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Franz Liszt's Heir: Ferruccio Busoni and Weimar

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When Franz Liszt died, the world lost an innovative composer, mentor, and pianist. Although his influence did not die with him, few of his successors can claim to have walked in his footsteps – to have lived and taught in the same rooms – and to have shared many of his ideals. Ferruccio Busoni did just that when the Grand Duke Carl Alexander invited him to hold piano master classes in Weimar in 1900 and 1901, just as he had invited Liszt to do nearly two decades earlier (1881–1885).

This article shows how Liszt's activities in Weimar as Pedagogue and as Kapellmeister (1848–1861) became models for Busoni as he sought to position himself as a prominent 'musical polymath' at the turn of the century. Yet Busoni not only emulated Liszt, he also promoted him in an age when the older composer was considered of only tangential importance.

By producing authoritative editions of Liszt's music, and perhaps more significantly, by emulating Liszt's activities as a transcriber and composer, Busoni enhanced piano sonority while extending Liszt's ideas about the future of music. In that way, he shared attitudes associated with the Zukunftsmusik *movement, and his outlook was rooted in Liszt's compositions, as opposed to Richard Wagner's. At the same time, he helped foster a lineage of young musicians who patterned their careers and music after Liszt.*

Drawing on surviving memoirs, letters, scores, essays and concert programmes, this article thus explores Liszt's impact on Busoni and his mentees. It reveals a musician not only emulating Liszt, but also expanding upon his ideas and promoting them to others.

> The musical sun, which set at Liszt's death, shines again through Busoni. He warmed the night through his art, with which he caused the individuality of each person to flourish. It is the desire of all his students that it may be granted him henceforth through the magic of his art, and through his fascinating spirit-filled dealings, to influence the art world.
>
> Adolf Mirus, 1901[1]

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[1] Die musikalische Sonne, welche mit Liszt's Tode untergegangen, gewinnt durch Busoni wieder neuen Glanz. Er erwärmt durch die Macht seiner Kunst, womit er die Entwicklung in jedem Einzelnen zur Blüte gebracht hat. Es ist der Wunsch aller seiner Schüler, dass es ihm vergönnt sein möge, sich auch fernerhin durch den Zauber seiner Kunst, durch seinen fascinierenden, geistvollen Umgang musikalischen Einfluss in der

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When Franz Liszt died in 1886, the world lost an innovative composer, mentor and pianist. Yet his influence did not die with him. Even so, few of his successors can claim to have walked in his footsteps – to have lived and taught in the same rooms – and to have shared many of his ideals. Ferruccio Busoni did just that when the Grand Duke Carl Alexander (1818–1901) invited him to hold piano master classes in Weimar in 1900 and 1901, just as he had invited Liszt to do nearly two decades earlier (1881–1885).[2] Liszt's years in Weimar as court composer, from 1848–1861, also led to the development of some of his most innovative experiments in form, colour and the melding of the poetic and the musical – experiments that Busoni admired.

This article shows the ways in which Liszt's Weimar years became models for Busoni, as he sought to position himself as a prominent 'musical polymath' at the turn of the century. By living, teaching and performing in the same Weimar buildings as his predecessor, such as the Tempelherrenhaus and the Hofgärtnerei, Busoni presumed to 'assume Liszt's mantle'. Hans Huber has aptly described him as an heir of Liszt's Weimar tradition:

> Of all the interpreters of Liszt's piano works, Busoni stands first and foremost in our own time, and probably also for the future, both in his understanding of the Weimar tradition and in his aesthetic and cultural talents, and, last but not least, in his fabulous, unrivalled piano technique.[3]

Yet Busoni not only emulated Liszt, he also promoted him in an age when he was considered of only tangential importance. By producing authoritative editions of Liszt's music and, perhaps more significantly, by emulating Liszt's activities as a transcriber and composer, Busoni enhanced piano sonority while extending Liszt's ideas about the future of music. For instance, he explored new ways of using the pedals to create interesting sonorities and colours at the piano. In this

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Künstlerwelt zu erringen.' Adolf Mirus, 'Die Meisterschule von Busoni zu Weimar', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 97 (1901): 464. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Although Busoni had proven to be an effective teacher since his first position in 1888 at the Helsinki Music Institute, he considered giving piano lessons in traditional institutions to be drudgery. Teaching appointments at the Helsinki Music Institute (1888–90), the Moscow Conservatory (1890–91), and the New England Conservatory (1891–92) ended in frustration. Busoni was hindered by restrictions on lesson time, an emphasis on technique, and little control over the student selection processes, among other things. Never desiring to teach in an institutional setting again (even though he continued to teach privately), Busoni turned down teaching jobs to focus on a performing career. For more information about these early appointments and Busoni's Weimar invitation, see the following sources: Antony Beaumont, *Busoni the Composer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985); Edward Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni: A Biography* (1933; London: Eilenburg Books, 1974); Erinn Knyt, 'Ferruccio Busoni and the New England Conservatory: Piano Pedagogue in the Making', *American Music* 31/3 (2013): 277–313; Larry Sitsky, *Busoni and the Piano: The Works, the Writings and the Recordings* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986); H.H. Stuckenschmidt, *Ferruccio Busoni: Chronicle of a European*, trans. Sandra Morris (London: Calder and Boyars, 1970); Roberto Wis, 'Ferruccio Busoni and Finland', *Acta musicologica* 40/2 (1977): 250–69.

[3] Unter allen Interpreten der Klavierwerke Liszt's steht Busoni für unsere Zeit und wahrscheinlich auch für die Zukunft in ganz erster Linie, sowohl durch seine Verständnis für die Tradition von Weimar, wie durch seine ästhetische, kulturelle Begabung, wie 'last not least' durch seine fabelhafte, unerreichte Klaviertechnik. Hans Huber 'Liszt and Busoni', *Basler Nachrichten*, 10 January 1917.

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way, he shared attitudes associated with the *Zukunftsmusik* movement, and his outlook was rooted in Liszt's compositions, as opposed to those of Richard Wagner.[4] At the same time, he helped foster a lineage of young musicians who patterned their careers and music after Liszt.

The surprising absence of many primary source materials relating to Busoni's promotion of Liszt leads us to rely on his behaviour – on a history defined primarily by recorded actions rather than archival documents. Based on surviving memoirs, letters, scores, essays and concert programmes, this article thus explores Liszt's impact on Busoni and his pupils. It reveals a musician not only emulating Liszt, but also expanding upon his ideas and promoting them to others. In the process, it enriches understanding of the role that Liszt played in Busoni's creative activities and adds to recent scholarship about the scope of Liszt's legacy in the early twentieth century.[5]

The Liszt–Busoni Connection

Like many of his generation, Busoni was initially sceptical of the artistic merit of Liszt's compositions and interpretations. According to Larry Sitsky, 'there used to be a popular myth – and the misconception still exists – that Busoni was a pupil of Liszt, indeed, the greatest pupil of Liszt. In reality, Busoni's personal connections with Liszt were tenuous.'[6] In a letter to his wife dated 2 August 1907, Busoni reveals just how far this myth was from the truth – his adoration of Liszt developed only in his maturity after extensive exposure to his compositions:[7] 'Liszt I misunderstood at first, then I adored him, and then quietly admired him'.[8] Busoni initially felt ambivalence toward the music of Liszt, and he never studied with him. In 1877, Busoni heard the aging Liszt perform his Concerto in E-Flat, S. 124, and found it less than satisfactory.[9] He also performed for Liszt as a boy; but when his father asked for a letter of recommendation, Liszt reportedly refused on the grounds that he never gave such letters.[10]

Even despite initial ambivalence, study of Liszt's compositions eventually convinced Busoni of their merits. Edward Dent claims that Busoni's earliest performance of a composition by Liszt took place in 1878, when he was 12. From 1879 to 1889, Busoni also programmed 17 additional compositions by Liszt in his recitals. Dent argues, however, that it was only as a professor of piano at the Helsinki Music Institute in 1889 that Busoni really began to appreciate Liszt's

[4] By contrast, Anton Bruckner, Gustav Mahler, Hugo Wolf, and Claude Debussy, for instance, can be viewed as following Wagner's vision of *Zukunftsmusik*.

[5] See, for instance, James Deaville and Michael Saffle, eds, *Liszt's Legacies* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2014) and Joanne Cormac, *Liszt and the Symphonic Poem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[6] Sitsky, *Busoni and the Piano*, 211.

[7] For a comparison of literature about Busoni and Liszt, see 'Busoni e Liszt' www.rodoni.ch/busoni/cronologia/Note/notecrono9303.html (accessed 24 June 2015). The website contains excerpts on the topic from several authors, including Sergio Sablich, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, and Larry Sitsky, among others.

[8] Busoni, letter of 2 August 1907 to his wife, in Ferruccio Busoni, *Letters to his Wife* [1938], trans. Rosamond Ley (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 211.

[9] See Sitsky, *Busoni and the Piano*, 209.

[10] Edward Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni*, 24–6. If true, this anecdote seems to be a misrepresentation, as Liszt is known to have written letters of recommendation.

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music.[11] Martin Wegelius, the director of the Helsinki Music Institute, idolized the music of the New German School – especially that of Wagner and of Liszt. Although his promotion of Wagner had no effect on Busoni, his encouragement to give Liszt more serious consideration as a composer and pianist was transformative. Busoni's initially ambivalent attitude about Liszt's music is amply evident in a letter to Henri and Kathi Petri, written shortly after his arrival in Helsinki, in which Busoni noted that Wegelius was encouraging him to include Liszt in the instructional repertoire:

> I spoke with my 'superior', Director Wegelius, about methods of tuition. I asked if I should adhere to a *programme*, a specific method or any particular educational materials. 'Actually we have no such things, but, well – (after reflecting at some length) – one could perhaps take the Inventions of Bach as a starting point. Plenty of Bach, plenty of Bach, also Mozart, Beethoven, Liszt … … ??!!!!!'[12]

At the very least, it seems that Wegelius's repertoire suggestion inspired Busoni to examine Liszt's compositions in greater depth. From 1890 to 1900, Busoni added about twice as many Liszt compositions to his concert repertoire as he had in the previous decade (see Table 1). As Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt points out, this shift was not merely a numerical one. Before 1890, the compositions performed by Busoni consisted mainly of virtuoso transcriptions. After that year, he added more important original compositions, including *Années de Pèlerinage*, the Sonata in B Minor, and the *Transcendental Etudes.* In addition, he reformulated his technique based on a thorough study of Liszt's music.[13] After 1900, he added fewer pieces to his repertoire in general (see Table 2).

Table 1 Busoni's Liszt Repertoire[14]

Years	Number of Compositions by Liszt that Busoni added to his Repertoire
1879–1889	17
1890–1900	33
1901–1911	13

[11] Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni*, 85. For more information about the Busoni–Liszt connection, including how Liszt's music helped develop Busoni's technical acumen, see Hugo Leichtentritt, *Ferruccio Busoni* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1916), 18. Although not recent, both of these biographies were written by people who knew Busoni well, and they can be considered first-hand accounts of Busoni's life. Dent is also known to have studied many letters by Busoni when preparing his manuscript. His collection of Busoni documents is found in Kings College, Cambridge.

[12] Busoni, letter of mid-September, 1888, to Henri and Kathi Petri, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, trans. and ed. by Antony Beaumont (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 34.

[13] H.H. Stuckenschmidt, *Ferruccio Busoni: 'Chronicle of a European'*, 22–3.

[14] The information in Table 1 is compiled from an appendix in Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni*, where he lists the first time pieces appear on Busoni recital programmes. The Table does not take into account the frequency at which compositions were repeated or reprogrammed.

