

Notes

1 Liszt: the Romantic artist

1. The explication of Romanticism as a paradox of internal contradictions has a long and distinguished history, reflective perhaps of the frustration experienced by cultural historians who have attempted to forge a coherent definition with its roots in the artworks themselves. It is far easier to define Romanticism in terms of that which its exponents rejected (rigidity, compromise, ease, predictability, pragmatism, slavishness to tradition) or to define the elements of a Romantic attitude to life and art (vocation, integrity, idealism, self-sacrifice, minoritarianism) than to bring the artworks of European Romanticism tidily under a single roof. Excellent examples of the 'contradictions' approach are given in Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1947), pp. 37–52; and Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, ed. Henry Hardy (London: Pimlico, 2000), pp. 14–20.

2. *Liszt, An Artist's Journey. Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique 1835–41*: Franz Liszt, ed. and trans. Charles Suttoni (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. xiv.

3. Heinrich Heine, 'Lettre confidentielle II', *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* (henceforth RGM), 4 February 1838, given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 221.

4. *Ibid.*

5. After the tormented hero of Chateaubriand's novel of the same name. Eleanor Perényi in particular is dismissive: *Liszt: the Artist as Romantic Hero* (Boston & Toronto: Atlantic – Little Brown, 1974), p. 19. For an alternative interpretation, see Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: the Virtuoso Years 1811–1847* (rev. edn, London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), p. 138.

6. Robert Wangermée, 'Conscience et inconscience du virtuose romantique: à propos des années parisiennes de Franz Liszt', in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1987), pp. 553–73. Three recent essays have centred on aspects of this contradiction, which is central to an understanding of Liszt as a Romantic artist: Kerry Murphy, 'Liszt and Virtuosity in Paris in the 1830s: the Artist as Romantic Hero', in Frank Calloway, ed., *Essays in Honour of David Evatt Tunley* (Nedlands, AUS: Calloway International

Resource Centre for Music Education, the School of Music, University of Western Australia, 1995), pp. 91–104; Richard Leppert, 'Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt', in James Parakilas et al., eds., *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 252–81; and Lawrence Kramer, 'Franz Liszt and the Virtuoso Public Sphere: Sight and Sound in the Rise of Mass Entertainment', in *idem*, *Musical Meaning: Towards a Critical History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 68–99. However, the most sophisticated exposition to date of the Lisztian virtuoso/work-concept problem occurs in Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: the 'Transcendental Studies' of Liszt* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 66–86; see also my 'Berlioz, the Sublime and the Broderie Problem', in *Hector Berlioz: Miscellaneous Studies*, ed. Fulvia Morabito and Michela Niccolai (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2005), 1–31. On Schumann's criticism, see Leon B. Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); on Herz in Schlesinger's journal, see my *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris', 1834–1880* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 143–5.

7. The central figure in Hoffmann's *Kreisleriana*, a cycle of musical essays dating from 1814–15; Kreisler reappears in Hoffmann's satirical novel *Kater Murr* (1820–1).

8. Balzac, *Gambara* (1837), given in my *Music Criticism*, p. 51.

9. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier, La Revue et Gazette musicale* (RGM) (22 July 1838), given in *An Artist's Journey*, 66. I follow the now broad consensus that in these and other early writings the message is Liszt's, the medium often d'Agoult.

10. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier, RGM* (12 February 1837), given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 13.

11. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier, RGM* (16 July 1837), given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 28.

12. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier, RGM* (25 March 1838), given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 62.

13. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier, Gazette musicale* (24 October 1839), given in *An Artist's Journey*, 186. As a composer, Liszt was always attracted to

the idea of ‘translating’ literature and visual images into music: *Vallée d’Obermann* (Senancour) and the *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* (Lamartine) are early examples of a long-standing practice.

14. See the reviews quoted in Murphy, ‘Liszt and Virtuosity’, p. 100.

15. Relevant extracts from his letters of 10 and 16 September 1840 are given in Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, pp. 142–3.

16. Though unnamed, Liszt was recognised by his contemporaries as the model for the pianist-composer Brand-Sachs – an identity which he was later at pains to deny (see *Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d’Agoult*, ed. Daniel Ollivier (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1934), vol. II, 1840–1864, 372). Extracts from the story are available in Pierre-Antoine Huré and Claude Knepper, eds., *Liszt en son temps* (Paris: Hachette, 1987), pp. 170–4.

17. De Ferrière, *Brand-Sachs*, RGM (1 May 1836), p. 138. Further references to Brand-Sachs’s artistic contacts, lifestyle, enthusiasm for philosophy and vision of the artist’s priestly role cement the identity of Brand-Sachs and Liszt (*ibid.*).

18. My translation. It is notable that Marie d’Agoult described Liszt in similar terms in her *Mémoires*, even using the word ‘fantôme’ to describe her impression of him at their first meeting. See Bellas, ‘Du fantastique au merveilleux: Liszt, fils d’Hoffmann, chez M. de Pontmartin’, in *Missions et démarches de la critique: mélanges offerts au professeur J.-A. Vier* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973), pp. 157–70, at p. 158.

19. RGM, 24 April 1836, p. 133. Translations mine.

20. De Ferrière, *Brand-Sachs*, given in Huré and Knepper, *Liszt en son temps*, 173. Translation mine. De Ferrière’s description accords precisely with accounts of Liszt’s playing which emphasised the Romantic sublime, discussed below.

21. De Ferrière was indeed ambivalent towards the Romantic movement; but he was also enamoured of Marie d’Agoult, and *Brand-Sachs* was undoubtedly motivated by a desire for revenge – a desire which lay behind two other famous portrayals of Liszt, in Balzac’s *Béatrix*, ou *les amours forcés* of 1839 (instigated by George Sand) and Marie d’Agoult’s own *Nélida* (1846). Liszt refused to recognise himself in any of these *romans à clef*.

22. Liszt, article in *L’Artiste*, 16 June–11 August 1839, given in *An Artist’s Journey*, pp. 114–15.

23. Bellas, ‘Du fantastique au merveilleux’, p. 158. Translation mine.

24. Liszt, *Lettres d’un bachelier*, RGM (2 September 1838), given in *An Artist’s Journey*, p. 88.

25. Hanska, ‘Journal’, given in Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 199.

26. Cited in Murphy, ‘Liszt and Virtuosity’, p. 102. For more detail on Liszt, Berlioz and the place of the sublime in French Romantic musical thinking, see my ‘Berlioz, the Sublime, and the Broderie Problem’.

27. On Liszt and the sublime, see also Leppert, ‘Cultural Contradiction’, p. 259.

28. The relevant section of Burke’s treatise is given in *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Peter Le Huray and James Day (abridged edn, Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 61–2.

29. Berlioz’s first account appeared in the *Journal des débats*, 12 March 1837; the second was the revision he prepared for *A travers chants* (for a modern edition, see *Hector Berlioz: ‘The Art of Music’ and Other Essays* (‘*A travers chants*’), trans. Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 40. Legouvé’s account appears in his *Soixante ans de souvenirs*, 4th edn (Paris, 1886), given in Williams, *A Portrait of Liszt*, pp. 42–3.

30. Kramer, ‘Franz Liszt’, pp. 74 and 79. Kramer advances both these hypotheses, thereby neatly illustrating the paradox of the virtuoso interpreter that underlies his essay. He does, however, favour the ‘invisible showman’ interpretation (p. 79).

31. Berlioz, *Evenings in the Orchestra*, trans. C. R. Fortescue (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 152.

32. Théophile Gautier, ‘Franz Liszt’, in *La Presse*, 22 April 1844.

33. Heinrich Heine, ‘Lettres confidentielles II’, RGM, 4 February 1838, given in *An Artist’s Journey*, p. 223.

34. Caroline Barbey-Boissier, *La comtesse Agénor de Gasparin et sa famille: correspondance et souvenirs 1813–1894* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et al., 1902), given in Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 49.

35. Journal entry from Robert Bory, *Une retraite romantique en Suisse* (Lausanne: Editions SPES, 1930), given in Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 71.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

37. A more detailed analysis of this painting is given by Richard Leppert in ‘Cultural Contradiction’, pp. 256–7. Like so many of his predecessors, however, Leppert sees the all-important bust of Beethoven as placed *within* the room, on the piano, and not belonging to a different world.

38. Balzac, *Béatrice*, given in Perényi, *Liszt*, p. 89.

39. Samson analyses Liszt's relationship to the archetype of the alienated Romantic hero in similar vein, noting that he 'bought into this understanding of the hero . . . but only up to a point', and that his heroic ideal was less the angst-ridden or stoic sufferer than the 'Byronic actor and doer' (Samson, *Virtuosity*, 181). On the relation of Liszt to progress, reform and an avant-garde, see John Williamson, 'Progress, Modernity and the Concept of an Avant-Garde', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge, 2002), 287–317.

40. Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 58–9.

41. Emile Barrault, *Aux artistes. Du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts. (Doctrine de Saint-Simon)* (Paris: A. Mesnier, 1830), given in Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, p. 57.

42. Barrault, *Aux artistes*, given in Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, p. 49. What may not have been apparent to Liszt was that Barrault's manifesto – with all its Romantic images of soaring birds and heavenly fire – was a personal one, intended as a persuasive tool in the evolving debates about social hierarchies within the movement. Official documents from 1830 and 1831 made clear that the Saint-Simonian artist was not priest, but only populariser – the essential mediator between the leaders of the movement and the common people. See Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, pp. 47–52. Part of Liszt's essay 'De la situation des artistes et de leur condition dans la société' of 1835 may be indebted to Barrault's manifesto. Artists become: 'predestined, thunderstruck, enthralled men who have carried off the sacred flame from heaven . . . these priests of an ineffable, mystical and eternal religion which takes root and grows incessantly in our hearts'. Given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. xxii.

43. Translated extracts from this aphoristic work are given in Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 12–13.

44. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier*, RGM (11 February 1838), given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 50.

45. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier*, RGM (12 February 1837), given in *An Artist's Journey*, pp. 20–1.

46. Liszt, 'De la situation des artistes', RGM (3 May 1835). Given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 237. For the complete text, see *Franz Liszt: Pages romantiques*, ed. Jean Chantavoine (Paris and Leipzig: Editions d'Aujourd'hui, 1912), pp. 1–83.

47. Liszt, *Lettres d'un bachelier*, RGM (28 March 1838), given in *An Artist's Journey*, p. 168.

48. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

49. As, for instance, in Berlioz's utopian town of Euphonia, where 'In spite of the tremendous curiosity which [the town's music festivals] excite throughout the empire, under no circumstances would a listener be admitted if he was known to be unsuited and therefore unworthy to attend' (Berlioz, 'Euphonia, or the Musical Town, a Tale of the Future', from *Evenings in the Orchestra*, p. 255).

50. His transcriptions of Berlioz's orchestral music are particularly important in this respect.

51. Liszt, 'De la situation des artistes', in *Pages romantiques*, p. 58.

52. A key document in this respect is Liszt's letter of 23 January to Marie d'Agoult, in which he proposed to rebuild Weimar's cultural life around the three institutions of Court, Theatre and University. See *Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult*, vol. I, 1833–1840, p. 323.

53. My thanks to Ken Hamilton for pointing out this relationship.

54. See Paul A. Munson, 'The Librettos for Liszt's Oratorio *St Stanislaus*', in *Music & Letters* 78(4) (November 1997), pp. 532–50, esp. pp. 548–50.

55. Williamson, 'Progress', p. 308.

2 Inventing Liszt's life: early biography and autobiography

1. La Mara [Marie Lipsius], ed., *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900), p. 316. 'Zu einer Hälfte Zigeuner, zur andern Franziskaner'.

2. Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847* (rev. edn, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 1.

3. Joseph d'Ortigue, 'Etude biographique', *Gazette musicale de Paris* (1835). Translated into German as 'Franz Liszt' [sic] by Emil Flechsig, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 4 (1836), pp. 13–16, 19–21, 23–4, 27–30, 31–5, 39–40.

4. Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, p. 1.

5. Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana*, ed. Arthur Seidl (Mainz: Schott, 1983), p. 50. 'Biographisch habe ich viel umzustößen und richtig zu stellen: Gustav Schilling hat manches gesündigt – Geschichtschreibung anstatt Geschichtsschreibung. Ich hatte mehrfach auf ihn gefußt, habe nun eine heillose Arbeit, und muß dazu ganze Parthien, auf die ich große Sorgfalt verwendet, streichen.'

