

Liszt's Plan for a German *Année de pèlerinage*

“Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?”*

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Abstract: According to the evidence of an entry in the so-called Lichnowsky sketchbook, at the beginning of the 1840s, Franz Liszt proposed – in addition to the Swiss and Italian books – also a German volume to his cycle *Années de pèlerinage*. The study deals with this compositional plan, identifying and analysing the pieces referred to in the sketchbook. Interestingly, the plan consists rather of vocal works than piano pieces including the titles of nationalistic male choruses and romantic Rheinlieder inspired by German poets such as Ernst Moritz Arndt, Theodor Körner, Heinrich Heine and Felix Lichnowsky. The study also examines the autobiographical and political background of the proposed volume, which seems to be in close connection partly with Liszt's German concert tours, partly with the contemporary French–German conflict concerning the national identity of the Rhinland.

Keywords: Franz Liszt, *Années de pèlerinage*

In the autumn of 1842 the Viennese publisher Haslinger issued the three-volume series of piano works by Liszt that preserve the experiences of his journeys in Switzerland, and which figure in the catalogues as *Album d'un voyageur* [Album of a traveller].¹ Today it is a commonplace of Liszt scholarship that the composer only determined on this form of publication after a protracted gestation, arriving at the 1842 edition having rejected numerous plans. We know from the researches of György Kroó that Liszt for a long time thought of publishing the first part, *Impressions et Poésies*, as part of a set of

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¹ Adolph Hofmeister: *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht neuer Musikalien, musikalischer Schriften und Abbildungen*. Leipzig: Hofmeister 1834–[henceforth *HM*], November 1842, 171.

pieces independent of the album, which is why he published *Impressions et Poésies* first as a separate work.² This independent edition was published in July 1841 by the Paris firm of Richault, with the inscription *Ire Année de Pèlerinage*, foreshadowing the title of the revised edition of the set published in 1855.³ A Berlin copy of this Richault edition of the volume of the *Années* containing Swiss-inspired compositions said on its cover that it would be followed by a set of Italian-inspired piano pieces as a *2me Année*.⁴ Liszt did indeed get ready some Italian pieces at the beginning of the 1840s, but the actual volume only appeared much later, as the second volume of the series *Années de pèlerinage* which had by then replaced the *Album d'un voyageur*.⁵

Since the discoveries of Kroó mentioned above, Liszt research has revealed new valuable data in connection with how the *Années de pèlerinage* series would have been continued at the beginning of the 1840s according to the

² György Kroó: *Az első Zarándokév. Az albumtól a suite-ig* [The first Année de Pèlerinage. From the album to the suite]. Budapest: Zeneműkiadó 1986, 53–54. Although Kroó later summarized his researches in an English study: “Années de Pèlerinage – Première Année: Versions and Variants. A Challenge to the Thematic Catalogue.” *Studia Musicologica* 34 (1992), 406–426, the Hungarian book gives much fuller detail, hence I refer to it.

³ Following the example of Kroó, I have retained the original spelling of the published title.

⁴ The shelf mark of the score kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz is: Busoni Sammlung 16, see Kroó, 55. For a facsimile of the title page, see *ibid.*, 6.

⁵ It remains questionable which of the pieces for the *Italian* volume were composed by the summer of 1841, and also which works at that time were intended by Liszt for the planned volume. The earliest known idea for the second part of the *Années de pèlerinage* (*Ce qu'on entend* sketchbook Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv [henceforth: *D-WRGs*] 60/N1, page 30) is after all much later (Rena Charnin-Mueller dates it around 1844–45, see “Liszt’s Catalogues and Inventories of His Works.” *Studia Musicologica* 34 (1992) [henceforth: Mueller 1992], 235, and the idea differs significantly from the final version of the volume. Though it contains the *Dante sonata*, the 3 *Petrarch sonnets*, *Sposalizio* and *Il Penseroso*, works are mentioned – among them *Totentanz* – of which we find no trace in the final version of the volume. The sketchbook also mentions a Venetian gondolier song and a Neapolitan tarantella, evidently the forerunners of the pieces appended to the later *Italian* volume, which we know were in 1840 at Haslinger’s, awaiting publication, but which in the end did not appear (the proofs of the works survive in the Liszt estate at Weimar: *D-WRGs* 60/119a). Thus the reason for holding back these works may have been that the composer wanted to keep them for the *Italian Année*. We do know, however, that the *Dante sonata*, which figures at the beginning of the volume planned in 1844–45, was already intended by Liszt in September 1840 for publication, as is documented in his letter to Henri Lehmann dated September 20th 1840 (Solange Joubert: *Une correspondance romantique: Mme d’Agoult, Liszt, Henri Lehmann*. Paris: Flammarion 1947, 127–129). As we know, he had composed the early version of the work entitled *Fragment dantesque* already by October 1839, see his letter to Marie d’Agoult, dated October 25th 1839 – *Correspondance Franz Liszt Marie d’Agoult*. Ed. Par Serge Gut et Jacqueline Bellas. Paris: Fayard 2001 (henceforth: Gut–Bellas), 388. A month afterwards he played the new composition in public in one of his concerts in Vienna (see the concert review of December 5th 1839 written by Heinrich Adami; Dezső Legány: *Franz Liszt. Unbekannte Presse und Briefe aus Wien 1822–1886*. Budapest: Corvina 1986, 69–71).

Apart from the remark in the *Ce qu'on entend* sketchbook, the example of the Petrarch sonnets also draws attention to the fact that the Liszt literature usually erroneously dates certain pieces of the *Italian* volume as being from the end of the 1830s (see Alan Walker: [henceforth: Walker] *Franz Liszt. Vol. I. The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1987, 273–274). Liszt himself wrote in his old age to his biographer Lina Ramann that he composed the sonnets in 1845 (Lina Ramann: *Lisztiana. Erinnerungen an Franz Liszt in Tagebuchblättern, Briefen und Dokumenten aus den Jahren 1873–1886/87*. Hrsg. von Arthur Seidl. Rev. von Friedrich Schnapp. Mainz: Schott’s Söhne 1983, 41–42).

composer's plans. While studying Liszt's sketchbooks Rena Charnin Mueller discovered a jotting made by the composer according to which he was planning to put together a volume connected with Germany, which he intended as the third in the series of *Années de pèlerinage*.⁶ Liszt's composing plan can be read in the Lichnowsky sketchbook,⁷ not as a sketched musical notation, but as a list of titles in French and German:

3ème Année de Pèlerinage – Was ist des Deutschen etc. – Lore Ley – Roland's Sage (Benedict) / Am Rhein! Am Rhein! – (entrecoupé de Leyer und Schwerdt – Lützows Jagd?)

