

Challenging the Image of Karol Lipiński as an Ambassador of Polish Culture

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ABSTRACT

Karol Lipiński (1790-1861), through artistic activities centered around Polish musical idioms, significantly contributed to the dual process of carving the cultural identity of Poland and spreading it outside its confines. These achievements are reflected in the efforts of contemporary Polish scholars who promulgate an idealistic narrative that casts Lipiński as a genuine ambassador of Polish culture and heritage. I deconstruct such a portrayal by examining numerous fissures in his nationalistically constructed image, including his devotion to the Russian Tsar Nikolai I, his flexibility in tailoring concert programs to accommodate the expectations of local audiences, and his ideological conflict with Chopin. As I contextualize these fissures through the lens of Central European politics of Lipiński's lifetime, I present him as an artist whose motivations in taking on a nationalist role were fueled predominantly by a pragmatic desire to advance his career, rather than a patriotic urge to display affinity for his homeland.

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Introduction

Over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept of nationalism became a prevalent force in the process of shaping the political landscape of Europe. Nationalism emerged as a tool to maintain social order in the wake of the gradual decline of long-standing dynastic and religious allegiances, which resulted in a shift in the conception of the individual's loyalty within European societies. As the level of the individual's obedience to increasingly outdated allegiances decreased, it gave way to an idea of self-identification that would be fueled primarily by the sense of belonging to an ethnically homogeneous nation—one sharing a mutual language, customs, and experiences, carved altogether by historical destiny which was unique to a specific group. In this way, the concept of nation became an increasingly influential force in the process of binding its members, the “people,” together.

Several events that took place in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth elevated the concept of nationalism towards its later prominence. The Revolutions in America and France in the late eighteenth century were followed in the subsequent century by persistent political unrest that peaked in the 1848 revolutions known as the “Springtime of Nations.” These events spurred the process of a significant reshaping of the geo-political map of Europe, with the unification of Italy (in 1861) and Germany (in 1871) as the most notable long-term hallmarks of said changes. In France, the 1848 revolution resulted in the abdication of the liberal monarch, Louis Philippe, and the formation of the Second Republic under the reactionary Louis Napoleon. The turmoil of the mid-nineteenth century also affected the eastern part of Europe, where the Hungarian nation's growing dissatisfaction with Austrian rule led to a rebellion, which

eventually spurred the creation of a double monarchy, known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in 1867. In Poland, 1848 saw an unsuccessful military insurrection of Poles against Prussian forces—one of many attempts of the Polish nation to regain its independence from invaders.

As Leon Plantinga argues, “movements towards national identity were felt in literature and the arts at least as soon as in politics.”¹ Indeed, the nineteenth century saw a gradual evolution of romantic nationalism. A notion which originally emerged as an abstract concept grew over time to find its validation as a practical tool for specific ethnic or national entities to emphasize their distinctiveness through various artistic media, including music. According to Richard Taruskin, who claims that “romanticism was nationalism’s natural ally and its most powerful stimulant,” the rise of nationalism to become the foremost ideology of the nineteenth century was strongly embedded in fundamental doctrines of romanticism itself.² Contrary to the intellectual concept of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, which promoted the pursuit of universality, romanticism saw a shift towards a celebration of uniqueness. Consequently, along with the growing need for the individual to self-identify based on loyalty to “the people” rather than to a dynasty or religion, an interest in cultivating local languages, customs, and national histories became essential component of romanticism. This, in turn, gave way for folk culture to become the major source of inspiration for the arts. By dwelling on local folklores, artists came into possession of a tool capable of appealing to local sentiments. Consequently, their art fueled the individual’s sense of belonging to a specific

¹ Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, The Norton Introduction to Music History (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1984), 341.

² Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism,” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 9 February. 2020.

national entity, and, therefore, satisfied the quintessential provisions of the romantic ideology.

Music was prone to the absorption of various aspects of nationalism. This trend was especially the case with instrumental music, whose natural intangibility—resulting from the lack of a verbally-imposed, fixed narrative—enabled artists to feature in their works references to their national heritage in a variety of shades and distinctive levels of explicitness. For certain composers, nationalism served as an ideological tool to manifest their genuine affinity with their homelands, and, often, to convey a political resonance through their music. Such an approach is quintessentially exemplified in numerous works of Fryderyk Chopin (1810–1849), which explicitly manifest his devotion to the political cause of his homeland. This trait is most blatantly perceptible in his Etude in C minor, op. 10, no. 12, also known as the *Etude on the Bombardment of Warsaw*, or *Revolutionary Etude*—written as his patriotic reaction to the failure of the November Uprising of 1830 against Russian forces.³

However, numerous artists of the time made use of nationalism in music in a rather practical, non-ideological way. This tendency was widely explored by composers and performers, especially those from the politically marginalized parts of Europe. Musicians such as the Bohemian Antonín Dvořák, the Spaniard Pablo de Sarasate, and the Pole Henryk Wieniawski often employed nationalism as a tool to market their compositions and performances among Western audiences, instead of using it as a

³ Frederick Niecks, *Frédéric Chopin as a Man and Musician* (London and New York: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1888), 197.

manifestation of their patriotic and authentic affinity for their cultures.⁴ It can be argued that the turbulent political situations in these artists' homelands functioned as a primary catalyst in the process of forging their own successful international careers. They employed musical elements typical of their homelands in "westernized" forms, which not only made their compositions widely appealing to Western audiences due to their easily comprehensible "exotic" features, but also allowed their countrymen to identify with the uniquely native elements of their works.

Both the patriotic and the practical facets of nationalism are relevant to the subject of my doctoral thesis: the life and artistic activity of the Polish violinist, Karol Lipiński, who lived from 1790 to 1861 and was widely considered the most popular Polish artist in Europe before Chopin. Despite his renown as both a virtuoso and a composer during his lifetime, his achievements as a performer, composer, and teacher fell into neglect shortly after his death. Only in recent decades has Lipiński started to receive significant scholarly attention. Contemporary Polish scholars have undertaken various initiatives aimed at reviving interest in Lipiński, and, consequently, at reaffirming his significance for Polish and European cultures. In doing so, they have tended to praise Lipiński as a genuine ambassador of Polish culture and heritage in a manner resembling the acclaim received by Chopin, Lipiński's more internationally recognized compatriot composer.

