

Introduction to the Polish National Edition
of the Works of Fryderyk Chopin

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Introduction
to the Polish National Edition
of the Works
of Fryderyk Chopin
(WN)

Part 1. Editorial Issues

Translated by John Comber

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Preface to the electronic version

The first edition of the *Introduction* appeared in 1974, following the publication of the first volume of music: Ballades. The second edition was to follow the conclusion of work on all the volumes of the National Edition. The first edition of the *Introduction* discussed the entire range of editorial issues connected with Chopin's works, based on source and secondary material available during that first phase of editorial work; the second edition was to be extended to cover material discovered over the course of that work, together with the editorial experience gained in the process.

The half-century that separates us from the commencement of work on the National Edition has enhanced our source-information base with many new items. Let us confine ourselves here to enumerating the most important among them. A number of autographs, copies and first editions hitherto considered lost or inaccessible have been discovered. A number of sources hitherto inaccessible (for example, French editions from the collection of Jane Stirling with Chopin's corrections — presented, with commentaries, by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger) have been photographed, with many being issued in facsimile form. Works of a fundamental character have been published, such as *Bibliografia Chopinowska* [Chopin bibliography] (K. Michałowski, 1970), *Katalog rękopisów utworów Chopina* [A catalogue of manuscripts of Chopin's works] (K. Kobylańska, 1977), *Katalog dzieł F. Chopina / A Catalogue of the Works of Frederick Chopin* (J. Chomiński and D. Turło, 1990) and the monographic *Chopin — Człowiek, Dzieło, Rezonans* [Chopin. The man, his work and its resonance] (M. Tomaszewski, 1998). Previously unknown copyists and publishers have come to light. Numerous symposia continue to add new details to Chopin's biography and works.

A separate matter is the universal accessibility of the Internet, allowing us to familiarise ourselves with many sources that are difficult to reach, and often to produce faithful copies of them.

These works and circumstances connected with the editing of Chopin's music, although scrupulously noted in the commentaries to individual volumes of the Edition, render the *Introduction to the National Edition* increasingly incomplete – a situation compounded by the fact that it has been unavailable on the book market for many years.

So when the PWM publishing house approached me with the project of re-editing the *Introduction*, the problem arose as to the appropriate time and form. While the greater part of the principal strand of Chopin's oeuvre is already edited and available in bookshops as part of the National Edition, the few remaining volumes (for example, Chamber works, Works for four hands and for two pianos, currently being prepared) may raise problems not addressed by the first edition of the *Introduction* and which ought to be resolved before its re-edition, aimed at covering the full range of editorial issues. On the other hand, the demand for this publication is sufficiently great as to oblige the editor to act more quickly. Hence the idea for an intermediate stage, which the present electronic version of the *Introduction* may represent.

However, this version will be a compromise solution. Based on the first edition of the *Introduction*, it is conceived in principle as a reprint. In principle, since some of its parts must be modified. This is due primarily to the fact that where greater precision is brought to the chronology of Chopin's works, in some places the National Edition numbering has to be altered, and this form of the *Introduction* should naturally agree with the numbering given in the volumes of music. This will concern, first and foremost, posthumous works. In certain cases, some works will be excluded from the body of the numbered works (for example, the *Largo*, which will be placed in the Supplement) and others, the authenticity of which has been confirmed with considerable probability, such as the Country Dance, the reconstruction of the *Allegretto* and the unquestionably authentic 'Marquis' Galop, will be included.

It goes without saying that in the final, printed, version of the second edition of the *Introduction* there will be a considerable expansion of the notes specifying the subject literature. This has grown over the whole period of work on the National Edition, as already mentioned at the beginning of this preface.

* * *

It is difficult not to state with satisfaction that no crucial element of the editorial conception of the National Edition has required fundamental alteration over the course of that half-century of work. As a result, the re-edition of the

PREFACE TO THE ELECTRONIC VERSION

Introduction, planned for 2010/2011, will supplement, rather than change, the first edition in this respect. It is my hope that the reader of the present version, as an intermediate stage, will be reconciled with its shortcomings before being able to reach for the second printed version, conceived as the last. This will present not only the general principles of the *Introduction*, but also all its details, supplemented and synchronised both internally and in relation to the musical text of Chopin's works.

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... it is a biography written in the author's own hand, spread out across his works. The work of art, like almost every work of man, is a reflection of the moment under the influence of which it was created; thus a series of works, a collected opus, is a concentrated echo of different moments in a life; anyone able to read them would divine the whole path taken, would count the notches on his heart; such a biography never misleads, although it hides beneath an unusual form.

Józef Sikorski *Wspomnienie Szopena*
[Recollections of Chopin], Warsaw 1849

Abbreviations

- BCP — Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Paris
- BN — Biblioteka Narodowa [Polish National Library], Warsaw
- Brown's Index* — Maurice J. E. Brown, *Chopin, An Index of his Works in Chronological Order* (London, 1960). (All references to *Brown's Index* concern the first edition. The author did not obtain access to the second edition, from 1972, until after the present text was submitted to print.)
- KCh — *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina* [The correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin], ed. B. E. Sydow, 2 vols. (Warsaw: PIW, 1955)
- KOK — *Korespondencja Oskara Kolberga* [The correspondence of Oskar Kolberg], 3 vols., vols. 64, 65 and 66 in *Dziela Wszystkie Oskara Kolberga* [The complete works of Oskar Kolberg] (Warsaw: LSW-PWM, 1965, 1966, 1969)
- TiFC — Towarzystwo im. Fryderyka Chopina [Fryderyk Chopin Society in Warsaw]
- WN — Wydanie Narodowe Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina [Polish National Edition of the Works of Fryderyk Chopin]
- WTM — Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne [Warsaw Music Society]

The aim, scope and character of the Polish National Edition

The *aim* of the Polish National Edition of the Works of Fryderyk Chopin (WN) is to present, in the most authentic way possible, the complete musical oeuvre of Fryderyk Chopin.

Since Chopin is among the most frequently published composers of music (there exist over seventy collected editions of his works), and several complete editions set out more or less explicitly to faithfully transmit the composer's creative intentions,¹ it is appropriate here both to explain briefly why it is necessary to take up this responsible task once again and also to indicate those characteristic features of the new edition which will distinguish it from its predecessors.

1. The source base for the WN comprises all sources available to us in public and private collections. The possibility of gathering together these sources, scattered all over the world, is several times greater at present than a few decades ago (microfilm, photocopies, facsimiles). Thanks to the kindness of the directors of public libraries in Poland and abroad, and also of private individuals in possession of sources for Chopin's works,² the range of the source base of our edition is greater than that of any previous editions³.

¹ See below, 'Later editions as indirect sources'.

² First and foremost, we should name the Towarzystwo im. Fryderyka Chopina in Warsaw, which placed at my sole disposition for a long period of time a large part of its collection of photocopies of sources and also gave me access to sources of all other kinds. See also the 'Conclusion' to the *Introduction*.

³ It goes without saying that the expression *all* available sources is relative. That which is not available today may be at our disposition tomorrow (there are documented Chopin sources still not available today). Equally relative is the notion of the *complete* record of sources: these sources could only be scrutinised — both in Poland and abroad — in the major specialist public and private collections which were known or believed to include authentic sources for Chopin's

2. We have made considerable progress in improving methods for establishing the authenticity of sources (that is, the composer's participation in their preparation), their filiation (relations with one another) and their hierarchy, according to the degree to which they represent the composer's intentions. Extremely helpful in this area (as well as with specifying the other principles of musical editing applied in the WN) were Konrad Górski's works *Sztuka edytorska*⁴ and *Z historii i teorii literatury*⁵, which, although nominally confined to matters relating to the editing of literary works, constitute — thanks to many analogies — extremely valuable resources for the resolving of hitherto uncoded problems of musical editing⁶.

3. From the compilation and comparison of a large number of sources, from the ascertaining of their authenticity, and also from the collation of the texts of the collected editions which have appeared over the course of over one hundred years (the first was produced in 1860), we draw several crucial conclusions which influence the ultimate form of the musical text.

The first editions of Chopin's works, which during his lifetime were usually published in three countries (France, Germany or Austria, and England), contained quite a large number of printing errors and misreadings of the original text — some of these passed into later editions, sometimes even to editions which aspired to reproducing Chopin's text as faithfully as possible.

The first editions and the manuscripts on which they were based often contain different versions of the same places, directly attributable to Chopin; sometimes these are only corrections and improvements to the text, yet often they are parallel versions, which may be regarded as variants. We also know that Chopin introduced variants deliberately, most often during lessons, in his pupils' copies of works.

works. Signals as to the existence of sources as yet unknown to us may still be anticipated — in this the WN may also be of assistance. The notion of the complete sources in general does not correspond to reality. The rediscovery of an authentic source, the existence of which had not been suspected (as in the case of Chopin's works, e.g. a teaching copy of a work of his) or which had hitherto been considered as lost (numerous fortunate instances of this kind have already occurred during the preparatory work on the WN), is always a possibility.

⁴ Warsaw: PWN, 1956.

⁵ Wrocław: PWN, 1959; second series Warsaw: PWN, 1964; third series Warsaw: PWN, 1971.

⁶ Another publication that is helpful in shaping the foundations of the editing of Chopin's works is *Źródła i zasady wydania Dzieł zebranych Cypriana Norwida* [Sources and editorial principles of the Collected works of Cyprian Norwid], elaborated by Juliusz W. Gomulicki (Cyprian Norwid, *Dzieła zebrane* [Collected works] (Warsaw: PIW, 1966), i:815–936)

The errors and discrepancies of the first editions aroused concern among Chopin's contemporaries,⁷ and in the majority of the collected editions they caused an accumulation of new corrections, supplementary markings and alterations, not infrequently distorting the composer's intentions⁸. The WN is aimed at removing all textual accretions, thereby showing Chopin's work in its original, unadulterated form. On the other hand, only a few collected editions — and that to a very meagre extent — give Chopin's variants. The WN, by contrast, gives all the more important authentic variants of the musical text, both those conceived as variants by Chopin himself and also those which possess such a character as a result of discrepancies between the final versions of a text.⁹ Thus we may state that the majority of editions, presupposing a *single* musical text, transmitted Chopin's music *abridged*. In extreme cases, the difference between these editions and the WN will lie in the fact that these editions gave *one*, sometimes *inauthentic*, Chopin text. The WN, meanwhile, often gives *several*, and always *authentic* Chopin texts.

4. We have methods at our disposal today, rendered increasingly precise by contemporary musical editing, which enable us to present the composer's final text with any editorial additions regarded as essential made visible at a glance thanks to their graphic distinction.

5. We are able to resolve — on the basis of detailed research — some of the general problems concerning the understanding of notation and performance mannerisms in just the way that Chopin himself most probably understood them; hitherto, these problems were resolved either fragmentarily or else in an arbitrary way, often inconsistently over the whole of a particular edition.

The arguments set out above would appear to provide sufficient justification for undertaking a new source edition of Chopin's works. If, additionally, we take into account the general global trend in musical editing today, manifest in the

⁷ This is doubtless what Mendelssohn had in mind when he said: 'In Chopin's music one really does not know sometimes whether a thing is right or wrong'. As quoted in Friedrich Niecks, *Frederick Chopin as a Man and Musician* 2nd edn (London, 1890), ii:276.

Schumann, also, reviewing Chopin's Tarantella, Op. 43 in its German edition, states: 'The first comprehension of the piece is, unfortunately, rendered very difficult by the misprints with which it is really swarming'. R. Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig, 1888), iii:155. As quoted in F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin*, ii:272.

⁸ See below: 'The principles behind the preparing of the commentaries': 'The concordance of collected editions'.

⁹ See below: 'The principles behind the editing of the musical text': 'Variants'.

particular prominence given to source editions,¹⁰ as well as the juncture that is particularly favourable to all kinds of scholarly and artistic work — including editions — resulting from the cultural policies of the People's Republic of Poland, then we consider that setting about the realisation of an edition of this type is the duty of our generation.

In setting out the aims of the WN, the need arises to solve a number of problems connected with its realisation. These problems must always be considered in respect to authenticity, that is, from the point of view from which Chopin himself may have looked at them. It turns out that many of these issues are resolved, in whole or in part, in a way that is different to those applied hitherto in Chopin editing, some even hallowed by a tradition enduring for more than a century. The most important of these issues are as follows:

- establishing the scope of the compositions to be included in the edition,
- defining the character of the edition,
- verifying the system by which works are set in order,
- specifying the method for establishing the ultimate text of particular works, most faithfully conveying Chopin's creative intentions,
- elucidating those problems with reading Chopin's notation which for a performer today may be completely incomprehensible or ambiguous.

The scope of Chopin's works encompassed by the WN is constituted by all authentic and complete works which have or may have the character of works intended for artistic performance. Therefore, we do not publish sketches¹¹ or first redactions of works, where their final redactions exist,¹² although we always take account of both these earlier stages in composition as sources, noting their characteristic features in the commentaries and wherever applicable drawing from them conclusions affecting the musical text. There is also no room in the WN for works with the character of compositional exercises (e.g. Chopin's exercises in counterpoint) or pianistic exercises, as well as transcriptions, even if they were published during Chopin's lifetime, if we are not certain that they were produced by Chopin himself. Works of dubious authenticity, but bearing at

¹⁰ See 'Urtext' editions from such publishing firms as Henle (Munich and Duisburg), Bärenreiter (Kassel), Deutsche Verlag für Musik (Leipzig), Universal (Wiener Urtext Ausgabe, Vienna), Lea Pocket Scores (New York), Peters (Leipzig) and Breitkopf & Härtel (Wiesbaden and Leipzig).

¹¹ The exception here will be a reconstruction of a sketch of the Mazurka in F minor, Chopin's last composition. See Chopin, *Mazurka f-moll (ostatni)* (PWM, 1965).

¹² Those among the different redactions of works, the order or character of which (in terms of their correspondence to the composer's final intentions) cannot be established for certain, are included in the WN in its main text, in different versions of a whole work, or in appendices.

least in part certain traits of authenticity, are included in one of the supplements. Works ascribed to Chopin, but in which there is very little, if anything, to suggest his authorship, are excluded by the WN.¹³

The WN has a threefold character.

1. It is first and foremost a *source edition*, since a) it is based on the broadest possible source base, b) it draws from these sources, as its premises, conclusions that are expressed in the ultimate fixing of the text in a manner accepted in contemporary editing.

2. It is a *critical edition*, since the entire editorial process, beginning with the gathering of sources and ending with the reproduction of the ultimate musical text, is furnished with commentaries. These commentaries cover the *description* of sources both in general terms and also in respect to their individual deviations in particular compositions, the *reconstruction* of their affinities and authenticity, the *assessment* of their value with regard to establishing the ultimate text and the *justification* of the choice of whole sources or their parts in the reconstruction of that text.

3. It is a *practical edition*, since its text may serve as the basis for artistic performance. The WN text is prepared for print in such a way as to be as simple to read as possible. This is where the postulates of source authenticity and practicality converge, as the editors regard Chopin's authentic text as being so lucid and at the same time complete that it is the best practical text. Any additional markings can only obscure this text. Whilst it is true that the instrument has changed since Chopin's times and that we may have progressed in terms of fingering, which in Chopin's works was a revelation in respect to the piano technique of his day, the differences are not so significant as to warrant interference in the original performance markings. In line with the usage of other contemporary source editions, we supplement only the fingering, always distinguishing its typeface from the rather sparse original fingering.¹⁴ The rest of the interpretational markings we leave in their authentic quantity and form. Only in cases where it is certain or justifiably most probable that Chopin *overlooked* a sign or note or else was *unable* to use a note that he intended (for instance, due to the smaller compass of the keyboard than in modern-day pianos), these signs and notes will be added by the editors, distinguished by the use of

¹³ Compositions regarded by the WN editors as inauthentic but which have been published at some time will be discussed — with arguments asserting their inauthenticity — in the Source Commentary to volume B X (36).

¹⁴ See below: 'The principles behind the editing of the musical text'.

THE AIM, SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE POLISH NATIONAL EDITION

a different typeface or by their placing in brackets. In order to reduce to a minimum the margin for ambiguity in the reading of Chopin's original text, a Detailed Performance Commentary will be appended to each volume; this will consider the ways of performing particular places in works. General issues relating to the performance of Chopin's works, considered on the basis of authentic sources describing Chopin's playing and his demands on his pupils, will be contained in the second part of the *Introduction*, entitled *Performance Issues*

The plan of the Edition

THE DIVISION OF THE WN INTO TWO SERIES

GENERAL PRINCIPLE

The starting point for the ordering of Chopin's works is the division of the WN into two series. Series A contains works published during Chopin's lifetime, Series B contains works not published during his lifetime.¹⁵

The grounds for employing a division of this sort are given by Chopin's last wish, expressed on his death bed. The friends who accompanied the composer during his final moments give concurring accounts of the substance of his decision to forbid the publication of his unpublished manuscripts. The fact that their accounts differ in minor details is entirely understandable: the instructions regarding his unpublished works were expressed by Chopin several times in conversations with various persons. Chopin's long-standing friend, Wojciech Grzymała, describes the composer's last moments to another friend of Chopin's, Auguste Léo, several days after his death:

[...] dictating his final wishes for his works with the same superiority which inspired them. There will be found, he said, many compositions sketched to a greater or lesser degree; I ask in the name of the attachment which you have for me that they all be burned, with the exception of the beginning of the method, which I leave to Alkan and Reber that they might derive something useful from it; the rest without any exception must be consumed by fire, as I had a great respect for the public and my sketches were finished as far as I was able and I do not wish that under the responsibility of my name there should be disseminated works unworthy of the public, etc., etc.¹⁶

¹⁵ A similar principle was applied by the *Erste kritisch durchgeschene Gesamtausgabe*, edited by Brahms, Bargiel, Reinecke, Rudorff, Liszt and Franchomme (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1787–80), which assigned the posthumous works to two separate volumes.

¹⁶ Letter from the end of October 1849, written in French.

Just a few days later, doubtless after receiving a letter from Léo, Grzymała writes to him again:

I am very glad of your sentiment regarding that arrangement of the composer's to have everything that was unfinished in his portfolio destroyed. — An arrangement that greatly annoys the self-proclaimed friends and editors, but which is most essential for his reputation.¹⁷

Marcelina Czaratoryska, regarded by contemporaries as Chopin's best female pupil, describes the moment, via the intermediary of Stanisław Tarnowski, thus:

With the utmost awareness, he gave his final instruction: he asked his sister to burn all his inferior compositions; 'I owe it to the public', he said, 'and to myself to publish only good things: I kept to this my whole life, and I wish to keep to it now.'¹⁸

A third version was related by a friend of Chopin's, the composer and cellist Auguste Franchomme:

Tr. note: henceforth, with one further exception (see below, n. 200), excerpts from the correspondence of Chopin and about Chopin will be quoted according to *KCh*, translated directly from the French or Polish original. In this case, however, as the text was not reproduced entirely accurately in *KCh* (ii:324 and 463) and is of fundamental significance for the question in hand, the author turned to the French original as printed in *Correspondance de Frédéric Chopin* (Paris: Richard-Masse, 1960), iii:443, with Grzymała's obvious spelling mistakes corrected:

'[...] dictant ses dernières volontés pour ses oeuvres avec la même supériorité qui les a inspirées.

On trouvera, a-t-il dit, beaucoup de compositions plus ou moins indiquées, je demande au nom de l'attachement qu'on me porte que toutes soient brûlées, le commencement d'une méthode excepté que je lègue à Alkan et Reber pour en tirer quelques utilités le reste sans aucune exception doit être consumé par le feu, car j'ai eu un grand respect pour le public et mes essais étaient achevés autant qu'il a été en moi et je ne veux pas que sous la responsabilité de mon nom il se répande des oeuvres indignes du public etc., etc.'

¹⁷ Letter of 8 November 1849, written in French; *KCh*, ii:466.

¹⁸ S. Tarnowski, *Chopin i Grottger. Dwa szkice* [Chopin and Grottger. Two sketches] (Cracow: 1892), 43. The credibility of this account and the fact that it comes from Marcelina Czaratoryska is beyond doubt. In the author's preface, we read:

'These sketches were written at the time for public lectures: both lectures took place in Cracow [...], one in March 1871, the other in November 1873. The first *sketch about Chopin* was written at the request and under the guidance of Princess Marcelina Czaratoryska. From her the author had Chopin's notes and letters, from her all the details included in the sketch [...] During the aforementioned lecture Princess Czaratoryska played those compositions referred to in the sketch [...]' (emphasis J. E.)

Pleyel asked Chopin what was to be done with the MSS. Chopin replied that they were to be distributed among his friends, that none were to be published, and that fragments were to be destroyed.¹⁹

This last wish of Chopin's is confirmed by the further correspondence of his friends. From the period of Julian Fontana's negotiations with the Chopin family over the publication of his posthumous works, several references to this subject have been preserved in the correspondence of Jane Wilhelmina Stirling, a Scottish pupil of Chopin's, his 'guardian angel' during the last years of his life, in correspondence addressed to Chopin's sister, Ludwika:

With much agitation, I am informed from Paris that an edition of Chopin's posthumous works is being discussed, with my correspondents enquiring what those Chopin works would be to which a foreign hand would set an accompaniment — the hand of someone who could not know what his idea was. They say that this would be contrary to his will, and Mrs M. [Marcelina Czartoryska] is

¹⁹ This version is transmitted by F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin* (see above, n. 7), ii:323.

Another account, concerning the burning of sketches of Chopin's compositions, is given by Ferenc Liszt in his biography of Chopin (F. Liszt, *Life of Chopin*, tr. John Broadhouse, 2nd edn (London: Reeves, n.d.), 223:

'A respectful regard for his fame led him to wish that these desultory sketches should be destroyed so that they could not possibly be mutilated, disfigured and transformed into posthumous works which might be unworthy of him.'

This mention would appear to indicate that part of the unfinished manuscripts was indeed burned. However, this excerpt is not entirely trustworthy, for several reasons: 1. during the period of Chopin's death, Liszt was far from Paris, and he took the biographical information concerning Chopin's final moments from third parties, 2. we know that another piece of information of this kind given by Liszt (p. 225), whereby the beginning of a 'Method for the Piano' was also supposedly left to the mercy of flames, happily does not correspond to reality, since the manuscript of the beginning of the Method has been preserved to the present day, 3. a commentary anticipating so precisely the fortunes of future compositions does not seem authentic, and, as it is not borne out by other accounts, it gives rise to the assumption that the circumstances described by Liszt relating to Chopin's wish for his unpublished compositions to be destroyed are his own embellishment.

We find one further remark referring to the fate of the unfinished compositions in the book *How Chopin Played*, edited on the basis of the diaries and notes of A. J. Hipkins, an English pianist contemporary to Chopin, by Edith J. Hipkins (London, 1937, p. 13 n. 1):

'It was said, that when Chopin was dying, he begged his friend Gutman [*sic*] to destroy the notes for this intended work, and that the wish was carried out.'

It is difficult to state on what sources this reference is based, whether it is first hand or else a compilation of various pieces of information.

strongly opposed to this. They implore me to communicate with you on this matter, considering it to be sacrilege.²⁰

Just how strongly Marcelina Czartoryska must have opposed an edition of his posthumous works can be gauged by an excerpt from another letter written by Jane Stirling to Chopin's sister:

I am sorry that Mrs M. [...] forgot herself to the point of writing to you in such an inappropriate way. She believes that Chopin's will has been violated, and I understand her discontentment [...].²¹

A couple of months later, she informs her once again that someone who had met Princess Czartoryska in Vienna affirmed that she was still bitter about the matter of the posthumous works.²²

The above-mentioned composer and pianist Camille Pleyel, a friend of Chopin's, forcibly reminds Ludwika Jędrzejewicz of her late brother's stance on his unpublished works:

Madam,

My recollections are perfectly in accord with the motives of Princess Czartoryska, so well inferred, for dissuading you from giving your consent to any kind of posthumous publication of your most dear and much lamented brother. I confirm that on many occasions, and notably a few days before death took him from us, he insisted that I do everything in my power to prevent any publication of posthumous works or fragments.

To give your support to a publication of this sort would be to act against the sacred wish of a dying man, a wish so formally expressed, and I am convinced that after careful reflection you will not hesitate to go back on the contrary decision which you appear to have taken. Please accept my most sincere greetings, together with the assurances of my respects.

Camille Pleyel²³

Paris, 12 December 1853

²⁰ Letter of 11 December 1853, written in French; TiFC collection (original M/528, photocopy F. 120). Cf. E. Ganche, *Dans le souvenir de F. Chopin* (Paris, 1925), 145 (Ganche's quotation does not accord entirely with the original).

²¹ Letter of 21 March 1854, written in French; see E. Ganche, *Dans le souvenir*, 147.

²² M. Karłowicz, *Nie wydane dotychczas pamiątki po Chopinie* [Hitherto unpublished Chopin souvenirs] (Warsaw, 1904), 346.

²³ The original of this letter, written in French, is held in the TiFC collection (M/310, photocopy F. 45). Cf. M. Karłowicz, *Nie wydane*, 375; E. Ganche, *Dans le souvenir*, 219.

The tradition of Chopin's last wish was passed down in his family to the next generation. Chopin's nephew, Antoni Jędrzejewicz, describing the history of various souvenirs of his uncle, said:

Among the chests, there were also, I remember, two or three chests with music, with Chopin's manuscripts, with manuscripts of compositions which, not checked by him and not corrected, only barely sketched, were not suitable — in his opinion — for publication.²⁴

Representatives of the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, one of the first publishers of Chopin's works, must also have been well aware of Chopin's stance on this question, as they wrote to Antoni Barciński in their correspondence:

Moreover, Mr Chopin has died. His posthumous works — at least the majority — are among those which he did not wish to publish. It is quite right that after the death of a great composer the possibility is considered of publishing everything which is worthy of him, which might help to make us better acquainted with him — even if he himself did not agree.²⁵

Probably the successors to the directors of this firm contemporary to Chopin replied to Johannes Brahms in respect to a doubt he had expressed regarding the classification of the Sonata, Op. 4 among Chopin's posthumous works:

To your letter [...] it is our privilege to reply that the 'Sonata, Op. 4' was included in the thematic catalogue as a posthumous work. Since Chopin firmly opposed the publication of less valuable — in his opinion — works, and his family published the whole body of the works that he left, utterly against his will, we consider that we have the right to include this work in our edition solely as a supplement.²⁶

So Chopin's negative attitude towards the publication of works not published by himself is beyond doubt.

The motives for this attitude may have varied, as the value of the compositions he left also varied, they were in various stages of completion and dated from different periods in his life. Julian Fontana, Chopin's close friend and confidant,

²⁴ F. Hoesick, *Ślowacki i Chopin* [Ślowacki and Chopin] (Warsaw, 1932), i:255.

²⁵ Undated letter (received 19 December [1854]), written in French, copy of the original held at the TiFC (M/454, photocopy F. 42).

²⁶ Letter written by the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel on 27 May 1878 on the question of the volume of Chopin's *Sonatas* edited by Brahms in the edition named in n. 15 above; Franz Zagiba, *Chopin und Wien* (Vienna, 1951), 134. Original in German.

the copyist of many of his works, the one who, after overcoming the resistance of Chopin's friends, finally obtained his family's consent to the publication of part of the works not published by the composer,²⁷ writes thus in a note to his edition of the *Oeuvres posthumes* (1855):

Far from France at the time of his death, I could not be present during his final moments. Notwithstanding, I heard him express his intention to publish one or another of the pieces in the present collection. Yet some of these compositions, having been written as keepsakes for friends, he did not wish to publish out of excessive delicacy. As for the remainder, having the habit of holding on to works sometimes for quite some time before rendering them to the public, out of caprice or nonchalance, he left them in his portfolio.²⁸

The fact that Chopin did not wish to publish works offered 'as keepsakes for friends' is confirmed by an excerpt from a letter he wrote to Anne Caroline de Belleville-Oury:

As for the little waltz which I had the pleasure of writing for you, keep it — I implore you — for yourself. I would not wish it to see the light of day. But what I would like is to hear you playing it [...].²⁹

There is one more motive that Chopin may have had for refraining from publishing some works: a discernable influence of the ideas of other composers on his own works.³⁰

²⁷ See n. 123 below.

²⁸ *Oeuvres posthumes pour le piano de Fréd. Chopin, publiés sur les manuscrits originaux avec autorisation de sa Famille par Jules Fontana* (Berlin: Schlesinger). The note is written in the original in German and French.

²⁹ Letter of 10 November 1842, written in French. *KCh*, ii:356.

³⁰ This was pointed out by Arthur Hedley, comparing the opening bars of Moscheles's Impromptu in E flat major with Chopin's Impromptu in C sharp minor, not published during his lifetime (the so-called Fantasy-Impromptu); A. Hedley, *Chopin* (London, 1947), 155–156.

On (the relatively few) reminiscences in Chopin in general, see L. Bronarski, 'O kilku reminiscencjach u Chopina' [On several reminiscences in Chopin], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 5 (1929), 25–32, L. Bronarski, 'De quelques réminiscences chez Chopin', *Etudes sur Chopin*, ii (Lausanne, 1946), 43–68, L. Bronarski 'O reminiscencjach u Chopina' [On reminiscences in Chopin], *Szkice chopinowskie* [Chopin sketches] (Kraków: PWM, 1961), 173–200, J. Prosnak, 'Środowisko warszawskie w życiu i twórczości Fryderyka Chopina, III. Wpływy' [The Warsaw environment in the life and work of Fryderyk Chopin. III: Influences], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 28 (1949), 73–119, A. Chybiński, 'Do kwestii reminiscencji w dziełach Chopina' [On the question of reminiscences in the works of Chopin], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 28 (1949), 142–148, and the literature cited in the above-mentioned works.

It goes without saying that today it is — luckily — too late for Chopin's last wish to be fulfilled to the letter. In any case, that would be pointless in light of the *faits accomplis* that are the multiple editions of his posthumous works and the right that some of them have gained to exist on concert platforms around the world, at times on an equal footing with works that Chopin had published himself.

Today, many of the composer's noble motives have lost their currency: his friends, in respect to whom he felt that 'excessive delicacy', are not alive; we now know that most of the possible prototypes that could have influenced Chopin's subconscious have been consigned to the annals of music history, whereas the Chopin compositions which they stimulated live the independent life of works of lasting value; today, finally, we observe in relation to all great composers a tendency for unearthing 'every precious stone detached from the magnificent jewel', as it was worded in the preface to the publication of one rediscovered Chopin work.³¹

So today, with the hindsight of over one hundred years, we acknowledge that Fontana and Chopin's family were right, and we feel grateful to them that with their decisions they helped to save from oblivion valuable items from his oeuvre, many of which — as is proven by the history of other Chopin manuscripts — would doubtless not have survived to our times. On the other hand, however, it would be difficult to ignore Chopin's testament completely and — as do most publishers of collected editions — treat works which he deemed unfit for print on a par with those which he himself prepared for publication. For this reason, in

³¹ *Revue Musicale* (Paris: Richard-Masse, 1955), preface to the first publication of the Waltz in A minor.

The question of the publication of works which an author or composer himself did not intend to print, clearly stipulating the fact, is discussed by Konrad Górski in *Sztuka edytorska* (Warsaw: PWN, 1956), citing the examples of the Polish poets Słowacki and Mickiewicz (pp. 189–191).

Just how far back in history this problem dates is attested by information from... 2000 years ago, concerning the last wish of the Roman poet Virgil and the fortunes of his work the *Aeneid*:

'Virgil arranged with Varius to burn up the *Aeneid* if something should befall him; but [Varius] had insisted that he would not do so. Wherefore, when his health was failing, [Virgil] demanded his scroll-cases earnestly, intending to burn them up himself; but since no one stepped forward, it was to no purpose, even though he gave precise stipulations in this matter.

For the rest, he committed his writings to the aforementioned Varius and Tucca, on the condition that they publish nothing which he himself had not revised.

Nonetheless, Varius published them, acting under the authority of Augustus.' (Aelius Donatus, *Life of Virgil*, tr. David Scott Wilson-Okamura, 1996, rev. 2005, 2008 <<http://www.virgil.org/vitae/a-donatus.htm>> accessed 9 July 2009.)

publishing Chopin's musical oeuvre once again, we shall grant his last wish by compromise, *separating* that part of his oeuvre for which he assumed artistic responsibility (in series A) from that part which he was — rightly or wrongly — so firmly opposed to publishing (in series B). This separation³² allows us to grasp how Chopin gauged the value or the degree of polishing of his works, and at the same time to discern the margins of his oeuvre, consisting of compositions which testify that even the genius of Chopin had to initially yield to the laws of dependence on the influence of other composers, the laws of development and the laws of fatigue.

However, in spite of the fact that the authenticity of the division of Chopin's compositions into 'worthy of the public' (carefully polished by the composer) and 'unworthy of the public' (less polished) is beyond question, the tracing by an editor of such a dividing line as would realise with complete faithfulness the intentions expressed by the composer in the last moments of his life is not quite as self-evident as it might seem. This is due to the fact that the two basic criteria on which the division might be founded do not strictly coincide. When ascribing compositions to the first group, one may take as a starting point both the fact of Chopin's *opusing* of works and the fact of the *publication* of works prepared by him for print.

Clearer and more convenient would appear to be a division according to the former principle — into groups of opused and unopused works (opused, of course, by the composer himself). However, on closer inspection, one begins to doubt whether this division would indeed reflect Chopin's intentions properly, as it would assign to works 'worthy of the public' one composition (the Sonata in C minor, Op. 4) which Chopin, in the period of his mature compositional work, did not wish to publish (this case will be discussed below) and would exclude six compositions which Chopin did in fact deem 'worthy of the public', publishing them just as painstakingly as his opused works, and which he did not give opus numbers rather for technical-editorial reasons than on account of their musical merit (*Grand Duo concertant*, *Trois Nouvelles Études* and two mazurkas in A minor). For this reason, at the WN the decision was taken to follow the second principle, according to which the first group (series A) encompasses works actually published during Chopin's lifetime by the composer himself, and the second group (series B), works not published by him.

Dividing off the compositions of the WN series B draws attention more clearly to the phenomenon in the Chopin oeuvre which may be called its *secondary*

³² The separation of works left in manuscript from works published during the lifetime of their author is a postulate of contemporary editing.

strand, parallel to that which the composer regarded as the principal strand. This is signalled by Oskar Kolberg, writing to M. A. Szulc:

[...] Already during his musical maturity, around 1827–1830, Chopin was writing sporadically in the entr’actes of his larger works, so to speak, casting onto paper his dances and other trifles, sometimes improvised at balls and soirées, with no thought of publishing them (as he guarded against that, of course), valuing them himself too little, and only to satisfy the wishes of his friends, who always sensed that even these crumbs of his muse had a certain value.³³

Kolberg was writing, of course, about a period during which he had the possibility of observing the young Chopin’s artistic development first hand. The extant legacy of minor works from the composer’s Parisian period shows that this strand of composing ‘in the entr’actes of larger works’ (not necessarily as the result of improvisation at balls; further stimuli were certainly entries in the albums of acquaintances and also songs sung among Polish friends, and there were also other circumstances that induced Chopin to cast his musical thoughts onto paper) was quite a constant phenomenon, accompanying the composer until the last years of his life. This does not exclude the fact that some of these works are of comparable artistry to corresponding works from the principal strand.

Finally, this division into two series has an additional significance for a source edition, in that it allows two different editorial techniques to be applied in the two series. Whilst the procedure for reconstructing the text of works carefully prepared by the composer for print, for which we possess a relatively complete set of interrelated sources, results from a certain method that can be fixed within a basic framework, it is utterly impossible to find such a uniform method for the posthumous works. In the latter case, one can only speak rather of distinct methods of establishing the text for virtually each one of the compositions individually, depending on the number of sources available for it and the extent of their authenticity, reliability or accuracy.

BORDERLINE CASES

With all classifications of artistic works into some fundamental groups, there usually occur some borderline cases. This is true also of our division of Chopin’s works into two series. For this reason, a more detailed justification is due of our

³³ Rough copy of a letter of 13 November 1874, KOK, i:498 and iii:724.

inclusion in series B of several compositions that could arouse certain misgivings, namely the Sonata in C minor, Op. 4, Introduction and Variations on a German national air ('Der Schweitzerbub'), in E major, Polonaise in G minor from 1817 and two mazurkas, in B flat major and G major, from the years 1825–26.

Sonata in C minor, Op. 4, 'Der Schweitzerbub' Variations

At many points in time, these two works experienced common fortunes, which is why I shall discuss them jointly. Chopin initially intended to publish the *Sonata* in Leipzig, as we learn from a letter written on 9 September 1828 to his friend Tytus Woyciechowski:

I think that the Trio [Op. 8] will meet a similar fate as my Sonata [Op. 4] and Variations [Op. 2]. They are already in Leipzig, the former, as you know, dedicated to Elsner [...].³⁴

Later, he proposed the publication of the Sonata together with the Variations to the Viennese publisher Tobias Haslinger, during his first stay in the Austrian capital:

I received this news from Haslinger, who received me with the utmost politeness, but that is why he did not print either the Sonata or the second Variations.³⁵

However, for a number of years, Haslinger showed no interest in publishing these two compositions, until in 1839 we find a trace of his renewed interest in their fate, but this time without any agreement with the composer:

Father wrote me that my old Sonata had been issued by Haslinger and that the Germans praised it.³⁶

We do not know exactly the source of Chopin's assertion of the publication of the Sonata or even of the positive reaction to it. The most likely explanation would appear to be as follows: the Warsaw publisher Sennewald was in close contact with German and Viennese publishers, from which he could have had various pieces of information regarding their planned publications; it would be natural for Haslinger, having become interested in publishing Chopin's Sonata,

³⁴ *KCh*, i:79.

³⁵ Letter to his family in Warsaw, Vienna, 1 December 1830; *KCh*, i:156. He doubtless terms this set his 'second Variations' in relation to the 'Là ci darem la mano' Variations, Op. 2, which were published by Haslinger several months before this letter was written.

³⁶ Letter to Julian Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 8 August 1839; *KCh*, i:354.

to have informed the Warsaw publisher of the fact, whilst expressing words of praise (his own or those of his advisors) for the composition. This information may have reached Mikołaj Chopin directly or indirectly,³⁷ which in a letter to his son he doubtless signalled with the expression 'the Germans praised it'. Whatever the case may be, the *Sonata*, as well as the *Variations*, would still wait a long time to see the light of day.

Two years after the aforementioned reference to the *Sonata*, Chopin writes to Julian Fontana in somewhat greater detail:

Haslinger, the gull, wants to print — or rather has printed, and today wants to publish things that I gave him for nothing in Vienna 12 years ago. How do you like that? — I'll write nothing in reply, or else a salty letter which, if I send him, I'll not seal, so you can read it.³⁸

This letter contains a clear assertion of the fact that both the *Sonata* and the *Variations* have been printed ('Haslinger [...] has printed [...] *things* [...]'),³⁹ but without the completion of the whole process of publishing ('Haslinger [...] today *wants* to publish things [...]'). and also Chopin's negative attitude towards the matter, at this point — seemingly — rather from the commercial side; he does not adopt a stance, meanwhile, on the idea of publishing his youthful works in respect to their musical merit.⁴⁰

Not until several years later — and only in relation to the *Sonata* — is this attitude expressed in a letter written to the Jędrzejewiczses in August 1845:

The *Sonata* [dedicated] to Elsner has been published by Haslinger in Vienna, or at least he himself sent me a printed proof a few years ago to Paris; but as I did not send it back with corrections, but only asked that he be told that I'd prefer that many things be altered, so perhaps they halted the print, which I would be very glad of...⁴¹

It clearly ensues from this, certainly in relation to the *Sonata* and probably to the *Variations* as well, that the demands Chopin placed on his compositions

³⁷ See below, letter of Ludwika on p. 000.

³⁸ Letter to Julian Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 11 September 1841; *KCh*, ii:34.

³⁹ The printing plates of these two compositions bear consecutive numbers, indicating that they were produced around mid 1840.

⁴⁰ The 'salty' letter was most probably sent to Haslinger less than a month later; it is most probably this letter to which Chopin refers in a postscript to a letter to Fontana of 6–7 October 1841 (*KCh*, ii:42):

'Hand Haslinger's letter over *yourself* at the post office [...]'.

⁴¹ *KCh*, ii:145–146.

assigned for publication grew considerably over the years. What for a nineteen-year-old young man was worthy of print, for the composer of the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35 (most probably completed by then) had too many flaws. What occurred in this case, therefore, was as follows: the composer's original intention was to publish the Sonata (hence the assigning to it of an opus number⁴²); later, however, he retracted his intention to publish it. Since the general rule in contemporary editing in cases where one encounters different decisions on an author's part concerning his works is to regard the final decision as binding, in our case this will be Chopin's desire, so clearly worded in the last of the letters quoted above, to withdraw from publishing the Sonata, Op. 4. No further concrete evidence of Chopin's attitude towards the publication of the Variations in E major can be found.

One further detail speaks against Chopin having wished to include the *Sonata in C minor* among the works he published: whilst forms appearing more than once in his oeuvre are given ordinal numbers in his correspondence and in the titles of first editions (for example, *Second Concerto*, Op. 21, *Deuxième Impromptu*, Op. 36, *2^{me} Ballade*, Op. 38, *Troisième Scherzo*, Op. 39), the Sonatas, Op. 35 and Op. 58 in the French and German first editions do not carry an ordinal (had Chopin taken into account the Sonata in C minor, they should have been numbered his second and third sonatas), whereas in the English first edition the Sonata, Op. 58 is numbered *Seconde grande sonate* — a numbering possibly even given by Chopin himself in the *Stichvorlage*.⁴³

⁴² It is not known for which compositions Chopin reserved the opus numbers 1 and 3. See H. Feicht, 'Ronda F. Chopina' [Chopin's rondos], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 1948/23, 26. Feicht's considerations should be supplemented with the observation that during the period which he discusses, the Rondos in C minor and F major did not yet possess opus numbers (see discussion of the question of the Mazurkas in B flat major and in G major and n. 61 below).

⁴³ It would be difficult to put forward the list of incipits of Chopin's compositions in the seven-volume collection of first editions initially in the possession of Jane Stirling as an argument in favour of including the Sonata in C minor among the group of published works (this list is reproduced in volume 1 of OUP's *Frédéric Chopin Oeuvres Complètes*, see n. 279 below and the description of this edition to which that note refers). This list was most probably compiled under Stirling's initiative. Of the 140 incipits, Chopin inscribed there only twelve, with the incipit of the Sonata in C minor written in the hand of Franchomme, most probably on the basis of the mechanical ordering of opuses, coming between the two most distant incipits written in Chopin's hand (Op. 1 and Op. 37). There exists, therefore, the minimal possibility that Chopin may have checked this list exactly, and consequently that the inclusion of the incipit in this list was intended to represent his decision regarding the place of the Sonata in C minor within his oeuvre as a whole. It cannot even be excluded that the incipit of the Sonata in C minor was written into the

In fact, *both works*, the Sonata in C minor and Variations in E major, were published in print *posthumously*: by Haslinger in Vienna and S. Richault in Paris in 1851 and by Cooks in London a year later, with successive plate numbers in all three editions. Therefore, their inclusion in the WN series B should not raise any doubts.⁴⁴

Not without relevance here is the fact that the announcement of the publication of the Sonata — after Chopin's death — aroused serious misgivings among his friends:

We were very surprised to read in an issue of the France Musicale the announcement of the posthumous works of Fryderyk Chopin [...]. But in the next issue we read: 'Op. 4'. This is the number which does not exist among his works and was sold long ago⁴⁵ to Haslinger. Chopin was not happy with this work, wanting to revise it, and it was never published. Haslinger offered it to Brandus, who took the matter up with Herbault, without indicating the composition's number.⁴⁶ Herbault repudiated any posthumous works. So Brandus did not agree to publish it, and it was acquired by Richault...⁴⁷

Equally significant is the attitude towards the publication of the Sonata, Op. 4 of another — besides Brandus — of the first publishers of Chopin's works,

list in the empty space reserved for opus 4 — after Chopin's death, as occurred in the case of other posthumous works written out towards the end of the list. See n. 80 below.

⁴⁴ Professor Konrad Górski, who was one of the reviewers of the present *Introduction*, wrote the following about the principle of dividing the WN into two series:

'The division into two series applied by literary historians for works published and not published during the author's lifetime is justified not only by the fact that the author did not wish to take responsibility before the public for a work not published by himself, but also in that his work did not enter artistic life during the period in which it was written. No one knew this work, no one reacted to it, it had no effect in any shape or form on the development of the art which it represented, and it did not become an historical-cultural fact in any form. I think that we ought to consider works of musical art in a similar way. (Konrad Górski, review of Jan Ekier, *Komentarz ogólny do Wydania Narodowego Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina* [General commentary to the National Edition of the works of Fryderyk Chopin] (the original title of the present first part of the *Introduction*), 8–9; typescript, TIFC.)

⁴⁵ Inaccurate information; see above-quoted extract from a letter: 'Haslinger [...] today wants to publish things that I gave him *for nothing* in Vienna [...]. (emphasis J. E.)

⁴⁶ Herbault was one of Chopin's oldest Parisian friends. His name appears several times in Chopin's correspondence.

⁴⁷ Letter sent by Jane Stirling to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in Warsaw, 14 June 1851, written in French; E. Ganche, *Dans le souvenir* (see above, n. 20), 128 (the year was wrongly printed as 1850 instead of 1851).

namely Breitkopf & Härtel of Leipzig, formulated in the above-cited letter sent by a representative of the firm to Johannes Brahms.⁴⁸

Polonaise in G minor, Mazurkas in B flat major and G major

Objections of a different sort may occur against the categorising in series B of the Polonaise in G minor and the Mazurkas in B flat major and G major. These three compositions were printed in Warsaw prior to Chopin's departing the country (the Polonaise in 1817, the Mazurkas in 1826), and so they may be regarded as compositions 'published during his lifetime'. This problem should be posed in the following way: does the fact that these works were printed in Warsaw equate to Chopin's own understanding of the 'publication' of a composition, such as occurred in the case of his works published later, abroad?

In considering the problem of these three minor works, we shall discuss the circumstances of the composing of each of them and in particular Chopin's intentions regarding their publication, the way they were prepared for print and the standard of the publication, and we shall also seek to uncover traces of the attitude towards them of the mature Chopin or of those closest to him. (Since the fortunes of the two Mazurkas were always intertwined with each other, they will be discussed together.)

The *Polonaise in G minor* is Chopin's first printed work, and it is one of his earliest compositions (printed on the cover beneath the title and dedication is the inscription 'Faite par Frédéric Chopin, musicien âgé de huit ans'). Given the composer's age, one cannot speak here of his intention to publish this little piece. It was either his parents or his closest friends who were behind the print. The latter is suggested by a mention printed in the *Pamiętnik Warszawski* in 1818, speaking about this composition 'disseminated in print by friendly hands'.⁴⁹ Ferdinand Hoesick even speculates that foremost among those 'friendly hands' were those of the Skarbek family (this Polonaise was dedicated to Miss Wiktoria Skarbek, whilst Fryderyk Skarbek was at the time a collaborator, and several years later editor and publisher, of the *Pamiętnik Warszawski*, in which this mention appeared).⁵⁰ It is also impossible to speak of any scale of demands placed on compositions intended for print in the case of a child who, according to the same mention in the *Pamiętnik Warszawski*, was 'already the composer of several dances and variations'. As for the way in which this work was

⁴⁸ See excerpt of the letter on p. 000, with n. 26.

⁴⁹ *Pamiętnik Warszawski*, 10/1 (1818), 129.

⁵⁰ F. Hoesick, *Chopin. Życie i twórczość* [Chopin. His life and work], i (Warsaw, 1904), 104, n.

prepared for print, one may assume that — as was the case with the Polonaise in B flat major composed in that same year — this Polonaise was also written down by a foreign hand, and so its ultimate form is also not entirely certain, whilst one may doubt that the young composer may have proofread the work, be it only on account of the serious printing error in bar 2. Printed at the bottom of the title page of this little piece is the name of the firm: 'Varsovie, chez l'abbée J. J. Cybulski' (followed by the exact address). Reverend Cybulski was the co-proprietor of a small music printing firm (est. 1805), run together with Plachecki.⁵¹ This was a local press. We do not know of any weightier items that it may have printed and it had no broader contacts. In a word, this was only a printing press and not a publishing firm.⁵²

The Mazurkas in B flat major and G major were 'published in small format, without title pages or the names of the publishers, which allows us to assume that, like the Polonaise from 1817, these two Mazurkas were "disseminated in print by some friendly hands" [...]'.⁵³ As Oskar Kolberg states:

[...] [they] were improvised among a yet larger number of others [...] at a *soirée dansante* (I think it was at rector Linde's home in 1826 or 27), where Ch[opin], being in good spirits, himself sat at the piano (for never, out of respect for his talent, was he requested to do so for dancing) and gave free rein to his cheerful disposition. A huge number of such mazurs then poured forth from beneath his hands, as from a horn of plenty, but only these three,⁵⁴ at the

⁵¹ Z. Jachimecki, *F. Chopin* (Cracow, 1927), 164, n.

⁵² See Józef Elsner, *Sumariusz* [Summary] (Cracow: PWM, 1957), 109–114; T. Frączyk, *Warszawa młodości Chopina* [The Warsaw of Chopin's youth] (Cracow: PWM, 1961), 239–240; A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Józef Elsner* (Cracow: PWM, 1957), 77, 80, 81; J. Prosnak, 'Środowisko warszawskie w życiu i twórczości Fryderyka Chopina' [The Warsaw environment in the life and work of Fryderyk Chopin], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 28 (1949), 7–126, at 40. There is one further fact indicating that Revd Cybulski's press was indeed a 'small press': Józef Elsner's *Marche triomphale*, printed by this press c.1810, bears the plate number 42, whilst Chopin's Polonaise in G minor from 1817 has number 114. A simple reckoning shows that Cybulski's press had an annual production of about ten, probably small-scale, items. I am most grateful to Mr Aureli Kędziorski for offering me the rare collector's item that is the edition of this minor piece by Elsner.

⁵³ A Poliński, 'O Fryderyku Chopinie' [On Fryderyk Chopin], *Kurier Warszawski*, 17 October 1899, cit. after F. Hoesick, *Chopin*, i:245.

⁵⁴ It is impossible at present to establish what this third Mazurka was. It seems doubtful that it would have been the Mazurka in D major published by Leitgeber in the same book as the Mazurkas in question. See source commentary to vol. B X (36) (discussion of works of dubious authenticity).

request of my brother, could be written down the next day, as they had not yet flown from his memory. [...] Two of these mazurs, in B flat major and in G major, my brother then lithographed, with his consent; impressed without titles onto pieces of paper, they were given out in only thirty copies to acquaintances (I have one copy myself). These are the same which Friedlein later published, around 1852 [...].⁵⁵

The fact that they were written out and lithographed at the initiative of Wilhelm Kolberg indicates that one may speak here only of Chopin's indirect intention of submitting them for print, and it confirms the assumption of those 'friendly hands' which 'disseminated [them] in print'.

It is probably⁵⁶ these two mazurkas that are referred to in Chopin's words from a letter to Jan Białobłocki:

[...] I send you my Mazurka, about which you know; you may receive another one later, as it would be too much pleasure at once. Already let out into the world; meanwhile my Rondo, that I wanted to have lithographed, which is earlier, and so has the greater right to travel, I smother among my papers.⁵⁷

A more thorough perusal of the content of this letter confirms the above hypothesis that Chopin only indirectly intended to have them printed, and possibly merely consented to them being printed; one should note the phrase expressed in the passive in reference to the Mazurkas, 'Already *let out* into the world', apparently in opposition to the active aspect used in respect to the Rondo — 'that *I wanted* to have lithographed'.

⁵⁵ Rough copy of a letter written by Oskar Kolberg to Szulc, Cracow, 15 December 1874. *KOK*, i:507. See summary of this information given by M. A. Szulc in the preface to an edition of Mazurkas published by Leitgeber in Poznań in 1875. See also *Chopin. The Complete Works*, vol. X (Warsaw and Cracow: PWM, 1953), commentary, pp. 228–229, and K. Parnas, *O kajetach Chopina. Obchód setnej rocznicy urodzin Fryderyka Chopina* [On Chopin's exercise books. The celebration of the one hundredth birthday of Fryderyk Chopin] (Lviv, 1912), 93, n. 24.

⁵⁶ We speak here only of probability because in the description of a Mazurka in G major given by Alexander Poliński (see n. 53 above), who had a copy of these two mazurkas in his collection (these copies were, unfortunately, destroyed with this collection), there are certain features emphasised which one seeks in vain in the text of the Mazurka in G major known to us; it cannot be excluded, therefore, that there existed some other Mazurka in G major, similarly published. See J. Ekier, 'Le Problème d'authenticité de six oeuvres de Chopin', in *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin* (Warsaw: PWN, 1963), 465–467.

⁵⁷ Letter of 8 January 1827; *KCh*, i:75.

Preserved to the present day are a printed copy of the Mazurka in G major⁵⁸ and a manuscript copy made by Józef Sikorski of both Mazurkas⁵⁹. The copyist's note confirms that the Mazurkas were 'lithographed by Wilhelm Kolberg, apprentice school pupil (later engineer), at the institution of which he was a pupil'. The standard of the print leaves something to be desired: in spite of a general care taken to produce a clear layout, one can discern a lack of experience in the arrangement of the text, errors in reading it, and also minor instances of unprofessionalism on the part of the printer. Their publication was a typically local phenomenon, apt to arouse interest only within the closed circle of the young Chopin's Warsaw friends, and the number of copies (thirty) means we cannot even speak of a more serious 'impression', let alone an 'edition'.

There is no direct trace of Chopin's attitude towards all three of the printed trifles discussed here. However, we may assume that if Chopin had fundamental reservations about publishing such a serious composition as the Sonata in C minor, written some ten years after the Polonaise and at least two years after the Mazurkas, then he is unlikely to have considered such foretastes of his future work produced as a child or youngster as being 'worthy of the public'.

We also find one indirect argument in support of this thesis in a letter of 27 November 1831 written to Chopin in Paris by his sister, Ludwika:

Hofmeister wrote to Sennewald to send him everything of yours that is for print or already printed. Nowakowski called; he was after those rondos that you wished to have lithographed for Moriollles, but Papa withheld them. Do you bid it? Then he shall have them.⁶⁰

Although Chopin's reply has not come down to us, it must have been positive, and the rondos were most probably given to Nowakowski, given that in 1835 the Rondo in C minor was published first by A. M. Schlesinger in Berlin (March 1835), then by M. Schlesinger in Paris (January 1836), by Wessel in London (March 1836), and finally by Sennewald and Hofmeister in Leipzig (1838), whilst the *Rondo à la mazur* was published by Hofmeister in Leipzig, by Schonenberger in Paris (1836) and by Wessel in London (1837).

⁵⁸ WTM collection, R. 12092 (photocopy, TIFC collection F. 790).

⁵⁹ WTM collection, 23 Ch (photocopy, TIFC collection F. 788). See n. 337 below.

⁶⁰ *KCh*, i:195. Ludwika's expression '...those rondos that you wished to have lithographed for Moriollles...' is imprecise; of the two Chopin rondos published in Warsaw, the Rondo in C minor was dedicated to Mrs Linde, wife of the vice-chancellor of the Warsaw Lyceum, and only the *Rondo à la mazur* to Alexandrine de Moriollles. Ludwika confuses these rondos once again in the list of 'Unpublished compositions' which she compiled c.1854 (see n. 65 below).

Attention should be drawn here to a few significant considerations in this matter. Neither the Rondo in C minor nor the *Rondo à la mazur* was opused in the Warsaw editions, and they only received the opus numbers 1 and 5 in their foreign editions.⁶¹ We may assume, therefore, that all the printed compositions (the Polonaise, the two Mazurkas and the two Rondos) had an equal start in this respect. Of the five compositions ('...everything of yours that is for print or already printed...'), the two Rondos were selected (NB printed by the esteemed Warsaw publishing firm of Antoni Brzezina, which maintained contacts with many firms abroad⁶²), and not the Polonaise or the Mazurkas. There is no doubt that this transpired with Chopin's knowledge (consider the initial opposition of Chopin's father to releasing the compositions to Nowakowski). It is likely that the Chopin family possessed lithographs of the Mazurkas; it is certain, meanwhile, that it had the Polonaise.⁶³ These first printed compositions of Chopin's, kept as cherished souvenirs of Fryderyk's childhood and youth, were most probably not treated as published works. One may also assume that if Chopin himself had attached any artistic weight to these compositions, then he would have remembered about their existence when the above-mentioned correspondence was being exchanged, and he would have had them published again together with the Rondos.

