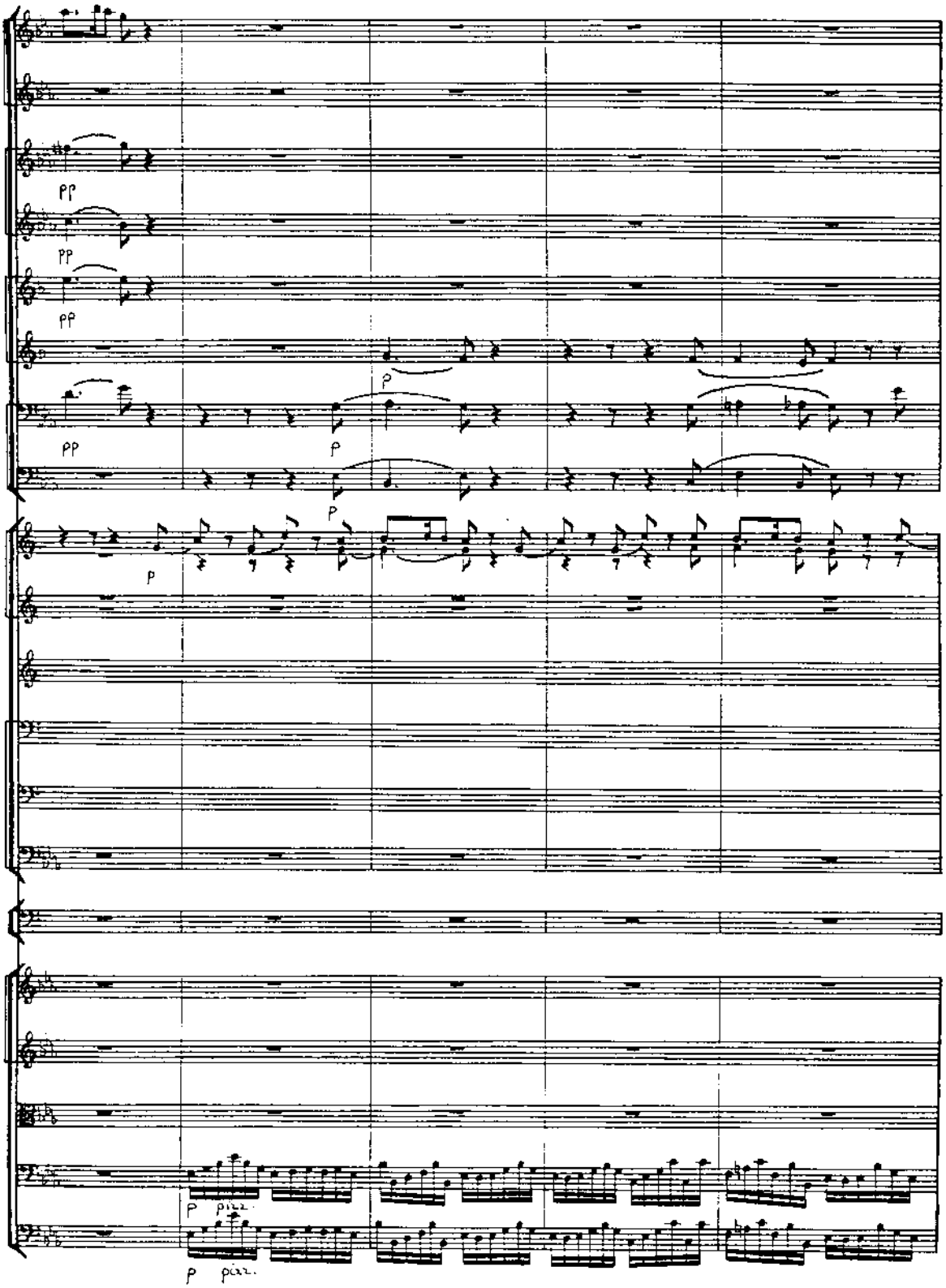
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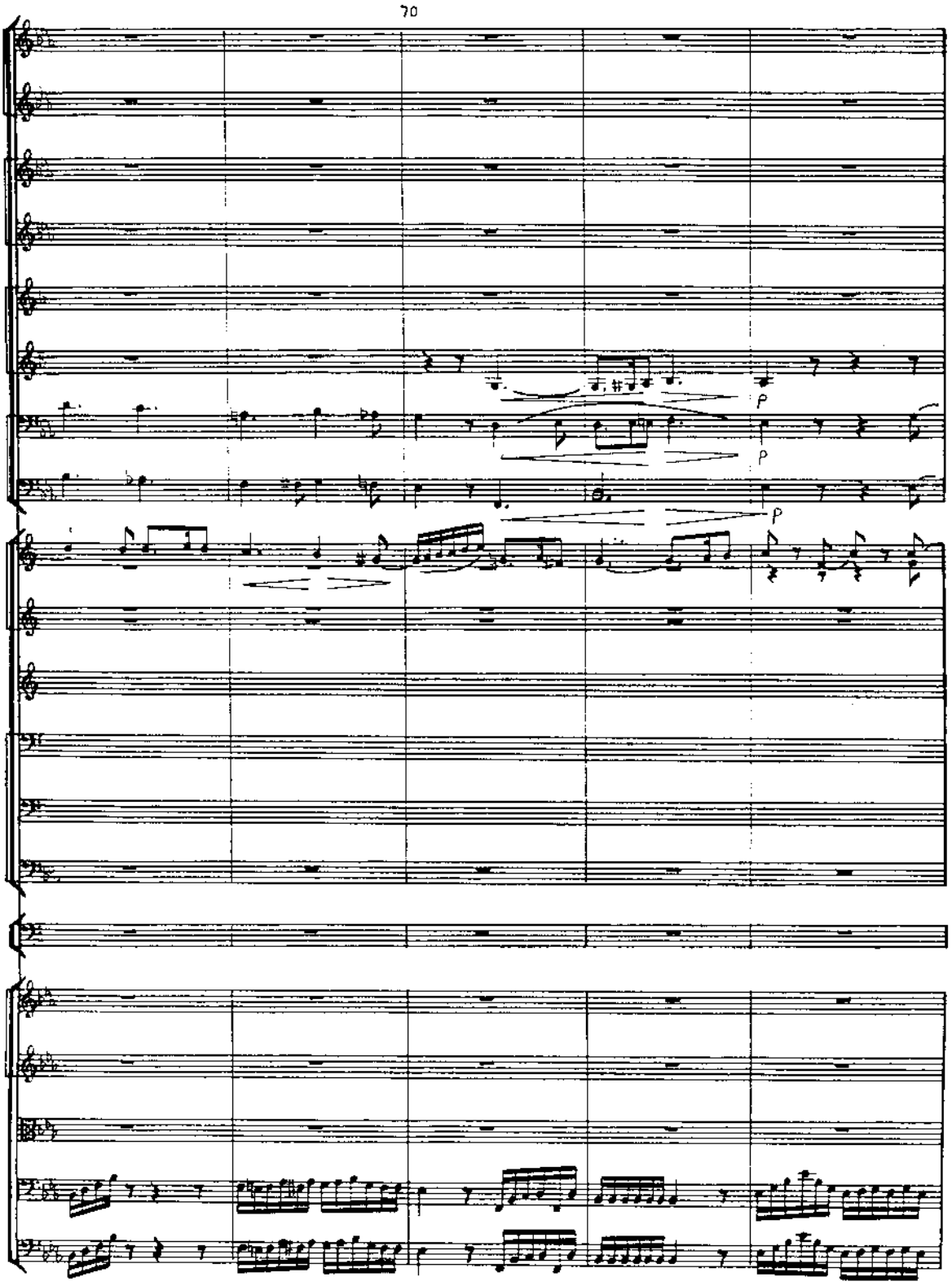
