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ROMANTIC PIANISTS IN PARIS: MUSICAL IMAGES AND MUSICAL LITERATURE

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Among all the famous pianists of the Parisian romanticism, I will focus on just two personalities, usually evoked in opposition: Liszt and Chopin. The first gave rise to the most impressive production of portraits and caricatures, often showing contrasting temperaments. His career as both a concert virtuoso and as a stage phenomenon, and his exceptional artistic temperament inspired many expressive portraits arising to the statute of icons. Chopin, on the other hand, was not as attractive subject for visual artists, and his iconography is confined to intimate portraits expressing his sensitivity. There are few, if any, images showing him in the context of a public concert; but rather he is usually shown in a private salon. However, his premature death gave rise to an important posthumous iconography, continuing the reception of his image that started during his lifetime.

Berlioz was without a doubt the first to emphasize the opposite poles of the two pianists. A music critic for about ten years – his first article was published in August 1823¹ – Berlioz reviewed in December 1833 a concert by Ferdinand Hiller, during which Liszt and Chopin also performed. We can appreciate his conjuring of both temperaments during this first hearing:

Among the young artists who joined him at this occasion, the names of MM. Liszt and Chopin impress at first glance. The enthusiasm provoked by the first one at the Théâtre-Italien some weeks before, has not yet dampened: in every place where people discuss music, Liszt is quoted as a phenomenon, with verve, audacity and inspiration. His strokes are so blinding, his endings so terrific being so strong and precise, his embroideries so delicate and of a very new taste, that indeed, it is sometimes impossible to applaud, he is so terrifying. Chopin has a quite different nature of talent. To appreciate him completely, I think, one must listen to him close by, in a salon rather than in a theater, forgetting all stereotypes; [...] Chopin as performer and as composer is a special artist [...]. There is unbelievable details in his Mazurkas; and he made them even more interesting, playing with the highest degree of sweetness, in the superlative of the piano, hammers grazing strings to a point that you are tempted to come nearer to the instrument and to lend an ear like during a concert performed by sylph or elfish spirits. Chopin is the Trilby of the piano.²

Indeed, in 1822 Charles Nodier published his novel *Trilby, or the Elf from Argail*, and presented his character in this way: “Trilby is the youngest, the most gallant, and nicest among the elfish spirits [...]. People only told agreeable stories about him and inventive fancies.”³ One can imagine that at the time of this concert, in 1833, Chopin still had a juvenile looking apparent in the 1829 pencil drawing by Eliza Radzivil [fig. 1]. But his attitude, somewhat introverted, is already in contrast with the self-assurance evident on the first known Parisian portrait of Liszt.

In an image by Auguste Xavier Le Prince (1799–1826) Liszt is sitting at the piano with a quite similar attitude, though elegantly turned to the public, expressing already a strong self-confidence [fig. 2]. This portrait is preserving the remembrance of the concert held at the Société académique des Enfants d’Apollon in January 1824, just a month after Liszt arrived in Paris, when the young prodigy improvised on the stage at the end of the performance. By that time he was trained in composition by Ferdinand Pärer, learnt French and appeared in musical performances in aristocratic salons (duchess de Berry, duc d’Orléans).

Eight years later, Achille Devéria (1800–1857), the famous portraitist of Victor Hugo (1829) and Alexandre Dumas (1829), underlined the undeniable elegance and precocious maturity of Liszt in a portrait lithographed by C. Motte in August 1832 [fig. 3]. At that time, the young pianist visited famous musicians, played at the Salons Pape with Hiller, Payer and Pixis, listened to chamber music parties by Pierre Baillot, and played with Henry Herz. Mme August Boissier, whose daughter was a pupil of Liszt during the first months of 1832, mentioned in her diary:

He is full of wit; he speaks with grace and clearness; he is perfectly natural and knows in an irreproachable way

how to behave; his spirit is matured by reflection and world knowledge [...] we could believe that he is thirty years old, educated in the best society, but he is only twenty years old as of last October [...].⁴

Later in her diary, she provided more details on his physique: "Young, blond, slender, elegant stature, very distinguish figure ... so was Liszt".⁵ The fashionable pose and the inspired expression suggest the Raphaellesque beauty of the young artist even prior to the famous images produced by Jean-Dominique Ingres⁶ (1780–1867) [fig. 4] and Henri Lehmann⁷ (1814–1882) [fig. 5] in Rome, in 1839. And it is also this perfect and "angelic" beauty – using the words of H. Robert Cohen⁸ – that Dantan jeune (1800–1869) expressed with accurate psychology but also some charm, in his first statuette, or caricature portrait, executed during the year 1832 [fig. 6].⁹