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Table 2 List of Liszt's Works Performed by Busoni[15]

Arrangements by Liszt for Solo Piano
Auber-Liszt, Tarantella from *La muette de Portici*, S. 386 (1887)
Bach-Liszt, Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor for Organ, BWV 542, S. 463 (1887)
Beethoven-Liszt, Fantasia on Themes from *The Ruins of Athens*, S. 122 (1891)
Beethoven-Liszt, *Adelaïde*, S. 466 (1904)
Beethoven-Liszt , *Busslied*, S. 467 (1906)
Bellini-Liszt, Fantasia on *Norma*, S. 394 (1894)
Bellini-Liszt, Grande Fantaisie sur *La sonnambula*, S. 393 (1905)
Chopin-Liszt, *Chants polonais*, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, S. 480 (1883)
Donizetti-Liszt, *Grande paraphrase sur la marche de Donizetti*, S. 403 (1908)
Donizetti-Liszt, *Valse à capriccio sur deux motifs de 'Lucia' et 'Parisina'*, S. 401 (1899)
Donizetti-Liszt, *Réminiscences de 'Lucrezia Borgia'*, S. 400 (1885)
Gounod-Liszt-Busoni, *Faust Walzer*, S. 407 (1882)
Mendelssohn-Liszt, 'Wedding March' and 'Dance of the Fairies' from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, S. 410 (1882)
Meyerbeer-Liszt, *Réminiscences de 'Robert le Diable'*, S. 413 (1899)
Mozart-Liszt, *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 418 (1884)
Paganini-Liszt, Grandes Etudes de Paganini, S. 141 (individual pieces, 1881–1890/ complete, 1892)
Rossini-Liszt, *Grande fantaisie sur des motifs de la serenata e l'orgia des Soirées musicales*, S. 422 (1901)
Schubert-Liszt, 'Auf dem Wasser zu singen', S. 558 (1899)
Schubert-Liszt, 'Die Forelle', S. 563 (1911)
Schubert-Liszt, 'Der Lindenbaum', S. 561 (1898)
Schubert-Liszt, 'Erlkönig', S. 559 (1885)
Schubert-Liszt, Hungarian March, S. 426 (1892)
Schubert-Liszt, 'Soirée de Vienne', No. 3, S. 427 (1897)
Schubert-Liszt, Valse-Caprice, S. 427 (1878)
Schubert-Liszt, *Wanderer-Fantasie*, S. 366 (1893)
Schumann-Liszt, 'Widmung', S. 566 (1879)
Verdi-Liszt, Fantasie sur *Rigoletto*, S. 434 (1894)
Wagner-Liszt, March from *Tannhäuser*, S. 445 (1894)
Wagner-Liszt, Overture to *Tannhäuser*, S. 442 (1895)

Arrangements by Busoni for Solo Piano
Liszt-Busoni, *Fantasia and Fugue on 'Ad nos, ad salutarem undam'*, S. 259 (1897)
Liszt-Busoni, *Mephisto-Walzer* No. 1, S. 514 (1901)
Mozart-Liszt-Busoni, *Fantasie über Themen aus Mozarts 'Figaro' und 'Don Giovanni'*, S. 697 (1911)

Original Works by Liszt for Solo Piano
Années de Pèlerinage, all three books, S. 160–163 (individual pieces, 1882–1903/Book I complete, 1900/Book II complete, 1909/Book III complete, 1909)
Apparitions, No. 1, S. 155 (1903)
Ballade No. 1, S. 170 (1895)
Ballade No. 2, S. 171 (1903)
Bénèdiction de Dieu dans la solitude, S. 173 (1895)
Der Weihnachtsbaum, S. 186 (1918)

(*Continued*)

[15] This information is gleaned primarily from Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni*, 317–31. The year of the first performance by Busoni is in parentheses.

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Table 2 Continued

Deux Légendes, S. 175 (1894)
Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth, S. 274 (1911)
Douze Études d'exécution transcendante, S. 139 (individual etudes, 1881–1901/complete, 1903)
Fantasy and Fugue on the name BACH, S. 260 (1893)
Grand Galop chromatique, S. 219 (1911)
Gnomenereigen, S. 145 (1901)
Hexameron, S. 392 (1895)
Hungarian Rhapsodies, Nos. 5 (1901), 6 (1901), 12 (1895), 13 (1901), 15 (1883), 19 (1914), and 20 (unpublished, 1908), S. 244
Mèlodies Hongroises, No. 1, S. 425 (1884)
Mephisto-Walzer, No. 1, S. 514 (1891)
Polonaise, Nos. 1–2 S. 223 (1895/1890)
Sonata in B Minor, S. 178 (1900)
Totentanz, S. 126 (first version, 1919/regular version, 1901)
Valse mélancolique (*Caprices-Valses, No. 2)*, S. 210 (1903)
Valse oubliée Nos. 1–2, S. 215 (1911/1913)
Variations on *Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen*, S. 179 (1895)
Venezia e Napoli (unpublished first version), S. 159 (1908)
Waldesrauschen, S. 145 (1891)

Works and Arrangements for Piano and Orchestra
Piano Concerto. 1 in A major, S. 124 (1894)
Piano Concerto no. 2 in E-Flat Major, S. 125 (1901)
Liszt-Busoni, *Rhapsodie espagnole*, S. 254 (1894)
Schubert-Liszt, *Wanderer-Fantasy* (with orchestra), S. 366 (1897)

Works and Arrangements for Two Pianos
Concerto pathétique, S. 258 (first performed in 1905 with Egon Petri)
Faust Symphony, S. 647 (first performed in 1900 with José Vianna da Motta)
Les Préludes, S. 637 (first performed in 1891 with José Vianna da Motta)
Beethoven-Liszt, Symphony No. 9, S. 657 (first performed with José Vianna da Motta in 1900)
Bellini-Liszt, *Réminiscences de 'Norma'*, S. 655 (first performed in 1918 with Ernst Lochbrunner)
Mozart-Liszt, *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 656 (first performed in 1908 with Egon Petri)

Liszt, Busoni and *Zukunftsmusik*

Around the turn of the century, when Busoni was actively thinking and writing about his vision for the future of music, he also came to view Liszt as an artist with lofty ideals.[16] Liszt, along with J.S. Bach and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, became the most important compositional and professional models for Busoni. In 1903, Busoni specifically praised Liszt for searching beyond public acclaim for something greater, an unattainable ideal of artistic perfection. This is evident from a motivational anecdote he told Egon Petri about Liszt's reported inability

[16] See, for instance, Busoni's essays about the future of music [1922], in *The Essence and Oneness of Music*, trans. Rosamond Ley (London: Rockliff, 1957) and his *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music*, trans. Theodore Baker (New York: Schirmer, 1911), published for the first time in German in 1907.

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to overcome cold and clammy hands, regardless of who listened, thereby signifying concern for art above concern for applause.[17]

Busoni also viewed Liszt as a visionary composer. He thought him to be on par with Bach, stating:[18] 'Truly Bach is the Alpha of pianoforte composition and Liszt the Omega'.[19] He distinguished between Liszt's compositions – which he saw as generating a new future for music in terms of thematic transformation, formal expansion, harmonic possibilities and timbral colour – and Wagner's music, which he considered formulaic. Although Busoni admired Wagner's orchestrations, he was critical of his use of leitmotifs and thought the way he melded the art forms to be artificial. He called him a genius, but also asserted that he was boring and that his music was too erotic. He preferred Liszt's more abstract approach, in the *Faust Symphony*, S. 108, a 'musical work of the combined arts' as opposed to a 'work of the combined arts'.[20] In a scathing criticism of composers bound by formulaic routines, Busoni criticized Wagner: 'Obviously, he [Wagner] already possessed a respectable measure of routine, and his composing machinery stopped if the kind of obstacle arose which can only be overcome with the help of inspiration'.[21] For Busoni, Liszt was the path leading towards the music of the future: 'we are all descended from him [Liszt] radically, without excepting Wagner, and we owe to him, the lesser things that we can do. César Franck, Richard Strauss, Debussy, the penultimate Russians, are all branches of his tree.'[22] Busoni argued that even Wagner was heavily indebted to Liszt, and that some of his pieces were thinly veiled imitations:

> But W[agner] changed after getting to know Liszt not only in his harmonies, but also in the style of his themes and decorations. Things like the Forest Murmurs and magic Fire Music are quite clearly Lisztian piano etudes, and the Ride of the Valkyries is such a shamelessly cheap imitation of the form and content of 'Mazeppa' that I was staggered when I first heard this piece of kitsch again at the beginning of the year: staggered that the moving spirit of the work, aped by this almost parodistic imitation, was constantly rejected and despised. – And I coined the following aphorism: Liszt was the foundation stone of all modern tonal edifices and, as foundation stone, he lies deep below the surface and remains invisible.[23]

He went so far as to claim that 'the followers of Wagner signify an unbroken regression'.[24] With respect to Liszt's exploration of sound and sonority, Busoni wrote: 'If

[17] Busoni, Letter of 10 June 1903 to Egon Petri, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 68. It is unclear how Busoni learned of this anecdote.

[18] For more information about Busoni's treatment of form and extra-musical ideas, see Erinn Knyt, 'Ferruccio Busoni and the Absolute in Music: Form, Nature and *Idee*', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 137/1 (2012): 35–69.

[19] Busoni, 'Biographical and Critical Study Drawn up as a Foundation to the Proposed Collected Edition of Liszt's Pianoforte Works', in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 144.

[20] Busoni, letter of 4 June 1913 to Egon Petri, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 166. See also Busoni, letter of 15 April 1917 to Hans Reinhart, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 258 and Busoni, 'The Theory of Orchestration' [1905] in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 35; Busoni, 'The Essence and Oneness of Music' [1922], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 7.

[21] Busoni, 'Routine' [1911], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 185.

[22] Busoni, 'Open Letter about Liszt' [1916], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 139.

[23] Busoni, letter of 20 October 1916 to José Vianna da Motta, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 250–51.

[24] Busoni, letter of 22 March 1920 to Philipp Jarnach, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 306.

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with Liszt the atmosphere and content are less intensive, the sound and the magic are all the more impressive and effective'.[25] Busoni also praised Liszt for his use of unusual scales, such as the whole-tone scale, which he saw as leading to the microtones that he experimented with on custom built keyboard instruments and wrote about in his *Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music*:[26] 'The whole-tone scale with Debussy, and with Liszt before him, is like an anticipation of the whole-tone interval being filled in with the not-yet-existent tripartite whole-tone intervals'.[27]

Busoni's belief in the importance of Liszt's music as a model for the future was not shared by all of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, many of whom viewed Liszt's music as existing in the shade of Wagner's. Daniel-Ortuno-Stühring has documented the difficulties that even followers of Liszt encountered in the 1860s and 1870s in German-speaking lands, where 'being branded as a political or cultural radical virtually guaranteed failure […]. Such branding probably played no small role in the conversion of former New Germans.'[28] By contrast, followers of Wagner did not receive such a backlash. It is not surprising then that after Liszt sequestered himself in Rome in the 1860s, his direct heirs, especially Hans von Bülow, Peter Cornelius and Felix Draeseke, aligned themselves more closely with Wagner, even as they each sought to carve out individual careers. Attitudes of antipathy toward Liszt, in particular, persisted into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – as he was remembered primarily as a virtuoso, rather than as a serious composer.[29] In 1895, Busoni wrote that he considered it unwise to make a Viennese debut with a concerto by Liszt.[30]

Yet Busoni considered Liszt's ideas and music to be important aesthetic and compositional models. He admired Liszt's distinctive vision of *Zukunftsmusik* that he had pioneered in Weimar, characterized by the melding of the poetic and the musical in instrumental forms and by a searching for new forms, colours and harmonies. In this, he predates Alfred Heuss, who first applied Marxian thematic analyses to the tone poems in 1912, thereby positioning them as post-Beethovinian symphonic works of significance.[31]

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[25] Busoni, 'Biographical and Critical Study Drawn up as a Foundation to the Proposed Collected Edition of Liszt's Pianoforte Works', 144.

