ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: ANTON BRUCKNER'S FIRST SYMPHONY: ITS TWO VERSIONS AND THEIR RECEPTION

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Dissertation directed by: Professor James Ross
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Bruckner's First Symphony exists in two versions: the Linz version and the Vienna version. It has been taken for granted that the Linz version is to be used when performing the First Symphony. This fact seems to suggest the musical superiority of the Linz version over the Vienna version. For more than seventy-five years, the Vienna version has been completely forgotten even though this version is the final version Bruckner himself made of the work. Bruckner revised many of his symphonies, resulting in many versions. Among them, the Vienna version of the First Symphony is the only final version which is neglected. However, the Vienna version was the only available score of the work for the first forty years after its publication in 1893. This situation is unique in the modern reception of Bruckner's music.

This thesis attempts to reappraise the validity of the current overt bias toward the Linz version by exploring both Bruckner's working method and the history of the modern reception of the First Symphony. Biographical facts show that Bruckner had a strong personal motivation for the revision which was not triggered by any external factors.

I shall demonstrate that the Vienna version has been undermined in the twentieth-century reception of Bruckner's music through two separate modern critical editions. In particular, the main causes for the current bias toward the Linz version originated with the period of the first Bruckner *Gesamtausgabe* (1930-44) under the direction of Robert Haas. The political climate of the Third Reich had a major impact on shaping the text-critical ideology of the *Gesamtausgabe*. In addition, Haas was confronted with legal constraints that hindered his editorial work. As a result, Haas had to wage an extensive campaign to promote his editions, which eventually proved durable and affected the current reception of Bruckner's music half a century later. It will be shown that the Vienna version was forgotten more for ideological reasons than for musical ones.

The thesis also discusses the rationale for the revision and practical issues about performing the Vienna version of the First Symphony. I will show that Bruckner's motivation for the revision was not promotion or publication of the work. The essence of the revision was related to his personal concerns about theoretical issues. In that sense, Bruckner revised the work for himself.

In every sense, the Vienna version is unique in Bruckner's oeuvre. This study gives a new perspective and urges a reappraisal of the modern reception of the two versions of Bruckner's First Symphony.

ANTON BRUCKNER'S FIRST SYMPHONY: ITS TWO VERSIONS AND THEIR RECEPTION

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts
2009

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would have not been possible to complete this dissertation without generous support from various people in many ways. I would like to express my gratitude to each of them.

First of all, I should thank my adviser Professor James Ross for his tireless support, encouragement, and patience. I have been fortunate to have the following advisory committee members: Dr. Edward Maclary, Dr. James Stern, Dr. Michael Votta, and Dr. Alison Flatau.

I am particularly indebted to two of my colleagues: Michael Ingram for his help in translating German text and Paul Kim for editing text. They have been not only good colleagues but also good friends. Their enthusiastic support and encouragement often helped me when I was having difficulty in making progress.

In the course of working on this dissertation, I particularly enjoyed making the acquaintance of the foremost scholars of Anton Bruckner. I am indebted to Dr. Benjamin Korstvedt of Clark University and Dr. Thomas Röder of Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg for generously sharing their expertise. Dr. Röder, as an expert on the First Symphony, offered me advice on the various topics surrounding the textual problems of Bruckner's First Symphony. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Christa Brüstle of the Freien Universität Berlin for her advice on the complex copyright issues surrounding Bruckner's scores. Also I would like to thank Mr. Takanobu Kawasaki for his valuable advice.

Finally, my greatest debt of gratitude is to my parents Shiro Nishiwaki and Yikiko Nishiwaki who made my studies possible through generous financial and mental support.

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The modern reception of Bruckner's music

Introduction

Bruckner's First Symphony exists in two definitive versions. The early "Linz" version is always performed while the revised "Vienna" version is not. This is a strange case in the modern reception of Bruckner's music. Why is the revised version forgotten? How did so many early versions of Bruckner's symphonies gain wide acceptance as definitive and authoritative? What prompted Bruckner to revise his symphonies? These questions loom large for conductors. To answer these questions, this thesis will examine the history of Bruckner's working methods in relation to those two versions of the First Symphony, and how those methods affected the subsequent reception of his music, often referred to as "the Bruckner Problem."

The Bruckner Problem

"What edition should be used to perform a Bruckner symphony?" For conscientious conductors who are interested in performing Bruckner, there is no escaping this question. It is a vexing fact that there are both multiple versions and multiple editions of Bruckner's symphonies. This entire situation is so perplexing that it has become known as "the Bruckner Problem."[1]How can a conductor seize the problem? It is

[1] Deryck Cooke's series of articles entitled "Bruckner Problem Simplified" appeared in the 1960s and is among the first attempts to clarify the entire problematic situation. Deryck Cooke, "Bruckner Problem

relatively easy to find inaccurate information regarding the various editions in non-scholarly publications such as program notes for performance or commercial recordings. Textual and biographical information about Bruckner in non-scholarly publications is also often either unreliable, or misleading. This tendency toward questionable information can even be found in some scholarly writings. On the other hand, reliable scholarly writing about Bruckner is often so filled with jargon that it takes some effort to decipher for readers who are unfamiliar with the topic. The scarcity of accurate and readily available information means that there is no easy way for conductors to grasp the Bruckner Problem. It requires effort and perseverance.

The problem has three layers: Bruckner's own working method, the publication process, and the two modern critical editions that appeared in the twentieth century. Moreover, these three layers are often intertwined.[2] The Bruckner Problem is essential to the reception of Bruckner's music and inseparable from understanding him as a composer in every sense. This intricate web is intrinsic to the study of Bruckner's music.

Some symphonies exist in multiple versions,[3] and sometimes for the same version, there have been editions whose texts are slightly different from each other. There have been three series of publications of Bruckner's symphonies: the first printed editions,[4] the first critical editions, and the second critical editions. As to the first printed editions, seven out of the nine numbered symphonies appeared in Bruckner's lifetime. The

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Simplified," in *Vindications: Essays on Romantic music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 43-71.

[2] Sometimes Bruckner revised a score in association with publication or a planned performance. For example, Bruckner revised the Second Symphony in 1877 in response to a suggestion from Johan Herbeck, who planned a performance of the work.

[3] The term "version" refers to a musical text made by Bruckner himself as a result of revision, while the term "edition" refers to a published musical text.

[4] The term "first printed edition" refers to each first print of nine numbered symphonies published individually from four different publishers. In the context of Bruckner's textual problem, these scores are sometimes referred to collectively as the first printed editions.

remaining two appeared shortly after Bruckner's death in 1896. In general, the first printed editions differ, in varying degree, from the reading of Bruckner's own manuscripts because of the involvement of Bruckner's pupils in the publication process. The first printed editions must therefore be handled with caution. However, since these scores were the only available source of Bruckner's music until the 1930s, they were accepted as authoritative by his contemporaries and the first generation of Bruckner lovers following his death.

The first modern critical edition (the original *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*[5]) was begun under the direction of Robert Haas in 1930.[6] Although this project remained incomplete due to the dismissal of Haas[7] in 1944, scores of all the nine numbered symphonies but the Third were published in the *Gesamtausgabe*. In 1946, when Leopold Nowak succeeded Robert Haas as chief editor of the *Gesamtausgabe*, he chose to start over rather than simply completing what Haas had left undone. Nowak chose to re-edit what had already been published in the first *Gesamtausgabe* and to introduce previously unpublished scores, leading to what became the second *Gesamtausgabe*.

These two series of the *Gesamtausgabe* were not intended to compete with each other; they were both published by the same organization. Nowak was Haas's successor. Nowak's *Gesamtausgabe* was meant to replace Haas's. As a result, in some symphonies, there are important differences between these two critical editions.

[5] Hereafter abbreviated as the *Gesamtasugabe*.
[6] Their scores were published by Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag of the Internationale Bruckner-Gesellschaft.
[7] The politicization of the first *Gesamtausgabe* intensified toward the end of World War II. As a result of the collapse of the Third Reich, Haas was removed from his post as chief editor.

This begins to explain the existence of the many different published scores.[8] The main questions for conductors are "what edition best represents what Bruckner himself envisioned?" and "which version did Bruckner consider definitive?" And finally, "how can we find the most authentic score?"

Fortunately, by now, some of these issues have been resolved by the publication of the second *Gesamtausgabe*. It contains scores that are faithful to Bruckner's manuscript sources. Regarding publication of all the major versions of the symphonies, the project is completed.[9] To be practical, it may be enough for present-day conductors to consider only the scores published by Nowak's *Gesamtausgabe*, which narrows down the selection for us. The first printed editions and their reprints, which include alterations by Bruckner's disciples, need not be considered from the outset. But, how does a conductor decide which version to use when a symphony exists in multiple authentic versions? Did Bruckner have preferences for particular versions?

Thanks to the *Gesamtausgabe*, it is now possible for us to make our own comparisons between the texts of different versions of Bruckner's symphonies. Comparing the texts of multiple versions of the same symphony leads us to discover which version best suits our musical taste, but may not provide us with the criteria or insight to judge the authenticity of a particular version. Studying only the textual differences is merely scratching the surface of the problem.

[8] In a sense, the history of publication of Bruckner's works is a succession of pursuits for authenticity.
[9] With the publication of the 1877 version of the Second Symphony in 2007, the *Gesamtausgabe* completed publication of all the definitive versions of Bruckner's symphonies. The *Gesamtausgabe* is not officially completed; they have moved on to the publication of letters, sketches, and fragments. Critical reports for some works are still in progress. There are still other unpublished scores that show definitive stages of works. One example is the 1868 version of the Linz version of the First Symphony (see Appendix A).

Bruckner revised many of his symphonies. Sometimes he revised the same work twice, resulting in three distinctively different versions.[10] However, the extent of revision varies from work to work. Furthermore, each revision was motivated by a different reason and situation. The same can be said of the series of first printed editions that were supervised by Buckner's pupils, sometimes with, sometimes without Bruckner's approval; each of the first printed scores has a unique background. That remains true of the two modern critical editions. It is therefore crucial to perceive each case individually, and then discover the background of textual problems for each case, e.g. how an edition or a version was prepared, what prompted Bruckner to revise a work, what was happening behind the scenes, what editorial policy was taken for a particular edition, what source the editor consulted, etc. In other words, even if the text of a particular version looks uninteresting or insignificant on the surface, it may be premature to reject the version; in-depth study of the background of each version is as crucial as studying the text itself.

In that sense, the problem is still with us. Considering the critical editions, their true value is most apparent when accompanied by critical reports; knowing what sources were used and how the score was prepared is crucial information when examining the score. When encountering a questionable spot, the reader still has the opportunity to disagree with the editorial decision as long as information is given as to how the editorial determination was reached. As of 2009, critical reports for the First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies are unfortunately still unpublished.

Prior to the appearance of the first *Gesamtausgabe* (i.e. the Haas edition) in 1930-44, Bruckner's music was performed and heard only in the first printed editions which we

[10] The Third and Fourth Symphonies both exist in three versions.

now know to be unreliable. The performance traditions which developed from those editions shaped an entire generation's understanding of Bruckner's music. Therefore the role played by these scores cannot be readily dismissed even if some of them proved to be clearly corrupt.

Despite the outcome of the recent philological studies of Bruckner's textual problems, it is still not unusual to come across a performance based on an early edition that is now regarded as questionable. Conductor Hans Knappertsbusch[11] famously favored the first printed editions and used them exclusively until the end of his career in the 1960s. Other prominent Bruckner conductors including Wilhelm Furtwängler,[12] Bruno Walter, and Lovro von Matačić[13] were also not completely dismissive about the first printed editions even when the "original versions"[14] (i.e. scores from the *Gesamtausgabe*) were becoming the norm after World War II. These conductors were aware of how Bruckner's music was received by his contemporaries long before the appearance of the first *Gesamtausgabe* (i.e. the Haas edition). They had their own justifications for using the first printed editions and their views were not dramatically

[11] Hans Knappertsbusch (1888-1965) was a German conductor known as a specialist of Wagner and Bruckner.

[12] Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954) was a German conductor who was principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic from 1922-45 and 1952-54. He is known as a specialist in German music. Furtwängler used the first printed edition of the Fourth Symphony even after Haas's original edition had appeared. The legitimacy of this early edition is now accepted and the newly edited score of this version was published in 2004 as part of the second *Gesamtausgabe*. Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band IV/3: IV. Symphonie Es-dur: Fassung 1888*, Studienpartitur, ed. Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2004). For Furtwängler's recordings of the Fourth Symphony, see Berky, John F. *Anton Bruckner Symphonies Versions Discography*. http//:www.abruckner.com (accessed on 26 January 2009).

[13] Lovro von Matačić (1899-1985) was a Croatian conductor who was famous for his performances of Bruckner's music. His performance of the Fifth Symphony, while based on Haas's edition, also incorporated some alterations from the first printed edition (heavily edited by Franz Schalk). Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No.5 in B-flat major*, Czech Philharmonic Orhchestra conducted by Lovro von Matačić, Supraphon SU 3903-2, 1972/2007, Compact Disc.

[14] The term "Originalfassung" was used by Robert Haas and partisans of the *Gesamtausgabe* to distinguish their scores from the first printed editions.

affected by the appearance of the modern critical editions. This is why it is crucial to take the history of performance tradition into consideration even for the symphonies that exist in only one definitive and unequivocal version left by Bruckner himself, namely the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Symphonies.

Moreover, in a practical sense, the factors that go into the selection of a version or an edition may not be solely artistic. Conductors are often confronted with constraints such as the availability of a particular edition, the budget of the orchestra, the strengths and weaknesses of the players, and, in some cases, audience preferences. Therefore one cannot assume that the selection of a particular version or edition necessarily reflects the pure artistic decision of the conductor.

Bruckner's Constant Urge for Revision

Bruckner left nearly half of his symphonies in multiple versions due to his constant urge to improve them. It is sometimes unclear which version best represents the work that is left in multiple versions. New versions were not always meant to supplant previous versions; even the exact definition of a "version" is a question worthy of discussion. What stage of composition constitutes an independent "version"? When was a version completed? It is possible to identify more "stages" than the published versions. These stages seem to have been regarded by the composer as at least temporarily definitive.[15]

[15] The Adagio No. 2 of the Third Symphony and the 1878 finale of the Fourth Symphony are examples of intermediate stages of composition that were chosen to be published. Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band zu III/1: Adagio Nr. 2: 1876*, Studienpartitur, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna:

For the F minor Symphony, the D minor Symphony (known as "Die Nullte"),[16] Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Ninth Symphonies, there exists only one definitive version left by the composer. But in the cases of the Fifth and Seventh Symphonies, it is clear that Bruckner made later revisions to his autograph manuscripts. The original state of the manuscripts, which may have been regarded at one point as definitive by the composer, is not traceable because Bruckner made those revisions directly on the autograph manuscript without having a score copied. If there was a score showing the original state of these works to be discovered, that score could potentially be considered another "version" of the work.

The second *Gesamtausgabe* (i.e. the Nowak edition) has brought virtually all the definitive versions of Bruckner's symphonies to light by publishing them for performance and study. These scores have made the most accurate representations of Bruckner's own manuscript sources accessible to all. Which version to select from all those scores is left to the conductor's discretion. But, how do we deal with those different versions that all originate with the composer himself?

Table 1.1 shows the major versions of Bruckner's symphonies published by the second *Gesamtausgabe*. There are eighteen different scores for eleven symphonies. In addition, Adagio No. 2 of the Third Symphony and the 1878 Finale of the Fourth Symphony are available in print as variants. These movements are examples of intermediate stages of composition that were chosen to be published mainly for the sake

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Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1980). Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band zu IV/2: Finale: 1878*, Studienpartitur, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1981).

[16] Composed in 1869 originally as the Second Symphony. Later annulled by the composer.

of scholarly interest.[17] The second *Gesamtausgabe* brought previously unknown versions of the Third, Fourth, and Eighth Symphonies to light. Though these versions were not performed during Bruckner's lifetime, they gained their place in concert halls and recording studios since their publication in the 1970s. These previously unknown versions have been promoted, in part, by younger conductors who can view the situation with a fresh eye. Thus, with an increasing tendency to regard each version as an independent work, Bruckner's music can now be approached by multiple paths and appreciated for its various dimensions. However, there remains a single score that has suffered near total neglect: the Vienna version of the First Symphony.

[17] There are more scores left unpublished that show intermediate stages. Perhaps they were at least tentatively considered complete by Bruckner. A copy score of an intermediate stage of the Adagio of the Eighth Symphony (preserved at the Austrian National Library as Mus.Hs. 34.614) has recently been discovered. Dermot Gault, "For Later Times," *The Musical Times*, vol. 137, no. 1840 (June, 1996): 16.

Table 1.1 Major Published Versions of Bruckner's Symphonies in the Second *Gesamtausgabe*

	Year of completion	Band	Year of publication	Editor		Note
F minor	1863	X	1973	Nowak	*	
No.0	1869	XI	1968	Nowak		
No.1	1866	I/1	1953	Nowak		Linz version
	1890/91	I/2	1980	Brosche		Vienna version
No.2	1877	II	1965	Nowak		
	1872	II/1	2005	Carragan	*	
	1877	II/2	2007	Carragan		New edition of II
No.3	1873	III/1	1977	Nowak	*	
	1876	dazu III/2	1980	Nowak	*	Adagio No.2
	1877	III/2	1981	Nowak		
	1889	IIII/3	1959	Nowak		
No.4	1874	IV/1	1975	Nowak	*	
	1878	dazu IV/2	1981	Nowak	*	Finale
	1878/80	IV/2	1953	Nowak		
	1888	IV/3	2004	Korstvedt		
No.5	1878	V	1951	Nowak		
No.6	1881	VI	1952	Nowak		
No.7	1883	VII	1954	Nowak		
No.8	1887	VIII/1	1972	Nowak	*	
	1890	VIII/2	1955	Nowak		
No.9	1896 (unfinished)	IX	1951	Nowak		
			2000	Cohrs		New edition

Note: Assembled from the information provided at the publisher's website (www.mwv.at). Publication of fragments and sketches is excluded. Years of completion are taken from the corresponding score. The versions with "*" indicate the versions which had never been published before. Only the Andante (the second movement) of the F minor Symphony was previously published in 1913 by Universal Edition.

The First Symphony and Its Two Versions

The First Symphony is among Bruckner's less complex cases; the work exists in two definitive versions. After completing the work in 1866, Bruckner later returned to the work and revised it in 1890-91, resulting in the second, so-called "Vienna," version. In addition, Bruckner made minor emendations to the score of the original, so-called "Linz," version directly on his autograph manuscript around 1877. Though it is impossible to reproduce the original state of the score from the autograph manuscript, the set of the parts used in the first performance happened to survive. They provide us with evidence of the original 1866/68 version. Bruckner heard both the Linz and the Vienna versions performed in his lifetime. Therefore, these two versions can both be considered authoritative.

Curiously, it is almost taken for granted today that when performing the First Symphony the Linz version is to be used. The Vienna version, the last version of the work, is nearly completely forgotten. Although the existence of the Vienna version is mentioned in occasional program notes and articles about Bruckner, it has completely vanished from concert halls and recording studios in spite of its authenticity.[18]

The first printed editions were basically based on the last versions of the symphonies. It was quite reasonable to regard the composer's last version as the definitive version since Bruckner revised his works to improve them regardless of how posterity has come to view his efforts. Earlier versions were discovered later as a result of increasing scholarly and biographical interest. It is therefore particularly curious that, of

[18] Up to 2008, there exist three commercial recordings of the Vienna version, whereas there are twenty-seven of the Linz version. For detail, see Berky, John F. *Anton Bruckner Symphonies Versions Discography*. http//:www.abruckner.com (accessed on 26 January 2009).

all the other last versions, only the Vienna version of the First Symphony is buried in oblivion. The apparent bias towards the Linz version is not readily comprehensible.

The main goal of this thesis is to give a new perspective to this strong bias towards the Linz version of Bruckner's First Symphony, and to attempt to reappraise the Vienna version through studies of the biographical background and history of its posthumous reception rather than relying only on an examination of the text of the score itself. The text is important when examined to discover the rationale of the revision, namely what Bruckner was trying to achieve in the revision. But to investigate the causes of the current reception of the Vienna version, it is crucial to study all the previously published scores of the work as well as the history of publication of the First Symphony. These areas hold the keys to our understanding of how "Linz" beat out "Vienna."

Chapter Two

Background of the First Symphony

Bruckner did not enter the world of symphonic music until late in his life; when he composed his First Symphony, he was already over forty years old. Twenty years later, Bruckner suddenly decided to revise the work. Because of this unusually wide gap between the two versions, it is worth outlining the history of the First Symphony from the period of its initial composition in 1865-66 and how Bruckner's subsequent compositional career took shape, before turning to the period of revision decades later.

In 1855, Bruckner moved from the monastery of St. Florian[19] to Linz to assume a post as organist at the Linz Cathedral. Shortly before relocating to Linz, he traveled to Vienna to meet Simon Sechter,[20] a prominent music theory teacher. Impressed with Bruckner's *Missa Solemnis*[21] composed the year prior, Sechter immediately welcomed Bruckner as his pupil. Rigorous studies of harmony and counterpoint with Sechter spanned six years. After completion of his training with Sechter, Bruckner's need for practical knowledge of composition prompted him to study with Otto Kitzler,[22] conductor of the Linz theatre and ten years younger than Bruckner. These studies with Kitzler

[19] Bruckner was primarily a school teacher there from 1845-1855. Werner Wolff, *Anton Bruckner: Rustic Genius* (E. P. Dutton, 1942; reprint, New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1973), 26, 34.
[20] Simon Sechter (1788-1867) was an Austrian theorist, composer, conductor and organist. He was a professor of thoroughbass and counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory.
[21] *Missa Solemnis* in B flat minor, WAB 29 (for four part mixed voice choir, soloists, orchestra, and organ) was composed in 1854.
[22] Otto Kitzler (1834-1915) joined the Linz theatre as a cellist in 1858 and was later appointed principal conductor in 1861. In 1863, he moved to Brno. Kitzler and Bruckner stayed on good terms until Bruckner's death. Kitzler also conducted some of Bruckner's Symphonies. Crawford Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary biography*, Volume 1: From Ansfelden to Vienna, Studies in the history and interpretation of music, 83a (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 81f, 86.

spanned two years and focused primarily on musical form and orchestration.[23] More importantly, Kitzler brought Bruckner closer in touch with modern music, particularly Richard Wagner.

During the years spent in Linz, Bruckner certainly attended a variety of musical events. However, Bruckner had never even been to the Theatre[24] until he began studying with Kitzler. In February 1863 Kitzler conducted the first local performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* in the city,[25] which introduced Bruckner for the first time to Wagner's music. Kitzler and Bruckner studied the score of *Tannhäuser* together. Wagner's music made a deep and lasting impression on Bruckner. This profound respect and admiration for Wagner continued throughout his life.

In 1860, Bruckner was appointed as conductor of the men's choral group, *Liedertafel Frohsinn*, for which he also composed some pieces.[26] Bruckner toured abroad to choral festivals with this group.[27] In January 1868, Richard Wagner was named an honorary member of *Frohsinn*. To celebrate the occasion, Bruckner performed an excerpt from Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* at the April anniversary concert of the group. This performance took place before the first performance of the entire opera.

Bruckner's compositions from this period of studies with Kitzler include the Overture in G minor (WAB98), the Symphony in F minor (WAB99), and Psalm 112 for

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[23] For Kitzler's account of Bruckner's studies with him, see Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 84-85.
[24] Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 37.
[25] Kitzler also conducted two other operas by Wagner in Linz; *Der fliegende Holländer* (October 1865) and *Lohengrin* (February 1866). Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 66.
[26] Bruckner's association with the group started when he joined the group as a second tenor in 1856. He became conductor of the group in 1860, but in July 1861, Bruckner resigned the post because of a practical joke played on him by the choir during the tour to Nuremberg in 1861. He was appointed conductor again in 1868. Crawford Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 78. In 1866, Bruckner composed three secular pieces for *Frohsinn*: *Vaterlandslied* (WAB 92), *Der Abendhimmel* (WAB56) and *Vaterländisches Weinlied* (WAB91). Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 81n.
[27] *Frohsinn* made successful appearances under Bruckner's direction at two choral festivals in Krems and Nuremberg in 1861. Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 79.

double chorus and orchestra (WAB35). These pieces were Bruckner's first compositional attempts to compose in these orchestral genres and were all written in 1863 as final projects in his work with Kitzler. However, these works are generally considered to be "studies" rather than viable compositions. Bruckner's decision not to call his first F minor Symphony, Symphony No. 1, is evidence of his own incomplete belief in those works. Bruckner came to view his *Mass* in D minor (1864) as his first viable large composition and it was composed shortly after the studies with Kitzler.

Composition of the First Symphony

Bruckner apparently began composing the First Symphony sometime early in 1865. The finale was the first movement to be completed although the autograph manuscript is not dated.[28] The Scherzo movement was then completed by 10 March and the Trio, by 25 May in 1865.[29] The first movement was completed shortly before the Trio.[30] When Bruckner completed the Trio, he was in Munich to attend the first performance of Richard Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*. Bruckner would have left for Munich on 14 May right after finishing the first movement, as the performance was originally scheduled on 15 May. However the first three performances of *Tristan* were postponed due to the indisposition of Mrs. Schnorr-Carolsfeld who was to sing Isolde.[31]

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[28] Leopold Nowak, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band I/1: I. Symphonie C-moll, Linzer Fauung,* Studienpartitur, ed. by Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1953).

