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Klára Hamburger

Madame Liszt

The Correspondence between Liszt and his Mother

M^adame Liszt¹ has become a favoured topic since 1981 when I first started to write, and read, papers about her.² No one among the blue-blooded blue-stockings who swarmed around Liszt is as lovable as this simple unschooled woman, torn out of her nation, soil and language, who spent much of her life as a lonely cripple. She worshipped her son and her three grandchildren,³ to whom she was father and mother⁴ and home-maker. She was full of good sense, sound of judgement, of an honest and pure heart, self-sacrificing, noble in her thinking, tactful, respectful, but maintaining her *tenne* and dignity at all times and with everybody. She never complained when in a difficult situation, her gay disposition never let her down. Famous contemporaries such as Émile Ollivier⁵ or Richard and even Minna Wagner⁶ remembered her with affection.

Lately I have been engaged in preparing her correspondence with her son for the press, for a first critical edition, in their original language, true to the autographs.

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The letters are in the Richard-Wagner-Archives in Bayreuth, with a few letters in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar. (Dr Sven Friedrich, the Director of the Wagner-Archiv and Evelyne Liepsch, who heads the music collection of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv have been of considerable help.) A large part of these letters are not immaculate. The letters Liszt wrote to his mother were published in 1918, in La Mara's arbitrarily amended and truncated German translation.⁷ La Mara even changed the text of those that were written in German, and she did not indicate where she had left out passages. Lately a number of letters have appeared here and there, in part or whole, in a scholarly text true to the original and in the original language, but with spelling more or less modernized, as well as in a variety of translations,⁸ and some have also surfaced as citations in Alan Walker's three volume biography of Liszt.⁹

The letters which Anna Liszt wrote to her son—like so much other material classified in the Bayreuth archives for close on a century—was only made accessible to Count Richard du Moulin Eckart, Cosima's besotted biographer, who made use of it in his own capricious way.¹⁰ In recent years some have been published, in whole, or as citations, in the original or as translations.¹¹ Mária Eckhardt has chronologi-

cally arranged all the correspondence between mother and son in Bayreuth.¹²

Nevertheless, a complete collected critical edition appears justified. It will appear in the summer of 2000, edited by Gerhard Winkler (Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, Eisenstadt), as a joint publication by the Burgenland (Austria), Liszt's native region (belonging to Hungary at the time), and Bayreuth (Germany), the town where he died and lies buried.¹³ It includes 121 Liszt letters, 70 written by Anna to her son, 11 to Princess Carolyne Wittgenstein and two others. The 28 Liszt letters to his mother which are in Paris and which were published by Jacques Vier were merely listed, or referred to by me.¹⁴

Liszt's correspondence with his mother does not offer as much in family gossip or of musical interest as his letters to his daughter Cosima or to his granddaughter Daniela.¹⁵ Yet I should report on how this collection of letters, given the authentic, original texts and the—albeit broken—reciprocity adds extra hues to the portrait of mother and son, the more so since their relationship was out of the ordinary. There is really no comparable documentation in the papers other great composers left behind.

Franz Liszt was a good son. He loved his mother. He mentioned her with tenderness and gratefully in a will dated September 14th 1860.¹⁶ Anna Maria Liszt, née Lager, 39 years of age, moved to Paris after the sudden death of her husband, into an alien ambience, taking up an entirely new role. She turned into Madame Liszt, although she had no French, becoming the confidante of the young travelling performer of growing reputation, taking care of him and of his affairs. Liszt maintained his mother from his boyhood to her death at the age of 78. He corresponded regularly with her though rarely saw her. The majority of the letters he wrote his mother are

intimate and loving. Occasionally their relationship was troubled, but that was due to his mistresses of rank. Early in the forties, at a time when his mother had charge of his three children, Liszt, incited by Marie d'Agoult, was about to send his mother home to Austria. In the event his relationship with the Countess cooled, and he continued to entrust his children to his mother, who enjoyed his full confidence.

