Three Piano *Misereres*

by Joseph Smith

Nineteenth-century audiences enjoyed hearing great pianists play their own versions of popular opera excerpts. *Il trovatore* was the most popular of Verdi's operas in his own day, and soon after it appeared in 1853, both Franz Liszt and the American pianist-composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) produced transcriptions of the opera's famous *Miserere*. About fifty years after *Trovatore*'s premiere, pioneer jazz pianist Jelly Roll (Ferdinand) Morton (1885-1941) began "transforming" opera tunes into "Jelly Roll style," and one of the tunes he picked was the beloved *Miserere*.[1] This article will explore the differences among these three *Miserere* transcriptions both in execution and intention.

First, however, let us note some connections between the various composers. Both Gottschalk and Liszt not only produced a number of Verdi transcriptions, but also actually conducted Verdi operas. In 1852, Liszt chose to open the Weimar opera season with *Ernani*, the first Verdi production there.[2] Gottschalk began conducting opera in 1860, in Cuba, where his productions included *Il trovatore*. (At about this time, Verdi was the innocent cause of one of the bitter disappointments of Gottschalk's life: Gottschalk had begun an Italian opera, but felt compelled to abandon it on learning that Verdi had just treated the same subject in *Un ballo in maschera*.[3]) What did the two pianists think of one another? Gottschalk considered Liszt's original music to be forced and eccentric, but he did perform Liszt's opera transcriptions throughout his career.[4] Liszt, however, had complete contempt for Gottschalk's music. When an American student played Gottschalk's "Tremolo" in Liszt's master class, Liszt exclaimed, "For shame!—that you play such stuff." Liszt enjoyed sarcastically referring to Gottschalk as "the American Beethoven," as he had once heard a naïve American describe him.[5]

Both Gottschalk and Jelly Roll Morton were reared in New Orleans. With its large French population, New Orleans was a particularly cosmopolitan and music-loving city. Here, the young white Gottschalk was exposed to African-American music, and the young African-American Morton was exposed to European music. We know that the seven-year-old Gottschalk saw Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le diable*, and that Morton attended performances in the French Opera House.[6] But in the Lomax recordings, Morton speaks of "[Dvorak's piano] *Humoresque*, the overture from [Flotow's] *Martha*, and the *Miserere*"[7] as "different light operas." This careless lumping together of a piano piece, an overture and a vocal piece as "operas" certainly suggests that he was more familiar with the operatic pieces as separate "numbers," rather than in context of the complete work. Did Morton know that Gottschalk (whose music was still popular in Morton's youth) was from New

Orleans, and had composed pieces in African-American and Latin styles? It is unlikely. When Morton's interviewer for his Library of Congress folksong archive recordings, Alan Lomax, drops Gottschalk's name, Morton registers little recognition and no interest whatsoever.[8] In his biography of Gottschalk, S. Frederick Starr writes that Morton "almost certainly" learned the *Miserere* from Gottschalk's transcription, but this assertion seems unwarranted.[9] While it is certainly possible that Morton heard the Gottschalk, not one single element particular to Gottschalk appears in Morton's performance.

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All three of these transcriptions differ from Verdi's *Miserere* in respect to form. Even though the *Miserere* is so familiar—or perhaps because it is so overly familiar that we take it for granted—let's review its constituent parts and their sequence. First we hear the tolling of the funeral bell. Three distinct sections follow: first, the actual *Miserere*, sung off-stage by a chorus of monks, accompanied only by the bell. This chorus dovetails with Leonora's anguished solo, which is marked by sharp, obsessively repeated rhythms both in the voice and the orchestra. Verdi not only marks the orchestra *ppp*, but adds a special note specifying it should play pianissimo, despite its full orchestral scoring, and this combination of massiveness and softness produces a strange, ominous effect.[10] Leonora stops singing the instant she hears Manrico's voice from prison, accompanied by his lute (portrayed in the orchestra by harp). Where Leonora is agitated, Manrico is resigned, and his serenade brings the *Miserere* from the minor into the parallel major, and relaxes the rhythm from double-dots to triplets. Now, all the sections are repeated. While there is new text for the principals, the music is virtually identical, with one exception: the second time, Leonora's solo is punctuated with short exclamations of the single word "Miserere" from the monks, insistently reminding her of Manrico's doom.

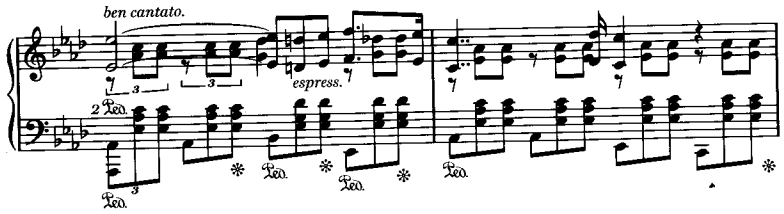
Verdi uses several means to lift the coda to a new level of excitement. The coda unites the piece's four elements: the bell, the monks, Leonora's voice, and Manrico's serenade are all heard simultaneously. Leonora, formerly confined to middle and low, finally soars to a higher register. In the orchestra, the agitated double-dotted accompaniment of Leonora's solo now alternates rapidly with the relaxed triplet strumming of the harp. Verdi tightens Manrico's tune, halving it in length by shortening its long notes and rests. Also, Manrico's major mode prevails, imposing itself on the other elements, which were formerly exclusively in the minor. In the last bar, the orchestra is finally allowed to crescendo to forte.

