

MUSIC IN WARSAW ON GALA DAYS OF 1815–1850

DOI: 10.36155/PLib.8.00006

The aim of this text is to discuss the musical repertoire performed in Warsaw during public court holidays – the so-called “gala days” [Polish: *dni galowe*] – in 1815–1850. Music, due to its functions and emotions it evoked, was a special, distinctive element of these celebrations. This topic has not been addressed in the academic studies thus far, although descriptions of individual ceremonies and music pieces can be found.

The basic source material is information collected from the then Warsaw dailies and other periodicals. They were compared with the relevant bibliographies, dictionaries, chronicles, and catalogues, as well as the widely understood studies on the subject.¹ In order to establish the basic facts, the Warsaw calendars were also used, which have become more and more widely available to researchers as a result of extensive digitization of library collections.² Counted among the serial publications, they constitute

1 These sources are mentioned in the following footnotes.

2 A particular difficulty is the dispersion of digitised calendars on various Internet platforms and, consequently, different rules for their description. This makes it challenging to identify individual titles, as the same calendars from collections of different libraries often differ in the description principles adopted, including the date of publication. In the descriptions of the calendars, included in the footnotes to the present text, I have adopted as the date of issue the date of the previous

a category of printed sources that is unique. As for the music in particular, they do not contribute much. However, due to the fact that they were present in almost every house of a Warsaw resident, they shaped people's awareness of the chronology of gala days and other important holidays.³

The main task of the present work is to describe the music performed on ceremonial days during services, theatre performances, and at occasional balls, as the given celebration was extended for the entire day. It began with the morning greetings to the Grand Duke Konstantin and morning services in the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches, followed by a Christmas dinner, and in the evening, there was a theatre and a ball. There was also a performance on the eve of the actual holiday, and the occasional ball often ended on the morning of the next day. Moreover, various groups organized accompanying events related to the celebration. As far as possible, I also take into account the mention of music during military parades and during occasional dinners. I am also interested in all the court rituals and organisations accompanying these ceremonies. They are consistent with the rules and spirit of the era, as well as with the political reality, constituting an important part of the history in which Warsaw found itself after the partitions.⁴

year (I give it in square brackets) rather than the date on the title page. Calendars for the following year were usually prepared at the end of the previous year.

“I have already started composing the ‘Information and pocket calendar for the year 1849’ [...] A. Russeau”, *Kurier Warszawski* 26 July 1848, no. 196, p. 958.

- 3 “[...] Every more important saint, every more trusted patron, every name-day or birthday of friends, he has a red column underlined in his calendar, and the calendar hangs on a nail by the window [...]”, *Szkice i obrazki. Dzieło illustrowane 48 rycinami* [...] przez F. Kostrzewskiego [...], Warszawa 1858, p. 2.
- 4 Warsaw, as a result of the arrangements of the international conference in Vienna (September 1814–9 June 1815), became the capital of the Kingdom of Poland created at that time – in a personal union with Russia. Its ruler was Alexander I – the first Polish king of the Romanov dynasty. Earlier (1795), after the Third Partition of Poland, the country lost its independence, and Warsaw was first the capital of South Prussia (1796–1806), and then – under Napoleon’s rule – of the Duchy of Warsaw (1806–1815). With time, the disagreement with the Russian rule led to an uprising in November 1830, which ended in failure. Its fall resulted in the loss of the independence of the Kingdom of Poland, and its lands – including Warsaw – were subject to martial law on 26 June 1833, which lasted until 1856.

Following the custom of the court of the Russian Empire, after the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland, festive days were designated in the printed Warsaw calendars, initially known as “the ceremonial days in the Russian Empire” [*dniami uroczystymi w Imperium Rosyjskiem*].⁵ Then, in the title of the calendars, the name was changed to “gala days in the Russian Empire” [*dni galowe w Imperium Rosyjskiem*], while the previous name of the calendar column was preserved.⁶ This dualism functioned during the first years of the Kingdom of Poland, and finally, the term “gala days in the Russian Empire [alternately in Russia] and the Kingdom of Poland”⁷ [*dni galowe w Imperium Rosyjskim / Rosji / cesarstwie rosyjskim i w Królestwie Polskim*] was adopted and, with time, after the November Uprising – “gala days”.⁸

The custom of celebrating gala days, on the one hand, referred to the time of the First Polish Republic, when anniversaries of elections, coronations, and royal births were considered holidays. On the other hand – in its real dimension – it referred to the Russian imperial tradition. At that time, holidays were associated with the birthdays and name-days of successive Romanov emperors and their families. A distinction was made between the “commemoration of the accession to the throne” of Alexander I (12 March) and his coronation (15 September), and similarly, the “anniversary of the accession to the throne” of Nicholas I (1 December) and the anniversary of his coronation (3 September).⁹ Separate commemora-

5 *Kalendarzyk Mały Piiarski Polski i Ruski na rok 1815 [...]*, Warszawa [1814], unnumbered p. 7.; also: [1816], unnumbered p. 7.

6 *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy z odmianami powietrza Polski, Ruski i Żydowski zawierający święta dni galowych w Imperium Rosyjskiem Na Rok 1816*, Warszawa [1815], p. 7.

7 *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Polski, Ruski i Żydowski z odmianami powietrza zawierający święta dni galowych w Imper. Rossy. i Król. Polsk. na rok 1819 [...]*. Warszawa [1818], p. 7. *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny na Rok 1819*, Warszawa [1818], p. 5.

8 *Kalendarz Polski, Ruski, Astronomiczny i Gospodarski Na Rok Pański 1826 [...]*. Z dodaniem dni Galowych w Cesarstwie Rosyjskiem i Królestwie Polskiem [...], Warszawa [1825], p. 3. *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Polski i Ruski z odmianami powietrza zawierający święta i dni galowe w Imperium Rosyjskiem i Królestwie Polskiem Na Rok 1829*, Warszawa [1828], p. 5; A. Gałęzowskiego i *Komp. Kalendarz Domowy Na Rok Przeszły 1832*, Warszawa [1831], p. 9; *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Na Rok 1840*, Warszawa [1839], p. 2.

9 *Kalendarzyk Mały Piiarski Polski i Ruski na rok przestępny 1816 [...]*, Warszawa [1815], pp. 15, 39. *Nowy Kalendarz Domowy na Rok Przeszły 1828 [...]*, Warszawa [1827],

tive days were devoted to the spouses of the emperors (Yelizaveta Alekseyevna and Alexandra Feodorovna), their mother (Maria Fedorovna), the third of the Romanov brothers (Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich), and other members of the imperial family. Ceremonies of granting Russian orders were also included: St Alexander Nevsky, St Anna, all imperial orders, and St Catherine. Notes in the press also mentioned the “ceremony of the military order of St. George, the one who grants victories”,¹⁰ although it was only formally included in the catalogue of Warsaw holidays for the first time in 1830.¹¹

The “ceremony of the Order of St. Stanislaus” of a long-standing tradition most likely appeared in the official catalogue of Warsaw holidays in 1819.¹² The order was established by King Stanislaus Augustus (Stanisław August) Poniatowski on 8 May 1765, awarding “24 orders to newly decorated members”.¹³ Alexander I continued this tradition, and the order was still awarded, but a more extensive description of such a ceremony appeared in Warsaw dailies only in 1830.¹⁴ The ceremony was later “resumed” in the church of St. Cross, and during the service, “[...] a large orchestra conducted by His Excellency Józef Stefani played a *Mass* composed by Haydn

p. [4]. Alexander I ascended the Russian throne on 15 March 1801, and was crowned on 15 September. On the other hand, Nicholas I ascended the Russian throne on 1 December 1825, and he was crowned tsar of the Russian Empire on 3 September 1826. He was in power until 1855. By ascending the Russian throne, both of them obtained the title of Polish king “automatically”, by virtue of the established personal union. The subsequent Warsaw coronation of Nicholas I in 1829 was symbolic and its purpose was to win the sympathy of the Polish society.

- 10 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 329, p. 1475.
- 11 *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Polski, Ruski i Żydowski Z odmianami powietrza, zawierający święta dni galowych w Rossyi i Królestwie Polskiem na rok 1830 [...]*, Warszawa [1829], p. 49.
- 12 *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny na Rok 1819*, Warszawa [1818], p. 13. *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Polski, Ruski i Żydowski z odmianami powietrza, zawierający święta dni galowych w Imper. Rossyi. i Król. Polsk. na rok 1823 [...]*. Warszawa [1822], p. 23.
- 13 The ceremony was repeated until 1793 (*Kurier Warszawski* 1830, no. 123, p. 625).
- 14 *Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego* 1816 vol. 1, pp. 144–151. The order, in line with the Russian tradition, was then divided into four classes: “Kawalerowie Orderu Sgo Stanisława. Podług listy podaney od Szpitala Dzieciątka Jezus [...]”, *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny na Rok 1819*, Warszawa [1818], pp. 117–138.

and *Offertory* of the same His Excellency Stefani. Later *Te Deum* of Rector Elsner [...] followed. There were all together 102 cavaliers [of this order]. People filled the entire spacious church”.¹⁵ Nicholas I continued the tradition of awarding the Order of St. Stanislaus, and after the November Uprising, it was included in the official catalogue of holidays of the Russian Empire.¹⁶

The combination of holidays changed over time, as they were adapted to the circumstances (the birthday of the great princess Olga Nikolayevna, the death of Alexander I and the enthronement of Nicholas I, the death of Empress Yelizaveta Alekseyevna, the birthday of the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich). In addition, the festive days overlapped with occasional holidays (the announcement of the constitutional law took place, for example, on the anniversary of Alexander I’s birth), and the funeral celebrations of Alexander I and their anniversaries, the Warsaw coronation of Nicholas I, and the announcement of the heir to the throne, Grand Duke Alexander Nikolayevich (4 May 1834), took on the character of gala days.¹⁷

For Warsaw composers, as for the entire intellectual and artistic élite of Warsaw, the rebirth of the Kingdom of Poland was an extraordinary event. The appointment of the Polish Army, the Diet, and the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution aroused feelings of gratitude to the emperor. The celebrations were, therefore,

15 *Kurier Warszawski* 1830, no. 124, p. 629.

16 “Kawalerowie polskich orderów [...]. Kawalerowie Orderu S. Stanisława [...]”, *Rocznik Polityczny Polski*, Warszawa 1830, pp. 357–414.

17 The table below shows the scale of the phenomenon. It includes the number of ceremonies in the following months (m.) of selected years (Y).

Y./m. I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII Together

1816 3 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 3 1 2 3 21

1829 2 3 1 - 4 2 3 4 3 2 1 2 27

1833 2 3 1 1 4 2 3 3 4 1 1 5 30

1849 2 3 1 2 1 1 5 5 4 2 1 5 33

Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy z odmianami powietrza Polski, Ruski i Żydowski zawierający święta dni galowych w Imperium Rosyjskiem Na Rok 1816. Warsaw [1815], pp. 7–51; Year 1829. Warszawa [1828], pp. 5–49; A. Gałęzowskiego i Komp. *Kalendarz Domowy Na Rok Zwyczajny 1833 [...]*, Warszawa [1832], p. 9; *Kalendarzyk Informacyjno-Kieszonkowy Na Rok 1849. Przez Antoniego Rousseau*, Year 3, Warszawa [1848], pp. [21–22].

a special occasion to show and emphasize this feeling of gratitude through their own musical compositions. A type of musical piece frequently performed during gala performances, especially after 1831, was an occasional cantata – a multi-movement composition consisting of arias, recitatives, duets, choirs, and various types of group parts with the accompaniment of an orchestra. The expressive content and the external setting were connected with its function, which was based on panegyric texts, full of exaggerated admiration for the person to whom it was dedicated. On the other hand, orchestral dances, especially polonaises, specially composed for ceremonial days, became a kind of showpiece of balls.

Ceremonial services were held “in all the churches of the capital” (often the altar was also located in a tent in the courtyard of the Saski Palace),¹⁸ in city synagogues, in military camps in the suburbs of Warsaw¹⁹ (where galleries were arranged for ladies), in the “Ruthenian” chapel of the Royal Castle, and outside Warsaw in the churches of main regional cities. In Warsaw, it was a custom for the celebrant chanting the thanksgiving hymn *Te Deum laudamus*²⁰ and “prayers for the emperor and the king”.²¹ One of the most important Kingdom officials regularly hosted a lavish lunch in the afternoon: the governor Józef Zajączek, senator Nikolay Nikolayevich Novosiltsov, or the president of the Administrative Council, count Walenty Sobolewski. The meal was usually accom-

18 In the courtyard of the Saski Palace, “[...] there was finally a mass [...] accompanied by military music and the famous song, ‘God save the King!’ [...]”, *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1818, no. 50, p. 1165.

19 During the mass on the common “[...] regimental music was appropriately played, and selected voices sang the hymn, ‘God save the King!’ [...]”, *Kurier Warszawski* 1822, no. 147, p. 1.

20 Wherever the composer of *Te Deum* was known, I have included the author in the text; the others were probably monodic performances, as part of the liturgy of solemn services of the Catholic Church (sometimes with the accompaniment of an organ or orchestra). “[...] His Excellency Woronicz, senator, the bishop of Krakow celebrated a great mass, after which he sang *Te Deum* played by the orchestra and celebrated a prayer for the emperor and the king [...]”, *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 28 December 1816, no. 104, p. 2309).

21 “[...] the solemn service was celebrated [...] by the Bishop of Krakow, Woronicz and he chanted *Te Deum* played with a selected music [...]”, *Kurier Warszawski* 26 December 1822, no. 308, p. 1.

panied by a “sound of music”.²² In the evening, the artists of the National Theatre staged a free performance “in front of the illuminated theatre”, which was then located on Komisja Square (from 1815, called Krasiński Square). This “enlightenment of the theatre”, emphasized in many accounts, was due to a new “delicious candelabrum”, installed in the theatre hall in 1816 during a renovation, hanging from the ceiling above the audience, surrounded by lamps that illuminated it.²³

For the use of occasional scenes additional to performances, decorators prepared paintings, brochures, slides, and allegorical decorations, thematically referring to a given holiday. It required a lot of practice, talent, and artistic craftsmanship. The Italian Antonio Scotti,²⁴ the successor of Antoni Smuglewicz at the National Theatre, was one of these, as was Justyn Lizander,²⁵ and a little later – Marcin Zaleski.²⁶ They continued, among other things, the technique of highlighting a painting made on canvas or paper soaked in wax. Jan B. Plersch, the court artist of King Stanisław August, was considered the master of this medium. All these painters and decorators, working with engineers,²⁷ transferred to occasional decorations and live paintings the effects previously used in staging popular dramas, operas, and ballets.²⁸

22 It was similar among the military: “[...] the colonels of the Warsaw garrison [...] gave a great dinner [...] each colonel made a toast, on behalf of his regiment, with the sound of music by the regiments [...]”, *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1815, no. 73, p. 1421.

23 B. Król-Kaczorowska, *Teatr dawnej Polski. Budyńki–Dekoracje–Kostiumy*, Warszawa 1971, p. 77.

24 *Słownik Biograficzny Teatru Polskiego 1765–1965*, Warszawa 1973, p. 632. *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego od 1^o Stycznia 1814. do 1^o Stycznia 1815*, Warszawa, p. 8. *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1815/1816*, p. 9.

25 *Słownik Biograficzny Teatru Polskiego 1765–1965*, p. 386. *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1814/1815*, p. 8; *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1815/1816*, p. 9.

26 At that time, Efraim Gerlitzer was the “main engineer” at the National Theatre, *Słownik Biograficzny Teatru Polskiego*, p. 186; *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1814/1815*, p. 8; *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1815/1816*, p. 9.