6. Eva Rieger, 'So schlecht wie ihr Ruf?: Die Liszt-Biographin Lina Ramann', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 147 (1986), pp. 16–20. James Deaville, 'Lina Ramann und La Mara: Zwei Frauen, ein Schicksal', in Cornelia Szabó-Knotik and Markus Grassl, eds., *Frauen in der Musikwissenschaft* (Vienna: Universität für Musik und Darstellende

- Kunst, 1999), pp. 239–52, and James Deaville, ‘Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius and Early Musicology’, *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002), pp. 73–98.
7. These include Johann Wilhelm Christern’s *Franz Liszt nach seinem Leben und Wirken* of 1841; Ramann’s *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Vol. I, and a copy of P. Trifonoff’s ‘François Liszt’, an article that was not published until 1884. See Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, pp. 4, 10, 18. Liszt further made substantial additions to the proofs of an encyclopedia entry in *Biographie des Contemporains* (Paris: Glaeser & Co.), which was sent to him in 1881. See Julius Kapp, ‘Autobiographisches von Franz Liszt’, *Die Musik* 11 (1911), pp. 10–14.
8. ‘Mehrals ersuchten mich Verleger, Memoiren zu schreiben: ich lehnte es ab mit der Entschuldigung, dass es mir mehr als genügt, mein Leben zu durchleben, ohne es dem Papier zu überliefern.’ Letter to Otto Lessmann, Weimar 4 November 1882. In La Mara, ed., *Franz Liszts Briefe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893), Vol. II, p. 334.
9. *Ibid.*
10. The authorship of Liszt’s writing has been under dispute since Emile Haraszti claimed controversially, in his pioneering 1937 article ‘Le problème Liszt’ (*Acta Musicologica* 9 (1937), pp. 123–36, 10 (1938), pp. 32–46), that none of Liszt’s writings, save for his private correspondence, was authored by him. To this day, the issue remains unsettled; the focus, however, has become a question of degree.
11. Franz Liszt, ‘Paganini’, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Lina Ramann (reprint, Hildesheim Georg Olms, 1978), Vol. II, p. 112.
12. Leslie Stephen, ‘Autobiography’, *Cornhill Magazine* 43 (April 1881), p. 410.
13. Anon., ‘Famous Autobiographies’, *Edinburgh Review* (1911), p. 345. See Laura Marcus, *Auto/Biographical Discourses* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 58.
14. Marcus, *Auto/Biographical Discourses*, p. 58.
15. See *ibid.*, pp. 56–89.
16. Philippe Lejeune, who is intent on rescuing the authenticity of the genre, has proposed the notion of an ‘autobiographical pact’ between the author and his readership, centring on the truth and authenticity of the written text. The readership necessarily believes that author, narrator and narrated subject are one and the same person.
17. See Paul de Man, ‘Autobiography as Self-Defacement’, in *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 69.
18. Ramann, *Lisztiana*, p. 407.
19. Eleanor Perényi, *Franz Liszt, the Artist as Romantic Hero* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1974), pp. 43–4. This issue, with reference to Perényi, has been reconsidered in a recent article, Ben Arnold, ‘Franz Liszt: An Autobiographical and Virtuoso Revolution’, in Hans Kagebeck and Johan Lagerfelt, eds., *Liszt the Progressive* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), pp. 3–14.
20. I have discussed this event in somewhat greater detail in ‘Liszt’s Musical Monuments’, *19th-Century Music* 26(1) (2002), pp. 52–72.
21. For details on the event from the perspective of the organising committee, see Heinrich K. Breidenstein, *Inauguration des Beethoven Monuments zu Bonn* (Bonn, 1846; reprint, Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1983).
22. Remarkably, Liszt made a plea to erect statues for great women, too. See ‘Weimars Septemberfest: Zur Feier des hundertjährigen Geburtstags Carl Augusts 1857’ in Franz Liszt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. V, trans. Lina Ramann (reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1978), p. 127.
23. *Kölnische Zeitung*, Beilage 183 (2 July 1845). See also Hans-Josef Irmen, ‘Franz Liszt in Bonn, oder: Wie die erste Beethovenhalle entstand’, in Marianne Bröcker and Günther Massenkeil, eds., *Studien zur Bonner Musikgeschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1978), p. 52.
24. This celebrated incident has been reported repeatedly; see, for instance, Ramann, *Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*; La Mara, ‘Beethovens Weihekuß’, *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 40 (1913), pp. 544–6; Allan Keiler, ‘Liszt and Beethoven: The Creation of a Personal Myth’, *Nineteenth Century Music* 17 (1988), pp. 116–31, and Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, pp. 417–26. For a somewhat self-indulgent queer reading see Kevin Kopelson, *Beethoven’s Kiss: Pianism, Perversion and the Mastery of Desire* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996). In connection with the surrounding Beethoven celebrations, see also Susanne Schaal, ‘Das Beethoven-Denkmal von Julius Hähnel in Bonn’, in Ingrid Bodsch, ed., *Monument für Beethoven* (Bonn: Bonner Stadtmuseum), p. 51; Michael Ladenburger, ‘Wie sich das “neue Bonn” bewährte oder: Das Musikfest zwischen den Fronten’, in Bodsch, ed., *Monument für Beethoven*, pp. 148–9, and Irmen, ‘Franz Liszt in Bonn’, p. 57.
25. See Ladenburger, ‘Wie sich das “neue Born” bewährte’.
26. A[ugust] S[chmidt], ‘Fliegende Blätter aus meinem Reise-Portefeuille’, *Wiener Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 5 (1845), p. 402.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

28. This is confirmed from all critical quarters: the tenor is that Liszt possesses ‘enormous talent’, that he shows ‘great promise’, and possesses ‘princely gifts’. (See, for instance, Moscheles, as quoted in Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 216.)
29. See Günther Massenkeil, ‘Die Bonner Beethoven-Kantate von Franz Liszt’, in Jobst Peter Fricke, ed., *Die Sprache der Musik: Festschrift für Klaus W. Niemöller zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1989), pp. 395–7.
30. The allegorical bas-reliefs of the Beethoven statue endeavour to represent Beethoven’s excellence in the fields of dramatic music, sacred music, symphony and fantasy – which, from the perspective of the twenty-first century, would seem to constitute a serious distortion of Beethoven’s *oeuvre*. For a discussion of the Beethoven statue from an art-historical viewpoint, see Schaal, ‘Das Beethoven-Denkmal’.
31. Letter of 28 April 1845 to Abbé de Lamennais, in La Mara, ed., *Franz Liszts Briefe*, Vol. I, p. 55. ‘Le texte du moins en est assez neuf; c’est une sorte de *Magnificat* du Génie humain conquis par Dieu à la révélation éternelle à travers le temps et l’espace; texte qui pourrait aussi bien s’appliquer à Goethe ou Raphael, ou Colomb, qu’à Beethoven.’ On Liszt’s relation to Beethoven see also Axel Schröter, ‘*Der Name Beethoven ist heilig in der Kunst*’: *Studien zu Liszts Beethoven-Rezeption* (Sinzig: Studio, 1999).
32. On aspects of this issue see Matthias Wiegandt, *Vergessene Symphonik?: Studien zu Joachim Raff, Carl Reinecke und zum Problem der Epigonalität in der Musik* (Sinzig: Studio, 1997); Penelope Murray, ed., *Genius: the History of an Idea* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), and Jochen Schmidt, *Die Geschichte des Genie-Gedankens in der deutschen Literatur, Philosophie und Politik, 1750–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985).
33. ‘Wenn sein Volk der Fürst vertritt / In den späteren Annalen, / Wer vertritt denn ihre Qualen, / Wer verkündet, was sie litt? / Wer steht im Buch der Weltgeschichte für sie auf? / Lässt ihren Namen strahlen durch der Zeiten Lauf? / Arme Menschheit, schweres Loos! / Wer wird von dir entsendet an der Tage Schluss? / Der Genius! / In seinem Wirken ewig gross!’ Printed in Breidenstein, *Festgabe zur Inauguration des Beethoven-Monuments*, pp. 36–7.
34. See Kapp, ‘Autobiographisches von Franz Liszt’, p. 11.

3 Liszt and the twentieth century

1. A number of people provided valuable assistance with this essay. I am most indebted to Michael Saffle, whose encyclopedic knowledge

of Liszt bibliography and editorial skills have been of great help. Also, I thank Evelyn Liepsch of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Tamara Levitz of UCLA, and Alan Walker and Pauline Pocknell for their answers to specific questions.

2. A whole discourse against virtuosity had developed in Germany of the nineteenth century. See James Deaville, ‘The Making of a Myth: Liszt, the Press, and Virtuosity’, in Michael Saffle and James Deaville, eds., *New Light on Liszt and His Music: Essays in Honor of Alan Walker’s 65th Birthday, Analecta Lisztiana II*, Franz Liszt Studies Series 6 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), pp. 181–95.
3. See Michael Saffle’s *Liszt in Germany 1840–1845: A Study in Sources, Documents, and the History of Reception* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994) for a detailed study of the ‘Lisztomania’ in Germany. The term was coined by Heine in response to the audience’s enthusiasm at Liszt concerts.
4. James Deaville, ‘The Controversy Surrounding Liszt’s Conception of Programme Music’, in Jim Samson and Bennett Zon, eds., *Nineteenth Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 98–124.
5. Sacheverell Sitwell, *Liszt* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), p. 323.
6. Walter Abendroth, ‘Sechzig Jahre Bayreuth’, *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 63 (1936), p. 493.
7. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), and Kevin Korsyn, ‘Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence’, *Music Analysis* 10 (1991), pp. 3–72.
8. About intertextuality, see Julia Kristeva, ‘Word, Dialogue, and the Novel’ (1969), reprinted by Toril Moi in *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 34–61. Among others, Adam Krims has provided an interesting model for the application of intertextuality to music in his article ‘Music Theory as Productivity’, *Canadian University Music Review* 20 (2000), pp. 16–30.
9. These and other aspects of Bakhtin’s thought are explored by Kevin Korsyn in ‘Beyond Privileged Contexts: Intertextuality, Influence, and Dialogue’, in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, eds., *Rethinking Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 55–72.
10. Hans-Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), and Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The Production of Belief: ‘Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods’, in Randal Johnson, ed., *The Field of*

Cultural Production (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 74–111, especially pp. 76–7.

11. The argument recently put forward is that these composers were striving for the same goals as Liszt (above all, dissolution of tonality), and thus they necessarily struck upon the same path. Through this reassessment, Liszt may have lost in influence but gained in the genius of foresight.

12. See, for example, Detlef Altenburg, 'Zum Geleit' and 'Franz Liszt und das Erbe der Klassik', in Detlef Altenburg, ed., *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik*, in *Weimarer Liszt-Studien*, Vol. I (Laaber: Laaber, 1997), respectively pp. 7–8 and 9–32. Although Altenburg does not directly mention the European Union, he is clearly making a connection between Liszt and political developments in Europe.

13. Oliver Rathkolb, 'Zeitgeschichtliche Notizen zur politischen Rezeption des "europäischen Phänomens Franz Liszt" während der nationalsozialistischen Ära', in Gerhard Winckler and J. L. Mayer, eds., *Liszt heute: Bericht über das internationale Symposium in Eisenstadt 8.–11. Mai 1986* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1987), p. 51.

14. Dieter Torkewitz, 'Die neue Musik und das Neue bei Liszt', *Studia Musicologica*, 28 (1986), p. 122. See also Otto Kolleritsch, 'Bemerkungen zur neuen Liszt-Rezeption', *Musicologica* 25 (1983), pp. 141–2.

15. There were at least five reasons for the 'Nazification' of Liszt: his friendship with Richard Wagner; his character that displayed Nazi virtues; his allegedly anti-Semitic views; the 'heroic' aspects of his music; and his role as cultivator and organiser of German musical life. Once ideologists proved his Germanic family roots, his music could be used for propaganda purposes. Thus the fanfare from *Les Préludes* was used to introduce 'Sondermeldungen' on the radio and the Deutsche Wochenschau. Also, Joseph Goebbels himself oversaw a thorough reworking of *Les Préludes* into a cantata (with text) called *Lied von Feldzug im Osten*, first performed in June 1941.

16. The emphasis in Hungarian Liszt research of the 1930s was establishing the Hungarian basis of his life, music and activities.