According to the remarks by Mueller, the German volume would have been a collection of piano pieces which brought under one cover texts by Ludwig Börne, Heinrich Heine and Felix Lichnowsky, together with arrangements of works by Carl Maria von Weber. Of the works listed by the composer, Mueller thinks only two were actually completed. She interprets the planned German volume as in fact being the composer's reaction to the political crisis of the early 1840s, the German–French confrontation over the national identity of the Rhineland.⁸ It is my opinion, however, that this interpretation requires further development, regarding both the works planned and actually completed, and also the presumed literary and historical factors that acted as their inspiration. When and under what circumstances the plan originated, what works the volume would have consisted of, and why eventually Liszt abandoned the idea, are questions I wish to pursue in what follows.

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Help in dating the jotting in the Lichnowsky-sketchbook can be found in articles in contemporary musical journals, in particular the article by François-Joseph Fétis, which appeared in the columns of the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* on May 9th 1841. An assessment of Liszt's activities as a composer, it was preceded by a private conversation during which the composer told Fétis about his idea for a set of *Années de Pèlerinage* including a German volume. Thus we can read about the planned volume as follows in the Belgian music historian's article:

His claim is supported by the fact that sketches for a fairly early stage in the composition of the pieces can be seen on page 24 of the Lichnowsky sketchbook (*D-WRgs* 60/N8), furthermore after a jotting which – as we shall see – in all probability dates from the summer of 1841. On the evidence of a letter of Liszt written on September 18th 1843 to Heinrich Schlesinger, at that time neither the number of sonnets nor whether they were to figure in the Italian volume had yet been decided on (see footnote 55); the text of this letter makes it probable that at the time the compositions existed only in the composer's imagination.

⁶ Mueller 1992, 234.

⁷ *D-WRgs* 60/N8, 7.

⁸ Mueller 1992, 238.

The work in which Liszt has expressed his thoughts in new ways is a huge unpublished opus whose various parts taken together encompass around 1200–1500 pages of music, and whose title, I believe, is “Trois années de pèlerinage” or “pérégrination”. The first part contains souvenirs of Switzerland; the second of Italy; the last of Germany. The famous pianist played to me some of his ideas for this work, and I must acknowledge that with it he has occupied a very prominent position in art. If the work is published, it will perhaps be said that the composer composed it for orchestra, rather than for piano in the traditional sense of the word; and I wonder if this objection will not be seen as praise rather than criticism.⁹

A month later on 4th June 1841 another respected musical journal, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, reported on Liszt’s planned series in three parts. “The news is abroad” – writes the journal – “that Liszt’s latest compositions are to appear in three volumes with the title *Trois années de pérégrination*, and will contain souvenirs of Switzerland, Italy and Germany.”¹⁰ On the basis of these two mentions in musical journals we may conclude that the composer was pre-occupied with the idea of the German volume in the summer of 1841, and that the jotting in the sketchbook was made then. The plan may have occurred to Liszt shortly before these mentions in the two musical journals, because the Berlin copy of the title page of the Richault publication of July 1841 entitled *Ire Année de Pèlerinage* mentions only the Swiss and Italian volumes. And on the basis of the 1842 publication of *Album d’un voyageur*, which also contains the Swiss pieces, it would seem that the plan for a German *Année de pèlerinage* was fairly short-lived. Even so, if we search for the works mentioned in the sketchbook among Liszt’s output, we can establish that several pieces by Liszt preserve the memory of the idea. In contrast to Mueller’s interpretation I think that at least three of the listed works can be fairly confidently identified with compositions actually composed later, and in the case of two more com-

⁹ “Un ouvrage immense inédit, dont les différentes parties réunies forment environ douze ou quinze cents pages de musique, et qui a pour titre, je crois, *Trois années de pèlerinage* ou de *pérégrination*, est l’œuvre où Liszt a déposé ses pensées sous leurs nouvelles formes. La première partie renferme les souvenirs de la Suisse; la seconde, de l’Italie; la dernière, de l’Allemagne. Le célèbre pianiste m’a fait entendre quelques-unes des inspirations de cet oeuvre, et j’ai dû lui rendre la justice de déclarer qu’il y a pris une position très élevée dans l’art. Peut-être, lorsque l’ouvrage sera publié, dira-t-on que le compositeur y a mis l’orchestre plutôt que le piano dans la conception habituelle d’instrument; mais je ne sais si cette objection ne sera pas plutôt un éloge qu’une critique.” François-Joseph Fétis: “*Études d’exécution transcendante* pour le piano, par Franz Liszt.” *RGMP* May 9th 1841. Quoted by: Pierre-Antoine Huré–Claude Knepper: *Liszt en son temps. Documents choisis*. Paris: Hachette 1987, 290–291.

¹⁰ “Franz Liszt’s letzte Compositionen sollen unter dem Titel: *Trois années de pérégrination* in drei Bänden erscheinen und Erinnerungen an die Schweiz, Italien und Deutschland enthalten.” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 14/48 (4. Juni 1841), 194. – The source of the information may have been Fétis’s article, but it is quite possible that the editor of the journal, Robert Schumann, learned of Liszt’s intentions from the composer himself, as earlier he learned of the completion of the six Swiss pieces in the album volume *Impressions et Poésies*; see Liszt’s letter to Schumann, dated May 5th 1838 (*Franz Liszt’s Briefe*. Hrsg. von La Mara. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1893, Bd. I, 19).

positions there is good reason to suggest that they derive from titles mentioned in the plan for the series.¹¹

The first memorandum in the sketchbook in all certainty quotes the first line (*Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland...*) of the patriotic poem *Das Deutsche Vaterland* by the German poet Ernst Moritz Arndt, which Liszt set to music for the first time in 1841 as a choral work for men's voices with piano accompaniment.¹² That is, "the composer composed it [the piano accompaniment] for orchestra rather than for piano" since on the evidence of the title page of the first edition the work was also printed with orchestral accompaniment. Although no such edition survives, we know that Liszt orchestrated the piece.¹³ In many respects the work matches *Lyon*, the first piano piece in the volume *Impressions et Poésies*. Its dedication suggests that like the other piece, it is political, since Liszt dedicated the printed edition of the male voice choral work to Frederick William IV of Prussia,¹⁴ who earlier had decorated the composer with the "Ordre pour le mérite".¹⁵ Arndt's poem is itself a political work, dealing with the question of the nature of the Germans and the German homeland.¹⁶ The poem says German identity is a combination of a positive and a negative self-definition. The former is the shared language, or

¹¹ In this respect my interpretation differs from Mueller's, in that I find no trace in the planned series of any composition whose inspiration might have been one of the writings of Ludwig Börne.