27 *Słownik Biograficzny Teatru Polskiego*, p. 632.

28 B. Król-Kaczorowska, *Teatr dawnej Polski...*, pp. 129, 132–133.

The program of free performances featured operas by N. Dalayrac, the master of French comic opera – he was the composer of *Koulouf ou Les Chinois* (20 June 1816), *Gulistan ou Le Hulla de Samarcande* (11 September 1816), and the heroic *Vestal* by G. Spontini (20 June 1821). Ludwik A. Dmuszewski was the translator of the libretto for the last three. Comedy operas and comedies in his adaptations also dominated the programs of many other festive performances: *Szkoda wąsów* (12 November 1815; 11 September 1829), *Pogoń za uciekającym*, *Indyż nadziany dukatami* (both on 26 October 1816), *Plaksa i Wesołowski*, *Pięć siostr a jedna* (both on 24 May 1830), *Grymasy młodej żony* (7 July 1830), and *Kochankowie extrapocztą* (13 July 1830). It is also worth mentioning the premiere of the mythological ballet with music by Kurpiński and I. Moscheles, *Trzy gracje*, staged on the name-day of the great emperor, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich (2 June 1822). “[...] At the end of the ballet, a [...] decoration appeared, filled with a wonderful image of Mars and Bellona receiving honours from other Olympian deities. The Genius, who arrived on the cloud, added to such a pleasant picture the birthday number [...]”.²⁹

In over 50 press reports from gala performances at the National Theatre, the performance of the commemorative cantata was mentioned nine times. This is surprisingly little compared to the period after the Uprising. In these records from 1814–1821, the name of Józef Elsner was mentioned twice, Karol Kurpiński five times, and the authors of the music and lyrics were omitted three times. The music of these cantatas has not survived.

1. *Kantata w Uroczystość Imienin Najjaśniejszego Imperatora Wszech Rosy Aleksandra I, Dnia 11 września 1814 roku Na Teatrze Narodowym w Warszawie śpiewana* [*Cantata on the Celebration of the Name Day of the Most Excellent Emperor of Russia, Alexander I, on 11 September 1814, Sung at the National Theatre in Warsaw*]. Although part of the Polish lands, whose capital was Warsaw, operated at that time in the

29 *Kurier Warszawski* 1822, no. 130, pp. 1–2. *Kurier Warszawski*, no. 132, p.1. The ballet was preceded by the comedy *Chwila płochości*. J. Pudełek, *Warszawski balet romantyczny (1802–1866)*, Krakow 1968, p. 189.

structures of the Duchy of Warsaw, i.e., under the rule of Frederick Augustus, king of Saxony, Emperor Alexander I seem to Poles to be the resurrector of their own homeland. Before the performance took place at the National Theatre in Warsaw, in the morning, a “solemn service was held” in the palace inhabited by the field marshal Count Barclay de Tolly (commander-in-chief of the Russian army), where there was a Greek Orthodox chapel, and then in St. John’s Cathedral.

[...] His Excellency Bishop [Franciszek] Zambrzycki celebrated a great mass and intoned *Te Deum* [...]. A great military parade followed [...] in front of His Majesty field marshal, who on that day deigned to have each of the Polish soldiers counted and given the Polish zlotys, and for each of the Russian soldiers fifteen groszy. At about 5 o’clock in the afternoon there was a great dinner at His Majesty field marshal’s place [...]. At the National Theatre that evening, [...] a comedy from the history of Russia was performed: *Najjaśniejsi podróżni* [*The Honorable Travelers*], followed by a scene with a cantata. The scene depicted a temple with an altar in it, with a bust of the Emperor, around which stood four nymphs with garlands. In front of the altar, a famous genius, holding his shield with words: Peace Givers. On both sides of the temple stood the Polish people, both dressed in national clothes, singing songs of the virtues and deeds of Alexander I, [...] which are the work of [...] His Excellency Ludwik Osiński, with the music by His Excellency Elsner [...].³⁰

The cantata by Elsner, with recitatives, choir, and declamation, the entire text of which was published in *Gazeta Warszawska*, is mentioned in the studies as *Kantata dedykowana carowi Aleksandrowi I: “Jakaż radość śmiertelnych rozwesela”* [*Cantata dedicated to Tsar Alexander I: “What joy, the mortals cheer up”*] or *Kantata z deklamacją* [*Cantata with declamation*].³¹

2. Cantata for the proclamation of the Kingdom of Poland (20 June 1815).

30 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1814, no. 74, pp. 1301–1303.

31 *Słownik muzyków polskich*, vol. 1: A–Ł. Kraków 1964, p. 130. A. Nowak-Romanowicz *Klasycyzm*, Warszawa 1995, p. 219.

On 20 June 1815 the proclamation of the Kingdom of Poland was celebrated [...]. After the great Mass [...], the laws [...] were announced; empowered governors of His Imperial Majesty the King of Poland [...] made [...] the oath of tribute and loyalty to His Imperial-Royal Highness and the Constitution. [...] A prayer to God was sung – *Domine salvum fac Imperator et Regem* – which ended the celebration in the church [...]. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, there was a big dinner for 200 people in the castle rooms [...].³²

In the evening, a free performance was staged at the National Theatre: the first act of Jan Stefani's opera *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiaczy i Górale* [*The Supposed Miracle, or Cracovians and Highlanders*], in which “[...] appropriate variations on His Excellency Dmuszewski's arrangement were made, and instead of the second act, there was a new scene with a cantata, with poetry by W. Osiński and the music of His Excellency Elsner and Kurpiński, decorated by the brush of His Excellency Scotti”.³³ The changes introduced in the opera

[...] were significant in the role of a Student who arrived on stage with news from the heir of a village about a happy fate of the country, and this was further used in the work to confront the minds of the feuding peasants. The audience welcomed the scene with common enthusiasm, when the people were ready for battle, but got halted in their enthusiasm by the news, fell on their knees and shouted a verse: ‘God be praised! Long live our Poland!’ There were no more hostilities between people; with the mutual embrace of the previous feuds, the thing that was the basis of the opera was finished, and all the peasants were called to the court for a feast, and left the stage. Act II replaced the Cantata as follows. The triumphal symphony began with the following performance: After the curtain rose, the village could be seen in a vast illuminated perspective. The poles with garlands of roses created long streets in the slides, and filled the scene with light. In the centre there was a bust of the Emperor and

32 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1815, no. 50, pp. 897–898.

33 *Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego 1815/1816*, p. 15. This mention clearly shows that the author of the text of the Cantata was Ludwik Osiński, and not – as Przybylski claims – Ludwik A. Dmuszewski. *Studia i materiały*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1980, pp. 298, 473.

King on its base decorated with the coat of arms of the Kingdom. The castellan, heir of the village where the opera is operated, surrounded by numerous people of both genders, from the neighbourhood and family, said: ‘Tak, zacni przyjaciele, spełnione marzenia!’ [‘Yes, good friends, dreams come true!']. First choir: ‘Polacy, w pieniach weselnych! Głośmy wybawcę tej ziemi!’ [‘Poles, with happy songs! Let us praise the savior of the earth!']. Singing Duo: ‘Kto cierpiącym łzy ociera!’ [‘Who wipes the tears of those who suffer’]. Singing quartet: ‘Za tyle łask, tyle trudów kray ci swą wiarę przysięga’ [‘For so many favours, so many hardships, the country gives you its vow of faith’].³⁴

3. Cantata for the birthday of Alexander I (24 December 1815). The whole performance consisted of the Dalayrac’s opera *Dwa słowa, czyli Noc w lesie* [Two Words, or Night in the Forest], the opening night of Kurpiński’s opera *Nagroda, czyli Wskrzeszenie umarłych* [Prize, or the Resurrection of the Dead], and the Cantata.³⁵ In the streets, the attention was particularly drawn to

[...] the front of Olier’s house in Nowy Świat [...] with a huge pyramid-shaped slide, covering the most of this building up to the top and covering 640 square feet [which] expressed most of all: Firstly: A temple in the serious Egyptian style, made of granite, inside which, on the ancient altar, glowed a picture of the Emperor and King in a Polish uniform, girded with a golden serpent (as an emblem of immortality). Above the portico of the temple, a white eagle hovered in columns (*verde antico*), its wings shaped the middle part of the cornice (*giallo antico*). On the sides, on two eastern jasper tablets, the following words could be read: [inc.:] ‘Nature in the human foetus [...] The generous wins.’ Secondly: Above the temple rose up to the top, a glowing golden letter ‘A’ for the name of Alexander, dear to Poles, in which field the enormous Alexander Tower appeared, counted among the wonders of the world, illuminating two harbours, and the city of Alexandria was lost in perspective. Above the portico of the tower, among the delicious armature, one could see the bust of

34 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1815, no. 50, 24 VI, pp. 917–918.

35 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1815, no. 102, supplement 2, p. 2021; *Gazeta Warszawska* 1815, no. 102, pp. 2051, 2055. Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, p. 473 (the author considered the Cantata to be Kurpiński’s composition).

General Zajączek, the royal governor, under which the following inscription, taken from the scripture, could be read: 'You are set up as a guardian on the tower above His sheepfold.' Above the second porch of the tower, the following inscription could be read: 'There lived an incomparable knight in this strange monument.' The eye of providence in heaven ended the pyramid as the survivor, and a ray from its torch hit the golden ball floating above the tower and illuminated the whole area. Thirdly. Finally, the sides of the entire edifice, up to 50 feet long, illuminated by light, showed the letter 'A' at a distance, without in any way underestimating the effect of the slide.

Moreover, it was noted that

[...] a new *Te Deum* of His Excellency Elsner's composition was to be performed in the St. John Cathedral by the national orchestra, to which some members of the Music Society contributed with their talents. Also some members of the Society, on behalf of all, sang a serenade to their protector His Excellency Prince Adam Czartoryski on the 22nd day in evening.³⁶

4. Cantata for the name-day of Empress Maria Fedorovna (3 August 1817). Its performance was preceded by the opera *Hilary, czyli Ubiegający się za awanturkami* [*Hilary, or the pursuit of adventures*] by N. Isouard.

[...] After the play was over, the Cantata was sung and the poem *O radości* ['Oh Joy'] was read in front of the number [...] of that day could be seen, framed with roses and rays in the slide, and the temple adorned between the columns. A cantata related to the music of His Excellency Kurpiński, by double choirs, into which almost the entire company of our actors and actresses was divided, sung in front of and behind the figure at a distance, and played by two orchestras, was pleasantly received [...].³⁷

36 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1815, no. 104, pp. 2059–2060.

37 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1817, no. 61 supplement, p. 1355; *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, no. 62, supplement, p. 1371. K. Kurpiński. *Kronika*, p. 473 (text attributed to K. Brodziński; incorrect date of performance).

The poem “O radości” was recited by the actor and singer of the National Theatre, Marcin Szymanowski.³⁸

5. Cantata for the birthday of Alexander I (23 December 1817). It was sung on the eve of his birthday. The description of the performance is the quintessence of expectations related to the rebirth of the Kingdom of Poland under the rule of the Romanovs.

[...] After playing the comedy [*Odwet czyli Zapolska*, that is *Revenge, or Mrs. Zapolski*], there was a Cantata with music by His Majesty Kurpiński, during which two images of living people appeared. The first showed Virtue with its retinue [...]: Faithfulness [...], Justice [...], Innocence [...], virtuous marriage [...], and virtuous love [...]. The first picture was accompanied by a solo song with poems by Mr. Brodziński: *Cnota jest piękna, wesola* (‘Virtue is Beautiful, Happy’), *W gwiazdzistej swojej odśłonie* (‘In its Starry View’) [...]. The second image [is] a combination of Light and Virtue. In the background there is the Sun and a bust of His Excellency Emperor and King in front. On his right, Apollo embracing Virtue, and between them a Genius holding the Cornucopia. On the same side, people holding the emblem of sciences and craftsmanship that is a globe, book, lyre, etc. On the left, Justice led by Time and leaned on Religion; on that side, people with a plough, an anchor, and a hammer, picturing the three main sources of wealth for the country, which are Agriculture, Trade and Handicrafts. [...] With this painting, the quartet of voices sang: [inc.] *Próżno na piasek słońce śle oświaty* (‘In vain the sun sends light to the sand’) [...]. The General Choir ended: [inc.] *Chwała ci w gronie twych dzieci* (‘Glory to you in the company of your children’) [...].³⁹

6. Cantata for the name-day of Empress Maria Fedorovna (3 August 1819). It was performed between the comedy *Młodość Henryka V* [*The Youth of Henry V*] and the ballet *Święto serc, czyli Powinszowanie* [*Feast of the Hearts, or Congratulations*]. The Cantata was “a hymn

38 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1817, no. 61 supplement, p. 1579. See also: *Słownik Biograficzny Teatru Polskiego*, p. 717.

39 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1817, no. 103, p. 2195. B. Gubrynowicz Kazimierz Brodziński, *Życie i dzieła. Część pierwsza* [...], Lwów 1917, p. 246. A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Klasycyzm...*, p. 221. Przybylski does not include this piece: K. Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 316, 473.

appropriate to the ceremony, sung by two choirs with the accompaniment of two orchestras and a declamation”, “and in front of a number shining in the slide”.⁴⁰ Its staging resembles a production from two years ago (see Cantata 4).

7. Cantata for the birthday of Alexander I (23 December 1819). It was performed on the eve of his birthday, after the tragedy *Horacjusze* [Horatians] and the opera (“comedy opera”) *Kazimierz Wielki i Brózdza, czyli Król chłopków* (*Casimir the Great and Brózdza, or the King of Peasants*).⁴¹ “[It was] sung with the appearance of an appropriate slide, and clearly expressed national feelings [...]”.⁴² On the birthday celebration of Alexander I, and at the same time on the anniversary of “the founding of the Charity Society, the Society held a general meeting [...]. It was preceded by a service in the church of the Society and the prayer of *Te Deum* [...]”.⁴³

8. Cantata for the birthday of the Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich (9 May 1820) was the final element of a larger

visual performance, interspersed with a selection of music and concerts. Among others, it was pleasant to see the image showing the Treaty of Khotyn [1621] between Poland and the Ottoman Port [the Ottoman Empire] in the presence of Prince Władysław [Sigismund Vasa] with the body of Karol Chodkiewicz (from Bacciarelli’s original), and farewell to the army leaving the settlement (according to the drawing of the state judge Zieliński). Finally, the Cantata of His Majesty Kurpiński was performed, during which a picture suitable for the ceremony was shown. The Geniuses raised and held various emblems and signs of the armies led by the Great Prince. On the altar

40 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1819, no. 63, p. 1191; *Gazeta Warszawska* 1819, no. 63, supplement, p. 1523. *Karol Kurpiński, Kronika*, pp. 314–315, 473 (author of the libretto is unknown).

41 The composer of the music for the libretto by Kazimierz Majeranowski was probably Baltazar Boguński, although Józef Wygrzywalski’s vaudeville is also mentioned to Majeranowski’s libretto of the same title, *Słownik muzyków polskich*, vol. 1, p. 43; *Słownik muzyków polskich*, vol. 2, p. 297.

42 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1819, no. 103, p. 247; *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1819, no. 102, p. 1353; *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, no. 103, p. 1361; *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, no. 104, p. 1383.