Anna defended her son when *tout Paris* gossiped that he was living with a married Russian princess and that he was about to abandon his life as a virtuoso. She wrote to him, anxious at first, although she would have loved to see him settled at the side of a lady beyond reproach in every respect: "bleib noch *garçon* und laß dich nicht viel ein mit hohe Damen du hast ja Lehrgeld gegeben."¹⁷ (Stay single and don't get mixed up with snooty ladies you have already paid your fees). But she wrote nicely to Princess Carolyne de Sayn-Wittgenstein, consoling her for her confiscated fortune, assuring her that it was love alone that was important.¹⁸ The Princess did not reckon the "mother-in-law" as her chief foe, but Marie, the children's mother. At first she wrote fawning letters to Anna, signing them "loving daughter", but things changed as soon as more suitable means offered themselves to alienate the children from their mother. At times like that the musician and the Princess, in complete cahoots—without flinching—put their knives not only into those affected, but also into the loving Granny, as her letters show.¹⁹ His complete letters reveal that in 1850, when Liszt asked his mother to come to Weimar, he did so at the instigation of the Princess, for purposes of a tough financial accounting.²⁰ At that time and in 1855, rightly considering the removal of her beloved grandchildren to be cruel, and then again in 1856/57 when Blandine Liszt

returned to Paris, "Madame Liszt" even dared to contradict her son, of course in vain.²¹ Unpleasant confrontations between Carolyne and Anna also occurred, over which a deeply offended "Madame Liszt" complained to her son.²² A few of Liszt's very strong letters to his mother, which La Mara omitted, were the fruit of this family conflict.²³ The old lady had to move from a home shared with her grandchildren to somewhere more modest and solitary, handing over her possessions. With a view to putting an end to the Paris connections, the Princess later invited her to move in with them in Weimar. In 1849 Anna Liszt still dreamt "und solltest du einst [...] die *furstinn legitiment* besitzen, dann hoffe ich auch daß du nicht mehr so entfernt sein wirst von diese Kinder als auch von mir. vielleicht auch selbst in einen Haus ich mit die Kinder wohnen und du mit deiner Gattin."²⁴ ("and should you in the future ... make an honest woman of the Princess then I hope that you will no longer be so far from these children and from me. Perhaps I shall live in the same house with the children and you with your wife.") When she became aware of the real aims and methods of the Princess, she preferred to give up her much missed son, choosing independent solitude in Paris for the days of her old age.

Anna Liszt's letters are as charming as she was herself. They are all in copy-book Gothic, uniformly dated but the spelling and grammar are completely haywire. The use of capitalization and punctuation are idiosyncratic. What makes them irresistible beyond their content are the French interpolations in roman script. A French learnt purely by ear, when no longer young.

The letters in Liszt's hand are instructive, both formally and linguistically. Those of the 1830s are barely legible, the hand-

writing is a scrawl and there are interpolations in all directions. Ninety-six of the 121 letters are in French, the other twenty-five wholly or partly in German, for some time in gothic script. (At first the German interpolations were meant to ensure that no one except his mother should be able to read them). Anna Liszt found it increasingly difficult to read her son's gothic letters, in his youth she told him off because of his illegible hand. Later she asked him to write in French. These letters tell us a lot about Liszt's knowledge of German. Liszt never attended school and soon came to think of French as his first language. His German was at first what he had learnt from his mother, the demotic vernacular of his native region. It was only in his Weimar years that he felt truly at home in educated German, and even then the old laxities intruded into his letters.

The first letter by Liszt to his mother is a terror-struck call by a seventeen-year-old from his father's deathbed.²⁵ His later letters—especially in the pre-Weimar years—primarily concern commissions, and things to be arranged, since his mother looked after all his affairs. Those dated after 1848 were mostly written on festive occasions, as on each other's birth and namedays. It was the custom that you should write and give presents on your own birthday and nameday too.