[26] Busoni, *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music*, trans. Theodore Baker (New York: Schirmer, 1911). This is a slightly modified version of the text that was first published in German in 1907.

[27] Busoni, 'Report on the Division of the Whole Tone into Three Parts' [1922], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 30.

[28] Daniel Ortuno-Stühring, 'Liszt's "Heirs" and the New German School after 1861', in *Liszt's Legacies*.

[29] For more about the topic of the perception of disparity between Liszt's status as a composer and as a performer, see David Trippett, '*Après une Lecture de Liszt:* Virtuosity and *Werktreue* in the "Dante" Sonata', *19th-Century Music*, 32/1 (2008): 52–93. See also Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13; Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[30] Busoni, letter of 14 December 1895 to Ludwig von Bösendorfer, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 54. James Deaville claims that even Liszt's arrangements were avoided by pianists by the 1920s as notions of *Werktreue* gained in prominence. James Deaville, 'Liszt's Transcriptions and Authenticity', in *Liszt's Legacies*, 167.

[31] Alfred Valentin Heuss, ed., *Erläuterungen zu Franz Liszts Symphonien und Sinfonischen Dichtungen: Band-Ausgabe der 'Kleinen Konzertführer'* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1912). However, Busoni was not the first to make this Beethovinian connection. It may have

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During his years as Kapellmeister in Weimar (1848–61), Liszt recorded his aesthetic ideals in a series of reviews. Many explain his conception of a melding of the poetic and the musical in instrumental forms. Fundamental to his writings is an explanation of ways music expresses the feelings and extra-musical ideas of the composer while avoiding explicit mimesis and narratives. His writings also call for historical scope, stylistic breadth, structural originality and an exploration of instrumental colour. For instance, in 1854 Liszt celebrated Ludwig van Beethoven's *Egmont Overture*, Op. 84, and Felix Mendelssohn's Incidental Music to a *Midsummer Night's Dream*. He called the latter 'a melodious and organic blending of heterogeneous elements interspersed with delicately fresh and lofty poetry', and considered both to be examples of a new pathway in music.[32] After programming a Hector Berlioz week in Weimar in February 1855, Liszt, together with Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, drafted an essay about Berlioz in which they specifically praised him for achieving new and more natural formal structures – not imposed from without, but emerging from the content.[33] Liszt viewed Berlioz's music as progress in the direction of the new future of music he envisioned, precisely because of the way he united music and latent emotional states to achieve new structures:

> The specifically musical composer, who attaches importance to the consumption of the material alone, is not capable of deriving new forms from it, of breathing into it new strength, for no intellectual necessity urges him – nor does any burning passion, demanding to be revealed, oblige him – to discover new means. To enrich the form, to enlarge it and make it serviceable, is granted then, precisely to those who make use of it only as one of the means of expression as one of the languages which they employ in accordance with the dictates of the ideas to be expressed; the formalists can do nothing better or more intelligent than to use, to popularize, to subdivide, and on occasion to rework what the poets have won. The program asks only acknowledgement for the possibility of precise definition of the psychological moment which prompts the composer to create his work and of the thought to which he gives outward form.[34]

Busoni expressed similar aesthetic values in his own writings. Like Liszt, he rejected explicitly mimetic and narrative programme music, calling it just as restrictive to music's freedom as formalist moulds, even as he idealized music that depicts psychological and philosophical ideas. He claimed that pieces begin with extra-musical ideas that must be transcribed into musical ones before becoming complete musical works.[35] His vision was similar to Liszt's in that he hoped for

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come from Liszt himself, and is articulated by his followers and Franz Brendel in the press in the 1850s.

[32] Liszt, 'About Beethoven's Music to Egmont' [1854], *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt: Dramaturgical Leave: Essays about Musical Works for the Stage and Queries about the Stage, Its Composers, and Performers*, vol. 3, pt. 1, ed. Janita R. Hall-Swadley (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 90–94; Liszt, 'About Mendelssohn's Music to Midsummer Night's Dream' [1854], in *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 104.

[33] The level of Liszt contributions to the article might never be resolved. Liszt and Sayn-Wittgenstein, 'Berlioz and his "Harold" Symphony' [1855], trans. Oliver Strunk, in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk, rev. Leo Treitler (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 1161–3.

[34] Liszt and Sayn-Wittgenstein, 'Berlioz and his "Harold" Symphony', 1168.

[35] Busoni, 'How I Compose' [1907], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 50–51.

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a future characterized by new organic structures informed by human ideas and emotions.[36] He especially praised Liszt's *Faust Symphony*, in which a play with themes linked to extra-musical ideas and their transformation led to unique structures. He also venerated some of Liszt's religious music in which the orchestra played a vital role and similarly featured thematic transformation and unique structures: 'No late-comers have succeeded with a *Faust* Symphony, a *Heilige Elisabeth* and a *Christus. Les jeux d'eau* still remains today a model for all musical fountains which have flowed since then.'[37] He also shared Liszt's catholic musical taste, calling for a bringing together of the old and the new, of church and theatrical styles of music into a new oneness:[38]

> The time has come to recognize the whole phenomenon of music as a 'oneness' and no longer split it up according to its purpose, form, and sound-medium. It should be recognized from two premises exclusively, that of its content and that of its quality'.[39]

Moreover, he valued instrumental colour, calling for a compositional process that considered the colour and timbre of instruments essential and from the beginning of the composition process (i.e. 'absolute orchestration').[40]

Acting on his belief in the importance of Liszt's music, Busoni set about to preserve the compositions for future generations. In 1900 Busoni announced his planned participation in an authoritative collected edition of Liszt's compositions by the Franz Liszt Stiftung, founded in 1888 by the Grand Duke Carl Alexander. This was the first attempt at a complete edition, supported by the Stiftung, and aided by Peter Raabe's cataloguing of Liszt's Weimar manuscripts in 1910–11. Between 1907 and 1936, 34 volumes of Liszt's compositions were published by Breitkopf & Härtel. In addition to Busoni, the editors included students of Liszt, such as Eugen d'Albert and José Vianna da Motta, among others.[41] Busoni was responsible for editing three volumes of etudes, *Mephisto Waltz* no. 1, S. 514, *Totentanz*, S. 126, Polonaise no. 2 (to which he added a cadenza), S. 223, *Fantasie über Themen aus Mozarts Figaro und Don Giovanni*, S. 697, Hungarian Rhapsody no. 1, S. 244, *Heroic March in Hungarian Style*, S. 231, the cadenza to the Liszt-Gounod Faust Waltz, the Hungarian Rhapsody, S. 244 No. 20 (Fig. 1), and the Scherzo in G Minor.[42] Busoni employed a range of editorial approaches,

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[36] For a richer description of these issues, see Knyt, 'Ferruccio Busoni and the Absolute in Music; Knyt, 'How I Compose: Ferruccio Busoni's Views about Invention, Quotation, and the Compositional Process', *Journal of Musicology* 27/2 (2010): 224–63.

[37] Busoni, 'Open Letter About Liszt', in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 139.

[38] See Busoni, 'The Essence and Oneness of Music', 1–16.

[39] Busoni, 'The Essence and Oneness of Music', 1.

[40] Busoni, 'The Theory of Orchestration' [1905], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 35.

[41] The project was brought to an untimely end due to political issues, and thus, editions of Liszt's organ works, along with several of his works for piano and orchestra and some of his transcriptions were never completed. For more information about the edition, including information about reprints, see Michael Saffle, *Franz Liszt: A Research and Information Guide*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009). For more information about Busoni's disagreements with the other editors, see Hamilton, 'Liszt's Legacy to his Students', in *Liszt's Legacies*, 102–3.

[42] Busoni completed this piece, which Liszt left incomplete, in 1912. In the process, Busoni made substantial revisions, including eliminating the pages devoted to the music of *Don Giovanni*.

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Fig. 1 Liszt, Hungarian Rhapsody no. 20, ed. Busoni, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, N. Mus. Nachl. 4, 87.

from a critical edition of a single source via multiple variants, to a highly edited performance edition, to arrangement, re-composition and completion. It is unclear why he employed so many approaches, but the pieces that feature arranged sections are usually ones that Busoni performed regularly. With a scholarly commitment not normally attributed to him, Busoni looked for unpublished manuscripts and variant versions of Liszt's piano works for his own study and to publish in the collected Liszt edition. For instance, he describes his joy at discovering several unpublished pieces, including a variant version of 'Venezi e Napoli', S. 159, from *Années de pèlerinage*, book II:

> Singular circumstances recently made it possible for me to track down four lost pieces by Liszt, which had been printed, but never published;[43] evidently the

[43] The German here is 'gedruckte aber unveröffentlichte Stücke'. Busoni, letter of 26 August 1907 to Egon Petri, in *Briefe an Henri, Katharina und Egon Petri*, ed. Martina Weindel (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1999), 89.

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> original version of the later Venezi e Napoli! The pieces are brilliant. The first incorporates the 'Tasso' theme.[44]

In his edition of the etudes, Busoni included scholarly notes at the beginning of the volume, dutifully noting variants, as was typical of critical editions.[45] He also set about to clear up issues of dating and chronology.[46] However, as he did previously in his edition of the first volume of Bach's *Well Tempered Clavier*, he did not seek to create a single definitive version, but included complete variant versions of the same piece.[47] In some cases, he added his own alternate variants in separate staves (see Table 3). Surprisingly, his editions of the etudes include little commentary about performance issues when compared to his edition of Bach's *Well Tempered Clavier*, vol. 1 (1894) and *Inventions* (1892) published just a few years earlier.

By contrast, his edition of the *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 418, is a critical-instructive edition, with plenty of performance commentary as well as musical passages adapted by Busoni and written on separate staves under Liszt's original version (Ex. 1).[48] For instance, during the opening bars, Busoni adds rests in bar one in the inner voices in the treble to create crisper octave articulations. In bar two, he includes a trill in the bass, where Liszt suggested a tremolando, and then continues it to the final beat, where he elongates the descending scalar passage. While Liszt favours downward trill motion, Busoni prefers upward motion, as in bar three. In the commentary at the bottom of the page, Busoni discusses the symbolic meaning of the themes and chords, while calling for a forceful opening. Busoni also suggested structural cuts, such as 39 bars of variation two.[49] In addition, he based some of his alterations on the two-piano version. Busoni also made connections to Mozart explicit by including melodies and text from Mozart's opera, as well as noting the dramatic situations in which the passages originally

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[44] Busoni, letter of 26 August 1907 to Egon Petri, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 86. In a letter to Petri the following year, Busoni wrote that he had 'discovered a music dealer in Vienna with many old volumes of Liszt'. Busoni, letter of 2 May 1908 to Egon Petri, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 88. Liszt sent a set of four pieces to his publisher (S. 159) – Lento, Allegro, Andante placido, and Tarantelles napolitaines. Although an initial proof was created, the pieces were not issued during Liszt's lifetime. The latter two pieces of the set were later revised for inclusion of Book II of the *Années*, S. 162. Ben Arnold, 'Piano Music: 1835–1861', in *The Liszt Companion*, ed. Ben Arnold (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 88–9.

[45] Franz Liszt-Stiftung, eds., *Franz Liszt's Musikalische Werke*, ed., Pianoforte Werke, Vol. III, Etüden, ed. Busoni (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1912), III–IV.

[46] This open approach to the various versions can be seen as aligning with some current editing approaches, as, for instance, the Online Chopin Variorum Project, in which users construct their own edition from images of manuscripts and first editions. Busoni however, took a 'less pure' approach, in that his was primarily a performance edition.