On the other hand, Chopin does not consent to the same idealization, nor to the strong stroke of the caricaturists. The portrait – intimately designed in Marienbad in August 1836 by Marie Wodzinska [fig. 7]¹⁰ – can easily be drawn to the famous portrait given by Liszt himself:

His individuality could not call the investigations of curiosity, inquiring thoughts and searching stratagems. He pleased too much to bring reflection. His all person was harmonious, and seemed to call no comment. His blue look was more spiritual than dreaming; his soft and subtle smiling was not bitter. The delicacy and transparency of his complexion charmed one's eyes, his blond hair was silky, his nose slightly curved, his walk distinguished and his manners so aristocratic that unintentionally he was treated as a prince. His gestures were graceful and multiple, his voice color always soften, often damped, his stature not much high, his limbs frail. All his appearance recalled convolvulus, balancing their gorgeously colored cups on unbelievable fine stems but in such a vaporous material that the slightest contact tears them.¹¹

Because Chopin performed so seldom in public, visual traces of his keyboard skill are even more rare. His inclination for restrained circles of connoisseurs is well documented; Heinrich Heine, for example, said that "Chopin is the favorite of this 'élite' searching in music the highest spiritual enjoyment. His glory is of an aristocratic kind, perfumed with praises from the high and distinguished society, like himself."¹² George Sand said the same: "He was a society man by excellence, not from an overly official and too crowded world, but from an intimate world, the one of twenty-person salons, at the time when the crowd is going away and the frequenters surround the artist to catch by kind importunities the attar of his inspiration."¹³ Liszt expressed it also, posthumously, in his monograph on Chopin published in 1852.¹⁴ Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger gathered all this converging evidence, specifically that written by Berlioz:¹⁵

Chopin does not like to play in huge concert halls, in front of a turbulent and mixed public; his qualities are not those enjoining, quite to say, with hastily strength, the crowd's admiration; he appreciates, on the contrary, peace and quiet, the attention of a small and sympathetic audience are more favorable to him than loud applause. He engages, he moves with an overcoming sensitivity and an unaffected grace; he is astonishing with his sparkling and fantastic sensitivity; what we like in him is less the pianist (even if he has very few rivals) than the composer. His music is piano music, even of the most complicated sort, but without allowing flashy strokes, that virtuoso's fingers too often introduce in their work.¹⁶

But it must be said that even if Berlioz had such a negative judgment against certain virtuosi, he was still a fan of Liszt, as he indicated following the concert in May 1836, sponsored by Erard, when Liszt performed Beethoven's "Hammerklavier" sonata:

His tremendous success, the vertiginous impression he produced on everybody, is only comparable with the surprise he created to those who have the right to be part of his warmest supporters.¹⁷

Commenting on the melodic progressions and diatonic strokes in the bass and the medium of the keyboard performed "with the most incredible rapidity in *staccato*", Berlioz indicates that they are "like sounds produced by the heel of a bow, on an excellent double bass, by a steam engine".¹⁸ We can appreciate the Romantic sensitivity of the composer and his support to Liszt's art even if sometimes excessive. Critics and caricaturists take hold of this important event, and Dantan jeune portrayed him once more, giving him an extremely surprising vision [fig. 8].¹⁹ He seems to be fascinated by the hands of the artist, undeniably recalling spiders. But striking at first glance is the overgrown hair of the virtuoso. We know that he began to have a long hair during the same year, never neglecting to use this new stage effect. But the disproportion used by Dantan expresses here the impulsiveness of the performer, together with his piano disappearing under this abundant crop of hair. The *Musée Dantan: Galerie des charges et croquis des célébrités de l'époque*, published in 1839, is giving us a suggestive literary comment:

At first glance, we do not know if we have before our eyes a man or one of these gigantic spiders called "fauchoux". But if look carefully, we distinguish vertebra in the middle of his back, and spiders are not part of the vertebrate class. Even more, there is an enormous head of hair the like an insect could never possess [...]. It is therefore a man.²⁰

Léon Escudier reports in his *Souvenirs* about Liszt's first reaction when he discovered the statuette in Dantan's workshop, complaining that the size of the hair was exaggerated. After Liszt went away, Escudier explained, Dantan prepared a new version of his caricature, and gave the following humorous conclusion: "Here is what we earn, when we want to cut our hair in four pieces with a man having spirit till the end of his scissors."²¹

