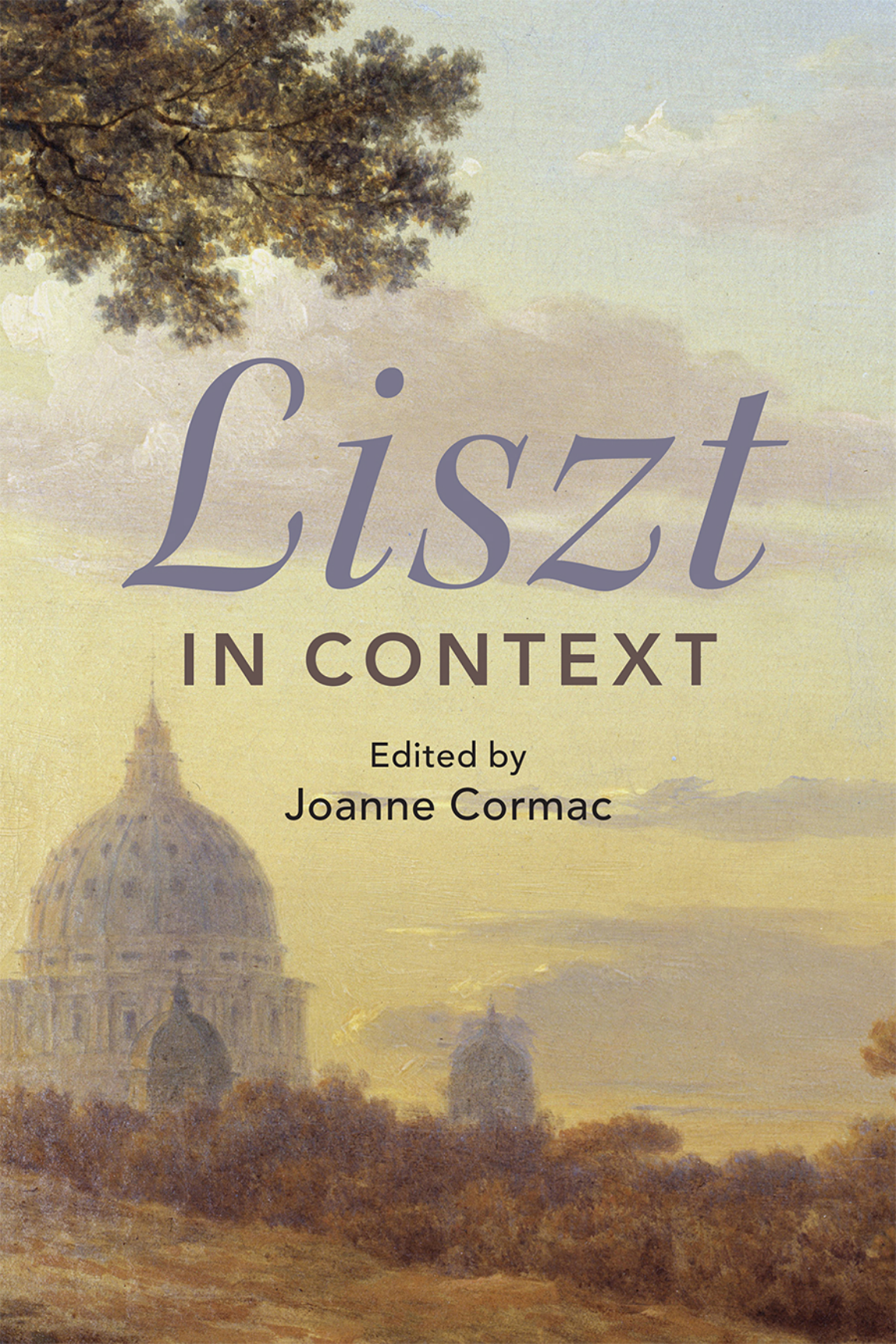
Liszt
IN CONTEXT
Edited by
Joanne Cormac

LISZT IN CONTEXT

Liszt in Context explores the political, social, philosophical and professional currents that surrounded Franz Liszt and illuminates the competing forces that influenced his music. Liszt was immersed in the religious, political and cultural debates of his day and moved between institutions, places and social circles with ease. All of this makes for a rich contextual tapestry against which Liszt composed some of the most iconic, popular and also contentious music of the nineteenth century. His significance and astonishing reach cannot be overstated, a product of his abundant presence in nineteenth-century European culture, and his continuing influence into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The focus on context, reception and legacy that this volume provides reveals the multifaceted nature of Liszt's impact during his lifetime and beyond.

JOANNE CORMAC is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Nottingham. Her research focuses on nineteenth-century music and culture. She is the author of *Liszt and the Symphonic Poem* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) and editor of *30-Second Classical Music* (Ivy Press, 2017). Her research has appeared in leading journals, including *19th-Century Music*, *19th-Century Music Review*, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, *The Musical Quarterly* and *The Journal of Musicological Research*. She is the guest editor of *19th-Century Music* (University of California Press) for the Fall 2020 issue.

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Preface

Liszt in Context explores the political, social, philosophical and professional currents that surrounded Franz Liszt and impinged on his work. The book does not take a typical 'life and works' approach, but instead attempts to further our understanding of the competing forces influencing Liszt and his music. Liszt is a figure who has come almost to stand for nineteenth-century romanticism itself, who was immersed in the religious, political, social and cultural debates of his day and who moved between institutions, places and social circles with ease. All of this makes for a rich contextual tapestry against which Liszt composed some of the most iconic, popular and also contentious music of the nineteenth century. His significance and astonishing reach are rarely fully grasped, though his presence in nineteenth-century European culture, and his continuing influence into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are overwhelming. The focus on context, reception and legacy that this volume provides draws attention to the multifaceted nature of Liszt's impact during his lifetime and beyond.

Liszt's complicated reception history has meant that his life and music have been neglected in academic literature, despite his significance in nineteenth-century musical and cultural life. He has suffered from being seen primarily as a pianist, and his music has been plagued by charges of superficiality and formlessness. Recent decades have seen a plethora of studies that have redressed this neglect and nuanced our understanding of Liszt's contribution. Many of the authors of these studies are represented in this volume. However, there is still more to be done. This volume offers careful contextualisation to complement the recent studies of Liszt's music. It encourages readers to revisit his music, paying close attention to the historical, political and cultural debates against which it was composed, and perhaps, thereby, to hear it anew.