A distinction between compositions published in different ways and in different periods is made by Chopin's sister, Ludwika. In the list compiled after Chopin's death, which she entitled 'Unpublished compositions',⁶⁴ she placed the incipit of the *Rondo à la mazur* with the note 'printed by Brzezina', thereby clearly differentiating between works 'published' and those merely 'printed'⁶⁵

All the above arguments lead to the conviction that, although formally shown to the world, the Polonaise and the Mazurkas in B flat major and in G major

⁶¹ This was pointed out by M. J. E. Brown (Brown's Index, pp. 8 and 14).

⁶² See T. Frączyk, *Warszawa młodości Chopina*, 278–281.

⁶³ The copy of the Polonaise in G minor that belonged to the Chopin family was lost in Warsaw in 1939.

⁶⁴ See illustrations 11–14. This list, compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz c.1854, was purchased by the TiFC in 1959 (M/301, photocopy F. 1752).

⁶⁵ Not essential to the matter in hand are two mistakes made by her: the first, that she forgot that the *Rondo à la mazur* was in fact later published abroad; the second, that she confused the date of its Warsaw print with the date of the print of the early Rondo in C minor (see n. 60 above). These mistakes are sufficiently explained by the lapse of almost thirty years between the composing of the two Rondos and the compiling of the list.

cannot be regarded in Chopin's understanding and intention as published (as opposed to merely printed), and so — according to his own expression — as 'worthy of the public'. For this reason, at the WN we classify these prints as 'publications', but not 'editions',⁶⁶ and in the division into series these compositions come in series B. By the same stroke, the defining of the works included in series A as published during Chopin's lifetime shows a convergence with the defining of works he had published outside Poland or works published after 1830 (the date of the publication of his first work abroad — the Variations, Op. 2).

THE INTERNAL ORDERING OF SERIES A

Chopin ordered the compositions he had published by assigning each one an opus number. As we know, the authentic numbering sequence, beginning with opus 1, goes up to opus 65. Some opuses (all the opuses of mazurkas and nocturnes, the Etudes, Op. 10 and Op. 25, the Polonaises, Op. 26 and Op. 40, the Preludes, Op. 28 and the Waltzes, Op. 34 and Op. 64) are subdivided with successive secondary numbers for the individual compositions which may constitute discrete entities in themselves. In this way, most of the compositions published during Chopin's lifetime can be precisely identified. Series A of our edition contains — with the exception of the Sonata, Op. 4, discussed above — all of Chopin's opused works.

SUPPLEMENTING THE OPUS NUMBERING

There also exist, however, several works which, although prepared for print by Chopin himself, were not given an opus number by him, due to various circumstances surrounding their publication. These compositions, by dint of their being published at Chopin's request and during his lifetime, are also included in series A. They comprise the *Grand Duo concertant*, composed with Auguste Franchomme, Chopin's Variation from *Hexameron*, comprising Variations on the theme of the March from Bellini's opera *I puritani*, written, besides Chopin, by Liszt, Thalberg, Pixis, Herz and Czerny, and also five compositions included in albums also containing works by other composers, namely the *Trois Nouvelles Études* in the second part of the piano school of Fétis and Moscheles entitled *Méthode des méthodes*, a Mazurka in A minor dedicated to Emile Gaillard in an

⁶⁶ See n. 348 below.

Album des pianistes polonais,⁶⁷ and a Mazurka in A minor in the album *Notre temps*.

The lack of opus numbers with these works, published by Chopin himself, constitutes a certain lacuna, which already during Chopin's lifetime led to misunderstandings, such as the mis-opusing of some of these compositions by their first publishers. For example, the *Grand Duo concertant* received the number 'Op. 15' (the authentic number of 3 Nocturnes) from the French publisher M. Schlesinger and 'Op. 12' (the authentic number of the *Variations brillantes*) from the English publisher Wessel; the Mazurka from *Notre temps* was numbered 'Op. 59 bis' by Wessel, and the Mazurka dedicated to Gaillard 'Op. 43' (the authentic number of the Tarantella) by the French publisher Chabal. In order to fill in this gap, so that each work might possess its own identifying symbol and be located within the chronology of the works published during Chopin's lifetime, we place these works — according to the presumed chronological sequence of the date of their composition — between opused compositions and give them the special symbol Dbop. (*Dzieło bez opusu*; work without opus number⁶⁸), adding after this abbreviation the opus number of the work immediately preceding it and a capital letter A (then B or C where a greater number of compositions come under a given Dbop. number).

⁶⁷ The statement that the first edition of this Mazurka came in the *Album des pianistes polonais* appears here for the first time. We owe this to the discovery of an advertisement of this publication in the *Revue et Gazette musicale*, Paris, no. 75, of 24 December 1840, announcing that the *Album*, including Chopin's Mazurka dedicated to Emile Gaillard, would be published on 1 January 1841. At the same time, it was possible to carry out an expert analysis of a copy of this *Album* held at the TiFC in Warsaw (B-498). Hitherto, the first edition of this Mazurka was held to be the single edition published by the firm of Chabal in Paris, which actually turned out to be a reprint from the *Album*, most probably issued by the same publisher.

Therefore, one may exclude M. J. E. Brown's hypothesis that this Mazurka may have been published by Gaillard himself without the composer's knowledge (see Brown's Index, p. 135). Cf. E. Ganche, *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin* (Paris, 1934), 142–143; L. Bronarski, 'Mazurek Chopina poświęcony E. Gaillard' [A mazurka dedicated to Emile Gaillard], in *Szkice chopinowskie* [Chopin sketches] (Cracow: PWM, 1961), 305 ff.

Brown writes about Chopin compositions published in albums in his article 'First Editions of Chopin in Periodicals and Serial Publications', *Annales Chopin*, 5 (Warsaw and Cracow: TiFC and PWM, 1960), 7–12. He does not address the publication of the Mazurka in A minor in the *Album des pianistes polonais*.

⁶⁸ Cf. symbol used for unopused works (Werke ohne Opuszahl) in Kinsky-Halm, *Thematisch-Bibliographisches Verzeichnis aller vollendeten Werke Ludwig van Beethoven* (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1955).

In this way, the sequence of Chopin's authentic numbering will be *supplemented* in four places in the following way:

- 1

Op. 16	Introduction and Rondo
Dbop. 16 A	<i>Grand Duo concertant</i> for piano and cello
Dbop. 16 B	<i>Grand Duo concertant</i> for piano for four hands
Op. 17	4 Mazurkas

- 2

Op. 29	Impromptu in A flat major
Dbop. 29 A	Variation in E major from <i>Hexameron</i>
Op. 30	4 Mazurkas

- 3

Op. 36	Impromptu in F sharp major
Dbop. 36 A	<i>Trois Nouvelles Études</i>
Dbop. 36 B	
Dbop. 36 C	
Op. 37	2 Nocturnes

- 4

Op. 42	Waltz in E flat major
Dbop. 42 A	Mazurka in A minor, ded. E. Gaillard
Dbop. 42 B	Mazurka in A minor, pub. <i>Notre temps</i>
Op. 43	Tarantella

THE ORDER OF WORKS WITHIN OPUSES

After supplementing the opusing of series A, it still remains to verify the order of the numbering of works within some of the opuses, in those few cases where the first editions show differences in this respect. This concerns four opuses of Mazurkas, namely Opp. 6, 7, 33 and 41, and the 3 *Nouvelles Études*, Dbop. 36 A B C.

It is difficult to ascertain the reasons why different publishers grouped the Mazurkas of Op. 6 and Op. 7 differently. The Mazurka in C major appears in the French edition of M. Schlesinger as the last (No. 5) in *opus* 6, while the German publisher Kistner also places it last (No. 5), but in *opus* 7. We are not in possession of any direct sources that might elucidate this discrepancy. All the autographs of these Mazurkas known to us are sketches or first redactions (only

one of these contains what is probably a later redaction), but none of them served as the base text, or *Stichvorlage*, for any of the first editions, and none is marked with a number. Thus we are obliged in this instance to make use of the small number of indirect sources, and from the slender circumstantial evidence which they provide we can only draw conclusions of a hypothetical nature.

We know that after Chopin's arrival in the French capital, the publishing rights for his first compositions were acquired by the Paris publisher Maurice Schlesinger. In a letter of 2 November 1832, Schlesinger in turn offered the publishing rights for Germany to F. Kistner of Leipzig,⁶⁹ who accepted the offer. One significant point in this letter is that Schlesinger offers Kistner a number of larger works by Chopin and among them lists Mazurkas, but only *eight* of them, which are to form two books. (It is equally significant that Wessel's English first edition also gives only eight Mazurkas, in sets of four, in Op. 6 and Op. 7, without the Mazurka in C major.) Three weeks later, Schlesinger sends Kistner proofs, as *Stichvorlagen*, of *eight* mazurkas, designating the date of their publication as 20 December 1832. Furthermore, it is certain that both books of Mazurkas (Op. 6 and Op. 7), containing *nine* Mazurkas, were published, together with the Nocturnes, Op. 9, first by Kistner, towards the end of December 1832,⁷⁰ possibly on the day proposed by Schlesinger, and only several months later by Schlesinger himself. Several obvious conclusions present themselves here:

1. The Mazurka in C major — it is not known at whose initiative, the composer or the French publisher — was added by Schlesinger to the eight Mazurkas originally planned *at the last minute*;
2. Schlesinger sent this addition to Kistner, most probably at a time when work on printing the two books of Mazurkas was already at an advanced stage;

⁶⁹ The details regarding the Schlesinger-Kistner correspondence are taken from Richard Linnemann's work *Fr. Kistner 1823/1923* (Leipzig: Kistner, 1923), 49–55. Cf. Z. Lissa, 'Chopin w świetle współczesnych mu wydawców' [Chopin in the light of his contemporary publishers], *Muzyka*, 5/1 (1960), 3–21.

⁷⁰ The year 1833 as the publication date of Kistner's edition of the Mazurkas, Op. 6, given by Linnemann in the above-cited work and repeated in Zofia Lissa's article, is most probably erroneous. Such is indicated by the very order of the opuses given by Linnemann (p. 54): Op. 6, 1833 [?], Op. 7, 1832, further compositions, 1833. The probability of error is indicated by another numbering error — the opus numbers 7 and 8 given for the Mazurkas instead of 6 and 7 (p. 53). The publication dates of the two mazurka opuses were established on the basis of the exceptionally meticulous work by O. E. Deutsch, *Musikverlags Nummern* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1961). The correct date (1832) is given in Brown's Index, *Bibliografica F. F. Chopina* (ed. B. E. Sydow, Warsaw, 1949), *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1954) and in biographies: Niecks, among the earlier lives, and Hedley among the more recent.

3. The German publisher, who fitted the entire publishing cycle of these two mazurka opuses and the set of 3 Nocturnes, Op. 9 into the space of a few weeks, is likely to have already engraved the title page of Op. 6 with the inscription *Quatre mazurkas*, together with many pages of the musical text itself, and to avoid extra work within what was already a short deadline he could only have added the Mazurka in C major to the second book, not yet prepared, furnishing this book with a title page corresponding to its contents. Schlesinger, meanwhile, had time to arrange and title both books correctly.

These assumptions are of course *only hypothetical arguments* that Kistner's order may have been caused by technical difficulties in applying the proper sequence of the Mazurkas, but they are not yet proof that Schlesinger's order, incorporating the Mazurka in C major in Op. 6, was intended by Chopin. There is everything to suggest, however, that such was indeed the case. The composer's cooperation with his first French publisher proceeded quite harmoniously and they maintained social contacts, and so one may presume that Chopin had access to the proofs during the printing process and could easily keep track of how the publishing of his first compositions was proceeding.⁷¹

⁷¹ Evidence that Chopin had the possibility of proofreading this series of compositions in detail comes in an excerpt from a letter written by Schlesinger to Kistner on 24 November 1832:

'Chopin is not only a man of talent, but also a man who sets great stall by opinion. He is still polishing works that he completed long ago. Everything he sells us is ready, I have had it in my hands many times, but with him there is a difference between *completed* and *submitted*...' (Letter written in German, Linnemann, *Fr. Kistner* (see above, n. 69), 53.)

Chopin must have written to his family about his good — during the period in question — relations with Schlesinger, given that his father asks him in a letter written at that time (emphasis in the letters quoted below, J. E.):

'Did your *favourite* keep his word and pay you for your works?' (Letter of 28 June 1832; *KCh*, i:215.)

Schlesinger's name appears in Chopin's correspondence frequently during this period. In a letter to Ferdinand Hiller, he writes:

'*Maurice*, who has returned from London, whither he journeyed to stage *Robert* [...]' (reference to Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le diable*). (Letter of 2 August 1833, written in French; *KCh*, i:381.)

And in another letter to the same addressee:

'[...] please try to inform us of the day of your arrival, as we have decided to organise for you a serenade (or Charivari). The company of the most distinguished artists of the capital — Mr Franchomme [...], Mrs Petzold and Abbé Bardin [...], *Maurice Schlesinger* [...]' (Letter of 20 June 1833, written in French; *KCh*, i:386–387.)

And he ends a letter to Auguste Franchomme thus:

'Hiller sends his love. *Maurice* and everyone [...]' (Letter of 14–18 September 1833, written in French; *KCh*, i:388.)

Thus the possibility emerges that Chopin either initiated or at least approved the arrangement of his first two books of Mazurkas by the Paris publisher and, as demonstrated above, that the change to this arrangement by the German publisher, no trace of Chopin's correspondence with whom has survived, may have been due to technical difficulties caused by the short deadline of the edition. For this reason, given the lack of other criteria,⁷² we retain for Chopin's first nine Mazurkas the probably authentic sequence fixed in the French edition.

The Four Mazurkas, Op. 33 have the following order in the fair autograph:⁷³ No. 1 in G sharp minor, No. 2 in C major, No. 3 in D major, No. 4 in B minor. This same order occurs in the copy Fontana made from this autograph. (It is not of crucial significance that the copies of only three of these Mazurkas have been preserved (Nos. 1, 2 and 4⁷⁴), as these suffice for us to be able to state that their order coincides with that of the autograph.) Maurice Schlesinger's French first edition, based on the copy, had two impressions: the first being a supplement to the *Revue et Gazette musicale* of 28 October 1838, where the order of the middle Mazurkas was probably altered,⁷⁵ and the second being a separate impression with the order of the Mazurkas in keeping with the autograph. The Breitkopf & Härtel German edition, based on the autograph, gives, like the French first impression, the middle two Mazurkas in reverse order in relation to the autograph, whilst the English edition accords with the autograph.

⁷² The criterion of the cyclicity of the Mazurkas, Op. 6 and Op. 7 is difficult to grasp. One argument that might support the hypothesised authenticity of the order in the French edition would be the fact that in this order the two opuses end with lively, cheerful Mazurkas (Mazurka in C major in Op. 6, Mazurka in A flat major in Op. 7), whereas if we adopt the order in the German edition, Op. 6 would conclude with the Mazurka in E flat minor, which does not have a finale character. Cf. below, end of the discussion of the Mazurkas, Op. 41 and n. 77 on p. 43.

⁷³ BN Mus. 221, photocopy TiFC collection F. 538.

⁷⁴ No. 1 in the History Museum, Lviv (TiFC photocopy F. 805), No. 2 by the heirs of Ikuko Maeda, Tokyo (TiFC photocopy F. 513), No. 4 in the Library of Congress, Washington DC (TiFC photocopy F. 786).

⁷⁵ It is impossible to speak more categorically on this subject, as the WN editors unfortunately did not have access to the Mazurkas published as a supplement to the *Revue et Gazette musicale*. M. J. E. Brown twice mentions the reversal of the order of the Op. 33 Mazurkas in the two impressions (once in Brown's Index, p. 113, the other time in the article cited in n. 21), but the order of the second (separate) impression of the Mazurkas indicated by him does not accord with copies of the French editions from the collections of Chopin's pupils with his handwritten annotations. M. J. E. Brown probably rightly emphasised the *fact* that the order of the Mazurkas was changed in the two impressions, whilst inaccurately giving the assigning of the corresponding orders to the particular impressions, possibly due to the inaccuracy of the sources on which he was relying.

To present the order of the Mazurkas in the various sources more clearly, we set them out here in tabular form:

Order I	Order II
1 – g sharp, 2 — C , 3 — D , 4 — b	1 – g sharp, 2 – D , 3 – C , 4 – b
Autograph	
Fontana's copy	
Second impression (separate) of French first edition	First impression of French first edition (suppl. to <i>Revue et G. M.</i>) — probably
English first edition	German first edition

The conclusions arising from the above juxtapositions and from the most likely filiation of the sources are as follows:

1. The only unquestionably authentic order is the order of the autograph and the copy.

2. The order was most probably altered during the preparation of the first impression of the French edition.

3. This could have been done either at the composer's request (which is less likely) or arbitrarily by the publisher; it may also possibly be a printing error.

4. In each of the above cases, the order of the later impression has a greater probability of authenticity, since we may presume that even if Chopin himself had brought about the change in order in the first impression of the French edition, it was also he who restored the original order in the subsequent impression (it is difficult to think that someone else could have interfered in such an arbitrary way in a set of Mazurkas already corrected by the composer in this respect), and this change to the order made by the composer would be binding for editors today; if, meanwhile — as seems most likely — in the first impression the change in order was made by the publisher (cf. below, the discussion of the 3 *Nouvelles Études* and Chopin's letter to Maurice Schlesinger in which he points out the erroneous switch in the pages of the Impromptu, Op. 51, also published originally as a supplement to the *Revue et Gazette musicale*), it would seem perfectly natural that on spotting this arbitrary change Chopin forced the proper order of the Mazurkas to be restored in the normal, separate impression.

Thus the order of the second French impression is characterised not only by its convergence with the autograph, but also by a large probability of authenticity.

5. The altered order in the German first edition does not appear to bear the features of authenticity; we have no circumstantial evidence that Chopin may have proofread this edition, in which case he could have instructed the publisher to alter the order of the Mazurkas. In spite of the fact that this edition was based

on the autograph, it is likely that those who produced it also had access to the earlier published first impression of the French edition. The German publisher could have introduced in his edition the order of the Mazurkas from this first French impression in the assumption that it was the result of the composer's correction. (The order in the English edition, concordant with the autograph and with the second French impression, brings nothing new to this question, as this edition was most probably based on this second impression.)

Having the choice between the *certainty* of the order intended by Chopin in the fair autograph and the *probability* that he restored the correct order in the second impression of the French edition against the *small possibility* that the composer changed this order both in the first impression of the French edition and also in the German edition, we choose the order of the autograph.

A similar situation arises with the Four Mazurkas, Op. 41, the difference being that here all four Mazurkas are displaced. An autograph of the first page of the Mazurka in E minor, with the number 1 placed in Chopin's hand, has come down to us. This autograph (together with the lost further pages of all four Mazurkas) constituted the *Stichvorlage* for the French edition of E. Troupenas, which most probably took its ordering from the autograph: No. 1 in E minor, No. 2 in B major, No. 3 in A flat major, No. 4 in C sharp minor. This same order appears in the copy with Chopin's annotations and corrections on which the German edition of Breitkopf & Härtel was based. However, this edition alters the order of the Mazurkas as follows: No. 1 in C sharp minor, No. 2 in E minor, No. 3 in B major, No. 4 in A flat major.

The first argument in favour of the order of the Mazurkas given in the French edition is the numbering of the authentic sources that are the autographs and copy. Another argument for the authenticity of this order to the Mazurkas is a letter written by Chopin from Nohant to Julian Fontana in Paris:

You know, I have 4 new mazurkas: one in E minor, from Palma, and 3 from here, in B major, E major and C sharp minor; they seem to me to be appealing, as the littlest children usually seem when parents grow older.⁷⁶

Here we have confirmation of the order of the Mazurkas together with a justification on the basis of the chronology of their composing, in particular the Mazurka in E minor, as the earliest, which is most crucial for the matter in hand.

The final argument in favour of the intended ordering with the Mazurka in E minor at the beginning and the C sharp minor at the end is the arrangement of most of Chopin's Mazurka opuses (Opp. 17, 24, 30, 33, 50, 56, 59), in which the

⁷⁶ Letter of 8 July 1839; *KCh*, i:353.

largest Mazurkas, in minor keys and with the most powerful dramatic tension, always come at the *end* of opuses. In Op. 41, the role of the conclusion of this set is splendidly fulfilled by one of the most dramatic Mazurkas of all — the Mazurka in C sharp minor.⁷⁷ Taking this all into account and not having, as with Op. 33, any information attesting that Chopin proofread the German edition, and so also of any original change to the ordering of the Mazurkas introduced by this edition, here too we retain the ordering of the authentic sources, that is, the autograph of the Mazurkas, the copy corrected by Chopin and his letter on this subject.

It just remains here to discuss the order of the 3 *Nouvelles Études*, written specially for the 'school' of Fétis and Moscheles entitled *Méthode des méthodes de piano*. These études were commissioned by the publisher of the *Méthode*, Maurice Schlesinger, as works for its second part, titled 'Études de perfectionnement'. In the autographs,⁷⁸ as in the German edition of A. M. Schlesinger, who, after publishing the *Méthode*, issued Chopin's études separately, they have the following order: No. 1 in F minor, No. 2 in A flat major, No. 3 in D flat major. Meanwhile, incorporated into the *Méthode*, in the French edition of M. Schlesinger, the German edition of A. M. Schlesinger, the Italian edition of Ricordi and also the later separate French reprints of Chopin's Etudes, they have the order No. 1 in F minor, No. 2 in D flat major, No. 3 in A flat major.

Both from certain graphical details of Chopin's manuscripts and from extant receipts of his fees for each of the first two Etudes separately, we may deduce that Chopin sent the three Etudes to his publisher successively and that the authentic numbering of the autographs by the composer corresponds to the order in which they were written. This authenticity of the numbering may already suffice for us to adopt the order F minor — A flat major — D flat major.⁷⁹ Also not without significance is the fact that the change to the order of the Etudes in the editions of the *Méthode* may have been influenced by its two co-authors, who as the authors of its conception had the right to distribute the compositions in accordance with their own criteria. Such a criterion may have been, for example, a wish to separate the Etudes in F minor and A flat major, containing

⁷⁷ This generalisation, with account taken of the authentic ordering of the Op. 41 Mazurkas, may constitute grounds on which to consider the conception of the Mazurkas' cyclicity.

⁷⁸ These belonged to the collection of Arthur Hedley, London (TiFC photocopies F. 1681, 1606, 1680).

⁷⁹ An additional argument that Chopin could have intended the third Etude to be the Etude in D flat is the fact that among these three Etudes only here is there a conclusion in *fortissimo* — the only trace of a possible closure of this set, devoid of contrasts.

the same problem of polyrhythm between the two hands, with the Etude in D flat major, addressing a different pianistic problem. It is also significant that the Leipzig publisher, when printing the three Etudes separately, returned to their authentic numbering. He could have done this either aware of an autonomous change to the order made by Fétis and Moscheles or else having direct access to Chopin's autographs of the Etudes.

Since all the arguments suggest that the order written by Chopin himself in the autographs accorded with his intentions, we adopt it in our edition as well.⁸⁰

THE CHRONOLOGY⁸¹ OF SERIES A

From a comparison of Chopin biographies containing lists of his works with an indication of the chronology of their composition⁸² or discussing this question

⁸⁰ I deliberately refrain from using the order of the incipits written into the volumes of the French first editions from the collection of Jane Stirling as an argument justifying the order of particular opus numbers (these incipits are reproduced in the edition of E. Ganche, see n. 279 below), since the opuses discussed here are inscribed in Stirling's list in Franchomme's hand; it is very unlikely that they were scrupulously checked by Chopin, yet because they were produced on the basis of French editions, the incipits in principle repeat the ordering in those editions, bringing nothing new to the matter in hand. See n. 43 above.

⁸¹ The author of the present *Introduction* will be devoting a separate work to the question of the chronology of Chopin's works, covering both works published during his lifetime and also compositions published posthumously. No study of this sort, treating the subject both in general terms and also in respect to particular compositions, has yet to appear in the Chopin literature. There are studies, meanwhile, which touch on the issue of the composition dates of particular works when dealing with other problems. In the present *Introduction*, only the results of general and detailed research carried out in this area are given.

⁸² Numerous Chopin biographers give information concerning the chronology of his works in the form of tables placed at the end of their books. These are of varying scope. For example, the composition dates of the posthumous works alone (according to Fontana's edition) are given by Karasowski (German edn, Dresden 1881; Polish edn, Warsaw 1882), the publication dates of all works and the composition dates of the posthumous works are given by Niecks and Ganche, the composition dates alone by Bidou and Binental (French edn, Paris 1934; Polish edn, Warsaw 1937), publication dates alone by Loucky (Prague 1947), dates of composition and publication by Leichtentritt, Opieński, Hedley and Jachimecki (Warsaw 1949) and by Rehberg. Composition and publication dates are given in rubrics containing a chronicle of Chopin's life by Egert, Kremlev and, in his edition of *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina*, B. E. Sydow. Sydow also includes a table of the composition and publication dates of works in his *Bibliografia F. F. Chopina* (Warsaw, 1949). The fullest chronological information, including exact dates of the publication of first editions, is given in Brown's Index. Brown specifies many dates for the composition of Chopin's works, although unfortunately for the majority of them he gives no justification.

within relevant chapters, it emerges that only in part are the dates of composition of Chopin's works sufficiently documented that they may be accepted if not as certain then at least as probable. A large number of the dates given as probable by the composer's first biographers, often on the basis of only slim circumstantial evidence or speculation of an aesthetic character, were transmitted by later biographers as certain. Barely a handful of dates for the composition of Chopin's works have been more meticulously examined in chronological terms in special studies.⁸³ It may be considered quite paradoxical that in many cases it is easier to specify the composition date of works published after Chopin's death than of some of those published during his lifetime, whilst noting, of course, that we are talking of a *terminus post quem* (the earliest date from which a work may have been written), since the *terminus ante quem* (the date before which a work must have been written) for works published during his lifetime is determined by the date of publication, generally easy to establish. This is because a certain number of the autographs of works not intended for publication (including most of those written into albums) are dated by Chopin himself, and also because during the preparatory period before the publication of the posthumous compositions, their editor, Julian Fontana, and Chopin's sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, did all they could to furnish those works with an exact date of composition; by contrast, the dating of works published during the composer's lifetime was not postulated by musical editing of that time.

For this reason, in our table of series A, against many items where a specific year of composition was formerly given, we introduce a more or less precise time range within which the work may have been composed. In order to emphasise the varying degree of probability of the given dates, their numerical notation is differentiated more than usual.

⁸³ See L. Bronarski, 'Rękopisy muzyczne Chopina w Genewie' [Chopin's musical manuscripts in Geneva], in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci prof. dr A. Chybińskiego* [Festschrift for Professor Adolf Chybiński] (Cracow, 1930), 96–97 (concerning the Prelude in A minor, Op. 28 No. 2); Z. Jachimecki, 'Kompozycje Chopina z okresu dzieciństwa' [Chopin's childhood compositions], *Chopin*, 1 (Warsaw 1937), 35–40; H. Feicht, 'Ronda F. Chopina' [Chopin's rondos], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 23 (1948), 23–27; H. Feicht, 'Dwa cykle wariacyjne na temat "Der Schweitzerbub" F. Chopina i J. F. Marcksa' [Two variation sets on the theme of 'Der Schweitzerbub', by F. Chopin and J. F. Marcks], in *Chopin* (Warsaw, 1960), 57–58; L. Bronarski, 'Mazurek Chopina poświęcony E. Gaillard' [A Chopin mazurka dedicated to E. Gaillard] and 'Ostatni mazurek Chopina' [Chopin's last mazurka], in *Szkice chopinowskie* [Chopin sketches] (Cracow: PWM, 1961), 307–311 and 317–318; G. Belotti, 'Le date di composizione dell'op. 22 di Chopin', *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 4 (1967), 697–711.

Remarks concerning the rubrics of chronology (these refer also to the table of series B)

1. In principle, the date of a work's *completion* is given, even in cases where we know that it was composed over a longer period of time, since the completion of a work equates to its composition in its *final form*.

2. The *symbolic representation* of the years of composition (numbers and dates are examples):

- 1817** — certain date of a work's composition (possibly with the month or the day and month added);
- 1828 — probable date, with convincing arguments in its favour;
- 1826 (?) — hypothetical date, with weaker argumentation;
- 1827/28 — around the turn of two years;
- 1822–24 — the most probable date of a work's composition falls between the beginning of the former and the end of the latter year;
- 1829–1832 — in larger opus sets, the former date signifies the composition of the earliest work in the set; the latter, the date of the latest;
- 1830, 1829 — the dates of the composing of particular movements or sections of a work written in different years;
- 1825 — 1825 or slightly earlier;
- 1828 → — 1828 or slightly later;
- c.1829 — 1829 or slightly earlier, or slightly later;
- before 1832 — 1832 or at some undetermined earlier time;
- after 1830 — 1830 or at some undetermined later time

3. Dates of publication

In cases where the editions of works in series A were not issued simultaneously by three publishers, the date refers to the earliest of the editions. The months in which particular works were published are not given, as they are not of crucial significance here.

We can now present series A internally ordered, with supplemented numbering and the indicated chronology of works' composition and publication.

SERIES A

NUMBERING AND CHRONOLOGY OF WORKS PUBLISHED DURING
CHOPIN'S LIFETIME

Opus numbering	Title	Date of completion	Date of publication
Op. 1	Rondo in c	1825	1825
2	Variations in B flat (on 'La ci darem la mano' by Mozart); pf, orch	1827/8	1830
3	Introduction and Polonaise brillante in C; pf, vc	1830, 1829	1831
(4	see series B)		
5	Rondo à la mazur in F	→1826	1828
6	5 Mazurkas (f sharp, c sharp, E, e flat, C)	before 1832	1832
7	4 Mazurkas (B flat, a, f, A flat)	before 1832	1832
8	Piano Trio in g; pf, vn, vc	1829	1832
9	3 Nocturnes (b flat, E flat, B)	before 1832	1832
10	12 Etudes	1829–1832	1833
11	Concerto in e	1830	1833
12	Variations brillantes	1833	1833
13	Fantasy on Polish Airs; pf, orch	c. 1829	1834
14	Rondo à la krakowiak; pf, orch	1828	1834
15	3 Nocturnes (F, F sharp, g)	before 1833	1833
16	Introduction and Rondo in E flat	1829–34	1834
Dbop. 16 A	Grand Duo concertant; pf, vc	1832/33	1833
Dbop. 16 B	Grand Duo concertant; version for 4 hands	1833–38	1838
17	4 Mazurkas (B flat, e, A flat, a)	before 1833	1834
18	Waltz in E flat	1833	1834
19	Bolero	before 1834	1834
20	Scherzo in b	1831–34	1835
21	Concerto in f	1829/30	1836
22	Andante spianato and Grande Polonaise brillante; pf, orch	c.1834, 1830–36	1836
23	Ballade in g	1835	1836
24	4 Mazurkas (g, C, A flat, b flat)	1833–1836	1836
25	12 Etudes	before 1837	1837
26	2 Polonaises (c sharp, e flat)	1831–1836	1836
27	2 Nocturnes (c sharp, D flat)	1833–1836	1836
28	24 Preludes	1831(?)– 1839 , Jan.	1839
29	Impromptu in A flat	before 1837	1837
Dbop. 29 A	Variation from <i>Hexameron</i>	1837–38	1839
Op. 30	4 Mazurkas (c, b, D flat, c sharp)	1835–1837	1838
31	Scherzo in b flat	1835–37	1837

THE INTERNAL ORDERING OF SERIES A

Opus numbering	Title	Date of completion	Date of publication
32	2 Nocturnes (B, A flat)	1835–1837	1837
33	4 Mazurkas (g sharp, C, D, b)	1836–1838	1838
34	3 Waltzes (A flat, a, F)	1835–38, 1831, before 1838	1838
35	Sonata in b flat	(Funeral March before 1839), 1839	1840
36	Impromptu in F sharp	1839	1840
Dbop. 36 A, B, C	3 Nouvelles Études (f, A flat, D flat)	1839	1840
Op. 37	2 Nocturnes (g, G)	1837–38, 1839	1840
38	Ballade in F	1839	1840
39	Scherzo in c sharp	1839	1840
40	2 Polonaises (A, c)	1838, 1838/39	1840
41	4 Mazurkas (e, B, A flat, c sharp)	1838–1839	1840
42	Waltz in A flat	1839–40	1840
Dbop. 42 A	Mazurka in a (ded. E. Gaillard)	1839–40	1841
Dbop. 42 B	Mazurka in a (Notre temps)	1839–41	1842
Op. 43	Tarantella	1841 , June	1841
44	Polonaise in f sharp	1841 , Aug.	1841
45	Prelude in c sharp	1841 , Sept.	1841
46	Allegro de concert	1841	1841
47	Ballade in A flat	1841	1841
48	2 Nocturnes (c, f sharp)	1841	1841
49	Fantasy in f	1841, 20 Oct.	1841
50	3 Mazurkas (G, A flat, c sharp)	1841–1842	1842
51	Impromptu in G flat	1842	1843
52	Ballade in f	1842	1843
53	Polonaise in A flat	1842	1843
54	Scherzo in E	1842	1843
55	2 Nocturnes (f, E flat)	1843	1844
56	3 Mazurkas (B, C, c)	1843	1844
57	Berceuse	1844	1845
58	Sonata in b	1844	1845
59	3 Mazurkas (a, A flat, f sharp)	1845	1845
60	Barcarolle	1846	1846
61	Polonaise-Fantasy	1846	1846
62	2 Nocturnes (B, E)	1845–1846	1846
63	3 Mazurkas (B, f, c sharp)	1846	1847
64	3 Waltzes (D flat, c sharp, A flat)	1840–47	1847
65	Cello Sonata in g	1846/47	1847

THE INTERNAL ORDERING OF SERIES B

This matter is more complex than in the case of series A, and it needs to be examined anew.

THE TITLES OF WORKS IN SERIES B

The first task here is to establish the titles of ten works in series B. I regard this as no trifling matter. In editions such as the WN, one must do everything to ensure that the title of a work, affecting the impression of its character from the very first contact with it, has the features of the utmost authenticity to the same extent as its text. This problem, naturally not occurring in series A (when preparing a work for print, Chopin gave it an exact title, although occasionally after some hesitation, as in the case of Opp. 44, 51 and 57), occurs several times in series B. When, for example, he offered some musical thought as a souvenir or failed to put the finishing touches to a composition, the composer did not concern himself with what heading to place above it; in other instances, meagre sources or the suspicion of publishers' interference prevent us from accepting uncritically the titles of first editions. Thus, in practice, doubts concern compositions which Chopin either did not furnish with a title at all or to which various inauthentic sources give various titles, or finally compositions to which a single, inauthentic, source gives a title that is most unlikely to be authentic. A separate problem is the title of one of the songs.

1. Compositions which in extant autographs do not possess a title.

a) (Nocturne [?] in C sharp minor), a composition written between November and December 1830, which possesses a title in neither the autograph⁸⁴ nor in the two copies most probably made from another autograph⁸⁵. In its first edition,⁸⁶ this work carried the arbitrary title *Adagio*, and in further publications and editions *Reminiscencja* and *Adagio (Nokturn "Reminiscence")*,⁸⁷ finally, in

⁸⁴ The autograph of the first redaction of this work was held in the collection of Arthur Hedley in London.

⁸⁵ The copy of Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (first reproduced in the album *Maria* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910) and the copy of Oskar Kolberg, held in the State Public Library in St Petersburg, reproduced in Y. A. Kremliev, *F. Chopin* (St Petersburg and Moscow, 1949), 214. Both copies were erroneously considered to be Chopin autographs. See below, 'Establishing the text of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime': 'Copies'.

⁸⁶ By the firm of Leitgeber in Poznań, 1875.

⁸⁷ Facsimile in *Echo Muzyczne i Teatralne*, 577 (1894); sheet music supplement to *Echo Muzyczne i Teatralne*, 580.

later editions, gaining the title Nocturne, corresponding to its character. This character was already defined by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in her list of 'Unpublished compositions', writing above the composition's incipit (listed as number 9): 'A Lento sent to me from Vienna in 1830. A lento of the Nocturne kind.'⁸⁸

In the WN, we return to the only certain authentic definition, *Lento con gran espressione*, which, judging from the two copies, was the expression used by Chopin for the character of this work.

b) *Cantabile*, a fourteen-bar work in the key of B flat major, most probably written by Chopin in 1834 into the album of one of his acquaintances.⁸⁹ In the only previous sheet music edition,⁹⁰ it possesses a title that accords with an authentic definition of its character; this title is retained in the WN.

c) (Prelude [?] in A flat major), a forty-one-bar work, written in 1834⁹¹ and dedicated to Pierre Wolff. In the first edition,⁹² it was given the title Prelude, certainly not contrary to its character, but most probably inauthentic. This title was adopted by subsequent editions and various other Chopin publications.⁹³ In the WN, we give this work the title *Presto con leggerezza*, in keeping with an authentic definition of its character, after the fashion of the remaining compositions not supplied with a title by Chopin in their autographs.

d) (Waltz [?] in E flat major⁹⁴), a thirty-two-bar work written in 1840, which in its first edition⁹⁵ received the title Waltz. It undoubtedly possesses some features characteristic of that dance, but at the same time it also has certain traits foreign to the Chopin waltz (such as the frequent lack of an accompaniment strike on the strong beat), as well as places closer in character to the mazurkas. In my opinion, it is in the indistinctness of the character of this fleeting musical thought of Chopin's that lies its individual appeal, and the imposition of an inauthentic title might mask this indistinctness. Also not without significance may be the fact that the extant autographs of all Chopin's waltzes published posthumously have in the titles or character specifications *Valse*, *Tempo di valse* or *Walec*, written in

⁸⁸ See illustration 12.

⁸⁹ See the first publication, made by L. Bronarski in the periodical *Muzyka*, 1931/4–6, 78–80, and *Chopin. The Complete Works* (see above, n. 55), xviii, commentary, p. 71, right column. Photocopy from the TiFC collection, F. 1735.

⁹⁰ *Chopin. The Complete Works*, 57.

⁹¹ The autograph is in the possession of Mr Edouard Forget, Geneva. The first publication of an autograph without an authentic title — in the periodical *Pages d'Art*, 1918.

⁹² *Chopin. Prélude inédit pour piano* (Geneva: Henn, 1919).

⁹³ See Appendix 1: 'A mention in Chopin's correspondence of a Prelude in A flat major'.

⁹⁴ The autograph is held in the BCP (without shelf-mark).

⁹⁵ Francis Day & Hunter, London, 1955. (Edited and with a commentary by M. J. E. Brown.)

his hand, whereas here we find nothing of this sort. For this reason — after the fashion of all the compositions discussed in this group — the WN limits itself to a title that accords with the authentic definition of the work's character: *Sostenuto*.⁹⁶

e) *Largo*,⁹⁷ a twenty-four-bar work in the key of E flat major, written probably in 1847, published first in 1938, together with the Nocturne in C minor,⁹⁸ and then in 1955,⁹⁹ bears a title in keeping with the authentic definition of its character in both editions, and this title is also kept in the WN.

2. A composition to which various inauthentic sources impart various titles is the (Fantasy [?]-)Impromptu composed probably c. 1834. The title with the addition Fantasy (Fantaisie) has long since raised doubts and was attributed to the work's first publisher, Julian Fontana.¹⁰⁰ These doubts are very strongly supported by the composition's title as written on its copy made by Auguste Franchomme, probably from the autograph, which reads: *Impromptu inédit pour le piano par Frédéric Chopin*.¹⁰¹ The decisive argument in favour of the authenticity of this title is the fact that at the bottom of the title page the copyist placed the date 'Janv[er] [18]49', which proves that the copy was made *during Chopin's lifetime*, and so certainly at least with Chopin's consent, if not at his request. Knowing Franchomme to have been an exceptionally faithful copyist of Chopin's

⁹⁶ See Chopin, *Dwa zapomniane utwory* [Two forgotten works] (PWM, 1965). The *Sostenuto* (according to our nomenclature), as one of these two works, bears the title Waltz; cf. remarks of the editor of the fascicle, A. Koszewski.

⁹⁷ Autograph held in the BCP, ms. 120. Photocopy in the TiFC collection, F. 1321.

⁹⁸ F. Chopin, *Nokturn c-moll, Largo Es-dur* (Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Muzyki Polskiej, 1938).

⁹⁹ Chopin. *The Complete Works* (see above, n. 55), xviii, p. 59.

¹⁰⁰ In two letters to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (one undated, written c.1853, the other of 14 March 1854), Fontana calls this work a 'fantasy for Mme d'Este' and a 'fantasy'. See M. Karłowicz, *Nie wydane* (see above, n. 22). Unfortunately, in this work, Fontana's letters are given in summary, and it is impossible from the writer's orthography (fantasy written with capital or small initial letter?) to conclude whether he treated the name fantasy as a title or as a description of the work's form. In the *Oeuvres posthumes* published in 1855 (Berlin: A. M. Schlesinger), Fontana placed the Fantasy-Impromptu in first place, giving it the opus number 66.

The first to question the title Fantasy-Impromptu, stating that it was a 'pleonasm', was probably Frederick Niecks (*Frederick Chopin* (see above, n. 7), ii:260), whilst the first to ascribe the first part of the title (Fantasy) to Fontana was probably Chopin's biographer James Huneker (*Chopin*, London 1901). See also Krystyna Wilkowska, 'Impromptus Chopina' [Chopin's impromptus], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 26–27 (1949), pt. 1, pp. 104–105; Chopin. *The Complete Works* (see above, n. 55), iv, commentary on p. 53; Brown's Index, 86.

¹⁰¹ TiFC collection. manuscript M/632, photocopy F. 1651.

works,¹⁰² one could hardly assume that he might have placed the title *Impromptu* contrary to the autograph or without the composer's knowledge, and in this case we must give him more credit than Fontana, all the more so since Franchomme places the title *Impromptu* once again in the list of incipits of Chopin's works, compiled in the main by himself, in Jane Stirling's collection of teaching copies¹⁰³. This is also an argument of great weight in that — judging by the order of the incipits, wholly in accordance with the order adopted by Fontana's posthumous edition — Franchomme was relying on that edition, and so his alteration of Fontana's title, which he had in front of him, must have been deliberate, probably based on an autograph with which he was familiar.¹⁰⁴

The reason for the uncertainty surrounding the title of this work seems quite straightforward. It is likely that Chopin initially did not have a clear view as to how to call this work, the character of which was not typical of his oeuvre to date (the *Impromptu* in C sharp minor was most probably written before the already titled *Impromptu* in A flat, Op. 29, intended for print). It is possible that within the composer's circle of friends this composition was known as a *Fantasy*. The definitive version written by Chopin himself into the album of the Baroness d'Este¹⁰⁵ does not carry a title, although the word *composé* (masculine form) used in the dedication (*composé pour la Baronne d'Este*) appears to rule out the title *Fantaisie* (feminine form). Only later, after writing the subsequent *Impromptus* and after specifying for himself the character of works corresponding to this title (although in the last *Impromptu* in G flat, Op. 51 the composer still hesitated, initially calling it *Allegro vivace*), Chopin gave also this first in that series of works the title of the others, reserving the title *Fantasy* (independently or as part of a two-word title) for works of larger dimensions and freer form (Opp. 13, 49, 61). Julian Fontana, whose first years in Paris fell during the period when the *Impromptu* in C sharp minor was being written (later, while the new

¹⁰² See below: 'Establishing the text of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime': 'Copies'.

¹⁰³ See below: 'Sources': 'Scores belonging to pupils of Chopin with corrections in his hand'.

¹⁰⁴ If Arthur Hedley is right about the influence of the theme of Moscheles's *Impromptu* in E flat on the theme of Chopin's *Impromptu* in C sharp (see beginning of n. 30 above), then it is possible that Chopin borrowed from Moscheles the title of his work, as well.

¹⁰⁵ Currently in the possession of Artur Rubinstein (Paris). On the basis of this autograph, its owner prepared an edition of the work (Frédéric Chopin, *Fantaisie-Impromptu*, New York: G. Shirmer, 1962). I would like to convey here my sincerest gratitude to Mr Artur Rubinstein for allowing me to inspect the autograph, giving me a photocopy of it and presenting me with the above-mentioned edition.

name might have been taking shape, until the year 1852, he was residing in America), doubtless remembered the work's *original name*, and even when he had the manuscript (autograph? copy?) with the later title in front of him, he could not relinquish the name Fantasy, forging arbitrarily the pleonastic title Fantasy-Impromptu.

Taking this all into account, we furnish this work in the WN with the most probably authentic title Impromptu.

3. Compositions which have hitherto been provided with titles of very improbable authenticity.

a) (*Souvenir de Paganini* [7]), a composition in the key of A major, assumed to have been written in 1829 and first published in 1881¹⁰⁶ under the above title. Here is the note of the publisher, Jan Kleczyński,¹⁰⁷ regarding this work:

Our music. The Souvenir de Paganini which we are giving in the 'Musical Supplement' today is a hitherto unpublished youthful work by Fryderyk Chopin. The authenticity of these Variations appears to be beyond doubt. The music was given to us by Mr Adam Münchheimer, who received it from the late Józef Nowakowski. Some passages are vividly reminiscent of the master's later works.

J. K.

Whilst one may admittedly share the publisher's conviction as to this work's authenticity — it contains too many places particularly characteristic of Chopin, especially in pianistic terms, places in which devices from the concertos, probably written at the same time, are repeated or phrases presaging devices in later compositions, through Opp. 27 and 34 to Op. 57 inclusive, for one to be able to attribute it to someone else — the publisher's note does not convince one about the authenticity of the title. Above all, doubts are raised by the actual source which the publisher had at his disposal: 'authenticity [...] *appears to be beyond doubt*', 'The *music* was given us [...]' (emphasis J. E.); if his source was an autograph, Kleczyński would probably have expressed his view on the work's authenticity more firmly still, and he would also likely have used the term 'manuscript' instead of the rather inexpressive 'music'.¹⁰⁸ Suspicions as to the

¹⁰⁶ *Echo Muzyczne*, 5/5 (1881), sheet music supplement, 33–40.

¹⁰⁷ In the same issue, p. 40, right column.

¹⁰⁸ The Variations for flute and piano ascribed to Chopin, deriving from the same sources (Józef Nowakowski — Adam Münchheimer), are not written in Chopin's hand and raise serious doubts regarding their authenticity. See F. Hoesick, *Słowacki i Chopin* (see above, . 24), ii:247 and 252.

title's authenticity are also aroused by another phrase in his note: 'The authenticity of these *Variations* [...]' (emphasis J. E.); could it be that the manuscript (autograph? copy?) carried the title *Variations*? Finally, the pretentious title *Souvenir*..., with the addition of the name of one of the greatest artists of the era, seems wholly at odds with Chopin's restrained style.¹⁰⁹

Thus the sum of these objections does not allow us to repeat the title hitherto used for this work uncritically. This is just one side — the negative side — of the issue. Yet the other, positive, side — establishing a title as close as possible to the composer's authentic intention — encounters difficulties, since this composition does not possess any specification of tempo or character which might be used as a title (as was the case with the *Lento con gran espressione*, *Cantabile*, *Presto con leggerezza*, *Sostenuto*, *Largo* and *Moderato* discussed below). So we must establish the premises which might lead to us finding the most likely title, closest to the original:

- while the title used for this work to date seems very unlikely, a title defining its form would be closer to Chopin's habits in this domain;
- undoubtedly closest to this work is the definition of its form as variational;
- the simplest term, 'Variations', might not, however, correspond to Chopin's understanding of this form; during the period when Chopin was writing this work, he most probably already had in his portfolio three variation sets known to us: the Introduction and Variations on a German national air, Variations for 4 hands

¹⁰⁹ In the authentic titles of the whole of the known Chopin oeuvre, there are no references to any external, extra-musical elements that might have provided an impulse for the composing of a work (besides song titles, of course), nor any personal name (except the author of a musical theme elaborated in a composition). This was already noted by Oskar Kolberg, when he wrote the following to M. A. Szulc:

'[Chopin] did not like, as we can see from his works, to give any titles to his compositions which would define them more closely, wishing that they speak for themselves. It is said that the day after a performance of *Hamlet* he wrote his Nocturne, Op. 15 No. 3 and gave it the inscription 'At the cemetery', but when it was to go to print, he deleted this inscription, saying: 'let them guess'. (Rough copy of a letter of 20 May 1879, KOK, ii:236.)

Zofia Lissa writes of Chopin's aversion to emphasising any programmatic content in his works in her article 'O pierwiastkach programowych w muzyce Chopina' [On programmatic elements in the music of Chopin], *Chopin*, 2 (Warsaw, 1937), 64–75, accounting for this aversion with arguments of both a psychological and social nature. The inclusion of personal names in titles was characteristic of the work of Schumann, among others (*Camaval*, Op. 9).

Doubts as to the authenticity of the title *Souvenir de Paganini* are also put forward by Władysław Hordyński, when stating the almost exact convergence of the theme of this work with the theme of the Variations in D for 4 hands. (See *Faksymilowane Wydanie Autografów F. Chopina*, fasc. 11 (Cracow: PWM, 1966), conclusion of the preface.)

on a theme of Moore and Variations on 'Là ci darem la mano', Op. 2; yet each of these three sets possesses a distinct introduction¹¹⁰ and comprises clearly marked-off variations, thus differing fundamentally from the composition in question, which constitutes an indivisible whole with strictly interlocking sixteen-bar variations; hence the unlikelihood that Chopin would have given this work the title 'Variations';

— the largest number of similarities to the work under discussion — in terms of both form and character — are displayed by the Berceuse, Op. 57 (similar size, metre, rocking character of the accompaniment, restriction over the greater part of both works to the functions of tonic and dominant, with a brief transition to the subdominant before their conclusions, and finally the above-mentioned continuous transition from one short variation to another);

— Chopin originally gave the Berceuse, Op. 57 the title *Variantes*, not changing it to its ultimate title until prior to its printing.¹¹¹ He may have done this because the *character* of opus 57 (lullaby) prevailed, in his creative opinion, over the *form* of this work (Variants);

— were we to suppose that in this work, arbitrarily — in my view — titled *Souvenir de Paganini*, its *form* could have been an attractive moment in the process of creating the composition, then the title Variants (*Variantes*) perhaps seems the most justified.

Therefore, the above title brings us closer to authenticity on several counts: Chopin used it, if not for this work, for a composition similar in form; one cannot exclude the hypothesis that having used it *once* for that youthful work, he placed it *again* above a work of his full creative maturity (Berceuse); in favour of the hypothesis of its authenticity is the first publisher's note, defining this work with the term Variations (it is conceivable that the exceedingly rare term Variants (*Variantes*) used in the title could have been exchanged for the common Variations, sanctioned through the centuries); finally, this title adheres to the feel of the authentic titles of other Chopin compositions.

So as not to mask the hypothetical value of this title, in the WN it will be placed in square brackets.

¹¹⁰ See B. Wójcik-Keuprulan, 'Wariacje i technika wariacyjna Chopina' [Chopin's variations and variation technique], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 12–13 (1931), 380–392.

¹¹¹ 'My Sonata [Op. 58] as well as the variants are at your disposal'. (From a letter written by Chopin to M. Schlesinger in Paris, Paris, December 1844. Original in French; *KCh*, ii:384.) 'My Sonata and Berceuse have been published'. (From a letter to his family in Warsaw, Nohant, 18–20 July 1845; *KCh*, ii:138.) See J. Blochman, 'Dwa autografy listów Chopina w Belgii' [Two autographs of letters by Chopin in Belgium], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 26–27 (1949), 38–47.

b) (*Album Leaf* [?]), a twenty-bar work in the key of E major, first published in 1910,¹¹² given the title *Feuille d'album* in an edition from 1912¹¹³. Despite the fact that, according to a reliable note in the first publication and first edition, it was indeed written into the album of Countess Anna Sheremetiev in 1843, there is no question of the authenticity of the title added by the publisher; indeed, this work has no greater right to the title *Album Leaf* than do other compositions written by Chopin into the albums of friends or acquaintances.

In the WN — after the fashion of other compositions discussed above — this work is given a title identical to the probably authentic definition of its tempo-character: *Moderato*.

c) (Mazurka [?] in F sharp major), a thirty-one-bar work, is a reconstruction by myself of a musical thought of Chopin's probably written into someone's album (possibly Leopoldina Blahetka). This reconstruction was produced on the basis of a transcription bearing the title Mazurka and containing 160 printed bars, published at different periods, ascribed to different composers, printed in different keys,¹¹⁴ but — apart from minimal differences in the text — identical. On the subject of the authenticity of this composition as a whole, opinions have been divided.¹¹⁵ After meticulous analysis of the musical text and pianistic devices, I came to share the conviction of those who stated that the *whole* of the Mazurka is *not an authentic work* by Chopin, yet I did conclude that certain fragments,

¹¹² *Świat* weekly, 5/23 (1910).

¹¹³ *Feuille d'album. Nieznany utwór Fryderyka Chopina* (Warsaw: Gebethner & Wolff).

¹¹⁴ Charles Mayer, *Souvenir de la Pologne, Mazourka* [F sharp major] (London: Ewer & Co, 1849) (British Museum copy, Music Room, h. 447); F. Chopin, *Mazurka pour Piano* [F sharp major] (Vienna: J. P. Gotthard, 1873) (copy belonging to J. E.); *Chopin's Posthumous Mazurka* [G major] *transcribed for the Piano-Forte by Sir Julius Benedict* (London: D. Davison & Co., 1876) (British Museum copy, Music Room, n. 1482 F/46). The *Thematisches Verzeichniss der im Druck erschienenen Compositionen von Friedrich Chopin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888) gives (in a group of compositions wrongly attributed to Chopin) the incipit of this Mazurka (citing the edition by Gotthard of Vienna) in the key of F major (p. 44). According to verbal information transmitted by Arthur Hedley, there exists one further version of this Mazurka, in a transcription by Julius Benedict for 4 hands in the key of A flat major.

¹¹⁵ See rough copy of a letter written by Oskar Kolberg to M. Karasowski of 12 April 1885, *KOK*, iii:240–241, and a letter written by Karasowski to Kolberg of 15 April 1885, *KOK*, iii:243 (both write of a Mazurka in F major published in Vienna and apparently written at some point — according to information given by the publisher — into the album of the Austrian pianist and composer Leopoldina Blahetka); F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin* (see above, n. 7), ii:237; J. Miketta, 'O nieautentyczności Mazurka Fis-dur...' [On the inauthenticity of the Mazurka in F sharp major...], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 1949/28, 149–166.

distributed throughout the whole composition, display all the hallmarks of *authentic music* by Chopin. An appropriate alignment of these fragments gives rise to a reconstruction of an album entry. The question of the work's title, of interest to us here, was not easy to resolve. We ruled out the title of the previous transcription — Mazurka: in spite of the characteristically mazurka rhythms of the introduction and conclusion, the cantilena body of this piece evokes associations rather with a Chopin waltz or nocturne (see also remarks on the indefinite character of Chopin's minor musical ideas in the discussion of the title of the Waltz in E flat [?] — *Sostenuto*). Since the performance markings of the transcription, and by the same stroke the indication of tempo-character, may also raise doubts regarding their authenticity, after comparing the mazurkas, waltzes and nocturnes most similar in character, I assigned to this composition the title *Allegretto* (which as inauthentic will be given in square brackets). I also adopt as the most secure key that of F sharp major, as it appears in the earliest editions of the transcription and is the most comfortable to play, whereas the middle section corresponds to the key of a fragment of the Nocturne in B major, Op. 9 No. 3, bars 44 ff, with which it displays substantial similarity.

4. A separate problem is that of the title of the song hitherto called 'Melodia' [Melody] [?]. From the few extant autographs of Chopin songs, one may conclude that he did not always give them titles.¹¹⁶ The first publishers usually gave them titles in keeping either with the titles of the poetic texts to which given songs were written or else with the opening words of those texts.

The poem by Zygmunt Krasiński that constitutes the text of the song entitled 'Melodia', and placed as a motto before his epic poem *Ostatni* [The last], does not possess an authentic title. In a letter sent by Fontana to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz,¹¹⁷ we twice encounter a title formed from the opening words of the poem: 'Z gór, gdzie dźwigali' ['Bowed 'neath their crosses', in the English translation by Randall Swingler]. It is highly unlikely that Chopin could have placed above the autograph of one of his most dramatic songs, written into the album of Delfina Potocka,¹¹⁸ the inexpressive title 'Melodia', which could refer equally well to every

¹¹⁶ See facsimiles of the song 'Życzenie' ['A Maiden's Wish']: M. Karłowicz, *Nie wydane* (see above, n. 22), after p. 384, or L. Binental, *Chopin. Dokumenty i pamiątki* [Documents and souvenirs] (Warsaw, 1930), reproduction 26; also facsimile of the song 'Pierścień' ['The Ring']: L. Binental, *Chopin. Dokumenty i pamiątki*, reproduction 55; also autograph sketch of the 'Piosnka litewska' ['Lithuanian Song'] held in the Bibliothèque polonaise in Paris, 1108 (TiFC photocopy F. 1643, 2132).