[47] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Das Wohltemperierte Clavier*, ed. Ferruccio Busoni, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894). Busoni, 'Biographical and Critical Study Drawn up as a Foundation to the Proposed Collected Edition of Liszt's Pianoforte Works',

[48] Busoni's textual passages could be seen as aligning with Liszt's occasional practice of providing prefaces to his own music, such as in selected symphonic poems).

[49] Busoni, arr., *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 418, by Liszt (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1918), 34–9. For a more extensive analysis of Busoni's version, see Sitsky, *Busoni and the Piano*, 230–31.

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Table 3 Liszt Etudes Edited by Busoni

Vol. 1: Etüden für Pianoforte zu 2 Händen (1910, 157 pp)
Etüde in 12 Übungen
12 große Etüden
Mazeppa
Vol. 2: Etüden für Pianoforte zu 2 Händen
Etudes d'exécution transcendante
Grande fantaisie de bravoure sur la clochette de Paganini
Vol. 3: Etüden für Pianoforte zu 2 Händen
Bravour-Studien nach Paganinis Capricen
Große Etüden nach Paganini
Salonstück. Etüde zur Vervollkommnung aus der Schule der Schulen
Ab-Irato: Große Etüde zur Vervollkommnung
3 Konzert-Etüden
2 Konzert-Etüden
Gnomenreigen
Waldesrauschen

occurred.[50] He considered it essential for the interpreter to understand the dramatic implications of Liszt's compilation of themes. This understanding is reflected in his Welte piano roll recording of the piece, which maintains a clear counterpoint of the Mozartian themes throughout the performance.[51]

If Busoni was interested in preserving Liszt's music as editor, he was equally interested in disseminating it to general audiences as pianist and conductor through festivals and recitals. Busoni's series of six recitals devoted entirely to Liszt's piano music in Berlin in 1911 (the centennial of Liszt's birth) was unprecedented, and his vision for Liszt festivals was unusual at the time, as he expressed to one of his Weimar Master class pupils, H.W. Draber in 1910:[52]

> When will there be a decent Liszt festival? With the oratorios, symphonies, and complete works for piano and orchestra, interspersed with works for two pianos and a Lieder recital? – I believe that 1911, the hundredth anniversary of his birth will bring forth something of the sort. N.B. I believe you could coordinate something here.[53]

As a pianist, he exposed audiences to new repertoire of Liszt. For instance, although both of Liszt's piano concertos had been performed previously with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the *Totentanz and Rhapsodie Espagnole* had not.[54] Busoni was

[50] Busoni, Preface to Liszt's *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 418 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1918). For more about Busoni's view of Liszt's interpretation of Mozart's Don Juan, see Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 540. Busoni recorded his version on 16 March for Welte in Freiburg (Welte 1323). The piano roll was reissued as a CD in 1988: *Ferruccio Busoni Performs Franz Liszt*, Welte Legacy of Recorded Treasures (Recorded Treasures CD-1).

[51] *Ferruccio Busoni Performs Franz Liszt*,.

[52] For a list of the pieces performed in these recitals, see Larry Sitsky, *Busoni and the Piano: The Works, The Writings, and the Recordings*, 2nd ed. (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2009), 211.

[53] Busoni, letter of 24 March 1910 to H.W. Draber, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 106.

[54] Boston Symphony Orchestra Archives, http://archives.bso.org/Search.aspx?SearchType=Performance&Composer=Liszt&StartTime=1881&EndTime=1892 (7 July 2018).

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Ex. 1 Liszt, *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 418, ed. Busoni, bars 1–4



the first to do so. Even his choice of a Liszt concerto was considered fairly unusual for the orchestra that was better known for its renditions of German classics. One reviewer from Washington DC noted the special novelty of Liszt's Concerto No. 2, which Busoni performed with Arthur Nikisch in 1892 on an orchestral tour:

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> Last evening he played the Liszt Concerto No. 2 which has not been played here before, as far as can be learned. Liszt's other concerto has been played on several occasions, and is more frequently found on concert programmes though regarded as less in accord with the composer's best style.[55]

As a conductor, Busoni led multiple performances of Liszt's music in the 1910s and early 1920s, when Liszt's symphonic music was not widely programmed. After his conducting career began to take off, Busoni conducted the *Faust Symphony* in various locations in Italy on tour with the orchestra of the Liceo musicale di Bologna in spring 1914 and with London Symphony Orchestra in 1920 after the end of World War I (see Fig. 2).[56] Busoni, for his part, was pleased with the results of his reforming efforts with the orchestra in Bologna. He reported to Isidor Philipp that he had educated a city that had been enthralled with Wagner about the merits of Liszt: 'The two premieres here went very well. The *Faust Symphony* was a revelation for the city, which was dedicated to the Wagnerian rite, and was shocked by the discovery of the origins of pleasure preceding their preferred master'.[57] He also programmed the tone poem *Mazeppa* in his Liceo symphonic concerts, such as on 5 May 1914 in Ferrara, and he conducted *Les Préludes* in Rome in 1916 while on tour as pianist and conductor.[58] Liszt's music also featured prominently in his Berlin contemporary orchestral concert music series with the Berlin Philharmonic from 1902–1909.

> Pieces by Liszt Featured in Busoni's Berlin Symphonic Concerts:
> 15 November 1902, Liszt, *Zweiter Mephisto-Walzer*
> 11 January 1907, Liszt, Zwei Episoden aus Lenaus *Faust*
> 3 January 1908, Liszt, *Tre Sonetti di Petrarca* (orchestrated by Busoni, sung by Felix Senius)
> 2 January 1909, Liszt, 'Salve Polonia' (from *Stanislaus*).[59]

For many audience members, especially in Italy, it was the first time they had heard Liszt's symphonic music. Those in other regions, such as London, claimed that Busoni revealed Liszt's music in a new way. One reviewer, for instance, wrote:

> People have spoken of Busoni's admiration for Liszt as 'unaccountable', but when you hear Busoni conduct the 'Faust' Symphony, it is our contempt for Liszt which

[55] 'Boston Symphony Orchestra', *The Washington Post*, 7 December 1892.

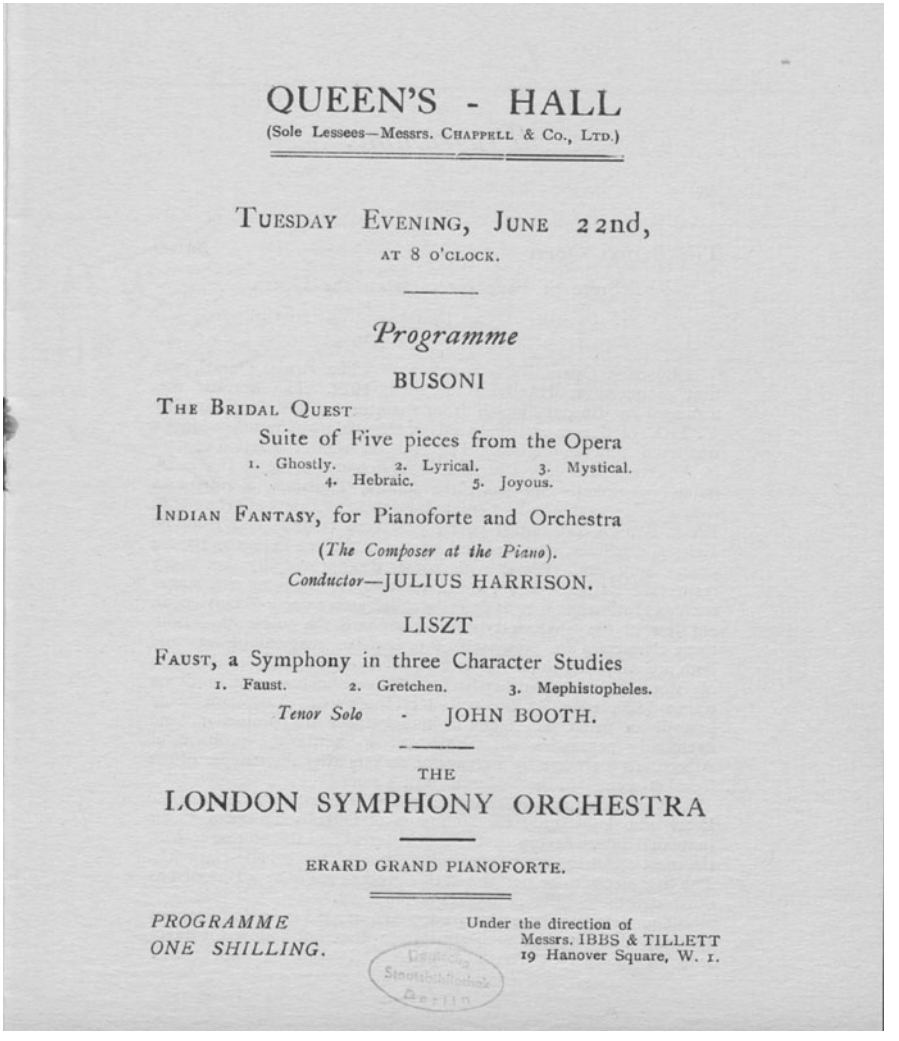
[56] Busoni, letter of 23 June 1920 to Volkmar Andreae, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 311. The programme for the London concert, on 22 June 1920, is in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, E, 1920, 13A. He conducted the Faust symphony on 22 April 1914, 1 May 1914, and 10 May 1914 in Italy.

[57] Les deux premiers ici sont très bien reussi. La Symphonie Faust fut une revelation pour la ville, qui s'etait consacrée au rite Wagnerien, et qui fut bouleversée par la decouverte de l'origine de plusiers procedés du maître preferé. L'arrangement du Theatre 'Communale' a sale de Concert presente un aspect de haute festivité et du meilleur goût. Busoni, letter of 29 April 1914 to Isidor Philipp, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, N. Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, BI, 918C.

[58] Programme of 5 May 1914, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, N. Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, E, 1914, 13; Programme of 5 March 1916, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, N. Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, E, 1916, 7.

[59] Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni*, Appendix III, 332–6.

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QUEEN'S - HALL

(Sole Lessees—Messrs. CHAPPELL & Co., LTD.)

TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 22nd,

AT 8 O'CLOCK.

Programme

BUSONI

THE BRIDAL QUEST

Suite of Five pieces from the Opera

1. Ghostly. 2. Lyrical. 3. Mystical.
4. Hebraic. 5. Joyous.

INDIAN FANTASY, for Pianoforte and Orchestra

(*The Composer at the Piano*).

Conductor—JULIUS HARRISON.

LISZT

FAUST, a Symphony in three Character Studies

1. Faust. 2. Gretchen. 3. Mephistopheles.

Tenor Solo - JOHN BOOTH.

THE

LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

ERARD GRAND PIANOFORTE.

PROGRAMME
ONE SHILLING.

Under the direction of
Messrs. IBBS & TILLETT
19 Hanover Square, W. 1.

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin

Fig. 2 Busoni, Programme, 22 June 1920, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, E, 1920, 13A.

> is unaccountable. The subtle reading of the score showed us the work in a new light, and Busoni made the London Symphony Orchestra play it with a sensitiveness which was quite wonderful.[60]

Busoni not only preserved and disseminated Liszt's music, but also saw it as a model for his own compositions. Busoni thought of Liszt as a man of great intelligence, and he patterned one of his opera heroes in *Die Brautwahl* (1911) after him. Leonhard, an artist working in jewellery and fine metals and a mentor of young

[60] Untitled review, *The Lady*, July 1920, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, N. Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, F, 1920, 98.