Liszt reports on his own health and that of those near and dear to him (his mother's letters contain many questions in this respect and much good advice) and on his own successes. He writes more rarely about his plans. Blandine, Cosima and Daniel naturally always feature prominently in the letters of both. Once the occasions for confrontation past, Liszt's letters are gentle and full of anxiety. The two moving letters in which he tells his mother of Daniel's and Blandine's death are in Paris, hence they are included in the Vier volume.²⁶

A close reading of the *Urtext* throws light on much that is little known or that was earlier misinterpreted. There are expressions which refer to the early intimate relationship between mother and son. Thus he sometimes signs his letters *Frater* which has been explained in terms of his links with the Franciscans. His own explicit explanation is more appealing. On May 8th 1858 he wrote to his mother that the Pest Franciscans had admitted him as a confrater, continuing (in his uncorrected spelling): "Dans mon enfance (qui si je ne me trompe se prolonge jusqu'à présent) je me souviens que vous m'appeliez souvent 'ungeschikter Frater'! Eh bien c'était un présage de ma nouvelle dignité qui ne me corrigera pas de maladresse à l'endroit de beaucoup de choses de la vie—entre autres celle de ne savoir amasser de l'argent pour de sages économies, et aussi celle de ne savoir comment m'y prendre pour que les gens ne disent pas quantité de betises sur mon compte etc etc"....²⁷ That year, on July 23rd, he wrote for St Anne's Day: "*Frater* (comme vous me faisiez l'honneur de m'appeler dans mon enfance) n'aura pas de distraction cette année et n'oubliera pas votre fête, très chère mère".²⁸ In a letter dated September 18th 1860, in German, Liszt adds another adjective obviously taken from his mother's "telling-off" vocabulary. "Entschuldigen Sie tausendmal den *schuseligen Frater*, ihnen noch nicht gedankt zu haben [...]"²⁹ ("A thousand pardons please for the harum-scarum fellow for not having thanked you yet.") *Frater*=fellow is therefore self-ironical, kin to the *Fainéant* with which he signs letters to Princess Carolyne.

Liszt was known for his sarcasm and irony. No other relationship shows however that he could charm with his wit as well. La Mara took good care to excise this. Anna Liszt was a gay, cheerful soul who radiated her good humour to her sur-

roundings. No one else could have written to Liszt as his mother did on August 7th 1848: "dein Schreiben an mich als dieses für die Kinder hat uns große freude gemacht, und die Kinder die nun seit 15 July schon bei mir in die *vacance* sind, überlesen deinen brief oft mahlen und lachten mit Thränen im Augen dabei."³⁰ ("Your letter to me as well as that to the children was a great joy to us and the children who have been on holiday with me since July 15th re-read your letter time and time again, laughing with tears in their eyes.") Or on May 25th 1858: "Ich wünsche dass du mir so heiter, selbst lustig in deinen Schreiben seyn magst wie dieß letzte mal. Ich habe von Herzen gelacht bei Durchlesung."³¹ ("I wish you were always as gay, even joyful in your letters as this last time. I laughed heartily as I read it.") La Mara excised those charming lines in which Liszt playfully mocks the way his mother, in her French, systematically confuses voiced and unvoiced consonants in the manner of her native German dialect. The passage, impossible to translate, runs as follows: "Schade dass Sie so eine ein-gefleischte Pariserin geworden sind 'barlez-fous vranzé, Matame? [= "parlez-vous français, Madame"—...] 'adentez et addenzion!—'emprassez' les enfans et moi aussi avec, quoique je sois [...] un honteux—sans honte—mais très bon enfant et très attaché fils au fond."³²

La Mara left out everything that did not fit in with an idealized Liszt, and she did so without in any way indicating the omissions. This included important messages related to "filthy lucre" as well as boorish abuse. The latter was meant for the impertinent hangers on who importuned the mother of the absent famous musician.³³ Both mother and son were large of heart. Many of these tiresome people asking for money or favours were, at least at first,

passed on to his mother by Liszt himself, who was also free and easy with loans and donations.