¹¹⁷ Of 6 January 1853; see summary in Karłowicz, *Nie wydane*, 370–371.

¹¹⁸ See above-cited letter. This album is considered lost.

other song. Much more likely seems the following hypothesis: in his posthumous edition, Fontana had as the base text of this song not the autograph, but a copy.¹¹⁹ This may have been a copy made by Franchomme, who made several copies during this period, both of unpublished piano works and of songs. Not familiar with the Polish language, Franchomme most probably included in it neither the possibly original title nor the words. All he could do, in order to identify the copied work in a general way, was to add the heading 'Mélodie de F. Chopin', just as he did, for example, in his copy of the song 'Nie ma, czego trzeba' ['Faded and Vanished'].¹²⁰ From there, it was just one step to fixing in print the title 'Melodia': Fontana, having a copy without words or title, wrote in the words from an edition of Krasiński's poetry,¹²¹ and he left the title just as it was in the heading of the copy.

Therefore, having the choice of the title 'Melodia', highly unlikely to be authentic from the composer's side, and a title formed from the words of the opening of a poem of certain authenticity from the poet's side, in the WN we adopt the latter: 'Z gór, gdzie dźwigali'.

To summarise the issue of establishing the titles of the ten posthumously published compositions discussed above, we may adopt a few rules in this area:

In the case of compositions for *solo piano*:

1. If Chopin did not provide a title for a work, we give it a title identical to an authentic definition of the tempo-character of that work, as did Ludwik Bronarski in the case of the publications and editions of the *Cantabile* and *Largo* (and so also the *Lento con gran espressione*, *Presto con leggerezza*, *Sostenuto* and *Moderato*).

2. In the case where various titles were given by various inauthentic sources, we give priority to the more credible sources (Impromptu in C sharp minor).

3. Suspecting that an inauthentic title was given by a publisher, yet not having an authentic tempo-character indication for a work, we endeavour to reconstruct the title (Variants, *Allegretto*).

¹¹⁹ This hypothesis does not contradict excerpts from the letter cited in the previous two footnotes.

¹²⁰ This copy is held at the BCP, Ms. 10. 490, TiFC photocopy F. 1634.

¹²¹ The fact that Fontana, in his editorial work on Chopin's songs, made use of manuscripts without a verbal text is attested by a passage from a letter he wrote to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz on 2 July 1852 (TiFC M/330, photocopy F. 5):

'I would ask for the words to "Śliczny chłopiec" ["My Beloved"], as they were completely omitted from the Paris edition and [Fryderyk] must have taken it from the Warsaw edition, and also for Zaleski's dumka "Wojak" ["After the Battle"], which does not appear in the two-volume Poznań edition of his poetry'.

In the case of *songs*:

1. We give priority to the authentic title of the poem that constitutes the text of a song, as established by the poet (most of the traditional titles of Chopin's songs).
2. Where the above is lacking, we give a title that accords with the opening words of the verbal text (two traditional titles, and of those discussed above 'Z gór, gdzie dźwigali').

THE NUMBERING AND CHRONOLOGY OF SERIES B

Having obtained from Chopin's family permission to publish the posthumous parts of his oeuvre, Julian Fontana provided them with opus numbers, creating a continuation of the authentic opusing. Thus the last Chopin opus, Op. 65 (Sonata in G minor for piano and cello) was followed by the posthumously published Impromptu in C sharp minor, marked in Fontana's edition as Op. 66, then the four posthumous Mazurkas, Op. 67, and so on, up to Op. 74 (Songs). The fact that Fontana, as editor, introduced some system of numbering to the unopused works is, from an ordering point of view, wholly understandable. It should be stressed that in the edition he prepared, he clearly pointed out (at the bottom of the first pages of music) that a given 'opus number indicates the *chronological order of publication*'¹²² (emphasis J. E.). The intention of his edition was, as clearly stated in the preface, to put an end to publications of the posthumous works based on inexact sources, and from the legal point of view he regarded the collection of published compositions as closed, as is testified by a passage ending the note after the musical text:

¹²² The above note, written in French, is signed with the word 'éditeur'. The meaning of this word may raise doubts here: was the 'editor' who opused these works Fontana or Schlesinger? In favour of the latter could be the fact that Meissonier, who took over from Schlesinger the publishing rights to the posthumous works for France, does not give this opusing. However, it may be taken as certain that it was done by Fontana, above all because it would be difficult to imagine that such an authoritative editor in matters relating to the choice and the ultimate redaction of compositions as was Fontana could have allowed anyone else to opus Chopin's works; besides this, his hand is also indicated by the fact that Fontana understood the word 'éditeur' as referring also the present-day term 'volume editor'; such is evidenced by an extract from a letter he wrote to Gustaw Gebethner in Warsaw (Paris, 9 November 1859; Hoesick, *Chopiniana* (Warsaw, 1912), 439–440):

'[...] who is responsible for a text if not the *editor to whom the arrangement of the manuscripts was entrusted?* I speak of the *moral, intellectual editor*'. (emphasis J. E.)

Fontana's authorship of the posthumous opusing is confirmed in several letters by Oskar Kolberg, who at the same time questions the aptness of this opusing (See n. 125 below).

NB Fryderyk Chopin's family, having decided to publish his unpublished compositions exclusively through the intermediary and according to the selection of Mr J. Fontana, will treat all publications of Chopin's Posthumous Works passing beyond the present collection as an abuse and will pursue them as such.¹²³

Taking this into account, we may accept that the simplest solution to the numbering of this range of posthumous works was that applied by Fontana. The only accusation that could be levelled at Fontana is that he did not foresee that subsequent publishers would generally omit his note regarding the character of the opusing of the posthumous works, thereby suggesting its authenticity, and also that in spite of all the legal stipulations his collection would remain open and the number of later discovered and published works grow threefold.¹²⁴ For this reason, Fontana's opusing is both confusing and incomplete for us today.

¹²³ Fontana was given grounds to include this note (written in German and in French) by a letter addressed to him by Chopin's family. (See French original in L. Binental, *Chopin* (Warsaw, 1930), reproductions 109, 110 and p. 201.)

'To Mr Julian Fontana in Paris.

Desirous of fulfilling our wish to publish the manuscripts composed by the late Fryderyk Chopin that remained in our hands, we, the members of his family, namely his mother and two sisters, hereby entreat Mr Julian Fontana, as a competent judge and friend of the above-mentioned composer, to make a selection from among the unpublished works and to submit to print everything that will be worthy of the memory of the deceased, in order that these works be published with the utmost care and excellence and to prevent all falsification; we hereby authorise him to negotiate in our name and conclude with publishers all the contracts which he deems most appropriate in connection with this matter, to accept income and to issue for them receipts, and finally we acknowledge as valid and binding everything which will be done by him in this connection. Since the family intends to publish the works of the late Fryderyk Chopin solely through the intermediary of Mr Fontana, it requests that he place at the bottom of the title page of each book or work the remark that they come from a collection selected by him with the family's authorisation; in this way, everything which might be published as a posthumous work but was not provided with this authentic guarantee will be considered an abuse.

Warsaw, 16 July 1853

Justyna Chopin
Ludwika Jędrzejewicz
née Chopin
Izabela Barcińska
née Chopin.

¹²⁴ It should be admitted, however, that in terms of their weight, the most important of these compositions were contained in Fontana's collection.

It is confusing not only because in practice it does not differentiate between the authentic and posthumous opusing, but also because it unwittingly misleads us through the consequences that ensue from it. The first misunderstanding occurs when a publisher, placing together works of the same kind in a particular volume, arranges them in the order suggested by that mixed — authentic and inauthentic — opusing, as a result of which we receive the impression that works opused posthumously were composed by Chopin later than works published during his lifetime. The most drastic example of this is the volume of *Polonaises*. Already in the first collected editions which included posthumous works, the *Polonaise in D minor*, written about twenty years before the *Polonaise-Fantasy*, Op. 61, comes after it, since it bears Fontana's opus number 71 No. 1, to say nothing of the fact that all three *Polonaises* published by Fontana (in D minor, B flat major and F minor) usually appear at the end of collections even though they were written at least five years before the first opused *Polonaise in C sharp minor* (Op. 26 No. 1). In the most complete collection of *Polonaises* (the *Complete Works* edited by Paderewski, Turczyński and Bronarski for PWM), containing all sixteen of Chopin's *Polonaises*, one can distinguish three groups: the first comprises seven *Polonaises* with authentic opusing (composed in the years 1831–46), the second, coming after the first, consists of the three *Polonaises* from Fontana's opusing (probably written 1823–26), and the third and last contains the latest discovered and published six unopused *Polonaises* (written 1817–29). In this way, for example, the earliest *Polonaise*, the childhood *Polonaise in B flat major*, has in this volume the relatively large ordinal number 12, and the latest, the *Polonaise-Fantasy*, the relatively low number 7. A similar dislocation of the principle of numbering and chronology can be found in the volumes of *Mazurkas*, *Waltzes*, *Impromptus*, etc.

The other consequence of Fontana's opusing is the confusion that arises when attempting to establish the chronological order in which all Chopin's works were written, regardless of whether they were published during his lifetime or only after his death, since then opuses 68, 71 and 72 have to come before opus 2, opuses 69 and 73 before opus 3, and so on.¹²⁵

If we now add to this the fact that Fontana's opusing is incomplete, since he gave opus numbers to barely one-third of the hitherto rediscovered works not

¹²⁵ See tables in Arthur Hedley's biography, the entry 'Chopin' in *Grove*, and Brown's Index. The opusing produced by Fontana, the confusing aspects of this opusing and the proposals for a separate, chronological numbering of the posthumous works were discussed around one hundred years ago. See Appendix II: 'Fontana's opusing of Chopin's posthumous works as mentioned in the correspondence of Oskar Kolberg'.

published during the composer's lifetime, and so all that remains for the exact definition of the rest of the works is their key (occasionally ambiguous, where there is more than one work in a given genre in the same key) or the dedication, then the WN's new numbering for the works published after Chopin's death, based on the chronology of their composition, will perhaps seem justified. As already mentioned, the numbering of Chopin's posthumous works is based on the *principle of chronology*. Of all the feasible approaches, it would seem to be the most rational, firstly because it is authentic (in spite of certain hindrances during the initial period of publication, the principle of chronology determined the order in which the works published by Chopin himself were opused¹²⁶), and secondly because every other principle would again cause complications and inconsistencies similar to those described above. With the aim of producing a numbering based on the most exact chronological order possible, all the information that might have shed some light on the composition of particular works not published by Chopin had to be checked. As this difficult work progressed, it came to light that — as in the case of works published during Chopin's lifetime — a greater number than might have been anticipated of the

¹²⁶ During the first period in Chopin's work following his emigration from Poland, we note in the opus numbering a large number of deviations from the rule of the chronology of the composition of works in favour of the order in which they were published. There were doubtless several reasons for this, the most important being that during his first years in Paris, Chopin was publishing both works composed recently and also — for the most part — works brought with him from Warsaw. Besides this, one cannot exclude arguments of a secondary nature weighing on the decision to compose and publish particular works, especially when we take into account the fact that Chopin was only just entering the European publishing market: it is likely that he had to yield every now and then to his publishers' suggestions, resulting from their familiarity with the tastes of the audiences of the day, and also reckon with the material side of publishing transactions.

'[...] Pixis cannot praise my talent enough in front of all the editors, and especially in front of Schlesinger, who has engaged me to write something from the themes of *Robert [le diable]*, which he has bought from Meyerbeer for 24,000 francs!' (From a letter to Tytus Woyciechowski, 12 December 1831; *KCh*, i:204.)

This overlapping of various criteria in the publishing of works undoubtedly contributed to the variance between the order of their publication and the order in which they were composed, and consequently the order of the opus numbers. The most drastic example of this is the Concerto in F minor, written almost a year earlier than the Concerto in E minor, but published three years after it, as the Second Piano Concerto, with the opus number 21, and so ten numbers higher than the later written Concerto in E minor, Op. 11.

From Op. 23 — with only minor deviations — the ordering of the opus numbers tallies with the chronology of the composition of works.

dates given by Chopin's biographers were insufficiently documented or were based purely on speculation. Above all, therefore, all the possible sources concerning chronology had to be examined and their content verified — even including dates that might have seemed so secure as those specified by Fontana in his edition of the posthumous works¹²⁷ or by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in her list of 'Unpublished compositions'. In addition, criteria rarely applied, or possibly even sometimes new, had to be used in order to make some dates more precise (biographical criteria of a general nature, internal criteria with a greater evidential precision, such as variable elements of graphical traits of Chopin's musical script, the type of paper on which a manuscript was produced,¹²⁸ the development of the young Chopin's piano technique, the piano texture, and other criteria checked individually for particular compositions). Since justifying each separate item of series B would exceed the scope of the present *Introduction*, we restrict ourselves to giving the *results* of this work on chronology, namely the dates of the composition of works, placed after the number and title of each work. This issue, fundamental to research into Chopin's oeuvre, will be elaborated on more fully — and the dating of the composition of works justified in detail — in a separate study on the chronology of Chopin's works.

Adopting the principle of the most exact elaboration possible of the chronological order, two postulates should be taken into account when numbering the posthumous works:

1. The numbering should be restricted to a number no greater than 65, so that the numbers of the posthumous works not exceed the number of authentic opuses, and by the same stroke to avoid giving works published posthumously autonomous numbers, that is, not parallel to those of series A, and so numbers from 66 upwards, which might lead to similar misunderstandings to those occurring with Fontana's opusing;

¹²⁷ In his discussion of Maurycy Karasowski's work *Fryderyk Chopin. Życie — listy — dzieła* [Fryderyk Chopin. His life, letters and works] (Warsaw, 1882), Oskar Kolberg gave the following remark to Karasowski's note '...everything which [Fontana] later put in the preface to the edition of Chopin's posthumous works is deserving of credence' (i:54 n.):

'Fontana died in 1869, in September. The dates which he gives against various Ch[opin] compositions are not always right; not because he wished to arbitrarily change them, but that in keeping them in a portfolio for a lengthy period he forgot about them and marked them at a guess, e.g. in the posthumous works he marked the Funeral March at the year 1829, when this march was written in 1826 for Staszic's funeral; [...]' (Rough copy of a letter to M. Karasowski of 2 September 1882, *KOK*, ii:689 and iii:739.)

¹²⁸ Close attention was drawn by Arthur Hedley to the role of the kind of manuscript paper as an important element in establishing the dates Chopin's manuscripts were produced.

THE INTERNAL ORDERING OF SERIES B

2. The numbering should be open: arranged in such a way that any newly discovered posthumous compositions can be placed within its sequence.

These two postulates were met in such a way that compositions derived from one another were given the same number broken down into several sub-items, and the 3 Ecossaises also received a common number. This subordinate relationship was marked in the numbering of series B by adding small letters a, b, c to the numbers.

If any Chopin compositions not included in the list below should be found, they will be incorporated according to chronological order in the appropriate places in the table, receiving the number of the preceding item with the addition of a letter: a, b, etc. (For example, were the lost fourth Ecossaise, in B flat, to be found, it would receive the number WN 27 d; similarly, the Waltz in G major, presented to Mrs Erskine on 12 October 1848, which is currently not at our disposal, would enter the table beneath the Waltz in A minor, WN 63, receiving the number WN 63a, and so on.)

The numbering of the posthumous works that corresponds to the premises set out above looks as follows (symbolic representation of years of composition identical to that in the table of series A):

SERIES B

NUMBERING AND CHRONOLOGY OF WORKS PUBLISHED AFTER CHOPIN'S DEATH

(Titles in square brackets [] are titles reconstructed by the WN, titles in angle brackets < > are titles used previously, certainly or most probably inauthentic. Titles in quotation marks are titles of songs.)

Updated numbering from 2008 (not definite)	Original numbering from 1974	Title	Opus number according to Fontana	Completion date	Date of the first publication	Date of the first edition
WN 1	WN 1	Polonaise B-flat major		1817 , 1 half		1910
2	2	Polonaise G minor		1817 , 2 half	1817	1947
3	3	Polonaise A-flat major (ded. Żywny)		1821		1908
4	4	Variations E major		1824		1851
5	5	Polonaise G-sharp minor		1824		1864
6	10	Variations D major for 4 hands		1824–26		1965
7	7	Mazurka B-flat major		1826	1826	1851
8	8	Mazurka G major		1826	1826	1851
9	11	Funeral march C minor	72"	1826 I/II		1855
10	12	Polonaise B-flat minor		1826 VII		1881
11	6	Polonaise D minor	71 no 1	1825–27		1855
12	9	Polonaise F minor	71 no 3	1826–28 (–29?)		1855
13a	27b	Ecossaise G major	72 no 2	1826 (1830?)		1855
13b	27c	Ecossaise D-flat major	72 no 3			
13c	27a	Ecossaise D major	72 no 1			
14	13	Mazurka A minor	68 no 2	1827		1855
(op. 4)*	op. 4	Sonata C minor		1827/28		1851
	15a	Rondo C major for 1 piano**		1828		1953
15	15	Rondo C major for 2 pianos	73	1828 IX		1855
16	16	[Warianty] ([Variants]) <Souvenir de Paganini>		1829		1881
17	14	Polonaise B-flat major	71 no 2	1829		1855
17a	17	Mazurka (Mazur) G major (from Vaclav Hanka's Album)		1829 22 VIII	1879	
18	18	Waltz E major		1829		1861
19	19	Waltz B minor	69 no 2	1829		1852
20	20	Waltz D-flat major	70 no 3	1829 3 X		1855
21	21	„Życzenie”	74 no 1	c. 1829		1857
22	22	„Gdzie lubi”	74 no 5	c. 1829		1859

THE INTERNAL ORDERING OF SERIES B

Updated numbering from 2008 (not definite)	Original numbering from 1974	Title	Opus number according to Fontana	Completion date	Date of the first publication	Date of the first edition
WN 23	WN 23	Nokturn E minor	72 ^l	1827(?)–30		1855
24	24	Mazurka C major	68 nr 1	→1830		1855
25	25	Mazurka F major	68 nr 3	→1830		1855
26	26	Mazurka G major	67 nr 1	→1830 (1835?)		1855
27		Contredans***		→1830 (1827?)	1934	1948
28	28	Waltz A-flat major		1829–30		1902
29	29	Waltz E minor		1830(?)		1868
30	33	„Poseł”	74 nr 7	1830		1859
31	30	„Czary”		1830(?)	1910	1951
32	31	„Hulanka”	74 nr 4	1830		1859
33	32	„Precz z moich oczu”	74 nr 6	1830		1853
34	34	„Wojak”	74 nr 10	1830		1857
35	35	Polonaise G-flat major		1830 X/XI		1869–70 (c.1859?)
36	36	[Allegretto]****		1829–31	reconstruction:	1990
37	37	Lento con gran espressione <Nocturne C-sharp minor>		1830 XI–XII		1875
38	38	„Piosnka litewska”	74 nr 16	1830 (1831?)		1859
39	39	„Smutna rzeka”	74 nr 3	1831		1859
40	40	„Narzeczony”	74 nr 15	1831		1859
41	41	Mazurka B-flat major (ded. Wołowska)		1832 24 VI	1909	1953
42	42	Walc G-flat major	70 nr 1	1832 8 VIII		1855
43	43	Cantabile		1834	1925	1955
44	44	Presto con leggerezza <Prelude A-flat major>		1834 10 VII	1918	1919
45	45	Mazurka A-flat major (from Maria Szymanowska's album)		1834		1930
46	46	Impromptu C-sharp minor <Fantaisie-Impromptu>	66	c. 1834		1855
47	48	Waltz A-flat major	69 no 1	→1835		1855
48	47	Mazurka C major	67 no 3	1835		1855

THE NUMBERING AND CHRONOLOGY

Updated numbering from 2008 (not definite)	Original numbering from 1974	Title	Opus number according to Fontana	Completion date	Date of the first publication	Date of the first edition
49	49	„Leci liście z drzewa”	74 no 17	1836 3 V		1873→
50	50	„Pierścień”	74 no 14	1836 8 IX		1859
51	51	„Moja pieszczotka”	74 no 12	1837		1859
52	52	„Wiosna”	74 no 2	1838		1859
52a	52a	„Wiosna” for piano		1838 IV		1990
53	53	Sostenuto <Waltz E-flat major>		1840 20 VII		1955
54	54	„Śliczny chłopiec”	74 no 8	1841		1859
55	55	Waltz F minor	70 no 2	1841		1852
56	56	Moderato <Kartka z albumu> (<Leaf from the album>)		1843 11 I	1910	1912
	58a	„Dumka” (I version „Nie ma, czego trzeba”)		1840	1910	1951
57	58b	„Nie ma, czego trzeba”	74 no 13	1845		1859
58	57	„Dwojaki koniec”	74 no 11	1845		1859
59		Gallop Marquis*****		1846–47		1990
60	59	Mazurka A minor	67 nr 4	1846–47		1855
61	60	„Z gór, gdzie dźwigali” <„Melodia”> (<Melody>)	74 nr 9	1847		1859
	61	Largo*****		1847		1938
62	62	Nocturne C minor		1847–48		1938
63	63	Waltz A minor		1847–49		1955
64	64	Mazurka G minor	67 nr 2	1848–49		1855
65	65	Mazurka F minor	68 nr 4	1849	reconstruction: partly full	1855 1965

* Opus and number probably given by the publisher.

** This is a working version of the piece, which was ultimately elaborated for 2 pianos.

*** A work not included in the original numbering, due to doubts surrounding its authenticity; now, following the discovery of a clear photocopy of the lost manuscript, these doubts are much less justified.

**** Reconstruction of Chopin's entry in Leopoldyna Blahetka's album, made on the basis of the mazurka 'Souvenirs de la Pologne' by Charles Mayer.

***** A work discovered after the original version of the numbering had been prepared.

***** The latest research allows us to state that this is a harmonization of the song 'Boże, coś Polskę' (in its original version), and not an independent composition by Chopin.

In order to ensure clarity in the reading of the symbols for Chopin's works proposed for both series of the WN, the following should be remembered:

1. the initial symbol **Op.** always denotes the authentic opusing;
2. the initial symbol **Dbop.** (Work without opus number) denotes a work published during Chopin's lifetime to which he did not give an opus number; the number with large letter (or letters) that follows this symbol denotes the work's chronological location in relation to the opused original; the entire designation is introduced by the WN, and as such it is inauthentic;
3. the symbol **WN** followed by a number or by small letters **a**, **b**, **c**, designates the inauthentic numbering, introduced by the WN, of works not published during Chopin's lifetime.¹²⁹

THE DIVISION OF THE POLISH NATIONAL EDITION INTO VOLUMES

The division of the WN into volumes, like all the divisions of Chopin's works into volumes made by collected editions, is one of the later editorial conventions, enabling works to be grouped, for practical purposes, into larger (publishing) wholes.¹³⁰ Chopin's basic unit of publication was the opus, with larger opuses sometimes broken up in first editions into smaller books (for example, the Etudes, Op. 10 and Op. 25, in the German and English editions, and the Preludes, in the French and English editions, were divided into two books). The majority of the first collected editions which began to appear from 1860¹³¹ employed a division into volumes with the opus order retained, and so according to chronology, which nonetheless, due to the mixing of the genres of works, created inconveniences of a practical nature. This presumably explains why, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the invariable custom of dividing works into volumes according to genre had become established, with more than one genre sometimes combined in a single volume (e.g. Ballades and Impromptus, Preludes and Rondos).

¹²⁹ See Appendix III: 'Previous groupings of Chopin's works'.

¹³⁰ See K. Górski, *Sztuka edytorska* (see above, n. 31), 191: '[...] the arrangement of a collected edition may be based on the distinction of the literary genres cultivated by a given writer'.

¹³¹ The problem of the collected edition of Chopin's work first surfaced barely three weeks after his death, when Wojciech Grzymała, after again discussing the question of the destruction of the unpublished compositions, wrote to Auguste Léo:

'All extremes of this sort should be prevented by the publication of his complete works in a one large format, a duplicate of which would be in 8-vo, in a portable format [...] this sole edition would be authoritative once and for all.' (Letter of 8 November 1849, written in French; *KCh*, ii:466.)

THE DIVISION OF THE POLISH NATIONAL EDITION INTO VOLUMES

The WN division into volumes possesses two elements which bear secondary features of authenticity: the first is the division into two series, reflecting the intentional division of his works made by Chopin; the second is the principle of chronology applied to the arrangement of works within particular volumes.

In series A, we maintained a strict division according to the genres of works, with the exception of the volume entitled *Various Works*, which contains works in genres that appear in the Chopin oeuvre only once.

In series B, such a strict division would be impracticable. Some of the smaller works or single compositions representing a particular opus are grouped in two separate volumes: B IV (30) (*Variations in E major, Sonata in C minor, Rondo in C major for one piano*) and B V (31) (*Various Works*).

The volumes fall into the following groups (for both series together): first of all, volumes containing works for solo piano, then works for piano and orchestra, chamber works, compositions for two pianos, songs, orchestral scores and supplements. Within these groups, the sequence of volumes is alphabetical.

The main numbering of the volumes consists of the series letter symbol and successive Roman numerals, for each of the series separately beginning with volume 1. The additional, parallel, numbering in Arabic numerals designates the volumes of the WN as a whole (series A from 1 to 26, series B from 27 to 36).

In the table below, showing the division into volumes, we have endeavoured to highlight graphically the parallelism of identical or analogous genres between the two series.

THE DIVISION OF THE POLISH NATIONAL EDITION INTO VOLUMES

Series A. WORKS PUBLISHED DURING CHOPIN'S LIFETIME

- 1 **A I** **Ballades** Opp. 23, 38, 47, 52
- 2 **A II** **Études** Opp. 10, 25, 3 Nouvelles Études
- 3 **A III** **Impromptus** Opp. 29, 36, 51
- 4 **A IV** **Mazurkas (A)** Opp. 6, 7, 17, 24, 30, 33, 41
Mazurka in a (Gaillard), Mazurka in a
(Notre Temps), op. 50, 56, 59, 63
- 5 **A V** **Nocturnes** Opp. 9, 15, 27, 32, 37, 48,
55, 62
- 6 **A VI** **Polonaises (A)** Opp. 26, 40, 44, 53, 61
- 7 **A VII** **Preludes** Opp. 28, 45
- 8 **A VIII** **Rondos** Opp. 1, 5, 16
- 9 **A IX** **Scherzos** Opp. 20, 31, 39, 54
- 10 **A X** **Sonatas** op. 35, 58
- 11 **A XI** **Waltzes (A)** op. 18, 34, 42, 64
- 12 **A XII** **Various Works (A)** Variations brillantes,
Bolero, Tarantella, Allegro de concert, Fan-
tazy, Berceuse, Barcarolle

Series B. WORKS NOT PUBLISHED DURING CHOPIN'S LIFETIME

*(Titles in square brackets [] are titles recon-
structured by the WN; titles in angle brackets < >
are titles used previously, certainly or most prob-
ably inauthentic)*

- 27 **B I** **Mazurkas (B)** B flat, G, a, C, F, G,
B flat, A flat, C, a, g, f
- 28 **B II** **Polonaises (B)** B flat, g, A flat, g sharp,
d, f, b, B flat, G flat
- 29 **B III** **Waltzes (B)** E, h, D flat, A flat, e, G flat,
A flat, f, a
- 30 **B IV** **Various Works (B)** Variations in E, So-
nata in c, Op. 4, Rondo in C (version for
one piano)
- 31 **B V** **Various Works** Funeral March in c, [Va-
riants] <Souvenir de Paganini>, Noctur-
ne in e, Ecossaises in D, G, D flat,
[Allegretto], *Lento con gran espressione*
<Nocturne in c sharp>, *Cantabile*, *Pre-
sto con leggerezza* <Prelude in A flat>,
Impromptu in c sharp <Fantasy-Im-
promptu>, 'Wiosna' (version for piano),
Sostenuto <Waltz in E flat>, *Moderato*
<Album Leaf>, *Largo*, Nocturne in c

Series A.	WORKS PUBLISHED DURING CHOPIN'S LIFETIME	Series B.	WORKS NOT PUBLISHED DURING CHOPIN'S LIFETIME
13 A XIII	Concertos for piano and orchestra Opp. 11, 21 (version for one piano)	32 B VI	Concertos for piano and orchestra Opp. 11, 21 (version with second piano)
14 A XIV	Concert works for piano and orchestra Opp. 2, 13, 14, 22 (version for one piano)	33 B VII	Concert works for piano and orchestra Opp. 2, 13, 14, 22 (version with second piano)
15 A XVa	Variations on 'Là ci darem la mano' Op. 2. Version for piano and orchestra		
16 A XVb	Concerto in e Op. 11. Version for piano and orchestra		
17 A XVc	Fantasy on Polish Airs Op. 13. Version for piano and orchestra		
18 A XVd	Rondo à la krakowiak Op. 14. Version for piano and orchestra		
19 A XVe	Concerto in f Op. 21. Version for piano and orchestra		
20 A XVf	Polonaise in E flat Op. 22. Version for piano and orchestra		
21 A XVIa	Concerto in e Op. 11. Version for piano and string quintet		
22 A XVIb	Rondo à la krakowiak Op. 14. Version for piano and string quintet		
23 A XVIc	Concerto in f Op. 21. Version for piano and string quintet		
24 A XVII	Works for piano and cello Op. 3, Grand Duo concertant, Op. 65		
25 A XVIII	Piano Trio , Op. 8		
		34 B VIII	Rondo in C for two pianos
		35 B IX	Songs
26 A XIX	Supplement (A) Hexameron, Grand Duo concertant (version for 4 hands)	36 B X	Supplement (B) Variations in D for 4 hands and works of dubious authenticity (Contredanse, Mazurka in D, Mazurka in C, Mazurka in F sharp)

The methods used to reconstruct Chopin's creative intentions in works published during his lifetime

Establishing the methods for reconstructing the composer's creative intentions as faithfully as possible is one of the most important, but at the same time most difficult, tasks in musical editing. If we proceed from the assumption that every method of this sort must always correspond to the subject to which it is to be applied, then finding such a method in the case where that subject is to be the works of Chopin proves particularly difficult. This is due to two factors in particular: Chopin's type of inventiveness and the way in which he published his works.

THE TYPE OF CHOPIN'S INVENTIVENESS

Chopin's inventiveness, extremely lively, subtle, variegated and naturally improvisational, makes it difficult at times to grasp the final moment fixed in the ultimate musical text of a work. Even the seemingly certain stage that is the printing of a work proofread by the composer was not always the concluding stage with Chopin, as there exist later redactions of works already published and also variants written into his pupils' copies.

We have the testimony of his contemporaries confirming this characterisation of Chopin's creative process. In a note to the *Oeuvres posthumes*, Chopin's friend and associate Julian Fontana, in awe at Chopin's unparalleled gift for improvisation, employs such a comparison:

That spontaneous inspiration was like an inexhaustible stream of precious matter in a state of ebullition. From time to time, the master would draw from it a few cupfuls to pour them into his mould, and it turned out that those cups were filled with pearls and rubies.

We have read about Chopin's constant polishing of works before submitting them for print, and also during proofreading, in a letter written by Schlesinger to Kistner.¹³² Chopin's indecisiveness with regard to the choice of the final version of a work is described by Stanisław Tarnowski, who transmits information indirectly from Chopin's pupil Marcelina Czartoryska:

When [Chopin] composed, he could never decide on the ultimate form to give to his idea. There were always many to choose from, and he himself hesitated and was incapable of making that choice. Then he would call one of his friends, or even preferred some child, play him all the phrases among which one was to be chosen, trust to his instinct, and submit to print the one which the child deemed the loveliest.¹³³

Chopin's creative torment is described in more dramatic words by George Sand in *Histoire de ma vie*:

His creation was spontaneous, miraculous. He found it without looking, without foreseeing it. It came onto his piano suddenly, complete, sublime, or it sang in his head during a walk, and he would be anxious to hear it for himself, in casting it upon the instrument. But then would begin the most heart-rending labour to which I have ever been witness. It was a series of efforts, indecisions and moments of impatience to seize once again certain details of the theme that he had heard: what he had conceived as a whole, he would analyse too much in his desire to write it down, and his regret at not finding it intact, as he claimed, cast him into a sort of despair. He would shut himself up in his room for days on end, crying, walking around, breaking his quills, repeating and changing one bar a hundred times, writing it down and crossing it out just as often, and starting again the next day with a meticulous and desperate perseverance. He would spend six weeks on a single page, only to go back to writing it just as he had drafted it the first time around.¹³⁴

The fact that the travail of creating remained with Chopin until the very last period in his oeuvre is attested by his words concerning his last opused work:

With my Sonata with cello I am now content, now not. I hurl it in the corner, then gather it up again;¹³⁵

¹³² See note 72 above.

¹³³ S. Tarnowski, *Chopin i Grottger* (see above, n. 18), 13.

¹³⁴ George Sand, *Histoire de ma vie* (1876; citation from repr. ed. Martine Reid, Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 1499.

¹³⁵ Letter to his family in Warsaw, Nohant, 11 October 1846; *KCh*, ii:175.

or his last opus of Mazurkas,

I'm working a little, deleting a lot.¹³⁶

Chopin's self-characterisation, uttered on a different occasion, would also seem applicable to his work: 'I know that I am the most indecisive creature in the world'.¹³⁷ Apart from the type of the inventiveness defined above, this indecisiveness was also due to its vast riches and to the composer's great sense of responsibility for every note he wrote.

Thus one is not surprised that the sketches of Chopin's compositions sometimes give the impression that the notational signs were feverishly cast onto the paper. Most of these sketches are written partly in shorthand, often without accidentals, sometimes only with a verbal indication of key. Their markings are often covered with traces of the nervous testing of his goose quill pen. One comes to understand his solicitude over the fruits of this difficult work that were his prepared manuscripts. In a letter to Fontana regarding publishing matters, having described his manuscripts as 'flies', Chopin writes:

I ask you, for God's sake, to take care of my manuscript and not crumple it, nor soil it or tear it (everything that you don't know how to do, but I write because I do so love the tedious notes I write). Copy it. *Yours* will stay in Paris. [...] If you're bored with copying, then do it *for the forgiveness of your great sins*, as I'd not like to give this spidery scrawl to any clumsy copyist. I enjoin you once again, because if I had to write these 18 pages again, I'd go mad. Just don't crumple it!!!¹³⁸

However, even that 'spidery scrawl' intended as the base text for copying or printing often bears yet more deletions, corrections and additions on neighbouring systems. Sometimes even after completing work on a manuscript, while it is being copied out, Chopin still wants to check some detail in it: '[...] send me [...] my last Ballade in manuscript, because I want to see something [...]'.¹³⁹

This constant desire to polish a work does not end for Chopin with the autograph; we know of numerous copies proofread by him which, apart from

¹³⁶ Letter to A. Franchomme in Paris, Nohant, 9 November 1846, original in French; *KCh*, ii:403.

¹³⁷ Letter to Jan Matuszyński in Warsaw, Vienna, 28 December 1830; *KCh*, i:162.

¹³⁸ Letter to J. Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 18 October 1841; *KCh*, ii:44. One is put in mind here of an analogy with Norwid, who, sending Nabelak the autograph of a poem, writes:

[...] have pity on me and keep my manuscripts. [...] because [...] I have a high regard for [them]' (Cit. after J. W. Gomułicki, 'Źródła wydania' (see above, n. 6), i:869.)

¹³⁹ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 8 August 1839; *KCh*, i:354.

corrections in the proper sense of the word, and even the occasional overlooking of the copyist's mistakes, contain still further improvements.¹⁴⁰ The refinement of works already sold to Paris publishers has already been discussed above. This can be observed not only in Chopin's early works, but throughout the whole of his oeuvre, including of course those works which were printed when he was residing in Paris. We have numerous examples of alterations made at the last moment during the printing of a composition — alterations which, because they had to be made directly on the printing plates, left visible traces on the print. Finally, in extant copies belonging to his pupils we find numerous variants provided by the composer, and we also know from the accounts of his friends and pupils that he added these variants during lessons.

It goes without saying that these symptoms of changeability, of a constant desire for improvement, of indecision or, to put it another way, of a continuous process to the creation of a work, does not occur to the same degree in every Chopin work. There do occur, albeit somewhat less frequently, fair autographs without corrections, editions without changes made during printing, pupils' copies with few annotations, of a merely routine nature. However, everything said and quoted above shows that the process of Chopin's creation of a work was often extended over a long period of time and cannot easily be grasped in the form of a single source which with all certainty would contain the composer's final musical vision. Therefore, an editor establishing the final text must, as far as possible, follow this process through from beginning to end for each composition in turn.

THE WAY CHOPIN PUBLISHED HIS WORKS

The other problem — often no less difficult to resolve in establishing Chopin's ultimate intentions — is the way in which the composer had his works published. All bar two¹⁴¹ of Chopin's compositions published in the years 1832–1848 were issued by three publishers, in France, Germany¹⁴² and England, either within

¹⁴⁰ In this domain, too, one sees a similarity between Chopin and Norwid:

'Norwid [...], as was his wont, refined and perfected his text, which looked different at different times: both in his papers and in copies made by acquaintances he met or by the poet himself.' (Gomulicki, 'Źródła wydania', 856–7.)

¹⁴¹ The Mazurka in A minor, Dbop. 42 A was published during Chopin's lifetime only in a French edition, and the Sonata in G minor, Op. 65 for piano and cello was not published in England.

¹⁴² When speaking hereafter of German publishers, I also have in mind Viennese publishers.

short lapses of time or else simultaneously (this simultaneity most often occurred between French and German publishers).

The *synchronisation of editions* during this period probably betokened a commercial loyalty between publishers. They took care of this between themselves,¹⁴³ and in certain periods Chopin himself was involved¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴³ See above, correspondence between Schlesinger and Kistner on the subject of Opp. 6, 7, 9 ff. in the chapter 'The order of works within opuses'.

¹⁴⁴ 'Tell Pleyel to agree the time of publication for the Preludes with Probst' (From a letter to Fontana in Paris, Valldemosa, 22 January 1839; *KCh*, i:334. Heinrich Probst was then the representative of Breitkopf & Härtel in Paris.)

'Copy the Tarantella once again for Wessel and give my manuscript to Troupenas [...]. Read the letter I write to him, seal it and tell him the day the Tarantella comes out in Hamburg, if you know what it is, if Schuberth has written back to me. (Which is supposed to mean that if a letter comes to me from Hamburg, *unseal it*, take a look and tell Troupenas straight away; then send the Tarantella by post to Wessel as well and write the day of publication.) (From a letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 26 July 1841; *KCh*, ii:24.)

To the firm of Schuberth Co. in Hamburg

'Dear Sir,

When sending you the Tarantella I requested that you kindly inform me of the period in which you intended to publish it. Left without a reply to that question, I renew it, anticipating a reply by return post, so that I may satisfy the enquiries of the gentlemen publishers of Paris and of London.

Please accept my attentive greetings,

Fr. Chopin

5, Rue Tronchet

29 July 1841'

(Original in French; *KCh*, ii:340.)

Three weeks later, he writes again about the same matter:

'Don't give Troupenas the manuscript until Schubert has written the date of publication. (From a letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 18 August 1841; *KCh*, ii:29–30.)

In a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, discussing matters connected with the publication of the Prelude, Op. 45 and Polonaise, Op. 44, he emphasises:

'I have asked Schlesinger to reach an agreement with you regarding the date of publication [...]'. (Letter of 3 December 1841, written in French; *KCh*, ii:343.)

There are even traces of Chopin proposing specific dates, most probably after agreeing them with his French publisher. For example, availing himself of Auguste Léo's good offices when sending the Op. 59 Mazurkas to his German and English publishers, Chopin writes to him:

'I have placed everywhere the titles and the numbers of the works, as well as the day of publication (25 November this year).' (Letter to Auguste Léo in Paris, Nohant, 9 October 1845, original in French; *KCh*, ii:391.)

On the title pages of the manuscripts of the Etudes, Op. 25 and Impromptu, Op. 29 sent to the German publisher, we find a note added in his hand: 'Pour être publié le 15 octobre 1837'.

This simultaneity often observed by the publishers, and in other instances the short period separating editions of works, creates many problems for an editor. The editorial criterion that postulates ascribing greater authority to a later authentic source, which the order of editions can help to establish, fails here completely, and in the case of most Chopin compositions the dates of publication are not a reliable indicator in this respect.

To this divergence of the publishing paths of particular works, one should add that not only Chopin's autographs served publishers as *Stichvorlagen*; often, a link between the autograph and the first editions were copies (of these, some were corrected by Chopin himself, some not, and others appear to show correction by someone else). As for Chopin's proofreading of editions, then we can affirm this at the present time with the utmost certainty only in some Parisian editions, whilst in others we have very few examples of proofreading. All of this gives an approximate picture of the complications arising from Chopin's method of preparing his works for print and publication.

POSTULATES

From what has been said above both about the features of Chopin's creative process and also about publishing matters, there emerge two *postulates* of a general nature, constituting the basis for a method of reconstructing Chopin's text.

— The first postulate: to gather together, for each work, the *maximum possible number of sources* in which we may suspect Chopin's influence on the shaping of his work.

— The second postulate: to adopt an *individual approach* to each separate composition in the analysis of the sources for it.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ The lack of this approach in previous editions of Chopin's works has given generally negative results. The attempts of some editors to restrict themselves exclusively or primarily to some specific group of sources which they considered to best convey his final intentions (as, for example, Mikuli — French first editions with Chopin's corrections in pupils' copies, Mertke — German, French and English first editions, Friedman — manuscripts in the possession of the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel and first editions produced by this firm, Ganche — French first editions proofread by Chopin, collected by Jane Stirling, and some autographs available to him) have given only partly positive results, and that only in those cases where in a given group of sources the editors have come across, by some happy coincidence, works which do indeed transmit Chopin's final creative intentions. In other cases, these otherwise valuable editions have been infiltrated either by earlier versions of Chopin's compositions or even by printing errors, some of which went uncorrected while others were corrected according to criteria subjectively chosen by

The logical consequence of the second of these postulates is the need to take account of two further postulates when editing particular works.

— The third postulate: to produce the most exact reconstruction possible of the *filiation of sources*.

— The fourth postulate: to establish which of the sources is *authentic*, that is, in the preparation of which Chopin took a direct part.

Finally, during the last phase of editorial work, two further postulates should be taken into consideration.

— The fifth postulate: to *choose the source* (or the sources) from which the ultimate text of the work will be established — the source most fully reflecting the composer's creative intentions.

— The sixth postulate: to *edit the text* in such a way that on one hand it has a form as close as possible to that which Chopin himself employed in the particular case and on the other it is always understandable for a musician today.

So now we need to outline the problems arising from these six postulates, endeavouring to retrace the stages in the creation of Chopin's work — from the moment when he first cast the musical idea onto paper to the moment of his practical use of the printed work. These problems will be discussed in the following order: the sources, their mutual relations, their authenticity, the choice of the basic source, the principles governing the editing of the musical text and the principles governing the preparation of the commentaries.

SOURCES

Since the WN is aimed at reconstructing Chopin's authentic creative intentions, we regard only sources of a certain specific kind as sources for his works, namely those which in a direct or indirect way may help us to arrive at that ultimate, authentic conception of the composer's.

the editors. There are no serious arguments supporting the idea that any isolated group of sources may have been prepared and corrected by Chopin in such a way that it might constitute in its entirety the basis for reconstructing the ultimate shape of his works. By contrast, a close comparative analysis of the sources for particular works shows that the fullest transmission of Chopin's creative intentions is to be found in sources of *various* types: in fair autographs, in copies corrected by Chopin, and also in first editions with or without Chopin's handwritten corrections. Also not rare are cases where a single, organically indivisible whole of Chopin's musical intention is expressed in two sources together.

Within this scope, we make a general division of the sources for Chopin's works into manuscript sources, printed sources and mixed sources (printed with handwritten annotations).

Manuscripts are divided, in turn, into autographs and copies (of fundamental value for the WN are copies of autographs, although we exceptionally take account also of copies of copies of autographs¹⁴⁶).

Finally, prints are divided into first editions and their further impressions¹⁴⁷ (subsequent editions are taken into account only insofar as we can suspect that the composer proofread them or inasmuch as they display deviations that influenced the forming of inauthentic versions of later editions), first editions with annotations made by Chopin during lessons (exceptionally those added by his pupils, if they may have been made during lessons with him) and *later editions*, as indirect sources.

Apart from these musical sources, we also take into account other indirect sources, if they have some bearing on establishing the authentic text.

Discussed in outline below are the different types of source and also the main issues connected with them.

AUTOGRAPHS

The *autographs* of Chopin's works have already been discussed in part above. We divide them into five groups, characterised in respect to their significance for establishing the final text.

1. sketches¹⁴⁸ — not constituting direct base texts,¹⁴⁹ but which may indirectly help to establish the final text;

2. fair scores in a non-final form; in other words, first redactions of works¹⁵⁰ — of a similar value to sketches for establishing the text;

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix IV: 'The unsuitability of the term "authorised copy"'.

¹⁴⁷ 'Impression' is distinguished here from 'edition' in line with the division made by the leading expert on old music prints Anthony van Hoboken, in his article 'Probleme der musikbibliographischen Terminologie', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 1958/1, p. 6 A new *impression* of a first edition is understood as a reprint from the plates of that edition irrespective of whether they have been improved in the meantime or not. We also speak of a new impression in cases where one or more damaged plates were changed for new ones. If the title page was changed in a new impression, then we speak of a new *titular impression*. Consequently, a new *edition* is a print of a work on a new set of plates of the musical text.

¹⁴⁸ See illustration 1.

¹⁴⁹ See note 11 above.

¹⁵⁰ See volume A I (1): Ballades: Source commentaries, illustration 11.

3. fair scores intended for print (*Stichvorlagen*)¹⁵¹ — often constituting basic sources independently or jointly with later editions corrected by Chopin;

4. fragments or whole works written by Chopin occasionally, mostly into the albums of friends or acquaintances. In series A, these may exceptionally constitute base texts for the final redaction of a text; in series B, in many cases they are the only sources (in this case, of course, only whole works).

5. twelve incipits of compositions written by Chopin himself into the list of works contained in a collection of first editions of his works belonging to Jane Stirling. These can only be of secondary significance for the final text. It should be stressed that this division — as is usual in such cases — should not be understood in too rigorous a way; the boundaries between groups, particularly between neighbouring groups among the first three, may be fluid in some instances.

Fair autographs, of the greatest value for the edition, are rarely written by Chopin in a calligraphic way;¹⁵² most often, they possess deletions, corrections and additions on neighbouring blank staves. One characteristic feature of the autographs is Chopin's marking of repeated sections of works by placing in blank bars a digit or letter which he has previously given to the relevant bars on the first iteration of the section.¹⁵³

Like other composers, Chopin also made errors in his own manuscripts. Among the most common is the omission of accidentals; rarer are incorrect note values (giving in total too few or too many values in a bar); occasionally, we even find erroneous note pitches (a typical composer's '*lapsus calami*').

It should be remembered that in the case of many Chopin compositions, no trace of autographs has yet been discovered. Among these — to confine ourselves to only larger forms — are three Rondos (Op. 1, Op. 5 and Op. 16), the Concerto in E minor, Op. 11, two Scherzos (Op. 20 and Op. 39), the Polonaise in F sharp minor, Op. 44 and the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35. In relation to some items, one may suspect the lack of two or even three fair autographs. Possibly, not all of them are irredeemably lost and some will still be found, as has occurred with autographs considered lost that have been discovered during recent years.

¹⁵¹ See illustrations 2, 3, 15 and 16.

¹⁵² See illustrations 2 and 3.

¹⁵³ See illustration 4. The role of studies on Chopin's manuscripts is discussed by Oswald Jonas in an article illustrated with numerous examples: 'On the Study of Chopin's Manuscripts', in F. Zagiba (ed.), *Chopin-Jahrbuch* (Zurich, Leipzig and Vienna: Amalthea, 1956), 142–155.

COPIES

For a long period of time, Chopin used¹⁵⁴ as the base texts for editions (*Stichvorlagen*) not only his autographs, but also copies made at his request by other persons. Given below are brief profiles of the copyists of autographs of Chopin's works in series A; we indicate whether their copies bear traces of annotations in Chopin's hand and whether they were used as *Stichvorlagen*.

1. Already mentioned many times above, the pianist and composer Julian Fontana (1810–1869), a school friend of Chopin's, was the copyist of most of Chopin's works written during the period 1836–1841, at least the following: the Etudes, Op. 25 Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 12,¹⁵⁵ 24 Preludes, Op. 28,¹⁵⁶ 4 Mazurkas, Op. 30,¹⁵⁷ Scherzo in B flat minor, Op. 31,¹⁵⁸ Mazurkas Nos. 1, 2 and 4 from Op. 33¹⁵⁹ (probably also No. 3 from that opus, which has not come down to us), 2 Polonaises, Op. 40,¹⁶⁰ Tarantella, Op. 43¹⁶¹ (a second copy of this work probably existed), Polonaise, Op. 44 (lost), *Allegro de concert*, Op. 46,¹⁶² probably the Ballade in A flat major, Op. 47 (lost), 2 Nocturnes, Op. 48¹⁶³ and probably the Fantasy, Op. 49 (lost). All of the above-mentioned copies were prepared as the *Stichvorlagen* of first editions. Chopin's annotations in the musical text can be found in Opp. 25, 30, 31 and 40.

Besides the Fontana copies listed above, there are also extant copies, not used as *Stichvorlagen*, of earlier redactions of two Preludes from Op. 28: No. 3 and No. 17.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁴ See below: 'The filiation of sources'.

¹⁵⁵ BN Mus. 217, TiFC photocopy F. 1304 (17–18, 20–27, 52–55). These are part of the manuscript of the whole of the Etudes, Op. 25, of which Nos. 1 and 8 are Chopin autographs and the rest are copies made by Gutmann. The title page and numbers of the Etudes are written out in Chopin's hand.

¹⁵⁶ Collection of the heirs of Hermann Scholtz (?), TiFC photocopy F. 503.

¹⁵⁷ BN Mus. 219, TiFC photocopy F. 540. The numbers of the Mazurkas are written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁵⁸ BN Mus. 220, TiFC photocopy F. 1302. The title page (except for the opus number) is written in Chopin's hand. See illustration 5.

¹⁵⁹ See n. 74 above.

¹⁶⁰ BN Mus. 225, TiFC photocopy F. 1300. The title page (except for the opus number) and title Polonaise are written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁶¹ BCP, Ms. 122, TiFC photocopy F. 1431.

¹⁶² Heinemann Foundation, New York, TiFC photocopy F. 1708. The title page is written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁶³ TiFC M/199 and 200, TiFC photocopy F. 1718. The title page is written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁶⁴ No. 3 is held in the Miejskie Archiwum in Litomierzycze, TiFC photocopy F. 508; No. 17 is held in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreude in Vienna, TiFC photocopy F. 532, 1337. See Appendix I: 'A mention in Chopin's correspondence of a Prelude in A flat major'.

Comparing extant copies by Fontana with the existing Chopin autographs from which he made them, one can state that Fontana was generally a faithful copyist of Chopin's works. The inaccuracies in his copies are of the nature of omissions or mechanical errors; in some copies, meanwhile, Fontana makes corrections of obvious oversights on Chopin's part. Among the more frequent deviations from the autographs are the imprecise copying of pedal markings (especially pedal release signs) and slurs and also a different notation of grace notes (in most cases, Fontana copies grace notes which Chopin wrote with no line through them as crossed-through little quavers).

2. The second copyist — ordering them according to the number of works copied as *Stichvorlagen* — is 'Chopin's favourite pupil', Adolf Gutmann (1819–1882),¹⁶⁵ who copied out at least the following Chopin works preserved to the present day: Etudes, Op. 25 Nos. 2, 3, 7, 9, 10 and 11,¹⁶⁶ Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35,¹⁶⁷ Ballade in F major, Op. 38¹⁶⁸ and Scherzo in C sharp minor, Op. 39¹⁶⁹. All the above copies served as *Stichvorlagen* for first editions, and all have annotations in Chopin's hand.

As a copyist, Gutmann seems less exact than Fontana. His copies contain a larger number of deviations from the originals (comparison was possible only on the basis of Chopin's autograph and the copy made from it of the Ballade in F major, Op. 38, both the probably mechanical (changes to the pitch of notes, omission of notes from chords and — as with Fontana — inaccuracies in notating

¹⁶⁵ Adolf Gutmann is identified here as the copyist of the enumerated compositions for the first time (writing in November 1964), thereby reconstructing one of the important missing links in the chain of sources for Chopin's works. A precise description of the circumstantial evidence which set me on the trail of Gutmann as a copyist, the material confirming the veracity of this evidence and a brief biographical sketch of Gutmann will be given in a separate study. I would like here to express my sincere thanks to Mr Hans Homuth for his ultimately fruitful search for Gutmann manuscripts and Mr Bogumił S. Kupść, head of the Zakład Rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej in Warsaw, for his assistance in analysing the handwriting of Adolf Gutmann.

¹⁶⁶ BN Mus. 217, TiFC photocopy F. 1304 (8–14, 28–30, 37, 38, 40–44, 46–51). See n. 155 above.

¹⁶⁷ BN Mus. 222, TiFC photocopy F. 1299. The title page (except for the opus number) is written in Chopin's hand. See illustration 6.

¹⁶⁸ Collection of Rudolf Nydahl in Stockholm, TiFC photocopy F. 1469. The title page (except for the opus number) is written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁶⁹ BN Mus. 224, TiFC photocopy F. 1295. The title page (except for the opus number) is written in Chopin's hand.

pedal) and also deviations in slurs, ties, verbal markings, articulation marks and embellishment signs.

3. The unknown copyist of the 2 Nocturnes, Op. 37¹⁷⁰ and 4 Mazurkas, Op. 41¹⁷¹. The meticulous fair copies of these two opuses, although not free of mechanical errors, contain corrections and annotations in Chopin's hand. The copies of both opuses were intended as *Stichvorlagen*. Arthur Hedley's assumption, based on graphical traits of this copyist's musical script, that this was a professional copyist seems convincing.

4. The copyist of the Berceuse, Op. 57,¹⁷² whose copy contains corrections and annotations in the composer's hand, including his addition of the opening two bars of the work. This copy was a *Stichvorlage*.

The extant copy of the Nocturne in F minor, Op. 55 No. 1,¹⁷³ made by the same copyist, with Chopin's handwritten dedication to Jane Stirling, did not serve as the *Stichvorlage* for any of the editions.

5. The unknown copyist of the Mazurka in A minor, Dbop. (42 A),¹⁷⁴ in whose copy one cannot exclude a couple of minor annotations by Chopin.

6. The unknown copyist of two earlier versions of the Berceuse, Op. 57;¹⁷⁵ these contain no annotations by Chopin and did not serve as *Stichvorlagen*.

As already mentioned above, in exceptional cases copies made not from an autograph but from another copy are considered as sources. These include, for example, Saint-Saëns's copy of the Ballade in A flat, Op. 47,¹⁷⁶ being a copy of a copy (most probably by Fontana) made from the autograph and allowing us to accurately reconstruct the latter, which is of fundamental importance for establishing the ultimate text of this work.

¹⁷⁰ BN Mus. 223, TiFC photocopy F. 1296. The title page (except for the opus number) and the numbers of the Nocturnes are written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁷¹ BN Mus. 226, TiFC photocopy F. 706. The title page (except for the opus number) is written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁷² BN Mus. 231, TiFC photocopy F. 1294. The title page (except for the opus number) is written in Chopin's hand.

¹⁷³ Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow, TiFC photocopy F. 1466.

¹⁷⁴ Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow, TiFC photocopy F. 785.

¹⁷⁵ BCP, D. 10809 and 10810, TiFC photocopy F. 1712 and F. 1711. (The first of these copies is incomplete, containing only 42 bars of the work.)

¹⁷⁶ BCP, Ms. 108, TiFC photocopy F. 1432.

It goes without saying that the above list of copyists and of the Chopin works they copied cannot be regarded as complete.¹⁷⁷ Although in a detailed analysis of sources for particular works it is often possible to reconstruct not only the fact that a lost copy did exist, but even certain characteristic features of that copy, it is usually difficult to ascertain who made the copy. Only the discovery of hitherto unknown manuscripts could add new names of copyists to the above list.

FIRST EDITIONS

It has already been mentioned that almost all the works published during Chopin's lifetime were issued in parallel by three publishers: one French, one German or Viennese and one English. Listed below are the first publishers of Chopin's works, with a brief profile of the most representative among them in each national group, as well as the chief features of their editions.

