THE “GYPSY” STYLE AS EXTRAMUSICAL REFERENCE: A HISTORICAL
AND STYLISTIC REASSESSMENT OF LISZT’S BOOK I “SWISS”
OF ANNÉES DE PÈLERINAGE

Sok-Hoon Tan, B.M.

Thesis Prepared for the Degree of

MASTER OF MUSIC

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

May 2008

APPROVED:

Deanna Bush, Major Professor
Mark McKnight, Committee Member
John Murphy, Chair of the Division of Music
History, Theory, and Ethnomusicology
Graham Phipps, Director of Graduate Studies
in the College of Music
James C. Scott, Dean of College of Music
Sandra L. Terrell, Dean of the Robert B.
Toulouse School of Graduate Studies
Tan, Sok-Hoon, The “Gypsy” style as extramusical reference: A historical and stylistic reassessment of Liszt’s Book I “Swiss” of Années de pèlerinage.

Master of Music (Musicology), May 2008, 79 pp., 42 musical examples, selected bibliography, 26 titles.

This study examines Liszt’s use of the style hongrois in his Swiss book of Années de pèlerinage to reference certain sentiments he had experienced. The event that brought Liszt to Switzerland is discussed in Chapter 1 in order to establish an understanding of the personal difficulties facing Liszt during the period when the Swiss book took shape.

Based on Jonathan Bellman’s research of the style hongrois, Chapter 2 examines the Swiss pieces that exhibit musical gestures characteristic of this style. Bellman also introduced a second, metaphoric meaning of the style hongrois, which is discussed in Chapter 3 along with Liszt’s accounts from his book Des Bohémien as well as the literary quotations that are included in the Swiss book. Together, the biographical facts, the accounts from Des Bohémien, and the literary quotations show that Liszt was using the style hongrois to substantiate the autobiographical significance of the Swiss book.
Copyright 2008
by
Sok-Hoon Tan
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES ........................................................................ iv

INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................... 1

Chapter

1. THE MAKING OF *PREMIÈRE ANNÉE, SUISSE* ................................. 6
   Running Away To Switzerland
   *Années de Pèlerinage, Première Année, Suisse*
   Chronology of Events from 1835 To 1855

2. MUSICAL GESTURES OF THE *STYLE HONGROIS* IN SELECTED SWISS PIECES .................................................. 19
   The *Style Hongrois*
   Musical Gestures of the *Style Hongrois*
   The *Hallgató* Style
   The “Gypsy Scale”
   The Evocation of Cimbalom
   The *Alla Zoppa*
   The *Bókazó*
   Pieces from the Swiss Book Exhibiting Gypsy Influences
   *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*
   *Vallée d'Obermann*
   *Le mal du pays*
   *Orage*

3. WANDERING VIRTUOSO AVOIDING PERSECUTION .......................... 51
   Representational Approach of the *Style Hongrois*
   Theme of Exile in the Swiss Book
   Liszt, Gypsies, and Homelessness
   Other Symbolism of “Gypsy” In the Swiss Book –
   Gypsy as Reference of Virtuosity

CONCLUSION ............................................................................................. 73

APPENDIX ................................................................................................. 75

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ...................................................................... 76
LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example
1. Liszt’s Modification of the Ending to the Andante Theme of Beethoven’s Kreutzer Sonata .............................................. 18

2. a. Hungarian Song “In the Rushes, that’s the Duck’s Home” ............ 23

   b. Liszt’s rendition of “In the Rushes” in the Hallgató style in Hungarian Rhapsody No. 8 in F-sharp minor ......................... 23

3. a. The “Gypsy Scale” .................................................................. 24

   b. Liszt’s incorporation of the “Gypsy Scale” in Hungarian Rhapsody No. 7 in D minor ..................................................... 25

4. a. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 11 in A minor ................................................................. 27

   b. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s song die drei Zigeuner .......... 27

   c. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 12 in C-sharp minor ............................................................... 28

   d. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C-sharp minor ................................................................. 29

5. a. The alla zoppa rhythmic pattern ........................................... 29

   b. Alla Zoppa and Bókázó Rhythm in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 9 in E-flat Major (“Carnival in Pest”) ............................. 29

6. The Bókázó Rhythm .................................................................. 30

7. The “marziale” motif in Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Album version ...... 32

8. The “alphorn” motif in Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Album version ...... 32

9. Tremolo passage in Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Album version ....... 32

10. Tremolo passage in Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Swiss book version ... 33
a. Theme of *Vallée d’Obermann*, Album version .......................... 34
b. Mm. 1 – 9 from *Vallée d’Obermann*, Swiss book version ............. 35

12. Mm. 13 – 20 from *Vallée d’Obermann* .................................. 35


15. The *alla zoppa* in *Vallée d’Obermann*, Swiss book version .......... 38


17. The “echo” in the opening measures of *Le mal du pays* ............. 39

18 a. The cimbalom effect from the “No. 2” of
    *Fleurs mélodiques des Alpes* ........................................ 40

    b. The cimbalom effect in *Le mal du pays* ............................. 40

19. Triplet passage in *Le mal du pays* ........................................ 40

20. “Andantino” section in *Le mal du pays* .................................... 41

21 a. Liszt’s treatment of the first half of Wyss’s tune in
    *Fantaisie romantique sur deux melodies suisses* .................... 42

    b. The *bókazó* rhythm in *Le mal du pays* ............................. 42

22 a. Ending to Wyss’s tune titled *Heimwehlieder* .......................... 42

    b. Liszt’s modification of Wyss’s ending in
    *Fantaisie romantique sur deux melodies suisses* .................... 43

    c. Liszt’s modification of Wyss’s ending in *Le mal du pays* .......... 43

23 a. Theme of the storm passage from *Un soir dans la montagne* ....... 45

    b. Theme of *Orage* ....................................................... 45

24. Theme of *Orage* with heavy bass line .................................... 47

25. The “organ point” passage in *Orage* ...................................... 48
26. Celebration / Storm passage in *Orage* ........................................... 48
27. Ending of *Orage* .................................................................................. 49
28. a. Opening of Caspar’s aria “Hier im ird’schen Jammerthal” ............... 52
    b. Opening of Ännchen’s *romanza*
       “Einst träumte meiner sel’gen Base” .............................................. 54
29. Excerpt from Schubert’s Octet in F Major, D. 803 .............................. 56
INTRODUCTION:
THE *STYLE HONGROIS* AS SIGNIFIER

Franz Liszt's three books of piano compositions known collectively as *Années de pèlerinage* are monumental not only among his overall creative output but also in the genre of piano music. Within the three books, or “years,” the Italian book (book II, published 1858) and the “Troisième Année” (book III, published 1883), have overshadowed the first book in the series. The Italian book, notable as an example of one of the finest demonstrations of integration of art and music, includes such popular compositions as *Sposalizio*, the three Petrarch Sonnets, and the *Dante* sonata. Liszt's advanced harmonic idiom and his late style as reflected in “Troisième Année” likewise have attracted much scholarly attention.

The Swiss book (book I, published 1855), on the other hand, has received little scrutiny. This study is devoted to a re-examination and re-evaluation of the

---

1 Though no country or region is indicated, many writers agree that the seven pieces included in the third book present the volume as a “Rome” book with the religious theme of some of the pieces as well as the fact that three (out of seven) of the pieces were written when Liszt was a guest at *Villa d’Este* situated near Rome. There is, however, argument that the third book is in fact a “Hungarian” book. See Dolores Pesce, “Liszt’s *Années de Pèlerinage*, Book 3: A ‘Hungarian’ Cycle?” *19th-century Music* 13, no. 3 (Spring, 1990): 207-229.

2 This piece is commonly referred to as the “Dante Sonata.” The full title that Liszt gave it is *Après une lecture du Dante: Fantasia quasi sonata.* See Appendix for the contents of *Années de Pèlerinage.*

3 In addition, the neglect of the Swiss book also stems from the fact that it comes from the same period as the 6 Paganini Etudes and the 12 Transcendental Etudes, two of Liszt’s most important
Swiss book in order to demonstrate its importance in the series as well as the deep meaning it held for Liszt. Close scrutiny of the pieces included in the Swiss book and its compositional history reveals that the Swiss book is autobiographical, and that its stylistic features are inextricably connected with Liszt's unique relationship with the “Gypsies” [Roma].

This study presents two types of evidences, biographical and musical, and proposes that when taken together, they show that Liszt was using musical gestures that are associated with the Gypsies to reference certain sentiments he had experienced. As will be seen, while the music doubtlessly was inspired in part by the natural beauty of the Swiss landscape, the music in Liszt’s Swiss book of *Années de pèlerinage* was directly influenced by his encounters with the music and performance style of “Gypsy” musicians.\(^4\)

The significance of the Swiss book in fact does not lie solely in its place of origin; the unique circumstances surrounding its composition weight heavily in the outcome of the Swiss book. Thus, understanding Liszt’s personal difficulties

---

\(^4\) The term “Gypsy” is used throughout this paper to refer to the group of itinerant people and musicians that Liszt encountered in his life and / or to describe their musical style. It refers solely to the Roma that Liszt encountered in Hungary and referred to as “Gypsy” (Zigeuner, Bohémien). From his book *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859), it is very clear that when Liszt uses the word “Gypsy” he refers specifically to the Hungarian-Gypsies and that he was well aware of the differences between the Roma in different geographical locations. It is never a goal of this study to explore the ethnographical and sociological aspects concerning the Roma. It is necessary to note that the term “Gypsy” is used here only in the context pertaining to Liszt.
during this period in his life is crucial to grasping the autobiographical
significance of the Swiss book.

Among the nine Swiss pieces, this study identifies three of them –
Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Vallée d’Obermann, and Le mal du pays – as
exhibiting musical gestures characteristic of the performance style of Hungarian-
Gypsies.\(^5\) The stylistic analysis of these distinctive pieces is based on Jonathan
Bellman’s pioneering research of the *style hongrois*.\(^6\) Excerpts selected from
Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsodies are used as a basis for comparison with his
incorporation of the *style hongrois* in the three Swiss pieces mentioned above.\(^7\)
As will be seen, these pieces contain allusions to the *hallgató* style, the “Gypsy
scale,” the *bókázó* rhythm, the *alla zoppa*, and evocation of cimbalom – all of
which are distinctive characters of the *style hongrois*.

When these musical gestures are considered in conjunction with Liszt’s
encounter with the Gypsies, they provide a closer understanding of the music
included in the Swiss book. Liszt’s account in *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique*

---

\(^5\) A fourth piece is also identified as connected with the Gypsies. Though no traces of the Gypsy
style is found, an account by Liszt indicates that the storm piece in the Swiss book titled *Orage*
may be connected with the Gypsies. Discussion of *Orage* is taken up in Chapter 2.

\(^6\) Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern
University Press, 1993) and Jonathan Bellman, “Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois,” *The

Chapter 5 of Bellman’s book is derived from his article.

The *style hongrois* is derived from the performance style of the Hungarian-Gypsies whose
repertoire consists of primarily Hungarian music. However, though the *style hongrois* is
inseparable from Hungary and the Romani, it is neither genuinely Hungarian nor authentically
“Gypsy.” This study concerns only the hybrid of the two known as the *style hongrois*. It is not a
goal here to pursue either of these topics.

\(^7\) When selecting the excerpts, I consider only the first fifteen Hungarian Rhapsodies published
between 1851-53. These pieces are based on the music that Liszt heard from the Gypsies and
they are characteristic of the *style hongrois*. The remaining four Hungarian Rhapsodies were
written almost thirty years later and are representative of Liszt’s late work.
en Hongrie (1859) of his encounter with Gypsy musical culture during the composition of both the Hungarian Rhapsodies and the Swiss book is thus of utmost significance in interpreting these allusions to the Hungarian-Gypsy style, or the style hongrois.\(^8\) As will be seen, Liszt was using the style hongrois in the Swiss book to substantiate its autobiographical significance.