In his New York concert of December 26, 1856, Gottschalk was joined by the famous Parisian virtuoso Sigismund Thalberg in a "GRAND DUET DI BRAVURA on Themes from Il Trovatore composed expressly for this occasion" by Gottschalk.[11] This work was not published, and no manuscript sur-

vives. Gottschalk continually adapted and arranged his pieces to suit different performing situations as well as to increase his publications, so it seems likely that the content of Gottschalk's *Miserere*, although not published until 1864,[12] is drawn from the 1856 two-piano work.

The piece's title, *Miserere du trovatore: paraphrase de concert* (RO catalog 171), identifies it as based specifically on the *Miserere*, rather than on the opera as a whole.[13] Nevertheless, after a brief introduction, Gottschalk begins not with the *Miserere* proper, but with Leonora's aria that leads into it: the entire "D'amor sull'ali rosee" is given in a surprisingly literal rendering. In the *Miserere* itself, Gottschalk adds an upper octave to the chorus of monks, and later does so also for the first statement of Manrico's tune.

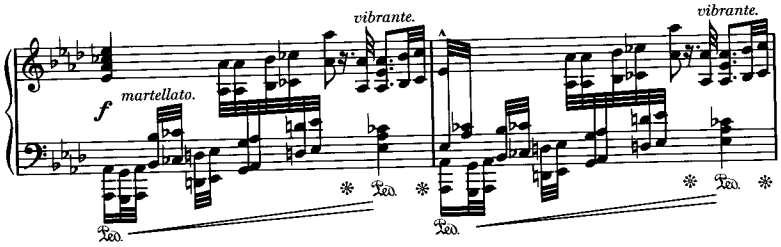
Example 1: Gottschalk: Manrico's first solo (Ah! che la morte ognora...")



New York first heard *Il trovatore* in 1855,[14] so Gottschalk probably felt the need to make the new melodies utterly obvious to the relatively unsophisticated American public.[15] But to modern ears, the upper octave weakens the contrast with the soprano range of Leonora's tune.

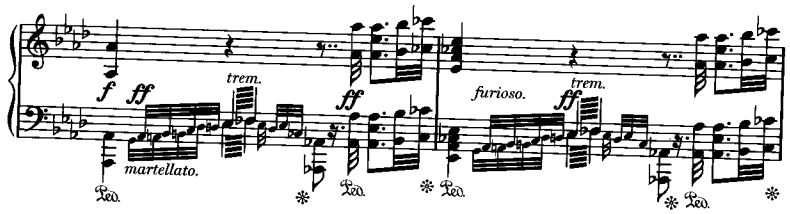
Gottschalk fills in the rests in the first stanza of Leonora's melody with the clattering formula that was his specialty: pairs of octaves in the left hand alternating with pairs in the right gallop up the piano.

Example 2: Gottschalk: *Miserere du Trovatore*, Leonora's first solo ("Quel suon, quelle preci...")



His most famous piece featuring this device is "The Banjo" (1854). Does the association with this exhilarating context make the formula seem so distressingly inapt here, or is the figure intrinsically too brilliant to express Leonora's terror? In the original, Verdi distinguishes Leonora's second stanza by filling in her rests with interjections from the monks. Here, Gottschalk replaces these interjections with an ingenious hammered figure consisting of single notes in the bass rapidly alternating between the hands.

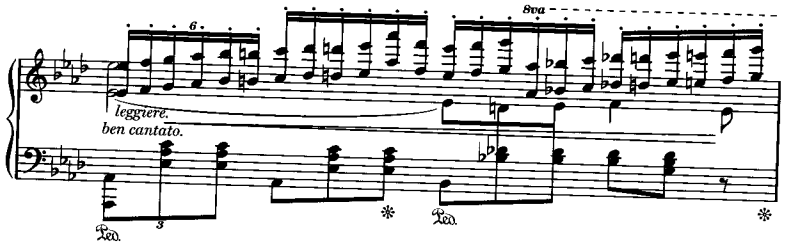
Example 3: Gottschalk: Leonora's second solo ("Sull orrida torre...")



The repetitions of this figure cannot quite be said to be a piano translation of the monks—there is not enough resemblance in rhythm or pitch. But, because confined to the bass and intermittent, this hammering provides the same contrast with Leonora's voice as do the monks in the original. Thus, the hammering figure serves as a suggestion of the original effect, not just an eruption of pianistic bravura, like the clattering octaves of the first stanza.