But there were troubles of a different sort as well. We hear about a Mme F., a German adventuress, who, in September-October 1848 tried to blackmail Liszt's mother.³⁴ Liszt had no secrets from his mother, he did not deny that he had an affair with *cette fichue drôlesse*, this wretched loose woman, but he resolutely denied that he put her in the family way. And he was right to do so since it soon turned out to have been a bluff.³⁵ This woman was but an insignificant episode in Liszt's life, her existence might, however, refute his far too prudish biographers.

It is his mother's letters that let us know what trouble Bernard Latte, her son's highly regarded Paris publisher caused her. Liszt had given a guarantee to the publisher, but Latte was not able to clear off his creditors. Harrassed by them, he now approached Anna Liszt begging that Liszt should sign a bond with a view to delaying payment. Early in 1847 Liszt was in Russia. He had met Princess Wittgenstein around that time and so he in no way reacted to his mother's or Latte's anxious letters. So Latte, in his embarrassment, had to trouble Anna Liszt³⁶ until Liszt finally, already in Constantinople, took the necessary steps.³⁷

Liszt, the grandseigneur, demanded that his children and pupils behave in a manner that befitted their estate. He also wished his mother to be ladylike, prescribing the kind of seal she should use,³⁸ and the newspaper she should take.³⁹ La Mara does not point the passage, dated February 21st 1851 in which he told his mother not to collect his quarterly draft on the Rothschild bank in person: "A votre âge, et dans votre

position, il est inutile qu'on vous voie trotter pour quelques cents francs, comme une rentière du Marais [...]"⁴⁰

Mme Liszt was fond of icecream and Liszt sometimes sent her extra money for the purpose. Schiller was her favourite poet⁴¹ and she was much moved by *Les Misérables*⁴². She drew the attention of Liszt to pamphlets on Görgey, Batthyány and Kossuth by Bertalan Szemere, an exile who was a friend, and she sent them to him.⁴³ As long as she was able she attended recitals, always accompanied. Thus she heard Paganini and Rubinstein⁴⁴ play, and she wrote to Liszt about the Paris success of his pupils.⁴⁵ She sympathized deeply with the victims of war and revolution, writing to her son in 1849, after the defeat of the Hungarian War of Independence: "wie hättest du können gleichgültig bleiben mit deinen gefühlen?"⁴⁶ ("How could you have remained indifferent in your sentiments?") Her piety was great, nevertheless she opposed any commitment to the Church by her son, perhaps because her husband whom she loved and to whom she was true for forty years as a widow, had almost joined the Franciscans as a youth. In 1858, when Liszt became their *confrater* in Pest, she wrote him: "ich muss dir aufrichtig sagen, ich war gar nicht *enchanter* [...] was hast du denn mit die *Franciscains* zu thun [...]"⁴⁷ ("I must honestly tell you, I was not enchanted in the least. What business have you with the Franciscans?") When, in 1865, she found out that Liszt had taken minor orders in Rome, she burst out crying. Here, as a conclusion to this short dual portrait sketch, is Anna Liszt's last surviving letter to her son, with the French words in italics, in keeping with the different scripts for different languages in the original.