Dantan really shortened the long hair, but in doing so, revealed a threadlike body, and a small console piano, recalling the upright piano built in 1828 by the firm Roller & Blanchet, a model designed for the middle bourgeoisie.²² This new version of Dantan's work, formerly in the André Meyer collection and now in the Musée de la Musique in Paris,²³ remained ignored for a long time even by the most meticulous commentators like H. Robert Cohen²⁴ and Alan Walker,²⁵ although it changes the chronology of Liszt's portrait caricatures [fig. 9]. A third version, bearing also the date 1836 but completed later, is showing Liszt rattling a sword, an evocation of the ceremony held by the city of Pest during a memorable concert held in the National Theater in 1840 [fig. 10].²⁶

In any event, we notice that this insistence of many cartoonists to reveal this strange "spider body" is also present in the quite naïve drawing by Maurice Sand, the son of George, produced probably during the summer 1837, also preserved in the Musée de la Musique [fig. 11].²⁷ We can notice here a type of upright piano (piano pont) quite similar to the item preserved today in Nohant.

In 1837 and 1838, Liszt and Chopin were often portrayed. Images of Liszt are striking in their classic beauty, recalling the purity of Italian Renaissance works in every kind of technique. The portrait by Ary Scheffer (1795–1858), begun in March 1837,²⁸ some days before the famous competition between Liszt and Thalberg, is one of these classical works [fig. 12]. It was qualified "quite good portrait, but a bit *maniéré*".²⁹ Marmontel, in his book on pianists, reports that "Madame Erard owns a very fine portrait of Liszt as young man. The Hungarian master has the attitude and style of the poet Byron."³⁰ Is that version the same one as the portrait preserved in Weimar?³¹

In any case, Liszt was a friend and a fan of Scheffer. In an article published in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, in July 1837,³² he speaks of the "deep poetry of Scheffer's brush". Chopin's more contorted physique is not so easily expressed by a style inspired by the Florentine Quattrocento. In contrast, we will focus on two contemporary portraits, produced during the same time of 1838. The first one was painted by Eugène Delacroix [fig. 13]. A recent exhibition in the Louvre, on the occasion of the bicentenary of Delacroix, brought to light the strange and forgotten story of this painting whose figures were dismantled.³³ Looking at it, we are not in front of an individual portrait of the pianist but of a fragment belonging originally to a double portrait of George Sand listening to Chopin. It is quite sure that Delacroix initiated his work in June 1838 at the beginning of the artist's liaison, because in early September, he writes to his friend Jean-Baptiste Pierret, asking him to order the firm Pleyel to carry away "the piano transported for M. Chopin, two months ago."³⁴

A sketch for the entire painting, preserved in the Louvre, shows in horizontal format a man seating at an upright piano and a female sitting at his side and listening [fig. 14]. But another drawing, reproduced in a monograph printed in 1885 by Alfred Robaut,³⁵ shows a slightly different composition, more high than wide. There is no piano visible, and George Sand seems to stand rather than sit. It seems that this double portrait was never finished, but remained in Delacroix's studio up to his death, though it is not part of the inventory. In 1873, Adolphe Moreau states in his book on Delacroix and his work that the oil on canvas is already "cut into two parts and forms two distinctive portraits". But it is still difficult to know if this mutilation was Delacroix's action, Constant Dutilleux's decision (as a painter, friend and executor), or Dutilleux's heir arrangement. George Sand's portrait left France in 1926,³⁶ and has been held in the Ordrupgaard Museum near Copenhagen since 1952 [fig. 15]. Chopin's fragment entered the collection of the pianist and musicologist Antoine Marmontel,³⁷ and his son, also a piano teacher, bequeathed it to the Louvre in 1907. Chopin's slightly distorted face is due to the Rubenesque touch of Delacroix, but the same expression is present already on a first sketch, also preserved in the Louvre, which in a delicate approach concentrates on Chopin's face [fig. 16].

Interesting is also to compare this portrait with a sketch by Jakob Götzenberger (1800–1866), dated "October 1838" – some weeks later than Delacroix's portrait – which belonged to the former André Meyer musical collection [fig. 17].³⁸ Götzenberger, born in Heidelberg, had an important career as an official in Germany. He accompanied the painter Peter Cornelius (1783–1867) during a trip to Paris and London, when he met Chopin and created an intimate portrait, showing Chopin seating at a grand piano, likely made by the Pleyel firm, considering that opened cheekpiece makes visible the keyboard and pianist's hands. Visual representations of Chopin are not numerous and after his death, his legend was strong. Teofil Kwiatkowski (1809–1891) is probably one of the most prolific artists to develop Chopin's myth, specially through *A Concert*

by Chopin at the Hôtel Lambert [fig. 18].

