

# Liszt in the Iberian Peninsula 1844–1845

LISZT WAS BOTH THE FIRST and greatest virtuoso pianist to tour the Spanish peninsula. After him came Prudent in 1846, Thalberg in 1848, Antoine de Kotski in 1849 and 1850, Gottschalk in 1851 and 1852, and Henri Herz in 1857.<sup>1</sup> The best that Madrid newspapers could say of any of these was to make a comparison with him.

His *Rhapsodie espagnole* (1863, published 1867 [Searle = S253; Raabe = R90]), in which *Folies d'Espagne*<sup>2</sup> variations and a Jota aragonesa<sup>3</sup> replace

<sup>1</sup>Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, ed., *Madrid en sus diarios II: 1845–1859* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1965), pp. 267 (*El Heraldo*, January 14, 1846, reviewing Prudent's first concert in the Teatro de la Cruz), 268 (*El Español*, January 26, 1848, Thalberg's début before king and queen), 269, 271 (*La España*, January 4, 14, 1849; *La Nación*, March 15, 1850, mentioning Kotski), 273, 274 (*El Heraldo*, November 4, 1851; *La Nación*, October 18, November 20, 29, December 18, 1851; *Clamor público*, June 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 1852, covering Gottschalk's triumphs), 277 (*La Discusión*, April 21, May 7, 1857; *El Fénix*, May 1, 1857, Henri Herz).

<sup>2</sup>In an undated letter to Felix von Lichnowsky written about September 1, 1845, Liszt confessed never once having heard the *folies d'Espagne* during the whole time he was in the Iberian peninsula. See *Bayreuther Blätter deutsche Zeitschrift im Geiste Richard Wagners*, xxx/1–3 (1907), 35: "vous savez que c'est le titre [folies d'Espagne] d'une chanson tout connue à l'étranger, mais que je n'ai jamais entendu en Espagne." Despite Spanish appearances otherwise captioned, the *folies d'Espagne* pattern first appeared under the title *folias* in a 1593 manuscript now at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, MS 6001, folio 272 (four

the slow *lassú* and fast *frizka* of a Hungarian rhapsody, still counts as a prime show piece—especially in the Busoni piano-orchestra version that was premiered at Manchester by Bartók February 18, 1904.<sup>4</sup> However, few lists of his works accurately annotate his posthumously published *Grosse Concert-Phantasie über spanische Weisen* (S253 = R89) for piano solo, and no biography thus far published in English satisfactorily describes his Iberian tour of 1844–1845. Sacheverell Sitwell, by way of example, offers no more than two Madrid tidbits<sup>5</sup>—one the anonymous *diferencias de folias*. Cf. Juan José Rey, "El Manuscrito 'Ramillete de flores,' 1593: Colección inédita de piezas para vihuela," *Tesoro Sacro Musical*, LVIII/2 (April–June 1975), 45.

<sup>3</sup>The *Capriccio brillante sur le thème de la Jota aragonesa* composed the autumn of 1845 by Glinka (whose arrival at Madrid after spending the summer at Valladolid was announced in *El Heraldo*, October 2, 1845) exploits the same subject. Glinka learned the jota aragonesa from a guitarist at Valladolid named Félix Castilla. See David Brown, *Mikhail Glinka* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 246, 309. For the letter dated at Weimar January 8, 1858, to Vasily Pavlovich Engelhardt (1828–1915) extravagantly lauding Glinka's treatment of the jota aragonesa, see *Franz Liszt's Briefe*, ed. by La Mara [Ida Maria Lipsius] (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1893), I, 292–294.

<sup>4</sup>Tadeusz A. Zieliński, *Bartók* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1973), p. 65.

<sup>5</sup>*Liszt* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), pp. 118, 121. According to *Books in Print 1985–1986* two reprint houses kept selling Sitwell's *Liszt* in 1986.

This article combines three articles:

"Liszt at Madrid and Lisbon: 1844–45," *Musical Quarterly*, LXV/4 (October 1979), 493–512; "Liszt on the East Coast of Spain," *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, IV (1978), 11–17; and "Liszt at Barcelona," *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, XII (December 1982), 6–12. Thanks are here given the Editors Joan Peyser and Maurice Hinson for permission to republish these articles.

The third appeared too late for Alan Walker to pillage it in *Franz Liszt the Virtuoso Years 1811–1847* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), pages 409–414. In order to mask his academic arrogance in having pillaged "Liszt on the East Coast of Spain"—an article not acknowledged anywhere in footnotes or bibliography—he cites "RMV, pp. 199–200" as source for the first word-for-word quote (eight lines) at his page 413. He expands "RMV" at his page 459 to "Ruiz de Lihory, José, *La*

*música en Valencia*. Valencia, 1903." Neither at pages 199–200 nor anywhere else does Ruiz de Lihory's volume contain the material copied from "Liszt on the East Coast of Spain."

To footnote the second unacknowledged direct quote of seven lines on his page 413, Walker cites "Letter to Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, May, 1872"—information taken from "Liszt on the East Coast of Spain," page 15. In his haste, however, Walker changes "San Francisco de Paula" to "San Francisco de Paulo" (incorrect). He glosses the first unacknowledged quote by saying that Liszt played for "the monks in the cathedral"; "monks" they were not; instead they were cathedral canons.

Apart from the word "monk," Walker misapprehends the term "priest." At pages 34, 41, 136, and elsewhere, he erroneously refers to Liszt's having become a priest. The four minor orders that Liszt received at Rome in 1865 included neither the diaconate nor priesthood.

patently false assertion that "he could not play for Isabella I [!] of Spain because court etiquette forbade his personal introduction to the Queen," the other a similarly painful blend of inaccuracies: "He gave a cycle of concerts at the Teatro del Circo in Madrid, from October till December of that year [1845!], and then he took himself, more by way of a holiday, to Seville and Granada." What were the true facts of his visits to the Iberian capitals, made at the apex of his so-called Glanz-Periode?

## MADRID

For at least a year after Liszt's rupture with the Comtesse d'Agoult in the Spring of 1844 (*Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult*, II, 342), Lambert Massart (1811-1892)—violin teacher at the Paris Conservatoire—served as their go-between. On May 10, 1844, Liszt agreed to send Massart 1000 francs every four months for the keep and schooling of Blandine (Jacques Vier, *Franz Liszt, l'artiste, le clerc. Documents inédits* [Paris: Les Éditions du Cèdre, 1950], 158). Meantime, Cosima and Daniel were to remain with Liszt's mother. Fleeing Paris, Liszt spent July, 1844, at Lyons, and August at Marseilles, Toulon, Nîmes, Montpellier, and Toulouse. On September 15 the *Gazette musicale* announced his imminent departure from Bordeaux for Madrid.

The Teatro del Circo in Madrid, at which Liszt gave four concerts, October 31, November 2, 5, and 9, 1844 (not 1845), had been converted only two years previously from a hippodrome to the seat of Italian opera in the Spanish capital. In this environment he all the more appropriately chose Bellini and Donizetti paraphrases with which to dazzle the overflow publics that swarmed nightly to hear him and assisting artists. Hérold's *Zampa* overture (1831), played by the house orchestra, opened the first half of the programs at 8 the evenings of November 2 and 9; Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* overture (1829), played by the same orchestra, opened the second half.<sup>6</sup> Surrounded by solos from Bellini's *Il Pirata* (1827); Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830); Merca-

dante's *Zaira* (1831), *Il Giuramento* (1837), and *Il Bravo* (1839) sung by Italians contracted for the current Madrid season, Liszt offered on November 2 *Réminiscences de Norma* (1841) [S394 = R133], the Introduction and polonaise from *I Puritani* (1842) [S391 = R130], and *Réminiscences de Don Juan* (1841) [S418 = R228]. The Don Juan was an especially happy gesture. But not because Mozart's opera, premiered in Madrid at the Teatro de la Cruz December 15, 1834, still held the boards a decade later. Rather it was a felicitous gesture because only the previous March 28 (1844) had been premiered at Madrid José Zorilla y Moral's *Don Juan Tenorio*—the most popular Spanish play on the libertine since Tirso de Molina's *El burlador de Sevilla*, and for that matter the play that was soon to become the most popular Spanish drama of its entire century.

On November 9, Liszt played the *Grandes Variations de Bravoure sur la marche des Puritains* (1837) [S392 = R131] and *Réminiscences de Lucrezia Borgia* (1840) [400]. He ended Part 2 on November 2 with a *Melodia húngara* probably identifiable as one of the *Ungarische Nationalmelodien* published by Haslinger in the 1840's and reworked later as a Hungarian rhapsody. The *Marcha húngara* which together with the *Grand Galop chromatique* (1838) [S219 = R41] closed Part 1 of the November 9 concert was the Rákóczy March published as Hungarian National Melody 13 (Book VI) and as Hungarian Rhapsody 15. The final number at his fourth Circo concert was billed as "Improvisaciones al piano por el señor Liszt." For each of the four Circo concerts he was reported by the *Revista de Teatros* to be receiving an astronomical 2000 francs.<sup>8</sup> He himself accompanied all the vocal soloists at the November 9 concert, after discontent with the piano accompaniments at the November 2 event provided by the Czech immigrant who made Madrid his headquarters after 1842, J. D. Skoczopole.<sup>9</sup>

The sponsor of Liszt's visit to the Spanish capital was the Liceo Artístico y Literario founded in 1837. The two biggest musical lions previously

<sup>6</sup>According to Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Liszt* (London: Williams & Norgate Ltd., 1954), p. 35, Mercadante was a composer "of whom Liszt thought highly." As the last of his *Six Amusements sur des motifs de Mercadante* (1838) [S411 = R220], Liszt transcribed *La Zingarella spagnola. Bolero*.

<sup>8</sup>Salvador y Carreras, p. 233.

<sup>9</sup>Concerning Skoczopole, who was born at Pribram December 28, 1811, and died at Madrid March 12, 1877, see Juan Pedro Franze's centennial tribute, "Juan Daniel Skoczopole, Músico de España," in *Buenos Aires Musical*, xxxii/502 and 503 (November and December, 1977).

<sup>6</sup>Miguel Salvador y Carreras, "Viaje de Liszt por España en 1844," *Revista Musical* (Bilbao), III (1911), 227-235, extracted programs and reviews from the Madrid periodicals: *Diario de Madrid* (Palau y Dulcet 71854), *El Heraldo* (113119), *El Laberinto* (128935), *La Posdata Periódico joco-serio* (234008), and *Revista de Teatros Diario Pintoresco* (264761). Concerning Salvador y Carreras, see Espasa-Calpe, LIII, 419.

bagged by the Liceo were Giovanni-Battista Rubini (1795–1854), brought in December 1841, and Pauline García, later Viardot-García (1821–1910), presented in May 1842.<sup>10</sup> Liszt held both in highest esteem. Rubini was to start with him on his tour of Holland and Germany in 1843, only parting his company after they reached Berlin; for Pauline García who had studied piano with him at Paris he still wrote warmest words of praise in 1883.