¹² This is Liszt's first composition for male voice choir, see Mária Eckhardt: "Franz Liszts frühe Männerchöre." In *Liszt-Studien 4*. Hrsg. von Gottfried Scholz. München-Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1993, 37. In connection with the genesis of the piece see Liszt's letter to the Princess Christine Belgiojoso dated October 1841 (Daniel Ollivier: *Autour de Madame d'Agoult et de Liszt*. Paris: Grasset 1941, 182), and one of Lina Ramann's questionnaires filled in by Liszt (Ramann: *Lisztiana*, op. cit., 400). Liszt set Arndt's poem once more in 1848 (see his letter to Heinrich Schlesinger dated April 11th 1848: *Liszt Letters in the Library of Congress*. Ed. by Michael Short. New York: Pendragon 2003, 278). This latter choral work, which remained unpublished during the composer's lifetime, bears no musical connection with the 1841 piece.

¹³ The autograph of this orchestral version turned up in Christie's New York auction catalogue of December 19th 1986 (No. 139), where there is a facsimile reproduction of pages 1 and 10 of the manuscript. This orchestration is not the same as the version for brass instruments which, according to Liszt's letters to Marie d'Agoult dated January 15th and February 15th 1842, was publicly performed in Berlin (Gut-Bellas, 880–881 and 886–887). The accompaniment for brass is not by the composer, but by Wilhelm Wieprecht, who directed the Prussian royal military band at the beginning of the 1840s, and as a German rival of Adolph Sax introduced significant innovations into the construction of brass instruments (*Briefe hervorragender Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*. Bd. I. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1895, 33).

¹⁴ The first edition was published by the Berlin firm of Schlesinger in 1842, with the plate number 2797 (for its dating see Otto Erich Deutsch: *Musikverlagsnummern. Eine Auswahl von 40 datierten Listen 1710–1900*. Berlin: Merseburger 1961 [henceforth: Deutsch], 21). The dedication on the title page reads: "Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. in tiefster Ehrfurcht und Dankbarkeit gewidmet."

¹⁵ See Liszt's letter to Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein dated January 27th 1851 (*Franz Liszts Briefe*. Bd. IV. Hrsg. von La Mara. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1900, 53).

¹⁶ A setting for male voices composed in 1825 by another composer, Gustav Reichardt, was later used by Liszt in his melodrama *Vor hundert Jahren* composed for the 1859 Schiller centenary celebrations, a work also not without political overtones (see Mária Eckhardt: "Vor hundert Jahren. Liszts und Halms Huldigung zur Schillerfeier 1859." In *Liszt und die Weimarer Klassik*. Hrsg. von Detlef Altenburg. Laaber: Laaber-verlag 1997, 133–153).

more generally understood the German culture,¹⁷ and the latter is anti-French feeling.¹⁸ The patriotic tone can be explained by the fact that the poem was written in 1812 at the time of the Napoleonic wars. The choral work, however, recalls *Lyon* not just because of its political character and its role as the first work in the volume, but musical threads also link it to the first piece in *Impressions et Poésies*. Both pieces are march-like in character, heroic and military, dominated by dotted rhythms. Perhaps it is not just coincidence that in *Das Deutsche Vaterland* the chief role is also played by the hexachord motive which is one of the chief cyclic devices in the Richault *Ire Année de Pélerinage* (see the motive marked *a* in Example 1.1–3).¹⁹ This motivic relationship seems to suggest that Liszt intended to express the unity of the planned volumes of the *Années de pèlerinage* series by more than their titles, using musical means as well.

Like *Das Deutsche Vaterland* the titles last listed in the sketchbook – *Leyer und Schwerdt* and *Lützows Jagd* – also have connections with the Napoleonic wars. In Liszt's wording these would have been wedged in (“entrecoupé”) among the preceding listed pieces. The two titles refer to two poems by Theodor Körner, who died a hero's death in 1813 at the age of only twenty two fighting the French as a member of general Adolph Lützow's irregulars. Körner's posthumous volume of poetry, which also bears the title *Leyer und Schwerdt*, was published by his father in 1814. Patriotic and anti-French in spirit, these poems soon won wide popularity, partly thanks to the composer Carl Maria Weber, who shortly after their appearance set some of them as solo songs and male choruses.²⁰ Liszt knew and liked Weber's choruses, and com-



Example 1.1: *Ire Année de Pélerinage, Lyon*, mm. 1–4



Example 1.2: *Ire Année de Pélerinage, Les cloches de *****, mm. 5–7*

¹⁷ “Was ist das Deutsche Vaterland? / [...] / So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt / Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt / Das soll es seyn!”

¹⁸ “Das ist das Deutsche Vaterland / [...] / Wo jeder Franzmann heisset Feind.”

¹⁹ See Kroó, op. cit., 85–88.

²⁰ Weber published both sets of pieces with the title *Leyer und Schwerdt* in 1814 in Berlin.



Example 1.3: 3^{ème} Année de Pèlerinage, *Das Deutsche Vaterland*,
mm. 28–31

posed a piano paraphrase entitled *Leyer und Schwerdt* on three items from the collection. Apart from the two male choruses mentioned in the sketchbook, he also made use of Weber's chorus *Gebet*.²¹

Although the paraphrase is not based on themes by Liszt himself, as a composition it is a work deserving of much attention. It is not simply three borrowed items arranged for the piano in succession, one following another, but is composed in an organized and coherent manner unusual in paraphrases, unifying three contrasting musical characters. The choral work whose title is that of the paraphrase is in 4/4 and pathetic in mood. Its piano arrangement is dominated by dotted, march-like rhythms – in this sense it is related to *Das Deutsche Vaterland*. This arrangement of *Leyer und Schwerdt* is followed by an arrangement of *Gebet*, which is in 3/4 and sacred in mood, and forms a slow movement. The work is crowned by *Lützows wilde Jagd*, a fast section in 6/8 with a hunting character. Although the paraphrase is not cyclic tonally, as the B minor march and B major prayer are followed by an E flat major finale, the three sections exhibit interesting parallels. Variation principle plays a significant role in all three: a characteristic sequential element of the opening march (bars 19–20) also appears in the finale (bars 237–242 and 259–264). The march and the finale are further linked by the horn motive in both sections (see especially bars 40–46 and 192–201). The chromatically descending bass of the introductory bars of the march, full of suspense, match the transitional bars which function to bridge the tonal disparity between the B major central section and the E flat major finale (152–174).