Paris le 4 Mai 1865⁴⁸

Mein liebes Kind,

Man spricht oft so lange von einer Sache bis sie sich in Wirklichkeit zeigt, so ist es mit deiner jetzigen Standes-Veränderung⁴⁹—Öfter sprach man hier in die *journeaux* dass du den geistlichen Stand gewählt hast wo ich sehr dawider kämpfte, wenn man mir davon sprach. Dein Schreiben von 27n avril⁵⁰ welches ich gestern erhielt erschütterte mich, ich brach in Thränen aus. Verzeih mir, ich war wirklich nicht gefasst auf solche Nachricht von dir. Nach Überlegung (man sagt die Nacht bringt *Conseil*) ergab ich mich in deinen, als auch den Willen Gottes, und ward ruhiger, denn alle guten Eingebungen kommen von Gott und dieser Entschluss den du nun gefasst hast ist nicht ein Entschluss *vulgaire*. Gott gebe dir Gnade im zu seinen Wohlgefallen zu erfüllen. Es ist eine grosse Sache, aber du hast dich auch schon seit langer Zeit dazu bereitet *au monte Mario*⁵¹ ich merkte aus deine Briefe an mich seit einiger Zeit, sie lauteten so schön, so *religieuse*, das ich oft sehr gerührt war und weihte dir einige Thränen *en lisant*. Und nun in diesen letzten mein Kind *tu me demande pardon—oh!* ich habe dir nichts zu verzeihen deine guten Eigenschaften übertrafen viel, viel deine Jugend-

fehler, du hast deine Pflichten immer streng in jeder Hinsicht erfüllt wodurch du mir Ruhe und Freude gewährtest, ich kann leben ruhig und ohne Kummer, was ich nur dir zu verdanken habe. Lebe nun glücklich, mein liebes Kind, und wenn der Seegen einer schwachen sterblichen Mutter etwas bewirken kann bei Gott, so sey tausendmal gesegnet von mir. *Ollivier est touché de ta resolution et te tés quelques lignes si amicale a lui dans mon lettre, aussi, lui il restra toujours le même pour toi*⁵².

Baron Larrey⁵³ kam gestern mich sehen. Er las in die *journeaux* von dir. Er wollte wissen ob es wahr sei *il me charger des Compliment et d'amietée sincere pour toi*, Rominge⁵⁴ aussi kam um zu wissen die Wahrheit. Ich werde nun viele *visites* haben jetzt über dieses *événement*.

Adieu mein liebes Kind, du machst mir die Hoffnung dich dieses Jahr noch hier zu sehen möchte Gott dass dieses Versprechen in Erfüllung geht, oder gehen kann.⁵⁵ Ich befehle dich den lieben Gott und verbleibe

deine
treue Mutter
Anna Liszt.

Wenn du mir schreibst nimm schwarze Tinte und eine bessere Feder, meine Augen sind Schwach.

Paris, the 4th of May 1865

My dear child,

One goes on talking about something until it shows up in reality. That is true of your present change in status. There has been much talk in the papers here of your chosing to take holy orders and I always fought against it if anyone spoke to me about it. Your letter of April 27th which I received yesterday gave me a shock. I burst out in tears. Forgive me but I was really not prepared for such news from you. After thinking things over (as they say, night provides counsel), I was reconciled to yours and God's will, all good suggestions come from God and decision which you have now taken is not a vulgar decision. May God give you grace to satisfy his pleasure. It is a big thing but then you have prepared yourself for it for some time on the Monte Mario, as I noticed in your letters to me for some time, they sounded so beautiful, so pious, that I was often much moved and I devoted some tears to you while reading. Now, in your last, you ask me for forgiveness my child, oh! I have nothing to forgive you, your good qualities always exceeded by far the faults of your youth, you always did your duty to the let-

ter in every respect, thus securing me peace and joy. I can live quietly and without grief, something that I owe only to you. Be happy, my dear child, and if the blessing of a weak mortal mother can achieve anything with God then be blessed a thousand times by me. Ollivier as well is moved by your resolution and the very amiable lines to him you enclosed in my letter. He as well will always remain the same to you.

Baron Larrey came to see me yesterday. He read in the papers about you. He wanted to know if it was true and he asked me to pass on his compliments and to assure you of his sincere friendship. Rominge also came to discover the truth. I shall have many visits now because of this event.

Good bye my dear child. You give me hope to see you here this year. Please God that this promise will be fulfilled or can be fulfilled.

I commend you to God and remain

your
loyal mother
Anna Liszt

If you write to me use black ink and a better pen, my eyes are weak.