Beginning in January 1839 the Liceo held all regular sessions at the palace of Duke Marcelino de Villahermosa (1815–1888), the translator of Virgil's *Georgics*, who was then vice-president of the Spanish senate; and it was in his palace that Liszt played an introductory solo recital Monday evening October 28, with tickets priced for Liceo members at 39 *reales de vellón* and at 40 for the general public. Beginning at 8:30, the October 28 two-part program read as follows: *Ouverture de l'opéra Guillaume Tell* (1838) [S552 = R237], *Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835–36) [S397 = R151], *Réminiscences de Norma*, *Fantaisie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La Sonnambula* (1839, 1840–41) [S393 = R132], Chopin Mazurka<sup>11</sup> (not specified), Introduction and polonaise from *I Puritani*, and *Grand Galop chromatique*.

Just as he had been accompanied by his idolizing aide-de-camp Count Felix von Lichnowsky (1814–1848) during his Berlin triumphs of the preceding year, so again at Madrid he had an aide in the person of Louis Boisselot (1809–1850), elder son of the Marseilles piano manufacturer<sup>12</sup> whose instrument Liszt played and constantly advertised throughout his 1844–1845 Iberian tour. Together the two attended on November 4 a banquet in his honor at the Geniays Inn to which the musical élite of Madrid were invited<sup>13</sup>—among them, Pedro Albéniz (1795–

1855), the pupil of Herz and Kalkbrenner who was in 1830 appointed first piano professor at the newly founded Madrid Real Conservatorio de Música; Juan María Güelbenzu (1819–1886), pupil of Prudent named Spanish court pianist in 1844; Hilarión Eslava (1807–1878), one of the best remembered paladins of nineteenth-century Spain; Baltasar Saldoni (1807–1889), who, after being named teacher of solfège in 1830 and singing professor in the conservatory in 1839, later gained world renown for his Spanish music lexicography; Sebastián Iradier (1819–1865), solfège instructor in the Conservatory from 1839 to 1851, and today remembered as the composer of the two favorite nineteenth-century Spanish songs, *La paloma* and *El arreglito* (the latter quoted in the Habanera of *Carmen*); Joaquín Espín y Guillén (1812–1881), opera composer<sup>14</sup> elected president of the music section of the Liceo in 1840, and founder of a music journal in 1842; Joaquín Gaztambide (1822–1870), whose youthful talent already presaged his international career as a composer of zarzuelas; Ángel Inzenga; Justo Moré; Pedro Sarmiento; and five Italian male opera stars contracted for the Madrid season.

Although predisposed for his friend Count Lichnowsky's sake to favor the Carlists<sup>15</sup>—who had been recently subdued in the long struggle to place the

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honors included membership in the philharmonic academies of Bologna, Naples, and Parma—provided merry table music. He wrote both the Italian verse and music.

At the moment of toasting him, Liszt arose and threw his arms around the fractious Espín y Guillén, Eslava, Saldoni, and Iradier—who from that moment reconciled differences previously separating them. Or at least so reported Antonio Peña y Goñi in *La ópera y la música dramática en España* (Madrid: El Liberal, [1881]), p. 197.

<sup>14</sup>Act I scene 1 of Espín y Guillén's three-act *Padilla o El Asedio de Medina* (libretto by Gregorio Romero Larrañaga) was mounted at the Teatro del Circo, July 9, 1845. Details in José Luis Varela, *Vida y obra literaria de Gregorio Romero Larrañaga* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948), pp. 155–156. Through his wife, who was a niece of Isabel Colbran (1785–1845; married Rossini March 15, 1822), he met and received considerable encouragement from both Rossini and Verdi.

<sup>15</sup>On March 4, 1837, the then 23-year-old Lichnowsky (nephew of Beethoven's patron) entered Spain, where he spent almost two years fighting for the Carlist cause. Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia favored this side. Lichnowsky's *Erinnerungen aus den Jahren, 1837, 1838 und 1839* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann David Sauerländer, 1841) was published in French and Spanish translations (1844 and 1942). Lichnowsky, who rose to become a brigadier general, compared the Spanish countryside ruffians to characters in operas with which he was familiar, *Zampa* (1831) and *Fra Diavolo* (1830).

<sup>10</sup>According to Liszt she combined Spanish passion and French vivacity with German depth. His 1859 essay on her was reprinted in Lina Ramann, ed., *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881), III, 121–135. He still rated her as having been the greatest diva of her generation in a letter dated March 1883. See his *Briefe*, ed. by La Mara, VIII (1905), 405.

<sup>11</sup>Peter Raabe, *Liszts Leben* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1931), p. 66, correctly remarked that except for Domenico Scarlatti's Cat's fugue Chopin was the only non-Germanic composer whose works—unarranged by himself—he ever played in concerts.

<sup>12</sup>The firm, founded by Jean-Louis Boisselot (who started business at Marseilles in 1823), published Liszt's *Étude pour le Piano-forte en quarante-huit* [actually 12] *exercices dans tous les Tons Majeurs et Mineurs* in about 1827.

<sup>13</sup>According to "Variedades" in November 15 *Revista de Teatros*, G. Rossi Buonacorsi—the court singing teacher whose

pretender Don Carlos (1788–1855) on the throne—he by no means refused to play for the 14-year-old reigning Queen Isabella II (as Sitwell pretended). His first royal palace appearance, according to the Madrid *Heraldo* of November 7, was programmed for that evening, with “senators, deputies, and other civil authorities, the diplomatic corps, grandees, and other notables invited.”<sup>16</sup> Then, or before the November 18 issue of the *Revista de Teatros*, she invested him with the cross of Charles III and gave him a gem-studded scarf-pin worth a thousand pesos.<sup>17</sup>

Prior to leaving Madrid for Córdoba (not Seville) December 4, Liszt played at least four more times: (1) in a benefit on Wednesday, November 13, at the Teatro del Príncipe for the diva Brizzi; (2) at a concert on November 14 in the salon of the Instituto Español for subscribers to the magazine *Iberia Musical y Literaria* (edited 1842–1845 by Joaquín Espín); (3) at a grand public charity concert November 21 in the Teatro del Circo; (4) at a farewell party November 22 in the Villahermosa palace given by the Liceo responsible for bringing him to Madrid. At the Brizzi benefit he played his *Guillaume Tell* overture immortalized in Vladimir Stasov’s ecstatic description,<sup>18</sup> his *Réminiscences de Robert le Diable* beginning with the Valse infernale (1841 [S413B]), a potpourri of unidentified airs with a local virtuoso English hornist, Emilio Daclli,<sup>19</sup> and a two-piano version of his *Réminiscences de Norma* [S655] with

the newly appointed court pianist Juan María Güelbenzu.<sup>20</sup> Again the next night at the Instituto Español he played a duo with Güelbenzu. The review in the *Revista de Teatros* of November 18 assured the public, not eligible to attend because it was a subscribers’ event, that the affair

was brilliant. Liszt played magnificently, the distinguished professor Güelbenzu performed perfectly in a duo with the great virtuoso, the singers Franchesquini, Ciabatti,<sup>21</sup> and other eminent artists sang various selections, and Zorrilla,<sup>22</sup> Larrañaga, and Villegas recited poetry.

As if twice were insufficient, Liszt played still another duo with Güelbenzu to close Part I of his Circo charity concert on November 21. Specified in the *Diario de Madrid* of that day as “variaciones á dos pianos, sobre motivos de la ‘Donna del Lago’” (Variations for two pianos on motives from “The Lady of the Lake” [by Rossini, 1819]), this two-piano work—if truly his<sup>23</sup>—has thus far escaped mention in any Liszt bibliography. The then 25-year-old Güelbenzu, who like Sarasate was a native of Pamplona in Spanish Navarra, had arrived from his studies at Paris earlier in 1844. His third appearance with Liszt consecrated his reputation in the Spanish capital and insured his primacy during the next generation.

<sup>16</sup>“Sarao musical en el Palacio, estando convidados senadores, diputadas, autoridades, cuerpo diplomático, grandeza y otras personas notables.”

<sup>17</sup>In a letter to Lichnowsky dated at Lyons May 14, 1845, Liszt deprecated Isabella II’s pin. “She originally intended a present worth 6,000 francs [his fee for three concerts], but the beggars around her pretending to be grandees persuaded her to send a miserable nothing” (La reine Isabella avait bien eu aussi la bonne pensée de me destiner un cadeau pareil en valeur (6000 frs.) [equalling the value of the golden snuff-box set with diamonds that Maria II of Portugal gave him January 26, 1845], mais les gueux de son entourage m’ont volé, comme des grands seigneurs (pour parler la langue de Don César de Bazán) et m’ont envoyé un rogonat doublement misérable sous forme d’épingles-jumelles!). The *Cesar de Bazán* referred to by Liszt was the Spanish naval hero Álvaro de Bazán (1526–1588) in command of the Invincible Armada until his untimely death at Lisbon.

<sup>18</sup>Sitwell credited Mrs. Rosa Newmarch with the translation (*Liszt*, p. 113).

<sup>19</sup>At a concert scheduled for November 18, 1848, the oboist Emilio Daclli played with piano accompaniment “the same English horn solo that had caused such delight when he performed it with Liszt” a quadrennium earlier. See *La España*, November 18, 1848 (*Madrid en sus Diarios II: 1845–1859*, p. 269).

<sup>20</sup>Thalberg published a *Grosse Fantaisie und Variationen für zwei Pianoforte über Themas aus der Oper Norma von Bellini*, Op. 12 (Offenbach: J. André). Neither at Madrid nor at Lisbon do newspapers or contemporary programs guarantee that Liszt used Thalberg’s two-piano duo in preference to his own (Henri Rosellen [1811–1876], Herz’s epigone, also published a *Grand Duo pour deux pianos sur des motifs favoris de Norma*, Op. 21).

<sup>21</sup>The baritone Ciabatti, who had begun acting as Liszt’s aide-de-camp at Paris before June 27, 1844 (*Franz Liszt’s Briefe*, VIII [1905], 38), accompanied him throughout his entire Peninsular journey. See his letter from Marseilles dated April 28, 1845 (*Briefe*, I [1893], 54): “Il vient de faire tout le voyage d’Espagne et de Portugal avec moi et pourra vous en donner les nouvelles les plus exactes.”

<sup>22</sup>Already in 1843 (before *Don Juan Tenorio*) the preeminence of José Zorrilla y Moral (1817–1893) had been recognized with the Cross of Charles III. For his “Ofrenda poética al Liceo Artístico y Literario de Madrid (6 de noviembre de 1848),” see his *Obras poéticas y dramáticas* (Paris: Casa Editorial Garnier Hermanos, ca. 1850), III, 1–3. Emilio Arrieta composed the music for his “Himno al renacimiento del Liceo” (III, 13). Iradier also set at least two of his poems.

<sup>23</sup>Thalberg published for solo piano a *Fantaisie pour le piano sur des motifs de La donna del lago de Rossini*, Op. 40 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel).

The rest of Liszt's grand charity concert beginning at 8 on November 21<sup>24</sup> repeated the format of his previous four Circo concerts. Just as at the November 9 event, when for the first time two Schubert songs were sung at a public concert in Madrid, so again now the tenor Paulino sang a "melodía de Schubert." Parts I and II began with the house orchestra playing an opera overture—this time beginning with the only two-year-old *Nabucodonosor* (Milan, March 2, 1842; Barcelona, March 2, 1844). After an aria from Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830) sung by Paulino, Liszt played Weber's *Concertstück* with orchestra, followed by a diva's singing of an aria from Vaccai's *Pietro il Grande* (1824). Next came the *Donna del Lago* duo for two pianos played with Güelbenzu. In Part II Liszt again played his *Lucia* reminiscences already performed at his Liceo inaugural solo recital of October 28 and closed with what was billed as *El Capricho*—his Spanish title for the eleventh Hungarian Rhapsody (reworked from *Ungarische Nationalmelodien*, Book VIII [S242, 14 = S244, 11]).