The title written as Lore Ley in the sketchbook plan of the series refers without doubt to Liszt's solo song with piano accompaniment *Die Loreley*. The

²¹ In his letter dated January 3rd 1839 Liszt already mentioned to Breitkopf that he wanted to arrange for the piano some of the pieces in Weber's collection (see La Mara: *Franz Liszts Briefe* I, op. cit., 24), while in January 1841 he reported to the Countess d'Agoult that he had played Lützows Jagd on the piano (Gut-Bellas, 732). The sketches for the work in the Lichnowsky sketchbook (*D-WRgs* 60/N8, p.15) also refer to the fact that he was working on the piece at the beginning of the 1840s, though the paraphrase according to its surviving draft was completed only in the spring of 1848: the manuscript in the Washington Library of Congress (shelf mark: L 76.III.b.12 Meyendorff 25) is dated April 10th 1848. The first edition of the work also appeared that year in Berlin, published by Schlesinger, plate number 3484 (*HM*, October 1848, 154).

composer set Heinrich Heine's well known poem in 1841,²² and published it in 1843 in volume one of his first large scale set of songs, the *Buch der Lieder*.²³ The poem is an individual version of a story which appeared in many versions in the 19th century, most of which portray the Loreley as a mythical or folk-tale character, as a witch, an enchantress or a Rhine mermaid. The story, however, is not the folk belief, myth, or folk tale suggested by Heine's poem (*Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten*), even though Liszt probably composed it thinking it was.²⁴ In Heine's version of the story the Loreley appears as a femme fatale, who, like the sirens in Homer, draws the man in the boat to his death with her singing and her winning looks. In its telling, however, the story is as if put into an ironic frame by the opening and closing verses of the narrator (see the first column of *Table 1*). It would seem Heine's poem had a special importance for Liszt. At least the dedication on the manuscript of the song ("für Marie geschrieben") and Liszt's letters to Marie d'Agoult describing the work's progress refer to the fact that the composer recognized the features of the Countess in Heine's portrait of the siren singing on a rock in the Rhine.²⁵

The setting of *Die Loreley* is a noteworthy formal experiment, and perhaps Liszt's most ambitious early song-composition.²⁶ Heine's frame-structured pseudo-ballad inspired the composer to construct a through-composed

²² In three of his letters to the Countess d'Agoult Liszt mentions that he has finished the piece; November 13th, November 22nd, and December 17th (Gut-Bellas, 854, 858 and 863). The date of the surviving autograph draft of the work (*D-WRgs* 60/D 97) is closest to that of the second letter, as Liszt wrote at the end: "Cassel 20. Nov. 1841". The date of the composition of the song confirms the Lichnowsky sketchbook's 1841 dating of the planned series.

²³ The work, like *Das deutsche Vaterland* and *Leyer und Schwerdt*, was published in Berlin by Schlesinger, the plate number of the first edition being: 2822 (for the dating see Deutsch, 21). The composer later re-worked the song several times: a revised version was published in 1856 by Schlesinger (with the same plate number as the first edition), and in 1861 a version with orchestral accompaniment was published in Leipzig by Kahnt.

²⁴ The word "Loreley" was originally not the name of a person, but of a place; it was the name of a rock jutting out of the Rhine famous for its echo. The first of the two syllables, "Lore", is onomatopoeic, referring to the murmuring of the river, and "Lai" means simply a rock. The story associated with the place is not a myth invented by German folklore, but by the German man of letters Clemens Brentano in his poem *Zu Bacharach am Rheine* (Wolfgang Minaty: *Die Lore Lay. Gedichte – Prosa – Bilder. Ein Lesebuch*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel 1988, 11). Following Brentano the topic was dealt with by other representatives of the Romantic movement, for example Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff in his poem *Waldesgespräch* set to music by Schumann.

²⁵ Especially revealing of the genesis of the song is what Liszt wrote in his letter of December 17th 1841: "J'ai terminé aussi une mélodie hongroise (originale) pour piano – et votre *Lore-Lei* 'für Marie geschrieben'. Si je ne me trompe pas, c'est une belle chose presque digne de vous être adressée." (Gut-Bellas, 863). The connection of the Heine song with the Countess d'Agoult has been pointed out by Serge Gut (Serge Gut: "Die 'Heine-Lieder' von Franz Liszt". *Muzyka i liryka* 9 [2000], 27–28).

²⁶ Despite this, the piano introduction to the 1841 setting does not contain "a striking allusion to the opening bars of *Tristan*", as Alan Walker wrongly claims (Walker, 368). The music example given by Walker in fact contains the opening bars of the 1856 revised version – Liszt having composed as part of his revision an introduction differing radically from the earlier song (see Example 2.1 for the opening bars of the earlier version). The reason for the mistake is that Peter Raabe published only the later version of *Loreley* in the old Liszt collected edition, hence the 1841 composition can only be consulted from the first edition.

Table 1: Buch der Lieder, Die Loreley (1843 version)

The text and its layout*	Thematic section	Key	Bar
“EXPOSITION”			
[prelude]		G major	1
Ich weiß nicht was soll es bedeuten, Daß ich so traurig, <i>so traurig</i> bin; Ein Märchen aus alten, <i>alten</i> Zeiten, Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn, <i>Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.</i>	recitativo sequential development	E minor	5 14
[interlude]			28
	dominant pedal and cadenza		
Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt, Und ruhig, <i>ruhig</i> fließt der Rhein, <i>Und ruhig fließt der Rhein;</i> Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt Im Abendsonnenschein, <i>Im Abendsonnenschein.</i>	barcarolle	E major	39
“DEVELOPMENT”			
[interlude]	“Loreley-theme”	B flat major	59
Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet Dort oben wunderbar; Ihr goldnes Geschmeide blitzet, Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar.			71
Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kämme Und singt ein Lied dabei; Das hat eine wundersame, Gewaltige, <i>gewaltige</i> Melodei.		D flat major	
Den Schiffer im kleinen Schiffe Ergreift es mit wildem Weh; Er schaut nicht die Felsenriffe, Er schaut nur hinauf, <i>nur hinauf</i> in die Höh.	sequential development		80
Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn;	dominant pedal and cadenza	G minor	90
“RECAPITULATION”			
[interlude]		G major	104
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen Die Lore-Ley, <i>die Lore-Ley</i> getan; <i>Und das hat mit ihrem Singen</i> Die Lore-Ley, <i>die Lore-Ley</i> getan, <i>Die Lore-Ley</i> getan, <i>Und das hat mit ihrem Singen</i> Die Lore-Ley, <i>die Lore-Ley</i> getan, <i>Die Lore-Ley, die Lore-Ley</i> getan, <i>Die Lore-Ley, mit ihrem Singen,</i> <i>Die Lore-Ley</i> getan.	recitativo barcarolle coda	E minor G major	108 116 135
[postlude]			

*Sections in *italics* are additions by Liszt (repetition of words) in Heine's poem.

sonata-like large form (see Table 1 for an analytical outline). The recitative associated with the utterance of the narrator (1st thematic section) and the barcarolle theme representing the Rhine in twilight (2nd thematic section) can be seen as the exposition. The arioso theme representing the Loreley singing on the rock, the sequential development based on the thematic material of the piano introduction, and the dominant pedal plus *cadenza* illustrating the shipwreck, and leading to the recapitulation, can correspond to the development section.²⁷ At the same time motivic connections and thematic transformation play an important role in the work.