[29] According to the autograph manuscript, the end of the Scherzo (before the Coda) is dated "10. März 1865" with ink and the end of the Trio reads "München 25 Mai 865." Robert Haas, Vorlagenbericht in Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band I: I. Symphonie C-moll (Wiener und Linzer fassung)*, ed. Robert Haas (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1935), 20*.

[30] The end of the first movement of the manuscript reads "Linz 14. Mai 865." Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 9*.

[31] Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 105f.

Bruckner had to return to Linz to conduct at a choral festival from 4 to 6 June.[32] Bruckner traveled back to Munich again after the choral festival and was finally able to see the third performance of *Tristan* on 19 June.[33]

Bruckner took the score of the completed portion of his First Symphony with him to Munich. During his first visit, Bruckner was finally introduced to Wagner in person. Wagner gave Bruckner a signed photograph.[34] Bruckner also met some prominent musicians who were there to attend the performance. Among them were Anton Rubinstein,[35] the great Russian musician, and Han von Bülow,[36] the conductor of the first performance of *Tristan*.

Bruckner was apparently too timid to show his First Symphony to his beloved master, but did manage to show Bülow the completed movements of the work: the first movement, the Scherzo, and the Finale.[37] Despite the fact that in later years, Bülow turned bitter toward Bruckner, it is reported that he demonstrated positive support for the work. He allegedly exclaimed, "This is dramatic!" in reference to measure 94 of the first movement where the trombones play a passage inspired by the Pilgrim's march of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*.[38]

This experience of hearing *Tristan* must have had a tremendous impact on Bruckner, whose exposure to Wagner's new use of harmony had been limited. It seems to

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[32] Ibid., 106.
[33] Ibid., 105.
[34] Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 105. The signed photograph is dated "18 Mai 65." Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner: Musik und Leben* (Linz: Rudolf Trauner Verlag, 1973),110.
[35] Anton Rubinstein (1829-94) was a Russian pianist, composer, conductor, and teacher. He was appointed director of the St Petersburg Conservatory in 1887.
[36] Hans von Bülow (1830-93) was a German conductor, pianist, and composer. He conducted the Meiningen court orchestra from 1880-85 and the Berlin Philharmonic from 1887-92.
[37] Wolfgang Grandjean, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band zu I/1: I. Symphonie C-moll, 2. Satz Adagio (ursprüngliche Fassung), 3. Satz Scherzo (ältere Komposition)*, Studienpartitur, ed. Wolfgang Grandjean (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1995).
[38] August Göllerich and Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens-und Schaffensbild*, vol. III, no.1 (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1922-36; Reprint, 1974), 316.

have stimulated a great shift for Bruckner who was about to transform himself from a talented church musician to a major symphonic composer. The *Tristan* experience animated his continuing work on the First Symphony. After traveling to Munich, Bruckner composed a different Scherzo to replace the original Scherzo, although he eventually came to regard the old version as definitive since he had it copied by his copyist Franz Schimatschek.[39] The new Scherzo was dated 23 January 1866.[40] Therefore, Wolfgang Grandjean surmises that it was written around the turn of 1865 and 1866. Interestingly, the original Trio section remained intact and was incorporated verbatim into the new Scherzo movement.[41]

Bruckner set to work on the Adagio immediately after finishing the new Scherzo. It was written between 27 January and 14 April in 1866 as indicated by the manuscript.[42] In addition, there exists another incomplete score of the Adagio in an earlier stage of development.[43] Unlike the case of the new Scherzo, this fragment corresponds with the completed Adagio as to musical material, but exhibits a different structure. It shows Bruckner's search for the right style for his slow movement.

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[39] Wolfgang Grandjean, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band zu I/1: I. Symphonie C-moll*.
[40] The end of the manuscript page of this movement reads "23 Jänner ½ 1 Uhr Morgens." Ibid.
[41] In Bruckner's Scherzo movements, with one exception, the entire Scherzo is always repeated after the Trio to form a simple ABA structure. Since each section is independent and contrasting, it was rather easy to replace only the Scherzo section.
[42] According to Leopold Nowak, Bruckner finished the Adagio on 12 April and the entire symphony on 14 April after spending two days finalizing the score. This explanation contradicts both Haas's critical report and Grandjean's preface to his edition of the original Adagio and the old Scherzo. Nowak also contradicts Grandjean as to the date of the new Scherzo. Leopold Nowak, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Symphonie I/1*.
[43] Wolfgang Grandjean, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band zu I/1: I. Symphonie C-moll*.

Significance of the First Symphony

The First Symphony held special significance for Bruckner for two reasons. First, when Bruckner wrote the First Symphony, he was primarily a composer of church music. As an organist at the Linz cathedral, most of his activity as a performing musician was related to religious events. In fact, his three large Masses fall at the end of his Linz period (1864-68), which was a major turning point in Bruckner's career. Second, the symphony was virtually the first large instrumental composition after Bruckner's studies with Kitzler. The highly self-critical and scrupulous composer felt he needed long, rigorous studies before being convinced that he was ready to turn his focus toward symphonic composition. During his six years of study with Sechter, Sechter did not allow him to write original compositions outside his studies. Under Kitzler's tutelage, Bruckner composed the aforementioned three large works as assignments (overture, symphony, and psalm). After all his years of preparation, Bruckner was finally free from any restrictions but his own and was finally able to fully express his artistry. In fact, Bruckner allegedly said, "I was never again so bold and daring as I was in the First Symphony. I challenged the whole world."[44] Bruckner later nicknamed the symphony "das kecke Beserl (roughly meaning 'the impudent urchin')" acknowledging its bold and daring character. According to Werner Wolff, the jargon was also used in reference to "young and merry, even fresh and snappy girls."[45]

[44] Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 80.
[45] Ibid.

Immediately after the completion of the work, Bruckner attempted to arrange a performance of this highly ambitious work.[46] He had a copy of the score and a set of orchestral parts made by his copyist, Franz Schimatschek. He also sent copies to Otto Dessoff[47] and Johan Herbeck[48] in Vienna to seek their critical opinion. Apparently, the work did not appeal to them. However, Herbeck did conduct Bruckner's *Mass* in D minor at the Court Chapel in Vienna on 10 February 1867.[49] This was the first time Bruckner's music had been introduced in Vienna.

In the spring of 1867, Bruckner started suffering from severe depression which eventually resulted in a nervous breakdown. In May 1867, Bruckner went to a sanatorium in Bad Kreuzen where he stayed for three months to undergo a cold water treatment. The direct cause of his nervous disorder was not specified. Werner Wolff ascribes it in part to an innate nervous weakness of Bruckner's.[50] This breakdown occurred at a vital turning point in Bruckner's career. Johan Herbeck,[51] who thought highly of Bruckner's talent, had urged Bruckner to move to Vienna to pursue his career as a composer. Bruckner considered Herbeck's advice seriously in connection with the death of his former teacher and friend, Sechter in September 1867.[52] At the same time, excessive concern about his financial security as a musician in Vienna caused Bruckner to panic. Herbeck exerted his

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[46] Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, Bruckner, (NewYork: Grossman Publishers, 1970), 46.
[47] Otto Dessoff was conductor of the Vienna Court Opera in those days.
[48] Johan Herbeck was Director of *Gesellschft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna in those days.
[49] Herbeck later returned the score of the First Symphony "without writing a word." Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, 113f.; Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band XXIV/1: Briefe 1852-1886*, ed. Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1998), 670619.
[50] Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 57.
[51] Bruckner's acquaintance with Herbeck dates back from November 1860 when Bruckner took an examination for his application to the Vienna Conservatory for a diploma and qualification to teach at a conservatory. During the exam, Herbeck famously exclaimed, "He should have been examining us!" See Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 75-77.
[52] Ibid., 120.

influence to arrange a provisional organist post at the Court Chapel to increase Bruckner's sense of financial security.[53]

The symphony was finally premiered in Linz on 9 May 1868 with the composer conducting. The orchestra consisted of members of the Linz theatre, regimental bands, and some local amateur musicians. Although the technical demands of the symphony were beyond the capability of the orchestra,[54] the performance seemed to be a success. Eduard Hanslick, who later turned hostile toward Bruckner, wrote a favorable review: "Bruckner was called back to the rostrum several times. When news of Bruckner's forthcoming appointment at the Vienna Conservatory is confirmed, we can only congratulate this education establishment."[55]

In the summer of 1868, a few months after the premiere of the First Symphony, after deep deliberation, Bruckner's months of indecision finally ended when he agreed to accept the challenge of moving to Vienna to succeed Simon Sechter as Professor of Harmony and Counterpoint at the Vienna Conservatory. Despite the psychological cost of this change of duties and location, Bruckner began composing symphonies with amazing vigor after moving to Vienna.[56] Between 1869 and 76, Bruckner completed five new symphonies.[57]

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[53] For correspondence between Herbeck and Bruckner, see Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 1, 136. After moving to Vienna, Bruckner regretted his decision.

[54] The size of the orchestra was modest; 12 violins, 3 violas, 3 cellos, 3 basses. Erwin Doernberg, *The Life and Symphonies of Anton Bruckner* (London: Barry and Rockliff, 1960), 47f.

[55] Howie, *Anton Bruckner* vol. 1, 130.

[56] In addition to his duties at the conservatory, Bruckner worked as an organist at the Court Chapel (1868-1894) and for St. Anna's teacher-training college for women (1870-1874). Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 68, 72, 85, 133.

[57] The 'Nullte' Symphony was completed in '69, the Second in '72, the Third in '73, the Fourth in '74, and the Fifth in '76.

In the summer of 1876, Bruckner undertook a study of the periodic phrase structure of Beethoven's Third and Ninth Symphonies.[58] Based on what he discovered, Bruckner felt compelled to re-examine all the symphonies he had composed up to that point, which resulted in revisions of all the symphonies except for the "Nullte." The degree of each revision varies from work to work. For instance, the Third Symphony underwent an exhaustive overhaul, which resulted in a new version. The revision of the Fourth was similarly exhaustive. The First Symphony at that point was subject only to minor revision as the score copied by Schimatschek[59] indicates: "Rythmisch eingeteilt [rhythmically divided] 1. Mai 1877" at the end of Scherzo and "Rythmisch eingeteilt 2. Mai 1877" at the end of Finale.[60] As these notes show, Bruckner's "rhythmic divisions" involved a regulation and symmetricization of phrase structure. Bruckner may possibly have made some more slight modifications to the First in 1884, as the end of the Adagio in the same score is dated "Jahr 884."[61] These minor revisions led to no new performance. The First Symphony had lain dominant since its first hearing in Linz.[62]

Hans Richter and Bruckner's First Symphony

Having led successful performances of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in 1886 and Fourth Symphony in 1888,[63] Hans Richter, conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic,

[58] Benjamin Korstvedt, "The first edition of Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony: Authorship, Production and Reception" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995), 248.
[59] Source D in Haas's Vorlagenbericht.
[60] Haas, Vorlagebericht, 9*.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Göllerich and Auer, *Bruckner*, IV/4, 232.
[63] Andrea Harrandt, "Bruckner in Vienna," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 34.

developed an affinity for Bruckner's music.[64] According to a letter on 11 November 1889 from Bruckner to his copyist, Leopold Hofmeyr in Styer, Richter was planning to perform the First Symphony which had not been heard since in 1868. The letter shows Bruckner's unexpected excitement:

> I cannot even express to you how much Hofkapellmeister Hans Richter adores my First Symphony. He ran off with my score, had parts copied out, and was conducting it in a Philharmonic concert. He wept afterwards and smothered me with kisses, prophesying my immortality. I am in shock![65]

How could Richter develop such an enthusiasm for a work that had remained in oblivion for some twenty years?

In the nineteenth century, prior to the advent of recording technology, it was common for orchestral works to be played, enjoyed, and studied through the form of piano arrangements. Bruckner's symphonies were no exception. Then, as now, the availability of orchestras for live performances was extremely limited. The Vienna Academic Wagner Society (Wiener Academische Wagner-Verein) introduced Bruckner's symphonies in the form of piano arrangement for two hands, four hands, or two pianos. The society was originally founded in 1872 to promote the works by Richard Wagner, Hugo Wolf, and Anton Bruckner. Bruckner himself became a member in the fall of 1873,[66] and many of his disciples, including Josef Schalk[67] and Ferdinand Löwe,[68] also

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[64] Hans Richter (1943-1916) was an Austro-Hungarian conductor. He was conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic from 1875-1898 and premiered Bruckner's Fourth (1881), Eighth (1892). He was also a champion of Brahms and Wagner.

[65] Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band XXIV/2: Briefe 1887-1896*, ed. Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003), 891111.

[66] Andrea Harrandt, "Student and friends as 'prophets' and 'promoters'": the reception of Bruckner's works in the Wiener Akademische Wagner-Verein,' in *Perspective on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 320.

[67] Josef Schalk (1857-1900) was a pupil of Bruckner. He became the president of the Wagner-Verein in 1887. Harrandt, "Student and friends", 317.

joined the group. They held occasional meetings called "internal evenings" where they introduced Bruckner's music, including the Te Deum, the String Quintet, and the motets. In 1879, excerpts from the Third Symphony were performed in a four-hand piano arrangement at an "internal evening." This was the first appearance of a Bruckner Symphony presented by the Wagner-Verein.

Ferdinand Löwe gave his first recital in January 1884 for the Wagner-Verein. The program included his piano arrangement of the Adagio of the First Symphony. Following this partial performance, a full performance of the First Symphony took place by Josef Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe in Löwe's arrangement for four-hand piano at the "internal evening" of 22 December that same year.[69] This performance by Schalk and Löwe, although in an arrangement for four-hand piano, was the first full revival of the work since the debut performance in Linz back in 1868. This 1884 concert proved of resounding importance for Bruckner who described the concert as "the greatest success he had ever experienced."[70] However, just a few days later Bruckner was to experience even greater acclaim from the first performance of his Seventh Symphony with Arthur Nikisch and the Gewandhaus orchestra in Leipzig. This success finally gave Bruckner an international reputation as a symphonic composer.

On 23 April 1885, Löwe and Schalk again played the Adagio and the Finale of the First Symphony. Although not performed in its entirety at this concert, this constituted the third of three public hearings of the symphony.

Although it is possible that Richter heard the First Symphony at one or several of these performances by Schalk and Löwe, there is no firm documentation of his presence

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[68] Ferdinand Löwe (1865-1925) was a pupil of Bruckner. He was an early champion of Bruckner's music.
[69] Harrandt, "Student and friends", 320.
[70] For details, see Harrandt, "Student and friends," 320.

there. But whether or not he encountered the work at a public performance, Richter could well have heard Löwe play through the symphony informally in preparation for these performances. In any case, Richter did conceive the idea of performing it with his orchestra in 1889. And, it was the Wagner-Verein's efforts that brought the First Symphony to the attention of the Viennese musical circle.

Thus, the First Symphony was scheduled to be performed by an orchestra for the second time. As the letter to Hofmeyr indicates, Richter had the Philharmonic prepare a score and a set of parts for the First Symphony and he actually began rehearsals with the orchestra. However, the performance did not end up taking place. The performance was ultimately withdrawn not by the judgment of the conductor, or the ability of the orchestra, but by Bruckner himself who again felt a strong urge to improve the work before putting it before the Viennese public. Bruckner's letter to Theodor Helm dated 30 March 1890 confirms that the cancellation of the performance in November 1889 was his own doing:

> ….it is my own fault that the Philharmonic has not performed any of my compositions [this season].[71] I took away the "den kecke Besen [impudent urchin]" (First Symphony), and the D Minor Symphony has not yet appeared.[72]

It must have taken immense courage for Bruckner to call a halt to a major performance by the Vienna Philharmonic that was already in motion. Since the symphony was not yet published, the Philharmonic, at Richter's bidding, had a set of parts prepared specifically for their planned performance. Suspension of the performance caused a financial loss to the Philharmonic. Bruckner offered to compensate them for all copying fees. But Richter,

[71] The most recent orchestral performance of a Bruckner symphony in Vienna at that point was the performance of the Seventh Symphony on 24 February 1889 by Richter. Göllerich and Auer, *Bruckner*, IV/3, 245.
[72] Bruckner, *Briefe*, ed. Harrandt, 900330.

who believed in the sanctity of a composer's wishes, considered it an embarrassment that the Philharmonic would accept Bruckner's compensation and declined the composer's offer.[73] But, we can judge the strength of Bruckner's conviction that the work deserved re-thinking on the awkwardness he was willing to endure to prevent the First from coming to light again.

Bruckner's cancellation was unexpected considering the great success of Schalk and Löwe's four-hand piano performances. Bruckner's revisions of the Second, the Third, and the Fourth Symphonies had been based on the experience of unfavorable receptions. But now that the music world of Vienna was looking favorably on Bruckner, what was his incentive for revising the work? One could conjecture that since he had just begun to enjoy success, he was fearful of what an adverse wind might do to his blossoming fame. In fact, after the successful first performances of the Seventh Symphony in Leipzig and Munich, Bruckner had asked the Philharmonic to cancel their plans for a performance of the Seventh Symphony in 1886 as well.[74] In Bruckner's mind, critical acclaim in Vienna at that point was still out of the question because of Hanslick's open hostility toward him.[75] Bruckner feared that a negatively reviewed performance of the Seventh Symphony in Vienna would stifle his growing popularity.

Despite Bruckner's apprehensions, Richter and the Philharmonic did finally present the Seventh Symphony in December 1886, which turned out to be a great success. Three years later, in 1889 having gained recognition as a symphonic composer,

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[73] Hellsberg, Clemens, *Demokratie der Könige: Die Geschichte der Wiener Philharmoniker* (Zurich and Vienna: Musikverlag Schott, 1992), 272f.
[74] Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 96.
[75] Eduard Hanlick (1825-1904) was an Austrian music critic based in Vienna. He was appointed professor of the history and aesthetics of music at the University of Vienna in 1861. He was one of the harshest of Bruckner's critics.

Bruckner's sudden decision to revise the First Symphony that was composed more than twenty years before appears to be reckless. Herman Levi,[76] who led the successful performance of the Seventh in Munich, was puzzled by Bruckner's decision. In fact, as shown in a letter dated 16 February 1890 from Levi to Bruckner, Levi did not believe the symphony needed improvement:

> First Symphony wonderful!!
> It must be printed and performed -but please, please—do not change too much—everything is good just as it is, even the instrumentation!
> Don't retouch too much, please, please!
> Löwe played gloriously-[77]

Apparently, Levi heard Löwe playing the First Symphony on the piano sometime earlier in 1890, when Levi visited Vienna as evidenced by Josef Schalk's letter to his brother, Franz, dated 22 February 1890.[78] In the same letter, Josef also mentioned that he had copied the Adagio of the symphony and suggested that Franz make a more "discreet" revision of the symphony of his own.[79] Thus, it was not only Levi but also Josef Schalk who was puzzled by Bruckner's sudden decision to revise the score. They were convinced the First Symphony did not need to be "improved."

Despite Levi's friendly counsel, Bruckner embarked on his revision of the First Symphony in March 1890, shortly after completing the second version of the Eighth

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[76] Herman Levi was conductor of the Munich court theatre. Bruckner first met Levi at the Bayreuth Festival of 1882. Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 276n.
[77] Bruckner, *Briefe*, ed. Harrandt, 900216.
[78] Crawford Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, Volume 2: Trial, Tribulation and Triumph in Vienna, Studies in the history and interpretation of music, 83b (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 609.
[79] Ibid., 610. Josef Schalk's plan to have Franz revise the First Symphony, however, did not materialize in the end. The copied score (Adagio) included Löwe's suggestions. The "discreet" revision in this case seems to have suggested adjusting the score of the Linz version for practical use: namely with additional indications for tempo, dynamics, and expression as seen in the first prints of Bruckner's symphonies in general.

Symphony. The project ultimately occupied Bruckner for an entire year. This revision was the last Bruckner made in his oeuvre. As soon as the revision was completed, Bruckner moved on to compose the Ninth that was left unfinished at his death.

The revision of the First Symphony started on 12 March 1890 with the Finale. After finishing the Finale on 29 June, Bruckner went on to the Scherzo and Trio from 5 July to 17 August, the Adagio from 18 August to 24 October, and the first movement from 25 November to 18 April 1891.[80] The revision was so extensive that Bruckner made a fresh score for the revised version, rather than tinkering with the text of the old score.

Placing the Revision of the First Symphony in Bruckner's Oeuvre

The revision of the First Symphony takes a unique place in Bruckner's oeuvre, and is remarkable for at least five reasons.

First, there is an unusually long period between the two versions. When Bruckner finished the revision in 1891, it had been twenty-five years since Bruckner first completed the work in 1866. It is significant that this span covers most of his compositional career as a symphonic composer. Therefore, the text of the revised version uniquely represents both early and late styles of the composer.

Second, Bruckner's decision to revise the work was made against the advice of his friends. Unlike many other cases, it was a personal decision. For example, before revising the First Symphony, Bruckner had initiated his revision of the Eighth Symphony, which was triggered by critique from Levi. Another example was Johan Herbeck's advice

[80] Günter Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band I/2: I. Symphonie C-moll, Wiener Fassung*, Studienpartitur, ed. Günter Brosche (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1980).

leading to Bruckner's revision of the Second Symphony in 1877.[81] Although there are two other instances of Bruckner initiating a revision himself,[82] his urge to revise the First Symphony was so strong that he ordered a halt to rehearsals that had already begun.

Third, although the First Symphony had been performed by an orchestra only once, the work had enjoyed favorable reception since the first performance in Linz at the various Schalk-Löwe piano performances. Nevertheless, Bruckner desired to revise the work. On the whole, Bruckner's desire to revise a work was usually motivated by unfavorable reception either by friends, the musicians, or the audience. When Bruckner decided to make further revisions to the second version of the Third Symphony, despite Gustav Mahler's advice to the contrary, he was likely recalling the disastrous first performance of the work that had traumatized him.

Fourth, Bruckner worked on the revision of the First Symphony all alone, whereas he enlisted the aid of Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe in preparing the third version of the Third Symphony and the third version of the Fourth Symphony, finished in the same period.

Lastly, for the revision of the First Symphony, unlike other revisions, Bruckner wrote out an entirely new manuscript rather than tinkering with the text on the manuscripts of the old version or a copy score of the old version. As a result of this method, Bruckner was free from any methodological restrictions. This revision became one of his most extensive.

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[81] Schönzeler, Bruckner, 71.

[82] Bruckner decided to revise the Fourth Symphony in 1877 when Benjamin Bilse was preparing a performance in Berlin. Consequently, he instructed Bilse to return the score and the orchestral parts. Bruckner decided to make the third version of the Third Symphony against Gustav Mahler's counsel. Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 354.

The authenticity of the Vienna version of the First Symphony is unquestioned. Although the revision may have been prompted by Hans Richter's active interest, Bruckner's seriousness about the revision is obvious; he made a fresh score and his meticulous reworking took a whole year to complete. The fact that Bruckner canceled the planned performance by Richter to revise the work implies his dissatisfaction with the Linz version of the work. It is likely that Bruckner considered the Vienna version the definitive form of the work. Up to this point, the genesis of the Vienna version of the First Symphony can be considered straightforward. Its subsequent reception and publication history, however, are some of the most interesting and puzzling facets of "the Bruckner Problem."

Chapter Three

Reception of the First Symphony during Bruckner's lifetime (1824-1896)

The Vienna version of the First Symphony was first performed by Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic on 13 December 1891, two years after Richter's initial attempt to perform the work. Overall, the performance was a great success. The Scherzo movement was received most favorably. Critic Max Kalbeck described it in his review as "reminiscent of a Breughel painting in its earthiness."[83] Otherwise, the work's structure was the main point of criticism; a lack of organic unity was pointed out.[84] A letter from Bruckner to Siegfried Ochs, a choral conductor in Berlin, dated 3 February 1892 mentions the success:

> May it please you to know, Sir, that the First Symphony in C minor (I have three in C minor) was a tremendous success in the Philharmonic concert. It is one of my best and most difficult. Hans Richter adores it in secret (because of Hanslick).[85]

Shortly before the first performance, Bruckner received an honorary doctorate from the University of Vienna, at which Bruckner had been giving lectures on music theory since 1875. Consequently, the Vienna version of the First Symphony was dedicated to the university in gratitude. There was also a solo piano performance of the Adagio and the Finale by Löwe at a Wagner-Verein recital on 30 December 1891.[86]

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[83] Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 2, 637.
[84] Ibid, 636-638.
[85] Bruckner, *Briefe*, ed. Harrandt, 920203.
[86] Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 2, 637n.

Publication; Doblinger edition

The First Symphony was published in the form of a score, orchestral parts, and a four-hand piano arrangement by Ferdinand Löwe in November 1893 by the Viennese publishing house Ludwig Doblinger.[87] This occurred relatively shortly after the successful first performance in December 1891 by Hans Richter. The edition was based on the revised score (the Vienna version), but the publication was supervised by Cyrill Hynais, a younger disciple of Bruckner's.[88]

By the time this score was published, Bruckner was gaining recognition as a symphonic composer largely owing to the great success of the Seventh Symphony in 1884. As a result, within this ten-year period, the Seventh (1885), Fourth (1888), Third (1890), Second (1892), and Eighth (1892) Symphonies became available in print in rapid succession.[89]

Löwe's arrangement for four-hand piano was perhaps the same as the one used in the performance on 22 December 1884 at the "internal evening" hosted by the Wagner-Verein. The Adagio and the Finale in this arrangement was played again on 23 April 1885. This arrangement, which had not been published before, was based on the Linz version, for it was made before 1884. Therefore, from the start there existed a discrepancy between the score/parts and the piano arrangement in this set of publications by Doblinger.