In his book, Bellman introduced a second, metaphoric meaning of the style hongrois in which he suggested that certain composers used the style hongrois to reference negative traits such as dishonesty, duplicity, and disloyalty that are stereotypically associated with the Gypsies.\(^9\) Bellman subsequently applied these associations to interpret an underlying cultural meaning in such work as Schubert’s Winterreise and Weber’s Der Freischutz. However, while Bellman devoted an entire chapter to the discussion of Liszt and what the Gypsy

---

\(^8\) Liszt believed that “Gypsy” music was not an easy art to understand. Thus, when preparing for the publication of the Hungarian Rhapsodies, he intended to publish a preface to explain the works. However, the Hungarian Rhapsodies eventually appeared without the preface. Liszt’s preface reached the length of a book and in 1859, he published it under the title Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie. The book is translated into German as Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn (by Lina Ramann, 1880-83) as well as into English as The Gipsy in Music (by Edwin Evans, 1926).

As a reference, Des Bohémiens is problematic in several ways. The major problem is Liszt’s confusion of the Gypsy music with Hungarian music; he thinks that Gypsy music is Hungarian music. Nonetheless, since Des Bohémiens is used here as Liszt’s memoir and not for ethnomusicological purpose, Liszt’s misapprehension of the two subjects is least of a concern. For the purpose of this study, the most problematic aspect of Liszt’s book is its authorship. After all, if Liszt had not actually written what was published in his name, the book serves no purpose. Alan Walker, one of the most recent Liszt biographers, investigates this issue of authorship and authenticity in his Liszt biography. Based on several previously undiscovered correspondences between Liszt and Princess Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein, the daughter of Liszt’s second mistress Princess Carolyne, Walker concluded that Liszt did not in fact hold a pen and write out his idea, which explains the fact that the handwriting that appears on the manuscripts did not come from Liszt. However, Princess Marie confirmed that Liszt dictated his ideas out to her mother, which validates the ideas as indeed coming from Liszt. For a detail discussion of the authorship issue as well as the disastrous consequence of Liszt’s misattribution of the Magyar’s music, see Alan Walker, Franz Liszt – The Weimar Years 1848-1861 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 380-90.

\(^9\) Bellman, The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe, 133-34.
style meant to him, he made no reference regarding Liszt’s use of the *style hongrois* in works not specifically titled “Hungarian.”\(^{10}\) This paper shows that Liszt’s use of the *style hongrois* is not limited to Hungarian-related works; the *style hongrois* is incorporated in the Swiss book to reference certain “Gypsy” traits.

Support for such interpretation draws on details related to the compositional history of the Swiss book and its relationship to an earlier collection entitled *Album d’un voyageur*. Several pieces common to both collections include literary quotations that underscore the autobiographical interpretation of the Swiss book as well as further demonstrate it as an exemplar of the implicit, representational approach of the *style hongrois*.

---

\(^{10}\) Bellman pointed out that one of Liszt’s earliest biographers, Peter Raabe, suggested that Liszt used the Hungarian-Gypsy idiom only in the nationalistic works, which appears to be a view that Bellman shared. See Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 189.
CHAPTER 1
THE MAKING OF PREMIÈRE ANNÉE, SUISSE

It is widely known that Liszt had stayed in Switzerland from June 1835 to
October 1836, and that the Swiss pieces originated during the sojourn. On the
other hand, lesser known are the facts that Liszt’s departure was sudden, and
that it was planned in secrecy. “An event which is not within our task to mention
put an end to Liszt’s stay in Paris,” Liszt’s contemporary biographer J. Duverger
wrote.¹ The “event” is ultimately the reason that brought Liszt to Switzerland and
it proves to have influenced his musical thoughts.

Running Away To Switzerland

I am going to leave, after eight years of marriage . . . I have no wrongs to
reproach you with, you have always been full of affection and devotion for me;
you have thought always of me, never of yourself, and yet I have been truly
unhappy. I am not blaming you for this unhappiness . . . Your name will never
leave my lips except when it is uttered with the respect and esteem which your
character deserves. As for me, I ask only for your silence in the face of the world,
which is going to overwhelm me with insults.²

Such are the last words of Countess Marie d’Agoult to her husband Count
Charles d’Agoult before leaving for Switzerland with her new lover, Liszt.³ In the

¹ Quoted in Mária P. Eckhardt, “Diary of a Wayfarer – The Wanderings of Franz Liszt and Marie
10.
² Quoted in Alan Walker, Franz Liszt – The Virtuoso Years 1811-1847, revised edition (New York:
Cornell University Press, 1987), 204-05. Walker’s source for citation is Jacques Vier, La
³ Marie d’Agoult née Marie-Catherine-Sophie de Flavigny (1805-1876).
years to come, the once passionate love affair was to turn sour, Liszt and Marie were to fight for their children’s custody, and the relationship concluded with Marie’s writing of a defaming novel *Nélida* under the pen name “Daniel Stern” to publicly attack Liszt. Nevertheless, on the brighter side and more importantly for Liszt’s creative output, Marie d’Agoult and the rocky love affair were the reasons for the Swiss and Italian trips that resulted in some of his most important musical creations.

In early 1833, Liszt was invited as the guest of honor to the salon of the Marquise Le Vayer where he was introduced to Marie.\(^4\) Mutual attraction quickly ignited.\(^5\) The following day, encouraged by Madame La Vayer, Marie invited Liszt to visit her. Liszt did not reply but instead, he turned up in person at Marie’s château in Croissy, several miles from Paris. Liszt became a frequent visitor thereafter.

The couple continued meeting in secret until around March 1835 when Marie became pregnant with Liszt’s first child.\(^6\) It was now impossible for the couple to remain in Paris. Liszt and Marie chose Switzerland as their destination and set off to begin a new life together.

---

\(^1\) Charles d’Agoult (1790-1875) was a colonel of the French army.
\(^2\) Marie and Charles were married in 1827 and had two daughters, Louise and Claire, together.
\(^3\) Madame Le Vayer was the aunt of Charlotte Talleyrand, who studied from Liszt.
\(^4\) Marie recorded details of her first meeting with Liszt in her *Mémoires*, which is also documented in Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, 190-92.
\(^5\) The event proved to be emotionally stressful for Liszt. Walker reported an incident in April when Liszt fainted during a concert in Paris and had to be carried off the stage. See Walker, *Virtuoso*, 203.
Both Liszt and Marie d’Agoult were noted figures at Paris salon circles. In order not to attract too much attention, the couple left separately. Their letters were written with mixed languages to conceal crucial information, which shows the degree of confidentiality and also the need of it.7

On May 26, 1835, Marie penned the above-quoted letter to Charles d’Agoult and left for Switzerland with the company of her mother, who remained uninformed of the reasons for departure until they reached their destination.8 Liszt left four days later and the couple met up in Basle, where they decided on Geneva as their ultimate destination. About a week later, Liszt and Marie began their journey and wandered in the Swiss countryside as they traveled toward Geneva.9 As can be seen from the pocket diary that Liszt carried with him, the Swiss pieces are indeed musical documentations of their trip – the chapel, the lake of Wallenstadt, the spring, the storm, and finally Geneva. In July, the couple arrived and settled in the city.10 Their first of three children, Blandine-Rachel Liszt, was born on December 18, 1835.

---

7 Walker, Virtuoso, 209. Liszt and Marie wrote in French. Most of their correspondences up until their stay in Geneva contain a few lines or two in English and/or German.
8 As revealed in Marie’s letter to Liszt, she could not find the courage to confess to her mother: “Don’t go out. My mother is here; . . . By the time you read this, I will have told her. Up to now, I haven’t dared say anything. It is the last, difficult trial, but my love is my faith and I am avid to martyrdom.” Quoted in Walker, Virtuoso, 209.
Upon learning the news, Marie’s mother returned to Paris to break the news to her family. The response was nothing as she had expected – Marie’s brother Maurice was very forgiving and even wrote her a letter that included a little note from Marie’s daughter Claire telling her mother to come home. See Walker, Virtuoso, 211.
9 Liszt recorded details of this trip in his pocket diary, which is preserved in the Archive of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. For a report of the pocket diary, see Mária Eckhardt’s article.
10 The house that Liszt and Marie stayed at is still there today, though the street name has changed (from rue Tabazan to rue Etienne-Dumont). A memorial plaque was unveiled in 1891 to commemorate Liszt’s sojourn there. See Walker, Virtuoso, 212.
It never seemed as though Liszt regretted starting the love affair or the elopement. Nonetheless, when it was about time to return to Paris, he was worried that they would be unwelcome. A few months after Blandine’s birth, Liszt returned to Paris to test the water.\textsuperscript{11} After sounding out his mother, Marie’s brother Maurice de Flavigny, and their friends to confirm that Paris was not hostile towards them, the couple returned to Paris in October 1836.\textsuperscript{12}

After returning from Switzerland, Liszt and Marie remained in Paris for a few months and a new trip was soon planned to begin in April 1837. Judging from the fact that the couple’s next child was born in December that year, Marie was certainly pregnant again at the time the new trip was planned. Though Liszt and Marie were welcomed back to the Paris circle, Marie was still legally married to Charles d’Agoult. The couple’s second departure was in all ways \textit{déjà vu} on a smaller scale, and they had a new destination – Italy.

In August 1837, Liszt and Marie reached Italy, where they remained for the next year.\textsuperscript{13} Four months after their arrival in the country, their second child, Cosima, was born.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{12} Blandine Liszt stayed in Geneva with Pastor Demelleyer and his family until Marie could send for her. See Walker, \textit{Virtuoso}, 215.
\textsuperscript{13} Liszt and Marie had stopped and stayed with George Sand at her country house in Nohant for a few months prior to leaving for Italy.
\textsuperscript{14} Liszt and Marie had a third child, Daniel, who was born on May 9, 1839 in Rome. The pen name “Daniel Stern” that Marie used was taken from her son’s name. “Stern” is German for “lucky star.” See Walker, \textit{Virtuoso}, 386-87.
\end{flushright}
Based on the recollections of his journey in Switzerland, Liszt completed *Album d'un voyageur* during his stay in Italy. Part of *Album* forms the Swiss book of *Années de pèlerinage*.

*Années de Pèlerinage, Première Année, Suisse*

The Swiss book of *Années de pèlerinage* was published in 1855 by Schott. As revealed in their titles, the nine pieces included in the collection were inspired by Liszt’s sojourn in Switzerland during 1835-36:

1. *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*
2. *Au lac de Wallenstadt*
3. *Pastorale*
4. *Au bord d’une source*
5. *Orage*
6. *Vallée d’Obermann*
7. *Eglogue*
8. *Le mal du pays*
9. *Les Cloches de Genève*

Each piece appeared as a separate booklet with a title page featuring drawings by Albert Kretschmer (1825-1891) to illustrate the content of the individual piece.\(^{15}\) Also found on the title pages are quotations taken from works by Byron, Schiller, and Sénancour that portray the characters of the individual pieces.

Prior to 1855, seven of the Swiss pieces had appeared in a collection titled *Album d'un voyageur* that was published in 1842. It was a collection of piano compositions grouped in three sections: *Impressions et poésies*, *Fleur*

---

\(^{15}\) Preface to the *New Liszt Edition*, Series I, Vol. 6, XI.
mélodiques des Alpes, and Paraphrases. The content of this collection is as follows:\(^\text{16}\)

I. Impressions et Poésies
1. Lyon
2. Le Lac de Wallenstadt
   – Au bord d’une source\(^\text{17}\)
3. Les Cloches de G (enève)\(^\text{18}\)
4. Vallée d’Obermann
5. La Chapelle de Guillaume Tell
6. Psaume (de l’Eglise à Genève)

II. Fleurs Mélodiques des Alpes
1 – 9

III. Paraphrases
10. Ranz de Vaches. Montée aux alpes
11. Un Soir dans les Montagnes
12. Ranz de Chèvres

The Impressions et Poésies section contains seven pieces, each with descriptive titles. According to Liszt’s preface to the collection, these pieces record his impressions of scenes that he encountered during his traveling.\(^\text{19}\) Most of the pieces that made up the Swiss book of Années de pèlerinage were selected and revised from this section of Album d’un voyageur.

Fleur mélodiques des Alpes consists of nine short pieces. Unlike the seven programmatic pieces that precede them, these nine pieces lack titles and

\(^{16}\) The contents of Album d’un voyageur can be found in Breitkop & Härtel’s Franz Liszt Musikalische Werke, Vol. IV.

\(^{17}\) There was hesitation on Liszt’s part on whether to number the two “water” pieces as separate numbers or together as a single number. The 1841 publication by Richault numbers the two pieces as Nos. 2 and 3, whereas the 1842 Haslinger publication numbers them as 2a and 2b.