43 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1819, no. 104, p. 1382.

surrounded by Bellona's priestesses, an offering was burning, with the birthday number hovering above it [...].⁴⁴

9. The cantata for the name-day of Alexander I (11 September 1821) ended the performance consisting of the comedy *Koszyk wiśni* (*A Basket of Cherries*) and the comedy opera *Plaksza i Wesołowski* (*Plaksza and Wesołowski*), “[...] during which the following picture appeared: an altar burning and surrounded with gratitude by religion, justice and wisdom, on both sides Geniuses kept signs of victory and various emblems. The view of Parnassus filled the depths, with signs of increasing or renewed craftsmanship and sciences [...]”.⁴⁵

The establishment of the Kingdom of Poland was also honoured by the “society of friends of religious and national music” by performing in the Piarists’ Church *Te Deum* by J. Elsner, “[...] who has recently composed it to thank the Lord of heavens for regaining the name of Poles dear to us, and to show gratitude to the new king”.⁴⁶ This work, published by the Leipzig company of Breitkopf and Härtel, has so far been quoted in the studies under alternative titles: *Post celebrem...*, *D major op. 11*⁴⁷ or *Hymnum Ambrosianum in D major, Op. 11*.⁴⁸ According to the preserved manuscript in the Czartoryski Library in Kraków, Ryszard Mączyński finally identified it as *Te Deum laudamus*, described by Elsner in his work *Sumariusz*.⁴⁹

The commemoration of the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland (20 June) was systematically and solemnly celebrated from 1816 to 1830, and a relatively large amount of space was devoted to

44 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1820, no. 48, p. 963; *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1820, no. 49, 12 V, p. 971. Karol Kurpiński, *Kronika*, p. 473 (incorrect performance date).

45 *Kurier Warszawski* 1821, no. 216, p. [2]; *Kurier Warszawski*, no. 218, p. [1].

46 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1815, no. 51, supplement, p. 929.

47 *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, vol. 3: efg, p. 24.

48 R. Mączyński, *Muzyka i teatr. W kręgu kultury zakonnej Warszawy XVII–XIX wieku*, Toruń 2018, pp. 49, 285, [330–331].

49 *Słownik Muzyki Polskiej*, vol. 1, p. 130. The International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP), Elsner Józef.

it in newspapers.⁵⁰ Although it did not appear in printed Warsaw calendars until 1819⁵¹ and was called a holiday until 1834⁵² – it was not celebrated after the Uprising. Only in 1832, in the headline of the *Kurier Warszawski*, was there a small note referring to it: “Celebration in Warsaw 1815”.⁵³

The anniversaries of the name-day and birth of Emperor Alexander I and later, Nicholas I, were equally ceremonial and received extensive descriptions in newspapers. Such was the celebration of the name-day of Alexander I on 11 September 1816, which was important due to the hymn with Alojzy Feliński’s lyrics: *Boże coś Polskę*. That day,

[...] the Grand Duke [Konstantin], dressed in a Polish uniform [...], went to the courtyard of the palace called Saski, in the middle of which there was an altar under a tent sheltered on all sides [...]. Mass was celebrated at the altar, known as the episcopal rite [...] with the presence of higher and lower clergy. [...] The song *Boże [coś Polskę]* was still sung to the sound of military music [...], and after the Mass, the hymn *Tę Deum* amid the sounds of the cannons. When the service was over, the entire army, armed, was standing in line before the royal governor [...].⁵⁴

The aforementioned singing had already satisfied Grand Duke Konstant, as had the music of Jan N. Kaszewski, with “voices selected from among the military sing this song every Sunday during the military church parade in the Carmelite Church, and the rest of the army sings in a choir ending each stanza [...]”.⁵⁵

50 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1816, no. 50, p. 1151; 1818, no. 50, p. 1165; 1819, no. 50, p. 959; 1820, no. 73, p. 1270; *Kurier Warszawski* 1821, no. 147 p. [1]; 1822, no. 147, p. [1]; 1824, no. 147, p. 277; 1825, no. 146, p. 697; 1826, no. 146, p. 601; 1827, no. 165, pp. 693–694; 1830, no. 164, p. 857.

51 *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny na Rok 1819*, Warszawa [1818], p. 15; Cf. *Kalendarzyk Mały Pijarski Polski i Ruski na Rok Przestępny 1820 [...]*, Warszawa [1819], p. 27.

52 *A. Gałęzowskiego i Komp. Kalendarz Domowy Na Rok Zwyczajny 1834 [...]*, Warszawa [1833], p. 9.

53 *Kurier Warszawski* 1832, no. 165, p. 865.

54 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1816, no. 74, pp. 1695–1696.

55 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1818, no. 50, p. 1165; 1820, no. 73, p. 1269; *Kurier Warszawski* 1822, no. 147, p. [1]; 1823, no. 146, p. [1]; 1830,

At the beginning of the 1820s, political events in Warsaw intertwined with the exceptionally dynamic development of music editing.⁵⁶ A new audience emerged, craving “salon music” for piano, an instrument that was becoming more and more important. It was believed, not without reason, that the salon was the most important institution in the entirety of musical Europe, where opinions about musicians were shaped that significantly influenced their careers.⁵⁷ Warsaw composers noticed this situation, and printmaking and lithograph workshops printing note sheets were able to satisfy this demand with their products – musical pieces printed on a copper plate or lithographic stone. Teaching music, singing, and piano, along with learning to dance, became a compulsory element of young women’s education, both at home and at private and state schools. They were also introduced in the new Institute of Governesses [*Instytut Guwernantek*], established in 1825, which was transformed a year later into the Government Institute of Female Education [*Instytut Rządowy Wychowania Płci Żeńskiej*], classified as a “Practical institute”. There were two hours of “instrumental and voice music” and a week for “all three departments”, “so that future governesses were prepared to teach these subjects thoroughly. Whenever there is an opportunity, the teachers will try to bring their talents to a decent development”.⁵⁸ Music was taught by Jan Cyrsznitz, Józef Jawurek, Józef Linowski, and Józef Szanior, while singing was taught by Aleksander Celli, and dance by Ludwik Thierry.⁵⁹ Already at that time, the Institute adopted the

no. 164, p. 857. *Gazeta Warszawska* 1816, no. 58, p. 1321. A. Nowak- Romanowicz, *Klasycyzm...*, pp. 209–210.

- 56 W. Tomaszewski, *Edytorstwo muzyczne na ziemiach polskich w latach 1815–1875*. in: *Ludzie i książki. Studia historyczne*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 310, 314.
- 57 “In the Warsaw milieu, an important role was played by amateur musicians to whom composers dedicated their works”.
- 58 “Urządzenie Instytutu Rządowego Wychowania Płci Żeńskiej”, 22 November 1826, in: *Zbiór przepisów administracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Oświecenia*, vol. 5, pp. 381, 385.
- 59 *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny Na Rok Zwyczajny 1829 [...]*, Warszawa 1828, p. 161; *ibidem*, *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny Na Rok Zwyczajny 1830 [...]*, Warszawa 1829, p. 176; *Rocznik Polityczny Polski*, Warszawa 1830, p. 74.

principle of the participation of female students in services and celebrations, and “on the days commemorating the anniversaries of the Monarch’s Family [...] there will be prayers: for health, long life and well-being of the Members of the Ruling Family”. Two holidays were emphasised: the anniversary of the foundation of the Institute and the empress’s name-day.⁶⁰

There were also occasional dances on gala days. These were not only individual pieces performed at performances and balls, but also entire collections, which became more attractive in print, thanks to their court provenance.⁶¹ Most of them were composed by Karol Kurpiński. In 1819, he was appointed the Master of the Polish Kingdom Court Band, a title granted to him by the tsar. He published occasional polonaises converted from orchestra to piano.⁶² Occasional dances were also written by Józef Bielawski,⁶³ Józef Damse,⁶⁴ Maleczyński vel Maleciński,⁶⁵ Jan Rywacki,⁶⁶ Józef Stefani,⁶⁷ and Jan Nepomucen Wański.⁶⁸

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- 60 “Urządzenie Instytutu Rządowego Wychowania Płci Żeńskiej...”, pp. 396–397.
- 61 “Tańce na pŕte grane na balu u Księcia Namiestnika danym dla Najjaśniejszego Cesarza w dniu jego imienin [11 September 1820]”, in: W. Tomaszewski, *Bibliografia warszawskich druków muzycznych* Warsaw 1992, ref. 192. “Terpsychora czyli Zbiór naynowszych i naybardziej ulubionych w Towarzystwach Warszawskich rozmaitych tancow na pianoforte No. 9” in: ibidem, ref. 280. “Tańce na pŕte grane na balu u Księcia Namiestnika w dniu 11IX 1821 jako w uroczystość jego dostojnych imienin”, in: ibidem, ref. 278.
- 62 Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 347–348; *Gazeta Warszawska* 1819, no. 100, supplement, p. 2395.
- 63 “Nowy polonez na orkiestrę, grany pierwszy raz w Teatrze Wielkim w uroczystość imienin Cesarza, ułożony na pŕte”, in: *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 465; S. Burhardt, *Polonez. Katalog tematyczny*, vol. 2, Kraków 1976, ref. 1792–1830. This polonaise is not registered. It received applause three times when it was performed for the first time on 11 September 1821, between the comedy opera *Trzy upiory* [*Three Ghouls*] by J. Wygrzywalski and opera *Kalif Bagdadu* by Boieldieu [*Le calife de Bagdad*], *Kurier Warszawski* 1823, no. 217, p. [1].
- 64 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 141, 225, 759.
- 65 Maleczyński aka Maleciński was most likely the second violinist in the orchestra of the National Theatre, “Rocznik Teatru Narodowego Warszawskiego”, 1815/1816, p. 6.
- 66 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 734; *Kurier Warszawski* 1825, no. 111, p. 549.
- 67 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 532.
- 68 Ibidem, ref. 212.

Kurpiński composed and published a few polonaises related to the gala days of interest to us from September 1818 to May 1834.⁶⁹ Between these dates, there is a record of 15 such polonaises⁷⁰ and one mazurka.⁷¹ Some of his polonaises were performed not at balls, but at the National Theatre, during gala performances, such as *the Polonaise for 11 September 1825 as the annual celebration of the name day of the His Majesty Emperor and the Polish King [...]*. In fact, it was performed for the first time on the eve of the name-day of Alexander I “at the National Theatre by 90 artists, that is, 50 orchestras and 40 singers of both genders [...]”, at the end of the performance consisting of the overture to the opera *Łaskawość Tytusa* [*La Clemenza di Tito*] by W. A. Mozart, scenes of reconciliation from the comedy *Bracia niezgodni* [*Bruderzwist*], and the third act of G. Rossini’s opera *La gazza ladra* and the fifth act of the tragedy *Cynna czyli Łaskawość Augusta* [*Cinna o la clemenza di Augusto*], while Kurpiński’s Polonaise was followed by “various dances”.⁷² It should also be noted that the first performance of another Kurpiński’s polonaise, at the ball on 1 June 1830, should be associated with the eve of the name-day of the Grand Duke Konstantin, although the title of the work does not directly indicate it.⁷³ *Polonaise and mazurkas* of Damse, one of the Kurpiński polonaises, *Mazurka* by Maleczyński, and other orchestral dances⁷⁴ were performed at the “great ball given by the Duke Governor” on the occasion of the name-day of Alexander I in 1821,

69 “Dwa polskie tańce [...] na dzień balu [...] dla [...] Maryi Teodorówniej [...] przez [...] w miesiącu wrześniu r. 1818 [...]”, *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 88; *Polonez. Katalog tematyczny*, vol. 2, ref. 1508–1509; *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, p. 480, ref. 121–122.

70 “Polonez grany na balu w sali Giełdy d. 4 maja 1834 ro. z powodu uroczystego ogłoszenia pełnoletności [...] Następcy Tronu Aleksandra Mikołajewicza [...]”, *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 1786; *Polonez. Katalog...*, vol. 2, ref. 1527; *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, p. 485, ref. 163.

71 *Polonez. Katalog...*, vol. 2, ref. 1511, 1512, 1514–1526. “Mazurek na pftę grany na balu u księcia Namiestnika w dniu 9 maja 1825 r”, *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 678.

72 *Kurier Warszawski* 1825, no. 214, p. 972; no. 217, p. 981. On the emperor’s name-day itself, there was a drama with dances *Teresa czyli Sierota z Genewy*, free of charge, *ibidem*, no. 215, p. 976.

73 “Polonaise composée pour le bal à la cour le 1. juin 1830 [...]”, *Polonez. Katalog...*, ref. 1526. *Kurier Warszawski* 1830, no. 146, p. 757; no. 147, p. 765.

74 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 225, 242, 278, 280, 437.

“which was honored by the presence of the monarch’s three brothers and the Grand Duchess Alexandra [...]”.⁷⁵

Changes in the throne of the Russian Empire were followed by changes in the calendar: celebrations directly related to Alexander I disappeared from the calendar of holidays, and new ones related to his successor, Nicholas I, were introduced.⁷⁶

The official information about the death of Alexander I (November 1825) appeared in Warsaw dailies with a significant delay. Warsaw funeral ceremonies at St John Cathedral began on Friday, 7 April 1826, according to the extensive program published in the *Kurier Warszawski*. Earlier, to prepare for the rite, common services were moved from St John’s Cathedral to the Augustinian Church and St Cross Church.⁷⁷ The funeral procession consisted of 124 groups of mourners in eleven groups, in which the “funeral music group” was between the Missionary priests (group III: “Clergy and orphans”) and the students of the Second Faculty School (group IV: “Teaching Institute”). Groups III and IV were to gather “at the beginning of Długa Street [...] until the German Hotel [...]”. In the church, when everyone was seated, the Mass with singing began. The *Requiem* by J. Kozłowski was conducted by Carlo Soliva. After the sermon, “the rest of the Mass was sung with the accompaniment of Mourning Music”, and after the Mass, at the catafalque, the hymn *Salve Regina* was performed. After the Mass, the “rite of the Royal Almsgiving” began to nine churches (Bernardines; Daughters of Charity; Carmelites; Visitandines; Evangelical; St Andrew’s; Piarists; Basilians; Capuchins; St John’s Cathedral); “Each time the procession stops to give alms, the mourning music can be heard in the vicinity”.⁷⁸ In the description of the ceremony, some details were later clarified:

75 *Kurier Warszawski* 1821, no. 218, p. [1].

76 Cf. *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Polski i Ruski z odmianami powietrza zawierający święta i dni Galowe w Imperium Rossyjskiem i Królestwie Polskiem [...] na rok 1829 [...]*, Warszawa 1828.

77 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 62, p. 249, no. 71, p. 281.

78 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 78, pp. 309–311, supplement, pp. 313–320.

when the coffin and the bust were placed on a catafalque erected in the middle of the church, 150 musical artists of both genders performed the *Miserere* by Pergolesi [...].⁷⁹ During the Mass, *Requiem* by Kozłowski was performed, which he had once arranged for the mourning celebration in St. Petersburg after the death of King Stanisław August.⁸⁰ The Mass ended with the song *Salve Regina* by Salieri; all these music pieces were performed under the direction of professor Soliva [...].⁸¹

Gazeta Korrespondenta corrected that “not 300 but 180 people entered” to perform Kozłowski’s *Requiem*.⁸²

After the main funeral service, five more services with the same intention were held in the following days, according to *Gazeta Korrespondenta*, and according to *Kurier Warszawski*, six more. The difference in the numbers is due to the fact that *Kurier* – unlike *Gazeta Korrespondenta* – also counted the service that took place “in the metropolitan church” on Tuesday, 11 April, according to the Greek Orthodox rite. Here is a detailed program of these services, with a description of the music performed:

- 8, 10 April; Saturday, Monday; second and third celebrations at St John’s Cathedral; “Mozart’s *Requiem*, famous in the musical world, was performed by 315 artists and amateurs under the direction of Karol Kurpiński”,⁸³
- 11 April, Tuesday; fourth celebration at St. John’s Cathedral; “A great Mass was celebrated by His Excellency bishop of Chełm and senator of the Kingdom Ciecchanowski, according to the Greek Orthodox rite [...]. During the entire service, Orthodox chants were performed [...]”,⁸⁴

79 In the daily *Monitor Warszawski*, it was noted: When the mar, *Miserere* by Pergolesi was introduced, it was enforced by 250 artists in the church, *Monitor Warszawski* 1826, no. 44, p. 197.