The volume is organised in four parts, each exploring a different group of contextual themes. 'People and Places' (Part I) examines Liszt's interactions with different European centres that were of key significance for

various artistic, social, practical and political reasons. It will also explore his relationships with certain influential figures, including his parents, Wagner and central figures of the New German School. This establishes some of the significant experiences and relationships at various points throughout Liszt's life that were central in shaping his world view. Part II, 'Society, Thought and Culture', then establishes wider schools of thought, events and cultural trends that influenced Liszt personally and professionally. Part II includes reflections on Liszt's close involvement in a variety of artistic and philosophical debates of his time, from the so-called war of the Romantics in which he became embroiled, to his engagement with the 'sister arts' of literature and visual art. It highlights the importance of the social context in which Liszt worked, particularly the patronage of salonnières and royal courts. Part II also examines Liszt's responses to prevailing ideas of the time, including Romantic Catholicism, Saint-Simonism and nationalism. It traces Liszt's eventual decision to take minor holy orders and the influence of religion and politics on his music. Having established the main personal, political, religious and social landscapes against which Liszt's music should be placed, the book's focus then turns to Liszt's work in Part III, 'Performance and Composition'. Part III positions Liszt as a multifaceted professional figure, examining his inter-related roles as performer, conductor and composer, and some of the practical aspects of his work, such as the management of tours, his relationships with publishers and the dissemination of his music. Finally, Part IV, 'Reception and Legacy', deals with critical responses to Liszt and his 'afterlife' in biography and film, which has had an important influence on how we understand the man and his music. It also considers the influence of his music on composers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Liszt was a complex character who resisted reductive labels. It is impossible to define his religious and political convictions with certainty. His national identity is difficult to pin down. His aesthetic ideas were shifting, malleable. And his legacy is often misunderstood. This volume goes some way to attempt to unravel the nexus of ideas and contexts which shaped him and which he in turn shaped. I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting this research.

PART I

People and Places

CHAPTER 1

Family Background

Adrienne Kaczmarczyk

The ancestors of Franz Liszt settled near the northwestern borderlands of the Kingdom of Hungary during the eighteenth century, which was, to most, sovereign of all countries among the Habsburg Empire. The first member of the family to appear in the parish register of Rajka (an agricultural town on the shores of the Danube) was his great-grandfather, Sebastian List (c. 1703–93). Up until the early twentieth century, almost all members of this German-speaking family lived in this region, inhabited by ethnic Germans, Magyars and Slovaks.

Sebastian's parents probably arrived in Hungary along with those hundreds of thousands of other families whose settlement was agreed on by leading Austrian and Hungarian politicians of the era. Following the century and a half (1541–1699) of Turkish occupation, and then an uprising against the Habsburg Empire by Ferenc Rákóczi II (1703–11), the population of the country had been depleted. A slow growth had started after the 1711 peace treaty of Szatmár. The 1720 census only counted a population of 3.8–4 million. The 1784 census ordered by Joseph II saw these figures double. Although the language and culture of this immigrant population of 1.2–1.3 million people was not Hungarian, these dissimilarities had not caused issues, since stratification resulted from social status and not ethnicity. Every inhabitant of the Kingdom of Hungary counted as a *Hungarus*, regardless of whether they considered themselves to be Magyar, German, Romanian, Slav or any other ethnicity. The Habsburg rules mainly sought to increase the number of German-speaking Catholics; therefore, they were settled in the greatest numbers. The List family had chosen as their destination one of the most developed regions, Pozsony, known as Pressburg.[1]

Translated by Dániel Szöllősy-Nagy.

[1] Following World War I, the western part of the region was attached to Austria and became part of the newly created province of Burgenland in 1921. Areas north of the Danube were annexed to Czechoslovakia. In 1921, the city of Pressburg became the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava.

Pressburg functioned as a temporary capital between 1541 and 1790 in lieu of Buda,[2] which had been devastated by the Ottomans and was slowly being reconstructed. Because of Pressburg's proximity to Vienna, it was the location of a number of coronations and national assemblies up until 1848. The presence of a clerical and social elite had a beneficial effect on the cultural life of the city. The greatest patrons of music were the primates of the Catholic Church who lived in Pressburg at the time.[3] They had adopted the repertoire of the Viennese *Hofkapelle*, and the orchestras played *Kunstmusik* of the time. The theatre, built in 1776 as a result of an effort by noblemen, also provided grounds for opera performances, in which during the winter sessions musicians employed by the princes Esterházy also participated. Owing to a lack of trained Hungarian musicians, both the ecclesiastical and the secular ensembles employed German, Austrian and Czech musicians. Without their presence, it would not have been possible to reorganise the art music life in multiple Hungarian cities by the early nineteenth century.[4]

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Pressburg was becoming even more attractive to intellectuals because of its high school and university. Among them were the most talented descendants of Sebastian List. While Sebastian himself was spending his days as a farm labourer, his son Georg Adam (1755–1844) took the first steps towards social ascendance. His few years of middle school education were sufficient to enable him to find employment on the estates of Nikolaus I Prince Esterházy 'The Magnificent', first as a schoolmaster, then as a cantor and a notary. Georg Adam had twenty-five children from three wives between 1775 and 1817. Only the most dedicated among them could follow their father's footsteps, as they would have to pay for their education themselves. One of them was the eldest son who lived to be an adult, Adam (1776–1827), the composer's father. Another was the youngest son Eduard (1817–79), who obtained a doctorate of legal studies and later became state prosecutor for the Austrian Supreme Court.[5]

[2] Unified into Budapest in 1873 from Buda, Óbuda and Pest.

[3] The position of the primate was filled by the archbishop of Esztergom. In 1543, his seat was evacuated to Nagyszombat (Trnava today) and was only returned to Esztergom in 1820.

[4] Take the example of Győr, the nearby bishopric. Its cathedral had as its conductor from 1761 Benedek Istvánffy (1733–78), the most talented Hungarian composer of his era. The sheet music repository proves that he had close links with Esterházy's musicians and may have also been a student of their conductor, Georg Werner. Ferenc Erkel was one of Istvánffy's descendants.

[5] Liszt was only in touch with Eduard from among the members of his wider family. He trusted Eduard to manage his financial investments and passed his nobility title to Eduard in 1867, which knighthood he had received from Emperor Franz Joseph in 1859.

