THE HEROIC IDIOM IN EARLY WORKS OF LISZT

In memoriam Richard and Jean Hoppin

by George Nugent Syracuse

Before the first volume of Alan Walker's authoritative study of Franz Liszt was issued in 1983, biographies of this composer typically gave short shrift to his father, Adam Liszt, leaving him a shadowy figure of only brief significance in the unfolding of the composer's extraordinary career. Walker, on the other hand, carefully reassessed Adam's role, concluding that not only was he the central force in his son's life into adolescence, but also that he exercised, despite his relatively early death, a continuing influence on Liszt in the latter's mature years.[1] This study examines materials which, among other things, corroborate Walker's view of a strong positive relationship between father and son. Let us first make a brief review of Adam's life.

The son of a schoolmaster, Adam Liszt was born 16 December 1776 near Pressburg (now Czechoslovakia) to an ardently musical family. Although not a virtuoso talent himself, young Adam developed reliable skills on several instruments. He received training in Latin, geography, history and music at Pressburg Gymnasium from 1790 to 1795. By age eighteen, however, he was torn by conflicting forces in his nature and, hoping to resolve them, entered a Franciscan monastery. It was a troubled experiment, and after two years the friars dismissed him for an "inconstant and changeable nature."[2] Nonetheless, for long after, Adam remained friendly with the monastic community; he named his first-born after Francis of Assisi; and he brought the child with

him on visits to the monastery. This son, christened Franz, was many years later (1856) awarded honorary membership in the Franciscan Order.

Following his unsuccessful try at the religious life, Adam enrolled at the University of Pressburg, but want of funds obliged him to abandon studies after only one semester. At the beginning of 1798, he was hired as a clerk on the estates of the noble Austro-Hungarian Esterhazy family, forever linked to Franz Joseph Haydn, who spent the better part of his career in that family's service. Although Haydn died two years before the birth of our composer, he had direct contact with Liszt's father: in maturity Adam boasted of having played the cello in the Esterhazy summer orchestra at Eisenstadt under Haydn. Then, from 1807, he could recall the extraordinary experience of playing in the Eisenstadt orchestra under Beethoven for the premiere of the C-Major Mass.

Working in clerical and lower managerial ranks on the Esterhazy properties, Adam showed a steady competency. In 1809 Prince Nicholas II sent him to oversee great sheep flocks in the quiet country town of Raiding (then Hungarian, now Austrian territory), 50 miles from Vienna. Settling into country life, Adam married Anna Lager, of a humble German family, in January 1811. Their first child Franz was born on 11 October 1811, in a year of extravagant expectations fed by a spectacular comet.

From the boy's earliest recollections, there was always music-making by father and friends in the home. On the outskirts of town he could also hear exotic improvisatory performances by transient gypsy bands. Franz took naturally to the piano, and Adam decided to begin

his son's musical education himself. Noteworthy in Adam's system of instruction was emphasis on sight reading, playing from memory, and--that helpful springboard to serious composition--improvising. A heavy musical regimen yielded to little else in the child's life--with one exception. The Liszt family were devout Roman Catholics, and, not surprisingly, young Franz developed a mystical, introspective side that was to be one of the enduring traits of his complex personality.

When his son's precocity at the keyboard became startlingly evident, Adam repeatedly put in requests for reassignment that would permit expert instruction for the boy, ideally by a move to Vienna. To test the waters, Adam made a preliminary trip to Vienna in 1819 to have his astonishing prodigy (only in his eighth year) play for Beethoven's famous pupil Carl Czerny. Czerny gave warm encouragement. A year later Franz made his first public appearances in Oedenburg and Pressburg, and won such acclaim that a group of noblemen guaranteed an annual stipend of 600 florins to further his musical education.

In a decisive step taken only at great risk against Esterhazy's wishes, Adam settled for leave of absence without guarantee of return employment. In 1822 he moved his family to Vienna so that the desired training could begin without further delay. For the next fourteen months the boy worked rigorously under Czerny in piano and Antonio Salieri, the imperial Kapellmeister, in harmony. Pressured by financial needs, Adam undertook the full-time job of concert manager for his son, doubtless with mixed feelings.[3] However, the model had been set decades earlier in the legendary tours of the child prodigies Wolfgang and Nanerl Mozart, shrewdly managed by their father. Adam first presented Franz, just eleven years of age, to the Viennese

public in December 1822, and concerts followed in 1823 in Munich, Augsburg, Stuttgart, and Strasbourg. From December 1823, Paris became the family home for a twelve-year stretch. In the French capital Adam once more persuaded the best teachers, such as Antonin Reicha and Ferdinand Paër, to advance Franz's studies in harmony, counterpoint and composition. The miraculous twelve-year-old was to have no further tutelage in piano playing.

In Paris Adam secured the valuable backing of the prestigious piano maker Erard. Exploiting Erard's instruments to the full, young Franz's typical program would feature a set of variations in the brilliant style by Czerny or Moscheles, a concerto by Hummel, and a fantasy improvised directly on themes submitted. By Adam's count, Franz played 38 concerts between December 1823 and March 1824, invariably winning an overwhelming reception. Between 1824 and 1827, he also saw Franz safely through three remarkably successful tours of England. The teenaged Liszt was now being heralded throughout Europe as a phenomenon in nature. Yet he remained seemingly unspoiled, a thoughtful, modest child of frail physique, much drawn to religion.

In mid-August 1827, regaining France after meeting an exhausting schedule in England, father and son treated themselves to a recuperative holiday at the fashionable resort Boulogne-sur-mer, some 150 miles from Paris. But soon after arrival Adam came down with the dread typhoid fever. It worked quickly, and on the morning of 28 August 1827, only 50 years of age, he succumbed, far from his place of birth, attended in his final moments by strangers.

Adam's death dealt a crushing blow to his 15-year-old son. This pious amateur of music had been the ever present counsel and guide to

Liszt during his formative years. Alan Walker observes that many times in the course of a long life the composer was to recall the sober, self-effacing, introspective personality of his father, a cautionary voice from the world beyond, a second conscience to satisfy.[4]

Though Adam's death counts as the first and possibly the deepest trauma of Liszt's life,[5] he was to suffer further family losses in years to come. His only son Daniel, one of three children Marie d'Agoult bore him, died at 20 in 1859. Their daughter Blandine died three years later, age 27. Finally his devoted mother passed away too in 1866. Given as he was to the contemplation of last things, it was natural for Liszt to react to bereavement by composing memorial music. Les morts for orchestra and male chorus (1860), with a text by Lammenais: to the memory of Daniel. La notte for orchestra, prefaced by a quatrain from Michelangelo (1863-4): for Blandine. And the Requiem for male voices, organ, brass and timpani, finished two years after his mother's death, to commemorate all deceased family members.

But the earliest of Liszt's family memorials remains to be accounted for. Late in 1986 Sotheby's put up for sale an additional Liszt family tribute; namely, a funeral march for piano, completed two days after Adam's death.[6] The MS, never catalogued among Liszt's works or published, is signed and dated. It was purchased for the Arents Research Library of Syracuse University through gifts by members of the Syracuse University Library Associates in April 1987. The MS's provenance can probably never be fully traced, but, over the years, it seems to have remained in private hands, with no effort made to display or to publish it. Prior to Sotheby's 1986 notice, the work

was listed in Maggs Brothers of London auction catalogue in 1920.[7] At one point the MS belonged to the philanthropist-mining magnate William Andrews Clark, Jr., who, among other things, founded the Los Angeles Philharmonic.[8] Its whereabouts prior to 1920 are unknown.