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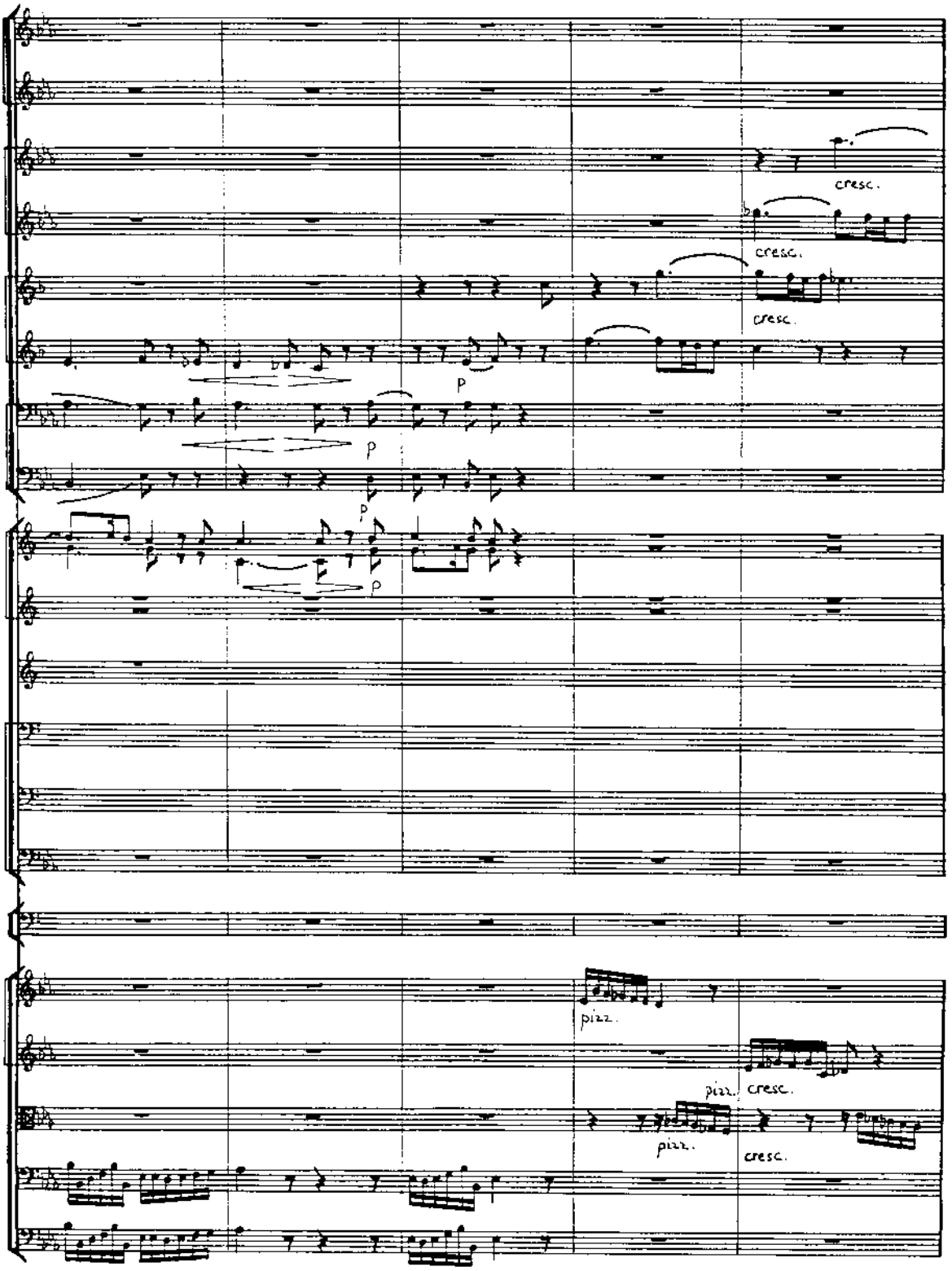
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