17. These observations are based on a study of surviving business records preserved in the Staatsarchiv Leipzig.

18. James Deaville, 'The Making of a Myth: Liszt, the Press, and Virtuosity'.

19. Michael Saffle, 'Liszt Studies: Past and Present', in *Franz Liszt: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 15–19.

20. See Humphrey Searle, 'The Breitkopf Collected Edition of Liszt's Works', in Series VII,

Vol. III of the Gregg International reprint (33 vols., 1966) of the *Musikalische Werke*, for a discussion of the first collected edition.

21. Dezső Legány, 'Liszt, the Future's Musician and Man', Hans Kagebeck and Johan Lagerfelt eds., *Liszt the Progressive* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), p. 116.

22. See Imre Sulyok, 'The New Liszt Edition', *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 22 (1985), pp. 188–9.

23. The edition became the opportunity for the further politicisation of Liszt: it was made possible through a cultural agreement of the two socialist countries, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic. Zoltán Gardonyi, 'Hauptprobleme der Neuen Liszt-Ausgabe', in Wolfgang Suppau, ed., *Liszt-Studien*, Vol. I: *Kongress-Bericht Eisenstadt 1975* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977), p. 73 and Otto Goldhammer, 'Die neue Liszt-Ausgabe. Der kulturelle Beitrag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik zum Liszt-Jahr 1961', *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1960), pp. 69–85.

24. Sulyok claims that the New Liszt Edition 'is the only publication of its kind to have been initiated and maintained by a publishing house, without the financial sponsorship of any company or scholarly institution', 'The New Liszt Edition', p. 188.

25. Alan Walker, Review of *Franz Liszt: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Ser. 1: *Werke für Klavier in 2 Händen*, Band 10: *Verschiedene zyklische Werke II*, *Notes* 38 (1982), pp. 919–20.

26. Here are the names of the nineteen composers, all of whom except for Alfred Reisenauer lived well into the twentieth century: Eugène d'Albert, Conrad Ansoerge, Richard Burmester, Arthur Friedheim, Arthur de Greef, Emma Koch, Frederick Lamond, George Lieblich, Sophie Menter, José Vianna da Motta, Alfred Reisenauer, Julie Rive-King, Moriz Rosenthal, Bertrand Roth, Emil Sauer, Alexander Siloti, Bernhard Stavenhagen, Vera Timanova, Jozef Weisz. Runolfur Thordarson has evaluated the recorded legacy of these Liszt students in detail in his article 'Recordings of Works of Liszt Played by his Pupils – A Discography and Evaluation', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 47 (2000), pp. 7–67.

27. A number of these students of Liszt, including Mason, Göllicher, Friedheim, Lachmund, Stradal and Siloti, left behind valuable, detailed accounts of Liszt's teaching and master classes. Although the memoirs differ in details, they enable a reconstruction of Liszt's thoughts and practices as teacher and performer. Lina Ramann gathered certain of Liszt's pieces and edited them with performance instructions

and commentary by students and Liszt himself in the invaluable *Liszt-Pädagogium* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901).

28. Busoni spent so much of his career in Germany that most biographical notes make reference to an Italian–German dual national identity.
29. William W. Austin, *Music in the 20th Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), p. 110.
30. Marc-André Roberge, ‘The Busoni Network and the Art of Creative Transcription’, *Canadian University Music Review* 11 (1991), p. 70.
31. Antony Beaumont, *Busoni the Composer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 21.
32. Roberge, ‘Busoni Network’, p. 70. Busoni tended not to perform paraphrases and transcriptions in his programmes, in favour of ‘original’ pieces like the sets mentioned above, the Sonata in B Minor, selections from the *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* and certain late works, including the *Weihnachtsbaum*, the *Valses oubliées* and Hungarian Rhapsody No. 19.
33. The case of what Kenneth Hamilton calls the Liszt–Busoni ‘Figaro Fantasy’ is interesting, because, as Hamilton points out, Busoni’s rather far-reaching changes to the score, mainly excisions, have been overlooked by scholars, which is a tribute to Busoni’s deft hand at editing. See Hamilton, ‘Liszt’s Fantasies – Busoni Excises: The Liszt–Busoni “Figaro Fantasy”’, *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 30 (1991), pp. 21–7.
34. See, for example, ‘Franz Liszt’s Variante zur ersten Kollektivausgabe von Fields Nocturnes’, *Die Musik* 16 (1924), pp. 309–15 and Daniel Raessler, ‘Ferruccio Busoni as Interpreter of Liszt’, *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 9 (1981), p. 32.
35. Already in 1900, Busoni agitated for a collected edition containing not only all works, but also all of the variant versions of those compositions. See Albrecht Riethmüller, *Ferruccio Busonis Poetik*, Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Vol. IV (Mainz: Schott, 1988), p. 96.
36. Sitwell, *Liszt*, p. 180.
37. Roberge, ‘Busoni Network’, pp. 68–88.
38. About Sorabji, see Paul Rapoport, ed., *Sorabji: A Critical Celebration* (London: Scholar Press, 1994). A collection of his essays entitled *Around Music* (London: Unicorn Press, 1932) contains several contributions about Liszt.
39. Michael Habermann, ‘Sorabji’s Piano Music’, *Sorabji: A Critical Celebration*, p. 340.
40. For example, the Great Romantic Festivals in Hamilton, Ontario of the late 1990s, under the direction of Alan Walker, would always feature a ‘piano gala’ at which different pianists

would play individual movements from sets like the *Transcendental Etudes*, the *Années de pèlerinage* or the song transcriptions.

41. Kenneth Hamilton, *Liszt: Sonata in B Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
42. Released by Hyperion over fourteen years (1985–2000).
43. As the first complete recording of the symphonic poems, Bernard Haitink’s set on Philips (1969–1971) was a landmark in the history of Liszt recording, which may well have stimulated research into that body of music.
44. Michael Saffle, ‘Liszt und der angelsächsische Raum’, in *Liszt heute*, p. 147. Liszt’s symphonic works enjoyed special popularity in the United States, owing to their effectively descriptive qualities. See James Deaville, ‘“Westwärts zieht die Kunstgeschichte”: Liszt’s Symphonic Poems in the New World’, in Susan Ingram, Markus Reisenleitner and Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, eds., *Identität – Kultur – Raum: Kulturelle Praktiken und die Ausbildung von Imagined Communities in Nordamerika und Zentraleuropa* (Vienna: Turia & Kant, 2001), pp. 223–43.
45. Danièle Pistone, ‘Liszt et Paris au XXe Siècle’, in *Actes du colloque international Franz Liszt, La Revue musicale*, 405–406–407, Special issue (1986), p. 241.
46. Regarding Liszt and the ADMV, see James Deaville, ‘“... im Sinne von Franz Liszt . . .”’: Reger and the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein’, in Alexander Becker, Gabriele Gefäller and Susanne Popp, eds., *Reger-Studien 6: Moderne und Tradition*, Schriftenreihe des Max-Reger-Instituts, Vol. XIII (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000), pp. 121–43.
47. Surprisingly, there exist very few studies (and no monographs) about the relationship between Strauss and Liszt, perhaps owing to the complexity of the topic.
48. Willi Schuh, *Richard Strauss: A Chronicle of the Early Years, 1864–1898*, trans. Mary Whittall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 209.
49. Charles Youmans, ‘The Letters from Alexander Ritter to Richard Strauss, 1887–1894’, *Richard Strauss-Blätter* 35 (1996), pp. 3–24.
50. Strauss caused a minor scandal by replacing Brahms’s *German Requiem* with the Liszt symphonic poem. See Schuh, *Strauss: A Chronicle*, pp. 159–60.
51. Michael Walter, *Richard Strauss und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber, 2000), pp. 86–7.
52. Regarding the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein, see the introductory chapter to Irina Kaminiarz, *Richard Strauss: Briefe aus dem Archiv des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins (1880–1909)* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1995).

53. See Detlef Altenburg, 'Franz Liszt und das Erbe der Klassik', p. 24.
54. Robert Münster, ed., *Jugendstil-Musik? Münchner Musikleben 1890–1918* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987).
55. See above all Béla Bartók, 'Liszt-problémák', *Nyugat* 29 (1936), pp. 24–8.
56. Dezső Legány, 'Die jüngere musikalische Vergangenheit von Budapest', *Liszt Saeculum*, No. 44 (1990), pp. 3–7.
57. For example, the academy library preserved scores donated by Liszt and offered students a 'Liszt Stipend', which Bartók received. See Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 3rd ed, ed. by Malcolm Gillies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 12–14.
58. Béla Bartók, Jr., 'Let Us Speak about Liszt', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 9 (1981), p. 65.
59. In 1899, Bartók travelled to Budapest to study piano with Liszt pupil István Thomán at the Academy of Music.
60. Béla Bartók, 'Liszt zenéje és a mai közönség', *Népm vel [ü vel] es* 6 (1911), pp. 359–62.
61. Translation by Colin Mason, published in Storm Bull, 'Recollections: Bartók on Liszt', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 37 (1995), p. 58.
62. Béla Bartók, 'Liszt-problémák', trans. Andor C. Klay, *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 21 (1987), p. 28.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 29. Bartók regarded Liszt's 'Jeux d'eau à la Villa d'Este' (and similar unnamed compositions) as essential to the creations of the two 'French masters'.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
65. László Somfai, 'The Liszt Influence on Bartók Reconsidered', *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 27 (1986), pp. 210–19.
66. Somfai, *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 105.
67. Stevens, *Life and Music of Bartók*, p. 110.
68. Mária Eckhardt, 'Liszt's 125-Year-Old Academy of Music: Antecedents, Influences, Traditions', in Mária Eckhardt, ed., *Franz Liszt and Advanced Musical Education in Europe*, *Studia Musicologica* 42 (2001), pp. 109–32.
69. János Breuer, 'Zoltán Kodály on Liszt', *The Liszt Society Journal* 42 (1997), pp. 9–11.
70. Allen Forte, 'Liszt's Experimental Idiom and Music of the Early Twentieth Century', *19th-Century Music* 10 (1987), pp. 209–28.
71. Herman Sabbe has rather unsuccessfully attempted to link Liszt with Ligeti through language and ideology. See his 'Qu'est-ce qui constitue une "tradition"? Liszt–Ligeti: Une Lignée?', *Studia Musicologica* 35 (1993–4), pp. 221–7.
72. Richard Toop, *György Ligeti* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), p. 164.
73. Constantin Floros, *György Ligeti: Jenseits von Avantgarde und Postmoderne* (Vienna: Lafite, 1996), p. 201.
74. The 'hommages à Liszt' include the following works: Jenő Takács, 'Le Tombeau de Franz Liszt' for piano (1979); Frigyes Hidas, *Fantasia per organo: Hommage à Franz Liszt* (1984); Manfred Niehaus, 'Tombeau de Liszt' for orchestra (1985); Ronald Stevenson, 'Symphonic Elegy for Liszt' for piano (1986); and York Höller, *Zweite Sonate für Klavier: Hommage à Franz Liszt* (1991).
75. See Deaville, "'... im Sinne von Franz Liszt . . .': Reger and the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein'.
76. Wolf's most notorious pronouncement, that 'there is more intelligence and sensitivity in a single cymbal crash of Liszt's than in all three of Brahms's symphonies', appeared in an untitled review in the *Wiener Salonblatt* of 24 April 1887. An English translation of the article was published by Henry Pleasants, in *The Music Criticism of Hugo Wolf* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1978), pp. 42–6.
77. James Zychowicz, 'Liszt and Mahler: Perspectives on a Difficult Relationship', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 36 (1994), pp. 1–18.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 4. Zychowicz refers to an unpublished letter allegedly from Liszt to Mahler, from 1883, in which the writer responds unfavourably to a submitted manuscript of *Das klagende Lied* (p. 4). The letter, preserved in the Mahler–Rosé Collection of the University of Western Ontario, is not in Liszt's hand, however, and it does not correspond in tone to other assessments by Liszt from the time. This raises the question of how and when Mahler received the letter – if the letter is not authentic and yet was a reason for Mahler's problematic relationship with Liszt, it would be a great tragedy of musical history.
79. 'Meine künstlerische Entwicklung' (1949), *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 24 (1969), p. 282.
80. Record jacket note for recordings by the Kolisch Quartet in 1938; see Fred Steiner, 'A History of the First Complete Recordings of the Schoenberg String Quartet', *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 2 (1978), p. 132.
81. Arnold Schoenberg, 'Franz Liszts Werk und Wesen', *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 42 (1912), pp. 1088–90. However, this article is more about Schoenberg than it is an assessment of Liszt.
82. Charles Timbrell, 'Liszt and French Music', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 6 (1979), pp. 28–9.