My research explores Lipiński's complex relationship with the concept of nationalism from a more critical perspective. I examine his life and works in order to outline his conformity to the aforementioned patterns employed by artists from politically

⁴ Michael Beckerman, "The Master's Little Joke: Antonín Dvořák and the Mask of Nation," in *Dvořák and His World*, ed. Michael Beckerman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 134–54.

marginalized parts of Europe, who increased the marketability of their compositions and artistic activity by exploiting various facets of nationalism. Through my investigation, I strive to deconstruct the idealistic portrayal of Lipiński's patriotic agenda that is advocated by contemporary scholars, and to present him as an artist whose motivations in taking on a nationalist role were fueled predominantly by pragmatism and a desire to advance his career, rather than by patriotic urges to display affinity for his homeland. To support my argument, I will examine numerous flaws in Lipiński's nationalistically constructed image. First to be noted is his remarkable flexibility in putting on the nationalistic "mask," a phrase that Michael Beckerman has adopted to describe composers and performers who tailor their nationalistic practices to suit the expectations of local audiences.⁵ Consequently, I will reinforce my thesis by examining Lipiński's devotion to Russian Tsar Nikolai I—who was an enemy of Polish independence. Finally, I will reassess Lipiński's ideological conflict with Chopin, which was rooted in fundamental differences in their patriotic agendas. As I contextualize these fissures in his posthumous Polish identity through the lens of Central European political circumstances of the time, I will demonstrate that nationalism in his works and artistic activity was primarily a practical tool, rather than an ideological attitude.

⁵ Beckerman, "The Master's Little Joke," 142.

Karol Lipiński: A Biographical Sketch

Karol Lipiński was born in 1790 in Radzyń Podlaski in Poland. In 1809, he became the first violinist of the opera orchestra in Lviv, and was appointed its artistic director two years later.⁶ Between 1817 and 1839 Lipiński extensively concertized in all major European cultural centers as a soloist, acquiring international acclaim. Notable developments in his career affirmed his importance, including his appointment as the concertmaster of the Royal Oratory in Dresden; his long-standing collaboration with C. F. Peters, a prestigious music publisher in Leipzig; concert performances with Felix Mendelssohn, Clara Wieck, and the Italian violinist Niccolò Paganini;⁷ and the remarks of notable contemporary music critics such as Robert Schumann.⁸

Lipiński reached a pivotal point in his career in Vienna in 1814, when he met Louis Spohr, a renowned German violinist and composer. Spohr persuaded Lipiński to shift the course of his career by resigning from his appointment as an orchestral musician in Lviv in order to devote himself exclusively to perfecting his violin technique. For the next thirty-two years, Lipiński undertook the career of a travelling violin virtuoso, following the fashion initiated earlier by Paganini and cultivated throughout the nineteenth century by many formidable virtuoso-composers, such as Ferenc Liszt, Pablo de Sarasate, and Henryk Wieniawski. Lipiński quickly gained international recognition during numerous concert tours that took him to all major European cultural centers.

⁶ Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, "Karl Lipiński [Geiger; Biographische Skizze]," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 37, no. 26 (1835): 424–28.

⁷ Dmitrij Kolbin, "Karol Lipiński a Austro-Niemiecka Kultura Muzyczna," in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 3, ed. Maria Pasella and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2003), 61.

⁸ Robert Schumann, "'Konzerte' – Lipiński," in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, Bd. 1, ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), 37.

Among his significant performances were several joint concerts with Paganini himself, two in Piacenza in 1818, and a third in Warsaw in 1829 during the coronation ceremony of Emperor Nikolai I—an event that I will later discuss in connection with Lipiński’s cautious approach to Polish nationalism. Although Lipiński and Paganini regarded each other very highly, juxtaposition of their unique abilities during their joint concerts led audiences to consider them rivals, and their joint performances as “competitions.” After one of these concerts in 1829, Paganini diplomatically addressed his alleged rivalry with Lipiński. Asked whom he considered the best violinist in the world, Paganini is believed to have famously replied: “I do not know who the greatest is, but Lipiński is certainly the second greatest.”⁹

After settling in Dresden in 1839 and undertaking the position of concertmaster of the Royal Oratory, Lipiński reconciled musical and pedagogical duties. At that time, his well-established reputation made him a highly demanded pedagogue. In 1845 he taught the fourteen-year-old Joseph Joachim, and in 1848 the thirteen-year-old Henryk Wieniawski, who subsequently became two of the nineteenth century’s foremost violin virtuosos. After 1846 Lipiński gradually began to limit his activity as a soloist, including foreign concert tours, due to his worsening health conditions. Nonetheless, he continued to serve as the concertmaster in Dresden until 1861, and retired only a couple of months before his death.

From the early stages of his career until his final years, Lipiński composed approximately forty works, mostly for violin and accompanied either by orchestra,

⁹ Xavier Jon Puslowski, *Franz Liszt, His Circle, and His Elusive Oratorio* (New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 46.

chamber ensemble, or piano. Among his most significant compositions for violin and orchestra are his four violin concertos, three *Rondos alla Polacca*, *Concert Polonaise*, op. 6, and also several operatic fantasies designated for the same performing forces, including Variations on Rossini's opera *Cinderella*, op. 11, and Great Fantasia on motifs from Bellini's opera *The Puritans*, op. 28. His oeuvre also consists of numerous works for violin and piano, most notably three divertimenti titled *Souvenir de la Mer Baltique*, op. 19. Apart from these compositions, he also wrote orchestral works, including three symphonies (all completed before 1810) and *Polonaise Guerriere*, op. 29. Like the compositions of other virtuoso-composers of the era, most of Lipiński's works tend to highlight the solo part, limiting the other voices to a primarily accompanimental role. In this way, his works function as vehicles to showcase dazzling virtuosity.

Poland's Turbulent Politics and their Influence on Music

Lipiński's life coincided with turbulent political situations in Poland. Between 1772 and 1795 the Polish territory was partitioned by the neighboring countries of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Consequently deprived of its statehood, Poland ceased to exist as an independent nation until the end of World War I, in 1918. The late 1820s marked a growing rebellious attitude within Polish society toward the oppressive Russia. The semi-autonomous government of the Kingdom of Poland—an entity that emerged in the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna of 1815—continued to enjoy a relatively large scope of political liberties. However, this government faced a threat stemming from radical changes in the political attitude of the Russian Tsar Nikolai I, who was dissatisfied with the re-emerging independence of Poland. The Tsar took gradual steps

toward the complete annexation of the remnants of the semi-independent Polish territories and declared himself the King of Poland in 1829.¹⁰ The November Uprising of 1830—an accumulated effort of the Poles to reclaim their sovereignty—was crushed by the Russian oppressor. The aftermath of the Uprising resulted in the complete annexation of Poland into the Russian Empire, bringing to an end the existence of the Kingdom of Poland in its previous form.

