

*The pianism
of Paderewski*

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A thesis submitted to Cardiff University
in partial fulfillment of the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Music
Cardiff University
July 2014

*For my Mother, sister Bogusia, Fr Marek Reczek,
Rev. Andrzej Iwanecki and Prof. Kenneth Hamilton -
with my deepest thanks for their faith in me and
support.*

*In memory of Monsignor Bronisław Gostomski (1948-
2010), for his encouragement to undertake this research.*

LIST OF CONTENTS

PRELIMINARIES	i
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH TOPIC	i
Acknowledgements	iv
Abbreviations	vi
INTRODUCTION: Review of Previous Research	1
I – Archival material	1
II – Other published sources	5
III – Paderewski’s <i>Memoirs</i>	11
IV – After the <i>Memoirs</i>	14
V – Paderewski’s performances	17
VI – Changes since 1991	18
VII – Paderewski’s approach to music and its performance	21
Conclusion	32
DISCOGRAPHY OF PADEREWSKI AND HIS WORKS	32
A – Recordings and transfers of piano rolls onto CDs after 2000	33
B – Discography of Paderewski’s works played by other performers	34
Chapter 1: Paderewski and his pianos	35
1.1 – A variety of instruments	36
1.2 – Paderewski’s favourites: Érard and Steinway	39
1.3 – Coming to America	61
1.4 – Paderewski and the Steinway piano	65
1.5 – Paderewski at the peak of his career	71
1.6 – Tours in Europe with Érard	76
1.7 – Paderewski and the Weber piano	77
1.8 – Paderewski and the Pianola	80
1.9 – Paderewski’s sound	81
Chapter 2: Paderewski’s performance career	84
2.1 – Early years	88
2.2 – Paderewski and Leschetizky	93
2.3 – Leschetizky’s lessons	98
2.4 – The class	100

2.5 – Leschetizky’s approach to interpretation	102
2.6 – Paderewski on piano playing (as revealed in his articles: ‘Tempo rubato’ and ‘The best way to study the piano’).....	103
2.7 – Paderewski’s later years	105
2.8 – The ‘Paderewski’ Edition of Chopin’s Works.....	107
2.9 – The reception of Paderewski’s playing	128
2.10 – Paderewski and his rivals	135
Conclusion	141
Chapter 3: Paderewski as teacher	143
3.1 – Lessons with Paderewski.....	145
3.2 – Fingering, tempo and agogic markings applied by Paderewski to his scores	175
Conclusion	190
Chapter 4: Paderewski’s recordings.....	192
4.1 – Paderewski’s playing, as preserved in his recordings.....	193
4.2 – His recording career.....	194
4.3 – Last recordings (in 1937 and 1938, London)	196
4.4 – Characteristic Features of Paderewski’s style of playing.....	200
4.5 – Analysis and comparison of selected pieces recorded more than once by Paderewski	204
Conclusion	256
CONCLUSION	260
BIBLIOGRAPHY	266
Discography	285
Printed music scores used	306
Photographs and music examples	309

PRELIMINARIES

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH TOPIC

Many aspects of Ignaz Jan Paderewski's life and career have been the subject of previous research, but some important areas remain uninvestigated including his performance-practice. Moreover, many biographies, especially those written in English, have hitherto rarely adopted a critical stance. Indeed, relatively few sources, apart from those dealing with his American tours, are available in any language other than Polish.

This dissertation discusses in detail his interpretations, stylistic approach, attitude towards piano playing and preparation for performance that have not hitherto been fully studied. I have undertaken research in Warsaw, where most of the published material about Paderewski is available, and also in Kraków, where the archives house many of unpublished sources. Unique Polish sources include, in particular, Paderewski's unpublished letters written to his father and Helena Górńska, his secretaries' letters written in 1935 and between 1938-39, and of course correspondence with his pupils, which sheds considerable new light on his views on, and success in, piano teaching.

I have given consideration to discussing Paderewski's compositions, which he regarded, particularly in his early years as being his most important legacy, rather than

his playing. As a practical concert performer, inevitably his works often are written to display particular strengths of his technique. However, this aspect of his work would be a major topic in its own right which I feel is outside the scope of my present study.

Unpublished letters (written in Polish, French and English) between Paderewski and his pupils deal with such issues as: choosing concert programmes, techniques of pedalling and advanced interpretational issues. To further evaluate changes in Paderewski's playing style over his career I have analysed a representative selection of his recordings made over the course of his career. Although Paderewski's style did not change radically, some of the recorded pieces (such as Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2) do demonstrate significant differences in interpretation, and his experiments in phrasing, dynamics, tempo and pedaling. I additionally compare some of the recordings of the same pieces by Paderewski and selected contemporaries. These contemporary recordings have largely been selected with two criteria in mind:

1. Choice of repertoire, i.e. was the same piece recorded by other pianists?
2. Do these pianists represent a distinctly different school or playing style?

For instance, Arthur Friedheim's recording of Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor* illuminates some differences in style between representatives of the 'Liszt School' (of which Friedheim was one of the most celebrated exponents) and that of Leschetizky (as represented by Paderewski). Paderewski's own piano compositions are not discussed as a whole, as he recorded only a very small number of them, and therefore the performance style to be adopted in the unrecorded pieces can only be

inferred by a study of the recorded works. The latter are treated in Chapter 4, pp. 204-256.

This documentation and evaluation of Paderewski's performance style has naturally influenced my own performances of his works. The complete recital, in its running order, is as follows:

E. Schelling (1876-1939)
Nocturne 'Ragusa'

I. J. Paderewski (1860-1941)
Sonata in E flat minor, Op. 21
I *Allegro con fuoco*
II *Andante ma non troppo*
III *Allegro vivace*

Interval

F. Chopin (1810-1849)
4 Mazurkas, Op. 30
Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35
I *Grave – Doppio movimento*
II *Scherzo*
III *Marche funèbre: Lento*
IV *Finale: Presto*

S. Rachmaninov (1873-1943)
Sonata No. 2 in B flat minor, Op. 36 (revised version, 1931)
I *Allegro agitato*
II *Non allegro – Lento*
III *Allegro molto*

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Cardiff University for its support, which has enabled me to complete this research on Paderewski, with my special thanks to Prof. Kenneth Hamilton, Prof. David Wyn-Jones, Prof. Rachel Cowgill and Natasha Smith. Without a scholarship, and grants towards my research trips, I would not have been able to continue my studies. Also, I would like to thank the professors of the Department of Music at the University of Birmingham, where I completed two years of this research and obtained a scholarship and the F. J. Arnold Bequest. I am also thankful for financial assistance from the Seary Trust towards my studies and the following Polish charities: M. B. Grabowski Fund, Polish Women's Benevolent Association Limited and The Relief Society For Poles Frust.

I would also like to thank the professors and staff of the Royal College of Music, who provided much-valued help in the preparation of this work: Prof. Nigel Clayton, Dr Rosie Perkins and Lynnette Easterbrook. I am also deeply grateful to my Polish advisors: Prof. Maria Sz wajger-Ku łakowska, Irena Fr ączek (Katowice, Poland), the late Dr Ma łgorzata Perkowska-Waszek (Kraków, Poland) and Prof. Zofia Chechlińska (Warsaw).

Several institutions and their representatives allowed me to use their archival material and collections, and gave me their permission to make and reproduce photographs of these items for the purposes of my research. I would also like to thank Denis Hall and Rex Lawson from the Pianola Institute for their immense assistance in collecting recorded sources, and analysing Paderewski's and other pianists' recordings. I would additionally like to mention the contribution towards this research made by Jerzy Piotr Walczak (Warsaw) and the pianist Karol Radziwonowicz.

Various archival documents – including data files, photographs, exhibits and audio-visual material – presented here became accessible to me owing to the kind permission of the following Polish and international institutions, and of the persons named below, to which and to whom I would like to offer my thanks for their contribution to my work:

- Poland: National Library (Warsaw), Juliusz Braun (chairman), and Ewa Należyty from Polish Television (TVP) in Warsaw, Jerzy Nachel and other staff from TVP in Katowice, Alicja Knast (Board Proxy for the Core Exhibition of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw), New Archive (Warsaw), Minister Maciej Klimczak (Warsaw), Julita Kosińska (Assistant Director of the Frederic Chopin State Grammar School, Warsaw), Dr Agnieszka Morawińska (Director of the National Museum, Warsaw), Ryszard Bobrow (Curator of the National Museum, Warsaw), Jan Popis (Director of MUZA Polskie Nagrania Company, Warsaw), Małgorzata Jankowska (PR & Marketing Manager, Hotel Bristol, Warsaw), Maciej Janicki (Curator of the Frederic Chopin Museum, Warsaw), Grażyna Michniewicz and Magdalena Kulig (Frederic Chopin Museum, Warsaw), Dr Aleksandra Patalas (Director of the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University, Kraków), Justyna Szombara (Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University, Kraków) and Prof. Zdzisław Pietrzyk (Director of the Jagiellonian Library, Kraków).

- The US: Hartwig Kalb (Manager, Product Services at Steinway & Sons Hamburg, Germany), David R. Kirkland (Administrator, Customer Service at Steinway & Sons, NY, USA), Richard K. Lieberman (Director of the LaGuardia and Wagner Archives in Long Island City, NY), Douglas Di Carlo (Archivist of the LaGuardia and Wagner Archives), Maciej Siekierski, Senior Curator at the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University, Stanford, CA), Donald Manildi (Curator of the International Piano Archives at Maryland (IPAM), College Park, MD), Michelle Smith (Performing Arts Library, University of Maryland), Christine S. Windheuser (Volunteer Reference Assistant, SI-NMAH Archives Center, Smithsonian Institute in Washington), Frances Barulich (Mary Flagler Cary Curator of Music Manuscripts and Printed Music, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York, NY) and Richard (Rich) Kujawa (Operations Manager and Curator of the Paderewski Collection at the Polish Museum of America in Chicago, IL).

Thanks are due also to Barbara Fisher, Antony Mason and Rafał Strzelecki, who spent a significant amount of time assisting me with the content of this thesis.

Lastly I cannot omit all the friends and sponsors who have assisted me during my study of Paderewski – the late Waława Próchniewicz, Fr Marek Reczek, Rev. Tomasz Siembab, Rev. Andrzej Iwanecki, Rev. Leszek Skorupa, Rev. Wojciech Strzelecki, Rev. Romuald Szczodrowski, Rev. Bogdan Wera, Rev. Grzegorz Stachurski, Rev. Andrzej Toczyski, Rev. Stanisław Kowalski, Elżbieta Szopa, Ewa Papee, Barbara Pustelnik, Victoria Fernandes, Farid Belkebir, Jakub and Robert Hawranek, Mieczysław Cezary Olszewski, Hanna and Jakub Zaborowski, Małgorzata and Andrzej Janiak, Bogusława Wojdyna, Romana Orłowska, Urszula Kucia, Religious Order of Mary Immaculate Sisters in London (Ruby, Rosario, Elizabeth) and Franciscan Missionaries of Mary (Sr Provincial, Srs. Helen Fennell, Roisin Hickey, Romana Dolna, Leontine Shannon and Gina Morgan in London, and Elżbieta Łutnik in Warsaw).

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used:

ANON.	Anonymous (unnamed author of article)
AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (New Archive in Warsaw). The RISM siglum for this Institution is PL-Waan.
AJJP	Archiwum Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego (Ignaz Jan Paderewski Archive).
SYGN. or PRZYB.	Catalogue number (call. no.)

Translations

All translations (including translations of unpublished letters by Paderewski and his pupils) are my own unless otherwise stated.

INTRODUCTION: Review of Previous Research

*Those who sought novelty at any price
forgot about him for a while.
It will better when they are reminded.
(Without memories there would be no continuity in human culture)¹*

Paderewski is a major figure of Polish political and cultural history. Nevertheless, he was repeatedly underestimated in his native land, and serious research on his legacy largely began in recent decades. The following sections outline the sources for this research.

I – Archival material

Paderewski's personal documents are mostly in the Archives of Modern Records in the Kazimierz Pułaski Museum (Archiwum Akt Nowych, Muzeum Kazimierza Pułaskiego) in Warka, in the National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe) in Warsaw, and in the Jagiellonski University (Uniwersytet Jagielloński) in Kraków. An extensive literature deals with Paderewski's life and political activities. Many relevant documents are held in the Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (New Archive in Warsaw).

¹ Paderewski is referring to Grieg in this letter to Adolf Chybiński, Riond-Bosson 15 III 1934, quoted in M. Perkowska-Waszek, *Paderewski i jego twórczość, Dzieje utworów i rys osobowości kompozytora* (Paderewski and his Works, The history of his output and an outline of the composer's personality), Ośrodek Dokumentacji Muzyki Polskiej XIX i XX wieku im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego przy Instytucie Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Documentation Centre for Polish Music of the 19th and 20th Century of Ignaz Jan Paderewski, a part of the Institute of Musicology of Jagielloński University), (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2010), page 9. My own translation.

Two authors, Marian Marek Drozdowski and Andrzej Piber had access to the archive material listed, and their writings have greater authority than those other sources detailed in Section II below.

Drozdowski has devoted much research to Paderewski as a politician,² and naturally, given this focus, Paderewski's artistic achievements are of minor importance for them. Andrzej Piber offered a thorough discussion of Paderewski's career in general in his book *Droga do sławy: Ignacy Jan Paderewski w latach 1860-1902* (Towards a career: Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the years 1860-1902).³ There is no other book covering the remaining years of Paderewski's life as carefully researched as this. As a result, there is a lack of fully detailed published information about, for example, the chronology of Paderewski's manuscripts and publications about performances by Paderewski, and about his relationship with his students.

Marian Marek Drozdowski undoubtedly undertook some of the most important research on Paderewski's political life.⁴ In his introduction to the third edition of his book *Droga do sławy: Ignacy Jan Paderewski w latach 1860-1902*, he lists the important national and international institutions and organisations that possess materials related to Paderewski's public activities. When the second edition of this

² M. M. Drozdowski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski: pianista, kompozytor, mąż stanu* (Ignacy Jan Paderewski: a pianist, composer and statesman), DiG & Towarzystwo im. Stanisława ze Skarbmierza, (Warszawa: DiG & TiSS, 2001).

³ A. Piber, *Droga do sławy: Ignacy Jan Paderewski w latach 1860-1902* (Towards a career: Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the years 1860-1902), (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982).

⁴ M. M. Drozdowski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski, zarys biografii politycznej* (Ignacy Jan Paderewski, an outline of political biography). Wydanie trzecie poprawione i rozszerzone (Third edition, corrected and extended), (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1986).

book was published, the Paderewski Museum, founded by the Paderewski Society in Switzerland, had just been opened. By 1981 this Society had collected more than 4,000 documents relating to Paderewski's life and work. In America several institutions hold rarely-studied Paderewski papers, largely dealing with his political activities – namely the National Archives in Washington (Narodowe Archiwum), the Museum and Archives of the Polish Roman-Catholic Union (Muzeum i Archiwum Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego) and The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, California. In Europe, the Polish Library in Paris holds important documents concerning his artistic and political life.

Andrzej Piber, in his crucial book *Droga do sławy: Ignacy Paderewski w latach 1860-1902* (Towards a career: Ignaz Jan Paderewski in the years 1860-1902), (Warszawa: PIW, 1982), explains in great detail why and how Paderewski became an icon for Poles. Paderewski's activities helped Polish people believe once more in possible independence, and in their cultural importance. Piber worked for twelve years on this volume, one of the most exhaustive biographies of Paderewski. Among the archives he consulted were: the Josef Pilsudski Institute in New York (Instytut im. Józefa Piłsudskiego), the Museum and Archives of the Polish National Union in Chicago (Muzeum i Archiwum Związku Narodowego Polskiego), Museum and Archives of Polish Roman-Catholic Union (Muzeum i Archiwum Zjednoczenia Polskiego Rzymsko-Katolickiego), the Library and Archives of Kosciuszko Foundation (Biblioteka i Archiwum Fundacji Kościuszkowskiej) in New York and the Union of Polish Women, in America (Związek Polek w Ameryce). Other sources were found in the Ignace Paderewski section of the Hoover Institute in Poale-Alto (Zespół Ignacego

Paderewskiego w Instytucie Hoovera) and also in private collections in Santa Barbara (California).

In accordance with Paderewski's last will and testament, the Jagielloński University in Kraków received his memorabilia, including his collection of music books and scores. A Documentation Centre there is entirely devoted to his life and works. As far as Paderewski's political activities are concerned, relevant works include *Archiwum Polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego*, published between 1973 and 1974 in 4 volumes by the Institute of History of the National Academy of Science (Instytut Historii Państwowej Akademii Nauk – PAN)⁵, Andrzej Piber's *Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Life and activity* (Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Życie i działalność 1860-1901), Zofia Sywak's Doctoral dissertation (in 1975) *Ignacy Jan Paderewski: Prime Minister of Poland, 16 January to 9 December 1919*.⁶ In addition Jerzy Lerski's *Herbert Hoover and Poland. A Documentary History of a Friendship* (Stanford 1977) demonstrated Paderewski's significant role in the political life of Polish immigrant communities in the United States.

⁵ W. Stankiewicz, A. Piber (eds.), *Archiwum Polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Political Archives of Ignace Jan Paderewski), vol. I – 1890-1918 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1973), pages 598; vol. II – 1919-1921, edited by: Witold Stankiewicz, Andrzej Piber... 1974, pages 704; vol. III – 1921-1934, edited by: Halina Janowska, Czesław Madajczyk... 1974, pages 264; vol. IV – 1935-1940, edited by: Tadeusz Jędruszczak, Artur Leinwand... 1974, pages 422. Also look for: Marian Marek Drozdowski 'Stosunki polsko-amerykańskie w świetle Archiwum Politycznego I. Paderewskiego' (Polish-American relations in connection with the Political Archives of Ignaz Jan Paderewski), *Przegląd Polonijny*, parts 1 and 2, 1977.

⁶ A copy of this dissertation is in the collection of the Union of North-American Studies in the Institute of History at the National Academy of Science.

II – Other published sources

The first biography of Paderewski, *Paderewski and His Art* (New York, 1895), was written by Henry T. Finck. It claimed that Paderewski had already become legendary by the age of thirty. Rom Landau subsequently collected material that covered Paderewski's life as pianist, composer and politician up to January 1934.⁷ Landau offered a detailed account of Paderewski's friends, students and relatives, but Paderewski's role as an activist in Poland and America are not so well covered. There was also a notable lack of interest in any extant correspondence with his relatives. In fact, Paderewski seems to have distanced himself from those who wished to research into those aspects of life, nor did he willingly share personal information. His personal life was therefore rarely touched upon by his contemporaries in any detail, even if his finances had already become a great talking point. Paderewski famously made large donations to Poland during the First World War, and generously supported many musicians and composers. Rom Landau's aim was to present a general image of Paderewski through documentary evidence from the people who knew him. His personal view of Paderewski's personality was formed after a visit to Riond-Bosson and following various conversations with him. This certainly threw new light on certain aspects of Paderewski's political career, even if the book was written without the perspective available to later authors.

⁷ R. Landau, *Paderewski* (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934).

Andrzej Piber argued that many of Landau's 'facts and assertions' are questionable.⁸ Landau had assured the reader that the truth of all his information about Paderewski's life was supported by documentary evidence. Nevertheless, he made claims concerning negative elements in Paderewski's relations with his friends and wife that were later hotly denied by Paderewski. Piber believed that many of Landau's so-called 'facts' were taken out of context. Landau made the assumption that Paderewski's success and status were obtained largely through influential contacts, and thanks to a gift for self-promotion. Furthermore, although he did not personally know Helena Górska (Paderewski's wife) personally, he not only gave a detailed description of her character, but also alleged Paderewski's dependence on her. Paderewski subsequently wrote a letter to Rom Landau, in which he criticised supposed 'calumnies' in these respects.⁹ But Landau's book was widely read, and the work was also published in Polish.

Before Landau, numerous shorter publications had been issued. Some of them did not cite any documentary sources at all. Edward Algernon Baughan, in *Living Masters of Music: Ignaz Jan Paderewski*, ed. by Rosa Newmarch (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1908) viewed Paderewski critically. He was certain that 'objective' scholarly views and opinions on Paderewski's recitals had been affected by the public's enthusiastic response. At that time Paderewski's technique was more than adequate, but Baughan contrasted it unfavourably to those of Godowsky or Busoni, whose skills seemed to be 'quasi innate'. Perhaps there were

⁸ A. Piber, *Droga do sławy*, Preface, 18-19.

⁹ A. Piber, *Archiwum Polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Political Archives of Ignace Jan Paderewski), in *Droga do sławy*, Preface, 18-19. This Paderewski's letter was written on the 5th April 1934. *Archiwum Polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego, Archeion*, no. 39 (1963), 37-50.

better players technically than Paderewski, but what all the critics agreed on was his 'hypnotic' power. Baughan found the use of the word 'artist' (as applied to Paderewski) contentious, and tried to decide – perhaps simplistically – which criteria needed to be fulfilled in order to gain the title 'the greatest pianist'. Baughan belongs to the minority of writers who believed that Paderewski's teaching methods evolved significantly, e.g. before and after his debut in Paris and between his concert tours. This relates especially to Paderewski's changing methods of practicing, which he later shared with his students.

Chabloz-Comte in *Portrait de Monsieur I.-J. Paderewski, Præsident du conseil des Ministres*¹⁰ gives only a short biographical summary of 'Ignace Jean Paderewski', listing the names of his main teachers (particularly Roguski in Warsaw, Frédéric Kiel in Berlin and Theodor Leschetizky in Vienna). Chabloz did not try to support his rather banal conclusion about Paderewski: 'Son succès est prodigieux' with detailed evidence.¹¹ However, he, along with Polish writer and an ardent patriot, Henryk Sienkiewicz, (who won The Nobel Prize in Literature in 1905) pointed to Paderewski's 'connections' on artistic and political levels. Chabloz also focused on Paderewski's contribution to obtaining Poland's independence. He was one of the few who genuinely appreciated the effect of Paderewski's speeches at conferences and rallies. Chabloz described vividly how generously Paderewski supported Polish communities in the US, and emphasised Paderewski's political actions within Europe.

¹⁰ N. Chabloz-Comte, *Portrait de Monsieur I.-J. Paderewski, Præsident du conseil des Ministres* (Extrait de la 'Berner Woche', Bureau de Presse a Berne, (Berne: Imprimerie Jules Werder, Rue de L'hospital 24, 1919).

¹¹ N. Chabloz-Comte, *Portrait*, 5.

Henryk Opieński's *Ignacy Jan Paderewski* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1928) is written in rather old-fashioned Polish prose. In this, it has some similarities to Paderewski's so-called *Memoirs* written by Mary Lawton.¹² She tried to imitate characteristic Polish expressions in order to reveal Paderewski's personality. Opieński discussed Paderewski's first compositions, those published between 1888 and 1894, and how they were perceived by the Polish teachers and composers with whom Paderewski was in contact. While much biographical information seems to be somewhat exaggerated, the analysis of Paderewski's compositions forms a good foundation for more detailed study. Opieński did not offer much background information concerning Paderewski's works, but rather created an argument from personal impressions considering the emotional effects created by particular harmonic styles. He concentrated on those early compositions which nowadays are of rather less interest to performers, for instance, *Praeludium q Capriccio*, Op. 1, *Dans le Désert*, Op. 15 in toccata form, and *Powódź* (Flood).

Opieński divided Paderewski's works into periods in relation to the composer's personal life and cited evidence of how critics in Europe gradually changed their opinion about Paderewski's playing after his first concerts in London. He frequently quotes Polish music journals, such as *Echo Muzyczne i Teatralne* (Musical and Theatrical Echo) and *Kłosa* (Ears) and tried to analyse why Paderewski's opera *Manru* enjoyed only a brief success. Opieński's book was an inspiration for Lidia Kozubek, who published the most exhaustive dissertation on *Manru* to date (Lidia Kozubek, *Opera Manru Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Opera Manru of Ignacy Jan Paderewski,

¹² I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs* (London: Collins, 1939).

Katowice, 1993). Finally, Opieński was one of the few authors who addressed Paderewski's own writings on 'tempo rubato'.¹³

Another source of 'anecdotal' material about Paderewski is a speech given by Colonel Dr Izydor Modelski¹⁴ (the chairman of the Hallers' Union), delivered in Warsaw on the 7th February 1930, Paderewski's 70th birthday (it was also the 50th anniversary of his work for the Polish nation). Modelski, in distinctive style, frequently emphasised the genius of Paderewski, which allegedly endeared him to the world through his charisma as a pianist, his role as a statesman, and most of all as a man who understood human needs and acted in good faith. This is an important, if uncritical document that emphasises Paderewski's political individuality and 'impartiality'. 'Everything he did was done not for personal fame or career advancement, but to fulfill the dreams of his countrymen. Therefore, he was only doing his duty as the great Son of the Nation'.¹⁵ This is typical of many such gushing encomiums delivered during Paderewski's lifetime.

While Henryk Opieński (see above) was evaluating Paderewski's compositions, Charles Phillips discussed Paderewski's long career.¹⁶ Earlier in his book *The New Poland*, he

¹³ A quote from H. Opieński, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1928), 73. This article 'Tempo rubato' in Polish translation was published for the first time in the newspaper from Lwów *Słowo polskie* (Polish word). It also appeared in the journal *Muzyka* (Music), No. 39, January 1928.

¹⁴ Płk. Dr. I. Modelski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski w 70-tą rocznicę urodzin wielkiego Syna Narodu* (Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the 70th birthday anniversary of the great Son of the Nation), (Bydgoszcz, 1930, Nakładem: Chorągwi Pomorskiej Związku Hallerczyków), (Edition of Pomeranian Flag of the Hallers' Union).

¹⁵ I. Modelski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*, 6.

¹⁶ Ch. Phillips, *Paderewski: The story of a modern immortal*, with an introduction by Edward Mandell House (New York: Macmillan, 1934).

had demonstrated a sophisticated knowledge of the political and economic situation in Poland and its relations with other countries. The detailed historical aspects of his subsequent book *Paderewski: The story of a modern immortal*, with an introduction by Edward Mandell House (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), are accordingly highly useful. Phillips's book might be compared with Andrzej Piber's, *Droga do sławy, Ignacy Jan Paderewski w latach 1860-1902*.

Paderewski was especially praised by Polish immigrants in America as a politician and a patriot. In some political sources it is possible to find unexpected information about Paderewski's playing, or even details of little-known performances that took place during conferences and anniversaries. One of Paderewski's greatest admirers was Dr Leon Bochenek. In a draft of a speech intended to be delivered as an introduction on the occasion of Paderewski's 75th birthday,¹⁷ he emphasised those features of Paderewski's personality which helped him to achieve his goals and to mingle successfully with the elite of society. Paderewski's charisma was supposedly attributable to his genius, musical talent, oratory, kindness, self-sacrifice and generosity.¹⁸ Bochenek also outlined Paderewski's admirable devotion to his work, which, together with his eloquence and western European outlook, gave him the fame that was later used to promote the welfare of his native land.

¹⁷ L. Bochenek, *W hołdzie I .J. Paderewskiemu, w 75-lecie Urodzin* (In homage of Paderewski, on the 75th Anniversary of his birthday), Nakładem Przewodnictwa Dzielnicy Wielkopolskiej Towarzystwa Gimnastycznego 'Sokół' w Poznaniu, (Edition of Leadership Wielkopolska District of the Gymnastic Society 'Falcon' in Poznan), typescript, 1935.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

Bochenek emphasised Paderewski's patriotism, but some of the aspects mentioned by the author are also relevant to Paderewski's pianism. Dr Bochenek quoted Paderewski (on Polish teenagers): '[...] only a lack of intensive work prevents Poland from becoming a leading nation. Only intensive work changes talent into skill'.¹⁹ He collated some of Paderewski's views on his own playing between 1914 and 1918, and about the necessity of proper study, which had often been overlooked by major Polish writers.

III – Paderewski's *Memoirs*

I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs* (London: Collins, 1939).

Written in collaboration with Mary Lawton, this is one of the most significant documents on his life. It covers the period from 1860 until 31st July 1914 (just before the beginning of the First World War). The volume was published in 1938 in New York by Charles Scribner & Sons. A few weeks later, a British edition appeared.²⁰ Some apposite facts were either omitted or forgotten by Paderewski, especially those relevant to his personal life and the less than enthusiastic audience reception that he had experienced when he was establishing his reputation. Mary Lawton subsequently prepared a second part of the *Memoirs* (not published at that time), which concentrated on Paderewski as a political activist from the latter part of the First World War until the 1930s. The American newspaper *The Saturday Evening Post* was

¹⁹ Ibid., 16.

²⁰ A. Piber, *Droga do sławy*, 11.

especially interested in this work and anticipated its success. Lawton died in 1945 without seeing Part Two published. Sylwin Strakacz (Paderewski's secretary) made contributions to the drafts based on conversations with Paderewski in 1914 and 1915. Paderewski himself suspended his further participation in this project due to health problems (he was in his mid 70s at that time), his acting a role in the film *Moonlight Sonata* (1937), and his political commitments. In the Paderewski Archives in Warsaw there is a typescript of both the published and unpublished volumes of his *Memoirs*.²¹ The Polish edition of Paderewski's *Memoirs* was translated by Wanda Lisowska and Teresa Mogilnicka. The second volume of the *Memoirs* was published and edited by Andrzej Piber, who provided a preface, annotations, appendices and index.²² Lawton's original English text was published by the Paderewski Music Society of Los Angeles-California in 2011.²³ As Piber mentions, the typescript of the first volume is especially valuable, as Paderewski deleted some sections before it was sent to the publishers. As Dr Perkowska-Waszek acknowledged, the *Memoirs* scarcely discuss Paderewski's compositions, but provide useful contextual information about them.²⁴

²¹ Ibid., page 13. The unpublished part is: *The Paderewski Memoirs. Section V-VI, Political archives of Ignace Jan Paderewski*, AAN, AIJP (New Archive in Warsaw, Ignaz Jan Paderewski Archive), call nos. 62-63. The RISM siglum for this Institution is PL-Waan. Documents preserved in this Archive have not been entirely catalogued due to the large number of old documents which are both fragile and have been not preserved properly in the past; the archive also contains material relating to some of the more confidential aspects of Polish history, politics and culture. Therefore some folders are not available to readers, even if they have obtained permission to access the Archives.

AIJP means Archiwum Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego (Ignaz Jan Paderewski Archive). This is a separate Archive within the AAN devoted specifically to Paderewski, and which covers aspects of his personal, political, social and cultural life, from 1861 to 1941.

²² I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Pamiętniki* (Memoirs), transl. by Wanda Lisowska, Teresa Mogilnicka, vol. 1-2, Kraków, 3rd edition, 1972, 6th edition 1986 and *Pamiętniki 1912-1932* (Memoirs 1912-1932), written by Mary Lawton (Kraków, 1992).

²³ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs: Part Two 1914-1932* (Los Angeles: Paderewski Music Society, 2011).

²⁴ M. Perkowska-Waszek, *Paderewski i jego twórczość*, 14.

In 1991, during a conference in Kraków, organised to coincide with the 50th anniversary of Paderewski's death, Anna Strakaczówna-Appleton revealed some hitherto undisclosed information concerning the *Memoirs*. Her paper was included in the conference proceedings, published in 1991.²⁵ There were elements of his life which Paderewski chose sometimes to omit and sometimes to colour in his dictation to Lawton, which were not known even to Paderewski's specialists due to the difficulty of accessing the evidence. However, Strakaczówna-Appleton and Dr Perkowska-Waszek uncovered much new information. The latter also made a thorough analysis of Paderewski's letters. Her conclusions are still available only in manuscript form. I have, however, had the opportunity to study this material. Significant sources included Paderewski's letters to his father and his wife, Helena Górka. Strakaczówna-Appleton also used these letters in her *Wspomnienie o Paderewskim* (Reminiscences of Paderewski). Some of this material illuminates Paderewski's relationship with his father, which was not as happy as he portrayed it in his *Memoirs*. Paderewski barely mentioned his son Alfred and his health condition, whereas those matters feature much more fully in the letters. 'And here it must be brought home to us that a great man, in spite of his greatness, is only human' – wrote Strakaczówna-Appleton.²⁶

²⁵ Ed. by W. M. Marchwica and A. Sitarz (Katedra Historii i Teorii Muzyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego) [Department of History and Theory of Jagielloński University], *Warsztat kompozytorski, wykonawstwo i koncepcje polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego, Materiały z sesji naukowej, Kraków 3-6 maja 1991* (Composition workshop, performance practice and political conceptions of Ignaz Jan Paderewski, materials from a conference 3-6th May 1991), (Kraków: Katedra Historii i Teorii Muzyki UJ, 1991).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

IV – After the *Memoirs*

Anne Strakaczówna-Appleton's and Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek's research also used material from Dr Józef Orłowski's book *Ignacy Jan Paderewski i odbudowa Polski*, (I. J. Paderewski and the reconstruction of Poland). Orłowski had been one of Paderewski's closest friends.²⁷ Production of the first volume of this work was limited to 480 copies. Ignacy Jan Paderewski originally authorised Józef Orłowski to publish in both the original Polish and in an English translation. It covers Paderewski's life and work until 1938.

The second volume is a massive compendium of original photos, autographs and pictures of Paderewski and associates from all walks of political, cultural and religious life. This is a unique publication, as much of the material comes from private collections. The photos are complemented by extensive annotations. The album also contains substantial information regarding contacts of Paderewski that were hidden from the public owing to the prevailing political situation. Paderewski had his personal advocates even in the Vatican. Pope Pius XI, who was well informed about Polish matters during the First World War, even wrote his own dedication and blessing for Paderewski in 1919, with a postscript – 'non immemores'.²⁸ Paderewski was especially interested in the charitable and religious mission of the *Zjednoczenie Kapłanów Polskich* (Union of Polish Priests) in America. One of the purposes of this Union was to protect the Polish language and to offer educational opportunities for those Poles

²⁷ Ed. by J. Orłowski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski i odbudowa Polski*, (I. J. Paderewski and the reconstruction of Poland), 2 vols., (Chicago: The Stanek Press, 1939-1940). Reprinted in 480 numbered copies (Chicago: Carl O. Jevert & Associates, 1952).

²⁸ J. Orłowski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*.

who had to live either in allied countries or in territories occupied by their oppressors. Orłowski presented the text of Paderewski's main speeches in their entirety, such as that delivered at the Kościuszko monument, on the 15th May 1915.

Other written sources are less important, either owing to their restricted scope, or owing to their limited engagement with primary sources, for example the book by Antoni Gronowicz, *Paderewski, Patriota y Artista*.²⁹ This work was translated from the original English of *Paderewski, Pianist and Patriot* into Spanish by Guido F. P. Parpagnoli and Héctor F. Miri. (I have only been able to locate this Spanish edition). In the selectivity of its approach, this book can be compared with Paderewski's *Memoirs*. In their preface, the translators claimed that Gronowicz '[...] in elegant form and with methodical precision described the life of Paderewski, an immortal patriot and artist [...]'.³⁰ In fact, the book reads more like a novel with much unimportant stylistic padding rather than a serious study. Gronowicz, unusually, dedicated an entire chapter to Paderewski's sister Antonina Wilkońska. There is typically very little information in biographies concerning Paderewski's relationships with other family members, especially with his son or sister. This book is mostly written in the form of dialogues. Gronowicz describes Paderewski's sister's wasted musical talent. This, apparently was much more promising than that of the young Paderewski. But he was the one who was given the opportunity to work on his pianism and to go to study abroad. These facts are not emphasised in most other biographical sources. Gronowicz also describes Antonina's support for Paderewski's political activities. She

²⁹ A. Gronowicz, *Paderewski. Pianist and Patriot* (Edinburgh-New York-Toronto: T. Nelson and Sons, 1943). Spanish transl. by Guido F.P. Parpagnoli and Héctor F. Miri (Buenos Aires, 1949).

³⁰ Preface to A. Gronowicz, *Paderewski, Patriota y Artista* (Buenos Aires, 15 November 1949), transl. Guido F. P. Parpagnoli and Héctor F. Miri, 5.

was his representative at some conferences at which Paderewski could not be present due to either his concert tours or to progressive health problems. Paderewski shared much confidential information with her soon after the death of his wife. Moreover, Paderewski discussed some of his compositions with her, for example the *Fantasy on Polish Themes* for piano and orchestra, Op. 19.

A more recent publication edited by Władysław Dulęba and Zofia Sokołowska, *Paderewski* (Second Edition), (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976) is not of great significance. It contains only a standard biography. The authors seemed to have based the content on Paderewski's *Memoirs*. In the '70s there was no easily accessible material to prepare a more comprehensive biography. Dulęba and Sokołowska also used Rom Landau's book *Paderewski* (translated from English by J. B. Rychliński, Warsaw, 1935). A list of Paderewski's compositions was derived from the published editions. At that time most of Paderewski's manuscripts, drafts and sketches were still not catalogued, and their whereabouts were unknown. Some pieces were identified as 'possible' works, especially those which were supposedly written in his youth but subsequently lost. For example, in the appendix the following information appears: 'According to J. Kleczyński, EMTA 1890, Paderewski was the author of an unpublished *Violin Concerto* and *Suite* for orchestra'. In a similar fashion, *The New Grove* mentions an unpublished *Cantata* for chorus and orchestra to a text by W. Tetmajer. The *Musik Lexikon* by Riemann also lists another opera entitled *Sakuntala*.³¹ Dulęba and Sokołowska prepared a useful list of repertoire, which was later extended by Dr Perkowska-Waszek in *Diariusz Koncertowy Ignacego Jana*

³¹ Ed. by W. Dulęba and Z. Sokołowska, *Paderewski* (Second Edition, revised), (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), 172.

Paderewskiego (The Concert Diary of Ignace Jan Paderewski), (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990).

In 1990 the Paderewski Foundation in Chicago compiled a concise source of information about Paderewski's stay there in a booklet written by Dr Franciszek Pulit, the acting director of the Foundation. During the period just after 1989 (when the Polish government was still under the controlling influence of the Soviet Union), there were certain aspects of Paderewski's life that it would have been unwise to discuss. These were judiciously omitted. The Foundation also made an indispensable contribution towards setting up a Museum in Paderewski's house in Kąсна Dolna near Tarnów. This is the only place where a former Paderewski property has been restored adequately. The house is surrounded by an orangery and park. There is a large collection of objects that belonged to Paderewski here, including a piano, books, concert programmes, medals and diplomas, stamps with his image and so on.

V – Paderewski's performances

As mentioned above, Dr Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek's *Diariusz Koncertowy Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (The Concert Diary of Ignace Jan Paderewski), (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990) is the most comprehensive anthology of Paderewski's concert programmes, concert reviews and concert tours, all arranged in chronological order. It also documents Paderewski reception, especially from Polish newspapers and journals. Additional material relates to Paderewski's

finances. Overall, it paints a persuasive picture of Paderewski's increasing success. Perkowska also lists the premières of Paderewski's compositions, linked to press cuttings about the performances. They include Polish sources from Paderewski's early years as a Professor at the Music Institute in Warsaw, French reviews after his debut in Paris, and details of his later successes in London and America.

Dr Perkowska-Waszek's evidence confirms, with a few exceptions, Paderewski's worldwide critical success. The major documentary sources which she used were Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archive) in Warsaw, Polish musical and non-musical journals, and the collections of the Polish Museum in Chicago, The Boston Public Library and Archives of Helena Lubke and Sylwin Strakacz in California.³² As mentioned above, in the second part of Perkowska-Waszek's work there is a complete list of Paderewski's repertoire and of his own compositions. This presents a useful picture of how Paderewski chose the repertoire for his tours as his career progressed.

VI – Changes since 1991

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Poland was able to hold its first free elections in 1991. After that, music research was made easier for Polish specialists both internationally and within the country. Consequently, interest in Paderewski's musical activities began to increase. One of the first works to appear was a typed brochure *Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860-1941* (Łódź, 1991), edited by Izabela Kaczur-

³² M. Perkowska, *Diariusz Koncertowy Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Concert diary of Ignaz Jan Paderewski), (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1990), Preface, 6.

Kaczyńska. It was produced on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Paderewski's death. Kaczur-Kaczyńska's account begins with the 29th July 1941, when Paderewski died in the Buckingham Hotel, New York. Her account of Paderewski's life was supported by many secondary sources: Polska Bibliografia Literacka (the Polish Bibliography of Literature), Bibliografia Historii Polskiej (the Bibliography of Polish History), Przewodnik Bibliograficzny (the Bibliographical Guide), Bibliografia Polskiego Piśmiennictwa Muzycznego (the Bibliography of Polish Written Musical Sources), Bibliografia Zawartości Czasopism (the Bibliography of Journals) and material from W i MBP in Łódź (Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego), (the Provincial and Municipal Public Library named after Marshal Josef Pilsudski). This booklet contains a list of editions, publications about Paderewski and his performance style, and material on Paderewski's own memoirs. There are 99 bibliographical entries listed. This, however, is substantially less than Dr Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek's³³ exhaustive bibliography, which has around 300 entries, including Polish, German and French material. A small amount of additional material was subsequently added by Dr Maja Trochimczyk.³⁴ Soon afterwards, Henryk Lisiak in

³³ Dr M. Perkowska-Waszek's Doctoral dissertation was *Geneza i historia utworów Paderewskiego w świetle nieznanych źródeł* (Genesis and the history of the works by I. J. Paderewski in light of unknown sources). Her supervisor was Professor Zofia Chechlińska. Dr Perkowska-Waszek has been working since 1974 in the Ośrodek Dokumentacji Życia i Twórczości I.J. Paderewskiego przy Katedrze Historii i Teorii Muzyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Centre of Documentation and Works of I. J. Paderewski, working in Department of History and Musical Theory of the Jagielloński University) in Kraków. Currently, it is Instytut Muzykologii (Musicological Institute) of the Jagielloński University in Kraków. She was a director of the Centre, which was later renamed as Ośrodek Dokumentacji Muzyki Polskiej XIX wieku im. I.J. Paderewskiego (Centre of Documentation of Polish Music of the 9th Century named after I. J. Paderewski), since 2002. In 2001 she was a member of the committee responsible for organisation of Paderewski's anniversary. She was chosen for that position by the Minister of Art and Culture in Poland. Dr Perkowska-Waszek has been one of the most renowned Paderewski specialists, and an author of substantial books and articles. She was editor-in-chef of Paderewski's Complete Edition (12 volumes), with the collaboration of artists such as Krystian Zimerman and Witold Lutosławski.

http://www.muzykologia.uj.edu.pl/pracownicy/Perkowska-Waszek_Malgorzata.htm, accessed 23 February 2011.

³⁴ Dr Maja Trochimczyk is the director of the Polish Music Centre in the University of South California in Los Angeles, and also a lecturer in the Thornton School of Music of that University. She is the editor of

Paderewski: Od Kuryłówki po Arlington (From Kurylowka to Arlington), (Poznań: SAWW, 1992) concentrated on the political aspects of Paderewski's life as a promoter of Polish independence.

In 1996 Simone Giron de Pourtalés, who had many decades earlier visited Ignaz Paderewski and Helena Górska in their residence in Riond-Bosson, prompted much discussion with her book *Tajemnica Testamentu Paderewskiego* (The secret of Paderewski's will), (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1996). The original title of this work was *La Révolte des Anges*. It was withdrawn in 2001 on the grounds that it was libelous to Sylwin Strakacz, Paderewski's secretary. Giron gave a very subjective interpretation of the last years of Paderewski's life. Nevertheless, some of this book is thought-provoking, supported as it is by extant documentary evidence (letters from friends, doctors, journalists and political departments etc). Giron accused Strakacz of causing difficulties for those closest to Paderewski, including his pupils, friends and family. She sought for no less than 10 years to discover where Paderewski's enormous savings had disappeared to during the last year of his life. Many named beneficiaries of Paderewski's will in fact received no legacy. Thanks to her efforts, Paderewski's will was 'surprisingly' once more unearthed, and in accordance with it, some of his estate was redistributed to Polish organisations and individuals. I have contacted Dr Perkowska-Waszek in order to discuss Giron's book. Further information on this

the *Polish Music Journal*, an online musicological journal devoted to the Polish music. It was created in 1998. Apart from that she has written several books and articles about Chopin and Polish music of the Romantic period. Dr Trochimczyk is the president of Helena Modjeska Art and Culture Club in Los Angeles.

<http://pl.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/text/id/169>, accessed 23 February 2011.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maja_Trochimczyk, accessed 23 February 2011.

appears later in the dissertation. Some of Paderewski's fortune was subsequently used to fund scholarships, science equipment and the Collegium Paderewianum.³⁵

VII – Paderewski's approach to music and its performance

One of the most useful books on Paderewski's performance practice and compositional technique was compiled by Wojciech Maria Marchwica and Andrzej Sitarz, and published by Katedra Historii i Teorii Muzyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego UJ (the Department of History and Theory of Jagielloński University) – *Warsztat kompozytorski, wykonawstwo i koncepcje polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego, Materiały z sesji naukowej, Kraków 3-6 maja 1991* (Composition workshop, performance practice and political conceptions of Ignaz Jan Paderewski; materials from a conference 3-6th May 1991), (Kraków, 1991), at which Strakaczówna-Appleton's essay, *Wspomnienie o Paderewskim* (Reminiscences of Paderewski) was given. This conference was organised on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of Paderewski's death.

Rafał Szczepański in his essay *Paderewski jako wydawca Dzieł Chopina, Prace redakcyjne nad wydaniem Dzieł Wszystkich i The Century Library of Music* (Paderewski as an editor of Chopin's Works: concerning the publication of the 'Complete Edition' and The Century Library of Music) discussed Paderewski's involvement in the preparation of *Dzieła Wszystkie Fryderyka Chopina* (The Complete Works of Frederic

³⁵ Ed. by W. M. Marchwica and A. Sitarz, *Warsztat kompozytorski*, 1.

Chopin). He tried to ascertain the actual amount of Paderewski's own work. This article quotes letters from the Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (The Frederic Chopin Institute) and also Paderewski's reports on discussions with his collaborators: Prof. Józef Turczyński and Dr Ludwik Bronarski.

Jerzy Stankiewicz, in *O poglądach estetycznych Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Concerning the aesthetic views of Ignacy Jan Paderewski) claims that apart from passages in Paderewski political speeches, there is surprisingly little documentary evidence of his personal views on art. Paderewski's essay on Chopin, however, published in Lwów (1910) and later in London (1911)³⁶ demonstrates Paderewski's significant interest in Chopin's music. Paderewski had become better known as a writer after publishing his article *Tempo rubato* in London (1909). This reveals his attitude to one of the most important elements of musical performance.³⁷ Paderewski publicly reflected on piano interpretation once more in James Cooke's: *Great Pianists on Piano Playing; Godowsky, Hofmann, Lhevinne, Paderewski and 24 Other Legendary Performers* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1999). And, as Jerzy Stankiewicz points out, the journal *Muzyka* in fact contains many short articles by Paderewski's that are often overlooked. These articles contain much information about his views on contemporary music (especially Karol Szymanowski and Claude Debussy) and explain his lack of sympathy for Hindemith, Berg, Schoenberg, Webern and Weill. Paderewski also wrote about his changing views on radio broadcasting and recording. These

³⁶ I.J. Paderewski, 'Tempo rubato', *Przegląd Muzyczny* 1927 no. 8 and *Muzyka* 1928 no. 1.

³⁷ Ed. by W. M. Marchwica, and A. Sitarz, *Warsztat kompozytorski*, 113.

articles in *Muzyka*³⁸ are a substantial source of information. Paderewski here even predicted the evolution of electronic music.³⁹

Andrzej Piber in *Recepcja 'Manru' w USA (Perception of Manru in USA)*⁴⁰ presented critical reviews of Paderewski's only opera. His research documents the conductors, singers and impresarios who worked on *Manru* under Paderewski's direction. The composer helped to prepare the première performance in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York on 14 February 1902. Piber gave a detailed description of the rehearsals and premiere, and attempted to account for its tremendous success. Aleksandra Konieczna in *Manru – Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego – Kilka Uwag O Stylu i Dramaturgii (Manru by Ignace Jan Paderewski – A few comments on style and drama)* offered a technical analysis of the work. She disputed the general opinion that *Manru* had been influenced mainly by Wagner. Although Włodzimierz Poźniak⁴¹ and Henryk Opieński⁴² in their monographs on Paderewski placed *Manru* as a representative of the Wagnerian style, Konieczna instead noted similarities to French and Italian operas.⁴³

Jadwiga Paja-Stach in *Wariacje fortepianowe I. J. Paderewskiego (I. J. Paderewski Piano variations)* discusses the background of the *Variations and fugue in A minor*, Op.

³⁸ Quoted after J. Stankiewicz's bibliography of I. J. Paderewski's writings: *Muzyka* 1928 no. 1, 1932 nos. 1-2, 1932 nos. 3-4, 1933 no. 100, 1933 nos. 2-6, 1934 no. 2 and 1936 nos. 7-12.

³⁹ Ed. by W. M. Marchwica and A. Sitarz, *Warsztat kompozytorski*, 116.

⁴⁰ A. Piber, 'Recepcja Manru w USA' (The reception of Manru in the USA), in W. M. Marchwica and A. Sitarz, *Warsztat kompozytorski*, 120-133.

⁴¹ Wł. Poźniak, 'Opera po Moniuszce', in *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej*, (Opera after Moniuszko in: From the history of Polish musical culture), (Kraków: PWM, 1966), vol. II, 307-310.

⁴² H. Opieński, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*, 65-72.

⁴³ Quoted after A. Konieczna in a book ed. by W. Maria-Marchwica, A. Sitarz, *Warsztat kompozytorski...*, 134.

11, *Variations*, Op. 16, and the *Variations and fugue in E flat minor*, Op. 23. She gives a structural analysis of these pieces, concentrating on presenting the works as a synthesis of Classicism and Romanticism in harmony, formal construction and expression.

Dorota Maciejewicz perhaps surprisingly placed Paderewski's compositions among the major examples of Romanticism and Modernism in the article *Romantyczna realizacja kanonu Allegra Sonatowego w trzech kompozycjach I. J. Paderewskiego* (Romantic realisation of the Allegro Sonata form in three compositions by I.J. Paderewski). The pieces discussed are the *Piano Concerto in A Minor*, Op. 17, the *Sonata in A Minor*, Op. 13 for violin and piano (dedicated to Pablo Sarasate) and the *Piano Sonata in E flat minor*, Op. 21. Maciejewicz found several connections between these pieces. She discussed Paderewski's works in relation to a phenomenon she called 'the Romantic syndrome'.⁴⁴

Ronald Stevenson in *The Paderewski Paradox* (Lincoln: Klavar Music Foundation, 1992) gave a thorough analysis of Paderewski's persona and performance style. He based his research on the reminiscences of Paderewski's pupils and the reflections of artists such as Alfred Cortot, who had the opportunity to hear Paderewski play. Stevenson classified Paderewski as 'living, the most famous pianist ever; dead, forgotten'. Also useful is a collaborative work edited by Bogdan Walczak, *Geniusz przypadkowo grający na fortepianie, Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860-1941* (A Genius who played the

⁴⁴ D. Maciejewicz, 'Romantyczna realizacja kanonu allegra sonatowego w trzech kompozycjach I. J. Paderewskiego' (The Romantic realisation of the sonata-allegro in three compositions by I. J. Paderewski), in W. M. Marchwica and A. Sitarz (eds.), *Warsztat kompozytorski...*

piano, Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860-1941), (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2001). This includes material by, among others, Hanna Kucharska from the Tadeusz Szeligowski Philharmonia in Poznań and Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek from The Documentary Centre of the Life and Works of I. J. Paderewski, which is a part of the Jagielloński University in Kraków (Ośrodek Dokumentacji Życia i Twórczości I. J. Paderewskiego przy Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w Krakowie). The book contains four main articles, written by Bogdan Walczak, Grzegorz Łukomski, Tadeusz Ignacy Grabski and Alicja Knast. It ends with the programme note of the concert (organised by Grzegorz Piotrowski) *Hommage à Paderewski*, which was given on the anniversary of Paderewski's receiving a Doctorate of Honoris Causae in Poznań.

In *A philanthropist, founder and sponsor*, Tadeusz Ignacy Grabski prepared an informative list of Paderewski's activities in social, cultural and political life. Paderewski's generosity and loyalty won over the biggest Polish newspapers, among them *Kurier Poznański* and *Dziennik Poznański*, which documented all Paderewski's stage appearances. Grabski cautiously raised the subject of Paderewski's will, which was lodged at Morgan's bank in 1930. The Jagielloński University, Poznański University, the Warsaw Conservatoire and the I. J. Paderewski High School in Poznań were supposed to receive bequests for educational and promotional purposes. Art collections, mementoes and books were bequeathed to the National Museum in Warsaw. Grabski reported that 'Paderewski allocated all his fortune to Poland and the

Poles, as the 'property of the nation'. The total value of the bequests was estimated at 650 thousand dollars'.⁴⁵

The following article by Alicja Knast 'O Geniuszu przypadkowo grającym na fortepianie. Ignacy Jan Paderewski a instrumentarium epoki' (On a genius who plays the piano, Ignaz Jan Paderewski and instruments of the epoch)⁴⁶ refers to Paderewski's opinions on the pianos that he played in concerts and recordings. Knast based the majority of her study on a work by J. Stankiewicz, *O poglądach estetycznych Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego, Warsztat kompozytorski, wykonawstwo, koncepcje polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Kraków 3-6 Maja, 1991* (Ignaz Jan Paderewski's aesthetic views on composition technique, performance practice and political ideas – derived from a research session in Kraków, 3-6th May, 1991).⁴⁷

The year 2001 was a particularly important one for "Paderewians." After an act of 7th December 2001 of the lower house of the Polish parliament – the Sejm of the Republic of Poland – 2001 was named 'Paderewski Year'. The decision was approved by the Marshal of the Sejm-Maciej Płażyński. On that occasion Professor Marian Marek

⁴⁵ Ed. by B. Walczak, *Geniusz przypadkowo grający na fortepianie, Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860-1941* (A Genius who played the piano, Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860-1941), (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2001), 42.

⁴⁶ A. Knast, 'O Geniuszu przypadkowo grającym na fortepianie. Ignacy Jan Paderewski a instrumentarium epoki' (On a genius who plays the piano, Ignacy Jan Paderewski and instruments of the epoch), in B. Walczak (ed.), *Geniusz*, 43-57.

⁴⁷ J. Stankiewicz, 'Poglądy estetyczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego' (Ignaz Jan Paderewski's aesthetic views), in Wojciech Marchwica and Andrzej Sitarz (eds.), *Warsztat kompozytorski, wykonawstwo, koncepcje polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Kraków 3-6 Maja, 1991* (Composition workshop, performance practice and political conceptions of Ignaz Jan Paderewski, materials from a conference in Kraków, 3-6th May 1991), (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1991), 113-119.

Drozdowski prepared a commemorative publication, in which he emphasised that the key to Paderewski's success was not only talent and strong personality, but also hard work. Another publication by Prof. Drozdowski, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski: pianista, kompozytor, mąż stanu* (Ignacy Jan Paderewski: pianist, composer and statesman), (Warszawa: Towarzystwo im. Stanisława ze Skarbimierza – TiSS, 2001) was part of the series *Ludzie Niezwyčajni...* (Outstanding people...). Drozdowski claimed that the communist Polish government originally wanted to obliterate the memory of Paderewski owing to his respect for national and religious minorities living in Polish territory. Moreover, Drozdowski, more than any other writer, investigated Paderewski's finances. He quotes exact figures for Paderewski's remuneration not only for his first concerts in Paris and Vienna, but also in later contracts. The opinions and polemics of Paderewski's critics (including Bernard Shaw) and many quotations from German writers are included. Drozdowski also unearthed pupils' diaries and created the first coherent picture Paderewski's teaching. Moreover, he listed major reviews of Paderewski's compositions with scholarly precision. This compendium is one of the most valuable publications in the field.

Further conferences on Paderewski were organised internationally, even in those countries where Paderewski was not applauded in the early period of his concert career (eg. Germany and Switzerland). Kazimierz Czekaj was the main editor of *Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941)*, published after an international conference on Paderewski in Switzerland.⁴⁸ This work, written in German, French, English (and

⁴⁸ Ed. by K. Czekaj Haag, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941)*, Paderewski-Weltfestspiele 2002-2010 Komitee, Basel, Schweiz (The Paderewski World Festivities 2002-2010 Committee, Basle, Switzerland). Second Publication of The Paderewski World Festivities 2002-2010 Committee, Basle, August 2002.

translated into Polish) is, as its title says, 'A Tribute to Paderewski'. It contains a list of people who contributed to keeping the memory of Paderewski alive in the 21st century. These include teachers (Marian Marek Drozdowski and Marian Miklaszewski), composers (Krzysztof Penderecki), journalists, medical doctors (Remigius Faesch and Dieter Frey), recording engineers (André Guex-Joris), musicians (Krystian Zimerman and Rinko Kobayashi), singers (Teresa Żylis-Gara), film directors (Roman Polański), and people who heard Paderewski's live performances (Dr Max Reber). Kazimierz Czekał also produced an informative list of the main concerts of Paderewski's compositions that have taken place since 2002, including programme reviews and information about the artists.

Two important articles on Paderewski's playing and composing were written respectively by Alfred Cortot and Józef Kański (one of the most respected Polish critics). Cortot, in *Paderewski, Pianiste* (Paderewski – uosobienie pianisty naszych czasów),⁴⁹ discussed Paderewski's success in Paris as the beginning of his career, and analysed his performances from both the technical and musical sides. He claimed in general that Paderewski's sense of rhythm and character, together with his mesmerising phrasing and touch, were the key to his success. Józef Kański, in *Ignacy Jan Paderewski und sein Instrumentalwerk* (Ignacy Jan Paderewski i jego twórczość instrumentalna),⁵⁰ wrote about Paderewski's compositions and performance style. He described Paderewski's charisma and individuality, and also researched the

⁴⁹ Ed. by K. Czekał Haag, *Z panteonu wielkich Polaków: Ignacy Jan Paderewski*. Album Międzynarodowego Towarzystwa Muzyki Polskiej im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w Warszawie (An album of the International Paderewski's Society of Polish Music in Warsaw) (Bazylea-Kraków-Warszawa, 2010), 58-60. See also: W. Fuchss, *Paderewski: Reflets de sa vie* (Genève: Tribune Editions, 1981), 207-208.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 85-89.

background of Paderewski's major works, among them the *Sonata in A minor*, Op. 13, the *Piano Concerto in A minor*, Op. 17 and the *Symphony in B minor 'Polonia'*, Op. 24.

Małgorzata Komorowska in her article *Paderewski-Beitrag zur Biographie, Musikalische Freundschaft mit Marcella Sembrich-Kochańska* (Muzyczna przyjaźń Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego z Marcellą Sembrich)⁵¹ discusses Paderewski's important friendships with Marcella Sembrich-Kochańska and the de Reszke brothers, which until recently had not been properly documented. Moreover, she lists major performances of *Manru*, with relevant critical reviews. Maria Fołtyn⁵² wrote about poems by Adam Mickiewicz, set to music by Ignacy Jan Paderewski (Op. 18). She also concentrated on the main roles in the opera *Manru* and even considered Paderewski to be on a par with the most distinguished Polish composers of vocal music – Stanisław Moniuszko and Karol Szymanowski. She additionally cites recordings of arias from *Manru* by the Italian tenor, Giuseppe Anselmi, made in 1910, and by Stanisław Gruszczyński in 1928.

Wojciech Dzeduszycki intriguingly mentioned that when he was a young child, Paderewski was his accompanist. Wojciech was the son of Władysław Dzeduszycki, who was one of Paderewski's closest friends. In his article *My Encounters with Paderewski* (Moje spotkania z Mistrzem Paderewskim)⁵³ he recalls staying with the maestro in Riond-Bosson. He was also one of the very few people surviving who had been present and were thus able to describe in detail the atmosphere in the Victoria Theatre during Paderewski's performance there in 1929. The event was advertised as

⁵¹ Ibid., 117-122.

⁵² Ibid., 93-96.

⁵³ Ibid., 67-69.

'A concert by Ignacy Jan Paderewski to help War Veterans'.⁵⁴ Dzieduszycki's account of his experience is by no means lacking in humour!

Kazimierz Czekaj compiled a catalogue of the festivals, concerts and conferences between 1992 and 2010 connected with Paderewski (for example, in Geneva, Paso Robles and Warsaw). A twelve-month period between 2009 and 2010 was dedicated specially by UNESCO as *L'Année Frédéric Chopin et Ignacy Jan Paderewski* to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Chopin's birth and the 150th anniversary of the birth of Paderewski. Czekaj listed all the works written about or dedicated to Paderewski and to Poland, for instance *The Symphonic Prelude, Op. 76 'Polonia'*, composed by Sir Edward Elgar after hearing Paderewski's *Symphony in B minor 'Polonia'*.

One of the best studies concerning Paderewski as a performer and a composer was written by Dr Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek. Her book *Paderewski i jego twórczość, Dzieje utworów i rys osobowości kompozytora* (Paderewski and his Works, The history of his output and an outline of the composer's personality)⁵⁵ is the most recent volume about Paderewski to be published in Poland. Much of the information was taken from her PhD *Geneza i historia utworów I. J. Paderewskiego w świetle utworów nieznananych* (The origins and history of I. J. Paderewski's works as revealed in newly discovered sources)-supervisor: Prof. Zofia Chechlińska, Uniwersytet Jagielloński

⁵⁴ Ed. by K. Czekaj Haag, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941)*, Paderewski-Weltoffenspiele 2002-2010 Komitee, Basel, Schweiz (The Paderewski World Festivities 2002-2010 Committee, Basle, Switzerland). Second Publication of The Paderewski World Festivities 2002-2010 Committee (Basle, 2002), 140.

⁵⁵ M. Perkowska-Waszek, *Paderewski i jego twórczość*.

(Jagielloński University).⁵⁶ She mentions that she was not trying to raise Paderewski's status as a composer, but to make as precise a summary of as possible of previous research, thus throwing light on Paderewski's works. In Paderewski's day his compositions were highly appreciated and considered to be important for new contemporary trends.⁵⁷ Dr Perkowska-Waszek also cited some of Paderewski's unpublished letters, along with programme notes and critical reviews. Furthermore, she unearthed hitherto unknown sketches and manuscripts in the possession of private individuals and institutions worldwide. This material allows us to follow Paderewski's plans as a composer from the time of his student days in Warsaw and Berlin. Perkowska-Waszek also produced a complete history of Paderewski's works. Among them are two pieces for violin and piano, drafts of a *Violin Concerto*, an unfinished *Cantata* and some miniatures for piano. These have recently been performed and recorded.⁵⁸ By analysing documents and letters, Perkowska-Waszek uncovers evidence of how Paderewski worked as a self-promoter, and her book contains one of the most substantial catalogues of performances of Paderewski's works (including the *Symphony* and *Manru*), Paderewski's recordings (piano rolls and disc recordings), editions (published during Paderewski's life-time and later), and the details of national and international libraries and institutions that hold Paderewski's manuscripts.