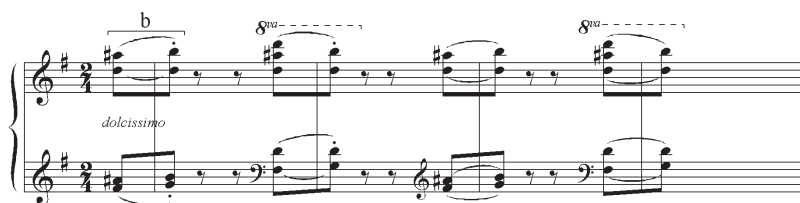
An example of the former is the connection between the piano introduction (*Example 2.1*) and the G major version of the barcarolle theme (*Example 2.2*), and of the latter the connection between the musical material of the piano introduction and postlude (*Example 2.3*). This kind of combination of the sonata principle and thematic working is not without precedent in the early works of Liszt: one of the most important examples, the first version of *Vallée d'Obermann*, itself figures among the pieces in the Richault *Ire Année*.²⁸ Furthermore, we should note the tonal plan of the work. E major is the secondary key, and G major can be regarded as the work's home key (the key of the piano introduction and the ending), though the relative E minor (the key of the main theme associated with the narrator) plays a role equal in importance to G major. In this respect the song can be compared to Chopin's B flat minor scherzo (op. 31, 1837) and F minor fantasy (op. 49, 1841), in both of which the basic minor tonality and its relative major are also not markedly separate.²⁹

Like *Die Loreley* the title *Am Rhein! Am Rhein!* found in the Lichnowsky sketchbook may also refer to Heine. The jotting probably refers to the other Heine song, which in the 1843 edition of the *Buch der Lieder* immediately follows the setting of *Die Loreley*, and which is a setting of *Im Rhein im schönen*

²⁷ As we can see from the table, both the sequential development and the dominant pedal plus *cadenza* are foreshadowed in the "exposition". The sequence first appears in the continuation of the recitativo, while the pedal point and the *cadenza* are constructed from the piano interlude between the first and second verses.

²⁸ In the first version of *Vallée d'Obermann*, as Jean-Pierre Bartoli points out, Liszt combines the sonata form principle with thematic transformation technique. – Jean-Pierre Bartoli: "Des *Cloches de G****** aux *Cloches de Genève* et les deux versions de la *Vallée d'Obermann* de Franz Liszt – une étude comparative". In: *Liszt 2000. Selected Lectures given at the International Liszt Conference in Budapest, May 18–20, 1999*. Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Társaság 2000, 137–140.

²⁹ At the sketch of the song's introduction and recitativo-theme with a signature of three sharps (Lichnowsky sketchbook, *D–WRgs* 60/N8, page 9) Liszt wrote in the margin: "en *fa#*"; this marking shows that the composer regarded the piece as being in the minor mode. A further interesting aspect of the sketch is that the musical material following the recitativo later became the theme of another Liszt song, a setting of Victor Hugo's *Oh! quand je dors*. This connection lends particular importance to the letter of Liszt dated January 25th 1842, in which he dedicates the Hugo song to the Countess d'Agoult with the same words as those written in the manuscript of the *Loreley*: "für Marie geschrieben" (Gut–Bellás, 882).



Example 2.1: *Buch der Lieder*, *Die Loreley* (1843 version), piano prelude, mm. 1–4

Example 2.2: *Buch der Lieder*, *Die Loreley* (1843 version), the barcarolle theme in the recapitulation, mm. 115–119

Example 2.3: *Buch der Lieder*, *Die Loreley* (1843 version), postlude, mm. 142–149

Strome.³⁰ As Peter Raabe points out, Liszt by mistake wrote the opening line of Heine's poem as *Am Rhein*, an error which crept into the the printed editions of the song.³¹ The lapse may probably be explained by the fact that when Liszt set the poem, he was thinking of something else he had read: Körner's above

³⁰ The first version of the song is referred to, whose date is not more precisely known, but on the basis of the Lichnowsky sketchbook planned series it appears likely that Liszt set this Heine poem also in 1841 or 1842. The 1843 first edition was published in Berlin by Schlesinger, plate number 2826 (for the dating see Deutsch, 21). Schlesinger later published the second version of the song with the same plate number in the 1856 revised edition of the *Buch der Lieder*.

³¹ Peter Raabe: *Liszt's Schaffen*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider 1968/2, 341.

mentioned volume of poems *Leyer und Schwerdt*. Körner wrote some of the poems so that they could be sung to well known tunes, and he gives their names. The poem *Gebet* for example which was the basis for the Weber chorus arranged by Liszt was written to the melody *O sanctissima*, while the poem beginning *Unsere Zuversicht* can be sung to the widely known chorale melody beginning with the words *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten*. In connection with Liszt's planned series of pieces, we should note the subtitle of Körner's *Lied der schwarzen Jäger: Nach der Weise* [to the tune]: *Am Rhein, am Rhein*. Thus there existed a popular tune, probably known to many, which the German poet refers to in his collection of poems, and which caught the attention of Liszt when he was reading the volume. Did he perhaps want to use it himself in his planned German *Année de Pélerinage*, and does the title *Am Rhein! Am Rhein!* perhaps refer to this? Certainly he was sufficiently preoccupied with the volume of poetry that when composing Heine's poem he would think of it, and by mistake write the first line of the song as *Am Rhein*.

To the words of *Im Rhein im schönen Strome* Liszt composed true water-music, bringing to mind the piece *Le lac de Wallenstadt* in the Richault *Ire Année de Pélerinage* volume (*Examples* 3.1–2). The presence of nature is here too symbolized by a drone bass (see Example 3.1, mm. 1–5), and the flow of the Rhine is illustrated by a continuous accompaniment figure resembling many Schubert lieder, as well as the piano piece. Its basic semiquaver motive undulates ceaselessly between the piano's small octave and three-line octave registers, breaking off only in the piano's postlude.³² In both works a simple unsophisticated melody is joined to the accompaniment figure. In contrast to the static harmonies of the piano piece, depicting still water, the song has a more varied tonal plan to characterize the motion of the river. Though the first verse ends in the tonic E major, it has already been to F major. The second verse, a variant of the first, cadences in the dominant B major, arriving there via a tangential F minor. The third verse, whose melody is new, arrives back in E major via G major. The harmonic world of the song is much richer than that of *Le lac de Wallenstadt*. The background to the portrait of nature painted by the piano accompaniment is lent a special *plein air* character by a repeated

³² Although the version of the piano accompaniment in Example 3.1 figures in the Schlesinger first edition as *ossia più difficile*, it would seem that it is the first version – not the quaver triplet, technically and harmonically considerably simplified version published as the main text. This means that the semiquaver version in the printer's manuscript that turned up in the Stargardt auction catalogue in June 1970 (no. 595) is by a copist, and the simplified version stems from Liszt's hand. Thus the composer – as confirmed by a letter he wrote to Schlesinger in 1843 – before the publication of the *Buch der Lieder* simplified the accompaniment in the piano part at the publisher's request (see *Liszt Letters in the Library of Congress*. Ed. by Michael Short. New York: Pendragon 2003, 266). The piano transcription of the song (see below, footnote 44) is also based on the more effective virtuosic semiquaver version.

