

## ANTON BRUCKNER DOCUMENTARY BIOGRAPHY

### CHAPTER 1: The Early Years (1824-1845)

Joseph Anton Bruckner, born in Ansfelden near Linz on 4 September 1824, came from a typical rural working-class background. The Bruckner family had lived in Ansfelden, in the Traun district of Upper Austria, since 1776, and young Bruckner's initial aspiration was to follow in the footsteps of both his father and grandfather and become a village schoolmaster.<sup>1</sup> He may have remained in this respectable but relatively unrewarding occupation for the rest of his life had not circumstances and his own indomitable will led him to embark eventually on an exclusively musical career. While always retaining strong connections with his roots, he progressed inexorably from unexceptional beginnings to a recognised position of eminence in Vienna by the end of his life.

The Industrial Revolution had not yet gathered momentum in Austria in the

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1 Further information about Bruckner's forebears and the four younger brothers and sisters (from a total of eleven) who survived early infancy can be found in Göllerich-Auer, *Anton Bruckner: ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild I* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1922) [hereafter *G-A*], 49-75, and Heinz Schöny, 'Anton Bruckner zum 100. Todestag. Seine Ahnenliste als Geschichte seiner Vorfahren', in *Mitteilungsblatt der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft* 48 (Vienna, June 1997), pp.10-24. There are useful English summaries of the former in Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Bruckner* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1970) and Derek Watson, *Bruckner* [in *The Master Musicians series*] (Oxford: OUP, 2/1996). Facsimiles of the Ansfelden baptismal roll and Bruckner's baptismal certificate can be found between pages 64 and 65 of *G-A I*. *G-A IV/4* (1937) includes, as a supplement, Ernst Schwanzara's *Stamm- u. Ahnentafel des Tondichters Anton Bruckner* in which the composer's family tree is traced back as far as Jörg Pruckner (c.1400). More up-to-date information about the family background of Bruckner's mother Therese (née Helm), father Anton and the latter's earlier proposal of marriage to Julie Hartung can be found in Franz Zamazal's article 'Ein Beitrag zur Familiengeschichte', in *Bruckner Jahrbuch* [hereafter *BJ*] 1982/83 (Linz, 1984), pp.117-28. Zamazal has also written an extensive article about the education system in Austria and the teaching activities of three generations of the Bruckner family: 'Familie Bruckner - Drei Generationen Lehrer. Schulverhältnisse - Ausbildung - Lebenslauf', in *Anton Bruckner Dokumente & Studien* [hereafter *ABDS*] 10: *Staat - Kirche - Schule in Oberösterreich* (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1994), pp. 97-251. The results of more recent research are contained in Heinz Schöny, 'Anton Bruckner zum 100. Todestag. Seine Ahnenliste als Geschichte seiner Vorfahren', in *IBG Mitteilungsblatt* 48 (June 1977), pp.10-24, and Franz Zamazal, 'Familie Bruckner: Biographische Konturen aufgrund von Pfarrmatrikeln', in *BJ 1997-2000* (Linz, 2002), 103-210.

1820s and the population of Austria and the Habsburg monarchy was still mainly rural and predominantly agricultural. Even by 1840, when industrialization was gradually increasing, '80 per cent of the total were still living in villages or scattered farms and 73-4 per cent still derived their livelihoods from agriculture, forestry or fisheries'.<sup>2</sup> Although conditions on the land were much better in Upper Austria than in many other parts of the Monarchy, small-holders had invariably to work very long hours to maintain a reasonable standard of living. Bad harvests or natural disasters like flooding could have a catastrophic effect on whole communities. Harsh though a rural life could be, it was no doubt preferable to conditions in the new factories being built in parts of Lower Austria where the average working day was anything from twelve to sixteen hours and the wages were minimal.

While the Catholic Church was still a force to be reckoned with particularly in rural communities, church music had not yet fully recovered from the restrictions imposed by Emperor Joseph II in the 1780s and only partially repealed by his successor, Leopold II. The spirit of the Enlightenment and the general religious indifference had also taken their toll. There was a gradual change in the relationship between state and church. 'Other patrons', remarks G.R. Scragg, 'competed for the service of the arts; often they offered greater latitude and seemingly more exciting opportunities. Those who now composed religious music regarded it as one interest among many others, and the contagion of the secular spirit increasingly affected what they wrote'.<sup>3</sup> Some changes in ritual which affected the role of music were of far-reaching consequence. The vernacular was introduced into the liturgy for the purpose of better understanding and, while the abandonment of Latin was not demanded, some hymns in the vernacular for the

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2 C.A. Macartney, *The House of Austria* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1978), 64.

3 G.R. Scragg, *The Pelican History of the Church* IV (London, 1962), 278.

congregation were included.<sup>4</sup> Many of these were of musical and textual inferiority and their continuing existence under Joseph's successors had a significant influence on the style of Austrian church music in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The abolition of about 700 monasteries - specifically those which did not carry out any perceived 'useful' work, including pastoral care<sup>5</sup> - a process which had begun in Lombardy and Galicia as early as the 1760s during Empress Maria Theresia's reign, had a further disastrous effect on the provision of sacred music in the provinces:

With their young monks away at the general seminaries and their able-bodied priests working in parishes, monasteries found it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain a proper community life. Choral services were drastically cut down on the ground that, now the monks were required to be useful, all this singing, especially in the middle of the night, would be injurious to their health and therefore to the spiritual well-being of their flocks.<sup>6</sup>

Joseph II's *Gottesdienstordnung* came into effect first of all in Vienna (1782),

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4 Some hymns in the vernacular had appeared before this, however. The most important collection for Austria was J. Kohlbrenner's *Der heilige Gesang zum Gottesdienste in der römische-katholischen Kirche* (1777) which contained the *Singmesse* 'Hier liegt vor deiner Majestät'. A new edition 'augmented and corrected by Mr. Michael Haydn' with the omission of trills and other embellishments in the original was published in Salzburg in 1781.

5 The male orders which underwent the most rigorous suppression were the Carthusians, Camaldolese and Eremites. Although most of the money gained from the sale of dissolved property and appropriated land was not used for secular purposes but was placed in a 'Religious Fund' created in 1782, this was of no direct benefit to the state of church music. See the chapter 'The Austrian Monarchy: the Josephist Solution' in Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder. European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, 2003), pp.179-228, for a detailed discussion of the dissolution of monasteries and nunneries, the creation of many new parishes in their stead and the re-location of many monks and nuns, particularly during the reign of Joseph II.

6 *Ibid*, p.200. See also Otto Biba, 'Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783', *Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte* 1/2 (1971), pp.7-79 for a discussion of the effect of Joseph II's policies on church music in Vienna. As a result of the changes in the liturgy, the dissolution of some monasteries and the conversion of others to parish churches, the overall expenditure on church music in the city is reckoned to have been reduced from 28,000 to about 14,000 florins.

requiring the celebration of one Mass daily in St. Stephen's and in those churches which had a regular choir. This was to be sung in plainchant (*choraliter*) with or without organ accompaniment, according to the season. Instrumental participation was permitted only at High Mass on Sundays and holy days and was to be excluded completely from vespers which were to be sung in plainchant on weekdays and with organ on holy days only. A similar decree for Upper Austria enacted in 1784 restricted the employment of instruments to parish churches in the larger towns.<sup>7</sup> As a result, some composers, Mozart and Joseph Haydn for instance, ceased to write church music temporarily while others, including Albrechtsberger, wrote Masses and motets with organ accompaniment only. The nature of the organ part necessarily changed as composers or church music directors arranged some works originally written for voices and instruments, including a basso continuo part for organ, for a smaller combination of voices and organ.<sup>8</sup>

Further reforms introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in the imperial appropriation or subordination of even more church property and a marked reduction in the patronage of members of the lower nobility, all of which had a knock-on effect on the livelihood of musicians in general and church musicians in particular. Even the larger cathedrals lacked the means of maintaining a full complement of vocalists and instrumentalists and, because they were unable to employ as many professional musicians as before, had to fill the gaps with

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7 The decree began to take effect in other parts of Austria at around the same time, e.g. Linz (1785), Lower Austria (1786). See Hans Hollerweger, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich* (Regensburg, 1976).