To entertain the Liceo members who assembled for the farewell party at the Villahermosa palace on Friday night, November 22,<sup>25</sup> he repeated the Rákóczy March already heard at his November 9 Circo concert and the *Norma* reminiscences played at the Circo on November 2. Three local aspirants to operatic fame who belonged to the music section of the Liceo entertained him and other guests with excerpts from Donizetti's *Esule di Roma* (1828), and Morlacchi's *Tebaldo e Isolina* (1822). That same night he also attended another party given in his honor by Coronel Pablo Cabrero at which he was induced to hear a musical setting by the colonel's 22-year-old daughter, Paulina,<sup>26</sup> of her lachrymose

*Tumba de mi madre*. The verse was by the opera librettist Gregorio Romero Larrañaga (1815–1872), whose poetry had already been recited in his presence at the Instituto Español soirée on November 14.

Later on, at the colonel's expense, this lament "at my mother's tomb" entered her updated publication *Primeras inspiraciones musicales*. In 1845 Liszt himself published a transcription of at least one weeping Spanish composition, *Feuille morte Elégie d'après Sorriano* [S428]. Mariano Soriano Fuertes (1817–1880), the uniquely favored Spanish composer, began publishing at his own expense a decade later the four-volume *Historia de la música española desde la venida de los Fenicios hasta el año de 1850* (Madrid: Martín y Salazar, 1855–1859) that today still keeps his name current. But in 1844 he was known as the violent assailant of Meyerbeer in the *Heraldo de las Artes*<sup>27</sup>—who meanwhile served as a newly appointed director of the Liceo Artístico y Literario in Córdoba.<sup>28</sup>

## ANDALUSIA

Just as it was the parent Liceo in the capital that had sponsored Liszt in Madrid, so also it was to be the Córdoba Liceo under whose auspices he played his first public concert there on December 11. After leaving Madrid on December 4 for Córdoba, he arrived four days later to be met by Mariano Soriano Fuertes "accompanied by a large group of [Córdoba Liceo] members who honored him in the most hearty manner with a breakfast after which he was lodged with Diego Pérez de Guzmán."<sup>29</sup> So wild was the enthusiasm at Córdoba that in an ebullient letter dated December 17 [1844] Liszt assured the Hungarian

artista-música aficionada más distinguida de España" (she is the most distinguished non-professional artist [of her sex] in Spain).

<sup>27</sup>Peña y Goñi, p. 479.

<sup>28</sup>Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la música española*, IV, 387.

<sup>29</sup>*Revista de Teatros*, December 17 [1844]: "Córdoba: El día ocho llegó por fin á esta ciudad el célebre Franz Liszt. El presidente del Liceo, acompañado de una multitud de socios del mismo, salieron á recibirle y lo obsequiaron con un espléndido desayuno en que reinó el más vivo entusiasmo. Se ha hospedado en casa del señor don Domingo Pérez de Guzmán. Ayer ha obsequiado el grande artista á los indicados socios con una comida de fonda, y hoy le devuelven el obsequio, llevándolo á comer á nuestra deliciosa sierra. Mañana se verificará el concierto en que el señor Liszt dará muestra de sus brillantes talentos."

<sup>24</sup>*Diario de Madrid*, November 18, stated that for this charity concert the Circo management placed the theater at his disposal, free of charge. For his charity concert at São Carlos opera house, Lisbon, February 8, 1845, the management refused any such concession. See Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, *A música em Portugal nos séculos XVIII e XIX* (Lisbon: Tip. Inácio Pereira Rosa, 1938 [Acheegas para a História de Música em Portugal, III]), p. 132.

<sup>25</sup>According to the *Revista de Teatros* review on November 26: "La señorita de Rojas cantó perfectamente con el señor Guallar el bello duo del 'Esule,' y con suma gracia y donaire, las canciones de la 'Calesera' y la 'Gitana.'"

<sup>26</sup>Paulina Cabrera y Martínez de Ahumada, born at Madrid February 1, 1822, studied composition with Saldoni. By 1866, she had 56 compositions to her credit, 18 of which were published in *Primeras inspiraciones musicales*. Concerning her, see Antonio Fargas y Soler, *Biografías de los músicos más distinguidos* (Barcelona: Juan Oliveres, 1866), I, 303: "es la profesora

Count Ödön Zichy (1811–1894): “Only one honor has not been bestowed—setting me up as a statue in a public square.”<sup>30</sup>

As for his next stopover, Sitwell would have it that he remained lengthily at Seville, puzzled as to where he should go next. Rather than any uncertainty concerning the next objective of his Iberian tour, Liszt by no means “lingered for some weeks” in Seville “while in a condition of nervous uncertainty about his future.” Instead, he remained in Seville a mere ten days, beginning December 17. On arrival he was honored with a banquet in the hall of Murillos at the recently founded Museum—the site of which was the ex-monastery of San Pablo and Hospital del Espíritu Santo. Writing about the event from Lyons April 14, 1845, Liszt complained that the piano had left something to be desired. Nonetheless, he begged the editor of the Parisian *Moniteur* to mention his having dined with a hundred guests in a gallery hung with the world’s finest collection of Murillos.<sup>31</sup>

What most stunned him in Seville was the cathedral. Around December 31 he wrote the patroness who had suggested the Sevillian stopover to thank her for the encounters that she had made possible.

During my ten days not one passed without my paying court to the cathedral, an epic poem in granite, an architectural symphony whose harmonies vibrate eternally. Words fail me when I attempt to praise sufficiently such a monument. . . . To such extravagance did my devotion to your cathedral extend that only on the tenth day, just before leaving, could I bring myself to visit the nearby Alcázar<sup>32</sup> [palace started in 1181 during the Muslim period].

How permanent was the impression left by Seville cathedral comes again to view seven years later. In a letter dated December 1, 1851, Liszt now urges the discouraged Wagner not to falter in his vast plan to finish the Ring cycle.

<sup>30</sup>*Briefe aus ungarischen Sammlungen 1835–1886*, ed. Margit Prahács (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966), p. 54.

<sup>31</sup>*Briefe*, viii, 39: “Le souper dressé dans la salle des Murillos (et vous savez que Séville possède la plus riche collection des Murillos qui existe. Il s’y trouve entre autres le Christ à la serviette. . . .)”. Murillo’s reputation in 1844 matched that of any other Spanish painter.

<sup>32</sup>*Franz Liszt’s Briefe*, II (1893), 397: “Quoi que vous puissiez penser de mon enthousiasme pour votre cathédrale, toujours est-il qu’elle m’a entièrement absorbé pendant les 10 jours que j’ai passé à Séville, si bien que ce n’est que la veille de mon départ que j’ai pu me décider à visiter l’alcazar.”

Do not stop, work unceasingly, allow nothing to distract you from the trilogy. Adopt as your motto the counsel given the architect of the Seville Cathedral when the cathedral chapter told him: “Build us a temple so vast that generations to come will have to call us madmen for having undertaken anything so extraordinary.” Yet there the cathedral stands today as a monument to their madness!<sup>33</sup>

The Seville Cathedral organist whom he heard at Christmas celebrations was Eugenio Gómez (1802–1871). Trained in his native Zamora first as a cathedral choirboy, then as organist, Gómez won the post of second organist at Seville cathedral in 1824, remaining there 42 years. On Liszt’s arrival he showed him a collection of his *Melodías Armonizadas*, then only twelve in number. Liszt wrote him a laudatory letter dated December 27, 1844, that concluded thus:

I can find only good things to say of your work. If I must find a defect, it is their number. Don’t stop with twelve, go on and write 24 or 48, and thus please all true music lovers. No more vacillations and delays: continue, continue, continue.<sup>34</sup>

Which advice Gómez took, composing another dozen dedicated to Eslava, chapelmaster of Seville Cathedral from 1832 to 1847, and a third dozen to the princess, Luisa Fernanda (1832–1897), Ferdinand VII’s daughter, whom he taught piano.

After Seville Liszt proceeded next to Cádiz. From that port he wrote a long letter to Grand-Duke Carl Alexander (1818–1901) of Saxe-Weimar dated January 1, 1845,<sup>35</sup> explaining the delays caused by his Spanish tour. After one concert in Cádiz he either

<sup>33</sup>*Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt*, ed. Erich Kloss (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), I, 144–145: “Mach Dich nur heran, und arbeite ganz rücksichtslos an Deinem Werk, für welches man allenfalls dasselbe Programm nun stellen könnte, wie das Domkapitel zu Sevilla bei Erbauung der Cathedrale dem Architekten stellte: „Bauen Sie uns solch einen Tempel, dass die künftigen Generationen sagen müssen, das Capitel war nârrisch so etwas Ausserordentliches zu unternehmen.“ Und doch steht die Cathedrale da!—”

<sup>34</sup>*Franz Liszt’s Briefe*, II, 396–397: “tout franc, j’en suis fort embarrassé, car j’ai beau les tourner et les retourner en tout sens, je ne trouve de tout côté que des compliments à vous en faire. . . . Un défaut pourtant, et un bien grave défaut, qu’a force de chercher j’ai découvert à vos *Harmonies* [Mélodies harmonisées]; c’est de n’être que douze au lieu de 24, ou 48—ainsi que tous les vrais amateurs le désireront.”

<sup>35</sup>*Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander Grossherzog von Sachsen*, ed. La Mara (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1909), pp. 1–3.

dallied a fortnight at the Hôtel de l'Europe (where he met a charmer named Emilia<sup>36</sup>) or made the side trip to Granada that has to be fitted in somewhere during the Spanish tour. Years later in *Des Bohémiens et leur musique en Hongrie* he recalled having watched gypsies wander at nightfall around the Alhambra.<sup>37</sup> At best he stayed in Granada a week. Sitwell has it that he waited, paralyzed, until "the early months of the spring" before going to Portugal, "after which we find him at Gibraltar." The truth is that he boarded the English steam packet *Montrose* at Gibraltar on January 12. After a few hours' stopover en route at Cádiz, he arrived at Lisbon among its 19 passengers January 15.