Bewegt

Am

dolce legato (lispelnd)

Rhein im schö - - - nen Stro - - - me da

spie - - - gelt sich in den Wel - - - - len

Example 3.1: *Buch der Lieder, Am Rhein im schönen Strome* (1843 version), mm. 1–11

succession of third-related chords (E major, G sharp minor, B minor, D major, F sharp minor, A minor; see Example 3.1, mm. 5–11).

Although no piece with the title *Roland's Sage* is to be found in the Liszt catalogues, we may guess that, like *Am Rhein* and *Die Loreley*, a jotting of this kind in the planned German *Année* also refers to a song. Liszt composed the first version of his work *Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth* in 1842, and a year later it was published by Eck & Co. in Cologne.³³ After the title referring to the song Liszt wrote in brackets the name of a German musician friend, Julius Benedict, thinking perhaps of the music being later published in England.³⁴ Like

³³ For the genesis of the work, see Liszt's letter to Marie d'Agout dated November 16th 1842 (Gut-Bellas, 937). A sketch of the opening theme of the song can also be found in the Lichnowsky sketchbook, not long after the jotting about a German *Année* (*D-WRgs* 60/N8, p. 18). The first edition of the work was published in Cologne in December 1843 by Eck & Co. (for the dating see *HM* December 1843, 190). Liszt later revised the song many times.

³⁴ Benedict, a pupil of Hummel and Weber, worked in England from 1835 as a composer and conductor, and from his correspondence with Liszt we know that he organized the composer's dealings with English publishers.



Example 3.2: *1re Année de Pèlerinage, Le lac de Wallenstadt*,
mm. 1–10

that of the Loreley, the story of Roland stems from the beginning of the 19th century.³⁵ It is a version of the eternal topic of unrequited love, brought into connection with the island of Nonnenwerth in the Rhine. During Roland's absence fighting against the Moors his betrothed Hildegunde learns of the death of the hero. In sorrow she retires to the convent on the island. Roland, however, is not dead, and returning from the crusade learns to his distress that Hildegunde has become the bride not of himself, but of Christ. His only consolation is to remain near to his beloved, so he has a castle called Rolandseck built on the island, from where every day until he dies he can see Hildegunde. This is the story referred to in Liszt's song, whose words are by Prince Felix Lichnowsky, the politician and close friend of the composer. It was not the story of Roland, however, that Lichnowsky dealt with in his poem. The Prince was an eyewitness of Liszt and the Countess d'Agoult's life together during the months the couple spent on the island in the summer of 1841, and the poem is really about the composer and his beloved.³⁶ When Liszt set Lichnowsky's poem, he left in no doubt who it was the personal pronoun "sie" referred to. As Otto Goldhammer points out, to the cry in the last line of the poem ("Komme wieder!" – "Come back!") the composer added the name "Maria", and he dedicated the first published edition to the Countess.³⁷ The inspirational role of

³⁵ Arnulf Krause: "Wie der Ritter Roland nach Rolandseck kam. – Auf den Spuren der Rolandsage von den Pyrenäen bis an den Rhein." *Kreis Ahrweiler Heimatjahrbuch* 1999, 48–52.

³⁶ See Walker, 366–367. Liszt and the Countess stayed in the convent which according to local tradition was where Hildegunde lived, and they also visited the other scene of the story, Rolandseck.

³⁷ The dedication is as follows: "Für das Album der Gräfin Marie d'Agoult geborne Gräfin von Flavigny". The album mentioned in the dedication is the Countess's keepsake album called "Poetisches Album", in which Lichnowsky wrote the poem in his own hand (*D-WRgs* 59/142, 1, p. 63).

Marie d'Agoult is borne out too by the ironic marginal comments to be read in the manuscript of a later revised version of the work.³⁸

The musical devices employed in the setting of *Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth* show the influence of Schubert's lieder.³⁹ Hence right from the beginning the tonal construction of the work is based on an alternating minore–maggiore: the song begins in A minor, then brightens into the same tonic's major. Also Schubertian are the characteristic third-related chords of the opening bars (alternating A minor and F minor), which probably stem from the place in the Rellstab song *Kriegers Ahnung* where the soldier tells of the absence of his beloved and his foreboding tortured lonely struggle (*Examples 4.1–2*). Liszt knew the song well, as he had transcribed it for piano along with other songs from *Schwanengesang*. Like in the Schubert, in Liszt's composition too the above described chord progression almost certainly is meant to express the feeling of the absence of the beloved.⁴⁰ In a slightly altered form the chord sequence appears also in the piano postlude, where the tonic chord moves to the major (A major, F minor) to accommodate the maggiore ending.

*

Knowing the pieces that figure in the Lichnowsky sketchbook, we can differentiate two types of works that go to make up the planned series. One layer of the German volume would have consisted of compositions originating from the patriotic poems of Ernst Moritz Arndt and Theodor Körner, relating to the Napoleonic wars: *Das Deutsche Vaterland* and the *Leyer und Schwerdt* paraphrase. These works are characterized by politics and a militant tone, which are expressed musically as a march rhythm. The other face of the planned series would have been represented by works inspired by poems of Heinrich Heine and Felix Lichnowsky, relating to the Rhineland – *Die Loreley*, *Am Rhein* and *Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth*. This duality in the planned German *Année* can be compared to the Richault *Ire Année*, in which we find on the one hand nature-inspired sound pictures (Impressions), and on the other hand compositions inspired by literature

³⁸ See the study issued with Goldhammer's edition of the source (*Franz Liszt: Nonnenwerth. Lied für eine Singstimme und Klavier; zweite bisher unveröffentlichte Fassung*. Hrsg. von Otto Goldhammer. Weimar: Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv 1961, 12–15). Liszt commented on the line "Sie mußte fliehen" as follows: "Sie mußte fliehen und nach Paris ziehen, weil schlechtes Wetter ohne Salontschädigungen nicht auszuhalten war." This is clearly a reference to their cooling relationship, which ended finally in 1844 (*ibid.*, 15).

³⁹ The version of the song under discussion, like the 1841 version of *Loreley*, does not figure in the Liszt collected edition edited by Peter Raabe, and can only be consulted in the first edition.