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artists, controlled the power of nature with his mind.[61] He foresaw the great masterpieces of the future. Busoni described Liszt as belonging not only to the artistic greats, but also to a small circle of intellectual visionaries and elites interested in culture, art, literature and religion.[62] In addition, the chorus in the final movement of the piano concerto (1904) bears homage to Liszt's chorus in the final movement of his *Faust Symphony*, even if Busoni considered his idea of keeping the chorus invisible (offstage) an improvement.[63]

Liszt's emphasis on colour and unique forms based on the blending of the poetic idea with music, and his technique of adaptation/re-composition in which boundaries between new pieces and arrangements were blurred, also became models for Busoni's own compositions. Busoni expanded on these characteristics in his own music, adding to it an emphasis on counterpoint, and expanding harmonic and timbral possibilities. While editing Liszt's works, Busoni observed his composition process, including the reworking not only of superficial details, but also of main musical material.[64] These practices of re-composition and arrangement fascinated Busoni, who did the same in his own compositions, and he even tried to improve upon Liszt's multiple versions. A direct connection can be seen in both composers' reworking of the *Sonetto 104 del Petrarca*. Liszt created two solo piano versions and two versions for piano and tenor (see Table 4). Busoni later created his own version for orchestra and voice. In the second piano version, which he created during the Weimar years, Liszt expanded expressive and colouristic possibilities through changes in harmony, register, tempo and texture.[65] Instead of beginning with constantly undulating pedal tones in the bass that support triadic right-hand progressions, he made the opening more dramatic in the second version with octaves and tenths ascending sequentially in an agitated tempo before the music dissolves into a dreamy adagio cadenza. Liszt also altered the register of the melody, splitting it between two hands. Busoni's version for orchestra and voice (published in 1911), although relatively faithful to the pitches of Liszt's second version for tenor and piano, which Liszt created near the end of his life during the years he gave the Weimar master classes, thus represents a conflation of ideas; Busoni adds timbral effects through the scoring. For instance, the opening of Liszt's second version contrasts the high and low registers of the piano, which creates an impression of call and response. Busoni mirrors this through colouristic contrast by alternating strings and winds in his orchestral score, and also alternating clarinets and

[61] For an English translation of Hoffmann's tale, consult Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, 'Albertine's Wooers', in *The Serapion Brethren*, vol. II, trans. Alex Ewing (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892).

[62] Busoni, letter of 18 August 1915 to Harriet Lanier, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 211.

[63] Busoni, letter of 30 May 1921 to Edward Dent, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters*, 336. The use of an offstage chorus could have been inspired by the finale of Liszt's 'Dante Symphony'.

[64] For a description of Liszt's practices of revision and re-composition see Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work*, 107. Busoni also described this process in his short essay, 'Wert der Bearbeitung', in *Von der Einheit der Musik: von Dritteltönen und Junger Klassizität, von Bühnen und Bauten, und anschliessenden Bezirken, Verstreute Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Martina Weindel (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 2006). This essay originally appeared in a concert programme in Berlin, in November 1910.

[65] Busoni's awareness of the different versions is expressed in his 'Bibliographical and Critical Study Drawn up as a Foundation to the Proposed Collected Edition of Liszt's Pianoforte Works' [1900], in *The Essence and Oneness of Music and Other Papers*, 143.

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Table 4 Versions of the *Sonetto 104 del Petrarca*

1. Liszt, tenor and piano version one ('Pace non Trovo') (Vienna: Haslinger, 1846).
2. Liszt, solo piano version one, in *Années de pèlerinage*, deuxième année (Vienna: Haslinger, 1846).
3. Liszt, solo piano version two, in *Années de pèlerinage*, deuxième année (Mainz: Schott, 1858).
4. Liszt, tenor and piano version two, ('Pace non Trovo') (Mainz: Schott, 1883).
5. Busoni, tenor and orchestra version (New York: G. Schirmer, 1911).

bassoons versus oboes, while preserving the registral contrasts already present in Liszt's version.[66]

Busoni learned much about form, harmony, thematic transformation and sonority from his study of Liszt's music, and he set about to expand upon these elements. One example can be observed in the ways in which his fantasy on Bizet's *Carmen*, the *Kammer-Fantasie über Carmen* (*Sonatina super Carmen*) (1920/1921), was inspired by Liszt's *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*, S. 418. Liszt composed his piece in 1841, but later, in 1877, produced a two-piano version. Busoni initially conceived of his piece in 1917 while he was preparing his critical edition of the *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*. In the preface, Busoni noted that one could produce a similar piece using themes from *Carmen*.[67] He envisioned a similar tripartite structure in which the Fate theme would pervade the first part, the Habanera music the middle section, and arena music the finale. Yet Busoni's eventual realization of his plan, in 1921, depicts a blending of the Lisztian bravura opera fantasy from his virtuoso years, and a serious tone poem for piano influenced by the Weimar years, with Bizet's *Carmen* serving as a poetic muse. Busoni's composition, subtitled a sonatina, bears some resemblance to Liszt's *Faust Symphony*, S. 108, in terms of the multiplicity of themes (5) that interact and develop throughout. In addition, both pieces contain character vignettes (in this case, Don Jose and Carmen). Busoni's piece features the Fate motive, and quotes from four contrasting sections in Bizet's opera: the playful opening instrumental accompaniment for the act IV scene I chorus, *A deux Cuartos!* (presented in A major, C major, D major and F major); Don Jose's Act II canzonetta, *La fleur que tu m'avais jetée* (D-flat major), into which is interwoven Carmen's Fate motive; Carmen's flirty Act I Habanera music, *L'amour est un oiseau rebelle* (D-flat major and D minor/major); and the Act IV arena march music, *Les voici!* (A major and F-sharp minor). To this Busoni adds a newly composed coda (F-sharp minor and A-minor) featuring the Fate motive.

The composition thus reuses memorable themes from Bizet's *Carmen*. Yet it presents Busoni's own interpretation of the opera. The themes appear in a different order and with different moods than in their original context, as they are transformed from light-hearted virtuosic tunes to serious and sombre suggestions of fate and futurism. Liszt's influence can be heard in the thematic transformations as well as the unique formal structure, chromaticism and virtuosity. Thematic transformation occurs throughout, with the greatest amount of fragmentation occurring just before the coda. Harmonically, the piece is tripartite – it begins in A major and there is a return to A/F-sharp minor at the end of the composition.

[66] For more information about Busoni's transcription process and its indebtedness to Liszt, see Jonathan Kregor, 'Legacies of the Composer-Pianist', in *Liszt's Legacies*, 141–3.

[67] Busoni, Preface to Liszt's *Réminiscences de 'Don Juan'*.

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Ex. 2 Busoni, Chamber Fantasy on Bizet's *Carmen*, coda



However, four main stylistic and textural shifts obscure the harmonic structure: (i) the middle-section, centres on the key of D-flat major (a third relationship to A, if considered enharmonically), and acts like a slow lyrical movement; (ii) Don Jose's canzonetta appears in a Lisztian etude style replete with hand crossings and virtuosic arpeggiations and chords; (iii) vague hints of the Fate motive portend impending doom; (iv) the following Habanera, a character sketch of Carmen, is a virtuoso *tour de force* that dissolves into parallel octaves and brilliant arena music that

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explores the range of the piano. The virtuosity dissipates as the Fate motive reasserts itself and takes over in a mysterious and quiet ending.

As can be seen in Example 2, the Fate theme is transformed rhythmically and harmonically as it descends sequentially and chromatically over seventh chords. The theme passes from high to low registers and back again, before eventually becoming mere pulsation in A minor. The piece then dissolves into silence. Busoni's extension of Lisztian ideas can thus be heard in the counterpoint, the enriched harmonies, the play with register, and with colour in the slow and mysterious coda.

The Weimar Master Classes

Busoni not only felt connected to the progressive compositional ideas that Liszt pioneered in Weimar, he also respected and emulated his unique pedagogical methods, which included teaching holistically in informal master class settings. When the Grand Duke Carl Alexander of Weimar invited him to lead a piano master class in Weimar, as Liszt had done two decades earlier, the Grand Duke proved to be not only a patron, but also a tutor in the ways of Liszt.[68] He had attended Liszt's master classes, and he revealed many of the details to his selected successor, Busoni. He shared information about the character of Liszt as well, describing him as a noble prince of the piano characterized by a magnetic personality and intelligence.[69] In addition, Busoni was acquainted with many Liszt pupils, including William Dayas, Emil Sauer, Arthur Friedheim and José Vianna da Motta.[70] Given Busoni's public admiration for Liszt's music, it would be surprising if they did not discuss his pedagogical work.

Busoni was not the first to follow Liszt's example by leading a master class, yet Liszt and Busoni were unusual in their emphasis on aesthetic ideals over technical acumen. Even before Liszt's classes, teaching in group classes was not uncommon in conservatory settings such as the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfort-on-the-Main, the New England Conservatory, where Busoni taught in 1891–92, and the Leipzig Conservatory, among others, where group classes were seen as models of

[68] Duke Carl Alexander, letter of 1900 to Busoni, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, N. Mus. Nachl. 4, 132.

[69] Busoni, 'Concert Program Notes' [Zurich, April 1916], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 138. Wilhelm Ernst, renewed the invitation in 1901 after the death of the Grand Duke on 5 January 1901. It is unlikely that Busoni would have read any of the personal accounts of the students' experiences during Liszt's master class as none were yet published, but the Grand Duke would have shared details about Liszt's approach with Busoni. Die Meisterschule von Busoni zu Weimar die von Sr. Königliche Hoheit dem hochseligen Grossherzog Carl Alexander dem Grossherzoglichen Hofpianisten Ferruccio Busoni im vorigen jahre erwiesens Gunst, die Räume des Tempel-Herrenhauses im Park zu Weimar für seine Unterrichtsstunden im Piano-Spiel benutzen zu dürfen, hat auch Seine Königliche Hoheit der jetzt regierende Grossherzog Wilhelm Ernst huldvoll erneuert. Demzufolge haben sich um den Künstler eine grosse Anzahl von Damen und Herren geschaart, welche ihm die Feinheiten seines Spiels abzulauschen bestrebt sind, die er auf den von Bechstein und Bösendorfer freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellten Flügeln ertönen lässt. Es erinnert dies an dieselbe Methode, mit welcher der verwigte Meister Franz Liszt seinen Piano-Unterricht erteilte. *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik-Leipzig*, 18 September 1902.

[70] For correspondence between the two see Ferruccio Busoni and José Vianna da Motta, *Briefwechsel 1898 bis 1921*, ed. Christine Wassermann Beirão and José Manuel de Melo Beirão (Wilhelmshaven: F. Noetzel, 2004).

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efficiency.[71] Moreover, master teachers such as Hans von Bülow, Theodor Leschetitzky, and others were gradually adopting master class teaching styles. Bülow held his master classes in Frankfurt-am-Main during the spring and summer months of 1884 to 1887. As both a piano student of Liszt's and the first husband of his daughter, Cosima, Bülow was a direct heir to Liszt in several senses. Yet his approach differed considerably in that his daily classes were for profit and they heavily emphasized technique.[72] Leschetitzky's master classes, which took place in Vienna from 1878–1915 at five p.m. on Wednesday afternoons, were not intimate affairs, but rather, recitals, serving as solutions for dealing with an overabundance of 'would-be-students'.[73] Beginning with 50 people, and growing to more than 200, students would squeeze into his salon. Technical shortcomings were identified and discussed in detail, leading to the elusive concept of 'Leschetitzky's method'.

Busoni was thus participating in a format for piano education that was proving increasingly popular and very effective for mass-producing students. Yet Liszt's model, which Busoni adopted, differed in its intent to nourish the human imagination and ideals rather than to impart technique to many. Busoni saw his classes as continuing the long lineage of composer pianists – 'geniuses', as he called them – and as a means to communicate his ideals about the future of music.