83. Derek Watson, *Liszt* (New York: Schirmer, 1989), p. 140.
84. According to Timbrell, 'Liszt and French Music', p. 33, Ravel worked through Liszt's 'Mazeppa' and 'Feux Follets' in 1917, in order to prepare for writing *Le Tombeau de Couperin* (!).
85. Christian Goubault, 'Le Centième Anniversaire de la naissance de Liszt: Un génie ignoré ou boycotté en France?', in *Actes du colloque international Franz Liszt*, pp. 245–60.
86. Danièle Pistone, 'Liszt et Paris au XXe Siècle', p. 240.
87. Konstantin Zenkin, 'The Liszt Tradition at the Moscow Conservatoire', in *Franz Liszt and Advanced Musical Education in Europe*, p. 94.
88. In some cases, Liszt never met the individuals, the works of these composers coming to his attention through parcels sent by the publisher Ivan Bessel.
89. See, for example, Dorothea Redepenning's work, in particular 'Liszt und die russische Symphonik', in Gerhard Winkler, ed., *Liszt und die Nationalitäten: Bericht über das internationale musikwissenschaftliche Symposium Eisenstadt, 10.–12. März 1994* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum: 1996), pp. 138–50.
90. Barrie Martyn, *Rachmaninoff: Composer, Pianist, Conductor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990), p. 326.
91. Sergei Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev: A Composer's Memoir* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), p. 126.
92. Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 21.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
94. Cited in Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), p. 204.
95. Cited in David Haas, 'Sibelius's Second Symphony and the Legacy of Symphonic Lyricism', in Glenda Goss, ed., *The Sibelius Companion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 79.
96. James Deaville, "'Westwärts zieht die Kunstgeschichte": Liszt's Symphonic Poems in the New World', pp. 223–43.
97. The three volumes appeared in 1880, 1887 and 1894. Liszt had substantial input into the first volume, which he had a chance to see before it was published. See Deaville, 'Writing Liszt: Lina Ramann, Marie Lipsius, and Early Musicology', *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002), pp. 87–90.
98. The six volumes appeared between 1880 and 1883 – Ramann had translated the French writings into German.
99. Klára Hamburger, *Franz Liszt* (Budapest: Corvina, 1973).
100. Peter Raabe, 'Vorwort' to *Liszt's Leben*, in *Franz Liszt*, Vol. I (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1931), [iii].
101. This was a decision of Carl Alexander, made immediately upon receipt of the news of Liszt's death. See Evelyn Liepsch, 'Ergebnis der Nachforschungen: Neue Fragen zur Weimarer Nachlaßgeschichte', in Mária Eckhardt and Evelyn Liepsch, eds., *Franz Liszt's Weimarer Bibliothek* (Laaber: Laaber, 1997), p. 57.
102. She also donated 70,000 Reichsmark to the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein for the purpose of creating a Franz-Liszt-Stiftung that would support young artists and composers (for example, Arnold Schoenberg was the recipient of money from the foundation). Among other projects, the Franz-Liszt-Stiftung sponsored the first collected edition of Liszt's music. It ceased to exist only with the dissolution of the ADMV in 1937. See Evelyn Liepsch, 'Der Nachlaß Franz Liszt in Weimar', in Jochen Golz, ed., *Das Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv 1896–1996* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), p. 348.
103. Peter Raabe, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Orchesterwerke Franz Liszt's', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Jena, 1916.
104. Breitkopf & Härtel were responsible for most of the early publications related to Liszt, including Ramann's biography and La Mara's letters. While Breitkopf was the primary German publisher for musicology at the turn of the century, the firm also had a personal reason to promote Liszt, since it was his publisher for large projects like the Beethoven symphony transcriptions and the symphonic poems.
105. *Franz Liszt: Briefe an seine Mutter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918).
106. Of course, it also was a matter of claiming some of the fame attached to Liszt.
107. See Saffle, 'Liszt Studies', pp. 100–8, for an annotated list of these 'primary sources', which await serious comparative study.
108. Detlef Altenburg, 'Eröffnungsvortrag: Auf dem Weg zu einem neuen Liszt-Bild', in Detlef Altenburg and Gerhard Winkler, eds., *Die Projekte der Liszt-Forschung: Bericht über das internationale Symposium in Eisenstadt 19.–21. Oktober 1989* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1991), p. 10.
109. For a brief overview of Wagner scholarship, see the 'Introduction' to Michael Saffle's meritorious study, *Richard Wagner: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 3–10. Of course, the guide itself is a testimony to the prodigious research devoted to Wagner.
110. About the 1855 catalogue, see Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, 'Werkbegriff und Werkverzeichnis bei Liszt', in Altenburg and

- Winkler, eds., *Die Projekte der Liszt-Forschung*, pp. 37–46.
111. Chopin, Schumann, Liszt: *The New Grove Early Romantic Masters I* (New York: Norton, 1985), pp. 322–68. See Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's Catalogues and Inventories of His Works', *Studia Musicologica* 34 (1992), pp. 231–50, for a survey of the catalogues.
112. For example, in his study *Franz Liszt: Abstammung, Familie, Begebenheiten* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1937), Liszt's nephew Eduard von Liszt produced a detailed and extended argument for Liszt's Germanic roots.
113. Zoltán Gárdonyi, *Die ungarischen Stileigentümlichkeiten in den musikalischen Werken Franz Liszts*, Ungarische Bibliothek, 1/16 (Berlin: de Gruyter 1931) and *Liszt Ferenc magyar stílusa/La Style hongrois de Franz Liszt*, *Musicologica Hungarica*, 3 (Budapest: Az Orsz. Széchenyi Könyvtár Kiadása, 1936).
114. Oliver Rathkolb, 'Zeitgeschichtliche Notizen zur politischen Rezeption des "europäischen Phänomens Franz Liszt" während der nationalsozialistischen Ära', p. 48.
115. *Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult*, ed. by Daniel Ollivier (Paris: Grasset, 1933); *Correspondance de Liszt et de sa fille Madame Ollivier, 1842–1862*, ed. by Daniel Ollivier (Paris: Grasset, 1933).
116. Emile Haraszi, 'Liszt à Paris: Quelques documents inédits', *Revue musicale* 165 (1936), pp. 241–58 and 166 (1936), pp. 5–16.
117. Michael Saffle, 'Liszt Studies Past and Present', *Franz Liszt: A Guide to Research*, p. 13.
118. Haraszi first wrote about the topic in 1941, but his most important publication about Liszt's authorship was 'Franz Liszt: Author Despite Himself', in *Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947), pp. 490–516. The Countess Marie d'Agoult and Princess Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein substantially contributed to the writings of Liszt that appeared during his years respectively in Paris and Weimar.
119. As Werner Felix wrote in 1961, 'many of the bold, forward-pointing ideas that Liszt said or wrote down 100 years ago are finding the fulfilment just now under the banner of socialism. In this way, socialist society has not only become the best protector of his artistic legacy, but also the real executor of his grand thoughts and plans.' Werner Felix, *Franz Liszt: Ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1961), p. 214. Translation by the present author.
120. Hans-Rudolf Jung, 'Liszt-Pflege in der DDR', *Liszt heute*, pp. 113–26.
121. Detlef Altenburg, 'Schwerpunkte und Tendenzen der Liszt-Forschung in Deutschland nach 1945', *Liszt heute*, p. 88.
122. Detlef Altenburg, 'Eine Theorie der Musik der Zukunft: Zur Funktion des Programms im symphonischen Werk von Franz Liszt', in *Liszt-Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 9–25; Norbert Miller, 'Musik als Sprache: Zur Vorgeschichte von Liszt's Symphonischen Dichtungen', in *Beiträge zur musikalischen Hermeneutik* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1975), pp. 223–87; Dieter Torkewitz, *Harmonisches Denken im Frühwerk Franz Liszts*, in *Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. X (Munich: Katzbichler, 1978).
123. Werner Felix, *Franz Liszt: Ein Lebensbild*; Hans-Rudolf Jung, *Franz Liszt in seinen Briefen* (Berlin: Henschel, 1987); Wolfram Huschke, *Musik im klassischen und nachklassischen Weimar* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1982).
124. The congress report, consisting of almost 600 pages (half of them about Liszt), was published in Budapest in 1963.
125. Bence Szabolcsi, 'Liszt Ferenc estéje', in *Zenetudományi Tanulmányok* 3 (1955), pp. 211–65; István Szelenyi, 'Az ismeretlen Liszt', *Magyar Zene* 1 (1961), pp. 11–25; László Somfai, 'Liszt Faust-szimfóniájának alakváltásai', *Magyar Zene* 1 (1961), pp. 559–73 and 78–102; Margit Prahács, *Franz Liszt: Briefe aus ungarischen Sammlungen 1835–1886* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966); Klára Hamburger, *Franz Liszt*; and Dezső Legány, *Liszt Ferenc Magyarországon 1869–1873* (Budapest: Corvina, 1976).
126. Serge Gut, *Franz Liszt: Les Eléments du langage musical* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975).
127. Reprinted as Ernest Newman, 'A Study of Liszt', *The Liszt Society Journal* 8 (1983), p. 33.
128. The book remained his only contribution to the Liszt literature.
129. *New Grove*, pp. 263–314 of Vol. V.
130. Alan Walker, ed., *Franz Liszt: The Man and His Music* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1970).
131. Michael Saffle, 'Franz Liszt's Compositional Development: A Study of the Principal Published and Unpublished Instrumental Sketches and Revisions', Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1977.
132. The latter journal began publication in 1972 as the *International Liszt Quarterly*. After the death of founder Lennart Rabes in 1998, the International Liszt Centre ceased to exist.
133. While there is no such research centre in the United States or England, the Liszt societies of those countries have taken on the roles of the continental research centres. Nevertheless, the Franz Liszt Studies Series of Pendragon Press, edited by Michael Saffle, may be the only publisher's monograph series that is

devoted to Liszt, without an affiliation with a society or research centre.

134. The nine-volume edition began publication in 1989 with Vol. IV, *Lohengrin et Tannhäuser* and Vol. V, *Dramaturgische Blätter*. Since then, *Die Goethe-Stiftung* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel Vol. III, 1997) and *Frühe Schriften*, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel Vol. I, 2000) have appeared in print. Altenburg has written about Liszt for various publications, but his most important activities have been as editor and organiser.

135. See above all his edited volumes *Lohengrin et Tannhäuser*, and *Liszt und die Nationalitäten* (q.v.), as well as articles ‘Liszt’s “Weimar Mythology”’, in Michael Saffle, ed., *Liszt and His World* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1998), pp. 61–73 and ‘Liszt’s “An die Künstler”’, in *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik*, pp. 83–99.

136. Among her many publications, the following monographs and editions are especially important: *Franz Liszt und sein Kreis, in Briefen und Dokumenten aus den Beständen des Burgenländisches Landesmuseums* (with Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1983); *Franz Liszt’s Music Manuscripts in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1986); *Liszt Ferenc hagyatéka a budapesti. Zeneművészeti Főiskolán* (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, 1986); *Liszt Ferenc válogatott levelei: ifjúság, virtuóz évek, Weimar, 1824–1861* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1989); and *Franz Liszt’s Weimarer Bibliothek* (with Evelyn Liepsch, Laaber: Laaber, 1999). She has also edited Liszt’s *Consolations* and *Zwei Konzerttetüden* for Henle in Munich (respectively 1992 and 1994).

137. See among others Mária Eckhardt, ‘Thematic Catalogue of Liszt’s Compositions’, *Hungarian Musical Quarterly* 1 (1989), pp. 4–7 and ‘The Liszt Thematic Catalogue in Preparation: Results and Problems’, *Studia Musicologica* 23 (1992), pp. 221–30.

138. Published in *Studia Musicologica* 42 (2001), pp. 2–212.

139. Dezső Legány, *Franz Liszt: Unbekannte Presse und Briefe aus Wien, 1822–1886* (Vienna–Budapest: Corvina, 1984) and Klára Hamburger, *Franz Liszt: Briefwechsel mit seiner Mutter* (Eisenstadt: Bürgerländisches Landesmuseum, 2000).