⁴⁰ Liszt uses the same harmonic device in the first version of the Hugo song *Oh! quand je dors* (mm. 22–23), and in the later Italian volume of *Années de pèlerinage* at the beginning of the piano piece *Il Penseroso*.

Andantino

Ach nun

taucht die Klo - ster Zel - - le ein - sam aus des Was - sers Wel - le,

Example 4.1: *Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth* (1843 version), mm. 1–8

hier fühlt die Brust sich ganz al - lein

fp

Example 4.2: Schubert: *Schwanengesang, Kriegers Ahnung*, mm. 51–54

(Poésies) – as the title of the first part of *Album d'un voyageur* and the preface to the set of *Années de Pèlerinage* indicate.⁴¹

What is new, however, is that the two layers of the German volume seem to differ in genre: the political, literary works are male choruses (are at least their

⁴¹ See Kroó, op. cit., 79. As we have already partly mentioned, two of the *Poésies*-type pieces in the Richault *Ire Année* are, like *Das Deutsche Vaterland* and *Leyer und Schwerdt*, political pieces: *Lyon* recalls the workers' uprising in Lyons in 1834, and *La Chapelle de Guillaume Tell* the Swiss independence struggle. The *Impressions* / *Poésies* differentiation, however, can only be applied to the German volume in a modified form, as all the pieces listed by Liszt are settings of German poets, i.e. in the strict sense of the word *Poésie*. Similarly the poems associated with the Rhine and set to music as songs can also be to some extent seen as political works, since for the Germans the river is at least as much a national symbol as it is part of the natural environment. This is well illustrated by Schumann's setting of *Im Rhein im schönen Strome*, composed about the same time as Liszt's. As we know, Schumann set the poem in 1840 as part of the *Dichterliebe* cycle, and the dignified dotted rhythm of the song shows that he regarded the Rhine and Cologne cathedral in the poem as important national symbols, composing the music accordingly. Even so, the dual character of the material planned for Liszt's German volume is noteworthy, and recalls to some extent the Richault *Ire Année*.

piano arrangements), and the works inspired by natural surroundings are solo songs with piano (or their piano transcriptions) – two genres that Liszt might rightly have considered typically German, and which he began to cultivate just at the time of his debut in Germany, the beginning of the 1840s.⁴² However, it is not quite clear for what forces the pieces in the planned series would have been written. Knowing the Richault *Ire Année* and the 1842 *Album d'un voyageur* it seems unlikely that Liszt really intended to continue the series of piano pieces with a volume containing vocal pieces.⁴³ The most likely explanation for the inclusion of songs and choral works in the *3ème Année* is that the German volume would have consisted of piano arrangements of vocal music along the lines of the Petrarch sonnets in the Italian volume of the later *Années de pèlerinage* series. Perhaps it is partly to be explained by the fact that the three songs mentioned in the Lichnowsky sketchbook were also published by Liszt in piano transcriptions.⁴⁴

Regarding the personal experiences that inspired the planned series, first mention should of course be made of Liszt's German concert tours of 1840–1841 as inspiring the German volume. And in as much as the three songs that figure in the plan are equally connected with Germany's picturesque river Rhine, it is evident that among Liszt's visits to Germany it was the tours in the Rhineland that had a stimulating effect on the composer's imagination.⁴⁵ But possibly it was not just his travel experiences that inspired him. In Canto III of Lord Byron's epic poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, a favourite literary work of Liszt, the hero visits the Rhineland.⁴⁶ And as we know from

⁴² As I have already referred to in connection with individual pieces, in the plan *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland* is the composer's first male chorus, and *Die Loreley* and *Am Rhein* appeared in Liszt's first song cycle made up of his songs, the *Buch der Lieder*. It should be noted that the fates of the songs and male choruses were also linked in Liszt's later oeuvre. When he sent the manuscript of his male choruses to his Leipzig publisher Christian Friedrich Kahnt in December 1860, he asked him to advertise them on the back covers of his *Gesammelte Lieder* series, justifying the request as follows: "Die beiden Sammlungen (Lieder, und Männergesänge) stehen in einem gewissen Zusammenhang; daher gerath ich auf diesen Vorschlag, über welchen Sie zu entscheiden haben ...". La Mara: *Franz Liszt's Briefe* I, op. cit., 381.

⁴³ Fétis in the above quoted article after all mentions compositions written for the piano.

⁴⁴ The arrangements of *Die Loreley* and *Am Rhein* were published in Berlin by Schlesinger as parts of the *Buch der Lieder für Piano allein* series, with the plate numbers 3021–3022. Though on the basis of the plate number the publication can be dated 1844 (see Deutsch, 21), we know from Hofmeister's catalogue that the arrangements only appeared in the summer or autumn of 1846 (*HM*, August 1846, 122, and October 1846, 160). The first version of the piano arrangement of *Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth* was published in Paris by Schlesinger in 1844 with the plate number 4080 (for the dating see Anik Devriès–François Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*. Vol. II. *De 1820 à 1914*. Genève: Minkoff 1988, 390.). Liszt later revised the arrangement many times.

⁴⁵ Liszt first gave concerts in the Rhineland in July and August 1840, see Michael Saffle: *Liszt in Germany 1840–1845. A Study in Sources, Documents and the History of Reception*. = Franz Liszt Studies Series No. 2. Ed. by Michael Saffle. New York: Pendragon Press 1994, 101–105.

⁴⁶ See Canto III verses 46–60. Two further stages of Harold's journey feature in *Années de pèlerinage* volumes I–II: Switzerland and Italy (the latter in Canto IV). As we know, in *Album d'un voyageur* and the first part of *Années de pèlerinage* Liszt several times quotes from Canto III of Byron's work.

the dedication of the first edition of *Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth* and the dedication written on the manuscript of *Die Loreley*, a further source of inspiration was the declining relationship of Liszt and Marie d'Agoult.⁴⁷ And also, as Mueller says in her study mentioned above, the presence of patriotic and anti-French poetry in the series means that we can assign an important role to contemporary politics in how the idea for the *Année* came into existence.