Once the MS reached Syracuse the Library Associates asked me to study it and to give an opinion as to authenticity. After prolonged investigation, I was persuaded that the work and its unique source are genuine. Evidence of the composer's hand and musical style are, I believe, readily perceptible in this early sample of his work. One should bear in mind, however, that recognizing elements of a distinctive style in adolescent compositions is a more subtle process than cataloguing traits of penmanship. Let us turn to a photo reproduction of the MS, examine its interesting features, and explain its claims to authenticity (See Example 1).

[Example 1]

The MS comprises two separate paper leaves which have been skilfully mounted on somewhat larger paper. The overall dimensions are approximately 225 by 250 centimeters. The pages lack watermarks. Professor Wilfred Côté, Center for Ultrastructure Studies at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry at Syracuse very kindly analyzed the paper's content and identified it as rag made from flax, not wood pulp fibers. This permits only a general dating of the paper as from before 1860. Each leaf has music inscribed on one side only. All writing and notation are in ink. The leaves exhibit moderate browning and some bleeding of the ink. Five systems of music are inscribed on leaf one, two systems on leaf two. At the bottom of leaf two appear in a firm hand the signature "F.

Liszt" and the place and date, Boulogne, the 30th of August 1827. At the top of leaf one, in what I take to be the same hand but less careful writing (perhaps done later in haste), are the title Marche funèbre and the tempo indication Andante. On the reverse of the first leaf a different hand has written in French: "This march was improvised by Litz [sic] two days after the death of his father who was buried at Boulogne."[9] (In France, even much later, Liszt's name was often misspelled Litz.)

For purposes of comparison in the task of determining the genuineness of the MS, I was able to consult another Liszt holograph already at Syracuse, the song Ihr Glocken von Marling.[10] That, however, is a late work dating from 1874 when Liszt was 63, and, to be sure, Liszt's 15-year-old hand does not invariably anticipate his mature writing habits. Fortunately, published photographs of at least four other holographs from Liszt's adolescence were accessible to me. Three are piano pieces. The first is the opening leaf from an incomplete piano sonata in F minor, acknowledged by Liszt as dating from his 14th year (1825).[11] The second is an Allegro in G minor, dated 27 May 1827, three months before Adam's death.[12] The third is in Hungarian style, entitled Zum Andenken and dated 21 May 1828.[13] And the last holograph is Liszt's 1827 diary, containing words and numbers but no music.[14] The sources thus assembled constitute a useful guide to Liszt's early writing habits, examples of which are reproduced in Example 2.[15]

[Example 2]

In the upper left are systems of two staves each. Liszt typically makes a little loop in the center of the brace instead of sharpening

it to a point. To the right is a conventionally drawn system with staves governed by G and F clefs. Liszt's distinctive versions of these clefs are shown in items 2 and 3 on the left. Note that both clefs, not just the F clef, pinpoint the pitch-line with dots in the spaces above and below. The G clef itself he launches with a decisive dot on the second line and omits the final scroll normally inscribed between lines 1 and 3. The F clef, still more individually shaped, resembles a freely drawn 2 or d, with tail thrown back to the left.

Continuing down the left column to the fourth entry, we see that in vertical combinations (chords), Liszt tends to join only the top or bottom pitch to the note-stem instead of continuing the stroke all the way through. Left, item 5, shows his habit of leaving open, rather than closing in, space on both sides of tie curves. And item 6 on the left shows the practice of spearing through the center of both note-heads in two-pitch combinations (typically octaves) instead of making the connecting stroke to the right or left side of the note-heads.

Toward the right, item 2 reproduces three different versions of the natural sign that offer contrast to the fourth, more conventionally inscribed symbol. Item 3 on the right shows Liszt's way with quarter and eighth rests, with more normal formations given beneath. Right column, item 4, illustrates one of Liszt's most striking scribal quirks--the sloping down to the right in inscribing members of a chord, top to bottom, particularly those in longer note values, instead of bringing them into the normal vertical alignment. Evidently adopted to facilitate accurate reading, this remained a lifelong practice with Liszt (see the holograph of Ihr Glocken, for

example). Finally, at the bottom of the right column, we see a few characteristically shaped letters. Notice especially the shapes of the lower p (for piano) and the economically reduced sf for sforzando.

To round off this short introduction to Liszt's scribal practice, let us consult Syracuse's Liszt holograph dating from 47 years later, Ihr Glocken von Marling. At this stage, some habits have persisted, others have been acquired. In the former category are the unusual formations of G and F clefs; of quarter and eighth rests; the linking of stems to only top or bottom pitches in vertical combinations; the gaps between note-heads and tie-curves; the style of the letter p used for the dynamic quiet; and most particularly the sloping down to the right of multiple-note chords. Some "new" features visible in the late MS are the frequency and extent of crossed-out measures; the use of colored crayon (not visible in the photograph) to cancel passages; a more normalized natural sign; the pointed, rather than looped, brace; and the practice of leaving a staff blank between systems, probably to make a publisher's work easier.

Now a few words on the matter of musical style. Liszt's earliest surviving formal composition is from age 11, a single variation for the famous Diabelli series to which Beethoven reacted overwhelmingly by turning out his own separate set of 33. Liszt's contribution, as one would expect, exploits the technique-building regimen that occupied him daily--the dexterous efficiency of Czerny, stark and unrelenting.[16] Needless to say, any novice will digest chosen models as a means of acquiring technique to master the craft. Yet even in Liszt's youthful works an adventurous harmony charts its own course.

Take for example the quick-sand chromaticism in the cantabile Variation 4 from Huit Variations of 1825;[17] or the Scherzo in G minor composed in May 1827, in which spareness and bold leaps enhance the tension of diminished-seventh harmonies, expressed first in scattered single notes and then chordally.[18]

Does the funeral march for Adam relate in terms of style to other early works by Liszt? Certainly it shares with the scherzo, finished three months earlier, the same tonality (G minor), the same economy of expression, similar harmonic boldness, and a certain rough vigor. The march's brevity, on the other hand, may leave the listener feeling clipped short: there is no contrasting episode that might then have been followed by partial return of the opening material so as to create a more poised and satisfying experience.[19] Beyond that, one need not call to task the young composer in crisis. His invention projects sturdy character, youthful energy, and conviction.

Few nonetheless would claim that Liszt has produced here a private-sounding, intimately communicative music. Rather, his tribute march reports a grief conventionally formalized, located within the world of public ceremonial, a milieu in which the young Liszt already walked comfortably. Its salient features include, first of all, the choice of minor mode, traditionally linked to expressions of sorrow and distress. Second, binary meter in deliberate tempo with persistent dotted rhythms--normal trappings of the march idiom, but especially of funeral marches. Third, an occasional trill and recurrent short descending scalar figures in the bass, both suggestive of drum flourishes.[20] But there are individual touches, too. Firmly entrenched at the harmonic core is the diminished seventh chord, that

regulates the adrenal flow in many a Romantic work. Quirky, jolting accents similarly command notice, especially when heightened by the direct juxtaposition of unrelated sonorities. Strong dissonances turn up in otherwise orthodox chord progressions.