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[87] Günter Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner *Symphonie I/2* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1980). The two-hand piano version by August Stradal was also published by Doblinger. This arrangement is not mentioned by Brosche.

[88] Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 4*. In the score itself, Hynais's name is not credited.

[89] For early publications of Bruckner's major works, see Benjamin Korstvedt, "Bruckner editions: the revolution revisited" in John Williamson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004), 123. Before the publication of the Seventh, only the 1877 (second) version of the Third Symphony was available in print.

But as an orchestral work, the First Symphony was published and disseminated primarily in the Vienna version. Since this publication took place during Bruckner's lifetime, the composer must have felt that the Vienna version was the definitive form of the symphony, and was meant to replace the old (Linz) version. However, the symphony was not among Bruckner's most performed symphonies; during Bruckner's lifetime, there was only one other performance of the First Symphony (Vienna version) in Graz on 11 April 1896 conducted by Erich W. Degner.[90] It was six months before Bruckner's death.

The First Printed Editions and Bruckner's Disciples

By the time Bruckner began gaining recognition as a symphonic composer in the late 1880s, his friends and pupils, fascinated by his artistry, began forming a circle to help him promote his music in various ways. Many of them were young, emerging musicians who studied music theory with Bruckner at the Vienna Conservatory. They also worked as assistants to Bruckner in various tasks. Some of Bruckner's pupils further deepened their involvement; the Schalk brothers (Josef and Franz) and Ferdinand Löwe won Bruckner's trust and were particularly dedicated to disseminating their master's art. As mentioned previously, they introduced Bruckner's works to the public in the form of piano arrangements at recitals hosted by the Wagner-Verein. Franz Schalk and Löwe remained faithful to the cause after Bruckner's death, and championed Bruckner's music

[90] Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, vol. 2, 709. For performance records (up to 1911) of Bruckner's major works, see Göllerich and Auer, *Bruckner*, IV/4, 232. The First Symphony is among the least performed works. There are sixteen performances listed. Notable is the one conducted by Richard Strauss in Berlin in October 1902.

when they established themselves as leading conductors. As a result, their devotion was crucial to the dissemination of Bruckner's music.

Another noteworthy activity of Bruckner's disciples was their involvement in the publication of Bruckner's symphonies. During Bruckner's lifetime, seven of his nine numbered symphonies appeared in print with his disciples aiding the preparation of those scores for publication. Their assistance in this regard is controversial because of the extent of their involvement. As stated previously, it was discovered that discrepancies existed between the published text and the corresponding manuscript in all the printed symphonies. It is now commonly known that the published texts include abundant markings for tempo, dynamics, and expression, that are absent in Bruckner's manuscripts. Occasionally, the alterations even go as far as radical re-orchestration and the excision of large portions of music.

One of the extreme cases is the Fifth Symphony. The published text of the Fifth Symphony prepared by Franz Schalk in 1894-95 differs markedly from Bruckner's manuscript. Schalk altered of the text of the Fifth without Bruckner's consent and awareness despite the fact that the work appeared in print during Bruckner's lifetime.[91] It is clear, though, that Bruckner actively participated in preparing the publication for the Third (1890) and Fourth (1888) Symphonies in collaboration with Schalk and Löwe as evidenced by Bruckner's own extensive handwritten entries on the engraver's copies (*Stichvorlage*), which are the scores used for preparing printing plates.[92] An engraver's copy offers definitive clues as to the authorship of a text; without it, the provenance of alterations is difficult to ascertain. Regarding the published scores of Bruckner's

[91] Paul Hawkshaw, "Bruckner Problem Revisited," *19th-Century Music* vol. 21, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 103.
[92] Ibid., 99f.

symphonies that appeared during Bruckner's lifetime, the degree of the composer's participation and external impingement varies from piece to piece. The first printed scores must therefore be examined individually.

In the case of the First Symphony, the first printed edition (based on the Vienna version) by Doblinger appeared in Bruckner's lifetime. The publication was supervised by Cyrill Hynais,[93] which may or may not mean that Bruckner approved it. Bruckner's autograph manuscript of the work was, needless to say, not used as the *Stichvorlage* (engraver's score) and, therefore, remains intact. But the actual *Stichvorlage* is unfortunately lost. [94] As with other Bruckner symphonies, there are some discrepancies between the text of the printed score and Bruckner's manuscript. The differences are mainly limited to additional indications for tempo, dynamics, and expression, which mainly serve as expediency for performers. But since a philological investigation of the source of these changes is not possible, their validity remains open to question, and hence, the authenticity of the edition itself. Due to incomplete source material, Benjamin Korstvedt argues that the authenticity of the Doblinger edition falls into "something of a grey area."[95]

[93] Cyrill Hynais was also involved in publication of the Second (1892) and the Sixth (1899) Symphonies. Hynais seemed to be following Löwe's advice in preparing the publication of the First Symphony. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Röder for this information.
[94] Hawkshaw, "Bruckner problem revisited," 98.
[95] Korstvedt, "Bruckner editions: the revolution revisited," 133.

Bruckner's Will and the Bequeathed Manuscripts

If Bruckner's participation in the first printed edition is not clear, is there any indication from Bruckner himself about the authenticity of his scores? His testament provides some clues. On 10 November 1893, Bruckner signed his last testament in the presence of his former students Ferdinand Löwe, Cyrill Hynais and his solicitor Theodor Reisch. In addition to stipulating his burial place (St. Florian) and property inheritance for his siblings, Bruckner declared that he would bequeath the autograph manuscripts of his major works including all the symphonies, to the Court Library (now the Austrian National Library) for posthumous publications according to his will.[96] It was also stipulated that the firm of Josef Eberle[97] was permitted to borrow these manuscripts for a reasonable time from the library in order to publish them:

> I bequeath the original manuscripts of my compositions as follows: the symphonies - eight at this time, but the ninth will soon be finished, Lord willing - the 3 masses, the quintets, the Te Deum, Psalm 150, and the choral work Helgoland to the Imperial and Royal Library (one adjoined to or inside of the royal residence) in Vienna, and I request that the director of this library be in charge of the safekeeping of these manuscripts. I also designate that the firm Joseph Eberle & Co. be authorized to borrow from the Library for an appropriate period of time the compositions that it published, and the Library shall be obliged to make the desired manuscripts available for loan to Joseph Eberle & Co.[98]

The main point of this stipulation seems straightforward; Bruckner himself selects his autograph manuscripts, encloses them in a sealed parcel, and entrusts their

[96] Göllerich and Auer, *Bruckner*, IV/3, 359-361.
[97] Josef Eberle prepared plates of the First (1893), the Second (1892), the Fifth (1894), the Sixth (1899), and the Ninth (1903) Symphonies for publication by Doblinger.
[98] This is the fourth clause of the will (there are six clauses in total). Göllerich and Auer, *Bruckner*, IV/3, 360f.

preservation to the Court Library. The designated publisher (Josef Eberle) has exclusive rights to future (posthumous) publication based on those manuscripts. However, the reference to posthumous publications in his will brought up the question of which version (for works left in multiple versions) he considered definitive.

The testament is a legal document approved by Bruckner himself. Therefore, Bruckner's choice of manuscripts for the court library holds authority. Paul Hawkshaw argues that "the will and the selection of manuscripts in the bequest must be regarded as the strongest, most unequivocal gesture on his [Bruckner's] part" regarding which versions Bruckner considered authentic.[99] But, considering the situation when Bruckner's will was signed, his intention about the bequest stipulated in his will is incomplete; Bruckner's ambiguous dictates about future publication of the bequeathed works have only led to more confusion about his preferred versions. By 1893, Bruckner had finished revising many of his works, resulting in many versions. However, he only indicated his intention to bequeath "his autograph manuscripts" and did not specify which versions to bequeath. What exactly did Bruckner intend to bequeath?

[99] Hawkshaw, "Bruckner Problem Revisited," 107.

The Entries to the Calendar of July 1895

There is a piece of evidence that supports the possibility that Reisch's execution of the will was not exactly what Bruckner had envisioned. The following entries by foreign hand writing are found in Bruckner's calendar dated July 1895:[100]

> Originalpartituren:
> (Im gesiegelten Paquet)
> 1. Symphonie alte u. neue Bearbeitung (vollständig).
> Nr. 2 D-moll (annuliert) blos 1. Satz.
> Wagnersymphonie (alt) Finale u. Adagio, hievon fehlt Bogen 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 u. 8.
> Quintett vollständig.
> 8. Symphonie Scherzo (alt)
> " " (neu) vollständig.
> 5. Symphonie vollständig.
> 6. Symphonie Scherzo u. Finale.

These entries apparently indicate that Bruckner enclosed these manuscripts in a sealed packet. At the time these entries were made, Bruckner's health was declining considerably. With an arrangement made by the emperor Franz Josef I, Bruckner moved to an apartment in Belvedere Palace in the summer of 1895, where he did not need to climb stairs. Bruckner is known to have sorted out his manuscripts, while preparing for the move.[101] Interestingly enough, the list in the calendar includes manuscripts that were ultimately excluded from the bequeathed parcel; the Linz (old) version of the First, the "Nullte" Symphony (mentioned as Nr.2 D-moll), the old version of the Scherzo of the Eighth, and pages from the Adagio of the Third. However, the manuscripts on the list are all pure autograph manuscripts (i.e. not copied scores). Therefore, it is likely that these calendar entries are not mere notes of packing for moving but related to Bruckner's

[100] Göllerich and Auer, *Bruckner*, IV/3, 545.
[101] Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 178.

intention of what to bequeath to the Court Library. If so, the entries show that Bruckner was planning on including both versions of the First Symphony. In the same year, Bruckner was also involved in another act which further complicates the issue of the authenticity of the First Symphony.

After sorting through the manuscripts for his move, Bruckner presented a copy[102] of the score of the First Symphony to Karl Aigner of St. Florian as a gift.[103] This copy, made around 1878, is a composite score of two different states of the Linz version; the first two movements are in the second state (i.e. with emendations from 1877), while the last two movements are in the original state (i.e. the same as the one used at the first performance).[104] The emendations to the manuscript in 1877 (what Bruckner called his "rhythmic revision") are not reflected in the last two movements of this copy.

Furthermore, the second, third, and fourth movements of the score presented to Aigner bear a label with the inscription "*Original*" in Bruckner's handwriting.[105] Considering the term "*Originalmanuscripte*," which, as discussed, Bruckner used to indicate his manuscripts in his will, this labeling as "*Original*" is enigmatic because the score is a copy score. It is also incomprehensible that these three movements were grouped together (labeled as "*Original*") considering the second movement includes the emendations of 1877.[106] And if the second movement was considered "*Original*," it is strange that the first movement was excluded from labeling. Unfortunately, everything about this score remains a mystery.

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[102] This score is now preserved at the Austrian National Library with the call number Mus. Hs. 3192.
[103] Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner *Symphonie I/2*.
[104] Ibid.
[105] I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Röder for this information.
[106] The emendations made to the second movement are limited to a minimum. Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 18*-20*.

It is possible that by 1895 Bruckner had lost control over the enactment of his will because of the decline in his health. Or, having finished the Vienna version in 1891, Bruckner might have thought this old copy was no longer valid, so he could give it away. In any case, he did not foresee the consequences of his act. The fact that Bruckner had this composite copy made around 1878 is probably most puzzling. It is as if he was undoing the revision he had made to the last two movements.

Questions surrounding the Authority of the Bequeathed Manuscript

Apart from how Bruckner considered the two versions of the First Symphony, there are some other questions remaining about the authority of Bruckner's bequest. How should it be construed by posterity?

First, before the will was signed by Bruckner in 1893, six out of the nine numbered symphonies had already appeared in print.[107] What is not apparent from the will is whether Bruckner was unhappy with the published texts of those symphonies, and whether he hoped to have them replaced with new publications based on the bequeathed autograph manuscripts. Between 1893 and Bruckner's death in 1896, the First and the Fifth Symphonies appeared in print. The texts of these publications were prepared in the same manner as were other previous publications; i.e. the published texts of these works included some alterations by Bruckner's pupils. If he was unhappy with these publications, why did he allow them to continue?

Secondly, the first posthumous publications of the Sixth (1899) and Ninth (1903) Symphonies do not exactly match the autograph manuscripts (i.e. the bequeathed

[107] The Seventh (1885), Fourth (1889), Third (1890), Eighth (1892), Second (1892), and First (1893).

manuscripts) either. The same flawed editorial procedures continued despite the dictates of posthumous publication in the will; the publication of the Sixth was supervised by Hynais and the Ninth by Löwe whose alterations remain one of the most blatant cases of editorial intervention. These editions are currently regarded as inauthentic because the discrepancies between the texts of these editions and the (bequeathed) autograph manuscripts could not have originated with the composer. This also indicates how Bruckner's ideas for posthumous publication were understood by people in his circle.

As stated, the dictates of the will were carried out by the solicitor Theodor Reisch at Bruckner's death.[108] The autograph manuscripts that were ultimately delivered to the Court Library are somewhat inconsistent in the cases of the works in multiple versions (see Table 3.1). For instance, in the case of the Second Symphony, the early 1873 version was chosen. For the Third and the Fourth Symphonies, the second versions are bequeathed, although the third versions of both works had been just published shortly before the will was signed. Thus, the bequeathed manuscripts of the works in multiple versions are not consistently the final versions.

[108] After Bruckner's death on 11 October 1896 until the inspection of his possessions on 16 October, some manuscripts and sketches were lost. Among them are the autograph manuscripts of the Masses in E minor and F minor. Elisabeth Maier, "A hidden personality: access to an 'inner biography' of Anton Bruckner," in *Bruckner Studies*, 32f.

Table 3.1 The Bequeathed Manuscripts and Their Publications of Bruckner's Symphonies

	Bequeathed manuscripts	Dates of completion	Corresponding first printed edition	Band in Nowak	Last version
No.1	Mus.Hs.19473	1891	1893, Doblinger	I/2	*
No.2	Mus.Hs.19474	1873	unpublished	II/1	
No.3	Mus.Hs.19475	1877	1878, Rättig	III/2	
No.4	Mus.Hs.19476	1878/80	unpublished	IV/2	
No.5	Mus.Hs.19477	1878	1896, Doblinger	V	*
No.6	Mus.Hs.19478	1881	1899, Doblinger	VI	*
No.7	Mus.Hs.19479	1885	1885, Doblinger	VII	*
No.8	Mus.Hs.19480	1890	1892, Haslinger - Schlesinger - Lienau	VIII/2	*
No.9	Mus.Hs.19481	unfinished	1903, Doblinger	IX	*

Note: Compiled from Paul Hawkshaw, "Bruckner Problem Revisited," *19th-Century Music* Vol. 21, No. 1 (Summer 1997): 98. All the bequeathed manuscripts are preserved at the Austrian National Library. Each of the corresponding first prints contains, in varying degree, some differences in text. The differences found in the first prints of the Fifth and Ninth are radical.

Glancing at the bequest, the only consistency to be found is that the selection of manuscripts was strictly limited to Bruckner's "autograph manuscripts." If the work existed in multiple versions and there were more than two autograph manuscripts, the most recent version was chosen. Moreover, only one version was selected for each work. As mentioned previously, when revising a work, Bruckner did not always write out a fresh score. He often worked on a copied score of the previous version, rather than creating a new manuscript. When the revision became extensive, Bruckner discarded some pages and replaced them with fresh ones. These revised scores were essentially corrected copied scores and were not included in the bequest since they were not autograph manuscript in a strict sense.[109]

This strict reading of Bruckner's dictates of his bequest significantly limits the selection for each work. Upon inspection of the manuscripts, Reisch apparently did not know exactly which versions Bruckner wished to bequeath. According to a newspaper article which appeared in 1926, Reisch understood that Bruckner wished to bequeath the last extant version in an autograph manuscript for each work.[110] In the presence of Löwe, Reisch extracted the applicable manuscripts from all the manuscripts left.[111] So, the selection ultimately made for the bequest was Reisch's, and perhaps Löwe's, but perhaps not Bruckner's.

How was the will interpreted then? The definition of "*Originalmanuscripte*" (the word used by Bruckner) was the crucial issue. The slight inconsistency found in the selection of the bequeathed manuscripts seems to derive from a strict interpretation of the

[109] For example, the score of the Third version (1888) of the Fourth was prepared by Franz Schalk and Löwe. Bruckner made corrections on the score.
[110] Maier, "A hidden personality," 32f.
[111] Ibid., 33.

term. That is why it is highly doubtful that the stipulation was fulfilled exactly as Bruckner envisioned at the time the will was signed.

Authority of the Bequeathed Manuscript of the First Symphony

For the First Symphony, Bruckner left autograph manuscripts for both the Vienna and the Linz versions. As mentioned previously, because of the extensiveness of the revision, Bruckner made a fresh score for the revised version. Therefore, there were at least three choices for potential inclusion in the bequest; the Linz version, the Vienna version, and both versions. Ultimately, only the Vienna version made its way to the bequeathed parcel. Considering Bruckner's extensive work on the revision of the First Symphony, it comes as no surprise that Bruckner strongly preferred the Vienna version over the Linz version, intending the new version to replace the old version. The fact that Bruckner had the Linz version performed without revision may imply that he considered it definitive despite his urge to revise it later on. Thus, Bruckner's behavior towards the First Symphony lacks consistency. The selection of the bequeathed manuscripts do not represent Bruckner's final view of his works definitely enough to draw firm conclusions about what the composer wanted.

Chapter Four

Posthumous Reception Based on the Two Modern Critical Editions

Doblinger Edition (until 1935)

After Bruckner's death, the Viennese publishing house Ludwig Doblinger published the Sixth Symphony (edited by Hynais) in 1899 and the Ninth Symphony (edited by Löwe) in 1903. With the posthumous publication of these two symphonies, all of Bruckner's nine numbered symphonies were now available in print from several different publishers.[112] Despite the fact that Bruckner left multiple versions of some symphonies, generally the last version of each symphony was selected as the basis for the first printed edition. There were simply nine scores, one for each of the nine numbered symphonies.[113] Bruckner's symphonies started securing their place in the concert halls of Germany and Austria.

In 1907, Emil Hertzka[114] was appointed the director of the Viennese publishing house Universal Edition. Under Hertzka's direction, the firm increasingly advocated new music. On Gustav Mahler's advice, Universal Edition acquired the copyrights of all the published symphonies by Bruckner around 1910.[115] Between 1924 and 1927, all the

[112] Namely Doblinger (the First, Second, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth), Gutmann (the Fourth and Seventh), Rättig (the Third), and Haslinger-Schlesinger-Linau (the Eighth).
[113] To be precise, the first edition of the Third Symphony was published by Rättig in 1878 in the form of the second version that was the first symphony of Bruckner to be printed. In 1890, the second edition was published by the same publisher in the form of the third version. This was published as a replacement of the previously published edition. Therefore, these two editions (versions) were not available simultaneously.
[114] Emil Hertzka (1869-1932) was known as an advocate of modern music. Under his direction, UE published works by Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, Anton Webern, and Alexander Zemlinsky.
[115] Egon Wellez, "Anton Bruckner and the Process of Musical Creation," trans. Everret Helm, *The Musical Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (Jul. 1938): 265-266.

scores were newly edited by Josef von Wöss.[116] Wöss consulted the scores and orchestral parts stored in the archives of the Wiener Konzertverein,[117] of which Ferdinand Löwe was conductor and founder. This new edition of the First Symphony appeared in 1927.[118] Furthermore, the Universal Edition supplemented the canon with the Andante of the F minor Symphony published in 1913 (edited by Hynais) and the "Nullte" Symphony in D minor in 1924 (edited by Wöss).

Thus, the reception of Bruckner's music was based on scores edited (and sometimes markedly altered) by his pupils until the establishment of the first critical edition starting in 1930.

Establishment of the Internationale Bruckner Gesellschaft and the *Gesamtausgabe*

In 1919, the German conductor Georg Göhler brought the issue of Bruckner editions to the public attention in an article where he pointed out the questionable quality of the published scores and called for a new critical edition from the perspective of a performer.[119] The Austrian musicologist Alfred Orel responded to the article confirming

[116] Apparently a new series of the four-hand piano arrangements of all the symphonies by Otto Singer also appeared in accordance with this renewal. The arrangement of the First Symphony is based on the Vienna version. Also, a two-hand piano arrangement for each symphony was prepared by August Stradal. Anton Bruckner, *I. Symphonie C moll*, Four-hand piano version, Arranged by Otto Singer (Vienna: Universal Edition). Anton Bruckner, *I. Symphonie C moll*, Two-hand piano version, Arranged by August Stradal (Vienna: Universal Edition).
[117] The Konzertverein is known as the Wiener Symphoniker today.
[118] This new score edited by Wöss is virtually identical to the original Doblinger edition (based on the Vienna version). However, there is one readily recognizable difference; the placement of the last fermata at [Z] in the first movement is shifted to the adjacent sixteenth rest from the third beat (the fermata is placed on the third beat in the manuscript).
[119] Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, "'Return to the Pure Sources': the ideology and text-critical legacy of the first Bruckner *Gesamtausgabe*," in *Bruckner Studies*, ed. Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 98.

the necessity of a modern critical edition of Bruckner's works. Orel cited the significant differences between the printed scores and the original manuscripts and called for a critical edition of the works of Bruckner based on the composer's manuscript sources. However, it was not until the formation of the Internationale Bruckner Gesellschaft[120] in 1927[121] that definitive actions were taken to realize a new critical edition; editorial issues became the central issue. The foundation of the IBG coincided with the expiration of the copyrights of Bruckner's works in 1926.

The first modern critical edition of Bruckner's works appeared between 1930 and 1944 as the *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* under the direction of chief editor Robert Haas. The *Gesamtausgabe* managed to publish eight out of the nine numbered symphonies by 1944. Table 4.1 shows the chronology of publication of the first *Gesamtausgabe*. Haas edited all of them except for the Ninth Symphony, which was edited by Alfred Orel. Although the project was never fully completed, the *Gesamtausgabe* revolutionized the reception of Bruckner's music and dramatically reshaped the canon of Bruckner's works.[122]

[120] Hereafter abbreviated as the IBG.
[121] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 95.
[122] The publications of the original versions of the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies were noteworthy; the "original versions" of these works revealed that the editorial emendations made by Schalk (the Fifth) and Löwe (the Ninth) to the first prints were much more extensive and radical than one could have imagined. Their editing was well beyond the realm of "editorial emendation." In particular, the first printed edition of the Fifth Symphony was a virtually re-composition of the original version. Also, there is clear documentation supporting the claim that Schalk arranged the Fifth Symphony without Bruckner's consent. For these works, the availability of the "original versions" was crucial. Paul Hawkshaw, "Bruckner Problem Revisited," *19th-Century Music* vol. 21, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 103.

Table 4.1 Chronology of Publication of the First *Gesamtausgabe*

	Date of completion	Band	Year of publication	Editor	Note
Requiem in D minor	1849	xv	1930	Haas	Published by Benno Filser
Missa Solemnis in B-flat minor	1854				
Symphony No. 9	1896 (unfinished)	ix	1934	Orel	
Four Orchestral Pieces	1862	xi	1934	Orel	
Symphony No.1	1866 (Linz version) 1891 (Vienna version)	i	1935	Haas	
Symphony No.6	1881	vi	1935	Haas	
Symphony No.5	1878	v	1935	Haas	
Symphony No.4	1878/80	iv	1936	Haas	
Symphony No.8	1890	viii	1938	Haas	
Symphony No.2	1877	ii	1939	Haas	
Mass in E minor	1866, 76, 82	xiii	1940	Haas/ Nowak	
Symphony No. 7	1883	vii	1944	Haas	
Mass in F minor	1868	xiv	1944	Haas	

Note: Assembled from the information provided at the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag's website (www.mwv.at) and Oxford music online (www.oxfordmusiconline.com). The Vienna version of the First Symphony was published only in the *wissenschaftliche Ausgabe* (scholarly edition).Only Band XV (Requiem in D minor and Missa Solemnis in B-flat minor) was published by Benno Filser. Morten Slovik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N. S. D. A. P. : A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 82, no. 2 (summer, 1998): 364

The new edition of both versions of the First Symphony appeared in 1935 as one of the earliest publications from the *Gesamtausgabe*. However, the Vienna version was published only in the *wissenschaftliche Ausgabe* (scholarly edition).[123] This *wissenschaftliche Ausgabe* of the First Symphony includes scores of both the Linz and the Vienna versions as well as a critical report (*Vorlagenbericht*). Unlike other symphonies published by the *Gesamtausgabe*, a large-format conductor's score, study score, and orchestral parts of the Vienna version were not made available.[124] Therefore, the Vienna version was made available only for scholarly interest and could not be performed; it was a publication of limited circulation and accessibility. Only the Linz version was made available with conductor's score, study score, and orchestral parts. The *Gesamtausgabe* apparently intended to promote the newly discovered Linz version, while the Vienna version was seemingly encouraged to disappear from the repertoire. In fact, ever since this publication, the Linz version increasingly gained recognition as the definitive version of the First Symphony, and the Vienna version was forgotten.