Adam Liszt presumably had a good basic education, otherwise he would not have been accepted to the Royal Catholic Gymnasium of Pressburg, where he passed his baccalaureate in 1795. The study of Latin language and literature was at the core of the five-year curriculum. Given that the official languages of the Kingdom of Hungary, dependent of the Habsburg Empire, were German or Latin until 1844, the high school prepared students for a public career and university education that was also in Latin. Classes were held in German, but Hungarian was mandatory for pupils of other mother tongues. Although Adam Liszt wrote his surname with Hungarian spelling, he failed to master the language. As a result of massive immigration to Hungary in the eighteenth–nineteenth century, however, the lack of a working knowledge of Hungarian was not unusual.

When in the Autumn of 1795 Adam Liszt took the habit at the Malacka house of the Franciscan order, he was following in the footsteps of his uncle, Father Antonius, who joined the order in 1739. Although Adam was dismissed two years later due to his inconstant temper, he still maintained a good relationship with the monks. His Franciscan piety also took root in his son, who was admitted to the order in 1858.[6] It is not unlikely that Adam had a dual aim in becoming a novice; he could have been attracted by the possibility of learning, in addition to the life of a monk. The churches of the time bore the costs of educating people from lower classes to ensure an ample supply of clergymen and teachers for their schools. Thus, some great-grandchildren of Georg Adam Liszt obtained an intellectual's education from the church, such as Antal Vetzkó, the parson of Bedeg, and Alajos Hennig, a Jesuit priest.

After the path of the church had been closed to him, Adam Liszt entered the faculty of philosophy at the university of Pressburg in the fall of 1797 to strengthen his position among secular intellectuals. Since he also had to support his siblings, he was unable to pay for his tuition and was forced to abandon his studies after the first semester. In 1798, he was hired by the Esterházys of Forchtenau as an administrator, and then three years later he sought out the employ of Prince Nikolaus II in Eisenstadt. But then he was looking to be employed as a musician, rather than as an administrator. These steps suggest that although the key to social advancement was higher education, deep down in his heart he wanted to be a musician. When he had his portrait made, he chose to be painted as playing the piano. According to his son, his performance was not

[6] See Chapters 18 and 19 for further discussion of Liszt's religious views.

technically perfect, but he was decidedly talented.[7] Presumably, even Sebastian List was also attracted to music, otherwise as a farm labourer he would not have allowed his son to spend his time playing the organ, the piano and the violin. Georg Adam, although he had not become a musician, was in touch with the professionals. This is evidenced by the parish records of the Saint Martin dome in Pressburg, according to which his children, born in 1792 and 1794, were held during their baptism by Franz Xaver Bernhoffer, a member of the town's most well-known musician dynasty. Georg Adam's musical affinity was not only inherited by Adam: Eduard was an excellent piano player, whereas Alajos Hennig composed several religious choir pieces.

According to stories told to his son, Adam Liszt had nothing else to do during his four years after arriving in Eisenstadt in 1805 than playing music. He knew Haydn and Hummel, who was the *Konzertmeister* between 1804 and 1811. Adam was proud to have been able to participate as a cellist at the world premiere of Beethoven's Mass in C Major in 1807, conducted by the composer himself. His happiness was short lived, as in 1808 he was transferred to Lackenbach, and then in 1809 to Raiding (in Hungarian: Doborján) as a sheep accountant.

Adam's words should be measured with a critical approach. Being a well-trained administrator, it is unlikely that he would rather have been employed by Nikolaus II as an amateur musician. Presumably, the orchestra would have made use of him as temporary help. The fact that he was transferred to a position of responsibility in 1808 shows that his superiors were clearly aware of his accounting skills. Based on a letter sent from Paris in 1824, it does seem that the members of the orchestra acknowledged his musical gift.[8] The familiar tone used in the letter suggests a friendship with some of them, so they presumably met to play music after 1808 as well. As evidenced by local historical research at Raiding during the 1970s and 1980s, Adam's circumstances were not as sad as he may have felt.[9] At the farmstead where he worked stood a T-shaped residential building, around a third of which was being used in the 1810s and named as a manor house (*Edelhof*). In early 1811, Adam and Anna Maria Lager (1788–1866) began

[7] See J. d'Ortigue, 'Études biographiques I. Frantz Listz [sic]' *Gazette musicale de Paris* 2, no. 24 (14 June 1835): 198.

[8] See La Mara, 'Aus Franz Liszts erster Jugend', *Die Musik* 5, no. 19 (1905/1906): 15.

[9] See H. Pickler, 'Franz Liszts Geburtsort und Geburtshaus' and W. Meyer, 'Der Meierhof in Raiding – Der Schauplatz von Liszts Kindheit', in *Franz Liszt: Eine Genie aus dem pannonischen Raum*, ed. G. Winkler (Eisenstadt, 1986), 29–46 and 47–53.

married life in that house and on 22 October, their only child, Franz was born there.

The bond between the Liszt couple proved to be strong. Adam's stubborn nature was fortunately balanced by Anna's pliable personality. Originally from Krems in Lower Austria, her father Mathias Lager (1715–96) was a baker. In 1810, she moved to Mattersdorf to live with her brother, Franz Lager, where she met her future husband, the son of the notary. After Adam passed away in 1827 in Boulogne-sur-Mer in France, Anna moved to Paris to live with her son. Their correspondence shows a close relationship. Anna wrote 70 letters to her son between 1831 and 1865, and he sent her 121 letters between 1827 and 1866. Her grandchildren, Blandine and Cosima joined the tranquillity of her Parisian home from the end of 1839, and Daniel from the autumn of 1841. Their relationship remained close even after the children entered boarding school, as was the norm in those days. Franz Liszt paid special attention to their education, as he was dismayed throughout his own life for not having received quality education. He attended school in Raiding until the age of ten, with his father teaching him thereafter. He acquired his extensive knowledge of literature, religion and cultural history later, by reading.

According to family tradition, Franz's musical prowess was discovered at the age of six. That is when Adam noticed that the little boy was rendering a clear and precise singing of the Ries piano concerto, one of the themes of which Adam was practising. The piano lessons that shortly followed amazed the father, who then made it his mission to provide his son with a qualified teacher.[10] As an accomplished performer, Hummel was unaffordable. If Adam had intended that his son follow the Kapellmeister career track he could have consulted Henrik Klein, the music teacher of Pressburg. For an average Hungarian town, Pressburg had an exceptionally rich theatrical and concert scene. The skills of this Moravian master had also resulted in retaining the presence between 1822 and 1825 of Ferenc Erkel (1810–93), the other most important Hungarian musical personality of the century beside Liszt himself, and the future creator of the Hungarian national opera.[11] The fact that Adam had not even considered taking Franz to Pressburg suggests that the conductor position that would go

[10] His father's diary, disappeared since, had contained information on Liszt's childhood years, as reported by d'Ortigue, 'Études biographiques', 198.