8 For further discussion of the Josephine reforms and their ramifications, see Reinhard G. Pauly, 'The Reforms of Church Music under Joseph II', *The Musical Quarterly*, xliii/3 (1957), pp.372-82, and Hans Hollerweger, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich. Studien zur Pastoralliturgie*, vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1976); see also Edward Olleson's comments in the chapter 'Church Music and Oratorio', in G. Abraham, ed., *New Oxford History of Music VII* (London, 1973), pp.305-6. The role of the organ as an accompanying and solo instrument in church music during the century is discussed by Friedrich W. Riedel – 'Der Funktionwandel der Orgel als Begleit- und Solo-Instrument in der österreichischen Kirchenmusik des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts' - in Riedel, ed., *Kirchenmusik mit obligater Orgel* (Sinzig, 1999), pp.11-26.

amateurs. Although Salzburg lay outside Joseph's jurisdiction, the influence of his reforms and of the general spirit of Josephinism was felt there. Hieronymus, Graf von Colloredo-Waldsee, became archbishop in 1772 and, as a letter from Mozart to Padre Martini reveals, quickly introduced reforms in the church service:

Our church music is very different from that of Italy, since a Mass with the whole Kyrie, the Gloria, the Credo, the Epistle Sonata, the Offertory or Motet, the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei must not last longer than three-quarters of an hour. This applies even to the most solemn Mass said by the Archbishop himself... At the same time, the Mass must have all the instruments - trumpets, drums and so forth.<sup>9</sup>

During the 1200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the archiepiscopate in 1782, Colloredo issued a pastoral letter which regulated the position of sacred music, and gave official approval to Kohlbrenner's hymnal in Michael Haydn's revision, to the absolute exclusion of any other collection of hymns. His measures to exclude instrumental music did not meet with much success, and Colloredo was forced to allow its re-introduction, albeit with some limitations, in 1788. This ban, while it lasted, did not apply to the Cathedral or to the monasteries, but it did have some influence on the type of sacred music performed. Colloredo demanded the replacement of church sonatas which, in many places, had descended to the level of secular dance movements, by choral compositions based on liturgical texts and in a simple melodious style. Michael Haydn was commissioned to carry out this task and his settings of Mass enclaves are eloquent testimony to his skill and astonishing industriousness.<sup>10</sup> By virtue of their unpretentiousness (essentially simply

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9 Letter from Mozart to Martini, dated Salzburg, 4 September 1776; translated from the German by Emily Anderson (in Eric Blom, ed., *Mozart Letters*. London, 3/1968, p.33). Mozart enclosed a copy of the score of a motet – 'Misericordias Domini' K.222 - that he had written the previous year.

10 Michael Haydn (1737-1806) was appointed leader of the court chapel orchestra in Salzburg in 1762, cathedral organist in 1778 and, after Leopold Mozart's death in 1787, piano and violin teacher at the cathedral school. The autograph MS of his antiphony, begun in 1783 and completed in 1792

harmonised settings with the Gregorian plainchant as the melody voice), they were soon widely disseminated in both handwritten and printed copies. The influence that Michael Haydn's sacred music as a whole exerted on his contemporaries and succeeding generations not only through performances in many large and small churches in Austria, Bavaria and Italy, but also productively on his pupils, was immense.<sup>11</sup>

Salzburg's musical life was seriously impaired by the Napoleonic wars and the court chapel was dissolved, with the result that the standard of the cathedral music in Salzburg was often not much different from village chapel music. There were only six choristers in 1816 and the town watchman and his assistants played the instrumental music on important feast days. It was the Viennese lawyer and financier, Dr. Franz von Hillebrandt, who instilled fresh life into the gradually decaying music centre. In 1841, through his efforts and with the support of Archbishop Friedrich von Schwarzenberg, the *Dommusikverein und Mozarteum* was founded with the dual purpose of resuscitating church music and reviving Mozart's music.<sup>12</sup>

In the first turbulent years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Vienna became more than ever the central point in Catholic Europe. Noble patrons - Esterházy, Schwarzenberg, Fries and Razumovsky - played an important part in the cultivation and

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and containing more than 100 pieces for four-part choir, usually accompanied by violins in two parts, basso continuo and organ, with the occasional addition of wind instruments, is in the Music Section of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [hereafter ÖNB], Vienna.

11 Carl Maria von Weber, the most important of his pupils, owes much to Michael Haydn in his Mass settings. There is also an evident connection between Michael Haydn and Schubert, and Bruckner's early sacred works bear many fingerprints of Haydn's style.

12 Alois Taux (1817-1861) was Kapellmeister of Salzburg Cathedral and the first director of the *Mozarteum* from 1841 to 1861. He was succeeded by Hans Schläger (1820-1885) who remained until 1868. Dr. Otto Bach (1833-1893) held the two positions from 1868 to 1880 when he moved to Vienna to become Kapellmeister of the Votivkirche and director of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Bruckner made two unsuccessful applications for the vacant posts in 1861 and 1868 respectively.

dissemination of music, but they were gradually replaced by *Musikvereine* and *Kirchenmusikvereine* in the larger towns - Vienna, Salzburg, Graz, Klagenfurt and Linz, for example - societies whose aim was to promote and even to teach serious music.<sup>13</sup> These societies helped in the re-organization of church choirs, but the process took decades to accomplish. Fully professional choirs with more than six voices per part were rare and confined to a few large cathedrals and surviving court chapels in the residence towns of Catholic princes.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the severe cutbacks, music continued to be cultivated in those abbeys and monasteries throughout Austria and Germany that survived; the enormous amount of manuscript material dating from this period to be found in church music archives bears eloquent witness to great industry and remarkable endeavour.<sup>15</sup> With the cessation of war and some measure of revival in church music, even small village churches could occasionally muster instrumental support. A typical church choir in a rural area would consist of two sopranos, two altos, one tenor and one bass, with instrumental support provided by up to four violins, a viola and a double bass. If wind players were not available, their parts could be

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13 The 'Church Music Associations' that were founded in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century include the *Kirchenmusikverein von St. Anna* (later *Verein zur Förderung echter Kirchenmusik*), Vienna, the *Kirchenmusikverein von St. Karl*, Vienna (1825), the *Kirchenmusikverein* of the Piaristenkirche in Josefstadt, Vienna (1843), the *Verein der Kunstfreunde für Kirchenmusik*, Prague (1826) and the *Kirchenmusikverein* of St. Martin's Cathedral, Pressburg (1833). In Salzburg the *Mozarteum* was affiliated with the *Musikverein* in 1841 as a centre for instrumental and vocal instruction.

14 It is estimated that the number of court chapels in former prince-bishoprics was reduced by about 90% as a result of secularisation. However, new bishoprics were founded in places like Linz and St. Pölten.

15 The most important of these abbeys and monasteries, many of which contain manuscripts of sacred works by the Haydn brothers, Mozart and Schubert, are St. Florian, Gmunden, Göttweig, Herzogenburg, Klosterneuburg, Kremsmünster, Lambach, Melk, St. Peter's (Salzburg) and Seitenstetten. For further information about the impact made by the Josephine reforms on Upper Austrian monasteries in particular, see 'Musiktraditionen in den oberösterreichischen Klöstern', in *Bruckner-Symposium Linz* [hereafter *BSL*] 1990: *Musikstadt Linz - Musikland Oberösterreich* (Linz, 1993), pp.179-209. The effect of these reforms on religious life in Linz is discussed in detail by Rudolf Zinnhobler in his article 'Das Bistum Linz zwischen Spätjosephinismus und Liberalismus', in *ABDS* 10 (Vienna, 1994), pp.33-58.

played on the organ. In fact, sheer delight in music-making provided the town and country church choirs with much resilience. On the other hand, the standard of performance was determined by amateurs and was often abysmally low. The music provided was not usually of any lasting artistic value and was frequently nothing more than sacred salon music of a very facile kind. Kocher, a contemporary, provides revealing information about the level of musical performance in German village churches, drawing particular attention to the extremely bad instrumental playing 'which often tortures both one's musical feelings and one's ears to such an extent that one has to stop listening and watching.'<sup>16</sup> In Austria a comparable situation was viewed with alarm by F.X. Glöggl, a conductor and the choirmaster of Linz Cathedral, who, in an unfinished book, presented proposals for the improvement of the musical part of worship in churches. His work was continued by his son who stressed the importance of the organist in congregational singing and considered it essential that he should possess 'intelligence, discernment and self-respect', be able to 'push the singing forward when it lags behind, without causing confusion' and always choose a registration 'in accordance with the number of people present, so that the singing will not be drowned by the organ, except when the congregation have made a mistake' [!]<sup>17</sup>

Glöggl's statement that conditions in country churches were most often inadequate when the musical direction was entrusted to the village schoolmaster is

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16 From L. Kocher, *Die Tonkunst in der Kirche* (Stuttgart, 1823); quoted in H. Allekotte, *C.M. von Webers Messen* (Bonn, 1913), p.25f.