⁵⁶ Quoted in M. Perkowska-Waszek, *Paderewski i jego twórczość*, Preface.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

Conclusion

Much of the material described is not readily available and in many cases it was published only in Polish. My aim has been to make it accessible in English to a wider readership and my knowledge of the Polish language has been particularly valuable. Paderewski has been the subject of much adulation during his lifetime, and I have found it possible to reach considered judgements comparing the multiple sources quoted above.

DISCOGRAPHY OF PADEREWSKI AND HIS WORKS

One of the first attempts to prepare a discography of Paderewski's recordings and those of other performers who recorded his pieces was made by Jan Kański in 'Płytkowe dokumenty sztuki Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego' (Documents of the art of Ignace Jan Paderewski), *Ruch Muzyczny*, no. 14 (1971).⁵⁹ Władysław Dulęba and Zofia Sokołowska in their edition of *Paderewski*⁶⁰ made a similar list. The latter is particularly valuable, as it shows the greater popularity of certain pieces in his repertoire. The first pianist to record all Paderewski's piano works was Karol Radziwonowicz. He made a complete recording for Polish CDs – Selene Records.

⁵⁹ J. Kański, 'Płytkowe dokumenty sztuki Ignacego Paderewskiego (w 30 rocznicę zgonu wielkiego artysty)' (Recorded documents of the art of Ignaz Paderewski (on the 30th death anniversary of the great artist), *Ruch Muzyczny*, no. 14 (1971), 5-6.

⁶⁰ Ed. by Wł. Dulęba and Z. Sokołowska, *Paderewski*, 178-182.

Andrzej Zamoyski in his monograph *Paderewski* (London, 1982) included an expanded list of Paderewski's recordings. He used, among others, Paderewski discographies compiled respectively by Anderson ⁶¹ and Fassett. ⁶² A selection of Paderewski's recordings between 1911 and 1938 have been reissued by Pavilion Records (UK) under the Pearl label (Gemm 136, 140, 150). A second edition of the works recorded by Paderewski during that time have been issued by the same company as a set of five discs (Pearl IJP 1), arranged as follows: 9323 and 9397 – Chopin; 9499, 9943 and 9109 other composers. Earlier transfers include Eurodisc (1976) 27674 XDK and RCA 60923. Paderewski also features in the IPAM 'Multitude of Pianists' anthology 9IPAM 1206.

A – Recordings and transfers of piano rolls onto CDs after 2000

The University of Maryland has produced a useful guide to Paderewski's recordings,⁶³ while in 2008 the APR company released two CDs (6006) of recordings made between 1911 and 1912. They are among the most valuable sources for analysing Paderewski's earlier playing. It is worth mentioning that until 2002 most of these rare recordings, including transfers from piano rolls into CDs, had never been reissued. One of the most important transfers was made in 2002 by Denis Hall at The Pianola Institute in London. Other valuable transfers of disc recordings were made by Seth Winner. In 2008 Naxos produced a CD containing Paderewski's recordings made between 1914 and 1930. Ward Marston was one of those responsible for this. Philips collection *Great*

⁶¹ H. L. Anderson, 'Ignace Jan Paderewski – Discography', *British Institute of Recorded Sound Bulletin*, no. 10, Autumn 1958, 2-7.

⁶² S. Fassett, A Paderewski Discography, *American Music Lover*, no. 8, August 1941.

⁶³ University of Maryland, USA

<http://www.lib.umd.edu/PAL/IPAM/bglr.html>, accessed 26 January 2010.

Pianists included one CD of selected Paderewski recordings, but there are some errors in this. For instance, the track of a performance by 'Paderewski' of the Etude *La Leggerezza* by Liszt is misleadingly described, as in fact this is the Moiseiwitsch recording.⁶⁴

B – Discography of Paderewski's works played by other performers

Jan Popis prepared a substantial discography of all Paderewski's piano works recorded between 1991 and 2001 (including *The Complete Piano Works by Paderewski*, recorded by Karol Radziwonowicz (1991, 1993), Selene 4 CDs Vol. 1-2/I=Vol. 3-4/II: 9201.3, 9203.6, 9302.9, 9306.13). This is extremely informative.⁶⁵ It was later expanded to include a complete list of all the films, documentaries and TV programmes which have been made about Paderewski's life or works since 1986.

This thesis attempts to fill some of the gaps in scholarly engagement with Paderewski's performance-practice, and his activity as a teacher, demonstrated in the foregoing literature review. In particular, by an analysis of his recordings, and investigation of unpublished letters concerning his pedagogical activities, we can build a more rounded picture of Paderewski as a musician.

⁶⁴ University of Maryland, USA

<http://lib.guides.umd.edu/content.php?pid=357716&sid=2925795>, accessed 18 February 2014.

⁶⁵ This information comes from an article that became a part of the publication edited by K. Czekaj Haag, *Z panteonu wielkich Polaków*, 104-113.

Chapter 1: Paderewski and his pianos

Introduction

It will be useful to discuss Paderewski's choice of particular pianos and their employment during each stage of his career, not only for performance, but also for composition. Undoubtedly, his experience of different types of instruments had a substantial impact on him – his sensitivity to the quality of the sound coming out of any piano was extraordinarily acute. In order to be able to analyse Paderewski's style of playing, one cannot neglect his repeated attempts to persuade piano makers (notably Steinway & Sons) to change the heavy touch of the piano action and to refine it in several other ways.

It is difficult to assess exactly how many instruments Paderewski used, particularly during the time when he was at the height of his fame. Much of Paderewski's private correspondence and documents have been lost in still unexplained circumstances.⁶⁶ These materials would undoubtedly have provided an indispensable source of information. Most of Paderewski's possessions disappeared from his villa in Riond-Bosson very soon after his death. The near-empty state of the property gave the public the erroneous idea that Paderewski had died on the brink of poverty, leaving only his music and large debts. Alicja Knast has suggested that Paderewski used

⁶⁶ *Paderewskiego życie po życiu* na podstawie Simone Giron 'La Revolte des Anges' (Tajemnica testamentu Paderewskiego) PWM '96 w opracowaniu Jerzego Jasieńskiego (Paderewski's life after life, based on 'La Revolte des Anges' – The Mystery of Paderewski's Will, ed. by Jerzy Jasieński, dir. Stefan Szlachtycz (Dział Form Dokumentalnych, Studio "DE FACTO", TVP Archiwum (Archives of Polish Television, 1999), Part I: *Rozdziobią go...* (Pursuit of the prey...)).

a dozen or so instruments during the period of his most intensive piano and compositional work.⁶⁷ During the period 1888-1907, his output included the *Piano Concerto*, Op. 17 (1888), the *Polish Fantasy for Piano and Orchestra*, Op. 19 (1893), the Opera *Manru* (1900), the *Piano Sonata*, Op. 21 (1903), *Variations and Fugue in E flat minor*, Op. 23 (1903) and the *Symphony 'Polonia'*, Op. 24 (1907).⁶⁸ Most of the documents, notes or receipts which reveal which instruments Paderewski was using at his home in Riond-Bosson, or which he hired for various purposes, are held in the Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (New Archive in Warsaw).

Examples include a receipt dated 17 August 1898, which was issued by the Érard company for a concert grand piano in the 'empire style', with a double escapement action.⁶⁹ Knast also mentions Paderewski's order for a piano made by Knabe, a celesta by Mustel & Cie (dated 22 November 1906) and a concert grand piano by Weber (dated 19 January 1918). In Riond-Bosson there were instruments hired from the following companies: Jean Huber, Rotchy Brothers and Maison Czapek.⁷⁰

1.1 – A variety of instruments

Paderewski's own *Memoirs* reveal much about his aesthetic of choice of instrument. He firmly believed that an instrument of good quality was an intrinsic necessity for

⁶⁷ A. Knast, 'O Geniuszu przypadkowo grającym na fortepianie. Ignacy Jan Paderewski a instrumentarium epoki' (On a genius who plays the piano, Ignacy Jan Paderewski and instruments of the epoch), in B. Walczak (ed.), *Geniusz przypadkowo grający na fortepianie, Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860–1941* (A Genius who played the piano, Ignacy Jan Paderewski 1860-1941), (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2001), 56.

⁶⁸ A. Zamoyski, *Paderewski* (London: Collins, 1982), 245.

⁶⁹ Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archive in Warsaw), AAN AIJP, call no. 539.2., quoted in A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 56.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, call no. 539. 3-8, 10, 14-21, quoted in A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 56.

music education, and for acquiring technical dexterity. However, the absence of teachers who believed in Paderewski's pianistic talent, together with his own financial struggles and an unfortunate lack of support from the musical establishment, made him initially pursue further studies in theory and playing string and woodwind instruments rather than the piano. But these experiences were not a waste of time. A familiarity with the structure of musical composition and the ability to play other instruments stimulated the imagination of the young Ignaz and helped him later in the orchestration of his works.

In his *Memoirs*, Paderewski described his encounters with several makes of piano during his youth. His first piano was an upright by Conrad Graf, which had 'a very weak tone and [was] hoarse in sound and scratchy'.⁷¹ When Paderewski met the Kerntopf family in 1872⁷², his career in Warsaw as a young pianist and teacher gathered more momentum. The Kerntopfs owned one of the most prominent piano companies in Warsaw.⁷³ When Paderewski became an international success in the late 1880s, he occasionally played Kerntopf pianos, although they could not compete with the best worldwide brands of the time, such as Steinway or Érard.⁷⁴

⁷¹ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 36.

⁷² A. Zamoyski, *Paderewski*, 15-16.

⁷³ B. Vogel, *Fortepian polski* (Polish piano) (Warszawa: Sutkowski Edition, 1996), 65, 68-69, quoted in A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 47.

⁷⁴ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 54.



Fig. 1. Frederic Chopin Museum in Warsaw (formerly the Warsaw Institute of Music which Paderewski attended as a student in 1872-1878). Photo: A. Pluta.

After his early years at the Warsaw Institute of Music,⁷⁵ Paderewski made progress by continuing his studies in Berlin with Friedrich Kiel and Heinrich Urban in composition and orchestration from 1882 to 1884.⁷⁶ Then, in 1884, he moved to Vienna to commence piano studies with Theodor Leschetizky. Leschetizky's wife, Annette Jesipow (Essipoff), recognised Paderewski's remarkable potential as a pianist and a composer. She introduced Paderewski to the director of the Érard company, Albert Blondel. He listened to Paderewski's playing and suggested the Salle Érard as a suitable place for Paderewski's debut in Paris. Paderewski's enduring contact with Érard was important.⁷⁷ But Paderewski's real commercial success was achieved when he co-operated with Steinway & Sons in America.

⁷⁵ W. Jankowski and J. Louchin, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski* (1st Edition, Warszawa: Archiwum Akt Nowych, 2002), 25.

⁷⁶ Zamoyski, *Paderewski*, 27-29.

⁷⁷ A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 48.

1.2 – Paderewski's favourites: Érard and Steinway

Today, only a few of Paderewski's original instruments have been preserved. Two of those that survive have the original autograph of Paderewski on the metal frame close to the tuning pins. The first, an Érard grand piano used by Paderewski between 10 and 12 December 1893, was sold to a collector in 2001.⁷⁸ This instrument was built in 1883 by the Érard company in London. The other piano, by Steinway & Sons (Hamburg, 1892, no. 71227), belongs to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. It might seem to be puzzling that Paderewski used a Steinway piano in America which, as claimed by Alicja Knast, was produced in Hamburg, in 1892 (a piano with serial no. 71227 was produced in New York).⁷⁹ But this is a mistake, for my enquiries with Steinway & Sons have shown that this piano was in fact manufactured in New York, and only modified in Hamburg. This was the only information he provided.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 48.

⁷⁹ Private correspondence with David R. Kirkland (Administrator, Customer Service in Steinway & Sons, NY, USA), 27 September 2012.

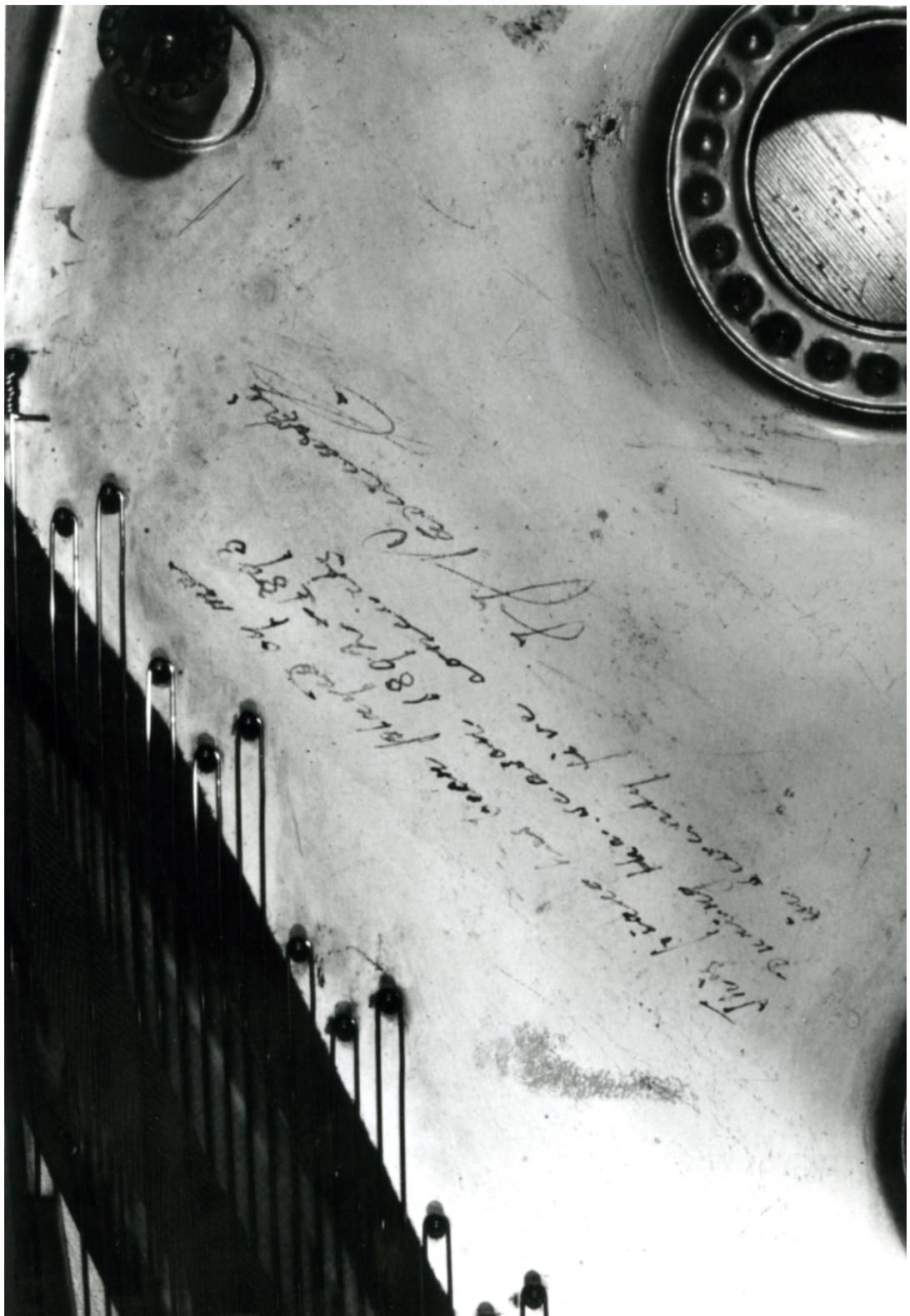


Fig. 2. Photos of Steinway no. 71227, currently preserved in Smithsonian Institute, Washington. Photos: from the collection of the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

Fig. 3 and 4. Photos of Steinway no. 71227, currently preserved in Smithsonian Institute, Washington. Photos: from the collection of the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.

The detailed story is as follows: When Paderewski came back to America for his second tour (from November 1892 till March 1893), his financial situation allowed him to insist on a Steinway piano made in New York, but actually assembled and modified in Europe (at the factory in Hamburg – established in 1880 by C. F. Theodor Steinway) for his concerts in the US. The finished piano was then transported back Hamburg to the US. C.F. Theodor Steinway had modified the Steinway with new rims and soundboards, which gave a warmer tone-colour than the American instruments. At that time the models produced in Astoria, Queens (New York) were much brighter and louder, and had a heavier touch. According to David R. Kirkland (Administrator of the Customer Service Department of Steinway & Sons in NY, USA), ‘Hamburg acquired its own European material suppliers circa 1907. Prior to 1907, the pianos were shipped unfinished to Hamburg from New York’.⁸⁰ He confirmed that Steinway no. 71227 was initially produced in New York, shipped to Hamburg for finishing, then returned to the US for Paderewski’s concerts.

Paderewski asked Steinways to lighten the action of his pianos without losing the sensitive and warm tone. The true difference between the New York Steinway and the Hamburg Steinway lay not only in the lacquer finish, or whether ‘the curve of the arms ends in a sharp corner (New York Steinways) or is rounded (Hamburg Steinways)’.⁸¹ The crucial point is the preparation of the wood and hammers. Hamburg pianos

⁸⁰ Private correspondence with David R. Kirkland (Administrator, Customer Service in Steinway & Sons, NY, USA), 27 September 2012.

⁸¹ J. Barron, ‘Steinways With German Accents; Pianos Made In Queens Have Cousins In Hamburg’, *New York Times*, 27 August, 2003 <http://kansascitypianotuning.com/tuner/hamburg-steinway-vs-new-york-steinway/>, accessed 26 September 2012.

originally used harder felt which was then modified by them. American Steinway pianos used softer felt which was hardened by using several lacquers.⁸²

It is worth mentioning that the Hamburg factory was producing fewer pianos and therefore had time for experiment, while Steinways in New York chose to concentrate on increased production. Nevertheless, the American and European Steinway departments worked well together and many new techniques which were eventually used in New York had been tested first in Hamburg. A final aspect which persuaded Paderewski to use Steinways from Hamburg was the more effective support organisation within that factory, as often Paderewski complained about piano tuners and the pianos provided by 'American' Steinways for his concert tours. Paderewski undeniably preferred the tone of Steinways made in Hamburg. Because of that he insisted that Steinways in New York adapt their instruments according to his needs.

According to Hartwig Kalb, the current manager of Steinways Product Services in Hamburg, little further relevant material from the 1890s has survived, as Steinways are reputed to have destroyed most of their files to protect their innovations, and many details were shared with technicians only orally. But Mr Kalb confirmed that: 'The Hamburg pianos built from 1880 on were indeed pre-produced mainly in New York, shipped over to Hamburg and finished on the outside and tone regulated in Hamburg. Then finally sold'.⁸³ He continued: 'Serial number 71227 is a New York made concert grand; it was not made in Hamburg! This must be a misunderstanding'.⁸⁴ It is worth mentioning at this point that Steinway piano technicians had to travel to the US

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Private correspondence with Hartwig Kalb (Manager, Product Services in Steinway & Sons Hamburg, Germany), 27 September 2012.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

from Europe according to Paderewski's whims, if he requested someone in particular for a certain concert tour. It is not uncommon for particular technicians to travel with international artists even today; for example, Brendel and Zimerman enjoyed the services of Steinway technicians, and Sviatoslav Richter was always accompanied by a Yamaha representative.⁸⁵

Another Steinway which Paderewski used for a significant period of time was Steinway concert grand model D (no. 233Y). This number is somewhat unusual for Steinways. Hartwig Kalb informed me that 'the production number 233Y corresponds with the serial number 232351 [...] and was produced in Hamburg factory'.⁸⁶ Paderewski had this piano in Morges from the 12th August 1925 almost until his death, apart from a brief period around 1930 when it was returned to the Hamburg factory for reconditioning. After receiving the new instrument, Paderewski returned his older concert grand model D (no. 164543) that he had used in Morges from 1914 until the 12th August 1925. There is no information in Steinway & Sons in Hamburg about any special changes made at Paderewski's request to these two instruments.⁸⁷ Currently, Steinway no. 233Y is in the Presidential Palace in Warsaw.

The last overhaul of this piano's mechanism, made in May/June 2010, was designed to restore the sound that the piano had when used by Paderewski. As Jerzy Piotr Walczak (one of the technicians working on the piano) said, a suitable sonority was created after analysing Paderewski's recordings from the 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁸ When playing

⁸⁵ Private conversation with Denis Hall, 7 January 2015.

⁸⁶ Private correspondence with H. Kalb, 22 November 2012.

⁸⁷ Private correspondence with H. Kalb, 22 November 2012.

⁸⁸ This information was taken from J. Walczak's information card, *Fortepian Paderewskiego: Steinway 233Y* (placed on the stand next to Steinway 233Y) in the Presidential Palace, Warsaw.

this instrument, I noticed that the touch was quite heavy, which was certainly not a normal feature of Paderewski's concert Steinways. Walczak and Karol Radziwonowicz (the first pianist to have recorded all of Paderewski's piano works) confirmed that this was caused by the lack of use of this instrument. It had hardly been played for almost two years, and no recitals have been arranged in the hall because the piano is placed too close to the sitting room of the president. Nevertheless, the sound was attractive if somewhat muffled. A true cantilena is certainly possible. Despite the fact that modern materials were used in its renovation, Steinway 233Y does now again yield a sound relatively close to the one heard in Paderewski's recordings.



Fig. 5. Steinway no. 233Y in the Presidential Palace, Warsaw.



Fig. 6.

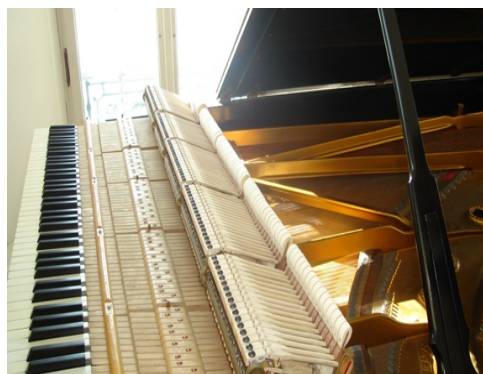


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

Fig. 6, 7, 8 and 9. Steinway no. 233Y (Presidential Palace, Warsaw) during the process of restoration in 2006). Note the date of the new action – 1 September 1972. Photos: J. Walczak.



Fig. 10. Jerzy Piotr Walczak, restorer of Steinway no. 233Y (on the right), one of the best interpreters of Paderewski's piano music, Karol Radziwonowicz (sitting at the piano), and the author. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 11. The original Alma Tadema portrait of Paderewski (Presidential Palace, Warsaw). Photo: A. Pluta.

According to Jerzy Piotr Walczak's discussion with Hartwig Kalb (S&S Hamburg) and David Kirkland (S&S in New York) regarding the grand and upright pianos that Paderewski's used in Riond-Bosson, Paderewski also used a Steinway upright piano (serial number 95115) in his villa from 1900. The production of this piano was completed on 30th January 1900, and it was shipped to Paderewski on 16th May as a gift. Paderewski used it for around thirty years for daily practice. He bequeathed the piano to the Music Conservatory in Warsaw (nowadays Frederic Chopin University of Music), where it still remains.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

Fig. 12 and 13. Paderewski's upright piano from Riond-Bosson (Steinway no. 95115), currently in the Music Conservatory in Warsaw (now the Frederic Chopin University of Music). Photos: A. Pluta.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

Fig. 14 and 15. Paderewski's upright piano from Riond-Bosson (Steinway no. 95115), currently in the Music Conservatory in Warsaw (now the Frederic Chopin University of Music). Photos: A. Pluta.

To summarise, the following is a list of all the grand pianos (model D), which Paderewski received from Steinways during his career:⁸⁹

- Serial no. 71227 Ebonized (production year-1892) – currently in the Smithsonian Institute, US (Washington). This instrument was completed in New York on the 22nd September 1892. Paderewski played on it during his American concert tour in 1892-1893. Steinway & Sons in New York donated it to Smithsonian Institute in Washington, DC on the 7th December 1977. That occasion included a special ceremony, and a last concert given on the piano by Van Cliburn.⁹⁰
- Serial no. 164543 Ebonized (production year-1913) – constructed in the US; Paderewski used this instrument in Riond-Bosson from May 1914. In 1931 he sent it to Steinways in Hamburg (for replacement). After that he received Steinway 233Y.⁹¹ It is not known whether Paderewski was the official owner of Steinway no. 164543, or whether it was only lent to him by Steinways on a long-term contract basis. This piano disappeared soon after it reached Steinways in Hamburg, and any documents relating to it were lost during the Second World War bombing of Hamburg. Its location is also currently unknown.
- Serial no. 232351 Ebonized (production year-1925) with a catalogue number 233Y – apart from one short period, this piano was in Riond-Bosson to the very end.

⁸⁹ Private correspondence with Jerzy Piotr Walczak, 4 March 2013.

⁹⁰ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 13 August 2013.

⁹¹ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 13 August 2013.

Paderewski had at least one earlier style straight-strung concert grand Érard probably up to around 1914 at Riond-Bosson. This is confirmed by two photographs of his 1911 Gramophone recording session. Instruments such as this would have been typical of what he played in Europe at that time. The attraction of these instruments undoubtedly were their very responsive touch, although the tone, to our ears sounds rather old-fashioned and short in duration.

To turn to another Paderewski piano, an Érard, incorrect information is given by Alicja Knast.⁹² Its serial number is 118483 (not 118485), as Knast states. Secondly, although this instrument was once housed along with chests containing Paderewski's personal items from Riond-Bosson. Knast claims that this instrument was preserved in the Museum of I. J. Paderewski in Warsaw,⁹³ but it is currently housed in the Bieliński Palace in Otwock Wielki (a department of the National Museum in Warsaw). It is, moreover, not an overstrung upright piano with a cast iron frame, as Knast claimed, but a comparatively modern grand piano.⁹⁴ The serial number would indicate that this instrument dates from the mid to late 1920s. Although major work in restoration of the action has been undertaken, at present this piano is not used for performance purposes. There is no evidence that Paderewski ever played on it.

⁹² A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 48.

⁹³ I obtained this information from A. Knast, with whom I also discussed Paderewski's use of Hamburg Steinway pianos.

⁹⁴ Data from A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 48. Clarification from my private correspondence with J. Walczak, 20, 23 February and 2 March 2013.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

Fig. 16 and 17. Érard piano (serial no. 118483) in the Bieliński Palace in Otwock Wielki (a department of the National Museum in Warsaw). It is doubtful whether this instrument ever had anything to do with Paderewski. Photos: J. Walczak.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.

Fig. 18 and 19. The action of Érard piano with a pencil marking of its serial number and also with a surname – Vigin (the piano tuner who changed the hammers in February, 1934). Photos: J. Walczak.



Fig. 20. The action of Érard piano with a pencil marking of its serial number and also with a surname – Vigin (the piano tuner who changed the hammers in February, 1934). Photos: J. Walczak.

Walczak offered further information that contradicted Knast's puzzling statement that this piano was allegedly used by Paderewski. Namely:

- There are no photos nor documents existing that show instrument in Riond-Bosson.
- The instrument was found in a storehouse in Lavanchy, and had been transferred there by Helena Lubke (a secretary of Paderewski's wife, Helena Górska) when Paderewski and his sister went to the US in 1940.
- The instrument was produced around 1925. When the action was taken out, there is a pencil marking on the wood made by a piano tuner who changed the hammers. An annotation gives the date of this repair: February, 1934, and the tuner's surname: Vigin. This took place a few weeks after Helena Górska's funeral, and it is well known that during that time Paderewski suffered from

a nervous breakdown and depression. It is doubtful that he would have been taking care of the action of his piano at that time.

- The only Érard which shown on photos of Riond-Bosson was an upright piano, in the room of Antonina Wilkońska (Paderewski's sister). Perhaps Knast confused information from several sources and had in mind this Érard upright piano not the Érard grand piano which was taken from Riond-Bosson to the National Museum in Warsaw. Wilkońska's upright piano was lost in unknown circumstances.
- Walczak and Perkowska concluded that the Érard grand piano (no. 118483) might have belonged to Sylwin Strakacz (Paderewski's secretary), who occasionally composed piano miniatures. That could explain why there is no trace of this Érard grand piano (if it truly ever was in Riond-Bosson) in any photos taken in Paderewski's rooms.
- This instrument could not have been used during the recording session in 1911 in Riond-Bosson, as it was only produced in 1925. Jan Popis (the Polish musicologist, critic, producer and director of the recording company MUZA Polskie Nagrania) was therefore incorrect in his claim that this is the Érard on which Paderewski made his first acoustic recordings in 1911.⁹⁵

I visited Paderewski's small manor house (now a museum) in Kańska Dolna, near Tarnów, Poland in August, 2012. There are three grand pianos and one upright there.

1. Gebrüder Stingl Wien – probably late 19th century from the style of the case
2. Ant. Petrof (serial number 10203) – very late 19th century
3. Fazioli (serial number 212) – 1988

⁹⁵ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 20 February and 2 March 2013.

4. An upright – no distinguishing identification marks in evidence

Although these instruments are in the house once owned by Paderewski, there is no evidence that they were there during his lifetime. The same is true of the furnishings and most objects in the museum.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

Fig. 21 and 22. One of the pianos in Paderewski's manor house in Kańska Dolna, near Tarnów (Poland). This instrument did not belong to Paderewski. Photos: A. Pluta.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.

Fig. 23 and 24. Petrof piano in Kašna Dolna (with its serial number). Photos: A. Pluta.



Fig. 25. Petrof piano in Kąсна Dolna (with its serial number). Photos: A. Pluta.

A further (sixth) piano that may, according to Walczak,⁹⁶ have a tangential connection with Paderewski is a Blüthner with Paderewski's autograph. But this is only one of many autographs on this instrument. Among others, one can find Annette Esipov-Leschetizky's and Francis Planté's. The current location of this piano is unknown to the writer.

The very last instrument which accompanied Paderewski until his death was an upright – serial no. 295070 (production year 1939). This instrument was a last gift

⁹⁶ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 7 March and 14 August 2013.

from Steinways, and was placed in Paderewski's room in the Buckingham Hotel in New York, where he died on the 29th June 1941. After his death, the hotel management gave the piano to the Polish Museum of America in Chicago, where it currently remains, along with a piano chair that Paderewski used during his concert tours in America.⁹⁷ But Paderewski's declining health made it unlikely that he used the instrument very much. Walczak believes that Paderewski's physical and mental abilities slowly began to decline from 1932, after his famous concert in Madison Square Garden. Significant decrease of technical skill and psychological concentration can be observed when comparing Paderewski's two last London recordings (from 1937 and 1938) with the very last radio broadcasts (from 1938 and 1939).



Fig. 26. Paderewski's chair and last piano in the Polish Museum of America, Chicago (the room before the renovation in 2009). On the piano stand some music is open. On the left is the last page of Chopin's *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53. That seems to have been the last page Paderewski played, as the score was found like that after his death, according to information from Richard (Rich) Kujawa from the Polish Museum of America in Chicago. Photo: Collection of the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.

⁹⁷ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 7 and 8 March 2013.



Fig. 27. Paderewski's chair and last piano in the Polish Museum of America, Chicago (after the renovation in 2009). Photo: the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.

Paderewski's piano stools:

Richard (Rich) Kujawa claims that the piano stool in the Chicago Museum was chosen by Paderewski himself around 1905 at Érard in Paris. It was ordered together with a matching one, and subsequently more chairs of the same type. According to Kujawa:

He had all of these modified so they could be disassembled and easily shipped to his venues and he had a cast iron frame added under the seat so the total weight of the chair was around 25 Kilos. Later in his career he also resorted to having a rubber pad placed under the chair. The chair was always at an exact distance from the keyboard.⁹⁸

With reference to the 'Moonlight Sonata' film, Kujawa added:

[...] you will realize why these chairs were so important. You will note that there is little side-to-side movement while he's [Paderewski] playing. Instead he uses the chair as a pivot point to reach from one side of the keyboard to the other while providing support for his back. This is only possible if the chair is kept in a constant stationary position. Hence the added weight and the rubber mat. The chair seat is relatively unsupported so it has a slight depression in the center which provides the pivot point.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Private correspondence with Richard (Rich) Kujawa from the Polish Museum of America in Chicago, 20 March 2013.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Another similar 'Paderewski' chair is in Steinway & Sons in New York. One more chair has been found, housed in the Paderewski Museum, in Morges, Switzerland. The common feature of these chairs was their adaptation according to Paderewski's physical needs. They allowed Paderewski to maintain his preferred position while playing the piano (with a straight spine). That enabled him to reduce the tension of playing.¹⁰⁰

1.3 – Coming to America

Introduction

Undoubtedly, Paderewski came to America for fame and money, as he had hitherto been struggling, not only in his native country, but also as a young artist and composer in Vienna. He came to restore his self-belief that he could be a pianist of the highest calibre, in spite of his lack of a thorough technical training before the age of 24, and in defiance of the expectations of his teachers and colleagues, who might have believed that he would go into the teaching profession or become a minor composer. During his first tour in the United States in 1891, Paderewski earned \$95,000, and a further \$65,000 was presented to him by William Steinway, one of the directors of Steinway & Sons, who was beginning to feel that he had a star on his hands. 'To have discovered you is enough', he said.¹⁰¹ Paderewski's first and second concert tours

¹⁰⁰ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 8 March 2013.

¹⁰¹ C. W. Schleger and American Historical Society, *German-American Families in the United States*, 1916, vol. I, 70.

through the US (17.XI.1891 – 29. IV. 1892; 28.XII.1892 –5.V.1893)¹⁰² were the most successful. Due to exhaustion, and a desire to play more frequently in Europe, Paderewski did not again renew his contract with Steinways until 1895, when he returned to America for a third time. In fact, in 1893 he mainly concentrated on composing (completing, for example, the *Polish Fantasy*, Op. 19).

The beginning with Steinways

My joy in the grandeur, the power and the ideal beauty of the tone and the perfect mechanism of the Steinway is unbounded. All who play your Pianos cannot but thank you. I do and at the same time congratulate you most heartily.

Your very devoted,

*I. J. Paderewski*¹⁰³

Following Paderewski's concert successes in London at St. James's Hall on 9th May 1890 and throughout the whole of Europe, he gained the support of William Steinway, one of the most influential directors of Steinway & Sons. Paderewski's agent at that time, Daniel Mayer, had previously made numerous attempts to engage Steinway's interest in Paderewski, and at last William Steinway sponsored Paderewski to come to the United States to give concerts. This opportunity fulfilled Paderewski's ambition to visit the New World to establish his reputation. In addition, the financial advantages of a US concert tour were obvious. Paderewski was due to give around 80 concerts between 16 November 1891 and 30 April 1892, and only on Steinway pianos, whose

¹⁰² F. Pulit, *Dom w Ojczyźnie* (House in homeland), (Tarnów – Kąсна Dolna: Centrum Paderewskiego, Paderewski's Centre, 2001), 14-15.

¹⁰³ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway from glory to controversy: the family, the business, the piano* (Oakville, ON, and Buffalo, N. Y., 1996), 81.

action had proved physically challenging, even for many performers of the highest calibre.¹⁰⁴ Steinways at first assumed that Paderewski's standard of playing and his popularity would gradually diminish after an exhausting concert tour, and initially did not consider signing a contract with him for more than one season.

Of course, in the history of piano performance, many significant names chose to perform on Steinway pianos. The outstanding careers of such pianists as Sergei Rachmaninoff, Josef Hofmann, Arthur Rubinstein, Vladimir Horowitz and Myra Hess were partially connected with the Steinway company. They too were 'Steinway artists'.¹⁰⁵ Thus, Paderewski was not alone in his preference for Steinway pianos. Although quite a few pianists played Steinway pianos, William Steinway assured other family members during a board meeting on 2 April 1892 that 'no pianist has ever done the business so much good, nor displayed our Grand Piano to such advantage as I. J. Paderewski, who has acted in every way loyal to the Steinway interest'.¹⁰⁶

Why was this Polish pianist, who had only just shown his potential in Paris and London, quickly scooped up by this high quality, competitive company? Was this due to Paderewski's enormous potential and enduring talent? The principal reason was the fact that the Steinway company had suffered a decline in its prominence in the United States. The main cause of this was a statement by Piotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, who, after his concert in Carnegie Hall in 1891, expressed in public his preference for the quality of tone and action of Knabe pianos (products of William Knabe

¹⁰⁴ R. Wapiński, *Paderewski* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 2009), 40. My own translation.

¹⁰⁵ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga: An American Dynasty* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 352.

& Company, based in Baltimore). Tchaikovsky's statement may have been a way to reward Knabe for his financial support.¹⁰⁷

To bolster his firm's fortunes, William Steinway took up an idea proposed by his nephew Charles Herman, namely to invite Paderewski for a concert tour in the United States. Herman had heard Paderewski in a concert in London in 1891, when he performed Beethoven's *Emperor Concerto*.

William Steinway's reputation was such that he was held in the utmost respect within the whole Steinway company. By taking the young Paderewski under his wing, he was taking a professional risk. But William was keenly aware of his responsibility towards music, his company and his artists. As R. K. Lieberman put it, 'William Steinway did for classical piano music what P. T. Barnum did for the circus'.¹⁰⁸ An association with artists became a means of promoting the sale of Steinway pianos. But before the Steinway company began its relationship with Paderewski, nobody from the Steinway family had heard him play in person. Nevertheless, Paderewski's agent, Daniel Meyer, managed to negotiate an increase in the crucial financial conditions of the agreement, under the terms of which Paderewski was due to receive \$29,280 for the whole tour, or \$366 per concert.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ A. Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos (A Social History)* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 534.

¹⁰⁸ R. K. Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons* (New York: Yale University Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁹ D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 353.

1.4 – Paderewski and the Steinway piano

Paderewski's attachment to Steinway pianos was vividly described by many critics, but the relationship was not untroubled. When he was dictating his *Memoirs*, Paderewski did not omit to mention Steinway's agent Charles F. Tretbar, who warned him that his concerts in America might not be as successful as those that he gave in Europe after his debut in Paris.¹¹⁰ During his initial partnership with Steinway, Paderewski made many suggestions regarding the weight of the keyboard action, which was causing him muscular strain. At first, Steinways did not accept Paderewski's views. There was further argument when Paderewski strained his forearm during a marathon of lengthy concerts.¹¹¹ According to Irena Poniatowska, one of the causes of this injury could have been 'a faulty technique of playing, with an excessive use of the arm'.¹¹²



Fig. 28. A vase given by Steinway & Sons on Christmas, 1892 (made by Tiffany). Photo: A. Pluta.

¹¹⁰ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 199-200.

¹¹¹ A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 50.

¹¹² I. Poniatowska, *Historia i interpretacja muzyki – z badań nad muzyką od XVII do XIX wieku* (A history and interpretation of music – studies from the 17th century to the 19th century) (Kraków: Musical Jagiellonica, 1995), 190.



Fig. 29. Characteristic American symbols on the vase. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 30. Dedication on the vase (the names include William Steinway, Charles H. Steinway and Charles F. Tretbar). Photos: A. Pluta.

A striving for perfection and the awareness of an artist's responsibility for the quality of every note were supposedly Paderewski's main aims. He would never cancel or postpone a concert without having a compelling reason, but one such reason would be if the instrument did not fulfil his expectations. Charles Phillips recalled such a situation from 1893, during Paderewski's third concert tour in the United States, he was offered several non-Steinway pianos on which to play, but refused because of an agreement he had reached with William Steinway that during his stay on the North American continent he would play only pianos of the house of Steinway & Sons, New York.¹¹³ Because this was the vital opening concert series for the Chicago World's Fair (Columbian Exposition), arranged specially by Theodore Thomas, conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Paderewski was finally allowed to use his own piano, particularly after he offered to give the concert for free. But soon after this, the newspapers started to attack Paderewski, alleging that he had sold out to Steinways. Steinways themselves did not take part in the exhibition. 'The Chicago publications attacked the New Yorkers; the New York papers threw brickbats at the Chicagoans. They both jibed at Paderewski'.¹¹⁴ However, this confusion motivated Paderewski to write a statement that raised awareness about an artist's rights in the commercial world: 'I most emphatically deny that I am bound by contract or agreement, either in writing or verbally, to the use of any particular make of piano'.¹¹⁵

Later on, William Steinway wrote a note to accompany Paderewski's statement:

'Permit me to state that we have no contract of any kind whatsoever with Mr.

¹¹³ See John R. Schmidt in his article. John R. Schmidt: 'Paderewski's piano: A story of the World's Fair', *Chicago History Today*, 1 May, 2012 <http://www.wbez.org/blogs/john-r-schmidt/2012-05/paderewskis-piano-story-worlds-fair-98470>, accessed 27 September 2012.

¹¹⁴ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 71.

¹¹⁵ C. Phillips, *Paderewski: The story of a modern immortal* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), 193.

Paderewski, who is at liberty to follow his own artistic inclinations and preferences as to the use of an instrument best adapted to his requirement'.¹¹⁶

Paderewski did, indeed, have immense difficulty in playing Steinway pianos. One of the main reasons was that he had not started to acquire a solid piano technique until he was 24, when studying with Leschetizky in Vienna. It was a fundamental weakness, which was why Paderewski had to work on his technique constantly until the end of his life. He needed to adapt his physical movements for every new piano piece and to maintain his dexterity at all times. Otherwise, he would have lost not only the ability to play accurately, but also the certainty that he could still perform the works which had been in his repertoire for many years. It is worth mentioning that at this time Steinway pianos had particularly heavy keyboard actions compared to many other makes. For Paderewski, over practising, or giving concerts too frequently, caused both physical and mental strain. In one of his letters to Steinways, dated 1904, he wrote from San Francisco:

I refuse to play on Steinway instruments until I receive an official apology and until the pianos are adjusted in accordance with my requirements. I do not deny that all three pianos are of a good quality: they have an excellent trill, a wonderful repetition, a beautiful sound in delicate passages, but in my opinion, they are not suitable for concerts; their keyboard is too heavy to play, which as a consequence gives too small a sound in big concert halls. On these instruments *fortes* or even *crescendos* in fast passages are almost impossible for me [to play] and after a few days of practising and two recitals my fingers and arms are painful. If at this moment in New York there is not anybody who can understand what my needs are, I shall propose to Steinway & Sons that they call Mr Fitzenhagen immediately at my expense. I have just asked Mr Ellis to find an American company which might provide me with an appropriate instrument.¹¹⁷

It is impossible to know whether Paderewski actually sent this letter to Steinways or not, because Steinways' archives are not available in their entirety.¹¹⁸ Irene

¹¹⁶ The Great Chicago Piano War, *American Heritage*, Oct. 1970, 19.

¹¹⁷ AAN, AIJP, call no. 506, 152-156. My own translation.

¹¹⁸ A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 52.

T. Wlodarski (National Coordinator in Concert & Artist Activities, Steinway & Sons in New York) confirmed that the archives that survive were originally kept by Henry Ziegler Steinway (1915-2008), a grandson of William Steinway. William Steinway's papers are currently in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, DC.¹¹⁹ They were donated by Henry Ziegler Steinway as a collection consisting of nine volumes, on the 4th June, 1996.¹²⁰ At the moment, the LaGuardia and Wagner Archives at LaGuardia Community College/CUNY is in possession of the largest collection of the rest of the Steinway material, among them business records, personal notes and photographs.

In October, 1984 the Steinway family made seventy folders of Steinway material accessible to the National Museum of American History. A second project was to organise and systematise William Steinway's personal papers, which were finally published online as the 'Steinway Diary'. The original correspondence of Steinway family was transferred to the LaGuardia and Wagner Archives Center in August 1985. Later on Henry Z. Steinway bequeathed actual ownership of these documents to the LaGuardia and Wagner Archives (March, 1990). Further relevant Steinway material belong to the New York Historical Society and to the University of Maryland Performing Arts Library.¹²¹

If Paderewski did not actually send the letter of complaint above, it was probably because of his long-standing relationship with the Steinway company, which had proved so fruitful in all its aspects, particularly financial. Steinway, as one of the

¹¹⁹ Private correspondence with Irene T. Wlodarski, 2 October 2012.

¹²⁰ This information refers to *The Story of the William Steinway Diary Project*.
<http://americanhistory.si.edu/steinwaydiary/about/>, accessed 23 November 2012.

¹²¹ Information from Christine S. Windheuser (Volunteer Reference Assistant, SI-NMAH Archives Center), Smithsonian Institute, 4 October 2012.

world's best-known piano makers, also had a high reputation in the musical world. One could easily imagine that any ill-conceived expression of personal pride might have led to Steinways terminating its contract with Paderewski. Paderewski was aware that any rash action on his part might affect the position he had acquired in the artistic world, and damage his reputation.

By this time Paderewski had already made a few enemies who constantly tried to persuade the musical public of his lack of probity in business relations with the Steinway company. One of them was Marc Blumenberg, the music critic and editor of the *Musical Courier*. Uncompromising attempts to undermine Paderewski's position in artistic and political circles accompanied him until the end of his life. Critics mainly split into two opposing camps: hostile enemies and enthusiastic admirers. In many cases it is impossible to evaluate whether negative criticism was fair or not. Blumenberg waged a constant battle against Paderewski in all sort of ways; for example he declared: 'Paderewski is merely following a destiny and cannot avoid what he is doing because of the tremendous impact of correlated forces, such, for instance, as an attractive personality operating upon a susceptible and non-reflecting people who are fed and who live upon sensationalism'.¹²²

But Paderewski knew that, overall Steinways provided the best pianos in the US, supported additionally by good advertising and publicity. Henry Engelhard Steinway's¹²³ marketing strategy emphasised the 'quality of construction'.¹²⁴ N. W. Ayer, their advertising company, created slogans such as: 'Only the Steinway sounds

¹²² D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 434.

¹²³ Henry Engelhard, founder of Steinway & Sons.

¹²⁴ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 148.

like a Steinway' or 'The things that money can't buy come into your house with a Steinway'. But the most famous slogan was Raymond Rubicam's 'Instrument of the Immortals' in 1920s.¹²⁵ On one leaflet bearing the title 'Steinway – The Instrument of Immortals', there is a quote allegedly from Paderewski: 'I have tested a tremendous amount of concert pianos by Steinway and I was not able to choose any instrument as the best one [...] because all of them are the best'.¹²⁶ One might doubt whether Paderewski actually wrote this. Steinways generally were Paderewski's preferred pianos, but it is obvious that not all of them were 'the best', as he demanded that Steinways adapt instruments according to his requirements. The quote itself was probably written by a Steinway manager and cynically authorised by Paderewski.

1.5 – Paderewski at the peak of his career

Steinways clearly helped to mould Paderewski's style of playing. 'Paddy' was criticised for his 'iron' touch, which sometimes seemed too forceful, even for Steinway pianos in large concert halls. Some critics, including Henry T. Finck, claimed that Paderewski wanted to obtain orchestral effects in his interpretations, even if this did not coincide with the aims of piano makers or the construction of the pianos.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, Paderewski overall was satisfied with the tone colour and quality of Steinway pianos, if not always by the action.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ AAN AIJP, call no. 501, 7 – Concert programme: Paderewski on the Steinway Piano 'The Instrument of Immortals' City auditorium: Portland Oregon, Thursday, 20 March 1924.

¹²⁷ H. T. Finck, *Success in Music and How it is Won* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1913), 318.

The choice of Paderewski's concert programmes, or even his encores, varied quite often, and was subject to the demands of individual agents who were organising concerts for him and the companies which were sponsoring him, such as Steinway & Sons. Although Paderewski usually remained silent about these private agreements, he became increasingly tired of the pieces such as his *Minuet in G major*, Op. 14, a composition which was immensely popular during his lifetime and dogged him much as the *Prelude in C sharp minor*, Op. 3, No. 2 did to Rachmaninov. Paderewski reflected in a letter, written in Hamburg, to Helena Górska:

I was called out on the stage twice, but apparently it does not mean a lot in Hamburg, as they [the audience] can call one out even 10 times [...] It was a very strange experience in this huge hall for 2400 people, which was crammed – as they said – for my *Minuet* [in G major from Op. 14]. I had a request to play this 'nightmare'. I feel I have already had enough of this 'lucky star'. (Hamburg, ca. 25 October 1889).¹²⁸

Paderewski had also described to Helena some negative feelings at the early stage of his relationship with Steinway & Sons:

At the very beginning I had unpleasant moments here. Steinway consider me as 'an artisan' who came to demonstrate their instruments. They put me in a second-rate hotel with other people who obviously did not look after anything other than the piano. They also told me that most of the concerts were advertised as sold out only so as to incur as little financial loss as possible [in the eyes of the audience; for them, if all the tickets are sold out, it means the pianist is of the highest calibre]. If a loss occurs, and if it is going to be substantial, then nothing is surprising in that, as more than 100,000 francs have already been spent on the advertisements for the piano (for which I am only a pretext).

I spent one night only in this hotel. The next day I asked Goerlitz to speak with Steinway to see if it is not in their own interests that I should have more suitable accommodation, in view of my position. Naturally, Goerlitz gave full rein to his inborn fantasy and in the evening I was moved to the Windsor Hotel, where I am writing now. We have three modest little rooms here and the food is the most unappetising one can imagine. All of this for 110 francs per day. (to H. Górska, New York, ca. 11 November 1891).¹²⁹

Paderewski was developing his self-esteem and was beginning to have some awareness of his worth. As a result of his uncompromising attitude, Steinways started

¹²⁸ Perkowska-Waszek, *Paderewski i jego twórczość*, 409.

¹²⁹ Letter Helena Górska, Chicago, 1 January 1892. Perkowska-Waszek *Paderewski i jego twórczość*, 411.

to agree to his requirements. Paderewski made a note of this in another letter to

Helena Górska:

I have already said to them [Steinways] that I will not play in Chicago and if they insist on it (which is what I am scared of), I will come back to Europe after 35 concerts. Today I even sent them New Year's wishes with a note to this effect.

In many ways, Steinway are much better than at the beginning. They dance attendance on me like monkeys. They ask Goerlitz everyday if I need anything in particular – at the concerts there are flowers and wreaths with Polish colours – the most expensive and the best cigarettes – moreover, I received for Christmas two diamond cufflinks, apparently worth 4000 francs and also a camera, which is a joy mainly for Goerlitz. Nevertheless, all of those would not compensate for the previous bad treatment [which Paderewski had to suffer from Steinways in previous concerts].¹³⁰

The composer and pianist William Mason, who was also closely connected to Steinways and had heard Paderewski during his most successful years, congratulated his colleague on his unwillingness to give up on Steinways during the initial period of the relationship.¹³¹ But one has to remember Mason was no less dependent on Steinways' support in the United States as Paderewski.¹³² According to Susan Goldenberg, Paderewski's work was 'murderous', and the initial engagements with Steinways were often not so pleasant:

It had been twenty years since William [Steinway] had persuaded Anton Rubinstein to do seven concerts a week. With Paderewski, he made a marginal concession – an average of six concerts a week. While Paderewski occasionally had a day off, he sometimes had to play twice a day. All told, the contract called for eighty concerts at a lump sum of \$30,000. That fee seemed generous, but on a per-concert basis it came to just \$375, not much of a gain over Rubinstein's \$200, considering it was two decades later.¹³³

But it was largely thanks to the financial sponsorship of the main piano companies (such as Pleyel, Érard, Bösendorfer and Steinway & Sons) that classical music, which was always available to the elite classes, was also able to reach smaller towns in the US and their less prosperous inhabitants. At that time piano companies might sponsor

¹³⁰ Ibid., 412.

¹³¹ D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 377.

¹³² K. Hamilton, *After the Golden Age, Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.

¹³³ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 65.

the whole of an artist's tour, covering the expenses of hiring the venues, dealing with publicity and entertainment, providing the instruments and the best tuners.¹³⁴ In Paderewski's case, large sums of money were put up by Steinways throughout the whole of his career. After William's death, the Steinway concert business was led by Ernest Urchs, who represented Steinway's interests under the name of Ernest Urchs & Company. He was a fervent supporter of Paderewski, as indicated in the *Memoirs* of Alexander 'Sascha' Greiner, Urchs's successor. Describing the concert season of 1920, which was entirely devoted to Paderewski, a sceptical Greiner wrote:

To my predecessor in the Concert & Artists Department of Steinway & Sons, Mr. Ernest Urchs, Paderewski was literally a god. He worshipped Paderewski who was the godfather of his daughter, Anita. Mr. Urchs was so partial to Paderewski that some other great Steinway pianists, notably Josef Hofmann, deeply resented this attitude of Mr. Urchs and preferred to transact their business with Steinway & Sons with somebody else of the firm.

The day Paderewski arrived in New York from Europe was a holiday for Mr. Urchs. All business practically stopped as far as he was concerned and all his time was devoted to Paderewski.¹³⁵ [...] Paderewski liked to be shown attention. As I mentioned before my predecessor, Mr. Ernest Urchs, worshipped Paderewski and whenever Paderewski made a tour in the United States Mr. Urchs would not only attend any and all of [his] concerts in New York but he would go to Newark, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and even Chicago to hear him. When, after Mr. Urchs's death, I took over the management of the Concert & Artists Department of Steinway & Sons I didn't do it. I did not like to impose myself on Paderewski to whom I certainly meant nothing. But I soon found out that Paderewski resented this attitude on my part. He considered it a lack of attention, admiration and what not.¹³⁶

Alexander Greiner himself, who was later responsible for the Vladimir Horowitz concerts supported by Steinway & Sons, felt that Paderewski was overestimated. His *Memoirs* (which have never been published) go into some detail on Paderewski's playing:

I have never even heard Paderewski play well, not to say beautifully. His left hand was never together with his right – perhaps in keeping with the Biblical dictum that the right hand should not know what the left was doing. His technique was laboured, it was not natural as with the great keyboard masters

¹³⁴ A. Loesser, *Men, Women & Pianos*, 536.

¹³⁵ A. W. Greiner, *Memoirs: Pianists and pianos* (unpublished), 33. (These Alexander W. Greiner's Personal Notes on Concert artists are in the folders of the LaGuardia and Wagner Archives in Long Island City, NY). Box# 040099/Folder 2 and Folder 3.

¹³⁶ A. Greiner, *Memoirs*, 41.

Josef Hofmann, Busoni, Rachmaninoff, Godowsky. I never did understand Paderewski's success as a pianist and do not understand it to-day.¹³⁷

These *Memoirs* also contained a highly favourable appraisal of Hofmann's playing:

When Hofmann felt like playing, when he was 'in the vein', it was incredible. The piano sang and thundered. Runs were really what the French call 'perlé,' they were like a string of glittering diamonds. I have heard Hofmann play Schumann's great *Phantasy* and I never want to hear it played by anyone again. And the way Hofmann played Chopin! Inimitable! No wonder that great Rachmaninoff considered Hofmann the king of pianists.¹³⁸

Josef Hofmann, like Paderewski, played a 'special' piano, adapted to his requirements.

In particular, the 'white keys were slightly narrower [...] for his small hands' and the 'piano's fall-board was always highly-polished. 'It was like a mirror reflecting his hands' that Hofmann watched when playing.¹³⁹ During the 1920s, a period in which Hoffman was also successful, Paderewski's relationship with Steinways often suffered from the familiar differences, such as an alleged lack of 'playable' pianos, good tuners and other exceptional situations. But ultimately his friendship with Steinway family members, and their profitable business collaboration, helped them to find compromises.

All this hard work brought Paderewski astonishing success: at the height of his career as 'a king of the piano' he was earning \$25,000 a performance. 'His hands were insured for \$100,000', notes Goldenberg. 'By then, Paderewski also had a substantial entourage: two chefs, a masseur, valet, secretary, tour manager, tuner, personal treasurer, and, sometimes, a physician.'¹⁴⁰ Goldenberg calculated Paderewski's total income from concerts (including also those occasional ones during his years in politics)

¹³⁷ Ibid., 35.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 78.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 87.

¹⁴⁰ These privileges are a few which Goldenberg lists. S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 66.

netted him about \$10 million.¹⁴¹ Even William Steinway was later indebted to Paderewski to the sum of \$51,250.¹⁴² In the 1930s, when the Steinways were struggling to support their business, Paderewski even refused to accept \$8,000 that they owed him.¹⁴³

1.6 – Tours in Europe with Érard

But Paderewski, interestingly, used Érard concert grands while touring in Europe. By 1893-1894 he was already a world-renowned artist. His financial means and preferential arrangements with the Érard company allowed him to travel with his own Érard on the same basis as with a Steinway piano in America. The Érard's lighter, responsive action, in spite of a more 'old-fashioned' sound, corresponded with Paderewski's expectations. Paderewski played a straight-strung Érard, the type of piano which was produced by this company up to 1910. After that, over-strung (cross-strung) Érards were introduced, although the artist used a straight-strung Érard during his recording session at the residence in Riond-Bosson (1911). Paderewski was very loyal to this company and played their pianos until the 1930s, when they temporarily closed their factory due to financial trouble. He regularly used two Érard concert grands for his tours in Europe, and one upright Érard piano for practice purposes. Paderewski made a comparison between Érards and Steinways in his *Memoirs*:

The Steinway pianos deserve a special mention here, I think. They are the greatest pianos in the world. The finest piano before the Steinway was the Érard. Érard was the creator of the piano and the action as made by Érard is applied to every piano in the world. Technically, the Érard action is the most perfect in existence. Perhaps, to be just, I should say that up to this moment it was the most perfect. But now the Steinway is equally good. The quality of the tone of the Steinway is supreme. The quality of tone in

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 65.

¹⁴² D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 407.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 465.

the Érard is not as beautiful, not as pleasing to the ear, because it is too clear; it reflects, so to say, the character of the French race. It has precision, clarity, elegance and technical perfection, but it takes a real master of the Érard to make the Érard piano sing. While a Steinway, with its beautiful tone, is always singing, no matter who plays it.¹⁴⁴

1.7 – Paderewski and the Weber piano

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Aeolian Company, manufacturers of automatic musical instruments launched a strategy to buy up several piano companies (including Weber and Steck). The idea was to produce pianos of good quality under the name of well-recognised piano brands. It was a shock to the piano market that such a young company as Aeolian had bought Weber. For his part Paderewski followed the trends in the piano business, and as a ‘warning’ to Steinways, for two seasons, 1907 and 1908 he chose to play a Weber. This initiative almost ruined his collaboration with the Steinway company, and did not last long.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Paderewski in his *Memoirs* reflected on the good quality of Aeolian pianos and explained that Steinways did not always want to adapt their pianos according to his requirements:

The demands I had made for changes in the [Steinway] piano were quite justified and I had every reason for demanding them. True, it involved trouble and expenditure on their part but I, at that time, was playing the Steinway pianos all over the world and asked nothing that was not within reason and my artistic rights. And so our relations were completely broken off. It was a deadlock. I felt they were acting most unfairly to me. I then accepted and used the Weber piano, which belonged at that time to the Aeolian Company. In fact, owing to the Steinway disagreement, I played the Weber piano successfully for two consecutive years.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 253-254.

¹⁴⁵ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 78.

¹⁴⁶ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 361.

The Weber piano was good enough for Paderewski to perform on it for the two years (1907-1908), as mentioned above.¹⁴⁷ His statement indicated above clearly contradicts Susan Goldenberg's negative views on Aeolian pianos:

In 1903, [...] the Weber Piano Company was swallowed by the then fifteen year-old Aeolian Company of New York as part of Aeolian's strategy to make pianos of varying quality and sell them by affixing a recognized name. Often, the connotation of craftsmanship remained but not the essence. Aeolian received a marvellous boost when shortly after it acquired Weber, it snared Paderewski to play a Weber piano after the pianist, miffed over a difference of opinion, parted with Steinway & Sons. The rupture, however, was shortlived. Paderewski quickly returned to the fold and the reputation of Weber hurtled downward. Later, Aeolian purchased a dozen more pianomakers including Mason & Hamlin.¹⁴⁸

Critics promptly tried to find an explanation of Paderewski's 'peculiar' action of co-operation with another piano manufacturers, but without knowing the true reasons.

His playing, however, was still praised. The following review, written after Paderewski's concert on Weber piano on 24 February 1908, appeared in the *Morning Oregonian*. J. M. Quentin wrote:

At last night's concert [at the Heilig Theater] Paderewski demonstrated that he is still in the bright sun of his immense popularity. He is still the careful, hard-working artist to whom no toil is wearisome if in the name of art. Some great pianists have notably grown careless in the high noon of their prosperity and ducats. But not so Paderewski. He looks older and has the same little mannerisms that that his admirers know so well. One is to sit down suddenly at the piano, crash down chord upon chord, looking all the while at the audience and then swiftly begin as per programme. Another is to raise the left hand near the head, at the completion of a certain phrase. It all comes so naturally to one's memory.¹⁴⁹

In the same number of the *Morning Oregonian* an anonymous author praised Paderewski's performance on the 'Matchless Weber'. Paderewski presented himself not only as 'the master artist of the keys', but also, in the journalist's opinion, as an

¹⁴⁷ Paderewski was playing on Érard piano in 1887-1888 (during his debut in Paris and concerts in London (at the Royal Albert Hall). It is not known which pianos Paderewski used while playing in Poland, although he normally the Érard in Europe. He played Weber in 1907 and 1908, while giving his concerts in America (seventh concert tour) and before he settled for good in the US in 1913.

¹⁴⁸ S. Goldenberg, *Steinway*, 78.

¹⁴⁹ J. M. Quentin, 'Paderewski in Recital, at the Heilig', *Morning Oregonian*, 25 February 1908, 9. <http://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn83025138/1908-02-25/ed-1/seq-9/?words=Paderewski?date1=1846&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=advanced&lccn=&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=Paderewski&proxtext=Paderewski&phrasertext=Paderewski&andtext=Paderewski&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=4&page=6&page=15&page=14&index=18>, accessed 2 October 2012.

expert in knowing which make of piano would allow him to astonish the audience.

This writer ecstatically acclaimed the Weber's 'triumph'. The 'review' sounds suspiciously like a very crude advert for the Weber piano:

Tested as no other instrument ever was or probably ever will be – the Weber piano, indisputably and pre-eminently the piano of the day – astounded the greatest audience of musicians and music-lovers ever assembled in this city. Never has a piano been called upon to respond to such varied and seemingly impossible demands – and never has a piano responded so nobly to every whim, mood and desire of the artist as the Weber last evening. [...] It's Weber tone – It's Weber construction – It's Weber individuality – It's Weber durability – In a word, it's the IDEAL – that elevates it to the highest pinnacle of supremacy.¹⁵⁰

In June 1908 Paderewski's tour in the US was acclaimed as 'the most phenomenally successful tour of this country ever made by an artist'.¹⁵¹ This undisputable success was also a tribute to the Weber piano, and it is worth mentioning that Paderewski also carried a Weber upright in his private car for practicing purposes during 1908. The ever faithful *Morning Oregonian* referred that as follows:

Sharing in Paderewski's success was the Weber piano, which he used in all of his concerts and which brought out every bit of feeling and romance in his playing. The broad depth of tone, the purity and sweetness of each note, the unlimited resources of this famous instrument were never more impressed upon the public than when played by this great artist. [...] The selection [of the Weber piano] quickly turned out to be a wise one, and gave the pianist much satisfaction. During the tour he lost no opportunity to praise the instrument which was doing him such splendid service, and to express his delight with the remarkable manner, under his gifted fingers, in which it responded to his moods, whether in playing fortissimo passages, which reflect tragic and powerful emotions, or in the finely attuned moments when it is required to bring out sweet and sympathetic movements in a score.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ 'The triumph of the Weber piano at the Paderewski recital last evening', *Morning Oregonian*, 25 February 1908, 7.