Although Busoni never attended any of Liszt's classes himself, they provided him (via the lens of the Grand Duke and other Liszt master class pupils) with a model for music pedagogy. Liszt's master classes were intimate events, offered free of charge to a small group of followers, as Liszt focused on the education of the whole musician.[74] They took place three times per week from four to six p.m. from June to mid-September, and visitors in arts, literature or science were welcome. The classes, which took place in the Hofgärtnerei, in what is now known as Goethe Park, with two pianos, were informal. Sometimes he paced while a student played, and sometimes he sat at one piano while the student played at the other piano – teaching by example. He did not choose the repertoire for students, but had students stack scores in a pile, from which he selected pieces for the afternoon. Liszt specifically avoided discussions of technique, or 'dirty laundry' as he called it, focusing instead on aesthetics and interpretation. Alan Walker notes: 'It was all part of Liszt's well-known view that piano playing must never be confused with finger dexterity, that piano playing involved the whole person, and to improve the one you must improve the other'.[75] He often told students to sit

[71] There is little research about master classes. For more information about classes in institutional settings, see Knyt, 'Ferruccio Busoni and the New England Conservatory'. This format remains common in German Musikhochschulen today.

[72] See Richard Louis Zimdars, ed., *The Piano Masterclasses of Hans von Bülow: Two Participants' Accounts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

[73] Annette Hullah, *Theodor Leschetitzky* (London: John Lane, n.d.).

[74] Serge Gut, 'Les dernières années d'enseignement de Liszt à travers les écrits de Carl Lachmund et August Göllerich', *Revue de Musicologie* 90/1 (2004): 55–82; Alan Walker, *Living with Liszt: from the Diary of Carl Lachmund, An American Pupil of Liszt, 1882–1884*, Franz Liszt Studies 4 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995); August Göllerich, *The Piano Master Classes of Franz Liszt 1884–1886*, ed. Wilhelm Jerger, trans. Richard Louis Zimdars (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). As Kenneth Hamilton has documented, many of Liszt's master class pupils also studied with him privately. Hamilton, 'Liszt's Legacy to his Students', 98–9. The same was true for Busoni's pupils.

[75] Walker, *Living with Liszt*, 189.

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Fig. 3 Photograph of Busoni in the Weimar Tempeherrenhaus in 1900, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, PI, 79

straight and tall.[76] Apart from that, he had no set method, and the understanding was that those who needed technical advice should seek help elsewhere. Carl Lachmund asserts that Liszt's classes were for those who had already reached a high level of artistry and proficiency. Instead of technique, he tended to focus on the musical aspects of a piece.[77] His classes were supplemented by social hours, often ending at a restaurant, or with weekend coffee hours in which a musical programme was followed by coffee.[78] They also had whist parties after the lessons, and enjoyed readings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and other authors.

[76] 'Liszt as Teacher: A Sketch by Jose Vianna da Motta',.

[77] Friedheim, *Life and Liszt*, 51 and Walker, *Living with Liszt*, 14.

[78] The coffee hours were hosted by the Stahr sisters. Anna Stahr (1835–1909) also taught piano in Weimar.

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Busoni followed in Liszt's footsteps by leading an intimate summer (July–September) master class free of charge that was focused on aesthetic ideals (see Fig. 3).[79] The students were largely handpicked, and received short, but warm invitations in May 1900 for the first master class. Some were invited in person as Busoni met them during his travels.[80] Maud Allan describes the atmosphere as otherworldly, as students were surrounded by the aura of a city steeped in history that included Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Liszt. She likened it to a religious meeting:

> There was no fixed programme. But though there was a delightful spontaneity about these afternoons, we only gave our very best. In fact, in one respect they were not unlike a Quakers' meeting, when only those who feel inspired rise to speak. But there the comparison ceases.[81]

Busoni cultivated intimacy by meeting with students outside of the bi-weekly master class sessions (usually Tuesday and Friday afternoons) almost every day of the week informally for walks in the park or coffee hours.[82] The students were also notorious for their pranks and games, in which Busoni sometimes participated (see Fig. 4). Busoni's first class was smaller than Liszt's, with fewer than 15 pupils in 1900 (see Figs. 5 and 6) and about 28 the second summer.[83] Although we might never be able to document everyone who attended, including guests, Table 5 documents the traceable participants.[84] Busoni also invited guests to perform or attend, including Teresa Carreño (1853–1917), Oscar Klemperer (1877–1940), Hermann Draber (1878–1942), Martin Wegelius (1846–1906), an organist from Boston named Wetzler, and Ernst Lochbrunn from the Stern Conservatory (Berlin).[85] Busoni and his invited guests performed formally about once per week, such as during a two-piano recital (Busoni and da Motta) on 7 August 1900 that featured Liszt's *Faust Symphony* and Beethoven's ninth symphony arranged for two pianos by Liszt.[86]

In Busoni's master class, students arose to play when they felt like it. Some days a dozen people would perform, on other afternoons as few as two played.[87] Busoni emphasized musicality, and he often demonstrated passages spontaneously at the piano as well; group discussion was considered integral to the educational process.[88] Ernest Hoffzimmer remembers that Busoni sometimes sight-read pieces that students brought to class, such as the Concerto No. 5 by Saint Saëns, to

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[79] Maud Allan, *My Life and Dancing* (London: Everett & Co., 1908).

[80] Marga Weigert, 'Busoni at Weimar in 1901', *The Music Review* 15:1 (1954), 47. It is unclear exactly how Busoni selected the pianists, but some – such as Petri – were personal acquaintances. Others had won notable awards for their playing or were well-reputed prodigies.

[81] Allan, *My Life and Dancing*, 70

[82] Allan, *My Life and Dancing*, 70.

[83] Liszt usually had around 35 students during the peak of the summer.

[84] Many of the students are listed in Mirus, 'Die Meisterschule von Busoni zu Weimar', 463–4.

[85] H.W. Draber was a Silesian-born flautist, musicologist and critic. He studied piano with Busoni at Weimar and later became an assistant.

[86] William Smythe Babcock and Blanche Dingley, eds, *Music: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Art, Science, Technic* (May 1900–Oct. 1900), 486.

[87] Egon Petri, 'How Ferruccio Busoni Taught: An Interview with the Distinguished Dutch Pianist Egon Petri', interview by Friede F. Rothe, *Etude* 58 (1940): 657.

[88] Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni*, 126.

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Fig. 4 Photograph of Busoni playing billiards with van Doren, Kestenberg, Bendiner and Szanto in Weimar in 1900, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, PI, 75

introduce students to new repertoire.[89] In addition, Petri remembers that Busoni would also play spontaneously for hours in the evenings at his house.[90] When Busoni did talk about technique, he stressed that most physical problems are rooted in the mind. In this, he foresaw the theory of much twentieth-century piano instruction.[91] Petri notes that Busoni did not offer concrete technical solutions, but he did teach students how to think.[92]

Also like Liszt, Busoni sought to make his students complete musicians, not just pianists. He promoted improvisation, composition, conducting and other skills to complement piano playing. Most of all, he promoted his musical ideals. In addition, he advised his students to be well-read in fields outside of music. One of his students, Draber, stated that he made young people see music as a boundless kingdom of heaven, remote from the everyday world, his own life testifying to the fact that first you must be a human being and an artist, then everything else will

[89] Ernest Hoffzimmer, *The Musical Memory* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1931), 13. He later became a professor of piano at Indiana University.

[90] Petri, 'How Ferruccio Busoni Taught', 657.

[91] See, for instance, Busoni, 'The Requirements Necessary for a Pianist' [1910], and 'Rules for Practicing the Piano' [1898], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 80–81.

[92] Petri, 'How Ferruccio Busoni Taught', 657.

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Fig. 5 **Busoni's first Weimar Master class (1900) in Weimar, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, P II 50. Last Row (from left to right): Martin Wegelius, Eduard van Dooren, ?, Teresa Carreño, Etelka Freund, a singer from Weimar, George Herbert Fryer, Lori Schrotzberg, Jose Vianna da Motta. Middle Row: Maud Allan, Irene Schaefsberg, Lucie Rueff, Ferruccio Busoni, Theodor Szántó, Frida Kindler, Ferdinand Bendiner, Gerda Busoni, Bessie Silberfeld. Front Row: Leo Kestenberg, Émile Blanchet**

come right.[93] An article in the *Rheinische Musikzeitung* described the conversations as all-inclusive – delving into politics, religion and more.[94]

[93] Draber, quoted in H.H. Stuckenschmidt, *Ferruccio Busoni: 'Chronicle of a European'*, 185.

[94] Busonis Haupttätigkeit besteht hier im Erteilen des Unterrichts. Seine Art darin ist eine ganz individuelle. Zunächst hat das Ganze mehr den Anstrich einer Freundschaft zwischen Lehrer und Schüler, dadurch ist das Verhältnis zwischen beiden Teilen ein viel offeneres und freieres. Selten wird man so klare Erläuterungen, so scharfsinnige, treffliche Bezeichnungen und Ausdrücke beim Unterricht hören, wie sie Busoni zur Verfügung stehen. Das was er angiebt, ist alles eigenstes Produkt des Geistes und der Erfahrung. […] Als seine Aufgabe hat sich dieser Mann nun vorgenommen, den nötigen jungen Nachwuchs in möglicher Vollkommenheit zu erziehen, doch zunächst nur als Musiker. Unbewusst jedoch bildet er auch den geistigen Menschen in ihnen dadurch, dass er einen Teil seiner Schüler alltäglich nach Tisch um sich versammelt und dann ernste und heitere Konversation mit ihnen pflegt. Dabei geht es manchmal ziemlich hoch her, denn in diesem Kreise kann jeder frei seine Meinung äußern, da hören Patriotismus, persönliche Verehrung und Pietät auf. 'Busoni in Weimar', *Rheinische Musikzeitung*, 23 August 1901.

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Fig. 6 Busoni's second Weimar Master class (1901) in Weimar, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv, Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, P II 49

During classes, he stressed several Lisztian ideals, including that of form and colour. He usually considered pieces in their entirety, and he talked about their 'architectural' shape. He asked students to strive after ideals of clarity of line, attention to colour, and intellectual objectivity. Busoni was known to talk frequently about the use of the pedal, which he used unconventionally to achieve unique colours.[95] Moreover, he helped shape repertoire choices by promoting the music of pianist-composers and urging students to explore new pieces. Repertoire ranged from Bach to Busoni, with special emphasis on Bach-Busoni transcriptions and the music of Liszt. Leo Kestenberg, for instance, worked on the Bach-Busoni Chaconne and some organ chorale preludes as well as Liszt's concertos and *Totentanz*. Lucie Rueff also performed the Bach-Busoni Chaconne during the master class, and Marga Behmer performed an E-flat minor fugue by Bach.[96] Jean du Chastain

[95] Busoni, 'The Pianoforte Should be Esteemed' [1910], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 79.