17 F.X. Glöggl, *Erklärendes Handbuch des musikalischen Gottesdienstes* (Vienna, 1828); quoted in Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner* (Potsdam, 1934), p.29ff. For further information about Franz Xaver Glöggl, who played an extremely active part in both the secular and sacred musical life of Linz in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Elisabeth Maier, "'Kirchenmusik auf schiefen Bahnen". Zur Situation in Linz von 1850 bis 1900', Franz Zamazal, 'Johann Baptist Schiedermaier. Ein Vorgänger Bruckners als Linzer Dom- und Stadtpfarrorganist', and Anton Voigt, 'Mozart und Linz', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), pp.109f., 124ff., and 214f.



corroborated by Johann Herbeck whose illustrious career as a conductor and composer developed, like Bruckner's, from humble beginnings. Drawing on his early experience as a teacher in the village of Münchendorf in Lower Austria, he provides a damning account of the position of rural church music in Austria. Viennese popular tunes were set to the Latin text and there was a general atmosphere of utter profanity. Even the schoolmaster who supervised the musical proceedings was normally 'a man... personifying narrow-mindedness and laziness, full of arrogance and self-importance and, to crown it all, usually drunk.'<sup>18</sup>

Judging from Vincent Novello's observations during a European journey in 1829, the standard of performance at many of the larger churches and cathedrals was also very low.<sup>19</sup> Only sixty years or so before this, Charles Burney, during his musical tour of Europe, had commented very favourably on church music in the Austrian capital and had come to the conclusion that the 'excellent performances that are every day heard for nothing in the churches by the common people more contribute to refine and fix the national taste for good music than any other thing that I can at present suggest..<sup>20</sup> While Novello was quite impressed by some of the church music he heard in Vienna, he was clearly disappointed by a Mass that he heard at St. Stephen's which was 'in a poor commonplace old style like what might have been written by Hasse or Vinci' - all the movements were short and unsatisfactory; furthermore, the orchestral players - 'about half a dozen violins, viola, cello, double bass and trombones' - were 'of the mediocre

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18 Johann Herbeck, 'Gedanken über den Zustand der Kirchenmusik auf dem Lande' (1848), in Ludwig Herbeck, *Johann Herbeck. Ein Lebensbild von seinem Sohne Ludwig* (Vienna: Gutmann, 1885), Appendix, p.106f.

19 The Novellos travelled to Vienna by way of Antwerp, Cologne, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Munich, Salzburg and Linz, and attended Mass and often Vespers at each place. See N. Medici di Marignano, ed. Rosemary Hughes, *A Mozart Pilgrimage, being the Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the Year 1829* (London, 1955), pp.254-322.

20 Percy A. Scholes, ed., *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe, II: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands* (London, 1959), p.75ff.

kind.’ And yet, with talent, imagination and youthful vigour, and no doubt encouraged by his former teacher Michael Holzer, choir director, and his brother Ferdinand, unpaid organist, it was still possible for Franz Schubert to write enterprising church music (including four early Mass settings) for his local parish church at Lichtental in the Vienna suburbs. According to the church archives, there was a larger than usual body of singers and instrumentalists available, particularly for festival performances.<sup>21</sup>

It was in such an environment that Anton Bruckner grew up and gained his first experiences of church music. As a young lad he accompanied his parents to Sunday services in Ansfelden where his father played the organ and his mother sang in the choir. The orchestra at the church was a very modest one, usually consisting of two violins, bass, clarinet and horn. Occasionally, on special feast days such as *Corpus Christi*, this meagre force would be augmented by two trumpeters and a timpani player brought from Linz. As the village schoolmaster, Bruckner’s father was not only responsible for the education of the children but had to be a musician of sorts, particularly a church musician. He had to acquire as part of his training the basic technical and theoretical knowledge of music insofar as it was required in organ playing, be it the realization of a figured bass or the improvisation of a short prelude. A schoolmaster’s family understandably formed an essential part of the church choir, providing music completely by itself if necessary. In most villages, schoolchildren and, perhaps, some adults were trained for participation in the musical part of the church service, both as singers and instrumentalists. And so the typical village schoolhouse would often take on the appearance of a small

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21 From the autumn of 1813 for about three years, Schubert lived at the family home. For the first ten months of this period (until August 1814) he studied successfully at the Imperial Teachers’ Training College to be an assistant elementary schoolteacher. For the remainder of the time he was employed as one of his father’s assistants at the school in the Säulengasse. See Walther Dürr, ‘Schubert in seiner Welt’ and Manuela Jahrmärker, ‘Von der liturgischen Funktion zum persönlichen Bekenntnis: Die Kirchenmusik’, in Walther Dürr and Andreas Krause, eds., *Schubert Handbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), pp.50-4 and 346-77.

Conservatory.<sup>22</sup> Young Bruckner received his basic instrumental tuition - in violin, piano and organ – primarily from his father but, possibly, from school assistants employed at the school.<sup>23</sup> He soon began to provide evidence of musical talent and, as a ten-year-old, was probably proficient enough to play the organ at Sunday services.

Occasional visits to the magnificent abbey at St. Florian, where he would have heard the fine three-manual Chrismann organ, were undoubtedly inspirational. In 1835 and 1836 young Bruckner spent eighteen months at the home of his 21-year-old cousin, Johann Baptist Weiß (1813-50), who was schoolmaster and organist at Hörsching, a small town nearby. The Weiß family was gifted musically. Anton Weiß, Johann's uncle, was organist at Wilhering abbey and well-known as far as Vienna where he had played on several occasions. Johann was reputed to be one of the best Upper Austrian musicians of his generation. He was a fine organist and gave Bruckner further organ lessons. He also taught him harmony and counterpoint, using as models works by Bach, Handel, Joseph and Michael Haydn, Mozart and Albrechtsberger.<sup>24</sup> The scoring of Weiß's own Requiem in E flat, one young Bruckner's favourite works, suggests that Hörsching was able to boast a slightly larger orchestra than Ansfelden.<sup>25</sup> Bruckner also had a high opinion of

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22 The situation did not change appreciably later in the century. See Rolf Keller, 'Anton Bruckner und die Familie Albrecht, in *BJ 1984/85/86* (Linz, 1988), pp.53-6.

23 See Franz Zamazal, 'Anton Bruckner begann als neunjähriger 1833 mit dem Klavierspiel', in *Studien & Berichte (IBG Mitteilungsblatt)* 64 (2005), pp. 12-13.

24 Weiß was Bruckner's 'godparent' when he was confirmed in Linz by Bishop Gregorius Ziegler on 1 June 1833. There is a facsimile of the confirmation form in Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), p.20; the original is in the *ÖNB*. In 1836-35 Weiß introduced his young cousin to Joseph Haydn's *The Creation*, *The Seasons* and *The Seven Last Words*, and gave him a copy of the first edition of the F minor Variations for piano as a present. See Leopold Nowak, *op.cit.*, p.21 for a facsimile of the title page of the latter with Weiß's and Bruckner's signatures.

25 Weiß's Requiem is scored for first and second violins, bass, two clarinets, oboe (ad lib.), two horns, two trumpets, organ continuo and voices; it was later published privately (1904) by Ernest Lanninger, parish priest of Hörsching.

another Weiß work, a Mozartian Mass in G major.<sup>26</sup> One of his own first surviving compositions, a *Pange lingua* WAB 31, was possibly written during his stay in Hörsching. Indeed he thought highly enough of this early piece of sacred music to revise it more than 50 years later.<sup>27</sup> It is also possible that five short organ preludes, WAB 127 and 128, were written at this time, but doubts have been cast on their authenticity, and it is possible that Bruckner copied them.<sup>28</sup>

At the end of 1836 young Bruckner had to return home to Ansfelden to assist his ailing father in his duties as schoolmaster, church organist, verger and fiddler for village dances. Overwork, nervous exhaustion and heavy drinking were contributory factors to his father's death of consumption on 7 June 1837 at the early age of 46. Franz Perfahl, his father's assistant, and Joseph Peither, newly appointed as an additional assistant in May 1837, would almost certainly have undertaken the bulk of the teaching duties. Perfahl was another of Bruckner's music teachers, giving him lessons in violin and other musical subjects - probably during the period between his first return from Hörsching and his second visit in

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26 Bruckner also possessed a copy of Weiß's gradual *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, dated 17 January 1836 and the sketch of another sacred work, probably also by Weiß – *Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina* (dated '14 July 1835 in Ansfelden'. For further information about the latter, see Franz Scheder 'Bruckner-Incerta', in *Bruckner-Symposium Linz 2004 Bericht* (Linz, 2008), pp.139-41.

27 It may have been written slightly later, during his period as a choirboy at St. Florian, but it certainly pre-dates his teacher training year in Linz. It was printed for the first time in *G-A II/1* (1928), p.228; see also Leopold Nowak, ed., *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke* [hereafter *ABSW*] XXI/1 (Vienna, 1984), p.3 and commentary in *ABSW XXI/2*, p.3f. The revised version (April 1891) was also printed for the first time - in a facsimile of the autograph, Mus. Hs. 3184 in the ÖNB - in *G-A II/1*, p.230; see also *ABSW XXI/1*, p.158 and commentary in *ABSW XXI/2*, p.145ff.

28 The Prelude in E flat WAB 127 was printed for the first time in Max Auer, *Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, 2/1934) and the Four Preludes WAB 128 were printed for the first time in *G-A II/1*, pp.97-102. Othmar Wessely, in his article 'Der junge Bruckner und sein Orgelspiel', in *ABDS 10* (Vienna, 1994), p.62ff., draws attention to the rudimentary pedal technique required, describes the pieces as typical products of a style of organ playing common in 'rural cultural backwaters' at the time, and adds that it is entirely possible that Weiß was the composer and Bruckner merely copied them. Another organ prelude in B flat major is mentioned in *G-A IV/4* (supplementary volume, Regensburg, 1974), p.319. Erwin Horn provides further information about these early Preludes in his paper, 'Anton Bruckners Orgelwerke', in *Bruckner-Tagung Wien 1999 Bericht* (Vienna, 2000), pp. 27-8, and they are also discussed by Scheder in 'Bruckner-Incerta', p. 141.

