

Le chasseur maudit.
Key and Content in Liszt's Music in C Minor

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Abstract: When Liszt revised his earlier set of twelve piano studies at Weimar, publishing them as the *Études d'exécution transcendante*, he added titles to ten of them. No. 8 was given the German title *Wilde Jagd*, which in French is *Le chasseur maudit*. Why did Liszt choose this title? Did it have to do with the key of c minor? Which of the many legends on this theme was he thinking of? Did he know the popular poem *Der wilde Jäger* by Gottfried August Bürger (1747–94), from which César Franck took the programme of his symphonic poem? Does the music of Liszt's study contain (like Bürger's poem) the idea of "maudit" as well as the "chasseur"? Other works by Liszt in c minor are examined, taken from the keyboard, orchestral and vocal music, to see whether they reflect a common programmatic idea associated with the key. If they do, then Liszt's piano study would form part of a larger mosaic.

Keywords: Franz Liszt, programme music, works in c minor

In the Breitkopf und Härtel edition of Liszt's works¹ the title of Transcendental Study No. 8 (S139, A172, composed in 1851) is given in German, French, English and Hungarian, namely *Wilde Jagd*, *Le Chasseur maudit*, *Arthur's Chase*, *A búvös vadász*. The German title, which is the one Liszt himself wrote at the head of the piece, refers to a legend, or rather a collection of medieval legends, about a wild huntsman. The French title is well known in music from the symphonic poem of the same title composed in 1882 by César Franck.

The titles of the Transcendental Studies were added by Liszt at Weimar in his own hand to the printed proofs he revised for the publisher (which are now held at the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, shelf number 60/I 23). This revision represented the third stage in the genesis of the works, the first stage dating from 1826 (*Étude[s] pour le pianoforte...* S136, A8) and the second from 1837–9 (*...grandes études pour le piano* S137, A39)

¹ The two catalogue numbers used in this text are H. Searle in *Grove 6* ("S" numbers), and Rena Charnin-Mueller and Mária Eckhardt in the *New Grove* 2nd ed. 2001 (which groups Liszt's works into categories A [piano] to W [doubtful works], within each listing them in chronological order).

at which point none of the studies had titles. The first study to acquire a title was No.4 in d minor, *Mazeppa*, which was newly composed as an independent piece in 1840 (S138, A172,4(1)).

We do not know why Liszt eventually gave 10 out of the 12 studies titles, but it is my opinion that when Liszt came to revise the studies (in some cases re-write them) at Weimar, he gave particular attention to the relationship between the character of the music and the tonality it was in. From its inception the set of 12 studies (originally intended to be 48 “dans tous les tons majeurs et mineurs”) followed a fixed pattern of key signatures, progressing from C major through the flat keys, each major key being followed by its relative minor. The first four studies are therefore C major, a minor, F major, d minor. The sequence continues as far as five flats, so that the last studies No. 11 and No. 12 are in Db major and bb minor. The chief organizing principle of the set was therefore this tonal sequence. By the 1850s the relationship between key and content seems to have become more focussed – for example Liszt wrote a new study No. 7 in Eb and gave it the title *Eroica*. It is impossible that the composer did not have Beethoven in mind (the Third Symphony) when he aligned this key with this title.

As it happens, the music Liszt composed in 1826 for the study in c minor remained as the basic foundation of the later versions, which were an elaboration of the original idea, not a replacement. It is stormy in character. The ‘hunter’ idea is first reflected in the new chordal material he added in 1837–39, which has a rhythmic character suggestive of horse-riding. A second more lyrical theme in Eb climaxes in C major at the end, bringing the study to a close in the major mode, the stormy horse-ride having gone. At this stage the music was still without the title, which first appeared in the 1852 edition.