[11] See T. Tallián, 'Ein Genie des Ertragens: Zur Zweihundertjahrfeier Ferenc Erkels', *Studia Musicologica* 52, nos. 1–4 (2012): 15–25.

along with religious or noblemen's service had lost its attractiveness by the first decades of the nineteenth century. Young talents would rather be in Vienna, where a career path of a virtuoso promised more independence. During August 1819, Adam introduced his son to Carl Czerny, who took on educating him without any hesitation. Only after the establishment by Liszt and Erkel of the Academy of Music in 1875 was Budapest able to provide a sufficient level of musical training to talents similar to Ernő Dohnányi and Béla Bartók, who both grew up in Pressburg.

According to the Esterházy files, Adam Liszt petitioned Nikolaus II starting in July 1819 for a transfer to a Vienna office and to support his son's education. After failing to gain the support of the prince, Adam sought a different method; he hoped that his son's public performances would result in generous patrons. For his first performance, Adam had Franz perform in October 1820 at the Sopron Casino, and following its success, he organised a new concert for 26 November in Pressburg. Count Nikolaus Esterházy, a relative of the prince of Eisentsadt, hosted the event at his palace, with the attendance of many noblemen. Clad in traditional Hungarian attire, the young boy impressed the audience with his extraordinary pianistic skills. As a result, Hungarian noblemen of Antal and Tádé Amadé, Antal Szapáry, Nikolaus Esterházy and the counts Apponyi made a promise of an annual stipend of 600 forints for the duration of six years.

The largesse of the Hungarian noblemen was also influenced by the political situation. A significant, nationwide resistance blossomed in August 1822 in response to a tax increase of 250 per cent by the Viennese government, intending to pay for the costs of the Napoleonic wars. Franz I (1792–1835) was eventually forced to make concessions. In 1825, he assembled the national assembly, which made the first steps towards the abolishment of feudalism. Between 1830 and 1848 a transition programme of citizens had been formulated and executed in the spirit of liberal nationalism.[12] Many important cultural institutions were established as part of this programme, funded by pledges of hundreds of thousands of forints by the noblemen. Count Ferenc Széchényi surpassed them all; he laid the foundation of the National Library by donating his collection of books and manuscripts. His son, István Széchenyi, offered one year of his income at the 1825 national assembly for the establishment

[12] From a foreigner's point of view, John Paget's 900-page travel guide provides the most details on the circumstances of the era: *Hungary and Transylvania; with Remarks on Their Condition, Social, Political and Economical, with numerous illustrations from sketches by Mr Hering* (London: J. Murray, 1839).

of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Both the Academy and the National Theatre were established by public pledges following his initiative. The Esterházy family certainly had members of Hungarian sentiment, but Prince Nikolaus II was not among them. By offering 1,000 forints to the National Museum in 1811, he proved to be more avaricious than any of his peers. He spent his wealth on his famous art collection. As an aristocrat, he presumably found Adam Liszt's ambitions excessive. However, others were just as avaricious when it came to supporting private individuals. Although in the nineteenth century close to 46,000 Hungarian students had enrolled at foreign universities, most of them in Vienna or Germany, an insignificant number of them had received any scholarship.[13] Institutions, foundations or private individuals were only willing to supply a stipend if they were certain that their support would produce an intellectual, political or financial return. As an example, in 1830 not even 200 forints were collected to support the international studies of Miklós Barabás, who painted Liszt's portrait in 1846. Adam Liszt therefore had nothing else available but to appeal to the nationalistic sentiments of the Hungarian noblemen, who might see in his son their own nation, and thus provide some support. In the end, both parties found what they had been looking for. From 1839, Liszt's first return to home, the noblemen could be certain that their investment would yield results to Hungary.

[13] L. Szögi, 'Studentenmigration aus Ungarn 1100–1918', in *Mehrsprachigkeit in Zentraleuropa*, ed., A. F. Balogh and Ch. Leitgeb (Vienna: Praesens, 2012), 67–80.

CHAPTER 2

Liszt's Teachers

Paul Bertagnolli

Liszt's musical education was, in one respect, commonplace. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Habsburg Empire's gifted youngsters typically began instruction with their fathers or close relatives, who ranged in expertise from amateurs to professional court or church musicians. Exceptional talent warranted engaging recognised pedagogues or cultivating special opportunities, often in Vienna, where a conservatory that opened as a singing school in 1817 developed no instrumental curricula until 1827. This pattern governed the training of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and many contemporaries. Liszt likewise studied first with his father, Adam Liszt, in Raiding, then with Carl Czerny and Antonio Salieri in Vienna and finally with Ferdinando Paer and Antoine Reicha in Paris, all between 1817 and 1826.

Otherwise, however, Liszt's education was remarkable. Eschewing comprehensive instruction, his teachers addressed specific subjects that suited their unique qualifications, including piano technique, improvisation, score reading, orchestration, operatic composition and counterpoint. They thereby catalysed an unsystematically trained prodigy's transformation, first into an internationally celebrated touring virtuoso, then into a budding composer who lastingly espoused their aesthetics. At concerts, Liszt distributed notices that included his teachers' names, perhaps to market himself shrewdly, but also to honour his mentors. Biographers nonetheless diminished his teachers' influences, perpetuating the Romantic era's notion of the genius's endowment with natural or even divine gifts. Nevertheless, primary sources and knowledge of his teachers' pedagogy help circumscribe what they taught Liszt.

Adam Liszt (1776–1827)

Adam Liszt's musical competence incited controversy because he was an administrator for Hungary's Esterházy princes, not a professional

musician. Liszt's earliest biographer, Joseph d'Ortigue, judged Adam a 'consummate musician' who played 'almost every instrument' and possessed 'rather remarkable technical ability' as a pianist, opinions that informed later biographies.[1] As Allan Keiler argued, however, documents in the Esterházy archives establish that Adam exaggerated his modest skills as a composer, singer and player of several orchestral instruments to obtain a transfer from rural Kapuvár, where he was stationed in 1801, to urban Eisenstadt, where he performed as a supernumerary in the court orchestra on special occasions beginning in 1805.[2] The Esterházys' vice-Kapellmeister, Johann Fuchs, tellingly observed that Adam was 'rather musical', yet the 'true manner of making music' was 'somewhat unknown to him'. Adam thus remained a dilettante who used music to improve his material circumstances.