June / July 1837 when he was sent there to recover from the shock of his father's death and to enable his mother to give some attention to the other four younger children.<sup>29</sup>

Joseph Bruckner's successor as schoolmaster, Joseph Hametner, took up his position in Ansfelden in July, and Bruckner's mother was forced to take the sacrificial step of moving away from the village to lodgings in Ebelsberg, a small village in the vicinity of St. Florian where, no doubt due to the intervention of the abbot, Michael Arneth, Bruckner was admitted as a chorister at the end of August.<sup>30</sup> He entered the third class of the village school at St. Florian and boarded with the school director, Michael Bogner.<sup>31</sup> Bogner also acted "in loco parentis" for two other choirboys, Karl Seiberl and Anton Haus, and one of his responsibilities was to coach them in the voice parts of those pieces which Eduard Kurz, the St Florian abbey choir director, brought to the school every Monday.<sup>32</sup>

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29 See G-A IV/3 (1936), 62. Bruckner must have got on well with Perfahl.(1817-1883). There are reports of his visiting him in Bad Goisern from the early 1860s onwards. Franz Perfahl (b. 1813) received his teaching certificate in 1835, moved from Ansfelden to Neuhofen in 1838 and was a teaching assistant and then a fully fledged teacher in various Upper Austrian towns until his death in 1883. See the *Verzeichnis des Personal-Standes der deutschen Schulen in der Diözese Linz, Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz as well as Klaus Petermayr, "Franz Xaver Perfahl – Freund und Lehrer Bruckners", in ABIL Mitteilungen no. 7 (June 2011), pp. 8-9.

30 Joseph Seebacher (1767-1848), the parish priest of Ansfelden, had written to Arneth about the death of Anton Bruckner sen. and the unsympathetic attitude of his parishioners who expected the 'traditional way', viz. that a suitable school assistant should marry her! See Karl Rehberger, 'St. Florian und Anton Bruckner bis 1855. Einige neue Aspekte' in *BSL 1994* (Linx, 1997), p.32. In his article 'Marginalien zu Anton Bruckners Jugend: Tante Anna Maria und Mutter Theresia Bruckner', in *BJ 2006-2010* (Linz, 2011), pp.359-68, Franz Zamazal is the first to admit that there is very little documentary evidence extant concerning Bruckner's boyhood and youth, most of it coming from secondary sources. Nevertheless, he is able to sketch in some more details about the lives of Bruckner's mother Theresia who, according to the Ebelsberg parish records, moved house five times between 1837 and her death in 1860, and his unmarried aunt Anna Maria (1784-1855), who did not move with the Bruckner household to Ebelsberg in 1837 as formerly believed but settled there much later in the early 1850s.

31 Michael Bogner (1802-1879) was trained as a teacher in Linz. He taught at Ansfelden, Peilstein, Urfahr and Ried before moving to St. Florian where he was principal teacher at the school from 1834 until his retirement in 1875. He died in St. Florian in 1879.

32 Eduard Kurz had been a pupil of the theorist and composer, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, in

Instrumental teachers at St. Florian included Franz Raab who taught violin and was highly thought of as a church composer and a bass singer in the abbey choir, and Franz Gruber who was on the administrative staff of the abbey but also taught violin.<sup>33</sup> But the musician who made the greatest impression on Bruckner was undoubtedly the cathedral organist, Anton Kattinger.<sup>34</sup> Bruckner stayed at St. Florian for three years and received both general and musical education, showing early signs of above-average talent as an organist as a result of excellent tuition from Kattinger.<sup>35</sup> His involvement in the performance of a great variety of church music, ranging in style from Renaissance polyphony to Classical and early Romantic homophony, left a deep impression and bore rich fruit later in his own sacred music.<sup>36</sup> Although Bruckner's voice broke in 1839 he was able to remain at the abbey for another year as a violinist and occasional organist. Having decided to become a schoolteacher, he was coached for the entrance examination to the *Präparandie* (Teacher Training Course) at the Linz *Normalhauptschule* by the St.

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Vienna. He was choir director at St. Florian (with interruptions) from 1810 to 1841, as well as being on the clerical staff there from 1813 to 1845. He was often unwell and was replaced by Franz Xaver Schäfler who was later a member of the male-voice quartet founded by Bruckner.

33 Gruber had been taught in Vienna by the noted violinist, Ignaz Schuppanzigh, and had studied at the Conservatory possibly with Joseph Böhm or Georg Hellmesberger.

34 Anton Kattinger (1798-1852) was employed as an organist at St. Florian from 1816 onwards and as a clerk of the court from 1819. After the death of his wife in December 1849 he moved to Kremsmünster where he married again in 1851. He died on 17 June 1852 after a number of strokes.

35 See G-A I (1922), pp.129-32 for details of Bruckner's exercises in grammar - *Ausarbeitungen von nacten Sätzen* - and arithmetic - *Rechnen-Aufgabenheft*, including a facsimile of a page from the latter on p.133. The original copy of the *Ausarbeitungen*, can be found in the *Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*. The original of a 'model letter' to his mother from a school exercise book can be found in the *ÖNB*; there are facsimiles of other 'model letters' in Bruckner's birth house in Ansfelden.

36 Walter Pass, in his article 'Studie über Bruckners ersten St. Florianer Aufenthalt', in *Bruckner-Studien 1824-1974* (Vienna, 1975), pp.11-51, presents in full the *Verzeichnis aller aufgeführten Kirchenmusikstücke* in St. Florian from November 1838 to September 1841 (it actually continues until the end of 1841) and shows that there was a highly organized church music life in the abbey at this time. See also Joachim Angerer, 'Bruckner und die klösterlichen Lebensformen seiner Zeit', in *BSL 1985: Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik* (Linz, 1988), pp.41-9.

Florian school assistant, Georg Steinmeyer, and acquitted himself very creditably.

There is no real parallel between the *Normalhauptschule* and today's 'secondary school', 'high school' or college, nor does the term *normal* signify normal or usual. It was, rather, 'the most important, standard-setting educational establishment in Upper Austria' and, consequently, it held an intensive teacher-training course run by Johann Pauspertl Wladýk von Drachtenthal who was also director of the *Normalhauptschule*.<sup>37</sup>

After successfully negotiating the entrance examination to the *Hauptschule*, Bruckner embarked on the teacher-training course in Linz which began on 15 October 1840 and ended on 18 August 1841. As well as mastering the 'three Rs', a trainee teacher was required to take courses in religious instruction and music. Regional (but not international) geography was taught, but there was no tuition in subjects such as literature, history and the natural sciences. The curriculum followed by Bruckner was in accordance with the *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den k.k. Erblanden* (1840 revision). It was not until the middle of the century that a real attempt was made to modernise secondary and tertiary education in Austria. This was largely the result of reforms introduced by Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein, Minister of Education, in the years 1847-53. The main thrust of earlier reforms introduced during the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II had been to increase the power of the state at the expense of the nobility who had exercised almost feudal control at a regional level hitherto. Although the Catholic church was given the task of implementing these reforms, the objectives were determined in detail by the state. There was rigid state control over what was

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<sup>37</sup> For more information about the teacher-training course at Linz and the higher standards set by von Drachtenthal, who was director from 1835 to 1843, see Othmar Wessely, 'Anton Bruckners Präparandenzeit', in *BSL 1988* (Linz, 1992), pp.21-5. For a description of Bruckner's own handwritten copy of von Pauspertl's educational method in the Linz Stadtarchiv, see also Wolfgang Partsch, 'Ein autographes Methodik-Skriptum des jungen Bruckners', in Theophil Antonicek, Andreas Lindner and Klaus Petermayr (ed), *Bruckner Tagung 2005 Bericht* (Linz: Anton Bruckner Institut Linz, 2008), pp.149-59.

taught in secondary schools, for instance. Learning by rote was the norm, independent thinking was not encouraged and students were not expected to explore beyond the text books supplied. Thanks to Thun's reforms, however, the fine arts - hitherto considered not only unnecessary but even 'disruptive' - were now considered 'teachable' subjects and granted a place in the school curriculum.<sup>38</sup>

Bruckner's music teacher in Linz was a remarkable musician called August Dürnberger who had provided music tuition free of charge at the college since 1832.<sup>39</sup> The scope of his activities at the *Hauptschule* is made clear in a letter sent by the college to the episcopal consistory in Linz in March 1846 recommending that he be awarded a civil service gold medal in recognition of his selfless contribution. As well as providing unpaid instruction in harmony, counterpoint, organ playing and plainchant singing, he had provided his trainee teachers with an understanding of and performing experience of 'genuine church music' and had not only devoted all his spare time to the college but had also 'rendered the state a great service by taking care of the purchase and repair of instruments and by buying musical material'.<sup>40</sup> Dürnberger's multifarious activities in the town included the direction of performances of Classical works with full choir and orchestra, involving the participation of a number of students, in the *Minoritenkirche*, the instruction of college students in organ playing and plainchant singing, the regular participation every Sunday and feast-day for ten years in services at an approved school - the *Provinzial-Zwangsarbeits- und Besserungsanstalt* - the composition of church songs, and the direction of the Linz

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38 Peter Stachel examines the Austrian educational system in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in his article "wer mir mit neuen Ideen kommt, der kann gehen..." Einige historische Überlegungen zu Schule und Kreativität, entwickelt am Beispiel Anton Bruckners', in *BSL 2000* (Linz, 2004), pp.45-59.