Turning from external musical details to the psychological states behind them, one who studies Liszt is inevitably struck by a morbid side: his obsession with dying and the damned, death and the afterlife frequently surfaced in his conversation and correspondence. Evidently it also gave recurring stimulus to musical expression. For example, most of his large piano cycles contain at least one elegiac or funereal piece. Two of the 19 Rhapsodies hongroises open in funeral-march style (nos. 5 and 14), and four of the ten Harmonies poètiques et religieuses published in 1852 carry the titles Pensée des morts, Funérailles, Miserere d'après Palestrina, and Andante lagrimoso. Among the late piano works one finds a Trauervorspiel und Trauermarsch, Am Grabe Richard Wagners, La lugubre gondola, and Csárdás Macabre.

It comes as no surprise then that a diary Liszt kept April through July 1827 reveals an unrelieved preoccupation with what the Christian understands to be the final things. The second item borrows this passage from Dominique Bouhours' Pensées chrétiennes pour tous les jours de mois, l'usage des écoles:

> What would we wish to have done at the hour of death? Let's do now what we would wish to have done then. There is no time to lose. Each moment could be our last. The longer we live, the closer we are to the grave. Our death is all the closer for its

having been postponed.[21]

Needless to say, the shock of Adam's premature death within a month of the last diary entry could only have confirmed Liszt in these habitual somber reflections.

Given the task at hand--to compose a work in tribute to his father's memory, Liszt had not far to look for useful models. Familiar and accessible were elegies and funeral marches by his mentors Reicha and Paer as well as by other established figures such as Dussek and Cherubini.[22] But young Liszt's musical deity was not to be located among these worthies. In mature years Liszt recalled that, conspicuous on a wall of his childhood home in Raiding, hung a portrait of Ludwig van Beethoven,[23] the genius who, for Liszt, was highest master of the art. The multi-movement instrumental works of his artistic idol contain two magisterial realizations of the dirge genre, both associated with the fallen hero. One is the third movement of the Piano Sonata in A flat major, Opus 26 (1801).[24] It was the Beethoven sonata that Liszt played most often during future years on tour.[25] Over the music Beethoven inscribed Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un eroe. Essential characteristics of the genre, in regard to mode, meter, tempo, repeated tones, and dotted rhythms, are clearly in evidence. There are also muffled trills (m. 23), an offbeat jolt or two (mm. 18-20), and a sternly repeated diminished chord (mm. 16-19). Noteworthy, too, are an ascending broken-chord figure that grows steadily in motivic significance (mm. 2, 26-28), and the challenge to the piano to simulate sounds of a military funeral: drum rolls (m. 31), brass reports, and gunfire salutes (mm. 31-32 and 37-38).

Some view this movement as Beethoven's trial essay for the much grander (and far better known) lament that serves as slow movement in the Third Symphony, Opus 55 (1803), a work Beethoven entitled Heroic Symphony composed to celebrate the memory of a great man.[26] Surely the noblest and most moving of all musical elegies, the Eroica's slow movement shares many external characteristics with the Opus 26 march in mode, meter, tempo, dotted rhythms, the prominence of repeated tones, short-note scalar ascents and descents to the downbeat. With orchestral resources on call, the drum ruffles are real.

Liszt's tribute to his father comes a quarter of a century after these two works by Beethoven. By 1827 the genre of the instrumental lament or dirge respects patterns of a tradition (see the transcription of the Marche funèbre in Appendix 1). Minor key, binary rhythm and deliberate tempo are taken for granted. Dotted patterns appear in nearly every bar. Repeated tones are prominent. Scalar flourishes descend to the downbeat, and trills evoke drumrolls. Etched afterwards in the aural memory is the ascending triadic skeleton that also underlies many of Beethoven's strongest motives (see Example 3).

[Example 3]

All this is not to take away from the originality of Liszt's adolescent work. To the contrary. His signature is writ large, literally and figuratively, not through pianistic display (indeed, the writing is almost austere), but rather in rhythmic and harmonic details throughout. That accented offbeat (m. 3), after all, reinforces a harmonic jolt even before we reach the halfway point of the opening statement. And later on Liszt carries off a totally

unexpected modulation to the unrelated key of E minor (mm. 14-15). Otherwise his penchant for harmonic risk-taking finds an outlet in varied manipulations of the diminished seventh chord--as a substitute dominant; as a fluid agent that may either precede or follow the dominant; or, in a more static context, as a coloristic contrast. The structural scheme of the piece is charted in Example 4. Information layered from top to bottom are measure number, pitch center, harmonic function, and thematic element. Four-measure phrases unfold symmetrically until the buildup to the cadence of the principal idea's last statement, which takes five measures.

[Example 4]

There can be no doubt that Liszt's memorial for his father shows his familiarity with certain models of the genre. He had, in fact, already tried his hand at a funeral piece two years before, a choral funeral march from the most ambitious of his early works, the opera Don Sanche, ou le château d'amour, staged successfully at the Académie royale in Paris in 1825, when he was but 13. Dramatically speaking, the sombre note it introduces somewhat jumps the gun. The cortège accompanies the mortally wounded hero (another "heroic" march) from the scene of battle to a castle refuge, there presumably to expire in his beloved's arms. But, as happens statistically a good deal more often on the operatic stage than in real life, the hero is instead magically restored to life. In any case, this cortege in some respects sets the stage, so to speak, for the 1827 march--the ascending broken-chord foundation of the melody is there, the persistent dotted rhythm, only the harmony sounds unenterprising--as if sworn to prudence under the vigilant eye of Liszt's then mentor and operatic light Ferdinand

Paër.[27]

Perhaps it is significant that Don Sanche and other early works by Liszt were never published. As his experience grew, did Liszt come to question the value of his youthful essays, most of them put aside, even forgotten? What thoughts on this brief tribute to his father returned to him after the fact? The 1827 diary, had it not stopped at the end of July, would surely have borne witness to feelings that found an outlet in this music. We know that for several years after his father's death Liszt felt little inclined to compose.[28] Even so, no reference to the piece comes up in any of the known correspondence, then or later, and Liszt apparently never chose to rework it for later publication. Odd perhaps, considering that this was a highly self-critical artist notorious for prolonged, multiple revisions of his work, the efforts often widely separated in time. He was also, in mature works, the master of thematic transformation, that ingenious method which gradually exposes manifold possibilities implicit in a germinal idea, obtaining variety and contrast but preserving organic unity. Lastly he was also prone to use certain recurring motives in a symbolic way--the "cross motive" (f-g-b flat), for example, prominent in the oratorio "St. Elizabeth" and several other works.[29] Was the tribute to Adam in fact not discarded, but instead absorbed, perhaps even unconsciously, in some continuing transforming process assuming new dimensions in a later work?