Turbulent political circumstances of that time undoubtedly influenced the manner in which Lipiński and other notable Polish artists who were active during the early decades of the nineteenth century—Karol Kurpiński, Mikołaj Kleofas Ogiński, Chopin, and others—shaped their careers as composers and performers. Mieczysława Demska-Trębacz, a leading Lipiński scholar, points out in her article, “Istota Polskości w Interpretacji Pokolenia Karola Lipińskiego,” that “composers of that generation inadvertently became responsible for preserving Polish national identity through the intangible medium of music.”¹¹ Additionally, Jacek Kolbuszewski remarks in his article, “Uwagi o Geografii Kultury Polskiej Czasów Karola Lipińskiego (1790–1861),” that the years spanning Lipiński’s lifetime “were a complicated, and also a particularly important time period for Polish culture, when the concept of the modern Polish nation in an ethnical, as well as in sociological sense, was being formed.”¹²

¹⁰ Franciszek German, “Lipiński i Chopin,” in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 51, ed. Maria Pasella and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 1990), 69.

¹¹ Mieczysława Demska-Trębacz, “Istota Polskości w Interpretacji Pokolenia Karola Lipińskiego,” in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 3, ed. Maria Zduniak and Dorota Kanafa (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2003), 25.

¹² Jacek Kolbuszewski, “Uwagi o Geografii Kultury Polskiej Czasów Karola Lipińskiego,” in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 51, ed. Maria Pasella and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 1990), 11.

Indeed, it might be argued that the longing of the Poles for an independent nation became a catalyst for carving a unique hermetic Polish musical identity in a more explicit manner than ever before in their nation's history. Although the musical idiom of Kurpiński's operas is generally comparable to the idioms of contemporaneous works by Domenico Cimarosa, Giovanni Paisiello, and Gioachino Rossini, he also attempted to lay foundations of a national operatic style, as he made use of certain historical and folkloric subjects, as well as Polish national dances and folksongs.¹³ Ogiński, in turn, composed numerous polonaises, adopting a brooding tone that has a parallel in Poland's oppression. His best known polonaise, *Pożegnanie Ojczyzny* ("Farewell to the Fatherland"), is filled with melancholy and lyricism, which reflect the composer's sorrow in the wake of his exile from Poland after the failure of the Kościuszko Uprising of 1794—a historical event that will be discussed later in the essay.¹⁴ Chopin's well documented efforts to infuse his works with explicitly nationalist idioms are attested to by his numerous works in genres of Polish origin—polonaises and mazurkas—as well as by his personal, publicly disseminated involvement in the political affairs of his home country.

Demska-Trębacz suggests that in the wake of difficult developments in Poland's political situation, it was the genre of the polonaise—a dance of Polish origin—that "provided a perfect canvas for Polish composers to convey political ideologies through their works."¹⁵ Indeed, various Polish composers, including Chopin and Ogiński—both acknowledged to have been the most significant Polish contributors to this genre—were inclined to employ the polonaise, among other Polish-originated genres, as a means of

¹³ Jim Samson, "Kurpiński, Karol Kazimierz," *Grove Music Online*. Retrieved 17 Oct. 2021.

¹⁴ Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, "Ogiński family," *Grove Music Online*. Retrieved 17 Oct. 2021.

¹⁵ Mieczysława Demska-Trębacz, "Topos i Idiom Narodowy," in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 5, ed. Anna Granat-Janki (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2013), 181.

national identification. As Jeffrey Kallberg observes, “one reason Chopin turned so often to these distinctly Polish kinds [polonaises and mazurkas] was that their familiar rhythmic and formal gestures enabled him directly to evoke memories of different aspects and strata of Polish culture.”¹⁶ Thus, as a reaction to Poland’s turbulent politics, numerous Polish composers of that time perceived the incorporation of nationalist elements in their artistic activity and compositions as a fulfilment of a patriotic mission that had been circumstantially entrusted to them.

However, by means of investigating the nature of nationalist leanings in Lipiński’s concert activities and their contextual correspondence to various stages of his career, it can be argued that the turbulent political situation of his homeland also functioned as a primary catalyst in the process of carving his own successful international reputation. He admittedly engaged in activities that have been interpreted as patriotic, but, in more significant ways, he exploited nationalism to promote his career while simultaneously avoiding its overt exhibition in circumstances that would have adversely affected his reputation. Thus, during the course of this essay, Lipiński will repeatedly emerge not as an artist whose primary goal was to promote a patriotic, nationalistic agenda, but rather as one who capitalized on Poland’s adverse political circumstances.

Lipiński’s Early Forays into Polish Nationalism

The time that Lipiński spent in the Galician city of Lviv—a multicultural enclave where his career started—paved the path for his concert activity and for his compositional style to develop around nationalism, which remained a central part of his

¹⁶ Jeffrey Kallberg, “Hearing Poland: Chopin and Nationalism,” in *Nineteenth Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York: Routledge, 2004), 221.

professional work until the late 1830s. Although Lipinski pursued lively concert engagements in numerous European countries, Lviv remained home from 1799 until 1839.¹⁷ From the time of its founding in the eleventh century, Lviv had undergone constant political changes; it had been under the jurisdiction of Russia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, and Austria.¹⁸ Early nineteenth-century Lviv was at the crossroad of cultures, where the Ukrainian, Polish, and Austro-German influences were intertwined. Shortly after the first partition of Poland in 1772—once Lviv became annexed by Austria—the influx of Austrians and Germans had rapidly gained momentum. Consequently, as Dmitrij Kolbin claims in his “Karol Lipiński a Austro-Niemiecka Kultura Muzyczna,” Austrian culture started to play a very significant role in shaping the cultural life of nineteenth-century Galicia.¹⁹ As a result, Lipiński was exposed not only to the culture of various Slavic nations, which had inhabited the city for the past centuries, but also to the newest musical trends derived from Vienna—one of the most significant cultural centers of Europe at that time. The juxtaposition of these factors prompted Lipiński to use nationalist coloring of his native culture, and to combine it with Western compositional methods that broadened the appeal of his music and consequently made his music more marketable.

Kolbuszewski suggests that the remodeling of the infrastructure of Polish culture, which was embedded in both the turbulent Polish politics of the time and in the main pillars of romantic ideology, defined the cultural landscape of Lviv and many other cities

¹⁷ Marek Kawiorski, *Działalność Koncertowa Karola Lipińskiego* (Kielce: Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego, 2016), 60.

¹⁸ Ludwik Kozołub, “Życie Kulturalne Lwowa w I Połowie XIX Wieku,” in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 62, ed. Maria Passella and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 1993), 9.