The character of the music of the c minor study thus corresponds clearly to the German title *Wilde Jagd*. What I wish to consider here is the possibility that Liszt, when adding the title, was thinking not just in general terms of the German legend, but more specifically of the version found in the poem *Der wilde Jäger* by Gottfried August Bürger (1747–94) which formed the basis of the programme used by César Franck. In this popular Romantic poem the wild huntsman, who pursues his quarry on the Sabbath, is chased by demons, thus making him a symbol not unlike Faust, or Wagner’s Flying Dutchman. Extracts from the English translation will serve to give the flavour:

“Holy or not, or right or wrong,
Thy altar, and its rites, I spurn,
Not sainted martyrs’ sacred song,
Not God himself, shall make me turn.”

He spurs his horse, he winds his horn,
 "Hark forward, forward, holla, ho!"
 But off, on whirlwinds pinions borne,
 The stag, the hunt, the hermit go.

"Be chased for ever through the wood;
 For ever roam the affrighted wild;
 And let thy fate instruct the proud,
 God's meanest creature is his child."

The wakeful priest oft drops a tear
 For human pride, for human woe,
 When at his midnight mass, he hears
 The infernal cry of "Holla ho!"

This version of the legend lies closer to the world of Liszt's other works in c minor, as becomes evident when they are examined. If content and key led Liszt to his choice of title, then the ingredients of Liszt's c minor may have included, to use the French version of the title, not only the *chasseur* but also the '*maudit*' – in English meaning 'accursed' or 'wretched'. To investigate this question is the purpose of this article.

I have selected the works by Liszt in c minor which occur in the original keyboard music, the orchestral music, and the vocal music (songs and church music) – taken from a total of around 300 works. The selected works are given here in chronological order (the genre is given when not for piano), and in two separate groups: firstly those that begin and end in c minor, and secondly those that begin in c minor and end in C major.

Group I c minor–c minor:

1. 1822 Variation on a Waltz by Diabelli (S147, A1)
2. 1824–25 Storm (in opera *Don Sanche*, S1, O1)
3. 1826 Study No. 8 (S136, A8)
4. 1845 Es rauschen die Winde (song S294, N33)
5. 1848–55 Orage (from *Années I*, S160, A159)
6. before 1860 Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam (song S309, N36)
7. ?1871 Und wir dachten der Toten (song S338, N66)

Group II c minor–C major

8. ?1837–39 Study No. 8 (from ...*grandes études* S137, A39)
9. 1838–40 Lento (No. 1 from *Venezia e Napoli* S159, A53)
10. 1846–47 Male voice Mass (S8, J5)
11. 1847–54 *Tasso* (symphonic poem S96, G2)
12. 1850 *Ad Nos* Fantasy and Fugue (organ S259, E1)
13. 1851 *Wilde Jagd* (Transcendental Study No. 8, S139, A172)
14. 1850–51 Polonaise No. 1 (S223, A171)

- 15. 1854–57 Faust Symphony (S108, G12)
- 16. 1857 *Hunnenschlacht* (symphonic poem S105, G17)
- 17. 1859–62 Psalm 137 (S17, J11)
- 18. 1863 March of the Three Holy Kings (from oratorio *Christus* S3, I7)
- 19. 1867–68 Dies Irae (in Requiem S12, J22)
- 20. 1874 *Sainte Cécile* (choral S5, I1)
- 21. 1874 Die Glocken (Part II of *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters*, choral S6, L15)

Of these 21 works, most have some connection with words, whether it be a sung text, an instrumental programme, or a descriptive title. In their numerical order, treating them independently, I shall try where possible to present the verbal content Liszt had in mind when composing these works.

Group I c minor – c minor

1. Diabelli's theme (the one used by Beethoven in his *Diabelli Variations*) is in C major, and has no verbal connotations. Even so, the stormy character of Liszt's variation may even in 1822 have derived from the choice of the tonic minor, c minor, for the variation. (See *Example 1*.)