In the second stanza of Manrico's serenade, Gottschalk combines both the vocal line (except for two notes) and the harp accompaniment in the left hand. This leaves the right hand free to add an obbligato in treble octaves.

Example 4: Gottschalk: Manrico's second solo ("Sconto col sangue mio...")

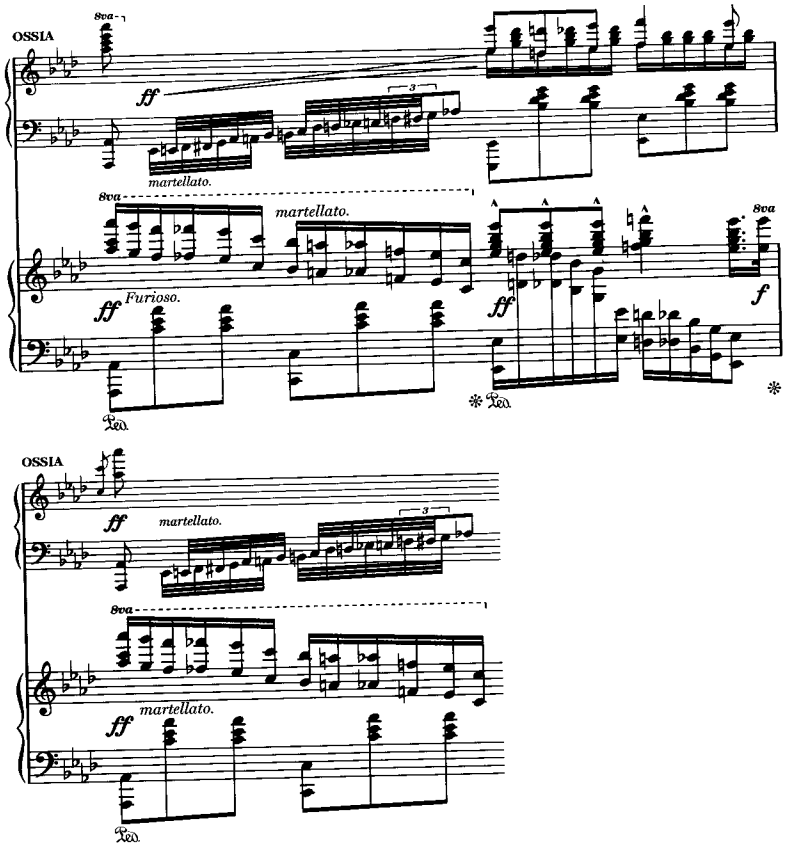


This jingling descant enjoys a delightful independence from the left hand, often moving in contrary motion to it. But if one expects a transcription is expected to reflect the drama of the original, the obbligato is problematic—it seems a purely musical effect.

In his attempt to reproduce Verdi's coda, Gottschalk manages to incorporate the lines of both Manrico and Leonora, paraphrasing them in octaves. (He also offers a more brilliant ossia, which sacrifices some of Leonora's melody in favor of an alternating-hand bravura figure.) This passage jumps from register to register, blending them with the pedal, and setting the entire instrument ringing (see Example 5). But the overwhelming effect of Verdi's coda depends on gross contrasts of timbre: Leonora, Manrico, monks, orchestra, and bell mingle, but these various elements sound so different from one another that the ear can readily distinguish between them. The piano cannot produce these great contrasts of tone color. Gottschalk's coda is un-

deniably exciting, and retains Verdi's melodic content. However, its bravura nature calls attention to itself, rather than to the plight of Leonora and Manrico.

Example 5: Gottschalk: beginning of coda ("Di te, di te, scondarmi?")



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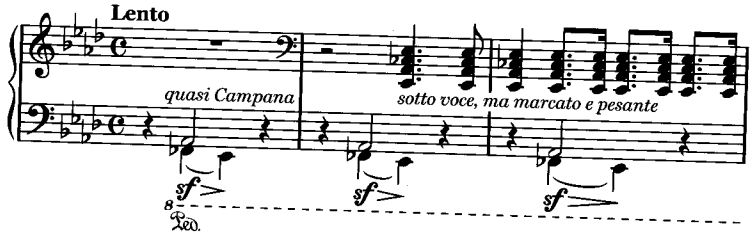
Liszt designated some of his operatic renderings *Grande paraphrase, Grande fantaisie, Réminiscences, Illustrations*, but this is one named simply: *Miserere du Trovatore de Verdi*.[16] (In the Baroque era, Italian was the universal musical language, but by the Romantic era many composers of all nationalities preferred to title in French. Note that Gottschalk's *Miserere*, published in New York, bears the identical macaronic title—a French conjunction followed by the original Italian title of the opera.) Liszt's title indicates not just that this piece is based on a single number, but also that it remains relatively close to the original.[17]

Unlike Gottschalk, Liszt begins his *Miserere* with the clanging, overtone-rich sound of the funeral bell. In the unforgettable opening of his 1849 *Funérailles*, Liszt had evoked such a bell by blending a broken minor ninth