¹⁹ Kolbin, “Karol Lipiński,” 46.

of that time. Despite Austrian rule, Lviv simultaneously grew to become one of the cultural centers of the partitioned Polish nation, which sought ways to preserve and disseminate its cultural heritage—a striving fueled by a typically romantic local pride (provincialism), and further emphasized by this nation’s unstable political situation.

Although Lipiński was not yet especially active in the field of composition during his tenure as a concertmaster in Lviv (1811-1817), his numerous later compositions betray clear connection between “folkloric, national, and Slavophil tendencies of Polish romanticism, and, especially, the cultural atmosphere of Lviv of his time.”²⁰ One work nonetheless confirms his involvement with Polish musical idioms during his tenure in Lviv. The facsimile of the title page of Lipiński’s unpublished *Four Redoubt Polonaises* reveals that he was involved with writing works of this genre as early as in 1812, years before polonaises—along with their nationalist implications—grew to become main pillars of his compositional oeuvre later in his career. While the scholarly proofs affirming the existence of this work, as well as of Lipiński’s other unpublished compositions, are very scarce, the facsimile below confirms that this work came to life, and was arranged by the renowned Austrian musician Franz Xavier Mozart, whom Lipiński befriended upon Mozart’s arrival in Lviv in 1808 (see Figure 1.)

²⁰ Kolbuszewski, “Uwagi o Geografii,” 14.

Figure 1: Lipiński, *Quatre Polonaises de la Redoute*, arr. Franz Xaver Mozart, title page. Facsimile



A later work relates closely to Lipiński’s activities in multicultural Lviv. One of the most blatant examples testifying to his previously noted Pan-Slavic leanings is his arrangement of select songs from the collection titled *Pieśni Polskie i Ruskie Ludu Galicyjskiego* (“Polish and Russian Songs of the Galician People.”) The original collection was juxtaposed together and published by Wacław Michał Zaleski (1799-1849), a Polish nobleman, poet, and political activist, and contained about 1500 folk melodies of the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian nations. Lipiński arranged 160 of them, adding his own piano accompaniment. Through this work, Lipiński paid a tribute to folk cultures of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia, but due to their exclusively pan-Slavic content, they were designed to appeal primarily to local—as opposed to Western—audiences. This work was published in Lviv in 1833.

The Polonaise as Lipiński's Primary Conveyor of Nationalist Coloring

Notwithstanding Lipiński's limited engagement with nationalism during his time in Lviv, the majority of his compositions written during the peak of his career as a soloist (1817–1839) was centered around idioms that were widely recognized as specifically Polish—as opposed to Pan-Slavic—during the early nineteenth century. I argue that he employed these idioms with different degrees of explicitness to accommodate the expectations of various audiences. Of particular significance in Lipiński's compositional oeuvre is the polonaise, a genre which he used as an overarching device to convey nationalist sentiments in his compositions and concert appearances. Characteristic polonaise rhythms are featured in numerous works that he designated as polonaises and in *Rondos alla Polacca*, a generic term indicating that the piece should be played with the rhythm and character of a polonaise. Among his published works of the titular type are *Two Polonaises for Violin and Orchestra*, op. 1, *Two Polonaises for Violin and Orchestra*, op. 6, *Three Polonaises for Solo Violin, Violin, Viola, and Cello*, op. 9, and *Polonaise Guerriere*, op. 29, written for orchestra or piano. His published oeuvre also includes three *Rondos alla Polacca* for violin and orchestra (op.7, op. 13, and op. 19.) Noteworthy is the fact that other similar works were never published, presumably because their explicitly nationalistic character could have had potential political repercussions that made Lipiński cautious about their dissemination in print. Lipiński's unpublished works that either bear the title polonaise or feature the genre's characteristics are *Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise for Violin and*

Orchestra, Four Redoubt Polonaises, Polonaise-Fantasy in E major for Violin and Orchestra, and Trio alla Polacca for Two Violins and Cello.

The polonaise originated in sung Polish folk dances of simple rhythmic and melodic structure. Initially it was performed predominantly at various rural events of regional character. However, in the seventeenth century the polonaise became a more sophisticated genre, as it was adopted by the Polish nobility. Gradually, it developed at lavish courts of Polish elites into a refined instrumental piece of processional character, intended for dancing on significant social occasions. The typical late seventeenth-century polonaise was in triple meter, and featured choreographic accents on beats one and three. Its characteristic, percussive rhythmic pattern, along with its processional nature, were catalysts for this genre to assume an energetic, buoyant character, and, in some forms, blatant martial overtones. The latter trait was typically achieved through a “heroic” narrative trajectory projecting triumph over adversity, where the military polonaise is followed by a contrasting, typically somber interlude. Eventually, the expository material makes its return in a grandiose manner, implying its narrative victory.

Although the polonaise originated in Poland, it became widely popular in Europe throughout the eighteenth century, when an international array of composers, including François Couperin, Georg Philipp Telemann, and Johann Sebastian Bach, wrote polonaises.²¹ Consequently, the dance acquired a cosmopolitan nature and was not necessarily perceived as an explicitly nationalistic dance. Thus, due to its inherently Polish roots on the one hand, and its pan-European recognizability on the other, compositions in this genre were appealing to both local and foreign audiences.

²¹ Stephen Downes, “Polonaise,” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 5 February. 2020.

Lipiński's eagerness to compose numerous polonaises, as well as other works employing polonaise rhythms, might be perceived as his way of capitalizing on the phenomenon of this genre's universal appeal. Nonetheless, his compositional oeuvre also features works characterized by less explicit nationalist elements. *Souvenir de la Mer Baltique*, op. 19, a prime example, is a three-movement composition in which Lipiński praises the beauty of Polish nature. This work, composed in 1834, is considered one of the first Polish maritime compositions, but it uses no recognizable Polish idioms.²² Lipiński's violin concertos, on the other hand, appear to be politically neutral to foreign audiences, yet they feature elements that his compatriots could construe as manifestations of nationalism. For instance, the Violin Concerto in D major, op. 21 features military traits that refer to the Polish nation's heroism in the past.²³ Several other compositions in Lipiński's oeuvre feature elements that are not explicitly nationalistic, but nonetheless hinted at the subject in a subtle, unostentatious manner. I argue that by means of their explicit, easily recognizable nationalist traits, Lipiński's polonaises and *Rondos alla Polacca* overshadow the apparent, yet more concealed nationalist idiom of other mentioned works. Table 1 correlates a range of nationalist explicitness in Lipiński's oeuvre with corresponding differences in audiences and reception, simultaneously outlining the significance of the polonaise as Lipiński's primary conveyor of explicit national coloring in his music.