80 A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Klasycyzm...*, pp. 241–242.

81 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 83, pp. 337–338.

82 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1826, no. 58, p. 663.

83 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 84, p. 341; no. 86, p. 349.

84 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 87, p. 353.

- 12 April, Wednesday; fifth celebration at St John’s Cathedral; “Mozart’s *Requiem* was performed for the third time [!] under the direction of Karol Kurpiński”,⁸⁵
- 13 April, Thursday; the last (sixth) celebration connected with the celebration of “the transfer of the Royal Insignia from the Cathedral to the General Treasury of the Kingdom of Poland”, located in the Krasiński Palace; at St. John’s Cathedral, “Kozłowski’s *Requiem* was performed under the direction of Soliva”.⁸⁶

The Jewish community and Evangelicals also had mourning celebrations. In the case of the first, the celebrations lasted two days:

[...] in the house no. 2064 on Zielona Street, 2 rooms were decorated in black cloth and enlightened [...]. At 10 o’clock, the rabbi stood in front of the altar [...] and cried. *It was a time of mourning*: he began the service with his usual initial prayer. *How beautiful are your sanctuaries, Jacob*, etc. The whole prayer was sung by a cantor with the accompaniment of several voices and instrumental music. Then the rabbi began singing Psalm 23 and the cantor continued with everybody else (Israel. 24) *Pańska jest ziemia* etc. [...]. After the finished speeches [...], appropriate verses were selected from the sacred psalm (119 the Israelites), the initial letters of which combine into the name Alexander: the rabbi pronounced them, the cantor sang them with music, and all Israelites present repeated them. Then the cantor sang with music, a customary prayer for the deceased [...].⁸⁷

In the Evangelical church (at Królewska St.), the service commemorating the death of Alexander I was attended by several thousand people.

[...] In sermons in Polish and German, local preachers mentioned the reasons for this rite eloquently; both sermons were separated by music; 140 artists under the direction of His Majesty Jaworek,

85 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1826, no. 59, p. 673; *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 87, p. 353.

86 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1826, no. 59, p. 673; *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 88, p. 357.

87 *Gazeta Korrespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego* 1826, no. 64, p. 721; *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 92 p. 373–374.

performed a beautiful *Requiem* by rector Elsner, arranged for only male voices, with the accompaniment of only some instruments, and the majestic choir invented in Warsaw, so pleasant for the audience, which made an impression [...].⁸⁸

The score of this work was published in November 1826 by Warsaw lithograph workshop of A. Brzezina,⁸⁹ and in August of the following year, Nicholas I “deigned to decorate” the composer with an “expensive diamond ring” for composing and performing it during the aforementioned celebrations.⁹⁰

As a ruler, Nicholas I was not as loved by Poles as his brother Alexander. One even has the impression that the anniversary of the death of the “restorer” of the Kingdom of Poland (1 December) celebrated in the following years was treated with greater solemnity than court holidays related to the new ruler. On the anniversary of the death “of the one to whom we owed our being and our happiness, a mourning service was held at 11 am in the metropolitan church of St. John [...]. Selected singers and music artists performed the famous Mozart’s *Requiem* with diligence [...]”.⁹¹ According to *Kurier Warszawski*, the piece was then performed by 130 artists under the direction of K. Kurpiński.⁹² On the second anniversary of the death of Alexander I,

[...] the Guard regiments were in the squares of their barracks, and all other troops were in the churches: Carmelites, S. Cross at the Alexandrian Barracks, Franciscans, Missionaries, Piarist and S. Alexander. At 11 o’clock in the archi-cathedral, a great Mass was celebrated [...] by a bishop of Kalisz, a senator of the Kingdom His Excellency Koźmian [...]. Musicians performed *Requiem* under the direction of Rector Elsner [...].⁹³

88 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 97, p. 393.

89 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 768.

90 *Kurier Warszawski* 1827, no. 214, p. 917. Elsner also gave copies of his *Requiem* to the king of Prussia and to the Emperor of Austria, and, in return, he obtained two valuable diamond rings (*Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 296, p. 1257; 1827, no. 85, p. 341).

91 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1826, no. 192, p. 2737.

92 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 286, p. 1217.

93 *Kurier Warszawski* 1827, no. 324, p. 1357.

Similarly, the fourth anniversary of the death of Alexander I was commemorated with the performance of the “*Requiem* of Rector Elsner’s and under his direction” in the cathedral. On the eve of this anniversary, *Phaedo, or On the Immortality of the Soul in Three Dialogues* by the famous philosopher M. Mendelsohn, which was over 350 pages long, was published. It was translated into Polish by J. Tugendhold, Member of the Secretary of the Censorship Committee for Hebrew Books and Writings and “dedicated to the blessed shadow of this immortal monarch”.⁹⁴ The anniversaries of Alexander I’s death were also celebrated after the Uprising, including in 1835 in the citadel, and the unveiling of his monument was preceded by a service in the castle chapel, during which the “tender chants of the bishop’s choir” could be heard.⁹⁵

After Nicholas I ascended the throne, all ceremonies were mentioned in the headlines of the newspapers, according to the custom, and with changes resulting from the passage of time. For example, in 1828, 24 ceremonies were commented on, the list of which can be found in the calendars.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, although solemn church services and quite often free theatre performances were still the norm, there were not as many balls as before. Fewer occasional pieces were composed by Warsaw musicians as well. Józef Damse composed a march for the entire military orchestra to commemorate the birthday of the Grand Duke Konstantin in 1826.⁹⁷ Karol Kurpiński composed the Polonaise *Pocztarka* for the name-day of Nicholas I in 1828 and on that day, it was performed by the “great orchestra of the Polish Grenadier Regiment”.⁹⁸

From 1825 to December 1830, 15 free performances were given at the National Theatre related to the birthday and name-day of

94 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 324, p. 1451.

95 *Kurier Warszawski* 1835, no. 323, pp. 1625–1626.

96 For example, *Nowy Kalendarz Domowy na Rok Przestępny 1828 mający dni 366*, Warszawa [1827], p. [4].

97 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 148, p. 609.

98 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 40, p. 193; *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 1185; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, p. 485 ref. 158.

Nicholas I, the birthday and name-day of Aleksandra Fiodorovna, his wife, the name-day of the heir to the throne Alexander Nikolayevich, and the anniversary of the Russian coronation of Nicholas I. There were no special cantatas and outstanding stagings in those years.

The Warsaw coronation (24 May 1829) of Nicholas I and Alexandra Fiodorovna as Polish monarchs was a special event. The program was announced in *Kurier Warszawski* in a special supplement on 14 May. It was planned that “on the eve of the coronation, vespers would be sung in all the churches of the capital; followed by the *Te Deum* as an expression of thanksgiving will be sung”.⁹⁹ Preparations for the coronation lasted several days because they were building “[...] a gallery in front of the Castle, where 2,000 ladies are to be located. Musicians have rehearsals of *Te Deum* by Kurpiński, High Mass by Rector Elsner and *Veni Creator* by Rector Soliwa, arranged for this ceremony [...]”.¹⁰⁰ “Yesterday Paganini came to Warsaw to please the enthusiasts eagerly waiting to hear this famous master; today at the National Theatre, instead of an ordinary performance, this virtuoso gives a concert. The crowd waiting for tickets is extraordinary; the price for all seats is doubled, and for chairs it is tripled”.¹⁰¹ On the day of the coronation at St John’s Cathedral, “[...] the great Mass began, during which 300 artists performed new music of Rector Elsner and under his direction. There were prayers and *Veni Creator* during which the music of His Majesty Soliwa was performed and under his direction [...]”.¹⁰² They returned to the Castle to perform the coronation rite, and then once again went to St John’s Cathedral, and

[...] Their Excellencies entered the church, the new *Te Deum* was performed, arranged for this ceremony under the direction of the author of this work, K. Kurpiński [...]. At 3 o’clock in the afternoon

99 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 129.

100 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 136, p. 591.

101 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 138, p. 600.

102 *Kurier Warszawski* 1826, no. 139 p. 604.

there was a feast at His Excellency's. The table in the concert hall of the Royal Castle was wonderfully decorated. There were 130 people of both genders at the table. [...] During the dinner, musicians under the direction of [...] Karol Kurpiński performed the overture of Rossini from the opera *The Siege of Corinth*; students of the Conservatory and the tenorist Tejchman sang Soliwa's compositions; the famous Paganini played a solo and Mrs. Meier sang a great aria with the accompaniment of the choir. (The musician in the church, and also later, was the first violinist of the Royal Polish Court, Lipiński, who came to Warsaw the other day) [...].¹⁰³

The commemoration of this coronation briefly acquired the status of an informal gala ceremony and was celebrated a year later. The comedy *Pięć sióstr a jedna*, the comedy opera *Plaksa i Wesółowski*, and "dances with an appropriate picture" were staged at that time.¹⁰⁴

The fall of the November Uprising fundamentally changed the political situation of the Kingdom of Poland. Nicholas I, dethroned at that time, introduced the Organic Statute limiting all liberties in place of the liberal constitution and incorporated the Kingdom into the structures of the Russian Empire as an integral part of it. Everything that could underline or remind people of the native Polishness of these lands was gradually erased.

This situation had a specific impact on the catalogue of gala days and the way they were celebrated in Warsaw. From then on, their descriptions in newspapers had a more of a propaganda-like character. They were unified in their content in a way that was related to the characteristic style of the reports and equipped them with permanent phraseological elements, emphasising the allegedly spontaneous joy of the celebration. The New Year's celebration, according to the Orthodox calendar, was permanently included in the catalogue, and it was distinguished by its particularly sumptuous balls. In journalistic reports, the descriptions of the outfits

103 *Kurier Warszawski* 1829, no. 139, pp. 604–605.

104 *Kurier Warszawski* 1830, no. 137, p. 704; no. 139, p. 713.

that the ladies wore for the occasion were considerably long. Two imperial Russian decorations were also added to the calendar of days of celebration: Imperial Order of Saint Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Vladimir (4 October) and the Order of St Andrew the Apostle the First-Called (12 December).¹⁰⁵

Until the mid-1930s, there was a certain transition period in the way of celebrating and communicating about gala days. The first new festive cantata by Kurpiński was not mentioned until 1836. At that time, the education of church singing began in government schools; thus, school students joined the celebration of the gala days.

New Year's Eve costume balls, arranged at the Warsaw Castle by the Governor of the Kingdom, became a tradition since then. On this day in 1832, before the dances followed the supper,

[...] in the great ballroom, in the newly arranged theatre, the artists of both Polish theatres presented a comedy *Popas* by Count Skarbek, which ended with songs and a village wedding; after it, the French artists presented the comedy *The Peasant of Picardy*; between the acts there were overtures of exemplary composers performed by the orchestra of the National Theatre under the direction of K. Kurpiński [...].¹⁰⁶

This information included the name of the National Theatre, as it was only at the beginning of the next year that a new theatre building was officially opened under its changed name - Teatr Wielki. In 1938, at this kind of a ball, "the orchestra played all dances from the most favorite themes from *Robert the Devil*, an opera by G. Meyerbeer, which had its Warsaw premiere three weeks earlier".¹⁰⁷ Artists from Warsaw theatres also joined the celebration of New Year's balls, presenting in 1840 "a few excerpts from the comedy *Nowy Teatr* and *Sunset*", and moreover, artists of the War-

105 *Kalendarzyk Kieszonkowy Polski, Ruski i Żydowski Z odmianami powietrza, zawierający święta dni galowych w Rossyi i Królestwie Polskiem na rok 1830 [...]*, Warszawa [1829], p. 41, 49. "A. Gałęzowskiego i Komp. Kalendarz Domowy Na Rok Zwyczajny 1833 [...]", Warszawa [1832], p. 9. I use the modern names of the orders.

106 W. Tomaszewski, *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1831–1835*, Warszawa 2011, ref. 27.

107 *Kurier Warszawski* 1838, no. 13, pp. 61–62.

saw ballet danced a polonaise, a mazurka with figures, and a Spanish bolero.¹⁰⁸

Some of the New Year's balls were preceded by a meeting. And so the guests of the "dancing" evening, on the eve of 1837, were honoured with the presence of the Viceroy and his wife. The meeting was organized in the apartments of the palace of the Government Commission for Revenue and Treasury by its director - Roman Fiodorowicz Fuhrman.¹⁰⁹ In later years, such balls, also attended by Viceroy with his family, were held by the princes Jabłonowski and the count Zamoyski family. Adam Sturm's orchestra used to perform, *inter alia*, the newest Parisian contradances by Philippe Musard, as well as mazurkas by the conductor Napoleon Kurzątkowski.¹¹⁰

Announcements and comments related to the celebration of holidays were usually given in newspapers as the first information in the section devoted to local events. Occasionally, less important holidays were signalled only in the headline, and only the most important ones were commented on in more detail.¹¹¹ The novelty of the post-Uprising period was a clearer separation of information about services in the main churches of various faiths, especially in the Orthodox chapel of the Warsaw Castle (where the governor of the kingdom and his entourage were usually present), in the Roman Catholic cathedral of St John, and later, in the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity in Podwale and the Roman Catholic cathedral. Moreover, after the obligatory participation of students in services, a relevant paragraph was devoted to the singing performed by them. The entire report from the ceremony ended with

108 *Kurier Warszawski* 1840, no. 13, pp. 61–62.

109 *Kurier Warszawski* 1837, no. 12, p. 57.

110 *Kurier Warszawski* 1838, no. 12, p. 57; 1842, no. 12, p. 58; 1843, no. 12, p. 53; *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 2743.

111 For example, in *Kurier Warszawski*, the headline in each issue was as follows: to the left of the highlighted journal title, the date and the name of the day of the week were given; on the right - which saints were celebrated the following day and what would be the holiday. *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 196, p. 957; 1849, no. 44, p. 209.

information about a free theatre performance, during which all opera and theatre artists sang the occasional cantata, and there was a festive illumination of government buildings.

The first holiday in the new political situation was the anniversary of the name-day of the heir to the throne, the Grand Duke Alexander Nikolayevich (11 September 1831). There was a “service in the castle chapel, in the presence of the emperor, the Grand Duke Michael, as well as senior officers from the Russian Army, present in Warsaw”.¹¹² Until the end of this year, all holidays in the calendar were announced or mentioned in Warsaw dailies. Only the day of the name-day of Nicholas I (18 December 1831) was celebrated more solemnly, and a concert was given by “outstanding artists” in the residence of the Warsaw governor of war, which ended with a “cantata composed for this celebration”.¹¹³ It cannot be ruled out that it was a piece composed by Kurpiński, as the musician retained the title of court bandmaster after the fall of the November Uprising.¹¹⁴

The next seven free gala performances (from July 1832 to July 1833) were held in the building of the former National Theatre at Krasieński Square.¹¹⁵ Occasional cantatas were sung in three of them. The celebration of the name-day of the heir to the throne, the Grand Duke Alexander Nikolayevich (11 September 1832), was distinguished by fireworks “in the garden called Foxal”, where “there were 1224 people”.¹¹⁶ The performance related to the name-day of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (3 May 1833) was preceded by the morning service at St. John’s Cathedral, during which an orchestra of artists and amateurs performed a composition by J. Haydn.¹¹⁷ Another free performance (in September 1833) took place in the new building of the Teatr Wielki, where – as it was

112 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1831, no. 243, p. 1965; *Kurier Warszawski* 1831, no. 246, p. 1205.