In London on July 15th 1840 Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia formed a coalition directed against France's attempts to gain power in the Near East. The response of the French Prime Minister Adolphe Thiers was to announce France's claim to the Rhineland, which since the Congress of Vienna had belonged to the German Federation. This deeply offended German national feeling, and of course produced enormous public outrage. German intellectuals – as Cecelia Hopkins Porter has shown – gave voice to their protests in an unusual manner. During the decade of the 1840s they expressed their anti-French patriotic feeling in hundreds of Rhine-songs.⁴⁸ One of the most famous of these was the poem *Der Deutsche Rhein* by Nikolaus Becker,⁴⁹ a student at Bonn university, which was immediately set many times to music. Becker's none too francophile poem produced displeasure in France similar to that produced in Germany by Thiers, causing the greatest figures in French literature of the period to respond, among them friends of Liszt whom the composer idolized. Alphonse de Lamartine reacted to the German university student's publication with *La Marseillaise de la paix, réponse à M. Becker, auteur du "Rhin allemand"*.⁵⁰ A considerably more combative stand than that of Lamartine was taken by Alfred de Musset, whose poem entitled *Le Rhin allemand, réponse à la chanson de Becker* appeared in *La Presse* on June 6th 1841. Victor Hugo joined the fray with two travel volumes entitled *Le Rhin*.⁵¹

We can be sure that both the political events of the 1840s and the literary works they gave rise to had a deep effect on Liszt, since at the time when the crisis broke, in July 1840, he was giving concerts in the very place in dispute,

⁴⁷ From certain points of view *Das Deutsche Vaterland* and *Am Rhein* are also associated with Marie d'Agoult. In the letter quoted above giving an account of the male choir performance (see footnote 12) Liszt mentions the work with the title "Die kleine Flavigny", or "Was ist die kleine Flavigny", referring humorously to Marie's being half German and half French (Vicome Flavigny was Marie's father). And in verse three of Heine's poem he – like the poet – finds the features of his beloved Countess, whose name is Mary, in the altar painting of Mary in Cologne Cathedral, see Serge Gut: "Die 'Heine-Lieder' von Franz Liszt". *Muzyka i liryka* 9 [2000], 27 notes.

⁴⁸ Cecelia Hopkins Porter: "The Rheinlieder Critics: a Case of Musical Nationalism." *The Musical Quarterly* 63/1 (January 1977), 74–98.

⁴⁹ Becker's poem first appeared in the *Trierische Zeitung* on September 18th 1840. The poem became famous with the melody by Conradin Kreutzer, though no less a composer than Robert Schumann also wrote a composition for male voices using the same text.

⁵⁰ Lamartine's poem appeared on January 1st 1841 in the columns of the *Revue des deux mondes*.

⁵¹ Hugo's work was published in January 1842 (Gut–Bellás, 878).

namely the Rhineland. From his correspondence with Marie d'Agoult we know that he had Hugo's book on the Rhine sent to him even before it appeared.⁵² As a German speaking musician who had adopted the French tongue he justifiably felt duty bound to adopt a standpoint in this question, and on the basis of the planned German *Année* it would seem he identified more with the German position than with the French. Contributory to this may have been his declared antipathy to the political régime of Louis Philippe, and the hostility expressed in the French press to his being presented with a sword of honour by the Hungarian nobility. But also Liszt may at the time have already been thinking seriously of settling in Germany, and therefore made his voice heard in support of the Germans. On the other hand, he did not approve of the anti-French behaviour of his German contemporaries, or at least that is what is suggested by a change he made to the words of Arndt's *Das Deutsche Vaterland* when he was composing the music. Instead of the chauvinistic line "Wo jeder Franzmann heiet Feind" he set "Wo jeder Frevler heiet Feind".⁵³

Whatever the reason, as I have said, the idea for a German volume remained just a plan, and the jottings for a series of pieces in the Lichnowsky sketchbook were not realized. The composer's rejection of the plan was probably due to several factors. Liszt may have decided that the content was too political, though musical considerations may have been the cause of its abandonment. On the evidence of his jottings in the sketchbook, the volume would have contained an equal mixture of original compositions and arrangements of borrowed material. But an important aspect for Liszt – as is shown by the separate publication in 1841 of *Impressions et Poésies* – was that his works should demonstrate before the public his activities as a composer, not as a pianist. Even as he made his sketches he probably questioned whether to produce a series which included arrangements of choruses by Weber alongside works by himself. This uncertainty may be why there are brackets and question mark next to the titles of *Leyer und Schwerdt* and *Lützows Jagd* in the sketchbook.

Also, the compositions of his own in the German volume would have been chiefly arrangements, rather than original piano works in the strict sense, which threatened to wreck the plan, or at least drastically alter it. Liszt probably came to the conclusion that his struggle to win recognition as a composer would accomplish more if he were to publish the original works separately, and furthermore as vocal compositions. In so doing, he would show not only that he was capable of composing his own music, but also of breaking free of the limitations of his instrument – that he was not just a "Clavierkomponist",

⁵² See Liszt's letter to Marie d'Agoult, dated January 25th 1842 (Gut-Bellas, 879).

⁵³ Thus instead of "Where every Frenchman is an enemy" we find the following in the text of the choral work: "where every rascal is an enemy".

but a composer of vocal works as well. Clearly this is what the two volumes of songs published in 1843–44 as the *Buch der Lieder* are meant to express – and their connection with the planned German *Année* is striking. The first volume of the *Buch der Lieder* contains two songs from the Lichnowsky sketchbook plan, and its dedication, like that of *Das Deutsche Vaterland*, is to a member of the Prussian royal family.⁵⁴ Also, like the planned three-part *Années de Pèlerinage* series, a decisive role is played in the two volumes of the book of lieder by a system of organization based on national genres.⁵⁵ And although the surprisingly precise coincidence of the dating of the completion of *Leyer und Schwerdt* and the second version of *Das Deutsche Vaterland* (April 10th and 11th 1848) shows that in the spring of 1848, influenced by the turbulent political events of the time, Liszt may have again toyed with the idea of composing the German *3ème Année*, it would seem that the fate of the *Année de pèlerinage* inspired by Germany was basically sealed by the publication in 1843 of the first volume of the *Buch der Lieder*. A third volume of *Années* was to appear only in the twilight years of the composer, in 1883 – but that is another work and another story.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Liszt dedicated the book of lieder to the Prussian Princess Augusta. The dedicatory text is: “Ihrer Königlichen Hoheit der Frau Prinzessin von Preußen in ehrfurchtsvoller Huldigung gewidmet”.

⁵⁵ Discounting the final Italian song *Angiolin dal biondo crin*, the first volume is a collection of German lieder, while the second contains French *mélodies*, and settings of poems by Hugo. On the evidence of Liszt’s letter to Heinrich Schlesinger dated September 18th 1843 (*Liszt Letters in the Library of Congress*. Ed. by Michael Short. New York: Pendragon 2003, 266–267), and the title page of the first edition of the *Buch der Lieder* which mentions “3 Bände”, the composer planned to compile a third volume which would have contained Italian compositions, 5 or 6 Petrarch sonnets.

⁵⁶ In the interests of completeness I would mention that on the evidence of the planned Italian series in the *Ce qu’on entend* sketchbook (see footnote 5) Liszt at one time also planned the compilation of a third *Année* containing Hungarian pieces. As I said above, Mueller dates the jotting to 1844–45.