39 J.A. Dürnberger (1800-1880) was in turn a law student in Jena and a trainee book-keeper in Linz before studying music in Vienna. Like his famous pupil after him he accumulated a number of certificates testifying to his musical abilities.

40 This letter of recommendation can be found in the *Ordinariatsarchiv*, Linz.



town band.

Dürrenberger taught at the *Normalhauptschule* from 1832 to 1861 and made use of his own *Choral-Gesangslehre in einfacher Darstellung und Ordnung der Grundregeln* and *Elementar-Lehrbuch der Harmonie- und Generalbaßlehre* as well as Marpurg's *Handbuch bei dem Generalbaße und der Composition*. He gave Bruckner a copy of the latter to take with him to his first teaching position in Windhaag.<sup>41</sup> Elisabeth Maier sums up Dürrenberger's importance as follows:

It is to Dürrenberger's lasting credit that he provided the beginnings of that solid theoretical foundation without which Bruckner's later mastery would not have been possible. In addition, no doubt as a result of his year-long involvement with young people, he developed a keen eye for true talent. He provided Bruckner with strong support as long as it was in his power to do so, and he was able to exert a positive influence on the future of his brilliant student until he obtained the post of Linz cathedral and parish church organist.<sup>42</sup>

While we have some idea of the music instruction which Bruckner received at the *Normalhauptschule*, we have very little knowledge of the precise content of the rest of the syllabus. The music examinations were held in July and those in the other disciplines in August each year. Apart from Bruckner there were 40 other trainee teachers during the 1840/41 session. Only 22 went forward to the examination and, of these, two graduated as secondary school teachers and fourteen as primary school teachers.<sup>43</sup>

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41 In Bruckner's copy there are annotations like 'klingt schlecht' ('sounds bad') and 'unkirchlich' ('secular'). The original of Bruckner's copy is in the *ÖNB*; there is a photograph of the title-page in Leopold Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben* (Linz, 1973), p.40.

42 Elisabeth Maier, 'Bruckners oberösterreichische Lehrer', in *BSL 1988* (Linz, 1992), p.42.

43 A copy of Pauspertl v. Drachenthal's report for the year, dated Linz, 15 November 1841, can be found in Franz Zamazal's article, 'Familie Bruckner - Drei Generationen Lehrer', in *ABDS 10* (Vienna, 1994), p.219ff.

In the certificate he received covering primary school subjects Bruckner obtained nine 'very good' marks and fourteen 'good' marks. Each subject was given two marks, one assessing the candidate's knowledge of the subject, the other his ability to teach the subject. The evaluation of Bruckner's teaching skill was significantly higher than that of his subject knowledge. He received six 'very good' marks for the former and three for the latter, namely in religion, arithmetic and German language - an assessment that runs counter to the belief that Bruckner possessed very little teaching ability.<sup>44</sup>

Although he was not allowed to frequent the theatre during his stay in Linz, Bruckner would almost certainly have availed himself of opportunities to attend concerts. The Linz *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, founded by Anton Mayer (1780-1854) in 1821, put on an average of four 'regular' concerts each year but also sponsored 'extraordinary' events, for instance concerts for charity and student concerts. The *Tonkünstler* society arranged regular performances of oratorios by Handel, Haydn (*The Creation* and *The Seasons*) and Beethoven (*Mount of Olives*). A typical concert programme of the time would have been a mixture of overtures (for example, Weber's *Der Freischütz* or *Euryanthe*), movements from symphonies, concertos, virtuoso pieces (variations, potpourris, polonaises), arias, choral items and operatic ensembles. In addition Bruckner would have been encouraged to listen to church music in the three main churches - the Cathedral, the Parish Church and the Minorite church - and would have been required to sing in the latter on Sundays.<sup>45</sup>

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44 The originals of Dürnberger's catalogue and list of pupils on the teacher training course in 1840-41 and the certificate for the conclusion of the course (signed J.P.von Drachenthal and dated 16 August 1841) are in the *ÖNB*; there are facsimiles in Leopold Nowak, op.cit., 42 and 45. The original of Dürnberger's own classification and account of progress made by students in harmony and figured bass during 1840-41 (signed by both Dürnberger and Drachtenthal and dated 30 July 1841) is in St. Florian.

45 For further information about musical life in Linz during this period, see the following articles by Othmar Wessely: 'Das Linzer Musikleben in der ersten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts', in *Jahrbuch der*

Bruckner's musical training in Linz also included piano lessons. His instruction manual was the *Kleine theoretisch-praktische Klavier-Schule*, published by Haslinger in 1825, which contained pieces from Pleyel's, Dussek's and Cramer's piano tutors. He possessed handwritten copies of piano sonatas and variation works by Haydn which he had received from Weiß, and made his own copy of Bach's *Art of Fugue*.

Having obtained excellent results in his final examinations, Bruckner duly qualified as an 'assistant teacher for primary schools'. He would have been disappointed to obtain only 'good' rather than 'very good' marks in organ playing and rectified this anomaly four years later in the organ recital which he gave as part of the final examination for prospective high school teachers. Dürnberger was more generous in his appraisal and awarded Bruckner a 'very good' commendation.<sup>46</sup> After leaving Linz Bruckner remained in touch with his former teacher. In 1855 Dürnberger was particularly helpful in encouraging Bruckner to apply for the vacant position of cathedral organist in Linz. Eleven years later, in 1866, Dürnberger spent some time in Grünburg near Steyr, possibly to recuperate from an illness. A letter which Bruckner sent him on his name-day is sufficient evidence of the high esteem in which he still held him:

... It is an expression of gratitude for the trouble which you took with me when you were once my teacher. It also comes from my deep respect for your almost unparalleled fair-mindedness and the energy which you expended in pursuing what was obviously right. It is further an expression of love - in response to the love which

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*Stadt Linz 1953* (Linz, 1954), p.283; 'Anton Bruckner und Linz', in *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz 1954* (Linz, 1955), p.201; 'Linz', in *MGG* 8 (Cassel, 1960), cols. 914-23; 'Von Mozart bis Bruckner. Wandlungen des Linzer Musiklebens 1770 bis 1870' in *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 25 (1970), p.151; 'Linz', in *The New Grove* 9 (1980), p.12f. See also R. Flotzinger and G. Gruber, eds., *Musikgeschichte Österreichs II. Vom Barock zur Gegenwart* (Graz, 1979), 221ff. and 349ff., and H. Zappe, 'Anton Bruckner, die Familie Zappe und die Musik. Zur Musikgeschichte des Landes Oberösterreich 1812-1963 bzw. 1982' in *BJ 1982/83* (Linz, 1984), pp.129-61.

46 The original of this certificate, signed by Franz Rieder, Franz Schierfeneder and Dürnberger and dated 24 June 1845, is in St. Florian.

particularly touched me through your goodwill and benevolence of which I was often the recipient. Under such circumstances, who would not avail himself of an opportunity of giving expression to his feelings?... May God keep you in health for many, many years, bless you and amply reward you! So many of your pupils will echo that today! I join my voice to theirs and have every reason to do it in a strong 'forte'...<sup>47</sup>

Bruckner's scrupulousness in financial matters can already be seen at this early age - he took out a personal insurance policy for pension purposes just as he was embarking on a teaching career. It is possible, of course, that he was strongly advised to do so.<sup>48</sup>

Bruckner remained in frequent contact with his young friend and 'house mate', Karl Seiberl until his death, and Seiberl later reminisced on those early years.<sup>49</sup> Karl's brother Josef was on the same teacher-training course as Bruckner and, from 1843 to 1847, was Weiß's assistant in Hörsching.<sup>50</sup> Karl remembered young Bruckner's very proficient accompaniment of a Preindl Mass from a figured bass part at his parents' house in Marienkirchen in 1839 and observed that his improvisatory skills were in evidence at this early age. The two brothers were able to observe Bruckner's progress as an organist and to recognize the important part played by Kattinger and Weiß as his early mentors:

He [Weiß] was a superb improviser on the organ and displayed his

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47 See Andrea Harrantdt and Otto Schneider, eds., *Briefe 1852-1886*, ABSW 21/1 (2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition, Vienna, 2009) [hereafter *HSABB 1*], p.62 for this letter, dated Linz, 16 May 1866. The original has been lost; it was first printed in *G-A 1*, p.149f.