Example 1: Variation on a waltz by Diabelli 1822 (S147, A1) (opening)

2. This is Liszt's first verbal association of the key of c minor and a storm. The storm in *Don Sanche*, which begins in e minor, is conjured by the wizard Alidor, lord of the Castle of Love, to make Elzire, whom Don Sanche loves, seek shelter in the castle – which only lovers can enter.

The c minor section occurs where the storm returns as Don Sanche beseeches her to accept his love (which she refuses). There is a dramaturgical transition here from the 'magic' storm of Alidor at the beginning to the 'psychological' storm of Don Sanche, reflecting his emotional turmoil as he addresses Elzire. Perhaps also there is a reference to his fate, which hangs on her acceptance (the wizard Alidor later exercises his powers to bring about a happy ending for Don Sanche, who eventually enters the castle with his love Elzire).



Example 2: Study no. 8 in c minor from *Étude[s] pour le pianoforte* 1826 (S136, A8), opening

3. The first version of the c minor study in the set of twelve (*Example 2*) has a headlong turbulent character, with rushing semiquavers in the left hand and a chordal theme in the right.

4. The text of the song, a poem by Rellstab, is the following:

Es rauschen die Winde so herbstlich und kalt,
verödet die Fluren, entblättert der Wald.
Ihr blumigen Auen, du sonniges Grün,
so welken die Blüten des Lebens dahin.

Es ziehen die Wolken so finster und grau,
verschwunden die Sterne am himmlischen Blau.
Ach, wie die Gestirne am Himmel entfliehn,
so sinket die Foffnung des Lebens dahin.

Ihr Tage des Lenzes, mit Rosen geschmückt,
wo ich die Geliebte ans Kerze gedrückt,
kalt über die Hügel rauscht, Winde, dahin,
so sterben die Rosen der Liebe dahin.

[The winds blow with the chill of autumn,
the fields are bare, the woods are stripped of leaves.
Flowery meadows, sunny green woods,
thus the blossom of life withers away.

The clouds roll by, so bloomy and grey,
the stars have vanished in the blue heaven.
Ah, just as the constellations fly away in heaven,
thus the hope of life sinks and dies away.

Days of spring, adorned with roses,
when I pressed my beloved to my heart,
blow cold over the hills, you winds,
thus the roses of love wither and die away.]

5. *Orage* [Storm] is the fifth of the cycle of nine pieces that constitute book one (Switzerland) of *Années de pèlerinage*. It is therefore the central piece of the set. A quotation from Byron's *Childe Harold* heads the score:

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

The piece opens with a dramatic passage closely resembling the opening of an early work for piano and string orchestra (*Malédiction* S145, H1, 1833–40) in which Liszt wrote the word “malédiction” over the opening bars of the MS. Another version of this same musical opening occurs at the beginning of the symphonic poem *Prometheus*. In all three works this music is usually taken to be a representation of a curse.

6. The text of this song, a poem by Heine, is the following:

Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam
Im Norden auf kahler Höh';
Ihn schläfert; mit weißer Decke
Umhüllen ihn Eis und Schnee.

Er träumt von einer Palme,
Die fern im Morgenland
Einsam und schweigend trauert
Auf brennender Felsenwand.

[In a northern land a spruce-tree stands
Lonely upon a barren height;
It drowzes; ice and snow
Wrap it in a white blanket.

It dreams of a palm-tree
That, far away in the Orient,
Grieves, solitary and silent,
On a burning rock-face.]

7. The text of this song is the last verse of “Trompete von Vionville” by Freiligrath.

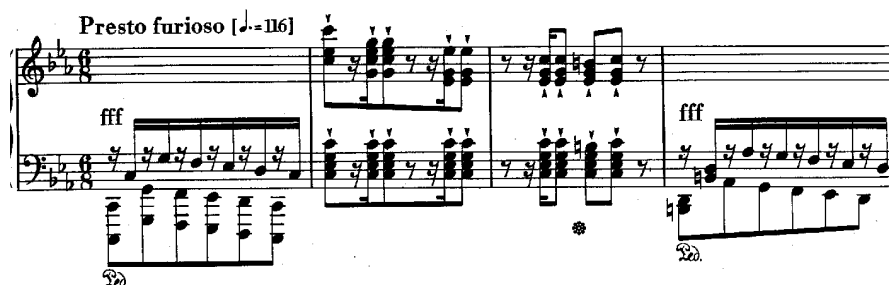
Und nun kam die Nacht,
und wir ritten hindann,
rund um die Wachtfeuer lohten;
die Rosse schnoben,
der Regen rann,
und wir dachten der Toten, der Toten.

