

A POLISH PATRIOT IN PARIS: ALBERT SOWIŃSKI, ESSAYIST, ANTHOLOGIST AND LEXICOGRAPHER

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*Naród ginie, dlaczego? Aby wieszcz narodu
Miał treść do poematu, a wieszcz rym odlewał...*

(‘The nation dies, and why? For the nation’s bard
To have substance for his verse, and the bard to cast his
rhymes...’)

JULIUSZ SŁOWACKI, *Kordian*

Undisputed patriot, misunderstood author

In musicological scholarship, Wojciech Sowiński (1805–1880), known throughout most of his career as Albert Sowinski, is most often remembered for two things: for Fryderyk Chopin’s cutting description of him to Tytus Woyciechowski as having ‘no other merit than a good figure and a good heart for himself’, and for having written *Les musiciens polonais et slaves, anciens et modernes, Dictionnaire biographique* (1857), the first major study on Polish musicians in Western Europe.¹ These two points conjure strikingly different images. One is of Sowiński the charming émigré *pianiste-compositeur* who ingratiated himself in Parisian salons and in chateaux across France – a feat he continued long after he had ceased being the dashing young man Chopin derided.² The other is of Sowiński the dedicated scholar, whose *Dictionnaire biographique* was innovative not just because it considered Polish music, but because it was one of the first extended historical studies written by a musician, appearing only 13 years after François-Joseph Fétis finished publishing the final volume of the first edition of his *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*.³

Ground-breaking though it was, the *Dictionnaire biographique* was not Sowiński’s sole contribution to scholarship on Polish music and musicians: it was part of a corpus of studies and collections Sowiński produced on the subject, as shown in Table 1. Some works were

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1 *Chopin’s Polish Letters*, tr. David Frick, ed. John Comber (Warsaw: Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2016), 257; cf., for example, Hans Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars: Studies in Musical Biography* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1998), 76–77; Małgorzata Woźna-Stankiewicz, ‘François-Joseph Fétis et la présence de ses ouvrages musicologiques en Pologne jusqu’au début du XXe siècle’, *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 60 (2006), 125–126.

2 For an overview of these activities, see Ewa Talma-Davous, ‘Le pianiste du moi: Albert Sowiński (1805–1880)’, in *Chopin w kręgu przyjaciół / Chopin parmi ses amis*, v: *Pianiści-wirtuozi w Paryżu wokół Chopina* [Piano virtuosos in Paris among Chopin’s entourage], ed. Irene Poniatowska and Danièle Pistone (Warsaw: Neriton, 1999), 130–147.

3 Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars*, 77; François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, viii: *Saal-Zyka* (Brussels: Meline, Cans and Compagnie, 1844).

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Cf. Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi'.

anthologies with commentaries, like his *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires* (1830) and *Chants religieux de la Pologne* (1859); others were short articles that appeared in larger series or periodicals, like *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque* (1835–1842) and *La France musicale* (1842); others, like the *Dictionnaire biographique*, were monumental in their own right.

With the notable exception of Ewa Talma-Davous, musicologists have scarcely analysed or documented Sowiński's multifaceted career, which included composition, teaching, performance, touring, work as a church musician and scholarship, and which garnered considerable attention in the press in France and across Europe.⁴ No article, including this one, could represent a comprehensive attempt to do so. Nor is this article the sorely needed bibliographic survey of Sowiński's diverse essays and compositional oeuvre. Rather, in reestablishing the *Dictionnaire biographique* as a part of a broader corpus of Sowiński's writings and anthologies on Polish music, this essay investigates Sowiński's unusual place as a writer on music in nineteenth-century Paris.

Table 1. Albert Sowiński's Writings and Anthologies on Polish Music

Title	Publisher/Journal	Date
<i>Chants polonais nationaux et populaires</i>	Petit	1830
<i>Chants de la révolution du 29 novembre 1830</i>	l'auteur	1832
<i>Mémoires polonaises album lyrique</i>	l'auteur	1833
'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire en Pologne'	<i>La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque</i> , vol. i	1835–1836
'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire, et sur les danses en Pologne'	<i>La Pologne...pittoresque</i> , vol. i	1835–1836
'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire, et sur les danses en Pologne' (two articles)	<i>La Pologne...pittoresque</i> , vol. ii	1837–1838
'Théâtre polonais, coup d'œil sur l'art dramatique en Pologne'	<i>La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et illustrée</i> , vol. iii	1839–1841
'Chants populaires de l'Ukraine'	<i>La France musicale</i>	1842
'De l'état actuel de la musique en Pologne'	<i>La France musicale</i>	1842
<i>Les musiciens polonais et slaves, anciens et modernes, Dictionnaire biographique</i>	Adriene le Clère et Cie	1857
'Musique dramatique en Pologne, par Albert Sowiński' (two articles)	<i>La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris</i>	1857–1858
<i>Chants religieux de la Pologne</i> , op. 93	Girod	1859

* Articles almost entirely written by Leonard Chodźko

** Taken from *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque*, vol. ii

*** Adaptation of material in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* by Friedrich Hieronymos Truhn

**** Excerpts from the *Dictionnaire biographique*

What prompted a performer and composer of Sowiński's stature to devote so much of his career to publishing essays and articles, assembling anthologies, and venturing into scholarship? Hitherto his patriotism has been the presumed explanation, but patriotic sentiment accounts for the subject of his work, not its medium; or, perhaps better put, the union of patriotic sentiment and activities such as essay writing and scholarship was not inevitable. Sowiński could and did express his patriotism in other ways across almost the entirety of his career in France, from his arrival in the late 1820s until his death in Saint-Germain in 1888. As Talma-Davous has chronicled, he performed at benefit concerts for Polish refugees, wrote large-scale compositions like the oratorio *St Adalbert* (1847), and played in Polish émigré salons.⁵ The salons offered him ample opportunity to support the Polish cause, without the labour of compiling research, writing, and publishing works like the two-volume *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires* or the six-hundred-page *Dictionnaire biographique*.

Patriotism is therefore an incomplete answer as to why, decade after decade, Sowiński prepared essays, anthologies and scholarship related to Polish music. I propose that there are at least three other significant factors at play. First, these works were not simply an expression of personal patriotic fervour. These writings and collections were always strategic, pitched to win support for the Polish cause, and often linked to Polish organisations in Paris. Secondly, through his essays and scholarship, Sowiński could explicitly compare Poland's music history to those of Western European nations, promoting a compelling and winsome vision of Polish musical identity that transcended any individual, time or place, and in so doing appealed to the community of Polish émigrés, who had to reckon with their identity as Poles in exile. Finally, I demonstrate that Sowiński's essays and scholarship on Polish music – like his patriotic compositions – explicitly reflect engagement with and the backing of complex social networks of Poles, Polish sympathisers and French aristocrats. Investigating all of Sowiński's networks will require a much more extensive study. Among the most pertinent to this article are the circle in Paris around the Republican activist Leonard Chodźko (Léonard Chodzko), a student of Joachim Lelewel who became an officer in Lelewel's Polish National Committee (Komitet Narodowy Polski / Comité National Polonais), the Czartoryskis' associates at the Hôtel Lambert, the Société académique des enfants d'Apollon and French aristocratic circles that included the Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and the Marquis and Marquise de Pomereu.⁶

As a writer and scholar, Sowiński did not simply delineate characteristics of Polish music or offer a national music history; he often was an activist, and he always grappled with the essence of Polish musical traditions and identity, engaging with and shaping discourse in Paris and beyond on the essence of the Polish nation.

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Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi', especially 132, 135–36, 142–45; cf. Sowiński, *St. Adalbert*, Op. 66 (Paris: Brandus et Cie, 1847).

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For discussion of Sowiński's associates in France, see Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi', especially 130–135, 138, 141–142. Cf. Roman Robert Koropeckyj, *Adam Mickiewicz: The Life of a Romantic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 186–187; Jolanta T. Pekacz, 'Deconstructing a "National Composer": Chopin and Polish Exiles in Paris, 1831–49', *19th-Century Music*, 24/2 (2000), 166, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/746840>; Komitet Narodowy Polski, *Zdanie sprawy z czynności Komitetu Narodowego Polskiego. Od grudnia 1831, do maja 1832* [Report on the activities of the Polish National Committee: from December 1831 to May 1832] (Paris: A. Pinard, 1832), <https://archive.org/details/zdanieprawyzczy-00komi>.

In French publications, Léonard Chodzko typically omitted his middle name, as well as Polish diacritics. For more information on the Chodźko family, see Józef Aleksander Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace: krótki rys biograficzny i naukowy* [Leonard Chodzko and his work: a short biographical and scholarly outline] (Lwów: Księgarnia Polska, 1880), 1–8, <https://zbc.uz.zgora.pl/dlibra/publication/34600/edition/28560/content?&action=ChangeMetaLangAction&lang=pl>.

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Cf. Jerzy Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe: Nineteenth-Century Polish Approaches to Western Civilization* (Budapest: Central European Press, 1999), 13–14, 20–22, 20–33. The Chodźko circle's interest in Poland's regional diversity needs further scholarly attention, as does its debt to Lelewel as a geographer. One of Léonard Chodźko's major projects was reprinting Conrad Malte-Brun, *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne*, rev. edn, ed. Léonard Chodźko (Paris: Aimé-André, 1830). Sarmatism was a self-mythology cultivated by the old Polish nobility (*szlachta*), who asserted, incorrectly, that they were descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Sarmatia, a territory along the edge of the Black Sea. Through Sarmatism, the Polish nobility sought to differentiate their heritage from that of the lower classes, while claiming a special connection to the East that Western Europeans lacked. Cf. Barbara Arciszewska, 'A Golden Age for a Changing Nation: Polish National Identity and the Histories of the Wilanów Residence of King Jan III Sobieski', *Architectural History*, 49 (2006), 105–109; Ewa Thompson, 'Sarmatism, or the Secrets of Polish Essentialism', in *Being Poland: A New History of Polish Literature and Culture since 1918*, ed. Tamara Trojanowska, Joanna Niżyńska and Przemysław Czaplinski (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 3–29.

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Komitet Narodowy Polski, *Zdanie sprawy z czynności*, 100.

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For more on Lelewel, the Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie) and related movements in Paris, see Serhiy Bilenky, *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe: Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian Political Imaginations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 143–172.

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Halina Goldberg has noted that the term *wieszcz* has 'no suitable English equivalent', indicating one who is both 'a poet or bard' and 'a seer and a prophet'; Halina Goldberg, "'Remembering that Tale of Grief": The Prophetic Voice in Chopin's Music', in *The Age of Chopin: Interdisciplinary Inquiries*, ed. Halina Goldberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 55.

The *Chants polonais*, his earliest anthology, refracts the Republican ambitions and diverse ideologies of the Chodźko circle in late Bourbon Paris. This anthology weaves together elements of the Western-oriented cosmopolitanism, liberalism and republicanism of the early part of the century, invokes certain imagery that would become popular with the nineteenth-century revival of Sarmatism and incorporates Lelewel's emerging Republican theories of Polish national identity, and it likewise reflects Lelewel's and Chodźko's work on the geography of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁷ Sowiński's next anthologies, the *Chants de la révolution du 29 novembre 1830* (1832) and *Mémoires polonaises album lyrique* (1833), support the agendas and work of the Republican Polish National Committee, which counted Sowiński among its associates. These anthologies likewise demonstrate his encounters with Polish romanticism, as he includes settings of Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady* [Forefathers' eve].⁸ Sowiński's articles for Chodźko's *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque* in the later 1830s and 1840s, and his related articles in *La France musicale*, further complicate his relationship with the more radical proponents of Polish republicanism in Paris.⁹ *Chants populaires* remained central, but Sowiński connected *chants populaires* to Christianity in Poland and celebrated the role of the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant traditions, the Polish court, and theatres and similar institutions in creating a Polish music. In the *Dictionnaire biographique*, Sowiński continued in this vein, adding historical and geographical depth to Poland's music history, depicting Polish music as distinctly Slavic and as intimately connected to Western Europe. His last anthology dedicated to Polish music, the *Chants religieux*, revisited Roman Catholicism's influence on Polish popular and learned music. This topic intersected not just with discourses about Poland or nationalism, but with the interests of the growing French ultramontane movement, a prominent leader of which offered support for the publication.