48 See *G-A 1*, p.154 for details of this policy with the *Pensionsinstitut für Schullehrers-Witwen und -Waisen*.

49 Karl Seiberl (1830 - 1918) later became a distinguished lawyer.

50 See Chapter 2 for further information about Josef Seiberl, and Andreas Lindner, 'Ein interessanter Notennachlass im Besitz des Anton Bruckner Instituts Linz', in *BJ 2006-2010* (Linz, 2011), pp.201-6 for information about musical material from Seiberl's estate in the Anton Bruckner Institut including copies of vocal and instrumental parts written by some of his and Bruckner's contemporaries on the teacher training course in Linz.

skills in St. Florian abbey when he gave a concert there with Kattinger, the abbey organist, and Bruckner. The three organists, Kattinger - a masterly organ player for whom Bruckner had the greatest respect - on the main organ, Bruckner and Weiß on the two side organs, improvised on a theme provided by Kattinger. I myself did not witness this encounter of the three best organists in the district and beyond, and their improvisation which was a veritable musical event, but my brother Joseph was present and told me that most of the audience, who listened intently to the improvisations, considered schoolmaster Weiß to be the best... I can say that Bruckner, by virtue of his great talent, the tireless industry which he brought to his theoretical training, his opportunities of hearing the quite excellent abbey organist Kattinger, and the Classical church and chamber music cultivated at the abbey at that time, was able to build on the foundation of Weiß's instruction and to become the organist who then did not rest until, developing year by year, he reached the heights which elicited our admiration.

... Bruckner often visited Weiß during the period when my brother was his school assistant in Hörsching. On the occasion of one such visit when Bruckner no doubt demonstrated his skill again, Weiß said to my brother, 'Watch out, he will make his mark'. Weiß died young and did not live to see the fulfilment of his prophecy. It is a great pity, as the same might have been said of him had his talent been able to flourish along the right lines.<sup>51</sup>

In October 1841 Bruckner took up his first teaching appointment as assistant schoolmaster at a *Trivialschule* (elementary or primary school) in the small village of Windhaag situated near the border with Bohemia in the northern extremity Upper Austria. It was very difficult to reach and conditions were fairly primitive.

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51 From Franz Gräßlinger, *Anton Bruckner. Bausteine zu seiner Lebensgeschichte* [hereafter *GrBL*] (Munich: Piper, 1911), p.102f. Seiberl does not give a date for the 'organ contest' but it probably took place between 1845 and 1850 by which time there would have been a significant improvement in Bruckner's finger- and pedal-technique. The 'Weiß' who took part in the contest was probably Anton Weiß from Wilhering, Johann's uncle. In 1850 Johann Weiß took his own life after innocently accepting responsibility for a church fund from which, unknown to him, a considerable sum of money had been embezzled. From then until his own death in 1896 Bruckner wrote many requests to the church authorities at Hörsching for a mass to be said for the repose of Weiß's soul. He even tried to persuade the authorities to entrust Weiß's skull to him – an unusual request but an act of genuine affection rather than morbid reverence.

To make matters worse, Bruckner's superior, Franz Fuchs, was not an easy man to get on with. As an assistant teacher, Bruckner was on the lowest band of the teaching scale and his wages, 40 florins per annum, were extremely modest in relation to the average for the time, but he received free board and lodging (a small room in a relatively safe part of the old school building which had been 'condemned' in 1822).<sup>52</sup> In June 1841, four months before Bruckner took up his appointment, a fire destroyed nine houses and the roof of the village church, severely damaging the bell and the clock. The new church tower and bell were consecrated in October 1842.

Bruckner's social position was that of an apprentice learning his trade. Apart from teaching, he was expected to undertake a variety of duties which included ringing the church bell in the morning (4 a.m. in the summer, 5 a.m. in the winter) and evening, cutting the grass in the schoolmaster's property, helping the parish priest to put on his vestments for each service, and playing the organ during the service or acting as server if the principal schoolmaster played. In the afternoons there were a number of other duties which changed from season to season - haymaking, threshing, digging potatoes, tilling and sowing. Bruckner also had to tidy the sacristy, help in administering the sacraments, and act as scribe for the church choir. Fuchs appeared to resent Bruckner's easy way with the children and his superior musical ability, and frequently deprived him of his free periods by requiring him to cut quills into pens for the children. He also gave him only limited access to his spinet, but Bruckner was able to make frequent use of the organ in the village church. He made further studies of Bach's *Art of Fugue* which he had

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52 Work on the new school building was begun in June 1842 and progressed well enough for the schoolmaster to be able to move in on 31 October 1843; the building was dedicated on 13 November. But there were all sorts of delays, and the final building certificate was not issued until February 1849. 27 years had elapsed since the original recommendation for a new building! Franz Zamazal provides a vivid description of a nineteenth-century teacher's living and working conditions in rural areas in 'Bruckner als Volksschullehrer', in *BSL 1988* (Linz, 1992), pp.27-34.

already copied in Linz and Albrechtsberger's *Preludes and Fugues*. He also worked his way through the various lecture notes he had taken in Linz and compiled a 218-page manuscript of Drachenthal's *Allgemeine Methodik*.<sup>53</sup>

Like his father before him Bruckner supplemented his income by playing the fiddle at local dances, an obvious drain on his energy as it often kept him up until the early hours of the morning.<sup>54</sup> But there were some compensatory benefits, not least the friendship of Johann Sücka, a weaver by trade, and his family. Bruckner gave music lessons to his three children, Maria, Rosalia and Franz, and prepared Franz for the teacher-training course in Linz. By way of recompense Bruckner enjoyed a regular hearty breakfast at the Sücka household and Frau Sücka did his laundry. Johann played both clarinet and trumpet and would join his son (first violin) and Bruckner (second violin) in some domestic music-making. Bruckner was delighted when Sücka purchased a clavichord as he was able to practise on it to his heart's content! **55**

It had been obvious for some time that Bruckner and Fuchs did not get on well. There were complaints that Bruckner was spending too much of his time composing. Nevertheless, he received a very good report during the school inspection carried out by Josef Leuthäuser in June 1842.<sup>56</sup> Matters came to a head

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53 There is a facsimile of the title-page of Bruckner's manuscript in Elisabeth Maier, *Bruckners oberösterreichische Lehrer*, BSL 1988, 43. The original can be found in the Linz *Stadtarchiv*.

54 See Helga Thiel, Gerda Lechleitner and Walter Deutsch, 'Anton Bruckner - sein soziokulturelles Umfeld, seine musikalische Umwelt'. in *BSL 1987* (Linz, 1989), pp.111-19 for a discussion of Joseph Jobst's fair copy (in 1872) of the Ländler he had played in Windhaag with Bruckner, Sücka, Toni and Johann Mauer. See also Walter Deutsch, 'Eine Ländlersammlung von Windhaag', *idem*, 124-49, for the facsimile of Jobst's copy. There were two main types of Bavarian /Austrian folk dance - the Ländler in three time and the 'Hopser' in four time. Bruckner also possessed two sheets of dance music; these are in the *ÖNB*.

55 This clavichord was eventually sold to the Oberösterreichische Landesmuseum by one of Sücka's descendants and has been in Bruckner's birthplace in Ansfelden since 1971. In his article, 'Nachrichten von "Brucknerclavichord"', in *BJ 2006-2010* (Linz, 2011), pp.111-16, Stefan Gschwendtner describes the range of the instrument and its present condition.

56 The supervision of schools was the responsibility of the church. Josef Leuthäuser was dean of

when Bruckner one day failed to carry out one of his obligatory non-teaching duties - bringing manure to the fields - and was reported to the abbot, Michael Arneth. The latter was astute enough to recognize the potential in young Bruckner and, far from punishing him, arranged for him to spend some time as a school assistant in the more pleasant village of Kronstorf until such time as a place could be found for him in the village school at St. Florian.<sup>57</sup> In spite of their differences, Bruckner and Fuchs seem to have parted on reasonably good terms. Fuchs's reference, corroborated by a reference from the parish priest, Franz von Schwinghaimb, made favourable mention of Bruckner's 'tireless energy' as a teacher and his scrupulous fulfilment of other duties.<sup>58</sup>

During his sixteen months in Windhaag Bruckner wrote a Mass in C, WAB 23, for the best singer in the church choir, an alto called Anna Jobst, two horns and organ. It is unpretentious, obviously circumscribed by the limited musical forces available in a village church, and therefore typical of the many *Landmessen* or 'country Masses' written during the first half of the nineteenth century. The designation *Choralmesse* does not refer to any particular association with a pre-existing

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the Freistadt district.

57 In a conversation with Theodor Altwirth in Vienna in July 1895, Bruckner remarked that he had been transferred not for disciplinary reasons but because he was unhappy in Windhaag and had asked Michael Arneth to be moved to a better situation; see Altwirth, 'Bei Anton Bruckner', in the *Linzer Montagspost*, 29 July 1895, p.1.