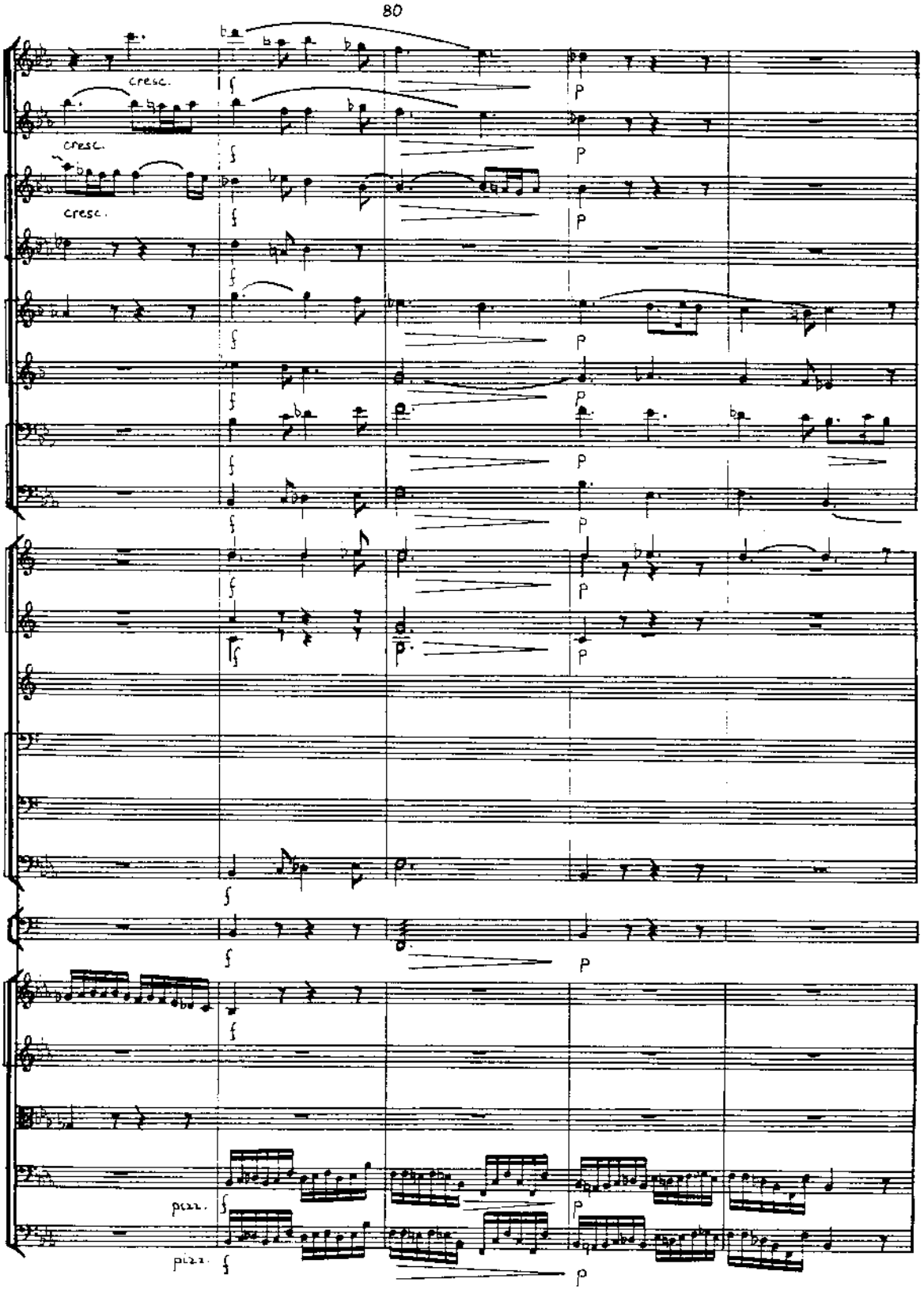
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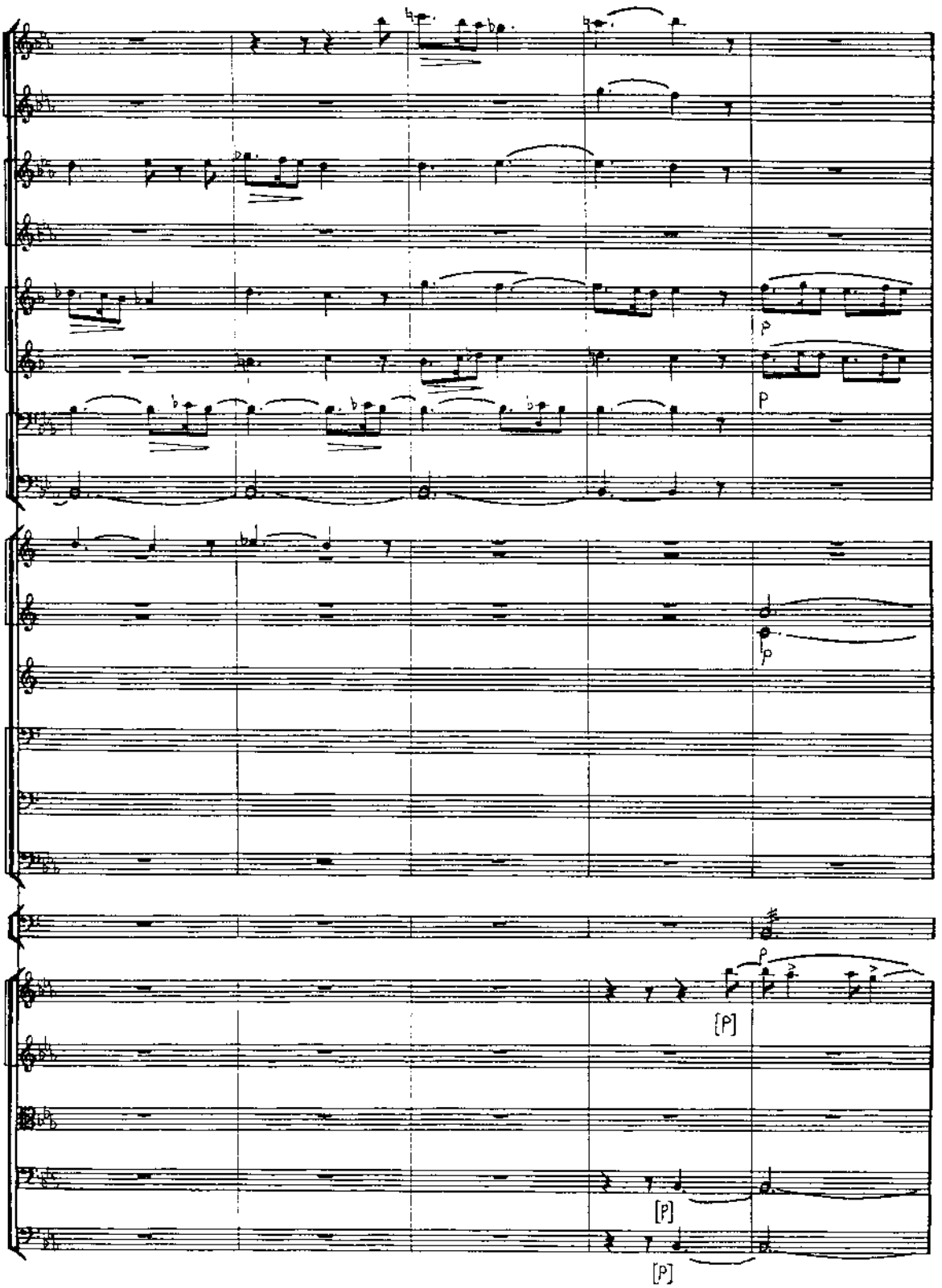