It seems reasonable to believe that its principal idea, at least, was still fresh in Liszt's mind three years later, when he witnessed first hand the July Revolution in Paris. So stirred by the turbulent events was the 18-year-old, with cries for the liberation of

the downtrodden ringing in his ears,[30] that he set straight away to sketch out his first exclusively orchestral work, a Revolutionary Symphony, surviving now only in fragments.[31] Years later (1857) Liszt returned to the idea of a Revolutionary Symphony and to the sketches made earlier. After expanding and refining materials from 1830, Liszt labelled what was planned to be its first movement Heroïde funèbre (Heroic Elegy). But once more the grand plan fell through, and the idea of a Revolutionary Symphony was abandoned for good.[32] Instead, the Heroïde funèbre stands independently as the eighth of his thirteen symphonic poems.[33]

Whatever the genesis of the work, the revisited ideas resulted in a principal theme whose primary characteristics are anticipated in both Don Sanche's cortege and the 1827 piano march. The main themes of these three works (see Example 5) created within a five-year period share a family profile based essentially on an initial upward thrust with pitches outlining a broken-chord.[34] By way of balance, in each case motion regresses momentarily before restatement is made at higher pitch. Dotted rhythms prevail in every case, and each gesture starts on the upbeat. If the germinal idea occurred first in Sanche's cortege, there also is its simplest and most direct form. In the funeral march for Adam two years later, the material and its treatment are already bolder, as remarked earlier. The exact cast of the third lament idea, sketched three years after Adam's death, has not survived: but, on Liszt's word, the first movement of the Revolutionary Symphony became the Heroic Elegy, realized a quarter of a century later, and the latter's main theme must represent an updated form. The rhythmic patterns and melodic contours relate to the

earlier themes, but Liszt's mature hand is much in evidence, and the materials receive markedly more sophisticated treatment, particularly in respect to harmony.

[Example 5]

For one thing, it may be noted that follow-up phrases in the opening periods of the two earlier works pass through the relative major enroute to cadencing on the minor dominant. And, in comparison with either of the later pieces, the precise patterns of the cortege seem stiff and somewhat predictable in comparison with either of the later pieces. In the Heroic Elegy, for example, the repeating phrases of the main theme, laid out in comparatively long spans, lead to unexpected harmonic territory, moving upward by minor thirds that underscore the music's somber urgency--F minor to A-flat minor; A flat minor to B minor.

I suggest that, in this impressive work of Liszt's maturity (characterized by Humphrey Searle as a vast funeral march),[35] the main theme may represent the retention, return and modification--in other words, the transformation--of certain musical and extra-musical ideas long associated by the composer with the idea of heroism unto death. Over a period of years, these ideas, traceable in at least three adolescent works generated within a five-year period, gradually, perhaps unconsciously, merged and culminated in a fourth work from Liszt's maturity that in addition invokes the exotic intervals of his by then well tried Hungarian style. Probably other ideas contributed to the associative process at work here, doubtless finding initial impetus in Beethoven's marches for the fallen hero. Liszt's piano piece from 1828 entitled In Memoriam surely has a place in the network

of linking elements. Not a funeral piece, it also bears no thematic resemblance to the other three works. Searle, however, believed Zum Andenken was an undeclared anniversary tribute to Adam, who had died a year earlier.[36] Significantly, it also marks Liszt's first use of the Hungarian idiom, and thereby reinforces connections among death tributes, heroism, and national pride.[37]

Adam's son surely regarded him as a hero, and specifically a Hungarian hero. Heroic not like a soldier in battle, but in constant self-effacement, in the unflagging pursuit of his son's career opportunities, in his devotion to family and religious ideals. Adam never forgot he was Hungarian by birth. Although Liszt himself truly became a citizen of the world, he too always prided himself in that national heritage.[38] The recovery of this musical reaction to his father's death and the potential linkages I am suggesting among certain "heroic" pieces do nothing to encourage the assumptions that Liszt bore a lifelong grudge against his father for having exploited him in childhood.[39] The balance of evidence from Liszt's early years, including now the witness of music, invites a different view; namely, that young Liszt held his father in a genuine esteem that found enduring expression in appropriate music. In the composer's own thinking the fallen hero--in the present case, his father--achieved transfiguration through the tributes of art. His remarks preface the Heroïde funèbre:

> Man puts on the cloak of triumph and festal garments only to hide a mourning of which he knew not how to rid himself. . . . It is for art to deck the tomb of the brave with her

transfiguring veil, to encircle the dead and dying with her golden halo, so that they may be envied by the living.[40]

Preliminary stages of this study were read before New York State-St. Lawrence Chapter of the American Musicological Society at the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, 29 September 1990; the Department of Music, State University of New York at Buffalo, 27 January 1992; and the Fifteenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Madrid, 7 April 1992. The present writer played the premiere of Liszt's march for Adam in the broadcast series Musica Viva, National Public Radio Station WCNY, Syracuse, New York, 13 December 1988.

NOTES

[1]The most accessible, up to date source of biographical information about the Liszts père et fils is Walker's Franz Liszt, I: The Virtuoso Years 1811-1847, rev. edn. (Ithaca, 1987), pp. 53-139. Also see these special studies: István Csekey, "Franz Liszts Vater: Nach bisher unveröffentlichen Dokumenten dargestellt," Die Musik 29/2 (June 1937), 631-35. Émile Haraszti, "Deux franciscains: Adam et Franz Liszt," Revue musicale 174 (1937), 269-71. Imre Fabian and Arisztid Valkó, "Aus Franz Liszts Jugend," Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 16 (1961), 430-36. Johann Harich, "Franz Liszt: Vorfahren und Kinderjahre," Österreichische Musikzeitschrift 26 (1971), 503-14. Emmerich Horvath, Franz Liszt, I: Kindheit (1811-1827) (Eisenstadt, 1978). Mária Eckhardt, "Liszt in His Formative Years: Unpublished Letters 1824-1827," The New Hungarian Quarterly 27, no. 103 (Autumn 1986), 93-107. Gerhard Winkler, "Adam Liszt und Franz Liszt: Zur Anatomie einer folgenreichen Vater Sohn-Beziehung," Studia musicologica 28 (1986), 11-19; and, by the same author, "Franz Liszts

Kindheit: Versuch eines biographischen Grundrisses," Die Musikforschung 39/4 (1986), 335-46. Indispensable for all areas of Liszt research is Michael Saffle's annotated bibliography Franz Liszt: A Guide to Research (New York and London, 1991).

[2]Walker, Liszt, I, 40.

[3]See Adam's "apology" of 1824, ibid., pp. 110-11.

[4]Ibid., p. 128.

[5]See Franz Liszt, An Artist's Journey, tr. and commentary by W. Suttoni (Chicago and London, 1989), p. 139.

[6]Catalogue (New York, 11 December 1986), item no. 60.

[7]Catalogue (1920), item 1485; cited by William Wright in The American Liszt Society, Inc. Newsletter, ed. J. Anderson, vol. 6, no. 2 (September 1989), p. 3.

[8]For a time the MS was in the possession of William Andrews Clark, Jr. (1877-1934), founder of the Los Angeles Philharmonic. On his death Clark bequeathed the MS to the Dutch violinist Sylvain Noack (1881-1953), concertmaster of the orchestra. From then until its consignment to Sotheby's, the MS remained in undisclosed ownership in California.

[9]Cette marche funèbre fut improvisée par Litz [sic] le surlendemain de la mort de son père qui fut enterré à Boulogne.

[10]Reproduced in G. Nugent, "A Liszt Holograph Recovered," The Liszt Society Journal, 12 (London, 1987), 39.

[11]Photo reproduction in Friedrich Schnapp, "Verschollene Kompositionen Franz Liszts," Von deutscher Tonkunst: Festschrift zu Peter Raabes 70. Geburtstag, ed. A. Morgenroth (Leipzig, 1942), facing p. 129.