140. *Franz Liszt: Vol. I: The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847* (New York: Knopf, 1983); Vol. II: *The Weimar Years 1848–1861* (New York: Knopf, 1989); Vol. III: *The Final Years 1861–1886* (New York: Knopf, 1996). Each volume appeared in

revised paperback edition, published by Cornell University Press (1987, 1993, 1997).

141. Alan Walker, ed., *Franz Liszt: The Man and His Music* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1970); *Liszt* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); *Liszt, Carolyne, and the Vatican: The Story of a Thwarted Marriage* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1991); and *Living with Liszt, from the Diary of Carl Lachmund* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1995).

142. *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: A Correspondence* (Hillsdale, NJ: Pendragon, 2000).

143. Derek Watson, *Liszt* (New York: Schirmer, 1989).

144. Adrian Williams, ed., *Portrait of Liszt, by Himself and His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) and Williams ed. and trans., *Selected Letters of Franz Liszt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

145. See, for example, Hamilton’s aforementioned studies of the Liszt–Busoni ‘Figaro Fantasy’ and the Sonata in B Minor and Howard’s copious notes to his recordings of the Liszt piano music.

146. The first book is published by Garland/Routledge Press, the latter by Pendragon Press.

147. Suttoni’s *Liszt Correspondence in Print* first appeared in *Fontes Artis Musicae* in 1979. A revised edition was published as Vol. 25 of the *Journal of the American Liszt Society* in 1989 and a supplement to that article also appeared in *JALS*, as Vol. 46 (1999). Suttoni also edited and translated the *Lettres d’un bachelier ès musique* as *An Artist’s Journey* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

148. The works list appeared in ‘Franz Liszt’, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. edn, Vol. XIV (New York: Macmillan, 2001), pp. 785–872. The article was written by Alan Walker (pp. 755–85 and 872–7).

149. Richard Leppert, ‘Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt’, in *Piano Roles*, ed. by James Parakilas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 252–81, and Lawrence Kramer, ‘Franz Liszt and the Virtuoso Public Sphere: Sight and Sound in the Rise of Mass Entertainment’, in *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 68–99.

150. Susan Bernstein, *Virtuosity of the Nineteenth Century: Performing Music and Language in Heine, Liszt, and Baudelaire* (Stanford University Press, 1998); Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso: Spectacle, Skill, and Self-Promotion in Paris during the Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and James Deaville, ‘Liszt’s

Virtuosity and His Audience: Gender, Class and Power in the Concert Hall of the Early 19th Century', in Annette Kreutziger-Herr, ed., *Das Andere. Eine Spurensuche in der Musikgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1998), pp. 281–300.

151. The biography appeared as *Franz Liszt* (Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989), and it called forth a lively exchange in the *Journal of the American Liszt Society* of 1989 and 1991 between reviewer Alan Walker and author Gut. More recently, he co-edited the *Sämtliche Schriften* Vol. I (*Frühe Schriften*) with Rainer Kleinertz (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000) and the Franz Liszt–Marie d'Agoult *Correspondence* with Jacqueline Bellas (Paris Editions de Fallois: Fayard, 2001).

152. See in particular *Franz Liszt: la vita, l'opera: i testi musicale* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1983) and 'Liszt's "Lieder": An Essay in Formalization', in Saffle, ed., *Liszt and His World*, pp. 271–94.

153. John Tibbetts, 'The Truth in Masquerade: Images of Franz Liszt in the Movies', in *Liszt the Progressive*, p. 222.

4. Liszt's early and Weimar piano works

1. Arthur Friedheim, *Life and Liszt: Recollections of a Concert Pianist*, ed. Theodore L. Bullock (New York: Taplinger, 1961), p. 138.

2. From a letter of 1868 in *Selected Letters of Franz Liszt* trans. and ed., Adrian Williams (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 692–3.

3. Helene Raff, ed., 'Franz Liszt and Joachim Raff im Spiegel ihrer Briefe', *Die Musik* 1 (1901), p. 866.

4. Friedrich Schnapp, 'Verschollene Kompositionen Franz Liszt's', in Alfred Morgenroth, ed., *Von Deutscher Tonkunst: Festschrift zu Peter Raabes 70. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1942), p. 22.

5. La Mara, ed., *Franz Liszt: Briefe an seine Mutter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918), p. 30.

6. August Göllerich, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt, 1908), p. 298.

7. J. d'Ortigue, 'Franz Liszt' [sic], in *Revue et Gazette musicale* 21 (14 June 1835), p. 201.

8. Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt by Himself and His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 28.

9. Daniel Ollivier, ed., *Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult*, Vol. I (Paris: Grasset, 1933), p. 157.

10. Jean Chantavoine, *Franz Liszt: Pages Romantiques* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1912), pp. 135–6.

11. Robert Schumann, 'Symphonie Fantastique von Hector Berlioz', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1835).

12. Hector Berlioz, *Literarische Werke*, Vol. III (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), p. 86.

13. Chantavoine, *Franz Liszt*, pp. 134–5.

14. La Mara, *Franz Liszt: Briefe an seine Mutter*, Vol. I, pp. 7–8. In his Liszt biography (London: Dent, 1990, 28) Derek Watson points out that the remark Liszt quotes was in fact made by Correggio, not Michelangelo.

15. See Alexander Main, 'Liszt's "Lyon": Music and the Social Conscience', in *19th Century Music* 4/3 (1981), pp. 228–43.

16. See the present author's "'Not with a Bang but with a Whimper": The Death of Liszt's *Sardanapale*', in *The Cambridge Opera Journal* 8/1 (1996), pp. 45–58.

17. Richard Louis Zimdars, trans. and ed., *The Piano Masterclasses of August Göllerich*, ed. Wilhelm Jerger (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 61.

18. For more information on the Liszt *Sonata*, its genesis and related works, see my *Liszt: Sonata in B Minor* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), from which some parts of this chapter have been adapted.

19. Franz Liszt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Lina Ramann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880–3), Vol. II, p. 106.

20. Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany* (London: Macmillan, 1893), p. 198.

21. Berlioz, in *Revue et Gazette Musicale* 24 (12 June 1836), p. 200.

22. Carl Czerny, *The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Pianoforte Works* (London: Cocks and Co., n.d.), p. 3.

23. Ollivier, ed., *Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult*, Vol. I, p. 190.

24. Göllerich, *Franz Liszt*, p. 184.

25. Nadine Helbig, 'Franz Liszt in Rome', in *International Liszt Society Quarterly* 15/(16) (1976), p. 8.

26. Alan Walker, ed. *Living with Liszt, from the Diary of Carl Lachmund* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), p. 249.

27. See the present author's 'Reminiscences of a Scandal – Reminiscences of La Scala: Liszt's Fantasy on Mercadante's *Il giuramento*' in *The Cambridge Opera Journal* 5/(3) (1993), pp. 187–98.

28. See the present author's 'Liszt's Fantasies – Busoni Excises: The Liszt–Busoni "Figaro Fantasy"', in *The Journal of the American Liszt Society* 30 (1991), pp. 21–7.

5. Liszt's late piano works: a survey

1. Letter from Franz Liszt to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, 26 October 1869, H. E. Hugo, ed., *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, 1953* (reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1971), p. 141.

2. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 20 November 1875, Villa d'Este, W. R. Tyler, ed., *The Letters of*

Franz Liszt to Olga von Meyendorff, 1871–1886 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), p. 213.

3. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 4 February 1876, Villa d'Este, Tyler, *Letters of Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 229.

4. Letter to Walter Bache, 19 March 1878, Budapest, La Mara, ed., *Letters of Franz Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache, 2 vols. (London: H. Grevel, 1894), Vol. II, p. 238.

5. Letter to Marianne Brandt, 3 December 1876, La Mara, *Letters of Liszt*, Vol. II, pp. 310–11.

6. A. Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 3 vols. (rev. edn, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983–96), Vol. III, p. 412.

7. Letter to Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, 15 June 1877, Weimar, A. Williams, ed., *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 818.

8. Letter to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, 30 May 1884, Weimar, Hugo, *Letters of Liszt to M. zu Sayn-Wittgenstein*, p. 272.

9. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 26 February 1885, Budapest, Tyler, *Letters of Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 476.

10. Letter to Frau Anna Benfey-Schuppe, 11 November 1880, Villa d'Este, La Mara, *Letters of Liszt*, Vol. II, pp. 368–9.

11. Letter to Marie d'Agoult, 16 November 1842, on a steamer from Mainz to Rotterdam, Williams, p. 188, and fn. 17. Note that the contents of this letter cast doubt on the date of 1841 conventionally assigned for the composition of the song. The earliest publications of the work were in 1843; so the song could well have been composed after this letter was written.

12. Walker, *Liszt*, Vol. III, p. 317.

13. Liszt finally published the fourth version in the 1 October 1883 issue of the *Neue Musikzeitung* with the following title: 'Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth-Elegie/ after a poem by Count Felix Lichnowsky/Last, considerably revised edition [sehr veränderte Ausgabe].' It is clear from the title that he had had his final say on this topic.

14. In a letter to Emile Ollivier, Liszt wrote: 'The memory I retain of Mme d'Agoult is a secret sadness; I confide it to God, and beseech Him to grant peace and light to the soul of the mother of my three dear children.' Quoted in Walker, *Liszt*, Vol. III, pp. 317–18.

15. Letter to Borodin, Cui, Liadov, and Rimsky-Korsakov, 15 June 1879, Weimar, La Mara, *Letters of Liszt*, Vol. II, pp. 353–4.

16. In a letter to Olga von Meyendorff of 26 February 1881 from Budapest, Liszt wrote:

FL is much at fault. Stupidly he's been doing nothing these last two weeks but blackening music sheets. I've been tempted by Petöfi's *The God of the Magyars*. I boldly composed it, then arranged it for the left hand only for my friend Géza Zichy, and also for both hands for normal pianists. For good measure I have also written a *Csárdás Macabre* which I shall dedicate to Saint-Saëns. His *Danse Macabre* is worth more and is better, but I want to offer him my *Csárdás* because of its Hungarian character. (See Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 396.)

17. Liszt, *New Edition I/14*: xi–xii; and J. Ogdon, 'Solo Piano Music (1861–86)', in Alan Walker, ed., *Franz Liszt: The Man and his Music* (New York: Taplinger, 1970), pp. 134–67.

18. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 30 July 1885, Weimar, Williams, p. 928.

19. For a full discussion of *Via Crucis*, see pp. 120–6.

20. See, for instance, J. Baker, 'The Limits of Tonality in the Late Music of Franz Liszt', *Journal of Music Theory*, 34 (1990), pp. 145–74, and A. Forte, 'Liszt's Experimental Idiom and Music of the Early Twentieth Century', *19th-Century Music*, 10 (1987), pp. 209–28.

21. Walker, *Liszt*, Vol. III, p. 441 n. 11.

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 441.

6. Liszt's late piano works: larger forms

1. Liszt to von Meyendorff, 22 September 1878, Villa d'Este, Tyler, *Letters of Liszt to Marie von Meyendorff*, p. 318. The equality of the various versions of *Via Crucis* is reflected in a composite manuscript score signed by Liszt and dated 'Budapest 26 Février 79' (Ms. C, 6a in the Goethe and Schiller Archives, Weimar) containing three versions of the work: (1) vocal soloist and choir with organ (or piano); (2) solo organ; and (3) solo piano.

2. See p. 112.

3. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 1 January 1874, Pest, Williams, *Franz Liszt: Letters*, p. 770.

4. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 23 October 1878, Rome, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 320.

5. Walker, *Liszt*, Vol. III, p. 382.

6. Letter to Ferdinand Taborszky, Music Publisher in Budapest, 8 June 1885, Antwerp, La Mara, *Letters of Franz Liszt*, Vol. II, pp. 472–3.

7. Friedheim stated that he orchestrated only four of the pieces for lack of time to do all seven. See A. Friedheim, 'Life and Liszt', in *Remembering Franz Liszt, 1961* (reprint, New York: Limelight, 1986), p. 165.