## LISBON

At once he took up residence in the luxurious Hôtel de France, at Cais do Sodré, n.º 3, where he remained until leaving Lisbon February 25.<sup>38</sup> So far as his having had any difficulty in deciding to visit Portugal, Lisbon had been his objective ever since entering the Iberian peninsula. As early as February 16, 1844, he had confided to the Comtesse d'Agoult in a letter from Weimar his expectation of receiving a decoration from the Portuguese crown.<sup>39</sup> This decoration was to be his reward for the *Heroischer Marsch im ungarischen Styl* [S231] (Hamburg: Craz, 1840; Berlin: Schlesinger, 1844) dedicated to the duke of Saxe-Coburg Ferdinand II (1816–1885), who after marriage in 1836 to the Portuguese queen Maria II (1819–1853) became one of the chief art patrons of the age. Although already composed in 1840, and in 1854 to be reworked for use in his symphonic poem *Hungaria* [S103], the march early in 1844 still awaited a suitable patron. It was Lichnowsky—who spent 1842 in Portugal and whose

*Portugal Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1842* (Mainz: V. von Zabern, 1843) was published at Lisbon in Portuguese translation in 1845—who instructed Liszt before ever he started for the Spanish peninsula on how to phrase properly the dedication to Ferdinand II. Liszt repented in a letter dated May 8, 1844: "As soon as I received your letter I wrote to [Schlesinger in] Berlin to get the matter of the Portuguese march straightened out, and I daily expect a reply with news that I will immediately convey to you."<sup>40</sup> From Bordeaux, where on September 30, 1844, he awaited departure on October 3 or 4 for Madrid, he wrote again to Lichnowsky. Among other news he outlined his travel plans:

Probably I shall go to Lisbon at the close of October. Tell me if there is anything that I can do for you there. Two words from you, whatever they may be, to Costa Cabral [1803–1889; chief minister of Queen Maria II after 1842, organizer of numerous cultural entities including the national conservatory], will put me more greatly at ease. May I count on you? From Lisbon I plan to return to Weimar at the end of the year and to be in Vienna around March 10 or 15."<sup>41</sup>

The frenetic enthusiasm of his reception at Madrid, Córdoba, and Seville had of course detained him. Rather than returning to Weimar at the close of December and reaching Vienna in March, he spent January 15 to February 25 at Lisbon and was again in Gibraltar on March 3, ready for a trip up the east coast of Spain.<sup>42</sup> Lisbon, because better prepared for him than was Madrid, welcomed him with even more perceptive applause. Typical of his advance newspaper publicity had been the item in the Lisbon *O Espectador* of December 27, 1844, quoting Espín's Madrid periodical *Iberia Musical y Literaria* (sponsor of his November 14 members-only concert in the salon of Instituto Español): "Apart from the gem-studded scarf pin worth 5000 francs

<sup>36</sup>Concerning her, see his letter to Baron Vincenz Kirchmayer in *Briefe aus ungarischen Sammlungen*, p. 55.

<sup>37</sup>*Des Bohémiens* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881), p. 229: "C'est la vue qu'ils frappent le plus vivement, lorsqu'on les voit errer à la tombée de la nuit entre les colonnettes brisées, les cypres mauresques de Grenade, aux alentours de cette merveille féerique qu'on nomme l'Alhambra; près des mosquées cristianisées de Cordoue ou dans les gorges de la Sierra-Morena."

<sup>38</sup>Pedro Batalha Reis, *Liszt na sua passagem por Lisboa em 1845* (Lisbon: Sasseti & C., 1945), pp. 15, 76. He departed February 25 on the English steamship *Pasha* (crew of 36 and a passenger list of 18).

<sup>39</sup>*Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult*, ed. Daniel Ollivier (Paris: B. Grasset, 1934), II, 330.

<sup>40</sup>*Bayreuther Blätter*, xxx/1–3 (1907), 32: "Aussitôt votre lettre reçue, j'ai écrit à Berlin pour tirer au clair l'affaire de la Marche Portugaise—j'attends réponse d'un jour à l'autre et vous en informerai aussitôt."

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 33: "Probablement j'irai jusqu'à Lisbonne à la fin d'octobre. Dites moi si je puis vous y être agréable en quoique ce soit. 2 mots pour Costa Cabral (ne m'importe qui vous jugeriez convenable) me mettraient plus à l'aise. Me permettez-vous d'y compter? A la fin de décembre je serai de retour à Weymar—et du 10 ou 15 mars à Vienne."

<sup>42</sup>*Briefe*, I, 50–52. In this letter to Franz von Schober he already anticipates the imminent end of his career as travelling virtuoso: "Meine Wiener Reise wird so ziemlich das Ende meiner Virtuosen-Carrière marquieren."

given him after a magnificent concert in the Spanish royal palace, Queen Isabella [II] made him a knight of the Order of Charles III." Also, Liszt had himself been conditioned in advance by Lichnowsky to appreciate Portugal as he had not been conditioned to appreciate Spain. Typical of Lichnowsky's encomiums was this passage in his *Portugal Erinnerungen*:

The carillons at Mafra are excellent, and among other admirable qualities they are so adjusted that to a hearer a hundred paces away they play a piece of music in as perfect concord as if it were music for four hands played at Leipzig on two pianos by Liszt and Clara Wieck, with their backs to each other.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, Lichnowsky had recommended him not only to Costa Cabral, but also to the two court officials whose access to the queen and king mattered most: the Duke of Terceira (1792–1860), who was Maria II's majordomo from 1841 to 1848, and the king's German-born chamberlain and factotum, Dietz.<sup>44</sup> The third person to whom Lichnowsky recommended him, and who aided him enormously in organizing his concerts, was Caetano Fontana—native of Milan who, after emigrating in 1835 to Lisbon, became harpist of the São Carlos opera house orchestra.<sup>45</sup>

As at Madrid, Liszt played and advertised the Boisselot piano. After his nine public concerts—five on his own account, two for public charities, and one each for the benefit of the tenor Tamberlick and the soprano Rossi Caccia—the Portuguese queen bought the very instrument on which he played privately as well as publicly, the instrument still today guarded as a relic at the Lisbon Conservatório Nacional de Música, stamped "N.º. 2027 Boisselot & Fils à Marseille."

At Lisbon, as at Madrid, it was the leading opera house in the capital that served for his contracted

<sup>43</sup>*Portugal. Recordações do anno de 1842*, 2ª ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1845), p. 137: "Na verdade estes carrilhões são excellentes, e têm entre outras cousas a particularidade admiravel, de que achando-se affastados um do outro mais de cem passos, tocam simultaneamente a mesma peça de música como se fora a quatro mãos, e com tanta perfeição, como quando Liszt, e Clara Wie[c]k, em Leipzig, tocam em dois pianos, voltando as costas um para o outro."

<sup>44</sup>Lichnowsky defended the king's private secretary against widespread calumny (*ibid.*, pp. 36–37).

<sup>45</sup>Ernesto Vieira, *Diccionario biographico de musicos portuguezes* (Lisbon: Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900), pp. 423–425.

public appearances. In São Carlos, renowned since its opening June 30, 1793, as one of the most sumptuous theaters in Europe, he played five concerts for his own profit—Thursdays, January 23, 30, and February 6; Saturday, January 25; and Monday, February 17. He played at a charity concert on Saturday, February 8, and at the benefit performances of Verdi's *Ernani* for Tamberlick on February 15 and of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* for the soprano Rossi Caccia on February 22.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, the February 8 charity concert in São Carlos produced only 168\$000 réis—after the theater management, Corradini & Lombardi, as well as the house orchestra, had ungallantly subtracted their usual fees from the total box office receipts.<sup>47</sup> In an act of personal largesse that Costa Cabral insisted on having publicized in the *Diario do Governo* of February 13 (1845), Liszt out of his own pocket then added 32\$000 réis to make the total forwarded to the Asylo de Mendicidade 200\$000 réis. Having now discovered that neither the São Carlos management nor house orchestra would join him in his charitable gestures, he moved his second charity concert, held for the orphan's home (Asylo de infancia desvalida), Wednesday night, February 12, to the hall of the elementary school in Carmo Square (aula da Sociedade de Instrução Primária, largo do Carmo).

What was his Lisbon repertory? The detailed programs of all except the last São Carlos appearance on February 17 were printed in *O Patriota* (January 23, 24, 30, February 7, 10, 12), *Diario do Governo* (January 21, 23, 25, February 5, 10, 13), *O Gratis* (January 23, 25, 30), and *A Revolução de Setembro* (January 22, 23). As at Madrid, the programs were divided into two parts, the house orchestra playing opera overtures to begin both parts and he himself closing each part with a grand pyrotechnical display piece. At his inaugural, the assisting artists were the tenor Tamberlick and the baritone Ciabatti, his travelling companion from Paris. After their duo Tamberlick sang a solo aria from Donizetti's *Maria Padilla* (1841). In contrast with his Madrid inaugural, Liszt played as the first of the three pieces in Part II a work not his own, Weber's *Aufforderung*

<sup>46</sup>Batalha Reis, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup>*Revista Universal Lisbonense*, iv/31 (February 20, 1845), p. 378: "A empresa do theatro de S. Carlos, que ía a meias nos productos da recita embolsou toda a sua parte; a orchestra fez-se pagar; e Liszt vendo que o restante não chegava a 200 mil réis, completou-os da sua algibeira dispendendo ainda para isso mais de trinta mil réis."

zum Tanze (*Convite à valsa*). His own works were the *Norma* reminiscences [S394], *Tell* overture [S552], a Hungarian melody, and the *Grand Galop chromatique* [S219]. At his next concert, January 25, he played the *Lucia* reminiscences [S397], *Réminiscences de Robert le Diable* [S413], works billed as *Tarantella, de Rossini*<sup>48</sup> and *Mazurka, de Chopin*, the Puritani polonaise [S391], and *Fantaisie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La Sonnambula* [S393]. On January 30 he played with the theater orchestra the Weber *Concertstück*<sup>49</sup> that he had saved for his valedictory Circo concert (November 21) in Madrid. Next came a cavatina from Auber's *L'Ambassadrice* (1836) sung by the prima donna Rossi Caccia.

After the Vals infernale (*Robert le Diable* reminiscences), Liszt on February 6 requested six themes from the audience, either sung to him or written out. As reported next day in *O Patriota*, the titillated audience at once broke into wild applause when Liszt, with his usual acumen, chose from the six the national anthem (known as the *Hymno de D. Pedro*). Composed by King Pedro IV (1798–1834), author of the Carta Constitucional of April 29, 1826, that had placed his daughter Maria II (“da Glória”) on the throne, this hymn was to remain the Portuguese national anthem from 1827 to 1910. (The king had studied with Sigismond Neukomm while at Rio de Janeiro, where he composed for his daughter's baptism, May 3, 1819, a Te Deum for mixed choir and orchestra. Together with João IV [1604–1656] he still today deserves to rank among the most accomplished royal composers in history.) After having the anthem sung to him, Liszt “played an admirable fantasia based on it, which feat if possible increased the enthusiasm of his multitude of admirers.”<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Liszt called his presto e brillante version of Rossini's *Soirées musicales*, No. 9 *La Danza Tarantella napolitana*. See *Thematisches Verzeichniss der Werke Bearbeitungen und Transcriptionen von F. Liszt Neue vervollständigte Ausgabe* (London: H. Baron, 1965), p. 81.

<sup>49</sup>The Oporto-born pianist João Guilherme Daddi (1814–1887) gave the first performance of the Weber *Concertstück* at Lisbon June 2, 1841. See Vieira, *Dicionário*, p. 375. Liszt therefore had the advantage at Lisbon of playing an already known work.

<sup>50</sup>*O Patriota*, February 7, 1845: “Mr. Liszt, depois de tocar com admiravel primor os motivos sobre a *Valsa infernal de Roberto o Diabo*, recebeu uns seis temas que lhe mandaram, motivaram a hilaridade e applausos publicos. O celebre pianista escolheu, dos seis o *Hymno de D. Pedro*, e sobre ele tocou uma admiravel fantasia, que se é possível veio ainda augmentar o entusiasmo dos seus muitos admiradores.”

At his São Carlos charity concert Saturday night, February 8, he repeated the *Tell* overture and chromatic galop from his January 23 inaugural concert.