\(^{18}\) The last word in the title of this piece is always printed this way, as either “G….” or “****,” before the 1855 publication of Années de Pèlerinage, Première Année Suisse. Liszt’s sketchbook indicates that “G….” or “****” stands for “Genève,” the place where this piece was inspired and initially sketched out. Liszt’s reason(s) for the abbreviation is unknown.

\(^{19}\) Franz Liszt, Preface to Album d’un Voyageur, English translation by Fanny Copeland.
are simply numbered. Most of these pieces incorporate folk tunes, some of which have been identified as genuine Swiss folk tunes. Two among the nine pieces in this section were selected for the Swiss book.

The three pieces in *Paraphrases* also contain Swiss folk tunes and tunes by Swiss composers, but these pieces are more elaborated, programmatic, and fantasy-like than the ones in *Fleur mélodiques des Alpes*. The entire *Paraphrases* section was omitted during Liszt's revision for the Swiss book and was abandoned for a long time. They were revised and published in 1877 as *Trois Morceaux Suisses*.

As can be seen, *Album d’un voyageur* is actually the direct result of Liszt's journey; the music, the preface, and the literary quotations included in the collection are easily connected with Liszt's sojourn in Switzerland. When the Swiss book was published in 1855, much had changed during the twenty-year gap. As a result, its connection with Liszt's Swiss trip as well as the period of emotional turmoil is lost. Furthermore, Liszt bought back the publication right of *Album d’un voyageur* and further forbade it to be included in his catalogue of works. Consequently, much information was suppressed until the advent of modern scholarship.

---


21. By 1855, Liszt was no longer the traveling virtuoso; he was the Kapellmeister at the Court of Weimar. Liszt's affair with Marie d’Agoult had also long been ended. He was living with Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein in Weimar.
The history of the Swiss book indeed spanned over twenty eventful years of Liszt’s life and career. Each of the events was crucial to the shaping of the Swiss book. For a better understanding of how the Gypsy influences took place, this study now turns to a brief overview of the chronology of major events leading up to the publication of the Swiss book in 1855.

Chronology of Events from 1835 To 1855

Liszt’s journey to, and sojourn in, Geneva during 1835-36 are mentioned above. After a brief return to Paris, Liszt and Marie set off for Italy. Though the Swiss pieces originated during Liszt’s traveling through the Swiss countryside, they were actually written while he was in Italy in 1837-38.22

One morning in April 1838, while in Venice, Liszt learned about the flood that had caused severe damage to the western part of Hungary. After eighteen years of absence, the tragedy brought intense memories of the homeland back. The event proved to be an emotional one for Liszt:

The surge of emotions revealed to me the meaning of the word ‘homeland.’ I was suddenly transported back to the past, and in my heart I found the treasury of memories from my childhood intact.23

Liszt immediately rushed to Vienna to raise money for the flood victims. The eight charity concerts that Liszt gave raised a huge amount of money to benefit the

flood victims in Hungary. For Liszt, the flood was the new beginning of his contact with his home.

The next major event of Liszt’s life was his trans-European tour that spanned over seven years and comprised more than a thousand concerts / recitals.\textsuperscript{24} In late 1839 while in Vienna, Liszt received an invitation to return to Hungary. The invitation was issued partly as appreciation for Liszt’s generous aid of the flood victims in the previous year, but mainly as acknowledgement and honor of his success as a concert pianist. Liszt happily accepted the invitation.

Liszt’s return created a sensation such as Hungary had never seen. Crowds gathered to see Liszt, the concert halls were packed, Liszt’s portraits were printed, and there was even invention of a new type of grand-piano-shaped cookies with the writing “Liszt” on them.\textsuperscript{25} At the Hungarian National Theatre in Pest, Liszt was presented with a Sword of Honor. Liszt was now the most celebrated Magyar and the nation’s hero.

To receive national recognition was certainly a high point of Liszt’s life. Following the Sword of Honor presentation, the nation’s cheers, and the banquets in his honor, Liszt could not think of anything else but the music of the Gypsies to make his glorious return even better. Being back in Hungary stirred up Liszt’s memory of the “bronzed face” musicians whose music delivered an

\textsuperscript{24} The word “recital” is in fact Liszt’s invention. He first introduced the concept of a solo recital in London, in 1840. See Walker, \textit{Virtuoso}, 355-57.

\textsuperscript{25} Walker, \textit{Virtuoso}, 321.
electrifying charm. As a child, Liszt had always questioned whomever he could about this charm of the Gypsies’ music but had never received an answer. Liszt decided to seek out an answer for himself.

The Gypsies were thrilled to have the national hero as their visitor. Liszt was greeted with warm welcome and there was even a fur “seat of honor” prepared especially for him. Cries soon broke out in the Romany language, which were translated to Liszt as “Éljen! Liszt Ferenc!” (“Hail! Franz Liszt!”) Liszt’s desire to see the Gypsies “as they really are” had finally came true. He saw the women dancing with their tambourines, the children fighting over a bag of nuts, and the men happily examining some horses that were given to them. The highlight of the evening was, of course, the music:

The Frischka was not long in rising to a frenzy of exaltation; and, then almost to delirium. In its final stage it could only be compared to that vertiginous and convulsive wheeling motion which is the culminating point in the Dervish ecstasy.

Liszt’s visit to the Gypsy camp marked the beginning of his intense pursuit of the Gypsies’ art. Liszt revealed that he sought out the Gypsies during the course of his concert tours, and he visited some local Gypsies while in Spain as well as in Russia. He listened to them, watched them, and even drew

28 Ibid., 132.
29 Ibid., 133.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., 165.
comparisons between the Hungarian-Gypsies and Gypsies elsewhere. The high level of interest that Liszt held for things Gypsy had no parallel; it was an interest that was to occupy Liszt for the rest of his life.

After leaving Hungary, Liszt's trans-European concert tour continued. For the next seven years he traveled constantly, covering many cities in Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Austria, Britain, Ireland, Romania, Hungary, Turkey, and Russia – an itinerary that in and of itself was an achievement.

In early 1847, Liszt met Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, the second great love of his life. Liszt decided to end his itinerant career and begin a new life with Princess Carolyne. In September 1847, Liszt gave his last performance of the concert series in Elisabetgrad during which he announced his retirement from the concert platform.

In October of that year, Princess Carolyne threw a celebration at her château in Woronince in honor of Liszt’s thirty-sixth birthday. As Liszt’s life companion, Princess Carolyne knew exactly what would make excellent birthday present – a Gypsy band. The princess invited a group of local Gypsies to the château to play for Liszt, and his joy can be seen in his detailed memo of the event. Liszt recorded that the most blissful moment was when the princess, who possessed the land in the surrounding area, released her tenants from a

---

32 Liszt, 156-75.
33 Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein née Carolyne Iwanowsky, (1819-1887). When she was seventeen, Carolyne was forced to marry Prince Nicholas von Sayn-Wittgenstein, a military officer. When Carolyne met Liszt, she has been separated from her husband.
34 Walker, Virtuoso, 422.
35 Liszt, 161-64.
year’s taxes as part of the celebration. As for Liszt, the company was a joyous one. “The rays of the waning sun were still strong enough to spread a little warmth,” Liszt wrote about the pleasant surprise.36

Following Liszt’s retirement from the restless career as traveling musician, he took up the position of Kapellmeister at the Court of Weimar. Liszt and Princess Carolyne moved to Weimar where they settled in a house called the Altenburg. Much composing was done at the Altenburg – something Liszt’s previous itinerant career did not allow – and this is when Liszt revised many of his previously published works.

One of the projects during the first years at Altenburg was the Hungarian Rhapsodies. It was as if Liszt had become obsessed with his topic. On one occasion, he had given his student, Hans von Bülow (1830-1894), a sum of money to purchase from Count István Fáy some “quality Hungarian-Gypsy tunes.”37 Liszt ended up spending more than he agreed to pay but received only a third of what he was promised. In any event, the incident shows the level of interest he held for Hungarian-Gypsy music, so much so that he would go, literally, at any cost to get it.

Another student of Liszt’s at the time, American composer William Mason (1829-1908), also had a first-hand experience with Liszt’s obsession with Gypsy music during his stay at the Altenburg in 1853-54. Mason noted that Liszt was

---

36 Walker, *The Weimar Years*, 44. Liszt’s recollection of this account is found in Liszt, 161-64.
37 Walker, *Weimar*, 384. István Fáy (1809 – 1862) was a pianist and a collector of old Hungarian music. Walker pointed out that Liszt had met Fáy during his first return to Hungary in 1840.
“unconsciously disposed to color and mark the music of all composers with Hungarian peculiarities.”\textsuperscript{38} He reported a rather amusing incident during which Liszt absent-mindedly altered the \textit{Andante} theme of Beethoven’s \textit{Kreutzer} Sonata with a \textit{bóka}zó cadence:\textsuperscript{39}

Example 1. Liszt’s Modification of the Ending to the \textit{Andante} Theme of Beethoven’s \textit{Kreutzer} Sonata

Mason’s account provided an insight into not only how intrigued Liszt was by the music of the Gypsy, but also how it deeply influenced his thought.

Meanwhile, Liszt was working on another project: the Swiss book. Pieces from \textit{Album d’un voyageur} were revised for the new “Swiss” year of \textit{Années de pèlerinage} during 1848-54 and finally in 1855, the Swiss book as it is now known was published.

\textsuperscript{38} Walker, \textit{Weimar}, 383. Walker’s source for citation is William Mason, \textit{Memories of a Musical Life} (New York, 1901), 94.

\textsuperscript{39} More accurately, this is a \textit{bóka}zó rhythm, meaning “capering,” which originated from the heel and spur clicking common to Hungarian dance. Bellman, \textit{The Style Hongrois}, 118-19. See Chapter 2 of this paper for further discussions.
CHAPTER 2

MUSICAL GESTURES OF THE STYLE HONGROIS IN SELECTED SWISS PIECES

The Style Hongrois

*Style hongrois* is the evocation of the performance style of the Hungarian-Gypsies in Western art music. This French term for “Hungarian style” refers solely to the evocation of the Gypsies’ performance and is not the same as genuine Hungarian folk music that is subject of Bartók and Kodály’s research.¹

The Gypsy musicians in Hungary played the local repertoire and while doing so, their distinctive performance styles were blended with the Hungarian style. As the Hungarian-Gypsies traveled to other European cities, primarily Vienna, they played and spread the music around. The exotic quality of the Hungarian-Gypsy style attracted the attention of a lot of composers and it was quickly adapted in Western music as the *style hongrois*. In another words, the *style hongrois* was, in essence, Hungarian folk tunes executed in the Gypsy performance style. The result of this combination – what composers heard and emulated – was thus a Gypsy adaptation of the Hungarian music; it is neither genuinely Hungarian nor authentically Gypsy

¹ Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 11. Bellman notes that the English term “Hungarian style” is used to indicate the Hungarian folk style whereas the French term *style hongrois* is used to indicate the Gypsies’ adaptations.
The *style hongrois* was chiefly a nineteenth-century trend, although the earliest compositions in the *style hongrois* dated as early as mid-eighteenth century. At its earliest stage, the *style hongrois* was used mainly to add exotic flavor to a composition and it was sometimes mixed with other non-Western styles, such as the Turkish style that preceded it as the trend for exoticism.\(^2\) Inflections of the *style hongrois* are often heard in compositions of this time and some composers even based entire movements in the *style hongrois*. The third movement of Haydn’s G Major piano trio (Hob. XV:25), the *Rondo alla Ongarese*, is one such example.

By the nineteenth century, compositions in the *style hongrois* became lengthier and more elaborate than before. This new musical trend was incorporated into many different musical genres, from amateur *Hausmusik* to professionally staged operas.\(^3\)

Also during this time, this musical dialect came to be more than inflections. The *style hongrois* became representational, and it was used to reference Gypsy stereotypes, such as liberty and freedom at the one end and theft and disloyalty at the other. To some of the *style hongrois* composers of this time, such as Schubert and Liszt, the *style hongrois* was more than a vehicle for musical exoticism; it reflected their beliefs and was personal. This representational and

---


\(^3\) See Chapter 3 “The Emergence of the Style Hongrois” in Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*. 
more profound use of the style hongrois will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 3.