[12]Reproduced in J. A. Stargardt, Katalog 606 (Marburg, 2-3 December 1975), pp. 202-03, item 747.

[13]Reproduced in Franz Liszt, Rare and Familiar: 28 Pieces for the Piano, ed. E. Mach (New York, 1982), 3 leaves preceding Table of Contents.

[14]Liszt, Tagebuch 1827, I: facs. edn., II: transcription, translation and commentary by D. Altenburg and R. Kleinertz (Vienna, 198

[15]For a useful study of Liszt's mature scribal practice, see Sharon Winklhofer, Liszt's Sonata in B minor: A Study of Autograph Sources and Documents (Ann Arbor, 1980), pt. 2: Liszt Autographs, esp. the section on Liszt's musical graphology.

[16]Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 136: Antonio Diabellis Vaterländischer Künstlerverein (Vienna, 1824), section 2, ed. G. Brosche, (repr. Graz, 1983), p. 21.

[17]Liszt, Musikalische Werke, ed. F. Busoni, P. Raabe and others (Leipzig, 1907-36; repr. Farnborough, 1966), ser. II, Pianofortewerke, vol. 7, Verschiedene Werke, pp. 3-4.

[18]The holograph lacks a title but gives the tempo indication Allegro molto quasi Presto. The designation Scherzo was imposed by Busoni: Werke, ser. II, vol. 9, pp. 1-2.

[19]Specifically, the three-part ABA formula, with normally a shift to a major key in the central episode, that underlies innumerable examples, including the marches in Beethoven's Piano Sonata, Opus 26, and Chopin's Piano Sonata, Opus 35. Chopin's march, certainly the best known funeral march for solo piano, was composed in 1837, an independent piece before it joined the rest of the Sonata in 1839. By interesting coincidence, Chopin, like Liszt, left unpublished an early

(tentatively dated 1827 or 1829 but in any case from the period of Adam Liszt's death) Marche funèbre in C minor, published posthumously as Opus 72, no. 2, likewise in ABA form: see Maurice Brown, Chopin: An Index of His Works in Chronological Order, 2nd edn. rev. (London, 1972), pp. 20-21, no. 20; and Chopin, Complete Works, ed. I. Paderewski, L. Bronarski, and Jósef Turczynski (Warsaw and Cracow, 1949-66), XVIII, 38-43. In any case, Liszt and Chopin were not to meet until late 1831, and the occasion for Chopin's early march has not been identified.

[20]On the typical characteristics of funereal music in the 17th and 18th centuries, see Friedrich Riedel, "A propos de L'Héroïde funèbre: Quelques caractéristiques stylistiques des musiques funèbres de Liszt, de ses prédécesseurs et de ses contemporains," La Revue musicale, vols. 405-407 (Actes du colloque international Franz Liszt, 1811-1886), p. 32.

[21](Troyes, 1826), pp. 28-29: Que voudrions-nous avoir fait à l'heure de la mort? Faisons maintenant ce que nous voudrions avoir fait alors. Il n'y a point de temps à perdre. Chaque moment peut être le dernier de notre vie. Plus nous avons vécu, plus nous sommes près du tombeau. Notre mort est d'autant plus proche qu'elle a été plus differée. Entered by Liszt on pp. 1-2 of his Tagebuch (see also Altenburg and Kleinertz's transcription II, 8-11). The same passage is cited by Adrian Williams, Portrait of Liszt by Himself and His Contemporaries (Oxford, 1990), p. 32.

[22]Riedel, ibid., pp. 30-31, identifies an extended list of well-established composers who left examples of the funereal idiom. Of the works I have examined so far, none shapes the material in ways similar

to young Liszt's march save the two funeral marches by Beethoven. (On the other hand, Chopin's early march shows no dependency at all on Beethoven models.)

[23]Biographical accounts encouraging the belief that the child Liszt was in the thrall of Beethoven and his music early on are viewed with skepticism by Allan Keiler in his "Liszt Research and Walker's Liszt," The Musical Quarterly 70/3 (Summer 1984), 381-96; and "Liszt and Beethoven: The Creation of a Personal Myth," 19th Century Music, 12/2 (Fall, 1988), 118. Alan Walker takes issue with Keiler in "A Reply to Allan Keiler," The Musical Quarterly 71/2 (1985), 211-19.

[24]Beethoven, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, ser. VII, vol. 3, ed. H. Schmidt (Munich, 1971); the funeral march is on pp. 222-24.

[25]See Liszt, An Artist's Journey, p. 141, n. 6; and Walker, Liszt I, 256.

[26]Sinfonia eroica composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand uomo. Beethoven is reported to have expressed admiration for the funeral march Paër composed for his opera Achille (1801): see Julian Budden, "Paër, Ferdinando," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S. Sadie (New York and London, 1980), XIV, 81. In the Simrock piano-vocal score of Achille available to me (Bonn, [1803]), pp. 139-40, this stately orchestral interlude is untitled, but carries familiar funeral-march trappings: key of C minor, common time, tempo Adagio, mechanical dotted rhythm throughout, descending melodic motifs, appoggiaturas on the 3rd beat, and lower-register "ruffles" created rather tamely by triplet broken chords. There is, however, nothing directly suggestive of connections with either Beethoven's (1803) or Liszt's (1827) march.

[27]Liszt's opera remains unpublished, but a score is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. A 480 (2); the Marche et choeur start at opening 261 (I am indebted to Marian Smith, Department of Music, University of Oregon, for supplying a photograph). In the absence of a published score, one can consult a sound recording of Don Sanche conducted by Pál Tamás, issued on two LP discs, Hungaroton label SLPD 12744-45.

[28]However, Walker's statement (I, 131) that not a single composition survives from the 2-year period 1827-29 can be revised to admit three works for solo piano: the Scherzo, the Funeral March, and In Memoriam.

[29]See Robert Collet, "Choral and Organ Music," in Franz Liszt: The Man and His Music, ed. A. Walker (London, 1970), pp. 322-23; and Paul Merrick, Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt (Cambridge, 1987), p. 156 and passim.

[30]The sketches show that the 19-year-old Liszt had no shortage of strikingly dramatic ideas, but rather lacked as yet the requisite experience and skill to create a cohesive and convincing large-scale orchestral work. His repeated postponements may indicate an awareness of not being equal to the task. In any event, the desired artistic commemoration that Liszt did not complete was delivered in grand style by his older contemporary, the painter Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), already at the height of his powers. His famous canvas "Liberty guiding the people," exhibited in the Salon of 1831, vividly captured the spirit of the uprising and made a strong impact on all who beheld it--and surely Liszt was one. The work now hangs in the Louvre; see Les dossiers du département des peintures, 26: La liberté guidant le

peuple de Delacroix (Paris: Editions de las réunion des musées nationaux, 1982).

[31]See A. Walker, Franz Liszt, II: The Weimar Years 1848-1861 (New York, 1989), p. 325. Several leaves of the fragments are reproduced in Peter Raabe, Franz Liszt: Leben und Schaffen, rev. edn. (Tutzing, 1968), I, 327-30.