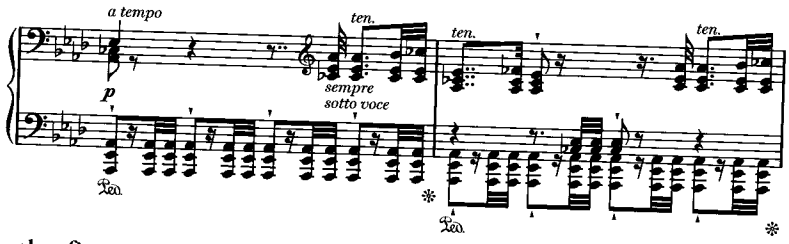
in the bass with the pedal. Similarly, here he blends a half-step, the lowest F-flat and E-flat on the keyboard.

Example 6: Liszt, *Miserere du Trovatore*, initial funeral bell



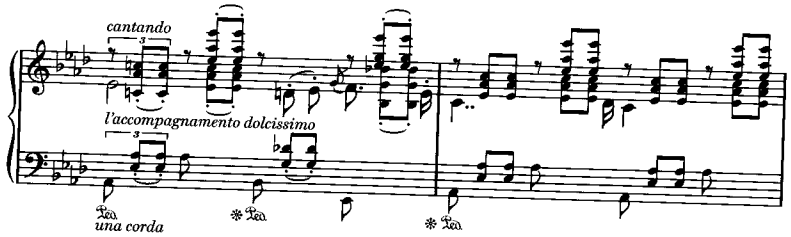
The chorus of monks is taken quite literally from Verdi, as is the first stanza of Leonora's solo.

Example 7: Liszt: Leonora's first solo



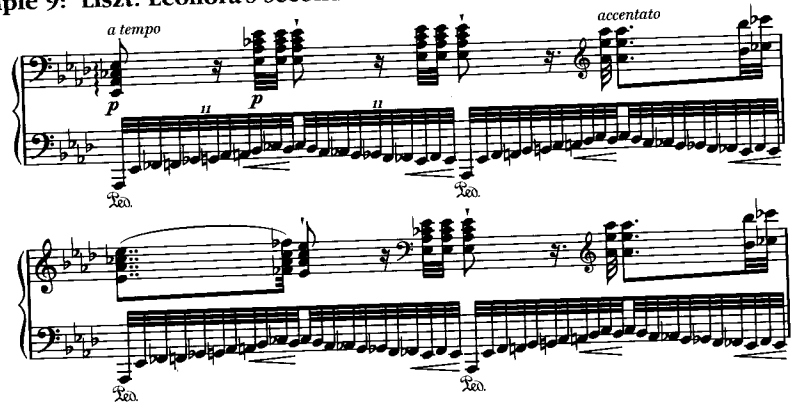
In the first stanza of Manrico's serenade, where Gottschalk has underpinned the voice with accompaniment, Liszt instead surrounds it with accompaniment—he spreads the harp chords over the treble, giving them an etherealized character, suggesting the afterlife for which Manrico longs.

Example 8: Liszt: Manrico's first solo



Unlike Gottschalk, Liszt retains the second appearance of the monks' chorus. This time, though, he assigns both chorus and bell to the left hand, and crosses the right over the left to create an ominous rumble by means of a measured trill of chromatic thirds. For his second Leonora stanza, Liszt adds a continuous chromatic figure in the left hand, which threatens to overwhelm the melody.

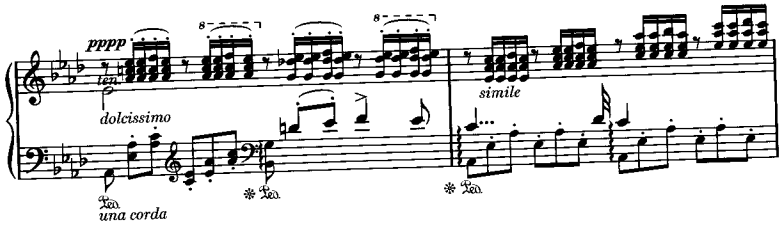
Example 9: Liszt: Leonora's second solo



This is by no means an imitation of the monks' interjections in Verdi's original version of this stanza, but because it is both chromatic and in the bass register, it does recall Liszt's minor-third rumble in his setting of the second stanza of the monks' chorus. Thus, the figure, like the choral interjections of Verdi's original, serves as a persistent reminder that Manrico is condemned.

In the second stanza of Manrico's serenade, Liszt elaborates the accompaniment pattern.