Musical Gestures of The Style Hongrois

Since the Gypsies’ performance was primarily improvisatory and they did not notate their music, to emulate their performance style meant that the composers had to notate what they heard. Many of the musical gestures characteristic of the style hongrois are derived from the Gypsy musicians’ appropriation of certain Hungarian repertoire, namely the verbunkos – a recruiting dance, the nóta – popular folk-influenced songs, and the czardas – a later version of the verbunkos infused with elements of the nóta styles.

Though the musical materials that the Gypsies used were of Hungarian origin, their performance style and their treatment of the materials were what composers heard and imitated. As a result, most of the style hongrois gestures related more to the performance style of the Gypsy musicians and less to Hungarian music. Gestures of the style hongrois could be harmonic, rhythmic, and imitative of an instrument that the Gypsies used.

---

4 Only five among the many distinctive characters of the style hongrois are discussed here. They are mentioned here to aid the discussions of the Swiss pieces. For detailed discussions of the style hongrois features see Bellman’s book and/or article.
5 As a matter of fact, most Gypsy musicians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could not even read music.
7 There are, however, a few rhythmic gestures that are originated from the Hungarian language. See Bellman, “Lexicon,” 220.
The Hallgató Style

There were two general styles in Gypsy performances – the slow hallgató style and the faster cifra, which was usually for dancing. Hallgató is a Hungarian word meaning “to be listened to.” The slow section in Gypsy performance was so named because of its rhapsodic, free-meter, and improvisatory nature, as opposed to the lively dancing music with straighter tempo. The nóta songs were frequently improvised in the hallgató style and the tunes were usually treated without regard for the meaning of the texts. In fact, the Gypsy band’s treatments of the nóta tunes were so widely recognized that they superseded any other possible, or even original, arrangements.

Liszt observed such treatment of the Hungarian tunes and wrote in favor of the rhapsodic rendition:

When these melodies are merely sung, they are in the state of being deprived of their variegated plumage, as well as of the thousand facets presented by a profuse ornamentation.

The opening section of Liszt’s eighth Hungarian Rhapsody illustrates his treatment of an old Hungarian song. Walker identified the song that Liszt improvised on as “In the Rushes, That’s the Duck’s Home” (Example 2a). To

---

8 Cifra is a Hungarian word meaning “flashy.” See Bellman, The Style Hongrois, 17.
9 Nóta (“melody”) songs were popular songs written mostly by the noblemen who were trained musically but were not able to pursue a professional music career because of their high social status. Bartók refers to this genre as the “new style of peasant music” versus the folk tune, which he calls the “old style.” See Bellman, The Style Hongrois, 20.
11 Liszt, 300-01.
12 Walker, Weimar, 382-83.
make the comparison easier, the song tune is here transposed to F-sharp minor from the original D minor to correspond with Liszt’s arrangement (Example 2a):

Example 2a. Hungarian Song “In the Rushes, That’s the Duck’s Home”

Liszt’s treatment of the tune, as shown below, is full of ornamentation, with flexible tempo, and varies in rhythm (Example 2b). It is also evident from Liszt’s rendition that he did not take the texts into consideration.

Example 2b. Liszt’s rendition of “In the Rushes” in the hallgató style in Hungarian Rhapsody No. 8 in F-sharp minor
Suffice it to say, when transformed to Western repertory, the hallgató has retained its slow and rhapsodic characteristics. It is improvisatory and is thus often a good opportunity for showcasing virtuosity.

The “Gypsy Scale”

The so-called “Gypsy Scale” is basically a harmonic minor scale with a raised fourth, which makes it a minor scale with two augmented seconds (Example 3a).

Example 3a. The “Gypsy Scale”

According to Bellman, this scale had no basis in either Hungarian or authentic Gypsy music. Bálint Sárosi, a scholar in Gypsy music, added that it was the results of liberal insertions of augmented seconds by Gypsy performers. Sárosi noted that since augmented second is not used frequently, the appearance of the interval in this “scale” gives it a clearly identifiable sound, and the frequent use of this interval in the performance of Gypsy musicians makes it one of the many distinctive “Gypsy” features.

---

14 Sárosi, Gypsy Music, 27.
Sarosi also noted that Liszt believed augmented seconds to be a typical Gypsy musical quality. Example 3b taken from the thirteenth Hungarian Rhapsody gives a sample of Liszt’s use of the “scale."

Example 3b. Liszt’s incorporation of the “Gypsy Scale” in Hungarian Rhapsody No. 7 in D minor

The “scale” is, of course, scholars’ theorization of the Gypsy style. In fact, there is even a different take on the scale. Some scholars concluded that when the scale is approached from the dominant, it is in fact a major scale with a flatted second and sixth.

In any event, considering the fact that the Gypsy musicians were usually musically illiterate, it is most likely that the augmented seconds are inserted merely for expression purpose and not with harmonic considerations.

Most importantly, whether the scale is read from the tonic or the dominant, it has one feature in common – the augmented second. It would thus be safe to conclude that the augmented second is really the “spice” that gives the scale its unique quality.

---

15 Sarosi, 27.
Evocation of Cimbalom

Liszt described the cimbalom as “a sort of square tablet furnished with strings ranged similarly to those of square pianos and struck by sticks.”\(^{16}\) This instrument could be either a principal instrument or an accompanying instrument in a Gypsy ensemble. Liszt further noted that

> the zymbala supplies the rhythm, indicates the acceleration and slackening of time, as also the degree of movement. He manipulates with singular agility and as if it were a sleight-of-hand performance the little wooden hammers with which he travels over the strings, and which in this primitive piano perform the duty we assign to ivory keys.\(^{17}\)

The cimbalom is the Gypsy instrument that resembles the piano the most in mechanism, style, and performing method. Characteristics of cimbalom playing that are frequently imitated are the tremolo, the repeated notes, and alternation of hands.

The first way of cimbalom evocation, the tremolo, is often for the harmonic effects. Examples of tremolos evocative of a cimbalom are seen in the opening measures of Liszt’s eleventh Hungarian Rhapsody as well as his song \textit{Die drei Zigeuner}. In the first case, Liszt wrote the phrase “quasi zimbalo” underneath the tremolo, which undoubtedly shows that he was seeking for the simmering effect of the instrument (Example 4a).

---

\(^{16}\) Liszt, 312.
\(^{17}\) Ibid., 313.
Example 4a. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 11 in A minor

In *Die drei Zigeuner*, the appearance of the tremolo figure coincides with the singer’s text “und sein Cymbal am Baum hing” (and his cimbalom hung on the tree) which proves that Liszt was alluding to the instrument with the tremolo (Example 4b).

Example 4b. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s song *Die drei Zigeuner*

Tremolo generates different effects on different musical instruments and it is a common technique in piano compositions. However, when the tremolo is used to emulate the cimbalom, a specific approach is required to create the
desired effects. Bellman noted that in order to generate a tremolo evocative of the cimbalom, the pianist would need to strive for less orchestral, gentler sounding effect.\textsuperscript{18} This distinguishes a “quasi zimbalo” tremolo from the regular tremolo where heavy orchestral sound is often the result. Bellman also noted that cimbalom evocations on the piano often require the use of the sustaining pedal, and even occasional blending of harmony.\textsuperscript{19}

Bellman listed two other features derived from the cimbalom: declamatory gesture with repeated notes (Example 4c), and virtuosic gesture with alternation of hands (Example 4d). These gestures were directly influenced by the playing mechanism of the cimbalom and it is not difficult to see how these gestures were transferred from the cimbalom to the piano. In general, all three ways of evocating the cimbalom are technically demanding.

Example 4c. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 12 in C-sharp minor

\textsuperscript{18} Bellman, “Lexicon,” 236.
\textsuperscript{19} Bellman, \textit{The Style Hongrois},108.
Example 4d. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C-sharp minor

The *alla zoppa* ("limping style") is a rhythmic pattern formed by accenting the second, longer beat, thus creating a short-long-short uneven, “limping” effect (Example 5a). The accompaniment part in Example 5b shows Liszt’s usage of this rhythmic pattern.

Example 4d. Evocation of Cimbalom in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 in C-sharp minor

The *alla zoppa*

The *alla zoppa* ("limping style") is a rhythmic pattern formed by accenting the second, longer beat, thus creating a short-long-short uneven, “limping” effect (Example 5a). The accompaniment part in Example 5b shows Liszt’s usage of this rhythmic pattern.

Example 5a. The *alla zoppa* rhythmic pattern

Example 5b. *Alla Zoppa* and *Bókazó* Rhythm in Liszt’s Hungarian Rhapsody No. 9 in E-flat Major (“Carnival in Pest”)
The Bókazó Rhythm

The bókazó rhythm is derived from the traditional heel and spur clicking of the Hungarian dance (Example 6). Grace notes were often added to the dotted sixteenth, which put emphasis on the note.

Example 6. The Bókazó Rhythm

The bókazó rhythm is often used at the end of a phrase, which is why it was more commonly referred to as the bókazó cadence. This cadence was so typically “Hungarian” that Liszt referred to it as the “Magyar cadence.” The third measure in Example 5b shows an example of the bókazó cadence.

Pieces from the Swiss Book Exhibiting Gypsy Influences

Among the nine Swiss pieces, this study identifies four that contain extramusical elements that are not solely of Swiss influences. Three of these pieces – Chapelle de Guillaume, Vallée d’Obermann, and Le mal du pays – feature certain gestures that allude to the style hongrois. Each of these three pieces has an earlier version, which will be examined and compared with the definitive versions to reveal the changes and/or additions that Liszt made during the revision. As will be shown, in most of the cases, gestures of style hongrois were added during the revision and are found only in the later versions.

---

20 Bellman, The Style Hongrois, 119.
21 Ibid.
The other piece in question – *Orage* – has a likely connection with the Gypsies. One account from an unrelated source, as will be seen, coincides so well with the origin of this piece that it casts doubt on its connection with Liszt’s 1835 trip.

*Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*

The opening piece of the Swiss book was, as its title suggests, inspired by a place that Liszt and Marie visited. According to Liszt's pocket diary, on June 24, 1835 they arrived at the Canton of Uri, which is the center of the William Tell legends.\(^{22}\) A small chapel situated near Altdorf, the capital of the canton, was most likely the inspiration for *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*. This piece was selected from *Album d’un voyageur* and was drastically revised for the Swiss book. In fact, the two versions are so different they bear little resemblance with each other. Apart from the musical theme and the title, the two versions have little in common.

The *Album* version is headed with the motto “Einer für alle, Alle für einen” and bears a dedication to Victor Schoelcher, a French statesman. It also contains a dotted rhythm motif that Liszt marked “marziale,” which undoubtedly referenced the heroic trait of William Tell (Example 7).

---

Example 7. The “marziale” motif in *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Album version*

Example 8. The “alphorn” motif in *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Album version*

In m. 7, a second motif that references the Alphorn is heard (Example 8). In m. 47, the “alphorn” motif is heard underneath a series of tremolos that creates the effect of a drum roll (Example 9).

Example 9. Tremolo passage in *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell, Album version*

In the revised version, the dedication and the “marziale” motif, as well as the “alphorn” motif, are removed. The new version opens with a slow introductory
passage that is majestic, which seems to be depicting the grandeur of an architectural structure, in this case a chapel.

In m. 21, a new section begins in which a series of tremolos is heard simmering quietly beneath a new motif characterized by dotted rhythm (Example 10).

Example 10. Tremolo passage in *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*, Swiss book version

When compared, the two tremolo passages in the two versions differ greatly in effects and function (Examples 9 and 10). The tremolo in the *Album* version is heavy and creates the effect of a drum roll. It functions to bring the music to its peak, where a transitory passage leads to the reprise of the theme. On the other hand, the tremolo in the revised version is quiet and it creates effects that are evocative of a cimbalom. In fact, taking the criteria for cimbalom evocation into consideration (see “Evocation of Cimbalom”), the fact that Liszt asked specifically for *pianissimo* tremolo suggests that he was seeking for a *quasi zimbalo* effect.
Vallée d’Obermann

Vallée d’Obermann is the most elaborate piece in the entire Swiss book in several ways. Besides being the lengthiest among all the Swiss pieces, it is also the richest in material, the most lyrical, and the most technically demanding. Also noteworthy is the fact that instead of the Swiss landscape, Liszt’s inspiration for Vallée d’Obermann comes from Étienne Pivert de Sénancour’s novel titled Obermann, which conveys a gloomy and melancholy sentiment. The novel and its deep meaning for Liszt will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 3.