Did Liszt ever see one of the many versions of this work by Teofil Kwiatkowski, painted after the death of Chopin? Was this painting inspired by the text about Chopin which Liszt published in 1852? Was Liszt inspired by Kwiatkowski when he wrote his chapter on polonaises? His literary metaphors are in strong agreement with the painting, and the noticeable ethereal atmosphere gives rise to an imaginative and epic vision:³⁹

En écoutant quelques-unes des Polonaises de Chopin, on croit entendre la démarche plus que ferme, pesante, d'hommes affrontant avec l'audace de la vaillance tout ce que le sort pouvait avoir d'injuste. Par intervalle, l'on croit voir passer des groupes magnifiques, tels que les dessinait Paul Véronèse; l'imagination les revêt du riche costume des vieux siècles: brocarts d'or, velours, satins ramagés, zibelines serpentantes et moelleuses, manches accortement rejetées sur l'épaule, sabres damasquinés, riches bijoux, chaussures rouges du sang foulé ou jaunes comme l'or, ceintures à franges onduleuses [...]. Ces groupes se détachent sur le fond incolore du temps disparu, entourés de somptueux tapis de Perse [...].⁴⁰

We conclude with the famous image *Franz Liszt at the Piano*, painted in 1840 by the Viennese painter Joseph Danhauser (1805–1845), upon a commission by the piano maker Conrad Graf (1782–1851) [fig. 19].⁴¹ The painting, which was meant to contribute to Graf's social stature and fame, bears the following inscription: "Im Auftrage Conr. Graf's / Zur Erinnerung an Liszt / Gemahlt v. Danhauser 1840". A very detailed article, published in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 13 May 1840 under the title "Danhausers neuestes Bild", gives all the details of the composition, but does not mention that one of Graf's instruments is depicted in the portrait with a great accuracy and the maker's name clearly visible on the name board. This special type of grand piano exists today in only one prototype ("opus 2787"), preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁴² This famous maker commissioned the painting⁴³ at the time when his workshop was located in the Mondscheinhaus, number 102 auf der Wiedern, a building that also housed Danhauser's studio. Like Sébastien Erard who had a painting gallery in La Muette, Graf was a true art lover and he commissioned from Danhauser in the same year to paint also his portrait.⁴⁴

Even though presented within a private apartment, the imposing composition concentrates on the pianist, inspired in his performance by a strong look to his master. The bust of Beethoven by the Viennese sculptor Anton Dietrich (1799–1872),⁴⁵ placed on the piano, is more than the expression of an admiration. The giant proportions and the stormy sky in the background give emphasis to a quite terrifying mood. On the music stand is a *Fantasia* by Liszt, as well as the "Marcia funebre / Sulla morte d'un/ Eroo / by L.v. Beethoven". Danhauser created Beethoven's death mask and later offered a replica to Liszt. At the feet of the virtuoso is Marie d'Agoult; among several music scores we can see one opened and bearing the inscription: "dédié à son élève / Liszt / C. Czerny", the teacher and family friend of Liszt. George Sand is dreaming in a high armchair, smoking a cigar; near her is Alexandre Dumas; behind are Victor Hugo, Paganini and Rossini. Hanging on the wall is a portrait of Lord Byron,⁴⁶ one of Liszt's favorite authors.⁴⁷ On the mantelpiece is a small statuette representing Joan of Arc. Is it an allusion to France shared with all the artists present, a sort of heroism and a romantic epic? Does it refer to *Jehanne la Pucelle*, a work by Alexandre Dumas the elder?⁴⁸ or to Liszt *Jeanne d'Arc au Buchet* for voice (lyrics by Dumas) and viola, later published in 1845? Between both extremes represented by the tremendous collection of images related to Liszt and the modest gallery devoted to Chopin, this large painting is a sort of manifesto, a rare demonstration of deep communication around virtuosity, evoking what Liszt himself called a "réunions d'artistes", associating the most eminent Parisian minds, in an assembly "as they were never exactly, because playfulness, verve, projection, spirit, do not touch people at predictable times, and even less with true artists".⁴⁹ Thus was described in his *Chopin*, in 1852, in his so-called chapter "soirée Chopin". When Liszt submitted his first draft to the publisher Joseph d'Ortigue, the latter raised some doubt about the ability to publish this chapter. In his answer, in a letter dated Weimar 24 April 1850, Liszt argues in an interesting way: "Concerning my soirée Chopin, I confess that I prize it somewhat. It is not invented, it took place twice, rue du Mont-Blanc, with the personalities that I tried to distinguish in my way."⁵⁰ Liszt describes a fascinating similar scene to Danhauser's piece painted ten years earlier, with Heinrich Heine, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Adolphe Nourrit, Ferdinand Hiller, Eugène Delaroux, and George Sand encircling Chopin at the piano:

Rassemblées autour du piano, dans la zone lumineuse, étaient groupées plusieurs têtes d'éclatante renommée [...] Enfoncée dans un fauteuil était Mme Sand, curieusement attentive et gracieusement subjuguée. Elle donnait à cette audition toute la réverbération de son génie ardent, douée de la rare faculté, qui n'est réservé qu'à quelques élus, d'apercevoir le beau sous toutes les formes de l'art et de la nature et qui pourrait bien être cette seconde vue dont toutes les nations ont reconnu chez les femmes inspirées les dons supérieurs; magie du regard qui fait tomber devant elle l'écorce, la larve, l'enveloppe grossière de la forme pour leur faire contempler dans son

essence invisible l'âme qui y est incarné l'idéal que le poète et l'artiste ont conjuré sous le torrent des notes ou les voiles du coloris [...].⁵¹

Could this text, written after the painting by Danhauser was finished and after the death of Chopin, be an unconscious attempt for a substitution, a sort of re-appropriation, or a conjuration instead of an homage? An imaginary portrait of a *Lisztified Chopin*? This painting could be a candidate to complete the striking evidence of this complex transfer put recently under light by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, thanks to a certain copy of the original edition of Liszt monograph annotated in a terrific way by Julian Fontana.⁵²

NOTES

¹ Hector Berlioz, *La critique musicale. 1823–1863*, ed. by H. Robert Cohen and Yves Gérard, vol. I: 1823–1834 (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1996) 1 (12 August 1823, "Correspondance: Polémique musicale", in *Le Corsaire*).

² H. Berlioz, *op. cit.*, 119-120 (15 December 1833, "Revue musicale. Concerts", in *Le rénovateur*): Parmi les jeunes artistes qui se sont joints à lui à cette occasion, les noms de MM. Liszt et Chopin frappent au premier coup d'œil. L'enthousiasme excité par le premier au Théâtre-Italien, il y a quelques semaines, n'est pas encore refroidi; partout où l'on parle de musique, Liszt est cité comme un phénomène de verve, d'audace et d'inspiration. Ses traits sont si éblouissants, ses terminaisons si effrayantes de force et de précision, ses broderies si délicates et d'un goût si neuf, qu'en vérité on est quelquefois dans l'impossibilité de l'applaudir, il vous pétrifie. Chopin est un talent d'une tout autre nature. Pour pouvoir l'apprécier complétement, je crois qu'il faut l'entendre de près, au salon plutôt qu'au théâtre, et faire abstraction de toute idée reçue; [...] Chopin comme exécutant et comme compositeur est un artiste à part [...]. Il y a des détails incroyables dans ses mazurkas; encore a-t-il trouvé le moyen de les rendre doublement intéressants en les exécutant avec le dernier degré de douceur, au superlatif du piano, les marteaux effleurant les cordes, tellement qu'on est tenté de s'approcher de l'instrument et de prêter l'oreille comme on ferait à un concert de sylphes ou de follets. Chopin est le Trilby des pianistes."

³ Charles Nodier, *Trilby ou le lutin d'Argail* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1822), 28-29: "Trilby était le plus jeune, le plus galant, le plus mignon des follets. [...] On ne racontait de lui que des choses aimables et des caprices ingénieux."

¹¹ Franz Liszt, *Chopin* (Paris, 1852). Reprint of the edition by Alfred Cortot with an introduction by J.G. Prodhomme, 1950 (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1977), 182: "Son individualité n'appelait guère les investigations de la curiosité, les pensées chercheuses et les stratagèmes scrutateurs. Il plaisait trop pour faire réfléchir. L'ensemble de sa personne était harmonieux, et ne paraissait demander aucun commentaire. Son regard bleu était plus spirituel que rêveur; son sourire doux et fin ne devenait pas amer. La finesse et la transparence de son teint séduisaient l'œil, ses cheveux blonds étaient soyeux son nez légèrement recourbé, ses allures distinguées et ses manières marquées de tant d'aristocratie, qu'involontairement on le traitait en prince. Ses gestes étaient gracieux et multipliés, le timbre de sa voix toujours assourdi, souvent étouffé, sa stature peu élevée, ses membres frêles. Toute son apparence faisait penser à celle des convolvulus, balançant sur des tiges d'une incroyable finesse leurs coupes si divinement colorées, mais d'un si vapoureux tissu que le moindre contact les déchire."