Why did the *Gesamtausgabe* not make a score and orchestral parts of the Vienna version available? This is important because their decision virtually controlled the subsequent reception of the work. It is necessary to examine and reappraise the achievement of the *Gesamtausgabe* in two fields: their editorial policy and a series of legal issues in 1936-38.

[123] Korstvedt, "Anton Burckner's Fourth Symphony," 97n; 101n.
[124] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 101n.

Editorial Policy of the *Gesamtausgabe*

The *Gesamtausgabe* adopted two editorial principles: (1) rejecting the first printed editions as inauthentic and (2) basing their publication exclusively on Bruckner's manuscript sources.[125] The *Gesamtausgabe* grounded their editorial policy on the stipulation of the posthumous publication[126] in Bruckner's will. They construed Bruckner's will in favor of their doctrine so that their purpose appeared to fulfill the composer's intentions.[127] Benjamin Korstvedt has argued that the activity of the *Gesamtausgabe* can be divided into three phases based on the degree to which their editorial doctrine was applied: 1930-35, 1935-36, and 1937-44.[128] The quality of their editing work declined toward the third phase in accordance with the political climate in the Third Reich.

The *Gesamtausgabe* started with relatively easy cases. The new edition of the Ninth, First (both versions), Sixth, and Fifth Symphonies came out in 1934-35. For the Ninth, Fifth, and Sixth Symphonies, Bruckner left only one version as the autograph manuscript. The first printed editions of the Sixth and Ninth came out only after Bruckner's death, so Bruckner was clearly not involved in these publications. In addition, the first printed editions of the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies had been heavily altered by Franz Schalk and Ferdinand Löwe without Bruckner's approval.[129] The alterations found in the first printed editions of these three symphonies did not originate with Bruckner;

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[125] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 85f, 99, 187f.
[126] See Chapter Three.
[127] At the same time, Bruckner had never complained about the first printed edition, let alone his intention of suppressing it. Bruckner even attended some performances based on the first printed editions. Korstvedt, "Return to the Pure Sources," 92f.
[128] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 99-108.
[129] Paul Hawkshaw, "Bruckner Problem Revisited," *19th-Century Music* vol. 21, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 103.

these scores were not authentic. Therefore, regarding these works, the preeminence of the autograph manuscripts was obvious. In these cases, the new editions seemed to validate the editorial policy of the *Gesamtausgabe*. The reception accorded the new editions of the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies was particularly sensational.[130]

In the case of the First Symphony, however, there existed autograph manuscripts for both versions, which is unusual.[131] Since both versions fulfilled the editorial commitment to the composer's manuscripts, both were equally eligible to be represented in the *Gesamtausgabe*. Haas was the editor for both versions. In 1934, it was reported that Haas was nearing completion of his work on the two versions of the First Symphony and was fascinated by the differences between the first printed edition and the autograph manuscript of the Vienna version.[132]

However, Haas was faced with a difficult issue. The first printed edition of the First Symphony (i.e. the Doblinger edition and its reprint by Universal Edition) was based on the Vienna version. Bruckner enlisted the aid of his pupil Cyrill Hynais in preparing the score for publication. The differences between the autograph manuscript and the first printed edition are rather modest, confining themselves to the areas of tempo, dynamics, and expression. The pitch content, besides several minor alterations, was virtually identical. The first printed edition of the First Symphony can be regarded as the Vienna version in a broader sense and would have been nearly indistinguishable from the manuscript version for a listening audience. However, publishing the "original

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[130] At the first performance of the original version of the Ninth, both the first printed edition (by Löwe) and the original version were played so that the audience was able to compare two scores. This concert was performed by Siegmund von Hausegger and Munich Philharmonic in 1932. Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 111.

[131] See Chapter Two.

[132] Christa Brüstle, *Anton Bruckner und die Nachwelt: zur Rezeptionsgeschichte des Komponisten in der ersten Haĭfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: M & P Verlag fuïr Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1998), 141.

version"[133] of the Vienna version contradicted the *Gesamtausgabe*'s editorial principle. In this case, rejection of the first printed edition resulted in a wholesale rejection of the Vienna version. Though Haas's edition of the Vienna version did differ in detail from the first printed edition, it was not different enough for the *Gesamtausgabe* to publish the Vienna version as a new score. Fortunately, the Linz version, which was different enough from the first printed edition (i.e. the Doblinger edition), was unknown at that time. The *Gesamtausgabe* naturally reached a consensus to publish the Linz version as the definitive version; public interest and profit were expected since it had been previously unavailable.[134]

A Series of Legal Issues

At the same time, Haas was confronted with another difficult issue that was to hinder the work of the *Gesamtausgabe*. Universal Edition filed a lawsuit against Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag (the publisher of the *Gesamtausgabe*) for the similarities in their "original versions" (unpublished manuscript scores).[135] Universal Edition had continued to publish the first printed editions of all the Bruckner symphonies. They were initially tolerant of the *Gesamtausgabe* project. As a result of an emendation to the copyright law in 1934, however, copyright protection for the UE scores was extended from thirty years to fifty years after the author's death.[136] Accordingly, the validity of the

[133] "Original version" is a translation of "Originalfassung," the term the *Gesamtausgabe* used to promote their scores, to distinguish the first printed edition from their scores whose basis were the first printed edition.
[134] Brüstle, *Die Nachwelt*, 142.
[135] Ibid., 179.
[136] Ibid., 181n.

copyrights for Bruckner's symphonies that UE held was extended until 1946. When UE realized that MWV's profits from their new editions were superseding their own UE scores, they resorted to legal action. They tried to dispute the legitimacy of copyright protection for Haas's "original versions" as independent musical texts. UE's main concern was the overt textual similarities between the UE scores, whose copyright was now re-protected, and the "original versions" from the *Gesamtausgabe* of some symphonies, including the First Symphony. In 27 January 1936, somehow UE and MWV reached an agreement involving UE's participation with MWV. It included various restrictions on the *Gesamtausgabe* project and included an obligation for MWV to pay royalties to UE.[137]

From a legal point of view, the number of discrepancies between the UE scores and the corresponding "original versions"[138] varies from work to work. For the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies, there were no such copyright questions because of the substantial difference between the two published scores. However, some of the UE scores were close enough to the "original versions" to create copyright issues for MWV. The Vienna version of the First Symphony and the second version of the Eighth were among the most problematic cases because of the textual similarity to the corresponding UE scores. For this issue, the legal determination was entrusted to STAGMA[139], a copyright collecting society.

Initially, the copyright for the autograph manuscript of the Vienna version (preserved at the Austrian National Library) was denied at a STAGMA meeting on 5

[137] Ibid., 312-320.
[138] Namely, it was problematic if the UE score was based on the version that was left as autograph manuscript. The UE edition of the First, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth are applicable.
[139] Staatlich Genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung Musikalischer Urheberrechte.

March 1937 because "the autograph manuscript" was already "published."[140] With this outcome, Haas could not claim a copyright for his edition of the Vienna version, which was a faithful reproduction of the autograph manuscript. In response to the STAGMA report, however, Willy Hoffmann, who represented MWV as a specialist in copyright law, presented a counter report to the ministry of culture seeking their support.[141] Hoffmann argued that the preservation of the autograph manuscripts at the National Library could not be considered "publication" and, therefore, Haas's "original versions" were still under protection. Eventually, the STAGMA report was reversed.[142]

In June 1937, Bruckner's bust was ceremonially placed in the Walhalla shrine during the Regensburg Bruckner Festival.[143] King Ludwig I of Bavaria had originally built the Walhalla shrine in Regensburg in 1842 to honor outstanding personalities of German origin. This enshrinement of Bruckner's bust was part of the Nazi's political appropriation of Bruckner as a model of Aryan excellence.[144] It took place largely due to Hitler's personal interest in Bruckner's music. In a speech at the ceremonial unveiling, Goebbels declared his party's financial support to the IBG for their publication of the "original versions" of Bruckner's symphonies. Goebbels's intervention seemed to have put an end to concerns about the reception of Bruckner's music, including the copyright dispute. With the *Anschluss* the following year, the IBG was increasingly politicized in favor of the Nazi government, which, at the same time, facilitated the *Gesamtausgabe*. In 1938, MWV was transferred to Leipzig.

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[140] Brüstle, *Die Nachwelt*, 180.
[141] Ibid., 181.
[142] Brüstle, *Die Nachwelt*, 180-183.
[143] Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 80, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 133.
[144] For this event, see Bryan Gilliam, "The Annexation of Bruckner: Nazi revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," *Bruckner Studies*, ed. Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 72-90.

In the end, copyright was not granted to Haas for scores that had been already published and performed.[145] However, Haas was able to claim copyright on scores that had not been published or performed, including the Linz version but not the Vienna version.[146] This settlement considerably inhibited Haas's subsequent editorial work and led him to dubious editorial determinations represented by his editions of the Second, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies.[147] He was encouraged to justify changes solely in order to claim copyright. However, these legal constraints were all strictly confidential and were never brought to light until recently.[148]

IBG's Propaganda and Falsification of Bruckner's Biography

By the time scores from the *Gesamtausgabe* appeared, performances of Bruckner's symphonies were already established through the first printed editions. Since no one doubted the credibility of these first printed editions, the IBG's "original versions" were not immediately accepted by the public. Sometimes the scores of the "original versions" met with considerable opposition. In particular, the first Viennese performance in 1936 of the "original version" of the Fifth Symphony (published in 1935) triggered a heated dispute (*Bruckner-Streit*) over its the musical merits and authenticity in the musical press precisely because of its substantial difference from the first printed

[145] Brüstle, *Die Nachwelt*, 183.
[146] The second version (1878/80) of the Fourth Symphony also comes under this condition. This version was first published by Haas. See Table 4.1.
[147] For the Second and Eighth Symphonies, Haas conflated two versions. As a result, Haas made scores that do not match any extant scores (versions) including the manuscripts by Bruckner himself. Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 127.
[148] Brüestle, *Die Nachwelt*, 229.

edition.[149] Therefore, the IBG needed to wage extensive campaigns to supplant these first editions with their "original versions."

This propaganda had many ramifications. With its text-critical justification of the "original versions" as an ideological basis, the IBG's concept of a hypothetical "Urtext" is noteworthy.[150] In addition, in order to appeal more to the public, Haas (and the IBG) exploited Bruckner's biographical content in favor of their editorial concept. The biographical revision emphasized the image of Bruckner as pious, naive, simple, and provincial (this image is known as the *Völkisch Brucknerbild*).[151] Furthermore, they invented fictitious biographical elements to Bruckner's personality: ill-advised, subject to manipulation, and easy to sway. These familiar descriptions of Bruckner's personality, originating with their propaganda, are still found in virtually all non-scholarly writing about Bruckner today. In particular, to establish the collective inadequacy of the first printed editions, Haas forged the famous story about Herman Levi's 1887 rejection of the first version of the Eighth Symphony as a tragic blow that led Bruckner to mistrust his own artistic decisions.[152] This logic was not only useful in delegitimizing all the scores made after Levi's rejection, including the Vienna version of the First Symphony, but also gave license to Haas to "restore the original versions" on behalf of Bruckner. Without a doubt, as Korstvedt argues, this story is not trustworthy, and the logic built on it has no legitimacy. [153]

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[149] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 114-122.
[150] Ibid., 196-208. This notion was used as justification for producing a score that does not match any extant manuscripts by the composer.
[151] For the *Völkisch Brucknerbild*, see Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 71-78.
[152] Bruckner asked Levi to premiere his Eighth Symphony. But Levi declined the offer since he could not understand the work. Levi's rejection ultimately led Bruckner to revise the work. For Levi's response to Bruckner, see Benjamin Korstvedt, *Anton Bruckner: Symphony No. 8*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 18.
[153] Ibid., 15-19.

Haas conflated two versions of the Eighth Symphony, claiming that he needed to "undo" the revised score of the Eighth as Bruckner would have envisioned it had he not been crushed by Levi's blow. As a result, Haas's editions of the "original versions" of the Second and Eighth Symphonies not only differ from any extant scores made by Bruckner but also contain material Haas himself composed.[154] Needless to say, this logic was linked with the legal constraints with which Haas was confronted. Haas had to produce scores that differed enough from any previously published scores in order to claim copyright as independent texts. Otherwise, like the Vienna version of the First Symphony, it was impossible to publish the "original versions."

It is remarkable that in 1941 the German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler already foresaw the serious impact Haas's biographical falsification would have on the subsequent reception of Bruckner's music. Furtwängler acutely criticized Haas's fabrication as a "violation of Bruckner by scholars."[155] Furtwängler explains:

> …I cannot call only the *Original-Ausgabe* authentic if another print from a later period is available. This is why Haas' violation myth is necessary, and it is not authentic. It even contradicts the psychology of all great men….The falsification that is done here to the character of Bruckner—Bruckner as a fool—is much greater than [that done] by the essays of the first scholars, Löwe and Schalk...[156]

As Furtwängler foresaw, Haas's falsification of Bruckner's biography has proved to be durable and harmful to modern understanding of Bruckner's music.

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[154] For example, see measures 609-616 of the Finale of the Eighth Symphony in Haas's edition. Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band VIII: VIII. Symphonie C-moll: Original Fassung*, Studienpartitur, ed. Robert Haas (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1939).
[155] Wilhelm Furtwängler, *Notebooks 1924-54*, trans. Shaun Whiteside, edited with an introduction by Michael Tanner (London: Quartet Books, 1989), 135.
[156] Ibid.

Precisely because of Haas's and the *Gesamtausgabe*'s extensive propaganda for their "original versions" and their dismissal of the first printed edition, our knowledge of the first printed edition also tends to be biased. The *Gesamtausgabe* initially demonstrated their ideological legitimacy with the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies, where the preeminence of the "original versions" was obvious because of the radical alterations in the first printed edition that clearly did not originate with the composer. However, these cases were rather exceptional and it was not reasonable to extend the same logic to the other scores of the first printed edition.

The Vienna Version of the First Symphony in the Second *Gesamtausgabe*: The Nowak Edition

In 1946, Leopold Nowak[157] was appointed chief editor of the *Gesamtausgabe*, succeeding Robert Haas. Nowak criticized Haas's problematic editorial policy, and rather than supplementing the work Haas had begun, he simply started over. By the time of his appointment, the Linz version had been the only "authentic" score of the First Symphony available for more than ten years. The UE score of the First Symphony (based on the Vienna version) might have remained in stock for some of this period, and certainly some copies could be found in the archives of various orchestras. But as a result of the extensive campaign by the IBG and the support of the Nazi party, the notion that the UE scores were inauthentic had prevailed. In addition, given the political climate of the Nazi era, open scholarly discussion on this issue was not possible.

[157] Leopold Nowak joined MWV as co-General Editor in 1937.

Though he criticized Haas's policies, Nowak seemed to follow in his footsteps in showing little interest in the Vienna version. As early as 1953, Nowak's edition of the Linz version appeared in print and was among the earliest publications from the second *Gesamtausgabe*.[158] Publication of the Vienna version did not take place for nearly thirty more years after the publication of the Linz version, despite the fact that preparation of the score of the Vienna version would have been relatively easy since the printing plates of Haas's edition still existed. Nowak ultimately enlisted the aid of Günter Brosche in editing the score and published the Vienna version in 1980. It was eighty-nine years since Bruckner had completed his revision in 1891. During this period, the Vienna version of the First Symphony in its authentic version could not be performed. The work seemed destined to disappear entirely from the repertoire.

Nowak did not rectify the misguiding bias but rather enabled the promulgation of the Linz version; it was already too late to rectify the bias when Brosche's edition of the Vienna version appeared in print in 1980. The reception of this score was, of course, nothing sensational. More attention was being paid to the publication of previously unknown early versions of "more important symphonies" at that time.[159] The Vienna version was not among them despite the fact that this score had been virtually absent from the canon for a long time. Because Haas had already (at least officially) "published" this last version of the symphony in the past, it was nothing more than filling an empty seat in the canon. They needed to give priority to the most urgent needs to secure sufficient profit. However, considering the early appearance of the Linz version in the

[158] Nowak's edition of the Linz version followed publication of the Ninth (1951), Fifth (1951), Sixth (1952), and Fourth (1953). See Table 1.1.
[159] For example, III/1 (1977), III/2 (1981), and IV/1 (1975). See Table 1.1.

second *Gesamtausgabe*, priority had not always been given to the most popular works.[160] Nowak again started with relatively easy cases, namely the Fifth, Sixth, Ninth and First Symphonies. Therefore, Nowak's apparent bias toward the Linz version appears to be more for the sake of convenience. Considering also that Haas did in fact edit both the Linz and Vienna versions simultaneously for publication, the situation became clearly more unfavorable to the Vienna version. Nowak's attitude seems to have been yet another factor in the unfortunate subsequent reception of the Vienna version.

[160] Symphonies III/3, VII, and VIII came out later than the Linz version of the First Symphony (I/1). See Table 1.1.

Chapter Five

The Text of the Two Versions

The Musical Text of the Vienna Version

When a work of Bruckner's exists in multiple versions, what can be drawn from comparing the texts of different versions? If our reception of the First Symphony is already distorted by the text-critical legacy of Haas's *Gesamtausgabe*, our view of the two versions of the symphony may, perhaps, be prejudiced. For example, Robert Simpson's assumption that the 1888 version of the Fourth Symphony was a corruption led him to make a wrong judgment regarding the alteration made in measures 305-332 in the first movement. Simpson assumed this revision was made by Schalk and Löwe and asserted that this alteration was "a model of how to ruin glorious music" and that "Bruckner cannot have committed such a crime."[161] Ironically, this revision was made to the *Stichvorlage* by Bruckner himself after the first performance.[162]

The same sort of bias toward the Linz version promulgated by Haas may have had an impact on how we view the text of the Vienna version. Two different matters—namely, the textual difference between the two versions and Haas's campaign for the Linz version—have been confused. As a result, the view that the Linz version is musically superior to the Vienna version has been generated and disseminated. For example, Derek Watson commented on the Vienna revisions, "the result of all this was

[161] Robert Simpson, *The Essence of Bruckner: An Essay towards the Understanding of His Music* (Philadelphia, Chilton Book Company, 1968), 87.
[162] Benjamin Korstvedt, "The First Published Edition of Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony: Collaboration and Authenticity," *19th-Century Music*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1996), 26.

effectively to destroy the charm and natural exuberance of his youthful style."[163] Robert Simpson[164] asserts more explicitly that "the Vienna score is rarely an improvement over the original." He concludes that "….of the revisions he is known to have made himself, that of the First Symphony is the worst,"[165] and "it is the early version that deserves to be played."[166] These views seem to have had a considerable impact on the reception of the two versions of the First Symphony as many non-scholarly writings echo Simpson's sentiments.

A similar view had existed even before Bruckner completed the revision as mentioned in Chapter Three. Of course, Levi and Josef Schalk did not know how the revision would turn out when they voiced their concern about Bruckner's ostensibly inexplicable decision to revise the symphony. On the other hand, the revision itself was undertaken by Bruckner alone; biographical facts show that his motivation to revise the symphony was purely personal.[167] Here, an image of Bruckner as a scrupulous, self-critical composer manifests itself. Bruckner made this revision for himself, not for reasons of publication or promotion of the work. Therefore, he did not need to re-orchestrate the work to reduce its technical difficulty, nor did he need to shorten it to make it more accessible to the public. Examining the text of the Vienna version with an unbiased mind provides a new perspective. As I shall demonstrate, he must have had specific issues that bothered him. All are related to the musical text of the work itself.

[163] Derek Watson, *Bruckner* (New York; Schirmer, 1975, 1996), 79.
[164] Robert Simpson (1921-97) was an English composer, producer and broadcaster of BBC.
[165] Robert Simpson, *The Essence of Bruckner*, 29.
[166] Ibid., 44.
[167] See Chapter Two.

A comparison between the Texts of the Linz and the Vienna Versions

Overview

How do the two versions differ from each other? This question is not as easy to answer as it should be. Because of the personal motivation for the revision, what Bruckner was trying to achieve in the revision is not at all clear on the surface. At first glance, the Vienna version does not even appear to be drastically different from the Linz version.

However, there are alterations in virtually every measure throughout the four movements. Therefore, Bruckner must have gone through the score very carefully, note by note. This revision is quite extensive and detailed, as evidenced by the fact that Bruckner made a fresh score for the revision. Nevertheless, most of the alterations are not readily recognizable upon first hearing. Bruckner basically preserved the large formal structure of the work, but its interior was totally altered, even at places where alteration seems unnecessary. Therefore, these two versions differ not so much in musical substance but rather in intrinsic orchestrational style. Strangely, the revision seems both very extensive and very subtle at the same time. The following is a summary of the most notable characteristics of the revision.

Conceptual Revision

Table 5.1 shows a comparison of the length of the two versions. The length of the Vienna version virtually remains the same as the Linz version. It is remarkable that in the second and third movements, the number of measures increased after revision, for it was

usual for Bruckner to make cuts to shorten the length through revision. Moreover, shortening the length seems to be the main purpose in all other revisions. The Vienna version is the sole exception where the length after revision stays virtually the same.

Table 5.1 Comparison between Two Versions of the First Symphony
(In Total Measure Numbers per Movement)

	I	II	III	IV
Linz version	351	168	135(scherzo)+39(trio)+24(coda)	396
Vienna version	345	171	140(scherzo)+39(trio)+6+7(bridge)+27(coda)	393

Note: In the third movement, the reprise of the Scherzo is a literal da capo.

The only cut Bruckner makes is the omission of the opening tutti (the first eight measures) in the reprise of the Scherzo. Almost all of Bruckner's Scherzo movements, including that of the Linz version of the First Symphony, fall into a simple ABA structure (sometimes plus coda). Each section is separated by a pause, and the reprise of the Scherzo is a literal da capo. However, for the Vienna version, Bruckner added a six-measure transitional passage to lead from the Trio to the da capo. After this transitional passage, the opening tutti of the Scherzo is omitted, breaking the ABA symmetry.[168] At the same time, Bruckner provides the option not to observe the omission.[169]

[168] This minor formal change seems to derive from the Scherzo movement of the third version of the Fourth Symphony (IV/3). This version was rejected until recently as a corruption. But the fact that Bruckner adopted the same idea to the revision of the First Symphony could be used to support the legitimacy of the third version of the Fourth Symphony. Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band IV/3: IV. Symphonie Es-dur: Fassung 1888*, Studienpartitur, ed. Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2004).
[169] "Nach der Repetition des 2. Teiles kann auch das ganze Scherzo folgen." See Brosche's edition.

In the finale, the difference in length between the two versions is only three measures (see Table 5.1). However, in the Vienna version, Bruckner inserted additional indications for tempo and dynamics. The "Langsam" at [X] and "Sehr breit" at [Y], placed within the coda of the movement, are particularly noteworthy. At four measures before [Y], Bruckner added a "p" (piano), preparing the next slower section after [Y]. From "p," the section makes a long crescendo towards the end as is familiar from his later symphonies, particularly the coda[170] of the last movement of the Eighth, on which Bruckner was working just before the Vienna version. The similarity between these two sections of ascending violin arpeggios is striking.

In the corresponding spots in the Linz version, there are no tempo changes, and the dynamic stays "ff" (fortissimo) or "fff" (fortississimo). As a result of the added tempo markings, this movement became longer in the Vienna version. In Riccardo Chailly's recording of the Vienna version,[171] the duration of this movement is 18'05" as opposed to 13'13" for the finale of the Linz version conducted by Eugen Jochum.[172] [173] This conceptual reworking is probably the most striking one to a listener who is familiar with the Linz version.

Instrumentation

Bruckner kept the same performing forces for the Vienna version, namely a pair of flutes (three in the second movement only), oboes, clarinets, bassoons, four horns, two

[170] After measure 647.
[171] Anton Bruckner, *The Symphonies*, Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra and Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester Berlin conducted by Riccardo Chailly, Decca 475 331-2, 2003, Compact Disc.
[172] Anton Bruckner, *9 Symphonies*, Berliner Philharmoniker and Symphonieorchester des Bayerischen Rundfunks conducted by Eugen Jochum, Deutsche Grammophon, 469 810-2, 2002, Compact Disc.
[173] In the recording of the Vienna version by Gunter Wand, the finale takes only 15 minutes as a result of ignoring the indication at [X] and [Y].

trumpets, three trombones, timpani, and strings. However, the impression the Vienna version gives is very different from that of the Linz version. This is mainly because of numerous alterations in the woodwind and brass writing. In the Linz version, these instruments served more as a supplement to the strings. Now Bruckner's treatment of these instruments shows a different aesthetic. In the Vienna version, the substantial use of woodwind instruments gives more color and variety to the texture. Also, more melodic material is assigned to horns and trumpets in particular.[174] In the Linz version, the role of the brass instruments is more auxiliary, mainly to reinforce the texture with rhythmic figuration. Therefore, the sound of the Vienna version is more full-bodied and richer.