Never before have we seen him so inspired. He played both works even faster, more animatedly, and more brilliantly than the first time [January 23]—and if enthusiasm swelled the first time, imagine the effect at their repetition. Liszt, whose philanthropy is no less known than his talent, gave us an example of how genius can be allied with virtue. His spirit, which comprehends the entire vast range of musical thought, at the same time encompasses every tender sentiment for his less fortunate fellow men.<sup>51</sup>

At Tamberlick's São Carlos benefit February 15 Liszt repeated the *Sonnambula* fantasy [S393] with which he had closed his January 25 concert. The novelty of the event was his two-piano *Réminiscences de Norma* [S655] played now with João Guilherme Daddi. (In Madrid this had been the work that he played November 13 with Güelbenzu at the Brizzi benefit.) During Liszt's final visit to London in April of 1886 he still remembered Daddi, asking Jaime Batalha Reis, then in London, about him. Duly reported to the 72-year-old Daddi on Batalha Reis's return to Lisbon, Liszt's concern after 41 years profoundly moved the veteran.<sup>52</sup>

The nine public concerts in Lisbon were rounded out with three private appearances. On Sunday, January 26, he played for the king and queen at the Ajuda Palace. Having gratified the king with the dedication of the *Heroischer Marsch*, he now deeply stirred the queen with his *Marche Funèbre de Dom Sébastien de Donizetti* (Vienna: Pietro Mechetti). Nothing could have been more timely in Portugal, where *Dom Sébastien, roi de Portugal*, the opera that Donizetti considered his masterpiece and that he dedicated to Maria II, was just then awaiting its première at São Carlos May 4, 1845 (after 32 perfor-

<sup>51</sup>*Diário do Governo*, February 10, 1845, p. 151: “Nunca o vimos tão inspirado. A synfonia de Guilherme Tell e o Gallope Chromatico ganharam hontem, debaixo das mãos do artista, mais rapidez, mais vivacidade, mais brilho do que da primeira vez que os tocara, e se na primeira vez tinham enchido de entusiasmo, julgue-se do effeito, que hontem deveriam produzir!”

<sup>52</sup>José Vianna da Motta, “O Centenario de Liszt,” *Illustração Portuguesa*, November 13, 1911, p. 605. According to Vieira (who supposed that Liszt and Daddi played Thalberg's *Norma* duo, not Liszt's), envious local Lisbon musicians—especially Xavier Mignone—made Daddi pay dearly for Liszt's favors.

mances at Paris Opéra, beginning November 13, 1843). How long beforehand Liszt had himself planned his homage to the Portuguese cult-hero can be surmised from the date of the copy deposited at the Paris Conservatoire—November 1844. Liszt had moreover lavished his best care on the march. On March 15, 1845, Donizetti himself acknowledged in a letter to Antonio Vasselli that Liszt's march made one's hair stand on end.<sup>53</sup> In response to this dedication and his palace performance, Maria II on January 26 not only made Liszt a knight of the Order of Christ (established 1318) but also rewarded him with a gold snuff-box set with diamonds that ever after he called his finest gift from royalty.<sup>54</sup>

On Monday night, January 27, he played at the mansion of her chief minister, Costa Cabral, in the Calçada da Estrêla. The third private party at which he played was given by the Viscount of Cartaxo, D. Luís Teixeira de Sampaio (1788–1865). Some girls present giggled, "What fun it would be to dance to Liszt's piano playing." All seigniorial charm, he acceded with some popular waltzes and polkas.<sup>55</sup> One party at which he did not play was the Apostolic Nuncio's, despite remaining until 3 in the morning. According to an article in the *Jardim das Damas* of February 15 signed with the pseudonym Pedro Cabal, he made light of losing his glasses at the nuncio's party with a witticism.<sup>56</sup> But the jest confirms what his portraits rarely hint at, that he was extremely myopic.

<sup>53</sup>Guido Zavadini, *Donizetti Vita-Musiche-Epistolario* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1948), p. 802: "Compera la marcia ridotta da Listz: fa spavento!" For a convenient summary of the opera plot, see William Ashbrook, *Donizetti* (London: Cassell, 1965), p. 498. The funeral march in Act III attends the corpse of a false Sebastian. The true Sebastian is killed by order of the treacherous Dom Juan two acts later.

<sup>54</sup>*Bayreuther Blätter*, xxx/1–3 (1907), p. 34 (letter dated at Lyons May 14, 1845): "L.L.M.M. de Portugal ont été souverainement gracieuses à mon occasion. La tabatière en or (et cette fois bien garni de Diamans), que Dietz m'a remis de leur part, est le plus magnifique cadeau royal que j'ai reçu."

<sup>55</sup>Batalha Reis, p. 27. According to *O Espectador* of December 20, 1844, the polka imported from Paris and London dominated all ballroom dancing at Lisbon that season. Henrique Zenoglio, dancing teacher at Sacramento N.º 22, 3rd floor, guaranteed "within the short space of 12 lessons to perfect any pupil in it."

<sup>56</sup>"Revista de Lisboa" in *Jardim das Damas*, February 15, 1845: "Mr. Liszt estando neste entrudo a divertir-se em casa de seu conhecimento, largou os seus olhos. Quando quiz sair, esteve por muito tempo a procural-os, sem os encontrar, e como lhe fosse necessario algum esforço para perceber os objectos, exclamou no seu desorientamento: *Il me faut des lunettes pour chercher mes lunettes.*"

On January 24 he joined the venerable Lisbon Irmandade da Gloriosa Virgem Martyr Santa Cecilia, a musicians' protective brotherhood founded in 1603 (reorganized 1760).<sup>57</sup> A month later he was invited to become an honorary member of the Academia Philharmonica de Lisboa, but for once he missed his cue. Arriving an hour late for the ceremony, he gravely offended the assembly of more than 300 bluebloods.<sup>58</sup> Fortunately he was on the eve of his own departure.

Two of Lisbon's most conspicuous composers dedicated works in honor of his visit: Manuel Innocência Liberto dos Santos (1805–1887) and Francisco António Norberto dos Santos Pinto (1815–1860). The elder in 1842 had succeeded Domingos Bomtempo as royal chapelmaster and in 1844 had become official music teacher of the royal family children.<sup>59</sup> His *Fantasia Brilhante sobre os Motivos da Polka e Galope dedicada ao seu Amigo F. Liszt*, Op. 11, for piano paid tribute to the social dances then most in vogue.

Santos Pinto—younger and more talented of the two dedicators—excelled as both a ballet and incidental music composer. A longtime hornist in São Carlos orchestra, he began seeing his ballets danced there in 1838. The title page of his dedicated work (now in the Lisbon conservatory library) reads: *8<sup>eme</sup> Ouverture À Grand Orchestre composée et dédiée à l'insigne Monsieur Franz Liszt Par son Admirateur F.A.N.S. Pinto Musicien de la Chambre de Sa Majesté très Fidèle, Professeur du Conservatoire Royal du Lisbonne*. Further to emphasize this over-

<sup>57</sup>Both Sampayo Ribeiro, opp. p. 132, and Batalha Reis, opp. p. 22, include facsimiles of his membership certificate certifying his having paid an entrance fee of 35200 réis. Concerning his légende *Die heilige Cécilia* completed in 1874 but conceived much earlier, see Liszt's *Briefe*, VII, 78, 80–81.

<sup>58</sup>"Liszt pelo avesso," *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, IV/30, pp. 365–366. As examples of Liszt's clay feet, the writer points to his improper conversation with private guests in boxes at his last benefit concert in São Carlos and above all his disrespect to the more than 300 members of the Academia Philharmonica: "Chegou o dia, chegou a hora aprasada, que eram as 8 da noite, todos os socios reunidos, mais de 300 senhoras presentes, enchente real nas salas da academia. M. Liszt tarda . . . uma hora depois apparece o desejado." Liszt stayed barely 20 minutes, refusing to remain in the hall to hear one of the chief lady singers of Lisbon. Worse still, he went outside to amuse himself during her performance, reading a newspaper.

<sup>59</sup>Facsimile of title page in Batalha Reis, opp. p. 76; composer's portrait opp. p. 66. Concerning Innocência dos Santos's superior pianism, see *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, IV/28 (1845), p. 338. He excelled "em mimo, em suavidade, em graça, em sentimento intimo, em discreta e abundante variedade."

ture as his best, Santos Pinto later on had himself painted holding the score in his right hand (the lengthy title translated into Portuguese and abbreviated),<sup>60</sup> and “during many years thereafter conducted this magnificent and elevated work at Saint Cecilia concerts.”

Liszt’s only dated composition during his Lisbon visit was *Le Forgeron* for male chorus and piano [S81 = Raabe 548]. Completed February 12,<sup>61</sup> this work (later orchestrated by Conradi) sets a text by Lamennais (1782–1854). Liszt left behind at least one manuscript of a piano piece—his preliminary sketch for the first subject of his *Ballade in D flat* [S170 (1845–1848)]. However, instead of D flat marked *andantino*, the 16-bar sketch is an *allegretto* valse version in A flat.<sup>62</sup> Guarded in a protecting frame at the mansion of the wealthy music lover and patron António Nunes dos Reis to whom it was given as a keepsake, this sketch was first published by the original owner’s great grandson in 1945 to mark the centenary of Liszt’s Lisbon visit.

In contrast with the facile A flat *feuille d’album* that he was to incorporate a quadrennium later in his first ballade (published 1849), Liszt’s posthumously published *Grosse Concert-Phantasie über spanische Weisen* (conceived at Lisbon, published 1887)<sup>63</sup> piles Pelion on Ossa so far as technical difficulties go. Not only is the Spanish rhapsody (composed at Rome, 1863, published 1867) shorter and technically less exacting, but also the separation of the stately folies d’Espagne variations from the capering jota makes the form of the rhapsody comprehensible at first hearing. The fantasy is formally much more complex. He opens with a fandango, the subject of which he recapitulates in fugato fashion at pages 16–20. Such quasi-learned treatment accords well with the subject—borrowed not directly from Spanish folklore<sup>64</sup> but from item 19 in Gluck’s *Don Juan* ballet (Vienna,

October 17, 1761).<sup>65</sup> This is, of course, the same fandango subject that Mozart levied in 1786 for an interlude in the third act finale of *Le Nozze di Figaro*.<sup>66</sup>

The one theme shared in common by Liszt’s rhapsody of 1863 and the fantasy of 1845 is the soulful *Abgesang* of the jota aragonesa.<sup>67</sup> After fandango and then jota, he reaches the third of the three dances on which the fantasy is based when the cachucha theme enters, to the surprise and delight of the listener, in canon at the double octave (pages 13–14). In the brilliant peroration of the fantasy (pages 21–31) he pits variations of the cachucha against the jota, both speeded up to frenetic fury. As for cachucha, it too (like the fandango) was a dance well known abroad before 1845. First popularized in Jean Coralli’s ballet *Le Diable boiteux* danced at the Paris Opéra in 1836 by Fanny Elssler, the cachucha had travelled with her to New York where as early as 1840 *La Cachucha* was published as the third of *Fanny Elsslers Dances*.

Far from being an unworthy crown to his Iberian tour, the Spanish fantasy is another of Liszt’s neglected masterpieces. Thinking not of local hearers but of a large international public, he correctly chose dance themes long typed abroad as Spanish. Within context, his “elaborating” them by the schooltext devices of canon and fugato was a stroke of genius. By so doing he counterpoised the mere glitter and glow that from his time to ours have always been considered the necessary hallmarks of Spanish style. Innovator that Liszt was in so many other departments, his Spanish fantasy, in company with Glinka’s *First Spanish Overture* of the same year, mark them both as prophets of works yet to be written by composers as different as Rimsky-Korsakov and Ravel.