Sowiński's corpus of anthologies and writings presents many paradoxes, within and between works. If one thread runs true throughout, it is that even in Sowiński's most monumental works, he never monumentalises a single national figure. Sowiński identifies no single *wieszcz* as the soul or the salvation of the Polish nation; nor does he idolise or idealise the *szlachta*, the gentry who Republicans and Romantics alike celebrated as the soul of the Polish nation.¹⁰ He thus omits two of the defining features of Polish romanticism, particularly of Mickiewicz's messianic bent.¹¹ His writings, unlike the next most substantial

publication on Polish music in mid-nineteenth-century Paris, Franz Liszt's *F. Chopin*, leave no room for Chopin or any other figure to become a national prophet.¹² In this way, Sowiński never abandoned one feature of the republicanism he embraced as a member of the Chodźko circle: he continually sought to conceptualise Poland in the broadest possible sense, incorporating the full richness of Poland's regional traditions, musical culture and history.

Sowiński's unconventional pathways to essay writing, music editing and lexicography

In recent decades, even as scholarship on music criticism and the musical press in nineteenth-century Paris has flourished, Sowiński's contributions have remained largely uninterrogated.¹³ I do not construe this dearth of work on Sowiński as a reflection of the quality, significance or contemporaneous reception of his writings, which fit squarely into mid-nineteenth-century studies of folk music, national musical traditions and music history.¹⁴ I suggest that the issue lies, rather, in Sowiński's propensity to work outside of the periodical institutions and the professional activities that have most often garnered interest among musicologists.

As a member of the first generation of musicians in Paris for whom becoming a writer could be nearly synonymous with building a profile as a critic or journalist in music periodicals, arts magazines or general interest journals, Sowiński charted a shockingly independent course, one that intersects only occasionally with the familiar names and institutions in mid-nineteenth-century Parisian music criticism.¹⁵ His only extended contributions to Parisian music journals were a set of articles in 1842 for *La France musicale* and a set of articles in 1857 and 1858 for *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*; both sets reused material from earlier publications.¹⁶ Otherwise, in terms of scholarly writing, Sowiński published in journals connected to the Polish cause or released free-standing works backed by diverse networks of supporters.

Even though Sowiński's early life is not well documented, it is clear that his education and social background made him an unlikely candidate, in Paris or elsewhere, to become the figurehead of essays and anthologies dedicated to Polish music.¹⁷ Unlike many Polish émigrés and activists in France, Sowiński had not studied at one of the major universities located within the lands of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Nor had he belonged to the Warsaw Society for the Friends of Learning (Towarzystwo Królewskie Przyjaciół Nauk) or a similar leading Polish cultural institution.

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Cf. Goldberg, "'Remembering that Tale of Grief'", 56–59; Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 22–24; Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe*, 27. For a discussion of Mickiewicz's celebration of the *szlachta* and of Polish messianism and dissenting views, notably those of Juliusz Słowacki and Zygmunt Krasiński, see Monika Coghen, 'Polish Romanticism', in *The Oxford Handbook of European Romanticism*, ed. Paul Hamilton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 564–574.

12

Franz Liszt, *F. Chopin* (Paris: Escudier, 1852). Liszt's study ran as a *feuilleton* in Escudier's *La France musicale* during the preceding year.

13

A watershed study on music criticism in nineteenth-century France was Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La revue et gazette musicale de Paris', 1834–80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For an overview of more recent trends and developments, see Mark Pottinger, 'French Music Criticism in the Nineteenth Century (1789–1870)', in *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, ed. Christopher Dingle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 127–46.

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Cf. Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars*, 77.

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Less than a year separates Sowiński's arrival in Paris from François-Joseph Fétis's founding of *La Revue musicale* in 1828. This Parisian periodical was the first long-running music journal in nineteenth-century France, and it would quickly be joined by many others, including *Le Ménestrel* (1833), *La Gazette musicale* (1834), and *La France musicale* (1837). Sowiński's peers in the Romantic generation in Paris, like Hector Berlioz and Franz Liszt, positioned themselves as writers in this burgeoning musical press and in major Parisian dailies like *Journal de débats* and *Le Figaro*.

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The material for Albert Sowiński, 'Musique Étrangère – Chants Populaires de l'Ukraine, Dumy ou Dumki (Rêveries)', *La France musicale*, 5/9 (27 February 1842), 82–83, was drawn from Albert Sowiński, 'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire, et sur les danses en Pologne', *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque*, vol. ii (Paris: Bureau Central, 1837–1838), 241–248. The material for 'Musique Dramatique en Pologne', *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 24/49 (6 December 1857), 395–396, and 'Musique Dramatique en Pologne', *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 25/19 (9 May 1858), 156–157, came from the *Dictionnaire biographique*. The material for Albert Sowiński, 'De l'état actuel de la musique en Pologne, d'après M. Truhn', *La France musicale*, 5/44 (30 October 1842), 375–376, condensed material from the following articles by Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn: 'Musikalische Reiseblätter – Wilna, Warschau', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 15/19 (3 September 1841), 74–75; 'Musikalische Reiseblätter (Fortsetzung)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 15/20 (7 September 1841), 79–80; 'Musikalische Reiseblätter (Fortsetzung)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 15/21 (10 September 1841), 83–84; 'Musikalische Reiseblätter (Fortsetzung)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 15/22 (14 September 1841), 86–88.

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As Talma-Davous has noted, even during Sowiński's lifetime, his biography was inconsistent; Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi', 137–138.

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In the *Dictionnaire biographique*, Sowiński stated that he came from Podolia (in Right-Bank Ukraine, in a portion that belonged to the Russian Empire) and belonged to 'an old Polish family' from Dukla, near Kraków. He said that his father, Sébastien (Sebastian) Sowiński, served as a musician in Colonel Malczewski's regiment and remained in Podolia after its disbandment to work as a piano teacher. Albert mentioned his two older brothers: Jean-Vincent and Pierre (Jan-Wincenty, Piotr); Albert Sowiński, *Musiciens polonais et slaves, anciens et modernes*, *Dictionnaire biographique* (Paris: Le Clere, 1857), s.v. 'Sowiński, Sébastien'. Cf. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, vol. viii, *Saal-Zyka*, s.v. 'Sowiński, Albert'.

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Chopin's Polish Letters, 258.

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Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi', 130.

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For representative announcements concerning Sowiński's performances at these locations, see 'Société Philotechnique', *Le Figaro*, 26 November 1828; 'Nouvelles de Paris', *La Revue musicale*, 3 April 1830 (series 2, vol. vii, book 1, no. 9), 268; 'Bigarrures', *Le Figaro*, 29 April 1830; 'Exercices et concerts', *La Revue musicale*, January 1829 (series 1, book 4, vol. 4, no. 25), 115; 'Annonces', *La Revue musicale*, January 1829 (series 1, book 4, vol. iv, no. 25), 116. Cf. Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi', 131–132.

He did not even hail from Warsaw – or from Kraków, Lviv (Pol. Lwów), Kyiv (Kijów) or Vilnius (Wilno). Born in Ładyżyn and raised in Podolia, he belonged to a modest family of musicians.¹⁸ In an 1832 letter to Woyciechowski, Chopin implied that Sowiński would have done better to stay there, saying that he had 'one gigantic finger, which was destined somewhere out there in the Ukraine to wield a steward's whip and reins', and that 'he chatters on! About everything, and especially about Warsaw, where he has never been.'¹⁹

After touring in Italy and Vienna, Sowiński arrived in France sometime around the beginning of 1828.²⁰ He quickly went about building social and cultural capital in Bourbon Restoration Paris. He published several compositions; he played at the Dietz salon, the Pape salon, the Société Philotechnique and the Salle Erard; and he collaborated with the violinist Joseph Ghys.²¹ In 1828, Sowiński joined the Société académique des enfants d'Apollon, a club and performance venue that was an important meeting point for Parisian musicians and music-lovers. Among its members were two figures who would become two of Sowiński's most faithful supporters: the Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Auguste Mathieu Panséron, whose songs, as Halina Goldberg has observed, had long been popular in Poland, and who had dedicated an 1822 collection of songs to the Comtesse Ostrowska, née Sanguszko.²²

Sowiński's entrée into writing and scholarship would come through Leonard Chodźko, whose ideological affiliations, political activism and social connections would be intimately intertwined with the genesis and reception of Sowiński's first anthologies and scholarly works. Like Sowiński, Chodźko came from the eastern lands of the old Commonwealth; unlike Sowiński, he had strong connections to multiple Polish intellectual and aristocratic circles, through which he had established himself as a Polish leader in Paris.²³ A student of Lelewel at the University of Vilnius, Chodźko had belonged to the Philarets, a circle of young Polish nationalists connected to the university (Mickiewicz also was associated with this

group).²⁴ By 1826, Chodźko settled in Paris and began publishing works promoting the Polish cause, after having spent several years touring Europe as a secretary for Prince Michał Kleofas Ogiński.²⁵ Chodźko enjoyed the encouragement and support of, among others, his former professor, Lelewel, Michael Podczaszyński, Teodor [Théodore] Morawski, the Marquis de Lafayette, a Republican and representative of the old French liberal guard, Marc-Antoine Jullien, editor of the *Révue encyclopédique*, and the Countess Ostrowska, née Sanguszko, who would be the dedicatee of Sowiński's first published Parisian composition announced in the press.²⁶

In a letter dated 3 May 1828, in which Chodźko informed Mickiewicz that – unbeknownst to Mickiewicz – Chodźko and the Countess Ostrowska had decided to publish Mickiewicz's works, Chodźko named Sowiński among the members of his circle of young Polish artists and intellectuals in Paris, describing him as 'from Podolia, a first-rate pianist and composer'.²⁷ Chodźko did not merely look upon Sowiński as a fine musician; he described how this circle, with members hailing from Lublin, Kalisz, Volhynia and Lithuania, was a sort of reborn Poland. He described their gatherings thus: 'so we represent the Polish Republic in its borders of old'.²⁸ In December 1829, Sowiński joined Chodźko and 16 other Poles in writing a letter to Jullien, expressing their hope for a 'Polish Renaissance' that would enable the 'old republic' and the 'Sarmatian plains' to enjoy a 'glorious and free future'.²⁹ It was as a part of this coalition of Republican idealism, in an émigré community that had yet to face the heartbreak of the November Uprising and the prospect of extended exile, that Sowiński turned to writing about Polish music.

The *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires*: music for renaissance and revolution

In the two years preceding the release of the *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires*, Sowiński had gained a reputation in Fétis's newly established musical periodical, *La Revue musicale*, and in leading dailies like *Le Corsaire* and the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* as an elegant young pianist and promising composer. Sometimes these Parisian journals

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Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste du moi', 132, 134; Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, 95, 99. Panséron would be one of only five subscribers of the *Chants polonais* (1830), Sowiński's first monumental work, and would also subscribe to the *Dictionnaire biographique* (1857), his last. As Talma-Davous has noted, the Société académique des enfants d'Apolon was one of the few such institutions Sowiński could officially join as a foreigner.

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Chodźko's birthplace was Obork k. Oszmiany, in modern Belarus; *Wielka Encyklopedia PWM*, s.v. 'Chodźko, Leonard' (Warsaw: PWM, 2001–2005).

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Joan S. Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel and the Polish National Idea* (Boulder: Eastern European Monographs, 1981), 32–34, 38, 42, 130; Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace*, 9–10; Koropecykj, *Adam Mickiewicz*, 105. Unlike Mickiewicz, Chodźko was long gone from Vilnius by the time of the student arrests in 1823 and 1824.

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Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace*, 10–12; Mark Brown, 'The Comité Franco-Polonais and the French Reaction to the Polish Uprising of November 1830', *The English Historical Review*, 93 (1978), 777–778.

26

Brown, 'The Comité Franco-Polonais', 777–778, 780; Lloyd S. Kramer, 'The Rights of Man: Lafayette and the Polish National Revolution, 1830–34', *French Historical Studies*, 14 (Autumn 1986), 521–525, 537; Koropecykj, *Adam Mickiewicz*, 105; Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace*, 11–12.