French publishers

1. T. Maurice Schlesinger, Paris (son of A. M. Schlesinger in Berlin): Opp. 1, 2, 6–16, Dbop. 16 A, B, Opp. 17, 18, 20–27, 29–34, Dbop. 36 A, B, C, Opp. 44–56.
2. Brandus (Schlesinger's successor), Paris: Opp. 59–65 and, after purchasing the publishing rights from A. Catelin, Op. 28.
3. Henri Lemoine, Paris, who purchased the publishing rights to Opp. 10, 18 and 25 from M. Schlesinger.

¹⁷⁷ Auguste Franchomme is not included in the list of copyists of Chopin's works in series A (see 'Establishing the text of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime'), in spite of the fact that three of his manuscripts which appear to be copies of works by Chopin published during his lifetime have come down to us. 1. the cello part of the *Grand Duo concertant*, Dbop. 16 A, composed together with Chopin, written above the piano part, which itself is written in Chopin's hand. This is *not a copy* of a Chopin work, but the *autograph* of the cello part by Franchomme, the co-composer of this work; 2. a piano reduction for two hands of the orchestra part of movements II and III of the E minor Concerto, Op. 11. This is most unlikely to be a copy, since Franchomme probably *did not copy* this reduction, but *produced* it himself; 3. the cello part of the Sonata in G minor, Op. 65. Written out by Franchomme separately (in the autograph, it is written in Chopin's hand above the piano part), this carries an inscription by Franchomme: 'Partie de Violoncelle de la Sonate pour Piano et Violoncelle de Chopin écrite sous sa dictée par moi, Franchomme'. Written *to dictation*, and not copied out, this is *not a copy* in the proper sense of the word.

4. Eugène Troupenas, Paris: Dbop. 29 A (?)¹⁷⁸, Opp. 35–41, Dbop 42 B, Op. 43.
5. Joseph Meissonier, Paris: Op. 57 and Op. 58.
6. Simon Richault, Paris: Op. 3
7. Schonenberger, Paris: Op. 5.
8. Prilipp et Cie, Paris: Op. 19.
9. Adolphe Catelin et Cie, Paris: Op. 28 (the Preludes, Op. 28, initially sold to Camille Pleyel, were most probably sold on by Pleyel to Catelin).
10. Antonio F. G. Pacini, Paris: Op. 42.
11. Chabal, Paris: Dbop. 42 A (the Mazurka in A minor was initially included in an *Album des pianistes polonais*, probably published by Chabal (the album does not have the publisher's name), and later (with the firm's name given) as a separate reprint).
12. Bernard Latte, Paris: Dbop. 29 A (?)¹⁷⁹

The main French publisher, as can be seen from this list, was M. Schlesinger.¹⁸⁰ We have already written above about Chopin's good personal relations with Schlesinger during his first years in France. Towards the end of 1839, these relations become disrupted somewhat, although Chopin still sees his first Paris publisher as a serious client. This can be sensed in several letters written by Chopin to Fontana:

¹⁷⁸ It is difficult at present to establish definitively all the publishers of *Hexameron*, Dbop. 29 A. The only certain name is that of Tobias Haslinger of Vienna, although we know that he was not the work's first publisher. The inclusion on the title page of the Viennese edition of the firm of Mori, London as the English co-publisher is — according to Brown's Index — erroneous. In Brown's opinion, the English publisher was actually Cramer & Co., London. Also uncertain is the French co-publisher, who was most probably the first publisher of this work, basing the text of his edition on manuscripts. Haslinger gives the firm of B. Latte, Paris, and doubtless on this basis it also appears in Brown's Index. Probably, however, the author of the Index did not have an original copy published by Latte at his disposal, as he does not note the plate number. As yet, the search for this copy has been unsuccessful. Meanwhile, the copy of the French edition of *Hexameron* that exists in the collection of A. Hoboken does not give the publishing firms at all, confining itself to marking at the bottom of the title page: 'Le dépôt principal chez E. Troupenas'. At the same time, however, in the bottom margins of the pages of music, we find the symbol and plate number of the firm Troupenas: T 1066. This number would indicate a later (around two years) period of publication than occurred in the actual first edition. This copy most probably comes from a subsequent impression of the first edition, with the symbol of the firm of Troupenas, who most probably bought *Hexameron* from the first publisher, overprinted. But was this first publisher indeed Bernard Latte, or was his name — like that of the English co-publisher — erroneously placed by Haslinger on the title page? It is difficult, at present, to say.

¹⁷⁹ See previous note.

¹⁸⁰ See Z. Lissa, 'Chopin w świetle' (see above, n. 69).

Schlesinger is an even bigger dog to put my Waltzes into an album! and to sell them to Probst when I at his begging gave them to him for his father in Berlin.¹⁸¹ Schlesinger is constantly swindling me: he has made plenty on me and would not refuse a new source of profit [...].¹⁸²

[...] give my letter to Pleyel (who sees my manuscripts as too expensive). If I'm to sell them cheaply, then I prefer Schlesinger than looking for unlikely new relations. [...] Let Schlesinger sell them to whom he wants [...] I've nothing against it. He adores me because he fleeces me. Just come to some good agreement with him over money and don't give him the manuscripts unless it's for cash.¹⁸³

Pleyel did me a great disservice with his offers, because I've incurred the displeasure of the Jew Schlesinger. But that will, I hope, somehow be put right.¹⁸⁴

Already by the end of 1840, their relations seem to have improved, evidence of which we find in correspondence (Elsner — Chopin — Schlesinger — Chopin — Elsner) concerning the ultimately unsuccessful attempt to have Elsner's Oratorio published, and also in other Chopin letters concerning subsequent compositions.

I would like to quote here in its entirety one further Chopin letter, sent to his Paris publisher — an epistolary masterpiece which allows us to admire Chopin's diplomatic skills. Whilst not wishing to offend his principal Paris publisher and addressing him with refined politeness, between the lines he expresses criticism of his addressee as a publisher, adding a pinch of irony, touching on their personal relations:

Dear Friend,

In the Impromptu which you gave with the *Gazette* of 9 July, there is a *numbered reversal* of pages which renders my composition incomprehensible. Far from having the solicitude which our friend Moscheles¹⁸⁵ brings to his works,

¹⁸¹ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Palma, 28 December 1838; *KCh*, i:333.

¹⁸² Letter to Fontana in Paris, Marseilles, 12 March 1839; *KCh*, i:339.

¹⁸³ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Marseilles, 17 March 1839; *KCh*, i:341–342.

¹⁸⁴ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 8 August 1839; *KCh*, i:354.

¹⁸⁵ Chopin is probably riling Schlesinger for what was a quite unpleasant affair for the publisher, expressed in an open letter addressed by Moscheles to the *Revue et Gazette musicale* of which Schlesinger was editor (no. 3 of 20 January 1838). In this letter, Moscheles reproaches Schlesinger for the inaccurate publication of his *Etudes caractéristiques* (Op. 95), the edition of which was lacking the preface, motto and titles, in spite of the fact that they appeared in the manuscript that served as the *Stichvorlage* for this edition. From the letter, it emerges that Schlesinger pledged to publish the complete text of the *Etudes* once again.

I nonetheless feel obliged on this occasion towards your subscribers to ask you to have an *erratum* placed in your next number:

page 3 — read page 5

page 5 — read page 3

Should you be too busy or too idle to write to me, limit your reply to this *erratum* in the *Gazette*, and from that I shall infer that you, Mrs Schlesinger and your children are all keeping well.

Yours ever

Chopin.

22 July, Nohant 1843¹⁸⁶

In the brief words of this letter, Chopin says something of considerable interest to us at this point, namely that on *other occasions*, doubtless involving less serious flaws or errors in Schlesinger's editions than the switching of pages, Chopin did not react, only stirring *this time*, when such a fundamental oversight was at issue. (NB the *erratum* that Chopin requested did not appear in the *Revue et Gazette musicale*.)

Hereafter, the relations between Chopin and Schlesinger proceeded smoothly. One tangible souvenir of this is a copy of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Passion According to St Matthew* (published by M. Schlesinger in 1843/44 in the form of a complete piano reduction with the text translated into French), held in the Chopin family collection, presented to the composer by the publisher with the latter's handwritten dedication: 'A mon cher Ami Chopin... M. Schlesinger'.¹⁸⁷

It is impossible to discuss here Chopin's relations with all his French publishers. That would require a separate study — one which would be certainly most interesting from the point of view of the musical-editorial relations that held sway in the then cultural capital of Europe. Characteristic moments in these relations will be noted in the relevant source commentaries to particular compositions, wherever, of course, they affected the editing work on Chopin's compositions. In general terms, and without forgetting the overriding principle of the individual treatment of sources to each composition separately, the French editions may be characterised as follows.

¹⁸⁶ Original in French; *KCh*, ii:359.

¹⁸⁷ See F. Hoesick, 'Pogawędka o Chopinie' [A chat about Chopin], in *Słowacki i Chopin* (see above, n. 24), ii:249. As a more exact specification of which work was involved, Hoesick gives only the composer's name, the title *Passion* and the names of the publisher and the translator of the text. Further information, namely that it was the *St Matthew Passion* in the form of a piano reduction published in 1843/44, could be established on the basis of the *Catalog of the Emilie and Karl Riemenschneider Memorial Bach Library* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960) and O. E. Deutsch, *Musikverlags Nummern* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1961).

They display a considerable lack of care over the proofing of the musical text.¹⁸⁸ (Only some proofreading was done by Chopin himself, elsewhere it was done by Fontana, and Chopin later corrected some of the textual inaccuracies in the copies of his pupils.) In their favour, however, it should be pointed out that — with the exception of the Nocturne in C sharp minor, Op. 27 No. 1 (Schlesinger) and the Preludes, Op. 28 (S. Catelin) — they generally reproduce the graphic side of Chopin's musical script quite well, without introducing the publisher's own mannerisms of printing, which might have altered the musical sense of Chopin's text.¹⁸⁹

The weak side of these editions is that during certain periods Chopin submitted as their *Stichvorlagen* versions which were not completely polished in every detail, counting on the proofreading which he could do on the spot.

At present, the WN editors have at their disposal originals or exact photocopies of all Chopin's works for solo piano in their French first editions. The small gaps (mostly orchestral accompaniments) will probably be filled in after suitable searches.

German and Viennese publishers

1. Tobias Haslinger, Vienna: Op. 2, Dbop. 29 A.

¹⁸⁸ Printing errors and omissions of corrections in French editions are most probably what gave rise to Ferenc Liszt's unfavourable opinion about them, as expressed by him in various circumstances. For example, in the presence of Wilhelm Lenz, a future pupil of Chopin, when working with him on a Chopin Mazurka, Liszt supposedly said:

'These stupid French editions bungle everything of his. These slurs must run so in the bass.' (Wilhelm von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time*, ed. Philip Reder (1899; London: Kahn & Averill, 1983), 32.)

And recommending to him a Sonata by Onslow, Liszt advises:

'You must get the Sonata. Get it at Schlesinger's, and make sure it's in the Leipzig edition — that is the correct one.' (Ibid, 33.)

When Liszt was editing the volume of Chopin's Preludes for the Breitkopf & Härtel edition (*Erste kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, 1878–80), correcting printing errors in the Prelude in C sharp minor, Op. 45 on a score from an impression made by Brandus from the plates of Schlesinger's first edition, he provided his corrections to the musical text with the following remark, placed alongside the title:

'Please compare with the undoubtedly correct Viennese edition (which appeared before the present, Paris, edition)'.

And in the margin, when correcting misplaced accidentals:

'for an edition which claims to be the "only authentic" one, errors of this sort seem out of place'. (Original copy in the collection of A. v. Hoboken. See R. Bory, *La vie de Frédéric Chopin par l'image* (Geneva, 1951), 209. Brandus's edition, or more accurately the new impression of Paris first editions signed by Brandus, furnished with new dust jackets, carries the title: *Edition Originale, Œuvres Complètes pour le piano de Frédéric Chopin, Seule édition authentique*.)

¹⁸⁹ See illustration 7.

2. H. A. Probst-Kistner, Leipzig: Opp. 6–11, 13 and 14.
3. Pietro Mechetti, Vienna: Opp. 3, 44, 45 and 50.
4. Adolf Martin Schlesinger, Berlin (father of Maurice Schlesinger in Paris):
Op. 1, Dbop. 16 A and B, Op. 32, Dbop. 36 A, B and C.
5. Hofmeister, Leipzig: Opp. 5, 51.
6. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig: Opp. 12, 15–18, 20–31, 33–42, 46–49, 52–58,
60–65.
7. Peters, Leipzig: Op. 19.
8. Bote & Bock, Berlin: Dbop. 42 A.
9. B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz: Dbop. 42 B.
10. Schubert & Co., Hamburg: Op. 43.
11. Stern & Co., Berlin: Op. 59.

The main German publisher of Chopin's works was the leading music publishing firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, which published, with minor exceptions, all Chopin's compositions from Op. 12 to Op. 65 in Germany. Their relationship was very good, although naturally more official than with Schlesinger, who lived on the spot in Paris. Initially, the intermediary in publishing matters between Chopin and the Leipzig firm was the co-owner of the publishing firm of Kistner in Leipzig, Heinrich Probst, although later Chopin conducted his publishing business with Breitkopf & Härtel directly:

Dear Sirs,

I have always been very satisfied with my relations with you and I feel I owe you a direct explanation before breaking off our [that is, with Probst, note J. E.] relations. Mr Probst, through whose offices I have conducted my business with you, has just told me that he wrote to you on the subject of my last manuscripts, and that not having received a reply he feels authorised to refuse me the price of 500 fr for each work. That is a price below which I shall supply nothing. I have in my portfolio a *Gr. Sonate*, a Scherzo, a Ballade, two Polonaises, 4 Mazurkas, 2 Nocturnes and an Impromptu. Please, Sirs, answer me by return post how the matter looks, that I might directly, without any intermediary, come to an agreement with you.

Ever yours

Fr. Chopin.

Rue Tronchet No. 5

Paris, 14 December 1839¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Original in French; *KCh*, i:454. This letter is probably connected with an event related by the Countess d'Agoult in a letter of 25 January 1840 to Ferenc Liszt in Lviv (*Correspondance de F. Chopin*, Paris: Richard-Masse, 1960, iii:15, original in French):

All Chopin's propositions regarding his new compositions contained in extant letters were accepted by the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel. For his part, Chopin always loyally signalled to the Leipzig publisher his sporadic dealings with other German or Viennese publishers:

Apart from this, I have done an Impromptu [Op. 51] of several pages, that I do not even propose to you, wishing to oblige one of my old acquaintances who for two years has insistently asked me for something for Mr Hofmeister. I speak to you of this, that you might know my intentions in this matter.¹⁹¹

You speak to me of Mr Stern. I will be able to send him anon a book of 3 Mazurkas or 2 Nocturnes. However, I must advise Mr Härtel of this, as he is always exceedingly courteous towards me [...].¹⁹²

Chopin was also happy with the way in which Breitkopf & Härtel conducted financial matters:

I have received this instant your letter with the cheque payable 13 Dec. and ask that you accept my thanks for your punctuality.¹⁹³

For Maho, who is the correspondent of Härtel (who pays me well), you may reduce my price for Germany, given that he knows I sell my compositions so cheaply in Paris.¹⁹⁴

We also have a trace of Chopin's personal relations with the firm's director, Härtel.¹⁹⁵

I am very sorry that so rarely did I have the pleasure of seeing you during your stay this year in Paris — I hope to compensate myself for this on your future journey. And so, see you soon. — Please pass on my respects *chez vous*.

Devotedly yours,

*Fr. Chopin*¹⁹⁶

'[...] Koreff [a German physician settled in France] told me something about Chopin which I only half believe. He claims that he's ruined. Chopin supposedly called on one of his friends (Probst, I presume) asking to borrow 150 francs. Besides this, he is supposed to have insisted on a price rise for one of his pieces, to which the vexed friend supposedly replied: "Please listen, out of delicacy I did not wish to tell you this, but you force me into it: I have there a letter from Breitkopf, who tells me to no longer buy from you save for very moderate prices, since your pieces are no longer selling in Germany".'

¹⁹¹ Letter to the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, written in French, Paris, 15 December 1842; *KCh*, ii:356.

¹⁹² Letter to Auguste Léo in Paris, written in French, Nohant, 8 July 1845; *KCh*, ii:388.

¹⁹³ Letter written in French, 3 December 1841; *KCh*, ii:343.

¹⁹⁴ Letter to A. Franchomme in Paris, written in French, Nohant, 2 August 1844; *KCh*, ii:372.

¹⁹⁵ It is difficult to state at present which of the two Härtel brothers directing the firm during this period was involved: Hermann or Raimund.

¹⁹⁶ Letter to Härtel in Leipzig, written in French, Paris, 19 December 1843; *KCh*, ii:366.

German editions (I have in mind, first and foremost, Breitkopf & Härtel) are generally meticulous, although not free of mechanical errors, such as the shifting of note heads to a different pitch (most commonly a third up or down), moving slurs to between different notes and omitting bars ('haplography'). One significant flaw consists of arbitrary changes made by engravers or proofreaders in the area of accidentals (the addition of allegedly missing signs), the crossing through of grace notes not originally crossed through, the linking of grace notes with the principals that follow them with curved lines (which in the case of notes of the same pitch creates the possibility of misreading the text), changes to the direction of stems and beams, the division of larger groups of beamed notes into smaller groupings,¹⁹⁷ and finally the application of different rhythmic conventions than in the Chopin base texts¹⁹⁸.

On the other hand, the German editions have the advantage over the others that they are based for the most part on the *final versions* of manuscripts.

It must have been rare for Chopin to proofread his German editions. We know of only one certain trace of such proofing, made via correspondence in a letter to the firm of Schuberth & Co. in Hamburg:

Dear Sir,

[...] at the end, that is, where there is *sempre animato* and *crescendo* at the 8th bar, there should be in the bass (*) fa-bemol (f flat) and not la-bemol (a flat) as the copyist did it [there follows a copy of bars 39–36 from the end of the Tarantella] — the same 8 bars later... [there follows a copy of the 28th bar from the end of the Tarantella] (*) (fa-bemol) f flat and not a flat.¹⁹⁹

At the same time, we know that during certain periods Chopin did not make corrections to these editions. This is testified both by analysis of the sources for some compositions and by his own words:

Ask Maho not to change the manuscripts intended for Härtel — I won't be correcting the Leipzig proofs, so it is important that my copy be clear.²⁰⁰

Thus the German editions constitute primary sources, although with account taken of the reservations concerning their characteristic deviations enumerated above. The WN editors have the complete set of German editions of Chopin's works at their disposal.

¹⁹⁷ See illustration 8, bars 1–2 (cf. the same places on illustrations 7 and 9).

¹⁹⁸ See illustration 16.

¹⁹⁹ Letter written in French, 29 July 1841; *KCh*, ii:340.

²⁰⁰ Letter to Franchomme in Paris, written in French, 30 August 1846; *KCh*, ii:397–398.

English publishers²⁰¹

1. Christian Rudolf Wessel & Co., London: Opp. 1–3, 5–11, 13–16, Dbop. 16 A, Opp. 17–42, Dbop. 42 B (as 'Op. 59 bis'), Opp. 43–64.

2. Cramer, Addison & Beale, London: Op. 12, Dbop. 29 A. [3. (?) Chappel, London – Dbop. 36 A, B, C – ?]²⁰²

3. (4?) Julien & Co., London: Dbop. 36 A, B, C (not published until 1855)²⁰².

As M. J. E. Brown rightly notes, and as one can see from the list above, Wessel's edition was the most complete of Chopin's first editions in Europe, considerably superior in the degree of its completeness to his main publishers on the Continent, M. Schlesinger and Breitkopf & Härtel. Fryderyk's father was aware of the profits that might accrue from publishing Chopin's compositions in Great Britain. Shortly before the publication of the first series of Fryderyk's compositions in Leipzig, Mikołaj Chopin — doubtless responding to his son's plans in publishing matters — wrote:

The decision you have made to publish your works is much needed, as many people hear about you without being able to acquaint themselves with your compositions, and in truth they should precede you everywhere you wish to travel. Besides this, the income you achieve will give you a small fund which will allow you to realise your plan of travelling next spring to *England, where your works will already have arrived*.²⁰³ (emphasis J. E.)

We find no trace of Chopin's direct contacts with his English publisher. The composer conducted his publishing interests initially through his French publishers and later via the intermediary of Fontana:

I send you a letter from Wessel, doubtless touching on my old affairs. Troupenas has bought 7 of my compositions and will conduct the business with Wessel directly, and so don't you worry.²⁰⁴

If you send Wessel [the Tarantella], then write to him at the same time if he wants the new Polonaise, the one I'm sending to Vienna.²⁰⁵

Chopin's relations with Wessel were not always good, as evidenced, among other things, by the publisher's arbitrary supplementing or even altering of the

²⁰¹ Many of the details concerning English publishers were taken from the valuable works of M. J. E. Brown, namely from the Index cited many times above and from his article 'Chopin and his English Publisher', *Music and Letters*, 39/4 (1958), 363–371.

²⁰² See Brown's Index, 126.

²⁰³ Letter from September 1832, written in French; *KCh*, i:382.

²⁰⁴ Letter to Fontana in Bordeaux, Paris, 23 April 1840; *KCh*, ii:8.

²⁰⁵ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 1 or 8 September 1841; *KCh*, ii:34.

titles of compositions; this is conveyed by Chopin's correspondence from the years 1841–42:

Please read this and immediately send that fool a letter [...] That wretched Wessel, I shall no longer send him, that *Agréments au Salon*, anything ever. Perhaps you don't know that this is what he called my second Impromptu or one of the Waltzes [...].²⁰⁶

Mr Fontana has a Prelude for you. I cede you the copyright for England [...] as I want nothing more to do with Wessel.²⁰⁷

As for Wessel, he's a dolt, a cheat. Write back whatever you want, but tell him [...] that if he has lost out on my compositions, then it is doubtless on account of the *stupid titles* that he gave them in spite of my injunction and in spite of Mr Stapleton's repeated chiding; that had I listened to the voice of my soul I would have sent him nothing after those *titles*. Chide him as much as you can.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 18 September 1841; *KCh*, ii:37. Wessel often added titles to Chopin's works, although this practice varies over the space of a whole edition. For example, each opus of Mazurkas carries the title 'Souvenir de la Pologne', the unopused Mazurka in A minor, Dbop. 42 B has the individual title 'Cracow-mazourka' [?], whilst only some of the Nocturnes are given additional names (Op. 9 — 'Murmures de la Seine', Op. 15 — 'Le Zephirs', Op. 27 — 'Les Plaintives', Op. 32 — 'Il lamento e la consolazione', Op. 37 — 'Les Soupirs'); of the Rondos, only the first two opuses are adorned with titles (Op. 1 — 'Adieu à Varsovie', Op. 5 — 'La posiana' [?]); and he proceeds similarly with the Scherzos (Op. 20 — 'Le banquet infernal' [!], Op. 31 — 'La méditation' [?]), the Ballades (Op. 23 — 'La Favorite', Op. 38 — 'La gracieuse') and the Polonaises (Op. 26 and Op. 40 — 'Les favorites'); all of the Waltzes, meanwhile — with the exception of the first (Op. 18 — 'Invitation à la danse') — retained the authentic titles; some single compositions in a particular genre were given titles (Variations, Op. 2 — 'Hommage à Mozart', *Introduction and Polonaise brillante*, Op. 3 — 'La gaieté', Bolero, Op. 19 — 'Souvenir d'Andalousie'). Occasionally, Wessel only supplemented a name (Op. 16 — Rondeau 'élégant'). Among available copies of English editions, none could be found with a composition entitled 'Agréments au salon', as Chopin relates in his letter.

²⁰⁷ Letter to M. Schlesinger in Paris, written in French, Nohant, 5 October 1841; *KCh*, ii:342.

²⁰⁸ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 9 October 1841; *KCh*, ii:42. It is likely that Fontana fulfilled Chopin's wish and chided the London publisher 'as much as he could'. We may surmise as much from the concordance between the date of Chopin's letter and the last opus with a title arbitrarily added — the Polonaises, Op. 40 (see n. 206 above), published by Wessel in November 1841, after which date — except for the name 'Souvenir de la Pologne' assigned to the Mazurkas once and for all — he uses only the original titles. It is telling that in later impressions, the English publisher toned down somewhat the name 'Le banquet infernal' (Scherzo, Op. 20) to the more neutral 'Le banquet', and changed the title 'Méditation' (Scherzo, Op. 31) back to the original 'Deuxième scherzo'.

I do not send you the London address, as I am forced to abandon Wessel and I have not yet come to a final arrangement with anyone [...].²⁰⁹

After some time, however, Chopin must have made up with Wessel, since he writes in a letter to Anne Caroline de Belleville-Oury:

How grateful I am to you for your charming letter, and you would have received a reply accompanied by a manuscript for Mr Beale had I not promised my new compositions to Mr Wessel.²¹⁰

After Fontana left France, a banker friend of Chopin's, Auguste Léo, mediated for him in publishing matters with Wessel:

Availing myself of your kind permission, I send you my manuscripts for London and ask you kindly to send them to Messrs Wessel and Stapleton.²¹¹

Wessel must have been a difficult partner in publishing matters, since he 'was continually involved in troubles of this kind where his Chopin and other copy-rights were concerned'.²¹² The following account has come down to us, testifying that Chopin generalised the difficulties arising from the English publisher's collaboration with composers:

At a concert at which Filtsch²¹³ played, Chopin introduced Stefan Heller to Wessel or to a representative of that firm, but afterwards remarked: 'You won't find them pleasant to deal with'.²¹⁴

Besides changes to titles, about which Chopin so passionately wrote, Wessel's conscience was further burdened by changes to authentic opus numbers of Chopin's works and wilful changes to dedications (!).²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Letter to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, written in French, Paris, 3 December 1841; *KCh*, ii:343.

²¹⁰ Letter of 10 December 1842, written in French; *KCh*, ii:355–356.

²¹¹ Letter to Auguste Léo in Paris, written in French, Nohant, 15 October 1843; *KCh*, ii:361.

²¹² M. J. E. Brown, 'Chopin and his English Publisher' (see above, n. 201), 365.

²¹³ Carl Filtsch (b. c.1831; d. 1845), Chopin's most talented pupil.

²¹⁴ F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin* (see above, n. 7), ii:117.

²¹⁵ Wessel's changes to *opus numbers* are as follows: he assigned to the Nocturnes, Op. 9 Nos. 1 and 2 the opus number 8 (the original number of the Piano Trio), the *Grand Duo concertant*, with no opus number, received the number 12 (the original number of the *Variations brillantes*), the Impromptu in A flat, instead of Op. 29, was given the number 28, whereas the Preludes that originally carried that number were assigned to the Etudes, Op. 25 as their continuation, and finally Wessel gave the unopused Mazurka in F minor, Dbop. 42 B the number 59 bis. The changes to original *dedications* concern the Variations, Op. 2 (titled in the English edition 'Hommage à Mozart'), which was dedicated by Wessel to Carl Czerny (instead of Tytus

Of course, these rather external and easily corrected deviations constitute a lesser flaw than changes, arbitrary or otherwise, made to the musical text. Unfortunately, the latter are also quite numerous in the English edition: of all the first editions, it has the most alterations to the graphic conventions of Chopin's musical script, changing on principle the values of embellishments, the shape and length of curved lines, employing different symbols to indicate fingering and at times introducing arbitrary changes in articulation signs or misreading some interpretation markings. Among the characteristic errors of this edition is the switching of accidentals (for example, flats for sharps).²¹⁶

In spite of this, however, the English editions constitute a crucial element in the reconstruction of Chopin's text, particularly after the reconstruction of the filiation of sources. It turns out that in the later period of Chopin's oeuvre,²¹⁷ these editions could also have been based on his autographs, and sometimes even more polished than the autograph *Stichvorlagen* of the French editions. At the same time, however, we find no circumstantial evidence that Chopin carried out any proofreading in these editions. One is struck by the fact that in the correspondence sent by Chopin from London during his two stays in the city (quite abundant correspondence has come down to us from the second of these sojourns), Wessel is mentioned not once, although from other sources we have evidence that Chopin frequently and readily visited music and publishing shops in Warsaw, Vienna and Paris.

The English first editions are very difficult sources of which to acquire a complete set. These difficulties may be gauged from the fact that even the British Museum in London does not possess them all.²¹⁸ The WN editors have at their disposal about two-thirds of the Wessel editions.²¹⁹ Fortunately, these include all the works from the later period in the Chopin oeuvre, when we can

Woyciechowski, in the original), the Concerto in F minor, Op. 21, dedicated to Mrs Andersen of Bath, piano teacher to Queen Victoria and her children (the original to Delfina Potocka), and the Op. 50 Mazurkas, dedicated to a Mr Field of Bath (the original to Leon Szmitowski). (See Brown's Index, pp. 21, 44 and 140.)

²¹⁶ See illustration 9.

²¹⁷ See below: 'The filiation of sources'.

²¹⁸ See Brown's Index, p. ix.

²¹⁹ For providing exact photocopies of most of the items from the Wessel edition, the editors are most grateful to the management of the Music Department of the British Museum. Photocopies of valuable copies of English editions from the collection of Arthur Hedley (London) were also placed at the editors' disposal. Most of the photocopies of items from the British Museum held at the TIFC are lacking title pages, which sometimes makes it more difficult to state whether they are first or subsequent impressions of the first edition.

state with the utmost certainty or a good deal of likelihood that the English edition is closely linked to authentic sources. In the case of the remaining items, which we are lacking, the possibility of them being based on authentic sources is slim, and even precluded; for this reason, the incompleteness of the collection of English editions cannot be of fundamental importance in establishing the definitive WN text. Some of the copies in our possession are from somewhat later impressions, yet a comparison of several available copies of first and subsequent impressions of the same compositions allows us to state that the later impressions differ only in very minor additions, mostly corrections of patent omissions.²²⁰

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF CHOPIN'S WORKS

In connection with this outline profile of the first editions and of Chopin's relations with his publishers, one further matter should be raised. Namely, there is a large number of extant arrangements of Chopin's works (mostly for 4 hands, also for violin and piano, cello and piano, flute and piano and, in the case of chamber works, solo piano) issued by the publishers of the original versions. On some of these, the names of the musicians who produced the transcriptions are given,²²¹ yet the majority, including four-handed transcriptions published by M. Schlesinger and some of the transcriptions issued by Breitkopf & Härtel, are nameless. (The collective title for Chopin's compositions in Wessel's edition has a subtitle referring to all the works enumerated in the list: 'Solo & Duet'. At that time, the latter term denoted playing four-handed on one piano.) The vast majority of these transcriptions were published during Chopin's lifetime, and so it is inconceivable that this could have happened without his knowledge, let alone against his wishes (the latter is excluded by the names of the musicians who

²²⁰ See Appendix V: 'On the possibility of the existence of Russian first editions'.

²²¹ Among the well-known composers who made transcriptions of Chopin's works — most, if not all, of which were published during his lifetime — are Carl Czerny (Op. 3 for solo piano and Opp. 3, 43, 44, 45 and 50 for 4 hands), Karol Lipiński (Op. 9 Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 26 and Op. 43 for violin and piano), Julian Fontana (Op. 34, the Scherzo and Funeral March from Op. 35 and Op. 42 for 4 hands), Auguste Franchomme (Op. 55 for cello and piano), Ferdinand David (Op. 65 for piano and violin) and Ignaz Moscheles (Op. 65 for solo piano). This list is doubtless not complete (see *Thematisches Verzeichniss der im Druck erschienenen Compositionen von Friedrich Chopin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. [1860–1872]); also Brown's Index). See Linne-mann, *Fr. Kistner* (see above, n. 69), p. 55: 'Also published over the course of a year [1833] were various transcriptions of these works [among Opp. 6–11, 13 and 14] for 4 hands, for violin and other instruments'.

made the arrangements, which include Chopin's friends, such as Czerny, Moscheles, Fontana and Franchomme); on the other hand, since there are no mentions by Chopin in his correspondence with publishers attesting any interest on his part in the question of arrangements,²²² the assumption arises that on selling his works to publishers, Chopin automatically gave them the right to produce transcriptions and probably had no further involvement in these matters. Based on this assumption, we regard these arrangements as inauthentic works, and as such they are not included in the WN. The only exception will be the *Grand Duo concertant*, since its transcription for four hands, bearing the names of Chopin and Franchomme, may be authentic. Consequently, this composition will be included in one of the supplements.

EXPERT ANALYSES OF EDITIONS

The first editions of the works in series A are always of fundamental importance for reconstructing Chopin's text, and at times they even constitute the only basic sources for a given work (in cases where the *Stichvorlagen* are lost).

²²² Chopin commented on arrangements of his works several times in his letters, but not in connection with negotiations with publishers. By way of example, here is what he wrote to Tytus Woyciechowski:

'Orłowski has made mazurkas and waltzes from the themes of my Concerto.' (27 March, 1830)

'Orłowski has made mazurkas and galopades from my themes, although I asked him not to print them.' (10 April 1830)

'As for the mazurkas from my themes, the mercantile desire for profit carried the day.' (17 April 1833; *KCh*, i:116, 120, 121.)

From a letter to his family:

'[Franchomme] has arranged, as you know, my Sonata with march for orchestra — and he brought me yesterday a 'notturmo' to which he has set the words to *O salutaris* and which sings well.' (8 June 1847; *KCh*, ii:208)

About Pauline Viardot singing in London his mazurkas transcribed by herself for female voice, Chopin writes from London in several letters, including to Wojciech Grzymała:

'And yesterday in a concert at Covent Garden Mrs Viardot sang my mazurkas and they had her give an encore [...] She had a different face than in Paris and sang my things unrequested by me.' (13 May 1848; *KCh*, ii:245)

These words of Chopin's, written at various times, appear to indicate that he was not opposed to transcriptions of his works on principle, and also that he assessed them rather from an artistic perspective. (Arthur Hedley expresses a similar opinion on this subject in his biography of Chopin, p. 107.)

See also Appendix VI: 'An open letter by Hector Berlioz regarding a transcription of one of his works'.

However, every specimen of every one of the first editions of every composition must be separately examined most meticulously. Firstly, there occur here difficulties with analysis that are generally greater than with the analysis of autographs, as it is extremely easy to misclassify a given specimen, deeming it, for example, a first edition when it may actually come either from a subsequent impression of a first edition or even from a substantially altered — on different plates with the publisher's revisions — second edition. Mistakes of this kind have been made by even the most scrupulous editors of Chopin's works. There are instances where all the possible indications from an expert analysis point to the assumption that we are dealing with a first edition, then only the discovery of an even earlier specimen disabuses us. For this reason, when examining first editions, one should also take into account — besides such fundamental indicators as the printing technique or plate number — the smallest elements of letter type (e.g. the orthography and typeface of the letters on a title page and the price) and music type, and even information from other sources.²²³ For example, such a seemingly secure test as the plate number, taken as the sole and ultimate criterion, may lead one utterly astray, due to various practices employed in this area by particular publishers. There are cases where one and the same publisher (this occurs, for example, with Breitkopf & Härtel) retains the original plate number for subsequent, altered, editions made on other plates several decades after the publication of the first edition; we may note here, therefore, *the same plate number for different editions and different texts*. The opposite occurs in the case where the French publisher Lemoine bought the publishing rights from (the Paris) Schlesinger and took from him the original plates; whilst making no changes to the plates, he changed the plate number to the current number of his firm. This case presents the reverse situation: the use of *different plate numbers for the same edition and the same musical text*.

At this point, we must note that it cannot be presumed a priori that a subsequent impression or even edition produced by a first publisher is of lesser value, as there is no doubt that some compositions were reedited during Chopin's lifetime.

²²³ The best example of this might be the French first edition of the *Fantasy on Polish Airs*, Op. 13, a copy of which was in the possession of Chopin's sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (TiFC M/175, photocopy F. 615). Everything would have suggested that this was a specimen of the earliest impression of the first edition, were it not for a review of the work in the *Gazette musicale* (no. 24 of 15 May 1834, pp. 194, 195), in which the reviewer points out to the publisher the omission of clefs in as many as six places in the work over two pages. In the above-mentioned copy, a clef appears in five of the places indicated by the reviewer, and is missing in only one. We can conclude, therefore, that this is a corrected, somewhat later, impression of the composition.

Mikołaj Chopin writes about this to his son from Warsaw:

Your Nocturnes and Mazurkas have been *republished* in Leipzig; they sold out here in a few days.²²⁴ (emphasis J. E.)

This most probably concerned smaller works more frequently:

[...] I saw recently in a music shop that the waltzes, the polonaises, very important pieces, are much sought after; the shorter they are, the more in vogue.²²⁵

The other difficulty, of a substantive nature, occurs only after an expert evaluation has been carried out. This is the assessment of the value of the analysed edition in respect to the degree to which it recreates the composer's final intentions. Let us enumerate the degrees to which a print coincides with authentic sources, as encountered in practice, beginning with the highest degree from the point of view of usefulness for an edition:

- a) a print based on the final version of an autograph, proofread by the composer;
- b) a print based on the final version of an autograph, not proofread by the composer;
- c) a print based on a non-final version of an autograph, proofread by the composer;
- d) a print based on a non-final version of an autograph, not proofread by the composer;
- e) a print based on a copy (more valuable where the copy was proofread by the composer, less valuable where it was not);
- f) a print based on another print (this can be of varying value according to the criteria contained in the previous points).

If we remind ourselves of the comments regarding the individual features and deviations of the first editions of Chopin's works, we will realise our responsibility for a proper assessment of every print that represents them and the need to apply the principle, postulated at the outset, of the *individual treatment* of the sources for each composition separately. The premises for ascertaining this value of prints (as indeed of other sources) are the answers to two basic questions:

²²⁴ Letter of 13 April 1833; *KCh*, i:225.

²²⁵ Letter from Mikołaj Chopin to his son, written in French, Warsaw, 7 December 1833; *KCh*, i:389.

1. On what was the edition based?
2. Did Chopin participate in the preparation of the edition?

An answer to the first question is obtained by the precise reconstruction of the *filiation* of sources; an answer to the second question is obtained by ascertaining their *authenticity*.

THE FILIATION OF SOURCES

The filiation of sources is their relationship with one another, or more specifically the dependency between sources deriving from some original. Establishing the filiation involves ascertaining which source served another as its base text. It is one of the most crucial aspects of source editing, and in the case of the editing of Chopin's works — due to the particular complications involved — it is a pivotal postulate.

Certain hints allowing us to pick up the threads connecting autographs, copies and prints can sometimes be found in correspondence. One such example might be a letter sent by Schlesinger to Kistner of 24 November 1832 accompanying proofs of the Mazurkas, Opp. 6 and 7 and the Nocturnes, Op. 9 as *Stichvorlagen*, which allows us to suppose that this part of the filiation scheme occurred in other Chopin works issued by these publishers, as well (Opp. 8, 10, 11, 13, 14).²²⁶ Other examples, indicating the probable relationship between sources, can be found in the letters of Chopin himself:

I send you the Prelude. *Copy it, you and Wolff [...]. You'll give the copy to Probst and the manuscript to Pleyel.*²²⁷

Dear Sirs,

Since Mr Paccini is publishing on 30 inst. one of my Waltzes [Op. 42] [...], I feel obliged to send you a proof. I hope that the edition will not suffer any difficulties [...].²²⁸

²²⁶ See Linnemann, *Fr. Kistner* (see above, n. 69), 53.

²²⁷ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Valldemosa, 22 January 1839; *KCh*, i:334.

It should be pointed out that in all Chopin's letters when he uses the word 'manuscript' (in letters written in French — 'manuscrit'), he always has in mind a manuscript written *by himself*, and so according to our nomenclature — an *autograph*; the same applies when he writes 'my manuscript' ('mon manuscrit') or 'my copy' ('ma copie'). Apart from this, when corresponding on publishing matters he also imparts to the term 'manuscript' a broader meaning, corresponding to the expression *my composition*. To designate a copy made by someone else, Chopin uses various terms, such as 'copied', 'yours', etc..

²²⁸ Letter to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, 18 June 1840, written in French; *KCh*, ii:333.

Copy out the Tarantella again for Wessel and give my manuscript to Troupenas [...].²²⁹

I send you the Prelude [Op. 45]. The one in larger script for Schlesinger and the other for Mechetti.²³⁰

Copy it [the *Allegro de concert*]. Yours will remain in Paris.²³¹

In Chopin's correspondence, we also find indications of a different sort, equally valuable for the reconstruction of the relationship between sources, namely when he offers or confirms the sale of compositions to a single publisher with publishing rights for other countries (all emphasis J. E.):

Received from Mr Maurice Schlesinger the sum of four hundred francs towards the one thousand and five hundred francs for which I sold him the copyright for *France* of the 4 Mazurkas opus [33] and three Waltzes for piano with copyright for *France and Germany*.

*F. F. Chopin*²³²

I, the undersigned, declare that I have sold to Mr Maurice Schlesinger for his *sole ownership for all countries* an Etude of my composing intended for the *Méthode des méthodes des Pianistes* of Messrs Moscheles and Fétis, and that I have received from him the sum of two hundred francs.

*Frédéric Chopin*²³³

Received from Mr Maurice Schlesinger the sum of five hundred francs for the general and *exclusive ownership* of a second Etude for the *Méthode des méthodes des Pianistes*.

*Chopin*²³⁴

I've written to Pleyel, with the Preludes, that I'm giving him the Ballade (which Probst has for Germany) for one thousand; for the 2 Polonaises (for *France, England and Germany*, as Probst's *engagement* ends with the Ballade). I demanded one thousand five hundred [...].²³⁵

The filiations of these works, established by means of internal criteria, confirm that the selling to a given publisher (mostly one of the French publishers) the

²²⁹ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 26 July 1841; *KCh*, ii:24

²³⁰ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 6 October 1841; *KCh*, ii:39.

²³¹ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 18 October 1841; *KCh*, ii:44.

²³² Receipt for M. Schlesinger dated 10 August 1838, written in French; *KCh*, i:441.

²³³ Receipt for M. Schlesinger dated 19 November 1839, written in French; *KCh*, i:453.

²³⁴ Receipt for M. Schlesinger dated 1 December 1839, written in French; *KCh*, i:454.

²³⁵ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Marseilles, 7 March 1839; *KCh*, i:336.

rights for other countries, e.g. for England or for Germany and England at the same time, which equated to the expression 'for all countries' or 'for sole ownership', obliged that publisher to supply *Stichvorlagen* to his co-publishers, usually in the form of proofs, thereby freeing Chopin from the trouble of preparing duplicate autographs or copies. This rule appears to be confirmed by excerpts from Chopin's correspondence:

Troupenas has bought 7 of my compositions and will conduct the business directly with Wessel, and so *don't you worry*.²³⁶ (emphasis J. E.)

Having read your letter, I see that he enquires about Paris alone, so *elude* the question if you can, just *sing him 3000 pour les 2 pays* (or 2000 for Paris alone), were he to ask you about it himself, since *la condition des 2 pays* is less onerous for him and *more convenient for me* [...].²³⁷ (emphasis at the beginning of the letter original; the remainder J. E.)

However, in spite of the fact that such excerpts from correspondence are extremely valuable for establishing filiation and often lead quickly onto the right trail, in every case they must be further checked directly with the sources themselves, as it is always possible that some unforeseen circumstances hindered the realisation of Chopin's original publishing plan.²³⁸ On the other hand, given the fact that mentions of this kind have been preserved in Chopin's correspondence only in relation to some of his compositions, we must place the main emphasis on criteria that enable us to discover relationships from the sources themselves, both manuscript and printed.

These criteria can be divided into external and internal. *External* criteria include the order in which the publishing firms are written on the title page of a manuscript, the agreement of the number written on the manuscript with the plate number of a particular edition, the fact that a given manuscript comes from the archive of the relevant publisher and the agreement of the engraver's marks

²³⁶ Letter to Fontana in Bordeaux, Paris, 23 April 1840; *KCh*, ii:8.

²³⁷ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 18 October 1841; *KCh*, ii:45.

²³⁸ Among such unfulfilled wishes of Chopin's we may count, for example, the matter of the making of copies of the Op. 28 Preludes. In a letter to Fontana of 22 January 1839 Chopin writes: 'I send you the Preludes. *Copy them, you and Wolff* [...]'

It is not known exactly what Chopin had in mind: were Fontana and Wolff to produce one *joint* copy or two copies, one each. Either way, only one copy of the Preludes has been preserved, written by Fontana alone; no trace of a second copy has been found. In the network of filiations of the sources for the Preludes, the existence of a second copy intended for print seems altogether inessential.

concerning division into systems and pages with the actual division in a given edition. The *internal* criteria comprise the agreement of the musical text, particularly in the area of its variants, errors and characteristic graphical features.

Whilst never forgetting the fundamental postulate of the individual analysis of sources, and so also research into their filiations, for each composition separately, it is possible, on the basis of Chopin's correspondence, extant manuscripts and partially deduced filiations, to advance a highly probable hypothesis of the existence of certain periods in Chopin's oeuvre and publishing work in which certain types of relationship occur particularly often and others are exceptional.

The *first period*, the years 1830–35 (Opp. 1–24, 26 and 27), may be called the period of a *single autograph*. During this period, later editions were based either on the autograph *Stichvorlage* for the first edition or on that already published edition, or else, if those editions were produced simultaneously or within a short space of time, on proofs of the first of them. From this period, not one single duplicate autograph or one single copy which might have been intended as a *Stichvorlage* has come down to us; we also find no mentions of copyists in Chopin's correspondence.

The *second period*, the years 1836–41 (Opp. 25, 28–41), is the period of the *great copyists*: Julian Fontana, resident in Paris at this time, and Adolf Gutmann. From this period, we have a considerable number of copies.²³⁹ In principle, the fair autograph served during this period as the *Stichvorlage* for either the French or the German edition, with the second of these two based on a copy.

The *third period*, the years 1842–47 (Opp. 50–65), the period of *several autographs* — two, and for some compositions probably even three — serving as the *Stichvorlagen* for particular editions. In the case of two autographs, we may assume the existence of a copy produced rather by casual copyists, serving as the *Stichvorlage* for the third publisher. This thesis, drawn from meticulous research into the filiations of some compositions from the period in question, appears to be confirmed by motifs from Chopin's correspondence (emphasis J. E.):

I ask you for this service, as this letter contains *my laboriously written manuscripts*: I do not wish to entrust them to any uncertain fate.²⁴⁰

My worthless manuscripts, but it would *give me a great deal of work* if they were lost.²⁴¹

²³⁹ See above: 'Copies'.

²⁴⁰ Letter to Wojciech Grzymała in Paris, Nohant, spring 1842; *KCh*, ii:60.

²⁴¹ Letter to Grzymała in Paris, Nohant, early October 1843; *KCh*, ii:84.

From the perspective of the three first editions, these periods present themselves as follows.

The *French editions* in all three periods were based, in the main, on Chopin autographs, although in the third period more than once on their non-final redactions.

The *German editions* during the first period more rarely had autographs as their *Stichvorlagen*, more often the French editions that preceded them or proofs thereof; during the second period, they were based either on copies or on autographs; in the third period, meanwhile, they were most frequently produced from autographs in final redaction, and if copies were used, then they were proofread very carefully by Chopin (e.g. Berceuse, Op. 57).

The *English editions* pose the most difficulties with stating precisely on what sources they were based, especially over the first and second periods. From Chopin's correspondence, we learn that initially the German publisher Probst had the English copyright to his compositions, but later Chopin transferred this copyright for quite some time to French publishers (Troupenas and Schlesinger). Most probably, it was they who sent *Stichvorlagen* to the English publishers; as to whether these were the autographs which originally served their own editions or else proofs of their editions, this may be revealed by an examination of the sources for particular works. However, we know at present that, for example, the works published in 1836 (Opp. 22, 24, 26 and probably Op. 23) were based either on finished French editions or on proofs of those editions, and also that the *Stichvorlage* for Wessel's edition of the Tarantella, Op. 43 was most probably a copy made by Fontana. We have slightly more information relating to the third period; in any case, it is highly likely that for Opp. 53, 54, 59, 60, 61 and 62 Chopin himself prepared duplicates of his autographs for Wessel.

As already noted above, exceptions may occur within the framework of this division.

At the same time, however, it may be useful as a starting point in establishing the filiations of incomplete sources for particular works.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF SOURCES

In the case of an *autograph*, the affirmation of the composer's hand rests on the expert graphological analysis of the musical script. One may add here that even the most serious biographers, editors and librarians have committed errors in this area, ascribing copies — most often by Fontana, occasionally by other

copyists as well — to Chopin himself.²⁴² With an investigation of the authenticity of a *copy* (if we have direct access to it), the final word lies with the expert analysis of added signs, which may prove that they were placed there by the work's composer; the difficulty of this task increases in inverse proportion to the number of added signs that a given copy contains. The matter is similar in the case of correction marks on proofs of *first editions* (here it should be added that at present we know of only one specimen of one work with proofing carried out by Chopin²⁴³). Therefore, in relation to both inextant copies and inextant proofs of first editions, the assertion of the possibility that Chopin proofread the text rests solely on stylistic criteria.

²⁴² Here are some examples of the misattribution to Chopin of musical manuscripts which in fact are copies of his works written in a foreign hand:

1. F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin* (London, 1888), copy by Fontana of the Prelude in C minor, Op. 28 No. 20 appended at the end of vol. ii).

2. K. Parnas, *Album Fr. Chopina poświęcone Marii Wodzińskiej* [Chopin's album dedicated to Maria Wodzińska] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), copies of nine Chopin works made by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz.

3. F. Hoesick, *Chopin*, ii (Warsaw, 1911), 323, as in pt. 1.

4. F. Chopin, *Pianoforte-Werke* (ed. I. Friedman), vi: Scherzos, copy by Fontana of the beginning of the Scherzo in B flat minor, Op. 31 placed before the musical text. (Here, the editor may have been misled by the annotation 'Autograph' probably placed by someone at Breitkopf & Härtel on the title page of the manuscripts, correct inasmuch as the title page — as in the case of many copies made as *Stichvorlagen* — is written in Chopin's hand.)

5. *Ibid.*, ix: Sonatas, copy by Gutmann of the beginning of the Funeral March from the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35 placed before the musical text.

6. L. Binental, *Chopin* (Paris, 1834), fig. XLV, as above.

7. *Complete Works* (ed. Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński), vi: Sonatas, copies by Gutmann of the beginning of movt. I and part of movt. IV of the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35 placed before the musical text.

8. *Ibid.*, xvii: Songs, copy of 'Precz z moich oczu' made by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz placed before the musical text.

9. Copy by Fontana of the Tarantella, Op. 43 held in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire in Paris, long considered to be a Chopin autograph.

10. Manuscript of the Waltz in B minor, WN 19, held in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow, reproduced in *Complete Works*, ix: Waltzes, before the musical text, still considered an autograph today. The author of the present *Introduction* argues that this manuscript cannot have been written by Chopin himself. (See below: 'Establishing the text of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime'.)

²⁴³ Four pages of the Etude in A minor, Op. 10 No. 2, on a proof of the edition by M. Schlesinger (Paris), held in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris, Rés. 50(4), TIFC photocopy F. 1471. See illustration 10.

Stylistic criteria of authenticity

The problem of whether a particular lost source could have carried traces of Chopin's hand usually arises when we notice in further texts derived from that source some variants and we are not certain to whom they should be ascribed: to the composer, to the copyist or to the copy-editor of the edition. Therefore, in order to avoid, as far as possible, mistakes in their attribution, we should distinguish certain compositional devices of Chopin's that are particularly characteristic of him and also not commonly employed by other composers. Prolonged contact with authentic Chopin sources and observations of Chopin's creative process, based on those sources, allows us to isolate several such devices and to adopt them as *stylistic criteria* in establishing *authenticity*. Taken singly, these criteria usually point only to a certain degree of probability of authenticity. If, however, we find more of them in a given source, then the degree of authenticity increases considerably. Discussed in brief below are the most characteristic of these devices.

1. A greater probability of authenticity is possessed by *differentiated* versions than by analogous versions. The richness of Chopin's inventiveness, its liveliness and subtlety, were discussed at the beginning of this *Introduction*. The easiest way to express this inventiveness was to employ different versions when a section of music was reiterated over the course of a given work. Chopin's sensitivity to the most delicate of tonal shades, unanimously emphasised by listeners to his playing, was expressed in a natural way in his compositions, by means of the subtlest deviations enriching the palette of sounds and varying the course of repeated passages.²⁴⁴ To this may have been added another feature

²⁴⁴ Not all editors of editions of Chopin's works have been well aware of this characteristically Chopinian way of musical thinking; many of them, applying the principle of analogy, alien to Chopin, which they used as a concealed or overt principle in editing his works, distorted the original text. This phenomenon was described most clearly by Edouard Ganche in his book *Voyages avec Frédéric Chopin* (Paris, 1934), 126–127:

'Two transformations applied to the entire oeuvre are immediately striking: the slurs are modified, and the symmetry is restored, whereas Chopin avoids it very often.

[...] In all the editions published after the first, numerous passages are repeated identically; we note, however, that Chopin ignored all obligations of symmetry and of exactitude in reprises. He disdained "pendants" when he saw fit. When he reproduced several bars, he modified them somewhat: there would be one note more or fewer, different slurs or values; almost always there is a change indicating his desire to avoid monotony in a work where repetitions are frequent. One sees that Chopin was not concerned with what he had written on another page and that he wants a continual variety.

of Chopin's creative thinking, namely *pianistic thinking*, which was doubtless a stimulus to employing different musical patterns where, with the repetition of particular sections in different keys, there occurred changes in the disposition of the white and black keys.

Thus analogy as a compositional principle is not a feature that is characteristic of Chopin. Nevertheless, we do encounter it in various elements of his works, with varying frequency: most seldom in melodies and harmonies, more often in rhythms and most frequently of all in figuration. When we have doubts as to whether a given deviation does not happen to be a printing error, there are two arguments which will speak in favour of its conscious introduction by Chopin: a) this deviation must be perceptible to the listener, b) the likelihood of deliberate differentiation will be greater if it occurs simultaneously in two or more elements (e.g. in the rhythm and phrasing, in the harmony and melody, and so on) than in only one.

2. A greater probability of authenticity is possessed by versions with a greater *economy of notes*. To put it another way, Chopin *did not write superfluous notes*. There exist examples of Chopin's deletion of notes which, despite sounding quite well, were inessential in the given context.

3. A greater probability of authenticity is possessed by versions expressed in notation with a lesser quantity of signs; this may be defined as the principle of

The revisers, proofreaders, controllers and inspectors of musical masterpieces on the commodity market, having seized the oeuvre of Chopin, judged that the lack of symmetry was due to printing errors or to inattention, and they hastened to unify all these dissimilarities; they flattened the work in rules.'

Chopin's tendency to vary all kinds of repetition is also stressed by other scholars of his oeuvre:

'Speaking [...] of the repetition of motifs, we must presuppose *repetition with the use of variation*, and so repetition *with changes*, be it as the result of the use of an ornament or some other modification. Literal reiteration, meanwhile, seems a wholly exceptional phenomenon.' (Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian, *Melodyka Chopina* [Chopin's melody] (Lviv, 1930), 225.)

'In Chopin, completely faithful transcriptions are much rarer than those which contain variations in the melody, changes in pattern, in particular chords, etc., not to mention differences caused by a change of mode.' (L. Bronarski, *Harmonika Chopina* [Chopin's harmony] (Warsaw, 1935), 169.)

In order to gain some idea of Chopin's ingeniousness in the differentiation of musical material, it is enough to compare similar, textually unequivocal, places in a few of his compositions, e.g. in the Nocturne in B major, Op. 9 No. 3, in the Mazurka in A minor, Op. 17 No. 4 or the themes in the expositions and reprises of the first movements of the Concertos in E minor, Op. 11 and in F minor, Op. 21 and the Sonatas in B flat minor, Op. 35 and in B minor, Op. 58.

an *economy of notation*. Chopin always wrote a particular musical idea in the simplest way possible, and sometimes even in a way that was seemingly incorrect, yet for the astute musician always legible and musically self-explanatory.

4. One feature characteristic of Chopin is the principle of the *gradation of the number* of elements of particular patterns in segments with a heterogeneous piano texture (e.g. the number of notes in chords, the harshness of dissonances, the number of notes in figurations, etc.), which produces a fluidity to the musical course of a given section.

5. In the area of harmony, a feature characteristic of Chopin is the principle of the *combining of harmonic functions*, by means of either common notes or of the anticipation, against the background of preceding functions, of notes belonging to new functions.

6. Of two versions of equal weight in terms of sources, the more likely from the point of view of authenticity is the *bolder* rather than the more conventional version. On one hand, Chopin's innovativeness in the areas of harmony, melody and piano texture requires no substantiation; on the other, we possess numerous examples of the revision already in the first editions of bolder Chopin sounds (particularly in the area of chromatics), as well as the 'ironing out' of unconventional musical phrases by later editors of Chopin's works, even including his own pupils.