Motivic Unity

The two versions of the First Symphony were nearly twenty-five years apart from each other, which is unusually long. When revising the symphony, Bruckner had already completed the second version of the Eighth Symphony. Naturally, he incorporated his late style into the revision.[175] In his late style, the musical texture became simpler but more contrapuntal, and orchestral unison was often an effective device. One salient example of this trend in the Vienna version of the First Symphony appears as contrapuntal superposition of motivic materials. This kind of motivic treatment can be found at the end of the Finale of the Eighth Symphony where all the subjects from all four movements are superimposed. After completing the Eighth Symphony, apparently Bruckner felt the First Symphony lacked motivic unity.

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[174] One example is the last section of the first movement (m.301- end). See Ex. C2 in Appendix C.
[175] Simpson also argues that the main characteristic of Bruckner's late style is its "increasing time-scale" and "the immense slowing down of the musical process." He suggests that detaching an element developed on this characteristic and incorporating it into the First Symphony causes stylistic conflict. Simpson, *The Essence of Bruckner*, 42.

Table 5.2 shows examples of contrapuntal superposition of motivic materials. These alterations exhibit two approaches. One is mixing additional motives into the texture, and the other is superimposing a variant (typically an inversion) of the motivic material onto the original motivic material. When this kind of motivic treatment appears in the brass section, only the rhythmic element of the motif is played.

Table 5.2 Alterations for Motivic Unity in the Vienna Version

	Measure Numbers	Alterations	Instruments
I	201-202, 205-206	imitation	fl
	216	rhythm of the first theme	tpt, tbn
	227-231	added inversion	vla
	232-233	imitation	cl
	269-274	rhythm	tpt, tbn
	301-304	second theme	tpt
		inversion	hn 3, 4
		imitation	hn 1, 2
	310-315	1st theme	tpt
II	20, 22	adding a quarter pick up to match the second theme.	fls
	151-152	inversion	vc
III	64-66	counter melody	ob
IV	71-72	rhythm of first theme	fl, ob, cl, hn, tpt, tbn
	77-78	rhythm of first theme	hn, tpt
	244-246	variant of second theme	fl

The Rationale behind the Revision

The character of the Vienna revision is rather subtle mainly because of the fact that it is largely confined to instrumentation. This subtlety made Haas's falsification of Bruckner's biography seem more plausible, specifically regarding his claim that the revision was made by a troubled composer who was still recovering from Levi's rejection of the first version of the Eighth Symphony in 1887. This explanation for the composer's subtlety is highly suspect.

How is it possible to decipher the rationale of the revision from the surface text? Timothy L. Jackson argues that Bruckner's motivation to revise the First Symphony was "fundamentally *theoretical*, not practical, in nature."[176] The autograph manuscript of the Vienna version provides some clues. There are numbers at the bottom margin added by Bruckner to count the length of each phrase. A number is assigned to each measure throughout the work. For example, the beginning of the first movement reads: 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.[177] These "metrical numbers" show that the first seventeen measures are divided into groups of 2, 8, and 7. Another clue is marginal voice leading diagrams added by Bruckner.[178] There, diagrams were used to check how each voice moves in the overall texture when the harmony changes. These two kinds of notes[179] imply that Bruckner's main concerns were related to periodic structure and voice leading.

[176] Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*: The Problem of Consecutives, Doubling, and Orchestral Voice-leading," In *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. Crowford Howie, Paul Hawkshaw, and Timothy Jackson, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 34.
[177] Robert Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 1*.
[178] Ibid., 1*-4*.
[179] For detail, see Robert Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 1*-4*.

Periodic Structure

When Bruckner briefly modified the Linz version back in 1877, his main concern was periodic structure. It was the result of his extensive study of periodic structure in Beethoven's Third and Ninth Symphonies in the summer of 1876.[180] Since then, with systematic employment of metrical numbers, Bruckner regulated the periodic structure of phrases when composing or revising scores.[181] When composing, Bruckner put metrical numbers at the bottom margin of the score to keep track of the periodic structure. Consequently, symphonies composed after his studies of Beethoven tend toward a more overt regularity (i.e. four- or eight-measure phrases) in periodic structure.

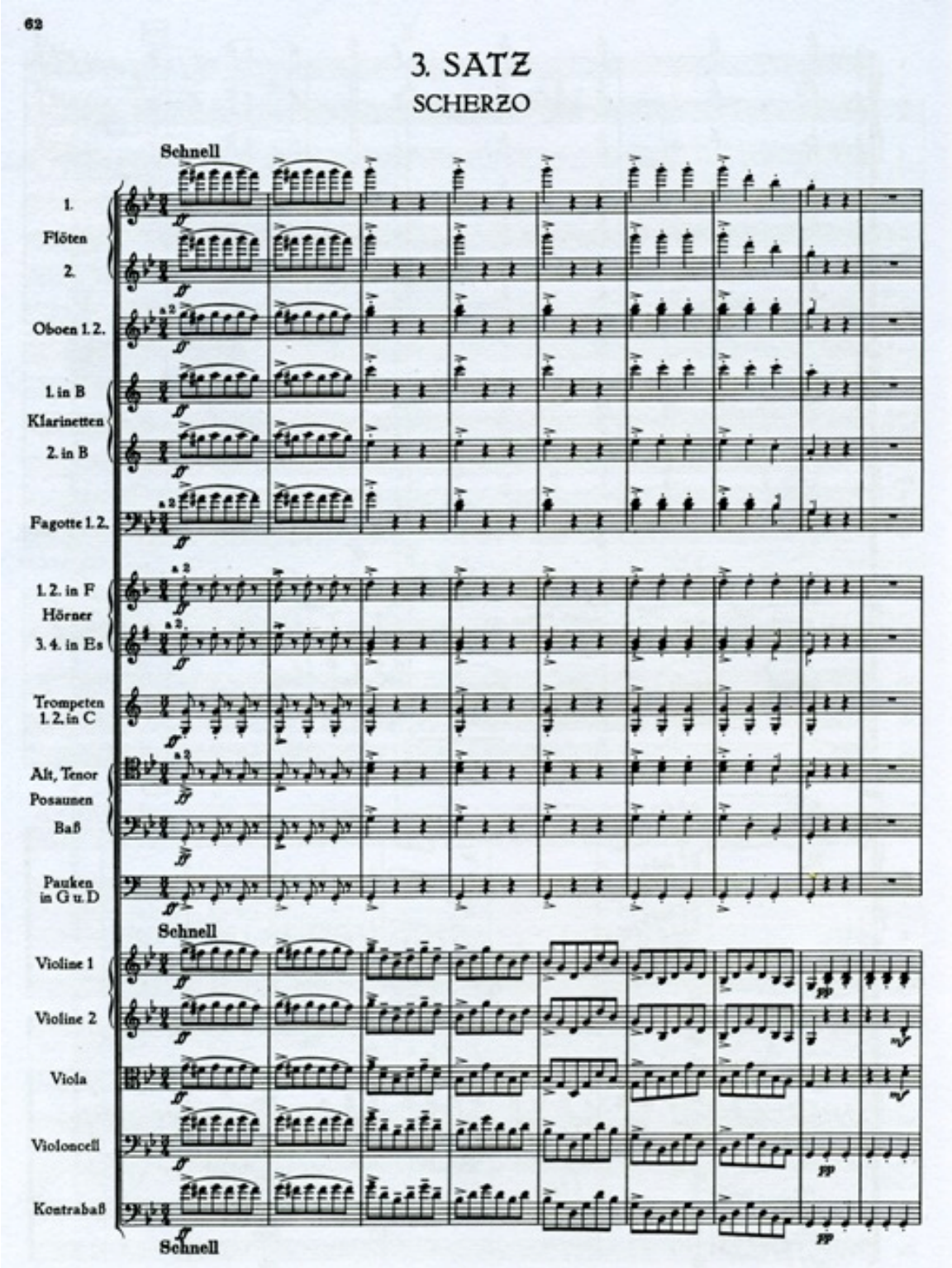
There is a clear difference in his conception of phrase lengths between his early years and late years. In the early symphonies composed before his study of the two Beethoven symphonies, Bruckner favored free combination of odd-number phrases such as three or five, whereas he primarily used even-number phrases in the late symphonies. The employment of odd-number phrases is particularly evident in the first versions of the Third (1873) and Fourth (1874) Symphonies. However, Bruckner in his later years could not tolerate them in his First Symphony. Throughout the revision, he recast odd-number phrases to conform to a square pattern. As Table 5.1 shows, although the length of the Vienna version is roughly the same as that of the Linz version, they are by no means identical. The discrepancies are the consequences of Bruckner's work of regulating the periodic structure.

Bruckner's revision of the Linz version in 1877 had already recast many phrases by subtracting or adding a measure or two. For the Vienna version, Bruckner moved even

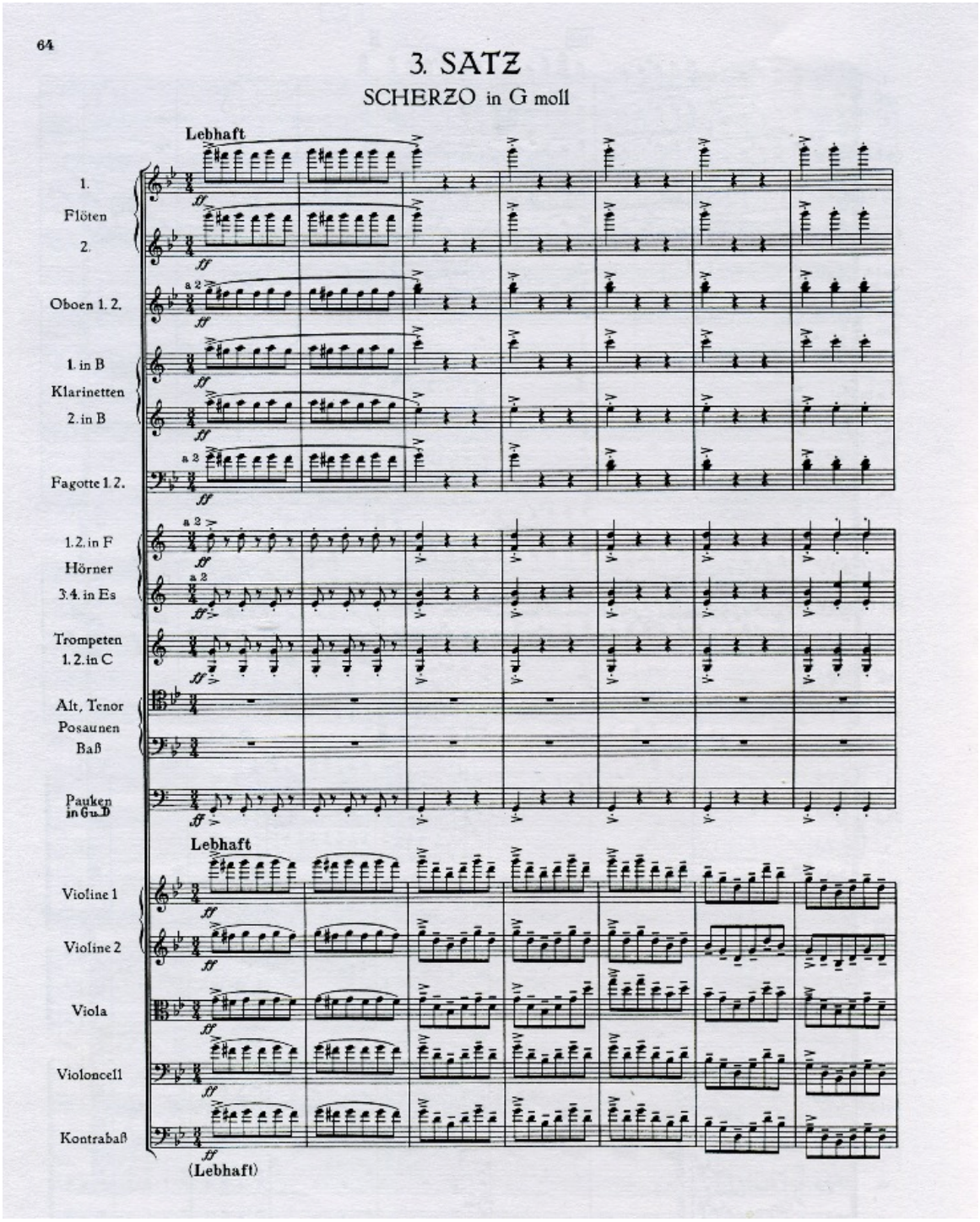
[180] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 248n.
[181] Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner's metrical numbers," *19th Century Music*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1990), 102. The important purpose of metrical numbers was to identify a downbeat measure as "1."

further in this direction. This trend is particularly obvious at the beginning of the Scherzo movement where the opening seven-measure phrase is recast to an eight-measure phrase (Ex. 5.1). Robert Simpson argues that the Linz version of the First Symphony owes its wild and bold character particularly to its use of odd-number phrases. For Simpson, the regularized periodic structure of the Vienna version undermines the intrinsic character of the work.[182]

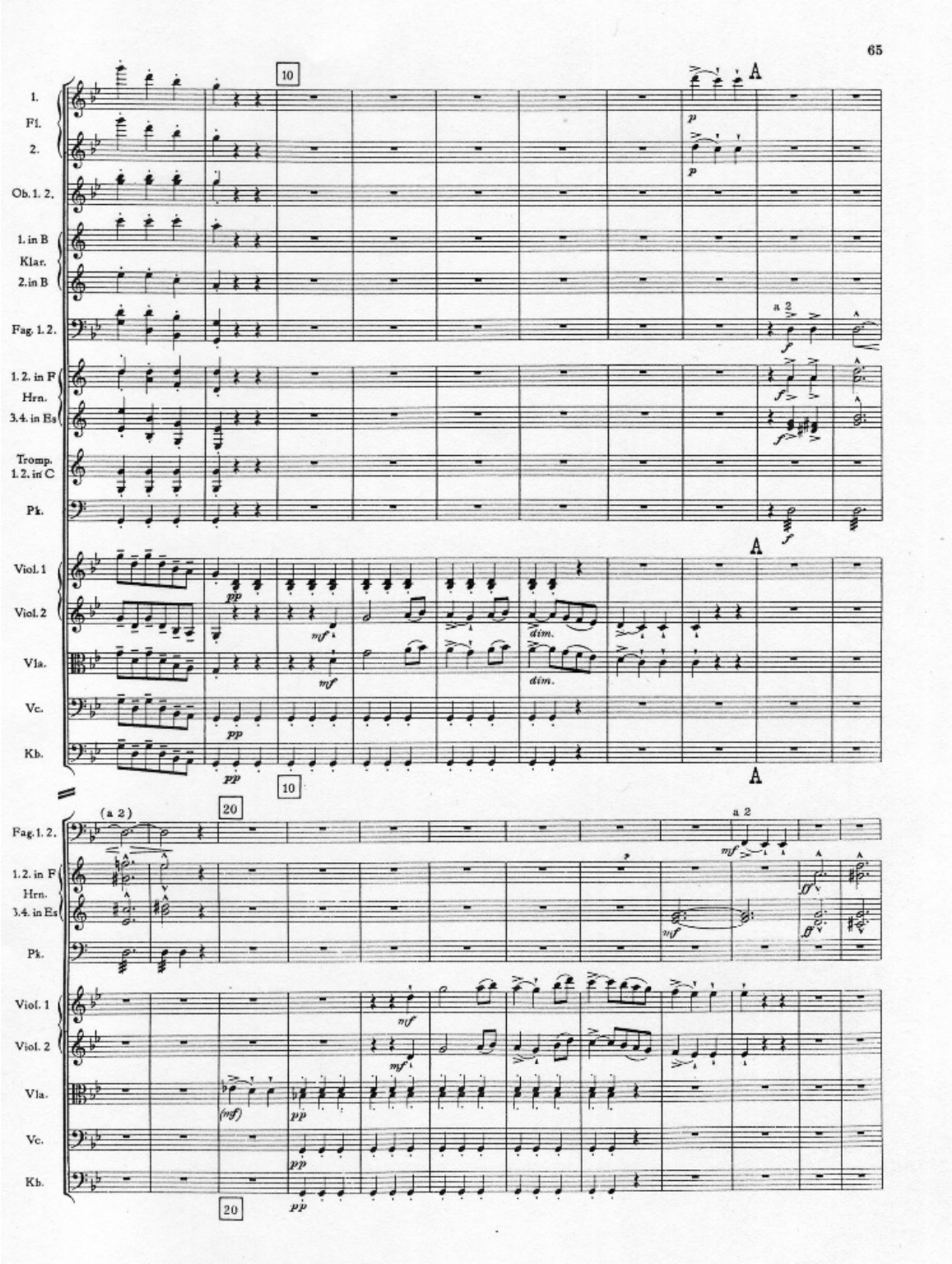
[182] Simpson had no knowledge that the Third and Fourth Symphonies underwent the same treatment of periodic structure since the first versions of these symphonies were not yet published.



Ex. 5.1a The Beginning of the Scherzo (Linz version)



Ex. 5.1b The Beginning of the Scherzo (Vienna version) (continues to the next page)



Ex. 5.1b (continued)

Voice Leading: Consecutive Octaves

Another theoretical issue for Bruckner was the treatment of consecutive (parallel) octaves in orchestral texture. Timothy Jackson argues that this issue was the real catalyst that prompted Bruckner to revise the work.[183] Margin notes of voice leading in the autograph manuscript show Bruckner's careful examination of them.[184] Voice leading diagrams appear in scores on which he worked from 1888 to the end of his life.[185]

Setting himself new regulations for the treatment of consecutive octaves, Bruckner fixed octave consecutives within the orchestral texture, often resulting in totally different voice leading and instrumentation while keeping the same tonal substance. His aim was not to remove all the consecutive octaves; rather, he saw consecutive octaves (as well as doublings) as an effective device to highlight a particular voice within the overall texture. When consecutive octaves clearly served this purpose, he allowed them. Bruckner aimed to give more consistency to his voice leading, particularly his treatment of momentary consecutive octaves in order to highlight a voice.[186]

Bruckner's studies of this matter originated around 1877 when he studied voice leading in Mozart's Requiem and Beethoven's Third Symphony.[187] In 1875, his petition to the University of Vienna to include music theory as a scientific subject was finally accepted after three unsuccessful applications.[188] Bruckner was appointed the teacher of this course, but it was not until 1877 that the position became a paid one. By 1877, perhaps, Bruckner became increasingly concerned with the scientific aspect of music

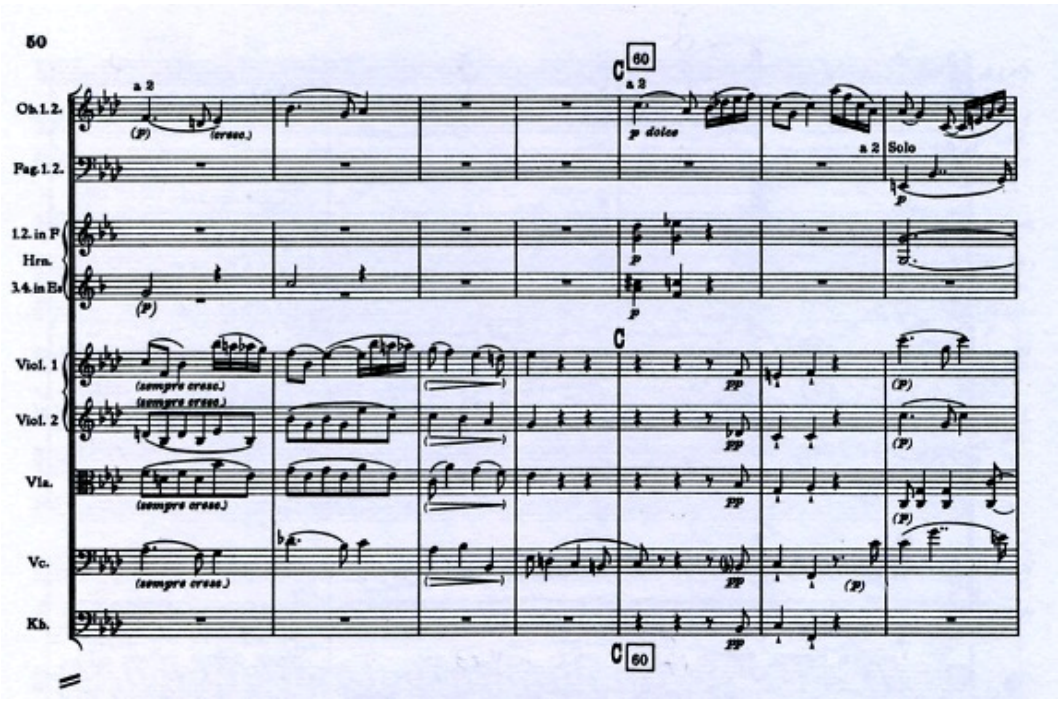
[183] Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*," 31.
[184] Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 1*-4*.
[185] Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*," 48.
[186] For detail, see Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*."
[187] There are extensive notes for the studies in two diaries from 1876-77. Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*," 34.
[188] Wolff, *Anton Bruckner*, 73f.

theory through his experience of teaching. Jackson argues that "Bruckner's systematic studies of octaves and metrical structure are related both to his scientific interests and his efforts to legitimize music as a 'science' in a university setting."[189]

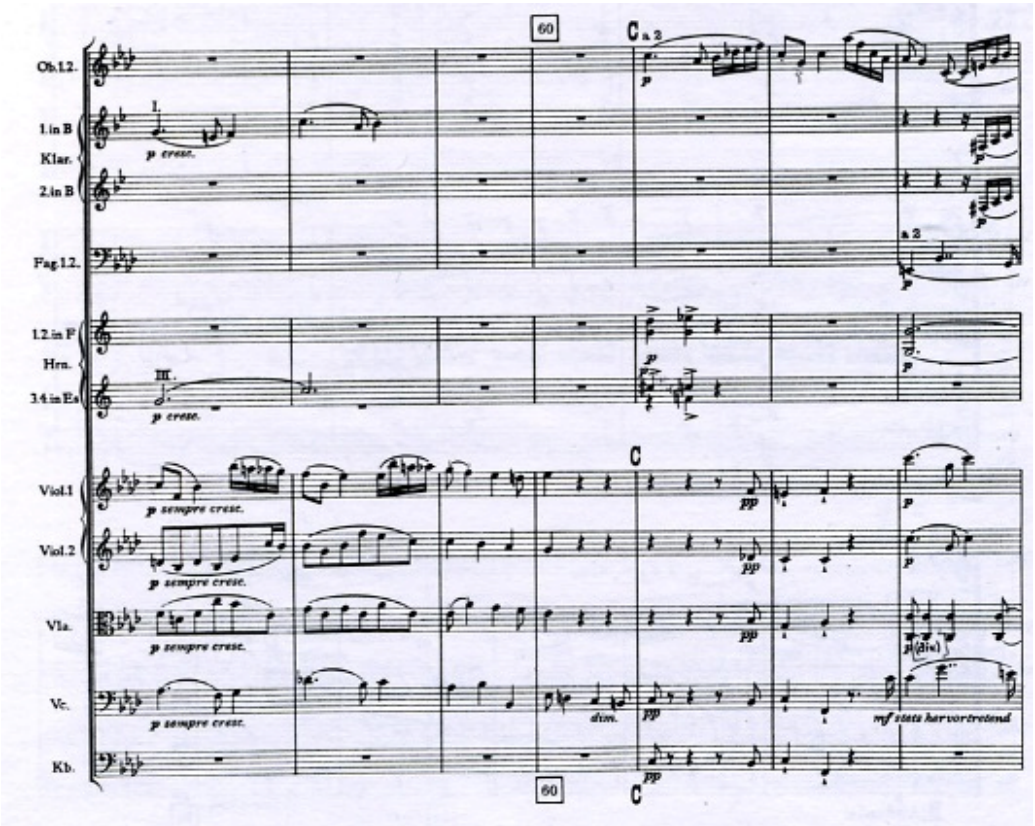
Bruckner's reworking of voice leading for this purpose can be found throughout. One example is found at measure 61 (60 in the Linz version) in the second movement (Ex. 5.2). In this case, Bruckner allowed the consecutive octaves, but rearranged the voice leading and instrumentation in order to mitigate them. In the Linz version, the oboes and the fourth horn form a parallel octave (both voices move from C to A-flat). However, in the overall texture, the parallel octave is offset by contrary motion (from the C in the cellos to the A-flat in the fourth horn). In the Vienna version, Bruckner simply excised the C in the fourth horn to avoid the direct parallel octave. In addition, Bruckner had the C (by the cellos) doubled by the basses an octave lower (at measure 61). This way, the contrary motion is reinforced.

When this motif recurs later in measure 77 (75 in the Linz version), Bruckner again excised the C in the fourth horn (Ex. 5.3). Since the second horn still plays a C, the resulting sound is not markedly different. However, at least visually, the consecutive octaves are mitigated. In measure 79 (77 in the Linz version), Bruckner changed the quality of the chord by assigning a C-flat (the seventh) to the fourth horn. With this alteration, the consecutive octaves were eliminated.