The composition Sowiński dedicated to the Countess Ostrowska, née Sanguszko was *Variations brillantes sur un air polonais, pour le piano*, Op. 7 (Paris: Hanry, 1828); it and its dedication were advertised in the 'Annonces' of *La Revue musicale*, 1828 (series 1, book 3, vol. iii, no. 21), 503.

27

Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza [Correspondence of Adam Mickiewicz], ii (Paris: Księgarnia Luxemburska, 1872), 54, <https://polona.pl/item/korespondencja-adama-mickiewicza-t-2,MjlxOTg2/2/#info:metadata>.

28

Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza, ii: 54.

29

'la renaissance de Pologne'; 'vieille république'; 'les plaines sarmates'; 'un avenir de gloire et de liberté'; *Notice biographique sur Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris* (Paris: Sédillot, 1831), 67–68, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Notice_biographique_sur_Marc-Antoine_Julien/INnkiqifaX8C?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Notice+biographique+sur+Marc-Antoine-Jullien+de+Paris&printsec=frontcover.

30

See e.g. 'Butin', *Le Corsaire*, 9 May 1828; 'Bigarrures', *Le Figaro*, 5 March 1829.

31

'Bigarrures', *Le Figaro*, 21 February 1830.

32

[Marc-Antoine] Jullien de Paris, 'Soirée Polonoise à Paris, pour célébrer le 84^e anniversaire de la naissance du général Kosciuszko', *Revue Encyclopédique*, 45 (January–March 1830), 484–491. This was reprinted as [Marc-Antoine] Jullien de Paris, *84^e anniversaire de la naissance de Thadé Kosciuszko* (Paris: J. Barbezat, 1830).

33

Jullien, 'Soirée Polonoise à Paris', 484–490. Launer was a violinist in the orchestra at the Opéra and concertmaster of the Société académique des enfants d'Apollon. His wife, Marie-Pierre Launer, was a music publisher who would work with Sowiński for decades. Maurice Decourcelle, *La Société académique des enfants d'Apollon (1741–1880)* (Paris: Durand, 1881), 59–66; 'Nouvelles', *La France musicale*, 2/57 (6 October 1839), 535. Cf. Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11. Sowiński's associations with Cohen beyond 1830 do not appear extensive, although Cohen performed in Sowiński's concert at the Salons de Pape on 27 March 1830. A May 1830 issue of *La Revue musicale* contained a notice that Cohen had dedicated his newly published arrangement of 'Auld Eang [sic] Syne' to Sowiński; 'Nouvelles de Paris', *La Revue musicale*, 3 April 1840, 268; 'Bulletin d'Annonces', *La Revue musicale*, 8 May 1830 (series 2, vol. viii, book II, no. 1), 32.

34

The *Revue Encyclopédique* does not provide first names for Fayot or Villeneuve but notes that they had written on Kościuszko, presumably referring to Charles-Frédéric-Alfred Fayot, who would publish *Histoire de Pologne, depuis son origine jusqu'en 1831* (Paris: Hocquart, 1831), and Jean-Paul-Alban Villeneuve-Barcement, who wrote many books on political economics. The seven names that match – albeit with variations in spelling – between the 1829 letter to Jullien and the subscribers' list for the *Chants polonais* are Léonard Chodzko, Michel Podcza[s]-riński, Ferdinand Fredro Boniecki, Władisław Oleszczynski, Antoine Oleszczynski, Félix [Feliks] Boncza Miakowski and Karal [Karol] Wodziński.

described him as 'polonais', but he had not yet been cast as an especially *Polish* composer.³⁰ The first indication of his ambitions to be an ambassador of Polish music only came in late February 1830, in an announcement in *Le Figaro* about his forthcoming *Chants polonais*.³¹

Jullien's journal *Revue encyclopédique* ran an extensive description of the event that launched the *Chants polonais*: a celebration hosted by Chodźko on 12 February 1830, to commemorate the eighty-fourth birthday of the late Tadeusz Kościuszko.³² The gathering drew together Polish émigrés, Parisian Polonophiles, including the Marquis de Lafayette, Jullien and Victor Hugo, and friends and supporters of Poland from Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The room was adorned with statues of Polish heroes, lithographs of famous vistas of Polish cities, and maps of Polish lands by Séverin Oleszczynski (Seweryn Oleszczyński). At the centre of these 'souvenirs de la patrie' were Sowiński, the violinist Jean-Marie Launer and the singer Henri Cohen. They performed songs from Sowiński's forthcoming anthology, offering a musical counterpart to the visual evocations of Poland and Polish heroes around them.³³ The *Revue Encyclopédique* made the stakes of the event clear: it was nothing less than a rallying cry to support Kościuszko's republican legacy and aid his beloved nation.

The *Chants polonais* was in many ways like this gathering; it appealed to broad coalitions of Poles and Polonophiles in Poland, France and beyond. The subscribers' list reinforces this point. Five of the *Chants polonais*' eighty-six subscribers, namely, Chodźko, Frédéric Fayot, Launer, Jullien and Alban de Villeneuve, were listed in the *Revue Encyclopédique* as attendees of the Kościuszko birthday commemoration; seven subscribers' names match those of Sowiński's co-signers on the letter to Jullien, and of those, both Antoni Oleszczyński (Antoine Oleszczynski) and Władysław Oleszczyński (Władisław Oleszczynski) also had their work featured at Kościuszko's birthday salon.³⁴ Another twenty-eight subscribers were members of leading Polish noble houses, including the Radziwiłł, Potocki, Czartoryski and Ogiński families. The Duchesse de Berry was a noted patron of the album, and several French noblewomen also appeared on Sowiński's list of subscribers.³⁵ Seven subscriptions came from members of the Société académique des enfants d'Apollon, namely Daniel Auber, Henri-Montan Berton, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, Launer, Auguste Panséron and Henri Jean Rigel.³⁶ Other prominent Parisian musicians and music publishers among the subscribers

included François-Joseph Fétis, Michel Carafa, Ignace [Ignaz] Moscheles, Henri Romagnesi, Charles Schuncke and Maurice Schlesinger. Such diverse and notable subscribers show just how powerfully Sowiński had positioned himself within the Parisian arts scene and within the Polish émigré community.

Chopin almost certainly was referring to the *Chants polonais* when he wrote to Woyciechowski in 1832 of Sowiński's 'tavern tunes, senselessly arranged, accompanied as badly as can be, without the least knowledge of harmony or prosody, with country dance endings.'³⁷ Compared to Chopin's songs, the *Chants polonais*' settings are modest at best. But within the aesthetics and conventions of late Bourbon Paris, the collection was ambitious. Parisian music publishers had released only a scant few anthologies of 'chants populaires', a phrase that typically denoted very old music, often passed down orally, and often from rural areas. These anthologies were a sort of potpourri of regional and national traditions, not a socio-political commentary, and certainly not as a means of support for the rights of a disenfranchised nation.³⁸ Sowiński's *Chants polonais*, by contrast, was a carefully structured work that included *chants populaires* and regional traditions, a musical corollary of the 'collective self-portraits' of Poland that, as Jerzy Jedlicki has noted, had been much *en vogue* among Polish intellectuals in the post-Napoleonic era. Though not comparable to some of the larger collections later in the century, by the standards of the 1830s, the *Chants polonais* invoked monumentality.³⁹ Sowiński's work was a clear continuation of Chodźko's publication programme of creating scholarship about Polish culture.

Published in two volumes, the *Chants polonais* offered piano-vocal arrangements of forty Polish 'chants populaires' and 'chants nationaux', i.e. patriotic music. As shown in Table 2A and Table 2B, eighteen of the anthology's songs are accompanied by short commentaries explaining their regional origins or historical significance.⁴⁰ Lyrics are given in Polish and in French translation by G. Fulgence (Gustave-Fulgence Olivier), who would translate Mickiewicz's *Konrad Wallenrod* into French for Chodźko, and by J. de Frémont.⁴¹ Sowiński offers a rich two-page introduction to Polish music: the first half considers the importance of *chants nationaux* and *chants populaires* in Polish national identity, and the second surveys Polish regional musical traditions. Both volumes are graced on their covers with

35

Among the French noblewomen listed on the subscribers' list are the Marquise de la Valette, the Comtesse de Flahaut and the Vicomtesse Hocquart.

36

Cf. Decourcelle, *La Société académique des enfants d'Apollon*, 13–17.

37

Chopin's Polish Letters, 257. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger has suggested that Chopin wrote his unpublished folkloric compositions *Allegretto* in A major and Mazur in D minor (1832/33) to express detestation for Sowiński; 'Deux timbres populaires polonais harmonisés par Chopin: Répercussions chez Liszt', in *Frédéric Chopin: Interprétations*, ed. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger and Jacqueline Waeber (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 141, 152.

38

Several books of 'chants populaires' without musical setting had been published in Paris. One of the few earlier examples of 'chants populaires' set to music is G. Fulgence, *Cent chants populaires des diverses nations du monde*, 4 vols (Paris: Petit, 1830). The deposit copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France has a handwritten date, '11 janvier, 1830'. See also Ruth Rosenberg, *Music, Travel, and Imperial Encounter in 19th Century France: Musical Apprehensions* (London: Routledge, 2015), 110.

39

Jedlicki, *Suburb of Europe*, 25.

40

Both volumes of the *Chants polonais* bear the date 1830; however, a report in the December 1831 issue of *La Revue musicale* suggests that only the first volume was released in 1830; 'Bulletin d'Annonces', *La Revue musicale*, 17 December 1831 (vol. viii, book 11, no. 45), 364. For further discussion of 'chants populaires' and 'chants nationaux', see Virginia E. Whealton, 'Travel, Ideology, and the Geographical Imagination: Parisian Musical Travelogues, 1830–1870', PhD diss, Indiana University – Bloomington, 2018, 147–148.

41

Adam Mickiewicz, *Konrad Wallenrod, récit historique tiré des annales de Lithuanie et de Prusse Le faris. Sonnets de Crimée*, tr. Félix Miakowski and G. Fulgence (Paris: Sédillot, 1830). Sometimes G. Fulgence has been identified as Fulgence de Bury (d. 1845); however, Sowiński later identified his collaborator as 'M. Gustave Fulgence Olivier'; Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*, s.v. 'Braciński'.