113 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5.

114 *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, pp. 434–435.

115 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 311, 319, 391, 514, 692, 765, 772.

116 *Kurier Warszawski* 1832, no. 245, p. 1293.

117 *Dziennik Powszechny* 1833, no. 121, p. 467.

reported – “[...] yes to the loges [!], As well as to all other seats, no one will be admitted without a ticket. All tickets will be distributed in the office [!] Of the municipal office”.¹¹⁸ On two days of December ceremonies of the same year (2 December and 18 December), there were three performances, two for free – at the Teatr Wielki (at 6 am) and in the Teatr Dawny Rozmaitości (at 5 am) – and a paid one at the Nowy Teatr Rozmaitości (at 7 am). On 2 December, the opera *The Freeshooter* by C. M. Weber was presented at the Teatr Wielki for free, while at the Teatr Dawny Rozmaitości, there were two one-act comedies: *Mali protektorowie, czyli Boczne schody* and *Trafiła kosa na kamień*.¹¹⁹ Two attractive premieres were presented at a paid performance at the Nowy Teatr Rozmaitości: the comedy *Kto kocha ten się kłóci* and the comedy opera *Trzy pojedynki bez prochu*, with music by J. Damse.¹²⁰ On 18 December, in turn, the recently reissued comedy *Dwóch Sieciechów* and “dances with an appropriate image” were presented for free at the Teatr Wielki, the comedy *Sługa dwóch panów (Servant of the Two Lords)*, a comedy opera *Przez Sen*, with music by J. Damsy, and a paid performance of the comedy *Mirandolina czyli Piękna gosposia (Mirandolina or Beautiful Housewife)* at the Teatr Dawny Rozmaitości, and a comedy-opera *Kłamca prawdę mówiący (The Truth Telling Liar)* with music by W. Kratzer.¹²¹ The next two gala performances (in the summer of 1834) took place in the Łazienki amphitheatre, and it was only after autumn in 1834 that free performances returned to the Teatr Wielki at Marywilski Square.

Gala performances in the Łazienki amphitheatre in summer, with a stage located on the island, became the custom after that, although it sometimes happened that they had to be moved under

118 *Gazeta Codzienna* 1833, no. 596, p. 8.

119 *Kurier Warszawski* 1833, no. 338, p. 1812.

120 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 949. Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM vol. 2, p. 332. No such piece of Damse was recorded, for which he received PLN 24 (Protocol from the Nowy Teatr Rozmaitości, 11 September 1833, f. 6v., ms. in the Jagiellonian Library).

121 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 970–972.

the roof of the Teatr Wielki due to bad weather. The entire park around the amphitheatre used to be illuminated in the evening together with the “Łazienki Palace, the canal’s waterfront, the Sobieski Bridge, the cascade, the guard house and the groves”. The “delightful scenes of *Sylfida*” presented there were especially praised, when “the orchestras on the terrace and illuminated boats performed”, and “after the theatre play ended [...], military orchestras placed at various points performed excerpts from operas and ball dance music, and the voice of the choir could be heard in intermezzos”.¹²² The ballet *Mimili, czyli Styryjczykowie* delighted everyone, “which looked even more decorated due to the place of its performance [...], with the artists in boats sailing along the canal [...] [and] singers sitting in the first boat were performing appropriate songs to the accompaniment of guitars”.¹²³

The day the heir to the throne - the Grand Duke Alexander Nikolayevich - was announced was very festive, especially since it was combined with the empress’s name-day (4 May 1834). On that day, the dedication of the Alexandrian citadel took place, and from then on, on holidays, its 101 cannons were fired during every *Te Deum* chanted in the morning at St. John’s and St. Trinity churches. It was during the consecration of its walls that senior government officials and a deputy of Warsaw citizens congratulated Viceroy on the occasion of “becoming adult” and the heir to the throne. Later, “[...] Viceroy [...] gave a great dinner in the castle rooms [...]”. The music in the salons and on the terrace perfectly performed the compositions of today’s most favoured composers [...].¹²⁴ “[...] In a dozen or so squares of the capital, they were still playing music until late, and the people danced and had fun [...]”,¹²⁵ and “on all the streets the music was played from evening until midnight” on positive organ.¹²⁶ In the Saski Garden, accompanied by music,

122 *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 184, p. 881.

123 *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 242, p. 1153.

124 *Kurier Warszawski* 1834, no. 121, p. 661.

125 *Dziennik Powszechny* 1834, no. 123, p. 641.

126 *Dziennik Powszechny* 1834, no. 119, p. 621.

a sports show of “fast runner” Hieronim Pawłowski was held. In addition, two balloons were released. “[...] The failure of the physicist of the first balloon which resulted in its catching fire entertained a merry audience”.¹²⁷ The Warsaw synagogue supervision,

[...] a few days before this ceremony issued [...] a notification, notifying that on Saturday (on the eve of the ceremony) a prayer for the king’s welfare should be sung in every synagogue: *Hanoten Theszua*, and on the day of the ceremony, after the morning service, psalms 21, 45 and 72. These psalms were sung in all synagogues in Warsaw, and in the synagogue on Danielewiczowska Street the service was held with harmonious music [...].¹²⁸

Moreover, the local Jewish community

[...] had the honor of presenting to His Excellency Viceroy [...] imprinted on the white satin in the shape of Moses tablets, a Hebrew poem of the Abraham Sztern,¹²⁹ next to the Polish text, translated by Jan Glücksberg¹³⁰ [...] *The Expression of Joy Due to the Birthday and Turning 16 Years Old of His Majesty [...] Alexander Nikolayevich*¹³¹ [...].

[...] in the spacious courtyard of Posner’s house¹³² [...] the same Synagogue Supervision gave a dinner for the poor. Three hundred poor people were notified, while dinner was prepared for 500, and that number came. During the feast, music was played from two porches on the 1st floor [...].¹³³

Free performances were given in the Wielki and Mały Theatres: in the first of them, the comedy *Mieszczanin szlachcicem* and the ballet *Wesele w Ojcowie*, and in the second, the comedy *Nauka mężom, czyli Żona zazdrosna* and the comedy opera *Przez sen*.

127 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1834, no. 121, p. 1211; no. 139, p. 1403.

128 *Gazeta Codzienna* 1834, no. 826, p. 1.

129 Abraham Sztern - member of the Society of the Friends of Sciences, then rector of the Warsaw Rabbinical School.

130 Jan Glücksberg - Warsaw bookseller.

131 Salomon Marcus Posner, then a member of the Synagogue Supervision.

132 *Gazeta Codzienna* 1834, no. 825, p. 2.

133 *Gazeta Codzienna* 1834, no. 826, p. 1.

[...] ¹³⁴ Due to the free admission, the theatres were filled with audiences. The performance in the great theatre ended in a delicious way showing a temple of glory decorated with numbers of Their Majestys' Birthday. The opera artists sang *God save the Emperor*, and the orchestras repeated the song in the squares. ¹³⁵

[At dusk], [...] all the houses shone with light [...], in many houses there were appropriate slides, and the town hall was decorated with columns of colored lamps and the monarch's figures. Above all, the view of the square in front of the Bank was delicious, because the whole dome and the bank building, the palace of the Treasury, the Zamojski palace and the apartment of the princes Zajączkowa shone with tens of thousands of lamps, and on the house of the former Kossecki family there was a huge slide showing a magnificent colonnade with imperial emblems. The ball in bank halls given by the citizens of the Mazowiecki region and the city of Warsaw was one of the most splendid; there were over 2,000 people. The beautiful and spacious rotunda was decorated with a rare taste [...]; The candlestick suspended under the dome [...] carried 500 sparkling candles, and in the same room 3500 candles were lit [...]. At the entrance of the Principality, there was a Polish dance performed by 130 artists with the singing and all instruments of Kapellmeister Karol Kurpiński's compositions, to which Ludwik Osiński [...] composed poetry [...]. The supper was given in the adjoining salons of the Treasury Palace [...]. When His Majesty Prince Warszawski performed [a toast] to the health of His Excellency [...], a cantata performed in a great theatre was repeated [...]. After supper, when the entire assembly returned to the rotunda, the artists sang *Slava! Fame!* in the Russian language [...]. The architecture of all the halls where this great ball was held, was designed by the builder Gay; ¹³⁶ carpentry by brothers Jan and

134 The musicians of the orchestra of the Rozmaitości Theatre received 73 zlotys for their performance, "Protokoł z Nowego Teatru Rozmaitości...", f. 17r., ms. in the Jagiellonian Library.

135 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1834, no. 121, p. 1212; *ibidem*, Year 3, Warszawa 1848, pp. 41, 43.

136 Jakub Gay was one of the most famous Warsaw architects, a member of the Royal Institute of Architecture in London and the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Saint Petersburg. He built, among other things, the building of the Bank of Poland at Bank Square in Warsaw and the obelisk in honour of Tsar Alexander I in the Warsaw Citadel. He is mentioned in the Warsaw calendars as a builder having "the right to practice in Warsaw and the entire Kingdom", *Kalendarzyk Informacyjno-Kieszonkowy Na Rok 1848. Przez Antoniego Rousseau*, Year 2, Warszawa 1847, p. 17; Year 3, Warszawa 1848, p. 17.

Frydryk Hejnrich, and upholstery by Mr Nejgebaur¹³⁷ [...]. Women mostly wore satin and crepe white dresses at the ball, Bavette style, without decoration, mostly distinguished one was a pale blue à la Sevini; head ornaments composed of headbands, small roses or ears of corn [...].¹³⁸

The city authorities had previously ordered

[...] when arriving with the horse carriages with people invited to the ball, the following should be done: [...] all vehicles should go along Senatorska Street around the Town Hall, along Bielańska Street, Długa Street, around the Arsenal Street on the left, along Przejazd Street and Rymarska Street to the Bank. The carriages from which the people at the Bank get off, go straight from the Bank along Przechodnia street and get ready on Za Żelazną Bramą Square, and when there is no space there, they should stand on Grzybowski Square. Carriages waiting for Gentlemen going home from the ball, from Za Żelazną Bramą Square and Grzybowski Square, are to arrive along Zimna and Elektoralna Streets in front of the Bank.¹³⁹

At the ball, the orchestra also performed many other dances - apart from the aforementioned polonaise - which were soon published by Warsaw publishers of notes in a piano arrangement. Among them were *Favorite Mazurka* composed by A.W., the aforementioned *Polonaise* by Kurpiński, a *Waltz* dedicated to Miss D. Janasz, the *New Cotillion in 6 Parts*, and the *Viennese Waltz* by Edward Wolff.¹⁴⁰

In total, by 1850, more than 130 free theatre performances took place on festive days. The cantata, which ended more often than began a free performance, is mentioned over 110 times. However, the editors did not quite distinguish between the “classic”, occasional cantata, from the anthem of the Russian Empire introduced after 1833 with the music of Lvov. In one of the accounts, it is stated explicitly that at the end of the performance, the “can-

137 Heinrich is registered among carpenters and Nejgebauer among upholsterers in: *Kalendarzyk Informacyjno-Kieszonkowy na rok 1848. Przez Antoniego Rousseau*, Year 2, Warszawa 1847, pp. 41, 43.

138 *Kurier Warszawski* 1834, no. 120, p. 655.

139 *Kurier Warszawski* 1834, no. 118, p. 641 ; 1847, no. 185, p. 891.

140 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 1742, 1786–1787, 1807, 1846, 1849, 1858.

tata *God protect the emperor [...]*” was sung, that is, the anthem of Lvov.¹⁴¹ The program of occasional performances consisted of plays of great popularity in previous years: mainly comedies, comedy-operas, slapstick and ballets, or ballet dances. The opera (or part of it) and the melodrama appeared relatively rarely, and the drama was staged only once. In total, during these performances, over 250 presentations of various works were given (some titles appeared many times): ballets - no less than 79 (including *Fletrowers zaczarowany, czyli Tancerz mimo woli* [*The Magic Traverso, or involuntary dancer*] 26 times and *Dwa posągi* [*The Two Statues*] 15 times), comedy - no less than 75 (including *Kto wie na co się to przyda* [*Who knows how useful it is*] seven times and *Przez sen* [*In a dream*] six times), and no less than 66 (including *To byłam ja* [*It was me*] nine times).

Contrary to the period before the Uprising, the decorations and effects accompanying the occasional cantatas were scarcely described. They were performed mainly before the “shining birthday number” and “applauded”. At the end of the 1840s, more and more space was devoted to the description of decorative banners on government buildings. This type of decoration, called “optical view”, appeared for the first time on the front of the palace of the Government Commission for Internal and Religious Affairs, “composed of the most colourful coloured glass” and decorated with “a number and a royal crown, the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland and the coats of arms of its five provinces [...]”. It was, as stated in the note, “a work of taste and exquisite grandeur”.¹⁴² Two years later, on the building of the Government Commission of Justice, it was noted that the front “houses the letters needed for the ceremony, presented in flowers in the most vivid colours. Above the letters there is an oak crown, and below the letters, the coat of arms of the Kingdom. On the sides of the pedestals are the emblems of Justice and Wisdom. Everything is presented in the newest Gothic style [...]”.¹⁴³

141 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 179, p. 874.

142 *Kurier Warszawski* 1847, no. 185, p. 891.

143 *Kurier Warszawski* 1840, no. 320, p. 1697.

The author of these decorations was Jakub Pik, who held the title of honorary optician and mechanic of Warsaw.¹⁴⁴

Karol Kurpiński, as the composer of the “appropriate” cantata, is mentioned 17 times in the reports from festive performances. Neither of them survived. Twelve of them were found to be new pieces, and the remaining five were probably repetitions of earlier performances:¹⁴⁵

1. Cantata for the name-day of Nicholas I (18 December 1836), to the text by Dmuszewski. *Wielka Nowa*, sung and played by “130 opera, orchestra and choir artists” after the comedy *Burmistrz oberżysta* and the ballet *Myśliwi*.¹⁴⁶
2. Cantata for the birthday of Nicholas I (7 July 1837), to the text by Dmuszewski. “Performed by all opera artists” after the comedy opera *Pan domu* [*Man of the House*] and the comedy *Śługa dwóch panów* [*Servant of two masters*].¹⁴⁷
3. Cantata for the birthday of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (13 July 1837), to the text by Dmuszewski. “Composed for this day [...], a particularly delightful song”, performed after the farce *Przez sen* [*In a dream*] and the comedy opera *Dwóch guwernerów, czyli Asinum asinus fricat* [*The two Tutors, or Asinum asinus fricat*].¹⁴⁸

144 At that time, he had a workshop at 493 Miodowa St. He owned, among other things, “Magneto-electric earpieces to strengthen blunted hearing and relieve chronic headache, and amulets, i.e., electrical extractors for rheumatic and nervous weaknesses, privileged new English invention [...]”, *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 179, p. 880.

145 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 1246; *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, pp. 441–442, 473.