[32]Further on the Revolutionary Symphony in Walker, Franz Liszt 1, p. 144; Klara Hamburger, Liszt, tr. and rev. by G. Gulyas and P. Merrick (Budapest, 1987), pp. 27-28; and Merrick, Religion and Revolution, ch. 1.

[33]Score: Werke, ser. I, vol. 4: Symphonische Dichtungen VII-VIII, pp. 139-86; the Marcia funebre section begins on p. 142.

[34]Rainer Kleinertz has kindly drawn my notice to possibly another "relative" in Liszt's special family of related themes based on the ascending triad--a clangorous (C major opening) battle song in the piano work Lyon, composed in support of the workers' uprising in that city in 1834. The passage is excerpted in Walker, Liszt, I, 159.

[35]Humphrey Searle, The Music of Liszt, 2nd edn. rev. (New York, 1966), p. 73.

[36]Searle, ibid., pp. 2-3; score: Liszt, Rare and Familiar, pp. 47-50. Listeners to Zum Andenken may detect in it a "pre-echo" of a recurring repeated-tone, dotted-rhythm motif (esp. mm. 13 and 17) prominent in the Hungarian Rhapsody no. 12, published in 1853.

[37]On the "Hungarian" idiom as perceived and exploited by Liszt and others, see Hamburger, Liszt, pp. 60-67 and 113; and Jonathan Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style hongrois," The Journal of Musicology, 12/2 (Spring 1991), 213-37.

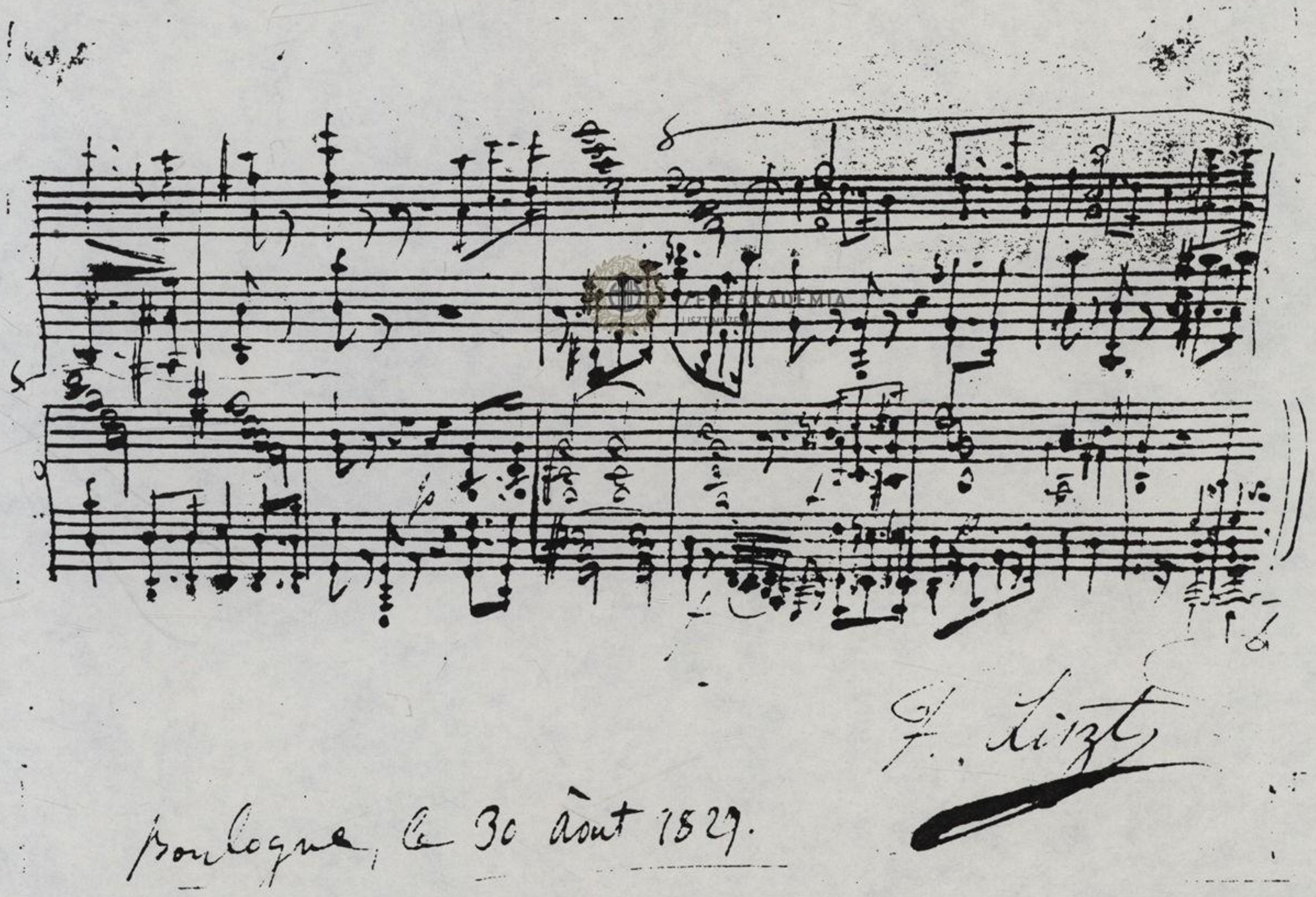
[38]On Liszt's consciousness of his Hungarian identity, see An Artist's Journey, pp. 139-40.