²² Demska-Trębacz, "Istota Polskości," 31.

²³ Demska-Trębacz, "Topos i Idiom Narodowy," 181.

Table 1: Scale of nationalist explicitness in Lipiński's works (1=most; 5=least explicit)

	1	2	3	4	5
	<i>Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise</i>	Polonaises (op. 1, 6, and 9) and <i>Rondos alla Polacca</i> (op. 7, 13, and 17)	<i>Pieśni Polskie i Ruskie Ludu Galicyjskiego</i>	<i>Souvenir de la Mer Baltique</i> op. 19	Violin Concerto in F sharp minor op. 14 and Violin Concerto in D major op. 21 "Militaire"
Means to achieve a recognizable nationalist element	- Employment of Polish dance form - Historical context (Tadeusz Kościuszko was a notable Polish military leader)	Employment of the Polish dance form	- Employment of folk melodies derived from Slavic folklore. - Employment of Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian language	Inspiration drawn from Polish nature (Baltic Sea)	Op. 21 – featured with subtle hints of nationalist elements through its military character (referring to the turbulent past of the Polish nation)
Political resonance	Capable of inciting nationalist sentiment among the Poles	Capable of inciting nationalist sentiment among the Poles	Lipiński's tribute to the folk culture of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia	Capable of inciting nationalist sentiment among the Poles	Op. 21 – capable of inciting nationalist sentiment among the Poles
Reception	Enthusiastic reception among Lipiński's compatriots	Appealing to foreign audiences due to the popularity of the genre of Polonaise	Enthusiastic reception among Lipiński's compatriots	Appealing to foreign audiences while remaining politically neutral	Op. 21 – appealing to foreign audiences, and to well-informed Polish listeners, who had an interest in assimilating to military character of this work (featuring references to heroism of Polish war heroes)

Demska-Trębacz states in her “Topos i Idiom Narodowy w Muzyce Karola Lipińskiego” that “the polonaise has symbolized the concept of Polish sovereignty since the late eighteenth century”—the time period that marks Poland’s final partitioning and subsequent loss of independence as a national entity. She suggests that Lipiński’s fondness in employing the polonaise rhythm attests to his desire to subtly emphasize Poland’s striving towards political liberty. Consequently, Anna Granat-Janki, another important Polish scholar, argues in her “Karol Lipiński—Polish and European Perspective,” that Lipiński, through his contributions to the polonaise, became one of the most prominent representatives of this genre, and a “link between Ogiński and Chopin.”²⁴

However, it is noteworthy that terms such as polonaise, which is a generic designation, and also *alla Polacca*, which, in fact, is an expression marking that can commonly be found in multiple types of Polish and pan-European music, have become standard musical designations. Although they do carry a link to Poland as a nation, they are essentially independent of the burden of conveying aspirations toward independence. For example, the *alla Polacca* marking suggests a specific character denoted by its elegant buoyancy, but does not aim to hint at any overtly nationalist implications. Highly indicative of this tendency is a remark by Chopin’s teacher, Józef Elsner, who in 1811 complained to Breitkopf & Härtel, publishers from Leipzig, that “everything that is pleasing today can be converted into a polonaise.”²⁵ This noble buoyancy, typical of Lipiński’s numerous polonaises, serves the Poles as a means of national identification, whereas these very qualities are perceived by foreign audiences as an attractive musical

²⁴ Anna Granat-Janki, “Lipiński—Polish and European Perspective,” in *Karol Lipiński: Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 5, ed. Anna Granat-Janki (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2013), 157.

²⁵ Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin’s Warsaw* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 77.

peculiarity, easily comprehensible, and filled with a charming, rather than a nationalistic, impetus.

Although Polish scholars link Lipiński's fondness for the polonaise genre with his supposedly impeccable patriotism, one might argue just as effectively that the mere fact of composing works of this genre did not necessarily correlate with striving to communicate a message of political resonance. The polonaise developed largely outside of Poland during the eighteenth century, and thus, its original associations with Polish folk and popular cultures and their heritage were significantly loosened. Therefore, by Lipiński's lifetime, the reception of the polonaise as a genre greatly varied among his fellow countrymen and foreign audiences. While polonaises continued to serve the Poles as a means of national identification throughout the nineteenth century, Western audiences, potentially indifferent to Poland's political situation, often perceived works of this genre merely as an attractive form of domesticated exoticism. In fact, numerous Western composers of the early nineteenth century continued to employ the polonaise's typical traits in their own works merely to increase their attractiveness and appeal, and by no means to convey a message of a political resonance. The most notable example is Ludwig van Beethoven's Triple Concerto, op. 56, written in 1803, the third movement of which, in fact, is a *Rondo alla Polacca*. This movement is merely one of many polonaises that provide a fashionably lively ending to a multi-movement composition, but are not manifestations of their composers' identification with Poland's political oppression.

When evaluating Lipiński's contributions to the genre as evidence of his nationalistic self-identification, Polish scholars seem to insist on a narrative in which Lipiński's motivations for composing polonaises and *Rondos alla Polacca* are allegedly

derived from profound patriotic urges, or they refrain from taking into consideration the westernized, attractively exotic aspect of the polonaise as a factor attesting to Lipiński's compositional entrepreneurship. This tendency is blatantly exposed by two separate quotes from the respective articles by Demska-Trębacz ("Istota Polskości w Interpretacji Pokolenia Karola Lipińskiego"), and Granat-Janki ("Karol Lipiński's Artistic Activity and Works—a Polish and European Perspective.")

For the non-Slavic, European listener, compositions of the Pole (...) might have sounded exotic. For him, however, they were a testament of his national and individual belonging.²⁶

Thanks to his numerous artistic tours, Lipiński became an ambassador of Polish culture to nineteenth-century Europe. Through Lipiński's performing art, Europe was able to familiarize itself with the culture of the nation that was deprived of its own state at this time.²⁷

These authors, as well as other contemporary Polish scholars, tend to abstain from making critical insights into various aspects of Lipiński's career, leaving the field of his agenda towards nationalism in his music and his concert appearances vastly unexplored. If they make any remarks in this regard, then they either hint at the idealistic approach towards Lipiński's nationalism, as advocated by Granat-Janki and Demska-Trębacz—who carve his image of an impeccable ambassador of Polish culture—or they focus on gathering historical facts in a rather neutral manner by referring to a variety of primary sources, which include letters and contemporary concert reviews. The latter approach is quintessentially exemplified in essays by Franciszek German, "Lipiński i Chopin," and Maria Zduniak, "Reminescencje Wrocławskich Koncertów Karola Lipińskiego w Twórczości Karla von Holteia," the content of which will be discussed later in this essay.