Example 10: Liszt: Manrico's second solo

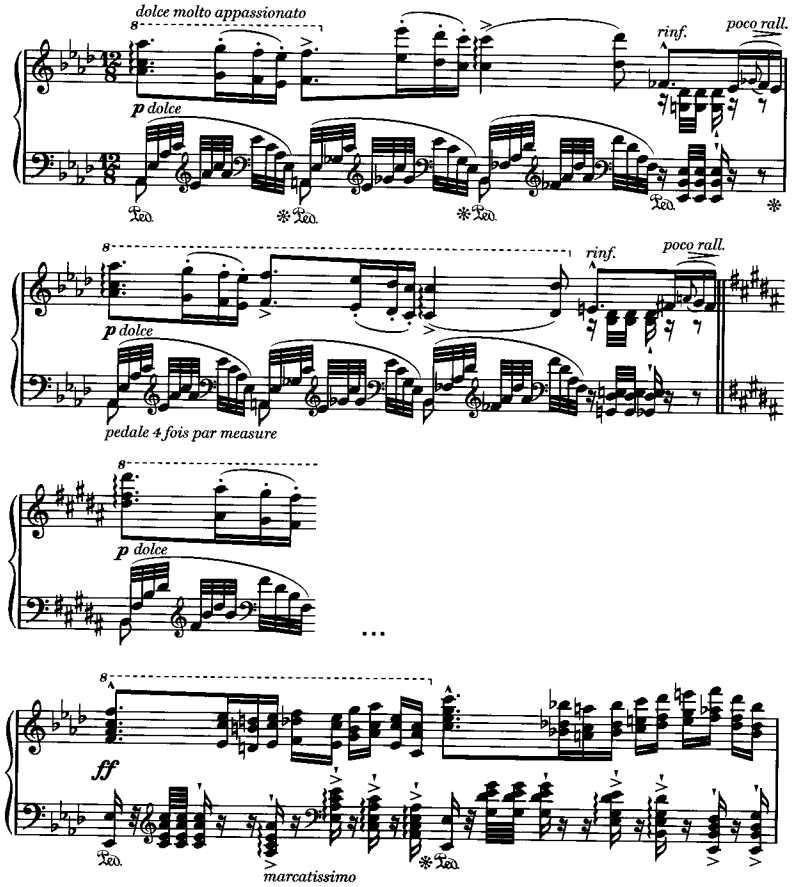


But, unlike Gottschalk's treble descant to this stanza, Liszt's accompaniment does not compete with the melody in interest. The chordal strumming of Verdi's original is here enriched with repeated chords that include non-chordal upper neighbor tones, but it is still strumming, and still serves as Manrico's "lute." The section ends with a cadenza leading to the coda. Since notes on the piano decay after they are sounded, the piano cannot maintain the intensity of a long note. Thus, where a vocal original has a loud fermata, a piano transcription must substitute some kind of faster figuration in order to sustain the note. Liszt's cadenzas in such places may seem like frivolous displays of virtuosity, but they serve a musical purpose.

With the coda, Liszt, previously so faithful to Verdi's material, departs radically from the original (and therefore also from Gottschalk's literal version of it) (see Example 11). Evidently recognizing the impossibility of reproducing Verdi's contrasting sonorities on the piano, Liszt instead finds radically different means of creating excitement. First, we hear Leonora's

phrase, answered by a little fragment in tenor range suggesting Manrico's phrase. Then this passage embarks on a sequence of modulations rising by a minor third: *A-flat* is followed by *B*, and a more rambling version in *D*, which leads to a new phrase in *A-flat*, beginning with a cadential six-four chord. This phrase has a discernable similarity to the intervals of Manrico's outcry, "Sconto col sangue mio," from the coda. But perhaps what most associates it with Manrico is the bold, virile character of the phrase, with its accompaniment of syncopated, marcatissimo chords. So rapid a series of modulations would obviously be unthinkable in *Il Trovatore*. In general, we can say that while Verdi achieved highly original, bold effects though harmonic elaboration, he did not weaken tonality by such wanderings. Liszt then repeats the entire modulating section in an elaborated version. To close, he synthesizes an expressive recitative-like passage from the opening of Manrico's serenade and the close of Leonora's solo.

Example 11A and 11B: Liszt coda



Liszt's treatment of the coda exemplifies the problem of translation. Gottschalk succeeds in a "faithful" transfer of Verdi's materials to the keyboard, but he is doomed to lose the contrasts of timbre and the sheer noise that make Verdi's piling up of elements so climactic. In this, therefore, he is "unfaithful" to the effect of the original. Liszt grossly violates Verdi's materials—chopping up, extending, and inventing melody, juicing up harmonies, and shifting from tonality to tonality. Yet, arguably, Liszt is "faithful" to the sense of climax that Verdi achieves so splendidly in the coda of the original.

Gottschalk often proved himself to be a composer of considerable charm and originality. But in these two *Misereres*, one has to acknowledge that Liszt's level of ambition and craft is incomparably higher than Gottschalk's. Liszt does not merely recast the musical content of the *Miserere* as a brilliant piano piece, but does justice to the dramatic content of the scene as well. The piece is not merely derived from opera, but itself creates the effect of an opera scene. (Liszt's opera transcriptions, however, do not invariably aim so high. In his well-known concert paraphrase of the *Rigoletto* quartet, for instance, he fails to address the pathos of Gilda's disillusionment, and merely decks Verdi's melodies with garlands of pianistic formula.)