7. One may detect in Chopin the application of the principle of the *reality of the piano's sound*, which resulted from his perfect awareness of the discontinuity and rapid fading of the piano's sound. In order to achieve a 'real' duration of the sound, Chopin tended to repeat a given note rather than giving it too long a value. For this reason, in the case of doubt regarding the authenticity of two versions, we give priority to versions repeating notes rather than combining them.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ A pupil of Chopin's, F. H. Peru, writes the following in his recollections of Chopin (cit. after J.-J. Eigeldinger, *Chopin pianist and teacher as seen by his pupils*, tr. Naomi Shohet with Krycia Osostowicz and Roy Howat, ed. Roy Howat (CUP, 1986), 32):

'He made me practise first of all constantly varying the attack of one single note, and showed me how he could obtain diverse sonorities from the same key, by striking it in twenty different ways.'

An interesting remark on this same subject is made by Gerald Abraham in his book *Chopin's Musical Style* (Oxford University Press, 1939), writing about Chopin's melody (pp. 64–65):

'To take only one example of his method: he produces marvellous pseudo-cantabile effects by repeating a note instead of sustaining it. (See the opening of the B flat minor Nocturne, Op. 9, No. 1, for one of hundreds of cases, bar 11 of the *sostenuto* section of the First Impromptu [in

8. Because Chopin did not think in abstract musical imagination, but always associated his imagination with sensory categories of the hand as the performance apparatus, which may be expressed most simply by saying that Chopin *at once both heard and felt* his musical work in his hands, of two dubious versions we give priority, as probably the more authentic, to the version that is *more comfortable to play*.

At this point, a few essential, albeit self-evident, remarks should be made.

1. The above criteria are not intended as a characterisation of Chopin's style; they are only of secondary significance for establishing the greater probability of the authenticity of a version or — on the basis of a larger number of such versions — the authenticity of sources.

A flat, Op. 29] for a slightly more subtle example of melodic intensification by this means.) The device is in the direct line of descent from the *vibrato* and *Bebung* of the clavichordists; Mozart and Beethoven did not overlook it; but Chopin's peculiar application of it to this particular type of melody owes less to the practice of these great predecessors than to that of John Field (cf. the opening of the latter's Nocturne No. 2 in C minor). And we must not overlook the fact that the Italian opera-composers themselves employed both *parlando* effects — "speaking" on a single note — and coloratura note-repetition.'

I shall add for my own part a few examples of the repetition of a note which was most probably aimed at effectuating a modulation of that note — in the direction of either intensification or weakening: Concerto in E minor, Op. 11, movt. II, bar 29; Concerto in F minor, Op. 21, movt. II, bars 32 and 76; Nocturne in F sharp major, Op. 15 No. 2, bar 24; Nocturne in D flat major, Op. 27 No. 2, bar 28 (Chopin's variant included for the first time in the WN); Nocturne in G minor, Op. 37 No. 1, bars 16, 32 and 82; Nocturne in F sharp major, Op. 48 No. 2, bars 100–101; Mazurka in A flat major, Op. 24 No. 3, bars 32 and 36; Polonaise in C sharp minor, Op. 26 No. 1, bar 33; Ballade in F major, Op. 38, bar 46, *Allegro de concert*, Op. 46, bar 87.

In connection with this problem, two hypotheses may be put forward:

Given that we observe in many Chopin compositions the phenomenon of different versions, either the repeating or the sustaining of notes of the same pitch — a phenomenon too common to be always ascribed to the omission of a tie and also justified by the artistic beauty of both versions — the assumption arises that Chopin *hesitated* between two versions, or perhaps even his inventiveness was moving at the time in some *intermediate zone*, for which the sustaining or combining of notes were the extreme cases.

The other hypothesis is linked to the fact that in some lesson scores belonging to his pupils we find ties added by Chopin between notes that are repeated in the printed scores. This need not always mean that this is a correction of the engraver's omission of a sign. Chopin's adding of a tie may also be explained as follows: whilst repeated notes certainly sounded *beautiful to Chopin himself*, the repetition sounded *worse* to those pupils without such a huge tonal scale as their master at their command (and such pupils were certainly in the majority); thus the tying of the notes was like a temporary artistic 'lesser evil', but not the composer's ultimate intention.

2. These criteria do not exhaust the issue, as there may arise musical contexts which make it necessary to employ other tests of authenticity; those listed above occur only sufficiently often that they may be generalised.

3. I forcefully stress that the criteria enumerated above cannot be mechanically applied, let alone used to bend the text transmitted by a source to preadopted premises. We apply them only in cases where, due to a lack of other criteria, we are obliged to choose a basic source or version from among several equal sources or versions. In such a case we give priority to the source in which we encounter the above-listed stylistic criteria characteristic of Chopin's work in as great a number as possible.

Chopin's proofreading

The problem of the authenticity of copies and prints is strictly linked to the question of Chopin's proofreading. We touched on this question in part when discussing copies and prints. Here, we shall make a few remarks of a more general nature. It may be stated with the utmost certainty that Chopin did not like proofreading his works — in this, moreover, he was no exception among creative artists.²⁴⁶ Whilst he did proofread the Op. 10 Etudes quite meticulously,²⁴⁷ with the passage of time he willingly engaged Julian Fontana to do it for him. In some fragments of his correspondence, Chopin seems timidly to suggest this to him.

I send you the Preludes. Copy them, you and Wolff; *I don't think there are any errors.*²⁴⁸ (emphasis J. E.)

²⁴⁶ In discussing the question of Chopin's proofreading, Konrad Górski writes the following in his review (typescript, TiFC collection, pp. 3–4):

'I cannot restrain myself at this point from asserting that in this respect there occurred a complete analogy between the conduct of Chopin and Mickiewicz. Due to their various shortcomings, the poet's autographs could not serve as *Stichvorlagen*, and so copies of his works had to be submitted to the printer. Mickiewicz was incapable of checking these copies methodically, since with his own text before him, he would succumb to the temptation of further stylistic correction and not notice the copyist's errors; proofreading, meanwhile, was something he hated, and he availed himself in this respect of the assistance of friends, not always well qualified to perform such work. Hence, Mickiewicz's textology raised a host of problems analogous to the tasks with which Chopin's editors are faced.'

See K. Górski, *Z historii i teorii literatury* [Of the history and theory of literature], series 2 (Warsaw, 1964), 'Co rozumieć należy przez rolę autora przy sporządzaniu poprawnej edycji tekstu' [What should be understood by the author's role in the preparation of a correct edition of the text], 266–273.

²⁴⁷ See illustration 10; also n. 243 above.

²⁴⁸ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Valldemosa, 22 January 1839; *KCh*, i; 334.

In others, he speaks more clearly:

I send you two Nocturnes [...] There may still be flats or sharps missing.²⁴⁹

Elsewhere again, he thanks Fontana for his proofreading.

Pleyel wrote to me that you were very *obligeant* to have corrected the Preludes.²⁵⁰

Fontana himself also speaks of this when writing to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz with an offer to collaborate on publishing the posthumous works:

Perhaps he mentioned to you that for many years after my arrival in Paris in 1835, however often he had something printed he asked me to look over the manuscripts beforehand, as he almost never wished to bother with such trifles himself, and then to proofread the prints.²⁵¹

But Chopin's less than punctilious attitude towards compositions already submitted to print is perhaps best described by the composer himself, when he demands of Schlesinger an erratum concerning the pagination of the Impromptu in G flat major published with the *Revue et Gazette musicale* (we cite here part of the letter already quoted *in extenso* above):

Far from having the solicitude which our friend Moscheles²⁵² brings to his works, I nonetheless feel obliged *on this occasion* [...] ²⁵³. (emphasis J. E.)

From a thorough analysis of Chopin's corrections in autographs, copies and first editions, we may conclude that this was rarely proofreading in the strict sense of the word. Instead of correcting obvious errors, Chopin most frequently altered parts of his compositions, improving and polishing them, whilst often overlooking mistakes that demanded a proper proofreading. In other words, this was not for him in the complete sense of the word a *process of checking* the already fixed form of a work, but rather the continuing *process of creating* that work. The indecision and richness of creative inventiveness already emphasised several times above probably account for his aversion to proofreading; he simply did not want to be obliged to alter, choose and decide all over again. Hence we may draw a conclusion of practical significance: whilst taking full account of

²⁴⁹ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 1 December 1841; *KCh*, ii:48.

²⁵⁰ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 8 August 1839; *KCh*, i:354.

²⁵¹ Letter to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in Warsaw, Paris, 2 July 1852. TiFC M/330, photocopy F. 5.

²⁵² See n. 185 above.

²⁵³ See n. 186 above.

everything introduced by Chopin in his proofreading as a correction or improvement, it should not be taken as certain that everything left in a proofread work was accepted by him, as one may find there errors which he simply did not spot.

As regards Chopin's participation in the proofreading of particular editions, we have few examples of this in relation to German editions, and none for his English editions. He most often carried out proofreading in French editions, which is wholly understandable given that all the French publishing houses which issued Chopin's works were based in Paris. The difficulties with proofreading German editions suggests a certain assumption: Chopin, not counting on such proofreading, generally prepared the texts intended for the German publisher more carefully than for the French publisher, as he always had access to the latter during the printing process. This assumption is confirmed by the above-cited extract from a letter to Auguste Franchomme:

Ask Maho not to change the manuscripts intended for Härtel — I won't be correcting the Leipzig proofs, so it is important that my copy be clear.²⁵⁴

So in some cases, where there is a lack of manuscript sources, a similar situation may speak in favour of the greater certainty of the text of the German editions, on condition, of course, that we eliminate the errors and the mannerisms of printing and revision that characterise this edition.

Finally, one last remark on the subject of proofreading. It seems that during the earlier period of his work, Chopin placed greater weight on the possibility of making corrections in print than on the final polishing of his autographs. With time, this situation appears to have become reversed: one can observe the application of greater weight to the final refining of manuscripts and a relatively lesser reliance on the possibility of correcting proofs.

SCORES BELONGING TO PUPILS OF CHOPIN WITH CORRECTIONS IN HIS HAND

We know of three collections of printed compositions by Chopin with annotations made in his hand. These collections belonged to Chopin's sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, and two of his pupils, the French woman Camille O'Meara Dubois and the Scottish woman Jane W. Stirling.

1. The three-volume collection belonging to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, née Chopin²⁵⁵ contains 126 Chopin compositions (Mazurkas, Nocturnes, Etudes, Polonaises

²⁵⁴ See n. 200 above.

²⁵⁵ Original (M/174–176) and photocopy at the TiFC in Warsaw.

and Preludes counted separately) from our series A, from Op. 1 to Op. 54 (missing are Opp. 5, 19, 20, 31, 35, 36, 37 and 53; of the unopused works, this collection contains only Dbop. 42 A), in French first editions, arranged in order of opus number with two deviations. Seventeen works bear quite sparse annotations in Chopin's hand: corrected note pitches, added accidentals that were previously missing, added or altered interpretation signs of dynamics and tempo, and above all added fingering. It is difficult to state during whose lessons Chopin added these annotations.

2. The collection of Camille O'Meara Dubois, also in three volumes,²⁵⁶ contains 141 compositions, grouped according to genre, from our series A, from Op. 6 to Op. 64 (missing are Opp. 8, 12, 13, 16, 39, 45, 49, 52 and 53 and the unopused works, while we do have additionally the Mazurka, Op. 59 No. 2 from its second impression). This collection also consists entirely of Paris editions. Seventy compositions bear traces of Chopin's hand. Besides sporadic corrections of printing errors, here as well the largest number of annotations concern fingering, interpretational markings and the supplementing or altering of slurring. Apart from this, however, one is particularly struck by the numerous indications about beginning *embellishments* in the right hand *simultaneously* with the strikes of the corresponding notes in the left. The large number of compositions annotated by Chopin during lessons (these include both Concertos, both Sonatas, three Scherzos, three Polonaises, fifteen Etudes, Preludes, Mazurkas and Waltzes) raises the doubt as to whether they all come exclusively from lessons with Camille O'Meara. Although there are extant mentions that she was one of Chopin's most able pupils, one may doubt that over the few years, at most, during which she took lessons from him (at the time of his death, she was aged nineteen), she could have succeeded in working on such a large repertoire with him. Additional arguments supporting the thesis that besides copies corrected during her own lessons she also collected lesson scores belonging to other pupils are the accidentals written in a foreign hand, as well as the scores which represent not first, but rather subsequent impressions of a composition — possibly even printed after Chopin's death.

3. The third collection, in seven volumes, belonging to Jane Stirling, until recently considered lost, has fortunately been rediscovered, although in practice it is not yet accessible. It was indirectly transmitted to us through the edition

²⁵⁶ BCP, Rés. F. 9801–3, photocopy at the TiFC in Warsaw. I would like to take this opportunity to convey my sincere gratitude to the French Embassy in Warsaw, which in 1960 arranged to have the original of this valuable collection brought to Warsaw, thanks to which it became possible to make exact photocopies, to which we have constant access.

prepared by Edouard Ganche — *The Oxford Original Edition of Frédéric Chopin* (OUP, 1928), for which it served as the primary source.²⁵⁷

Because this collection contains many authentic elements, as it is partly possible to surmise through the intermediary of the above-mentioned edition, it should be characterised, on the basis of information in the edition and comments made elsewhere,²⁵⁸ as exactly as possible.

At the end of the seventh volume, there appears a list of incipits of Chopin's compositions, written mostly by Auguste Franchomme and in part (twelve incipits) by Chopin himself. This list is reproduced at the beginning of the first volume of Ganche's edition.

The initiator of the collection of Chopin's compositions, Jane Stirling, appended to the collection two similarly worded declarations:

I played with Chopin the following works: Opp. 7, 9, 10, 15, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 47, 48, 49, 55, 64 and 65. The fingerings in pencil on these works are in his hand, as is everything that is written. The fingerings in ink are not in his hand. He indicated several of these to me himself, and others were taken from pieces fingered by him for his pupils.

The list [*la table des matières*] was written by Chopin and Franchomme. The volumes by M. A. Neukomm

J. W. S.

This declaration is reproduced in the Ganche edition at the beginning of the third volume. There existed also a second declaration appended to the collection,²⁵⁹ differing only in the more precise wording of its conclusion:

The general table of works [*la table générale des oeuvres*] was written by Chopin and Franchomme. A. Neukomm wrote the table of works [*la table des oeuvres*] for volumes 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Jane W. Stirling

Each volume is preceded by a handwritten list of contents (*table des matières*) prepared by Chopin's friend Franchomme or by Neukomm. These tables of works (the musical incipits of the compositions) were unfortunately not included among the reproductions in the Oxford edition.

²⁵⁷ See below, 'Later editions as indirect sources'; also Krystyna Kobylańska, 'Prace Chopina nad zbiorowym wydaniem dzieł własnych' [Chopin's work on a collected edition of his own works], *Ruch Muzyczny*, 1968/14.

²⁵⁸ E. Ganche, 'L'oeuvre de Chopin dans l'édition d'Oxford', in *Voyages* (see above, n. 67), 119–146, as well as the article cited in the previous note.

²⁵⁹ E. Ganche, *Voyages*, 124.

On the basis of the general list of compositions, the declaration of Jane Stirling and the remarks made by Ganche, the following conclusions regarding the collection may be drawn:

1. the collection encompasses all the opused compositions and some of the unopused works published during Chopin's lifetime, and also all the posthumous works, which were being published in Paris at that time.

2. both the collection and the list were completed after 1855, as is indicated by the inclusion of the posthumous works, including the complete set of compositions published in 1855 by Fontana; the list was most probably drawn up in two stages: up to Dbop. 36 A, B, C during Chopin's lifetime, from WN 4 after his death;

3. the works were arranged in order of opus number, from Op. 1 to Op. 65, followed consecutively by the Etudes, Dbop. 36 A, B, C, Variations in E major, WN 4, Mazurka in A, Dbop. 42 A and a group of piano works published by Fontana (from the Impromptu in C sharp minor to the Rondo in C major for two pianos, with the last two items erroneously switched in the list); the division into seven volumes²⁶⁰ was probably made after the complete material was assembled;

4. there is no information that Chopin showed any interest whatsoever in the 'collection' of his compositions; he proofread — in the proper sense of the word and most probably not at his own initiative — only one work, the Ballade in A flat, Op. 47 (and certainly on a separate score, since the binding of the works in volumes could not yet have taken place), marking this score with the inscription: 'I corrected all these notes myself/Ch.'; scores provided with annotations, be it in

²⁶⁰ The division into volumes can be reconstructed with what would appear to be considerable accuracy on the basis of the poorly visible but legible markings and signs added to the list. Above the incipit of Op. 19, we find the ink entry '3e Volume', above Opp. 11, 27, 37 and 50 the pencil markings '2e, 4e, 5e, 6e Volume', probably before Op. 1 '1e Volume' (very poorly visible on the reconstruction); apart from this, placed beneath the incipits of Opp. 10, 18, 26, 36, 49 and 62 are double horizontal lines which can refer to nothing other than the division into volumes.

This division therefore presents itself as follows:

vol. I: Op. 1 — Op. 10	vol. V: Op. 37 — Op. 49
vol. II: Op. 11 — Op. 18	vol. VI: Op. 50 — Op. 62
vol. III: Op. 19 — Op. 26	vol. VII: Op. 63 — Op. 65, Dbop. 36 A, B, C, WN 4, Dbop. 42A
vol. IV: Op. 27 — Op. 36	and the posthumous works published by Fontana.

(This reconstruction of the contents of the volumes was made in 1965. An examination of the original, which took place in 1967, the results of which were published in 1968 (see K. Kobylańska, 'Prace Chopina', n. 257 above) confirmed my reconstruction entirely.)

Chopin's hand or in a foreign hand, contain remarks from lessons with Stirling and with other pupils;

5. the list must have been prepared separately and independently from the collection, and only added to it later, as it is impossible that Chopin, who helped to compile it, could have done so at the end of the seventh volume, containing works published after his death;

6. therefore, Ganche's assertion that this list 'undoubtedly attests the value which the composer attached to this collection of his works'²⁶¹ is untenable; it seems much more likely that Chopin's scant and irregular participation in the preparation of the list was rather the result of Jane Stirling or Franchomme occasionally talking him into it, as is suggested by the considerable scattering of the incipits of works written in his hand: Op. 1, Op. 37 No. 1, Op. 38, Op. 48 Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 49, Op. 50 Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 55 Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 57 and Op. 58.

What is the value of the scores on which Chopin made corrections for his pupils? In spite of the authenticity of sources of this kind, they should — in my opinion — be approached with a good deal of caution. Let us remind ourselves of the remarks concerning proofreading, which Chopin did not like and carried out in a rather incidental way. The corrections in pupils' scores have even less claim to being considered as proofreading in the strict sense of the word in that Chopin made them during lessons, and so at a moment not conducive to the concentration that is essential for proofreading; furthermore, they were most probably often made quite some time after the work's composition. This distance in time must surely have lessened considerably the degree of Chopin's interest in the details of a work, particularly during lessons with pupils who were not professional pianists, as the majority were not. Besides this, one should bear in mind that sometimes these corrections could have been *corrections of his pupils' playing* rather than corrections to the work. Among such corrections was most probably the deletion in the score from Jane Stirling's collection of the indication 'Allegro' as the tempo of the Prelude in E flat minor, Op. 28 No. 14 and its replacement with 'Largo', erroneously adopted as the final version by the Ganche edition. Admittedly, there do occur corrections by Chopin to obvious printing errors and annotations of a different kind which coincide in two copies of the same work in two different collections, in which case they take on a greater authority; others, however, are occasional corrections, linked either to the indi-

²⁶¹ Ganche, *Voyages* (see above, n. 67), 123. Equally groundless is the title of the article cited in n. 257 above: 'Prace Chopina nad zbiorowym wydaniem dzieł własnych' [Chopin's work on a collected edition of his own works].

vidual personality or to... the errors of a pupil. For this reason, these corrections will more rarely be of equal value to the first version of works for the reconstruction of the final WN text; more often, they will be variants of the text, and they will sometimes be included in the commentaries alone.

LATER EDITIONS AS INDIRECT SOURCES

Collected editions²⁶² of Chopin's works prepared by his pupils

1. The editor of one of the first complete editions²⁶³ of Chopin's works, in 1860, was his pupil Thomas Tellefsen (1823–1874)²⁶⁴. Tellefsen's intention of faithfully reconstructing Chopin's text can be gauged from the publisher's preface:

In undertaking a new edition of the works of Fryderyk Chopin, we wished to give all possible guarantees that this publication would conform to the intentions of the composer. Mr Tellefsen, a pupil of Chopin's, combining the qualities necessary to ensure its execution and possessing a collection corrected in the composer's hand, was willing to take up this work, which gives us the assurance of reconstructing and placing in the hands of artists and amateurs a correct and faithful edition of the works of this great Master. We also hope to render a service to the musical art by freeing this collection of the alterations and additions which in our times are used contrary to the intentions of the great composers; these

²⁶² By 'collected editions', I understand editions of Chopin's works collected in volumes. One may regard as collected editions in the wider sense the edition of Wessel of London, published during Chopin's lifetime (see above: 'English editions'), and also the Brandus edition, produced c.1852 from the plates of French first editions (*Edition Originale, Oeuvres complètes pour le piano de Frédéric Chopin, Seule édition authentique sans changements ni additions, publiée d'après les épreuves corrigées par l'auteur lui-même*). Both of these editions published each opus separately, sometimes breaking up larger opuses into smaller fascicles.

²⁶³ The 'completeness' of collected editions is, of course, a relative notion. The first complete editions, published in 1860 by Tellefsen (Paris: Richault) and Fétis (Paris: Schonenberger), contain only works published during Chopin's lifetime, excluding chamber works (the Fétis edition is also lacking the Op. 10 and Op. 25 sets of Etudes and the Preludes, Op. 28, as well as the *Variations brillantes*, Op. 12 and Prelude, Op. 45; of the Sonata, Op. 35 it gives only movts. III and IV (!), and it gives the *Introduction and Polonaise brillante* for piano and cello, Op. 3 in the form of a transcription for solo piano). The Gebethner & Wolff edition, published in Warsaw in 1863, incorporates the posthumous piano works from the Fontana collection; subsequent editions expand the scope of posthumous works as they are discovered, including — or not — also chamber works and songs.

²⁶⁴ Collection des Oeuvres pour le piano par Frédéric Chopin, publiée par T. D. A. Tellefsen, Paris, chez Simon Richault Editeur, 12 livraisons.

intentions are often distorted by expression markings contrary to their way of thinking — markings which they certainly did not wish for in their works.

Tellefsen based his edition on French first editions and also, probably, in part on German first editions, possibly taking account of corrections made by Chopin during lessons, such as were available to him.²⁶⁵ However, he distinguished such corrections neither in the musical text nor in his commentaries. Tellefsen did not prepare all the volumes in person. We know this from another pupil-editor, Karol Mikuli, who writes in the preface to his own edition:

My friend and fellow student, Thomas Tellefsen, who had the good fortune to be in continual contact with Chopin until the final moments of his life, had the opportunity to transmit his works in a wholly faithful form in the collected edition commenced at Richault. Unfortunately, persistent illness and death cut short his work, such that there remained in this edition many printing errors not corrected by him.

2. In 1879, Karol Mikuli (1821–1897) prepared a complete edition of Chopin's works.²⁶⁶ He based his edition on scores proofread by Chopin himself, and partly on Tellefsen's edition. He also made use of consultations carried on via correspondence or in person with pupils and friends of Chopin: Marcelina Czartoryska, Friedricha Mueller-Streicher, Camille O'Meara-Dubois, Vera Rubio, Ferdinand Hiller and Auguste Franchomme. In spite of such authoritative sources and collaborators, Mikuli's edition is of only relative value for us, since — apart from a few variants — he did not distinguish that which was originally Chopin's from that which was his editorial contribution. For instance, in the title of his edition

²⁶⁵ Edouard Ganche states (*Voyages* (see above, n. 67), 124 n. 3) that: 'Tellefsen, authorised by Jane Stirling to consult these volumes [her collection of lesson scores], lent them little attention. He too wished to correct and perfect the work of Chopin à la manière de Tellefsen, which he considered superior.'

²⁶⁶ *Fr. Chopin's Pianoforte-Werke, revidiert und mit Fingersatz versehen (zum grössten Teil nach des Autors Notierungen) von Carl Mikuli, Leipzig, Fr. Kistner, 14 Bände.* On the person and musical work of Mikuli, see Z. Lissa, 'Nicht publizierte Lemberger Chopiniana', *Annales Chopin*, 5 (1960), 225–236, and Zeno Vancea, 'Der Chopin-Schüler Carol Mikuli, ein Binderglied zwischen rumänischer und polnischer Musikkultur', in *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin* (Warsaw: PWN, 1963), 410–412. Mikuli as a pedagogue is discussed by Aleksander Michałowski, in his article 'Jak grał Fryderyk Szopen' [How Fryderyk Chopin played], in a collective monograph edited by M. Gliński under the title 'Chopin', *Muzyka*, 1932, 72–77, and Raoul Koczalski, in *Chopin. Betrachtungen, Skizzen, Analysen* (Cologne-Bayenthal, 1936), in the chapter 'Mein Studium bei Karol Mikuli', 9–13.

we read: 'Revised and fingered (for the most part according to the composer's annotations) by Karol Mikuli'.

That 'for the most part' attests that to some extent there are also inauthentic additions. If we add that Mikuli seems to have revealed in his edition a distinct fondness for certain compositional devices characteristic of his edition alone, without equivalents in authentic sources and stylistically foreign to Chopin, it appears likely that these additions did not concern just fingering.²⁶⁷ Among these devices are a strong tendency towards introducing closer analogies between similar places, the tying — wherever possible — of notes of the same pitch, and effects of the direct juxtaposition of major and minor harmonies. For this reason, we have confined ourselves to drawing on the Mikuli edition as an indirect source and only within the scope of comments placed at the bottom of pages and precisely separated variants. This restriction must be applied despite the realisation that Mikuli's text may contain in many places Chopin's original creative

²⁶⁷ Mikuli's remark concerning fingering from the preface to his edition sheds little light on the matter:

'It just remains for me to emphasise that the fingering in this edition comes to a large extent from Chopin himself; where this does not occur, then it is, at least in keeping with his principles, marked, which ought to facilitate performance in line with the composer's intentions.'

We learn more about Mikuli's attitude towards Chopin's fingering through the intermediary of Aleksander Michałowski ('Jak grał Fryderyk Szopen' (see previous note), 76):

'Mikuli confided in me some very interesting hints on yet another matter, strictly connected with the interpretation of Chopin's music. I have in mind the question of fingering. Here, too, Mikuli was far from any kind of rigour. According to him, fingering is a matter closely connected with the pianist's interpretational individuality, with the construction of his hand, with his style of technique. One must impose fingering on no one, and this question should not be highlighted among the whole tangle of problems linked to the interpretation of Chopin's music. This explains how *one can find in the edition of Chopin's works prepared by Mikuli certain departures from the Master's indications*. Mikuli openly admitted that in this respect he did not always apply Chopin's instructions.' (emphasis J. E.)

Without questioning Mikuli's essential thesis concerning the individual characteristics of every pianist, influencing his/her fingering, I am of the opinion that there exists a certain type of Chopin fingering independent of the player and characteristic of the composer's musical-performance thinking (so-called 'expressive fingering'), which should be observed on an equal footing to his authentic interpretational instructions.

One may consider separately the question as to whether, in reconstructing Chopin's works in a publication, one should, according to the premises adopted, *alter* Chopin's fingering or instead *retain the original* fingering, perhaps *adding* one's own propositions. In his edition, Mikuli is inconsistent: he does not always give *Chopin's fingering*, so as not to impose it upon the player, but he does impose upon him/her... *his own fingering*.

intentions: it is not, however, possible to locate that intention exactly. This was already pointed out by Jan Kleczyński (editor of an edition of Chopin's works which appeared three years later), writing in a review of the Mikuli edition:

With such a beautiful, truly monumental edition, it would be desirable not only to draw the reader's particular attention to the more important corrections, but even to specify some sources more closely, expressly indicating them in a note to every paragraph. (Mr Mikuli gives such an indication in only a couple of places.)²⁶⁸

Besides these two editions prepared by Chopin's pupils, there are others which transmit authentic variants given by Chopin to pupils or friends.

3. In 1882, the Warsaw publishing firm of Gebethner & Wolff published a twelve-volume collected edition of Chopin's works prepared by Jan Kleczyński (1837–1895), 'with variants from the composer, provided by his most brilliant pupils', as the subtitle informs us — led by Czartoryska, O'Meara Dubois and Tellefsen, as well as Oskar Kolberg, Julian Fontana and possibly others.²⁶⁹ This edition is based essentially on the first Polish collected edition by the same firm, produced in 1863; it was also compared with the original first editions of Chopin's works. On account of the variants, in respect to which there are no grounds for questioning their authenticity, it is of considerable value to the WN as an indirect source.

4. An edition which transmits authentic Chopin versions is the first critical edition, prepared in the years 1878–1880 at the initiative of Clara Wieck, under the joint editorship of Brahms (1833–1897), Bargiel (1828–1887), Rudorff (1840–1916), Reinecke (1824–1910), Liszt (1811–1886) and Franchomme (1808–1884).²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ *Echo Muzyczne*, 4/23 (1880), 182.

²⁶⁹ *Fryderyk Chopin. Dzieła fortepianowe. Wydanie nowe, przejrane, poprawione i palcowaniem opatrzone przez Jana Kleczyńskiego, z wariantami pochodzącymi od autora, a udzielonymi przez najznakomitszych jego uczeni.*

²⁷⁰ *Friedrich Chopins Werke. Erste kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 14 Bände.* To date, the contribution of individual editors to the work on particular volumes has been established in the following cases:

Brahms: vol. III: Mazurkas, vol. VIII: Sonatas and from vol. X (various works): Fantasy in F minor, Op. 49 and

Barcarolle, Op. 60;

Bargiel: vol. IV: Nocturnes, vol. V: Polonaises;

Rudorff: vol. I: Ballades, vol. II: Etudes, vol. IX: Waltzes, vol. XIV: Songs;

Liszt: vol. VI: Preludes.

For several reasons, this edition is a very important link in the chain of editions of Chopin's works.

Firstly, on account of the collaboration of two personal friends of Chopin, who took part in performances of his works during his lifetime: Ferenc Liszt and Auguste Franchomme. (The latter was also co-author of one of his works, namely the *Grand Duo concertant*, Dbop. 16 A and B, the copyist of several of Chopin's posthumous works, for some time his assistant in publishing matters following Fontana's departure from Paris and also one of the first collaborators on the edition of his posthumous works.) For this reason, the contribution of both editors — inasmuch as it can be strictly established — has some chance of being regarded as authentic.

Secondly, this edition takes on particular significance due to the great authority of some of the editors' names, primarily — alongside Liszt — that of the chief editor, Johannes Brahms. The latter's contribution to the editing of the works was not of a merely representative character; in setting about his editing work, this brilliant composer displayed an admirable modesty in respect to the Chopin works he was editing and a broad perspective in his editorial principles, which are very close to our own postulates.²⁷¹

Both these characteristics of Brahms are attested by excerpts from his extant correspondence:

Perhaps it would be appropriate to advise the gentlemen revisers to note down the dubious places, as well as ordinary mistakes and oversights in the manuscripts. A lovely bouquet could eventually be gathered from their collection, to give some idea to anyone interested and present the difficulties involved in editions of this sort. Incidentally, however, I would emphasise once again how little suited I am to this undertaking. I would willingly allow myself question

Franchomme's part in the work on the Nocturnes is certain (the Chopin variants written in his hand into the printed base texts were not included in the edition) and his hand in the chamber works is highly probable. Possibly, detailed comparative work on particular compositions will shed light on Reinecke's part in the edition and reveal the names of the editors of the other volumes.

²⁷¹ Brahms's keen interest in musical editing is indicated by his participation in the editing of the works of other composers, as well. He worked with Chrysander on a collected edition of the works of François Couperin (London: Augener & Co.), edited some volumes of the three great collected editions by Breitkopf & Härtel that were prepared more or less parallel to the Chopin, namely Mozart (series 24, Requiem), Schubert (symphonies and posthumous works) and Schumann (supplement). Apart from this, we encounter the name of Brahms as editor in editions of single works by Handel, C. P. E. Bach and W. F. Bach. (See Walther Niemann, *Brahms* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922), 393–394.)

marks, but the public demands completely ready-made meals, or better still — completely chewed over.²⁷²

I am of the opinion that a more important thing than all that which we may do in the text is that which we can say about it in the appended commentaries on the revisions. In this matter I should like to be informed in just as much detail as in the other. It would be bad were an appendix of this sort not printed (as with Beethoven).²⁷³

The serious approach to the matter on the part of the other editors, as well, is testified by an exchange of correspondence between Brahms and Rudorff concerning detailed editorial matters. Here is what Ernst Rudorff writes:

Perhaps you will reach the conclusion that I have over-exaggerated in the matter of accidentals, adding some which are self-evident for every rational man. However, Chopin's manner of writing cannot, surely, be retained in this area, as it gives much cause for ambiguity, and so it is difficult to find the proper boundary. I am curious as to whether you would like to establish a strict norm here, whether it can at all be established or in your opinion it is good that some are made dependent upon their aptness in particular cases [...].

Bargiel told me recently that he would like to correct some of Chopin's excessively glaring orthographic mistakes [...] I consider that this should not be done, as where should one then cease improving? In my opinion, irregularities of spelling are a characteristic feature of Chopin.²⁷⁴

In reply to this, Brahms writes:

Generally speaking, one must decide in each particular case — especially in respect to accidentals or other trifles. Excessively rigid norms could quickly become inconvenient in some circumstances; the majority could only accidentally be in keeping with them to some degree. I would wish very much that Bargiel share our opinions, that he not strive to correct Chopin's orthography, as from there it is just a step to violating the composition itself.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Letter sent by Brahms to the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, 9 October 1877, written in German; Franz Zagiba, *Chopin-Jahrbuch* (see above, n. 153), 127.

²⁷³ Letter sent by Brahms to Ernst Rudorff, 1 November 1877, written in German, *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit [...] Ernst Rudorff [...]* (Berlin, 1908), 168; see F. Zagiba, *Chopin-Jahrbuch*, 129.

²⁷⁴ Letter sent by E. Rudorff to J. Brahms, 21 October 1877, written in German, as above, 165–166.

²⁷⁵ Letter sent by Brahms to Rudorff, 1 November 1877, written in German, as above, 169.

Thirdly, this edition, being highly authoritative, had — alongside the editions of Mikuli and Klindworth — a great influence on shaping the text of subsequent collected editions from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to our own times.²⁷⁶

However, in spite of such a serious approach to this edition on the part of its editors, as a whole it is unfortunately lacking in a uniform editorial method, commentaries were appended to only six (of the fourteen) volumes and the commentaries of Brahms himself were not printed, despite the fact — as emerges from the letter quoted above — that he was the chief advocate of incorporating these commentaries in the edition.

In any case, a precise analysis of the correspondence concerning this first critical edition, the commentaries existing for several volumes and also direct editorial work on particular compositions brings a great deal of valuable and new material, of which we will make full use in our edition.²⁷⁷

5. In preparing the volume of Etudes, we will make use of the Urtext edition prepared by Ernst Rudorff,²⁷⁸ giving in footnotes the principal deviations from the sources on which the editor based his text.

6. Among the editions transmitting authentic versions of lost or unavailable sources, we include the above-mentioned collected edition of Edouard Ganche,²⁷⁹ based on Jane Stirling's collection of first editions with corrections in Chopin's hand, discussed above, and on some autographs available to the editor.

²⁷⁶ In recent years, the American firm of Lea Pocket Scores, New York, has produced a reedition of a substantial part of this edition in the form of pocket scores. Each volume bears the subtitle 'Urtext edition'.

²⁷⁷ The published correspondence of Johannes Brahms, the other editors and the publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel, sheds much light on the character of the work on this edition, and even on some of the now inextant sources. However, we owe the possibility of penetrating the details of the work of the editors of this edition to Dr Anthony van Hoboken, one of the leading experts on the problem of musical editing and the owner of an impressive collection of music prints, covering several centuries of European music, including a considerable part of the revision copies of this edition, with the annotations of the various editors. The WN editors have these copies — photographed thanks to their owner's kindness — at their disposal, for which I convey here my sincere gratitude. From these materials, we learn, for example, that some volumes are the result of the collective work of the editors, some base texts contain original Chopin variants (not all of which were used by the editors in the final redaction of the edition), and a number of margin notes explain issues which were hitherto questionable in relation to this edition.

²⁷⁸ *Urtext klassischer Musik Werke, Friedrich Chopin: 'Etüden für Clavier'* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899).

²⁷⁹ *The Oxford Original Edition of Frédéric Chopin, edited from the original edition and the manuscripts by Eduard Ganche, Oxford University Press, London 1928, 3 vol.*

Edouard Ganche (1880–1945), a great admirer of Chopin, his distinguished biographer and a defender of his Polishness at a time when efforts were being made to undermine it, president of the Société Frédéric Chopin in Paris, had no specialist musical training himself, and consequently selected a qualified editorial team, about which he writes:

Wishing to take decisions securely motivated, in order to discern, in cases of particular difficulty, Chopin's formal wish, we have constituted a sort of Areopagus of technicians, pianists and composers, among whom we may enumerate M^{lle} Suzanne Demarquez, first prize in piano accompaniment, first prize in harmony and first prize in counterpoint at the Conservatoire National de Musique in Paris, M^{me} Marthe Bouvaist-Ganche, first prize in piano at the Conservatoire in Paris, MM. Paul Hillemacher, Georges Migot and Aleksandre Tansman, composers; Paul Vidal, professor of musical composition at the Conservatoire National de Musique in Paris.²⁸⁰

Ganche, inferring Chopin's participation in the compiling of the list of works in the collection of Jane Stirling from the note at the beginning of the Ballade in A flat major, Op. 47 ('I corrected all these notes myself/Ch.') and considering the French edition to be 'better' than the German editions, accepts this collection as the authentic and final redaction of Chopin's works, prepared by himself in this character. His intention of transmitting Chopin's completely clean text is utterly correct and worthy of emulation. It is expressed by Ganche in the preface to his edition:

[...] we simply endeavoured to restore Chopin's conceptions to their full purity, admitting not even the slightest modification of that which he himself had written. His masterpieces stand in no need of assistance from specialists, who think that they can add to the splendour of the sun.

However, the realisation of this intention did not give absolutely satisfactory results across the whole of the edition, for several reasons. Firstly, the adoption of the Paris editions as the only, best editions does not withstand criticism, as demonstrated above. Secondly, equally relative is the value of Chopin's proof-reading, particularly in his pupils' scores, as has also been discussed above. Thirdly, it seems as if the editors took virtually no account of the fact that Chopin... could have made mistakes (there exist many absolutely certain examples of errors by Chopin) or overlook something in his works; they did not notice

²⁸⁰ Ganche, *Voyages* (see above, n. 67), 125, n.

the authorisation Chopin gave to Fontana to correct these oversights in the letter which we quoted in part above: 'there may still be flats or sharps missing...'; they forgot that the engravers of every edition are also fallible and so not every difference between a manuscript and a print is necessarily a correction made by the composer in print. The discussions of questionable places among the members of the 'Areopagus'²⁸¹ did not lead to convincing conclusions. Consequently, alongside valuable qualities in particular parts of the faithfully transmitted text, we find in this edition a huge amount of exactly transmitted errors from first editions – errors which should be regarded as unquestionable, as is proven by a comparison with the autographs on which these editions were based.

Let us add that the scope of the compositions included in Ganche's edition does not coincide exactly with that of Jane Stirling's collection. For example, it does not include the chamber works (Opp. 3, 8, 65), which we know were contained in the collection (Jane Stirling worked on Op. 65 with Chopin), whereas the edition does include works which do not appear in the list (Waltz in E minor, WN 29, Funeral March in C minor, WN 11, second version).

The WN editors will be making use of the Oxford edition, with a great deal of caution, as an indirect text, so as to take from it only elements of certain authenticity. Of the greatest value — as with Mikuli's edition — will be the variants and commentaries placed at the bottom of the pages of this publication and the unquestionably authentic fingering which it contains.

7. An edition based on numerous authentic sources is the *Complete Works* edited by Paderewski (1860–1941), Turczyński (1884–1953) and Bronarski (1890–1975).²⁸² The premise of this edition is stressed at the beginning of the note placed after the musical text of each volume, entitled 'The character of the present edition': 'The principal aim of the Editorial Committee has been to establish a text which fully reveals Chopin's thought and corresponds to his intentions as closely as possible'. This edition represents a big step forward in the area of the source-critical editing of Chopin's works: firstly, thanks to the inclusion of the greatest number of his works up to that point; secondly, because it is based on the broadest source base of all existing editions; thirdly, because it is furnished with an extensive commentary. Today, from the perspective of the demands of the rapidly developing field of musical editing, this edition, despite possessing at the time of its publication undoubted value and authority, inevitably

²⁸¹ Ibid, 127–146.

²⁸² *Chopin. Dzieła Wszystkie* (Warsaw and Cracow, TIFC-PWM, 1949–1961), 21 vols. One of the title pages in each volume bears the remark: 'according to the autographs and original editions with a critical commentary'.

contained certain gaps and shortcomings which are sufficiently crucial that we cannot regard it today as the final word on Chopin's text. This is influenced by the following deficiencies: the incomplete reference to existing sources (in spite of their relatively broad scope); the lack of their connection (only with the Variations, Op. 2 and Preludes, Op. 28 was a more precise filiation established, and in the case of several other compositions only sporadically are traces of affinities between sources shown); the lack of a hierarchy of sources with regard to their authenticity; the editors do not rely in principle on a single basic source, and so alongside the correct texts of some compositions we also find texts compiled from several sources of uneven value (so-called '*editio optima*' — a practice which is increasingly widely rejected in present-day editing). Finally, this edition displays a certain lack of a uniform editing method (e.g. not in all the volumes is that which is authentic distinguished in the text from that which derives from the editors).

For this reason, of the greatest value for the WN will be the extensive commentaries appended in this edition to each of the volumes.

8. Based on authentic sources, compared with early collected editions, is the *Complete Works* commenced in 1950 under the chief editors H. G. Neuhaus (1888–1964) and L. N. Oborin (1907–1974).²⁸³ This edition, which sets out to be a source-critical-practical edition, approaches the establishing of the musical text in a way that is used in contemporary musical editing. It attempts to convey Chopin's creative intentions in the form of an Urtext, by 1. relying on sources of three kinds available to the editors, namely autographs, original first editions and the editions of Stellovsky, Gebethner, Kistner (Mikuli) and Breitkopf (Brahms, Reinecke et al.), and comparing these with newer editions (including the *Complete Works* prepared by Paderewski, Turczyński and Bronarski), 2. retaining wherever possible Chopin's original notation, 3. distinguishing essential editorial additions by means of smaller type and brackets. This edition is provided with commentaries following the musical text (concerning historical issues relating to forms, performance issues, such as embellishments, and detailed textual variants). In the most important cases, brief comments are also made at the bottom of the pages of music.

The WN editors — up to the moment when the present text was submitted to print — had access to only five volumes of this edition.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ *F. Chopin, Polnoye sobraniye sochinyeni Gosudarstviennoye Muzykalnoye Izdatielstvo* (Moscow and St Petersburg).

²⁸⁴ Vol. I — four concert works for piano and orchestra, 1950; vol. III — Scherzos, 1951; vol. IV — Nocturnes, 1951, vol. V — Ballades, 1951, vol. VI — Preludes and Impromptus, 1962 (all the above volumes edited by L. N. Oborin and J. I. Milstein).

9. Chronologically the last edition based on authentic sources is the Urtext edition of Chopin's works commenced in 1956 by the firm of Henle, specialising in Urtext editions of the works of various composers. Up to the moment when these words were written, the first five volumes of this edition had been published.²⁸⁵ It gives a generally accurate Chopin text based on a large, although not always complete, range of authentic sources. The commentary is limited to the most general information on the sources and the most important deviations of the text. This edition is distinguished by the high quality of the printing and its meticulous presentation.

10. In sporadic cases, other editions not enumerated here may also serve as indirect sources.

OTHER INDIRECT SOURCES

Besides music editions, we will also refer to all available sources which might shed any light whatsoever on Chopin's text and its interpretation, and so Chopin's correspondence, the correspondence of other persons that is directly linked to his composing or playing, biographies, memoirs, catalogues, bibliographic works, special musicological works, iconographic-type publications, periodicals, etc.

THE CHOICE OF THE BASIC SOURCE

This most responsible stage in our work, on which depends the attainment of the ultimate goal of every edition and in our case the particularly obligatory goal that is to present in the most exact way possible the authentic, unaltered musical text, intended by Chopin, of his works, is based on several fundamental premises,²⁸⁶ whilst never forgetting the overriding postulate to treat each composition in an individual way.

1. As far as possible, we rely on *authentic sources*, those in the preparation of which the composer himself participated, and, where authentic sources are lacking, on sources which derive from them directly. This is one reason why the precise reconstruction of the filiation of sources is so important.

²⁸⁵ Preludes (ed. Hermann Keller, 1956 and ed. Ewald Zimmermann, 1968/69), Etudes (ed. E. Zimmermann, 1961), Waltzes (ed. E. Zimmermann, 1962), Nocturnes (ed. E. Zimmermann, 1966) and Polonaises (ed. E. Zimmermann, 1969) (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1962). See second part of Appendix III: 'Previous groupings of Chopin's works'.

²⁸⁶ The remarks and postulates expressed in this chapter are linked particularly closely with the principles formulated by Konrad Górski in his work *Sztuka edytorska* (see above, n. 31).

2. The fundamental principle of contemporary editing which states that a later authentic source is of greater value for the reconstruction of a text than an earlier source is applied by us in the case of Chopin's work with certain exceptions. There is no doubt that among autographs prepared for print, a *later autograph* better conveys Chopin's creative intentions and is therefore a more authoritative source than an earlier autograph. However, we may occasionally doubt whether a later corrected proof necessarily possesses greater weight than an autograph. What has already been said about the type of Chopin's proofreading may seem sufficient justification for expressing reservations of this kind. Let us add that there exists one further consideration which may from time to time bid us scrupulously investigate whether a change made in proofreading is indeed an improvement to the work or merely a deviation from it. For whilst on one hand we are aware of Chopin's creative torment when choosing from the wealth of musical ideas occurring to him and when continuously polishing their final shape, on the other hand we also know of instances where he yielded to the suggestions of others.

For example, when instructing Fontana to take care of various purchases, including that of a hat, Chopin avows to him:

[...] in return, I shall re-alter the second part of the Polonaise till I die. Yesterday's version may also not be to your liking, although I racked my brains for some 80 seconds.²⁸⁷

At the end of the Prelude in C minor, Op. 28 No. 20, adopting a four-bar repeat suggested by Pleyel, Chopin adds:

[...] a little concession made to Mr***, who is often right [...].²⁸⁸

We have an interesting example of Chopin making use of someone else's comment — brilliantly put in to effect by Chopin, of course — in an excerpt from the memoirs of Emilia Hoffman, née Borzęczka, who was for a brief period a pupil of Chopin's and who, besides her own recollections, relates the memories of her husband, who lived with Chopin for two years (around the year 1833):

My husband was extremely musical and had a huge amount of artistic sensibility. Chopin, living with him, very often submitted to his comments in the things he composed. For example, when he had composed the well-known

²⁸⁷ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 8 October 1839; *KCh*, i:365.

²⁸⁸ See *Faksymilowane Wydanie Autografów F. Chopina*, i:24 Preludes, Introduction, Władysław Hordyński (Cracow: PWM, 1951), 32.

Etude in A minor [Op. 25 No. 11], which in its original redaction began straight away with the frenzied passages of the right hand, my husband, although delighted by it, pointed out that apart from all the magnificence of the motif and the texture, the Etude was lacking that... opening, that, in his opinion, it began too suddenly, that it would have a far more powerful effect if it was preceded by a few bars of some lead-in. Chopin, who did not like reworking something once he had written it, was resolved, in spite of this remark of my husband's, to leave this Etude as it was, be it only for the reason that no better opening came to his mind; yet my husband's comment, deemed pertinent by the composer, preyed so long on his mind that one night he had the idea for a four-bar melancholic preface to this Etude — an introduction which, on rising from bed, he immediately added. The next day, he played it to my husband, and he, delighted by it, approved it whole-heartedly. And that is how the first four bars of the A minor Etude, the penultimate in the second series, came into being [...].²⁸⁹

Whilst the above examples do attest Chopin's entirely conscious artistic acceptance of other people's comments, and their effect can engender no reservations in any respect (although we still do not know what change in the Polonaise in A major, Op. 40 No. 1 was suggested to Chopin by Fontana), one also cannot rule out influences that may have dulled the freshness and boldness of Chopin's inventiveness. Such was the opinion, at least, of Saint-Saëns and Debussy, who regard Chopin's variant in bar 7 of the Ballade in G minor, Op. 23, transmitted by the German edition, as having been written by Chopin under the influence of musician friends afraid of such a bold sound to the left-hand chord. The fact that the musical tastes of Chopin's friends could not compare with the subtlety of his own needs no demonstrating. One may assume, however, that the difficulties experienced by even his most gifted pupils (and he had others besides) with understanding and playing his music could have swayed Chopin more towards compromise than innovation in altering a text. For this reason, the WN editors accept the possibility of narrowing in some cases the general principle of the greater authoritativeness of a later source in favour of *the last source which Chopin individually prepared for print*. Based on the observation of the unfolding of Chopin's inventiveness in many of his works, one may state that, wrestling with his inventiveness, experiencing the ongoing creation of a work, filtering it through his artistic sensibility and his vast instrumental possibilities, towards the end of this process he gave us a work in its most perfect form, fixing it in *the*

²⁸⁹ F. Hoesick, 'Rozmowa o Chopinie z jego uczennicą' [Conversation about Chopin with his pupil], in *Słowacki i Chopin* [Słowacki and Chopin] (Warsaw, 1932), i:246–247.

last version of a fair autograph. Whilst essentially accepting the possibility of later corrections, we cannot always ascribe to them a greater value simply because they are chronologically later; we may do so only in respect to their stylistic qualities.

Many difficulties concerning the choice of a basic text are caused by the above-described way in which Chopin had his compositions published by three different firms often simultaneously,²⁹⁰ since not always — as we have noted — did he strive to unify the versions in the *Stichvorlagen* for particular editions, and he sometimes gave publishers texts containing different versions. At times, this creates the need to seek new editorial solutions for each work individually, as the classic rules of editing are insufficient and can only constitute a general point of departure. We wish to present here, in brief, one such situation which occurs more than once in Chopin's works.

It sometimes happened — mainly during the third period of his oeuvre — that Chopin produced a separate autograph for each of the three editions (German, French and English). He then sent these manuscripts, most often differing somewhat from one another, over short lapses of time, to the different publishers, who set about printing with the intention of publishing the composition within the agreed deadline. Had Chopin's part in the publishing process ended at that moment, then the choice of basic text would be quite straightforward: the last autograph would have to be taken as the ultimate text, or — if the autograph was unavailable — the edition based upon it (during this period, most frequently the German edition). However, it turns out that after sending out the autographs to the publishers Chopin made corrections to the French edition (either on the autograph itself or else on the plates). The problem now arises as to what we adopt as the final source — the last autograph or the French edition? We may choose the autograph, and yet *after its preparation* the composer corrected the French edition, which may consequently pretend to the status of the final authentic source; or we may adopt the French edition as the ultimate source, but this is based on the version of an earlier autograph — versions which are not always the most perfect. The only way out of this situation would appear to be to adopt as the ultimate text, the version of the *last autograph, with the addition of the corrections* to the French edition, as if those corrections had been made on that last autograph, since we have to realise that Chopin made those corrections in the French edition alone, for technical reasons, as it was the only edition to

²⁹⁰ See M. J. E. Brown, 'Chopin and his English Publisher' (see above, n. 201), at the end of n. 67, pp. 7–12, and the preface to Brown's Index.

which he had direct access during the printing process. However, his intention was to correct not that specific edition but rather his wrongly notated conception of the work; one may assume that in correcting errors in the edition available to him, Chopin was intentionally correcting identical errors in all the other editions, not accessible to him at that moment, including those which were based on the final autograph.

The procedure described here, seemingly compiling the text of two different sources, in actual fact relates to the one, final form of the musical work for which the autographs and corrections constitute merely particular stages in its completion. (NB if, besides corrections in the French edition, we also find modifications with the character of variants in the above example, then an additional solution will be to add these to the main text as variants of the French edition.)

This example illustrates in practical terms the realisation of the fundamental premise of the WN, namely the reconstruction of Chopin's creative intentions and not — as would have been the case in the other solution to the above case — the reconstruction of the sources themselves.

* * *

Therefore, the stages by which we arrive at Chopin's final text, from the moment when we assemble the sources to the choice of the source most fully conveying Chopin's creative intentions, may be figuratively compared to the following four actions:

- illuminating the ground on which the search for his creative intentions in a particular work is to take place (gathering together the most complete set of sources possible),
- detecting the possible pathways of this intention (effecting a filiation of sources),
- stating which of these pathways were actually Chopin's paths (stating the authenticity of sources),
- indicating which point along that pathway is the crowning point (the choice of the basic source).

Establishing the text of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime

THE PROBLEM OF CHOPIN'S CREATIVE INTENTIONS IN THE WORKS OF SERIES B

It would be highly desirable to be oriented in establishing the text of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime by the guidelines presented above in relation to those works in the publishing process of which the composer himself took part. However, this proves to be virtually impossible, and if at all possible then only in fragmentary segments in the process of establishing their text. This is due to the very essence of the problem. For how can one detect Chopin's ultimate creative intentions in compositions which in principle he did not intend to show to the world?²⁹¹ Can one speak of the ultimate shape of a work, as intended by the composer, in relation to the 'fleeting visions' that make up a large part of the works written just once into the albums of friends and acquaintances or in relation to works that were barely sketched? Can the search for the composer's authentic wish — in the strict sense of the word — relate to a work, the text of which was probably transmitted to us largely on the basis of its reconstruction from memory by a musician friend?

In order to highlight the difficulties connected with the editing of Chopin's posthumous works, I shall cite here a few examples.

The Sonata in C minor, Op. 4, discussed extensively above,²⁹² the only composition in series B prepared for print by the young Chopin, is a work which an

²⁹¹ Fontana's remark from his note after the musical text of the *Oeuvres posthumes* '[...] I heard him express the intention of publishing one piece or another in the present collection' brings nothing new to the matter; it is too general, points to no specific compositions, does not tell us whether Chopin regarded the text of any of them as ready for print.

²⁹² See above, 'The division of the WN into two series': 'Borderline cases'.

editor, although he does so certainly with great piety, must publish with the conviction that he is opposing the wish which the composer later expressed. Let us remind ourselves of Chopin's words regarding this Sonata:

I'd prefer that many things be altered, so perhaps they halted the print, which I would be very glad of...²⁹³

A publisher showing the world the Waltz in F minor, WN 55 cannot forget the words Chopin wrote to Mrs Belleville-Oury when sending her this work:

[...] please keep it — I beg you — for yourself. I would not wish it to see the light of day.²⁹⁴

Some compositions, written by Chopin into albums, give the impression of being pages from a sketchbook, on which the composer noted the first form of musical ideas, as yet of unspecified character or form, to say nothing of the lack of performance markings.

The sketch of 'Chopin's last musical thought', the Mazurka in F minor, WN 65, was produced during a period when the composer wrote to a friend:

I've not yet started playing — compose I cannot — [...]
I'm playing less and less; I can write nothing.²⁹⁵

In the above remarks and quotations, it is not my aim to question the appropriateness of preparing posthumous editions of Chopin's works (such is precluded both by the existence of editions of this kind and by the 'demon of cognition that guides our steps'²⁹⁶); I am advancing them here simply in order to indicate the groundlessness — at least in relation to the substantial majority of Chopin's posthumous works — of the notion of the composer's final intentions.

THE PROBLEMS OF SOURCES, THEIR FILIATION AND AUTHENTICITY, AND THE CHOICE OF THE BASIC SOURCE

The question of the sources for posthumous works comprises a wide range of problems and situations. There do exist a number of works for which we have one authentic source — an autograph. This situation is the most straightforward for an editor, whose role boils down to checking whether there are no obvious

²⁹³ See n. 41 above.

²⁹⁴ See n. 29 above.

²⁹⁵ Letters to Grzymała of 18 June and 10 July 1849; *KCh*, ii:298 and 305.