Scant evidence chronicles Adam's pianism and pedagogy. Although he claimed he developed pianistic interests after hearing Hummel perform in Eisenstadt, he acquired a piano only in 1810, after another transfer to provincial Raiding in 1809 deprived him of ensemble activities. Self-taught amateurs of Adam's day approached keyboard technique unsystematically, often consulting readily available eighteenth-century treatises that advocated pervasively detached articulation, *inégal* rhythmic treatment and limited arm involvement. Such widespread performance practices likely informed Czerny's unfavourable first impression of Liszt's playing, as described here. Inconsistencies riddle Adam's account of his discovery of Liszt's talent at age six, but the irregularity of lessons for three years suggests Adam was less strict than is sometimes thought. He nonetheless employed harsh methods: Liszt recalled his father slapped him for presumptuously trying to play Beethoven's *Hammerklavier Sonata*, and a Genevan woman observed Adam dispensing corporal punishment.[3]

Liszt progressed rapidly. As Adam's letters proclaim, Liszt capably played many works by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Clementi, Hummel and Cramer. His boast received justification when Liszt debuted in Oedenburg in November 1820, performing Ferdinand Ries's Second Piano Concerto, a taxing, thirty-minute score featuring brilliantly ornate melodies, fluid arpeggios, tremolos and scales in various parallel intervals.

[1] Joseph d'Ortigue, 'Franz Liszt: "Étude biographique"', *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 14 June 1835, p. 196; Emile Haraszti, 'Liszt à Paris', *Revue musicale* 17 (1936): 246; Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, vol. 1: *The Virtuoso Years, 1811–1847* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 38, 58.

[2] Allan Keiler, 'Liszt and Beethoven: The Creation of a Personal Myth', *19th-Century Music* 18 (1988): 119–21.

[3] August Göllerich, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt, 1908), 159–60; Haraszti, 'Liszt à Paris', 258.

A solo programme ensued in Pressburg. Analysis of Liszt's repertoire before he moved to Vienna would clarify what he learned from Adam, who ostensibly understood technique well enough to engage Vienna's leading pedagogue.

Carl Czerny (1791–1857)

As Liszt's only professional piano teacher, Czerny was unassailably qualified. His autobiography imparts that he composed at age seven and played 'nearly everything by Mozart and Clementi' by age ten, when he became Beethoven's pupil.[4] Although deemed his generation's pre-eminent Beethoven interpreter, he abjured concertizing because his playing self-confessedly lacked the brilliance of some virtuosos. He instead wrote didactic pieces and treatises on piano technique, improvisation and composition. An established teacher in 1806, he professedly taught twelve hours daily for thirty years.

Upon first hearing Liszt in 1819, Czerny described his playing as 'irregular, careless, confused' and devoid of proper fingering.[5] To remedy these problems, Liszt took daily lessons at Czerny's home after the Liszts moved to Vienna in May 1822. Recognising that in Liszt, 'Nature herself had created a pianist', Czerny waived his lucrative fee. Although he treated the Liszts as family, he could not dissuade Adam from taking his son on a tour in September 1823. Having previously postponed Liszt's Viennese debut to prepare his student rigorously, Czerny felt additional studies would fully realise Liszt's pianistic and compositional potential. He accordingly corresponded with Adam during the tour to supervise Liszt's progress.[6]

Czerny redressed Liszt's 'carelessness', countering Adam's presumably unsystematic instruction. Technical studies included all major and minor scales in varied rhythms and tempos, and the metronome regulated strict rhythm, ostensibly eliminating eighteenth-century *inégal* conventions – methods that some authorities advocated less systematically.[7] Legato

[4] Carl Czerny, 'Recollections from My Life', trans. Ernest Sanders, *Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956): 303.
[5] Ibid., 314–15.
[6] La Mara, 'Franz Liszt auf seinem ersten Weltflug', in *Classisches und Romantisches aus der Tonwelt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), 233–62; La Mara, 'Aus Franz Liszts erster Jugend', *Die Musik* 5 (1905): 15–29.
[7] Pleyel, Steibelt and others, without mentioning the metronome, recommended practising scales slowly, then faster, but not routinely at different tempos. See Sandra P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 149, 196.

replaced detached, eighteenth-century articulation as Czerny's norm, a relatively new practice he attributed to Beethoven's teaching. Marked accents nonetheless promoted proper declamation, whereby pianists could 'enter into the author's spirit'. Further concerns were diligently chosen fingerings, pedalling and strengthening Liszt's left hand. Czerny's pedagogical repertoire, initially comprising Clementi's works, soon incorporated pieces by Hummel, Moscheles, Ries and, eventually, Bach and Beethoven. Liszt also played Czerny's works while touring.

Czerny's compositional influence was potent. His name appears in Liszt's first sketchbook beside excerpts that illustrate Liszt's prescient interest in musical topics, including operatic recitative, songlike lyricism, pianistic virtuosity and *tempesta* outbursts.[8] Czerny's improvisational strategies shaped Liszt's juvenilia. For example, the *Impromptu brillant sur des thèmes de Rossini et Spontini* (1824) links four themes with developmental interludes or cadenzas, reconciling disparate melodic types through similar tempos, regularised phrasing and cohesive tonal organisation.[9] Of Czerny's six species of improvised fantasies, three evolved respectively into Liszt's mature transcriptions, paraphrases and reminiscences.[10] These species also employ incipient versions of Lisztian thematic transformation and double-function form.[11] Czerny's fantasy on a single theme, for instance, manipulates a theme not in an abstract symphonic style, but alters it to suit different tempos, various dance patterns and contrapuntal settings. Czerny is accordingly a source of Liszt's unprecedented pianistic technique and innovative compositional practices.

Antonio Salieri (1750–1825)

In Vienna's musical hierarchy, Salieri's status was supreme. His position as imperial Kapellmeister made him powerful, his operatic successes made him famous. Not obliged to teach, he nonetheless accepted many composition pupils throughout his career, including Beethoven, Schubert and

[8] Rena Charnin Mueller, 'Liszt's Indebtedness to Czerny', in *Carl Czerny: Komponist, Pianist, Pädagoge*, ed. Heinz von Loesch (Mainz: Schott, 2009), 152–53.