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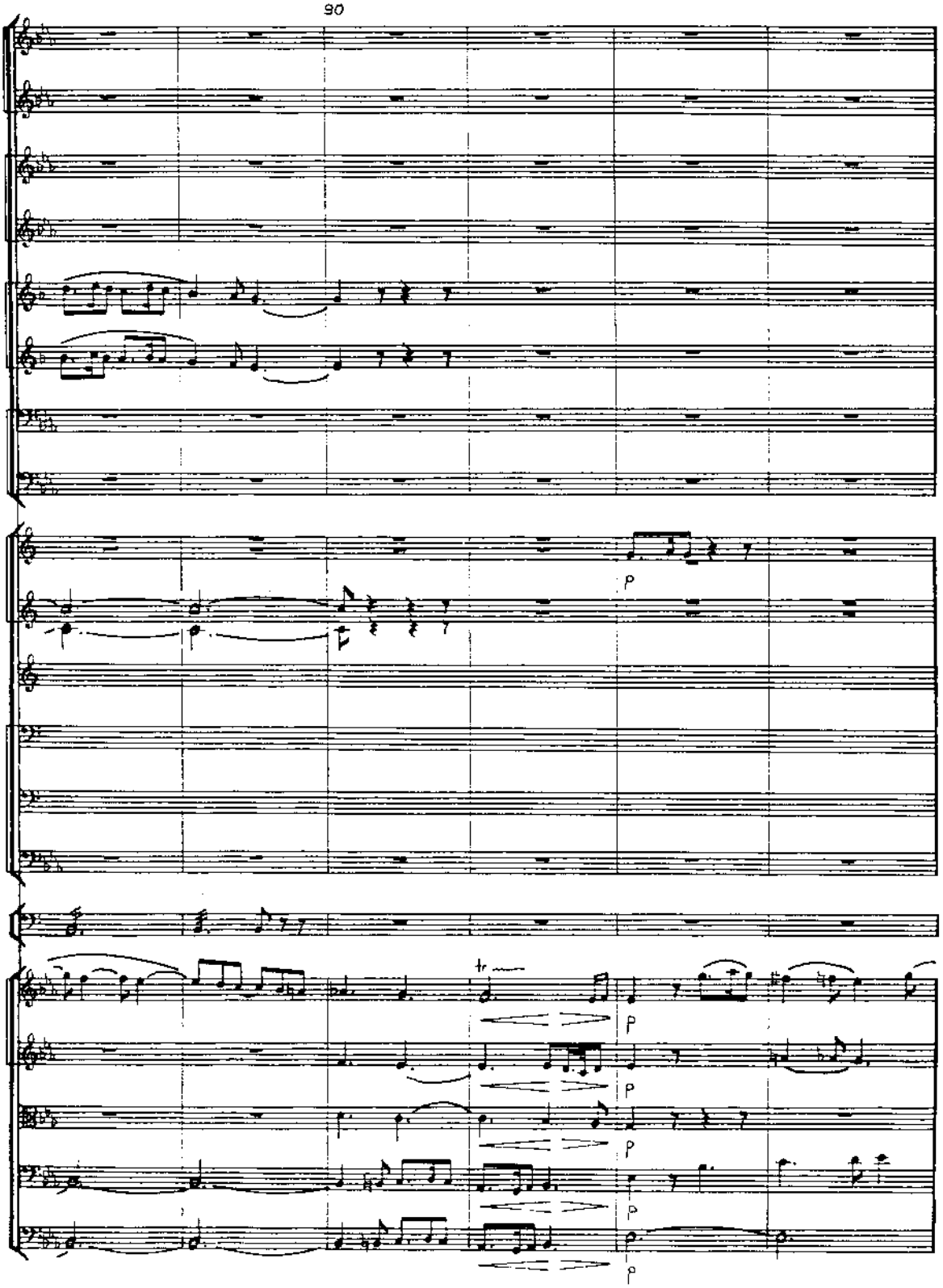

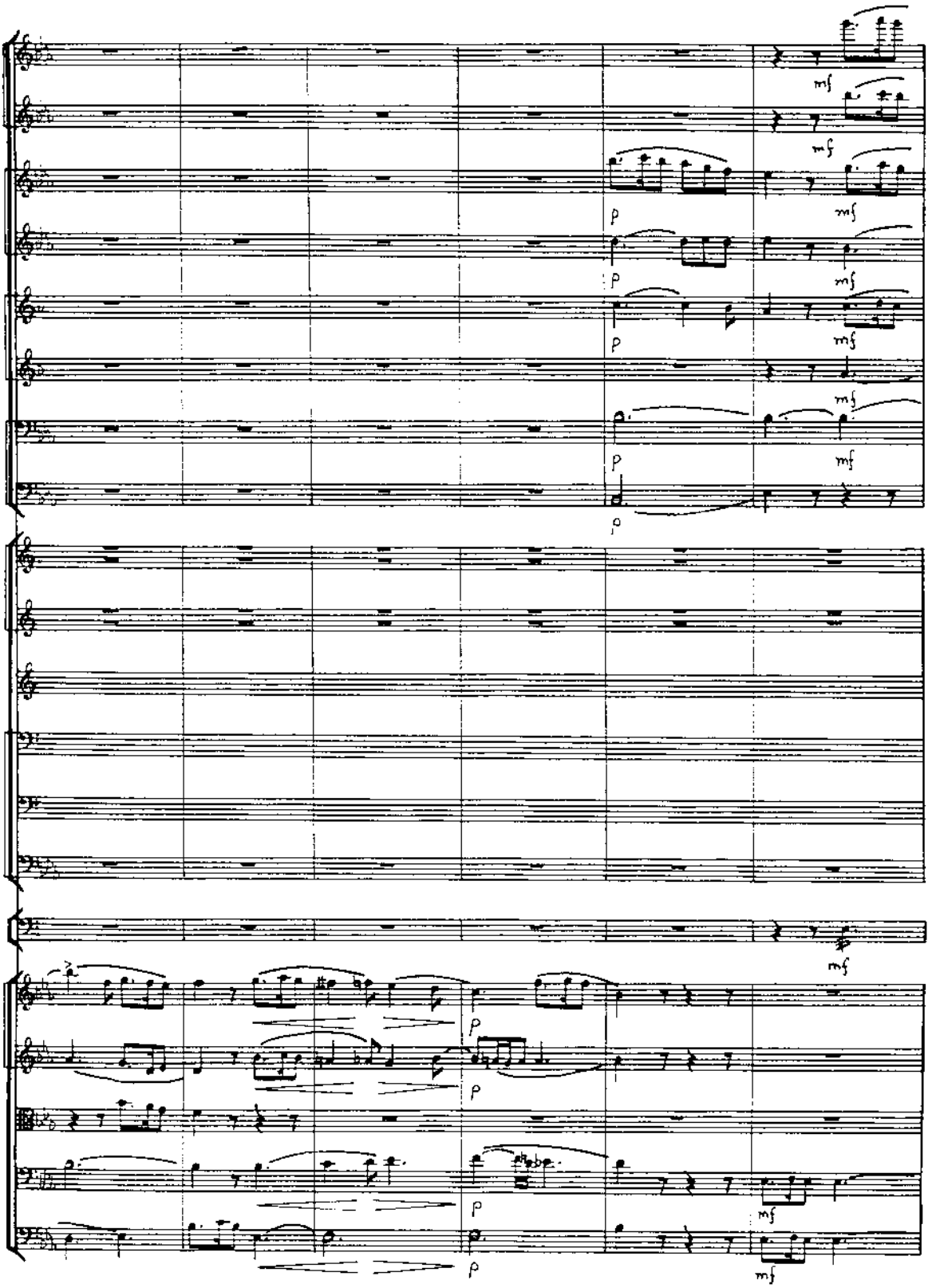
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