¹² See also Heinrich Heine, *Oeuvres complètes: De tout un peu* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1890), 306: "Chopin est le favori de cette élite qui cherche dans la musique les plus hautes jouissances de l'esprit. Sa gloire est d'espèce aristocratique, parfumée des louanges de la bonne société, distinguée comme sa personne."

¹³ George Sand, "Histoire de ma vie", *Oeuvres autobiographiques*. Ed. by Georges Lubin (Paris: Gallimard, La Pléiade, 1971), vol. II, 441.

⁴ Madame Auguste Boissier, *Liszt comme pédagogue* (Paris: H. Champion, 1923), 15: "Il est plein d'esprit; il parle avec grâce et clarté, il est parfaitement naturel et témoigne d'un savoir vivre irréprochable; son esprit me mûri par la réflexion et par la connaissance du monde [...] on pourrait le prendre pour un homme de trente ans, élevé dans la meilleure société, et pourtant, il n'a eu que vingt ans en octobre dernier [...]."

⁵ A. Boissier, *op. cit.*, "jeune, blond, mince, taille élégante, figure très distinguée... c'était Liszt."

⁶ Hans Naef, *Portraits by Ingres: Images of an Epoch* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 344-345, no. 116.

⁷ *Les années romantiques: La peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, exhibition catalogue (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996), 414, no. 135.

⁸ H. Robert Cohen, "The Musical World of Dantan Jeune: Subtle Distortions and Giants Reduced", *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*. Ed. by Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant, N.Y. Pendragon Press, 1987), 145.

⁹ Philippe Sorel, *Dantan jeune: Caricatures et portraits de la société romantique*, exhibition catalogue, Maison de Balzac, Paris (Paris: Musées, 1989), 129, no. 102.

¹⁰ *Chopin*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Trianon du parc de Bagatelle (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris/Société Chopin, 1983), 25, no. 47 and 48. One can notice that the lithograph by Engelmann after Vigneron, dated 1833, has a quite similar reserved style like this portrait. See François Lesure, *Collection musicale André Meyer* (Abbeville: Paillard, 1960), vol. I, 93, plate 83.

¹⁴ F. Liszt, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-147: "Chopin savait que son talent, dont le style et l'imagination nous rappelaient ceux de Nodier, par la pureté de sa diction, par ses accointances avec *La Fée aux miettes* et *les Lutins d'Argail*, par ses rencontres de *Séraphines* et de *Dames* murmurant à son oreille leurs plus confidentielles plaintes, leurs rêves les plus innommés; Chopin savait, disons-nous, qu'il n'agissait pas sur la multitude et ne pouvait frapper les masses, car pareils à une mer de plomb, leurs flots malléables à tous les feux, n'en sont pas moins lourds à remuer, et nécessitent le bras puissant de l'ouvrier athlète pour être versés dans un moule, où le métal en fusion devient tout d'un coup pensée et sentiment sous la forme qu'on lui impose. Il savaient qu'il n'était parfaitement goûté que par ces réunions malheureusement trop peu nombreuses, dont tous les esprits étaient préparés à la suivre, et à se transporter avec lui dans ces sphères où les anciens ne faisaient entrer que par une porte d'ivoire, qu'entourent des pilastres de diamant, surmontés d'une coupole dans laquelle se jouent tous les rayons du prisme sur une de ces transparences fauves, comme celle des opales du Mexique, dont les foyers kaléidoscopique sont cachés dans une brume olivâtre qui les efface et les voile tout à tour; sphères où tout est miracle charmant, surprise folle, songe réalisé, et où Chopin se réfugiait et se complaisait si volontiers."

¹⁵ Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *L'univers musical de Chopin* (Paris: Fayard, 2000). See specially the following chapters "Chopin et Berlioz face à face", 123; and "Les premiers concerts publics de

Chopin à Paris (1832–1838)”, 192.