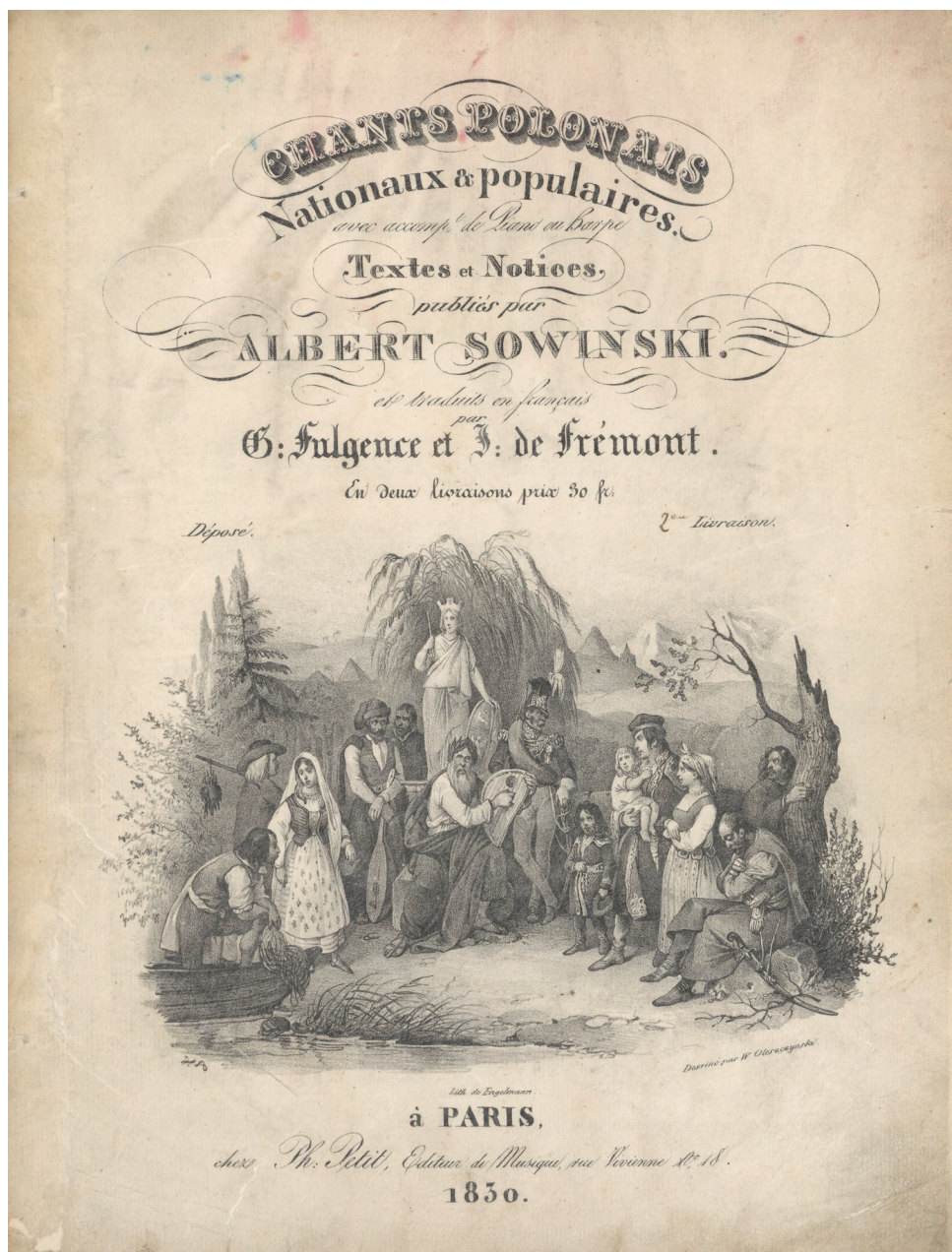


Figure 1. Albert Sowiński, *Chants polonais. Nationaux & populaires*, livre 2, Ph. Petit, Paris 1830, National Library in Warsaw, Mus.III.71.065/2 Cim.

striking lithographs by Władysław Oleszczyński [Wladislaw Oleszczynski], an artist in the Chodźko circle.⁴² Oleszczyński's arresting and highly symbolic image, shown in Figure 3, includes several figures, all presumably Polish: a Napoleonic-era soldier, gazing away from the pyramids in the background to the left; a weary older man seated on a stone, his sword dragging, and wearing an unmistakably Sarmatian *kontusz* (Turkish-style robe) and *pas kontuszowy* (elaborate sash); a younger family, perhaps also of the *szlachta*, as denoted by similar apparel; a woodsman, a fisherman, and several others.⁴³ At the centre is a bard with a lyre, unmistakably akin to the *wieszcz* Mickiewicz recently had glorified in his *Konrad Wallenrod* (1828).⁴⁴

While Oleszczyński's lithograph reflects the multivalent and far-reaching qualities of the *Chants polonais*, the collection's structure and contents underscore the importance of Polish republicanism, particularly the Lelewelian brand of republicanism promulgated by the Chodźko circle.⁴⁵ As shown in Table 2A, the first book concludes with the 'Taniec Kosciuszko', honouring the Polish general who had fought for republicanism and democracy in the United States and Poland. Table 2B illustrates that the second book closes with no. 40, 'Trzeci Maja', commemorating the Polish Constitution of 3 May 1791. This was a rallying point for Lelewel and other Polish republicans, and Kościuszko had supported it despite his desires for a more progressive system.⁴⁶ The only other songs associated with particular figures are no. 14, 'Krakowiak du Prince Joseph Poniatowski', and no. 16, 'Mazur Dabrowskiego'.⁴⁷ Sowiński had ample precedent for bringing together music linked to Poniatowski, Dąbrowski and Kościuszko. To name but one: in the 'Dream Sequence' of Józef Elsner's opera *Król Łokietek* [King Ladislaus the Elbow-high] (1818), tunes associated with these three figures had become a musical metonym, representing Polish history that could only be alluded to indirectly.⁴⁸ Sowiński's inclusion of 'Boże, coś Polskę' [God, Thou who Poland], the hymn of the Congress Kingdom, with the revised text of 1817 that celebrates 'the homeland' instead of the Russian ruler, further anchors the *Chants polonais* in the activities of contemporaneous Warsaw.⁴⁹

Traditionally the *szlachta* were cast as the founders of Polish republicanism; by the late 1820s and early 1830s, Lelewel increasingly struggled to reconcile republicanism and the freedoms of the *szlachta* with the inequalities of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – a point that would occupy much of his later work.⁵⁰ Sarmatism by extension also proved problematic, enmeshed as it was in the *szlachta*'s view of themselves as the true Polish nation and in their historic privileges.⁵¹ Despite the Sarmatian imagery of Oleszczyński's

42
Korespondencja Adama Mickiewicza, ii:54.

43
Cf. Arciszewska, 'Golden Age for a Changing Nation', 109; Janina Poskrobko-Stręciwilk, 'Polish Kontusz Sashes in the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art', in Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa (ed.), *Crossroads of Costume and Textiles in Poland* (Kraków: The National Museum, 2005), 19; Thompson, 'Sarmatism, or the Secrets of Polish Essentialism', 17.

44
Jonathan Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade: Op. 38 as Narrative of National Martyrdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 67–72.

45
Kramer, 'The Rights of Man', 537.

46
Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 64–65; Alex Storzynski, *The Peasant Prince: Thaddeus Kosciuszko and the Age of Revolution* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2009), 149–150.

47
The *Revue Encyclopédique* recorded there being portraits or sculptures of Poniatowski and Dąbrowski at Kościuszko's birthday salon. Jullien, 'Soirée Polonoise à Paris', 489.

48
Halina Goldberg, 'Descriptive Instrumental Music in Nineteenth-Century Poland: Context, Genre, and Performance', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 34/3 (2015), 439.

49
Maja Trochimczyk, 'Boże Coś Polskę', Polish Music Center, <https://polishmusic.usc.edu/research/national-anthems/boze-cos-polske/>.

50
Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 46–48, 66–67, 70–72, 115–129; Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe*, 32–34.

51
Cf. Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, 23–24.

Table 2A. Sowiński's *Chants polonais*, Book 1

No.	Title	Genre	Region(s)
no. 1*	'Lilie' / 'Les lilas'	Song	Lithuania
no. 2	'Gdy w czystém polu...' / 'Lorsque du printemps'	Mazurka	[None]
no. 3*	'Hyrć' / 'Gregoire'	Dumka	Podolia, Ukraine, Volhynia
no. 4	'Ctéry lata' / 'Chant mazovien'	Mazovian song	Mazovia
no. 5	'Oy szumyt i hude' / 'La jeune fille et le galant kozak'	Ukrainian song	Ukraine
no. 6.	'Skowrónek' / 'L'allouette'	[None]	
no. 7	'Arya, te brzóz kilka' / 'Le souvenir'	[None]	
no. 8*	'Kołąda' ['Anioł pasterzom mówił'] / 'La noël'	Christmas song	[None]
no. 9*	'Susida' / 'La voisine'	Ukrainian dumka	Lesser Poland and Ukraine
no. 10*	'Laura i Filon' / 'Laure et Filon'	<i>Sielanka</i>	[None]
no. 11*	'Alboż my to jacy tacy' / 'N'valons nous pas ceux-ci ceux-la'	Krakowiak	Kraków
no. 12	'Oy biada nam Mazury' / 'Malheur! Gens de Mazovie'		Mazovia
no. 13*	'Zielone' / 'Le Jeu du vert'		[None]
no. 14*	'Krakowiak du Prince Joseph Poniatowski' / 'Veux-tu faire un marché fillette'	Krakowiak	[None]
no. 15*	'Jchaw Kozak za dunay' / 'Les Adieux du Kozak'	Cossack dumka	Lesser Poland and Ukraine
no. 16*	'Mazur Dąbrowskiego' / 'Mazurek Dombrowski'	Mazurka	[None]
no. 17*	'Krakowiak' / 'Bon Drelich de Mazovie'	Krakowiak	Mazovia
no. 18	'Taniec Kosciuszki' / 'Polonaise Kosciuszko'	Polonaise	[None]

* Includes a commentary

Table 2B. Sowiński's *Chants polonais*, Book 2

No.	Song	Genre	Region(s)
no. 19	'Kochajmy się' / 'Mazurek aimons-nous'	Mazurka	
no. 20*	'Dumka' / 'En descendant des montagnes...'	Dumka	Ukraine
no. 21	'Mazurek' / 'Staś adorait une belle'	Mazurka	
no. 22*	'Piosnka Weselna litewska' / 'Chanson de noce'	Wedding song	Lithuania
no. 23.	'Kukułeczka' / 'Le coucou'	Krakowiak	
no. 24*	'Bieży strumień po dolinie' / 'Au vallon coule le ruisseau'	Air	Posen [Greater Poland]
no. 25	'Sidir widir' / 'Chanson à boire'	Lithuanian song	Lithuania
no. 26	'Ułan' / 'Le Lancier polonais'	Krakowiak	
no. 27*	'Kozak i Diwka' / 'Un gai kozak au ruisseau...'	Cossack air	

no. 28*	‘Polak nie Sługa’ / ‘Mazurek’*	Mazurka	
no. 29	‘Lipy’ / ‘Les Tilleuls’	Romance	
no. 30*	‘Duma Ukraińska’ / ‘Sur la terre étrangère’	Dumka	Ukraine
no. 31	‘Modlitwa wojska Polkiego’ [‘Boże, coś Polskę’] / ‘Prière des troupes polonaises’	[Part song]	
no. 32	‘Hej Rozyno’ / ‘Mazurek a Adèle’	Mazurka	
no. 33	‘Podróż na żaręczynny’ / ‘Le voyage du fiancé’	Lithuanian song	Lithuania
no. 34	‘Chłopek ci ja chłopek’ / ‘Je suis né laboureur’	Mazurka	
no. 35	‘Piosneczka pijacka’ / [‘Wypił Kuba do Jakuba’] / ‘Chanson à boire’	Drinking song	
no. 36	‘Do Jacenty’ / ‘Bonne nuit ma rose...’		
no. 37	‘Do wąsów’ / ‘À la moustache’		
no. 38	‘Przy miodzie’ / ‘À l’hydromel’	[Part song]	
no. 39*	‘Przepióreczka’ / ‘La caille’		
no. 40	‘Trzeci Maja’ / ‘Polonaise du trois mai’	Polonaise	

* Includes a commentary

cover lithograph, the *Chants polonais* treats Sarmatism and its cultural manifestations lightly, as in no. 37, ‘Do wąsów’, a rollicking song in 6/8 that praises the distinctive Sarmatian moustache. Notably absent in Sowiński’s introductory essay and in his repertoire is any special emphasis on the Polish monarchy or aristocracy, which Lelewel had censured in his *Dzieje Polski potocznym sposobem opowiedziane* [Polish history related in colloquial fashion] (1828) as having compromised the Polish Republic (*Rzeczpospolita*), to the detriment of the *szlachta* and the lower classes.⁵²

In challenging the primacy of the *szlachta* as the measure of the Polish nation, Lelewel was questioning the concept of the Polish nation itself. In his *Trzy konstytucje polskie* [Three Polish constitutions] of 1831, he would argue that the people (*lud*) as well as the *szlachta* could have national spirit (*duch narodowy*) and political agency.⁵³ The introductory essay to the *Chants polonais* employed similar arguments. Sowiński stated that the anthology’s songs, which he had known ‘from the cradle’, were a common property of all Poles, thanks especially to the Polish women who inculcated in their children ‘the indelible character of the nationality that is ours.’⁵⁴ Sowiński’s Rousseauian argument implicitly acknowledged the lower classes’ contributions to national spirit and diminished the distance between the two types of music contained in the collection: ‘chants nationaux’ and ‘chant populaires.’⁵⁵ Polish nationality could be expressed through *chants populaires* and folkloric songs as well as patriotic works. To borrow

52
Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 48–50, cf. Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe*, 32, 119. For a discussion of the overlap between certain classes of the *szlachta* and the aristocracy, see Norman Davies, *God’s Playground*, rev. edn, vol. i: *Origins to 1795* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 156–196.