8. This type of ending is familiar in Liszt's late music. For a thorough analysis of a similar ending, see the discussion of *Schlaflos!* on pp. 113–16.
9. The original piece on which this composition was based, *Dem Andenken Petöfis*, begins in E minor and ends definitively in E major (on an E-major sixth chord with G♯ in the upper voice). For the *Historical Portraits* Liszt added the introduction and close, and also incorporated numerous repetitions of phrases that appear only once in the original: bars 20, 27, 32, 37–9, 54, 56, 58, and 60 of the version in *Historical Portraits*.
10. Williams, *Franz Liszt: Letters*, pp. 927–8. It would appear that at this time he had not settled on the ordering of the pieces in the set, although he might have decided on using 'Széchenyi' and 'Mosonyi' as opening and closing numbers.
11. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 15 June 1877, Weimar, Williams, *Franz Liszt: Letters*, p. 818. Liszt had set this text to begin Part III of *Christus*.
12. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 23 September 1877, Villa d'Este, Williams, *Liszt: Letters*, p. 821.
13. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 27 September 1877, Villa d'Este, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 293.
14. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 14 October 1877, Villa d'Este, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, pp. 294–5.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 4 February 1883, Budapest, Williams, *Franz Liszt: Letters*, p. 896; postscript to undated letter to Olga von Meyendorff, March 1878?, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 313.
17. Walker, *Liszt*, Vol. III, p. 394.
18. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 13 September 1877, Rome, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 292.
19. Walker, *Liszt*, Vol. I, pp. 367–8. The Lorelei, according to legend, was a lovely maiden chained to a promontory overlooking the Rhine, from which she lured sailors to their deaths. For a discussion of the significance of Nonnenwerth, see pp. 97–8.
20. Perhaps not coincidentally, Liszt's song 'Die Lorelei' also features the chromatic relation A♯–B, but in the context of the key of G. The key of E appears in the song to set the first verse, depicting the peaceful scene before the siren employs her wiles.
21. This passage was one of Liszt's favourites. In a letter to Agnes Street-Klindworth of 12 April 1855, Weimar, Liszt made a direct connection between the symbol of the water and the art of music, which he called 'the tangent of the infinite: the living water which, like love, springs up into everlasting life'. See P. Pocknell, ed., *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: A Correspondence, 1854–1886*, Hillsdale, NJ: Pendragon, 2000, p. 9.
22. Vergil [*sic*], *The Aeneid*, trans. J. H. Mantinband (New York: Ungar, 1964).
23. My thanks to Michael Hendry of North Yarmouth Academy (Maine, USA) and director of the Propertius website (<http://www.curculio.org>) for his translation and the following explication of Propertius' text (in a personal communication). In Propertius' poem, the poet addresses Augustus in self-deprecating flattery in order to get out of his obligation to write an epic. He claims to be incapable of such great work, offering to provide instead what little he can. Liszt would certainly not have intended any of the irony contained in the original poetry. Indeed, he may well have identified with both the poet and the dead Emperor, his dedicatee. Liszt, too, felt the pain of not accomplishing all he would have wished.
24. Letter to Lina Ramann, 22 February 1883, Budapest, La Mara, *Liszt*, Vol. II, pp. 431–2.
25. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 30 July 1885, Weimar, Williams, *Franz Liszt: Letters*, pp. 927–8. The full quotation is given on p. 132.
26. Franz Liszt, *New Edition of the Complete Works*, ed. I. Sulyok and I. Mezö (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970–), I, 8, xi.
27. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 14 October 1877, Villa d'Este, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 294.
28. In a letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 26 December 1879, Villa d'Este [Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 363], Liszt wrote: 'I'm so weary and even so harassed by the music I am writing, while composing it, revising the copy and the proofs, that afterwards I don't like to talk about it.'
29. Letter to Princess Carolyne, 23 September 1877, Villa d'Este, Williams, *Franz Liszt: Letters*, p. 821.
30. Letter to Olga von Meyendorff, 27 September 1877, Villa d'Este, Tyler, *Liszt to von Meyendorff*, p. 293.
31. British Museum, London, shelf mark: ADD 34 182. This autograph is labelled source F by the editors in Liszt, *New Edition of the Complete Works*, Vol. I, 8, 48.
32. One recognises that the chiasmic concept is also the basis for Liszt's final cyclic work, the *Historical Hungarian Portraits*. The central movement of this set, however, is the rather devilish 'Teleki', causing one to wonder whether, by analogy to Liszt's successor Skryabin, this latter set is Liszt's equivalent of a 'Black Mass' composition, as compared with the 'White Mass' celebrated in *Années III*.

7. Liszt's piano concerti: a lost tradition

1. José Vianna da Motta, *Ferruccio Busoni's Cychlus von vier Clavier-Orchester-Abenden* (Berlin: Concert-Directionen Hermann Wolff, 1898), 9 and 11. All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.
2. August Riessmann, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon: Eine Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften für Gebildete aller Stände* (Berlin: R. Oppenheim, 1880–2).
3. Leon Botstein, 'The Concerto – the 19th Century', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2002).
4. Stephan D. Lindeman, *Structural Novelty and Tradition in the Early Romantic Piano Concerto* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1999), Michael Thomas Roeder, *A History of the Concerto* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), Jay Michael Rosenblatt, 'The Concerto as Crucible: Franz Liszt's Early Works for Piano and Orchestra' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995), Michael Steinberg, *The Concerto: A Listener's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
5. Rosenblatt, 'The Concerto as Crucible', 6.
6. La Mara [Marie Lipsius], *Classisches und Romantisches aus der Tonwelt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), 260. The letter is also quoted in Julius Kapp, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1909), 31–2; and Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', 165.
7. Weimar: Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, MS Z18, no. 30 and MS Z31, no. 10. See Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', 173–87.
8. Ignaz Moscheles, *Aus Moscheles' Leben: Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern herausgegeben von seiner Frau* (Leipzig: Dunker und Humblot, 1872–3), vol. I, 138; article in *The Morning Post* on 11 June 1827 quoted in William Wright, 'Liszt's 1827 Concert Appearances in London: Reviews, Notices, Playbills, and Programs', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 29 (1991), p. 65.
9. Sketchbook N6 is described in Keith T. Johns, 'Franz Liszt's N6 Sketchbook Held at the Goethe–Schiller Archive in Weimar', *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 20 (December 1986), pp. 30–3 and Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', pp. 40–1.
10. For transcriptions and a more detailed description of these sketches see Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', pp. 226–31.
11. Robert Bory, 'Diverses lettres inédites de Liszt', *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1928), p. 10.
12. Weimar: Goethe–Schiller Archive, Liszt Collection: H3b, H3c.
13. See Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', pp. 241–3, who speculates that the ending would have been dramatic and quite virtuosic.
14. Lindeman, *Structural Novelty and Tradition*, p. 175.
15. Franz Liszt, *Briefe an seine Mutter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918), p. 21.
16. For a detailed description of the reviews see Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', 276–88.
17. Weimar: Goethe–Schiller Archive, Liszt Collection: H5c (orchestral parts dated 'Gombo, 13 Sept 39') and H5d (piano part).
18. *NZfM*, Bd. 4, No. 29 (8 April 1836), pp. 122–4. And in an essay published in Bd. 10, No. 2 (4 January 1839), pp. 5–6, Schumann wrote: 'The Scherzo . . . would it not be an effective addition to the concerto?'
19. Liszt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Lina Ramann (Leipzig, 1880–3), Vol. II, p. 106.
20. Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt: By Himself and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 50 and 72.
21. Roeder, *History of the Concerto*, p. 246.
22. Steinberg, *The Concerto*, 241. As Kenneth Hamilton notes in *Liszt: Sonata in B Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 11, although numerous fantasies, for example those by Beethoven, Hummel, or Kalkbrenner, were 'composed of short, contrasting sections in a variety of keys and tempi', Schubert followed a more complex plan, 'using thematic transformation to link sections together in a scheme of first section (C major), slow section (C♯–E major), scherzo (A♭ major) and finale (C major beginning with a fugal exposition)'.
23. In a letter to Carl Alexander of Weimar dated October 1846 Liszt wrote: 'The time has come for me to break my virtuosic chrysalis and give full flight to my thoughts.' Cf. La Mara, ed., *Letters of Franz Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache (London, 1894), vol. I, p. 106.
24. Alfred Brendel, 'Musical Thoughts and Afterthoughts' (London: Robson Books, 1976), pp. 79–80.
25. Weimar: Goethe–Schiller Archive, Liszt Collection: H3a (autograph for Concerto No. 1); H5a (autograph for Concerto No. 2, orchestral part, dated '5 May 1849') and H5b (autograph for Concerto No. 2, piano part).
26. Rosenblatt, 'Concerto as Crucible', pp. 3–4.
27. It is interesting to note that Liszt saw his quest for creative growth as being parallel to that of Beethoven, as shown in a letter to Wilhelm von Lenz dated 2 December 1852: 'Were it my place to categorise the different periods of the great master's symphonies and quartets, I should certainly . . . divide his work . . . into two categories: the first, that in which traditional and recognized form contains and governs the

thought of the master, and the second, that in which the thought stretches, breaks, recreates and fashions the form and style according to its needs and inspirations.’ (La Mara, vol. I, pp. 151–2).

28. For a detailed description of the sources, evolution, and programmatic layout of Liszt’s *Totentanz* see: Anna Harwell Celenza, ‘Death Transfigured: the Origins and Evolution of Franz Liszt’s *Totentanz*, *Nineteenth-Century Music: Selected Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference*, ed. Jim Samson and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 125–54.
29. Weimar: Goethe–Schiller Archive, Liszt Collection: N1. For a fuller discussion of this notebook see Rena Mueller, ‘Liszt’s “Tasso” Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions’, (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1986), p. 149 n. 67.
30. In 1919 Busoni published an edition of *Totentanz* that purported to be the ‘first version completed on 21 October 1849’, but a study of the manuscripts shows that the version he published was actually the one completed in 1853.
31. English translation taken from *The Dance of Death by Hans Holbein*, ed. Frederick Evans (London, 1916).
32. Vladimir Vasilevich Stasov, *Selected Essays on Music*, trans. Florence Jonas (London: Barrie & Rockliffe Cresset Press, 1968), p. 50.

8. Performing Liszt’s piano music

1. Mrs W. Chanler, *Roman Spring* (Boston, 1934), quoted from Adrian Williams, *A Portrait of Liszt by Himself and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 552.
2. La Mara, ed. [Marie Lipsius], *Franz Liszt’s Briefe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893–1905), Vol. VIII, p. 161.
3. Charles Suttoni, *Franz Liszt: An Artist’s Journey. Lettres d’un bachelier ès Musique* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), p. 31.
4. Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, pp. 41–2.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
8. Heard in 1858 by the composer Wendelin Weisheimer. See Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 342.
9. Alan Walker, ed., *Living with Liszt from the Diary of Carl Lachmund, an American pupil of Liszt, 1882–84* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), pp. 134–5.
10. Richard Zimdars, trans. and ed., *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt, 1884–6. Diary notes of August Gollerich, Edited by Wilhelm Jerger*

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 126–8.

11. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 156.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
13. Williams: *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 557.
14. *Ibid.* pp. 561–2.
15. Adrian Williams: *Liszt: Selected Letters of Franz Liszt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 256.
16. Reprinted for the centenary of Liszt’s death with a new foreword by Alfred Brendel (Wiesbaden, 1986).
17. Tilly Fleischmann, *Aspects of the Liszt Tradition*, ed. Michael O’Neill (Cork: Adore Press, 1986).
18. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 224.
19. Zimdars, *Piano Masterclasses*, p. 140.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
21. Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 287.
22. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 149.
23. Zimdars, *Piano Masterclasses*, p. 58.
24. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 234.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 210 and 271.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
33. Zimdars, *Piano Masterclasses*, p. 134.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
37. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 271.
38. Zimdars, *Piano Masterclasses*, p. 19.
39. Lina Ramann, *Liszt Pädagogium*, Serie 2, p. 3.
40. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 275.
41. Zimdars, *Piano Masterclasses*, p. 22.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
43. Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 291.
44. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 151.
45. Zimdars, *Piano Masterclasses*, p. 141.
46. Walker, *Living with Liszt*, p. 308.
47. Paderewski’s recording of *La Leggerezza*, however, is one of the finest examples of Liszt playing ever recorded and his *jeu perle* seems to sum up many of Liszt’s general injunctions on beauty, lucidity and evenness of tone.

9. Liszt’s Lieder

1. Michael Saffle, *Franz Liszt: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Garland, 1991), p. 307.
2. Francis Hueffer, ‘Liszt’, in *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Sir George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1880), Vol. II, p. 148.