²⁶ Demska-Trębacz, "Istota Polskości," 31.

²⁷ Granat-Janki, "Karol Lipiński's Artistic Activity," 160

None of these authors attempt to conclude their remarks with a critical judgement of the gathered information, and they limit themselves primarily to reporting the historical facts in a neutral manner.

Lipiński's Duality in Terms of Exhibiting His Patriotic Agenda

Although Lipiński composed numerous works that were genuinely inspired by Polish culture, his concert appearances demonstrate a variable attitude towards ostentatious political manifestations of affinities to his homeland. A chain of events in Lipiński's life conveys a duality in his political stance that depended on the circumstances in which his concerts were hosted. In numerous concert appearances for his compatriots, Lipiński emphasized nationalist elements in order to increase the market value of his performances. Under other circumstances, however, he was reluctant to exhibit his patriotic agenda, typically when authorities might have perceived a blatant display of Polish nationalist sentiment as an attempt to incite a revolutionary spirit among his countrymen, or when recipients were simply indifferent towards Poland's political situation. His apparent duality in terms of exhibiting his political alignment—based on the expectations of his audiences, and, consequently, the potential revenue from his performances—attests to his remarkable entrepreneurship and supports the argument for his pragmatism as a primary motivation in employing nationalist idioms. Consequently, it prompts questions regarding the supposed factuality of his patriotic agenda.

Investigation of Lipiński's concert activity shows that he programmed his polonaises predominantly for concerts in cities that were either formerly Polish or still

were home to significant Polish population, such as Poznań, Wrocław,²⁸ Kiev,²⁹ and Lviv,³⁰ in order to delight local audiences by appealing to their nationalist sentiment. Simultaneously, however, he was reluctant to exhibit his patriotic agenda during performances held in circumstances where such a display simply would not be capable of resonating among recipients due to their indifferent attitude towards Poland's political situation, which was the case in cities such as London, Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig, or Frankfurt. Consequently, his concerts in Western countries featured polonaises less frequently. Such a claim is supported by the extensive documentary information regarding Lipiński's concert appearances gathered by Marek Kawiorski in his "Działalność Koncertowa Karola Lipińskiego,"³¹ and by reviews from Lipiński's foreign concerts where non-nationalist works were the basis of his concert programs.³² Moreover, if any works of the polonaise genre were at all programmed, they did not necessarily function as a manifestation of national heritage, but rather as an exotic, and therefore, attractive addition to a politically neutral concert appearance. Table 2 features information regarding Lipiński's concert programs in various cities during his most active period of concert activity.

²⁸ *Gazeta Warszawska* no. 190 (1821); *Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego* no. 90 (1821), quoted in Maria Zduniak, "Reminescencje Wrocławskich Koncertów Karola Lipińskiego w Twórczości Karla von Holteia," in *Karol Lipiński, Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 4, ed. Dorota Kanafa and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2007), 258.

²⁹ "Kiw [Konzerte: Dem. Jacobi (Pianistin); Alexander Boucher; Wilhelmine Becker (Sopran); Mad. Boucher, Mit Boucher; Mad. Minelli (Violinistin) und Mad. Field (Pianistin); Hr. und Mad. Krähmer; Lipiński (Violinist); Mad. Szymanowska (Pianistin); Anton Gerke (Pianist)]," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 25, no. 16 (1823): 250–55.

³⁰ "Lemberg [Redoutensaal: Lipiński (Violinist Und Komponist), Mad. Seher]," *Wiener Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 8, no. 51 (1824): 203–4.

³¹ Kawiorski, "Działalność Koncertowa," 124–44.

³² *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 38, no. 42 (1836): 693.

Table 2: Lipiński's concert programs in various European cities (a question mark denotes some uncertainty in nineteenth- and twentieth-century accounts of the specific repertoire on the program)

01.31.1821	Kiev	<i>Polonaise</i> (?), <i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
06.26.1821	Poznań	<i>Variations on a Theme from a Polish Song</i> (unpublished), <i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
11.10.1821	Wrocław	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
05.26.1822	Vilnius	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> , <i>Rondo in the Tempo of Polonaise</i> (unpublished)
11.13.1822	Brześć Litewski	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
04.1823 (no specific date available)	Kiev	Violin Concerto op. 14, <i>Fantasia alla Polacca</i> (?)
06.25.1823	Poznań	<i>Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise</i> (unpublished)
06.05.1824	Lviv	<i>Polonaise E-major</i> , op. 9
06.14.1825	Petersburg	<i>Variations</i> (?), Violin Concerto (?), <i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
06.20.1826	Wrocław	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?), <i>Variations on a Theme from a Polish Song</i> (unpublished)
02.06.1828	Warsaw	<i>Polonaises</i> (?), <i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?), <i>Polish Dance</i> (unpublished)
02.1829 (no specific date available)	Kiev	<i>Variations on a Theme from a Polish Song</i> (unpublished)
02.27.1830	Lviv	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
03.13.1830	Lviv	<i>Variations on the Polish National Themes</i> (unpublished)
01.15.1833	Lviv	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
05.28.1834	Warsaw	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
06.18.1835	Leipzig	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
09.21.1835	Frankfurt	Violin Concerto op. (?) (op. 14 or op. 21)
04.25.1836	London	Violin Concerto op. 21
05.16.1836	London	<i>Variations</i> , op. 11, <i>Adagio</i> , op. (?)
09.09.1836	Baden-Baden	<i>Variations</i> , op. 20, Violin Concerto, op. 21
10.07.1836	Leipzig	<i>Variations</i> , op. 20, Violin Concerto, op. 21
11.26.1836	Wrocław	<i>Rondo alla Polacca</i> (?)
05.04.1837	Vienna	<i>Variations</i> , op. 20, Violin Concerto, op. 21
01.27.1838	Kiev	<i>Rondeau de Concert</i> , op. 18, Violin Concerto, op. 24

Lipiński's tendency to capitalize on nationalist sentiments when circumstances were favorable has been documented by Maria Zduniak, another leading Lipiński scholar, who compiled information pertaining to Lipiński's concert appearances in Wrocław in

1821.³³ Although Wrocław was then under Prussian jurisdiction, a significant number of its citizens considered themselves Polish. Zduniak, drawing on concert reviews from Polish periodicals, determined that Lipiński's concert on November 14, 1821 was received with rapture among the Poles—especially Polish students studying at the University of Wrocław.³⁴ Consequently, she claims that this concert must have featured numerous works of unmistakably Polish character, despite a lack of information regarding the exact concert program. Zduniak's supposition derives from a context of favorable circumstances—an absence of the Russian Tsar's spies—suggesting that Lipiński decided to perform his *Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise*, a work with a pronounced patriotic idiom. As noted by Józef Powroźniak, Lipiński “preferred not to publish this patriotic work, and performed it only in places where he was certain it would not spur any negative political consequences.”³⁵