53
Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 66–67, 70–71.

54
‘ces chants dont beaucoup m’ont bercé; ce caractère indélébile de nationalité qui est le nôtre’; Sowiński, *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires*, vol. i (Paris: Petit, 1830).

55
Sowiński’s viewing these songs as the common heritage of the nation helped him deftly skirt around the song classifications that later would occupy Oskar Kolberg and others. Cf. Mięczyński, ‘Chopin’s Inspiration from Polish “Common” Song’, tr. John Comber, in Artur Szklemer (ed.), *Chopin’s Works: His Inspirations and Creative Process in the Light of the Sources* (Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2002), 44–45.

56

Cf. Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe*, 25–27, 32.

57

Monika Baár, *Historians and Nationalism: East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 234.

58

Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 74–75, 77–78.

59

Cf. Anna Czekanowska, *Polish Folk Music: Slavonic Heritage—Polish Tradition—Contemporary Trends* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 56. I am especially grateful to one of the reviewers of this article for suggesting this connection.

60

Kazimierz Brodziński, 'O tańcach narodowych (polonez, krakowiak, mazurek, kozak)' [On the national dances (polonaise, krakowiak, mazurka, Cossack)], *Melitele*, 1 (1829), 85–101. Brodziński also addressed the dialectic between national and regional qualities, but he did not stress one-to-one associations between genre and region to the extent that Sowiński did.

61

Sowiński's credited 'my friends from France and from Poland' ('mes amis de France et de Pologne'); Sowiński, *Chants polonais*, vol. i.

62

Barbara Milewski, 'Chopin's Mazurkas and the Myth of the Folk', *19th-Century Music*, 23/2 (Autumn 1999), 124. The only two members of the Warsaw Society for the Friends of Learning to subscribe to Sowiński's *Chants polonais* were Adam Czartoryski and Marc-Antoine Julien; cf. *Lista imienna członków Towarzystwa Królewskiego Przyjaciół Nauk w Warszawie w styczniu 1829 roku* [List of members of the Royal Society for the Friends of Learning] ([Warsaw]: s.n., [1829]).

a Herderian paradigm, Polish folk culture – or imagined Polish folk culture – captured Polish national identity.⁵⁶

Interest in folk culture was not a novel concept in post-Napoleonic Poland, but marrying it to Lelewel's increasingly radical theories of republicanism was. Destabilising the role of the *szlachta* in Polish national identity also called into question hierarchies of region, heritage and place. Unlike many other Polish republicans, Lelewel did not espouse centralisation as necessary or even admirable, nor did he see diversity of heritage or religion as an impediment to greater national consciousness; in fact, he believed that it could promote it. As Monika Baár has argued, Lelewel saw 'the cultural diversity of the former Commonwealth [as] a model for a future Poland'.⁵⁷ The Polish National Committee would seek to achieve a Poland where the nation (*naród*) included the many different nations of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁵⁸

Especially in the introductory essay and the first book of repertoire, Sowiński sought to underscore different Polish regions' unique contributions to the Polish national spirit. Sowiński's approach may reflect Pan-Slavonic thinking; it clearly builds on the Herderian paradigms that had been adopted by Karol Kurpiński in relation to Polish music.⁵⁹ Such a focus on regional traditions, perhaps more than any feature of the *Chants polonais*, also betrays his social and intellectual debts to Chodźko and Lelewel, while differentiating this work from Kazimierz Brodziński's seminal article on Polish dances that had been published in *Melitele* the year before.⁶⁰ Sowiński's most immediate sources for this celebration of diverse Polish traditions likely came from his own associates in the Chodźko circle. There is a remarkable overlap between the songs' stated regional origins, namely, Lithuania, Podolia, Ukraine, Volhynia, Mazovia, Lesser Poland and Greater Poland – and the regions Chodźko boasted about to Mickiewicz as part of his Parisian 'Polish Republic'.⁶¹ Sowiński's survey of Polish regional traditions in his introductory essay pales in comparison to his later works; however, it was ground-breaking for the time. Members of the Society for the Friends of Learning, though interested in folksong collecting, had not yet published the fruits of their labour, and it would be three more years until Karol Lipiński (1790–1861) issued his arrangements in Waclaw z Olecka's (Waclaw Zaleski's) *Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego* [Polish and Rus songs of the Galician people] (1833), commonly credited with being the earliest anthology of piano-vocal works in Polish.⁶²

Sowiński's introductory essay situates the magnificent polonaise in Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), underscoring the dance's connections to the Polish nobility.⁶³ He credits the Cossacks and peasants of Ukraine with the sorrowful *dumka*, a genre shared

by neighbouring Podolia and Volhynia. Sowiński places the lively mazurka (*mazurek/mazur*) in Mazovia, asserting that the mazurka offers the best model for new Polish music. In passing, he also mentions the *sielenka* and Cossack dances, but attributes no specific regional origins to them. He concludes his survey with Kraków, in the region of Lesser Poland (Małopolska), the heartland of the Polish Golden Age, and its characteristically witty genre, the *krakowiak*.⁶⁴

The repertoire of the *Chants polonais* offers many examples of these genres, among others. For almost half of the pieces, Sowiński provided further commentary or textual notes, as illustrated in Table 2A and Table 2B.⁶⁵ These commentaries broached two new, interrelated points. They stressed that Poland's eastern lands and borderlands, like his own home, Podolia, were an integral part of Polish musical traditions. In so doing, they emphasised connections, as well as differences, among regions in Poland.

Four of the songs, including the first in the collection, concern Lithuania, a region Sowiński had not included in his textual introduction. He does not associate Lithuania with a single musical genre, musical style, or even subject. He says that the song that is the basis of no. 1, 'Lilie' [Lilies], set in the style of a nocturne, is a very old piece of Lithuanian origin, though it has become well known throughout Poland. He mentions Adam Mickiewicz's recent poem 'Lilije', a work included in 1822's *Ballady i romanse* [Ballads and romances]; the text he uses is somewhat simpler.⁶⁶ No. 22, 'Piosnka Weselna litewska' [*sic*], is a wedding song; no. 25, 'Sidir widir', is a light song in duple metre; and no. 33, 'Podróż na zaręczyn', is a lyrical song in 3/4, with similarities to the mazurka.

Sowiński explicitly linked seven of his forty songs to Ukraine, Podolia and Volhynia, through either commentaries or other notes (by contrast, he only associated Lesser Poland with two songs, Mazovia with two songs, and Greater Poland (Poznań) with one song in such a manner). He notes that these Eastern regions share certain repertoire, such as no. 3, 'Hyrć', a sorrowful dumka. He provides its lyrics in a Podolian 'patois', which, like that of no. 9, 'Susida', serves him as an example of Poland's distinct but mutually intelligible traditions. From a present-day perspective, this language would be better described as Ukrainian, but Sowiński, in keeping with Polish views in his day, portrays it as a variant of the Polish language, suggesting an intriguing extension of 'gente Rutheni, natione Poloni' to commoners as well as nobility (similarly, he also retains Lithuanian in Lithuanian songs).⁶⁷ He decries Russian cultural imperialism, stating that he believes the Russians had appropriated Ukrainian songs, like no. 15, the Cossack dumka 'Jchaw Kozak za dunay'. He listed this song, as well as no. 9, 'Susida', as jointly belonging to Ukraine and Lesser Poland, demonstrating the connection of Poland's borderlands and heartlands.

The sum effect of Sowiński's introduction and repertoire is not simply a catalogue; it is a startling portrayal of many groups – Poles,

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See Halina Goldberg, 'Nationalising the *Kujawiak* and Constructions of Nostalgia in Chopin's Mazurkas', *19th-Century Music*, 39 (2016), 232n14; Norman Davies, *God's Playground*, rev. edn, ii:1795 to the Present (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 76–78.

64

On the historical role of Lesser Poland, see Davies, *God's Playground*, rev. edn, i:26–27.

65

Several of the commentaries are written by Sowiński's translator, Fulgence.

66

Milewski, 'Chopin's Mazurkas', 125n40.

67

Kai Struve, 'Civil Society, Peasants, and Nationalism in Austrian Galicia from the 1860s until 1914', in *The Politicisation of Rural Areas in Central Europe*, ed. Milan Řepa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2020), 14. I am grateful to Dr Anthony Qualin and Christopher Hepburn for examining these texts for me during an earlier research project, and to one of the reviewers of this article for directing me to consider broader discourse about Ruthenian identity.

68

Rosenberg, *Music, Travel, and Imperial Encounter*, 109–110.

69

Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe*, 32.

70

Cf. Davies, *God's Playground*, rev. edn, ii:12–13. See also Maciej Gołąb, *Mazurek Dąbrowskiego. Muzyczne narodziny hymnu* [The 'Dąbrowski' Mazurka: the musical birth of an anthem] (Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2021).

71

Pieśni światowe z najnowszych oper, komedio-oper, drammm i tragedji [...] jako też wierszy dla rycerzy polskich po wojnie w r. 1809 powracających zebrane [Songs of the world from the latest operas, comedy operas, dramas and tragedies [...] as well as poems for Polish knights returning after the war in 1809] (Warsaw: s.n., 1810), <https://polona.pl/item/piesni-swiatowe-z-najnowszych-oper-komedyooper-dramm-y-tragedji-iako-tez-wierszy-dla,OT14ODczOTg/>.

72

Kramer, 'The Rights of Man', 531.

73

Greg Burgess, *Refuge in the Land of Liberty: France and Its Refugees, from the Revolution to the End of Asylum, 1787–1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 69–71; Koropeczky, *Adam Mickiewicz*, 186.

Cossacks, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, among others – as having contributed to Polish music, and, in so doing, being fundamentally Polish. Sowiński recognised that Polish regional traditions were not static; in his introduction, he noted that they informed the stylistic vocabulary and emotional expression of new Polish compositions. Thus, Poland already had a dialectic between regional and national identities, between oral traditions and newly composed music. This was a remarkable claim to make in France regarding *chants populaires*, as interest in collecting them was still nascent, though they were viewed as important relics of national heritage.⁶⁸ Sowiński was asserting that Poland was ahead of Western European nations in terms of national music, in a manner analogous to how Lelewel argued that Poland had been ahead of Western European nations regarding democracy.⁶⁹

Sowiński's interest in Polish identity did not preclude him from suggesting that the liberation of Poland could be part of France's own revolutionary destiny. The 'Mazur Dąbrowskiego', no. 13, recalls Poland's contributions to the Napoleonic campaigns.⁷⁰ Nonetheless, Sowiński did not foreground this Franco-Polish connection nearly to the degree it had been in some other Polish song collections, like the 1810 *Pieśni światowe z najnowszych oper, komediooper, drammm i tragedji*.⁷¹ In the *Chants polonais*, Polish heroes, the Polish constitution of 3 May 1791, and especially Polish 'chants populaires' take pride of place.

As a work of cultural diplomacy, the *Chants polonais* was ambitious and visionary, drawing upon multiple conceptions of Polish national identity even as it promoted the Chodźko circle's activities. The months after the anthology's release would show that the work's ethos of optimism and intent on coalition building would prove all too fragile and ephemeral.