¹⁶ Hector Berlioz, *Critique musicale. 1823–1863*. vol. III: 1837–1838, ed. by Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 2001), 154: “Chopin n’aime guère à jouer dans les grandes salles, devant un public turbulent et mélangé; ses qualités ne sont pas de celles qui imposent, pour ainsi dire, de vive force, l’admiration à la foule; il aime le calme au contraire, l’attention d’un auditoire peu nombreux mais sympathique, lui est plus favorable que les plus bruyants applaudissements. Il attache, il émeut, par une sensibilité contenue et une grâce sans afféterie, il étonne souvent par le scintillement capricieux de sa fantaisie; ce qu’on aime tant en lui, c’est moins le pianiste (bien qu’à ce titre il ait très peu de rivaux) que le compositeur. Sa musique est de la musique de piano, et même des plus compliquées, mais sans aucun alliage de ces traits clinquants, que les doigts des virtuoses introduisent trop souvent dans leurs oeuvres.”

¹⁷ Hector Berlioz, *Critique musicale. 1823–1863*, vol. II: 1835–1836, ed. by Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1998), 472 (12 June 1836, “Liszt”, *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*): “Le succès immense qu’il a obtenu, l’effet vertigineux qu’il a produit sur tous, ne peuvent se comparer qu’à la surprise qu’il a excitée chez ceux même qu’il avait droit de compter pour ses plus chauds partisans.”

¹⁸ H. Berlioz, *ibid.*, p. 472: “[Les traits diatoniques sont exécutés] avec la plus incroyable rapidité en *staccato* [...] assez semblables aux sons qui pourraient résulter de traits exécutés avec le talon de l’archet, sur une excellente contrebasse, par une machine à vapeur.”

¹⁹ Ph. Sorel, *op. cit.*, 129, no. 102.

²⁰ *Musée Dantan: Galerie des charges et croquis des célébrités de l’époque* (Paris: Delloye, 1839), 116: “Au premier aspect, on ne sait pas trop si l’on a sous les yeux un homme ou une de ces gigantesques araignées que l’on nomme faucheux. Mais en regardant plus attentivement on distingue des vertèbres au milieu du dos, et les araignées ne rentrent pas dans la classe des vertébrés. De plus, voici une énorme chevelure comme jamais ces insectes n’en ont possédé, à moins de porter perruque et, enfin, troisième et irrécusable preuve, ce personnage fantastique touche du piano, et en admettant avec le *Constitutionnel* qu’une araignée puisse être mélomane, nous voulons bien reconnaître que cet insecte domestique aime la musique, l’écoute avec des oreilles de dilettante, et crie bravo dans son idiome particulier; mais nous n’admettrons jamais qu’une araignée touche du piano. C’est donc un homme.”

²¹ Léon Escudier, *Littérature musicale: Mes souvenirs* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1863), 341: “Voilà ce que l’on gagne, à vouloir couper les cheveux en quatre avec un homme qui a de l’esprit jusqu’à la pointe de son ciseau.”

²² Alfred Robaut, *L’œuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix, peintures, gravures, lithographies* (Paris, 1885), no. 665.

²³ He belonged to Mme Desavary (Robaut), one of Dutilleux’s daughters; it was then in the Chéramy collection between 1887 and its auction on 5–7 May 1908 (no. 190), then in Georges Viau collection.

²⁴ Auction Dutilleux (26 March 1874), no. 7, purchased by Hector Brame, art dealer, for 820 francs.

²⁵ F. Lesure, *op. cit.*, 93, plate 85. This drawing was part of A. Sand’s collection.

²⁶ *Chopin*, 1983, *op. cit.*, 36, no. 113.

²⁷ F. Liszt, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²⁸ Martha Novak Clinkscales, *Makers of the Piano, 1700–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 126–129.

²⁹ See Deborah Wythe, “The Pianos of Conrad Graf”, *Early Music* XII/4 (November 1984), 446–460; see also [Victor Luitlhlen], *Katalog der Sammlung Alter Musikinstrumente. I: Saitenklaviere* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1966), 50–51, no. 38. Purchased in 1945 from Dr. Ulrich Rück, Nuremberg. Before in a Viennese collection.

³⁰ Alois Trost, “Liszt am Klavier”, *Die graphischen Künste*, 28 (1905), 78. Versteigerung der Grossen Gallerie und der übrigen Kunst-Sammlungen des am 20. September 1871 verstorbenen Herrn F.J. Gsell zu Wien, Vienna, 1872, 60, 69, 261–262, 432. See also Veronika Birke, *Josef Danhauser (1805–1845): Gemälde und Zeich-*

³¹ Michèle Rébillon-Maurin, “Jean Roller, portraitiste, et la manufacture de piano Roller & Blanchet”, *Musique–Images–Instruments I* (1995), 119.