## VALENCIA

His triumphal tour from Madrid to Andalusia to Portugal during the fall and winter of 1844–1845

<sup>60</sup>Facsimile of title page in Batalha Reis, opp. p. 98; composer’s portrait opp. p. 84.

<sup>61</sup>For data on Wagner’s thematic indebtedness, see August Stradal, “Wagner und Liszt,” *Neue Musik-Zeitung* (Stuttgart), xxxiv/16 (1913), “der Lisztsche Schmiedemännerchor mit Orchester *Les Forgerons* hat Aenlichkeit mit Siegfrieds Schmiedelied.”

<sup>62</sup>Facsimile first published in Batalha Reis, opp. p. 56.

<sup>63</sup>Peter Raabe, *Liszts Schaffen* (1931), p. 259, item 89, updated the orthography of the title to *Grosse Konzertfantasie*. Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Liszt*, p. 169, item 253, followed suit.

<sup>64</sup>For a folkloric fandango, see page 1 of Gottschalk’s *Souvenirs d’Andalousie* “improvised” at his Madrid Teatro del Circo concert on December 16, 1851, and premiered formally at San Telmo palace, Seville, August 25, 1852.

<sup>65</sup>Gluck, *Sämtliche Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966), II/1, 37–38.

<sup>66</sup>Mozart, *Werke*, Ser. 5/17, pp. 303–306. For discussion of Mozart’s elaboration of the fandango, see Siegmund Levarier, *Mozart’s Le Nozze di Figaro* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 179–181.

<sup>67</sup>*Grosse Concert-Phantasie* (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner, plate 7603), pp. 7–12; *Rhapsodie espagnole* (Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel, plate number 3224), pp. 16–17. Gottschalk included the same *Abgesang* in his *La Jota aragonesa* premiered at Madrid June 28, 1852. Glinka’s antiphonal orchestration of the passage entranced Liszt. “The opportunity to hear our Weimar orchestra play it will alone repay the trouble of making a trip here,” he promised Engelhardt in his letter dated January 8, 1858 (*Briefe*, I, 293).

having ended, Liszt returned from Lisbon to Gibraltar, whence he dispatched a letter to Lambert Massart dated March 6, 1845. In it he confided:<sup>68</sup>

My trip draws to a close. Málaga, Granada, and Barcelona will not detain me more than six weeks and around April 15 I will assuredly be in Marseilles.

He continues with the claim that unhappiness at Paris had driven him to Spain. He adds that he has seen a beautiful country and met many distinguished people. He promises to stay away from Paris several years, but wishes his mother and his children to visit him at Marseilles—or if not there, then at Heidelberg.

Boisselot [Louis Boisselot (1809–1850), mentioned above as son of the Marseilles piano manufacturer that supplied concert instruments for his Iberian tour], loyal and charming young man, has made the whole journey with me and will explain all the details when he visits Paris. He plans to build a two-manual instrument with pedals that will undoubtedly be a great success.

Two days later Liszt wrote from Málaga [March 8, 1845], worried about the delay in getting the Légion d'Honneur distinction. If unsuccessful, he resigns himself to reading Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*. His next letter (published in Jacques Vier's volume, page 74) is dated at Marseilles April 27, 1845. In it he promises that his confidential secretary, Ciabatt[i], will send Massart 1000 francs before the week closes to pay Mme. Bernard for Blandine's keep.

What transpired during the intervening weeks? After a stopover more likely to have occurred at Granada now than previously (*Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* [1881], 229), he spent at least twelve days, March 24 to April 4, at Valencia, whence he proceeded to Barcelona—arriving there April 5.

In 1945 Eduardo Ranch published privately at Valencia 200 copies of a 24-page monograph, *Centenario de la estancia de Franz Liszt en Valencia*. Only one copy in the United States is listed in the *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, 480, 532—and that copy could not be located in 1978 or later. Neither the British Museum [Library] *General*

*Catalogue of Printed Books Photolithographic edition to 1955* (1963), 198, 574, nor the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* lists it. Nor do *Grove V*, *Riemann*, *MGG*, or *The New Grove* include it in their Liszt bibliographies. A synopsis follows.

Liszt arrived at Valencia by the diligence from Alicante on Easter Monday, March 24, 1845, at 2:30 p.m. His travelling companions (as previously) were Ciabatti, and Louis Boisselot. For lodgings, the trio took up residence in the Fonda del Cid, at 5, Plaza del Arzobispo—then the most prestigious hostelry in the city.

The Teatro Principal program of the Scribe comedy given the night of March 24 (the opening night of the season) announced that “the celebrated artist Liszt has been engaged by the management for a special concert in this theater. It is needless to extol his celebrity, whose fame is already universal. The time and place of his concert will shortly be announced.”

On March 25, Giuseppina Brambilla (1819–1903) starred in *Un Avventura di Scaramuccia*, an 1834 opera by Luigi Ricci (1805–1859). On Wednesday, March 26, the theater program announced a gala for the morrow in these terms:

The presence in our city of the celebrated Franz Liszt [misspelled Listz here and later on] has aroused general interest. What has happened in other chief capitals of Europe is bound to be repeated here. No brief notice can do justice to his innumerable triumphs in all parts. A Madrid paper of March 20 reports from Lisbon that Queen Maria II bestowed the most lavish attentions on him. “Every night he played in the royal palace. Her Majesty invested him with the Order of Christ, embellished with diamonds. The first minister of the Portuguese realm Costa Cabral frequently entertained him while he was at Lisbon, as did also our [Spanish] ambassador, Don Luis González Bravo.” The management therefore takes great pleasure in announcing the following program for tomorrow night:

Part I. Overture to *Il Pirata* [1827] of Bellini, played by the entire theater orchestra. *Ouverture de l'opéra Guillaume Tell* [S552], played by Liszt. Duet from Bellini's *La Straniera* [1829] sung by Messrs. Ciabatti and Gómez. *Réminiscences de Norma* [S394], by Liszt.

Part II. Overture to *La Gazza ladra* of Rossini, played by the whole orchestra. Cavatina from Donizetti's *Torquato Tasso* [1833] sung by Brambilla. *Réminiscences des Puritains* [S390] by Liszt.

<sup>68</sup>Jacques Vier, *Franz Liszt, l'artiste, le clerc. Documents inédits* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cèdre, 1950), p. 66.

Part III. Overture to *Semiramide* of Rossini, played by the orchestra. Duet by Brambilla and Ciabatti. Hungarian melodies [S242, number unspecified] by Liszt, *Grand Galop chromatique* [S219].

Prices: lower boxes 40 reales, middle 30, upper 20; front orchestra seats 6 reales, back 4, general entry 6.

At 7:30. Program printed at Valencia by J. Ferrer de Orga.

The above program reappears in the Valencia newspaper *Diario Mercantil* of Thursday March 27 (prices omitted). Three days later *El Fénix* of March 30 carried an ecstatic review of Liszt's playing signed by "La Mosca" ("The Fly") that exhausted a panegyrist's vocabulary. Because of the unprecedented sensation that his playing had caused, his second concert was announced in a program that spelled his name (again Liszt) in still larger and more ornate letters, and again heralded his operatic transcriptions as the highlights of the program.

In full, the published program for Saturday March 29 at the Teatro Principal (also printed in the *Diario Mercantil de Valencia* of March 29) reads as follows:

Part I. Overture to Auber's *La Muette de Portici* [1828] played by the whole orchestra. *Invitation to the Waltz* of Weber, played by Liszt. Duo from *Lucia di Lammermoor* sung by Messrs. Natale and Gómez. *Fantaisie sur les motifs favoris de l'opéra La Sonnambula* of Bellini, by Liszt.

Part II. Sinfonia for the whole orchestra by Hipólito Escorihuela, chorus master of this theater. *Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor*, by Liszt. Cavatina from Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda* [1833] sung by Brambilla.

Part III. Overture to *La Rappresaglia* [Stuntz, 1819] by the orchestra. Duo from *El Relicario* sung by Signora Scannavino and Signor Natale. Aria from *Torquato Tasso*, by Brambilla. Improvisations on favorite themes selected by the public in attendance, showing Liszt's gratitude to the persons who hear him.

Prices, the same as previously.

At 7:30. Program printed by J. Ferrer de Orga.

What did Liszt play March 31 to "show his gratitude" to those who heard him? According to the *Revista teatral* in *El Fénix* of April 6: "Among other prodigies, he improvised some magnificent variations on a purely Valencian dolcian-and-drum

piece."<sup>69</sup> (The purely Valencian theme on which Liszt improvised "magnificent variations" was locally known as "Dance of the Dwarfs.") According to Benito Busó (concerning Busó, see José Ruiz de Lihory, baron of Alcahali, *La música en Valencia* [Valencia: Domenech, 1903], 199–200), the second theme handed Liszt by the theater orchestra violinist José Vidal Casanova had Andalusian, rather than Valencian, flavor.

On April 1 a Scribe comedy translated with the title *El marido desleal o quién engaña a quién* was played at the Valencia Teatro Principal. The evening's theater program carried this announcement:<sup>70</sup>

Liszt, who finds our songs so very agreeable because of the originality and deliciousness of their melodies, could not miss the opportunity to hear Del Río sing that type of songs in which he so notably excels. Del Río with greatest pleasure has acceded to Liszt's desires and in token of his admiration of that great artist will sing the delightful Andalusian song *El valentón del Perché de Málaga*—which despite numerous repetitions is always heard with pleasure.

Still another facet of Liszt's extraordinary ability to enchant the musician and the commoner alike is recorded in Benito Busó's memoirs:<sup>71</sup>

On Saint Vincent Ferrer's day, March 31, Pascual Pérez Gascón [1802–1864; biography in Ruiz de Lihory, 361–365], organist, and Escorihuela, cathedral maestro de capilla, called on him at the Fonda del Cid, 5, de Plaza del Arzobispo. After amenities, Liszt offered to im-

<sup>69</sup>"Liszt tomó parte en la función en obsequio de la prima donna, arrebatando, como siempre, a la concurrencia y haciendo, entre mil prodigios, el de improvisar unas magnificas variaciones sobre un tema puramente valenciano, cual es la tocata usual del *tabalet* y la *dolsaina*."

<sup>70</sup>"El señor Liszt, a quien la música de nuestras canciones es tan agradable por la originalidad y belleza de sus aires, no ha querido perder la ocasión de oír cantar al señor Del Río en este género, que tanto sobresale, cuyos deseos le ha manifestado, el cual ha accedido con el mayor placer a más leve insinuación, en prueba del aprecio y admiración que le merece tan célebre artista. En su consecuencia se presentará el señor Del Río a cantar la graciosa canción andaluza *El valentón del Perché de Málaga*, que sin embargo de sus muchas repeticiones, es siempre oída con aplausos."

<sup>71</sup>"Liszt pidió al organista Pérez Gascón que le diese un motivo de fuga con su contramotivo; después de algunos segundos de reflexión, se sentó al piano [que le fue facilitado por el constructor D. Pedro Gómez] e improvisó una fuga admirable. Muy emocionado, Pérez Gascón abrazó al maestro; mi compañero [Escorihuela] y yo permanecimos sentados sin pronunciar palabra, tan grande era nuestro éxtasis."