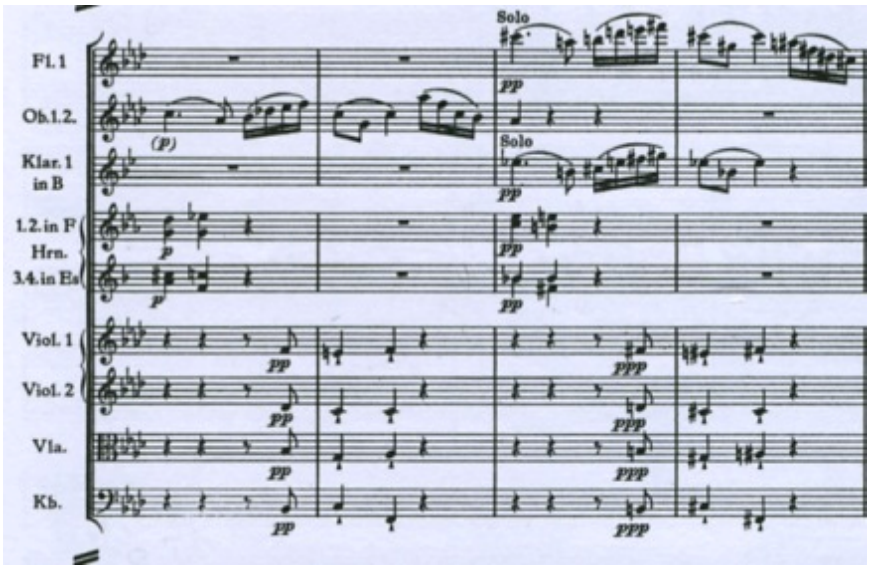
[189] Ibid., 35f.



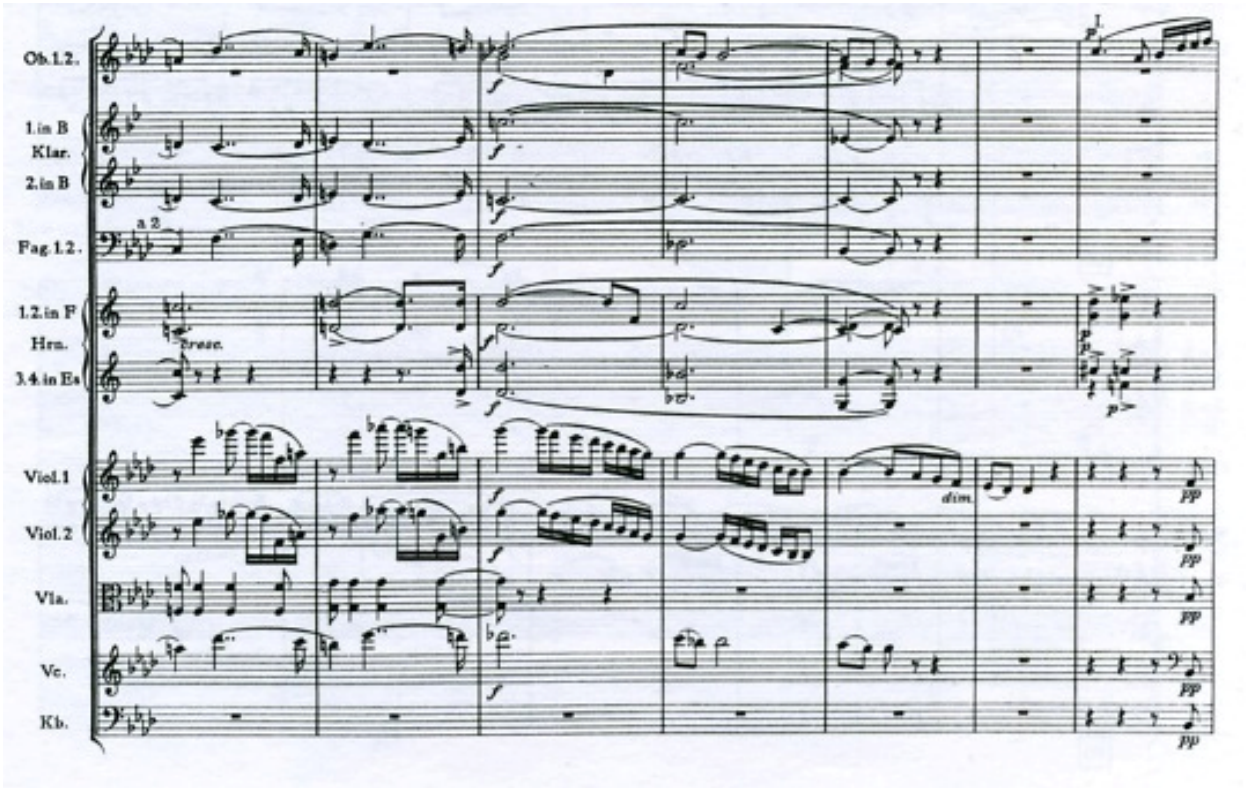
Ex. 5.2a Measures 56-62 in the second movement (Linz version)



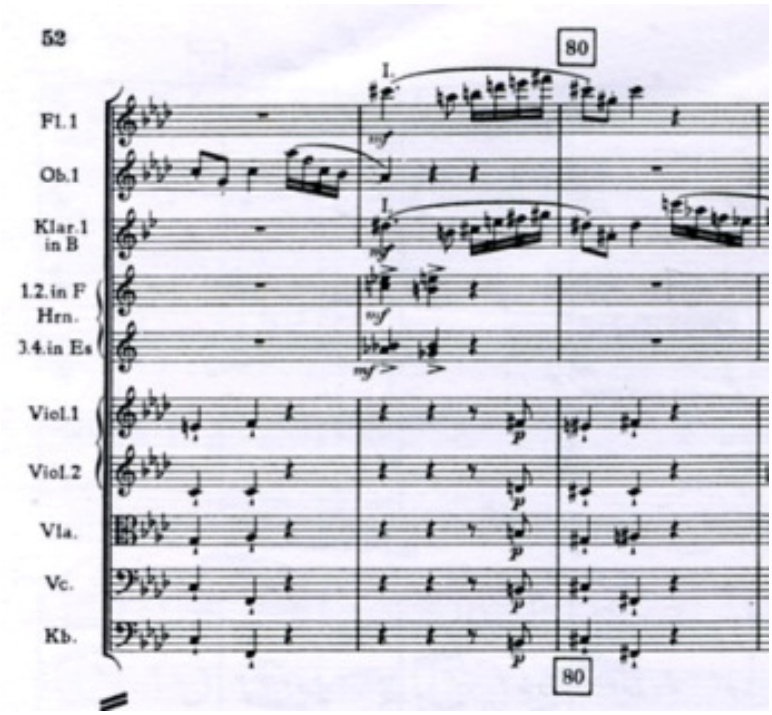
Ex 5.2b Measures 57-63 in the second movement (Vienna version)



Ex. 5.3a Measures 75-78 in the second movement (Linz version)



Ex. 5.3b Measures 71-80 in the second movement (Vienna version)



Ex. 5.3b (continued)

Bruckner's interest in both periodic structure and voice leading appeared as early as 1877. Why it suddenly recurred in his last years (c.1888-1896) is not clearly known. Timothy Jackson points out that his music was not performed until the late 1880s. Therefore, the recurrence of these concerns coincides with the time when Bruckner had more opportunities to hear his music performed. Jackson surmises that hearing his music in performance led to Bruckner becoming more fastidious regarding these subtle theoretical concerns.[190]

The subtle alterations in orchestration that Bruckner made are a result of his changing theoretical conception about voice leading. It illustrates Bruckner's tireless pursuit of music theory and its practical application. Although the revision contains minor formal and stylistic changes, the essence of the revision reveals Bruckner as a theorist. As a devoted and experienced teacher himself, Bruckner was always concerned with the scientific aspect of music even in free composition, and it was important that his theory proved applicable to his composition.

[190] Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*," 45.

Chapter Six

Performing the Vienna Version of the First Symphony

The Text of the Doblinger Edition

The Doblinger edition was the first printed edition of the Vienna version of Bruckner's First Symphony. This edition has come to be regarded as a corruption and has disappeared since the first *Gesamtausgabe* rejected the first printed editions altogether in 1930-44. However, this edition was the only available score of the work for more than forty years after its publication in 1893. For the history of the work's performance tradition, the text of this score remains significant. Conductors are highly encouraged to consult the Doblinger edition, not for its textual accuracy, but for the abundance of verbal indications of tempo, dynamics, and expression for performers that suggest the prevailing performing style during Bruckner's lifetime. Universal Edition's 1927 reprint of this edition is currently available from Kalmus.[191] Before turning to the two modern critical editions of the Vienna version of the First Symphony, it is worth summarizing the text of the Doblinger edition. The following is a summary of the most notable characteristics of that edition.

[191] The Doblinger edition (1893) and the UE edition (mentioned earlier) edited by Wöss (1927) are virtually identical. The UE edition is more like a second impression of the Doblinger edition. In the UE edition some printing errors are corrected. However, the UE edition includes two new alterations that are recognizable from hearing. In m. 332 in the first movement, the placement of the fermata is shifted to the adjacent sixteenth rest in the UE score. The other difference is in mm. 75-77 in the Scherzo; the accent in the strings happens only once in m. 75 of the UE score as opposed to three times consecutively in mm. 75-77 of the Doblinger score. This is an example of the tendency to revert to the Linz version, which also only has one accent. In this study, the UE score is used unless otherwise noted.

Overview

Although the text of the Doblinger edition is based on Bruckner's manuscript of the Vienna version, there are differences between them. These differences are mainly limited to editorial emendations to tempo, dynamics, phrasing, and expression.[192] These scrupulous and detailed markings, which are absent in Bruckner's own notation, are indeed the remarkable characteristic of this edition. These added markings seem intended to adjust the manuscript for more practical use.

The Doblinger edition has exactly the same length as the manuscript. However, there is an optional cut indicated with the sign of "vi-de"[193] for measures 293-315 in the Finale. The cut section includes the unresolved half step clash caused by the superposition of the tonic and dominant chords, the very element that best symbolizes the bold character of the work. Also, this section includes the brief recapitulation of the second theme (measures 301-315). Therefore, taking this cut harms both the character and the larger structure of the movement.

Rather than make use of repeat signs and da capo indications, the Doblinger edition prints out the Scherzo movement in its entirety.[194] This is owing to the omission of the first eight measures of the Scherzo when it is repeated after the Trio. However, Bruckner's original manuscript, with its repeat signs and verbal instructions, [195] offers the option of doing a literal da capo with the eight measures included. The Doblinger edition

[192] For detail, see Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 5*-8*.
[193] "vi-" marks the beginning and "-de" marks the ending of the optional cut section.
[194] Most of Bruckner's Scherzo movements are in a symmetrical ABA form. Therefore, there is no need to print the return of the Scherzo after the Trio. Only one exception is the Scherzo of the third version of the Fourth.
[195] "Nach der Repetition des 2. Teiles kann auch das ganze Scherzo folgen." See Brosche's edition.

makes this choice unavailable. In accordance with this layout change, the repeat signs in the Scherzo are omitted except for the very first one (measure 54).

The Doblinger edition also includes the correction of a possible error: the last note of the oboes at measure 58 in the Finale is changed to a C. In the Brosche and Haas editions, the note in question is an E-flat. Sometimes making a fresh score can result in additional errors. In this case, referring to the Linz version clarifies it; Bruckner seemed to transfer the figuration wrongly to the manuscript of the Vienna version as shown in both Haas's and Brosche's edition. Hynais (allegedly the editor of the Doblinger edition) seemed to correct it.

Another notable alteration is found in the treatment of the last section of the first movement. There is an additional fermata at measure 321. In addition, at measure 332 in the UE edition (not in the Doblinger edition), the fermata on the third beat is shifted to the adjacent sixteenth rest.[196] The pauses in these slightly different places produce quite different dramatic effects.

Tempo

To attain more flow and elasticity, occasional tempo indications for acceleration and deceleration are added, particularly in the first movement. These correspond to the Romantic idiom that prevailed in the late nineteenth century. One typical characteristic of that idiom is found in the treatment of the second theme; a slower tempo is assigned to the second theme in the first and fourth movements. The employment of indications for slowing down ("poco riten.", "poco rit.", and "rit.") is remarkable. Mostly these are followed by an "a tempo" marking set at the beginning of the next phrase and are also

[196] In the Doblinger edition, the fermata is on the third beat (as in the manuscript).

used to introduce a slower tempo, resulting in a smoother transition; sudden tempo changes are avoided.

The Doblinger edition also provides metronome markings. Although the markings selected are not always convincing,[197] they do provide clues to the prevailing performing style of the time.

The most radical alteration is found in the first movement. The time signature of the main tempo is changed from common time (4/4) to alla breve (2/2). The meter of 4/4 is assigned to the second theme group, so the movement switches back and forth between these two meters. In addition to the added tempo indications, the use of these two alternating time signatures helps articulate the larger formal scheme.

Tempo markings in the Finale are not as thorough as those in the first movement; in fact, there are even fewer tempo indications than in the manuscript. This trend is particularly noticeable in the second half of the movement. As in the first movement, the tempo slows down for the second theme. However, in the recapitulation, the tempo does not change for the second theme because of the brief manner of its restatement, whereas the manuscript still has "Langsamer." The manuscript thus gives more consistency to the larger tempo scheme of the movement.

Another remarkable aspect in the Finale is that the Doblinger edition omits two important indications Bruckner added in his manuscript. These indications are "Langsam" at measure 353 and "Sehr breit" at measure 363 (for slowing down). Instead, a somewhat ambiguous "Ruhig" replaces "Sehr breit" at measure 363. Interestingly, these omissions recall the Linz version, which has no tempo changes toward the end of the

[197] In the second movement, according to the metronome figures, the Andante is supposed to be slower than the Adagio. This is discussed further later in this chapter.

movement.[198] The omissions may reflect how Bruckner's revision was received by his friends including Hynais, most of whom felt strongly that Bruckner should not have revised the Linz version.

Dynamics

In the Doblinger edition, dynamic indications are more detailed than those in the manuscript. The extensive use of hairpin signs reinforces the dynamic content and provides more specific nuances. In general, abrupt changes in dynamics are avoided; dynamics are smoothly connected.

When the full orchestra is playing, the assignment of independent dynamic levels for each instrument is based on the musical content and each instrument's dynamic capability. For example, on the opening page of the Finale, where all the instruments are "ff" (fortissimo) in the manuscript, the trumpets, trombones, and timpani are marked "f" (forte) to achieve an appropriate balance. The trumpets and trombones are mostly subdued with lower dynamic levels. Another example is found at the beginning of the Scherzo, where all the instruments are again "ff" in the manuscript. This opening consists of only two musical elements: rhythmic and melodic figurations. The dynamic level of the horns, trumpets, and timpani (the rhythmic figuration) is dropped to "f" in the Doblinger edition. This treatment helps give priority to the melodic figuration (played by the rest of the orchestra).

Adjusting the dynamic level creates not only a better internal balance but also affects the character of the music and even the listener's sense of structure. An example of a change in character is found in measures 16-20 of the Scherzo, where the horns

[198] For the tempo indications in the Linz version, see Appendix B.

answer the theme played by the second violins and violas. Interestingly, Bruckner originally employed the oboes, clarinets and bassoons for this spot in the Linz version. He later changed his mind during the revision and replaced the oboes and clarinets with horns. Furthermore, Bruckner altered this answering signal from "p" (piano) to "f" (forte). By doing so, the character of this figuration completely changed, becoming somewhat heavy and solemn. In the Doblinger edition, while keeping the same instrumentation, the dynamic level was dropped to "p" followed by a hairpin mark for crescendo. Once again, the character was adjusted back to sound more like the state before the revision (i.e. the Linz version). Thus, some alterations exhibit a tendency to revert to the Linz version rather than presenting Bruckner's new conceptual changes.

An example of how dynamic changes create an altered sense of structure is found in the Adagio. The climax of the movement at the middle of measure 154 is shifted by adding a "crescendo" towards the downbeat of measure 155. While keeping the exact same pitch content of the score, this dynamic alteration gives a completely different impression. Yet, its musical validity seems questionable considering the melodic line and the harmonic content (see Ex. C1 in Appendix C).

Phrasing and Expression

There are some additional verbal indications such as "sehr ausdrucksvoll,"[199] "nicht schleppend,"[200] and "mit Dämpfer."[201] Also, numerous hairpin signs and accent

[199] For example, see measure 56 in the first movement. "sehr ausdrucksvoll" is marked for the violas and the cellos to highlight the melody.
[200] For example, see measure 101 in the first movement. The use of "nicht schleppend" here is not as a tempo marking. It rather appears to be a warning for the conductor.
[201] For example, see measure 185 in the first movement. "Mit Dämpfer" itself is not an expression marking. However, this is mentioned here because the use of the mute adds more color to the texture.

markings give a more specific shape to phrases. Although they are primarily indications for dynamics, when employed multiple times within one phrase, their function changes to one of expression and phrasing.

On the last page (measures 386-393) of the finale, the trombones are given additional slurs that make their passage more melodic. Along with these slurs, detailed dynamic modifications achieve textural clarity by highlighting the priority of voices.

Orchestration

There are also minor alterations in orchestration from the manuscript. Some of them have the same purpose as alterations of tempo and dynamic, i.e. serving to mitigate overt contrast in the overall texture. An example of this is found in measures 173-174 in the first movement: as a result of the alteration, the flutes, oboes, and clarinets that now sustain notes for these two measures negate the effect of the rapid alternation of “ff” and “pp” on every beat.

Some alterations aim to achieve more clarity of texture. At measures 163 and 165 of the first movement, for example, the third trombone is cut. In the manuscript, the two trumpets and the three trombones play the same figuration, which tends to overpower the overall texture.

There is a long melodic passage in measures 175-198 that was originally assigned to the first violins alone. In measures 183-184, the passage is temporarily given to the second violins so that the first violins not only have a break but also have time to mount the mute for the rest of the passage. This treatment is very effective since it simultaneously reduces technical difficulty and gives more color to the overall texture.

The Texts of the Two Modern Critical Editions of the Vienna Version of the First Symphony

There have been two modern critical editions of the Vienna version of the First Symphony. There are some minor differences between these two editions. Although the only critical edition of the Vienna version currently available is Brosche's edition from the second *Gesamtausgabe*, it is worth summarizing the text of the Haas edition of the Vienna version as well.[202]

The first modern critical edition of the Vienna version of the First Symphony was edited by Robert Haas and published by Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag in 1935. Unlike his edition of the Linz version, Haas's edition of the Vienna version was not made available as a study score, conductor's score or orchestral parts, but only in the large *wissenshaftliche Ausgabe*,[203] which also contains the only available critical report (*Vorlagenbericht*). As of 2009, the critical report for the two versions of the First Symphony in Nowak's *Gesamtausgabe* is still in preparation.[204] Therefore, Haas's earlier edition is still valid and valuable for studying both the Linz and the Vienna versions of the First Symphony. Haas's extensive critical report includes a list of all the differences between Bruckner's autograph manuscript and the Doblinger edition. Also, as an appendix, he included a list of markings by Max Reger compiled from a score used by Reger himself when he conducted the First Symphony.[205]

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[202] See Appendix A for all the published versions and editions of the First Symphony.
[203] See Chapter Four.
[204] Dr. Thomas Röder is currently at work on this project.
[205] It is unknown why Haas included this material. The markings mainly include numerous additional hairpins and indications for strings (*sul A*, etc) and for expression (*dolce*, *espress.*, *marc.*, etc). There is some minor re-orchestration in a few spots.

Günter Brosche's edition[206] was published in 1980 as part of the second critical edition (Nowak's *Gesamtausgabe*). This edition was reprinted in 1994 allegedly to correct printing errors.[207] The text of this edition is almost identical to Haas's edition, for Brosche reused the same engraving plates of the Haas edition (as working templates) and corrected minor printing errors, giving coherency to the notational style. Brosche removed many of the numerous "courtesy" accidentals[208] found in Haas's edition. Brosche also replaced "III" for the incorrect use of "I" on the third and fourth horn staff in order to signify the third horn.

However, although pitch content is virtually identical, there are two differences in orchestration. In the Haas edition the first trumpet plays D-flat (as opposed to C in the Brosche edition) for the second note of measure 78 in the Finale. Also the third horn plays concert A (as opposed to C in the Brosche edition) at measure 375 also in the Finale. These changes correspond to the Doblinger edition, and point to the different sources each editor consulted.[209] There are other significant differences of special interest to conductors, regarding tempo indications.[210]

Tempo Structure in Three Editions

Although Haas generally rejected the Doblinger edition as spurious, he did consult it in order to give coherence to the overall tempo scheme, which is generally quite unclear in Bruckner's manuscripts. Sometimes Bruckner was not very scrupulous in

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[206] The corresponding set of orchestral parts is also available from the publisher (rental only).
[207] Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Symphonie I/2*.
[208] This use of "courtesy" accidentals originates with Bruckner's own peculiar style of notation. Haas followed this style.
[209] In addition to the autograph manuscript, Haas consulted the Doblinger edition (listed as source B). Brosche did not consult the Doblinger edition but the score and parts used for the first performance. Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 1*. Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Symphonie I/2*.
[210] Discussed further in this chapter.

clarifying how sections link to each other. In particular, Bruckner gave performers very few tempo indications; metronome figures were never specified in his manuscripts. As a result, in his scores there are moments that require tempo adjustment from the performer.[211] As discussed earlier, in the Vienna version of the First Symphony, the last section of the Finale lacks clarity in terms of tempo.

Haas incorporated some ideas about tempo from the Doblinger edition for the sake of performers' expediency. Those indications are placed in parentheses to show that they are editorial. Haas did not simply transfer those indications from the Doblinger edition; instead, he paraphrased them in Bruckner's original terminology (as needed) (Tables 6.1-6.3). As a result, Haas's edition of the Vienna version attains a more coherent tempo scheme than that in Brosche's edition. This is why conductors should not easily dismiss older editions even if Nowak's *Gesamtausgabe* was meant to supersede Haas's *Gesamtausgabe*. Therefore, as concerns Bruckner's symphonies, it is always helpful for a conductor to consult all the editions that have been in print.

Tables 6.1-6.3 show a comparison of each edition's tempo indications. As Brosche declares in the preface to his edition, he consulted the (copied) score and the orchestral parts used for the first performance (which Haas failed to consult) in addition to Bruckner's autograph manuscript. For that reason, one might expect Brosche's edition to contain clearer and more abundant tempo indications than the manuscript itself, for it is known that Bruckner actively participated in the rehearsal process for the first performance and most likely made adjustments to the score.[212] If one considers the

[211] For example, both last sections of the slow movements of the Seventh and Ninth Symphonies. These sections require a certain tempo flow because of the long held notes by the Wagner tubas. The overall texture in these sections becomes suddenly extremely sparse.
[212] Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner's Fourth Symphony," 352n.

differences between Haas's edition of the Seventh Symphony and Nowak's (which incorporates handwritten additions from rehearsals for the first performance), it is easy to see the advantage of Nowak's edition regarding tempo indications. But, surprisingly, it is Haas's edition of the Vienna version of the First Symphony which achieves the most coherent tempo structure. Table 6.1 shows Haas's conscientious effort, particularly in the first movement, to achieve coherency of tempi by incorporating indications from the Doblinger edition without swerving from Bruckner's original concept as shown in his autograph manuscript.

Not all of Haas's supplementary tempo indications come from the Doblinger edition. For example, Haas must have consulted the Linz version between measures 137 and 153 (138 and 156 in the Linz version) in the first movement. The "(rit.)" in bar 117 in the second movement is also presumably from the Linz version, whereas another "(rit.)" in bar 351 in the fourth movement seems to originate with Haas. Brosche's edition includes the fewest tempo indications. If the tempo indications in parentheses were removed altogether from Haas's edition, the result would be virtually identical to the tempo indications in Brosche's edition except for three indications in the Finale: "(a tempo)" at measures 59 and 273, and "sehr langsam" at measure 188.

Among these three additional indications, "sehr langsam" at [K] (measure 188) is particularly noteworthy. This indication, according to Brosche, is derived from Bruckner's own handwritten entry in the score used for the first performance by "the conductor's direction" (i.e. Richter's suggestion).[213] Brosche also added "(a tempo)" in measures 59 and 273 to retrieve the main tempo ("Bewegt, feurig" at the beginning of the

[213] Günter Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Symphonie I/2*, trans. Richard Rickett (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1980).

movement) from the "Langsamer" of the second subject (measure 40). These two "(a tempo)" indications are not derived from the Doblinger edition. The "sehr langsam" at measure 188 and the "a tempo" markings in the Finale are virtually the only distinctive additions of Brosche's edition. In the score used for the first performance, Bruckner and conductor Hans Richter added penciled entries to the score. These entries are also found in the manuscript in what Brosche calls "barely legible corrections."[214] It seems Bruckner later transferred those entries to his manuscript except for the 'sehr langsam' in question.

First Movement

Bruckner's intention for tempo structure in this movement is rather clearly shown in the Linz version. There are two main tempi: "Allegro" at the beginning and "Mit vollster Kraft, im Tempo etwas verzögernd, (und auch so bleiben bis Tempo I)"[215] at measure 94 (92 in the Vienna version). The main "Allegro" is brought back at measure 156 (153 in the Vienna version). In the Linz version, despite its simplicity, the tempo structure is consistent.