3. Hueffer, 'Liszt', p. 148.
 4. Eduard Hanslick, *Aus meinem Leben*, Vol. II (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verlag für Deutsche Literatur, 1894), p. 189.
 5. Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), p. 568.
 6. La Mara [Pseud. Marie Lipsius] (ed.), *Franz Liszt's Briefe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893–1905), Vol. IV, pp. 38–9.
 7. George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 420.
 8. Steiner, *After Babel*, p. 422.
 9. La Mara (ed.), *The Letters of Franz Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache (New York: Scribner's, 1894), Vol. I, pp. 413–14.
 10. La Mara, *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, Vol. IV, p. 89.
 11. La Mara, *The Letters of Franz Liszt*, Vol. II, p. 502.
 12. Letter of Liszt to Marie d'Agoult, 8 October 1846, quoted in Adrian Williams (ed. and trans.), *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p. 238.
 13. Letter of Liszt to Giuseppe Ferrazzi, May 1880, quoted in Williams, *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*, p. 852.
 14. Performed on 24 July 1886 by his pupil Bernhard Stavenhagen in the house in Bayreuth in which Liszt lived out his last few days. See Alan Walker (ed.), *The Death of Franz Liszt, Based on the Diary of his Pupil Lina Schmalhausen* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), p. 61.
 15. Richard Louis Zimdars (ed. and trans.) *The Piano Master Classes of Franz Liszt, 1884–1886: Diary Notes of August Göllerich, Edited by Wilhelm Jerger* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 48.
 16. Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt*, p. 460.
 17. Adrian Williams, *Liszt: Selected Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 417.
- 10. Liszt's symphonic poems and symphonies**
1. Wagner to Liszt, London, 7 June 1855, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. VI: January 1854–February 1855, ed. Johannes Forner (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1986), 203; *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, ed. W. Ashton Ellis (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 91–2.
 2. Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: Virtuoso Years, 1811–1847* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 370.
 3. Detlef Altenburg, 'Franz Liszt and the Legacy of the Classical Era', *19th-Century Music* 18(1) (Summer 1994), pp. 47–8.
 4. Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein worked closely with Liszt on the creation of the Prefaces.
 5. Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years, 1848–1861* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 119–20.
 6. Franz Liszt, Preface to *Tasso: Lamento e Trionfo*; English trans. Humphrey Searle (London: Eulenburg, 1976), pp. iii–vii.
 7. See Richard Kaplan, 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt: The Revolutionary Reconsidered', *19th-Century Music* 8(2) (Fall 1984), pp. 142–52.
 8. Translation by Ralph Nash in Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987). Other authors also commented on the gondoliers singing Tasso, including Madame de Staël in *Corinne*.
 9. Douglass Seaton, 'Interpreting Schubert's Heine Songs', *The Music Review* 53 (May 1992), p. 98.
 10. Albert Joseph George, *Pierre-Simon Ballanche: Precursor of Romanticism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1945), pp. 95–6.
 11. George, *Pierre-Simon Ballanche*, pp. 119–42.
 12. Jeanne Pohl was the wife of Richard Pohl.
 13. See Paul Allen Bertagnolli, 'From Overture to Symphonic Poem, From Melodrama to Choral Cantata: Studies of the Sources for Franz Liszt's *Prometheus* and his *Chöre zu Herder's Entfesselte Prometheus*', Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1998.
 14. Wulf Koepke refers to Herder's dramatic works as Festspiele that draw on the tradition of the cantata, oratorio, monodrama, and allegory. Herder's artistic goal was a public-minded *Gesamtkunstwerk* – a Festspiel employing all the arts to celebrate a communal spirit and informed by his moral and philosophical concerns. Wulf Koepke, *Johann Gottfried Herder* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1987), p. 114.
 15. Richard Pohl, Prologues to Franz Liszt, *Chöre zu Herders 'Der entfesselte Prometheus'* (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt Nachfolger, 1874), p. 4.
 16. In the Prologues Pohl emphasised how Prometheus was not afraid of the wrath of Zeus. Of course, later on in the drama Prometheus refuses a false gift from the gods presented by Hermes, for he will not allow his fate nor the fate of mankind to be tainted by the gods.
 17. See Seaton, 'Interpreting Schubert's Heine Songs', p. 98.
 18. See Kenneth Hamilton, 'Liszt', in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer, 1997), p. 145 for this reference.
 19. See Andrew Bonner, 'Liszt's *Les Préludes* and *Les Quatre Élémens*: A Reinvestigation', *19th-Century Music* 10(2) (1986), p. 98 for a detailed chronological chart of the progression from the choral work to the symphonic poem.

20. See Vera Micznik, 'The Absolute Limitations of Programme Music: The Case of Liszt's *Die Ideale*', *Music and Letters* 80 (1999), pp. 207–40 for an in-depth discussion of this piece.
21. See Walker, *The Weimar Years*, p. 70 fn 26.
22. Letter to August von Trefort, Budapest, 1 March 1876, *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, ed. La Mara [Marie Lipsius] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893–1905), Vol. II, p. 293.
23. Bence Szabolsci, *A Concise History of Hungarian Music* (Budapest: Corvina, 1974), p. 63.
24. Szabolsci, *Hungarian Music*, p. 63. Szabolsci also points out that a collected edition of Rózsavölgyi's works was begun in 1844.
25. Kenneth Hamilton reminds us that Lina Ramann recounts which scenes from the play are depicted in the music. Lina Ramann, *Lisztiana*, ed. Arthur Seidl (Mainz: Schott, 1983), 258; Hamilton, 'Liszt', in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer, 1997), p. 145.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Keith Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Franz Liszt* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), pp. 71–2.
28. Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Franz Liszt*, 2nd ed (New York: Dover, 1966), p. 77.
29. Searle, *The Music of Franz Liszt*, p. 78.
30. See Kaplan, 'Sonata Form in the Orchestral Works of Liszt', pp. 142–52.
31. According to Searle, the first motive 'might be said to represent the mystical and magical element in Faust's nature' while the second motive 'generally represents Faust's emotional character, whether passionate, amorous, or melancholy'. 'Franz Liszt' in *The Symphony*, vol. I, ed. Robert Simpson (New York: Drake, 1972), p. 265; Alan Walker agrees with Searle that M¹ represents Faust as a magician; however, he interprets M² as Faust the Thinker, *The Weimar Years*, p. 329.
32. Lawrence Kramer, 'Liszt, Goethe, and the Discourse of Gender', in *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 108, 115.
33. Mephistopheles: 'I am the spirit which eternally denies!' (Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint!) Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust: A Tragedy*, trans. Walter Arndt, ed. Cyrus Hamlin (New York: Norton, 1976), Vol. I, p. 1338.
34. 'Alles Vergängliche/ist nur ein Gleichnis,/das Unzulängliche/hier wird's Ereignis,/das Unbeschreibliche/hier ist's getan./Das Ewig-Weibliche/zieht uns hinan.'
35. Liszt, 'Journal des Zŷi', in [Marie de Flavigny, Comtesse D'Agoult], *Mémoires par Daniel Stern* [pseud.], ed. Daniel Ollivier (Paris, 1927), 180; quoted in Sharon Winkhofer, 'Liszt, Marie d'Agoult, and the Dante Sonata', *19th-Century Music* 1 (July 1977), p. 27.
36. Liszt to Berlioz, San Rossore, 2 October 1839; *Gazette musicale*, 24 October 1839, p. 418; *An Artist's Journey: Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique, 1835–1841*. Trans. and ed. Charles Suttoni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 186.
37. Walker, *Weimar Years*, pp. 50, 260.
38. Liszt to Wagner (Weimar, 2 June 1855) *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, ed. W. Ashton Ellis (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 89.
39. Pagan philosophers and other souls who have not been baptised inhabit the first circle of Hell, Limbo. Their souls live in a castle and wander around in a fresh meadow, and, even though they are without hope, their intellectual torment does not evoke fear like the physical punishments described in the rest of the circles. Liszt's depiction of Hell, therefore, begins with the circle of the lustful, who are actively guilty of sin.
40. Liszt, *Dante Symphony* (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1970); rpt. (London: Ernst Eulenburg), p. 68; 'Diese ganze Stelle als ein lästerndes Hohngelächter aufgefaßt, sehr scharf markiert in den beiden Klarinetten und den Violen.'

11. Liszt's sacred choral music

1. Many of Liszt's sacred choral works are available in a modern edition in *Franz Liszt: Musikalische Werke*, ed. F. Busoni, P. Raabe, P. Wolfrum *et al.* (Leipzig, 1907–36) [hereafter *MW*] V/5–7. In some cases, a work is available only in the original publication. The only major study of Liszt's sacred choral music is Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).
2. The work list by Rena Charmin Mueller and Maria Eckhardt in the 2003 on-line version of *The New Grove Dictionary* (hereafter *NGD*) suggests some revisions to the dates of composition given by Humphrey Searle/Sharon Winkhofer in the 1982 *NGD* edition. The revision of the conception date generally involves only a year or two, in several cases four to five years, and in the case of Psalm 116 and of *Der Herr bewahret die Seelen seiner Heiligen*, more than fifteen. I have given dates prefaced by *circa* to account for some of the minimal discrepancies. When the redating is more substantial, I acknowledge when I have adopted it or the possibility of a changed conception date in an accompanying note.
3. Quoted in Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, p. 11.

4. Quoted in Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, pp. 18–19.
5. Franz Liszt, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Detlef Altenburg (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, c. 1989–), Vol. I, ed. Rainer Kleinertz, p. 58: ‘la musique doit s’enquérir du PEUPLE et de DIEU; aller de l’un à l’autre; améliorer, moraliser, consoler l’homme, bénir et glorifier Dieu.’ In 1836 Liszt, Marie d’Agoult and George Sand spent a two-and-a-half months period in Paris writing articles for Lamennais’s newspaper *Le Monde*. The focus of these articles was the subject of humanitarian art. Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, p. 23.
6. *Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. I, 58: ‘les beaux chants de la révolution’. In fact, Liszt had sketched a *Revolutionary Symphony* in 1830 in reaction to the Paris revolution that year; he incorporated into it the *Marseillaise*.
7. *De profundis* was also used in the middle of the piano piece *Pensée des morts*, itself a reworking of the piano piece *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* of 1833–4. *Pensée* was eventually incorporated into Liszt’s piano cycle *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*, published in 1853. See note 10.
8. Searle’s catalogue numbers for the two versions of *Ave Maria I* are S20/1 and 20/2; *NGD* worklist calls them J1, first and second version. With respect to *Pater noster*, *MWV/6* labels the 1852 version *Pater noster II*. Searle accordingly calls both early versions *Pater noster II* (S21/1 and 21/2). *NGD* work list calls them *Pater noster I*, J3, first and second version.
9. The third statement begins with *dona nobis pacem* instead of *Agnus Dei*, thereby shortening the whole.
10. Liszt also began a piano version of *Hymne* in 1847, later incorporated into his piano cycle entitled *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*, published in 1853.
11. Carl Dahlhaus, ‘Liszt: Mazeppa’, *Analyse und Werturteil. Pädagogik* 8 (1970), pp. 86–7; Dolores Pesce, ‘Expressive Resonance in Liszt’s Piano Music’, R. Larry Todd, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), pp. 369–70.
12. Nos. 1–4 are for four mixed voices, no. 5 for three equal voices.
13. Liszt did not consistently follow one psalm numbering system. For psalms 13, 23, 137, he used the Hebrew numbering. For Psalms 18, 116, and 129 he used the Greek numbering; to these I have added the Hebrew numbering (1 higher) in parentheses. In the cases where he set a psalm text but did not include the psalm number in the title, I have referred to the psalm text by the Hebrew numbering system.
14. For *Psalm 131* I have used dates from *NGD* worklist which acknowledges two versions, whereas Searle does not.
15. Liszt unifies the work additionally by having the melody at letter G return intact at letter Q, and that of letter O at fourteen bars after Y. Opening as these two melodies do with a descending fifth and descending sixth respectively, one might relate them to Liszt’s main motive, although only loosely and not as transformations *per se*.
16. A second version dating c. 1859–62 was never published.
17. In ‘Program and Hungarian Idiom in the Sacred Music of Liszt’, Michael Saffle and James Deaville, eds. *New Light on Liszt and His Music. Essays in Honor of Alan Walker’s 65th Birthday, Analecta Lisztiana II* (NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), pp. 239–51, Klára Hamburger overviews occurrences of this scale in Liszt’s sacred music.
18. Liszt has the dynamics diminish from *p* to *pppp*, and includes the remark: *NB. Die 6 letzten Takte in den Singstimmen immer schwächer und gänzlich verhallend – (ohne Athem zu holen)*.
19. *MWV/7* labels the version for mixed chorus *I* and that for men’s chorus *II*, as does Searle. *NGD* calls the men’s version *I* and the mixed chorus version *II*. In the absence of an explanation for the changed numbering, I have followed the *MW* labelling.
20. The organ score contains Liszt’s ideas for woodwind, brass, and timpani parts. Raff created an orchestral version for publication. Both are found in *MWV/5*.
21. *Letters of Franz Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache, 2 vols. (London: 1894; reprinted New York, Greenwood Press, 1969) [hereafter *L I* OR *II*].
22. This is the same motive that returns in the *dona nobis pacem* section of the *Agnus*.
23. Liszt’s *Gran Mass* is discussed by Helmut Loos, ‘Franz Liszt’s Graner Festmesse’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 67 (1983), pp. 45–59.
24. Liszt’s idea for the work may have originated as early as 1839 when he published an article in the *Gazette musicale* entitled ‘La Sainte Cécile de Raphaël’, reprinted in *Sämtliche Schriften*, Vol. I, pp. 296–301. Although the music’s title is in German, he set the original French text first, adding on staves below it a setting in Italian and one in German.
25. The scoring is for mezzo-soprano solo, chorus *ad lib.*, with orchestra or piano, harmonium, and harp.
26. After the soloist presents verse 12, Liszt largely recaps verses 10–12 for the chorus.
27. The scoring is for soprano, alto, three baritone, and bass solos, chorus, orchestra, and organ.