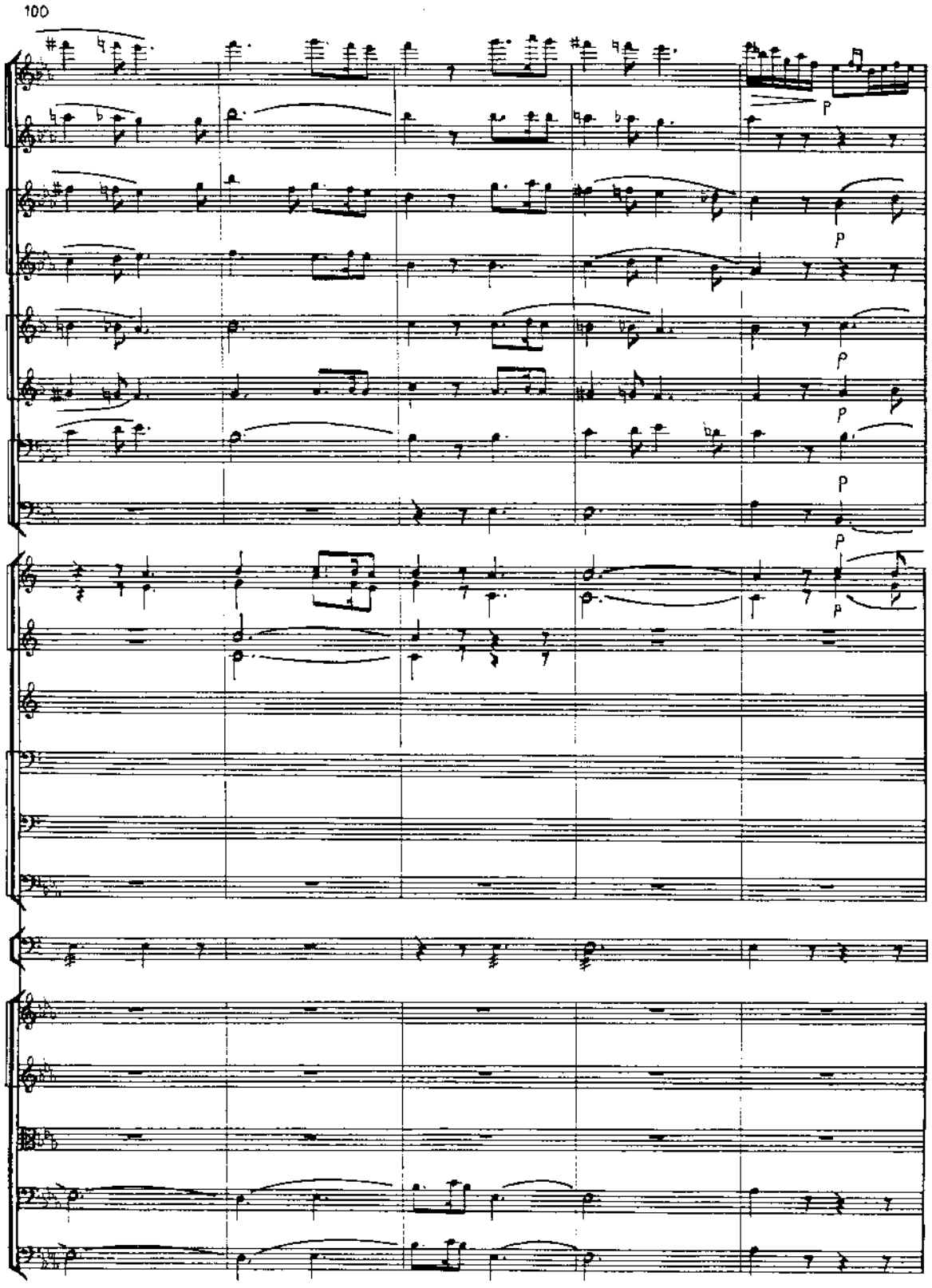
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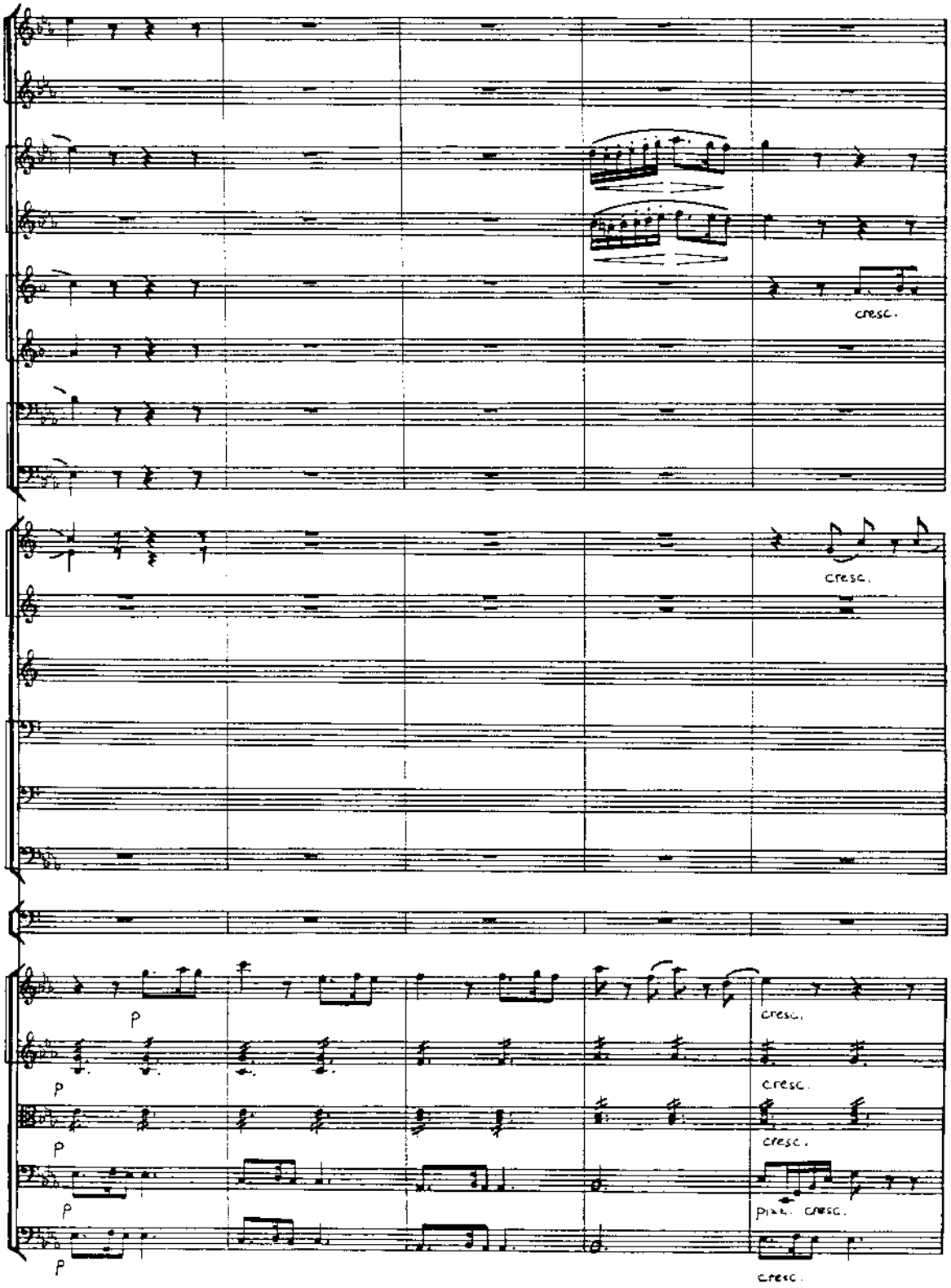