NOTES

- 1 ■ Anna Maria Liszt, née Lager, 1788–1866.
- 2 ■ "Madame Liszt. Versuch eines Porträts auf Grund von bisher unveröffentlichten Dokumenten." In: *Anna Maria Liszt. Katalog der Ausstellung*, 24. 4.–30. 9. 1986. Stadt Krems, Historisches Museum, pp. 20–25. In greater detail in: *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, [below: *Stud. mus.*] 27, 1985. pp. 325–378; "Aus der Korrespondenz der Familie Liszt." In: *Stud. mus.*, 31, 1989, pp. 441–463.
- 3 ■ Blandine Rachel, Mme Émile Ollivier, 1835–1862; Cosima Francesca Gaetana, 1837–1930, Hans von Bülow's, later Richard Wagner's wife; Daniel Henri, 1839–1859.
- 4 ■ Countess Marie d'Agoult, née De Flavigny, the mother of Liszt's children 1805–1876.
- 5 ■ Émile Ollivier, liberal French lawyer and politician, 1825–1913. Even after his wife's death her grandmother still lived in his household, and he buried her too. "J'éprouve un véritable plaisir à causer avec cette bonne vieille femme à l'esprit si serein et si naïf" (Émile Ollivier: *Journal*, T1–2, 1846–60, 1861–69. Choisi et annoté par Théodore Zeldin et Anne Troisier de Diaz. Paris 1961, n.p. 2. vol. pp. 70–71.) He wrote much the same thing to Princess Carolyne de Sayn-Wittgenstein. (Anne Troisier de Diaz: *Émile Ollivier et Caroline de Sayn-Wittgenstein. Correspondance 1858–1887*. Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1984, p. 74.
- 6 ■ Richard Wagner, 1813–1883. Minna, née Planer, 1809–1866, Wagner's first wife. Wagner wrote to Liszt on March 29th 1860: "I am on the best of terms with Mama. The old lady often moves me through her love and empathic insight." Minna Wagner: "I have got to know Liszt's mother who lives here alone as a dear old lady and friend, I often visit her and grow ever fonder of her. In: Julius Kapp: *Richard Wagner und die Frauen*. Berlin, Schuster & Löffler, 1912, p. 159.
- 7 ■ La Mara [Marie Lipsius] (ed.) *Franz Liszts Briefe an seine Mutter*. Aus dem Französischen übertr. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918.
- 8 ■ E.g.: Jacqueline Bellas: *Liszt et le Département des livres*, in: *Stud. mus.* 28, 1986, pp. 89–97; Pierre-Antoine Huré—Claude Knepper (eds.) *Franz Liszt: Correspondance*. Lettres choisies, présentées et annotées. Paris, Lattès, 1987; Thomas Leibnitz: "Franz Liszt und seine Mutter". Zur Geschichte einer Beziehung in Briefen. In: *Anna Maria Liszt. Katalog der Ausstellung*. op. cit. pp. 9–19. Pauline