28. *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Olga von Meyendorff 1871–1886*, trans. William R. Tyler, introd. and notes by Edward N. Waters (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 347.
29. *Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, ed. La Mara [Marie Lipsius] (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895–1904), p. 72; and *Correspondance: Lettres choisies*, ed. Pierre-Antoine Huré and Claude Knepper (Paris: Jean-Claude Lattès, 1987), pp. 453–4.
30. The folk hymn occurs on p. 240 of the Kahnt full score, thirty bars before cue T in section 5. In the endnotes to the published edition, Liszt credits various Hungarian individuals who provided him with antiphons, graduals, hymns, etc. which are preserved in the Feast of St Elisabeth and in breviaries and chant books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
31. The tune occurs on p. 30 of the Kahnt full score, eighteen bars before cue F in section 1.
32. It appears on p. 160 of the Kahnt full score, thirty-five bars before cue N in section 3.
33. In the endnotes to the edition, Liszt mentions that the Cross motive appears in the Magnificat opening and in the hymn *Crux fidelis*. He states that he used the Cross motive in the fugue of the Gloria from the *Gran Mass*, in the final chorus of the *Dante Symphony*, and in the symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht*.
34. Paul Merrick contributes an insightful discussion of this oratorio in *Revolution and Religion*, pp. 161–82. See also Paul Allen Munson, ‘The Oratorios of Franz Liszt’ (Ph.D. diss., 1996), pp. 20–62.
35. See *Franz Liszt’s Briefe*, ed. La Mara, 8 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893–1905) [hereafter *BR*]. Spontini was one of the composers associated with the nineteenth-century Cecilian movement who wanted to restore to church music traditional religious feeling. Cecilianism’s proponents emphasised Gregorian chant as performed in the chapels of Rome and favoured a *cappella* polyphony, of which Palestrina was the leading master.
36. Merrick states that the work Liszt planned, but never carried out in full, was to be entitled *Liturgie catholique, liturgie romaine*. Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, p. 92.
37. Paul Merrick discusses this work in ‘Responses and Antiphons: Liszt in 1860’, *Studia musicologica* 28 (1986), pp. 187–94.
38. *NGD* worklist states there were two versions, the first completed in 1860 and published in 1861, the second completed in 1870 and published in 1871. The 1871 version is discussed here.
39. Searle dates it 1875, *NGD* 1860s–1875.
40. *NGD* worklist suggests it may have been conceived as early as 1849.
41. *BR* VI, 179–80: ‘Je ne le voulais ni trop reposé, ni trop agité – simple et abondant, tendre et grave, ardent et chaste, tout ensemble!’
42. *NGD* worklist gives dates of 1859–65.
43. It appears in the *dona nobis pacem* section of the Agnus Dei.
44. *Franz Liszt’s Briefe an Baron Anton Augustz, 1846–1878*, ed. Wilhelm von Csapó (Budapest: [F. Kilian’s nachf.], 1911) [hereafter *LAA*], 101: ‘de m’en montrer digne comme catholique, comme hongrois et compositeur’.
45. *LAA*, p. 131.
46. The Credo is taken from Dumont’s *Messe royale*. Liszt added an organ accompaniment and has the full choir sing in unison except for brief passages in thirds at letters C and F and at some cadences.
47. ‘Ich versagte mir Enharmonien um Disharmonien vorzubeugen’ (I renounced enharmonics in order to eliminate discord), *LAA*, p. 128.
48. *BR* VII, 383: ‘En général, les grands et petits compositeurs colorent le Requiem en noir, du plus impitoyable noir’ and ‘Dans tout cet ouvrage, écrit à S^{te} Francesca Romana, j’ai tâché de donner au sentiment de la mort un caractère de douce espérance chrétienne.’ See also *L* II, 431: ‘I endeavored to give expression to the mild, redeeming character of death.’
49. The Latin for the two lines reads: *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis* and *Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda: Quando coeli movendi sunt et terra: Dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem*.
50. Specifically, they appear at *de ore leonis* (from the lion’s mouth), *tartarus* (hell), and *morte* (death) in the Offertorium, at *in quo totum continetur* (in which all shall be contained), referring to the Book of Judgement, in the *Dies irae*, and at *aeterna* (eternal) and *tremenda* (dreadful) in the *Libera me*.
51. The Recordare music returns at the *Qui Mariam absolvisti* section of the *Dies irae*, but the phrase in question has been altered for the new words.
52. Liszt planned *Christus* in 1853 and composed no. 6, ‘The Beatitudes’, in 1855 and 1859. Although Liszt wrote in 1866 that he had finished the work, he added two more numbers before its publication in 1872. It is scored for soprano, alto, tenor, baritone, and bass solos, mixed chorus, orchestra, and organ. See Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, pp. 182–4.
53. Paul Merrick states, ‘Liszt’s music [for *Tu es Petrus*] was composed originally to an anonymous Italian text in praise of Pius IX,

“*Dall’ alma Roma sommo Pastore*”, published in 1866 as *Inno del Papa*.’ Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, p. 196.

54. Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller discusses *Christus* in ‘Das Oratorium *Christus* von Franz Liszt: Ein Beitrag zu seinem konzeptionellen Grundlagen’, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Oratoriums seit Händel. Festschrift Günther Massenkeil zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Cadenbach and Helmut Loos (Bonn: Voggenreiter Verlag, 1986), pp. 329–43. See also Munson, *The Oratorios of Franz Liszt*, pp. 63–135.

55. According to Liszt, he started the work ‘at the Colosseum, when I lived very close by, at Santa Francesca Romana’. *Letters to Olga von Meyendorff*, p. 214. Liszt began that residency in the winter of 1866, so possibly *Via Crucis* was sketched as early as that year.

56. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘Way of the Cross’.

57. *O Haupt voll Blut, O Traurigkeit*, and *Vexilla regis* were among the hymn tunes that Liszt harmonised for Cardinal Hohenlohe c. 1878–9, most likely to be played by Hohenlohe at the piano. See Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, pp. 227–31. This set is most commonly known as *Zwölf alte deutsche geistliche Weisen*, and is edited in *Franz Liszt: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke/New Edition of the Complete Works*, 1st ser. ed. Z. Gárdonyi, I. Sulyok, I. Szelényi, and others, 2nd ser. ed. I. Sulyok and I. Mezö (Kassel and Budapest, 1970–), i/10, pp. 87–100. *Vexilla regis* is a Vespers hymn for the first Sunday of the Passion, for second Vespers on May 3, the Finding of the Holy Cross, and for second Vespers on Sept 14, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

58. The ‘fall’ Stations begin with a series of chromatic chords over a tonic pedal that finally resolve to the tonic.

59. *MWV/7*, 47: ‘Les compositions suivantes pourraient se chanter dans les églises et les chapelles, peu avant ou durant la dispensation des Saints Sacrements.’ *NGD* gives 1878–84 as dates of composition.

60. *MWV/7*, 81: ‘J’ai habité quelque temps deux chambres contigües à l’église de la Madonna del Rosario au Monte Mario, près de Rome. Là j’ai suivi parfois les dévotions du Rosaire, auxquelles j’ai ajouté ci-après un accompagnement musical.’

61. Searle dates it 1866, *NGD* work list 1867–68. Merrick suggests 1866 as well. See note 53 above.

62. *MWV/6* labels this *Pater noster I*.

Accordingly, Searle calls it *Pater noster I*, S29; *NGD* work list calls it *Pater noster II*, J14. Searle dates it ‘before 1861’, *NGD* ?1860.

63. Searle categorised two versions, numbered 31 and 32 (each with subdivisions). *NGD* worklist states there are three versions, J15a, b,

and c. Searle numbered J15c 32/3 because it preserves the voice-parts found in 32/1 and 32/2, omitting only the six-bar postlude.

64. Searle dates it after 1876, *NGD* 1881.

65. Searle dates it after 1880, *NGD* 1880–85.

66. *O salutaris II* for mixed chorus, generally simpler, highlights the words by a texture change from homophonic to unison singing.

67. Searle dates it after 1880, *NGD* 1884.

68. Searle dates it before 1885, *NGD* c. 1884.

69. Searle gives 1881, *NGD* 1883–6, based on Maria P. Eckhardt, ‘Ein Spätwerk von Liszt: der 129. Psalm’, *Studia musicologica* 18/1–4 (1976), pp. 295–333. The latter is given priority here.

70. This would not be surprising since Pope Leo XIII preached the importance of the rosary in encyclicals of 1 September 1883 and 30 August 1884 and prescribed on 6 January 1884 the recitation of the Little Office after every Low Mass.

71. It is specifically used at funerals by the priest, but also every Wednesday at Vespers, at second Vespers of Christmas, in ferial prayers of Lauds, and in the Office of the Dead at Vespers (ferial pertains to the days of the week, or to a weekday as distinguished from a festival). It is also used at Compline in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin.

72. The compositional history of *St Stanislaus* is discussed in Munson, *The Oratorios of Franz Liszt*, pp. 136–93.

73. At the word *iniquitates* (sins) an augmented triad appears.

74. Merrick, *Revolution and Religion*, p. 156.

75. On the other hand, the section’s tendency to vacillate between E major and G♯ minor continues through those two utterances, the organ following with a dyad B–D♯, then chords on C♯ major, C♯ minor, and E major.

For a discussion of Psalm 129 and other late sacred choral pieces, see Dorothea Redepenning in ‘Meditative Musik: Bemerkungen zu einigen späten geistlichen Kompositionen Franz Liszts’, *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1985), pp. 185–201.

76. Liszt left unfinished two oratorios on Sts Stephen and Stanislaus, representing Hungary and Poland, respectively. Paul Munson states, ‘It is tempting to see in this Hungarian–Polish pairing an apostrophe to the Liszt–Wittgenstein friendship, along lines similar to the “Rákóczi–Dabrowski” movement Liszt had planned for the *Revolutionary* Symphony, or the “Ungarisch” and “Polnisch” numbers from *Weihnachtsbaum*.’ Munson, *The Oratorios of Franz Liszt*, p. 137.

77. The overview does not consider occasional pieces.

78. Psalm 20 *Domine salvum fac regem*, stands apart as a coronation anthem.

79. The three other saints are Elisabeth, Cecilia, and St Francis of Paula. Elisabeth was a Hungarian personage, to whom Liszt was attracted because of his Hungarian heritage; she also represented

the cause of the poor, which mattered to Liszt as well. Cecilia, a martyr, was the patron saint of music and glorified God through her art. St Francis of Paula was the patron saint of the Franciscan Friars Minor and epitomised humility; he was also Liszt's name saint.