[And now came the night
and we then rode away,
on round to make up the watch fires;
our steeds panted hard,
the rain poured down
and we remembered the dead.]

Group II c minor–C major

8. The second version of the c minor study in the set of twelve is considerably expanded and re-written. It retains the basic idea of the first version, with rushing semiquavers in the bass and chordal material in the treble, but these elements are separated, both hands being required for each. The chordal material has acquired the 'horse-riding' rhythm linking it to the huntsman idea, and the lyrical second theme is developed considerably – now bringing the piece to an end in the major mode. There is no title.

9. This piano piece (see *Example 3*) is based on the theme later used in the symphonic poem *Tasso*. The piece was not included in the later version of *Venezia e Napoli* (S162, A197, 1859). Liszt heard this melody sung by a Venetian gondolier to words from Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata*. Here we have the first example of a religious association in a piece progressing from c minor to C major.



Example 3: Study No. 8 in c minor Wilde Jagd from Études d'exécution transcendante
1851 (S139, A172, opening)

10. Liszt composed four settings of the mass and one of the requiem. This is the first setting. The key of C major first appears at the Credo, which Liszt said should sound 'as if built on a rock'.² C major again appears at the Dona nobis pacem, which ends the work. These words are sung to a fragment of plainchant familiar as a Credo intonation (this intonation is not sung earlier in the Credo

² Letters of Franz Liszt trans. Constance Bache (London, 1894) vol. I, p. 315 to Johann von Herbeck, January 12th, 1857.

itself). Here Liszt uses a textual association to make a musical comment – his belief in peace. This may be a comment related to the events in Europe when the work was being composed in 1848.

11. The main theme of the symphonic poem *Tasso* is the one arranged for piano in No. 9 above. *La Gerusalemme liberata* is a long heroic poem in twenty ‘songs’ that depicts the First Crusade which recovered Jerusalem from the Turks in 1099. It was hugely popular in the second half of the sixteenth century. An English translation by Edward Fairfax was published in 1600, an extract from which, the ‘Argument’ taken from the last part, gives an idea of its flavour:

The Pagan host arrives and cruel fight
Makes with the Christians and their faithful power;
The Soldan longs in field to prove his might,
With the old king quits the besieged tower;
Yet both are slain, and in eternal night
A famous hand gives each his fatal hour;
Rinald appeased Armida; first the field
The Christians win, then praise to God they yield.

This was the subject of the song sung by the gondolier heard by Liszt in Venice.

The figure of Tasso was popular in the 19th century. Goethe wrote a play in 1790 and Donizetti an opera in 1833 based on the life of the poet. Liszt’s music originated as an overture to the Goethe. As a symphonic poem, its programme is thus the life of Tasso.

Tasso lived from 1544 to 1595, spending much of his life in Ferrara. After writing *La Gerusalemme liberata* he began to show signs of mental illness, and in 1579 was declared insane. He spent seven years in the hospital of Santa Anna, and after his release in 1586 left Ferrara. As Italy’s greatest living poet, he was invited to Rome in 1594 by Pope Clement VIII, who wished to crown him Poet Laureate. However Tasso became seriously ill and died in Rome on April 25th 1595 before he could accept the honour.