[9] Zsuzsanna Domokos, 'Carl Czernys Einfluß auf Franz Liszt: Die Kunst des Phantasierens', in *Der junge Liszt: Referate des 4. Europäischen Liszt-Symposions, Wien 1991*, ed. Gottfried Scholz (Munich: Katzbichler, 1993), 19–28.

[10] Mueller, 'Liszt's Indebtedness to Czerny', 154–56.

[11] Michael Saffle, 'Czerny and the Keyboard Fantasy: Traditions, Innovations, Legacy', in *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity: Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. David Gramit (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 202–28.

Moscheles. Despite such credentials, Salieri's role in Liszt's education has been diminished in misleading secondary sources.

Several aspects of Salieri's lessons are verifiable. When Liszt arrived in Vienna in 1822, illness prevented Salieri from accepting new pupils. But in a letter of 25 August, Salieri told Count Johann Karl Esterházy that he had been 'astonished' and had thought he was 'dreaming' when he heard Liszt improvise and sight-read.[12] Immediately offering to teach Liszt 'general bass, score reading in diverse genres, and composition', Salieri proposed scheduling lessons before midday because the heat might compromise Liszt's delicate health. Plainly, Salieri had specific pedagogical tasks and Liszt's welfare in mind.

Insights into Salieri's instruction may be derived from his approach to teaching Schubert, whose education as an imperial chorister at an imperial boarding school included lessons with Salieri. Three fellow students recalled that Schubert took lessons twice weekly or on days when classes were not held, but he began daily lessons after leaving the school in 1813.[13] Thus, Liszt probably saw Vienna's foremost court musician often: he interested Salieri keenly, he attended no classes and his family resided in accommodations that Salieri arranged near the home of Czerny, whose evening lessons complemented Salieri's morning schedule.

Because primary sources transmit little regarding Salieri's lessons, biographers have propagated Lina Ramann's perfunctory assessment. Ramann assumed that Salieri avoided making a contrapuntist of Liszt because counterpoint was not Salieri's strong suit; instead, he provided solid musical and theoretical instruction by studying scores and supervising stylistically correct harmony exercises.[14] Liszt merely recalled that Salieri taught him score and clef reading.[15] These impressions are questionable: counterpoint was integral to Salieri's curriculum, as other students consistently verified; he was a skilled contrapuntist, as his sacred works attest; and counterpoint was likely an elusive concept for an ambitious ten-year-old, who possibly envisioned writing fugues and canons rather than seemingly homophonic species exercises. Moreover, Liszt's first

[12] Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: sein Leben und seine weltlichen Werke unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner grossen Opern*, vol. 2 (Munich: Katzbichler, 1971), 195–96.

[13] Christopher H. Gibbs, 'Writing under the Influence? Salieri and Schubert's Early Opinion of Beethoven', *Current Musicology* 75 (2003): 119–25.

[14] Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1880), 38–39.

[15] La Mara, ed., *Franz Liszts Briefe*, vol. 8 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), 396.

composition, *Tantum ergo*, a lost hymn setting produced under Salieri's tutelage, doubtless involved generic voice-leading principles.

Schubert studies again illuminate Salieri's systematic methodology. Among Schubert's abundant exercises for Salieri, one is proudly inscribed, 'Counterpoint begun 18 June 1812 first species'.[16] Several subjects for Schubert's exercises derive from contemporaneous method books by Johann Joseph Fux and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger. Schubert also studied scores by Bach, Handel and 'old Italian masters'. As Alfred Mann accordingly concluded, Schubert's exercises manifest a type of part writing that infuses the Italian *stile moderno* with the new Germanic discipline of *Harmonielehre*.[17] Schubert's efforts thus often seem more homophonic than fugal or canonic in nature. Ramann's 'harmony exercises' could easily have been similar.

Salieri tenaciously corrected students' work. In Schubert's exercises, he marked errant part writing, phrasing, declamation and excessively high range.[18] Anselm Hüttenbrenner described Salieri's 'strenuous' corrections of parallel or direct octaves and fifths as routine matters, whereas an improperly resolved seventh was 'a thorn in the eye'.[19] Joseph Weigl recalled rewriting scores five or six times to satisfy Salieri.[20] Liszt's exercises, whatever they were, doubtless underwent Salieri's 'strenuous' correction. Finally, Salieri spent time at the keyboard, presumably teaching general bass.

Additional considerations support using other students' experiences to assess Liszt's lessons with Salieri. First, effective teachers often adapt curricula to suit specific pupils, but rarely devise entirely different methodologies. Second, Salieri's instruction was incomplete: he tutored Liszt only for a year and did not correspond with Adam during tours. Czerny detected part-writing errors in Liszt's first published scores, perhaps inducing Adam to engage Reicha as a counterpoint teacher in 1826. These factors indicate Adam, Czerny and Liszt welcomed further contrapuntal studies to resume an education Salieri likely began.

[16] Otto Deutsch, ed., *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1946), 24.

[17] Alfred Mann, 'Die Satzlehre zu Schuberts Zeit', in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, series VIII: supplement, vol. 2, *Schuberts Studien*, ed. Alfred Mann (Tübingen: Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft, 1986), [n.p.].

[18] Rudolph Angermüller, 'Salieri e i suoi allievi', in *Da Beaumarchais a Da Ponte*, ed. Elena Biggi Parodi (Torino: EDT, 1996), 5.

[19] Walburga Litschauer, 'Schubert und sein Lehrer Salieri', *Schubert: Perspektiven* 1 (2001): 74–83.

[20] John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 19.

Ferdinando Paer (1771–1839)

After touring from September to December 1823, the Liszts reached Paris, armed with a letter designed to gain their entrée into the city's highest social and musical echelons.[21] Signed by Prince Metternich, the letter was addressed to Ferdinando Paer, an ideal instructor for Liszt's imminent task: composing an opera, *Don Sanche*. Paer's operatic successes in his native Parma, Vienna, and Dresden attracted the attention of Napoleon, who brought him to Paris as *maître de chapelle* and director of the Théâtre-Italien. After Bonaparte abdicated, Paer's career suffered setbacks, though his lucrative, reputable teaching secured his appointment on the Conservatoire's composition faculty in 1837.