<http://oregonnews.uoregon.edu/lccn/sn83025138/1908-02-25/ed-1/seq-7/?words=Paderewski&date1=01%2F01%2F19081846&rows=20&searchType=advanced&proxdistance=5&date2=02%2F25%2F1908&ortext=Paderewski&proxtext=Paderewski&phrasertext=Paderewski&andtext=Paderewski&dateFilterType=range&index=4>, accessed 17 October 2012.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

1.8 – Paderewski and the Pianola

The Aeolian Company also made roll-operated instruments, and likely offered Paderewski substantial financial rewards to promote these. Moritz Rosenthal, and other celebrated pianists, also contributed to the promotion of Aeolian instruments by publicising them. The Aeolian company was additionally making pipe organs and reed organs at that time,¹⁵³ but their greatest achievement was a new instrument called the Pianola (invented by E. S. Votey). 'The original Pianola was a piano player, an instrument that fitted in front of a normal piano, and played it by means of a set of felt covered fingers. The music was contained in a perforated music roll, and it was up to the player, known as a 'Pianolist', to clothe it with his or her own interpretation, creating the dynamics with the foot pedals and the rubato with a tempo lever, and controlling the sustaining pedal with the left hand. Later on, the pianola mechanism was built in to normal pianos, and by the time of the First World War, several companies had developed various types of reproducing piano, which by contrast played rolls recorded by pianists in real time'.¹⁵⁴ Further information about player and reproducing pianos and their recording systems is given in Chapter 4. In spite of its substantial price, these instruments were hugely popular, but although many people had pianolas, the majority did not know how to use them to their full advantage.

Fostle suspected that Paderewski had endorsed Pianolas not only because he played them and had a Pianola at his home in Riond-Bosson, but also because he had been well paid in 1900 to express his approval of them. Nevertheless, Paderewski was

¹⁵³ D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 430.

¹⁵⁴ Rex Lawson, personal interview, 4 July 2012.

described by the *Music Trade Review* as the one of the ‘patent virtuosos’ (along with Sauer, Rosenthal, De Pachmann, D’Albert and Moszkowski) who praised the Pianola. *The Music Trade Review* quotes a Paderewski letter, written allegedly in his private railway car ‘Riva’ on 24 March, 1900. The letter, however sounds once more like advertising copy:

Gentlemen – As an admirer of the Aeolian, [...] I have now much pleasure in adding my tribute to your latest invention, the “Pianola”, which I consider still more ingenious. It is astonishing to see this little device at work executing the masterpieces of the pianoforte literature with a dexterity, clearness and velocity which no player, however great, can approach. Everyone who wishes to hear absolutely faultless, free from any kind of nervousness piano-playing should buy a Pianola. It is perfection.¹⁵⁵

The advent of the pianola slowly started to reduce the attraction of going to concerts. Increasingly people preferred to spend an evening at home in the company of their pianola. In the *Music Trade Review* Steinway & Sons at first announced that they were not going to enter into this subsidiary market.¹⁵⁶ But due to the increasing popularity of player pianos, which promised to bring further financial success, Steinways made agreements to allow the German Welte Mignon and the Aeolian Duo-Art reproducing systems to be installed in their pianos, as well as offering foot-operated Steinway Pianola Pianos on both sides of the Atlantic.

1.9 – Paderewski’s sound

Paderewski was one of those artists for whom it was not the acoustic potential of the concert hall or auditorium, nor the kind of the audience coming to his concert, that was of primary importance, but his own physical and psychological condition, and the

¹⁵⁵ *Music Trade Review*, 14 April 1900, 3.

http://mtr.arcade-museum.com/MTR-1900-30-15/index.php?page_no=3&fname=MTR-1900-30-15-03.pdf, accessed, 22 October 2012.

¹⁵⁶ D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 431.

quality of his piano. Because of this, he was constantly in touch with those who had responsibility for the preparation of the instrument. He would refuse to offer a concert on an 'unplayable' piano, paying all the financial consequences of such a decision rather than disappointing his audience and performing other than 'at his best'.¹⁵⁷

On this topic a question arises: did any specific features of the Steinway models on which Paderewski played help him to perform with a more characteristic sound quality? Hamilton mentioned that the Steinway piano in the Smithsonian National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. on which Paderewski played gave out 'a more mellow tone and [had a] slightly lighter action'.¹⁵⁸ This concert grand from 1892 (no. 71227) has a piano action carefully adjusted according to Paderewski's requirements, which gave it a lighter touch. Nowadays, although the sound of the piano is no longer the same as during the period when Paderewski performed on it, the 'velvety beauty and flexibility of the tone quality [are] still quite glorious', as Hamilton reported after playing this instrument in 2001.¹⁵⁹ As mentioned, Paderewski mostly played Érards in Europe and Steinways in the United States. Rom Landau, who wrote the first competent biography of Paderewski, summarised the situation as follows:

His connection with Steinways was almost as old as that with Érards. [...] When the firm of Érard gave up their English depot several years after the war, Paderewski played on a Steinway also in England. In France he still used an Érard; in his hotel apartment in Paris there was always an Érard upright, and at Riond Bosson in his study there was an Érard upright and a small grand. When he went to the United States, he had a Steinway piano in his cabin.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ AAN AIJP, call no. 506, 152-156.

¹⁵⁸ K. Hamilton, *After the Golden Age*, 20.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ R. Landau, *Paderewski* (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), 199-200.

Paderewski considered that achieving a singing tone on a Steinway was much easier than obtaining similar effects on an Érard.¹⁶¹ His sentiment chimes with the evocative advertisements for Steinways. Their advertising agency, N. W. Ayer wrote in 1900: 'One Whole Note. How long can a whole note last? Much longer on a STEINWAY PIANO than on any other. Duration of tone is the result of fine workmanship. Steinway pianos sing the best because they are made the best'.¹⁶² In another advertisement, one can read: 'The name Steinway on the piano means more than the word 'Sterling' on silver, because there are different grades of Sterling, but there is only one Steinway, and that is the best'.¹⁶³ Although Bernard Shaw, in an open letter to Mary Lawton,¹⁶⁴ suggested that the strong, almost 'iron' tone which Paderewski achieved on a Steinway piano only tended to attract criticism, Steinways considered Paderewski to be one of the best representatives ever of their instruments.¹⁶⁵ Paderewski's preferred choice of the Steinway piano (after technical modifications to the instrument to his own requirements) assisted in the development of his finest interpretative skills.

¹⁶¹ D. W. Fostle, *The Steinway Saga*, 36.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 451.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ This letter is a preface to the edition of the I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 15-16.

¹⁶⁵ A. Knast, *O Geniuszu*, 56-57.

Chapter 2: Paderewski's performance career

Introduction¹⁶⁶

In this chapter I intend to cover those aspects of Paderewski's personal life that had a direct impact on his artistic career and style of playing. Many of these aspects are touched upon in his private correspondence with his father, and later with his wife Helena Górską. Most of the letters that have survived have been preserved in the Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archive in Warsaw). These were transferred to Poland in the 1950s. It is not known what happened to the rest of Paderewski's correspondence, which dealt not only with political issues, but also with his personal life. Paderewski's last years of his life were spent somewhat in isolation, created by the circle of those people around him at that time, and the letters in which he expressed his private thoughts were only sporadically preserved. After his death any documents which survived were collected by Helena Lubke (who had been secretary to Helena Górską, and also from time to time to Ignaz as well).¹⁶⁷ Thereafter, they ended up in a storeroom in Lavanchy. When Paderewski's will was validated in 1949, the letters were passed on to the Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw and the

¹⁶⁶ I am immensely grateful to Jerzy Piotr Walczak for his help in collecting this information. Walczak, being an ardent 'Paderewian', has been researching his life through the years, working with Andrzej Piber, Marian Marek Drozdowski, Denis Hall and Rex Lawson. Walczak also provided valuable information regarding Paderewski's pre-electric (acoustic) recordings. Some of the material in this introduction was informed by my private correspondence with him on 21 October 2012.

¹⁶⁷ One Polish documentary film throws a new light on the last years of Paderewski's life: *Paderewskiego życie po życiu na podstawie Simone Giron 'La Revolte des Anges'* (Tajemnica testamentu Paderewskiego) PWM '96 w opracowaniu Jerzego Jasiońskiego (Paderewski's life after life, based on 'La Revolte des Anges' – The Mystery of Paderewski's Will, ed. by Jerzy Jasioński, dir. Stefan Szlachtycz (Dział Form Dokumentalnych, Studio "DE FACTO", TVP Archiwum (Archives of Polish Television, 1999). Part I: *Rozdziobią go...* (Pursuit of the prey...), Part II: *... Kruki, wrony* (Predators), Part III: *Zgliszcza* (Ashes).

Musicological Department of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Paderewski's manuscripts were deposited at the Frederic Chopin Institute in Warsaw.¹⁶⁸ The Archiwum Akt Nowych was established in 1919. Paderewski was prime minister of Poland at that time, and the Paderewski archive now takes up 36.5 metres of shelf space. It was partially reorganised between 1957 and 1962, and later (after receiving a further 20 chests of documents) in 1970-71. It contains 4498 folders relating to Paderewski, and covers the years 1861-1941 (virtually his entire life)¹⁶⁹ and contains letters, photographs, telegrams, financial statements and various information of a personal nature (Introduction, pp. 1).

A catalogue of the heading of the folders in the Archiwum Akt Nowych exists, but much research has still to be carried out of the material contained in them. Those that relate to the political aspects of Paderewski's life and times have been the subject of more detailed analysis than the ones devoted to his concert life, artistic connections and performance practice. Andrzej Piber was the first to make a concentrated attempt to explore these neglected documents. His book *Droga do sławy: Ignacy Jan Paderewski w latach 1860-1902* (Towards a career: Ignaz Jan Paderewski in the years 1860-1902) was the outcome of this research.¹⁷⁰ Up till now this has been the most substantial work on Paderewski's career. Piber's introduction to the second volume of Paderewski's *Memoirs* (which is concerned mainly with political matters) presented compelling information about the political context of this volume, which was the main reason to withhold publication during Paderewski's lifetime.

¹⁶⁸ The name of this organisation was later changed to Towarzystwo imienia Fryderyka Chopina – TiFC (The Fryderyk Chopin Society).

¹⁶⁹ A. Piber, *Wstęp do Inwentarza Archiwum Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (An introduction to the inventory of the Ignaz Jan Paderewski Archives), 6-8 (in the AAN-The New Archives in Warsaw).

¹⁷⁰ A. Piber, *Droga do sławy: Ignacy Jan Paderewski w latach 1860-1902* (Towards a career: Ignaz Jan Paderewski in the years 1860-1902), (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982).

Maria Perkowska-Waszek later began research in the Archiwum Akt Nowych and started to work on Paderewski's correspondence in 1991. In 1994 a book containing letters between Paderewski and Sylwin Strakacz, his personal secretary and Aniela, Sylwin's wife, was published as result of this (in co-operation with Anne Strakacz-Appleton, the daughter).¹⁷¹ In 2004 the Centrum I. J. Paderewskiego (I. J. Paderewski Centre) published Perkowska-Waszek's *Ignacy Jan Paderewski o sobie: Zarys biografii wzbogacony listami artysty* (I. J. Paderewski on himself: A sketch of his biography supplemented by the artist's letters). This publication contains a discussion of aspects of Paderewski's later life, supported by his correspondence.¹⁷² Anne Strakacz-Appleton was in possession of the letters of her father. In 2001 she won a court case for defamation against the PWM (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne) and the historian Jerzy Jasieński, who had written the introduction to a book by Simone Giron, *Tajemnica testamentu Paderewskiego* (Paderewski's Secret Legacy). The book was withdrawn in 2001 by court order as defamatory to Sylwin Strakacz. Perkowska-Waszek was working on further Paderewski correspondence with the intention of publishing it. Unfortunately, these endeavours were stopped by her death in December 2011. I contacted Jerzy Piotr Walczak, from whom Perkowska-Waszek (due to her progressive illness) had asked for assistance in preparing the publication, but he informed me that none of her close work colleagues knew what stage her researches had reached, and none of the results were available. Nevertheless, Perkowska-Waszek had assembled documents that shed light on Paderewski's compositions and their reception by critics. Her last book *Paderewski i jego twórczość, Dzieje utworów i rys*

¹⁷¹ M. Perkowska-Waszek and A. Appleton (ed.), *Za kulisami wielkiej kariery. Paderewski w dziennikach i listach Sylwina i Anieli Strakaczów, 1936–1937*, (Behind the scenes. Paderewski in the diaries and letters of Sylwin and Aniela Strakacz, 1936–1937) (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1994).

¹⁷² M. Perkowska-Waszek, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski o sobie: Zarys biografii wzbogacony listami artysty* (I.J. Paderewski on himself: A sketch of his biography supplemented by the artist's letters) (Tarnów – Kąсна Dolna: Centrum I. J. Paderewskiego (Paderewski Centre), 2004).

osobowości kompozytora (Paderewski and his Works, The history of the works and an outline of the composer's personality)¹⁷³ presents aspects of Paderewski's character relevant to his approach to music, and discusses his relationships with other musicians, teachers and friends.

In quoting from the documents in the Archiwum Akt Nowych, and Paderewski's other correspondence, I offer my own translations from the Polish. The letters have never been published in their entirety. Perkowska-Waszek herself frequently travelled to California and had private conversations with Anne Strakacz-Appleton regarding them. Notwithstanding, it is impossible to identify how much of the correspondence that Anne Strakacz-Appleton owned was directly shared with Perkowska. Moreover, some of the letters that were available to Perkowska had already been collected and translated into English by Cara Thornton. They are available on the webpage of the University of Leipzig.¹⁷⁴ I acquired permission from Perkowska-Waszek, before she died, to use this material. It is necessary to mention at this point that Perkowska-Waszek occasionally does not properly reference specific letters in her footnotes, thus sometimes making identification uncertain.

This chapter is based on the material above, and on my own research into Paderewski's life, from his early years to his last public concert in Rochester, on 21

¹⁷³ M. Perkowska-Waszek, *Paderewski i jego twórczość, Dzieje utworów i rys osobowości kompozytora* (Paderewski and his Works, The history of his output and an outline of the composer's personality), Ośrodek Dokumentacji Muzyki Polskiej XIX i XX wieku im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego przy Instytucie Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Documentation Centre for Polish Music of the 19th and 20th Century named after Ignaz Jan Paderewski at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University). (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2010).

¹⁷⁴ http://www.gko.uni-leipzig.de/fileadmin/user_upload/musikwissenschaft/institut/arbeitsgemeinschaft/musikerbriefe/16_Perkowska.pdf, accessed 25 February 2013.

May 1939. While his musical successes were widely acclaimed in Europe (in the years 1887–89) and in America (from 1891 almost annually), little attention has been paid to Paderewski's performance style at the time of his concerts in Warsaw in 1885, and after his debut in Paris in 1888. But Polish newspapers already praised Paderewski's manner of performing his own compositions after his first period of studies in Vienna (1884).

Paderewski's early concerts in Poland received good press coverage, and his compositions were widely praised. However, his importance to the Polish nation was never in doubt and he received wide appreciation of his political activities throughout the rest of his life. Newspapers and the musical press were always interested in Paderewski's playing, even into his extreme old age when he was struggling to perform in aid of the Polish cause.

2.1 – Early years

Paderewski recounted his musical beginnings in his *Memoirs*. When his father Jan was taken to prison for one year as a result of active participation in the revolution of 1863, a maternal role (Paderewski's own mother Poliksena had died few months after his birth) fell to his aunt, who took care of the musical education of both Paderewski and his sister Antonina. His first piano teacher was an anonymous violinist, the second Piotr Sowiński, who sadly did not fulfil the young boy's expectations.¹⁷⁵ From 1868 the children started to study under the guidance of Michał Baliański (who had returned

¹⁷⁵ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs* (London, 1939), 35-36.

from Paris after he had fled as a refugee from the revolt in 1830-31). Baliański taught French, mathematics, geography and history. Although Paderewski greatly appreciated Baliański's faith in the musical potential of his young pupil, the latter knew that his own piano technique was less than satisfactory.¹⁷⁶ Jan Paderewski had ambitions for his talented son to enter the Music Institute in Warsaw, and was delighted when the violinist and director of the Institute, Apolinary Kątski, accepted the boy without any official exam. The young Ignaz stayed with the Kerntopf family (who were piano makers) in Warsaw. Two teachers, Karol Studziński (theory) and Gustaw Roguski (harmony and counterpoint) in particular, were especially admired by Paderewski.

In a letter addressed to his father, Jan, Ignaz wrote proudly of himself: 'It is nearly a month since I started my lessons. Without wishing to boast, I am the best pupil in theory in Mr. Studziński's class. I am coping with the lessons absolutely wonderfully. Please tell Mr. Sowiński what I am writing to you and give my compliments to him, also thank him for his work and efforts with me, and also Mr. Babiański'.¹⁷⁷ His piano teachers, however, whom he did not even mention in his *Memoirs*, clearly left much to be desired. But while studying at the Conservatory, he also had an opportunity to learn the basic technique of the flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, trumpet, trombone, violin and cello.¹⁷⁸

Ignaz was able to finish his education in Warsaw in 1879, thanks to his father's financial support. He was then appointed as a teacher at the Conservatory, but left

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 38-39.

¹⁷⁷ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Czytelnia Rękopisów (Jagiellonian Library, Manuscripts reading room), Kraków, Przyb. 123/01 (Call no. 123/01). Letter to Paderewski's father (Warsaw, March 1873).

¹⁷⁸ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 56-57, 75-76.

this position very soon to study counterpoint and composition with Friedrich Kiel, and orchestration with Heinrich Urban in Berlin from 1881 to 1884.¹⁷⁹ Kiel was one of the few teachers who openly admired Paderewski's piano playing at that time, encouraging him not only in composition, but also to pursue a career as a concert pianist. '[Kiel] welcomed me very cordially, he congratulated me on my talent and with the highest – as he said – pleasure, he will give me lessons. He liked my compositions a lot'.¹⁸⁰ From Berlin Paderewski started to write systematically to his close friend Władysław Górski, and composed even more personal letters to Władysław's wife, Helena Górka.

Paderewski soon had the privilege of presenting his compositions to Anton Rubinstein (at the house of Hugo Bock, Paderewski's publisher), Joseph Joachim and Ludwig Ehlert. He also knew Pablo de Sarasate, Leopold Auer, Annette Essipoff (later a promoter of Paderewski's piano works), Eugene d'Albert, Johannes Brahms, Tytus Chałubiński and Pauline Lucca.¹⁸¹ But due to insufficient funds he had to leave Germany, and returned to his position at the Music Institute in Warsaw to teach a class there. Paderewski himself remarked:

So I stayed at the Conservatory, where I was offered a higher-level class of piano pupils. It was a very great distinction, and I accepted, encouraged, of course, by those false friends [who wanted to involve him in a rivalry between the Music Institute and the Municipal Society]. But I was forced then to play by myself. I had to show my pupils how to do certain things, which without playing I would not have been able to do. And so I began to practice a little, and my class became very successful, scoring a real triumph at the examinations. Yes it seems I was a very good teacher, but I did not like it. I prefer to give ten concerts rather than one lesson! It takes much more of my energy, I assure you. It is a very exhausting profession.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 77, 94.

¹⁸⁰ Jagiellonian Library, Przyb. 123/01. Letter to Paderewski's father (Berlin, 8 January 1882).

¹⁸¹ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 81-87, 106, 123-125.

¹⁸² Ibid., 90.

Especially significant for Paderewski was a visit to the Tatra Mountains and the town of Zakopane, where he met one of the greatest Polish actresses, Helena Modjeska (Modrzejewska), who had an established international career. Their long-term friendship began in 1884, but Paderewski was particularly secretive about it. Modjeska was probably the first person to consider him as a potential concert pianist. She granted him a sum of money that was sufficient to enable him to move to Vienna to take private piano lessons with Theodor Leschetizky, 'the lode star of my early years, the greatest teacher of his generation'.¹⁸³ Leschetizky initially regarded Paderewski as a promising composer, but a pianist *manqué*, too old to start to work on basic piano technique. In spite of this discouragement, Paderewski began to practice intensively:

After those groping, struggling years, even in a few lessons things became clear. I began to see, to understand, to find my way, to know how to work. And my thankfulness to Leschetizky is as great today as it was then. I cannot overestimate what he did for me in his indication of the way to work. It was masterly.¹⁸⁴

But despite these later comments, Paderewski had started somewhat to believe Leschetizky's opinion that it was too late for him to achieve a reliable piano technique. Accordingly, he initially decided to abandon his studies. Moreover, his financial problems forced him into such a critical position that he had to return to Warsaw: 'My mood is miserable – this is the truth – but I have common sense – healthier than ever. [...] One can learn only when young. At my age learning becomes more than a torment'.¹⁸⁵ A new opportunity appeared in 1885, when Leschetizky recommended Paderewski for a position as a professor of harmony, counterpoint and piano at the Conservatory in Strasbourg, which enabled him to establish himself, but not

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 97-99.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

¹⁸⁵ Jagiellonian Library, Przyb. 126/01. Letter to H. Górska (Vienna, 15th January 1885).

necessarily become a performer.¹⁸⁶ Despite his disappointment at having to become a teacher again, Paderewski was successful in this role: 'My pupils were admitted to be the best pupils because I was rather a good teacher, it seems'.¹⁸⁷

Nevertheless, teaching was so inimical to Paderewski that, thanks to Edward Kerntopf's sponsorship, he happily returned to Vienna to undertake further studies with Leschetizky. In his *Memoirs*, Paderewski does not reveal the mixture of success and failure encountered by his playing in Vienna and Strasbourg in 1887. What commonly appears in biographies are only the successes that opened the gates to long-lasting fame: his debut in Paris (Salle Érard) on 3 March 1888, preceded by a debut in Vienna (9 December 1887); then further concert engagements that included Brussels (1888), London (1890) and the first American concert tour in 1891, when Paderewski's name was finally recognised on that continent.

Paderewski judged his success in Strasbourg (following his concert in Vienna) as 'accidental'. It seems that he did not feel he was ready for regular high profile concerts. In a letter to Helena, Paderewski speculated that his concert in Vienna would be less significant than the one in Strasbourg. He felt forced to play in Vienna because of his engagement of Ignaz Kugel (as his impresario). Only in his letters did Paderewski unveil his secret battles with self-esteem, even when his audiences' reaction was positive:

Here [in Strasbourg] I did badly – the piano was terrible; that was my first performance in front of one and a half thousand people, the anxiety was horrible. All of that took over my nerves. I was very disappointed. [...] Whereas the audience was most favourable to me. [...] As for Vienna, it was a considerable success. Even the critics acclaimed me; some newspapers confined themselves to short,

¹⁸⁶ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 115-116.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

but complimentary references; the *Allgemeine Zeitung* devoted a little eulogy to me and Hanslick described me thus: tadellos[e] Technik und lebensvolle Auffassung (bei leider etwas hartem Anschlag).¹⁸⁸

2.2 – Paderewski and Leschetizky

Much of Paderewski's immense success was owed to his teacher. Paderewski in his *Memoirs* emphasised that Leschetizky made an impact on his own approach to piano playing, and to his understanding of the crucial features which build up a good performance. Therefore, before I undertake a broader discussion about Paderewski's own approach to performance practice, I should like to focus on Leschetizky.

Leschetizky, at the age of 10, was taken by his father to study piano in Vienna. He started to work with Carl Czerny, a great advocate of systematic technical precision in piano playing. Leschetizky himself began to teach when he was only 14. Although at this point he mostly concentrated on his personal performance skills, teaching gave him a taste for hard work and the ability to manage two fields – performance and pedagogy – at the same time. Especially impressed with the technique of Carl Filtsch,¹⁸⁹ Leschetizky worked on simplicity and the economical use of the hands and wrists. The sensitivity of the fingers became most important for him. Kenneth Hamilton also drew attention to the influence of Julius Schulhoff on the young Leschetizky in the 1840s.¹⁹⁰ Leschetizky's style as a performer, as described by his

¹⁸⁸ Jagiellonian Library, Przyb. 123/01. A letter to H. Górka (Vienna, 30 December 1887). The German text means: 'an impeccable technique and lively approach (with, unfortunately, something of a harsh touch)'.

¹⁸⁹ Carl Filtsch was Chopin's student at that time and a child prodigy.

¹⁹⁰ K. Hamilton, *After the Golden Age, Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 152.

numerous students (among them Paderewski), was supposedly based on a close analysis of structure, harmony and rhythm.

Leschetizky's fame as a piano teacher soon spread far and wide, and in 1862 he accepted a position at the St Petersburg Conservatoire. In 1864 he made his debut in London playing the Schumann *Quintet in E flat major*, Op. 44, the string players including Joseph Joachim. In 1878, due to the health problems of his second wife, Annette Essipoff, and his father's insistence, Leschetizky decided to settle permanently in Vienna. That was a fruitful decision. As Paderewski later stated in his *Memoirs*, Vienna at that time was the social, cultural and musical capital of Europe.¹⁹¹ Before 1892, when Leschetizky and Annette separated, their home was a residence open to carefully selected guests, including the most famous composers and musicians of the day.

One question commonly raised about Leschetizky's teaching 'method' was: Did it exist? Did he in fact have a method? Books written during Leschetizky's lifetime do not explore his teaching style in the depth we may wish for. Malwine Brée, who was an assistant of Leschetizky, described his views on piano technique in an instructive volume *Die Grundlage der Methode Leschetizky*.¹⁹² This book contains several of his technical exercises. It is also supplemented by pictures of his hands that illustrate the 'proper' hand and finger positions. However, Leschetizky never described his way of teaching as a particular 'method'. Rather, he claimed that the true artist has to be born first, then must work hard and, finally, has to find good teachers and promoters

¹⁹¹ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 108-110.

¹⁹² M. Brée, *Die Grundlage der Methode Leschetizky* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, London: Schott, Paris: Schott Frères, Brussels, 1903). Dritte revidierte Ausgabe (Third Edition).

to reveal his individuality. The pianist without individual ideas was unlikely to achieve success in a world that had already been conquered by not necessarily the best musicians, but by the best 'athletes' playing the piano. Broadly speaking, in Leschetizky's opinion, a good teacher is the person who gives the right advice. 'Right', means advice that perfectly matches the talent of a certain student. Even the worst pianist can make progress and gain a certain level of skill, according to his talent. Annette Hullah quoted Leschetizky: 'I have thought over these things all my life, but if you can find better ways than mine I will adopt them – yes, and I will take two lessons from you and give you a thousand gulden a lesson'.¹⁹³

Based on evaluation of several books written by Leschetizky's students, some further points about Leschetizky's piano playing and his style of teaching can be deduced. On technical matters, he outlined the necessity of absolute control of the fingers beyond anything else. It does not matter so much what kind of instrument is at the performer's disposal, more important is the ability to accustom oneself to different conditions every time. The details that are intended to make an emotional impact on the audience should be planned and practised carefully. But at the performance, they must sound spontaneous. Ethel Newcomb (one of Leschetizky's pupils) acknowledged that 'technique seemed to be only a clever and intelligent way of doing things. Strong fingers, Leschetizky claimed, could be acquired in many ways besides thumping the piano. As for that hard and fast Leschetizky method of which we heard so much, I soon discovered its very elastic texture'.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ A. Hullah, *Living Masters of Music: Theodor Leschetizky*, ed. Rosa Newmarch (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head; New York: John Lane Company, 1906), 34-35.

¹⁹⁴ E. Newcomb, *Leschetizky as I knew him* (New York, London: D. Appleton and Company, 1921), 13.

Several of Leschetizky's students were praised for the way that their technique 'emphasises rhythm, clearness, inaudible pedalling, brilliant staccato passages'.¹⁹⁵ Leschetizky more than some other contemporary teachers insisted on his students closely studying the score and analysing pieces before actually starting to play them. However, Leschetizky never said there was one perfect method that should be adopted by every student. The discussion of Leschetizky's teaching by Angèle Potocka and some other occasional stories about Leschetizky's lessons also do not suggest a rigid 'method'.¹⁹⁶

Leschetizky's own technique of playing was based on detailed attention to the proper use and coordination of movements of the fingers, wrist, and arms. He advocated sitting low at the piano, and reducing the hand and body movements to what was absolutely necessary. Leschetizky's first lessons with a student who had just joined his class concentrated on practising short technical exercises (his own, or those of Brahms), but only in relation to any particular movements that were lacking in precision. Although his initial impressions on hearing Paderewski did not show much faith in his potential, he admired Paderewski's pedalling, for it revealed his musicality. But he also suggested that Paderewski consider a profession other than concert pianist, because at the age of 24 it was too late to polish his skills sufficiently. But despite occasional vacillation, this eventually only intensified Paderewski's ambitions to achieve success against the odds.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ A. Hullah, *Theodor Leschetizky*, 40.

¹⁹⁶ A. Potocka, *Theodore Leschetizky, an intimate study of the man and the musician* (New York: The Century Co., 1903).

<http://archive.org/stream/theodoreleschet00potogooq#page/n12/mode/2up>, accessed 25 February 2013.

¹⁹⁷ I.J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 99, 102.

Paderewski and Leschetizky had something in common: they were both workaholics. Paderewski applied himself rigorously to his daily routine even at the peak of his career, obsessively working on a few bars at a time, then longer phrases. Paderewski felt that if he were unable to play one bar with technical accuracy and with the right musical expression, then he should not move forward until it had been mastered. He probably shared this way of practising with his students. Articulation, dynamics, touch and pedalling had to be minutely analysed. Only by persistent, concentrated repetition could these targets be achieved. All sections prepared had eventually to work together. As is clearly stated in Paderewski's *Memoirs*, Leschetizky and Paderewski both adopted this approach and would never go on the stage until he had completely mastered every detail of a score and his interpretation perfectly fixed in his mind.¹⁹⁸ By practising at different tempi Paderewski tried to achieve the confidence that is an essential part of performance in a live concert.

From the *Memoirs* it can be seen that Paderewski realised that he had to be disciplined with practice time because of his demanding concert schedule otherwise he would not have been able to maintain such a large repertoire. Leschetizky often demonstrated at the piano to explain more clearly to his students what he was advising, as mentioned in Paderewski's *Memoirs*.¹⁹⁹ Sometimes Leschetizky even asked for an exact imitation of his performance. He did not deny the need for many hours of practice, but only if they were spaced over the whole day and included breaks.²⁰⁰ He advised that rather than have a thoughtless dry routine, it would be better not to practise at all. Bad practising can destroy the results of good practising,

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 128.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 110.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 102-104.

and that might lead to further hours spent correcting errors newly acquired. The most important thing, claimed Leschetizky, was quality, not quantity. This was quite often misunderstood by some of Leschetizky's pupils who came to play for him for the first time and expected the eulogy due to their preparation and intensive practicing. Ethel Newcomb experienced that during her very first lesson with Leschetizky. He asked her if she could 'settle down seriously and devote an hour a day to the piano [...]'.²⁰¹

Newcomb reflected on that:

My idea of serious study was sitting at the piano many, many hours a day, and I wondered what he could mean by this. I had heard that Leschetizky's pupils studied eight or ten hours a day, and that they were only too easily recognized in Vienna by swollen muscles and bandaged hands. It was concentration and right habits of study that counted more than the time spent, he told me.²⁰²

2.3 – Leschetizky's lessons

Leschetizky had a highly beneficial impact on the Viennese teaching environment. Many private teachers offered their knowledge to anyone who could pay a sufficient amount for lessons, even if these took place only occasionally. But for Leschetizky, the priority was to teach students who would absorb his instructions on a detailed level.²⁰³ This did not necessarily mean that all had to become concert pianists. They might also become teachers, and in fact, those tended to be the ones who investigated the subject of piano playing in the most meticulous way. Usually, it took about two years, if not more, for students to accustom themselves to Leschetizky's basic teaching, which provided the ability for them to work alone thereafter.

²⁰¹ E. Newcomb, *Leschetizky*, 5.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 110.

Leschetizky's life as a teacher consumed most of his time, and his temperament was often reflected in his behaviour. During the lesson every mistake had to be corrected, and sometimes diplomacy and his students' feelings suffered from his sudden outburst. Undoubtedly, he wanted to help, but the student had to face strong criticism, sarcasm or a lack of enthusiasm, as Paderewski revealed in his *Memoirs* with a disarming sincerity.²⁰⁴ However, Leschetizky's behaviour had its advantages, because it formed in students the character they needed for a professional life characterised by disappointment and unexpected turns. Not everybody could stand his lack of compromise. Being a student of famous Leschetizky was mostly for those whose ambitions and faith in their own potential exceeded all difficulties put before them, as Paderewski realised.

According to Annette Hullah, Leschetizky required two particular qualities: concentration and immediate reaction. Selected passages or notes had to be repeated almost perfectly after the first or second attempt. In the lesson, there was no time for practising and investigating what the teacher meant. Notwithstanding, any corrections had to be carefully thought through and implemented. Leschetizky was very sensitive about all this, and he expected his students to have the same attitude. A pupil who did not show enthusiasm and a strong character would not be worth the generous attention of the teacher. Leschetizky mostly preferred to work on certain 'blocks' from which a piece was constructed, instead of playing through longer sections. Annette

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

Hullah offered an especially detailed picture of the relationship between Leschetizky and his students.²⁰⁵

2.4 – The class

A ‘masterclass’ was usually given by Leschetizky once a week. All his students had to attend this class, and on occasions the total number, including some who came to listen in, exceeded one hundred. The class was not formal, and everyone was aware of Leschetizky’s unpredictable character. Leschetizky did not shun honest criticism and regarded it as a useful preparation for his students prior to giving recitals to an audience that could often be unsympathetic.²⁰⁶ Often these long evenings (up to five hours) turned into social meetings between the students and their teacher. Later on, the masterclasses became something of a concert, and external guests could come to listen. In time, these gatherings took place every two weeks.

These masterclasses became more and more recognised in Viennese cultural life. Famous artists coming to Vienna strove to be invited by Leschetizky to play in his presence. The masterclass concerts had a vital training purpose for the students. It is worth mentioning that guest performers included Annette Essipoff and Liszt among others. In the early days of his study with Leschetizky, Paderewski would attend these

²⁰⁵ Her comments included the following anecdote: ‘One day, suddenly jumping up from the piano, he [Leschetizky] stared intently into the garden, exclaiming, “Ha! What is that I see out there?” Of course the pupil hurried to the window, but, seeing nothing exciting, turned back, startled and perplexed. “It’s all right,” nodded the master suddenly; “go on *exactly* where you left off.”’ A. Hullah, *Leschetizky...*, 59. From this story one can deduct Leschetizky was trying to test the student’s memory, and his ability to react quickly.

²⁰⁶ I.J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 110.

classes, but was not asked to perform until his playing had developed sufficiently.²⁰⁷

Paderewski later in his career also held his own masterclasses at his home in Riond-Bosson.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, their personalities – Leschetizky's with his touch of extravagance, and Paderewski's with his inexhaustible ambition – harmonised well, especially since they could share a common interest in long evenings spent at the billiard table.²⁰⁹

Although Leschetizky was well known as a gregarious friend, he observed a clear balance between teaching and social life. His experience made him able to judge very quickly a student's instinct for and devotion to music after listening only to a few bars. Students were aware that he also drew conclusions from their nationality. Leschetizky appreciated Russian students the most, followed closely by Poles. The Russians – Annette Essipoff, Ossip Gabrilowitsch and Mark Hambourg, among the most successful pianists contemporary to Paderewski – could mesmerise an audience with their superb technical fluency, accuracy and individual interpretations. The advantages of being a musician from Poland, in Leschetizky's opinion, were imaginative ideas, endorsed by sensitivity. However, only two Poles from Leschetizky's class – Paderewski and Ignaz Friedman – became celebrities.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 110-111.

²⁰⁸ Z. Dygat, 'A lesson with Paderewski', *Polish Music Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Winter 2001) http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/4.2.01/dygatpaderewski.html, accessed 5 December 2012.

²⁰⁹ I.J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 111.

2.5 – Leschetizky’s approach to interpretation

Leschetizky’s performing and teaching style made a deep impact on Paderewski. When listening to Leschetizky’s piano roll of Chopin’s *Nocturne in D flat major, Op. 27 No. 2*,²¹⁰ one can notice distinctive nuances mirrored in Paderewski’s playing. Leschetizky’s interpretation reflects a lack of synchronisation between right and left hand, and flexibility in interpreting the score, i.e. does not strictly follow the text. For instance, he occasionally doubles the bass notes, playing them as octaves. He frequently arpeggiates chords in the right hand, and transposes the melody an octave higher when it appears for the second time. Leschetizky’s *rubato* is, nevertheless, convincing. One of the main aspects that can be observed both in this recording by Leschetizky and in Paderewski’s recordings is the search after lyricism. Further analysis of such features, which became an inspiration for Paderewski’s style of playing, will be given in Chapter 4.

This style of playing stimulated the sensitivity of Paderewski, for whom artistic interpretation and musical expression were more important than technical perfection. In his case, these required immensely hard work and endless hours of practice. The artist then ‘can leave the stage with the profound gratification of one who has discharged a critical responsibility in the face of tremendous hazards’.²¹¹ Paderewski gained from Leschetizky knowledge that allowed him to expand his own musical identity.

²¹⁰ CD transfer “The closest approach to 19th Century piano interpretation; 19th Century Pianists” (Archiphon, CD ARC-106, piano roll recorded in Freiburg i. Br. in 1906, CD re-issued in 1992).

²¹¹ G. Gilbert, ‘Paderewski’, *Stage Magazine* (May, 1939), 38.

http://www.oldmagazinearticles.com/Ignaz_Ja_Paderewski_Article_pdf, accessed 5 December 2012.

2.6 – Paderewski on piano playing (as revealed in his articles: ‘Tempo rubato’ and ‘The best way to study the piano’)

The ‘Tempo rubato’ article first appeared in Henry Theophilus Finck’s book, *Success in Music and how it is won*.²¹² ‘The best way to study the piano’ was reprinted in R. Stevenson’s *The Paderewski Paradox/Le paradoxe Paderewski*.²¹³ According to Stevenson, the article was only dictated by Paderewski, who then read and approved it. It first appeared in *The Strand Magazine* (in 1895), published by George Newnes. In them, Paderewski expounded on his ideas on piano playing. He claimed that the pianist should not ignore other elements of art and culture, such as science, history or philosophy, in order to focus on piano technique alone, because those elements can be useful for the improvement of the imagination in personal interpretation. Otherwise, performance can become a mechanical reproduction of the score, or a repetition of the same interpretative patterns. Paderewski did however insist on the need for serious work on piano technique. Even a person with exceptional talent has to undertake persistent and detailed study. Many of Paderewski’s Polish contemporaries did not have that balance of artistic and technical skill. This was due to the political situation in Poland around the turn of the 20th century. It made for a striking difference between life in the music conservatories of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and that in Warsaw. According to Paderewski: ‘Instead of taking the study of it [music] as a very earnest one, many fall into the way of looking upon it as an

²¹² This article first appeared in Henry Theophilus Finck’s book, *Success in Music and how it is won* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 454-61.

²¹³ This article was reprinted in R. Stevenson’s *The Paderewski Paradox/Le paradoxe Paderewski* (Lincoln: Klavar Music Foundation, 1992), 33-38. According to Stevenson, the article was only dictated by Paderewski, who then read and approved it. It first appeared in *The Strand Magazine* (in 1895), published by George Newnes.

amusement, idling away hours in passing agreeably from one thing to another. These misspent hours end in a smattering of knowledge and a certain amount of faulty fluency, of no solid use when it comes to practical application'.²¹⁴

Paderewski did not neglect the practice of scales and arpeggios in everyday piano playing, as he clarified in his article.²¹⁵ He admitted that many students could perform the most demanding technical pieces without practising any preparatory exercises and scales, but these exercises would have helped to build up physical strength in the fingers and ease of movement. Besides, he claimed such practice would create a technical foundation, providing a helpful basis for playing other pieces with new technical difficulties. At this point I might add that such an approach to piano practice would also prevent hand and finger injuries occurring when the pianist practised mainly the difficult sections of a particular piece. Some analogy could be made here with sport. Even the best sprinter or athlete would never dream of starting a race without basic warm-up exercises.

To summarise the main points of *The best way to study the piano*, the pianist should attempt to find his or her own system. Well planned practice is essential. Moreover, it is worth remembering that the amount of work and concentration the individual is capable of putting into one hour or one day is necessarily limited by human frailty. Paderewski suggested that it is better to cover only a few bars, but to play those perfectly, with technical clarity and good musical shaping, rather than irregular, spontaneous sessions resulting in large sections played imprecisely.

²¹⁴ Paderewski in Stevenson, *The Paderewski Paradox*, 34.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

2.7 – Paderewski's later years

Paderewski carried on an active life as a pianist until 1914, visiting Spain, Russia, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and Central and South America. In 1899 he had settled in Switzerland, where he lived in the Chalet de Riond-Bosson in Morges.²¹⁶ He virtually stopped playing concerts at the time of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and devoted himself to politics until 1921, but after this he did indeed return to performance. The retirement was thus only temporary.

But did Paderewski's playing suffer from the break during the First World War? He returned to the US in 1922, when he largely resumed his concert career, but by 1930 he had dropped out of politics and was once again playing regularly. The death of his wife Helena Górska in 1934 resulted in him having a nervous breakdown, which interrupted his career for several months. The economic situation in America prevented Paderewski from making any gramophone records between 1930 and 1937, but when he did return to the studio in January of that year, his technique was obviously still intact in spite of having suffered recurring health problems obviously curtailed his playing for a time. Vladimir Horowitz, who often visited Paderewski in Riond-Bosson, claimed the following:

They say he didn't have a big technique, but he did before World War I. Then he lost it. He liked loud playing. Everything had to be in the grand style. [...] Toscanini always said he was the best pianist. There is a letter of Tchaikovsky saying that he went to hear a new pianist in Paris called Paderewski and that he was the greatest pianist of all. You can't judge him on his records, which are not very good. On the stage he played in a very musical manner. You don't get such a reputation as he had for nothing.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ W. Jankowski and J. Louchin, 'Ignacy Jan Paderewski', *Archiwum Akt Nowych* (The Archives of Modern Records) (1st Edition, Warszawa, 2002), 9.

²¹⁷ H. C. Schonberg, *Horowitz: his life and music* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 117-118.

Nevertheless, Horowitz did not apparently appreciate that Paderewski's interest in tone colour remained very keen even as his purely technical facility diminished. Critics often focused on Paderewski's mannerisms, and did not always mention his unique sound. Moreover, Paderewski did not lose the ability to produce a 'big' tone. When he was playing in Madison Square Garden in 1932, he faced sixteen thousand people (a record up to that time).²¹⁸ His use of asynchronisation of the left and right hand was not a superficial mannerism but, as with Leschetizky, a deliberate feature to obtain emphasis and a variety of tone colours. One of the best examples of Paderewski's intentional lack of coordination between hands (particularly when playing chords and homophonic textures) is present in his recordings of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata*, in which he obtains a remarkable variety of sound.²¹⁹

When the First World War finished, Paderewski again became active as a politician, being a representative of the Polish government in exile, and also a supporter of Polish immigrant communities in the United States. Accordingly, his political commitments forced him to return to the concert platform. In the 1920s he had been one of the richest people in the world: during his 1922-23 tour in the US he had even become a so-called 'living legend', at least according to many journalists. Paderewski reflected in his *Memoirs* on his first 'return' to the stage after the First World War:

²¹⁸ W. Wilk, *Polish Composers: Ignacy Jan Paderewski*, PMC (Polish Music Center) Sites: http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/composer/paderewski.html, accessed 20 March 2013.

²¹⁹ This explanation has also been suggested by Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek and Jerzy Piotr Walczak, who have been working together on Paderewski's approach to acoustics revealed in his playing, including the reviews of live performances and recordings. Perkowska-Waszek did not complete her investigations before her death, but Walczak shared with me some of the results of their work. They confirm Paderewski's knowledge and interest in acoustics and the fact that Paderewski's enhancement of the bass (quasi bells tone) was an intentional action to emphasise overtones of the piano in large concert venues. Private correspondence with Walczak, 7 and the 8 March 2013.

'After my return, yes, almost everywhere it was exactly as before, the audience got up and greeted me for several minutes with applause and cheering'.²²⁰

2.8 – The 'Paderewski' Edition of Chopin's Works

From 1937 Paderewski, on the initiative of the Frederic Chopin Institute, worked on an edition of Chopin's *Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), published after the Second World War in several volumes between 1949 and 1961.²²¹ It was not the first nor the only edition to which Paderewski made a contribution. The Century Corporation of New York had issued twenty volumes of selected works as *The Century Library of Music* (1900-1902), which included pieces by Chopin.²²² Paderewski's name appeared as one of the editors, along with Fanny Morris Smith and Bernard Boekelman (as associate editors). It consists of scores (including works by Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt and Paderewski) and articles written by well-recognised composers, Camille Saint-Saëns, pianists, Józef Hofmann, William Mason, Sigismond Thalberg and writers, Alfred Nossig.²²³ There were articles about a number of composers (for example, *A Study of Liszt* by Ernest Newman), and also on piano performance practice (including *The Methods of the Masters of Piano-Teaching in Europe*) among others. Discussions relating to piano performance practice also appeared in articles such as: *Symposium on the Training of the Thumbs and Fourth and Fifth Fingers*,²²⁴ *The*

²²⁰ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs: Part Two 1914-1932* (Los Angeles: Paderewski Music Society, 2011), 79.

²²¹ W. Jankowski and J. Louchin, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*, 10.

²²² J. M. Chomiński and T. D. Turło, *Katalog dzieł Fryderyka Chopina* (Kraków: 1990), 297.

²²³ I. J. Paderewski (ed.) and F. M. Smith, B. Boekelman (associate eds.), *The Century Library of Music in Twenty Volumes* (New York: The Century Co., 1900-1902).

²²⁴ *Ibid.* (article by anonymous author), vol. 3, 92.

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015025444376;num=92;seq=52;view=1up>, accessed 23 December 2012.

Leschetizky Method of Memorising,²²⁵ and *The Proper Musical Education of Children*.²²⁶

A comparison of Paderewski's concert programmes, compiled by Małgorzata Perkowska,²²⁷ include many of the same piano works included in the *The Century Library of Music*.²²⁸ The suggestions for fingerings, however, do not reveal particular similarities to those proposed in the edition of *Frederic Chopin Complete Works*. The extent of Paderewski's participation in *The Century Library of Music* is therefore somewhat unclear, although his name was highlighted as supposedly a principal editor of this compilation.

The first edition of Chopin's works produced in Poland (although not complete) was published in 1863 by Gebethner & Wolff in Warsaw. It was revised and repinted in 1882, 1902 and 1924-1930. The editors were Jan Kleczyński, Rudolf Strobl (Paderewski's teacher in Warsaw) and Aleksander Michałowski.²²⁹ A later, more substantial edition was published by Breitkopf & Härtel between 1878 and 1880: the

²²⁵ Ibid. (article by anonymous author), vol. 2, 54.

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015025444368;num=54;seq=46;view=1up>, accessed 23 December 2012.

²²⁶ Ibid. (article by Josef Hofmann), vol. 15, 509.

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015025444616;num=509;seq=53;view=1up>, accessed 23 December 2012.

²²⁷ M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Paderewski's concert diary) (Kraków: PWM, 1990).

²²⁸ I. J. Paderewski (ed.) and F. M. Smith, B. Boekelman (associate eds), *The Century Library of Music...*, vol. 2, 159.

<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015025444368;num=159;seq=141;view=1up>, accessed 23 December 2012.

²²⁹ R. Szczepański, 'Paderewski jako wydawca dzieł Chopina: Praca redakcyjna nad wydaniem *Dzieł wszystkich*

i The Century library of music' (Paderewski as the editor of Chopin's works: The editorial work on F. Chopin: *Dzieła wszystkie* and *The Century library of Music*). In *Warsztat kompozytorski, wykonawstwo i koncepcje polityczne Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Composers' workshop: Performance and political conceptions of Ignaz Jan Paderewski) (Meeting: Kraków, 1991). Edited by Andrzej Sitarz and Wojciech Marchwica (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1991), 97.

editors were Brahms, Bargiel, Rudorff, Reinecke, Liszt and Franchomme.²³⁰ This edition did not contain several works that still remained in manuscript.

One might imagine that Paderewski's influence on the preparation of *Chopin's Complete Works* was negligible, as in the case of *The Century Library of Music*. But although the first volume was issued eight years after Paderewski's death, the idea of preparing a Polish edition of all of Chopin's music had first appeared in *Kwartalnik Muzyczny (Musical Quarterly)* as early as 1928, when Ludwik Bronarski wrote: 'One of the targets of today's Polish musicology is preparing a critical edition of Chopin's works'.²³¹ Two years after the foundation of the Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (Frederic Chopin Institute) in 1934, the then president August Zalewski proposed to Paderewski that he should undertake the role of main editor.²³²

The Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archives) in Warsaw possesses an exchange of correspondence between Zalewski and Paderewski. The latter endorsed the idea of publishing the first complete Polish edition of Chopin works, but only in co-operation with Prof. Józef Turczyński and Dr Ludwik Bronarski. Turczyński had been widely known as a pianist, and had performed Paderewski's own works with considerable success. Stanisław Szpinalski (one of Paderewski's Polish students), in his frequent (almost monthly) letters to Paderewski, sporadically mentioned recent concerts,

²³⁰ J. Ekier, *Wstęp do Wydania Narodowego Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina, cz. I Zagadnienia edytorskie* (Introduction to the Polish National Edition of the Works of Frederic Chopin, part I. Editorial issues (Warszawa: Towarzystwo im. Fryderyka Chopina, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974), 88-91. http://www.pwm.com.pl/zdjecia/0/5/1/1472_PWM_Edition_Introduction_to_the_Polish_National_Edition_of_the_Works_Fryderyk_Chopin.pdf, accessed 23 December 2012.

²³¹ L. Bronarski, 'W sprawie wydania pośmiertnych dzieł Fryderyka Chopina' (On the Subject of Publishing the Posthumous Works of Frederic Chopin), *Kwartalnik Muzyczny (Musical Quarterly)*, 1 (1928), 59. My own translation.

²³² AAN AIJP (Archiwum Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego-Ignaz Jan Paderewski's Archives), call no. 414.

including an excellent review of Paderewski's *Polish Fantasy*, performed by Turczyński at the opening of the concert season of the Warsaw Philharmonic on 3 October 1930.²³³ Bronarski had gained a high reputation as a musicologist and an expert on Chopin. The fourth member of the editorial committee was Dr Bronisława Keuprulian-Wójcik, who died in 1938. After her death Paderewski assumed a larger role.

Turczyński brought to Poland many of Chopin's autograph manuscripts, facsimiles, and even manuscript photographs taken by Alfred Cortot. (Szczepański also cited the Heineman Foundation as an owner of the photographs of Chopin's manuscripts, but this information must be incorrect, as this Foundation was only established in 1948).²³⁴ Bronarski was in reality the main editor of the *Chopin Complete Works*. A large contribution was also made by the music publishers Breitkopf & Härtel, who possessed many autographs and editions of Chopin's music.²³⁵ The plan was to prepare an accurate edition with suggestions for possible interpretation. A commentary at the end of each volume would highlight textual problems.

One must doubt the extent of Paderewski's contribution, particularly as 1939 was politically challenging for him, for he had decided to devote himself completely to Polish matters. In a letter to Sylwin Strakacz in Riond-Bosson, Turczyński wrote: 'I began to work on a new edition of Chopin, wanting to put it forward to Mr President for his approval and to allow him to skim over a part of the work'.²³⁶ Turczyński travelled to Riond-Bosson with revisions for Paderewski, who was supposed to look

²³³ AAN AIJP, call no. 558, 48.

²³⁴ Compare R. Szczepański, *Paderewski jako wydawca*, 101 with Heineman Foundation, <http://www.heinemanfoundation.org/>, accessed 20 March 2013.

²³⁵ R. Szczepański, *Paderewski jako wydawca*, 101.

²³⁶ AAN AIJP, call no. 4379.

through them and, in case of any discrepancies, to decide on the main text. Alternative readings were given in a commentary, and finally Paderewski provided a signature to confirm the choices made. That was one of the requirements of the Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (Frederic Chopin Institute). Paderewski completed this part of his work in 1940.²³⁷

The original editions on which the editorial committee worked are today owned by Towarzystwo imienia Fryderyka Chopin – TiFC (The Fryderyk Chopin Society) and currently housed in the Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (The Fryderyk Chopin Institute).²³⁸ It is essential to understand that the *Chopin Complete Works* (edited by Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński) and even the most recent *National Edition of the Works of Fryderyk Chopin* (edited by Jan Ekier) still include some inaccuracies. In the *Chopin Complete Works* Bronarski (the main editor) made many changes to Chopin's notation. These could be perceived as 'correcting' mistakes by the composer. But after exhaustive research, Zofia Chechlińska argued that Chopin did not in fact make the sort of 'errors' which Bronarski altered. Chopin's aim was to spell chords in accordance with their imagined harmonic 'colour', even if that was contrary to the prevailing key or harmony. But in addition to his alterations to Chopin's notation, Bronarski simultaneously conflated all available editions. Consequently, the *Complete Works* represents, so to speak, an amalgum of several editions rather than using one

²³⁷ R. Szczepański, *Paderewski jako wydawca*, 103-104.

²³⁸ Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (The Frederic Chopin Institute) and Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina (The National Fryderyk Chopin Institute) are not the same institutions. The Fryderyk Chopin Institute was established in 2001, and its activities involve promoting Chopin's works by organising concerts, conferences, researching in archives and museums through the world. <http://en.chopin.nifc.pl/institute/organization/about>, accessed 25 February 2013.


main source. Moreover, Bronarski added performance markings to the score which were not always clearly distinguished as editorial.²³⁹

All the photographs in Figures 31-57 are from a score on which Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński worked. Comments on specific points are written below the appropriate photographs.

doubler la tierce qui apparaît ensuite sur le fond de cet accord /sol bémol² Mikuli et Tellefsen ont également mi bémol¹ - si bémol¹ - mi bémol.


Pg.42, IV 1. L'EFR n'a pas le son mi bémol¹ dans le dernier accord de la basse.

Pg.42, IV 3-4. Dans l'EAL ces mesures ont l'aspect suivant:



Nous prenons la version de l'EFR, conservée chez Tellefsen et Mikuli. Le 1-er et le 3-e de ces groupes dans l'EAL sont identiques avec ces mêmes groupes de l'EAL, tandis que la 2-e groupe dans l'EAL est identique avec l'EFR.

Pg.42, V 2. La première moitié de cette mesure a dans les éditions originales l'aspect suivant:



/ N.B. Le signe de l'arpège n'existe pas dans l'EFR /

En notant le premier sol naturel comme double croche, nous soulign

Fig. 31. Manuscript for Commentary (French edition) of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: *Ballade no. 4 in F minor*, Op. 52. Photo: A. Pluta.

²³⁹ Private conversation with Prof. Zofia Chechlińska, 26 January 2013.

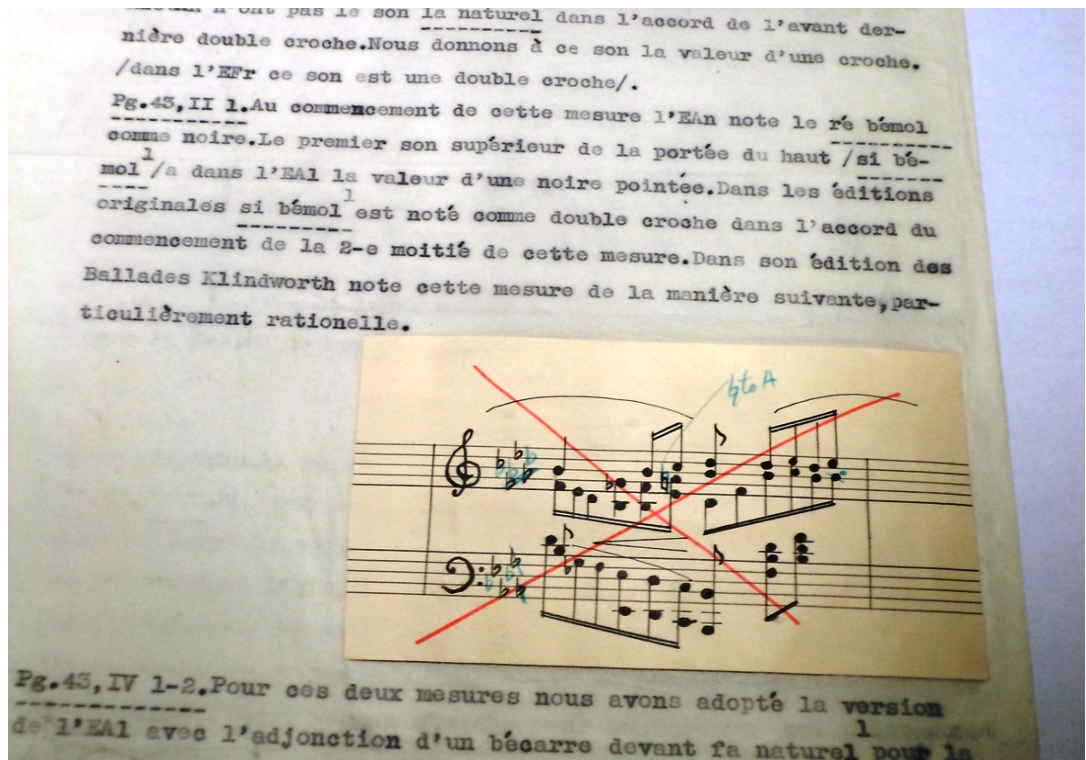
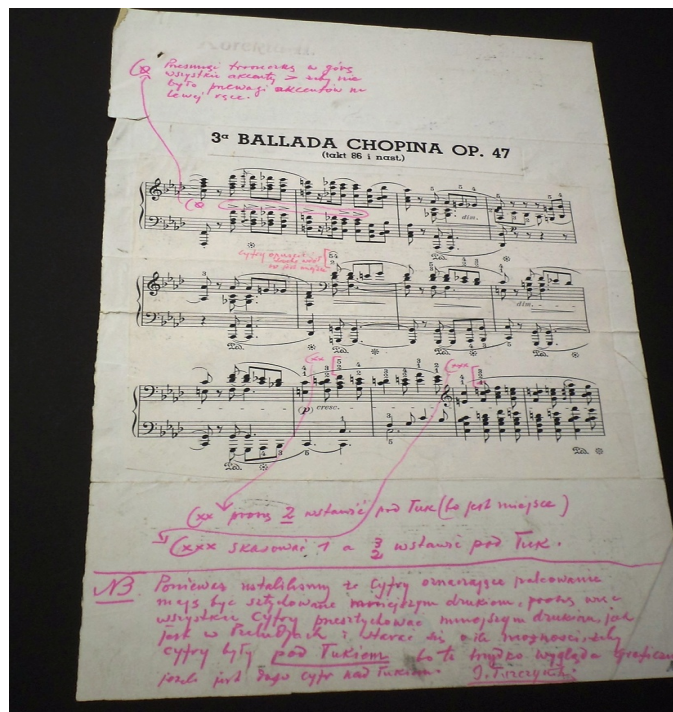


Fig. 32. Manuscript for Commentary (French edition) of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: *Ballade no. 4 in F minor*, Op. 52. Photo: A. Pluta.

3^o BALLADA CHOPINA OP. 47
 (takt 86 i nast.)



Przebieg harmoniczny w tym miejscu jest bardzo ciekawy - widać tutaj pewną „przebieg” akcentów na drugim, trzecim...

Przebieg harmoniczny w tym miejscu jest bardzo ciekawy - widać tutaj pewną „przebieg” akcentów na drugim, trzecim...

Przebieg harmoniczny w tym miejscu jest bardzo ciekawy - widać tutaj pewną „przebieg” akcentów na drugim, trzecim...

Przebieg harmoniczny w tym miejscu jest bardzo ciekawy - widać tutaj pewną „przebieg” akcentów na drugim, trzecim...

Przebieg harmoniczny w tym miejscu jest bardzo ciekawy - widać tutaj pewną „przebieg” akcentów na drugim, trzecim...

Przebieg harmoniczny w tym miejscu jest bardzo ciekawy - widać tutaj pewną „przebieg” akcentów na drugim, trzecim...

Fig. 33. Trial printout of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: *Ballade no. 3 in A flat major*, Op 47. Photo: A. Pluta.

xx prony 2 wstawic' pod Tux (to jest miejsce)
 xxx skasowac 1 a 3 wstawic pod Tux.

NB. Poniewaz ustaliliśmy ze cyfry oznaczające palcowanie
 mogą być setylowane mniejszym drukiem, prócz tego
 wszystkie cyfry przestylowac mniejszym drukiem, jak
 jest w Preludjach i Starci etc. o ile mozności, żeby
 cyfry były pod Tuxiem bo to trochę wygląda graficznie
 lepiej jak są cyfry nad Tuxiem. J. Turczyński

143

Fig. 34. Trial printout of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: *Ballade no. 3 in A flat major*, Op 47. Photo: A. Pluta.

THE OXFORD EDITION OF CHOPIN'S WORKS
BALLADES
 A Mr. le Baron de Stockhausen. **BALLADE No. I** **FR. CHOPIN**
 Op. 23

Largo
f pesante
dim.

Moderato

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 OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN HOUSE, WARWICK SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.4
 Printed in Great Britain.

Fig. 35. *Ballade No. 1 in G minor*, Op. 23 from the Oxford Edition of Frederic Chopin Complete Works with annotations. Photo: A. Pluta.

After analysis of the comments and their writing style in Fig. 33-35 I would argue that all these annotations come from Turczyński. His system was as follows: red crayon – used to indicate or change articulation (legato slurs, accents), gradation of tone (crescendo and diminuendo), and tempo alterations (ritenuto); green crayon – for layout of bars and pages; pink crayon – for pedal markings; pencil markings – for fingering and layout of the music on the pages of the printed score; blue crayon – for

further corrections before the final version (for instance, reducing the slur, elimination of crescendo or diminuendo markings from the text); fountain pen with black ink – usually used on pencil markings to outline other possibilities of enharmonic notation.