The presence of Rome and the Pope in Tasso’s life is crucial to Liszt’s music, as is the subject of the First Crusade in the song used in the work. The minor theme is put into C major for the triumphant ending, following Liszt’s own description ‘Lamento e Trionfo’ included in the title of the symphonic poem. This idea is summarized by Liszt in his programmatic preface to the score:

It has been our aim to embody in the music the great antithesis; the genius who is misjudged by his contemporaries and surrounded with a radiant halo by posterity.

The work, he says represents:

...three moments inseparable from his immortal fame. To reproduce them in music, we first conjured up his great shade as it wanders through the lagoons of Venice even today; then his countenance appeared to us, lofty and melancholy, as he gazes at the festivities of Ferrara, where he created his masterworks; and finally we followed him to Rome, the Eternal City which crowned him with fame and thus paid him tribute both as martyr and poet.

12. The thematic material of this, Liszt's first work for organ, is taken from an opera by Meyerbeer, *Le Prophète* (which Liszt had not seen performed at the time the work was composed). As a keyboard work, in stature and formal design it anticipates the B minor Sonata, composed soon afterwards. Although without a programme as such, the dramaturgy of the work clearly derives from the subject of the opera, thus bringing it close in genre to both the symphonic poems and the operatic paraphrases. Most importantly, the protagonist of the opera is a historical character, John of Leiden, who initiated a religious reform in the 16th century. In Meyerbeer's opera the theme used by Liszt is sung as a chorale by the anabaptists. It is in c minor, and Liszt retains the key in his organ work, but changes Meyerbeer's triple metre to quadruple. But more importantly, Liszt treats the c minor section as a dark, stormy, foreboding introduction to a statement of his own version of the chorale theme put into F# major, which we hear as the 'real' chorale. This probably reflects the text of the original, which urges the people to be rebaptized in the healing waters (the Anabaptists were a radical Protestant movement of the Reformation who held that only as adults, after the emergence of an awareness of good and evil, could men exercise their own free will, repent, and accept baptism). It is important to know that Liszt thought the tune was an original chorale of the 16th century when he wrote the work, and only learned later from Meyerbeer that he himself had written it. Thus the organ work had a religious inspiration. The ending in C major is a statement of the chorale after its treatment as an energetic fugue.

13. The version of the c minor study as no. 8 of the Transcendental Studies (*Example 4*) has some textural changes from the *grandes études* version, but the thematic material is the same. This is the first use of the title *Wilde Jagd*.

14. The manuscript of this polonaise has the inscription "chanson du croisé" [song of the crusader].

15. Unlike Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* – to which it bears some affinity – this symphony is not prefixed by a programme. Liszt simply says: "Eine Faust-Symphonie / (nach Goethe) / in drei Charakterbildern / für großes Orchester / Tenor-Solo und Männerchor"

The number three (character portraits) is deceptive, as the choral ending, a setting of the *chorus mysticus*, though short, is so mighty in its effect that it

Chant du Gondolier (Gondolier Gesang)

mp *il canto marcato ed espressivo assai*

simile marcato assai

Example 4: *Lento* (Tasso theme), No. 1 from *Venezia e Napoli* 1838–40 (S159, A53)

amounts to a fourth section (finale) in C major. If we work backwards from this finale, Mephistopheles then becomes the scherzo (of immense proportions), Gretchen the slow movement, and Faust the traditional opening movement in sonata form. As such, the first movement has a gloomy introduction and opening *Allegro agitato* in c minor, but changes key to E major for the second subject themes. However Faust's real key is c minor and the first movement ends in that key. It returns in the Gretchen movement (itself in Ab major) when Faust enters, identified by his gloomy c minor theme from the introduction of the first movement. Liszt's genius is most evident in the Mephistopheles movement (also in c minor of course) – when it emerges that the 'spirit of Negation' is not in fact a "character", so much as a force, or in modern terms, an aspect of Faust's psychology. Liszt repeats the Faust movement, but parodies, mocks and distorts the thematic material – a unique virtuoso exercise in the art of variation. To this he does add one new theme, again taken from the early "Malédiction Concerto", in the MS of which it has the inscription "orgueil" [pride]. (In the symphony the theme has no verbal identification.) With this, Liszt gives Mephistopheles a private, secret musical identification that brings him close to the devil in Catholic theology – whose rebellion against God was motivated by envy, or pride. The real programme of this symphony, the composer seems to be saying, is concerned not so much with Goethe's literary masterpiece as with the drama of Faust's soul and its salvation. The climax of the devil's attempt to destroy Faust occurs after the fugue and recapitulation in the Mephistopheles movement, where the key of C major finally appears, and an orchestral tutti marked "deciso assai" mocks Faust's