Coincidentally, both Gottschalk and Liszt make similar adjustments to Manrico's tune. Or is it a coincidence? Where Verdi gives five three repeated *F*'s for the words "non ti scordar di..." in Manrico's second stanza, Gottschalk inserts an upper neighbor *G* between the last two. Liszt alters both stanzas, adding upper and lower appoggiaturas—the triplet becomes *G, F, E* natural, and the next note is another upper appoggiatura, *G*. There seem to be two possibilities here. Perhaps both composers heard tenors of the day "ornament" the melody similarly (although this alteration of the melody has not survived as a "tradition"). Then again, the human voice can color individual notes in endless ways that the piano cannot—it can make crescendos on single notes, alter vowels, and inflect through minute alterations of pitch, such as sliding between notes, and "scooping." Both Gottschalk and Liszt may have chosen to decorate the melody's repeated notes with non-chord tones as a pianistic equivalent to this kind of inflection.

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Our last *Miserere* is preserved on a recording rather than through publication. In 1938, Alan Lomax invited Jelly Roll Morton to record his reminiscences for the Archive of American Folksong of the Library of Congress. As he has written, Lomax's interest was the folkloric roots of jazz, Morton's was in establishing his primacy in the development of jazz. Fortunately, these purposes overlapped, and the recordings provide an unforgettably vivid, detailed account both of the development of the music and of the rough culture that produced it. (Morton himself exclaims, "[P]imps, robbers, gamblers and whores—it's really a shame to think of some of those en-

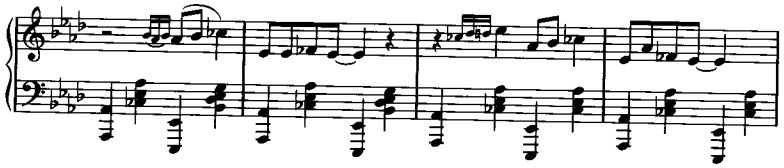
vironments I drifted into.")[18] But jazz derived not only from folk sources, but from European sources as well, as Jelly is eager to demonstrate. Included in the Library of Congress recordings are two performances of the *Miserere*, one as Morton remembered it from his childhood, and another "transformed" into Jelly Roll style.

"Ragging," "jazzing," and "swinging" the classics has had a long, and mostly dishonorable history. Often, it represented a puerile form of sacrilege—a way of annoying long-hairs. (Felix Arndt actually entitled a 1914 rag on classical themes "Desecration Rag.") But Morton's intention is altogether different, since he did not see classical tradition in opposition to jazz, but rather as part of it. He declares, "You have the finest ideas from the greatest operas, symphonies and overtures in jazz music. There is nothing finer than jazz music because it comes from everything of the finest class music."[19] Morton's respect for his art enabled him to treat opera with respect—he was not driven to desecrate it, because he had no sense of inferiority towards European art music.

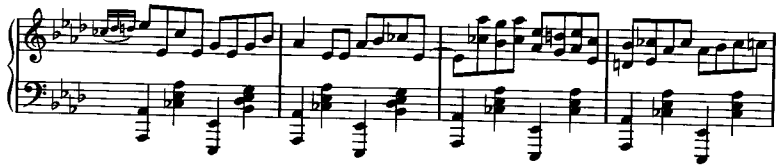
There is no reason to suppose that Morton necessarily remembered the opera numbers from performances of the operas—at that time, even the man in the street would have known familiar opera tunes from such sources as barrel-organs and band concerts. (Or, in New Orleans, from whorehouses! Morton's colleague and idol, Tony Jackson, sang opera numbers and performed in the brothel of Miss Antonia Gonzales, who claimed "the distinction of being the only Singer of Opera and Female Cornetist in the Tenderloin."[20]) In his example of the *Miserere* as he remembered it from childhood (not his jazz "transformation"), Morton gives only the solos of Leonora and Manrico, and part of the coda. He smoothes out the sharp rhythms of Leonora's music, and renders the number in an ostentatiously genteel "classical" piano style, with generous rubato and juicily enriched harmony. It seems likely that Morton remembered the piece only as a generalized version of Verdi's tunes—the basic outlines of melody, but not the original rhythms, harmony, and accompaniment texture.

Morton casts his *Miserere* in the form of one of his typical stomps, a series of sixteen-bar strains, the last of which is in the subdominant key. Morton's introduction closes with four bars of chords. These are so generic that it is uncertain whether or not they are supposed to recall the chorus of monks. From here, Morton presents two stanzas of Leonora's solo, followed by two stanzas of Manrico's serenade, rather than alternating stanzas, as in the original (see Examples 12 - 15). Thus, he succeeds in fixing each tune in the listener's mind by a more literal rendering immediately before his freer version. In the Leonora strain this is particularly important, since Morton's second stanza delays the opening intervals of the melody by a bar.