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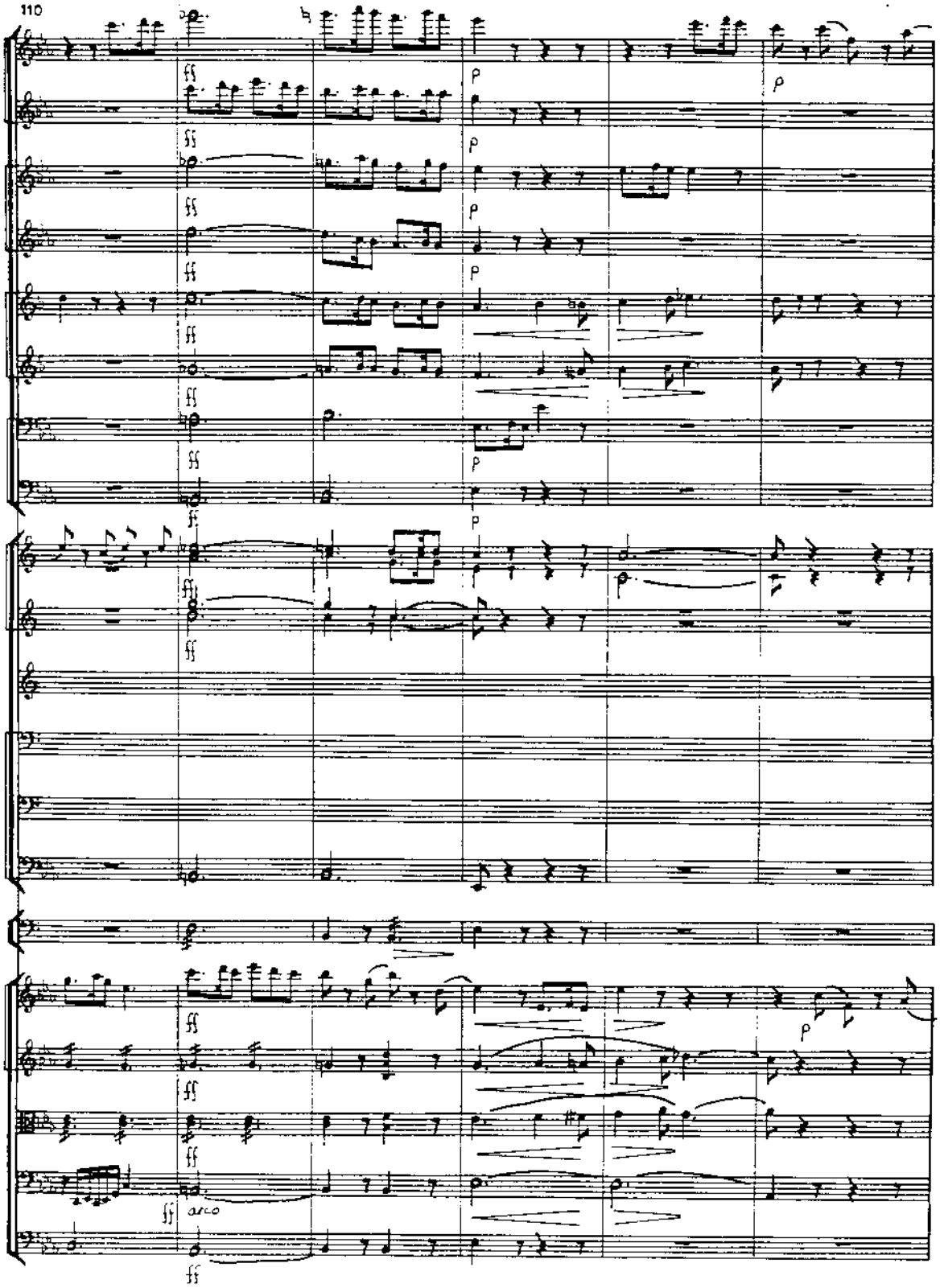
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