From Lipiński's perspective, his publication preference seems only logical. Kościuszko was a Polish military leader who led Polish forces in the uprising of 1794 against the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia; two of the three countries that finalized the partitioning of Poland in 1795 after the uprising failed. As a matter of fact, this uprising is now commonly referred to as the Kościuszko Uprising. Moreover, Kościuszko himself composed the melody that Lipiński used as the theme for his variations, as the title indicates. Given these facts, performing or publishing a work based

³³ Zduniak, “Reminescencje Wrocławskich Koncertów Karola Lipińskiego w Twórczości Karla von Holteia,” in *Karol Lipiński, Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 4, ed. Dorota Kanafa and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2007), 253–63.

³⁴ *Gazeta Warszawska* no. 190 (1821); *Gazeta Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego* no. 90 (1821), quoted in Maria Zduniak, “Reminescencje Wrocławskich Koncertów Karola Lipińskiego w Twórczości Karla von Holteia,” in *Karol Lipiński, Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 4, ed. Dorota Kanafa and Maria Zduniak (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2007), 258.

³⁵ Józef Powroźniak, *Karol Lipiński* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1970), 70.

on a polonaise with undeniably revolutionary connotations would have very likely alarmed Russian spies, who maintained close surveillance over the newly acquired Polish territories in order to ensure that no rebellious attitudes against the Russian Empire were being formed. Consequently, if caught, Lipiński would most likely have been charged with inciting a revolution and, potentially, labeled as a traitor to the Russian Empire. Such a blatant duality between freely exhibiting his political alignment for Polish audiences and suppressing it in controversial circumstances hints at Lipiński's remarkable entrepreneurship and calls his purported patriotic agenda into question. At the same time, considering the fact that only a few years later, in 1831, Lipiński would be officially appointed "The First Violinist of the Imperial Royal Court," it can be stated that his cautiousness paid off, for it was this appointment that brought Lipiński pan-European recognition and cemented his reputation as a formidable virtuoso.

Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise was not the only one of Lipiński's works that remained unpublished presumably due to its strong political impact. An appendix of Józef Powroźniak's monograph, titled *Karol Lipiński*, lists all the composer's unpublished works. The titles of the majority of these compositions allude to their unmistakably patriotic character; besides the aforementioned *Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise*, the list contains works titled *Cztery Polonezy Redutowe* (Four Redoubt Polonaises), *Wariacje na Temat Pieśni Polskiej* (Variations on a Theme from a Polish Song), and *Wariacje na Temat Polskich Pieśni Narodowych* (Variations on Polish National Themes). While the scores of these compositions have not been discovered, and it is impossible to determine the explicitness of the nationalistic idioms of these pieces, some scholarly evidence affirms that these


works did come to life, including the facsimile of the title page of Franz Xaver Mozart's arrangement of Lipiński's previously discussed *Four Redoubt Polonaises* (see Figure 1.)

The November Uprising, the Violin Concerto No. 1, and Lipiński in the Eyes of the Western Press

The contextualization of historical facts pertaining to Lipiński's activity shortly before the outbreak of the November Uprising showcases the most notable flaws in his image as an ambassador of Polish culture. Lipiński's flourishing career coincided with the growth of revolutionary spirit within the partitioned Polish nation's territories, which gained momentum in the late 1820s and culminated in the November Uprising in 1830, also known as the Polish-Russian War. This uprising was suppressed by the more numerous Russian forces, and its aftermath led Tsar Nikolai I to decree that Poland was to become an integral part of Russia. At that time, Lipiński held close ties with Nikolai I and served as his court violinist.³⁶ As a gesture of his devotion, Lipiński dedicated his Violin Concerto No. 1 in F sharp minor, op. 14 to the Tsar in 1829. Figure 2 features the facsimile of the title page of this concerto, with the official dedication to the Tsar: "dedicated with the most profound respect to His Majesty, Nicolas I, Emperor of all the Russias, King of Poland, etc., etc., etc., and composed by Charles Lipiński, First Violinist at the Royal Court of Poland." Lipiński's overt devotion to Tsar Nikolai I on the eve of Polish rebellion against a Russian oppressor further supports an argument for his pragmatism and challenges the idealistic narrative regarding his affinity to his homeland, which is strongly advocated by scholars.

³⁶ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 38, no. 42 (1836): 692–93.

Figure 2: Lipiński, Premier Concerto Pour le Violon avec grande Orchestre, title page. Facsimile

Premier
CONCERTO
Pour le Violon
avec grand Orchestre
Dédié
avec le plus profond respect
À SA MAJESTÉ
NICOLAS I

Empereur de toutes les Russies
Roi de Pologne et de etc.
et
composé
par
Henryk Wieniawski
Premier Violon de Sa Majesté à la Cour Royale de Pologne.
Op. 14. Propriété de l'Editeur. Fr. 4 Tbl. 2 Gr.
LEIPZIG,
au Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters.
Enregistré dans l'archive de l'union.
2155

The release of Lipiński's new major composition was noticed in western music periodicals due to his popularity during that time. An issue of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* from November 1830 featured an entry advertising his new concerto, stating that the work was to be published by C. F. Peters in 1831.³⁷ However, no aspects of Lipiński's nationality were mentioned, nor was there any discussion of the political controversy related to the fact that this composition's dedicatee was actually the enemy of Polish independence. Taking into consideration the historical context related to Poland's struggle in the wake of Russian oppression, Lipiński's publicly disseminated devotion to Nikolai I constitutes a strong argument against his genuine affinity with the political cause of his home country.

Lipiński's cautiousness in crafting his successful international career is just as apparent when examining the manner in which Western reviewers perceived him. His popularity in Western Europe was affirmed by numerous concert reviews that notable periodicals published during the first half of the nineteenth century. Some of these are *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in Leipzig, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* in Vienna, and *La Revue musicale* in Paris. Examination of some of these reviews sheds light on one fact: whereas Lipiński's countrymen considered him their ambassador, foreign journalists rarely linked him to his home country. A review of his concert in Paris in March 1836 that was published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* refers to

³⁷ "Lipiński, Violinkonzert Op. 14; Bei C. F. Peters," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 32, no. 49 (1830): 41.