[96] Kestenberg performed both Liszt concertos on 4 January 1908, in the Berlin Singakademie with the Berlin Philharmonic under the direction of Busoni. Kestenberg is best known for his work as Prussian Culture Minister, in which capacity he granted Busoni a prominent teaching position in composition at the Akademie der Künste in

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Table 5. Busoni's Master Class Pupils

Name[i]	1900 Master Class (see Figure 1)*	1901 Master Class*
Maud Allan[ii]	X	X
Marga Behmer[iii]		X
Ferdinand Bendiner[iv]	X	
Emile Blanchet [v]	X	X
Emile Bosquet[vi]		X
Margarethe Boye-Jensen (contralto)[vii]		X
Rachlem Bruohshaw[viii]		X
Jean du Chastain[ix]		X
Eduard van Dooren[x]	X	
Hermann Draber[xi]		X
Etelka Freund[xii]	X	
George Herbert Fryer[xiii]		X
Rudolph Ganz[xiv]	X	
Ernest Hoffzimmer[xv]	X	X
Willy Hütter[xvi]		X
Olaf Jensen[xvii]		X
Henriette Kjaerbye[xviii]		X
Leo Kestenberg[xix]	X	
Frida Kindler[xx]	X	X
? Louvryns[xxi]		X
Selim Palmgren[xxii]	X	X
Egon Petri[xxiii]		X
Lucy Pierce[xxiv]		X
Lucie Rueff[xxv]	X	
Irene Schaefsberg (a.k.a. Irene Sanden and Irene Gruenberg)[xxvi]	X	X
Lori Schrotzberg	X	
Max Schwarz[xxvii]		X
Bessie Silberfeld[xxviii]	X	
? Smith		X
Theodor Szántó[xxix]	X	X
Marthe de Vos[xxx]		X
Marga Weiger (or Weigert) [xxxi]		X
Hedwig Wiszwiansky[xxxii]		X
? Wormacoth		X
? Wyssmann[xxxiii]		X
Wanda von Zarembska[xxxiv]		X

*An x indicates attendance at that particular master class

[i]The fact that many of the female attendees' careers were cut short by marriage was a given at the time period. Etelka Freund, for instance, married in 1910 and did not resume her career again until 1936. Bessie Silberfeld was considered such an amazing prodigy that a study was done of her physiognomy to try to understand her greatness, yet she married Joel (Julius) Pitzele in 1906. Uncle Joseph, 'Child Culture: Precious and Promising', *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 107 (1898), 18, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015074625396;view=1up;seq=27 (accessed 15 March 2017). Reports of her performing again do not surface until the 1920s (Her husband died in 1925). Even so, several went on to have significant careers, and they articulated their indebtedness to Busoni, who remained in contact even after the master class. Freund began a successful concert career in 1901 with Busoni conducting the Berlin Philharmonic. The mammoth programme included Beethoven's Concerto No. 3 in C Minor, op. 37, Brahms's Concerto No. 1 in D Minor, op. 15, and Liszt's *Rhapsodie Espagnole*, S. 254 (in Busoni's version for piano and orchestra). Freund's career was cut short by her marriage in 1910. She only began performing again in 1936 at her husband's retirement. On the other

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Table 5. Continued

hand, marriage seemed to bolster the careers of men. Ganz got married on 12 July 1900 and left for Chicago in August 1900. A letter from Busoni in Weimar dated 16 July 1900 stated that they were waiting expectantly for him in Weimar. Apparently, he and his new bride were coming to the master class before Ganz's departure for America: 'We have been expecting you for a long time, and I look forward to your art and to the manuscripts' (Wir erwarte Sie schon lange und ich freue mich auf ihre Ankunft und auf die Manuscripte). Busoni, letter of 16 July 1900 to Ganz, Monographic, 1900, Manuscript/Mixed Material, Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/resource/molden.1149.0/?sp=1 (accessed 12 February 2017).

[ii]Allan (1873–1956) was a Canadian pianist who discovered her talent for dancing and acting when interacting with Busoni.

[iii]Behmer studied at the Conservatory in Cologne. Mirus described her as very talented and stated that she showed much progress during the master class. He considered one of her best performances to be of an E-flat minor Fugue by Bach. Mirus, 'Die Meisterschule von Busoni zu Weimar', 463–4.

[iv]There is one letter between Bendiner (1879–?) and Busoni dated 26 June 1899 in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin. He was educated in Budapest and Berlin and he won the King Francis-Joseph Prize.

[v]Blanchet (1877–1943) studied with Busoni in Weimar and Berlin, taught at the Lausanne Conservatory (1904–17), and composed. Busoni dedicated *An die Jugend* (mvt. IV) to him.

[vi]Bosquet was from Brussels, and he won the Third International Anton Rubinstein Competition in Vienna in 1900. Afterwards, he concertized in Russia and Belgium. He wrote a book in 1904 entitled: *Technique moderne du pianiste virtuose: Moderne Technik des Klavier virtuosen* and became an honorary professor of the Royal Conservatory of Brussels. He was also a juror for the international Frederic Chopin Piano Competition in 1949 and 1955.

[vii]Boye-Jensen was a singer from Copenhagen who had studied with Julius Stockhausen. She gave recitals and performed 'Mon coeur s'ouvre a ta Voix' from Camille Saint-Saen's *Samson et Dalila*, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra on 11 March 1899. She was the wife of pianist Olaf Jensen, who was attending the class.

[viii]Bruohshaw was a pianist from London. She specialized in the music of Beethoven and Bach – especially Bach transcriptions.

[ix]Chastain was a Belgian concert pianist who performed Bach organ transcriptions during the master class. For a review of one of his performances see 'Jean du Chastain (piano) and Joan Hammond (soprano), accompanied by Joan Singleton', *Musical News* 30 (18 July 1940) www.concertprogrammes.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/5032 (accessed 10 February 2017).

[x]Van Dooren was born in Neuss, Germany.

[xi]Hermann Draber (1878–1942) was a flautist and a pianist.

[xii]Freund (1879–1977), who was one of Busoni's most talented master class pupils, studied with Brahms in Vienna in 1895 and with Busoni during the first Weimar master class. When Bosquet won the Rubinstein prize in summer 1900, Busoni opined that his victory was only due to a policy barring female contestants. Freund began a successful concert career in 1901 with Busoni conducting the Berlin Philharmonic (Beethoven's C minor Concerto, Brahms's D minor Concerto, and Liszt's *Rhapsodie Espagnole* in Busoni's version for piano and orchestra), but it was cut short in 1910 by her marriage to an electrical engineer. She only began performing again in 1936 at her husband's retirement. See 'Etelka Freund' http://arbiterrecords.org/music-resource-center/etelka-freund/ (accessed 10 February 2017). Busoni wrote to her brother, Robert Freund, about her progress: 'Last Sunday for the first time she held and moved a small but very discerning public. I believe that the most critical moment has passed and that the path before her is smooth; she needs only to practice steadily. I am happy to be able to report to you these results with good conscience. A sudden interruption and return to the home atmosphere does not seem to me the thing to do now. Regressions can hardly be feared, but should not be excluded with certainty. Therefore, I have urged that Etel come to Berlin for a while and am happy to understand that you consented to my wishes. At least I want to complete the preparation of her Berlin programs'. Busoni, letter to Robert Freund, 12 September 1900 in 'Etelka Freund' http://arbiterrecords.org/music-resource-center/etelka-freund/.

[xiii]Fryer (1877–1957) was a British pianist who studied at the Royal Academy of Music from 1893–1898. He made his London debut on 17 November 1898, and then toured throughout Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia, South Africa, and India. From 1917–1947, he was a Professor of Piano at the Royal Conservatory of Music. His students include Cyril Smith, George Malcolm, and Constant Lambert.

[xiv]Ganz (1877–1972) was a Swiss-born pianist, conductor, composer, and piano teacher who attended part of the 1900 master class. He studied piano with Robert Freund and composition with Charles Blanchet at the Lausanne Conservatory. He began studying with Busoni in Berlin in 1899 and worked with him for one year. Ganz made his debut at Berlin's *Beethovensaal* on 7 December 1899 with the Berlin Philharmonic (Chopin 1, Beethoven 5, Liszt Hungarian Fantasy) four months later he made his conducting debut with the Berlin Philharmonic.

(*Continued*)

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Table 5. Continued

Florenz Ziegfeld happened to be in Berlin at the time (May 1900) and invited him to join the piano department at the Chicago Musical College. Ganz married 12 July 1900 and left for Chicago in August 1900. A letter from Busoni in Weimar dated 16 July 1900 asks when he will be coming – he was expected for part of the master class. Ganz actively promoted French music and new music. In 1906 he went back to Berlin where he presumably came back into contact with Busoni. His students include: Edward Collins, Edna Gunnar Peterson, Leo Miller, Mollie Margolies, Charles Haubiel, and Edward Ballantine.

[xv]Hoffzimmer (1877–1957), born in Germany, studied with Victor Staub and William Dayas. He attended both master classes and also studied with Busoni in Berlin until 1904. He premiered works by several composers, including Palmgren. He also went on recital tours, including one with singer Lillian Sanderson in which they performed the lieder of August Bungert.

[xvi]Hütter studied at the Conservatory in Bucharest.

[xvii]Jensen was a pianist from Copenhagen and the husband of Margarethe Boye-Jensen, a singer. He studied with Busoni in Berlin and attended the second Weimar master class.

[xviii]Kjaerbye was from Denmark.

[xix]Kestenberg (1882–1962) was a music educator and pianist of Hungarian birth. He studied with Theodor Kullak, but in 1898 received a free ticket to a Busoni recital at the Berlin Singakademie. After that he studied with Busoni (at his Weimar master class in 1900) and composition with Felix Draeseke in Berlin. He became Busoni's secretary, and in 1904 he followed Busoni to Berlin. He then taught at the Stern and Klindworth-Scharwenka Conservatories in Berlin beginning in 1908 and performed regularly. He first fled to Prague and then to Tel-Aviv during the 1930s. There he conducted orchestras and continued his educational activities. Some of his most famous pupils include Menahem Pressler and Alexis Weissenberg.

[xx]Kindler (1879–1964), who attended both master classes, was the sister of Hans Kindler, a cellist and long-time friend of Busoni. Weigert remembers that she performed Liszt's Piano Concerto nr. 2 in A Major, S. 125, during the 1901 master class. Weigert, 'Busoni at Weimar in 1901', 52. She married Bernard van Dieren on 1 January 1910, a man who would become one of Busoni's favourite composition pupils. For a review of Kindler's playing see 'A Verhaeren: Recital by Carlo Liten and Frida Kindler, 1917' http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/ref/collection/tc/id/43091 (19 March 2015). Her concert agent was E.L. Robinson, and she was a friend of Kaikhosru Shapurji Sorabji.

[xxi]Louvryne was a pianist from Brussels who studied only a short time with Busoni, but experienced a remarkable breakthrough because of his instruction.

[xxii]Palmgren (1878–1951) was a Finnish pianist and composer who studied in Helsingfors, and he was one of the last Liszt pupils. He specialized in the music of Liszt, Weber and Chopin, and was called the 'Finnish Chopin'. He studied at the Conservatory in Helsinki from 1895 to 1899 and then continued his piano studies with Ansorge and Busoni. See Selim Palmgren, *Miniature Essays* (London: J. and W. Chester, 1922). During the master class, Palmgren performed Chopin's Scherzo in B Minor and Liszt's *Rigoletto* opera fantasy. Selim Palmgren, 'I Liszts och Busonis Weimar', *Festskrift tilla gnad Amos Anderson* 3 (1948), 226.

[xxiii]Petri (1881–1962) was a talented player of both violin and piano, but it was after the Weimar master class that he decided to dedicate himself to piano. He helped Busoni edit the collected Bach edition in Switzerland during World War I. His students include Victor Borge, Gunnar Johansen, Earl Wild, and John Ogdon.

[xxiv]Pierce participated in both the Weimar and Vienna master classes. She joined the Royal Manchester College of Music Faculty in 1912, where she was initially a student. She also studied with Friedheim, Backhaus and Petri, and she won the Dayas gold medal in 1909, and the Halle Memorial Scholarship, 1906–09. For more information, see Charles Beauclerk, *Piano Man: Life of John Ogdon* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014); Michael Kennedy, *The History of the Royal Manchester College of Music, 1893–1972* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

[xxv]Rueff (1877–1943), from Paris, performed the Bach-Busoni Chaconne during the master class.