146 In addition, two cantatas with Kurpiński’s music and Dmuszewski’s poetry were performed during occasional festive performances, i.e., outside the basic set of these holidays that we are interested in. The first of them is a cantata performed on 26 July 1839 (Dmuszewski’s poetry, “Bóg co dobrem ludzi darzy”) in the Łazienki amphitheatre on the occasion of the wedding of the great princess Maria Nikolayevna with the duke of Leuchtenberg Maximilian, *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5593; the second was performed on 9 May 1841 (Dmuszewski’s poetry, “new, appropriate for the ceremony”) at the Grand Theatre on the occasion of the wedding of the Emperor, heir to the throne, Alexander Nikolayevich, with the great princess Maria Alexandrovna, *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, vol. 5, p. 239; *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, pp. 455–456, 474; *Gazeta Codzienna* 1841, no. 125, p. 4; *Gazeta Warszawska* 1841, no. 125, p. 1; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 124, pp. 589–590.

147 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 2187; *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, pp. 443, 473.

148 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 2215; *Karol Kurpiński. Kronika*, pp. 443–444, 473.

4. Cantata for the name-day of Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich (11 September 1837). “Written for this ceremony” by Dmuszewski (*Synu pierworodny Pana [Oh the Lord’s firstborn Son]*), to which “Kapellmeister Kurpiński composed new music with exemplary talent”, performed after the comedy operas *Siedem dziewcząt pod bronią [Seven maidens in arms]* and *Schadzka, czyli Pasztet z węgorza [The Rendezvous, or the eel pâté]*.¹⁴⁹
5. Cantata for the 12th anniversary of the enthronement of Nicholas I (2 December 1837), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. “Performed by all opera artists” after the melodrama *Marnotrawcy [The spentrifts]*.¹⁵⁰
6. Cantata for the birthday of Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich (29 April 1838), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. “Performed by all opera artists” after the comedy *Głuchy, czyli Pełna oberża [The deaf man, or the inn]* and the comedy opera *Obiadek z Magdusią [Dinner with Magdusia]*.¹⁵¹
7. Cantata for the name-day of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (3 May 1838), the author of the text was not specified. Performed by “double choirs and orchestras” after the comedy *Bracia niezgodni*.¹⁵²
8. Cantata for the birthday of Nicholas I (7 July 1838), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. Performed in the Łazienki amphitheatre after the comedy opera *Antoni i Antosia* and the ballet *Młynarze [The Millers]*.¹⁵³
9. Cantata for the name-day of Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich (11 September 1838), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. Performed after the comedies *Ubogi poeta [A poor poet]* and *Doktor z musu [An involuntary doctor]*.¹⁵⁴

149 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 2410; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 444, 473.

150 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 2844; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 444–445, 473–473 (opening night date is approximate).

151 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 3711; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 446, 474; (opening night date is approximate).

152 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 3724. Przybylski does not mention this Cantata; it can be assumed that it was the same Cantata that was performed on 13 July of the previous year.

153 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 3919; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 448, 474.

154 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 4164. Przybylski does not mention this Cantata; it can be assumed that it was the same Cantata that was performed on 11 September of the previous year.

10. Cantata for the name-day of Nicholas I (18 December 1838), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. The cantata was “appropriate to celebration” and performed after the melodrama *Król duchów alpejskich* [*King of Alpine ghosts*] and ballet dances.¹⁵⁵
11. Cantata for the birthday of Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich (29 April 1839), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. It was an “appropriate” cantata, performed after the comedy *Okno zamurowane* [*A bricked up window*] and *Gulnara niewolnica perska* [*Gulnara, the Persian slave*].¹⁵⁶
12. Cantata for the name-day of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (3 May 1839), the author of the text was not specified. “With a joyful message, [the cantata was] performed by 2 choirs composed of opera artists and 2 orchestras” after the comedy *Gluchy, czyli Pełna oberża* and the ballet *Fletrowers zaczarowany, czyli Tancerz mimo woli*.¹⁵⁷
13. Cantata for the birthday of Nicholas I (7 July 1839), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. “Performed (solo) by Her Majesty Maria Turowska, and choirs composed of all opera artists” after the comedy *Nauka mężom, czyli Żona zazdrosna* and the ballet *Młynarze*.¹⁵⁸
14. Cantata for the birthday of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (13 July 1839), the author of the text was not mentioned. The cantata *O radości* was performed in the Łazienki amphitheatre after the overture from M. Glinka’s opera *Żyźń za caria*, the comedy *To byłam ja*, and the ballet *Dwa posągi*.¹⁵⁹
15. Cantata for the name-day of Emperor Alexander Nikolayevich (11 September 1839), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski (*Synu pierworodny*

155 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 4649; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 448, 474.

156 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5315; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 449, 474.

157 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5331. Przybylski does not mention this Cantata; it can be assumed that it was the same Cantata that was performed in previous years.

158 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5547. Przybylski does not mention this Cantata; it can be assumed that it was the same Cantata that was performed in previous years.

159 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5557; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 449, 474; (wrong place of the performance).

Pana). The cantata was performed after the drama *Prawo angielskie* and the ballet *Fletrowers zaczyrowany, czyli Tancerz mimo woli*.¹⁶⁰

16. Cantata on the anniversary of the enthronement of Nicholas I (2 December 1839), the author of the text was not mentioned. It was performed “under the direction of Kurpiński” after the comedy *Sluga dwóch panów* and the ballet *Dwa posągi*.¹⁶¹
17. Cantata for the name-day of Nicholas I (18 December 1839), to the lyrics by Dmuszewski. Performed after the comedy *Ton modny pod schodami* and the ballet *Fletrowers zaczyrowany, czyli Tancerz mimo woli*.¹⁶²

In those years, among the Warsaw musicians, the bandmaster of the Main Staff of the Active Army Aleksander Pohlens distinguished himself as a composer and conductor. He was appreciated by Elsner and Kurpiński, especially for the way he intelligently included military choristers “to perform great compositions”.¹⁶³ One gets the impression that with time, he might have replaced Kurpiński in the role of the court bandmaster. Already “at the ball in the Łazienki Palace on the occasion of the birthday of Nicholas I on 7 July 1834”, his new Mazurka attracted attention,¹⁶⁴ and his *Polonaise with the Song “God Save the Emperor”* composed for an orchestra with choirs, opened a ball the following year. His Polish dances were successful too during the balls in 1839 and 1842–1843,¹⁶⁵ while his other dances dominated the repertoire of the New Year’s party in 1849, to a “general satisfaction”.¹⁶⁶ The orchestra, conducted by

160 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 5739. It is the same Cantata which was performed on 11 September 1837. Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, p. 450.

161 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 6084; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, pp. 451, 474.

162 *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 6191; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, p. 474.

163 *Ruch Muzyczny* 1859, no. 3, p. 24; L.T. Błaszczuk, *Dyrygenci polscy i obcy w Polsce działający w XIX i XX wieku*, Kraków 1964, p. 225.

164 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 1804.

165 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 1926, 2735, 2854; *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 4816; *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 21, p. 93; S. Burhardt, *Polonez. Katalog...*, vol. 3, Krakow 1985, ref. 936–937.

166 These were, among others, *Kontredanse* from the favourite ballet *Paquita*; *Kontredanse* from various opera themes; New Year’s polka and two Mazurkas. *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 13, p. 57; *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 3563.

Pohlens, also played at balls not only on festive days in the Warsaw Castle¹⁶⁷ and gave a kind of “New Year congratulations” concert to the Viceroy of the Kingdom “at Zygmuntowski Square in front of the Castle”, performing appropriate military marches, including the fashionable *Marche triomphale d’Isly* op. 30 by Leopold de Meyer¹⁶⁸ and new marches by the conductor. In the latter case, the orchestra, “consisting of five choirs, regimental musicians with drummers, signalist, etc. [...] consisted of 600 people”.¹⁶⁹

In the calendars of the Russian Empire, court and religious holidays and victory days “free from public employment” were designated, and on some of these days, students were also free from schools. *Te Deum* was sung in churches at that time, along with the prayers on the days dedicated to the emperor and victories.¹⁷⁰ After the Uprising, the celebration of the gala days celebrated in Warsaw by students changed significantly after the education began again in government schools in 1833.¹⁷¹ At the end of 1834, “choir teachers at gymnasiums and district schools [...]”¹⁷² were introduced. It was then allowed that students “on Thursdays after lunch, who wished it”,¹⁷³ could learn “church singing from the score”.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, there was a designated (at the end of the school year) “a day

167 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 1806, 2056, 2387, 2648.

168 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 14, p. 66.

169 *Kurier Warszawski* 1850, no. 13, p. 69.

170 *Kalendarz Astronomiczno-Gospodarski Ułożony Podług Stylu Juliuszowego na Rok Pański MDCCCVIII [...]*, Berdyczów 1807, pp. 15–16; *Kalendarz Gospodarski na Rok Pański MDCCCXXII Ułożony Podług Starego Stylu [...]*, Berdyczów 1821, p. 17.

171 J. Schiller, *Warszawskie rządowe szkoły średnie w latach 1795–1862*, in: *Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty*, vol. 36, Warszawa 1994, p. 79; *Korrespondent Warszawski* 1833, no. 209, p. 876; *Kurier Warszawski* 1833, no. 206, p. 1100.

172 *Pamiętnik Muzyczny Warszawski* 1836, no. 5, p. 79.

173 “Wyciąg z najwyższej w r. 1833 zatwierdzonej ustawy dla gimnazyów, szkół obwodowych i elementarnych czyli parafialnych w Królestwie Polskiem”, in: *Zbiór przepisów ad-ministracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Oświecenia*, vol. 3, p. 137.

174 Wyciąg z najwyższej w r. 1840 zatwierdzonej ustawy dla gimnazyów, szkół obwodowych i elementarnych czyli parafialnych w Królestwie Polskiem”, in: *Zbiór przepisów ad-ministracyjnych Królestwa Polskiego. Wydział Oświecenia*, vol. 3, p. 245.

for a celebration, to which guests, especially parents of students and local authorities, were invited”,¹⁷⁵ and from then on, students sang during services related to it. Schools positively assessed this change because – in their opinion – it added “a proper sublimity to the school service”. Participation in the services of gala days was obligatory for students. The list could be found, for example, in the Warsaw Pocket Calendar for the Year 1835,¹⁷⁶ where eight days were distinguished out of 29 on which students should celebrate in a special way. From that time on, it happened more and more often that students of various Warsaw schools on the same festive day, at the same time, sang polyphonic religious pieces in several different churches and in the school synagogue of the Rabbinical School.

Initially, education was resumed in two gymnasium schools in Warsaw and in four district schools. Such as:

- District Gymnasium (former Warsaw Liceum), in the Kazimierz Palace; Józef Stefani¹⁷⁷ continued teaching music and singing there; students celebrated their gala days in the nearby Visitandines Church or in their own chapel.
- Second Gymnasium school (former Provincial School of the Piarists), at Leszno St., after 1842 at Nowolipki St.; teaching singing was entrusted to Józef Piltz,¹⁷⁸ and when the school

175 “The celebration at the end of the year of study at the Warsaw Junior High School in Leszno Street will take place on 30 July 1835 [...] in a room of the Działyński Palace, to which [...] Tomasz Dziekoński, the director of the school, invites”, Warsaw 1835, p. 4.

176 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny na rok 1838 wydawany [...] przez Fr. Radziszewskiego [...]*, p. 135; and in subsequent issues of *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1839, p. 136; 1840, p. 138; 1841, p. 146; 1842, p. 128; 1843, p. 195; 1844, p. 290; 1845, p. 282; 1846, p. 281; 1847, p. 282; 1848, p. 280; 1849, p. 280; *Rocznik Urzędowy obejmujący spis naczelnych władz Cesarstwa oraz wszystkich władz i urzędników Królestwa Polskiego na rok 1850*, p. 505. *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM* vol. 10, Kraków 2007, p. 90. Stefani later also became a teacher at the Warsaw Gymnasium and as such, he is listed there for the first time in 1851, *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1851, p. 561.

177 Warsaw, printing workshop of A. Gałęzowski i Spółka, unnumbered p. 6.

178 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1837, p. 143; 1838, p. 135; 1839, p. 136; 1840, p. 138; 1841, p. 147 (Józef Piltz previously taught music at the Piarists’ Konwikt Warszawski as “a meter used for private lessons”. “Popis Publiczny Uczniów Konwiktu Warszawskiego xx. Pijarów na Żoliborzu [...]”, Warsaw 1828, unnumbered p. 5; 1829, unnumbered p. 5; R. Mączyński, *Muzyka i teatr...*, pp. 205–206.

moved to Nowolipki St., to Emilian Schwarzbach;¹⁷⁹ in 1848 it was transformed into an élite Nobles' Institute; the students celebrated their gala days in the nearby Carmelites Church or in their own chapel.

- district school at Długa St. (the former Piarist Provincial School); later at Freta St. as a district school; E. Schwarzbach¹⁸⁰ was the choir teacher there, and later, Adam Ostrowski;¹⁸¹ in 1843, after the school was moved to Gęsia St.,¹⁸² singing was taught by Konstanty Striebel,¹⁸³ and later, Walenty Striebel;¹⁸⁴ students gathered at gala services in the churches of St. Spirit (formerly of Pauline Fathers), and later the Franciscans and Dominicans.
- district school in Muranów; Church singing was initially taught (Faculty School) by Wojciech Migatulski,¹⁸⁵ then by E. Schwarzbach,¹⁸⁶ and K. Striebel;¹⁸⁷ the students celebrated their gala days in the Church of the Brothers Hospitallers.
- district school at Królewska St.; in 1838–1841, Tomasz Skapczyński¹⁸⁸ was a choir teacher there, and in 1842–1843, it was

179 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1842, p. 129; 1843, p. 197; 1844, p. 292; 1845, p. 284; 1846, p. 282; 1847, p. 283; 1848, p. 281.

180 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1838, p.135; 1839, p.137; 1840, p. 139; 1841, p. 148.

181 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1842, p. 130; 1843, p. 198.

182 *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 235, p. 1121.

183 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1844, p. 293; 1845, p. 284; *Kurier Warszawski* 1846, no. 241, p. 1149; 1847, no 115, p. 541.

184 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1848, p. 281; 1849, p. 281; *Rocznik Urzędowy...* 1850, p. 509 (transcription of the surname: Sztrybel).

185 “For a performance by students of the Faculty School in Muranów, which is to be held on 24 and 25 July, the Honorable Audience on the behalf of the Institute is invited by Rector Leopold Sumiński”, Warszawa 1832, p. 5; *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 2043–2045; *Kronika życia muzycznego...*, ref. 114, 334.

186 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1838, p. 136; 1839, p. 137; 1840, p. 139; 1841, p. 147. *Pamiętnik Muzyczny Warszawski* 1836, no. 5, p. 80. *Skorowidz mieszkańców miasta Warszawy [...]. Rok pierwszy*. Warszawa 1854, p. 331. Perhaps he is Emil Schwarzbach (*Bibliografia warszawskich...*, p. 388), and not Antoni Schwarzbach, choir teacher in 1835–1838 at a regional gymnasium in Łomża. W. Tomaszewski, *Między salonem a jarmarkiem. Życie muzyczne na prowincji Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815–1862*, Warszawa 2002, p. 407.

187 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1842, p. 129; 1843, p. 197.

188 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1838, p. 136; 1839, p. 137; 1840, p. 139; 1841, pp. 147–148; 1845, p. 285.

probably Julian Wajnert,¹⁸⁹ and then, also in 1845, when it was re-named the real district school, Adam Ostrowski,¹⁹⁰ who was later replaced by Karol de Carmantrant;¹⁹¹ at first, the students celebrated the gala days with the students of the Provincial Gymnasium in the Visitandines Church, and later in their own chapel.¹⁹²

- district school at Nowy Świat St.;¹⁹³ Tomasz Skapczyński¹⁹⁴ was the choir teacher there; students celebrated the gala days in the church of St Alexander.