The 1830s and 1840s: collaborations with the Chodźko circle and beyond

1830, the year that began with the release of the *Chants polonais*, would see two events that would forever alter the Polish national cause and the Polish émigré community in Paris. In July, a revolution toppled the Bourbons and instated the July Monarchy, placing Louis-Philippe on the throne. Lafayette once again came to the fore of French politics, with Chodźko as an aide-de-camp.⁷² The November Uprising in Warsaw in 1830 prompted the Great Emigration (*Wielka emigracja*), and many Poles from the Congress Kingdom fled to France, which had initially welcomed them.⁷³ Paris attracted Polish artists, intellectuals, aristocrats and leaders of the political resistance. Adam Czartoryski headed the old liberal faction, which was relatively moderate in its understanding of Polish national autonomy and its emphasising of diplomacy over

military action. Lelewel led the more progressive republican wing and became president of the newly-formed republican Polish National Committee. His old student Chodźko was a prominent member.⁷⁴

Although popular support for Polish refugees ran high in the French capital throughout and directly following the November Uprising, Sowiński's position as a Pole in Paris grew more precarious. The French government worried that Polish refugees, whose numbers were growing ever higher, might spark or at least join another insurrection, either in France or abroad. France's lack of direct political support for Poland prompted protests and violence in Paris.⁷⁵ The French government sought to diminish the possibility that Poles might incite unrest in the capital by sending Poles who accepted their refugee assistance to provincial cities. With the law of April 1832, Poles could no longer freely settle in Paris.⁷⁶ Later that year Chodźko and Lelewel were banned from Paris for appealing to the Russian people to overthrow their czar, and the French government decreed that only one member of Lelewel's Polish National Committee could live in any city in France. Lelewel soon was forced to leave France altogether.⁷⁷ The Parisian networks of French aristocrats, Polish aristocrats and activists, and other intellectuals that had thrust Sowiński into the centre of Polish political activism were now profoundly disrupted. Sowiński, whose name appeared on the Polish National Committee's list of friends, conducted extensive tours throughout France in 1833 and 1834, staying away from the capital.⁷⁸

Despite these adversities, Chodźko and his circle continued to produce works promoting Poland's rich intellectual traditions, culture, history and geography, and Sowiński contributed musical anthologies as well as scholarly articles to this venture. His anthology *Chants de la révolution polonaise* (1832) was released no later than June of that year, in the critical months between the law of April 1832 and the expulsion of Lelewel. This anthology of six songs was dedicated to the women of Metz, likely a tribute to the women's committee in Metz that had supported the Polish National Committee.⁷⁹ The *Mémoires polonaises: Album lyrique*, the contents of which are summarised in Table 3, also has strong links to the Chodźko circle. Five of the album's ten songs feature texts by Adam Mickiewicz, and three of these are from *Dziady*, Book III. One song, no. 3 'Skowronek Na Polach Wawru' (lyrics by Seweryn Goszczyński), was dedicated to Chodźko's wife, Olimpia, née Maleszewska. Between 1835 and 1842, Chodźko issued a three-volume series on Polish history and culture entitled *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque*, to which Sowiński contributed four articles, as shown in Table 1. Chodźko's next series, *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et illustrée*, contained an article entitled 'Théâtre polonais, coup d'œil sur l'art dramatique en Pologne' that was signed by Sowiński; however, Sowiński later

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Koropecykj, *Adam Mickiewicz*, 186–87; Kramer, 'The Rights of Man', 537; Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 73–74, 134; John D. Stanley, 'Joachim Lelewel (1786–1861)', in Peter Brock, John Stanley and Piotr J. Wróbel (eds), *Polish Historians from the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 64; Wernicki, *Leonard Chodźko i jego prace*, 80–105; cf. Komitet Narodowy Polski, *Zdanie sprawy z czynności*.

75

Burgess, *Refuge in the Land of Liberty*, 53; Kramer, 'The Rights of Man', 528, 531; Koropecykj, *Mickiewicz*, 182–83, 186; Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 78–83, 134.

76

Kramer, 'The Rights of Man', 533; Koropecykj, *Adam Mickiewicz*, 182–183; Burgess, *Refuge in the Land of Liberty*, 57–72, 85.

77

Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 81–83; Lloyd Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 266.

78

Komitet Narodowy Polski, *Zdanie sprawy z czynności*, 100; 'Nouvelles de Paris', *La Revue musicale*, 8/3 (2 February 1833), 21; 'Bals de l'Opéra', *La Revue musicale*, 8/48 (28 December), 404; 'Chronique', *Le Pianiste*, 2/2 (20 November 1834), 15.

79

Komitet Narodowy Polski, *Zdanie sprawy z czynności*, 59, 75–76; see *Ibid.*, 11, 13, 16, 19–20; 'Bulletin d'Annonces', *La Revue musicale*, 6/20 (16 June 1832), 160.

80

Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*, s.v. 'Chodzko, Léonard'. The article in question was 'Théâtre polonais, coup d'œil sur l'art dramatique en Pologne', *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et illustrée*, vol. iii (Paris: Bureau Central, 1839–1841), 281–289.

81

Although the *Chants de la révolution polonaise* and *Mélodies polonaises: Album lyrique* garnered notices in *La Revue musicale*, *La Gazette musicale* and non-musical periodicals, they did not find the same level of critical attention that the *Chants polonais* had. A notice in *La Revue musicale* indicates that at least the *Chants de la révolution polonaise* was seen as a continuation of the *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires*. 'Bulletin d'Annonces', *La Revue musicale*, 16 June 1832, 160.

82

Cf. Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 58–68. Sowiński would later describe the *chant populaire* 'Kossyniery Krakusy', the anthology's third song, as 'flaming soldiers' bellicose ardour' ('d'enflammer l'ardeur guerrière du soldat'). Sowiński, 'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire, et sur les danses en Pologne', 243.

83

Xavier Jon Puslowski, *Franz Liszt, His Circle, and His Elusive Oratorio* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 22–46.



Figure 2. Albert Sowiński, *Chants de la révolution polonaise*, Louis Lemaitre, Paris, c.1833, p. 3, National Library in Warsaw, BJ Muz. 7710 II

clarified that he only contributed a paragraph; the remainder of the essay was written by Chodźko.⁸⁰

The *Chants de la révolution polonaise* and *Mélodies polonaises* do not match the monumentalism or the comprehensiveness of Sowiński's earlier *Chants polonais*, although the *Chants de la Révolution polonaise* features a beautiful cover lithograph, shown in Figure 2.⁸¹ The 1832 and 1833 anthologies were shorter publications released in the heat of the Polish émigré crisis in France, as the Polish question became all the more urgent. These anthologies engaged not with theories of republicanism, but with more immediate concerns: through them, Sowiński presented a musical memorial to the failed revolution, embraced the romanticism of Mickiewicz, and conveyed a new sense of identity as a Pole in exile.

The songs of the *Chants de la Révolution polonaise* form a curiously bifurcated narrative. The first three songs, No. 1, Karol Kurpiński's 'Mazur Chłopiński' / 'Chant de Guerre' (lyrics by A. Słowaczynki), No. 2, 'Trzeci Maj' / 'Le 3 Mai' (lyrics by Stanisław Doliwa-Starzeński), and No. 3, 'Kossyniery Krakusy', have lyrics in both French and Polish. All three songs are in the vein of national songs or *chants populaires*, and they collectively evoke the fervour and hopes of the November Uprising.⁸² The last three songs, given in French only, problematise Poles' place in France and France's relationship to Poland. No. 4, 'À Beranger', is an appeal to the celebrated *chansonnier* Pierre-Jean de Béranger, who worked closely with Lafayette to promote the Polish cause.⁸³ Both No. 5, 'Le

29 November 1831', and No. 6, 'La Pologne en France', are written in the styles of marches; the former funereal, the other vacillating between triumph and ghostly quiet. No. 5 commemorates the first anniversary of the then failed November Uprising, on which day Lafayette had hosted a public gathering in Paris calling for renewed support of Poland.⁸⁴ The sixth piece promises that Poland will live on in France.

Through the ten songs of the *Album lyrique*, Sowiński suggested a more modern and romantic vision of Poland, at least in terms of text and genre, and a more troubled image of Poles in exile. The *Revue de Paris* noted that this album of 'romances' and 'chansonnettes' was especially suitable for amateurs; the language of the lyrics begs the question of exactly *which* amateurs.⁸⁵ No. 1 and no. 8, both concerning Polish women, have lyrics in Polish and French, with the French translations provided by Louis Lemaître and Fulgence, respectively. No. 1, 'La Mort du Colonel', is Adam Mickiewicz's tribute to Emilia Plater, a Polish-Lithuanian noblewoman who had fought and died in the November Uprising.⁸⁶ No. 8, 'Les Adieux de Ladislaw et Wanda' (lyrics by A. Slowaczynki), tells the story of the mythical Polish medieval princess who chose death over marrying a German.⁸⁷ The lyrics for no. 3, the sentimental 'Le dernier Slave' (lyrics by Ambroise Bétourné's), appear in French only. All of the other songs, including settings from Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, Book III, are given in Polish only. The content and less veiled political edge of these texts may have prompted caution. The first setting, no. 5, is Feliks's song text from Scene 1, in which the singer will remain a loyal subject of the Tsar – and imagines various ways to 'play Brutus to the czar'. Given that the Polish National Committee would run into issues with the French government over ostensibly anti-czarist sentiments, this text would have been incendiary. No. 7, the 'Chor Aniołów' [Choir of the angels] from Scene 4, follows the song about Princess Wanda, serving as a sort of benediction. The last of the *Dziady* settings, no. 10 'Pieśń Konrada', from Scene 1, concludes the anthology with a terrifying and furious call for vengeance.⁸⁸ Though the *Mémoires polonaises* has fewer overt political references, its narrative trajectory is far more sinister.

Table 3. Contents of *Mémoires polonaises: Album lyrique* (1833).

No.	Title	Lyricist*
1	'La Mort du Colonel'	Adam Mickiewicz
2	'Narodowa Nuta'	Konstanty Gaszyński
3	'Skowronek Na Polach Wawru'	Seweryn Goszczyński
4	'Le Dernier Slave'	Ambroise Bétourné
5	'Wierny Poddany' **	Adam Mickiewicz

84

Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds*, 271.

85

'Album', in *Revue de Paris*, 54 (1833), 126.

86

For discussion of the genesis and reception of the poem and a full English translation, see Ewa Hauser, 'Traditions of Patriotism, Questions of Gender: The Case of Poland', in *Gender 22: Postcommunism and the Body Politic*, ed. Ellen E. Berry (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 86–89.

87

The Wanda story was reworked by Polish Romantics; cf. Albina I. Kruszevska and Marion M. Coleman, 'The Wanda Theme in Polish Literature and Life', *The American Slavic and Eastern European Review*, 6/1–2 (1947), 19–35; Agnieszka Gajda, 'Romanticism and the Rise of Neopaganism in Nineteenth-Century Central and Eastern Europe: The Polish Case', in *Modern Pagan and Native Faith Movements in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Kaarina Aitamurto and Scott Simpson (London: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 57–58.

88

English translations of these passages, including the brief translations used here, can be found in Adam Mickiewicz, *Forefathers' Eve*, tr. Charles S. Kraszewski (London: Clogoslav, 2016), 200, 234 and 202. Kraszewski offers a ground-breaking translation of the entirety of *Dziady* into English.

6	'Do Konika Kiejstutowego'***	Adam Mickiewicz
7	'Chor Aniołów'	Adam Mickiewicz
8	'Les Adieux de Ladislas et Wanda'	A. Slowaczynski
9	'Stach Z Zamlechova'	S. D. S. [Stanisław Doliwa-Starzeński]
10	'Pieśń Konrada' **	Adam Mickiewicz

* Sowiński only identifies some lyricists by their initials

** From *Dziady*, Book III

Sowiński avoided such direct criticism of the Russian czar in his articles for *La Pologne...pittoresque*, vols. 1 and 2 (1835–1838), in which he addressed two main subjects: the history of Polish classical music, mostly that connected to the church, and Polish *musique populaire*. His discussion of the former consists of a broad overview of the three branches of learned music in Poland: church music, beginning with St Adalbert; music of 'la vie intérieure', i.e. music of salons and theatrical entertainments; and music of the Polish court. This material is brief, occupying not even the whole of the first article. The remainder of the series considers Polish *musique populaire*, treating, in turn, the polonaise, the mazurka, the krakowiak and related genres, the dumka, Cossack music, Lithuanian music, and music from Samogitia (Żmudź), Podlasie and Belarus. Sowiński provides thirty simply arranged examples of this *musique populaire*.