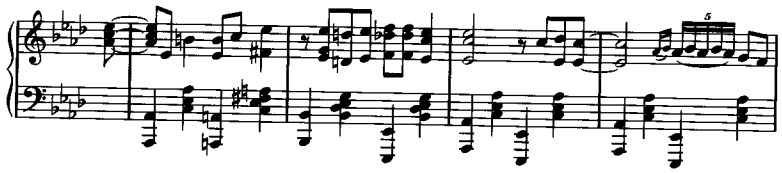
Example 12: Morton: *The Miserere*, Leonora's first solo
(All Morton examples transposed down from E flat minor or major for comparison)



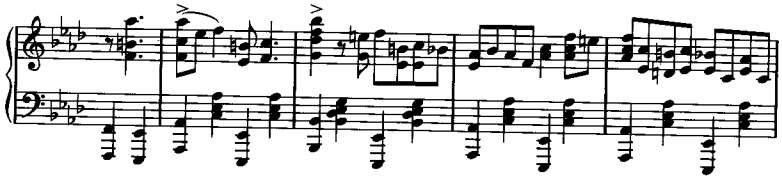
Example 13: Morton: Leonora's second solo



Example 14: Morton: Manrico's first solo

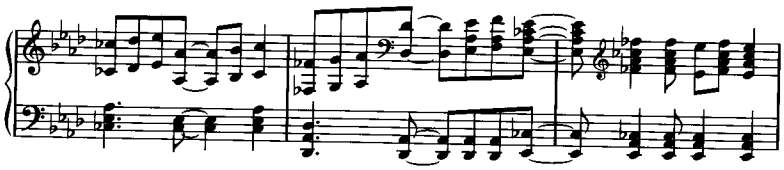


Example 15: Morton: Manrico's second solo



Morton's transformation gives clear examples of two of his principles of jazz. "In fact, if you can't manage to put tinges of Spanish in your tunes, you will never be able to get the right seasoning."[21] One infers from Morton's pieces (for instance, the splendid "The Crave") that to Morton, the "Spanish tinge" consists of some variety of habanera rhythm in the minor mode. His setting of Leonora's phrase "che tutta m'investe...al cor!" could have come from any of his "Spanish tinge" pieces. Verdi's original introduces an exciting rhythmic contrast here. Instead of the short, gasping fragments with which her solo begins, we encounter an unexpectedly long and sweeping phrase followed by the solo's first introduction of triplets. In place of Verdi's rhythmic contrast, Morton substitutes a habanera rhythm—he parallels Verdi's effect without imitating it.

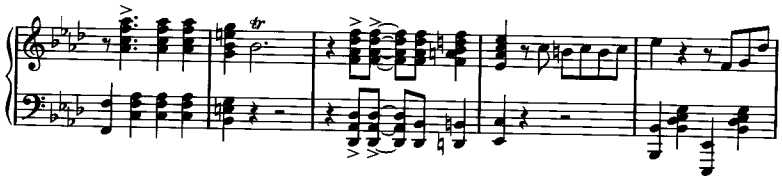
Example 16: Morton: from Leonora's first solo (Verdi's bar 77)



Paradoxically, throughout the Leonora strain, the sharp rhythms of Morton's jazz version make it more akin to the throbbing pulse of the original than the looser "straight" version that Morton quotes as "the" *Miserere*.

Another Morton principle of jazz is: "Even if a tune haven't got a break in it, it's always necessary to arrange some kind of a spot to make a break."[22] (A "break" is a short phrase played by a solo instrument during a sudden pause in the band. This effect is often imitated in Morton's piano solos.) In the *Miserere* transformation, there are breaks following the phrases "...a chi desia," and "a chi desia morir!" (and similar ones in the second stanza following "Non ti scordar," and "non ti scordar di me!"). The first break is a trill, such as we often find assigned to clarinet in Morton's band recordings, the second a lick with a wider range.

Example 17: Morton: from Manrico's first solo (Verdi's bar 83, second half)



Morton makes an alteration in the tune of the Manrico serenade, probably unintentionally. He adds two beats to the note before "a chi desia..." and correspondingly subtracts two beats from the end of the passage. (I refer to beats in the notation of Verdi's original—if Morton conceived his in his usual metering, two beats of Morton would equal one of Verdi.) This displaces the apex of the melody from the third beat to the first beat. One might imagine that Morton made this change in the process of "transforming" the piece. However, he makes the identical adjustment in his "straight" version as well—this seems to have been the way he misremembered the tune. I would suspect that Morton (and indeed many listeners) may have perceived the meter of this tune as simply 3/8, like that of Manrico's serenade "Deserto in terra," rather than as triplets in common time. His ear does demand a conventionally even number of bars for the tune, but it has not discriminated the stresses accurately.