The result of subsequent organisational changes was the establishment of the third Warsaw Lyceum (in the King John II Casimir Palace)¹⁹⁵ after 1840, where Tomasz Nidecki¹⁹⁶ became the music teacher. Initially, students of this school celebrated festive days in the nearby Carmelites Church, and then in the Visitandines Church, sometimes together with students of the Provincial Gymnasium.

The Government Institute of Governesses and the associated Pensja Wzorowa [Female Academy] resumed their activity at the end of 1831. At that time, an annual exam was held, culminating in

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- 189 In political calendars, only the name and surname of the teacher were given, but the subject he taught was not mentioned. I determined the teachers of church music and choir in the schools in question on the basis of other sources. The music teacher was usually the person listed last in the list of teachers of a given school and the name of Julian Wajnert was given there, *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1842, p. 130; 1843, p. 198.
- 190 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1844, p. 293; 1845, p. 284.
- 191 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 335, p. 1755. Karol de Carmantrant had previously been a choir teacher at a gymnasium in Sejny and Suwałki. W. Tomaszewski, *Kronika życia muzycznego na prowincji Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815–1862*, Warszawa 2007, ref. 619, 628; *Między salonem a jarmarkiem...*, p. 405. He also taught music at the German District School in Warsaw (German–Russian), (*Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1844, p. 292; 1845, p. 285) before it was moved to Łódź (*Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1846, p. 285).
- 192 *Kurier Warszawski* 1840, no. 22, p. 1533.
- 193 J. Schiller, *Warszawskie rządowe szkoły średnie...* op. cit., unnumbered p. 79nn.
- 194 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1838, p. 136; 1839, p. 137; 1840, p. 139; 1841, pp. 147–148; 1845, p. 285; *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 233, p. 1113; 1844, no. 236, p. 1121; 1845, no. 113, p. 541; 1846, no. 117, p. 557; 1847, no. 115, p. 541.
- 195 “On 31 July 1834, the director S. B. de Linde invites to the celebration of the Provincial Warsaw Gymnasium at the Kazimierz Palace”, Warsaw 1834; *ibidem*, Warsaw 1835.
- 196 *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1844, p. 289; 1845, p. 280; 1846, p. 279; 1847, p. 280; 1848, p. 278; 1849, p. 278; *Rocznik Urzędowy...* 1850, p. 499.

a “musical rehearsal, during which the students [...], accompanied by instruments, performed some great pieces on the piano composed by fine masters [...]”¹⁹⁷. The name-day of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna (in July 1835) was celebrated with the “nomination of Her Excellency and the first trial of the institute dress” by the students.¹⁹⁸ Holidays associated with the Empress, as the patron of the Institute, were also celebrated regularly in the following years, including on 13 July 1839, when the students sang in the school chapel “a new Mass by Józ[ef] Krogulski for 3 voices [...]”.¹⁹⁹ In 1838–1843, 11 teachers taught music at this school, including Ignacy F. Dobrzyński, J. Elsner, Ludwik Nidecki, Józef Nowakowski, Jan N. Sandmann, Edward Stolpe, and Antoni Teichmann, and Maurycy Pion, and then Konstancja Turczynowicz, taught dance.²⁰⁰

Among the government schools for young men, the Faculty School in Muranów resumed education. In July 1832, there was a “show” which ended with singing *Te Deum* in the adjacent Brothers Hospitallers Church.²⁰¹ In 1835, “choir lessons were resumed” in the Warsaw Gymnasium in Leszno St.²⁰² Such classes were also undertaken by the Provincial Warsaw Gymnasium. Its final year celebration was held together with students of four Warsaw district schools in the Kazimierz Palace in “the former academic meeting room”. It concluded with the singing of *Te Deum* and “singing for the longest and happiest reign of the brightest emperor and king” in the nearby Visitandines Church.²⁰³ In 1837, the celebration was

197 *Kronika życia muzycznego...* ref. 7.

198 *Kurier Warszawski* 1835, no. 184, p. 961.

199 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, vol. 2, ref. 5325, 5559, 6705.

200 *Kurier Warszawski* 1840, no. 322, p. 1533.

On 15/27 August 1843, the institute was officially opened in Puławy, where it was then transferred. *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 234, p. 1117.

201 “For a performance by students of the Faculty School in Muranów, which is to be held on 24 and 25 July...”, p. 7.

202 “The celebration at the end of the year of study at the Warsaw Junior High School in Leszno Street will take place on 30 July 1835...”, p. 4.

203 You are invited to the ceremony of Warsaw Governorate Gymnasium to be held on 31 July 1834 at the Casimir Palace by headmaster S. B. de Linde [...], Warszawa 1834; *ibidem* 1835.

completed in the same church with “[...] *Mass* with the accompaniment of wind music by J. Stefani, *Te Deum* of his composition and the hymn *God Save the Emperor*”.²⁰⁴ In 1842, three gymnasiums (Provincial, Second and Real) and four district schools in Warsaw participated in the celebration.²⁰⁵ Later (1847) in all the gymnasium schools and district schools, and in the hall of the Kazimierz Palace, after occasional speeches, the hymn *God, Protect the Emperor* “[...] was sung by students gathered in the gallery, under the guidance of a choir teacher, Mr Stefani, with the accompaniment of the organ [...]”. After the celebration was completed, the entire congregation passed to the church of St Cross, where the parish priest of St Alexander intoned the hymn of St Ambrose, “[...] which the students sang...”.²⁰⁶

Józef Stefani, then a choir teacher at the Warsaw Governorate Gymnasium, made a special compositional contribution to the repertoire of the student celebrations of the gala days. The composer informed the *Kurier Warszawski* in January 1840 that

To make it easier for choir teachers at provincial gymnasiums and district schools to acquire *Religious Songs* with music of my compositions performed on ceremonial and gala days by students of the Warsaw Governorate Gymnasium in the Visitandines Church, I had the idea of issuing a subscription. *Religious Songs* consists of: 1) *Mass* for 3 voices; 2) *Mass* for 4 voices (including *Benedictus* for bass solo with 4 voices); 3) *Mass* for 4 voices (*Benedictus* for 4 voices obligato accompanied by choir); 4) *Hymns* for Corpus Christi (4 voices); 5) Songs for Christmas (3 voices); 6) *Te Deum* laudamus (for 4 voices); 7) the hymn by Lvov, *God Protect the Emperor* (for 4 voices with Polish and Russian texts). All these chants are arranged with the accompaniment of organ; old edition. Subscription can be made at Mr. Sennewald’s music print workshop [...]; ex-copy price PLN 10 [...].

204 *Kurier Warszawski* 1837, no. 201, p. 982.

205 *Kurier Warszawski* 1842, no. 168, p. 805.

206 *Kurier Warszawski* 1847, no. 171, p. 823.

After six months, “they were printed at the workshop of G. Sennewald” and, with time, gained popularity throughout the Kingdom.²⁰⁷

Choir lessons at the Rabbinical School were introduced in 1839 by its director, Antoni Eisenbaum, who made “[...] the students sing on gala days appropriate songs in the national language with a harmonious voice and prepare to sing prayers in Hebrew according to the psalm by [Solomon] Sultzer, cantor of the Vienna synagogue [...]”.²⁰⁸ The gala days were regularly celebrated there under the guidance of a choir teacher, Jan J. Gukkel.²⁰⁹ Already in 1840, students sang in the school synagogue “psalms” and the cantata *God Protect the Emperor* in Polish and Russian, and the *Alleluia* composed for four voices²¹⁰ by the same teacher, and, in the following year, *Te Deum* by J. Elsner.²¹¹ In 1843 “the rabbinical school brought a new choir teacher, Mr. Sternberger from Vienna”.²¹² From then on, under his guidance, students sang during holidays.²¹³ Among the compositions that were performed at that time, attention was drawn to the repeated performance of Psalm 21 *Panie mocą Twoją*

- 207 *Kurier Warszawski* 1840, no. 30, p. 142; no. 190, p. 917. *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 2526; *Między salonem a jarmarkiem...*, p. 368. This publication has not survived, nor is it listed in Stefani’s biography in *Encyklopedia Muzyki Polskiej PWM*.
- 208 *Gazeta Warszawska* 1841, no. 184, p. 1; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 184, p. 881.
- 209 *Z dziejów gminy starozakonnych w Warszawie w XIX stuleciu*, vol. 1. *Szkolnictwo*, Warszawa 1907, pp. 82–83; J. Schiller, *Warszawskie rządowe szkoły średnie...* op. cit., pp. 63–67; E. Kula, “Warszawska szkoła rabinów w protokołach posiedzeń Rady Wychowania Publicznego w latach 1845–1850”, in: *Szkolnictwo, opieka i wychowanie w Królestwie Polskim od jego ustanowienia do odzyskania przez Polskę niepodległości 1815–1918*, Warszawa 2016, p. 151. Although Gukel (under the surname Hukel) was first mentioned in the staff of the Rabbinical School in 1846 (*Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1846, p. 280), he taught there much earlier (*Kurier Warszawski* 1840, no. 183, p. 885; 1841, no. 235, p. 1117; *Kalendarzyk Polityczny...* 1847, p. 281; 1848, p. 279; 1849, p. 278; *Rocznik Urzędowy...* 1850, p. 503).
- 210 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 6989, 7147, 7175, 7628.
- 211 *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 115, p. 541; no. 119, p. 561; no. 124, p. 589; no. 178, p. 853.
- 212 *Kurier Warszawski* 184, no. 177, p. 850. He is not mentioned as a teacher by subsequent issues of *Kalendarzyk Polityczny*.
- 213 E.g., *Kurier Warszawski* 1845, o. 337, p. 1617; 184, no. 113, p. 537; 184, no. 324, p. 1541; 184, no. 178, p. 869.

rozraduje się król, a composition by Ignacy F. Dobrzyński.²¹⁴ During “appropriate” services, the students of the Rabbinical School also sang in the second synagogue – the German synagogue at Daniłowiczowska St. – including *Hallelujah* – joyful praise of God – and *Hanoten teszua lamelachim* – prayer for the ruler. With time, not only the students of the Rabbinical School gathered there, but also the students of “Jewish elementary schools” and then “the entire choir” sang the Lvov’s anthem.²¹⁵

In the Nobles’ Institute, established in 1848, choir lessons were taught as private lessons “for an agreed fee”.²¹⁶ In the first years of its existence, Józef Wszebor²¹⁷ became the choir teacher, and holidays were celebrated by the students in their own chapel, the consecration of which took place on the opening of the school at Nowolipki St. (in the building of the former gymnasium).²¹⁸

A common feature of gala day services at which students were present was their performance of a specific set of songs. Selected students who “possess musical talent” used to perform the songs. These were usually pieces arranged for a male choir with organ accompaniment or, less frequently, other instruments: 3–4-voice Masses, the hymn *Te Deum*, and the Russian Empire hymn *Bozhe Tzarya Khrani!* [*God Protect the Emperor*] performed in Russian to the words of Vasily Andreevich Zhukovsky with music by Alexei Fedorovich Lvov. The choir teachers of the given school used to conduct. This repertoire was dominated by Masses by four Warsaw composers: Józef Stefani, Józef Elsner, Karol Kurpiński, and Tomasz N. Nidecki. The students of the Rabbinical School, apart from the Lvov’s hymn, most often sang the thanksgiving *Hallelujah* and Psalm 21.

214 *Kurier Warszawski* 1845, no. 113, p. 541; 1846, no. 195, p. 929; 1847, no. 119, p. 571. The composition is not registered in the composer’s biography, *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, vol. 2, pp. 424–425.

215 *Kurier Warszawski* 1844, no. 243, p. 1157; 1845, no. 241, p. 1165; 1846, no. 195, p. 929; 1848, no. 242, p. 1173; 1849, no. 117, p. 561; 1850, no. 320, p. 1697. Virtual Shtetl website. Museum of the History of Polish Jews Polin.

216 *Ustawa dla Instytutu Szlacheckiego w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1854, pp. 14–15.

217 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 335, p. 1755. *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 3352, 3353.

218 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 225, p. 1093.

In 1836–1850, Warsaw dailies published nearly 300 notes on students' performances of over 500 pieces of music in connection with the festive days (the number of pieces does not include Lvov's anthem and the psalms and chants of *Hallelujah* and *Hanoten teszua lamelachim*). Typically, these reports included the name of the composer and the title of the piece of music, or just the name of the composer. Therefore, the descriptions do not contain any essential details that would allow a clear identification of a given work.

Works by Józef Stefani were most frequently performed (they are mentioned no less than 180 times). His *Te Deum* was sung over 100 times by students in the following schools: the Governmental Gymnasium (in 1836–1840, 1842–1847, 1849–1850), schools at Nowy Świat St. (in 1839, 1841–1849), schools at Królewska St. (in 1839, 1841), the gymnasium at Leszno St. (in 1841–1844, 1847), and the Real Gymnasium (in 1842–1850). Most often, it would be a 4-voice *Te Deum* published in the collection *Religious Songs On Ceremonial And Gala Days*. Other pieces by the same composer are mentioned, such as the *Te Deum 4te* [4th *Te Deum*] written in 1845,²¹⁹ *Nowe Te Deum* [New *Te Deum*] for December 18 [1846],²²⁰ and a “new” *Te Deum* composed in 1848 and 1849 is mentioned twice.²²¹ Stefani's Masses were performed equally often (nearly 70 times), with *Mass No. 2* “C tone” – three times,²²² *Mass No. 3* “with the accompaniment of wind instruments” in E flat – four times,²²³ *Mass No. 6* – six times,²²⁴ *Mass No. 9* – five times,²²⁵ and *Mass No. 10* – four times.²²⁶ In addition,

219 *Kurier Warszawski* 1845, no. 113, p. 541.

220 *Kurier Warszawski* 1846, no. 337, p. 1601.

221 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 338, p. 1625; 1849, no. 335, p. 1755. *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, vol. 10, p. 90.

222 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 7513; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 115, p. 541.

223 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 6985; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 338, p. 1601; 1844, no. 120, p. 651; 1847, no. 119, p. 571.

224 *Kurier Warszawski* 1842, no. 321, p. 1521; 1846, no. 117, p. 557; no. 322, p. 1529; no. 337, p. 1601; 1848, no. 116, p. 561; 1849, no. 117, p. 561.

225 *Kurier Warszawski* 1846, no. 241, p. 1149; 1848, no. 338, p. 1625; 1849, no. 113, p. 545; no. 335, p. 1755; 1850, no. 335, p. 1781.

226 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 120, p. 581; no. 242, p. 1173; 1849, no. 232, p. 1253; no. 239, p. 1289.

apart from the unspecified “songs” or “pious songs” and “religious” (seven mentions), his *Ojciec nasz* [*Lord’s Prayer*] was mentioned once.²²⁷

Among Józef Elsner’s religious works (no less than 72 mentions), students from various schools most often performed his Masses (with 38 indications), and in the second place, *Te Deum* (10 indications), including four times by the students of the Leszno Gymnasium²²⁸ and the Rabbinical School,²²⁹ and twice by the students from the Nowy Świat school.²³⁰ Students from the gymnasium at Leszno St. also sang his *Ave Maria* four times.²³¹ His “hymn” was also mentioned twice – one for three voices with organ accompaniment – and “a prayer for the entire Imperial Family” is mentioned once.²³² Moreover, “students of the second district school under the direction of their teacher Carmantrant” performed “a trio from the Elsner oratorio”.²³³

Karol Kurpiński’s works were mentioned no less than 50 times, 32 of which were mentions of his Masses. These Masses were most often performed by students from Nowy Świat and Freta Sts. The three-voice *Lord’s Prayer*²³⁴ and his “devotional songs” were also sung.²³⁵ Perhaps these songs come from the collection published in 1825 – *Pienia nabożne [...] z poezją Felińskiego, Minasowicza i innych [...] użytkowi rzymsko-katolickiego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce wydane with*

227 *Kurier Warszawski* 1842, no. 117, p. 557.