## Allegretto vivace

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature, starting with a quarter rest followed by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 3/4 time signature, featuring a series of eighth notes with trills (tr) above them.

The second system continues the piece. The upper staff has a quarter rest followed by a descending eighth-note scale. The lower staff continues with eighth notes and trills.

The third system shows the continuation of the eighth-note patterns in both staves, with trills in the bass line.

The fourth system includes a repeat sign. The upper staff has a melodic phrase with a sharp sign (#) above it. The lower staff continues with eighth notes and trills.

The fifth system features a section marked 'D.C.' (Da Capo). The upper staff has a melodic phrase with a sharp sign (#) above it. The lower staff continues with eighth notes and trills. A double bar line with repeat dots follows.

*D.C. Canto come dura el baile  
Para final salta de 3/4 a la Coda*

CODA

The Coda section begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). It features a melodic line in the upper staff and eighth notes with trills in the lower staff. The time signature changes to 2/4 and then 3/4.

Según unas notas dejadas por B. Busó, el motivo le fué dictado al gran pianista por el señor Vidal, notable violinista de la orquesta del teatro Principal.

provised not brilliant variations of the type that tickled the multitudes, but rather a fugue on any subject with countersubject prescribed by Pérez Gascón. After a few moments of reflection on what Pérez Gascón gave him, Liszt then seated himself at the piano [loaned him by Pedro Gómez] and improvised an admirable fugue. Overwrought, Pérez Gascón embraced the master. Escorihuela and I meanwhile sat speechless, so great was our ecstasy.

On Tuesday afternoon, April 1, Liszt repaid the compliment of their call with a visit to the cathedral. After vespers (again according to Busó):

We hoped to have him all to ourselves. But no, the canons all remained in their seats, respectfully silent. The afternoon sun played through the cathedral windows, lighting up the gilded altar furnishings. Liszt sat next to me, listening attentively while Pérez Gascón played a fugue on the organ. When it was done he rushed to the organ, and fervently kissed Pérez Gascón's hands. Small hands, yes, but capable of playing marvelous music. Next, Liszt himself played the organ. When he finished, the canons could hardly restrain themselves from applauding.

On Wednesday, April 2, Liszt visited an important civil official—the Procurator of Tribunals, Antonio Ayala, living with his wife Vicenta Vidal at Calle de Crépsins, núm. 4. At the first of Liszt's public concerts, Ayala had been seized with transports on hearing Liszt play the overture to *Guillaume Tell*. Now Liszt enchanted him anew by playing Schubert's *Serenade*. The memory of it still lingered in Ayala's memory like perfume in May of 1872, when he wrote a letter to Francisco Asenjo Barbieri containing these recollections:

A mutual friend brought him to our house on April 2, his saint's day, San Francisco de Paula. Beside my bed, where I lay prostrate, was placed a sweetest-toned grand piano. What did he play? Schubert's celestial *Serenade*. I cannot describe my emotion. His playing revived me, brought me back to myself, restored me to health. He embraced me before departing, like an angel of the resurrection.

## BARCELONA

Liszt left for Barcelona on the diligence from Valencia April 3. The next day he reached the Catalonian capital ready for fresh triumphs. Barcelona—in 1849 a city of 175,331 inhabitants—

was to be the last halting point in his Iberian peninsula tour that had begun with four concerts in Madrid October 31, November 2, 5, and 9, 1844.

Barcelona, always a competitor with Madrid throughout Spanish music history, boasted not one but two opera houses playing to crowded houses in the 1844–45 season, the Teatro Principal and the Teatro Nuevo. Verdi's *Nabucodonosor*, premiered at La Scala March 9, 1842, reached Barcelona May 2, 1844, and was that year repeated 34 times.<sup>72</sup> Pablo Piferrer y Fábregas<sup>73</sup> (Barcelona, December 11, 1818; died there July 25, 1848), critic for the prestigious *Diario de Barcelona*, at once hailed it as portent of a major career. *Linda di Chamounix* (1842) joined five earlier operas by Donizetti heard that season at either the Teatro Nuevo or Principal. Verdi's *Ernani* (Venice, March 9, 1844) and *I Lombardi* (Milan, February 11, 1843) played 72 and 44 times in the 1844–45 Barcelona season. Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* played 34 times in the next season, beginning September 6, 1845. The opera craze at Barcelona also permitted Mercadante, Pacini, Luigi Ricci, Lauro Rossi, and even an opera or two composed by a Spaniard being heard.

The milestones in Barcelona music history reached shortly before Liszt's visit included the founding in 1838 of the Liceo Filarmónico Dramático Barcelonés de su Majestad doña Isabel II (predecessor of the present-day Conservatorio Superior del Liceo), in 1844 of the Sociedad Filarmónica for promoting public concerts, and in 1845 the announcement of a music periodical, *El Filarmónico* to be edited by José Piqué y Cervero (1817–1900) and Salvador Casañas.<sup>74</sup> The next two periodicals were *El Barcino Musical* and *La Lira Española*, directed in 1846 by Antonio Passarell.<sup>75</sup>

The dean of Spanish newspapers, *Diario de Barcelona* (began publication October 1, 1792), announced Liszt's arrival in the issue of Friday, April 4, 1845:<sup>76</sup> "Today Liszt is due in this city, after hav-

<sup>72</sup>Jose Subirá, *La ópera en los teatros de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Ediciones Librería Millá, 1946), II, 26.

<sup>73</sup>Concerning his musical criticism, see Ramón Carnicer, *Vida y obra de Pablo Piferrer* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), pp. 261–272.

<sup>74</sup>Francisco de P. Baldelló, *La Música en Barcelona (Noticias históricas)* (Barcelona: Librería Dalmau, 1943), pp. 156–158.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 159–160.

<sup>76</sup>Federico Lliurat Carreras gathered various *Diario de Barcelona* notices of Liszt's visit in his article, "Liszt en Barcelona Sus conciertos y sus programas," *Ritmo Revista Musical Ilustrada*, xvi/192 (December 1945), pp. 7–9, 36 (accompanying his article, however, with an inappropriate portrait of Liszt in old age).

ing delayed his journey from Valencia some days to play there a third concert requested by his numerous devotees. Next Monday, April 7, we will have the pleasure of admiring his artistic talent in a concert that he will give in the great hall of the Sociedad Filarmónica."<sup>77</sup> Saturday, April 5, the *Diario de Barcelona* welcomed Liszt thus:

The celebrated, eminent artist Liszt, upon whom all European monarchs and nations have heaped honors, riches, and distinctions, and whose reception has been one uninterrupted series of triumphs and ovations wherever his prodigious talent and his unequalled mastery have been divulged is now amongst us. Yesterday he arrived here in the diligence<sup>78</sup> from Valencia. Cultured, music-loving Barcelona will hasten to applaud frenetically this peerless genius who can never be sufficiently extolled.

His first concert, priced at 20 reales vellón, took place Monday night, April 7. He played (Part I) *Ouverture de l'opéra Guillaume Tell* [552], *Fantaisie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La Sonnambula* [393]; (Part II) *Réminiscences des Puritains* [390], unspecified "Hungarian Melodies" [from 242], and *Grand Galop chromatique* [219]. After his opening number in each part, Ciabatti sang solos: arias from Donizetti's *Roberto Devereux* and Mercadante's *Il Bravo*.

His second program at the Salón de la Sociedad Filarmónica on the following Friday, April 11, with Ciabatti again alternating, was announced to contain *Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor* [S397], *Réminiscences de Norma* [S394], Tarántula de Rossini, Mazurka de Dupin (misprint for Chopin), *I Puritani*, *Polonaise* [S391], and an improvised Fantasia a capricho. His third concert, given at the Teatro Nuevo April 14, now with an orchestra alternating with his usual four solos, was announced in the *Diario de Barcelona* to contain a repeat of his William Tell overture from the first concert,

<sup>77</sup>The Sociedad Filarmónica, which within only a year had become the focal point of Barcelona cultural life, used for its concert hall during 1845 the "former library of the Augustinian fathers, which is very large and suitable for such events." See Baldelló, p. 31. Located in the Calle del Hospital, this hall later became the Odeón Apolíneo, theater of the Asociación Apolínea. Around 1900 it was called the Odeón. By 1945 it had been torn down.

<sup>78</sup>The first railroad in Spain, inaugurated October 28, 1848, connected Barcelona with Mataró. This new mode of transportation was violently opposed by those who profited from the former modes. On October 24, 1848, a wooden bridge on the new railroad line was burned by those opposed to railroads. See Carnicer, p. 137.

*Réminiscences de Robert-le-Diable. Valse infernale* [S413], Weber's *Aufforderung zum Tanze*, Op. 65, and again a Fantasia a capricho improvised from subjects given by the audience. The four orchestral numbers began with a *Gran Sinfonía El diablo de Sevilla*; next came an unspecified waltz by Strauss [Johann (i) (1804–1849)], Rossini's *La Gazza ladra* overture, and Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy* overture. Liszt's fifth concert, given April 18 at the salon of the Sociedad Filarmónica, included Weber's *Concertstück*, Op. 79, a repeat of the *Norma* réminiscences from his second concert, *La Serenata e l'orgia, Grande Fantaisie sur des motifs des Soirées musicales* by Rossini, and a repeat of the *Grand Galop chromatique* that had closed his first concert. His sixth and last concert, April 19, was announced to include *Lucrezia Borgia* réminiscences [S400], *Fantaisie sur des motifs favoris de l'opéra La Sonnambula* [S393], *Réminiscences des Puritains* [S390], and another Fantasia a capricho (improvisations on submitted subjects).

Antonio Fargas [y] Soler (Palma de Mallorca, 1813; Barcelona, 1888) wrote the review of Liszt's April 7 Barcelona concert that appeared in the *Diario de Barcelona* of April 10. One of the founders of the Sociedad Filarmónica in 1844, Fargas y Soler later served three decades as a music critic for *Diario de Barcelona* (1850–1880) and in 1853 published a 230-page *Diccionario de música* explaining terms and instruments. His panegyric reads thus:

At last arrived the night of April 7 announced as the time of his first concert in the great hall of Sociedad Filarmónica, which was courteously offered four months ago by the society. Raised four palms [33 inches] from the tiled floor on a spacious platform stood back-to-back two beautiful and superb pianos from the famous Marseilles firm of Boisselot, which were for Liszt to alternate in playing. No sooner had the hour struck when Liszt entered the hall which was overflowing with a resplendent crowd. Not all could see him as he entered but at once the throng begins unanimously shouting *Viva Liszt*, not stopping until he was seated at the piano.

Liszt's prodigious execution cannot be explained to those who have not witnessed it, because it both stupefies and enraptures the hearer. Who can adequately describe the motions of his steely hands in bravura passages, the avalanche and hammering produced by fingers as nervous as they are flexible and elastic, and that whirl at his desire? Who can tell the sum of the endlessly varied arpeggios? Only such a privileged talent as his, aided by long years of hard and persistent study, could tell how the justly lauded king of pianists performs his feats. No less

stirring are his looks while performing all his marvels. The concert closed with the same thunderous applause that greeted every piece that he played. The public went away stirred by the profound emotion that admirable Liszt had evoked. He in turn could not hide his gratitude for a triumph so complete and overwhelming. And you, incomparable artist, forgive the rude brush that dares a pallid sketch of your genius so much better portrayed by other pens that have occupied pages in exalting you!