Metternich charged Paer with arranging Liszt's performances, but said nothing about composition because Adam anticipated Liszt's enrolment at the Conservatoire, even though an institutional routine would have conflicted with touring and, as events unfolded, composing an opera. When Liszt's foreign status precluded admission, however, a logical alternative was Paer. After arranging for Liszt to play for two duchesses, Paer offered 'to shed some light on composition'. Lessons doubtless started well before 8 April 1824, when Paer told an autograph collector that he possessed a letter from 'the young Liszt, a Hungarian who is at the moment studying composition with me and who astonishes with his piano playing, his lively imagination and precocity'. Liszt's undated letter, in French, hails Paer as his 'dear master' and promises to 'do all [Paer] is agreeable to'. Thus, lessons began before Liszt's first trip to England in May 1824, and not after his return to Paris in August, as biographers sometimes posited.[22]

Nicolas Dufetel elucidated *Don Sanche*'s genesis.[23] The first reference appeared in Adam's letter to Czerny of 20 March 1824: 'They will give him a poem for a French opera, because he already speaks French well; it will be produced next year.'[24] Liszt conceivably took the libretto to England in May, along with numerous, possibly related, manuscripts that a fire later destroyed. Composing indeed preoccupied Liszt in England, as

[21] Wolfram Enßlin, '"Je suis disposé à faire de tout pour Monsieur Liszt . . .": Ferdinando Paër und die an ihn gerichteten Empfehlungsschreiben für Franz Liszt, Henriette Sontag, Frédéric Chopin und Sigismund Thalberg', in *'L'esprit français' und die Musik Europas*, ed. Michelle Biget-Mainfroy and Rainer Schmusch (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2007), 634–43.

[22] Haraszti, 'Liszt à Paris', 253–57; Walker, *Franz Liszt*, vol. 1, 195.

[23] Nicolas Dufetel, 'I rapporti tra Paër e Liszt: *Blanche de Provence* (1821) e *Don Sanche* (1825)', in *Ferdinando Paër tra Parma e l'Europa*, ed. Paolo Russo (Parma: Casa della Musica, 2008), 199–241.

[24] La Mara, 'Aus Franz Liszts erster Jugend', 15–29.

Adam informed Czerny. Minimally, Liszt finished a vocal score by September, when Paer could begin supervising the orchestration. Dufetel scrutinised autograph portions of *Don Sanche*, dispelling contentions that Paer orchestrated the entire opera. Liszt, Dufetel concluded, composed the whole opera and orchestrated it with Paer's assistance, though Paer's orchestral technique warrants further study.

Liszt needed to learn much hastily amid touring's distractions. Proper text setting was imperative, as Liszt's error-laden letter to Paer attests. As a model for *Don Sanche*, Dufetel advanced Paer's *Blanche de Provence* (1821). Both operas involve enchanted plots, a small scale, similar musical topics such as storm scenes and, broadly, Italianate style. Tonal practices, however, depart from Paer's traditionalism in foreshadowing Liszt's lifelong associations between specific keys and particular textual subjects, as Paul Merrick demonstrated.[25]

Antoine Reicha (1770–1836)

After touring provincial France from January to June 1826, Liszt went to Reicha to study counterpoint. As the Conservatoire's professor of counterpoint and fugue since 1818, Reicha was eminently qualified for the task. He had already produced successful students who taught at the Conservatoire; fugues proliferated in his works; and his numerous theoretical treatises culminated in 1826 with the *Traité de haute composition musicale*.

Nonetheless, Liszt seldom mentioned Reicha's instruction. Rémy Stricker consequently illuminated the murkiest episode in Liszt's education.[26] Although Liszt touted Reicha's professorial distinction in a feuilleton that was incorporated into the *Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique*, he did not list Reicha with his other teachers in a biographical notice that he distributed with concert programmes during the 1830s, a seemingly rare practice at the time.[27] To Ludwig Rellstab, Liszt recounted that he had studied counterpoint with Reicha 'in its most complex combinations', but he 'had nearly forgotten the mastery' he had attained.

A comment in Ramann's biography perhaps clarifies Liszt's dim recollections: 'half a year sufficed for him to penetrate the secrets of

[25] Paul Merrick, 'Original or Doubtful? Liszt's Use of Key in Support of His Authorship of *Don Sanche*', *Studia musicologica* 34 (1992): 427–34.
[26] Rémy Stricker, 'Franz Liszt et Antoine Reicha', *Studia musicologica* 42 (2001): 9–24.
[27] Perhaps E. Pascallet, the notice's credited author, collaborated with Marie d'Agoult, a shrewd publicist (ibid., 9). Pascallet contributed hundreds of notices on aristocrats, diplomats and high-ranking professionals, but apparently no other musicians, to the *Revue générale biographique*.

counterpoint'.[28] Six months were conceivably adequate, as Reicha asserted: 'After years of study and meditation, I found a method to teach all branches of composition in a concise and simple manner, so that progress was rapid.'[29] Hector Berlioz confirmed such efficiency, and Adolphe Adam avowed that Reicha completed in several months what others achieved in two years.[30] Moreover, Reicha reported that Liszt 'devoured' counterpoint. Thus, Liszt feasibly learned much from Reicha between June and December 1826.

A plausible explanation for Liszt's contrapuntal voraciousness is that Reicha's pedagogy was freer than the genre-bound and species-oriented approaches of Czerny and Salieri. Herbert Schneider explicated Reicha's wide-ranging aesthetics.[31] Foremost, Reicha believed music should promote the welfare of humanity and the state, a philosophical-moralistic purpose whose dawning fulfilment demanded increases in creative freedom and relaxations of established rules. Berlioz noted that Reicha propounded his progressivism at the Conservatoire, suggesting Liszt's lessons were also venues for proselytising.[32] Indeed, Reicha's manifesto anticipates Liszt's Saint-Simonian vision of artists as beneficent leaders of humankind toward future spiritual prosperity.

Schneider outlined five 'fields' where Reicha believed musical progress was achievable. Unconventional chord progressions could awaken listeners' interests. Expanding the modulatory spectrum would arouse pleasant feelings. Free fugal treatment was so relaxed that Beethoven, who knew Reicha's Thirty-six Fugues (1803), wryly quipped, 'Sometimes a fugue is no fugue.' Free metre, polymetre or no metre reflected Reicha's long-standing engagement with folk music. Multiple unexplained musical examples illustrated 'the invention of novel ideas'. Surely Reicha's freedoms appealed to the fifteen-year-old Liszt's 'lively imagination'.