Fig. 36. Enharmonic 'corrections' of Chopin's writing in the first, trial print of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, *Ballade No. 4 in F minor*, Op. 52. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 37. Annotations – *Ballade No. 2 in F major*, Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 38. Annotations – *Ballade No. 3 in A flat major*, Op. 47. Photo: A. Pluta.

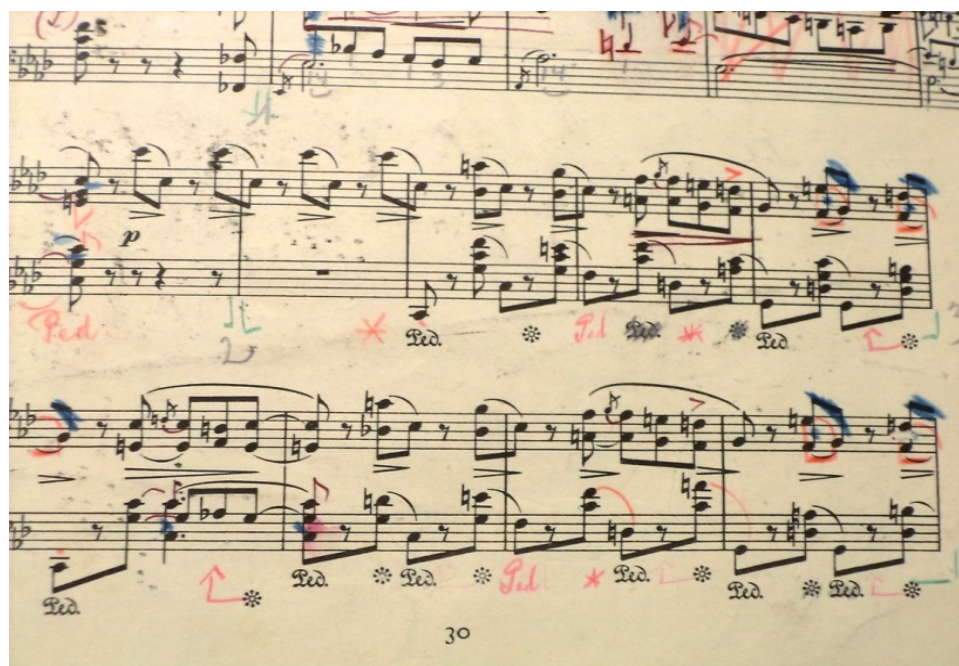


Fig. 39. Annotations – *Ballade No. 3 in A flat major*, Op. 47. Photo: A. Pluta.

*73. wie ein. flut
24. wie. Stachsis
11. 5. wie. 1.
für. die. hand.*

A Robert Schumann
BALLADE No. 2
Andantino
Op. 38

sotto voce

*Cop
w. 2. note II
Setylosow
5. w. 2. 3.
no. 5. kantow*

16

Fig. 40. Annotations – Ballade No. 2 in F major, Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.

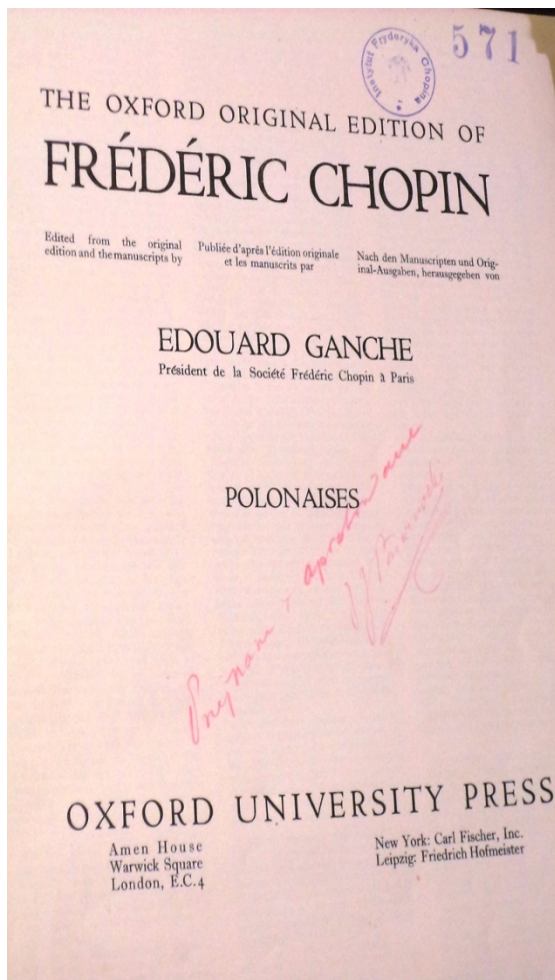


Fig. 41.

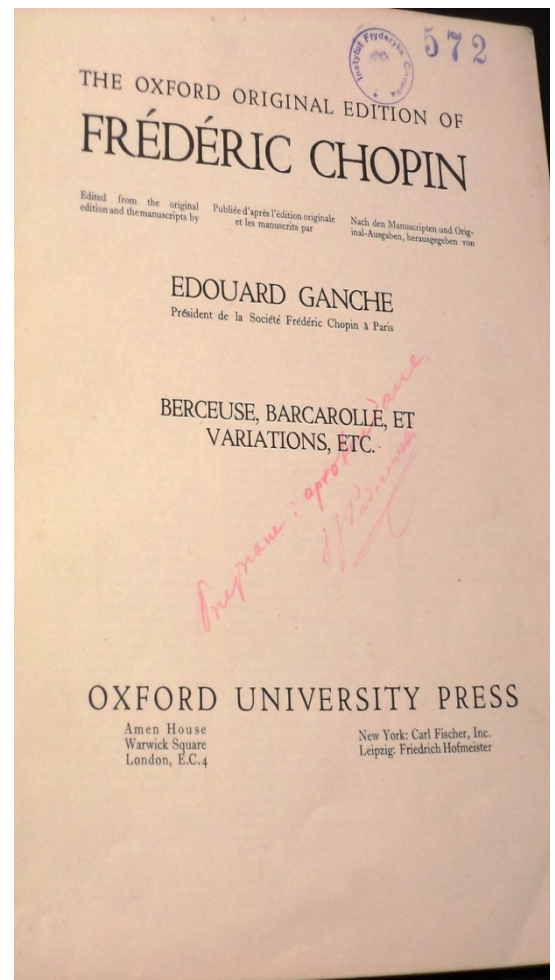


Fig. 42.

Fig. 41 and 42. 'Looked through and approved I. J. Paderewski' (original Paderewski signature on autograph). Photo: A. Pluta.

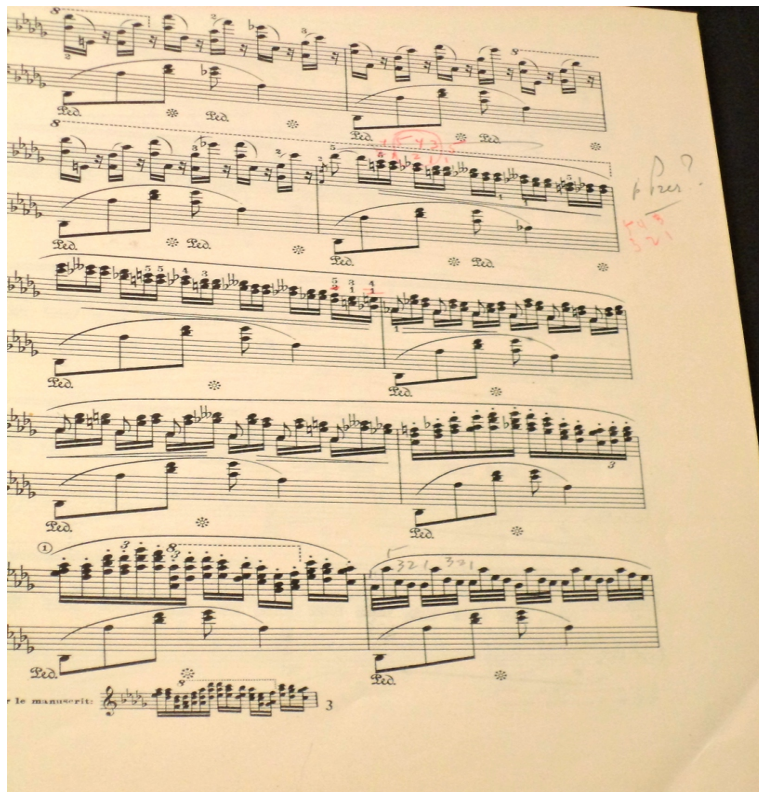


Fig. 43. Annotations – *Berceuse in D flat major, Op. 57*. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 44. Annotations – *Berceuse in D flat major, Op. 57*. Photo: A. Pluta.

Fig. 43 and 44. Fingering in a circle is an alternative proposition suggested by Paderewski. ‘p. Prez?’ means: ‘Mr President?’

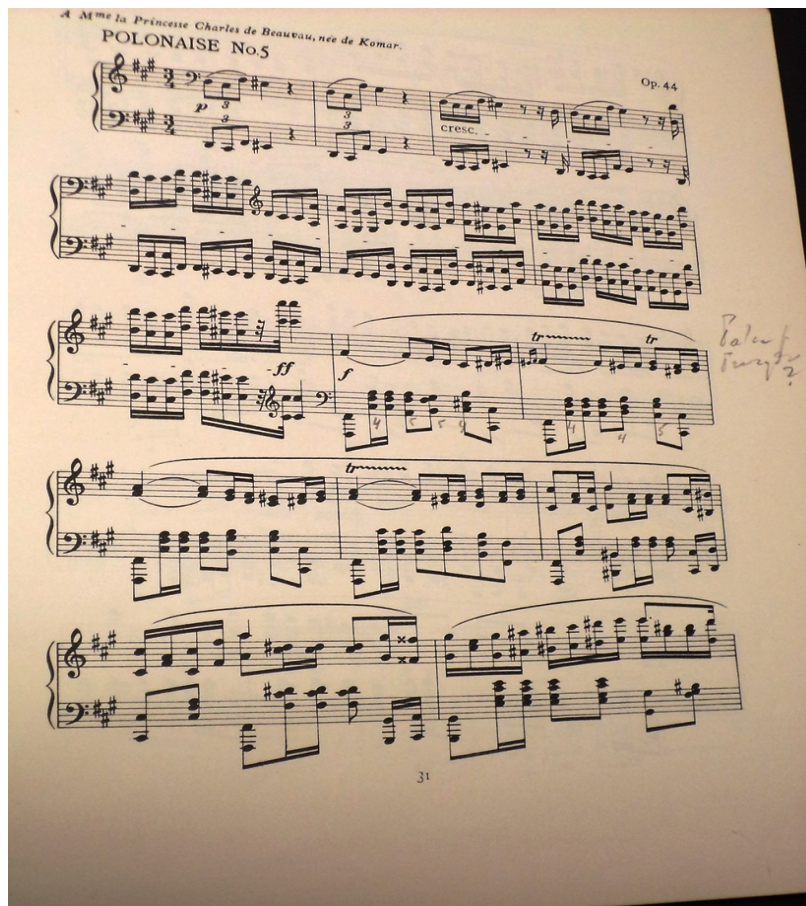


Fig. 45. Annotations – *Polonaise in F sharp minor, Op. 44*. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 46. Annotations – *Polonaise in F sharp minor, Op. 44*. Photo: A. Pluta.

Fig. 45 and 46. Annotation in the right margin 'palce p. Prezydenta?': 'fingering of Mr President?'

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a piano piece. The score is written in two staves (treble and bass clef) and is annotated with various performance instructions and markings. The annotations include:

- trium* (written above the first staff)
- delicatiss.* (written above the third staff)
- leggiero* (written above the fourth staff)
- Lento* (written above the fifth staff)

Below the staves, there are numerous asterisks and the word "Ped." (Pedal) written in a cursive hand, indicating where the pedal should be used. The page number "53" is written at the bottom center. In the bottom right corner, there is a handwritten signature and approval, which is likely Bronarski's.

Fig. 49. Annotations – *Nocturne in A flat major*, Op. 32, No. 2. In the right lower corner is probably Bronarski's signature and approval. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 50.



Fig. 51.

Fig. 50 and 51. First trial print of Chopin's Ballade No. 1 in G minor, Op. 23 with indicated corrections to be inserted before the second trial print. Annotations written by Turczyński are in red, pink or in pencil. Bronarski's approval (his signature in dark blue) is in the top left corner. Photo: A. Pluta.

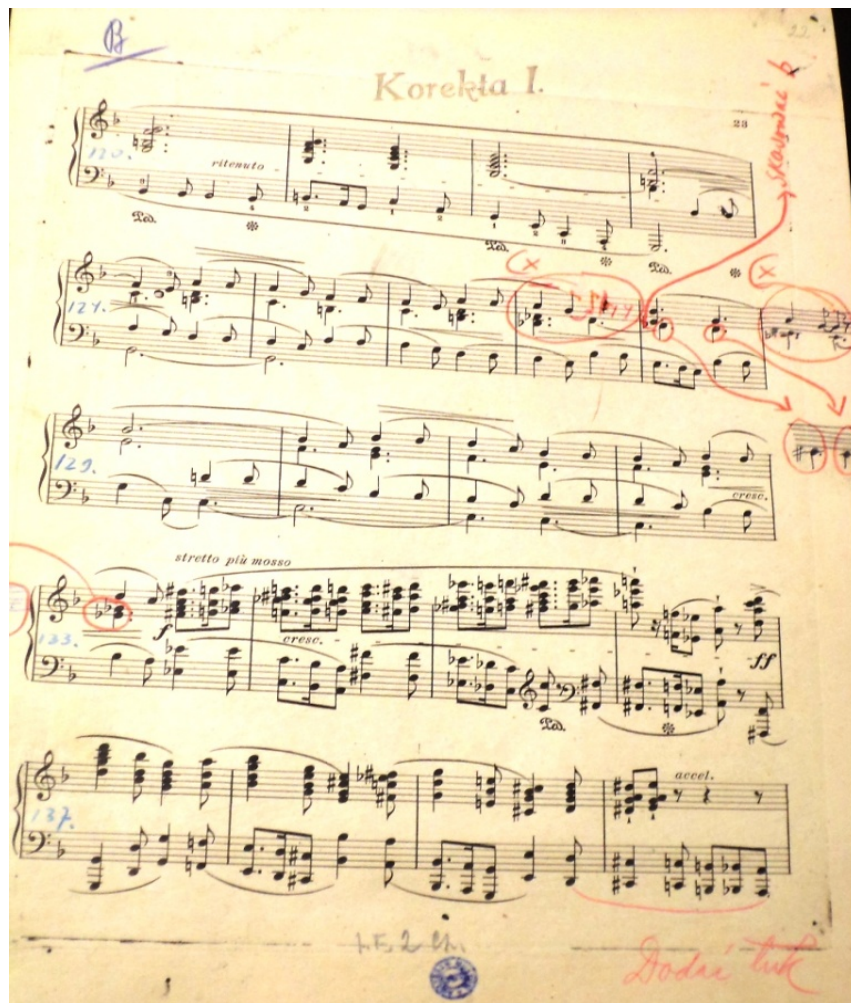


Fig. 52. Annotations – *Ballade No. 2 in F major, Op. 38*. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 53. Annotations – *Ballade No. 2 in F major, Op. 38*. Photo: A. Pluta.

26
 8. 20. 18. 18.
 26
 Agitato
 Korekta I.

wszystkie palce
 skasować i
 znaleźć w tym
 tym kółkiem

120
 121
 122
 123

1. w rękach
 2. ochłodzić
 3. w palce

Wykreślić tak ~~.....~~

XX
 znowu
 odległość
 w rękach

124
 125
 126
 127

128
 129
 130
 131

podpedac mierz nie krechci mierz, a się
 ki jedną pod drugą pętkom

Fig. 54. Annotations – Ballade No. 2 in F major, Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.

Korekta I.

wszystkie palce
skasować
znajdujące się
w tym kółku

wzięte w [...] huty [...] [...] [...] [...] musi być tak!

tak samo jak w gnie

+) Daj kciuki i kciuki

huty, prawej i lewej muszą być akordami wymiarowe w równej linii

Fig. 55. Annotations – *Ballade No. 2 in F major*, Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.

Fig. 52, 53, 54 and 55. First trial print of Chopin's *Ballade No. 2 in F major*, Op. 38 with further corrections indicated (including enharmonic changes). Photo: A. Pluta.

2.9 – The reception of Paderewski’s playing

Some of the most detailed early reviews of Paderewski’s playing, and also of his compositions, appeared in *The Musical Times* before his first tour in the United States.

On 1 November 1890 Paderewski played Schumann’s *Piano Concerto in A minor*, Op. 54, among other solo works, at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham, South London. His interpretation of Schumann was greeted with disappointment on the part of the anonymous reviewer:

At the fourth Concert, on the 1st ult., Mr. Paderewski made his first appearance at these Concerts. As his opening solo he selected Schumann’s Concerto in A minor. It would naturally be thought that he would play the work in faultless manner; these hopes, however, were doomed to disappointment, and out of respect to undoubted genius it is sufficient to say that for some unaccountable reason his reading of the Concerto did not show the amount of refinement or sympathy which those who had before heard him play other pieces expected. In his later solos in the programme he charmed all by his beautiful playing of a Melody of his own, and of the Rhapsodie Hongroise of Liszt, as in these compositions he appeared to find work congenial to his disposition and talents.²⁴⁰

Paderewski’s second appearance at that venue (on 22 November) was reviewed more enthusiastically:

At the seventh Concert, on the 22nd ult., and the last it is possible to notice in these columns, Mr. Paderewski made his second appearance at Sydenham this season. He brought with him his own Concerto in A minor, for pianoforte and orchestra, which has been before heard in London, although this was the first performance at the Crystal Palace. The Concerto contains much that is characteristic of the peculiar genius of the composer – melody, graceful form, expressive cadences, and clever treatment. It is crowded with beautiful ideas, and each movement is most regular, and this bears evidence that the composer is sensible of the advantages of form. The solo portion was performed by the author in a truly artistic style. The orchestral accompaniment was well presented, and the whole performance was highly artistic and successful.

The Nocturne in B major by Chopin, and Liszt’s arrangement of Paganini’s ‘Campanella’ were beautifully played later in the Concert by Mr. Paderewski. Preference must be given, however to his reading of the Nocturne, which was remarkable for the rare feeling infused into it. The encore which was requested after the performance of these two pieces was well-deserved.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Anon., review of concert by Ignace Jan Paderewski, conducted by Manns, *The Musical Times*, 1 December 1890, no. 574, vol. 31, 728-29.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

But Paderewski received the greatest praise in the US, which placed him well above all the other pianists from 1890 for at least 20 years. At that time, when a pianist toured the US, his repertoire usually contained works composed before the 1870s, including many arrangements and transcriptions. However, some players, like Paderewski, were also talented composers who made use of this opportunity to incorporate their own works. Despite his later reputation, Paderewski's style of playing was not always admired. He commented in correspondence with Helena Górska during his first tour of America: 'In some ways working over beyond one's strength brought me benefits, because at least there was no reproach of my technique, but as regards the Beethoven, which was a polished performance and in fact I played with extreme calmness, they [the critics] have cruelly ill-treated it!'²⁴² Paderewski could on occasions be sensitive to adverse press criticism as is shown above.

Henry T. Finck's comments on Paderewski's performance style give a well-rounded view of an educated writer, given the somewhat flamboyant style of the time:

Perhaps the first thing that strikes the average spectator on seeing Paderewski at the piano is the entire absence of effort in his performance. He seems to shake the notes from his sleeves like a prestidigitateur; technical difficulties do not exist for him; indeed, from his playing one might fancy that there was no such thing as a difficult piece, and that anybody might do what seems so absurdly easy.²⁴³

Finck also commented on Paderewski's mass appeal:

The secret of Paderewski's success lies in this, that he makes us forget that there is such a thing as technique by his supreme mastery of it and by making the musical ideas he interprets so absorbingly interesting to all classes of hearers. Paradoxical as it may seem, it may be said that the genius of a musician is most unmistakably revealed in his power over the unmusical. Genius makes extremes meet.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Jagiellonian Library, Przyb. 127/01. A letter to H. Górska (New York, 20 December 1891).

²⁴³ H. T. Finck, *Paderewski and his art* (New York: Whittingham & Atherton, 1895), 23.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

Finck fails to mention that Paderewski was a good self-publicist. The artist's personality, compelling stage presence, and talent for 'PR' was a winning combination. The altruistic intentions of Paderewski's generous donations and charitable concerts might be questioned, but Finck genuinely believed in Paderewski's self-effacing sincerity, and took all his comments at face value:

Vanity is the principal cause of the failure of many brilliant pianists. They try to show the public not how beautiful the music of Chopin or Schumann is, but what clever performers they themselves are. The public soon notes their insincerity, and neglects their concerts. Paderewski, on the other hand, never plays *at* an audience. He hardly seems to play *for* it, but for himself. I once asked him if he ever felt nervous in playing, and he said he often did, but only because he feared he might not satisfy himself. He is his own severest critic.²⁴⁵

Did Paderewski 'fear' disappointing *only* himself, or perhaps the audience as well as it would have included critics and musicians who knew what a high standard of performance was? Paderewski, whose piano technique was acquired with difficulty, never entirely conquered his 'fears' about public performances. Moreover, it is obvious that giving recitals so often (sometimes on daily basis), adapting to numerous venues and the time taken to travel between them took its toll on the quality of his performances. Naturally, some performances would be variable. Although Paderewski's piano repertoire was extensive, he was more often praised for his interpretations of Chopin, Schumann and Liszt than of Bach or Mozart.

Unfortunately, few reviews describe Paderewski's technique in detail. For example, on his pedalling we merely read:

If occasion calls for it, Paderewski can convert the piano into a small stormy orchestra; but he has a way of his own for producing orchestral effects which depends on the skilful use of the pedals instead of on muscular gradations of forte and piano.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 24.

[...] So perfect is his pedalling that he never by any accident blurs his harmonies and passages, while at the same time he produces tone-colors never before dreamt of in a pianoforte. By rapid successive pressures of the pedal he succeeds in giving the piano a new power, that of changing the quality of a tone after it has been struck, as everyone must have noticed, for instance, in his performance of his popular Minuet.²⁴⁶

In many ways, Paderewski's greatest successes took place between 1890 and 1905.

During that period Richard Watson Gilder (the American poet and editor) rapturously praised Paderewski's interpretations thus:

How Paderewski plays! And was it he
Or some disbodied spirit that had rushed
From silence into singing; that had crushed
Into one startled hour a life's felicity,
And highest bliss of knowledge – that all life, grief, wrong
Turns at the last to beauty and to song!²⁴⁷

A similar, if less hyperbolic, description of Paderewski's charisma was undertaken by the American music critic Richard Aldrich, who wrote for *The New York Times*:

He came to America in the autumn of 1891 and gave his first concert in Carnegie Hall, with an orchestra, on November 17. The impression he made on the American public was deep and poignant from the very first; there was no mistaking the quality of the man and his art. It was a unique impression, of a sort, it might safely be said, such as no other solo artist ever quite achieved. He seemed to speak a new language in music; he raised its poetry, its magic, its mystery, its romantic eloquence, to a higher power than his listeners knew. To every one of them it seemed as if he spoke directly an individual appeal, touching the heart as never before. There was a beauty of line as well as of color and atmosphere, a poignance of phrase, a quality of tone, a lyrical accent such – so it seemed – as to make of his playing something never till then quite divined.²⁴⁸

Aldrich also noted Paderewski's gift as a composer, his support of charitable causes (for instance, founding the Paderewski Prize for American composers in 1895) and his political engagement with patriotic issues. All of these compounded Paderewski's success in America, for all were deliberately well-publicised:

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 26.

²⁴⁷ R. W. Gilder, 'How Paderewski Plays', *The Century Magazine*, vol. 45, no. 5 (March 1892), 727. <http://www.unz.org/Pub/Century-1892mar-00727>, accessed 30 November 2012.

²⁴⁸ R. Aldrich, 'Ignace Jan Paderewski in America', in *Paderewski: his country and its recent progress* (New York: Kościuszko Foundation, 1928), 7.

It is good to think that the American public's reaction toward one who has always put his technical powers so completely at the service of the highest ideals in music, was and has remained so immediate, so straight and so lasting; and that such influences as Mr. Paderewski has exerted have gained him lasting affection in the minds and hearts of the American people.²⁴⁹

When Paderewski returned from America and started to give his first concerts as a part of his European tour in 1893, even his compositions were frequently placed among those of such luminaries as Camille Saint-Saëns, Max Bruch and Pyotr Tchaikovsky. Paderewski's fame at that time was undisputable:

The final Concert of the season [15 June 1893] had a personal interest likewise, for not only was Mr. Paderewski one of its heroes, but also Max Bruch [...] Mr. Paderewski performed his own Concerto in A minor very brilliantly, receiving the kind of 'ovation' to which he is now accustomed, and at which, if he has any sense of humour, he must often be amused.²⁵⁰

But when Paderewski abandoned public performances and intensive practising in 1917 in favour of Polish politics, most observers assumed that he intended never to perform again. His recordings up to that time revealed a more impressive technique and perhaps more coherent interpretations than those after he resumed his career in 1922. However, his recordings up to 1930, when his contract with Victor records was cancelled show little diminution in his powers. But by the time he starred in the film *Moonlight Sonata* (1937) and played for his London recordings (the sessions in 1937 and 1938), he was beginning to show his age. Paderewski's last radio broadcasts (25 September 1938, Geneva and 26 February 1939, New York) did not always win him sympathisers. Listeners to his last recordings can sometimes hear a pounding sonority, passages lacking technical fluency, and an edgy *fortissimo*. On the one hand, that can be explained by those years when Paderewski had almost entirely stopped playing. On the other, his performing style had evidently also changed. As Dubal wrote much

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 10.

²⁵⁰ Anon., review of concert by Camille Saint-Saens, Max Bruch, Ignace Jan Paderewski and Władysław Górski, conducted by Mackenzie, *The Musical Times*, 1 July 1893, no. 605, vol. 34, 406-407.

more recently, 'His interpretations were often marred by mannerisms, and by one in particular – not playing the hands together. However, many still heard the poetry that was always somewhere apparent'.²⁵¹

From his *Memoirs*, Paderewski wrote that he considered his playing was at its peak during his first and second concert tours in the US (1891-93). These tours gave him the most astonishing popularity and fame. Paderewski was also a master in finding his own way to minimise the exhaustion caused by travelling miles from one state to the other. He could afford his own private Pullman railway car, with luxurious fittings. He was surrounded by a group of people who worked for his success and travelled with him most of the time, including his private doctor, cook and manager. Adopting this approach, Paderewski, having established his career playing in the biggest venues in the country, gave concert tours in America almost annually. He actually broke Thalberg's records with his touring.

But even many of the post-war performances were highly praised. In October 1926 Paderewski's recitals in Manchester were acclaimed by the English music critic, Samuel Langford.²⁵² Paderewski presented a long programme consisting of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, Liszt, Schelling and Stojowski, with his own *Nocturne in B flat major*, Op. 16, No. 4, among the encores. Langford observed at this stage of Paderewski's career noticeable changes in his style of playing. He pointed out:

²⁵¹ D. Dubal, *The Art of the Piano: Its Performers, Literature, and Recordings* (2nd edn., San Diego, New York, London: A Harvest Book, Harcourt Brace, 1995), 190.

²⁵² S. Langford, *Musical Criticisms*, ed. Neville Cardus (Oxford: Oxford University Press and London: Humphrey Milford, 1929), 97-103. I could not find any other reference elsewhere to these concerts, including in the 'complete' list of Paderewski's concerts compiled by M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy...* Between 19 May and December 1926 there is no other evidence of Paderewski giving concerts anywhere (M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy...*, 169). We ought, therefore, to add the Manchester recitals to any comprehensive account of Paderewski's performances.

[Paderewski] with a scrupulous fidelity to the great composers whom he was interpreting seemed hardly conscious of any other presence than their own. A keen lyricism is the master key to his interpretations, but, to one who had heard him play the bulk of his programme a quarter of a century ago, a ripe easefulness and reflectiveness seemed almost to make his playing on this occasion leisurely, so amply did he find room for himself in all his impetuous song.²⁵³

Langford also mentioned the success of Beethoven's *Sonata in C minor, No. 32, Op. 111*, and Schumann's *Carnaval, Op. 9*: 'He [Paderewski] has always made Schumann a strong and definite figure in his recitals – next, always, to the great classics and to Chopin. Perhaps he has given him a strength and largeness of mien even beyond his desserts'.²⁵⁴ The performance of Liszt's *Rhapsody* was 'the most poetic and technically elaborate of the whole series'. His interpretation of Chopin was mesmerising with 'swift, poignant, tragic, and incomparable' melody, presented with 'a perfection of technical accomplishment'.²⁵⁵

Other encomiums were of similar nature. In 1935 Tadeusz Szeligowski (a Polish composer and teacher), wrote an article after listening to Paderewski at a concert in Paris.²⁵⁶ Reflections on Paderewski's performance and teaching style were given to him by Polish students of Paderewski: Henryk Sztompka, Zygmunt Dygat and Władysław Szpinalski. Paderewski was greeted with a standing ovation and the first

²⁵³ Ibid., 98.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 100.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 102.

²⁵⁶ This article was entitled 'Jedno przeżycie. Na marginesie koncertu Paderewskiego w Paryżu [w 1935r.]' (One mood. Paderewski's concert in Paris [in 1935]), *Ruch Muzyczny*, 1 (1947), 13-15. In 1976 it was published as an introduction to the book by W. Dulęba and Z. Sokołowska, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski, mała kronika życia pianisty i kompozytora* (I. J. P. A brief chronicle of the life of the pianist and composer), (Kraków: PWM, 1960). 2nd revised edition, Paderewski (Kraków: PWM, 1976); in English (Kraków: PWM, 1979), 5-7. Unfortunately, there are no further details on the date of this concert and Perkowska in *Diariusz koncertowy...*, 192, does not mention any official concert by Paderewski that might have taken place in 1935 at all. There were certainly celebrations of Paderewski's 75th birthday. T. Szeligowski gave some further details of the concert: he referred to Paderewski playing in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées at 3pm, on an Érard grand piano. The programme, according to his account, was as follows: Brahms-*Variations and Fugue on a Theme by Handel*, Op. 24, Beethoven-*Sonata No. 15 in D major*, Op. 28, Chopin-*Sonata in B minor No. 3*, Op. 58, Brahms-*Hungarian Dance in D flat major No. 6*, Chopin-*Etude in A minor*, Op. 25 No. 11, a piece by Debussy and some by other composers.

piece, *Variations and Fugue on a Theme by Handel*, Op. 24 (Brahms), was preceded by a prelude improvisation. Szeligowski also described nuances that displeased him:

Paderewski, naturally, plays exquisitely, but I notice defects. So, the left hand never coordinates with the right one and is ahead, and finger work is not in any way better than the skills of other outstanding pianists. And, even the sound – which seemed to me extraordinary when I heard Paderewski last year playing in a symphony concert – that intriguing sound, disappeared. I am a little discontented. I am even happy to have reason to criticise such a titan, but I feel sorry for being able to detect faults.²⁵⁷

Szeligowski also could not understand Paderewski's *rubato*, present in unexpected places in Beethoven's *Sonata No. 15 in D major*, Op. 28. Nevertheless, Paderewski seemed to feel more settled playing Beethoven. During Chopin's *Sonata in B minor*, Op. 58, the sound apparently became hypnotic, expressing the deepest emotion. Szeligowski commented on Paderewski's ability to create such a penetrating sound:

I feel clearly that this [Paderewski] is not a pianist and not a human who just plays. It does not matter what he is doing on the piano, because he has this ability to put the listener through music into ecstasy, into other spheres, which makes words fail me. I am surprised at pianists who come just to see how Paderewski plays. I suppose they leave disappointed. Paderewski does not play either for pianists, nor for musicians – simply, he plays for people. He touches their every single nerve, every recess of the soul. He imposes concepts which must be accepted as the only possible resolution in that particular moment. The work that is played by Paderewski is only a pretext to manifest the charisma of this great artist.²⁵⁸

2.10 – Paderewski and his rivals

Paderewski meticulously followed the career development of pianists contemporary to him, such as Annette Essipoff, Franz Xaver Scharwenka and Eugen d'Albert, among others. In his *Memoirs*, there is no hint of any jealousy towards other pianists. The success of Paderewski's colleagues simply forced him to deepen his own work. Occasionally Paderewski presented slightly negative criticism of some other artists, possibly a result of his subconscious anxiety that his own achievements were

²⁵⁷ T. Szeligowski, *Jedno przeżycie*, 6. My own translation.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

insufficient to be assured about his prestige in the artistic world. For instance, at the beginning of his career and during his first tour in Europe, Paderewski was a rival of Eugen d'Albert. Sometimes Paderewski's fear seemed to get out of control:

In all Lamoureux' concerts [in Paris]²⁵⁹ other people are performing, including several new competitors. I feel so unsure of myself that I am almost afraid to compete against any random fool [...] Up to now I have not had any news from Lyon, in spite of the fact that I have been invited there in December. I do not know what has happened. I have not received any word in response to my telegram with a paid reply. Probably Menter [Sophie] or Sapielnikov [Vasily] had been invited there. They became fed up with my being there annually.²⁶⁰

George William Curtis in 'The Editor's Easy Chair' (1892) made an eloquent comparison between Paderewski and the earlier virtuoso Sigismond Thalberg. Curtis stated that Paderewski's fame would not eclipse Thalberg's, who represented a different style, but audiences preferred Paderewski's playing of Chopin to Thalberg 'athletically' performing technically complicated fantasias. Paderewski opened the gates of virtuosity to the younger generation, he claimed, while Thalberg's style ended with dignity the '*brillante*' era: 'But haughty To-day must not depreciate Thalberg. He was as truly the key to the general taste of Yesterday as Paderewski is to that of To-day'.²⁶¹ Paderewski's compatriot Ignaz Friedman admired Paderewski and his playing. Friedman and Paderewski both studied with Leschetizky, who could 'adapt himself to a pupil's talent with remarkable ease'.²⁶² Friedman, in a spoken tribute to Paderewski, praised him as a pianist, composer, patriot and orator. Paderewski's success was due

²⁵⁹ Paderewski refers to the orchestral concerts given by the Orchestre Lamoureux and established by Charles Lamoureux.

²⁶⁰ Jagiellonian Library, Przyb. 127/01. A letter to H. Górska (Vienna, 18 February 1891).

²⁶¹ G. W. Curtis, 'Editor's Easy Chair', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 85 (July 1892), 314.

²⁶² A. Evans, *Ignaz Friedman: Romantic Master Pianist* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 42.

chiefly to persistent hard work; and that was not a given for Friedman's fellow countrymen.²⁶³

Paderewski's most competitive rival was Moriz Rosenthal, for whom Paderewski was *persona non grata*, owing to the former's greater financial success. Count Enrico di San Martino Valperga, of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome (who made meticulous personal notes of the programmes and all the encores which Paderewski played in Rome) mentioned that Rosenthal asked for the same fees for his concerts as Paderewski, not necessarily even knowing what these were. That attitude sometimes put Rosenthal in a rather embarrassing position when it turned out that Paderewski had performed for nothing.²⁶⁴ In 1903 there was especial rivalry on the jury of the international competition in the Paris Conservatoire (organised by Prof. Louis Diémer). The twelve invited artists (Saint-Saëns, Massenet, Rosenthal and Paderewski among them) 'had served not as judges but as rivals'.²⁶⁵ However, Rosenthal, in spite of an astonishingly fluent technique, did not offer such ingenious phrasing and variety of tone colours. According to James Huneker, 'his [Rosenthal's] tone lacks the sensuousness of Paderewski and De Pachmann. But it is a mistake to set him down as a mere unemotional mechanic. He is in reality a Superman among pianists'.²⁶⁶

Philip Hale also compared the style of playing of Pachmann and Paderewski. Overall, he preferred Pachmann's sense of dynamics and balance in chords to Paderewski's

²⁶³ I. Friedman, *Friedman speaks on Paderewski* (recorded on 6 November 1940), New Zealand Radio transcription disc, Appendix B on 'Great Pianists: Friedman', Complete Recordings, Vol. V (Naxos Historical, CD 8.111114, English Columbia, recorded 1933-36, re-issued in 2006).

²⁶⁴ E. San Martino di Valperga, *Ricordi del Presidente. Regia Accademia di Santa Cecilia: I concerti dal 1895 al 1933. Parte I.* (Rome: Società tipografica A. Manuzio, 1933), 66-67.

²⁶⁵ M. Rosenthal, 'The Diémer Competition, Paris [1903]', published for the first time in M. Mitchell and A. Evans, (eds.), *Moritz Rosenthal in Words and Music*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

²⁶⁶ J. Huneker, *Franz Liszt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 432.

powerful playing, which sometimes affected the precision of his performances.²⁶⁷ Hale had a vision of the ideal tone colour and proportion that was lacking in Paderewski: 'We all know – for the testimony is unanimous and overwhelming – that Chopin never pounded, that his fortissimo was only the sonorous forte of a sensitive, poetic musician'.²⁶⁸

William Smyth Babcock Mathews, the composer and critic, also did not always approve of Paderewski's interpretations:

I was sorry not to have been able to enthuse with the others. Surely no one ever had the strength of forte to the degree of Mr. Paderewski. It was only occasionally that I heard a mezzoforte or a pianissimo. The constant forte was tiresome and deafening and even the poor Steinway cried out at times in a pitiful, tiring way, as if to protest, but no mercy was shown.²⁶⁹

Prof. W. S. B. Mathews' opinion about Paderewski's performance style was sometimes damning:

Aside from this deplorable poverty in molecular nuance, Mr. Paderewski has positive faults; or, rather, one great fault which vitiates his whole art. He pounds the piano most brutally; crowds even the noble Steinway piano, upon which he played, until its tone far passes beyond the domain of music. He adds to the pounding the animal trait of kicking the pedal, in order to add the noise of the whole frame of dampers falling upon the wires to the over-forced tone-volume; he put in a middle note or two in his sforzando octaves in the bass. This is work for the gallery – and for a very bad gallery at that. [...] When one had heard Paderewski one remembers to have seen him; one recalls the dim light, the 'lucrative hair', as Halle calls it, and the sentiment of the cantilena. One also remembers the pounding.²⁷⁰

For the much younger Artur Rubinstein, Paderewski was an eclectic figure who influenced his vision of music, especially his interpretation of Chopin and

²⁶⁷ M. Mitchell, *Vladimir de Pachmann: a piano virtuoso's life and art* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 40.

²⁶⁸ W.S.B. Mathews, *Music*, 17 (1900), 514.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nNlqAAAAYAAJ&q=Mr.Hale#search_anchor, accessed 26 September 2012.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 427. http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nNlqAAAAYAAJ&q=Mr.Paderewski#search_anchor, accessed 26 September 2012.

²⁷⁰ W. S. B. Mathews, *Music*, 17 (1900), 512, 515.

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nNlqAAAAYAAJ&q=noble+steinway#search_anchor,

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nNlqAAAAYAAJ&q=lucrative+hair#search_anchor, accessed 26 September 2012.

understanding of Romantic *rubato*. As a student, Rubinstein regarded Josef Hofmann as the only one who could match Paderewski's success in America. Rubinstein heard Paderewski's playing²⁷¹ during the first concert of the newly established Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra on 5 November 1901, which saw him performing his *Piano Concerto in A minor*, Op. 17, (conducted by Emil Młynarski) and works by other Polish composers (Żeleński, Stojowski, Moniuszko and Noskowski).²⁷²

In May 1902, at the recommendation of Joseph Joachim (the Hungarian violinist, who had a long friendship with Paderewski), Rubinstein travelled to Switzerland for the first time, to play to Paderewski. His playing of Brahms *Variations on a Theme of Paganini*, Op. 35, some miniature pieces and a Chopin's impromptu, obtained the older pianist's approval. At the same time, Rubinstein was able to listen to Paderewski's practising for about two hours. He appreciated Paderewski's sharing of 'all sorts of pianistic difficulties, pointing out brilliant fingerings, tricky pedalling, and other interesting sidelights'.²⁷³ Notwithstanding, the young Rubinstein had ambivalent feelings as regards Paderewski's overall interpretation, and concluded that his own musical taste differed significantly from Paderewski's: 'From time to time he enchanted me by a beautifully played phrase, or a lovely production of tone, which could be even moving, but he discouraged me a little by an exaggerated *rubato* and frequently broken chords. I became aware that my musical nature was far apart from his'.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ A. Rubinstein, *My Young Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 61.

²⁷² M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy*, 91-92.

²⁷³ Rubinstein, *My young years*, 78.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

During Rubinstein's second visit to Riond-Bosson (Summer, 1902), he admitted that Paderewski 'played his own compositions with perfect taste, without distorting phrases, as he did in other works'.²⁷⁵ After hearing Paderewski's interpretation of Chopin and 'his often arbitrary exaggerations of tempo and expression', Rubinstein confessed he temporarily adopted a peculiar 'opinion of Chopin [...] who wrote sentimental music for the piano, elegant and difficult, unable to express anything but melancholy'.²⁷⁶

Nevertheless, critics often did not consider the fact that Paderewski's variable level of technical skills was caused by too frequent concerts, often taking place day after day. Moreover, Paderewski was an extremely sensitive person and any unexpected situation, or someone's mercurial behaviour could easily badly affect his performance. That explains why he preferred not to be seen and contacted by anyone before his concerts. One such example took place in 1928. Paderewski's concert in the Arcadia Auditorium (12th March, Detroit) was far from his best. The night before, Jan Franciszek Smulski (a banker and a philanthropist; and close friend of Paderewski) committed suicide. Richard (Rich) Kujawa (Operations Manager at The Polish Museum of America in Chicago) argues that Smulski must have recently contacted Paderewski about his problems, or even his intentions, although this has never been proven, resulting in a disturbed performance at the recital.²⁷⁷ But on 31 March Paderewski gave a recital in Auditorium (Chicago) dedicated to Smulski which was superb.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 83.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 86.

²⁷⁷ Private correspondence with Richard Kujawa on the 5th March, 2013.

Conclusion

To conclude, we might return to the question asked earlier: Did Paderewski's playing suffer from the break during the First World War? Yes, it did. Paderewski's technique was not established when he was young, consequently, when he was unable to practise on a regular basis, while he was preoccupied with politics, he lost the technical freedom which he enjoyed previously. That resulted in notorious fear of a failure on stage and forced Paderewski to maintain murderous hours of practicing through his whole career. Without this regular practice his technique deteriorated quickly. Further anxiety was caused by reviews written by both Paderewski's admirers and fervent opponents. George Bernard Shaw's negative criticism in 1890 left its mark on Paderewski to the end of his life, as he recalled in his *Memoirs*:

Shaw's criticism, or perhaps I might say, his attack upon me was almost as violent as he declared my attack was upon the piano! It was his criticism of my first concert and he said [...] that I was a harmonious blacksmith who laid a concerto on the piano as upon an anvil, and hammered it out with exuberant enjoyment – words not easily forgotten!²⁷⁸

Elsewhere Paderewski added:

The criticisms at that time [London, 1890] I was very eager to read and, naturally, they made me unhappy and, I must admit, a trifle nervous. But after I had read a few of the first criticisms, I found it perfectly useless to make myself needlessly nervous with such reading. It affected me too deeply.²⁷⁹

Despite his severe criticism (including of Paderewski's supposedly exaggerated *rubato* in playing Romantic repertoire (particularly in the works by Chopin and Schumann), Shaw later became one of Paderewski's most steadfast supporters. Paderewski's playing was, therefore, highly variable, and cannot be judged only by reading

²⁷⁸ I. J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *Memoirs*, 172.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

individual reviews or by listening merely to his last recordings or watching the *Moonlight Sonata* film. The latter could provoke criticism of a tired old man whose time had passed. Gama Gilbert, reviewing Paderewski's last American tour (in 1939), tried to assess his playing together with his reputation:

Appearing now as artist, he is in a certain sense giving more of himself than ever before [...] Facing the challenges of his own unique standards – already aggrandized by the memoirs of his listeners – Paderewski, the living musician, has triumphed over Paderewski, the legend. If his performances disappointed the perfectionists, they have, on the other hand, shamed doubt and cynicism from the minds of thousands. And none who heard him has been unmoved by his courage. It is good to think that the American musical public, responding so warmly to his current appearances, is paying homage to a man, not a myth.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ G. Gilbert, 'Paderewski', 38.

http://www.oldmagazinearticles.com/Ignaz_Ja_Paderewski_Article_pdf, accessed 5 December 2012.

Chapter 3: Paderewski as teacher

Introduction

The pedagogical accomplishments of Paderewski seem to be considerably less impressive than those of Leschetizky if one relies only on the contemporary written sources that are easily accessible. Leschetizky established a class of pupils who gained worldwide renown – his class included Ignaz Friedman, Artur Schnabel, Benno Moiseiwitsch and Mieczysław Horoszewski. Moreover, Paderewski cannot be regarded as a ‘typical’ representative of the Leschetizky school, as the expression in his playing was more striking than his technical ability. But Paderewski did have some reasonably successful students, and he kept up an intensive correspondence with many of them (particularly with Szpinalski, Dygat and Noskowski) to the very end of his life. A large collection of letters of Paderewski’s students is currently held in the Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archives) in Warsaw. This collection initially came from Riond-Bosson and was taken to Poland after Paderewski’s last will was found. It included 64 chests containing letters, works of art and souvenirs. The documents and letters comprise 45,000 folders and occupy 36.5 meters of shelves.²⁸¹ But little of this has been published.

A general list of Paderewski’s pupils would include pianists and composers, with a predominant number of Poles. The so-called ‘first generation of students’, who

²⁸¹ K. Starczak-Kozłowska, ‘Księżyc mojej ojczyzny’, *Nowy Kurier* (Polish-Canadian Independent Courier), 1-15 December 2010, No. 23 (1013), 1, 16.
<http://www.nowykurier.com/pdf/1013.pdf>, accessed 18 January 2013.

worked with Paderewski around the turn of the 20th century, included Sigismond Stojowski and Ernest Schelling. The 'second generation', from about 1910 for the next twenty years, was represented by Aleksander Brachocki, Zygmunt Dygat, Henryk Sztompka, Stanisław Leopold Szpinalski and Albert Tadlewski. Michał Kondracki, Feliks Łabuński, Stanisław Nawrocki and Piotr Perkowski, were, strictly speaking, not piano pupils, but Polish composers who often played for Paderewski and worked on their compositions with him.²⁸² One might add to the general list Witold Małcużyński and Antonina Szumowska-Adamowska. By this time Paderewski had established a home in Morges and was able to receive all these usually at Riond-Bosson, but occasions sometimes arose where he would give lessons elsewhere, for example, in Paris.

In the US, the popular **Władziu Valentino Liberace** played for Paderewski, who noticed his potential and advised him to use only his surname as an artistic calling-card. In the 1930s Liberace decided to leave classical music and became one of the most popular and the richest showmen and TV personalities in the USA.²⁸³ The tone colours and hand movements observed on audio-visual recordings of Chopin (particularly *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53), Beethoven (*Moonlight Sonata*) and Paderewski's *Minuet in G major*, Op. 14 No. 1, frequently show extraordinary similarities to Paderewski's playing, as recorded in a *Moonlight Sonata* film. Even the tempo of the *Polonaise in A flat major* is similar to Paderewski's interpretation of the

²⁸² The division into the 'first and second generation of Paderewski's students' was suggested by Zygmunt Dygat, who considered their age. Z. Dygat, 'Lekcja z Paderewskim' (A Lesson with Paderewski), *Życie muzyczne i teatralne* (Music and theatrical life), vol. 2 no. 5/6 (May-June 1935), 27-28. Translated by Maria Piłatowicz.

http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/4.2.01/dygatpaderewski.html, accessed 18 January 2013.

²⁸³ Anon., <http://liberace.inmemoriam.org/>, accessed 18 January 2013.

same piece (in *Moonlight Sonata* film).²⁸⁴ Comparisons with performances by other contemporary pianists are made in Chapter 4, pp. 204-256.

But only a few Paderewski's students wrote about their memories of Paderewski and lessons with him. These articles appeared mostly in Polish music journals. I would argue that these reminiscences create only a vague picture of Paderewski, as they do not give a detailed account of his comments on their playing. The letters in the *Archiwum Akt Nowych* present a more detailed and specific view of Paderewski's teaching.

3.1 – Lessons with Paderewski

Zygmunt Dygat, in an article published in *Życie muzyczne i teatralne*,²⁸⁵ drew an idealised picture of Paderewski as an extraordinarily charismatic personality:

The person of Paderewski emanated a wondrous light, goodness and grandeur all rolled into one, that rendered one timid in his presence. Yet, just a few of his words would put one at ease. Gazing in his eyes made one much like a child, filled with love and respect, aspiring to be better.²⁸⁶

Paderewski did not play for his students very often, but mostly discussed particular moments of a certain piece and suggested alternative interpretative solutions.²⁸⁷

Proper accentuation and rhythm, convincing dynamics, phrasing and overall musical expression were Paderewski's targets. Dygat also outlines important aspects of Paderewski's use of the pedals, which supported good legato and continuity of

²⁸⁴ *Moonlight Sonata*, dir. Lothar Mendes (B&W, U.K., 1937).

²⁸⁵ Z. Dygat, *Lekcja*,

http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/4.2.01/dygatpaderewski.html, accessed 18 January 2013.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ H. Brower, *Piano Mastery* (New York: Frederick A Stokes Company, 1915), 39-45.

melodic flow. Paderewski knew exactly how to use these. However, Dygat's comments on his lessons are far from detailed. He describes a class of several pupils as follows:

Paderewski sits at the upright; we are at the grand piano. One of us is selected to play first. Paderewski listens attentively and is very serious. There is a feeling of great spiritual effort in the air. After a few moments Paderewski stops the performer and comments upon his work. [...] All the while, he says, the playing has to be wholesome, clear, without false sentimentality, yet, truly poetic. While studying piano one has to think about all that long and hard – but when all the intellectualizing is done one must forget it and just play; if one plays with one's heart and has something to say it will always find its expression in the music.²⁸⁸

It is essential to be aware of the fact that Paderewski's students were not beginners, but often already quite well established concert pianists. For instance, Szpinalski was recommended to Paderewski after winning the second prize at the 1st International Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw (1927). Małcużyński was awarded the third prize at the third session of this competition in 1937. Even Szumowska-Adamowska, who did not have as extensive career as her colleagues, was a well-recognised teacher and a chamber player with her husband, the violinist, Józef Adamowski. It is not surprising, therefore, that lessons concentrated on the general interpretation of a piece, with more detailed work on particular aspects, but usually not on basic technique:

Sometimes when our Master played I observed my colleagues listening and noted in their faces the effort to retain his every remark, to memorize every sound. And what a joy it was when after one of us finished playing his piece Paderewski would say: 'This will be a great number'. These sessions with Paderewski were more than just piano lessons – they were generous gifts of such treasures as truth, sentiment and affection. [...] And for the Maestro we felt love, deep attachment and gratitude.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Z. Dygat, *Lekcja*,
http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/4.2.01/dygatpaderewski.html, accessed 18 January 2013.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

In the same issue of *Życie muzyczne i teatralne*,²⁹⁰ **Antonina Szumowska-Adamowska** published her reflections on Paderewski's character, but also failed to offer many details relating to her own experience of having lessons with him:

The most striking characteristic of Paderewski, according to the most intimate circle of people who shared his daily life, was his great kindness, which emanated from his person and created around him an aura of warmth, congeniality and sympathy. [...] He, who was always surrounded by adoring crowds, favored by the rich and eminent of this world, took lively interest in matters vital not only to his relatives, or students, but also to the most common domestic help.²⁹¹

It is not clear whether Szumowska knew about Paderewski's numerous gifts of financial aid to his students, for example to Szpinalski (for his education and debut in London) and to Nawrocki (to treat his nervous breakdown). It is also not known whether Paderewski helped Szumowska herself in this manner at any stage of her career, but she might have been aware of his actions, as Paderewski's students from Poland enjoyed friendly relations with each other:

He was compassionate whenever the need arose and always ready to come to one's aid with great generosity and open-handedness. His action was spontaneous, almost like a reflex, which he then promptly forgot, so that his closest family often learned about his charity incidentally and long after the deed had been done. [...] Yet, artistic nature is full of contradictions and Paderewski, when irritated, could lose his temper and become (to be sure only for a moment) cruel. Then he was quick to retract. He was sorry for his anger and ready to do plenty to erase the impression or compensate for it.²⁹²

The Polish pianist and composer **Aleksander Brachocki**, after failing to gain recognition abroad, came back to Poland in 1933 to become a piano teacher at Śląskie Konserwatorium Muzyczne (Silesian Music Conservatory) in Katowice. In 1934 he started to teach in a Music School in Cieszyn (a newly established department of the Silesian Conservatory). That was to become the first school to be named after

²⁹⁰ A. Adamowska, 'Paderewski w życiu prywatnym' (The Private Life of Paderewski), *Życie muzyczne i teatralne* (Music and theatrical life), vol. 2 no. 5/6 (May-June 1935), 23-24. Translated by Maria Piłatowicz.

http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/4.2.01/adamowska.html#1, accessed 19 January 2013.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

Paderewski with his own approval, in 1939, at the instigation of his friend Professor Jan Drozd, who became its first director.²⁹³

In 2012 the fortnightly music newspaper *Ruch Muzyczny* published Brachocki's memoirs of Paderewski,²⁹⁴ which are held in the Archiwum Polish Institute of Art and Sciences in the USA (New York).²⁹⁵ Brachocki, in a contrast to other Paderewski students, clearly specifies the dates when he belonged to the group – Paderewski usually taught in July and August. He declared that Paderewski's students were chosen by 'the maestro himself'.²⁹⁶ However, this cannot be the whole story, as according to the letters to Paderewski introducing Nawrocki and Szpinalski, one could only go to Riond-Bosson on the recommendation of prominent teachers, politicians and others who had worked with Paderewski.²⁹⁷ If these referees had not used their various connections with Paderewski, the students would never have had the slightest chance of going to Riond-Bosson, especially owing to Swiss official entry restrictions applying to people holding Polish nationality or having a Polish background.

²⁹³ Anon., Państwowa Szkoła Muzyczna I i II Stopnia w Cieszynie im. Ignacego Paderewskiego, 7 January 2010 http://psmcieszyn.ox.pl/psm/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=54, accessed 19 January 2013.

²⁹⁴ A. Brachocki, "Oto panna młoda": Wspomnienie o Ignacym Janie Paderewskim dedykowane Róży Szewc, przyjaciółce rodziny Brachockich, sekretarce doradcy prawnego p. Marii Linke, teściowej Aleksandra Brachockiego' ("Here is the bride": A memory of Ignaz Jan Paderewski dedicated to Róża Szewc – a friend of the Brachocki family, a secretary to the legal adviser of Mrs. Maria Linke and a mother-in-law of Aleksander Brachocki'), *Ruch Muzyczny*, 26, 23 December 2012. Footnotes were added by Joseph Herter. <http://www.ruchmuzyczny.pl/PelnyArtykul.php?id=200>, accessed 19 January 2013.

²⁹⁵ Archiwum Polish Institute of Art and Sciences, USA (New York), collection no. 43 'The Marguerite Merrington Papers', folder no. 12, 19-23.

²⁹⁶ A. Brachocki, *Oto panna*, <http://www.ruchmuzyczny.pl/PelnyArtykul.php?id=200>, accessed 8 July 2013.

²⁹⁷ One example of that is a recommendation letter of Stanisław Szpinalski, dated on the 16th March 1928 and sent to Paderewski in New York on the 20th March 1928. It was signed by such prominent Polish persons as: Aleksander Krakowski (Cardinal), Wojciech Trąmpczyński (Marshal of the Sejm and Senate), Stanisław Wojciechowski (former President of Poland), Ignacy Baliński (Senator), Andrzej Wierzbicki (parliamentary representative), Antoni Szlagowski (Priest and Rector of Warsaw University), Stanisław Niewiadomski (Professor of Conservatory in Warsaw and Lwów) and others. AAN AP, sygn. 558, 1. (The New Archive of Paderewski, folder no. 558, page 1). 'Szpinalski Stanisław; 1928-1940'.

Although the main subject of Brachocki's article is a reminiscence of the wedding of Silvio – Paderewski's chauffeur,²⁹⁸ Brachocki also recalled lessons at Riond-Bosson:

There were five of us: Zygmunt Dygat who came from Paris, Henryk Sztompka from Warsaw, Leopold Szpinalski from London, who was called from the very beginning 'Stanisław' by Paderewski, Albert Tadlewski from Nicaea, who was a director of the International Music Conservatory there, and me – the only American. [...] He [Paderewski] was a demanding teacher. These were strenuous, marvelous and unforgettable months. He made comments to each of us, while the rest, who were obliged to be present at the lessons, listened to them. The lessons started in early afternoon and usually lasted until nine or ten in the evening, with a break only for a cup of tea. Occasionally they dragged on until eleven, or even later. Then a supper was served. The meeting ended with bridge, regardless of the time – what an excellent bridge player Paderewski was!²⁹⁹

Little is known of Paderewski's lessons with **Witold Małcużyński** and, as far as I am aware, none of the correspondence between the two artists (if there was any) has been preserved. Nevertheless, Małcużyński regarded himself as Paderewski's pupil and credited his success in the 3rd International Piano Competition in Warsaw (third prize, 1937) to lessons with Paderewski.³⁰⁰ But it is noteworthy that none of Paderewski's students mentioned Małcużyński's name in any letters which survive. Following a request from Józef Turczyński,³⁰¹ Małcużyński had been able to obtain some piano lessons with Paderewski in Morges,³⁰² but that was only on a limited basis. Other beneficiaries of Turczyński's sponsorship were Szpinalski and Sztompka, who were his regular students at Konserwatorium Muzyczne (Music Conservatory) in Warsaw before they joined Paderewski's class.

²⁹⁸ A. Brachocki, *Oto panna*. According to Joseph Herter's footnote, Silvio's real name was Gaudenzio Mongini and his bride was Begnigna Ogarno. The ceremony took place in the Saint Francis De Sales Roman-Catholic Church in Morges, on 3 September 1931.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. My own translation.

³⁰⁰ S. Dybowski, *Witold Małcużyński*, <http://pl.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/detail/id/206>, accessed 19 January 2013.

³⁰¹ Professor Józef Turczyński led piano class in Konserwatorium Muzyczne (Music Conservatory) in Warsaw. He taught the most distinguished and promising young Polish pianists.

³⁰² Ibid.

It is probable that many more pianists than we know of visited Paderewski in Riond-Bosson for occasional consultation lessons. Many relevant documents were lost after Paderewski's death. For instance, **Władysław Kędra** (the winner of the fifth prize at the 4th International Frederic Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw in 1949) came to Riond-Bosson in 1938,³⁰³ but there is no further evidence that he ever played for Paderewski again in later years. However, Kędra referred specifically to Paderewski's piano lessons: 'The biggest emphasis was laid by Paderewski on the matters of touch, tone colour, clarity of playing and perfect use of the pedal; also, on avoiding superfluous movements, proper hand position and appropriate posture at the piano'.³⁰⁴ From his use of the term 'students' one can deduce that he must have been attending lessons with other Paderewski pupils.

On the one hand, being known as Paderewski's student enabled a pupil to attract a gratifying number of listeners to a concert. This fact was effectively used by **Henryk Sztompka**, who even chose for his debut in Paris on 24 January 1932 the *Polish Fantasy* by Paderewski.³⁰⁵ On the other hand, knowing young, promising pianist-composers was also beneficial to Paderewski, who incorporated their pieces into his concert programmes, promoting the composer at the same time. Stojowski's *By the Brookside*, his *Piano Concerto in A flat major*, Op. 32, and *Chant d'amour*, Op. 26 No. 3, were performed by Paderewski in the USA and Europe (Paris) between 1899 and

³⁰³ S. Dybowski, *Osoby związane z Chopinem: Władysław Kędra*, (Persons related to Chopin: Władysław Kędra), <http://pl.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/detail/id/566>, accessed 11 March 2013.

³⁰⁴ W. Kędra, *Ignacy Paderewski* (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne PWM, 1948), 13-14. My own translation.

³⁰⁵ Anon., *Henryk Sztompka*, <http://pl.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/detail/id/26>, accessed 19 January 2013.

1931.³⁰⁶ Noskowski's *Krakowiak* was played by Paderewski in Poland in 1880 in Warsaw, and in 1884 in Kraków, a long time before he was famous.³⁰⁷ Schelling's *Nocturne à Raguse* and the Wagner-Schelling *Tristan and Isolde Prelude* were presented in the USA and Australia on concert tours between 1925 and 1931.³⁰⁸ Paderewski also recorded several Schelling and Stojowski pieces.³⁰⁹ In appreciation, Stojowski dedicated some of his pieces to Paderewski – the *Sonata in A major for Piano and Violoncello*, Op. 18, the *Symphony in D minor*, Op. 21, the *Piano Concerto No. 2 in A flat major*, Op. 32 and the *Lullaby* for solo piano, composed after Paderewski's death in 1941.³¹⁰ Moreover, on 5 November 1901 in the Concert Hall of the Warsaw Philharmonic, Paderewski's *Piano Concerto in A minor*, Op. 17 (played by the composer and conducted by Emil Młynarski) appeared in a programme together with Stojowski's *Symphony in D minor*, Op. 21, which had already won the Paderewski Competition for Composers.³¹¹

Zygmunt Stojowski had become Paderewski's pupil in 1891; soon they became friends. A mutual trust can be detected in a proposition made by Paderewski to

³⁰⁶ M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Paderewski's concert diary) (Kraków: PWM, 1990), 235.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 227

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 231, 235.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 231, 235. Details of the recordings are as follows:

Ernest Schelling: *Nocturne à Raguse*

[New York 20 V 1926 HMV DB-1029, Victor 6700, (CVE 35619 and 3 35620-1)] and Duo-

Art piano roll no. 7215

Richard Wagner/Ernest Schelling: *Tristan and Isolde Prelude*

[New York 14 X 1930 Victor 7324 or 7342 JI-51, (CVE 64331/2-2/3)]

Zygmunt Stojowski: *By the Brookside*

[New York 11 XII 1926 HMV DA-869, Victor 1426, (BE 37122-3)]

Chant d'amour Op. 26, No. 3

[London VII 1912 HMV 2-045502, DB-378, Victor 88436, (CVE 37121-2)]

³¹⁰ J. A. Herter (ed.), 'Z. Stojowski's 'Paderewski as I knew him', *The Polish Review*, vol. 49, no. 4 (2004), 1027-1043.