²⁹⁶ From the review by K. Górski (typescript, TiFC collection, p. 8).

errors, omissions, '*lapsus calami*' in the autograph which would have to be corrected, and then reconstructing the text, with the possible addition — in a manner accepted in source material editing, distinguishing editorial additions from the authentic text — of the most essential performance markings, in keeping with the composer's style, and finally commenting on the process of the work's editing. However, the matter is not always so simple. In a large part of the works of series B, the only source we have is inauthentic, sometimes raising doubts as to whether it is based on an autograph or on some other inauthentic source (in the case of a whole group of works published by Fontana, we are, unfortunately, certain of this). The most extreme example is the Polonaise in G flat major, WN 35, the text of which — given the current state of sources — will have to be based on sixth-order sources, unless by some miracle we should come across the album (of Tytus Woyciechowski) into which this Polonaise was written or at least a copy of the first edition, which in turn was already rare a century ago. At the other end of the scale, we have the above-mentioned Waltz in F minor, WN 55, for which we have five autographs, three copies and two posthumous editions. It would seem that at least here we might easily apply the principles for reconstructing and establishing the filiation of sources used in series A and — on the basis of those principles — select the basic source. Unfortunately, in this case as well these principles are of little use. Of the five autographs, a closer relationship probably exists between only two of them, and it is also difficult to ascertain their chronological order (only two autographs are dated); the probability suggests itself here that Chopin wrote this Waltz out several times from memory: two of the three extant copies display in a quite convincing manner a provenance from particular autographs, whilst the third is most probably connected with inextant copies on which the two posthumous editions were based and which probably contain arbitrary alterations made by the copyist. So for choosing our basic source, there remain only stylistic criteria, yet in this situation they cannot pretend to absolute objectivity. Let us remember that in series A they were secondary criteria, strongly backed by the filiation of sources, which constituted a sort of control of the sources between one another. Left to themselves, these stylistic criteria, even when applied by the editor most carefully, can always possess a certain degree of subjectivity.

Series B also contains works for which doubts surround their attribution to Chopin and works by others to which we suspect Chopin contributed by proof-reading them, as well as transcriptions based on otherwise unknown music by Chopin; in this last case, we endeavour to reconstruct the Chopin fragments.

(Works considered inauthentic by the WN editors are not included in our edition.²⁹⁷)

The final issue that occurs solely in series B is the problem of the reconstruction²⁹⁸ of several compositions. We encounter four types of such reconstruction.

1. the reconstruction of a composition from an autograph sketch (Mazurka in F minor, WN 65),²⁹⁹

2. the reconstruction of the missing pages of an incomplete autograph (Variations in D for 4 hands, WN 10),³⁰⁰

3. the reconstruction of those fragments of a composition in which we may suspect the participation of a person producing an indirect source (copy, edition) — a contribution not in keeping with Chopin's style (fragments of some works published by Fontana),

4. an attempted reconstruction of authentic Chopin music from someone else's transcription of an otherwise unknown Chopin work (*Allegretto* WN 36)³⁰¹.

In my opinion, the issues raised and examples cited are sufficiently convincing of the need, in publishing the works of series B, not only to approach each work in an individual way (as was the case with series A), but also — if not for each composition, then at least for many groups of compositions — to create *individual* methods for discovering and reconstructing Chopin's intentions. I also consider that the above examples confirm once again the aptness of drawing a dividing line between the two series of the WN. Thus of the six postulates put forward in discussing the methods for establishing Chopin's ultimate creative intentions in the works of series A, in series B only the *first two postulates* can be applied in an *unconditional* way: the gathering of the largest possible amount of authentic and close-to-authentic sources and the individual approach to each work in turn. The other postulates — producing a filiation of sources, establishing their authenticity (or the degree to which they come close to it), choosing a basic source and editing the text in a way that is as close as possible to its

²⁹⁷ Works of dubious or partial authenticity are placed in volume B X (36). Also discussed in the source commentary to this volume will be works published elsewhere which may, however, be regarded as inauthentic (such as the Waltz in E flat and the Flute Variations).

²⁹⁸ We are dealing here with reconstruction in the stricter sense of the word; in the more general sense — the reconstruction of some fragment of a source on the basis of parallel sources — we use this term in series A, as well.

²⁹⁹ We owe the possibility of reconstructing this last work by Chopin to the exceptionally complete musical material contained in the sketch.

³⁰⁰ See Chopin, *Wariacje D-dur na 4 ręce* (Cracow: PWM, 1965).

³⁰¹ See WN volumes B V (31) and B X (36).

authentic form — we meet only *conditionally*, insofar as the existence of sources, their quantity and their type allow us. We do all of this, of course, on the basis of the experience gained from editing the works of series A, which possess a relatively full and interrelated source documentation.

Set out below is a brief profile of the main groups of sources for the posthumous works of Chopin.

AUTOGRAPHS

The only fair autograph initially intended by Chopin for print is the autograph of the Sonata in C minor, Op. 4.³⁰²

The vast majority are works *written into albums* belonging to friends and acquaintances by the composer or else presented to them on loose sheets. They are usually written clearly and legibly, although it is quite rare for them to contain more precise performance markings. The problem as to whether certain autographs may be first redactions of a work to which Chopin later could have wished to impart a more polished form can rarely be authoritatively resolved, since we are most commonly dealing with an autograph compared with an inauthentic edition, in which one may always suspect the interference of a foreign hand. Only the meticulous study of sources for particular compositions may lead to more precise views in this area.

Sketches — as in series A — are essentially of secondary value. The exception is the aforementioned Mazurka in F minor, WN 65, for which the only source is an autograph sketch.³⁰³

COPIES

Since for a large number of the works in series B, copies are the only sources, the copyists of this period should be characterised somewhat more closely.

1. Julian Fontana was both a copyist and a publisher of Chopin's posthumous works. All the evidence allows us to suppose that his edition was based not on Chopin autographs, but in most cases on copies made by Fontana himself. One of the arguments in favour of this assumption is an extract from a letter written by Fontana to the firm of Gebethner & Wolff in Warsaw seven years after the publication of the *Oeuvres posthumes*.

³⁰² Robert Owen Lehman collection, New York, TiFC photocopy F. 1427.

³⁰³ TiFC collection M/235, photocopy F. 1481(3).

I spent several years' work on the collecting, arranging and completing of the scattered pieces, unfathomable for anyone else, and also the *repeated copying out* of the selected and cleaned-up manuscripts.³⁰⁴ (emphasis J. E.)

A similar conclusion is reached by Oskar Kolberg, writing to the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel:

[...] as one of Chopin's most trusted friends, [Fontana] most certainly possessed original manuscripts of the posthumous works. [...] I doubt whether he would have given original manuscripts to Schlesinger, as he was too great an admirer of the master and would not have deprived himself of them; they were probably *copies he had made*.³⁰⁵

If Fontana could have been characterised as a generally faithful copyist of works duplicated at Chopin's request, prepared by the composer for editions, then here we must refer to this faithfulness with a certain reserve. It is understandable that, basing his edition — as he himself wrote to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz — on Chopin manuscripts which occasionally contained corrections and variants and were sometimes even incomplete, Fontana felt authorised to select and to supplement. He confirms as much in a letter to Gustaw Gebethner in Warsaw.

I worked for several years on collecting Chopin's scraps of paper and hieroglyphic notes, on selecting and *correcting* them [...].³⁰⁶

There even arise justified suspicions that some compositions were partly, or perhaps even wholly, reconstructed by Fontana from memory. The latter suspicion is suggested by an excerpt from a letter he sent to Ludwika Jędrzejewicz during the period of their initial negotiations on the subject of the publishing of the posthumous works, in which, discussing the question of extant manuscripts of the Songs, Fontana writes:

Since I remember, besides that, several of them in part or in whole, if I had at least a sketch I could *complete the rest from memory*. But even that we do not have, for in spite of my frequent entreaties Fryderyk never wrote them down, always putting it off till the morrow. This fate was suffered in particular by the

³⁰⁴ Letter to the firm of Gebethner & Wolff in Warsaw, Paris, 16 November 1862; see F. Hoesick, *Chopiniana* (Warsaw, 1912), 442–443.

³⁰⁵ Rough copy of a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, written in German; *KOK*, ii:111.

³⁰⁶ Letter of 9 November 1859, written in Paris; F. Hoesick, as above, 441.

Pieśni Janusza [...]. Unfortunately, they are doubtless entirely lost.³⁰⁷ (emphasis J. E.)

This excerpt is telling in that the verbal text of the seventeenth song in Fontana's edition is a work by Wincenty Pol from his collection *Pieśni Janusza* [Songs of Janusz] (this song carries the title 'Śpiew z mogiły Janusza' [Song from Janusz's grave] in one of Fontana's copies and 'Leci liście z drzewa' [The leaves are falling] — from the first words of the work — in print), and at the same time the musical text of the song has an accompaniment, certain parts of which may raise doubts as to its authenticity.

Yet it seems that Fontana interfered in the musical content of works not only when he had to reconstruct Chopin's compositions or compile them from fragments; certain circumstantial evidence indicates that also when copying out autographs preserved intact, he made certain changes to them. The first fear of this is aroused by the words quoted above from his letter to Gebethner:

'[...] the repeated copying out of [...] *cleaned-up* manuscripts'. (emphasis J. E.)

Our anxiety is heightened by Oskar Kolberg's statement:

[...] I have a couple of authentic Ch[opin] pieces and several of my own handwritten copies of authentic texts which present something slightly different, albeit only in minor details, to that published by Fontana.³⁰⁸

These fears are confirmed by comparisons of Fontana's versions with extant autographs or with other, exactly made, copies. These comparisons show that Fontana's interference concerns not only secondary details, such as minor mannerisms of notation, but even such crucial elements of a work as the melody, harmony, metre, rhythm and form of works.

However, whatever the case may be, one should express at this point the conviction as to Fontana's good intentions in transmitting to us the authentic — in his opinion — Chopin text, which does not alter the fact that our notion of authenticity may differ from that of over a century ago. For this reason, whilst esteeming Fontana as a copyist and publisher of some of Chopin's works, thanks to whom certainly more than one composition has survived to our times, we must endeavour, by means of all possible criteria, to verify those places in the texts as edited by him where we may suspect his interference in the music.

It is understandable that irrespective of the caution with which we must approach Fontana's copies as Chopin's final texts, they are for us sources of

³⁰⁷ See n. 251 above.

³⁰⁸ Rough copy of a letter to Robert Wolff, n.p.n.d.; KOK, ii:292.

primary value. It should also be emphasised that some of the texts prepared by Fontana give one the impression of conveying Chopin's intentions without any additions and changes.³⁰⁹

The following Fontana copies of works in series B have come down to us: Waltz in F minor, WN 55 (last page),³¹⁰ the song 'Śpiew z mogiły Janusza' (first redaction, entitled in the print of the song 'Leci liście z drzewa', WN 49)³¹¹ and copies used for the posthumous edition of the songs 'Życzenie' ['A Maiden's Wish'], 'Wiosna' ['Spring'], 'Smutna rzeka' ['Troubled Waters'] and 'Hulanka' ['Drinking Song'] (to these copies, as to the copies of the other songs, prepared in a different hand, Fontana wrote out title pages and the verbal text of the songs by hand)³¹².

2. Chopin's friend Auguste Franchomme (1808–1884), a composer and cellist. Of the works not published during Chopin's lifetime, we know of the following Franchomme copies: the Impromptu in C sharp minor, WN 46 (two different copies),³¹³ the Waltz in A flat major, WN 48,³¹⁴ the song 'Wiosna' ['Spring'] in a version for piano, WN 52a,³¹⁵ the song 'Nie ma, czego trzeba' ['Faded and Vanished'], WN 58b (without verbal text),³¹⁶ the Mazurka in A minor,

³⁰⁹ Edouard Ganche strongly criticised Fontana's role as copyist and publisher of Chopin's posthumous works, in his book *Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin* (Paris, 1925), 13 ff., greatly exaggerating the problem of Fontana's interference in the ultimate form of the Chopin work he was preparing for print and very unfavourably and one-sidedly representing the personal aspects of this interference. A number of Ganche's accusations are rightly corrected in his works by Ludwik Bronarski: 'W sprawie wydania pośmiertnych dzieł Fryderyka Chopina' [On the subject of the edition of the posthumous works of Fryderyk Chopin], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 1928/1, 55–59, and *Szkice Chopinowskie* [Chopin sketches] (Cracow: PWM, 1961), 331–332. In the former of these works, Bronarski leaves this matter open with regard to the substance of Fontana's interference, writing that '[it] requires, however, thorough research and account to be taken of all the relevant material'. It would seem that today the quantity of the material in our possession entitles us to issue the general remarks expressed above, which are the result of scrupulous comparisons of numerous sources. Detailed considerations and abundant comparative musical material will be presented in a separate work.

³¹⁰ Biblioteka Miejska w Bydgoszczy, TiFC photocopy F. 1447.

³¹¹ WTM 21/Ch, TiFC photocopy F. 1627.

³¹² Collection of A. v. Hoboken, Ascona (Switzerland).

³¹³ 1. BCP Ms. 10.491, TiFC photocopy F. 1649, and 2. TiFC collection M/632, photocopy F. 1651.

³¹⁴ BCP Ms. 10.511, TiFC photocopy F. 1498.

³¹⁵ BCP Ms. 10.491, TiFC photocopy F. 1631

³¹⁶ BCP Ms. 10.490, TiFC photocopy F. 1634.

WN 59³¹⁷ and a reconstruction of the first part of the Mazurka in F minor, WN 65³¹⁸.

Franchomme was an exceedingly scrupulous and careful copyist of Chopin's works, fearful of the slightest interference in his text, as is attested both by a comparison of his copies with extant Chopin autographs and also by the opinion of Jane W. Stirling, who worked with him during the initial period of preparation for the publication of the posthumous works:

Franchomme is constantly occupied with Chopin's songs, but the majority are lacking an accompaniment and he wouldn't dream of producing one of his own initiative.³¹⁹

There is no doubt that it is Franchomme's excessive affection and cult for Chopin that makes him so slow to touch the smallest of works. If you could see him, how he hesitates between a 'yes' and a 'no', declaring 'I don't dare say' [...] With extraordinary difficulty he composed an accompaniment to one of the Songs, then refused to show it to us.³²⁰

I send you [...] what Franchomme was able to decipher from his last Mazurka, written at Chaillot, and which everyone considered illegible, but which Franchomme succeeded in writing — he brought it to me at first on two pieces of paper, not daring to put the two parts together, yet when one adds one note (*mi*) in the bass simultaneously to the *si*, it makes a whole [...].³²¹

When Jane Stirling, after Fontana's arrival in Paris, mentioned Franchomme's initial work on the Songs in her first conversation with him, and Fontana became worried at the possibility of Franchomme's collaboration in their edition, Stirling put him right, giving him to understand that:

[...] on the contrary, Franchomme is very much afraid of taking responsibility for it [...].³²²

³¹⁷ BCP Ms. 10.491, TiFC photocopy F. 585.

³¹⁸ TiFC collection M/236, photocopy F. 1481(4).

³¹⁹ Letter to L. Jędrzejewicz in Warsaw, 17 September 1851, abridgement, cit. after M. Karłowicz, *Nie wydane* (see above, n. 22), 339.

³²⁰ Letter to L. Jędrzejewicz, written in French, March 1852. Original in the TiFC collection M/518, photocopy F. 75; see Ganche, *Dans le souvenir* (see above, n. 20), 139.

³²¹ Letter to L. Jędrzejewicz, written in French, 18 June 1852. Original in the TiFC collection M/519, photocopy F. 115; see Ganche, *Dans le souvenir*, 140, where the text displays slight deviations from the original.

³²² Letter to L. Jędrzejewicz, written in French, 2 July 1852. Original in the TiFC collection M/496, photocopy F. 94; see Ganche, *Dans le souvenir*, where the text displays deviations from the original.

And so Franchomme's copies of posthumous works are of primary value to us as sources.

A separate issue is that of the incipits of Chopin's works placed in the collection of French first editions belonging to Jane Stirling, most of which were prepared in Franchomme's hand. These incipits do not have particular value as sources, as they are written on the basis of those French editions, and as such bring no new elements to the text.

3. Ludwika Chopin (1807–1855), Fryderyk's elder sister, married to Kalasanty Jędrzejewicz, was a trained pianist, as is attested by the accounts of her contemporaries:

[...] already in his seventh year the child [Fryderyk] was given a teacher, and on account of his great youth, his elder sister shared the lesson time with him.³²³

[...] she most often played four-handed with Fryderyk, and the two of them always had the most to say to one another.³²⁴

Maria Wodzińska's sister, recalling her childhood, also says:

[...] his elder sister, Ludwika, the later Mrs Jędrzejewicz, played exquisitely on that instrument [...].³²⁵

The fact that Ludwika also possessed compositional talents is testified by an extract from a letter written by Chopin to Jan Białobłocki:

Ludwika has done an excellent Mazur, the like of which Warsaw has not danced for a long time. It is her *non plus ultra*, but also in actual fact one of the *non plus ultras* of its kind. Lively, lovely, in a word for dancing, to say nothing of its rare quality. When you come, I'll play it to you.³²⁶

The extant works written out in her hand comprise the Polonaise in B flat major, WN 14³²⁷ and the album for Maria Wodzińska³²⁸, containing the following compositions: *Lento con gran espressione*, WN 37 and the songs 'Życzenie'

³²³ Józef Sikorski, *Wspomnienie Szopena* [Recollections of Chopin], Biblioteka Warszawska (Warsaw, 1849), 6.

³²⁴ Fryderyk Skarbek, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs] (Poznań, 1958).

³²⁵ The words of Józefa Kościelska, née Wodzińska, cit. after F. Hoesick, 'Nowe szczegóły o Marii Wodzińskiej' [New details about Maria Wodzińska], *Słowacki i Chopin* [Słowacki and Chopin], i (Warsaw, 1932), 126.

³²⁶ Letter to J. Białobłocki in Biskupiec, Warsaw, November 1825; *KCh*, i:60.

³²⁷ TIFC collection M/623, photocopy F. 1535.

³²⁸ This album is lost; it was published in facsimile form by Kornelia Parnas under the title *Album Fr. Chopina poświęcone Marii Wodzińskiej* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910). I noted the

['A Maiden's Wish'], 'Poseł' ['The Messenger'], 'Gdzie lubi' ['A Fickle Maid'], 'Hulanka' ['Drinking Song'], 'Piosnka litewska' ['Lithuanian Song'], 'Wojak' ['Before the Battle'], 'Precz z moich oczu' ['Remembrance'] and 'Czary' ['Witchcraft'].

The copies of these works show a hand rather unskilled in writing music, yet as a result they contain only mechanical errors, easy to spot. Thanks to a certain external graphical precision to the copies, as we can assert by comparing them with Chopin's autographs, from which Ludwika made her copies, they are of primary significance as sources.

A separate source, invaluable both in terms of stating the existence of Chopin compositions not known in their entirety to the present day and also on account of the dates placed by particular items, is the list of 'Unpublished compositions' compiled by Ludwika c.1854 at the request of Jane W. Stirling and Julian Fontana, containing incipits of the majority of Chopin's works not published during his lifetime.³²⁹

Let us also add that it is highly likely that Chopin's sister composed a Contredanse in G flat ascribed to Chopin, and it is also not impossible that it was she who composed the Waltz in E flat major (written into the album of Emilia Elsner) and one of the Mazurkas — in D major or C major (perhaps both?) — long regarded as Chopin works, the authenticity of which is increasingly being questioned (perhaps one of these is even that from among the '*non plus ultras*' of which Chopin speaks in the letter quoted above?). A certain similarity to their handwriting and also their musical script, then not yet scrupulously analysed, and a possible similarity to the abbreviations of their names could have misled members of the family and friends and also biographers and publishers of these works as to the authorship of compositions.

4. Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890), the younger brother of Chopin's friend Wilhelm Kolberg, a composer, pianist and eminent Polish ethnographer, is a copyist of the *Lento con gran espressione*, WN 37³³⁰ and 'Piosnka litewska'³³¹. Oskar Kolberg also made copies of several other Chopin compositions:

identical writing of Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in this album, previously regarded as the script of Fryderyk Chopin, around the turn of 1958/59 when carrying out an analysis of Chopin-related items offered to the TiFC, which included the list of 'Unpublished compositions' written in Chopin's hand. This analysis actually merely confirmed the doubts I had long before advanced regarding the authenticity of Chopin's script in this album, doubts caused both by the different graphical traits of the script and also by errors of a sort which by no means could have been attributed to Chopin.

³²⁹ TiFC collection M/301, photocopy F. 1752. See illustrations 11–14.

³³⁰ State Public Library in St Petersburg, TiFC photocopy F. 1618.

³³¹ Memorial Library of Music, Stanford University, California, TiFC photocopy F. 1726.

[...] I have a couple of Ch[opin] originals [...] and also a few copies of originals written out *in my own hand* [...].³³² (emphasis J. E.)

These, unfortunately, have not come down to us.

5. Mikołaj Chopin (1771–1844), Fryderyk's father, is — according to the expert analysis of Arthur Hedley — the copyist of the final version of the *Polonaise* in D minor, WN 6.³³³

6. Thomas Tellefsen³³⁴ copied out the *Mazurka* in A minor, WN 59³³⁵ and the second version, of dubious authenticity, of the *Funeral March* in C minor, WN 11.³³⁶

7. Józef Sikorski (1815–1896), composer, music reviewer, founder of *Ruch Muzyczny* (later *Pamiętnik Muzyczny i Teatralny*), made copies of the *Mazurkas* in B flat major and G major, WN 7 and 8.³³⁷

There now follow copyists whose identity is only likely or else impossible to assert at the present time.

8. The copyist of the *Waltz* in B minor, WN 19³³⁸ (Wojciech Żywny [?] 1756–1842, Chopin's first teacher).

³³² See n. 308 above.

³³³ TiFC collection M/622, photocopy F. 1722.

³³⁴ See above, 'Later editions as indirect sources'.

³³⁵ TiFC collection M/625, photocopy F. 584.

³³⁶ TiFC collection M/ 624, photocopy F. 1734.

³³⁷ The copies of these *Mazurkas* in the possession of the WTM (R 9011, 2) were made from scores printed in Warsaw in 1826, of which one (a score of the *Mazurka* in G major; see n. 58 above) has been preserved to the present day, whereas the other (a score of the *Mazurka* in B flat major) is lost. The assertion of the authorship of the copies of both *mazurkas* is given here for the first time; it is the result of an expert analysis of the script of the title, the annotation next to the title and the verbal markings by the musical text of the copies — an analysis which showed the agreement between this script and the handwriting in letters written by Józef Sikorski, held at the WN. For his assistance in carrying out the analysis of Józef Sikorski's script, I am sincerely grateful to Mr Bogumił Kupść, head of the Zakład Rękopisów [Manuscripts department] of the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw. The assertion of the authorship of the copies of these *Mazurkas* is highly significant for the WN, as we also know that Sikorski was a scrupulous collector of Polish musical sources, whilst a comparison of the printed score of the *Mazurka* in G major and its copy testify the substantial accuracy of the copy. These two considerations guarantee this copy's full worth as a source, all the greater in that sources for the youthful *Mazurkas* in B flat major and G major are scant. On Józef Sikorski, see J. Reiss, *Mała encyklopedia muzyki* [Concise encyclopaedia of music], ed. S. Śledziński (Warsaw: PWN, 1960), 685–686, and the literature cited therein; Hanna Harley, 'Józef Sikorski', *Ruch Muzyczny*, 1963/15; S. Śledziński (ed.), *Mała encyklopedia muzyki* [Concise encyclopaedia of music] (Warsaw: PWN, 1968), 939.

9. The copyist of the Polonaise in B flat major, WN 14.³³⁹ It was hitherto believed that the copyist of this work was either Wojciech Żywny³⁴⁰ or Mikołaj Chopin³⁴¹. The latter would appear to be ruled out by the above-mentioned analysis carried out by Arthur Hedley asserting the hand of Mikołaj Chopin in a copy of the Polonaise in D minor, WN 6, since the writing in the copies of the two Polonaises displays more differences than common features. The hand of Żywny would also be excluded here if we accepted that he was the copyist of the Waltz in B flat minor, WN 19.

10. The copyist of the song 'Wojak' ['Before the Battle'].³⁴² This copy was made by someone from Chopin's family or friends in Warsaw, as is attested by the inscription 'Magazyn T. Czaban [...] w Warszawie' printed at the bottom of the page and the entry in the left margin, 'Muzyka Fryderyka Chopina', with the date alongside — 1831.

11. The copyist of the second version (of dubious authenticity) of the Funeral March in C minor, WN 11.³⁴³

12. The copyist of the songs 'Gdzie lubi' ['A Fickle Maid'], 'Precz z moich oczu' ['Remembrance'], 'Poseł' ['The Messenger'], 'Śliczny chłopiec' ['My Beloved'], 'Z gór, gdzie dźwigali' ('Melodia') ['Bowed 'neath their Crosses'], 'Wojak' ['Before the Battle'], 'Dwojaki koniec' ['The Lovers'], 'Moja pieszczotka' ['My Enchantress'], 'Nie ma, czego trzeba' ['Faded and Vanished'], 'Pierścień' ['The Ring'], 'Narzeczony' ['The Bridegroom's Return'], 'Piosnka litewska' ['Lithuanian Song'] and 'Leci liście z drzewa' ('Śpiew z mogiły, Pieśń Janusza') ['Leaves are

³³⁸ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, TiFC photocopy F. 1700.

³³⁹ This manuscript is lost. It was first reproduced in the *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* of 22 January 1934 (TiFC photocopy F. 1541). It is questionable whether the name 'copyist' is appropriate for someone who most probably *produced* the first manuscript of the Polonaise and *copied it* from the autograph. The hypothesis that the manuscripts of Chopin's first compositions were made by Żywny (whether the Polonaise in B flat or other works written at this time, we do not know) is supported by a mention by Józef Sikorski: 'Żywny [...] at the request of his young pupil wrote down his ideas'. (J. Sikorski, *Wspomnienie Chopina* (see above, n. 323), 6.)

³⁴⁰ See A. Poliński, *Chopin* (Kiev, Warsaw and Cracow, 1914), 18; F. Hoesick, 'Chopiniana w zbiorach Aleksandra Polińskiego' [Chopiniana in the collection of Aleksander Poliński], in *Słowacki i Chopin* (see above, n. 24), i:161.

³⁴¹ See Z. Jachimecki, 'Kompozycje Fryderyka Chopina z okresu dzieciństwa' [The childhood compositions of Fryderyk Chopin], *Chopin*, 1 (IFC, 1937), 28.

³⁴² WTM collection R. 1209, TiFC photocopy F. 1621.

³⁴³ BCP D. 10807, TiFC photocopy F. 1748. This is the same copyist who made two copies of the Berceuse, Op. 57 (see above, 'The methods used to reconstruct Chopin's intentions in works published during his lifetime').

Falling' ('Poland's Dirge')).³⁴⁴ His copies, most probably made from the manuscripts of Fontana, served as the *Stichvorlagen* for the first posthumous edition of the Songs. The title pages of the copies and the verbal text of the songs are written in Fontana's hand.

13. The copyist of the unknown Waltz in B flat minor, WN 19 and Waltz in G flat major, WN 42 (the same copyist who made copies of the earlier versions of the Berceuse, Op. 57).³⁴⁵ The versions of these two waltzes differ from those hitherto familiar, and so it is likely that they were based directly or indirectly on lost autographs.

14. The copyist of the unknown Waltz in A flat major, WN 48, with Chopin's handwritten dedication 'M^{me} Marie Lichtenstein'.³⁴⁶

15. The copyist of the unknown Impromptu in C sharp minor, WN 46, with Chopin's handwritten dedication '[A] M^{me} Marie Lichtenstein en la priant d'en faire usage p[ar] Elle seule/Ch'.³⁴⁷

Several minor corrections were made in the musical text, most probably by Chopin. (The copy bears the date '5 Juillet 1839'.)

We do not include in this list other copies for which the provenance or connection with authentic sources has thus far been impossible to establish.

FIRST EDITIONS OF POSTHUMOUS WORKS

With Chopin's works published after his death, we do not encounter a case where they were printed by different publishers simultaneously. If one of them ceded the rights to another, then the second publisher printed the work after it was issued by the first. Whether this subsequent publisher made use of the *Stichvorlage* of the first edition, a proof thereof or the ready first edition will probably be shown by research into the sources for each composition separately. Since there is obviously no question of the composer's participation in the publishing process of posthumous editions, it is the first editions that carry the most weight in establishing the text, as the closest to authentic sources; they

³⁴⁴ See n. 312 above.

³⁴⁵ See above, 'Sources' [for works published during Chopin's lifetime]: 'Copies' (copyist no. 6). BCP, photocopy in the collection of J. E. I would like to take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Mr Ewald Zimmermann, editor of Chopin's works at Henle, for drawing my attention to these copies and offering me photocopies of them.

³⁴⁶ Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig, TIFC photocopy F. 1902.

³⁴⁷ Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig, TIFC photocopy F. 1903.

are particularly valuable when there are no autographs or copies made directly from autographs.

For this reason, we include in the list below only actual first publishers of the posthumous works, arranging them in chronological order of the first work published by them.

A certain number of posthumous compositions were published in some other way prior to their publication in typical sheet music form, primarily in musical and non-musical periodicals. Publications³⁴⁸ which appeared *before* sheet music editions are set out in a separate list, placed after the list of publishers. All further publications, insofar as they bring something essential to the matter, will be discussed in the detailed source commentaries to particular compositions.

Publishers of posthumous works

1. Charles Haslinger, Vienna: Op. 4, WN 4 (1851)
2. R. Friedlein, Warsaw: WN 7, 8 (c.1851)
3. Juliusz Wildt, Cracow: WN 19, 55 (c.1852)
4. A. M. Schlesinger, Berlin (Fontana's posthumous edition): WN 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 23–27 a, b, c, 42, 46–48, 59, 64, 65 (partial reconstruction) (1855), WN 21, 22, 31–34, 38–40, 50–52, 54, 57, 58b, 60 (1859), WN 49 (c.1860)
5. Joseph Kaufmann, Warsaw: WN 5 (1850–60, no later than 1864), WN 29 (1850–60, no later than 1868), WN 35 (1850–60, no later than 1870)³⁴⁹
6. Towarzystwo Muzyczne we Lwowie: WN 18 (1867→)³⁵⁰
7. Leitgeber, Poznań: WN 37 (1875)
8. *Echo Muzyczne*, Warsaw: WN 12, 16 (1881)
9. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig: WN 28 (1902)
10. *Die Musik*, 8/1, Berlin: WN 3 (1908)

³⁴⁸ The terms 'edition' and 'publication' are used in discussing Chopin's works in the following senses. An edition is a separate sheet music print made by a publishing firm. A musical periodical may also be considered a publishing firm in the case of its publishing a separate sheet music print, usually as a supplement to an issue (*Echo Muzyczne*, *Die Musik*). A publication is any other way of duplicating a work that is not an edition (e.g. a facsimile or a print within the text of a musical or non-musical periodical, in a catalogue, etc.). Questionable cases were discussed in the chapter 'The division of the WN into two series'.

³⁴⁹ The firm of B. Schott's Söhne, sometimes named as the first publisher in connection with these three compositions, was in fact their second publisher — after Kaufmann.

³⁵⁰ The firm of W. Chaberski, hitherto named as the first publisher of the Waltz in E major, was in fact its second publisher. (See *KOK*, i:508.)

11. Gebethner & Wolff, Warsaw: WN 56 (1912), WN 45 (1930)
12. Henn, Geneva: WN 44 (1919)
13. Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Muzyki Polskiej, Warsaw: WN 61, 62 (1938)
14. S. A. Krzyżanowski, Cracow: WN 1, 2 (1947)
15. Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Cracow: WN 30, 58a (1951), WN 15a, 41 (1953), WN 43 (1955), WN 10, 65 (full reconstruction) (1965)
16. Francis, Day & Hunter, London: WN 53 (1955)
17. Richard-Masse, Paris: WN 63 (1955)

First publications of posthumous works

1. Print by Revd J. I. Cybulski, Warsaw: WN 2 (1817)³⁵¹
2. Print (by W. Kolberg), Warsaw: WN 7, 8 (1826)³⁵¹
3. *Dalibor*, 6, Prague: WN 17 (1879)
4. *Lamus*, fasc. 2, Lviv: WN 41 (1909)
5. Album *Maria*,³⁵² Leipzig: WN 30 (1910)
6. *Świat*, 5/23, Warsaw and Cracow: WN 56 (4 June 1910)
7. *Słowo Polskie*, Lviv: WN 58a (22 October 1910)
8. *Pages d'Art*, Geneva: WN 44 (August 1918)
9. *Album von Handschriften...*,³⁵³ Basel: WN 43 (1925)
10. *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, Cracow: WN 1 (22 January 1934)

³⁵¹ See n. 348 above.

³⁵² See beginning of n. 328 above.

³⁵³ The full title of this publication, which gave a facsimile of the *Cantabile*, reads *Album von Handschriften berühmter Persönlichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit* (Basel: K. Geigy-Hagenbach, 1925).

The principles behind the editing of the musical text

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The most general principle behind the editing of the musical text adopted by the WN is the principle of reconstructing Chopin's creative *intentions* and not reconstructing the actual *notation* of a work. The adoption of such a principle allows for the following:

a) the correcting of *unquestionable* Chopin errors directly in the musical text; in spite of the fact that no composer is free from the possibility of error, no one wishes to err — it is an action contrary to his creative intentions; in every instance, a justification of the qualification of a given place as an error and the way it is corrected are given in the source commentaries;

b) the introduction of any necessary changes to the graphical convention of the original notation in favour of a convention contemporary to us, in cases where the manner of notation from Chopin's times would be unclear or ambiguous for us;

c) the supplementing of accidentals that are obviously missing from a text, either to rectify Chopin's oversight or else to bring the text into line with the more precise present-day notation, without indicating this fact in the musical text, and of probable errors, which are graphically distinguished.

d) any necessary extension of the compass of the keyboard up or down in cases where comparative information gives rise to the justified conviction that Chopin would have used given notes had the compass of his keyboard allowed;³⁵⁴ however, additions of this sort must be graphically distinguished or discussed in footnotes.

³⁵⁴ See Appendix VII: 'The compass of Chopin's piano'.

The second principle is the basing of the main text on a chosen basic source. Completed versions of other authentic sources, previous or subsequent, in cases where they have the character of variants and not corrections, will be included as variants above or below the systems of the main text or else at the bottom of the page.

VARIANTS

The question of variants requires special discussion. In previous Chopin editions, variants were used sporadically, and many editions give none. Quite frequent was the absolute demand for a single Chopin text, and a tendency to meet this demand was manifested by the editors of many editions, most often as a hidden premise. But this was not always the case. For example, when Jan Kleczyński was reviewing the Mikuli edition (NB containing several variants), he levelled at him an accusation:

'[...] it would also have been desirable to have included some variants either often improvised by the composer or else included in various editions'.³⁵⁵

Variants appear to be an *authentic feature* of Chopin's creative thinking.³⁵⁶ Although in autographs he gave them but rarely (in his extant autographs we find an 'ossia' only once, in the Waltz in A flat major, WN 48), he would write variants into the scores of his pupils (some scores with variants have come down to us). They are also transmitted to us in their editions by Mikuli, Kleczyński and Ganche, and sporadically by other editors. The fact that Chopin wrote variants is confirmed by his pupils. In the chapter devoted to Chopin in his book *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time*, Wilhelm von Lenz describes how Chopin, at the request to play his Nocturne in C minor, Op. 48 No. 1,

'[...] played it to me no more. He had put in my copy some very important little changes.'³⁵⁷ (emphasis, J. E.)

³⁵⁵ *Echo Muzyczne*, 4/23 (1880), 182. Two years later, when publishing Chopin's works, Kleczyński included a considerable number of Chopin's variants, transmitted by the composer's pupils and friends.

³⁵⁶ The term 'variants' belonged to Chopin's vocabulary. He initially gave the name *Warianty* to the Berceuse, Op. 57. In December 1844, he wrote thus to M. Schlesinger: 'Dear friend, My Sonata [Op. 58] and Variants are at your disposal', and in July 1845 to his family, 'My Sonata and Berceuse have been published'.

³⁵⁷ W. von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos* (see above, n. 188), 50.

Chopin's biographer, Frederick Niecks, when discussing Nocturne in E flat, Op. 9, No. 2, writes:

Gutmann played the return of the principal subject in a way very different from that in which it is printed, with a great deal of ornamentation, and said that Chopin played it always in that way. Also the cadence at the end of the nocturne [...] had a different form.³⁵⁸

A further argument in favour of the authenticity of variants as a result of Chopin's creative thinking is a certain detail concerning the way in which he put the final touches to his manuscripts. When producing his own copy of a ready manuscript, Chopin introduced certain variants, but without adding them to the previous manuscript, in spite of the fact that he had them both at his complete disposal at that moment. One may, of course, suppose carelessness in the polishing of the manuscripts, yet this would be contradictory to other features characteristic of Chopin's creative process and above all with the demands he set himself in his work, with the weight which he attached to his manuscripts and finally with the equal artistic worth of these deviations.

At this point, we may try to formulate a certain supposition: perhaps Chopin did not have an abstract conception of the finished work, but had a *conception of the finished manuscript* of that work. In the case of several manuscripts, his inventiveness refracted in places into various shades, taking on the form of different versions for different manuscripts, versions with stylistic features so characteristic of Chopin that they may almost be considered a *splitting of Chopin's brilliant musical personality*.³⁵⁹ At the WN, we employ a familiar convention of contemporary music notation, enabling us to reproduce this splitting by writing out variants corresponding to particular places beside the main text.

However, in order that a given deviation be introduced into the text, several conditions must be met:

a) the variant must have the same — or at least a very similar — degree of authenticity as the corresponding place in the main text;

³⁵⁸ F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin* (see above, n. 7), ii:263 n. 32. Numerous melodic variants of the Nocturne in E flat major, Op. 9 No. 2 have come down to us, including variants of the return of the subject and the coda.

³⁵⁹ Adam Rieger, one of the WN reviewers, calls this phenomenon Chopin's 'polyauthenticity', and Witold Rudziński, also a WN reviewer, expresses the view that they may be considered a sort of Chopinian aleatorism. We find a large number of variants during the Romantic era in the piano works of Ferenc Liszt, although with Liszt they more often have the character of virtuosic-instrumental, rather than purely musical, variants.

b) the variant must have the same stylistic value, proper to Chopin's music, as the corresponding place in the main text;

c) the variant must constitute a deviation sufficiently distinct to the ear that its marking off be artistically justified;

d) the number of variants in a given work should not be too great, so as not to blur the musical picture of the whole text (compositions containing a considerable number of variants introduced by Chopin may be edited separately and incorporated as further versions of whole works). The decision as to whether a given deviation be classified as an *improvement* or a *variant* is generally not easy, and it is always a responsible one. The stylistic criteria enumerated above are unquestionably pointers for the taking of a decision, but they do not exhaust the issue in each particular case. There is no doubt that the editor's individuality may, in extreme cases, tip the scales one way or the other. This seems inevitable. The appropriateness of the ultimate decision will always be influenced by the broad familiarity with Chopin's works that is demanded of the editor of a particular volume, with regard to both the quantity of the works and also the internal properties of Chopin's music.

To distinguish variants of different provenance, we employ different graphic notation:

— variants marked 'ossia' come from autographs or pupils' scores, where they were written by Chopin,

— variants without this marking derive from a divergence of the text in different authentic sources, and in a dozen or so cases from the multitude of ways in which an unclear Chopin text may be read.

Minor authentic variants (ornamental notes and signs, slurs, accents, etc.) may also be regarded as variants; to simplify the graphic picture, these will be placed in the main text in parentheses (), as opposed to the square brackets [] containing any editorial additions.

CHOPIN'S ORTHOGRAPHY

The original orthography will be retained, as it expresses the composer's *musical thinking* and is an integral part of his creative technique. All fundamental changes to Chopin's orthography hitherto attempted have proved in a negative way the rightness of this principle.³⁶⁰ The only exceptions may be the few places

³⁶⁰ We might recall here fragments of the quoted correspondence between Johannes Brahms and Ernst Rudorff (see nn. 274 and 275 above):

in Chopin's youthful compositions where any corrections of obvious 'schoolboy' errors will be made tacitly in the main text and noted in the source commentaries.

THE GRAPHIC ASPECT OF THE LAYOUT OF THE MUSICAL TEXT

The graphic appearance of the WN is based in principle on the authentic notational picture of Chopin's compositions. This concerns the distribution of the notes on the staves, which will be retained in those places in which it may be of some significance for the voice-leading or the division between the hands; in places where this division was dictated solely by considerations of convenience in distributing the notational signs on the manuscript paper (the small gaps between staves on the manuscript paper printed at that time), it may be occasionally changed to a division which is clearer from our present-day perspective on the aesthetic of layout. The same applies in some cases to changes of clef, and also to the problem of the direction of note stems. However, the beaming of groups of quavers, semiquavers, etc., as something issuing from Chopin's way of musical thinking and affecting this thinking in performers, will always remain as in the original.³⁶¹

A close observation of the graphic picture of Chopin's finished manuscripts clearly suggests its consonance with the acoustic picture of the notated work. A certain supposition suggests itself here: as I have indicated elsewhere,³⁶² Chopin most probably simultaneously *heard and felt* (in his hands, as his performance apparatus) the conception of his work. And one may speculate further:

'Bargiel told me recently that he would like to correct some of Chopin's excessively glaring orthographic mistakes [...] I consider that this should not be done, as where should one then cease improving? In my opinion, irregularities of spelling are a characteristic feature of Chopin.'

'I would wish very much that Bargiel share our opinions, that he not strive to correct Chopin's orthography, as from there it is just a step to violating the composition itself.'

Among the 'General remarks' that precede the text of the *Gesamtausgabe* prepared by these editors, the first reads as follows:

'Chopin's orthography, as a characteristic element, remains intact'. The correcting of orthography in present-day editions of Chopin's works is criticised increasingly often. (See Preface to the volume Chopin. *Préludes*, ed. H. Keller (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1956); also O. Jonas, 'On the Study of Chopin's Manuscripts' (see above, n. 153), 154, n. 1.)

³⁶¹ See, for example, the departure of the German first edition (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel) from the original notation in the other two editions in the first bar of the Impromptu in A flat, Op. 29 (illustrations 7, 8, 9).

³⁶² See above: 'The authenticity of sources', criterion 8.

Chopin heard, felt and saw his compositions in manuscript. This is surely not contradicted by these phrases from his letters, already quoted above:

[...] I do so love the tedious notes I write [...].

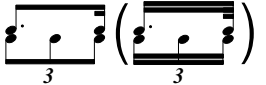
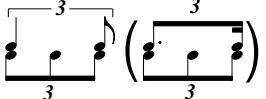
[...] I'd not like to give this spidery scrawl to any clumsy copyist [...].³⁶³

For this reason, the WN attaches great weight to the most exact reconstruction possible of the notational picture characteristic of Chopin, as an optical expression of his way of acoustic thinking, which in turn, through the visual image, should stimulate a corresponding musical resonance in the performer, and consequently in the listener, as well.

DOTTED RHYTHMS AGAINST TRIPLETS IN ANOTHER VOICE

One special case of the problem described above is a certain feature of Chopin's musical notation that has a direct influence on performance, and so requires separate discussion. The feature in question is the way in which Chopin writes out dotted rhythms  in one voice against triplets  appearing in another (the same concerns values twice as small). I feel obliged to consider this problem somewhat more extensively due to the fact that the WN is the first edition where this matter is treated in a general way throughout the whole of Chopin's oeuvre. As it is impossible to separate the graphic aspect of the matter from the performance aspect, the problem will be illuminated from both these sides together.

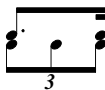
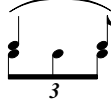
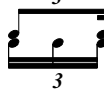
It is known that among the different conventions of the notation and also the performance of music in the eighteenth century was the convention that in this sort of context a semiquaver following a dotted quaver was played simultaneously with the third quaver of a triplet, which can be expressed in notation most simply by writing the quaver of the triplet beneath the semiquaver

, which in our times is written out in the following way:
. Deviations from this convention, universally applied at

that time, were few in number. Since it raises no doubts in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach, I shall call it hereafter the Bachian convention. Current practice

³⁶³ See n. 138 above.

in the performance of such places in compositions by Chopin often accords with this convention only in quick tempos, as in the finale of the Ballade in F minor, Op. 52 or the finale of the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61, presumably because such places are impossible to perform in another way. At the same time, present-day editions almost as a rule write the semiquaver after the last note of the triplet, with the exception of a few places where the coinciding of the voices precludes a different graphic solution. Only some editors break from this way of writing the semiquaver after the triplet, but they do so rather sporadically and inconsistently. For example, Alfred Cortot only points out in his commentary to the finale of the F minor Ballade that Chopin most probably used here the convention employed by Bach and the harpsichordists, but leaves in print a demisemiquaver after the last semiquaver of the triplet; Sauer and Brugnoli in these same places use a notation different to Chopin's, but at least consistent — the present-day. Barely a few editors write the last notes of these figures in a vertical order; the closest to the classical solutions, relatively speaking, are the editors of the *Complete Works* (Paderewski, Bronarski, Turczyński), although inconsistently over the edition as a whole.³⁶⁴ Since this sort of rhythmic context occurs in Chopin's work relatively often (648 times in 30 compositions) and is also closely linked to performance, in my opinion the WN editors, seeking to convey Chopin's intentions in the most exact way possible, are obliged to answer the question as to whether it is possible to state that Chopin followed some rule in this matter or whether he left it to the performer's preference. A meticulous analysis of all the places in which this problem occurs in Chopin, in all the available authentic sources, in later inauthentic sources, and also in the period preceding Chopin's oeuvre (during this period, the problem in question has a rich theoretical literature), and finally a comparison of this problem with performance practice, leads to the conclusion that such a rule does exist in Chopin, and in an unequivocal sense, with the sole exception confirming the rule (what is more, this exception is transmitted in an indirect way, through copies and a print which could have deformed the notation of the autograph).

The rule reads as follows: *Chopin understood the figure*  *in the Bachian way, and so*  *as,*  *and*  *as* .

³⁶⁴ Only in the Variations, Op. 2 (and not in all instances), the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61 and the Cello Sonata, Op. 65, movt. I; see commentaries to Chopin, *Complete Works*, viii: Polonaises, p. 148, and xvi: Chamber Works, p. 157.

To cite here the subject literature and a large number of examples from Chopin's work, supported by reproductions of authentic sources, and give examples from the works of composers before Chopin and after him who employed this convention would exceed the framework of the present *Introduction* many times over. For this reason — as with the chronology of Chopin's works and the profiles of Fontana and Gutmann as copyists — a full discussion, detailed evidence, generalisations, bibliography and an illustration of the subject are left for a separate work on the subject.³⁶⁵ Here, I shall confine myself to stressing that *all the arguments* speak *in favour* of a Bachian understanding of this figure in Chopin, whereas *none* speak *against*. for this reason, the WN adopts this understanding as a rule — concordant with Chopin's authentic notation — of both the *notation* and also the *performance* ensuing from it over the entire Chopin oeuvre and precisely reconstructs the one relatively certain and several probable exceptions (the latter in figures derived from the principal figure) according to authentic sources and notes in source and performance commentaries.

ORNAMENTS

We give the notation of Chopin's ornaments³⁶⁶ either in a form concordant with authentic sources and differentiated or else in a form unified with one of the

³⁶⁵ For an outline of the argumentation justifying the above rule, see Appendix VII: 'The compass of Chopin's piano'.

³⁶⁶ The literature discussing Chopin's ornamentation is quite extensive. The following are works devoted solely to this issue: E. Mertke, Preface to *Chopin, Sämtliche Werke 1* (Leipzig: Steingraber, 1880); J. P. Dunn, *Ornamentation in the Works of Frederic Chopin* (London, 1921); M. Ottich, *Die Bedeutung des Ornamentes im Schaffen Friedrich Chopins* (Berlin, 1933); M. Ottich, 'Klavierornamentik', *Annales Chopin*, 3 (Warsaw: TiFC and PWM, 1958), 7–62. A number of authors write about Chopin's ornamentation in works dealing more broadly with the problems of musical embellishment or devoted to other issues connected with Chopin's work: E. Dannreuther, *Musical Ornamentation* (London: Novello, 1893–95); H. Germer, *Die musikalische Ornamentik* (Leipzig: Hug & Co., n.d.); A. Beyschlag, *Die Ornamentation der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908); H. Schenker, *Ein Beitrag zur Ornamentik* (Vienna: Universal, 1908); B. Wójcik-Keuprulian, *Melodyka Chopina* (Lviv, 1930). It is impossible here to list all the works in which the question of Chopin's ornamentation is addressed occasionally.

The above works contain many valuable source materials, observations, comparisons and generalisations, yet here and there one also comes across statements of dubious value or even erroneous; this occurs where the considerations are based on uncertain sources or even on sources distorting Chopin's original notation of ornament signs. Some scholars investigating the

original Chopin forms, for the sake of clarity and to avoid any misunderstandings in performance that might ensue from them. In specific cases, this rule looks as follows:

Single grace notes are written in the WN in three original forms:   .

Mordents are also written in three original forms:  and  above the note and a double grace note before the principal: .

Turns are written uniformly . Chopin in principle uses the sign  to mark this ornament. (A turn not crossed through, , can be found solely in the childhood Polonaise in A flat, WN 3.) In first editions, Chopin's original notation was often altered to ,  and ; this may have caused misunderstandings among performers as to the direction in which to execute this ornament. Chopin understood both signs ( and ) as *one solution* (the way of executing the turn is indicated, among other things, by the following: on several occasions,  signs placed in autographs are replaced in French first editions by forms written out in small notes ). Since the graphic notation of a turn adopted today is unequivocally not crossed through, and its solution is identical to Chopin's understanding, we employ this notation as a rule.

Its placement is given in line with authentic sources: in most cases, according to autographs, *after the note*, in several cases — where autographs are lacking, according to first editions — *above the note*; it is not known whether they were thus placed in the autographs or only read in that way by engravers.

Arpeggios are written uniformly. In most cases, Chopin marked them with a wavy line , but in the last years of his output he used a vertical curved line for the same purpose: . This is reproduced in some first editions. As there are no grounds for assuming that the signification of these two signs was different, whilst there is evidence that they meant the same thing (during the period 1837–

issue of Chopin's ornamentation have been well aware of the difficulties resulting from the impossibility of accessing authentic sources. Everyone, even Chopin's biographers, not just everyone writing about his compositions, bemoans the lack of an authentic edition of Chopin's works. A succession of new critical, 'revised' editions, as Camille Saint-Saëns writes with indignation in his preface to a monograph of Edouard Ganche, take us ever further away from the clean Chopin text, putting forward others' intentions in place of those of the composer. Having access to neither manuscripts nor original editions, I make use of Mikuli's edition, compared with the editions of Pugno (Universal), Scholtz (Peters), Reinecke (Breitkopf & Härtel) and Mertke (Steingräber). Although the Mikuli edition is commonly regarded as reliable, errors of the most disparate kind are discovered in it by musicological — not pianistic — study. (B. Wójcik-Keuprulan, *Melodyka Chopina*, 30–31.)

43, when Chopin used both these signs, we find in autographs both forms of the arpeggio sign before chords in an identical musical context), we take the second of these signs (vertical curved line) to be only a *simplified form of the wavy line*, and not a distinct sign; for this reason, we employ the wavy line everywhere.

Other ornament signs are reproduced in their original form.

FINGERING

Chopin's *original fingering* is marked in the WN with slightly larger upright digits, distinct from *editorial fingering*, written in small italic digits. Where the digits of authentic fingers are given in brackets, they do not appear in the basic sources but were added by Chopin in his pupils' scores, and this is signalled subsequently in the Initial Source Commentaries to the particular compositions in the closing chapter: 'The principles behind the editing of the musical text'.

PEDALLING

The signs for the depressing and releasing of pedal are reproduced in accordance with authentic sources. Where there exists any doubt as to the exact place where Chopin wished to put them (a lack of room beneath the lower stave, deletions, etc.), they are placed in accordance with neighbouring places of an analogous musical context and with Chopin's usage in this area.

MINOR REMARKS CONCERNING MUSIC TYPOGRAPHY

a) In Chopin autographs, it is easy to distinguish ties from slurs beginning and ending on notes of the same pitch where the second note should be repeated. In present-day notation, however, in certain graphic contexts, they are impossible to distinguish. In cases where their reading could cause misunderstanding, we provide an appropriate footnote. The second way of understanding such a curved line is historically linked to the *Bebung* effect, derived from playing on the clavichord and still used by Beethoven in his sonatas.³⁶⁷

b) We distinguish wherever possible *two kinds* of accent sign: short accent > and long accent >>. Chopin seems to have deliberately differentiated these two signs, employing the former for the dynamic strengthening of a single note, a double note or a chord and the latter — placed above one note or

³⁶⁷ See n. 245 above.

a succession of notes — also with expressive significance. This is evidenced by an excerpt from a letter to Tytus Woyciechowski:

[...] it is to be admired when [Gładkowska] sings this, ,
she does so not shortly, like Mayerowa, but at length, ,
such that it is not a quick 'grupetto' but a well sung out eight-note phrase.³⁶⁸

c) We distinguish *staccato* markings ▼ from dots (the former more frequently used in youthful compositions, in later works sporadically).

d) We change Chopin's abbreviation *cres* to the present-day *cresc.* and Chopin's *m.v.* to the full form, *mezza voce*.

e) We leave Chopin's original marking *fz* (*forzato*), not altering it, as do most of the newer editions, to *sf* (*sforzando*).

f) Before key changes within a work which are marked with a change of key signature, we place either a single or a double bar line, always strictly according to authentic sources. The manner employed by many editions of placing in such places a double line as a rule suggests a formal division of the work that is often not intended by Chopin and is musically wrong.

g) We do not add rests supposedly missing from the authentic notation which would fill out the polyphonic voice leading, as do a large number of later editions.

h) We place metronome tempos only in places where they were marked by Chopin.

i) All editorial additions (more frequent in series B than in series A) are graphically distinguished by being placed within square brackets (as opposed to parentheses, reserved for minor authentic variants) or printed in a small musical (letter) type.

j) The bar numbering is added by the editors and — in keeping with the usage of other PWM publications — is placed at the beginning of systems between the clefs.

A general principle concerning the graphic picture of Chopin's text, one which the WN editors will endeavour to apply consistently throughout the whole edition, is the *principle of the maximum clarity* of the musical picture — a principle which accords both with the picture of Chopin's autographs and with the character of his music.

³⁶⁸ Letter of 5 October 1830; *KCh*, i:144.

The principles behind the preparing of the commentaries

SOURCE COMMENTARIES

Part of each volume of musical text is a Source Commentary, separately published in book form. This is divided into two sections: the Initial Source Commentary and the Detailed Source Commentary.

THE INITIAL SOURCE COMMENTARY

Given in this commentary, for each separate composition or for several compositions placed together in one opus, are the following:

1. the sources on which their redaction is based and their description in cases where this is necessary for conclusions of a textual nature to be arrived at;
2. the relationships between sources and the evidence supporting them;
3. the arguments asserting the degree of their authenticity;
4. a justification of the choice of basic source;
5. the principles behind the editing of the final musical text, taking account of any variants.

In more complex cases, we illustrate point 2 schematically, giving the filiation of sources in the form of a genealogical tree with chronological sequence from top to bottom and left to right.

THE DETAILED SOURCE COMMENTARY

In the detailed commentary, we give in bar order all the more important errors in the authentic sources, textual variants and their provenance and more important errors in inauthentic sources, insofar as they had some bearing on later editions. We characterise more precisely and justify all those authentic versions

which we introduce into the text for the first time or which rarely appear in later editions. We justify the more important changes of music typography made by the editors in order to obtain a clearer graphic picture than was the case in the authentic sources.

The sign → between the abbreviations of the particular sources denotes the direction of their filiation; it means that the first of them constitutes the base text for the subsequent text(s).

The concordance of collected editions

A brief discussion is required of the inclusion in the detailed source commentary of deviations in later editions which in principle have no essential value for the reconstruction of the original text. Although it is not the aim of a source edition that sets out to reconstruct Chopin's authentic text to polemicise with inauthentic editions, I have decided to take this step for several reasons.