Stricker perceived Reicha's fields in three compositions that Liszt completed during or immediately after his studies with Reicha (1826–28).[33] Significantly, this group lacked variation fantasies, which Reicha

[28] Ramann, *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, vol. 1, 93.
[29] J.-G. Prod'homme, 'From the Unpublished Autobiography of Antoine Reicha', *Musical Quarterly* 22 (1936): 348.
[30] Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (New York: Norton, 1975), 74; Adolphe Adam, *Souvenirs d'un musicien* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1857), xiv.
[31] Herbert Schneider, 'Der junge Anton Reicha als visionärer Theoretiker der Romantik', in *Festschrift Hellmut Federhofer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Axel Beer et al. (Tutzing: Schneider, 2011), 449–70.
[32] Hector Berlioz, *Critique musicale, 1823–1863*, vol. 2, ed. Marie-Hélène Coudroy-Saghai (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1998), 171.
[33] Stricker, 'Franz Liszt et Antoine Reicha', 16–18.

acknowledged as a theorist but shunned as a composer. *Zum Andenken*, comprising two Hungarian dances by the Roma musicians László Fáy and János Bihari, reflects Reicha's folkloric interests and anticipates Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies*. An untitled scherzo features idiosyncratic counterpoint, chains of diminished seventh chords, unusual modulations and irregular metre. *Étude en douze exercices*, the precursor of the *Transcendental Etudes*, comprises 'novel, inventive' character pieces rather than virtuosic studies, like Reicha's etudes, opp. 30 and 31. Additionally, unmetred recitative, unusual chord successions and remote modulations abound in *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* (first version, 1833–34), often deemed Liszt's pivotally mature work.

Music's social-humanitarian obligations, a preoccupation with music's future, and unorthodox harmony, modulation, rhythm, metre and counterpoint became cardinal aspects of Liszt's lifework. Ironically, his least-known teacher feasibly exerted the broadest influence.

Liszt believed his youthful vagabondism detracted from his general education, but his nine-year musical apprenticeship was plainly substantial. It also afforded him flexibility to tour, accept an operatic commission and compose in diverse, occasionally experimental styles, none of which would have been encouraged in conventional institutional settings. Adam Liszt established his son's prodigious reputation and engaged leading Viennese and Parisian teachers to address specific tasks. Their instruction was immediately and enduringly influential, despite its abbreviation, interruption or distortion in Liszt's reminiscences or biographers' misrepresentations. Their effectiveness merits recognition, but Liszt also deserves credit for assiduously absorbing and applying their precepts. In so doing, he anticipated his later industry in serving music, artists and society as a mature performer, composer and master teacher.

CHAPTER 3

Paris

Bryan A. Whitelaw

In early December 1823, the twelve-year-old Franz Liszt concluded his first European concert tour. Following the young pianist's initial accomplishments in Vienna, under the guidance of Czerny and Salieri, Liszt's father set his sights on Paris as the next stage in his son's artistic development. The city's liberal social identity offered opportunities that Adam could scarcely ignore, and their tour was an attempt to position Liszt as the second coming of the young Mozart. Departing from Vienna on 20 September 1823, with performances in Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgart and Straßburg en route, the Liszt family finally reached the French capital on 11 December.

In the early nineteenth-century, Paris was a creative hub of artists, writers, philosophers and scientists, continually drawing in the brightest minds of the Age of Enlightenment; it was, however, the site of significant political change, social revolution and spiritual upheaval. Despite his Hungarian birth, Liszt adopted Paris as his home for the greater part of his youth. He cultivated an unsurpassable celebrity, met his first loves and moved through the aristocratic circles of the Parisian salons. This chapter examines the pianist's changing relationship with the city, highlighting the political uprisings, musical institutions, social circles and professional acquaintances that shaped both Liszt and *La Ville-Lumière*.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Paris was entangled in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the rise and fall of Napoleon and the subsequent Restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy. The events of a cataclysmic forty-year period dramatically reshaped the city's social and political architecture in an unprecedented manner, impacting not only the capital within Europe, but France's position globally. In the summer of 1789, numerous iconic events of the French Revolution occurred within the space of a few short days in July: the occupation of the Hôtel de Ville, seizure of the Invalides arsenal and the Storming of the Bastille and ensuing surrender of the Bastille governor Bernard René Jourdan, leading

up to the appointment of Jean Sylvain Bailly as the first Mayor of Paris. The rapid proliferation towards the true thrust of the Revolution's impacts soon followed. Resulting from a complex network of economic inequity, agricultural and socio-political failures, rising national debt and ongoing tensions between the ideals of sovereignty and republicanism, the intricacies of the Revolution collaboratively form a diverse contextual backdrop, engendering innumerable historical analyses even today. While various historians have endorsed the new ideologies of the Enlightenment as the motivational core of the Revolution, others saw the collapse of the old regime as a direct result of a class-based shift in power, the displacement of nobility at the hands of the bourgeoisie. The latter is perhaps better endorsed by successive uprisings across Europe which took place in 1830, but these, as in the earlier Revolution, each resist clear teleological interpretations.

For the Liszt family, the political and social environment of 1820s Paris promised a dynamic landscape within which the young Franz could further progress his career. The next phase of Adam's plan focused on his son's acceptance at the Conservatoire de Paris. The buildings at the corner of rue du Faubourg-Poissonnière and rue Bergère have hosted some of the most notable French composers of the nineteenth century, the more familiar of which include Hector Berlioz, Gabriel Fauré and Claude Debussy. At the time of the Liszts' arrival in Paris, however, the Conservatoire was particularly celebrated for the education of its instrumentalist students. Following two years of closure during the Bourbon Restoration, the Conservatoire reopened in April 1816 as the École Royale de Musique et de Déclamation, under the direction of a new *Inspecteur Général des Études*. The French music historian François-Louis Perne held the administrative role at the École until 1 April 1822, when he was replaced by Luigi Cherubini as the new *Directeur*. The Italian composer's appointment at the head of the Conservatoire was likely a stroke of fortune in the mind of Liszt's father, as the two men had previously met at the Eisenstadt court in 1805.

On the completion of their tour to Paris, the Liszt family checked into four rooms at the Hôtel d'Angleterre on the rue du Mail on 11 December 1823. At a cost of over 600 francs per month,[1] Adam's financial investment was wholly dependent on Franz's success in the city. Further fortune smiled on the family, as the rue du Mail was home to the Maison Érard,

[1] See GSA 59/105,4 'Brief von Adam Liszt an Ludwig Hofer', 20 March 1824, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar.