

My publications in the theme mostly in foreign languages:

- ✧ „Two letters of Franz Liszt written to Jacopo Tomadini. A forgotten relationship among Liszt and his friends in church music”, *Ostinato rigore*, Revue internationale d'études musicales. 18, (2002): 201-212.
- ✧ „The Miserere-Tradition of the Cappella Sistina, mirrored in Liszt's Works”, *Liszt 2000. Selected Lectures given at the International Liszt Conference in Budapest, May 18-20, 1999*. ed. Klára Hamburger. (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Társaság, 2000): 117-134.
- ✧ „The Musical Traditions of the Cappella Sistina and Liszt's Church Music”, *Analecta Lisztiana III*, „Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe”. *Franz Liszt Studies Series*, No.9. (New York: Pendragon, 2003)
- ✧ „The Performance Practice of the Cappella Sistina as Reflected in Liszt's Church Music”, *Studia Musicologica* 41/4 (2000): 389-406.
- ✧ „Liszt's Roman Experience of Palestrina in 1839. The importance of Fortunato Santini's library”, *JALS LIV/LV/LVI* (2003-2005), Festschrift in Honor of Fernando Laires upon his 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday: 45-56.
- ✧ „19th Century Path to Palestrina's Music: Italian, German and French Editions of the *Missa Papae Marcelli*”, *Studies the Sources and the Interpretation of Music: Essays in Honor of László Somfai on His 70th Birthday* Lanham, (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005): 57-76.
- ✧ „Liszt zeneszerzői szemléletének fejlődése a 19. századi olasz és német egyházzenei reformtervek esztétikai törekvéseinek fényében. I. Az 1830-as évek célkitűzései Gaspare Spontini és Liszt egyházzenei reformjaiban”(“The development of Liszt's compositional approach mirrored in the 19<sup>th</sup> century reform plans for church music. I. The aims of the 1830's in the reform plans by Gaspare Spontini and Liszt.”) in „*Inter Sollicitudines*” *Tudományos ülészek X. Pius pápa egyházzenei motu propriojának 100 éves évfordulóján*. (Budapest: MTA-TKI – Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Egyházzenei Kutatócsoport és a Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság, 2006): 93-105.
- ✧ „Wagner's Edition of Palestrina's *Stabat mater*”, *Studia Musicologica* XLVII (2006): 221-232.
- ✧ „*Miserere d'après Palestrina*: Die Geschichte eines musikalischen Zitats von der Sixtinischen Kapelle bis zu Liszts Komposition” *Studia Musicologica* 48 (2007): 45-59.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ROMAN 19TH CENTURY  
PALESTRINA RECEPTION ON LISZT'S MUSIC

Thesis

Supervisor: DR. ANDRÁS BATTA



The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The score is in C major and 4/4 time. It features a large, ornate initial 'S' on the left side, which contains a detailed illustration of a church interior with a dome and columns. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves. The lyrics are: "Sopran. - Ro-ma no - bi - lis or - bis et do - mi - na", "Alto. 2. Pe - tre tu prae - po - tens cae - lo - rum cla - vi - ger", "Tenor. 3. O Pau - le sus - ci - pe no - stra pre - ca - mi - na,", and "Basso." followed by a line of music.

PhD Dissertation  
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## I. The subject of the dissertation, its aspects and its aims

Liszt's interest in Palestrina's music is mostly discussed in the literature according to the main aspects of German Palestrina reception as it is generally accepted, albeit we can approach nearer to the truth by rediscovering the Palestrina image which dominated the musical life at a given place and at a given time – in this case Rome in the middle of the 19th century. Liszt's reception of Palestrina is made up of manifold influences; at certain periods of his career the German, then the French or the Italian aspects came into prominence. Since a comparison demonstrates that the 19th century German views are not identical with the French or Italian views of the time, Liszt's Palestrina interpretation can also be determined more precisely if we take into consideration these differences in time and the places as well. In the 1860's it was the Italian tradition that was of most importance for Liszt. The tradition of the Sistine chapel itself is different from all other traditions in its continuous performance practice of Palestrina's works, even when this was also subjected to the influence of new musical styles.

Generally little is known about Liszt's contacts with the representatives of Italian church music, especially during his sojourn in Rome between 1861 and 1869, in spite of the fact that at this period church music and its reform was the main focus of his interest. This is partly due to the small number of documents about his connections of this kind. This dissertation summarizes the references and facts at present at our disposal and fills in some unknown pages of his biography. Liszt was acquainted with the North Italian representatives of Palestrina-reception (Tomadini, Amelli), as with the leading figures of the Roman tradition (Santini, Meluzzi). He was highly influenced by the performance practice of the *Cappella Sistina*.

It is not the aim of this dissertation to exaggerate the Italian inspiration, but in the hope of a future equilibrium of the different influences on Liszt it tries to approach the side which is still neglected by research. A more thorough examination of the French influence belongs to the tasks of future Liszt research, yet it is the restoration of Gregorian chant which had an influence on Liszt from France. This dissertation aims in the first place to throw light on the

Italian Palestrina reception is not bound to the concrete style and compositional methods of the Renaissance. The main point was to find the proper musical expression submitted to liturgical events. It proves to be evident also in the repertoire approved by the reform movement, which embodies all compositions of the genre from the chant to classical polyphony, the Viennese classics, and even contemporary music; this wide repertoire could not have been approved by the representatives of German Cecilianism. Liszt's statements in his letters and his proposals for the reform of church music in 1834 correspond without doubt to the Italian reform ideas. The Italian aestheticians agree also with Liszt in their very modest use of counterpoint; in their Palestrina renaissance they do not lay the emphasis on a revival of polyphonic writing. Instead, they prefer to express simplicity and naturalness, to convey the intelligibility of the text, to have sensitive harmony and an expressive power of performance. As far as the use of harmony is concerned they were open to accepting the harmonies of their own time on the condition that they met the demands of the church. The repertoire and the performance practice of the *Cappella Sistina* also showed this open minded attitude to the musical style of the modern time. The compositions performed by the choir, the experience of the services of Holy Week had a lasting influence on Liszt's music. The choir masters of the Sistine from Baini onwards composed their music in the so-called "mixed style", the tradition inherited from Palestrina united with the musical style of their time. It is the same case with the compositional style of other Italians. Salvatore Meluzzi, Gaetano Capocci also composed mainly in the diatonic mode with some modal insertions and with brief polyphonic sections which textually enrich the homophonic writing. This means that the heterogeneous texture of Liszt's church music and its various stylistic marks, especially the texture of the *Missa choralis* which was found by the majority of critics to be strange or inappropriate, in its surroundings fits well into the general compositional practice. The use of this kind of style is the same manifestation of the "hybrid forms" which was admired by Liszt in the architecture of Rome.

efforts made in Italy. Moreover, he knew and reported the petition for reform by Rossini which was submitted directly to Pope IX. In the background to his personal contacts we can trace simultaneously the development of the Italian reform of church music, and the ideas and aesthetical aims which remained always on Liszt's horizon. This explains why the activity of any given musician in the reform movement was discussed parallel to his relationship with Liszt. The next chapters of the dissertation are about the special characteristics of Italian music thinking, demonstrated by music examples. These characteristics may also have had an influence on him in the creation of his own church music style. The performance practice of the *Cappella Sistina* receives a special emphasis in the analysis of the Roman tradition, and the most important features of compositional style „alla Palestrina” are collected from a broad circle of the contemporary Italian church music composers. As a result of comparing the musical analyses we can point to the common features of the Italian Palestrina-renaissance and Liszt's compositional methods.

By analysing the common features of Liszt in Liszt's Palestrina reception and in that by the Italian church music composers, we are taking into consideration the differences between the Italian and German conceptions. While the Italians always relied on the music being performed, on the tradition of the *Cappella Sistina*, the Germans like in archeological excavations aimed at the reconstruction of the original in its most authentic form, free from later performance traditions. This fact can be traced in the character and in the ideas expressed in the prefaces of their publications. To demonstrate this I have selected some editions of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* of the time, the differences in the music of which complement the aesthetical declarations in the reform plans. The editors are mostly the same persons as the authors of the reform plans. In order to make Italian Palestrina reception more clearly understood, a couple of German and French editions are added for comparison. Then in the light of these will Liszt's points of view and musical approach be considered.

#### IV. The results of the research

The Italian reform ideas for church music as well as the targets expressed in the prefaces of the editions reveal that 19th century

less known and less understood features of Liszt's music in the context of 19th century Roman Palestrina reception.

The emphasis of this research is laid on the difference between the Roman tradition and the aesthetical requirements of German Cecilianism as represented first of all by Carl Proske and Franz Xaver Haberl. We do not wish to argue with previous opinions; Liszt's church music style and its features in common with the Roman tradition are discussed from a new aspect, with citations of music examples and aesthetical writings. In this way we can place Liszt's ideas to reform church music, and his compositions in that genre, in their Italian surroundings. Furthermore we can refute the repeated objections against Liszt's church music on the grounds of real arguments.