- Pocknell: "Franz Liszt à Bourges". In: *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry*, No 113. (Mars 1993). pp. 23–48.
- 9 ■ Alan Walker: *Franz Liszt 1. The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847*. London, Faber & Faber, 1983. 2. *The Weimar Years 1848–1861*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1989. 3. *The Final Years 1861–1886*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.
- 10 ■ Richard, Graf Du Moulin Eckart: *Cosima Wagner*. Bd. 1: *Drei Masken*, München–Berlin, 1929.
- 11 ■ Klára Hamburger: "Madame Liszt" In: *Stud. mus.* 27, 1985, pp. 325–378.; Klára Hamburger (ed.) *Aus der Korrespondenz der Familie Liszt*. In: *Stud. mus.*, 31, 1989. pp. 441–463.; Klára Hamburger (ed.): *Franz Liszt: Lettres à Cosima et à Daniela*. Présentées et annotées. Sprimont, Mardaga, 1996; Thomas Leibnitz: op. cit.; Alan Walker: op. cit.
- 12 ■ Mária Eckhardt: "Une femme simple, mère d'un génie européen: Anna Liszt. Quelques aspects d'une correspondance." In: *Actes du Colloque International Franz Liszt*. Éd. Serge Gut. No. spécial de la *Revue musicale*, nos. 405–406–407. Paris, Richard Masse, 1986. pp. 189–196.
- 13 ■ The book will be sponsored by the Burgenland and by the city of Bayreuth, and published on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of their cultural partnership.
- 14 ■ Jacques Vier: *Franz Liszt. L'Artiste—Le clerc*. Paris, Les Éditions du Cèdre, 1950.
- 15 ■ Klára Hamburger: *Franz Liszt. Lettres à Cosima et à Daniela*. op. cit.; Klára Hamburger: "Liszt, Father and Grandfather. Unpublished letters to Cosima and Daniela von Bülow." In: *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, No. 121, vol. 32, Spring 1991; pp. 118–131; Klára Hamburger: "Zur Bedeutung der unveröffentlichten Familienbriefe für das Thematische Verzeichnis Franz Liszts." In: *Stud. mus.*, 34, 1992. pp. 435–443.
- 16 ■ *Franz Liszts Briefe*, hrsg. von La Mara, 5 vol. No 127. p. 55. Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909.
- 17 ■ The first letter in the volume under preparation: A 25, dated 1849, Feb. 13. In the Richard Wagner-Archiv: RWA II Cg. 21. The second: A 18, 1847, Dec. 9., [Goethe- und] S[chiller]-Archiv, Weimar, 59/22, 13.
- 18 ■ Carolyne de Sayn-Wittgenstein, née Iwanowska, 1819–1887. The letter's data: AW 4, 1849 March 8. RWA, II Cg. 67
- 19 ■ See A 31, 1855 Sept. 3., RWA II Cg. 27/1–2 and as listed in Note 21.

- 20 ■ See F 72, 1849. Oct. 22. RWA II, Cb–1, 45
- 21 ■ Note 19 and [in the volume] A 40, 1856. Dec. 29, RWA, II Cg. 36; A 41, 1857 Feb. 9, RWA II Cg. 37; A 42, 1857. Feb. 17, RWA II Cg. 38/1–2.
- 22 ■ Note 19.
- 23 ■ Jacques Vier, op.cit: XXVIII, 1850. March 25. XXIX, 1850 July 15. [In the volume under preparation:] F 87, 1856 Nov. 14, RWA II Cb, 120; F 88, 1857. Jan. 2, RWA II Ca–2, 58/1–2.
- 24 ■ A 29, 1849 Aug. 1., RWA II Cg. 25.
- 25 ■ F 1, 1827 Aug. 24. RWA II Ca–1, 1.
- 26 ■ Vier, XXXI, 1859. Dec. 16., XXXVI, 1862. Sept. 27.
- 27 ■ F 94, 1858 May 8, RWA II Ca–2, 64/1–2.
- 28 ■ F 95, 1858 July 2., RWA II Ca–2, 65.
- 29 ■ F 105, 1860 Sept 18, RWA II Ca–2, 75.
- 30 ■ A 20, 1848 Aug 7. GSA 59/22, 13.
- 31 ■ A 53, 1858 May 25, RWA II Cg. 46. It refers to: F 94, 1858 May 8, RWA II Ca–2, 69/1–2.
- 32 ■ F 82, 1854 Apr. 20, RWA Ca–2, 53.
- 33 ■ Liszt's expressions: archimiséral petit gueux (F 41), canailles, carottes, carotteurs, parasites, Auspumper (F 41, F 45, F 49, F 51, F 62, F 65, F 66, F 69, F 70, F 73, F 77).
- 34 ■ A 21, 1848 Sept 15, RWA II Cg. 17; A 22, 1848. Oct 5, RWA II Cg. 18; A 23, 1848. Nov 18, RWA II Cg. 19.
- 35 ■ F 69, 1848 Sept 21, RWA II Ca–1, 44; F 70, after 1848. Oct. 5, RWA II Cb, 123/1–2.
- 36 ■ A 14, 1847 Jan 12, RWA II Cg. 12; A 15, 1847 Jan. 28, RWA II Cg. 13; A 17 1847 June 12, RWA II Cg. 15.
- 37 ■ Vier, XXIV, 1847 July 6.
- 38 ■ F 47, late in 1844 or early 1845, RWA II Cb, 115.
- 39 ■ F 51, 1845 May 6, RWA II Ca–1, 27.
- 40 ■ F 77, 1851 Feb 21, RWA II Ca–1, 49/1–2.
- 41 ■ Friedrich von Schiller, 1759–1805.
- 42 ■ Anna Liszt's letter to Blandine Liszt–Ollivier, 1862, July 8.: Bibl. Nat. Paris, N.a.fr.25.179, tome V. Klára Hamburger: "Madame Liszt", *Stud. mus.* 27, 1985, p. 348.
- 43 ■ A 36a, 1856 March 12, RWA II Cg. 32/2; A 60, 1859 Aug. 12, RWA II Cg. 53. Bertalan Szemere, 1812–1869, Home Secretary in the first Hungarian Government responsible to Parliament. He and his