In the Album version, the theme enters (m. 23) between two layers of materials – chordal accompaniment above and drone-like bass underneath (Example 11a).

![Example 11a. Theme of Vallée d'Obermann, Album version](image)

The bass line is removed in the revised version, and this “groundless” approach leaves the music lacking in harmonic direction (Example 11b.)

---

23 As will be shown in due course, Sénancour’s character Obermann was emotionally bankrupt, lonely, and, lost. This “groundless” effect in fact resonates well with the character.
Also worth noting is the E-flat in m. 3. Originally, Liszt wrote an E-natural that formed a perfect fourth with the B from the previous measure (see Example 11a). During the revision, Liszt changed the E to an E-flat, thus creating a diminished fourth (see Example 11b). The diminished fourth is heard again in mm. 6-7 between D and G-flat, which confirms the diminished fourth as deliberate alteration. The accented dissonance evidently adds to the melancholy quality of the piece.

Beginning in m. 13, a series of descending scale figures occurs, each time a whole tone higher (Example 12).
The harmonic direction is revealed in m. 20 when the music arrives at a strong dominant chord of E minor. This measure features a descending E harmonic minor scale, which constitutes an augmented second between the C and D-sharp. In the previous measure, the D in the right hand is clearly marked as D-natural, though the left hand plays a B-seventh chord that includes a D-sharp. The purposeful D-natural in m. 19 makes the D-sharp in the next measure stand out, and emphasizes the augmented second interval that gives the music a hint of the Gypsy scale. Noteworthy is the fact that this descending-scale passage is not found in the *Album* version. When considered with the diminished fourth mentioned earlier, these dissonances are clearly Liszt’s new additions to color the music with the melancholy “Gypsy” tone.

Evocation of cimbalom is also heard in *Vallée d’Obermann*. In m. 119, a new section marked “Recitavo” begins with a series of quiet tremolo (Example 13).

Example 13. “Recitavo” from *Vallée d’Obermann*, Swiss book version
Besides being the most technically demanding section of the entire piece, the tremolo also serves to break away from the slow and nostalgic moods that prevail in the previous section. The tremolo gradually builds momentum and intensifies, leading into a new *Presto* section, where alternation of hands – another gesture of the cimbalom – occurs (Example 14).


The theme of *Vallée d’Obermann* is in fact built in the *alla zoppa* rhythm (see Examples 11a and 11b). A short-long-short rhythmic motif is derived from the theme and occurs throughout the piece. The effect of the *alla zoppa*, however, is concealed by the overall slow tempo of the piece. As the piece builds up in tempo following the tremolo passages, the “limping” effect of the *alla zoppa* becomes more noticeable (Example 15), and it enlivens the music to a grand ending.
Example 15. The *alla zoppa* in *Vallée d’Obermann*, Swiss book version

*Le mal du pays*

*Le mal du pays* is one of only two pieces selected from the *Fleurs* *mélodiques des Alpes* section of *Album d’un voyageur*.\(^{24}\) It is a shorter piece with a clearly defined A – B – A’ – B’ structure. The nostalgic quality is unmistakable even without the indication of the title.

The A section is based on a *ranz des vaches*, which is a kind of Swiss mountain song that shepherds sing or play on the Alphorn to call the cattle.\(^{25}\) The particular tune that Liszt used is one found in Zwinger-Hofer’s 1710 study titled *Vom Heim-Wehe* (Example 16).\(^{26}\)

\(^{24}\) The other piece is *Pastorale*, which is known simply as “No. 3” in the *Album* version.

\(^{25}\) The term is interchangeable with the German term *Kuhreigen* or *Kuhreihen*. Approximately fifty *ranz des vaches* tunes are preserved. “Ranz des vaches,” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 3 November 2007), <http://www.grovemusic.com>

Liszt did not follow the progression of the tune. Instead, he divided the tune into portions that he pieced together as if it were a puzzle. The result is an episodic and rhapsodic opening section with much liberty in tempo, a style reminiscent of a hallgáto section of a Gypsy rendition of Hungarian song tunes.

Liszt presented mm. 3 and 4 of the tune as the echo of mm. 1 and 2 to portray the sound effect heard in the mountain (Example 17).

The next episode is taken from mm. 5-7 of the tune. Originally, Liszt split the melody into two lines played alternatively by both hands. Breaking away from the slow and lethargic first episode, this new phrase increased in speed and volume and ended with a final lift. The effect that it created was evocative of a cimbalom (Example 18a).
Example 18a. The cimbalom effect from the “No. 2” of *Fleurs mélodiques des Alpes*

Example 18b. The cimbalom effect in *Le mal du pays*

During the revision, Liszt broke the chord and spread it between the two hands (Example 18b). Despite the change in pianistic approach, the cimbalom effect remained the same.

The next episode of the piece is taken from the part of the tune in 3/8 time (marked * in Example 16). Liszt altered the rhythm to be a series of triplets to avoid a change in meter (Example 19).\(^\text{27}\) There is again a flexibility of tempo.

Example 19. Triplet passage in *Le mal du pays*

A new section marked “Andantino” follows. The first two measures of this section do not resemble any part of the tune. The strong dominant point is heard here and it leads to the peak of the entire section, which is taken from mm. 28-31

\(^{27}\) In the *Album* version, Liszt changed the meter temporarily to 12/8.
of the tune (marked ** in Example 16). Here, Liszt follows the rhythm of the tune rather faithfully. He concludes the improvisatory section with a gentle swing of passagio (Example 20).

Example 20. “Andantino” section in Le mal du pays

The rhapsodic section opens for the expressive B section marked Adagio dolente. Here, Liszt used a melancholy tune by Johann Rudolf Wyss titled Heimwehlieder. Liszt had used the same tune in an earlier work titled Fantaisie romantique sur deux melodies suisses (published 1837). In Fantaisie, Liszt closed the first half of the tune with a straightforward ending with little embellishment (Example 21a).

---

28 In the Album version, the B section is a lively Allegro vivace. The tune that Liszt used is unknown and it is believed to be his own invention.
30 In Fantaisie, Liszt wrote above Wyss’s tune “la Nostalgie (mal du pays).” The title of the piece “Le mal du pays” is in fact derived from this earlier work.
Example 21a. Liszt’s treatment of the first half of Wyss’s tune in *Fantaisie romantique sur deux melodies suisses*

In *Le mal du pays*, Liszt altered the ending with a pattern reminiscent of the bókazó:

Example 21b. The bókazó rhythm in *Le mal du pays*

This deliberate modification of the ending is seen again at the close of the first phrase. Wilson provided the ending to Wyss’s tune as:

Example 22a. Ending to Wyss’s tune titled *Heimwehlieder*

In both *Fantaisie* and *Le mal du pays*, Liszt set the ending in the bókazó rhythm (Examples 22b and 22c). A slight alteration of the pitches would have created a perfect Magyar cadence.
Example 22b. Liszt’s modification of Wyss’s ending in *Fantaisie romantique sur deux melodies suisses*

Example 22c. Liszt’s modification of Wyss’s ending in *Le mal du pays*

The *ranz des vaches* is improvisatory in nature and it is characterized by repeated short phrases with changes of tempo and accent. Liszt’s transformation of the Swiss mountain songs to the piano retained rather faithfully their character. Nevertheless, Liszt’s combination of the two tunes and his arrangement resemble the *hallgáto* style, in which a rhapsodic section opens for a livelier second section. Furthermore, according to Béla Bartók’s research, Liszt’s approach of the *ranz des vaches* was also shown to be analogous to the Gypsies’ take on Hungarian song tunes.

---

In his discussion of Gypsy versus Hungarian music, Bartók noted a crucial element, the vocal part, that separated the two. In Hungarian folk tradition, Bartók explained, the music and texts are inseparable. Therefore, by performing the tunes on instruments alone without the sung part, the Gypsies’ renditions of these tunes could not be genuine because half of its material is lost.\(^\text{32}\) Similarly, when adapting the *ranz des vaches* as well as Wyss’s tune to the piano, Liszt treated only half the materials to a rhapsodic elaboration, thus paralleling the Gypsies’ performance tradition.

*Orage*

The Swiss book includes a storm piece, *Orage*, that supposedly portrays a storm Liszt and Marie encountered following their stay one night in the mountains. There is indeed a record of a storm in Liszt’s pocket book, and correspondingly there is a storm scene in *Album d’un voyageur*.\(^\text{33}\) The storm passage in question appears in the middle section of the second number of *Paraphrase* titled *Un soir dans la montagne*. The title of the piece thus coincides with Liszt’s record of the mountain storm.

---

\(^{32}\) Béla Bartók, “Gypsy Music or Hungarian Music?” *The Musical Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (April 1947): 252. Bartók also defended Liszt and his *Des Bohémiens* in this article. In the book, Liszt’s made the mistake of attributing the Magyar’s music to the Gypsies and was severely criticized (more detail in Chapter 3). Bartók’s research and experience tell him that the Gypsies are the musicians of Hungary and the Magyars themselves refer to the music that the Gypsies play as “Gypsy music.” Bartók wrote that it is unreasonable for the Magyars to condemn Liszt for the misnomer; if anyone were at fault it is they. See Bartók, 240-57

\(^{33}\) Eckhardt, 13.
The storm passage in *Un soir dans la montagne*, however, bears no resemblance to *Orage*. Whereas the storm passage begins with common time to continue from the previous nocturne section, and quickly switches to 3/4 time, *Orage* is entirely in common time. Though both pieces are chromatic in nature, the storm passage is set in F minor while *Orage* is in C minor. The two themes, of course, share no similarity (Example 23a and Example 23b).

Example 23a. Theme of the storm passage from *Un soir dans la montagne*

Example 23b. Theme of *Orage*

The storm passage from *Un soir dans la montagne* can thus be eliminated as having any connection with *Orage*.

Unlike the rest of the Swiss pieces drafted during 1835-36, *Orage* was written much later, during 1854-55.\(^3\) Considering the fact that Liszt drafted all the other Swiss pieces while he was in Switzerland, it is difficult to justify this new addition twenty years after he left the country.

In light of the ambiguity of the origin of *Orage*, this study presents a document written by Liszt that could offer a new look at this piece. In a chapter in

---

\(^3\) Humphrey Searle points out that the opening of *Orage* resembles the opening of the *Malediction* Concerto. The concerto’s theme was found in a sketch book dates from the 1830s but the work was completed during the Weimar period, which is around the same time *Orage* was written. Searle’s conclusion confirms that *Orage* belongs to the Weimar period. See Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Liszt* (New York: Dover Publication Inc., 1966), 47.
Des Bohémiens, Liszt recorded in detail a special occasion that he had spent with his Gypsy friends in 1840.\textsuperscript{35} The book was written between 1848 and 1855, and was published in 1859, which is around the same time Orage was written. Given the timeline of this document and the composition date of Orage, this could be an event of interest in regard to Orage.

In early February 1840, Liszt arrived at Oedenburg, Hungary, where he had given his debut public performance at the age of nine.\textsuperscript{36} He gave a concert in the city to benefit the poor and remained there for the next few days. Being fewer than twelve miles away from his native village of Raiding, the temptation to visit his birthplace proved impossible to resist. The news of the return of Raiding’s prodigy spread quickly, and all of Raiding turned out to see Liszt. A celebration was held in his honor and the local Gypsy musicians were invited to play for the occasion.

A storm had persisted since the previous day. Despite the heavy rain and storm, Liszt’s company insisted on escorting him to the next village when he left Raiding the following day. Liszt remembered every detail of his traveling through the storm. He was rather amused by the sight of his Gypsy friends who, being covered with sheepskin cloaks that were moistened by the rain, look like “bears mounted on wild horses.”\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35} Liszt, 137-39.
\textsuperscript{36} This happens after Liszt’s first return to Hungary when he was given the Sword of Honor. After visiting the Gypsy camp, Liszt left for Vienna where he remained for two weeks. He then went to Oedenburg.
\textsuperscript{37} Liszt, 138.
Liszt was listening as well, and described that

The drivers were going at full speed, causing the old iron work of their carts to set up an unearthly clatter. This, added to the neighing of the horses and cracking of the whips, would have created a perfect chaos of sound, even without the occasional collisions with stones in the highway.38

Liszt’s description can be heard in his treatment of the theme of *Orage*, where the busy bass lines seem to depict a carriage running through heavy rain in muddy pathways (Example 24).

![Example 24. Theme of *Orage* with heavy bass line](image)

The company finally arrived at their destination but no one was ready for an immediate separation. “Everybody shared the pretence that it did not rain,” Liszt wrote, and a musical feast was carried out. In the midst of the wine and the music “came the distant roll of thunder, sounding like a deep organ-point.”39 One finds a passage in *Orage* where the *pesante* bass depicts exactly an organ’s deep bass (Example 25). Also worth noting is the augmented second formed between A-flat and B.

---

38 Liszt, 138.
39 Ibid.
Example 25. The “organ point” passage in *Orage*

Liszt continued, “the roar went on increasing; being varied occasionally by sounds more acute and piercing, as well as by the lighting which came at short intervals to enliven the scene.” The middle section of *Orage* features the main theme, now in major tonality, alternating with an agitated passage (the tremolando) that perfectly pictures the celebration and the violent storm simultaneously (Example 26)

Example 26. Celebration / Storm passage in *Orage*
Perhaps the most descriptive passage came toward the end of the chapter. Compare Liszt’s account to the finale of *Orage* (Example 27):

we had the full benefits of an echo which gave us every note again producing the most chaotic confusion. The passionate passages, the ornamentations, the virtuosity and all feats of technique continued, however, unaffected; all being rolled up together in one formidable *tutti* . . . During the tempestuous *finale* of this performance it was as if every possible sound or tone was crushing down together like mountain crests which fall with a frightful uproar in sheets of sand mixed with blocks of rock and stone.40

![Example 27. Ending of Orage](image)

It is not out of character for Liszt to write detailed descriptions. In fact, besides noting places and people they visited, Liszt had also recorded in the pocket diary details such as eating strawberries, getting a haircut from a female barber, dinner consisting of mainly vegetables, and other daily activities.

---

40 Liszt, 138.
Significantly, despite the mundane details, there was no detail of a storm; Liszt recorded only in passing that they encountered a storm.

According to the pocket diary, it does seem as though Liszt and Marie ran into more than one storm, which could make these events memorable. It is very likely that the storm(s) that Liszt encountered in Switzerland were significant to his entire sojourn in the country, but when writing *Orage* for the Swiss book Liszt was in fact recollecting a particular event he had experienced in the company of his Gypsy friends. The case of *Orage* being related to Liszt’s Gypsy connection is largely circumstantial. Nevertheless, Liszt’s record of the storm in Hungary was too detailed and the timeline of this document coincided too well with *Orage* to be overlooked.
CHAPTER 3
WANDERING VIRTUOSO AVOIDING PERSECUTION

Representational Approach of The *Style Hongrois*

During the nineteenth century, the *style hongrois* came to be more than inflections; it was symbolic, representative, and even personal. Jonathan Bellman identified this different approach of the *style hongrois* and examined the usage of the *style hongrois* by Weber, Schubert, and Liszt to signify or reference certain traits that the Gypsies represented. Bellman stated that in order to understand such usage of the *style hongrois*, the societal view of the Gypsies, the composers’ lives, as well as the context under which the *style hongrois* is incorporated are key.¹ Far from popular notion of drinking and dancing music, the *style hongrois* compositions that come from these composers represented their beliefs and were subjective of their life experiences.

According to Bellman, Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826) was the first composer known to use *style hongrois* in this way.² Weber wrote several works in the *style hongrois*, but the work of interest here is *Der Freischütz*, which relates in no way to the Gypsies or Hungary. Bellman spotted two occasions in the opera that features the *style hongrois*.

---

¹ Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 133.
² Ibid., 147-48.
The first example comes from Caspar’s aria “Hier im ird’schen Jammerthal” from the first act. The prominent ornamentation, the spondee rhythm, the short phrases, and the minor mode point to the Hungarian-Gypsy accent.\(^3\) A truncated version of Bellman’s example is reproduced below (Example 28a):

Example 28a. Opening of Caspar’s aria “Hier im ird’schen Jammerthal”

Caspar sings this aria in an effort to cheer Max up while, ironically, Max is upset because he has lost a shooting match to a peasant because of a wicked arrangement by none other than Caspar himself.

The song, according to Bellman, is also insulting because Caspar is toasting Max’s beloved Agathe with a drinking song that celebrates gambling and women.\(^4\) In singing this aria, Caspar is being deceitful and insincere. Disloyalty, dishonesty, adultery, and duplicity are among the many traits stereotypical of the

---

\(^3\) The spondee is a long-short-short rhythmic pattern that makes up of eighth-sixteenth-sixteenth notes.

\(^4\) Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 144.
Gypsies. Caspar is not Gypsy, nor is there any Gypsy setting in *Der Freischütz*. However, as the antihero of the opera, Caspar possesses traits that the Gypsies supposedly had. Weber gave Caspar an aria in the *style hongrois* precisely to demonstrate his evil character in contrary to Max’s. Weber’s audience would have understood the *style hongrois* aria to be a reference to the Gypsy traits, not to the Gypsies per se.

The other moment in the opera that features the *style hongrois* is Ännchen’s song, “Einst träumte meiner sel’gen Base,” from the third act. Agathe is feeling uneasy about a bad dream because she thinks that it is a bad omen. In an effort to distract Agathe and to relieve her, her best friend, Ännchen, sings this aria to tell her a false story. The Gypsy reference in this case is clear – deception.

It is unmistakable from the example that Weber is evoking the effect of the cimbalom with the tremolo, above which Ännchen sings a melody in dotted rhythm suggestive of the *verbunkos* (Example 28b).

---

Weber’s use of the *style hongrois* to reference traits associated with the Gypsies is a fine demonstration of the representative capability of this musical dialect. This way of utilizing the *style hongrois* for extramusical reference is also seen in Schubert’s compositions. Bellman suggested that Schubert (1797-1828), a fond admirer of *Der Freischütz* and its composer, was inspired by his representational approach of the *style hongrois*. Furthermore, as will be seen, Schubert took this same approach beyond referencing Gypsy stereotypes; the *style hongrois* became for Schubert a vehicle to express sentiments that words could not describe.

Bellman listed thirteen works from Schubert that exhibit gestures of the *style hongrois*, the earliest of which dated from 1823. Given the popularity of the *style hongrois* during the time, Schubert’s interest with the style is considerably late and rather sudden.

---

The *Divertissement à l’Hongroise*, D. 818 (1824) is generally considered as Schubert’s earliest essay in the *style hongrois* since it is the only work with indication of such idiom in its title. The appearance of this *style hongrois* work is thought to be the direct result of Schubert’s stay at the Esterházy home in Zsekiz, Hungary, from the summer through fall of 1824.⁸ As a Viennese, however, Schubert did not have to be in Hungary to be exposed to Hungarian music; Hungarian-Gypsy musicians could be heard everywhere in the city. Furthermore, the 1824 stay was not Schubert’s first trip to Hungary, either; he was there four years earlier. With his findings of Schubert’s *style hongrois* works that predates the *Divertissement* and verified by Schubert’s record of his state of mind, Bellman attributed the sudden appearance of Schubert’s works in the *style hongrois* to the darkest moment of Schubert’s life.

Schubert was diagnosed with syphilis in late 1822 and the news came as a huge blow. As if correspondingly, the first *style hongrois* work, *Moment Musical* in F minor, D. 780, featuring a variant of the bókazó rhythm and the spondees, appeared in 1823.⁹ In early 1824, Schubert wrote to his artist friend Leopold Kupelwieser:

In a word, I feel myself to be the most unhappy and wretched creature in the world. Imagine a man whose health will never be right again . . . whose most brilliant hope have perished, to whom the felicity of love and friendship have nothing to offer but pain . . . Each night, on retiring to bed, I hope I may not wake again and

---

⁸ This 1824 stay is Schubert’s second trip to Hungary; he was appointed as music master to Prince Esterházy’s two daughters. His previous stay at Esterháza was in 1818. Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 159-60.

⁹ Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 162.
each morning but recalls yesterday’s grief. Thus, joyless and friendless, I should pass my days …

At the same time Schubert penned the above-quoted letter, he finished the A minor quartet (D. 804) that featured the spondee rhythms, the anapests, and the asymmetrical phrases – all of which pointed to the influence by Hungarian-Gypsy performances. Also from around the same time, Schubert composed the F Major Octet (D. 803). A passage from the octet features repeated notes reminiscent of the repeating striking of the stick on the cimbalom, which is unmistakably an evocation of the instrument (Example 29).

Example 29. Excerpt from Schubert’s Octet in F Major, D. 803

---


The anapest is a short-short-long rhythmic pattern that makes up of sixteenth-sixteenth-eighth notes; it is the opposite of the long-short-short pattern of spondee.

It is after all these characteristics appeared in his works that Schubert made his trip to Hungary, where and when *Divertissement* was written. The Hungarian countryside was evidently more soothing than the city, but there was still no improvement in Schubert’s mood; his letters from this time continued to show signs of despair.

From the summer of 1825 through the fall of 1827, Schubert was on tour with his singer friend Vogl. The trip and companionship proved to be the remedy for Schubert’s extended depression. Shortly after the trip began, Schubert’s letters became more cheerful. In July 1826 Schubert wrote to close friend Edward Bauernfeld, “I have no money at all, and altogether things go very badly with me. I do not trouble about it, and am cheerful.”\(^{12}\) Besides the *Andante* from the C major symphony (“Great”) and a D major piano sonata (D. 850) that were written at the beginning of the tour, no *style hongrois* works were written during this two-year period.

Returning to Vienna in the fall of 1827, the optimism was gone and predictably enough, the *style hongrois* began to reappear in Schubert’s music. Bellman identified three songs from the *Winterreise* cycle: *Der Wegweiser*, *Muth*, and *Der Leiermann*, as exhibiting features the *style hongrois*. The song cycle is about the restless wandering of a sad poet who has just lost his lover. The parallel here with the Gypsies is not at all difficult to see – the tireless wandering as well as sorrow – two things that the Gypsies know perhaps too well.

\(^{12}\) Quoted in Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 168.
Schubert’s works in the *style hongrois* continued to appear. Two impromptus, op. 90/2 and op. 142/4, and the C Major Fantasy for violin and piano followed the *Winterreise* cycle. Finally, Schubert left two more discourses in the *style hongrois*, the *Fantasia* in F minor for four-hand piano and the C Major String Quintet, before his death in 1828.

Looking at the entire picture, the appearance of the Hungarian-Gypsy idiom during the darkest moment of his life suggests that the *style hongrois*, to Schubert, served as a vehicle to express sorrow.13 Having a different kind of lifestyle, Schubert felt that he was “utterly unfit for any society,” a sentiment that allowed him to relate to the people behind this musical dialect who, being far from the societal norm, would always be considered outsider.14 In identifying with the Gypsies as outcasts of society, Schubert heard in the Gypsies’ music his own grief. Thus, when speaking with the Hungarian-Gypsies’ language, Schubert was in fact speaking, with their voices, of his pain.

Liszt, on the other hand, admired both Weber and Schubert’s music; he knew *Der Freischütz* and he transcribed the *Winterreise* cycle and other Schubert’s *style hongrois* pieces for the piano. It would thus be fair to assert that Liszt was aware of Weber and Schubert’s representational approach of the *style hongrois*. When the circumstances under which Liszt left for Switzerland put him in a homeless situation that paralleled that of the nomadic Gypsies, the *style hongrois* was in turn used to reference such sentiment. In fact, an examination of

---

14 Quoted in Ibid., 169.
the quotations that Liszt had selected to preface the Swiss pieces revealed that they contain an underlying theme of exile.¹⁵ This fact, when considered with the style hongrois gestures found in the three Swiss pieces, helps to confirm the theory of Liszt’s symbolic use of the Gypsy style to reference the circumstance of an exile.

Theme of Exile in the Swiss Book

They [Gypsy music] seemed like the voices of men in exile; like the pleading of the imprisoned bird; like the sigh of the orphaned soul; or the plaint of bereaved affection. We understood it well – this music; for it seemed to us like a native language.¹⁶

When the Swiss book was first published in 1855 each of the nine pieces appeared as a separate booklet with its individual title page featuring a Kretschmer drawing. All but two of the Swiss pieces are headed with literary quotations that portray the character of the pieces.¹⁷ As will be seen, these quotations indeed serve as literary counterparts of the pieces. However, when the quotations are read in their original context they reveal a theme of exile.

¹⁵ This concept was first introduced by Karen Wilson in her 1977 dissertation. In her pursuit of Liszt’s choice of the word “pilgrimage” (pèlerinage), Wilson concluded that the Swiss book involved the idea of pilgrimage, exile, and fugitive. See Wilson, 19.
¹⁶ Liszt, 131.
¹⁷ The two pieces without quotations are Pastorale and Le cloches de Genève. The latter was prefaced with quotation in the Album version, but the quotation was removed during the revision. These quotations can be found in the New Liszt Edition, Series I, Vol. 6. The editors of the NLE point out that later reprint of the Swiss book retain only two of the quotations. The 1988 Dover publication provides no quotation.
One of the authors Liszt quoted was Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805). The first of two “water” pieces, *Au bord d’une source*, was headed with this quotation from *Der Flüchtling* [The Fugitive]:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{In säuselnder Kühle} \quad \text{In murmuring coolness} \\
& \text{Beginnen die Spiele} \quad \text{Begins the play} \\
& \text{Der jungen Natur} \quad \text{Of young Nature}
\end{align*}
\]

The three lines perfectly portray the delightful character of the piece. In fact, the first four stanzas of the poem paint a perfect picture of sunrise in the countryside – the fresh morning breeze, the awakening larks’ singing, the warmth of the sun spreading across the field, the horse, the cattle, the wagon down in the valley, the eagles spreading their wings – all of which could easily have come from Liszt’s descriptions of his journey through the Swiss countryside.

The optimistic tone takes a drastic turn in the last two stanzas as the poet cries:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Den Frieden zu finden,} \quad \text{To find peace,} \\
& \text{Wohin soll ich wenden} \quad \text{where shall I turn} \\
& \text{Am elenden Stab?} \quad \text{On a wretched staff?} \\
& \text{Die lachende Erde} \quad \text{The laughing earth} \\
& \text{Mit Jünglingsgebärde,} \quad \text{with youthful grace} \\
& \text{Ist für mich nur ein Grab!} \quad \text{Is for me only a grave!}
\end{align*}
\]

The perfect picture of the countryside that Schiller painted in four stanzas is instantly scattered by the last two, revealing the true sarcastic and resentful tone of the poem. The poet feels as if the world is against him, and Nature’s beauty that he described in the previous stanzas is but torture for him.

When the three lines are taken out of context, they convey a perfect picture of *Au bord d’un source* in words. However, they are in fact pieces of a
puzzle that complete a regretful and sad poem. It is not likely that Liszt was unaware of the central message of the entire poem; one needs only to look at its title. By selecting the three lines to preface *Au bord d’un source*, Liszt focused on the brighter side of a gloomy text, a notion that is analogous to an exile admiring nature’s beauty in spite of his misery.

The second writer Liszt referenced was Étienne Pivert de Sénancour (1770-1846), whose novel *Obermann* served as the source of inspiration for *Vallée d’Obermann*. Obermann’s story was told in a series of letters to his friend. Sénancour’s character does not conform to societal norms and considers himself a victim of society. In search for a perfect pastoral life, Obermann goes away and lives in seclusion in Switzerland. He is soon disappointed, and returns to Paris. One occasion brings him to the Fontainebleau forest where he encounters a bittersweet recollection of a childhood memory. He now sees that it is impossible to recapture earlier happiness, and decides once again to turn to the Swiss mountains. Alas, the countryside has lost its charm, and Obermann has lost his appreciation for nature. After a failed suicide attempt, Obermann decides to live in solitude in a remote valley of Immenstrôm. He now realizes that just like the society, the valley is a misfit for him as well. Obermann has lost his identity.18

As can be seen, this two-volume novel is without much development and plot. The success of *Obermann* lies in the *mal du siècle* attitude of its character, which resonates perfectly with Romantic sentiment. “The Romantics made

---

Obermann a symbolic figure,” Sénancour specialist Béatrice La Gall observed. Obermann is “an emblem of metaphysical suffering, of disillusion, of the victim of society and of fate . . . Above all, of doubt and sickness of the soul.” J. Anthony Barnes, the English translator of Obermann, noted likewise, stating that Sénancour’s novel expressed a mood that the intellectual community of 1830s Paris could relate to. Indeed, Obermann became a common bond among Liszt’s social circle, and he eventually made acquaintance of its writer.

The two letters from Obermann that Liszt selected show the depressed side of Obermann. The tone of these letters has the same skepticism towards life and society at large as Schiller’s poem:

What do I want? what am I? what may I demand of nature? … All cause is invisible, all effect misleading; every form changes, all time runs its course: … I feel, I exist only to exhaust myself in untameable desires, to drink deep of the allurement of a fantastic world, only to be finally vanquished by its sensuous illusion.

Obermann, Letter 63

All the ineffable sensibility, the charm, and the torment of our barren years; the vast consciousness of Nature, everywhere overwhelming, and everywhere unfathomable, universal love, indifference, ripe wisdom, sensuous case, - all that a mortal heart can certain of desire and profound sorrow, I felt them all, experienced them all on that memorable night; I have made an ominous stride towards the age of failing powers; I have consumed ten years of my life.

Letter 4

---

20 Pocknell, 129.
As revealed in the two letters, Obermann represents unhappiness caused by solitude and self-exile, and correspondingly *Vallée d'Obermann* expresses the sorrow of a fugitive. Indeed, so deep is the gloomy sentiment that when Liszt arranged the piece for piano trio years later, he titled it “Tristia” (sorrow).

In fact, the sad memory that *Vallée d'Obermann* is associated with followed Liszt to his old age, and it struck the people surrounding him as remarkable. Nadine Helbig, a student of Liszt’s during his late years, revealed that Liszt refused to hear *Vallée d'Obermann*, and that whenever a student brought the piece they would never get the chance to play it for Liszt.22 Another student, August Göllerich, noted likewise and recalled that on one rare occasion, Liszt asked Göllerich to play *Vallée d'Obermann* for him. As Liszt listened, he wept.23

Liszt noted in a letter to his publisher that his reason for including *Vallée d'Obermann* in the Swiss book was because the novel was set in Switzerland.24 That is certainly the shortest explanation for including the piece in a Swiss-themed album. However, it is clear that Liszt’s attraction to Obermann was much deeper than its setting. Contrary to what Liszt himself had told his publisher, the inclusion of *Vallée d'Obermann* in the Swiss book seems not for the novel’s

---


23 Walker, *The Final Years*, 475. Walker’s source for information is August Göllerich’s account in his biography of Liszt, (Berlin 1908).

24 Preface to the New Liszt Edition, XI. “... [Vallée d’Obermann] refers simply and solely to Sénancour’s French novel, Obermann, the action of which is formed by the development of a particular state of mind ... The gloomy, hyper-elegiac fragment ‘la vallée d’Obermann’ which I have included in the Swiss year of the Années de Pèlerinage (since the novel itself also takes place in Switzerland), evokes several of the main details from Sénancour’s work, to which the chosen epigraphs refer.”
connection with Switzerland, nor is it to portray the valleys.\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Vallée d’Obermann} portrays Obermann’s hopelessness, loneliness, and skepticism. These are sentiments that Liszt shared, and the piece was included in the Swiss book exactly for this reason.

The third literary extract that Liszt cited was Byron’s autobiographical narrative poem entitled \textit{Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage} (1812-18). Five of the nine Swiss pieces are headed with lines from the third canto of Byron’s work, which makes it the most extensive source for quotations. In fact, a brief overview of Byron (1788-1824) and \textit{Childe Harold} will reveal that they paralleled Liszt and his Swiss book in several ways.

Following a failed marriage, Byron found himself in the center of attention. In order to escape the limelight, Byron took refuge in Switzerland and never returned to England again. Byron wandered through the Swiss countryside and finally settled in Geneva where he wrote the third canto of \textit{Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage}. The lengthy poem conveys a sentiment similar to that of Sénancour’s \textit{Obermann}. As a matter of fact, besides the two letters quoted above, Liszt had also prefaced \textit{Vallée d’Obermann} with lines from Byron’s work, which shows that Liszt associated Byron’s work with Sénancour’s.

The third canto of \textit{Childe Harold} also contains details of Harold / Byron’s journey. The lines that Liszt quoted for his Swiss pieces are indeed Byron’s

\textsuperscript{25} Evidently, Kretchmer’s literal interpretation of the piece’s title led him to paint a mountain landscape as the piece’s title page. Liszt objected to the illustration and commented, “there is no place for guns and hunters.” See Preface to \textit{New Liszt Edition}, XI.
descriptions of what he saw during his time of wandering through the Swiss
countryside. For *Au lac de Wallenstadt*, Liszt selected these lines:

```
. . . thy contrasted lake,
With the wild world I dwelt in, is a thing
Which warns me, with its stillness, to forsake
Earth's troubled waters for a purer spring.
```

When compared to *Au bord d’un source* that is more playful and active, this
second “water” piece is calm and tranquil, just as it is portrayed in Byron’s lines.

*Childe Harold* contains several stanzas with descriptions of storm, and
Liszt picked the following line for his storm piece *Orage*:

```
But where of ye, oh tempests! is the goal?
Are ye like those within the human breast?
Or do ye find, at length, like eagles, some high nest?
```

Following the stanza about the unpleasant storm, Bryon described the lovely
scenery after the storm has passed, which Liszt chose to preface the pastoral
*Eclogue*:

```
The morn is up again, the dewy morn,
With breath all incense, and with cheek all bloom,
Laughing the clouds away with playful scorn,
And living as if earth contain’d no tomb --
```

Byron’s third canto is thus the literary counterpart of Liszt’s Swiss book in both
origin and mood. The parallel does not end here. Just like Liszt, who settled in
Italy after the Swiss sojourn, Byron’s next destination after Geneva was Italy,
where he completed *Childe Harold* with the fourth and final canto.

Sénancour’s and Byron’s works appealed to Liszt as expressions he could
relate to; being a member of the Byronic generation Liszt found that these works
described his sentiment in every minor detail. Furthermore, Liszt went through a period of emotional turmoil and self-imposed reclusion prior to immersing in these works, which amplified the impact that these works had on him.26

In 1827, Liszt’s father Adam passed away unexpectedly. The pain of losing his father was slowly healing when sixteen-year-old Liszt met and fell in love for the first time in his life with a student of his named Caroline de Saint Cricq. Caroline’s father Count Pierre de Saint Cricq, a minister of commerce for Charles X, saw Liszt’s low social status as unfit for his aristocratic daughter. He dismissed Liszt and forced the young couple apart.