In these articles, Poland's republican traditions no longer served as the key to Polish music and culture. Sowiński instead characterised Poland as a fervently Christian nation that had long been linked to Western Europe by cultural exchange. His first sentences assert that Poland had been preeminent in learning among the Slavic nations, and that the Poles' national character and music had been strongly influenced by Christianity. The subsequent survey of Polish learned music includes the names of just over a dozen composers; the institutions of the church and the court are Sowiński's true protagonists. His consideration of *musique populaire* likewise foregrounds the role of Christianity. In discussing the polonaise, Sowiński asserts that Poland's '*musique populaire*, a simple and naïve expression of the customs of the nation', directly resulted from the influence of religious music upon the character of the Polish people', and that 'Our popular music is a faithful mirror of the moral soul of the Polish nation'.⁸⁹ With almost every genre or variety of *musique populaire*, he makes some reference to Western music theory or Western European music. For example, when explaining metre and rhythm in the polonaise, he invokes Franco of Cologne's theories of the perfection of triple time.⁹⁰

More so than in the *Chants polonais*, Sowiński acknowledged that geography, climate and political events had imbued Polish regions with differing – even contradictory – characters. Nonetheless, he maintained that Polish *musique populaire* had become a sort of

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'De ces hymnes sacrées, de ces pieuses légendes ou nos poètes ont puisé de si belles inspirations, surgit une musique populaire, expression simple et naïve des mœurs de la nation'; 'Notre musique populaire est le miroir fidèle de l'existence morale de la nation polonaise.' Sowiński, 'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire', *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque*, vol. i (Paris: Bureau Central, 1835–1836), 329, 335; Sowiński, 'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire, et sur les danses en Pologne', *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque*, vol. i (Paris: Bureau Central, 1835–1836), 425.

90

Sowiński, 'Musique, coup d'œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire en Pologne', 335.

national patrimony and spoke fervently of the destiny of the Polish nation. He even argued that those from ‘other Slavic nations’ who had lived in Polish lands had seen their music become Polish, just as these members of other Slavic nations became part of the Polish people and the Polish nation during the time of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth: ‘The Polish people offered a fraternal alliance to them. These peoples, gathered around the throne, formed but one nation; the king, the first citizen of the State, spread liberty to all, like a beneficent light.’⁹¹ This argument incorporates elements of Lelewel’s theories, celebrating liberty as the right of all peoples as a part of one Polish nation.⁹² At the same time, Sowiński once again sidestepped the issue of the *szlachta* that so concerned Lelewel, making references to monarchy and tradition that would appeal to more conservative Polish republican factions and fit within the moderate political tone of the July Monarchy.⁹³

By asserting that Poland had a music history to be found in both its learned traditions and its *musique populaire*, Sowiński countered those in Paris and beyond who would have turned Poland into a case study in radical populist republicanism, as well as those who – in the tradition of Voltaire – clung to assertions that Poland rested precariously on the edge of European civilization.⁹⁴ Joseph Mainzer, who had published a three-article series on national music in *La Gazette musicale* several years earlier, argued that Poland had no national music because Polish learned music had been controlled by the church or the court – not written for the people – and that none of the Polish *musique populaire* conveyed sufficiently national spirit. The solution, in his eyes, was for an artist-leader to give voice to the Polish nation and spark political action.⁹⁵ The articles on Poland by Truhn that Sowiński adapted for *La France musicale* in 1842 presented Chopin and Elsner as saviours of Polish music, if not exactly of the Polish nation. Sowiński’s adaptation of Truhn stayed true to the spirit of the articles for *La Pologne... pittoresque*: like the Doctor in Juliusz Słowacki’s *Kordian*, Sowiński had no use for *wieszcz* or saviour protagonists; Sowiński chose instead to celebrate the proud collective history that the Polish nation could look to as they fought for a national future.⁹⁶

Scholarly monumentalism: the *Dictionnaire biographique* (1857)

Nearly two decades passed between Sowiński’s articles for *La Pologne... pittoresque* and *La France musicale* and his next major work on Polish music, the *Dictionnaire biographique*. Sowiński toured France extensively, continuing to promote the Polish cause.⁹⁷ Although he had eschewed the trope of the Polish messianic artist, that did not deter Henri Blanchard from portraying him as such in an 1839 article for *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*:

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‘Le peuple polonais leur offrit une alliance fraternelle. Ces peuples, groupés autour de trône, ne formaient qu’une nation; le roi, premier citoyen de l’Etat [sic], répandait la liberté sur tous, comme un lumière bienfaisante.’ Sowiński, ‘Musique, coup d’œil historique sur la musique religieuse et populaire en Pologne’, *La Pologne historique, littéraire, monumentale, et pittoresque*, vol. ii (Paris: Bureau Central, 1837–1838), 424.

92
Cf. Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 74.

93
Cf. Skurnowicz, *Joachim Lelewel*, 116–129. The idea of how peoples like Ruthenians could become Polish occupied the group at the Hôtel Lambert; cf. Bilenyk, *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, 106–132.

94
Cf. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

95
Joseph Mainzer, ‘De la musique et de la poésie nationales’, *La Gazette musicale de Paris*, 1/10 (9 March 1834), 75–78; 1/11 (16 March 1834); 1/14 (6 April), 113–116. Cf. Wheaton, ‘Travel, Ideology, and the Geographical Imagination’, 164–166.

96
Coghen, ‘Polish Romanticism’, 566–567.

97
Cf. Talma-Davous, ‘Le pianiste de moi’, 138–139.

98

[Antoine] De Kontski, Chopin, et Albert Sowiński forment une trinité pianistique qui a son culte, son fidèles, ses fervents adorateurs. Nous serions tentés de croire que M. Sowiński est le saint-esprit de cette trinité, car ainsi que les pigeons voyageurs qui portent des messages de foi, d'amour et d'espérance, comme le divin oiseau, M. Sowiński parcourt fréquemment le monde musical pour descendre dans les esprits et les cœurs la foi et l'amour artistiques. Il s'est donné la mission d'aller répandre le goût de la bonne musique en province chaque année, de populariser le piano, cet instrument qu'on trouve maintenant jusque chez l'agriculteur des départements les plus stigmatisés [sic] de noir par le statisticien M. le baron Charles Dupin.' Henri Blanchard, 'Revue critique', *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 6/52 (20 October 1839), 413.

99

The Pomereu family were legitimists; many were notable members of the conservative club *Cercle Agricole*. Philippe Marquia de Massa, *Souvenirs et Impressions, 1840–1871* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1897), 31; Charles Yriarte, *Les cercles de Paris, 1828–1864* (Paris: Librairie Parisienne, 1864), 166, 202, 210, 295; Talma-Davous, 'Le pianiste de moi', 146–147.

100

'sous vos auspices'; Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*.

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Pekacz, 'Deconstructing a "National Composer"', 166; Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*, s.v. 'Grabowski, Charles Comte de'; L.-J. Morié, *Bourbons & Orléans: Princes d'Orléans Bourbons d'Espagne, de Naples et de Parme; Histoire; Généalogie; Pavillons; Armoiries et Ordres de Chevalerie, Anecdotes, etc.* (Paris: Librairie A. Charles, 1898), 40–41.

[Antoni] De Kontski, Chopin and Albert Sowiński constitute a pianistic trinity which has its order of worship, its faithful, its fervent admirers. We would posit that Monsieur Sowiński is the Holy Spirit of this trinity, because just as messenger pigeons, like the divine dove, carry the missives of faith, love and hope, Monsieur Sowiński frequently leaves the musical world [of Paris] to impart faith and love into souls and hearts. He was given the mission of spreading taste for good music in the provinces each year and of popularising the piano, that instrument that is only now being taken up by farmers in the departments most disparaged by the statistician Monsieur the Baron Charles Dupin.⁹⁸

This period of Sowiński's life needs much closer scholarly attention. However, the following point is clear: despite his continued interest in *musique populaire*, Sowiński was no populist. He enjoyed the support of a growing circle of French aristocrats, and not ones who were bastions of liberalism like Lafayette. These aristocrats were conservatives – legitimists and Orléanists – who wanted to reinstate elements of the Bourbon Restoration, if not the *ancien régime*. Sowiński's chief patrons were the Marquis and Marquise de Pomereu, who provided Sowiński lodging at their home in Paris for many years, and to whom he dedicated the *Dictionnaire biographique*.⁹⁹

Sowiński's dedication stated that he began the *Dictionnaire biographique* 'under [the] auspices' of the Marquis and Marquise Étienne de Pomereu, but the origins and genesis of the work are far from clear.¹⁰⁰ Only a handful of Sowiński's personal documents are extant and accessible, and his direct comments within the *Dictionnaire biographique* conceal as much as they reveal. More than a third of the work's 165 subscribers have titles, the overwhelming majority of these being French. Sowiński garnered subscriptions from the leaders of the conservative Polish republican wing in Paris, namely Prince Adam Czartoryski and his wife Princess Anna, née Sapieha; their son Prince Wladislas [Władysław] Czartoryski, who would marry Marguerite de Bourbon-Orléans, sealing a connection to the legitimists; and their nephew Count Charles Grabowski.¹⁰¹ Only a handful of subscribers came from the Chodźko and Lelewel circle, notably Chodźko himself, Felix Miaskowski, Théodore [Teodor] Morawski and Wladislas Oleszczynski. One cluster of subscribers consisted of professionals and government officials from Vitebsk (now Belarus, then in Russia); another cluster was composed of scholars, librarians and booksellers from the Austrian partition, notably Ambroży Grabowski in Kraków, Abbé Mioduszewski in Kraków, the librarian of Count Ossolinski in Lwów (Galicia), and the bookseller Milikowski in Lwów; still another cluster of subscribers was constituted of librarians outside Poland, including Lassabathies, administrator at the Paris Conservatory, Louis Moreau, librarian at

the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, and D.-Constant de Würzbach, librarian for the Ministry of the Interior in Vienna.

Sowiński's dedication characterised the *Dictionnaire biographique* as a 'special book' that was as much a 'souvenir of my time in France, where I have received the most flattering welcome and passed my best years', as it was the 'fruit of patient research'.¹⁰² This statement is easily misunderstood, and perhaps disingenuous. The term 'souvenir' did not necessarily denote a trinket, as it so often does now; it was a powerful genre of autobiographical writing (and artistic expression) that was used by the Romantics, including Sowiński's contemporaries Berlioz and Liszt. Such souvenirs often mixed personal and scholarly or critical prose. This book does not offer autobiographical disclosure in the normal sense, but it extends tantalising clues about Sowiński's life that merit further scrutiny, particularly with regard to his scholarly network and intimate knowledge of performances in homes of the French and Polish aristocracy. The conclusion of Sowiński's 44-page introductory essay on Polish music history recognises his many collaborators in the project, including Polish musicians, French musicians, scholars and librarians, from whom he garnered personal accounts, recommendations for sources and verification of manuscripts and archive holdings, as evidenced by his notes in the subsequent biographical entries.¹⁰³

Sowiński's care in assembling the *Dictionnaire biographique* shows his more developed understanding of music history and his potential as a music historian, influenced no doubt by the monumental *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (1834–1842) of François-Joseph Fétis, which appears among his sources. Sowiński may also have found a model in Bohumír Jan Dlabac's *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien* (Prague: 1815), a ground-breaking dictionary of Czech musicians, another source cited in the *Dictionnaire biographique*.¹⁰⁴ Sowiński draws upon an impressive array of carefully documented sources, to the point of providing references to specific page numbers. Main scholarly sources include the writings of the historian and archaeologist Ambroise [Ambroży] Grabowski, Sebastiano Ciampi's comparative study *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze politiche, ecclesiastiche, scientifiche, artistiche dell'Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia ed altre parti settentrionali* (1834–1842), Fétis's *Biographie universelle* and Łukasz Gołębiowski's *Lud polski* (1830). Material drawn from contemporaneous periodicals in Poland and abroad, including *Tygodnik Petersburski* and *Kurier Warszawski*, also appears frequently.

The introductory essay on Polish music history has a less poetic and more empirical, systematic and critical tone than his previous writings. The church, the court and Christianity remain central to his portrayal of Polish music history, while *musique populaire* (or '*musique villageoise*') is restricted to a relatively brief section. Before the biographical entries, Sowiński includes a ten-page essay on Polish instruments, which rather than being occupied with

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'sous vos auspices'; 'un livre spécial'; 'fruit de patients recherches'; 'un souvenir de mon séjour en France, où j'ai reçu l'accueil le plus flatteur et passé mes plus belles années'; Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*.