58 See G-A I, p.207f. and Manfred Wagner, *Bruckner* (Mainz, 1983), p.233f. for the texts of these references, both dated 19 January 1843. There is a facsimile of Fuchs's reference in Nowak, *Anton Bruckner. Musik und Leben*, p.52. Franz Seraph Amerer von Schwinghaimb (1790-1850) was parish priest at Windhaag from November 1831 to January 1843. Some manuscripts in St. Florian and one or two printed booklets reveal him to be a zealous supporter of the anti-Josephine viewpoint. He was a learned man and a skilled theologian - a cut above the average parish priest. That Bruckner was not completely aware of this and no doubt partly misunderstood Schwinghaimb was one of the factors which contributed to his move away from Windhaag in 1843. For further information about Franz Fuchs (1787-1860), Franz von Schwinghaimb, Windhaag and Bruckner's Windhaag experience, see Othmar Wessely, 'Zu Bruckners Windhaager Jahren' and Franz Zamazal, 'Neues zu Bruckners Aufenthalt in Windhaag', *BSL 1992* (Linz, 1995), pp.49-56 and 57-72. Both articles draw on documentary material in the Freistadt and Windhaag parish archives, in particular the school inspection of 1842.



Gregorian plainchant but suggests that it was written specifically for one of the more penitential periods of the church year, Advent of Lent.<sup>59</sup> Bruckner was school assistant in Kronstorf from 23 January 1843 until 23 September 1845. He was much nearer the more pleasant surroundings of St. Florian, about ten miles away, and Enns and Steyr, both about six miles away. The village was half the size of Windhaag, with a little over 100 inhabitants, and Bruckner's duties as schoolmaster, sexton and part-time 'community worker' were similar to those at Windhaag, although there is no specific mention of agricultural activities in the contract.<sup>60</sup> His starting salary was the same as at Windhaag but was soon increased, and he was therefore in a position to send some of it to help his mother and siblings. The inhabitants of the village were friendlier and, more important, he formed a good working relationship with his superior, Franz Lehofer, and got on well with the parish priest, Alois Knauer. He quickly made friends with a keen amateur musician, Joseph Födermayer, who lent him his old piano so that he could practise on it in the schoolroom whenever it was convenient. In 1865 Mathias Leutgäb was school assistant in Kronstorf. He later described the schoolhouse there as follows:

... [The] cowshed is the nicest part of the house. There was still an open stove in the kitchen and the pots had to be placed on top of it. Walls and window were completely black. At my request,

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59 The work was first printed in *G-A I* (1922), pp.173-89. For a modern edition and commentary, see *ABSW XXI/1*, pp.4-11 and 183-87 and *ABSW XXI/2*, pp.4-9. There is a facsimile of one page from the autograph of the organ part (end of *Gloria*, beginning of *Credo*) in *ABSW XXI/1*,xiv. The original is in the *Wels Stadtmuseum* (no. 2692). For a recent discussion of the *Landmesse*, see Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Versuch einer Geschichte der Landmesse', in *BSL 1985: Anton Bruckner und die Kirchenmusik* (Linz, 1988), pp.59-69.

60. See *G-A I*, p.211f. for the text of the contract, which is dated 23 January 1843

however, I received a transportable stove with two copper containers [for heating water. <sup>61</sup>

Bruckner's room, about 18' x 18', was on the first floor of the building next to the classroom and can still be seen today.

With seemingly boundless youthful energy Bruckner pursued lessons in organ, piano and music theory with Leopold von Zenetti, organist and director of the church choir in Enns. As Zenetti was a regular guest at St. Florian, Bruckner had probably got to know him when he was a choirboy there in the late 1830s. Three times a week Bruckner made the journey on foot to Enns and back (a round trip of twelve miles), and it was not unknown for him occasionally to have a lesson with Zenetti on a Sunday morning, walk back to Kronstorf, complete an assignment, and return to Enns for another lesson in the evening! Like many church organists at the time, Zenetti wrote music of his own to supplement the repertoire.<sup>62</sup> He was not only a musician of some distinction - in Enns he also directed the Music Society and a male-voice choir as well as organizing concerts - but was an extremely well-read man, possessing a fine library of musical scores (mainly the Viennese Classics), books on music and on literature, history and geography.<sup>63</sup> Bruckner paid tribute to Zenetti's understanding of music theory on several occasions later in his life. When he moved to St. Florian in 1845 he continued to travel to Enns for lessons with Zenetti, and it was as a result of his encouragement (as well as that of Dürrnberger) that the somewhat hesitant young man applied for the vacant post of cathedral organist in Linz in 1855. By this time the teacher-pupil relationship had developed into a firm friendship. After Bruckner moved to

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<sup>61</sup> From Leutgäb's unpublished autobiography, as quoted by Zamazal, *BSL 1988*, p.31.

<sup>62</sup> There is a list of works, some definitely by Zenetti (1805-1892), others probably by him, in Elisabeth Maier and Franz Zamazal, 'Anton Bruckner und Leopold Zenetti', in *ABDS 3* (Graz, 1980), p. 119.

<sup>63</sup> See Maier and Zamazal, *ibid.*, p.116f. and, in particular, pp.201-39 for a list of music in Zenetti's library.

Vienna in 1868 he often spent part of his summer vacation in St. Florian and frequently took the opportunity of visiting his old teacher on these occasions. The two main textbooks which Zenetti used were D.G. Türk's *Von der wichtigsten Pflichten eines Organisten* (1787) and *Kurze Anweisung zum Generalbaßspiel* (1791), but Bruckner would also have had access to tutors like J.B. Vanhal's *Anfangsgründe des Generalbaßes* (Vienna, 1817), Ambros Rieder's *Anleitung zur richtigen Begleitung der vorgeschriebenen Kirchengesänge wie auch zum Generalbaß* (1830) and Simon Sechter's *Praktische Generalbaß-Schule* op. 49 (1830).<sup>64</sup> The emphasis in Zenetti's teaching was clearly on the practical outworking of what was learned theoretically. He also introduced Bruckner to Bach's *Wohltemperirte Klavier* and chorale harmonizations.

Among the acquaintances Bruckner made in Enns was the parish priest Joseph von Peßler (1803-1877) for whose birthday in 1843 the fledgling composer wrote an *a cappella* male-voice chorus, *An dem Feste* WAB 59, to words by the Kronstorf priest, Alois Knauer. It was first performed in Enns Parish Church on 19 September 1843 and is of particular interest because, fifty years later, Bruckner made some corrections to it, added dynamic markings, and had new words provided by Karl Ptak. With its new title *Tafel-Lied* (WAB 86), it was performed by the *Wiener Akademischer Gesangverein* on 11 March 1893 and was reviewed favourably in two Viennese papers, the *Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Deutsches Volksblatt*. In the former, Theodor Helm, a friend and admirer of Bruckner, drew attention to the 'unpretentious but successful choral writing of the nineteen-year-old Upper Austrian school assistant who at that time had certainly no inkling that he would become one of the greatest masters of the symphony and of church music.'<sup>65</sup>

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64 Bruckner's handwritten *Kurze Generalbaß-Regeln*, wrongly attributed by Göllerich to an earlier date, viz. the period of study with his cousin Weiß in Hörsching, undoubtedly belong to this period and were essentially his attempts to codify Zenetti's teaching. See G-A I, p.90 for a facsimile of a page.

65 See G-A I, pp.229-35 for the words of the original and revised versions and the music of the original version, and 237ff. for extracts from the two reviews. For a modern edition of both versions,

During his time in Kronstorf Bruckner paid frequent visits to Steyr, a town of some 10,500 inhabitants with a large parish church in the Gothic style and, as far as he was concerned, the no less impressive Chrismann organ to which he was granted access by the accommodating parish priest, Joseph Plersch. According to Göllerich, another incentive was the opportunity to play Schubert's piano works for four hands with Karoline Eberstaller who had reputedly played these works with Schubert himself when he spent some time in Steyr in the 1820s.<sup>66</sup> In later years Bruckner was a welcome guest of the parish priests, Georg Armingier and Josef Aichinger. When he spent part of his summer vacations in Steyr he particularly enjoyed the company of three music-loving businessmen, Carl Almeroth, Isidor Dierkes and Karl Reder who, in the 1880s, indulged the composer in two of his favourite pursuits - coach riding and Pilsner beer drinking - and were involved in a short-lived scheme to provide him with some financial help. Franz Bayer, director of the parish church choir from the late 1880s, was an enthusiastic advocate of Bruckner's music and was responsible for several performances of Bruckner's sacred works. On one such occasion - a performance of his D minor Mass in Steyr Parish Church on 2 April 1893 - Bruckner played the organ part; at a special

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see Angela Pachovsky and Anton Reinthaler, eds., 'Weltliche Chorwerke 1843-1893', *ABSW XXIII/2* (Vienna, 2001), pp.1-2, 172-3.