Brosche's edition of the Vienna version includes even fewer tempo indications than the Linz version (see Table 6.1). It has two main tempi, just as in the Linz version. However, the main problem is that the slower tempo never returns to the original Allegro. The last tempo indication "Frühres Zeitmaß [previous tempo]" in measure 145 refers to the slower tempo from measure 92. Since the subject material starting at measure 153 recalls the opening material of the movement, it is reasonable to conclude that the Allegro should be placed there as Haas does in his edition.

[214] Ibid.
[215] With full force, somewhat delaying the tempo (and remain so up to Tempo I).

Table 6.1 Tempo Indications in Three Editions (First Movement)

	Doblinger	Haas	Brosche
m. 1	Allegro. (*molto moderato*) (half note = 60.)	Allegro	Allegro
36	*poco riten.*		
37	Ruhig.		
38		zögernd	zögernd
44	Etwas langsamer. (quarter note = 100.)	(Etwas langsamer)	
62	*poco rit.*		
63/3	*a tempo*		
65	Im Hauptzeitmass.	(Im Hauptzeitmaß)	
92	Breit.	Langsam	Langsam
137	*accel.*	accelerando	accelerando
140	*rit.*	riten.	riten.
141	In mässingen Hauptzeitmass.	a tempo (Im langsam Hauptzeitmaß)	a tempo
144	*Etwas belebend.*	(accelerando)	
145	*a tempo*	Frühres Zeitmaß	Frühres Zeitmaß
151	*etwas belebend.*	(accelerando)	
152/3	*rit.*		
153	Etwas breit.	(Im ersten Haupzeitmaß)	
190/3	*rit.*		
191	Ein wenig breiter.		
199	Im Hauptzeitmass.		
239	*poco rit.*		
240	Ruhig.	(Langsamer)	
256	*poco rit.*	(poco rit.)	
257	Im Hauptzeitmass.	(Haupzeitmaß)	
316/3	*zögernd*		
321	*poco a poco accel.*		
327	Im Hauptzeitmass.		

Note: For Brosche's edition, the second print (1994) is consulted. For the Doblinger edition, a reprint edited by Josef von Wöss (Universal Edition, 1927) is consulted.

Also, the tempo indications between measures 137 and 153 (the last part of the development section) are quite incomplete since the “a tempo” at measure 141 seems again to refer to the slower tempo (one of the two main tempi discussed above). In the same spot (measure 144) in the Linz version, Bruckner is scrupulous enough to use “Frühres Zeitmaß” to indicate that the tempo returns to “Langsam” (at measure 92). Haas clarifies this marking by adding “(Im langsam Hauptzeitmaß)” to the “a tempo” marking. Although the incompleteness of tempo indications in Brosche’s edition in this section (measures 137-153), the overall tempo structure in Brosche’s edition is as simple as that in the Linz version. Bruckner seems to have intended to keep the same basic tempo scheme as the Linz version.

Another remarkable characteristic of the tempo scheme shown in Haas’s edition is its treatment of the second theme group. In Haas’s edition, “(Etwas langsamer)” is indicated at [C] (measure 44) where the second theme group starts. The original tempo is revived at measure 65 with the marking “(Im Hauptzeitmaß).” In the corresponding place in the recapitulation, basically the same treatment is found. The assignment of “(Etwas langsamer)” to the second subject seems to originate from the Doblinger edition, which has the same marking. Bruckner’s manuscript lacks these indications. However, Haas’s decision to include the Doblinger markings can be justified. The “zögernd [hesitantly]” marking at measure 38 originates with Bruckner. The indication of “zögernd” alone as shown in Brosche’s edition is ambiguous. It could either be an expression marking or a tempo indication. As a tempo indication, it works well in conjunction with the “(Etwas langsamer)” at measure 44. It does not harm the original concept of Bruckner as shown in

the manuscript, for Haas's supplementary tempo markings are distinguished by parentheses.

The Doblinger edition includes by far the most detailed indications for tempo, dynamics, and expression. In the first movement, the meter in the Doblinger edition switches between alla breve in the first theme group and 4/4 in the second theme group, while Brosche's edition stays in common time throughout the movement. The change of basic time signature is somewhat unconvincing, since common time corresponds better to the march rhythm of the first theme group. The frequent tempo changes and rubato in the Doblinger edition demonstrate the prevailing performing style in late nineteenth-century Vienna. The dramatic tempo acceleration in the last section (between measures 316 and 327), which is absent in Bruckner's manuscript, is a clear example of this style.

Second Movement

The second movement, Adagio, includes only a few tempo indications. This slow movement has three large sections and three theme groups. The middle section is a free elaboration mainly based on the third theme group. Therefore, the third theme group is not presented in the recapitulation. Other than the prevailing Adagio, Bruckner gave an Andante to the third theme group where the time signature switches from common time to 3/4 (measure 45). At [E] (measure 115) in the transition to the recapitulation, the time signature returns to common time. Three measures later, the original Adagio tempo is reinstated as indicated by "Tempo I" at measure 118. Also in the Doblinger edition, the placement of "Tempo I" is corrected to the third beat of the same measure.

Table 6.2 Tempo Indications in Three Editions (Second and Third Movements)

measure	Doblinger	Haas	Brosche
		Second Movement	
1	Adagio. (quater note = 76.)	Adagio	Adagio
45	Andante. (quarter note = 52.)	Andante	Andante
115		Im gleichen Tempo	Im gleichen Tempo
115/3	Im gleichen Tempo.		
117		(ritard.)	
118/3	Tempo I.	Tempo I	Tempo I
		Third Movement	
	Scherzo.		Scherzo in G moll
1	Lebhaft. (dotted half note = 80.)	Lebhaft	Lebhaft
	Trio.		Trio in G dur
1	Langsam. (quarter note = 120.)	Langsam	Langsam
43	*accel.*	accelerando	accelerando
		Scherzo (repeat)	
45	Nicht zu schnell. (*Tempo I.*)		
Coda		Im gleichen Tempo	Im gleichen Tempo

Note: The third movement is printed in its entirety in the Doblinger edition with an omission of the first eight measures of the reprise of the Scherzo. In the Haas and Brosche editions, the Scherzo is a literal da capo.

The issue here is the basic relationship between Adagio and Andante. Common knowledge among musicians assumes that an Andante is quicker than an Adagio. Interestingly enough, the Doblinger edition gives a metronome figure to each tempo: quarter = 76 for Adagio, and quarter = 52 for Andante.[216] According to these figures, Andante is supposed to be significantly slower than Adagio. In the Andante section (the third theme group), the harmonic rhythm is generally much faster than that of the previous music. In other words, the written music in the Andante section already suggests faster motion. Therefore, the Doblinger edition's rationale may have been that Andante sounds too active if taken literally.

This tempo relation in the Doblinger edition avoids any trouble at the return of Adagio shown as "Tempo I" at measure 118, by giving no further indications to clarify the relationship of the two tempi. In fact, there are only four tempo indications in Brosche's edition (see Table 6.2) and, in actuality, only two tempo changes: the transition from Adagio to Andante and the return to "Tempo I." Brosche's edition does not imply how these two tempi relate to each other. "Im gleichen Tempo" at measure 118 merely confirms staying in the same tempo. The Doblinger edition adopted the same tempo indications, but with additional misleading metronome figures.

Haas clarifies the relation between Adagio and Andante by merely adding "(ritard.)" at measure 117. Here it is unmistakably clear that the tempo has to slow down to make a smooth transition from Andante to Adagio. In other words, for Haas, Andante should still be faster than Adagio. Haas did not invent this "(ritard.)" marking but

[216] The same metronome figures are also found in a two-hand piano arrangement by August Stradal and a four-hand piano arrangement by Otto Singer. Anton Bruckner, *I. Symphonie C moll*, four-hand piano version, arranged by Otto Singer (Vienna: Universal Edition). Anton Bruckner, *I. Symphonie C moll*, two-hand piano version, arranged by August Stradal, (Vienna: Universal Edition).

transferred it from the corresponding place in the Linz version. The legitimacy of the odd metronome figures included in the Doblinger edition remains questionable.

Third Movement

The third movement includes two succinct tempo indications: “Lebhaft” for the Scherzo and “Langsam” for the Trio (see Table 6.2). They are both clear and practical. There is no difference between Haas’s edition and Brosche’s edition regarding the tempo markings in this movement. In the Doblinger edition, additional metronome figures are given for each tempo: dotted half note = 80 for the Scherzo, quarter note = 120 for the Trio. Also in the Doblinger edition, the reprise of the Scherzo is printed after the Trio instead of returning da capo to the start of the Scherzo as in the Brosche and Haas editions. Interestingly, “Nicht zu Schnell. (Tempo I.)” is added at the reprise of the Scherzo, in contrast to the “Lebhaft” at the beginning. Considering “Schnell” was the original marking for the Scherzo in the Linz version, this contradictory marking raises questions of legitimacy. However, it may be interpreted as a warning regarding the “accel.” in the bridge to the reprise of the Scherzo (at measure 43). The acceleration should make a gradual and smooth transition to the reprise of the Scherzo without exceeding the initial tempo of the Scherzo.

Fourth Movement

This movement contains some latent tempo questions due to the drastic conceptual changes Bruckner made in the Vienna version. Most of the problems have to do with incompleteness of tempo indications and the lack of variety in terminology. After

the initial indication of the “Bewegt, feurig” at the top of the movement, other indications are nearly all variations on either “langsam” or “breit” despite the colorful array of musical ideas (see Table 6.3). The usage of the term “a tempo” also causes confusion. Bruckner always used “rit.” and “a tempo” as a paired unit indicating only a temporary elasticity of tempo. In this Fourth movement, it is often unclear what tempo “a tempo” refers to; sometimes “a tempo” seems to be confused with “Tempo I,” which usually refers to the main tempo.

Though still confusing in certain spots, Brosche’s edition is generally the most coherent in its overall tempo scheme. Brosche adds “(a tempo)” in measures 59 and 273 as editorial supplements, bringing the main tempo back from a slowed tempo for the second theme group. As mentioned earlier, “sehr langsam” at measure 188 (incorporated from the score used in the first performance) is unique to Brosche’s edition. Adopting a slow tempo here in the middle of the development section is highly effective in accordance with the ostinato of the celli, basses, and timpani on the dominant pedal. At measure 156, “a tempo Langsam” is also unique to Brosche’s edition, and since it is not parenthetical, probably originated from the score used in the first performance. The addition of “Langsam” clarifies the tempo to which “a tempo” refers.

Table 6.3 Tempo Indications in Three Editions (Fourth Movement)

	Doblinger	Haas	Brosche
1	Bewegt und feurig. (quarter note = 126)	Bewegt, feurig	Bewegt, feurig
39/4	Ruhig. (quarter note = 84)		
40		Langsamer	Langsamer
59			(a tempo)
149		rit.	rit.
149/3	*rit.*		
152/4	*a tempo*	a tempo Langsamer	a tempo Langsam(er)
156	*rit.*	rit.	rit.
156/4	*a tempo*	a tempo	a tempo Langsam
188			sehr langsam
210	*rit.*	ritard.	ritard.
212	Etwas breit *a tempo*	a tempo	a tempo
236/4	*rit.*		
237	*a tempo*		
263		sehr breit	sehr breit
273			(a tempo)
301		Langsamer	Langsamer
315		a tempo	a tempo
351		(rit.)	
353		Langsam	Langsam
363	Ruhig.	Sehr breit	Sehr breit

Towards the end of the movement (after measure 353), Bruckner modified the direction of the music by adding “Langsam” and “Sehr breit.” As mentioned earlier, this conceptual change is the most discernible and astounding feature of the Vienna version. However, because of Bruckner’s abrupt employment of those terms, their meanings are open to interpretation. The term “breit” could refer to a certain style of expression rather than a certain tempo. In this ending section, Brosche’s and Haas’ editions seem to correspond, indicating that these markings must have originated with Bruckner himself. At measure 351, Haas adds a “(rit.)” in order to make the following “Langsam” (two measures later) less abrupt.

Strangely enough, the Doblinger edition employs the fewest tempo indications among the three editions. Moreover, for the fourth movement, many of these indications are pairs of “rit.” and “a tempo” at the end of phrases that do not affect the larger tempo scheme of the movement. The tempo scheme in the Doblinger edition is nearly as straightforward as that of the Linz version.

Although Brosche’s edition seems the most coherent of the three, even this edition needs supplemental tempo changes for successful performance. Table 6.4 shows an example of a practical solution based on examination of the two critical editions. Whenever an “a tempo” does not follow a “rit.,” “Tempo I” replaces “a tempo.” Two “Langsamer” indications for the second theme group (measures 40 and 301 in the Haas and Brosche editions) are placed exactly in accordance with the beginning of the second theme that begin at the fourth beat of the previous measure. The additional “accel.” at measure 311 of the suggested solution may more effectively prepare the arrival of the coda section at measure 315.

Table 6.4 A Suggested Solution of Large Tempo Scheme in the Fourth Movement

	Suggested solution	Haas	Brosche
1	Bewegt, feurig	Bewegt, feurig	Bewegt, feurig
39/4	Langsamer		
40		Langsamer	Langsamer
59	Tempo I		(a tempo)
149	rit.	rit.	rit.
152/4	a tempo Langsamer	a tempo Langsamer	a tempo Langsam(er)
156	rit.	rit.	rit.
156/4	a tempo Langsam	a tempo	a tempo Langsam
188	sehr langsam		sehr langsam
210	ritard.	ritard.	ritard.
212	a tempo (Tempo I)	a tempo	a tempo
263	sehr breit	sehr breit	sehr breit
273	Tempo I		(a tempo)
300/4	Langsamer		
301		Langsamer	Langsamer
311	(accel.)		
315	Tempo I	a tempo	a tempo
351	(rit.)	(rit.)	
353	Langsam	Langsam	Langsam
363	Sehr breit	Sehr breit	Sehr breit

Recordings

For the Vienna version of the First Symphony, there are three commercial recordings available. Two of them will be discussed in this section: one by Günter Wand[217] and the other by Riccardo Chailly.[218] Both are based on Brosche's edition.[219] Although both faithfully attempt to follow the indication in the score, they differ in interpretation mainly due to the incompleteness of those indications in the outer movements. The fourth movement most clearly demonstrates the discrepancy between these two accounts.

In the Fourth movement, Chailly follows all the tempo indications literally. Therefore, the realization of "Langsam" at [X] (measure 353) and "Sehr breit" at [Y] (measure 363) is quite striking. At "Sehr breit" at measure 363, the tempo is identical to the previous "sehr breit" at measure 188, which is perfectly consistent. Chailly's account makes a convincing argument that this was what Bruckner had in mind. As a result, the entire movement takes 18'05", dramatically longer than most recordings of the Linz version. On the other hand, in Wand's recording, the tempo does not slow down at "Langsam" (measure 353). Wand makes a "ritardando" in measures 359-362 to prepare a slower tempo at "Sehr breit" (measure 363). However, Wand returns to the main tempo at measure 377 with an "accelerando" in the preceding four measures. Wand does not always rigidly follow the given tempo indications in other places as well. For example,

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[217] Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 1, Vienna version (1890/91)*, Kölner Rundfunk-Sinfonie-Orchester conducted by Gunter Wand, RCA 09026 63931 2, 1982/2002, Compact Disc.
[218] Anton Bruckner, *The Symphonies*, Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra and Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester Berlin conducted by Riccardo Chailly, Decca 475 331-2, 2003, Compact Disc.
[219] There are three commercial recordings made by 2009. However the recording by Gennadi Rozhdestvensky is excluded here because of its rather peculiar rendition and recorded balance. For detail, see Berky, John F. *Anton Bruckner Symphonies Versions Discography*. http//:www.abruckner.com (accessed on 26 January 2009).

Wand does not slow down for the second theme group in the outer movements. As a result, the Finale in Wand's recording takes 15'14", nearly three minutes shorter than that of Chailly's recording.

Wand's treatment actually follows the tempo indications of the Doblinger edition. In the Doblinger edition, there is no tempo indication at measure 353, and at measure 363, "Ruhig." is employed instead of "Sehr breit." The term "Ruhig" normally refers to an expression rather than to an actual change of tempo, and is usually used in quiet passages. At measure 363, "Ruhig" seems appropriate since all instruments are marked "p." However, when the crescendo (starting at measure 367) reaches "fff" (fortississimo) at measure 373, "Ruhig" no longer seems applicable. Therefore, it is possible to surmise that the "Ruhig" in question is only valid temporarily. In Wand's recording, after arriving at the "fff" in measure 373, the tempo gradually gets faster and settles into the main tempo (i.e. the tempo at the beginning of the movement) at measure 377.

Wand's recording was made in 1980 when Brosche's edition first appeared in print. As discussed earlier in Chapter Four, it was not possible to perform the Vienna version before Brosche's edition because of the unavailability of orchestral parts. Therefore, when attempting to perform the Vienna version, using parts from the Universal Edition (i.e. the first printed edition) with necessary adjustment (to undo the alterations that do not originate with the composer) was the only possibility. This edition had been widely accepted as the only available score of the First Symphony for more than forty years since it was published in 1893, and performing practice and tradition were developed based on it. Even after Haas's edition of both versions of the First Symphony appeared in 1935, the material from the Universal Edition was still the only

source for actual orchestral parts for the Vienna version.[220] It is possible that Wand consulted the Doblinger Edition and also had some knowledge about the performing style that prevailed in the first half of the twentieth century, which ultimately affected his rendition in the recording.

In the Scherzo movement, there are two options given when repeating the Scherzo in Brosche's edition. Wand repeats the entire Scherzo without the omission of the opening eight-measure tutti, while Chailly takes the other option (i.e. with the omission).

At measure 61 in the Adagio, there is a graphical error in Haas's edition: on the third beat, the B-flat is accidentally replaced by a C in the oboes. This error apparently passed unnoticed until the second printing of Brosche's edition in 1994, for in both recordings, the note in question is played incorrectly (i.e. C is played). Therefore, it seems this error must have appeared both in Haas's and the first printing of Brosche's editions. In the Doblinger edition (i.e. the UE edition) the error is corrected. It is interesting that both Wand and Chailly did not view this as an error.

As discussed in Chapter Five, one of the main issues of the revision for Bruckner was voice leading. Bruckner occasionally altered figurations to remove parallel octaves. The oboe spot in question (measure 61 in the Adagio) was one that bothered Bruckner since the oboes and bass lines form parallel octaves through three chord changes.

[220] There is a recording of the Vienna version by Volkmar Andreae and Wiener Symphoniker made in 1951. This recording basically follows the reading of Haas's edition. However, obviously the parts from the Universal Edition were used with adjustment in order for the parts to correspond with the reading of Haas's edition. Because of the incompleteness of the adjustment, still some instrumental retouching pertinent to the Doblinger edition is heard. This was the only means to perform the Vienna version at that time.

Although these parallel octaves do not happen simultaneously, it is reasonable to surmise that this voice leading prompted Bruckner to alter the melody line in oboe.[221]

A similar note question is found in measure 78 in the Finale. In Brosche's edition, the first trumpet's second note is C, where both the Doblinger and the Haas editions render a D-flat. This alteration seems to have originated with the Doblinger edition. In both recordings, the first trumpet plays a D-flat.

Thus, recordings of Bruckner's symphonies may use a particular edition, but may not follow the indications of that edition. Most likely, conductors consult all the extant editions of the work, which sometimes results in incorporating ideas from other editions.

[221] In the end, Bruckner kept the melody by the oboes intact, and altered the voice leading of the horns and the basses instead. See Chapter Five. Also, see Berky, John F. *Anton Bruckner Symphonies Versions Discography*. http//:www.abruckner.com (accessed on 26 January 2009).

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

The Negative Legacy of the First *Gesamtausgabe*

The first *Gesamtausgabe* was deeply politicized toward the end of World War II. The political climate in the Third Reich had been a major factor in the establishment of the ideological and theoretical foundation for the *Gesamtausgabe*. These multifaceted grounds ultimately manifested themselves in their text-critical principles. The most important one was their consistent rejection of the first printed editions as inauthentic. This position was quickly legitimized. Postwar discussions appraising the legacy of the *Gesamtausgabe* have centered on Haas's questionable editorial work based on his text-critical principles.

Haas's decision to reject the first printed editions collectively was from the outset problematic. This decision led to questionable editorial determinations, namely for Haas's editions of the Second, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies. This indicates that while their fundamental editorial policy remained unchanged, its application had to be adjusted on an individual basis. The degree and character of each revision of Bruckner's symphonies vary because each of them was made with a different motivation, purpose, and background. Therefore, it was no wonder Haas needed justification for his editorial doctrine as he was facing increasing difficulty in editing scores in the later stages of the *Gesamtausgabe*.

Haas's work with the First Symphony was among his earliest work in the *Gesamtausgabe*. He was not fully aware at the time of the potential difficulty of editorial issues surrounding textual matters of Bruckner's symphonies. Judging from the works by Orel and Haas from this period, their ultimate plan may have been to publish all the extant versions of Bruckner's works as evidenced by the fact that Haas edited the two versions of the First Symphony simultaneously.

Ironically, Haas did nothing wrong in his editorial work for the two versions of the First Symphony. On the contrary, his edition of the Vienna version demonstrates sound editorial methodology. Haas's edition of the Vienna version is still one of his best editorial works. In fact, Haas even consulted the Doblinger edition (i.e. the first printed edition) for his edition of the Vienna version,[222] which conflicted with the editorial doctrine of the *Gesamtausgabe* in retrospect. Obviously at early stages, Haas's attitude toward his editorial policy shows some leniency and flexibility. Therefore, Haas's edition of the two versions of the First Symphony occupies a unique place in his work on the *Gesamtausgabe*.

As Christa Brüstle argues, Haas later had to edit scores under complicated legal constraints from 1936-38. The reason why scores and orchestral parts of the Vienna version were not made available can be explained from this perspective. Ultimately Haas's Vienna version was not granted an independent copyright because of its similarity to the UE score (i.e. the first printed edition). This is ironic precisely because it proved the legitimacy of the UE score, which the *Gesamtausgabe* consistently rejected as inauthentic.

[222] The Doblinger edition is listed as Source B in Haas's *Vorlagenbericht* for the First Symphony. Haas, Vorlagenbericht, 1*.

When Haas was preparing his edition of the Vienna version, he perhaps did not foresee these constraints. When the IBG was founded, no copyright issue existed. In addition, before the publication of the Vienna version of the First Symphony in 1935, all the publications of the *Gesamtausgabe* were limited to works and scores that had not been published in Bruckner's lifetime.[223] Therefore, even after the change to the copyright law in 1934, there was no legal concern about these previously unpublished works. After his bitter experience with the Vienna version, Haas had to become more careful about his treatment of the manuscript versions that were used as the basis of the first printed edition.

However, this logic was not only applied to the cases where editorial and legal difficulties loom large but also extended to all other scores and publications made after the "blow" brought by Levi's rejection of the first version of the Eighth Symphony. With this logic, Haas could delegitimize all the first printed editions. The propaganda was indeed effective in promoting the "original version" of the Fifth and the second version (1878/80) of the Fourth (previously unpublished), and it legitimized Haas's dubious editorial work for the Second, Seventh[224] and Eighth Symphonies. This propaganda should not have been allowed to influence the fate of the Vienna version of the First Symphony.

[223] See Table 4.1.

[224] For the Seventh Symphony, Haas tried to restore the original state of the autograph manuscript, which is essentially impossible since Bruckner made revisions directly on the autograph manuscript. This publication appeared in 1944 and was the last publication by the *Gesamtausgabe*. No "scholarly edition" was prepared. Therefore, Haas's critical report for this work was not published. Korstvedt, "Bruckner editions," 125.

Reception after the Second *Gesamtausgabe*

Worse still was that Leopold Nowak—intentionally or not—intensified the misfortune. Therefore, it is probably fair to trace the direct cause of the current bias toward the Linz version to Nowak's attitude toward the two versions of the First Symphony. Unfortunately, the reasons why Nowak left publication of the Vienna version for later remain speculative. When the situation was already biased towards the Linz version without rational justification, Nowak would have been responsible to redirect the already much distorted reception of the First Symphony. As indicated in Chapter Six, even the text of the long awaited Brosche edition of the Vienna version shows little improvement from the perspective of a conductor. Brosche seems to have tried hard to make his edition different from Haas's. In fact, what Brosche mainly did was cancel numerous "courtesy accidentals" in "the interest of legibility."[225]

Normally, Nowak's work for the *Gesamtausgabe* is regarded as counter to Haas's. However, the relationship between these two editions is not so simple. Nowak did rectify Haas's problematic editorial decisions made for such symphonies as the Second, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies. But at the same time, Nowak also continued the negative legacy of Haas's *Gesamtausgabe* by dismissing the first printed editions.[226] To his credit, Nowak was able to publish faithful reproductions of several scores used as the basis of the first printed editions—namely, the Vienna version of the First Symphony, the second of the

[225] In general, Bruckner placed a key signature only at the beginning of the movement when composing. As a result, numerous superfluous accidentals were added as reminders. Haas basically followed this peculiar use of accidentals. See Günter Brosche, Preface to Anton Bruckner, *Symphonie I/2*.

[226] The Third version of the Fourth Symphony was long rejected. Only recently in response to Korstvedt's argument for its authenticity, the score was published as IV/3 in the *Gesamtausgabe* in 2004. Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band IV/3: IV. Symphonie Es-dur: Fassung 1888*, Studienpartitur, ed. Benjamin Marcus Korstvedt (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2004).