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Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*, 44.

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Johann Gottfried Dlabac [Bohumír Jan Dlabac], *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien* (Prague: Haase, 1815).

distinctly Polish folk instruments focuses instead on how the piano, the guitar and orchestral instruments have been used in Poland. Both the introductory essay and the survey of Polish instruments signal Sowiński's decision to eschew documenting regional heritages and popular cultures in favour of highlighting Poland's connection with Western Europe musically, religiously and culturally.

Many of the more than 500 entries in the *Dictionnaire biographique* reinforce the church and the court as leaders in promoting musical exchanges between Poland and Western Europe. Sowiński included a variety of figures – aristocrats, saints, court musicians, scholars, poets, instrument manufacturers, Catholic church musicians, Lutheran pastors, accomplished amateurs, composers and many women musicians – whose work in some way intersected with Polish musical life, conceived within the broadest boundaries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Some of these musicians, like Adam Jarzębski, were born and lived within Polish lands; others, like Johann Adolph Hasse, Luca Marenzio and Marco Scacchi, were foreign-born and worked at the Polish court; still others, like Mikhail Glinka, simply spent a period of time in Poland. Sowiński also included Polish musicians who were born abroad or primarily worked there, like the pianist Emile Wroblewski. Sowiński's interest was not in restricting Polish identity along lines of heritage or geography, but in celebrating Poland's longstanding role as a cultural centre and promoting the continued promise of the Polish nation.

The *Dictionnaire biographique* continued Sowiński's quest to reflect the diversity and full scope of Polish identity that he began with the Chodźko circle, while veering ever further away from celebrating the *szlachta* or Sarmatism. Ironically, the *Dictionnaire biographique*, the best remembered of his works promoting Polish heritage, also was the most critical of Polish history. He acknowledged Poland's political decline in the second half of the eighteenth century, without placing blame on foreign aggressors. His praise of Czar Nicholas I for a 'good law' in creating pensions for Polish musicians attached to certain institutions suggests that Poles' best path, for the present, might lie in working with the Russian authorities, rather than against them.¹⁰⁵ Such a pragmatic view already had been advanced by Michał Grabowski.¹⁰⁶ In any case, the *Dictionnaire biographique* demonstrates that Sowiński found impetus for scholarship beyond the Chodźko circle, immediate calls for action, and the flash of Lelewelian republicanism that had launched his intellectual path.

Ultramontanism and the Polish nation: the *Chants religieux de la Pologne* (1859)

The *Chants religieux de la Pologne* of 1859 is unique among Sowiński's works dedicated to Polish music in that it overtly intersects neither with Polish émigré networks nor with aristocratic French ones.

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Sowiński, *Dictionnaire biographique*, 44

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Bilenky, *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, 137–138.

Published by Girod, this two-volume collection of thirty pieces fits into a markedly middle-class and feminine French market. Sowiński offers no lyrics in Polish, only in French or Latin. The songs are set for organ and two voices (dessus-dessus) or three voices (dessus-dessus-contralto). The cover indicated that the collection was useful for 'couvents et maisons d'éducation', synonymous with the schooling of bourgeois girls in France.¹⁰⁷

The *Chants religieux* contained a letter of approbation from the Archbishop of Lyon, the Abbé Louis-Édouard Pie, a Bourbon legitimist and leading ultramontane, who commended the work for Marian devotions or 'pieuses réunions'.¹⁰⁸ The Abbé Pie seemed keen on promoting such music; he had written a similar introduction to the 1855 *Douze chants religieux* by the Abbé L. H. Pénot.¹⁰⁹ In any case, the Abbé Pie's note of approbation connected the anthology to two potentially inflammatory political movements. First, the Abbé Pie opposed the ruling regime – the Second Empire – and supported the Bourbons, the dynasty in power when Sowiński arrived in Paris. Secondly, the Abbé Pie supported an ecclesiastical position that challenged the power of the state as well as ideologies of nationalism. As Peter Raedts has argued, as the position of the Pope grew increasingly powerful in the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-nineteenth century, so too did the desire for:

a common homogenous culture that was designed to embrace the life of ordinary Catholics everywhere in all its aspects, political, social, cultural and religious. The Church also developed its own national ideology, ultramontanism [...]. What the Catholic Church after 1850 did, was to try and create an alternative to the national state, or perhaps more precisely, to change the Church into a national state which surpassed all other states, because of its divine origin and its universal destination, to gather all the peoples of the world into one Catholic nation.¹¹⁰

In the *Chants religieux*, Sowiński portrayed a Polish national identity that did not threaten the overarching goals of ultramontanism, and he created music that appealed to ultramontanist circles. He did so by building on one of the themes that had occupied Czartoryski and the moderate-to-conservative Polish faction at the Hôtel Lambert: the identity of Poland as a fundamentally Catholic nation.¹¹¹

Sowiński's two-page introduction to the *Chants religieux* announced: 'The purpose of this publication is to make the religious songs of Catholic Poland known in France.'¹¹² 'Catholic Poland' suggests a more restrictive Polish identity than in his previous works; however, more so than in the *Dictionnaire biographique*, he foregrounds the musical experience of the lower classes, not just of those with political or religious power. He asserts that Polish popular and religious music have long overlapped, as demonstrated

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Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2010), 45–81; Rebecca Rogers, 'Competing Visions of Girls' Secondary Education in Post-Revolutionary France', *History of Education Quarterly*, 34/2 (Summer 1994), 147–170. In the introduction to the *Chants religieux*, Sowiński advised that men could profit from it as well. Albert Sowiński, 'Avant propos' to *Chants religieux de la Pologne*, Op. 93 (Paris: Girod, 1859), iii.

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John W. Paderberg, S. J., 'Cardinal Louis-Edouard-Désiré Pie', in *Varieties of Ultramontanism*, ed. Jeffrey Paul Von Arx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 39–60; Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 30–31.

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Abbé L. H. Pénot, *Douze chants religieux* (Poitiers: Girault-Huguet, 1855).

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Peter Raedts, 'The Church as Nation State: A New Look at Ultramontane Catholicism 1850–1900', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History*, 84 (2004), 485–486.

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Bilenky, *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, 106–112, 124–132.

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'Le but de cette publication est de faire connaitre en France les chants religieux de la catholique Pologne'. Sowiński, *Chants religieux*, iii.

by the collection's repertoire of non-liturgical religious chants, most of them anonymous compositions. Accordingly, he believes these Polish-language songs show the dual influences of plainchant and Polish *musique populaire*.¹¹³ Instead of celebrating Polish *musique populaire* as an expression of Poland's regional traditions as he had in the *Chants polonais*, he presents Polish *musique populaire* as a testament to Polish religious character.

Sowiński acknowledged a current of popular religious music that had been important in Poland since the early nineteenth century, but the repertoire of which had remained peripheral in his earlier writings and anthologies. He cites Michał Mioduszeński as an important source for such music; indeed, all but a handful of the pieces in the *Chants polonais* match chants either in Mioduszeński's *Śpiewnik kościelny z melodyjami* [Church songbook with melodies] (1838), an extremely popular collection of hundreds of monophonic Polish religious chants, or in revised and expanded editions of this work.¹¹⁴ Sowiński states that *Chants religieux* illustrates the development of Polish religious music since the Middle Ages and offers approximate dates for six of the pieces, spanning from the tenth through the seventeenth centuries.¹¹⁵

Ideologically, the anthology is far afield from the *Chants polonais* and even the *Dictionnaire biographique*; politically and socially, it bears no obvious traces of activist efforts; its brevity precludes monumentalising ambitions. Yet it is a testament to the continuing discourse on the Polish nation cultivated among the Polish émigré community, and of the power of that discourse to appeal to intellectuals and other leaders in France, as well as to musical amateurs.

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Sowiński, 'Avant Propos' to *Chants religieux*, iii.

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Cf. Tomaszewski, 'Chopin's Inspiration from Polish "Common" Song', 47; Jan Węcowski, 'Polish Religious Music (Outline History) - V. 19th Century Polish Religious Music', *Polish Music/Polnische Musik* (1981), 30–34.

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These are no. 1, St Adalbert, 'Fragment d'un hymne à la Ste. Vierge (*Boga Rodiça*)', tenth century; no. 2, 'Chant à Marie', sixteenth century; no. 6, 'O Gloriosa Domina Antienne / (*O Gospodze uwielbiona*)', sixteenth century; no. 7, St Kasimir / Diomedes Caton 'Omni Die' / Hymne à Marie', c.1480, seventeenth century; no. 22 'Saint Hiacinthe (*Jacyncie święty*)', twelfth century.

Conclusion

Sowiński's scholarly writings and anthologies of Polish music show far more than a dashing young man, a pedant or a shadowy peripheral figure. They testify to a savvy and successful musician intensely engaging with networks of fellow Polish exiles, French aristocrats, Parisian musicians, church leaders in France, and friends and colleagues within Polish lands. All these shaped the genesis, content and reception of his writings and anthologies. Additional study of the full scope of Sowiński's oeuvre, networks, sources and reception will only further challenge the caricatured images of him that have persisted in scholarship, and this work will provide new avenues into examining his compelling and complex theorisations of Polish identity. No less importantly, Sowiński's publications and career should prompt further study of how the many Polish musicians in France during the nineteenth century, whether exiles, refugees or visitors, responded to and shaped questions regarding the Polish nation.

ABSTRACT

If there was one musician in mid-nineteenth-century Paris who diligently promoted Polish accomplishments, it was Albert Sowinski (Wojciech Sowiński). From his arrival in France in 1828 until his death in 1880, he championed the Polish cause as a performer, composer and scholar. Sowinski was a prolific writer, but with the exception of his *Les musiciens polonais et slaves, anciens et modernes, Dictionnaire* (1857), his studies of Polish repertoire rarely receive more than passing attention in modern scholarship. In this essay, I investigate Sowinski's developing paradigms of Polish nationalism and Polish identity across the entirety of his major writings about and collections of Polish music: *Chants polonais nationaux et populaires* (1830), *Chants de la révolution du 29 novembre 1830* (1830), *Mélodies polonaises album lyrique* (1833), 'Chants populaires de l'Ukraine' (1842), 'De l'état actuel de la musique en Pologne' (1842), *Dictionnaire* (1857) and *Chants religieux de la Pologne*, Op. 93 (1859).

The four works from the 1830s, which focused on Polish folk music and revolutionary songs, were closely tied to Sowinski's work with Léonard Chodzko (Leonard Chodźko) and his circle in Paris. Especially in the *Chants polonais*, Sowinski followed Chodzko and Joachim Leleweil in emphasising the exceptional geographic, linguistic and even ethnic diversity of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, viewing this diversity as the basis for a glorious musical and political future. By contrast, in his critical writings of the 1840s, Sowinski interpreted Ukraine's folk traditions as speaking largely to regional experience; he cast Warsaw and its musical institutions as the basis for a modern Polish musical identity. By the time of his *Dictionnaire* and *Chants religieux de la Pologne*, Sowinski de-emphasised Poland's musical exceptionality in favour of delineating its long tradition of exchange with Western Europe, facilitated particularly through courts and the Roman Catholic Church.

KEYWORDS

Albert Sowinski, nationalism, Paris, music criticism

VIRGINIA E. WHEALTON

an Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Texas Tech University, investigates questions of music and identity in the long nineteenth century, often as they intersect with nationalism, geopolitical imagination, travel and cultural memory. Her current book project, *Urban Virginians, Musical Citizens: The Myers Family of Norfolk*, investigates how a musically and culturally innovative urban life in the Old Dominion developed during the Early Republic vis-à-vis the myths of Old Virginia and the Planter Class, and why urban Virginians' cultural accomplishments have disturbed dominant narratives of Virginian and American identity for more than two centuries. During the 2022-2023 academic year, this project was supported by a Postdoctoral Research Leave Fellowship from the American Association of University Women. She often presents and publishes in forums that support interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary exchange. Recent publications have appeared in *Studia Chopinowskie* (2020), Brepols's *Speculum Musicae* series (2019) and *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* (2019). She received her PhD in Musicology from Indiana University - Bloomington.