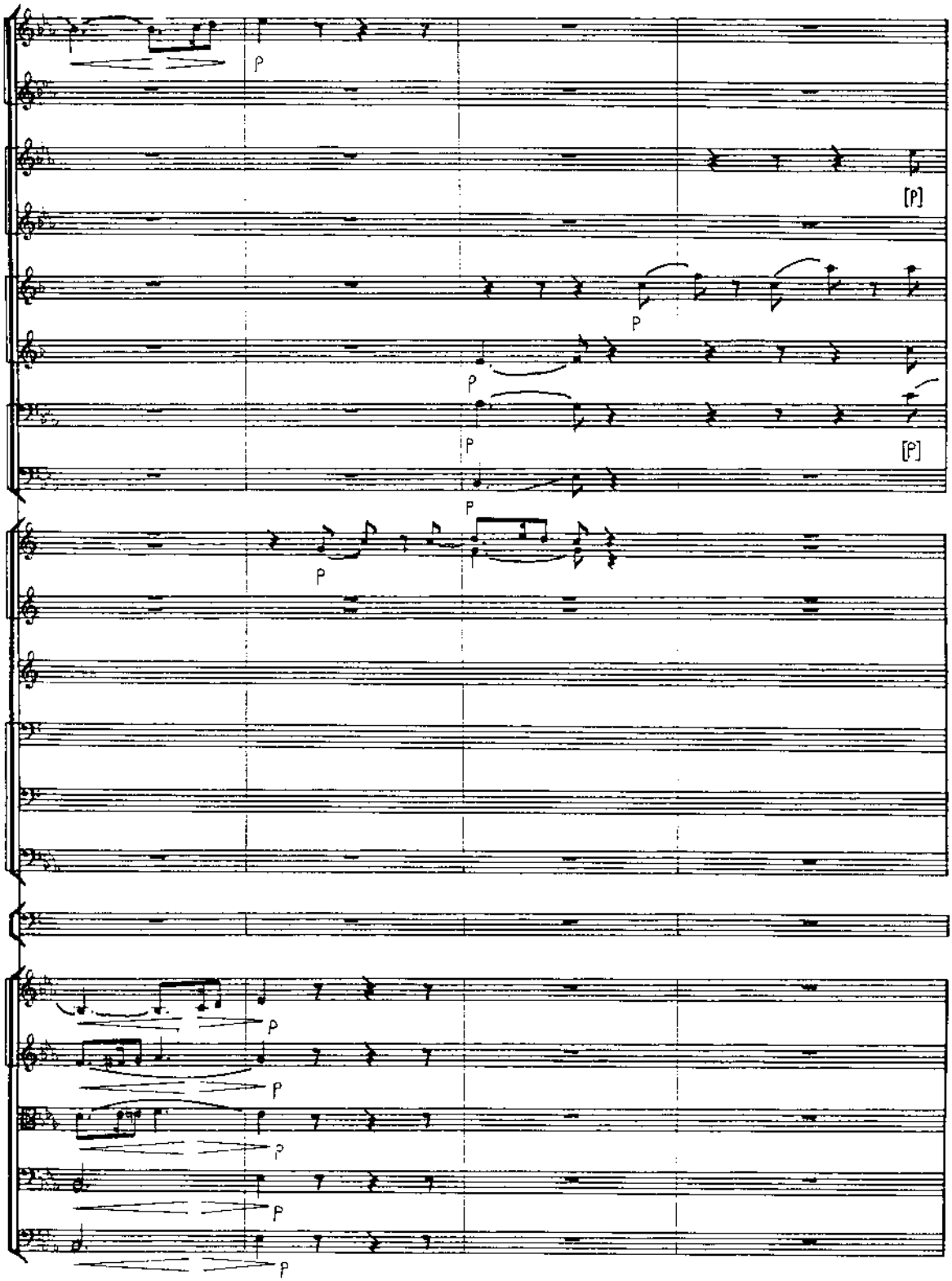
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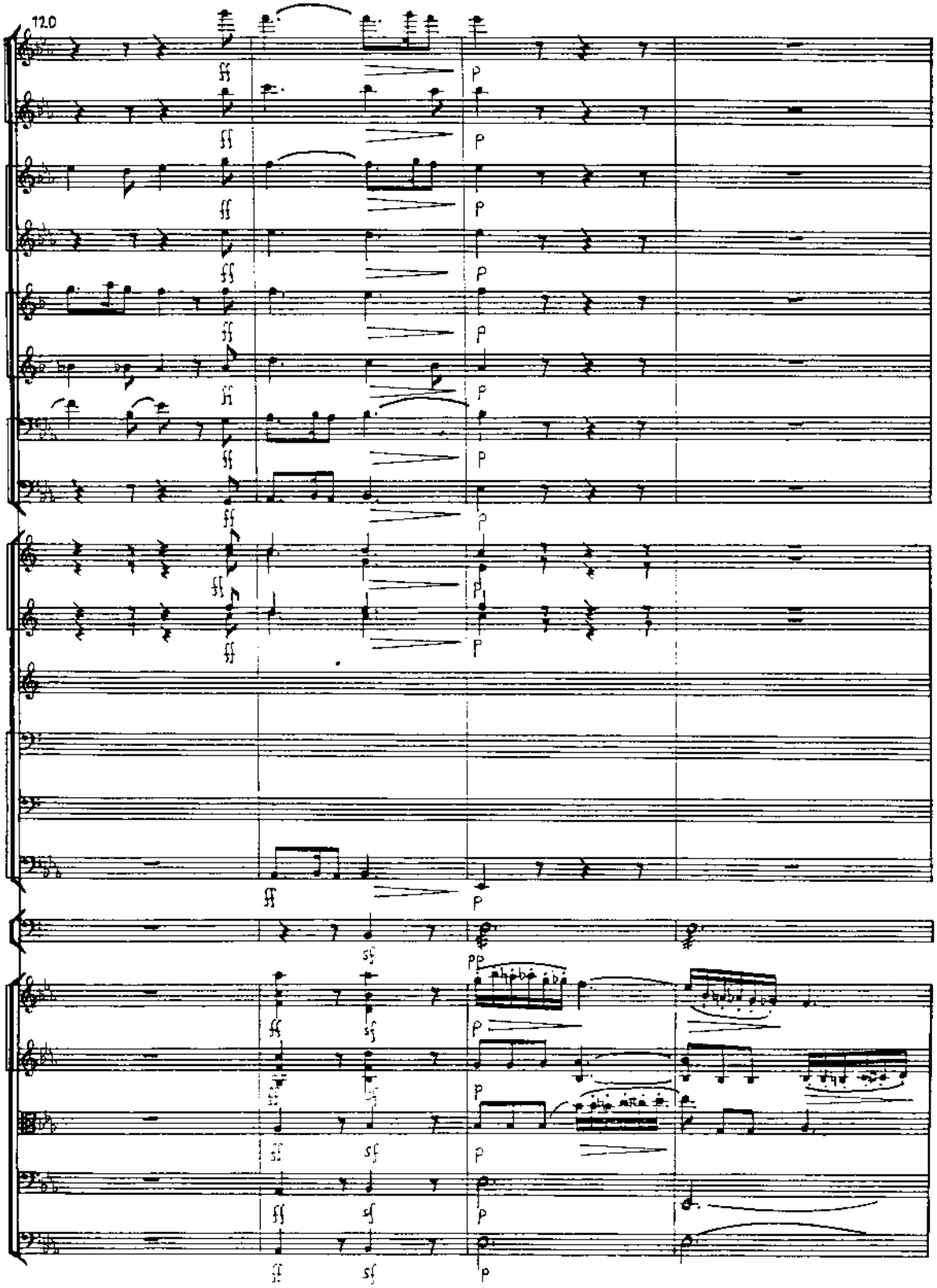