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/25779501?uid=2134&uid=377469333&uid=2&uid=70&uid=3&uid=377469323&uid=60&sid=21101682881797>, accessed 20 January 2013.

³¹¹ M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy*, 91-92.

Stojowski to take a role in the formation of a new government to address the re-establishment of an independent Poland (1918); however, he refused this offer and stayed in the USA.³¹² Although Stojowski did not take an active part in politics, his ideas coincided with Paderewski's. Stojowski's planned book, *Intimate Memories of Paderewski* – political and musical reminiscences – was intended as a tribute to Paderewski. Regrettably, for unknown reasons, the book was not published until decades later. The original version is in the Marguerite Merrington Papers (Collection no. 43, Folder no. 16) at the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York, and was finally published in *The Polish Review* in 2004.³¹³ Stojowski was the founder of the Polish Institute of Arts and Letters in New York (1932-37), which was a predecessor of today's Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences.³¹⁴ Other articles published about Paderewski by Stojowski include: 'Ignacy Jan Paderewski' in Harriette Brower's *Piano Mastery: Talks with Master Pianists and Teachers* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1915), 'Paderewski, the Unique', *Poland America*, vol. 13, no. 5 (May 1932), 221-223, and 'Paderewski w świetle moich wspomnień i wierzeń' (Paderewski in the Light of My Memories and Beliefs), *Życie Muzyczne i Teatralne*, no. 5/6 (1935), 5-11.³¹⁵

As Stojowski recalled, he travelled to Morges regularly from 1897 until 1914. At first, from 1891-97, his lessons had taken place in Paris, before Paderewski's move to

³¹² M. Kosińska, *Zygmunt Stojowski (Sigismond Stojowski)*, Polskie Centrum Informacji Muzycznej, Związek Kompozytorów Polskich (Polish Centre of Musical Information, Society of Polish Composers), October 2006.

http://www.culture.pl/baza-muzyka-pelna-tresc/-/eo_event_asset_publisher/eAN5/content/zygmunt-stojowski-sigismond-stojowski, accessed 19 January 2013.

³¹³ J. A. Herter, 'Editor's Introduction', *Z. Stojowski's Paderewski as I knew him*, 1027.

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/25779501?uid=2134&uid=377469333&uid=2&uid=70&uid=38&uid=377469323&uid=60&sid=21101682881797>, accessed 20 January 2013.

³¹⁴ M. Kosińska, *Zygmunt Stojowski*.

³¹⁵ Taken from J. A. Herter, 'Editor's Introduction', 1027.

Morges. Apart from the times when Paderewski was on tour, 'I continued my work with him into maturity in the closest musical and personal association whenever opportunity made this possible'.³¹⁶ An intense concentration, to which Paderewski had accustomed himself by tremendous self-discipline, was demanded from his students. Stojowski referred to one lesson (at Salins-Moutiers, Savoy) in which Paderewski seemed to excel even himself in this (in the presence of Helena Paderewska), 'a lesson, scheduled to last for one hour, in full swing after four times that duration. [...] she [Mrs Paderewska] started to reproach the pupil [Stojowski] for lack of concentration, but Paderewski cut her short, assuming all the blame, 'Of course, I want to tell him everything *now!*'³¹⁷

Conversations about vital political matters and other artists were often mentioned by Stojowski. Paderewski liked to surprise the students by checking if a certain piece had been practised as advised, and 'he would suddenly ask for a Beethoven Sonata that had been neglected for weeks'.³¹⁸ Paderewski, when accepting students, did not allow them to give public performances without his official agreement.³¹⁹ Stojowski admired Paderewski for his serious approach to every performance: 'Even though he was ever at ease and fond of people, he would never see anyone before a concert, desiring instead to feel isolated and impersonal on stage. Even the sight of a friend in the hall disturbed him'.³²⁰

³¹⁶ Z. Stojowski, *Paderewski*, 1033.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ A. Brachocki, *Oto panna*,

<http://www.ruchmuzyczny.pl/PelnyArtykul.php?id=200>, accessed 20 January 2013.

³²⁰ Z. Stojowski, *Paderewski*, 1039.

Paderewski always took a kindly interest in his pupils' careers. He gave them advice concerning good programme building, although he was sometimes 'reproached for the conservative nature' of this. Afterwards, the actual performance was subject to critical assessment. Listening to oneself was a supreme priority.³²¹ In return, pupils were pleased to play his compositions not only for their own public recitals, but also for Paderewski during private concerts in Riond-Bosson, such as on 26 August 1931, when Brachocki performed his *Thème varié*, Op. 16, No. 3, and Tadlewski the *Fantaisie Polonaise*, Op. 19.³²² Stojowski mentioned two concert appearances with Paderewski works to which Paderewski came unannounced: in the Mendelssohn Hall in London (23 January 1907; *Variations and Fugue in E flat minor*, Op. 23³²³); and at the Von Ende School of Music in New York (15 December 1916; *Thème varié*, Op. 16, No. 3³²⁴). Paderewski's compositions, in Stojowski's opinion, 'seem to be somewhat underrated; [it] may be due to his fame as virtuoso, which most likely had pushed the composer into his own shadow'.³²⁵

Analysis of correspondence between Paderewski and another of his pupils, **Ernest Schelling**, makes it obvious that not all of Paderewski's students were looking for systematic and intensive work with their teacher. Schelling's letters and documents, preserved in the Hoover Institution (Stanford University, California, US), have never

³²¹ Ibid., 1040-1041.

³²² M. Perkowska, *Diariusz koncertowy*. A photo of the concert programme appears on page 59 of this book.

³²³ Anon., 'Mr. Stojowski's Recital: A Programme Of His Own Cello Sonata and Paderewski's New Variations', *The New York Times*, 24 January 1907.

<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9D02E6D8153EE033A25757C2A9679C946697D6CF>, accessed 20 January 2013.

³²⁴ Z. Stojowski, *Paderewski*, 1040.

³²⁵ Z. Stojowski, 'Paderewski in Light of My Recollections and Beliefs', *Polish Music Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2002). Translated by Marek Żebrowski.

http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/issue/5.2.02/paderewskistojowski.html, accessed 20 January 2013.

been published in their entirety. They mostly consist of social and cultural documents not relevant to musical matters. But in these letters Schelling reveals his respect for Paderewski and a deep friendship from 1896 (when Schelling travelled to the Tatra Mountains in Poland to become Paderewski's student).³²⁶ Maciej Skierski (Senior Curator at the Hoover Institution) has suggested that 'much of their interaction was never recorded' due to the proximity between Schelling's summer home in Switzerland and Riond-Bosson. Additionally, Paderewski visited Schelling frequently during all his American tours.³²⁷ The extensive Schelling archive was donated to the Hoover Institution by Helen 'Peggy' Marshall, Schelling's second wife, later known as Mrs Janos Scholz.³²⁸ But, the Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archives) in Warsaw holds the most substantial volume of Schelling's actual letters to Paderewski. Although Paderewski's replies have not been collected, Schelling's letters draw a clear picture of the priorities which were at the core of this correspondence: musical and political matters. Other memorabilia and papers of Schelling were initially donated by his family to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Subsequently, the rest of their holdings were given to the International Piano Archives at Maryland (IPAM).

Another pupil of Paderewski who cannot be ignored is *Stanisław Szpinalski*. A very large collection of his letters to Paderewski is held by the Archiwum Akt Nowych. I discovered that he was corresponding with Paderewski on a monthly, or sometimes a quarterly basis. It seems from this correspondence that Szpinalski had a lot in

³²⁶ M. Skierski, 'Ernest Schelling's Papers and Memorabilia Come to Hoover', <http://www.hoover.org/library-and-archives/acquisitions/120346>, accessed 11 March 2013.

³²⁷ Private correspondence with Maciej Skierski on 23 January 2013.

³²⁸ M. Skierski, *Ernest Schelling's Papers*.

common with his teacher in aesthetic outlook, much more than the rest of the second generation of Paderewski's students.

Initially, Szpinalski was not convinced that he should devote his life in its entirety to becoming a pianist, and after graduating from the Music Conservatory in Warsaw in 1925 he immediately went to Paris to receive further training both from Ricardo Viñes for piano and Louis Aubert for composition.³²⁹ He made his debut in the Salle Pleyel in 1925, but his final decision to become a concert pianist was not taken until two years later, when he received the second prize in the 1st International Frederic Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw. Although this success enabled him to give numerous concerts in Europe, Szpinalski still wanted to improve his tone colour and piano technique. On Turczyński's recommendation, Szpinalski visited Paderewski in Riond-Bosson in 1928, and worked with him on a regular basis during every summer until 1933. Szpinalski undertook intensive worldwide concert tours until 1934, when he decided to settle down in Vilnius (now the capital city of Lithuania) and accepted the position of director and piano teacher at the Music Conservatory there. After the Second World War, he came back to Poland and was rector of the State Higher Music Academy in Warsaw (now called the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music). His rare performances from that time all took place in Europe, and demonstrated that he still maintained a sensitive approach to interpretation in spite of a serious rheumatism.³³⁰

Becoming Paderewski's student consolidated Szpinalski's career. Szpinalski paid tribute to Paderewski in 1932, but his comments nevertheless often sound somewhat

³²⁹ S. Dybowski, *Osoby*,
<http://en.chopin.nifc.pl/chopin/persons/text/id/23>, accessed 11 March 2013.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

naive and superficial: 'By no means did Paderewski teach us to imitate his own playing; he was teaching the absolute art, which we colour individually on our own. I suppose faithfulness to the score is by common consent a warranty against our own mannerisms and resembling the master'.³³¹ Paderewski's influence on Szpinalski's approach to music was many-sided. Dr Tomasz Baranowski, of the Institute of Musicology in the Uniwersytet Warszawski (University of Warsaw), suggested that Szpinalski used only his second name Stanisław for artistic purposes (his first name was Leopold). According to Baranowski's article, that was suggested by Paderewski, who apparently once said that 'a Polish artist should use a Polish name'.³³² But there is admittedly no documentation to this effect. Szpinalski often recalled in a humorous way that Paderewski could never remember his first name, Leopold, and during the classes with other Polish pianists, somehow Stanisław was easier for Paderewski.

I shall now move on to the extensive private correspondence of those of Paderewski's pupils who had the most frequent contact and piano lessons with their teacher. These include: Stanisław Szpinalski, Stanisław Nawrocki, Henryk Sztompka and Ernest Schelling. The letters from students mentioned above are almost all preserved in their entirety in the Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archive) in Warsaw. As has been mentioned already, these letters have never been published, nor indeed quoted from, in Poland or abroad.³³³ There is no trace of Paderewski's own letters addressed to his

³³¹ 'Bractwo Paderewskiego'. Czwórka polskich pianistów spod ręki wielkiego mistrza [wywiad ze Stanisławem Szpinalskim i Henrykiem Sztompką], ('Paderewski's guild'. Four Polish pianists from under tutelage of great master-interview with Stanisław Szpinalski and Henryk Sztompka), *Express Poranny*, 1 November 1932, 6. My own translation.

³³² T. Baranowski, *Z kart historii pianistyki polskiej... Stanisław Leopold Szpinalski* (From the sheets of Polish pianism... Stanisław Leopold Szpinalski), <http://chopin.man.bialystok.pl/Dokumenty/Publikacje/05-04.pdf>, accessed 11 March 2013.

³³³ Wherever I quote materials from the New Archive in Warsaw, as shown in the footnotes, I offer my own translation.

students, but through reading the correspondence that has survived, it is often possible to deduce Paderewski's answer, particularly when in consecutive letters students respond to Paderewski's advice concerning practising and work planning, agents, critical reviews, programmes for recitals, personal circumstances and various financial matters.

As mentioned, the most substantial and impressive correspondence not only in its length, but most of all in its openness in discussing private issues, is that from Szpinalski. Szpinalski wrote letters and had personal contact with Paderewski between 1928 and 1931. He was determined to develop his pianism, in spite of the fact that he had already won the second prize in the 1st International Frederic Chopin Piano Competition in Warsaw in January 1927. He forwarded numerous concert reviews to Paderewski, together with inexhaustible self-criticism, which leaves no doubt that he wanted to make sure Paderewski received frequent information about his progress. In many of the letters Szpinalski discussed his financial difficulties at the beginning of his career and also those of his family, with particular attention to his brother (who struggled in the highly competitive musical environment of Chicago as a violin teacher and player). I discuss below mostly those issues touched upon in the letters which directly relate to piano performance practice.

A typical vignette from the correspondence is as follows: On 11 February 1929 Szpinalski wrote to Paderewski from Warsaw informing him about his progress. From this we can deduce that Paderewski had already listened to Szpinalski in Morges and

had given him advice to 'reorganise all his activities', which Szpinalski did.³³⁴ That included intensive English lessons (three times a week) and also lessons in harmony and counterpoint (twice a week) with Marczewski in Warsaw:

I am excited about him [Marczewski]; each lesson lasts for two hours. He also gives me a lot of homework to do, so every day I spend one hour on this. I work on my piano playing as you have recommended me to do – five hours with breaks. At the moment I am working only on Chopin, because I have worked on Beethoven, Schumann and the others already very scrupulously in Morges.³³⁵

Szpinalski then gives precise information about his finances, for example the costs of hiring an upright piano and of English and harmony lessons. His list is long but clear, and it leads to the conclusion that he needed 330 zlotys a month to live on. Paderewski did help his student, and sponsored him regularly until he was financially more secure, which was quite slow in happening. On 3 June 1929 Szpinalski wrote to Paderewski, in another letter from Warsaw, that he was very grateful for the cheque previously enclosed. He assured Paderewski that he was going to come to Morges for further piano lessons on 12 or 13 July at the latest. These lessons took place, but Paderewski probably did not reply to some later letters, as on 23 November 1929 Szpinalski, sounding very unsettled, wrote to Paderewski again. He regretted Paderewski's health problems, described as a 'hard illness'.³³⁶ From this letter it is clear that Paderewski's financial and educational assistance to Szpinalski was substantial. Paderewski gave Szpinalski 2,000 francs over a period of five months. That was much more he had actually asked for or needed. Having his own health problems at the same time as well (stomach ulcers and hepatitis), Szpinalski admitted his inability to practice as intensively as he had planned. Despite that, he was working on

³³⁴ AAN AIJP (RISM siglum: PL-Waan), sygn. 558, 10. (The New Archive of Paderewski, folder no. 558, page 10). Szpinalski to Paderewski (Warsaw, 11 February 1929).

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid., 16. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 23 November 1929).

Chopin's *Sonata in B flat minor*, Op. 35 and Beethoven's *Sonata No. 21 in C major*, Op. 53, 'Waldstein': 'This difficult moment from the 1st movement [of Chopin's Sonata in B flat minor] which you, Mr President, told me to work on daily before beginning the practising routine is indeed now going freely and easily, as you predicted. And, what I am sure about is that it will always work out, even in the face of the greatest stage fright'.³³⁷

In the same letter (23 November 1929) Szpinalski asserted that, from his first lessons with Paderewski, the latter had taught him 'not only to play better, but also to hear better'³³⁸ and wrote 'I had never appreciated the importance of holding fingers on the keyboard or how to use the pedal!'³³⁹ His negative evaluation of Nikolaj Orloff's recital in Warsaw (in October, 1929) showed Szpinalski's enviable wit, but he refrained from thoughtless condemnation of the performance. He skilfully juxtaposed his own opinion with the knowledge which he had just started to gain from Paderewski:

[...] but I would like to offer an example to you [Paderewski]: a recital by Nikolai Orlov [...] Orlov played a programme which consisted of Beethoven's *Sonata* 'Waldstein' and Chopin's *Scherzo in B minor*. Nowadays, when I observe his playing after having consecutive lessons with Mr President I reach the conclusion that, basically speaking, he is a very limited pianist as regards means of expression. This could be seen particularly in Beethoven's Sonata. I had been awaiting Orlov's interpretation all the more as I still had in my ears the lesson which I learned from Dygat's playing of this Sonata. It was as I had foreseen. Orlov performed it completely blandly; he produced an unsubstantial tone. I would even dare to say he interpreted it almost in Debussy's style! [...]

And Chopin's Scherzo threw me totally off balance. He phrased the 'carol' in the 2nd part [B major section] so irregularly and in such an disjointed fashion that I was completely surprised; the worst

³³⁷ Ibid., 19. Original Polish text: 'To trudne miejsce z I-szej części, które Pan Prezydent kazał grać co dzień przed rozpoczęciem ćwiczeń "idzie" dziś tak rzeczywiście swobodnie i lekko, jak to Pan Prezydent przewidział.

I, jestem tego pewny, że "wyjdzie" zawsze, pomimo największej nawet tremy.

³³⁸ Ibid., 20.

³³⁹ Ibid., 19-20.

Original Polish text: 'Nie mam dość słów na wyrażenie Panu Prezydentowi mej najgorętszej i najserdeczniejszej wdzięczności za to, że Pan Prezydent uczy mnie nie tylko grać coraz lepiej, ale i słyszeć coraz lepiej. Proszę Pana Prezydenta, ja nie miałem przedtem pojęcia, jaki efekt wywiera przetrzymywanie palców na klawiszach, i co to jest pedał!'

concerned his pedalling. For instance, at the end of the 2nd part [the last bar of the ‘carol’] he used the pedal as follows (I drew that for myself on the reverse):



Fig. 56. Excerpt from Chopin’s *Scherzo in B minor*, Op. 20 (with the melody of a Polish Christmas carol), bar 208, drawn originally by Szpinalski in his letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 23 November 1929).

It was very ugly; I presume he [Orlov] did not hear that, because he was holding the pedal in such a way for a dozen or more seconds, so this triad was heard clearly: c#-g-f#.³⁴⁰

But even the performance of Professor Józef Turczyński (who was regarded by Paderewski as a Chopin specialist, a great interpreter of Chopin’s music and as an established Polish teacher) did not meet with Szpinalski’s expectations when he heard him on 3 October 1930 at the opening of the Warsaw Philharmonic concert season.

Turczyński performed the *Polish Fantasy in G sharp minor*, Op. 19 (Paderewski) and

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 20-22. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 23 November 1929).

Original Polish text: [...] ale tak chciałbym przytoczyć Panu Prezydentowi pewien przykład: recital Mikołaja Orłowa w Warszawie w październiku. Orłow grał program, w którym m.in. były: Sonata Beethovena (Waldstein) i Scherzo h-moll Chopina. Dziś, gdy patrzę na jego grę, mając poza sobą ten szereg lekcji z Panem Prezydentem, przyszedłem do przekonania, że jest to pianista w gruncie rzeczy bardzo jednostronny, jeśli chodzi o środki wyrazu. Zwłaszcza dało się to odczuć w Sonacie Beethovena. Ja, mając jeszcze w uszach tę lekcję, na której Dygat grał tę Sonatę, z tem większą niecierpliwością oczekiwałem interpretacji Orłowa. Jak przewidywałem – tak też i było. Orłow zagrał tę Sonatę zupełnie bezbarwnie, operując cały czas jakimiś półcieniami, półtonami. Ośmieliłbym się powiedzieć-po debussy’owski! W IIIciej części tak bardzo przesadził w pianissimach lewej ręki, że poszczególnych nut w figuracjach nie można było usłyszeć – wszystko zlewało się w jakiś jednostajny chaos, podtrzymywany pedałem.

A już scherzo Chopina wyprowadziło mnie z równowagi.

Kolędę z IIgiej części frazował tak nierówno, z taką jakąś szarpaniną, że byłem wprost zdziwiony, najgorzej zaś było z pedałem. Na przykład, przy zakończeniu IIgiej części użył takiej pedalizacji: (narysowałem sobie to na rewersie)

– to było bardzo brzydkie, przypuszczam, że nie słyszał tego, bo trzymał ten pedał tak przez dobre kilkadziesiąt sekund, tak że wyraźnie było słychać ten trójdźwięk: cis-g-fis.³⁴⁰

the *Piano Concerto No. 2 in F minor*, Op. 21 (Chopin): 'The *Fantasy* was played not badly, but in Chopin's *Concerto* such things happened which were outrageous indeed. When listening to Turczyński, I was glad that thanks to Mr President's help I already knew how to play properly'.³⁴¹ On 4 March 1930 Szpinalski referred to his lessons with Paderewski during the past summer and apart from one piece – a Beethoven *Concerto* (probably No. 5, as later on Szpinalski had it in his repertoire) – one can identify his programme choices for further piano lessons. The pieces were as follows:

Felix Mendelssohn – *Spinnerlied* ('Spinning Song'), Op. 67 No. 4

Frederic Chopin – *Piano Concerto No. 2 in F minor*, Op. 21

Ludwig van Beethoven – *Sonata in E flat major* [either No. 4, Op. 7, No. 18, Op. 31 No. 3 or No. 18, Op. 31 No. 3 ('Les Adieux')]

He also refers to a concert, organised following Paderewski's suggestion, and with his probable assistance, in the *Aula Gimnazjum* named after Jan Długosz, in Włocławek (on 20 February 1930, at 7:30pm). Szpinalski described his success and recent progress during the previous 18 months as 'good as never before', conquering his stage fright, and perceiving this as an indisputable result of his work under Paderewski's guidance.³⁴² Concerts with orchestras and solo recitals, prompted by

³⁴¹ Ibid., 49. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 6 October 1930).

Original Polish text: 'Fantazja była zagrana jeszcze wcale nieźle, natomiast w koncercie Chopina działały się doprawdy rzeczy wołające o pomstę do nieba. Słuchając Turczyńskiego byłem szczęśliwy, że dzięki Panu Prezydentowi już tak wiele umiem'.

³⁴² Ibid., 28-31. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 4 March 1930).

Original Polish text: 'Proszę Pana Prezydenta! Nigdy w życiu jeszcze nie grałem tak dobrze na estradzie, jak właśnie tam! Dopiero w zetknięciu z publicznością (a było z górą 350 osób) no i z moją tremą oceniłem i pojąłem całą doniosłość postępów, jakie zrobiłem za ostatnie 18 miesięcy, mając szczęście z korzystania z bezcennych wskazówek Pana Prezydenta. Przekonałem się, że jak coś jest "nauczone", to zawsze "wyjść" musi. Dostyc powiedzieć, proszę Pana Prezydenta, że pomimo tremy nie uroniłem ani jednej nutki, nie pominąłem żadnego szczegółu interpretacji w Bachu! A Beethoven już był doskonałe, i trema znikła bez śladu'.

Paderewski's name as a teacher, were quickly offered to Szpinalski in Poland. Thanks to Paderewski's financial assistance (1500 francs), and personal recommendations, Szpinalski was able to employ L. G. Sharpe (Paderewski's agent for many years) to arrange his London debut. Through Sharpe's influence he hoped to perform in front of a substantial audience,³⁴³ attract the notice of those critics who enjoyed a high reputation. and gain the support of influential people who could move his career forward. Sharpe, according to Szpinalski's letter, acclaimed him as one of the best pianists in London at that time,³⁴⁴ but that did not deter the 27-year-old Szpinalski from intensive practising and regular work on his technique, in the same way as Paderewski had done at the same age. Although no correspondence directly confirming that Sharpe contacted Paderewski in relation to Szpinalski's debut in London has been preserved, in a letter dated 31 March 1933 Szpinalski mentioned a telegram that Paderewski had sent approving Sharpe's actions, and asking him to cover any necessary expenses towards organising concerts for Szpinalski before Paderewski's own money reached Sharpe's account.³⁴⁵

Often Paderewski shared his personal experiences, including stage fright. On the basis of the correspondence of Paderewski's pupils, it is obvious that most of them had difficulties in coping with that unpleasant feeling, which could disturb the quality of their playing and cause a lack of control in their performance. Szpinalski referred to a concert in his letter dated 2 November 1931, which he played at the Queen's Hall in London on 16 or 17 October.³⁴⁶ Although in Szpinalski's opinion stage fright influenced

³⁴³ Ibid., 46-48. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 6 October 1930).

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 50. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (London, 22 December 1930).

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 52. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (London, 31 March 1930).

³⁴⁶ It is hard to ascertain the precise day of this concert due to discrepancies in the newspapers mentioned above. Also, none of them mentioned exactly to which date they were referring.

only a few notes in the opening piano solo of Beethoven's *Piano Concerto No. 5 in E flat major, Op. 73, 'Emperor'*, critics of several newspapers were not so lenient.³⁴⁷

Selected reviews of this concert are gathered below – which Szpinalski enclosed with his letter to Paderewski:

Daily Telegraph, 19.10.1931:

The soloist was M. Stanislaw Szpinalski, whose main contribution to the programme was Beethoven's 'Emperor' Concerto. On the whole, his performance was rather disappointing. It was not only that the number of wrong notes played exceeded the usual allowance. The general style seemed to lack flexibility and depth.

F.B.

Morning Post, 19.10.1931:

Dr. Macolm Sargent conducted, and the pianoforte soloist was Mr. Stanislaw Szpinalski, who was heard in the 'Emperor' Concerto. His playing was technically of a high level, his interpretation always musicianly.

[Anon.]

Sunday Times, 18.10.1931

There were indications of lack of precision, too, in the accompanying in Beethoven's Piano Concerto in E flat major, Op. 73 [played by The British Women's Symphony Orchestra]. Here the soloist was Stanislaw Szpinalski, announced as a pupil of Mr. Paderewski. He has an excellent command of touch and tone-gradation, and made a favourable impression in spite of a few slips of the finger.

H.F.

Daily Mail, 19.10.1931

The Sargent concert introduced a new Polish pianist, Mr. Stanislaw Szpinalski, a pupil of Paderewski's who played in the 'Emperor' Concerto. This was a powerful if not perfectly accurate performance; the young man is gifted and should have a future.

R.C.

Szpinalski and other Paderewski students (whose playing I will address later on in this chapter) attempted to develop an individual style that would distinguish them from other pianists, even from Paderewski. None therefore, can be considered as Paderewski's imitators or successors. Besides, trying to copy Paderewski's personal

³⁴⁷ AAN AIJP, sygn. 558, 56-57. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (London, 2 November 1931).

Original Polish text: 'Myśli moje biegną ku Osobie Pana Prezydenta i składają u stóp Jego hołd najniższy. Przy sposobności ośmielę się podzielić z Panem Prezydentem wrażeniami z występu w „Queen's Hall”. Czuję się doskonale, bardzo wielką treść miałem na początku, ale od połowy Iszej części byłem już zupełnie opanowany. Tremie muszę przypisać to, że nie trafiłem kilka nut – co krytyk „Daily Telegraph'u” wytknął mi bardzo surowo. Za wyjątkiem tych kilku wypadków całość wypadła bardzo dobrze, nie straciłem ani na chwilę wątku interpretacji i panowania nad sobą. Powiedziałbym, że ta produkcja wypadła jeszcze lepiej, niż poprzednie dwie, co dobrotliwie potwierdza opinię Pana Prezydenta, że za każdym następnym razem będę grać coraz lepiej ten koncert. Załączam 5 krytyk – 1 zła i 4 dobre. Mnie osobiście najbardziej podoba się w „Sunday Times”. Ciekawe, że i w tym sezonie najgorszą miałem w „Daily Telegraph”, a najlepszą w „Daily Mail”.

charisma would have been unlikely to succeed. In spite of the fact that their paths were divergent, the pupils followed each other's concerts, particularly if performances were happening at the same time and in the same country. One can see this attitude in Szpinalski's letters and in others. It should not be ignored that Paderewski generously promoted some of the concerts that took place in Poland, where a group of his Polish students would play. The aim was to enable them to gain wider recognition, at least in Poland, at the beginning of their career.³⁴⁸

Turning to the correspondence of another of Paderewski's students, **Stanisław Nawrocki**, the most intensive period of writing occurred in the years 1930 and 1933, although the complete documentation covers the years 1920–1936. Nawrocki wrote in a poetic style about the material difficulties of a young musician and the general situation in Poland, but no concrete information as regards piano playing is touched on. Nevertheless, his letters deal with very personal and intimate matters, such as health problems which caused a long break in his active development as a pianist and composer. Paderewski did not abandon his student to his fate and paid for his entire medical treatment. After a successful recovery, Nawrocki came back to work and his letters reveal details of a concert programme on which he worked with Paderewski,

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 112-114. Szpinalski letter to Paderewski (Brwinów, Poland, 15 November 1931).

Original Polish text: 'Koncert inauguracyjny udał się niezwykle. Chłopcy spisali się doskonale. Muszę tutaj specjalnie podzielić spokój i pewność siebie Brachockiego. Grał przecież w obcych dla niego warunkach – mimo to panował nad wszystkim znakomicie. Miałem za niego potworną wprost tremę, bo łączy mnie z nim wyjątkowa zupełnie przyjaźń. Obecnie przygotowujemy się do naszych koncertów. Jak dotychczas ustalone są daty Krakowa i Warszawy – 26, 27, 28 i 29. X. Kraków i 3, 6, 13, 20 i 25. XI. Warszawa. Lwów i Wilno w zasadzie załatwione, oczekujemy tylko na daty. Pozwolę sobie załączyć w liście niniejszym programy naszych recitalów. Po bardzo długich namysłach ułożyliśmy je z taką intencją, aby każdy grał absolutnie co innego i do tego rzeczy, w których się czuje najlepiej.

Dołączono:

Henryk Sztompka – Kraków, 18. X. Warszawa, 3. XI.

Aleksander Brachocki – Kraków, 27. X. Warszawa, 6. XI.

Zygmunt Dygat – Kraków 26. X. Warszawa 13. XI.

Stanisław Szpinalski – Kraków 29. X. Warszawa 20. XI'.

and also those pieces which he intended to prepare for further piano lessons.

Nawrocki himself summarised his endeavours:

[...] Because I intend to return to my duties tomorrow [2 July], I must pluck up the courage to ask you, Mr President, to choose the programme which I could present for you as soon as possible according to your approval. I enclose my repertoire with this letter.

I remember perfectly all the ways of practising: technical exercises which you, Mr President, kindly agreed to show me, so that I can continue my further musical studies with full responsibility and a clear conscience.

I have finalised many projects taken from my sketches, among them my Piano Concerto No. 1 [in D minor] and I await your comments about that because in many places I cannot find a solution. The Mazurka in A minor has been revised and I also wrote one more – a Mazurka in E minor. In the pieces which you looked through I have already made changes according to your comments.³⁴⁹

To this letter Nawrocki attached two versions of a programme. The first one had already been presented to Paderewski, and the second one was intended for the next lesson with him.³⁵⁰ Many of the pieces listed below feature in Paderewski's own concert programmes as well:

Repertoire already performed for Mr President:

Beethoven *Sonata in C major*, Op. 2 No. 3

Beethoven *32 Variations in C minor*

Schumann *Papillons*, Op. 2

Schumann *Piano Concerto in A minor* (1st movement)

Chopin *Ballade in A flat major*

³⁴⁹ AAN AIJP, sygn. 556, 16-17. (folder no. 558, pages 16-17). Nawrocki letter to Paderewski (Sanjoń [?], 30 June 1930).

Original Polish text: W liście tym chcę poinformować Pana Prezydenta o obecnym stanie mego zdrowia i o zamiarach mojej pracy w najbliższej przyszłości. Od dnia 1szego lipca zaczynam pracować, stopniowo będę zwiększał liczbę minut, aby w ten sposób wrócić w normalne godziny mojej pracy, w ciągu krótkiego czasu. [...] Ponieważ pracę rozpoczynam jutro, ośmielam się zwrócić z uprzejmą prośbą do Pana Prezydenta o wskazanie programu, który chciałbym wykonać w najbliższym czasie Panu Prezydentowi, według Jego uznania. Program przy niniejszym liście załączam.

Doskonale pamiętam wszystkie sposoby ćwiczenia: sposoby techniczne które Pan Prezydent łaskawie raczył mi pokazać i dlatego będę mógł z całą odpowiedzialnością i czystym sumieniem rozpocząć studia nad muzyką w dalszym ciągu. [...]

Z kompozycji mam wiele projektów opracowanych, między innymi i Koncert fortepianowy, bez czekam na [...] uwagi i opinię Pana Prezydenta, gdyż wielu wypadkach sam nie umiem znaleźć wyjścia. Mazurka a-moll wiele przerobiłem i napisałem jeszcze jednego e-moll. W utworach już przeglądanych przez Pana Prezydenta porobiłem zmiany według jego wskazówek. Nie umiem określić słowami moją radość i uciechę, że będę mógł wkrótce zobaczyć Pana Prezydenta po tak długiej przerwie i złożyć Mu wyrazy mojej największej wdzięczności i czci, którą na razie w liście tym składam'.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 21. Nawrocki letter to Paderewski (Sanjoń [?], 30 June 1930).

Chopin *Etude in A flat major*
Chopin *Etude in F minor*
Chopin *Etude in F major*
Chopin *Waltz in C Sharp minor*
Chopin *Scherzo C Sharp minor*
Rameau *Variations in A minor*
Liszt *Rhapsody No. 18*

Repertoire on which I worked before my illness:
Schumann 2nd and 3rd movement of *Piano Concerto in A minor*
Chopin *Etude in C major*, Op. 10, No. 1
Chopin *Etude in G flat major*, Op. 10, No. 5
Chopin *Etude in C major*, Op. 10, No. 7
Chopin *Etude in C minor*, Op. 10, No. 12
Chopin *Nocturne in F sharp major*, Op. 15, No. 2
Paderewski *Minuet*
Paderewski *Chant du Voyageur*
Liszt *Rhapsody No. 15*
Liszt *Nocturne No. 3*
Chopin *Nocturne in B major*
Chopin *Impromptu in C sharp minor*

Paderewski performed some of the works dedicated or written specially for him. He liked to do this mostly for his students (Nawrocki, Stojowski, Schelling), and researching their correspondence throws a new light on his reasons for playing these pieces, which were not all outstanding compositions. Apart from performing them to advertise his students, this was a kind of practical exchange. Due to their inability to repay countless financial debts for Paderewski's sponsorship of their general education, concerts or personal needs, the pupils could at least give him some pride by making artistic progress themselves. Accordingly, writing larger or smaller works for their teacher showed their personal gratitude. The following quotes from Nawrocki show this:

In this large request I ask [Paderewski] to grant me a single subsistence allowance towards finishing a few compositions on a larger scale [...]³⁵¹

Honourable Mr President!

[...] I cannot send you at the moment the score of my Piano Concerto with anthem and accompaniment for a large symphony orchestra with fanfares which I wrote for a celebration of your seventieth

³⁵¹ Ibid., 14. Nawrocki letter to Paderewski. Undated.

Original Polish text: '[...] z najgorętszą prośbą o przyznanie mi jednorazowej zapomogi na wykończenie kilku kompozycji większych rozmiarów'.

birthday anniversary and which I performed at the Warsaw Philharmonic on the 26th February this year [1933]. I wanted to tell you, Mr President, that this modest piece is my vote of gratitude to you.³⁵²

Some of Paderewski's students were closer to him than others. This could cause disruptive rivalry between them. *Zygmunt Dygat*, who wrote to Paderewski more rarely than Szpinalski, clarified one of those issues in a letter from Paris (22 December 1929):³⁵³

You said at some point, Mr President, that you are afraid of envy among us [Paderewski's students]. Your life is characterised by profound actions and love for people; for those of us who are privileged to be accepted as pupils of such a prominent man, there cannot be a place in our hearts for any mean feelings. We feel connected by the fact we are your pupils, Mr President, and this has ennobled us. I would be so happy if you believed my words.³⁵⁴

Dygat's further comments hint at the difficult circumstances within the artistic environment following the financial crash in Europe and America at the end of the 1920s. This fact justifies Paderewski's long-term contract – with highly demanding conditions – with Steinways, which guaranteed his financial situation during the 1930s.

Dygat left the most precise lists of the pieces which he either intended to work on with Paderewski, or proposed as concert programmes to be approved by Paderewski:

³⁵² Ibid., 27. Nawrocki letter to Paderewski (Życzyn, [Poland], 28 July, 1933).

Original Polish text: 'Czcigodny Panie Prezydencie!

[...] Nie mogę w danej chwili przesłać partytury koncertu fortepianowego z hymnem z towarzyszeniem wielkiej orkiestry symfonicznej i fanfar, który napisałem ku czci siedemdziesięciolecia Pana Prezydenta i który wykonałem w Filharmonii Warszawskiej w dn. 26 lutego b.r., chciałem powiadomić Pana Prezydenta, że to skromne moje dzieło, jest wyrazem mojej wdzięczności dla Niego'.

³⁵³ Dygat letters to Paderewski, which have been preserved in the Archiwum Akt Nowych, sygn. 554 (New Archive, folder no. 554) in Warsaw, show that Dygat contacted his teacher most frequently between 1929 and 1934.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 4-5. Dygat letter to Paderewski (Paris, 22 December 1929).

Original Polish text: 'Kiedyś powiedział Pan Prezydent że się boi, żeby między nami nie było zawiści. – Życie Pana Prezydenta to Wielkie Czyny i Miłość dla ludzi, – jeżeli dostało się tego szczęścia, że jest się przyjętym

w poczet uczniów tak Wielkiego Człowieka, to nie może być miejsca w sercach naszych na żadne niższe uczucia. Nas łączy to właśnie, że jesteśmy Twoimi uczniami Panie Prezydencie i to nas uszlachetniło taki byłbym szczęśliwy, że by mi Pan Prezydent uwierzył'.

I have prepared: *Prelude and Fugue in A minor* by Bach/Liszt, *Ballade in F minor*, *6 Etudes*, *Waltz in A flat major* by Chopin; I have finished preparing *Sonata Op. 111* by Beethoven and your [Paderewski's] *Variations (Theme varie)*, *Nocturne in B major* by Chopin. Besides that, I have ready two Concertos by Saint-Saëns and the one in E flat major by Liszt.³⁵⁵

In a further letter Dygat expands on this:³⁵⁶

I am very glad because I have learned Schumann's Concerto, although I had a lot of work to do, especially with its 3rd movement. Now I have undertaken work on the last Sonata by Beethoven. Recently, Consul Samborski from Strasbourg put forth a proposal to play in Strasbourg. [...] If you, Mr President, would not wish me to play, or feel that I have arranged the programme wrongly, please, could you be so kind as to ask Mr Strakacz to write to me about that; then I will cancel the concert or change the programme. I apologise to you, Mr President, that I bother you with my personal requests, and I can only say that I will make all possible efforts not to bring shame to my beloved Mr President. This is the eventual programme:

1. a) *Symphonic Etudes* – Schumann³⁵⁷
 - b) *Moment musical in A flat major* – Schubert
 - Impromptu in E flat major* – Schubert
 - Sonata 'Waldstein'* – Beethoven
2. *Nocturne in B major* – Chopin
- Scherzo in B flat minor* – Chopin
- Two Mazurkas (C major, C sharp minor)* – Chopin
- Berceuse* – Chopin
- Ballade in F minor* – Chopin
- Theme varie* – I. J. Paderewski
- Nocturne* – I. J. Paderewski
- Cracovienne Fantastique* – I. J. Paderewski

As possible encores:

Waltz in A flat major by Chopin and his *Polonaise in A flat major*

Mazurka in F Sharp minor [by Chopin] and *Rhapsody XII* by Liszt

On the second page of this sheet I send you, Mr President, the pieces which I have worked on with you:

Prelude and Fugue in A minor – Bach-Liszt

Sonatas: *Op. 31 No. 2 in D minor*, '*Waldstein*', '*Appassionata*' – Beethoven

Variations and fugue – Brahms-Haendel

Nocturnes: *D flat major*, *B major* – Chopin

Etudes: *E major*, *C sharp minor* (Op. 25) and *G sharp minor* (Op.25) – Chopin

Mazurkas: *D major*, *F sharp minor*, *C sharp minor* – Chopin

Waltzes: *C sharp minor*, *A flat major* – Chopin

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 6-7. Dygat letter to Paderewski (Paris, 18 April 1930).

Original Polish text: 'Przygotowałem: Preludium i Fugę a-moll Bach-Liszt, Balladę f-moll, 6 Etiud, Walca As-dur Chopina, a wykańczam Sonatę Op. 111 Beethovena, Wariacje Pana Prezydenta (Theme varie), Nokturn H dur Chopina. Prócz tego mam gotowe dwa Koncerty Saint-Saensa i Es-dur Liszta'.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 12-14. Dygat letter to Paderewski (Paris, 15 December 1930).

Original Polish text: 'Jestem bardzo szczęśliwy, bo nauczyłem się koncertu Schumanna, a miałem dużo roboty zwłaszcza z IIIcią częścią. Teraz wziąłem się do pracy nad ostatnią Sonatą Beethovena. Zwrócił się do mnie niedawno konsul Samborski ze Strassburga z propozycją bym zagrał w Strassburgu. [...] Gdyby Pan prezydent nie życzył sobie bym grał lub uznałby, że program źle ułożyłem, to może Pan Prezydent będzie taki dobry i poprosi Pana Strakacza, by mi napisał, a wtedy koncert odwołam albo program zmienię. Przepraszam bardzo Pana Prezydenta, że zamęczam Go swoją osobą i mogę tylko powiedzieć, że wszystkich sił jakie tylko mam w sobie użyję, by nie zrobić wstydu mojemu Ukochanemu Panu Prezydentowi. Oto ewentualny program: [...]'

³⁵⁷ I have transcribed the layout of this programme exactly as Dygat sets it out. Parts 1 and 2 suggest the two parts of the recital. Dygat later lists his programmes differently.

Impromptu in F sharp major – Chopin
Scherzo in B flat minor – Chopin
Polonaise in A flat major – Chopin
Berceuse – Chopin
Ballade in F minor – Chopin
Rhapsody VI and XII – Liszt
Valse oubliée – Liszt
Theme varie, Nocturne, Cracovienne Fantastique – I. J. Paderewski
Impromptu in E flat major – Schubert
Moment musical – Schubert
Symphonic Etudes – Schumann
 Concertos: Chopin *in F minor*, Saint-Saëns [the key of the Concerto is not given here], Beethoven *in E flat major*, Liszt and Schumann *in A minor*³⁵⁸

Such an impressive programme demonstrates that Paderewski's pupils were working with him more on major pieces than on miniatures; they also played similar pieces to each other, all under the guidance of Paderewski. In addition, these programmes seem to be very long, in the same way as Paderewski's concert programmes had been. The students tried to imitate Paderewski in terms of the length of their programmes. Furthermore, analysing the concert programmes of his students gives us a good idea of the pieces that many pianists' repertoires contained in the first half of the 20th century.

As at the turn of 1931 and 1932 Paderewski had some health problems, as Dygat referred to in his letter of 30 April 1932, and important correspondence regarding Paderewski's musical affairs was conducted by Sylwin Strakacz.³⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Paderewski still played a significant part in the progress of his students' careers. In the case of Dygat, the agent chosen by Paderewski to help in organising concerts for his

³⁵⁸ In a letter dated 28 July 1934, written in Gumniska, near Tarnów (Poland), Dygat gives a full list of the concertos he had in his repertoire with precise keys:

Concerto in F minor – Chopin
Concerto in E flat major – Beethoven
Concerto in E flat major – Liszt
Concerto in C minor – Saint-Saëns
Concerto in A minor – Schumann

³⁵⁹ Ibid. Dygat letter to Paderewski (Paris, 30 April 1932).

student in Paris was a certain Dandelot.³⁶⁰ In spite of the fact that Dandelot's arrangements took some time (this emerges from two of Dygat's letters written in 1931 and 1932),³⁶¹ It took Paderewski's financial intervention to secure the dates of the concert bookings on 1 and 8 June 1932 in Théâtre des Champs Elysées.³⁶²

Paderewski followed the lot of his pupils with sensitivity and continuous attention. Being aware of the unfavourable economic situation for musicians in Europe, he persistently encouraged them to keep their faith, and work towards pianistic improvement. In analysing the letters that have been preserved from the last of Paderewski's students from Poland, one notices that each of them had at least one agent that was directly connected to Paderewski. The student whose correspondence with Paderewski lasted for the longest period of time (1928–39) was **Henryk Sztompka** – whose interpretation of Chopin's Mazurkas, although so different from Paderewski's, became a model for students of Chopin's style in Poland.

Sztompka probably would not have obtained such recognition if Paderewski had not invested in his development by providing good agents for him, and financial sponsorship too. This 27-year-old pianist started to give his first concerts under Paderewski's name as his teacher soon after joining his class of selected pupils. Gustave Lyon, according to Paderewski's instructions, was responsible for arranging two recitals for Sztompka on 13 December in Lille and another in Roubaix on 14

³⁶⁰ This was most probably Georges Dandelot (1895-1975) who started teaching piano in 1919 at the École Normale de Musique de Paris.

³⁶¹ Ibid. Dygat letters to Paderewski (Paris, 16 December 1931; Paris, 30 April 1932).

³⁶² Ibid., Dygat letter to Paderewski (Paris, 30 April 1932).

December 1929. (The exact venue was not mentioned by Sztompka; and unfortunately, the programme list enclosed in the letter has vanished).

In a letter written on 18 December 1929 in Paris, Sztompka gave Paderewski his reflections on, and self-evaluation of, these performances. Through this relationship, it is also possible to get a clearer picture about which pieces he performed as encores, as obviously they normally would not be mentioned in a concert programme:

I accepted concerts in accordance with the idea that it would be an excellent trial before concerts in Paris, as I would be able to get to grips with my weaknesses and strengths in front of an audience. I am very happy following this attempt. [...]

The audience received my playing, both in Lille and Roubaix, so well that for instance in Lille I had to play an encore in the middle of the programme: *Etude in G flat major* [Chopin]. In addition to prepared pieces, I also played: Chopin-Liszt *The Maiden's Wish*, *Waltz in E flat major* by Chopin and his *Etude in A flat major*, Op. 10.

When after the concerts I impartially evaluated my performance, in spite of some pangs of conscience I was happy with the immense progress that I have made during this past year. [...] I owe everything to your wonderful kindness and work with me.³⁶³

Thanks to Paderewski's intervention, Lyon also began to organise Sztompka's debut with the Orchestre Colonne and the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in Paris. Paderewski also gave lessons to Sztompka before some

³⁶³ AAN AIJP, sygn. 559. Sztompka letter to Paderewski (Paris, 18 December 1929).

Original Polish text: 'Dzięki panu Lyon'owi zostałem zaangażowany na dwa recitale: w Lille 13 grudnia, i w Roubaix 14ego, z tym samym programem, który pozwałam sobie załączyć. [brak załącznika]

Koncerty te zaakceptowałem w tej myśli, że będzie to dla mnie doskonała próba przed koncertami w Paryżu, że będę mógł zorientować się w moich słabościach i sile wobec publiczności. Z próby tej jestem bardzo szczęśliwy. Ciężko przezywałem oczekiwanie wieczoru szczególnie w dzień pierwszego koncertu, walcząc z wielkimi wątpliwościami, które rodziły się z poczucia wielkiej odpowiedzialności. Lecz przed wyjściem na estradę przyszło skupienie i siłą woli, które mnie już nie opuściły ani na chwilę w ciągu całego programu.

Publiczność przyjmowała moją grę, zarówno w Lille, jak i w Roubaix [?] bardzo dobrze, tak że nawet w Lille musiałem w środku programu bisować Etiudę Ges-dur, a nad program grałem: Życzenie-Chopin-Liszt, Walca Es-dur-Chopina i Etiudę As-dur, Op. 10.

Gdy po koncertach rozważałem jak najbardziej obiektywnie moją grę, to obok pewnych wyrzutów sumienia, cieszyłem się z wielkiego postępu, jaki zrobiłem w ciągu ostatniego roku. Cieszyłem się i w radości mojej całą duszą dedykowałem i słałem najgorętsze uczucia Panu Prezydentowi, którego cudownej dobroci i pracy nade mną wszystko zawdzięczam'.

prestigious concerts in Nice. Sztompka, after conferring with Paderewski, decided to choose his *Polish Fantasy* for both concerts.³⁶⁴

His long-awaited Paris debut took place. Its success engendered further recitals, such as in the Maison Pleyel (Salle Chopin) on 8 February 1932, at 9pm and a tour of Holland (February 1932). A leaflet enclosed in Sztompka's letter of 8 February 1932 listed the following works:³⁶⁵

Henryk Sztompka
Élevé de I. J. Paderewski
Programme:
Fantaisie, Op. 17 in C major SCHUMANN
Sonata, Op. 57 in F minor (Appassionata) BEETHOVEN
Ballade, Op. 23 in G minor CHOPIN
Nocturne Op. 27 in D flat major
Polonaise Op. 26 in E flat minor
Mazurka, Op. 24 in B flat minor
Etude Op. 10 in A flat major
Etude Op. 25 in D flat major
Etude Op. 10, in G flat major
Valse Op. 64 in A flat major
PIANO PLEYEL

Sztompka also wrote about his impressions of the concert given by the group of four Polish students of Paderewski on 16 September 1932 in the Warsaw Philharmonic concert hall, and singled out this performance from any other concert. It is worth mentioning that Dygat referred to the same performance in his separate letter (on 3 December 1932). That was an usual event, as the concert was dedicated to Paderewski and his artistic work. Paderewski was supposed to listen to it on the radio. In contrast to Dygat, Sztompka's letters fail to mention the deepening crisis that was affecting the Polish artistic environment and even the big concert halls in Warsaw, Kraków, Poznań, Lwów and Wilno.

³⁶⁴ Ibid. Sztompka letter to Paderewski (Paris, 11 February 1930).

³⁶⁵ Ibid. Sztompka letter to Paderewski (Paris, 26 January 1932).

3.2 – Fingering, tempo and agogic markings applied by Paderewski to his scores

None of Paderewski's pupils directly mentioned in their correspondence or private papers that Paderewski made musical annotations in the scores used during the lessons. However, knowing that Paderewski wanted to indicate his chosen way of interpreting a certain piece, he must have been making at least some marks in their scores and his own. It is highly probable that during long and exhaustive concert tours he did not want to lose time reminding himself of interpretative details, especially if he had to learn new works together with revising the pieces needed for forthcoming concerts. A collection of Paderewski's scores, which he used for learning purposes and to carry with him on concert tours are held in the Polish Museum of America in Chicago. According to Richard (Rich) Kujawa, Paderewski never allowed any other musicians to look through these scores. They were likely not accessible even to his pupils. As Kujawa from the Polish Museum of America has stated, 'music books were never to be handled by anyone but himself [Paderewski] and his closest assistants'.³⁶⁷

Paderewski's sister, Antonina Paderewska-Wilkońska, as an executor of Paderewski's will, decided to donate all surviving items to the Polish Museum in Chicago, including four volumes of scores (three of them were printed as a set by Bote & Bock in Germany) and a chair which Paderewski used for playing. In addition, the Buckingham Hotel in New York City donated Paderewski's upright piano (his very last instrument),

³⁶⁷ Richard (Rich) Kujawa holds the post of Operations Manager and Curator of the Paderewski Collection at the Polish Museum of America in Chicago. The quote cited above comes from private correspondence with Mr Kujawa on 22 March 2013.

described in Chapter 1. As Kujawa has confirmed, the last piece played on this piano by Paderewski was Chopin's *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53, because the score of that piece was left on the stand open on the last page.³⁶⁸

The four scores mentioned above, are in a flimsy and brittle condition. Therefore, access to them is currently not allowed, Kujawa wrote:

No one else has made an analysis of these books. Only trained and qualified archivists would be allowed to handle the books and make photographs of the pages. These could then be analyzed by others. [...] the printing and penciled notations are fading. The books are in correct archival storage and no longer on public display.³⁶⁹

After examining Paderewski's annotations for fingering on these scores, Kujawa concluded: 'Paderewski's fingering was not the norm but it would, if you'll try it yourself, produce a very different sound than the conventional sequence. His hands were huge and few could even think to play the way he did'.³⁷⁰ Jeffrey Wagner, in documenting the collection of the Polish Museum of America was, however, granted access to the scores in the Museum, and wrote an article (with photos) on them. In addition to fingering, Paderewski's notations related to performance practice were also mentioned in this article.³⁷¹ With the permission of Kujawa, I can here discuss some of the examples in Wagner's article, and add more detailed information about them. Nevertheless, at the request of Kujawa, I cannot give further links to the images for copyright reasons.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Private correspondence with Rich Kujawa, 25 March 2013.

³⁷¹ Private correspondence with Rich Kujawa, 20 March 2013. The article cited is J. Wagner, 'The Personal Scores of Paderewski', *Polish Museum of America* [online], October (2009), <http://www.polishmuseumofamerica.org/PADEREWSKI/JeffWagner.htm>, accessed 15 April 2013.

Paderewski's markings can be seen in the complete edition of Chopin's piano works, prepared in three volumes by Bote & Bock (1880), edited by Charles Klindworth, which he used to prepare his performances. One of the examples (Fig. 58) demonstrates Paderewski's use of *rubato*, even during virtuosic passages. In Paderewski's case, slowing down and then periodically speeding up were not the result of a lack of dexterity, but a carefully planned musical effect related to rhetorical singing. The Polish word 'przedłużyć' (appearing twice on the page) means to stretch or extend the length, suggesting a slight relaxation in the tempo. At the beginning of the illustration, Paderewski's fingerings appear.

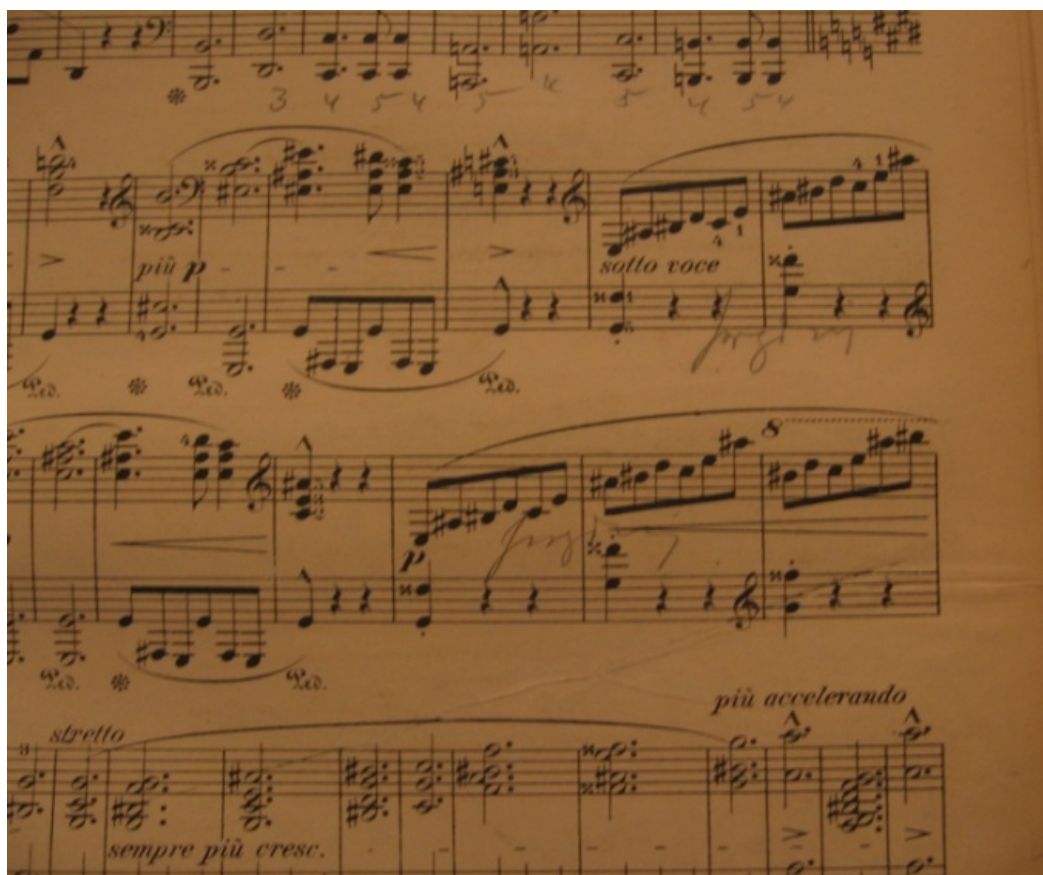


Fig. 58. Excerpt from Chopin's Scherzo in C sharp minor, Op. 39.

The next example is taken from Chopin's *Ballade in F major*, Op. 38. Paderewki's fingering here is interesting, especially in the first and the second bars of the bottom line in Fig. 59. Starting the octave sequence using the fourth finger (of the left hand) on white keys proves that Paderewski indeed had big hands and well exercised fingers. In addition, (as J. Wagner suggested), Paderewski obviously wanted to play this moment as *legato* as possible. Moreover, in the second and the third bars of the bottom line in Fig. 59 the *8va* sign indicates that he played this passage an octave lower than written. The aim was likely a greater *fortissimo*.



Fig. 59. Excerpt from Chopin's *Ballade in F minor*, Op. 38.

The Chopin's *Ballade in F major*, Op. 38, is shown (Fig. 59) and was a standard piece in many of Paderewski's recitals, particularly in the ones with a predominant number of Chopin's works. This page shows the fingering and pedalling that was specified in the edition of *Complete Works* (edited by Ignaz Jan Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Jerzy Turczyński, and discussed in a previous Chapter). As was mentioned, only a few fingering suggestions by Paderewski were actually incorporated into the printed edition. Here, the left hand starts with the second finger repeated on middle C while the right hand uses the third finger on c².

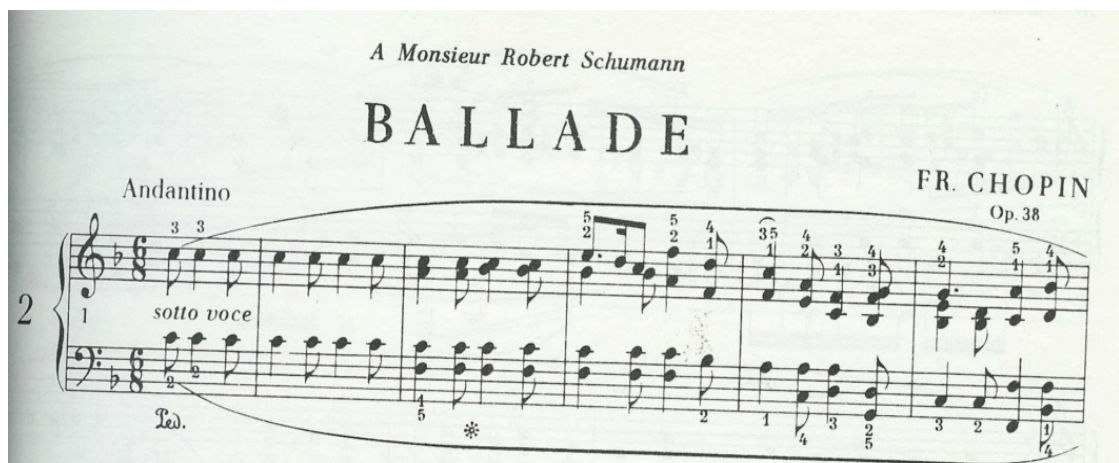


Fig. 60. Excerpt from Chopin's *Ballade in F major*, Op. 38 (Chopin *Complete Works*, ed. by I. J. Paderewski, L. Bronarski and J. Turczyński).

But Paderewski in the Bote & Bock score used a different fingering in the right hand. That was helpful in gaining a better *legato* and creating a more singing tone.

2^{me} Ballade.

M^r R. Schumann. *Fr. Chopin, Op. 38.*

Andantino.

sotto voce

sempre sostenuto e legatissimo

*ped. **

The image shows a page of musical notation for Chopin's 2nd Ballade in F major, Op. 38. It features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The tempo is marked 'Andantino' and the dynamics include 'sotto voce' and 'sempre sostenuto e legatissimo'. There are handwritten annotations in blue ink above the staff, including numbers 3, 4, 3, 4, 5, 3, 5, 4, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 3, 2, 3. There are also performance instructions like 'ped.' and an asterisk '*'.

Fig. 61. The same excerpt from Chopin's *Ballade in F major*, Op. 38 as above. (Chopin *Ballades*, Bote & Bock edition).

The last example presents the first page of Chopin's *Etude in G sharp minor*, Op. 25, No. 6. Although this Etude was not performed by Paderewski as frequently as the others, he focused on showing the exact for the left hand to emphasise the melodic line, rather than the more challenging right hand thirds. In the same way as before, Paderewski's scrupulousness was directed at the melody.

As Jeffrey Wagner mentions, there are no extra annotations for the pedal. That is frustrating. There were enormously exaggerated stories about Paderewski's unique pedalling in concerts, which nowadays – despite modern improvements in sound and recording restoration – cannot be fully identified on the recordings from the first part of the 20th century.



Fig. 62. Excerpt from Chopin's *Etude in G sharp minor*, Op. 25, No. 6 (Chopin *Etudes*, Bote & Bock edition).

A similar attempt to find Paderewski scores with his original markings was undertaken in 1987 by Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek, in her essay *Ośrodek Dokumentacji Życia i Twórczości Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Centre of Documentation of the Life and Works of Ignaz Jan Paderewski).³⁷² Perkowska-Waszek had started more intensive studies into Paderewski's scores around 1980s, but she abandoned this for unknown reasons. She briefly wrote about Paderewski's connections with the Uniwersytet Jagielloński (Jagiellonian University) in Kraków as a part of her research.³⁷³

³⁷² M. Perkowska, *Ośrodek Życia i Twórczości Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego* (Centre of Documentation of the Life and Works Of Ignaz Jan Paderewski), in Elżbieta Dziębowska (ed.), *Muzykologia Krakowska 1911–1986* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński (Jagiellonian University), 1987), 45-53.

³⁷³ These included the award of an honorary doctorate to Paderewski by the Jagiellonian University and, according to Perkowska's extended investigations, also large financial donations in aid of education and cultural development to the University and its students.

As Perkowska recorded, on Dr Elżbieta Dziębowska's initiative, a new archive, Ośrodek Dokumentacji Życia i Twórczości Paderewskiego (Centre Of Documentation Of The Life and Works Of Ignaz Jan Paderewski) was established and officially approved by Mieczysław Karaś, the rector of the Uniwersytet Jagielloński (Jagiellonian University) on 1 July 1973. Its priority was to obtain the biggest collection of Paderewski's books and music scores. The project ended up gathering thousands of volumes of Paderewski's encyclopedias, books in French, English and Polish, scores and music manuscripts.³⁷⁴ Other items, such as paintings, porcelain and diplomas are mostly in the Muzeum Narodowe (National Museum) and some of Paderewski's items connected with Chopin are in the possession of the Towarzystwo im. F. Chopina (Frederic Chopin Society). Both institutions are in Warsaw. Further material was sent by Sylwin Strakacz to the Archives and Museum of Polish Roman Catholic Union in Chicago (now called the Polish Museum of America),³⁷⁵ from where I gained some information about the Paderewski scores that he used for his practicing and performances.