Lipiński as “der nordische Violinist” (the northern violinist.)³⁸ Comparably, a review featured in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* from the same year refers to him as “Violinist aus Lemberg,” or violinist from Lviv, a city in the Austrian partition of Poland, as previously noted.³⁹ Moreover, as Harmut Krones points out, Lipiński, due to his ties to Lviv, was generally considered Austrian by Austrian reviewers.⁴⁰

In the eyes of Western reviewers, the lack of linkage between Lipiński and Poland seems to stem not only from Poland’s marginalized role in European politics, but also from his previously discussed reluctance to exhibit his patriotic agenda during his performances, which were hosted in circumstances where such display could inflict negative political consequences. Numerous events throughout his life elucidate his desire to craft a successful international career, an aspiration that prevailed over his patriotic mission. Consequently, the investigation of these events—highlighting Lipiński’s pragmatism in the process of crafting his international career—challenges his image as an ambassador of Polish culture. Therefore, the reluctance of Western reviewers to emphasize Lipiński’s actual nationality is justified. It can be argued that Poland’s marginalized role in European politics was not the only reason behind this phenomenon.

³⁸ “Paris [Konzert von Lipiński; Habeneck (Dirigent. Nach der Gazette musicale)],” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 38, no. 13 (1836): 216.

³⁹ Joseph Mainzer, “Aus Paris [Konzert von Lipiński (Violinist)],” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 4, no. 37 (1836): 155.

⁴⁰ Harmut Krones, “The Reception of Karol Lipiński in Vienna During His Lifetime,” in *Karol Lipiński, Życie, Działalność, Epoka*, vol. 5, ed. Anna Granat-Janki (Wrocław: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Lipińskiego, 2013), 95.

Lipiński and Chopin

Analysis of Lipiński's concert activity in Paris in the mid-1830s offers a final significant political argument against his supposedly impeccable devotion to his homeland. Franciszek German, another major Lipiński scholar, discusses in his article, "Lipiński i Chopin," a debacle associated with the concert for Polish immigrants in Paris in 1835, organized by Lipiński with his compatriot, Fryderyk Chopin. Prior to that time, numerous Poles had migrated to Paris due to the failure of the November Uprising in 1830. As noted by German, Lipiński asked Chopin for help in organizing a concert that would allow him to build a reputation in this city that was new to him. Chopin agreed and took care of preparing the venue and hiring an orchestra, but under one condition: Lipiński was to renounce any personal revenue from the concert in order to support his fellow countrymen. Lipiński, after initially agreeing to these terms, eventually changed his mind out of concern that the Russian Tsar's spies might report his activity as politically suspicious, which in turn could have negatively impacted his position as a violinist at the court of Tsar Nikolai I.⁴¹ This spurred a conflict between Lipiński and Chopin that was rooted in their fundamental ideological differences regarding their patriotic agendas. In this way, Lipiński yet again exhibited a great deal of determination not to be linked with overt nationalism in circumstances wherein his career faced potential political threats. Lipiński's concern with Russian spies seems to have spanned his entire career, supporting an argument that his position at the Polish court was highly dependent on his reputation in the eyes of the Tsar. Consequently, it appears that Lipiński

⁴¹ German, "Lipiński i Chopin," 74.

would not take any risks that could negatively impact his appointment as the Tsar's principal court violinist.

Conclusions

Karol Lipiński, through his concert activity and compositional oeuvre centered around Polish idioms, significantly contributed to the dual process of carving the cultural identity of Poland and spreading it outside the country's confines during an especially turbulent period. These facets of his achievement are reflected in the efforts of contemporary scholars who, in undertaking the subject of nationalism in Lipiński's music, promulgate an idealistic narrative that casts Lipiński as a genuine ambassador of Polish culture and heritage.

However, a more balanced examination of the aforementioned historical facts leads to a different conclusion. Lipiński's biography, as well as his compositional strategies based on varied explicitness of nationalist idioms, illustrate his pragmatism in matters of his career and his circumstantial conformity whenever conditions were favorable or unfavorable for expressing nationalist sentiments. He drew generously on Polish cultural heritage in order to achieve recognizably nationalist elements predominantly in compositions which were never published due to their controversial political impact, such as his *Variations on the Theme from Tadeusz Kościuszko's Polonaise*, or in his polonaises and *Rondos alla Polacca*, which he performed most frequently in concerts for his compatriots. In his compositions designed to appeal to a broader array of audiences, the nationalist idiom, although still present, is concealed. Representative of this tendency is that some of his most significant works, including two of his violin concertos and his three divertimenti for violin and piano titled *Souvenir de la Mer Baltique*, op. 19, feature merely vague references to Polish history and nature, but

employ no traits that would unmistakably link them to Lipiński's home country, especially in the eyes of foreign audiences.

My investigation of several aspects of Lipiński's biography, such as his remarkable flexibility in tailoring his concert programs to accommodate the expectations of local audiences, his devotion to the Russian Tsar Nikolai I, and his ideological conflict with Chopin, blatantly exhibit his pragmatic manner of conforming to particular political circumstances in order to advance his international career. Juxtaposing all of these most notable fissures in Lipiński's patriotic image and contextualizing them through the lens of the political circumstances of central Europe of that time encourage the perception of the nationalistic aspect of his works and artistic activity primarily as a practical tool, rather than an ideological one. Consequently, the view of Lipiński as a genuine ambassador of Polish culture turns out to be challengeable, and is clearly more complex than many leading scholars continue to claim. His concert practices, opportunistic political loyalties, avoidance of nationalistic controversies, and perceptions in the press all indicate that he exploited his virtuosity predominantly as a tool for establishing and maintaining an image as one of the preeminent violinists, teachers, and court musicians of the early nineteenth century.

Through my research I aim not only to challenge Lipiński's patriotic image, but also to shed light on a common issue in musicological scholarship, where common biases toward specific traits of certain composers, once established, prove very difficult to decanonize. In this way, the impeccable patriotic images of composers who have been historically praised as nationalists have shaped widespread perceptions to such an extent that their reputations in this regard have become unassailable. Although deconstructionist

attempts of varying degrees of intensity have emerged in recent decades (most notably in Michael Beckerman's "Master's Little Joke"), their scope is still relatively small. Thus, I believe there is a need for more balanced ways of evaluating the composers' ideological agendas. Through my doctoral essay I aspire to address this need in a way that neither diminishes nor demonizes the persona of Lipiński. Instead, I offer a perspective which attempts to renounce the subjective grandeur and superficiality typical of assumptions pertaining to the alleged nationalist elements in works of composers who are often labeled as nationalists, and questions these suppositions by compiling and contextualizing objective historical facts in more nuanced ways.

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