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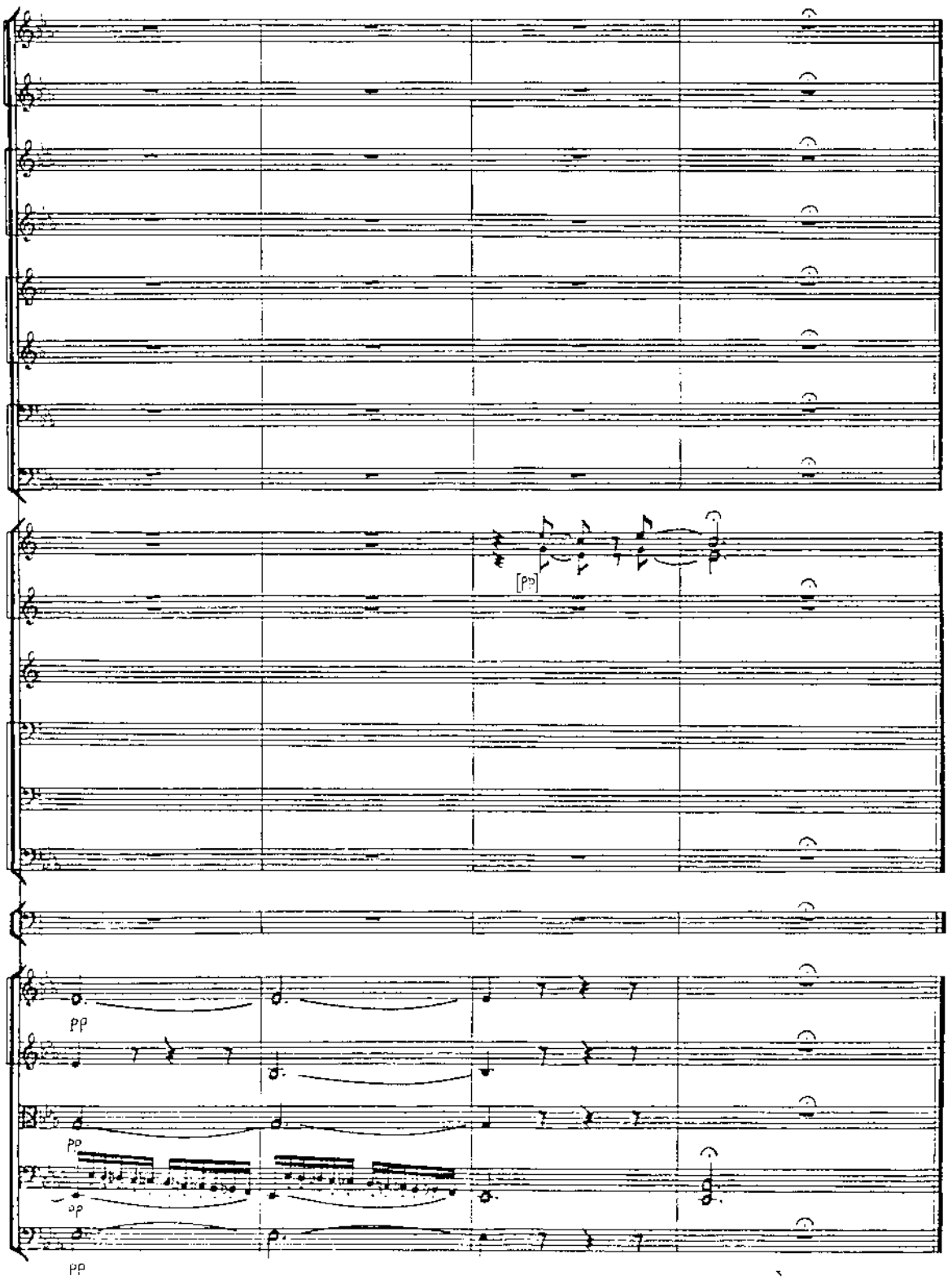
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