Liszt's second concert (Friday night, April 11) inspired the lengthiest and most knowing review that he received anywhere during his Iberian tour. Its author was the 26-year-old Pablo Piferrer. Of the 71 pieces published by Piferrer during his employment from 1841 to 1845 by the *Diario de Barcelona*, 18 were critical reviews of operas,<sup>79</sup> 16 of concerts. In his 1642-word review of Liszt's second concert, reprinted in *Estudios de crítica Colección de artículos escogidos de D. Pablo Piferrer* (Barcelona: Imprenta del Diario de Barcelona, 1859), pages 191–194, he begins by recalling the sensation caused when Rossini's revised *Stabat Mater*<sup>80</sup> had its Barcelona première in March 1844. Nothing has equalled that sensation until Liszt's concerts. He so completely dominates the piano that his whole countenance breathes his supernal mastery. With his left hand combining melody and accompaniment, the right is left free to cover the whole keyboard in arpeggios fleet as lightning. He can trill indefinitely with any two fingers, right or left hand. His prodigious leaps never miss their destination. Either hand plays rapid scales in thirds, sixths, and even tenths. He does all his incredible feats with complete ease. One has to look at him to be convinced that two hands, instead of many, are playing. Incredible power alternates with transparent lightness, delicacy, and poetry.

<sup>79</sup>Four reviews of Donizetti operas (*Lucrezia Borgia*, November 10, 1841; *Belisario*, July 24, 1842, and November 24, 1844; *Maria Stuarda*, February 28, 1843; *Betty*, December 12, 1844); three of Rossini (*Guillaume Tell*, January 23, 1842; *Mosè Nuovo*, August 14, 1842; *Otello*, May 21, 1844); two of Verdi (*Oberto*, February 3, 1842; *Nabucodonosor*, May 10, 1844); 1 each by Bellini (*I Puritani*, November 15, 1841), Mercadante, Federico and Luigi Ricci, Alessandro Nini, Giovanni Antonio Speranza, and José Piquer—the one local composer (*Ernesto, duca di Sicilia*, November 18, 1844).

<sup>80</sup>*Estudios de crítica*, p. 31, likened the revision to the changes made in *Mosè* for the Paris production of *Moïse* (Opéra, March 26, 1827). The first *Stabat Mater*, commissioned for Madrid première April 5, 1833, contained twelve numbers, six of the twelve by Giovanni Tadolini; the Paris revision (Théâtre-Italien, January 7, 1842) consisted of ten numbers, all Rossini.

After his réminiscences of *Lucia di Lammermoor* seemed to have exhausted all proofs of executive qualities, his *Norma* fantasy added to his proofs of executive superiority his merits as harmonist and consummate contrapuntist. He enriched the andante introduction to *Norma* with ever new and more effective variations. He played the cabaletta that ensued with such brio that his left hand alone accomplished everything heard in the orchestral accompaniment. He endowed the aria *Deh! non voler* with all the sadness, all the profound tenderness that Bellini poured into that melody, perhaps the finest in the opera. Then, while assigning *Norma's* bitter feelings vented in *Qual cor tradisti* to one hand, Liszt knew how to conjure the accompanying sounds of mournful violins and of funereal timpani rolls in the other. His accurate arpeggios from top to bottom of keyboard did not interrupt the enchanting cantabile of the Act II finale. Next, as if all this were not enough to dazzle and bewitch the audience, he immediately combined two melodies—the cabaletta of the introduction in one hand with the cantabile of the Act II finale in the other. Leaving out of account the difficulty in pairing two melodies of such different character, one threatening and warlike, the other dolorous, who can sufficiently exalt the imagination of the pianist who can combine them while maintaining inviolate the character and rhythmic features of each melody?

No less incredible did it seem that such vigor and fierceness could give way to the grace, the exquisite delicacy, and the delicious pleasure of Dupin's [should be Chopin's] mazurka, Rossini's tarantella, and the polacca from Bellini's *I Puritani*. Hands that had seemed iron hammers in the *Norma* fantasy now produced balmy breezes. The exquisite purity of his passage work now found a paragon in its swiftness. Greater charm and refinement than his reading of Bellini's polacca could not be imagined. Flowers grew from his fingers while traversing Bellini's seductive gardens of delight.

In the improvised caprice that ended the concert, he took the motives offered him of *Los toros del puerto* ["Bulls of El Puerto"] and the Cabaletta of the final rondo in Bellini's *La Sonnambula*, and lavished upon these subjects all manner of arpeggios, trills of the most difficult and prolonged type, chords repeated so fast as to suggest organ sonorities, thunderous crescendos, coruscating key changes, and other variants.

In fine, no words of praise can adequately express the wonderment caused by this Hercules who accomplishes every impossible labor to perfection beyond wildest imagination.

Piferrer's recognition of what precise themes from *Norma* Liszt combined exemplifies his familiarity with the operas themselves. Piferrer exceeded all

other Iberian critics of Liszt's performances because he himself was a trained musician who had studied theory with Ramón Vilanova Barrera (1801-1870), and guitar with Buenaventura Bassols.<sup>81</sup> He himself notated the folk melodies that he collected in summer walking tours throughout Catalonia.<sup>82</sup> Best of all, he had a preternatural musical memory. His musical criticism was furthermore founded on a well-developed esthetic.

Liszt gave both his third and farewell Barcelona concerts at the Teatro Nuevo (Plaza Real at La Rambla), a theater in 1843 converted into such from a Capuchin *convento*. The novelty of the program was the *Réminiscences de Lucrezia Borgia* [S400]. At "public request," he repeated the *I Puritani* réminiscences [S390] and *Sonnambula* fantasia [S393] already played at previous concerts.

In the *Lucrezia Borgia* he gave renewed proofs of his tremendous force, facility, fluency, and accuracy. As before, runs based on chromatic figures, bravura passages alternating between hands, cantabile lines surrounded by fleecy accompaniments distinguished his playing.

He was given four motives on which to improvise his final number: the Jota aragonesa, a cavatina melody from *Ernani*, a local Catalan air known as *Tantino dels gegants*, and a beautiful original theme which he was asked to vary in a particular mode [not major or minor], and which posed considerable difficulty. After playing each of the four motives, he began improvising variations and capricious embellishments lasting fifteen minutes.

During the playing of the *I Puritani* réminiscences, pigeons carrying verses in his praise were let loose in the theater and with greatest modesty he acceded at the end to the public demand that a crown be placed on his head.<sup>83</sup>

Summarizing the total impact of his six concerts, the Barcelona music historian Baldelló wrote:

"Never were critics in Barcelona so prodigious in their eulogies, with absolutely no reservations whatsoever."<sup>84</sup> Manuel Rocamora (1863-1948) agreed with Baldelló and Lliurat in treating Liszt's sojourn at Barcelona from April 4 to 21, 1845, as a nineteenth-century cultural milestone.<sup>85</sup> In accounting for Liszt's unique conquest, Rocamora emphasized his being "the first concert pianist of world fame to appear in Barcelona"; his having preceded his arrival with a torrent of publicity concerning his previous decorations, honors, and tributes; his charm at social gatherings arranged with leading local musicians (the Sociedad Filarmónica hosted a banquet for him at the Hotel Oriente); his willingness to hear, compliment, and even give lessons to local prodigies; his generosity in playing a benefit concert April 15 for the local Casa de Misericordia.

As examples of his complaisance, Liszt not only heard and highly praised Vilanova's favorite pupil, Raymondi Ranieri, but also gave the youth a few free lessons before sailing from Barcelona for Marseilles April 21 on the vessel *Fenicio*.<sup>86</sup> Among others whom Liszt heard and praised: the twelve-year-old prodigy Evaristo Bosch played one of Liszt's own compositions, and the reigning local virtuoso Nogués performed in his presence at the Sociedad Filarmónica auditorium Liszt's *Lucia* réminiscences.<sup>87</sup>

Among further explanations of Liszt's never later duplicated success: his Barcelona programs contained among announced numbers only the same sure-fire operatic transcriptions with which he had subdued Madrid, Córdoba, Lisbon, and Valencia, and only the same sure-fire shorter pieces.<sup>88</sup> He continued playing the same make of seven-octave piano with two pedals throughout his entire Iberian tour.<sup>89</sup> His novelties at Barcelona were local airs on which

<sup>81</sup>Baldelló, pp. 33-34: "Jamás crítico alguno ha sido tan pródigo en elogios y alabanzas, sin ninguna suerte de reservas."

<sup>82</sup>"Comentario musical: En 1845, Liszt dió seis conciertos en Barcelona," in *Divulgación Histórica, Textos radiados desde la emisora de "Radio Barcelona"* (Barcelona: Aymá, Editor [Instituto Municipal de Historia], 1947), III, 196-200.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

<sup>85</sup>Even the Chopin mazurka and Rossini tarantelle played at his second Barcelona program, April 11, were repeated from his second Lisbon concert the previous January 25. See Pedro Batalha Reis, *Liszt na sua passagem por Lisboa em 1845*, pp. 30 and 65. Liszt played the Weber *Concertstück* with orchestra at the Lisbon São Carlos theater January 30.

<sup>86</sup>He left behind in the peninsula at least the one Boisselot grand mentioned above at p. 10, now a showpiece at the Lisbon Conservatório Nacional.

<sup>81</sup>Carnicer, pp. 261-262. Vilanova Barrera was from 1830 to 1833 chapelmaster of Barcelona Cathedral, where at Christmas, 1828, was premiered his famous *Misa pastoril*. He studied at Milan in 1829-1830. In later years he ranked as a leading Catalan composer and teacher. Bassols, who published guitar pieces and guitar-accompanied songs, conducted the chorus that sang at Piferrer's funeral. His fame extended to Chile, which he visited in 1854.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 205: "during twelve summers from 1835 to 1846 he collected *canciones populares*, taking down both text and music." Serra Pagés lists the places where such folk melodies were collected.

<sup>83</sup>Spanish text of this review (*Diario de Barcelona*, April 25, 1845) in Federico Lliurat Carreras, "Liszt en Barcelona," pp. 9, 36.

he improvised at ends of concerts. At his second concert he improvised on a bullfight song. He elaborated on at least one popular Catalonian song about giants at his last concert. His *Rhapsodie espagnole* (Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel, 1867, 27 pp.) consists of Folies d'Espagne and Jota aragonesa—the latter harking back to his final Barcelona concert. But even the idea of improvising on locally favorite airs had been his custom everywhere else in the peninsula.

So far as other explanations for his unparalleled triumphs go: (1) None of his concerts in the Spanish peninsula failed to include desirable vocal relief. He never surfeited hearers with too much piano sound. On more important occasions, an orchestra

played selections opening Parts I and II. (2) In keeping with his aura, he stayed only in the most expensive and prestigious hotels. In advance of every fresh locale, he prepared his entry with a publicity barrage stressing his royal decorations. Before arrival anywhere, he learned who were the political powers, and made sure that they received letters extolling him. (3) Simultaneously, he condescended to flatter every local musical nabob, whether at national or provincial capitals.

In summary, his overwhelming successes in Spain and Portugal testify to his unique musical genius, but equally so to strategies that befitted both a statesman and a military conqueror.