228 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 6706, 7513, 7625; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 119, p. 561.

229 *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 115, p. 541; o. 119, p. 561; no. 178, p. 853; no. 184, p. 881.

230 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 2185; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 235, p. 1117.

231 *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 323, p. 1529; no. 338, p. 1601; 1842, no. 233, p. 1109; no. 240, p. 1149. Probably B flat major, op. 8. *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM* vol. 3, p. 25.

232 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 1166; *Kurier Warszawski* 1842, no. 115, p. 541; 1844, no. 324, p. 1533.

233 *Kurier Warszawski* 1850, no. 120, p. 625.

234 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 4542; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 119, p. 561; no. 338, p. 1601. *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, vol. 5, p. 239; Karol Kurpiński. *Kronika*, p. 457.

235 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 2212.

[*Pious Songs with poetry by Feliński, Minasowicz and other [...] for Roman Catholic Christianity published in Poland*].²³⁶

Masses by Tomasz N. Nidecki (35 indications) appeared in the student's repertoire when he took up the position of a choir teacher at the Real Gymnasium in Warsaw. They were most often performed by students of this school: *Mass No. 2* (no less than seven times)²³⁷ and *Mass No. 3* (no less than four times).²³⁸ The performance of the *Mass No. 1* preserved in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library is mentioned only once in the journals.²³⁹ It is a "classic" Mass (*Kyrie, Gloria, Graduale, Credo, Offertorium, Sanctus, Agnus Dei*) to the lyrics by K. Brodziński *Z odgłosem wdzięcznych pieni*, prepared by Nidecki "for soprano, alto, tenor and bass with organ accompaniment [...]". His Masses were also performed by students of the district school at Gęsia St.²⁴⁰ under the direction of Walenty Striebel and students of the Nobles' Institute under the direction of J. Wszebor.²⁴¹

During gala services, students rarely sang the Masses of Józef W. Krogulski (15 indications). While the composer was still alive, his works were selected for his students by J. Piltz, a choir teacher at the Leszno Gymnasium.²⁴² Later, incidentally, Tomasz N. Nidecki, a choir teacher at the Real Gymnasium, used Krogulski's *oeuvre*.²⁴³

236 *Bibliografia warszawskich...*, ref. 679.

237 *Kurier Warszawski* 1846, no. 113, p. 537; no. 234, p. 1113; 1847, no. 119, p. 571; no. 339, p. 1613; 1848, no. 39, p. 185; no. 338, p. 1625; 1850, no. 335, p. 1781.

238 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 116, p. 561; 1849, no. 117, p. 561; 1849, no. 232, p. 1253; 1849, no. 239, p. 1289.

239 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 120, p. 581.

240 *Kurier Warszawski* 1848, no. 242, p. 1173; 1849, no. 113, p. 545; no. 117, p. 561; no. 232, p. 1253; no. 239, p. 1289; no. 320, p. 1679; no. 335, p. 1755; 1850, no. 232, p. 1241.

241 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 117, p. 561; no. 232, p. 1253; no. 239, p. 1289; no. 320, p. 1679; no. 335, p. 1755; 1850, no. 120, p. 625; no. 232, p. 1241; no. 239, p. 1281; no. 320, p. 1697; no. 335, p. 1781.

242 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 5311, 5559a, 6187, 6695, 6706, 6954.

243 *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 113, p. 533; no. 240, p. 1149; no. 321, p. 1521; no. 336, p. 1597; 1844, no. 120, p. 651; no. 236, p. 1121; no. 243, p. 1157; 1845, no. 113, p. 541; 1846, no. 117, p. 557.

Works by other Warsaw composers were rarely used in the student repertoire. These included such composers as: the aforementioned Ignacy F. Dobrzyński, whose *Psalm 21* was sung by the students of the Rabbinical School,²⁴⁴ Jan N. Rostworowski, whose Mass was sung by the students of the Leszno Gymnasium,²⁴⁵ and Jan Sandmann, whose *Offertory* “solo for alto voice” was performed in the gymnasium’s chapel at Leszno St.²⁴⁶

Students rarely performed works by foreign composers (14 mentions in total). These were the works of: Ludwig van Beethoven, whose “hymns” and “prayers” were sung by students of the gymnasium at Leszno St.,²⁴⁷ Johann N. Hummel and Etienne Mehul, whose songs were sung by students of the Governmental Gymnasium,²⁴⁸ Mathias Pernsteiner, whose piece was sung by students of the Real Gymnasium,²⁴⁹ Gioacchino Rossini, whose “prayer” was sung by students of the district school at Freta St.,²⁵⁰ and Carl M. Weber, whose “prayer” was sung by students of the District School in Muranów.²⁵¹ A more varied repertoire was preferred by the teacher and conductor J. Wszebor, whose students in the chapel of the Nobles’ Institute sang Luigi Cherubini’s *Ave Maria*,²⁵² Gaetano Donizetti’s “duets” and “hymns”,²⁵³ and the motet *O salutaris hosta* by Saverio Mercadante.²⁵⁴

Some of the lesser-known choir teachers in government schools for young men were not only conductors but also tried composing themselves. These teachers included: Józef Piltz, composer of *Te Deum* and *Masses* performed by students of the Leszno

244 See footnote 209.

245 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 1888.

246 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 1166.

247 *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 235, p. 1117; no. 323, p. 1529; no. 338, p. 1601.

248 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 7514; *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 233, p. 1113.

249 *Kurier Warszawski* 1843, no. 113, p. 533.

250 *Kurier Warszawski* 1844, no. 120, p. 651.

251 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 6186.

252 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 335, p. 1755.

253 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, , no. 239, p. 1289; no. 320, p. 1679; no. 335, p. 1755.

254 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 117, p. 561.

Gymnasium,²⁵⁵ and the aforementioned Wszebor, author of the *Mass* performed at the Nobles' Institute.²⁵⁶ Emilian Schwarzbach is also worth mentioning. He composed for his students two different *Te Deum* – for four voices with a choir,²⁵⁷ and a new one, for four voices and two choirs, the last “deliberately” composed for the name-day of Nicholas I,²⁵⁸ and also different Masses – including one for three voices and another for voices with organ, choir, and trombone accompaniment,²⁵⁹ and one “new” *Hymn*.²⁶⁰

The factual musical repertoire accompanying the celebrations was their important but stylistically heterogeneous element. It constituted only a small part of all musical works performed in various places in the city at that time.²⁶¹ Particular types of works in the areas characterised – theatre performances, occasional balls, ceremonial services – were intended for different venues, for slightly different audiences, and for performers with different artistic and musical backgrounds. The choice of “tools” used for the celebration was not always dictated by their objective aesthetic value. There was a particular connection between the artistic methods of the celebration and the specific rituals and requirements of the etiquette of the Russian court. The main goal was, above all, to sol-

255 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 1166, 3720, 4643, 6187, 6695. R. Mączyński, *Muzyka i teatr...*, pp. 190, 205–206.

256 *Kurier Warszawski* 1849, no. 117, p. 561; no. 320, p. 1679; no. 320, 1850, p. 1697.

257 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 3923.

258 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 6186, 6953.

259 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 4646, 6694, 6953; *Kurier Warszawski* 1841, no. 115, p. 541; no. 119, p. 561.

260 *Kronika życia muzycznego Warszawy w latach 1836–1840*, ref. 4327, 5561.

261 Contrary to popular belief, there are no detailed studies documenting the musical repertoire of various areas of Warsaw's musical life at that time. It is not only the specificity of the area in which we are interested. As was emphasised, also in European studies “there are no real statistical studies on the musical life of individual centers in the 19th century [...], the repertoire and concert programs”, which “makes any synthesis difficult, and there are no developed methods of academic understanding of the complex structure of musical life and its social determinants”, I. Poniatowska, *Muzyka fortepianowa i pianistyka w wieku XIX. Aspekty artystyczne i społeczne*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 240–241

emly honour the Russian emperor, his family, and the customs of the Russian Empire in the area politically subordinate to him, while there were constant changes in legal conditions.

For each of the areas described, the manner of celebration differed slightly in the constitutional period of the Kingdom of Poland after the Uprising. This was due to various reasons. A common element of the festive performances for both periods were the occasional cantatas, known only from titles and press reports. The artistic and literary setting of the performances included the greatest authorities of the theatre scene at that time, luminaries of poetry, and famous Warsaw composers. The cantatas themselves, created on specific orders, had individual performances and were not presented on other occasions. Most of them were composed by Kurpiński, as a result of his duties as a court bandmaster. In their structure, as they were intended to be performed by professional performers, the main role was played by the choir and orchestra of the National Theatre or Teatr Wielki. Sometimes, works were performed by professional actors from the Warsaw theatres so that they seemed more theatrical. At the same time, it was appreciated when the “spoken word was accompanied with music”, resulting in a “perfect expressive effect”, which could be seen as a romantic tendency.²⁶²

The opera repertoire for gala performances was included in the canon of the European theatre scene at the time. Apart from the popularity of a given work in the theatres of that area, the attractiveness of the local staging was also important. Before 1831, the names of French precursors and representatives of the Romantic opera (Auber, Boieldieu, Dalayrac, Isouard) are most often mentioned, which was consistent with the general profile of the Warsaw opera scene.²⁶³ Even then, there were pressures to give preference to Italian opera and ballet in the theatre’s repertoire, avoiding

262 A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Klasycyzm...*, p. 221.

263 Z. Chechlińska, J. Guzy-Pasiak, H. Sieradz, “Kultura muzyczna Królestwa Polskiego (1815–1875)”, in: *Kultura miejska w Królestwie Polskim*. vol. 1, Warszawa-Kalisz-Lublin-Płock, p. 285.

politically ambiguous topics.²⁶⁴ After 1831, the process of trivialising the theatrical repertoire deepened systematically, which was also reflected in the repertoire of festive performances.

At that time, concert life in Warsaw developed with its own rhythm. This was when the “music of sublime artistic value was separated from common music, the sphere of which was growing”.²⁶⁵ Most of the occasional dance music belonged to the latter group of functional pieces, the melody, harmony, and rhythm of which did not go beyond the schematic, simplified solutions. Occasional orchestral dances, mainly polonaises, performed in the theatre during festive performances, did not find their place in the then few concert halls in Warsaw. If they reached the audience, it was through the published piano arrangements because it was the piano that most strongly influenced the musical life of those years, becoming the most common instrument used not only in great concert halls but also in the salons of aristocracy and bourgeoisie and at home.²⁶⁶ The festive polonaises, especially those composed by Kurpiński – despite their occasional nature – were characterised by deep emotional content and perfectly reflected the Polish spirit of this dance. Often reissued in print, they became forgotten over time, although they undoubtedly deserve to be included in the canon of European polonaise music.

In Warsaw churches of various faiths, great importance was attached to the musical dimension of the liturgy. Those celebrating the Masses “always cared for a rich musical setting” and “almost each of the dozen or so parishes of that time had a – mostly amateur – ensemble that added splendor to the Sunday and holiday liturgy”.²⁶⁷ The city’s cultural élite appreciated the fundamental importance of music in the temples. From the very first days of its existence, *Kurier Warszawski* was the only newspaper of the capi-

264 A. Kowalczykowska, *Warszawa romantyczna*, Warszawa 1987, p. 35.

265 Ibidem, p. 242.

266 I. Poniatowska, *Muzyka fortepianowa i pianistyka w wieku XIX...*, p. 17.

267 Z. Chechlińska, J. Guzy-Pasiak, H. Sieradz, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 293.
R. Mączyński, *Muzyka i teatr...*, p. 280.

tal of the Kingdom of Poland to systematically inform its readers about the religious music pieces that were performed during Sunday and holiday services.²⁶⁸

The participation of musical groups in ceremonial services was common. Often, professional musicians were involved in musical performances. This participation may seem obvious, but we lack information that would confirm how common it was. This especially applies to Warsaw during the existence of the Kingdom of Poland, when music in Warsaw churches was largely subordinated to the ideas of the Society of Friends of Church and National Music, preferring the vocal and instrumental works of the most eminent European masters (primarily Viennese classics), and of local musicians, like Józef Elsner.

The inclusion of choir and music in the education of government schools for young men after the Uprising, although it was inherently aimed at celebrating school services, including those related to festive days, triggered several processes that were particularly important for the nature of church music and the general musical culture of those years. This is because a wider field opened up for composing religious vocal music, with a texture adapted to the possibilities of non-professional performers. Still, it was valuable because it was written by professional writer-teachers. With time, therefore, a canon of the school's religious repertoire, which was not initially very rich, was developed. The same titles were repeated many times and, thanks to occasional services in the parish churches of the city, reached a wide audience. At the same time, the valuable church repertoire from previous years was used, including the works of contemporary European composers.

The celebrations, introduced by the tradition of the Russian Empire, constituted a specific fragment of the history of public life in Warsaw in the 19th century. On festive days, these celebrations

268 This repertoire also awaits meticulous systemisation and in-depth analyses corresponding to the gravity of the subject, which provides valuable information to the biographies of musicians of Warsaw included in *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM*, published in 1979–2012.

were deeply involved with all the spheres of everyday life of various groups of the city's inhabitants. The street décor changed, the public got free access to theatrical performances, the festive atmosphere penetrated the social life, and religious communities were obliged to perform ceremonial service. With time, the catalogue of these holidays changed and expanded, modifying the existing habits and customs. Announcements of the celebrations and their extensive descriptions in Warsaw dailies reached the local audience and subscribers in the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland.

Translated by Alicja Rosé

SUMMARY

The article presents a concise description of the repertoire performed in the years 1815–1850 on public court holidays, the so called “gala gays”, organized by the imperial Romanov dynasty, the then rulers of the Kingdom of Poland. While there are no publications on the subject, these celebrations influenced deeply the whole scope of everyday life of different groups of people living in Warsaw. The sources for this description were Warsaw press and calendars, as well as available research literature on the musical culture in Warsaw at the time. The author presents a general description of the celebrations, their participants, venues and durations and occasions on which they took place. The author also discusses the reasons why Polish composers and performers actively participated in such events. He quotes almost unknown press materials that enlarges our understanding of the musical culture of Warsaw under partition and provides information about the output of the most outstanding composers of the time: Józef Elsner and Karol Kurpiński. Similarly, he names the performers (professional and amateur artists, choirs, orchestras etc.), as well as venues (churches and synagogues, theatres, ballrooms etc.), their public, genres, and indicates the differences in the celebrations after the ill-fated November Uprising (1830).

Given that the artistic character of specific celebrations was related to the peculiarities of Russian court etiquette, the choice of

particular repertoire and performers was not always determined by their objective esthetic value. Both before and after the Uprising typical of such celebrations were the performances of occasional cantatas, which were performed only once and have not been preserved until today. The opera repertoire at the celebrations was typical of Europe in the 1st half of the 19th century. Gala polonaises, especially those written by Kurpiński, despite their occasional character, were profoundly emotional and representative of the Polish spirit of this dance. The introduction of singing classes to the state-operated schools made it easier to write and perform valuable vocal sacred music, including the works of contemporary European composers.

KEYWORDS: Music in the Polish Kingdom, musical culture of Warsaw in 1815-1850, gala days, Józef Elsner, Karol Kurpiński