“affettuoso” theme (originally in E major) from the first movement. After this there is a huge outburst of the “orgueil” theme followed by what can only be called a ‘collapse’ – sometimes cited for its influence harmonically on Wagner in the ‘Kiss’ motive of *Walküre*. Out of this Gretchen’s theme appears in C major (instead of the Ab major it always has elsewhere), by which means Liszt tells us that C major is the key of Faust’s salvation (which is why Mephistopheles ‘attacks’ the key earlier), confirmed by the quiet entry of the men’s voices on the chord of C major with the ‘chorus mysticus’. Ab major returns for the tenor singing Gretchen’s theme over the choir to the words “Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan” – here making Gretchen in this symphony a symbolic, if not theological, figure in her relation to the redeemed soul. The glorious ending adds the organ, whose consummating role is to play with full register fortissimo the final long C major chord.

16. The thematic material of this symphonic poem is the plainsong melody *Crux fidelis*, which is first stated in full in the middle of the work on the organ. Liszt adds a footnote to the score at this point giving the text. The work was inspired by a painting by Kaulbach – who lived for a time in Rome – which depicts the attack on the city by Attila the Hun in the year 451. An extract from Liszt’s programmatic preface to the score tells us of the work’s genesis:

En écoutant parler Kaulbach et en contemplant son oeuvre merveilleuse que les générations admireront et étudieront, il nous sembla que sa pensée se laisserait transporter en musique, cet art pouvant reproduire l’impression des deux lumières surnaturelles et contrastantes, par deux motifs, dont l’un représente la furie des passions barbares qui poussaient les Huns à la dévastation de tant de pays, au carnage de tant de populations; dont l’autre porte en lui les forces se-reines, les vertus irradiantes de l’idée chrétienne. Cette idée n’est-elle pas comme incarnée dans l’antique chant grégorien: *Crux fidelis*?

The essentially religious character of the symphonic poem is made clear in a letter Liszt wrote to Walter Bache in London, which contains the following passage intended as an addition to a programme note written for a performance of the work:

Kaulbach’s world-renowned picture presents two battles – the one on earth, the other in the air, according to the legend that warriors, after their death, continue fighting incessantly as spirits. In the middle of the picture appears the *Cross* and its mystic light; on this my ‘Symphonic Poem’ is founded. The chorale ‘*Crux Fidelis*’, which is gradually developed, illustrates the idea of the final victory of Christianity in its effectual love to God and man.³

The first section of the work is a brilliantly orchestrated battle scene in c minor based on thematic material derived from the *Crux fidelis* melody put into

³ *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 352, May 25th 1879.

the minor and ‘distorted’. This gives the idea of the enemy being diabolical, its defeat, to that extent inevitable. The triumphant version of the chorale simply confirms the impression that God is on the side of C major. The title “Battle of the Huns” – taken of course from the picture – is in fact something of a misnomer for Liszt’s music, which really describes the battle (and victory) of the Church.

17. The opening verse of the psalm is:

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down,
yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

The choice of c minor was probably occasioned by the words of verse three:

For there they that carried us away captive
required of us a song.

Liszt does not set all nine verses, stopping at the mention of Jerusalem:

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my
right hand forget her cunning.

The key of C major arrives when Liszt repeats several times the word ‘Jerusalem’, which provides the visionary ending.