Often, the last strain of a Morton composition will be the most heavily rhythmic—pounding chords, rather than melody. To round out the *Miserere* in similar fashion, Morton, instead of treating its coda, introduces another melody from the opera, a tune already characterized by heavy accents: the

Anvil Chorus. Morton barely suggests this tune—perhaps he thinks it so familiar that he needs only to allude to it. But he does faithfully preserve the anvil strokes, in the form of repeated octaves with half-step acciaccaturas. Morton presents the *Miserere* and the *Anvil Chorus* out of order—in the opera, the chorus precedes the *Miserere*. However, it must be said that Liszt could order tunes purely for musical effect as well: in his *Marche funèbre et cavatine* from *Lucia de Lammermoor*, Edgardo's death precedes his eviction from Lucia's wedding.

Morton's term "transformation" proves to be completely justified. The end result seems an utterly typical Morton number. A listener who did not know the tunes on which it is based would have no reason to suspect that its source was European. Morton identified the *Miserere* (and the sextet from *Lucia*) as "tunes that have always lived in my mind as the great favorites of the opera singers." In other words, he thought of the *Miserere* primarily as just a tune, not as part of a dramatic context. Many different kinds of music coalesced into jazz. We may be grateful to Jelly for reminding us that Verdi provided one source.

In all three of the pieces discussed, even Morton's, Verdi's materials are recognizable. In a sense, they all "are" the *Trovatore Miserere*. Yet one could never mistake one of the transcriptions for another. They are three distinctly different compositions. Gottschalk's piece is a bravura vehicle. Liszt's *Miserere* is itself an operatic *scena*—one composed for the piano. In the case of Morton, we must use his word: it is a "stomp"—one could in fact dance to it as readily as to his other compositions. Laymen often suppose that composition consists of the invention of themes. The radical differences between the *Misereres* prove the contrary. Composition is a combination of elements that act on one another. One cannot hum Liszt's imitation of a funeral bell, but it is an essential element—as the first sound, it immediately establishes a sonic world. Gottschalk's additions to Leonora's first stanza are decorations, but they are significant because they themselves generate an energy level that contradicts Verdi's mood. Morton's decision to combine the *Miserere* and the *Anvil Chorus* compels us to regard them purely as tunes. All three pieces do not "arrange" the *Miserere*—they re-conceive it. As they should! Any concert transcription for the piano is going to rob an orchestral or vocal original of its tonal colors. It ought to give something back in return.

NOTES

[1] For information regarding the problems of Morton's name and birth-date, see Howard Reich and William Gaines, *Jelly's Blues*. Cambridge, Mass.: Da Capo Press (2003), 14, 19, 271-73.

[2] Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt. The Weimar Years*. New York: Knopf (1989), 161.

[3] S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!* New York: Oxford University Press (1995), 303, 301.

[4] Starr, *Bamboula!*, 60, 85, 134, 153, 227.

[5] Carl Lachmund, *Living with Liszt*. Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press (1995), 128, 169, 237.

[6] Starr, *Bamboula!*, 38. Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*. New York, The Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlap (1950), 6, 66. Morton's references are vague, however. He mentions attending a piano

recital at the French opera house, that his parents "patronized" the opera house, and he alludes to opera numbers "that they used to play at the French Opera House."

[7] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 148. Spelling has been corrected from Lomax's phonetic transcription of Morton's interview.

[8] Jelly Roll Morton, *The Complete Library of Congress Recordings*. Cambridge, Mass.: Rounder Records (2006), vol. 1, track 6.

[9] Starr, *Bamboula!*, 447.

[10] Giuseppe Verdi, *Il trovatore*, vocal score based on the critical edition, ed. David Lawton. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (2002), 278.

[11] R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria*. New York: Oxford University Press (2003), 130. The Gottschalk-Thalberg concert program appears as an illustration.

[12] Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *The Piano Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, 5 vols. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times (1969), vol. 4:53-65. The 1864 publication of *Miserere du Trovatore* appears in reproduction. The work is cataloged by Offergeld as RO 171 and by Doyle as D-97.

[13] John G. Doyle, *Louis Moreau Gottschalk 1829-1869: A Bibliographical Study and Catalog of Works*. Detroit: The College Music Society by Information Coordinators (1982), 302-03.

[14] Starr, *Bamboula!*, 242.

[15] By Gottschalk's own account, a prominent St. Louis matron, on hearing him play a transcription of the *Miserere*, complained to him that his music was too "learned." Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend. New York: Knopf (1964), 60.

[16] Liszt, Ferenc. *New Edition of the Complete Works. Series 2 (Free Arrangements)*, Vol. 11. Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest (2004).

[17] See also Rena Mueller, "From the Biographer's Workshop: Lina Ramann's Questionnaires to Liszt." *Liszt and His World: Bard Music Festival Rediscoveries, August-October 2006*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 361-424, for Liszt's declaration of pride concerning his establishment of the nomenclature for these compositions.

[18] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 137.

[19] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 66.

[20] Howard Reich and William Gaines, *Jelly's Blues*. Cambridge, Mass.: Da Capo Press (2003), 24, 6.

[21] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 62.

[22] Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll*, 63.