[xxvi]Schaefsberg, also a pupil of Dayas, was a British concert pianist, and she attended both classes. She performed Beethoven's Sonata nr. 28 in A Major, Op. 101, in the 1901 master class, and later went on to become an accompanist, vocal coach, dancer and piano teacher in New York. Weigert, 'Busoni at Weimar in 1901', 50. She sometimes performed under the name Irene Sanden, and was the first wife of Louis Gruenberg.

[xxvii]Schwarz studied five years with Karl Klindworth and wrote a dissertation on Johann Christian Bach. He helped found the Raff Conservatorium in Frankfurt together with Max Fleisch and Bertrand Roth. He also taught Frederic Lamond.

[xxviii]Silberfeld (1884–1964) was a child prodigy mentioned in a letter to Ganz. She studied in New York with William M. Semlacher and in Berlin with Jedliezka. Her younger sister, Mamie, was also a pianist.

[xxix]Szántó (1877–1934) was a pianist and composer. He studied with Busoni from 1898 to 1901, attending both Weimar master classes, and studying with him privately. During the second master class, he performed only once, playing Beethoven's Piano Sonata nr. 31 in A-Flat Major, op. 110. He championed the music of Zoltán

(*Continued*)

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Table 5. Continued

Kodály, Frederic Delius and Béla Bartók, was a friend of Ravel, and was also noted for his Bach arrangements.
[xxx]DeVos was a Belgian pianist who loved the music of Franck. Mirus described her as an 'exceptionally intelligent pianist' and stated that her performance of Franck's variations and fugue 'was one of the best performances of Busoni's pupils'. Mirus, 'Die Meisterschule von Busoni zu Weimar', 463–5.
[xxxi]Weigert received her concert diploma at the conservatoire in Cologne before attending the master class in 1901. Weigert claims she was the youngest of the students in 1901. She performed Liszt's Piano Concerto no. 1 in E-Flat Major, S. 124 and Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 4 in G Major, Op. 58.
[xxxii]Wiszwiansky was a Polish pianist who, according to Mirus, played the *Konzertstück* by Weber brilliantly in the master class.
[xxxiii]Wyssmann was from The Netherlands.
[xxxiv]Von Zarembska was a pianist from Brussels and the daughter of two musicians, Johanna Wenzel and Jules Zarembski, the latter of whom studied with Franz Liszt. Mirus stated: 'The young lady has a real pianistic talent and temperament and will make excellent with further serious study and mature into an excellent pianist' (Die junge Dame besitzt ein echt pianistisches Talent und Temperament und wird bei weiterem ernsten Studium hervorragendes leisten und zu einer ausgezeichneten Pianistin heranreifen): Mirus, 'Die Meisterschule von Busoni zu Weimar'. Reviews of her playing can be found in *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 65 (9 Dec. 1906), *Die Musik* 6: 21, and *Le Guide musical: revue internationale de la musique et des théâtres*. For a concert programme showing a recital in which she performed works by Chopin in Dusseldorf see http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=http://%3A//digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de%2Foai%2F%3Fverb%3DGetRecord%26metadataPrefix%3Dmets%26identifier%3D4733139 (accessed 5 March 2017).

performed Bach organ transcriptions during the master class, although the arranger is not specified. Egon Petri performed Liszt's *Weinen Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen Variations*, S. 179.[97]

Coda

Busoni modelled his career as a composing virtuoso on Liszt – who also improvised, composed, edited and taught – going against the trend of increasing specialization being cultivated in many contemporary conservatories. He believed in the vision of *Zukunftsmusik* promoted by Liszt in Weimar in terms of poetic instrumental music characterized by new harmonies, colours and sounds. At the same time, he was impressed by Liszt's pedagogical approach in Weimar, which educated the whole person and aimed at producing complete musicians, such as Bülow, who were consummate conductors, pianists and creators. Busoni called multi-talented individuals such as Liszt geniuses: 'Such pianoforte geniuses were Beethoven, Chopin, and Liszt; they perceived new means, solved the problems of new effects, created 'improbable difficulties' and wrote a literature of their own'.[98]

Busoni followed in Liszt's footsteps as a composer-arranger-musical authority-pedagogue, even as he moved from the nineteenth century to the twentieth as a virtuoso and a composer. The time spent in Weimar allowed him to learn first-hand more about Liszt's life, music and pedagogy. In turn, Busoni sought to build upon Liszt's Weimar legacy through an expansion of instrumental, formal

Berlin from 1921–1924. He later managed the Palestine Orchestra from 1938–1945, which was renamed the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in 1948.

[97] He stated in a letter to Robert Freund, dated 12 September 1900, that the master class was ending in a few days 'Etelka Freund', http://arbiterrecords.org/music-resource-center/etelka-freund/ (accessed 10 February 2017).

[98] Busoni, 'The Pianoforte Genius' [1912], in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, 83.

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Table 6 The Multi-Faceted Careers of Busoni's Weimar Master Class Pupils

Pianist-Composers
Emile Blanchet
Emile Bosquet
Pianist-Composer-Pedagogues
Herbert Fryer
Egon Petri
Theodor Szántó
Pianist-Composer-Conductor-Pedagogues
Jean du Chastain
Rudolph Ganz
Selim Palmgren
Pianist-Pedagogues
Ernest Hoffzimmer
Olaf Jensen
Leo Kestenberg
Lucy Pierce
Irene Schaefsberg
Max Schwarz

and harmonic possibilities and by teaching holistically, something he continued to do in his piano master classes in Vienna (1907–08) and Basel (1909 and 1910), and his composition master class at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin (1921–24). As Douglas Bomberger argues, 'schools were in some ways better suited to the conservative agenda', and the master class setting allowed for a more progressive approach.[99]

Many of Busoni's Weimar master-class students continued Liszt's legacy as in their value systems, repertoire choices and multi-faceted careers (see Table 6). In addition to performing, Kestenberg, for instance, became a major figure in German musical life, eventually initiating a thorough reform of music education, including the addition of composition master classes to promote progressive ideals in music.[100] Rudolph Ganz, a Swiss-born pianist who pursued a multi-faceted career of conducting, composing, teaching and performing in Chicago after attending a brief part of the master class, became an advocate of new music.[101] Petri went

[99] E. Douglas Bomberger, 'Charting the Future of Zukunfstmusik: Liszt and the Weimar Orchesterschule', *The Musical Quarterly* 80/2 (1996): 348.

[100] Leo Kestenberg, 'Briefwechsel mit Ferruccio Busoni' *Gesamelte Schriften*, vol. 3, I *Briefwechsel*, ed. Wilfried Gruhn (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2010). See also Susanne Fontaine, Ulrich Mahlert, Dietmar Schenk and Theda Weber-Lucks, eds, *Leo Kestenberg: Musikpedägoge und Musikpolitiker in Berlin* (Berlin: Rombach Verlag, 2008).

[101] Initially a cellist, Ganz had to switch instruments when in a fit of rage he broke his cello and his father refused to buy him another instrument. He studied piano with Robert Freund and composition with Charles Blanchet at the Lausanne Conservatory. He began studying with Busoni in Berlin in 1899 and worked with him for one year. Ganz made his debut at Berlin's *Beethovensaal* on 7 December 1899 with the Berlin Philharmonic (Chopin 1, Beethoven 5, Liszt Hungarian Fantasy) four months later he made his conducting debut with the Berlin Philharmonic. Florenz Ziegfeld happened to be in Berlin at the time (May

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on to teach piano in Zakopane Poland, at the Royal Northern College of Music (Manchester), Cornell University and Mills College, in Oakland California, where he reportedly talked frequently about timbral possibilities on the piano and creative pedalling techniques.[102]

Busoni also taught about Liszt to his composition mentees, some of whom he coached informally for decades. He encouraged them to follow in his footsteps in rejecting Wagner as a progenitor of the future of music and to embrace Liszt and his ideals of *Zukunftsmusik.* The music of Bach, Mozart and Liszt permeated discussions, and many ended up composing music featuring unique structures informed by extra-musical ideas, coupled with counterpoint, attention to instrumental colour, and experimental harmonies.[103] Busoni was, for instance, instrumental in shifting Jean Sibelius's allegiance away from Wagner and toward Liszt. Busoni began mentoring Sibelius when he taught at the Helsinki Music Institute from 1888–1890, and then continued mentoring him and promoting his music through the early 1920s. It was in 1894 that Sibelius discovered Liszt's *Faust Symphony*, while visiting Busoni in Berlin, and he considered it to express many of the artistic ideals he was searching after.[104] Through the lens of Busoni, Liszt became an inspiration for many of Sibelius's own symphonic poems and symphonies that blended the poetic and the musical through thematic transformation, unique forms and instrumental colour. This melding of the poetic and the musical can also be heard in the compositions of Edgard Varèse, who studied composition with Busoni in Berlin from 1907 or 1908 to 1913, even if his pieces are more experimental in sound and style.[105] Varèse relied on extra-musical ideas to inspire his combination of timbres, harmonies, rhythms and motives, into larger structures in pieces such as *Hyperprism* and *Octandre.*

Busoni thus patterned his career after Liszt and promoted Liszt's music and ideals, helping establish Weimar as a complement to Bayreuth. For many, Wagner represented the future progressive direction of music, but Busoni held a different opinion. He was an important, if little remembered, voice calling for a reconsideration of Liszt's importance. He is joined by other Liszt followers, such as Richard Strauss, who is noted for his tone poems that expand upon Liszt's melding of the instrumental and the poetic. Despite his criticisms of Liszt's compositions, Arnold Schoenberg also found some inspiration in his vision for the music of the future. In his essay on Liszt (1911), for instance, Schoenberg praised Liszt's musical vision and, as James Wright has shown, he was heavily indebted to Liszt's innovations in form, thematic transformation, and use of augmented harmonies.[106]

1900) and invited him to join the piano department at the Chicago Musical College. Ganz's Berlin students include Edward Collins, Edna Gunnar Peterson, Leo Miller, Mollie Margolies, Charles Haubiel and Edward Ballantine.

[102] His students include Victor Borge, Gunnar Johansen, Earl Wild and John Ogdon. Petri studied one intensive year with Busoni and he also studied with Carreño and Felix Draeseke (composition). Julian White, conversations with the author of various dates between 1997 and 2004.

[103] For more detailed discussions, see Erinn Knyt, *Ferruccio Busoni and his Legacy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017).

[104] Knyt, *Ferruccio Busoni and His Legacy*, 56.

[105] For more about Varese's studies with Busoni, see Knyt, *Ferruccio Busoni and His Legacy*, 93–8.

[106] Arnold Schoenberg, 'Franz Liszt's Work and Being' [1911], in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (New York: St Martin's

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Busoni joins these and other composers who built upon Liszt's vision to forge a new future of music. As James Deaville, Michael Saffle and others have shown in a recent volume, Liszt's legacy has now reached well beyond Europe and has influenced not only piano and symphonic music, but also the development of newer genres such as film music.[107] Busoni contributed to this dissemination of Liszt's music, taking it on tour to the US and to other countries, such as Italy, where it was not well known. Even in Germany, he programmed lesser-known pieces by Liszt, and endlessly promoted Liszt's vision of *Zukunftsmusik.* Moreover, he tirelessly promoted the quickly disappearing model of the polyglot: pianist-composer-conductor-arranger-editor. Through his programming, editing, teaching and composing, he hoped to open the minds of those who followed to the ways in which Liszt's ideas could serve as a foundation for future musical experiments and interpretations. In the process, he expanded the legacy of Liszt followers and promoted an alternative system of musical values based on Liszt.

Press, 1975), 443–4. See also James Wright, 'Schoenberg's Liszt: 'Greater than an Artist: A Prophet',' in *Liszt's Legacies*, 280–99.

[107] Deaville and Saffle, *Liszt's Legacies*.

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