18. The orchestral score of this march contains two quotations in Latin from the Bible. The second one, from Matthew’s gospel, is:

Apertis thesauris suis, obtulerunt Magi Domino aurum, thus et myrrhum
[And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto Him gifts; gold,
and frankincense, and myrrh]

This quotation heads the central, trio section of the march which is in B major. The same music reappears at the end in a triumphant C major, and the opening music in c minor is not repeated. In other words instead of the usual ABA form of a march, where B is the trio, Liszt has ABCBC, where A is the march, B is the arrival at Bethlehem, and C is the presentation of the gifts. The key of c minor disappears with the music of the opening A section – perhaps because the long journey of the kings following the star led first to King Herod, and only afterwards to Bethlehem. As the Bible says ‘And being warned in a dream not to go back to Herod, they returned home another way.’ This ‘another way’ in Liszt’s music is to omit the customary repeat, and instead introduce a ‘trionfo’ version in C major of the joyous musical motives associated with the Nativity.

19. The change from c minor to C major in the Dies Irae of Liszt’s Requiem occurs at the very end, at the words ‘Dona eis requiem. Amen’.

20. The text of this choral work has twelve verses, of which the first eight describe the pious life of St. Cecilia and her martyrdom. The last four tell how in winter concerts are given in her honour, and:

Tous les arts lui rendent hommage.

The life and martyrdom are in c minor, while the ending glorifying the patron saint of art and music is in C major. Liszt was therefore able to follow his customary 'lamento e trionfo' pattern.

21. The first part of this choral work, based on part of Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, is an introduction in Eb major that sets the single word 'Excelsior'. In 1874 Liszt wrote:

Excelsior is synonymous with the *Sursum Corda*; we repeat it daily at mass, and the faithful reply: *Habemus ad Dominum!*⁴

It therefore serves as the motto for the longer c minor section that follows, which is a scene in a storm:

The spire of Strasburg Cathedral. Night and storm. LUCIFER, with the Powers of the Air, trying to tear down the Cross.

Longfellow added a note to the poem about the consecration of bells in the Middle Ages:

The fathers have also maintained that demons
affrighted by the sound of bells calling Christians
to prayers, would flee away; and when they fled, the
persons of the faithful would be secure: that the
destruction of lightnings and whirlwinds would be
averted, and the spirits of the storm defeated.

The whole of this choral piece is based on the *Te Deum* plainchant melody, which the bells themselves sing in Latin between the violent calls of Lucifer urging his henchmen to destroy them. Eventually he abandons the attempt, saying in anger that Time 'the great Destroyer' will do the work for him. (See *Example 5*.) After the departure of Lucifer and his cohort the key changes to C major and the work ends with the full choir singing 'Laudamus Deum verum'.

We are now in a position to be able to assess the evidence we have assembled. Immediately we see in the first group, the works in c minor–c minor, how prominent is the idea of a storm. Out of seven works, two are depictions of a storm, one actually having 'storm' as a title. Of the three songs, one is about harsh windy weather, another takes place in the rain at night. The melancholy of the remaining song is set in a northern landscape of ice, snow and loneli-

⁴ *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Olga von Meyendorff 1871–1886* (Washington, 1979) p. 151, July 20th 1874.

The musical score is for a vocal and orchestral piece. The vocal part, labeled 'Lucifer', is in a bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat major). The tempo is marked 'Moderato'. The lyrics are: 'Baff - led! Baff - led! In - ef - fi - cient, cra - ven spirits! Leave this la - bour'. The vocal line has dynamic markings 'ff' (fortissimo) and 'mf' (mezzo-forte). The orchestral part, labeled 'Orchestra', is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature. It includes dynamic markings 'ff' and 'mf'. The word 'pesante' is written above the final measure of the vocal line, indicating a change in tempo or character.

Example 5: Lucifer's command from the choral work *Die Glocken des Strassburger Münsters* 1874 (S6, L15)

ness. The two untitled piano pieces both have a turbulent character, and one of them later became '*Wilde Jagd*'.