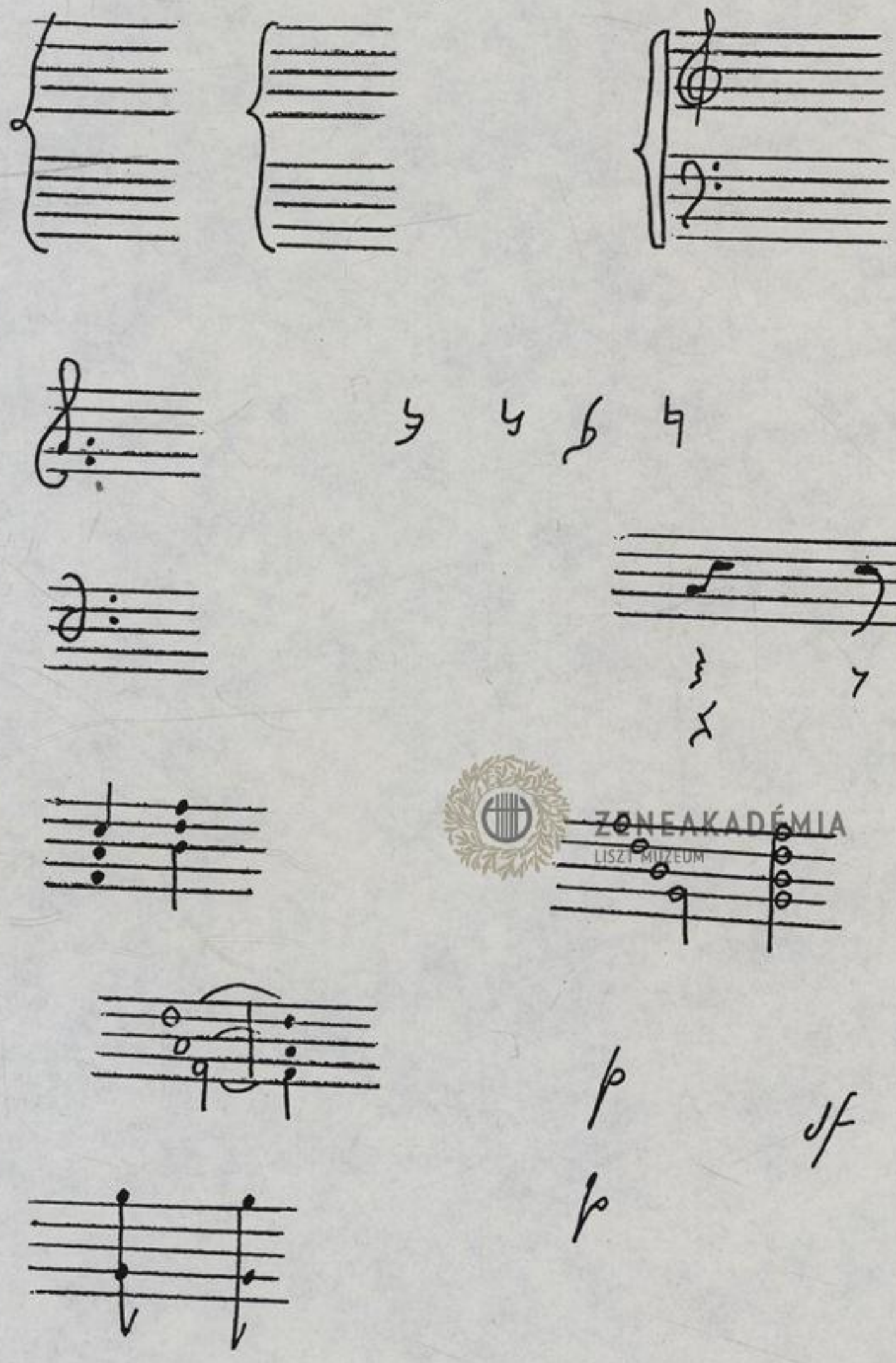
[39]Adam's sternest critic is Allan Keiler: see his "Liszt Research," pp. 394-95, and "Liszt and Beethoven," pp. 121-26. Also see Eleanor Perényi, Liszt: The Artist as Romantic Hero (Boston, 1974), pp. 16-18; and Winkler, "Franz Liszts Kindheit." Nonetheless, a sympathetic view of Adam in his role as Liszt's parent, teacher and business manager is held by the majority of Liszt scholars. Derek Watson's appraisal in his Liszt (New York, 1989), p. 21, is characteristic: "Firm and ambitious, but never unkind or selfishly greedy." See also (among many others) Eckhardt, "Liszt in His Formative Years," p. 93; and Walker, "A Reply to Allan Keiler."

[40]Werke, ser. I, vol. 4, p. 138: . . . L'homme ne revêt des manteaux de triomphe et des habits de fête que pour cacher un deuil qu'il ne saurait dépouiller. . . . A l'Art de jeter son voile transfigurant sur la tombe des vaillants, d'encercler de son nimbe d'or les morts et les mourants, pour qu'ils soient enviés des vivants. The passage is also quoted by Walker, Liszt, II, 325.

The Heroic Idiom in Early Works of Liszt.

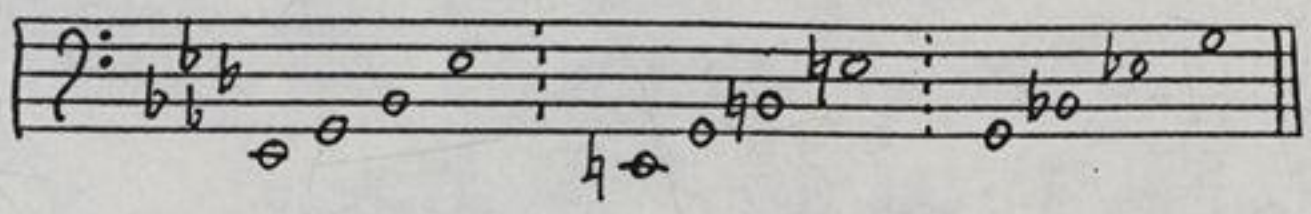
Example 1. Liszt, Marche funèbre (1827), leaf 2.



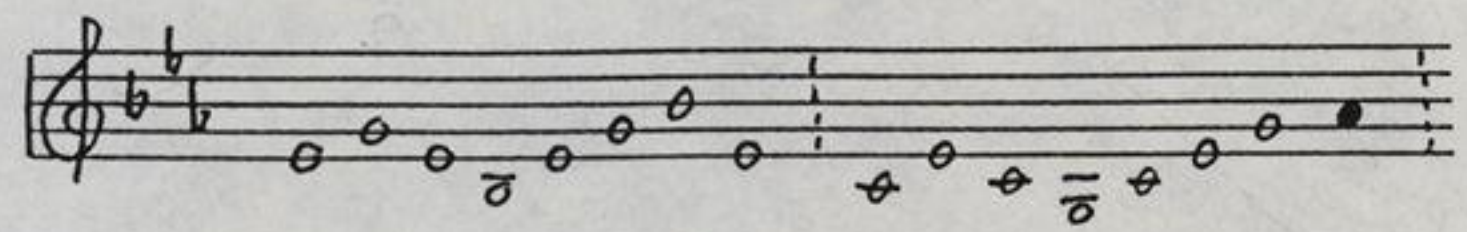


Example 2. Liszt's scribal habits in the 1820s.

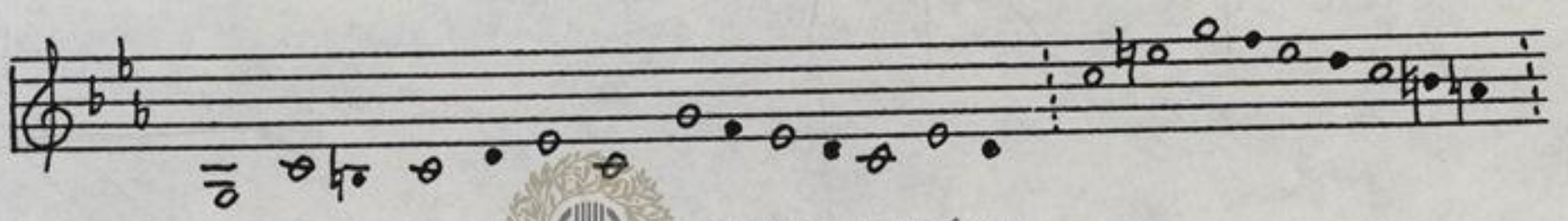
Example 3. Triadic motives in Beethoven and Liszt.