I subsequently examined Paderewski's music books and scores that had been preserved in the Ośrodek Dokumentacji Muzyki Polskiej XIX i XX Wieku im. I. J. Paderewskiego przy Instytucie Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Centre of Documentation of Polish Music of the 19th and 20th Century, named after I. J. Paderewski, at the nearby Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University), formerly known under the name Ośrodek Życia i Twórczości Ignacego Jana

³⁷⁴ I. J. Paderewski, *Stara Suita (na 3 głosy)* (Old Suite (for Three Voices)), Op. 3: Preludium, Intermezzo, Aria i Fuga na fortepian (Prelude, Intermezzo, Air and Fugue for piano). The manuscript is currently preserved in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Oddział Rękopisów, sygn. 54: 29; (Jagiellonian Library, Department of Manuscripts, call no. 54: 29).

³⁷⁵ These data were precisely systematised by Perkowska in *Muzykologia Krakowska*, 46-52.

Paderewskiego (Centre of Documentation of the Life and Works of Ignaz Jan Paderewski), in Kraków. As Justyna Szombara from this Institute confirmed, all of this collection came from Switzerland and originally comprised Paderewski's library in Riond-Bosson. More books were additionally bought by the Jagiellonian Library from Sylwin Strakacz.



Fig. 63. Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, where Paderewski's extensive library from Riond-Bosson and also a manuscript of *Stara Suita (na 3 głosy)* (Old Suite (for Three Voices)), Op. 3 are preserved. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 64. Paderewski's statue next to the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 65.



Fig. 66.

Fig. 65 and 66. Fragment of Paderewski's library (books, scores and memorabilia) from Riond-Bosson, currently held in the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University, in Kraków. Photos: A. Pluta.

Perkowska identified many of the piano scores as the ones which were allegedly used by Paderewski for practicing and concert purposes. When I came to study the scores preserved in the Institute of Musicology in Kraków, I noticed that they had not been catalogued and exist in smaller quantities than I had expected. My research contradicts Perkowska, because fingering appears only in two scores among the whole collection. Moreover, it did not seem to be written by Paderewski, for when I compared his writing style with the manuscripts of his piano compositions (for example, with *Stara Suita (na 3 głosy)* (Old Suite (for Three Voices)), Op. 3 there were evident differences. Many of these music books had probably not been opened and not ever placed on a music stand, as they closed immediately by themselves when I tried carefully to open them. Because of that I deduce that although Paderewski owned this collection in Riond-Bosson, he probably only used these scores very rarely if at all.

I examined the following scores:

- music scores with only occasional agogic markings (it is questionable whether they were written by Paderewski)
- autographs by well-established composers of works written specially for Paderewski (e.g. by Moszkowski, Glazunov and Balakirew)
- autographs by minor composers, mostly dedicated to Paderewski
- autographs of works by unknown persons, identifying themselves as ‘composers’, who wrote works dedicated to Paderewski and who sometimes claimed higher artistic status through a close blood relationship with a significant figure (e.g. with Franz Liszt)

- works in other composers' autographs dedicated to Helena Górska
- a few music scores that belonged to Aniela Strakacz (Sylwin Strakacz's wife)
- chamber music scores, miniature scores (e.g. Beethoven Symphonies)
- works for piano trio, violin and piano, voice and piano
- single parts (e.g. violin part only) of pieces with piano accompaniment with annotated bowing markings; these looked rather like teachers' comments
- sketches of music for violin and also two sketches written for piano (manuscripts, but not analysed before and therefore, not defined as by Paderewski)
- letters attached to scores, with reminiscences about meeting Paderewski
- letters from piano teachers acknowledging Paderewski's interest in their system of teaching the piano
- various teachers' method books with enclosed letters with a request asking for Paderewski's evaluation (including books for beginners and children)

I also investigated the scores with possible annotations by Paderewski preserved in the Institute of Musicology named after I. J. Paderewski (Kraków). All the examples and photographs listed below concern Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Songs Without Words*, Op. 53 (Berlin: N. Simrock, ca' 1870).

Several markings are related to fingering, agogic accents, tempo changes (*accel.*) and pedaling. Nevertheless, it is hard to tell whether these annotations truly come from Paderewski.

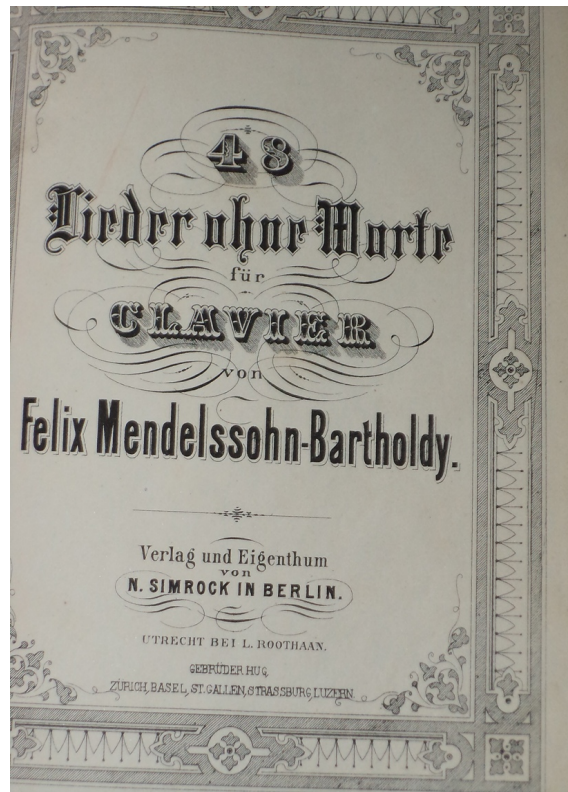


Fig. 67. Front page of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Lieder ohne Worte* (Songs Without Words), Op. 53 (Berlin: N. Simrock, ca' 1870). Photo: A. Pluta.



Fig. 68. Mendelssohn's *Lied ohne Worte* No. 14 in C minor, Op. 38, No. 2. Bars 1-18.

FELIX MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY.

(Viertes Heft Op. 53. No 19 bis 24.)

Andante con moto.

No 19.

p sempre tenuto e legato

cresc.

p

p cresc.

p più crescen - do - do - do al - f

sfz

a Key

accel.

6299

Fig. 69. Mendelssohn's *Lied ohne Worte* No. 19 in A flat major, Op. 53, No. 1. Bars 1-15.

53

6299

Fig. 70. Mendelssohn's *Lied ohne Worte* No. 19 in A flat major, Op. 53, No. 1. Bars 49-64.

Fig. 68, 69 and 70. Excerpts from Mendelssohn's *Songs Without Words*, Op. 38 and 53 (edition as above), possibly with Paderewski's fingering, agogic, dynamic, tempo and pedal markings. Photos: A. Pluta.

Conclusion

Because many letters from Paderewski's pupils and the music scores which he used for concerts, exist, I have been able to present a broad survey of Paderewski as a teacher. Paderewski put occasional comments into his own scores, but they were only for his own study purposes. Moreover, he did not force his pupils to imitate his playing in order not to diminish their individuality. Even though Paderewski's pupils were mainly of Polish nationality or from Polish roots, not all of them became world-class pianists. Additionally, their repertoire was similar not only among themselves, but also to Paderewski's concert programmes in both its content and length. Paderewski, as can be seen in his pupils' correspondence, took an active role in assisting many of them in choosing a suitable repertoire.

As a teacher, Paderewski shared the experience he had gained on stage with his students, mostly about technique and the overall interpretation of music. I had a telephone conversation with one relative of a Paderewski pupil, Małgorzata – the daughter of Stanisław Szpinalski in Warsaw (April, 2013). She told me that Szpinalski did not share his reflections with any family member about past lessons with Paderewski. Soon after Szpinalski finished his education under Paderewski's guidance, Polish cultural life was destroyed by the Second World War. Szpinalski, as she recalled, spent these years as an émigré in Vilnius and travelled for his concerts from there. But what is worth noting is that Małgorzata acknowledged that her father particularly respected Paderewski for never asking students to copy his own playing. Moreover, Szpinalski mentioned to her that Paderewski never considered his own interpretations

as always the best for students to follow. Nevertheless, Paderewski's playing influenced all his students significantly in certain ways, and they possibly tried to imitate his style to some extent. Paderewski was, however, creative and open to various resolutions of musical or technical issues. Recordings by Schelling, Małcużyński or Sztompka still give a taste, a hint of this variety of performance style in the early decades of the 20th century.

Chapter 4: Paderewski's recordings

Introduction

Paderewski was a strong advocate of the value of modern technology in the educational training of musicians. He mentioned particularly player pianos (or pianolas) and sound reproducing machines. Recorded music could help in the education of children and in the development of a taste for classical music. Paderewski therefore strongly believed in its potential. Additionally, he even appeared and played in a film, *Moonlight Sonata*. He did not regard the technology of recording as a substitute for live music, but as another way of reaching those who did not grow up in musical families. Through technology, music could be easily accessible and present in every family home. Paderewski found the studio experience fascinating. The practicality of technology continues to have its benefits today: through listening to Paderewski's recordings, we can attempt to analyse the stylistic development of his piano playing.

4.1 – Paderewski's playing, as preserved in his recordings

Up to now there has been little investigation into, and analysis of, Paderewski's style of playing as heard in his recordings. The most extensive list of Paderewski's recordings (including the numbers of takes which were made but not selected for a final disc) was prepared by Jim Cartwright in Texas.³⁷⁶ A further list of Paderewski's European Recordings was made by Bryan Crimp (in a co-operation with EMI Archives) in January 2010. The latter contains helpful information as regards dates of recording sessions, companies for which the discs were made, recording engineers' names and pieces selected for issue.³⁷⁷ In Poland, Jan Weber drew up an independent list issued in 1985 of all Paderewski's recordings.³⁷⁸ Michał Piekoszewski, in his master's dissertation *Sztuka pianistyczna Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w świetle zachowanych nagrań* (Ignaz Jan Paderewski's performance practice in the light of the recordings that have survived),³⁷⁹ assembled these recordings and divided Paderewski's playing into five distinct time frames. His analysis concentrated more on the history than the aesthetics of the recordings, along with some discussion of Paderewski's playing in the context of its time. However, in my view Piekoszewski did not sufficiently address which aspects of Paderewski's playing were different from those of other contemporary pianists, and how his interpretations changed over the years.

³⁷⁶ J. Cartwright, *Immortal Performances Discographic Data: No. 6, Ignace Jan Paderewski Recordings* (Texas: J. Cartwright, 1978). I am grateful to Denis Hall for supplying me with this.

³⁷⁷ B. Crimp, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski: A Discography of His European Recordings* (January, 2010) http://crq.org.uk/Files/File/paderewski_discography.pdf, accessed 19 April 2013.

³⁷⁸ J. Weber, *Paderewski i jego płyty. Dyskografia w: Ignacy Jan Paderewski, 1860-1941. Katalog wystawy w 125-lecie urodzin, Zamek Królewski* (Paderewski and his recordings. Discography in I. J. Paderewski catalogue of exhibition for the 125th birthday celebration, Royal Castle), ed. Ewa Kruszewska i Aleksandra Zgorzelska (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski, 1985).

³⁷⁹ M. Piekoszewski, 'Sztuka pianistyczna Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w świetle zachowanych nagrań' (Ignaz Jan Paderewski's performance practice in light of preserved recordings), MA. diss. (Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2010).

Piekoszewski's examples are illustrative, but seem to have been selected somewhat at random. Nevertheless, his chronological classification of the recordings is very useful.

Piekoszewski, following Jan Weber's ideas, divided Paderewski's discography into:

- Edison's cylinders (phonographs)
- piano rolls
- acoustic recordings
- electrical recordings
- film recordings
- speech recordings
- reissues of original recordings³⁸⁰

4.2 – His recording career

Paderewski made many recordings throughout his career. The first were for the Welte-Mignon reproducing piano on the 27th February 1906, at which he played a Feurich, and in 1916, he signed an exclusive contract which lasted until the end of the 1920s with the Aeolian Company of New York to record Duo-Art reproducing rolls. Weber and Steinway pianos were always used there. Piano roll recordings were by many the preferred means of preserving the art of pianists during the first quarter of the 20th century. He also made acoustic (i.e. pre-electric) disc recordings between 1911 and 1924, and from 1926, with the invention of electrical recordings, further

³⁸⁰ J. Weber, *Paderewski*, quoted in M. Piekoszewski, *ibid.*, 38.

titles. He continued to record until 1938. All his disc recordings were made for the Victor Company in America and its associate in Europe, His Master's Voice.³⁸¹

In assessing Paderewski's recordings, it is essential to take into account not only his break from practising due to his involvement in politics, but also the differences between recording methods. The recordings made before the break (period one: 1905–17) are, in Piekoszewski's opinion, 'the closest to the peak of Paderewski's technique skills'.³⁸² This is evidently true. His earliest disc recordings were made in 1911 at his home in Morges on his own Érard piano. The subsequent European recordings from 1912 would have been made on the studio pianos of the time. After 1917 through to 1930, he recorded for Victor using Steinway pianos, which he also played at his final recording sessions in London in the 1930s for HMV.

The second recording period covers the years 1922–24, immediately after Paderewski returned to active playing and concert tours. The third period (1926–28) consists of the discs made by the new electric method. The microphones employed could capture a wider frequency range than the acoustic horns. As a result, more details of his dynamics and subtle use of the pedals can be heard. The close style of recording used by Victor enables one to appreciate Paderewski's pianism more clearly than ever before. The fourth period (1930–31), although covering a much shorter time than the three time periods mentioned above, was very intensive for Paderewski, as he appeared in the studio for five different recording sessions. Paderewski's technique was still fairly secure, even if it sometimes lacked its former fluency. As Piekoszewski

³⁸¹ Dates are quoted from contemporary piano-roll catalogues and the disc records from J. Cartwright, *Immortal Performances Discographic Data: No. 6, Ignace Jan Paderewski Recordings* (Texas: J. Cartwright, 1978). Also, a list by Bryan Crimp, *Ignacy Jan Paderewski*, was helpful for this analysis.

³⁸² M. Piekoszewski, *Sztuka pianistyczna*, 76.

suggests, 'this is the most mature Paderewski'.³⁸³ The fifth period (two recording sessions made in London in 1937 and 1938) revealed technical problems and a slower tempo in more virtuosic passages.³⁸⁴ The year 1938 represented Paderewski's twilight: his two last radio broadcasts (1938 in Lausanne, Switzerland, and 1939 in New York) still presented coherent and expressive playing, but with little technical vigour.

4.3 – Last recordings (in 1937 and 1938, London)

It may at first be difficult to understand Paderewski's reasons for undertaking the two London recording sessions of 1937 and 1938. Paderewski, 77 years old and a world-class pianist, seemed to have already achieved all that was possible to imagine of him. But surprisingly, he went back to the studio after a long break. Some Paderewski experts have tried to explain this in terms of his possible financial difficulties, but it is more likely connected with the film 'Moonlight Sonata'. The Archiwum Akt Nowych (New Archive) in Warsaw is in a possession of the unpublished correspondence between Frederick (Fred) William Gaisberg³⁸⁵ and Sylwin Strakacz. These letters not only deal with arrangements for the recordings (including logistic and financial issues), but enable us to observe how the choice of piano pieces was modified several times.

³⁸³ M. Piekoszewski, *Sztuka pianistyczna*, 77.

³⁸⁴ As indicated earlier, the proposal to divide Paderewski's recordings into five periods was made by Michał Piekoszewski in his master's dissertation (ibid).

³⁸⁵ Fred Gaisberg was one of the very first producers for the gramophone. In America he was a sound recording engineer with Emil Berliner, before moving to England to start working for the Gramophone Company in 1898.

The first letter from Gaisberg was written on 31 August, 1936. He suggested a recording session in studio No. 3 Abbey Road, using a newly adopted recording system:³⁸⁶

Dear Mr. Strakacz,

As you know, there is a relationship existing between Mr. Paderewski and The Gramophone Company of nearly twenty-five years duration. No-one was more pleased than ourselves to hear that Mr. Paderewski had permitted himself to be filmed, as we consider this of historic importance.

From my friend Mr. L.G. Sharpe I learn that the musical numbers used in this film are as follows:

Moonlight Sonata
Rhapsody No.2. (Liszt)
Polonaise (Chopin)
Minuet (Paderewski)

We have records of all these made at various times, but they are far below the present-day standard of our records and it would be an excellent thing if Mr. Paderewski would repeat these numbers in our London studios, by our latest recording system. We have had especially wonderful success with recording the Steinway piano, as records of Cortot, Horowitz, Rosenthal and Schnabel will show.

Our recording studios at No.3. Abbey Road, St. John's Wood are very conveniently situated, in fact just opposite the former home of Alma Tadema.

We should be prepared to pay Mr. Paderewski on [sic] advance on royalty which I am certain would meet with his approval. If you can give me any encouragement, I should like to see you.

Yours very truly,
THE GRAMOPHONE COMPANY LIMITED
Gaisberg [signature]
International Artistes' Department

In the second letter (4 September 1936) Chopin's *Etude in A minor*, Op. 25 was added, and Gaisberg gave assurances about the favourable conditions specially arranged for Paderewski: 'Mr. Paderewski can select his own time, as our studio will be at his disposal at almost any hour that suits his convenience, either in the day or in the evening'.³⁸⁷ Perhaps Chopin's *Etude in A minor*, Op. 25 was not received with wholehearted enthusiasm, because Gaisberg made other amendments to the final version of the recorded programme. From the correspondence dated 25 January 1937

³⁸⁶ AAN AIJP (RISM siglum: PL-Waan), sygn. 4074. (The New Archive of Paderewski, folder no. 4074). Gaisberg's letter to Strakacz (London, 31 August 1936).

³⁸⁷ Ibid. Gaisberg letter to Strakacz (London, 4 September 1936).

it seems that Paderewski recorded one more piece there. This was *La Campanella* by Paganini-Liszt, A definite decision whether to include Chopin's *Etude in A minor* or Liszt's *La Campanella* could have been made only by Paderewski.³⁸⁸

As regards the second 1938 recording session in the same studio, there is no correspondence until 2 January, 1939, when Gaisberg approved Paderewski's final choice of pieces for release:³⁸⁹

Dear Mr. Strakacz,

We are very pleased to learn from Mr. L. G. Sharpe that Mr. Paderewski has approved the following titles:

Musical in A flat No.2 (Schubert)
Mazurka in F sharp minor Op. 59 (Chopin)
Waltz in C sharp minor Op. 64 No. 2 (Chopin)
Chants du Voyageur Op. 8 No. 3 (Paderewski)

[...]

Yours sincerely,
Gaisberg [signature]
International Artistes' Department

The published recordings in January 1937 and November 1938 are as follows:

29 January 1937 (No. 3 Studio, Abbey Road, London):

- Ludwig van Beethoven – *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor*, Op. 27, No. 2
(‘Moonlight Sonata’)
- Joseph Haydn – *Theme and Variations*, Op. 83

30 January 1937 (No. 3 Studio, Abbey Road, London):

- Ludwig van Beethoven – *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor*, Op. 27, No. 2
(‘Moonlight Sonata’)

³⁸⁸ Ibid. Gaisberg letter to Strakacz (London, 25 January 1937).

³⁸⁹ Ibid. Gaisberg letter to Strakacz (London, 2 January 1939).

- Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – *Rondo in A minor*, K. 511
- Frederic Chopin – *Nocturne in F sharp major*, Op. 15, No. 2
- Frederic Chopin – *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53
- Ignaz Jan Paderewski – *Minuet in G major*, Op. 14, No. 1

15 November 1938 (No. 3 Studio, Abbey Road, London):

- Ignaz Jan Paderewski – *Chants du Voyageur*, Op. 8, No. 3, ‘Melodie’
- Frederic Chopin – *Mazurka in F sharp minor*, Op. 59, No. 3
- Franz Schubert – *Moment musical in A flat major*, Op. 94, No. 2
- Richard Wagner/ Franz Liszt – *Tristan and Isolde: Liebestod*
- Frederic Chopin – *Nocturne in B major*, Op. 62, No. 1
- Frederic Chopin – *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2³⁹⁰

Unfortunately, there is no information about what happened to the pianos on which Paderewski played in 1937 and 1938 in the recording studio No. 3 at Abbey Road. Had they been locatable, then an evaluation of their sound quality and action weight would have been useful in the analyses of recordings made on them. Jerzy Walczak and Perkowska-Waszek discovered that in the session in 1937 the piano used had a hiring number 141, and the other in 1938 was no. 299. Unfortunately, the files with catalogue numbers, from the years 1937–38 and 1953–56, from these sessions have disappeared.³⁹¹ I contacted David Widdicombe, Technical Services Manager for Steinway & Sons in London; he confirmed that these two Steinways were model Ds, as

³⁹⁰ J. Cartwright, *Immortal Performances Discographic Data: No. 6, Ignace Jan Paderewski Recordings* (Texas: J. Cartwright, 1978).

³⁹¹ Private correspondence with Jerzy Piotr Walczak, 24 November 2012.

one might expect, but there were no further records of their full serial number, though apparently they were still used until the 1970s.³⁹²

Paderewski's last radio broadcasts deserve a little more comment. One is from a recital given on 25 September 1938 in Lausanne, Switzerland; the other was on 26 February, 1939 in New York. As Donald Manildi has rightly pointed out, despite Paderewski's fame, these broadcasts – consisting of Chopin's *Ballade in A flat major*, Op. 47 (1939), and *Ballade in F minor*, Op. 52 (1938) – were never released on commercial discs,³⁹³ although the *Ballade* exists in two piano-roll recordings. An analysis of these two radio broadcasts is given later in this Chapter.

4.4 – Characteristic Features of Paderewski's style of playing

Paderewski's playing set him apart to some extent from his contemporaries, although he was significantly influenced by Leschetizky, who was born at the end of the era of the Romantic *brillante* style. I set out below some of the features which I shall discuss later:

- 1) frequent lack of synchronisation between left and right hand
- 2) delaying the left hand in relation to the right hand
- 3) playing chords arpeggio (separately in each hand, or simultaneously) although written vertically for both hands

³⁹² Private correspondence with David Widdicombe, 21 January 2013.

³⁹³ Donald Manildi has been a curator of the International Piano Archives at the University of Maryland, College Park (IPAM), since 1993. <http://www.lib.umd.edu/ipam/manildi-bio>, accessed 16 April 2013. From his private correspondence with me, 29 January 2013.

- 4) phrasing
- 5) varied and resonant sound
- 6) polyphonic playing (dialogue between different voices)
- 7) melodic projection
- 8) *rubato* and agogics
- 9) subtle dynamic changes
- 10) specific use of pedal (not only to strengthen *legato*, but also to create sound effects within the acoustic conditions of a particular hall)
- 11) the addition, very infrequently, of additional appoggiaturas, passages and short scales; exceptionally, playing his own *cadenza*
- 12) playing an octave higher or lower than the original notation indicates
- 13) emphatic bass (even in very quiet sections) as a foundation for the harmony, and to create 'space' between different registers
- 14) frequently doubling the bass – this is noticed especially in the works of Chopin
- 15) several ways of playing trills (from slower, quasi melodic to brisk and fast)
- 16) attitude to repeats
- 17) willingness to make cuts, in order to shorten a piece for recording

In contrast to the Romantic *brillante* style, and even to the playing of other pianists contemporary to him, Paderewski did not add many extra passages or appoggiaturas. Nevertheless, they do occur in all of Paderewski's recordings of Chopin's *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53. As Piekoszewski has pointed out, a longer scale (extended to two octaves) is played in bar 64 – not 63 as quoted by Piekoszewski (*Complete Works*, ed.

Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński).³⁹⁴ After that, the first chord is performed an octave higher than it was written. His piano roll recording contains an additional interlude between bars 154 and 155. As a matter of interest, Schelling also plays this edition in his Duo-Art piano roll. In Liszt's *La Leggerezza* Paderewski plays a cadenza by Leschetizky.³⁹⁵

However, Paderewski often indulged in bass doubling. One of the most prominent examples appears in the *Funeral March* from Chopin's *Sonata No. 2 in B flat minor*, Op. 35.³⁹⁶ When the marching section returns (after the end of the middle section in D flat major), the first beat of each bar is accentuated by the bass an octave below. Thanks to this, the dramatic expression is increased and the rhythm of march becomes more powerful.

As far as tempo is concerned, it can be difficult to decide whether a particular speed was adopted by choice, or owing to the technical limitations of the recording.³⁹⁷ For instance, the recordings (respectively acoustic and electric) of the *Funeral March* from Chopin's *Sonata No. 2 in B flat minor*, Op. 35, made in 1923 and 1928 (both issued by Victor) are at a different speed. In the former, however, there is a definite feeling that

³⁹⁴ Fr. Chopin, *Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Polonaises*, vol. VIII (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1956).

³⁹⁵ M. Piekoszewski, *Sztuka pianistyczna*, 87-88.

³⁹⁶ Fr. Chopin, *Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Sonatas*, vol. VI (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1950).

³⁹⁷ This information comes from R. Beardsley, 'Speeds and pitching of 78rpm gramophone records', *Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music* (2009), http://www.charm.kcl.ac.uk/history/p20_4_3.html, accessed 19 April 2013, and also from: P. Nitecki, 'Telehistorie: Co i jak było grane 50 lat temu – wspomnienia Piotra Niteckiego' (Tele stories: What and how was it played 50 years ago? – recollections of Piotr Nitecki), *Tele Muzeum: Kolekcjonerzy Telekomunikacji* (Tele museum: collectors of telecommunication), <http://telemuzeum.uke.gov.pl/telehistorie/4-telehistorie/telehistorie/89-co-i-jak-byo-grane-50-lat-temu-wspomnienia-piotra-niteckiego.html>, accessed 19 April 2013.

Paderewski tried to accelerate in order to fit his playing to one side of a disk. The 1928 recording is spread over two sides, accommodating a slower speed. Moreover, comparing the recording of Chopin's *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53, from the film *Moonlight Sonata* (made in 1936) with one of the earliest Paderewski's recordings of this piece (Welte-Mignon piano rolls, 1906) reveals that the elderly Paderewski could still play some scales, arpeggios, various ornaments and trills technically quite briskly, but in octaves (in the middle section in E major) he had to slow down significantly. Overall the tempo of the whole *Polonaise* dropped considerably.

In the film *Moonlight Sonata* (1937) there were numerous cuts made to Paderewski's recital, and two different pianos shown on film. In the first scenes Paderewski played on a Steinway model D, but in the later scene with children it was a model A. Nevertheless, it is clear that one extra piano was used in the recording studio (Abbey Road), as even the last scene shows slightly different sonorous features. Most of the shots were made from a distant perspective. Often, when the camera caught Paderewski's hands there is a lack of synchronisation between the picture and the actual sound heard.³⁹⁸ As Kenneth Hamilton points out, Paderewski was obviously miming to a recording made earlier, and the music was often delayed or anticipated.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ Private correspondence with J. Walczak, 15 March 2013.

³⁹⁹ K. Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 34-35.

4.5 – Analysis and comparison of selected pieces recorded more than once by Paderewski

Several methods could be applied in order to analyse how Paderewski's interpretations changed throughout the years. Here I compare selected pieces (of different lengths and levels of technical difficulty) that Paderewski recorded more than once. I have also chosen pieces which were recorded over various periods of time, and using different recording methods (piano rolls, acoustic recordings, electrical recordings). This methodology led me to focus on the following pieces:

Ludwig van Beethoven	<i>Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2 ('Moonlight Sonata')</i>	I. Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1246 (1 st and 2 nd movement); no. 1247 (3 rd movement)	1906
		II. Duo-Art piano roll no. 6929 (1 st and 2 nd movement); no. 6930 (3 rd movement)	1925
		III. Victor 6690 (1 st movement only) – electric recording	16 December 1926
		IV. Victor & HMV – electric recording	29 and 30 January 1937
		V. Film 'Moonlight Sonata'	1937? (or 1926)
		VI. Radio broadcast in New York	26 February 1939
Franz Schubert	<i>Impromptu in B flat major</i> (theme with	I. Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1248	1906

	variations), D. 935, No. 3 (Op. posth. 142, No. 3), 'Rosamunde'	II. Duo-Art piano roll no. 7348	1929
		III. Victor 6482 – pre-electric (acoustic) recording	12 May 1924
Frederic Chopin	<i>Polonaise in A flat major,</i> Op. 53	I. Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1256	1906
		II. Victor (US) and HMV – electric recording	30 January 1937
		III. Film 'Moonlight Sonata' (UK)	1937
		IV. Radio broadcast in New York	26 February 1939
Frederic Chopin	<i>Waltz in C sharp minor,</i> Op. 64, No. 2	I. Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1257	1906
		II. Morges (Riond-Bosson) – acoustic recording	July 1911
		III. Victor – acoustic recording	23 May 1917
		IV. Radio broadcast in Lausanne, Switzerland	25 September 1938
Franz Liszt	<i>Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor, S. 244/2</i>	I. Victor (Camden) – acoustic recording	26 June 1922
		II. Duo-Art piano roll no. 6670	1923
		III. Film 'Moonlight Sonata'	1937
Ignaz Jan Paderewski	<i>Nocturne in B flat major,</i> Op. 16, No. 4	I. Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1262	1906
		II. Morges (Riond-Bosson) – acoustic recording	July 1911 *not released during Paderewski's lifetime

		III. Victor (New York) – acoustic recording	1 June 1922
		IV. Duo-Art piano roll no. 6562	1922

As mentioned above, in Paderewski's era recording systems were passing through experimental phases and undergoing progressive improvement. The comparison of sound colour revealed on piano rolls and acoustic or electric discs can be misleading, if taken without an element of objectivity and awareness of the many weaknesses and strengths of the recording systems. Because of that, in my comparison of Paderewski's recordings of the same piece I have taken into account those musical features that can be identified more accurately such as dynamic, agogic and tempo fluctuations, and fermatas, caesuras and phrasing.

I am immensely grateful to Denis Hall and Rex Lawson who introduced me to player and reproducing pianos. My analysis of Paderewski's reproducing piano rolls is based on listening to them on the instruments at the home of Denis Hall, rather than by means of CD transfers of recordings of other instruments.

During the first thirty years of the 20th century several types of reproducing pianos were developed. Briefly, all reproducing piano roll recordings were made in the same way. The pianist played a specially equipped piano fitted with electrical contacts under the keys and the pedals. As the artist played, a blank piano roll was marked with the exact pitch and note lengths of the performance. The use of the sustaining and soft (*una corda*) pedals were similarly noted. Dynamics were also annotated. The

original roll was then processed and once it had been approved and autographed by the artist, it was published.

Paderewski recorded for the German Welte-Mignon system and later for Aeolian's Duo-Art. His Welte-Mignon rolls were made in 1906, and that system claimed that once the artist had played, sufficient information was obtained, and a production roll could be published without further input from the artist. The Duo-Art system, for which Paderewski recorded in the 1920s, on the other hand, required the assistance of the recording artist in the preparation of the published roll, and Duo-Art rolls were not issued until they had been signed off by the pianist. Subject to the roll recording being played back at the correct speed and on an instrument in first class condition, a remarkably convincing performance can be heard. One may take it that the tempo and note placing of the original performance are accurately reproduced, but there may be some compromise in the dynamics heard and in the use of the pedals. How successful these roll recordings are may be established by comparing disc recordings of the same repertoire played by the same pianists. The similarity in many cases is very striking.

Piano roll recordings are of great value in that they captured many pianists from an earlier generation playing large works from their repertoire before the gramophone attempted similar feats. Right from the early years of the 20th century, a roll recording could play for up to 20 minutes compared to the 4.5 minutes of 78rpm discs.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ Discussion with Denis Hall, 29 January 2015.

Beethoven's Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2 ('Moonlight Sonata'), was among the longest pieces recorded on piano rolls and other media. It is notable that this is the only Beethoven Sonata which Paderewski recorded, although he had several of them in his repertoire, including the *Sonata in F minor No. 23, Op. 57 Appassionata* and *Sonata in C major No. 21, Op. 53 Waldstein*. His first recording of the *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor* was made in 1906 by Welte-Mignon. Piano roll no. 1246 contains movements I and II, while movement III was recorded on no. 1247. He plays the first movement *Adagio sostenuto* at a leisurely pace (MM ♩=35-75), with anticipated octaves played *arpeggio* in the bass line. Although such a slow tempo in this movement and the constant arpeggiation and frequently uncoordinated left and right hands are a throw back to an earlier style, to my mind, these features are not ineffective. Paderewski's significant tempo fluctuation (with an immensely increasing tempo from 35 beats per minute into 75 beats per minute, starting in bar 32) is rather extravagant; and the extensive use of *rubato* (particularly in any bars marked *crescendo*) now seems slightly artificial. Paderewski did attempt to observe some markings indicated in the score (hairpins and dynamic nuances), but the minor delays between hands, which after a while become quite predictable, hinder the narration. The *Allegretto* (MM ♩=65-70) gave Paderewski the possibility of using more subtle nuances, and most of all, the tempo sounds convincing. In bar 2 he played e^2 quasi *fermata*; this effect was repeated in analogous phrases. Whenever the indication *sf* appears (section A), this is played loudly, and with additional arpeggiation to outline the sudden dynamic change. This cannot be called 'a mannerism', because Paderewski employs such effects with unusual feeling for the balance not only between the voices, but also for the context.

The *Trio* is performed in a slower tempo (MM ♩=65), a feature of his interpretation. A prominent dialogue between melody in the right hand and accompaniment in the left hand is outlined here. Paderewski allowed himself a noticeable *rallentando* at the end of each section. Movement III *Presto agitato* sounds as if it was played on the edge (MM ♩=160), with a copious use of the sustaining pedal. In spite of a technically brilliant start, it does not always remain clear, especially on emphatic quaver chords. Any *crescendo* marking, seemed to mean for Paderewski, not only a gradual increase in volume, but also a considerable acceleration, which as a result makes subsequent passages of semiquavers more difficult to play. Bars 9-13 accordingly sound as if it was now harder for him to coordinate his hands; the varied repeat of the opening (bar 21) starts below the original tempo at the beginning of this movement. Moreover, whenever a *decrescendo* marking appears, Paderewski interprets this as an indication for simultaneously slowing down. Noteworthy is the way that Paderewski gradually takes off the sustaining pedal close to the end of the recapitulation (bar 168). Bars 179-202 are impressive in speed and precision; despite the fractionally slower speed of the *Tempo I* section (bars 192-202), Paderewski confidently comes back to the original tempo with a bold *accelerando*.

This approach contrasts with the Duo-Art recording made in 1925 – movements I and II, recorded on piano roll no. 6929, and movement III, recorded on no. 6930. In general, the *Adagio sostenuto* is performed much more fluently here (MM ♩=50-80), the tempo fluctuation is still obvious in bar 32, but is presented rather more coherently in subsequent bars. The octaves played *arpeggio* in the left hand are not so prominent. In addition, there are fewer fluctuations in the tempo throughout the whole movement apart from the ascending passages (bars 32-37), which are played

considerably faster. The *Allegretto* is much more lively (MM $\downarrow=75-80$) compared to the Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1246, and the Trio section is played at (MM $\downarrow=80$). The nuances made by Paderewski are similar to the piano roll recording of 1906. Roll no. 6930, *Presto agitato* (MM $\downarrow=148-155$), is especially successful. Even in comparison to the disc recordings, this is technically the most precise version presented by Paderewski. It is nevertheless notable that in bars 25-28 Paderewski changed the rhythm in the right hand from quaver into a dotted quaver followed by semiquaver:



Fig. 71. Excerpt from Beethoven's *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor*, Op. 27, No. 2 ('Moonlight Sonata'), 3rd movement *Presto agitato*, bars 25-28. Original notation. L. van Beethoven, ed. Louis Köhler and Adolf Ruthardt, *Sonaten für Pianoforte solo, Band 1* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, ca. 1910), 253.

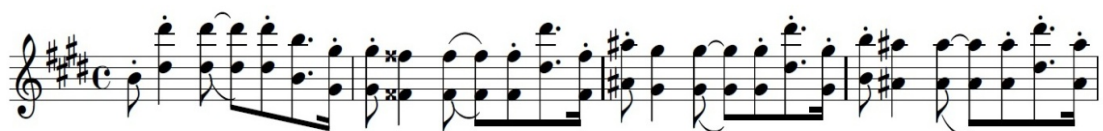


Fig. 72. Excerpt from Beethoven's *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor*, Op. 27, No. 2 ('Moonlight Sonata'), 3rd movement *Presto agitato*, bars 25-28. Version played by Paderewski.

Paderewski made the same rhythmic change in bars 122-125 of the recapitulation section. The overall tempo is more stable. Virtuoso passages and scales are not so prominently accelerated, which leads to a better-balanced interpretation. Moreover, Paderewski did not repeat the first part, in contrast to the Welte-Mignon recording from 1906. Comparing bar 168 of the recapitulation section of Duo-Art recording with

the earlier Welte-Mignon, in the later version Paderewski takes off the pedal immediately, not gradually. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether this was truly intended by Paderewski, or merely a consequence of the piano roll recording system. The *Tempo I* section (bars 192-202) is much slower in comparison to the Welte-Mignon roll, but benefits from greater clarity.

Paderewski's first electric recording of the Sonata (its first movement only – *Adagio sostenuto*) was made on 16 December 1926 by Victor. In general terms, the interpretation is very similar to the Duo-Art recording from 1925. The tempo is flowing (MM ♩=55-60), and *arpeggios* in the left hand do not noticeably hinder it. *Diminuendo* and *crescendo* are played with sensitivity, though the *pianissimo* at the beginning seems somewhat too loud. In bars 32-36 Paderewski again combines *crescendo* with *accelerando*, and prepares the second appearance of the main theme by slowing down in bars 37-41. Similarly in bars 62-69 the tempo oscillates between successive *accelerando* and *ritenuto* fluctuations.

Paderewski recorded the entire Sonata on electric discs in January 1937 in London. In the *Adagio sostenuto* (MM ♩=53), there are important changes introduced to the interpretation. Nevertheless, the melody in the right hand still appears frequently with a slight delay. *Crescendo* and *diminuendo* alterations are less extreme (such as in bars 28-31), in contrast to the recording of 1926. What is interesting here, is that Paderewski's triplets in the ascending passages (bars 32-35) are performed evenly, with less *crescendo*. Paderewski makes a *subito piano* on the first beat in bar 49 (together with a gradual *ritenuto*), while in 1926 he played *forte* until the C sharp minor chord in that bar and suddenly dropped off in the following bar 50 (without

a *ritenuto*). Additionally, in the 1937 recording the two bars (58-59) before the last appearance of the main motif in the left hand are treated in a calmer tempo. Bars 60-69 (with the arabesque of ascending and descending triplets) are now played without any further *accelerando* or dynamic increase, and the section closes without any 'artificial' nuances.

The Allegretto in this recording was played at a moderate speed (MM ♩=78, but with significant tempo oscillations), and rather heavily, when compared to either of his piano roll recordings of this movement. The lack of coordination between hands is much less noticeable here. Surprisingly, in the *Trio* section (MM ♩=68-70, but also with frequent tempo fluctuations), there is no longer much dynamic contrast, and octaves appearing in the right hand sound occasionally forced. *Rubato* (including massive slowing down on single notes or at the end of phrases) is repeated in the same places as in previous recordings.

The *Presto agitato* (MM ♩=138), shows that Paderewski could still maintain bravura and vigour in the opening sequence of semiquavers in the right hand, even if the passage sometimes lacks a certain level of clarity, which could be ascribed to an over-use of the sustaining pedal. Paderewski still applied the rhythmic changes described above (dotted quaver and semiquaver instead of two quavers in bars 25-28 and analogously in bars 122-125). Moreover, he does not play the repeat in this movement.

Bars with a *fortissimo* marking (bars 33 and 37) or sections with a *crescendo* indication (bars 49-52) are played occasionally on the edge, sometimes violently, and even *piano*

sections (bars 72-75) sound excessive in volume. But the finger agility is impressive. Bars 9-14 and similarly 112-117 are not slowed down, and hands are coordinated. Also, the final *Tempo I* section (bars 192-202) is played much more clearly, and with better hand coordination in the C sharp minor passage played in octave unison. Paderewski did occasionally play some passages or single notes inaccurately, but I intend to concentrate on specific interpretational features here rather than scrupulously point out places where there are technical errors.

A further recording of the *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor*, Op. 27, No. 2 'Moonlight', was made for the film 'Moonlight Sonata'. Only the opening of the first movement is presented at the beginning of the film (bars 1-12), but the entire movement is played towards the end. The interpretation is very similar to the recording made in 1926.⁴⁰¹

The last recording of the *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor* by Paderewski was made on 26 February 1939 (radio broadcast in New York). It is exceptionally valuable to listen to the opening of this, as it is preceded by a few prelude chords played *arpeggio* (an octave in the bass and spread chord in the right hand). It gives us a unique taste of his live performances, when Paderewski usually started with a little improvisation before the very first piece was played in a concert (or sometimes before a set of pieces). This live performance reveals an appreciably more animated tempo in the *Adagio sostenuto* (MM ♩=58-60), although octaves in the left hand played *arpeggio* and the right hand coming intentionally later brings to mind the interpretation preserved on the Welte-Mignon piano roll from 1906. Even if technically the quality of the recording of this radio broadcast leaves a lot to be desired, it is possible to hear subtle dynamic

⁴⁰¹ According to Kenneth Hamilton it is possible that this is the same recording.

nuances and contrasts. It is important to note that Paderewski did not speed up as significantly as on the recording of 1906 or, even of 1927, while playing ascending triplets in the right hand in the first movement (bars 32-39) and in similar phrases (bars 62-65).

The *Allegretto* is taken at a slower tempo than previous recordings (MM ♩=68), but the *arpeggio* in the left hand and lateness of the right is more audible. The *Trio* (section B), in contrast to Paderewski's recordings from 1906 and 1927, was played mostly in the same tempo as the preceding section A (MM ♩=68). In other recordings, the *Trio* was generally played slightly faster, if taking into consideration the fact that Paderewski reduced the timing of his *ritenutos* towards the end of some phrases. Specific phrasings, caesuras and *rallentando*, occur in the same places as in the recordings discussed before.

The *Presto agitato* (MM ♩=140) does not lack vigour or technical fluency. Nevertheless, several passages and various kinds of ornaments (particularly in the right hand) are notably less dexterous. Bars 43-56 and 168-181 (with *staccato* quavers) are played much more slowly than in other recordings, but in this live recording they at least sound firm and defined. To some extent, lightness and spontaneity has given way to heaviness and inflexibility. Towards the end of the movement, a lack of precision is noticeable, for instance in bars 165-168 and 198-200, where Paderewski seems to try to cover his declining finger mobility by an increased use of the sustaining pedal. Nevertheless, this is an effective performance overall, and the technical struggles might even be said to add to the impact of the whole.

Table 2 Ludwig van Beethoven – <i>Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2</i> ('Moonlight Sonata')		
1906	I. Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1246; piano roll no. 1247	1 st movement – <i>Adagio sostenuto</i> MM ♩ = 35-75 2 nd movement – <i>Allegretto</i> MM ♩ = 65-70 (Trio) MM ♩ = 65 3 rd movement – <i>Presto agitato</i> MM ♩ = 160
1925	II. Duo-Art piano roll no.6929; piano roll no. 6930	1 st movement – <i>Adagio sostenuto</i> MM ♩ = 50-80 2 nd movement – <i>Allegretto</i> MM ♩ = 75-80 (Trio) MM ♩ = 80 3 rd movement – <i>Presto agitato</i> MM ♩ = 148-155
16 December 1926	III. Victor 6690 – electric recording	1 st movement only – MM ♩ = 55-60
29 and 30 January 1937	IV. Victor & HMV – electric recording	1 st movement – <i>Adagio sostenuto</i> MM ♩ = 53 2 nd movement – <i>Allegretto</i> MM ♩ = 78 (Trio) MM ♩ = 68-70 3 rd movement – <i>Presto agitato</i> MM ♩ = 138
1937	V. Film 'Moonlight Sonata'	The interpretation is very similar to the recording made in 1926.
26 February 1939	VI. Radio broadcast in New York	1 st movement – <i>Adagio sostenuto</i> MM ♩ = 58-60 2 nd movement – <i>Allegretto</i> MM ♩ = 68 (Trio) MM ♩ = 68 3 rd movement – <i>Presto agitato</i> MM ♩ = 140

To contextualise my discussion more extensively, it may also be advantageous to analyse briefly another historical recording of this piece, and to notice how Paderewski's recordings differ from contemporary pianists. I have chosen a recording of another notable Polish pianist and also a Leschetizky pupil– **Ignaz Friedman (1882-**

1948). This was made in September 1926 for English Columbia Records (electrical recording). The first movement – *Adagio sostenuto* (MM ♩=43-47), in Friedman’s recording is placid and coherent. The tempo is stable throughout the whole movement, with slight oscillations in bars 32-41. When the main melody comes back in bar 42, Friedman solidly keeps the same tempo as in the beginning. Friedman’s recorded performance is faithful to the dynamic and agogic markings in the score. Octaves in the left hand are played without any *arpeggio*, and the melody in the right hand comes perfectly in time with the accompaniment; excluding occasional places where Friedman wanted to outline the dissonances between the top voice and middle voice, both played by the right hand (bars 52, 54 and 59). Although the tone colour and the nuances are performed with sensitivity and beauty of sound, almost all Friedman’s tactics are quite predictable. Nevertheless, the interpretation still captures the listener’s attention.

The *Allegretto* (MM ♩=48) surprises us with a slow tempo, much slower than in any Paderewski recording. Friedman does not play the first repeat, nor the second repeat in the *Trio* section (played at MM ♩=50-52). Due to the slow tempo, the movement to some extent loses its natural flow and coherence. However, the balance between voices (particularly in the *Trio*) is subtler than in Paderewski’s recordings, Friedman’s *Presto agitato* (MM ♩=180-165) is driven and played on the edge. Paderewski did not achieve this speed in any of his recordings of this movement. Friedman, in spite of a few inaccuracies, plays with great clarity, and makes a characteristic caesura before the second *fortissimo* chord (in bar 37 and analogously, 134). This is evidently intentional, as it prevents too sudden ‘a jump’ onto the chord. He also uses much less pedal in the entire movement than Paderewski. That works out especially well in

staccato chords (bars 193-195). In the recapitulation Friedman makes one noticeable tempo change in order to outline the melodic aspect of the right hand. The tempo drops off in bars 21-24 (exposition) and bars 118-121 (recapitulation), but is quickly accelerated thereafter.

The next work I have chosen to demonstrate significant differences in Paderewski's interpretations over the years is the **Schubert *Impromptu in B flat major*** (theme with variations), **D. 935, No. 3 (Op. posth. 142, No. 3), *Rosamunde***. The earliest recording was made in 1906 on a Welte-Mignon piano roll (no. 1248). In the opening theme (MM ♩=60-65) the melody in the right hand is frequently slightly delayed in relation to the left. Also, Paderewski often plays *arpeggio* in chords and octaves. Repeated sections are preceded by distinct *rallentando* not indicated in any edition of the score. Subsequent Variations show enviable technique and precision (such as *Variation V*, played at MM ♩=95-100) – although we must not forget that piano rolls could be edited to remove wrong notes). Ornaments ('turns' and trills in *Variation II*, which was played at MM ♩=103-110) are clear and rapid. Paderewski's rather exaggerated use of *rallentando* can be further observed in *Variation IV* (MM ♩=120-125).

Paderewski recorded the piece again in 1929 (Duo-Art piano roll, no. 7348). The interpretation of the opening theme is less wilful this time (MM ♩=73-79), and noticeably faster than in the earlier recording. The playing is more even, and the use of *arpeggios* is restrained. In addition, any tempo changes (such as *ritardando*) are more limited. In *Variation I* the tempo is faster (MM ♩=85-100), and dynamic

contrasts (likely added by the editor) more vivid.⁴⁰² In *Variation II* (MM ♩=100-110) the semiquavers are less fluent and played in a slower tempo. In the second part of this Variation (after the repeat), the coordination of chords and octaves is somewhat less dexterous. *Variation III* (MM ♩=80) is striking due to the surprisingly heavy and loud playing (although *piano* is indicated at the beginning in the score). Despite this, Paderewski masterfully plays the transition from this Variation to the next one with an expressive *rallentando* and chords gently *arpeggiando*. The subsequent *Variations* (*IV* – MM ♩=107-110 and *V* – MM ♩=90-100) do not compare favourably with the previous almost effortless scales and dexterous passagework. In the last two variations, the interpretation (even down to the slightest nuances) is more or less identical to the earlier piano roll.

A pre-electric (acoustic) recording of *Impromptu in B flat major* made on 12 May 1924, first issued on Victor 6482. Here, the interpretation is in many respects a mingling of aspects of the two recordings discussed above. We hear a pronounced *rubato* in the theme (played at MM ♩=75-80), with characteristically delayed chords in the right hand (such as in bar 11) and even an anticipated b-flat¹ (bars 8 and 16-18). *Variation I* (MM ♩=100) is not entirely accurate, and gives the overall impression the tempo is slower for technical reasons. It is worth mentioning again Paderewski came back to the recording studio after a long break, and this gap seems to be noticeable here. In *Variation III* (MM ♩=83) Paderewski uses distinctly less pedal than the piano rolls (again, a feature possibly added during editing of the latter). Despite the comments above, the playing of the final *Variation V* (MM ♩=55) is very impressive both musically and technically.

⁴⁰² Private meeting and conversation with D. Hall, 2 May 2013.

Polonaise in A flat major, Op. 53 by Chopin was another staple of Paderewski's recitals. Evaluation of his various recordings allows us not only to recognise how his technical fluency changed, but also how his concept of interpretation developed in a wider sense. It did indeed develop. The first recording was made in 1906 (Welte-Mignon piano roll, no. 1256). The opening is played rather leisurely (MM \downarrow =95-100) and majestically, but with the upward semiquaver chromatic figure appearing in bars 1, 5, 9 and 11 rushed to dramatic effect in contrast to the appearance of the first subject (starting in bar 17, played at MM \downarrow =85-90). In the introduction, Paderewski also characteristically delays the right hand in chords, and frequently plays them *arpeggio*. In bars 18, 19 and 22 he played with a slightly altered rhythm in the right hand. In the group of four semiquavers, instead of even notes he interpreted the third one as a dotted semiquaver and the fourth one as a demisemiquaver.

Fig. 73. Excerpt from Chopin's *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53, bars 17-22. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Polonaises*, *Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. VIII (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1956), 57.



Fig. 74. Excerpt from Chopin's *Polonaise in A flat major*, Op. 53, bars 17-22. Rhythmic version played by Paderewski (changed in the right hand).

Strangely, bars 48-81 are omitted. The middle section (in E major, MM \downarrow =82-105) displays an effortless sequence of octaves in the left hand, performed firmly, evenly and *con bravura*. The lyrical section between from bar 129 to bar 150 Paderewski plays most poetically, and in my experience, he is unique in this approach. Between bars 154 and 155 Paderewski added an additional run in octaves. Interestingly, one of Paderewski's pupils, Ernest Schelling, also recorded the *Polonaise in A flat major* in 1916 on Duo-Art piano roll no. 5721. Schelling makes the same addition to bars 154 and 155, and also the same cut (bars 49-81) as Paderewski.⁴⁰³ This probably reflects Paderewski's teaching, as he shared his 'tricks' with his students, particularly if they played his repertoire.

Two further recordings of the Polonaise are: 1. an electrical recording (January, 1937, for HMV in London) and 2. the 'Moonlight Sonata' film recording (1937, made in the

⁴⁰³ See D. Hall, 'Paderewski and the Player Piano', *The Pianola Journal*, 21 (2010), 43.

UK). When listening to the HMV recording, Paderewski seems more dexterous than in 1906 (introduction: MM ♩=85-90, first subject section: MM ♩=72-77, and E major section: MM ♩=88-90), although the opening introduction of the piece is played in a rather restrained way. In bars 2, 6, 10 and 12 Paderewski holds quaver rests for longer and also performs the sequences of semiquavers more evenly, although still clearly. The overall tempo of the piece and scope seems convincing. Bars 18, 19 and 22 are played with the same rhythmic modification as in previous recordings (dotted semiquaver and demisemiquaver instead of four even semiquavers in the right hand), but this time slightly less marked. Once more, the *fortissimo* seems to be rather forced and heavy (as in bars 33-38). Noticeably, in this recording Paderewski does not make any cuts. Before the E major section (beginning in bar 81), however, he inserts a long gap. There was no gap in the Welte-Mignon recording. Therefore, this was either a new interpretation of this moment or simply the joining together of the two 78rpm record sides between bars 80 and 81. In the left hand octaves in the E major section Paderewski was gradually losing precision, although this does not affect the phrasing and rhythm of the right hand. Paderewski again chose not to use the addition before bar 155.

In the 'Moonlight Sonata' recording, the overall tempo is not particularly stable, with frequent oscillations (introduction: MM ♩=87-95, first subject section: MM ♩=70-75). It is, again, in many places much slower than in the roll from 1906. By 1937, Paderewski was a somewhat frail old man of 77, and less able to maintain the faster tempo. There is no gap before the E major section (starting in bar 81), and Paderewski's tempo for the octaves in that section do differ from the other recording of HMV, electric disc in 1937, as they are played faster in some places (MM ♩=85-95).

There is no addition before bar 155. In conclusion, the pianist's interpretation shows no major differences in the two 1937 recordings.

A much later recording of this Polonaise was made on 26 February 1939 in New York (a radio broadcast). In general, this performance was much slower than any other of his recordings, and played technically less skilfully, although the introduction was kept broadly in a faster tempo than in the 'Moonlight Sonata' film (introduction: MM ♩=96-100, first subject section: MM ♩=75-82). Technically more demanding phrases are played distinctly languidly. In *forte* and *fortissimo* sections the sound is sometimes pounding; trills, chords and octaves are less skilful and cautious. It suggests that playing this piece presented Paderewski's ageing fingers with substantial obstacles. But Paderewski does not make the cut (bars 49-81) in the previous recording from 1906; moreover, he refrains from the addition between bars 154 and 155.

The E major section (with the sequence of descending octaves in the left hand, played at MM ♩=80-87) is rather uneven and much slower. Some octaves are not clearly played. It is possible to hear that Paderewski put most of his attention into playing the octaves and keeping the right hand restrained. Nevertheless, phrasing, accents, dynamics and agogic details are carefully delivered, together with a nice outline of the bass and the melodic shape of the right hand. Although the last presentation of the main melody in A flat major (starting in bar 155) sounds somewhat splashy in some chords; the firm character of the Polonaise is well projected.

To summarise: although Paderewski's technique deteriorated – particularly during his last years, which did influence the overall standard of his playing – in the recordings

described above I believe there are no major differences in interpretation, although in 1906 his style was somewhat more flamboyant than later. His re-recording of works could lead to the speculation that because of changes in his style of playing he had decided to record certain pieces again. The reasons for making further recordings of the same piece or pieces were related more to the following considerations:

- his increasing willingness to experiment with recording on piano rolls, acoustic and electric recordings and radio broadcasts at several stages of his career;
- special invitations from companies which wanted to have Paderewski's name on their labels (such as the Gramophone Company and Victor);
- his deteriorating financial situation and ongoing donations for charitable purposes, which forced him to continue to earn money;

However, in two further pieces recorded by Paderewski we can observe major changes in his style of playing: **Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2***, and **Paderewski's own *Nocturne in B flat major, Op. 16, No. 4***.

The ***Waltz in C sharp minor*** was recorded in a very late radio broadcast (on 25 September 1938 in Lausanne, Switzerland). That gives a thirty-year gap between the very first recording in 1906 (Welte-Mignon piano roll, no. 1257). The two performances are very different. On the Welte-Mignon piano roll from 1906 (no. 1257) Paderewski uses the sustaining pedal rather sparingly. At the end of first major section (bars 1-32, played at MM \downarrow =54-58), he slows down noticeably in bar 31. Although the second section (bars 33-64) is not played particularly quickly (MM \downarrow =73-75), in the scale in the right hand (bars 45-48) Paderewski suddenly speeds up.

Additionally, he changes the text: instead of playing a regular run in quavers (as indicated in the score), Paderewski played a free chromatic scale in semiquavers starting on g^{#1} and finishing on c^{#3}. The same pattern is repeated later on (bars 61-64) and in the *Più mosso* sections (bars 109-112, 125-128, 173-176 and 189-192). That modification also occurs in the radio broadcast of 1938.

The second section (bars 33-64) is played with subtlety. The tempo is not too rapid and gives a slight impression that the arpeggios in the right hand are somehow not within Paderewski's grasp. Surprisingly, whenever a *pianissimo* section appears (bars 49-64 and all analogous ones) the playing sounds, in general, worse – heavier, and with less flow, if compared with the radio broadcast recording from 1938. In the *Più lento* Paderewski also altered the original version, playing *appoggiatura* before e-flat² (bar 65), f² (bar 70), a-flat³ (bar 73), f² (bar 81), a-flat² (bar 89), and he does not hold the d-flat³ as the slur indicated (bars 76-77).

Besides, his use of *rubato* changes the rhythm of a few notes in the actual melody of the right hand. For instance, in bar 68, the f¹ after a slight *ritenuto* was played as a quaver, and in bar 72, the f² was held significantly, and the last quaver in the group was performed as if it were a semiquaver. In bar 80 the last quaver after the Paderewski's *ritenuto* (again, not indicated by the composer) became a semiquaver. Additionally, in bars 92-93 Paderewski plays d-flat³ imprecisely, not with a single lower bass note in the left hand, but with the chord on the second beat in bar 92, and on the first beat in bar 93. In bar 93 it happens again, c³ in the right hand is played with a diminished chord (not with a single, lower bass note), by Paderewski in a quasi improvised way (*arpeggio*). The interpretation of the last *Più mosso* (bars 161-192) is

rather wilful (MM \downarrow =80). Paderewski plays slowly until bars 189-192, when he suddenly hastens to the end. Finally, the C# in the left hand is added after the final chord in bar 192, in the same way as in the later version of this piece.

In July 1911 an acoustic recording of the Waltz was made in Paderewski's villa in Morges (Riond-Bosson). The tempo from the very beginning is fast (MM \downarrow =63-65), and the use of the sustaining pedal sparing. The interpretation is very similar to the version from 1906, but slight differences can be noticed. Although Paderewski still played the first two sixths in the right hand *arpeggio* (bars 1-2, 5-6 and analogous ones), the semiquaver rest is interpreted more faithfully to the score (in the 1906 recording, the gap was much more pronounced). His controversial use of *rubato* can be heard on this recording too (particularly in bars 31-32 and in all analogous ones).

Paderewski's roll from 1906 features a more casual approach to *accelerando* and *rallentando*. In bars 45-48, 61-64 and in the *Più mosso* section (MM \downarrow =85-90), Paderewski still plays a chromatic scale starting on $g\#^1$ and finishing on $c\#^3$, altering the original text. Sometimes *appoggiatura* notes are added in different places compared to the roll of 1906. In the *Più lento* extra *appoggiatura* ($d\text{-flat}^2$) was placed before f^2 in the right hand. Bars 76-80 are at a much slower speed than in 1906, but in subsequent bars Paderewski gradually increases the tempo and does not play so substantial a *ritenuto* in bars 92-93. I do not give any metronome markings for bars 76-80 and 92-93, as setting a relative tempo speed is not possible due to the constant *rubato* and tempo fluctuations in these places.

Paderewski re-recorded the Waltz in May 1917 (New York). This is also an acoustic recording. Bars 1-32 of section A were played slower, but with more explicit tempo fluctuations (MM \downarrow =55-70), and with less *arpeggio* on chords in the right hand (such as in bars 1-2, 5-6 and any analogous ones). This time *appoggiatura* notes in the right hand, originally written by Chopin (bars 3-4, 7-8 and analogous places) were sharper and much clearer than in the recording from 1911. The *Più lento* section was interpreted similarly to the recording from 1911, although fewer *appoggiatura* notes were played in the right hand, and Paderewski changed the text in bars 70 and 74 by playing a slightly different rhythm. In bar 70, the g-flat² (a minim) and the following f² (a crotchet) in the right hand were recorded as double dotted minim and quaver. In bar 71, the f² is repeated normally, without a tie. In bar 68, b-flat¹ and f² in the right hand were changed into a dotted crotchet and a following quaver. That happened similarly in bar 74, with g-flat² and f². Bars 78-79 were played with an extensive *ritenuto*, not present in the previous recording.

The *Waltz in C sharp minor* recorded for the radio broadcast on 25 September 1938 in Lausanne, was played surprisingly boldly and quickly, with noticeable tempo fluctuations (section A: MM \downarrow =60-70), in spite of Paderewski's age of 78. But the most important aspect (compared to previous recordings) is that this performance has a new feeling for waltz rhythm and character. The *Più mosso* sections were played much faster in a few places and less wilfully (MM \downarrow =75-90), but there is a much wider range of dynamics – perhaps a reflection of the increased sensitivity of the recording process.

In order to present a comparison of Paderewski's performance style and other pianists contemporary to him, I would like to refer to recordings of Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, made by **Aleksander Michałowski**, **Vladimir de Pachmann** and **Josef Hofmann**. These recordings cover a wide time-span. Secondly, different recording systems used made a substantial impact on the overall quality of each of them. Thirdly, we also have here two different recordings made by the same pianist.

Polish-born **Aleksander Michałowski (1851-1938)**, who studied in Leipzig, Berlin and Lwów (with Chopin's pupil Karol Mikuli), was particularly praised for his interpretation of Chopin's works, although his concert repertoire ranged much more widely. Michałowski's two recordings were made in Warsaw, in late 1905, with the recording engineer Franz Hampe (for The Gramophone and Typewriter Limited – G&T). These are gramophone discs, manufactured in Russia. Only the second version of Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor* was published during Michałowski's lifetime.⁴⁰⁴ More detailed aspects of the gramophone records and their history are discussed later. The primitive recordings of the time did affect the overall sound quality (with constant distortions) of both recordings in a remarkable way. The Matrix number of the first recording is 35871 (Catalogue no. 25604). This was recorded sometime earlier in 1905 than the second one (Matrix no. 16674b, Catalogue no. 25635).

Michałowski begins his first recording of Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor* at MM ♩ = 51, with a quite heavy use of a sustaining pedal. In bars 9-15 he plays *accelerando*,

⁴⁰⁴ Compilation, transfer, production and annotation was made by Bryan Crimp in 1995 for Appian Publications & Recordings. For reference: Frederic Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, Aleksander Michałowski, 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century', Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531, recorded in late 1905-Warsaw, re-issued in 1995-Wark).

slowing down only on the last two quavers in right hand of bar 16. In bars 31-32 there is a notable *ritenuto*, the same as in Paderewski's interpretations. Nevertheless, Michałowski's *ritenuto* is more coherent and does not exceed the overall tempo of the section A, whereas Paderewski's is more sudden and taken at a much slower speed. Besides, in bar 15 a G# in the left hand is omitted in the recording. Michałowski (like Paderewski), plays the notes appearing in the right and left hand *arpeggio* on the third beat of the earlier mentioned bar 31 and on the first beat of the subsequent bar (where he makes a *ritenuto*).

Surprisingly, Michałowski repeats section A (although there is no repeat sign in the score). As with the first playing, he performs the chords in the right hand with a slight *arpeggio* and after the left hand (first beat in bars 2-3 and 6-7). In bars 9 and 11 (both times) the chords appearing on the first beat are played with a more stressed *arpeggio*. Additionally, during the second playing of section A, Michałowski makes a characteristic nuance, for he emphasises the chord in the right hand (sixth interval) which appears on the third beat (bars 3 and similarly 17), playing it later and with more subtlety of tone. Bars 33-64 are driven, played at MM $\downarrow=133$ (!) Michałowski plays this section evenly, technically precisely and almost without the sustaining pedal. There is no *accelerando* or *ritenuto* during this section, even during the chromatic scale in the right hand. Moreover, he plays bars 45-48 and 61-64 as they are written, without any text alterations (as in Paderewski's case).

In section B (*Più lento*) Michałowski plays with many unannotated tempo fluctuations, but the overall tempo is apparent (MM $\downarrow=58-60$). He does not play the f^2 that appears in the right hand (bar 66), but he does play the D-flat major chord in the left hand in

the same bar, although, according to the score, it should be held. Moreover, he plays the left hand rather leisurely and often *arpeggio*, and the right hand frequently comes slightly after the left; nevertheless, this delay is much more marked in Paderewski. Michałowski, in the left hand of bar 82 (the first beat), replaces d-flat by a repetition of the previous chord (consisting of a-flat and f¹). In bar 82 (on the second beat) in the right hand he plays g-flat² instead of f², and on the third beat of the same bar he comes back to f² again (although e-flat² is written at that point). In the following bar 83 Michałowski already starts the quasi ornament in the right hand, which naturally turns into the right hand octuplet (bar 84). Apart from that, descending crotchets (bars 93-95) are played like a sequence of quavers. These important changes (bars 91-96) differ noticeably from the score:



Fig. 75. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.

Interpretation by Michałowski:



Fig. 76. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Version played by A. Michałowski (recording from late 1905, Warsaw).

The *Più Mosso* (which starts in bar 97) shows an impressive technique. Michałowski reaches the speed (MM \downarrow =138-140) here. When *Tempo I* comes back (bar 129), this section is played faster (MM \downarrow =65-70) than the opening of the Waltz. In the final bar (192) the left hand plays an *arpeggio* C# minor chord.

The second recording by Michałowski of Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor* presents an entirely different approach to interpretation: tempo, dynamics, phrasing and overall expression. Comparing this recording with the previous one, we get the impression that the first version of the Waltz was experimental, as it substantially exceeds the standard tempo at which the Waltz was commonly played by other pianists who were recording at that time (for instance, the recording of Vladimir de Pachmann from 1907). That would explain why the first recorded version (described earlier) was not released. The second recording, which was made in late 1905, slightly after the first one, is at a much slower tempo.

Section A starts at MM \downarrow =43-45. In bars 3, 7 and 19 the quaver rest is emphasised more, held longer and with the sustaining pedal off. In bar 30 Michałowski makes a slip in the ornament in the right hand. Moreover, although the *ritenuto* which Michałowski makes in bars 31-32 does not go beyond the general tempo as much as in the first recorded version, it seems to be less controlled and more hesitant. At this point there is another inaccuracy – Michałowski did not play the fourth quaver e¹. It clearly sounds like an accident, rather than a deliberate choice.

From bar 33 the tempo changes as rapidly as in the previous recording; Michałowski gradually speeds up the quavers in the right hand (bar 33) and continues at

MM \downarrow =112-115. In this version he does not repeat section A after bar 32, but after the faster section that finishes in bar 64 (before *Più lento*). What is essential to point out, is the fact that the complete section A is not repeated, but only bars 1-48. Additionally, in the first recording there was no *ritenuto* during bars 33-64. In the second, in bars 47-48 a slight *ritenuto* appears, which prepares the return of bars 33-48 as a *pianissimo* section.

The tempo of the *Più lento* section is the same as in the first recording (MM \downarrow =58-60). However, its *rubato* fluctuations and suspensions (particularly on long notes) are more prominent. Michałowski still makes some alterations to the score. He repeats the D-flat major chord in the left hand on the first beat of bar 66 (which should be tied with the chord from the previous bar), and in the same bar the f^2 in the right hand is held as a prolongation of the bar before. The melody in the right hand often comes after the left hand. In bars 68-70 Michałowski also intentionally changes the score:



Fig. 77. Excerpt from F. Chopin, Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 68-70. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)*, vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.

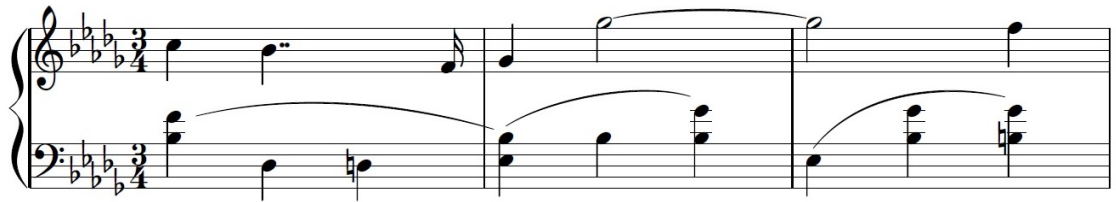


Fig. 78. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 68-70. Version played by A. Michałowski.

Further significant modification is made by Michałowski in bars 74-79, as he not only changes the text and note values, but also omits bar 76 completely:



Fig. 79. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-79. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)*, vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 80. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-79 (with bar 76 omitted). Version played by A. Michałowski.

In subsequent bars 81-85 Michałowski plays with further changes of the text:

The image shows a musical score for F. Chopin's Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 81-85. The score is in 3/4 time and features a treble and bass clef. The right hand has a melodic line with fingerings 2, 5, 3, 6, and 3. The left hand has a bass line with chords and a 'p' dynamic marking. There are 'Ped.' markings and asterisks in the bass line.

Fig. 81. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 81-85. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)*, vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.

The image shows a musical score for F. Chopin's Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 81-85. This version shows a different interpretation with a 'p' dynamic marking and a '2' marking in the bass line. The right hand has a melodic line with fingerings 6 and 3. The left hand has a bass line with chords and a 'p' dynamic marking.

Fig. 82. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 81-85. Version played by A. Michałowski.

In bar 92 (as in the previous recording) Michałowski does repeat the d-flat³ in the right hand. From the first beat of this bar he gradually plays *diminuendo*, still playing a sequence of descending crotchets in bars 93-95 as if they were quavers, and decelerating the tempo in the last bar before *Più mosso* (beginning at bar 97, played at MM \downarrow =120-125). In terms of the whole section of bars 91-96, Michałowski keeps his 'older' interpretation from late 1905. However, he adds one more chord (played *arpeggio*) in the left hand. It is illustrated below, in comparison with the original version:



Fig. 83. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 84. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Version played by A. Michałowski (21 September 1912, Warsaw).

The recording finishes in bar 128, so the return of section A (with *Più mosso*, bars 129-192) is missing. This is probably due to time limits of the gramophone disc. In spite of numerous alterations to the original score (particularly outlined on the example of the *Più lento* section in this second recording) which in terms of their frequency differ from any of Paderewski's interpretations of this Waltz, both Michałowski's recordings contain some features that can be found in Paderewski's recorded performances of this piece. Although the tempi of the *Più mosso* section in both Michałowski recordings reveal better technical skills, in terms of the *rubato*, phrasing and *ritenuto* nuances there are notable similarities between Michałowski and Paderewski. As

regards tone quality, it is hard to compare the recordings, as gramophone discs were made in much more primitive conditions than electrical recordings, and a quite 'flat' sound commonly characterised them all.

Another gramophone record of Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor* was made not so long after Michałowski's by **Vladimir de Pachmann (1848-1933)**, who specialised in the interpretation of music by Chopin. Pachmann was one of the most famous performers of his era and made his recordings in Britain. Luckily, many of the Pachmann's recordings were made when the quality of his performances was at their peak. The recording of the *Waltz in C sharp minor* was made for G&T in London by a recording engineer Will Gaisberg on ca. 19 June 1907; Matrix no. 6003e and Catalogue no. 5568.⁴⁰⁵ This interpretation is refined, but not as impressive as Michałowski's two interpretations of the same Waltz. Section A (*Tempo giusto*) oscillates between MM $\text{♩} = 55-60$. Notwithstanding, tempo fluctuations and a considerable use of *rubato* appear frequently. In that respect, Pachmann's interpretation is very close to Paderewski's style of playing this Waltz.

Pachmann also uses a slight delay of the right hand. Chords (in both hands) are often interpreted *arpeggio*. That happens especially in the right hand, in bars 5 and 9, while in bar 5 he additionally plays a¹ on the first beat (dotted minim) to make a full chord, and in bar 6 he plays f#¹. In bars 12-16 Pachmann begins an unusually emphatic *ritenuto*, starting on the last two quavers (in the right hand) of bar 12 and continues it

⁴⁰⁵ From the booklet which accompanies the Vladimir de Pachmann's recording. Compilation, transfer, production and annotation was made by Bryan Crimp in 1995 for Appian Publications & Recordings. For reference: Frederic Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2*, Vladimir de Pachmann, 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century', Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531, recorded in 1907-London, re-issued in 1995-Wark).

till the end of bar 14. Bars 15-16 are played *accelerando*. Dynamically, this phrase is much more expressive and persuasive than Michałowski's. In bars 21-22 Pachmann plays full chords in the right hand again, adding a¹ in bar 21 and f#¹ in bar 22. The dotted minim in bars 5 and 21 are clearly played *arpeggio*. These changes can be illustrated as follows:



Fig. 85. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 5-6 and 21-22. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)*, vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 86. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 5-6 and 21-22. Version played by V. de Pachmann.

In bar 27 Pachmann makes another alteration, as he adds a#¹ into the right hand chord on the first beat, playing it *arpeggio* as well. Occasionally, some notes are missing in the recording. That happens, for instance, in bar 29, where one cannot hear d¹-natural in the middle voice. It is difficult to decide whether or not this was done on

purpose. But in the following bar b^1 (originally tied from the previous one in bar 29) is repeated. Bars 33-64 (generally played much faster by the pianists mentioned earlier) in Pachmann's case are recorded at $MM \downarrow = 95-100$. Certain chords in the left hand do not come through clearly enough and are not well balanced in volume with the right hand. That was probably caused by the limited conditions of the recording process. Unexpectedly, in bars 57-64 Pachmann makes a progressive *ritenuto*, which in terms of its length (number of bars) is the longest, compared with any of the interpretations by Paderewski and Michałowski.

The *Più lento* ($MM \downarrow = 50$) contains significant tempo oscillations and considerable *rubato* which, in terms of their frequency and wide range of different tempi, are similar to Paderewski's playing of this section. Pachmann often plays the right hand after the bass note. For instance, in bar 66 the e-flat² (on the third beat) sounds almost like a quaver, as Pachmann does not always implement ties. Therefore, in bar 67 e-flat² is repeated, as well as f² in bar 71. In bar 74 the rhythm in the right hand is clearly changed:



Fig. 87. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-75. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.

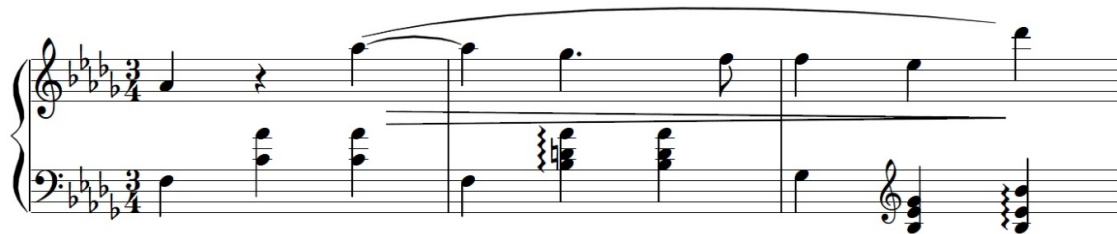


Fig. 88. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-75. Version played by V. de Pachmann.

Bars 81-85 are characterised by an immense *rubato*, but this does not disrupt the natural flow of this phrase. In bars 125-127 Pachmann clearly changes the text in the left hand:



Fig. 89. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 125-128. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)*, vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 90. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 125-128. Version played by V. de Pachmann.

Tempo I does not bring any new ideas. In the last *Più mosso* (bars 161-192, played at MM ♩=90-100) Pachmann makes a massive *ritenuto*, which starts in bar 185 and carries on towards the very end. During this section he also alters a few notes in the left hand. Unfortunately, the $c\sharp^3$ did not come out, and instead of that someone's voice (probably the player's) is heard.



Fig. 91. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 187-192. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes*, *Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 92. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 187-192. Version played by V. de Pachmann.

The Polish pianist **Josef Hofmann (1876-1957)** recorded Chopin's *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2 on the 18 April, 1923 (Matrix no. 10405) for Brunswick. This is an acoustic recording. Brunswick began to release its first discs in January 1920, in the

US, focusing on recording well-known works played by famous pianists (including Elly Ney and Leopold Godowsky). Brunswick was already by 1923 the third most popular recording label after Victor and Columbia.⁴⁰⁶ Hofmann neither surprises the listener with extraordinary innovations nor with notable tempo changes throughout the piece. Quite the contrary, he is thoroughly faithful to the score, and his metronomic interpretation of not only the *Tempo giusto*, *Tempo I* and *Più lento* sections, but also the *Più mosso* gives a stable performance indeed.

The *Tempo giusto* (MM ♩=60) is played with almost metronomic precision right up to bar 27. As for the *accelerandos*, commonly present in most of the recordings mentioned above, Hofmann rarely uses them. He keeps the same tempo until bar 16, when he smoothly slows down to introduce the return of the main melody. Additionally, in bar 10 and 26 (and analogously, in bar 138 and 154 of the *Tempo I* section) he plays all quavers in the right hand *staccato*. Hofmann's playing has no *arpeggios* in the left hand. The bass line is nicely outlined and well-balanced. In bar 24 (and analogously, in 152) there is an extra *acciaccatura* note preceding the first two quavers in the right hand (d¹ and e¹). There is also another change in the text, as Hofmann does play the first quaver of the right hand in bar 28 (and in bar 156) – c^{#2}, which originally is tied from the previous bar. A noticeable *rallentando* appears in bars 28-32. This feature has been observed in Paderewski's and Michałowski's recordings so prominently that it can be considered as a characteristic feature of performance style in that period. Also, in bar 31 Hofmann plays an additional g^{#1} in the right hand which comes quietly but precisely with the left hand on the third beat of this bar,

⁴⁰⁶ Producer and Audio Restoration Engineer of this recording was Mark Obert-Thorn, and the booklet was written by Jonathan Summers (2008). For reference: Frederic Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, Josef Hofmann, 'Great Pianists: Hofmann, Acoustic recordings 1916-1923' (Naxos Historical, CD 8.111326, recorded 1916-1923 in New York City, re-issued in 2002, made in Germany).

while the e^1 (notated as a quaver) is treated like an *appoggiatura*, coming slightly before the $g\sharp^1$, but with a strongly defined accent. Bars 33-64 are played evenly and with metronomic precision (MM $\downarrow=90$). Hofmann slows down gradually in bars 63-64, played *diminuendo*. Other dynamic features (such as the *pianissimo* in bar 49) are well-defined. A more substantial change of the tone colour in bar 49 suggests Hofmann played that bar with the *una corda* pedal. The overall evenness of the section described (bars 33-64) is strengthened by repeating some chords written on the second beat in place of the crotchet rest on the third beat. That occurs in bars 37-38, 54 and 60, and is repeated in both *Più mosso* sections (bars 97-128 and 161-192).

For example:



Fig. 93. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 37-38. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 60.



Fig. 94. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 37-38. Version played by J. Hofmann.



Fig. 95. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bar 54. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 60.



Fig. 96. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bar 54. Version played by J. Hofmann.



Fig. 97. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bar 60. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 60.



Fig. 98. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bar 60. Version played by J. Hofmann.

The *Più lento* is played at a stable speed of MM $\text{♩} = 53$, apart from some meagre *rubato*. Hofmann outlines the chromatic changes in bars 66-67, 70-71, and analogously in bars 82-83. The text of the left hand is also changed there, compared with the edition by Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński. In bar 65 Hofmann plays D instead of D as the first crotchet. Further text alterations are as follows:



Fig. 99. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 66-67. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 100. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 66-67. Version played by J. Hofmann.



Fig. 101. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 70-71. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 102. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 70-71. Version played by J. Hofmann.



Fig. 103. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 82-83. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.

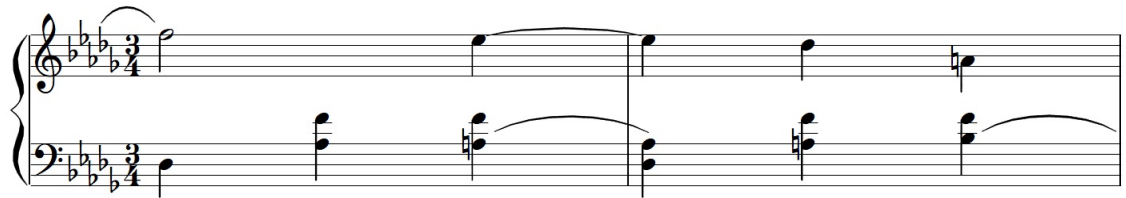


Fig. 104. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bars 82-83. Version played by J. Hofmann.

Also, in bar 79 Hofmann plays an A-flat⁷ chord in the left hand on the second beat, not on the third (as given in the edition by Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński):

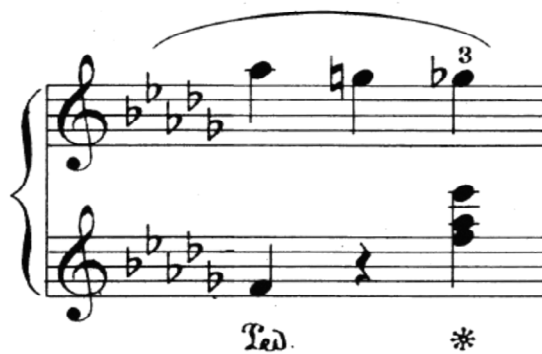


Fig. 105. Excerpt from F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bar 79. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.



Fig. 106. F. Chopin, *Waltz in C sharp minor*, Op. 64, No. 2, bar 79. Version played by J. Hofmann.

In Hofmann's interpretation of the *Più lento*, the right hand is slightly uncoordinated with the left hand, as it often comes in after the bass note or chord in the left hand. Nevertheless, these delays are relatively sparse, compared with any of Paderewski's recordings, and also of the other pianists mentioned above. Besides, what unmistakably differs Hofmann's interpretation of this Waltz is the fact that he does not play any chords *arpeggio* in the left hand throughout the entire piece. Moreover, his *rallentandos* are not so prominent.

However, the lack of extreme *rubato* and exaggerated delay between the left and right hand does not detract from this interpretation or make it appear superficial. On the contrary, Hofmann plays the subsequent *Più mosso* section with various tempo changes, enhancing his hitherto orderly interpretation. The *Più mosso* which precedes *Tempo I* has a gradual *accelerando* throughout. The first half (bars 97-112) is played at MM ♩=92-98. Towards the end (bars 109-112) the *accelerando* is not carried out with the *diminuendo* indicated in the score. Therefore, subsequent bars (113-128) do not start *pianissimo*, and are already at a faster speed (MM ♩=105). Only in bars 127-128 does Hofmann play *diminuendo* (as written in the score) with a distinct *rallentando*. Subsequently the *Tempo I* (bars 129-160) and *Più mosso* sections (bars 161-192) are interpreted similarly in comparison to the earlier analogous sections of the Waltz.

The ***Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor, S. 244/2*** by Franz Liszt is one of the pieces that Paderewski recorded and performed the most. His first acoustic recording was made in June 1922 in Camden, New Jersey. The quality of the sound is poor. Paderewski made occasional rhythmic changes in the beginning of the *Lassan* (played at MM ♩=60) in bars 12, 16, 20, 63, 65, 67, 72, 76 and 80. Instead of playing four

semiquavers in the right hand, he changed the very last two of them into a dotted semiquaver and a demisemiquaver. In the left hand he plays the lower octaves (C# and C#). In this and other recordings of the Rhapsody, Paderewski plays quasi-improvisational passages with such conviction that they do actually sound like his own improvisations. For instance, this can be observed in bar 24, where at the very end he repeated the b^1 many more times than indicated. In bar 35 Paderewski starts *capriccioso* at MM ♩=73-75, and when the *sempre giocando* starts (bar 51), Paderewski achieves the speed MM ♩=85. In bars 62-65 it is possible to hear Paderewski playing *tremolo* in the left hand to extend the length of vibrations produced in the lower register. Moreover, he followed this by adding his own cadenza in the subsequent section. When the main theme appears for the last time before the *Friska* section, Paderewski plays extra chords in the left hand in order not to leave the surrounding melody in the right hand without any harmonic support in the lower register. The *Friska* impresses with its immense technical fluency and fast tempo (MM ♩=145-170). It sounds as if it was played with ease (despite occasional inaccuracies). Towards the end, Paderewski plays a short cadenza which is probably his own.

The second recording comes from 1923 and was made on a Duo-Art roll (piano roll no. 6670). In the *Lassan* Paderewski again plays double octaves instead of a single C# in the bass (left hand). A short improvisation precedes the *Friska* (played at MM ♩=130-170). Otherwise, the interpretation is rather similar to the earlier acoustic recording.

The very last recording was made in 1937 and appeared on the soundtrack of the 'Moonlight Sonata' film. The quality of the sound leaves much to be desired, and the

soundtrack was recorded separately from the film, it gives a unique chance to observe and analyse Paderewski's finger work and wrist and arm movements, particularly while he was playing technically demanding sections. The interpretation of the piece changed little compared to earlier recordings. But here, two bars before the *Friska* section, one can hear Paderewski repeating the C sharp major chord and then playing *tremolo* in the left hand again to sustain the vibrations of the strings. The same procedure was adopted in the recording of 1922, but it is less audible there. The tempo is slightly slower, particularly in the more challenging sections, compared with the 1922 recording, and has more tempo oscillations (*Friska*, MM ♩=115-155).

In 1898, Emil Berliner, inventor of the gramophone, sent one of his employees, Fred Gaisberg to London to set up a branch of his gramophone company there. In 1900 Gaisberg invited **Landon Ronald (1873-1938)** to make the first G&T piano record in Britain,⁴⁰⁷ and a disc of Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor*, S. 244/2 (Matrix no. 1508, Catalogue no. 5523, seven inch disc) was released as the result of the session held in October 1900 (issued in December of that same year). These very first recording sessions were made in primitive conditions. Therefore, the overall technical result and sound effect cannot be directly compared with Paderewski's or any other recordings made on piano rolls, or later acoustic and electric discs. Ronald, however, admired Gaisberg as an innovative record producer of gramophone discs.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ Ronald co-operated with G&T not only as a recording artist, but also as a 'Musical advisor'. According to the information given in the booklet accompanying the Landon Ronald's recording, his role as musical advisor to The Gramophone and Typewriter Limited was retained until his death. See the booklet attached to 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century', Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531), 28.

⁴⁰⁸ Compilation, transfer, production and annotation was made by Bryan Crimp in 1995 for Appian Publications & Recordings. For reference: Franz Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2*, Landon Ronald, 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century', Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531, recorded in 1900-London, re-issued in 1995-Wark).

This recording of Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor* is the only one which I analysed by listening to a CD transfer, not to the original disc. Only the *Friska* part was recorded, surprisingly preceded by someone counting: 'One, two'. The tempo through this section is MM ♩=125-208. Ronald does not make any preparation for the *Tempo giusto-vivace* section and starts it at MM ♩=130, speeding up through the section till MM ♩=208, which was not achieved in any of Paderewski's recordings. But Ronald plays the *Friska* with many 'accidental' or wrong notes. There is also a large section cut in his recording. Before the final octaves of the *Prestissimo*, the *tremolando* section (in the right hand) and the *un poco rallentando* (12 bars) are not present. Also, the *Prestissimo* is slightly modified, as Ronald cuts bars 5-8. These cuts were made due to the time limits of the early gramophone record, and not for artistic reasons. The overall interpretation does not present any characteristic features which would place it above Paderewski's.

Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor* was also recorded by the Russian pianist **Arthur Friedheim (1859-1932)** on Duo-Art (piano roll no. 6151), released in May 1919. Friedheim was an important pupil of Liszt, and his interpretation therefore carries considerable weight. His approach has much in common with Paderewski's acoustic recording from June 1922 (Camden) not only in tempi, but also in terms of interpretational features. However, some minor differences can be observed. In the introduction (*Lento a capriccio*) Friedheim plays the ornaments of the right hand (written as semiquavers) in bar 2 *staccato*, and in bar 4 he changes to *portato* playing (neither *staccato* nor *portato* has been notated in the score). He returns to such an interpretation in similar bars of the *come primo* section towards the end of *Lassan* (which is played at MM ♩=58). There are no doubled bass notes or lower octaves, as

in Paderewski's recording from 1922. Nevertheless, Friedheim sporadically plays some chords *arpeggio* in order to strengthen their expressive role, as the E major chord in bar 22 and G sharp minor in the following one. In bar 24 Friedheim, similarly to Paderewski, repeats the b^1 more times than written, playing *ritenuto* towards the end. *Capriccioso* (bar 35) starts at MM $\downarrow=73$, with tempo oscillations towards *sempre giocando* (MM $\downarrow=90$). These tempi are close to Paderewski's from 1922.

However, Friedheim's piano roll has more clarity in several improvisational ornaments, passages and scales than Paderewski's, as he uses much less pedal. Friedheim makes a little cut after the *lunga pausa*, preceding the *Friska*. This is perhaps an editing point. The *Friska* impresses with its fast speed (MM $\downarrow=140-200$), technical precision (in *appoggiaturas*) and sound clarity. Unlike Paderewski's recording or that of any other pianist, Friedheim does not make any *ritenuto* in the bars preceding the *Tempo giusto-vivace* of *Friska*, nor any caesura, but continues at the same speed (MM $\downarrow=180$). Such an immediate transition to the *Tempo giusto-vivace* section explicitly singles out this recording from any other interpretation. Otherwise, the interpretation is quite similar to Paderewski's in general concept. However, more significant *accelerandos*, faster tempi, extraordinarily well-played *acciaccaturas*, and sequences of chords (sixths and octaves) are evident. Friedheim does not incorporate an improvised *cadenza* when the *Cadenza ad libitum* marking is indicated. He carries on to the octave sequence marked as *Prestissimo* (MM $\downarrow=205$). Tempo markings on piano rolls may occasionally be incorrect, but there is no evidence to suggest that Friedheim's roll is not unaccurate recording of his playing.

In December 1922 **Josef Hofmann** recorded Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor* for Brunswick (first issue no. 50023, New York City, acoustic recording). The *Lento a capriccio* sounds quite monotonous, held in a controlled and perhaps too stable tempo. The lack of expressive *forte* and passion in *acciaccatura*, *appoggiatura* chords, and in quasi ornamental short motifs in the right hand, gives an impression of a reserved interpretation. The *Lassan* section (MM ♩=58-60) is coherently phrased and has sensibly planned, inconspicuous transitions. The *Capriccioso* section starts at MM ♩=72. By *sempre giocando*, Hofmann achieves the speed MM ♩=85, reducing it to MM ♩=53 at *come primo*. There are a few nuances. Tempo choice is closely related to Paderewski's acoustic recording from 1922. Improvisational passages and scales are performed with lightness, subtlety and dexterity. Hofmann interprets the *lunga pausa* as a moment of smooth transition to the subsequent *Friska*, without any cut in sound or pedal.

The *Friska* is played in a fervent tempo (MM ♩=140-210), with extreme lightness and a rare use of the sustaining pedal, which makes this section particularly interesting among recordings of other pianists of that time. The *Tempo giusto-vivace* is played with clarity; the tempo chosen by Hofmann here (MM ♩=110) is well taken. A characteristic feature worth mentioning is his frequent *rubato* at the end of the 8-bar phrases. No matter how technically difficult a phrase is, he always perfectly controls all tempo fluctuations and with dexterity makes a proper balance as regards *rubato*. Paderewski did not have such immense technical control. Hofmann's playing is devoid of any extraneous ornaments or improvisations. However, towards the end of the *Friska*, 4 bars before the slow *un poco rallentando* section (12 bars long) that precedes the *Prestissimo*, he adds on the strong beat 5 two-note chords, based on the

C#⁷ chord (a dominant) to support the *tremolo* in the right hand. Hofmann also does not play any cadenza, but immediately goes on to the *Prestissimo*.

At this stage of my analysis I would like to return to one of the prominent pianists whose recording of Beethoven's 'Moonlight Sonata' has been discussed in the earlier part of this Section – **Ignaz Friedman**. He recorded Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor*, in December 1931 (an electrical recording) for Columbia Records in England. It has been edited, as the two different dates on which the recording was made confirm. Part 1 was probably recorded on the 16th December, and Part 2 on 17th December. Part 1 includes the Introduction (*Lento a capriccio*) and *Lassan* section, and Part 2 contains the *Friska*.

In the *Lento a capriccio* Friedman plays the *acciaccatura* single notes and chords, as well as *appoggiatura* passages faster than Paderewski. The *Lassan* starts at MM ♩=58. In this section Friedman often plays semiquavers which precede crotchets and quavers in the melody or in the left hand accompaniment as *acciaccaturas*, so it would be hard to distinguish whether particular notes were written as *acciaccaturas* or semiquavers. In *capriccioso* (bar 35) he plays at MM ♩=70, while *sempre giocando* (bar 51) starts at MM ♩=93. Compared with Paderewski's recording from June 1922, only the *sempre giocando* section starts slightly slower. Apart from that, the tempi are rather similar to Friedman's recording from 1931. Notwithstanding, the overall impression of Friedman's playing is more convincing in terms of finger dexterity and clarity in various passages, scales and *arpeggios*. Additionally, Friedman does not double the bass notes nor play them in octaves. In Friedman's recording there is no gap before the *Friska* section. The sustaining pedal seems to strengthen the *attacca*

transition from the *Lassan*, whereas in Paderewski's recording a break at this point is heard both in pedalling, and in a *lunga pausa* (as indicated in the score) in 1922 (but not in the 'Moonlight Sonata' film from 1937). The *Friska* in Friedman's interpretation oscillates between MM ♩=130-180. All repetitions, octaves played *arpeggio* are played effortlessly, more so than in Paderewski's recordings. Before the *Tempo giusto-vivace* section (in F sharp major) Friedman makes a caesura, after which he holds the tempo for four consecutive bars, then he speeds up gradually until achieving an impressive MM ♩=180-205.

The first recording of **Paderewski's Nocturne in B flat major, Op. 16, No. 4** was made by Paderewski in 1906 (Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1262). The opening chords were played *arpeggio* and with bass anticipation. The general tempo is slow (MM ♩=70-75), with the occasional rapid *accelerando* (for example, bars 20-21). Occasionally, there are extended *rallentandos* not indicated in the first edition of this Nocturne (Bote & Bock). That includes the above-mentioned *rallentando* (bars 19-20).

Besides this, Paderewski introduced further rhythmic changes. These can be observed in bar 18, where instead of playing f#² as a crotchet he holds the preceding d³ longer and makes f#² a demisemiquaver. In the climax of bars 38-52, both the right and left hands are deliberately uncoordinated. Obviously, details such as an accent on the quavers in the left hand (bar 1 and analogous ones), *sf* (bar 42) or *pp* in the last appearance of the main melody (*Tempo I* section, bars 65-74, played at MM ♩=50-56), all indicated in the score, were difficult to reproduce in a piano roll. The more extensive *rubato* could be an attempt to replace these dynamic nuances.

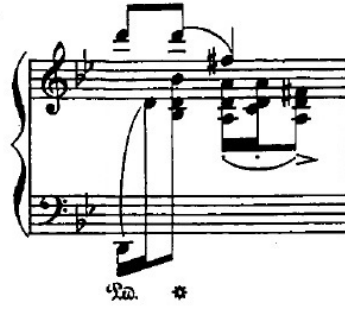


Fig. 107. Bar 18 from Paderewski's Nocturne in B flat major, Op. 16, No. 4 (Bote & Bock edition, 1891).

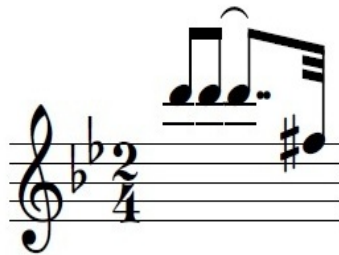


Fig. 108. Version of the same bar played by Paderewski on Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1262 (1906).

The first acoustic disc of this Nocturne was made in July 1911, in Morges, but it was not released during Paderewski's lifetime. In the beginning the tempo is not particularly slow (MM ♩ = 80), and the performance shows only a moderate use of the pedal. Paderewski played some chords *arpeggio* in the left hand, usually the ones on the first beat of the bar. Compared to the G. Schirmer edition (New York, 1892), the chords which are originally printed with an *arpeggio* marking (as in bars 5 and 7), are played much more strongly and intensely by Paderewski. Paderewski was most faithful to the printed version in this recording. That also relates to dynamic, agogic

and tempo markings. Paderewski did not add any additional notes nor change them rhythmically, although playing the quavers in the accompaniment of the right hand *arpeggio* changed the expression of bars 25-28 to a more reflective character. These right-hand *arpeggios* are present in 1906 as well, but are hardly audible in the 1922 recording (analysed further below). In the 1911 recording, Paderewski's sensitivity of touch and variety of tone colour is notable. Expression and carefully balanced dynamics support the harmonies of bars 28-35 in particular, bars 51-52, and also the transition to the *Tempo I* section, starting in bar 53 (MM ♩=55-65).

Another acoustic disc of this Nocturne was recorded in June 1922, in New York. The interpretation, if compared to the recording from 1911 did not change very much, apart from a slightly slower tempo (MM ♩=68-75). Because of the improvement in the recording system, dynamics are more audible. This is especially revealed in bars 1-12 of the Nocturne, when the beauty of the high notes and expressive phrasing in the right hand can be heard. Also, any nuances, such as even a slight delay of the right hand melody, are more obvious. In bar 18, the d^3 played by the right hand is changed from two quavers into one crotchet, but I suspect that this was not intentional, because this change appears only here. Although bars 53-74 are marked in the score as returning to *Tempo I*, Paderewski in both recordings – from 1911 and 1922 – plays this section much more slowly than the opening tempo (MM ♩=55-60), and carries on that slower speed to the very end of the piece.

In the piano roll recording of the same Nocturne a few months later, in November 1922 (Duo-Art, piano roll no. 6562) Paderewski, or his editor, reduced the use of the sustaining pedal in the phrases where the melody occurred for the first time, and

played chords without such extreme *arpeggio*. This affects the character of the interpretation from the very beginning and at the same time emphasises the *staccato* originally indicated in the score. Paderewski's interpretation seems more faithful to the score (including the original notation in bar 18) than in the previous roll from 1906. Dynamic and pedal nuances are much more perceptible on the Duo-Art roll than on the Welte-Mignon roll, but it is nevertheless impossible to confirm whether the *staccato* chords in the left hand were truly played with almost no pedal by Paderewski, or whether it is the editing of the recording by Duo-Art which produced this effect. The tempi of the beginning of the Duo-Art roll are: MM ♩=65-70, and *Tempo I* section is: MM ♩=60-63, which presents a contrast with the Welte-Mignon roll from 1906.

Conclusion

The musical nuances that were so central to Paderewski's playing could not all be captured on recordings due to the inadequacies of the recording systems available in those days, and naturally neither could the charisma of his physical presence be reproduced. It is perhaps significant that Paderewski's first acoustic recording was made at Rioud-Bosson (1911), not in a studio.⁴⁰⁹ Recording sessions were very exhausting, as the absence of editing required a long period of concentration from the performer.

⁴⁰⁹ Paderewski's first recording session was scheduled to take place in Paris. The occasion was interrupted by the presence of an insensitive reporter who annoyed Paderewski to the extent that he walked out of the studio. It was only by the diplomatic efforts of Fred Gaisberg that Paderewski once again agreed to make recordings, but only at his Rioud-Bosson home in Switzerland. See the reference: Fred Gaisberg, 'Paderewski as I Knew Him' (typescript article) in J. Northrop Moore, *A Voice in Time: The Gramophone of Fred Gaisberg 1873-1951* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), 127-129.

I compared selected pieces that Paderewski recorded more than once in his lifetime. The piano rolls and acoustic discs from the first period, when Paderewski led an intensive concert life (1905-17), are technically skilful, with many interpretational novelties, especially in respect of *rubato* and dynamic nuances. Recordings from the years 1922-24, when Paderewski left politics and returned to the stage and to recording, still reveal dexterous playing and more subtle dynamic and agogic details, which can be heard even more clearly in the early electric recordings from 1926 to 1928. Recordings made in 1930-31 belong to those in which Paderewski's technical fluency and precision still impresses. However, the interpretations seem to be more settled, quasi 'traditional', so sometimes lack his former freshness and unpredictable interpretational interventions. Finally, in 1937 and 1938 (the two London recording sessions) tempi gradually become slower, and more places where technical constraints begin to limit the musical expression can be heard. In spite of that, even the last two radio broadcasts (1938 and 1939) attract attention by subtle phrasing, strong engagement with the instrument and inherent sensitivity. However, sometimes the texture is overly thick, particularly when Paderewski's excitement and vigour in playing was constrained by diminishing technical abilities. At this stage it is important not to forget that the quality of both radio broadcast recordings was nowhere near as good as it is today.

How difficult the earliest acoustic recording sessions could be, was described by Gerald Moore (1899-1987), highly praised English accompanist, who shared his personal experience of such a recording session. Moore was also a highly entertaining speaker and, as such some of his opinions must be taken with a pinch of salt. In his earliest recordings, the engineer forced him to play with no dynamic differences, and

a continuous *forte*, no matter what the mood of the recorded piece was. This was caused by the fact that a violinist had to be much closer to the horn, otherwise, the sound would hardly be recorded on the wax.⁴¹⁰ Neal Peres da Costa mentions that Moore complained that Paderewski's acoustic recordings were devoid of a wide range of dynamics.⁴¹¹ This is hardly borne out in that in Paderewski's acoustic discs one can indeed identify some dynamic nuances and tone gradation, but not on the same scale as on his electric discs. Additionally, the instrument choice and its quality played a prominent role in the results of the acoustic recording session. Peres da Costa described Paderewski's Érard grand piano used during the session in 1911 (in Riond-Bosson) as 'surely [...] a piano in fine condition'.⁴¹² Leech-Wilkinson has also pointed out that the better the technology, the better expressivity can be generated on the recording.⁴¹³ Simon Frith in 'Going critical: Writing about recordings',⁴¹⁴ quotes an early contributor to 'Gramophone' magazine, suggesting that the Gramophone Company might have to modify its recording process to cope with 'his [Paderewski's] harsh toned pianoforte'.⁴¹⁵

But what do the recordings tell us about the development over time of Paderewski's approach to interpretation? It is essential to remember that production of tone colour, use of *leggiero*, pedalling and other coloristic features can differ in particular recordings due to the more or less developed recording systems. As regards piano

⁴¹⁰ G. Moore, *Am I Too Loud? – Memoirs of an Accompanist* (London: Macmillan, 1962), 53.

⁴¹¹ N. Peres da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 16.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴¹³ D. Leech-Wilkinson, 'Recordings and histories of performance style', in Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and John Rink (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 258.

⁴¹⁴ S. Frith, 'Going critical: Writing about recordings', in Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson and John Rink (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 267-282.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 274-275.

rolls, dynamic and tempo features revealed on them should be assessed rather with caution, because of the process of notating them by a system of perforations (holes) on a long roll of paper. While acoustic recordings could preserve some dynamic, agogic and tempo features, sound distractions often 'covered' more detailed nuances. In Paderewski's day, only electric recordings (as a microphone caught a wider range of vibrations than a horn) could reproduce a greater variety of tone colours.

According to Leech-Wilkinson '[...] on the whole most recorded musicians for whom we have a lifetime's output seem to have developed a personal style early in their career and to have stuck with it fairly closely for the rest of their lives'.⁴¹⁶ This is also true of Paderewski. Even the earliest recordings (he was already 46 years old by then) show a mature performance conception to which he largely remained faithful (apart from minor agogic, textual and tempo nuances). Once Paderewski worked out in his own and 'the best' interpretation, it was usually not refined significantly.

⁴¹⁶ D. Leech-Wilkinson, *Recordings and histories*, 250.

CONCLUSION

Paderewski's pianism can be misconstrued if some of its aspects – such as his use of different pianos (Érards, Steinways), his intensive engagement with recording processes, and also the specific style of writing reviews in Paderewski's day – are not taken into consideration. Researching those aspects of Paderewski's long career exemplifies how his charisma clearly gripped listeners worldwide. Thus, naively negative criticism, which presents Paderewski as an embodiment of the mannered artist who manipulated the audience while not personally having much of interest to say, should be treated with caution. Even nowadays Paderewski is associated with a commercial attractiveness and exorbitant concert fees. The very late recordings of Paderewski's career seem to justify these suggestions, and to underpin the argument that his playing did not convey anything that might impress present-day pianists and audiences.

But Paderewski was always supremely concerned about the quality of his sound and technique (like his piano teacher – Leschetizky), although many challenges throughout his life often affected the quality of his performance, especially after Helena Górska's death in 1934. His technique gradually deteriorated due to a lack of systematic practicing during the First World War, and old age also increased his worries about quality of his performances. Paderewski, like Anton Rubinstein, was an uneven player; he did not start to build up a professional repertoire until he was 24 years old (and later). In his *Memoirs*, Paderewski recalled his debut in Paris (1888):

Immediately after that recital every one rushed back to the dressing-room, including two conductors, Lamoureux and Colonne [...] I knew that I played rather acceptably, that it had made a sensation, but I also knew perfectly well that I was *not* equipped for a *number* of concerts. I intended to play one recital only, and now Lamoureux wanted me to play with the orchestra, and also arrange for several other concerts immediately. I was aghast. I had nothing to play – only the one programme that I had already given! Was it not terrible? That was a tragedy indeed! Only one programme – one! When I remember that, I am shivering to this day. I should not like to go through it another time in my life, that experience.⁴¹⁷

A lack of a substantial concert repertoire forced Paderewski to work on new material immediately. Every professional musician needs some time to learn and to absorb new pieces properly before presenting them on stage with confidence. For Paderewski, receiving many concert engagements when he was not ready for them meant practicing those that he already knew simultaneously with studying new repertoire. That consumed most of his daily routine. Putting himself to such an effort often resulted in extreme stage fright and increasing problems with his health. What was noticed by the audience were the ups and downs in Paderewski's subsequent performances, particularly on long concert tours.

Paderewski's teaching, which engaged him after he had ensured his place in the artistic world following his first successful concert tours in America, had previously been neglected as a subject of study due to the alleged insufficiency of primary written sources. That led to further unsupported conjectures about Paderewski's inadequacy as a teacher. But the present research of the unpublished letters of Paderewski's pupils reveal his impact on the numerous artists who had lessons or consultations with him at different stages of their career (Schelling, Małcużyński, Szpinalski, Liberace and many others). In this correspondence, Paderewski is not only seen as a valuable advisor with regards to practising and the building up of

⁴¹⁷ I.J. Paderewski and M. Lawton, *The Paderewski Memoirs* (London: Collins, 1939), 129-130.

a concert repertoire, but also as a mentor who took on the role of agent and sponsor for his most promising students. Most were probably trying to copy Paderewski's playing in some way, but many who came to study under his guidance were already pianists with solid technical skills, who only needed further training in order to develop their individuality. That explains why it is hard to point to any student who was the direct 'successor' to Paderewski and his style of playing. Admittedly, many of the names of Paderewski's pupils are nowadays not recognised by the majority of contemporary pianists and listeners. One of the reasons for this fact is that Paderewski had a weakness for helping anyone if he felt he was able to achieve something by it. Therefore, he offered consultation lessons and advice to many who later on decided either not to remain in the music profession as soloists, or who eventually did not establish the career they had aimed at. Paderewski himself had a considerable advantage over subsequent pianists in that he gained his first successes in Europe and America well in advance of the First World War, and the economic crisis that later spread across these continents. Musicians of a younger generation did not have this advantage. Moreover, Paderewski's charisma, and resulting fame, could not easily be duplicated by anyone else.

In analysing Paderewski's recordings, one must take into account the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century many aspects of sound recording were experimental. Better sound quality was slowly achieved, particularly after 1925 when electric recording was introduced. His first experience of recording was at his home (Riond-Bosson) in 1911, where he was able to see exactly how a disc record was made. Such a scenario cannot be compared with present conditions in modern recording studios, where an artist is fully isolated from the recording console and can focus his/her

energy purely on playing. Although Paderewski showed an interest in recording music live and in radio broadcasts, he did not find this compelling. This was partly caused by the obvious loss of the visual aspects of performance and the intimate connection with the audience. The latter was also a part of his 'charisma', and could naturally be shared and felt only in a live performance. Moreover, as we have seen, Paderewski's technique suffered the consequences of a temporary retreat from concert life due to his active involvement in politics. This is clearly noticeable in the recordings made after the First World War, which lack some vivacity and dexterity compared to the earlier discs. In addition to that, Paderewski's health problems, initially muscular problems in his hands and arms, which first became apparent during his first concert tour in America, but later more generally, became more serious as the years progressed. This can be observed in the *Moonlight Sonata* film, and heard in his London recordings (1937 and 1938), and two radio broadcasts (1938, Lausanne, and 1939, New York).

I analysed Paderewski's recordings by comparing selected pieces (by different composers, including Paderewski himself) recorded more than once and through different media (piano roll, acoustic disc, electric disc and film). It is noteworthy that the interpretation in most cases was not greatly changed by Paderewski, even if a certain piece was repeated after a significant gap in time. In the light of this, my comparison was aimed not at focusing on short passages that may have been played differently (or less skillfully due to Paderewski's advancing age), but rather on identifying the more significant features that differentiated one interpretation from another. I took dynamics, agogics, pedalling, phrasing, holding fermatas, caesuras, *rubato* and overall tempi into account. As regards the tempo of the pieces discussed,

and the timing between particular variations or movements, I have indicated the importance of not making too rapid a judgment. When Paderewski was recording, the tempo that was finally preserved either on piano roll or disc could be dictated by the limits of both of these media. Paderewski's recordings, undertaken at different periods of his life show a transformational path from a flamboyant, extravagant approach to a more controlled velocity of the fingers, giving way to a greater expressive vein. Paderewski enjoyed the luxury of making many recordings which were never issued, and I can therefore deduce that the published versions were his considered final thoughts on those compositions which did see the light of day.

Paderewski's iconic place in the early 20th century pianism cannot be underestimated nor forgotten. Many later critics painted rather critical and negative portraits of him. This is perhaps an inevitable reaction to the often uncritical adulation offered by some of his contemporaries. But ultimately, some of Paderewski's unquestionable success forces us to acknowledge that much depended upon an elusive 'charisma' that will always be hard to quantify. Paderewski's charisma, like that of Liszt before him, was partly expressed through music, but the musical aspects were only one part of it. In that respect, a pupil may have played well, but was 'no Paderewski', as an American would have said. Ironically, the pupil who arguably came closest to Paderewski's stage presence – if in a very different fashion – was not one of the more 'serious' students, but rather Liberace. He alone attained a public celebrity somewhat comparable to that of his one-time teacher – Paderewski.

To conclude on a more personal note: during the past five years I have listened extensively to Paderewski's recordings. His style of playing, perhaps understandably,

initially struck me as old-fashioned – not acceptable today on the concert platform. While I cannot honestly say that his playing has strongly influenced my own interpretations of any music apart from his own, there are aspects of his approach that are of great value even today. Once one is able to listen beyond certain unusual stylistic features, such as the non-coordination of the hands, one comes to appreciate the intelligence and concentration in the overall concept of his interpretations. More particularly, his sense of phrasing and *rubato*, and remarkable tone colouring and pedaling, which one can hear clearly in his later recordings have been almost subconsciously absorbed into my own playing. In those respects, Paderewski, even posthumously, has much to teach modern players.

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Gottschalk: The Banjo (Fantaisie Grotesque)

Liszt: Au lac de Wallenstadt, No. 4 from *Années de pèlerinage première année, Suisse*

Grandes Études de Paganini, No. 1, *Tremolo*

Grandes Études de Paganini, No. 3, *La Campanella*

Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C sharp minor

Hungarian Rhapsody No. 9 in E flat major, *Pester Karneval*

Hungarian Rhapsody No. 10 in E major

Légendes:

St. François d'Assise La prédication aux oiseaux

St. François de Paule marchant sur les flots

Rosenthal: Papillons

Friedheim, Arthur, 'Great Pianists of the golden Era: Liszt's Pupils Alexander Siloti, Arthur Friedheim. Instruments of the past: The reproducing piano' (Fonè, 90 F 07 CD, 1989, made in Italy).

Liszt: Légende No. 1 (St. François d'Assisi, la prédication aux oiseaux) (St. Francis of Assisi, preaching to the birds)

Roll 5718-Publ. 1/16

Légende No. 1 (St. François de Paule marchant sur les flots) (St. Francis of Paula walking on the waves)

Roll 6207-Publ. 12/19

Les jeux d'eaux à la Villa d'Este, from *Années de pèlerinage, 3ème année, Italie*, No. 4 (The play of the fountains at the Villa d'Este, from "Years of pilgrimage" 3rd year, Italy, No. 4)

Roll 5724-Publ. 2/16

Grande Étude de Paganini, No. 1, *Tremolo*

Roll 70250-Publ. Mid./26

Grande Étude de Paganini, No. 3 in G sharp minor, *La Campanella*

Roll 6197-Publ. 11/19

Harmonies du soir (Evening harmonies) from "Etudes d'execution, transcendante",
No. 11

Roll 5861-Publ. 1/17

Rosenthal: Papillons

Gottschalk: The Banjo (Fantaisie grotesque)

Roll 5745-Publ. 4/16

Friedheim, Arthur and Rosenthal, Moritz, 'The Pupils of Liszt: Arthur de Greef, Josef Weiss, Conrad Ansoerge, Frederic Lamond, Moritz Rosenthal, Josè Vianna da Motta, Arthur Friedheim, Eugen D'Albert, Emil von Sauer' (Pearl, GEMM CDS 9972, 1992).

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Rosenthal, Moritz

Chopin: Berceuse in D flat major, Op. 57

(Rec. 1/6/29. Mat. XXB 8350; Span. Odeon 173.164)

Mazurka in B flat minor, Op. 24, No. 4

(Rec. 29/5/29. Mat. 2EA 2567-1; Victor 14298)

Mazurka in A flat major, Op. 50, No. 2

(Rec. 21/11/35. Mat. 2EA 2566-1 [part]; Victor 14304)

Mazurka in B major, Op. 63, No. 1

(Rec. 22/10/37. Mat. OEA 5505-2; Victor 1951)

Mazurka in C sharp minor, Op. 63, No. 3

(Rec. 3/5/30. Mat. 2-21704; USA Decca G-25875)

Mazurka in G major, Op. 67, No. 1

(Rec. 21/11/35. Mat. 2EA 2566-1 [part]; Victor 14304)

Strauss: Blue Danue Waltzes – Paraphrase

('Blue Danube'/'Joy of Life'/'Fledermaus')

(Rec. 8/5/28. Mats. A 45018/9; Electrola EJ 329)

CD2:

Friedheim, Arthur

Chopin: Scherzo in B flat minor, Op. 31

(Rec. 31/12/12. Mats. 36530-1 and 33-2; Col. 437)

Liszt: Feux follets (Tr. Studies, G. 52/7)

(Rec. 7/1/12. Mat. 30931; Col. 517)

Liszt: 'La Campanella' (Tr. Studies, G. 53/3)

(Rec. 24/2/13. Mat. 36675; Col. 517)

Friedman, Ignaz, 'Great Pianists: Friedman', Complete Recordings, Vol. I (Naxos Historical, CD 8.110684, recorded 1923-1926, re-issued in 2002).

American Columbia:

Chopin:

Etude, Op. 25 No. 6

Rec. 2 April 1924. Matrix 81658-1 (Catalogue 30011-D)

Mazurka in D major, Op. 33, No. 2

Rec. 15 March 1924. Matrix 81597-6 (Catalogue 30011-D)

Mazurka in C sharp, Op. 63, No. 3

Rec. 29 December 1923. Matrix 80941-5 (Catalogue 33007-D)

Minute Waltz

Rec. 29 December 1923. Matrix 80941-5 (Catalogue 33007-D)

Prelude in E flat major, Op. 28, No. 19
Rec. 2 April 1924. Matrix 81658-1 (Catalogue 30011-D)
Schubert-Liszt:
Hark, Hark, the Lark
Rec. 29 December 1923. Matrix 80951-6 (Catalogue 33007-D)

English Columbia:
Gaertner-Friedman:
Viennese Dance No. 1
Rec. 19 November 1925. Matrix WAX1150-1 (Catalogue L1750)
Hummel:
Rondo in E flat major
Rec. 19 November 1925. Matrix WAX1151-2 (Catalogue L1750)

American Columbia:
Chopin:
Ballade in A flat, Op. 47, No. 3
Rec. 29 November 1925. Matrices W98196-3 and W98197-4 (Catalogue 7105-M)
Etude, Op. 10, No. 7
Rec. 8 February 1926. Matrix W98203-8 9Catalogue 7119-M)
Etude, Op. 10, No. 12 'Revolutionary'
Rec. 8 February 1926. Matrix W98203-8 (Catalogue 7119-M)
Mazurka in D major
Rec. 29 December 1925. Matrix W141438-3 (Catalogue 2051-M)
Waltz in A minor, Op. 34, No. 2
Rec. 8 February 1926
Matrix W98230-3 (Catalogue 7119-M)
Moszkowski:
Serenata, Op. 15, No. 1
Rec. 8 April 1926. Matrix W141449-11 (Catalogue 2051-M)
Mozart:
Rondo alla Turca, from Sonata in A
Rec. 6 February 1926. Matrix W141604-2 (Catalogue 2040-M)
Scarlatti:
Pastorale
Rec. 6 February 1926. Matrix W141605-1 (Catalogue 2040-M)

English Columbia:
Beethoven:
Sonata in C sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2 'Moonlight'
I Adagio sostenuto
II Allegretto
III Presto agitato
Rec. 7 September 1926. Matrices WAX1877-2, 1878-2, 1879-2, 1880-2 (Catalogues L1818 and L1819)
Chopin:
Mazurka in B minor
Rec. 6 September 1926. Matrix WAX1506-3 (Catalogue 7141-M)

Prelude in D flat, Op. 25, No. 15 'Raindrop'
Rec. 6 September 1926. Matrix WAX1142-3 (Catalogue L1804)
Friedman:
Elle danse, Op. 10
Rec. 6 September 1926. Matrix WA2594-4 (Catalogue D1558)
Liszt-Busoni:
La Campanella
Rec. 7 September 1926. Matrix WAX1881-5 (Catalogue L1804)
Mendelssohn:
Scherzo in E minor
Rec. 6 September 1926. Matrix WA3226-2 (Catalogue D1558)

Friedman, Ignaz, 'Great Pianists: Friedman', Complete Recordings, Vol. IV (Naxos Historical, CD 8.110736, English Columbia, recorded 1930-31, re-issued in 2004).

Beethoven:
Violin Sonata No. 9 in A major, Op. 47 'Kreutzer'
(with Bronislaw Huberman, violin)
I Adagio sostenuto: Presto
Rec. 11th September 1930. Matrices WAX5730-2, WAX5731-3, WAX5732-3 (Catalogues LX72/73)
II Andante and variations
Rec. 11th September 1930 (part 1), 12th September 1930 (parts 2 and 3). Matrices WAX5733-3, WAX5736-2, WAX5737-1 (Catalogues LX73/74)
III Finale: Presto
Rec. 12th September 1930. Matrices WAX5738-3 and WAX5739-3 (Catalogue LX75)
I Adagio sostenuto: Presto
(alternative take of side 1)
Rec. 11 September 1930. Matrices WAX5730-1 (Catalogues LX72/73)
Liszt:
Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2
Rec. 16th December 1931 (part 1), 17th December 1931 (part 2). Matrices CAX6261-3, CAX6262-2 (Catalogue DX350)
Mendelssohn:
'Songs without Words':
Op. 19, No. 3 in A major
Rec. 17th September 1930. Matrix WA10672-1 (Catalogue DB454)
Op. 19, No. 6 in G minor
Rec. 16th September 1930. Matrix WA10664-2 (Catalogue DB454)
Op. 30, No. 6 in F sharp minor
Rec. 16th September 1930. Matrix WA10663-2 (Catalogue DB455)
Op. 38, No. 2 in C minor
Rec. 17th September 1930. Matrix WA10670-1, 3342-2 (Catalogue DB455)
Op. 38, No. 6 in A flat major
Rec. 17th September 1930. Matrix WA10671-2, 4667-3 (Catalogue DB456)
Op. 53, No. 2 in E flat major
Rec. 16th September 1930. Matrix WA10662-1 (Catalogue DB456)
Op. 53, No. 4 in F major
Rec. 16th September 1930. Matrix WA10661-2 (Catalogue DB457)
Op. 67, No. 2 in F sharp minor

Rec. 16th September 1930. Matrix WA10665-2 (Catalogue DB457)

Op. 102, No. 5 in A major

Rec. 16th September 1930. Matrix WA10664-2 (Catalogue DB454)

Friedman, Ignaz, 'Great Pianists: Friedman', Complete Recordings, Vol. V (Naxos Historical, CD 8.111114, English Columbia, recorded 1933-36, re-issued in 2006).

Chopin:

Ballade No. 3 in A flat major, Op. 47

Rec. 27th February 1933. Matrices CAX6729-1, CAX6730-2 (Catalogue DX466)

Impromptu No. 2 in F sharp major, Op. 36

Rec. 23rd November 1936. Matrix CAX7887-1 (Catalogue DX781)

Nocturne No. 16 in E flat major, Op. 55, No. 2

Rec. 23rd November 1936. Matrix CAX7888-1 (Catalogue DX781)

Dvorak:

Humoreske in G flat major, Op. 101, No. 7

Rec. 1st December 1936. Matrix CA16083-1 (Catalogue DB1667)

Gaertner arr. Friedman:

Viennese Dance No. 2

Rec. 17th February 1933. Matrix CA13466-1 (Catalogue DB1347)

Viennese Dance No. 6

Rec. 17th February 1933. Matrix CA13465-2 (Catalogue DB1347)

Moszkowski:

Serenata in D minor, Op. 15

Rec. 1st December 1936. Matrix CA16082-1 (Catalogue DB1667)

Paderewski:

Menuet in G major, Op. 14, No. 1

Rec. 1st December 1936. Matrix CAX7894-1 (Catalogue DX779)

Rubinstein:

Valse Caprice in E flat major

Rec. 2nd December 1936. Matrix CAX7896-1 (Catalogue DX779)

Schubert arr. Tausig:

Marche Militaire, Op. 51, No. 1

Rec. 2nd December 1936. Matrices CA16071-3 and CA16084-1 (Catalogue DB1688)

Weber:

Invitation to the Dance, Op. 65

Rec. 23rd November and 2nd December 1936. Matrices CAX7889-1, CAX7895-1 (Catalogue DX764)

Appendix A:

Four English Columbia recordings of Ignaz Friedman, unpublished on 78rpm format

Chopin:

Mazurka No. 17 in B flat minor, Op. 24, No. 4

Rec. either 10th October 1929 or 17th February 1930. Matrix WAX5208-?

Mazurka No. 25 in B minor, Op. 33, No. 4

Rec. either 10th October 1929 or 17th February 1930. Matrix WAX5209-?

Waltz No. 9 in A flat major, Op. 69, No. 1

Rec. 13th February 1929. Matrix WAX4655-?

Shield arr. Friedman:

Old English Menuet

Rec. 15th February 1929. Matrix WAX4668-?

Appendix B:

Friedman speaks on Paderewski

Recorded 6th November 1940

New Zealand Radio transcription disc

Hofmann, Josef, 'Great Pianists: Hofmann, Acoustic recordings 1916-1923' (Naxos Historical, CD 8.111326, recorded 1916-1923 in New York City, re-issued in 2002, made in Germany).

/A list of composers and their pieces is given in alphabetical order, not as they appear on CD/.

Chopin:

Berceuse in D flat major, Op. 57

Rec. 26th March, 1918-Matrix no.: 49327-3. First issued on Columbia A6078

Fantaisie-Impromptu in C sharp minor, Op. 66

Rec. 6th March, 1918-Matrix no.: 49326-2. First issued on Columbia A6174

Nocturne in F sharp major, Op. 15, No. 2

Rec. 19th April, 1923-Matrix no.: X 10420. First issued on Brunswick 50044

Polonaise in A major, Op. 40, No. 1, 'Military'

Rec. 10th April, 1923-Matrix no.: 10336. First issued on Brunswick 15098

Waltz in A flat major, Op. 34, No. 1

Rec. 13th February, 1918-Matrix no.: 49306-1. First issued on Columbia A6045

Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2

Rec. 18th April, 1923-Matrix no.: 10405. First issued on Brunswick 15057

Chopin arr. Liszt:

Chants Polonais (after Chopin Op. 74), S. 840

No. 1 Maedchens Wunsch (The Maiden's Wish)

Rec. 6th March, 1918-Matrix no.: 49328-2. First issued on Columbia A6211

No. 5 Meine Freuden (My Joys)

Rec. 27th April, 1923-Matrix no.: X 10503. First issued on Brunswick 50045

Liszt:

Concert Etude No. 1, 'Waldesrauchen'

Rec. 13th March, 1923-Matrix no.: 10105. First issued on Brunswick 15046.

Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2

Rec. in December, 1922-Matrix nos.: X 9431 and 9434. First issued on Brunswick 50023

Venezia e Napoli: Tarantella

Rec. 2nd November, 1916-Matrix no.: 48976-2. First issued on Columbia A5915

Schubert arr. Liszt:

Erlkoenig, D. 328

Rec. 13th October, 1916-Matrix no.: 48945-4. First issued on Columbia A5942

Mendelssohn:

Hunting Song, Op. 19, No. 3

Rec. 14th February, 1918-Matrix no.: 49307-2 [part]. First issued on Columbia A6045

Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14

Rec. 13th February, 1918-Matrix no.: 49309-3. First issued on Columbia A6078

Spinning Song, Op. 67, No. 4

Rec. 13th October, 1916-Matrix no.: 48949-1 [part]. First issued on Columbia A6211

Moszkowski:

Caprice espagnole, Op. 37

Rec. 16th October, 1916-Matrix no.: 48948-5. First issued on Columbia A5942
La Jongleuse, Op. 52, No. 4
Rec. 14th February, 1918-Matrix no.: 49307-2 [part]. First issued on Columbia A6045
Paderewski:
Minuet in G major, Op. 14, No. 1
Rec. 2nd November, 1916-Matrix no.: 48975-2. First issued on Columbia A5915
Rachmaninov:
Prelude in C sharp minor, Op. 3, No. 2
Rec. 20th April, 1923-Matrix no.: 10433. First issued on Brunswick 15053
Prelude in G minor, Op. 23, No. 5
Rec. 20th April, 1923-Matrix no.: X 10434. First issued on Brunswick 50045

Ronald, Landon, 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century', Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531, recorded in 1900-London, re-issued in 1995-Wark).