In the second group, works in c minor–C major, we should begin by observing that of the fourteen works, thirteen have either words, a programme or a title. Of these works twelve can be identified as having a C major ending with a religious character. The remaining two C major endings are that of *Wilde Jagd*, a piece which appears twice in the group, once without a title. The evidence strongly supports the inclusion of the ending of *Wilde Jagd* as programmatically belonging among the large group of religious C major endings constituted by the other twelve works in c minor–C major.

The other observation must be that where there is an identifiable protagonist, like Tasso, Faust, the Jews, or the Church, they are all under some kind of affliction, or 'curse'. The foundation of Liszt's 'Lamento e trionfo' pattern in c minor–C major (which first appears in association with the figure of Tasso) is the removal of this 'fate' and its transformation into victory. Of course, this pattern was widely associated in the 19th century with Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in c minor and its alleged programme to do with Fate. In this sense, Liszt was simply contributing to an accepted tradition. However, Liszt is not

Beethovenian in the symphonic sense – there is no real ‘development’. Struggle is rewarded basically by divine intervention – in the case of Tasso a connection is made between religion and art, the implication being that God defends the artist. To that extent, Liszt's c minor ‘programmes’, whatever their inspiration, content or verbal expression in connection with particular works, are at root only one, their variety amounting to no more than the particularity of a chosen illustration. Tasso, Faust, St Cecilia, the Three Kings, are programmatic embodiments of a single musical idea.

This musical idea finds its most concise expression in the title “Le chasseur maudit”, particularly if we begin with the storm, move to the ‘wild huntsman’, and consider the fate of the rider. Who is this rider whose marking is ‘Presto furioso’? Is he the same as Mazeppa? Or as Faust when he rides to the abyss with Mephistopheles (as in *Le Damnation de Faust* by Berlioz)? In this frenetic scene it is Faust's soul that is at stake – the ride is a symbol. This symbol – the soul fleeing demons in a storm – lies behind much of the c minor music of Liszt (the storm of course can also be a battle, the demons the Huns and the soul the Church). And the fate of the soul is what we learn in the C major ending – it is saved. The circumstances of when and where it is saved may vary, but there is only one salvation, just as there is only one C major. If Liszt's ‘wilde Jäger’ is “maudit”, then the C major ending of the study tells us that he is saved – even if the salvation does not appear in Bürger's poem. Because the very fact that Liszt thought of changing the piece into a work that begins in c minor and ends in C major (unlike the first 1826 version which ends in the minor) brings it into the sphere of his c minor/C major dramaturgy – which is one dramaturgy, not several.

Can we, therefore, finally make any deduction concerning the basic character of Liszt's c minor? I think we can, and would suggest that the common element is turbulence – the tempest “within the human breast” that appears in Liszt's chosen quotation from Byron. This is an image from psychology, an image of the soul (which is ‘anima’ in Latin and ‘psyche’ in Greek). The instinct for drama so evident in Liszt led him not so much to the theatre as toward the Church. The dramaturgy he portrayed was at root theological – this is what characterises the drama in most of the works here examined. This being the case, then we should look for another word to replace ‘maudit’ – which has a ‘Romantic’ quality now outdated. Liszt's music, it is evident, is not constrained to expressing a poetic idea so circumscribed by fashion and historical period. The soul is not like that – its c minor is always there. And so also is the need for salvation – at least for those who are believers, as Liszt was. The theological name for the turbulence that oppresses the soul is sin – I think

it was this ingredient that gave rise to Liszt's c minor–C major dramaturgy. To get closer to Liszt's musical content, instead of the French adjective *maudit* we should seek another word taken from the language of the Church, namely Latin. I suggest *scelestus* (sinful, accursed, unlucky) for Liszt's c minor. And then, as we have seen, upon reaching C major the Lisztian musical soul becomes purged, leaving it purified – as it was “in the beginning”.