#### II. The preliminaries to the research

Liszt's interest in the reform of church music, his opinions and the style of his works in the genre are usually discussed in the light of the aesthetical ideas of German Cecilianism, and the reform of Catholic Church music. Although Liszt was familiar with them and from the late 1860's had personal contact with the leaders of the movement, with Franz Xaver Witt and Franz Xaver Haberl, we cannot neglect the ideas of the reform plans of France and Italy, since Liszt knew of them and also followed them. When he was to compile his own reform plan for the whole Catholic Church at the beginning of the 1860's, he wanted to take again into consideration all existing initiatives. Behind the influences of the Italian, French and German reforms there are sophisticated relationships to one another, the true revelation of which following the efforts of Gustav Fellerer (*Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik, Band 2, 1972-1976*, and *Studien zur Musik des 19. Jahrhundert*. 1985) awaits future research. In his books about the 19th century history of Cecilianism Fellerer emphasises for understandable reasons the German achievements, since it was in Bamberg in 1868 that the reform was officially realized in an institutional form, but this achievement was built also on French and Italian efforts which have been largely forgotten. For Liszt, however, these persons and their

ideas were part of the reality of his time, with their own influences on his way of thinking and artistic development.

The general opinion on Liszt's music, especially that on the *Missa choralis* in the various essays, derives mainly from Franz Xaver Haberl's review published in *Musica Sacra* („Ueber Liszt's 'Missa choralis' und prinzipielle Fragen", *Musica Sacra* 23, 1890). This essay had such a strong influence on the next generations, due to the dominance of the German St Cecilia Association, that the critics of the work either followed his thoughts or in opposition to them tried to explain the church character of the mass in another way. It is very symptomatic which criteria were the ones according to which the heritage of Palestrina's music in works by Liszt is accepted or rejected in the various writings. As we know, at the beginning Haberl himself also had a favourable opinion concerning the *Missa choralis*; after his recommendation in 1871 the mass was admitted to the collection named *Cäcilienvereinskatalog* under the number 79. Haberl, however, after 1877, most probably under the influence of violent opposition from others, had withdrawn from his previous position, and prohibited the reprinting of his previous positive attitude in the new Catalogue. Moreover, in 1890, already after Witt's death, he was in agreement with the unfavourable criticism concerning the mass in several respects, or he tried to verify his decision subsequently in this way. In his essay he cites more negative criticism regarding the mass, among them one of the most criticized features being the fusion of the old and the new styles in Liszt's mass. This mixture of styles several times disturbed the analysts of Liszt's church music, but in almost every case they felt to be obliged to express their opinions about it, either being his contemporaries or the representatives of the next generations. According to the critics the other main point in Liszt's church music output is the destination of the works, whether they were composed for the liturgy or simply belonged to religious compositions for general use. James Garratt in his book (*Palestrina and the German Romantic imagination. Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music*. 2002) argues, following statements by Peter Raabe (*Liszts Schaffen*, 1968) and by Ernst Günter Heinemann (*Franz Liszts Auseinandersetzung mit der geistlichen Musik*. 1978), that in Liszt's late compositions for church music it is very difficult to find the division between the two types of works.

Paul Merrick in his book (*Revolution and Religion in the music of Liszt*, 1987) follows another approach, taking Liszt's music itself as a starting point to his analyses and seeking the lines of the tradition from the music. Michael Saffle agrees with Merrick's opinion, too, („Liszt and Cecilianism: The Evidence of Documents and Scores", in *Der Caecilianismus: Anfänge – Grundlagen – Wirkungen*, 1988), but already in 1918, in the preface to the first Complete Edition of Liszt's Works Dr. Philipp Wolfrum also emphasised that Liszt's *Missa choralis* perfectly met the requirements of the reform both in its function and in its quality. In the latest Italian Liszt literature Rossana Dalmonte (*Franz Liszt. La vita, l'opera, i testi musicati*, 1983) as well as Raffaele Pozzi („L'immagine ottocentesca del Palestrina nel rapporto tra Franz Liszt e il movimento ceciliano" in *Atti del II. Convegno internazionale di studi Palestriniani*, 1991) set Liszt's ideas against the general views of German Cecilianism. They are agreed on the point that Palestrina's music influenced Liszt as a model of inspiration while for the official reform of church music it played the role of the normative model, a musical symbol of the glorious past.

### III. The methods of research and the structure of the dissertation

The first chapter of the dissertation gives a brief summary of the opinions and general evaluation of Liszt's church music in the literature, which is taken as a starting point for an analysis of the Italian aspects of his church music. Speaking about Liszt's Palestrina reception it is also essential to summarize where and when Liszt became acquainted with the compositions of the composers of the Renaissance. The second chapter deals with Liszt's personal connections with the representatives of Italian Cecilianism, at the same time roughly outlining the development of Italian Cecilianism. Liszt had personal contact with several representatives of Italian Cecilianism, among them Gaspare Spontini, Jacopo Tomadini, and Guerrino Amelli. He frequented the home of Fortunato Santini, and his friendship with Jacopo Tomadini helped him to become familiar with the results of Pietro Alfieri, Ferdinando Casamorata and Giovanni Battista Candotti. Thus he practically learned all the important