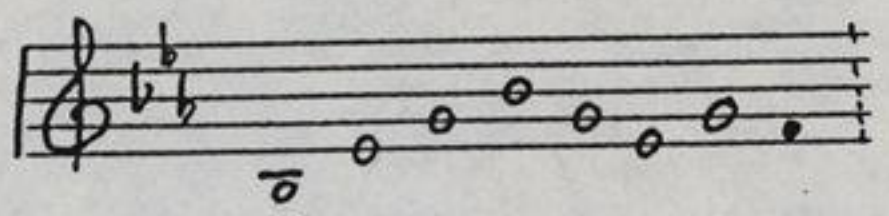
Beethoven. Piano Sonata, Opus 26, third movement



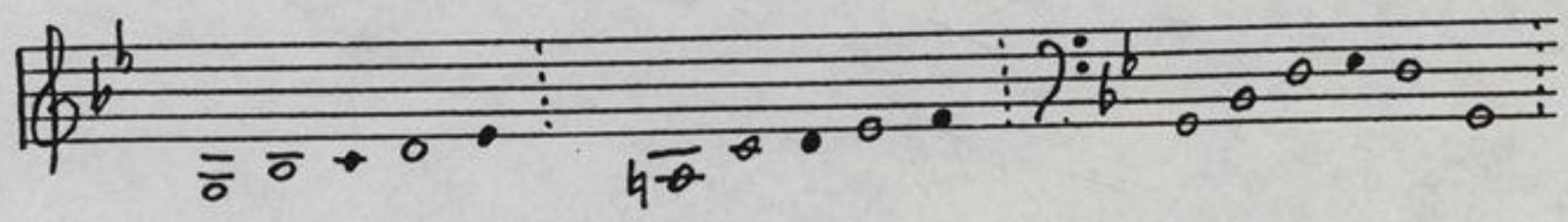
Beethoven. Symphony, Opus 55, first movement



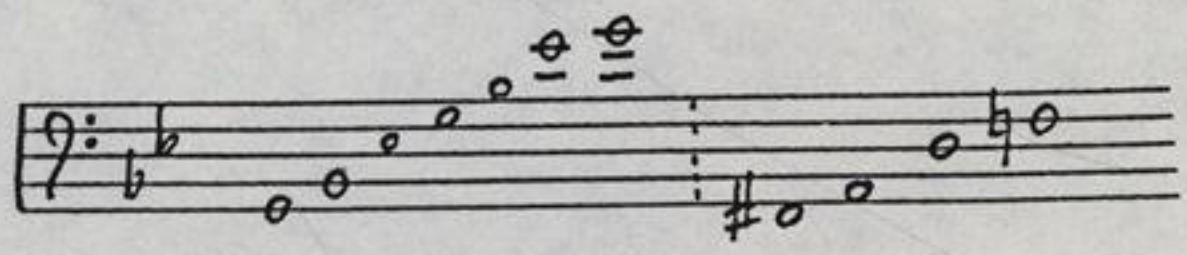
Beethoven. Symphony, Opus 55, second movement



Beethoven. Symphony, Opus 55, third movement: scherzo



Liszt. Marche funèbre (1827)



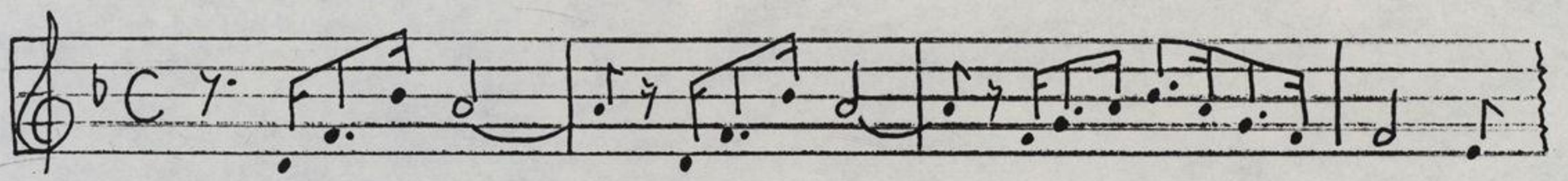
Liszt. Marche funèbre (1827)

1 4	5 8	9 12	13 16
g D	B^{b} d	(E^{b}/c) f#	e D
i ⟶ V	→ III ⟶ V	V of VI ⟶ vii	♮vi ⟶ V
(a)	(a)	(b)	(b)

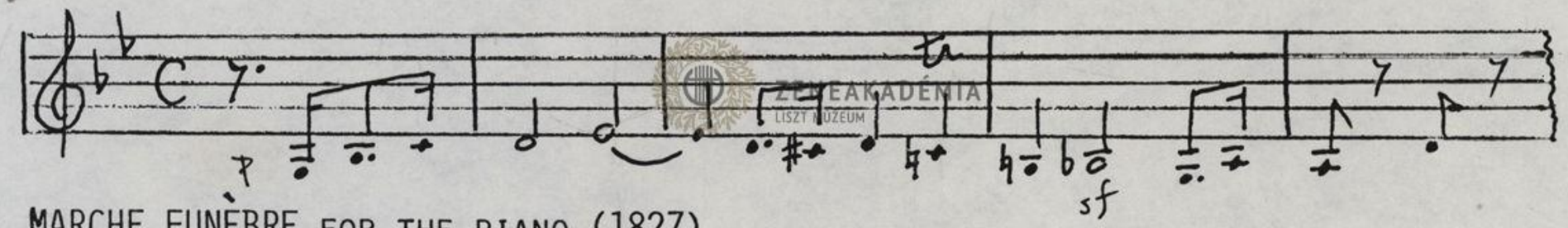
17 20	21 25	26 30
g D	B^{b} D	(g) D g
i ⟶ V	→ III ⟶ V	(i) ⟶ V → i
(a)	(a)	(b)

Example 4. Liszt. Funeral March. Formal scheme.

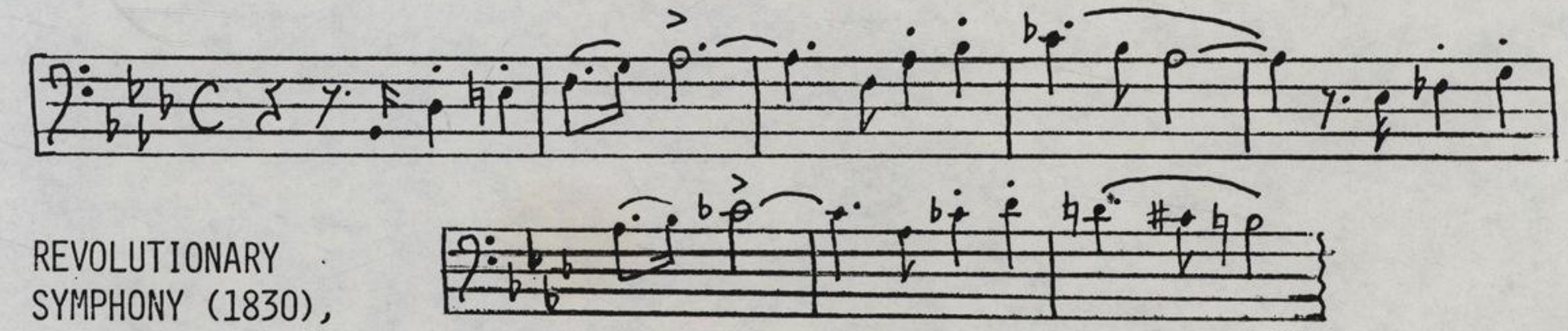
Example 5. Liszt, Three principal themes



DON SANCHE (1825), PT. 2, NO. 30: MARCHE FUNÈBRE



MARCHE FUNÈBRE FOR THE PIANO (1827)



REVOLUTIONARY SYMPHONY (1830), 1ST MOVEMENT: LATER SYMPHONIC POEM "HEROÏDE FUNÈBRE" (1857)

Andante

tr

p

sf

5

tr

sf

ff

10

ten.

ff

p

15

sf sf

ff

tr