Second Symphony, the third version of the Third, and the second version of the Eighth—since there were no longer any legal constraints concerning copyrights for the second *Gesamtausgabe*. However, the delay in the Vienna version's publication seems to suggest Nowak's dismissive attitude toward the first printed edition.

The peculiarity of Bruckner's revisions in the Vienna version of the First Symphony also contributed to the subsequent reception of the work. It was rather easy during the time of the first *Gesamtausgabe* to accept the newly discovered Linz version because of its aural similarity to the first printed edition (i.e. the UE score).[227] Once the Linz version was accepted, it was believed that the Vienna version was no more than mere textual tinkering by Bruckner, who was allegedly suffering a severe mental blow from Levi's criticism of the Eighth Symphony.

The fact that Bruckner made a fresh score for the Vienna version can be taken as a gesture of his intention not to reject the Linz version completely. By making a fresh score for the Vienna version, the autograph manuscript of the Linz version was kept intact. The existence of the clean autograph manuscript of the Linz version enabled later scholars to publish the score, and it is arguable that Bruckner may have foreseen this.

At first glance, Haas's publication of the Vienna version as *wissenschaftliche Ausgabe* implies his fair treatment of the Vienna version. This may lead one to surmise that the current bias toward the Linz version can be ascribed to purely musical reasons. However, access to the *wissenschaftliche Ausgabe* was very limited, and scores and parts were not made available. The public's view of the Vienna version was based on the

[227] *Brucker-Streit* was triggered because of the marked difference between the "original version" and the first printed edition (edited by Franz Schalk) of the Fifth Symphony.

writings of such people as Robert Simpson,[228] who trenchantly criticized it. Simpson echoed Haas's fabrication of the Levi affair: "This revision betrays the composer's nervousness and perhaps his state of health." He concluded: "it is a document of deep interest, if only because it reveals the disturbed condition of Bruckner's mind at the time."[229] Without a means for the Vienna version to be performed, there was no way for any concert-goer to compare the two versions objectively.

The Vienna version of the First Symphony has been undermined in the modern reception of Bruckner's music through the two critical editions. The discourse surrounding the two versions of Bruckner's First Symphony was shaped in favor of the Linz version. Unfortunately, the ideological promulgation of this version by Haas and the IBG proved even more influential than the actual textual differences between the two versions. The Vienna version was forgotten primarily for ideological reasons rather than musical ones.

Sadly, the First Symphony has been among the least performed works in Bruckner's oeuvre, and the scarcity of general public interest in the work enables the distorted view of the work to continue. The Vienna version has never broken free from its troubled past.

What edition best represents what Bruckner himself envisioned? Which version did Bruckner consider definitive? Regarding the First Symphony, we still cannot give resounding answers to these questions. We know the legitimacy of the Vienna version. The legitimacy of the Linz version is also inarguable. However, without the Vienna version of the First Symphony, our understanding of Bruckner's music cannot be

[228] Robert Simpson (1921-97) was an English composer, producer and broadcaster of BBC.
[229] Robert Simpson, *The Essence of Bruckner: An Essay Towards the Understanding of His Music* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1968), 29.

complete. By acknowledging all the efforts Bruckner made for the Vienna version, our acceptance of both versions will bring our appreciation of Bruckner's music to a new level. The Vienna version of the First Symphony is too vital to be ignored.

Appendix A
Versions and Editions of the First Symphony

Forms	Versions	First printed Edition	First *Gesamtausgabe*	Second *Gesamtausgabe*
1865			Described in critical notes by Haas (1935)	Fragment of Adagio and the old Scherzo by Grandjean (1995)
1868	Linz version	not published		not published
1877/84			Haas (1935)	Nowak (1953)
1891	Vienna version	not published	Haas (1935)	Brosche (1980)
1893		Doblinger edited by Hynais	rejected	rejected

Note: Although the work was finished in 1866 for the first time, it is not possible to restore the work in its original state because Bruckner made modifications directly to his manuscript. However, William Carragan restored the score of the original state based on Haas's critical notes and the surviving set of parts used for the first performance in 1868. This original state of the Linz version is available as a recording. Anton Bruckner, *Symphony No. 1 in C minor (1866): unrevised Linz version, prepared by William Carragan from the critical report of Robert Haas*, Royal Scottish National Orchestra conducted by Georg Tintner, Naxos 8.554430, 2000, Compact Disc.

Appendix B

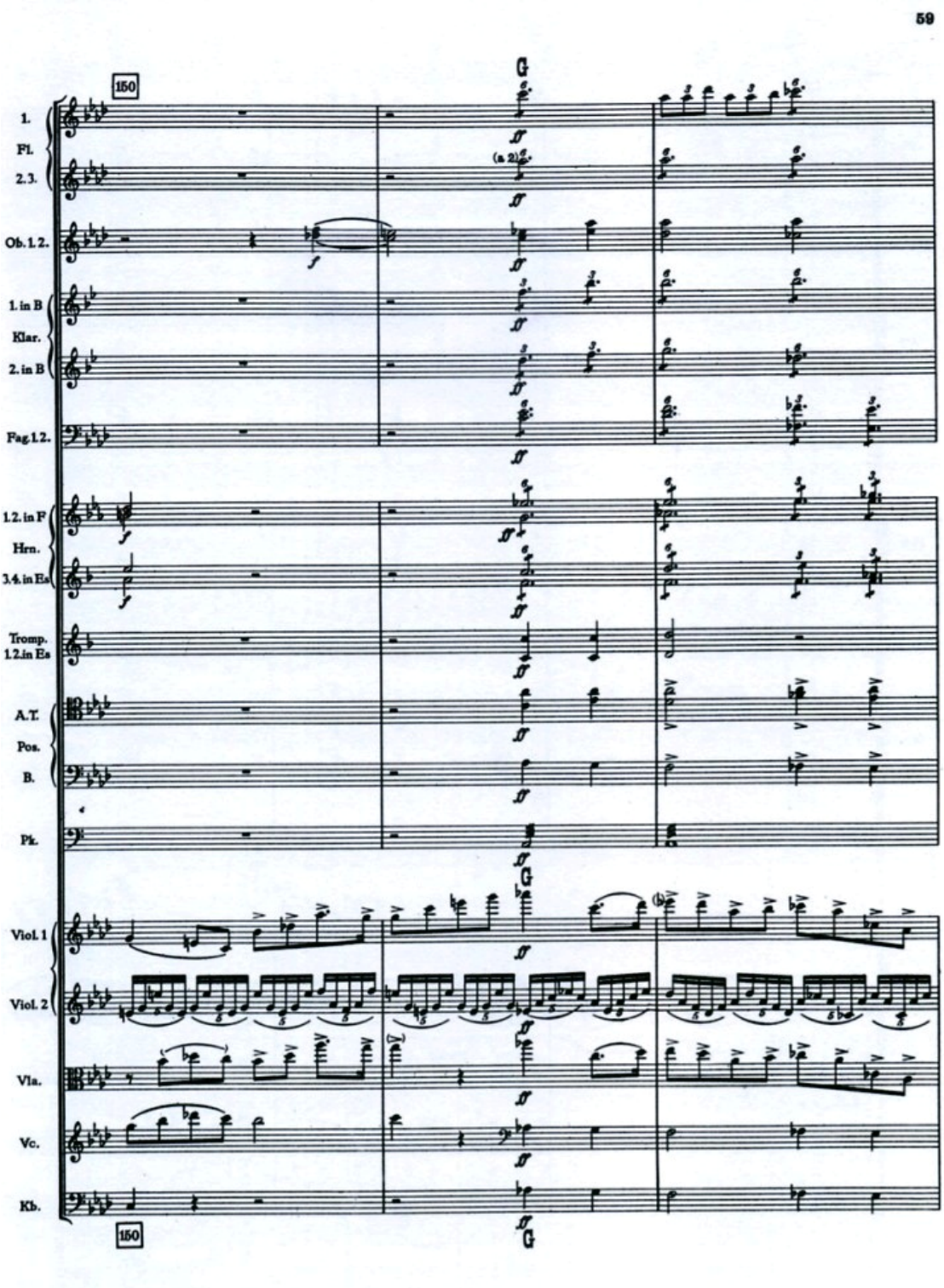
Tempo Indications in Two Editions of the Linz version (First Three Movements)

	Haas	Nowak
	First Movement	
m. 1	Allegro	Allegro
94	Mit vollster Kraft, im Tempo etwas verzögernd, (und auch bleiben bis Tempo I)	Mit vollster Kraft, im Tempo etwas verzögernd, (und auch bleiben bis Tempo I)
138	accelerando e cresc.	accelerando e cresc.
141	ritenuto	ritenuto
144	Frühres Zeitmaß	Frühres Zeitmaß
147	accelerando	accelerando
148	Frühres Zeitmaß	Frühres Zeitmaß
154	accelerando	accelerando
156	Tempo I	Tempo I
	Second Movement	
1	Agagio	Adagio
44	Andante	Andante
72	Etwas zrückhaltend	
75	a tempo	
112	Im gleichen Tempo	Im gleichen Tempo
114	ritard.	ritard.
115	Tempo I	Tempo I
	Third Movement	
	Scherzo in G moll	
	Schnell	Schnell
	Trio in G dur	
	Langsamer	Langsamer

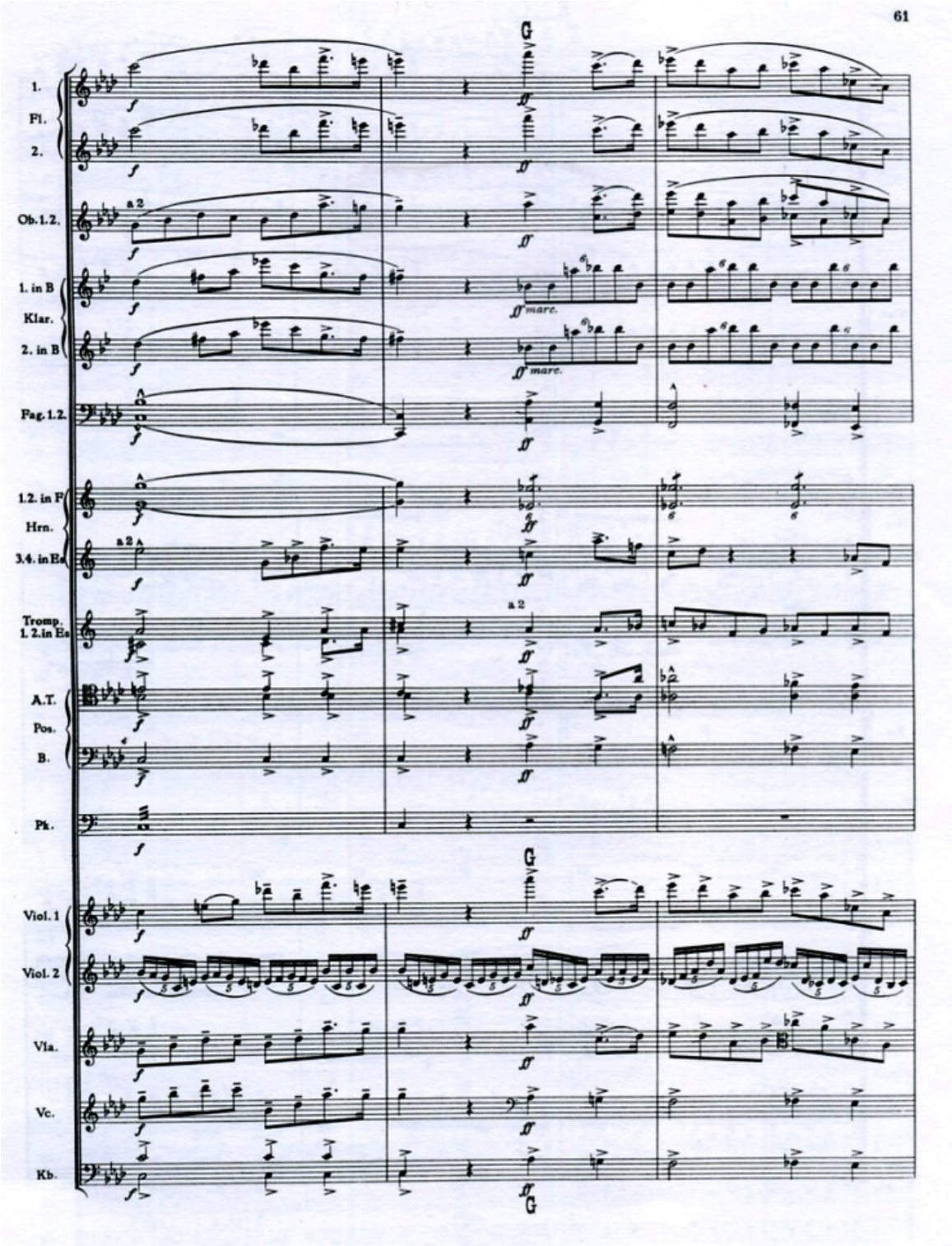
Appendix B (continued)
Tempo Indications in Two Editions of the Linz version (Fourth Movement)

	Haas	Nowak
	Finale	
m. 1	Bewegt, feurig	Bewegt, feurig
148	(rit.)	(rit.)
151/4	(a tempo)	(a tempo)
155	ritard.	ritard.
155/4	a tempo	a tempo
160	rit.	rit.
162/4	a tempo	a tempo
206/2	rit.	rit.
208	Tempo I	Tempo I
233/3	rit.	rit.
234	a tempo	a tempo
264	Etwas langsamer	Etwas langsamer

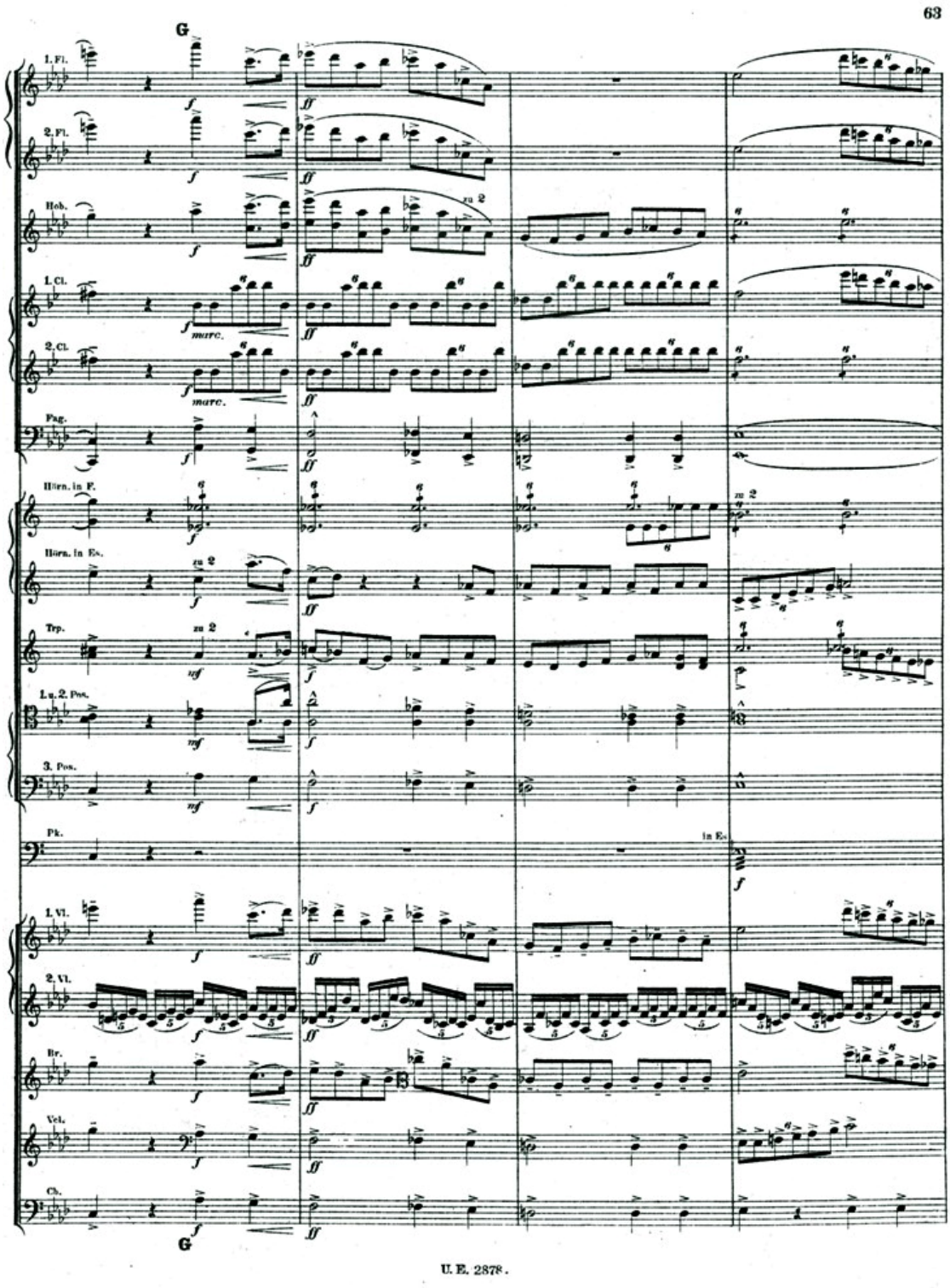
Note: Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band I/1: I. Symphonie C-moll, Linzer Fauung,* Studienpartitur, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1953). Anton Bruckner, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke, Band 1: I. Symphonie C-moll (Linzer fassung),* Studienpartitur, ed. Robert Haas (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1935).



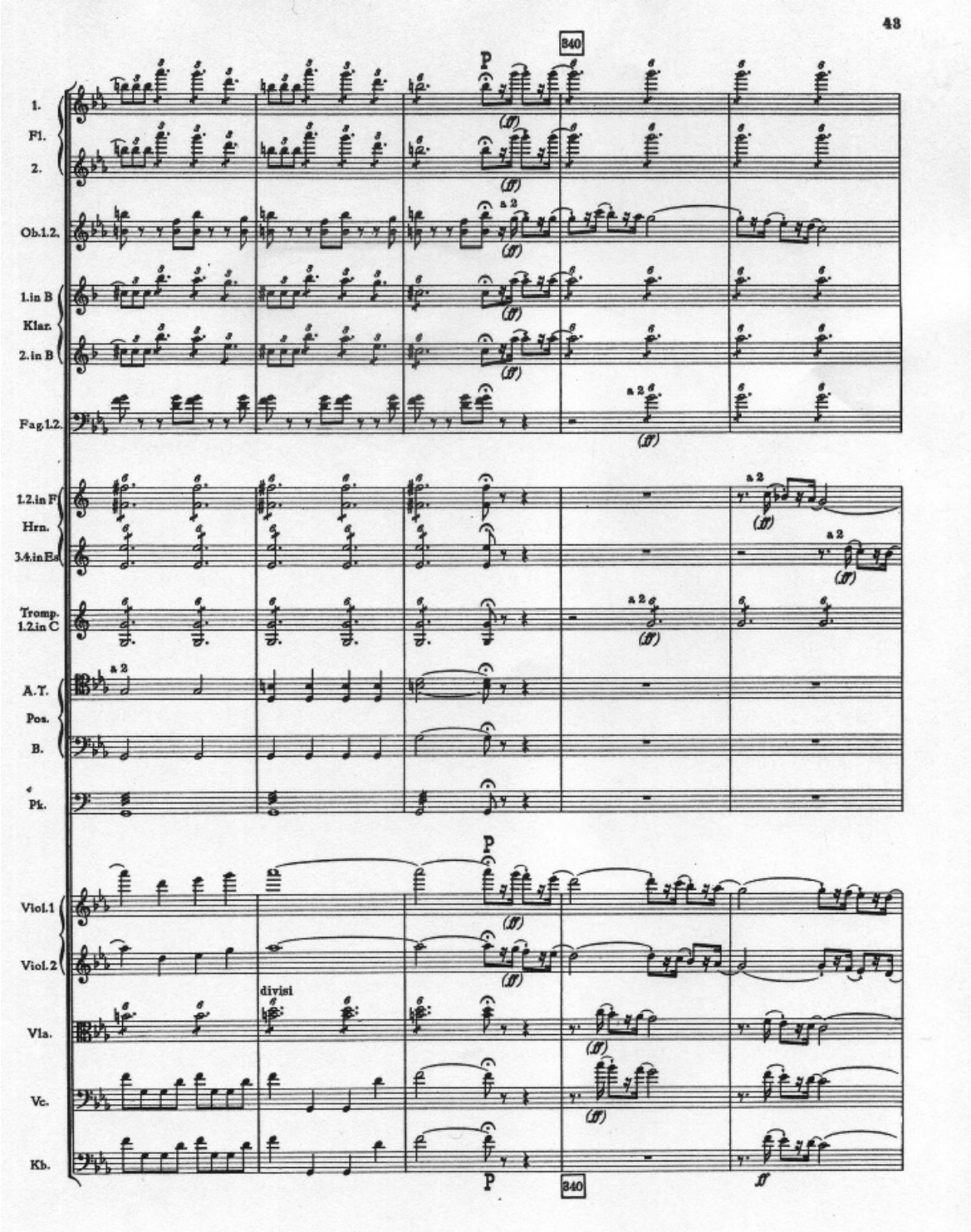
Ex. C.1a Measures 150-152 in the second movement (Linz version)



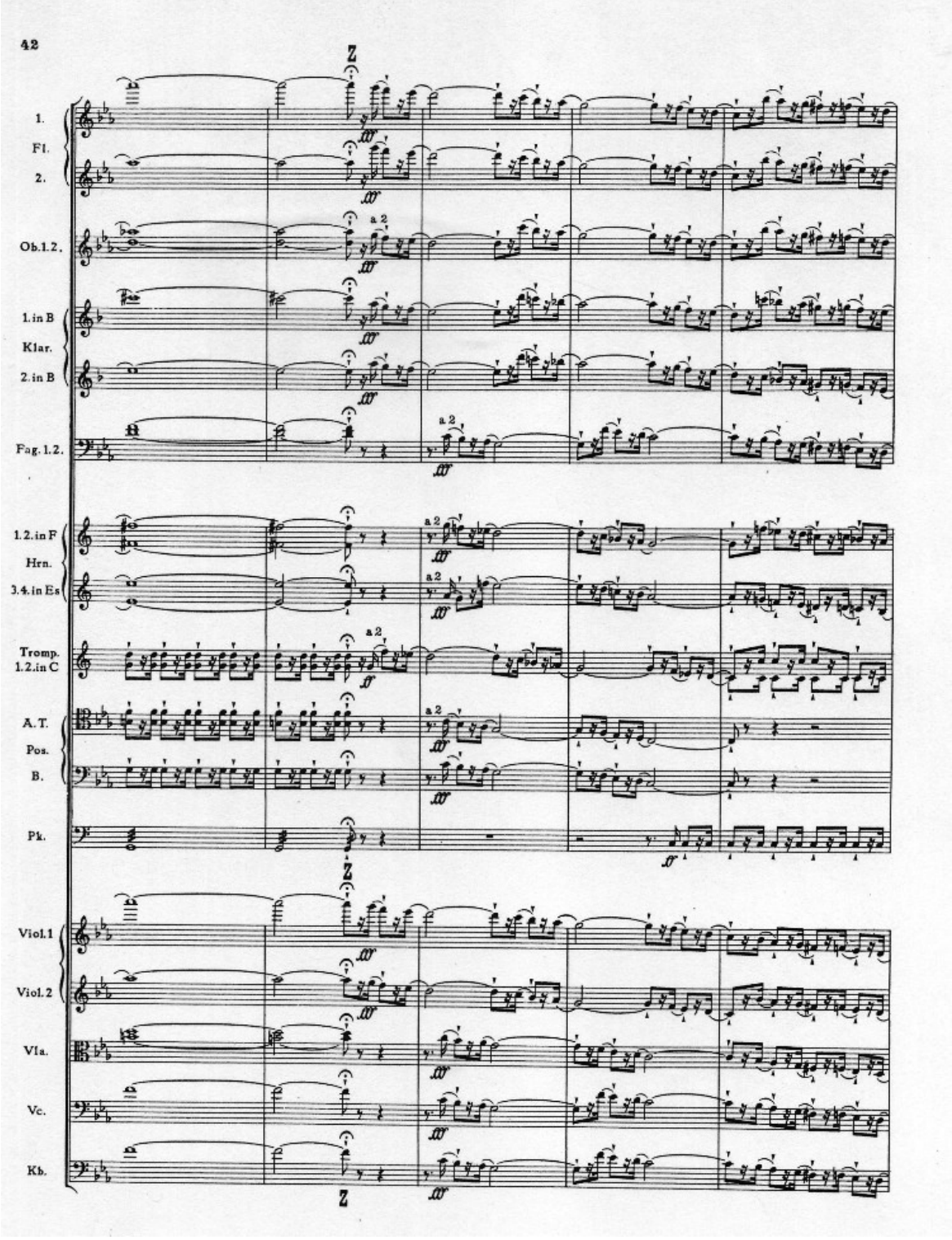
Ex. C.1b Measures 153-155 in the second movement (Vienna version)



Ex. C.1c Measures 153-155 in the second movement (UE edition)



Ex. C.2a Measure 337-341 in the first movement (Linz version)



Ex. C.2b Measures 331-335 in the first movement (Vienna version)

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