Liszt suffered a nervous breakdown following the incident. He contemplated entering the priesthood but was stopped by his mother.27 Liszt then isolated himself from the outside world. Avoiding public performances, abandoning his compositions, and engaging in no social interaction, Liszt sought company only in alcohol and cigars. So isolated was Liszt that all of Paris thought he was dead.28 Recollecting the period of solitude, Liszt confessed, “in those days I completely ignored the world and concerned myself with nothing.”29

26 The theme of exile goes even further than the literature. Wilson pointed out that the three writers that Liszt quoted were themselves exiles at one point of their lives. See Wilson, 24. Byron’s self-exile from England has been mentioned. Schiller fled to Mannheim as the fugitive of Duke Karl Eugen’s when, following Schiller’s persistence to get his play Die Räuber staged, the Duke forbade him to write any more plays. As for Sénancour, when his father wanted him to enter the seminary, he fled to Switzerland. Consequently, his absence during the French Revolution was looked upon as his indifference to the new Government and his name was listed on the émigrés.
27 Walker, Virtuoso, 132. Liszt’s confessor Abbé Bardin also helped in stopping Liszt from entering the seminary.
28 Walker, Virtuoso, 134. Le Corsaire published an obituary on October 23, 1828 – the day following Liszt’s seventeenth birthday – announcing “Young Liszt has died in Paris.” Three days
Liszt’s self-imposed seclusion remained until the eve of the 1830 July revolution. The event served as an impulse for Liszt to write a “Revolutionary Symphony” and Liszt was revitalized. Liszt’s mother, Anna, is always quoted for her claim that the cannons of the revolution had cured her son – apparently they did. Liszt recovered from his previous depression and re-entered the concert world. He soon entered an intense period of self-enrichment. After he saw Paganini’s performance, he was inspired to perfect his skill on his instrument and he pledged to become the Paganini of the piano. Liszt also began reading ferociously, immersing himself in literary works from Plato to Hugo. At the same time, Liszt began socializing in the Paris salon circle, mingling among such figures as Balzac, George Sand, Chateaubriand, Dumas, Lamartine, de Musset, Sainte-Beuve, and de Vigny, as well as making acquaintance of Berlioz and Chopin. Soon, a new love entered his life – Countess Marie d’Agoult. Liszt soon found himself in Childe Harold’s shoes.

\[\text{Later, the director of a music school where Liszt taught wrote to the editor of \textit{La Quotidienne} to assure the public that the young virtuoso was alive and in good health.}\]

\[\text{Quoted in Walker, \textit{Virtuoso}, 129.}\]

\[\text{The project did not materialize. Walker pointed out that in 1848-49, Liszt took up the project again in response to the European Uprising. This time, Liszt planned a five-movement symphony but had finished only the first movement. This completed movement later became the symphonic poem \textit{Héroïde funèbre} (1854). See Walker, \textit{Virtuoso}, 144.}\]

\[\text{Liszt had become familiar with Byron’s work no later than May 1832 (see letter to his student Pierre Wolff dated May 2, 1832). It is plausible that Liszt chose to follow Byron’s footsteps when learned about the news of Marie’s pregnancy. The fugitive nature of the trip, the descriptions of his journey in music, and even the route parallel too well with Byron’s to be coincidences. It is even entirely possible that the concept of “Years of Pilgrimage” is inspired by the pilgrimage of Childe Harold, Byron’s literary persona.}\]
Liszt, Gypsies, and Homelessness

Liszt acknowledged that the Gypsies were traveling virtuosos and that they were victims of persecution; oppressions often forced them from one place to another. The theory of Liszt linking the Swiss book with the Gypsy sense of homelessness was easily justified by the circumstance under which Liszt left for Switzerland. Furthermore, the literary quotations examined above show that Liszt has sprinkled the Swiss book with clues that pointed to such connection.

Liszt's sympathy for the persecuted and homeless Gypsies became a surreal reality when he found himself running away from home and wandering through a foreign land to avoid scandals. As Liszt compiled Album d'un voyageur, the sense of homelessness and exile linked him emotionally with the Gypsies. An album that recorded the journeys of a traveling musician might sound to many like a musical travelogue of Franz Liszt, the virtuoso pianist. Nevertheless, to Franz Liszt the composer, a musical diary of a wandering musician escaping persecution unavoidably brought to mind the dark-skinned musicians that he in so many ways identified with, and under so many circumstances sympathized.

Moreover, Liszt's self-identification with the Gypsies' homelessness went further than the scope of the Swiss book. Liszt was constantly searching for
identity, but ended his life without a clear one.\textsuperscript{32} In his old age, Liszt reflected that:

Everyone is against me. Catholics, because they find my church music profane, Protestants because to them my music is Catholic, freemasons because they think my music is clerical; to conservatives I am a revolutionary, to the ‘futurists’ an old Jacobin. As for the Italians, in spite of Sgambati, if they support Garibaldi they detest me as a hypocrite, if they are on the Vatican side I am accused of bringing Venus’s grotto into the Church. To Bayreuth, I am not composer, but a publicity agent. Germans rejects my music as French, the French as German, to the Austrians I write gypsy music, to the Hungarians foreign music. And the Jews loathe me, my music, and myself, for no reason at all.\textsuperscript{33}

Liszt’s uncertain identity as a Hungarian, to take just one example, instilled in him a strong sense of homelessness. Though he was born in Hungary, Liszt lived in the German-speaking part of the country. Couple with the fact that Liszt’s mother is an Austrian, Liszt spoke German as his mother tongue and very little Hungarian. At the age of twelve, Liszt moved to Paris to receive musical training and his French skills quickly dominated. Liszt soon settled in Paris and French became his preferred language of communication.\textsuperscript{34}

The real identity crisis began when Liszt’s \textit{Des Bohémien} appeared. His inaccurate attribution of the Magyars’ music to the Gypsies proved to be an

\textsuperscript{32} Indeed, when Liszt died in 1886, the site of his burial turned out to be a complicated matter. The Franciscans wanted Liszt’s remains to return to Budapest, and the Grand Duke Carl Alexander wanted him back in Weimar. Some argued that Liszt should rest in Rome where he became “Abbé Liszt,” and some wanted him back to Raiding where he was born. The decision went to Liszt’s daughter Cosima, who decided to bury her father in Bayreuth where he died. For a detail discussion of Liszt’s burial, see Walker, \textit{Final}, 523-28.

\textsuperscript{33} This letter was written to Mihalovich, a Hungarian composer. It was first quoted by Émile Haraszt in “Histoire de la Musique,” \textit{La Pléiade} II (Paris, 1963): 535.

\textsuperscript{34} When Liszt was presented with the Sword of Honor from Hungary in 1839, he delivered a motivational speech to his fellow Hungarians. Liszt spoke in French and his speech was translated for the majority of the audience who did not understand the language. Liszt was later to be attacked for his inability to communicate in Hungarian.
unforgivable mistake, especially given Liszt’s Hungarian roots. Liszt's book was attacked and his patriotism questioned. Hungarian critic Sámuel Brassai (1800-1897) condemned Liszt as just “some fellow, of who knows what nationality, disguised as a Hungarian and spreading an inclination for bad taste.” Liszt was subsequently criticized for his inability to communicate in Hungarian.

Liszt’s cosmopolitanism was viewed as clashing with his love for Hungary; he was not one of the Germans or the French because he was of Hungarian nationality, yet the Magyars saw him as a French-speaking outsider. Having no identity and no real home, Liszt found his life paralleled that of the Gypsies’. Liszt heard in Gypsy music the voices of eternal outsiders, and he in turn used it to musically express his own homelessness.

Other Symbolism of “Gypsy” In the Swiss Book – Gypsy as Reference of Virtuosity

Also evident from Liszt’s writing was his amazement at the Gypsies’ musical abilities and his identification with them as traveling virtuosos. As a matter of fact, in addition to the notion of homelessness and exile, the virtuosity that Liszt associated with the Gypsies also linked them with the Swiss book.

“It happened also that,” Liszt wrote, “we led the life of a wandering virtuoso, precisely as they [the Gypsies] do.” He paralleled his concert tours

35 Several authors have discussed the book’s controversy. See Walker, Weimar, 368-70, Bellman, The Style Hongrois, 175-84, and Sárosi, 141-49.
37 Walker, Weimar, 387.
across Europe with the Gypsies’ traveling, and even regretted that since his trips were more comfortable than theirs, his was by no mean as scenic.\textsuperscript{38} Liszt was fascinated by the fact that Gypsy musicians were virtuosos on their instruments despite the lack of formal training. He viewed this as result of divine intervention, and that the Gypsies were living proofs of his belief that art was God’s creation.\textsuperscript{39}

Naturally, virtuosity became a trait with which Liszt associated the Gypsies. In the Swiss book, Liszt’s use of the Gypsy style to reference virtuosity is seen in \textit{Chapelle de Guillaume Tell} and \textit{Vallée d’Obermann}. The evocation of cimbalom found in these pieces constitutes the most virtuosic passages throughout the entire Swiss book. While Liszt could have written these technically demanding passages in numerous ways, he consistently chose to write in ways that are stylistically evocative of a cimbalom – an instrument that calls to mind the Gypsies. To Liszt, “Gypsy” symbolized virtuosity, and the \textit{style hongrois} is thus used at virtuosic passages to draw connections.

Furthermore, since Liszt was so intrigued by the Gypsy musicians’ technique, it is possible that he experimented with techniques of a cimbalom on the piano after observing the Gypsies’ performances. Consider, for instance, the so-called Liszt octave, a technique unique to Liszt. This technique requires both hands to play alternatively in octaves, thus enabling the pianist to play the octave scale twice as fast as playing it with one hand. Consider also Liszt’s invention of “one-finger scale,” in which a scale or a trill was played by alternating one finger

\textsuperscript{38} Liszt, 129.
\textsuperscript{39} Walker, \textit{Weimar}, 389.
of each hand. Given the fact that a cimbalom player holds one beater on each hand, and that both hands play alternatively, it is certainly not difficult to see Liszt’s inventions as adaptations of cimbalom techniques on the keyboard.
CONCLUSION

The literary works that Liszt quoted could easily be understood as descriptions of his sentiments if viewed in the context of *Album d'un voyageur*, since *Album* was the direct result of Liszt’s 1835 journey in Switzerland. When Liszt incorporated the seven pieces from *Album* into the Swiss book, the literary quotations were kept intact. However, the significance of the literary quotations that prefaced all but two of the Swiss pieces were ignored because of the twenty-year hiatus that separated Liszt’s Swiss sojourn and the publication of the Swiss book. Liszt further obscured the autobiographical significance when he bought back the publication rights of *Album d'un voyageur* in 1850 and abandoned the collection. Moreover, later publishers omitted the literary citations altogether, which further suppressed the significance that the collection originally held for Liszt.

The few analytical studies of the Swiss book that exist concentrated primarily on the revisions made of the individual pieces, their style, and form; the discussion of vernacular / folk stylistic influences concerns only the inclusion of Swiss folk tunes. This study has presented an unprecedented observation showing that a number of the Swiss pieces exhibit characteristics generally associated with the *style hongrois*. Taken together with his discussions of the
Gypsies in his *Des Bohémiens*, Liszt's incorporation of the *style hongrois* offers compelling clues regarding the covert meaning of the Swiss book.

Though scholars have questioned the authenticity of *des Bohémiens*, Liszt's discussion of the Gypsies and their music remains uncontested. Based on Liszt's statements, this study concludes that his use of the *style hongrois* in the Swiss book functions as symbols of Liszt's self-identification with the Gypsies. Liszt hears in Gypsy music not the commercialized festive music, but voices of exiles. When he was forced to leave Paris because of his affair with Marie d'Agoult, Liszt the persecuted virtuoso paralleled the Gypsies, who likewise were misunderstood and isolated from mainstream, high European culture. Bellman's second meaning of the *style hongrois* as signifier of “the Other” and outsider resonated with Liszt's incorporation of the Gypsy style in the Swiss book as reference to the crucial period of his life.

As has been demonstrated throughout this study, the Swiss book was not a mere prelude to the more famous two volumes when all of the evidence – the compositional history of the collection, Liszt's account of the Gypsies, the literary quotations, and the stylistic features – is considered together. The autobiographical significance of the Swiss book is undeniable. Together with the literary quotations, the musical allusions to “Gypsydom,” to borrow Bellman's word, are perhaps the least obvious clue to the importance that the Swiss collection held for Liszt, but they are some of the most powerful.
APPENDIX

CONTENTS OF ANNÉES DE PÈLERINAGE
Première Année: Suisse (published 1855)
1. Chapelle de Guillaume Tell
2. Au Lac de Wallenstadt
3. Pastorale
4. Au Bord d’une Source
5. Orage
6. Vallée d’Obermann
7. Eglogue
8. Le mal du pays
9. Les cloches de Genève: Nocturne

Deuxième Année: Italie (published 1858)
1. Sposalizio
2. Il Pensieroso
3. Canzonetta del Salvator Rosa
4. Sonetto 47 del Petrarca
5. Sonetto 104 del Petrarca
6. Sonetto 123 del Petrarca
7. Après une Lecture de Dante: Fantasia Quasi Sonata

Venezia e Napoli (supplement to the Italian Book; published 1861)
1. Gondoliera
2. Canzone
3. Tarantella

Troisième Année (published 1883)
1. Angélus! Prière aux anges gardiens
2. Aux Cyprès de la Villa d’Este I: Thrénodie
3. Aux Cyprès de la Villa d’Este II: Thrénodie
4. Les Jeux d’eau à la Villa d’Este
5. Sunt lacrymae rerum / En mode hongrois
6. Marche funèbre
   Sursum corda
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