The years 1873–80 were a period during which a fundamental division occurred in the editing of Chopin's works, resulting in two types of collected edition (the several earlier collected editions published prior to that date were essentially based, with minor deviations, on first editions or on subsequent impressions of first editions). The first type of edition was aimed at recreating the authentic text, and it was represented by the edition discussed above prepared by Brahms, Bargiel, Rudorff, Reinecke, Liszt and Franchomme (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878–80). A similar premise would subsequently underpin the edition prepared by Edouard Ganche (Oxford University Press, 1928), the *Complete Works* edited by Paderewski, Bronarski and Turczyński (1949–61), the *Complete Works* prepared by Neuhaus and Oborin (from 1950) and finally the Henle edition, commenced in 1956. The other type is represented by the edition prepared by Charles Klindworth³⁶⁹ (Moscow: Jurgenson, 1873–76, later Berlin: Bote & Bock), which followed the assumption that Chopin's text needed to be rendered more legible and even corrected. This assumption is stipulated by the subtitle of that edition: 'revised, fingered and carefully corrected after the editions of Paris, London, Brussels (?) and Leipzig'. This edition, at the opposite pole to our approach to the reconstruction of Chopin's works, went the furthest of all nineteenth-century editions: in a huge number of places it changes chroma-

³⁶⁹ *Oeuvres de Fr. Chopin, revues, doigtées et soigneusement corrigées d'après les éditions de Paris, Londres, Bruxelles et Leipzig, par Charles Klindworth. Seule édition authentique, Moscou chez P. Jurgenson, 6 volumes.*

ic spelling, original phrasing and original ornament signs, adds allegedly missing harmonic notes and allegedly missing voices, ties notes of the same pitch which — according to the original — were to be repeated and alters the graphic picture of works (in one case, for example, it changes the arrangement of two main systems into three), to say nothing of the addition of non-original markings and verbal instructions for interpretation. I do not question the good intentions of the editor, who put a great deal of effort into his work; I merely note it as an historical phenomenon, characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century, in the editing of Chopin's works.³⁷⁰ One may consider it paradoxical that in a few places this edition has the value of an indirect source, as it transmits, in footnotes, versions of sources that are now considered lost. Although in later editions only Brugnoli (Ricordi, 1929–37)³⁷¹ went even further in the 'correcting' of Chopin's text, the direction set by Klindworth was retained by many of them, including such a popular edition as that of Peters (Leipzig),³⁷² prepared by Hermann Scholtz, which often relies on the considerations put forward by

³⁷⁰ This phenomenon can be observed also in editions of the works of other composers of this period.

The difference in the approach to editorial matters between advocates of Klindworth's editing style and the postulates of Brahms, for example, or our own may be gauged by a fact emphasised by Hans von Bülow in his Preface to the Klindworth edition — as a virtue of that edition:

'He [Klindworth] has relinquished [...] (to the inconvenience of the publisher and the public) the possibility of including explanations and glosses beneath the text and has incorporated them in the text he has reconstructed, a truly Benedictine labour.'

By way of comparison, let us remind ourselves of that sentence from Brahms:

'I am of the opinion that a more important thing than all that which we may do in the text is that which we can say about it in the appended commentaries [...]' (See n. 273 above.)

It is a principle of contemporary editing to clearly distinguish any markings added by the editors from the authentic text.

³⁷¹ *F. Chopin. Edizione-didattico-critico-comparativa di Attilio Brugnoli*, 10 vols. (Milan: Ricordi).

³⁷² *Fr. Chopins Sämtliche Pianoforte-Werke, Kritisch revidiert und mit Fingersatz versehen von Hermann Scholtz*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Peters). In a lengthy Preface to the first volume, the editor gives the criteria for his choice of textual deviations, indicates the corrections he has made, describes the kind of changes to the graphic layout, justifies the enharmonisation of certain sections, the splitting of voices between the two hands, the splitting into groups of ornamental figures not divided in the original, his own additions in the leading of the melodic line, the supplementing of phrasing, changes to chromatic spelling, changes to the notation of ornaments, additions to dynamic markings, additions of fingering and changes to Chopin's fingering. None of these arbitrary changes are distinguished in the text, which is why this edition is of no source value, in spite of the fact that it undoubtedly contains some authentic elements, transmitted to the editor by two of Chopin's pupils, to whose suggestions he also refers in the Preface.

Klindworth, all the more so since the latter might have aroused confidence with his subtitle: 'seule édition authentique'! This does not mean, either, that in these and somewhat later years there was a lack of correct editions attempting, to the extent allowed by the sources at their disposal, to transmit Chopin's authentic text (one may count among these the Steingraber edition prepared by Mertke³⁷³ and the Breitkopf & Härtel edition prepared by Friedman³⁷⁴). The point in question is that a huge number of editions (over seventy) of the complete works of Chopin containing for the most part a colossal accumulation of inauthentic versions, *forged certain traditions*, not only in editing, but also the performance tradition deriving from them, as a result of which entire generations of pianists not only are not familiar with (authentic) versions and solutions other than those which they have taken from popular editions, but have no inkling of their existence.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ *Chopin, Sämtliche Werke [...] für Pianoforte von Chopin. Nach den französischen und englischen Originaldrucken berichtigt und mit Fingersatz versehen von Ed. Mertke*, 8 vols. (Leipzig: Steingraber). The preface to volume i (Waltzes) is devoted almost entirely to the question of Chopin's ornaments and backed by numerous examples.

³⁷⁴ *Fr. Chopins Pianoforte-Werke, herausgegeben von Ignaz Friedman*, 12 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel). Some of Friedman's editorial premises arouse anxiety in us today. Here is an extract from the Preface:

'I set about this task [a collected edition of Chopin's work] not without trepidation; after all, there exist so many editions, and some among them are excellent. However, the majority of them — in my opinion — adhere too strictly to outdated pedal marks, fingering and also false phrasing. Since Chopin's times, huge progress has been achieved in piano making, and this is not reflected in the pedalling of most of these editions. Chopin's fingering, innovative in many respects, in some cases has long since been out of date. Legato slurs have too often been confused with phrase marks, and vice versa. All of this was sufficient reason for me to undertake this difficult task.'

In spite of this editor's approach — alien to us today — his edition is in practice one of the closest to Chopin's text among popular editions.

³⁷⁵ In his preface to Edouard Ganche's *Frédéric Chopin. Sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1909), Camille Saint-Saëns criticises this direction to the editing of Chopin's work in these words:

'A great danger threatens these marvellous works [of Chopin's]. Under the pretext of their popularisation, new editions have been published, riddled with poor fingering, which would not yet be so bad, but also — alas! — 'improved', which means that the intentions of others are gradually substituted for those of the composer.'

An even fiercer critique is made by the editor of the source edition, Edouard Ganche:

'Since the death of Chopin, in successive editions, his works have been universally disseminated, and it is everywhere recognised that they differ more and more from those which he produced. The causes of this are manifold. The editor, having decided to place the name of his

Because the WN endeavours to approach the reconstruction of Chopin's true text in the most principled way possible and may thus at times even shock readers with its supposedly 'new', but actually authentic, versions, we consider that pianists should be given, in the detailed commentaries, at least the main inauthentic deviations to which they have been accustomed, so as they might locate their provenance and realise the arbitrariness with which they were introduced.

It goes without saying that not all the collected editions could be taken into consideration. We have compiled a list of compared editions according to the degree of their *closeness* to the authentic sources, also taking account both of editions closely related to authentic sources³⁷⁶ and, on the other hand, of the editions which depart the furthest from this authenticity.

Besides this, we take account of the most *popular* editions in twentieth-century performance practice.

List of compared collected editions in chronological order

Richault, Paris 1860 (ed. Tellefsen)	First collected editions
Schonenberger, Paris 1860 (ed. Fétis)	
Stellovsky, Moscow 1861	
Gebethner & Wolff, Warsaw 1863	
Heugel, Paris after 1867 (ed. Marmontel)	
Jurgenson, Moscow 1873–76 (ed. Klindworth)	Later nineteenth-century editions
Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1875–80 (ed. Reinecke)	
Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1878–80 (ed. Brahms, Bargiel, Reinecke, Rudorff, Liszt, Franchomme)	
Kistner, Leipzig 1879 (ed. Mikuli)	
Peters, Leipzig 1879 (ed. Scholtz)	
Steingräber, Leipzig 1880 (ed. Mertke)	
Gebethner & Wolff, Warsaw 1882 (ed. Kleczyński)	

firm on the entirety of Chopin's compositions, first chooses a reviser, whose reputation or lofty position will attract buyers. For the latter, the reviser becomes the guarantor of the presumed value of the edition being sold. His first task consists in modifying one edition or another, so as to exclude the commercial crime of pirating, then he revises, that is, he modifies, according to his caprice and his knowledge, both the music of Chopin and the transformations of the previous revisers. The inevitable consequence of these endless alterations is the destruction of the originality of this music.' (E. Ganche, *Voyages avec F. Chopin* (Paris, 1934), 119–120.) See also preface to Ganche's Oxford edition (see n. 279 above).

³⁷⁶ Some of these editions have been discussed above; see 'Other editions as indirect sources'.

THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE PREPARING OF THE COMMENTARIES

Universal-Edition, Vienna c.1901 (ed. Pugno)	Editions from the first half of the twentieth century
Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1912–14 (ed. Friedman)	
Durand, Paris 1915–16 (ed. Debussy)	
Schott's Söhne, Mainz and Leipzig 1918–23 (ed. Sauer)	
Oxford University Press, London 1928 (ed. Ganche)	
Ricordi, Milano 1929–37 (ed. Brugnoli)	
Senart-Salabert, Paris 1929–47 (ed. Cortot)	
Curci, Milan 1940–50 (ed. Casella-Agosti)	Most recent editions
PWM, Warsaw and Cracow 1949–61 (ed. Paderewski, Turczyński, Bronarski)	
Muzgiz, Moscow, since 1951 (ed. Neuhaus, Oborin)	
Henle-Verlag, Munich and Duisburg, since 1956	

PERFORMANCE COMMENTARIES

The main task of our edition — establishing the authentic musical text of Chopin's works — could in principle be confined to the correct preparation of that text and the addition of source commentaries. However, in respect to the aspiration to a full realisation of the postulate of the authenticity of the transmission of Chopin's works, a limitation of this sort would appear to result in the task being carried out only in part. There is also a need — in our opinion — to address the problem of the *proper understanding of this text*. Hence the idea for performance commentaries. In specifying the scope and approach to this issue, we would stress that these commentaries are not aimed at imposing any particular style of the performance of Chopin's works and we have no desire to impart to the edition an instructive-pedagogic character. We merely aspire — as far as the information in our possession allows — to providing an answer to the question as to how Chopin understood his text, or more specifically *how Chopin imagined the translation of the graphic image of his music into its musical image*. It is understandable that the basis for these views on the authenticity of Chopin's performance will be not a strict musical record, which was not yet possible during Chopin's lifetime, but an inevitably freer and more ambiguous *verbal description* of his demands or renditions, related by reliable witnesses, sometimes indications noted down in sources by Chopin himself, and finally conclusions resulting directly from the musical text. Some of the remarks, both the more general and the more detailed, will have an artistically binding value on a par with the musical text, others indicate only the degree of probability of the solution to a given problem, and there will also be those, the application of which will be left to the taste or artistic sensibility of the performer. These different

degrees of authoritativeness to the remarks will be indicated by the way in which they are worded. Due to the overlapping of textual and performance issues, some of the remarks in the performance commentaries will coincide with remarks included in the present *Introduction* (Part I).

Remarks concerning the interpretation of Chopin's works are contained in the WN in two kinds of commentary: in the separately published second part of the *Introduction* entitled *Performance Issues* and in the Detailed Performance Commentaries appended separately to each volume.

THE SECOND PART OF THE *INTRODUCTION: PERFORMANCE ISSUES*

These cover all the issues relating to the performance of Chopin's work which can be expressed in a general way (e.g. problems with the playing of variants, the understanding of articulation marks, the execution of ornaments, the realisation of authentic dynamics, pedalling, fingering, rubato, etc.)

THE DETAILED PERFORMANCE COMMENTARY

This gives, in bar order, concrete proposals for resolving the most important problems of performance arising from the authentic text of the compositions contained in a particular volume.

QUOTATIONS BEFORE THE MUSICAL TEXT

The musical text of each volume is preceded by authentic quotations of Chopin's words concerning the compositions contained in that volume. These are, for the most part, excerpts from his letters. Less common are the utterances of others, which are used only when they quote the words of Chopin himself.

The decision to quote Chopin's words was dictated above all by a wish to bring together his views on his compositions and associate them with the musical material to which they refer. Never before have the composer's characteristic utterances on this subject been gathered together; rarely have they been linked with particular works. Scattered throughout his correspondence, at times across other biographical sources to which it is difficult to gain access, Chopin's words on the subject of his own works seem to live the separate life of passages of a rather literary character. On the other hand, Chopin's musical works are in principle separate from the circumstances of his life. Yet while they may unquestionably make do without any commentaries and additions, his own words are

THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE PREPARING OF THE COMMENTARIES

surely not something alien to them. They describe his works from many sides: the circumstances surrounding their composition, their sources, the composer's aesthetic and emotional attitude towards them; and at times they even reveal to us Chopin's general view of his own work. As such, his words lend his work — if one may say so — an even greater authenticity.

It should be noted that it was not possible to assemble the composer's original utterances relating to all his compositions; on the other hand, we have a number of works for which there is such a wealth of material that it is necessary to make a selection; this we do, making use of the most characteristic among them.

Appendices

I. A MENTION IN CHOPIN'S CORRESPONDENCE OF A PRELUDE IN A FLAT MAJOR

In *KCh*, i, on page 250, listed at no. 145, we read the following words by Chopin addressed to Julian Fontana, jotted down on a visiting card:

Please, if you can, copy me out the Prel. A flat, as I'd like to give it to Perthuis. He's leaving tomorrow. And you when? If you want to see me, then today about 8–9.

Placed in square brackets above this is the presumed date this note was written: [Paris, 1834]. In the endnote relating to this letter on page 536, we find the following explanation:

Prel. A flat — Prelude in A flat major (not part of the set of 24 Preludes, Op. 28). This prelude, with the date 10 July 1834, dedicated 'A mon ami Pierre Wolff', was discovered in 1918.

Were this explanation correct, it would testify the authenticity of the title Prelude for a composition dedicated to Wolff. Yet there is everything to suggest that Chopin had in mind here not the *Presto con leggerezza*, but the Prelude in A flat major, Op. 28 No. 17. Let us examine in turn three elements connected with Chopin's note: the date, the content and whether Fontana may have fulfilled Chopin's request.

1. The *date of the note* given by the explanation in *KCh* (1834) shows two *anachronisms*:

a) Fontana moved from London to Paris, where he would stay for quite some time, no earlier than in 1835,³⁷⁷ and possibly even later³⁷⁸. If Fontana was in

³⁷⁷ See M. A. Szulc, *Fryderyk Chopin* (Poznań, 1873), 244; *KCh*, i:479, note to letter 27; *KOK*, iii:725–6.

³⁷⁸ See F. Hoesick, *Chopiniana* (Warsaw, 1912), 6, where the author speaks of Fontana performing several times in the French capital and returning there in 1837, thereafter staying for a longer time.

Paris before 1835 just briefly, then it would seem completely out of the question that Chopin could have burdened him then with copying his compositions. The earliest certain letter sent by Chopin to Fontana with the instruction to copy out a work (the Op. 28 Preludes) was written from Valldemosa and is dated 22 January 1839.

b) At the beginning of the endnote from *KCh* quoted above, it is said that 'this was a visiting card of Chopin's with the address 38, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin'. Well, Chopin did not change his address in Paris from 5, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin (possibly the same house as 5, rue de Montblanc) to 38, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin until the second half of September 1836. So the dating of this note to Fontana to before October 1836 is also an anachronism.³⁷⁹

Therefore, on the basis of these two temporal inconsistencies, the suggestion associating the date of the composing of the *Presto...* with the date of the note should be eliminated.

2. Since, however, one cannot exclude the possibility that Chopin had in mind the copying of this composition at a later date, we should examine the *content* of the note. Chopin asks for a Prelude in A flat major to be copied out with the *aim of giving it to Perthuis*. This is certainly Chopin's friend the Count de Perthuis, to whom the composer dedicated the Mazurkas, Op. 24 (the Sonata in B minor, Op. 58 is dedicated to Mrs E. de Perthuis), and who was either an amateur pianist himself or else was to pass it on to a common friend. In any case, the copy of this Prelude was doubtless meant *as a souvenir*. Now the *Presto...*, as a typically one-off 'album leaf' piece, certainly apt to interest a professional musician such as Wolff with its hidden musical qualities, would not have been particularly appealing to an amateur musician like Perthuis or one of Chopin's more distant friends. The Prelude in A flat major, Op. 28 No. 17, meanwhile, is one of those Chopin compositions which, besides their great musical qualities, have that special catchiness that immediately characterised such works as the Nocturne in E flat major, Op. 9 No. 2, the Mazurka, Op. 7 No. 1 and the Funeral March from the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35, assuring them of popularity even before their publication.

3. As regards tangible evidence of *Fontana fulfilling Chopin's request*, then we do not have it in relation to the *Presto con leggerezza*, but we do possess such evidence in relation to the Prelude in A flat major from Op. 28: *there exists a copy made by Fontana of the Prelude in A flat major, Op. 28 No. 17*³⁸⁰ — a copy

³⁷⁹ See notes in *KCh* to letters 152–188 with the first of these addresses and to letters 191–222 with the second; see also Brown's Index, Appendix VII, p. 182.

³⁸⁰ Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, TiFC photocopy F. 532 1335.

of an *earlier redaction* of the Prelude (and so from before 1839), independent of the complete set of Preludes copied out by Fontana for the publication of Chopin's Op. 28, which itself by no means served as a *Stichvorlage*, but was prepared quite hurriedly (the request in Chopin's note spoke of copying from one day to the next). Perhaps this copy is indeed the result of Fontana meeting Chopin's request, but even if it were not, it is proof that Fontana prepared copies of particular Preludes from Op. 28 before publication (there is an extant copy of the Prelude in G major, Op. 28 No. 3, also in an earlier version) and that they included a copy of the Prelude in A flat major, Op. 28 No. 17. All the above statements lead to the following conclusions:

1. The title *Prel.* As should be associated in the endnote to the letter in question with the Prelude in A flat major, Op. 28 No. 17.
2. The most appropriate dating of Chopin's note to Fontana, taking account of the actual chronological information (Fontana's presence in Paris, Chopin's address, the early redaction of the Prelude in A flat major), is c.1837.³⁸¹
3. In light of these conclusions, the note by Chopin discussed above should not be taken as an argument in favour of the authenticity of the title 'Prelude' for the *Presto con leggerezza*, dedicated in 1834 to P. Wolff.³⁸²

³⁸¹ Brown's Index, p. 96, simply adopts 1837, associating the content of the note with the Prelude in A flat major from Op. 28.

³⁸² The present Appendix was written in 1965. See Hanna Wróblewska's article 'Nowe Chopiniana w zbiorach Towarzystwa im. Fryderyka Chopina' [New Chopiniana at the Fryderyk Chopin Society in Warsaw], in *Annales Chopin*, 8 (Warsaw: PWN, 1969), 126–7, in which the author, discussing the note reproduced in the text, arrives at similar conclusions in relation to the composition which Chopin asked to be copied out and to the date on which the note was written.

II. FONTANA'S OPUSING OF CHOPIN'S POSTHUMOUS WORKS AS MENTIONED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF OSKAR KOLBERG

[...] I find inappropriate the ordinal arrangement which Fontana made following Chopin's death, giving for example in continuation new opus numbers to works in which early compositions are mixed with new, although he does usually cite the year of their composition. [...]³⁸³

[...] Fontana proceeded inappropriately with the edition of the posthumous works in continuing the sequence of opuses, that is, the numbers of works. The mazurkas, in particular, marked with opus numbers 67 and 68 are (apart from the last) essays of his youthful muse, and several of them (singularly more cheerful) were like those which we have just had published by Leitgeber, dances improvised at balls. In a future edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* (and of the mazurkas in particular), this circumstance should be taken into account and youthful pieces should be given first, chronologically according to their known or presumed date, with a suitable explanation, numbering them in order, not with the numbering of Fontana: and only then proceeding to the opuses marked during Chopin's lifetime — ending with Op. 66, the last of his lifetime³⁸⁴ [...].³⁸⁵

[...] I must draw attention, however, to a certain circumstance which indeed we already discussed during my sojourn in Leipzig, and which is certainly exceedingly important when preparing an edition. I stated then that by no means can the opus numbering given by Fontana still be retained. He likely made this marking with the best intention (although bringing only superficial benefit) of augmenting the number of opuses wherever possible. Superficial, since the number remains ever the same, irrespective of whether we mark them in this way or another. Although we know that Chopin himself was not consistent in the opus numbering of his works and did not always adhere to the chronological order of their composition, as their composer he was free to proceed in this matter as he saw fit, and no one has the right to criticise him for it or, by the same token, to alter the numbering of his opuses. At the very most, one might give the year of composition by those of his works for which this may be centred and established. The situation is different, however, with Fontana and the posthumous works.

³⁸³ From a rough copy of a letter to Marcelli Antoni Szulc, Modnica, 1 February 1876, KOK, i:562–3.

³⁸⁴ Here, Kolberg errs: the last opus left by Chopin is Op. 65. (Cf. Kolberg's correct statement in the last extract cited in the present Appendix.)

³⁸⁵ From a rough copy of a letter to M. A. Szulc, Cracow, 10 November 1876; KOK, i:664.

I know Chopin's disposition too well not to be convinced that even had he allowed these trifles to be published during his lifetime, he would not have abided that his youthful works — aware of their weakness — be published subsequently as opus 67, 68, etc. alongside or after works of the utmost excellence. The difference is too stark not to immediately strike the eyes and ears of everyone. For this reason, Fontana's designations, as not authorised by Chopin himself, have no justification. Therefore, it is not only desirable, but even necessary for our acquaintance with the development of Chopin's spirit, to abandon Fontana's designation — as the result of his personal way of thinking, and by no means the will of Chopin — that they be replaced by a more suitable one. This would involve, in my own view, the ordinary numbering of all previously unnumbered or posthumous works, arranged in objective and chronological order, the latter of which was not always respected by Fontana. [...]³⁸⁶

[...] Volume 6 — the supplementary volume [of a new edition of Chopin's works that Kolberg planned to have published by Gebethner & Wolff] — would encompass all the other works listed here, the greater part of which Chopin himself did not wish to have published during his lifetime because he found them weaker than the others. His editing is the most important, which is why I permit myself to speak of it at length, as this volume is to contain posthumous works, published occasional and less valuable works, both from his youth and later, works published without a number, that is, an opus number, and even works of dubious authorship, insofar as they are purported to be by Chopin. After thirty years have passed since his death, after his fame is established, even the weakest works can do no harm to his memory, but will certainly serve as instruction, as an indication of how his spirit altered and developed with the passing of time. But they should be skilfully grouped, chronologically presented and, where necessary, backed by a suitable comment. In addition, since many of these compositions have circulated in different copies, it should be recommended that — where no authentic text is available — the most appropriate and most correct manuscript be chosen.

The posthumous works published by Fontana encompass numbers from opus 66 to 74. I consider this numbering of opuses by Fontana (who evidently wished simply to augment their number) as the least suitable, and I am certain that Chopin himself would never have agreed to it (except perhaps in respect to Op. 66), as they are mostly weaker, youthful or occasional works, and so a high

³⁸⁶ From a rough copy of a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, Cracow, 3 December 1878; *KOK*, ii, original in German, pp. 179–180.

opus number by an immature work must jar with everyone, particularly when comparing these works with the masterpieces which go before them, written during the period of the composer's greatest maturity. And for this reason I would recommend that this arbitrary and inappropriate opusing of Fontana's be abandoned, and that all these works be ordered according to generic material, placing them in succession chronologically, and furnished with consecutive numbers.

I heard that around the New Year several completely new editions will be published abroad, by Breitkopf, among others, whom (in passing through Leipzig last year) I advised to introduce just such a numeric order to the unnumbered and posthumous works in a supplementary volume; but whether he paid heed, I know not. I don't doubt that you too, in spite of the competition of others, will set about the printing of a new edition. [...]³⁸⁷

³⁸⁷ From a rough copy of a letter to Robert Wolff, n.p.n.d.; KOK, ii:291–292.

III. PREVIOUS GROUPINGS OF CHOPIN'S WORKS

The lack of a consistent system to the numbering of Chopin's works has caused, in the more meticulous lists of his oeuvre, the need to group his works into as many as *four* sections.

- a) works opused, published during the composer's lifetime,
- b) works not opused, published during the composer's lifetime,
- c) works opused (by Fontana), published after the composer's death,
- d) works not opused, published after the composer's death.³⁸⁸

The need for an exact numbering of Chopin's works moved the editor of the volume of Waltzes in the Henle edition,³⁸⁹ for example, to employ the numbering from Brown's Index for each and every work, which gives us *three* kinds of numbering of the Waltzes:

- a) Waltzes 1–8 with a double numbering. Chopin's authentic opusing + the numbers from Brown's Index.
- b) Waltzes 9–13, also with a double numbering: Fontana's inauthentic opusing + the numbers from Brown's Index.
- c) Waltzes 14–19, given solely the numbers from Brown's Index.

This kind of use of the numbers from Brown's Index, as a general solution to the problem of the numbering of Chopin's works, may raise doubts. I would stress that it is by no means my intention to deprecate the valuable work of M. J. E. Brown, which constitutes a fundamental source for many Chopin-related items; I merely consider the idea of using his numbering for purposes other than those intended by the author to be questionable. The following arguments speak — in my opinion — against this solution to the numbering of Chopin's works:

1. Brown's numbering covers all Chopin's works, regardless of whether they were opused by Chopin himself or not, and so it *doubles* Chopin's original designations, which seems unnecessary for reasons of both ordering and mnemonics.

2. The numbering is based on the probable order in which *all* the works were written — published or not published during the composer's lifetime. This sequence is inevitably more hypothetical than the sequence of the works included in each of the two groups separately. For this reason, if composition dates

³⁸⁸ See *Thematische Verzeichniss der in Druck erschienenen Compositionen von Friedrich Chopin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel) first edition n.d. [between 1860 and 1872], second edition (*Neue umgearbeitete und vervollständigte Ausgabe*) 1888; B. E. Sydow, *Bibliografia F. F. Chopina* (Warsaw, 1949), 1–23; F. Niecks, *Frederick Chopin* (see above, n. 7), ii:358–359.

³⁸⁹ Munich and Duisburg, 1962, ed. E. Zimmermann.

are determined with more precision as a result of future research or discoveries, then they may be more at odds with this order.

3. This numbering — due to its strictly chronological premise — often breaks up authentic opuses into a number of groups, which obviously complicates significantly the system of the identification of works.

4. The numbering is wrongly applied — in my opinion — to a number of works. These include a) first editions of works possessing a later, final redaction (there is no doubt that most of Chopin's finished works possessed prior redactions, of which only a few have come down to us and, thanks solely to happenstance, have been distinguished in Brown's Index with separate numbers),³⁹⁰ b) works of uncertain authenticity; were any of these items ultimately deemed inauthentic and consequently excluded, the numbering would become discontinuous, which would undoubtedly represent a serious detraction.

It should be stressed that the author of the Index most humbly expressed his reservations about the role of his work in the Foreword:

The only reason why I have not produced the discovered information with the title of 'Thematic Catalogue' is that I have no wish to suggest that Chopin's compositions stand in any need of a catalogue number, and certainly no desire that each of his works should be labelled with an initial and a number, as those of Mozart and Schubert have been. In their cases it is essential, and the Köchel and Deutsch numbers supply a vital need. Chopin's opus numbers are a quite reliable guide to chronology, and are, in themselves, perfectly adequate for identification purposes.

³⁹⁰ In these cases, the numbering from Brown's Index denotes not the order of compositions but the order of the sources.

IV. THE UNSUITABILITY OF THE TERM 'AUTHORISED COPY'

For several reasons, I avoid throughout the WN — be it in the classification of copies or in their further description — the term 'authorised copy', sometimes used in the classification of Chopin's manuscripts to define a copy more closely.³⁹¹

My principal motivation is the unclear meaning of this term. Authorisation — generally speaking — is a *legal* notion, signifying an author's consent to some form of *publication* of his work. In the case of Chopin's works, the form of this publication is an *edition* of his work; the term 'authorised edition' may therefore be used unequivocally. Serious doubts are raised, meanwhile, by the application of this notion to a copy of a work, which, while it may be a link in the process of its publication, is not a publication in itself.

Since authors of Chopin publications, when using this term, do not give its definition and since I have been unable to find it elsewhere, I shall attempt below to deduce this definition from the contexts in which it is used. A condition for its acceptance should be its concordance with the specification of authorisation given above. There may be three such definitions. We shall consider them in order, with regard to their semantic aspect, their relationship to the general definition of 'authorisation' and their usefulness for characterising Chopin sources.

Definition one: an authorised copy is a copy made at the author's instruction or with his consent. This is the broadest definition, and it is logically correct, but in the case of Chopin sources it is only apparently not contrary to the overall definition. Although there do exist a number of copies (mostly by Fontana) which wholly correspond to the above definition, we also find cases where its application is precluded. For example, it is very likely that Chopin asked his sister Ludwika to copy out a few of his works into the album for Maria Wodzińska.³⁹² The works she copied would be typical 'authorised copies' in the understanding of the above definition, but what of this, when Chopin was opposed on principle

³⁹¹ See, e.g., *Complete Works* (see above, n. 55), beginning of the note after the musical text, 'The character of the present edition'; *ibid.*, v: Scherzos, commentary to Scherzo in B flat minor, Op. 31, p. 99, right column, commentary to Scherzo in C sharp minor, Op. 39, p. 100, right column; *ibid.*, vi: Sonatas, commentary to Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35, p. 129, right column; *ibid.*, x: Mazurkas, commentary to Mazurka in B minor, Op. 33 No. 4, p. 212, right column; also K. Kobylańska, 'Chopiniana w Bibliotece Konserwatorium Paryskiego' [Chopiniana at the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire in Paris], in *Annales Chopin*, 4 (1959), 151.

³⁹² This album is lost, but it had already been published in facsimile form by Kornelia Parnas as *Album Fr. Chopina, poświęcone Marii Wodzińskiej* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1910).

to the publication of all the compositions contained in this album (they belong to the posthumous works)? The same will apply to the copy of the Impromptu in C sharp minor,³⁹³ most probably copied out at Chopin's request and provided with a dedication in his own hand, beginning, '[A] M^{lle} Marie Lichtenstein en la priant d'en faire usage [...]', but which ends with the words, '[...] p[ar] Elle seule', whereby Chopin unambiguously opposed all forms of dissemination of this composition (as we know, it was not published during Chopin's lifetime). And so — at least in relation to the works of Chopin — we must regard this definition as worthless.

Definition two: an authorised copy is a copy made at the composer's request and with his authorisation that serves as a *Stichvorlage* for an edition. This is a narrower definition than the first, logically correct and legally exact, yet it becomes misleading when we look at it in terms of the degree to which the copy represents Chopin's authentic intention. As we know, a source in the preparation of which the composer participated is called an *authentic* source and is superior to an inauthentic source. Through the similarity of the notions 'authentic' and 'authorised', 'authorised copy' suggests its superiority over an 'ordinary' copy with which it is compared. However, in reality the matter looks completely different. A number of Fontana copies, written at Chopin's request for publishing purposes but not corrected by the composer, contain certain deviations from Chopin's notation, altering the text not only optically, but also in terms of the acoustic realisation of that text; in other words, there would exist in this way copies that are both 'authorised' and at the same time 'inauthentic', and even diminishing the degree of authenticity of Chopin's text. At the same time, some 'unauthorised' copies, thanks to the meticulousness of the copyist (e.g. Fran-chomme), reproduce Chopin's creative intentions much more accurately. So the second definition is unsafe due to the possibility of misleading readers with regard to the evaluation of the sources for Chopin's works.

Definition three: an authorised copy is a copy in the preparation of which the composer himself participated, correcting it or making certain additions in order that it might serve as a *Stichvorlage* for print. In this definition, one immediately sees that the notion of 'authorisation' has been substituted for the notion of 'authenticity'. The fact that there is no call for creating unclear synonyms for clear notions needs no demonstration; this statement already shows the worthlessness of this definition. Irrespective of this, it is contradictory to the overall definition, as there exists, for example, a copy of the Nocturne in F minor, Op. 55

³⁹³ Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig, TiFC photocopy F. 1903.

No. 1 (a copy dedicated to Jane Stirling) corrected by Chopin and most probably initially intended for print, but which ultimately served no edition as a *Stichvorlage*. So the third definition also displays no usefulness for Chopin sources. We have no evidence of Chopin having authorised the text of some copy in any other way.³⁹⁴

Let us add that the term 'authorisation', which has a stricter meaning today, was certainly more broadly understood in Chopin's times and as such it should be employed — in my opinion — only in indisputable cases, and so above all for 'authorised editions', and rather in authentic versions alone, since, for example, the question of the authorisation of transcriptions from Chopin's times, from the legal point of view, is doubtless a more complex matter.

It is significant that Konrad Górski, in his *Sztuka edytorska*, uses the term 'authorised copy' not once, whilst he does employ the notion of a 'copy checked by the author'. As a result, then, the statement that 'authorised copy' is an unclear, misleading or unnecessary notion justifies its avoidance in the WN, which aspires, on one hand, to using the most precise notion possible and, on the other, to emphasising the feature of authenticity as the main criterion for the evaluation of sources which in principle have little in common with the legal aspect of the question.

Therefore, hereafter we will divide sources into *authentic* and *inauthentic*, and we will furnish copies in appropriate cases with the terms 'with annotations...', 'with corrections...', 'proofread by Chopin', 'not proofread by Chopin', etc.

³⁹⁴ Just such a different way was the authorisation of the text of a copy of a poem by the Polish poet Norwid: 'This copy is more accurate than the original, as the original was carelessly written. 1850. Cyprian Norwid.' (Gomulicki, 'Zasady wydania' (see above, n. 6), i:891. However, the poet differed greatly from Chopin in this respect. Norwid's authorisation of his texts was strictly linked with his wish to proofread his works before they were published in print (Norwid's appeal to the editor of one of his diaries: 'Proofs, for God's sake!!'), whereas Chopin — on the contrary — did not like proofreading his compositions (See above, 'Chopin's proofreading').

V. ON THE POSSIBILITY OF THE EXISTENCE OF RUSSIAN FIRST EDITIONS

Having discussed in brief Chopin's first publishers in France, Germany and England, we should also quote an interesting reference transmitted by Igor Belza³⁹⁵ concerning the possible existence of first editions of Chopin's works in Russia. This reference reads as follows:

Attention is due in particular to an item of information which has escaped the attention of Chopin's biographers. It appeared in the Russian press in 1836 and contains information on a contract signed with the great composer by St Petersburg publishers. We shall quote here the passage in which mention is made of the opening of a printing and lithographic press and shop by the firm of Leonty Snegirev & Co.). The author of the note, signed K. G., writes: 'L. Snegirev & Co. set about the business judiciously and made direct contact with all the music publishers in Europe, so as to receive the musical editions first hand; *they signed formal contracts* with well-known individuals, including Kalkbrenner, Herz, Moscheles and *Chopin*; *they have already received from them their new works with exclusive rights* and having printed them, they will supply them to music lovers here and abroad".³⁹⁶ (emphasis J. E.)

Unfortunately, we have yet to come into possession of any evidence in the form of copies of Chopin's works printed by the St Petersburg publisher or in the form of *Stichvorlagen* sent to him by the composer, which might testify that the company's plans had been realised.

Chopin's correspondence is also lacking in traces of direct contacts with Russian publishers. The only reference connected with this question is the conclusion of a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, in which Chopin, confirming the sale to the Leipzig firm of three compositions (Opp. 60, 61, 62), adds:

I declare that I have ceded to them this copyright for all times and all countries, *including Russia*, but excepting France and England [...].³⁹⁷ (emphasis, J. E.)

He thereby states that his contacts with Russian publishers passed through the intermediary of the German publisher.

³⁹⁵ Igor Belza, 'Tradycje uprawiania muzyki Chopina w Rosji i ZSRR' [The traditions of cultivating Chopin's music in Russia and the USSR], *Rocznik Chopinowski*, 1 (Warsaw and Cracow, 1956), 265 and 280.

³⁹⁶ K. G. 'O novim obshchepoleznom zavvedeny', *Severnaya Pchela*, 209 (12 September 1836), 853–855.

³⁹⁷ Letter of 10 November 1846, written in French; *KCh*, ii:404.

There exists one more fact that has some connection with the matter in hand, namely that eleven compositions (Opp. 13, 19–24, 29–31 and 59) have on the title page of the German first editions the names of Russian firms, as well (Op. 13, Lehnhold, Moscow; Op. 19, Lehnhold, Moscow, and J. C. Paez, St Petersburg; Op. 20 and Op. 59, M. Bernard, St Petersburg; Opp. 21–24 and 29–31, Bernard & Holtz, St Petersburg). There is nothing to suggest that these firms were co-publishers; it would seem that they were only the German firm's representatives for Russia. This may be attested by two arguments: 1. the title pages of the French first editions of the above compositions carry no mention of Russian firms, but only the names of the German and English co-publishers (Wessel did not give the names of co-publishers at all), 2. of these eleven opuses, nine also carry the names of Polish publishers (eight have G. Sennewald, Warsaw; one has Spiess & Co., Warsaw), who were certainly not co-publishers, but might only have represented the German firms in Warsaw. It is significant that the firm of Leonty Snegirev mentioned in Igor Belza's article does not figure among the companies named.

However, this matter should not be considered closed; thorough searches might yet reveal more than one interesting fact in this connection.

VI. AN OPEN LETTER BY HECTOR BERLIOZ
REGARDING A TRANSCRIPTION OF ONE OF HIS WORKS

Some light is cast on the question of transcriptions, fashionable in Chopin's times, by an open letter by Hector Berlioz printed in the *Revue et Gazette musicale* of 8 May 1836, addressed to the Leipzig publisher Hofmeister. Here are excerpts from the letter, translated from the French:

Monsieur,

You recently published an overture reduced for the piano for four hands, under the title *Ouverture des Francs-Juges*, of which you ascribe to me not only the composition but also the arrangement. Regrettably, I am obliged to protest that this publication, made without my consent and without my even being advised of it, is completely unfamiliar to me. The piano arrangement which you have published in print *is not mine*; moreover, I would not be capable of recognising my work in that which remains of the overture. Your arranger has cut up my score, clipped it, trimmed it and then sewn it up in such a way that in many places I can no longer see anything but a ridiculous monster, of which I would ask him to keep all the honour for himself. [...] *the only overture from 'Francs-Juges' arranged for four hands* which I would acknowledge is that which has just been published by Mr Richaut [*sic*] in Paris and Mr Schlesinger in Berlin; furthermore, the one published by Mr Schlesinger, although engraved from a manuscript which I sent to him myself, differs a little from the Paris edition in some places, in the way the parts are distributed at the extremes of the keyboard. These slight modifications have been pointed out to me by several skilled pianists, such as Messrs Chopin, Osborne, Schunke, Sowiński, Benedict and Eberwein, who were kind enough to look over the proofs and give me their advice. Any other publication of the same kind as this work, whether it be attributed to me or not, I formally repudiate, and with that I ask God to forgive the arrangers, just as I forgive them.

Please accept...

Hector Berlioz

VII. THE COMPASS OF CHOPIN'S PIANO

Throughout his entire oeuvre, not once did Chopin exceed a piano compass covering the notes from C_1 to f''' . In this respect, too, one may admire Chopin's inventiveness, which enabled him to move about so freely within a relatively small — at least in comparison with that of today — piano compass. This compass generally coincides with the span of the extant instruments from Chopin's times, in which it is only occasionally reduced slightly from the bottom (in the most far-reaching case to F_1) or extended upwards (at the highest to a'''). Chopin's adherence to this most frequently encountered, 'normalised', compass proves once again his 'instrumental realism'. In barely a few places in his works can one discern a certain inconvenience caused by the compass (from the bottom in the Scherzo in C sharp minor, Op. 39, bars 197 and 241, in the Fantasy in F minor, Op. 49, bars 112 and 116, in the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35, movt. I, bar 240, and in the Sonata in B minor, Op. 58, movt. IV, bars 92 and 282; from the top in the Scherzo in C sharp minor, Op. 39, bar 315, and in the Polonaise in E flat major, Op. 22, bar 84), and in these places the WN editors put forward proposals for variants supplementing the deficiencies of Chopin's compass.

The piano in Chopin's possession during the last years of his life (now held at the TiFC in Warsaw) has a compass from C_1 to a''' .

Interesting contributions to this question are two articles published in the *Revue et Gazette musicale* from that time: 'Nouveaux perfectionnements de M. H. Pape, Piano à huit octaves'³⁹⁸ and L. de Saint-Vincent's 'Pianos. Sur l'étendue des claviers'³⁹⁹. Both articles describe attempts to expand the keyboard compass both ways, and they also confirm the compass used in Chopin's day, although Saint-Vincent mentions a compass expanded by one note upwards in pianos made by Erard (C_1 – g'''), which, according to the author of the article, 'was acknowledged by all the pianists of Europe'. This was most probably introduced in 1840, and so during the later period in the oeuvre of Chopin, who most probably out of caution did not make full use of it, restricting himself to the secure compass of somewhat older instruments. (The Scherzo in C sharp minor, in bar 315 of which one may sense a discomfort with the compass at the top end of the range, was written in 1839, and so before the compass was extended and four years before the above-cited article was written.)

³⁹⁸ No. 13 of 27 March 1842, p. 130 (unsigned article).

³⁹⁹ No. 15 of 9 April 1843, 128–129.

There exists one further testimony to the ongoing changes to the compass of the piano keyboard during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Ferenc Liszt, wishing in his piano output to exploit the instrument's capacities to the utmost, when it befell him in particular works to use the extremes of the keyboard, often gave variants, for instruments with either a greater range upwards or downwards ('piano à 7 octaves') or else with a lesser range ('piano à 6 octaves'). A comparison of particular places in compositions written between 1826 and 1852 shows that the smallest keyboard span ('piano à 6 octaves') covered keys from F_1 to f^{III} , and the largest ('piano à 7 octaves') at least from B_1 to b^{III} .⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. a discussion of piano compass in Beethoven: Paul Mies, 'Der Klavierumfang', in *Textkritische Untersuchungen bei Beethoven* (Munich and Duisburg: Henle, 1957), 178–183.

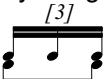
VIII. DOTTED RHYTHMS AGAINST TRIPLETS IN ANOTHER VOICE (OUTLINE OF THE ARGUMENTATION)

Arguments resulting directly from authentic sources for Chopin's works

Initial remark

In Chopin's times (and long before, as well as somewhat later), the writing of notes in a vertical order one beneath the other was understood as indicating their simultaneous playing; where notes were not set vertically, in principle they were to be played not simultaneously. We know of no exceptions to the understanding of the former configuration:⁴⁰¹ in order to indicate that notes written in a vertical order were not to be played together, a separate sign was needed (an *arpeggio* in the form of a wavy line, a vertical curved line or a crossed-through line); however, where notes were not written beneath one another there were several situations in which they were performed simultaneously (grace notes, suspensions, whole notes written often in mid bar which were to be played simultaneously with the first shorter values placed at the beginning of the bar, and in Bach's times chord notes imprecisely written in a vertical order, in spite of the need to play them together).

The writing of notes beneath one another in a column as the only indication for playing them simultaneously can be found in Chopin several times (in autographs and first editions), with rhythmically irregular figures (e.g. in the

Polonaise in E flat, Op. 22, bars 66 and 210:  and .

After this remark, I shall proceed to the arguments proper.

1. Extant Chopin autographs can be divided for our purposes into the calligraphed and the less meticulously written. In *calligraphed* autographs (Variations, Op. 2,⁴⁰² Variations in E major, WN 4), these figures are always written *ideally* beneath one another, but in autographs written less meticulously, semi-quavers (or demisemiquavers) are written *beneath* or *after* or even *before* the last note of a triplet, most often *beneath*.

2. These autographs range over the whole of Chopin's oeuvre (from Op. 2 to Op. 65), and so there is nothing to suggest that Chopin used this notation solely during one particular period.

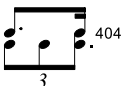
⁴⁰¹ I do not take into consideration here the *incidental* subscribing of notes, resulting from the writing out of a larger, irregular group of small ornamental notes in one hand against regular values in the other.

⁴⁰² See illustration 2.

3. These autographs contain works in very slow (Prelude in E major, Op. 28 No. 9 — *Largo*; Variations, Op. 2, Var. V — *Adagio*⁴⁰²), medium (Impromptu in G flat major, Op. 51, middle section; Polonaise-Fantasy, middle section) and quick tempos (Concerto in F minor, Op. 21, movt. III — *Allegro vivace*; Polonaise-Fantasy, finale⁴⁰³), and so this convention cannot be linked exclusively to quick tempos (in which, incidentally, a different execution is, for technical reasons, impossible).

4. These autographs cover compositions of a homophonic (Prelude in E major) and melody-dominated homophonic (Polonaise-Fantasy, middle section) character, and so this convention cannot be associated with any particular texture.

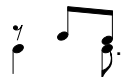
5. Indisputable, 'general' proof of Chopin's understanding of this figure — evidence found in autographs — is the Prelude in E major, Op. 28 No. 9, in which, in 8 of the 14 places where it appears in the right hand, Chopin marked

its intended sense in the following way: 

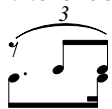
⁴⁰³ See illustration 16.

⁴⁰⁴ See illustration 15. This case is particularly interesting not only from the substantive point of view, which does not relate to this particular composition, but also in respect to the circumstances that surround it. The first of these is the supposition that such a clear — and not necessary for the musical context of the Prelude in E major — emphasis of the orthography of this figure could have been a reaction to a faulty notation, submitted some time previously, of this figure, and may also result from a wish to avoid a similar mistake in the Prelude. A precedence of this kind may have been the Nocturne in C sharp minor, Op. 27 No. 1, in which the rhythmic figure in question was exceptionally reproduced in the French edition with the semiquaver slightly behind the third note of the triplets (in other instances — besides the Nocturne in C sharp minor and the Prelude in E major under discussion — the French editions accurately transmitted the notation of Chopin's autograph). Another circumstance is the fact that in the French, German and English editions this figure is notated in the Prelude in E major contrary to Chopin's intentions, contradicting both the autograph and Fontana's copy, which also served as the *Stichvorlage* and followed the autograph strictly in respect to the writing of the relevant notes beneath one another, with only the stems linking the note heads omitted. Perhaps both of these circumstances will be explained by a close investigation into the entire process of the publishing of these two opuses. At the present time, we know that Chopin did not proofread the Preludes (they were proofread by Fontana), and so there can be no question of the introduction of authorial changes in print. Since subsequent editions were modelled on the first, and later printing conventions favoured the consolidation of this inauthentic convention of the first editions, in the performance tradition we find in this Prelude exclusively the semiquaver played after the third note of the triplet. Chopin's original convention did not appear in print for the first time until 117 years after the composition of the Preludes, in the Henle edition (1956).

6. Another concrete piece of evidence can be found in the middle section of the Impromptu in G flat major, Op. 51: in the autograph, its opening bars were originally written out, as in the first section, in 12/8, and consequently on the last

crotchets of bars 49 and 50 the rhythms of both hands were written .

When, however, Chopin changed the metre of this section to , he added to the right-hand figures the digit 3 to indicate triplets, and altered the left to a dotted

rhythm, as a result of which these quarter-bars took on the form . By

the same stroke, Chopin placed an equals sign between (12/8)  and

.

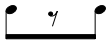
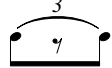
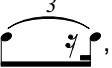
7. The *first editions*, not introducing their own mannerisms, and so modelled faithfully on the manuscript *Stichvorlagen*, such as the Rondo in C minor printed in Warsaw by Brzezina in 1925 and the overwhelming majority of *French editions*, give us the correct graphic convention, as applied by Chopin in his autographs.⁴⁰⁵

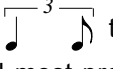
8. In his *pupils' scores*, corrected by Chopin (as we know, all the pupils' scores preserved to our times or transmitted indirectly were French editions), mostly giving the original convention with the precise subscribing of the last notes in the figures, nowhere do we find any remarks of Chopin's that would indicate the playing of the semiquaver after the third note of the triplet, whereas in two scores of the Prelude in E major belonging to Chopin's pupils (from the collections of Ludwika Jędrzejewicz and Jane W. Stirling) which give the semiquaver contrary to the Chopinian convention, we find in bar 8 a pencil marking made by Chopin indicating the need to play the semiquaver *simultaneously* with the *third note of the triplet*.

⁴⁰⁵ Among the German first editions, the Breitkopf & Härtel edition in principle moves the semiquaver to after the third note of the triplet (exceptions from this rule are rare in this edition), as do Peters, in the Bolero, Op. 19, and Hofmeister, in the Impromptu in G flat major, Op. 21. Meanwhile, Haslinger, in the Variations, Op. 2, and A. M. Schlesinger (Berlin), in the Nocturne in A flat, Op. 32 No. 2, write the semiquaver precisely above (beneath) the third note of the triplet, in keeping with the notation of the autograph, although the Haslinger displays minor deviations from this rule in figures derived from our principal figure. In the other German editions, the rhythmic figure in question does not appear.

The English editions faithfully reproduce Chopin's notation in only a few places.

9. In the first editions of the *Rondo à la mazur*, Op. 5 (French, German and English; the autograph is lost), in four rhythmically analogous rapid scale passages (and so excluding deliberate rhythmic deviations), Chopin notates similar

figures twice  (bars 81 and 329), once  (bar 83) and the other time , which suggests in bar 281 the striking of the semiquaver on the last note of a rhythmically rendered triplet.

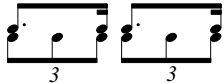
10. Chopin was most probably *not familiar with* the notation  that is universally employed today; in any case, he never used it⁴⁰⁶ and most probably never came across it (during Chopin's lifetime it was only beginning to come into use, whereas the Bachian convention was still being used after his death), and so only the Bachian convention was at his disposal for notating the simultaneous striking of the last notes of the figure in question. And this is most probably what Chopin was suggesting to Fontana when writing the following:

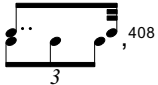
I send you the Tarantella. Be kind, copy it out, but first go to Schlesinger and take a look at the Recueil of Rossini's songs, published by him, if you can, where there is a Tarantella (in 'la'), I don't know whether it's in 6/8 or in 12/8. They write it both ways, but I would prefer that it be like in Rossini. So if it's in 12/8 or, as is possible, in  with little threes, when copying make one bar from two. You understand, my dear.⁴⁰⁷

We regret, of course, that instead of 'you understand, my dear', Chopin did not write a sentence stipulating the notation of the rhythmic figure of interest to us here, but the very phrase allows us to surmise that he had in mind some universally understood, unquestionable manner of notation, and this could only have been the Bachian manner. And so wishing to copy the Tarantella 'in  with little threes', Fontana, also doubtless not knowing any other notation, must have

⁴⁰⁶ Chopin's use in the Etude in B minor, Op. 25 No. 10, at the beginning of bar 25, of the figure  (the upper voice presents schematically the part of the right hand, the lower voice that of the left; both hands are led from the beginning in triplets) does not contradict the above statement, firstly because there is no digit denoting a triplet by the crotchet with quaver in the left hand and secondly because the rhythmic orthography of this entire Etude may derive from an original 12/8 metre (where this figure is stereotypical), later abandoned and corrected by Chopin to  with triplets.

⁴⁰⁷ Letter to Fontana in Paris, Nohant, 27 June 1841; *KCh*, ii:21–22.

copied out the original rhythm , occurring in the second bar, as , as Chopin himself did when changing metre in the G flat major Impromptu (see above, pt. 6).

11. Chopin knew and used a notation in which he could unambiguously indicate the striking of the short value of a dotted rhythm after the striking of the last note of a triplet. This notation is a double-dotted rhythm ,⁴⁰⁸

consciously used in two of his compositions as a variant of an originally single-dotted rhythm, with the demisemiquavers moved to outside the column of the last note of the triplet (Prelude in E major, bars 9–12,⁴⁰⁹ Variation in E major from *Hexameron*, Dbop. 29 A, bars 10–12). By the same stroke, therefore, he did not need to use a single-dotted rhythm for the execution of a short note after the last note of a triplet.

12. We find the biggest deviations among first editions of Chopin's works in German editions, in particular those issued by his main Leipzig publisher, Breitkopf & Härtel. These deviations are most obviously *arbitrary changes made by the engraver*. We can state this with ease, comparing Chopin's original notation in his *autograph Stichvorlagen* (from the Breitkopf & Härtel collection) with editions in which the engravers comply with Chopin's notation of the figure in question in only a few cases, where a different graphic solution is impossible, but as a rule they distort this notation, sometimes in a most glaring — one might say obsessive — way, moving the semiquaver to some way outside the third note of the triplet.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ One should not forget that in Chopin's times the lengthening of a note value with two dots had been in use for only a short time. Up to the mid eighteenth century, it was still unknown, and so it is entirely absent, for example, from the work of Johann Sebastian Bach and Handel. It began to be gradually introduced by C. P. E. Bach (*Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 1753; see below, n. 414) and Leopold Mozart (*Violinschule*, 1756), but it did not catch on in practice until the 1780s (D. G. Türk, *Klavierschule*, 1789).

For this reason, in the first half of the eighteenth century single-dotted notation could have signified either a gently dotted rhythm (the later single-dotted) or a sharply dotted rhythm (the later double-dotted). Chopin had a much more precise notation at his disposal, which clearly distinguished the types of dotted rhythm.

⁴⁰⁹ See illustration 15.

⁴¹⁰ See illustration 16. The popular German editions most probably had an influence with time over most other editions, hence the complete dominance of this way of writing in later editions.

Advancing *arguments of an historical nature*, I shall confine myself to drawing attention to the influences to which Chopin could have succumbed, dwelling somewhat on the period of his studies in Warsaw — the period which undoubtedly had the greatest influence on the shaping of his compositional craftsmanship.

13. No exact description of Chopin's lessons with his first (and only) piano teacher, Wojciech Żywny, has survived, let alone such detailed indications as to the manner of playing dotted rhythms on triplets. However, we do have weighty circumstantial evidence that our general thesis accords with the principles instilled in the young Chopin during the initial period of his musical education. Let us state to begin with that Żywny probably set about teaching his pupil with diligence:

[...] Żywny's well, not greying at all; he's always arguing that the initial exposition of knowledge is paramount.⁴¹¹

The direction that Żywny represented in his teaching also seems beyond question:

Żywny [...] taught [...] the young Chopin according to the German method adopted at that time across Poland.⁴¹²

[...] [Chopin] was soon entrusted to Ziwna [sic], a passionate disciple of Sebastian Bach, who during many years directed the boy's studies in accordance with strictly classical models.⁴¹³

Today, no one questions that Johann Sebastian Bach employed in principle in his work the above-described manner of notation of the rhythmic figure under discussion. In addition, this principle was transmitted to us by his son, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, in his fundamental work *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*.⁴¹⁴

The foundations of Żywny's 'initial exposition of knowledge' are indicated in a letter to Chopin by his sister, Izabela:

[...] the young Lasocki [...] although he has his pantalion, is playing on yours, as his is not yet tuned, and it is generally at yours that he reads Kurpiński's school, which Mr Żywny bids him peruse attentively.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹¹ Letter of Kazimierz Wodziński to Chopin in Paris, Dresden, 15 September 1836; *KCh*, i:288.

⁴¹² A. Sowiński, *Słownik muzyków polskich* [Dictionary of Polish musicians] (Paris, 1874), 53–54.

⁴¹³ F. Liszt, *Life of Chopin* (see above, n. 19), 159.

⁴¹⁴ Berlin, 1753. Facsimile reprint, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957, 128–129.

⁴¹⁵ Letter of 27 November 1831; *KCh*, i:190.

Karol Kurpiński's *Wykład systematyczny zasad muzyki na klawikord* [Systematic exposition of the principles of music for clavichord] was published by F. Klurowski's music store in 1819, and so when the nine-year-old Chopin had already been studying with Żywny for at least two years. It is inconceivable that a copy of a newly published work written in Polish on the principles of piano playing could not have ended up, directly or through his teacher, in the hands of the Wunderkind that Chopin was considered to be, not only as a composer of 'several dances and variations' and a printed Polonaise, but also as a pianist who 'plays the most difficult pieces on the piano with the greatest ease and exceptional taste',⁴¹⁶ and on pages 35 and 47 of this little work we find clear and unequivocal indications for playing the semiquavers of a dotted rhythm *simultaneously* with the third note of a triplet.

14. As we know, Chopin took lessons in composition from the most eminent Polish pedagogue at that time, Józef Elsner. Unfortunately, the details of these studies are also impossible to reconstruct today. If, however, we look at the extant autographs of Elsner's own works, we find in relevant places *solely* the use of the classical convention of the figure under discussion. One could hardly suppose that Elsner would have taught Chopin something contrary to his own compositional practice. The fact that Elsner was familiar with the classical German schools is beyond doubt, and it is highly likely that among them he had come across C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch*.⁴¹⁷

15. The use of a rhythmic figure understood similarly to how we see it in Chopin can also be found in the music of other composers whose works Chopin may have been familiar with during his Warsaw years, primarily Karol Kurpiński (this time as a composer), Maria Szymanowska and C. P. E. Bach (in his Polonaises published in 1819).