/A list of composers and their pieces is given in alphabetical order, not as they appear on CD/.

Recorded in London, in October 1900:

Chopin:

Polonaise in A major, Op. 40/1

Grieg:

Dance caprice, Op. 28/3

Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody, No. 2 in C sharp minor, S. 244

Mendelssohn:

Song without Words in C major, Op. 67/4

Wagner:

Die Meistersinger Overture

Michałowski, Aleksander, 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century', Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531, recorded in late 1905 and 1912-Warsaw, re-issued in 1995-Wark).

/A list of composers and their pieces is given in alphabetical order, not as they appear on CD/.

Recorded in Warsaw, late 1905:

Chopin:

Etude in G flat major, Op. 10/5

Polonaise in A major, Op. 40/1

Prelude in A major, Op. 28/7

Prelude in C minor, Op. 28/20

Chopin-Michałowski:

Waltz in D flat major, Op. 64/1

Waltz in D flat major, Op. 64/1 (different recording)

Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64/2

Liszt:

My Joys (Chopin, Op. 74/12), S. 480

Soirée de Vienne No. 6 (Schubert), S. 427

Mendelssohn:

Song Without Words in A major, Op. 19/3

Recorded in Warsaw, 21.09.1912:

Chopin:

Etude in E flat major, Op. 10/11

Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64/2

Pachmann, Vladimir, 'Chopin, Liszt, Schumann, Brahms. Recordings from 1915 to 1916' (The Piano Library, CD PL 238, recorded 1915-1916, re-issued in 1996, made in Italy).

/A list of composers and their pieces is given in alphabetical order, not as they appear on CD/.

Brahms:

Capriccio in C sharp minor, Op. 76, No. 5

Chopin:

Etude in F major, Op. 25, No. 3

Etude in F major, Op. 25, No. 3 (different recording)

Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29

Mazurka in C major, Op. 33, No. 3

Mazurka in B minor, Op. 33, No. 4

Mazurka in A minor, Op. 67, No. 4

Nocturne in E flat major, Op. 9, No. 2

Nocturne in D flat major, Op. 27, No. 2

Prelude in B flat minor, Op. 28, No. 16

Prelude in F major, Op. 28, No. 23 and

Prelude in D minor, Op. 28, No. 24

Scherzo from Sonata No. 3 in B minor, Op. 58

Waltz in G flat major, Op. posth. and

Eccossaise No. 3 in D flat major, Op. posth.

Liszt:

Liebestraume No. 3

Polonaise Cadenza in E major

"Rigoletto" Paraphrase

Raff, Joachim:

La Fileuse, Op. 157, No. 2

Schumann:

Grillen, from Fantasiestuecke, Op. 12, No. 4

Pachmann, Vladimir, 'The Essential Pachmann 1907-1927: Early and Unissued Recordings' (Arbiter, CD 141, recorded 1907-1927,, re-issued in 2004, made in the USA).

/A list of composers is given in alphabetical order, not as they appear on CD/.

Chopin:

Nocturne, Op. 9/2

Rec. Dec. 1915; mtx. 6619; Columbia L 1014

Nocturne, Op. 32/1

Rec. Dec. 14, 1923; mtx. C 29091-1; Victor 6441

Prelude, Op. 28/22

Prelude, Op. 28/23

Mazurka, Op. 50/2

Rec. 1907; mtx. 1856f; G & T 05500

Prelude, Op. 28/6

Prelude, Op. 28/3
 Rec. Nov. 3, 1927; mtx. Bb 11759-1; Victor 1459
 Mazurka, Op. 63/3
 Mazurka, Op. 67/4
 Rec. Nov. 3, 1927; mtx. Cc 11762-1; Victor 6879
 Barcarolle (abridged)
 Rec. 1907; mtx. 1850f; G & T 05502
 Sonata, Op. 35: Marche Funèbre
 Rec. Apr. 26, 1912; mtx. C 11941-1; Victor 74304
 Valse, Op. 70/1
 Rec. Dec. 15, 1925; mtx. Bb 7537-1; HMV DA 761
 Etude, Op. 10/1
 Etude, Op. 25/2
 Rec. Nov. 8, 1911; mtx. C 11206-1; unissued
 Prelude, Op. 28/20
 Rec. Apr. 26, 1912; mtx. C 11937-1; unissued
 Nocturne, Op. 55/1
 Rec. Apr. 25, 1912; mtx. C 11925-1; unissued
 Ballade, Op. 47 (first half)
 Rec. Apr. 25, 1912; mtx. C 11932-1; unissued
 Sonata, Op. 58: Scherzo
 Rec. in early 1916; mtx. 6972; Columbia L 1131
 Impromptu, Op. 36
 Rec. Dec. 14, 1923; mtx. C 29086-1; Victor 6441
 Mazurka, Op. 33/4
 Rec. in early 1916; mtx. 6976; Columbia L 1102
 Mazurka, Op. 67/1
 Rec. June 26, 1925; mtx. Bb 6258-1; HMV DA 1302
 Liszt:
 Liebestraume, No. 3
 Rec. in early 1916; mtx. 6974; Columbia L 1102
 Mazurka Brillante (ending missing)
 Rec. Nov. 8, 1911; mtx. C 11205-1; unissued
 Mendelssohn:
 Rondo Capriccioso
 Rec. June 14, 1909; mtx. 3139f; Gramophone 05519
 Song Without Words, Op. 67/4
 Schumann:
 Waldszenen: Prophet Bird
 Rec. Nov. 8, 1911; mtx. C 11204-1; Victor 74285
 Fantasiestuecke, Op. 12: Grillen
 Rec. in early 1916; mtx. 6971; Columbia L 1131
 Verdi-Liszt:
 Rigoletto Paraphrase
 Rec. Nov. 7, 1911; mtx. C 11202-1; Victor 74261

Pachmann, Vladimir, 'The Piano G&TS: Recordings from the Gramophone and Typewriter era (1900-1907). Discs made by major artists at the turn of the century',

Vol. I (Appian, CD APR 5531, recorded in 1907 and 1909-London, re-issued in 1995-Wark).

/A list of composers and their pieces is given in alphabetical order, not as they appear on CD/.

Recorded in London, 1907:

Chopin:

Barcarolle in F sharp major, Op. 60

Etude in G flat major, Op. 25/9

Mazurka in A flat major, Op. 50/2

Nocturne in G major, Op. 37/2

Prelude in G minor, Op. 28/22

Prelude in F major, Op. 28/23

Waltz in D flat major, Op. 64/1

Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64/2

RAFF:

La Fileuse, Op. 157/2

Recorded in London, 14.06.1909:

Chopin:

Etude in C minor, Op. 10/12

Liszt:

Rigoletto paraphrase (Verdi), S. 434

Mendelssohn:

Rondo capriccioso in E major, Op. 14

Raff:

La Fileuse, Op. 157/2

Recordings by Leschetizky of his compositions:

Leschetizky, Theodor, *Barcarole, Les deux alouettes*, 'The closest approach to 19th Century piano interpretation; 19th Century Pianists' (Archiphon, CD ARC-106, recorded in Freiburg i.Br. in 1906, re-issued in 1992).

Mazurka, Op. 24, Stücke für Klavier, Op. 2 No. 1, 'Rarities, Early Recordings by Great Composers and Pianists, The Condon Collection', Vol. I (Bellaphon, CD 690-07-014, recorded in 1912, re-issued in 1992).

Recordings by Leschetizky of other composers:

Chopin: Nocturne No. 8 in D Flat Major, Op. 27 No. 2

Mozart: Fantasia in C Minor, K475

It comes from: 'The closest approach to 19th Century piano interpretation; 19th Century Pianists' (Archiphon, CD ARC-106, recorded in Freiburg i.Br. in 1906, re-issued in 1992).

Recordings of Paderewski's compositions:

For piano solo:

Intermezzo in G minor W błyskawiczną noc (In a lightning night), Karol Radziwonowicz, *Wybrane kompozycje Paderewskiego z lat 1882 – 1917* (Selected Works by Paderewski from the years 1882 – 1917), (MTMP, CD, 2010). This work was recorded in 1991 for Selene Records (released in 1992), but this CD record is an

integral part of a book by Czekaj Haag Kazimierz Roman, *Z panteonu wielkich Polaków: Ignacy Jan Paderewski*. Album Międzynarodowego Towarzystwa Muzyki Polskiej im. Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w Warszawie (An album of the International Paderewski's Society of Polish Music in Warsaw), (Bazylea-Kraków-Warszawa, 2010).

Légende in A flat major, Op. 16, No. 1, Adam Wodnicki, Selected Works by Paderewski from the years 1888 – 1917), (rec. 1997 for Altarus 1997).

Mèlodie in G Flat Major, Op. 16 No. 2, Stephen Hough, 'Stephen's New Piano Album' (Hyperion, CD A67043, 1999).

Miniature in E flat major, Karol Radziwonowicz, Selected Works by Paderewski from the years 1888 – 1917), (rec. 1991, Selene, 1992).

Nocturne in B flat major, Op. 16, No. 4, Rinko Kobayashi, Selected Works by Paderewski from the years 1888 – 1917), (rec. 2009, Muza – Polskie Nagrania (Polish Records), 2010).

Sonata in E flat minor, Op. 21, 3rd mvt.: Allegro vivace, Danuta Dworakowska, Selected Works by Paderewski from the years 1888 – 1917), (rec. 1979 for Muza – Polskie Nagrania (Polish Records), 1983).

Sonata in E Flat Minor, Op. 21, Andrzej Stefański (Polskie Nagrania Muza, Olympia OCD 302 AAD, recorded in 1969, re-issued in 1988).

For piano and orchestra:

Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 17, Janina Fiałkowska (piano), Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra, dir. Antoni Wit (Naxos, CD 8.554020, 1999).

Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 17, Barbara Hesse-Bukowska (piano), Polish Radio National Symphony Orchestra in Katowice, dir. Jan Krenz (Polskie Nagrania Muza, Olympia OCD 302 AAD, recorded in 1964, re-issued in 1988).

Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 17, 'The Romantic Piano Concerto-1' Series, Piers Lane (piano), Glasgow BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, dir. Jerzy Maksymiuk (Hyperion, CD A66452, 1991).

Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 17, Karol Radziwonowicz (piano), Filharmonia Krakowska, dir. Roland Bader (Koch-Schwann Records, # 3-1145-2; LC 1083).

Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 17, Karol Radziwonowicz (piano), Wielka Orkiestra Symfoniczna Polskiego Radia (Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra), dir. Antoni Wit (Polskie Nagrania-Muza, #PNCD 105, 1991).

Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 17, 2nd mvt.: Romanza. Andante, Jesus Maria Sanroma (piano), Boston Pops Orchestra, dir. Arthur Fiedler, Selected Works by Paderewski from the years 1888 – 1917), (rec. 1939, Pearl, 2001).

Polish Fantasy, Op. 19, Janina Fiałkowska (piano), Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra, dir. Antoni Wit (Naxos, CD 8.554020, 1999).

Polish Fantasia, Op. 19, Karol Radziwonowicz (piano), Wielka Orkiestra Symfoniczna Polskiego Radia (Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra), dir. Antoni Wit (Polskie Nagrania-Muza, #PNCD 105, 1991).

Polish Fantasy for piano and orchestra, Op. 19, Regina Smendzianka (piano), Warsaw National Philharmonic Orchestra, dir. Stanisław Wisłocki (Polskie Nagrania Muza, Olympia OCD 305 AAD, recorded in 1964, re-issued in 1988).

Other orchestral works:

Hej, Orle biały, Hymn bojowy poświęcony Armii Polskiej w Ameryce, na chór męski i fortepian lub orkiestrę dętą. Słowa i muzyka: I. J. Paderewski (Hey, white eagle, Hymn

devoted to Polish Army in America, for men's choir and a piano or wind orchestra. Words and music: I. J. Paderewski), Zespół Artystyczny Wojska Polskiego, dir. Kazimierz Ołtarzewski, preparation of the chorus Piotr Racewicz (rec. 2005).

Symphony in B Minor "Polonia", BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, dir. Jerzy Maksymiuk (Hyperion, CD A67056, 1998).

Polskie Nagrania Muza, Olympia OCD 305 AAD, recorded in 1973, re-issued in 1988).

Symphony in B Minor "Polonia", Pomeranian Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of Bydgoszcz, dir. Bohdan Wodiczko (Polskie Nagrania Muza, Olympia OCD 305 AAD, recorded in 1973, re-issued in 1988).

Opera:

Manru. Dramat liryczny w 3 aktach. (Manru. Dramatic opera in 3 Acts), Libretto Alfred Nossig, Duet miłosny Ulany I Manru z II Aktu (Love song of Ulana and Manru from Act II), Ewa Czermak (soprano), Taras Ivaniv (tenor), Orkiestra I Chór Opery Dolnośląskiej we Wrocławiu, dir. Ewa Michnik (rec. 2001, Dux, 2004).

Paderewski's recordings:

University of Maryland, USA, <http://www.lib.umd.edu/PAL/IPAM/bgjr.html>, accessed 26 January 2010.

'Paderewski – His earliest recordings. The complete European recordings 1911 – 1912' (Appian Publications & Recordings, CD APR 6006 A, 2008).

CD 1 (Recorded in Morges, Switzerland, July 1911):

Chopin: Etude in F major, Op. 25 No. 3 333ai first release +
Etude in G flat major, Op. 25 No. 9 (Butterfly) 333ai first release +
Mazurka in A minor, Op. 17 No. 4 334ai +
Nocturne in F major, Op. 15 No. 1 331ai +
Nocturne in F sharp major, Op. 15 No. 2 332ai (045528)
Nocturne in E major, Op. 62 No. 2 344ai +
Polonaise in A major, Op. 40 No. 1 (Military) 346ai (045533)
Waltz in A flat major, Op. 34 No. 1 341ai (045531)
Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64 No. 2 335ai (045529)
Mendelssohn: Song Without Words, Op. 53 No. 4 338ai +
Paderewski: Minuet in G major, Op. 14 No. 1 345ai (045530)
Nocturne in B flat major, op. 16 No. 4 336ai first release +
Schubert-Liszt: Hark! Hark! The Lark! 347ai (045532)
Schumann: Nachtstueck in F, Op. 23 No. 4 337ai +
Stojowski: Chant d'amour, Op. 26 No. 3 (343ai first release) +

(Recorded in Paris, February 1912)

Chopin: Nocturne in F sharp major, Op. 15 No. 2 2573½c (DB 598)
Debussy: Reflets dans l'eau from images, book I 2564½c (045544)
Mendelssohn: Song Without Words, Op. 19 No. 3 (Hunting Song) 2561c (045539)
Paderewski: Cracovienne fantastique, Op. 14 No. 6 2570c first release +
Paganini-Liszt: La Campanella 2567c first release +

CD 2 (Recorded in Paris, February 1912, cont.):

Chopin: Etude in E major, Op. 10 No. 3 2578c (DB662)

Etude in C major, Op. 10 No. 7 2574c (DB 664)
Etude in C minor, Op. 10 no. 12 (Revolutionary) 2574c (DB 664)
Etude in A flat major, Op. 25 No. 1 (Aeolian Harp) 2576c (DB 649)
Etude in F minor, op. 25 No. 2 2576c (DB 649)
Paderewski: Cracovienne fantastique, Op. 14 No. 6 2579c (DB 683)
Schubert-Liszt: Hark! Hark! The Lark! 2581c (DB 378)

(Recorded in London, June/July 1912):

Chopin: Berceuse in D flat major, Op. 57 Ho184c (DB 601) recorded July 3
Etude in C sharp minor, Op. 25 No. 7 Ho175c (DB 664) recorded July 3
Mazurka in A minor, Op. 17 No. 4 Ho156c (DB 604) recorded July 1
Waltz in A flat major, Op. 34 No. 1 Ho162c (DB 585) recorded July 1
Chopin-Liszt: The Maiden's Wish from Six Chants Polonais Ho163c (DB 683)
recorded July 1
The Maiden's Wish from Six Chants Polonais Ho181c first release
recorded July 3 +
Liszt: Etude de concert, No. 2 in F minor (La Leggerezza) Ho182c (DB 662)
recorded July 3
Mendelssohn: Song Without Words, Op. 19 No. 3 (Hunting Song) Ho185c (DB 649)
recorded July 3
Paganini-Liszt: La Campanella Ho180c (DB 376) recorded July 3
Rubinstein: Valse-Caprice in E flat major Ho186c (DB 598) recorded July 3
Schumann: Aufschwung, Op. 12 No. 2 from Fantasiestuecke Ho169 (DB 376)
recorded July 1
Des Abends, Op. 12 No. 1 from Fantasiestuecke Ho137f (DB 601)
recorded June 22
Warum?, Op. 12 No. 3 from Fantasiestuecke Ho149c (DB 374) recorded July 1
Stojowski: Chant d'amour, Op. 26 No. 3 Ho157c (DB 378) recorded July 1

+this sign outlines Paderewski's recordings which have been not released during his lifetime

'Paderewski – His Welte-Mignon Piano Rolls' (Aeolia 1005, The Pianola Institute, DDD, 2010).

Chopin: Ballade No. 3, Op. 47 (Roll no. 1249)
Etude, Op. 10, No. 3 (Roll no. 1254)
Etude, Op. 25 No. 9 (Roll no. 1253)
Mazurka, Op. 24, No. 4 (Roll no. 1251)
Polonaise, Op. 53 (Roll no. 1256)
Waltz, Op. 64, No. 2 (Roll no. 1257)
Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody, No. 10 (Roll no. 1259)
Paderewski: Minuet, Op. 14, No. 1 (Roll no. 1263)
Nocturne, Op. 16, No. 4 (Roll no. 1262)
Schubert: Impromptu, Op. 142, No. 3 (Roll no. 1248)
Schubert/Liszt: The Erl King (Roll no. 1260)
Hark! Hark! The Lark (Staendchen) (Roll no. 1261)

'Paderewski – His Welte-Mignon Piano Rolls Recorded 27 Feb 1906' (Recorded: Hayes, 3 September, 2011, Steinway-Welte No. 209642 by Denis Hall).

This CD contains the same pieces as described in the CD mentioned above plus Chopin's Nocturne, Op. 37, No. 2.

Chopin: Ballade No. 3, Op. 47 (Roll no. 1249)

Etude, Op. 10, No. 3 (Roll no. 1254)

Etude, Op. 25 No. 9 (Roll no. 1253)

Mazurka, Op. 24, No. 4 (Roll no. 1251)

Nocturne, Op. 37 No. 2 (Roll No. 1255)

Polonaise, Op. 53 (Roll no. 1256)

Waltz, Op. 64, No. 2 (Roll no. 1257)

Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody, No. 10 (Roll no. 1259)

Paderewski: Minuet, Op. 14, No. 1 (Roll no. 1263)

Nocturne, Op. 16, No. 4 (Roll no. 1262)

Schubert: Impromptu, Op. 142, No. 3 (Roll no. 1248)

Schubert/Liszt: The Erl King (Roll no. 1260)

Hark! Hark! The Lark (Staendchen) (Roll no. 1261)

'Paderewski plays Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt Franz, Paderewski, Rachmaninoff, Schumann, Strauss, Wagner', *Legendary Performers Series* (RCA VictorGold Seal, CD GD 60923). Recorded 1912-37, re-issued in 1992. It contains the following pieces:

Beethoven: Sonata Op. 27 No. 2 "Moonlight"

Chopin: Etude, Op. 10 No. 3

Etude, Op. 25 No. 8

Etude, Op. 25 No. 9 "Butterfly"

Nocturne, Op. 15 No. 2

Polonaise, op. 53 "Heroic" (HMV recording)

Sonata No. 2, Op. 35 "Funeral March": III & IV (First Release)

Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody No. 10

La Campanella (After Paganini)

Paderewski: Minuet, Op. 14 No. 1 (HMV recording)

Rachmaninoff: Prelude, Op. 32 No. 12 (First Release)

Schumann: Nachtstuecke, Op. 23 No. 4

Strauss J./Tausig: man lebt nur einmal/ One Lives But Once (First Release)

Wagner/Schelling: Tristan und Isolde: Vorspiel/Prelude

'Paderewski plays Beethoven, Chopin, Liszt, Schubert, Rachmaninov. A selection of his US Victor Recordings 1914 – 1941', *Great Pianists Series* (Naxos Historical, 8.112011, made in Germany). It contains the following pieces:

Beethoven:

Piano Sonata, No. 14 in C sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2, "Moonlight"

I. Adagio sostenuto

Rec. on the 16th December 1926

Matrix: CVE 37140-1; First issued on Victor 6690

Chopin:

Etude No. 19 in C sharp minor, Op. 25, No. 7

Rec. on the 4th May 1923

Matrix: C27919-1; First issued on Victor 6448

Etude No. 20 in D flat major, Op. 25, No. 8

Rec. on the 12th May 1924

Matrix: B29981-1; Unpublished on 78rpm

Etude No. 21 in G flat major, Op. 25 No. 9, 'Butterfly's Wings'

Rec. on the 12th May 1924

Matrix: B29981-1; Unpublished on 78rpm

Mazurka No. 37 in A flat major, Op. 59, No. 2

Rec. on the 12th May 1924

Matrix: B29990-2; First issued on Victor 1027

Mazurka No. 38 in F sharp minor, Op. 59, No. 3

Rec. on the 12th May 1924

Matrix: B29991-1; First issued on Victor 1027

Nocturne No. 5 in F sharp major, Op. 15, No. 2

Rec. on the 14th May 1917

Matrix: C19781-1; First issued on Victor 74529

Waltz No. 5 in A flat major, Op. 42

Rec. on the 26th June 1922

Matrix: C26397-4; First issued on Victor 74796

Liszt:

3 Etudes de concert, S144/R5

No. 2 in F minor, 'La Leggerezza'

Rec. on the 4th May 1923

Matrix: C27921-2; First issued on Victor 6438

'Spinnerlied' From Wagner's Fliegenden Hollander, S440/R273

Rec. on the 12th May 1924

Matrix: C29992-1; First issued on Victor 6538

Mendelssohn:

Lieder ohne worte (Songs without Words) Book 6, Op. 67

No. 4 in C major, 'Spinnerlied'

Rec. on the 4th May 1923

Matrix: B26393-6; First issued on Victor 66150

Schubert:

4 Impromptus, Op. 142, D. 935

No. 3 in B flat major

Rec. on the 12th May 1924

Matrix: C29984-2 and 29985-2; First issued on Victor 6482

Schubert/Liszt:

Lieder von Schubert, S558/R243

No. 9 Standchen (Horch, horch! Die Lerch)

Rec. on the 12th May, 1924

Matrix: C19979-3; First issued on Victor 6470

Schumann:

Fantasiestuecke, Op. 12

No. 3 Warum?

Rec. on the 30th April 1914

Matrix: C14778-3; First issued on Victor 88494

'The Art of Paderewski', vol. I (Pearl, Pavilion Records, GEMM CD 9499, re-issued in 1991, made in UK). Transfers from piano rolls effected by Denis Hall.

Beethoven: Sonata in C Sharp Minor, Op. 27/2 (2EA 4566/7/8-III/II/II London Jan 1937 DB 3123/4)

Haydn: Andante & Variations in F Minor (2EA 4569/70-I London Jan 1937 DB 3183)

Mozart: Rondo in A Minor, K 511 (2EA 2471/2-II London Jan 1937 DB 3133)
Schubert: Moment Musical in A Flat, Op. 94/2 (D 780/2) (CVE 69611-1/2 New York May 1931 Vic 7508)
 Impromptu in A Flat, Op. 142/2 (D 935/6) (CVE 27913-9 New York Dec 1926 Vic 6628)
 Impromptu in B Flat, Op. 142/3 (D 935/7) (C 29984/5-2 Camden May 1924 DB 833)
Paderewski: Cracovienne Fantastique, Op. 14/6 (C 19944-6 Camden June 1922 DB 379)
 Mélodie, Op. 8/3 (2EA 7109-I London Nov 1938 DB 3709)
 Minuet in G Major, Op. 14/1 (2EA 4576-I London Jan 1937 DB 3124)
 Nocturne in B Flat, Op. 16/4 (C26600-1 New York June 1922 DB 380)

'The Art of Paderewski', vol. II (Pearl, Pavilion Records, GEMM CD 9943, re-issued in 1991, made in UK). Transfers from piano rolls effected by Denis Hall.

It contains:

Couperin: La Bandoline (C 14773-2 Camden April 1914, DB 377)
 La Carillon de Cythère (C 14774-1 Camden April 1914, DB 377)
Liszt: Concert Study No. 2 in F Minor (C 27921-2 Camden May 1923, Vic 6438)
 Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 (C 26554-1 & C 26603-2 Camden June 1922, DB 381)
 Hungarian Rhapsody No. 10 (C 26399-2 Camden June 1922, 05714)
Schelling: Nocturne (Ragusa) (CVE 35619-2 & CVE 35620-1 New York may 1926, DB 1029)
Schubert-Liszt : Hark ! Hark ! The Lark (347ai Morges July 1911, 88357)
Stojowski: By the Brookside (BE 37122-3 New York Dec 1926 Vic 1426)
 Chant d'Amour, Op. 26/3 (CVE 37121-2 New York Dec 1926, Vic 6633)
Paganini/Liszt: La Campanella (CVE 37123-3 New York Aug 1927, Vic 6825)
Wagner/Liszt: Flying Dutchman: Spinning Chorus (BE 64341-5 New York May 1931 & BE 64342-3 New York Dec 1930, DA 1253)
 Tristan & Isolde: Liebestod (Short wave broadcast Sept 1938)
Wagner/Schelling: Tristan & Isolde: Prelude (CVE 64331-2 & CVE 64332-3 New York Oct 1930, Vic 7324)

'The Art of Paderewski', vol. III (Pearl, Pavilion Records, GEMM CD 9109, re-issued in 1991, made in Germany). Transfers from piano rolls effected by Denis Hall.

It contains:

Brahms:

Hungarian Dance No. 6
BE 64334-2, Vic 1539, Rec. in New York, December 1930
Hungarian Dance No. 7
BVE 64335-4, Vic 1539, Rec. in New York, December 1930

Debussy:

(Preludes, Book I) Danseuses de Delphes
BVE 64325-1, Vic 1531, Rec. In New York, October 1930
Minstrels
BVE 64328-6 (DA 1173), Rec. in New York, December 1930
(Images, Book I) Reflets dans l'eau
CVE 29986-2, Vic 6633, Rec. in New York, December 1926
Le Vent dans la plaine

BE 64327 (DA 1173), Rec. in New York, October 1930
 Voiles
 BE 64326-3, Vic 1531, Rec. in New York, December 1930)
 Mendelssohn:
 Hunting Song, Op. 19 No. 3
 Ho185c (DB649), Rec. in London, July 1912
 Song Without Words, No. 22 in F major, Op. 53 No. 4
 338ai, Rec. in Morges, July 1911
 Spinning Song, Op. 67 No. 4
 B 26393-5 (DA 470), Rec. in Camden, June 1922
 Rubinstein:
 Valse Caprice in E flat major, Op. 118
 Ho186c (DB 598), Rec. in London, July 1912
 Schumann:
 (Fantasiestuecke, Op. 12) Des Abends, Op. 12 No. 1
 Ho137f (DB 601), Rec. in London, June 1912
 Aufschwung, op. 12 No. 2
 Ho169c (DB376), Rec. in London, July 1912
 Nachtstueck, Op. 23 No. 4 (337ai, Rec. in Morges, July 1911)
 Prophet Bird, Op. 87, No. 7
 (BE 37128-3, Rec. in New York, December 1926, Vic 1426)
 Warum?, Op. 12 No. 3
 Ho 149c (DB374), Rec. In London, July 1912
 Strauss/Tausig: One Lives But Once
 CVE 64339 40-1, Unissued, Rec. in New York, October 1930

‘Paderewski plays Chopin’, vol. I (Pearl, Pavilion Records, GEMM CD 9323, re-issued in 1988, made in UK). Transfers from piano rolls effected by Denis Hall.

It contains:

Berceuse, Op. 57 (6428, New York, June 1922)
 Etude in C Minor, Op. 10/12 (BVE 45510-2, DA 1047, New York, May 1928)
 Etudes in A flat Major, Op. 25/1 & F Minor, Op. 25/2 (045556, Paris, February 1912)
 Etude in C Sharp Minor, Op. 25/7 (045511, London, July 1912)
 Etude in A Minor, Op. 25/11 (6438, Camden, N.J., May 1923)
 Mazurka in D Major, Op. 33/2 (BVE 63162-1, DA 1245, New York October 1930)
 Mazurka in A Flat Major, Op. 59/2 (BVE 64336-3, DB 1245, New York, December 1930)
 Mazurka in F Sharp Minor, Op. 59/3 (B 29991-1, DA 633, Camden, N.J., May 1924)
 Nocturne in F Major, Op. 15/1 (05620, New York, May 1917)
 Nocturne in F Sharp, Op. 15/2 (CVE 19781-5, DB 1167, New York, August 1927)
 Polonaise in E Flat Minor, Op. 26/2 (CVE 64344/5-1/2, DB 5897, October 1930)
 Polonaise in A Flat Major, Op. 53 (2EA 4574/5-1, DB 3134, London January 1937)
 Prelude in D Flat, op. 28/15 (CVE 27915-13, DB 1272, New York, May 1928)
 Prelude in A Flat, Op. 28/17 (CVE 37125-8, DB 1272, New York, May 1928)
 Waltz in E Flat, Op. 18 (CVE 45509-2, DB 1273, New York, May 1928)
 Waltz in A flat, Op. 42 (05718, New York, June 1922)
 Waltz in C Sharp Minor, Op. 64/2 (05627, New York, May 1917)

‘Paderewski plays Chopin’, vol. II (Pearl, Pavilion Records, GEMM CD 9397, re-issued in 1988, made in UK). Transfers from piano rolls effected by Denis Hall.

It contains:

Ballade in F Minor, Op. 52 (Short wave broadcast September 1938)
Etude in E Major, Op. 10/3 (CVE 37126-6 New York August 1927, DB 1037)
Etude in G Flat Major, Op. 10/5 (BVE 37127-10 New York August 1928, DB 1047)
Etude in C Major, Op. 10/7 (2574c Paris February 1912, DB 664)
Etude in G Sharp Minor, Op. 25/6 (B 27918-1 Camden may 1923, 917)
Etude in G Flat Major, Op. 25/9 (B 19782-6 New York June 1917, DA 470)
Maiden's Wish (arr. Liszt) (C 26602-6 Camden June 1922, 74777)
Mazurka in A Minor, Op. 17/4 (C 27920-2 Camden May 1923, 6448)
Mazurka in C Sharp Minor, Op. 63/3 (CVE 64333-1R New York October 1930, DB 1763)
My joys (arr. Liszt) (C 26392-4 Camden June 1922, 6428)
Nocturne in E Flat major, Op. 9/2 (CVE 64343 New York December 1930, DB 1763)
Nocturne in B Major, Op. 62/1 (2EA?114-6 London November 1938, unissued)
Nocturne in E Major, Op. 62/2 (344ai Morges July 1911, Symposium 1052)
Polonaise in A Major, Op. 40/1 (C 19943-2 New York May 1917, DB 375)
Sonata in B Flat, Op. 35 Third Movement (C 27917-1 Camden May 1923, 6470)
Valse in A Flat, Op. 34/1 (Ho 162c London July 1912, DB 585)

'Ignaz Jan Paderewski in Recital: Works by Chopin, Paderewski, Beethoven, Schubert, Liszt and others' (Aeolia, CD 1&2, MCPS, 2002). This is a transfer from piano rolls to CD by Denis Hall from the Pianola Institute, London.

CD 1:

Chopin: Ballade No. 1 in G Minor, Op. 23, 8008*, August 1927**
Ballade No. 3 in A Flat, Op. 47, 6832, January 1925
Grande Valse in A Flat, Op. 34/1, 6551, September 1922
Mazurka in A Minor, Op. 17/4, 6809, November 1924
Mazurka in B Flat Minor, Op. 24/4, 6566, November 1922
The Maiden's Wish, Op. 74/1 (Polish Songs, arr. Liszt), 6594, January 1923
My joy, Op. 74/12 (Polish Songs, arr. Liszt), 6567, November 1922
Nocturne in G, Op. 37/2, 6847, February 1925
Scherzo No. 3 in C sharp Minor, Op. 39, 7160, October 1927
Valse in A Flat, Op. 42, 6618, April 1923
Paderewski: Caprice (genre Scarlatti), Op. 14/3, 6558, October 1922
Cracovienne Fantastique, op. 14/6, 7446, March 1932
Lègende, Op. 16/1, 7285, December 1928
Mèlodie, Op. 8/3 (Chants du Voyageur), 6681, November 1923
Nocturne in B Flat, Op. 16/4, 6562, November 1922

CD 2:

Beethoven: Sonata in C Sharp Minor, Op. 27/2 (Moonlight)
1. Adagio Sostenuto, 6929, November 1925
2. Allegretto, 6929, November 1925
3. Presto Agitato, 6930, November 1925
Debussy: Reflets dans l'eau (Images No. 1), 7186, December 1927
Liszt : La Campanella (Grandes Etudes de Paganini), 7509, November 1936
Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, 6670, October 1923
Mendelssohn: Spinning Song (Songs without Words), Op. 67/4, 6569, November 1922
Paderewski: Minuet in G, Op. 14/1, 6100, April 1919
Schelling: Nocturne (Ragusa), 7215, March 1928
Schubert: Impromptu in A Flat, Op. 142/2, 6794, October 1924

Impromptu in B Flat, Op. 142/3, 7348, October 1929
Schubert, arr. Liszt: Hark, Hark, the Lark!, 6694, December 1923
Soirée de Vienne, Op. 67/6, 7435, October 1931
Schumann: Nachtstueck in F, Op. 23/4, 7262, October 1928

*the number in this column the number of the roll

**the number in this column means the year when the piece was recorded for the first time

'Ignaz Jan Paderewski – Works by Claude Debussy, Frederic Chopin, Robert Schumann, Richard Wagner, Felix Mendelssohn, Franz Liszt, Francois Couperin, Franz Schubert and Johannes Brahms', *The 1911/1930 Original 78s* (Urania, URN 22. 367, 3 CD SET, re-issued in 2008, made in Italy). It contains the following pieces:

(CD 1)

Beethoven: Sonata Op. 27/2 (I) "Moonlight" - *Rec. December 1926*

Brahms : Hungarian Dance No. 6 - *Rec. October 1930*

Hungarian Dance No. 7 - *Rec. December 1930*

Chopin: Etude in E Major, Op. 10/3 - *Rec. December 1926*

Mazurka in D Major, Op. 33/2 - *Rec. October 1930*

Mazurka in A Flat Major, Op. 59/2 - *Rec. December 1930*

Mazurka in C Sharp Minor, Op. 63/3 - *Rec. October 1930*

Nocturne in E Flat Major, Op. 9/2 - *Rec. December 1930*

Polonaise in E Flat Minor, Op. 26/2 - *Rec. October 1930*

Prelude No. 15 in D Flat Major, Op. 28 - *Rec. May 1928*

Prelude No. 17 in A Flat Major, Op. 28 - *Rec. May 1928*

Valse in D Flat Major, Op. 18 - *Rec. May 1928*

Debussy: Préludes I/1: Danseuses de Delphes - *Rec. October 1930*

Préludes I/2 : Voiles - *Rec. December 1930*

Préludes I/3 : Le vent dans la laine - *Rec. October 1930*

Préludes I/12: Minstrels - *Rec. December 1930*

Strauss/Tausig : One lives but once - *Rec. October 1930*

Wagner/Liszt : Der fliegende Hoellander, Chorus - *Rec. December 1930*

Wagner/Schelling: Tristan und Isolde, Prelude - *Rec. October 1930*

(CD 2)

Chopin: Berceuse, Op. 57 - *Rec. June 1922*

Etude in G Flat Major, Op. 10/5 - *Rec. May 1928*

Etude in C Major, Op. 10/12 - *Rec. May 1928*

Etude in G Sharp Minor, Op. 25/6 - *Rec. May 1923*

Etude in G Flat Major, Op. 25/9 - *Rec. June 1917*

Etude in A Minor, Op. 25/11 - *Rec. May 1923*

Mazurka in A Flat Major, Op. 59/2 - *Rec. May 1924*

Mazurka in F Sharp Minor, Op. 59/3 - *Rec. May 1924*

Sonata, Op. 35 (III: Funeral March) - *Rec. May 1923*

Chopin/Liszt: My joys - *Rec. June 1922*

Debussy: Images, I: Reflect dans l'eau - *Rec. December 1926*

Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 - *Rec. June 1922*

Paderewski: Minuet in G Major, Op. 14/1 - *Rec. May 1926*

Chant du voyageur, Op. 8/3 - *Rec. May 1923*

Schelling: Nocturne a Raguze - *Rec. May 1926*

Schubert: Impromptu in A Flat Major, Op. 142/2 - *Rec. December 1926*
Schumann: Prophet bird, Op. 82/7 - *Rec. December 1926*
Stojowski: By the brookside - *Rec. December 1926*
 Chant d'amour, Op. 26/3 - *Rec. December 1926*
 Spinning Song, Op. 67/4 - *Rec. June 1922*

(CD 3)

Chopin: Etude in C Major, Op. 10/7 - *Rec. February 1912*
 Etude in C Sharp Minor, Op. 25/7 - *Rec. July 1912*
 Nocturne in F Major, Op. 15/1 - *Rec. May 1917*
 Nocturne in F Sharp Major, Op. 15/2 - *Rec. May 1917*
 Polonaise in A Major, Op. 40/1 - 6
 Valse in A Flat Major, Op. 34/1 - *Rec. July 1912*
 Valse in A Flat Major, Op. 42 - *Rec. June 1922*
 Valse in C Sharp Minor, Op. 64/2 - *Rec. May 1917*

Chopin/Liszt: La campanella - *Rec. July 1912*

Couperin: La Bandoline - *Rec. April 1914*

 La carillon de Cythere - *Rec. April 1914*

Liszt : Etude de Concert No. 2 in F Minor - *Rec. June 1912*

 Hungarian Rhapsody No. 10 - *Rec. June 1922*

Paganini/Liszt: The maiden's wish - *Rec. July 1912*

Schubert: Impromptu in B Flat Major, Op. 142/3 - *Rec. May 1924*

Schubert/Liszt: Hark ! Hark ! The Lark! - *Rec. July 1911*

Schumann: Des Abends, Op. 12/1 - *Rec. June 1912*

 Aufschwung, Op. 12/2 - *Rec. July 1912*

 Warum? Op. 12/3 - *Rec. July 1912*

'Ignaz Jan Paderewski plays Liszt, Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Wagner & Schelling', *Grand Piano Series* (Nimbus, CD NI 8812, re-issued in 1997). It contains the following pieces:

Beethoven: Sonata in C Sharp Minor, Op. 27 No. 2, *Moonlight*

Liszt: Grandes Etude de Paganini, No. 3, La Campanella

 Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C Sharp Minor

 Hungarian Rhapsody No. 10 in E Major

Mendelssohn: Spinning Song, Op. 67 No. 4, from *Lieder ohne Woerter*

Schubert: Impromptu in A Flat Major, Op. 142 No. 2

Schelling: Nocturne (Ragusa)

Impromptu in B Flat Major, Op. 142 No. 3, *Rosamunde*

Schubert, trans. Liszt: Valse Caprice, Op. 67 No. 6, from *Soirées de Vienne*

Schumann: Nachstueck, Op. 23 No. 4

 Vogel als Prophet, Op. 82 No. 7

Wagner, trans. Liszt: Isoldes Liebestod from *Tristan und Isolde*

Radio broadcasts with Paderewski:

Paderewski, Ignaz J., NBC Shortwave Broadcast of September 25, 1938 from Lausanne, Switzerland, W/Max Jordan, Announcer. (The pieces appear in alphabetical order, not as they were played).

Programme:

Chopin: Ballade No. 4 in F Minor, Op. 52

 Mazurka In F Sharp Minor, Op. 59, No. 3

Valse in C Sharp Minor, Op. 64, No. 2
Haydn: Variations in F minor, Hob. XVII: 6
Mozart: Rondo in A Minor, K. 511
Schubert: Moment Musical in A Flat Major, Op. 94, No. 2
Wagner-Liszt: Tristan and Isolde - Lieberstod
Original source: 16" NBC lacquers dubbed to reel-to-reel tape by H. Ward Marston IV, ca. 1976. (Paderewski, I. J. (Oversize) – 1). Tape dub dessicated, repaired and digitally transferred/restored by Seth B. Winner Studios, March, 2009.

Paderewski, Ignaz J., NBC Magic Key Broadcast of February 26, 1939, W/Milton Cross, Announcer. (The pieces appear in alphabetical order, not as they were played).

Programme:

Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 14 in C Sharp Minor, Op. 27, No. 2, 'Moonlight'

Chopin: Ballade No. 3 in A Flat Major, Op. 47

Polonaise in A Flat Major, Op. 40 No. 1 'Heroic'

Chopin-Liszt: The Maiden's Wish

Paderewski: Chante de Voyager – Melodie in B flat Major

Minuet in G Major, Op. 14 No. 1

Minuet in G Major, Op. 14 No. 1 (Repeated)

Schubert: Impromptu in A Flat Major, Op. 142, No. 2

Original Source: 16" NBC lacquers dubbed to reel-to-reel tape by H. Ward Martson IV, ca. 1976. (Paderewski, I. J. (Oversize) – 2). Tape dub dessicated, repaired and digitally transferred/restored by Seth B. Winner Sound Studios, March, 2009.

Radio broadcasts on Paderewski:

Friedman, Ignaz, 'Great Pianists: Friedman', Complete Recordings, Vol. V (Naxos Historical, CD 8.111114, English Columbia, recorded 1933-36, re-issued in 2006).

Appendix B:

Friedman speaks on Paderewski

Recorded 6th November 1940

New Zealand Radio transcription disc

Film recording with Paderewski:

Moonlight Sonata, dir. Lothar Mendes (B&W, U.K., 1937).

Documentary film about Paderewski:

Paderewskiego życie po życiu na podstawie Simone Giron 'La Revolte des Anges' (Tajemnica testamentu Paderewskiego) PWM '96 w opracowaniu Jerzego Jasieńskiego (Paderewski's life after life, based on 'La Revolte des Anges' – The Mystery of Paderewski's Will, ed. by Jerzy Jasieński, dir. Stefan Szlachtycz (Dział Form Dokumentalnych, Studio "DE FACTO", TVP Archiwum (Archives of Polish Television, 1999).

Part I: *Rozdziobią go...* (Pursuit of the prey...)

Part II: ... *Kruki, wrony* (Predators)

Part III: *Zgliszczka* (Ashes)

Related video materials:

(Anon.), *Serce Ignacego Paderewskiego* (Heart of Ignaz Paderewski), Videofact, <http://www.videofact.com/polska/serce%20pader.html>, accessed 23 February 2011.

(Anon.), *Wywiad z Henrykiem Archackim* (Interview with Henryk Archacki), Videofact, <http://www.videofact.com/polska/archacki.html>, accessed 23 February 2011.

Printed music scores used

Beethoven, Ludwig, van, ed. Louis Köhler and Adolf Ruthardt, *Sonaten für Pianoforte solo, Band 1* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, ca. 1910), 248-61.

– *Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 2* ('Moonlight Sonata')

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Jan Ekier and Paweł Kamiński, *Polonaises, Series A, Opp. 24, 40, 44, 53, 61*; vol. VI, Urtext (National Edition of the works of Frederic Chopin), (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Music Publications), 2001).

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Jan Ekier and Paweł Kamiński, *Mazurkas, Series A, Opp. 6, 7, 17, 24, 30, 33, 41*; vol. IV, Urtext (National Edition of the works of Frederic Chopin), (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Music Publications), 1998).

– *Mazurka in B flat minor, Op. 24, No. 4*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Mazurkas, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. IV (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1981).

– *Mazurka in B flat minor, Op. 24, No. 4*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Jan Ekier and Paweł Kamiński, *Mazurkas, Series A, Opp. 6, 7, 17, 24, 30, 33, 41*; vol. IV, Urtext (National Edition of the works of Frederic Chopin) (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Music Publications), 1998).

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Jan Ekier and Paweł Kamiński, *Nocturnes, Op. 9, 15, 27, 32, 37, 48, 55, 62*; vol. V, Urtext (National Edition of the works of Frederic Chopin) (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (Polish Music Publications), 2010).

– *Nocturne in D flat major, Op. 27, No. 2*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Nocturnes, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. VII (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1951).

– *Nocturne in D flat major, Op. 27, No. 2*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Polonaises, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. VIII (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1956).

– *Polonaise in A flat major, Op. 53*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Sonatas, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. VI (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1950).

– *Sonata No. 2 in B flat minor, Op. 35*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Studies, Dzieła Wszystkie* (Complete Works), vol. II (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1990).

– *Study in F major, Op. 25 No. 3*

Chopin, Frederic, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, *Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)*, vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957).

– *Waltz in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2*

Chopin, Frederic/Liszt, Franz, *The maiden's wish* (Berlin: S. 9418, 1907).

Debussy, Claude, *Six Images (complete)*, (Amsterdam: Broekmans & Van Poppel No. 893, 1968).

Leschetizky, Theodor, *Etude La Piccola*, Op. 43, No. 2 (Berlin : Bote & Bock, 1838).

Liszt, Franz, ed. Sauer von, Emil, *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, S. 244* (Frankfurt/M., Leipzig, London and New York: C. F. Peters, No. 3600a).

Liszt, Franz, ed. Thuemer, O., *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, S. 244* (London: Augener).

Liszt, Franz, ed. Sauer von, Emil, *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 10, S. 244* (Frankfurt, London and New York: C. F. Peters No. 3600b).

Scharwenka, Xaver, *Polonaise in F minor, Op. 42* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel).

Schubert, Franz, ed. G. Buonamici, *Four Impromptus, Op. 142* (New York: G. Schirmer, London: Chappell & Company Ltd., 1897).

Schubert, Franz, *Serenade and Hark, Hark! The Lark* (London: J. B. Cramer & Company, No. 1339300).

Schubert, Franz, *Rosamunde Overture, Op. 26, No. 1* (for solo piano) (Litolff, 12781).

Printed music scores of Ignaz Jan Paderewski's works used:

Works for piano solo:

Album for piano (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne).

– *Danses polonaises, Op. 5* (1st Edition, Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1884).

No. 1 Krakowiak

No. 2 Mazurek

No. 3 Krakowiak

– *Chants de voyageur, Op. 8* (1st Edition, Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1884).

No. 3 Mélodie

– *Album de Mai, Op. 10* (1st Edition, Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1884).

No. 2 Chant d'amour

– *Humoresques de Concert, Op. 14, I – à l'antique* (1st Edition, Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1889).

No. 1 Menuet

– *Humoresques de Concert, Op. 14, II – moderne* (1st Edition, Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1890).

No. 6 Cracovienne fantastique

– *Miscellanea, Op. 16*

No. 1 Légende

No. 2 Mélodie

No. 3 Thème varié

No. 4 Nocturne

No. 6 Un Moment musical

Edition used:

Berlin: Bote & Bock, ca. 1890, 1896 for numbers: 1, 2, 3, 6.

New York: G. Schirmer, 1892, 1895, 1896 for numbers: 4, 5, 7.

– *Album Tatrzańskie, Op. 12* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne).

/listed in alphabetical order, not as they appear in the volume/:

Complete Works, vol. III (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999):

– *Sonata in E flat minor, Op. 21*

– *Variations and a Fugue in E flat minor, Op. 23*

Complete Works, vol. IV (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997):

– *Canzona. Pieśń bez słów* (Canzona. A song without words)

– *Dwa Intermezza* (Two Intermezzi):

Intermezzo I *W błyskawiczną noc* (In a lightning night)

Intermezzo II

– *Mazurka in F major*

– *Mazurka in G major*

– *Miniature in E flat major*

– *Powódź* (A flood)

– *Waltz in F major*

– *Z uczniowskiej teki. Dwa kanony* (From a school briefcase. Two Canons):

Kanon nr 1 (w septymie) (Canon no. 1 in seventh interval)

Kanon nr 2 (w kwarcie dolnej) (Canon no. 2 in fourth down)

Variations and a Fugue, Op. 11 (Berlin: Bote & Bock, ca. 1885).

Works for piano and orchestra:

– *Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 17* (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1890).

– *Polish Fantasy on Original Themes for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 19* (1st Edition, Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1895).

Works for piano solo inspired by Ignaz Jan Paderewski:

Stevenson, Ronald, *Suite for piano from Paderewski's opera Manru* (Edinburgh, The Ronald Stevenson Society, 2001).

Photographs and music examples

Fig. 1. Frederic Chopin Museum in Warsaw (formerly the Warsaw Institute of Music which Paderewski attended as a student in 1872-1878). Photo: A. Pluta.	38
Fig. 2. Photos of Steinway no. 71227, currently preserved in Smithsonian Institute, Washington. Photos: from the collection of the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.	40
Fig. 3.	41
Fig. 4.	41
Fig. 3 and 4. Photos of Steinway no. 71227, currently preserved in Smithsonian Institute, Washington. Photos: from the collection of the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.	41
Fig. 5. Steinway no. 233Y in the Presidential Palace, Warsaw.	45
Fig. 6.	46
Fig. 7.	46
Fig. 8.	46
Fig. 9.	46
Fig. 6, 7, 8 and 9. Steinway no. 233Y (Presidential Palace, Warsaw) during the process of restoration in 2006). Note the date of the new action – 1 September 1972. Photos: J. Walczak.	46
Fig. 10. Jerzy Piotr Walczak, restorer of Steinway no. 233Y (on the right), one of the best interpreters of Paderewski’s piano music, Karol Radziwonowicz (sitting at the piano), and the author. Photo: A. Pluta.	46
Fig. 11. The original Alma Tadema portrait of Paderewski (Presidential Palace, Warsaw). Photo: A. Pluta.	47
Fig. 12.	48
Fig. 13.	48
Fig. 12 and 13. Paderewski’s upright piano from Riond-Bosson (Steinway no. 95115), currently in the Music Conservatory in Warsaw (now the Frederic Chopin University of Music). Photos: A. Pluta.	48
Fig. 14.	49
Fig. 15.	49
Fig. 14 and 15. Paderewski’s upright piano from Riond-Bosson (Steinway no. 95115), currently in the Music Conservatory in Warsaw (now the Frederic Chopin University of Music). Photos: A. Pluta.	49
Fig. 16.	52
Fig. 17.	52
Fig. 16 and 17. Érard piano (serial no. 118483) in the Bieliński Palace in Otwock Wielki (a department of the National Museum in Warsaw). It is doubtful whether this instrument ever had anything to do with Paderewski. Photos: J. Walczak.	52
Fig. 18.	53

Fig. 19.	53
Fig. 18 and 19. The action of Érard piano with a pencil marking of its serial number and also with a surname – Vigin (the piano tuner who changed the hammers in February, 1934). Photos: J. Walczak.	53
Fig. 20. The action of Érard piano with a pencil marking of its serial number and also with a surname – Vigin (the piano tuner who changed the hammers in February, 1934). Photos: J. Walczak.	54
Fig. 21.	56
Fig. 22.	56
Fig. 21 and 22. One of the pianos in Paderewski’s manor house in Kańska Dolna, near Tarnów (Poland). This instrument did not belong to Paderewski. Photos: A. Pluta.	56
Fig. 23.	57
Fig. 24.	57
Fig. 23 and 24. Petrof piano in Kańska Dolna (with its serial number). Photos: A. Pluta.	57
Fig. 25. Petrof piano in Kańska Dolna (with its serial number). Photos: A. Pluta.	58
Fig. 26. Paderewski's chair and last piano in the Polish Museum of America, Chicago (the room before the renovation in 2009). On the piano stand some music is open. On the left is the last page of Chopin’s <i>Polonaise in A flat major</i> , Op. 53. That seems to have been the last page Paderewski played, as the score was found like that after his death, according to information from Richard (Rich) Kujawa from the Polish Museum of America in Chicago. Photo: Collection of the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.	59
Fig. 27. Paderewski's chair and last piano in the Polish Museum of America, Chicago (after the renovation in 2009). Photo: the Polish Museum of America in Chicago.	60
Fig. 28. A vase given by Steinway & Sons on Christmas, 1892 (made by Tiffany). Photo: A. Pluta.	65
Fig. 29. Characteristic American symbols on the vase. Photo: A. Pluta.	66
Fig. 30. Dedication on the vase (the names include William Steinway, Charles H. Steinway and Charles F. Tretbar). Photos: A. Pluta.	66
Fig. 31. Manuscript for Commentary (French edition) of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: <i>Ballade no. 4 in F minor</i> , Op. 52. Photo: A. Pluta.	112
Fig. 32. Manuscript for Commentary (French edition) of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: <i>Ballade no. 4 in F minor</i> , Op. 52. Photo: A. Pluta.	113
Fig. 33. Trial printout of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: <i>Ballade no. 3 in A flat major</i> , Op 47. Photo: A. Pluta.	113
Fig. 34. Trial printout of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, volume I: <i>Ballade no. 3 in A flat major</i> , Op 47. Photo: A. Pluta.	114
Fig. 35. <i>Ballade No. 1 in G minor</i> , Op. 23 from the Oxford Edition of Frederic Chopin Complete Works with annotations. Photo: A. Pluta.	115
Fig. 36. Enharmonic ‘corrections’ of Chopin's writing in the first, trial print of Frederic Chopin Complete Works, <i>Ballade No. 4 in F minor</i> , Op. 52. Photo: A. Pluta.	116
Fig. 37. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.	116

Fig. 38. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 3 in A flat major</i> , Op. 47. Photo: A. Pluta.	117
Fig. 39. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 3 in A flat major</i> , Op. 47. Photo: A. Pluta.	117
Fig. 40. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.	118
Fig. 41.	119
Fig. 42.	119
Fig. 41 and 42. 'Looked through and approved I. J. Paderewski' (original Paderewski signature on autograph). Photo: A. Pluta.	119
Fig. 43. Annotations – <i>Berceuse in D flat major</i> , Op. 57. Photo: A. Pluta.	120
Fig. 44. Annotations – <i>Berceuse in D flat major</i> , Op. 57. Photo: A. Pluta.	120
Fig. 43 and 44. Fingering in a circle is an alternative proposition suggested by Paderewski. 'p. Prez?' means: 'Mr President?'	120
Fig. 45. Annotations – <i>Polonaise in F sharp minor</i> , Op. 44. Photo: A. Pluta.	121
Fig. 46. Annotations – <i>Polonaise in F sharp minor</i> , Op. 44. Photo: A. Pluta.	121
Fig. 45 and 46. Annotation in the right margin 'palce p. Prezydenta?': 'fingering of Mr President?'	121
Fig. 47. Annotations – <i>Nocturne No. 8 in D flat major</i> , Op. 27, No. 2. Photo: A. Pluta.	122
Fig. 48. Annotations – <i>Nocturne No. 8 in D flat major</i> , Op. 27, No. 2. Photo: A. Pluta.	122
Fig. 47 and 48. In the left hand corner is probably Bronarski's approval (with date and signature).....	122
Fig. 49. Annotations – <i>Nocturne in A flat major</i> , Op. 32, No. 2. In the right lower corner is probably Bronarski's signature and approval. Photo: A. Pluta.	123
Fig. 50.	124
Fig. 51.	124
Fig. 50 and 51. First trial print of Chopin's <i>Ballade No. 1 in G minor</i> , Op. 23 with indicated corrections to be inserted before the second trial print. Annotations written by Turczyński are in red, pink or in pencil. Bronarski's approval (his signature in dark blue) is in the top left corner. Photo: A. Pluta.....	124
Fig. 52. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.	125
Fig. 53. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.	125
Fig. 54. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.	126
Fig. 55. Annotations – <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38. Photo: A. Pluta.	127
Fig. 52, 53, 54 and 55. First trial print of Chopin's <i>Ballade No. 2 in F major</i> , Op. 38 with further corrections indicated (including enharmonic changes). Photo: A. Pluta.....	127
Fig. 56. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Scherzo in B minor</i> , Op. 20 (with the melody of a Polish Christmas carol), bar 208, drawn originally by Szpinalski in his letter to Paderewski (Warsaw, 23 November 1929).....	161
Fig. 57. A sequence appearing in Paderewski's <i>Sonata in E flat minor</i> , Op. 21. Schelling cited this technically challenging moment in the letter to Paderewski (Bar Harbor Maine, 15 th July, 1921).	174
Fig. 58. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Scherzo in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 39.	177
Fig. 59. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Ballade in F minor</i> , Op. 38.....	178

Fig. 60. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Ballade in F major</i> , Op. 38 (Chopin <i>Complete Works</i> , ed. by I. J. Paderewski, L. Bronarski and J. Turczyński).....	179
Fig. 61. The same excerpt from Chopin's <i>Ballade in F major</i> , Op. 38 as above. (Chopin <i>Ballades</i> , Bote & Bock edition).	180
Fig. 62. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Etude in G sharp minor</i> , Op. 25, No. 6 (Chopin <i>Etudes</i> , Bote & Bock edition).	181
Fig. 63. Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, where Paderewski's extensive library from Riond-Bosson and also a manuscript of <i>Stara Suita (na 3 głosy)</i> (Old Suite (for Three Voices)), Op. 3 are preserved. Photo: A. Pluta.	183
Fig. 64. Paderewski's statue next to the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Photo: A. Pluta.	183
Fig. 65.	184
Fig. 66.	184
Fig. 65 and 66. Fragment of Paderewski's library (books, scores and memorabilia) from Riond-Bosson, currently held in the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University, in Kraków. Photos: A. Pluta.....	184
Fig. 67. Front page of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's <i>Lieder ohne Worte</i> (Songs Without Words), Op. 53 (Berlin: N. Simrock, ca' 1870). Photo: A. Pluta.....	187
Fig. 68. Mendelssohn's <i>Lied ohne Worte No. 14 in C minor</i> , Op. 38, No. 2. Bars 1-18.	187
Fig. 69. Mendelssohn's <i>Lied ohne Worte No. 19 in A flat major</i> , Op. 53, No. 1. Bars 1-15.	188
Fig. 70. Mendelssohn's <i>Lied ohne Worte No. 19 in A flat major</i> , Op. 53, No. 1. Bars 49-64.	189
Fig. 68, 69 and 70. Excerpts from Mendelssohn's <i>Songs Without Words</i> , Op. 38 and 53 (edition as above), possibly with Paderewski's fingering, agogic, dynamic, tempo and pedal markings. Photos: A. Pluta.....	189
Fig. 71. Excerpt from Beethoven's <i>Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 27, No. 2 ('Moonlight Sonata'), 3 rd movement <i>Presto agitato</i> , bars 25-28. Original notation. L. van Beethoven, ed. Louis Köhler and Adolf Ruthardt, <i>Sonaten für Pianoforte solo, Band 1</i> (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, ca. 1910), 253.....	210
Fig. 72. Excerpt from Beethoven's <i>Sonata No. 14 in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 27, No. 2 ('Moonlight Sonata'), 3 rd movement <i>Presto agitato</i> , bars 25-28. Version played by Paderewski.	210
Fig. 73. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Polonaise in A flat major</i> , Op. 53, bars 17-22. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Polonaises, Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. VIII (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1956), 57.	219
Fig. 74. Excerpt from Chopin's <i>Polonaise in A flat major</i> , Op. 53, bars 17-22. Rhythmic version played by Paderewski (changed in the right hand).....	220
Fig. 75. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef	

Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	229
Fig. 76. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Version played by A. Michałowski (recording from late 1905, Warsaw).....	229
Fig. 77. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 68-70. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	231
Fig. 78. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 68-70. Version played by A. Michałowski.....	232
Fig. 79. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-79. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	232
Fig. 80. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-79 (with bar 76 omitted). Version played by A. Michałowski.....	232
Fig. 81. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 81-85. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	233
Fig. 82. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 81-85. Version played by A. Michałowski.....	233
Fig. 83. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	234
Fig. 84. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 91-96. Version played by A. Michałowski (21 September 1912, Warsaw).....	234
Fig. 85. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 5-6 and 21-22. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	236
Fig. 86. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 5-6 and 21-22. Version played by V. de Pachmann.	236
Fig. 87. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-75. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes</i> , <i>Dzieła Wszystkie</i> (Complete Works), vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	237
Fig. 88. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 73-75. Version played by V. de Pachmann.	238
Fig. 89. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 125-128. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef	

Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	238
Fig. 90. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 125-128. Version played by V. de Pachmann.....	238
Fig. 91. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 187-192. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	239
Fig. 92. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 187-192. Version played by V. de Pachmann.....	239
Fig. 93. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 37-38. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 60.....	241
Fig. 94. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 37-38. Version played by J. Hofmann.....	241
Fig. 95. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bar 54. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 60.....	242
Fig. 96. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bar 54. Version played by J. Hofmann.....	242
Fig. 97. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bar 60. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 60.....	242
Fig. 98. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bar 60. Version played by J. Hofmann.....	243
Fig. 99. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 66-67. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	243
Fig. 100. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 66-67. Version played by J. Hofmann.	243
Fig. 101. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 70-71. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	244
Fig. 102. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 70-71. Version played by J. Hofmann.	244
Fig. 103. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 82-83. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef	

Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	244
Fig. 104. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bars 82-83. Version played by J. Hofmann.	245
Fig. 105. Excerpt from F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bar 79. Original notation. F. Chopin, ed. Ignacy J. Paderewski, Ludwik Bronarski and Józef Turczyński, <i>Waltzes, Dzieła Wszystkie (Complete Works)</i> , vol. IX (Warszawa-Kraków: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and Polish Music Publications, 1957), 61.....	245
Fig. 106. F. Chopin, <i>Waltz in C sharp minor</i> , Op. 64, No. 2, bar 79. Version played by J. Hofmann.....	245
Fig. 107. Bar 18 from Paderewski's Nocturne in B flat major, Op. 16, No. 4 (Bote & Bock edition, 1891).	254
Fig. 108. Version of the same bar played by Paderewski on Welte-Mignon piano roll no. 1262 (1906).....	254