- family, in exile in Paris, were Anna Liszt's friends. His pamphlets on Count Lajos Batthyány (1806–1848) Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) and Arthur Görgey (1818–1914) were published by Hoffmann in Hamburg.
- 44 ■ A 5, 1832. March 25, RWA II Cg. 5; A 44, 1857 Apr. 24, RWA II Cg. 39. Niccolò Paganini, 1782–1840, Anton Rubinstein, 1829–1894.
- 45 ■ Hans Bronsart von Schellendorf, 1830–1913. A 41, 1857 Febr. 9, RWA II Cg. 37; A 42, 1857 Febr. 17, RWA II Cg. 38; A 43, 1857 March 30, RWA II Cg. II. Hans von Bülow, 1830–1894, A 58, 1859 March 29, RWA II Cg. 50. Carl Tausig, 1841–1871, A 58 as above. 66. Ingeborg Starck; v. Bronsart, 1840–1913, A 58 as above, 1860 Apr. 2, RWA II Cg. 59.
- 46 ■ A 24, 1849 Jan. 26, RWA II Cg. 20.
- 47 ■ A 53, 1858 May 25, RWA II Cg. 48.
- 48 ■ A 70, GSA 59/22, 13. This letter was written after a gap of almost four years, at least, the last letter before it was dated July 1861
- 49 ■ Liszt took minor orders on April 25th 1865
- 50 ■ He writes beautifully about this to his mother. Vier, XLIX, pp. 137–139.
- 51 ■ Since June 20th 1863 Liszt had been a resident of the Madonna del Rosario Convent on Monte Mario.
- 52 ■ In the same letter Liszt assured his liberal son-in-law Ollivier that his sympathies for him were in no way affected by this step. Ollivier in turn reciprocated also via Anna Liszt. He repeated his assurances in a letter to Princess Wittgenstein dated May 31st 1865 (in: Anne Troisier de Diaz op. cit. p. 56) adding that Liszt's step had not surprised him. What had really upset Anna Liszt (according to Ollivier) was the thought of Liszt wearing that dreadful tricorne.
- 53 ■ Hippolyte Larrey (1808–1869) Physician to Napoleon III, his father was a famous surgeon in the Grande Armée.
- 54 ■ An unknown acquaintance
- 55 ■ This wish was not fulfilled. Anna Liszt passed away on February 6th 1866. By the time Liszt arrived in Paris on March 5th 1866 (for the performance of the *Gran Mass*) he was only able to visit her grave in the Cimetière Montparnasse.