Thus we may consider it highly likely that among the musical works which shaped the tastes of the young Chopin before he left Poland, he came across no other use and understanding of the rhythmic figure under discussion.

16. The models of other composers in this matter could not have cast doubts over its understanding during any period of his oeuvre, since this figure appeared in the same graphic form not only in Bach, whom Chopin, as we know, particularly revered and whose compositions he studied meticulously, but also in

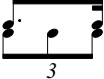
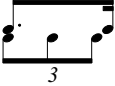
⁴¹⁶ Both quotations from the *Pamiętnik Warszawski*, 4/10 (1818).

⁴¹⁷ See Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, 'Poglądy estetyczno-muzyczne Józefa Elsnera' [The aesthetic-musical views of Józef Elsner] (part of a collective work entitled *Poglądy na muzykę kompozytorów polskich doby przedchopinowskiej* [The views on music of Polish composers of the pre-Chopin era] (Cracow: TIFC and PWM, 1960), 55–58.

Haydn, Clementi, Mozart, Dušek, Cramer, Hummel (in the Septet, which Chopin played himself and gave his pupils to study), Kalkbrenner, Moscheles, Schubert, Herz, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Liszt,⁴¹⁸ Thalberg and others. We still find it in printed compositions by Chopin's pupil Karol Mikuli.⁴¹⁹

In my view, *arguments of an aesthetic nature* may also be taken into account when considering questions of this kind, on condition, however, that a certain selection is made among them, as one must exclude a priori arguments along the lines of 'this rhythmic solution is more dramatic' or 'more expressive', etc. After all, these are our subjective criteria, based primarily on... habit. In connection with the execution of the rhythmic figure of interest to us here, the printing traditions, suggesting the playing of the semiquavers after the third quaver of a triplet, created such a forceful habit in the understanding of this figure that argumentation invoking the superiority of this execution is a typical error of logic, known as *petitio principii*.

However, since the aim of the WN is to reconstruct that which is *authentic*, from Chopin himself, and so also that which might have appealed to Chopin's taste, we should seek ways of arguing our assertions also from this aesthetic point of view, in spite of the fact that the source arguments might in themselves be already wholly sufficient for our thesis, and historical arguments confirm it for us.

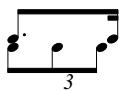
17. Were we to assume that the execution of our figure  or  could have been determined by Chopin's inclination towards gentle or

⁴¹⁸ Irrespective of the fact that in Liszt's compositions we find in many places the strict vertical alignment of the last notes of the rhythmic figure under discussion, Liszt's proofreading of the Prelude in E major for the edition of Chopin's Preludes prepared by him (Breitkopf & Härtel, *Gesamtausgabe*; see n. 270 above) is most significant. In connection with one of the first figures in the Prelude, he notes in the margin of a proof a comment (written in German) that could only refer to the notation of the figure of interest to us here: 'please adhere to the manuscript; I believe it must signify  .

⁴¹⁹ I do not claim that the composers named here used this figure, both in notation and in performance, *exclusively* in the Bachian understanding. In order to express such an opinion, one would have to examine all available authentic sources for the works of each of them separately, which for the WN editors was obviously not feasible. In our considerations, it suffices to state that they used this convention at least *on a par* with the convention of writing and performing the short note after the last note in the triplet.

sharp dotted rhythms, then we have a pertinent remark made by Mikuli, passed down orally through Stanisław Niewiadomski and Karol Stromenger:

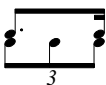
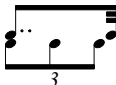
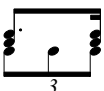
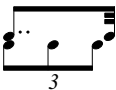
I had many conversations with Stanisław Niewiadomski, whom I tried several times to persuade to write an article entitled 'What Karol Mikuli told me about Chopin'. He did not write such an article, and so it seems to me all the more important to remember what Niewiadomski said on this subject. These were generally small details, none too significant [...]. Among the factual remarks, one was most valuable, namely that in the piano playing of his pupils Chopin very firmly reprobated the playing of 'dotted rhythms' (e.g. a dotted quaver followed by semiquavers) as 'double-dotted' rhythms (that is, a quaver with two dots followed by demisemiquavers)... Karol Stromenger.⁴²⁰

18. One may attempt to employ a method enabling us to test Chopin's preference in respect to the figure in question in a more meticulous way. There exist a number of Chopin compositions possessing metric markings 6/8 and 12/8. One very frequent phenomenon at that time was the interchangeability of the 2/4 metre with triplets and 6/8, and of C (or C) with triplets and 12/8, and vice versa. I pointed to this phenomenon in Chopin's music in the above-quoted letter to Fontana on the copying of the Tarantella; it is also shown by the original idea for writing the middle section of the Impromptu in G flat major, Op. 51 in 12/8, later changed to C with triplets. In these cases, a crotchet in C (C) corresponds to a dotted crotchet in 12/8, and a triplet in C (C) to a group of three quavers in 12/8. But then to what figure would the dotted rhythm  in C (C) against a triplet correspond? When one intends to perform it , then  will correspond to it; when , then .⁴²¹ An exact

⁴²⁰ A note by Professor Karol Stromenger addressed to me, dated 8 November 1963, for which I hereby offer him my sincere thanks.

⁴²¹ Playing the short note after the dotted note as exactly one quarter of the sum of the values of the two notes (and so, for example, exactly a semiquaver after a dotted quaver, against an even triplet in another voice) is very difficult, unnatural, and in a larger number of consecutive figures simply impossible. If a pianist plays the short note after the last note of the triplet, assuming that the short note, as one quarter of the value, should be struck after the last note of the triplet, as one third of the value, then in practice he is playing that short note as one sixth of the whole value, and not one quarter, as he originally intended.

statistical breakdown of all the places of this sort in the whole Chopin oeuvre shows that of the 100% of places in a context encompassing these two possibilities in 6/8 or 12/8 time, the figure  occurs in 99.35% and the figure  only in the remaining 0.65%.

In order to emphasise that this calculation may be an argument in favour of Chopin's aesthetic leanings in respect to certain rhythmic phrases, I shall give a comparative calculation of the proportions of the figures  and  used by him. The authentic — in our opinion — understanding of the figure  with the simultaneous striking of the last notes occurs in 96.8%, and the figure  with the striking of the short note of a double-dotted rhythm after the last note of the triplet in the remaining 3.2%.

19. Sometimes advanced as an argument in favour of the possibility of striking the semiquaver after the last note of the triplet is Chopinian *rubato*. However, this argument does not withstand criticism. Since we do not have a musical *recording* — so commonplace today — from Chopin's time which would allow us to reconstruct Chopin's actual *rubato*, we are obliged to confine ourselves to a *description* of this feature of his playing, transmitted by his contemporaries. It emerges from all the accounts (given by Liszt, Mikuli, Mathias and Camille Dubois) that *rubato* was the *independence of the tempos* of the two hands over certain segments of a work, with the accompanying hand playing strictly to the beat. This irregularity of *tempo* could not refer, of course, to a single note (in the figure under discussion, to the short note after the dotted note), but to a number of notes occurring consecutively, and so to at least a part of a phrase; in the case of our figure, one might, in light of this, discuss with equal success the simultaneity or non-simultaneity of the playing of the dotted note with the first note of the triplet and not only the last notes of these figures. And then the whole issue should be expanded and we should begin to consider the problem of the simultaneity of the notes written in a vertical order, which according to the principles of rhythm are to be played together. Besides this, descriptions of *rubato* speak not only of the hand leading the melody falling *behind*, but also of it getting *ahead*, and so in relation to our figure we would also have to consider

the possibility of playing the semiquaver *before* the third note of the triplet, which, however, no one discussing the problem has done. As we can see, counter-arguments against the Bachian understanding of the figure under discussion by means of Chopinian rubato bring nothing new to the matter. Let us not forget here that whilst we have testimonies to the use of rubato in the playing of Chopin *himself*, we have no evidence that he recommended this manner of playing to anyone else. What we do have, meanwhile, is a comment from Mikuli that appears even to oppose this possibility:

In keeping time Chopin was inexorable, and some readers will be surprised to learn that the metronome never left his piano.

Another remark has an even closer link — perhaps — with our special problem of the simultaneous striking of the last notes of the figure in question:

For playing double notes and chords, Chopin demanded that the notes be struck simultaneously; breaking was allowed only where the composer himself had specified it⁴²²

To summarise, we can see that *all the arguments speak in favour* of the Bachian understanding of this figure in Chopin, whilst *none speaks against*.⁴²³

⁴²² Both remarks from the Preface to Mikuli's edition, as cited in J.-J. Eigeldinger, *Chopin pianist and teacher* (see above, n. 245), 49 and 41.

⁴²³ The writing of the short notes after the dotted note in a vertical order above (below) the third note of the triplet in source editions of the works of Johann Sebastian Bach is becoming the general rule (see the Steingräber edition, prepared by H. Bischoff, the Peters Urtext editions, prepared by F. Kroll, K. Soldan, A. Kreutz and H. Keller, the Henle edition, volumes prepared by O. Irmer and R. Steglich, the Bärenreiter and Deutscher Verlag für Musik edition, volumes prepared by A. Dürr, G. v. Dadelsen and H. Besseler). The Handel source edition (Bärenreiter and Deutscher Verlag für Musik, one of the volumes prepared by J. P. Hinnenthal) also recommends the simultaneous striking of the last notes of the figure under discussion. This principle is beginning to enter source editions of Mozart (Peters, *Klavierstücke*, ed. K. Soldan) and even Urtext editions of Schubert (Henle, volumes prepared by W. Giesecking and P. Mies), where, although semiquavers are written after the last notes of triplets, the editors' comments leave the ultimate decision as to the realisation of these figures to the performer.

On the basis of both the above examples taken from the domain of musical editing and also the increasingly frequent publications of an historico-theoretical character, one sees clearly that the problem of the notation and execution of dotted rhythms against triplets is slowly beginning to move beyond the scope of eighteenth-century music.

Conclusion

It is a matter of course that the undertaking of a work such as the Polish National Edition of the Works of Fryderyk Chopin (WN) required the creation of a material foundation. This foundation was provided by the Polish Ministry of Culture and the Arts, as the executor of the Act of the Council of State of 4 February 1959 which called the WN into being. Work on the National Edition would not have been possible as well without extensive assistance from institutions, teams of experts and private individuals.

The material and organisational mainstay of the preparatory work on the present *Introduction*, the first music volume (Ballades) and the Source Commentary to that volume was the Fryderyk Chopin Society in Warsaw (TiFC), to the Board of which, under the chairmanship of Professor Zbigniew Drzewiecki and the direction of Jan Bystrzycki, I owe the undertaking of the initiative of the WN. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the executive staff under the direction of Dr Dalila Turło and the administrative staff under Wiktor Weinbaum for their assistance with the realisation of these first publications of the WN, and especially for giving me permanent access, in the form most convenient for me, to the sources in the Society's possession. For giving me access to sources in the form of originals, facsimiles and photocopies, I also extend my thanks to the following institutions: in Warsaw, the Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne and Archiwum Akt Nowych; in Cracow, the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Muzeum Czartoryskich, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie and Biblioteka Polskiego Wydawnictwa Muzycznego; in Wrocław, the Biblioteka Ossolineum; in Bydgoszcz, the Biblioteka Miejska w Bydgoszczy; in Paris, the Bibliothèque Polonaise, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Bibliothèque Nationale and Bibliothèque de l'Opéra; and also the British Museum, London, Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow, Mariemont Museum, Belgium, National Bibliothek, Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden and Leipzig,

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Geneva, and Robert Owen Lehman Foundation, Washington DC.

Particular gratitude for assistance in transmitting sources is due to the French Embassy in Warsaw, the Polish Embassy in Paris and the Polish Embassy in Stockholm.

I am also grateful to the Dom Książki music antiquary in Warsaw (dir. S. Miłojczyk) and Wrocław (dir. E. Jaroszewicz), the S. A. Krzyżanowski antiquaries in Cracow and the Walter Ricke music antiquary in Munich for indicating the Chopin sources in their possession.

My work was greatly facilitated by access to materials relating to the *Korespondencja Oskara Kolberga*, prior to its publication, which I owe to the editors of the *Dzieł Wszystkich Oskara Kolberga* (Poznań), in which I was assisted above all by Professor Józef Burszta and Agata Skrukwa.

Among the private individuals who allowed me access to their valuable sources, I am grateful first and foremost to Alfred Cortot (Lausanne), Anthony van Hoboken (Ascona, Switzerland), Arthur Hedley (London), the heirs to the collection of Stefan Zweig (London), Artur Rubinstein (Paris), Rudolf Nydahl (Stockholm), Gregor Piatigorsky (USA), Christian Zabriskie (USA) and Dr R. F. Kallir (New York). Particular thanks are due to Witold Małcużyński, who made the decisive contribution to recovering the largest collection of Chopin manuscripts.

I thank also those individuals who have spared no pains in searching for particular sources or have placed them at the disposal of the editors, including Professor Lidia Stolfowa (Cracow), Natalia Hornowska (Warsaw), Marta Gozdecka (Warsaw), Janusz Cegiełło (Warsaw), Aureli Kędzierski (Radom), Halina Czarowska (Cracow), Irena Mondelska-Wyrzykowska (Poznań), J. Gudel (Kutno), H. G. Homuth (Lüneburg), Dr Ewald Zimmermann (Duisburg) and Dr Jarosław Simonides (Prague).

A long-standing general instance of consultation in all issues related to the body of editorial problems in the WN, to whom, for this reason, a word of gratitude is due above all, was the team of specialists assembled within the Academic Council of the TiFC in Warsaw under the successive direction of Professor Jan Hoffman (Cracow), Professor Kazimierz Sikorski (Warsaw) and Mieczysław Tomaszewski (Cracow). After the editor had prepared all the materials for the *Introduction*, the first music volume (Ballades) and the Source Commentary to that volume, the Academic Council appointed a fifteen-strong team of reviewers, drawn from among the members of the Council itself and also among outstanding specialists from beyond its ranks. Ultimately, nine of

CONCLUSION

those individuals submitted reviews of the material: Professor Igor Belza (Moscow), Professor Józef Chomiński (Warsaw), Professor Zbigniew Drzewiecki (Warsaw), Professor Konrad Górski (Toruń), Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (Stawisko, near Warsaw), Professor Zofia Lissa (Warsaw), Adam Rieger (Cracow), Professor Witold Rudziński (Warsaw) and Mieczysław Tomaszewski (Cracow). The reviewers gave a positive assessment — both in the texts of their reviews and at the specially convened conference — of the presented material as suitable for publication, whilst at the same time putting forward a number of pertinent and perspicacious comments, of which I have taken the utmost account in the final redaction. In thanking all the reviewers for their extremely thorough approach to evaluating the material, I would like to apologise to them here for citing their names quite seldom when incorporating their suggestions. I consider that this would be overly distracting to the reader and might also constitute a kind of ballast, for example in the case of reviewers' polemicising among themselves or with the editor. I took the liberty of citing their views in the footnotes only a few times, namely when they brought something completely new to the nomenclature, when their opinions constituted an additional argument for the thesis advanced by the editor or when their authority determined the choice of one among several possibilities.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank also Professor Olgierd Wojtasiewicz (Warsaw University) for his critical perusal of the typescript of the present *Introduction*.

A particularly pleasant duty for me is to express my gratitude for their dedicated work to all the editors' direct collaborators. First of all, I must mention my wife, Maria, whose disinterested copying out of thousands of pages of typescript and dozens of pages of musical text, and above all over a decade of personal sacrifice made a huge contribution to the realisation of the first publications of the WN. Next I offer my sincere thanks for their extremely precise and punctual work to all those people who carried out auxiliary editorial tasks, such as the collating of the texts of first editions, bibliographical research, the grouping according to problem areas of the various elements of Chopin's works, etc. The team of these individuals comprised Halina Ekier, Krystyna Brzezicka, Barbara Frydrychowicz, Natalia Hornowska, Janina Ohrt, Witalis Raczkiewicz, Stanisław Sobański and Irena Sydow. These persons did not restrict themselves solely to the exemplary execution of the tasks specified in their contracts, but they shared with one another, sometimes over a number of years, every new discovery and every new thought or remark related directly or indirectly to the subjects on which they were working.

I offer a separate word of thanks to the individuals who have run the editor's office: Krystyna Fangor, Krystyna Brzezicka and Stefania Golańska.

In undertaking the realisation of the WN, the PWM in Cracow guarantees the highest possible editorial standards of the edition. Under the successive direction of Tadeusz Ochlewski and Mieczysław Tomaszewski, as a result of a large number of debates and conferences of all its sections, PWM is perfecting all the editorial elements that comprise the WN. For this approach to the WN, I would like to warmly thank the entire staff at PWM, and first and foremost Mieczysław Tomaszewski, who, besides his work in coordinating the large number of elements comprising an undertaking of this kind, helped me to resolve specific editorial problems (for example, the ultimate division of the edition into volumes) and problems of merit (for instance, establishing the chronology of the Songs). Yet I feel the warmest gratitude to him for his unwaning enthusiasm for the cause of the WN in general, particularly at the times when external circumstances were not conducive to the continuation of the edition. I would also like to stress what a pleasure it has been to work with the staff at the PWM, especially Teresa Chylińska (editor) and Lidia Górka (graphic designer), the matrix workshop and proofreading department, closely connected with issues relating to the editing of the WN, whilst expressing at the same time the utmost recognition for their professional competence and their meticulous work at all its stages. I would also express my sincere appreciation to the staff of the Drukarnia Narodowa and Krakowskie Zakłady Graficzne for so marvellously executing such a difficult task, and to Henryk Wiśniewski, director of the Technical-Production Department at PWM, for his extremely solicitous care over the technical side of the realisation of the Edition.

The stamp of an outstanding artistic individuality on the layout and appearance of the WN as a whole was made by Wojciech Zamecznik, who produced the sketches for the covers and designed the character of the letter type for the whole Edition as well as many other details contributing to the appearance of the Edition. I thank Mr Zygmunt Kasicki of PWM, supervisor of the realisation of the layout and appearance of the Edition, for his creative contribution to the continuation of those original graphic ideas.

I also owe my thanks to the photographers, Stefan Deptuszek and Franciszek Myszkowski, for their extremely meticulous execution of all the photocopies of sources and for giving the WN priority among their numerous projects.

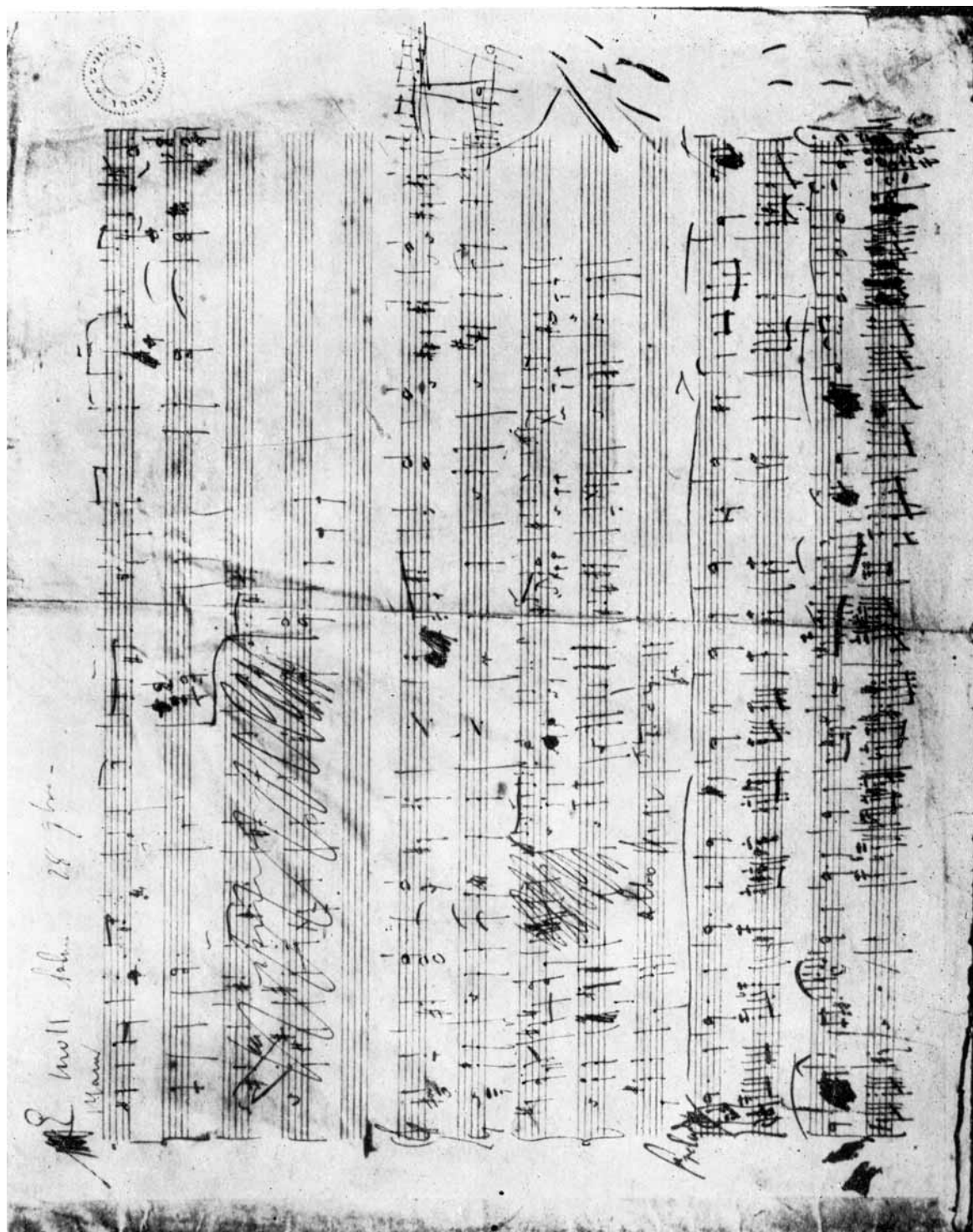
To close, a few words of justification on my part as editor. The Act of the Council of State that brought the WN into being dates from 1959. The WN was conceived as one of the ways of commemorating the 150th anniversary of

CONCLUSION

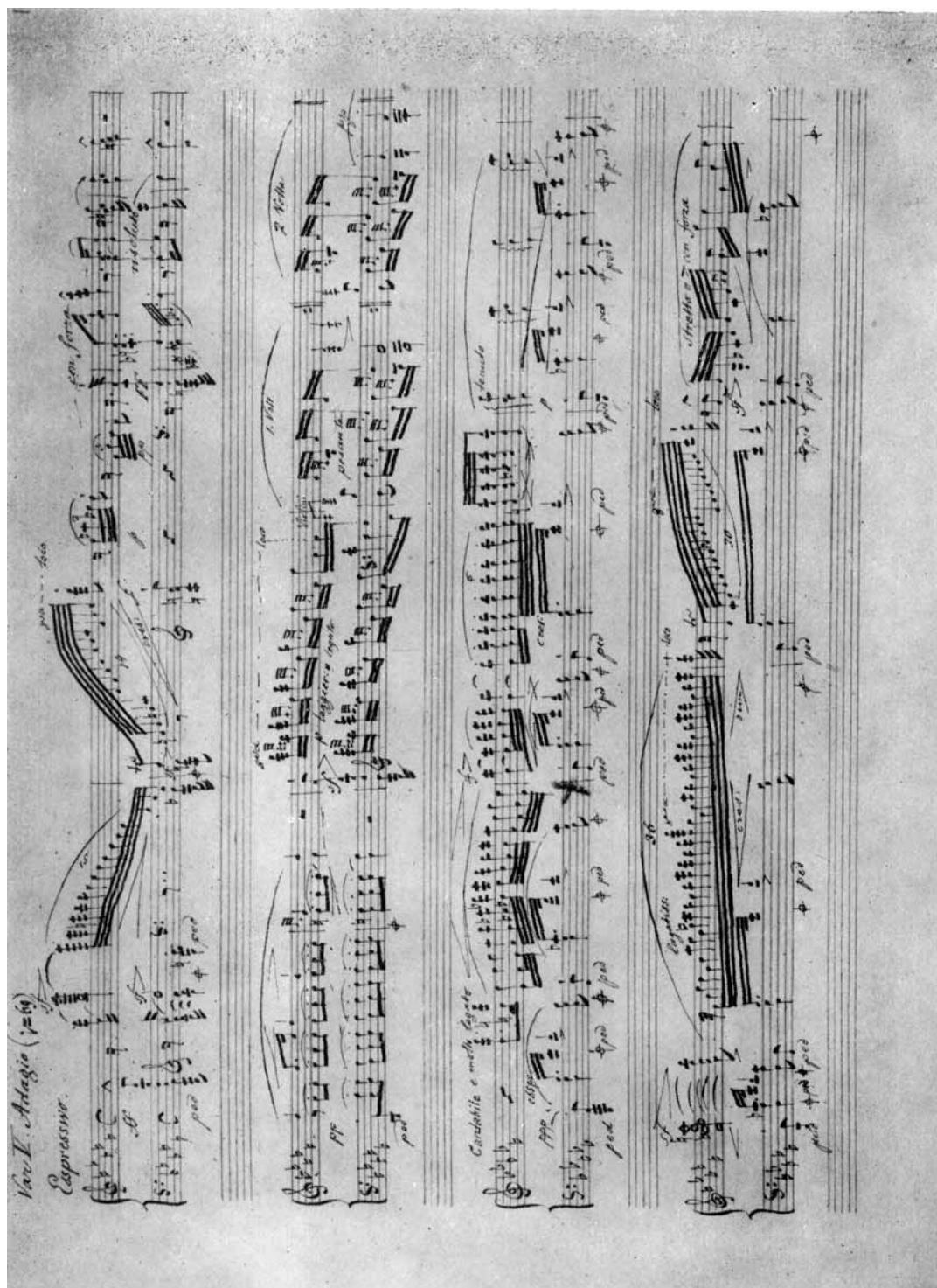
Chopin's birth, which fell in 1960. The publication of the first volume (Ballades) was scheduled for 1961. This volume actually appeared in 1967, and the present *Introduction* is submitted to print in March 1973. This delay is not the result of any sluggishness on the part of the WN editor writing these words. Irrespective of the fact that he could not interrupt his pianistic and pedagogic work (on account of the WN, among other things), irrespective of the 'objective' difficulties accompanying every multi-faceted and complex undertaking of this kind (which can be gauged by the continuing organisational impossibility of constituting a *permanent* auxiliary team of a few members to assist the editors), the material itself on more than one occasion put up considerable resistance. The search for missing sources, the scrutiny of new problems arising as work progressed, the revisiting of issues seemingly resolved long before and which, on closer inspection, forced us to take them up again on a different basis, the elaboration of new methods in seeking out the authentic truth contained in Chopin's work — this all meant that there were times when it seemed that the material was growing in our hands and that no end to our work could be seen. However many times in such instances the editor was faced with the choice of 'on time, but worse' or 'late, but better', he always chose the latter. The sum of the organisational difficulties and those previously unanticipated decisions resulted in the Edition being delayed. At present, the possibility of arriving at correct organisational solutions appears to be more realistic, and the period of the material's resistance can be considered as closed. This does not mean that definitive solutions have been found for all the problems or that no further material is needed; and I do not claim that no errors can ever be found in the WN. I only presume that at the present time we may at least speak of a general command of the principal issues relating to the possibility of reconstructing the true artistic ideas contained in Chopin's works. If the future were to show that the tolerance of error in the WN did not exceed the admissible percentage and that the problems, if not solved, have at least been correctly diagnosed, then the editor will consider his task fulfilled.

Illustrations

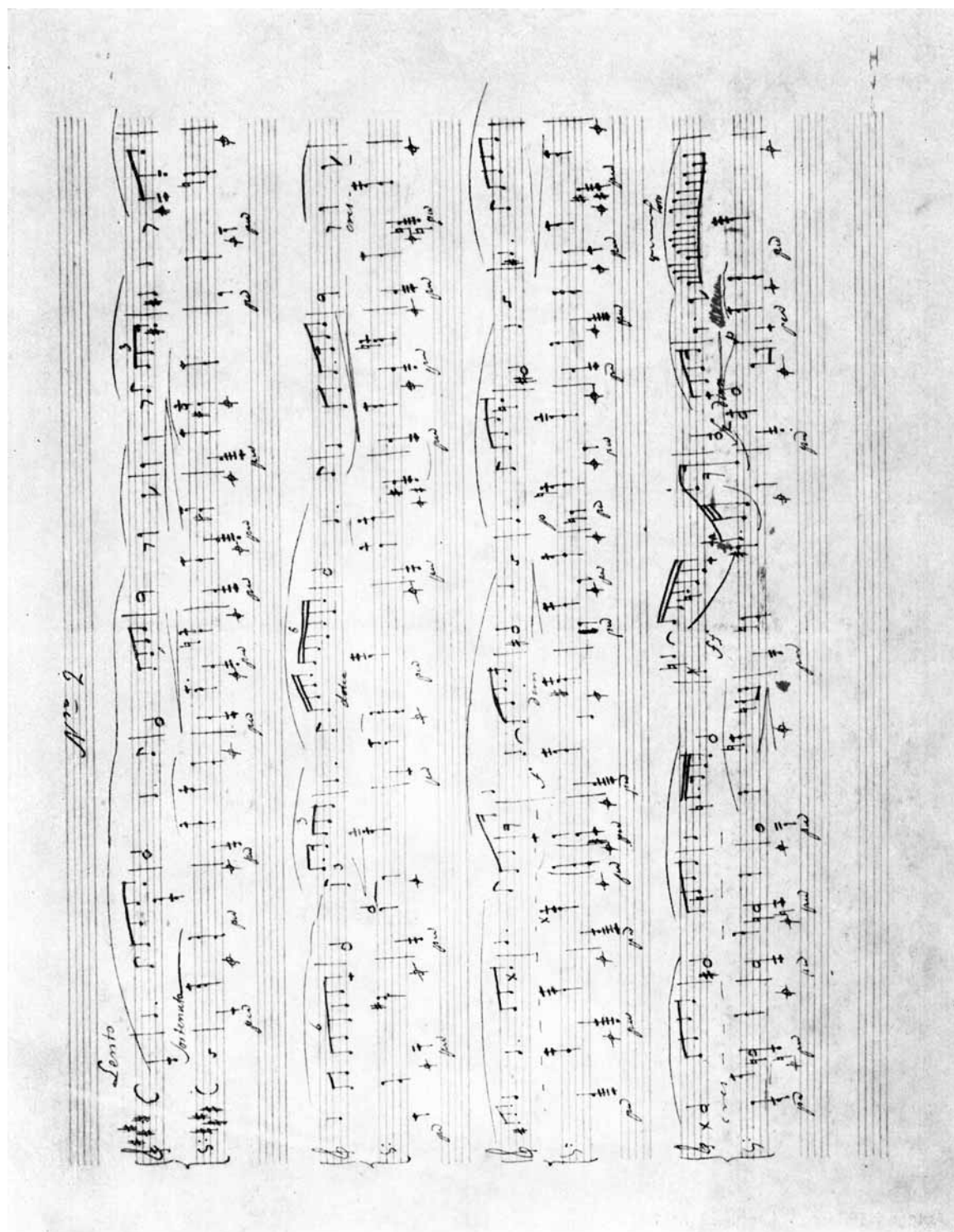
1. Autograph sketch of the Mazurka in E minor, Op. 41 No. 1 and Prelude in E minor, Op. 28 No. 4
2. Fair autograph of Variation V from Op. 2 (beginning)
3. Fair autograph of the Nocturne in E major, Op. 62 No. 2 (first page of music)
4. Autograph of the Polonaise in A major, Op. 40 No. 1 (second page of music)
5. Copy by Fontana of the Scherzo in B flat minor, Op. 31 (first page of music)
6. Copy by Gutmann of the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35 (first page of music)
7. French first edition (M. Schlesinger, Paris) of the Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29 (first page of music)
8. German first edition (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig) of the Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29 (first page of music)
9. English first edition (Wessel & Co. London) of the Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29 (first page of music)
10. Proof of the French first edition (M. Schlesinger, Paris) of the Etude in A minor, Op. 10 No. 2 with Chopin's own corrections (second page)
11. 'Unpublished compositions' — list compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (first page)
12. 'Unpublished compositions' — list compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (second page)
13. 'Unpublished compositions' — list compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (third page)
14. 'Unpublished compositions' — list compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (fourth, last page)
15. Fair autograph of the Prelude in E major, Op. 28 No. 9
16. Fair autograph of the close of the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61 (last fifteen bars) and German first edition of the close of the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61 prepared from the above autograph (last fifteen bars)



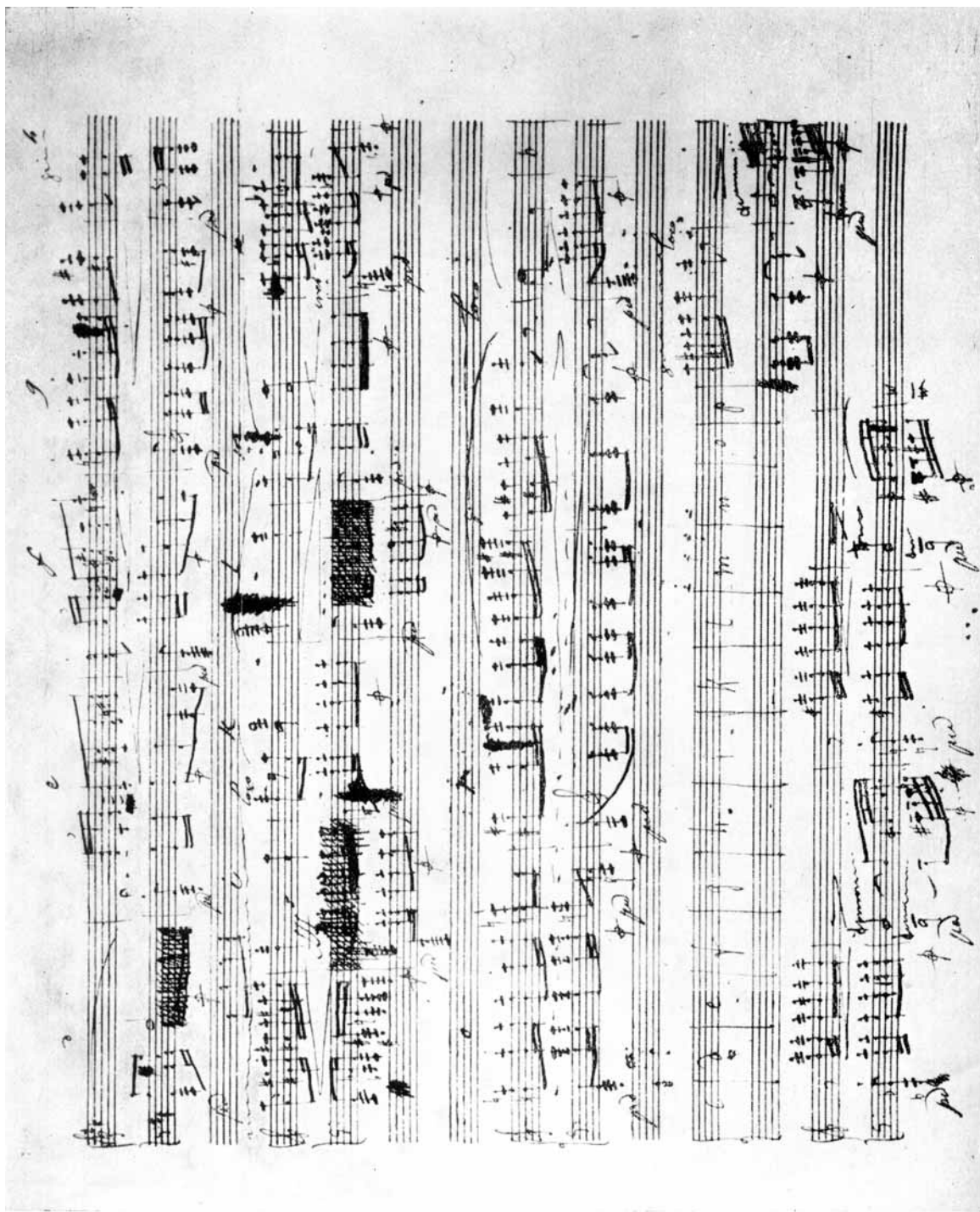
1. Autograph sketch of the Mazurka in E minor, Op. 41 No. 1 and Prelude in E minor, Op. 28 No. 4



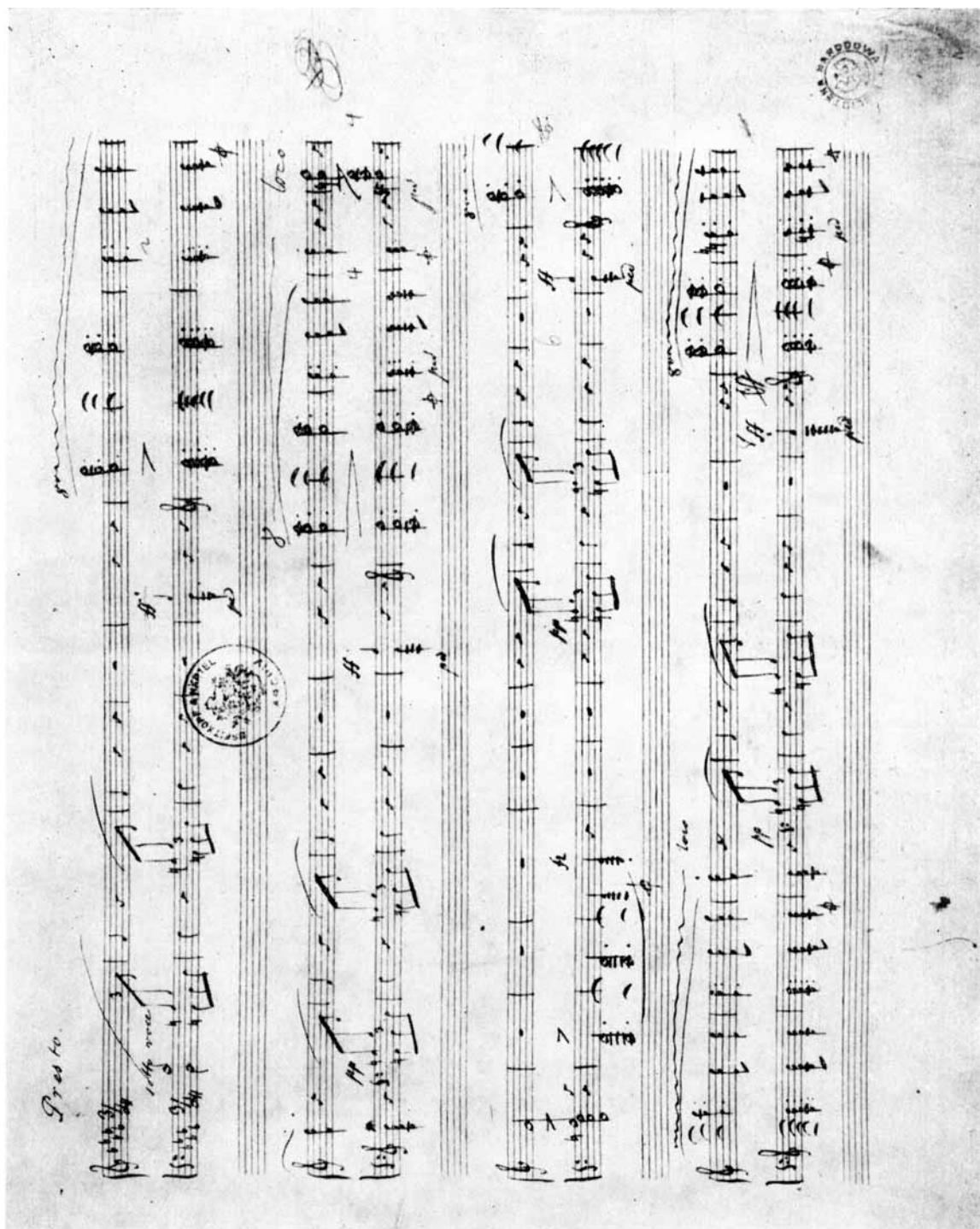
2. Fair autograph of Variation V from Op. 2 (beginning)



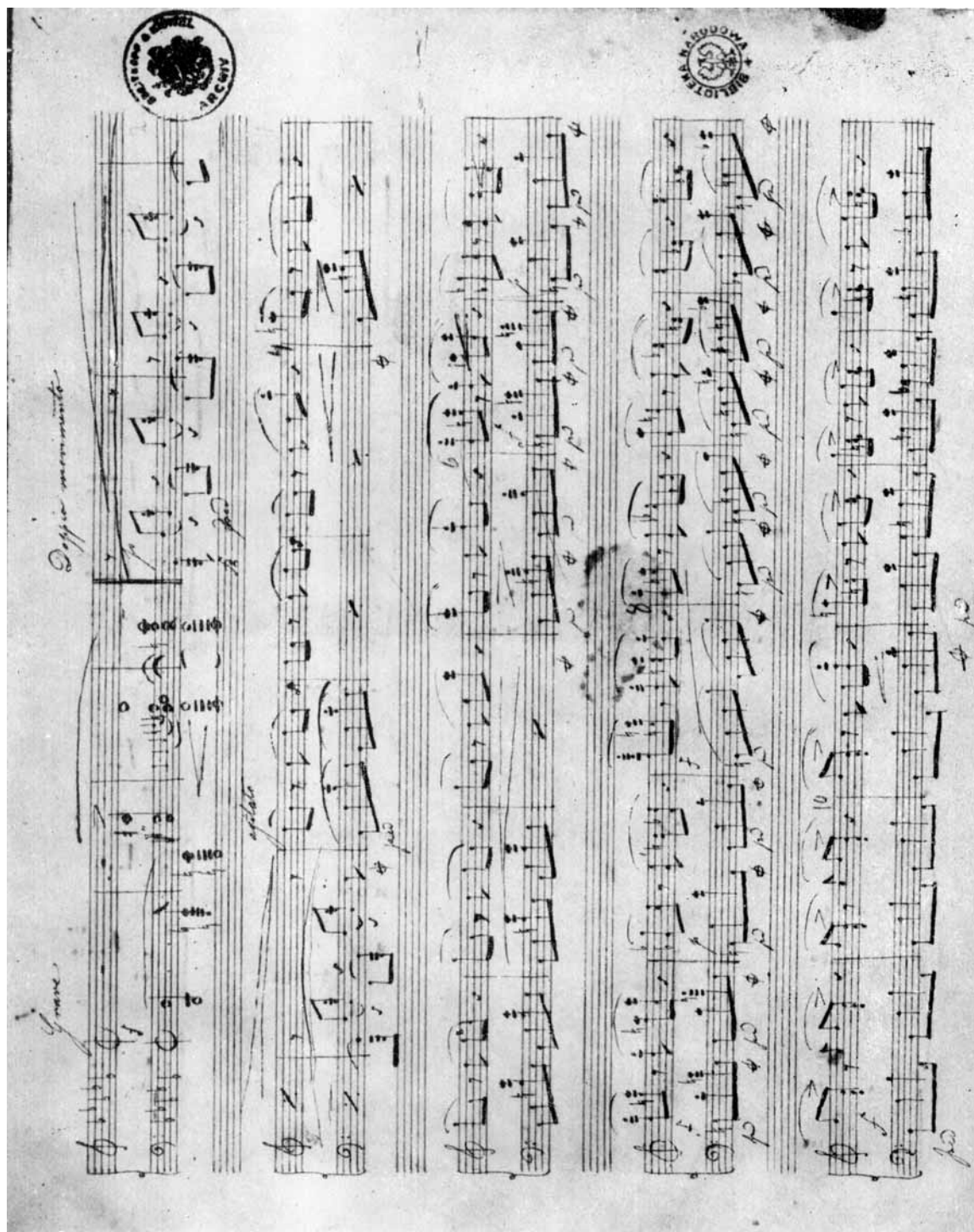
3. Fair autograph of the Nocturne in E major, Op. 62 No. 2 (first page of music)



4. Autograph of the Polonaise in A major, Op. 40 No. 1 (second page of music)



5. Copy by Fontana of the Scherzo in B flat minor, Op. 31 (first page of music)



6. Copy by Gutmann of the Sonata in B flat minor, Op. 35 (first page of music)

IMPROMPTU.

All.^o assai quasi presto.

PIANO. *legato*

Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕

Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕ Ped. ⊕

Ped. ⊕

Ped. ⊕

M.S. 2467.

7. French first edition (M. Schlesinger, Paris) of the Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29 (first page of music)

F. CHOPIN. Op. 29. 3

ALLEGRO ASSAI QUASI PRESTO.

IMPROMPTU.

legato.

BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL

8. German first edition (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig) of the Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29 (first page of music)

Chopin
Impromptu

2

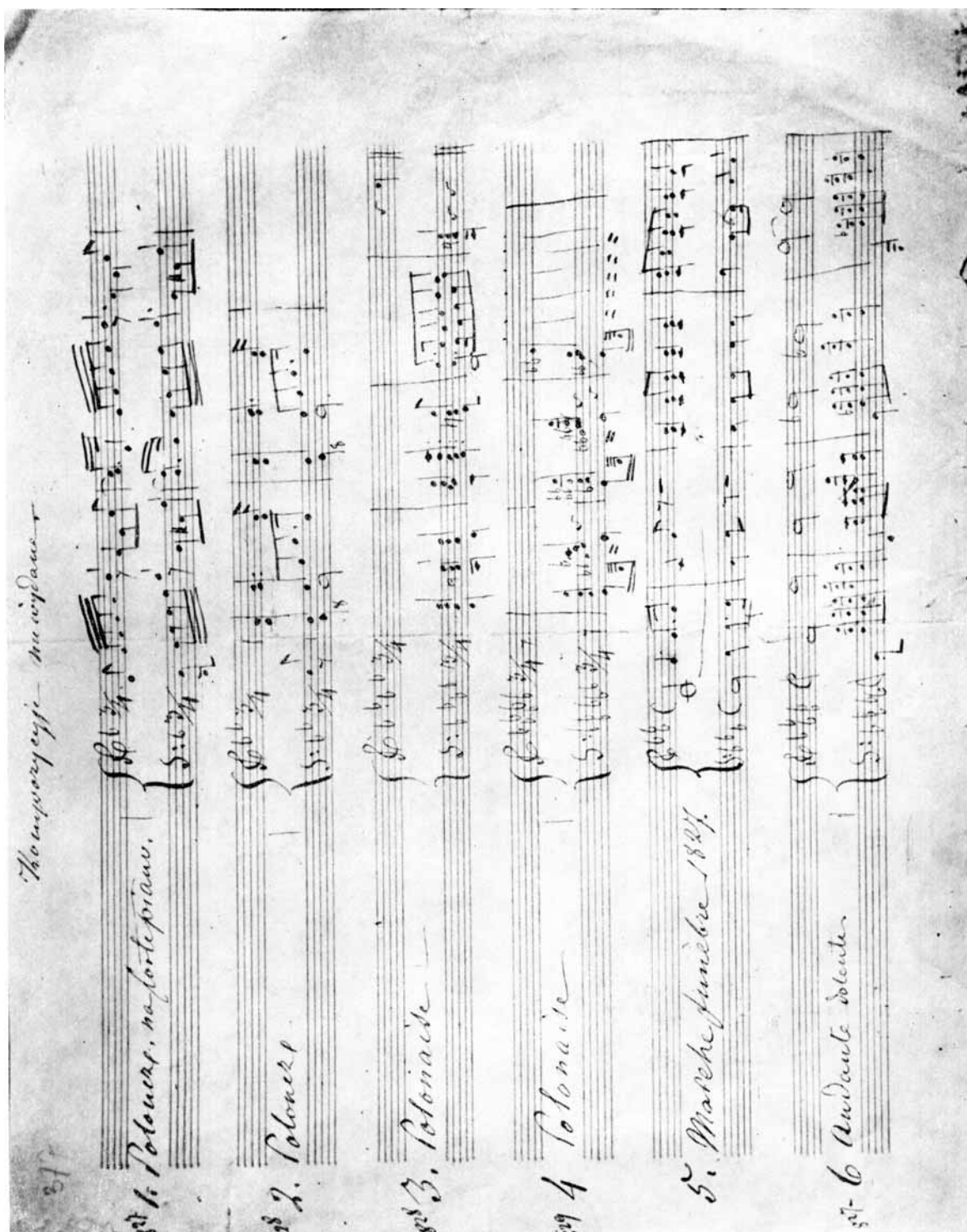
IMPROMPTU, Composé par FREDERIC CHOPIN. (OP. 29.)

Allegro assai
quasi Presto.

Legato.

* F. W. & CO. LONDON

9. English first edition (Wessel & Co. London) of the Impromptu in A flat major, Op. 29 (first page of music)



11. 'Unpublished compositions' — list compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (first page)

1. 1898.
Piano forte 1^{ma}

2. *Allegro à deux pianos.*
Piano forte 1^{ma}

3. *Ande przytane mi z tuteknie 1896.*
Piano forte 1^{ma}

4. *Święto w rodzinie Molluska.*
Piano forte 1^{ma}

5. *Święto Matki 1898.*
Piano forte 1^{ma}

6. *Święto à la mazur*
Andante w 3/4 czasu 1898 si

7. *Święto à la mazur*
Andante w 3/4 czasu 1898 si

8. *Święto à la mazur*
Andante w 3/4 czasu 1898 si

9. *Święto à la mazur*
Andante w 3/4 czasu 1898 si

10. *Święto à la mazur*
Andante w 3/4 czasu 1898 si

11. *Święto à la mazur*
Andante w 3/4 czasu 1898 si

12. 'Unpublished compositions' — list compiled by Ludwika Jędrzejewicz (second page)

1825. *Magnuski. Nocturne.*

1826. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1827. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1828. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1829. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1830. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1831. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1832. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1833. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1834. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1835. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1836. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1837. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1838. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1839. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1840. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1841. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1842. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1843. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1844. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1845. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1846. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1847. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1848. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1849. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1850. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1851. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1852. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1853. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1854. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1855. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1856. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1857. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1858. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1859. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1860. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1861. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1862. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1863. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1864. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1865. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1866. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1867. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

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1869. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1870. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1871. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1872. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1873. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1874. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1875. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1876. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1877. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1878. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1879. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1880. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1881. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1882. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1883. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1884. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1885. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1886. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1887. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1888. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1889. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1890. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1891. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1892. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1893. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1894. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1895. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

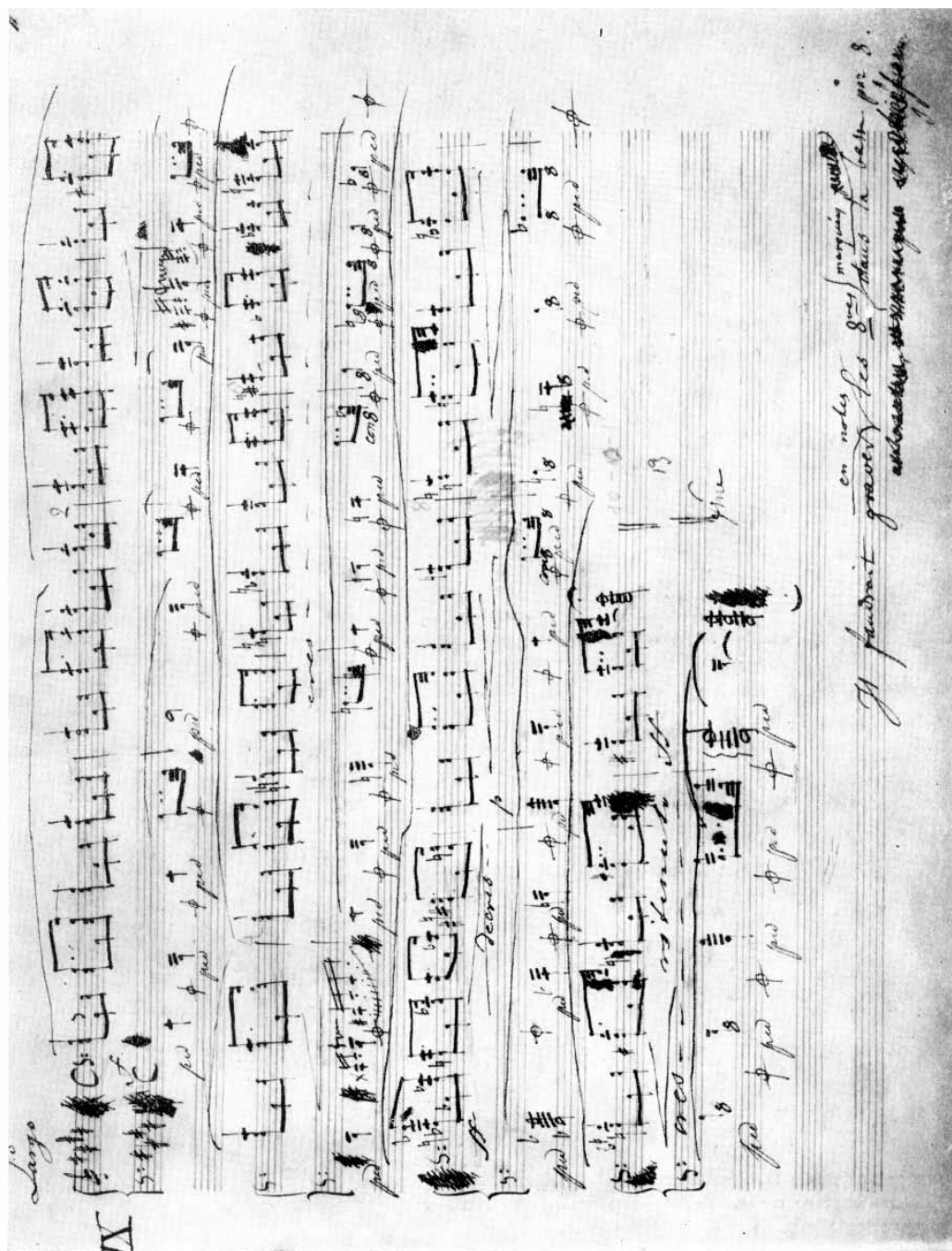
1896. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1897. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

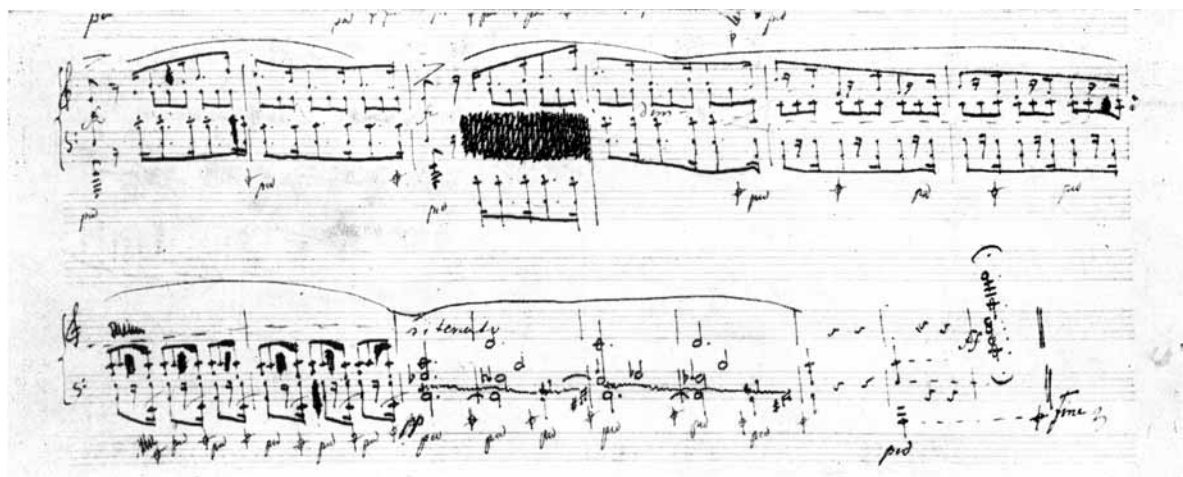
1898. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1899. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*

1900. *Op. 10. Hoffmann.*



15. Fair autograph of the Prelude in E major, Op. 28 No. 9



This image shows a printed musical score for the close of the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system continues the piece, featuring a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The third system concludes the piece with a 'Fine' marking. The notation is complex, with many notes and rests. Dynamic markings like 'dim.' (diminuendo) and 'ritenuto' (ritenuto) are visible. The score is printed in black ink on aged paper.

16. Fair autograph of the close of the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61 (last fifteen bars) and German first edition of the close of the Polonaise-Fantasy, Op. 61 prepared from the above autograph (last fifteen bars)

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