³² Inv. E. 986. 1.9. See *Musée de la Musique: Guide* (Paris: Cité de la musique/Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 154.

³³ H.R. Cohen, 1987, *op. cit.*, 145.

³⁴ Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), vol. I, 237, note. He describes long hair.

³⁵ Ernst Burger, *Franz Liszt: Chronique biographique en images et en documents* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 122.

³⁶ This drawing was purchased in 1986 from André Meyer’s collection. See François Lesure, *Collection musicale André Meyer* (Abbeville: Paillard, 1973), vol. II, plate 145.

³⁷ Jacques Vier, *La comtesse d’Agoult et son temps* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1955–1966), vol. I, 258.

³⁸ Antoine Etex, *Ary Scheffer: Etude de sa vie et de ses ouvrages*, exposition de ses oeuvres au boulevard des Italiens (Paris: A. Lévy fils, 1859), no. 44.

³⁹ Antoine Marmontel, *Les pianistes célèbres: Silhouettes et médailles* (Paris: Henri Heugel, 1878), 310: “Madame Erard possède un très beau portrait de Liszt jeune homme par Ary Scheffer. Le maître hongrois y a le port et les allures d’un poète byronien.”

⁴⁰ *Liszt et le romantisme français*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée Renan-Scheffer (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1986) 22, no. 23.

⁴¹ Franz Liszt, *Lettres d’un bachelier ès musique* (Paris: Le Castor Astral, 1991), preface by Rémy Stricker, 37: “Parmi toutes les améliorations que je rêve dans mon rêve, il en est une dont l’extension serait facile, et dont l’idée se présenta à mon esprit il y a peu de jours, lorsque, me promenant silencieusement dans les galeries du Louvre, je contemplais tour à tour la profonde poésie du pinceau de Scheffer, la couleur splendide de Delacroix, les lignes pures de Flandrin et de Lehmann, la nature vigoureuse de Brascassat; pourquoi, me disais-je, la musique n’est-elle pas conviée à ces fêtes annuelles? Pourquoi ces vastes salles du Louvre restent-elles muettes? Pourquoi les compositeurs ne viennent-ils pas y apporter, comme les peintres, leurs frères, la plus belle gerbe de leur moisson?”

⁴² Vincent Pomarède, *Le tableau du mois n°48. Frédéric Chopin et George Sand par Eugène Delacroix. Deux portraits réunis à l’occasion du bicentenaire de Delacroix*, exhibition at Paris, Musée du Louvre, May 1998.

⁴³ For the painter’s biographers Raymond Escholier et André Joubin, it is quite clear that it could be the piano used for this double portrait.

nungen (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1983), 15, 79.

⁴⁴ D. Wythe, *op. cit.*, 446, *reprod.* Preserved in Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste. Oil on wood.

⁴⁵ He sculpted also a bust of Danhauser in 1845.

⁴⁶ A sketch for this portrait, signed by G.H. Harlow, and executed around 1815 at the time when Byron married, was recently in a private collection (actual location unknown). See Fiona MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2002), *reprod.* no. 23. See also the caption of plate 75, reproducing the painting by Danhauser.

⁴⁷ Danièle Pistone, “Byron et ses musiciens”, *Romantisme: Revue de la Société des Etudes romantiques* 7 (1974), 90. See also Liszt’s letter to his pupil Pierre Wolff, dated 2 May 1832, giving the list of writers he read during that year (Walker, *op. cit.*, 181).

⁴⁸ Paris: Magen et Comon, 1842.

⁴⁹ F. Liszt, *op. cit.*, 153: “l’enjouement, la verve, la saillie, l’entrain, n’arrivent pour personne à heure fixe, et peut-être moins qu’à personne aux véritables artistes.”

⁵⁰ F. Liszt, *op. cit.*, introduction by Jacques-Gabriel Prod’homme, 42–43. Later in this introduction (46–47), Prod’homme is quoting Eugène de Fresne, in *Le Pays* (17 February 1852), who said the same in a very clear way when Liszt’s book issued: “Liszt, rêveur par nature et par nationalité, enrichit de la révélation de sa nature propre, la nature de Chopin. Au lieu d’un artiste, vous en

avez deux. La vie de Chopin n'est-elle pas aussi, par bien des côtés, la vie de Liszt, au moins pour ce qui regarde la vie animique?"

⁵¹ F. Liszt, *op. cit.*, 157-163.

⁵² J.-J. Eigeldinger, *op. cit.*, 263.