66 See *G-A I*, p.228. There is no first-hand evidence for this supposed Schubert-Bruckner link via Karoline Eberstaller (1812-1902), however. It is possible that what was either entirely fictitious or, at best, partly true eventually became accepted as completely true through the writings of Gregor Goldbacher, a local Steyr historian, who wrote several books and various articles in Upper Austrian papers, including 'Karoline Eberstaller, die letzte Freundin Franz Schuberts' in the *Linz Tagespost*, 20 February 1927, and 'Von Franz Schubert bis Anton Bruckner. Die hervorragendsten Meister zweier weit auseinanderliegenden Musikepochen persönlich gekannt - Was wir von der Steyrerin Karoline Eberstaller wissen' in *Oberdonau Zeitung*, 25 March 1944. I wish to thank Janet Wasserman, New York, for supplying this information. In a recent article, 'Oberösterreich als Schubert-Quelle: Was kannte Bruckner von Schubert', in *BSL 1997* (Linz, 1999), Franz Zamazal writes that there is no evidence either to support or to disprove the possibility of a meeting between Bruckner and Eberstaller; even 'the information passed on by word of mouth is contradictory' (p. 142); Bruckner could have met her either during the Kronstorf years or much later, in the 1890s, during one of his holiday visits to the town. See also Ernst Hilmar, 'Schubert und Bruckner', in Hilmar (ed.), *Schubert durch die Brille* (Tutzing, 2001), pp.79-96.

reception after the performance the delighted composer paid tribute to conductor and performers for their exemplary preparation of the work.<sup>67</sup>

St. Florian held fond memories for Bruckner and he was now able to resume his strong connections with the town and abbey. He was introduced to the distinctive sound of the male-voice quartet by Hans Schläger.<sup>68</sup> Bruckner formed his own male-voice quartet in Kronstorf and sang first bass.

It was common practice for school assistants to sit an examination after at least three years' experience so that they could qualify for a more senior post. Supplied with two very favourable testimonials from his superior, Franz Lehofer, and the parish priest, Alois Knauer, both of whom had nothing but praise for his teaching and musical skills, Bruckner successfully completed the examination in Linz in May 1845 and made a particularly favourable impression on his former teacher, Dürrnberger, who had no hesitation in awarding him a distinction in theoretical and practical music. His lessons with Zenetti had not been in vain!<sup>69</sup> Three months later, in September, Bruckner was officially appointed to a new position in St. Florian. Although he was still only an assistant teacher, his salary

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67 Bruckner repeated his praise in a letter to Bayer written from Vienna on 22 April 1893. See *HSABB 2*, p.218 for the text of this letter and *GrBL*, p.58f. for a facsimile. The original is in the *ÖNB*, 126/58-12. For further information about Bruckner's connections with Steyr, see J. Bayer, *Anton Bruckner in Steyr* (Steyr: Vereinsdruckerei, 1956), Erich W. Partsch, 'Zum Musikleben Steyrs', in *BSL 1990* (Linz, 1993), pp.267-72, idem, *Anton Bruckner in Steyr: 'Wo ich alljährlich so gern weile' - eine Ausstellung im Stadtpfarrhof 15. Juni - 28. Juli and 15. September - 27. Oktober 1996* (Steyr: Stadtpfarramt Steyr, 1996), idem, "'Unser berühmter Landsmann". Zur Bruckner-Berichterstattung in der Steyrer Presse bis 1896', in *BJ 1994/95/96* (Linz 1997), pp.289-94, and idem, *Anton Bruckner und Steyr*, *ABDS 13* (Vienna, 2003).

68 Hans Schläger (1820-1885), who was a choirboy at St. Florian from 1832, took the teacher training course in Linz from 1836 to 1838 and preceded Bruckner as assistant teacher at St. Florian, wrote many pieces for the medium. He studied under Gottfried Preyer at the Vienna Conservatory from 1845 to 1847 and was later appointed conductor of the *Wiener Männergesangverein* (1854-1861) and director of music at Salzburg Cathedral and Mozarteum (1861-67).

69 See *G-A 1*, p.277ff. for the texts of Lehofer's and Knauer's testimonials, dated 12 May 1845. The originals are in St. Florian. See earlier and footnote 46 for further information about Dürrnberger's certificate, dated 24 June 1845. Also see Franz Zamazal, *ABDS 10*, pp.188f. and 227ff. for further information about the nature of the examination and additions made in 14 July and 19 August to Bruckner's original teaching certificate.

was duly increased.<sup>70</sup>

The compositions written during the Kronstorf period reflect the limited resources available to Bruckner, but provide evidence of a clearer grasp of traditional styles and an improved technical facility for which Zenetti should no doubt take much of the credit. Most of the works are occasional pieces for mixed voices, with or without organ accompaniment, written for church services. Some works have been lost, including a setting of *Salve Maria* WAB 134 and a *Requiem* WAB 133 for male voices and organ which was written in memory of his friend Johann Nepomuk Deschl, schoolmaster in Kirchberg bei Eferding, and first performed in March 1845, with Bruckner playing the organ. Of the works still extant the most interesting stylistically - insofar as they illustrate features which the composer was to employ with much greater originality in later compositions - are the two settings of *Asperges me* WAB 4 for mixed voices and organ, the *Maundy Thursday Mass (Messe für den Gründonnerstag)* WAB 9, including a setting of the gradual, *Christus factus est*, and the *Messe ohne Gloria und Credo* WAB 146.<sup>71</sup>

Apart from *An dem Feste*, the only other secular work to survive from the Kronstorf period is a cantata which exists in three versions, all dating from 1845 and scored for eight-part mixed-voice choir, four soloists and piano accompaniment. The three versions are identical, apart from some slight changes

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70 See *G-A* 1, pp. 315-19 for the contract and two further testimonials from Lehofer (23 September 1845) and Knauer (25 September 1845). The originals are in St. Florian. Also see Zamazal, *ibid.*, 228f., footnotes, concerning mistakes made in the transcription of Lehofer's two and Knauer's two testimonials in *G-A* I.

71 For the music of these works and critical commentary, see *G-A* I (1922), pp.243ff., *G-A* II/2 (1928), pp.67-76, *ABSW* XXI/1 (1984), pp.12-33, 38-40, and 167-71, and *ABSW* XXI/2, pp.10-31. Two small sacred works probably written towards the end of the Kronstorf period or at the beginning of the following St. Florian period and attributed to Bruckner, viz. *Herz Jesu-Lied* (WAB 144) and *O du liebes Jesu-Kind* (WAB 145), are possibly not by him; see Franz Scheder, 'Bruckner-Incerta', pp.141-2. For a more recent in-depth study of the Maundy Thursday Mass, see Johannes Leopold Mayer, "'Super omne nomen" – Überlegungen zu Anton Bruckners Messe für den Gründonnerstag', in *BJ 2006-2010* (Linz, 2011), pp. 223-37.

in the accompaniment figuration introduced in the second version and retained in the third. The first version was described by Bruckner on the manuscript title-page as a *Musikalischer Versuch nach dem Kammer-Styl über ein kurzes Gedicht* and, as it also has the annotation 'Cand,', we can assume that it was written before his music examination in Linz which was held on 29 May. The second version has a similar title but has an added dedication to Alois Knauer, the parish priest.<sup>72</sup> The third version, entitled *Vergissmeinnicht* (WAB 93), was dedicated to Friedrich Mayr, prebendary of St. Florian abbey at the time and later to succeed Michael Arneth as abbot.<sup>73</sup>

When Bruckner moved to St. Florian in September 1845, he was about to commence the important second stage in his musical career. Ansfelden, Windhaag, Kronstorf, three 'stations' in the first stage of his musical pilgrimage, were by no means forgotten by the composer. Before his move to Vienna in 1868 he paid an annual visit to his father's grave in Ansfelden. After 1868 he continued these visits, albeit less frequently. In 1870 he was granted honorary citizenship of the village and in 1895 the *Frohsinn* choir in Linz, with which he was closely associated in the years 1865-68, unveiled a memorial plaque on the house where he was born. Bruckner was too ill to attend - his place was taken by his brother Ignaz - but sent a letter of thanks.<sup>74</sup> Bruckner also maintained his connections with Windhaag until the late 1870s. On 4 July 1897 a memorial plaque was unveiled at the new schoolhouse there. Connections with Kronstorf continued much longer -

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72 This 'attempted musical setting of a short poem in the chamber style' was a name-day gift (21 June 1845).

73 There is a facsimile of the autograph of the third version in *G-A 1*, pp.283-300; a modern edition of all three versions can be found in Leopold Nowak and R. Führer, eds., *ABSW XXII/1-5: Namenstag-Kantaten 1845-1857* (Vienna, 1987, 2/1999), pp.1-13 (first version), 14-27(second version) and 28-41(third version). See also Leopold Nowak, 'Die Kantate *Vergißmeinnicht* von Anton Bruckner', in *Über Anton Bruckner. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna, 1985), pp.249-53.

74 See *HSABB 2*, p.309, for this letter dated Vienna, 19 May 1895. The original is in the *Singakademie, Frohsinn-Archiv*, Linz.

until 1894 - and he remained on friendly terms with the Lehofer family until his death. A memorial plaque was unveiled at the old schoolhouse there on 14 June 1913.

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